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2017

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Subordinators and Supradialectal Formulas

in the Dialectal Inscriptions from

Mainland Greece (Excluding Attica)

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Indo-European Studies

by

Toru Minamimoto

2017

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Subordinators and Supradialectal Formulas
in the Dialectal Inscriptions
from Mainland Greece (Excluding Attica)

by

Toru Minamimoto

Doctor of Philosophy in Indo-European Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Brent Harmon Vine, Chair

In this dissertation, I investigated the usage of subordinators in Ancient Greek dialectal inscriptions and their interactions with supradialectal formulas, i.e., relatively fixed expressions shared across dialectal borders. Subordinators are grammatical elements and therefore are expected to behave in a systematic manner; supradialectal formulas are expected to provide a “test tube”, revealing how different dialects express the same notion. As the first step, I compiled an up-to-date collection of known attestations of subordinators in the dialects of Mainland Greece. Using this collection, I investigated the interactions of local dialects and the standard language in the contexts of fixed expressions and creative composition. In some cases, the confinement of a subordinator into a fixed expression suggests its inactive status in the

dialect, and in contrast, the active status of a subordinator is illustrated by its appearances in supradialectal formulas replacing non-local subordinators. Uses of non-local subordinators often result from the predominance of the standard language, but sometimes from the borrowing of phraseological units as a whole rather than the borrowing of the subordinator alone.

The dissertation of Toru Minamimoto is approved.

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2017

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Justification for research

Ancient Greek, just as any other human language, had local varieties, and many official and private inscriptions were written in the local dialect of each region. Most such local dialects are known to us only by means of inscriptions, because literary works were limited to few dialects such as Attic (the dialect of Athens), Ionic (the primary component of the language of epic poetry), Lesbian (an Aeolic dialect in which monodic lyric poems were composed), and literary Doric (a partly artificial language of choral poetry). The local dialects were under the growing influence of the Attic-based standard language, or Koine, which would eventually oust all the local dialects with the exception of the Tsakonian dialect, the modern descendent of Laconian (Buck 1955: 173–180).

Influence of Koine on the local speech appears at any level of language: words specific to each dialect tend to be replaced with words in Koine, and morphological peculiarities that are not shared by other dialects are gradually eliminated. Apart from lexicon and grammar, the content of epigraphic texts also exhibits patterns from external sources: inscriptions, especially official publications of city governments, are often composed using supradialectal formulas – stock expressions shared across dialectal borders with some possibility of local variations (López Eire 1993; García Ramón 2010).

There are two major reasons why a study of Greek dialectal subordinators¹ in the context of supradialectal formulas is significant. First, there has been no large-scale study collecting the occurrences of subordinators in Greek dialectal texts since Hermann (1912), and numerous new inscriptions have been found in the century that followed. An updated collection of dialectal subordinators would provide a basis not only for my own research on supradialectal formulas, but also for future studies addressing questions related to subordinated clauses in the Greek dialects. The second reason is that the interaction of fixed patterns and creativity enables us to disentangle dialectal elements and Koine elements. On the one hand subordinators are directly connected with grammatical rules, so the behaviors of subordinators (e.g., preservation of the inherited dialectal subordinators vs. borrowing of Koine subordinators) are not expected to be so random as to match the freedom with which lexical elements are borrowed. Rather, the uses of subordinators in a dialect must reflect grammatical patterns resulting from the contact of dialects. Buck (1955: 177) illustrates this point by referring to late West Greek dialects, where we often see εἰ κα ‘if’ (Koine subordinator + inherited modal particle), but never *αἰ ἄν (inherited subordinator + Koine modal particle). In order to find out the details of the grammatical patterns of each dialect, supradialectal formulas provide a good “test tube” by restricting variability, because they allow us to know how different dialects express similar ideas. On the other hand, since subordinators may appear outside of fixed expressions as well, it is also possible to contrast the behavior of subordinators in fixed expressions against their behavior in creative contexts. For example, a subordinator whose uses are restricted to one fixed expression may be a relic that was no longer in active use.

Now each of the two justifications for my research requires some elaboration. The first

1 I use the term “subordinator” to refer to the words that are traditionally called “subordinate conjunctions”, i.e. words that introduce finite clauses that are embedded inside the matrix clause.

point was about facts: subordinate clauses in Greek epigraphic sources have been vigorously studied, but the newest exhaustive collection that covers a large area of Greece dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century (Hermann 1912), and the data therein needs be updated as inscriptions are discovered. New data not only adds knowledge, but sometimes also forces us to change previous interpretations of known data. An illustrative case can be cited from Thessaly, where a reconsideration of the grammar of subordination expressing purpose ('so that') was required as some inscriptions were added to our knowledge. The sequence ΟΣΚΕ in IG 9,2 517 (Thessaly – Larisa: 214 BCE) had been considered an engraving error for ο<ϛ>ς κε 'so that', equivalent to Attic/Koine ὡς ἄν, but a recently published inscription (SEG 55:605, Thessaly – Larisa: shortly after 196 BCE) contains a verifying instance of ὄσκει, and the editors report one more attestation in an unpublished inscription (Tziafalias & Helly 2004/2005: 382). The etymological background of this subordinator is a difficult issue (see my discussions in Section 3.4), but at the very least, the short-vowel spelling in IG 9,2 517 should not be emended.

The identification of the subordinator ὄσκει has a consequence in the interpretation of some other Thessalian inscriptions that were believed to attest to the expression of purpose οϛς κε 'so that'. Two of its attestations had to be partially restored, and the attestation in IG 9,2 517 is now eliminated; secure attestation is now reduced to one single case in IMagn 26. Still worse, this inscription exhibits some Koine features, such as the fluctuation between the Koine-influenced ἄνγρα<ψ>τιν 'engraving' and the native Thessalian ὄγγραψ[τιν], and the choice of the Koine lexical item στάλλαν 'stele' instead of κίονα, which is characteristic of the Thessalian dialect. Thus the use of οϛς κε may be a one-time borrowing from Attic/Koine in this specific text, without root in the local dialect. The two instances that needed to be restored are now interpreted to contain οϛστε – a possibility noted already by Lejeune (1941: 77 fn. 30) and

accepted by García Ramón (2010: 239–240).

The other aspect that I am going to address in this work is the issue of supradialectal formulas, but before elaborating on this topic, some terminological notes would be convenient. The language of inscriptions, especially official decrees, are highly formulaic and tend to follow a general pattern. The standard structure of official decrees in the Hellenistic period is summarized by McLean (2002: 218–224): (1) invocation; (2) dating formula, typically “when citizen A was in the office of X”; (3) motion formula: “citizen B moved”; (4) motivation section (my terminology; called “preamble” by McLean): “since foreigner C did such-and-such deeds”; (5) enactment formula: “therefore it should be resolved”; (6) content of the motion: “that foreigner C should be commended”; (7) directions for engraving: “and this decree should be inscribed in a stele.” Usually, as this summary shows, a decree consists of a single complex sentence whose finite verb is found in the motion formula; the content of the motion and the directions for engraving are usually infinitival clauses that depend on the verb of enactment in the infinitive (δεδοχθαι ‘it should be resolved’), which in its turn depends on the verb of saying in the motion formula. The following decree exemplifies the typical structure:

(1.1) IG 7 4266 (Boeotia – Oropos: ca. 300–250 BCE) L.1:

(1)θεοί. / (3)Φιλόξενος Εὐκλέου εἶπεν· (4)ἐπειδὴ / Αὐτίας Αὐτοκλέου Ἀθηναῖος δι/ατελεῖ
εὖνους καὶ χρήσιμος ὢν, /⁵/ (5)δεδοχθαι τῶι δήμωι· (6)εἶναι αὐτὸν π/ρόξενον καὶ
εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεω/ς Ὀρωπίων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους κ/αι εἶναι αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ
οἰκίας ἔνκτ/ησιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέ/¹⁰/μου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ κατὰ γῆν
καὶ κατὰ θάλατ/ταν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα κα/θάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις,
(7)ἀν[α]γράψ/αι δὲ τὴν προξενίαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ / καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ

Ἀμφιεράου.

“(1)Gods. (3)Philoxenos son of Eukleas moved: (4)since Autias son of Autokleas, man of Athens, continues to be a kind and serviceable man, (5)it should be resolved by the People (6)that he should be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of Oropos, both himself and his offspring, and that he should have the right to possess land and residence, safety and immunity in times of war and in peace, both in land and on sea, privileges equal to citizens, and everything else just as the other *proxenoi* have, and (7)that they should inscribe this proxeny into a stone stele and place it in the sanctuary of Amphieraos.”²

In addition to the overall structure of decrees, some formulas often used in decrees should be named here in preparation for the discussions throughout this dissertation.³ The motivation section of an honorary decree may express the good quality of the honorand in a highly fixed phrase such as διατέλει εὖνους ὦν as in (1.1) or in more detailed descriptions of the deeds by the honorand. The “hortatory formula” is a purpose clause that is typically placed between the motivation section and the enactment formula and states the purpose of passing the decree, such as ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἅπασιν ἦ φανερόν ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐπίσταται χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι καταξίας τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰς ἑαυτόν “therefore, in order that it may be clear to everyone that the Council and People of Athens know to give due gratitude to those who behave earnestly towards it, (it should be resolved...).” When honors and privileges are bestowed to the honorand, there is sometimes a formula comparing the privileges to citizens (ἐπιτιμᾶν καθάπερ

2 This decree lacks the dating formula. For the notational practices in my dissertation, see Section 1.3.

3 Typical formulas frequently found in decrees are conveniently summarized by McLean (2002: 218–225 and 229–232).

Δελοφοῖς “equal honors just as the Delphian [citizens]”), and the list of privileges is usually concluded with a remark that all the honorands of the city should be equal, as is the case in (1.1). These two formulas, which I call “comparing formula” and “generalizing formula” respectively, will be extensively discussed in Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

As I just described, epigraphic texts tend to be highly formulaic, and such epigraphic formulas in Attic decrees have been studied intensively, with much focus on the path of their diachronic development (e.g., Pečírka 1966 on the formula to grant the right of land possession; Henry 1987 on the “prescript”, i.e., dating formula, enactment formula etc.; Henry 1996 on the hortatory formula). Formulas outside of Attic are less studied in a systematic manner, but one exception is the study of the language of Delphian manumission inscriptions by Lejeune (1940): he gives detailed analyses of various types of expressions with similar functions, such as the consecutive infinitival phrase (bare infinitive or accompanied by conjunctions such as ὡς, ὥστε, ἐφ’ ὧι, ἐφ’ ὧιτε or ἐφ’ ὅτωι) and various expressions for ‘until, as long as’ (ἄχρι κα, ἄχρι οὗ κα, μέχρι κα, μέχρι οὗ κα, ἔντε κα, ἄς κα, ἕως κα, ἕως οὗ κα) in the order of their chronological appearance. More extensive collections of formulas across dialectal areas, not limited to specific textual genres, can be found in older treatments such as the ones by Larfeld (1907: 436–570; 1914: 306–510), but he offers relatively little analysis as to what factors may affect the cross-dialectal variation, and, of course, his collection needs to be updated. There are some cross-dialectal studies in epigraphic phraseology: Rhodes and Lewis (1997) is a survey of official decrees over the Greek-speaking world, including both dialectal and Koine inscriptions, with particular attention to the formulas that give the main structure to the decree text, such as the enactment formula and the motion formula. Morpurgo Davies (1999) gives her analysis of the two major varieties of the generalizing formula in honorary decrees, and she finds that the two

varieties, one introduced by ὅσα ‘as much as’ and one introduced by καθάπερ ‘just as’, appear to have spread from their respective center(s), the former from Delphi and Delos, and the latter from Boeotia. García Ramón (2010) studies the hortatory formula with attention to dialectal variability: he discusses how the hortatory formula allows for a great degree of variation in terms of the conferring body (τὸ κοινόν “the Commonwealth”, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος “the Council and the People”, etc.), the predicate (φανερὸν ἦι ὅτι ... “it may be obvious that ...”, φαίνονται τιμοῦντες “they manifestly honor”, etc.), and the expression of the quality that people are encouraged to show (τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν “[honor will be given] to good men”, τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν μηθὲν ἐνλείπουσι “to those who never fail in duty to [the People]”, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέταις “to their benefactors”, etc.). He further identifies the periphrastic expression περρᾶται χάριτας ἀτδίδουμεν “make efforts so as to give the due gratitude” as specific to Thessaly, demonstrating that studies in supradialectal formulas can shed light on dialectal phraseology.

1.2. Scope of the research

In collecting the attestations of subordinators, I defined the scope in terms of chronology, geography, dialect, genre of the text, and finally, which words to include in the research.

For chronology, the scope is limited to the period Before the Common Era, because later periods see only residual use of local dialects. In most dialects, inscriptions coming from the last few centuries BCE already exhibit influences from Koine (Buck 1955: 176), but it is also true that inscriptions from older stages are too few. Thus I decided to draw the line between the periods BCE and CE. Geographically, as the title of this work shows, my data collection is restricted to Mainland Greece, i.e., Mainland Aeolic dialects (Thessaly and Boeotia), Northwest

Greek regions (but I excluded the islands in the Ionian Sea), Megaris, and the Peloponnese (including Corinthia). In defining the borders, I tried to make the corpus large enough for significant analyses, and yet small enough for my limited capacity and time. There are cases where one city is included in my study but its colonies inheriting its dialect are excluded, as is the case for Megara and its prominent colonies like Selinus. This is a side effect of defining the scope by means of geography, but the data obtained is, I believe, large and consistent enough for analysis.

With regard to the dialect in which the text is written, I excluded any inscription written in Attic, Ionic or in Attic-based Koine. This is easier said than done, because many inscriptions exhibit an admixture of the local dialect and Koine. I tended to be inclusive in this respect, and some of the inscriptions in my data, especially from the latest period, are only superficially localized. This is another unavoidable issue in Greek dialectology. As to the genre of the text, verse inscriptions are difficult to treat, as the poetic language often uses elements that are foreign to the local speech. Some subordinators that clearly belong to the poetic language, such as ὄφρα ‘until’, are excluded from this study; they can be left for studies of poetry in epigraphic attestations. There is also one major group of inscriptions that I left aside: the acts of manumission from Delphi. My decision to exclude them from my exhaustive data collection is partly motivated by pragmatism, but also by the presence of the work dedicated to Delphian manumissions by Lejeune (1940), to which I often refer.

Finally, what to include as subordinators for the purpose of this dissertation must be explained. Subordinators are words that introduce finite clauses and embed them within other clauses, but there are some words that I excluded from my study: relative pronouns and relative adjectives. Their instances are too numerous for this work, and they are discussed only when

they play significant roles by providing interesting variants of formulas (e.g., in Thessaly one finds an alternation between οὐς ‘as’ and ὄν τρόπον ‘by which way’: see Section 8.1). Some other items that were treated by Hermann (1912) are also excluded from this research, such as ἤ ‘than; whether’ and ὡς accompanying the superlative.

1.3. Miscellaneous notes

This dissertation is organized into three major parts followed by an Appendix. The first part after the introduction, Chapter 2, deals with a topic that may be treated with a cross-dialectal perspective: use of the optative mood in subordinate clauses. The following part, Chapters 3–7, is dedicated to the descriptions and analyses of noteworthy features in each dialect. In the last part, Chapter 8, I will provide my analyses for a number of supradialectal formulas. The Appendix is the list of all the attestations of subordinators found in my data collection.

The dialectal Greek texts quoted in this work bear the conventional diacritics such as the accent and the rough/smooth breathing, as provided by the editors of the inscription. These diacritics, of course, do not reflect the linguistic reality of the dialect in any way. However, I decided not to remove these diacritics from the texts because they are often useful in signifying the interpretation made by the editors and by me (for example, distinguishing αἰ ‘if’ and ἄι ‘where’). There are cases where different editors disagree on the accentuation and I did not strive for consistency within this dissertation (e.g., Boeotian ὄποττα ~ ὀπόττα = Att. ὀπόσα ‘as much as’) because it would not affect the interpretation.

In the quoted texts, the subordinate clause under discussion is underlined, and the

subordinator that introduces it and the finite verb of the clause are presented in boldface. The finite verb also receives an indication of its grammatical categories (the mood and, less often, the tense/aspect) when necessary. The accompanying English translation⁴ also receives these markings except for the markings on the finite verb. The line-division in the inscription is marked by the slash (“/”), and the beginning of every fifth line receives the indication of the line number in superscript. The example below illustrates these rules of notation:

(1.2) SEG 58:370 (Messenia – Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.79:

καὶ εἰσαγαγόντων εἰς τὸ ⁸⁰/ δικαστήριον τῶν Μιλησίων ἐνικά/σαμεν πάσαις ταῖς
ψάφοις **καθότι** / **εἶμην**_(opt) κεκριμένοι περί τε ταύτας / τᾶς χώρας ^{vac.} καὶ τᾶς
Βιπειάτιος πο/τὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας

“and having introduced (the case) to a court of Milesian (judges), we won with a unanimous decision (of the judges), as the dispute with the Megalopolitans for this land had already been decided, as well as for Vipeiata.”⁵

4 All English translations are mine unless otherwise specified.

5 Translation by Arnaoutoglou (2009/2010).

Chapter 2: A cross-dialectal issue: optative

The optative mood is infrequent in epigraphic sources in comparison to other moods, but it is certainly in use, and some usages are unproblematic from the point of view of Classical Greek grammar, while some instances pose questions worthy of investigation. Among relatively unproblematic uses are (1) conditional constructions, (2) prospective clauses whose matrix clause is in the past tense, (3) the so-called “generalizing” optative, and (4) the oblique optative.

First, one major field where the optative mood has a certain degree of frequency involves conditional constructions. While the vast majority of the epigraphic instances of conditional sentences use the so-called “future more vivid” construction (i.e., protasis = $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ + subjunctive, apodosis = various future-like expressions such as imperative or prescriptive infinitive)⁶, the dialect of Elis⁷ is peculiar in the choice of the mood in the conditional construction: it regularly uses the “future less vivid” construction, i.e., protasis = $\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}$ + optative, apodosis = optative + $\kappa\alpha$.⁸ One instance is enough to illustrate the point:

(2.1) Minon (2007) no. 4 (Elis – Olympia: ca. 525–500 BCE) L.2:

Αἰ δέ τις παρ τὸ γράφος δικάδοι_(opt), ἀτελεῖς κ' εἶῆ_(opt) ἄ δίκαια, ἄ δὲ φράτρα ἄ δαμοσία
τελεία εἶ/ῆ_(opt) δικάδοσα.

“but **if** anyone should make a judgment without following the code, the judgment

6 “When a supposed future case is stated distinctly and vividly [...] the protasis generally takes the subjunctive with $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ [...]. The apodosis takes the future indicative or some other form expressing future time [...]” (Goodwin 1897: 163).

7 All analyses and knowledge of the Elean dialect in this section come from Minon (2007).

8 “When a supposed future case is stated less distinctly and vividly than the subjunctive would state it [...], the protasis takes the optative with $\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}$. The apodosis takes the optative with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ [...]” (Goodwin 1897: 168).

shall be void, and the People’s decree shall have the power as the judgment.”

However, already from the fifth century BCE, we find cases where the apodosis is given in the more ordinary moods of prescription such as infinitive and imperative:

(2.2) Minon (2007) no. 12 (Elis – Olympia: ca. 500–475 BCE) L.5:

αἰ δέ / τις συλαίῃ_(opt), φέρῃν_(inf) αὐτὸν / πο’ τὸν Δία, αἰ μὲ δάμοι δοκέου_(opt).

“but **if** anyone should violate his immunity, (the violator) shall be prosecuted before Zeus, **unless** (the violation) is approved by the People.”

(2.3) Minon (2007) no. 30 (Elis – Olympia: ca. 370–324 BCE) L.10:

αἰ δέ τι ταύτων παρ τὸ γράμ/μα ποιέου_(opt), ἀποτινέτω_(imperat) διπλάσιον τῷ κα ἐκπέμπα κα/ὶ τῷ κα ἀποδῶται.

“but **if** anyone should do any part of these in violation of the code, he shall pay twice the amount sent and the amount paid.”

The heavy use of the optative mood in conditional constructions is specific to the dialect of Elis, and, as Minon (2007: 447) argues, this is likely to be specific more narrowly to the language of law and administration.

Perhaps slightly more problematic is the use of the optative mood in conditional constructions outside of Elis. Crespo (1993) studies the use of the optative mood and the subjunctive mood in conditional clauses, and concludes that there are many cases where the two moods are used interchangeably. To quote a pair of passages from the same text:

(2.4) IG 9²,1,1 3 (Aitolia – Thermos: ca. 235–232 BCE) L.27:

εἴ τις καὶ ἐμβάλλῃ_(subj) εἰς τὰν Αἰτωλίαν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, βοαθοεῖν τοὺς / Ἀκαρνᾶνας

πεζοῖς μὲν χιλίοις, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἑκατόν

“if anyone invades Aitolia in hostility, the Akarnanians must come in aid with 1,000 infantry and 100 cavalry”

(2.5) IG 9²,1,1 3 (Aitolia – Thermos: ca. 235–232 BCE) L.29:

καὶ εἴ τις ἐν Ἀκαρνανίαν ἐμβάλλῃ_(opt) ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, /³⁰/ βοαθοεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς πεζοῖς μὲν

χιλίοις, ἵππέοις δὲ ἑκατόν

“and if anyone should invade Akarnania in hostility, the Aitolians must come in aid with 1,000 infantry and 100 cavalry”

The interchangeability of the two moods can also be seen in the Delphian acts of manumission. According to Lejeune (1940: 39–58), the subjunctive accompanied by the modal particle was gradually replaced by the optative during the second quarter of the second century BCE, and there are many documents that use the two moods side-by-side, just like the treaty quoted above (2.4 and 2.5). All these point to the functional merger of the two moods.

Epigraphic instances of the optative mood in prospective subordinate clauses depending on past-tense matrix clauses⁹ are extremely rare; from Hermann’s (1912) data, there are only a few in the entire Greece. To quote one:

(2.6) IG 14 645 (Magna Graecia – Herakleia: ca. 350 BCE) L.53:

ἐστάσαμες δὲ καὶ ὄρωσ ... (L.56) ἀνχωρίζαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποροῶν ἐς τὰν φιδίαν γᾶν,

9 “Pure final clauses regularly take the subjunctive if the leading verb is primary, and the optative if the leading verb is secondary” (Goodwin 1897: 113).

ἡὼς μὴ καταλυ/μακωθῆς ἀδηλωθεῖν_(opt) καθὼς τοὶ ἔμπροσθα ὄροι,

“and we established boundary signs ... drawing back from the streams into the private land, **so that** it would not become invisible by silting up just like the previous boundary signs (did),”

Instances of the “generalizing” optative¹⁰ are also difficult to find in epigraphic sources, but there is at least one, in the decree by the Megarian city Aigosthena composed in the Boeotian dialect.

(2.7) IG 7 207 (Megaris – Aigosthena: 223–201 BCE) L.11:

δεδοχθη τοῖ δάμοι, ὁπόττοι καὶ παργινύ/ωνθη Σιφείων ἐν τὰς κοινὰς θυσίας ὡς δαῖζοι
ἂ πό/[λ]ις, ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ κῆ τοῖς πολ/ίτης·

“it was resolved by the people that all Sipheans who visit the public feasts **that the** city celebrates should have (all the privileges) just as citizens.”

Here the verb δαῖζοι is in the optative mood, and the generalizing function is obvious: the Sipheans enjoy the privileges on *any* occasion they visit *any* public feast held by the city of Aigosthena.

Finally, we also have instances of the oblique optative, i.e., the use of the optative mood in indirectly quoted speech.¹¹ The general rule in Attic is that, when the verb of saying is in the past, the verb that appears in the quote clause is (optionally) placed in the optative mood.

10 “A conditional relative sentence may express a *general* supposition, when the verb of the antecedent clause denotes a customary or repeated action or a general truth, while the relative clause refers in a general way to *any* act or acts of a given class. Here the subjunctive with ὅς ἄν, ὅταν, etc. follows primary tenses, and the optative (without ἄν) follows secondary tenses” (Goodwin 1897: 204; emphasis by the original author).

11 “In indirect quotations [...] after secondary tenses, each primary tense of the indicative and each subjunctive of the direct discourse may be either changed to the same tense of the optative or retained in its original mood and tense” (Goodwin 1897: 256–257).

Instances of the oblique optative are very rare in epigraphic sources¹², but there is a group of epigraphic texts where the oblique optative is reasonably well represented: the *Iamata*, or records of healing in the Epidaurian Asklepieion. The presence and absence of the oblique optative in this group of inscriptions are studied by Méndez Dosuna (2001), and he finds that the use of the oblique optative correlates with the Ionic subordinator εἰ ‘if’ instead of its local equivalent αἰ. He further asks whether the enclitic anaphoric pronouns νιν, οὐ, οἰ, which are often used in the *Iamata*, may be an archaizing feature rather than an active part of the daily Epidaurian speech. He suggests that the oblique optative found in the language of the *Iamata* may be borrowed from some literary style of Ionic prose.

Other instances of the oblique optative are extremely rare and scattered in Greece.

(2.8) IMagn 45 (Corinthia – Apollonia [found at Magnesia on the Maeander]: end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.7:

καὶ κομιξάντων ψάφισμα παρὰ τᾶς πόλι/ος, ἐν ᾧ κατεκεχώριστο ὃ τε χρησμὸς ὁ παρὰ / τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν [Δ]ελφοῖς, **ὅτι** λώιον εἴη_(opt) καὶ ἄμει¹⁰/νον τοῖς σεβομένοις Ἄρτεμιν Λευκοφρυ[η]νᾶν / καὶ τὰ[ν] πόλιν τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ τὴν χώραν ἰ[ε]/[ρ]ᾶν κ[αὶ] ἄ[σ]υλον νομίζουσιν,¹³

“and, as they carried the decree by the city, in which was included the oracle by the god in Delphi, **that** there will be good fortune for those who respect Artemis

Leukophryena and treat the city of Magnesia and its region as sacred and immune,”

12 As Méndez Dosuna (2001: 327) puts it, “les témoignages de l’O[ptatif] O[blique] dans les inscriptions dialectales sont, on le sait, rarissimes.”

13 This passage is immediately followed by καὶ ὅτι ..., but this subsequent ὅτι-clause is not in coordination with the ὅτι-clause under discussion, but is a causal clause constituting the motivation section, semantically parallel to the genitive absolute κομιξάντων: καὶ ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος τ[ῶ]ν / Μα[γνήτῶ]ν ἐψάφισται ... “and since the city of the Magnesians voted that ..., therefore, (in response to the Delphian oracle and the Magnesian decree), the city of Apollonia resolved ...”

(2.9) IG 5,1 11 (Sparta: 1st c. BCE) L.7:

ἐνεφάνιζο]ν δὲ **ὅτι εἶησαν**_(opt) δε[δε]γ[μένοι — —]/[— — — — —]μος [ὄ]τ[ι]

εἶησαν_(opt) [— —

“and they stated **that they received ... that they were ...**”

The Spartan example (2.9) is fragmentary, but the two words ὅτι εἶησαν are enough to show the presence of the oblique optative.

The following passage from an inscription from Messene provides some instances of the oblique optative in causal clauses. Here καθότι appears to mean ‘because’, although the interpretation as ‘according as’ is not impossible (I also marked the ὅτι-causal clause for later discussion):

(2.10) SEG 58:370 (Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.65:

ὔστερον, ἐπεὶ ὑπεγραψάμεθα περὶ / τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἐκ ταύτας τᾶς χώρας τᾶι πόλει
τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν / ταλάντου διπλασίου, ἐπεὶ λαβοῦ/σα μεσοκοίνους τοὺς καρποὺς
οὐ^{/70/}κ ἀπεδίδου, καὶ κεκριμένων ἀμῶν / περὶ τᾶς χώρας πάλιν ἀμὲ προεκα/λέσατο ἅ
πόλις τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν περὶ τᾶς Ἀκρειάτιος χώρας / ὡς κριτήριον συνελόμεθα ὡς
οὐ^{/75/} κεκριμένων ποθ’ ἀμέ, τῶν δὲ κοι/νῶν δαμοργῶν ἐπακολουθησάν/των αὐτᾶ
καὶ ζαμίαν ἀμῖν ἐπι/βαλόντων **ὅτι οὐ συναιρούμεθα**_(indic) / κριτήριον καὶ
εἰσαγαγόντων εἰς τὸ ^{/80/} δικαστήριον τῶν Μιλησίων ἐνικά/σαμεν πάσαις ταῖς ψάφοις
καθότι / **εἶημεν**_(opt) κεκριμένοι περὶ τε ταύτας / τᾶς χώρας^{vac.} καὶ τᾶς Βιπειάτιος πο/τὶ
Μεγαλοπολίτας

“Later, when we had brought a civil suit against the Megalopolitans about the fruits of

this land claiming a compensation of twice a talent, since they did not surrender the fruits they had received in trust; and despite a court decision about the land, the Megalopolitans submitted afresh a challenge and asked us to choose a court (*kriterion*) for the land of Akreia, as if the case was not decided. And the *koinoi damiorgoi* accepted the challenge of the Megalopolitans and imposed on us a fine, **because we did not participate in the selection of the court (to judge the case)** and having introduced (the case) to a court of Milesian (judges), we won with a unanimous decision (of the judges), **as the dispute with the Megalopolitans for this land had already been decided, as well as for Vipeiata.**¹⁴

Here, I think it is possible to interpret καθότι as ‘as’ (“we prevailed *with the same arguments as* we had previously been judged”), but it seems more natural to interpret this clause as causal, following Arnaoutoglou (2009/2010): the challenge by the Megalopolitans was rejected *because* the case had already been judged before. If so, this passage involves an example of oblique optative in a causal clause preceded by another causal clause with the indicative, inviting a close examination of possible difference in the nuance between the oblique optative and the “retention” of the indicative mood. In fact, at first glance, this passage appears to go against the principle of the use of oblique optative found in standard reference works. According to Smyth (1956: 504), “[c]ausal clauses denoting a fact regularly take the indicative”, “[b]ut causal clauses denoting an alleged or reported reason [...] take the optative after secondary tenses.”¹⁵ The passage in the Messenian inscription (2.10) is surprising in this respect: on the one hand, the

14 Translation by Arnaoutoglou (2009/2010). The more literal translations given in examples (2.11) and (2.12) are my own.

15 Similarly, “When, however, the speaker implies that a cause was assigned by some other person, the principle of indirect discourse [...] allows the verb to stand in the optative” (Goodwin 1897: 287); “the reason is presented as a consideration of the subject of the main clause” (Rijksbaron 2006: 84–85).

reason that the Messenians do not sympathize with is expressed in the present indicative:

(2.11) (repeating a portion of 2.10) SEG 58:370 (Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.75:

τῶν δὲ κοι/νῶν δαμιοργῶν ἐπακολουθησάν/των αὐτᾶι καὶ ζαμίαν ἀμῖν ἐπι/βαλόντων

ὅτι οὐ συναιρούμεθα_(indic) / κριτήριον

“and as the *koinoi damiorgoi* sided with (Megalopolis) and imposed a fine on us, **on the ground that we did not take part in the choice of the place of arbitration.**”

On the other hand, the oblique optative is used for the reason in favor of the Messenians:

(2.12) (repeating a portion of 2.10) SEG 58:370 (Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.80:

ἐνικά/σαμεν πάσαις ταῖς ψάφοις **καθότι** / **εἴημεν**_(opt) κεκριμένοι περί τε ταύτας / τᾶς

χώρας καὶ τᾶς Βιπειάτιος πο/τὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας

“we prevailed with unanimous vote **because we had already been judged regarding this land and Bipeiatis against Megalopolitans**”

This may indicate that the choice between the indicative mood and the oblique optative had little difference in meaning; however, it is also possible to argue for the difference in meaning. In the passage with ὅτι + indicative, it *is* true that the Messenians did not take part in the choice of the place of arbitration; the Messenians would not challenge this fact. In the passage with καθότι + optative, it is possible to argue that the choice of the oblique optative may have the effect of presenting the judgment by the third party in an objective manner. Thus the use and non-use of the oblique optative in this Messenian inscription is compatible, at least, with the effect of causal

clauses with oblique optative as described in standard reference grammars of Attic.

Finally, I need to discuss one case that puzzles me. It comes from Thessaly:

(2.13) SEG 31:572 (Pelagiotis – Krannon: ca. 200 BCE) face B L.10:

Παύσουνος Ἀγασικρατεῖοι ὕ λέξαντος ἐψη/φίζατο ἃ πόλις· ὀπειδεῖ Θιόδουρος ὁ
στρατ/αγὸς ἐν παντὶ καιροῦ **τυνχάνου**(opt?) τὰν ἐπιμέ/λειαν ποεῖμενος καὶ κοινᾶ τᾶς
πόλλι[ος τᾶς] / πάνσας καὶ πάντων πολιτᾶν [ἰδία ἐκά]/στο[ιο κ]αὶ διὲ τοῖ βασιλεῖος
κ[αὶ δι' ἑαυτοῖ], / δεδόσθαι αὐτοῦ ἀτέλεια[ν ...

“Upon the motion by Pausanias son of Agasikrates, the city voted: **since** Thiodouros the general always took care of the city for public affairs and of all the citizens for their private affairs, both at the urging of the king and out of himself, (therefore the city voted) that it will give him exemption from taxes ...”

Here the finite verb in the ὀπειδεῖ-clause constituting the motivation section appears to be in the optative mood. If this form is not an error of the stone-cutter or the editor¹⁶, this is a syntactic anomaly that needs to be explained. One possible solution is to interpret the optative with “generalizing”, or habitual, force, similar to the imperfect¹⁷, but there remains the problem that the present tense is more usual than the imperfect in this context. There is also a question as to whether it is coincidental that some inscriptions from the Thessalian city Gonnoi, all written in Koine, also have verbs in the optative mood where normally the indicative is expected:

16 The editor of this inscription does not comment on this verb (Habicht 1981). García Ramón (2008: 119 fn. 82) pointed out the possibility of an error by the stone-cutter for the intended indicative τυνχάνει.

17 Possibility suggested to me by Stephanie W. Jamison (p.c.), and independently also pointed out by García Ramón (in press).

(2.14) Gonnoi II no. 41 (Thessaly – Perrhaibia – Gonnoi: ca. 180–160 BCE) L.9:

[... ἔδοξε τῆι πό<λ>ει τῆι Γοννέων· /¹⁰/ ἔπειδῆ] Νικίας Θερσιμένουσ Φαλα/[νναῖος]
εἴοι_(opt) γεγονῶσ εὐχρηστος τῆ πό/[λει ἡμῶ]ν καὶ τοῖσ κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντυγγάνουσ[ι] /
ἔπιδι]δοὺσ ἑαυτὸν εἰσ πᾶν σπουδῆσ καὶ / [δα]πάνησ καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐνλεί/¹⁵/
πω]ν· καὶ ἐν τῶι παρεληλυθότι δὲ ἔτει / [οὔ]σησ σπανοσιτίας, εἴοι_(opt) εὐχρηστή/[σα]ς
τῆ πόλει σῆτον ἐπ' ἀναβολῆ· διὸ δε/δόχθαι ...

“it was resolved by the city of Gonnoi. **Since** Nikias son of Thersimenes, man of Phalanna, has been serviceable to our city and to those who see him personally, and has been giving himself up in every way, not leaving behind any zeal, expense or honor, and also this year, in shortage of food, he lent food to the city for deferred payment, therefore it should be resolved ...”

(2.15) Gonnoi II no. 78 (Thessaly – Perrhaibia – Gonnoi: ca. 200–150 BCE) L.12:

ἔπειδῆ οἱ παρ[α]γεγο/νότεσ δικαστα[ὶ ἐκ] Μητρο/πόλεωσ [ἐπὶ τὰσ] εὐθείασ /¹⁵/ δίκ[α]σ
— — — —]νοσ Παυσα/[νίου]υ, Ἀρ...αοσ Ἄνδρον[ί]κου, Εὐπόλεμοσ Νικασίου / καὶ ὁ
γραμματεὺσ αὐτῶν Ἄν/τίγονοσ Δάμονοσ, οἱ καὶ /²⁰/ εἴοισαν_(opt) εἰληφ[ό]τεσ τὰ τίμι[α] /
παρὰ τῆσ π[ό]λεω]σ ἡμ[ῶ]ν· / διὸ δε/δόχθαι ...

“**Since** the judges coming from Metropolis for the immediate judgments, ... son of Pausanias, Ar...aos son of Andronikos, Eupolemos son of Nikasios, and their secretary Antigonos son of Damon, gained honor from our city, therefore it should be resolved...”

(2.16) Gonnoi II no. 80 (Perrhaibia – Gonnoi: ca. 200–150 BCE) L.4:

ἔπει⁵/δῆ οἱ παραγεγονότεσ δικασταὶ / ἐκ Ἐ/τρικῆσ ἐπὶ τὰσ βολίμοσ δίκασ Γλαυ/κίας
Ἄττινου, Ξενοφάνησ Εὐ/φορβίδου, Πραξίας Ἄ/υτονόμου' καὶ ὁ γραμμα/τεὺσ αὐτῶν

Ἀρι<σ>τοκλῆς Φίλωνος, /¹⁰/ οἱ καὶ εἴοισαν εἰληφότες τὰ τίμια / παρὰ τῆς πόλεω[ς]
ἡμῶν· διὸ δε/δόχθαι ...

“Since the judges coming from Tricca for the delayed judgments, Glaukias son of Attinos, Xenophanes son of Euphorbides, Praxias son of Autonomos and their secretary Aristokles son of Philon, gained honor from our city, therefore it was resolved ...”

(2.17) Gonnoi II no. 90 (Perrhaibia – Gonnoi: mid 2nd c. BCE) L.12:

ἐπει/δῆ οἱ παραγεγονότες ἐ’ Γόμ/φον δικασταὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθε[ί]/¹⁵/ας δίκας Χαλακίας
Θερσικρά/τους, Δημήτριος Πετραίου, / Λυκίσκος Κλεοσθένου καὶ ὁ / γραμματεὺς
Λεόντιος Ποι/μάνδρου εἴοισα{σα}ν ἐν τοῖς /²⁰/ κατὰ τὴν δικαστείαν πεποη/κότες τὰ
δίκαια· διὸ δεδό/χθαι ...

“Since the judges coming from Gomphoi for the immediate judgments, Khalkias son of Thersikrates, Demetrios son of Petraios, Lykiskos son of Kleosthenos and their secretary Leontios son of Poimandros, made the correct judgments according to the way of judges, therefore it was resolved ...”

The verb-forms εἴοι and εἴοισαν are explained as forms of the verb ‘to be’: optatives built on the thematized stem, similar to Homeric ἔοι, ἔοις (Helly 1973 1:172; Schwyzer 1953: 677).

However, why the optative is used in the motivation section has not been addressed.¹⁸

18 The (expected) indicative form of ‘be’ is also found in the motivation section in inscriptions from Gonnoi. It may be significant that most of the optative verbs are construed with a perfect participle, whereas the two presents in the following passages are construed with the present participle:

(2.i) Gonnoi II 40 (Perrhaibia – Gonnoi: ca. 180–160 BCE) L.8:

ἔδοξεν τῆι / [πόλει τῆι Γοννέ]ων· ἐπειδῆ Ἀπολλ[λό]/¹⁰/[δωρος καὶ] Διόδωρος οἱ Ἀπο[λλο]/[δῶρου
Φαλα]γναῖοί εἰσιν καλοὶ κ[άγα]/[θοι καὶ εὖν]οι διακεῖμενοι πρ[ὸς τὴν] / [πόλιν ἡμῶν] καὶ εὐχρηστή[σαν]/
[τες]—

“it was resolved by the city of Gonnoi, **since** Apollodoros and Diodoros sons of Apollodoros, men of

I do not have a satisfactory answer. In fact, it is not clear whether the *τυγχάνοι* in the Thessalian dialect and *εἶοι(σαν)* in Koine should be treated together in the first place. Yet, as a possibility, I suggest that perhaps a syntactic feature of the Thessalian dialect may be involved here. We know that Thessalian made use of the co-called “oblique imperfect”: in a quoted speech, while Attic Greek either maintains the present indicative or changes it into the present optative, Thessalian changes it into the imperfect (García Ramón in press; Rui Pérez 1972; Tziafalias & Helly 2004/2005: 384).¹⁹ This is seen in the following passages, where the statements of the Thessalian ambassadors are indirectly quoted, first in Koine and then in the Thessalian dialect:

(2.18) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L.4:

Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ Ἀριστόνους ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ἐγένοντο, /⁵/
ἐνεφάνιζόν μοι ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις διὰ τοὺς πολέμους προσδεῖται_(pres.indic)
πλεόνων οἰκητῶν.

(King Philip speaks) “Petraios, Anankippos and Aristonoos, as they came in a mission, stated to me that your city was in need of many inhabitants because of the wars”

(2.19) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L.11:

Phalanna, are good men and well-disposed towards our city and, being serviceable ...”

(2.ii) Gonnoi II 42 (Perrhaibia – Gonnoi: 196–146 BCE) L.3:

ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Φλάμιος Γαίου Ἀ⁵/πολλόνιος καὶ Γάιος Φλάμιος Γαίου Βόκκων ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσιν διακείμενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἐπιδιδόντες αὐ¹⁰/τοὺς ἀ[πρ]οφασίστως ἐν / πᾶσιν ἐ[πι] πάντα τὰ παρακαλούμ[εν]α ὑφ’ ἡμῶν· ἵνα οὖν κ[αὶ] ὁ δῆ[μο]ς ἡμῶν / [φαίνεται] πᾶσι ὅτι δύναται ἀ¹⁵/[ποδιδόνα] τὰς καταξίας χά/[ριτας τοῖς] εὐεργετοῦσιν· / ἔδοξε ...

“Since Gaius Flavius Apollonius son of Gaius and his son Gaius Flavius Bocco son of Gaius, men of Rome, are well-disposed towards our city ...”

19 This does not mean that the oblique imperfect was totally absent from non-Thessalian dialects: it is found already in Homer (Rui Pérez 1972: 855).

Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ / Ἀριστόνοος, οὓς ἄτ τᾶς πρεισβείας ἐγένονθο,
ἐνεφανίσσοεν αὐτοῦ, πὸκ κί καὶ ἅ ἀμμέουν πόλις διὲ τὸς πολέμος πο/τεδέετο_(impf).
πλειόνουν τοῦν κατοικεισόντων.

(The city of Larisa resolves) “Petraios, Anankippos and Aristonoos, as they came in a mission, stated to him (= King Philip) that our city was in need of many inhabitants because of the wars”

In Koine, the verb in indirect discourse, προσδεῖται, is in the present indicative (retaining, presumably, the tense and mood of the speech uttered by the quoted speakers Petraios, Anankippos and Aristonoos), whereas in Thessalian, the quoted verb is imperfect, ποτεδέετο.

Now, coming back to the optative in SEG 31:572, since the verb in question here is the finite verb of a clause subordinate to a verb of saying in a past tense (ἐψαφίζατο “it was resolved”), it meets the condition where the oblique optative is possible in Attic. What complicates the matter, however, is the fact that the subordinate clause is not explicative (like ὡς or ὅτι) but causal. As I mentioned earlier, at least in Attic, the oblique optative in causal clauses has the implication that the cause is alleged. Thus it appears as if the drafter of SEG 31:572 applied the rule of the oblique optative where it is normally not used. This looks like a case of hypercorrection: the drafter no longer maintained the oblique optative in his natural speech, and made an error.

From Gonnoi, we have very few traces of the Thessalian dialect (Helly 1973 1:172), but our knowledge is limited to the written language. This is highly speculative, but it is possible that people of Gonnoi, just as Larisa, also lacked the oblique optative in their spoken native language; the use of the optative mood in Gonnoi might be its reflection. But once again I must

say that this entire analysis is based on the hypothesis that τυχάνοι in Thessalian and ἔοι(σαν) from Gonnoi are related. If this hypothesis is rejected, τυχάνοι in Thessalian is best interpreted as having the “generalizing” force.

Chapter 3: Noteworthy features in Thessalian

In this chapter, I will discuss some noteworthy features in the Thessalian dialect. The chapter is organized according to the type of subordinators: (1) temporal²⁰, (2) conditional, (3) causal, (4) final, (5) explicative, and (6) comparative.

3.1. Temporal subordinators

3.1.1. ἐπεὶ ‘when’

The temporal usage of the subordinator ἐπεὶ ‘when’ is poorly attested in Thessalian.²¹ The only attestation that is compatible with a temporal interpretation is the heavily damaged passage cited below:

(3.1) SEG 37:494 (Thessaliois – Itonion: ca. 230–200 BCE) L.19:

- - ΛΟΥΝ· ἐπεὶ μὰ ΚΑΤ - -

“But when ...”

The context is too fragmentary to say anything about the use of ἐπεὶ here.

²⁰ The temporal usage of οὐς ‘as, when’ is discussed under οὐς in Section 3.6 on comparative subordinators.

²¹ The causal usage ‘because’ will be discussed in Section 3.3 on causal subordinators.

3.1.2. ὅπεί κε ‘when’

The subordinator ὅπεί κε ‘when’ is found five times in dialectal inscriptions from Thessaly (excluding the occurrences of ὅπειδεῖ, which will be discussed separately). It is construed with the finite verb in the subjunctive. Etymologically, ὅπεί appears to have a formation parallel to ἐπεῖ < *ep(i) + ei but with the preposition in the *o*-grade (Chantraine 1999: 356, entry ἐπεῖ), or it may be built on the relative pronominal stem *hok^wo- (Buck 1955: 103).

In terms of its usage, the subordinator ὅπεί is virtually restricted to a single formulaic expression, “when the time comes”. The attestations are as follows:

(3.2) SEG 56:636 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.20:

καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελειτᾶς ὅπεί κε κατε/νέκει_(subj) ὁ καιρὸς πὲρ τὰν πολιτείαν φροντίζειν οὔστε ...

“and (it was also resolved) that the Caretakers should, when the time comes, see to it, regarding the matter of citizenship, that ...”

(3.3) SEG 56:638 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 150 BCE) L.26:

καὶ ὅπεί κε ὁ / καιρὸς κατενέκει_(subj) ἐν τοῦ δεύει ἐς τοῦν νόμουν τὰ κατὰ τὰς

πολ[ι]/τείας οἰκονομείσθαι, φροντίζειν τὸς τάγος οὔστε δοθεῖ αὐτοῦ / ἅ πολιτεία·

“and (it was also resolved) that, when the time comes when, according to the laws, the matter regarding citizenship must be taken care of, the Tagoi should see to it that citizenship be given to him”

(3.4) SEG 56:638 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 150 BCE) L.42:

τὸς μὰ τᾶγος φρον/τίζειν οὔστε ὅπεί κε κατενέκει_(subj) ὁ καιρὸς ἐν τοῦ δεύει

οἰκονομεί/σθαι τὰ κατὰς πολιτείας, δοθεῖ αὐτοῦ πολιτεία·

“and (it was also resolved) that the Tagoi should see to it that, when the time comes when the matter regarding citizenship must be taken care of, citizenship should be given to him.”

(3.5) SEG 31:575 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 170 BC) L.31:

καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελειτάς, ὅπει / κε^{vac.} κατεγέ[κ]ει_(subj) ὁ καιρός, πὲρ τὰν / [π]ολιτείαν
φρο[ντίσειν

“and (it was also resolved) that the Caretakers should, when the time comes, see to it, regarding citizenship, that ...”

(3.6) SEG 31:574 (improved reading of IG 9,2 512) (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 171 BC?)
L.10:

καὶ τὸς ἐπιμε[λεί]/τας ὅπει [κε κατ]ενέκ[ει]_(subj) ὁ καιρός, πὲρ] τὰν [πολι]/τείαν
φρον[τί]σειν, οὔστε²² [δοθεῖ αὐτοῖς] [πο]/λιτεία κατ [τὸ]ν νόμον

“and (it was also resolved) that the Caretakers should, when the time comes, see to it, regarding citizenship, that citizenship should be given to them according to the law”

This formulaic expression appears to be restricted to Thessaly (García Ramón 2008: 101), and therefore it is difficult to find a cross-dialectal counterpart of this subordinator in terms of function. Still, there appears to be a (rather remote) functional match between Thessalian ὅπει κε and Attic-Koine ὅταν: the formulaic expressions found in the Thessalian inscriptions (amounting to something like “on the nearest occasion when the conferral of citizenship should be dealt with”) is reminiscent of the instructions for judicial scrutiny in Attic honorary decrees.²³

22 For οὔστ[τ]ε rather than οὐς [κ]ε (given in SEG 31:574 and IG 9,2), see Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2. García Ramón (2010: 238) prints this text with οὐς [τ]ε.

23 According to Helly (2006: 201), this Thessalian formula conveys “instructions données aux tages pour que le vote du droit de cité ait lieu au cours de la séance de l’assemblée prévue à cet effet.” Even though he is not explicit, he appears to interpret this Thessalian passage as reflecting a legal procedure similar to the Athenian

According to Osborne (1981 1:16), the basic form of the expression after ca. 229 BCE was

- (3.7) τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας, ὅταν πληρῶσιν_(subj) δικαστήρια εἰς ἓνα καὶ πεντακοσίους
δικαστὰς, εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτῶι τὴν δοκιμασίαν (καὶ μὴ παρόντι / τῆς πολιτογραφίας)
“and (it was also resolved) that the lawmakers, (on the first occasion) when they
fulfill the court up to 501 judges, should introduce the scrutiny (of citizenship) for
him (even if he is absent)”

Formally, however, Attic ὅταν is more transparently matched by Thessalian ὅκκε. I will discuss the possible differentiation between ὅπει κε and ὅκκε in Thessalian in the following section.

3.1.3. ὅκκε ‘when’

The subordinator ὅκκε is attested only once.

- (3.8) Tziafalias, Bouchon & Helly (2016) (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 170–150 BCE) L.3:
καὶ ὅκκε πεννέσθειν μέλλει_(subj) ἐπβόκια δύα, δόμεν καὶ / [ὀῖ]ν θειλείαν μέλαιναν,
“and **when** one is about to conduct the procession, one should offer two unshorn(?)
(sheep) and a female black sheep”

As García Ramón (2007: 99–100) discusses, ὅκκε comes from *ὄτα κε = ‘ὅταν’, parallel to Asiatic Aeolic ὄτα κε and Doric ὄκκα, ὄκα κα ‘when’. The subordinator *ὄτα is not attested in Thessalian, but the corresponding indefinite adverb ποτα ‘some time (ποτέ)’, with the same

judicial scrutiny and the second vote.

adverbial ending -τα, is known.

(3.9) SEG 31:572 (Pelasgiotis – Krannon: ca. 200 BCE) L.7:

ὄνα/λούσαντας τί κέ **ποτα** γινύεται δαπά/ναμα.

“paying whatever expense may incur.”

It appears as if ὅπει κε is used when the conditioning event is expected to happen only once (“whenever” = “on the first occasion when”), while the one known ὅκκε-clause expresses repeated events (“whenever” = “every time when”; thus the translation “chaque fois que” by Tziafalias, Bouchon & Helly 2016: 70), but this may very well be due to chance, with only one instance of ὅκκε attested and virtually only one formula for ὅπει κε. Such a differentiation is at least not paralleled by the other Mainland Aeolic dialect, Boeotian, where ἐπί κα ‘when’ can be used for both cases.

3.1.4. μέσποδι κε ‘until’

The etymology of the subordinator μέσποδι was discussed by García Ramón (1993: 137–143). It consists of the preposition μέγς ‘until’ and the dative case of the word for ‘foot’, πόδι, parallel to μέγρι ‘until’ < *mes-k^hsri built with the word for ‘hand’. The subordinator μέσποδί κε ‘until’ is found only once, and is used as the translation for Koine ἕως ἄν:

(3.10) IG 9,2 517 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) (King Philip’s letters) L.13:

μέσποδί κε οὖν καὶ ἕτερος ἐπινοείσομεν_(subj) ἀξίος τοῖ παρ ἡμῆ / πολιτεύματος

“therefore, until we may think of others who would be worthy of citizenship among

us,”

- (3.11) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) (King Philip’s letters, corresponding Koine passage) L.5:

ἕως ἄν οὖν καὶ ἑτέ/ρους ἐπινοήσωμεν_(subj) ἀξίους τοῦ παρ’ ὑμῖν πολιτελυματος

“therefore, until we may think of others who would be worthy of citizenship among you,”

3.2. Conditional subordinators

3.2.1. εἰ, αἰ (κε) ‘if’

The regular conditional subordinator in Thessalian is αἰ ‘if’ (Buck 1955: 105; Thumb & Scherer 1959: 76), and its attestations are abundant. The Attic-Koine form εἰ is attested only once, and the passage seems to involve the borrowing of the whole fixed expression εἰ δὲ μή γε “if not; otherwise” (Béquignon 1935: 43):

- (3.12) Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (Pelagiotis – Krannon: 179–142 BCE) L.18:

οὔστε μάλιστα μὲν ἐς πάντων ἐγλυθεῖ τοῦν δ[α]νείου, εἰ δὲ μεί γε ἐς τοῦν πλείστου,

“so that (the city) should, at best, be freed of all (its) loan, and if not, (at least, be freed) of most (of the loan),”

In Thessalian, the conditional subordinator αἰ regularly appears with the finite verb in the subjunctive accompanied by the modal particle κε (García Ramón 1987: 117–118; 2007: fn. 2).

There are two cases of αἰ that require discussion regarding the mood of the subordinate verb.

One is the oldest known Thessalian inscription honoring Sotairos. In this inscription, the αἰ-clause takes the optative:

(3.13) IG 9,2 257 (Thessaliotis – Thetionion: 5th c. BCE) L.7:

αἰ τις ταῦτα παρβαίνοι_(opt), τὸν ταγὸν τὸν ἐπεστάκοντα ἐ/ἕξανακάδεν.

“If anyone should transgress this, the Tagos in office should enforce (the penalty)”

However, this inscription is known to contain some non-Thessalian elements such as the dative plural χρέμασιν (rather than the Common Aeolic -άτεσσι) and the thematic inflection of a *verbum vocale* (ὕλορέοντος) (Colvin 2007: 93–94). Therefore it is possible that αἰ + opt. in this inscription may represent a foreign element.

The other case is more complicated, because the verb form itself is difficult to interpret:

(3.14) SEG 36:548 (Hestiaiotes – Matropolis: 3rd c. BCE) L.7:

αἰ μά / κά τις ἐν τύτεις μὰ ἐμ[μ]έναι_(opt/subj), ἀπόλαος ἔστω / [ἀ]τ τᾶς συγγενεί[ας] καὶ
τάλαντεν ἀργύρ/¹⁰/[ρου] ὀφλέτου [τ]εῖς συγγενέσσι·

“But if anyone should not stay within these (= should disobey these), he should be expelled from the brotherhood and owe a talent of silver to the members of the brotherhood.”

At first sight the verb εμ[μ]εναι appears to be an aorist optative (Att. ἐμμεῖναι), and this was the interpretation of the editor of this inscription (Helly 1970: 170–171). However, García Ramón (1987: 117–118) questions this interpretation for a number of reasons. First, αἴ κε/κα + subj. is a well-attested pattern in Thessalian while αἴ κε/κα + opt. is otherwise not found in this dialect; he then refers to the study by Lejeune (1940: 40 ff.) on Delphian, where αἴ κα + opt. is found only in the diachronic transition from the older construction αἴ κα + subj. to the newer αἰ + opt. Secondly, εμ[μ]εναι, if interpreted as the aorist subjunctive, must have the single writing of -v- for the expected geminate -vv- from *-ns-, and the geminate writing is in fact attested in a participle in IG 9,2 517 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L.15: συμμεννάντων. He therefore offers an alternative interpretation of εμ[μ]εναι as the present subjunctive (Att. ἐμμένῃ), where -αι represents historical *-ē; the peculiar spelling must result from the merger of historical *-ai and *-ē in word-final position in Matropolis. This merged vowel is more often written with -α: μά (= Att. μή; SEG 36:548 L.5, L.8), πο/δέξαστα (= Att. -δέξασθαι; SEG 36:548 L.5). Thus epigraphic support for the use of the optative mood in αἰ-clauses in Thessalian, with or without the modal particle, is weak.

Finally, the construction αἰ + indicative, expressing indirect question ‘whether’, is not surprising; it is attested twice in Thessalian.

(3.15) Lhôte (2006) no. 80 (Epeiros – Dodona: ca. 375 BCE) L.1:

ἐρουτᾶι Κλεούτας τὸν Δία καὶ τὰν / Διώναν αἴ ἔστι αὐτῷ προβατεύοντι / ὄναιον καὶ ὠφέλιμον.

“Kleoutas asks Zeus and Diona whether it is helpful and beneficial for him to keep cattle.”

(3.16) Lhôte (2006) no. 8 (Epeiros – Dodona: ca. 300–167 BCE) face B L.1:

ἐπικοινωνᾶται Μον[δ]αιατᾶν τὸ κοινὸν Ἰδι Νάωι καὶ Διώναι {ς} πῆρ το<ῖ> [ἄρ]/γύρροι
τᾶς Θέμιστος αἰ ἀ<ν>εκτ[ό]ν ἐστι τᾶ Θέμι/<σ>τι καὶ βέλτιον ἐσκιγρέμεν.

“the Commonwealth of Mondaia consults Zeus Naos and Diona about the money of
Themis, **whether** lending it out is tolerable and better for Themis.”

3.3. Causal subordinators

In this section I will discuss the three causal subordinators: ὀπειδεῖ, ἐπειδεῖ and ἐπεῖ (and the graphic variants of each). The first two are virtually distributed evenly: ὀπειδεῖ is the most numerous (10 times), followed by ἐπειδεῖ (8 times). ἐπεῖ in the causal function is attested only twice. There are instances of διέκι (= Att. διότι) in the causal sense, but I will discuss this subordinator in Section 3.5 on the explicative subordinators.

3.3.1. ὀπειδεῖ ‘since’

The subordinator οπειδαι is found only at the beginning of the motivation section (“since X did such-and-such, it was resolved that he should be commended...”). Its etymological analysis will depend entirely on one’s etymological analysis of οπει: if οπει is analyzed as ὀπεῖ < **op(i) + ei*, then ὀπειδεῖ would be constructed in a manner exactly parallel to Attic-Koine ἐπειδή; if one takes οπει as ὄπει containing a historical relative pronominal stem **hokʷo-*, then οπειδαι must result from the crossing of ὄπει and ἐπειδή. Whichever historical analysis one accepts, it is obvious that this Thessalian subordinator ὀπειδεῖ was felt as functionally equivalent to Attic-Koine ἐπειδή ‘since’, which is the most frequently used subordinator introducing the motivation section. It is

attested ten times, including one instance of ὀπειδῆ (SEG 31:575 [Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 170 BCE] L.12), where the spelling with η is obviously due to influence from Attic-Koine.

Some oddities of ὀπειδεί need to be discussed with regard to the mood²⁴ of the finite verb in the subordinate clause. The finite verb in ὀπειδεί-clauses is regularly in the indicative, as expected from its functional equivalence with ἐπειδή. However, there are two counterexamples where the mood of the finite verb is unexpected. One of them had to do with the optative mood, and was discussed in Chapter 2 above. In the other case, the verb appears to be in the subjunctive mood, judging from the long thematic vowel written as ει:

(3.17) SEG 56:638 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 150 BCE) L.34:

ὀπειδεῖ / [Λ]εύκιος Νικασίαιος Αἰολεὺς ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῖς παργινομέ/νοις τοῦν πολιτᾶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαν **συμποκγίνεῖται**_(subj?) καὶ κοινᾷ καὶ κατ' [ι]/[δ]ίαν ἐκάστου μετὰ πάνσας σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας φανεράν ποέσσ[ας] / τὰν ἔχουν εὐνοίαν διετέλει πὸ τὰν πόλιν τᾶν Λαρισαίουν, Κρατεισίπποι Θε/[ρ]σανδρείοι λέξαντος, ἔδοξε ...

“**Since** Leukios son of Nikasias, an Aeolian from Alexandria, assisted each of those citizens who came to Alexandria, in both public and private matters, with all his zeal and munificence, revealing the goodwill that he continued to have towards Larisa,

(therefore) upon the motion by Krateisippos son of Thersandros, it was resolved ...”

24 A different kind of oddity is present in the following passage:

(3.i) SEG 31:575, L.12:

ὀπειδῆ Ἀσκ[α]λαπι[ά]δας Θεοφίλοι Περγαμεινός, Φιλ[ό]/[τ]ῆς Ἴππολόγοι Κυζικεινός παργε[ι]/¹⁵/νόμειοι πὸτ' ἄμμε ... /¹⁹/ τὰν τε ἐνδαμίαν **πε[ποιε]ινθο**_(plp?) οἶαν /²⁰/ ποτείνεκε ἄνδρεσσι [καλ]οῖς κάγαθοῖς, ...

“**Since** Askalapiadas son of Theophilos, man of Pergamon, and Philotes son of Hippolokhos, man of Kyzikos, coming to us ... sojourned in a manner fitting for good men, ...”

Here the verb appears to have the perfect stem with the secondary ending. However, this is a purely morphological issue that is separate from the syntactic requirement that the subordinator imposes on its finite verb.

Lejeune (1941: 79) noted this peculiarity and concluded that an error must have been made by the stone-cutter or the editor, asserting that only the indicative would be possible in this clause. Helly (2006: 176) also notes that the verb here needs to be in the indicative, and considers this peculiar spelling as an instance of graphic fluctuation between ε and ει. As parallel cases, he refers to forms such as the aorist participle ποέσσ[αζ] (same inscription, L.37) for the expected ποείσ[αζ] < *ποιē-sa-nt-s²⁵ and the perfect middle participle ἐξαγγρεμένος (SEG 56:636 L.46), where -εμένος is expected. Both explanations appear to me to be reasonable: the stone-cutter’s error might have been facilitated by the sequence -ει in the immediately following syllable; the parallel cases given by Helly, though not numerous, provide some support for his analysis.

3.3.2. ἐπειδεί ‘since’

The attestations of ἐπειδεί in Thessalian are slightly more recent than the attestations of ὀπειδεί, and this is not surprising given that ἐπειδεί is closer to the Koine form. Perhaps more interesting is the fact that, unlike ὀπειδεί, ἐπειδεί is not restricted to the motivation section: it is also used in expressions of reason that do not appear to be particularly formulaic. There are three such cases, of which two are repetitive:

(3.18) SEG 43:311 (Pelasgiotis – Scotussa: 197–185 BC) face A L.71:

ἐπειδεί πλείουν τόπος εἶε_(impf) {Σ} δά/μοσσοζ, οἱ κεχόρτισται·

“because there was more public space, there it has been left uncultivated as

25 As Blümel (1982: 225) notes, the same inscription attests to the expected outcome of the aorist participle, with -ει-, for a verb of the ποιέω-type: παρεπιδαμείσας (LL.13–14).

pasturage.”²⁶

(3.19) SEG 43:311 (Pelasgiotis – Scotussa: 197–185 BCE) face B L.59:

ἐπειδὴ πλείουν τόπος εἶε_(impf) / δάμοσσος, οἱ τ' ἐχορτίσθαι,

“because there was more public space, there it was left as pasturage,”²⁷

These two passages are almost identical to each other, but they do not appear to be as formulaic as the case of the motivation section, because this expression is limited to this particular inscription. Unlike the motivation section, which is repetitively found in numerous inscriptions, this expression appears to have been created specifically for the purpose of drafting this text. The fact that the two passages use slightly different verbs (perfect κεχόρτισται and aorist ἐχορτίσθαι) also suggests that these expressions are not strictly fixed and allowed some stylistic variation.

The other attestation of ἐπειδεί in Thessalian that does not appear formulaic is:

(3.20) IG 9,2 1229 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: early 2nd c. BCE) L. 31:

ὄπους τότε τὸ ψάφισμα ὀνγραφὲν ἐ[ν] / [κί]ο[ν] [α]ν λιθίναν ἀντεθεῖ ἐν τὸ τέμε/[ν]ος
τοῖ Πλούτουνοσ καὶ τᾶσ Φερσεφό/νας, ἐ[πι]δεὶ καὶ ἂ διεσαφειμένα χού³⁵/ρα ἱερά
ἔστι τοῖ Πλούτουνοσ, καὶ ...

“so that this decree, after being inscribed in a stone pillar, should be erected in the sanctuary of Ploutoun and Phersephona, because the indicated land also is sacred to Ploutoun, and ...”

26 Translation by the first editor (Missailidou-Despotidou 1993: 191).

27 Translation by the first editor (Missailidou-Despotidou 1993: 192).

In the first half of the 2nd century, both ὀπειδεῖ and ἐπειδεῖ were in use at the beginning of the motivation section. Therefore the exclusion of ὀπειδεῖ from non-formulaic expressions might be significant. One needs to be cautious in interpreting such a small number of examples, but it appears reasonable to conjecture that the dialectal subordinator ὀπειδεῖ only survived in the motivation section, and whenever the speakers needed to *create* a causal expression, they needed to use ἐπειδεῖ.

3.3.3. ἐπεὶ ‘since’

As mentioned in Section 3.1.1, ἐπεὶ as a temporal subordinator is infrequent in Thessalian inscriptions. Its causal usage is not frequent, either: two instances are found, both introducing the motivation section:

(3.21) SEG 48:663 (Pelasgiotis – Pherai: ca. 200–150 BCE) L.1:

ἐπεὶ Βάκχιος Ἀρτεμιδοῦ[ρου — — —] / πόλιν ἄμμιν ΑΒΡΟ[— — — — —] /
καὶ τ[ἄ]ν Ἐννοδ[ίαν — — — — —]

“**Since** Bakkhios son of Artemidoros ... our city ... and Ennodia ...”

(3.22) SEG 27:226 (Pelasgiotis – Krannon?: ca. 150–130 BCE) L.2:

λέξαν]/τος· ἐπεὶ Δύθουν Πο[....c.13....]/ραῖος Ἀφίνας, Νικασικρά[τεις ...c.8...]/
Ματροπολῖται ἐξαποσταλέντ[ες δικασταῖ] / ὕτ τᾶς Ματροπολιτᾶν πόλιος ...

“... moved: **since** Dythoun son of Po..., ...raios son of Aphinas, Nikasikrates son of ..., men of Matropolis, dispatched [as judges] by the city of Matropolis, ...”

3.4. Final subordinators

In Thessalian dialect inscriptions, five subordinators with the final function are found: οὔστε, ὅσκει, οὔς κε, ὅπους, and ἵνα. Among them, οὔς κε, ὅπους and ἵνα are *hapax legomena*. All of them except ἵνα are used with the subjunctive; the one instance of ἵνα appears to be construed with the optative.

3.4.1. οὔστε ‘so that’

οὔστε is the most frequent final subordinator in Thessalian. It is well known that Thessalian uses οὔστε as a subordinator that introduces a clause with its finite verb in the subjunctive mood, functionally equivalent to Attic-Koine ὅπως (García Ramón 1993: 135).

There are three inscriptional passages where IG 9,2 restored οὔς κε (IG 9,2 460, 512 and 517). However, since there is now only one secure attestation of οὔς κε (see below) and since the usage of οὔστε with subjunctive is established with a larger number of attestations, the restorations for these passages have been reconsidered. Now IG 9,2 460 and 512 are restored with οὔστε (for the actual text, see below; for IG 9,2 517, see further below the section for ὅσκει).

οὔστε appears to be the default subordinator for the final function in Thessalian, used in three major contexts: (1) complement clause of a main verb of will; (2) purpose clause as hortatory formula; and (3) purpose clause that doesn't form any formulaic expression. Actual passages will be quoted below.

First, as the complement clause of a verb of will, we find the following instances:

(3.23) Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (Pelagiotis – Krannon: 179–142 BCE) L.29:

τὸς μὰ ταμίας φροντί³⁰/σαι οὔστε πὰρ τοῦν ἐπαγγελλαμένουν / γενειθεῖ_(subj) τῷ πόλι ἀ
δόσις τοῦν χρειμά/τουν κατὰς ἐπαγγελίας·

“and the Stewards should see to it **that** the payment of the money, according to the
promises, should be made to the city from those who promised.”

(3.24) IG 9,2 460 (Pelasgiotis – Krannon: 2nd c. BCE) L.3:

ἔδοξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς πόλ[ι]/[ος ἐπιμελειθεῖμεν τ]ὸς ταγὸς καὶ τὸς ταμίας οὔστ/[τε
ἔσγραφεῖ ἐ]ν κίονα λιθίαν ... (IG 9,2 restored οὔς / [κε)

“it was resolved by the Commonwealth of the City that the tagoi and the Stewards
must see to it **that** (the decree) should be inscribed in a stone pillar ...”

(3.25) SEG 42:510 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 179–172 BCE?) L.4:

— φρο]ντίξειν οὔστε [—

“... should see to it **that** ...”

(3.26) SEG 56:636 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.20:

καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελείτας ὅπει κε κατε/νέκει ὁ καῖρος περ τὰν πολιτείαν φροντίξειν οὔστε
δο/θεῖ_(subj) αὐτοῦ πολιτεία κατ τὸν νόμον καὶ συμφανὲς εἶ πάν^{vacat}/τεσσι διέκι ...

“and the Caretakers, when the time comes, should, regarding citizenship, see to it
that citizenship should be given to him in accordance with the law, and that it should
be clear to everyone that ...”

(3.27) SEG 56:638 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 160–150 BCE) L.42:

τὸς μὰ ταγὸς φρο]ν/τίξειν οὔστε ὅπει κε κατενέκει ὁ καιρὸς ἐν τοῦ δεύει
οἰκονομεί/σθαι τὰ κατὰς πολιτείας, δοθεῖ_(subj) αὐτοῦ πολιτεία·

“and the tagoi should see to it **that**, when the time comes when the matter of
citizenship should be managed, citizenship should be given to him.”

(3.28) IG 9,2 512 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 2nd c. BCE) L.11:²⁸

ταν[— —]/τείαν φροντ[ί]σειν, **οὔστε** [δοθεῖ αὐτοῖ]ς [πο]/λιτεία κατ [τὸ]ν νόμον,

“... should see to it **that** citizenship should be given to them in accordance with the law.”

In the hortatory formula, we find:

(3.29) Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (Pelagiotis – Krannon: 179–142 BCE) L.25:

καὶ τὸς ἐπαγγελλαμένους ἐπαινεῖσαι τὴν πόλιν **οὔστε** φανερόν **εἶ**_(subj) πάντεσσι ὅτι ἅ /
πόλις μναμονεύει τοῦν ἐαυτὴν εὐερ/γεταισάντων.

“and to commend those who made the promise to the city, **so that it should be** manifest to everyone that the city remembers those who were benefactors to it.”

(3.30) SEG 57:510 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 140–130 BCE) L.17:

οὔστε οὖν καὶ ὁ τοῦν <Λ>αρισαῖον δᾶ/μος **φαίνεται**_(subj) φιλανθρούπους μὲν
ἀποδεχόμενος τὸς ἐπ’ [οὐ]/φελία τοῦν νέων παρεπιδαμέντας, μνάμματος μα καὶ τιμᾶ[ς]
^{/20/} καταξιούκουν τὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τοῦν ἐπιταδευμάτων ἐξα/λουκόντας, τοῦν ταγοῦν
Κλεονίκοι Μεννειαῖοι λέξαντος, ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λασ[σα]ίου ...

“therefore, **in order that** it should be manifest that the People of Larisa accept with dignity those who sojourn for the aid of the youth, and have been awarding memory and honor to those who spent the best of their possessions, upon the motion by Kleonikos son of Menneias, one of the *tagoi*, it was resolved by the People of Larisa...”²⁹

28 IG 9,2 restored οὔς κε; correction by García Ramón (1993: 135 fn. 36).

29 French translation by the first editors (Tziafalias & Helly 2007: 426–427): “afin donc qu’il soit manifeste que le

(3.31) SEG 57:510 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 140–130 BCE) L.43:

οὔσ τε οὖν καὶ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Λα[σ]/σαίου φάινεται_(subj) φιλανθρώπους ἀποδεχόμενος
τὸς γινομένους ἐν εὐτόν ε[ὐ]⁴⁵/χρεῖστος καὶ ἀπονέμουν τὰς καταξίας χάρετας τοῖς
καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς / τοῦν ἀνδρῶν, τοῦν ταγοῦν Κλεονίκοι Με[ν]νεαῖοι λεξάντος,
ἔδοξε τοῦ δᾶμ/ου τοῦ Λασσαίου ...

“therefore, **in order that** it should be manifest that the People of Larisa accept with
dignity those who come to their service and give the due gratitude to good and
virtuous men, upon the motion by Kleonikos son of Menneias, one of the *tagoi*, it was
resolved by the People of Larisa that ...”³⁰

And as purpose clauses in more creative contexts:

(3.32) Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (Pelagiotis – Krannon: 179–142 BCE) L.14:

ἔδοξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς πόλ/¹⁵λιος· πρέπον{τον} ἔμμεν καὶ ἐπιτάδει/ον τοῖς πολίταις
ἕκαστον ἐς τοῦν κα/θ’ ἰδίαν ἀντιλλαβέσθαι τᾶς πόλλι/ος οὔσ τε μάλιστα μὲν ἐς
πάντων ἐ/γλυθεῖ_(subj) τοῦν δ[α]νείουν, εἰ δὲ μεί γε ἐς /²⁰ τοῦν πλείστον,

“it was resolved by the Commonwealth of the City, that it is fitting and helpful for the
citizens, that each (citizen) helps the city by means of his private possession, **so that**
it should, at best, be freed of all (its) loan, and if not, (at least, be freed) of most (of

peuple des Larisséens, de son côté, accueille avec faveur ceux qui viennent séjourner (chez eux) au service des jeunes gens et sait honorer en retour à égalité de mémoire et d’honneur ceux qui ont dépensé le meilleur de leur art, parmi les tages, Kléonikos fils de Mennéas ayant fait la proposition, il a plu au peuple de Larisséens [...].”

30 French translation by the first editors (Tziafalias & Helly 2007: 427): “afin donc qu’il soit visible que le peuple des Larisséens, de son côté, sait accueillir avec faveur ceux qui viennent chez lui avec serviabilité et qu’il sait accorder en retour les remerciements qu’ils méritent aux gens de bien, parmi les tages Kléonikos fils de Mennéas ayant fait la proposition, il a plu au peuple [...].”

the loan)”³¹

(3.33) SEG 58:525 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 196–192 BCE) L.47:

ἀντὶ μὰ τᾶς ἰκόστας τοῖ γινομένοι ἐσαγουγί[μοι συνε]/χουρεῖ αὐτοῖς τὰν ἑκατοστάν,
οὔστε ἐπιστάων[ται_(subj) τοῖ] Ἀθαναῖοι ἐτ τε τοῖς μεγίστας ἐστι ἀγγρέσιος οὔ[σπερ] /⁵⁰/
καὶ ἐν τὸ λοιπὸν -3-4- ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΝ δανείουν οὐ χρεία[ν ἔχον]/τες ...

“instead of the twentieth part of the exported product, (the city of Larisa) agreed to impose a tax of the hundredth, **so that** the Athenians may know under what conditions things are on the best course, as well as in future, not having any need of loan, ...”³²

(3.34) IG 9,2 1229 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: early 2nd c. BCE) L.11.³³

—] οὔστε ἐνοικοδομείσουντ/[ι_(subj)-

“... **so that** they may build therein ...”

(3.35) IG 9,2 1229 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: early 2nd c. BCE) L.13.³⁴

—]απ[—]φοδι οὔστε συμφανὲ[ς] / [εἶ δι]έκι δεῖ τοῖ θεοῖ ἅ χούρα ἐστίν,

“... **so that** it should be clear that this land indeed belongs to the god,”

Thus οὔστε has a highly active status in the synchrony of the Thessalian dialect.

31 French translation by Migeotte (1984: 114): “il a plu à la communauté de la cité: qu’il était convenable et avantageux pour les citoyens que chacun, sur ses biens privés, vienne au secours de la cité, de manière qu’elle soit libérée sinon de toutes les dettes, du moins de la plupart, [...]”

32 French translation by Helly (2008: 39): “à la place du vingtième sur les produits d’exportation, elle leur concède l’octroi d’une taxe du centième, afin que les Athéniens sachent dans quelles conditions il existe les meilleures dispositions aussi pour l’avenir, sans qu’ils aient la nécessité d’assumer des charges financières (exagérées?), [...]”

33 Lejeune (1941: 77 fn. 30) restored the ending /[i.

34 The verb in the subjunctive is restored by García Ramón 2010: 237 fn. 9; Hermann had συμφανὲ[ς] / [ἔμμεν.

3.4.2. ὅσκει ‘so that’

ὅσκει is also relatively frequent, although its attestations need to be interpreted with care. As I mentioned in the Introduction, the attestation in the King Philip inscription had long been the only attestation of ὅσκει, and was interpreted as an engraving error for οὗς κε. However, a second attestation of ὅσκει in SEG 55:605 now confirms the spelling with apparent short vowel. The editors of this inscription also mention another occurrence of ὅσκει in an unpublished inscription (Tziafalias & Helly 2004/2005: 382).

However, what underlies this spelling ὅσκει is not clear. It is difficult to conceive of any etymological source for it other than οὗς κε, but the shortening of the vowel would then be left unexplained. It may simply be a spelling variant of οὗς κε (José Luis García Ramón p.c.)³⁵.

A functional difference between ὅσκει and οὗστε is difficult to determine. In one attestation, ὅσκει introduces a purpose clause:

(3.36) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L.14:

ἐτ τοῖ παρεόντος κρεννέμεν ψα[φ]ίξασθει[ν ἀ]μμε̄ ο<ὀ>ς κε τοῖς κατοικέντεσσι παρ
ἀμμε̄ Πετθ[α]/¹⁵/λοῦν καὶ τοῦν ἄλλων Ἑλλάνουν **δοθεῖ**_(subj) ἅ πολιτεία·

“for the time being, (King Philip says) he decides that we should resolve a decree **so
that citizenship should be given to those Thessalians and other Greeks who dwell
with us.**”

In another attestation, the ὅσκει-clause is the complement of a main verb of will, παρακαλέω ‘to urge’ (Tziafalias & Helly 2004/2005: 382–383):

35 The short vowel -o- in the subjunctive form ἐπιστάων[ται] (SEG 58:525 L.48) might be considered a parallel. For the possible graphic fluctuation between ε and ει, see Section XXX.

(3.37) SEG 55:605 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: shortly after 196 BCE) L.7:

καὶ παρεκάλεσσε τὰν πόλιν τὰν τοῦν Λασσαίου ὄσκει ἅ τε / [φιλ]ία καὶ αἰ τιμαὶ αἰ

ὑπάρχονσαι ἅτ τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς τοῦν Λασσαίου πὸτ / [τὰ]ν πόλιν τὰν τοῦν

Μιτυλειναίου διαμένουνθι_(subj) καὶ ὅσσα παρελεμ¹⁰/[μέ]να εἶεν ἐν τοῦ

παρελθουκόντι χρόνου ψαφιζούνθειν_(subj.mid) Λασσαῖοι Μιτυλ[ει]/[ν]αίοις [π]άντα,

“and he urged the city of Larisa **that** the friendship and honors that exist in the city of

Larisa towards the city of Mytilene should remain, and that the Lariseans should

ratify, for the Mytilenians, everything that has been left aside in the time that has

passed.”³⁶

The other attestation is difficult to judge, as it may be interpreted as either an adverbial purpose clause or a complement clause of a verb of will.

(3.38) An unpublished inscription mentioned by Tziafalias & Helly (2004/2005: 382)

(Thessaly: undated) L.23:

ὄννεισταιν μὰ τοῦν ἄστοῦν τὸν δευόμενον τουννέουν τοῦν ἵπποτείουν, ὄσκει πόρος τᾶ

πόλι γινυεῖται_(subj) οὐς πλείστουν χρειμάτουν.

“Anyone in the cavalry who is in need should make purchases from the townsmen, **so**

that the city would have as much income as possible.”³⁷

36 French translation by the first editors (Tziafalias & Helly 2004/2005: 380): “[...] il a invité la cité des Larisséens à faire en sorte que l’amitié et les honneurs que la cité des Larisséens a accordés aux citoyens de Mytilène perdurent et que toutes les mesures qui on été laissées de côté dans le passé, les Larisséens les votent pour les Mytiléniens [...].”

37 Partially translated into French by Tziafalias & Helly (2004/2005: 382): “afin que le revenu qu’en tirera la cité représente le plus d’argent possible.”

Thus the functions of ὅσκει overlap largely with those of οὔσ τε. One possible factor to explain their distribution is the chronology: the two attestations of ὅσκει whose dates are known to me are slightly older than the attestations of οὔσ τε. Thus it is possible that ὅσκει was chronologically older, and replaced by οὔσ τε.

3.4.3. οὔς κε ‘so that’

As mentioned in the preceding section, ΟΣΚΕ found in King Philip’s letter should be now interpreted as ὅσκει (rather than ο<ῦ>ς κε). This reinterpretation leaves only one secure attestation of οὔς κε, found in the following inscription:

(3.39) IMagn 26 (Thessaly [fount at Magnesia on the Maeander]: end of 3rd/2nd c.

BCE) L. 24:

[—]σαι οὔς κ’ ἐπιστέγεται_(subj) ὁ δῆμος / [—]

“... so that the People know ...”

Since, as discussed in the Introduction, this decree exhibits other Koine features, there is a possibility that οὔς κ’ is not a native element of the Thessalian dialect but a borrowing – possibly even a one-time borrowing – from Koine.

3.4.4. ὅπως ‘so that’

The subordinator ὅπως is attested only once in Thessalian, and it had already been analyzed as

due to Koine influence (Fohlen 1910: 68 “also ist sicherlich ἐπιμελὲς μὰ γενέσθου ὅπως ... ἀντεθεῖ auf Rechnung der Koine zu setzen”). It appears, in fact, that this passage involves something more than just a haphazard borrowing of the subordinator from Koine. The passage is:

(3.40) IG 9,2 1229 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: early 2nd c. BCE) L.29:

ἐπιμελὲς μὰ γενέσθου ^{/30/} τοῖς ταγοῖς τοῖς πὲρ Φιλόλαον Εὐμέν[ει]/ον, ὅπως τόνε τὸ ψάφισμα ὀγγραφὲν ἐ[ν] / [κιό]ν[α]ν λιθίναν ἀντεθεῖ_(subj) ἐν τὸ τέμε[ν]ος τοῖ Πλούτουνος καὶ τᾶς Φερσεφόνας, ἐ[πι]δεῖ καὶ ἅ διεσαφειμένα χού^{/35/}ρα ἱερά ἐστι τοῖ Πλούτουνος, καὶ συμ/φανὲς εἶ_(subj) πάντεσσι, διέκι δεῖ ἔστι ἅ χού/[ρ]α τοῖ θεοῖ.

“and care should be taken by the *tagoi* under Philolaos son of Eumenes, so that this decree should, after being inscribed in a stone pillar, be placed in the sanctuary of Ploutoun and of Phersephona, since the designated land also is sacred to Ploutoun, and so that it should be clear to everyone that this land indeed belongs to the god.”

This decree shows two instances of οὔστε (L.11: —] οὔστε ἐνοικοδομείσουντ/[ι — and L.13: —]απ[—]φοδι οὔστε συμφανέ[ς] / [— — — διέκι δεῖ τοῖ θεοῖ ἅ χούρα ἐστίν), so it is worthwhile to investigate any possible reason why ὅπως was chosen in the passage quoted above (3.40). In my opinion, the passage where ὅπως appears does not involve the borrowing of the subordinator alone, but the borrowing of the entire phrase ἐπιμελὲς (γενέσθαι) + ὅπως-clause. This collocation is not mentioned in LSJ (entry ἐπιμελής), and is indeed extremely rare or non-existent in literary authors: in my TLG search, the only attestation of such a collocation in a work that may be of Classical date is in the Aristotelian corpus, and here the ὅπως-clause may

be an indirect question rather than a final clause:

(3.41) Aristotelian corpus, *Problems*, 952a:

Διὰ τί ποτε, ἐὰν μὲν τις ἐκ βαλανείου κλέψῃ ἢ ἐκ παλαίστρας ἢ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἢ τῶν τοιούτων τινός, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦνται, ἐὰν δέ τις ἐξ οἰκίας, διπλοῦν τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ κλέμματος ἀποτίνει; ἢ ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς οἰκίαις φυλάξαι ὅπως οὖν ἔστιν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῖχος ἰσχυρὸς καὶ κλεῖς ἐστί, καὶ οἰκέταις τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πᾶσιν **ἐπιμελές** ἐστὶν **ὅπως** σώζεται τὰ ἐνόητα.

“Why is it that, if someone has stolen something from a bath, or from a gym, or from the market-place, or from any place of that kind, he is punished with death penalty, whereas, if someone has stolen from a house, he pays twice the value of the stolen item? It is because, in the case of private houses, it is possible to protect (personal items) in whatever way, because there is strong enclosure and a key, and all the servants in the house take care **so that the property therein would be safe.**” or “all the servants in the house are concerned **how the property therein would be safe.**”

Other occurrences of ἐπιμελές in combination with a ὅπως-clause are late.³⁸

On the other hand, in epigraphic sources, this construction has some attestations, though few and scattered all over the Greek-speaking world:

(3.42) IosPE 1² 352 (North Shore of the Black Sea – Chersonesos: 107 BCE) L.49:

σταθῆμεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆαν ἔνοπλον ἐν ταῖ ἀκροπόλε[ι] παρὰ τὸν τᾶς

38 Such as Libanius (4th c. CE), *Epistulae*, 886 (1), and Procopius (6th c. CE), *De bellis*, 5.11.1.

Παρθένου βωμὸν καὶ τὸν τᾶς Χερσονάσου, περὶ δὲ τούτων ἐπιμε/λε[ς] γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένοις ἄρχουσι, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα καὶ κάλλιστα / γένηται.

“and (it was resolved) that a bronze statue of him in armor should be erected in the acropolis, by the altar of the Maiden and of Chersonasos, and that care should be taken by the registered officials about these matters, **so that** it will be done most quickly and beautifully.”

(3.43) Prott & Kolbe (1902) no. 71. (Mysia – Pergamon: before 133 BCE) L.172:

κρηνῶν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει / καὶ τοῖς προαστίοις κρηνῶν ἐπιμελες γεινέσθω τοῖς ἀστυνόμοις, ὅπως καθαράι τε ὄσιν / καὶ οἱ εἰς αὐτὰς ὑπόνομοι εἰσάγοντες καὶ ἐξάγοντες τὸ [ὔ]δωρ εὐρὸς ὑπάρχωσιν.

“about springs. Regarding the springs in the city and in the suburb, care should be taken by the Administrators **so that** they should be clean, and that the conduits leading water into them and out of them should be well-flowing.”

(3.44) IG 12 Suppl. 365 (Northern Aegean – Thasos: 2nd century BCE) L.27:

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαφόρ[ου] / τούτου ὅπως ἂν ἀναγραφῆι τὰ / δοχθέντα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ /³⁰ / ὀνόματα τοῦ τε ἔχοντος τὴν / ἐπωνυμίαν καὶ τῶν **συνσαρα/πιαστῶν**, ἐπιμελες γεινέσθω / τῷ τε ἐπωνύμῳ καὶ τῷ γραμμ[α]/τεῖ, καὶ ἀναγραφῆτω ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ / ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, / οὗ ἂν βούληται ὁ ἐπώνυμος.

“and after this payment, care should be taken by the *Eponymos* and the Secretary **so that** the decree and the names of the one holding the title of the *Eponymos* and of the *Synsarapiastai* should be inscribed in the sanctuary, and it must be inscribed in the sanctuary in the clearest place, wherever the *Eponymos* wishes.”

(3.45) ID(4) 1519 (Aegean Islands – Delos: 153/2 BCE) L.45:

ἐπιμελῆς δὲ ἔστω / τοῖς καθισταμένοις ἀρχιθιασίταις καὶ ταμίαις / καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ
ὅπως ἐν ταῖς γινομέναις θυ/σίαις καὶ συνόδοις ἀναγορεύηται κατὰ ταύτην / τὴν
ἀναγόρευσιν.

“and care should be taken by the fraternity-leaders, the Stewards, and the Secretary in office, **so that**, upon ceremonies and gatherings taking place, it should be proclaimed according to this proclamation.”

(3.46) IC 2 iii 4C (Aegean Islands – Aptera: 197 BCE) L.8:

<κα>ὶ αἶ κα προαιρῆται καρυ/χθῆμεν ἐν τινι τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν στεφανιτῶν,
ἐπιμ[ε]/λῆς γενέσθω τοῖς κόσμοις **ὅπως καρυχθῆ**.

“if (the honorand) prefers for an announcement to be made in any assembly of the Laureates, care should be taken by the *Kosmoi* **so that the announcement be made.**”

These five instances of ἐπιμελῆς (γενέσθαι/εἶναι) ὅπως... have a very wide range of content, and are geographically quite widespread, from the Black Sea to Crete. I should also note that the dialect in which each inscription is written is not significant, as some inscriptions (from Chersonesos and Crete) preserve Doric features such as αἶ κα ‘if’ and the long *ā*, whereas Thasos and Delos are originally Ionic-speaking.

Thessaly, in fact, exhibits the strongest concentration of this collocation ἐπιμελῆς (γενέσθαι/εἶναι) ὅπως..., with as many as three instances from this region. Two of them are in Koine inscriptions, and the other one is in the inscription in the Thessalian local dialect under investigation. The two Koine instances are cited here:

(3.47) Nouveau choix no. 12 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: 196–146 BCE) L.44:

ἐπιμελῆς δὲ γενέσθω τοῖς ταγοῖς τοῖς πε/[ρι] Θερσιμένην Κλεοξένου ὅπως ἢ
προξεν[ία] / [ἦ]δε ἀναγραφή εἰς κίονα — — — — — — — —]

“and care should be taken by the *tagoi* under Thersimenes son of Kleoxenos, **so that**
this proxeny should be engraved in a stone pillar ...” (for the restoration, see the
following quotation)

(3.48) IG 9,2 1231 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: ca. 200–150 BCE) L.13:

ἐπιμελῆς [δ]ὲ γενέσθω τοῖς / [τα]γοῖς τοῖς περὶ Εὐβίωτον, ὅπως / [πρ]οξενία ἦδε
ἀναγραφή εἰς κίονα / [λι]θίνην καὶ [τε]θῆι [ἐ]ν τῷ ἱερ[ῶ] τῆς Ἀθη/[νᾶ]ς τῆς
Πολ[ιά]δος·

“and care should be taken by the *tagoi* under Eubiotos, **so that** **this proxeny should be**
engraved in a stone pillar and be placed in the sanctuary of Athena Polias.”

I will here repeat the Thessalian inscription for easy consultation:

(3.49) (= 3.40) IG 9,2 1229 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: early 2nd c. BCE) L.29:

ἐπιμελῆς μὰ γενέσθου ^{/30/} τοῖς ταγοῖς τοῖς πὲρ Φιλόλαον Εὐμέν[ει]/ον, ὅπως τόνε τὸ
ψάφισμα ὀνγραφὲν ἐ[ν] / [κίό]ν[α]ν λιθίναν ἀντεθεῖ_(subj) ἐν τῷ τέμε/[ν]ος τοῖ
Πλούτουνος καὶ τᾶς Φερσεφόνας, ἐ[πι]δει καὶ ἄ διεσαφειμένα χού^{/35/}ρα ἱερά ἐστι τοῖ
Πλούτουνος, καὶ συμ/φανὲς εἶ_(subj) πάντεσσι, διέκι δεῖ ἔστι ἄ χού/[ρ]α τοῖ θεοῖ.

“and care should be taken by the *tagoi* under Philolaos son of Eumenes, **so that this**
decree should, after being inscribed in a stone pillar, be placed in the sanctuary of
Ploutoun and of Phersephona, since the designated land also is sacred to Ploutoun,
and so that it should be clear to everyone that this land indeed belongs to the god”

In Thessalian dialectal inscriptions, this one passage is the only attestation of the impersonal use of the adjective ἐπιμελής, and is also the only attestation of the subordinator ὅπως. Furthermore, as is obvious from the three quotes above (3.47–49), the three passages from Thessaly share the same topic: a prescription for inscribing and erecting the stele. Therefore the conclusion is inevitable that the whole construction ἐπιμελής (γενέσθαι/εἶναι) ὅπως ..., or perhaps the entire phraseology “care should be taken by (the officials) so that this decree should be inscribed and erected ...”, was borrowed from Koine into the Thessalian dialect. This explains why ὅπως was not replaced by οὕστε in the inscription IG 9,2 1229: the construction ἐπιμελής (γενέσθαι/εἶναι) ὅπως ... was felt as a single unit that did not allow partial Thessalianization. This passage thus contrasts with the (more numerous) cases of the hortatory formula, where the subordinator ὅπως in the supradialectal formula was replaced with οὕστε in Thessalian. In the latter case, the partial Thessalianization was possible because the hortatory formula was comprised of the subordinate clause alone and not the combination of the matrix predicate and the subordinate clause.

3.4.5. ἵνα ‘so that’

The attestation of ἵνα in Thessalian is not secure: it is found only once in a fragmentary context.

(3.50) SEG 37:494 (Thessaliois – Itonion: ca. 230–200 BCE) L. 4:

—]TANE ἵνα Θαμιαέα ἔχιοι_(opt?) κασιέα [

“so that ... may have a Thamiaian brother (?)”

The editor notes that the word-division before ἵνα is not certain (Helly 1993: 172)³⁹, so this passage would be too weak to be accepted as the only piece of evidence supporting the presence of ἵνα in the Thessalian dialect.

3.5. Explicative subordinators

Three subordinators are attested in the explicative function ‘that’: διέκι, πόκκι, and ὅτι. Since it would be inconvenient to separate the discussions of the explicative and causal functions of διέκι in two parts, I decided to include my discussion of the causal function of διέκι here.

3.5.1. διέκι ‘that; because’

The subordinator διέκι consists of the preposition διέ (= Att. διά) and the indefinite relative pronoun κι (functionally equivalent to Att. ὅ τι); thus it is formally parallel to the Koine διότι, and its functions are also equivalent to those of διότι (Bechtel 1963 1:196; Thumb & Scherer 1959: 76). In fact, García Ramón (1993: 134) considers this form as a Thessalianized Koine form, in contrast to the purely dialectal πόκκι. My discussion of the distribution of διέκι and πόκκι will be found in Section 3.5.2 on πόκκι below; in the present section I survey the actual usages of διέκι. First, the explicative function (‘that’) is exemplified by a number of instances, among which especially the instances of the hortatory formula (3.52) provide good evidence for the functional equivalence of διέκι with ὅτι and διότι.

39 The subordinate verb is also problematic: the editor interprets ἔχιοι as consisting of ἐχε-, the thematic present stem, and -οι, the optative marker which already has the thematic vowel in it (Helly 1993: 172). Thus ἔχιοι would be, so to speak, a “hyper-thematized” form.

(3.51) IG 9,2 1229 (Perrhaibia – Phalanna: early 2nd c. BCE) L. 35:

καὶ συμφανὲς εἶ πάντεσσι, διέκι δει ἔστι ἀ χού/[ρ]α τοῖ θεοῖ.

“and (so that) it should be clear to everyone **that the land indeed belongs to the god**”

(3.52) SEG 56:636 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.22:

συμφανὲς εἶ πάν/τεσσι διέκι ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Λαρισαίουν περ[ρ]ᾶται τοῖς ὀρθοῦς /
ὄστρεφομένοις καταξίας τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀτιδο[ῦ]/²⁵/μεν.

“(so that) it should be clear to everyone **that the Larisean People make efforts to pay
the due honor and gratitude to those who conduct themselves justly**”

For comparison, both ὅτι and διότι are used in the hortatory formula in Koine inscriptions from Thessaly:

(3.53) IG 9,2 508 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 49/48 BCE) L. 27:

ἵνα ἧ σ[υμ]/φαν[ές], διότι Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ[ς] / τ<ῶ>ν [ἀ]ν[δ]ρῶν
ἐπίσ[τ]ανται ταῖς καταξίαις χά[ρισιν] /³⁰/ τιμᾶν,

“so that it should be clear **that the Thessalians can respect good men with due
gratitude,**”

(3.54) IG 9,2 11 (Ainis – Hypata: 160/159 BCE?) L.33:

ὅπ[ως] οὖν φανερόν πᾶσιν / ἧ ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἡμέτερος τοῖ[ς] /³⁵ [ἀγαθοῖς τῶν] ἀνδρῶν
δύναται / χάριτας ἀπονέμειν,

“therefore, in order that it should be clear to everyone **that our People can pay
gratitude to good men,**”

The causal function of διέκι ('because') can be found in the Larisean inscription SEG 58:525.

This decree contains four instances of διέκι, of which one is causal beyond doubt:

(3.55) SEG 58:525 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 196–192 BCE) L. 50:

– ἀντὶ μὰ τᾶς ἰκόστας τοῖ γινομένοι ἐσαγογγί[μοι συνε]/χοῦρεῖ αὐτοῖς τὰν
ἐκατοστάν, οὔστε ἐπιστάον[ται τοῖ] Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτ τε τοῖς μεγίστας ἐστι ἀγγρέσιος
οὔ[σπερ] /⁵⁰/ καὶ ἐν τὸ λοιπὸν -3-4- ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΝ δανείου οὐ χρεία[ν ἔχον]/τες, διέκι
προκεῖται μειθὲν ἐνλειφθεῖμεν τοῦν κ[αλοῦν] / [κ]αὶ συμφερόντων τοῦν τοῦ δάμου
τοῦν Ἀθηναίου

“instead of the twentieth part of the exported product, (the city of Larisa) agreed to
impose a tax of the hundredth, so that the Athenians may know under what conditions
things are on the best course, as well as in future, not having any need of loan,
because it is established that no part of virtue and happiness of the Athenian people
should be neglected”⁴⁰

The other instances of διέκι in this inscriptions (in 3.56 and 3.57) are not as obvious, but
probably they also should be interpreted as causal.

(3.56) SEG 58:525 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 196–192 BCE) L. 22:

ἐπειδεὶ τοῦν ἀγγρεμένων / πρέσβειον ὑτ {ΥΤΔΑΜΟΙ} τοῖ δάμ[ο]ι τοῖ Ἀθηναίου
παρ/γενόμενοι ποτ ἄμμε Λάχεις καὶ Ἐργοχάρεις τό τε ψά^{vac./25}/[φ]ισμα ἀπεδοῦκαεν

40 French translation by the editor (Helly 2008: 39): “à la place du vingtième sur les produits d’exportation, elle leur concède l’octroi d’une taxe du centième, afin que les Athéniens sachent dans quelles conditions il existe les meilleures dispositions aussi pour l’avenir, sans qu’ils aient la nécessité d’assumer des charges financières (exagérées?), parce que s’impose avant tout de ne rien négliger du bien et de l’intérêt du peuple athénien.”

σίτου ἐσκο[μι]δάν [τετ]αγμένον δι[έ]/[κ]ι πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρουπα προῦπάργονθι
Ἀθηναίοις πο[τ] /^{vac}: τὸ κοινὸν Πετθαλοῦν καὶ τὰν πόλι[ν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν
Λασ]/σαίο[υν] καὶ διέκι ἐν πολλοῖς καιροῖς [-

“since Lakhes and Ergokhares, out of those who had been chosen as ambassadors by the Athenian People, coming to us, gave the approved decree regarding the exportation of grain, **because there exists great friendship among the Athenians towards the Thessalian League as well as the City and the People of the Lariseans, and because in many opportunities...**”⁴¹

In the next example, the part preceding the subordinator διέκι is lost, but the preceding line has the enactment formula (“it was resolved”). Therefore it appears reasonable to interpret this διέκι in the causal sense, giving the reason for whatever action approved:

(3.57) SEG 58:525 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 196–192 BCE) L. 43:

- -] διέκι ἂ πόλις [τοῦν Λασ]/σαίου καίπερ προθύμους διεκειμένα ἐν τὸ ὀπισσθ[α
ἀγέ]/⁴⁵/μεν τὰ ἀξιούμενα οὐκ εἶγε κί κε ποεῖ, τοῦν νόμουν [κου]/λυόντων διδοῦμεν
κίνεσσιν ὀλοσχερέους ἀτ[έλει]/αν,

“(it was resolved to do such-and-such) **because the City of the Lariseans, even though it is willing to lead the requests to the previous situation, does not have anything it could do, because the laws prevent it from giving complete exemption to anyone,**”⁴²

41 French translation by the editor (Helly 2008: 38): “attendu que, du nombre des ambassadeurs qui ont été désignés par le peuple des Athéniens, se sont présentés chez nous Lachès et Ergocharès, qui ont remis le décret qui a proposé (?) une exportation de blé, du fait qu’il existe déjà antérieurement chez les Athéniens de nombreux privilèges accordés au *koionon* des Thessaliens ainsi qu’à la cité et au peuple des Larisséens et du fait qu’en de nombreuses occasions ...”

42 French translation by the editor (Helly 2008: 39): “(une ligne et demie illisible) ... du fait que la cité des Larisséens, bien qu’elle soit bien disposée à ramener les demandes à la situation antérieure, n’a aucune

3.5.2. πόκκι ‘that’

The explicative subordinator πόκκι ‘that’ is attested twice. As the editors of the Larisean inscription note (Tziafalas, García Ramón & Helly 2006: 459), these passages both involve the verb ἐμφανισσο- ‘to explain’:

(3.58) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L. 11:

Φιλίπποι τοῖ βασιλεῖος γράμματα πέμψαντος πὸτ τὸς ταγὸς καὶ τὰν πόλιν διέκι
Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ / Ἀριστόνοος, οὐς ἀτ τᾶς πρεισβείας ἐγένονθο,
ἐνεφανίσσοεν αὐτοῦ, πόκ κί καὶ ἂ ἀμμέουν πόλις διέ τὸς πολέμος πο/τεδέετο_(impf)
πλειόνουν τοῦν κατοικεισόντουν.

“as Philip the King wrote a letter to the Tagoi and the city, (saying) that Petraios, Anankippos and Aristonoos, as they came on a mission, explained to him that our city also was, because of the wars, in short of many inhabitants.”

(3.59) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L. 4:

Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ Ἀριστόνοος ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ἐγένοντο, ^{/5/}
ἐνεφάνιζόν μοι ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις διὰ τοὺς πολέμους προσδεῖται_(pres.indic)
πλεόνων οἰκητῶν. (The corresponding passage quoting King Philip’s letter in Koine)

“Petraios, Anankippos and Aristonoos, as they came on a mission, explained to me that your city also is, because of the wars, in short of many inhabitants.”

(3.60) SEG 56:636 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.41

possibilité de le faire, les lois interdisant d’accorder à quiconque de manière absolue aucune exemption de taxes.”

Νούιος Λατῖνος Ούιοι Μαμερτῖνος παργενόμε/νος καὶ ἐπελθοὺν ἐτ τὰν παρελθόνσαν
ἀγορὰν ἐνεφά[νισ]/σε **πόκ[κ]ι**, Πατροκλέα τοῖ Ἀστοκλέα παιδὸς ποππετόντος / ἐντοῦ
ἐν Σικελία καὶ ἐμφανίσσοντος διέκι ἀνδραποδι/⁴⁵/σθῆς ὑκ κινούν στρατιουτᾶν
ἐδούλευε, ἐπιγ^{vac}-νὸς διέ/κι εἷς ἐλεύθερος καὶ Λαρισαῖος ἐξαγγρεμένος εἷς_(impf) κα[ῖ] /
κατεσταούκουν ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἐντοῖ κύριον·

“Novius Latinus son of Ovius, a Mamertine, presenting himself and approaching the
previous assembly, explained **that**, as Patrokleas son of Astokleas came to him in
Sicily and explained that he, captured by some men, was in servitude, recognizing
that (Patrokleas) was a free man and a Larisean, delivered him and set him free and
master of himself.”⁴³

García Ramón (1993: 144), in discussing the coexistence of διέκι and πόκκι in IG 9,2 517, finds
no significant difference in meaning between the two subordinators, and suggests that the choice
may be stylistic. I agree with him in that there appears to be no functional difference between
διέκι and πόκκι, but something more can be said about their distribution, based on observations
about the more recently found instances of διέκι: it appears that the use of the same explicative
subordinator in a nesting structure was avoided. In (3.59), two explicative clauses are in a
nesting structure, and the outer clause is introduced by διέκι (Φιλίπποι ... γράμματα πέμψαντος
... διέκι... “as King Philip sent a letter... saying that...”) and the inner clause by πόκκι
(ἐνεφανίσσοεν αὐτοῦ πόκκι “explained to him that...”). It is the other way around in (3.60),

43 French translation by the first editors (Tziafalias, García Ramón & Helly 2006: 456–457): “Novius Latinus fils d’Ovius, Mamertin étant venue et s’étant présenté à l’assemblée lors de sa session passée, a fait savoir que, après que Patrokleas fils d’Astokleas s’était présenté devant lui en Sicile comme suppliant et lui avait fait savoir que, ayant été capturé et réduit en esclavage par des soldats, il demeurait en esclavage, il avait eu confirmation que Patrokleas était un homme libre et qu’il était effectivement originaire de Larissa, et qu’alors il l’avait libéré par rachat, l’ayant (ainsi) rétabli dans sa condition d’homme libre et lui ayant rendu la maîtrise de lui-même.”

where the outer clause has *πόκκι* (Νούιος ... ἐνεφάνισσε πόκκι... “Novius ... explained that...”) and the two inner clauses, which themselves are sequential and not embedded inside each other, both have *διέκι* (Πατροκλέα ... ἐμφανίσσοντος διέκι ... ἐπιγνὸς διέκι ... “as Patrokleas ... explained that ..., [therefore, Novius,] recognizing that ...”). Crucially, there is no instance of a *διέκι*-clause embedded inside another *διέκι*-clause. Thus it appears that a *διέκι* clause embedded in another *διέκι*-clause was more strongly avoided than a *διέκι*-clause coordinated with another *διέκι*-clause.

Regarding the historical background of *πόκκι*, Hermann (1912: 318) noted that there was no Attic/Koine form corresponding to it – something like **προσότι*. However, there may be a near-parallel in a Laconian inscription, if one accepts *ποθ’ ὄ* as a near-equivalent to the Thessalian form. The Laconian text is a treaty with the Aitolians:

(3.61) SEG 26:461 + SEG 32:398 (Sparta: ca. 500–470) L.10:

μεδὲ κ[ατάλυθιν] / ποιῆ(θ)θαι ἄνευ Λα[κεδαιμονίων] / μεδενί, ἀντιέμε[ν δὲ
μαχομένος] / ἐπὶ ταῦτόν ποθ’ ὄ Λ[ακεδαι]μονίος.

“(the Aitolians) must not make any dispute settlement without the Lakedaimonians with anyone, and must send combatants against the same entity **as the**

Lakedaimonians (do).”

There are some difficulties presented by this inscription, and I will discuss them in Chapter 7 on Laconia and Messenia. Still, at the very least, there is a candidate form parallel to Thessalian *πόκκι*.

3.5.3. ὅτι ‘that’

The explicative subordinator ὅτι ‘that’ appears only once in Thessalian, in the hortatory formula:

(3.62) Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (Pelagiotis – Krannon: 179–142 BCE) L. 25:

καὶ τὸς ἐπαγγελλάμενος ἐπαινεῖσαι τὰν πόλιν οὔστε φανερόν εἶ πάντεσσι ὅτι ἂ / πόλις μναμονεύει τοῦν ἑαυτὰν εὐερ/γετεισάντων·

“and that the city should commend those who made announcements, so that it should be clear that the city remembers those who benefited her.”⁴⁴

As discussed in Section 3.5.1 above, one instance of the hortatory formula is found with διέκι rather than ὅτι. The appearance of ὅτι here must be due to Koine influence: comparison of this inscription with an older inscription which is also from Krannon (SEG 31: 572, ca. 200 BCE) reveals some other Koine influences, such as the *s*-aorist with -σ- (φροντίσαι “to see to it”, LL.29-30 and L. 40) as opposed to -ξ- (ἐψαφίξατο “it was resolved”, SEG 31:572 L.10) and ἐπειδεί (L. 9) as opposed to ὀπειδεί (SEG 31:572 L. 11). Thus it is not surprising to find one more instance of influence from Koine in this inscription.

3.6. Comparative subordinators

44 French translation by Migeotte (1984): “et que la cité accorde l’éloge à ceux qui auront promis, pour qu’il soit clair aux yeux de tous que la cité se souvient de ses bienfaiteurs.”

3.6.1. οὐς ‘as’

The Thessalian subordinator οὐς is multifunctional, just as its Attic-Koine counterpart ὥς ‘as’, although some of the usages may be influenced by Koine. Attestations of its comparative function are found only in the “fitting for good men” formula:

(3.63) SEG 56:636 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.12:

ὄστρεφόμενος οὐς ποτείνεκε_(aor) ἀνδρὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ

“conducting himself as was fitting for a good man”

(3.64) SEG 56:636 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.18:

ἐτ τοῦ τὰν ἐνδαμίαν ποεῖσθαι οὐς ποτείνε/κε_(aor) ἀνδρὶ καλοῦ κα[ὶ ἀ]γαθοῦ

“because he made residence as was fitting for a good man”

(3.65) SEG 31:575 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 170 BCE) L.27:

ἐτ τοῦ τὰν τε ἐνδαμίαν πεπο/εῖσθαι αὐτὸς οὐς ποτείνεκε_(aor) ἄνδρесси καλοῖς
κάγαθοῖς

“because they made residence as was fitting for good men”

(3.66) SEG 31:574 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 171 BCE ?) = IG 9,2 512a L.7:

ἐτ τοῦ τὰν τε ἐνδαμίαν πεποι/σθαι αὐτ[ὸς οὐς⁴⁵] ποτείνεκε_(aor) ἄνδρесси κα/[λο]ῖς
κάγα[θοῖς]

“because they made residence as was fitting for good men”

One passage appears to use this subordinator in the temporal sense, but this text is a translation

45 Helly (1980: 299) gives the text as “πεποι/σθαι αὐτ[ὸς οὐς κε] ποτείνεκε ἄνδρесси κα/[λο]ῖς κάγα[θοῖς”, but κε after οὐς appears to be an error by Helly: neither the older reading in IG 9,2 (πεποιεῖ/σθαι αὐτ[ὸς οὐ] <ς> ποτείνει [ἐ]ς ἀνδ[ρα]ς [κα]/[λο]ῖς κάγα[θοῖς] nor the parallel text in (3.65), supports the restoration of κε after the subordinator. The restoration without κε is given by García Ramón (2008: 98).

from Koine, and οὐς in this passage may very well be influenced by the original in Koine (García Ramón 1993: 134–135):

(3.67) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L12:

Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ / Ἀριστόνοος, οὐς ἀτ τᾶς πρεσβείας ἐγένονθο,
ἐνεφανίσσοεν ...

“Petraios, Anankippos and Aristonoos, as they came in a mission, explained...”

(3.68) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L.4 :

Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ Ἀριστόνοους ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ἐγένοντο, /
ἐνεφάνιζόν ...

“Petraios, Anankippos and Aristonoos, as they came in a mission, explained...”

(corresponding Koine passage)

In two inscriptions from Thessaly, the subordinator οὐς appears to have a locational sense (‘where’).

(3.69) SEG 43:311 (Pelagiotis – Scotussa: 197–185 BC) face B L.36:

ἄτ τοῖ ὄντοι ἐπικαμπίοι, οὐς τὸ προπάπβα[σ]/σὸν ἐστὶ, δαμόσσαν ἔμμεν. (L.50) ἄτ
τᾶς καμπᾶς τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι, οὐς / ἃ ὑδραγουγός ἐστὶ, ἄκαιναι ἐννέα, πόδες δύοι
(L.60) ἄτ τᾶς πύλας τᾶς ἐπ’ Ἐννεαπέλεθρον / ἄτ τοῖ τείχεος κύκλου μὲς πὸτ τὸν
Μιρούνδαν, οὐς ἃ ποτοικοδομία ἐστὶ / τοῖ τείχεος τοῖ ἐς πόλιος πὸτ τὸ τείχος τᾶς
ἄκρας πόδας ἴκατι (L.72) κατ τὸν δέκοτον πύργον, οὐς ἃ ὄμβασίς ἐστὶ, κατ τὸν
ἐνκαιδέ/[κο]τον πύργον ἄτ τοῖ ἐπικαμπίοι τοῖ κατ τὰν Περσείαν,

“from the following *epikampion*, 6 *akainai*; from the upper (?) *epikampion* where the propapbasson is, to be public area; (L.50) from the bend of the curtain where the water-channel is located, 9 *akainai* 2 feet; (L.60) from the gate leading to the Enneapelethron, from the city wall all around as far as to Miroundas where there is the construction of another wall from the city wall to the citadel wall, (to be kept away) 20 feet (L.71) by the tenth tower where the ascent to the walls is; by the eleventh tower from the *epikampion* of the curtain located by the Perseia,”⁴⁶

(3.70) Salviat & Vatin (1971) no. 1 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: late 3rd c. BCE) L.40:

ἄνω οὗς οἱ λίθοι ἔνθι καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τὰ ὑπ[άρχοντα] / κατ τὸ γούνιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον τᾶς Παντ[—

“above, where the stones and foundations along the angle of the ancient Pant... stand”⁴⁷

The cases where ὡς appears to have a locational sense, including the inscription from Skotussa (3.69) quoted above, were studied by Méndez Dosuna (1996), and he concluded that ὡς does not have any locational function; rather, these passages involve expressions of manner (‘in the manner as, how’). It is difficult for me to evaluate his analysis: some of the examples fit the interpretation of manner well (e.g. οὗς ἃ ὑδραγωγός ἐστι “as the water-channel runs = along the path of the water-channel”), whereas others not so much (e.g., Example 3.70).

The final function in οὗς κε ‘so that (ὡς ἄν)’ has already been discussed in the Introduction and in Section 3.4.

46 Translation by the first editor (Missailidiou-Despotidou 1993: 191–192).

47 French translation by the editors: “en haut (?) là où sont les pierres et fondations existant vers l’angle ancien de la palestres de Pant....”

3.6.2. οὕσπερ ‘as’

οὕσπερ ‘just as’ is attested only once, and its context does not appear to be formulaic.

(3.71) SEG 55:605 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: shortly after 196 BCE) L.9:

ὅσσα παρλελιμ/[μέ]να εἶεν ἐν τοῦ παρελθουκόντι χρόνου ψαφιζούνθην Λασαῖοι
Μιτυλ[ει]/[ν]αίοις πάντα, κοινὰ π[ο]έντες Μιτυλειναίοις τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τᾶ πόλι τὰ
[πά]/ντα οὕσπερ καὶ Μιτυλειναῖοι Πετθαλοῖς,

“(he recommended that) the Lariseans should ratify, for the benefit of the
Mitylenians, all the matters which had been neglected in the past time, sharing with
the Mitylenians everything pertaining to the city, just as the Mitylenians (do) with the
Thessalians,”

3.6.3. καθοὺς (κε) ‘as’

καθοὺς ‘just as’ is attested twice, and neither of the two passages appears to be formulaic.

(3.72) SEG 57:510 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 140–130 BCE) L.42:

καθοὺς ἀπεμαρτυρέθ[ει]_(aor.indic) / αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ πλειόντων τοῦν παρ ἁμμέων πολιτᾶν

“just as it was testified in favor of them by many of the citizens among us”

(3.73) Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (Pelasgiotis – Krannon: 179–142 BC) L.32:

ὄνγραφειμεν / μὰ τὸς ἐπαγγελλάμενος ἐν κίονα λιθί/ναν ἕκαστον αὐτοῦν πατρόθεν

καθοὺς / κε ἐπαγγέλλουθαῖ_(subj), τὸν προῦτον ἐπαγ/[γ]ελλάμενον προῦτον καὶ τὸς

ἄλλος ἔ/[πειτα] κα[ττὸ] πλεῖθος τὸς ἐπανγελλα/[μένος,

“and that (the names of) those who declared should be inscribed in a stone pillar, each from his father, **according as they declared**, (namely) first the one who made the first declaration and then, according to the amount, the others who made declarations”

It is probably significant that the attestations of οὐς are older than the attestations of καθούς, and that οὐς, in expressions of manner, is found in one formula, as seen in (3.63–66) in Section 3.6.1 above. It appears that οὐς had already been fossilized in formulaic expressions, losing its expressive power, and καθούς took over its function in creative composition. Diachronic replacement of other comparative subordinators by καθώς is already recognized for Delphian: Hermann (1912: 323) notes that in the 2nd century, καθώς replaces older subordinators such as ὡς, κατά (i.e. καθά) and εἴπερ.

3.6.4. **καττά, καττό (κε) ‘as, according to what’**

These subordinators are not distinguishable from sequences of the preposition and the relative pronoun (“according to what ...”), and in fact the two epigraphic instances might be better understood as such, because in both cases the subordinate verb (γράφω, βούλομαι) can take an accusative object:

(3.74) IG 9,2 517 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L.17:

ἐψάφισται τῆ πολιτεία πρᾶσσέμεν πὲρ τούννεον **κατ τὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε**

“it was resolved, about citizenship, to act, regarding these matters, **according to what the king wrote**”

(3.75) Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (Pelasgiotis – Krannon: 179–142 BC) L. 20:

καὶ ἐπαγγέλλασθαι / τᾷ πόλι τὸς δευμένος παρ’ ἐκκλεισσίαι / ἕκαστον **καττό κε**

βέλλεται_(subi) δουρράν τᾷ / <τα> πόλι ἐν τὰ διεσαφειμένα δάνεια·

“and those who so wish should promise to the city, before the Assembly, a gift to the city, each **as he wishes**, towards the aforementioned loan.”⁴⁸

However, in cases where some other word is present assuming the role of the accusative object, καττά/καττό is better interpreted as a subordinator of manner. There is one possible case like that:

(3.76) SEG 31:575 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 170 BCE) L.19:⁴⁹

καὶ τοῦν πολιτᾶν, **κατ[τό] κε ἕκαστος** / χρ[εῖ]αν **εἶχε**, ἀντείχο[ν]το μετὰ πάν/σας
σπουδᾶς καὶ πρ[ο]θυμίας·

“and they supported the citizens, **according as each had necessity**, with all their zeal and enthusiasm.”

Here καττό, if the restoration is accepted, is more clearly a single subordinator of manner than the preceding cases.

3.6.5. κατᾶπερ, καττάπερ ‘as’

In Thessalian, most instances of the comparative subordinators κατᾶπερ, καττάπερ (= ‘καθᾶπερ ~

48 French translation by Migeotte (1984): “que les volontaires promettent à la cité, devant l’assemblée, chacun selon son désir, un don à la cité pour les dettes mentionnées.”

49 Restoration by García Ramón (2010: 239). The first editor restored κατ’ [ῶκι] κε (Γαλλῆς 1980: 246–248).

καθ' ἅπερ') are found in the comparing formula in citizenship decrees, "and all the other privileges just as the citizens (have)". The form *κατάπερ*, which appears to be built on the non-dialectal ὄν-relative pronoun ἅπερ⁵⁰, is attested only once, in a relatively old inscription (3rd c. BCE).

(3.77) IG 9,2 458 (Pelagiotis – Krannon: 3rd c. BCE) L.2:

ἡ πόλις ἡ Κρανουν/ν<ί>ο<υ>ν ἔδουκε Ἀρχαρέ/τα Λεπτιναία Καλυδο⁵/υνία πολιτείαν
καὶ ἔν[κ]/τασιν **κατάπερ** κοὶ ἄλλ[οι] / [Κ]ραννούνοι καὶ φυλᾶ[ς] / [ἔμ]μεν τᾶς κε
δε[ύλη]/[τα]ι.

"The city of the Krannonians gave Arkhareta daughter of Leptina, woman of Kalydon, citizenship and the right of possession **just as the other Krannonians**, and (allowed) her to belong to any tribe she chose."

The other form *καττάπερ*, transparently containing the dialectal τόν-relative pronoun *τάπερ*, is abundantly found from the 3rd c. to the 2nd c. BCE. I will quote some instances below:

(3.78) SEG 48:660 (Pelagiotis – Mopsion: 3rd c. BCE) L.2:

ἔδουκε ἡ πόλις Μ[οψ]/είουν τοῖς δικασ[τα]/ῖς Ἀτραγίοις, Τάλ[ου]⁵/νι Ἀμφιλοχείου,
Γλ[αύ]/κου Ἀμφιδαμαντε[ίο]/υ, Σίμου Ἰσχυριδαίο[υ], / καὶ τοῦ γραμματε[ῖ] /
Πολυαίνου ἑλανδρ¹⁰/είου, πολιτείαν καὶ ἰσ/οτιμίαν καὶ αὐτοῖς / καὶ γενεᾶ καὶ ἔμ
πο<λ>/έμου καὶ ἐν ἱρεῖνα **κατ/τάπερ Μοψειάταις ἐ¹⁵/στὶ** κατ τὸν νόμον

"the city of Mopsion gave to the judges from Atrax, Talon son of Amphilokhos,

50 Van der Velde (1924: 81) considers this form as due to haplology (*κατάπερ* < *κατὰ τάπερ).

Glaukos son of Amphidamantos, Simos son of Iskhyridas, and their secretary Polyainos son of Heleandros, citizenship and the equal privileges, to themselves as well as their offspring, both in time of war and in peace, **just as the Mopsians have**, in accordance with the law”

(3.79) SEG 56:636 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169) L.32:

καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια ὑπαρχέ/μεν αὐτοῦ **καττάπερ καὶ Λαρισαίοις**

“and he should have the other privileges **just as the Lariseans have**”

The frequent use of the comparing formula in Thessalian contrasts with the other regions, where the generalizing formula, “all the other privileges just as other benefactors” (that is, the comparison is made to other honorands rather than citizens) is far more widespread. This will be discussed in Chapter 8.

The only instance of *κατάπερ/καττάπερ* in Thessalian that appears to be used in contexts other than the comparing formula is SEG 55:605, which I quote in (3.80). The context is fragmentary and nothing preceding the subordinator is preserved, but the following line contains the formula about the expense for inscribing the decree, so this part should be close to the end of the substantial part of the decree.

(3.80) SEG 55:605 (Pelagiotis – Larisa: shortly after 196 BCE) L. 23:

καττάπερ Βάκχιος Α.ΣΟΥΣΕΙΝ[

“**just as Bakkhios ...**”

3.6.6. κατοῖα ‘as’

The subordinator κατοῖα appears to be extremely rare in Greek. The one appearance in Thessalian seems to be the only epigraphic attestation.

(3.81) SEG 53:851 (Thessaly [found at Kos]: 242 BCE) fragment b, L.4:

- - - καὶ ἄσυλον ἔμμεν] τὸ ἱερόν κατοῖα ἃ Κούουν πόλις ἄξουε[*v*_(impr) καπ]/[πάντα
χρόνον - - -

“and the temple should be inviolate, according as the city of the Koans deemed, for all the time”

The editors of this inscription make a short comment on this subordinator: “Das Wort κατοῖα scheint neu, ist aber wegen der Verwendung des Adverbs οἷος / οἷα im Sinne von ὡς leicht zu erklären” (Bosnakis & Hallof 2003: 235), and Helly (2004: 91) follows up on this: “Dans la graphie κατοῖα avec le sens de καθώς, rapporté par les auteurs à οἷος, sous sa forme adverbiale neutre pluriel, οἷα, au sens de ὡς, il faut voir καθ’ οἷα (avec psilose), cf. κάτ(τ)απερ (avec τὰ pronon relatif) dans les décrets IG IX 2, 234, l. 2 à Pharsale (3e s.), 461a, l. 6 à Crannon (même date), etc.” Helly also compares this passage with a decree of the Thessalian city Gonnoi regarding the Asklepieion of Kos:⁵¹

(3.82) SEG 53:850 (Pelasgiotis – Gonnoi [found in Kos]: 242 BCE) (several decrees of different cities, including one from Gonnoi) Side A, L.12:

51 “Dans la forme ἄξουε[-, je crois qu’il faut donc reconnaître non pas un présent, mais un imparfait suivant la conjugaison athématique, conformément à la formule qu’on trouve dans un certain nombre de ces décrets d’asylie, cf. le décret de Gonnoi, n° 14, l. 13 καθάπερ ἠξίουον (οἱ Κωῖοι) ...” (Helly 2004: 92).

καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἐν Κῳι ἄσυλον εἶναι / καθάπερ ἠξίουν διὰ τε τὴν
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν / καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς Κώϊους,

“and (it was also resolved) that the temple of Asklepios in Kos should be inviolate
according as (the Koans) deem, due to (our) respect of the god and the brotherhood
with the Koans,”

Thus it appears that the use of κατοῖα in this inscription is an innovative change made on this formula. However, it should be noted that καθ’ οἷα is an expression that is extremely poorly supported in Greek-language sources: according to a TLG search, the sequence καθ’ οἷα is found only once in literary sources, in the scholia by Manuel Moschopoulos (13–14th c. CE) to Sophocles’ *Oedipus the King*: “οἷ’] καθ’ οἷα. ὅποῖ’] καθ’ ὅποῖα.” These are notes given to clarify the usage of οἷα and ὅποῖα in the following passage:

(3.83) Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 1270–1272

ἄρας ἔπαισεν ἄρθρα αὐτοῦ κύκλων,
αὐδῶν τοιαῦθ’ , ὀθοῦνεκ’ οὐκ ὄψοιντό νιν
οὔθ’ οἷ’ ἔπασχεν οὔθ’ ὅποῖ’ ἔδρα κακά,

“(Oedipus,) raising up (the pins), struck the sockets of his eyes, saying such (words),
that (his eyes) should not see him, nor what he suffered, nor such terrible things he
did ...”

Here, in fact, the scholia does not make much sense to me: οἷα and ὅποῖα in this passage can straightforwardly be understood as the accusative object of ἔπασχεν and ἔδρα. However,

apparently Manuel Moschopoulos considered them to be good paraphrases.

More important is the issue as to whether these notes are related to the Thessalian subordinator κατοῖα: the enormous chronological gap between the two strongly suggests that they are indeed unrelated. The Thessalian usage and the use by Manuel Moschopoulos are probably independent developments.

3.6.7. πᾶ κε ‘where’

The subordinator πᾶ, equivalent to Attic ὅπη ‘in what way’⁵², is attested in a formula that is repeated twice in an inscription. In other dialects, ὅπαι may can express direction (‘whither’) and manner (Buck 1955: 103), but the Thessalian usage, with the following Πετθαλίας in the genitive case, cannot be interpreted in any way other than place:

(3.84) SEG 59:1406 B (possibly Larisa [found at Aiolis – Aigai]: ca. 250–196 BCE)

L.19:

ἐνάφισαν οἱ Πετθαλοὶ ἀτέ^{/20/}λεῖαν ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς πάντων πλὴν εἰ πόσσα κ/ε ἐπ
ἐμπορία ἄγουνθι εἰ ἐξάγουνθι, καὶ πολι/τείαν πάντεσσι **πᾶ νά κε βέλλουνθαι**_(subj).
Πετθαλί/ας καὶ ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλις καὶ ἱερὰ κοιν/ὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα καττάπερ
Πετθαλοῖς ἔνθι· ^{/25/} καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ἔμμεν Αἰολεῖεσσι, Κοούοις, Μα/γνεῖτεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ
Μαιάνδροι **πᾶ νά κε βέλλο/υνθαι**_(subj) Πετθαλίας·

“The Thessalians resolved that (the Aeolians, Koans and Magnesians on the Maeander) should be given tax-exemption on everything except for whatever they might bring in import and export; and that they all should have citizenship **in**

52 The equivalence is pointed out by the first editors of the inscription quoted in (3.84): Malay & Riel (2009: 52).

whichever part of Thessaly they might wish; and that the cities, public sacred matters and everything else should be open to them just as are to Thessalians; and that the Aeolians, Koans and Magnesians on the Maeander should have the right of marriage **in whichever part of Thessaly they might wish**.⁵³

53 The first editors translate the relevant part as “wherever they want in Thessaly” (Malay & Riel 2009: 49).

Chapter 4: Noteworthy features in Boeotian

In this chapter I will discuss some noteworthy features in Boeotian.

4.1. Temporal subordinators

4.1.1. ἐπί (κα) ‘when’

Almost all the attestations of the subordinator ἐπί in Boeotian are construed with the subjunctive accompanied by the modal particle κα. There are some instances of passive verb forms in -θείη⁵⁴ used in subordinate clauses introduced by ἐπί κα, and Hermann (1912: 56) considered them as optative. However, these forms are interpreted as subjunctive formed by adding the long-vowel subjunctive ending on the long-vowel passive stem (Bechtel 1963 1:287; Thumb & Scherer 1959: 43; Blümel 1982: 203–205). Thus it is not necessary to assume a grammatical peculiarity in Boeotian.

There are two major formulas in which ἐπί κα is used: one is the formula “when (the slaveowner) dies” in manumission inscriptions (in 4.1), and the other is “when this decree is ratified” (in 4.2–3).

(4.1) Darmezin (1999) no. 137 (Thespiiai: 2nd c. BCE) L.18:

⁵⁴ For an actual example, see (4.2).

ἐπὶ δέ κα τελευτάσει_(subj) Εὐτυχος, ἀπ[ο]/²⁰/καρυξάτω ἐπὶ τῷ μνάματος Ἐπίτιμος κῆ Σάμιχος κῆ Καλλι/κράτης ἐλεύθερα [οὔτ]α τὰ σώ/[μ]ατα ἀφιέντα Εὐτυχον κατ [τ]/ἀνστάλαν τὰν ἐν Ἀσκληαπ[ιεῖ]/²⁵/οι·

“and **when** Eutykhos passes away, Eritimos, Samikhos and Kallikrates must declare on the monument (of Eutykhos) that Eutykhos freed these bodies in accordance with the stele in the Asklepieion.”

(4.2) Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (Tanagra: late 3rd/early 2nd c.) L.11:

δεδόχθη τῷ δάμυ· ἐπὶ κα τὸ ψάφισμα κουρωθείει_(subj), ἀρχὰν ἐλέσθη τὸν δᾶ/μον ἐν φέτια τρία τρῖς ἄνδρας μὴ νιοτέρως τριάκοντα φετίων·

“it was resolved by the People that they should, as soon as the decree is validated, choose five men, not younger than 30 years, into office for five years”

(4.3) IG 7 3172 (Orchomenos: 222–200 BCE) L.129:

δεδόχθη τῷ δάμυ, τὼς / πολεμάρχως, /¹³⁰/ ἐπὶ κα τὸ ψάφισμα κούριον γένειτη_(subj), ἀγγρά/ψη ἐν στάλαν λιθίναν τό / τε ψάφισμα οὔτο / κῆ τὸ οὐπὲρ τᾶς ἀποδόσιος

“it was resolved by the People that the *Polemarkhoi* should, **when the decree becomes valid**, inscribe this decree and the decree on the payment into a stone stele”

However, ἐπὶ κα is by no means restricted to formulaic expressions. The following examples show more creative usages of ἐπὶ κα in Boeotian.

(4.4) SEG 22:407 (Thisbe: 3rd c. BCE) L. 13:

[... κῆ] / τὰμ μὲν πόλιν Χορσειείων καταβαλλέμεν [τῆ πό]/¹⁵/λι Θισβείων τὰν ἐπαβολὰν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκ[αστον], / καθ' ἃ αὐτὰ ἀξίωσε, ἐπὶ χ' ὁ ταμίης τὰς

ἀπ[ολογί]/ας ἄγει_(subj) ὁ ἐν Θίσβης, τῷ Δαματρίῳ μείνός, πα[ρεόν]/των τῶν
πολεμάρχων κῆ τῶν κατοπτῶν πε[δὰ τᾶς] / [π]λείθας·

“and (it was agreed) that the city of Chorsiai should pay the amount each year,
according to what it requested, when the Steward of Thisbe brings the account, in the
month of Damatrios, in the presence of the Polemarchs and the Overseers with the
people.”⁵⁵

(4.5) SEG 22:407 (Thisbe: 3rd c. BCE) L.25:

ἐπ[ὶ δέ κα οἱ]/κονομείσει ἡ πόλις Χορσιείων τῇ πόλι Θισβείων / τὰ χρεῖματα οὔτα
τὰ ἐν τοῖ ὁμολόγοι γ[εγραμμένα], / ἐσλιανάτω ἡ πόλις Θισβείων τὰν
οὐπ[ε]ρ[αμε]/ρίαν τὰν κατ τᾶς πόλιος Χορσιείων·

“and when the city of Chorsiai disburses to the city of Thisbe the money written in
the agreement, the city of Thisbe should waive their right to the delayed payment
from the city of Chorsiai.”⁵⁶

There is one passage where ἐπεὶ appears to be used without the modal particle (4.6), but the
context is too fragmentary for syntactic analysis.

(4.6) SEG 30:444 (Orchomenos: mid 3rd c. BCE) L.1:

θιὸς / τι[ούχαν ἀγα]θάν· Ἀλεύαιο ἄ[ρχοντος] / [ἔδ]οξε τῷ δάμῳ Ἐ[ρχομενίων — — —]
/ [— — — —] ἐπεὶ Δικον[— — — — —]

55 French translation by Roesch (1965: 253): “et la cité de Chorsiai versera à la cité de Thisbé son acompte chaque année, comme elle l’a demandé, quand le trésorier de Thisbé rend ses comptes, au mois Damatrios, en présence des polémarques et des contrôleurs des finances, devant l’assemblée du peuple.”

56 French translation by Roesch (1965: 253): “Quand la cité de Chorsiai aura remboursé à la cité de Thisbé les sommes inscrites dans la convention, que la cité de Thisbé cesse la poursuite en recouvrement contre la cité de Chorsiai.”

“God. Good fortune. When Aleuas was the *archon*, it was resolved by the People of Orchomenos ... **when Dikon...**”

4.1.2. ἄς/ἄς/ἄως/ἔως κα ‘until, as long as (ἔως ἄν)’

Numerous instances of the subordinator ἄς κα ‘until, as long as (ἔως ἄν)’ and its variants are found in the formula of *paramone* in manumission: “(the slave is to be free) after staying with (the slaveowner) **as long as** (the slaveowner) lives”. The form ἄως is influenced by the Koine form ἔως (Bechtel 1963 1:291; Thumb & Scherer 1959: 17). Hermann (1912: 21) wrote that the form ἄς is more numerous than ἄως (“meist in der Form ἄς”), but this is no longer true: there are now more known instances of ἄως than ἄς (ἄς 13 times vs. ἄως 16 times⁵⁷). There is another variant ἄς κα, attested only once (SEG 28:451 = Darmezín 1999 no. 99, Chaironeia: late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE; L.9), also in the *paramone* formula. There is one instance of ἔως κα in Boeotian:⁵⁸

(4.7) IG 7 3343 = Darmezín (1999) no. 51 (Chaironeia: late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE)

L.2:

Εὐθιοῦδαμος [— — — — — ἀντίθειτι τὰν ριδίαν] / δούλαν Ἑρμαῖα[ν ἱαράν τεῖ
Σαράπι, παρμίναςαν αὐτῷ] / **ἔως κα γαμείσει**_(subj).

“Euthioudamos ... dedicates his private slave Hermaia so as to be sacred to Sarapis after staying with him **until he gets married.**”

57 Including one ἄ[ω]ς in SEG 28:448 = Darmezín (1999) no. 96.

58 For Claflin (1905: 81), this was the only known instance of a clause expressing ‘until’ rather than ‘as long as’. We now have a case where ἄως κα means ‘until’, quoted in (4.8).

This act of manumission is unparalleled in Boeotia in prescribing that the slaveowner's marriage should mark the end of *paramone*.⁵⁹ However, it is not true that the formula using ἄς/ἄως had no flexibility to accommodate variation, because there is one instance of the *paramone* formula using ἄως with a variation:

(4.8) SEG 28:447 = Darmezin (1999) no. 95 (Chaironeia: late 3rd/early 2nd c.

BCE) L.2:

Με/νεκλείς Διονουσοδώρω κῆ Βιοττι[ίς] / Μνάσωνος ἀντίθεντι τὰν φιδί[αν] /⁵/
 θρεπτὰν Παρθέναν ἱαρὰν τῆ Ἄρ[τά]/μιδι τῆ Ἐλιθίη, συνευδοκίοντος α[ὐ]/τεῖς κῆ τῶ
 οὐιῶ Μνάσωνος, παρμε[ί]/νασαν αὐσαυτεῖς φέτια δέκα ἄω[ς] / κα ἄ ἄνθεσις
κουρωθείει_(subj).

“Menekleis son of Dionousodoros and Biottis daughter of Mnason dedicate their private slave Parthena so as to be sacred to Artamis Elithia, with their and their son Mnason's approval, after staying with them for ten years, until the dedication is confirmed.”

The only known instance of this subordinator appearing in contexts other than the *paramone* formula is in (4.9):

(4.9) SEG 28:461 (Orchomenos: ca. 287–280 BCE) L.26:

τιθέσθη δὲ τὰς στροτει/ίας τὰς τε ἐν τῆ Βοιωτίη κῆ τὰς ἐ/χθόνδε τὰς Βοιωτίας χωρὶς

⁵⁹ Darmezin (1999: 214 fn. 98) notes that the practice of ending the *paramone* by the marriage of the slaveowners or their heirs has some attestations in Delphi.

ἐκατέ/[ρ]ας ἄς κα τὰ ἐφόδια λάβονθι_(subj).

“and to arrange the two expeditions, one in Boeotia and the other outside of Boeotia, separate from each other, **as long as they get the provisions.**”⁶⁰

In Boeotian, the same meaning ‘until, as long as’ can also be expressed by two other subordinators ἔττε and ἔτταν, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.1.3. ἔττε/ἔτταν κα ‘until’

Boeotian has two subordinators specific to the dialect, ἔττε and ἔτταν, meaning ‘until, as long as’.⁶¹ The historical sources of these two subordinators are discussed by Méndez Dosuna (2006), who convincingly argues that the phonological resemblance with ἔστε ‘until’ in other dialects is accidental. He first points out that the form ἔστε presupposes the preposition ἐς/εἰς ‘into’ < **ens*, which is absent from Boeotian. Boeotian is a dialect where the notion ‘into’ is expressed by ἐν + accusative, and therefore *ἔντε is the expected counterpart to ἔστε; indeed West Locrian and Delphian have the subordinator ἔντε. He further supports his argument by Boeotian phonological developments: he finds no support for the sound change *-*st-* > -*tt-* in Boeotian⁶² but many forms witnessing the preservation of the cluster -*st-* in the dialect. Therefore, inspired by Blümel (1982: 133), Méndez Dosuna proposes a new etymology for ἔττε and ἔτταν based on

60 French translation by the editors: “que l’on compte séparément les campagnes en Béotie et les campagnes hors de Béotie, pour tout le temps où les cavaliers auront touché leurs indemnités de route” (Étienne & Roesch 1978: 362).

61 The word ἔττε is also used as a preposition meaning ‘until, up to’ (Thumb & Scherer 1959: 47).

62 The other main point maintained by Méndez Dosuna in the quoted article is that the Boeotian form ἴττω ‘he shall know; may he be witness’, used by Aristophanes and Plato, is not an example showing *-*st-* > -*tt-*, but is rather due to the analogical replacement of the stem-variant ἰσ-, arising from the double-dental cluster, with ἰδ- (2006: 105–106).

the preposition ἐπί: according to him, ἔττε should be analyzed as *ep(i) + te, parallel to ἔστε/εντε < *en(s) + te but with a different preposition; and ἔτταν is likewise derived from *ep(i) t̄ān (hāmerān) “towards the day (when)”. For the deletion of the vowel i, he finds parallel cases in ἐπ Πυλ[α]ρέτ[οε] (DGE 452 8a) and ἐπ Παε- (IG 7 604).⁶³

The distribution of ἄς/ἄως and ἔττε/ἔτταν is close to complementary, but not completely so: as shown in the preceding section, the numerous instances of ἄς/ἄως are almost exclusively found in the *paramone* formula “as long as (the slaveowner) lives”, except for one. The two instances of ἔτταν are in non-formulaic contexts; the contexts for ἔττε are “in the middle”, as I will show. First I will discuss the two occurrences of ἔτταν:

(4.10) SEG 43:205 (Koroneia: 3rd c. BCE) L.19:

τὸ δὲ παρμετρεισάμενο παρπωλεόνθω ἐν τῷ /²⁰/ Ὅμολοῖν μεινὶ ἀρξάμενο ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδεκάτας **ἔτ/ταν κα διαπωλειθείει**_(subj) ἄπασι, πωλέοντες τᾶς ἀμέρ/ας ἐκάστας μὲι πλεῖον κοφινῶν τριάκοντα τιμᾶς / ἄστινός κα ὁ δᾶμος ἐπιχειροτονεῖσει, καθὼς κῆ τὸν / λυπὸν σῖτον τὸν δαμόσιον·

“and they, after measuring, should sell (the grain), starting on the eleventh day of the month Homoloion, **until it is sold out to everyone**, selling no more than thirty baskets every day, at whatever price the People sanction, just like other public grain.”

(4.11) IG 7 3172 (Orchomenos: 222–200 BCE; improved reading⁶⁴ by Roesch 1982: 299–300) L. 47:

[ἀνα]γκάσ<θεις>αν τὸ πολέμ[αρ]/χῦ κῆ ὁ ταμίας σουγχωρείσαντος τῷ δάμω δόμεν /

63 He concedes that the evidence for the apocope of the preposition ἐπί in Boeotian is limited to the environment before *p*. He then states that the atypical apocope in ἔττε and ἔτταν can be justified by their grammatical status as subordinators, citing Doric ὄκα < *ὄκα κα as a possible parallel (Méndez Dosuna 2006: 107).

64 IG 7 3172 read ἐ[ν τ]άν κα ἐνενηχθεῖ...

[κ]ατ' αὐ[τὸ] αὐ[τ]ῶν σούνγραφον πὸτ τῆ οὐπαρχώση οὐπε[ρ]/⁵⁰/αμερίη, ἔτταν κα
ἐνενηθεῖ_(subj) ἅ ἀνφορὰ ἐν οὗτο κ[ῆ] / κομίττ[ει]_(subj) τὰ συνχωρεθέντα χρεῖματα
 “the *Polemarkhoi* and the Steward were forced, with the approval of the People, to
 conclude a contract among them in addition to the existing delayed payment until the
contribution is carried in for this purpose and provides the amount that was agreed
on.”⁶⁵

Thus it appears that in Boeotian, outside of the end-of-*paramone* formula, the “first choice” for expressing the notion of “until, as long as” was ἔτταν, although ἔττε is also found in one context that is not formulaic:

(4.12) IG 7 3054 (Lebadea: undated) L.6:

ὥστε λάδδουσθη [ἐκά]/[στω ἐνιαυ]τῶ ἔττε καν δώει_(subj) δραχ[μὰς —
 “so that he may get ... drachmas every year as long as he lives...”

Apart from this one instance above, ἔττε is found in the end-of-*paramone* formula:

(4.13) Darmezín (1999) no. 123 (Koroneia: late 3rd c. BCE) L.12:⁶⁶

65 Migeotte (1984: 53 ff.) provides a French translation: “les polémarches et le trésorier ont été contraints, avec la permission du peuple, d’accorder contre eux-même un contrat, en plus du protêt existant, jusqu’à ce qu’ils aient rassemblé la contribution dans ce but et fourni la somme convenue.”

66 The word order of this ἔττε-clause puzzles me: to my knowledge, this is the only subordinate clause where the modal particle κε/κα is not in Wackernagel’s position. It appears as if πᾶν ‘entirety’ underwent extraction from the noun phrase “the entirety of twenty-one years” (Brent Vine, p.c.), but in the absence of any parallel case, perhaps the possibility of the stone-cutter’s error should be seriously considered (possibility suggested to me by Anahita Hoose, p.c.). As a possible parallel, I will note the proposal by Dubois (2010: 21 fn. 20) to emend one passage in an inscription from Arcadia (IPArk 17 L.110): διπλάσιον ἀπο/τιγέτω ἢ {κ} ὦν <κ> ἀδικῆι “shall pay twice the damage he caused”.

παρμεινάτω δὲ κῆ / [Φ]ίλωνι, ἔττε πᾶν κα / γένειτη_(subj) φετίων φίκα¹⁵/τι κῆ ἐνός·

“and (the manumitted slave) must stay with Philon also, until the entirety of twenty-one years have passed.”

(4.14) Darmezin (1999) no. 129 (Koroneia: late 3rd c. BCE) L.11:

π[αρα]/[μείναντα ἀύσαιτῷ] / [κῆ τῆ γουνηκὶ ἀύ]/[τῷ], ἔ[ττε κα ζώ]¹⁵/[ωνθ]ι_(subj)

ἀνεκλε/[ίτ]ως,

“after staying with him and his wife as long as they live, in an irreproachable way,”

4.2. Conditional subordinators

4.2.1. εἴ κα ‘if’

In Boeotian, both εἰ and ἦ (= αἰ) are abundantly used as conditional subordinators. The mood of the subordinate verb requires some comments. Hermann (1912: 35) gave some instances of εἰ-clauses with the verb in the subjunctive mood without the modal particle in Boeotia (IG 7 2725, 2183, 2227), but they appear to be all in Koine. In my collection of data from inscriptions discovered after Hermann’s work, there is one apparent case of εἰ + bare subjunctive, but it may be due to haplography:

(4.15) Darmezin (1999) no. 129 (Koroneia: late 3rd c. BCE) L.17:

εἴ’ δέ / τις καταδου/λόδει[τη]_(subj) Προστ<άτ>ε²⁰/τρον, προειστάσ/τω ἄ ἰάρεα {ρ}.

“but if anyone enslaves Prostateiros, the priest shall protect him.”

In the presence of examples of εἰ δέ τις κα καταδουλίδδειτη (Darnezin 1999 nos. 122, 123, 126), and in the absence of compelling evidence for the subjunctive without the modal particle in Boeotian conditional clauses, it appears better to emend the text in Darnezin (1999) no. 129 as εἴ' δέ τις <κα> καταδουλόδει[τη].

4.3. Comparative subordinators

In this section I will discuss four comparative subordinators found in Boeotian, καθώς, καθώσπερ, καθά, and καθάπερ.

4.3.1. καθώς(περ) ‘as’

In Boeotian, the subordinators καθώς and καθώσπερ show an interesting contrast: καθώς is found in non-formulaic contexts alone, whereas the only instance of καθώσπερ is in the generalizing formula. The subordinator καθώσπερ is poorly attested in inscriptions, not only in Boeotia but in the entire Greece. A search in the Searchable Greek Inscriptions yields only one hit in its entire corpus, an inscription from Scythia Minor, dated 160 CE (SEG 19:476). In my data collection from dialectal inscriptions, καθώσπερ is found only once:

(4.16) DGE 546, decree I (Akraiphia: 250–200 BCE) L.8:

κῆ εἶμεν ἀν/τῶς ἔπασιν γᾶς κῆ φυ¹⁰/κίας κῆ ἀσουλίαν κῆ ἀσ/φάλιαν κῆ πολέμω κῆ
ἰράνας / κῆ κατὰ γᾶν κῆ κατὰ / θάλατταν καθώσπερ / κῆ τῶς ἄλλυς προξένυς ¹⁵/ κῆ
εὐεργέτης γέγρα[πτη].

“and that he should have the right of possession of land and residence, inviolability and assurance, both in war and in peace, both on land and on sea, **just as is prescribed for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors.**”

In addition to being one of the only two instances of καθόσπερ in the epigraphic sources, this Boeotian text is all the more mysterious because it is engraved into the same stele together with another proxeny decree resolved under the same archon. The only two differences between the texts of the two decrees are the name of the honorand (both are from Chalcis) and this very comparative subordinator: the other text (4.17) uses καθάπερ, commonplace in this formula.

(4.17) DGE 546, decree II (Akraiphia: 250–200 BCE) L.8:

[κ]ῆ εἴμεν αὐτῷς ἔπασ[ι]ν / [γ]ᾶς κῆ φυκίας κῆ ἀσουλί[αν κῆ] /¹⁰/ ἀσφάλιαν κῆ πολέμω κ[ῆ ἱρά]/νας κῆ κατὰ γᾶν κῆ κατὰ [θά]/λατταν **καθάπερ** κῆ τ[ῶς ἄλ]/λυς προξένους κῆ εὐε[ργέτης] / γέγραπτη.

“and that he should have the right of possession of land and residence, inviolability and assurance, both in war and in peace, both on land and on sea, **just as is prescribed for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors.**”

As I will discuss in Section 4.3.3., tens of instances of the same formula are found with καθάπερ, and I cannot think of any reason why this decree (4.16), one text of two nearly identical texts, has this extremely exceptional subordinator καθόσπερ. Still, the addition of -περ was probably motivated by the frequent use of καθάπερ in the generalizing formula.

The use of the subordinator καθώς, on the other hand, is not particularly surprising. In

one instance, it introduces an indirect question:

(4.18) IG 7 3172 (Orchomenos: 222–200 BCE) Face A L.102:

τοὶ πολέμαρχοι τοὶ ἐπὶ Πολυκράτιος / ἄρχοντος, Φιλόμειλος Φίλωνος, / Καφισόδωρος
Διονυσίου, Ἀθανόδω/¹⁰⁵/ρος Ἴππωνος, ἀνέγραψαν καθὼς / ἐποίησανθo τὰν ἀπόδοσιν
τῶν δα/νείων τῶν Νικαρέτας κατὰ τὸ ψά/φισμα τῶ δάμω.

“the *Polemarchoi* under the *archon* Polykratis, Philomeilos son of Philon,
Kaphisodoros son of Dionysios and Athanodoros son of Hippon, inscribed how they
made the repayment of the debt to Nikareta according to the decree of the People.”⁶⁷

The other instances are in the comparative sense ‘as’, and I will cite a number of illustrative passages. The mood of the subordinate verb can be indicative, as in (4.19), or subjunctive (presumed from the presence of the modal particle), as in (4.20):

(4.19) IG 7 3083 (Lebadea: undated) L.5:

Δοῖλος / Ἴρανήω ἀντίθειπτι τὸν / ρίδιον θεράποντα Ἄνδρικὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῦι / κῆ τῷ
Τρεφονίῳ ἱαρὸν εἶ/¹⁰/μεν παραμείναντα παρ / τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώ/ραν φέτια δέκα,
καθὼς ὁ / πατεῖρ ποτέταξε_(aor.ind).

“Doilos son of Iraneos dedicates his private servant Andrikos so as to be sacred to
Zeus Basileus and Trephonios after staying with his mother Athanodora for ten years
in the manner (the manumittor’s) father demanded.”⁶⁸

67 French translation by Migeotte (1984: 59): “Les polémarches en charge sous l’archonte Polykratès, Philomeilos fils de Philon, Kaphisodôros fils de Dionysios, Athanodôros fils d’Hippon ont inscrit comment ils ont effectué le remboursement des prêts de Nikaréta, conformément au décret du peuple.”

68 French translation by Darmezine (1999: 29): “Dôilos, fils d’Iranéos, consacre son serviteur Andrikos à Zeus Basileus et à Trophonios afin qu’il soit *hiéros*, à condition qu’il demeure auprès de sa mère Athanodôra pendant

(4.20) IG 7 1719 (Thespiiai: 3rd/2nd c. BCE) Frgm. A L.5:

— —ον καθώς κα τῶς συνέδρους δ[όκει

“just as the council decides”

4.3.2. καθά ‘as’

In Boeotian, the subordinator καθά is less frequent than καθάπερ. Six instances of καθά are found in non-formulaic contexts, while 10 are in the generalizing formula “as other *proxenoi*”. As I will discuss in the section for καθάπερ, this proportion is mildly surprising. I will quote a few instances of καθά to illustrate the non-formulaic contexts where it can appear; they also show that the mood of the subordinate clause maybe subjunctive + modal particle (4.21) or indicative (4.22).

(4.21) IThesp 56 (Thespiiai: ca. 220 BCE) L.8:

ὀπότεα δέ κα / ἀπίτευτα ἴωνθι ἐνβᾶση τὰν ἀρχὰν καθ’ ἧ κα φήνειτη_(subj) αὐτῆ
σύνφορον εἶμεν.

“and the officials may go into whichever part (of land) that are not irrigated, in any manner that appears profitable to them.”

(4.22) SEG 32:496 = IThesp 29 (Thespiiai: ca. 250–240 BCE) L.18:

ὑπαρχέμεν Σωσ/τράτοι τὸ φέργον παρ τᾶς πόλιος ἄως ^{/20/} κα βείλειτη, ἐπιμελομένοι
τῶν τε παί/δων κῆ τῶν νεανίσκων κῆ διδάσκον/τι καθὰ ὁ νόμος κέλειτη_(indic).

“Sostratos should get this job from the city as long as he wants, taking care of the children and the youth and teaching them as the law demands.”

dix ans, comme le père (de Dôilos) l’a prescrit.”

And below is an instance of the generalizing formula introduced by *καθά*.

(4.23) IG 7 1721 = IThesp 2 (Thespiiai: 215–213 BCE) L.7:

κῆ εἶμεν αὐτῷ γᾶς κῆ φυ/[κία]ς ἔπασιν κῆ ἀσφάλιαν κῆ ἀσουλίαν / [κῆ π]ολέμω κῆ
ἰράνας ἐώσας /^{10/} [κῆ κ]ατὰ γᾶν κῆ κατὰ θάλατταν κῆ τὰ ἄλ/[λα π]άντα καθὰ κῆ τῷς
ἄλλυς προξένυς / [κῆ ε]ὐεργέτης.

“and he should have the right to possess land and residence, safety and immunity in
times of war and in peace, both in land and on sea, and everything else **just as the**
other *proxenoi* and benefactors have.”

4.3.3. *καθάπερ*

As observed by Claflin (1905: 93), *καθάπερ* is regularly used in the generalizing formula in honorary decrees: κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα *καθάπερ* τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέτης (γέγραπτη)
“(and he shall have) everything else that is prescribed for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors (= καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα *καθάπερ* τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις γέγραπται)”. Claflin notes that the finite verb γέγραπτη is usually elided, and this remains valid: in my data collection, out of the 73 instances of *καθάπερ*-clause in this formula in the Boeotian dialect, only three⁶⁹ exhibit the explicit finite verb (EτΩ 195 = SEG 1:111; IG 7 3166; BCH 23 90-91 II = DGE 546 II). The

69 One case where the subordinator is restored is not counted here:

(4.i) IG 7 529 (Tanagra: undated) L.3:

κ[ῆ] εἶμεν αὐτῷ γᾶς κῆ οἰκίας ἔπασιν κῆ ἀσουλίαν / κῆ πολέμω κῆ ἰράνας ἰώσας κῆ κατὰ γᾶν κ[ῆ] κατὰ
θάλατταν, κῆ τᾶλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** τῷς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ] /^{5/} εὐεργέτης τᾶς πόλιος **γέγραπτη**.

“and he should have the right to possess land and residence, immunity in times of war and in peace, both in
land and on sea, and everything else **just as is prescribed for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the**
city.”

non-ellipsis in the small number of cases appears to be partly geographically determined: proxeny decrees of Akraiphia are exceptionally likely to avoid the ellipsis in this formula, with one instance of ellipsis⁷⁰, one uncertain case⁷¹ and nine cases with the explicit finite verb⁷² (the subordinator may be *καθά*, *καθάπερ* or *καθώσπερ*). In Orchomenos, IG 7 3166 is the only known instance of the formula using *καθά(περ)* (there are three instances of *κῆ ἄλλα πάντα ὀππότα κῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις* in Orchomenos: IG 7 3167; SEG 39:441, 442). In Oropos, ΕτΩ 195 is the only known inscription written in the Boeotian dialect that does not elide the finite verb in this formula; the reason remains unclear to me. The first editor of the inscription noted that this is the only instance of the explicit finite verb in this formula in Boeotian, though it is paralleled by many Koine inscriptions from Oropos (Λεονάρδος 1919: 76).⁷³

The two subordinators *καθά* and *καθάπερ* show different tendencies in their usage: both are used in both formulaic and non-formulaic contexts, but *καθάπερ* is more restricted to one formula than *καθά*. On the one hand, as I mentioned above, six out of the sixteen attestations of *καθά* in Boeotian are non-formulaic. On the other hand, only three out of the 76 attestations of *καθάπερ* are non-formulaic, and one of the three is from a non-Boeotian city. Below I quote the instances of *καθάπερ* used in non-formulaic contexts:

70 IG 7 4127.

71 Here the restored verb is the only word in the last line of the decree, so the restoration is not certain, although paralleled by five instances of the same formula that precedes it:

(4.ii) Perdrizet (1899: 93) no. 3 L.27:

κῆ] τὰ ἄλλα φιλόνηθρον/[πα πάντα **καθὰ** κῆ τῶς ἄλλοις προξένους κῆ εὐεργέτης τῶς] πόλιος Ἀκρηφειῶν / **[γέγραπτη]**.

“and all the other honors **that** are prescribed for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city of Akraiphia.”

72 Feyel (1936: 11) no. 1; Perdrizet (1899: 93) no. 3 L.8, L.12, L.16, L.19, L.23; IG 7 4128 L.4; DGE 546 decree I.

73 “γέγραπτη: Ἐν Ἀμφιαρείῳ ἡ λέξις αὕτη ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις Βοιωτικαῖς προξενίαις δὲν ἀπαντᾷ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ κοινῇ γεγραμμένων συχρὸν κεῖται (γέγραπται).”

(4.24) SEG 32:456 (Haliartos: ca. 235–200 BC) L.18:

δόμην δὲ κῆ ἀνάλ[ωμ]α [τὼς τα]/μίας δραχμάων ἑκατὸν πεντήκο[ν]²⁰/τα καθάπερ κῆ
ἐν τὰ Μωσεῖα.

“and the Stewards should pay the expense, 150 drachmas, just as they do to the
Museum”

(4.25) IThesp 231 = Darmezis (1999) no. 138 (Boiotia – Thespiiai: 2nd c. BCE)

L.11: Φιλωνίδας [δ]/έ, καθάπερ ὁμώμοκε τὸν Ἀσκλαπιόν, / ἐμένεμεν τοῖς ὄρκυς·

“and Philonidas, just as he swore by Asklepios, should stay upon oath”

One inscription has a peculiar status: this inscription comes from the Megarian city Aigosthena, but most of the characteristic features of the Boeotian dialect are well observed (Vottéro 1996: 74).

(4.26) IG 7 207 (Megaris – Aigosthena: 223–201 BCE) L.11:

δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι, ὁπόττοι καὶ παργινύ/ωνθη Σιφείων ἐν τὰς κοινὰς θυσίας ἄς δαΐζοι
ἀ πό/[λ]ις, ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ κῆ τοῖς πολ/ίτης·

“it was resolved by the people that all Sipheans who visit the public feasts that the
city celebrates should have (all the privileges) just as citizens.”

Since this is a decree resolved by a city outside of Boeotia, the authenticity of this instance of καθάπερ in the Boeotian dialect may be less than secure. Still, the situation remains unchanged: in Boeotian, καθάπερ is more strongly restricted to a single formulaic expression than is καθά.

Chapter 5: Northwest Greek dialects

For Northwest Greek, where inscriptions from Delphi provide an enormous amount of data, my analyses had to be highly selective. In this chapter, I will discuss some subordinators that are of particular interest, especially from the perspective of cross-dialectal comparison.

5.1. Locative subordinators

5.1.1. εἶ(περ) ‘where’

The locative subordinator εἶ ‘where’ is found only in the West Greek dialects. Most of the attestations have unproblematic locative meaning, but a small number of cases appear to show a derived meaning of manner (‘as, in which way’). This was already pointed out by Hermann, who claimed that this semantic development took place in Delphi and Argolis (1912: 251). However, in my opinion, the number of instances that support this semantic development is much more reduced than Hermann thought. The Argolic evidence should be interpreted with its original locative meaning, and only one instance from Delphi appears to me to give convincing evidence for the derived meaning of manner, as I will discuss shortly.

Within the Northwest Greek area, the unproblematic locative meaning of εἶ is attested in one inscription from Aitolia. The first attestation has lost the greater part of the subordinate clause introduced by εἶ, but the locative meaning is probable from the context involving the

stone to be inscribed:

- (5.1) SEG 12:303 (Aitolia – Phistyon: end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.6: εἰ δέ τινί κα
ἄλλ(λ)οῖ δόσιν ἔγ(γ)υο(ν)(?) πο/[ήσηται καὶ ταύτην οἱ ἱεροφύλακες ἀναγραψά]ντω ἐν
τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον καὶ τόπον εἰ̃ ἄλλω[ν] / [ἀναλωμάτων ἐστὶν ἀπογραφή....,
“And if (Leon) makes a secured (?) payment to anyone else, the *hiarophylakes* should
inscribe it also, in the same stone and the same place **where** the list of other payments
is inscribed”

In a passage later in the same text, we observe the assimilation of the mood of the subordinate
clause into the mood of the matrix clause (infinitive), as the first editor notes (Klaffenbach 1936:
369):

- (5.2) SEG 12:303 (Aitolia – Phistyon: end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.9:
εἰ δέ τί κα Λέων πάθη, /¹⁰[τοὺς ἄρχοντας προνοηθῆναι τοῦ τὸ βάθρ]ον {ε}
τ[ε]λεωθῆμεν εἰ̃ τὸν ἀνδριάντα σταθῆμεν_(inf) ·
“And if Leon suffers anything, the Archons should provide care for the completion of
the statue base **on which** the statue should be erected.”

However, the majority of the instances of εἰ̃ in the Northwest Greek dialects are from the
Delphian acts of manumission, in some infrequent variants of the formula expressing the
freedom that the manumitted slave will enjoy: ποιέων ὃ κα θέλησι καὶ ἀποτρέχων οἷς κα θέλησι
“doing whatever he wants to do, and going to wherever he wants to go”. According to the

analysis by Lejeune (1940: 66–67), in the Delphian acts of manumission, the variants expressing the place of living with a subordinate clause introduced by εἴ/ὅπει are restricted chronologically to the early second century BCE, and the manumittor is not a citizen of Delphi, with only one exception. I will quote some examples of these cases using εἴ.

(5.3) SGDI 2001 (Delphi: 197/6 BCE) L.6:

αὐτὰν ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν, ποιεῖν / ὅ κα θέλη, εἶμεν **εἴ κα θέλη**.

“that she should be free, do whatever she wants to do, and go to **wherever she wants to go**.”

(5.4) SGDI 1844 (Delphi: 186/5 BCE) L.6:

εἶμεν ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀνάφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων, / οἰκέουσα καὶ πολιτεύουσα **εἴ κα αὐτὰ θέλη**.

“that she should be free and not to be enslaved by anyone, living and enjoying citizenship **wherever she wants to**”

Among these variants using εἴ, two instances received a particular comment by Hermann (1912: 50–51), who stated that these two cases are unclear as to whether they are truly locative or perhaps should rather be interpreted with the meaning of manner. The two texts are as follows:

(5.5) SGDI 2074 (Delphi: 198/7 BCE) L.4:

αὐτὰς ἐλευθέρας /^s/ εἶμεν, ποιούσας ὅ κα θέλωντι καὶ **εἴ κα θέλωντι**.

“that they should be free, doing whatever they want to do, **wherever they want to / in whichever manner they want to**.”

(5.6) SGDI 1988 (Delphi: 194/3 BCE) L.5:

[... αὐτὰν ἐλευ]θέραν [εἴμ]εν, ποέου/[σα]ν [ὅ κα] θέλη καὶ **εἴ κα θέλη**.

“that she should be free, doing whatever she wants to do, **wherever she wants to / in whichever manner she wants to.**”

Hermann’s comment does not clarify the basis for his suspicion (1912: 50–51), but it appears to be motivated by the absence of any verb of motion or stationary location, which would ordinarily precede the εἴ-clause (see Examples 5.3–4). Still, there does not appear to me to be any compelling reason to interpret these two cases with the meaning of manner (and Hermann himself did not speak against the locatival meaning). Rather, since Lejeune arrived at the conclusion mentioned above – that the use of εἴ is restricted to a narrowly defined group of acts of manumission – without making any exceptional treatment of these two cases, I do not think it is necessary to assume the meaning of manner here.

Hermann (1912) thought, and Schwyzer (1950: 647) accepted, that εἴ with the meaning of manner was present in Argolic as well. However, this can also be doubted. The passage in question is in a decree passed by Troizen and sent to its colony Theangela:

(5.7) Wilhelm (1908) no. 7 (Troizen [found at Caria – Theangela]: 2nd c. BCE) L.5:

ἄνδρας δὲ ἐλέσθαι οἵτινες ἐπιμελη/σοῦνται τούτων, ὅπως οἱ τε στέφανοι
ἀναγορευθῶντι **εἴ / ἐκάστους δέδοκται** καὶ αἱ σῆλαι ἀντεθῶντι, καὶ πόθοδον /
ποιήσονται ἐν τῷ Ἀπελλαίῳ μηνί, ὅπως ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Θεε/[Θε]αγγελέων τιμαθῆι
καταξίαις τιμαῖς.

“and (it was also resolved that the Council) should choose the men who would take

care of these matters, so that the crowns would be announced on the occasions where it was decided each of (the crowns) should be, and the stele would be erected, and that they would make an approach on the month Apellaion, so that the People of Theangela would receive the due honor.”

Hermann noted, “Hier ist εἶ = ‘wie’” (1912: 50) without giving any basis for his interpretation. In his section on the locative ending -ει, Nieto Izquierdo (2008: 542–543) gives a list of attestations for the subordinator εἶ and translates most of them, but does not translate or give any analysis of this passage. As my translation of the passage shows, I think that it is better to interpret the subordinator εἶ in the quasi-temporal meaning “on which occasion, when?”. This interpretation is supported by the analysis of what exactly was “decided” (δέδοκται).

This stele has lost its top, and prescriptions on how or when the conferral of the crowns should be proclaimed may have been included in the lost passage – we do not know. Therefore it is necessary to seek similar passages in other honorary decrees. Many inscriptions, in fact, include a prescription about *when* the proclamation should be carried out. The first (5.8) of the quotations below is from the same region Argolis:

(5.8) Vollgraff (1916) text IV (Argos: 300–250 BCE) L.19:

καρῶσαι δὲ τὸν στέφανον Ἐκατον²⁰/βούοις τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ
γυμνικῷ, καρῶσαι δὲ / καὶ Νεμέοις τὸν ἀγωνοθέταν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι γυμνικῷ,

“and (it was also resolved) that the president of the games should proclaim the crown on the occasion of the hecatombe festival during the athletic competition, and that the president of the games should proclaim it on the occasion of the Nemean games also,

during the athletic competition”

(5.9) CID 4 106 (Delphi: 184/183 BCE) L.45:

ἀναγορεῦσαι δὲ τὸν στέφανον καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα / ἐν Πυθίοις τοῖς πρώτοις ἐν τῷ
γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι / <τοὺς> συνελθόντας ἱερομνήμονας·

“and (it was also resolved) that the *hieromnemes*, after convening, should proclaim the crown and the statue on the occasion of the first Pythian games, during the athletic competition”

(5.10) IG 2-3² 682 (Attica: 276/5 BCE) L.75:

καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων τραγωιδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ /
καινῷ ἢ καὶ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι

“and (it was also resolved) that they should proclaim the crown on the occasion of the new competition of the great Dionysian tragedies, and also during the athletic competition in the great Panathenaic games”

Thus we have decrees that specify the occasions on which the honor should be announced. They provide support for the locatival/temporal interpretation (‘on which occasion, when’) of εἶ in the Argolic passage in question, making it unnecessary, at least in Argolis, to assume a semantic change to the meaning of manner.⁷⁴

Thus most of the alleged pieces of evidence for the meaning of manner of εἶ have been rejected, but one single instance in Delphian sacred regulations (CID 1 10) appears to support this semantic development. The text quotes the oath taken by the judges in the first person (e.g.

⁷⁴ My argument here is that, in Argolis, we do not have evidence that is compelling enough to assume the semantic development from ‘where’ to ‘in which manner, as’. It is true that some other honorary decrees specify the manner in which the proclamation should be made, so I must concede that the interpretation with the meaning of manner is not entirely unsupported.

L.5: ἐκπραξέω “I will exact”), including the promise to make his subordinates swear the same oath (L.12: [... τὸς δὲ] / ἱερομνάμονας ὀρκιξέω καὶ τοὺς κάρυκας τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον “and I will make the *Hieromnamones* and the Heralds swear the same oath”). Then comes a lacuna, followed by the passage in question:

(5.11) SGDI 2501 = CID 1 10 = CID 4 1 (Delphi [found at Athens]: 380 BCE) L.14:

— ἐκ]¹⁵/ατόμβαν ὄ[ρ]κον ὁμόσας εἴπερ τοὶ ἱερομ[νάμ]ονες δοκιμαζέτω

“(the official) should examine the *hecatombe* after swearing the oath **just as the** *Hieromnamones*.”

Here it is difficult to interpret εἴπερ in any way other than ‘in which manner, as’, so it is necessary to assume the semantic development of εἴ(περ) into the meaning of manner; yet at least, as I showed above, this development is not paralleled by Argolic but is specific to Delphi.

5.2. Temporal subordinators

5.2.1. ἄμα κα ‘once, as soon as’

The word ἄμα ‘once’, originally an adverb, has developed the function as a subordinator, ‘as soon as’ – exactly parallel to the English word *once*. There is one instance of this use in Delphi; in fact, in Hermann’s collection, the Delphian instance was the only dialectal attestation of the use as a subordinator. Now, however, we have one more attestation in Arcadia (see Section 6.3).

The Delphian attestation is:

(5.12) SGDI 2160 (Delphi: 140–100 BCE) L.7:

ἄμα δέ κα διεξέλθῃ ὁ χρόνος ὁ γε/γραμμένος, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω Νικασίβουλος καὶ ἀ/νέφαπτος, ποιῶν ὅ κα θέλῃ καὶ ἀποτρέχων οἷς κα /¹⁰/ θέλῃ.

“but **as soon as** the aforementioned time has passed, Nikasiboulos shall be free and immune, doing whatever he wants, going to wherever he wants.”

The passage (5.12) is a modification of a similar expression using ἐπεὶ found in two other acts of manumission:

(5.13) SGDI 1832 (Delphi: 173 BCE) L.17:

ἐπεὶ δέ κα διεξέλθῃ ὁ χρόνος τὰ ἔτη ὀκτὼ καὶ παραμείνῃ Σωτήριχος παρὰ Ἀμύνταν τὸν ἀποδόμενον / καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν, ἀποτρεχέτω Σωτήριχος οἷς κα θέλῃ.

“but **after** the period of eight years has passed and Soterikhos stayed with Amyntas the manumittor and his son Amyntas, Soterikhos shall go to wherever he wants.”

(5.14) SGDI 1843 (Delphi: 174 BCE) L.18:

ἐπεὶ δέ κα διεξέλθῃ ὁ χρόνος, ἀποτρεχόντω ἐλεύθεροι Λυκίσκα καὶ Καλλίμαχος.

“but **when** the time has passed, Lykista and Kallimakhos shall go away free.”

According to Searchable Greek Inscriptions searches, these three inscriptions are the only attestations of the word χρόνος ‘time’ in Delphi, suggesting the somewhat formulaic nature of

these clauses, despite the variability exhibited by the three texts (5.12–14).⁷⁵

5.2.2. ἀφ’ οὗ ‘since, after’

In Hermann’s collection, the subordinator ἀφ’ οὗ was not so frequent, and there were only two instances found in Mainland Greece, both in Northwest Greek: one in a Delphian manumission and one in a decree of the Achaian League found in the Arcadian Orchomenos. Hermann (1912: 310) offers his impression that ἀφ’ οὗ appears to belong to the West whereas ἐξ οὗ is mainly found in the East.

We now have one more instance of ἀφ’ οὗ in Northwest Greek, in a treaty between Delphi and the Laconian city Pellana. This, combined with the discovery of a different treaty written in Arcadian, poses a question in supradialectal phraseology. This issue will be discussed in Section 6.3.

5.2.3. μέχρι/ἄχρι (οὗ) ‘until, as long as’

Both μέχρι (οὗ) and ἄχρι (οὗ) are used in Northwest Greek. According to Hermann (1912: 300–

75 In a far greater number of acts of manumission, we find ἐπεὶ καὶ with some other phrases expressing the event that would bring freedom to the manumitted slave, such as the following (reference to more instances of ἐπεὶ καὶ in acts of manumissions can be found in Lejeune 1940: 59 fn. 100):

(5.i) FD 3,3 3 (Delphi: ca. 162 BCE) L.12:

ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παραμείνη τὰ / ἔτεα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐλευθέρα ἔστω Νῦσα κυριεύουσα αὐτοσαυτᾶς καὶ ποιέου/σα ὅ κα θέλη

“but **after** she stays (with the manumitting owner) for the aforementioned years, Nysa shall be free and master of herself, doing whatever she wants”

(5.ii) FD 3,3 5 (Delphi: ca. 148 BCE) L.12:

ἐπεὶ δὲ / κά τι πάθη Κλέων, ἐλευθέρα ἔστω Μουσίς καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ / πάντων καὶ ἀπελθέτω ἔχουσα ἅ κα κατασκευάσῃται Μουσίς συγευ/¹⁵δοκέοντος Κλέωνος

“but **when** Kleon suffers from something, Mousis shall be free and immune from everything, and shall go away possessing whatever she may have prepared with the consent of Kleon.”

302), μέχρι belongs to the East, with its attestations centering on Ionic, whereas ἄχρι is originally from the West. Most of their attestations in Northwest Greek are found in the end-of-*paramone* formula in acts of manumission: it is customary that the manumitted slave must continue serving the manumitting owner until a certain time, very often “as long as the slave-owner lives”. In Delphi, various subordinators meaning “as long as” are concurrently used from the oldest period, but in terms of the total number of attestations, ἄχρι (οῖ) is far more frequent than μέχρι (οῖ) in Delphian acts of manumission (Lejeune 1940: 62–64).

Acts of manumission from Physkos in West Lokris provide the second largest body of instances of μέχρι/ἄχρι after Delphi. Here, it may be significant that all the instances of ἄχρι οῖ are found in the ordinary end-of-*paramone* formula, whereas the single attestation of μέχρι οῖ is found in a slightly different context. First, all the known instances of ἄχρι in Physkos are:

(5.15) SEG 16:357 = IG 9,1 350 (W. Lokris – Physkos: before 137/6 BCE) L.5:

παραμεινάντων [δὲ παρὰ Νι]κόλαον Ἀρχῶ <καὶ> Ἀφροδι/σία ἄχρι οῖ κα ζῆ
Νικόλαος, [ποιούσαι] τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον·

“and Arkho and Aphrodisia must stay with Nikolaos as long as Nikolaos lives, doing the assigned duty”

(5.16) SEG 16:356 = IG 9,1 349 (W. Lokris – Physkos: 2nd c. BCE, first half) L.5:

παραμενέ[τω δ]ὲ Γ<Ω>[Ν]ΑΤ/ΟΣ παρὰ Δωροθέαν ἄχρι οῖ κα ζ[ῆ] Δ]ωροθέα, π/
 <ο>ι<ῶ>ν τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον·

“and Gonatos? must stay with Dorothea as long as Dorothea lives, doing the assigned duty”

(5.17) SEG 12:284 (W. Lokris – Physkos: undated) L.4:

ὑπηρετείντω δὲ [τὰ δυνατὰ Νικο]⁵/[στράτα, Πτολε]μαῖς Λεωγένει ἄχρι οὗ [κα ζῆι
Λεωγένης].

“and Nikostrata and Ptolemaiis must render practicable services to Leogenes, **as long as Leogenes lives**”

(5.18) SEG 16:358 (W. Lokris – Physkos: ca. mid-2nd c. BCE) L.5:

παραμινάτω [δὲ Σωσῶ] / [παρὰ Λευκίαν], ἄχρι οὗ κα ζῆι Λευκία[ς, ποιοῦσ]/[α τὸ
ἐπιτασσό]μενον ·

“and Soso must stay with Leukias, **as long as Leukias lives**, doing assigned duty”

The one passage using μέχρι is very similar to these, but slightly different:

(5.19) SEG 16:355 (W. Lokris – Physkos: 176/5 BCE) L.8: παραμενέ[τω δὲ Τιμῶ

παρὰ Εὐ]/μήλαν καὶ Κλε[υνίκαν καὶ - - - μαχον ποιοῦσα] /¹⁰/ τὸ ποπιτασσόμ[ενον · εἰ
δὲ μὴ ποιέοι, ἐπιτειμε]/όντω Τιμῶς [Κλευνίκα καὶ - - - μαχος καὶ] / Εὐμήλα μέχ[ρι κα
ζῶωντι].

“Timo shall stay with Eumela, Kleunika and ...makhos, doing what is assigned. And if she does not perform the duty, Kleunika, ...makhos and Eumela shall lay a penalty on Timo **as long as they live.**”

Here, if the restoration of the verb [ἐπιτειμε]/όντω in L.10–11 is correct, the subordinate clause introduced by μέχρι does not describe the duration of the *paramone*, but the duration of the punishment for not fulfilling the required *paramone*. This suggests that ἄχρι οὗ was used in the more fixed end-of-*paramone* formula and μέχρι was used in a more creative context.

5.3. Comparative subordinators

5.3.1. καθότι ‘as’

The attestations of the subordinator καθότι are not numerous, but they are often found in contexts where other subordinators of manner, such as καθώς, are also used. Below I cite two pairs (5.20–21 and 5.22–23) in which καθώς and καθότι appear to show some interchangeability.

(5.20) IG 9²,1,1 192 (Aitolia [found in Teos]: 204/3 BCE?) L.8:

ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς / χώρας τὰν ἀνιέρωσιν
καὶ ἄσυλίαν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρεσβευταὶ ἀξίου,

“and they should receive from the Aitolians the consecration and immunity of their
city and their region, as their messengers requested”

(5.21) IG 9²,1,1 4 (Aitolia – Thermos: 194–179 BCE) L.15:

καὶ τὰν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶμεν, καθότι οἱ / πρεσβευταὶ
ἐπαγγέλλονται,

“and their city and their region should be sacred and immune, as their messengers
request”

(5.22) SGDI 1836 (Delphi: 170–157/156 BCE) L.6:

ἐξέστω Νικοῖ κολάζειν καθὼς καὶ αὐτὰ θέ/λη καὶ ἄλλω ὑπὲρ Νικῶ ἀζαμίους ὄντοισ
καὶ ἀνυποδίκους πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας.

“It is allowed for Niko, and the two other (warrantors) on her behalf, to punish (them) as she wishes, being immune from punishment and not liable to any prosecution or penalty”

(5.23) SGDI 2034 (Delphi: 186 BCE) L.19:

κολάζοντες αὐτὰς καθ' ὅ τι κα αὐτοῖς δοκῆι ἀζάμιοι ὄντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι /²⁰/ πάσας
δίκας

“punishing them as they think good, being immune from punishment and not liable to any prosecution”

The form καθότι is indistinguishable from its etymological source, καθ' ὅτι “in accordance with what”, but cases like the passages above suggest that καθότι has already become a subordinator of manner equivalent to καθώς.

In the data collected by Hermann (1912: 74–75), there is one instance of καθότι which may be interpreted as explicative (‘that’):

(5.24) Jardé (1902: 280) (Delphi: 193 BCE) L.8:

ἐνεφάνιξε δὲ καθότι αὐτὸς ἀ[κολού]θως διακείμενος τᾷ τήνων προαιρέσει δι|ατελεῖ
εὔνου ὄν ποτὶ τὸ κ[οινὸν] / {ποτὶ} τὸ Ἀμφικτιονικὸν ἐμ [παντὶ] καιρῶι ...
“And (the honorand) reported that he himself, in conformity with their (= his
ancestors’) goodwill, continues to be benevolent to the Amphictyony in every
occasion, ...”

In epigraphic sources, the verb ἐμφανίζω ‘to report’ is frequently used with an explicative clause

introduced by ὅτι or διότι, and therefore this passage from Delphi could have reasonably been interpreted as explicative. However, there is doubt as to the reading of the inscription: in two more recent re-editions, Syll.³ and CID 4, the passage is read with καὶ ὅτι rather than καθότι. Unfortunately I was not able to find out the basis for the difference in the reading: the reading of Syll.³ is based on the publication by Nikitsky which I was not able to locate, and I couldn't have access to the commentary in CID 4. Therefore I can only say that the positive evidence in support of the explicative function of καθότι is not sound.

Chapter 6: Notes on Megaris, Achaia and Arcadia

My decision to include the three dialectal regions Megaris, Achaia and Arcadia in one chapter is not motivated by any linguistic similarity or political proximity in the classical period, but by the practical reason that I have little to contribute on these dialects. The dialects of Megaris and Achaia are not very well represented in inscriptional material. Arcadian is served by a relatively recent book-length study dedicated to the dialect, Dubois (1988), and therefore there is little that I can add to the data and analyses provided in these works.

6.1. Megaris

Only few dialectal instances of subordinators are found in Megaris. One inscription may deserve some comments: Hermann gave one instance of *καθάπερ* as coming from Megaris, found in IG 7 21. However, this inscription is a decree by the Megarian city Orchomenos⁷⁶, and therefore this decree is not a valid source of the Megarian dialect. The dialect of this decree is, however, not Boeotian either: this decree does not exhibit any phonological feature of Boeotian, as the quoted passage clearly shows:⁷⁷

(6.1) IG 7 21 (Boeotia – Orchomenos [found at Megara]: early 2nd c. BCE) L.22:

καὶ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς ἰσο/τέλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας οὔσας καὶ [κα]/τὰ

76 For the elimination of the possibility that this inscription comes from the Arcadian Orchomenos, see the commentary for IG 7 21.

77 To point out a few: *πολέμου* (Boeot. *πολέμω*), *εἰράνας* (Boeot. *ἰράνας*), *οὔσας* (Boeot. *ιώσας*), etc.

γᾶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς] /²⁵/ ἄλλοις προξένοις
καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος Ὀρχομενί[ων] / γέγραπται.

“and they should have equality in taxation, immunity in times of war and in peace,
both in land and on sea, and everything else that is prescribed for the other proxenoi
and benefactors of the city of Orchomenos.”

Still, the phraseology appears to be Boeotian. Apart from the institutional vocabulary noted in the commentary for IG 7 21, the generalizing formula introduced by *καθάπερ* and concluded by the verb *γέγραπται* is characteristic of inscriptions from Boeotia (see Section 8.2.2); the genitive absolute *καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνας οὔσας* “in times of war and in peace” instead of the more ordinary *καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ* is also frequent in Boeotia (*κὴ πολέμῳ κὴ εἰρήνῃ ἰώσας* in Boeotian) but not elsewhere.

6.2. Achaia

The dialect of Achaia is also poorly represented. I may comment on its peculiarity in the use of the optative mood:

(6.2) SGDI 1615 = Rizakis (2008) no. 1 (Achaia – Dyme: 280/279–275 BCE) L.7:

... ἢ μὴ ἀποδώσοντι ἐν ταῖς ἀμέραις ἐν αἷς γέγρ[α]/[πται, ζαμιούτω ἄ γε]ρουσία Δ
καθ' ἐκάσταν ἀμέραν ἔστε κα ἀποδοῖεν_(opt), / [— —

“(if ...) or do not pay within three days as has been prescribed, the Council of Elders shall impose the fine of ten talents each day until they pay it, ...”

Hermann (1912: 59) wrote that the optative mood accompanied by the modal particle is mysterious. It may be comparable to the Delphian case: according to Lejeune (1940: 44), in Delphian conditional clauses, the optative accompanied by the modal particle is very rare and is found in the chronological transition from the subjunctive with the modal particle to the bare optative. However, the transition in Delphi took place in the first half of the second century BCE, and the temporal subordinator ‘until’ may behave differently from the conditional subordinator. With one single instance in Achaia, this remains unclear.

6.3. Arcadia

For Arcadian, I have very little to add to the comprehensive study of the dialect by Dubois (1988). One major point relevant to subordinate clauses where I do not agree with Dubois is his proposal of several variants for the modal particle: he argued for the existence of $\delta\alpha\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\nu$ and $\tau\alpha\nu$ in addition to the ordinary $\alpha\nu$. This does not convince me: the examples of ΔAN can be interpreted as $\delta' \alpha\nu$ without any problem, and the proposed etymological connection between $\delta\alpha\nu$ and Latin *-dam* (as in *quidam*) does not appear to justify such a redundancy in the modal particle system in Arcadian. The subordinator $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\nu$ ‘until’ should be $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau' \alpha\nu$, given that $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha \kappa\alpha$ is attested in Crete (Hermann 1912: 78). EIKAN poses a question, but the analysis that assumes a prevocalic variant $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ (thus $\epsilon\iota\kappa \alpha\nu$, and also $\epsilon\iota\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota} \dots$) appears to me to be a better choice.⁷⁸

There are some subordinators that were added to the Arcadian corpus after the work by Dubois: one is $\alpha\mu\alpha$ ‘once, as soon as’ (followed by the modal particle in the text, giving $\alpha\mu\alpha\nu$):

⁷⁸ So Colvin (2007: 82) and Hodot (1993: 203). Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult the works cited by Hodot, including his own, in support of his analysis.

(6.3) SEG 37:340 (Arcadia – Mantinea: early 4th c. BCE) L.16:

τὸς Ἑλισφάσιος πάντας ἀπυγράψασ/θαι ἰν τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς πατριᾶφι κὰτ [ἀ]λικίαν ἰν
δέκ' ἀμέραις ἄμα/ν οἱ σταλογράφοι μὸλωνσι.

“all the Helissonians must be registered by the Caretakers according with their
patronyms according to their age within ten days after the stone-cutters have
arrived.”⁷⁹

As the first editor of this inscription notes, this subordinator is also found in Delphi (Te Riele 1987: 181); these two instances are the only attestations in my dialectal corpus (see also Section 5.2.1 above).

Another subordinator which is newly found in this decree and is of particular interest for my study is ἀφῶτε ‘since, after’:

(6.4) SEG 37:340 (Arcadia – Mantinea: early 4th c. BCE) L.10:

— τὰς [δ]ίκας διῶ/[ξ]αι τὸς Ἑλνσφάσιος καὶ τὸς Μαντινέας ἀλλάλοις κὰ τὸς νόμος /
τῶν Μαντινέων, ἀφῶτε Μαντινῆς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἑλισφάσιοι, τῶι / ὕστερον·

“the Helissonians and the Mantineans must pursue litigation against each other in
accordance with the laws of the Mantineans, after the Helissonians became
Mantineans onward.”⁸⁰

79 French translation by the first editor (Te Riele 1987: 170): “Que tous les Hélistasiens se fassent enregistrer auprès des épimélètes avec leur nom paternel, selon leur âge, dans les dix jours après que les graveurs seront venus.”

80 French translation by the first editor (Te Riele 1987: 170): “Que les Hélistasiens et les Mantinéens entament leurs procès réciproques selon les lois des Mantinéens maintenant que les Hélistasiens sont devenue des Mantinéens, pour la suite.”

As the first editor notes, this subordinator is etymologically a combination of the preposition ἀπ’ ‘from’ and the genitive case of the relative pronoun (ὃ), but the genitive form proves that this subordinator was not analyzed as such a combination, because the preposition ἀπό governs the dative case in the synchronic rules of Arcadian (Te Riele 1987: 178).

The Arcadian instance is the only epigraphic attestation of the form ἀφῶτε, but the corresponding form without -τε is found three times in Northwest Greek. The older two of them are in treaties⁸¹, just as the Arcadian ἀφῶτε: one is a treaty between Delphi and Pellana in northern Laconia, and the other is between the Achaian League and the Arcadian city Orchomenos:

(6.5) FD 3,1 486 (Delphi: 285–280 BCE) Col.2 B L.21:

[διαλυθῆναι ἐν τρισὶν] ἔτεσιν ἀφ’ οὗ / τὸ σύββολον ἐ[γ]ένετο, αἶ κα μὴ π[ολέμου] γενομένου.

“(the dispute) must be solved within three years **after the treaty was concluded**, unless a war breaks out.”

(6.6) SGDI 1634 (Achaian League [found at Arcadia – Orchomenos]: 199 BCE)

L.11:

τῶν δὲ λαβόντων ἐν Ὀρ[χο]/[μένιοις ἢ] κλᾶρ[ο]ν ἢ οἰκίαν, ἀφ’ οὗ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐγένοντο, μὴ ἐξέστω μῆθηνι ἀπαλλοτριῶ/[σαι ἐντὸς ἐτ]έων εἴ[κ]οσι.

“and no one must alienate anything from those who have obtained allotment of land

81 The youngest attestation of ἀφ’ οὗ is an act of manumission:

(6.i) SGDI 1749 (Delphi: 170–157/6 BCE) L.6:

ἀποτεισιάτω δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον ἐν ἐνιαυτῶι, ἀφ’ οὗ κα τὸ πάθος γένη|ται περὶ Ἀρχέλαον.

“and (the manumitted slave) must pay this amount in one year **after the misfortune befalls Arkhelaos**.”

or residence in Orchomenos, after they became Achaians, for twenty years.”

The phraseological similarity among the three cases (6.4–6) is striking, and all three treaties involve cities in Arcadia or its vicinity (Pellana in Laconia). The chronology and the geographic concentration⁸² might suggest an Arcadian origin of this phraseology, but there is also room for skepticism: the Arcadian attestation is nearly two centuries older than the Northwest Greek attestations, and any attempt to connect the three cases is made somewhat unnatural because of the long chronological gap. A solid conclusion is difficult to draw from the very small number of attestations.

82 I have not been able to find any other parallel expression in epigraphic sources.

Chapter 7: Laconian and Messenian

The dialectal regions that will be discussed in this chapter are Laconia and Messenia, chosen as representatives of the Doric dialects in the Peloponnese. Inscriptions from Messenia belong to a relatively late period when the Doric-speaking regions have mostly lost the local features that differentiated various Doric dialects, so it is difficult to tell how similar the Messenian dialect was to the Laconian dialect.⁸³ Especially the dialect of the latest period (about the second and first centuries BCE) is sometimes called Peloponnesian Doric Koina, characterized by such features as the Mild Doric vocalism (e.g., εἶμεν ‘to be’ instead of Severe Doric ἦμεν, and the thematic gen.sg. -ου rather than Severe Doric -ω), εἴ κα ‘if’, and the spread of the thematic dative plural ending -οις to athematic stems (Lanérès 2014: 128–134).

7.1. Temporal subordinators

⁸³ Thucydides and Pausanias wrote that the Messenians and the Laconians spoke the same dialect (Thumb & Kieckers 1932: 103–104).

7.1.1. ἐπεὶ (κα) ‘when’

Although its dialectal status may be questioned (see further below in this section), the usages of ἐπεὶ (κα) ‘when’ in Laconia and Messenia are unsurprising. The subordinator ἐπεὶ can be used either with the subjunctive accompanied by the modal particle κα, referring to a possible future event, or with the indicative, referring to a real event. Apart from the motivation section, whose causal meaning is without any problem, ἐπεὶ + indicative is found three times. Two of these, both of which are in (7.1), are found in the account of events that led to the passing of the decree, making these usages similar to the motivation section:

(7.1) SEG 58:370 (Messenia – Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.65:

ὑστερον, ἐπεὶ ὑπεγραψάμεθα περὶ / τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἐκ ταύτας τᾶς χώρας τᾷ πόλει
τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν / ταλάντου διπλασίου, ἐπεὶ λαβοῦ/σα μεσοκοίνους τοὺς καρποὺς
οὐ⁷⁰/κ ἀπεδίδου, καὶ κεκριμένων ἀμῶν / περὶ τᾶς χώρας πάλιν ἀμὲ προεκα/λέσατο ἅ
πόλις τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν περὶ τᾶς Ἀκρειάτιος χώρας / ὡς κριτήριον συνελώμεθα ὡς
οὐ⁷⁵/ κεκριμένων ποθ’ ἀμέ

“Later, **when we had brought** a civil suit against the Megalopolitans about the fruits of this land claiming a compensation of twice a talent, **since they did not surrender the fruits they had received in trust**; and despite a court decision about the land, the Megalopolitans submitted afresh a challenge and asked us to choose a court (*kriterion*) for the land of Akreia, as if the case was not decided.”⁸⁴

Here, the second instance of ἐπεὶ is more clearly causal than the first. The following example,

84 Translation by Arnaoutoglou (2009/2010). The double underline in this example indicates the embedding of an ἐπεὶ-clause inside another ἐπεὶ-clause.

with the subordinate verb in the present tense, should be interpreted as causal as well:

(7.2) IG 5,1 1433 (Messenia – Messene: 39 BCE) L.14:

καὶ τῶν μὴ τετιμαμένων ἐπὶ Δάμωνος Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπὸ συμβόλων χωρὶς τᾶς
παρατιμασίας, ἐπεὶ ἐστι[ν] /¹⁵/ ἐν ταῖς μαστρεῖαις· ἑκατὸν δέκα ὀκτὼ τάλαντα, εἴκοσι
μνα<ῖ> μία, εἴκοσι στατῆρες δύο, ἐπτ' ὀβολοί·

“And from the Romans who have not been awarded at the time of Damon and were
excluded from the extra assessment by the agreement, since it is now in the
examinations: 118 talents, 21 minas, 22 staters and 7 obols.”

All the cases of ἐπεὶ + indicative are from the second and the first centuries BCE, and therefore the use of ἐπεὶ may be influenced by Koine. The attestations of ἐπεὶ κα + subjunctive in Laconia and Messenia belong to an older period, but they exhibit their own difficulties. The oldest cases are in the so-called Xuthias inscription, erected in Arcadia but composed mostly in a Doric dialect presumed to be Laconian (Buck 1955: 267–268):

(7.3) IG 5,2 159 (Arcadia – Tegea: 5th c. BCE) L.3:

αἰ δέ κ' ἀποθάνει : τῶν τέκνων / ἔμεν : ἐπεὶ κα πέντε φέτεα : /⁵/ ἡβῶντι ·

“But if (Xuthias) dies, (the amount due to him) should belong to his children five
years after they have come of age.” (literally “when they are adults for five years”)

(7.4) IG 5,2 159 (Arcadia – Tegea: 5th c. BCE) L.11:

αἰ δέ κ/α μὲ ζῶε, τοὶ υἱοὶ ἀνελῶσθῶ τοὶ γνῆ/σιοι, ἐπεὶ κα ἔβᾶσῶντι πέντε φέτε/α·

“But if (Xuthias) is not alive, his legitimate sons should take (the amount due to him)

five years after they have come of age.” (literally “when they are adults for five years”)

The difficulty in interpreting this inscription results from its provenance: it was inscribed by an Arcadian stone-cutter, and so we find a small number of Arcadian features, such as εἰ ‘if’ coexisting with the Laconian form αἰ (Buck 1955: 268). Thus the use of ἐπεὶ κα in this inscription could be an Arcadism as well (Hermann 1912: 311). The other case of ἐπεὶ κα + subj. is from Messenia:

(7.5) IG 5,1 1421 (Messenia – Kyparissia: 4th/3rd c. BCE) L.2:

ε[ἰ] τίς κα ἐσάγη<ι> εἰς τὰν τῶν Κυπαρισσιέ/ων χώραν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξέληται τὰ ἐμπόρια, ἀπ[ο]/γραψάσθω ποτὶ τοὺς πεντηκοστολόγ[ου]/⁵/ς καὶ καταβάλετω τὰμ πεντηκοστάν, π[ρι]/ν ἀνάγειν τι ἢ πωλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτεισά/τω δεκαπλόαν·

“If anyone imports (anything) into the land of Kyparissia, when he discharges the goods, he should register himself with the tax-collectors and pay the fiftieth, before he carries or sells anything. If not, he must pay ten times.”

Lanérés (2014: 125) points out that Ionic influences are felt in this text, exemplified by the expression εἰ δὲ μή ‘if not; otherwise’ and the use of the international terminology such as τὰμ πεντηκοστάν ‘the tax of the fiftieth’.

Thus the uses of ἐπεὶ κα in the Laconian and Messenian dialects have the possibility of being influenced by foreign dialects. In contrast, another temporal subordinator ὅκκα, with a similar function, has a firmer ground in the dialects, as I will discuss in the following section.

7.1.2. ὄκκα ‘when’

The subordinator ὄκκα ‘when’ (+ subj.) is attested once in Laconia and in Messenia respectively. It is interpreted as an apocopated/syncopated form of ὄκα κα (Hermann 1912: 305; Bourguet 1927: 95), which is not attested in Laconia or Messenia but is found in Argolis. Unlike ἐπεὶ (κα) discussed in the preceding section, this subordinator, even though attested only twice in Laconia and Messenia, seems to indicate an active status in the dialect. The older attestation is in Messenia:

(7.6) SEG 51:436 (Messenia – Messene: 317 BCE) L.13:

ὄκκα δὲ δέονταιί τι τῷ δάμῳ / [τοὶ πράξον]τες τὰν πράξιιν, ἔστω πόθοδος αὐτ[οῖ]/¹⁵/[ς
κατ τὰ γεγρα]μμ[έ]να·

“and, **when** those men performing the duty ask anything from the people, they should have the right to approach (the Assembly) according to what is written.”

This formula, which grants the honorand the access to the council or the assembly, is frequent in Attic-Ionic but is very rare in my dialectal corpus, exemplified only here, and this Messenian passage may have been inspired by the Attic-Ionic model, translating Attic ὅταν⁸⁵ with ὄκκα.

The younger attestation comes from Laconia:

(7.7) IG 5,1 962 (Laconia – Kotyrta: 2nd/1st c. BCE) L.23:

85 According to the *Sermo publicus decretorum proprius* of IG 2-3² part 4 fascicule 1 (entry πρόσοδος), the Attic formula uses ἐάν/ἄν ‘if’ (10x) more often than ὅταν ‘when’ (3x) in Attica.

καλεῖν [δὲ αὐτὸν] / καὶ εἰς προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς [γυ]/²⁵/μνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, οἷς ἅ [πόλις] /
τίθητι, **ὄκκα** καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους / προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτας / **καλῆι**.

“and (it was also resolved) that (the city) should invited (the honorand) to the front seat in athletic games that the city holds, **when it invites the other proxenoi and benefactors.**”

This text is peculiar in adding this subordinate clause “when (the city) invites the other *proxenoi* and benefactors”: the formula “the front seat in athletic games that the city holds” is extremely common in honorary decrees, but this inscription is in fact the only instance to my knowledge of this added clause. This means that ὄκκα could be used in creative composition; thus the subordinator ὄκκα appears to have remained in active use, even though it did not surface frequently in epigraphic materials, until the second century BCE. In the first century BCE, the Koine form ὅτε (ὅταν) appears.

7.1.3. ὅτε, ὅταν ‘when’

Within Laconia and Messenia, the instances of the subordinator ὅτε/ὅταν ‘when’ is limited to two inscriptions, one from each region, dated to the first century BCE. There is no doubt that the appearances of ὅτε/ὅταν are due to influences from Attic/Koine (Hermann 1912: 303). The Laconian inscription (7.8 and 7.9) has four repetitive instances of ὅτε + indicative referring to an actual event:

(7.8) IG 5,1 1146 (Laconia – Gytheion: after 71/70 BCE) L.6:

ἅ πόλις εὐχαριστοῦσα μνείαν ποιησαμένα ταῖς κα[θη]/[κ]ούσαις αὐτοὺς ἐκόσμησεν

τιμαῖς ἔν τε τῷ ἐπὶ Λαχάρεο[ς] / [ἐ]νιαυτῶι καὶ ὅτε περὶ τοῦ πρώτου δανείου τὰν λύσιν ἐποιούν/[το], καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Φαήνινου δὲ ἐνιαυτῶι, ὅτε περὶ τοῦ ἄλλου δα/¹⁰νείου τοῦ τᾶν τρισχιλιᾶν καὶ ἑνακοσιᾶν ἐξήκοντα πέντε / δραχμᾶν, ... (L.13) συνεχώρησαν ὥσ/τε κομίσασθαι ὅσον ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς οἱ πολῖται, καὶ ἐν τῷ /¹⁵/ ἐπὶ Βιάδα δὲ ἐνιαυτῶι, ὅτε ἰδίαν χάριν ἐξαιτησάμενοι / Πόπλιον τε Αὐτρώνιον καὶ Λεύκιον Μαρκίλιον ... (L.17) καὶ / παρατήσαντο τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπιτασ/σόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ...

“The city, thankfully commemorating (them), decorated them with appropriate honors in the year of Lakhares, **when** (the honorands) gave relief regarding the first loan, and also in the year of Phaeinos, **when**, regarding the other loan of 3965 drachmas, ... they agreed to receive such amount that the citizens persuaded them to take, and in the year of Biadas, **when**, asking for personal help from Publius Autronius and Lucius Marcilius, ... they gained exemption from (the duty of) soldiers and other goods imposed by them (on the city) ...”⁸⁶

(7.9) IG 5,1 1146 (Laconia – Gytheion: after 71/70 BCE) L.32:

ἔν τε τῷ ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτεος ἐνιαυτῶι, / [ὅ]τε Ἀντώνιος παρεγένετο, χρεῖαν ἐχούσας τᾶς πόλεως δι/αφόρων καὶ μηθενὸς ἄλλου θέλοντος συναλλάξει ἐδάνει/³⁵/σαν ἡμῖν δραχμὰς τετρακισχιλίας διακοσίας ...

“And in the year of Timokrates, **when Antonius came**, as the city was in short of money but no one else was willing to participate in a contract, (the honorands) lent us 4200 drachmas ...”

⁸⁶ Migeotte (1984: 93) provides a French translation.

This text is under heavy influence of Koine (Bourguet 1927: 107)⁸⁷, and therefore the appearance of ὅτε here is not surprising in any way.

The Messenian instances are in the sacred law from Andania, where ὅταν appears seven times in the prescription of actions that need to be taken during the ritual. I will cite only two instances here.

(7.10) IG 5,1 1390 (Messenia – Andania: 92/91 BCE) L.13:

στεφάνων. στεφάνους δὲ ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν ἱεροὶ καὶ αἱ ἱεραὶ πῖλον λευκόν, / τῶν δὲ τελουμένων οἱ πρωτομύσται στλεγγίδα. ὅταν δὲ οἱ ἱεροὶ παραγγείλονται, τὰ μὲν στλεγγίδα ἀποθέσθωσαν, /¹⁵/ στεφανούσθωσαν δὲ πάντες δάφναι.

“Concerning Wreaths: As wreaths, the sacred men and the sacred women must wear a white felt cap, and of the initiates, the first-time initiates must wear tiaras. When the sacred men make the announcement, they [the first-time initiates] must take off the tiaras and all be wreathed with laurel.”⁸⁸

(7.11) IG 5,1 1390 (Messenia – Andania: 92/91 BCE) L.26:

ὄρκος γυναικονόμου. οἱ δὲ ἱεροὶ ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμόσονται, ὀρκίζοντων τὸν γυναικονόμον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱερῶν, “εἴ μὲν ἔξῃ ἐπιμέλειαν περὶ τε τοῦ εἵματισμοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν / ἐπιτεταγμένων μοι ἐν τῷ διαγράμματι.”

“Oath of the *Gynaiconomos*: The sacred men, when they themselves swear an oath, must swear in the *gynaiconomos* over the same sacrifices, to ‘certainly take care of the clothing and the rest of the matters enjoined upon me in the *diagramma*.’”

87 Examples are the genitive singular πόλεως (L.21, 33) rather than πόλιος and the participial stem ὄντ- for the verb ‘to be’ (masc.acc.pl. ὄντας L.16; neut.acc.pl. ὄντα L.19) rather than ἐόντ-.

88 Translation by Gawlinski (2012: 69); so is the following passage.

As López Salvá (1997) notes, this inscription exhibits asymmetry in the use of the modal particle: the consistent use of ὅταν in all 7 instances of temporal-conditional clauses (rather than ὅκκα), and of ἄν (= ἔάν) in conditional clauses (rather than εἰ κα), contrasts with the frequent use of the Doric modal particle in relative clauses (ὅς κα 3x, ὅστις κα 1x and ὅσος κα 9x vs. ὅς ἄν 5x and ὅσος ἄν 1x). The distribution of the two modal particles in this inscription is not fully understood. There is, in fact, a context where either of the two may appear: καθὼς κα λάχωντι and καθὼς ἄν λάχωντι “as they gain by lot” (López Salvá 1997: 94). Therefore, ultimately, one must admit that we cannot fully predict the choice between the two particles.

7.1.4. ἕως ἄν, μέχρι ἄν ‘until, as long as’

The subordinator ἕως ἄν ‘until’ is attested once in Laconia and once in Messenia, both in late inscriptions.

(7.12) IG 5,1 26 (Laconia – Sparta: 2nd/1st c. BCE) (= SGDI 4516) L.8:

δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ἀμυκλαιείοις· ἐπαινέσαι ἐφόρους / τοὺς περὶ Πασιτέλη ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς
τὰν ἀρχὰν διεξαγνηκέναι. /¹⁰/ ποιοῦντων δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς προστροπαῖς ἀ<ε>ὶ
μερίδα, ἕως / ἄν ζῶσι, ὅπως ἀε[ὶ] ἀ ὠβὰ μναμονεύουσα τῶν γεγο<ν>των φι/
[λ]ανθρώπων εἰς αὐτὰν ἀποδιδούσα φαίνεται τὰς καταξίους / τιμάς.

“it was resolved by the Amyklaians that the ephoroi presided by Pasiteles should be commended for successfully completing the office. And they should always provide a share for them in the invocation **as long as they live**, so that the *oba*, commemorating their devotion towards it, may manifestly return the due honor.”

(7.13) IG 5,1 1390 (Messenia – Andania: 92/91 BCE) (= SGDI 4689) L.84:

περὶ τᾶς κράνας. τᾶς δὲ κράνας τᾶς ὄνομασμένας διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐγγράφων
Ἄγνας καὶ τοῦ γε[γε]^{/85}/νημένου ποτὶ τᾶι κράναι ἀγάλματος τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχέτω
Μνασίστρατος, ἕως ἄν ζεῖ, καὶ μετεχέτω μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τᾶν τε θυσιᾶν καὶ τῶν
μυστηρίων·

“About the Fountain: Mnasistratos must take care of the fountain named “Hagna” by
the ancient writings and the statue created near the fountain **as long as he lives**, and
he is to share in both the sacrifices and Mysteries with the sacred men.”⁸⁹

In both cases, the appearance of the Attic/Koine form ἕως ἄν is hardly surprising, given its late date. The Laconian inscription containing the passage (7.12) shows other indications of influence from Koine (such as the infinitive ending -ναι rather than μιν in διεξαγηκέναι ‘to have completed’ and the preposition πρὸς rather than ποτὶ), and the mixed linguistic situation in the sacred law of Andania has already been mentioned above (ἄν vs. κα in Section 7.1.3).

In the sacred law of Andania, in addition to ἕως ἄν cited above, we also find μέχρι ἄν.

(7.14) IG 5,1 1390 (Messenia – Andania: 92/91 BCE) (= SGDI 4689) L.59:

ὁ δὲ ταμίης, ὅσον κα παραλάβει διάφορον λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων, γραφέτω ἐν ὑπεχθέματι
εἰς τὰν ἐπισκευὰν τῶν ἐν τῷ ^{/60/} Καρνειασίῳ, καὶ μὴ ἀναχρησάσθω εἰς ἄλλο μηθέν,
μέχρι ἄν ἐπιτελεσθεῖ, ὅσων χρεία ἐστὶ ποτὶ τὰν τῶν μυστηρίων συντέλειαν·

“The treasurer must write in a supplementary account whatever remainder he receives
from these (funds) for the repair of the things in the Karneiasion, and must not use it

89 Translation by Gawlinski (2012: 83).

for anything else, until whatever funds are needed for the celebration of the Mysteries are paid in full.”⁹⁰

In this inscription, ἕως ἄν (+ pres. subj.) is used in the sense ‘as long as’ (see Examples 7.12 and 7.13), while μέχρι ἄν (+ aor. subj.) expresses ‘until’ (7.14). Yet, since there is only one attestation for each of the two subordinators, it is not safe to conclude that ἕως ἄν and μέχρι ἄν had any functional difference: the difference in meaning may very well derive from the aspectual difference in the verb.

7.2. Conditional subordinators

7.2.1. αἴ κα ‘if’

As a West Greek dialect, Laconian uses the conditional subordinator αἴ (κα). Hermann (1912: 7) was able to quote only one inscription, found in Arcadia, whose Laconian provenance was not secure (see Section 7.1.1 on ἐπεὶ above):

(7.15) IG 5,2 159 (Laconia [found at Arcadia – Tegea]: 5th c. BCE) L.1:

Ξουθίαι : τῶι Φιλαγαίῳ · διακάτι/αι μναῖ : αἴ κ’ αὐτὸς ἐμ, ἴτῳ ἀνελέσ/θῶ· αἰ δέ κ’

ἀποθάνει : τῶν τέκνων / ἔμεν : ἐπεὶ κα πέντε φέτεα : /⁵/ ἠεβῶντι · αἰ δέ κα μὲ γένετα/ι

<τ>έ<κ>ν<α>, τῶν ἐπιδικατῶν ἔμεν, / διαγνόμεν δὲ : τὸς Τεγεάτα[ς] / κα τὸν

90 Translation by Gawlinski (2012: 77).

θεθμόν. /^{face B L.9/} Ξουθία παρκαθῆκα τῷ Φιλαχα/^{10/}ἰὸ τζετρακάται μναῖ ἀργυρίῳ. εἰ
 μ/έν κα ζῶε, αὐτὸς ἀνελέσθῳ, αἰ δέ κ/α μῆ ζῶε, τοὶ υἱοὶ ἀνελῶσθῳ τοὶ γνῆ/σιοι, ἐπεὶ κα
 ἔβασῶντι πέντε φέτε/α· εἰ δέ κα μῆ ζῶντι, ταὶ θυγατέρες /^{15/} [ἀ]νελῶσθῳ ταὶ γνῆσιοι· εἰ
 δέ κα μῆ / ζῶντι, τοὶ νόθοι ἀνελῶσθῳ· εἰ δέ κα / μῆ νόθοι ζῶντι, τοὶ ᾿ς ἄσιστα πόθικ/ες
 ἀνελῶσθῳ· εἰ δέ κ' ἀνφιλέγῳντι/οι, Τεγεᾶται διαγνόντῳ κὰ τὸν /^{20/} θεθμόν.

“Deposit for Xouthias son of Philakhaios, two hundred minas. If he is alive, he should come and take it, but if he has died, it should belong to his children five years after the have come of age. But if there are no children, it should belong to the *epidikatoi* and the Tegeans should decide in accordance with the law. Deposit for Xouthias son of Philakhaios, four hundred minas of silver. If he is alive, he should take it himself, but if he is not alive, his legitimate sons should take five years after they come of age. If his legitimate sons are not alive, his illegitimate sons should take it. If no illegitimate son is alive, the closest relatives should take it. If there is a dispute, the Tegeans should decide according to their law.”

Here αἰ is a Laconian feature that was not completely overwritten by the Arcadian εἰ. In addition to this inscription, we now have a few attestations of αἰ κα from Sparta:

(7.16) SEG 26:461 (Sparta: ca. 500-470 BCE) L.16:

αἰ δέ τις κα [ἐπὶ τὰν τῶν] / Ἐρξαδιέον χόραν [στρατεύει] / ἐπὶ πολέμοι, ἐπικο[ρῆν
 Λακεδαιμο]/νίος παντὶ σθένε[ι καττὸ δυνατόν]· /^{20/} αἰ δέ τις κα ἐπὶ τὰ[ν
 Λακεδαιμο]/νίον χόραν στρ[ατεύει ἐπὶ πολέ]/μοι, ἐπικορῆν Ἐ[ρξαδιῆς παντὶ] /
 [σθένει καττὸ δυνατόν. . . .]

“and if anyone brings an expedition into the land of Erxadia in hostility, the Lakedaimonians must come in their aid with all their might; and if anyone brings an expedition into the land of the Lakedaimonians in hostility, the Erxadians must come in their aid with all their might ...”

αὐ at the beginning of (7.16) is a strange variant of αἰ: the first editor of this inscription notes that such an alternation between αε and αἰ is unfamiliar in Laconian (Peek 1974: 9). Yet the authenticity of the West Greek subordinator αἰ in Laconian is now beyond doubt.

In contrast to Laconian, and surprisingly for a West Greek dialect, Messenian mostly uses εἰ, rather than αἰ, as the conditional subordinator throughout its attested history. This was already noticed by Hermann (1912: 271), who suggested that εἰ in Messenian may be due to Arcadian influence. Since Hermann’s study, however, one possible instance of αἰ has been discovered in a decree passed by Pylos in the first century BCE. Here, the first editor of the inscription interpreted the sequence AI as αἰ ‘if’, giving the following text:

(7.17) SEG 57:369 (Messenia – Pylos [found at Messene]: late 1st c. BCE) L.12:

[ἀναθ]έμ[εν δὲ αὐτοῦ] / καὶ εἰκόνα ἐμ Μεσσάναι ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανε[στάτῳ τόπῳ τᾶς] /
 [ἀγ]ορᾶς διάθεσιν ἔχουσαν, ἅτις κα ὑπ[- - - -c. 9- - - -]στα καὶ ^{/15/} [- -c. 4- -]τα αἰ κα
καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀρχέδαμος προαιρεῖται καὶ / ἐπιγρ[άψα]ι «πόλις Πυλίων Ἀρχέδαμον
 Φιλοστράτου / Μεσσάνιον τὸν αὐτᾶς εὐεργέταν»·

“and (it was also resolved) that they erect his statue in Messene, in the most prominent place of the agora, with whatever arrangement ... and ... if Archedamos himself also prefers, and that they inscribe, ‘the city of Pylos (commends)

Archedamos son of Philostratos, man of Messene, benefactor of Pylos.”

However, I think that it is also possible to interpret AI as the locative subordinator ἄι ‘where’, whose Attic/Koine-influenced form ἤι is attested in Messenian (see Section 7.3.1).

Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult the original publication of the inscription, and therefore I do not know the bases of the interpretation taken by the editor. At least, I was able to find a potential parallel passage to each interpretation. First, as a parallel for the locatival interpretation, there is a Koine inscription:

(7.18) IG 12,7 388 (Aegean – Amorgos – Aigiale: 200–150 BCE) L.34:

ἐλέσθαι πρεσβευτήν, /³⁵/ ὅστις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἰγιαλὸν τό τε ψή/φισμα ἀποδώσει τῆι πόλει καὶ παρακαλέ/σει Αἰγιαλεῖς ὄντας φίλους καὶ εὖνους ἀ/ναγράψαι καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα / εἰς στήλην καὶ στήσαι αὐτήν οὗ ἂν προαι/⁴⁰/ρῆται Κριτόλαος.

“that they should choose an ambassador who would visit Aigialos, give this decree to the city, and recommend that the Aigialians, as well-minded friends, should inscribe this decree in a stele in their city also and erect it **wherever Kritolaos prefers.**”

And secondly, for the conditional interpretation:

(7.19) IG 12,3 249 (Aegean – Anaphe: 1st c. BCE) L.24:

σταῖσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα μαρμαρίναν, εἰ δὲ κα προαιρῆται ἐν πόλει, [ἐν ᾧ] /²⁵/ [κα] δήληται τόπω· ἑτέρα ἐν [τ]ῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀσγελάτα·

“and they should erect his statue made of marble, if he prefers it in the city, in a place where (the statue) would be prominent; otherwise, in the sanctuary of Apollo Aseglatas.”

If the interpretation of AI as the conditional subordinator is accepted, αι is probably an artificial archaization, because it appears extremely unlikely that the Messenian dialect kept the West Greek subordinator without surfacing for centuries. If, on the other hand, one reads the locative subordinator ἄι here, then the single attestation of αι in Messenian would be eliminated, but one would still face the chronological paradox where ἦι (discussed in Section 7.3.1) is attested older than ἄι (discussed here).

7.2.2. εἴ (κα), ἄν ‘if’

In Laconian, in contrast to Messenian, which will be discussed shortly, εἴ ‘if’ is not so frequent. The oldest attestation is IG 5,2 159, a fifth-century inscription found in Arcadia in which αι is also found (7.15 in Section 7.2.1). The use of εἴ here is attributed to the Arcadian stone-cutter who inscribed this inscription; there are other Arcadian features in this text, such as subjunctive in -ἔ rather than -ἔι and the palatalization of the initial consonant in τετρακάται (Buck 1955: 268).

(7.20) IG 5,2 159 (Laconia [found at Arcadia – Tegea]: 5th c. BCE) L.9:

Ξουθία παρκαθῆκα τῶι Φιλαχα^{/10/}ἰῶ τετρακάται μναῖ ἀργυρίῳ. εἴ μ/έν κα ζῶῆ, αὐτὸς ἀνελέσθῳ, αἱ δέ κ/α μῆ ζῶῆ, τοὶ υἱοὶ ἀνελῶσθῳ τοὶ γνῆ/σιοι, ἐπεὶ κα ἔβάσῳντι πέντε φέτε/α· εἴ δέ κα μῆ ζῶντι, ταὶ θυγατέρες ^{/15/} [ἄ]νελῶσθῳ ταὶ γνῆσῳιαι· εἴ δέ κα μῆ / ζῶντι,

τοὶ νόθοι ἀνελῶσθῶ· εἰ δέ κα / μὲ νόθοι ζῶντι, τοὶ ᾿ς ἄσιστα πόθικ/ες ἀνελῶσθῶ· εἰ δέ κ' ἀνφιλέγοντ/οι, Τεγεᾶται διαγόντῶ καὶ τὸν /²⁰/ θεθμόν.

“Deposit for Xouthias son of Philakhaios, four hundred minas of silver. **If he is alive**, he should take it himself, but if he is not alive, his legitimate sons should take five years after they come of age. **If his legitimate sons are not alive**, his illegitimate sons should take it. **If no illegitimate son is alive**, the closest relatives should take it. **If there is a dispute**, the Tegeans should decide according to their law.”

The only other possible attestation of εἰ rather than αἰ in my data collection is an inscription from the second century, but the first letter of the subordinator is restored, and therefore the evidence is not compelling:

(7.21) IG 5,1 4 (Laconia – Sparta: after 188 BCE) L.8:

ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι· πρόξενον / εἶμεν τᾶς πόλεος Δαμίωνα Θεοκρίτου /¹⁰/ Ἀμβρακιώταν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους / [κ]αὶ ὑπάρχειν ἀτέλειαν αὐτῶι τε καὶ ἐγ/[γ]όνοις καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν, / [ε]ἰ οἰκοῖεν ἐλ Λακεδαίμονι·

“it was resolved by the People, that Damion son of Theokritos, man of Ambrakia, should be a *proxenos* of the city, both himself and his offspring, and he and his offspring should have exemption from taxes and the right to possess land and residence, **if they live in Lakedaimonia**.”

As presented by Hermann (1912: 27), there are attestations of εἰ in Laconian in the Common Era, showing the growing influence of Koine.

The situation in Messenian is quite different, as I already mentioned: εἰ is regularly used, whereas we have only one instance of αἰ (or possibly none – see Section 7.2.1). The oldest attestations of εἰ in Messenian go back to the 4th century BCE (7.22); two 3rd-century instances (7.23 and 7.24) have been added since the work by Hermann:

(7.22) IG 5,1 1421 (Messenia – Kyparissia: 4th/3rd c. BCE) L.2:

εἰ τις κα ἐσάγη<ι> εἰς τὰν τῶν Κυπαρισσιέ/ων χώραν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξέληται τὰ ἐμπόρια, ἀπ[ο]/γραψάσθω ποτὶ τοὺς πεντηκοστολόγ[ου]/⁵/ς καὶ καταβαλέτω τὰμ πεντηκοστάν, π[ρι]/ν ἀνάγειν τι ἢ πωλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτεισά/τω δεκαπλόαν· ὅτι δέ τις κα ἐξάγη<ι> κατὰ / θάλασσαν, ἀπογραψάμενος ποτὶ τοὺς / πεντηκοστολόγους καὶ καταβαλὼν τὰ/¹⁰/ν πεντηκοστάν, ἀντιθέσθω παρακαλέ/σας τὸμ πεντηκοστολόγον, πρόσθεν / δὲ μή ἀντιθέσθω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτεισάτω / δεκαπλόαν τὰν πεντηκοστάν κατ[ὰ τ]/[ὰ]ν σύγγραφον· εἰ δὲ τις κα ὀλιγοτιμάση, /¹⁵/ [ἐπ]ικαθιξεῖται ὁ πεντηκοστολόγο[ς], / [ὄν κα] χρήζηι κατὰ τὰν σύγγραφο[ν].

“If anyone imports (anything) into the land of Kyparissia, when he discharges the goods, he should register himself with the tax-collectors and pay the fiftieth, before he carries or sells anything. If not, he must pay ten times. And, after registering himself with the tax-collectors and paying the fiftieth for whatever he imports by sea, he should request the tax-collector and have (his goods) in return; he should not have (his goods) returned before (the payment of the tax). If not, he must pay ten times the fiftieth according to the written regulation. If anyone underestimates the value, the tax-collector will impose (the tax) for whatever amount he lacks, according to the written regulation.”

(7.23) SEG 58:369 (Messene: ca. 300–250 BCE) L.11:

- - τὸν αὐτὸν]¹²/ν φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἔξω καὶ εἴ τις καὶ ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν - - - - - ca. 18-21
- - - - ἢ Ἀπτ]/εραίων ἢ Ἐλευθερναίων ἢ Σιβρυτίων ἢ τῶν Ἀνοπολιτῶν κατὰ γᾶν ἢ
κατὰ θάλαττ]/αν ὄπλα ἐπιφέρει ἢ ἐπὶ πολέμ[ωι στρατεύηται, βοαθεῖν Μεσσανίους
παντὶ σθένει] / καθότι κα παραγγέλλωντι [- -

“I will hold the same person as friend and as enemy, and if anyone brings warfare, or
serves in war, against the land of the Apterans, Eleutherans, Sibrytians or
Anopolitans, either by land or by sea, (I will) help the Messenians with all might,
according as ..., the Apterans, Eleutherans, Sibrytians or Anopolitans command”

(7.24) SEG 41:322 (Messene: ca. 295 BCE) L.8:

ποι]ῆσ[θαι δ’ αὐτοὺς πάντα] τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ εἴ τις καὶ ἐπὶ Μεσ]/[σανίων στρατε]ύη[ι
τὰν χώραν ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς] Μεσσανίων συμμάχους ἢ τοπο/[- - - - -]ωι ἢ
φυγάδας κατάγηι, βοαθεῖν / [Λυσίμαχον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους,

“and they shall do everything they can, and if anyone should bring warfare against the
land of the Messenians, or ... allies or topo... against the Messenians, ..., or restore
exiles, Lysimakhos and his allies should come in aid,”

7.3. Locative subordinators

7.3.1. (h)ᾶι(περ), ἦι, (εἶ) ‘where’

The locative subordinator corresponding to Attic ἦ ‘where’ is attested in two variants, Laconian

(h)ἄπερ ‘where’ – if the restoration is accepted – and Messenian ἦι ‘where’^{91 92}. The latter, much later than the Laconian instance, can safely be considered as an Attic-Koine form.

(7.25) IG 5,1 222 (Laconia – Sparta: 6th c. BCE⁹³) L.1:

Αἰγλάτας τῶι Καρνείῳ[ι] / [τ]όδ’ ἄγαλμ’ ἀνέθεκε,
 πε/νπάκι νικάσας τὸ[ν] / μ[ακρ]ὸν καὶ ποτέθρ⁵/[εξε
 τ]ὸν δολιχὸν τρι/άκις, Ἀθηναίοις δ[ὲ ...] / [...
h?]ἄπερ Συρμαία [~~~~~]

“Aiglatas dedicated this gift to Apollo Karneios, after winning the long race five times, and in addition he ran the short race three times, and in the Athenian (Games) ... where the Games of Syrmaea ...”

(7.26) SEG 58:370 (Messenia – Messene: 183/2 BCE). L.90:

δεδοχθαι τῶι δάμῳι / ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τᾶς Μεσ/σάνας εἰς τὸ βάθρον τὸ παρὰ
 τὸ Βου/λεῖον ἦι οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐντὶ τὰν τε πρόκλη/σιν τὰν γενομένην ὑπὸ τῶν

91 I will discuss the status of εἶ in Laconia and Messenia here. Hermann (1912: 50) cites one instance of εἶ in GDI 4646 = IG 5,1 1430 (Messenia – Messene / 2c. BCE), which would be unique in Laconia and Messenia. However, IG 5,1 1430 emends the text so as to read the preposition εἰς ‘into’ here:

(7.i) IG 5,1 1430 L.11:

[— — — τοῦ]ς ὄρους· ἀπὸ [δὲ] τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ [καλουμένου Κρη]/[σίου (verbum) —]αι ἐπ’ εὐθείας εἰς τὰν κρά[ναν τὰν καλουμένην — —] / [συμφώνως Μεσσα]νίοις, καθὼς τὰ σαρμεῖα [δεικνύει· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κολω]/[νοῦ τοῦ καλουμένου Κρησίου εἰ<ς> τὸ σαρμεῖον — — — — — — — —] /¹⁵/ [— — ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο]υ εἰς τὰν κράναν τὰν κα[λουμένην — — — — — — — —]

“... boundary stones. From the hill called Kresios ... along a straight line to the spring called ... by the Messenians, according as the signs indicate. From the hill called Kresios to the sign ... From this to the spring called ...” (or “to the hill called Kresios, where the sign [stands]” if the locative subordinator εἶ is to be read)

This is another instance of the methodological difficulty that epigraphical studies frequently face: how readily should one accept emendation? Here I am inclined to accept the emendation by IG 5,1, on the ground that the locative subordinator εἶ is otherwise unattested in Messenia and that the expression “from X to Y” in boundary inscriptions is very common – in fact, it is found twice in (7.i): εἰς τὰν κρά[ναν...] and εἰς τὰν κράναν τὰν κα[λουμένην...].

92 For a possible case of Messenian ἄι, see Section 7.2.1.

93 According to Woodward (1908/1909: 81). IG 5,1 does not give the date.

Μεγα⁹⁵/λοπολιτᾶν καὶ ...

“It should be resolved by the people, that they will inscribe, in the sanctuary of Messana, into the base that stands near the Bouleion **where the Riders are**, the challenge made by the Megalopolitans and (other statements relevant to this case) ...”

The form ἦι exhibits the Attic-Ionic vocalism, but this is probably to be seen as an instance of admixture of Attic/Koine and dialectal features typical of the later period. Apart from the outcome of the vowel **ā*⁹⁴, this Messenian inscription also shows fluctuation in the first person plural ending (ἀπεδώκαμε L.39, LL.63-64, ἐνικάσαμε L.87 vs. ἐνικά/σαμεν LL.80-81).

7.3.2. ἡόπι κα ‘wherever’

The subordinator ὅπι ‘where, whither’ is not frequently found, and the majority of instances are from Crete in the collection of Hermann (1912: 92), but one attestation is found in Sparta.

(7.27) SEG 26:461 (Laconia – Sparta: ca. 500-470 BCE, perh. in the 4th c.) L.1:

[συνθῆκ]αι Αἰτῶλοῖς. κ[αττάδε] / [φιλία]ν καὶ ἠιράναν ἔ[μεν ποτ] / [Αἰτῶ]λὸς καὶ
συνμα[χίαν . .3-4. .] / [.3-4. .]νμονος μαν[τι .1-2. ἠεπο]⁵/[μ]ένῶς **ἡόπι κα**

94 This inscription is nearly consistent in preserving the vowel **ā* as *α*. The exceptions, apart from ἦι, are the ethnonym τῶν Μιλησίων “the Milesians” (L.80, LL.108-109) – where -η- and -σι- can be accounted for by the nature of the word as a proper noun – and one possibly problematic instance of ψήφισμα “decree” (L.101): even though the first editor prints the word with H (Θέμελης 2008), the photograph provided by him appears to me to show slanted strokes compatible with A rather than H. If this is the editor’s error, the exceptionality of the Koine vocalism in the subordinator ἦι in this inscription would be increased, and might require an explanation similar to the case I made for ὅπους in Thessalian: that the Messenians at this time did not have any subordinator to translate Attic/Koine ἦι and therefore had to use the Attic/Koine form. However, I have not seen the actual stone, and even if this inscription had ψάφισμα here, inconsistency in *α/η* is exemplified by another Messenian inscription, SEG 11:974 (Messenia – Thouria / 1st c. BCE): as the first editor notes (Valmin 1929: 133–134), this inscription has τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ (L.22) but [τ]/ᾶς Συρίας θεοῦ (LL.24-25) “of the Syrian goddess”.

Λα[κεδαιμόνι]/[ο]ι **ἡγίονται** καὶ κα[τὰ γῆν] / [κ]αὶ καθάλαθαν, τὸ[ν αὐτὸν] / φίλον
καὶ τόνναυτ[ὸν ἐχθρὸν] / ἔχοντες ἰὸν περ [καὶ Λακε]/¹⁰/δαιμόνιοι.

“Treaty with the Aetolians. On the following terms there should be friendship and peace with the Aitolians, as well as alliance ... in the priesthood of ...nmonos, (– with the Aitolians, who should) follow **wherever the Spartans may lead**, both by land and by sea, having the same friend and enemy as the Spartans.”

The first editor of the inscription provides some parallels of this expression in treaties described in Xenophon’s *Hellenica* (Peek 1974: 7):

(7.28) Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.2.20 (Treaty between Sparta and Athens in 404 BCE)

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται

“To follow the Spartans wherever they lead, both by land and by sea, considering the same person (as the Spartans do) to be an enemy and a friend”

(7.29) Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.3.26 (Treaty between Sparta and Olynthus in 379 BCE)

συνθήκας ἐποίησαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν,
ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι⁹⁵

“They concluded a treaty to consider the same person to be an enemy and a friend as Spartans do, and to follow (them) wherever they lead, and to be allies”

(7.30) Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.1.42 (Treaty between Boeotia and Achaëa in 367

95 Peek (1974: 7) does not cite the phrase “καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι”, but I will include this phrase for the sake of my discussion here.

was eager to lend money whatever amount any individual or the city was in need of,
and stated **that they accepted**... **that they were** ...”

Here, if the restorations are correct, an explicative διότι-clause is followed by an explicative ὅτι-clause. This is likely to be a case of stylistic avoidance of repetition. It should also be noted that the διότι-clause has its verb in the indicative, while the ὅτι-clauses have the oblique optative. This also appears to be stylistic: it is difficult to imagine any difference in the nuance.

From Messenia, there are cases for both the explicative function ‘that’ and the causal function ‘because’. As an instance of the explicative function, I will cite the following passages from the same inscription, one with the oblique optative, the other without:

(7.32) SEG 58:370 (Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.53:

-- 15 -- **ὅτι**] Ἀκρειᾶτις ^{vacat} / καὶ Βιπειᾶτις Ἀρκαδία **εἶ**[**ῆ** καὶ] Με^{/55}/γαλοπολίτις,
ἀμῶν δὲ δι[δ]ασκόν/των **ὅτι** Μεσσανία **εἶ**[**ῆ**]_(opt),

“– (claiming?) **that** Akrejata and Vipejata belonged to Arcadia. On the other hand, we have claimed **that they belong to Messenia**.”⁹⁷

(7.33) Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.84: ὅπως οὖν ὑπό^{/85}/μναμα εἶ καὶ εἰς

τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον / **ὅτι** περὶ τε τᾶς Ἀκρειάτιος καὶ Βιπειά/τιος κρίμασιν
ἐνικάσαμες_(indic) τοὺς Με/γαλοπολίτας καὶ περὶ τε τᾶς ζαμίας / ᾗς ἐζαμίωσαν ἀμὲ οἱ
δαμιοργοὶ **ἐ**^{/90}/**νικάσαμες**_(indic) ^{vac.} δεδόχθαι τῶι δάμωι / ἀναγράψαι ...

“In order to remain as a reminder in later times about the judgment on the land of Akreia and Vipeia **that** we have won over the Megalopolitans and about the fine

97 Translation by Arnaoutoglou (2009/2010: 200).

imposed by the *damiorgoi* that we have won, the *demos* has decided to inscribe ...”⁹⁸

The same inscription attests to the causal function as well:

(7.34) SEG 58:370 (Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.75:

τῶν δὲ κοι/νῶν δαμοργῶν ἐπακολουθησάν/των αὐτᾶι καὶ ζαμίαν ἀμῖν ἐπι/βαλόντων
ὅτι οὐ συναιρούμεθα_(pres.indic) / κριτήριον καὶ εἰσαγαγόντων εἰς τὸ ^{/80/} δικαστήριον τῶν
Μιλησίων

“And the *koinoi damiorgoi* accepted the challenge of the Megalopolitans and imposed on us a fine, **because** we did not participate in the selection of the court (to judge the case) and having introduced (the case) to a court of Milesian (judges), [...]”

Here it is clear that the ὅτι-clause gives the reason why a fine was imposed on Messene. This passage has, in fact, already been discussed in relation to the oblique optative in Chapter 2.

7.4.2. διότι ‘that’

All the instances of διότι in Laconian (2x) and Messenian (2x) are explicative, meaning ‘that’.

All the dated attestations belong to the 2nd or 1st century BCE, and all the attestations are found in inscriptions where Attic/Koine influence is visible. In Laconian, one instance of διότι with the explicative function has already been discussed above (7.31 in Section 7.4.1); the other attestation is found in the hortatory formula:

⁹⁸ Translation by Arnaoutoglou (2009/2010: 200–201).

(7.35) IG 5,1 962 (Laconia – Kotyrta: undated) L.31:

ἀναγράψαι δὲ / τὰν προξενίαν ταύταν / τοὺς ἐφόρους τοὺς περὶ Εὐ/κρατίδαν εἰς
στάλαν λιθί³⁵/ναν καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ / ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ / Ὑπερτελεάτα,
ὅπως πᾶσιν / φανερόν ᾗι, διότι ἅ πόλις / τοὺς ἰδίους εὐεργέτας τ[ι]/⁴⁰/μει ταῖς
καταξίους τιμαῖς.

“And (it was also resolved) that the *ephoroi* under Eukratidas should inscribe this proxeny in a block of stone and erect it in the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas, so that it will be clear to everyone **that** the city pays the due honors to individual benefactors.”

The two Messenian cases have similar grammatical contexts, as they are both governed by the participle ἐμφανιζόντων ‘to state’ in the genitive absolute:

(7.36) SEG 11:972 (Messenia – Thouria: ca. 150 BCE) L.3:

Ἐμφανιζόντων τῶν συνδίκων διότι ἀνθαιρέμεθα_(pf) κριτήριον τὰν πόλιν / τῶν
Πατρώων ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας, ὅς ἔχει ἅ πόλις ἀμῶν ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν /⁵ / τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν,
ὥστε κριθῆμεν ἐν τοῖς συνέδροις πάντοις / τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνὸς τᾶ δυοδεκάτα ’,
ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις ...

“As the advocates state **that** we have chosen the city of Patrai as the place of arbitration for the case that our city has against the city of Megalopolis, so that the case may be judged in the presence of all the councilmen on the 12th day of the 12th month, it was resolved by the council that ...”

(7.37) IG 5,1 1432 (Messenia – Messene: 39 BCE) L.12: καὶ / ἐμφανιζόντων καὶ

πλειόνων διότι καλῶς <ἔχει φροντίσαι> τοῦ ἀποδέξασθαι τὰς τιμὰς Ἀριστοκλῆ τὸν γραμματῆ τῶν / συνέδρων, οὗ καὶ ἀποδεξαμένου, vac. ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις· ἐπαινέ[σ]αι Ἀριστοκλῆ ...

“And as even more people state that it is good to see to it that Aristokles, the secretary of the council, should accept honors, and as he accepted, it was resolved by the council that it will commend Aristokles ...”

7.5. Comparative subordinators

7.5.1. καθά, καθάπερ ‘as’

No instance of καθά(περ) is found in Laconian. There are a decent number of instances attested for Messenian, some in the generalizing formula.

(7.38) IyMagn 45 (Caria – Magnesia on the Maeander: 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.2:

ἐπειδὴ παραγενόμενοι πρεσβευταὶ παρὰ Μαγνήτων / τῶν ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρου Φιλίσκος Πυθαγόρου, Κόνων Διο/νυσίου, Λάμπετος Πυθαγόρου ἐνεφάνιζον τάν τε οἰ⁵/κειότατα καὶ ... (L.10) κα[ἰ π]ερὶ / τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων διαλεχθέντων, καθὰ εἶ[χον] / τὰς ἐντολὰς παρὰ τῆς ἰδίας πόλεως ἀρμοζό[ν]τ[ως τοῖς] / ἐν τῷ ψαφίσματι καταγεγραμμένοις, ἐνεφά[νιζον] / δὲ καὶ ...

“Since Philiskos son of Pythagoras, Konon son of Dionysios and Lampetos son of Pythagoras, coming as ambassadors from Magnesia on the Maeander, exhibited the

friendship and ..., and discussed⁹⁹ all the other matters just as they were instructed to by their city, in accordance with what is written in the decree, and (since) they also manifested ...”

(7.39) SEG 55:509 (Messenia – Messene: 4c BCE) L.1:

Ἔδοξε τῶι δάμῳ/μῳι τῶ[ι Μεσσανίων]· / Σάτυρο[ον⁷ . . . M]/εγαλοπ[ολίταν
 πρ]/⁵/όξενον [εἶμεν καὶ] / εὐεργέ[ταν . . . ca, 6. . .]/ν αὐτὸν [καὶ ἐκγόνο]/υς, εἶμε[ν δ’
 αὐτῶι ? - - - **κα]/θῶπερ [τοῖς ἄλλοις] /¹⁰/προξέν[οις] . . .**

“It was resolved by the People of Messene, that Satyros son of ..., man of Megalopolis, should be our *proxenos* and benefactor ... himself as well as his descendants, and that he should have (privileges) just as the other proxenoi ...”

(7.40) IG 5,1 1425 (Messenia – Messene: late 4th/3rd c. BCE) L.4:

ἔδοξε τῶι δάμῳ/⁵/μῳι· Μέναλκον Ἀριστομένεος / [Ζ]ακύνθιον πρ/όξενον εἶμεν / καὶ
 εὐεργέτᾱ/¹⁰/[ν] Μεσσανίων α/ὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγό/νους· εἶμεν δὲ / αὐτῶι τὰν προ/ξενίαν
καθῶπ/¹⁵/ερ τοῖς ἄλλοι[ς] / προξένοις·

“it was resolved by the People, that Menalkos son of Aristomenes, man of Zakynthos, should be our *proxenos* and benefactor, himself as well as his descendants; and that he should have proxeny just as the other proxenoi.”

(7.41) SEG 43:135 (Messenia – Messene: 317 BCE) L.8:

[- - - - -]α καθῶπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰθωμ/[αίοις - - - - - αὐτ]οῖς καὶ γένει·

“... just as the other Ithomian (citizens?)...to themselves as well as their offspring.”

These formulaic attestations in Messenia will be discussed in Chapter 8 on supradialectal

99 Predicates in genitive absolute alternating with finite verbs are also found in other decrees sent to Magnesia on the Maeander (Dubois 1988 2:275).

formulas.

7.5.2. καθότι (κα) ‘as’

The subordinator καθότι is attested twice in Messenian. The older attestation (7.42), with the subjunctive and the modal particle, can be straightforwardly interpreted as comparative, even though the words surrounding the clause are not preserved. It is found in the oath of alliance between Messene and several Cretan cities:

(7.42) SEG 58:369 (Messenia – Messene: ca. 300–250 BCE) L.11:

- - τὸν αὐτὸ]/ν φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἔξω καὶ εἴ τις κα ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν - - - - - ca. 18-21 - -
- - ἢ Ἀπτ]/εραίων ἢ Ἐλευθερναίων ἢ Σιβρυτίων ἢ τῶν Ἀνωπολιτῶν κατὰ γᾶν ἢ κατὰ
θάλαττ]/αν ὄπλα ἐπιφέρῃ ἢ ἐπὶ πολέμ[ωι στρατεύῃται, βοαθεῖν Μεσσανίους παντὶ
σθένει] /¹⁵/ καθότι κα παραγγέλλωντι [- - - - - 12-15 - - ἢ Ἀπτεραῖοι ἢ Ἐλευθερναῖοι
ἢ Σιβρ]/ύτιοι ἢ τοὶ Ἀνωπολίται·

“I will hold the same person as friend and as enemy, and if anyone brings warfare, or serves in war, against the land of the Apterans, Eleuthernans, Sibrytians or Anopolitans, either by land or by sea, (I will) help the Messenians with all might, according as ... , the Apterans, Eleuthernans, Sibrytians or Anopolitans command”

The other instance of καθότι in Messenian appears to mean ‘because’, although the interpretation as ‘according as’ is not impossible. This passage has already been discussed in relation to the oblique optative in Chapter 2; I will repeat the passage here.

(7.43) SEG 58:370 (Messenia – Messene: 183/2 BCE) L.65:

ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ ὑπεγραψάμεθα περὶ / τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἐκ ταύτας τᾶς χώρας τᾶι πόλει
τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν / ταλάντου διπλασίου, ἐπεὶ λαβοῦσα μεσοκοίνους τοὺς καρποὺς
οὐ^{/70/}κ ἀπεδίδου, καὶ κεκριμένων ἀμῶν / περὶ τᾶς χώρας πάλιν ἀμὲ προεκα/λέσατο ἅ
πόλις τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν περὶ τᾶς Ἀκρειάτιος χώρας / ὡς κριτήριον συνελόμεθα ὡς
οὐ^{/75/} κεκριμένων ποθ' ἀμέ, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν δαμιουργῶν ἐπακολουθησάν/των αὐτᾶι
καὶ ζαμίαν ἀμῖν ἐπιβαλόντων ὅτι οὐ συναιρούμεθα / κριτήριον καὶ εἰσαγαγόντων εἰς
τὸ^{/80/} δικαστήριον τῶν Μιλησίων ἐνικά/σαμεν πάσαις ταῖς ψάφοις καθότι / εἴημεν_(opt)
κεκριμένοι περὶ τε ταύτας / τᾶς χώρας^{vac.} καὶ τᾶς Βιπειάτιος πο/τὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας

“Later, when we had brought a civil suit against the Megalopolitans about the fruits of this land claiming a compensation of twice a talent, since they did not surrender the fruits they had received in trust; and despite a court decision about the land, the Megalopolitans submitted afresh a challenge and asked us to choose a court (*kriterion*) for the land of Akreia, as if the case was not decided. And the *koinoi damiorgoi* accepted the challenge of the Megalopolitans and imposed on us a fine, because we did not participate in the selection of the court (to judge the case) and having introduced (the case) to a court of Milesian (judges), we won with a unanimous decision (of the judges), as the dispute with the Megalopolitans for this land had already been decided, as well as for Vipeiata.”¹⁰⁰

7.5.3. ποθό ‘as’?

From Sparta there is one attestation of ποθό (= Att. πρὸς ὄ) that may be interpreted as a

100 Translation by Arnaoutoglou (2009/2010).

comparative subordinator ‘as’. It is found in a treaty between Sparta and Aitolia:

(7.44) SEG 26:461 + SEG 32:398 (Sparta: ca. 500–470) L.10:

μεδὲ κ[ατάλυθιν] / ποιῆ(θ)θαι ἄνευ Λα[κεδαιμονίων] / μεδενί, ἀντιέμε[ν δὲ
μαχομένου] / ἐπὶ ταῦτόν **ποθ’ ὃ** Λ[ακεδαι]μονίος.

“(the Aitolians) must not make any dispute settlement without the Lakedaimonians with anyone, and must send combatants against the same entity **as the Lakedaimonians do.**”¹⁰¹

Here it is possible to interpret ποθ’ ὃ as “as”, although the more literal interpretation as the combination of a preposition and a relative pronoun (“against which”) is not excluded.¹⁰² If one accepts the interpretation as a comparative subordinator here, this Laconian instance would provide a parallel to Thessalian πόκκι, attested only once as an explicative subordinator ‘that’ (Section 3.5.2 above). Once, as suggested here, πρὸς ὃ(τι) is established as a comparative subordinator ‘as’, its path to the explicative subordinator is paralleled by ὡς ‘as; that’.

The same subordinator may be attested in Messenia, here with the modal particle (i.e., ποθό κα), but the context is fragmentary and the evidence is not compelling:

(7.45) Messene: SEG 56:476 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.10:

εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ[αδ]/[- - - - -] ἄ γερουσία ζαμιώσασα εἴκοσι δρα[χ]/[μαῖς - - -]

ποθόκα λα[. . .] διπλοῦν καὶ Ε[. . .]Μ[. . .]

101 The first editor read ποθόν [περ Λακεδαι]μονίος, and gave the German translation “zu dem gleichen ... schicken wie die Lakedaimonier” (Peek 1974: 5).

102 Ideally, the relative pronoun ὃ (neuter) should not refer to αὐτόν (masculine), and this would speak against the analysis as preposition + relative “against which/whom”. However, ταῦτόν is already an admixture of the masculine and the neuter genders (as noted by Peek 1974: 5), so the gender here is not so reliable.

“but if not, the senate ... punishing with the penalty of twenty drachmas ... **just as (?)**
... double ...”

Chapter 8: Supradialectal formulas

In this chapter, I will analyze some of the formulas that are found across dialects, and discuss the ways in which the distribution of variants of the same formula may or may not match the border of dialects.

8.1. The “fitting for good men” formula

Honorary decrees sometimes contain a formula stating that the honorand conducted himself “in a manner fitting for a good man”. This formula is well represented in Thessaly, though not confined to this region, and in Thessaly it is found in both dialectal and Koine inscriptions, as pointed out by García Ramón (2008: 101). He further notes that, in Thessaly, this formula is found in some variants: the Thessalian dialectal variant, the Koine/Koina variant, and the Thessalianization of the latter.

The Thessalian dialectal variant is characterized by the choice of the verb ποτείνεκε (Att. προσήνεγκε):

(8.1) SEG 56:636 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.12:

ὄστρεφόμενος οὗς ποτείνεκε ἀνδρὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ

“conducting himself **as** was fitting for a good man”

(8.2) SEG 56:636 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.18:

ἐτ τοῦ τὰν ἐνδαμίαν ποείσθειν οὗς ποτείνε/κε ἀνδρὶ καλοῦ κα[ὶ] ἀγαθοῦ

“because he sojourned as was fitting for a good man”

(8.3) SEG 31:574 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 171 BCE? improved reading of IG 9,2

512a) L.7:

ἐτ τοῦ τάν τε ἐνδαμίαν πεποεί/σθαι αὐτ[ὸς οὐς ποτείνεκε ἄνδρες[σι κα]/[λο]ῖς
κάγαθοῖς

“because they sojourned as was fitting for good men”

(8.4) SEG 31:575 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 170 BCE) L.23:

ἔδο/ξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λα[σ]σαίου ἐπαι²⁵/νείσειν Ἀσκαλαπιάδαν Θεοφίλοι

Περ/γαμεινόν, Φιλ[ό]την Ἴππολόχοι Κυζι/κεινόν ἐτ τοῦ τάν τε ἐνδαμίαν πεπο/είσθαι

αὐτὸς οὐς ποτείνεκε ἄν/δρεςσι καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ...

“it was resolved by the People of Larisa that they commend Askalapiadas son of Theophilos, man of Pergamon, and Philotes son of Hippolokhos, man of Kyzikos, because they sojourned as was fitting for good men ...”

(8.5) SEG 31:575 (Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 170 BCE) L.12:

ὀπειδὴ Ἀσκ[α]λαπι[ά]/δας Θεοφίλοι Περγαμεινός, Φιλ[ό]/[τ]ῆς Ἴππολόχοι Κυζικεινός

παργε[ι]/¹⁵/νόμενοι ποτ’ ἄμμε ... (L.19) τάν τε ἐνδαμίαν πε[ποίη]νθο, οἶαν ²⁰/

ποτείνεκε ἄνδρεςσι [καλ]οῖς κάγαθοῖς, / καὶ ...

“since Askalapiadas son of Theophilos, man of Pergamon, and Philotes son of Hippolokhos, man of Kyzikos, presenting themselves to us, ... made such a sojourn that was fitting for good men, and ...”

The last two examples (8.4 and 8.5), from the same decree, exhibit a slight difference which is probably stylistic: in the content of the resolution after the enactment formula (ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου),

the regular formula with οὐς is used (8.4). In contrast, in the motivation section (ὀπειδεῖ ...), the same notion is expressed by a relative clause with the noun ἐνδαμίαν as its head (8.5).

The Thessalian variant contrasts with the Koine/Koina variant, which is introduced by καθώς or ὄν τρόπον¹⁰³, and uses the verb ἐπέβαλλε:

(8.6) IG 9,2 64 (Thessaly – Malis – Lamia: ca. 130 BCE) L.6:

τάν τε ἀναστροφάν καὶ ἐπ[ι]/δαμίαν ἐποιεῖτο καθώς ἐπέβαλλε ἀνδρὶ καλῶι καὶ ἀγαθῶι

“he conducted himself and sojourned as was fitting for a good man”

(8.7) IG 9,2 69 (Thessaly – Malis – Lamia: ca. 130 BCE) L.6:

τάν τε ἀναστροφάν καὶ ἐπ[ι]/δαμίαν ἐποιεῖτο καθώς ἐπέβαλλε ἀνδρὶ καλῶι καὶ ἀγαθῶι

“he has conducted himself and sojourned just as was fitting for a good man”

The variant with ὄν τρόπον in Thessaly is of particular interest. It is found in both the Thessalian

103 Outside of Thessaly, variants with καθάπερ and καθότι are also found (García Ramón 2008: 101 fn. 29):

(8.i) IC 1 viii 12 (Crete – Knossos [found in Delos]: end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.13:

αὐτ<ὸ>ς τάν προγο/νικάν ἀρετάν δι’ ἐγγράφω ἐπ[έδει]ξε καὶ τοῦτο πε^{/15}/δὰ πλίονος σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτ[ιμί]ας τὸν ἀπολογισμὸν πο {ι}ιόμενος, καθώς ἐπέβαλλ[ε] ὑπὲρ ἰδίω παιδε[υ]/τᾶ.

“to them he showed the ancestral virtue through writing, and that with considerable zeal and enthusiasm, by giving narration, as was fitting for a private teacher”

(8.ii) IG 12,7 231 (Amorgos – Minoa: 2nd/1st c. BCE) L.4:

[.. ἀξ]ιοζήλωτον ἑαυτ[ὸν] ^{/5/} [παρεῖχε]ν τὰ πᾶσ[ι] δέοντα(?) πρ]άσσωσιν καθ’ ὅτι ἐπέβα[λλ]/[λε]ν ἀ[ν]δρ[ι] καλῶ[ι] καὶ ἀγαθῶι

“he made himself worthy of emulation, fulfilling the need in every way, as was fitting for a good man”

(8.iii) IG 12,5,1 722 (Andros: 2nd/1st c. BCE) L.50:

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰφικράτης Ἰσοχρύσου ὁ γραμματεὺς αὐτο[ῦ] / παρέσχετο τὴν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν χρεῖαν καθάπερ ἐπέβαλλεν ἀνδρὶ σ[ώ]/φρονι,

“And likewise his secretary, Iphikrates son of Isochrysos, also provided his service as was fitting for a sensible man.”

dialect and in Koine, as shown by the following texts. The first of the group is in the local dialect (8.8), whereas the following quotes (8.9–11) are from decrees in Koine:

(8.8) SEG 56:638 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 150 BCE) L.19:

ἐποείσατο μὰ / καὶ τὰν ὀστροφὰν εὐσ[χρ]ιμόνους καὶ ὄν τρόπον ἐπέβαλλε ἀνδρὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ,

“and he also conducted himself in an orderly manner and in a manner fitting for a good man”

(8.9) IG 9,2 11 (Thessaly – Ainiis – Hypata: 160/159 BCE ?) L.15:

ἐπ[ει]/δὴ Γλαῦκος Εὐδόρου Ὑπατα[ῖ]/ος ἀνὴρ κ[α]λὸς κάγαθος ὑπά[ρ]/χων [ἀφικόμενο]ς εἰς τὴν πόλιν / ἡμῶν καὶ π[α]ρεπιδημήσας [χρό]/²⁰/[ν]ον καὶ πλ[ε]ίονα, [τή]ν τε παρε/πιδημί<α>ν καὶ ἀναστροφήν / [πεποίη]ται εὐτακτόν τε καὶ / εὐσ[χρ]ιμ[ονα] ὄν τρόπον ἐπέβαλλεν ἀνδρὶ καλῶι,

“since Glaukos son of Eudoros, man of Hypata, being a good man, coming to our city and sojourning for a long time, has made his orderly and honorable sojourn and conduct, in a manner that was fitting for a good man”

(8.10) SEG 23:447 (Thessaly – Magnesia – Demetrias: ca. 150–100 BCE) L.5:

ἐπεὶ Δημήτριος Ὀρέστου Δημητρι/εὐς ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων πεποίηται τὴν ἀνα[σ]/τροφήν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὄν τρόπον ἐπέβαλλεν ἀνδρὶ καλῶ[ι] / καὶ ἀγαθῶι ἀξίως αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Μαγνήτων,

“since Demetrios son of Orestes, man of Demetrias, the secretary of the Councilmen, conducted himself in office in a manner that was fitting for a good man, in a manner good for both himself and for the Magnesians,”

(8.11) IG 9,2 1103 (Magnesia – Demetrias: ca. 130–126 BCE) L. 10

ἐπεὶ Ἑρμογένης Ἀδύμου [Δ]ημ[η]τριάδης αἰρεθεὶς γραμμ[α]/τεὺς τῶν συνέδρων

πεποιήται τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ἐν [τῆι ἀρ]/χῆι ὄν τρόπον ἐπέβαλλεν ἀνδρὶ καλοῖ καὶ

ἀγαθῶι ἀξίως [έαυ]/τοῦ τε καὶ τῶν Μαγνητῶν τῶν ἐγχειρισάντων [τὴν ἀρ]s/χὴν,

“since Hermogenes son of Hadymos, man of Demetrias, chosen as the secretary of

the Councilmen, conducted himself in office in a manner that was fitting for a good

man, in a manner good for both himself and the Magnesians who entrusted the

office,”

As observed by García Ramón (2008: 101), the formula introduced by ὄν τρόπον in (8.8) is a Thessalianized version of the Koine formula in (8.9–11), contrasting with the formula specific to Thessalian, which uses οὓς and ποτείνεκε (8.1–5). What is interesting here is the choice of the relative pronoun ὄν ‘which’. Thessalian is a dialect that uses the τόν-relative (Bechtel 1963 1:201), and this formula in (8.8) is one of the only two instances of the ὄν-relative in Thessalian, so the use of ὄν here is a peculiarity that needs explanation. As mentioned above, this formula in (8.8) is a Thessalianization of the Koine formula; but in fact, the Thessalianization affected only the morphophonology of the dative singular ending in καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, and the relative pronoun was not replaced by any Thessalian lexical item. Thus the situation of this supradialectal formula in Thessaly is slightly different from that of the hortatory formula: in the hortatory formula, as García Ramón (2010) shows, the usual subordinator ὅπως, used elsewhere in the Greek world, was replaced with the Thessalian subordinator οὔστῃ in order to better fit the dialect.

8.2. The generalizing formula (e.g., “just as the other *proxenoi*”)

In honorary decrees, the list of the privileges conferred to the honorand is often concluded with the formula stating “and everything else that the other honorands have.” This formula appears to have received no conventionalized scholarly name, so I will adopt the name *generalizing formula*, following Bouvier (1978)¹⁰⁴. The generalizing formula received a relatively recent treatment by Morpurgo Davies (1999), who analyzed the geographic distribution of two distinct varieties of the formula: τᾶλλα τίμια καὶ φιλόανθρωπα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις “and the other honors and privileges that the other *proxenoi* and benefactors have”, which is pan-Hellenic, and the Boeotian variant τᾶλλα καθάπερ κὴ τῶς ἄλλυς προξένυς κὴ εὐεργέτης “and the other things just as the other *proxenoi* and benefactors have”. She finds that the former variant is extremely frequent in Delphi and Delos; the variant with καθάπερ, on the other hand, is only rarely found in Delphi¹⁰⁵ but frequent in Boeotia and also in Euboea. Her hypothesis for explaining the geographic distribution, which appears to be valid to me, is that there were a number of centers from which the phraseological variants diffused. In this section, I will choose three dialectal regions, Thessaly, Boeotia and Laconia-Messenia, and discuss the peculiarities that each dialectal region exhibits.

8.2.1. Thessaly

In Thessalian dialectal inscriptions, the generalizing formula is not so frequent – in fact, much

104 “Après la liste des honneurs expressément décerné, figure le plus souvent une espèce de formule généralisante” (Bouvier 1978: 114) – it is clear that Bouvier did not intend to establish a technical term for this formula, though.

105 Here she includes instances of the comparing formula, which I consider to be distinct from the generalizing formula. See Section 8.3..

less frequent than the comparing formula, which will be discussed in the following section. The instances of generalizing formula found in Thessaly do not exhibit much peculiarity specific to the region, and the phraseology may belong wholly to Koine, as noted by Tziafalias & Helly (2007: 430).

(8.12) IG 9,2 260a (Thessaly – Thessaliothis – Kierion: 3rd c. BCE) L.3:

[... καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια καὶ φιλόνηρωπα ὅσα [καὶ τοῖς] / [ἄλλοις προξένοις δίδοται].

“and the other honors and privileges **that** are given to the other *proxenoi*”

(8.13) IG 9,2 258 (Thessaly – Thessaliothis – Kierion: 187–ca. 168 BCE) L.9:

δεδόσθαι προξενία[ν] /¹⁰/ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις ὑπάρχον[τι] / πάντα κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

“proxeny and everything else **that the other proxenoi have** should be conferred, in accordance with the law”

(8.14) SEG 57:510 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 130/129 BCE) L.49:

καὶ δεδόσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσγό/⁵⁰/νοις παρὰ τοῦ Λασσαίου προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτείαν, ἔνκτασιν, ἀσυλί/[α]ν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια καὶ φιλόνηρουπα πάντ[α] / [ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις ὑπάρχονθι

“and proxeny, privileges equal to citizens, right of possession, immunity in times of war and in peace, and all the other privileges **that the other proxenoi and benefactors have**, should be given by the People of Larisa to him as well as his offspring”

The passage in (8.14) may be noteworthy, because it is found on the same stone where the preceding decree contains an instance of the comparing formula that is slightly problematic.

This will be discussed below in Section 8.3.

8.2.2. Boeotia

The standard form of the generalizing formula in Boeotian is, as Claflin (1905: 93) notes, κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέτης (γέγραπτη)¹⁰⁶ “and everything else just as (is written) for the other *proxenoi* and benefactors”. However, one feature that characterizes the generalizing formula in Boeotia is its diversity: it can use any of the subordinators ὅσα, ὅποττά(περ), καθά(περ) and καθώσπερ, of which καθάπερ is the most frequent. This diversity is probably caused by the contact of two variant formulas, one pan-Hellenic and one native to Boeotia (see the discussion in this section). The choice of the verb γέγραπται in this formula is also a regional feature, as the other regions use ἐστί, ὑπάρχει, δίδοται or δέδοται.

Of the various subordinators that can be used in the Boeotian generalizing formula, three are confined to this formula, and are infrequent: ὅσα (2x), ὅποττάπερ (2x) and καθώσπερ (1x).

The two cases of ὅσα in Boeotia are:

(8.15) IG 7 4259 = ΕτΩ 43 (Boeotia – Oropos: ca. 240–180 BCE) L.8:

κῆ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς γᾶς ἔπι/ασιν κῆ <ο>ικίας κῆ ἀσφάλι/¹⁰/αν κῆ ἀσουλίαν κῆ πολέμω /
ιόντος κῆ ἱράνας κῆ κατὰ / γᾶν κῆ κατὰ θάλατταν κῆ τ/ἄλλα πάντα **ὅσα** κῆ τοῖς
λο/ιποῖς προξένοις κῆ εὐερ/¹⁵/γέτης τῶ κοινῶ Βοιωτῶν.

“and they should have the right of possession, residence, safety, immunity in times of
war and in peace, both in land and on sea, and everything else **that the other *proxenoi***

¹⁰⁶ As Claflin (1905: 93) noted, the subordinate verb tends to be in ellipsis. However, against this pan-Boeotian tendency, honorary decrees from Akraiphia have a greater tendency to express the verb, with 9 instances of the expressed verb vs. 1 instance of its omission (and 1 case of uncertainty). The reason for this local peculiarity is unclear.

and benefactors of the Boeotian League have.”

(8.16) IG 7 2708 (Boeotia – Akraiphia: after 146 BCE) L.4: κῆ εἶ]μεν αὐτῶς /^{5/}

[πάντα τὰ ἄλλα] δίκαια ὅσα κῆ τῶς ἄλλυς προ/[ξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης].

“and they should have everything else that is lawful **that the other proxenoi and benefactors have.**”

As I mentioned at the beginning of Section 8.2, the formula using ὅσα is found in all parts of Greece but is especially frequent in Delphi and Delos (Morpurgo Davies 1999). In Boeotia, the formula using ὅσα is a foreign element contrasting with the native formula using καθάπερ.

But the situation in Boeotia is not a simple contrast between ὅσα and καθάπερ: each of the two variants develop minor sub-variants with different subordinators. From the pan-Hellenic variant using ὅσα is derived a sub-variant with the Boeotian subordinator corresponding to ὅσα: ὅποττα(περ).¹⁰⁷ The subordinator ὅποττα is found in creative contexts¹⁰⁸ as well as in the generalizing formula, so this subordinator was used actively in Boeotian. It therefore appears natural that the Boeotians, when they wanted to “Boeotianize” the pan-Hellenic variant of the generalizing formula, replaced ὅσα with ὅποττα, just as Thessalian used οὔστε in the hortatory formula, replacing ὅπως. There are five such cases:

(8.17) IG 7 522 (Boeotia – Tanagra / after mid 3rd c. BCE) L.13:

κῆ εἶ]μεν αὐτῶς / γᾶς κῆ ὑκίας ἔπασιν κῆ /^{15/} ρισοτέλιαν κῆ ἀσφάλιαν / κῆ ἀσουλιαν

¹⁰⁷ Morpurgo Davies (1999: 23) also treats ὅποττα as the Boeotian form corresponding to ὅσα.

¹⁰⁸ For example:

(8.iv) Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (Boeotia – Tanagra: late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.29:

κῆ ἀνγράψῃ τὰ ὀνόματα /^{30/} [κῆ ἐπιπατρόφια τᾶν γ]ουνηκῶν κῆ **ὀπόττων κα ἐκάστα δεδωῶσα ἱη**_(subi)

“and inscribe the women’s names and patronyms and **whatever amount each has payed.**”

κὴ πολέμῳ / κὴ ἱράνας ἰώσας κὴ κατὰ / γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατταν, [κ]ῆ / τᾶλλα πάντα
ὀπόττα κὴ τῷς /²⁰/ ἄλλυς προξένυς κὴ εὐεργέτης.

“and they should have the right to possess residence and land, privileges equal to citizens, safety and immunity in times of war and in peace, both in land and on sea, and everything else **that the other proxenoi and benefactors have.**”

(8.18) IG 7 3167 (Boeotia – Orchomenos / not before mid 3rd c. BCE) L.9:

κὴ εἶμεν αὐτῷ γᾶς /¹⁰/ [κῆ] φυκίας ἔπ<π>ασιν κὴ ἀσφάλι/[α]ν κὴ ἀτέλιαν κὴ
ἀσουλίαν / [κ]ῆ κατὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ θάλατ/[τ]αν κὴ πολέμῳ κὴ ἱράνας ἰώ/[σ]ας, κὴ τὰ
ἄλλα ὀπόττα /¹⁵/ [κ]ῆ τῷς ἄλλυς προξένυς / [κ]ῆ εὐεργέτης.

“and he should have the right to possess land and residence, safety, exemption from taxes and immunity in land and on sea, in times of war and in peace, and everything else **that the other proxenoi and benefactors have.**”

(8.19) SEG 39:440 (Boeotia – Orchomenos: ca. 225–200 BCE) L.7:

κὴ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς φισ[οτέ]/λιαν κὴ ἀσουλίαν κὴ πολέμῳ [κῆ] / ἱράνας ἰώσας κὴ γᾶς
ἐνωνὰν κ[ῆ] /¹⁰/ φυκίας κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα ὀποτ/τα κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις.

“and they should have the privileges equal to citizens, immunity in times of war and in peace, the right to purchase land, and everything else **that the other proxenoi have.**”

(8.20) SEG 39:441 (Boeotia – Orchomenos: ca. 225–200 BCE) L.6:

κὴ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς φισοτέλιαν / κὴ ἀσφάλιαν κὴ πολέμῳ κὴ ἱράνας κὴ γᾶς κὴ φυκίας
ἐνωνὰν κὴ / τᾶλλα πάντα ὀποττα κὴ τοῖς ἄ/¹⁰/λλοις προξένοις.

“and they should have privileges equal to citizens, safety in times of war and in peace, right to purchase land and residence, and everything else **that the other**

proxenoi have.”

(8.21) ΕτΩ 32 (Boeotia – Oropos: ca. 240–180 BCE) L.5:

[κῆ εἶμ]εν αὐτοῖς γᾶς κῆ οἰκίας ἔπασιν καὶ ρισο/[τέλια]ν κῆ ἀσφάλειαν κῆ πολέμῳ
κῆ εἰράνας κῆ τὰ / [ἄλλα **ὀ**πόττα κῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέτης.

“and they should have the right to possess land and residence, safety in times of war
and in peace, and the other things **that the other proxenoi and benefactors have.**”

Unlike ὄποττα, the subordinator ὄποττάπερ is confined to the generalizing formula. This distribution alone would suggest that this subordinator had been fossilized in the Boeotian dialect, but the circumstances speak against this hypothesis, since the formula itself is not native to Boeotia. As I have just shown, ὄποττα was in active use in Boeotian and was sometimes used to replace ὄσα in the generalizing formula. Therefore it is more natural to think that the use of ὄποττάπερ in some instances of this formula is also a product of “Boeotianization” of the formula. The addition of -περ may be motivated by the predominance of καθάπερ in this formula in Boeotia. The instances (8.22–23) are both from Thespiiai, suggesting that the use of this subordinator is a local innovation.

(8.22) IThesp 15 (Boeotia – Thespiiai: end 3rd c. BCE) L.6: κῆ εἶμεν αὐτῶς γᾶς κῆ /

[Ϝ]υκίας ἔπασιν κῆ ἀσφάλειαν κῆ ἀσουλίαν κῆ / [π]ολέμῳ κῆ ἰράνας ἐώσας κῆ κατὰ
γᾶν κῆ κα/[τ]ὰ θάλατταν κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα **ὄποττά**¹⁰/**[π]ερ** κῆ τῶς ἄλλως προξένους
κῆ εὐεργέ/[τ]ης.

“and they should have the right of possessing residence, safety, immunity in times of
war and in peace, both in land and on sea, and everything else **that the other proxenoi**

and benefactors have.”

(8.23) IThesp 16 (Boeotia – Thespiiai: end 3rd c. BCE) L.6:

κῆ εἶμεν ἀν/τῶς γᾶς κῆ φυκίας ἔπασιν κῆ ἀσφάλιαν / κῆ ἀσουλίαν κῆ πολέμῳ κῆ
ἰράνας ἐώσας / κῆ κατὰ γᾶν κῆ κατὰ θάλατταν κῆ τὰ /¹⁰/ ἄλλα πάντα ὅποττάπερ κῆ
τῶς ἄλλυς / προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης.

“and they should have the right of possession of residence, X, immunity in times of
war and in peace, both in land and on sea, and everything else that the other proxenoi
and benefactors have.”

8.2.3. Laconia and Messenia

There is a difference in the phraseology of the generalizing formula between Laconia and Messenia: the former region uses ὅσα, just as many other regions, whereas the latter region uses καθάπερ, similar to Boeotia. The reason for this distribution is unclear to me: is it in any way related to the Boeotian formula? The Messenian attestations are older (4th–3rd centuries BCE) than the instances from Laconia (2nd–1st centuries BCE), so the distribution could be chronological as well as geographical. In the absence of contemporary attestations that allow direct comparison of the two regions, a definite conclusion is difficult to arrive at. From Messenia we have the following attestations:

(8.24) SEG 55:509 (Messenia – Messene: 4th c. BCE) L.1:

Ἔ[δοξε τῶι δά]/μῶι τῶ[ι Μεσσανίων]· / Σάτυρ[ον . . . ⁷. . . M]/εγαλοπ[ολίταν
πρ]/⁵/ὄξενον [εἶμεν καὶ] / εὐεργέ[ταν . . .ca, 6. . .]/ν αὐτὸν [καὶ ἐκγόνο]/υς, εἶμε[ν δ’
αὐτῶι ? - - - κα]/θάπερ [τοῖς ἄλλοις] /¹⁰/ προξέν[οις. . .

“it was resolved by the People of Messene that Satyros ... man of Megalopolis should be a *proxenos* and benefactor ... himself as well as his offspring, and he should have ... just as the other *proxenoi* ...”

(8.25) IG 5,1 1425 (Messene: late 4th/3rd c. BCE) L.4:

ἔδοξε τῶι δάμ⁵/ῶι· Μένάλκον Ἀριστομένεος / [Ζ]ακύνθιον πρ/όξενον εἶμεν / καὶ
εὐεργέτ¹⁰/[ν] Μεσσηγίων α/ὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγ/νους· εἶμεν δὲ / αὐτῶι τὰν προ/ξενίαν
καθάπ¹⁵/ερ τοῖς ἄλλοι[ς] / προξένοις·

“it was resolved by the People that Menalkos son of Aristomenes, man of Zakynthos, should be a *proxenos* and benefactor of Messenians, both himself and his offspring, and that he should have proxeny **just as the other *proxenoi* have.**”

And from Laconia, we have a greater number of instances of the generalizing formula, all of which are from the 2nd c. BCE onward. Given the late dates, the phraseology may simply be that of Koine. Some instances are quoted below:

(8.26) SEG 52:541 (Sparta [found at W. Lokris – Amphissa]: mid 2nd c. BCE) L.8:

ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν καὶ ἀτέλεια[ν] / αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ
ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ τὰ λοι¹⁰/πὰ τίμια ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ
εὐεργέταις τᾶς / πόλεος ὑπάρχει · ἔδοξε.

“and he should have the right to possess land and residence and exemption from taxes, both himself and his offspring, and safety and immunity and everything else **that the other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city have.** It was resolved.”

(8.27) SEG 11:470 (Laconia – unknown provenance: 2nd c. BCE) L.3:

εἶμ[εν δὲ] / [α]ὐτῶι καὶ ἐπινομίαν [κ]αὶ ἐπιξυλίαν καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόν[οις καὶ] /⁵/
πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τᾶλ[λα τίμια] / [ὅ]σα καὶ [τ]οῖς ἄλλοις
προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις [τᾶς πόλιος] / [ἀμ]ῶν ὑπάρχει.

“and he should have the equal privileges and the right to cut timber, both himself and his offspring, both in times of war and in peace for ever, and all the other privileges that the other proxenoi and benefactors of our city have.”

(8.28) IG 5,1 965 (Laconia – Kotyrta: 2nd c. BCE) L.4:

ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι /⁵/ τῶν Κοτυρτατᾶν· Ἀρισταγόραν Ἀγη<ι>/ξένου Λακεδαιμόνιον
πρόξενον εἶμ[εν καὶ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλεος ^{vacat} / τῶν Κοτυρτατᾶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγόνους· /
ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῶι γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔν/¹⁰/κτησιν καὶ ἐπινομίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ /
πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ / τίμια, ὅσα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς προξένοι[ς] / τᾶς
πόλεος ὑπάρχει.

“it was resolved by the People of Kotyrta that Aristagoras son of Agehixenos, man of Lakedaimonia, should be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of Kotyrta, both himself and his offspring, and that he should have the right to possess land and residence, equal privileges, immunity in times and war and in peace, and the other privileges that the other proxenoi of the city have.”

One inscription from Sparta has a slightly different formula:

(8.29) IG 5,1 5 (Sparta: after 188 BCE) L.6:

ἔδοξ[ε] / τῶι δάμωι· Καρνεάδην Αἰγλάνορος Κυρانا[ῖ]/ον πρόξενον εἶμεν τᾶς πόλεος
αὐ/τὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτ[ῶι] /¹⁰/ [κ]αὶ τὰ τίμια ὅσα γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς

νό/[μο]ις τοῖς προξένοις,

“it was resolved by the People that Karneades son of Aiglanor, man of Cyrene, should be a *proxenos* of the city, both himself and his offspring, and he should also have the privileges **that are prescribed for *proxenoi* in the laws,**”

In my collection, this is the only instance of the generalizing formula with the phrase γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς νόμοις. I hope to investigate its significance in future.

8.3. The comparing formula (“just as citizens”)

The formula under discussion in this section is similar to the generalizing formula discussed in the preceding section, but different in that the privileges the honorand receives are compared to those enjoyed by the citizens rather than other *proxenoi*. A typical example, from Thessaly, is:

(8.30) SEG 56:638 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 150 BCE) L.40:

καὶ δοθεῖμεν / αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνους πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια
ὑπα[ρ]/χέμεν αὐτοῦ πάντα **ὅσσα** καὶ Λαρισαίοις **ὑπάρχονθι**.

“and citizenship should be given to him as well as his offspring, and he should have the right of possession of land and all the other privileges **that the Lariseans have.**”

In my corpus, the attestations of the comparing formula are concentrated in Thessaly and Delphi.

This formula may be introduced by either καθάπερ ‘as’ (καττάπερ in Thessalian) or ὅσσα ‘as much as’. In Delphi, instances of the very simple formula, (ἀσυλίαν/ἀτέλειαν etc.) καθάπερ

Δελφοῖς “(immunity, etc.) just as Delphian citizens (have)”, are attested abundantly from the 4th century BCE onward.¹⁰⁹ The enumeration of the privileges may vary, but the comparing formula is identical in all but few cases. First I will cite some representative examples:

(8.31) FD 3,1 391 (Delphi: ca. 360–355 BCE) L.1:

[.....]χοι / Σε[λιν]οντίωι / οἱ Δ[ελ]φοῖ / ἔδωκα[ν] /⁵/ προμαντ[η]ίαν, / ἀτέλειαν, /
ἀσυλίαν, / προδικίαν, / ἐπιτιμᾶν /¹⁰/ **καθόπερ** / Δελφοῖς αὐτῶι / καὶ γένει / ὡς
εὐεργέται / ἔόντι Δελφῶν.

“Delphi gave ...khos, man of Selinus, priority in oracular consultation, exemption from taxes, immunity, priority of trial, and civil rights **just as Delphians have**, to himself as well as his offspring, as he is a benefactor of Delphi.”

(8.32) FD 3,4 4 (Delphi: 340 BCE) L.1:

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Σαμίωι Τορέα / Μεσσανίωι καὶ ἐγγόνους προξενίαν, / προμαντείαν,
προδικίαν, προεδρίαν, ἀτέλειαν, / θεαροδοκίαν, ἐπιτιμᾶν **καθόπερ** Δελφοῖς.

“Delphi gave Samios son of Toreas, man of Messene, as well as his offspring, proxeny, priority in oracular consultation, priority of trial, priority in seating, exemption from taxes, office of *thearodokos*, and civil rights **just as Delphians have**.”

There are only three instance of Delphian comparing formula that are deviant from this simple pattern. One of them is a proxeny decree commending a citizen of Naupaktos:

(8.33) SGDI 2819 = FD 3,1 152 (Delphi: 150 BCE) L.15:

¹⁰⁹ Noted by Morpurgo Davies (1999: 24), but she treats this Delphian formula as a variant of the generalizing formula.

εἶμεν δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἰσοπολιτείαν πάντων, ὄσων καὶ Δελφοῖς

“and he should have the privileges equal to citizens in every way Delphian citizens enjoy them.”

Here it may be significant that this decree mentions ἰσοπολιτεία as part of the privileges conferred to the honorand.¹¹⁰ According to the analysis by Bouvier (1978), πολιτεία and ἰσοπολιτεία are among those privileges that are only rarely mentioned in Delphian honorary decrees: πολιτεία is found 7 times in the last four centuries BCE, and ἰσοπολιτεία is mentioned only 5 times in the same time period – in fact, only from the second century BCE onward. Thus the use of the word ἰσοπολιτεία was as unconventional as the aberrant variant of the comparing formula that accompanied it in this inscription; it may even be inadequate to call this clause an instance of “formula”.

The other two instances of the comparing formula are found in two near-identical texts that are contemporary:

(8.34) SGSI 2606 (Delphi: ca. 239 BCE) L.2:

ἡ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν ἔδωκε Μένωνι καὶ Φίλωνι τοῖς Πολύασι υἱοῖς / ἀτέλειαν πάντων

ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις, / καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔμψασιν.

“the city of Delphi gave Menon and Philon sons of Polyas exemption from all taxes,

just as the other citizens, to themselves and their offspring, as well as the right to possess land and residence.”

(8.35) SGDI 2607 (Delphi: 240–239 BCE) L.2:

110 The majority of the instances of καθάπερ Δελφοῖς follows the word ἐπιτιμάν ‘civil rights’, as in (8.31) and (8.32).

ἡ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν ἔδωκε Τεισιμάχῳ Λεοντίου ἀτέλειαν πάν/των ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ γᾶς καὶ / οἰκίας ἔμπασιν,

“the city of Delphi gave Teisimakhos son of Leontios exemption from all taxes, **just as the other citizens**, both himself and his offspring, as well as the right to possess land and residence.”

The commentary on SGDI 2606 notes that, in these two cases, no privilege such as proxy is conferred. Perhaps, then, these two decrees could not use the generalizing formula because the honorands were not conferred proxy.

The situation of the comparing formula in Thessaly is quite different, as the formula exhibits far greater variability there. Two subordinators *καττάπερ* and *ὅσσα* may be used; the citizens may appear in the nominative or in the dative depending on the choice of the verb in the subordinate clause; and the subordinate verb, almost always elliptic in Delphi, can be explicit. The position of the formula is also different: in Delphi, the comparing formula describes a specific privilege such as *ἐπινομία*, but in Thessaly, the comparing formula often describes “everything else” – just as the generalizing formula does. In order to show the variability, I will cite all the examples I have, although the list will be somewhat lengthy.

First, in Thessalotis, we have:

(8.36) IG 9,2 234 (Thessaly – Thessalotis – Pharsalos: 3rd c. BCE) L.2:

ἔδουκε τὰν πολιτείαν καττάπερ Φαρσαλίοις τοῖς / ἐξ ἀρχᾶς πολ]ιτευομένοις.

“conferred citizenship **just as Pharsalians who had been citizens from the beginning**”

In Pelasgiotis – Krannon:

(8.37) IG 9,2 458 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Krannon: 3rd c. BCE) L.3:

ἔδουκε Ἀρχαρέ/τα Λεπτιναία Καλυδο⁵/υνία πολιτείαν καὶ ἔν[κ]/τασιν κατάπερ κοὶ ἄλλ[οι] / [Κ]ραννούνιοι

“conferred to Archareta daughter of Leptinas, woman of Kalydon, citizenship and the right of possession **just as the other Krannonians also (have).**”

(8.38) IG 9,2 461a (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Krannon: before 168 BCE) L.5:

δεδόσθαι αὐτ[οῦ καὶ τοῖς] / [ἔσ]γόνοις πολιτείαν, καττά[περ τοῖς πολί] / [ταις] τοῖς Κραν<v>ον{v}ίοις,

“that citizenship should be given to him and his offspring, just as the citizens of Krannon”

In Pelasgiotis – Mopsion:

(8.39) SEG 48:660 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Mopsion: 3rd c. BCE) L.2:

ἔδουκε ἡ πόλις Μ[οψ]/είουν τοῖς δικασ[τα]ίς Ἀτραγίοις, Τάλ[ου]⁵/νι Ἀμφιλοχίου, Γλ[αύ]/κου Ἀμφιδαμαντε[ίο]/υ, Σίμου Ἴσχυριδαίο[υ], / καὶ τοῦ γραμματε[ῖ] / Πολυαίνου Ἐλεανδρ¹⁰/είου, πολιτείαν καὶ ἰσ/οτιμίαν καὶ αὐτοῖς / καὶ γενεᾶ καὶ ἐμ πο<λ>/έμου καὶ ἐν ἱερίᾳ κατ/τάπερ Μοψείαις ἐ¹⁵/στί κατ τὸν νόμον

“The city of Mopsion gave to the judges from Atrax, Talon son of Amphilokhos, Glaukos son of Amphidamantos, Simos son of Iskhyridas, and their secretary Polyainos son of Heleandros, citizenship and the equal privileges, to themselves as

well as their offspring, both in time of war and in peace, **just as the Mopsians have**, in accordance with the law”

(8.40) García Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias (2007) no. 4 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis –

Mopsion: end of the 3rd – mid 2nd c. BCE) L.8:

καὶ τοῦν κοινοῦν κοινανεῖμε/ν πάμτουν καὶ ταγᾶν καὶ λειτο/¹⁰/ρειᾶν καὶ τοῦν ἄλλου
πάντου/ν **καττάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Μοψειᾶται**

“and (the honorands) should participate in all the public affairs, the office of *tagoi*, priesthood and all the others, **just as the other Mopsians (have)**”

(8.41) García Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias (2007) no. 6 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis –

Mopsion: end of the 3rd – mid 2nd c. BCE) L.3:

καὶ τοῦν / [κοινοῦν] κοινανεῖμεν καὶ /⁵/ [- - τ]αγ[ᾶν καὶ λ]ειτο[ρε]/[ῖαν κα]ὶ τοῦ[ν
ἄλ]λο υν π[ά]/[ν]το[υ]ν **καττάπερ καὶ** / [τοῖς ἄλλ]οις Μο[ψειᾶταις] / [**ὑπάρχει**

“and (the honorand/s) should participate in all the public affairs, ... the office of *tagoi*, priesthood and all the others, **just as the other Mopsians have**”

(8.42) García Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias (2007) no. 5 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis –

Mopsion: end of the 3rd – mid 2nd c. BCE) L.8:

δόμην [Ε]ὐ[νόσ]/του Μενεμαχείου [πολι]τεῖαν καὶ αὐτοῦ /¹⁰/ καὶ ἐσγό[νοις καὶ]
ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ πα/θόντι καὶ δράσαντι **καττάπερ καὶ Μοψειεσ/σι ὑπάρχει πολίταις**

“that they confer citizenship to Eunostos son of Menemakhos and his offspring, as well as the equal rights, both in submission to authority and in exercising power¹¹¹,

just as the citizens of Mopsion have”

111 The phrase καὶ παθόντι καὶ δράσαντι is translation by the original editors in French as “dans la soumission à l’*autorité* et dans l’exercice de l’*autorité*” (García Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias 2007: 68).

And in Pelasgiotis – Larisa:

- (8.43) SEG 59:1406 B (Thessaly [possibly Larisa; found at Aiolis – Aigai]: ca. 250–196 BCE) L.23:

καὶ ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλις καὶ ἱερὰ κοιν/ὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα καττάπερ Πετθαλοῖς ἔνθι.

“and they should take part in the (public affairs of the) city and public festivals and everything else **just as the Thessalians have them.**”

- (8.44) SEG 27:202 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 220–210 BCE) L.16:

δεδόστειν / Χρυσογόνου παρ τᾶς πόλιος / πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν πάν/τουν καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις /^{20/} [κ]αττάπερ Λαρισαίοις,

“citizenship and the right of possession of everything, **just as Lariseans**, should be given from the city to Chrysogonos and his offspring”

- (8.45) SEG 56:636 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 170/169 BCE) L.31:

Σ[α]τύρου Φιλινείου Ἀθα/ναίου δεδόσθειν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑπαρχέ/μεν αὐτοῦ καττάπερ καὶ Λαρισαίοις

“citizenship should be given to Satyros son of Philinos, man of Athens, and he should have the other things **just as Lariseans do**”

The variant introduced by ὅσσα instead of καττάπερ is found only in Larisa:

- (8.46) IG 9,2 517 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: 214 BCE) L.18:

τοῖς κατοικέντεσσι παρ ἀμμὲ Πετθαλοῦν καὶ τοῦν ἄλλων Ἑλλάνουν δεδόσθειν τὰν

πολι/τείαν καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσγόνοις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς πάντα
ὅσσαπερ Λασαίοις,

“citizenship should be given to those who live with us Thessalians and the other
Greeks, as well as to their offspring, and they should have all the other honors **that**
the Lariseans have”

(8.47) SEG 35:594 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 200–150 BCE) L.23:

πά]ντα ὅσσα καὶ Λα/[ρισαίοις·

“all (the other privileges) **that** the Lariseans also have”

(8.48) SEG 56:638 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 150 BCE) L.24:

καὶ δοθέ²⁵/μεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν καὶ τὰ λοι/πὰ τίμια
ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτ[ο]ῦ ὅσσα καὶ Λαρισαίοις

“and citizenship and the right of possession should be given to him as well as his
offspring, and he should have the other honors **that** the Lariseans also have”

(8.49) SEG 56:638 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 150 BCE) L.40:

καὶ δοθεῖμεν / αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια
ὑπα[ρ]/χέμεν αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσσα καὶ Λαρισαίοις ὑπάρχονθι·

“and citizenship and the right of possession should be given to him as well as his
offspring, and he should have all the other honors **that** the Lariseans also have.”

Even though there are noticeable differences between the Delphian comparing formula and the Thessalian comparing formula, it is still possible that there is a connection between the two: the reason why the Thessalian comparing formula more often uses *καττάπερ* than *ὅσα* might be that it was modeled on the Delphian comparing formula, *καθάπερ* Δελφοῖς. On the other hand, all the

instances of the ὅσα-introduced comparing formula are used to describe “everything else”, suggesting an influence from the pan-Hellenic generalizing formula.

Outside of Delphi and Thessaly, there are only a handful of instances of the comparing formula attested. One is found in the inscription from the Megarian city Aigosthena, written in the Boeotian dialect. Here, however, the comparing formula does not appear as part of the list of privileges conferred to an honorand, and perhaps this instance should not be considered as an example of the comparing formula in the strict sense.

(8.50) IG 7 207 (Megaris – Aigosthena: 223–201 BCE) L.11:

δεδοχθη τοῖ δάμοι, ὁπόττοι καὶ παργινύ/ωνθη Σιφείων ἐν τὰς κοινὰς θυσίας ἄς δαΐζοι
ἀ πό/[λ]ις, ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς, καθόπερ κὴ τοῖς πολ/ίτης·

“it was resolved by the people that all Sipheans who visit the public feast that the city celebrates should have (all the privileges) **just as citizens**.”

From Laconia, there is one instance of the comparing formula. Here the placement of the formula (in the middle of the list of privileges) is similar to Delphi:

(8.51) IG 5,1 936 (Laconia – Kythera: undated) L.14:

εἶμεν δὲ αὐτὸ]γ πρόξενον ^{/15/} [καὶ εὐεργέταν τᾶς πόλεος] τῶ {ι}ν {τῶν} Κυθη[ρί]ων /
[αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους, ὑπάρ]χειν δὲ αὐ[τ]ῶι / [καὶ — — — — καθόπερ τ]οῖς
ἄλλοις Κυθηρί[οις, καὶ γὰς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτη]σιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ / [πολέμου καὶ
εἰράνας καὶ ἀτέ]λειαν πάντων καὶ ^{/20/} [ἐσάγοντι καὶ ἐξάγοντι καὶ π]ροεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς /
[ἀγῶσι πᾶσιν, οἷς ἀ πόλις] τῆθητι, καὶ σίτησιν / [καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια πάντα, ὅσα κ]αὶ

τοῖς ἄλλοις / [προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τῆς π]όλεος τῶν Κυ/[θηρίων ὑπάρχει.

“(and it was also resolved) that he should be a *proxenos* and benefactor of the city of Kythera, both himself and his offspring, and that he should have ... **just as the other citizens of Kythera**, the right to possess land and residence, safety in times of war and in peace, exemption from all taxes on both importation and exportation, priority of seating in any athletic game that the city holds, provision of food, and all the other privileges that the other *proxenoi* and benefactors of the city of Kythera have.”

We also have an instance from Messenia that is closer to the formula in Thessaly:

(8.52) SEG 11:974 (Messenia – Thouria: 1st c. BCE) L.14:

ἔδοξε το¹⁵/[ἰς ἀρχ]όντοις καὶ τῷ δᾶμῳ ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τ/[οῖς
πρ]ογεγραμμένοις πᾶσιν, δεδόσθαι τε αὐτῷ πολ/[ιτε]ρίαν καὶ προξενίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ
τείμιά τε καὶ φιλόανθρω/[πα], **ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἀμετέροις πολεῖταις ὑπάρχει** ·

“it was resolved by the archons and the People, that they commend him for everything mentioned above, and to give him citizenship, proxeny and all the other honors and privileges **that our citizens have**.”

The other instance from Messenia, unfortunately, does not allow much analysis due to the damaged context:

(8.53) SEG 43:135 (Messenia – Messene: 317 BCE) L.8:

[-----]α **καθάπερ** τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰθωμ/[αίοις - - - - - αὐτ]οῖς καὶ γένει·

“... **just as the other Ithomian (citizens?)**...to themselves as well as their offspring.”

Therefore, here once again, there may be a difference between Laconia and Messenia, just as we saw in the case of the generalizing formula. However, I must say that the case here is even less reliable than the case for the generalizing formula, since there is only one instance of the comparing formula from each of Laconia and Messenia. The distribution could simply be due to chance.

Thus we saw that Thessaly is peculiar in developing the comparing formula. Given the paucity of the generalizing formula in Thessalian dialectal inscriptions, it appears almost as if the Thessalians replaced the generalizing formula with the comparing formula. Furthermore, one inscription from Thessaly gives an unparalleled variant of the formula: here, the comparing formula and the generalizing formula are combined into one, stating that the honorand should enjoy “all the privileges enjoyed by the citizens and the other *proxenoi*”:

(8.54) SEG 57:510 (Thessaly – Pelasgiotis – Larisa: ca. 130/129 BCE) L.23:

καὶ (δ)ε/δόσθειν αὐτοῦ καὶ [ἐ]σγόνους παρ τοῖ Λασσαίουν δάμοι προξενί²⁵/αν,
ἰσοπολιτείαν, ἔνκτασιν, ἀσυ[λ]ίαν καὶ ἐμ πολέμου καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τίμια
καὶ φιλάνθρουπα **ὅσσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρ[ο]/ξένοις καὶ πολίταις ὑπάρχει**

“and proxeny, privileges equal to citizens, right of possession and immunity in times of war and in peace, and the other honors and privileges **that the other *proxenoi* and citizens have**, should be given by the People of Larisa to him as well as his offspring”

If this attestation were older, I might have argued that this decree could exhibit a transition from

the generalizing formula to the comparing formula. However, this decree belongs to the latest period of the dialect, so such an argument is not well-founded.

8.4. Concluding remarks

This dissertation is a collection of analyses of different subordinators, different dialects and different formulas, so its conclusion does not deserve a chapter. Still, there are some notions that unify this work, and I may summarize them at its end. I hope that I have been able to demonstrate the possibility that supradialectal phraseology may shed light on some otherwise undetectable features of local Greek dialects: sometimes foreign elements are introduced to the local dialect as part of a larger phraseological unit (as in the case of ὅπου in Thessalian and ὅσα in Boeotian), whereas we also see foreign elements replaced by native elements (as in the case of οὔστε replacing ὅπως in the hortatory formula in Thessalian, and ὅποττα replacing ὅσα in Boeotian). Many questions were left open (for example, whether Arcadian ἀφῶτε should be considered in relation with the Delphian ἀφ' οὔ), often due to the paucity of attestations. Furthermore, of course, there are many dialectal regions that I had to exclude from my study, which could be a target for future studies.

Appendix: List of attestations

This is the list of all the attestations of subordinators known to me. It is a partial expansion, with its scope limited chronologically to the period BCE and geographically to Mainland Greece, of the work by Hermann (1912). To be more precise on the geographical scope, this list covers the dialectal inscriptions found in Mainland Aeolic regions (Thessaly and Boeotia), Northwest Greek regions (Epeiros, Acarnania, Aitolia, Lokris, Phokis and Doris), Megaris, and the Peloponnese (Achaia, Elis, Arcadia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Corinthia). Relative pronouns and adjectives, such as ὅς, ὅ, οἷος, ὅσος, are excluded. The instances known to Hermann are marked with a bracketed asterisk: “[*]”. The cases where there are doubts on the validity of the attestation accepted by Hermann are marked with an exclamation mark following the asterisk: “[*!]”. When the publication referred to by Hermann should be updated with a later reedition of the inscription, I indicated both Hermann’s reference and the newer republication. Regrettably, for the subordinators αἰ, εἰ, ἐπεὶ and ἐπειδή, the attestations in FD are not exhaustively included.

A

αἰ

- Thessaly
 - [*] Epeiros – Dodona: SGDI 1333 = Lhôte (2006) no. 80 (ca. 375 BCE) face A L.1: ἐρουτᾶι Κλεούτας τὸν Δία καὶ τὰν / Διώναν αἶ ἐστι αὐτὸ προβατεύοντι / ὄναιον καὶ ὠφέλιμον.
 - [*] Epeiros – Dodona: SGDI 1557 = Lhôte (2006) no. 8 (ca. 300–167 BCE) face B L.1: ἐπικοινωνᾶται Μον[δ]αιατᾶν τὸ κοινὸν Ἐὶ Νάωι καὶ Διώναι {ς}’ πὲρ το<ϛ>

- [άρ]/γύρροι τᾶς Θέμιστος αἱ ἀ<ν>εκτ[ό]ν ἐστι τᾶ Θέμι/<σ>τι καὶ βέλτιον ἐσκιγρέμεν.
- [*] Thessaly – Thessaliothis – Thetionion: IG 9,2 257 (5th c. BCE) L.7: αἷ τις ταῦτα παρβαῖνοι, τὸ/ν ταγὸν τὸν ἐπεστάκοντα ἐ/ξξανακάδεν.
 - Thessaly – Thessaliothis – Itonion: SEG 37:494 (ca. 230–200 BCE) L.15: αἷ τέ κα ἐν Θαμίαι[ς] — —
 - Thessaly – Hestiaiotes – Matropolis: SEG 36:548 (3rd c. BCE) L.7: αἱ μά / κά τις ἐν τύτεις μὰ ἐμ[μ]έναι, ἀπόλαος ἔστου / [ἀ]τ τᾶς συγγενεί[ας] καὶ τάλαντεν ἀργύρ/¹⁰/ [ρου] ὀφλέτου [τ]εῖς συγγενέσσι·
 - [*] Thessaly – Magnesia – Korope: IG 9,2 1202 (undated) L.1: αἷ κε ἀφέλεται τὸ δά[ρατον] — — — — / [(numerum) παρ]έξσῃ πρόχος. αἷ κε τὸ/ν ἄραχον ἀφέλεται, α[— — — — —] / [— — — — — πρό]χον διαδῶμεν. αἷ κε μῆ θ/⁵/έλε, ἀπίσαι πεντέροντ<α> [—
 - [*] Thessaly – Magnesia – Olizon: IG 9,2 1222 (5th c. BCE) L.2: αἱ δέ κε ἀρισ/τάσας ἀπίε,
 - [*] Thessaly – Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1226 (undated) Face A L.1: νόμος / αἷ κε τὸν / φασσῶν / κίς φαλ[ί]/⁵/σσκετα[ι] / κοινὰ χ[ρ]/ἔματα ἔ[χ]/ὄν καὶ μ[ε] / δυνάετ[α]/¹⁰/ι ἀππε[ῖς]/[α]ι τοΠ[.].
 - [*] Thessaly – Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1229 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.27: αἱ μά κέ κίς κατασπάσει / τὸ οἰκοδόμειμα, ἀππεισάτου τοῦ θεο[ῦ] / [μ]ν[ᾶς] χελλίας·
 - Thessaly – Pelasgiotes – Atrax: IAtrax 2 (3rd c. BCE, second half) L.5:]ΙΜΑ τοῦν πάντων καὶ αἱ ἄλλο κε [- - - - -] / []Σ κοινὸν ἐστι τύτοις ἔνθου κο[ινόν] - - - -
- Boeotia
 - [*] Lebadeia: IG 7 3080 = Darmezis (1999) no. 10 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.4: ἡ δέ κά τις

- ἀντιποιεῖται Ἀθάνωνος εἰ ἄλλο τι ἀδικ[εῖ] /⁵/ [κ]αθ' ὄντινα ὧν τρόπον,
 οὐπερδικιόνθω κῆ προῖστάνθω τύ τε ἱαρεῖες κῆ τε[ι] / [ία]ράρχη τὸ ἦ
 ἀντιτιουνχάνοντες κῆ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βειλόμενος.
- [*] Lebadeia: IG 7 3083 = Darnezin (1999) no. 13 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.5: Δωῖλος /
 Ἰρανήω ἀντίθειτι τὸν / φίδιον θεράποντα Ἀνδρικόν τῷ Δι τῷ Βασιλεῖ / κῆ τῷ
 Τρεφονίῳ ἱαρὸν εἶ¹⁰/μεν, παρμείναντα παρ / τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώ/ραν φέτια δέκα,
 καθὼς ὁ / πατεῖρ ποτέταξε· ἦ δέ κα / ἔτι δώσει Ἀθανοδώρα, εἴσι /¹⁵/ Ἀνδρικός φόρον
 τὸν ἐν τῇ / θείκῃ γεγραμμένον· ἦ δέ τι / κα πάθει Ἀθανοδώρα, παρμ/ενὶ Ἀνδρικός τὸν
 περιττὸν / χρόνον παρ Δωῖλον, ἔπιτα ἰ[α]/²⁰/ρός ἔστω, μεί ποθίκων μεί/θενὶ μείθην·
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3171 (ca. 250–200 BCE) L.41: ἀπ[ο]/γράφεσθη δὲ Εὐβωλον
 κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν / ἕκαστον παρ τὸν ταμίαν κῆ τὸν νομώ/ναν τά τε καύματα τῶν
 προβάτων κῆ /⁴⁵/ τῶν ἡγῶν κῆ τῶν βουῶν κῆ τῶν ἵππων κ[ῆ] / κα τινὰ ἄσαμα ἰωνοι,
 κῆ τὸ πλεῖθος.
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3198 = Darnezin (1999) no. 109 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE)
 L.4: ἦ δέ κά τις καταδουλίδ/⁵/δε<ι>τη εἰ ἐφάπτειται, κούριος ἔστ[ω ὁ ἱαρεὺς κῆ τὸ]
 πολέμαρχυ σουλῶντες κῆ / δαμιῶντες, κῆ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βε[ιλόμενος, κῆ τὸ]
 σούνεδρυ δαμιώνθω τὸν ἀδικίον/τα.
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3199 = Darnezin (1999) no. 110 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE)
 L.4: ἦ δέ κά τις /⁵/ ἐφάπτειται, κούριος ἔστω ὁ ἱαρεὺς [κῆ τὸ πολέμ]αρχυ σουλῶντες
 κῆ δαμιῶντες, / κῆ τὸ σούνεδρυ σουλώνθω κῆ δα[μιώνθω τὸν] ἀδικίοντα·
 - [*] Orchomenos: Many other instances of the formula ἦ δέ κά τις ἐφάπτειται “but if
 anyone should attempt to enslave him” and its variants.
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3172 (222–200 BCE) L.77: ἦ δέ κα μεί ἀποδώει ἁ πόλις

- Νικαρέτη τὸ ἀρ/γούριον ἐν τῷ γεγραμμένῳ χρόνῳ, τὰς μουρίας κὴ ὀκτ[α]/κισχειλίας ὀκτακατίας τριάκοντα τρῖς, ἀποδότω /⁸⁰/ τὰν σούγγραφον κὴ τὰς οὐπεραμερίας τὰς κατ τᾶς / πόλιος ἅπαν τὸ ἀργούριον τὸ ἐν τῷ ὁμολό[γ]ῳ γεγραμμένον·
- Orchomenos: SEG 28:461 (ca. 287–280 BCE) L.23: ἦ δέ κά τινες φίλη φίσα / [στρ]οτευθειώνθι, κλαροέτω ὁ ἵπ/³⁰/[πα]ρχος τὰς φίσα ἐστροτευμέ/γας φίλας·
 - Koroneia: SEG 43:205 (3rd c. BCE) L.26: κὴ εἰ / μέν κά τι πλέον γινοῦειτη τᾶν ἑπτακατιάων ἀργου/[ρ]ίω, καταβαλλόνθω τῷ ταμίη παρχεῖμα κὴ ἔστω οὗ/το τᾶς πόλιος κὴ οὐπαρχέτω ἐν τὰν φυκονομίαν· ἦ δέ /³⁰/ [κά τι]ς ἔνδια γινοῦειτη, ποτιδότω ὁ ταμίας ὁ προάρχων / [τὰν] δευτέραν πετράμεινον τῆς πολεμάρχους τὸ ποτιδε/[όμενον ἀργούριον ἄως τὰς ἑ]πτακατίας κὴ ἀποδόγ/[θω —
 - Thespiai: IThesp 1244 (mid 4th c. BCE; verse) L.1: ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ κείμαι Ῥόδιος· τὰ γελοῖα σιωπῶ· / καὶ σπαλακῶν ὄλεθρον λείπω κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν. / αἰ δέ τις ἀντιλέγει, καταβάς δεῦρ' ἀντιλογεῖτω.
 - [*] Thespiai: IG 7 1739 = IThesp 48 (ca. 240 BCE) L.9: ἦ δέ κά τις ἐμβὰς τὼς προστάτα[ς] μὲι καθιστάει ὥς κα δοκιμαδδῶντι εἰ μὲι ἄξι]/¹⁰/[ο]χρειέας καθιστάει, ἔσς ἀρχᾶς ἐμβάσι ἅ [ἀρχά·
 - Thespiai: IThesp 53 (ca. 230 BCE) L.16: ἦ δέ / [κ]α μῖον ε[ῦ]ρει ἐν [τὰ πέντε κὴ φίκατι φέτια, ἐν τὸ λεύκωμα ἐσγραφείσεται ὑπὰ τῶν ἱαρ]αρχάων αὐτὸς κὴ ὁ / ἔγγυος τῷ [ψ]εύδ[εος] ἐφ' εἰ[μολίοι. L.27: ἦ δέ μὲι, ἀμ[μισ(?)]-
 - Thespiai: IThesp 54 (ca. 230–228 BCE) L.5: ἦ δέ τί κα τέ/[λος δειεί ἐμπερέμεν ἐν τὰν πόλιν εἰ ἐν τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν, ὅσ]ι ὁ γαεργός.
 - Thespiai: IThesp 55 (ca. 230–228 BCE) L.17: ἦ δέ κα μὲι καθιστάει / τὼς ἐγγύως, ἐπαμμισθῶσι ἅ ἀρχά. ἦ δέ κα μῖον εῦρει ἐν τὰ φίκατι φέτια, ἐν τὸ λεύκωμα /

ἐσγραφείσεται ὑπὰ τᾶ[ς] ἀρχᾶς αὐτὸς κῆ ὁ ἔγγυος τῶ ψεύδεος ἐπὶ τοῖ εἰμιολίοι. ^{/20/} ἢ
δέ κά τις τῶν μισθωσαμένων μὲι καταβάλλει τὰμ μίσθωσιν ἐν τοῖ γεγραμμένοι /
χρόνοι, ὁ ταμίας ὁ τᾶν Μ[ω]σάων ἐσγράψι αὐτὸν κῆ τὼς ἐγγύως ἐπὶ τῇ μισθώσει τῇ
ἀντὶ ἐ/νιαυτῶ ἐπὶ τοῖ εἰμιολίοι, κῆ ἐπαμμισθώσοντι τὸν κᾶπον ἐν τὰ περίσσα φέτεα· /
κῆ ἢ τί κα μῖον εὔρε[ι] ἐν τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἐμ τὸ λεύκωμα ἐσγράψονθι αὐτὸν κῆ
τὼς / [ἐ]γγύως ἐφ' εἰμιολίοι τοῖ μιονώματι πάντι τῶν περισάων φετέων. ἢ δέ ^{/25/} κά τι
ἐπιφοικίξ[ε]ιτη, ἐπὶ κα διεσσέλθει ὁ χρόνος, ἀπίσεται λαβὼν ὃ κα
ἐπιφοικο/δομε[ί]σει. εἰ δέ τί κα δείει τέλος ἐμφερέμεν ἐν τὰν πόλιν εἰ ἐν τὸ κοινὸν /
Βοιωτῶν, ὅσι ὁ γ[αφ]εργός· καταλίψι δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱαρὸν τῶ Μειλιχίω ἑκατὸν πόδας /
ἐμβαδόν.

- [*] Thespriai: BSGW 1899 p. 141 = IThesp 56 (ca. 220 BCE) L.1: ἐπιδει ἄ μίσθωσις
τῶν γυάων / διεσσεῖλθεικε, ὑπάρχι δὲ ἐν τῇ π[ρ]οτηνὶ προ[ρ]ρεῖσει, ἢ τίς κα βεῖλειτη
τῶν φερυ[κει]/όντων, ὑπογράψ[ασθη] τᾶς [αὐτ]ᾶς μισθώσιος· δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι ...
- Thespriai: IThesp 56 (ca. 220 BCE) L.6: μισθῶση δὲ κῆ τὸ Νυνφῆον τὸ ἐν Φε[ρίης]· /
τοῖς μὲν πεπιτευόντεσσι κῆ πεποιόντεσσι τὰ ἐς τᾶς προρρεῖσι<ος>, ἢ κα βε[ί]λωνθη,
τᾶς [αὐ]/τᾶς μισθώσιος ἐσσεῖμεν αὐτῶς ὑπογράψασθη παριόντεσσι αὐτοῖς·
- Thisbe: SEG 22:407 (3rd c. BCE) L.21: ἄ δὲ πόλις Θισβείων ἰαέτω τὰν [πό]/λιν
Χορσιείων καρπιδδεσθη τὰν χώραν εἰ κ[α κατα]/βάλλει τὰς καταβολὰς τὰς ἐν τοῖ
ὀμολ[όγοι γεγραμ]/μένας ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς γεγραμμ[ένοις],
- [*] Tanagra: REG 12 p.72 = Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.14:
ἢ δέ κά τινος τόπος ἢ φυκία χρή^{/15/}σιμος ἴει πὸτ τὰν κατασκευὰν τῶ ἱαρῶ, τὸ
πολέμαρχυ συνκαλέσ/σαντες τὸν δᾶμον στασάνθω τιματὰς ἔνδεκα ἄνδρας κατ τὸν
νόμον / τὸν κυνὸν Βοιωτῶν· L.36: ἢ δέ κά τι ἐπισκευᾶς δείει τῶν ἐν / [τῷ ἱαρῷ],

λαμβάνεμεν τὸν ἢ ταμ]ίαν ἀφ' οὐτῶν τῶν χρεϊμάτων κῆ ἀπολογίτ/[τασθη τὸ ἄλωμα
πὸτ] τὼς κατόπτας·

- Megaris

- [*] Megara: AM 1906 p. 343: αἶ τέ κα ἄλ(λ)ῆ ‘wenn auch irgend wie anders’

- Northwest Greek

- [*] Delphi: Two near-identical instances of an oath formula. SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face A L.15: εὐορκέο/γτι μέμ μοι ἀγαθὰ εἶη, αἶ [δ'] /
ἔφιορκέοιμι, κ]ακῶν (?) τὰ κ[α]/κὰ ἀντι τῶν ἀγ[α]θῶν. SGDI 2501 = CID 1 10 (380/379 BCE) L.8: εὐορκέοντι μέμ μοι πολ]/λὰ καὶ τὰγαθὰ, αἶ δ' ἐφιορκέ<οιμι>, τὰ κακὰ ἀντι τῶν ἀγαθῶν
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face A L.23: τοῦ[ς] ταγοὺς μὴ δέκ/εσθαι μῆτε δαρατᾶν γάμε/²⁵/λα μῆτε παιδιῆια μῆτ' [ἀπελ]/λαῖα, αἶ μὴ τᾶς πατριᾶς ἐπ/αινεούσας τᾶς πληθύος ἐ/ξ ἄς κα ἦι. αἶ δέ τί κα παρ ν[ό]/μον κελεύσωντι, τῶν κελε/³⁰/υσάντων ὁ κίνδυνος ἔστ[ω]. L.35: αἶ δέ κα δέξωνται ἄλλαι / [ἀ]μέραι ἢ
Ἀπέλλαις, ἀποτε/[ι]σάτω φέκαστος δέκα δρα/χμάς· ὁ δὲ χρήζων καταγο/εῖν τῶν δεξαμένων, ἐπὶ τῶ/⁴⁰/ν ἡστέρων ταγῶν καταγο/ρεῖτω ἐν τᾷ ἀλίαι τᾷ με/[τ]ὰ Βουκάτια, αἶ κ' ἀμφιλλέ/γωντι τοῖ ταγοῖ τοῖ δεξά/μενοι. L.50: τῶι δὲ ἡστέρωι φέ/τει ἀγέτω τὰπελλαῖα καὶ / τὰν δαράταν φερέτω· αἶ δέ / κα μὴ ἄγηι, μηκέτι δεκέσθ/ων ἀμμόνια, ἀλλ' ἢ ἀ<γ>έτω ἀπ/⁵⁵/ελλαῖα, ἢ ἀποτεισάτω φικ/ατι δραχμάς, ἢ ἡπογραψά/μενος τόκιομ φερέτω·
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face B L.17: κῆπευχέσθ/ω δικαίως τὰν ψᾶφον φ[έ]/ροντι πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ τοὺς /²⁰/ [θ]εοὺς διδόμεν, αἶ δὲ ἀ[δ]/ίκως, τὰ κακά. τοῦτα δὲ τ/οῖ ταγοῖ ἐπιτελεόντω/ν καὶ τῶι δεομένωι συν/αγόντων τοὺς

- Λαβυάδα²⁵/ς. αἰ δέ κα μὴ ποιῶντι κὰ/[τ] τὰ γεγραμμένα ἢ μὴ το/[ὺ]ς ταγοὺς τὸν
ἥορκον ἐ/παγάγωντι, ἀποτεισάτ/[ω] φέκαστος ἐπὶ φεκατέ³⁰/[ρ]ωι δέκα δραχμάς.
 ἡόστ/[ι]ς δέ κα μὴ ὁμόση, μὴ τα/γενέτω. αἰ δέ κ' ἀνώμοτο/ς ταγεύηι, πεντήκοντα /
 δραχμάς ἀποτεισάτω. ³⁵ αἰ δέ κα δέξονται τοῖ τ/αγοῖ ἢ γάμελα ἢ παιδῆ/α πὰρ τὰ
γράμματα, ἀποτ/εισάτω πεντήκοντα δρ/αχμάς φέκαστος τῶν δε⁴⁰/ξασμένων. αἰ δέ κα
μὴ ἀπο/τεῖσηι, ἄτιμος ἔστω ἐγ / Λαβυαδᾶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτ/ωι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις /
 ζαμίαις ἕντε κ' ἀποτε⁴⁵/ῖσηι· L.51: αἰ δέ τίς κα τῶν ταγῶν κ/αταγορῆι ποιῆσαι τι
π/ὰρ τὰ γράμματα, ἡο δέ ἀν/τιφᾶι, τοῖ ταγοῖ ἐν τᾶι ⁵⁵ *vacat* /^{Face C L.0}/ [— —
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face C L.12: το/ὶ δέ ταγοῖ τῶι
 καταγορέο/ντι τὰν δίκαν ἐπιτελεόν/¹⁵/των· αἰ δέ μὴ, τὸ διπλὸν [φ]έκ/αστος
 ἀποτεισάτω. L.25: [α]ἰ δέ τι τούτων παρβᾶλλο/[ι]το, ἀποτεισάτω πεντήκο/ντα
 δραχμάς, αἶ κα μὴ ἐξομ/όσηι ἐπὶ τῶι σάματι μὴ πλ/έον ἐνθέμεν. L.50: αἰ δέ τι
τούτων παρβ/ᾶλλοιτο τῶν γεγραμ/μένων *vacat* /^{Face D L.0}/ [— —
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face D L.12: καἶ κ' αὐτὸς θύηι
ἡιαρῆ/[ι]ον, καἶ κα λεκχοῖ παρῆι, κ/αἶ κα ξένοι φοι παρέωντ/¹⁵/ι ἡιαρῆια θύοντες καἶ
κ/α πενταμαριτεύων τύχη/ι. L.17: αἰ δέ τι τούτων παρβᾶλλ/οιτο τῶν γεγραμμένων, /
 θωεόντων τοῖ τε δαμιορ/²⁰/γοῖ καὶ τοῖ ἄλλοι πάντε/ς Λαβυάδαι, πρασσόντων / δέ τοῖ
 Πεντεκαίδεκα· [α]ἰ / δέ κα ἀμφιλλέγηι τᾶς θω/ιάσιος, ἐξομόσας τὸν νό/²⁵/[μιμ]ον
 ἥορκον λελύσθω. α/[ι δ' ἀ]λίαν ποιόντων ἀρχῶ/[ν ἀ]πειήι, ἀποτεισάτω ὄδε/λόν, καὶ
 συγγέοι, ἀποτει/σάτω ὄδελόν.
 - Delphi: SEG 45:469 (ca. 400–359 BCE) L.4· αἰ δέ κα ENKTAM. ⁵/ [. . .
ἐπιστ]ρατεύηι ἢ ὄπλα ἐπιφέρηι ἐ[νε]/[χέσθω δογμ]άτεσσι τοῖς ἐν τῶι Παλλα[δί]/[ωι·
 τοῖς κατ]ὰ πομπᾶς ἐμ Πύλας καὶ ἐν Δελ/[φους ἰόντε]σσι καὶ νειμένοις διὰ πόν/[του μὴ

- έλλ]μενίζειν· αἰ δέ κα ἐλλιμενί¹⁰/[σηι, καθάπ]ερ τοῖς θεαροῖς ἐξέστω ἐν Ἄμ/
[φικτιόνε]σσι δικάξασθαι·
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2501 = CID 1 10 (380/379 BCE) L.18: αἰ δὲ μὴ περιεῖεν ἢ μὴ
πρ[άσσοιεν, ἀποτεισάτω ὁ μὴ περιῶν] / μηδ' ἐ[κπ]ράσσω τριάκοντα στατήρας· αἰ
δέ κα μὴ ἀποτίνῃ, Θ[— . L.33: χρηστήριον αἶ τ[ί]ς κα μ[ὴ] παρέχῃ, ἑκατὸν
στατήρας ὀφε[ιλέτω — — . L.37: αἶ κα μὴ τοῖ ἱερομ[νάμονες τοῖ Ἀμφικτιονικοῖ] / ἐν
ταῖ {ται} Πυθιάδι τὰ ἱερά {ι} ἐπικοσμήσωντι ὅτινός κα δέωνται, ἀπο[τεισάτω
— — — — —] / στατήρας Αἰγιναιῶς· αἶ κα μὴ ἀποτίνῃ τ[οῖς] ἱερομναμόνεσσι τοῖς
Ἀμφικτιονικοῖς, εἰλέσθω τοῦ ἰ⁴⁰/αροῦ ἅ πόλις ἐξ ἄς κ' εἶ ὁ ἱερομνάμων ἔντε κα
ἀποτείση : L.46: α[ἰ] δέ κα μὴ πέ[μ]πωντι, ἀποτεισάντω[ν — . L.47: αἰ δέ κα [μὴ]
διδῶντι — —
 - Delphi: SEG 19:379 (3rd c. BCE, second half) L.34: αἶ τίς κα τῶν ἀὐλητῶν ἢ τῶν
χο³⁵/ρευτῶν ἢ τῶν τραγωιδῶν ἢ τῶν κω[μοιδῶν τῶν νε] μηθέντων εἰς τὰς
τριετηρίδας ὑπὸ τῶν τε/χνιτῶν μὴ ἀγωνίζηται [τ]ὰς τριετηρίδα[ς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶ]νας
κατὰ τὸν νόμον τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Θηβαίων, / ἀλλὰ ὑγιαίνων λίπη[ι τὸν] ἀγῶνα, μὴ
εἴ[μ]εν αὐτῶι ἀσφ]άλειαν μηδὲ τοῖς συνεργαζομένοις αὐτῶι μή/τε πολέμου μήτε
εἰρά[να]ς · αἶ κα μὴ ἀγ[ωνίζηται, καῖ] κα ζαμιωθῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτα, καὶ
ἀγῶγιμος ἔ/στω πανταχόθεν · [αἶ κά] τίς πόλις ἢ [ἀρχεῖον ἢ ἰδιώτ]ας [τ]ὰν ζαμίαν
ἀφέληται τὸν ἐξαμι[ωμ]ένον,
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.1: Λορρὸν
τὸν : ἠποκναμίδιον : ἐπ/εί κα Ναυπάκτιος : γένεται : Ναυπάκτιον ἐόντα : ἠπο<ς>
ξένον : ὅσια λανχάν/ειν : καὶ θύειν : ἐξεῖμεν : ἐπιτυχόντα : αἶ κα δειλεται · αἶ κα
δειλεται : θύειν καὶ λ/ανχάνειν : κέ(δ) δάμο κέ(ρ) φοινάνον : αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος :

κατ' αἰρεῖ. L.6: αἰ / δείλετ' ἀνγορεῖν, καταλείπον:τα ἐν τῷ ἰστίαι παῖδα ἑβρατὰν ἔ
'δελφεὸν· ἐξ/εἶμεν ἄνευ ἐννετερίον· : αἶ κα ὑπ' ἀνάγκας ἀπελάονται : ἐ(γ)
Ναυπάκτο : Λορ/ροὶ τοὶ ὑποκναμιδίον, : ἐξεῖμεν ἀνγορεῖν, : ἥπο φέκαστος ἐν, ἄνευ
ἐ/¹⁰/νετερίον. L.12: τὸν ἥροφον ἐξεῖμεν : αἶ κα δείλονται : ἐπάγειν μετὰ τριάφοντα
φέτα : ἀπὸ τῷ ἥροφον ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ὀποντίοις : Ναυπακτίον καὶ Ναυπακτίοις
Ὀποντίοις : L.16: αἶ κα με γένος ἐν τῷ ἰστίαι : ἔι ἐ 'χεπάμον : τὸν ἐπι/φοῖον : ἔι
ἐν Ναυπάκτοι, Λορρὸν : τὸν ὑποκναμιδίον : τὸν ἐπάνχισ/τον : κρατεῖν, Λορρὸν
ἥπο κ' εἰ, : αὐτὸν ἰόντα, αἶ κ' ἀνερ ἔι ἐ παῖς, : τριδὸν μ/ενδῶν· : αἶ δὲ μέ, τοῖς
Ναυπακτίοις : νομίοις χρῆσται : L.27: αἶ τις ὑπὸ τὸν νομίον τὸν ἐπιφοῖον :
ἀνγορεῖ Περροθαριᾶ/ν καὶ Μυσαχέον, : τοῖς αὐτὸν νομίοις : χρῆσται : κατὰ πόλιν
φεκάστους / : F : αἶ κ' ἀδελφροὶ ἔοντι : τῷ 'ν Ναύπακτον φοικέοντος, : ἥπος καὶ
Λορρὸ/³⁰/ν : τὸν ὑποκναμιδίον : φεκάστον νόμος ἐστί, : αἶ κ' ἀποθάνει, τὸν
χ/ρεμάτων κρατεῖν : τὸν ἐπίφοιον, τὸ κατιρόμενον κρατεῖν : L.41: τὸνκαλειμένοι :
τὰν δίκαν : δόμεν τὸν ἀρ/χόν, : ἐν τριαφοντ' ἀμάραις : δόμεν, : αἶ κα τριαφοντ'
ἀμάραι : λείποντ/αι τᾶς ἀρχᾶς· : αἶ κα με δίδοι : τῷ ἐνκαλειμένοι : τὰν δίκαν, :
ἄτιμ/ον εἶμεν : καὶ χρέματα παματοφαγεῖσται, : τὸ μέρος μετὰ φο/⁴⁵/ικιατᾶν.

○ [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 333 = IG 9²,1,3 717 (500–450 BCE) L.1: τὸν ξένον
μὲ ἡγέν : ἐ(τ) τᾶς Χαλειίδος : τὸν Οἰανθέα μ/εδὲ τὸν Χαλειεία : ἐ(τ) τᾶς Οἰανθίδος :
μεδὲ χρέματα αἶ τι(ς) συ/λῶι : τὸν δὲ συλδῶντα ἀνάτο(ς) συλῶν. τὰ ξενικὰ ἐ(θ)
θαλάσας ἡγέν : / ἄσυλον : πλὰν ἐ(λ) λιμένος : τῷ κατὰ πόλιν : αἶ κ' ἀδικο(ς) συλῶι
: τέ/⁵/τορες δραγμαί : αἶ δὲ πλέον δέκ' ἀμαρᾶν ἔχοι τὸ σῶλον, ἡε/μῶλιον ὀφλέτο
<h>ὅτι συλάσαι : αἶ μεταφοικέοι πλέον μενὸς ἐ / ὁ Χαλειεὺς ἐν Οἰανθεία ἐ Οἰανθεὺς
ἐν Χαλειῶι, τῷ ἐπιδαμία δίκαι χ/ρέστο : τὸν πρόξενον : αἶ ψευδέα προξενέοι.

- διπλ/είοι θοιέστο. /^{Face B L.10/} αἶ κ' ἀνδιγάζοντι : τοὶ ξενοδίκαι : ἐπομότας : ηελέσ/το :
 ὁ ξένος : ὀπάγον : τὰν δίκαν : ἐχθὸς προξένο / καὶ φιδίο ξένο : ἀριστίνδαν : ἐπὶ μὲν
 ταῖς μναια/ίαις : καὶ πλέον : πέντε καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας : ἐπὶ ταῖς / εἰόνοις : ἐννέ' ἄνδρας :
αἶ κ' ὁ φασσὸς ποὶ τὸν φ/^{15/}αστὸν δικάζεται κα(τ) τᾶς συνβολᾶς·
- W. Lokris – Psoriani: SEG 23:358 (6th/5th c. BCE) L.1: Τεθμὸς ὄδε περὶ τᾶς γᾶς
 βέβαιος ἔστο κατ τὸν / ἀνδαιθμὸν πλακὸς Ὑλίας καὶ Λισκαρίας καὶ τὸν ἀ/ποτόμον
 καὶ τὸν δαμοσίον· ἐπινομία δ' ἔστο γο/νεῦσιν καὶ παιδί· αἶ δὲ μὲ παῖς εἶε, κόραι· αἶ
δὲ μὲ κόρα εἶε, /^{5/} ἀδελφεδί· αἶ δὲ μὲ ἀδελφεὸς(ς) εἶε, ἀνχιστέδαν ἐπινεμέσθο κα(τ) τὸ
 / δίκαιον· αἶ δὲ μὲ τοὶ ἐπίνομοι [ου... ν] ἡὸ τι δὲ κα φυτεύσεται, / ἄσυλος ἔ{ι}στο·
αἶ μὲ πολέμοι ἀνανκαζόμενοις δόξξαι ἀ/νδράσιν ἡενὶ κ' ἑκατὸν ἀριστίνδαν τῶι πλέθει
ἄνδρας δια/κατίος μεῖστον ἀξξιομάχος ἐπιφοίκος ἐφάγεσθαι, ἡόστ/^{10/}ις δὲ δαιθμὸν
 ἐνφέροι ἔ ψᾶφον διαφέροι ἐν πρέιγαι ἔ'ν πόλι ἔ / 'ν ἀποκλεσίαι, ἔ στάσιν ποιέοι περὶ
 γαδαισίας, αὐτὸς μὲν φερρέτο καὶ γενεὰ ἄματα πάντα, χρέματα δὲ δαμευόσθον / καὶ
 φοικία κατασκαπτέσθο κατ τὸν ἀνδρεοφονικὸν τεθμό/ν·
 - Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 43:323 (shortly before 510 BCE) L.1: Αἶ κα μέλλι ἐς
[Σύ]βαριν ἰόντι λόϊον | ἔμεν [κ]α πράτοντι (sic) ταῦτα
 - Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 57:536 (420–400 BCE) L.1: Θεός· τύχα ἀγαθά· / Ῥαζία
 ἐπέθετο / αἶ διαλλαγὰ μέλλει / γενέσθαι ἀπὸ Τει/^{5/}τύκῳ ζόοντος / καὶ ἀποχώρησ <ις>
 - Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 57:536 (340-330 BCE): Αἶ <κ>α Φιλίσστας ἀξίωτο
νοσέματος
 - Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 51:749 (ca. 300–250 BCE) L.4: καὶ σωτηρία μοι ἔσσειται καὶ
 ἐμὴν /^{5/} καὶ ταῖ νᾶι, αἶκα ^{vacat} καὶ τὰ χρέα ἀποδ(ώ)σω
- Elis

- [*] Olympria: IvO 1 = Minon (2007) no. 6 (ca. 525–500 BCE) L.2: αἰ μὰ ’πεν[ποι — — —] / [— — —] αἶ τῖρ μαῖτο χρῆεστ[αι — — —] / [— — —]θαί Ὀλυνπίαι· αἰ ζέ [— — —] /⁵ / [— — —]ον, αἶ τῖρ ταῦτα πα[ρβαίνοι —
- [*] Olympria: IvO 7 = Minon (2007) no. 4 (ca. 525–500 BCE) L.2: αἰ δὲ βενέοι ἐν τίαροῖ, βοί κα θῶάδοι καὶ κοθάρσι τελείαι, καὶ τὸν θεαρὸν ἐν τ/α<ὺ>τᾶι. αἰ δὲ τῖς παρ τὸ γράφος δικάδοι, ἀτελεῖς κ’ εἶε ἀ δικά, ἀ δὲ κα φράτρα ἀ δαμοσία τελεία εἶε δικάδοσα.
- [*] Olympria: IvO 11 = Minon (2007) no. 12 (ca. 500–475 BCE) L.2: Χαλάδριον ἔμεν αὐτὸν / καὶ γόνον, : φισοπρόξενον, ^{vacat} / φισοδαμοργόν· τὰν δὲ γᾶ[ν] /⁵ / ἔχεν τὰν ἐν Πίσαι· αἰ δέ / τῖς συλαίε, φέρεν αὐτὸν / πο’ τὸν Δία, αἰ μὲ δάμοι δοκέοι.
- [*] Olympria: IvO 19 = Minon (2007) no. 11 (ca. 500–475 BCE?) L.3: — δ]ίχα ἔστα[ι], αἰ κλε[? — — —]! χρῆεστα[ι], αἶ κα ε[— — — in IvO 19)
- [*] Olympria: IvO 9 = Minon (2007) no. 10 (ca. 500–475 BCE) L.3: αἰ δέ τι δέοι, : αἶτε φέπος αἶτε φ/άργον, : συνέαν κ’ ἀλάλοισ : τά τ’ ἄλ<α> καὶ πα/⁵/ρ πολέμο· : αἰ δὲ μὰ συνέαν, : τάλαντον κ’ / ἀργύρο· ἀποτίνοιαν : τοῖ Δι Ὀλυνπίοι : τοὶ κα/δαλεμένοι : λατρεῖόμενον. : αἰ δέ τῖρ τὰ γ/ράφεια : ταῖ καδαλέοιτο, : αἶτε φέτας αἶτε τ/ελεστά : αἶτε δᾶμος, : ἐν τέπιαροι κ’ ἐνέχ/¹⁰/οῖτο : τοῖ ’νταῦτ’ ἔγραμμένοι.
- [*] Olympria: IvO 4 = Minon (2007) no. 9 (ca. 500–475 BCE) L.2: αἰ δ’ αἰλότρια ποιοῖτο, <πε>γτακ/ατίας κα δαρχμ<ὰ>ς ἀποτίνοι κατὰ φέκαστον θεθτμόν, / ὅ τι ἀδίκωσ ἔχοι καὶ πο<ι>οῖτο ἀδίκωσ γα.
- [*] Olympria: IvO 10 = Minon (2007) no. 14 (ca. 475 BCE) L.5: αἰ τὸ[ν] ὄρκον / παρβαίνουαν, γνῶμαν τὸρ ἰα[ρ]ομάορ / τὸλυνπίαι.
- [*] Olympria: IvO 2 = Minon (2007) no. 20 (ca. 475–450 BCE) L.1: Πατρίαν θαρρῆν

- καὶ γενεὰν καὶ ταῦτ'· / αἰ ζέ τις κατἰαράσειε, φάρρῆν ὄρ Φαλειῶ. αἰ ζέ μῆπιθεῖαν τὰ ζί/καία ὄρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι καὶ τοὶ βασιλάες, ζέκα μναῖς κα / ἀποτίνοι φέκαστος τὸν μῆπιποεόντων καθύταις τοῖ Ζι Ὀλυν/⁵/πίοι, ἐπένποι ζέ κ' ἔλλανοζίκας, καὶ τᾶλλα ζίκαία ἐπενπ/έτῶ ἀ ζαμοργία· αἰ ζέ μῆνποι, ζίφυιον ἀποτινέτῶ ἐν μαστρά/αι. αἰ ζέ τις τὸν αἰτιαθέντα ζικαῖον ἰμάσκοι, ἐν τᾶι ζεκαμναῖαι κ' ἐ/νέχο[ιτ]ο, αἰ φειζὸς ἰμάσκοι. καὶ Πατριάς ὁ γροφεὺς ταῦτ'α κα πάσκοι, / [αἰ τ]ιν' ᾠ[ζ]ικέοι.
- [*] Olympia: IvO 16 = Minon (2007) no. 22 (ca. 450–425 BCE) L.5: αἰ δὲ μῆ ταυτᾶν ποταρμόξαι/ιτο, — — , L.6: αἰ δ' ἀξιόσυλος ἰ γένο/ιτο, — — , L.7: αἰ δὲ μῆ συναλλύ/οιτο — — , L.18: αἰ δὲ ποιέοι, ἐν τοῖ μεγίστοι ἐνέχοι/[τό κα δικάιοι. L.22: αἰ δέ τι[ς] καὶ σ[...] .
 - [*] Olympia: IvO 18 = Minon (2007) no. 25 (ca. 425–400 BCE) L.7: αἰ δὲ λίποι, λυ/σάστῶ τῶ διφυῖῶ.
 - [*] Olympia: BSGW 1898 p. 218 = Minon (2007) no. 30 (ca. 370/365–ca. 324 BCE) L.3:αἰ δέ τιρ φυγαδ/είοι αἶτε τὰ χρήματα δαμοσιόια, φευγέτω ποτ' τῶ Δ/⁵/ιὸρ τὼλυμπίῳ αἶματορ καὶ κατἰαράϊων ὁ δηλόμ<ενο>ρ / ἀνάατορ ἦστω. ἐξήστω δέ, καἰ κα φυγαδεύαντι, τοῖ δ/ηλομένοι νοστίτην καὶ ἀττάμιον ἦμεν ὄσσα κα ὕ/σταριν γένωνται τῶν περὶ Πύρρωνα δαμοργῶν. το/ιρ δὲ ἐπ' ἄσιστα μὰ ἀποδόσσαι μάτε ἐκπέμψαι τὰ χρ/¹⁰/ήματα τοῖρ φυγάδεσσι· αἰ δέ τι ταύτων παρ τὸ γράμ/μα ποιέοι, ἀποτινέτω διπλάσιον τῶ κα ἐκπέμπα κα/ι τῶ κα ἀποδῶται. αἰ δέ τιρ ἀδεαλτώηαιε τὰ' στάλαν, / ὦρ ἀγαλματοφώραν ἐόντα πάσχην.
- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Laconia (found at Arcadia – Tegea): SGDI 4598 = IG 5,2 159 (5th c. BCE) Face A L.1: Ξουθία ἰ τῶι Φιλαχαιῶ · διακάτι/αι μναῖ ἰ αἰ κ' αὐτὸς ἔι, ἴτῶ ἀνελέσ/θῶ· αἰ δέ κ'

- ἀποθάνει : τῶν τέκνων / ἔμεν : ἐπεὶ κα πέντε ρέτεια : /^{5/} hēbōnti · αἰ δέ κα μὲ γένετα/ι
 <τ>έ<κ>ν<α>, τῶν ἐπιδικατῶν ἔμεν, / διαγνόμεν δὲ : τὸς Τεγεάτα[ς] / καὶ τὸν θεθμόν.
- Sparta: SEG 26:461 (ca. 500–470 BCE) L.16: αἰ δέ τις κα [ἐπὶ τὰν τῶν] / Ἐρξαδιέων
χώραν [στρατεύει] / ἐπὶ πολέμοι, ἐπικο[ρῆν Λακεδαιμο]/νίος παντὶ σθένε[ι καττὸ
 δυνατόν]· /^{20/} αἰ δέ τις κα ἐπὶ τὰ[ν Λακεδαιμο]/νίον χώραν στρ[ατεύει ἐπὶ πολέ]/μοι,
 ἐπικορῆν Ἐ[ρξαδιεζ παντὶ] / [σθένει καττὸ δυνατόν. . . .]
 - Messenia – Pylos (found at Messene): SEG 57:369 (late 1st c. BCE) L.12:
 [ἀναθ]έμ[εν δὲ αὐτοῦ] / καὶ εἰκόνα ἐμ Μεσσάναι ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανε[στάτῳ τόπῳ τᾶς] /
 [ἀγ]ορᾶς διάθεσιν ἔχουσαν, ἅτις κα ὑπ[- - - -c. 9- - - -]στα καὶ / [- -c. 4- -]τα αἶ κα
καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀρχέδαμος προαιρεῖται καὶ /^{16/} ἐπιγρ[άψα]ι «πόλις Πυλίων Ἀρχέδαμον
 Φιλοστράτου / Μεσσάνιον τὸν αὐτᾶς εὐεργέταν». (Possibly ᾗ? See my discussion.)
 - Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 950 = IG 4²,1 128 (ca. 280 BCE; verse) L.3: δᾶμος εἰς
 ἀριστοκρατίαν ἄνδρας αἰ προάγοι καλῶς, / αὐτὸς ἰσχυρότερος· ὀρθοῦται γὰρ ἐξ
 ἀνδραγαθίας. /^{5/} αἰ δέ τις καλῶς προαχθεῖς θιγγάνοι πονηρίας / πάλιν ἐπαγκρούων,
 κολάζων δᾶμος ἀσφαλέστερος. / τάνδε τὰν γνώμαν τόκ' ἦχον καὶ ἔλεγον καὶ νῦν
 λέγω. / εὐξάμαν ἀνγράψεν, αἶ κ' εἰς τάνδε τὰν γνώμαν πέτη / ὁ νόμος ἀμίν, ὄν
 ἐπέδειξα· ἔγεντο δ' οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν.
 - [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.60: ἀλλ' αἶ κα ὑγιῆ νιν
ποιήσαι, ἀνθησεῖν οἱ εἰκόνα γραψάμενος·
 - Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.69: ἔδοξε δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς
 ἐπιστὰς εἰπεῖν· “τί μοι δωσεῖς, αἶ τὴ /^{70/} κα ὑγιῆ ποιήσω,”
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 123 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.121: — —] ὅτι αἶ κ' ἔλθῃ εἰς Λευ/

- [κάδα17.....] τὸ χρυσίον·
- Argos: SEG 11:314 (6th c. BCE) L.11: Αἰ δὲ σίναίτο, : ἀφ[α]κεσ/άσθο : hoῖζ δὲ
δαμιορ[γὸς : ἐπ]α[να]νκασσάτο· :
 - [*] Argos (found in Crete): BCH 1910 p. 331 = DGE 83 (mid 5th c. BCE) Frgm B
L.18: αἶ κα καλεῖ ho Κνῶσιος πρ/εσγέαν, ἠέπεσθαι hoπυῖ κα δέεται· καῖ γῶ
Τυλίσ²⁰/ιος τὸν Κνῶσιον κατὰ ταυτά.
 - [*] Argos (found in Crete): BCH 1910 p. 331 = DGE 83 (mid 5th c. BCE) Frgm. B
L.11: αἰ δὲ συ/μπλέονες πόλιες ἐκ πολεμίων ἔλοιεν χρήματα / hoπᾶι συγγνοῖεν hoι
Κνῶσιοι καὶ τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι / hoυτῶ ἔμεν. αἰ δὲ μὲ δοῖεν ξένι/α, βῶλὰ ἐπαγέτῶ ρύτιον
δέκα στατῆρῶν αὐτίκα ἐ/πὶ κόσμος, κῆν Τυλίσῳι κατὰ ταυτά ho Κνῶσιος.
 - [*] Argos (found at Knossos): BCH 1910 p. 331 = DGE 83 (ca. 450 BCE) Frgm. B
L.27: αἶ τις ἀφικνοῖτο Τυλίσῳιν ἐνς Ἄργος, κατὰ ταυτά / σφιν ἔστο ἡἰπερ Κνῶσιος.
 - Argos: SEG 33:275 (ca. 475–425 BCE) L.10: [- - - - - ν]⁹/το δὲ τοὶ
[ι]αρομνάμον[εσ . .5. . .]⁸/ντο δὲ τοὶ [β]οάθοοι Α[. . .]Μ. [. . .]⁷/[. . .]ἄφρετεύο[ν]
πασχ[όν]το ἡόσσα[κ]⁶/α καὶ πολεμί[ον]ς ἐπάγον αἶ τ[ις] /⁵ ἀτελε τιθεῖε τὰ γράμματα
τὰ [έ]⁴/ν τᾶι στάλα[ι] γεγραθμένα ἡό τε /³ λέγον καὶ ho ἀφρετεύον πασχ[έ]²/[τ]ο
ἡόσσα κα πολεμίονς ἐπάγον /¹ . . .ατ. . Χαλκίον
 - [*] Argos: IG 4 554 (undated) L.1: [θ]ἔσαυρῶν [τῶ]ν : τᾶς : : Ἀθαναίας : αἶ τις
{τις} : / [έ τὰ]ν βῶλᾶν : (?) τ[ὰ]ν ἀνοφ' Ἀρίσσιτῶνα : ἔ τὸν<ς> συναρτύοντας / [έ
ἄ]λλον τινὰ ταμίαν εὐθύνοι : τέλος ἔχων : ἔ δικάσ/[ζο]ι ἔ : δικάσζοιτο : τῶν
γρασσιμάτῶν : ἡένεκα τᾶς : κατα/⁵θέσιος : ἔ τᾶς : ἀλιάσσιος : τρετῶ καὶ δαμειέσσο
: ἐνς / Ἀθαναίαν :
 - [*] Argos: IG 4 554 (undated) L.6: ἡα δὲ βῶλὰ ποτελάτῶ : ἡαντιτυχόνσα : αἶ / δέ κα

- μῆ : αὐτοὶ : ἔνοχοι ἔντῳ : ἐνς Ἀθαναίαν.
- [*] Argeia – Heraion: IG 4 506 (undated) L.7: [α]ἰ δὲ μῆ δαμιο[ρ]γοῖ τις :: hoi μ[—
 - [*] Argolis – Heraion: IG 4 521 (undated) L.2: αἰ δὲ τίς κα τῶν πριαμέν[ων — — .
 - L.8: αἰ δὲ κα μὴ ἐν [— —
 - [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 493 (undated) L.1: αἰ μῆ δαμιοργία εἶῆ, τὸς
ιαρομνάμονας τὸς ἐς Περσῆ το<^>σι γονεῦσι κριτῆρας ἔμεν κατ(τ)ὰ φερρῆμένα.
 - [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 498 (after 195 BCE) L.8: αἰ δὲ τί κα πένηται, ἄτιτον
α[ὐτὸν ἦμεν (but L.7: εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιοῖεγ κα[τὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα, ...)
 - [*] Argolis – Kleonai: IG 4 1607 (undated) L.6: —] μῆ μαρ[ὸ]ν [ε]ἶμε[ν], αἰ
ἄνθρῶπον χα[—
 - Tiryns: SEG 30:380 (late 7th c. BCE) nos. 1–4 (near the middle of the serpentine-
running line): αἰ μ' ἐξσθ[ο]ύσαιεν ὀφλῆν ἐν [ς || Δί]φα κάθαναίαν τρῶιάροντα μ[ε] ||
δίμμονος ...
 - Tiryns: SEG 30:380 (late 7c. BCE) no. 6: [- - -]κα τον ἐπιγνόμονα ἐξστράφεται· αἰ
δεραμοισ. (?) φερε.(?) τα [.1-2.]ἰ h[ο]δε πλατιφοίναρχος α[- - -]
 - Tiryns: SEG 30:380 (late 7c. BCE) No. 7: αἰ δὲ μὲ ἠυπερπαρχ[ο]μειν φοίροθεν ho
ἐπιγνόμον ἐπελ[ά]στο του ορλον

ἄι(περ)

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Aitolia (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 28 (ca. 206 BCE) L.6:
ἀναγραφάντω δὲ καὶ ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἄρτ[έμιδος τᾶς Λαφρί]/ας ἄ οἱ κτίσται τᾶς
πόλιος ἐπὶ τᾶς βάσιος ἄ ἰ Ἄρτεμις [—]
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2536 = CID 4 108 (178/177 BCE) L.19: τᾶς ἱερᾶς χώρας ὑπάρχειν

- τόπον ^{/20/} ταῖς ἱεραῖς βόοις καὶ ἵπποις καταλελειμμένον ἀπὸ τᾶς ὁδοῦ τᾶς ἐπὶ το
 Ἄστυρον ἀγούσας, ἄι ἀ ὁδοῦ ἄγει ἐπὶ τὸν Παι/παλίδαν καὶ ἐν τὸ Λακωνικόν.
- Delphi: many instances of the formula ποιέων ὃ κα θέλη καὶ ἀποτρέχων ἄι κα θέλη in acts of manumission. For a complete list, see Lejeune (1940: 68–69).
 - Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Sparta: IG 5,1 222 (undated in IG, but late 6th c. according to the prior publication by Woodward, Annual of the British School at Athens 15 1908/1909 #87, p. 81) L.1: Αἰγλάτας τῶι Καρνείῳ[ι] / [τ]ὸδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκε, | πε/νπάκι νικάσας τὸ[ν] / μ[ακρ]ὸν καὶ ποτέθρ⁵/[εξε | τ]ὸν δολιχὸν τρι/άκις, Ἀθαναίοις δ[ε] ... / [... | h?ἄιπερ Συρμαία [— — — — — — — — — —] (| verse-breaks; / line-breaks. Also, IG 5,1: ποτέθ[εκε τ]ὸν. Addendum p.302 says ποτέθρ[εξε | τ]ὸν Hoffmann SGDI IV 688, 27))
 - Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.90: δεδόχθαι τῶι δάμωι / ἀναγράψαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Μεσ/σάνας εἰς τὸ βάθρον τὸ παρὰ τὸ Βου/λεῖον ἦι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐντὶ τὰν τε πρόκλη/σιν τὰν γενομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Μεγα⁹⁵/λοπολιτᾶν καὶ τὰν ζαμίαν τὰν / ἀπὸ τῶν δαμορ^{vac}.γῶν γενομένην / ἐπὶ Αἰνητίδα καὶ τὰν κρίσιν τὰν γε/νομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου τῶν / Μιλησίων ...
 - Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argos (found at Knossos): BCH 1910 p. 331 = DGE 83 (ca. 450 BCE) Fragam.B L.6: ὄροι τᾶς γᾶς· Ὕον ὄρος καὶ Α/ίετοὶ κάρταμίτιον καὶ τὸ το Ἄρχο τέμενος καὶ / ὁ ποταμὸς κέλ Λευκόπορον κἀγάθοια, ἄι ὕδο/ρ ρεῖ τῶμβριον, καὶ Λᾶος.
 - [*] Argos (found at Knossos): BCH 1910 p. 331 = DGE 83 (ca. 450 BCE) Fragam. B L.27: αἶ τις ἀφικνοῖτο Τυλισίῳν ἐνς Ἄργος, κατὰ ταυτά / σφιν ἔστω hἄιπερ Κνωσίοις.
 - [*] IG 4 483 (Kleonaia – Nemea: undated) L.6: [δα]πάναι φιλ[— —] (with the

- possibility of [τρο]πὰν ἄι φιλ[— —] and πᾶν ἄι φιλ[— —]).
- Argos: SEG 59:356 (ca. 340–330 BCE) L.14: [- - - - -]ω τᾶς ἡδοῦ
 <ν> ὄρος Ἐπινώιον, ἡἄι ὄρ[ι]σται κατὰ τὸ ν / [- - - - - κ]ατὰ
 Μελεάγρειον καὶ ἐνς τὰν σκο[π]ὰν κα[θ' ὀ]δῶ[ν] ν L.21: [- - - - -
 -]τὰν ν ὄρος Ὀνχιάχιον, ἡἄι ὄρισται [- - - - -] / [- - - - -
 - -]ΑΣ, ἡἄι ἂ Πέτρα, ἐνς τὸν ὄρον τὸν ὑ[πὲρ - - - - -]
 - [*] Argos (found at Kimolos): IG 12,3 1259 (after 338 BCE) L.2: ἔκρινε ὁ δᾶμος ὁ
 τῶν / Ἀργείων κατὰ τὸ δόκη/μα τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν /⁵/ Ἑλλάνων, ὁμολογη/σάντων
 Μαλίων καὶ / Κιμωλίων ἐμμενέν, / ἄι κα δικάσσαιεν τοὶ / Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τᾶν /¹⁰/
[ν]άσων, Κιμωλίων / ἦμεν Πολύαιγαν Ἐτή/ρειαν Λίβειαν. ἐδί/κασσαν νικῆν
 Κιμωλ[ί]/[ο]υς.

ἄμα

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2160 (140–100 BCE) L.7: ἄμα δέ κα διεξέλθη ὁ χρόνος ὁ
 γε/γραμμένος, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω Νικασίβουλος καὶ ἀ/νέφαπτος, ποιῶν ὃ κα θέλη καὶ
 ἀποτρέχων οἷς κα /¹⁰/ θέλη.
- Arcadia
 - Mantinea: SEG 37:340 = Te Riele (1987: 167) (early 4th c. BCE) L.16: τὸς
 Ἐλισφάσιος πάντας ἀπυγράψασ/θαι ἰν τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς πατριᾶφι κατ [ἀ]λικίαν ἰν δέκ'
 ἀμέραις ἄμα/ν οἱ σταλογράφοι μόλωνσι.

ἀνάκα

- Arcadia
 - [*] Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988

2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.22: τῶν δὲ Μαγνήτων τῶν / ἀπὸ Μαιάνδροι ἐκ παλαιῶν μὲν
 χρόνως ἔχοντες εὐνόως / πρὸς ἀμμέ, συμφανὲς δὲ ποιησάντων τὰν ἔχοιεν
 ἐκτέ/²⁵/νειαν καὶ αἴρεσιν, ἀνακα παρεγένετο πὸς αὐτὸς πρεσβεύ/οντες Πρόξενος,
 Ἄγις, Ἀριστοπάμων·

ἀνίκα

- Boeotia
 - [*] Thebes: IG 7 2462 (after 371 BCE; verse) L.4: ἀνίκα τὸ Σπάρτας ἐκράτει δόρυ,
 τηνάκις εἶλεν /⁵/ Ξεινοκράτης κλάρωι Ζηνὶ τροπαῖα φέρειν
- Northwest Greek
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 220 (ca. 284–281 BCE; verse) L.3: δις μὲν γὰρ σφετέρας ἀπὸ
 δ[έσμ]ια δ[εῖν]ὰ τυράννων / λῦσαι φατι, καμῶν ἄλκι[μα ἔργα, πάτρ]ας, /⁵/ ἀνίκα δῖα
Ἐλάτεια κατείχε[το], τὸν [μὲν ἐν] ἀρχ[αῖ], / τὸν δὲ μέσαι τελέ[σ]ας μόχ[θο]ν ἐν
 ἀ[λικίαι].

ἄς, ἄυς, ἄως, ἔως

- Boeotia
 - Orchomenos: SEG 28:461 (ca. 287–280 BCE) L.26: τιθέσθη δὲ τὰς στροτει/ίας τὰς τε
 ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ κῆ τὰς ἐ/χθόνδε τᾶς Βοιωτίας χωρὶς ἐκατέ/[ρ]ας ἄς κα τὰ ἐφόδια
λάβωνθι.
 - Orchomenos: Wilhelm (1915) IV: 13,2 = Darnezin (1999) no. 116 (2nd c. BCE) L.3:
 [.. Ἀγεισινίκω Σουκράτιος ἀν]τίθειτι Ἐμπ[εδό]κλια ΜΙ[— —] / [— — — — — — — —
 παριόντος αὐτῆ τ]ῶ οὐῖῶ Μνασικλεῖος Λάμμ[ω] /⁵/ [τὸν φίδιον φυκέταν Ζωῖλο]ν
 ἰαρόν εἶμεν τῶ Σαρά/[πιδος κῆ τᾶς Ἴσιδος παραμείν]αντα Ἐμπεδοκλίη ἄως κα /
[δῶνι] κῆ μεί ἐσσεῖμεν μειθ]ενὶ Ζωῖλω ἐφάπτεστη με[τι]/[δὲ καταδουλίτταστη· ...

- Orchomenos: Ridder (1895: 157ff) = Darmezín (1999) no. 118 (ca. 250–200 BCE)
L.2: ἀντίθεντι τὸν ρίδιον φυκέταν Ζώπουρον τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἰαρὸν εἶμεν, ἄως κα ζώει
κῆ μὲι ἐσσεῖμεν [μειθενὶ καταδουλίττασθη Ζώπουρον
- [*] Thisbe: IG 7 2228 = Darmezín (1999) no. 140 (2nd c. BCE) L.2: Εὐανδρίδας,
Πασικρίτα / Δωπύραν Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰ/λειθείη ἰαράν εἶμεν, πα[ρ]/⁵/μείναςαν ἄως κα
δῶωνθι Εὐανδρίδας κῆ Πασικρίτα·
- [*] Chaironeia: IG 7 3315 = Darmezín (1999) no. 27 (2nd c. BCE) L.2: Ἐπίτιμος
Σαμοκλ[εῖο]ς κῆ [Ε]/[ὕ]φροσόνα ἰαρά τᾶς Ματέρ[ο]ς τῶν θιῶν ἀν/τίθεντι τὰν ριδίαν
θρεπτὰν Ζωῖλαν ἰαρ[ά]/⁵/[ν] τεῖ Σαράπι παραμείναςαν αὐτεῖς ἄως κ[α] / ζῶωνθι,
- [*] Chaironeia: IG 7 3386 = Darmezín (1999) no. 89 (2nd c. BCE) L.3: Εὐδαμος
Ἀρ/ιστοδάμω ἀ/⁵/ντίθειτι τὰν / ριδίαν δού<λ>αν, / ἧ ὄνιουμα Σ/ωσίχα, ἰαρά/ν τῆ
Ἀρτάμ[ι]/¹⁰/δι τῆ Εἰλιθίη, π/αρμείναςαν / αὐτῷ ἄως κα / ζώει,
- [*] Chaironeia: IG 7 3343 = Darmezín (1999) no. 51 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.2:
Εὐθιοῦδαμος [— — — — — — — ἀντίθειτι τὰν ριδίαν] / δούλαν Ἐρμαῖα[ν ἰαράν τεῖ
Σαράπι, παραμείναςαν αὐτῷ] / ἔως κα γαμείσει·
- Chaironeia: SEG 28:451 = Darmezín (1999) no. 99 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.3:
Ἰάσων / Ἀγεισίαο ἀντίθε[ι]/⁵/τι τῆ Ἀρτάμιδι τῆ / Ἐλιθίη ἰαράν τὰν / ριδίαν θρεπτὰν /
Ἀγαθὸν παραμεί/νας<αν> αὐτῷ ἄως κα /¹⁰/ ζώει·
- [*] Chaironeia: many instances of the formula ἄς κα ζώει/ζῶωνθι in acts of
manumission: IG 7 3303, 3314, 3348, 3352, 3377, 3381, 3388; SEG 28:449, 28:452,
49:507 = Darmezín (1999) nos. 18, 26, 55, 59, 79, 80, 83, 97, 100, 104.
- Coroneia: AD 2 1916 218 A4 = Darmezín (1999) no. 125 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.4:
Νίκων Ἀγασί/⁵/[αο] Παρθέναν τὰν ριδί/[αν] θαράπηγαν ἀντίθει/[τι ἰ]αράν εἶμεν τῷ

- Χάροπι / [τ]ῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, παρμείνας/αν Νίκωνι, ἄς κα δώσει /¹⁰/ [Νί]κων·
- Coroneia: many instances of the formula ἄς κα ζῶει/ζῶωνθι in acts of manumission: SEG 28:445, SEG 28:446, 28:447, 28:448, 49:509; AD 2 1916 218 A 2, 220 B 6, 224 D 13, ZPE 29 1978 = Darmezin (1999) nos. 93, 94, 95, 96, 106, 123, 127, 133, 134.
 - Thespiiai: IThesp 213 = Darmezin (1999) no. 138 (2nd c. BCE) L.4: παραμενέμεν /⁵/ δὲ Φιλωνίδαν παρὰ Κάλλιππον ἄς κα ζῶε Κάλλιππος.
 - Thespiiai: IThesp 29 (ca. 250–240 BCE) L.18: ὑπαρχέμεν Σωσ/τράτοι τὸ φέργον παρ τᾶς πόλιος ἄως /²⁰/ κα βεύλειτη, ἐπιμελομένοι τῶν τε παίδων κῆ τῶν νεανίσκων κῆ διδάσκον/τι καθὰ ὁ νόμος κέλετη·
 - Thespiiai: IThesp 214 = Darmezin (1999) no. 137 (after 240 BCE) L.6: εἴμεν δὲ ἀ[ῦ]/τοῖς πανελευθερίαν παρα[μει]/νάντεσι εὐνόως ἀνε<v>κλείτο[ις] / γενομένοις Εὐτύχοι ἄως [κ]α ζ[ῶει]·
 - Thespiiai: IThesp 218 (240–220 BCE) L.1: ἄως κα δῶει, κῆ / [κούριο]ν εἴμεν Ἡθων/ [α Ἀπ]ολλοδώρας ἄω[ς] / [κ]α δῶει·
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 42 (200–150 BCE) L.6: οἱ καὶ παραμεινάτωσαν Πραξία καὶ τᾶ γυ/ναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδισία, ἔως ἂν ζῶντι, καὶ θαψάντω καὶ τ[ᾶ] / ὤ<ρ>ια αὐτῶν ποιησάτωσαν·
 - Delphi: many instances of the end-of-*paramone* formula (ἔως/ἄς κα ζῆι) in acts of manumission, discussed by Lejeune (1940: 59–64).
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2317 = FD 3,6 95 (101/0–60/59 BCE) L.8: καταφειράτω δὲ / τὸν ἔρανον Νίκαρχις, ἔως οὔ κα τέλος λάβῃ.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: IG 9,1 382 = IG 9²,1,3 638 no 7 (ca. 151/0 BCE) L.7:

- παραμενέτω δὲ Σῶσ[. . παρὰ] / Νικόστρατον, ἕως καὶ ζῆ Νικόστρα[τος, ποιῶν] / τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον·
- [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: IG 9,1 381 = IG 9²,1,3 638 no 12 (ca. 153/2 BCE) L.9: παραμενέτω δὲ Φιλόξε¹⁰/νος παρὰ Μικκίωνα, ἕως καὶ ζῆ Μικκίων, / ποιῶν τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον·
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: More instances of the formula ἕως καὶ ζῆ in acts of manumission: AM 32 nos. 3, 17, 22, 25 = IG 9²,1,3 638 no. 3; 639 nos. 17, 9, 12. Also SEG 23:352.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Physkos: BCH 22 p. 355 = IG 9²,1,3 676 (shortly after 166/5 BCE) L.14: ὥστε παραμένειν Σωτήριχον πα[ρὰ Ἀνθεμῶ ποιέοντα τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα] /¹⁵/ ὑπὸ Ἀνθεμῶς, ἕως καὶ ζῆ Ἀνθεμῶ·
 - W. Lokris – Physkos: More instances of ἕως καὶ ζῆ in SEG 23:352, 16:361, 56:572, 56:576 (2nd c. BCE).
 - W. Lokris – Kisseli: SEG 12:275 (2nd c. BCE, first half) L.5: παραμενέτω δὲ Ἀριστόλαος πα<ρὰ> Δαμαρ[έταν] / ἕως καὶ ζῆ, ποιῶν [τὰ] ἐπιτασσόμενα·
 - W. Lokris – Milea: SEG 25:640 (2nd c. BCE, second half) L.22: Παραμεινάν[τ]/[ω]ν δὲ Εἰσιάς καὶ Τιμοξένα / ἕως καὶ Πολύξα ζῶν ποιουῖσα²⁵/ι τὸ ποιτασσόμενον Πολύξ/αι, τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἐλευθέραι ἔ/στων.
 - [*] Akarnania – Stratos: IG 9,1 447 = IG 9²,1,2 394a (2nd c. BCE) L.6: παραμεινάτω / δὲ [πα]ρὰ Διονύσιον, ἕω[ς] καὶ ζῆ Διονύ/σιος·
 - Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 26:705 (undated) L.1: Θεὸς, [τύ]χα ἀγαθὰ. Βο[ίσκ]ος, / Φορμί[σ]κος, Ἐχενίκα, <Δ>αμ[ν]αγόρα / Φλευχῶ ἐλευθέραν ἀφιέν[τι] καὶ αὐ/τοὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγό[νω]ν αὐ/⁵/τὰν καὶ γένος ἐκ γενεᾶς, [ἕς καὶ [B]οί/σκος καὶ

Δαμναγόρα τελευτά[σ]/ωντι καὶ Φορμίσκος ἠβ[ά]ση, τρ[α]/πεισθαι ὅπαι κα θέλ[η].

- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Sparta: SGDI 4516 = IG 5,1 26 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.10: ποιούντω δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆι προστροπῆι ἀ<ε>ὶ μερίδα, ἕως / ἄν ζῶσι, ὅπως ἀε[ὶ] ἀ ὠβὰ μναμονεύουσα τῶν γεγο<νό>των φι[λ]ανθρώπων εἰς αὐτὰν ἀποδιδούσα φαίνεται τὰς καταξίους / τιμάς.
 - [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.84: τὰς δὲ κράνας τὰς ὄνο {ι}μασμένας διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐγγράφων Ἄγνας καὶ τοῦ γε[γε]/⁸⁵/νημένου ποτὶ τῆι κράναι ἀγάλματος τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχέτω Μνασίστρατος, ἕως ἄν ζεῖ, καὶ μετεχέτω μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τε θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, ...

ἄτε

- Laconia
 - Sparta: SGDI 4416 = IG 5,1 213 (before 431 BCE; verse) L.1: Δαμῶνδῶν / ἀνέθεκε Ἀθαναία[ι] / Πολιάχῳ νικάῃας / ταυτᾶ, hāt' οὐδέξ /⁵/ πῆποκα τῶν νῦν.

ἀφ' οὗ 'since'

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1749 (170–157/6 BCE) L.6: ἀποτεισάτω δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον ἐν ἐνιαυτῶι, ἀφ' οὗ κα τὸ πάθος γέν[η]ται περὶ Ἀρχέλαον.
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 486 (285–280 BCE) II B L.21: [διαλυθῆναι ἐν τρισὶν] ἔτεσιν ἀφ' οὗ τὸ σύββολον ἐ[γ]γένετο, αἶ κα μὴ π[ολέμου] γενομένου.

ἀφ' ὧς

- Northwest Greek
 - Aitolia – Phistyon: SEG 12:303 (end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.13: τὸ δὲ ἠρ/[αῖον] τὸ ἐν Ἀτταλείς αὐτοῖ οἱ κλαρο[ν] [όμοι] τε[λ]εωσάντων ἐν {ν} ἐτέσις δύ<ο> ἀφ' ὧς κα

μεταλ(λ)άξι Λέων.

ἀφῶτε

- Arcadia
 - Mantinea: SEG 37:340 = Te Riele (1987: 167) (early 4th c. BCE) L.10: — τὰς [δ]ίκας διῶ/[ξ]αι τὸς Ἑλυσφάσιος καὶ τὸς Μαντινέας ἀλλάλοις καὶ τὸς νόμος / τῶν Μαντινέων, **ἀφῶτε Μαντινῆς ἐγένοντο** οἱ Ἑλυσφάσιοι, τῶι / ὕστερον· τὰ δὲ προτεράσια μὴ ἴνδικα ἦναι —

ἄχρι

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis – Elatea: IG 9,1 126 (2nd c. BCE) L.3: [π]αραμείνασαν Δίῶνι **ἄχρι κα ζῶη** Δίῶν.
 - [*] Delphi: numerous instances of the formula ἄχρι κα ζῶη/ζῶωντι and its less frequent variant ἄχρι οὗ κα ζῶη/ζῶωντι in acts of manumission, discussed by Lejeune (1940: 59–64).
 - [*] Delphi: ἄχρι κα and ἄχρι οὗ κα are used in the sense ‘until’ in some variants of the end-of-*paramone* formula in acts of manumission. For a list, see Lejeune (1940: 59 fn. 105).
 - W. Lokris – Naupaktos: IG 9²,1,3 639,11 (ca. mid-2nd c. BCE) L.11: παραμενέτω δὲ Θεόκρ[ι]/τος παρὰ Πολυξέταν, **ἄχρ[ι]** / οὗ κα **ζῆ** Πολυξέταν, ποι/ῶν τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον /¹⁵/ πᾶν.
 - W. Lokris – Physkos: Instances of the end-of-*paramone* formula in acts of manumission. ἄχρι οὗ κα ζῆτι in SEG 16:357 (before 137/6 BCE); SEG 16:356 (before mid 2nd c. BCE); SEG 16:358 (mid-2nd c. BCE); SEG 12:284 (undated).

- Argolic
 - Epidauros: IG 4²,1 72 (after 228 BCE) L.9: οἱ δὲ λαχό[ντες — — — — —] /¹⁰/
 ..6...ς ἄγρι κα τρεῖς [— —

Δ

διέκι, διάκι

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Atrax: IAtrax 1 (end of 3rd c. BCE) L.5: (names) κα[ι?] τοῖ πάντες ἐκρίννανεν ὁμό-/[σ]αντες Κ[ε]λαίνδας ἔμμεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦν / τοῖ αὐτοῖο γένεος, καταγο(ρ)εισάντουν Κελ[α]-/[ί]νδα ἀπολογειμένοιο Προμάθεος, νικάμε-/γ Κελαίνδας εἰσάσθα μὰ Προμαθέα· διάκι ὕδ-/¹⁰/[ε]φγ οὐς ἀπέϊλασε ἀτ' τοῦν ἱεροῦν τοῦν κοινοῦν / Κελαίνδαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Βουλευπαρίδαις / οὐσαύτους πάντεσσι Δάμαρχος·
 - [*] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 517 (214 BCE) L.11: Φιλίπποι τοῖ βασιλεῖος γράμματα πέμψαντος πὸτ τὸς ταγὸς καὶ τὰν πόλιν διέκι Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ Ἀριστόνοος, οὐς ἀτ τᾶς πρεισβείας ἐγένονθο, ἐνεφανίσσοεν αὐτοῦ ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 58:525 (ca. 196–192 BCE) L.24: τό τε ψά/²⁵/^{vac}.[φ]ισμα ἀπεδούκαεν σίτουν ἐσκο[μι]δὰν [τετ]αγμένον δι[έ]/[κ]ι πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρουπα προῦπάρχονθι Ἀθαναίοις πο[τ] / ^{vac}. τὸ κοινὸν Πετθαλοῦν καὶ τὰν πόλι[ν] καὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Λασ]/σαίο[υν] καὶ διέκι ἐν πολλοῖς καιροῖς [—
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 58:525 (ca. 196–192 BCE) L.43: —] διέκι ἀ πόλις [τοῦν Λασ]-/σαίουν καίπερ προθύμους διεκειμένα ἐν το ὄπισσθ[α ἀγέ]-/μεν τὰ ἀξιούμενα οὐκ εἶχε κί κε ποεῖ,
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 58:525 (ca. 196–192 BCE) L.50: — δανείουν οὐ χρεία[ν ἔχον]-/τες, διέκι προκεῖται μειθὲν ἐνλειφθεῖμεν τοῦν κ[αλοῦν] / [κ]αὶ συμφερόντων

τοῦν τοῦ δᾶμου τοῦν Ἀθαναίου

- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 33:460 (197–186 BCE) L.7: νν τοῦν ταγοῦν ποτομοφορὰν ποιει/σαμένουν ποτ' τὸν δᾶμον πὲρ τᾶς / ἐπισκευᾶς τοῖ γυμνάσσοι ^v καὶ **δι**¹⁰/**έκι** **κατεπείγει** ἄ χρεία καὶ προτρεπομέ/γουν ἐν τὸ ἐξ ἐπανγε<λ>ίας γενέσθωιν / [τὰ]ν ἐπισσκευὰν διὲ τὸ μεὶ ἔμμεν ^{vac}/ [χρ]εῖμματα ἐν τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ παρκαλέν¹⁵/[το]υν τὸς δυναμένους.
- [*] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 512 = SEG 31:574, with improved reading by García Ramón (2010: 239) (171 BCE?) L.12: φρον[τί]σειν, οὔσ[τ]ε [δοθεῖ αὐτοῖ]ς [πο]/λιτεία κατ [τὸ]ν νόμον καὶ συμφανῆ[ς εἶ ἅπᾶν]/τεσσι **διέκι** ὁ δᾶμο]ς Λαρισαίου [π]ὲρ τοῦ[ν παρε]/¹⁵χ[ο]μένουν τοῦν πολιτᾶν περρᾶται καὶ τι[μὰς] / καὶ χάρι[τας ἀτδί]δουμεν τὰς ἀξίας. . .
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.22: συμφανῆς εἶ πάν/τεσσι **διέκι** ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Λαρισαίου περ[ρ]ᾶτει τοῖς ὀρθοῦς / ὄστρεφομένοις καταξίας τιμὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀτδίδο[υ]/μεν·
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L. 43: Πατροκλέα τοῖ Ἄστοκλέα παιδὸς ποππετόντος / ἐντοῦ ἐν Σικελία καὶ ἐμφανίσσοντος **διέκι** ἀνδραποδι/σθῆς ὑκ κινούν στρατιουτᾶν ἐδούλευε, ἐπιγ^{vac}-νὸς **διέ/κι εἶς** ἐλεύθερος καὶ Λαρισαῖος ἐξαγγρέμενος εἶς καὶ / κατεσταούκουν ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἐντοῖ κύριον.
- [*] Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1229 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.13: —]απ[—]φοδι οὔστε συμφανῆ[ς] / [— — — **διέκι** δεὶ τοῖ θεοῖ ἄ χούρα **ἔστιν**,
- [*] Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1229 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.35: καὶ συμ/φανῆς εἶ πάντεσσι, **διέκι** δεὶ **ἔστι** ἄ χού/[ρ]α τοῖ θεοῖ.

διά, διό

- Boeotia

- Thespiai: IThesp 30 (ca. 217–212 BCE) L.5: ἐπίδει ἅ πόλις Δελφῶν ἀποστείλασα πρίσγειας ἀξί/[ω]σε δικάστας ἀποστεῖλη τρῖς ἄνδρας τὰν πόλιν Θεισπειῶν, τὸ δὲ / ἀποστειλέντες ἀξίως ἀνεστρέφεισαν τᾶς τε πόλιος Θεισπειῶ[ν] / κῆ τὰς Δελφῶν κῆ διετάρεισαν τὰν τε τῶν προγόνων καλοκαγαθίαν / κῆ τὰν αὐσαυτῶν φιλοδοξίαν κῆ διεξάγαγον τὰ ἐνκλείματα πλῖστο[ν] /¹⁰/ λόγον ποεισάμενυ τῷ δικῆω κῆ τῷ κυνῆ συνυφέροντος πάντεσσι Δελ/[φ]ῶς, διὸ κῆ τὰν τε πόλιν ἐπήνεισαν κῆ τῶς δικάστας ἐτίμασαν τῆς με/[γί]στης τίμης, ἧς πάτριον αὐτῶς ἐστὶ, κῆ οὐπολάδδουνθη δειέμεν ἀγγρ[α]/[φεῖμε]ν τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τᾶς πόλιος, ὅπως φα/[νερὸν ἔει τὸ]ν πάντα χρόνον, ὅπως ὦν φήνειτη κῆ ἅ πόλις Θεισπ[ι]/¹⁵/[εῖων τῶς ἠὶ ἀποστ]ελλομένως οὐπὸ τ[ῶ] δάμω κῆ δειόντως ἀ[να]/[στρεφομένως ἀξίως] τιμῶσα, δεδόχ[θ]η ...

- Northwest Greek

- [*] Akarnania (found at Magnesia on the Maeander) IMagn 31 (first half of the 2nd c. BCE) L.14: ἀποδόντων /¹⁵/ δὲ καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα, καθ' ὃ παρεκάλουν δέχεσθαι τὰν ἐ/κεχειρίαν χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς λῶϊον / [εἶμ]εν καὶ ἄμεινον [τ]οῖς σεβομένοις Ἄρτεμιν Λευκοφρυγᾶν καὶ τὰν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶ/[μ]εν, διὸ καὶ τὸν δᾶμον ἐψαφίσθαι τᾶι εὐεργέτιδι τᾶς πόλιος /²⁰/ Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυγᾶι διὰ πέντε ἐτέων θυσίας καὶ / πανάγυριν καὶ ἀγῶνα στεφανίταν ἰσοπύθιον μουσι/κόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ποιεῖν, δικαίαν ἀποδι/δόντας χάριν τᾶι εὐεργέτιδι,
- [*] Epeiros (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 32 (end of the 3rd c./2nd c. BCE) L.39: ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσ/⁴⁰/βευτᾶς Ἀριστόδαμον Ἀριστέα Ἀντάνορα

ὄτι παρ[ε]πε/δάμησάν τε καὶ διελέγη[ν] περὶ πάντων ἀξίω[ς] τᾶς τε πόλι/ος τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν, διὸ / προξένους εἶμεν αὐτούς τε καὶ ἐκγόνους εἰς τὸν ἅπαν/τα χρόνον,

- Arcadia
 - [*] Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988 2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.29: (resuming the motivation section) διὸ ἂ πόλις μεμναμένα τᾶς τε συγγενείας καὶ /³⁰/ φιλίας καὶ πάντων τῶν γεγονότων εὐγνωμό/νων ὑπὸ τᾶι πόλι τᾶι Μαγνήτων ἀποδέχεται τὰ[ς / θυσίας τᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος τᾶς Λευκοφρυηνᾶς καὶ τὰν ἐκε/χηρίαν καὶ ...
- Laconia and Messenia
 - Messenia – Thouria: SEG 11:974 (1st c. BCE) L.14: (resuming the motivation section) δι' ἧ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἔδοξε
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurous: IG 4 932 = IG 4²,1 66 (74 BCE) L.23: παρασ[κευ]/ἂν δὲ ἀποστρίλαντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀμῶν ἱκανὰ[ν] /²⁵/ {νὰν} Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἐπὶ Κρητῶν στραταγοῦ ὅμως Ε[ὺ]/ἀνθης διετέλεσε πωλῶν πᾶσιν ὡσαύτως ἐποιήσ[α]το π[οτὶ] / τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὐλαβεστάτας [φ]ιλαγαθ[ί]/ας· δι' ὃ καὶ γενηθείσας ὀλοσχερεστέρας ἐν τᾷ πόλει / σπάνιος σίτου τῶι [— — — — —] /³⁰/ ἀγοράζειν τὸν σείτον ὄντα πλέον ἐξήκοντα ...

διότι

- Northwest Greek
 - Phokis – Tithronion: SEG 16:351 (ca. 200 BCE) Text B L.1: Ἄρχοντος ἐν Τεΐθρωνι Ἐπιγένους το[ῦ] . .c. 8. ., ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλει] / [ἀποφνηαμ]ένων πλειόνων τῶν πολιτῶν,

- διότι A[.c. 19. ἀνήρ] / [ἀγαθὸς ὑ]πάρχει τῆι πόλει ἀμῶν ἐπιδιδούς
αὐ[τοσαντὸν ἐν πᾶν τὸ συμφέρον]. / [σπουδᾶς κ]αὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐνλείπων · ἐπι
μὲν ο[ὔν τούτοις πάντοις δεδόχθαι] /⁵/ [τῆι πόλει] ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ...
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2529 = FD 3,4 163 = CID 4 99 (202/201–201/100 BCE) L.19:
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ βασιλέος /²⁰/ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ εὐεργέτα Ἀντιοχέων εὐλόγηκε
 εὐχαριστῶν / αὐτῷ διότι τὰν δαμοκρατίαν καὶ τὰν εἰράναν {αν} τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν /
διαφυλάσσει κατὰ τὰν τῶν προγόνων ὑφάγησιν·
 - [*] Delphi: BCH 30 p. 219 no. 35 = FD 3,2 20 (178 BCE) L.14: ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 πρεσβευτὰς Διόφαντον, Καλλισθέ¹⁵/[νη], Λυσίθεον, διότι καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως
ἐποιήσαντο τὰν ἐπι/[δαμίαν, κ]αλέσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖον,
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2643 = FD 3,3 241 (166 BCE) L.14: ἐπ[α]ινέσα[ι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 πρεσβευτὰς Σώστρατον Σωστράτου, Ἀπολλωνίδην Ἀσκλη[πι]/¹⁵/[άδου ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν
 κ]αὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ διότι τὰν [ἀν]αστροφὰν ἐποιήσαντο ἀξίω[ς] τε τῶν ἐξαποστε[ι]/
[λάντων αὐτοὺς καὶ τᾶς πόλιος ἀμῶν·
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 239 (160/159 BCE) L.2: ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς Εὐμέ[ν]ης, ἀπ[ο]στειλάντων
 ἀμῶν ποτὶ αὐτὸν πρότερόν τ[ε] πρεσβευ]/τὰς Πραξίαν Εὐδόκου, Καλλίαν Ἐμμ[ε]νίδα
 ὑ[π]έρ τε σιτωνίας τῆι πόλει καὶ ὑπὲρ τᾶς εὐκοσμ[ί]ας τοῦ ἱε]/ροῦ, ὑπακούσας τὰ
 ἀξιούμενα ἐπαγγείλατο ποιήσῃν καὶ τοῖς τε πρεσβευταῖς ἐνε[τείλατο] /⁵/ ἀναγγέλλειν
διότι πρόκειται αὐτῷ ἐπι[τ]ελεῖν τὰ παρακαλείμενα ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος κ[αὶ ...
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2737 = FD 3,4 161 (157/6 BCE) L.3: ἐπειδὴ παραγενόμενοι / [οἱ
 ἀ]ποσταλέντες θεωροὶ ποτὶ τὸν βασιλῆ Πτολεμαῖον Ἀστύοχος, Εὐαγόρα[ς] /⁵/
 [ἐπ]αγγέλλον τῆι πόλει, διότι Σέλευκος Βίθιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὤ[ν δια]/
[τε]λεῖ] ποτὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν καὶ ...

- Delphi: FD 3,2 94 (mid/late 2nd c. BCE) L.7: ἐπαινεῖμεν οὖν ὑμὲ ἐπὶ τῶ[ι] πρότερόν τε πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀπο/δείξεις πεποιῆσθαι τᾶς τε ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν [ε]ὐσεβείας καὶ τᾶς π[ο]τὶ τὰν πόλ[ι]ν ἀμῶν / εὐνοίας, καὶ νῦν **διότι**, ἀκούσαντες τὸν πε[ρ]ιεστακότα ἀμῖν καιρόν, ψάφισμά τε καὶ ^{/10/} πρεσβευτὰς **ἀπεστείλατε** ἄνδρας καλοὺς κ[αί] ἀγαθοὺς, οἵτινες τὰν τε ἀναστροφὴν καὶ / τὰν παρεπιδαμίαν ἐποίησαντο ἀξίως μὲν ὑμῶ]ν τῶν ἐξαποστειλάντων αὐτούς, ἀξίως / δὲ καὶ τᾶς ἀμετέρας πόλιος· δεδόχθαι ο[ὗ]ν τᾷ πόλει ...
- Delphi: FD 3,4 428 II = SEG 2:277 (141 BCE) L.4: ... διελέγησαν ὑπὲρ Εὐξένου τοῦ Κλέ^{/5/}ωνος Ἰπαταίου **διότι** εὐχρηστον αὐτοσαυτὸν **παρασκευάζει** καὶ ἐκτενῆ πε/ρὶ [τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῶι τῶν πολιτῶν] καὶ εὐνοὺς ὧν **ὑπάρχει** τᾷ πόλει· / [ἐπὶ τούτοις]· ἀγαθὰ τύχαι· δεδόχθαι ...
- Delphi: FD 3,4 174 = SEG 2:278 (142/1 or 141/0 BCE) L.3: διελέγη[σαν] / [ὑπὲρ Πολυκράτεος καὶ Μενέστα τῶν Στα]σιμένεος Ἡρακ[λ]εωτῶν **διότι** εὐχρη[σ]το[υ]ς α[ὐ]τ[ο]σαυτοὺς **παρασκευάζο[ν]**^{/5/}**[τι** καὶ κοινᾶ καὶ ἰδία τοῖς ἐντυγχάνον]τ[ο]ις [τ]ῶ[ν] πολιτῶν καὶ εὐνοο[ι] ὄντες **ὑπάρχοντι** τᾷ πόλει· ἀγαθὰ τύχαι· / [δεδόχθαι ...
- Delphi: FD 3,4 171 (142/1 or 141/0 BCE) L.3: ἐπεὶ Ἀγίων Πολυκλείτου ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν διελέγη / ὑπὲρ Λύκου τοῦ Καλλικράτεος Ἰπα[τ]αί[ου] **διότι** ἐκτενῆς καὶ εὐνοὺς **ὑπάρχει** ποτὶ τε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὰν ^{/5/} πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν καὶ περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενος τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, αὐτοσαυτὸν εὐχρη[η]/στον ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι παρασκευάζων καὶ κοινᾶ τᾷ πόλει καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνοντι τοῖς τῶν πο/λειτῶν ἐν ᾧ κά τις αὐτὸν παρακαλῆ<i> συμ[ποτι]γινόμενος μετὰ πάσας προθυμίας ἐν οἷς κατυχάνωντι χρ[εί]αν ἔχοντες καὶ λέγων καὶ πράσσων [δ]ιὰ παντὸς περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν, σπουδᾶς / καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐλλείπων· ἐπὶ [δ]ὲ τούτοις

- ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι· δεδόχθαι τᾷ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ] /¹⁰/ τελείωι σὺμ ψάφοις
ταῖς ἐννόμοις· [ἐ]πα[ινέ]σαι Λύκον Καλλικράτεος Ὑπαταῖον ...
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2682 = FD 3,3 147 (ca. 139 BCE) L.5: [ἐ]πε[ι] / Ἁγίων
Κ[λ]ε[ο]δάμου ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν διελέγε ὑπὲρ Λαῖστα τοῦ Ἀντάνορος
[Ἡ]ρα/κλεώτα, **διότι** ἐκτενῆς καὶ εὔνου **ὑπάρχει** πο/τί τε τὸ ἱερὸν [κ]αὶ τὰ[ν] πόλιν
τῶν Δελφῶν καὶ ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 118 = SEG 2:280 (139 BCE) L.4: ἐπ<ε>ὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Μνασίθεος οἱ
Διοδώρου ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰν /⁵/ ἐκκλησίαν διελέγησαν ὑπὲρ Ἀντιγένης τοῦ
Καλλιστράτου Κιερίου **διότι** ἐκ/ {κ} τενῆς καὶ εὔνου **ὑπάρχει** ποτὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰν
πόλιν ἀμῶν καὶ περὶ πλείστου / ποιείμενος τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν
αὐτοσαυτὸν εὐχρηστον ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ / παρασκευάζει καὶ κοινᾷ τᾷ πόλει καὶ καθ'
ιδίαν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχανόντοις τῶν πολειτῶν / ἐν ᾧ κά τις αὐτὸν παρακαλῆ
συνποτιγνόμενος μετὰ πάσας προθυμίας καὶ λέγων καὶ πράσ/¹⁰/σων διὰ παντὸς περὶ
τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλιος ἀμῶν· ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι· δεδόχθαι ...
 - [*] Delphi: BCH 22 p. 15 no. 7 = FD 3,6 4 (138/7 BCE) L.4: ἐπεὶ Εὐάνγελ[ο]ς
Πάτρωνος ἐπ[ε]λ/θὼν ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκ<κ>λησίαν διελέγη ὑπὲρ Κλεάρχου / [τ]οῦ Ξάνθου
Ἀθηναίου, **διότι** ἐκ[τε]νῆς κ]αὶ εὔνου / **ὑπάρχει** ποτὶ τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰμ πόλ[ι]ν
τ[ῶν Δε]λ/[φ]ῶν καὶ ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 172 = SEG 2:283 (ca. 137–135 BCE) L.3: [... διελέγη]σα[ν ὑ]πὲρ
[Θ]ράσωνος τοῦ Μελαννέος / [Ἐ]λατέος, ἂν ἔχει ἐκτένειαν καὶ σπου]δὰ[ν ὑ]πὲρ[ρ] τᾶς
πόλιος ἀμῶν καὶ **διό/⁵/[τι** εὐχρηστος **γίνεται** τοῖς ἐντυγχανόν]τοι[ς] τ[ῶν πολ]ιτῶν καὶ
κατὰ κοινὸν / [καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν· ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι· δεδόχθαι τ]ᾷ πόλ[ι]ει ...
 - Delphi: SEG 27:124 (139/8–122/1 BCE) L.2: Ἐπεὶ Ἐ[μ]μενίδας Καλλία ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ

- τὰν ἐκκλησίαν δ]ιελέγη / ὑπὲρ Δίωνα Λαπειθέος Μυανῆ ἄν ἔχει ἐκτένειαν καὶ
 σπουδὰν ὑπὲρ / τᾶς πόλιος ἀμῶν καὶ **διότι** εὐχρηστος **γίνεται** τοῖς ἐντυγχανόν^{/5/} τοῖς
 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν, ἀγαθὰ τύχαι · δεδόχθαι ...
- Delphi: SEG 13:361 (1st c. BCE, first half) L.2: ... διε[λέγησαν ὑπὲρ
 Ἀσ]κληπιοδώρου τοῦ / [Κλεί]ου Κορωνέος **διότι** ἐκτενῆς ὤ]ν **διατελεῖ** τᾷ πόλει /
 [κοινᾶ]ι καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀε[ῖ τοῖς ἐντυγ]χανόντοισ τῶν πολιτῶν ^{/5/} [εὐχ]ρηστον αὐτὸν
παρε[ίσχηται] ἀπροφασίστως μετὰ πά-/[σ]ας σπουδᾶς τε καὶ φιλοτ[ιμίας],
 ἐν]δαμῆσας δὲ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῦς / [τ]άν τε παρεπιδαμίαν κα[ῖ τὰν ἀνασ]τροφὰν
πεποίηται πρέπουσαν / αὐτοσαυτῶ τε καὶ τᾷ πόλ[ει τ]ῶν Δελφῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ
 ἐπιταδεύμα-/τι ὅ]ι μεταχειρίζεται **ἀνεστράφη** καλῶς, εὐδοκιμῶν τε πολλοῖς ^{/10/}
γέγονεν σωτηρίας παρα[ίτ]ιος · ἀγαθὰ τύχαι · ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 57 = SEG 1:180 (91–68 BCE) L.4: ἐπεὶ Αἰακίδας Β[αβύλου ἐπ]ελθὼν
 ἐπ[ί] ^{/5/} [τὰν ἐ]κκλησίαν **διελέγη** / ὑπὲρ Ἀ[ριστό]νου τοῦ Σωσά[ν]/δρου Ὑπαταίου,
διότι ἐκτενῆς καὶ εὔνοος **ὑπάρχει** πο/τί τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν καὶ
 περὶ πλε[ί]στου ποιούμενος τὰν ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, αὐ/τοσαυτὸν εὐχρηστον
 ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ παρασκευάζων ^{/10/} καὶ κοινᾶ τᾷ πόλει καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς
 ἐντυγχανόντοισ / τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν ᾗ κά τις αὐτὸν παρακαλῆ, συνποτιγινό/μενος μετὰ
 πάσας προθυμίας ἐν οἷς κα τυγχάνωντι / χρε<ί>αν ἔχοντες, καὶ λέγων καὶ πράσσω
 διὰ παντὸς πε/ρὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν <τὰ κάλλιστα>, σπουδᾶς καὶ
 φι^{/15/}λοτιμίας οὐθὲν ἐλλείπων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις· ἀγαθὰ τύχαι · ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 491 (30–25 BCE) L.9: [- - - δεδόχθαι τᾷ βουλᾷ] ^{/10/} καὶ τῷ δάμωι
 ἐπαινέσαι Διό[δωρον Δωροθέου Δελφὸν] / ἐφ' ᾗ ἔχων εὐνοίαι διατελεῖ π[οτὶ τὰν
 πόλιν ἀμῶν καὶ δια]/σα[φῆ]σαι αὐτῷ **διότι** ἡ πόλις ἀμ[ῶν τὸν εὐεργέτην τιμῶσα καὶ]

- /μναμονεύουσα τῶν εἰς αὐτὰν τινο[μένων λαμπρῶς καὶ με]/γαλομερῶς ὑπ' αὐ[τοῦ
 ἔ]σται εἰς α[ὐτὸν εὐχάριστος ἐμ παν]/¹⁵/τὶ καιρῶι· προνοηθ[έντων]ν δὲ καὶ [οἱ
 ἄρχοντες ὅπως εἰδῆι].
- Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 24:448 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.1: διαλεγέντος Μυρτίλου
 Χάονος περὶ προξενίας Καλλιμήλωι / Σιμαλίου Βοιωτίωι καὶ ἀπολογιζαμένου **διότι**
εὐνους ὦν διατελεῖ τῶι / ἔθνει τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν, ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀπειρώταις Καλλίμηλον
 Σιμαλίου / Βοιώτιον πρόξενον εἶμεν Ἀπειρωτῶν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους·
 - Achaea
 - [*] Achaean League (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 39 (2nd c. BCE)
 L.37: ὅπως φανερόν ῆι καὶ τοῖς / λοιποῖς Ἑλλασιν, **διότι οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τοῖς ποτὶ τὸ θεῖ/ον
 εὐσεβῶς διακεμένοις τὰν αὐτὰν αἴρεσιν ἔχον/⁴⁰/τες διατελέοντι ἀκόλουθα
 πράσσοντες τῆι τῶν / προγόνων αἴρεσει, αἷ θέλοντι προάγειν καὶ συν/αύξειν τὰ τε
 ἔνδοξα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς παρ' ἐκ[άσ]/τοῖς τῶν φίλων·**
 - Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Sparta: SGDI 4439 = IG 5,1 11 (1st c. BCE) L.10: οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόν(?)]τες ἐν τῶι
 δά(μω) ὑπέδειξαν, **διότι** / [καὶ πρότερον, ὅσων ἢ ιδιωτῶν τις χ]ρεῖαν εἰσχήκει ἢ ἄ
πόλις, Διότ[ι]/[μος προθύμως δεδάνεικεν. ἐνεφάνιζο]ν δὲ ὅτι εἶησαν δε[δε]γ[μένοι —
 —]
 - [*] Laconia – Kotyrta: AE 1900 p. 159 = IG 5,1 962 (2nd c./1st c. BCE) L.31:
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ / τὰν προξενίαν ταύταν / τοὺς ἐφόρους τοὺς περὶ Εὐ/κρατίδαν εἰς
 στάλαν λιθί/³⁵/ναν καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ / ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ / Ὑπερτελεάτα,
 ὅπως πᾶσιν / φανερόν ῆι, **διότι ἄ πόλις / τοὺς ἰδίους εὐεργέτας τ[ι]/⁴⁰/μει ταῖς
 καταξίους τιμαῖς.**

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Krannon: Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (179–142 BCE) L.18: οὔστε μάλιστα μὲν ἐς πάντων ἐ/γλυθεῖ τοῦν δ[α]νειῶν, εἰ δὲ μεί γε ἐς τοῦν πλείστον,
- Boeotia
 - [*] Chaironeia: IG 7 3377 = Darmezine (1999) no. 79 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.11: εἰ δὲ κα γεννά/σει Σουρίνα ἔτι ζώσας Παρθένας, / ἔστω τὸ γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον.
 - Chaironeia: Darmezine (1999) no. 95 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.9: εἰ δὲ [τί] /¹⁰/ κα παθῶντι Μενεκλείς κὴ Βιοτ/τίς πρὸ τῶ παρμεῖνη αὐτεῖς Παρ/θέναν τὸν γεγραμμένον χρό/νον,
 - Chaironeia: Darmezine (1999) no. 97 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.24: εἰ /²⁵/ δὲ κα βειλῶνθη κὴ κα/τὰ φιδίαν ποιῶμεν ἐ/ξέστω·
 - Koroneia: Some instances of the formula εἰ δὲ τίς κα καταδουλίδδειτη in acts of manumission: Darmezine (1999) nos. 122, 123, 126 (and without κα in 129; see my discussion). With a different word order, εἰ δὲ κά τις καταδουλίδδειτη in Darmezine (1999) nos. 131, 132. With a different verb, Darmezine (1999) no. 128 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.12: εἰ δ[έ τίς] / κα ἐφάπτειτ[η], κούρ]/ία ἔστω ἅ τε ἰά[ρεια] /¹⁵/ σουλῶσα κὴ τῶ[ν ἄλ]/λων ὁ βειλόμεν[ος] / [ἀ]νουπόδικος ἰών· [εἰ δὲ] / τίς κα ἐφάπτειτ[η] εἶ] / καταδουλίδδειτ[η], ἀ]/²⁰/ποτεῖσι Σωτειρίδ[α ἀρ]/γυρίω ἀττικῶ δρ[αχμὰ]/ς χιλίας·
 - [*] Lebadeia: IG 7 3081 = Darmezine (1999) no. 11 (undated) L.4: εἰ δὲ κά τις ἀντιποιεῖτη Ἐ/⁵/ρμάτας εἶ ἄλλο τι ἀδικί καθ' ὃν δεῖ τινα ὦν τρόπον, ὅπερδικιόνθω κὴ προῖσ/τάνθω τὸ τε ἰαρεῖες κὴ τὸ ἰαράρχη τὸ ἠῖ ἔναρχει ἰόντες κὴ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βε[ι]/λόμενος·

- Thespiiai: IThesp 41 (3rd/2nd c. BCE) frgm A L.10: εἰ δὲ μεί τ[αῦτα ποιέοντι, ...
- εἰ δὲ μεί ‘otherwise’ in Darmezin (1999) no. 120 (Orchomenos: early 2nd c. BCE), 125, 127, 130 (Koroneia: late 3rd c. BCE).
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 42 (200–150 BCE) L.7: καὶ θαψάντω καὶ τ[ἀ] / ὄ<ρ>ια αὐτῶν ποιησάτωσαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ θάψωντι καὶ ποιήσω[ν]/τι τὰ ὄρια αὐτῶν, καθὼς προέγραπται, ἀτελῆς ἔστω ἅ ἄ¹⁰/νάθεσις καὶ ποταποτισάτωσαν ἀργυρίου μν/ᾶς τριάκοντα. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιλανβάνοιτο αὐτῶ/ν ἢ καταδουλίζοιτο, ἅ τε γενηθ<ε>ῖσα δουλαγω/γία αὐτῶν ἄκυρος καὶ ἀρεμένα ἔστω καὶ ...
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 34 (2nd c. BCE) L.5: εἰ δὲ τις κα καταδουλίζεται, ἀποτεισάτω ἀργυρίου / [ἐκάσ]του σῶ[μα]τος μνᾶς δεκαπέντε τῷ προστάντι·
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: SGDI 1548a = IG 9,1 35 (200–150 BCE) L.5: εἰ δὲ τις καταδουλίζοιτο Φιλ[— — — ἢ Σωσώ, ἀπο]/[τεισάτω] ποθίερον τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῶι ἀργ[υρίου] τάλαντον
 - [*!] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 36 (200–150 BCE) L.9: ἐπεὶ δὲ κα τελευτάσωντι, ὑπαρχόν[τω ἐλεύθεραι Παρ]¹⁰/ [θένα καὶ] Ὀμει<λ>ία θάψασαι αὐτούς, καὶ ... (Hermann accepted the restoration [... εἰ] δὲ κα in SGDI 1548b, but IG 9,1 36 restores [... ἐπεὶ] δὲ κα.)
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: SGDI 1548b = IG 9,1 36 (200–150 BCE) L.12: εἰ δὲ τις ἐφά[πτοιτο ἢ ἐπιλαμβά]/[νοιτο Ὀμ]ει<λ>ίας ἢ Παρθένας, ἐξέστω [προστᾶμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτάς] / [τὸν ἱερέα] τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιῶς καὶ ἄλλον τὸν θέ[λοντα Στειρίων ἢ Φω]¹⁵/[κέων ἐν ἐλ]ευθερίαν,
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 32 (shortly before 170 BCE) L.34: μὴ ἔστω δὲ ἐπάναγ³⁵/

- [κ]ες λειτουργεῖν τοὺς Μεδε/ωνίους ἐν Στίρι τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅσοι / γεγένηται ἐν Μεδεῶνι ἄρ/χοντες, ξενοδίκαι, πρακτῆρες, / δαμιουργοί, ἱερεῖς, ἱεράρχαι, καὶ /⁴⁰/ τῶν γυναικῶν ὅσοι ἱερητεύ/κατι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκὼν ὑπομένοι.
- [*] Phokis – Daulis: IG 9,1 66 (undated) L.9: εἰ δὲ τις καταδουλίζοι¹⁰/[το] οὖς ἀνατεθέκαντι Κάλλων καὶ Δαμῶ <ῆ> τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τούτ[ων] / [ῆ] τὰ γενόμενα [τ]έ<κ>να ἐκ τούτων {ῆ τὰ γενόμενα τέ<κ>να ἐκ τούτων}, ἔσ/στωσαν ἐλεύθεροι.
 - [*] Phokis – Daulis: IG 9,1 66 (undated) L.17: παρμει[νάτ]ω[σαν] / δὲ παρὰ Κάλλωνα Μνασία καὶ Δαμῶν Φύλωνος Δαυλιέ<α>ς οἱ ἀνατεθεμένοι π[ο]/[ι]οῦντες τὸ ποτι[τ]α[σ]σόμενον πάντες πᾶν τὸ δ[υ]νατόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ποι<έ>οιε[ν], κύριοι] /²⁰/ [έ]όντ<ω>σαν ἐπιτειμέοντες τρόποι οἷ κα θέλωντι.
 - [*] Phokis – Drymaia: IG 9,1 226 (200–150 BCE) L.6: εἰ δὲ κα διοικήση ἅ πό/[λις] τῶν Δρυμίων τὰς ἐνήκοντα μνᾶς, κα/[θ]ῶς ἐν ταῖ ὁμολογίαι γέγραπται, τῶι θεῶι καὶ / [τ]οῖς Οἰταίοις, ἀπολελυμένα ἔστω /¹⁰/ [το]ῦ δανείου παντός, καὶ ἅ συγγραφὰ ἀτε/[λ]ῆς καὶ ἀρμένα ἔστω.
 - [*!] Phokis – Elateia: IG 9,1 124 and 126 (2nd c. BCE): In the passages referred to by Hermann (SGDI 1532a and c), the subordinator εἰ is entirely restored, and IG 9,1 restores the lacunas without εἰ.
 - Delphi: SEG 18:239 (277–265 BCE) L.15: - - ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν · εἰ δὲ τίς κα ἄγει, μῆπιτρέπ[ειν]- -
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2520 = Syll.³ 498 = CID 4 43 (260/259 or 263–259 BCE?) L.5: ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσι Ἀχαῖωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀνταγόραν ὑπηρέτας εἶ/μεν τοῖς ἱερομνήμοσιν καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν προδικίαν καὶ ἀσφ[ά]/λειαν ἦνπερ καὶ τῶι κήρυκι τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ ἀτέλειαν αὐτοῖς / εἶναι καὶ ἐκγόνοις· / εἰ δὲ τίς κα παρὰ

- ταῦτα πράσσηται αὐτούς, ὑποδίκους εἶμε[ν] /¹⁰/ ἐν τοῖς ἱερομνάμοσιν τοὺς πράξαντας· τοὺς δὲ ἱερομνάμο[νας] / τοὺς ἐνάρχους ὄντας ἀεὶ τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιε[ῖσθαι] / καὶ καταδικάζοντας καὶ πρά[σ]σον[τ]ας κυρίου εἶμεν.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2524 = CID 4 74 (225/4 or 221/0 BCE?) L.7: ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνάμοσιν, Ἑρμῖαι Χαριζέ/νου οἰκοῦντι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προδικίαν εἶναι / καὶ ἀτέλειαν τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ τῶν χοραγιᾶν /^s/ ἄν τοὶ Δελφοὶ ἄγοντι, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἐπεὶ χρείας / παρεχόμενος διατελεῖ τοῖς ἱερομνάμοσιν ἐν τε Πυ/λαίαι καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνεγκλήτως· εἰ δὲ τίς κα ἀ/τούς ἀδικῆι ἢ πράσσηι τι παρὰ τὸ δόγμα, τοὺς ἱερομ[ν]άμονας τοὺς ἐνάρχους ὄντας ἀεὶ τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν /¹⁵/ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν καὶ καταδικάζοντας καὶ πράσσοντας κυρίου εἶμεν κατὰ τῶν πρα/σσόντων αὐτούς.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2536 = Syll.³ 636 (178 BCE) L.28: εἰ δὲ τίς ἐπινέμ[ει ἐν τούτωι τῶι] / τόπωι, ἐξουσίαν εἶμεν συλῆν τὰ ἔτελα καὶ] /³⁰/ τέλεια [θρέμματα τῶι] / θέλοντι·
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.15: εἰ δὲ τίς τούτων τι ποιή/σαι ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ιδιώτας, κατάμαστρος ἔστω ἱερῶν χρημάτων φω/ρᾶς, καὶ οἱ μαστροὶ καταγραφόντω κατ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ ψαφισθὲν ἢ ἄλ/λως μετενεγχθὲν ἀργύριον ὀκταπλοῦν καὶ τὸ ψαφισθὲν ἢ διαινε/θὲν ἄκυρον καὶ ἀτελὲς ἔστω. εἰ δὲ τι περισσεύοι ἀπὸ τῶν τόκων διδομέ/²⁰/νων τῶμ μισθῶν τοῖς παιδευταῖς καθὼς διατέτακται, ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐν / τοὺς προβούλους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ τὸ δοχθὲν κύριον ἔστω.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.44: εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιήσονται καθὼς γέγρα[πται], — — (considered by Hermann to be a short-vowel subjunctive.)
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.47: εἰ δὲ μή, οἱ μαστροὶ — —

- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.64: εἰ δέ κα μὴ ἀποδιδόντι καθὼς γέγραπται, τὰ ἐνέχυρα αὐτῶν τᾶς πόλιος ἔστω, καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀεὶ οἱ ἐγδανείζοντες κύρ[ι]/οἱ ἔστωσαν πωλέοντες· εἰ δὲ πωλείμενα τὰ ἐνέχυρα μὴ εὐρίσκοι τὸ ἀργύριον ποθ' ὃ ὑπέκειτο τᾷ πόλει, πράκτιμοι ἔστωσαν τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐνάρχοις τοῦ /⁷⁰/ ἑλλείποντος ἀργυρίου αὐτός τε ὁ δανεισάμενος καὶ / οἱ γενόμενοι ἔγγυοι, τρόπῳ ᾧ θέλοιεν πράσσειν, καθὼς / καὶ τᾶλ[λ]α δαμόσια καὶ ποθίερα πράσσονται. εἰ δὲ τοὺς / τόκους μὴ διοικέοισαν οἱ δανεισάμενοι τοῖς ἐπιμελη/ταῖς πρὸ τᾶς πεντεκαίδεκάτας ἐν τῷ Ἐνδυσποιτρο/⁷⁵/πίῳ μηνί, πράκτιμοι ἔστωσαν τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς οὗ / [ἕκα] ἕκαστος φέρει τόκου τῶν δεδανεισμένων, αὐτοῦ / καὶ τοῦ ἡμιολίου.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.81: εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδούησαν οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἐν τῷ γεγραμμένῳ χρόνῳ / τὸ ἀργύριον, ἄτιμοι ἀπογραφέντω {ᾶ} <ῦ>πὸ τῶν ἐπικα/τασταθέντων ἐπιμελητᾶν ποτ' αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἡμι/⁸⁵/όλιον.
- Delphi: Acts of manumission from Delphi are excluded from the scope of my research. For the use of the mood in conditional clauses, see Lejeune (1940: 39–58). I will only provide some very common formulas and noteworthy peculiarities below.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 1799 (173 BCE) L.5: εἰ δέ [τί] κα πάθη Λάρισα, ποιησάτω τὰ νομιζόμενα πάντα Μιθραδάτης ἐκ τῶν Λαρίσας / ἐξ ᾧν κα ἔχη βέλτισ{τισ}τα ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ, εἴ κα ὁ καιρὸς αὐτῷ ἐκποιῆ, καὶ εἴ τί κα ἦται περισσὸν τῶν Λαρίσας, αὐτὸς ἐχέτω, εἴ κα μὴ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτᾶς ἐπανέλθῃ.
- [*] Delphi: Written as i in SGDI 1723 (170–157/6 BCE) L.13: καὶ ἴ / κά τινι ἄλλοι συντάξῃ Ἀπολλόδωρος, L.16: ἴ τι ἀλίσκοιτο Φαινέας κακοτεχνῶν καὶ / μὴ ποιῶν τὰ γεγραμμένα, πλὰν μὴ πωλησάτω Ἀπολλόδωρος Φαινέαν. L.20: ἴ τις ἐφάπτοιτο

- Φαινέα, κύριος ἔστω συλέων αὐσαυτὸν καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θέλων ἀ[ζ]άμιοι ὄν/τες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι. (But L.12: εἰ δὲ μή,)
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 1878 (170–157/6 BCE) L.16: εἰ δὲ κα μὴ συντελή Σῶσος τὰ ἔργα καθὼς ἐπάνω γέγραπται, ἀτελής ἀ ὦνά ἔστω, / εἰ μὴ ἄρῶστος γένοιτο Σῶσος
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1964 (ca. 150–140 BCE) L.8: εἰ δὲ τί κα ἐν τούτῳ τῶι χρόνῳ Θραῖσ/σα ἢ Β[ό]ηθος ποτὶ αὐτοσαυτοὺς ἀντιλέγοιν, κριθέντω {ι} ἐν ἄνδροις τρί[ο]ις· /¹⁰/ ὅ τι δὲ κα οὗτοι κρίνωντι, κύριον ἔστω {ι}. ἀναγραφάτω {ι} δὲ Βόηθος / Θραῖσσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὀνόματος τῶι θεῶι ἐν μηνὶ Εἰλαίῳ / ἐπὶ τᾶς Θρασυκλέος ἀρχᾶς, μένουσαν Θραῖσσαν παρὰ Βόηθον ἄχρ[ι] οὗ κα / ζῶη Βόηθος. εἰ δὲ κα μὴ ἀναγράψῃ Βόηθος Θραῖσσαν καθὼς ἐπάνω γέ/γραπται, πράκτιμος ἔστω Ἀλεξάνδρῳι ἀργυρίου μνᾶς.
 - [*] Delphi: Many instances of the formula describing the manumittor’s responsibility to ensure the freedom of the manumitted slave, εἰ δὲ κα μὴ παρέχη βέβαιον τὰν ὦνὰν τῶι θεῶι, πράκτιμος ἔστω (the manumittor), and its variations.
 - [*] Delphi: Many instances of the formula εἰ δὲ τίς κα καταδουλίζῃται/ἐφάπτηται (the manumitted slave), κύριος ἔστω συλέων ὁ παρατυχὼν ὡς ἐλεύθερον ἔοντα, and its variations.
 - [*] Delphi: Many instances of the formula that enforces the *paramone*: εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμένῃ/ποιῆι καθὼς γέγραπται,
 - [*] Delphi: Many instances of the end-of-*paramone* formula: εἰ δὲ τι ἀνθρώπινον γένηται περὶ (the manumittor); εἰ δὲ τι πάθη (the manumittor)
 - [*] W. Lokris – Physkos: IG 9,1 350 = IG 9²,1,3 672 (176/5 BCE) L.21: εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμένῳιν ἢ μὴ ποι[έοιν] τὸ ἐπιτ]ασσόμενον, κύριος / ἔστω Νικόλαος τύπτων [καὶ

- —c.10— —]ν Ἀφροδισίαν καὶ Ἀρχῶν, εἰ μὴ ποιέοιεν τι τῶν [ἐπιτασσομέ]νων ἢ εἰ μὴ παραμέ/νοι Ἀρχῶ καὶ Ἀφροδισί[α· (the last εἰ-clause was read by Hermann as εἰ δὲ παραμέ/νοι, prothesis to the following lines ... ἐ^{/25}/λευθέραι ἔστων.)
- W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 16:358 (mid 2nd c. BCE) L.7: εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμέν[οι καὶ μὴ] / [ποιοῖ τὸ ἐπιτασσό]μενον, κύριος ἔστω Λευκ[ί]/[ας τύπτων καὶ δέρ]ων Σωσώ, εἰ μὴ ποιοῖ τι τῶ[ν] /¹⁰/ [^{vac}. ἐπιτασσομέν]ων Σωσώ ·
 - W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 16:161 (ca. 150–130 BCE) L.7: εἰ δὲ κα μὴ παραμένη ἢ μὴ / ποιῆ τὸ ἐπιτασ(σ)όμενον ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀδικῆ Ὀφελίωνα, ἐξουσίαν ἐχέ/τω Ὀφελίων ἐπιτειμέων Φιλέταιρον, καθ' ὃν κα Θέλη τρόπον /¹⁰/ καὶ ἄλλο(ς), ὃν κα κελεύη Ὀφελίων ·
 - W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 56:672 (2nd c. BCE) L.6: εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ[αμέ]νοι ἢ μὴ ποιῆ τὰ ἐπιτασσό/μενα, ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω Ἄνθεμῶ ἐπιτιμέουσα Σ[ωτήρ]ιχον τρόποι ὧ κα θέλη ἢ ἔ^v/τερος ὃν κα Ἄνθεμῶ κελεύση· εἰ δὲ τελευτάσαι Ἀ[νθε]μῶ, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω Σωτή/ριχος
 - [*!] W. Lokris – Naupaktos (found in Keos): SGDI 1428 was attributed to Naupaktos in SGDI, but is considered to be from the Aitolian League in IG 9²,1,1 169 B. The text will be provided under Aitolia.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: AM 32 no. 9 = IG 9²,1,3 638 no 9 (155/4 BCE) L.12: εἰ δὲ τι πάθοι [Ἀριστομάχα] / πρὸ τοῦ τὰ δέκα ἔτη [διελθεῖν, παραμει]/νάτω δέ(!) Ἀσκλαπιάδας [τὸν λοιπὸν] /¹⁵/ χρόνον Δαμοξένωι τῶι [ὑῶι τῶι Ἀριστομά]χα[ς] πο[ι]ῶν τὸ ποτιτα[σσο]μένον· εἰ δὲ πα]/ραμείναι Ἀσκλαπι[ά]δας, καθὼς γέγρα]/[π]ται, ἐλεύθερος ἔ[στ]ω κα[ὶ] ἄ ὠνὰ βέ]/βαιος ἔστω·
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: IG 9,1 381 = IG 9²,1,3 638 no 12 (ca. 153/2 BCE) L.9:

- παραμενέτω δὲ Φιλόξε^{/10/}νος παρὰ Μικκίωνα, ἄς κα ζῆ Μικκίων, / ποιῶν τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ποέ/οι, ἀτελής ἂ ὦνὰ ἔστω· εἰ δὲ τί κα πάθη / Μικκίων, τόκα ἂ ὦνὰ κυρία ἔστω καὶ / ὁ βεβαιωτῆρ βεβαιούτω τοῖ Ἀσκλαπιῶ.
- [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: AM 32 no. 7 = IG 9²,1,3 638 no. 7 (ca. 151/0 BCE) L.12: εἰ δὲ τι μὴ πειθαρχέοι Σω[σ...], αὐ]/τοῖ ἐπιτιμέων Νικόστρατος [τρόποι ὦι κα] / θέλη κύριος ἔστω.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: AM 32 no. 22 = IG 9²,1,3 639 no. 9 (mid 2nd c. BCE) L.12: εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιέοι, ἀγώγμο<i> </i> ὄν/τω αὐτοῖ Ἀμεινοκράτει, ἄλλοι δὲ / μηθενί.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: AM 32 no. 33 = IG 9²,1,3 640 d (mid 2nd c. BCE) L.22: εἰ δὲ μὴ / ποιοῖ, ἄκυρος ἔστω ἂ ὦνὰ / καὶ ὁ βεβα[ιω]τῆρ Λάμπις ^{/25/} μὴ βεβαιούτω.
 - W. Lokris – Naupaktos: SEG 23:352 (mid-2nd c. BCE) L.9: εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμέν^{οι} καθὼς ^{/10/}[γέγρα]πται, ἀτελής ἂ ὦνὰ ἔσ^οτω καὶ ὁ πρ/[ροαπο]δότας μὴ βεβαιούτω κα^οἰ ἐξουσίαν [ἐχέτω]/[σαν Μ]ενίσκος καὶ Σωκράτ^οεια ἐπιτι[μέων]-/[τε]ς Βί^οβλον ὦι κα θέλ^οντι τρ^οό-/[πω]ι· Also L.14 εἰ δὲ Β^οίβλος πρότερον θέλοι ἀπο^ο/15/[τρέ]χειν ἀπὸ Μενίσκου καὶ Σωκρατείας [ζω]/ό<v>των αὐτῶν καταβαλῶ^ον ὑπὲρ [αὐτο]/σαντὸν ἀργυρίου Μ ἀπο^οτρεχέτ/[ω] καὶ ἐ^ολ^ο εὐθερος ἔστω·
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: AM 32 no. 4 = IG 9²,1,3 638 no. 4 (ca. 141/0 BCE) L.13: εἰ / δὲ μὴ παραμείναισαν, ἄ τε ὦνὰ ^{/15/} ἀτελής ἔστω καὶ ὁ προαποδότας / μὴ βεβαιούτω.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: AM 32 no. 29 = IG 9²,1,3 640 a (2nd c. BCE) L.10: εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμείναι, οἱ τὰν / ὦνὰν φυλάσσοντες ἐχφερόντω
 - [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: AM 32 no. 20 = IG 9²,1,3 639,7 (ca. 135/4 BCE) L.18: εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμείν[η] / Σωσῶ ἢ μὴ ποιῆ τὸ ἐπιτασσόμε^ο/20/νον, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἄ τε

- ὠνά / {ἄ τε ὠνά} ἀτελής ἔστω καὶ οἱ προαπο/δόται μὴ βεβαιούντω. θρεψάτω δὲ /
 Σωσὼ ἐν τοῖ χρόνοι, οἱ δεῖ αὐτὰν πα/ραμεῖναι, παιδάριον ἢ κορίδιον καὶ τὸ /²⁵/ τραφέν
 Ἀγησίππας καὶ τῶν ὑῶν ἔ/στω· εἰ δὲ μὴ τρέφει τὸ παιδίον, κα/θὼς γέγραπται,
 ἀποτεισάτω Ξε/νοκράτει καὶ Ἀγεστράτοι ἀργυρί[ου] / Μ.
- [*] W. Lokris – Naupaktos: SGDI 1425 (= IG 9,1 374?) IG 9²,1,3 624 (ca. mid-2nd
 c. BCE) Face D L.5: [... μὴ θρεψάτω] / [δ]ὲ γενεὰν Λίβανος· εἰ δὲ θρέψει, ἀτελής
 καὶ ἀρμένα ἄ ὠνά ἔστω καὶ ὁ προ/αποδότας μὴ προπωλίτω καὶ Λίβανος ἔστω
 Δελφίωνος.
 - W. Lokris – Myania (an accord between Myania and Hyrnia found at Delphi): IG
 9²,1,3 748 (ca. 190 BCE) Col. I L.10: [.. εἰ δὲ τίς κ[α — — — — —]. Col. II
 L.9: ——— κατ ταῦτά δὲ καὶ τὰς πρεσβεί/¹⁰/ας, εἰ τοῖς κα ἀποστέλλωντι,
 ἀποστελλόντων. ——— ἀρχὸν ἐξ Ὑπνίας κατ τὸ μέρος / ἐλέσθη[ων]. ——— εἰ δὲ μὴ
διοικέει τὰ τῶν πολ/ίων, ποθελέσθων ἀρχὸν ἐξ Ὑπνίας κ-/ἀτ τὸ μέρος. Col. III L.2:
 ——— εἰ δὲ τίς τῶν προβατέων τ[ῶν χ]/ρησαμένων τὰ πρόβατα ποτάγοι πρὸ τᾶ[ς
 λ]/ώτιος λωτίξας ἀπαγέτω. ——— ὅσοι δὲ κα τῶ[ν πρ]/⁵/οβα^{ννν}τέων μὴ χρήσ[ω]νται τᾶι
 χώραι λω[τίξ]-/οντες τὰς πόκας νέμοντες ἐν τᾶι χώραι [α]/ύλιζόντω ἀμέρας δέκα.
 ——— εἰ δὲ τίς κα τῶν δι[ο]/ρθωμάτων τῶν ὕστερον ποτιφερομένων / τᾶς Πανκλέος
ἀρχᾶς ἀμφίλλογον γίνητ/¹⁰/αι ἐπικριθέντων ἐν Αἰσχρίωνι Ἀρχεστ[ρά]/τωι Φυσκεῖσις
 ——— Κρατίνωι Τριτεῖ ——— Κ[.....]/μοι Δαμοκλεῖ Ἀριστομάχωι Χα[λειέοι]/ς·
 - W. Lokris – Chaleion (found at Delphi): SEG 24:383b = IG 9²,1,3 739 (late 4th/early
 3rd c. BCE) L.10: . . γωι δόμεν εἰ κα μὴ αὐτὸς σπείρηι ἅμα τῶι παρέχοντι τὰν γᾶν·
 τὰν δὲ γᾶν / . .
 - W. Lokris? (a correspondence between Thronion and Skarpheia found at Delphi): FD

- 3,4 42 (end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.33: μὴ ἀντιποιησάσθω δὲ τᾶς χώρας μηδε/[τέ]ρα πόλις, ὑπερβᾶσα τοὺς προγεγραμμένους ὄρους, μηδὲ καθ' ὅποιον τρόπον μηδὲν ^{/35/} [σιν]έτω τοὺς προγεγραμμέν[ους ὄρο]υς, μηδὲ δικαζάζθω μηδετέρα πόλις ἐκ ταύτας / [τᾶς] χώ[ρας ἐγ] μηθενὸς ἐγκλ[ήματο]ς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον χρόνου κατὰ μηθένα τρόπον· εἰ δὲ / [μῆ], ἀποτεισάτω ἅ παραβαίν[ουσά] τι πόλις τῶν ἐν τῷ ὁμολόγῳ γεγραμμένων ἀργυρί/ου τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα.
- [*] Thessaly – Ainis: IG 9,2 59 (undated; verse) L.10: ἡρώων θρέπτειρ', ἐναρήφορε, πότνι' ἀγώνων, / σὸν κλέος, εἰ τοιούσδ' ἄνδρας ἔχεις, Ὑπάτα.
 - [*] Thessaly – Achaia Pththiotis – Meliteia: IG 9,2 205 = IG 9²,1,1 188 (213/2 BCE) L.16: εἰ δὲ κα ἀποπολιτεύονται Πηρεῖς ἀπὸ Μελ[ι]/ταέων, περὶ μὲν τᾶς χώρας ὄροις χρήσθων τοῖς γεγραμμένοις καὶ ...
 - Aitolia – Kallion: SEG 16:368 (5th c. BCE) L.1: Ἐν τὸ ἱερόν / μὴ παρίμεν. / εἰ δὲ τίς κα / παρέρπη, ζα^{/5/}/μία τέτορες / στατήρες.
 - Aitolia – Phistyon: SEG 12:303 (end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.6: εἰ δὲ τινί κα ἄλλ[λ]οι δόσιν ἔγ<γ>υο<ν>(?) πο/[ήσηται καὶ ταύτην οἱ ἰεροφύλακες ἀναγραψά]ντω ἐν τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον καὶ τόπον ε[ῖ] ἄλλω[ν] / [ἀναλωμάτων ἐστὶν ἀπογραφή, εἴ κα δοκῆι τι τού]τω<ν> ποήσ<ε>ιν ἐ<π>' ὠνᾶ δεδοκ<ό>τα τινί, ὧν ο<ί> φυλά/[σσοντες τὰς ὠνάς οἱ τεταγμένοι ὑπ' αὐτο]ῦ δέξονται τὰ φερόμενα πάντα · εἰ δὲ τί κα Λέων πάθη, ^{/10/}[τοὺς ἄρχοντας προνοηθῆναι τοῦ τὸ βάθρ]ον {ε} τ [ε]λεωθῆμεν εἴ τὸν ἀνδριάντα σταθῆμεν·
 - [*] Aitolia – Thermos: AE 1905 p. 55f. = IG 9²,1,1 3 A (ca. 262 BCE) L.8: ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τερμόνων τοῦ Πραντός, εἰ μέγ κα Στράτιοι καὶ Ἀγραῖ/οι συγχωρέωντι αὐτοῖ ποτ' αὐτούς, τοῦτο κύριον ἔστω· εἰ δὲ μῆ, Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ ^{/10/} τερμαζάντω τὰμ Πραντίδα χώραν, αἰρεθέντας(!) ἑκατέρων δέκα πλὴν Στρατίων καὶ Ἀγρα<ί>/ων·

- [*] Aitolia – Thermos: AE 1905 p. 55f. = IG 9²,1,1 3 A (ca. 262 BCE) L.27: εἴ τις κα
ἐμβάλλῃ εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, βοαθοεῖν τοὺς / Ἀκαρνανᾶνας πεζοῖς μὲν
χιλίοις, ἰππεῦσι δὲ ἑκατὸν, οὗς κα τοὶ ἄρχοντες/ πέμπωντι, ἐν ἀμέραις ἕξ. καὶ εἴ τις ἐν
Ἀκαρνανίαν ἐμβάλλοι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, ^{/30/} βοαθοεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς πεζοῖς μὲν χιλίοις, ἰπέοις
δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐν ἀμέραις ἕξ, οὗς / κα τοὶ ἄρχοντες πέμπωντι. εἰ δὲ πλείονων χρεῖαν
ἔχοιεν ἄτεροι πότεροι, / βοαθοοῦντο τρισχιλίοις ἑκάτεροι ἑκατέροις ἐν ἀμέραις δέκα.
- [*] Aitolia – Thermos: AE 1905 p. 55f. = IG 9²,1,1 3 A (ca. 262 BCE) L.36: εἰ δὲ
πλείονα χρόνον ἔχοιεν τᾶς βοα/θοίας χρεῖαν οἱ μεταπεμψάμενοι τ]ᾶμ βοάθῳια]ν,
διδόντω τὰς σιταρχίας, ἔστε κα / ἐν οἶκον ἀποστείλωντι τοὺς [στρατιώ]τας.
- Aitolia – Thermos: SEG 44:438 (165/4 BCE) L.15: ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτ[ῶ]ι καὶ τοῖς
ἐκγόνοις ἀτέλειαν πάντων / [- - ca 13-15 - - -]Τ εἴ κα εἰσάγωντι ἢ ἐξάγωντι ἐν ἰδίαν
χρεῖαν ΠΑΝ / [- - - ca 15 - - - -]ΑΙ καὶ στρατειᾶν πασᾶν ἀφειμένους εἶμεν εἴ κα /
[πολιτεύωντι ἐν Αἰτ]ωλίαι.
- Aitolia (found at Delphi): IG 9²,1,1 171 (266 BCE?) L.39: ἔδοξε τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς· [εἴ
τινε]ς κατάδικοι γεγέννηνται πρότερον ἐν τοῖ[ς] ^{/40/} ἱερομναμόνοις τῶν ἐξ[ῶθεν]
ἐγ<κλη>μάτων ἢ εἴ τινές κα [.....15.....] ^{/40a/} — — — — — ν — — — — —
— — — — — ^{/41/} [ῥσ]τερον κατάδικοι γίνωνται, μὴ ε]ἶμεν ἀγωγίμους ἐκ τᾶν
πολίων τού/[τ]ους μηδοπόθεν, ἀλλὰ τι[— — —]εἰσθαι κατ τὸν νόμον τῶν
Ἀμφ[ι]/κτυόνων πλᾶν ἢ εἴ τινές κα ἱερ[ῶν χ]ρημάτων κατάδικοι γένωνται ἢ] /
γεγόνᾳτι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους·
- Aitolia (found at Delphi): IG 9²,1,1 173 (ca. 259 or 255 BCE?) L.6: πολί[τας] εἶμεν
τοὺς Ἡρα[κ]λειώτας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἐπεὶ τυγχάνον/[τι εὔ]γους τῶι [κ]οιγῶ[ι, κ]αί, εἴ
τίς κα ἀποστέλληται πρεσβεία / [π]οτὶ [βασιλ]έα [Π]το[λ]εμαῖον, διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ

- αὐτῶν κατὰ ^{/10/} [τ]ὰς δοθ[ε]ί[σας ἐν]τ[ολ]ὰς παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Ἡρακλειωτῶν,
- [*] Aitolia (found in Keos): SGDI 1410 = IG 9²,1,1 169 A (ca. 222 BCE) L.5: εἰ δέ τις κα ἄγει τοὺς Κείους, τὸν στραταγὸν ἀεὶ τὸν ἔναρχον <ὄν>τα τὰ ἐν Αἰτωλίαν καταγόμενα [ἀναπράσσ]οντα κύριον εἶμεν καὶ ...
 - [*!] Aitolia (found in Keos): SGDI 1424 = IG 9²,1,1 169 B (ca. 222 BCE) L.4: εἰ ^{/5/} δέ τις κατὰγοι, ἀναπράσσ[ειν τὸν στραταγὸν ἀεὶ τὸν ἔ]ναρχον τὰ ἐμφανῆ (Attributed to Naupaktos in SGDI, but is considered to be from an unidentified Aitolian city in IG 9²,1,1)
 - [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1409 = IG 9²,1,1 174 = Syll.³ 480 (ca. 240 BCE) L.2: μηθένα τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς συνοί/κων ἀτελέα εἶμεν, εἶ κα μὴ δοθῆ[ι] παρὰ / τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν ἀτέλεια· καὶ εἶ ^{/5/} τινος ἔμπροσθεν νν ἀτέλεια γέγονε / μὴ δόντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ὑποτελεῖς / εἶμεν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σύνοικοι.
 - [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1409 A = IG 9²,1,1 172 = Syll.³ 479 (ca. 263 BCE) L.9: καὶ εἶ κά τις αὐτὸν ἀδικῆι, τοὺς ἀντι^{10/}τυγχάνοντας συνέδρους τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν / ποιεῖσθαι.
 - [*] Aitolia (found at Mytilene): IG 12,2 15 = IG 9²,1,1 189 (214/3 BCE?) L.6: εἰ δέ τις κα ῥυσιάζη ἢ ἄγη, τὰ μὲν ἐνφανέα ἀν[α]/πράσσειν τὸν στρόταγον ἀεὶ τὸν ἔναρχον ὄντα / καὶ ἀποδιδόμεν τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις,
 - Aitolia (found at Akarnania – Thyrraeion): SEG 13:382 (212/1 BCE) L.4: εἰ δέ τινές κα τού^{5/}των τῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεις κατὰ κρά/[τ]ος λάβωντι, ταύτας τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς / [χ]ώρας ἔνεκεν τοῦ δάμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων / τῶι δάμωι τῶι τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἔχειν ἐξέστω· [ὄ] δέ κα παρὲξ τᾶς πόλιος καὶ τᾶς χώρας Ῥωμα[ῖ]/^{10/}οι λάβωντι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐχόντωςαν. εἰ δέ τινάς κα / ταυτῶν τᾶμ πολιῶν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ

- Αἰτωλοὶ κοινῶν ἔλονται, ταύτας τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώ/[ρα]ς ἔνεκεν τοῦ δάμου <τῶν Ῥωμαίων> Αἰτωλοῖς ἔχειν ἐξέ/[σ]τω · ὁ δὲ καὶ παρὲς τὰς πόλιος λάβωντι, κοινῶν¹⁵ / [ἀ]μφοτέρ[ω]ν ἔστω. εἰ δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταυτῶν τᾶμ / [πο]λίον ποτὶ Ῥωμαίους ἢ ποτὶ
- Αἰτωλοὺς ποθί/[σ]τανται ἢ ποτιχωρήσωντι, τούτους τοὺς / [ἀνθ]ρ[ώ]πους καὶ τὰς πόλιας καὶ τὰς χώρας ἔ/[νεκεν τοῦ δ]άμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων [τοῖ]ς Αἰτωλοῖς²⁰ / [εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν π]ολίτευμα ποτιλαμβάνειν / [ἐξέ]στω.
- [*] Aitolia (found in Teos): SGDI 1411 = IG 9²,1,1 192 (204/3 BCE?) L.12: εἰ δὲ τίς καὶ ἄγῃ ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ τὰ ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ χώρας, τὰ μὲν ἐμ/φανῆ ἀναπράσσειν τὸν σ[τρ]ατα[γόν] καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐνάρχους,
 - [*] Aitolia (found at Delphi): SGDI 1413 = IG 9²,1,1 179 = FD 3,3 240 (183/2 BCE) L.20: εἰ δὲ τίς καὶ ἄγῃ ἢ ῥυσιάζῃ ἢ ἀποβιάζαιτο ἢ διεγγύαση, ὑπόδικον εἶμεν ἐν τοῖ[ς] / [συνέδρ]οις τῶι ἀδικηθέντι καὶ ἄλλωι τῶι θέλοντι ἐν ταῖς ἐκ ποτιστάσιος δίκαις.
 - [*] Akarnania: IG 9,1 447 = IG 9²,1,2 394 (2nd c. BCE) L.8: εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμῆναι, ἀτελῆς ἀ / ὦνᾶ ἔστω.
 - [*] Epeiros – Dodona: SGDI 1579 = Lhôte (2006) no. 61 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.2: — —]ΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ εἰ μὴ / [λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶη καὶ αὐτ]ῶι καὶ τᾶι οἰκήσει / [— —
 - Epeiros – Dodona: εἰ ‘whether’ is sometimes found in oracular inquiries at Dodona replacing the more common ἦ ‘whether’, as in SEG 15:397 (4th c. BCE) L.1: αἰτεῖται ἀ πόλις ἀ τῶν Χαόνων / τὸν Δία τὸν Νᾶον καὶ τὰν Διώναν ἀνελεῖν εἰ λῶι/ον καὶ ἄμεινον καὶ συμφορώτερόν ἐστι τὸν ναὸν / τὸν τᾶς Ἀθήνας τᾶς Πολιάδος ἀγχορίζαντας⁵ / ποεῖν; SEG 15:398 (4th c. BCE) L.1: ἐπερωτᾷ Λοχίσκος / τὰν Διώναν περὶ ἐργασίας εἰ κατὰ / θαλα . . . ζόμενος εὐτυχοῖ / καὶ βέλτιον πράσσοι. For

more details of this formula, see Lhôte (2006: 336–342).

- [*] Epeiros – Dodona: SGDI 1348 (undated) L.4: Μῆ ἐξέσστω [δὲ Κα]νθάρας μηθένα κατα[δοθλίζ]/[εσθαι ὡς οὐ]σας Κρατεραίου θυγατρ[ὸς καὶ ἐλ]ευθέρας. **Εἰάν** δέ τις **ἐφά/[πτηται ἢ ἀὸ]τᾶς ἢ τᾶς γενεᾶς** . . .
- Doris – Kytinion: SEG 25:606 (2nd c. BCE) L.6: **Εἰ** δέ τις **ἐφάπτοιτο** ἐπ[ὶ καταδουλισμῶι] / Πίστας, καὶ οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες κύριοι ἐόντων συλέοντες Πίστ[αν ὡς ἐλευθέραν] / [ἐοῦσαν ἀζ]άμιοι ἐόντες· παραμεινάτω δὲ Πίστα παρὰ Ἀλέξωνα μέχρ[ι κα ζῆ] / [Ἀλέξων, π]οιέουσα τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν· **εἰ** δὲ μὴ **ποιέ[οι ἢ παρα]/¹⁰/[μένοι]** καθὼς γέγραπται, ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω Ἀλέξων ἐπιτιμῶν Π[ίσται] / [τρόπωι ῶ]ι κα θέλη· **εἰ** δέ τι **κατασκευάσαιτο** Πίστα [παρὰ] / [Ἀ]λέξωνα, ἀπελθέτω ἔχουσα Πίστα. Τὸ ἀντίγραφον τᾶς ὠνᾶς πα/[ρὰ] τὸν ἱερῆ Εὐξίαν.
- Megaris
 - [*] Megaris – Megara: IG 7 13 (early 3rd c. BCE) L.13: **εἰ** δέ κα **δόξηι**, ἀγγραψ[άτω] / αὐτὸν ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ δάμου ἐ[ν στά]/¹⁵/λαι λιθίνοι καὶ ἀνθέτω εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμ[πειῖον].
- Achaea
 - [*!] Dyme: SGDI 1615 = Rizakis (2008) no. 1 (280/279–275 BCE) L.5: —**α****ι** μὴ **παρδέξονται** τὰς ἐκγρα[φ]ὰς παρὰ τῶν προστατᾶν κα[ὶ] / [— — — — — — — — —] τῶν ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος καθεσταμένων ἢ μὴ παρ' τῶν ἰδιω/[τᾶν καὶ τῶν ἐρανε]στᾶν ἢ μὴ **ἀποδώσονται** ἐν ταῖς ἀμέραις ἐν αἷς γέγρ[α]/[πται, (Hermann accepted the restoration [εἰ ἢ] μὴ παρδέξονται.)
 - [*] Achaean League (found at Arcadia – Orchomenos): SGDI 1634 = IG 5,2 344 (after 234/3 BCE) L.8: ὁ[μ]νύω Δία Ἀμάριον, Ἀθάναν Ἀμαρίαν, Ἀφρ[οδ]ίτα[ν καὶ

- του]ς θεου]ς πάντας, ἦ μὴν ἐν] / πᾶσιν ἐμμε[ν]εῖν ἐν τᾷ στάλαι καὶ τᾷ ὁμολογίαι καὶ
 τῶι ψαφίσματι [τῶι γεγονότι τῶι] /^{10/} [κοι]ν[ῶι] τῶι τ[ῶ]ν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ εἶ τις κα μὴ
ἐμμένῃ, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω εἰς δύναμ[ιν, καὶ εὐορ]/[κέ]οντι μὲν μοι εἴη τάγαθά,
 ἐπιορκέοντι δὲ τάναντία.
- [*] Achaean League (found at Arcadia – Orchomenos): SGDI 1634 = IG 5,2 344
 (after 234/3 BCE) L.13: εἰ δέ τι ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθε χρόνων ἢ οἱ Ὀρχομένιοι Ἀχαιοὶ ἐγέ/
[νον]το Νεάρχ[ω]ι ἔγκλημα γέγονεν ἢ τοῖς υἱοῖς, ὑπότομα εἶμεν πάντα, καὶ μ[ὴ] /^{15/}
 [δικαζέ]σθω μήτε Νεάρχωι μηθεὶς μήτε τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ μηδὲ Νεάρχος μηδὲ [τῶν] /
 [υἱ]ῶν αὐτοῦ μηθεὶς περὶ τῶμ πρότερον ἐγκλημάτων ἢ οἱ Ὀρχομένιοι Ἀχαιοὶ ἐγ[έ]/
 [νο]ν[τ]ο·
 - [*] Achaean League (found at Arcadia – Orchomenos): SGDI 1634 = IG 5,2 344
 (after 234/3 BCE) L.17: περ[ὶ] / [δὲ τᾶς Νί]κας τᾶς χρυσέ[α]ς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 Ὀπλοσμίου, ἀγ καταθέντες ἐνέχυρα οἱ Μεθυ[δρι]/[εἰς οἱ μετοική]σαντες ε[ἰ]ς
 Ὀρχομενὸν διείλοντο τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπήν[εγ]/^{20/}[καν εἰς Μεθύδρ]ι[ο]ν,
ἐὰμ μὴ ἀποδιδῶντι τὸ ἀργύριον τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, καθὼς ἐξ[ε]/[χώρησεν ἀ πό]λις
τῶν Ὀρχομενίων, ὑποδίκους εἶμεν τοὺς μὴ ποιῶντας τὰ δίκαια.
 - [*] Dyme: SGDI 1613 = Rizakis (2008) no. 2 (190–146 BCE) L.4: [τούσδε] ἀ πόλις
 κατέκριν/^{5/}[ε θανάτ]ου, ὅτι ἱεροφώρεον / [καὶ νό]μισμα ἔκοπτον χάλ/[κεον]·
 Θραικίωνα εἴτε Ἀντί/[οχος] ὄνομα αὐτῶι ἐστι, / [Κύλ]λιν τὸν χρυσοχόον /^{10/}
 [Κυλλ]άνιον ἢ εἰ Πανταλέ/[ω]ν ἢ εἶ τι ἄλλο ὄνομα, / [Μο]σχόλαον Μοσχολάου.
 - [*] Dyme: SGDI 1614 = Rizakis (2008) no. 3 (3rd c. BCE) L.6: εἰ δὲ μὴ δοίη / [τὸ
 ὄλον ἐν τῶι ἐν]ιαυτῶι τῶι ἐπὶ Μενανδρίδα, ἀλλὰ / [καθυστερί]ζοι], μὴ ἔστω αὐτῶι ἀ
 πολιτεία. εἰ δὲ τις / [ἔ]χοι ὑὸν νεώτερον] ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐ[ξ]τέων ἢ θυγατέρα /^{10/}

- [ἀνέκδοτον, ὁμοσ]άσθω ἐμ βουλᾷ ὁ πατήρ τὸν νόμιμον ὄρ/[κον·
- [*] Phetrai: AE 1908 p. 95 = Rizakis (2008) no. 6 (3rd c. BCE) L.8: εἰ δέ κα /
παρβάλληται, τὸ ἰ¹⁰/ερὸν καθαρᾶσθω / ὡς παρσεβέουσα.
 - Tritaia: Rizakis (2008) no. 94 (3rd c. BCE) L.17: εἰ δέ τίς κα μ[ὴ ἀποδοῖ τὸ ἀργύριον
ἢ τὸ μέρος τὸ] / [ἐ]πιβάλλον κατ' ἐ[νια]υτὸ[ν οἱ δαμιοργοὶ ἀπογραψάντων αὐ] / [τ]ὸν
τοῖς πολεμ[άρχους ὀφείλοντα τᾶι πόλι·
- Arcadia
 - [*] Mantinea: IG 5,2 262 = Dubois (1988 2:94) (5th c. BCE) L.18: εἰ τοῖς ρῶφλεκόσι
ἐπὶ τοῖδ' ἐδικάσαμες / ἅ τε θεὸς κὰς οἱ δικασσταί, ἀπυιεδομίν[ος] /²⁰ τὸν χρῆμάτων
τὸ λάχος, ἀπεχομίνος / κὰ τῶρρέντερον γένος ἔναι / ἅματα πάντα ἀπὸ τοῖ ἱεροῖ, ἴλαον
ἔναι· εἰ δ' ἄλλα ιη[ν]' ἐᾶτοι κὰ τὸν[ν], ἰμενφῆς ἔναι. /^{Col.2 L.24} εὐχο⁻λά [δ'] ἄδε
ἔ[σ]ετοι τοῖ ἀ[λιτερίοι]· /²⁵ εἴ ηἱς ἰν τοῖεροῖ τὸν τότε [ἀπυθανόντων] / φονῆς ἐστί, εἴη'
αὐτὸς εἴηε [τὸν ἐσγόνων] / ηἱς κὰ τῶρρέντερον, εἴηε τ[ὸν ἀνδρῶν] / εἴηε τᾶς φαρθένῶ,
ἰμενφῆ[ς ἔναι κὰ] / τὸ χρῆστῆριον· εἰ δὲ μῆ, ἴλα[ον ἔναι]. /³⁰ εἰ Θεμάνδρος φονῆς
ἐστί ε[ἴηε] / τὸν ἀνδρῶν εἴηε τᾶς φαρθέν[ῶ] / τὸν τότε ἀπυθανόντων ἰν το[ῖεροῖ] /
κὰς μῆ προσσθαγενῆς τὸ φέρ[ργον] / τὸ τότε ἔ, οὐτὸς ἰν μόνφον θε[ναί]· /³⁵ εἰ δὲ
προσσθαγενῆς τὸ φέρ[ργον τοῦτο] / κὰς μῆ φονῆς, ἴλαον ἔναι.
 - [*] Mantinea: BCH 1892 p. 577 = IG 5,2 261 = Dubois (1988 2:112) (early 5th c.
BCE) L.8: [— εἰ] δὲ μῆ ἐπελάο[ιντο — —], L.10: εἰ δ[ὲ μῆ, — , L.17: εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν
φ[— —
 - Mantinea: SEG 37:340 = Te Riele (1987: 167) (early 4th c. BCE) L.21: ἄν δέ τις τῶν
ἀπυγραφέντων μὴ φᾶτοι / τινὰ ἦναι Ἐλισφάσιον, ἔξεστ[ι]ν ἰμφᾶναι τοῖς
θεσμοτοάροις ἰν / τῶι ὕστερον φέτ[ε]! ἢ Νικῆς ἐδαμιόργη, τὸ[ν . . . ἰμ]φανθέντα

ἐπιδι-/24/κεύσασθαι ἰν τοῖς [τ]ριακασίοις αὐτοῖς - -

- [*] Orchomenos: IG 5,2 343 = Dubois (1988 2:146) (4th c. BCE) L.18 by Dubois (L.9 by IG 5,2): τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ / [X]αιριάδαι εἶ τέ [τ]/²⁰/[ι] χωρίον ἀμφίλλ/[ο]γον ἰν τᾶι τομά/[δ]ι, τὸς Ἡραέας δια/[δ]ικάσαι καὶ τὰς δίκαι[ς] / [τ]ὰς προδεδικασμί/²⁵/γας πάνσας·
- [*] Tegea: Hoffmann 1 no. 29 = IG 5,2 3 = Dubois (1988 2:20) (ca. 390 BCE) L.1: τὸν ἱερῆν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι οἷς νέμεν καὶ ζευγο/ς καὶ αἶγα· εἶ δ' ἂν καταλλάσσει, ἰνφορβισμὸν ἔναι· τ/ὸν ἱερομνάμονα ἰνφορβίεν· εἶ δ' ἂν λευτὸν μὲ ἰνφορβίει, ἡκοτὸν δαρχμὰς ὀφλέν ἰν δᾶμον καὶ κάταρ/⁵/φον ἔναι :: τὸν ἱεροθύταν νέμεν ἰν Ἀλέαι ὅ,τι ἂν ἀ/σκῆθεῖς ἔ, τὰ δ' ἀνασκῆθεά ἰνφορβίεν, μὲ δ' ἔσπερᾶσα/ι πᾶρ ἂν λέγει ἱεροθυτές· εἶ δ' ἂν ἐσπεράσει, δυδδεκ/ο δαρχμὰς ὀφλέν ἰν δᾶμον. :: τᾶς τριπαναγόρσιος τ/ὰς ὑστέρας τρῖς ἀμέρας νέμεν ὅτι ἡἂν βόλῆτοι ὄς /¹⁰/ μὲ ἰν τοῖ περιχῶροι· εἶ δ' ἂν ἰν τοῖ περιχῶροι, ἰνφορβίεν :: ἰν Ἀλέαι μὲ νέμεν μετε ζένον μετε φαστὸν / εἶ μὲ ἐπὶ θοῖναν ἡίκοντα, τοῖ δὲ ζένοι καταγομέν/οι ἐξῆναι ἀμέραν καὶ νύκτα νέμεν ἐπιζύγιον· εἶ δ' / ἂν πᾶρ τάνυ νέμει, τὸ μὲν μέζον πρόβατον δαρχμὰν ὀ/¹⁵/φλέν, τὸ δὲ μεῖον ἰνφορβίεν ::
- [*] Tegea: Hoffmann 1 no. 29 = IG 5,2 3 = Dubois (1988 2:20) (ca. 390 BCE) L.15: τὰ ἱερὰ πρόβατα μὲ / νέμεν ἰν Ἀλέαι πλὸς ἀμέραν καὶ νυκτός, εἶκ ἂν διε/λαυνόμενα τύχε· εἶ δ' ἂν νέμει, δαρχμὰν ὀφλέν τὸ πρό/βατον φέκαστον τὸ μέζον, τὸν δὲ μειόνων προβάτῶ/ν ὀδελὸν φέκαστον, τᾶν συδὸν δαρχμὰν φεκάσταυ, εἶ[ι] /²⁰/ μὲ παρηεταζάμενος τὸς πεντῆκοντα ἔ τὸς τριακα/σίος. :: εἶκ ἐπὶ δῶμα πῦρ ἐποίσει, δυδδεκο δαρχμὰς / ὀφλέν, τὸ μὲν ἔμισυ τᾶι θεοῖ, τὸ δ' ἔμισυ τοῖς ἱερ[ο]/μνάμονσι :: εἶκ ἂν παραμαξεύει θύσθεν τᾶς κελε[ύθ]/ῶ τᾶς κακειμέναν κατ' Ἀλέαν, τρῖς ὀδελὸς

ὄφλε[ν ἀν]/²⁵/τὶ φεκάσταυ, τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τᾶι θεοῖ, τὸ δ' ἕμισ[υ τοῖ]/ς ἱερομνάμονσι
∴

- [*] Tegea: Hoffmann 1 no. 29 = IG 5,2 3 = Dubois (1988 2:20) (ca. 390 BCE) L.31:
...άζεν τοῖς ξένοις, εἰκ ἀν ἰόντα L..
- Tegea: Dubois (1988 2:61) (324 BCE) L.4: Τὸς φυγάδας τὸς κατενθόντας τὰ πατρῶια
/⁵/ κομίζεσθαι ἐς τοῖς ἔφυγον καὶ τὰ ματρῶια, ὅσαι ἀνέσδοτοι τὰ πάματα κατήχον καὶ
οὐκ ἐτύγχανον ἀδ/ελφεὸς πεπαμέναι· εἰ δέ τινι ἐσδοθένσαι συνέπεσ/ε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν
καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰν γενεὰν ἀπολέσθα/ι, καὶ τάνι ματρῶια ἦναι, ἀνώτερον δὲ μηκέτι
ἦναι.
- Tegea: Dubois (1988 2:61) (324 BCE) L.9: Ἐ/¹⁰/πέξ δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις, μίαν ἕκαστον ἔχεν
κατὸ τὸ διά/γραμμα· εἰ δέ τις ἔχει οἰκία κᾶπον πὸς αὐτᾶι, ἄλλον μ'ἢ λαμβανέτω· εἰ
δὲ πὸς τᾶι οἰκίαι μὴ πῶεστι κᾶπος, ἐξάντῃαι δ' ἔστι ἰσόθῃ πλέθρω, λαμβανέτω τὸν
κᾶπον· / εἰ δὲ πλέον ἀπέχων ὁ κᾶπὸς ἔστι πλέθρω, τῶνι τὸ ἡμι/¹⁵/σσον λαμβανέτω,
ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων γέγρα/πται.
- Tegea: Dubois (1988 2:61) (324 BCE) L.24: Τὸ δὲ δικαστήριον τὸ ξενικὸν δικάζεν
ἐξήκ/²⁵/οντα ἀμερᾶν· ὅσοι δαν ἰν ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ἀμέραις μὴ / διαδικάσωντοι, μὴ ἦναι
αὐτοῖς δικάσασθαι ἐπὲς τ/οῖς πάμασι ἰν τοῖ ξενικοῖ δικαστηρίοι, ἀλλ' ἰν τοῖ / πολιτικοῖ
ἀτ'· εἰ δάν τι ὕστερον ἐφευρίσκωνσι, ἰν ἀμέραις ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ τᾶι ἀν ἀμέραι τὸ
δικαστήριον/³⁰/ν καθιστᾶ· εἰ δαν μὴδ' ἰν ταῖννυ διαδικάσητοι, μηκέ/τι ἐξέστω αὐτῶι
δικάσασθαι· εἰ δάν τινες ὕστερον / κατένθωνσι, τῶ δικαστηρίῳ τῶ ξενικῶ μηκέτι
έόντ/ος, ἀπυγραφέσθω πὸς τὸς στραταγὸς τὰ πάματα ἰν ἀμέραις ἐξήκοντα καὶ, εἰ κᾶν
τι αὐτοῖς ἐ[π]απίλογον ἦ/³⁵/ι, δικαστήριον ἦναι Μαντινέαν· εἰ δ[αν] μ[ἠ]
διαδικάσ/ητοι ἰν ταῖννυ ταῖς ἀμέραις, μηκέτ[ι] ἦναι αὐτοῖ δι/κάσασθαι.

- Tegea: Dubois (1988 2:61) (324 BCE) L.40: ὅσοι δὲ αὐτοὶ ὄφηλον τᾷ θεοῖ συνινγύας ἢ ἄλλως, εἰ μὲν ἂν φαίνηται ὁ ἔχων τὸ / πᾶμα διωρθωμένος τᾷ θεοῖ τὸ χρέος, ἀπυδότω τὸ ἡμ/ισσον τῶι κατιόντι κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι μηδὲν παρέλ/κων· εἴ δαν μὴ φαίνηται ἀπυδεδωκῶς τᾷ θεοῖ, ἀπυδό⁴⁵/τω τοῖ κατιόντι τὸ ἡμισσον τῶ πάματος, ἐς δὲ τοῖ ἡμ/ισσοι αὐτὸς τὸ χρέος διαλυέτω· εἴ δαν μὴ βόληται διαλυῖσαι, ἀπυδότω τοῖ κατιόντι τὸ πᾶμα ὄλον, ὁ δὲ κο/μισάμενος διαλυσάτω τὸ χρέος τᾷ θεοῖ πᾶν.
- Tegea: IG 5,2 34 = Dubois (1988 2:34) (4th c. BCE) L.20: καθ]αρὸν ἦναι· εἰ λέλασθ]
- [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.1: —]φι.λο (vac.?) / εἰκ ἂν τι γίνηται τοῖς ἐργώναις τοῖς ἰν τοῖ αὐτοῖ / ἔργοι, ὅσα περὶ τὸ ἔργον.
- [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.6: εἰ δὲ πόλεμος δια/κωλύσει τι τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐσδοθέντων ἢ τῶν / ἠργασμένων τι φθέραι, οἱ τριακάσιοι διαγόντω / τι δεῖ γίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ στραταγοὶ πόσοδομο ποέντω, /¹⁰ εἰκ ἂν δέατοί σφεις πόλεμος ἦναι ὁ κωλύων ἢ ἐ/φθορκῶς τὰ ἔργα, λαφυροπωλίου ἐόντος κατὸ τᾶς / πόλιος· εἰ δὲ τι ἐργωνήσας μὴ ἰγκεχηρήκοι τοῖς / ἔργοις, ὁ δὲ πόλεμος διακωλύοι, ἀπυδόας τὸ ἀργύριον, / τὸ ἂν λελαβηκῶς τυγχάνη, ἀφεώσθω τῶ ἔργω, /¹⁵ εἰκ ἂν κελεύωνσι οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες· εἰ δ' ἄ[ν] τις ἐπι/συνίστατοι ταῖς ἐσδόσεσι τῶν ἔργων ἢ λυμαίνη/τοι κατ' εἰ δὲ τινα τρόπον φθήρων, ζαμιόντω / οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες, ὅσαι ἂν δέατοί σφεις ζαμίαι, καὶ / ἀγκαρυσ[σόν]τῳ ἰν ἐπίκρισιν καὶ ἰναγόντω /²⁰ ἰν δικαστήριον τὸ γινόμενον τοῖ πλήθι τᾶς / ζαμίαι.
- [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.21: μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηδὲ κοινᾶνας γενέσθαι / πλέον ἢ δύο ἐπὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἔργων· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὀφλέτω / ἕκαστος πενήκοντα δαρχμάς, ἐπελασάσθων / δὲ οἱ ἀλιασταί, ἰμφαίνεν δὲ τὸμ βολόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖ /²⁵ ἡμίσοι τᾶς ζαμίαι, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ εἰκ ἂν τις / πλέον ἢ δύο

- ἔργα ἔγῃ τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ τῶν δαμ[ο]σίων / κατ' εἰ δέ τινα τρόπον, ὅ,τινι ἄμ μὴ οἱ
ἀλιαστα[ῖ] / παρετάξωνσι ὁμοθυμαδὸν πάντες, ζαμιώ[σ]θω / καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν
πλεόνων ἔργων κατὸ μῆνα /^{30/} πεντήκοντα δαρχμαῖς, μέστ' ἂν ἐπισ[χῆ] πάντα] / τὰ
ἔργα τὰ πλέονα.
- [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.31: εἰ δ' ἂν
τις [ἔσδ]ικῆτοι τῶν / περὶ τὰ ἔργα σ..... κατ' εἰ δέ τι, μὴ /εκ.....υ· εἰ δὲ
μῆ, μὴ οἱ ἔστω ἴνδικον / μηδέποθι ἀλλ' ἢ ἰν Τεγέαι· εἰ δ' ἂν ἰνδικάζητοι, /
^{35/}ἀπυτεισάτω τὸ χρέος διπλάσιον, τὸ ἂν δικάζητοι.
 - [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.37: εἰ δ' ἂν τις
ἐργωνήσας / ἔργον τι ποσκατυβλάψη τι ἄλλυ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων / ἔργων εἴτε ἱερὸν εἴτε
δαμόσιον εἴτε ἴδιον /^{40/} παρ τὰν σύγγραφον τᾶς ἐσδοκαῦ, ἀπυκαθιστάτω / τὸ
κατυβλαφθὲν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναλώμασιν μὴ ἦσσον / ἢ ὑπᾶρχε ἰν τοῖ χρόνοι τᾶς
ἐργωνίαυ·
 - [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.42: εἰ δ' ἄμ μὴ
/ κατυστάση, τὰ ἐπιζάμια ἀπυτειέτω, κατάπερ / ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις τοῖς
ὑπεραμέροις τέτακτοι. /^{45/} εἰ δ' ἂν τις τῶν ἐργωνᾶν ἢ τῶν ἐργαζομένων / ἐπηρειάζεν
δέατοι ἰν τὰ ἔργα ἢ ἀπειθῆναι τοῖς / ἐπιμελομένοις ἢ κατυφρονῆναι τῶν ἐπιζαμίων /
τῶν τεταγμένων, κύριοι ἐόντω οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες / τὸμ μὲν ἐργάταν ἐσδέλλοντες ἐς τοῖ
ἔργοι, /^{50/} τὸν δὲ ἐργόναν ζαμιόντες ἰν ἐπίκρισιγ, κατάπερ / τὸς ἐπισυνισταμένους ταῖς
ἐσδοκαῖς γέγραπτο[ι]·
 - Pheneos: Dubois (1988 2:195) (ca. 500 BCE) L.1: [εἰ γυ]νὰ φέσειτοι ζτεραῖον λῶπος, /
[ἱερὸ]ν ἔναι τᾶι Δάματρι τᾶι θεσμοφόροι· / [εἰ δὲ] μὲ ὑνιερόσει, δυμενὲς ἔασα ἐπέ
φέργοι, [κακὸς] ζ' ἐξόλοιτυ, κὰ ὄζις τότε δαμοφοργῆ /^{5/} [ἀφάε]σται δαρχμαῖς

- τριάκοντα· εἰ δὲ μὲ ἀφάετοι / [ὄφλῆν] τὰν ἀσέβειαν.
- Alipheira: Dubois (1988 2:241) (late 3rd c. BCE) L.4: μηδένα μηδένη μνα⁵/
[σ]ιχολῆσαι τῶν πρότερον γεγο[νό]των ἀμφιλλόγων πὸς ἀλλά/[λ]ος, μηδὲ δικάσασθαι
μηδένα μηδὲν εἴ τι μίασμα γέγονε π/ρότερ[ο]ν ἢ Κλεώνυμος τὰν προωρὰν ἐξάγαγε τὰν
Ἀριστολάω / καὶ τὸς πειρατὰς ἐξέλαβε·
 - Alipheira: Dubois (1988 2:241) (late 3rd c. BCE) L.13: Εἰ δέ τις πὰρ τάνυ ποιῆ,
ὄφλέτω μυρίας δραχμὰς ἱερὰς τᾶ[ι] / Ἀθάναι καὶ κάταρος ἔστω.
 - Alipheira: Dubois (1988 2:241) (late 3rd c. BCE) L.15: καθέντω δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν ὄρκο]/ν
τὸν ὠμόσαμες ἐπεὶ Κλεώνυμος παρήλθε ἰν τὸν ναὸν τ[ᾶς θεῶ], / καὶ δικάσασθω
μηδὲς ἰδιώτας τῶν ἱνπροσθε συ[μβεβακότων] / εἰ μὴ τις ἰνγεγύευκε ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν
δόξαν τᾶι [βωλαῖ· ἴνοχο]/[ς] δ' ἔστω καὶ τὰ Εὐμήλω μνᾶς καὶ εἴκοσι στατήρων, [εἰ μὴ
ἰνγεγύ]/²⁰/ευκε τῶ δαμιοργῶ κελεύσαντος.
 - Alipheira: Dubois (1988 2:241) (late 3rd c. BCE) L.23: Εἰ δέ τις πὰρ τάνυ ποιῆ,
ἴνοχος ἔστω καὶ τ[ᾶ Εὐμήλω].
 - [*] Phigalea: AE 1903 p. 177 = IG 5,2 429 = Dubois (1988 2:258) (undated) L.5: εἰ
δέ τις ἐπ[ιθ]ιγάνε / τούτοις · ἱερ[ὰ] τὰ χρ<ε>μα/[τ]α ἔν<α>ι πάν[τ]α, εἴτε / [F?]ιστίας
· ε<ῖ>τ' [ᾶ]λος τ<ι>ς,
 - [*] Lykosura: BSGW 1899, 148 = IG 5,2 514 = Dubois (1988 2:301) (2nd c. BCE)
L.2: μὴ ἐξέστω / παρέρπην ἔχοντας ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς / Δεσποίνας μὴ χρ[υ]σία ὄσα
<μ>ῆ ἰν ἀνά⁵/θεμα μηδὲ πορφύρεον εἵματισμὸν / μηδὲ ἀνθινὸν μηδὲ [μέλ]ανα μηδὲ
ὑπο/δήματα μηδὲ δακτύλιον· εἰ δ' ἄν τις / παρένθη ἔχων τι τῶν ἄ σταλά [κ]ωλύει, /
ἀναθέτω ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν.
- Laconia and Messenia

- [*] Laconia (found at Arcadia – Tegea): SGDI 4598 = IG 5,2 159 (5th c. BCE) L.9:
 Ξουθίαι παρκαθῆκα τῶι Φιλαχα^{/10/}ἰῶ τζετρακάτιαι μναῖ ἄργυριῶ. εἰ μ/έν κα ζῶε, αὐτὸς ἀνελέσθῶ, αἱ δέ κ/α μῆ ζῶε, τοὶ υἱοὶ ἀνελῶσθῶ τοὶ γνῆ/σιοι, ἐπεὶ κα ἐβάσῶντι πέντε φέτε/α· εἰ δέ κα μῆ ζῶντι, ταὶ θυγατέρες ^{/15/} [ἄ]νελῶσθῶ ταὶ γνῆσῖαι· εἰ δέ κα μῆ / ζῶντι, τοὶ νόθοι ἀνελῶσθῶ· εἰ δέ κα / μῆ νόθοι ζῶντι, τοὶ ᾿ς ἄσιστα πόθικ/ες ἀνελῶσθῶ· εἰ δέ κ' ἀνφιλέγοντ/οι, Τεγεᾶται διαγόντῶ κα τὸν ^{/20/} θεθμόν.
- Sparta: IG 5,1 4 (after 188 BCE) L.8: ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι· πρόξενον / εἴμεν τᾶς πόλεος Δαμῖωνα Θεοκρίτου ^{/10/} Ἀμβρακιώταν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους / [κ]αὶ ὑπάρχειν ἀτέλειαν αὐτῶι τε καὶ ἐγ/[γ]όνουσι καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν, / [ε]ἰ οἰκοῖεν ἐλ Λακεδαίμονι·
- [*] Messenia – unknown provenance: JHSt 25, 50 = IG 5,1 1498 (2nd c. BCE) L.3:
 —] εἰ <δ>έ τίς κα ποεῖ παρ τ[ὸν νό]/[μ]ον, ζ[α]μιούσθω ὑπὸ τᾶς θοιναρμοσ[τρί]^{/5/}[α]ς
 ΗΗ ἱεραῖς τᾶς Δάματρος· θηρήτω [δὲ] / ἄ θοιναρμόστρια καὶ ταὶ ἱεραὶ καὶ τᾶν ἀ[λ]/λᾶν ἄ ἐπιτυχῶσα· εἰ δέ κα ἄ θοιναρμό/στρια ποθιῆι παρ τὸν νόμον τινὰ ποιῆν ἢ αὐ/τὰ παρνομεῖ, ἀποτεισάτω ΗΗ ἱεράς τᾶς Δ[ά]^{/10/}ματρος·
- Messenia – Thouria: SEG 11:972 (ca. 150 BCE) L.6: ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις / πορεύεσθαι εἰς Πάτρας ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις, ἄν ἐπιδέξωνται οἱ Πατρεῖς / τὸ κρίμα,
- Messenia – Thouria: SEG 11:972 (ca. 150 BCE) L.10: τοὺς δὲ ἐλθόντας ἀναγραψάσθω ὁ γραμμα-/τεὺς τῶν συνέδρων ἐμ Πάτραις, καὶ ἄν νικά'σωμες, ἀναγραψάτω / ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Συρίας εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν ὕ τούς τε συνδίκους / πάντας πατριστί ὕ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐλθόντας ὑπογράψας τὸν ἱερῆ / τᾶς Ἀθάνας καὶ τὸ ψάφισμα.
- [*] Messenia – Thouria: SGDI 4680 = IG 5,1 1379 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.20: καθ]ῶς δέ

- κα δόξει, οὔτω γινέσθω ἅ διοίησις· καὶ εἶ κα δόξει, μὴ πωλεῖν τὸν / [ὑπάρχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείω] καταγοράζει σῖτον, ἐνέστω ἅ παραμέτρησις τοῦ σίτου, καθὼς / [ὑπὸ τῶν καθεσταμ]ένων γέγραπται·
- [*] Messenia – Thouria: SGDI 4680 = IG 5,1 1379 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.26: ὅπως βουλευὼν]ται οἱ σύνεδροι, εἶ δεῖ διαδοθῆμεν τὸν σῖτον {των} τῶι <χ>ρ<ε>ίαν ἔχοντι,
 - Messenia – Thouria: SGDI 4680 = IG 5,1 1379 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.27: εἶ δέ κα δόξει τοῖς συνέδροις δια<δι>δόμε[ν], / [διαδόντω οἱ καθεσταμέ]νοι τῶι χρεῖαν ἔχοντι ποιούμενοι τὰν διάδοσιν, καθὼς κα τοῖς συνέ/[δροις δόξει καὶ δόντ]ω τῶι τὸ πλείστον ποτι<δεη>θέντ<ι>·
 - [*] Messene: SGDI 4642 = IG 5,1 1470 (early 3rd c. BCE) L.2: εἶ δέ τις κα κατα/ [δουλί]ζεται Πετραίαν, ἀποτει/[σάτω δέ]κα μναῖς ἀργυρίου ^{/5/} [ἰαρά]ς τῆι Λιμναῖτι·
 - Messene: SEG 58:369 (ca. 300–250 BCE) L.11: - τὸν αὐτὸ]/^{12/ν} φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἔξω καὶ εἶ τ[ις κα ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν - - - - - ca. 18-21 - - - - ἢ Ἀπτ]/εραίων ἢ Ἐλευθερναίων ἢ Σι[βρυτίων ἢ τῶν Ἀνωπολιτῶν κατὰ γᾶν ἢ κατὰ θάλαττ]/αν ὄπλα ἐπιφέρη ἢ ἐπὶ πολέμ[ωι στρατε]ύηται, βοαθεῖν Μεσσανίους παντὶ σθένει] / καθότι κα παραγγέλλωντι [- -
 - Messene: SEG 41:322 (ca. 295 BCE) L.8: ποι]ῆσ[θαι δ' αὐτοὺς πάντα] τὰ δυνατὰ καὶ εἶ τις κα ἐπὶ Μεσ/[σανίων στρατε]ύη[ι τὰν χώραν ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς] Μεσσανίων συμμάχους ἢ τοπο/[- - - - -]ωι ἢ φυγάδας κατάγη, βοαθεῖν / [Λυσίμαχον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους,
 - Messene: SEG 56:476 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.6: εἶ δέ τιν[ε]ς] / [- - - - - ὅ] χειριστὰς οἳ τε δαμοργ[οῖ] / [- - - - - π]αραδότω τὰ διάφορα τὰ πε/[- - -
 - Messene: SEG 56:476 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.10: εἶ δέ μὴ παρ[αδ]/[- - - - -] ἅ

- γερουσία ζαμώσσασα εἴκοσι δρα[χ]^{/12/}[μαῖς - - -] ποθόκα λα[. . .] διπλοῦν και
 Ε[. . .]Μ[. . .]
- [*] Messenia – Kyparissia: BCH 21 p. 575 = IG 5,1 1421 (4th/3rd c. BCE) L.2: εἶ
τίς κα ἐσάγη<ι> εἰς τὰν τῶν Κυπαρισσιέ/ων χώραν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξέληται τὰ ἐμπόρια,
 ἀπ[ο]/γραψάσθω ποτὶ τοὺς πεντηκοστολόγ[ου]^{/5/}ς καὶ καταβαλέτω τὰμ πεντηκοστάν,
 π[ρι]/ν ἀνάγειν τι ἢ πωλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτεισά/τω δεκαπλόαν· ὅτι δὲ τίς κα ἐξάγη<ι>
 κατὰ / θάλασσαν, ἀπογραψάμενος ποτὶ τοὺς / πεντηκοστολόγους καὶ καταβαλῶν
 τὰ^{10/}ν πεντηκοστάν, ἀντιθέσθω παρακαλέ/σας τὸμ πεντηκοστολόγον, πρόσθεν / δὲ
 μὴ ἀντιθέσθω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτεισάτω / δεκαπλόαν τὰν πεντηκοστάν κατ[ὰ τ]/[ὰ]ν
 σύγγραφον· εἰ δὲ τίς κα ὀλιγοτιμάσῃ, ^{/15/} [ἐπ]ικαθιξεῖται ὁ πεντηκοστολόγ[ος], /
 [ῶν κα] χρήζηι κατὰ τὰν σύγγραφο[ν].
 - [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.48: ὅταν δὲ
 ἐπιτελεσθεῖ τὰ μυστήρια, ἀπολογισάσθωσαν ἐμ πάντοισ ἐν τῷ πρώται συν/νόμωι
 συναγωγῷ τῶν συνόδων, καὶ γραφὰν ἀποδόντω τῷ ἐπιμεληταῖ παραχρῆμα
 γράφοντες ἐπ' ὀνόματος τὰ πεπτωκότα δι[ά]^{/50/}φορα ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
 πρωτομυστῶν τὸ ὑποστατικόν, καὶ ἄν τι ἄλλο πέσει, καὶ τὴν γεγεννημένην ἔξοδον, καί
τι ἄν εἶ / λοιπόν, καὶ ἀριθμησάντω παραχρῆμα τῷ ταμίαι καὶ ἔστωσαν ὑπόμαστροι,
ἄν τι εὐρίσκονται ἀδικοῦντες, διπλασίου καὶ ἐπιτιμίου / [δραχ]μῶν χ[ι]λιῶν, καὶ οἱ
 δικαστ[αί] μὴ ἀφαιρούντω μηθέν· This inscription has many other instances of ἄν +
 subjunctive. The following two passages are exceptional in the choice of the mood.
 - Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.43: ἄν δὲ τίς τῶν
ῥα/βδοφόρων μὴ ποιεῖ, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀδικοῖ ἢ ποιοῖ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν
μυστηρίων, κριθεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἄν κατακριθεῖ, μὴ ^{/45/} μετεχέτω τῶν μυστηρίων.

- Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.180: ἀγράφων. εἰ δέ τινα / ἄγραφά ἐστι ἐν τῷ διαγράμματι ποτὶ τὰν / τῶν μυστηρίων καὶ / τῶν θυσιῶν συντέλει¹⁸⁵/αν, βουλευέσθωσαν οἱ / σύεδροι, μὴ μετακι/νοῦντες ἐπὶ καταλ[ύ]/σει τῶν μυστηρίων μ[η]/θὲν τῶν κατὰ τὸ διά/¹⁹⁰/γραμμα.
- [*] Messene: SGDI 4650 = IG 5,1 1447 (before 191 BCE) L.13: εἰ δὲ μή, κυρία ἔ[στω —
- Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argolis – Kalauria: IG 4 841 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.7: — — κ]/αὶ εἴ τινὰς κα ἀφῆ<v> ἔλευ[θέρας Ἀγασικλῆς] / ἡ Νικαγόρα, μετεῖμεν Δαμ[—
 - [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 498 (after 195 BCE) L.7: εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιῶιεν κα[τὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα,] / [... δικά]ζεν· αἰ δὲ τί κα πένηται, ἄτιτον α[ὐτὸν ἦμεν, ... (Hermann says “hinter Augmenttempus”, which is true, with ἀρήτ[ευε ...] ... δεδόχ[θαι, but cf. the subjunctive in the following αἰ-clause)
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.11: ἐδόκει αἰτεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν κυῆσαι κό/[ραν]. τὸν δ’ Ἀσκλαπιὸν φάμεν ἔγκυον ἐσσεῖσθαι νιν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο / α[ίτ]οῖτο, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ ἐπιτελεῖν, ... L.15: ἐγκατακοιμαθεῖσα / δὲ ὄψ[ι]ν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, εἰ οὐ γένοιτο αὐτᾶι / πάντα ὅσσα αἰτήσαιτο καὶ ἔγκυος εἶη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τόκου ποιθέμεν / νιν οὐθέν, καὶ ταῦτα πυνθανομένου αὐτοῦ, εἴ τινος καὶ ἄλλου δέ/οιτο λέγειν, ὡς ποησοῦντος καὶ τοῦτο. Similarly, L.29: ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, /³⁰ εἰ ἔτι ἀπιστησοῖ τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶμ πινάκων τῶν / κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν, and L.57: ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θε[ὸς] / ἐπιστὰς ἐπερωτῆν νιν, εἰ ἔχοι τινὰ χρήματα παρ Πανδάρου ἐξ Εὐ]/θηνῶν ἄνθεμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν·
 - Epidaurus: IG 4², 1 590 (218 BCE; verse) L.4: ὅσσον ἐπ’ ἀελίος τε μέγ[αν πόλον

- ἄστρα τ' ἀμ]εῖβει, /⁵/ αἰνετὸν Ἑλλάνων ἀγ[ελέω πρύτανιν], / εἰ καὶ χάλκεός εἰμι κ[αὶ ἄπνοος, ὅς ποτε] νάσωι / Ἀπίδι τὰν ὀλοὰν ἄρκε[σε δουλοσύναν], / πολλὰ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσι κ[ακορρέκταις κακὰ ῥ]έξας, / μυρία δ' εὐπώλωι λυγρὰ [Λακωνίδι γᾶι].
- Epidaurus: SEG 55:425 (improved reading of IG 4²,1 76 + 77; ca. 200–150 BCE) L.36: εἰ δὲ δικάζεῖταινν / ἅ τε δίκαι ἀτελής [ἔστω καὶ ἀποτεισάτω εἰ μὲν ιδιώτα]ς χιλίας δραχμάς, / εἰ δὲ πόλις μυρ[ίας. περι δὲ τᾶς κοινᾶς χώρας καὶ περι] τᾶν ἐπικαρπιᾶν / τᾶν ἐκ τᾶς χώρα[ς καὶ περι τᾶν ποθόδων τᾶν ἐκ τῶν θυννείων τᾶν γ]ενομε[νᾶν] /⁴⁰/ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε[ν χρόνοις μὴ δικάζασθαι μηθένα· εἰ δ]ὲ δικάζαιτο ἀποτ[ει]/σάτω εἰ μὲν ιδιώτα[ς χιλίας δραχμάς, εἰ δὲ πόλις μυρ]ίας καὶ ἅ δίκαι ἀτελ[ή]ς] / ἔστω.
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 75 (early 2nd c. BCE) Fragments E + D. L.31: — εἶμεν] / κοινὰν Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων [χώραν ..]ίας δ[— —] / τοὺς ὄρους οἱ ἐντι Βολεοὶ λίθων κ[ύκλοι κα]ὶ ἀπὸ τᾶ[ς ἄκρας τᾶς] / Φιλανορείας καὶ κατ ἄκραν τὰν [ποθ ἐσπ]έραν ἕως [τοῦ Σελλᾶν]/³⁵/τος κατ εὐθυορίαν ἕως εἰς θάλασσ[αν καὶ] τὰ ποτὶ ν[ότον ὡς ὕδωρ] / καταρεῖ. εἰ δὲ τῖνα ἐπιτίμια ἐπ[ακο]λουθεῖ ταῖς π[ό]λεσι, ἀπότομα εἶμεν πάν]/τα.
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 76 (ca. 163-146 BCE) L.33: ὅσα δὲ π[ολ]έμαρχοι ἢ δαμοργοὶ ^{vv} / [ἀπέπραξαν] {ε} εἴτε ἐκ τᾶς χώρας εἴτε ἐν τᾷ πό/³⁵/[λει εἴτε ἔ]ξω τᾶν χωρᾶν, ἀπότομα εἶμεν, καὶ ^v / [σωμάτων καὶ χ]ρη[μάτ]ων· εἰ δὲ <δ>ικασεῖται(!) ^{vv} / [ἅ μὲν δίκαι ἀτελής ἔστω, ὀφλέτω δ]ὲ χιλίας δραχμάς / [καὶ ἀποδοσεῖ τὰν γενομ]έναν ἐπικαρπίαν / [— —
 - [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 752 = SEG 55:418 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.4: εἰ δὲ δικάσαιτο, ἀποτεισάτω εἰ μὲν ιδιώτας χιλίας δραχμ[ίας, εἰ δὲ [ἄρχων] /⁵/ μυρίας, καὶ ἅ δίκαι ἀτελής ἔστω (Improved reading in SEG 55:418: εἰ δὲ [πόλις])
 - Epeiros – Ambrakia: SEG 35:665 (ca. 160 BCE) Bock A L.31: -]σαθημεν ὄπει κα

ἐκατέροις δόξη καὶ εἰ τί κα ἄλλο δῆ γε/[ωμετρέϊν -; Block B L.4: -]τω εἰ δὲ οἱ
Χαραδρ[ῖται -; Block B L.13: εἰ δὲ μή, ὀφίλησοῦντι ταῖ πόλ[ει τῶν] / [Ἀμβρακιωτῶν
 ...; Block B L.29: καὶ εἴ τί κα ἄλλο δῆ μετρέϊν /³⁰/ [- - - - -]ἀπέχον ἐκάστα
 τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τοῖς τόποις γραφόντω συμφώνως / [- -

εἴ(περ)

- Boeotia
 - [*] Lebadea: IG 7 3054 (undated) L.14: — —]I εἴ ὁ πατεῖρ αὐτῶ [— — , but -(ι)ει
 may be the end of the preceding word, perhaps a subjunctive ending (Hermann).
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 34 (2nd c. BCE) L.8: [πολι]τε[υόν]θω δέ, εἴ κα αὐτοὶ
θέλων<θ>ι.
 - [*] Delphi: found in a number of acts of manumission using slightly varying versions
 of the formula οἰκέων εἴ κα θέληι. For a complete list and their analysis, see Lejeune
 (1940: 66–67).
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2501 = CID 1 10 (380/379 BCE) L.14: — — ἐκ]/¹⁵/ατόμβαν
 ὄ[ρ]κον ὁμόσας εἴπερ τοὶ ἱερομ[νάμ]ονες δοκιμαζέτω :
 - Aitolia – Phistyon: SEG 12:303 (end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.6: εἰ δὲ τινί κα ἄλ<λ>οι
 δόσιν ἔγ<γ>υο<ν>(?) πο/[ήσηται καὶ ταύτην οἱ ἱεροφύλακες ἀναγραφά]ντω ἐν τὸν
 αὐτὸν λίθον καὶ τόπον εἴ[ι] ἄλλω[ν] / [ἀναλωμάτων ἐστὶν ἀπογραφή ... , L.9: εἰ δὲ τί
 κα Λέων πάθη, /¹⁰/[τοὺς ἄρχοντας προνοηθῆναι τοῦ τὸ βάθρ]ον {ε} τ [ε]λεωθῆμεν εἴ
τὸν ἀνδριάντα σταθῆμεν ·
- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*!] Messene: SGDI 4646 = IG 5,1 1430 (2nd c. BCE) L.13: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κολω]/[νοῦ

τοῦ καλουμένου Κρησίου εἶ τὸ σαμεῖλον — . However, see my note in Section 7.3.1.

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argos (found in Crete): BCH 1910 p. 331 = DGE 83 (ca. 450 BCE) Fragm.B L.9:
hī κα τῶι Μαχανεῖ θύῳμ¹⁰/ες τὸνς φεξέκοντα τελέονς ὄφινς, καὶ τῶι h<ε>ραι / τὸ σκέλος φεκάστῳ διδόμεν τῷ θύματος.
 - [*] Argos: BCH 1910 p. 352 = Vollgraff (1916: 221) no. 4 (300–250 BCE) L.30:
ἀγγραψ[άντων] / δὲ καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ τὸ ψάφισμα, ἶ κα ἀποδειξεῖ ἅ βωλὰ καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τ[ῶν] / Ῥοδίων.
 - Argos: Vollgraff (1916: 65) (before 219 BCE) L.10: τὸνς δὲ στραταγόνς, οἷς γράφει Δαμέας, ἀ[ν]/γράψαι ἐνς τὰνς στάλανς τὰνς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος / τοῦ Λυκείου, ἶ καὶ τοῖ ἄλλοι πολῖται γεγράβανται, ἐ[ν]ς φυ/λὰν καὶ φάτραν καὶ πεντηκοστὺν, ἄν κα αὐτὸς προαιρῆται, ἦ/μεν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶνσι ἄπανσι, οἷς ἅ πό¹⁵/λις τίθητι, στεφανῶαί δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκέα καστῶ/αί ἐν τῷ ἀγορᾷ, ἶ κα αὐτὸς προαιρῆται,
 - [*] Argolis – Troizen (found at Caria – Theangela): Wilhelm (1908: 70) no. 7 (2nd c. BCE) L.5: ἄνδρας δὲ ἐλέσθαι οἷτινες ἐπιμελη/σοῦνται τούτων, ὅπως οἱ τε στέφανοι ἀναγορευθῶντι εἶ / ἐκάστους δέδοκται καὶ αἱ στᾶλαι ἀντεθῶντι, καὶ πόθοδον / ποιήσονται ἐν τῷ Ἀπελλαίῳ μηνί, ὅπως ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Θεε/[Θε]αγγελέων τιμαθῆι καταξίαις τιμαῖς.

ἔνθα

- Megaris
 - [*] Megara: ÖJ 2, 239 = IG 7 53 (4th/5th c. CE copy of a ca. 479 epigram; verse) L.4:
<Ελ>λάδι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ ἀέξ<ε>ιν / <ι>έμενοι θανάτου μοῖραν

έδεξάμεθα, {ME} / τοὶ μὲν ὑπ' Εὐβοία κ<ω>παχ<έ>, ἐνθα κ<αλ>εῖτε / {E} ἀγνᾶ<ς>
Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος, / τοὶ δ' ἐν ὄρ<ε>ι Μ<υ>κάλας, τοὶ δ' ἐνπροσθε<ν>
 Σαλαμεῖνος /^{8a}/ [νηῶν Φοινισσῶν ἐξολέσαντες Ἄρη].

ἐντε

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2501 = CID 1 10 (380/379 BCE) L.39: αἱ κα μὴ ἀποτίνηι τ[οῖ]ς
 ἱερομναμόνεσσι τρ[ί]ς Ἀμφικτιονικοῖς, εἰλέσθω τοῦ ἰ]/⁴⁰/αροῦ ἀ πόλις ἐξ ἄς κ' εἶ ὁ
 ἱερομνάμων ἐντε κα ἀποτείσηι.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face B L.40: αἱ δέ κα μὴ
 ἀπο/τείσηι, ἄτιμος ἔστω ἐγ / Λαβυαδᾶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτ/ωι καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις / ζαμίαις
hέντε κ' ἀποτε/⁴⁵/ίσηι.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face C L.15: αἱ δὲ μὴ, τὸ
 διπλῶν [F]έκ/αστος ἀποτεισάτω. ἡόστι/ς δέ κα ζαμίαν ὀφείληι, ἄτ/ιμος ἔστω hέντε κ'
ἀποτεί/σηι.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face C L.37: τηνεῖ /
 ΔΕΝΑΤΟΣ ἔστω, hέντε κα hα / ΘΙΓΑΝΑ ποτθεθῆι.
 - [*] Delphi: two instances of the end-of-paramone formula in acts of manumission:
 SGDI 1707 (ca. 150–140 BCE) L.7: ἐντε κα ζώει and SGDI 2072 (198 BCE) L.22:
 ἐντε κα ζώωντι
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.14: ἡόσστις
 κα λιποτελέε/¹⁵/ι ἐγ Ναυπάκτο : τῶν ἐπιφοίρον : ἀπὸ Λορρῶν εἶμεν : ἐντε κ'
ἀποτείσει : τὰ νό/μια Ναυπακτίοις :

ἐξ οὔ

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argos: Vollgraff (1908: 237) (end of 4th c. BCE) L.5: θυσίαν ἄγομες κατὰ μῆνα Σ. . . . , / ἐξ οὗ Πλείσταρχον νύκ[τω]ρ [Ἄ]ρ[γε]ος / ἐξήλασε Ἀπόλλων·

ἐπεὶ

- Thessaly
 - Hestiaiotes – Matropolis: SEG 37:494 (ca. 230–200 BCE) L.19: —]ΛΟΥΝ· ἐπεὶ μὰ
κατ[—
 - Pelasgiotis – Pherai: SEG 48:663 (ca. 200–150 BCE) L.1: ἐπεὶ Βάγχιος
Ἀρτεμιδοῦ[ρου — — —] / πόλιν ἄμμιν ΑΒΡΟ[— — —
 - Pelasgiotis – Krannon: SEG 27:226 (ca. 150–130 BCE) L.1: Δαμινέτοι Μα[. . . 8 . . .
λέξαν]/τος· ἐπεὶ Δύθουν Πο[. . . c.13 . . .]/ραῖος Ἀφίναιος, Νικασικρά[τεις . . . c.8 . . .] /
Ματροπολῖται ἐξαποσταλέντ[ες δικασταὶ] /⁵/ ὅτ τᾶς Ματροπολιτᾶν πόλιος τὰ[ς μὲν
πλείσ]/τας τᾶν ἰθονᾶν καὶ δικᾶν **ἐπερράθει**[ν εἰς] / λύσιν ἀγαγέμεν τὸς [ἔ]χοντας τὰ
πράγμ[ατα], / τᾶν μὰ διακούσαιεν κρεσίουν **ἐξέθεντο** [τὰς] / κρέσις ἅτ τοῖ βελτίστο[ι,
ὅ τε] συναποστολῆς [με]/¹⁰/τ' αὐτοῦν γραμματεὺς Σούσανδρος Πύρρειο[ς] / **ἐγενείθει**
ἐν τᾷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν πραγματεία ἀ/[νέν]κλ[ει]τος, τάν τε παρενδαμίαν ΤΑΔ[. . .] / [. . . c.7 . . .
ἐποι]είσαντο ἀξ<ί>ους ἑαυτοῦν [. . .]
- Boeotia
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3172 (222–200 BCE) L.129: δεδόχθη τῷ δάμυ, τὸς
πολεμάρχως, /¹³⁰/ **ἐπί** κα τὸ ψάφισμα κούριον **γένειτη**, ἀγγρά/ψη ἐν στάλαν λιθίαν τό
τε ψάφισμα οὔτο / κῆ τὸ οὐπὲρ τᾶς ἀποδόσιος
 - Orchomenos: SEG 30:444 (mid 3rd c. BCE) L.1: θιὸς / τι[ούχαν ἀγα]θάν· Ἀλεύαιο
ἄ[ρχοντος] / [ἔδ]οξε τῷ δάμυ Ἐ[ρχομενίων — — —] / [— — — —] **ἐπεὶ** Δικον[— —

— — — —]

- Chaironeia: SEG 52:503 = Darnezin (1999) no. 97 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.18: ἐπὶ δέ κα ἀμφε/πῶνθι τὰν ριδίαν /^{20/} Μνάσων κῆ Καλλίς, / ποίσονθι αὐτῦς τὰ ν/
[ο]μιδδόμενα τῆ προ/ερρειμένη ἀ πόλις / νομίδδει κοινῆ·
- Koroneia: SEG 43:205 (3rd c. BCE) L.6: τὸ μὲν ἀρ/γούριον δόμεν Ἀντιγενίδαν τῦς
πολεμάρχους / ἐμφανὲς ἐν τῷ δάμν ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα κούριον γε/γένειτη·
- Koroneia: SEG 43:205 (3rd c. BCE) L.24: ἐπὶ δέ κα διαπωλείσων/^{25/}Θι πάντα τὸν
σῖτον, ἐλλογιτάνθω μετὰ τῶν κατο/πτάων τὸ συναγμένον ἀπὸ τᾶς τιμᾶς·
- Thisbe: SEG 22:407 (3rd c. BCE) L.14: τὰμ μὲν πόλιν Χορσιείων καταβαλλέμεν [τῆ
πό]/^{15/}λι Θισβείων τὰν ἐπαβολὰν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔκ[αστον], / καθ' ἃ αὐτὰ ἀξίωσε, ἐπὶ
χ' ὁ ταμίας τὰς ἀπ[ολογί]/ας ἄγει ὁ ἐν Θίσβης, τῷ Δαματρίω μεινός, πα[ρεόν]/των
τῶν πολεμάρχων κῆ τῶν κατοπτάων πε[δὰ τᾶς] / [π]λείθας·
- Thisbe: SEG 22:407 (3rd c. BCE) L.25: ἐπ[ὶ] δέ κα οἱ/κονομείσει ἀ πόλις Χορσιείων
τῆ πόλι Θι[σβείων] / τὰ χρείματα οὗτα τὰ ἐν τοῖ ὁμολόγοι γ[εγραμμένα], / ἐσλιανάτω
ἀ πόλις Θισβείων τὰν οὐπ[ε]ρ[αμε]/ρίαν τὰν κατ τᾶς πόλιος Χορσιείων·
- Thebes: IG 7 2538 (4th/3rd c. BCE; verse) L.3: [— —] ἐπεὶ παίδων τέλος
ἔδ<ρ>α[κεν]
- Thespiiai: IThesp 54 (ca. 230–228 BCE) L.31: ὅπως / ὧν ἅ τε προήρεσις τῷ
καταλιπόντος φανε[ρ]ᾶ ε[ῖ] κῆ τῶν π[ο]λιτάων ὁ βωλόμενος ἔχει ἐφορ<ᾶ>σθη τὰν
δόσιν ἂν πεπόειτη / τὸν δᾶμον, ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα [κ]ούριον [γ]ένειτη, ἐλέσθη ἀρχὰν
δούο ἀνδρ[α]ς μὲι νεωτέρως τριάκοντα ρε[τ]έων, ...
- Thespiiai: IThesp 55 (ca. 230–228 BCE) L.24: ἡ δέ /^{25/} κά τι ἐπιφοικίξ[ε]ιτη, ἐπί κα
διεσσέλθει ὁ χρόνος, ἀπίσεται λαβὼν ὃ κα ἐπιφοικο/δομε[ί]σει.

- Thespiiai: IThesp 30 (ca. 217–212 BCE) L.16: δεδόχ[θ]η τῷ δάμ[υ], ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφι[σ]/[μα κουρωθείει, φελέσθη ἀρχὰ]ν τρῖς ἄνδρας μεί νεωτέρως τριάκον[τα φε]/ [τέων, τὼς δὲ εἰρεθέντας, παρλ]αβόντ[ας] παρ τῶν πολεμάρχων τ[ὰ ἀντί]/[γραφα τῶν ψαφισμάτων, πρίασθη] πεδὰ κατοπτάων στάλας λιθ[ίνας] /²⁰/ [δούο, κῆ ...
- [*] Thespiiai: the formula ἐπί (δέ) κα τελευτάσει in acts of manumission. Hermann mentions IG 7 1780, BCH 1901 p. 360, p. 362 (= Darmezín (1999) nos. 137, 138, 139) “u. ö.” (also in IG 7 1778 = IThesp 218). The same formula is found in Koroneia (Darmezín (1999) nos. 131, 133).
- Thespiiai: IG 7 1780 = Darmezín (1999) no. 137 = IThesp 214 (after 240 BCE) L.10: ἐπὶ δὲ τί κα πάθει Εὐτυχός, παρακ[ατ]/[α]τίθεται οὐτα τὰ σώμα[τα] / ἐναντία τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῶ παρὰ / [Ε]πίτιμον Σαμίχω κῆ Σάμιχον / [κ]ῆ Καλλικράτης Ἐπιτίμ[ω].
- Thespiiai: IThesp 213 = Darmezín (1999) no. 138 (2nd c. BCE) L.13: Φιλωνίδα/ς δέ, ἐπὶ κ' ἀποτρέξε, ἐλεύθερος /¹⁵/ ἀποτρεχέτω λαβὼν τὰ σκεῦ/α τὰ κατ τὰν τέχναν·
- [*] Tanagra: REG 12 p. 71 = Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.11: δεδόχθη τῷ δάμυ· ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα κουρωθείει, ἀρχὰν ἐλέσθη τὸν δᾶ/μον ἐν φέτια τρία τρῖς ἄνδρας μὴ νιωτέρως τριάκοντα φετίων·
- [*] Megaris – Aigosthena: IG 7 207 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.14: τοὶ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα κου/¹⁵/[ρ]ωθείει, ἀνγραψάνθω τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν στάλαν ἐ[ν] / τοῖ Μελαμποδεῖοι.
- Northwest Greek
 - [*!] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 36 (200–150 BCE) L.9: ἐπει] δέ κα τελευτάσωντι, ὑπαρχόν[τω ἐλεύθεραι Παρ]/¹⁰/ [θένα καὶ] Ὀμει<λ>ία θάψασαι αὐτούς, καὶ ... (Hermann accepted the restoration [... εἰ] δέ κα in SGDI 1548b, but IG 9,1 36

- restores [... ἐπεὶ] δέ κα.)
- [*] Phokis – Elateia: IG 9,1 125 (2nd c. BCE) L.4: ἐπεὶ κατέβαλον τὰ λύτρα τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ...
 - [*] Phokis – Daulis: IG 9,1 66 (Roman period) L.21: ἐπεὶ κα δὲ οὔτοι ἀποθάνονται, Κ[άλ]/λων Μνασία καὶ Δαμῶ Φίλωνος, τοὺς ἀνέθηκαν τῆι Ἀθάναι ἐλευθέρους [εἶ]/μεν πάντας.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2522 (150–140 BCE) L.10: ἐπεὶ δὲ κά τι περὶ Ἰέρωνα γένηται ἀνθρώπινον, ἀποτρεχέτω Δημητρία ἐν οὔς ἂν κρίνηι τόπους, ἐλευ/θέρα οὔσα καὶ ἀνέφαπτος ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα χρόνον.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2502A = FD 3,5 19 = CID 2 31 (end of 4th c. BCE) L.71: ἐπὶ Δαμοξένου ἄρχοντος, ὀπωρινᾶς πυλαίας, ἐπεὶ ἂ εἰρήνα ἐγένετο, ναοποιοὶ συνῆλθον.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2502A = FD 3,5 19 = CID 2 31 (end of 4th c. BCE) L.80: ἐπὶ Δαμοξένου ἄρχοντος, τᾶς ἡρινᾶς πυλαίας, ἂ πόλις ἔδωκε τοῖς ναοποιοῖς, πρᾶταν δόσιν, ἐπεὶ ἂ εἰρήνα ἐγένετο, ναοποιέοντος Σιμυλίωνος Δελφοῦ, βουλευόντων τῶν περὶ Γόργιππον, προστα/τευόντων Εὐαίωνος Φαρσαλίου, Μέντορος Φλειασίου, Ξενοτίμου Σικυωνίου, τρί' ἡμιμναῖα.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2502B = FD 3,5 20 = CID 2 32 (end of 4th c. BCE) L.12: κεφαλὰ οὗ ἀπέδωκε ἂ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν τοῖς ναοποιοῖς ἐπεὶ ἂ εἰρήνα ἐγένετο, ἀπὸ Δαμο/ξένου ἄρχοντος, ἡρινᾶς πυλαίας, εἷς τε εἰς Ἀριστόνυμον ἄρχοντα, ὀπωρινὰν πυλαίαν, / πυλαιᾶν πέντε καὶ ἐπιμηνειᾶν δυοῖν, τάλαντα ἐπτά, μναῖ ἑνδεκα, στατῆρες τέτορες, δραχμά.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2524 = CID 4 74 (225/4 or 221/0 BCE?) L.7: ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομνάμοσιν, Ἑρμῖαι Χαριζέ/νου οἰκοῦντι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προδικίαν εἶναι

- / και ἀτέλειαν τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ τῶν χοραγιῶν /¹⁰/ ἄν τοὶ Δελφοὶ ἄγοντι, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἐπεὶ χρείας / παρεχόμενος διατελεῖ τοῖς ἱερομνάμοσιν ἔν τε Πυ/λαίαι καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνεγκλήτως.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 1723 (170–157/6 BCE) L.2: [ἐ]πι τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Νικῶ Ἀθανίωνος τοῖ Ἀ/πόλλωνι τοῖ Πυθίοι σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὧι ὄνομα Φαι/νέας, τειμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν πέντε, καὶ τὰν τειμᾶν /⁵/ ἔχει, καθὼς διεπίστευσαν Φαινέας καὶ Ἀπολλόδω/ρος ὁ Σωπάτρου τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὠνάν, ὥστε παραμεῖναι / Φαινέαν παρὰ Ἀπολλόδωρον, ἕως κα ζῆ Ἀπολλόδωρος, / καὶ γηροτροφῆσαι Φαινέαν Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Σωπάτρου, / ἐπεὶ ἔδωκε Ἀπολλόδωρος ὑπὲρ Φαινέαν Νικοῖ τὰς πέντε /¹⁰/ μνᾶς.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/59 BCE) L.28: ἐπεὶ δέ κα ἐγδανείσωντι, ἀ[να]γράψαντες τοὺς δεδανεισμένους καὶ τὰ ἐνέχυρα / αὐτῶν ἐμ πίνακας λελευκωμένους δύο ἀναγνόντω ἐν τᾷ ἐκκλησίαι.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1984 (193/2 BCE) L.7: ἐπεὶ δέ κα παραμείνη Νικόβουλος τὸν γεγραμμένον / χρόνον, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω καὶ ἀνέφαπτος τὸμ πάντα βίον κυριεύων αὐτοσαυ/τοῦ καὶ ποιῶν ὅ κα θέληι, καθὼς ἐπίστευσε τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὠνάν.
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 3 (ca. 162 BCE) L.12: ἐπεὶ δέ κα παραμείνη τὰ / ἔτεα τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐλευθέρα ἔστω Νῦσα κυριεύουσα αὐτοσαυτᾶς καὶ ποιέου/σα ὅ κα θέληι καθὼς ἐπίστευσε τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὠνάν.
 - [*] Delphi: many instances of the formula ἐπεὶ κά τι πάθη/πάθωντι in acts of manumission. For a list, see Lejeune (1940: 59 fn. 100).
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2171 (100–50 BCE) L.11: ἐπεὶ κά τι πάθοι Κλεοπάτρα, / ἐλευθέρα ἔστω Διόκλεα καὶ ὑπαγέτω πᾶι κα θέληι.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1717 (170–157/6 BCE) L.9: ἐπεὶ δέ κα τελευτάσωντι

- Καλλίστρατος καὶ Θαύμιον καὶ ἀποδῶη /¹⁰/ Ἀφροδισία Εὐκλεί τὰμ μνᾶν ἢ πρότερον
ἀντιπριάται τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἄπτηταί τις Ἀφροδισίας ἐπὶ κ[α]ταδουλισμῶι, {βε} /
βέβαιον παρεχόντω τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὄνων οἳ τε ἀποδόμενοι ἢ οἳ ἐπίνομοι καὶ ὁ
βεβαιωτῆρ Ἀστύοχος, καὶ ὁμοίως κύριος / ἔστω ὁ παρατυχῶ[ν] συλέων Ἀφροδισίαν
ὡς ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν ἀζάμιος ὄν καὶ ἀνυπ[όδ]ικος πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 1718 (170–157/6 BCE) L.14: ἐπεὶ δέ κα τελευτάση Ἀσία, τὰ
ὑπάρχον/¹⁵/τα αὐτᾶς πάντα ἔστων Ἐπιχαρίδα ἢ τῶν ἐπινόμων αὐτοῦ.
 - Delphi: Many instances of motivation sections introduced by ἐπεὶ. Sometimes the
ἐπεὶ-clause directly mentions the virtue and deeds of the honorand: FD 3,1 271 (ca.
148 BCE), FD 3,4 52 (ca. 104 BCE), 53 (ca. 91 BCE), 55 (ca. 88–86 BCE) FD 3,3
243 (ca. 99 BCE), FD 3,1 457 (before 91 BCE), Daux (1949: 276) (undated); but ἐπεὶ
ὁ δεῖνα διελέγη ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖνος διότι... is also common: SEG 27:144 (139/8–122/1
BCE), FD 3,4 57 (ca. 62 BCE), FD 3,1 463 (ca. 55–50 BCE), FD 3,1 261 (undated).
This list is not exhaustive.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 318 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.22:
Περροθαριᾶν : καὶ Μυσαχέον : ἐπεὶ κα Ναυπάκτι<ός τι>ς : γένετα/ι, : αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ
χρέματα : τὲν Ναυπάκτοι : τοῖς ἐν Ναυπάκτοι χρῆσται, : / τὰ δ' ἐν Λορροῖς τοῖς
ἠποκναμιδίοις : χρέματα τοῖς ἠποκναμιδί²⁵/οις :
 - W. Lokris – Naupaktos (found at Messene): SEG 41:331 (2nd c. BCE) L.1: Ἐγ
Ναυπ[ακτίων] / ἐπεὶ Ἄριστις Τιμογέν[ους- - - - -] / ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλεως τῶμ
Με[σσανίων- - -
 - W. Lokris – Naupaktos: SEG 12:293 (2nd c. BCE) L.7: [β]έβαι[ο]ς δὲ ἔστω ἅ ὄνα /
τῶι [θεῶ]ι, ἐπεὶ κά τι Κλέων / [π]άθημ.

- W. Lokris – Kisseli: SEG 12:275 (2nd c. BCE, first half) L.6: ἐπεὶ δέ [κα πάθ]/η τι,
ἐλεύθερος ἔστω·
- W. Lokris – Physkos: A number of instances of the end-of-*paramone* formula in acts of manumission. SEG 16:355 (176/5 BCE) L.13: Ἐπεὶ δέ κα ἀπ[οθάνοντι Κλευνίκα
καὶ - -]/. μαχος καὶ [Εὐμήλα, ι]/¹⁵/ερά ἔστω [Τιμώ τᾶς Ἀ]/θάνας, SEG 16:358 (2nd
c. BCE, first half) L.10: ἐπεὶ δέ κα ἀπο[θάνη Λευκί]/[ας, ἐλευθέρα ἔστ]ω, SEG
16:361 (ca. 150–30 BCE) L.10: ἐπεὶ δέ κα τελευτάση Ὀφελί/ων, ἱερός καὶ
ἀνέφ<α>π<τ>ος καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἔστω Φιλέταιρος.
- W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 56:571 (2nd c. BCE) L.1: ἀπέδοτο Καίνε[ῦ]ς / Φυσκευς
Ἐργασίωνα τᾶι Ἀθάναι τᾶι Ἰλιάδι ἐπ' ἐλε[υ]θερίαι καθὼς ἐπιστεύ/θη τὰν ὄνων ὑπὲρ
Ἐργασίωνος, ἐπεὶ ἀπέλαβε τὸ [ἄρ]γύριον παρὰ Ἐργασίω/νος κατὰ τὰν ὄνων τὰν
οὔσαν παρὰ Διότιμον, τ[ιμ]ᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τρι⁵/ῶν·
- W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 16:356 (2nd c. BCE, first half) L.7: π[ροα]ποδ<ότ>ας
κατ/ἄ τὸν νόμον Νικόδαμος Ἀλπα[ῖος], ἐπεὶ κα τε/λευτάσ<η> Δωροθέα ·
- Lokris – Myania (an accord between Myania and Hyrnia found at Delphi): IG 9²,1,3
748 (ca. 190 BCE) Col. 2 L.15: ἐπεὶ κα πορεύονται / πορευέσθων κατ τὸ μέρος
καθὼς καὶ τᾶν / θυσιᾶν με[τέχ]οντι. Col. 3 L.13: τῶν] / δὲ λόγων τῶν κατὰ μῆνα
τιθεμέν[ων] — ἐ]/¹⁵/πεὶ κα λάβη ὁ ἐγ Μυανίας βούλαρχο[ς παρ]/ἄ τῶν ἐξ Ὑπνίας
ἀρχείων τὰ ἀντίγ[ραφα κα]/ἰ συνθῆ ἐν τὰ κιβώτια ἐπιβαλλέτω τ[ὸν δα]/κτύλιον ὁ ἐγ
Μυανίας καὶ Ὑπνίας βούλ[αρχο]/ς — κατ ταυτὰ δὲ καὶ τοὶ ἐξ Ὑπνίας βούλα[ρχοι]
/²⁰/ ἐπεὶ κα λάβοντι τὰ ἀντίγραφα παρὰ τοῦ [ἐγ Μυ]/ανίας βουλάρχου καὶ συνθέωντι
ἐν τὸ κιβ[ώτιο]/ν συνεπιβαλλέτω τὸν δακτύλιον ὁ ἐγ [Μυ]/ανίας καὶ ἐξ Ὑπνίας
βούλαρχο[ς] ..

- [*] Thessaly – Achaia Phthiotis – Pyrasos: IG 9,2 132 (undated) L.5: ἐπεὶ
Ἀρισταγόρας Εὐβο[ύλου] / [Φ]εραῖος φίλ[ο]ς ὑπάρχει τᾷ πόλει τᾷ Θηβ[αίων] / [καὶ]
χ[ρ]ή[σιμ]ο[ς] καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν, ἔδο[ξε] τᾷ / [π]όλει ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτὸν
καὶ ...
- Aitolia – Thermos: SEG 44:438 (165/4 BCE) L.7: Ἐπεὶ [Δ]άμων Νεαγέ⁸/[νεος
Δυμ]αῖος εὐχρηστος γίνε⁸ται τοῖς παρενδα[με]όντοις ἐν τᾷ π[ό]λ[ι]αι αὐτοῦ καὶ
κοινᾷ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς πολλὰς καὶ μ[εγ]άλας ἀπ[ο]δεί[ξι]ς πεπ[οί]ηται <- -? ->, ⁸
σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθ[ὲν] ἐνλε[ί]πων, ἔδοξε]
- Aitolia – Thestia: SEG 23:398 (2nd c. BCE) Text A L.4: ἐπεὶ ὑπὲρ μὲν τὰν πόλιν
τῶν ⁵ / [Θ]εστιέων **συνεγράψατο** ὁμολογίαν / [κα]τὰ τὸ ψάφισμα Γλαυκίας λέγων /
δεῖν τὰν ἐμπορὰν ὑπὸ τῶν διάλα<υ>/ρα ἐ[χ]όντων διοικῆσαι ἐν μηνὶ Πανά/μοι τοῖ
ἐπικατασταθέντι ταμίαι, Δρά/10/[κ]ων δὲ λέγων δεῖν διοικεῖσθαι ἐν μηνὶ / Πανάμοι
τοῖ ἐ[ν]ᾶρχοι ταμίαι, ἔκριναν / οἱ κ[ο]ινοὶ ...
- Aitolia (found at Delphi): IG 9²,1,1 173 (ca. 259 or 255 BCE?) L.6: πολί/[τας] εἶμεν
τοὺς Ἡρα[κ]λειώτας τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἐπεὶ **τυγγάνον**/[τι] εὐ[ν]ους τῶι [κ]οινῶ[ι], κ[αὶ]
- [*] Aitolians (found in Teos): SGDI 1411 = IG 9²,1,1 192 (204/3 BCE?) L.2:
στραταγέοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Καλυδωνίου, Παναιτωλικῶς· / ἐπεὶ Τήϊοι πρεσ[βευ]τὰς
ἀποστείλαντες Πυθαγόραν καὶ Κλεῖτον, τὰν τε οἰκειότατα / καὶ τὰν φιλίαν
ἀνενηοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλεον τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, ὅπως τὰν τε πόλιν ⁵ / αὐτῶν καὶ τὰν
χώραν ἐπιχωρήσωντι ἱεράν εἶμεν καὶ ἄσυλον τοῦ Διονύσου· / δεδόχθαι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς
... (A copy of the same text, heavily damaged, is found at Delphi: FD 3,2 134a. L.2:
στραταγέοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Καλυδωνίου· ἐπ[ειδὴ] / Τήϊοι, πρεσβευτὰς
ἀποστείλαντες Π[υθα]γόρα[ν Κλεῖτου] / καὶ Κλεῖτον Κλεῖτου, τὰν τε οἰκειότατα [καὶ]

- τὰν φυλίαν ἀνε]⁵/νεοῦντο, καὶ In restoring ἐπειδή rather than ἐπεὶ found in the copy from Teos, the editor notes that the lacuna is too large for ἐπεὶ and that the beginning of the decree exhibits other differences between the two copies as well.)
- [*] Aitolians (found in Teos): SGDI 1411 = IG 9²,1,1 192 (204/3 BCE?) L.16: ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους καταχωρισθῆι ἀνιέρωσις καὶ ἀσυλία, / τοὺς κατασταθέντας νομογράφους καταχωρίζαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ νομογραφίαι γίνονται / ἐν τοὺς νόμους.
 - [*] Aitolians (found at Delphi): SGDI 1413 = IG 9²,1 179 = FD 3,3 240 (183/2 BCE) L.22: ἀποστέλλειν δ[ἐ] / [θεωρ]οὺς ἐν Πέργαμον, ἐπε[ί] καὶ ἅ θυσία καθήκηι τῶι
Ἀθάναι τῶι Νικαφόρῳι.
 - Elis
 - [*] Olympia: SGDI 1172 = Minon (2007) no. 34 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.4: ἐπεὶ
Δαμοκράτηρ Ἀγήτορορ ⁵/Τενέδιορ πεπολιτευκῶρ παρ' ἀμέ, / αὐτόρ τε καὶ ὁ πατέρ,
καὶ ἔστεφανωμέ/νορ τόν τε τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα καὶ / ἄλλοιρ καὶ πλείονερ,
ἐπανιτακῶρ ἐν τὰν / ἰδίαν τὰν τε τῶ πατρὸρ θεαροδοκίαν δια¹⁰/δέδεκται καὶ
ὑποδέχεται τοῖρ θεαροίρ, ...
 - [*] Olympia: SGDI 1158 = Minon (2007) no. 3 (ca. 525–500 BCE) L.1: ὁ δὲ καὶ ξένος, ἐπεὶ μ<ό>λοι ἐν τια[ρὸν — —
 - Olympia: Minon (2007) no. 22 (ca. 450–425 BCE) L.13: — —τ]ο, : ἐπεὶ κελοίσταν :
τῶ καταστάτῶ τὰν δα-/[— —
 - Olympia: Minon (2007) no. 22 (ca. 450–425 BCE) L.17: — —]ιστ' ὃς ἐπε
ἐ<πέ>τραπον : τοῖρ Μαντινέσι·
 - Elis (found in Kos): Minon (2007) no. 32 (242 BCE) L.1: Ἀλείων. / ἐπεὶ τοῖ Κῶιοι
ἀποστείλαντες ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀρχιθέαρον Ἄρισ/τόλοχον καὶ θεαρο[ρ] Ἡράκλειτον

- καὶ Μακαρέα ἐπαγγέλ/λοντι τὰν θυσίαν τοῖ Ἀσ[κλ]απιοῖ καὶ αἰ[τ]έοντι δὴν τὸ
 ἱερὸν /⁵/ ἄσυλον ἤμεν, ἔδοξε τῷ πόλει ...
- Olympia: Minon (2007) no. 34 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.4: ὄπωρ, ἐπεὶ
Δαμοκράτηρ Ἀγήτορορ /⁵/ Τενέδιορ πεπολιτευκὼρ παρ' ἀμέ, / αὐτόρ τε καὶ ὁ πατάρ,
καὶ ἔστεφανωμέ/νορ τόν τε τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἀγῶνα καὶ / ἄλλοιρ καὶ πλείονερ,
ἐπανιτακὼρ ἐν τὰν / ἰδίαν τὰν τε τῷ πατρὸρ θεαροδοκίαν δια/¹⁰/δέδεκται καὶ
ὑποδέχεται τοῖρ θεαροῖρ, / ὁμοίωρ δὲ καὶ τοῖρ λοιποῖρ τοῖρ παρ' ἀμέων / τὰν πᾶσαν
χρείαν ἐκτενέωρ καὶ ἀπρο/φασίστωρ παρέχεται, φανεράν ποιέων / τὰν ἔχει εὖνοϊαν
ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν, καθῶρ /¹⁵/ πλείονερ ἀπεμαρτύρεον τῷμ πολιτᾶν· / ὄπωρ δὲ καὶ ἂ
πόλερ καταξίαιρ φαίναται / χάριτερ ἀνταποδιδῶσσα τοῖρ αὐτᾶρ / εὐεργέταιρ,
ὑπάρχην Δαμοκράτη πρό/ξενον, ...
 - Arcadia
 - Alipheira: Dubois (1988 2:241) (late 3rd c. BCE) L.15: καθέντω δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν ὄρκο]/ν
 τὸν ὠμόσαμες ἐπεὶ Κλεώνυμος παρῆλθε ἰν τὸν ναὸν τ[ᾶς θεῶ], / καὶ δικασάσθω
 μηδὲς ιδιώτας τῶν ἱνπροσθε συ[μβεβακότων] / εἰ μή τις ἰνγεγύευκε ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν
 δόξαν τῷ [βωλᾶι·]
 - Laconia and Messenia
 - Sparta: IG 5,1 5 (after 188 BCE) L.1: [πό]θοδον ποιησαμένου Καρνεάδου τοῦ /
 Αἰγλάνορος Κυραναίου, ὅπως διαλε/χθ[ῆ]ι τῷ δάμοι περὶ τῶν φιλανθρώπων / καὶ
 περὶ προξενίας· ἐπεὶ Καρνεάδης Αἰγλ[ά]/⁵/νορος πόθοδον ποιησάμενος διελέγη
περ[ὶ] / τῶν φιλανθρώπων καὶ περὶ προξενίας, ἔδοξ[ε] / τῷ δάμοι· ...
 - [*] Sparta: SGDI 4439 = IG 5,1 11 (1st c. BCE) L.5: ἐπεὶ τᾶς πόλεο[ς] /
[ἐπιβαρουμένας ἐπιτάγμασ]ι καὶ πλείονοις οἱ ἄρχοντες θέλον/[τες ἐκβιβάζειν τινὰ τῶν

- ἐπιτα]γμάτων τῶν ὑπερχρονούντων ἀ/[ξίωσαν καὶ παρεκάλεσαν τ]οὺς εὐκαιροῦντας
ἐν διαφοροῖς τῶν / [πολιτᾶν ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ δι]άφορα καὶ συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῶν κο[ι]/¹⁰/
[νῶν πραγμάτων, ...
- [*] Sparta: SGDI 4516 = IG 5,1 26 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.4: ἐπεὶ κα[τ]ασταθέντες
ἔφοροι εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ Νικέα ἐνιαυτὸν Πασιτέλης /⁵/ Τετάρτου, Εὐθυμοῦ Λυσικράτεος,
Δαμιάδας Δαμιάδα ἀξίως / ἀνεστρέφησαν αὐτῶν τε καὶ τὰς ἐνχ<ει>ρισθείσας αὐτοῖς
πίσ/τεως, ἐμ πᾶσιν ἀκερδῶς καὶ ἡμέρωσ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν διεξα/γαγόντες, δεδόχθαι τοῖς
Ἀμυκλαιείοις· ἐπαινέσαι ἐφόρους / τοὺς περὶ Πασιτέλη ἐπὶ τῷ καλῶς τὰν ἀρχὰν
διεξαγνηκέναι.
 - Sparta: IG 5,1 25 (undated) L.5: —]ΥΟΙ ἐπεὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀξίας [— —
 - Sparta (found at Delphi) IG 5,1 1566 (ca. 29 BCE) L.2: [Λ]ακεδαιμονίων ἔφοροι καὶ
ἀ πόλι[ς Δελφῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσι] / [καὶ τᾶι πό]λει χαίρειν· τοῦ γεγο[νότος ὑφ' ἀμῶν
δόγματος] / [Διοδώρωι Δωροθέου τῷ ὑμετέρ[ωι πολίται ἀποστέλλο]/⁵/[μ]εν ὑμῖν τὸ
ἀντίγραφον· ἐπεὶ Διό[δωρος Δωροθέου Δελφός] / ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐνόως
[διακείμενος πρὸς τὸν δᾶ]/μον ἀμῶν χρείας τε παρείσχηται [ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ
πάσας] / τοῖς ἐντετευχόσιν αὐτῷ τῶν ἀμ[ετέρων πολιτᾶν, σπουδᾶς] / καὶ φιλοτιμίας
οὐθὲν ἐλλείπων κα[ὶ — —
 - [*] Laconia (found at Arcadia – Tegea): SGDI 4598 = IG 5,2 159 (5th c. BCE) L.3: αἰ
δέ κ' ἀποθάνει : τῶν τέκνων / ἔμεν : ἐπεὶ κα πέντε ρέτεα : /⁵/ ἡβῶντι·
 - [*] Laconia (found at Arcadia – Tegea): SDI 4598 = IG 5,2 159 (5th c. BCE) L.11: αἰ
δέ κ/α μὲ ζῶε, τοὶ υἱοὶ ἀνελῶσθῶ τοὶ γνῆ/σιοι, ἐπεὶ κα ἔβάσωντι πέντε ρέτε/α·
 - Laconia – Geronthrai: IG 5,1 1114 (1st c. BCE) L.2: ἐπεὶ ἔφ[ο]ροι οἱ ἐ[πι] / ..
μοκράτεος, Νίκανδρος Νικοκλέους, [Ξε]-/νοκλῆς Νικάνδρου, ... (L.10) δ[ε] τοῦ

ὄψωνίου λελειτ[ούργηκε Ξενοκλή]/ς, **παρεκάλεσαν** αὐτὸν [καὶ **παρη]τή[σαν]/το** παντὶ τρόπῳ ἔξοδον [μη]δεμίαν γε[ν]/έσθαι τῶν ἐξ δαμοσ[ί]ου μηθενός, ἀλλ[ὰ] **γε]/γένηται** ἅ ἔξοδος πρὸς τὸ στέγος, [κ]α[ῖ] τ[ὰ π]/¹⁵/ερισσευόμενα χρήματα [ε]ῖς γρ[α]μματ[ο]/φυλάκιον **κατακέχρηται**· [τά]ν τε λοιπὰν φ[ι]/λοτιμίαν καὶ ἀντοφθάλμησιν **πεποίη[ται]** / πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἴσαν καὶ ἀξίαν τᾶς πόλε[ος]· / [τό] τε ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἴηρας ἐπεσκευακώς, α[ὐ]τ[ὸς] /²⁰/ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ Ξενοκλῆς Νικάνδρου, κ[αὶ] **ἐπεῖ]** / **ἦν** δεδομένα ἅ ἱεριοσύνα αὐτῶι, εἰς π[ά]σας τὰ]/ς πολιτικὰς χρεῖας εὐχρηστον ἑαυτὸν [πα]/ρεχόμενος, ^{vac.} ἔδοξε τῶι δάμῳι· ...

- Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.65: ὕστερον, ἐπεὶ ὑπεγραψάμεθα περὶ / τῶν καρπῶν τῶν ἐκ ταύτας τᾶς χώρας τᾶι πόλει τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτᾶν / τάλαντου διπλασίῳ, ἐπεὶ λαβοῦ/σα μεσοκοίνους τοὺς καρποὺς οὐ/κ ἀπεδίδου, καὶ κεκριμένων ἀμῶν / περὶ τᾶς χώρας πάλιν ἀμὲ προεκα/λέσατο ἅ πόλις τῶν Μεγαλοπο/λιτᾶν περὶ τᾶς Ἀκρειάτιος χώρας / ὡς κριτήριον συνελόμεθα ὡς οὐ / κεκριμένων ποθ' ἀμέ,
- Messene: SEG 11:974 (1st c. BCE) L.21: ἐπεὶ / [δὲ] καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τειμῶν τῆς Συρίας θεοῦ καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀμ/[ῶν] ἐπανγγέλλεται διὰ βίου παρέξειν ταῖς τῶν μυσστ/[ηρί]ων ἀμέραις τὸ ἔλαιον, ἀναθέντω καὶ οἱ μετὰ Μενέ/²⁵/[σ]στρατον ἔφοροι εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ γραπτὰν εἰς τὸν ναὸ[ν τ]/ᾶς Συρίας θεοῦ ἐπιγράψαντες “Ἄ πόλις ἅ τῶν Θου[ριέ]/ων Δαμόχαριν Τειμοξένου Λακεδαιμόνιον ἀρ[εταῖς] / ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς α[ὐτάν].”
- Messene: IG 5,1 1433 (39 BCE) L.14: καὶ τῶν μὴ τετιμαμένων ἐπὶ Δάμωνος Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπὸ συμβόλων χωρὶς τᾶς παρατιμασίας, ἐπεὶ ἐστι[ν] /¹⁵/ ἐν ταῖς μαστρεῖαις· ἑκατὸν δέκα ὀκτὼ τάλαντα, εἴκοσι μνα<ῖ> μία, εἴκοσι στατηῆρες δύο, ἐπτ' ὀβολοί·

- Messene: IG 5,1 1432 (Messenia – Messene / 39 BCE) L.22: ἐπεὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ
γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων παραλαβὼν τὰν ἐμπιστευθεῖσαν ἀρχὰν αὐτῷ ὑ[πὸ] / τῶν
ἀρχόντων καὶ συνέδρων ἐποιεῖτο πρόνοιαν εὐθέως τοῦ τὰν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς
κατοικοῦντας αὐτὰν φυ[λά]/ξαι καθηκόντως, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο τοῦ πάντας τοὺς τὰς πόλεος χ[ει]/²⁵/ρισμοὺς εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς
ἀναγράφεσθαι εἰς τὸν τοῖχον ἐπ' ἀμέρας ὑπὸ τῶν χειριζόντων τι τὰς πόλεος,
ὑπ[ό]/δειγμα τιθεὶς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν περὶ τοῦ καθαρῶς τε καὶ δικαίως ἄρχειν·
αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ πᾶν ἀνυ/πονοήτως θέλων ὑπάρχειν παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς πολίταις, ὅτι
καθαρῶς ἀναστρέφεται, χειρισμὸν οὐ **πεποιήται** / χρημάτων οὔτε δι' αὐτοσαυτοῦ
οὔτε κατὰ παρεύρεσιν δι' ἄλλων προσώπων, ἀλλὰ καθιστάνων ἐγλογεῖς ἀν/δρας
ἀγαθοὺς ἐφ' ἐκάσταν λειτουργίαν τε καὶ χρημάτων χειρισμὸν **παρέχεται** τῇ πόλει
στοιχοῦντα ³⁰/ πάντα· γεγενημενᾶν <τε> ἐπιταγᾶν περὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
κατείργασται πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν / τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων διὰ τῶν ἀγουμένων, ἃ
μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεος, ἃ δὲ καὶ πρεσβεύων· ὑποδεχόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀγουμένους καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων καὶ πλείονας **τίθεται** τὰς ἰδίας δαπάνας εἰς / τὰ τὰς πόλεος
συμφέροντα· τὰ τε λοιπὰ πράγματα τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν **πεφρόντι**<κ>ε / τοῦ
δικαίως τε καὶ ἴσως διοικεῖσθαι, γινόμενος ἄξιος τῶν προενχειρισθεισῶν ἀρχῶν ὑπὸ
τῶν ³⁵/ πόλεος αὐτῷ, δι' ἃν καὶ ἀναστραφεῖς ἀγαθῶς ὑπὸ τὰς πόλεος εἰκόνοις
ἐτιμάθη· καὶ διὰ τὰ προγε/γραμμένα πάντα ἐπιγνόντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναστροφὴν
Μέμμιός τε ὁ ἀνθύπατος καὶ Οὐίβιος ὁ / στραταγὸς **έδωρήσατο** αὐτῷ χρυσοφορίαν
ἕκαστος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ σύεδροι, καὶ ἐμφανίζόν/των πάντων ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὅτι δεῖ
δοθῆμεν Ἀριστοκλεῖ διὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα πάντα τὰς κατα/ξίους τιμάς, οἱ πολῖται
πάντες **ἐπηνέχθησαν** δοθῆμεν αὐτῷ τιμὰν ἀνδριάντα καὶ εἰκόνας γρα/⁴⁰/πτὰς δύο,

καθῆκον δέ ἐστι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλοπάτριδας καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιουμένους / μετὰ πάσας ἰσότητος περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ τιμεῖν ταῖς καταξίους τιμαῖς, ^{vac.} ἔδοξε τοῖς / συνέδροις καὶ τῶι δάμωι·

- [*] Messenia – Kyparissia: BCH 21 p. 575 = IG 5,1 1421 (4th/3rd c. BCE) L.2: εἴ[ι] τίς κα ἐσάγη<ι> εἰς τὰν τῶν Κυπαρισσιέ/ων χώραν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξέληται τὰ ἐμπόρια, ἀπ[ο]/γραψάσθω ποτὶ τοὺς πεντηκοστολόγ[ου]/⁵/ς καὶ καταβαλέτω τὰμ πεντηκοστάν, π[ρι]/ν ἀνάγειν τι ἢ πωλεῖν·
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.79: κῶθων. ^v σκευοφόρος εἰ[ς τὸ] ἱαρ[ὸν] ἔρπων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ δε⁸⁰/καστάδιον, κατέπετε·
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.85: ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ παῖς συν/θείς τὰ ὄστρακα εἰς τὸν γυλιὸν ἤρπε εἰς τὸ ἱερόν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκε/το, ἀνῶϊξε τὸν γυλιὸν καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ ὑγιῆ τὸν κῶθωνα γεγενημέ/νον καὶ τῶι δεσπότηι ἠρμάνευσε τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ λεχθέ{ε}ντα·
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.15: ἐγκατακοιμαθεῖσα / δὲ ὄψ[ι]ν εἶδε· ἐδόκει ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, εἰ οὐ γένοιτο αὐτᾶι / πάντα ὅσσα αἰτήσαιτο καὶ ἔγκυος εἴη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τόκου ποιθέμεν / νιν οὐθέν, καὶ ταῦτα πυνθανομένου αὐτοῦ, εἴ τινος καὶ ἄλλου δέ/οιτο λέγειν, ὡς ποησοῦντος καὶ τοῦτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτου ²⁰/ παρείη ποτ' αὐτὸν ἰκέτις, καὶ τοῦτό οἱ φάμεν ἐπιτελεῖν.
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.48: οὔτος / [ἐγκαθεύδων ὄ]ψιν εἶδε· ἐδόκει αὐτοῦ τα[ι]νία καταδῆσαι τὰ στί⁵⁰/[γμματα ὁ θεὸς κα]ἰ κέλεσθαί νιν, ἐπεὶ [κα ἔξω] γένηται τοῦ ἀβάτου, / [ἀφελόμενον τὰ]ν ταινίαν

ἀνθέμε[ν εἶ]ς τὸν γαόν·

- Argolis – Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.61: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν τὰν τοῦ Πανδάρου ταινί/αν περιδιῆσαι περὶ τὰ στίγματά οὐ καὶ κέλεσθαί νιν, ἐπεὶ κα ἐξ/έλοθη ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου, ἀφελόμενον τὰν ταινίαν ἀπονίψασθαι τὸ / πρόσωπον ἀπὸ τᾶς κράνας καὶ ἐγκατοπτρίζασθαι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ·
- Epidaurus: SEG 22:280 (3rd c. BCE; improved reading of IG 4²,1 123) L.8: Καλλικράτεια θησαυ/ρόν. Αὐτὰ τελευτάσοντός οἱ τοῦ ἀνδρός, αἰσθημένα δὲ ὅτι εἶ[η] π[ρ]ο τῷ /¹⁰/ ἀνδρὶ χρυσίον κατορωρυγμένον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο μαστεύου[σα] εὐ/ρεῖν, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θησαυροῦ καὶ [ἐγκαθ]εὐ[δου]σα ὄ/ψιν εἶδε· L.16: ἐπεὶ δ'οὐχ ἠῦρισκε[ν], ... (L.20) τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἀνηῦρε τὸν θησαυρὸν καὶ / ἔθυσσε τῷ θεῷ τὰ νομιζόμενα.
- Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 63 (115/4 BCE) L.1: ἐπεὶ Ἀρχέλοχος Ἀριστοφάντου ἀνὴρ καλὸς κάγαθος ὑπάρχων / τὰν τε ἀναστροφὰν καὶ πολιτείαν πεποιήται καλῶς καὶ ἐνδόξω[ς] / καὶ κατασταθεὶς πρεσβευτὰς εἰς Ῥώμ[α]ν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ συμμα/χίας τὰν πᾶσαν σπουδὰν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο ποτικά[ρ]/⁵/τερήσας, καὶ ἐγενήθη φιλία καὶ συμμαχία ποτὶ Ῥωμαίους τᾶι πό/λι τῶν Ἐπιδουρίων, καὶ τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ γενομένου καὶ παρα/δοθέντος εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον καὶ τᾶς συμμαχίας ἀνατεθείσας / ἐν πίνακι χαλκῶ ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ, τούτων δὲ ἀντίγραφα / ἀποδέδωκε εἰς τὸ δαμόσιον, ἔδοξε τοῖς συνέδροις ...
- [*] Kalauria: IG 840 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.14: καὶ ἐπεὶ /¹⁵/ κα τὸν λόγον ἀποδῶντι τοῦ ἀναλώματος, ποτομόσαι εἶ / μὰν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι.

ἐπειδή

- Thessaly

- [*] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 506 (after 197 BCE) L.20: ἀγορανομέntος
Κλεομέδδδος Κρατερογενείοι, Ἴπποδρό[μοι] / Ἄνδρομαχείοι λέξαν[τ]ος· ἐπειδεὶ
[πα]ραγενομένουv / πρεσβείουv [πὰρ τοῖ] δ[άμο]ι τοῖ Ἀθαναίουv Πα[—
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 58:525 (196–192 BCE) L.22: ἐπειδεὶ τοῦv ἀγγρεμένουv /
πρέσβειουv ὕτ {ΥΤΔΑΜΟΙ} τοῖ δάμ[ο]ι τοῖ Ἀθαναίουv παρ/γενόμενοι ποτ ἄμμε
Λάχεις καὶ Ἐργοχάρεις τό τε ψά^{vac./25} / [φ]ισμα ἀπεδοῦκαεν σίτουv ἐσκο[μι]δάν
[τετ]αγμένον δι[έ]/[κ]ι πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρουπα προῦπάρχονθι Ἀθαναίοις πο[τ] / ^{vac.} τὸ
κοινὸν Πετθαλοῦv καὶ τὰν πόλι[v καὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Λασ]/σαίο[υv] καὶ ...
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 57:510 (ca. 140–139 BCE) L.10: ἐπειδεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος
Ἀλεξάνδρειος Ἀθαναῖος, Στρατίπποι καὶ Δ[α]μονίκο[ι] / Ἐπιγενείουv
γυμνασιάρχέντουv καὶ ἐξαποστελλάντουv ποτ αὐ/τὸν ἐν Ἀθάνας καὶ ἀξιουσάντουv
παργενέσθειv ἐν Λάσσαν / ἔννεκα τοῖ σχολάζειv ἐν τοῦ γυμνασίου, ἐτ τᾶς εὔτουv
ἀρχᾶς / παργενειθῆς τάν τε ἐπιδ[α]μίαν [ἐ]ποιείσατο εὐσχείμονα /¹⁵ καὶ φιλοσοφίας
οικείαν, τάν τε ἐν τοῦ γυμνασίου σχολὰν με/τὰ πάνσας εὐταξίας ἐστένειv
παρεχόμενος εὔτὸν ποτ / τὰν τοῦv νέουv οὐφελίαν, ...
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 57:510 (ca. 140–130 BCE) L.36: ἐπειδεὶ Καλλιπίδας
Καλλιπίδαιος καὶ Αἰσχύλος Ἀδοκεῖτοι καὶ Δ[ι]/οκλέας Ξενοτίμοι Κοῦοι διετελένθι
εὐνόους διακείμενοι τοῦ δάμ[ου] / τοῦ Λασσαίουv τοῖς τε κατὰ κοινὸν
ἐ[ξ]αποστελλομένοις ὕτ τᾶς πόλι/ος καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἰδίαν ἐνδαμέντεσσι τοῦ<v> παρ
ἀμ^vμέουv πολιτᾶν ἐν Κοῦ /⁴⁰ ἐντὸς ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιδίδοντ[ες πάντα τὰ] παρκαλείμενα
καὶ χρεῖσιμα τᾶ^v / πόλι καὶ τοῖς ἰδία παργινομένοις ποτ αὐτὸς κατὰ πάνσας σπουδᾶς
καὶ [φι]/λοτιμίας φανεράν ποέντες τὰν ἔχονθι εὔνοιαν καθὸς ἀπεμαρτυρέθ[ει] /
αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ πλειόνουv τοῦv παρ ἄμμέουv πολιτᾶν, ...

- [*] Pelasgiotis – Krannon: IG 9,2 461a (before 168 BCE) L.2: [— — —] Μυσκελειοὶ ἔδοξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς] / [πόλιος· ἐπιειδεῖ] Ἴπποδρόμι[ος — — —] / [Λαρις]αῖος διετέλει εὐεργε[τές τὸ κοι]/⁵/[νὸν τ]ᾶς πόλιος, δεδόσθαι αὐτ[οῦ καὶ τοῖς] / [ἔς]γόνους πολιτεῖαν, ...
- Pelasgiotis – Krannon: Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (179–142 BCE) L.9: ἐπειδεῖ ἅ πόλι[ς] /¹⁰/ ἐν δανείοις πλειόνεσσι ὑπάρχει δι/ἐ τὸς πεστάντας αὐτᾶ πολέμος καὶ / χρόνος εἶδει πλείονας ἔλκονθαι τὰ / δάνεια· Ἀναξίπποι Μαρσυαῖοι λέ/ξαντος· ἔδοξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς πόλ/¹⁵/λιος·
- Pelasgiotis – Scotussa: SEG 43:311 (197–185 BCE) Face A L.70: ἄτ τοῖ ὄντοι τόποι μὲς πὸτ τὰν καμπὰν / τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι τοῖ κὰτ τὸ Κερδοῖον, ν ἐπειδεῖ πλείουν τόπος εἶε {Σ} δά/μοσσος, οἱ κεχόρτισται·
- Pelasgiotis – Scotussa: SEG 43:311 (197–185 BCE) Face B L.58: ἄτ τοῖ πύργοι τοῖ ὑστέροι τᾶς Αὐροσχαδοφόροι μὲς / πὸτ τὰν πύλαν τὰν ἐπ' Ἐννεαπέλεθρον, ἐπιδεῖ πλείουν τόπος εἶε /⁶⁰/ δάμοσσος, οἱ τ' ἐχορτίσθαι,
- [*] Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1229 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.29: ἐπιμελὲς μὰ γενέσθου /³⁰/ τοῖς ταγοῖς τοῖς πὲρ Φιλόλαον Εὐμέν[ει]/ον, ὅπους τότε τὸ ψάφισμα ὀνγραφὲν ἐ[ν] / [κίό]ν[α]ν λιθίναν ἀντεθεῖ ἐν τὸ τέμε/[ν]ος τοῖ Πλούτουνος καὶ τᾶς Φερσεφό/νας, ἐπιιδεῖ καὶ ἅ διεσαφειμένα χού/³⁵/ρα ἱερά ἔστι τοῖ Πλούτουνος,
- Boeotia
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3172 (222–200 BCE) L.110: Καφισόδωρος / Διονουσίω ἔλεξε· προβεβωλευμένον / εἶμεν αὐτῷ ποτὶ δᾶμον, ἐπιιδεῖ ἐπεψα/φίττατο ὁ δᾶμος ἀποδόμεν Νικαρέτη {ι} / Θίωνος τὸν ταμίαν τὸν προάρχοντα /¹¹⁵/ τὰν τρίταν πετράμεινον ἀπὸ [τ]ᾶν ὑπερ/αμεριάων τᾶν ἰωσάων κὰτ τᾶς πόλιος ὃ ἐ/πίθωσε αὐτὰν ἅ πόλις, ἀργουρίω

- δραχμᾶς / μουρίας ὀκτακισχιλίας ὀκτακατίας τριά/κοντα τρίς, κῆ τὼς πολεμάρχως
ἀνελέσ^{/120/}θη τάν τε σύγγραφον, ἂν ἔδωκαν οὐπὲρ / [ο]ὔτων τῶν χρεμάτων κατ’
α[ὐ]τὸ αὐτῶ[ν] / κῆ ὁ ταμίας κῆ ὧν ποθείλετο Νικαρέτα δέκ[α], / κῆ τὰς ὑπεραμερίας
διαγράψασθη τὰ<ς> κ[ᾶτ] / τᾶς πόλιος τὰς ἐπὶ Ξενοκρίτω ἄρχοντος ^{/125/} ἐν Θεισπιῆς,
κῆ οὔτα φερυκονομειόντων / τῶν πολεμάρχων, κῆ τῶ ταμίαο ἀποδόν/τος τὰ χρείματα
κατ τὸ ὁμόλογον τὸ πᾶρ / Θιόφεστον Θιοδώρω Θεισπιεῖα τεθέν, / δεδόχθη τῷ δάμυ,
 ...
- [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3172 (222–200 BCE) L.143: Ἀθανόδωρος Ἴππωνος ἔλεξε·
 προβε/[β]ωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῷ ποτὶ δᾶμον, ἐπιδεῖ ^{/145/} παργενομένας Νικαρέτας
Θίωνος Θεισπικᾶς / [κ]ῆ πραττώσας τὸ δάνειον τὰν πόλιν κατ τὰς οὐπε[ρ]/αμερία[ς]
τὰς ἰώσας αὐτῆ, [ἀνα]γκάσ<θεις>αν τὸ πολέμ[αρ]/χου κῆ ὁ ταμίας συνχωρεῖσαντος
τῶ δάμω δόμεν / [κ]ατ’ αὐ[τὸ] αὐ[τ]ῶν σύγγραφον πὸτ τῆ οὐπαρχώση
οὐπε[ρ]/^{150/}αμερίη, ἐ[ττ]άν κα ἐνενηχθεῖ ἂ ἀνφορὰ ἐν οὔτο, κ<ῆ> / κομίτ[η] τὰ
συνχωρεῖθέντα χρείματα, / δεδόχθη τῷ δάμυ, ...
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3171 (ca. 250–200 BCE) L.27: ὁμο/λογὰ Εὐβώλυ Φελατιῆ κῆ
 τῆ πόλι Ἐρ/χομενίων· ἐπιδεῖ κεκόμιστη Εὐβω^{/30/}λος πᾶρ τᾶς πόλιος τὸ δάνειον ἅπαν
/ κατ τὰς ὁμολογίας τὰς τεθείσας Θυ/νάρχω ἄρχοντος μεινὸς Θειλουθίω, / κῆ οὔτ’
ὀφείλετη αὐτῷ ἔτι οὐθὲν πᾶρ τὰν / πόλιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπέχι πάντα περὶ παντὸς ^{/35/} κῆ
ἀποδεδόανθι τῆ πόλι τὸ ἔχοντες / τὰς ὁμολογίας, εἶμεν ποτιδεδομέ/νον χρόνον
 Εὐβώλυ ἐπινομίας φέτια / πέτταρα βούεσσι σὸν ἵππυς διακα/τίης φίκατι, προβάτυς
 σὸν ἡγυς χει^{/40/}λίης.
 - Haliartos: SEG 32:456 (ca. 235–200 BCE) L.4: ἐπιδεῖ ἂ πόλις Ἄκρη[φ]τεῖω[ν]
πρ[ι]σ^{/5/}γεῖας ἀποστείλασα Δαμό[φι]λον Ἀλε[ξί]αο, / Δευξίλαον Θάλ[λ]ω.

- [Α]πολλώνιο[ν (patronymicum)], / παρκαλί μὲν τὰν πόλιν Ἄρια[ρτίων ὄπ]ως /
θουσίαν σουντέλει ἐν τῷ [Α]θανᾶς Ἴτω/νίας κῆ Διὸς Καρα[ιῶ] τεμέν[ει], **ἀξι[οῖ] δὲ** /^{10/}
πεμπέμεν ἀπὸ πόλιος ἱππ[έα]ς [ἐν τὸν] ἀ[γῶ]ν[α] / τὸν ἀπὸ τελέων ἐν τῷ Πτωίων
ἀ[γ]ῶνι· / ὅπως διακιμένα τὰ πὸτ τὼς θεὼς εὐσ[ε]β[ῶ]ς / κῆ ἐν τὸν λυπὸν χρόνον
δια[μ]είνει ἀκό/λουθα πράττωσα τῇ ἡρέσι· δε[δ]όχθη ...
- Thespriai: IThesp 29 = SEG 32:496 (ca. 250–240 BCE) L.10: ἐπειδὲ νόμος ἐστὶ ἐν
τοῖ κοι/νοῖ Βοιωτῶν τὰς πόλεις παρεχόμεν / διδασκάλως οἵτινες διδάξονθι / τὼς τε
παῖδας κῆ τὼς νιανίσκως / τοξευέμεν κῆ ἀκοντιδδέμεν /^{15/} κῆ τάδδεσθη συντάξις τὰς
περὶ / τὸν πόλεμον, κῆ Σώστρατος φιλο/τίμως ἐπιμεμέλειτη τῶν τε παίδων / κῆ τῶν
νεανίσκων, ὑπαρχέμεν Σωσ/τράτοι τὸ φέργον παρ τὰς πόλιος ἄως /^{20/} κα βείλειτη,
ἐπιμελομένοι τῶν τε παί/δων κῆ τῶν νεανίσκων κῆ διδάσκον/τι καθὰ ὁ νόμος κέλειτη·
 - Thespriai: IThesp 54 (ca. 230–228 BCE) L.29: ἐπιδεὶ Γόργουθος Κλεισθένεος
κατέλιπε τῆς /^{30/} Μώσης κατ τὰν θείκαν τὰν γὰν τὰν ἐν τῇ Κερεισίη κῆ τὰς αὐλάς
τόμου φοῦ, / σούνταξας ἅμα φυκονομίαν γίνουσθη· ὅπως / ὧν ἅ τε προήρεσις τῷ
καταλιπόντος φανε[ρ]ᾶ ε[ῖ] κῆ τῶν π[ο]λιτῶν ὁ βωλόμενος ἔχει ἐφορ<ᾶ>σθη τὰν
δόσιν ἂν πεπόειτη / τὸν δᾶμον, ἐπὶ κα τὸ ψάφισμα [κ]ούριον [γ]ένειτη, ἐλέσθη ...
 - Thespriai: IThesp 56 = SEG 45:451 (ca. 220 BCE) L.1: ἐπιδεὶ ἁ μίσθωσις τῶν γυῶων /
διεσσεῖλθεικε, ὑπάρχι δὲ ἐν τῇ π[ρ]οτηνὶ προ[ρ]ρεῖσει, ἢ τίς κα βείλειτη τῶν
φεφυ[κει]/όντων, ὑπογράψ[ασθη] τὰς [αὐτ]ᾶς μισθώσιος· δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι ...
 - Thespriai: IThesp 30 (ca. 217–212 BCE) L.5: ἐπιδεὶ ἁ πόλις Δελφῶν ἀποστείλασα
πρίσγειας **ἀξί[ω]σε** δικάστας ἀποστεῖλη τρεῖς ἄνδρας τὰν πόλιν Θεισπιείων, τὸ δὲ /
ἀποστειλέντες ἀξίως **ἀνεστρέφεισαν** τὰς τε πόλιος Θεισπιείω[ν] / κῆ τὰς Δελφῶν κῆ
διετάρεισαν τὰν τε τῶν προγόνων καλοκαγαθίαν / κῆ τὰν αὐσαυτῶν φιλοδοξίαν κῆ

- διεξάγαγον τὰ ἐνκλείματα πλῆστο[ν] /¹⁰/ λόγον ποεισάμενυ τῷ δικήω κῆ τῷ κυνῆ
σουνφέροντος πάντεσσι Δελ/[φ]ῦς, διὸ κῆ τάν τε πόλιν ἐπήνεισαν κῆ τῶς δικάστας
ἐτίμασαν τῆς με/[γί]στης τίμης, ἧς πάτριον αὐτῦς ἐστί, κῆ οὐπολάδδουνθη δειέμεν
ἀγγρ[α]/[φειίμε]ν τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τῶς πόλιος, ὅπως φα/[νερὸν ἴει
τὸ]ν πάντα χρόνον, ὅπως ὦν φήνειτη κῆ ἅ πόλις Θεισπ[ι]/¹⁵/[εἰὼν τῶς ἠὶ
ἀποστ]ελλομένως οὐπὸ τ[ῶ] δάμω κῆ δειόντως ἀ[να]/[στρεφομένως ἀξίως] τιμῶσα,
δεδόχ[θ]η ...
- Thespriai: IThesp 42 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.4: —]ΑΟ· ἐπιδοῖ /⁵/[—
 - Korai: SEG 22:432 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.6: ἔδοξε τῷ δάμῳ· ἐπενά/[φιδ]δ[ε] Χαρίνος·
 Εὐχειρίδας Νίκ[ωνος ἔλε]/[ξε· π]ροβεβωλε[υ]μένον εἶμεν [αὐτῷ] / ποτι δᾶμον· ἐπιδοῖ
ἐν ὁμο[λογίη(?) τῆ] /¹⁰/ πόλι κεχρει[μ]ενάων Κλευέδ[ρας] / [κῆ] Ὀλιουμπίχας ἐν τε
τῶς προϊό[ντεσσι] / [χρόνους(?)], νιοῦν δὲ ἀφειώσας Κλευφέ[δρας] / [κῆ]
Ὀλιουμπίχας(?) τάν πόλιν ὧν ἐπιδεδ[όαν]/θι χρεϊμάτων τῆ πολεμαρχίη ἐν τῆ
ἀρ[χῆ], /¹⁵/ [δοθίσας(?)] δὲ αὐτῆς κῆ ἐν τοῖ - - - - - / ἐπινο[μί]ας πὰρ τῶς πόλιος
καθ' ὁμολ[ογίην] / ἐκατέρη βότων ἰδίων διακατίων, [νιοῦν(?)] / ἐπικε[κ]όμιδαθη τὰ
χρεῖματα· ...
 - Akraiphia: SEG 41:434 (ca. 235–200 BCE) L.4: ἐπιδοῖ /⁵/ [— —
 - [*] Tanagra: Ziehen II, 69 = Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.2:
 Τελεσίας Θαρσουμάχῳ / <ἔ>λεξε περιῶν, προβεβωλευμένον εἶμεν αὐτῷ πὸτ τὸν
 δᾶμον· ἐπιδοῖ, / μαντευόμενας τῶς πόλιος οὐπὲρ τῷ ἱαρῷ τῶς Δάματρος κῆ τῶς
Κόρας, πό⁵/τερα κῆ αὐτῷ ἱαόντης Ταναγρῆς καθὰ κῆ νιοῦν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἔσσειη / ἠ
μεταφερόντης ἐν τὸν τόπον τὸν τῶς Εὐαμερίας εἰ ἐν πόλιν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχρῃσε "θιάς
προφαστίδας στεφάνῳ δέκεσθη ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ θάλλον/τας κῆ οὗτο ποιῆμεν εὐχομένως

αὐτῆς τῆς θιῆς· ὅπως ὄν κατασκευ/ασθείη τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Δάματρος ἐν πόλι ὅτι
 κάλλιστον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ὕ κα /¹⁰/ φήνητη τῆς πολεμάρχους κῆ τῆς σουνδίκους κῆ τῆ
 ἀρχῆ τῆ ἡρεθείση· / δεδόχθη τῷ δάμῳ· ...

- Chorsiai: SEG 22:410 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.2: - κ[λ]εῖος ἔλεξε· ἐπιθεῖ Κάπων
Βρόχαο / [Θισβεὺς εὖν]οος ἐὼν [διατ]ελῆ τῆ πόλι Χορσιείων / [ἐν παντὶ κ]ηρῦ, κῆ
[σ]πανοσιτίας γενομένης περὶ /⁵/ [τὰν χώρ]αν, κῆ τᾶν πολίων πασ[ά]ων ἀπειναφισμέ/
[νων τ]ὰν τῷ [σ]ίτω [ἀπο]στ[ο]λάν, προέχρῃσε τῆ πό/[λι πο]λυρῶν κοφίνως
διακατίω[ς κ]ῆ κατέστασε / [τὸν] σῖτον τῆ πόλι· [κῆ ... (L.19 δ[ε]²⁰/[δό]χθη τῷ δάμῳ
 ...)
- Boeotia: SEG 3:358 (mid 3rd c. BCE) L.4: . . Β]ωλ[ή]ω? ἔλεξε· ἐπιθεῖ γ[ρ]α - - -
- Oropos: IG 7 280 = EtΩ 49 (ca. 240–180 BCE) L.1: Ἀντίγωνος ἄρχοντος,
Λύσανδρος Μειλίω Ὀρώπιος ἔλεξε· ἐπιθεῖ Θεόμναστος / εὖνοος ἐὼν διατελί τοῖ
κοινοῖ Βοιωτῶν κῆ παρέχρη χρείας τοῖς δειομένοις / ἐν παντὶ κηροῖ, δεδόχθη τοῖ
δάμοι· Θεόμναστον Σκύλακος Ἀλικαρνασσεῖα πρ<ό>/ξενον εἶμεν κῆ εὐεργέταν τῷ
κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν αὐτὸν κῆ ἐσγόνως κῆ ...
- Megaris – Aigosthena: IG 7 207 (223–201 BCE) L.2: ἐπιδή ἐστι τῆ πόλι Σιφείων
προ/[ῦ]πάρχουσα εὖνοια ἐκ προγόνων, κῆ ἐν προεδρίαν / καλῖ ἅ πόλις Ἰγοςθενιτῶν
ὀπτότοι κα παρί⁵/ωνθι Σιφείων, κατὰ ταυτὰ δὲ κῆ τοῖ Σιφεῖες τὰς / αὐτὰς τιμὰς
ἐκτεθήκανθι Ἰγοςθενίτης, κῆ ἐ/[π]ῖ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδως καλέονθι τὰς
παργινυ-/μένως· ὅπω<ς> ὄν φανερόν ἴει ὅτι τὰν ὁμόνοι/αν διαφυλάττι τὰν ἐκ τῶν
προγόνων παρδοθεῖ¹⁰/σαν ἅ πόλις Ἰγοςθενιτῶν πὸτ τὰν πόλιν Σιφεῖων, δεδόχθη
τοῖ δάμοι ...

- Northwest Geek

- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2508 = CID 4 59 (246–241 BCE?) L.4: ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱε⁵/ρομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς ἀγορατροῖς· ἐπειδὴ Καλλικλῆς ἱεροκηρυκεύων τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἀμ/φικτύων διατελεῖ χρείας παρεχόμενος τοῖς τε ἱερομνήμοσι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἅπασιν ἀνεκλήτως, ἔδοξε τοῖς ἱερομν[ή]μοσιν, ἐπαινέσαι ...
- [*] Delphi: BCH 26 p. 274 = FD 3,2 86 = CID 4 95 (209–203 BCE) L.12: ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀμφικτιόνεσσι· ἐπειδὴ Εὐ/δαμος Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀθηναῖος, παραγενόμενος / ἐν Δελφούς, τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσσε τὰς πατρί¹⁵/ους καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, πλείσταν σπουδάν / ποιούμενος τὰς ἐν τῷ δαιμόνιον εὐσεβείας, ἐπε/μελήθη δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀκολούθως τοῖς τε / νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ψαφίσμασι τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων, / καὶ ἀξίως καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πόλιος τὰν ἐπίδα²⁰/μίαν ἐποιήσατο μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερομαμό/νων· ὅπως οὖν φαίνεται τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιό/νων ἀξίως ἐπιστρεφόμενον τὰς τῶν εὐεργετῶν / τιμᾶς, ἐπαινέσαι ...
- [*] Delphi: BCH 30 p. 217 no. 33 = FD 3,2 18 (300–200 BCE) L.2: ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν· ἐπειδὴ Τετραπολεῖς, ἀποστείλαν/τες ἐξ αὐτῶν Κύδιππον Οἰνοαῖον, ὑπέμνασαν τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς / οἰκειότατα ποτὶ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰμ πόλιν, καὶ ἀπελογίζαντο ὅτι διατηρέον⁵/τι τὰς ἐξ ἀρχᾶς παρ' αὐτοῖς θυσίας τε καὶ τιμὰς δεδομένας τῷ θεῷ· δεδόχ/θαι τῇ πόλει ὑπάρχειν τὰν προμαντείαν Τετραπολεῦσι εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό/νον, ...
- [*] Delphi: BCH 30 p. 219 no. 35 = FD 3,2 20 (178 BCE) L.2: ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει / [ἐ]ν ἀγορᾷ τελείῳ σὺμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐνόμοις· ἐπειδὴ Τετραπολεῖς, / ἀποστείλαντες πρεσβευτὰς Διόφαντον, Καλλισθένη, Λυσίθεον, /⁵ / [ὑ]πέμνασαν καὶ ἀνεενώσαντο τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς οἰκε[ιό]/τατα ποτὶ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰμ πόλιν, καὶ τιμέοντες

διατελέοντι / τὸν θεὸν μετὰ πάσας εὐσεβείας· δεδόχθαι τῷ πόλει ...

- Delphi: Numerous other motivation sections introduced by ἐπειδή. SEG 1:189 (263 BCE), 14:398 (ca. 270/60 BCE?), 19:379 (3rd c. BCE, second half; improved reading of FD 3,1 351), 1:205 (201 BCE), 2:270 (159 BCE), FD 3,3 125 (ca. 157 BCE), SEG 2:273 (154 BCE), Daux (1939: 161) (141/0–140/39 BCE), FD 3,3 119 (ca. 134 BCE), SEG 2:285 (134 BCE), 2:286 (131 BCE), 18:189 (ca. 100 BCE), 1:162 (91 BCE), 1:165 (66 BCE), Jannoray (1946: 247), (53–38 BCE), Daux (1939: 162) (undated). Also many examples in FD.
- [*] W. Lokris – Chaleion: SGDI 1476 = IG 9²,1,3 721 B (after mid-2nd c. BCE) L.3: ἐπ[ειδῆ] / Κλεογένης Ἀλκιθόου Αἰγιδεύς /⁵ εὔνουσ ὦν καὶ εὐχρηστος διατελ[εῖ] / τῷ πόλει τῶν Χαλειέων, ἔδοξε τῷ πόλει ἐν ἐννόμοι ἐκκλησίαι· πρόξεν/ον εἶμεν καὶ ... (SGDI restores ἐπ[εῖ], but IG 9²,1,3 721 restores ἐπ[ειδῆ], and the photograph of the squeeze provided in IG 9²,1,3 shows a lacuna large enough that the restoration of ἐπειδή is preferable to me.)
- W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 12:280 (mid 4th c. BCE) L.2: [Ἔ]δοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐσ[περί]/[ων]· ἐπειδῆ καὶ πρότερον ΟΙΚΕ' - -
- [*] E. Lokris – Orus: IG 9,1 278 (2nd c. BCE) L.2: ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν / Διόνυσον τεχνίταις τοῖς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ καὶ Νεμέας, συντελοῦσιν δὲ ἐν Ὀ/ποῦντι· ἐπειδῆ Σωτέλης Σωσίνου ἀνὴρ καλὸς κάγαθός, διὰ προγόνων / εὔνουσ ὑπάρχων τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ λέγων καὶ πράσ<σ>ων τὰ συμφέρο[ν]/⁵τα καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστωι καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν πάσαι τῷ συνόδοι, ἀπόδε[ι]/ξιν τὰν καλλίσταν ποιούμενος τῆς ποτὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας / καὶ τῆς ποτὶ τὸ κοινὸν τ[ῶν τεχν]ιτῶν εὐνοίας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄ / γυνὰ αὐτοῦ Ξενόλα [Α]μεινία, ἐν τῷ ἀνιερώσει ἃ ἐποιήσαν[το] / τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῷ

- Ἑρμῆι καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις πρόνοιαν ἐ[ποι]/¹⁰/ήσαντο κατὰ κοινὸν τ[ᾶ]ν ἀρίσταν ὑπὲρ τᾶς συνόδου τῶν [τε]/χνιτᾶν, ...
- [*] W. Lokris – Amphissa: AE 1908 p. 163 = IG 9²,1,3 750 (200–150 BCE) L.10:
ἐπειδὴ Μηνόφαντος Ἀρτεμιδ[ῶ]/[ρου] Μακεδῶν Ὑρκάνιος ἰατρὸς μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος / [μ]ετὰ πρεσβείας καὶ ἐργολαβήσας μόνος τὸ ἰατρικὸν ἔργον / [τῶ]ν ἀεὶ ἐμπιπτόντων ἀρρωστημάτων φιλοτέχνως ἐπιμελ[ό]/[με]νος καὶ σπουδάζ[ω]ν κατὰ δύναμιν ἰδίαν μετὰ τᾶς τῶν θε[ῶν] /¹⁵/ [εὐν]οίας σῶζειν το[ῦς] κινδυνεύοντας ἀνέγκλητ<ο>ς ἐγενήθη, τ[ᾶ]ν / [ἐ]γχει]ρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ πίστιν περὶ τᾶς κοινᾶς σωτηρίας ἐφ' ἴσου καὶ πο[θ'] / [ᾶ]παντας εὐνοϊκῶς διαφυλάξας τάν τε κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀναστροφᾶν / [πά]ντα τὸν τᾶς παρεπιδαμίας χρόνον εὐτακτον καὶ σώφρονα παρέσχ[ε] / [κα]τὰ ἀξίαν τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τοῦ ἐπιταδεύματος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τᾶς /²⁰/ [καθ'] ἑαυτὸν ἀλικίας, εἵνεκεν δὲ τῶν ποτιπεπτωκότων αὐτῷ π[α]ρὰ / [τῶν] οἰκειῶν(?) χωριζ[ό]μενος ἐκ τᾶς πόλιος ἀμῶν ἐποιήσατο πόθ[ο]δον / [πο]τι τὸ]ν δᾶμον ἀσπαζόμενος κοινῶς πάντας διελέγη τ[ε] / [μετὰ] πάσας εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ φροντίδα ποιήσασθαι τὰν κ[α]θή/[κου]σαν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμφ· ...
 - Aitolia (found at Delphi): IG 9²,1,1 173 (ca. 259–255 BCE) (found at Delphi) L.2:
ἐπειδὴ Ἡρ[α]κ[λει]ῶται / [ψά]φισμα καὶ πρέ[σβ]εις ἀποστείλαντες Μ[ε]νεκράτ[η] / [καὶ — — — τ]ᾶν [συ]γγένειαν ἀνενεώσαντο κα[ὶ τὰ] /⁵/ [ὑ]πάρ]χον[τ]α πα[ρ]ὰ τᾶς πόλιος αὐτῶν φιλόφρονα ποτι το[ῦς] / [Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπαύξη]σαν, δεδόχθαι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς· ...
 - Aitolia (found at Delphi): FD 3,2:134 text a (205/4–203/2 BCE?) L.1: θεοί. /
στραταγέοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Καλυδωνίου· ἐπ[ειδὴ] / Τήϊοι, πρεσβευτᾶς ἀποστείλαντες Π[υθα]γόρα[ν Κλείτου] / καὶ Κλεῖτον Κλείτου, τάν τε οἰκειότατα [καὶ

- τὰν φιλίαν ἀνε]⁵/ νεοῦντο, καὶ παρεκάλειον τοὺς Αἰτωλο[ὺς ὅπως τάν τε] / πόλιν
αὐτῶν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἐπιχερ[ήσωντι ἱερὰν εἶμεν] / [καὶ] ἄσυλον τοῦ Διονύσου·
δεδόχ[θαι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ...
- [*] Akarnania: IG 9,1 516 = IG 9²,1,2 209a (mid-2nd c. BCE) L.5: ἐπειδὴ Διογένης
Διογένους Περγαμηνὸς ἑνδαμήσας εἰς τὰς πόλ[εις] / [τᾶς] Ἀκαρνανίας, τάν τε
ἑνδαμίαν καὶ ἀναστροφὰν ἐποίησατο ἀξίως μὲν αὐτοσαυτοῦ, ἀξίως δὲ τᾶς / πατρίδος
ἐν τε τῷ ἐπιταδεύματι ἀνεστράφη καλῶς καὶ δικαίως εἰς πάντα αὐτοσαυτὸν
ἐπι[δι]/δοὺς ἀπροφασίστως, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένας ἐμ Μακεδονίαι τοῖς ἀποσταλεῖσι
πρεσβευταῖς παρ<ῆ>ς καὶ / προσανέθετο τὰς χρείας τοῖς εἰς ἀρρωστίαν ἐμπεσοῦσιν
ἄνευ μισθοῦ δοκιμασίαν ποιούμενος /¹⁰/ [τᾶς] αὐτοσαυ[τοῦ ποτὶ τὸ ἔθνος] ἀμῶν
εὐνοίας· ὅθεν δεδόχθαι τᾶ[ι βου]λαῖ καὶ τοῖ κοινοῖ τῶν Ἀκαρνά/[νων· ...
 - Megaris
 - [*] Megara: IG 7 1 (after 306 BCE) L.5: ἐπειδὴ τοὶ Αἰγοστενῖτα[ι] ἀνάγγελον
Ζωῖλογ Κελαίνου Βοιώτιον, / τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν Αἰγοστένοις
τεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ / βασιλέως Δαματρίου, αὐτὸν τε εὐτακτον εἶμεν καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώ/τας παρέχειν εὐτάκτους, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καλῶς καὶ εὐ/νόως, καὶ
ἀξίουν αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα τιμαθῆμεν ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος, /¹⁰/ ἀγαθᾶ τύχαι, δεδόχθαι τᾶι
βουλαῖ καὶ τῷ δάμωι, ...
 - [*] Megara: IG 7 2 (after 306 BCE) L.5: ἐπειδὴ Ἀγάθων Ἀρχίου [Α]ργ[ε]ῖος εὔνους
καὶ χρήσι/μος ἐὼν διατελεῖ τῷ δάμωι, ἀγαθᾶ τύχαι, δεδόχθαι τᾶι / βουλαῖ καὶ τῷ
δάμωι, ...
 - [*] SGDI 3016 = IG 7 15 (192–159 BCE) L.1: συναρχαί προεβουλεύσαντο ποτὶ τε
τοὺς αἰσιμνάτα[ς καὶ τὰν] / βουλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον· ἐπειδ<ῆ> Ἰκέσιος

Μητροδ[ώρου] / Ἐφέσιος ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπ' Αἰγίνας ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ βα]/[σ]ιλέος Εὐμένεος
διατελεῖ τὰν πᾶσαν σ[που]δὰν [ποιεό]^{/5/}[μενος ὑπὲρ] τοῦ δάμου το[ῦ] Μ[ε]γαρέων.
 ... (The stone has ΕΠΕΙΔΕ, accepted as ἐπειδέ in SGDI and followed by Hermann.)

- Arcadia

- Thelphousa: Dubois (1988 2:229) (242 BCE) L.1: Θελφουσίων / ἐπειδῆ
παραγενόμενου παρ <τᾷ πόλι τῶν Κῶι{ι}ων πὸς τὰν πόλιν τῶ[ν] / Θελφουσίων
Ἀριστόλοχος Ζμὲνδρωνος [ἀ]ρχ[ιθ]έαρο[ς κ]αὶ θ[εα]/ρῶ {ς} Μακαρεὺς Ἀράτου,
Ἡράκλειτος Τιμαίθου παρεκάλεα[ν] ^{/5/} τᾶς τε θυσίας κοινανῆν, τὰν θύονσι [οἰ
Κῶι]οι τοῖ Ἀσκλαπιῶ, / καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τᾶς ἐκεχηρίας τό τ[ε] ἱερὸν ἄσυλον ἦναι /
τὸ ἐν Κῶι{οι} τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ, ἔδοξε τᾷ πόλι τῶ[ν] Θελφουσίων ...

- Laconia and Messenia

- [*] Sparta: SGDI 4458 = IG 5,1 6 (undated) L.1: [ἐ]πειδῆ Φίλιστος Πολεμάρχου
Λευκάδι[ο]ς εὐνοῦς ὑπάρχων διὰ παντὸς τᾷ πόλ[ει] / [— ...
- [*] Laconia – Kotyrta: IG 5,1 962 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.1: ἐπειδῆ Πεΐτας
Κρατησινί[ου] / Ἀσωπίτας εὐνοῦς ὦν ὑπάρχει / τᾷ πόλει τῶν Κοτυρτατᾶν [δι]/[ἀ]
προγόνων, νῦν τε τᾶς π[όλιος] ^{/5/} [χρ]εῖαν ἐχούσας διαφ[ό]ρ[ων, πα]/[ρ]αγενομένων
ποτ' αὐτ[ὸν εἰς] / [Ἀ]σωπὸν τῶν καταστάντ[ων] / μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐκ τ[ᾶς πόλιος] /
καὶ οἰομένων δεῖν, δανε[ῖσαι τᾷ] ^{/10/} πόλει ἀργύριον ἐπαγγείλα[το] / καὶ ἔδωκε ὅσου
χρεῖαν ἦχ[εν ἅ πό]λις ἄτοκον, ἀπροφάσιστον / ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν, ἔδοξε τᾷ π[ό]λει τῶν
Κοτυρτατᾶν· ...
- [*] Laconia – Kotyrta: SGDI 4544 = IG 5,1 961 (ca. 150–100 BCE) L.1: ἐπειδῆ
Ἄρατος Νικία Λακεδαιμόνι/ος εὐνοῦς ὦν διατελεῖ τᾷ πόλει / ἀμῶν καὶ τοῖς πολίταις
τοῖς χρεῖαν / ἔχουσι συμπροσγινόμενος ἐκτε^{/5/}νῶς ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι, σπουδᾶς καὶ

- φι/λοτιμίας οὐθέν ἐλλείπων περὶ πᾶσαν / χρείαν, <ᾶν> τυγχάνει τις ἔχων ἢ κατὰ κοινὸν / ἢ καθ' ἰδίαν, ἔδοξε τῷ δάμωι τῶν Κο/τυρτατᾶν· ...
- Lakonia: Other instances of the motivation section introduced by ἐπειδή. From Kotyrta: IG 5,1 963, 965 (2nd c. BCE), 966 (undated). From the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleatas: IG 5,1 975 (2nd/1st c. BCE). From Getonthrai: IG 5,1 1111 (after 146 BCE). From Gytheion: IG 5,1 1143 (2nd c. BCE), 1144 (ca. 80 BCE).
 - [*] Messene (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 43 (3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.1: παρὰ Μεσσηνίων· / **ἐπειδὴ** παραγενόμενοι πρεσβευταὶ παρὰ Μαγνήτων / τῶν ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρου Φιλίσκος Πυθαγόρου, Κόνων Διο/νυσίου, Λάμπετος Πυθαγόρου **ἐνεφάνιζον** τάν τε οἰ⁵/κειότατα καὶ τὰν φιλίαν τὰν προϋπάρχουσαν ποτὶ τὸ / κοινὸν τῶμ Μεσσανίων καὶ ...
 - Messene (found in Kos): IG 12,4,1 215 decree II (242 BCE) L.6: Μεσσανίων· **ἐπειδὴ** Κῶιοι φίλοι ἐόντες καὶ συγγενεῖς τῶν Μεσσανίων ἀποσ/τείλαντες ἀρχιθέωρον Ἀριστόλοχον καὶ θεωρῶς Ἡράκλειτον / καὶ Μακαρέα **ἐπαγγέλλοντι** τάν τε θυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, /¹⁰/ οὓς συντελοῦντι τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῶι, καὶ **ἐμάνυον** τὰν {τὰν} εὐνοια[v] / τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Μεσσανίων καὶ / {καὶ} **παρεκάλων**, ὅπως τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ Ἀσκλαπιῶ τῷ ἐγ Κῶι ἄσυ/λον ὑπάρχηι τὰ ἀπὸ Μεσσανίων καὶ τῶν ἐμ Μεσσάναι κατοικε[ύν]/των, δεδόχθαι τοῖς Μεσσανίοις·
 - Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.1: Ψάφι[σμ]α. / **ἐπειδὴ** κατασ[χόν]των τῶν Ἀχ^{vac}αιῶν / Ἐνδανίαν καὶ [Πυλ]άναν ... (L.5) τὸ μὲν πρῶτον **ἠθέλη/σαν** Μεγ[αλοπολιτ]αι διὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀφελέ/[σθαι ἀμῖν τά]ς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰν χώραν τὰν / [Ἐνδανίκαν κ]αὶ Πυλανίκαν πᾶσαν αἴτηνα ... (L.65) ὕστερον, ... (L.70) καὶ κεκριμένων ἀμῶν / περὶ τᾶς χώρας πάλιν ἀμὲ **προεκα/λέσατο** ἅ πόλεις τῶν

Μεγαλοπολιτῶν περὶ τῆς Ἀκρειάτιος χώρας / ὡς κριτήριον συνελόμεθα ὡς οὐ^{75/} /
κεκριμένων ποθ' ἀμέ, τῶν δὲ κοι/νῶν δαμιοργῶν ἐπακολουθησάν/των αὐτῶν καὶ
ζαμίαν ἀμῖν ἐπι/βαλόντων ὅτι οὐ συναιρούμεθα / κριτήριον καὶ εἰσαγαγόντων εἰς τὸ /
^{80/} δικαστήριον τῶν Μιλησίων ἐνικά/σαμεν πάσαις ταῖς ψάφοις καθότι / εἶημεν
κεκριμένοι περὶ τε ταύτας / τῆς χώρας^{vac.} καὶ τῆς Βιπειάτιος πο/τὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας.
 ὅπως οὖν ὑπό^{85/}μναμα εἶ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον / ὅτι περὶ τε τῆς Ἀκρειάτιος καὶ
 Βιπειά/τιος κρίμασιν ἐνικάσαμες τοὺς Με/γαλοπολίτας καὶ περὶ τε τῆς ζαμίας / ἅς
 ἐξαμίωσαν ἀμὲ οἱ δαμιοργοὶ ἐ^{90/}νικάσαμες^{vac.} δεδόχθαι τῶν δάμωι / ἀναγράψαι ...

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

- Argos (found at Arcadia – Pallantion): SEG 11:1084 (ca. 318–316 BCE) L.1: Ἀλιαία
 ἔδοξε τελείαι ἀμ/[β]ολίμ<ωι> ἐκ τοῦ Τελέου, Ἀρνείου / ἠνάται, ἀρήτευε βωλᾶς
 Πειθα/γόρας Σφυρηΐδας Κερκάς · ἐπει^{5/}δὴ ἀννεο[ύ]μενοι παργεγέννην/ται τοῖ
Παλλαντέες ποὶ τὰν πό/λιν τῶν Ἀργείων τὰν φιλίαν τὰν / ἐξ ἀρχᾶς καὶ τὰνς
εὐεργεσίανς / ἀποδεικνύοντι τὰνς ἔμπροσ^{10/}θε γεγενημένανς τ[ο]ῖν πολίοιν · /
 δεδόχθαι τῶν δάμωι · ...
- Argos: Motivation sections introduced by ἐπειδὴ. SEG 13:240 (3rd c. BCE) L.2 (...
 πολυωρῶν διατελεῖ τῆς πόλιος ... εὐχρηστός ἐστι...). SEG 41:279 (3rd c. BCE) L.4
 (the remainder of the clause is not preserved). Vollgraff (1916: 65) (3rd c. BCE) L.5
 (... διατελεῖ ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ εὐνοοῦς ἐὼν ...). Vollgraff (1916: 221) (3rd c. BCE, first
 half) L.5 (... ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ διατελόντι ... ἐμέτρῃ τάλαντα ἑκατον ἄτοκα ...
ἐπιμεμηνάκαντι χρόνον πολὺν ... πρεσβήαν ἀπέστηλαν ...). SEG 59:357 (early 2nd
 c. BCE) L.1 (... διατετέλεκε ποιούμενος [σπουδὰν καὶ] / φιλοτιμίαν ... ἐποίησατο
 τὰμ πρέπ[ουσ]αγ καὶ / καθήκουσαν ἀναστροφὰν ... ἐπαγγεῖλα[το] ...). SEG 16:255

- (170 BCE) L.1 (... εὔνοος ἐ[ὼν **διατελεῖ**] ... ἀποσταλείς δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς ... [ἦκει]). SEG 22:266 (ca. 100 BCE) L.5 (... ποτιφερόμενος εἰς τὸν δᾶμον ἀμῶν **διατελεῖ** ... **ἀνενεώσατο** πάντα ὅσα εὐχρηστα ἐπεποιήκει ... **εὐχρήστησε** διάφορα ... **ἔδωκε** ἄτοκον ...).
- [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 497 (197–195 BCE) L.2: ἀλαιαὶ ἔδοξε / τελείαι τῶν Μυκανέων, Πανάμου / ὑστεραῖαι πρατομηνίας, ἀρήτευε ^{/5/} δαμιοργῶν Δελφίων Τ[ι]μοκρίτου Δαῖ/φοντεύς· ἐπειδὴ ἀπ[αχ]θέντων ἐφ[ή]/βων τῶν Μυκανέων ὑπὸ Νάβιος ἐς Λ[α]/κεδαίμονα **ἐπολυώρηέ** Πρότιμος / Τιμάρχου Γορτύνιος καὶ τὰν ἄπαν^{/10/}σαν σπουδὰν **ἔθετο** ὡς διασωθεῖεν / τοὶ ἀπαχθέντες· δεδόχθαι τοῖς κομέ/ταις ...
 - [*] Troizen: IG 4 748 (369 BCE) L.1: ἔδοξε τᾷ βουλᾷ καὶ τῷ δάμωι· / ἐπειδὴ Ἐχίλαος Φιλωνίδου Πλα/ταιεύς ἀφικόμενος ἐς Τροζᾶνα / περὶ τε τὰν σωτηρίαν τᾶς χώρας ^{/5/} ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός **ἔστι**, καὶ ὅσσα ἐδεῖτ/ο ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Τροζανίων **ὑπηρέτη/κε** πάντα· δεδόχθαι τᾷ βουλᾷ καὶ / τῷ δάμωι ...
 - Corinth (found in Delos): SEG 30:990 (ca. 325–275 BCE) L.3: ἔδοξε τᾷ ἐκκλησί/ [α]ι· ἐπειδὲ Ξενοκλῆς καὶ Πausί^{/5/}μαχος Ἀθηναῖοι ἐμ παντὶ / καιρῶι **διατελοῦντι** εὔνοοι ὄν/τες τᾷ πόλει καὶ τοῖς παραγε/νομένοις τῶν πολιτᾶν εἰς Ἀ/θήνας· ἔδοξε τᾷ ἐκκλησί^{/10/}αι· Ξενοκλῆ Ἄγνοθέου καὶ / Πausίμαχον Δημοκλέους Ἀθηναίους προξένους εἶμεν / καὶ ...

ἐπή

- Elis
 - [*] SGDI 1151 = Minon (2007) no. 22 (ca. 450–425 BCE) L.13: —τ]ο, : ἐπέ **κελοίσταν** : τῶ καταστάτῶ τὰν δα/[— —

ἔστε

- Boeotia
 - The subordinators ἔττε and ἔτταν are under the separate heading.
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Aitolia – Thermon: AE 1905 p. 55 f. = IG 9²,1,1 3 A (ca. 262 BCE) L.36: εἰ δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἔχοιεν τᾶς βοα/θοίας χρεῖαν οἱ μεταπεμνόμενοι τ[ὰμ βοάθια]ν, διδόντω τὰς σιταρχίας, ἔστε κα / ἐν οἶκον ἀποστείλωντι τοὺς |στρατιώ|τας.
- Achaia
 - [*] Dyme: SGDI 1615 = Rizakis (2008) no. 1 (280/279–275 BCE) L.7: ... ἢ μὴ ἀποδώσονται ἐν ταῖς ἀμέραις ἐν αἷς γέγγρ[α]/[πται, ζαμιούτω ἄ γε]ρουσία Δ καθ' ἐκάσταν ἀμέραν ἔστε κα ἀποδοῖεν, / [— —
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurous: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.14: ἔγκυος δὲ γενομένα ἐγ γαστρὶ ἐφόρει τρία ἔτη, ἔστε πα¹⁵/ρέβαλε ποι τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόκου.
 - [*] Argolis – Epidaurous: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.7 (verse): τυχοῦσα δὲ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθεμα ἐπεγράψατο· "οὐ μέγε/[θο]ς πίνακος θαυμαστέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ θεῖον, | πένθ' ἔτη ὡς ἐκύησε ἐγ γασ/τρὶ Κλεῶ βάρος, ἔστε | ἐγκατεκοιμάθη καί μιν ἔθηκε ὑγιῆ".
 - Epidaurous: IG 4²,1 59 (ca. 250–200 BCE) L.10: ὕστε[ρον δέ, ἐπειδήπερ ἔδοξ]/εν ταῖς βουλαῖς τῶν Ἐπιδα[υρίων καὶ τῶι δάμωι, τὰμ] / μὲν συμπολίτευσιν μὴ σ[υγχωρῆσαι, εἴ κα μὴ συμ]/πολιτεύηται κατὰ χρέος, [— — — — — — — — — —] / ..., ἔστε κα παύση[ται — — — — — — — — — —]

ἔτταν, ἔττε

- Boeotia
 - Orchomenos: IG 7 3172 = SEG 32:477 (222–200 BCE) L.145: παργενομένας Νικαρέτας Θίωνος Θεισπικᾶς / [κ]ῆ πραπτώσας τὸ δάνειον τὰν πόλιν κατ τὰς οὔπε[ρ]/αμερία[ς] τὰς ἰώσας αὐτῆ, [ἀνα]γκάσ<θεις>αν τὸ πολέμ[αρ]/χῦ κῆ ὁ ταμίας σουγχωρείσαντος τῷ δάμω δόμεν / [κ]ατ' αὐ[τὺ] αὐ[τ]ῶν σούγγραφον πὸτ τῆ οὐπαρχώση οὔπε[ρ]/¹⁵⁰/αμερίη, ἔτταν κα ἐνενηχθεῖ ἁ ἐνφορὰ ἐν οὔτο κ[ῆ] / κομίττ[ει] τὰ συγχωρεθέντα χρεῖματα·
 - [*] Lebadea: IG 7 3054 (undated) L.6: ὥστε λάδδουσθη [ἐκά]/[στω ἐνιαυ]τῷ ἔττε καν δῶει δραχ[μὰς] —
 - Koroneia: SEG 43:205 (3rd c. BCE) L.19: τὸ δὲ παρμετρεισάμενυ παρπωλεόνθω ἐν τῷ ²⁰/ Ὅμολοῖν μεινὶ ἀρξάμενυ ἀπὸ τᾶς ἐνδεκάτας ἔτ/ταν κα διαπωλειθεῖει ἅπασι, πωλέοντες τᾶς ἀμέρ/ας ἐκάστας μει πλεῖον κοφινῶν τριάκοντα τιμᾶς / ἄστινός κα ὁ δᾶμος ἐπιχειροτονεῖσει, καθὼς κῆ τὸν / λυπὸν σῖτον τὸν δαμόσιον·
 - Koroneia: Darmezis (1999) no. 123 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.12: παρμεινάτω δὲ κῆ / [Φ]ίλωνι, ἔττε πᾶν κα / γένειτη φετίων φικά/¹⁵/τι κῆ ἐνός·
 - Koroneia: Darmezis (1999) no. 129 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.11: π[αρα]/[μείναντα] αὐσαυτῷ / [κῆ τῆ γουνηκὶ αὐ]-/[τῷ], ἔ[ττε κα ζῶ]/¹⁵/[ωνθ]ι ἀνεκλε/[ίτ]ως,

ἐφ' ὅττωι

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: the formula ἐφ' ὅττωι ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν/ἔσται/ῆται in acts of manumission. For a discussion, see Lejeune (1940: 13–38).

ἐφ' ὅι

- Boeotia
 - [*] Lebadea: IG 7 3054 (undated) L.9: — —]ντος Φαναξίωτος, ἐφ' ὅ [— —
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: the formula ἐφ' ὅτι/οἷ ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν in acts of manumission. For a discussion, see Lejeune (1940: 13–38).
- Laconia and Messenia
 - Messene: SEG 51:457 (ca. 295 BCE?) L.10: βοαθεῖν / [Λυσίμαχον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἐφ' ὅτι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι παρακαλῶντι (But the ed. pr. read ὅπ)όκα Μεσσήνιοι: SEG 41:322)

ἐφ' ὅτιτε

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: the formula ἐφ' ὅτιτε/οἷτε ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν/ἔσται/ῆται in acts of manumission. For a discussion, see Lejeune (1940: 13–38).
 - Doris – Kytinion: SEG 25:606 (2nd c. BCE) L.1: ἐπὶ] / τριῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Ἀλέξων τῷ Σαράπει σῶμα γυναικεῖον ἄ[ι ὄνομα Πίστα, τιμᾶς ἀρ]/γυ[ρ]ίου [μ]νᾶν τεττάρων ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαι καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Π[ίστα τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνάν], / συνευδοκέοντος καὶ τοῦ ὑοῦ Θεουκρίτου, ἐφ' ὅτιτε ἐλευθέραν εἶμ[εν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ] /⁵/ [πάντ]ων καὶ ἀποτρέχουσα οἷς κα θέλη. (+ infinitive)

ἕως – see ἄς

I

ἵνα

- Thessaly
 - Hestiaiotes – Matropolis: SEG 37:494 (ca. 230–200 BCE) L.4:]ΤΑΝΕ ἵνα Θαμιαέα

ἔχιοι κασιέα [

• Northwest Greek

- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2506 A (277 BCE) L.29: πέμψαι] ^{/30/} δὲ καὶ ποτὶ Ἀθηναίους τοῦ δόγμα[τ]ο[ς τοῦδε ἀντίγρα]/φον, ἐσφραγισμένον, ἵνα εἰδῶντι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι οἱ] / Ἀμφικτίονες πλείσταν ἔχοντι πρόν[οιαν τῆς αὐτῶν] / πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας καὶ ...
- [*] Delphi: BCH 30 p. 326 no. 66 = FD 3,2 89 (beginning of the 2nd c. BCE) L.13: ἐπιμελ/[εἰσθ]αι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ περὶ τᾶς ἀνακομιδᾶς [αὐ]τοῦ, ἵνα παραπεμθῆ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα,
- Delphi: FD 3,1 227 (ca. 26 BCE) L.6: δι' ἃ καὶ δεδόχθαι [τ]ᾶι πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐπαινέσαι Ἀρίσταρχον Εὐφρονος / Ἀργεῖον καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶ[ι] τε καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τᾶς / πόλιος προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ^{/10/}λειαν, προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἡ πόλις τίθησι καὶ / τὰ ἄλλα τίμια πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις / τᾶς πόλιος ἀμῶν ὑπάρχει ἵνα, τούτων συντελουμένων, καὶ ἡ πόλις φαίνη/ται ποτὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν εὐχάριστος.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 227 (undated) L.6: ὑ[πάρχειν δὲ] / [τὰς τιμὰς ταύτας καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ· ἵνα δὲ καὶ δια]/[μῆνη τούτων ὑπόμναμ]α ἐν τὸν ἅπαντ[α χρόνον, ἀνα]/[γράψαι τόδε τὸ δόγμα ἐ]ς στάλας λιθίνα[ς δύο καὶ ἀνα]/^{10/}[θέμεν τὰμ μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς, τὰν δὲ ἐτέραν [ἐν Χίωι· τὸ δὲ] / [ἀνάλωμα δόμεν τὸν γρα]μματέα τῶν ἱερομ[ναμόνων].

• Elis

- Elis (found at Corinth): Minon (2007) no. 35 (after 191 BCE) L.14: [τὰν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ποήσσαι(?)] Λάδρομον τὸν ἐπιμε[λητὰν ὄπωρ τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε(?)] ^{/15/}

[γραφὲν ἐγ χάλκωμα ἀνατεθῆι(?) ἐν τ]ὸ ἱερὸν <ἴ>**γα** ἐ<v> πάντα τ[ὸν χρόνον
διαμένει(?) — — —].

- Laconia and Messenia

- [*] Laconia – Gytheion: SGDI 4568 = IG 5,1 1146 (after 71/70 BCE) L.25:

ἐπιτάξαντός τε τῆι πόλει ἀμῶν / Γαΐου Γαλλίου σῖτον καὶ Κοΐντου Ἀνχαρίου ἰμάτια
κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλ/λον τῆι πόλει ἀμῶν τὰν πᾶσαν σπουδὰν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
εἴσε/νεγκάμενοι ἐνέτυχον, ἴνα μὴ δῶ ἄ ἀμετέρα πόλις, ἀλλὰ ἐλα/φρισθῆ,

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

[*!] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 750 (287 BCE) L.9: — — ἴνα μὴ /¹⁰/ [πά]λιν

συναχθεσθῆ<ι> διὰ τὰ[v — — (Hermann quotes this passage as if the subordinator
ἴνα is present on the stone; this appears to be his error.)

K

καθά, κατά, καττά

- Thessaly

- [*] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 517 (214 BCE) L.17: ἐψάφισται τῆ πολιτεία

πρασσέμεν πὲρ τούννεον κατ τὰ ὀ βα/σιλεὺς ἔγραψε,

- Boeotia

- Orchomenos: SEG 26:575 (undated) L.5:]I καθὰ σουν I/[

- [*] Thespiiai: IG 7 1780 = Darmezis (1999) no. 137 = IThesp 214 (after 240 BCE)

L.10: ἐπὶ δέ τί κα πάθει Εὐτυχος, παρακ[ατ]/[α]τίθεται οὔτα τὰ σώμα[τα] / ἐναντία τῶ
Ἀσκλαπιῶ παρὰ / [Ε]πίτιμον Σαμίχω κῆ Σάμιχον / [κ]ῆ Καλλικράτης Ἐπιτίμ[ω]·
οὔτ[ω]ς] /¹⁵/ [δ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κῆ [ἐπι]/μέλεσθαι [δ]πως βέβαια εἴη αὐτ[ο]/ἴς ἄ
ἐλευθερία καθὰ Εὐτυχος ἀπ/[ἐ]θαι, ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον·

- [*] Thespriai: BSGW 1899 p. 142 = IThesp 56 (ca. 220 BCE) L.8: ὀπόττα δέ κα / ἀπίτευτα ἴωνθι ἐνβᾶση τὰν ἀρχὰν καθ' ἃ κα φήνειτη αὐτῆ σύνφορον εἶμεν.
- Thespriai: IThesp 29 = SEG 32:496 (ca. 250–240 BCE) L.18: ὑπαρχέμεν Σωσ/τράτοι τὸ φέργον παρ τᾶς πόλιος ἄως ^{/20/} κα βείλειτη, ἐπιμελομένοι τῶν τε παίδων κῆ τῶν νεανίσκων κῆ διδάσκον/τι καθὰ ὁ νόμος κέλειτη.
- [*] BCH 1899 p. 93 “häufig” (Hermann): see under Generalizing formula, Akraiphia.
- [*] Tanagra: REG 12 p. 71 = Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.4: μαντευομένας τᾶς πόλιος οὐπὲρ τῷ ἰαρῶ τᾶς Δάματρος κῆ τᾶς Κόρας, πό^{/5/}τερα κῆ αὐτῆ ἰαόντυς Ταναγρήυς καθὰ κῆ νιοῦν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἔσσειη / ἢ μεταφερόντυς ἐν τὸν τόπον τὸν τᾶς Εὐαμερίας εἰ ἐν πόλιν, ὁ Ἀπόλλ/λων ἔχρεισε ...
- Boeotia (found at Athens): IThesp 43bis (end of the 3rd/beginning of the 2nd c. BCE) L.2: κ|αθὰ φήγ|ειτη
- Generalizing formula. Thespriai: κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, καθὰ κῆ τῶς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης in IG 7 1721 = IThesp 2 (215–213 BCE).
- Generalizing formula. Akraiphia: [ὑπαρ]χέμεν αὐτῶς κα|θὰ κῆ τῶς ἄλλυς|/ [πρ]οξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης γέγρα[πτῆ] in Feyel (1936: 11) no. 1 (ca. 150 BCE) L.2. κῆ εἶμεν αὐτῶς τὰ τίμια κῆ τὰ ἄλλα φιλάνθρωπα πάντα καθὰ κῆ τῶς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης τᾶς πόλιος Ἀκρηφειῶν γέγραπτη in Perdrizet (1899: 93) no. 3 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.8, L.12, L.16, L.19, L.23; IG 7 4128 (ca. 200–150 BCE) L.4.
- Generalizing formula. Thisbe: κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, καθὰ κῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις in SEG 3:345 and 3:346 (3rd c. BCE).
- Generalizing formula. Oropos: IG 7 280 = EtΩ 49 (ca. 240–180) L.6: κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖ καθὰ κῆ τοῖ[ς] / [ἄ]λλοις προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέτης.

- Northwest Greek
 - FD 3,1 294 (425–375 BCE) Col.7 L.6: αἰ δὲ] διαβολὰν δαμοσίᾳ[ι ἔχ]/[ἠι κ]αὶ μὴ πε[πιθώση] τοὺς χρήσ[α]ντας, κατ[αβό]/[λα ἔ]στω τοῦ[τε Βυσίου]υ μηνὸς κ[αἰ] τοῦ Βουκ[ατί]/[ου τ]αῖ ἐνδ[εκάται. αἰ δὲ μὴ καταβ]άλλει, ἀπ[οτι]/¹⁰/[νέτω τ]ὸ ρ[ύσιον τά τε] χρή[ματα αὐ]τοῦ ἰαρά ἔ[στ]/[ω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ] αὐτὸς [ἄτιμο]ς ἔστω πὰ[ρ Δ]/[αλφοῖς ἔντε κάπαλλα]γῆι τοῦ [χρέους· γινέστ]/[ω δὲ κατ αὐτοῦ ἐξαγγελί]α κάθ' [ἄ] ἐξαγγέλεται/[ι πὲρ τῶν στάσιων καὶ τ]ᾶς στασιαρ[χίας].
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2501, 2 = CID 1 10 (380/379 BCE) L.9: — τῶγ γ]/¹⁰/εγγραμμένων μὴ ἀπογραψ[ἔ]ν ἄλλ[ο] ἢ κατὰ τοὶ ἱερομνάμ[ο]νες κε[λευσέοντι —
- Arcadia
 - [*] Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988 2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.1: πρεσβευτᾶν καὶ θεα[ρῶν π]α[ρ]αγεγο[νότων] π[α]ρὰ τᾶς πόλιος? / τῶμ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρου, Φιλίσκ[ωι τῶι Πυθα]/γόρωι, Κόνωνος τῶι Διονυσίωι, Λαμπέτωι τῶ[ι Πυθαγό]/ραι καὶ ἀποδόντων τὸ ψάφισμα, ἰν οἷ κατακεχ[ώριστο] /⁵/ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ γεγὼς ὑπὸ τοῖ Ἀπόλλωνι τοῖ ἰν Δε[λφοῖς,] / λῶϊον ἴμεν καὶ ἄμεινον τοῖς σεβομένοις Ἄρτεμιν / Λευκοφρυηνὰν καὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἱερὰν καὶ / ἄσυλον νομίζουσιν καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάν<τω>ν δια/λεχθέσσι, καθὰ εἶχον τὰς ἰντολὰς παρὰ τᾶι ἰδίαι πό¹⁰/λι <κ>αὶ ἀρμολζόντ<ω>ς τοῖς ἰν τοῖ{ς} ψαφίσματι γεγραμ/μένοις,
- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Messenia (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 43 (3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.4: ἐνεφάνιζον τὰν τε οἰ⁵/κειότατα καὶ τὰν φιλίαν τὰν προὔπαρχουσαν ποτὶ τὸ / κοινὸν τῶμ Μεσσανίων καὶ ἀπέδωκαν τὸ ψάφισμα, ἐ/[ν] ᾧ κατεκεχώριστο ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ

γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ / Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς, λώϊον εἶμεν καὶ ἄμεινον / τοῖς
σεβομένοις Ἄρτεμιν Λευκοφρυηνὰν καὶ τὰν πόλιν /¹⁰/ καὶ τὰν χώραν ἱερὰν καὶ
ἄσυλον νομίζοντι, κα[ἰ π]ερὶ / τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων διαλεχθέντων, καθὰ εἶ[χον] / τὰς
ἐντολὰς παρὰ τῆς ἰδίας πόλεως ἀρμοζό[ν]τ[ως τοῖς] / ἐν τῷ ψαφίσματι
καταγεγραμμένοις,

- Messene: SEG 58:369 (ca. 300–250 BCE) L.1: Συμμαχία πο[τι - - ca. 14 - - καὶ] /
Ἀπεραίους κ[αὶ Ἐλευθερναίους καὶ] / Σιβρυτίους κα[ὶ Ἄνωπολίτας] / *vacat* / καθὰ
καὶ ποτὶ [- - - - - ca. 13 - - - - - ἐποίη]/⁵/σαντο τοὶ Με[σσανιοὶ -

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

- Argos: Vollgraff (1916: 221) (3rd c. BCE, first half) L.29: ἐπιμεληθῆμεν δὲ τούτων
τὸν ταμίαν κα[ὶ τὸν]/³⁰/ς ὀγδοήκοντα, καθὰ ἔδοξε τῷ δάμωι τῶν Ἀργείων.
- Epidaurus: SEG 11:401 (243/2 BCE; improved reading of IG 4²,1 70) L.2:
[ἐ]ψαφίσθ[αι ? - - - - - κα]/θὰ ποτήλθεν ποτὶ τὰν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σ[ύνοδον
...
○ [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 757 (146 BCE) Face B L.6: [ἔδοξε τοῖς πατριώτα]ις τοῖς
πε[ρ]ὶ Πολ[ύμ]ναστον δόμεν τὸ χωρ[ί]ον τὸ ποὶ τοῖς μνάμα[σιν] αὐτ[ῶν] / [ἐς τὰν
σωτηρίαν καὶ ἐ]ς τὸν διατειχισμὸν καθὰ ἔδοξε τῷ δάμωι[ι]. This expression is
repetitively used in this document.
○ [*] Corinth (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 42 = DGE 128 (end of the
3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.10: ἔδοξε τῆι ἐκκλησί[αι·] / ἀποδέξασθαι τὰν ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ τοὺς
ἀγῶνας ἰσοπυ/θίους, καθὰ παρακαλεῖ, καὶ ...

καθάπερ, κατάπερ, καττάπερ

- Thessaly

- [*] Thessaliothis – Pharsalos: IG 9,2 234 (3rd c. BCE) L.1: ἡ πόλις Φαρσαλίουν τοῖς καὶ οὐς ἐξ ἀρχᾶς συμπολιτευομένοις καὶ συμπο/λ[εμισάντε]σσι πάνσα προθυμία ἔδουκε τὰν πολιτείαν **καττάπερ** Φαρσαλίοις τοῖς / ἐ[ξ ἀρχᾶς πολ]ιτευομένοις·
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 27:202 (220–210 BCE) L.15: ἐψαφίσ/τει τᾷ πολιτεία δεδόστειν / Χρυσογόνου παρ τᾶς πόλιος / πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν πάν/τουν καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις ^{/20/} [**κ]αττάπερ** Λαρισαίοις, φυλᾶς ἐλο/[μ]έν[ο]ν τᾶς κῆ βέλλειται·
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 55:605 (shortly after 196 BCE) L.27: **καττάπερ Βάκχιος** Α.ΣΟΥΣΕΙΝ[—
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169) L.32: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια ὑπαρχέ/μεν αὐτοῦ **καττάπερ** καὶ Λαρισαίοις
- Thessaly (possibly Larisa; found at Aiolis – Aigai): SEG 59:1406 B (ca. 250–196 BCE) L.19: ἐψάφισαν οἱ Πετθαλοὶ ἀτέ/^{20/}λεῖαν ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς πάντων πλὰν εἰ πόσσα κ/ε ἐπ ἐμπορία ἄγουνθι εἰ ἐξάγουνθι, καὶ πολι/τείαν πάντεσσι πᾶ νά κε βέλλουνθαι Πετθαλί/ας καὶ ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλις καὶ ἱερὰ κοιν/ὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα **καττάπερ** Πετθαλοῖς ἔνθι·
- [*] Pelasgiotis – Krannon: IG 9,2 458 (3rd c. BCE) L.2: ἡ πόλις ἡ Κρανουν/ν<ί>ο<υ>ν ἔδουκε Ἀρχαρέ/τα Λεπτιναία Καλυδο/^{5/}υνία πολιτείαν καὶ ἔν[κ]/τασιν **κατάπερ** κοὶ ἄλλ[οι] / [**Κ]ραννούνιοι** καὶ φυλᾶ[ς] / [ἔμ]μεν τᾶς κε δε[ίλη]/[τα]ι.
- [*] Pelasgiotis – Krannon: IG 9,2 461a (before 168 BCE) L.5: δεδόσθαι αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ τοῖς / [ἐσ]γόνοις πολιτείαν, **καττά[περ** τοῖς πολί[ι]/[ταις] τοῖς Κραν<ν>ουν{ν}ίοις,
- Pelasgiotis – Morsion: SEG 48:660 (3rd c. BCE) L.2: ἔδουκε ἡ πόλις Μ[ορσ]ί/είουν τοῖς δικασ[τα]/ῖς Ἀτραγίοις, Τάλ[ου]/^{5/}νι Ἀμφιλοχείου, Γλ[αύ]/κου

- Ἀμφιδαμαντε[ίο]/υ, Σίμου Ἰσχυριδαίο[υ], / και τοῦ γραμματε[ῖ] / Πολυαίνου
 Ἐλεανδρ¹⁰/είου, πολιτείαν και ἰσ/οτιμίαν και αὐτοῖς / και γενεᾶ και ἐμ πο<λ>/έμου
 και ἐν ἱρεῖνα **κατ/τάπερ Μοψειάταις ἐ¹⁵/στί** κατ τὸν νόμον ^v / και ἀσυλίαν και
 ἐπινο/μίαν και παθόντεσσι / και δρασάντεσσι,
- Pelasgiotis – Morsion: García Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias (2007) no. 4 (end of the 3rd – mid 2nd c. BCE) L.6: ἰσότημον ἔ/μμεν και παθόντα και δράσαν/τα και τοῦν κοινοῦν
 κοινανεῖμε/ν πάμτουν και ταγᾶν και λειτο¹⁰/ρειᾶν και τοῦν ἄλλουν πάντου/ν
καττάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Μοπειᾶται και φυλαῖς ἔμμεν ποίας κε κ/λαρουθεῖ·
 - Pelasgiotis – Morsion: García Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias (2007) no. 5 (end of the 3rd – mid 2nd c. BCE) L.8: ἔδοξε τοῦ κ[οινοῦ] Μοψείουν δόμεν [E]ὑ[νόσ]/του
 Μενεμαχείου [πολι]τείαν και αὐτοῦ ¹⁰/ και ἐσγό[νοις και] ἰσοτιμίαν και πα/θόντι και
 δράσαντι **καττάπερ και Μοψείεσ/σι ὑπάρχει πολίταις**, ἔμμεν φυλαῖς ἐλο/μένου ποίας
 κε β[έλλ]ειται·
 - Pelasgiotis – Morsion: García Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias (2007) no. 6 (end of the 3rd – mid 2nd c. BCE) L.2: . . .] ἔμμεν και πα/[θόντι και δ]ράσαντι και τοῦν / [κοινοῦν]
 κοινανεῖμεν και ⁵/ [- - τ]αγ[ᾶν και λ]ειτο[ρε]/[ιᾶν και]ῖ τοῦ[ν ἄλλ]λων π[ά]/[ν]το[υ]ν
καττάπ[ερ και] / [τοῖς ἄλλ]οις Μο[ψειάταις] / [ὑπάρχει -]ΥΣΑΝ[- -
- Boeotia
 - Haliartos: SEG 32:456 (ca. 235–200 BCE) L.18: δόμεν δὲ κῆ ἀνάλ[ωμ]α [τῶς
 τα]/μίας δραχμάων ἑκατὸν πεντεῖκο[ν]/²⁰/τα **καθάπερ** κῆ ἐν τὰ Μωσεῖα·
 - Thespiiai: Darnezin (1999) no. 138 = IThesp 213 (2nd c. BCE) L.11: Φιλωνίδας [δ]/έ,
καθάπερ ὁμόμοκε τὸν Ἀσκλαπιόν, / ἐμενέμεν τοῖς ὄρκυς·
 - Megaris – Aigosthena: IG 7 207 (223–201 BCE) L.11: δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι, ὁπόττοι κα

- παργινύ/ωνθη Σιφείων ἐν τὰς κοινὰς θυσίας ἄς δαΐζοι ἀ πό/[λ]ις, ὑπαρχόμεν αὐτοῖς,
καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς πολ/ίτης·
- [*] Numerous examples of the generalizing formula **καθάπερ** τῆς ἄλλης προξένου κὴ εὐεργέτης with varieties. Hermann gives only one instance, IG 7 513 (Tanagra).
 - Generalizing formula. Orchomenos: IG 7 3166 (ca. 222–205 BCE) L.9: κὴ [τ]ᾶ ἄλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προ/¹⁰/ξένου κὴ εὐεργέτης **γέγραπτη**. Perhaps also IG 7 21 (early 2nd c. BCE; found at Megara) L.24: καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** καὶ τοῖ[ς]/²⁵/ ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος Ὀρχομενί[ων] / **γέγραπται**.
 - Generalizing formula. Chaironeia: κὴ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** κὴ τῆς ἄλλης προξένου in SEG 57:439 (late 3rd c. BCE) and IG 7 3287 (early 2nd c. BCE).
 - Generalizing formula. Koroneia: Three inscriptions dated ca. 240–220 BCE: SEG 23:286 L.6: τᾶλλα] **καθάπερ** κὴ τ[οῖς ... ; SEG 23:289 L.7: **καθάπ]ερ** κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προ/[ξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτης; SEG 23:290 L.5 κὴ τ]ᾶ ἄλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις [προξέ]/[νοις]. Four undated inscriptions: IG 7 2859 L.7: **κα]θ[ά]π[ερ]** κὴ τοῖς ἄ[λλ... ; IG 7 2860 L.5: κὴ τὰ ἄλλα] πάντα **καθάπερ** κὴ τ[ῆς ... ; IG 7 2861 L.7: [τὰ ἄλλα **κα]θ[ά]π[ερ]** κὴ τοῖς ἄ[λλ... ; IG 7 2865 L.1: **καθ]άπερ** τοῖς ἄ[λλοις
 - Generalizing formula. Haliartos: SEG 28:453 (late 4th c. BCE) L.9: [κὴ τᾶ]λλα πάντα /¹⁰/ [**καθ]ά]περ τοῖς / [ἄλλο]ις προξένοις.**
 - Generalizing formula. Onchestos: SEG 32:476 (mid 4th c. BCE) L.6: καὶ / ἦμεν {ν} οἱ ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἀ/συλίαν καὶ ἐν ἱράναι καὶ / ἐν πολέμοι καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἱ/¹⁰/κίας ἔντασιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα / **καθάπερ** τοῖς ἄλλοις προ/ξένοις ἅπαντα,
 - Generalizing formula. Thespiiai: κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις in

- IThesp 1 (end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd c. BCE); 20 (early 2nd c. BCE). κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις in IThesp 29 (ca. 250–240 BCE). κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτης in IThesp 10, 11 (217–214 BCE), 23 (early 2nd c. BCE). κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα καθάπερ κὴ τῆς ἄλλης προξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτης in IThesp 22 (early 2nd c. BCE); IG 7 1726 (undated). κὴ τὰ λυπὰ πάντα καθάπερ κὴ τῆς ἄλλης προξένου κὴ εὐεργέτης in IThesp 3, 4, 5, 6 7, 8, 9 (all ca. 210 BCE), 12, 14, 18 = IG 7, 1725, 19 = IG 7 1722 (all late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE). κὴ τὰ λυπὰ πάντα καθάπερ κὴ τῆς ἄλλης προξένου κὴ εὐεργέτης τᾶς πόλιος in IThesp 31 (early 2nd c. BCE).
- Generalizing formula. Akraiphia: IG 7 4127 (ca. 200–150 BCE) L.5: [εἶμεν αὐτ]ῆς τὰ τίμια κὴ τὰ ἄλλα φιλόανθρωπα πάντα κ[αθάπερ] / [τῆς ἄλλης προξ]ένου κὴ εὐεργέτης τᾶς πόλιος Ἀκρηφιείων. Perdrizet (1899: 90) no.2 (ca. 200 BCE) L.8 [κ]ῆ εἶμεν αὐτῆς ἔππασ[ιν] / [γ]ᾶς κὴ φυκίας κὴ ἀσουλί[αν κὴ] / ἀσφάλιαν κὴ πολέμω κ[ῆ] ἱρά]/νας κὴ κατὰ γᾶν κὴ κατὰ [θά]/λατταν καθάπερ κὴ τ[ῆς ἄλ]/λῆς προξένου κὴ εὐε[ργέτης] / γέγραπτη.
 - Generalizing formula. Thisbe: κὴ τᾶ]λλα πάντα, καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις in SEG 3:348. κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα, καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις (without κὴ after καθάπερ) in SEG 3:347. κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα, καθάπερ κὴ τῆς ἄλλης προξένου κὴ εὐεργέτης in IG 7 2224 and SEG 3:349. κὴ τᾶλλα πάντα, καθάπερ κὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτης in SEG 3:343 and 3:344.
 - Generalizing formula. Chorsiai (none of the inscriptions here is dated): All fragments are compatible with κὴ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτης. IG 7 2385 L.11: καθάπε[ρ κὴ ... ; IG 7 2386 L.3: κὴ τ]ᾶ ἄλλα πάντα καθά-/περ

- τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κῆ /^ς/ [εὐεργέτης] ; IG 7 2862 L.4: **καθ[θ]άπερ** τοῖς ἄλλοις [προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέτης] ; IG 7 2388 L.7: τὰ ἄλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** [τῆς] / ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέ/της.
- Generalizing formula. Tanagra: κῆ τᾶλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** κῆ τῆς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης in IG 7 523, 524 (after mid 3rd c. BCE), 510 (undated). [κ]ῆ τᾶλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέτης (without κῆ after καθάπερ) in IG 7 505, 506, 507, 508 (ca. 222–205 BCE), 505, 515, 516 (undated). κῆ τᾶλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** τῆς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης in IG 7 509 (ca. 222–205 BCE), 513, 514, 517, 518, 519 (undated). κῆ τᾶλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** κῆ τῆς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Ταναγρήων in IG 7 525.
 - Generalizing formula. Oropos (all inscriptions are dated ca. 240–180 BCE unless otherwise noted): κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα / **καθάπερ** κῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέταις τῶ κυνῶ Βοιωτῶν in ΕτΩ 33, 34 = IG 7 4261, 92 = IG 7 352; with τῆς λυπῆς προξένυς in ΕτΩ 93; κῆ τὰ ἄλλα **καθάπερ** κῆ τῆς ἄλλυς / προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης ἐόντεσσι τῶ κυνῶ Βοιωτῶν in ΕτΩ 74. κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** κῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέτης in ΕτΩ 35, 37 = IG 7 4260; and, with the finite verb, ΕτΩ 195 L.11: κῆ τᾶλλα πάντα **κα[θ]άπερ** κῆ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις κῆ εὐεργέτης **γέγραπτη**. With υ for οι: κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** κῆ τῆς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης in ΕτΩ 44, 46, 47, and with peculiar spelling, ΕτΩ 41 L.6: [- - κῆ τᾶλλα] / πάντα **καθάπερ** κῆ τῆς ἄλλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης. Without κῆ after καθάπερ, ΕτΩ 188 = IG 7 283 (undated) L.5: κῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα **καθάπερ** τῆς / [ἄ]λλυς προξένυς κῆ εὐεργέτης.
 - Generalizing formula. Plataia: IG 7 1664 (undated) L.6: [τᾶλλα π]άντα **καθάπερ** κῆ

- τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις [κὴ εὐεργέτης].
- Generalizing formula. Boeotia – unknown provenance: SEG 23:279 (late 3rd c. BCE)

L.7: κὴ τὰ ἄλλα πά]ντα **καθάπερ** τοῖς ἄλλο[ις] / [προξένοις κὴ εὐεργέτη]ς.
 - Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 34 (end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.22: ἀποστέλλειν δὲ καὶ θεαροὺς καὶ θύειν, **καθάπερ** καὶ / ἐν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας, ὄ<κ>α παραγγέλλω[ν]τι Μάγνητες,
 - Delphi: SEG 45:469 (ca. 400–356 BCE) L.3: - - **καθάπ]ερ** τῷ ἱερομνάμον[ι] / [. . . .

L.9: αἱ δὲ κα ἐλλιμενί¹⁰/[σηι, **καθάπ]ερ** τοῖς θεαροῖς ἐξέστω ἐν Ἄμ/[φικτιόνε]σσι δικάξασθαι.
 - Delphi: SEG 22:448 (ca. 360 BCE) L.14: ὃς δ[έ κα ποιῆι παρὰ] ^{/15/} ταῦτα, μ[ὴ ἔμ]εν αὐτῶ]/ι εἴσοδον ἐ[ς τὸ μαν]/τεῖον **καθάπε[ρ Ἀσκ<λ>]**/απιάδαις, μηδέ, [αἶ τ]/ι ἄλλο γέρας δίδο[τ]/²⁰/[α]ι Ἀσκληαπιάδα<ι>ς πα/[ρ]ὰ Δελφῶν, μὴ δίδοσ/[θ]αι, αἶ κα μὴ ποιῆι κ/[ατ]ὰ τὰ γεγραμ<μ>ένα.
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 153 (246 or 242 BCE) L.11: δεδόχθαι τῷ πόλει τῶν Δελ/φῶν τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας τᾶς Στρατονικίδος καὶ τὰμ πόλιν τῶν [Σμυρ]/ναίων ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶμεν, **καθάπερ** ὃ τε βασιλεὺς **ἐπέστελκε** [καὶ] / ἅ τῶν Σμυρναίων πόλις **ἄξιοι**,
 - [*] Delphi: BCH 25 p. 137 = FD 3,1 358 (219/8 BCE) L.3: περὶ τᾶς οἰκίας διελέγοντο ὅπως αὐτοῖς διατηρῆται **καθάπερ** καὶ πρότερον,
 - [*] Delphi: BCH 30 p. 219 no. 35 = FD 3,2 20 (178 BCE) L.9: καὶ θύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ / ^{10/} τῶν βωμῶν **καθάπερ** Δελφοὺς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια,
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 239 (160/159 BCE) L.5: ... κ[αὶ ἔγραψεν] / ὑπὲρ τούτων ποτὶ τὰν

- πόλιν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξαπέστειλε καθάπερ ὁμολόγησε κα[ὶ ἐπιδέδω]/κε τῆ πόλει ὥσπερ εἰς σειτωνίαν ἀργυρίου τρία τάλαντα ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ ἡμιτάλαν[τον].
- [*] Delphi: BCH 30 p. 292 no. 51 = FD 3,2 50 (106 or 97 BCE) L.10: καὶ εἰ[ῆμεν] / πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐποποιοῖς συναγμένοις κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρ[η]σμὸν προξενίαν καὶ προμα[ν]/τείαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλόανθρωπα καθάπερ ἐψάφισται αὐτοῖς τό τε κ[οι]νὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων καὶ ἀπαρ[ῶ] μῶν πόλις.
 - [*] Delphi: Examples of the comparing formula ἀσυλίαν/ἀτέλειαν/ἐπιτιμῶν καθάπερ Δελφοῖς. Hermann gives two: SGDI 2582 = FD 3,3 221(217–212 BCE); SGDI 2764 = FD 3,4 391 (350–300 BCE). Also SEG 16:309 (373–347 BCE), 45:571 (338/7 BCE?), 16:313 and 18:171 (both 336/5 BCE), and numerous others. SEG 31:557 (early 4th c. BCE) has ... ἀσυλίαν /⁵/ [καὶ ἐπιτιμ]ίαν κατάπερ Δελφοῖς.
 - [*] Delphi: Examples of the generalizing formula καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις. Hermann gives one: SGDI 2658 (300–266 BCE). Also FD 3,1 392 (355 BCE), FD 3,4 382 (333/2 BCE), 388 (325–300 BCE), 408.
 - [*] Aitolians (found at Delphi): SGDI 1413 = FD 3,3 240 (183/2 BCE) L.18: καὶ καθάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης ἀνα[δεικνύει] τὸ τέμ[ενος] / [τᾶς Ἀθά]νας τᾶς Νικαφόρου τὸ ποτὶ Περγάμοι ἄσυλον, καθὼς κα ὀρίζη, συναποδεδέχθαι τοὺς Αἰτω[λοῦς] /²⁰/ [ἄσυλον] εἶμεν αὐτὸ τὰ ἀπ' Αἰτωλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίαι κατοικούντων καὶ μηθένα ἄγειν μηδὲ ῥυσ[ι]/[ἄζειν ἐ]ντὸς τῶν ὀρίων.
 - Lokris? (correspondence between Thronion and Skarpheia found at Delphi): FD 3,4 38 (end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.7: ἀμφιλλέγει ἀ πόλις τῶν Θροινέω[ν] / [περὶ τᾶς ἰε]ροναμοσύνας ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Σκαρφέων. “ἐπιβάλλει μοι τᾶς τῶ[ν] / [Ἐπικν]αμι<δ>ίων Λοκρῶν ἀμφικτιονείας τὸ τρίτον μέρος, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα

- ἐ[ν] /¹⁰/ [τὰς θυ]σίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα πρότερον ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφικτιόνας
συ[μ]/[βέβλ]ημαι, καὶ καθ' ὃ κέκριμαι πρότερον περὶ τούτων ἐν Ἀμφίσσαι κατὰ τὸ[ν]
 / [ἀμ]φικτιονικὸν νόμον· ...”
- [*] Epeiros (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 32 (end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.31: ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μά/γνησιν φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις οὖσιν τὸ δίκαιον καθάπερ καὶ / τοῖς προξένοις τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν.
 - Megaris
 - [*!] Megara: IG 7 21 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.22: καὶ εἴμεν αὐτοῖς ἴσο/τέλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας οὖσας καὶ [κα]/τὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα καθάπερ καὶ τοῖ[ς] /²⁵/ ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος Ὀρχομενί[ων] / γέγραπται. (Given under Megaris by Hermann, but this text is a decree by the Boeotian city Orchomenos.)
 - Arcadia
 - Mantinea: SEG 37:340 (early 4th c. BCE) L.3: τὸς [Ἐ]λ[ι]/[σ]φάσιος Μαντινέας ἦναι φίσος καὶ ὑμοῖος, κ[ο]ινάζοντα[ς πάν]/⁵/των ὅσων καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς, φέρ[ο]ντας τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν π[ό]λιν / ἰμ Μαντιν[έ]αν ἰν τὸς νομὸς τὸς Μαντινέων, μινόνσας τᾶς [πό]/λιος τῶν Ἐλισφασίων ὥσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον, κώμα[ν] ἔα/σαν τὸς Ἐλισφάσιος τῶν Μαντινέων — θεαρὸν ἦναι ἐξ Ἐλισό[ν]/τι κατάπερ ἐς ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλιν — τὰς θυσίας θύεσθαι τὰς ἰν Ἐ/¹⁰/λισόντι καὶ τὰς θεαρίας δέκεσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.
 - [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.42: εἰ δ' ἄμ μὴ / κατυστάση, τὰ ἐπιζάμια ἀπυτειέτω, κατάπερ / ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔργοις τοῖς ὑπεραμέροις τέτακτοι.

- [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.45: εἰ δ' ἄν τις τῶν ἐργωνᾶν ἢ τῶν ἐργαζομένων / ἐπηρειάζεν δέατοι ἰν τὰ ἔργα ἢ ἀπειθῆναι τοῖς / ἐπιμελομένοις ἢ κατυφρονῆναι τῶν ἐπιζαμίων / τῶν τεταγμένων, κύριοι ἐόντω οἱ ἐσδοτῆρες / τὸ μὲν ἐργάταν ἐσδέλλοντες ἐς τοῖ ἔργοι, /⁵⁰/ τὸν δὲ ἐργῶναν ζαμιόντες ἰν ἐπίκρισιγ, κατάπερ / τὸς ἐπισυνισταμένους ταῖς ἐσδοκαῖς γέγραπτο[ι].
- Tegea: Dubois (1988 2:61) (324 BCE) L.16: Τᾶν δὲ οἰκιάων τιμὰν κομιζέσθω τῷ οἴκω ἐκάστ/ω δύο μνᾶς· τὰν δὲ τιμασίαν ἦναι τᾶν οἰκιάων κατάπερ ἂ πόλις νομίζει.
- Tegea: Dubois (1988 2:61) (324 BCE) L.38: τὰ μὲμ πὸς τὰν θεὸν ἂ πόλις διωρθώ/σατω, ὁ ἔχων τὸ πᾶμα ἀπυδότω τῷ κατηνηκότι τὸ ἦμ/⁴⁰/ισσον κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι· ὅσοι δὲ αὐτοὶ ὄφηλον τᾶι θεοῖ συνινγύας ἢ ἄλλως, εἰ μὲν ἄν φαίνητοι ὁ ἔχων τὸ / πᾶμα διωρθωμένος τᾶι θεοῖ τὸ χρέος, ἀπυδότω τὸ ἦμ/ισσον τῷ κατιόντι κατάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι μηδὲν παρέλ/κων.
- [*] Orchomenos: AM 1909 p. 239 = IG 5,2 343= Dubois (1988 2:146) (4th c. BCE) L.14 by Dubois (L.5 by IG 5,2): τὸς δὲ προτέρος [ι]/γφοίκος τᾶς τομ/[ά]δος λαχῆν, κατά/[π]ερ ἔδοξε ἀμφο[τ]/[έ]ροις.
- Orchomenos: SEG 33:319 = Dubois (1988 2:175) (3rd c. BCE) L.12: ἦναι δὲ αὐτ/ῶι γᾶς ἴνπασιν καὶ / ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἀσυλί/¹⁵/[αν κ]αὶ ἰν πολέμοι κα[ἰ ἰν] / [ι]ράναι καθάπερ τοῖς / ἄλλοις προξένοις.
- Orchomenos: Dubois (1988 2:172) (3rd c. BCE) L.5: εἶναι δὲ [α]ὐτ[ῶ]ι ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἔμπ[α]σιν καὶ / ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἐπινομίαν καθάπερ τοῖ/[ς] πολί ταις ἐμ πολέμοι καὶ ἐν ἰρ/[ά]ναι].
- Thelphousa: Dubois (1988 2:229) (242 BCE) L.7: ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλι τῶ[ν] Θελφουσίων τᾶς / τε θυσίας κοινανῆν καὶ τῷ ἀγῶνος καὶ τᾶς ἐκεχηρίας, καθάπερ /

ἀπαγγέλλονσι οἱ Κῶιοι·

- Alipheira: Dubois (1988 2:248) (end of the 3rd/beginning of the 2nd c. BCE) L.4: - -
- - καθάπερ ἔδειξαν οἱ Ἀλιφε⁵/[ιρεῖς - - -]
- Laconia and Messenia
 - Messene: SEG 43:135 (317 BCE) L.8: - -]α καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰθωμ/[αίοις - - - -
----- αὐτ]οῖς καὶ γένει·
 - [*] Messene: SGDI 4640 = IG 5,1 1425 (late 4th/3rd c. BCE) L.12: εἶμεν δὲ / αὐτῶι
τὰν προ/ξενίαν καθάπ¹⁵/ερ τοῖς ἄλλοι[ς] / προξένοις·
 - Messene: SEG 55:509 (4th c. BCE) L.4: πρ]/⁵/όξενον [εἶμεν καὶ] / εὐεργέ[ταν . . .ca,
6. . .]/ν αὐτὸν [καὶ ἐκγόνο]/υς, εἶμε[ν δ' αὐτῶι ? - - - κα]/θάπερ [τοῖς ἄλλοις] /¹⁰/
προξέν[οις]. . .
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - Argos (found at Arcadia – Pallantion): SEG 11:1084 (ca. 318–316 BCE) L.11:
δεδοχθαι τῶι δάμωι· τὰν τε φιλιαν / ἦμέν σφιν καθάπερ αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς / ἀξίωται,
ταῦτα δὲ ἀγγραφῆμεν / ἐν στάλαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Λυκείου, ...
 - Argos (found at Arcadia – Pallantion): SEG 11:1084 (ca. 318–316 BCE) L.38: ἦμεν
δέ σφιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καθά/περ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ [θε]/⁴⁰/[α]ροδόκοις.
 - Argos: SEG 33:276 (ca. 318–316 BCE; a copy of SEG 11:1084 placed at Argos)
L.15: ἦ[μεν] /¹⁶/ [δέ σφιν] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καθάπ[ερ τοῖς] / [ἄλλοις πρ]οξένοις καὶ
θεαρο[δόκοις].
 - [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 497 (197–195 BCE) L.11: δεδοχθαι τοῖς κωμέ/ταις ἐς
προεδρίαν καλῖσθαι τοῖς Διονυσί/οις, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν[ς] ἄλλο[νς] ε]ὐε[ργέ]/τανς,

καθό, κατό, καττό

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 31:575, with restoration by García Ramón (2010: 239 fn. 17) (170 BCE) L.19: τάν τε ἑνδαμίαν πε[ποιέ]ινθο, οἶαν /²⁰/ ποτείνεκε ἄνδρεσσι [καλ]οῖς κάγαθοῖς, / καὶ τοῦν πολιτᾶν, κατ[τό] κε ἕκαστος / χρ[εῖ]αν εἶχε, ἀντείχο[ν]το μετὰ πάν/σας σπουδᾶς καὶ πρ[ο]θυμίας·
 - Pelasgiotis – Krannon: Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (179–142 BCE) L.20: καὶ ἐπαγγέλλασθαι / τᾶ πόλι τὸς δευμένος παρ’ ἐκκλεισσίαι / ἕκαστον καττό κε βέλλεται δουρρᾶν τᾶ / {τα} πόλι ἐν τὰ διεσαφειμένα δάνεια·
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2088 (ca. 140–100 BCE) L.18: παραμεινάτω / δὲ Δικαιοσύνα παρὰ Πραξίαν καὶ Πραξῶ ἄχρι οὗ κα ζῶ/²⁰/ωντι ἀμφοτέροι ποιέουσα τὸ ποτιτασσόμενον / πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιέοι ἢ μὴ παραμένοι Δικαι/οσύνα, ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων ἐπιτιμέοντες καθ’ ὅ / κα ἀδικέη.
 - Lokris? (correspondence between Thronion and Skarpheia found at Delphi): FD 3,4 38 (end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.7: ἀμφιλλέγει ἅ πόλις τῶν Θρονιέω[ν] / [περὶ τᾶς ἰε]ροναμοσύνας ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Σκαρφέων· “ἐπιβάλλει μοι τᾶς τῶ[ν] / [Ἐπικν]αμι<δ>ίων Λοκρῶν ἀμφικτιονείας τὸ τρίτον μέρος, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ἐ[ν] /¹⁰/ [τὰς θυ]σίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα πρότερον ἐν τοῦς Ἀμφικτίονας συ[μ]/ [βέβλ]ημαι, καὶ καθ’ ὅ κέκριμαι πρότερον περὶ τούτων ἐν Ἀμφίσσαι κατὰ τὸ[ν] / [ἀμ]φικτιονικὸν νόμον· ...”
- Laconia and Messenia
 - Messene: SEG 23:203 (1st c. BCE?) L.3: - -οῦντος καθ’ ὅ τις δύν[αται] - -
 - Messenia – Andania: IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.24: ὅσα<ς> δὲ δεῖ διασκευάζεσθαι

εἰς θεῶν διάθεσιν, ἐχόντω τὸν εἵματισμόν, ^{/25/} καθ' ὃ ἄν οἱ ἱεροὶ διατάξωντι.

καθοῖα, κατοῖα

- Thessaly
 - Thessaly (found at Kos): SEG 53:851 (242 BCE) Frgm. B L.4: καὶ ἄσυλον ἔμμεν] τὸ ἱαρόν κατοῖα ἃ Κούουν πόλις ἄξουε[ν

καθότι

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 34 (end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.12: καὶ τὰν] / πόλιν ἀν[τ]ῶν [καὶ] τὰν χώραν ἱεράν [καὶ] ἄσυλον εἶμεν, καθότι [α]ὐτοῖς / καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἔχρησεν·
 - Delphi: FD 3,5 90 (327–323 BCE?) L.10: —αντας καθότι κα—
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 486 (285–280 BCE) II,A L.17: ἐξέ]στω δὲ τῶι μὲν μὴ δέξασθαι τὰν [ἀν]αγωγὰν εἰπόντι καθ' ἃ τι δικαίως ἐφάπτοιτο, / [τῶι δὲ ἀποδείξασθαι ὅτι] ἀνάγοι καθότι πέπαται.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2034 (186 BCE) L.17: εἰ δὲ τί κα ἀζετωθέωντι περὶ Νεοπάτραν πεπο/νηρευμένα ἢ τῶν Νεοπάτρας ὑπαρχόντων κύριοι ἐόντω οἱ ἐπίνομοι κολά/ζοντες αὐτὰς καθ' ὃ τι κα αὐτοῖς δοκῆι ἀζάμοι ὄντες καὶ ἀνυπόδικοι ^{/20/} πάσας δίκας μάρτυρες·
 - [*!] Delphi: BCH 1902 p. 280: The inscription quoted by Hermann here, published by Jardé (1902: 280), was later reedited with καὶ ὅτι rather than καθότι in Syll.³ 603 (without any mention of this particular passage in the apparatus criticus) and CID 4 101 (*non vidi*) – L.8: ἐνεφάνιξε δὲ καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀ[κολού]θως διακείμενος τῆι τήνων προαιρέσει δι[ατελεῖ εὔνου]ς ὧν καὶ πρόθυμος] / ποτὶ τὸ Ἀμφικτιονικὸν <κοινὸν> ἐμ

[παντί] καιρῶι.)

- Lokris? (correspondence between Thronion and Skarpheia found at Delphi): FD 3,4 42 (end of the 2nd c. BCE) L.38: καὶ [ὁμοίω]ς ἅ τε ὀροθεσία κυρία ἔστω κατὰ ἑκατέραν τᾶν πολιῶν / [ἰ]δίᾳ χώραι καθότι προγέγραπται· τὸ δὲ ὁμόλογον τόδε κύριον ἔστω ἐν πάντα τὸν χρόνον.
- [*] Aitolia – Thermos: Syll.²,2 923 = IG 9²,1,1 4 = Syll.³ 554 (194–179 BCE) L.15: καὶ τὰν πόλι/ν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἰαρὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶμεν, καθότι οἱ / πρεσβευταὶ ἐπαγγέλλονται,
- Achaia
 - Tritaia: Rizakis (2008) no. 94 (3rd c. BCE) L.6: οἱ δὲ δοκιμασθέντες] / τᾶς πόλιος ἐόντων πολ[ῖται καὶ πολιτογραφηθέντες (?) ἀ]/ποδόντων τὸ ἀργύριον κα[θότι προγέγραπται τὸ μέρος τὸ] / ἐπιβάλλον κατ' ἐνιαυτό[ν, τὸ μὲν μέρος ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ] / ^{10/} τοῦ μετὰ Δεξιλάων ἐνια[υτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ δαμι]/οργοῖς τοῖς μετὰ Δεξιλάου [πρὶν ἐξιέναι τὸν ἐνιαυτόν·
 - Tritaia: Rizakis (2008) no. 94 (3rd c. BCE) L.15: καὶ τῶι μὲν ἀπο]/[δ]όντι τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ μ[έρος εἶναι τὰν πολιτείαν καθό[τι] γέγραπται·
- Laconia and Messenia
 - Messene: SEG 58:369 (ca. 300–250 BCE) L.11: - -τὸν αὐτὸ]/ν φίλον καὶ ἐχθρὸν ἔξω καὶ εἴ τ[ις κα] ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν - - - - - ca. 18-21 - - - - ἢ Ἀπτ]/εραίων ἢ Ἐλευθερναίων ἢ Σιβρυτίων ἢ τῶν Ἀνωπολιτῶν κατὰ γᾶν ἢ κατὰ θάλαττ]/αν ὄπλα ἐπιφέρηι ἢ ἐπὶ πολέμ[ωι στρατεύηται, βοαθεῖν Μεσσανίους παντὶ σθένει] /^{15/} καθότι κα παραγγέλλονται [- - - - 12-15 - - ἢ Ἀπτεραῖοι ἢ Ἐλευθερναῖοι ἢ Σιβρ]/ύτιοι ἢ τοὶ Ἀνωπολίται·

- Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.79: καὶ εἰσαγαγόντων εἰς τὸ ^{/80/} δικαστήριον τῶν Μιλησίων ἐνικά/σαμεν πάσαις ταῖς ψάφοις καθότι / εἶμεν κεκριμένοι περί τε ταύτας / τᾶς χώρας ^{vac.} καὶ τᾶς Βιπειάτιος πο/τὶ Μεγαλοπολίτας.
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 74 (ca. 300–250 BCE) L.9: [περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρπασθέντων] χρημάτων ἐν τῷ κοινῶ[ι] ^{/10/} [πολέμωι ἐκ τᾶς ...8....(nomen)] χώρας, καθότι κα δοκῆι, / [οὔτω κύριον ἔστω.

καθώς(περ)

- Thessaly
 - Pelastiotis – Larisa: SEG 57:510 (ca. 140–130 BCE) L.42: φανεράν ποέντες τὰν ἔχονθι εὔνοϊαν καθούς ἀπεμαρτυρέθ[ει] / αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ πλειόνου τοῦν παρ ἀμμέουν πολιτᾶν,
 - Pelasgiotis – Krannon: Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (179–142 BCE) L.32: ὀνγραφεῖμεν / μὰ τὸς ἐπαγγελλάμενος ἐν κίονα λιθί/ναν ἕκαστον αὐτοῦν πατρόθεν καθούς ^{/35/} κε ἐπαγγέλλουθαι, τὸν προὔτον ἐπαγ/[γ]ελλάμενον προὔτον καὶ τὸς ἄλλος ἔ/[πειτα] κα[ττὸ] πλειῖθος τὸς ἐπανγελλα/[μένος
- Boeotia
 - [*] Orchomenos: IG 7 3172 (222–200 BCE) Face A L.102: τοὶ πολέμαρχοι τοὶ ἐπὶ Πολυκράτιος / ἄρχοντος, Φιλόμειλος Φίλωνος, / Καφισόδωρος Διωνυσίω, Ἀθανόδω^{/105/}ρος Ἴππωνος, ἀνέγραψαν καθώς / ἐποείσανθο τὰν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δα/νείων τῶν Νικαρέτας κατ τὸ ψά/φισμα τῶ δάμω.
 - [*] Lebadea: IG 7 3083 = Darmezis (1999) no. 13 (undated) L.5: Δωΐλος / Ἰρανήω ἀντίθειτι τὸν / ρίδιον θεράποντα Ἄν/δρικὸν τῷ Δι τῷ Βασιλεῦι / κῆ τῷ Τρεφονίῳ ἱαρόν

- εἴ¹⁰/μεν παρμείναντα παρ / τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώ/ραν γέτια δέκα, καθὼς ὁ / πατεῖρ ποτέταξε.
- Koroneia: SEG 43:205 (3rd c. BCE) L.13: καθὼς δέ κα φυκο/νομείσωνθι
ἀναγγειλάνθω τῷ δάμυ ἐν τῆς ἀρ¹⁵/χηρεσίης κῆ ἀπολογιττάνθω πὸκ κατόπτας /
λαῖμμα κῆ ἄλωμα·
 - Koroneia: SEG 43:205 (3rd c. BCE) L.19: τὸ δὲ παρμετρεισάμενου παρπωλεόνθω ἐν
τῷ ²⁰/ Ὅμολωϊν μεινὶ ἀρξάμενου ἀπὸ τᾶς ἐνδεκάτας ἔτ/ταν κα διαπωλειθίει ἅπασι,
πωλεόντες τᾶς ἀμέρ/ας ἐκάστας μεί πλεῖον κοφινῶν τριάκοντα τιμᾶς / ἄστινός κα ὁ
δᾶμος ἐπιχειροτονεῖσει, καθὼς κῆ τὸν / λυπὸν σῖτον τὸν δαμόσιον·
 - [*] Thespiiai: IG 7 1719 = IThesp 41 (3rd/2nd c. BCE) Frgm. A L.5: — — — — —
καθὼς κα τῆς σουνέδρου δ[όκει] — — —
 - Thespiiai: IG 7 1719 = IThesp 41 (3rd/2nd c. BCE) Frgm. A L.10: εἰ δὲ μεί τ[αῦτα
ποιέοντι, οὐπόλογυ ἔστω]/[σαν κα]θὼς κῆ [—
 - [*] Akraiphia: BCH 1899 p. 91 Col. 1 = DGE 546 (ca. 200 BCE) L.8: εἴμεν αὐ/τῆς
ἔπασιν γᾶς κῆ φυ¹⁰/κίας κῆ ἀσουλίαν κῆ ἀσ/φάλιαν κῆ πολέμω κῆ ἱράνας / κῆ κατὰ
γᾶν κῆ κατὰ / θάλατταν καθὼςπερ / κῆ τῆς ἄλλυς προξένυς ¹⁵/ κῆ εὐεργέτης
γέγρα[πτη].
 - Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis – Stiris: IG 9,1 42 (200–150 BCE) L.8: εἰ δὲ μὴ θάψωντι καὶ ποιήσω[ν]/τι
τὰ ὄρια αὐτῶν, καθὼς προγέγραπται, ἀτελής ἔστω ἂ ἀ¹⁰/νάθεσις καὶ
ποταποτισιάτωσαν ἀργυρίου μν/ᾶς τριάκοντα.
 - Delphi: SEG 19:379 (3rd c. BCE, second half; improved reading of FD 3,1 351) L.9:
εἴ]μεν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν παραδόσει, καθὼς ¹⁰/ [παρακαλεῖ ὁ δεῖνα τοὺς Ἀμ]φικ[τίονας.

- Delphi: FD 3,4 403 text III (300–250 BCE) L.1: Δελφοὶ ἀνεπέωσαν τὰν ἐκ προγόνων ὑ[πάρ]/χουσαν προξενίαν Ἀχαιῶι Ξενάρχου καὶ τοῖς υἱ/οῖς αὐτοῦ Ξενάρχου καὶ Αὐτοσθένε[ι] Πελλανέοις / καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνιοις αὐτῶν καθὼς καὶ Ἀχαιῶι τῶι προγόν⁵/νωι αὐτῶν ὑπάρχε.
- Delphi: FD 3, 78 (ca. 230–225 BCE) L.7: ἐπαινέσαι Κλεοχάρη Βίωνος Ἀθηναῖον ἐπὶ τε τῆι ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείαι καὶ ὅτι εὖνους ἐστὶ τῆι πόλει. καὶ στεφανῶ/σαι αὐτὸν δάφνας στεφάνωι, καθὼς πάτριόν ἐστι Δελφοῖς.
- Delphi: FD 3,1 358 (219/8 BCE) L.1: ἐπειδὴ παργενομένοι πρεσβευταὶ παρ τῆς πόλιος / τῶν Θηβαίων τὰν τε φιλίαν τὰν ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰ εὐεργετήματα τὰ γεγονότα τοῖς Θηβαίοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπέμνα/σαν καὶ περὶ τῆς οἰκίας διελέγοντο ὅπως αὐτοῖς διατηρῆται καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐκόμιζον δὲ καὶ ψάφισμα ἐν ᾧ / ἐγγράπτο ὅτι τινοῖς τῶν παραγινομένων Θηβαίων οὐκ ἐδίδου κατάλυσιν Κράτων καθὼς ἔλαβον αὐτοῦ οἱ πρόγονοι ⁵/ παρὰ τῆς πόλιος τῶν Θηβαίων· ἀνακαλεσαμένων δὲ ἀμῶν εἰς τὰν ἐκκλησίαν οὔτε ἔφα ἀντιποιεῖσθαι / τῆς οἰκίας τῶν Θηβαίων οὔτε ἀποκεκλείκειν οὐδένα τῶν παργινομένων, διαφυλάσσειν δὲ Θηβαίοις καθὼς καὶ οἱ / πρόγονοι παρέδωκαν αὐτῶι καὶ περιεγήσατο τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸν τε ξενεῶνα καὶ / τὰν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ Θεόκριτος οἶκει τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ δύο τὰ ποτὶ τὰν στοὰν βλέποντα· / ὠμολόγει δὲ καὶ τὸ οἶκημα τὸ ἐνοικοδομημένον ἀποκαταστασεῖν ἐν τὸν ξενῶνα· ὅπως οὖν εἰδῶντι ¹⁰/ Θηβαῖοι τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν φιλίαν καὶ εὖνοιαν τ[ᾶι πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν — —
- Delphi: FD 3,4 133 (ca. 208 BCE) L.10: δεδόσθω δὲ καὶ τῶι ξεναγῶι αὐτῶν Ἀθη/νοδώρωι ἃ τε προξεν[ί]α καὶ ἰσοπολιτεία καθὼς καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις / αὐτοῦ.
- Delphi: FD 3,2 134 text C (205/4–203/2 BCE?) L.7: δεδόχθαι τῆι πόλει [τὰν τε

- φιλίαν καὶ οἰκειό)/[τατα τὰν ὑπάρχουσιν ποτ τοὺς Τη]ίους [διαφυλάσ]/[σειν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον αὐ]ξιν, καὶ εἶμεν αὐτῶν τὰν τε πό¹⁰/[λιν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἱερ]ὰν καὶ ἄσυλον τοῦ Διονύσου, καθὼς κα[ἰ] / [οἱ πρεσβευταὶ παρε]κάλεον, καὶ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς τὰν ἀσφάλειαν / [καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ] τοῖς ἐν Τέφω κατακεόντοισ καθὼς καὶ τοῖς / [Διονυσιακοῖς] τεχνίταις·
- Delphi: FD 3,4 136 (ca. 200 BCE) L.17: [ἐπισκ]ε[αζέ?]τω δὲ Ἀκίδων, καθὼς α[ὐ]τὸς εὐδόκησε, / τὰν {δὲ} ὀπλοθήκαν τὰν ἐν Προνα[ῖαι καὶ] τὸ γυ/μ[νά]σιον τὸ κ[ά]τω καὶ τὰν παστάδα τὰν μεγάλαγ²⁰/ [κ]αὶ [τ]ὸ ναοποιῶν καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια, παρεχούσας / [τᾶς π]όλ[ιο]ς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔργου τὸν κέρα[μ]ον·
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 383 (180/179? 179/178? BCE) L.18: παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν κα[ἰ ἐν τῷ] λο[ιπ]ὸν διαφ[υλάσσειν τὰν εὐ]/νοϊαν τὰμ ποτὶ Δελφοὺς καθὼς ἀρμόζον ἐστί·
 - Delphi: FD 3,2 20 (178 BCE) L.10: ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ / [κ]οινὸν τῶν Τετραπολέων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι δάφνας στεφάνωι τ[ῶ]ι / [π]αρά [τ]οῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς πατριὸν ἐστί Δελφοῖς, εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν κ[αὶ] / [φ]ιλοτιμίας ἂν ἔχοντες διατελέοντι ποτὶ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰ[μ] / [π]όλιν, ...
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1751 (170–157/6 BCE) L.4: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον εὐδόκησε Φίλων νοέων καὶ φ[ρ]ονέων καὶ ὑγιαίνων καὶ Λέαι{ι}ναν ἀπολελυμέναν εἶμεν⁵/ τᾶς παραμονᾶς καὶ ἐργασία[ς .. ἄ]π' αὐτοσαυτοῦ, καθὼς ἐν τᾷ ὄνῳ γέγραπται, καὶ ἔστω ἐλευθέρα, μηθενὶ μηθὲν προσήκουσαν.
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 241 (166 BCE) L.9: δεδόχθ[η]αι τᾷ πόλει ἀποδέχεσθαι τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὰν πανάγυρι[ν] /¹⁰/ [καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καθὼς παρεκάλεον οὓς διὰ] π[ενταετία]ς συντελεῖν πρ[ο]κεχειρισμένοι εἰ[σ]ιν Σαρδιανοὶ διαφυγόντες / [τὸν μέγιστον] κίνδυνον μετὰ τ[ε τᾶς τ]ῶν [θεῶν] εὐν[ο]ίας καὶ [μετὰ τᾶς τοῦ β]ασιλέως Εὐμένεος ἀρετᾶς

κα[ι] / [άνδραγαθίας ...

- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.19: εἰ δέ τι περισσεύοι ἀπὸ τῶν τόκων διδομέ²⁰/νων τῶμ μισθῶν τοῖς παιδευταῖς **καθὼς διατέτακται**, ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐν / τοὺς προβούλους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ τὸ δοχθὲν κύριον ἔστω.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 238 (160/159 BCE) L.1: —] καταστα[θ]έντες ὀμνυόντω **κ|αθ|ῶ|ς** **[καὶ τὰ] ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα** καὶ ἐκπρ[ά]ξαντες τοῦ ἀργυρίου[υ] / [τοὺς τόκ]ους συντελείνω τὰν θ[υ]σίαν καὶ τὰς] τιμὰς καὶ τὰν δαμοθοινίαν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ μηνὶ τᾶ[ι] / [δωδεκ]άται ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ λόγον ἀ[ποδιδόντ]ω τοῖς μαστροῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ὑπεύθυνοι ὄντες,
- Delphi: FD 3,3 238 (160/159 BCE) L.5: θυόντω δ[ἐ ο]ἰ ἐπιμεληταὶ βοῦς τρεῖς τελείους τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ / τᾶι Λατοῖ καὶ τᾶι Ἀρτέμιτι, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἱε[ρε]ῖα οἰκονομεόντω κατὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα, καὶ τὰ κρ[έα] / καταχρείσθωσαν ἐν τὰν δαμοθοινίαν **κα|θ|ῶς εἴθισται**.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 238 (160/159 BCE) L.14: εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο ἐκπρᾶξαι, ἀναγραφάτωσαν ἐν ¹⁵/ τὸν δαμόσιον πίνακα, **καθὼς νομίζεται**. L.19: οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐ²⁰/πεὶ κα πομπεύσωσι, κατευχέσθωσαν τὰ Εὐμένεια **καθὼς νομίζεται**.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.38: οἱ δὲ κα[τα]/σταθέντες ἐπιμεληταὶ ὀμνυόντω **καθὼς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀρχεῖα**,
- Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.44: εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιήσονται **καθὼς γέγραπται**, —
- Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.49: θυόντων δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ βοῦς τελεί⁵⁰/[ους τρ]εῖς, οὗς κα οἱ πολῖται δῶνσι, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τᾶι Λ[α]/[το]ῖ καὶ τᾶι

- Ἀρτέμιτι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα [καθὼς διατέτακται] / [ὕπ]ερ τὸν βασιλέα Ἄτταλον, ποταγ[ορ]εύοντες τὰν θυσ[ί]/αν Ἀττάλεια.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.59: ἐπεὶ δὲ κα πομπεύσωντι οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλω/⁶⁰/νος, κατευχέστων ποταγορεύοντες τὰν θυσίαν Ἀττάλεια καθὼς εἴθισται.
 - Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.64: εἰ δὲ κα μὴ ἀποδι/⁶⁵/δῶντι καθὼς γέγραπται, τὰ ἐνέχυρα αὐτῶν τᾶς πόλιος ἔστω,
 - Delphi: SGDI 2642 = Syll.³ 672 (160/159 BCE) L.67: εἰ δὲ πωλείμενα τὰ ἐνέχυρα μὴ εὐρίσκοι τὸ ἀργύριον ποθ' ὃ ὑπέκειτο τᾷ πόλει, πρά/κτιμοι ἔστωσαν τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐνάρχοις τοῦ /⁷⁰/ ἐλλείποντος ἀργυρίου αὐτός τε ὁ δανεισάμενος καὶ / οἱ γενόμενοι ἔγγυοι, τρόπῳ ᾧ θέλοιεν πράσσειν, καθὼς / καὶ τᾶλ[λ]α δαμόσια καὶ ποθίερα πράσσονται.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1963 (140–100 BCE) L.9: βεβαιωτῆρ καθ[ὼς] ἀ ὠνά ἔχει. Ξενό/¹⁰/κριτος Ταραντίνου Δελφός.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2160 (140–100 BCE) L.5: παραμεινά/τω δὲ Νικασίβουλος παρὰ Ἄρχωνα ἔτη τρία, δουλεύ/ων καθὼς καὶ ὄς.
 - Delphi: SEG 22:472 (end of 2nd c. BCE) L.9: [- - Εἰ δὲ κα μὴ ποιῆ - - -ος] /¹⁰/ καθὼς γέγραπται, [πρ]άκτ[ι]μος ἔστω καὶ α[ὐ]τὸς καὶ τοὶ ἔγγυοι αὐ[τ]οῦ ... L.15: - -] ἀζάμοι ἐόντων καὶ ἀνυπόδι[κοι πάσας δίκας καὶ ζα]/μ[ίας] καθὼς [κα π]ράξωντι. L.17: Εἰ] / δὲ κα μ[ὴ] καθισταίοι τοὺς ἐγγύους καθὼς [γέγραπται, πράκτιμος] / ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὶ ἔγγυοι αὐτοῦ [-
 - [*] Delphi: Numerous examples of the formula καθὼς ἐπίστευε τῷ θεῷ τὰν ὠνά in acts of manumission. Hermann cites SGDI 2049.

- [*] Delphi: Many examples of the formula *κολάζειν καθώς κα αὐτὸς θέλη/δείληται* in acts of manumission. According to the table by Hermann (1912: 128), this formula is found in SGDI 2014, 2066, 2233, 2227, 2229, 2034, 2015, 2065, 1755, 1882, 1830, 1836, 1752, 1767, 1784, 1775, 1776, 1829, 1757, 1890, 1819, 1719, 2274, 2147.
- [*] Delphi: Some instances of the formula *ἄζάμιος ἐὼν καὶ ἀνυπόδικος πάσας δίκας καὶ ζαμίας, καθὼς κα συλάσηι*, in acts of manumission. SGDI 1708, 2265, 2266, BCH 22 p. 17 no. 9 (= FD 3,6 117).
- Delphi: Many instances of the formula *στεφανῶσαι ... καθὼς πάτριόν ἐστι* in honorary decrees. FD 3,3 145 (ca. 218–7 BCE), 224 (end of the 3rd c. BCE), 146 (154 BCE), SEG 2:281 and 2:282 (both ca. 138–135 BCE).
- Delphi: Many instances of the calendar formula *καθὼς Δελφοὶ ἄγοντι*. FD 3,1 578 (146 BCE).
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2147 (140–100 BCE) L.7: *ἐφ' ὅτε ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέ/φαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον, ποιῶσα ὃ κα θέλη καὶ ἀποτρέχου/σα **καθὼς κα θέλη***.
- W. Lokris – Naupaktos: SEG 23:352 (mid 2nd c. BCE) L.9: *εἰ δὲ μὴ παραμέν^{νν}οι **καθὼς** /¹⁰/[γέγρ]απται, ἀτελής ἂ ὦνά ἐσ^ντω καὶ ὁ πρ/[οαπο]δότης μὴ βεβαιούτω κα^νι ἐξουσίαν [ἐχέτω]/[σαν Μ]ενίσκος καὶ Σωκράτγεια ἐπιτι[μέον]/[τε]ς Βί^{νν}βλον ὧι κα θέλ^νωντι τρ^{νν}ό/[πω]ι*.
- W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 16:362 (2nd c. BCE) L.8: *-- ον **καθὼς ἐπέστ<ρ>ωται** ε --
----- / ----- **καθὼς ἀνέθηκε** Τιμαγ[όρας] -----*
- W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 56:571 (2nd c. BCE) L.1: *ἀπέδοτο Καίνε[ῦ]ς / Φυσκεὺς Ἐργασίωνα τᾶι Ἀθάναι τᾶι Ἰλιάδι ἐπ' ἐλε[υ]θερίαι **καθὼς ἐπιστεῦ/θη** τὰν ὠνὰν ὑπὲρ Ἐργασίωνος, ἐπεὶ ἀπέλαβε τὸ [ἀρ]γύριον παρὰ Ἐργασίω/νος κατὰ τὰν ὠνὰν τὰν*

οὔσαν παρὰ Διότιμον, τ[ιμ]ᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶν τρι⁵/ῶν·

- W. Lokris – Myania (an accord between Myania and Hypnia found in Delphi): IG 9,1² 748 (ca. 190 BCE) Col. II L.2: [— — — —16— — — — **καθὼς τοῖς Ὑπνι/**
[έοις — — —12— — —]ΙΛ[....]αίου δόμε/[ν — — —13-14— — —]Ι ἐν Ὑπνίαι
τᾶς χώρ⁵/[ας τα]ύτας δικαστήριον δότω ἅ πόλις / [.3-4.]ων τῶν ἀπολ[ει]πόντων ἐξ
Ὑπνίας / [κὰτ] τὸ μέρος **καθὼς** καὶ τᾶν θυσιᾶν **μετ/[έ]χοντι**. ——— κατ ταυτὰ δὲ καὶ
τὰν ἄσπορον ν/[ε]μόντων. Col. II L.14: ——— τοὶ δὲ ἄρχοντες τοὶ ἐν Ὑπ¹⁵/νίαι
κατα[γραφό]ντων τοὺς στρατιώτα/ς τοὺς ἐν Ὑπνίαι. ——— ἐπεὶ κα πορεύονται /
πορευέσθων κατ τὸ μέρος **καθὼς** καὶ τᾶν / θυσιᾶν **με[τέ]χοντι**. ——— σίταρχον δὲ
λα[μ]βα/νόντων κατ τὸ μέρος. ——— τὸν δὲ ἱατρὸν καὶ τ²⁰/οὺς ἄλλους δαμοσιεργοὺς
ἐν Ὑπνίαι κατα/στᾶ[σα]ι, τῶν αὐτῶν μισσθῶν **καθὼς** καὶ πρό/τερον Ὑπνιεῖς
καθίσταν ——— καθιστάντων / ἀ[μ]φότεροι.
- W. Lokris – Amphissa: SEG 52:543 (late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE) L.2: Ἀμφισσεῖς
ἔδωκαν προξενίαν Λευκίῳ Κα[ι]/[κ]ιλίῳ Μνασέα, αὐτῶ καὶ ἐγγόνις. καὶ γᾶς ἔν/
[κ]τησιν καὶ οἰκίας, ἀσφάλειαν πολέμου ⁵/ καὶ εἰράνας καὶ ἐπινομ[ί]αν **καθὼς** καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλ[ο]/[ι]ς προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος ὑπά[ρ]/χει·
- Doris – Kytinion: SEG 25:606 (2nd c. BCE) L.1: ἐπὶ] / τοῖσδε ἀπέδοτο Ἀλέξων τῶι
Σαράπει σῶμα γυ[ν]αικεῖον ἄ[ι] ὄνομα Πίστα, τιμᾶς ἀρ]-/γυ[ρ]ίου [μ]νᾶν τεττάρων ἐπ’
ἐλευθερία **καθὼς ἐπίστευσε Π[ίστα τῶι θεῶι τὰν ὠνάν]**, L.9: εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιέ[οι ἢ
παρα]¹⁰/[μένοι] **καθὼς γέγραπται**, ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω Ἀλέξων ἐπιτιμέων Π[ίστα]ι /
[τρόπωι ὦ]ι κα θέλη·
- [*] Thessaly – Achaia Phthiotis – Lamia: IG 9,2 69 (ca. 130 BCE) L.5: Μητρόδωρος
Ἀνδρομένεος Πελινναεὺς ὑπάρχων ἱππιατρὸς / καὶ ἀνεστραμμένος ἐν τᾷ ἀμετέραι

- πόλει χρόνον πλείω τάν τε ἀναστροφάν καὶ ἐπ[ι]/δαμίαν ἐποιεῖτο καθὼς ἐπέβαλλε ἀνδρὶ καλῶι καὶ ἀγαθῶι
- [*] Thessaly – Aini: IG 9,2 7a (undated) L.4: ἔ/5/κριναν οἱ δικασταὶ καθὼς οἱ προδικέ/οντες ὑπὲρ ἐκ[α]τερῶν τῶν πολιῶν / σύμφωνοι γενόμενοι ἐκέλευσ[αν] / καταγράψαι τὸ κρίμα·
 - Aitolia (found at Delphi): SEG 18:239 (277–265 BCE) L.7: ὅπως δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μηδ’ ὑφ’ ἑνὸς ἀδικέωνται τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, καθὼς π[αρακαλέοντι οἱ πρεσβευταὶ] / [- - -
 - [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1409 = IG 9²,1,1 174 = Syll.³ 480 (ca. 240 BCE) L.2: μηθένα τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς συνοί/κων ἀτελέα εἶμεν, εἴ κα μὴ δοθῆ[ι] παρὰ / τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Δελφῶν ἀτέλεια· καὶ εἴ /⁵/ τινος ἔμπροσθεν νν ἀτέλεια γέγονε / μὴ δόντων τῶν πολιτῶν, ὑποτελεῖς / εἶμεν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σύνοικοι.
 - [*] Aitolia (found at Teos): SGDI 1411 = IG 9²,1,1 192 (204/3 BCE?) L.8: ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν τᾶς τε πόλιος καὶ τᾶς / χώρας τὰν ἀνιέρωσιν καὶ ἀσυλίαν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πρεσβευταὶ ἀξίου, καὶ ...
 - [*] Aitolia (found at Thessaly – Melitea): IG 9,2 205 = IG 9²,1,1 188 (213/2 BCE) L.12: τὰν δὲ δαμοσίαν χώ/ραν, τοὺς τε Καράνδας καὶ τὰν Φυλιαδόνα, μὴ ἀποδόσθων Με/λιταεῖς ὥστε πατρώϊαν ἔχειν τὸν πριάμενον πολιτευόντω[ν] /¹⁵/ Πηρέων μετὰ Μελιταίεων, ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἄνπαλον μισθούντω κα/θὼς καὶ τὸ πρότερον.
 - [*] Aitolia – Thermon: AE 1905 p.55 f. = IG 9²,1,1 3 (ca. 262 BCE) L.8: ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τερμόνων τοῦ Πραντός, εἰ μέγ κα Στράτιοι καὶ Ἀγραῖ/οι συγχωρέωντι αὐτοῖ ποτ’ αὐτούς, τοῦτο κύριον ἔστω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, Ἄκαρνᾶνες καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ /¹⁰/ τερμαξάντω τὰμ Πραντίδα χώραν, αἰρεθέντας(!) ἑκατέρων δέκα πλὴν Στρατίων καὶ Ἀγρα<ι>/ων· καθὼς δὲ κα τερμάζωντι, τέλειον ἔστω.

- Aitolia – Thestia: SEG 23:398 (2nd c. BCE) Text A L.11: ἔκριναν / οἱ κ[ο]ίνοι τοῖς τὰ διάλαυρα ἔχοντες δι/οικεῖν τὰν ἐμπορὰν τοῖ ἐπικαταστα/[θέν]τι ταμίαι ἐν μηνὶ Πανάμοι, **καθὼς ὁ πο/¹⁵/[λι]τικὸς νόμος τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Θεστιέων / [κελεύει]**.
- Aitolia – Thestia: SEG 23:398 (2nd c. BCE) Text B L.7: ἄ <δ> ἐπρᾶξις ἔστω τοῖ ταμ[ί]-/αι, **καθὼς καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλαύρων / ἄ[ι] συναγραφὰ περιέχει**.
- Aitolia (found at Delphi): IG 9²,1,3 748 (ca. 190 B CE) Col.2 L.2: [. . . 16. . **καθὼς** τοῖς Ὑπνι/[έοις] . . . , L.6: . . 3-4. .ων τῶν ἀπολ[ει]πόντων ἐξ Ὑπνίας / [κατ] τὸ μέρος **καθὼς καὶ τᾶν θυσιῶν μετ/[έ]χοντι**. L.16: Ἐπεὶ κα πορεύονται / πορευέσθων κατ τὸ μέρος **καθὼς καὶ τᾶν / θυσιῶν με[τέ]χοντι**. — Σίταρχον δὲ λα[μ]βανόντων κατ τὸ μέρος. — Τὸν δὲ ἰατρὸν καὶ τ²⁰/οὺς ἄλλους δαμοσιεργοὺς ἐν Ὑπνίαι κατα/στᾶ[σα]ι, τῶν αὐτῶν μισσθῶν **καθὼς καὶ πρό/τερον Ὑπνιεῖς καθίσταν** — καθισστάντων / ἀ[μ]φότεροι.
- [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1413 = IG 9²,1,1 179 = Syll.³ 629 (ca. 182 BCE) L.17: καὶ καθάπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης ἀνα[δεικνύει] τὸ τέμ[ενος] / [τᾶς Ἀθά]νας τᾶς Νικαφόρου τὸ ποτὶ Περγάμοι ἄσυλον, **καθὼς κα ὀρίξη**, συναποδεδέχθαι τοὺς Αἰτω[λοῦς] / [ἄσυλον] εἶμεν αὐτὸ τὰ ἀπ' Αἰτωλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίαι κατοικούντων καὶ μηθένα ἄγειν μηδὲ ῥυσ[ιάζειν] /²⁰/ [μηθαμὰ ἐ]ντὸς τῶν ὀρίων.
- [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1409 A = IG 9²,1,1 172 = Syll.³ 479 (ca. 263 BCE) L.8: εἶμεν αὐτῶι τὰν ἀσφάλειαν, **καθὼς κα οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ ὁ ἀρχι/τέκτων συντάσσειεν**,
- [*] Akarnania (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 31 = IG 9²,1,2 582 (207 BCE) L.36: ἀνανεώσασθαι δὲ καὶ τὰν φι/[λία]ν καὶ τὰν οἰκειότατα, **καθὼς παρεκάλουν**.
- [*] Epeiros (fund at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 32 (end of the 3rd/2nd c.

- BCE) L.44: ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ ἀσ⁴⁵/φάλειαν παρὰ Ἀπειρωτῶν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ / ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἐντέλειαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, καθὼς / [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀπειρώταις,
- Ereiros – Dodona: SEG 24:448 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.4: ὑπάρχειν /⁵/ δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ πολιτείαν, ὅπει κα χρήζη τῆς Ἀείρου, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ / πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας τὰ ἀπὸ Ἀπειρωτῶν καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἐντέλειαν καὶ τὰ / λοιπὰ τίμια καθὼς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις. Also SEG 37:511 (175–170 BCE) L.13: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια πάντα [κα]/θὼς καὶ τ[οῖς] ἄλλοις προξένοις
 - Megaris
 - [*] Megara: IG 7 18 (late 2nd/1st c. BCE) L.11: καὶ ἐπὶ τῶι το[ύ]του ἄξιον κριθῆναι ὑπὸ] / τῆς συνκλήτου τῆς [Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπὸ] / Μαάρκου Καλειδίου [στρατηγοῦ ὑπάτου Ῥωμαί]/ων, καθὼς διὰ τοῦ ψα[φίσματος] δηλοῦται,
 - Achaia
 - [*] Dyme: SGDI 1614c = Rizakis (2008) no. 3 (3rd c. BCE) L.27: τοὺς δὲ ἀπογ/[ραφέντες καὶ ὑῶ]ν ὁμοσαμένους τὰν ἀλικίαν καὶ δόν/[τες τὸ ἀργύριον] καθὼς γέγραπται, διακλαρωσάν³⁰/[τω αἰ συναρ]χίαι ὡς ἰσότατα ἐπὶ τὰς φυλάς,
 - [*] Dyme: SGDI 1615 = Rizakis (2008) no. 1 (280/279–275 BCE) L.13: — τ]ὸν φόρον, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἔφερον, ἐξουσία ἔ/[στω —
 - Aigeira (found at Kos): IG 12,4,1 decree V (242 BCE) L.45: ἔδοξε τῶι πόλει τῶν Αἰγειρα/τῶν· δέ[χεσθαί τε τὰν] ἐκε[χ]ειρίαν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄσυλον εἶμεν / κ[α]θὼς [τε ἀξιοῦντι] Κῶ[ι]οι καὶ ν[ό]μιμά ἔστι τῶι τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἀ/χαιοῖς ἄσ[υ]λα εἶμεν τὰ ἱερά·
 - Elis

- [*] SGDI 1172 = Minon (2007) no. 34 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.11: ὁμοίωρ δὲ καὶ τοῖρ λοιποῖρ τοῖρ παρ' ἀμέων / τὰν πᾶσαν χρεῖαν ἐκτενέωρ καὶ ἀπρο/φασίστωρ παρέχεται, φανεράν ποιέων / τὰν ἔχει εὖνοϊαν ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν, καθὼρ /¹⁵/ πλείονερ ἀπεμαρτύρεον τῶμ πολιτᾶν.
- [*] SGDI 1172 = Minon (2007) no. 34 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.23: ἤμεν δὲ καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμω / καὶ εἰράναρ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ βουκίαρ ἔγκτησιν, καὶ /²⁵/ ἀτέλειαν, καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖρ Διονυσιακοῖρ / ἀγώνοιρ, τᾶν τε θυσιᾶν καὶ τιμᾶ'ν' πασᾶν / μετέχην, καθὼρ καὶ τοὶ λοιποὶ θεαροδόκοι / καὶ εὐεργέται μετέχοντι.
- Arcadia
 - [*] Orchomenos: BCH 1904 p. 6 = IG 5,2 345 (79/78 BCE) L.5: Δαμόξενος Ἄ/[... c.9... Ὀρχομέ]γιος ἀφίητι ἐλεύθερον Σωσικλῆ τὸν ἴδιον σύν/[τροφον, παραλαβῶν] παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ τροφεῖα ἀργυρίου μνᾶς τρεῖς, κα/[θὼς διέθετο ἀπο]θνήσκων Δαμόξενος Ἄγία Ὀρχομένιος ὁ τᾶς / [αὐτοῦ ματρὸς Ἄν]τείας πατήρ.
 - [*] Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988 2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.36: καὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν / εἶναι αὐτῶν ἱεράν, καθὼς ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν καὶ ἀξίωσι[ν] / οἱ παραγεγονότες πρεσβευταὶ καὶ θεωροί.
- Laconia and Messenia
 - Laconia – Gerenia: IG 5,1 1336, improved reading SEG 13:268 (2nd c. BCE) L.6: ὄσαι / [μὲν ἦσαν δ]ίκαι ὑπερ[βόλ]ι[μ]αι, τάσδε καὶ διέλουσα[ν], / [ὄσας] δὲ [εὐ]θείας ἀνέλαβον, ἔκριναν καθὼς / [ἐνδ]εχόμενον ἦν [βέ]λιτιστα.
 - [*] SGDI 4567 = IG 5,1 1144 (ca. 80 BCE) L.29: καὶ ἔχειν {A} αὐτοῦς τὰν ἐ/³⁰/ξουσίαν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀ/πὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάντων, προστασίαν ποιουμέ/νους καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν, καθὼς ἂν αὐτοὶ προαι/ρῶνται.

- [*] Laconia – Gytheion: SGDI 4566 = IG 5,1 1145 (ca. 70 BCE) L.9: ἀ¹⁰/
[ποσταλέντων ποτ'] αὐτὸν γραμμάτων, καθὼς ἐψάφι/[στο], ὅπως ἦξ]ει ποθ' ἀμέ
ιατρεύσων,
- Laconia – Geronthrai: IG 5,1 1114 (1st c. BCE) L.23: ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι· ἐπαι[νέ]/σαι
ἐπί τε τῆι ἀρχῆι καὶ φιλοτιμίαι, δι[δόν]/²⁵/αι τε αὐτῶι τὰν ἱεριοσύναν τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ
τού]/του, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον εἰλή[φει] π[ρὸ τοῦ ψαφίς]/ματος, αὐτῶι τε καὶ
ἐξγόνους
- [*] Laconia – Leuktra: ABSA 10 p. 176 = IG 5,1 1336 (undated) L.6: ὄσαι / [μὲν
ἦσαν δ]ίκαι ὑποτ[ίμ]η[τ]αι, τάσδε καὶ διέλ{ο}υσα[ν], / [όσας] δ<ε> [βα]ρείας
ἀνέλαβον, ἔκριναν καθὼς / [ἐνδ]εχόμενον ἦν [βέ]λτιστα,
- [*] Messene (found at Arcadia – Phigalea): SGDI 4645 = IG 5,2 419 (ca. 240 BCE)
L.13: τὰν δὲ χ/[ώραν καρπ]ίζεσθαι ἐκατέρως τῶς τε Μεσανίω/¹⁵/[ς καὶ τῶς
Φι]αλέας, καθὼς καὶ νῦν καρπιζόμεθα.
- Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.33: καὶ ἀμῶν ἀποδόντων τοὺς / περιέχοντας
ὄρους ἀπὸ Νέδας ἄχρι Κλε³⁵/ολαίας, καθὼς ἐστι ἀμῖν ἡ χώρα, παρα/γενομένων τῶν
δικαστῶν εἰς τὸ Καρ/νειάσιον καὶ ἀποδειξάντων ἀμῶν ἐ/κατέρων τὰν χώραν καθὼς
καὶ τοὺς ὄ/[ρο]υς ἀπεδώκαμες,
- Messene: IG 5,1 1434a (2nd c. BCE) L.5: [— — κα]θὼς ἀ[τοῖς — —]
- Messene: IG 5,1 1430 (2nd c. BCE) L.11: — τοῦ]ς ὄρους· ἀπὸ [δὲ] τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ
[καλουμένου Κρη]/[σίου (verbum) —]αι ἐπ' εὐθείας εἰς τὰν κρά[ναν τὰν καλουμένην
— —] / [συμφώνως Μεσσα]νίους, καθὼς τὰ σαμεῖα [δεικνύει]· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κολω]/
[νοῦ τοῦ καλουμ]ένου Κρησίου εἰ<ς> τὸ σαμεῖ[ον —
- Messene: IG 5,1 1433 (39 BCE) L.32: τούτου πέπτωκε ἕως ἐβδόμου τριακοστᾶς,

καθὼς ἀναγράφεται ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκλογέων·

- Messene: IG 5,1 1432 (39 BCE) L.7: ὅπως, ὅσον ἐστὶ δυνατόν, εἰσοδιασθεῖ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα [τῆ πό]λει καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ σύεδροι π[αρόν]/τες ἐδικαίουν εἵνεκεν τοῦ τὸ ἐπίταγμα ἐκβιβασθῆμε[ν, καὶ] μὴ γενέσθαι μήτε δανεισμὸν μή[τε] / λείμμα περὶ ταύτας τᾶς εἰσφορᾶς,
- [*] Messenia – Thuria: SGDI 4680 = IG 5,1 1379 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.13: καὶ γ/ [ινέσθω ἅ καταγόραξις καὶ ἅ] διοίκησις, καθὼς καὶ περὶ τοῦ δαμοσίου γέγραπται·
- [*] Messenia – Thuria: SGDI 4680 = IG 5,1 1379 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.19: ὁ δὲ γραμματεὺς ἀναδότω διαβούλιον ^{/20/} [περὶ τᾶς διοικήσιος· καθ]ὼς δὲ κα δόξει, οὔτω γινέσθω ἅ διοίκησις·
- [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.114: οἱ κατεσταμέ/[νοι ὄ]στε γράψαι τὸ διάγραμμα, καθὼς ἂν δοκιμασθεῖ, δόντω τοῖς νομοδείκταις ἀντίγραφον. In the same inscription, a number of other instances are not quoted by Hermann (L.29: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἱ παρθένοι αἱ ἱεραὶ, καθὼς ἂν λά^{/30/}χωντι, ἄγουσαι τὰ ἄρματα ἐπικείμενα {ς} κίστας ἐχούσας ἱερὰ μυστικά· L.31: ἔπειτεν αἱ ἱεραὶ κατὰ μίαν, κα/θὼς κα λάχωντι, ἔπειτεν οἱ ἱεροὶ, καθὼς κα οἱ δέκα διατάζωντι. ὁ δὲ γυναικονόμος κλαροῦτω τὰς τε ἱερὰς καὶ παρθένους καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν / ἐχέτω, ὅπως πομπεύωντι, καθὼς κα λάχωντι. L.42: ὅπως εὐσχημόνως καὶ εὐτάκτως ὑπὸ τῶν παραγεγενημένων πάντα γίνηται, καθὼς ἂν / παραγγέλλωντι οἱ ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένοι· L.43: ἂν δὲ τις τῶν ρά/βδοφόρων μὴ ποιεῖ, καθὼς γέγραπται, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἀδικοῖ ἢ ποιῶ ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν μυστηρίων, L.58: καὶ ἔστωσαν ὑπόμαστροι, ἂν τι ἀδικήσωντι, κα/θὼς ἐπάνω γέγραπται. L.80: τοῖς δούλοις φύγιμον ἔστω τὸ ἱερόν, καθὼς ἂν οἱ ἱεροὶ / ἀποδείξωντι τὸν τόπον, L.94:

- ἀποδόντω δὲ καὶ Μνασιστράτῳ τὸ γινόμενον αὐ[τῶι] διάφορον, καθὼς ἐν τ[ῶι] /⁹⁵/
διαγράμματι γέγραπται. L.101: τοὺς δὲ μὴ πω/λοῦντας καθὼς γέγραπται, τοὺς μὲν
 δούλους μαστιγούτω, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ζαμιούτω εἴκοσι δραχμαῖς· L.104: ὅπως,
καθὼς ἂν μερισθεῖ, ῥεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ μη/¹⁰⁵/[θ]ε[ῖς ἀ]ποκωλύει τοὺς χρωμένους· L.110:
 ἂν δέ τις τῶν ἐγδεξαμένων ἢ τῶν βαλανέων μὴ ποιῆ καθὼς γέγραπται, τὸν μὲν
 δοῦλον μαστιγούτω ὁ ἀγορανό/[μος, τ]ὸν δὲ ἐλεύθ<ε>ρον ζαμιούτω καθ' ἕκαστον
 ἀδίκημα εἴκοσι δραχμαῖς·).
- [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.171: ἄ[ν δὲ χρεία
 εἶ πε]/ρί τινος διαβούλιον [γί]/νεσθαι, συναγόντω / οἱ δέκα πάντες τοὺς ἰ/¹⁷⁵/ερούς,
 καὶ καθὼς τοῖς / πλειόνοις δόξαι, ἐπιτε/λείσθω.
 - Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - Argos: SEG 17:142 (3rd c. BCE) L.6: ἤμεν δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ χρήμασ]ι ἀσφάλειαν καὶ
 ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν / [ἱράναι καὶ κατὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ θά]λασσαν καὶ
 ἀτέλειαν καθὼς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις / [προξένοις ·
 - Argos: SEG 41:282 (late Hellenistic; unpublished, lineation unclear, near the end)
 Ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ὅπως ἀναγράφοντι οἱ γύαι ἐφεξᾶς, καθὼς ἂ χώρα
διεκλαρώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατεμερίσθη κατὰ γύας δωτιναμένας, τὸν προτοῦ
 χρόνον ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ ἀναγραφομένας ἐν διερριμμένοις τόποις.
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 76 (ca. 163–146 BCE) L.17: δικ]άζεσθαι μετὰ τᾶς Χερσονάσου /
 [καὶ τὰν καλουμέ]γαν Διαστενῆτιν ἀπό τε τοῦ κατὰ ^v / [τὰν χώραν τὰν] ὀρισθεῖσαν,
καθὼς εὐδόκησάν πο^v/20/[κα, καὶ τὸν χάρα]κα τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Στενίτα.
 - Epidaurus: SEG 55:425 (ca. 200–150 BCE; improved reading of IG 4²,1 76 + 77)
 L.19: - - -] ὀρισθεῖσαν καθὼς εὐδόκησαν ΠΟ^v /20/ [- - - -

- [*] Argolis – Kalauria: IG 4 841 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.24: τὰν /²⁵/ δὲ θυσίαν ποιησοῦντι, καθὼς ἐν τῷ στάλαι γέγραπται, κατ' ἐνιαυτόν,
- [*] Argolis – Kalauria: IG 4 842 (not before 3rd c. BCE) L.5: [ὕπ]ερ δὲ τῶν / [—]ας, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς / [ία]ρομναμόνων / [—]α ἐκ τὰς νάσου / κῆν Ἀμφικτ[ύοσι]
- Corinthia – Sicyon (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): DGE 131 (ca. 200 BCE) L.12: εἰ[ῖ]μεν δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα στεφανίταν / ἰσοπύθιο[ν] τὸν [τε] μ[ουσικὸ]ν [κ]αὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν, / καὶ τὰ ἄθλ[α καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς] νικῶσι τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὅσα /¹⁵/ καὶ <εἰς τοὺς> τῶν [Π]υ[θί]ων γέ[γραπται,] κ[α]θὼς καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἀποδε/δεγμένοι ἐντ[ι,]
- Epeiros – Ambrakia: SEG 35:665 (ca. 160 BCE) Block B L.13: εἰ δὲ μή, ὀφίλησοῦντι ταῖ πόλ[ει τῶν] / [Ἀμβρακιωτῶν ποιουμένων τὰν πρ]ᾶξιν τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτῶν καθὼς ἐπάνω γέγραπται ὡς α[. .] / [- - , L.20: ποιού/[μένων τὰν πράξιν τῶν ἐμμεϊνάντων κατ]ὰ τῶν μὴ ἐμμεϊνάντων, καθὼς ἐπάνω γέγραπται· L.27: κα[ῖ] τιθέντω ὄρους καθὼς τὸ γραπτὸν κελεύ/[ει -

M

μέσποδι

- Thessaly
 - [*] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 517 (214 BCE) L.13: μέσποδί κε οὖν καὶ ἐτέρος ἐπινοείσομεν ἀξίος τοῖ παρ ἄμμὲ / πολιτεύματος, ἐτ τοῖ παρεόντος κρεννέμεν ψα[φ]ίξασθει[ν ἄ]μμὲ ο<ύ>ς κε τοῖς κατοικέντεσσι παρ ἄμμὲ Πετθ[α]/¹⁵/λοῦν καὶ τοῦν ἄλλουν Ἑλλάνουν δοθεῖ ἅ πολιτεία·

μέστα

- Arcadia
 - Tegea: IG 5,2 4 = Dubois (1988 2:34) (4th c. BCE) L.11: - -] / μέσταν ἀέλιος
ὄν|τέλλη
 - [*] Tegea: SGDI 1222 = IG 5,2 6 = Dubois (1988 2:39) (4th c. BCE) L.28:
ζαμιώ[σ]θω / καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πλεόνων ἔργων κατὸ μῆνα /³⁰/ πεντήκοντα δαρχμαῖς,
μέσταν ἐπισ[χῆ] πάντα / τὰ ἔργα τὰ πλέονα.

μέχρι(ς)

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: 5 instances of the formula μέχρι κα ζώηι and 2 instances of the formula μέχρι οὗ κα ζώηι in acts of manumission. For a discussion, see Lejeune (1940: 59–64).
 - W. Lokris – Physkos: SEG 16:355 (176/5 BCE) L.8: παραμενέ [τω δὲ Τιμῶ παρὰ Εὐ]/μήλαν καὶ Κλε[υνίκαν καὶ - - - μαχον ποιούσα] /¹⁰/ τὸ ποτιτασσόμε[ενον · εἰ δὲ μὴ ποιόει, ἐπιτειμε]/όντω Τιμῶς [Κλευνίκα καὶ - - - μαχος καὶ] / Εὐμήλα μέχ[ρι] κα ζώωντι].
 - Doris – Kytinion: SEG 25:606 (2nd c. BCE) L.8: παραμεινάτω δὲ Πίστα παρὰ Ἀλέξωνα μέχ[ρι] κα ζῆ] / [Ἀλέξων, π]οιέουσα τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον πᾶν τὸ δυνατόν·
- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.59: ὁ δὲ ταμίας, ὅσον κα παραλάβει διάφορον λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων, γραφέτω ἐν ὑπεχθέματι εἰς τὰν ἐπισκευὰν τῶν ἐν τῷ /⁶⁰/ Καρνειασίωι, καὶ μὴ ἀναχρησάσθω εἰς ἄλλο μηθὲν, μέχ[ρι] ἂν ἐπιτελεσθῆι, ὅσων χρεῖα ἐστὶ ποτὶ τὰν τῶν μυστηρίων συντέλειαν·
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

μή

- Messene: SEG 43:135 (317 BCE) L.6: - -]κα συνβαίη μή δύναντ/[αι - -

ο

ὄθεν

- Northwest Greek
 - Delphi: SEG 18:196 (3rd c. BCE, second half; verse) L.1: [Ἦ μάλα δὴ γάθησ]ε Λέων
ὁ Λεωνίδα υἱός, / [άνικα τὰν νίκ]αν ἄρατο Πυθιάδα, / [ἄνδρας πεντα]θλῶν, ὄθεν
ἔστεφάνωσε παλαιὰν / [πρῶτος Μ]εσσάναν, αὐτόνομον πατρίδα.
 - [*] E. Lokris – Opus: IG 9,1 278 (2nd c. BCE) L.13: ὄθεν / διὰ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα
φιλοφρόνως ἅ σύνοδος ἀποδε[χο]¹⁵/μένα τὰν [εὐεργεσίαν] Σωτέλεος καὶ Ξενόλας
ἐκάλεσε[ν αὐ]/[τοὺς εἰς προεδρίαν — (Adverbial, correlative with the preceding
ἐπειδή-clause)
 - [*] Aitolia (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 91 d (195/194 BCE) L.2:
[Σωσικλῆς ὁ] / [ἀπο]σταλεις παρ' ὑμῶν ἱερομνάμων τᾶι τε ἔνδαμιαί κέ[χρηται?] /
[κα]λῶς? καὶ εὐσχημόνως καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς θυσίας συν[ετέλεσεν] /⁵ [τοῖς θε]οῖς ὡς
ποθῆκον ἦν τὰ τε κατὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων [εὖ ἔπε]/[τέλεσε]ν καὶ τῶν
ἀγνοθετᾶν καὶ τῶν συνιερομναμόνων κ[αλῶς ἔπε]/[μελήθη], ὄθεν καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι
ἔτίμασαν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Ἀμφικτ[ίονες, καὶ ἅ]/[μὲς **ἐκρί]νομες** ὑμῖν γράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ·
εὖ οὖν ποιήσετε [τ]όν [τ' ἔπαινον] / [Σωσικλείου]ς καὶ τὰς δεδομένας αὐτῶι τιμὰς
εὐνόως ἀποδεξά[μενοι]·

ὄθι

- Arcadia
 - Tegea: IG 5,2 16 = Dubois (1988 2:84) (ca. 218 BCE) L.11: γράψαι δὲ ἰν τὰν στάλαν

τὰν αὐτὰν, ὄθι καὶ οἱ / [π]ερὶ Θεόκριτον, Σιμίδαν, Νικίαν, Ξένιππον, Ἀργέαν,
Ἐπιτέλην.

οἶ

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Scotussa: SEG 43:311 (197–185 BCE) Face A L.70: ἄτ τοῖ ὄντοι τόποι
μέξ πὸτ τὰν καμπὰν / τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι τοῖ κὰτ τὸ Κερδοῖον, ν ἐπειδεὶ πλείουν τόπος
εἶε {Σ} δά/μοσσοσ, οἶ κεχόρτισται.
 - Pelasgiotis – Scotussa: SEG 43:311 (197–185 BCE) Face B L.58: ἄτ τοῖ πύργοι τοῖ
ύστέροι τᾶς Αὐροσχαδοφόροι μέξ / πὸτ τὰν πύλαν τὰν ἐπ' Ἐννεαπέλεθρον, ἐπιδεὶ
πλείουν τόπος εἶε /⁶⁰/ δάμοσσοσ, οἶ τ' ἐχορτίσθει,
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1727 (170–157/6 BCE) L.4: ἐλεύθερον εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον /⁵/ ἀπὸ
πάντων τὸν πάντα βίον, ποιοῦντα ὄ κα θέλη καὶ ἀποτρέχοντα οἶ κα θέλη. The only
example of οἶ in Delphi. For discussion (and the possibility of the stonemason's error
for οἶ<ς>), see Lejeune (1940: 67 fn. 127).

οἶς

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: Numerous examples of the formula ἀποτρέχων οἶς κα θέλη in acts of
manumission. For a discussion, see Lejeune (1940: 67–68).

ὄκα

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 34 (end of the 3rd/2nd c.
BCE) L.22: ἀποστέλλειν δὲ καὶ θεαροὺς καὶ θύειν, καθάπερ καὶ / ἐν τοὺς λοιποὺς

ἀγῶνας, ὄ<κ>α παραγγέλλω[ν]τι Μάγνητες,

- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2502 B = FD 3,5 20 = CID 2 32 (341–314 BCE) L.38:

Προεστάτευν ναοποιοὶ ὄκα ὁ λογισμὸς ἦς· Ἐτυμώνδας Δελφός, ...

- [*] Delphi: BCH 26 p. 63 = FD 3,5 25 = CID 2 62 (344 BCE) Col.1 Frgm.B L.15:

Δεξίλαι ἐφόδιον ε/[ἰς Θήβας] ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγγύους, ὄκ/[α Κρίθω]ν ἔμελλε τὰ ἰσχέπλιν/
[θα δώσε]ιν, καὶ εἰς Ἀθάνας, δρα/[χμὰς δ]έκα [δ]ύο.

- Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 56:659 (4th/3rd c. BCE; new interpretation of Lhôte 2006 no. 113 = SEG 19:428) L.2: οὐκ ἀνεθέθη ὁ Σατύρου σκύφος – ἐν Ἐλέα(ν) | ἄν τὸν κέλητα τὸν Δωριλάου ὄκ' ἀπ' Ἀκτίου ἀπέπλε;

- Laconia and Messenia

- [*] Laconia – Kotyrta: AE 1900 p. 159 = IG 5,1 962 (undated) L.23: καλεῖν [δὲ αὐτὸν] / καὶ εἰς προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς [γυ]²⁵/μνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, οἷς ἄ [πόλις] / τίθητι, ὄκκα
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους / προξένους καὶ εὐεργέτας / καλῆι·
- Messene: SEG 43:135 (317 BCE) L.13: ὄκκα δὲ δέωνταιί τι τῷ δάμω / [- -

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

- [*] Argolis – Kalauria: IG 4 840 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.10: τοῦς δὲ ἐπιμελητάς τ[οῦ]/ς αἰρεθέντας τά τε λοιπὰ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ὅτι χα/ριέστατα καὶ ὄκα κα ἄ θυσία ἦι, τὰς τε εἰκόνας καθαρὰς / ποιεῖν τὰς ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐξέδρας καὶ τὰν ἐν τῷ ναῶι τὰν Ἀ/γασιγράτιος καὶ στεφανοῦν ὡς ὅτι χαριέστατα.
- [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 950 = IG 4²,1 128 (ca. 280 BCE) (verse) L.57: καὶ τότε σῆς ἀρετῆς, Ἀσκληπιέ, τοῦργον ἔδειξας / ἐγ κείνοισι χρόνοις, ὄκα δὴ στρατὸν ἄγε
Φύλ[ι]ππος / εἰς Σπάρτην, ἐθέλων ἀνελεῖν βασιληίδα τιμήν. L.62: τουτάκι δ' ἦλθε, ὄχ'
ὁ παῖς ἐκ Βουσπόρου ἔῆλθεν κάμωνων. (IG 4²,1 notes the possibility of ἦλ(υ)θε

κάμνων.)

ὄπαι

- Boeotia
 - [*] Tanagra: REG 12 p. 72 = Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.20:
τὰν δὲ ἀρχὰν λαβῶσαν οὗτα τὰ χρεῖματα ἀνα/[τιθεῖμ]εν ἐν τὰν κατασκευὰν τῷ ἱαροῶ
κῆ ἐν τὰν ἀγορασσιν ὧν κα δε/[ίη, βωλευ]ομένως πεδὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ὄπη κα
φήνειτη αὐτῶς λουσι/[τελέστατον εἶ]μεν,
- Northwest Greek
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 294 (425–375 BCE) L.1: θεὸς τύχα. ὁδ' ὁ τεθμὸς [ὁ τεθεῖς ἐν] ἀγοραῖ
τελείω[ι] / ἐπὶ Κάδυος ἄρχοντος [σὺμ ψά]φοις τετρακατί[α]/ις πενήκοντα
τετόρε[σσι· τ]ὰ μὲν παροιχόμε[ν]/α χρέα ὄπαι συνάλλαξαν [καὶ τ]ὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ
φίδ^ς/ια ἐκπράξασται τὸν τόκ[ον ἐν] τὸμ Βύσιον μῆνα / τὸν ἐπὶ Κάδυος·
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2038 (186 BCE) L.8: εἰ δὲ κα πάθη τι Μενέ/στας, ἀποτρεχέτω
ἐλευθέρα Γνωσιφίλα ὄπαι κα /¹⁰/ θέλη.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1946 (150–140 BCE) L.7: ποιοῦσαν [ὄ] κα θέλη καὶ ἀπο/τρέχουσαν
ὄπ' {...} ἄν {κα} θέλη. Lejeune (1940: 65 fn. 119) suggests that this sequence of
letters may have resulted from the correction of ὄπα ἄν to ὄπα κα.
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2260 (150–140 BCE) L.7: ποιοῦσαν / ὄ κα θέλη καὶ ἀποτρέχουσα
ὄπα κα θέλη.
 - [*] Epeiros: SGDI 1357 (undated) L.5: . . . εἰν ὄπαι κα θ[έλη] . . .
 - Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 26:700 (350–331 BCE) L.5: ἀφῆκε Φειδέτα Ἴνων[ος] /
Κλεάνορα ἐλεύθερον καὶ μένο[ν]/τα καὶ ἀποτρέχοντα ὄπαι κ' αὐτὸ[ς] / προαιρῆται.
 - [*] Epeiros: SGDI 1359 = Cabanes (1976) no. 63 (ca. 300–232 BCE) L.1:

Βο[ῖσκ]ος, / Φορμί[σ]κος, Ἐχενίκα, <Δ>αμ[ν]αγόρα / Φλευχω ἐλευθέραν ἀφίεν[τι]
καὶ αὐ/τοὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκγό[νω]ν αὐ⁵/τὰν καὶ γένος ἐκ γενεᾶς, [ᾗ]ς κα
[B]οῖ/σκος καὶ Δαμναγόρα τελευτά[σ]/ωντι καὶ Φορμίσκος ἠβ[ά]ση, τρ[α]/πειῖσθαι
ὄπαι κα θέλη.

- Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 26:704 (2nd c. BCE) L.9: Δεῖ]¹⁰/νωνα ἐλεύθ[ερον ἀπὸ τᾶς] /
σάμερον ἀμ[έρας ποιεῖν **ὄ]/παι κα αὐτὸ[ς προαιρῆται**.
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argos (found in Crete): BCH 1910 p. 311 = DGE 83 (mid 5th c. BCE) Frgm. B
L.11: αἰ δὲ συ/μπλέονες πόλιες ἐκ πολεμίων ἔλοιεν χρήματα / **hoπᾶι συγγνοῖεν hoi**
Κνῶσιοι καὶ τοὶ Ἀργεῖοι / οὐτῶ ἔμεν.

ὄπει

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 1728 (170–157/6 BCE) L.6: ὥστε ἐλεύθερος εἶμεν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον /
ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ οἰκεῖν **ὄπει κα θέλη**.
 - Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 24:448 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.4: ὑπάρχειν /⁵ δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ
πολιτείαν, **ὄπει κα χρήζη τᾶς Ἀπειρου**, καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ / πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας τὰ
ἀπὸ Ἀπειρωτῶν καὶ ἀτέλειαν καὶ ...
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 74 (ca. 300–250 BCE) L.11: ἀνδρας] δὲ ἐλέσθω ἐκατέρα ἀ πό/[λις
συνέδρους δέκα καὶ τρῖ]ς προέδρους· τούτο[υς] / [δ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως λάβηι τὰ]
ἡμισσα ἐκάτερος / [τῶν χρημάτων. χωρησάτω δὲ ἐκάτ]ερος, ὅπυς κα κε/¹⁵/[λεύσωντι
τοὶ στραταγοί, ὦ καὶ **ὄπ]εῖ κα ἐξέλθωντι** / [ἐκκ τᾶς χώρας, ἐπιμεληθέντων ἐκάτ]εροι
 - Epeiros – Ambrakia: SEG 35:665 (ca. 160 BCE) Block A L.31: -]σαθῆμεν **ὄπει κα**

ἐκατέροις δόξῃ καὶ εἰ τί κα ἄλλο δῆ γε/[ωμετρέϊν -

ὄπει

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 31:574 (171 BCE?) L.10: καὶ τὸς ἐπιμε[λεί]/τας ὄπει [κε κατ]ενέκ[ει ὁ καιρός, πέρ] τὰν [πολι]/τείαν φρον[τί]σειν, οὐς [κ]ε [δοθεῖ αὐτοῖ]ς [πο]/λιτεία κατ [τὸ]ν νόμον καὶ ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 31:575 (170 BCE) L.31: καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελειτάς, ὄπει / κε ^{vac.} κατενέ[κ]ει ὁ καιρός, πέρ τὰν / [π]ολιτείαν φρο[ντί]σειν — —
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.20: καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελείτας ὄπει κε κατε/νέκει ὁ καιρός περ τὰν πολιτείαν φροντίζειν οὔστε δο/θεῖ αὐτοῦ πολιτεία κατ τὸν νόμον καὶ ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:638 (ca. 160–150 BCE) L.24: καὶ δοθέ²⁵/μεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν καὶ τὰ λοι/πὰ τίμια ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτ[ο]ῦ ὅσσα καὶ Λαρισαίοις, καὶ ὄπει κε ὁ / καιρός κατενέκει ἐν τοῦ δεύει ἐς τοῦν νόμον τὰ κατ τὰς πολ[ι]/τείας οἰκονομείσθην, φροντίζειν τὸς τάγος οὔστε δοθεῖ αὐτοῦ / ἅ πολιτεία·
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:638 (ca. 160–150 BCE) L.40: καὶ δοθεῖμεν / αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις πολιτείαν καὶ ἔντασιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια ὑπα[ρ]/χέμεν αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσσα καὶ Λαρισαίοις ὑπάρχονθι· τὸς μὰ ταγὸς φρογ/τίξειν οὔστε ὄπει κε κατενέκει ὁ καιρός ἐν τοῦ δεύει οἰκονομεί/σθην τὰ κατὰς πολιτείας, δοθεῖ αὐτοῦ πολιτεία·

ὄπειδη

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 27:202 (220–210 BCE) L.8: ὄπειδει Χρυσόγο/νος, Πυρρίχειος, Μακετοῦν /¹⁰ / [ἐ]ξ Ἐδέσσας, φίλος ἐὼν καὶ / εὐεργέτας τὰς τοῦν

- Λαρισαί/ουν πόλιος ἐν παντὶ καιροῦ, κὶ κ' ἔχει χρῆσιμον τᾶ πόλι, φανε/ρὸς ἐστὶ
πράσουν, τοῦν τα^{/15}/γοῦν λεξάντων, ἐψαφίσ/τει τᾶ πολιτεία ...
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 55:605 (shortly after 196 BCE) L.5: ὀπειδεὶ Βάκχιος ὁ
Καῖκειος Μυτιλειναῖος φί[λο]ς / [ο]ῦν καὶ εὐεργέτας παργενόμενος ἐν τὰν πόλιν τὰν
Λασαίου δι[ε]/[λέ]χθαι καὶ παρεκάλεσσε τὰν πόλιν τὰν τοῦν Λασαίου ὅσκε ἄ τε /
[φιλ]ία καὶ αἰ τιμαὶ αἰ ὑπάρχονσαι ἀτ τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς τοῦν Λασαίου πο[τ] / [τὰ]ν
πόλιν τὰν τοῦν Μιτυλειναίου διαμένουνθι καὶ ὅσσα παρλελιμ^{/10}/[μέ]να εἶεν ἐν τοῦ
παρελθουκόντι χρόνου ψαφιζούνθην Λασαῖοι Μιτυλ[ει]/[ν]αίοις [π]άντα, ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 31:575 (170 BCE) L.12: ὀπειδῆ Ἀσκ[α]λαπι[ά]δας
Θεοφίλοι Περγαμεινός, Φιλ[ό]/[τ]ῆς Ἴππολόχοι Κυζικεινός παργε[ι]/¹⁵/νόμενοι ποτ'
ἄμμε μετὰ τε Εὐμέν[ε]/ος τοῖ βασιλεῖος καὶ τοῖ κατιγνεῖτο[ι] / αὐτοῖ Ἀττάλοι κατ τὸν
καιρ[ὸ]ν τὸν / καὶ Πόπλιος <σ>τραταγός [Ῥου]μαίου / τὰν τε ἐνδαμίαν **πε[ποιέ]ινθο,**
οἶαν ^{/20}/ ποτείνεκε ἄνδρεςσι [καλ]οῖς κάγαθοῖς, / καὶ τοῦν πολιτᾶν, κατ[τό] κε
ἕκαστος / χρ[εῖ]αν εἶχε, **ἀντεῖχο[ν]το** μετὰ πάν/σας σπουδᾶς καὶ προ[θ]υμίας· ἔδο/ξε
τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λα[σ]σαίου ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.10: ὀπειδ[εῖ] Σάτ[υ]ρος
Φιλίνειος Ἀθα[να]ῖος ἐὼν φιλόσοφος τὰν ἐνδαμίαν **πεποιεῖται** / χρόνοι πλείονος
ὄστρεφόμενος οὐς ποτείνεκε ἀν/δρὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα καὶ κάλλι/στα
τοῦν ἐν τοῦ βίου πάνσας ποτ τὸς πολίτας προθυμίας ^{/15}/ καὶ σπουδᾶς <ο>ὑθὲν
ἐ[λλεί]πουν καὶ τὸν ἐνεστακόντα πό/λεμον συνμένο[υν] μετὰ τοῦν πολιτᾶν, ἔδοξε τοῦ
δά/μου τοῦ Λαρισαίου ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.41: ὀπειδεὶ Νούιος Λατῖνος
Οὔιοι Μαμερτῖνος παργενόμε/νος καὶ ἐπελθὸν ἐτ τὰν παρελθόνσαν ἀγόραν

- ἐνεφά[νισ]/σε πόκ[κ]ι, Πατροκλέα τοῖ Ἄστοκλέα παιδὸς ποππετόντος / ἐυτοῦ ἐν Σικελία καὶ ἐμφανίσσοντος διέκι ἀνδραποδι⁴⁵/σθῆς ὑκ κινουῶν στρατιουτῶν ἐδοῦλευε, ἐπιγ^νὸς διέ/κι εἷς ἐλεύθερος καὶ Λαρισαῖος ἐξαγγρέμενος εἷς κα[ῖ] / κατεσταούκουν ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἐυτοῖ κυρίον· Ἴππ[ολό]/χοι Ἀλεξιππεῖοι λεξάντος, ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου [τοῦ Λα]/ρισαίουν ...
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:638 (ca. 160–150 BCE) L.12: ὄπειδὲι / [B]όμβος Ἀλκαῖοι Αἰολεὺς [ἀπ' Ἀλεξαν]δρείας παρεπιδαμεί/σας ἐν τᾷ πόλει[ι καὶ ποιεισάμε]νος ἐπιδείξις ἐν τοῦ γ[υ]/¹⁵/[μ]νασί[ο]υ **συνεμναμονεύσατο** ἔ]ν τε τοῖς πεπραγματευμένοις / αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκροάσεσιν τοῦν γεγενειμένουν ἐνδόξουν Λα/ρισαίοις, καὶ τὰν τε συγγένειαν καὶ φιλίαν ταῖς πολίεσσι π[ὸ]/θ' εὐτάς **ὄνενε[οῦ]σατο**] καὶ τὰ φιλάνθρουπα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα / Αἰολεῖεσσι πὸτ τὰν πόλιν τὰν Λαρισαίουν, **ἐποείσατο** μὰ ²⁰/ καὶ τὰν ὄστροφὰν εὐσ[χει]μόνους καὶ ὄν τρόπον ἐπέβαλλε ἀν/δρῖ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λαρισαίουν ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:638 (ca. 160–150 BCE) L.34: ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λαρισαίουν· ὄπειδὲι ³⁵/ [Λεύκιος Νικασίαιος Αἰολεὺς ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῖς παργινομέ/νοις τοῦν πολιτῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαν **συμποκγίνεῖται** καὶ κοινᾷ καὶ κατ' [ῖ]/ [δ]ίαν ἐκάστου μετὰ πάνσας σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας φανερὰν ποέσσ[ας] / τὰν ἔχουν εὐνοίαν διετέλει πὸ τὰν πόλιν τὰν Λαρισαίουν, Κρατεισίπποι Θε/[ρ]σανδρείοι λέξαντος, ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λαρισαίουν ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 29:529 (undated) L.10: ὄπειδὲι Ὀνομακλείς Πειθιαῖ/ος Πέτθαλος ἐοὺν ΕΣ..5..ΕΝ / [— —
 - Thessaly (possibly Lairsa; found at Aiolis – Aigai): SEG 59:1406 B (ca. 250–196 BCE) L.11: ὄπειδὲι ἐξάγγελλε Σπεύδουν ὁ λείτορας τ/οῖ Διὸς τοῖ Ὀλυμπίοι τὰν

εὔνοϊαν τὰν εἴγοιεν ποτὶ Πετθαλὸς Αἰολεῖες, Κοῦοι, Μάγνεις / οἱ ἀπὸ Μαιάνδροι –
 τοῦ τε γὰρ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου /¹⁵/ καὶ εἴρου Πιπθαλοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς / τελετὰν
 καὶ θυσίαν πεποῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις π/άνσας καὶ εὔξασθαι Πιπθαλοῖς πάντεσσι καὶ / τοῦ
 δά?μου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦν κοινᾷ σουτειρίαν, εὐ/τυχίαν, εὐγονίαν –, ἐψάφισαν οἱ Πιπθαλοὶ
 ...

- Pelasgiotis – Krannon: SEG 31:572 (ca. 200 BCE) L.10: Παύσσουνοσ Ἀγασικρατεῖοι ὕ
 λέξαντοσ ἐψα/φίξατο ἅ πόλεις· ὄπειδει Θιοόδουροσ ὁ στρατ/αγόσ ἐν παντὶ καιροῦ
τυνχάγοι τὰν ἐπιμέ/λειαν ποεῖμενοσ καὶ κοινᾷ τᾶσ πόλλι[οσ τᾶσ] / πάνσας καὶ πάντου
πολιτᾶν [ιδία ἐκά]/¹⁵/στο[ιο κ]αὶ διὲ τοῖ βασιλεῖοσ κ[αὶ δι' ἑαυτοῖ], / δεδόσθαι αὐτοῦ
 ἀτέλεια[ν πάντου(?)].

ὄπη

- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Laconia – Gytheion: SGDI 4564 = IG 5,1 1155 (5th c. BCE) L.3: αἰ δέ κα
 ἀποστρυ/[θ]ἔται, ἀφατᾶται /⁵/ ἔ ho δόλοσ· / [—]ραι δὲ **hόπε** / νόμοσ, ^{vac.} / ἀποστάτο. ^{vac.}
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

ὄπόθι

- Arcadia
 - [*] Orchomenos: AM 1909 p. 239 = IG 5,2 343 = Dubois (1988 2:146) (4th c. BCE)
 L.31 by Dubois (L.22 by IG 5,2): γράφε/α γράψαν<τ>ασ καθ[έ]/[σ]θ[αι], ὄπόθ' ἄν
δεά[σ]/[η]τοι ἀμφοτέροις.

ὄποι

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Kleonaia – Nemea: IG 4 483 (undated) L.4: — —] /⁵/ **ὄποι** γωνοῖσ(?) [— —

ὀπόκα

- Laconia and Messenia
 - Messene: SEG 41:322 (ca. 295 BCE?) L.10: βοαθεῖν / [Λυσίμαχον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, **ὀπ]όκα** Μεσσήνιοι παρακαλῶντι (But different restoration as ἐφ] ὄτι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι by SEG 51:457)
- Argolis
 - Tiryns: SEG 30:380 no. 11 (late 7th c. BCE) [- - -]. .νους ηυιρερτα[- - - - - **h]οπόκα** | φοινά.[(?)] ατοπ[- - - -] (The editors mention the possibility of [h]όπo κα)

ὀπότε

- Arcadia
 - [*] Tegea: BCH 16 544 = IG 5,2 16 = Dubois (1988 2:84) (218 BCE) L.1: ὀπότε Θεόκριτος καὶ Ἀμφάλκης τῶν πολεμίων / ἐπι<β>άντων ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχεα ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ / ἐγένοντο μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλιος] / ἐλευθερίαι, καὶ ἀπεδείξαντο τὰν εὔνοιαν /⁵/ ἀξίως τῶ προκειμένῳ κινδύνῳ, δεδόχθαι / τῆς πόλι ...

ὀπου

- Boeotia
 - Thespiæ: IThesp 53 (ca. 230 BCE) L.5: κῆ στάση τὰν στάλαν ὀπου κα δοκεῖ ἐν καλλίστοι εἶμεν,

ὀπου

- Laconia and Messenia
 - Sparta: SEG 26:461 (ca. 500–470 BCE) L.1: [συνθεκ]αι Αἰτῶλοῖς. κ[αττάδε] / [φιλία]ν καὶ ηἰράναν ἔ[μεν ποτ] / [Αἰτῶ]λὸς καὶ συνα[χίαν . .3-4. .] / [. .3-4. .]νμονος μαν[τι .1-2. ηεπο]/⁵/[μ]ένδoς **hόπου** κα Λα[κεδαμόνι]/[ο]ι **hαγίονται** καὶ

κα[τὰ γᾶν] / [κ]αὶ καθάλαθαν, τὸ[ν αὐτὸν] / φίλον καὶ τόνναυτ[ὸν ἐχθρὸν] / ἔχοντες
 ἰόν περ [καὶ Λακε]/¹⁰/δαιμόνιοι.

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - Tiryns: SEG 30:380 nos. 1–4 (late 7th c. BCE; the line proceeds in a serpentine style, so no lineation is available. | = transition between faces, || = transition between blocks. Near the end) τὸν δ' ἰαρομμναμόν[α - - -]εν τ|ὰ δαμόσια **ἡό|πτι κα δοκεῖ τοῖ δάμοι** ἀλναιάν θεν.(?)ια. αιδ.[- - -]απα θαυεατρα α. . *vacat*
 - [*] Argos (found in Crete): BCH 1910 p. 331 = DGE 83 (mid 5th c. BCE) Frgm B L.18: αἶ κα καλῆι ho Κνῶσιος πρ/εσγέαν, ἠέπεσθαι **ἡοπτῖ κα δέεται**.

ὄπυς

- Argolis
 - Epidaurous: IG 4²,1 74 (ca. 300–250 BCE) L.11: ἄνδρας] δὲ ἐλέσθω ἑκάτερα ἅ πό/[λις συνέδρους δέκα καὶ τρῖ]ς προέδρους· τούτο[υς] / [δ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως λάβηι τὰ] ἡμισσα ἑκάτερος / [τῶν χρημάτων. χωρησάτω δὲ ἐκάτ]ερος, **ὄπυς κα κε**¹⁵/[λεύσωντι τοῖ στραταγοί, ὦ καὶ ὄπ]εῖ κα ἐξέλθωντι / [ἐκκ τᾶς χώρας, ἐπιμεληθέντων ἐκάτ]εροι

ὄπω ‘whence’

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.8: αἶ κα ηυπ' ἀνάγκας ἀπελάονται : ἐ(γ) Ναυπάκτο : Λορροὶ τοῖ ηυποκναμίδιοι, : ἐξεῖμεν ἀνχορεῖν, : **ἡόπο φέκαστος ἐν**, ἄνευ ἐ/νετερίων.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.16: αἶ κα με γένος ἐν τᾷ ιστίαι : ἐι ἐ ᾿χεπάμον : τὸν ἐπι/φοίρον : ἐι ἐν Ναυπάκτοι, Λορρὸν : τὸν ηυποκναμίδιον : τὸν ἐπάνχισ/τον : κρατεῖν, Λορρὸν **ἡόπο κ' ἐι**, : αὐτὸν ἰόντα, αἶ κ'

ἀνὲρ ἔϊ ἔ παῖς, ἰ τριῶν μ/ενδῶν·

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

- Tiryns: SEG 30:380 no. 11 (late 7th c. BCE) [- - -]. .ονος ηυιερτα[- - - - - **h**]οπόκα | φοινα.[.(?)] ατοπ[- - -] (The editors mention the possibility of [h]όπῶ κα)

ὄπω ‘as’

- Boeotia

- Thespriai: IThesp 54 (ca. 230–228 BCE) L.32: τῶς δὲ εἰρ[ε]/θέντας ἐγδόμεν τὰν ἐνκόλασιν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐν τὰν στάλαν τὰν ἐν τῷ προτανίῳ ὄπ[ω]ς [ἀνγ(?)]ράψει ὄπ[ω] / κῆ τὸ λυπὸν τὸ ἀντεθέοντες γ[ᾶς] τ[ῆς] Μώ[σ]ης.
- [*!] Megaris – Aigosthena: IG 7 207 (223–201 BCE) L.8: ὄπω[ς] ὧν φανερόν **ἴει** ὅτι τὰν ὁμόνοι/αν διαφυλάττι τὰν ἐκ τῶν προγόνων παρδοθεῖ¹⁰/σαν ἅ πόλις Ἡγοςθενιτῶν πὸτ τὰν πόλιν Σιφε/ίων, δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι, ... (The *criticus apparatus* in IG 7 207 says that the letter read as T by Lebas in “ὄπω τ” is not ligible.)

- Northwest Greek

- [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: SGDI 1478 = IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.1: ἐν Ναύπακτον ἰ κα(τ) τῶνδε ἰ ἡάπιφοικία. ἰ Λορρόν τὸν ἰ ηυποκναμίδιον ἰ ἐπ/εἰ κα Ναυπάκτιος ἰ γένεται ἰ Ναυπάκτιον ἐόντα ἰ **hόπο**<ς> ξένον ἰ ὄσια λανχάν/ειν ἰ καὶ θύειν ἰ ἐξεῖμεν ἰ ἐπιτυχόντα ἰ αἶ κα δεῖλεται·

ὄπως

- Thessaly

- [*] Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1229 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.29: ἐπιμελὲς μὰ γενέσθου ^{/30/} τοῖς ταγοῖς τοῖς πὲρ Φιλόλαον Εὐμέν[ει]/ον, ὄπους τότε τὸ ψάφισμα

ὄνγραφὸν ἐ[ν] / [κίό]ν[α]ν λιθίναν ἀντεθεῖ ἐν τὸ τέμε/[ν]ος τοῖ Πλούτουνος καὶ τᾶς Φερσεφό/νας. ἐ[πι]δεὶ καὶ ἅ διεσαφειμένα χού³⁵/ρα ἱερά ἐστι τοῖ Πλούτουνος, καὶ συμ/φανὲς εἶ πάντεσσι, διέκι δεὶ ἔστι ἅ χού/[ρ]α τοῖ θεοῖ.

- Boeotia

- Koroneia: SEG 43:205 (3rd c. BCE) L.4: ὄπως ὦν τῶς μὲν θεῦς τῆ τιμῆ γινούωνθη. ⁵/τῆ δὲ πόλι τὸ χρεῖσιμον, ἅ τε τῶ ἀνθέντος προήρε/σις ἐπιτελείετη· ὕ δεδόχθη ...
- Koroneia: SEG 57:443 (after 167 BCE) L.8: ὄπως / [ὦν ἅ πόλις φήνειτη] τιμίωσ[α]. τὼ[ς ἀξί]ως τῶν ἀνδρῶν, δεδόχθη ...
- Haliartos: SEG 32:456 (ca. 235–200 BCE) L.4: ἐπιδεὶ ἅ πόλις Ἀκρη[φ]ιέω[ν] πρ[ι]σ⁵/γεῖας ἀποστείλασα Δαμό[φι]λον Ἀλε[ξι]αο, / Δευξίλαον Θάλ[λ]ω, [A]πολλώνιο[ν (patronymicum)], / παρκαλῖ μὲν τὰν πόλιν Ἀρια[ρτίων ὄπ]ως / θουσίαν σουντέλει ἐν τῷ [A]θανᾶς Ἰτω/νίας κῆ Διὸς Καρα[ιῶ] τεμέν[ει], ἀξι[οῖ δὲ] ¹⁰/πεμπέμεν ἀπὸ πόλιος ἱππ[έα]ς [ἐν τὸν] ἀ[γῶ]ν[α] / τὸν ἀπὸ τελέων ἐν τῷ Πτωίων ἀ[γ]ῶνι· / ὄπως διακίμενα τὰ πὸτ τὼς θεὼς εὐσ[ε]β[ῶ]ς / κῆ ἐν τὸν λυπὸν χρόνον δια[μ]εῖνει ἀκό/λουθα πράττωσα τῆ ἡρέσι· δε[δ]όχθη ...
- Thespiiai: IThesp 54 (ca. 230–228 BCE) L.29: ἐπιδεὶ Γόργουθος Κλεισθένεος κατέλιπε τῆς ³⁰/ Μώσης κατ τὰν θείκαν τὰν γᾶν τὰν ἐν τῆ Κερεισίη κῆ τὰς αὐλὰς τόμου φοῦ, / σούνταξας ἅμα φυκονομίαν γίνουσθη· ὄπως / ὦν ἅ τε προήρεσις τῶ καταλιπόντος φανε[ρ]ᾶ εἶ κῆ τῶν π[ο]λιτάων ὁ βωλόμενος ἔχει ἐφορ<ᾶ>σθη τὰν δόσιν ἂν πεπόειτη / τὸν δᾶμον, ἐπί κα τὸ ψάφισμα [κ]ούριον [γ]ένειτη, ἐλέσθη ...
- [*] Thespiiai: IG 7 1780 = IThesp 214 = Darmezin (1999) no. 137 (after 240 BCE) L.14: οὔτ[ω]ς ¹⁵/ [δ]ὲ προστατεῖμεν αὐτῶν κῆ [ἐπι]/μέλεσθαι ὄπως βέβαια εἶη αὐτ[ο]ῖς ἅ ἐλευθερία καθὰ Εὔτυχος ἀπ/[έ]θει, ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον·

- [*] Thespriai: IG 7 1818 = IThesp 204 (3rd c. BCE) (verse) L.1: —ει δ' ἐμὲ / [ἀείρατ' ἄ]θλον, ἀλλὰ τᾷ τέχνη σοφὸς / [μελωιδ]ός, αὐλῶι φθόγγον εὖ προσαρμόσας, / [Μουσᾶ]ν ὅπως μελιχρὸν ἀπύσαι μέλος /⁵/ [βάσ]ιν τιθεὶς πρὸς τέρμα καίριον ῥυθμῶι.
- Thespriai: IThesp 30 (ca. 217–212 BCE) L.12: κῆ οὐπολάδδουνθη δειέμεν ἀγγρ[α]/ [φεῖμε]ν τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τᾶς πόλιος, ὅπως φα/[νερὸν ἴει τὸ]ν πάντα χρόνον, ὅπως ὦν φήνειτη κῆ ἂ πόλις Θεισπ[ι]/¹⁵/[εῖων τὸς ἦ] ἀποστ[ε]λλομένως οὐπὸ τ[ῶ] δάμῳ κῆ δειόντως ἀ[να]/[στρεφομένως ἀξίως] τιμῶσα, δεδόχ[θ]η ...
- [*] Tanagra: REG 12 p. 71 = Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.8: ὅπως ὦν κατασκευ/ασθείη τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Δάματρος ἐν πόλι ὅτι κάλλιστον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ὃ κα /¹⁰/ φήνητη τῆς πολεμάρχους κῆ τῆς συνδίκους κῆ τῆ ἀρχῆ τῆ ἡρεθείση· / δεδόχθη τῷ δάμῳ· ...
- [*] Tanagra: REG 12 p. 71 = Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.17: ὅπως δὲ κῆ χρημάτων πόρος γένειτη κῆ κατασκευ/ασθείει τὸ ἱερὸν κῆ ὁ ναὸς ὅτι τάχιστα, ἐσσεῖμεν τῆ βηλομένη τᾶν / γουνηκῶν ἐπανγείλασθη μὴ πλῖον πέντε δραχμὰς κῆ δόμεν τῆ ἀρχῆ τῆ /²⁰/ [ἡρεθ]είση ἐν ἀμέρης ρίκατι·
- Migeotte (1992) no. 28 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.27: ὅπως δὲ κῆ φανερῆ ἴωνθι τῆ ἐπανγελμένη κῆ δεδωῶση / [γουνῆκες, καταλο]γίττασθη τὸ ὄνουμα κῆ ἐπιπατρόφιον κῆ ὀπτότον κα ἐ/[κάστα ἦ] δεδωῶ]σα·
- [*] Chorsiai: IG 7 2383 = SEG 22:410 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.17: ὅπως ὦν κῆ ἂ πόλις φή/νειτη εὐ[χ]άριστος ἐῶσα κῆ τιμῶσα καθόλου / [κ]ὰτ ἀξίαν [τ]ὸς ἀγαθόν τι ποιέ[ο]ντας αὐτάν, δ[ε]/²⁰/[δό]χθη τῷ δάμῳ ...

- [*] Orchomenos: SGDI 495 = IG 7 3169 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.6: δεδόχθη τῷ δάμῳ, ὄπω[ς] ἔχων<ν>/θι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ θύ<ο>ντες ἐ[ν] / <τ>ῦ Μειλιχίῳ ο<ῦ>δατι
χρειεῖσθη π[ο]/τίμῳ, κατασκευάττη κ<ρ>[άναν] /¹⁰/ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εἰ παρ τὸ <ι>αρ[όν, εἰ
κα] / δοκῖ ἐγ καλλίστο[ι εἶμεν].
- [*] Chaironea: IG 7 3392 (2nd c. BCE) L.4: ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ τὸν ἱαρεῖα τῷ
Δι⁵/ωνούσω κῆ τὸν ἱαράρχαν κῆ Τιμόλα/ον τῶν ἀντεθεμένων, ὄπως μὲι ἀ/δικίωνθη.
- [*] Thebes: IG 7 2406 (after 229 BCE) L.8: —]ιτια, ὄπως κα κομιττάμενοι τ[ὰν
ἐλευθερίαν κῆ — (Hermann wrongly cites IG 7 2407.)
- [*] Thebes: IG 7 2406 (after 229 BCE) L.18: — —]ων, ὄπως κα διαμένοι ἀ φιλία
==
- [*!] Megaris – Aigosthena: IG 7 207 (223–201 BCE) L.8: ὄπω[ς] ὧν φανερόν ἴει ὅτι
τὰν ὁμόνοι/αν διαφυλάττι τὰν ἐκ τῶν προγόνων παρδοθεῖ/¹⁰/σαν ἀ πόλις
Ἦγοςθενιτῶν πὸτ τὰν πόλιν Σιφε/ίων, δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι (Hermann accepted the
reading in SGDI as ὄπω τ' ὧν, but IG 7 says that the letter T is not ligible)
- Boeotia (found at Delphi): FD 3,1 357 (219/8 BCE) L.4: τοὺς ἱαρ]ομνάμονας ὄπως ἀ
φοικία /⁵/... ..
- Northwest Greek
 - Phokis – Elateia: SEG 25:445 (ca. 189 BCE) L.10: ἐπρόσβευσαν Στυμφάλιοι πο/[τὶ
τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ὄπω[ς] ἐκπεμφοῖ προσβεία ποτὶ Μάνιον περὶ τῆς Ἐλατέων καθόδου
ἐν τὰν [ιδί]/[αν, ... , L.16: Στυμφάλιοι διεπρεσβεύσαντο ποτὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ὄπως
ἀπέλθων/[τι Ἐλατεῖς τὸ]ν ἴδιον σῖτον ἐνείκαντες καὶ ... , L.22: ὄπως οὖν φαίνονται /
[καὶ ἀ πόλις ἡμῶν μνημ]ονεύουσα τῶν παρὰ Στυμφαλίῳν φιλανθρώπων καὶ
ἀντ[απο]διδούσα χ[ά]/[ριτας τοῖς εὐεργέται]ς, δεδόχθαι τ[οῖς] Ἐλατέοις ... , L.26:

- ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι ὅπως ἀν[α]γ[ρ]αφῇ τὰ φιλάνθ[ρωπα Ἐλ]ατέοις καὶ Στυμφαλίοι[ς] / [εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀν]ατεθῆ ἔν Ἐλατεῖαι ἐν τῷ ἀγορῷ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος, / [ἐν δὲ Στυμφάλωι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾶς Ἀρτέμιτος τᾶς Βραυρωνίας·
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2506 (277 BCE) L.13: εἶμεν] / δὲ τοὺς τεχνίτας ἀτελεῖς στρατεῖ[ας καὶ πεζῶς] /^{15/} καὶ ναυτικᾶς, ὅπως τοῖς θεοῖς αἰ τιμ[αῖ ἅ]πασαι, ἐ]/φ' ἄς εἰσι τεταγμένοι οἱ τεχνῖται, συντ[ελῶνται ἐν] / τοῖς καθήκουσιν χρόνοις ὄντων αὐτῶ[ν ἀπολυπρα]/ [γ]μονήτων καὶ ἱερῶν πρὸς ταῖς τῶν θεῶν [λειτουργί]/αις·
 - Delphi: SEG 19:379 (3rd c. BCE, second half; improved reading of FD 3,1 351) L.5: Ἐπειδὴ παρὰ / [τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Θηβαίων ἀποσταλεις ὁ δεῖνα - - - - -] παρεκάλεσεν τοὺς Ἀμφικτίονας ὅπως ἂν / [ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσωσι τᾶς ἀναγραφᾶς πάντων τῶν δεδογμένων ὑ]πὲρ τῶν τριετηρίδων, καὶ γένηται ἐν / [παραδόσει αὐτά. δεδόχθαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτιόνεσσι, ... L.33: ὅπω[ς ἂν οὖν ἄ θυσία ἄ] τῶν τριετηρίδων ὡς κάλλιστα συντελήται τῷ / Διονύσωι τῷ Καδμε[ίω]ι · δεδόχ[θαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτι]όνεσσι · ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 218 (ca. 235 BCE) text B L.2: ὅπως δὲ καὶ δια[μῆνη] / [τούτων ὑπόμναμα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι τ]όδε τὸ δόγμα ἐς στάλα[ς λι]/[θίνας τρεῖς καὶ στᾶ]σαι τὰν μὲν [ἐν Δ]ελφοῖς ἐ[ν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπό]λλωνος, τὰς δὲ ἑτέρας /^{5/} [ἐν Χίωι, τὸ δὲ ἀνά]λωμα δόμεν τὸν γραμματῆ [τῶν ἱερομναμόνω]ν.
 - Delphi: FD 3,2 78 (ca. 230–225 BCE) L.2: ἐπειδὴ Κλε[οχ]άρης Βίωνο[ς] / Ἀθηναῖος, φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος, δήμου Κικυν<v>έως, ποιητῆς μελῶν, ἐπιδαμήσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, γέγραφε τῷ / θεῷ ποθόδιόν τε καὶ παιᾶνα καὶ ὕμνον, ὅπως ἄιδωντι οἱ παῖδες τῷ θυσίαι τῶν Θεοξενίων· ἀγαθῷ τύχαι, δεδόχθαι /^{5/} τῷ πόλει τὸμ μὲν χοροδιδάσκαλον

- τὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γινόμενον διδάσκειν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ τε ποθόδιον καὶ τὸμ παι/ἄνα
καὶ τὸν ὕμνον, καὶ εἰσάγειν τοῖς Θεοξενίοις· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἅ πόλις φαίνεται τιμῶσα
τοὺς ἄξιόν τι τοῦ θεοῦ γράφοντας, / ἐπαινέσαι ...
- [*] Delphi: BCH 1902 p. 271 = FD 3,4 362 (end of 3rd c. BCE) L.28: δόμεν [δ]ἐ /
[κ]αὶ τοῖς τὰ Πύθια ἐπαγγελλόντοισ τᾶι /³⁰/ τῶν Κώϊων πόλει τοῦ ψαφίσματος τὸ ἀ[ν]/
[τ]ίγραφον ὅπως ἀναγορευθῆ ὁ στέφανος / [τ]οῖς Διονυσίοις τοῖς ἐν Κῶι καὶ τοῖς /
[Α]σκλαπιείοις·
 - [*] Delphi: BCH 1902 p. 274 = FD 3,2 86 (ca. 209 BCE) L.21: ὅπως οὖν φαίνεται
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτι[ό]νων ἀξίως ἐπιστρεφόμενον τὰς τῶν εὐεργετῶν / τιμάς,
ἐπαινέσαι τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τᾶι / ἀποστολαῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ...
 - FD 3,1 358 (219/8 BCE) L.1: ἐπειδὴ παργενομένοι πρεσβευταὶ παρ τᾶς πόλιος / τῶν
Θηβαίων τὰν τε φιλίαν τὰν ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰ εὐεργετήματα τὰ γεγονότα τοῖς
Θηβαίοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπέμνα/σαν καὶ περὶ τᾶς οἰκίας διελέγοντο ὅπως αὐτοῖς
διατηρῆται καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐκόμιζον δὲ καὶ ψάφισμα ἐν ᾧ / ἐγγράπτο ὅτι
τινοῖς τῶν παραγνομένων Θηβαίων οὐκ ἐδίδου κατάλυσιν Κράτων καθὼς ἔλαβον
αὐτοῦ οἱ πρόγονοι /⁵/ παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Θηβαίων· ἀνακαλεσαμένων δὲ ἀμῶν εἰς
τὰν ἐκκλησίαν οὔτε ἔφα ἀντιποιεῖσθαι / τᾶς οἰκίας τῶν Θηβαίων οὔτε ἀποκεκλείκειν
οὐδένα τῶν παργνομένων, διαφυλάσσειν δὲ Θηβαίοις καθὼς καὶ οἱ / πρόγονοι
παρέδωκαν αὐτῶι καὶ περιαγήσατο τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τὸν τε
ξενεῶνα καὶ / τὰν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾧ Θεόκριτος οἶκει τὸ πρότερον καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ δύο
τὰ ποτὶ τὰν στοᾶν βλέποντα· / ὠμολόγει δὲ καὶ τὸ οἶκημα τὸ ἐνοικοδομημένον
ἀποκαταστασεῖν ἐν τὸν ξενῶνα· ὅπως οὖν εἰδῶντι /¹⁰/ Θηβαῖοι τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν
φιλίαν καὶ εὐνοίαν τ[ᾶ]ι πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν — — ...

- Delphi: FD 3,3 145 (ca. 218–217 BCE) L.10: ὅπως οὖν / [φαινόμεθα τι]μέοντες
αὐτὰν κατὰ τὸ ποθῆικον, / [ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὰν] ἐπὶ τε τᾷ εὐσεβείαι ἃ ἔχει ποτὶ / [τὸν
θεὸν κα]ὶ τᾶς ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν εὐνοίας / [ἔνεκα καὶ ... L.31: ὅπως δὲ καὶ πάντοις
φανερὸν ἦι [τοῖς ἀφικνε]ιμένοις / ποτὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὅτι ἄ πόλις τῶν Χαλ[ειέων π]ερί
πολλοῦ / ποιεῖται τὸ τιμῆν τοὺς λέγειν ἢ γρά[φειν] περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ / προαιρειμένους, τὸ
ψάφισμα τόδε [ἀναγρ]άψαι τὸν ^{/35/} ἐπιδα[μι]οργὸν Ἀρχα<γ>όραν μετὰ το[ῦ
γραμ]ματέος / [Φ]ιλίου {Γ} [καὶ] ἀναθέμεν τὸ μὲν πα[ρὰ τὸν] ναὸν / τοῦ
Ἀπό[λλ]ωνος τοῦ Νασιώτα, τὸ [δὲ ἐν Δ]ελφοῖς.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2532 = FD 3,1 351 (217–212 BCE) L.6: παρε]κάλεσεν τοὺς
Ἀμφικτίονας ὅπως ἂν / [...
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2532 = FD 3,1 351 (217–212 BCE) L.11: ἔδοξεν τοῖς
Ἀμφικτ]ίοσιν· ὅπως ἂν ἡ θυσία τῶι Διονύσῳι / [...
- Delphi: FD 3,3 220 (217–212 BCE) L.25: ὅπ[ως οὖν τὸ κοινὸν] / τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων
φαίνηται τᾶς εὐχαριστία[ς τᾶς ποτὶ τοὺς εὐερ]/γέτας καλῶς [προεσ]τακὸς καὶ
<τι>μὰ<ς> ἀπο[νέμον αὐτοῖς ἀξίας] / τᾶς ἐν αὐτο<ὸ>ς [φιλο]τιμίας, ἐπαινέσαι τ[ὰμ
πόλιν τὰν Χίων ἐπὶ] / τᾷ ἀποστολαῖ [τοῦ] ἀνδρός, ...
- Delphi: FD 3,3 221 (217–212 BCE) L.33: ὅπως ο[ὔν καὶ τ]ὸ / [κοινὸν τῶ]ν
Ἀ[μ]φικτιόνων φαίνητα[ι τᾶς εὐ]/³⁵[χαριστίας τᾶ]ς πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέ[τας κα]/[λῶς
προεστα]κὸς καὶ [τ]ιμὰς ἀπονέμον / [αὐτοῖς ἀξίας] τᾶς ἐν [α]ὐτοὺς φιλο[τιμίας]· /
[ἐπαινέσαι μὲν τ]ὰμ πόλιν τ[ὰν Χί]ων ...
- Delphi: SEG 19:379 (3rd c. BCE, second half; improved reading of FD 3,3 351) L.5:
ἐπειδὴ παρὰ / [τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Θηβαίων ἀποσταλεῖς ὁ δεῖνα — — — — —]
παρεκάλεσεν τοὺς Ἀμφικτίονας ὅπως ἂν / [ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσωσι τᾶς ἀναγραφᾶς

- πάντων τῶν δεδομένων ὑ]πὲρ τῶν τριετηρίδων, καὶ γένηται ἐν / [παραδόσει αὐτά, δεδόχθαι ... L.30: ἔδοξεν τοῖς Ἀμφικτίοσιν· ἐπειδὴ / ἅ πόλις τῶν Θηβαίων κα[ῖ] οἱ τεχνῖται οἱ εἰς] Ἴσθμὸν καὶ Νεμέαν συντελοῦντες παρεκάλεσαν / τοὺς Ἀμφικτίονας τό τε [ἰε]ρὸν [τοῦ Διονύσου] ἄσυλον ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι τᾶς / ἀ[σ]φαλείας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶ[ν]ος· **ὅπω[ς] ἂν οὖν ἅ θυσία ἅ** τῶν τριετηρίδων ὡς **κάλιστα συντελήται τῶι / Διονύσῳι τῶι Καδμε[ίω]ι**· δεδόχ[θαι] ...
- Delphi: FD 3,2 134 text C (205/4–203/2 BCE?) L.13: **ὅπως δὲ διαμένῃ** τόδε τὸ ψάφισ/[μα ἐν πάντα τὸ]ν χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι τοὺς ἐνάρχ[ου]ς βου^{/15}/[λευτάς ἐν τ]ῶι ἱερῶι.
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 223 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.11: **ὅπως / [οὖν διαμένῃ τὰ δεδομένα ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον,** ἀναγράψαι τὸ δό]γμα ἐστάλας καὶ στᾶσαι τὰν / [μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς, τὰν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐν Χίῳι· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δόμεν] τὸν γρα[μ]ματέα τῶν ἱερομαμόνων.
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 362 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.28: δόμεν [δ]ὲ / [κ]αὶ τοῖς τὰ Πύθια ἐπαγγελόντοισ τᾶι ^{/30/} τῶν Κώϊων πόλει τοῦ ψαφίσματος τὸ ἀ[ν]/[τ]ίγραφον **ὅπως ἀναγορευθῆ** ὁ στέφανος / [τ]οῖς Διονυσίοις τοῖς ἐν Κῶι καὶ τοῖς / [Α]σκλαπιείοις· ἀναθέμεν δὲ καὶ στάλ[αν] / [ἐ]ν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ.
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 163 (ca. 200 BCE) L.32: **ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑπόμναμα ἦι** εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι / τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τᾶι βάσει τᾶι τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου ἐν τῶι / ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι ποτ' Ἀντιοχεῖς ^{/35/} σφραγισμένους τᾶι κοινᾶι τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων σφραγῖδι.
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 383 (180/179? 179/178? BCE) L.15: **ὅπως οὖν εἰδῆ** ὁ δᾶμος τὰν Δ[ελ] _[φῶν αἴ]ρ[εσ]_[ιν κ[αὶ] ε[ὔ]νοιαν [τὰν ποτ' αὐτόν] . / τύχαι ἀγαθᾶι· δεδόχθαι τᾶι πόλει

ἐπαινέσαι ...

- Delphi: FD 3,3 242 (166 BCE) L.1: πρεσβευτᾶν [παραγενομένων παρὰ τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Σαρ]/διανῶν Ἐπικούρο[ν τοῦ Ἐπικούρου, Διονυσίου τοῦ Κλεάν]/δρου καὶ ἐπελθόντων ἐ[πὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποδοῦ]/[ν]αι ψάφισμα καὶ παρακαλε[σάντων τὰν πόλιν μετὰ σπου]^{/5/}[δᾶ]ς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀκολο[ύθως τοῖς ἐν τῷ ψαφίσματι] / [κα]τακεχωρισμένοις ὅπω[ς, ὃν ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Σαρδιανῶν πο]/[τι]εψαφισμένος ἐστὶ ἵπικόν [ἀγῶνα ἰσολύμπιον τοῖς] / [ἀγ]ώνοις οἷς συντελεῖ τᾶι τε [Νικαφόροι Ἀθάναι καὶ βασιεῖ] / [Εὐμ]ένει, ἀποδέξεται ἅ πόλις· ἀ[γαθαὶ τύχαι· ἔδοξε τᾶι] /^{10/} [πό]λιε τῶν Δελφῶν ...
- Delphi: SEG 2:270 (159 BCE) L.12: ὅπως δὲ τὸ ψά/[φι]σμα ἀναγραφῆ τοῦτο ἐν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιή/[σ]ασθαι {αι} τοὺς ἄρχοντας.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 146 (ca. 154 BCE) L.3: ἐπειδὴ Ὀπούντιοι καὶ ἐν τ[οῖς] / [ἔμ]προσ[θ]εν χρόνοις εὖνοιο ὄντες διατετελέκα[τι] /^{5/} ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀμῶν καὶ νῦν ἀποσταλείσας ποτ' [αὐ]/τοὺς πρεσβείας ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος, ὅπως ἔλονται δικα/στάς ἄνδρας τρεῖς οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι ποθ' ἀ[μὲ] / ποιήσονται τὰς κρίσεις μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου, / τὸν τε πρεσβευτὰν ποτεδέξαντο φιλανθρώπως καὶ ...
- Delphi: FD 3,1 152 (ca. 150/49 BCE) L.8: ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἅ πόλις τὰς καταξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδούσα φαίν[η]/ται τοῖς τε ποτ' αὐτὰν καὶ ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν ὁσίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς διακειμένοις· ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι· δεδ[ό]/^{10/}χθαι ...
- Delphi: FD 3,3 118 (139 BCE) L.15: ἀνα/γράψαι δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τὸ ψάφισμα ἔν τε τῷ ἱερ[ῶι] τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῷ ἐπιφα/νεστάτῳ τόπῳ καὶ γράψαι δὲ ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Κ[ι]ερίων ὅπως εἰδῶντι τὰ δε/δογμένα τᾶι πόλει.
- Delphi: SEG 2:282 (ca. 138–135 BCE) L.20: ἐ[πιμ]έλεια δὲ ποι[ή]σα/[σθαι τοῦ]ς

- ἄρχοντας, ὅπως ἀναγραφῆ τὸ ψάφισμα ἐνὶ(!) τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ [τό]/[πῶι το]ῦ
 ἱεροῦ.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 120 (ca. 134 BCE?) L.19: ἐπιμέλει[α]ν δὲ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας
ὅπως ἀ<ν>αγ<ρα>φῆ τὸ ψάφισμα /²⁰/ <ἐ>ν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 366 (150–125 BCE) L.5: [— — — γράψαι δὲ ποτὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τ]ᾶς
 πόλιος ὅπως ἔλονται [— — —]
 - Delphi: FD 3,2 49 (106 BCE) L.42: ὅπως δὲ καὶ π[άντοις τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις] φανερ[ᾶ
γίνηται ἅ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν φιλοτιμία καὶ εὐνοία, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ] /
 [ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων —
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 49 (106 BCE) L.13: καὶ ποιήσασθαι / [τὰν ἀναγόρ]ευσιν τᾶς εἰκόνοσ
 ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Πυθίων καὶ Σωτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ /¹⁵/ [ἐν Λ]αρίσ[αι ἐ]ν
 τῷ ἀγῶν[ι] τῶν [Ε]λευθ[ε]ρίων ὧ τίθεντι [Θ]εσσαλοί, ὅπως φανερόν ἦ πάντοις
ὅτι / [ἅ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν τᾶι εὐνοίαι τοιούτω]ν ἀνδρῶν ἀπο[ν]έμ[ει] τὰς καταξίας
τιμᾶς, κ[αὶ ἀποστεί]/[λασθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶ]ν Λαρισαί[ων τοῦδε
 τ]οῦ ψαφίσ[μα]τος ἀ[ντίγραφον].
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 50 (106 BCE) L.18: ὁμοίως [δὲ] καὶ ἐν Λαρίσ[αι ἐν τῷ] ἀγῶνι τῶν
 [Ε]λευθ[ε]ρίων [ῶ τίθεντι] / Θεσσαλοί, ὅπω[ς] φανερόν ἦ πάντοις [ὅτι ἅ] πόλις [τῶν
Δελφῶν τᾶι εὐνοίαι τοιούτων] /²⁰/ ἀνδρ[ῶν ἀ]πο[νέμ]ει τὰς καταξίας [τιμᾶς, καὶ
 ἀποστείλασθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ποτὶ] / [τὰν πόλιν τῶν Λαρισαίων τοῦδε τοῦ
 ψαφίσματος ἀντίγραφον].
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 52 (ca. 104 BCE) L.17: ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ ποτὶ / τὰν πόλιν τῶν
 Πατρέων ὅπως παρακολουθήση τὰς δεδομένας αὐτ[ῶι] τιμᾶς ὑπὸ τᾶς / πόλιος ἀμῶν.
 - Delphi: FD 3,2 50 (106 or 97 BCE) L.13: ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις φανερᾶ

- γίνηται ἅ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν φιλοτιμί[α] / καὶ εὖνοια, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων θησαυρο[ῦ], /^{15/ πέμψαι δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὰν σύνοδον τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐποποιῶν.}
- Delphi: FD 3,2 48 (97 BCE) L.39: ὅπως οὖν καὶ Δελ[φ]οὶ μναμονεύοντι τὰς καταξίας χάριτας ἀποδιδόντες· — ἀγαθὰ τύχαι· /^{40/ δεδόχθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ... L.55: ὅπ[ω]ς δὲ καὶ πάντοις τοῖ[ς ἐπι]/γινομένοις φανερὰ γίνηται ἅ τῶ[ν τοιο]ύτων ἀνδρ[ῶν φιλοτιμία] / [καὶ εὖνοια, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλ[λωνος ἐπὶ [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων θησαυροῦ, καὶ ἀποστείλας]/θαι αὐτὸ ποτὶ τὰν βουλὰν καὶ τὸν δ[ᾶ]μον τὸν Ἀθηναίων],}
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 77 (94 BCE?) L.24: ὅπως [οὖν καὶ ἅ πόλις φανε]/^{25/ρὰ γίνηται καταξίας ἀπονέμουσα [χ]άριτας τοῖς εὐεργε[τεῖν αὐτὰν προαι]/ρειμένοις, ἀγαθὰ τύχαι, δεδόχθαι[ι τῇ] π[ό]λει τῶν Δελ[φῶν ...}
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 44 (ca. 91 BCE) L.3: ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἅ πόλις φαίνεται τιμέουσα τοὺς ἀξιόους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀγαθὰ τύχ[αι], / [δε]δό[χ]θαι ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 143 (beginning of the 1st c. BCE) L.5: ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἅ πόλις φαίνεται τιμ[έου]/[σα τοὺς ἀξ]ίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εὐεργετεῖν αὐτὰν προαιρευμέ/νους· ἀγαθὰ τύχαι· δεδόχθαι ...
 - Delphi: SEG 13:361 (1st c. BCE, first half) L.16: ὅπως / δὲ καὶ Κορωνεῖς ἐπιγγῶντι τὰς ἐψαφισμένας Ἀσκληπιοδώρῳ τῶ[ι] / [πο]λίται αὐτῶν δωρεάς, διαπέμψαι τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν Κορώνειαν καὶ [παρα]/[κα]λέσαι τὸν δᾶμον ἀναγράψαι τᾶς πόλιος ἐν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον [τόπον]·
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 57 (91–68 BCE) L.28: ἀποστεῖλαι [δὲ καὶ ἀντίγραφον] τᾶν / τιμᾶν ποτὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων, ὅ[πως εἰ]δῶντι.

- Delphi: FD 3,4 55 (ca. 88–86 BCE) L.4: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐνεστακότι δὲ ἐν[αυτῷ, δεινᾶς χρ]είας γενομένης [τῆ πόλει] / [ἀμ]ῶν διὰ τὸν περιεστα{κοτα}κότα και[ρόν, παρακληθ]εῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως χοραγήση [σ]ῆτον Καφισίας, μεγα[λοψυχῶς τὸν χρ]ησάμενον τῶ[ν ...
- Delphi: Jannoray (1946: 247) (53–38 BCE) L.7: ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἅ πόλις ἀμῶν [φα]ίνητ[αι τιμέουσα τοὺς] / [ἀξίους τ]ῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εὐεργετεῖν αὐτοσαυτ[ᾶ]ν [προαιρειμένους· δέδοχ]/[θαι ...
- Delphi: SEG 2:332 (29–27 BCE) L.5: ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἅ πόλις φαίνητ[αι] / τιμέουσα τοὺς καλοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν], δεδόχθαι ...
- Delphi: Daux (1949: 276) (undated) L.15: ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ [πο]/τὶ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ῥηγίνων ὅ[πω]ς εἰδῶντι τὰ δεδογμένα τῆ πόλει τῶν / [Δ]ελφῶν.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 142 (undated) L.15: [ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅπως ἀναγραφή ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Απόλλωνος / [τοῦ Πυθίου] ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, ἀντίγραφον δὲ ὅπως ἀποσταλῆ τούτων / [ποτ' αὐτὸν τὸν] Πόπλιον.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 225 (undated) L.12: ὅπως δὲ [οὖν καὶ δι]/[αμένη τὰ δεδομ]ένα ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἀ[ναγράψαι] / [τὸ δόγμα ἐς στάλα]ς δύο καὶ θέμεν τὰ μὲν ἐν [Δελφοῖς], /¹⁵/ [τὰν δὲ ἐν Χίῳ· δόμεν] δὲ τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἐν ταῦτα τὸ[ν γραμμα]/[τέα τῶν ἱερομ]ναμόνων.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 237 (undated) L.2: βα[σιλεὺς] Εὐμένης / φίλος [ὑπάρχων] τοῦ δάμου καὶ εὐεργέτας διὰ προγόνων κα[ὶ εὐσεβέ]ων ἐν τε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀπέ⁵/στελε γράμματα ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαν/τα τρία ἀλεξανδρεῖα καὶ μνᾶς τριάκοντα ὅπως / ὑπάρχη τῆ πόλει ἐν σιτωνίαν διὰ παντός, ...
- [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.22:

- Περροθαριᾶν : καὶ Μυσαχέον : ἐπεὶ καὶ Ναυπάκτι<ός τι>ς : γένηται/ι, : αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ
 χρέματα : τὲν Ναυπάκτοι : τοῖς ἐν Ναυπάκτοι χρεῖσται, : / τὰ δ' ἐν Λορροῖς τοῖς
 ὑποκναμιδίοις : χρέματα τοῖς ὑποκναμιδί²⁵/οις : /^{Face B}/ νομίοις χρεῖσται, : **ἥπος ἀ**
πόλις φεκάστον νομίζει : Λορρὸν τὸν ὑποκν/αμιδίων·
- [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.29: αἱ κ' ἀδελφείοι ἔοντι : τὸ 'ν Ναύπακτον φοικέοντος, : **ἥπος καὶ Λορρῶ³⁰/ν** : τὸν **ὑποκναμιδίων** : **φεκάστον νόμος ἐστί**, : αἱ κ' ἀποθάνει, τὸν χ/ρεμάτων κρατεῖν : τὸν ἐπίφορον, τὸ κατιρόμενον κρατεῖν :
 - [*] E. Lokris – Opus: IG 9,1 278 (2nd c. BCE) L.8: ἐν τᾷ ἀνιερώσει ἄι ἐποίησαν[το] / τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῶι Ἑρμῆι καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις πρόνοιαν ἐ[ποι]/¹⁰/ῆσαντο κατὰ κοινὸν τ[ὰ]ν ἀρίστην ὑπὲρ τᾶς συνόδου τῶν [τε]/χλιτᾶν, διασαφήσαντες ἐν τᾷ ἀνιερώσει, **ὅπως καθ' ἕκαστ[ον]** / ἐνιαυτὸν **λαμβάνη ἀ** **σύνοδος τῶν τεχνιτᾶν ἀργύριον εἰς θυ]/σίας τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῶι Ἑρμῆι καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις·**
 - [*] Thessaly – Achaia Phthiotis – Lamia: IG 9,2 66 (ca. 170 BCE) L.12:
 — —]A[— —]σέω[ς] καὶ **ὅπως σταθέωσι]ν** ἐν τῶι [π]ροειρημένωι [τόπωι] / [—
 - [*] Thessaly – Oitaia: IG 9,2 1 (undated) L.2: τῶν δ[εδομένων] / Σέξστ[ω]ι Κορηλίωι Μαάρκου Ῥωμαίωι [τιμίω]ν ἀπεστάλκα]/μ<ε>ν τὸ ἀντ[ί]γραφον, **ὅπως εἰδήτε**·
 - [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1411 = IG 9²,1,1 192 (204/3 BCE?) L.3: ἐπεὶ Τήϊοι πρεσ[βευ]τὰς ἀποστείλαντες Πυθαγόραν καὶ Κλεῖτον τὰν τε οἰκειότατα / καὶ τὰν φιλίαν ἀνενηοῦντο καὶ παρεκάλεον τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς, **ὅπως τὰν τε πόλιν /⁵/ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰν χώραν ἐπιχωρήσωντι** ἱερὰν εἶμεν καὶ ἄσυλον τοῦ Διονύσου, / δεδόχθαι τοῖς

Αἰτωλοῖς: ...

- [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1411 = IG 9²,1,1 192 (204/3 BCE?) L.16: ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς νόμους καταχωρισθῆι <ἀ> ἀνιέρωσις καὶ ἀ ἀσυλία, / τοὺς κατασταθέντας νομογράφους καταχωρίζαι, ἐπεὶ κα αἰ νομογραφίαι γίνονται, / ἐν τοὺς νόμους.
- [*] Aitolia (found at Delphi): SGDI 1413 = IG 9²,1,1 179 (ca. 182 BCE) L.26: ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἐ[ν] / [τοὺς ν]όμους καταχωρισθῆι ἅ τε ἀποδοχὰ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀ ἀσυλία καὶ ἀ τῶν θ[ε]ωροδ[όκων] / [κατάστ]ασις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ ψαφίσματι κατακεχωρισμένα, ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι τὸν στρατα[γόν] / [Πρόξενον] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας.
- [*] Akarnania (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 31 = IG 9²,1,2 582 (before 189 BCE) L.23: παρακαλοῦντ[ων αὐ]/τῶν ὅπως οἱ οἰκεῖοί τε καὶ φίλοι μετέχ<ω>ντι τῶν θυσιῶν /²⁵/ τῶν συντελουμένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν,
- [*] Epeiros (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 32 (end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.33: ὅπως δὲ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα / χρόνον ὑπάρχει φανερά τὰ δε[δ]ογμένα, ἀναγράψαι τ[ὸ] /³⁵/ ψάφισμα ἐν Δωδώναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νάου ἐν / τῷ βήματι τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἀναθέματι, καὶ ἐπιμεληθῆμεν / ὅπως γραφῆι Κρίσωνα τὸν στραταγὸν καὶ τοὺς συνάρχον/τας,
- Megaris
 - [*] Megara: IG 7 1 (after 306 BCE) L.13: ἀγγράψαι / δὲ τόδε τὸ δόγμα τὸ γ γραμματέα τοῦ δάμου εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν /¹⁵/ καὶ ἀνθέμεν εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον, ὅπως εἰδῶντι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δάμος / [ὁ Μ]εγαρέων τιμῆ τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι πράσσοντας ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ / ὑπὲρ τῶς πόλιος ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν κωμῶν.
- Elis

- [*] SGDI 1172 = Minon (2007) no. 34 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.16: ὄπωρ δὲ καὶ ἀ πόλερ καταξίαιρ φαίνονται / χάριτερ ἀνταποδιδῶσσα τοῖρ αὐτῶρ / εὐεργέταιρ, ὑπάρχην Δαμοκράτη πρό/ξενον,
- [*] SGDI 1172 = Minon (2007) no. 34 (late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE) L.35: περὶ δὲ τῶ ἀποσταλᾶμεν τοῖρ Τενεδίοιρ / τὸ γεγονὸρ ψάφισμα ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσεται / Νικόδρομορ ὁ βωλογράφορ ὄπωρ δοθᾶι τοῖρ / θεαροῖρ τοῖρ ἐμ Μίλητον ἀποστελλομέ/νοιρ ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα /^{40/} τῶν Διδυμείων.
- Arcadia
 - [*] Tegea: Syll² 2 465 = IG 5,2 16 = Dubois (1988 2:84) (218 BCE) L.7: καὶ ἀνγράψαντας τὸ ψάφισμα / τόδε τὸς στραταγὸς τὸς περὶ Στρατέαν / εἰς στάλαν ἀνθῆναι ἰν τὰν ἀγοράν, ὄπως κ<αἰ> /^{10/} οἱ λοιποὶ λεύσοντες τὰν τᾶς πόλιος ἐ[ὺ]/χαριστίαν ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίνονται.
 - Orchomenos: Dubois (1988 2:178) (ca. 234 BCE?) L.2: - - εἰς σ]τάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀν/[θῆναι εἰς τὸν να]ὸν τᾶς Ἄρτέμιτος τᾶ[ς] / [Μεσοπολίτιος ὄπ]ως ἐπιτελεσθῆ ^{vac. /5/} - - -
- Laconia and Messenia
 - Sparta: IG 5,1 5 (after 188 BCE) L.1: [πό]θοδον ποιησαμένου Καρνεάδου τοῦ / Αἰγλάνορος Κυραναίου, ὄπως διαλε/χθ[ῆ]ι τῶι δάμωι περὶ τῶν φιλανθρώπων / καὶ περὶ προξενίας.
 - [*] Sparta: SGDI 4516 = IG 5,1 26 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.10: ποιούντω δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τᾶι προστροπαῖ ἀ<ε>ὶ μερίδα, ἕως / ἄν ζῶσι, ὄπως ἀε[ῖ] ἀ ὠβὰ μναμονεύουσα τῶν γεγο<νό>των φι/[λ]ανθρώπων εἰς αὐτὰν ἀποδιδούσα φαίνηται τὰς καταξίους / τιμάς.
 - Laconia – Epidaurous Limera: IG 5,1 932 (undated) L.6: ὄπ]ως δὲ φανερόν ῆι πᾶ/[σι

- τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅτι ἁ πόλις τῶν Ἐπι/[δ]αυρίων τοῖς εἰς αὐ[τ]ὴν καλοῖς κἀγα/[θ]οῖς
γενομένοις δι[α]μναμονεύουσα /¹⁰/ [τᾶν εὐεργεσιᾶν ἀ]ξίας χάριτας ἀποδί/[δ]ωτι, οἱ
ἔφοροι οἱ εἰς τὸν μ]ετὰ στραταγὸν Ἀδά/[μ]αντα ἐνιαυτ[ὸν] πρὸ μηνὸς Λυκείου /
[ἀναγραφάντω τὰν π]ροξενίαν εἰς στάλαν / [λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέντ]ω εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ
Ἀπόλ/¹⁵/[λωνος τοῦ Ὑπερ]τελεάτα·
- Laconia – Gytheion: IG 5,1 1144 (ca. 80 BCE) L.0: [ἐπειδὴ Φιλῆμων Θεοξένου καὶ
Θεόξε]/[νος Φιλῆμονος οἱ πολῖται ἀμῶν πόθο]/¹/[δον ἐπ]οιήσαντο ποτὶ τε τοὺς
ἐφόρου[ς] / [καὶ τ]ὸν δᾶμον, **ὅπως ἐπισκευάσωσιν** ἐκ / [τ]ῶν ἰδίων βίων τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ
τοῦ Ἀπόλλω/[ν]ος τοῦ ποτὶ τᾶι ἀγορᾶι,
 - Laconia – Kythera: IG 5,1 935 (2nd c. BCE) L.4: **ὅπ[ω]ς οὖν πᾶσιν φανερά]** /⁵/ **[ἦ]ι** ἁ
πόλις εὐχάριστος οὗ[σα καὶ ἐπισαμαιομέ]/[ν]α τοὺς ἀξιόους ταῖς καθηκ[ούσαις] τιμαῖς,
δε]/[δ]όχθαι τᾶι πόλει ἀμῶν· ἐπαιν[έσαι] —
 - Laconia – Kotyrta: IG 5,1 962 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.31: ἀναγράψαι δὲ / τὰν προξενίαν
ταύταν / τοὺς ἐφόρους τοὺς περὶ Εὐ/κρατίδαν εἰς στάλαν λιθί/³⁵/ναν καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς
τὸ / ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ / Ὑπερτελεάτα, **ὅπως πᾶσιν / φανερόν ἦι,** διότι ἁ πόλις
/ τοὺς ἰδίους εὐεργέτας τ[ι]/⁴⁰/μεῖ ταῖς καταξίους τιμαῖς.
 - Laconia – unknown provenance: SEG 11:470 (2nd c. BCE) L.1: [Πόθο]δου
ποιησαμένων τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ συνέδρων π[ο]τὶ / [τὸν] δᾶμον **ὅπως δ[ο]θῶ[σι]**
τιμαὶ Κλεοξένωι Νικόλα κ. .
 - Laconia – unknown provenance: SEG 11:470 (2nd c. BCE) L.10: - - της, **ὅπως**
ἀνακαρυ[χ]θῆ καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνι]/[κ]ῶι ἀγῶ[νι] τῶν Νεμείων κ[αὶ] ἐ[ν] Μεγάλα[ι] πόλει
τοῖς Σωτηρίοις] / [ὅ]τι ...
 - Messene (found in Kos): IG 12,4,1 215 decree II (242 BCE) L.11: καὶ / {καὶ}

- παρεκάλων, ὅπως τὸ ἱερόν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ τῷ ἐγ Κῶι ἄστυ/λον ὑπάρχει τὰ ἀπὸ
Μεσσανίων καὶ τῶν ἐμ Μεσσάναι κατοικε[ύν]/των,
- Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.84: ὅπως οὖν ὑπό⁸⁵/μναμα εἶ καὶ εἰς τὸν
ὑστερον χρόνον / ὅτι περί τε τᾶς Ἀκρειάτιος καὶ Βιπειά/τιος κρίμασιν ἐνικάσαμες
τοὺς Με/γαλοπολίτας καὶ περί τε τᾶς ζαμίας / ἄς ἐζαμίωσαν ἀμέ οἱ δαμοργοὶ
ἐ⁹⁰/νικάσαμες ^{vac.} δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμοι / ἀναγράψαι ...
 - Messene: IG 5,1 1432 (39 BCE) L.6: παρόντο[ς Ο]ύιβίου τοῦ στραταγοῦ καὶ
φροντίσα[ντος], / ὅπως, ὅσον ἐστὶ δυνατόν, εἰσοδιασθεῖ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα [τῆ πό]λει
καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ σύεδροι π[αρόν]/τες ἐδικαίουν εἵνεκεν τοῦ τὸ ἐπίταγμα
ἐκβιβασθῆμε[ν], L.11: Οὐίβιος δὲ ὁ στραταγὸς ἐδώρησατο αὐτῷ παρόντων τῶ[ν
π]ολιτῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως φο/ρῆι δακτύλιον χρυσοῦν,
 - Messenia – Pylos (found at Messene): SEG 57:369 (late 1st c. BCE) L.8: ἐ[γ]δόμεν
δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπιμελητὰν ὅπως ἀναγρ[α]/[φει] ἄ προξενία εἰστάλαν λιθίαν καὶ
[ἀ]νατεθεῖ εἰς τὸ ἱε¹⁰/ρόν τᾶς Ἀθανᾶς τᾶς Κορυ[φ]ασίας καὶ ἄλλαν ἐμ Με[σά]/ναι
εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τᾶς Μεσσάνας·
 - [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.2: ὁμνύω τοὺς
θεοὺς, οἷς τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτ[ε]/[λε]ῖται, ἐπιμέλειαν ἔξειν, ὅπως γίνηται τὰ κατὰ τὰν
τελετὰν θεοπρεπῶς καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου, (Hermann did not cite other passages
in the same inscription: L.32: ὁ δὲ γυναικόνομος κλαρούτω τάς τε ἱεράς καὶ
παρθένους καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν / ἐχέτω, ὅπως πομπεύωντι, καθὼς κα λάχωντι. L.41:
ῥαβδοφόρων. ῥαβδοφόροι δὲ ἔστωσαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πειθαρχοῦντω τοῖς
ἐπιτελοῦν/τοῖς τὰ μυστήρια καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχόντω, ὅπως εὐσχημόνως καὶ εὐτάκτως
ὑπὸ τῶν παραγεγενημένων πάντα γίνηται, καθὼς ἂν / παραγγέλλωντι οἱ ἐπὶ τούτων

τεταγμένοι· L.88: ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἱε/ροὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχόντω, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν
διαφόρων ἀναθέματα κατασκευάζηται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἃ ἂν τοῖς συνέδροις δόξει. L.89:
 θησαυρῶν κατασκευ^{/90/}[ἄ]ς. οἱ ἱεροὶ οἱ κατεσταμένοι ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ
 ἔτει ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχόντω μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὅπως κατασκευασ/[θ]ῆντι θησαυροὶ
λίθινοι δύο κλαικτοί, καὶ χωραζάντω τὸν μὲν ἓνα εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν,
 τὸν δ' ἄλλον ποτὶ τῆι κράναι, ἐν ᾧ ἂν τόπ-/ωι δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς ἔξειν· L.99: ὁ δὲ
 ἀγορανόμος ὁ ἐπὶ πόλεος [[επι]]^{/100/} ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχέτω, ὅπως οἱ πωλοῦντες ἄδολα καὶ
καθαρὰ πωλοῦντι καὶ χρῶνται σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις συμφώνοις ποτὶ τὰ δαμόσια, καὶ
 / μὴ τασσέτω μή[τ]ε πόσου δεῖ πωλεῖν, μηδὲ καιρὸν τασσέτω μηδὲ πρασσέτω μηθεῖς
 τοὺς πωλοῦντας τοῦ τόπου μηθέν· L.103: ὕδατος. ἐχέτω δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ ἀγορανόμος
 καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅπως κατὰ τὸν τᾶς παναγύριος χρόνον μηθεῖς κακοποιεῖ μήτε /
[τὸ β]ήλημα μήτε τοὺς ὀχετοὺς μήτε ἂν τι ἄλλο κατασκευασθεῖ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χάριν
τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ὅπως, καθὼς ἂν μερισθεῖ, ῥεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ μη^{/105/}[θ]ε[ῖ]ς ἀποκωλύει
τοὺς χρωμένους· L.106: ἀλείμματος καὶ λουτροῦ. ὁ ἀγορανόμος ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχέτω,
ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες / [βαλανεύε]ιν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μὴ πλεῖον πρᾶσσωντι τοὺς λουομένους
δύο χαλκῶν καὶ παρέχωντι πῦρ καὶ μάκραν εὐκρατον καὶ τοῖς κατακλυ/[ζ]ομένοις
ὑ]δωρ εὐκρατον, καὶ ὅπως ὁ ἐγδεξάμενος τῶν ξύλων τὰν παροχὰν εἰς τὸ ἀλειπτήριον
παρέχει ξύλα ξηρὰ καὶ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἀλει/[φο]μένοις] κατ' ἀμέραν ἀπὸ τετάρτης ὥρας
ἕως ἐβδόμας. L.116: οἱ δαμιουργοὶ τοῦ ἔκτου μηνὸς τῆι δωδεκάται, πρὸ τοῦ τὸν
 κ<λᾱ>ρον τῶν ἱερῶν ^{/face B.117/} [κ]αὶ τᾶν ἱερᾶν γίνεσθαι, ἀποδόντ[ω] / τῷ δάμωι
 χειροτο^{/120/}νίαν, ὅπως καταστά/σει ἐκ πάντων τῶν / πολιτῶν δέκα, μὴ / νεωτέρους
 ἐτῶν / τεσσαράκοντα μη^{/125/}[δ]ὲ δις τοὺς αὐτοὺς τ/[ό]ν γ' ἰὸν ἐνιαυτόν.)

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

- Argos: Vollgraff (1916: 65) (before 219/8 BCE) L.18: τὸ δε ψάφιζμα ἐγδόμεν τὸνς στρα/[ταγὸν]ς μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος ἀγγράψαι ἐνς στάλαν καὶ ἐν^{/20/}[στᾶαι ἐν τ]ῶ ἱαρῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου ὅπως πᾶσι φα/[νερὰ διαμένη] ἅ πόλις τοῖς εὐεργετοῦσι αὐτὰν καταξίανς / [τιμᾶνς ἀπονέμονσα].
- Argos: SEG 16:255 (170 BCE) L.15: [ἀνα]/γρά[ψ]αι δὲ τὸ δόκημα τοῦτο εἰστάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναστᾶσαι ἐ[ν] / τῶι ἰ[α]ρῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου ὅπως φανερόν ἦται ὅ/τι ὁ δᾶμος τοῖς εὐεργετεῖν αὐτὸν προαιρουμένοις χάριτας / ἀπον[έμει] καταξίας τῶν εὐεργετημάτων .
- Argos: SEG 22:266 (ca. 100 BCE) L.18: ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Ἀρ[γείων] / καὶ οἱ σύνοδοι φαίνονται εὐχάριστοι κ[αὶ τιμῶν]/τες τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ εὐεργετοῦντα[ς τὸν δᾶμον], ^{/20/} ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις ...
- Argos: SEG 41:282 (late Hellenistic; unpublished, lineation unclear, near the end) Ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ὅπως ἀναγράφονται οἱ γύαι ἐφεξᾶς, καθὼς ἅ χώρα διεκλαρώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατεμερίσθη κατὰ γύας δωτιναμένας, τὸν προτοῦ χρόνον ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ ἀναγραφομένας ἐν διερριμμένοις τόποις.
- [*] Argolis – Hermione: IG 4 679 (late 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.2: ὅπως φανερὰ ἦ<ι> διότι τάν / τε συγγένειαν καὶ φιλίαν θ<έ>λει / ἐπὶ πλεῖον προάγειν ἔδοξε τᾶ[ι] ^{/5/} πόλει ἀποκριθῆμεν τοῖς πρεσβευ/ταῖς, διότι ...
- [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 748 (369 BCE) L.13: ἀγγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψάφισ/μα ἐν στάλαι λιθίνοι καὶ στᾶσαι ^{/15/} ἐν τῶι ἱαρῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ / Θεαρίου, ὅπως καὶ τοὶ ἄλλοι ὑπη/ρετῶντι, εἰδότες ὅτι δύναται ὁ δ/ᾶμος ὁ τῶν Τροζανίων τὰς χάρ[ι]τας ἀποδιδόμεν τοῖς εὖ ποιού[σ] ^{/20/} ἰν αὐτόν.
- [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 749 (4th/3rd c. BCE) L.4: ἐπιμε]^{/5/}[μ]έληται δὲ καὶ τῶν

- ἐ[φ]ήβων, [ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν] / [ν]έων **ὄ[π]ως εὐτακτῶντι**,
- [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 749 (4th/3rd c. BCE) L.10: **ὄ[π]ως οὐ[ν] καὶ τοὶ ἄλλοι πάντες φιλο[δοξῶντι**, εἰδότες [ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὰς] / καταξίας τιμὰς **ἀποδίδωτι**· ἔδοξε τᾷ βουλαῖ καὶ] / τῶι δάμ[ωι ...
 - Troizen: SEG 55:418 (ca. 200–150 BCE; improved reading of IG 4 752) L.15: **ὄπως** δὲ τὰ συμφωνηθέντα κύρια **ἦι**, ἀποστειλάντω πρεσβείαν [ἐ]/[κά]τεροι εἰς Ἀθάνας καὶ ἀξιούντω δόμεν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας τρεῖς οἵτι[ν]ες πα/[ραγ]ενόμενοι τὰ γεγονότα αὐτοῖς ὁμόλογα ἐπικρίναντες ἀναθησοῦνται / [ἐ]ν στάλαις εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τό τε ἐγ Καλαυ[ρειαί] τ[οῦ] Ποσειδᾶνος [καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐπι]/[δ]αύρωι τοῦ Ἀσκλαπίου καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀθάναις ἐν ἀκροπόλει τᾶς Ἀθάνας· **ὄπως** /²⁰/ T[. .]A[- - - ca. 8 - - -]N ἐννόμως E[- - - -
 - [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 952 = IG 4²,1 122 (4th c. BCE) L.11: ἐδόκει οὐ {²⁹corr. οἰ}²⁹ / τοὺς υἱ[οὺς] τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐπιδαμοῦντος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐπιδαύρωι ἐόντος, / τὰγ κεφα[λάν] ἀπο[ταμεῖν], οὐ δυναμένους δ' ἐπιθέμεν πάλιν πέμψαι τινὰ πο[ί] / τὸν Ἀσκλ[απιόν], **ὄπως μόληι**·

ὄσκει

- Thessaly
 - See also ὡς and my discussion in Section 3.4.
 - [*!] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 517 (214 BCE) L.14: ἐτ τοῖ παρεόντος κρεννέμεν ψα[φ]ίξασθει[ν] ἀ]μμὲ **ο<ύ>ς κε** τοῖς κατοικέντεσσι παρ ἀμμὲ Πετθ[α]¹⁵/λοῦν καὶ **τοῦν ἄλλων Ἑλλάνων δοθεῖ ἀ πολιτεία**· For the emendation ο<ύ>ς κε in IG 9,2, see my discussion in Section 3.4.
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 55:605 (shortly after 196 BCE) L.7: καὶ παρεκάλεσσε τὰν πόλιν τὰν τοῦν Λασσαίου **ὄσκει ἄ τε** / [φιλ]ία καὶ αἰ τιμαὶ αἰ ὑπάρχονσαι ἀτ τᾶς

πόλιος τᾶς τοῦν Λασσαίουον πὸτ / [τὰ]ν πόλιν τὰν τοῦν Μιτυλειναίουον διαμένονθι
καὶ ὅσσα παρλελιμ¹⁰/[μέ]να εἶεν ἐν τοῦ παρελθουκόντι χρόνου ψαφιζούνθειν
Λασαῖοι Μιτυλ[ει]/[ν]αίοις [π]άντα,

- Thessaly: an unpublished inscription mentioned by Tziafalias & Helly (2004/2005: 382) (undated) L.23: ὀννεῖσταιν μὰ τοῦν ἄστοῦν τὸν δευόμενον τουννέουν τοῦν ἱπποταίουον, ὄσκει πόρος τᾶ πόλι γινυεῖται οὐς πλείστουον χρειμάτουον.

ὄτα

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: Tziafalias, Bouchon & Helly (2016) (ca. 170–150 BCE) L.2: καὶ ὀρμαμένουον τελέσσειν, ἐπβόκια δύα, τοῦ μὲν Δι ὀρσέν, τᾶ μὰ / Ἐννοδιά θειλύ, καὶ ὄκκε πενψέσθειν μέλλει ἐπβόκια δύα, δόμεν καὶ / [ὀ]ν θειλείαν μελαίαν, ...

ὄτε

- Northwest Greek
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 50 (350–300 BCE? verse) L.1: εἰκόνα ἐὰν ἀνέθηκεν [ἐπ'] ἔργωι τῶιδε ὄτε νικῶν / ναυσὶ θοαῖς πέρσεν Κε[κ]ροπιδᾶν δύναμιν / Λύσανδροσ, Λακεδαίμουνα ἀπόρθητον στεφανώσα[ς], / Ἐλλάδος ἀκρόπολ[ιν, κ]αλλίχορομ πατρίδα.
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 137 (ca. 321 BCE; verse) L.1: υἱὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου Κράτερος τάδε τῶπόλλων[ι] / ἠῦξατο τιμάεισ καὶ πολύδοξος ἀνήρ· / στᾶσε, τὸν ἐν μεγάρουσ ἐτεκνώσατο καὶ λίπε παῖδα, / πᾶσαν ὑποσχεσίαν πατρὶ τελῶν, Κράτερος, /⁵/ ὄφρα οἱ ἀῖδιόν τε καὶ ἀρπαλέον κλέος ἄγρα, / ὄ ξένε, ταυροφόνου τοῦδε λέοντος ἔχοι· ὄμ ποτε, Ἀλ[εξά]νδρωι τότε ὄθ' εἶπετο καὶ συνεπόρθει / τῶι πολυαιν[ή]τωι τῶιδε Ἀσίας βασιλεῖ, / ὄδε συνεξαλάπαξε καὶ εἰς χέρας ἀντίασαντα /¹⁰/ ἔκτανεν οἰονόμουον ἐν

- περάτεσσι Σύρων.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2529 = FD 3,4 163 (ca. 200 BCE) L.30: καὶ καρῦξαι τὸν στέ/φανον αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖ πατρίδι, ὅταν εἰσάγηι τὸν τῶν Σωτηρίων στέ/φανον.
 - Arcadia
 - Mantinea: SEG 37:340 (early 4th c. BCE) L.13: ὅσα δὲ συνβόλ[α]ια ἐτύ/γγανον ἔχοντες οἱ Ἐλισφάσιοι αὐτοὶ πὸ αὐτὸς πάρος Μαντινῆς /¹⁵/ ἐγένοντο, κύρια σφέσιν ἦναι καὶ τὸς νόμος τὸς αὐτοὶ ἦχον ὅτε ἔ/βλωσκον ἰμ Μαντινέαν.
 - (Attribution to Arcadia is not certain): SEG 37:351 = Dubois (1988 2:319) (3rd c. BCE) L.1: ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς — ἀλλὰ οὔτε ποτὲ σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα τοῦτα ἀναγνώσει, οὔτε ποτὲ Νεοφάνης ατασιρω[.]δωὶ δίκαν ἐποίσει, ἀλ' ὥσπερ σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, ἐνθαῦτα ἀλίθιος κεῖοι, αὐτῶ καὶ Νεοφάνα ἀλίθιον καὶ μηδὲν γενέσθαι.
 - (Attribution to Arcadia is not certain): SEG 37:352 = Dubois (1988 2:319) (3rd c. BCE) L.1: ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς — ἀλ' οὔτε ποτὲ σὺ ταῦτα ἀναγνώσει, οὔτε ποτὲ Ἀκέστωρ ἐπὶ ερατ[.]φαενα δίκαν ἐποίσει οὐδὲ Τιμανδρίδας, ἀλ' ὥσπερ σὺ ἐνθαῦτα ἀλίθιος κεῖοι καὶ οὐδέν, οὕτως καὶ Ἀκέστωρ καὶ Τιμανδρίδας ἀλίθιοι γένοιτο (οἱ γενέσθων).
 - Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Laconia – Gytheion: SGDI 4568 = IG 5,1 1146 (after 71-70 BCE) L.7: ἐν τε τῷ ἐπὶ Λαχάρεο[ς] / [ἐ]νιαυτῷ καὶ ὅτε περὶ τοῦ πρώτου δανείου τὰν λύσιν ἐποιούν/[το], καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Φαήνου δὲ ἐνιαυτῷ, ὅτε περὶ τοῦ ἄλλου δα/¹⁰/νείου τοῦ τῶν τρισχιλιάων καὶ ἑνακοσιῶν ἐξήκοντα πέντε / δραχμῶν, ἃν ἐδανείσατο ἅ πόλις ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Δαμαρμένου / ἐνιαυτῷ, λαβόντες ἐπὶ Μαρκιλίου κριτὰν Ἀθηναίων δᾶ/μον,

παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν συνεχώρησαν ὥσ/τε κομίσασθαι ὅσον ἔπεισαν
αὐτοὺς οἱ πολῖται, καὶ ἐν τῷ /¹⁵/ ἐπὶ Βιάδα δὲ ἐνιαυτῷ, ὅτε ἰδίαν χάριν
ἐξαιτησάμενοι / Πόπλιον τε Αὐτρώνιον καὶ Λεύκιον Μαρκίλιον ὄντας αὐτοῖς /
ξένους, οὓς καὶ ὑπεδέξαντο τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανάμασιν, καὶ / παρατήσαντο τοὺς τε
στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπιτασ/σόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὄντα ἱκανά, δι' ὧν ἐκούφισαν
τὰν πόλιν ὅλο/²⁰/σχερῶς χαρισαμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν,

- [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.86: τῶν θυμάτων
 τὰ δέρματα λαμβανέτω Μνασίστρατος, / τῶν τε διαφόρων, ὅσα καὶ οἱ θύοντες ποτὶ τῆι
 κράναι προτιθῆντι ἢ εἰς τὸν θησαυρόν, ὅταν κατασκευασθῆι, ἐμβάλωντι, λαμβανέτω
 Μνα/σίστρατος τὸ τρίτον μέρος: (Other instances in this inscription that Hermann
 did not cite: L.13: στεφάνων. στεφάνους δὲ ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν ἱεροὶ καὶ αἱ ἱερὰ πῖλον
 λευκόν, / τῶν δὲ τελουμένων οἱ πρωτομύσται στλεγγίδα. ὅταν δὲ οἱ ἱεροὶ
παραγγείλωντι, τὰ μὲν στλεγγίδα ἀποθέσθωσαν, /¹⁵/ στεφανούσθωσαν δὲ πάντες
 δάφναι. L.26: ὄρκος γυναικονόμου. "οἱ δὲ ἱεροὶ ὅταν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμό/σωντι, ὀρκίζόντων
 τὸν γυναικονόμον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱερῶν, εἴ μὲν ἔξῃ ἐπιμέλειαν περὶ τε τοῦ
 εἰματισμοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν / ἐπιτεταγμένων μοι ἐν τῷ διαγράμματι." L.39:
 ἀκοσμοῦντων. ὅταν δὲ αἱ θυσίαι καὶ τὰ μυστήρια συντελεῖται, εὐφραμεῖν πάν/⁴⁰/τας
 καὶ ἀκούειν τῶν παραγγελιομένων· L.48: ὅταν δὲ ἐπιτελεσθῆι τὰ μυστήρια,
 ἀπολογισάσθωσαν ἐμ πάντοισ ἐν τῆι πρώτῃ συν/νόμῳ συναγωγῆι τῶν συνέδρων, καὶ
 ... L.63: ὅταν δὲ ἐπι{σ}τελεσθῆι, ὅσων χρεῖα ἐστὶ ποτὶ τὸ συν/τελεῖν τὰ μυστήρια,
 ὑπαρχέτω τὰ πίπτοντα διάφορα τῶν μυστηρίων εἰς τὰς τᾶς πόλεος ἐσόδους. L.67:
 ἔστι δὲ ἃ δεῖ παρέχειν πρὸ τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι τῶν μυστηρίων, ἄρνας δύο λευκοῦς, ἐπὶ τοῦ
 καθαρμοῦ κριὸν εὐχρουν, καί, ὅταν / ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καθαίρει, χοιρίσκους τρεῖς,

ὑπὲρ τοὺς πρωτομύστας ἄρνας ἑκατόν, ...)

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf

- Argos (found at Arcadia – Pallantion): SEG 11:1084 (ca. 318–316 BCE) L.16:

Ἀγγράψαι / δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἅ πόλις ἅ τῶν Ἀργείων / πρεσβεύσα<σα> ποὶ Πολυπέρχοντα /
ἐὲ ἀιτήατο ἀφεόμμεν τὰ σῶ²⁰/ματα τῶν Παλλαντέων ὅτε / δοριάλωτον ἐγένετο τὸ
Παλλάντιον ὑπὸ Μενεμάχου, / [κ]αὶ Πολυπέρχων ἀφῆκε τὰ σῶ/ματα καὶ ἔδωκε τὰν
χάριν /²⁵/ τᾷ πόλι τῶν Ἀργείων·

ὅτι

- Thessaly

- Pelasgiotis – Krannon: Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (179–142 BCE) L.25: καὶ τὸς

ἐ/παγγελλαμένος ἐπαινεῖσαι τὰν πόλιν οὕστε φανερόν εἶ πάντεσσι ὅτι ἅ / πόλις
μναμονεῦει τοῦν ἑαυτὰν εὐερ/γτεισάντων·

- Boeotia

- Thespiiai: IThesp 33 (2nd/1st c. BCE?) L.7: L.7: —κος ὅτι μ[—]

- [*] Megaris – Aigosthena: IG 7 207 (223–201 BCE) L.8: ὅπω<ς> ὧν φανερόν ἴει ὅτι

τὰν ὁμόνοι/αν διαφυλάττι τὰν ἐκ τῶν προγόνων παρδοθεῖ¹⁰/σαν ἅ πόλις

Ἥγροσθενιτάων πὸτ τὰν πόλιν Σιφε/ίων, δεδόχθη τοῖ δάμοι, ...

- Northwest Greek

- [*] Phokis – Elateia: IG 9,1 97 (300–250 BCE) L.11: ἐπαινεῖσαι δὲ καὶ / τὰν πόλιν

Τηνίων, ὅτι τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τὰν ἐπιμέ/λειαν ποιεῖνται καὶ τὰν ποτὶ Φωκεῖς οἰκειότα/τα
ἀνανεοῦνται,

- Phokis – Elateia: SEG 22:445 (ca. 189 BCE) L.31: στεφανῶσαι δὲ τὸν δᾶμον τ]ὸν

Στυμφαλίων στεφάνωι χρυσέωι καὶ ἀνακαρύσσειγ κατ' ἐνι/[αυτὸν τοὺς ἱεροκήρυκας

- ἐν τῶ]ι ἄγωνι τῶι γυμ[νικῶι] τῶν Βοαδρομίων, διασ[α]φέοντας ὄτι [ά] / [πόλις τῶν
Ἐλατέων στεφανοῖ τὰν πόλιν τὰν Στυμφαλίων στεφάνωι χρυσ]έωι, ἀριστείωι,
ἀρε[τᾶς] / [ἔνεκεν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τᾶς ποθ' αὐτάν - - -]ΝῶΝΕΞ - - - -
- [*] Delphi: BCH 30 p. 217 no. 33 = FD 3,2 18 (300–200 BCE) L.4: καὶ ἀπελογίζαντο
ὄτι διατηρέον^ς/τι τὰς ἐξ ἀρχᾶς παρ' αὐτοῖς θυσίας τε καὶ τιμὰς δεδομένας τῶι θεῶι·
 - Delphi: FD 3,2 21 (300–200 BCE) L.1: —]ων, καὶ ἀ[π]ελ[ογ]ίζαντο ὄ[τι διατηρέοντι
τὰς ἐξ ἀρχᾶς] / [...]
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2722 = FD 3,2 78 (ca. 230–225 BCE) L.6: ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις
φαίνεται τιμῶσα τοὺς ἄξιόν τι τοῦ θεοῦ γράφοντας, / ἐπαινέσαι Κλεοχάρη Βίωνος
Ἀθηναῖον ἐπὶ τε ταῖ ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖαι καὶ ὄτι εὖνους ἐστὶ ταῖ πόλει.
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 239 (220–217 BCE) L.1: [Κλεό]πατρος καὶ οἱ φυγάδες Σῖμον
[Σίμ?]ου Αἰτωλὸν / [ἐσ]τεφάνωσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰκόνι χαλκῆι ὄτι τὸν / [Σ]κίρον
λαβὼν ἀπέδωκε Κλεοπάτρωι καὶ τοῖς φυγάσι / [τ]οῖς ἐξ Ἀχαιίας.
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 358 (219/8 BCE) L.1: ἐπειδὴ παργενομένοι πρεσβευταὶ παρ τᾶς
πόλιος / τῶν Θηβαίων τὰν τε φιλίαν τὰν ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰ εὐεργετήματα τὰ
γεγονότα τοῖς Θηβαίοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπέμνα/σαν καὶ περὶ τᾶς οἰκίας διελέγοντο ὅπως
αὐτοῖς διατηρῆται καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐκόμιζον δὲ καὶ ψάφισμα ἐν ᾧ / ἐγγράπτο
ὄτι τινοῖς τῶν παραγινομένων Θηβαίων οὐκ ἐδίδου κατάλυσιν Κράτων καθὼς
ἔλαβον αὐτοῦ οἱ πρόγονοι ^ς/ παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Θηβαίων·
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 358 (219/8 BCE) L.10: —]ον.. οἱ πρεσβευταὶ / ὄτι διαφυλάσσει ἡ
πό[λις τ]ῶν Δελφῶν τ[ὰν φιλίαν τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν — — — — — ἐν τοῖς] πρότερον
χρόνοις· / περὶ δὲ τᾶς ἐπιγραφᾶς
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 145 (ca. 218–217 BCE) L.31: ὅπως δὲ καὶ πάντοις φανερόν ἦι [τοῖς

- ἀφικνε]μένους / ποτὶ τὸ ἱερόν ὄτι ἂ πόλις τῶν Χαλ[ειέων π]ερὶ πολλοῦ / ποιεῖται τὸ τιμῆν τοὺς λέγειν ἢ γρά[φειν] περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ / προαιρειμένους, τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε [ἀναγρ]άψαι τὸν /^{35/} ἐπιδα[μ]οργὸν Ἄρχα<γ>όραν μετὰ το[ῦ γραμ]ματέος / [Φ]ιλίου {Γ} [καὶ] ἀναθέμεν τὸ μὲν πα[ρὰ τὸν] ναὸν / τοῦ Ἀπό[λλ]ωνος τοῦ Νασιώτα, τὸ [δὲ ἐν Δ]ελφοῖς.
- Delphi: FD 3,3 221 (217–212 BCE) L.42: [... τὸν δὲ στέφαν]ον α[ὐτοῦ ἀν]αγ[ορευ]σαι / [Σωτηρίοις ἐν τῶι] ἀγ[ῶνι τῶι γυ]μνικῶι [καὶ τοῖς] / [Διονυσίοις ἐν τῶι θεάτρ]ωι, ἐπεὶ κα τῶν πα/^{45/}[ίδων χοροὶ μέλλωντι ἀ]γωνίζε[σθ]αι, ὄτι / [τοὶ Ἀμφικτιόνες στεφανο]ῦντι τὸν [ἱερομνά]/[μονα Πολυαρχίδ]ην [Ἐρ]μάρχου Χῖο[ν χ]ρ[υσ]έ/[ωι στεφάνωι, ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,2 86 (ca. 209 BCE) L.27: τὸν δὲ στέφανον ἀνακαρῶ/ξαι ἐν μὲν Δελφοῖς Σωτηρικοῖς τῶι ἀγῶνι, [ἐν Ἀ]/θήναις δὲ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἐν τῶι θε[άτρωι], /^{30/} [ὄ]τι τοὶ Ἀμφικτιόνες στεφανοῦντ[ι χρυσῶι] / [στεφάνωι] Εὐ[δα]μον Ἀπολλων[ίου Ἀθηναῖον] / [ἀρετᾶς καὶ εὐσεβεί]ας [ἐν]εκ[εν] καὶ εὐνο[ίας] / [τᾶς εἰς τὸ κοι]νὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων.
 - Delphi: FD 3,4 163 (ca. 200 BCE) L.22: δεδόχθαι ἀποκρίνασ/θαι αὐτῶι ὄτι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τὰν μὲν πόλιν τὰν Ἄντιο/χέων καὶ τὰν χώραν ἀναδεικνύει ἄσυλον καὶ ἱεράν τοῦ Χρυσσαορ[έ]/^{25/}ως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσοτίμου, τὸν δὲ δᾶμον αὐτῶν καὶ βασιλῆ Ἀντίο[χον] / ἐπαινεῖ, ...
 - [*!] Delphi: BCH 1902 p. 280 = Syll.³ 603 (193 BCE) L.8: ἐνεφάνιξε δὲ καὶ ὄτι αὐτὸς ἀ[κολού]θως διακείμενος τᾶι τήνων προαιρέσει δι[ατελεῖ εὐνους ὦν καὶ πρόθυμος] / ποτὶ τὸ Ἀμφικτιονικὸν <κοινὸν> ἐμ [παντὶ] καιρῶι, ... See also under καθότι.

- Delphi: FD 3,2 89 (beginning of the 2nd c. BCE) L.9: παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ [λ]οιπὸν διαφυ¹⁰/[λάξ]ειν τὰν αὐτὰν προαίρεσιν, εἰδότα ὅτι ἅ πόλις τοῖς φίλοις καὶ εὐνόοις καταξίας ἀποδίδωτι τὰς χάριτας διὰ πα/[ν]τός,
- Delphi: FD 3,3 383 (180/179? 179/178? BCE) L.19: ἐπαινέ[σαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς] ^{/20/} αἰρεθέντας καὶ παραγενομένους δικαστὰς ἐπὶ τὰν κ[ρίσιν τῆς χώρας] / Εὐφανίσκον Καλλιξείνου κ[αθ'] υἱο[θεσία]ν [δ]ὲ Νικασιδ[άμου, (7 other men; L.25:) Κλεώνυμον Δαμοκράτεος, ὅτι παραγενηθέντες π[άντα τῆι πόλει συν]/[έ]πραξαν σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμία[ς οὐθὲν ἐ]λλείπον[τες ἐν τῷ ἐπι]/[τυ]χεῖν ἀμῖν τὰ ἀμφιλλ[εγ]όμενα, τὰν [δ]ὲ ἐνδαμίαν ἐπ[οίησαν καλὰν] / [κα]ὶ ἀξίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δάμου τοῦ ἐξαποστείλαντ[ρος αὐτούς·
- Delphi: FD 3,1 578 (146 BCE) Col.1 L.16: ὑπ]ὸ [τ]οῦ δάμου καὶ ὅτι λέγ[ουσι]ι γενέσθαι τὰν κρίσιν [π]αρὰ [τ]ῆ [δ]όγ]/[ματα ...
- Delphi: FD 3,1 523 (2nd c. BCE) L.1: Λιλαιέω[ν ἅ πόλις Πάτρωνα τοῦ δεῖνος Λιλαιέα], / ὅτι τὰν πόλιν [ἠ]λευθέρωσε, τὸν <ἐ>αυτᾶς εὐεργέταν] / Απόλλωνι Πυθ[ίωι ἀνέθηκ]εν. ^{vac.} / δέξατο μὲν Π[υθῶ Φοί]βωι γέρας, ἀν[τι] δὲ νίκας(?) ^{/5/} σῆσε Λίλα[ια Πάτρ]ωνα ἀντιδιδ[ο]ῦσα χάριν], / ὅς νιν, ἀπ[ω]σ[ά]μενος] φρουρὰν καὶ δαῖα δ[οῦρα], / αὐτόν[ομον ζῆσα]ι θῆκε ἐν ἐλευθε[ρίαι].
- Delphi: FD 3,1 454 (169–81 BCE) L.14: ὅπως δὲ καὶ Λύκι[οι] ^{/15/} [εἰδῶντι, γ]ράψαι καὶ ποτὶ / [τὸ κοινὸν τῶ]ν Λυκίων ὅτι το[ὺς] / [ἀ]γαθοὺς] τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅ π[ό]λ[ις] τῶν Δε]λφῶν ἀποδέχ[ε]/[τα]ι.
- Delphi: FD 3,4 49 (106 BCE) L.15: ὅπως φανερόν [ἦ]ι πάντοις ὅτι / [ἅ πόλις τῶν Δε]λφῶν τῆι εὐνοίαι τοιούτ[ω]ν ἀνδρῶν ἀπο[ν]έμ[ει] τὰς καταξίας τιμᾶς,
- Delphi: FD 3,2 48 (97 BCE) L.43: ἐπιγράψαι δὲ ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς βάσιο[ς] / τῶν

- εικόνων, ὅτι ἡ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν τὰν τῶν [τε]χνιτῶν σύνοδον τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρετῶν
ἔνεκ<ε>ν καὶ εὐσεβείας τᾶς πρὸς τὸ θεῖο[ν] /⁴⁵/ [ἀνέ]θηκεν·
- Delphi: FD 3,4 159 (100–50 BCE) L.5: φερόνθω δὲ καὶ γράμματα οἱ Ἑγγαιοι παρὰ τοῦ κοι/νοῦ τῶν Λοκρῶν ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν, ὅτι εὐαρεσ/τέοντι τᾶι
ἀναγραφᾶι τᾶς ὁμολογίας,
 - Delphi: FD 3,1 308 (undated) L.9: — καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας μουσικὸν καὶ] /¹⁰/ γυμνικὸν ἰσοπυθίους καὶ ὅτι δω[..... α]ὕτᾶ[ι — —
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 237 (undated) L.2: ἐπειδὴ βα[σιλεῦ]ς Εὐμένης / φίλος [ὑπάρχων] τοῦ δάμου καὶ εὐεργέτας διὰ προγό/-νων κα[ὶ εὐσεβέ]ων ἐν τε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀπέ/⁵/στείλει γράμματα ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαν/τα τρία ἀλεξανδρεῖα καὶ μνᾶς τριάκοντα ὅπως / ὑπάρχη τᾶι πόλει ἐν σιτωνίαν διὰ παντός, ἀπελογίζα/το δὲ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων περὶ τε τᾶς τοῦ θεάτρου / κατασκευᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναθημάτων ὅτι ἀποστε/¹⁰/λεῖ ἀρχομένας τᾶς θερείας τοὺς οἰκοδομήσοντα[ς]· / ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι· δεδόχθαι ...
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 225 (undated) L.4: [... τὸν δὲ] /⁵/ [στέφανον ἀναγορεῦ]σαι Πυθίους μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶ[νι τῷ γυ]/[μνικῶι καὶ τοῖς Διο]νυσίοις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐπεὶ κα [οἱ τῶν] / [παιδῶν χοροὶ μέλ]λωντι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὅτι τοὶ Ἀμ[φικτίο]/[νες στεφανοῦντι
Μ]εγακλῆν Ἀσκληπιάδου Χίον τ[ῶι τοῦ θε]/[οῦ στεφάνωι δάφ]νας καὶ χρυσέωι στεφάνωι ΚΑ[.c.7.]
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 219 bis (undated) L.17: [... τὸν δὲ στέφανον καὶ τὰν εἰκόνα ἀνακα]ρῶσαι ἐν μὲν Δελφοῖς Πυθί/[οις τῷ ἀγῶνι, ἐν Χίωι δὲ Διονυσίοις ἐν τῷ θεάτρ]ωι ὅτι οἱ Ἀμφικτίονες στε/[φανοῦντι τὸν ἱερομνάμονα Ἀλκίμαχον —
 - Aitolia – Thermos: SEG 47:561 (ca. 269–261 BCE) L.9: [ἀνα]καρῶσαι δὲ τοὺς

- [ἄ]ρχοντας τοὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ[ι ὄντας τὰ] ἐψαφισμέν[α] /¹⁰/ [ὅπως] μηθεὶς [ἄπτηται]
 Βοστρυχίωνος μήτε ἄ[γῃ] χρήματα α]ὐτοῦ, ὅτι δέ/[δοται αὐτῷ ἀσυλία] παρὰ τῶν
Αἰτωλῶν ·
- [*] Epeiros (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 32 (end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.39: ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσ⁴⁰/βευτὰς Ἀριστόδαμον Ἀριστέα Ἀντάνορα ὅτι παρ[ε]πε/δάμησάν τε καὶ διελέγη[ν] περὶ πάντων ἀξίω[ς] τᾶς τε πόλι/ος τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν,
 - Megaris
 - [*] Megara: IG 7 19 (undated) L.2: στεφανῶσα[ι αὐτὸν τοῖς Διονυσίοις χρυσέω] / στεφάνωι, ὅτι δ[ικαίως προέστα τῶν δικῶν, καθῶς] / περὶ αὐτῶ τοῖ στρα[ταγοὶ] εἰσάγγειλαν εἰς τὸν δᾶμον]·
 - [*] Megara: IG 7 1 (after 306 BCE) L.13: ἀγγράψαι / δὲ τότε τὸ δόγμα τὸ γ γραμματέα τοῦ δάμου εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν /¹⁵/ καὶ ἀνθέμεν εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον, ὅπως εἰδῶντι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δάμος / [ὁ Μ]εγαρέων τιμῆ τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι πράσσοντας ἢ λόγωι ἢ ἔργωι / ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ ὑπὲρ τᾶγ κομῶν.
 - Megaris – Pagai: SEG 13:327 (ca. 192 BCE; improved reading of IG 7 188+189) L.32: ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὰν] / πόλιν τῶν Σικυωνίων ὅτι διαμένει καὶ δια[φ]υλ[άσσουσα τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν φιλίαν] / καὶ εὔνοιαν διὰ παντὸς ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀμῶν ·
 - Achaia
 - [*] Dyme: SGDI 1613 = Rizakis (2008) no. 2 (190–146 BCE) L.4: [τούσδε] ἄ πόλις κατέκριν⁵/[ε θανάτ]ου, ὅτι ἱεροφόρεον / [καὶ νό]μισμα ἔκοπτον γάλ/[κεον]·
 - Arcadia

- [*] Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988 2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.50: ὡς συμφανὲς γίνηται[ι τ]οῖς Μάγνη/σιν, ὅτι ἂ πόλις τὰς τε τῶν θεῶν θυσίας συναύξει / καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις καὶ [εὐ]νοίοις / ἀξιωμένα ὑπακούει.
- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Laconia – Gytheion: SGDI 4568 = IG 5,1 1146 (after 71/70 BCE) L.47: προσκαλούντω δὲ α[ὐ]/τοὺς καὶ οἱ ἔφοροι <καὶ ἐκγόνους> αὐτῶν εἰς προεδρίαν {καὶ} ἀεὶ οἱ ἀντιτυν/χάνοντες ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, οἷς ἂν ποιῇ ἂ πόλις ἀμῶν, /⁵⁰/ καὶ ἐξέστω αὐτοῖς ἐπικαθῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐν προ/εδρία, ὅπως πᾶσι φανερόν ἦι, ὅτι ἂ πόλις ἀμῶν τιμᾷ τοὺς ἀ/ξίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
 - [*] Laconia – Epidaurus Limera: SGDI 4546 = IG 5,1 931 (after 146 BCE) L.21: ὅπως οὖν φανερόν / εἶ πᾶσι τοῖς θ[έλου]σι εὐ[εργετεῖν τὰν πόλιν, ὅ/τι τὰς καταξίας χάρι[τας ἀποδίδωτι τοῖς ἑαυτῶς] / εὐεργέταις, δεδόχθαι τ[ᾶ] πόλει τῶν Ἐπιδαυρί]/²⁵/ων· ἐπαινέσαι ...
 - Laconia – Epidaurus Limera: IG 5,1 932 (undated) L.6: ὅπ]ως δὲ φανερόν ἦι πᾶ/[σι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅ]τι ἂ πόλις τῶν Ἐπι/[δαυρίων τοῖς εἰς αὐ]τὰν καλοῖς κάγα/[θοῖς γενομένοις δι]αμναμονεύουσα /¹⁰/ [τᾶν εὐεργεσιᾶν ἀ]ξίας χάριτας ἀποδί/[δωτι, οἱ ἔφοροι οἱ εἰς τὸν μετὰ στραταγὸν Ἀδά/[μαντα ἐνιαυτ]ὸν πρὸ μηνὸς Λυκείου / [ἀναγραφάντω τὰν π]ροξενίαν εἰς στάλαν / [λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέντ]ω εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλ/¹⁵/[λωνος τοῦ Ὑπερ]τελεάτα·
 - [*] Sparta: SGDI 4439 = IG 5,1 11 (1st c. BCE) L.12: ἐνεφάνιζο]ν δὲ ὅτι εἴησαν δε[δε]γ[μένοι — —] / [— — — — —]μος [ὅ]τι εἴησαν [— —
 - Laconia – unknown provenance: SEG 11:470 (2nd c. BCE) L.10: ὅπως ἀνακαρυ[χθῆ]

- καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνί/[κ]ῶι ἀγῶ[νι τ]ῶν Νεμείων κ[αὶ] ἐ[ν] Μεγάλα[ι πόλει τοῖς
 Σωτηρίοις] / [ὄ]τι „Στεφανοῖ ἀ πόλις τῶν Ἐρχομενί[ων Κλεόξενον Νικόλα Λα]/
[κ]εδαιμόνιον στεφάνοι χρυσῶι κα[ὶ] εἰκόνι χαλκῆι ἀρετᾶς ἔνε]/[κ]εν καὶ εὐνοίας ᾗς
ἔχων διατελ[εῖ] εἰς αὐτάν”·
- Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.53: - - 15 - - ὄτι Ἀκρειᾶτις ^{vacat}/ καὶ Βιπειᾶτις
Ἄρκαδία ε[ἴ]η καὶ] Με⁵⁵/γαλοπολίτις, ἀμῶν δὲ δι[δ]ασκόν/των ὄτι Μεσσανία εἴη,
 - Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.75: τῶν δὲ κοι/νῶν δαμιουργῶν
ἐπακολουθησάν/των αὐτᾶι καὶ ζαμίαν ἀμῖν ἐπι/βαλόντων ὄτι οὐ συναιρούμεθα /
κριτήριον καὶ εἰσαγαγόντων εἰς τὸ ^{/80/} δικαστήριον τῶν Μιλησίων
 - Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.84: ὅπως οὖν ὑπό^{/85/}μναμα εἶ καὶ εἰς τὸν
ὔστερον χρόνον / ὄτι περὶ τε τᾶς Ἀκρειᾶτιος καὶ Βιπειᾶ/τιος κρίμασιν ἐνικάσαμες
τοὺς Με/γαλοπολίτας καὶ περὶ τε τᾶς ζαμίας / ᾗς ἐζαμίωσαν ἀμὲ οἱ δαμιουργοὶ
ἐ^{/90/}νικάσαμες ^{vac.} δεδόχθαι τῷ δάμωι / ἀναγράψαι ...
 - Messene: IG 5,1 1432 (39 BCE) L.3: ἀπο]λογισαμένου περὶ τῶν π[ε]πρωκότων ἐξ
αὐ]/τᾶς χρημάτων, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτα[κτὰ κ]εχῶρηκε, καὶ ὄτι εἰς
οὐθὲν ἄ[λ]λ[ο] ἢ ταῦτα ἀ]/⁵νακέχρηται, καὶ ...
 - Messene: IG 5,1 1432 (39 BCE) L.26: αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ πᾶν ἀνυ/πονοήτως θέλων
ὑπάρχειν παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς πολίταις, ὄτι καθαρῶς ἀναστρέφεται, χειρισμὸν οὐ
πεποίηται / χρημάτων οὔτε δι’ αὐτοσαντοῦ οὔτε κατὰ παρεύρεσιν δι’ ἄλλων
προσώπων, ἀλλὰ καθιστάνων ἐγλογεῖς ἄν/δρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐφ’ ἐκάσταν λειτουργίαν τε
καὶ χρημάτων χειρισμὸν παρέχεται τᾶι πόλει στοιχοῦντα ^{/30/} πάντα· L.37: καὶ
ἐμφανίζόν/των πάντων ὁμοθυμαδόν, ὄτι δεῖ δοθῆμεν Ἀριστοκλεῖ διὰ τὰ
προγεγραμμένα πάντα τὰς κατα/ξίους τιμὰς,

- [*] Messenia – Andania: SGDI 4689 = IG 5,1 1390 (92/91 BCE) L.60: μηδὲ γρα/ψάτω μηθεὶς δόγμα, ὄτι δεῖ ταῦτα τὰ διάφορα εἰς ἄλλο τι καταχρήσασθαι. (Also in the same inscription: L.56: οἱ ἄρχον/τες καὶ οἱ συνέδροι δογματοποιεῖσθωσαν, ὄτι δεῖ τὸν ταμίαν [διδόμ]εν τὰ διάφορα.)
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - Argos (found at Arcadia – Pallantion): SEG 11:1084 (ca. 318–316 BCE) L.16: Ἀγγράψαι / δὲ καὶ ὄτι ἅ πόλις ἅ τῶν Ἀργείων / πρεσβεύσα<σα> ποὶ Πολυπέρχοντα / ἐὲ ἀιτήατο ἀφεόμεν τὰ σώ^{/20}/ματα τῶν Παλλαντέων ὅτε / δοριάλωτον ἐγένετο τὸ Παλλάντιον ὑπὸ Μενεμάχου, / [κ]αὶ Πολυπέρχων ἀφῆκε τὰ σώ/ματα καὶ ἔδωκε τὰν χάριν ^{/25/} τᾷ πόλι τῶν Ἀργείων.
 - Argos: Vollgraff (1916: 221) (3rd c. BCE, first half) L.12: καὶ νῦν πρεσβῆαν ἀπέστηλαν Φιλί/[α]ν Ἀγλουστράτου, Εἰρηνίδαν Εὐξένου, Ἀθανόδωρον Θρασονίδα / ἐμφανιζόντας ὄ(τ)ι καὶ τὸν ἔμπροσθα χρόνον ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων ^{/15/} διατελεῖ εὖνοος ἐὼν τῷ δάμῳ τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρό/νον ὑπάρξει τοιοῦτος ἐών,
 - Argos: SEG 16:255 (170 BCE) L.15: [ἀνα]/γρά[ψ]αι δὲ τὸ δόκημα τοῦτο εἰστάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναστᾶσαι ἐ[ν] / τῷ ἰ[α]ρῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Λυκείου ὅπως φανερόν ἦται ὄ/τι ὁ δᾶμος τοῖς εὐεργετεῖν αὐτὸν προαιρουμένοις χάριτας / ἀπογ[έμει] καταξίας τῶν εὐεργετημάτων ·
 - [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 748 (369 BCE) L.13: ἀγγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψάφισ/μα ἐν στάλαι λιθίνοι καὶ στᾶσαι ^{/15/} ἐν τῷ ἰαρῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ / Θεαρίου, ὅπως καὶ τοὶ ἄλλοι ὑπη/ρετῶντι, εἰδότες ὄτι δύναται ὁ δ/ᾶμος ὁ τῶν Τροζανίων τὰς χάρι[ι]τας ἀποδιδόμεν τοῖς εὖ ποιού[σ]^{/20/}ιν αὐτόν.
 - [*] Argolis – Kalauria: IG 4 839 (4th c. BCE) L.3: ἐπὶ Θεοφείδεος ταμία ἔδο/ξε τᾷ

- πόλι τᾶι Καλαυρεα⁵/τᾶν ἐπαινέσαι τὰμ πόλιν / τὰν Σιφνίων ὄτι διατελεῖ / [ε]ῦνους
 ἐοῦσα τᾶι πόλι τᾶι / [Καλαυρεατᾶν —
- [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.37: ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς / [εἰπεῖν], ὄτι ὑγιῆ μὲν νιν ποιησοῖ, μισθὸμ μάντοι νιν δεησοῖ ἀν/[θέμεν εἰς] τὸ ἱερὸν ὕν ἀργύρεον ὑπόμναμα τᾶς ἀμαθίας.
 - [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.29: ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ἐξευθύναι, ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεόν, /³⁰/ εἰ ἔτι ἀπιστησοῖ τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶμ πινάκων τῶν / κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν. “ὄτι τοῖνον ἔμπροσθεν ἀπίστεις / αὐτο[ῖ]ς οὐκ ἐοῦσιν ἀπίστοις, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω τοι,” φάμεν, “Ἄπιστος / ὄν[ομα]”.
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 123 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.119: ἐδό¹²⁰/[κει οἱ — — — φάμ]εν ὄτι οὔτος εἴη ὁ πρεσβύτας / [— — — — — — — — —] ὄτι αἶ κ' ἔλθη εἰς Λευ-/ [κάδα
 - Epidaurus: IG 4²,1 123 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.126: ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ποιτάξαι τετράμηνον ἐν τῶι / [ιαρῶι παραμένειν, ὄτι ἐν τῶι χρόνῳ τούτῳι ὑγιῆς ἐσοῖτο.
 - Epidaurus: SEG 22:280 (3rd c. BCE; improved reading of IG 4²,1 123) L.8: Καλλικράτεια θησαν/ρόν. Αὐτα τελευτάσοντός οἱ τοῦ ἀνδρός, αἰσθημένα δὲ ὄτι εἴη π]ει τῶι /¹⁰/ ἀνδρὶ χρυσίον κατορωρυγμένον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο μαστεύου[σα] εὐ/ρεῖν, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θησαυροῦ καὶ [ἐγκαθ]εῦ[δου]σα ὄ/ψιν εἶδε·
 - Epidaurus: SEG 55:425 (ca. 200–150 BCE; improved reading of IG 4²,1 76 + 77) L.16: - - εἰ δὲ ιδιώτας] χιλίας δραχμᾶς καὶ ὄτι βασιλίδι^ν / [- - -
 - [*] Corinthia – Phlius: IG 4 439 (undated) Frgm. C: αἶτ' ἡόρρον ὄτι ἂ ὀφέλ[εια — —]
 - [*] Corinthia – Sikyon: IG 4 426 (late 3rd c. BCE) Col. 2 L.2: κατὰ πράγματ[α τ]ὰ περὶ αὐτὸν / ὄντα εἰς ἀποκατάστασιν ἔλ/θη, ὄτι μνασθησεῖται καταξί⁵/ως αὐτοῦ

τιμᾶσαι ὁ δᾶμος. *vacat.* Hermann: “Die Konstruktion ist unklar.”

- [*] Corinthia – Apollonia (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 45 (end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.7: καὶ κομιζάντων ψάφισμα παρὰ τᾶς πόλι/ος, ἐν ᾧ κατεκεχώριστο ὅ τε χρησμὸς ὁ παρὰ / τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν [Δ]ελφοῖς, ὅτι λώιον εἶη καὶ ἄμει¹⁰/νον τοῖς σεβομένοις Ἄρτεμιν Λευκοφρυ[η]νᾶν / καὶ τὰ[ν] πόλιν τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ τὰν χώραν ἰ[ε]/[ρ]ᾶν κ[αὶ] ἄ[σ]υ[λ]ον νομίζουσιν, καὶ ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος τ[ῶ]ν / Μα[γνήτω]ν ἐψάφισται τᾷ εὐεργέτιδι τᾶς πόλι/ος Ἀρ[τ]έμιδι Λευκοφρυηνᾷ διὰ πέντε ἐτέων θυ¹⁵/[σ]ίαν καὶ πανάγυριν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ ἀγῶνα / στεφανίταν ἰσοπύθιον μουσικόν τε καὶ γυμνι/κὸν καὶ ἵππικόν,
-

ὅτι μή

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.10: ἰ τέλος μὲ φάρειν μεδὲν ἰ ἰότι μὲ <μ>ετὰ Λοορῶν τῶν Φεσπαρί/ον ἰ

οὔ

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: Two instances of the formula ἐποτρέχων οὔ κα/ἄν θέλη in acts of manumission. SGDI 1766 with ἄν; SGDI 1758 with κα.
 - Delphi: FD 3,5 90 (327–323 BCE?) L.11:] οὔ κα δοκῆι ἄξιο[ν
 - W. Lokris – Chaleion (found at Delphi): SEG 24:383b = IG 9²,1,3 739 (late 4th/early 3rd c. BCE) L.11: ἀμπέλους, ἐπιτομὰ ἔστω οὔ κα τὸ χωρίον ἦι· μάρτυροι· Δελφοί· Ἐχέμμας / . .
- Arcadia

- [*] Orchomenos: BCH 1904 p. 7 = IG 5,2 345 (79/78 BCE) L.22: — ἐφ' ὧτε οἰκ]εῖν
οὔ ἄν αὐτὸς θέ/[ληι.

Π

πᾶι

- Thessaly
 - Thessaly (possibly Pelasgiotis – Larisa; found at Aiolis – Aigai): SEG 59:1406 B (250–196 BCE) L.19: ἐψάφισαν οἱ Πετθαλοὶ ἀτέ/²⁰/λεῖαγ ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς πάντων πλὰν εἰ πόσσα κ/ε ἐπ ἐμπορία ἄγουνθι εἰ ἐξᾶγουνθι, καὶ πολυ/τεῖαν πάντεσσι πᾶ νά κε βέλλουνθαι Πετθαλί-/ας καὶ ἔμμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλις καὶ ἱερὰ κοιν/ὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα καττάπερ Πετθαλοῖς ἔνθι· /²⁵/ καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ἔμμεν Αἰολεῖεσσι, Χούοις, Μα/γνεῖτεσι τοῖς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδροι πᾶ νά κε βέλλο/υνθαι Πετθαλίας·
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2171 (100–50 BCE) L.11: ἐπεὶ κά τι πάθοι Κλεοπάτρα, / ἐλευθέρα ἔστω Διόκλεα καὶ ὑπαγέτω πᾶι κα θέληι. Lejeune (1940: 68 fn. 130) said that this was the only instance of πᾶ in Delphian acts of manumission, but now there are some others (see below).
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 306 (undated) L.6: εἰ δέ [τ]ι πάθη Ἀπολλωνία ἢ Ἑρμία[ς], / [ἐλεύθ]εροι ἔστωσαν Ὀραῖς καὶ Ἀφροδίσιος καὶ ὑπαγέτωσαν πᾶ κα θέλωντι.
 - Delphi: SEG 12:253 (end 1st c. BCE) L.6: ἐφ' ὧτε ἐλευθέραν] / [εἶμεν Εὐ]αμερὶν καὶ ἀνέφαπτον ἀπὸ πάντων τὸν πάντ[α βίον, ποιοῦσαν] / [ᾶ κα θέλ]η καὶ ἀποτρέχουσιν πᾶ κα θέλη·

πάρος

- Mantinea: SEG 37:340 (early 4th c. BCE) L.13: ὅσα δὲ συνβόλ[α]ια ἐτύ/γχανον ἔχοντες

οἱ Ἐλισφάσιοι αὐτοὶ πὸ αὐτὸς πάρος Μαντινῆς /¹⁵/ ἐγένοντο, κύρια σφέσιν ἦναι καὶ τὸς νόμος τὸς αὐτοὶ ἦχον ὅτε ἔβλωσκον ἰμ Μαντινέαν.

ποθό (κα)

- Laconia and Messenia
 - Sparta: SEG 32:398 (ca. 500–470 BCE) L.10: μεδὲ κ[ατάλυθιν] / ποιῆ(θ)θαι ἄνευ Λα[κεδαιμονίον] / μεδενί, ἀνθιέμε[ν δὲ μαχομένος] / ἐπὶ ταῦτον πόθ' ὄ Δ[ακεδαι]/μονίος.
 - Messene: SEG 56:476 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.10: εἰ δὲ μὴ παρ[αδ]/[- - - - -] ἄ γερουσία ζαμιώσασα εἴκοσι δρα[χ]/[μαῖς - - -] ποθόκα λα[. . .] διπλοῦν καὶ E[. .]M[. .]

πόκι

- Thessaly
 - [*] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 517 (214 BCE) L.11: Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ / Ἀριστόνοος, οὓς ἀτ τᾶς πρεισβείας ἐγένονθο, ἐνεφανίσσοεν αὐτοῦ, πόκ κί καὶ ἄ ἀμμέουν πόλις διὲ τὸς πολέμος πο/τεδέετο πλειόνουν τοῦν κατοικεισόντων.
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.41: ὀπειδεὶ Νούιος Λατῖνος Οὐίοι Μαμερτῖνος παργενομέ/νος καὶ ἐπελθὸν ἐτ τὰν παρελθόνσαν ἀγόραν ἐνεφά[νισ]/σε πόκ? [κ]ι, Πατροκλέα τοῖ Ἄστοκλέα παιδὸς ποππετόντος / ἐντοῦ ἐν Σικελία καὶ ἐμφανίσσοντος διέκι ἀνδραποδῖ⁴⁵/σθῆς ὑκ κινούν στρατιουτᾶν ἐδούλευε, ἐπηννὸς διέ/κι εἷς ἐλεύθερος καὶ Λαρισαίος ἐξαγγρέμενος εἷς κα[ι] / κατεσταούκουν ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἐντοῖ κυρίον. Ἴππ[ολό]/χοι Ἀλεξιππεῖοι λεξάντος, ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου ...

πρίν

- Boeotia

- [*] Thebes: SGDI 711 = IG 7 2532 (after 316 BCE; verso) L.1: οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲν τέρμα
βίου θνητῶν ἐπινοίαις, / ἀλλὰ τύχη κρείσσων ἐλπίδος ἐξεφάνη, / ἦ καὶ Τιμοκλέην
Ἀσωπίχου ἠφάνισ' υἷον / πρόσθε πρὶν ἐνδείξασθ' ἔργα πρέποντα φύσει,
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2561 = CID 1 9 (ca. 400–350 BCE) Face C L.31: τὸν δ' ἐ νεκρὸν
κεκαλυμμένον φ/ερέτω σιγαῖ κήν ταῖς στρ/οφαῖς μὴ καττιθέντων μη/³⁵/[δ]αμεῖ, μηδ'
ὀτοτυζόντων ἐ/[χ]θὸς τᾶς φοικίας πρίγ κ' ἐ/πὶ τὸ σᾶμα **hίκωντι**, τηνεῖ / ΔΕΝΑΤΟΣ
ἔστω, hέντε κα ha / ΘΙΓΑΝΑ ποτθεθῆι.
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–400 BCE) L.4: : τέλος
το/⁵/ὺς : ἐπιφοίρους Λορρῶν : τῶν ὑποκναμιδίων : μὲ φάρειν : ἐν Λορροῖς τοῖ/ς
ὑποκναμιδίοις : **φρίν κ' αὖ τις Λορρὸς γένεται** τῶν ὑποκναμιδίων.

πῶς

- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Messenia – Thouria: SGDI 4680 = IG 5,1 1379 (2nd/1st c. BCE) L.22: περὶ δὲ τοῦ
πῶς δεήσει τὰν καταγόραξιν γίνεσθαι, ο[ῖ] / [σύνεδροι βουλευέ]σθων καὶ ὁ
γραμματεὺς δόγμα γραψάτω, καθῶς κα οἱ σύνεδροι κελεύ {ι}/[ωντι].

Υ

ῥς

- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 498 (after 195 BCE) L.3: .. ἐκδα]/[νειζεσθ]αι ῥς κα
προαιρῶνται τοῖ κω[μέται],

Ω

ὦ 'whence'

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] W. Lokris – Oianthea: IG 9,1 334 = IG 9²,1,3 718 (500–450 BCE) L.19: : ἐ(γ)
Ναυπάκτο ἀνχορέ²⁰/οντα : ἐν Λοφρούς τοὺς ὑποκναμιδίους : ἐν Ναυπάκτοι :
καρῦξαι ἐν τὰ/γορᾶι : κέν Λοφροῖς : τοῖ<ς> ὑποκναμιδίους : ἐν τᾶι πόλι, hō κ' ἐι, :
καρῦξαι ἐν / τὰγορᾶι :

ὦ ‘as’

- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Laconia – Gytheion: SGDI 4564 = IG 5,1 1155 (5th c. BCE) L.3: αἰ δέ κα
ἀποστρυ/[θ]ῆται, ἀφατᾶται /⁵/ ἔ ho δῶλος.

ὡς

- Thessaly
 - See also ὄσκει.
 - [*] Hestiaiotes – Gomphoi: IG 9,2 294 (undated) (verse) L.1: ᾗ πάντων κρέσσων /
ἀρετά · μετὰ παῖδα θέ/εσκον, ἔργων ἀμετέρων ἄξιον ὡς ἰδὸ⁵/μαν.
 - [*] Pelasgiotes – Larisa: IG 9,2 517 (214 BCE) L.11: Πετραῖος καὶ Ἀνάγκιππος καὶ
Ἀριστόνοος, ὡς ἀτ τᾶς πρεισβείας ἐγένονθο, ἐνεφανίσσοεν αὐτοῦ, πὸκ κί ...
 - [*!] Pelasgiotes – Larisa: IG 9,2 517 (214 BCE) L.14: ἐτ τοῖ παρεόντος κρεννέμεν
ψα[φ]ίξασθει[ν ἀ]μμὲ ο<ύ>ς κε τοῖς κατοικέντεσσι πὰρ ἀμμὲ Πετθ[α]/¹⁵/λοῦν καὶ
τοῦν ἄλλων Ἑλλάνων δοθεῖ ἀ πολιτεία. For the emendation ο<ύ>ς κε in IG 9,2,
see my discussion in Section 3.4.
 - Pelasgiotes – Larisa: Salviat & Vatin (1971) no. 1 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.40: ἄνου ὡς οἱ
λίθοι ἐνθι καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τὰ ὑπ[άρχοντα] / κατ τὸ γούνιον τὸ ἀρχαῖον τᾶς Παντ[— —
 - Pelasgiotes – Larisa: SEG 31:575 (170 BCE) L.23: ἔδο/ξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ

- Λα[ρι]σαίουν ἐπαι²⁵/νείσειν Ἀσκαλαπιάδαν Θεοφίλοι Περ/γαμεινόν, Φιλ[ό]την Ἴππολόχοι Κυζι/κεινόν ἐτ τοῦ τάν τε ἐνδαμίαν πεπο/είσθην αὐτὸς οὗς ποτείνεκε ἄν/δρεσσι καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς καὶ ἐτ τοῦ ³⁰/ εὐνόους διεκείσθην πὸτ τὸς πολίτας·
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.10: ὀπειδ[εῖ] Σάτ[υ]ρος Φιλίνειος Ἀ/θα[να]ῖος ἐὸν φιλόσοφος τάν ἐνδαμίαν πεποίειται / χρόνοι πλείονος ὀστρεφόμενος οὗς ποτείνεκε ἀν/δρὶ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.16: ἔδοξε τοῦ δά/μου τοῦ Λαρισαίου ἐπαινείσειν Σάτυρον Φιλίνειον Ἀ/θ[α]ναῖον ἐτ τοῦ τάν ἐνδαμίαν ποιείσθην οὗς ποτείνε/κε ἀνδρὶ καλοῦ κα[ὶ] ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐτ τοῦ εὐνόους διεκεῖ²⁰/σθην ποτ τὸς πολίτας, ...
 - Pelasgiotis – Scotussa: SEG 43:311 (197–185 BCE): repeated uses in the description of landmarks. Face B L.36: ἄτ τοῖ ὄντοι ἐπικαμπῖοι, οὗς τὸ προπάπβα[σ]/σὸν ἐστι, δαμόσσαν ἔμμεν· Face B L.50: ἄτ τᾶς καμπᾶς τοῖ μεσαπυργίῳ, οὗς / ἄ ὑδραγονόος ἐστι, ἄκαιναι ἐννέα, πόδες δύοι· Face B L.60: ἄτ τᾶς πύλας τᾶς ἐπ' Ἐννεαπέλεθρον / ἄτ τοῖ τείχεος κύκλου μες πὸτ τὸν Μιρούνδαν, οὗς ἄ ποτοικοδομία ἐστι / τοῖ τείχεος τοῖ ἐς πόλιος πὸτ τὸ τεῖχος τᾶς ἄκρας πόδας ἴκατι ... Face B L.72: κατ τὸν δέκοτον πύργον, οὗς ἄ ὄμβασίς ἐστι,
 - Pelasgiotis – Atrax: IAtrax 1 (end of the 3rd c. BCE) L.5: ... κα[ὶ] τοῖ πάντες ἐκρίνναν ἐμό-/[σ]αντες Κ[ε]λαίνδας ἔμμεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦν / τοῖ αὐτοῖο γένεος, καταγο(ρ)εῖσάντων Κελ[α]-/[ί]νδα ἀπολογειμένοιο Προμάθεος, νικάμε-/γ Κελαίνδας εἰσάσθα μὰ Προμαθέα· διάκι ὕδ-¹⁰/[ε]ον οὗς ἀπειλάσε ἄτ' τοῦν ἱεροῦν τοῦν κοινοῦν / Κελαίνδαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Βουλευαρίδαις / οὐσαύτους πάντεσσι Δάμαρχος·

- [*] Thessaly (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 26 (end of the 3rd/2nd c. BCE) L.24: [—]σαι οὕς κ' ἐπιστέαται ὁ δᾶμος /²⁵/ [—
- [*!] IG 9,2 460 (οὕ[ς κε ...]) and IG 9,2 512 (οὕς [κ]ε) should now be interpreted with οὔστε. See ὥστε.
- Boeotia
 - Between Labadeia and Koroneia: SEG 23:297 (4th/3rd c. BCE?) L.1: [ῥια τᾶς Τροφ]ωνιάδος γᾶς / [ιαρᾶς κη Λεβα]δειήωμ ποτι / [Κορωνεῖας ὥς] Βοιωτοὶ ῥοριτταγ / [κάτ τὰν ὁδὸν τὰ]ν ἐς τὰμ παγᾶων /⁵/ [ἄγωσαν ἔττε] ὡς τὰ ἄκρα ὥς ὕ/[δωρ ῥέει(?) ἐπὶ τ]ὸμ βωμὸν τῶ Δι/[ὸς τῶ Λαφουστί]ω.
 - Koroneia: Darmezis (1999) no. 124 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.10: παρμει[νά]/[σα]ς ἀνεγκλείτως Π/[άν]δωνι κη Ὀλουμπίχ/[η, ὥς] κη τὸ πρότερον·
 - [*] Thespiiai?: IG 7 3467 = IThesp 465/466 (5th c. BCE) L.1: Μογέα δίδῶτι τᾶι γυναι/κὶ δῶρον Εὐχάρι / τ' Εὐτρῆτιφάντῶ κό/τυλον, ὄς χ' ἄδαν πῖε.
 - Thespiiai: IThesp 44 (ca. 250–245 BCE) L.9: ἡ δέ κά τις ἐμβὰ]ς τὼς προστάτας μὴ καθιστάε ὥς κ[α] /¹⁰/ [δοκιμαδδῶντι εἴ μὴ ἀξιοχρεᾶς καθιστάε, ἐς] ἀρχᾶς ἐμβάσει ἀ ἀρχά·
 - [*] Thebes (found at Delphi): BCH 1901 p. 137 = FD 3,1 357 (219/8 BCE) L.5: — —]σμένων τῶν Βελφῶν κη τῶν / ἱαρομνα[μό]νων ὥς κα τοὶ παργενόμενοι πρισγεῖε[ς ἐπιδείξαντ]ε[ς οὐπὲρ τᾶς φυκίας ὥς κα φήνειτη / συνφῆρεμεν Θειβήοις. ὥς δὲ κατὰ ψαφίσματα λάβ[ωνθι]...
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Phokis – Krissa: SGDI 1537 (6th c. BCE; verse) L.1: τάσδε γ' Ἀθηναῖαι δραφεοὺς ... /ἀριστος ἔθηκε Ηήραι τε ἠὼς καὶ κ/εῖνος ἔχοι κλέφος ἄπθιτον αἰφεῖ.

- [*] Delphi: Comparing formula ἀτέλειαν πάντων ὥς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις in SGDI 2606 (ca. 239 BCE?) and 2607 (240 or 239 BCE).
- [*] Delphi: In the dating formula, SGDI 1994 (194 BE) L.1: μηνὸς Εὐθυαίου [ὥς Αἰτωλοὶ ἄγοντι]; SGDI 1995 (194 BCE) L.1: μηνὸς Ὀμολοῖου ὥς Αἰτωλοὶ ἄγοντι; SGDI 2033 (177 BCE) L.2: μηνὸς ὥς Φωκεῖς ἄγοντι Ἀφαμίου, ὥς δὲ / Δελφοὶ ἄγοντι Ἰλαίου; SGDI 1843 (174 BCE) L.16: ἄρχει τοῦ χρόνου μῆ[ν] Ἀγύειος ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδάμου στρα/ταγοῦ, ὥς δὲ Δελφοὶ ἄγοντι, μῆν Ἡράκλειος ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀρχε/λάου. SGDI 1747 (170–157/6 BCE) L.1: Στραταγέοντος τῶν Φωκέων Μενεσθένεος τοῦ Κρινολάου Ὑαμπολίου μηνὸς / ὥς μὲν Φωκεῖς ἄγοντι ὀγδόου, ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ ἄρχοντος Θευξένου τοῦ Καλλία / μηνὸς Ἡρακλείου; SGDI 2136 (140–100 BCE) L.1: ἐν δὲ Φα/λικά ἄρχοντος Ἀριστοδάμου μηνὸς Ἀρήου ὥς Φα/λικάιοι ἄγοντι,
- Delphi: More instances of the same formula: FD 3,4:159 (100–50 BCE) L.1: τὰν δὲ ἀναγρ[αφὰν] τᾶ[ς] ὁμολογίας ποιησά[σθω] τὰ[ν μὲν ἐν] / Δελφοῖς οἱ Ἑγγαιοὶ ἔμ μηνὶ Ἑρμανίωι, ὥς Σκαρφεῖς ἄγο[ντι], / τᾶς Τιμο[λ]όχου καὶ Ἀπελλέα ἀρχᾶς, τὰν δὲ ἐν Πυλαίαι [Θρο]/νιεῖς ἔμ μηνὶ Ἰππείωι, ὥς Θρονηεῖς ἄγοντι, τᾶς Ἀριστ[άρχο]υ ἀ[ρ]/^ς/χᾶς. FD 3,4 355 (ca. 145 BCE) L.12: κριθῆμεν δ' ἔμ μ[ηνὶ] / [ἐνάτω]ι, ὥς Θεσσαλοὶ ἄγοντι Θύωι, στρ[α]τ[η]γοῦντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ. FD 3,4 368 III (ca. 140 BCE) L.1: —]ταιέος, μηνὸς ὥς οἱ [— — — ἄγοντι —
- [*] Delphi: Instances of the formula κολάζειν ὥς κα (αὐτὸς) θέλη in acts of manumission. According to the table by Hermann (1912: 128), this formula is found in SGDI 2126, 1979, 2246, 1855, 1807, 1852, 1726, 1729, 1748.
- FD 3,4 218 (undated; verso) L.5: [ὥς τάδε Φωκεῦσιν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἄνυσας [ἄλλα], / γείτονα τις μαθέτω χαλκὸν ἐπόντα [βλέπων].

- FD 3,4 220 (ca. 284–281 BCE; verso) L.1: ὤδε χρή Φοῖβον παρὰ Πύθιον αἰὲν ἀλαθ[ῶς] / ἀύχεῖν ὥς ὄδ' ἀνήρ Ἑλλάδος ὄνατ' ἀρ[ᾶν].
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 1749 (170–157/6 BCE) L.4: εἰ δέ τί κα πάθη Ἀρχέλαος, ἐλεύθερος ἔστω Κύπριος καὶ ἀποτρεχέτω οἷς κα θέληι, ὥς κα τὸ πάθος γένηται περὶ Ἀρχέλαον.
- [*] Delphi: SGDI 2728 = FD 3,2 33 (128 BCE) L.2: εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὀσίως διακεείμενος ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν / [καὶ ποτί] τὰν πόλιν ἀμῶν, ἀγαγ[ῶν δὲ κ]αὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἐφ ἄρματος ἀξίως τοῦ τε θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου / [δάμου κ]αὶ ἀμῶν, τὰν τε παρεπιδαμίαν [καὶ] ἀναστροφὰν ἐποίησατο ὥς ἐνδέχεται κάλλιστα.
- W. Lokris – Naupaktos: SEG 51:642 (ca. 430–420 BCE) L.20: ὄς κα δοκῆι τοῖς - -
- W. Lokris? (correspondence between Thronion and Skarpheia found at Delphi): FD 3,4 42 (end of th 2nd c. BCE) L.12: ἀπέχοντα δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τᾶς λεγο[μέν]ας ὁδοῦ παρὰ τὰ ἄρσια, μετρείμενου ἐν τὸ ποθ' ἐσπέραν / μέρος παρὰ τὰν ὁδὸν τὰν δι[οχμ]άδα, ὥς παρήκει τὸ Σαμώνδα [τ]οῦ Ζωΐλου Θρονιέος χωρί¹⁵/ον καὶ τὸ Εὐφράνορος χωρί[ον], δεκάπεδα δωρικὰ διακόσια τέσσαρα, πόδας τέσσαρας.
- [*] Aitolia (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 91d = IG 9²,1,1 187 (194/3 BCE) L.14: [Σωσικλῆς ὁ] ¹⁵/ [ἀπο]σταλεις παρ' ὑμῶν ἱερομνάμων τᾶι τε ἐνδαμίαι κε[χρημένος ἐσ]/[τὶ κα]λῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως ὕ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς θυσίας συν[ετέλεσεν] / [τοῖς θε]οῖς, ὥς ποθῆκον ἦν,
- [*] Aitolia: SGDI 1415 = IG 9,2 205 = IG 9²,1,1 188 (213/2 BCE) L.3: ὄρια μὲν εἶμεν τᾶς χώρας Μελιταιέ/οις καὶ Πηρέοις, ὥς ὁ Ἄκμευς ἐμβάλλει ἐν τὸν Εὐρωπόν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ⁵/ Ἄκμεος ἐν τὰν παγὰν τοῦ Γαλαίου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαλαίου ἐν τὰν Κολώ/ναν, καὶ ἀπὸ τᾶς Κολώνας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐρμαῖον ἐπὶ τὰ Εὐρύνια, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ε[ὐ]ρυνίων κατὰ τῶν ἄκρων, ὥς ὕδωρ ῥεῖ ἐν τὸν Εὐρωπόν, ἐκ τοῦ Εὐρω/ποῦ ἐν τὸν Ἐλιπῆ, ...

- Akarnania – Thyreion: SEG 13:382 (212/1 BCE) L.1: πο]/τι τούτους πάντας [εὐθὺς τὸν πόλεμον (?) οἱ] / [ἄ]ρχοντες τῶν Αἰτωλ[ῶν πρ]ασ[σόντων]/σαν, ὥς κα θέλη πεπρᾶχθαι.
- Achaia
 - [*] Dyme: SGDI 1614 = Rizakis (2008) no. 3 (3rd c. BCE) L.5: — — ἐν] τᾷ πρώται ἐξαμῆνῳι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν / [ἐν τῷ — — — μ]ηνί, ὥς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἄγοντι, εἰ δὲ μὴ δοίη / [τὸ ὄλον ἐν τῷ ἐν]αυτῷ τῷ ἐπὶ Μενανδρίδα, ἀλλὰ / [καθυστερίζοι], μὴ ἔστω αὐτῷ ἅ πολιτεία.
- Elis
 - [*] Olympia: SGDI 1151 = Minon (2007) no. 22 (ca. 450–425 BCE) L.16: κατιστ]αίαταν δέ κα : καὶ δαμιοργεοῖταν τένταῦ/[τα γεγραμένα — — — — c.20 — — — —]ιστ' ὄς ἐπὲ ἐ<πέ>τραπον : τοῖρ Μαντινέσι·
 - [*] Olympia: SGDI 1152 = Minon (2007) no. 20 (ca. 475–450 BCE) L.2: αἱ ζέ τις κατιαραύσειε, φάρρῆν ὄρ Φαλείῳ.
 - [*] Olympia: BSGW 1898 p. 218 = Minon (2007) no. 30 (ca. 370/65 – ca. 324 BCE) L.12: αἱ δέ τιρ ἀδεαλτώηαι τὰ' στάλαν, / ὄρ ἀγαλματοφόραν ἐόντα πάσχην.
- Arcadia
 - Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988 2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.11: ἰνιφάνιζον δὲ καὶ τὰν τᾶς θεᾶς ἐπιφάνειαν / καὶ τὰν γεγνῶσαν ὑπὸ τοῖς προγόνοις ἰν τοῖς Ἑλλά/νας εὐχρηστίας καὶ παρακαλέντως, ὥς ἀποδέχη/ται ἅ πόλις τὰν πανάγυριν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶ¹⁵/να στεφανίταν ἰσοπύθι[ο]ν τόν τε μου[σικ]ὸν καὶ γυμν/κὸν καὶ ἰππικόν, τὸν τίθει τᾷ Ἀρτέμιδι τᾷ Λευκοφρυηνᾷ / ὁ δᾶμος τῶμ Μαγνήτων, καὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν / αὐτῶν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι,

- Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988 2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.43: ἰν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τί δεῖ δίδοσθαι / τᾶνι τᾶι θεαρίαι ἰνίς[τ]ιον ἐνεκέχειρον, /^{45/} οἱ νομογράφοι οἱ ἰν τᾶι ἐπὶ Λυκίν[οι] ἑτεῖαι γραψάν/τες ἐπιδειξάντων τᾶι πόλει, ὥς οἱ πολῖται βωλεύ/σονται περὶ τοῖνι.
- [*] Megalopolis (found at Magnesia on the Maeander): IMagn 38 = Dubois (1988 2:273) (207/6 BCE) L.47: χωρασάντων δὲ οἱ νομογράφοι / ἰν τοῖς νόμος καὶ ταννὸν τὰ[ν ἐ]κεχειρίαν, καὶ τὸς / ἀγῶνας τοσνὸν γραψάντων πὸς τὸς ἄλλος /^{50/} στεφανίτας, ὥς συμφανὲς γίνηται[ι τ]οῖς Μάγνη/σιν, ὅτι ἂ πόλις τὰς τε τῶν θεῶν θυσίας συναύξει / καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις καὶ [εὐ]νοίοις / ἀξιωμένα ὑπακούει.
- Laconia and Messenia
 - [*] Sparta: SGDI 4495 = IG 5,1 364 (undated) L.5: [—]ΟΥΝΙΠΠῶνος ὥς προέγραπται τῷ [νόμῳ]
 - [*] Messene: SGDI 4650 = IG 5,1 1447 (before 191 BCE) L.17: — —] / ποιήτω ὥς μηδεμία λείπει.
 - Messene: SEG 58:370 (183/2 BCE) L.71: πάλιν ἀμὲ προεκα/λέσατο ἂ πόλις τῶν Μεγαλοπο/λιτᾶν περὶ τᾶς Ἀκρειάτιος χώρας / ὥς κριτήριον συνελόμεθα ὥς οὐ /^{75/} κεκριμένων ποθ' ἀμέ,
 - Messene: IG 5,1 1432 (39 BCE) L.3: ἀπο]λογισαμένου περὶ τῶν π[επτωκότων ἐξ αὐ]/τᾶς χρημάτων, καὶ ὥς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτα[κτὰ κ]εχῶρηκε, καὶ ὅτι εἰς οὐθὲν ἄ[λ]λ[ο ἢ ταῦτα ἀ]/^{5/}νακέχρηται, καὶ ...
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - Argos: SEG 59:363 (ca. 300 BCE; verso) L.1: [Κ]ύπρι μάκαιρα, μέλου Τιμανθίδος, ἄς ὑπὲρ εὐχᾶι / εἰκόνα Τιμάνθης τάνδε καθιδρύεται, / ὥς τις καὶ μετέπειτα, θεά, τέμενος

τόδε πρῶνος / νισόμενος μνάμαν τᾶσδ' ἔγῃ ἀμφιπόλου

- Argos: Vollgraff (1916: 221) (3rd c. BCE, first half) L.8: ἐμέτρῃε τάλαντα ἐ-/κατὸν ἄτοκα ἓνς τε τὰν τῶν τειχέων ἐπισκευὰν καὶ τὰν ἵππον / ὡς ἀμπληρωθείη καὶ ἐπιμεμνῆσαντι χρόνον πολὺν ...
- Argos: Vollgraff (1916: 221) (3rd c. BCE, first half) L.24: ἐ^{/25}/[πι]μεληθῆμεν δὲ τὸνς πρέσβεας τὸνς ἐλθόντας ἓνς Ῥόδον, ὡς κα/ρυχθῆι ὁ στέφανος ἐν Ῥόδῳ Διονυσίοις ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν κυκλίων / [χ]ορῶν τῷ πράται ἀμέραι.
- Argos: SEG 41:282 (late Hellenistic; unpublished, lineation unclear, near the end): Ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ ἐποίησατο καὶ ὅπως ἀναγράφοντι οἱ γύαι ἐφεξῆς, καθὼς ἂ χῶρα διεκλαρώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ κατεμερίσθη κατὰ γύας δωτιναμένας, τὸν προτοῦ χρόνον ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ ἀναγραφομένας ἐν διερριμμένοις τόποις.
- Argos: SEG 22:266 (ca. 100 BCE) L.2: Οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύεδροι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδ[ά]/μου ὡς διαλέγοντι τῷ δάμῳ περὶ τιμᾶν Αὔγι [Α]-/ριστομήδεος Ἀργείῳ, ὡς δὲ κα δόξῃ οὕτω τέλλῃτα[ι] /⁵/ ποτήνεγκαν αὐτοί. νν Ἐπειδὴ ...
- [*] Argos: IG 4 596 (Roman period) L.2: καὶ φιλο[τειμίας] / μεγίστ<α>ς παρασχ[όντα] / ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ α[ὐτ]/⁵/οῦ,
- [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.20: μετὰ δὲ / τοῦτο σπουδαῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἀβάτου ἐξελθοῦσα, ὡς ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦς, ἔτε/κε κόραν.
- [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.25: ἐδόκει ὑπὸ τῷ ναῶι ἀστραγαλίζον/[τ]ος αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος βάλλειν τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ, ἐπιφανέντα / [τ]ὸν θεὸν ἐφαλέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰν χῆρα καὶ ἐκτεῖναι οὐ τοὺς δακτύλ/λους· ὡς δ' ἀποβαίη, δοκεῖν συγκάμψας τὰν χῆρα καθ' ἓνα ἐκτείνειν / τῶν δακτύλων·
- [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.79: σκευοφόρος εἰ[ς τὸ]

- ἰαρ[ὸν] ἔρπων, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ δε^{/80}/καστάδιον, κατέπετε· [ὡς δὲ] ἀνέστα,
 ἀνῶϊξε τὸν γυλιὸν κα[ὶ ἐ]πεσκό/πει τὰ συντετριμμένα σκ[ε]ύη· ὡς δ' εἶδε τὸν
κώθωνα κατε[αγ]ότα, / ἐξ οὗ ὁ δεσπότης εἴθιστο [π]ίνειν, ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ συνετίθει [τὰ]
 ὄστρακα καθιζόμενος.
- [*] Epidaurus: IG 4 951 = IG 4²,1 121 (ca. 350–300 BCE) L.118: ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἦς
ύγιης, ἔφα ὄψιν ἰδεῖν,
 - [*] Epidaurus: SGDI 3340 = IG 4²,1 122 (4th c. BCE) L.22: [με]τὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ πατ[ῆρ]
 α]ῦτοῦ, ὡς οὐθαμει περιετύγγανε μασ/τεύων, παρ' [Α]σκλαπιῶι ἐν τῶι ἀ[βάτ]ωι
 ἐνεκάθευδε περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἐ/νύπνιον εἶ[ῆ]δε·
 - [*] Epidaurus: SGDI 3340 = IG 4²,1 122 (4th c. BCE) L.96: — οὐ φεῖ[ι]δεται λέγων
ὡς, εἰ δύναμιν ἔ[χοι], — —
 - Epidaurus: SEG 22:280 (3rd c. BCE; improved reading of IG 4²,1 123) L.4: Μέλισσα
 ὑπὸ ἔχιος φῶμα. Αὐτὰ ἐν τῶι δ[εξι]ᾷ φῶμα ἔχο[υ]σα ἀφίκετο· ^{/5/} τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων
 ἐκ τοῦ ὀρέος ε[ἰ]νὰν ὀρξάντων [καὶ ἄ]λλ[λ]α τῶι γυναι/κι ἔχις ἐν τῶι φορτίωι
 ἐγκοιταθεὶς φ[. . .] ⁵ . . . τῶν ε[ἰ]νὰν τὰν ὕλαν, ὡς / εἰς αὐτὰν κατεκλίθη ἡ Μέλισσα,
 πα[ρ]ελ[θὼν] ἀνοίγει τὸ ἐν τῶι χειρὶ / φῶμα, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὑγιῆς ἐγένετο.
 - Epidaurus: SEG 22:280 (3rd c. BCE; improved reading of IG 4²,1 123) L.21:
 Ἴχθυοφό/ρος Ἀμφίμναστος. Οὗτος ἰχθυοφορῶν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν εὐξάμενος τὰν δε/κάταν
 ἀνθήσειν τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι τῆς ἐμπολᾶς τῶν ἰχθύων οὐκ ἐπετέ/[λει ταύταν ὡς ἔοικ·
 ἐν τῶι ἀγορᾷ οὖν ἐν Τεγέαι ἐξαπίνας οἱ ἰχθύες ^{/25/} κε[ραυ]νῶ[ι πλα]γέντε[ς]
 περιεπλέκοντο τὸ σῶμα·
 - [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 823 (4th c. BCE) L.48: σκαπέ[τ]ων [τῶν ποι(?) τὰς]
 ζωρούας, ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν μὴ ῥέηι

- [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 823 (4th c. BCE) L.50: ποὶ τὸς λατόμους πεμφθέντι, ὥς ...ἰοιεν, ἐφόδιον καὶ ναῦσθλον Δαμοφάντωι
- [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 823 (4th c. BCE) L.66: — ἐς Ἀ]/θάνας ἀποδαμοῦσι, τὰς κρηπῖδας ὥς ἐγδο[ῖεν —
- [*] Argolis – Troizen: IG 4 750 (287 BCE) L.44: — —], /⁴⁵/ ὥς νόμιμόν ἐστι καὶ ἐσά[γεν —
- [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 497 (197–195 BCE) L.6: ἐπειδὴ ἀπ[αχ]θέντων ἐφ[ή]/βων τῶν Μυκανέων ὑπὸ Νάβιος ἐς Λ[α]/κεδαίμονα ἐπολυώρηέ Πρότιμος / Τιμάρχου Γορτύνιος καὶ τὰν ἄπαν/¹⁰/σαν σπουδὰν ἔθετο ὥς διασωθεῖεν / τοὶ ἀπαχθέντες· δεδόχθαι ...
- [*] Argolis – Mykenai: IG 4 498 (after 195 BCE) L.10: .. ὄρκου, ὥς δεῖ ἄλλως πως ἤμεν ἢ ὠ[ς ..
- [*] Corinthia – Sikyon: IG 4 426 (late 3rd c. BCE) L.19: [— — —]/^{Col. 2 L.1}/ρου τιμᾶσαι, ὥς μέντων / κατὰ πράγματ[α τ]ὰ περὶ αὐτὸν / ὄντα εἰς ἀποκατάστασιν ἔλθῃ,
- Epeiros – Ambrakia: SEG 41:540 (ca. 550 BCE; verse, the lineation follows the verses rather than what's on the stone) L.7: Τόδε δ' ἀπ' Ἀνπρακίας · Ναυσίστρατος αὐτὰ παθόν τε / Καλλίταν τ' Αἶδα δῶμα μέλαν κατέχει; / Κα(ε)ὶ μὰν Ἀραθθίῶνα κα(ε)ὶ Εὐξενον ἴστε, πολῖτα(ε)ι ḥ /¹⁰/ hōs μετὰ τὸνδ' ἀνδρὸν Κὰρ ἔκιχεν θανάτου
- Epeiros – Ambrakia: SEG 35:665 (ca. 160 BCE) Block A L.24: - -] ὥς ὕδωρ κρίνει μέχρι ποτὶ τὰ συνόρια τὰ ποτ' Ὀρραεΐτας τὰ ποτ' Ἀ/[μβρακιώτας ἀπὸ - - -] καὶ τοῦ Οἰστρέου·
- Epeiros – Ambrakia: SEG 35:665 (ca. 160 BCE) Block A L.35: -]ας ταύτας ἢ ὥς

ἐπάνω γέγραπται κυρίουσ / [εἶμεν -

ὡς εἰ

- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: BCH 22 p. 73 no. 70 = FD 3,3 313 (14 BCE) L.9: εἰ δέ τι θέλοι τῶν προγεγραμμένων σωμάτων τάχιον [ἀπο]λελύσθαι τᾶς παραμο^{/10/}νᾶς, δότω τᾶς ἀπολύσιος ὅ κα διαπίση παραχρῆμα, καὶ τᾶς παραμονᾶς ἀπολελυμένον ἔστω, ὡς εἰ καὶ / μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἀπολύοιτο τᾶς δεδωκούσας τὰν παραμονάν.

ὡς μή

- Arcadia
 - [*!] Tegea: Hoffmann 1 no. 29 = IG 5,2 3 = Dubois (1988 2:20) (ca. 390 BCE) L.8: τᾶς τριπαναγόρσιος τ/ὰς ὑστέρας τρῖς ἀμέρας νέμεν ὅτι ἠὰν βόλῃτο ὄς ^{/10/} μῆ ἰν τοῖ περιχῶροι. Dubois (1988 2:25) prefers the interpretation as the relative pronoun to ὡς.

ὥσπερ

- Thessaly
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 55:605 (shortly after 196 BCE) L.9: ὅσσα παρλελιμ^{/10/} [μέ]να εἶεν ἐν τοῦ παρελθουκόντι χρόνου ψαφιζούνθιν Λασαῖοι Μιτυλ[ει]/[ν]αίσις [π]άντα, κοινὰ π[ο]έντες Μιτυλειναίσις τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τᾶ πόλι τὰ [πά]/ντα οὔσπερ καὶ Μιτυλειναῖοι Πετθαλοῖς,
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 58:525 (decree II: 196–192 BCE) L.47: ἀντὶ μὰ τᾶς ἰκοστᾶς τοῖ γινομένοι ἐσαγουγί[μοι συν]/χουρεῖ αὐτοῖς τὰν ἑκατοστάν, οὔστε ἐπιστάον[ται τοῖ] / Ἀθαναῖοι ἐτ τε τοῖς μεγίστας ἐστι ἀγγρέσιος οὔ[σπερ] ^{/50/} καὶ ἐν τὸ λοιπὸν [3-4]ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΝ δανείουν οὐ χρεία[ν ἔχον]/τες,

- Boeotia
 - Boeotia – unknown provenance: SEG 37:389 (Hellenistic period) L.1: ὥσπερ τύν,
Θεόνναστε, ἀδύνατό[ς ἐσ]σι χειρῶν πο[δ]ῶν / σώματος πράξι τι κή <οἰ>κονομείση τι
φιλιμενπαργινηκακα/ιδεμεν(?), οὔτως κή Ζώϊλος ἀδύνατος γένοιτο(?) Ἄνθειράν /
βαίνιμεν, κή Ἄνθειρά τὸν αὐτὸν τ<ρ>όπον·
 - Boeotia – unknown provenance: SEG 37:389 (Hellenistic period) L.8: ὥσπερ κή ὁ
μόλυβδος οὔτος / εντι ... ἐστὶ χωρὶς τῶν {τῶν} ἀνθρώπων, /¹⁰/ οὔτως Ζώϊλος χωρὶς
γένειτ' Ἄνθειρᾶς.
- Northwest Greek
 - [*] Delphi: SGDI 2733 = FD 3,4 153 (246 or 242 BCE) L.9: οἶονται δὲ δεῖν καὶ οἱ
Σμυρναῖοι, πρεσβευτὰς ἀπο[στεί]/¹⁰/λαντες Ἐρμόδωρον καὶ Δημήτριον, ἀναγραφῆμεν
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὥσπ[ερ] καὶ / ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀξιοῖ, τὰ ἐπικεχωρημένα αὐτοῖς·
 - Delphi: FD 3,3 238 (160/159 BCE) L.1: —] καταστα[θ]έντες ὁ[μνυόντω κ]αθ[ῶ]ς
[καὶ τὰ] ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα καὶ ἐκπρ[ά]ξαντες τοῦ ἀργυρίου[υ] / [τοὺς τόκ]ους συντελείνω
τὰν θ[υ]σίαν καὶ τὰς] τιμὰς καὶ τὰν δαμοθοινίαν ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ μηνὶ τᾶ[ι] /
[δωδεκ]άται ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ λόγον ἀ[ποδιδόντ]ω τοῖς μαστροῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ
ὑπεύθυνοι ὄντες, / [ὥσ]περ καὶ οἱ τὰ ἄλλα ποθίερα καὶ δαμ[ό]σια [χε]ιρίζοντες,
 - Aitolia – Thermos: SEG 47:561 (ca. 269–261 BCE) L.7: ὑπόδικον τὸν ἀγαγόν[υ]/[τα]
ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐν τοῖς [συνέδ]ροις ὥσπερ ἐ[ν τοῖς νόμοι]ς γέγραπται ·
 - Aitolia (found at Delphi): SEG 12:217 (207 BCE) Text A L.0: [- - - - - τὰ
ψαφίσματα τὰ] /¹/ [πρότερον γεγονότα αὐ]τοῖς περ[ὶ πάντων τῶν φιλανθρώπων κα]/
[τάμο]γα εἴμεν καὶ ὥσπερ ἀξιοῦσ[ι] νῦν οἱ πρεσβευταὶ δέχεσθαι τάν] / [τ]ε θυσίαν καὶ
τὸν ἀγῶνα τᾶ Ἀρ[τέμιτι τᾶ Λευκοφρυηνᾶι στεφανί]/τα[ν] ἰσοπύθι[ον] ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ

[- - - - -]

- Epeiros – Dodona: SEG 43:339 (ca. 450 BCE) L.2: Ἐν Ὀρικῶνι καὶ / λοῖον πράσοι/μι
κατὰ χῶραν ἔ / ἡὼσπερ νῦν /⁵/ φοικέω
- Arcadia
 - Tegea: Dubois (1988 2:61) (324 BCE) L.12: εἰ δὲ πὸς τᾶι οἰκίαι μὴ πόεστι κᾶπος,
ἐ/ξαντίαι δ' ἔστι ἰσόθι πλέθρω, λαμβανέτω τὸν κᾶπον· / εἰ δὲ πλέον ἀπέχων ὁ κᾶπὸς
ἔστι πλέθρω, τῶνι τὸ ἥμι/¹⁵/σσον λαμβανέτω, ὡσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων
γέγρα/πται.
 - Mantinea: SEG 37:340 (early 4th c. BCE) L.3: τὸς [Ἐ]λ[ι]/[σ]φάσιος Μαντινέας ἦναι
ῤῥισος καὶ ὑμοῖος, κ[ο]ινάζοντα[ς πάν]/⁵/των ὅσων καὶ οἱ Μαντινῆς, φέρ[ο]ντας τὰν
χώραν καὶ τὰν π[ό]λιν / ἱμ Μαντιν[έ]αν ἰν τὸς νομὸς τὸς Μαντινέων, μινόνσας τᾶς
[πό]/λιος τῶν Ἐλισφασίων ὡσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον,
 - (Attribution to Arcadia is not certain): SEG 37:351 = Dubois (1988 2:319) (3rd c.
BCE) L.1: ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς — ἀλὰ οὔτε ποτὲ σύ,
ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα τοῦτα ἀναγνώσει, οὔτε ποτὲ Νεοφάνης ατασιρω[.]δωι
δίκαν ἐποίσει, ἀλ' ὡσπερ σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, ἐνθαῦτα ἀλίθιος κεῖοι, αὐτῶ καὶ
Νεοφάνεια ἀλίθιον καὶ μηδὲν γενέσθαι.
 - (Attribution to Arcadia is not certain): SEG 37:352 = Dubois (1988 2:319) (3rd c.
BCE) L.1: ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς — ἀλ' οὔτε ποτὲ σὺ
ταῦτα ἀναγνώσει, οὔτε ποτὲ Ἀκέστωρ ἐπὶ ερατ[.]φαενα δίκαν ἐποίσει οὐδὲ
Τιμανδρίδας, ἀλ' ὡσπερ σὺ ἐνθαῦτα ἀλίθιος κεῖοι καὶ οὐδέν, οὕτως καὶ Ἀκέστωρ καὶ
Τιμανδρίδας ἀλίθιοι γένοιντο (οἱ γενέσθων).

ὥστε

- I limit my research target to subordinators that introduce clauses with a finite verb. Many instances of ὥστε + infinitive are therefore excluded here.
- Thessaly
 - [*!] Pelasgiotis – Krannon: IG 9,2 460 (2nd c. BCE) L.3: ἔδοξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς πόλ[ι]/[ος ἐπιμελειθεῖμεν τ]ὸς ταγὸς καὶ τὸς ταμίας οὔσ[⁵]/[τε ἐσγραφεῖ ἐ]ν κίονα λιθίαν ... (IG 9,2 restored οὔς /⁵/ [κε.])
 - Pelasgiotis – Krannon: Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (179–142 BCE) L.14: ἔδοξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς πόλ[¹⁵/λιος· πρέπον{τον} ἔμμεν καὶ ἐπιτάδει/ον τοῖς πολίταις ἕκαστον ἐς τοῦν κα/θ' ἰδίαν ἀντιλλαβέσθαι τᾶς πόλλι/ος οὔστε μάλιστα μὲν ἐς πάντων ἐ/γλυθεῖ τοῦν δ[α]νείου, εἰ δὲ μεί γε ἐς /²⁰/ τοῦν πλείστου,
 - Pelasgiotis – Krannon: Migeotte (1984) no. 32 (179–142 BCE) L.25: καὶ τὸς ἐ/παγγελλαμένος ἐπαινεῖσαι τὴν πόλιν οὔστε φανερόν εἶ πάντεσσι ὅτι ἂ / πόλις μναμονεῦει τοῦν ἑαυτὴν εὐερ/γεταισάντων· τὸς μὰ ταμίας φροντί³⁰/σαι οὔστε παρ τοῦν ἐπαγγελλαμένον / γενειθεῖ τᾶ πόλι ἂ δόσις τοῦν χρειά/των κατὰς ἐπαγγελίας·
 - [*!] Pelasgiotis – Larisa: IG 9,2 512 (2nd c. BCE) L.11: ταν[— —]/τείαν φροντ[ί]σειν, οὔστε [δοθεῖ αὐτοῖ]ς [πο]/λιτεία κατ [τὸ]ν νόμον, (IG 9,2 restored οὔς κε.)
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 58:525 (decree II: 196–192 BCE) L.47: ἀντὶ μὰ τᾶς ἱκοστᾶς τοῖ γινομένοι ἐσαγουγί[μοι συν]/χουρεῖ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἑκατοστάν, οὔστε ἐπιστάον[ται τοῖ] / Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτ τε τοῖς μεγίστας ἐστι ἀγγρέσιος οὔ[σπερ] /⁵⁰/ καὶ ἐν τὸ λοιπὸν [3-4]ΕΣΤΑΤΟΥΝ δανείουν οὐ χρεία[ν ἔχον]/τες,
 - Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 42:510 (179–172 BCE?) L.4: — φρο]ντίξειν οὔστε [—

- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:636 (ca. 170/169 BCE) L.20: καὶ τὸς ἐπιμελείτας ὄπει
κε κατε/νέκει ὁ καῖρος περ τὰν πολιτείαν φροντίξεν **οὔστε δο/θεῖ** αὐτοῦ πολιτεία κατ
τὸν νόμον καὶ συμφανὲς **εἶ** παν^{vacat}/τεσσι διέκι ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Λαρισαῖον περ[ρ]ᾶτει τοῖς
ὀρθοῦς / ὀστρεφομένοις καταξίας τίμας καὶ χάριτας ἀτδίδο[υ]/²⁵/μεν·
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 56:638 (ca. 160–150 BCE) L.42: τὸς μὰ ταγὸς φρον/τίξεν
οὔστε ὄπει κε κατενέκει ὁ καιρὸς ἐν τοῦ δεύει οἰκονομεί/σθην τὰ κατὰς πολιτείας,
δοθεῖ αὐτοῦ πολιτεία·
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 57:510 (ca. 140–130 BCE) L.17: **οὔστε** οὖν καὶ ὁ τοῦν
<Λ>αρισαῖον δᾶ/μος φαίνεται φιλανθρούπους μὲν ἀποδεχόμενος τὸς ἐπ’
[οὔ]/φελία τοῦν νέουν παρεπιδαμέντας, μνάμμας μα καὶ τιμᾶ[ς] /²⁰/ καταξιούκουν τὸς
τὰ κάλλιστα τοῦν ἐπιταδευμάτων ἐξα/λουκόντας, τοῦν ταγοῦν Κλεονίκοι Μεννειαῖοι
λέξαντος, ἔδοξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λασ[σα]ῖον ...
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 57:510 (ca. 140–130 BCE) L.27: [**οὔ**]**στε** μα καὶ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ
Ἀθαναί/ον παραμαρτ<υρ>είσει τὰ δεδομένα Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑτ τοῖ δᾶμο[ι] / τοῖ
Λασσαῖον τίμα γραφείμεν περ τοῦν νέουν ὑτ τοῦν ταγο/³⁰/ῶν ποτ τὸς στραταγὸς καὶ
τὸν [δᾶμ]ον τὸν Ἀθαναῖον·
- Pelasgiotis – Larisa: SEG 57:510 (ca. 140–130 BCE) L.43: **οὔστε** οὖν καὶ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ
Λα[σ]/σαῖον φαίνεται φιλανθρούπους ἀποδεχόμενος τὸς γινομένους ἐν εὐτὸν
ε[ὔ]/⁴⁵/χρεῖστος καὶ ἀπονέμουν τὰς καταξίας χάριτας τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς / τοῦν
ἀνδροῦν, τοῦν ταγοῦν Κλεονίκοι Με[ν]νειαῖοι λεξάντος, ἔδοξε τοῦ δᾶμ/ου τοῦ
Λασσαῖον ...
- [*] Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1229 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.11: —] **οὔστε**
ἐνοικοδομείσουντ/[ι]— (restoration of [ι] by Lejeune 1941: 77 fn. 30)

- [*] Perrhaibia – Phalanna: IG 9,2 1229 (early 2nd c. BCE) L.13: —]απ[—]φοδι
οὔσ τε συμφανῆ[ς] / [εἶ δι]έκι δει τοῖ θεοῖ ἄ χούρα ἐστίν, (The verb in the subjunctive is restored by García Ramón 2010: 237 fn. 9; Hermann had συμφανῆ[ς] / [ἔμμεν.)
- Argolis and the Saronic Gulf
 - [*] Epidaurous: IG 4 952 = IG 4²,1 122 (4th c. BCE) L.55: Γοργίας Ἡρακλειώτας
 πύος. οὔτος ἐμ μάχαι / τινὶ τρωθεὶς εἰς τὸμ πλεύμονα τοξε[ύ]μ[α]τι ἐνιαυτὸγ καὶ
 ἐξάμηνον / ἔμπυος ἦς οὔτω σφοδρῶς, ὄσ τε ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα λεκάνας ἐνέπλησε /
πύους.

References

Some major epigraphic corpora are referred to by their abbreviations such “IG 9,2”. In the References, such items are placed immediately after the abbreviations for journal titles. When publications are made in Greek, I did not romanize the Greek names but placed them separately after all the names in the Latin alphabet.

Abbreviated journal titles:

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*

RPh = *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d’Histoire Anciennes*

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Abbreviated references:

CID 1 = Georges Rougemont (ed.). 1977. *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*. Tome I: *Lois sacrées et règlements religieux*. Paris: de Boccard.

CID 2 = Jean Bousquet (ed.). 1989. *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*. Tome II: *Les comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle*. Paris: de Boccard.

CID 4 = François Lefèvre (ed.). 2002. *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*. Tome IV: *Documents amphictioniques*. Paris: de Boccard.

GDE = Eduardus (Eduard) Schwyzer (ed.). 1923. *Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

FD 3,1 = Émile Bourguet (ed.). 1929. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule I:

- Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*. Paris: de Boccard.
- FD 3,2 = Gaston Colin (ed.). 1909–1913. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Deuxième Fascicule. Paris: Fontemoing.
- FD 3,3(1) = Georges Daux & Antoine Salač (eds.). 1932. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule III: *Inscriptions depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon. Feuilles I à XIX. Planches I et II*. Paris: de Boccard.
- FD 3,3(2) = Georges Daux (ed.). 1943. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule III: *Inscriptions depuis le trésor des Athéniens jusqu'aux bases de Gélon*. Deuxième Livraison: *Feuilles 20 à 34. Planches III à X*. Paris: de Boccard.
- FD 3,4(1) = Gaston Colin (ed.). 1930. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule IV: *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire. Nos. 1 à 86: Monuments des Messéniens de Paul-Émile et de Prusias*. Paris: de Boccard.
- FD 3,4(2) = Robert Flacelière (ed.). 1954. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule IV: *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire. Nos. 87 à 275*. Paris: de Boccard.
- FD 3,4(3) = André Plassart (ed.). 1970. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule IV: *Inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire. Nos. 276 à 350: Les inscriptions du temple du IV^e siècle*. Paris: de Boccard.
- FD 3,4(4) = J[ean] Pouilloux (ed.). 1976. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule IV: *Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nor du sanctuaire. Nos 351 à 516*. Pars: de Boccard.
- FD 3,5 = Émile Bourguet (ed.). 1932. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule V: *Les comptes du IV^e siècle*. Paris: de Boccard.

FD 3,6 = Natan Valmin (ed.). 1939. *Fouilles de Delphes*. Tome III: *Épigraphie*. Fascicule VI: *Les inscriptions du théâtre*. Paris: de Boccard.

Gonnoi II = see Helly (1973).

IAtrax = Richard Bouchon, Laurence Darmezine, Jean-Claude Decourt, Bruno Helly & Gérard Lucas (eds.). 2016. *Corpus des inscriptions d'Atrax en Pélasgiotie (Thessalie)*. (Sous la direction d'Athanasios Tziafalias.) Athens: École française d'Athènes.

IC 1 = Margarita (Margherita) Guarducci (ed.). 1935. *Inscriptiones creticae*. I: *Tituli Cretae mediae praeter Gortynios*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato.

IC 2 = Margarita (Margherita) Guarducci (ed.). 1939. *Inscriptiones creticae*. II: *Tituli Cretae occidentalis*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato.

ID(4) = Pierre Roussel & Marcel Launey (eds.). 1937. *Inscriptions de Délos*. 4: *Décrets postérieurs à 166 av. J.-C. (nos. 1497–1524), dédicaces postérieurs à 166 av. J.-C. (nos. 1525–2219)*. Paris: Honoré Champion.

IG 2-3² = Iohannes Kirchner (ed.). 1913–1940. *Inscriptiones graecae*. Voluminis II et III editio minor: *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*. Berlin: Reimer.

IG 4 = Maximilianus Fraenkel (ed.). 1902. *Inscriptiones graecae*. Volumen IV: *Inscriptiones Argolidis*. Berlin: Reimer.

IG 4²,1 = Fridericus (Friedrich) Hiller de Gaertringen (ed.). 1929. *Inscriptiones graecae*. Voluminis IV editio minor: *Inscriptiones Argolidis*. Fasciculus primus: *Inscriptiones Epidauri*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

IG 5,1 = Gualtherus (Walther) Kolbe (ed.). 1913. *Inscriptiones graecae*. Volumen V: *Inscriptiones Laconiae, Messeniae, Arcadiae*. Fasciculus prior: *Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae*. Berlin: Reimer.

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