Public Registers of Land Sales in Ancient Greece*

This paper examines inscriptions that record land sales, aiming to find out whether and how they can teach us the extent to which the polis intervened in private transactions or even instigated them, and under what circumstances. Studying inscribed records of transactions in real estate contributes to our knowledge of the development of practices of recording and publishing contracts. But examining the evidence of state intervention as it emerges from such records may also contribute to our understanding of the ancient Greeks’ definition of ‘public’ and ‘private’ and of the process leading to the crystallization of these concepts. Of course, definitions of public and private spaces and spheres of activity were not monolithic. They changed over time and may have differed from one polis to another. However, I hope to show that in respect of land sales, public intervention in the private sphere increased over time in several places, so that sharper lines were drawn between these spaces in the process.

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The terms *idios* and *koinos* are generally considered to correspond to ‘private’ and ‘public’ respectively, but modern concepts of public and private are not equivalent to these terms, both of which may contain elements alluding to individuals and to community.\(^1\) Still, the opposition between private and public can be detected already in Homer.\(^2\) Another word that served to describe what belongs to the community, as against the private, was *dēmosios*. The latter usually described specific items, such as property, finances or buildings (whereas *koinon* seems to have been a more general term for the community itself), and according to Alain Fouchard it best translates the notion ‘public’.\(^3\) More important to the subject of this paper is Fouchard’s observation that the adjective *dēmosios* was also applied to public territory on which it was not permitted to encroach.\(^4\) He suggests that *dēmosios* was first applied to whoever administered the *dēmos* as an entity, in the first place to the management of the ‘common’ lands – lands not yet distributed.\(^5\) Similarly, David Lewis observes that in Athens there were areas which had been in the public domain for so long that no question of private property could arise: the Agora, the Kerameikos, and the Pnyx (all delimited by boundary-markers, *horoi*).\(^6\)

According to Aristotle (*Pol*. 1267b 33ff.), Hippodamos of Miletos suggested that the territory of the polis be divided into three categories: sacred (*hiera*), public (*dēmosia*) and private (*idia*). The question of the relation between public and sacred land and of their possible opposition has been much discussed by scholars. Recently Nikolaos Papazarkadas has argued that the polis of Athens held no property that could be termed ‘public’ other than sacred property, but that the demes (in contrast to the polis itself and the tribes) held lands as their common public properties (in addition to managing sacred lands).\(^7\) Papazarkadas claims that ‘public realty did exist in Classical Athens, but it did not fall under the category of arable revenue-generating estates.

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\(^1\) See DESCAT 1998.

\(^2\) CASEVITZ 1998, 41-5, assembles and analyzes the occurrences of *idios* and its derivatives down to the fifth century B.C. He argues that in Homer *idion* means the individual as belonging to a group, and that originally the ‘private’ was the ‘particular’, the smallest communal unit of the public.

\(^3\) FOUCHARD 1998, 59-60. Fouchard bases his conclusions on the examination of some 600 occurrences of *dēmosios* in the literature, down to Aristotle, and in epigraphic collections.

\(^4\) See Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; *Ath. Pol.* 52.1; Arist. *Rhet.* 1374a5; *Syll.* 3 279; 936; 938; 1009.

\(^5\) FOUCHARD 1998, 60.

\(^6\) Other possible sites were the various gymnasia; LEWIS 1990, 245-63, esp. 249.

\(^7\) PAPAZARKADAS 2011.
Rather it consisted of landed zones in mainly marginal areas, used, if at all, for the common benefit of members of the political community.  

Whether these arguments are sound or whether the polis had its own ‘public’ lands from which it derived its public (dēmosion) income, private assets were undoubtedly distinguished from other categories—legally, if not always in practice. But already in the early sixth century B.C. the state intervened in the private sphere by enacting laws pertaining to private lands.

According to Plutarch (Sol. 21.2-3), until Solon an Athenian could not bequeath his land even if he was childless; by permitting the citizens to make wills, Solon καὶ τὰ χρήματα κτήματα τῶν ἐχόντων ἐποίησεν (‘made a man’s possessions his own property’). On the other hand, Solon restricted this right to those who were not under the influence of sickness or drugs or imprisonment, or under compulsion or yielded to the persuasions of their wives.

Likewise, Lykourgos the Spartan lawgiver prohibited the sale of a family’s estate, but allowed those who wished to give away their estate by gift or bequest (Aristotle, Pol. 2, 1270a 19-21); and at Locri a man could sell his land only if he could prove that a misfortune had befallen him (Aristotle, Pol. 2, 1266b 20). Other legislators limited the amount of land sold or leased (Arist. Pol. 2, 1266b 5-7; 6, 1319a 7-13).

Evidence also seems to imply that in several poleis sales and leases of land were registered in the local public archives, at least from the fourth century B.C. Usually this move was initiated by the parties to the transaction, seeking to protect their rights; but sometimes registration was also a legal requirement. Fragment 21 of Theophrastos’ Nomoi (written towards the middle of the fourth century B.C.) is often cited as proof. Concerning Athens, however, Theophrastos mentions only the prographē, the registration of the transaction before its implementation: the sales were registered with the magistrate no fewer than sixty days in advance and the purchaser had to deposit one percent of the property’s price (ἔχατοστή). Outside Athens, he says, a law requiring

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8 Ibid. 235-6. Papazarkadas also argues that the supervision of these outlying areas was left to the demes, but the latter functioned merely as agents and had no rights of possession over these lands; their own landed properties constituted a different sub-category. The Rationes Centesimarum, he argues, were ‘the only recorded effort by Athens to make some profit out of her non-sacred landed resources. Paradoxically, the principle of privatization meant that the project could never again be repeated.’ On the Rationes Centesimarum see below.

9 See the three categories ‘sacrific’, ‘public’ and ‘private’ (ἐἴτε ἱερὸν ἐἴτε δημόσιον ἐἴτε ἴδιον) in IG V.2 6, line 39, in Tegea (fourth century B.C.), and the contracts made by the polis of Arkesine with individuals who lent it money, mortgaging the common as well as the private property (τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια): IG XII,7 66, 67 A and B, 68, 69, 70 (cf. Migeotte 1984, nos. 49-54; Gabrielsen 2008, 128-30).

10 Theophrastos, Nomoi, Fr. 21.1 (Szegedy-Maszak): ἔνιοι δὲ προγράφειν παρὰ τῇ ἄρχῃ πρὸ
the parties to realty transactions to swear upon a sacrifice as a precondition to registration (ἐγγράφειν) existed among the Aineans (21.3). Philosophers too may reflect existing practices. Thus Plato (Laws 5, 745a) prescribes that every man’s property that is over and above his allotment should be openly written down (ἐν τῷ φανερῷ γεγράφθω) and be kept by the magistrates appointed by law; Aristotle (Pol. 6, 1321b 34-35) recommends the appointment of magistrates to write down private contracts and verdicts of law (ἐτέρα δ’ ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἣν ἄναγραφεσθαι δεῖ τὰ τε ἰδία συμβόλαια καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐκ τῶν δικαστηρίων).

Registration of land sales in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, the katagraphē, was required by law in order to render the transfer of title valid (see P.Hal. 1, ll. 242-59; P.Adler 13). In his Rhodian oration, Dio Chrysostomos mentions as a matter of fact the registration in the city’s records of purchases of land, boats or slaves, alongside loans, manumissions of slaves and gifts (31.51). Yet as Moses Finley noted, although the state had an interest in public records and public knowledge of the legal and economic position of the land, public record-keeping was ‘generally spasmodic, impermanent, and unreliable’. Sometimes, the parties to transactions in real estate decided to inscribe the deeds on stone or metal. Examples of such private advertisements come from different parts of the Greek world. The fourth-century B.C. horoi in Athens and places under her influence certified that a certain piece of property had been mortgaged, for example, IG II² 2658 (ca. 350-300 B.C.): ὁρὸς χω/ρίο πεπρ/αμένο ἐπ/ὶ λύσει πα/ιδί Καλλις/τράτο Ὠ – (‘boundary marker of land sold upon redemption to Kallistratos’ son for the price of ---’). Unlike the Egyptian katagraphē, which could be carried about, the horoi were fixed in the ground and were meant to make public the transactions indicated by them.

Other examples are the lead tablets from Sicily, which record individual transactions and date to between the fourth and the first century B.C. For ex-

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11 Theophrastos also mentions other poleis’ legislation that does not involve actual registration but makes sure that the sale is publicized and the ownership guaranteed. Thus at Cyzicus the sale had to be announced many times for five days (21.1); see also on Thurii (21.2). For a discussion of Theophrastos’ Nomoi see also FARAGUNA 2000, 71-4.
12 Cf. 754d, 850a, 855b, 914c.
13 For a thorough discussion of Plato and Aristotle on land sales registration see FARAGUNA 2000, 65-71. See also FARAGUNA 2005.
14 See WOLFF 1948; FARAGUNA 2000, 75-82. See also YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2014.
15 FINLEY 1985, 13-14. For other testimonies to registration of lands and sales see FARAGUNA 2000, 82-7.
16 On the Attic horoi see FINE 1951; FINLEY 1985.
ample, *SEG* 34,940 from Kamarina (= ed. pr. F. Cordano, *BA* 26, 1984, 34-41; Dubois 1989, 131-5, no. 124), dated to the third or second century B.C., reads:17


In the year of…], on the sixth day of the month of Heraion, when Dinarchos son of Kleandros was the president of those responsible for drawing the contracts: Sosistratos son of Theon, of the last phratry, first tribe, bought the house and the shop of Dion, in entirety with the planks, its walls adjacent to those of Philoxenos and Thrasyllos, the street above (the sanctuary) of Gaos and of Phersospha, from Dion son of Herakleidas, of the fourth phratry, first tribe, for the price of forty talents. Guarantors: [here follows a list of names].

Cordano understood the συνάλλακτήριον προστάτας mentioned in line 1 as a magistrate in charge of drawing up contracts. It has been suggested that this person was rather an official who acted as the president of a collegium responsible for drafting contracts.18 If this interpretation is correct, it might indicate the existence in Kamarina of an institution similar to the Egyptian katagraphē. In any case, only one other document from Kamarina, dated to the second/first century B.C., seems to refer to the same official.19 The letters δφʹ in line 10 have also been subject to several interpretations.20 But whatever the correct interpretation, Faraguna rightly stresses that these elements in the inscription indicate the active intervention of magistrates in the drafting and keeping of contracts, akin to the astynomoi in Tenos (on which see below).21

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17 For the whole corpus of lead tablets from Kamarina see Cordano 1992 (SEG 41, 778-795), who argues that these tablets served as allotment plates during elections of magistrates. See also Dubois 1989, 131-5, no. 124, and cf. Game 2008, 151-3, no. 79.

18 Dubois 1989, 131-5, no. 124: ‘il est vraisemblable que le nom d’argent en -τήρ désigne un collège, présidé par un προστάτας chargé de veiller à la légalité des actes entre particuliers et, sans doute, de rédiger ces contrats’ (p. 133). Faraguna 2000, 92-99 (apparently unaware of Dubois’ suggestion), postulates a similar view and compares this office to the astynomoi of Tenos (see below). For a summary of the interpretations offered see Game 2008, 152.


20 See Faraguna 2000, 96; Game 2008, 152.

21 Faraguna 2000, 96.
The inscribed records from Olynthos are private documents as well. One example is TAPA 69 (1938), 47-50, no. 3 (ca. 375-350 BC):

God. A straight purchase. When Aristoboulos son of Kallikrates was the priest. In the month of Targelion. Zoïlos son of Philokrates (bought) from Diopeithes son of Antipatros the house adjoining the house of Diokles son of Charon and that of the children of Apollodoros, for 1,200 drachmas. Guarantor: Polemarches son of Straton; witnesses: Diokles son of Charon, Euxitheos son of Xantippos, Philon son of Theodotos.

Although Zoïlos, the purchaser, and Diopeithes, the vendor, made sure that their transaction be valid by dating it, specifying the location of the property sold, using a guarantor and witnesses, and giving it publication, this is still a private document. And we do not even see evidence for the intervention of magistrates (as was the case in the inscription from Kamarina cited above). The inscriptions from Amphipolis, on the other hand, show state intervention, although the documents are still private initiatives. Thus SEG 41,556 = Hatzopoulos, Meletemata 14, 1991, 19, no. 2 (ca. 357/6 B.C.):

Lykophron bought from Menandros, for 280 drachmas, a house whose neighbours are Kason, Droubis and Nikandros, when Sparges was the epistatēs. Guarantor: Aglaïnos. Witnesses: Polyboulos, Poianthos, Archippos. The purchaser will pay all the taxes and anything else concerning the house.

It is remarkable that the document from Amphipolis mentions taxes (telē, lines 10-11) paid by the purchaser. This means that at least in the year of the epon-

22 Hatzopoulos 1988, 24, argues that this expression meant that the purchase immediately resulted in acquisition of ownership (‘achat direct’), whereas the phrase οὐνὴ κάτοχος (as in e.g. SEG 38,671 from Stolos) which was a definitive purchase without the possibility of repurchase (‘achat ferme’). See, however, Thiür 2008, 180-4, who contends that οὐνὴ εὐθεία means a sale which ‘does not face objection from any third party’, whereas οὐνὴ κάτοχος is a purchase that is bound or blocked by protest.

23 On the inscriptions from Olynthos see also Faraguna 2000, 99-108.
ymous epistatēs Sparges, the polis of Amphipolis intervened in the private sphere of economic activity by taxing transactions of immovable properties, as was the case in Egypt and in Attica. Hatzopoulos believes that a similar tax system existed in Kellion in Chalcidike, where other inscribed deeds of land sale were found. Faraguna too argues that despite its being attested in only two inscriptions from Amphipolis (a fact he ascribes to the documents being extracts from the original documents), such a tax was the general rule there, and that it was exacted for the public registration of the acts.

The above examples show that some people in the fourth and third (or second) centuries B.C. decided to publicize their transactions in real estate on stone, probably in addition to their registration in local archives. The dating of the inscriptions by eponymous magistrates, the involvement of special magistrates, such as the συναλλακτήρων προστάτας in Kamarina, and the mention of taxes in Amphipolis and Chalkidike attest – where such constituents are found – to the intervention of the state in private economic activity and its control of real estate transactions. In this respect, these inscriptions support what we know from the literary texts discussed above. Still, the publication of these transactions was not a state enterprise and nothing implies that it was dictated by the state.

Although the time of the first inscribed transactions roughly corresponds to that of Aristotle’s and Theophratos’ prescriptive and descriptive evidence, there is a difference between registering an act on papyrus or a wooden tablet and depositing it in a local archive and inscribing it on imperishable material which is set up in a public place. As far as I know, there is no evidence of any legislation in the various poleis that required the inscription of land transactions on stone, in addition to or instead of registration before a magistrate and deposition of the documents in the local archives. A logical explanation for the decision of parties to transactions in real estate to use inscriptions is the wish for wider and permanent publication as a guarantee of their preservation.

24 Another document from Amphipolis, dated to the same year (SEG 41,557 = no. 3 in Hatzopoulos 1991), specifically mentions this tax (line 14); Hatzopoulos suggests that in nos. 6 and 9 (SEG 41,560 and 41,563 respectively) the quoted prices of the sold properties may have included taxes. He also argues that the rates of the tax were 20 dr. for prices lower than 500 dr., and 30 dr. for prices higher than this.

25 See HATZOPoulos 1988, 31-3, no. 4 from Kellion (identified by the author with Stolos), where a house is sold for 238 dr.; Hatzopoulos suggests that the real price of the house was 200 dr., to which were added a sale price (ἐπώνιον) of thirty dr. and a surtax (κηρύκειον) of two dr.

26 FARAGUNA 2000, 105-6.

27 FARAGUNA 2000, 106-7. concludes that these inscriptions do not reproduce the content of contracts, which could be deposited with a third person, but that of the record made before the magistrate. See also THÜR 2008, 176-7; GAME 2008, 172.

28 Cf. FARAGUNA 2000, 115.
or, if the property was given as security for a loan (as attested in the Attic *horoi* or in some of the inscriptions from Olynthos – see below), to warn potential purchasers or lenders that the property was encumbered.29 Concerning the inscriptions from Olynthos, Lisa Nevett has also suggested that advertising these transactions increased the purchasers’ personal prestige.30 Others propose that the uncertainties connected with the expansion of Macedon could have motivated the citizens of neighbouring cities or confederacies to inscribe the acts, so that proofs of the private contracts would remain intact after an eventual conflict.31 But as Game comments, one may ask why they kept on inscribing acts when the situation became more stable, as is the case in Amphipolis.32 Still, political events may have induced people to give a more public and endurable form to the document recording their contract.

Another question, related to that of motivation, is whether these inscriptions, most of them found in situ, in the houses or fields to which they referred, record real sales or lands put as securities for loans (πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσιν).33 However, since my concern is with the publication of the documents, not the nature of the transaction, I do not intend to discuss this issue here.

But how should we interpret long inscriptions listing numerous transactions, sometimes mentioning taxes, and undoubtedly done within the framework of legal restrictions and registration practices pertaining to the relevant poleis? Should we see them as identical in purpose and motivation to the documents discussed above?

In a short while I shall discuss several documents of such character from different parts of the Greek world. My working assumption is that unlike the individual documents discussed above, inscriptions recording numerous real estate transactions were inscribed by a state decision because of special circumstances. To make my case clearer, let us examine first an inscription that belongs to the group of individual, private acts from Olynthos, an example of which was discussed above; but this one mentions the polis of Olynthos as a vendor in a real estate transaction. *TAPA* 69 (1938) 52, 6 (400-348 B.C.) reads:

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31 Hatzopoulos 1988, 72-7, and Doukellis 1988, 156, argue that this situation is reflected in the low prices of the properties. See also Faraguna 2000, 107-8.

32 Game 2008, 172.

33 See Faraguna 2000, 103, who argues that unless the inscription explicitly mentions security it records real sale. For a detailed discussion of the documents recording securities see Thür 2008, 176-84.
God. Good Fortune. A straight purchase. In the month of Pantheon, when Kleandros son of Sozon was the priest, Strenios son of Aspias (bought) from Pheidippos son of Pheidon the house which Pheidippos had bought from the polis of the Olynthians, adjoining that of Telekles, for the price of 4,500 (drachmas). Guarantors: [names]. Witnesses: [names].

It has been suggested that the earlier sale by the polis of the house to Pheidippos, the vendor in this document, may have been the auction of a confiscated property.34 If this property was one item in a list of confiscated properties auctioned by the polis, which is a reasonable guess, the polis might also have decided to engrave on a stele an inventory of the confiscated properties, with the names of the former owners and the names of purchasers, as well as the proceeds from this auction – the sort of publication we see, for example, in the Attic Stelai (IG I² 421-430).35 But no such inscribed inventory for Olynthos has been found, and what we have here is only an allusion to a state transaction within a private document.

Another case which seems to teeter between the categories of private and state publication is a somewhat unique inscription found in Mieza in Macedon: SEG 53,613 (ed. pr. E. Stefane, AE, 2003 [2005], 155-196; ca. 250-225 B.C.).36 Here I quote from col. I (fragments A and B), lines 1-18:

34 Bull. Ép. 1939, no. 168. On the expression ὠνὴ εὐθεῖα (‘straight purchase’) see above.
35 See also BLÜMEL 1993 (= Syll.³ 46; cf. SEG 43,713), an inscribed record from Halikarnassos (425-350 B.C.) of properties confiscated and re-sold, listing the names of the purchasers.
36 The inscription consists of five fragments; Stefane re-published fragment A and published the other four fragments (B-E). For a summary, see Hatzopoulos in BE (2006), no. 252; GAME 2008, 93-101, no. 39.
B  Zώπυρος Γοργία ἐπρίατο παρὰ Ἀδράστου γῆν τὴν περὶ Νέαν πόλιν καὶ Δροιέσστας, πλέθρα : ΡΟΘ : ἄκαινας : ΟΗ : τὰ ἐχόμενα ὃν παρὰ Κρατεροῦ ἠγόρασεν καὶ [τ]ῶν Αττίνα, τὸ πλέθρον 12 δραχμῶν : Ο : βεβαιωτὴς Ὀρέσσης Ζώιλου Μαρινιαίος · τὴν τιμὴν ἔχει πᾶσαν ἡ ὠνὴ ἐγένετο μηνὸς Περιτίου ἐπὶ ἑπιστάτου Ὀνομάρχου, ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀσσκληπιοῦ Νικάνορος, ταγωνάτων Εὐπολέμου, Νικάνορος · μάρτυρες δικαστῶν Λυσανίτων Σικίττου, Εὐπολέμος Τάρτιος · {Μ} ἀντία δικαστῶν Νίκανδρος Σιβυρτίου, Ὀλύμπιχος Σακόλα, Τόλων Ἁδύμου, Ἀσσκληπιόδωρος Σωπάτρου.

(A) Zopyros son of Gorgias bought from [---] 179 plethra, 75 akainai of land in the vicinity of Droiestai, at the rate of 70 drachmas a plethron. He paid the entire sum. Guarantors: Hektor son of Mannias, a Skydraian, and Attinas son of Andronikos, a Neopolitan. The sale took place in the month of Peritios, when Onomarchos was the epistatēs, Nikanor was the priest, and Eupolemos and Nikanor were the tagōnatai. Witnesses: [names].

(B) Zopyros son of Gorgias bought from Adrastos a plot in the vicinity of Neapolis and Droiestai, 179 plethra, 78 akainai, adjoining the properties he had bought from Krateros and from Attinas, at the rate of 70 drachmas a plethron. Guarantor: Orestes son of Zoilos, a Marinian. He paid the entire sum. The sale took place in the month of Peritios, when Onomarchos was the epistatēs, Nikanor was the priest of Asklepios, and Eupolemos and Nikanor were the tagōnatai. Witnesses of the judges: [names]. Against(?) the judges: [names].

The inscription as a whole mentions ten deeds of land sale (four of them almost complete, the other six fragmentary). Each deed records the name of the vendor, the nature and/or the location of the land sold, its size and price, the witnesses and the guarantors. Each deed is also dated by the month, the epistatēs, the priest of Asklepios and the tagōnatai. The purchaser in all the recorded transactions is one and the same person, Zopyros son of Gorgias, and he seems to have bought these properties in the course of three consecutive years.

It is not clear why Zopyros’ land acquisitions (more than 32 hectares for more than 26,500 drachmas) were inscribed on stone and set up in a public place. On the one hand, this inscription seems to belong to the category of privately inscribed land sales discussed above (such as those from Kamarina or Amphipolis), except it clusters together several acts instead of inscribing them

37 Stefane explains that these ταγωνάται were annual officials. Hatzopoulos (BE, 2006, no. 252, pp. 676-7) reads ταχγών ἀτῶν. See also GAME 2008, 97-8.
39 Hatzopoulos, BE (2006), no. 252, p. 676. Hatzopoulos corrects the ed. pr. in the calculation of the total size of the lands bought and the price paid. On the amounts paid by Zopyros see also GAME 2008, 100, who infers that Zopyros belonged to the elite of Mieza.
on separate steles. It may be that because the landed properties that Zopyros bought were situated in a relatively small area (hence also the repetition of names in different capacities: officials, vendors, and witnesses), he wished to give publicity to the fact that he was the new owner in that vicinity.

However, there are some elements that render this classification difficult. First, these acts, all of which start with the name of Zopyros as the purchaser, were probably arranged month by month, year by year, as a kind of inventory. This led Game to propose that the register was intended as an evaluation of Zopyros’ property, perhaps for tax purposes. Game also suggests that the use of formulaic forms in these records may be a sign of the rationalization of the administrative system under the Antigonids. But why was it considered necessary to inscribe this assessment on stone? Another confusing constituent of the inscription is the mention in act B of μάρτυρες δικαστῶν, ‘witnesses of the judges’, and ἀντίω δικαστῶν, those ‘against the judges’ (lines 15-16). Act C has a slightly different formulation: μάρτυρες δικαστῶν Λυσανίας / Σκαίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (lines 25-26), followed by four names, and in act D the text after μάρτυρες δικαστῶν (lines 34-35, followed by four names) has not survived, but might have been formulated as in act C. Stefane proposes that these μάρτυρες δικαστῶν might have been the same as the βασιλικοὶ δικασταί, the ‘royal judges’ mentioned in another Macedonian inscription, SEG 47,999 from Tyrissa (ed. pr. P. Chrysostomou, Tekmeria 3, 1997, 23-43), dated to the early second century B.C. and recording two transactions concerning the same vineyard. Lines 5-7 of the inscription read δίκης γενομένης / [πρὸς] τοῖς βασιλικοῖς δικασταίς (‘the trial being conducted in front of the royal judges’). Chrysostomou notes that this is the first time that this magistracy is attested in Macedon, and suggests that the trial may have been connected with the fact that the vineyard was sold by Philagros’ son and widow. He raises the possibility that the ‘royal judges’ of Tyrissa were identical to the ‘witnesses of the judges’ in Mieza (where they acted as witnesses) and to the judges mentioned in other Macedon inscriptions. Chrysostomou proposes to see in these ‘royal judges’ a secondary legal body, called to approve cases on appeal.

40 In the course of the month of Peritios Zopyros bought three plots in the same neighbourhood (περὶ Δροιέσστας; acts A – C) and another which bordered on his estate (act D).


42 In the first transaction Philagros had bought the vineyard from Philippos; he then gave part of it to Boukartas, probably his son. In the second transaction, after Philagros’ death, the vineyard was sold by Boukartas and Philagros’ widow to Polyainos. See also Game 2008, 101-3, no. 40.

43 E.g., Meletemata 22, Epig. App. 50 (= IG X(2) 1, 1028; Thessalonike, 240-230 B.C.); IG X,2 1, 3 (Thessalonike, 187 B.C.).
Since nothing is known about this magistracy, it is not possible to draw any definite conclusion. However, if the inscription from Mieza indeed refers to judges, this might indicate, as Game suggests,\(^{44}\) that the sales were executed according to a court ruling. Although, as the ed. pr. notes, the ‘witnesses of the judges’ appear only in three of the ten transactions on the stone, it is still possible that all the acts were of the same category. It may be that the register of Zopyros’ acquisitions was displayed publicly because these lands were now put up for auction following a court decision – perhaps in a way similar to the Attic Stelai (\textit{IG} I\(^3\) 421-430) and to \textit{SGDI} 5653 from Chios (475-450 B.C.). The latter seems to have contained two inscriptions: the first [A] records the delimitation of a plot of public land, probably because of acts of usurpation by private citizens; the second [B-D] records the auction of lands confiscated from citizens.\(^ {45}\) The list of Zopyros’ acquisitions in Mieza might have been similarly compiled and inscribed because it was deemed essential to publicize the exact location and the identity of the former owners of each plot, now being put up for a re-sale. However, the mention of the μάρτυρες δικαστῶν as witnesses to the various purchases made by Zopyros may speak against this interpretation, which assumes that they were involved at a later stage when Zopyros’ purchased landed properties were perhaps confiscated. Yet even if this interpretation is wrong, the μάρτυρες δικαστῶν apparently were state officials; the use of their services – whether as judges or witnesses – shows the involvement of the state in realty transactions. I therefore suggest as an alternative interpretation that the μάρτυρες δικαστῶν or the βασιλικοί δικασταί were in charge of registering landed (and perhaps other) transactions in third-century B.C. Macedon; in the process of registering land sales (which was perhaps conducted as a trial), challenges to the transactions may have been raised by rival claimants, hence the mention of ἀντία δικαστῶν.\(^ {46}\) The absence of this term in act A of the Mieza inscription may be accidental and the result of the negligence on the part of whoever drafted the text (or copied it from the original, hand written contract). The other acts are too fragmentary to decide whether they alluded to these ‘judges’.

\(^{44}\) Game 2008, 100.

\(^{45}\) Faraguna 2006. Cf. the list of confiscated properties and their purchasers in an inscription from Halikarnassos, mentioned in n. 35 above.

\(^{46}\) Or perhaps we may see Zopyros’ case as similar to the process attested in \textit{Syll.} 3 279 from Zeleia (shortly after 334 B.C.), where an elected committee of nine citizens (called ἀνευρεταί) is to check public lands (χωρία δημόσια), supposedly usurped by private citizens. For the process of legal decisions to be taken in case of disputes, eleven elected citizens are to serve as δικασταί, judges, aided by three συνήγοροι (lines 27-30). Could it be that the μάρτυρες δικαστῶν and ἀντία δικαστῶν of Mieza were involved in a legal dispute between Zopyros and the polis over the ownership of lands, a dispute that Zopyros eventually won?
The first document I discuss in the category of “state publications” is the so-called Rationes Centesimarum, from which I cite two passages:47

(a) Stele 2, Face A, col. 1 (IG II² 1594), lines 15-22: Attica; mid fourth century B.C.:

15 ἑτέρα ἐσχατιὰ ἐν Βή[σαι]

صلة كليوميدون لئونτος [— — —]

ضة أيلوديما [ألون][νون].

ضة ἐσχατιὰ ἐμ Πόρω[ι τῆς]

حة أوموئء [اليتاذ]

حة فيلا أكلايئس]

حة أودص.[71x671] Another outlying estate in Besa; buyer: Kleomedon son of Leon of[—]. Another outlying estate in Poros, called ‘the public threshing floors’; another outlying estate in Poros, of the same name; buyer of both: Eukles son of Lakles of Halai: 125 dr.

(b) Stele 3, Face A, col. 1 (IG II² 1596), lines 5-11: Attica; mid 4th century B.C.:

5 [Ἡ]ρακλέους ἱερομνήμο[νες]
Χαρίσανδρος Δημοκρίτο[υ Ἀλωπ[εκῆθεν]]

حة Δημοκλῆς Γναθ[ί]ου Ἀλωπ[εκῆθεν]

حة χώριον Ἀλωπ[εκῆσι]

حة Λυσικράτης Λυσιμάχου Ἀφ[ιδναῖος – ἑκατ(οστὴ) – ]

حة ΤΤΤΧΧΧΗΗΗ
tούτο ἑκατοστή ὶΗΗΗΔ├├├


The Rationes Centesimarum (or the hekatostē-inscriptions) comprise four steles that record sales of land by Attic corporate groups (demes, phratries, etc.) to individual citizens in the second half of the fourth century B.C. The entries are very concisely formulated, describing the sold property in outline, naming the selling group and the purchaser, and noting the price and the one percent tax paid (in passage b cited above a grand total is given).48 Lambert has convincingly argued that these inscriptions should be understood in the context of the processes of accountability, characteristic of democratic Athens. Hence, the Rationes are no mere copies of the transactions but accounts of the proceeds from the hekatostai collected in these transactions; the hekatostai, he

48 LAMBERT 1997, 270-1, suggests comparing the hekatostē in these inscriptions with the payment of one percent put down sixty days in advance by purchasers of landed property, as reported by Theophrastos (see above). Contra, FARAGUNA 1998, 179.
suggests, went to Athena, and the accounts were probably issued by the joint board of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods. In this respect the *Rationes* are analogous to the fifth-century Athenian Tribute Lists (*IG* I 3 259-90), as the latter record not the sums paid as tribute but the taxes due to the goddess. That the record of the transactions themselves ‘was incidental, as it were, to the formal purpose of the texts – to record the payment of Athena’s due portion’ can be inferred from the absence of an accurate description of the properties sold: the terms χωρίον and ἐσχατιά, the demes’ names, and the octasional designation of the asset were apparently considered sufficient. This is not the case in the private documents discussed above, nor in other formal Attic accounts stemming from sales or leases of landed and other properties. For instance, *IG* I 3 424, one of the Attic Stelai recording the sale of the confiscated property of the Hermakopidai in 414/3 B.C., describes in detail the boundaries and location of the houses sold. This feature of the *Rationes Centesimarum* also relates to the circumstances of their publication.

Lambert argues that the *Rationes* reflect Lykourgos’ policy to increase Athens’ revenues and to improve the exploitation of land resources. Lykourgos first appears in 343/2 B.C., hence Lambert assigns stelai 1 and 2 of the *Rationes* to ca. 343-340 B.C., dating the other two stelai (3-4) to 330-325 B.C. It is roughly at this time that other inscribed accounts of sacred leases appear, probably also connected with Lykourgos’ policy. Lambert also suggests that the *Rationes* may represent a shift from the public sphere to the private, consonant with a contemporaneous trend of shifting the burden of communal euergetism from the obligatory liturgical system to reliance on the goodwill of wealthy individuals. Faraguna, in his review of Lambert, suggests two other motives: the need to intensify agricultural production at a time when Philip II was ominously approaching the straits, and to increase the efficiency of the fleet by raising the number of those potentially liable to the trierarchy (formerly exempted from this liturgy). Faraguna rightly points to reasons which are beyond, or – more accurately – additional to the financial purposes,

50 Ibid. 273-4.
51 Lewis 1973, 199; Lambert 1997, 228. See also Faraguna 1998, 175. For a typical description of the asset’s location, see e.g. passage “a” above, lines 17-18: ἔτερην ἐσχατιά ἐν Πόρῳ [ἐν τῷ δη]/ μόσιαι ἁλωί καλούμε[νον] (‘Another outlying estate in Poros, called “the public threshing floors”’).
54 Ibid. 291.
55 Faraguna 1998, 179.
but these reasons do not fully explain why it was decided to inscribe on stone
not only the amounts of money paid as taxes but the details – sketchy and
general as they are – of the transactions. As noted above, the Rationes Cen-
tesimarum record the identity of the selling groups, the officials conducting
the sales, the properties sold and the names of the buyers, as well as the prices
paid. Lambert suggests that these records were also relevant to the account-
ing processes of the other officials involved and could be consulted in case of
dispute. I would like to suggest that the Rationes Centesimarum served also
as permanent proofs for the landed transactions they recorded: disputes could
also have arisen between the selling groups and the buyers, not only between
the officials involved. The ascendancy of Macedon and the involvement of
Athens in military operations might have induced the Athenians to safeguard
the transfers of ownership on landed property by inscribing them on stone. If
Lambert is right that the inscriptions are the result of Lykourgos’ policy, these
records are a unique combination of state initiative, privatization of public (or
demotic) lands, and official publication of the sales and of the state’s revenues
derived from the taxes paid on these sales.

Several inscriptions listing land sales in the late fifth or early fourth centu-
ry B.C. have been found in Erythrai. Each inscription consists of numerous
deeds, again concisely and identically formulated. Here is an example:

SEG 37,917A, lines 1-14 (ed. pr. Engelmann, Epigraphica Anatolica 9, 1987,
134-138, no. 3):57

A. [---- 19 ----]λιος, ἐπωλήθη - - 6 - -]
[---- 14- - ἐπιώνιον δέκα, ἐπρίατο - 4 - ]
[---- 14- - ] ν Απολλωνίδειν τοῦ Ἀντι[...]
4 [. γῆ ἦτις ἤν Ἀπιέλλιος, ἐπωλήθη μυριέων ἑπτακοσιῶν ε ἴκοσιν, ἐπώνιον τεσσαράκοντα, ἐπὶ[θ]----]
[ατο Μιν]νίων Ἡμοφάνευς ν Ἐκατομβίου τοῦ Ζ[ωπ]-
[υρό] ἄμπελοι ἐν Ἀργαδεῦσιν, αἵτινες ἦσαν [Ἀπ]-
8 [ἐλλ]ιος, ἐπολέθησαν ἐξακοσιῶν, ἐπώνιον δ[έκ]---
[α], ἐπορίατο Ἀριστήμων Δέκκιονος τ ἄλλη γῆ ἐν [Αὐ]-
[νίοις, ἐπωλήθη χιλιέων ἐξακοσιῶν δέκα, [ἐπ]-
[ωνιον ε]ξακοσιῶν, ἐπορίατο Ζηνόδοτος Πυθέρμ[ο]

56 LAMBERT 1997, 275.
57 Other Erythraian inscriptions recording land sales are I. Erythrai 153 (SEG 37,918), and possibly
154, 156; S. ŞAHİN, EA 9 (1987), 52, no. 1 (SEG 37,921), 52-53 no. 2 (SEG 37,919), recording the payment of epōnion.
For each deed of sale the epōnion, a sales tax, was paid. 58 Like the Rationes Centesiamrum, this document is very different from the individual acts cited above. The Erythraian inscription was formulated in such a way as to accommodate on the stone as many transactions as possible. Again we may ask, what was the motivation behind this publication? If the parties sought legal protection, was not registration in the public archives enough? If it was publicity that they wanted, why not make an individual, private inscription as in Sicily, Amphipolis or Olynthos? The record of the sums paid as epōnion may suggest that, as in the case of the Attic Rationes Centesimarum, the state wished to have an official and public account of the taxes paid on sales of land. But, again, this cannot be the sole motivation.

We do not know the exact date of the inscriptions. An Athenian decree, found at Erythrai and dated to shortly before 386 B.C. (that is, before the Peace of Antalkidas), might be of help. It promises support for the democrats in Erythrai, who seem to have just managed to re-establish democracy after some civil strife; it also mentions exiles driven out of the city by the democrats (ed. pr. S. Şahin, Belleten 40, 1976, 566-571). 59 Rhodes and Osborne date the inscription ‘to the end of the period between c.390, when Thrasybulus re-established an Athenian presence in the Aegean, and 386’. 60 Another inscription, a decree of Erythrai dated to ca. 400 B.C. (SEG 36,1039), 61 records the oracle brought back by citizens who had been sent to Delphi (οἱ θεοπρόποι) and the subsequent decision of the polis to build a temple and set up a statue to Aphrodite Pandemos, ἐ̣[πὶ σ]/[ωτηρ]ίηι τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἐρυθραίων (‘for

58 For another example see n. 25 above. ENGELMANN (1987) suggests that the epōnion was assessed thus: on prices up to 100 dr., 2 dr.; between 100 and 200 dr., 5 dr.; between 200 and 1000 dr., 10 dr.; between 1000 and 2000 dr., 20 dr.; and over 2000 dr., 40 dr.
59 Cf. SEG 26,1282; RHODES – OSBORNE 2003, 74-77, no. 17.
60 RHODES – OSBORNE 2003, 74.
the safety of the Erythraian People’, lines 4-5). The ed. pr. suggests that the Erythraians sent to Delphi to consult about the best way to attain ὑμνώτα, concord, among the citizens. Although this word does not appear in the extant text of the inscription, the decision taken for the sake of σοτερία implies that Erythrai has recently recovered from internal, and possibly external, strife.

These two inscriptions, then, refer to troubles in Erythrai, and although the second (the decision to erect a temple and statue to Aphrodite Pandemos) was perhaps inscribed at least ten years earlier than the Athenian decree for Erythrai, it seems plausible that both should be placed in the same context. In war, whether external or internal – and the Erythraians experienced both – uncertainties could arise concerning ownership, threatening the stability of the regime. Hence SEG 37,917A may well reflect the need to set up a solid and lasting proof of real estate transactions made during these difficult times. The state would also be in need of resources, here supplied by the collection of the epōnion.

I now turn to the famous and much discussed long inscription from Tenos, recording transactions in real estate, registered with the astynomoi over a period of less than two years. I quote here the opening lines of the inscription (IG XII,5 872, lines 1-15: Tenos; ca 300 B.C.).

![The text of the Tenos inscription](image-url)

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63 The bibliography on the Tenos inscription is vast. See *Faraguna* 2000, 87-92.
According to the following (details) transactions of lands and houses and grants of dowries took place in the archonship of Ameinolas, in front of the astynomoi. In the month of Artemision: Krinylion son of [---], a Thestiad, with his kyrios Sombrotos son of Strymonides, a Donakean, bought from [---] the house and lands in Donaka, whose neighbours are [---], and the buildings whose neighbours are [---], for the price of 2,500 drachmas. Guarantors: [names]. Etc.

This inscription reveals the control exercised by the state on sales: the astynomoi here are in charge of registering the transactions. The question is again why these records were inscribed on stone. As Faraguna notes, this inscription is one in a series of approximately contemporaneous inscriptions of similar content. We do not know the exact dates, either of the inscription from which I quote here or of the other inscriptions (they are all dated to ca. 300 B.C.); but a series of inscriptions published by a state decision, like the series from Erythrai, may imply that this was not an exceptional or single publication. It has also been argued that the sums involved indicate that the polis needed cash. Furthermore, the heading of the inscription states that it records donation of dowries as well (though none appear in the preserved text), such an

64 See Faraguna 2000, 90-2, who draws a parallel between the Tenos inscription and the Alexandrian dikaiomata; Game 2008, 171.
65 Faraguna 2000, 88. The other inscriptions are IG XII.5 874-877; new inscriptions were published by Étienne 1990, Appendix III, 268-269, no. 27 (SEG 40,698), and 269, no. 28 (SEG 40, 699).
66 Osborne 2010, 124.
67 Faraguna 2000, 88 n. 81, suggests that the dowries were inscribed on a twin stele, of the same type as IG XII.5 873 from Tenos (late fourth/early third century B.C.), which does record dowries. On the legal and economic status of women in Tenos in the Hellenistic period see Étienne 1985; Stavrianopoulos 2006, 62-4, 97-8, 137-40.
inscribed register (except for *IG* XII.5 873 of Tenos) of dowries is known only from one other place, the neighboring island of Mykonos in the third century B.C. (*Syll.* 3 1215). Vérilhac and Vial argue that the publication on stone of dowries in the two islands was intended to allow husbands to demand what remained unpaid. But neither the need for cash nor the need to publicize debts explains fully the official inscribed register. Here, too, the reason should be sought in political and economic circumstances which could have caused social unrest.

Again, our information is meagre, but such circumstances may have been the frequent changes of hegemony and wars following the death of Alexander the Great. The Cyclades frequently changed hands between Ptolemy I and the Antigonids in the period 314 to 286 B.C. In 308/7 Ptolemy I, commanding a naval force, sailed through the islands and seems to have weakened Antigonos Monophthalmos’ control of the Cyclades, since he liberated Andros from a garrison, presumably Antigonid; Ptolemy then took possession of cities in mainland Greece: Megara, Corinth and Sicyon. A year later Antigonos sent his son Demetrios to Greece restore his control. In an article discussing the relations between Athens and Tenos, Reger suggests that in 307/6 B.C. the Athenians granted the Tenians access to their law courts (*IG* II 466) because Demetrios used Tenos as a base and the Tenians helped him liberate Athens. Whatever the relations between Tenos and Athens and whether or not Tenos was involved in Demetrios’ actions in Athens, it is reasonable to assume that the island, as well as the other Cyclades, was prey to the conflicting ambitions of the Hellenistic kings. The military conflicts between Alexander’s successors may have induced the islands to give a more substantial form to official records in fear that existing claims to real estate and dowries would not be honored or remembered.

In Chersonesos too, political circumstances may explain an inscription recording land transactions (of which again, I quote only a part). *SEG* 40,615, Fragment B, lines 7-20 (edd. pr. E.I. Solomonik and G.M. Nikolaenko, *VDI* 1990, 2, 79-99), with new readings by J.G. Vinogradov (270-250 B.C.), reads:

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68 VÉRILHAC – VIAL 1998, 149.
69 See BURASELIS 1982, 39-60.
71 REGER 1992, 367-8. See also BURASELIS 1982, 52 and n. 58.
The following persons bought the hekatōrygai73 of the inferior land(?) for turning over the soil(?), [---] per one (parcel): Promathion son of Dionysius, [---] son of Nanon 48.78 hectares [etc.] Total of the parcels bought in this sale, (performed) according to the decree, supervised by the elected epimelētai: [---], Neumenios son of Philistios, [---]

The quoted text is part of Fragment B of an opistographic marble plaque which, together with Fragment A, was published by Solomonik and Nikolaenko in 1990. Two other fragments, published as fragment b, face A and B in IosPE I 2 403, belong to the same plaque. To these also belongs SEG 40,616 (edd. pr. E.I. Solomonik and G.M. Nikolaenko, VDI, 1990, 2, 97-98), which comes from a different plaque. Hence, as in Erythrai, we should think of a series of (or at least two) inscriptions recording sales of land by the polis, that is, public land.74

A recurring formula in all fragments of SEG 40,616 and IosPE I 2 403 is τοίδε ἐπρίαντο (‘the following persons bought’), followed by the specification

73 Solomonik – Nikolaenko 1995, 193-5, read ἑκατωρύγ[ους and interpreted this hapax word as a unit of measurement of an area (36 Chersonitan plethra = 4.4 hectares). Vinogradov 1990 understands this word as referring to a certain kind of land from which shattered rocks were to be dug out and then used to build walls around it.

74 Vinogradov 1990 argues that the inscription does not record sales of land, but is an inventory of lands leased by the polis. The possibility that the inscription records leases was already raised by Latychev in IOSPE, because of the double meanings of the word πρᾶσις as both ‘sale’ and ‘lease’, but he left the question open. Solomonik – Nikolaenko 1995, 202, argue persuasively that the more common term for lease and leasing was μισθώσις and μισθόω, and tend to assume that this is a record of lands sold.
or location of the land, names of purchasers, and numbers – which the edd. pr. argue refer to the size rather than to the price of plots. Twice in the section quoted above (lines 13 and 17) the inscription gives a total – which, by Solomonik and Nikolaenko’s interpretation, is the total measure of the land bought. In the section quoted here we also learn that the transactions were carried out according to a psēphisma, a decree, and under the supervision of epimelētai (lines 18–19). These indeed are unquestionable indications that the polis initiated both the transactions and the publication of the record. What induced the action and its subsequent publication on stone?

As Solomonik and Nikolaenko suggest, two other inscriptions imply that in that period an attempt had been made to overthrow the democracy at Chersonesos: the famous inscription recording the oath of allegiance to the democratic regime, taken by the citizens of Chersonesos (IosPE I² 401 = Syll. 3 360; ca. 300–280 B.C.); and a fragmentary law of ca. 300–275 B.C., probably concerning the return of exiles and judiciary problems it entailed (SEG 34,750 = 40,614). At the same time, the pressure from the neighbouring Skythian tribes increased and some of the territory was lost. A severe political (and perhaps also economic) crisis, following civil strife, gave rise to the demand for the redistribution of lands. The democrats decided to lease or sell land to landless citizens and thus also raise the polis’ revenues. If indeed the land in question was public, leased out to citizens in private tenure, it is all the more understandable why it was decided to inscribe the re-distribution on stone.

Saprykin offers a slightly different scenario. He argues that the land division and the farm building activity, apparent from the inscriptions and land surveys, were ‘the result of a concerted, centralized, policy of the state’ (a policy he attributes to Agasikles, honored in IosPE I² 418). He suggests that IosPE I² 403 refers to plots of land which had been taken from the public land and leased out to private citizens; later, as a result of internal political crisis and the attacks of the Skythians, part of these plots were abandoned or were concentrated in the hands of rich citizens – which caused an attempt to establish an oligarchy or tyranny. Saprykin argues that when the democrats came back to power they re-distributed the land and leased these abandoned or usurped plots to their supporters. If these interpretations are right, the Chersonesos witnessed a process of privatization of public land, similar to the one


suggested by the *Rationes Centesimarum.* But whatever the exact arrangement, it is clear that the inscription recording the land transactions attests to state involvement in land tenure.

The inscriptions from Athens, Erythrai, Tenos, and Chersonesos, discussed above, have features that clearly distinguish them from inscriptions such as those from Kamarina, Olynthos, and Amphipolis. As noted above, although evidence for obligatory registration of transactions exists in some places already in the fourth century B.C., and systems for the keeping of documents concerning transactions are attested from the early third century, there is no evidence of their obligatory publication on stone. The inscriptions that record land sales, as in Kamarina, Olynthos, and Amphipolis (and other places), were private documents, giving the essentials of transactions whose full records must have been kept in local archives. The dating by eponyms and the occasional mention of taxes paid were designed to guarantee the validity of the transactions. But each such inscription recorded a single act (except Zopyros’ purchases in Mieza, an inscription which is unique in nature). Reversely, the *Rationes Centesimarum* and the inscriptions from Erythrai, Tenos, and Chersonesos consist of lists, each recording numerous acts of land sales or leases, unmistakably initiated and publicized by the state.

The public inscriptions do not reflect a change of policy in the poleis where such inscriptions were found, by which land transactions were required to be inscribed on imperishable material. Despite the obvious advantages of such a measure for the economic and political stability of the polis, and its potential use as a means of control, I believe that these inscriptions were ad hoc responses to immediate political and economic conditions that forced the poleis to act as they did. On the other hand, we should not see these inscriptions as peculiar, one-time actions. If Lambert is right in his explanation and dating of the *Rationes Centesimarum* in Athens, there was a gap of some fifteen years between the publication of the two first *stelai* and that of the other two; so the circumstances that motivated the program of selling groups’ lands, and the publication on stone of these sales persisted for some time. Similarly, the inscription from Erythrai discussed above is one of three that have survived (and perhaps there were more). In Tenos, seven inscriptions listing land transactions, dated to the same period, have been found, and in Chersonesos at least two.

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77 Saprykin 1994, 78, compares the events in the Chersonesos with Agis IV’s and Kleomenes III’ reforms in third-century B.C. Sparta.

78 See n. 57 above.

79 For Tenos see n. 65 above; for Chersonesos see *SEG* 40.616.
These “state publications”, then, were the manifestation of the poleis’ control over their citizens in the economic sphere in response to certain circumstances, and as such there may have been others yet to be discovered.\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{80} Cf. the fragmentary list of sales from Philippoi in Macedon (ca. 350-300 B.C.); ed. pr. P. DUCREY 1988, 207-13 (= SEG 38,658), where \( \dot{e} \nu \tau \omicron \omicron \iota \nu \omicron \) is exacted for each item sold. But this is a list of sales of sacred lands.
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Thur, 2008

Vérelhac – Vial 1998

Wolff 1948

Yiftach-Firanko 2011