

Immigration and Belonging: Phoenician Immigrants in Fourth-Century Athens

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1. Excerpts from Diogenes Laertius', *Life of Zeno*

(7.2–3) Zeno, the son of Mnaseas (or Demeas), was a native of Citium in Cyprus, a Greek city which had received Phoenician settlers. He had a wry neck, says Timotheus of Athens in his book *On Lives*. Moreover, Apollonius of Tyre says he was lean, fairly tall, and swarthy--hence someone called him an Egyptian vine-branch, according to Chrysippus in the first book of his *Proverbs*. He had thick legs; he was flabby and delicate. Hence Persaeus in his *Convivial Reminiscences* relates that he declined most invitations to dinner. They say he was fond of eating green figs and basking in the sun.

He was a pupil of Crates, as stated above. Next they say he attended the lectures of Stilpo and Xenocrates for ten years--so Timocrates says in his *Dion*--and Polemo as well. It is stated by Hecato and by Apollonius of Tyre in his first book on Zeno that he consulted the oracle to know what he should do to attain the best life, and that the god's response was that he should take on the complexion of the dead. Whereupon, perceiving what this meant, he studied ancient authors. Now the way he came across Crates was this. He was shipwrecked on a voyage from Phoenicia to Peiraeus with a cargo of purple. He went up into Athens and sat down in a bookseller's shop, being then a man of thirty. As he went on reading the second book of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, he was so pleased that he inquired where men like Socrates were to be found. Crates passed by in the nick of time, so the bookseller pointed to him and said, "Follow yonder man." From that day he became Crates's pupil, showing in other respects a strong bent for philosophy, though with too much native modesty to assimilate Cynic shamelessness. Hence Crates, desirous of curing this defect in him, gave him a potful of lentil-soup to carry through the Ceramicus; and when he saw that he was ashamed and tried to keep it out of sight, with a blow of his staff he broke the pot. As Zeno took to flight with the lentil-soup flowing down his legs, "Why run away, my little Phoenician?" quoth Crates, "nothing terrible has befallen you."

(7.5) Hence he is reported to have said, "I made a prosperous voyage when I suffered shipwreck." But others attribute this saying of his to the time when he was under Crates. A different version of the story is that he was staying at Athens when he heard his ship was wrecked and said, "It is well done of thee, Fortune, thus to drive me to philosophy."

(7.13) It is said that he had more than a thousand talents when he came to Greece, and that he lent this money on bottomry.

(7.16) Zeno himself was sour and of a frowning countenance. He was very niggardly too, clinging to meanness unworthy of a Greek, on the plea of economy...

(7.25) ...[Zeno] would enter Polemo's school: so far from all self conceit was he. In consequence Polemo is said to have addressed him thus: "You slip in, Zeno, by the garden door--I'm quite aware of it--you filch my doctrines and give them a Phoenician make-up."

(7.30) Here too is another by Zenodotus the Stoic, a pupil of Diogenes.

Thou madest self-sufficiency thy rule,
Eschewing haughty wealth, O godlike Zeno,
With aspect grave and hoary brow serene.
A manly doctrine thine: and by thy prudence
With much toil thou didst found a great new school,
Chaste parent of unfearing liberty.
And if thy native country was Phoenicia,
What need to slight thee? came not Cadmus thence,
Who gave to Greece her books and art of writing?

2. IG II² 8388 = KAI 54 = CIS I, 115

Ἀντίπατρος Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκαλ[ωνίτης]
Δομσαλῶς Δομανῶ Σιδώνιος ἀνέθηκε

’NK ŠM[.] BN ’BD’ŠTRT ’ ŠQLNY
’YTN’T ’NK D’MŠLḤ BN D’MḤN’ ŠDNY

Μηθεῖς ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζέτω εἰκόνα τήνδε
ὡς περὶ μὲν με λέων περὶ δὲγ πρῶιρ’ ἰγκτενάσυσται
ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τάμὰ θέλων σποράσται
ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ’ ἦμυναν και μου κτέρισαν τάφον οὔτη
οὓς ἔθειλον φιλέων ἱεραῖς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες
Φοινίκην δ’ ἔλιπον τεῖδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυνμαι

Antipatros, son of Aphrodisios, the Ashkel(onite).
Domsalos, son of Domano, the Sidonian, dedicated (this).

I am Shem[.], son of Abdashtart, the Ashkelonite.
(This is the stele) which I, Domseleh, the son of Domhano the
Sidonian, erected.

Let no man wonder at this image that on one side of me depicts a
Lion and on the other side of me depicts the prow of a ship. For the
Hateful lion came, wishing to destroy my things, but my friends
Warded [the lion] off and buried me here in this tomb, the [friends]
Whom I loved and for whom I wished, as they departed from the
sacred ship. I left Phoenicia and I, a body, am buried in this land.

3. IG II² 9034 = KAI 55 = CIS I, 117

LBNḤDŠ BN ’BDMLQRT
BN ’BDŠMŠ BC TGNŠ ’Š KTY

Νούμηνιος
Κιτιεύ[ς]

For Benhodesh, son of Abdmelqart
son of Abdshamash, son of TGNŠ, the Kitian.

Noumenios
the Kitian.

4. IG II² 10270 = KAI 53 = CIS I, 116

Ἀρτεμίδωρος
Ἡλιοδώρου
Σιδώνιος

MŠBT SKR BḤYM L ’BDTNT BN
’BDŠMŠ ḤŠDNY

Artemidoros
Son of Heliodoros
The Sidonian.

A stele dedicated to the memory among the living
of Abtanit, son of Abdshamash, the Sidonian.

5. IG II² 10271 = KAI 59 = CIS I, 119

Ἀσεπτ Ἐσυμσελήμου Σιδωνία

’NK ’SPT BT ’ŠMNŠLM ŠDNY ’Š YTL’ LY
YTNBL BN ’ŠMNŠLḤ RB KHNM ’LM NRGL

Asept, daughter of ESYMSELEMO, the Sidonian

I am Asept, daughter of Ehmounshillem, the Sidonian.
(This is) what Yatonbaal, son of Eshmounsah, great
priest of the god Nergal, erected for me.

6. CIS I, 121

’BD ’ ŠMN BN ŠLM’[--]

Abdeshmoun, son of Shalloum’[

7. IG II² 8840 = KAI 56

Εἰρήνη Βυζαντία

Eirene, the Byzantian.

HRN’ B’LT BZNTY

Eirene, citizen of Byzantium.

8. IG II² 337

	[θ] ε ο ί·		ἐπὶ Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντ-
	ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεΐδος πρώτ-		ος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος δε-
5	της πρυτανείας· τῶν προέδ-	30	ευτέρας πρυτανείας· τῶν
	ρων ἐπεψήφισεν Θεόφιλο-		προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Φα-
	ς Φηγούσιος· ἔδοξεν τῆι β-		νόστρατος Φιλαΐδης· ἔδο-
	ουλεῖ· Ἀντίδοτος Ἀπολλο-		ξεν τῶι δήμωι· Λυκόργος Λ-
	δώρου Συπαλήττιος εἶπε-		υκόφρονος Βουτάδης εἶπε-
	ν· περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ Κιτ-		εν· περὶ ὧν οἱ ἔμποροι οἱ Κ-
10	τιεῖς περὶ τῆς ἰδρύσειως	35	ιτιεῖς ἔδοξαν ἔννομα ἰκ-
	τῆι Ἀφροδίτῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ,		ετεύειν αἰτοῦντες τὸν δ-
	ἐψηφίσθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ το-		ῆμον χωρίου ἔγκτησιν, ἐν
	ύς προέδρους, οἳ ἂν λάχωσ-		ὧι ἰδρῦσονται ἱερὸν Ἀφρ-
	ι προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν πρ-		οδίτης, δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμ-
15	ώτην ἐκκλησίαν, προσαγα-	40	ωι· δοῦναι τοῖς ἐμπόροις
	γεῖν αὐτούς καὶ χρηματί-		τῶν Κιτιέων ἔγκτησιν χ[ω]-
	σαι, γνώμην δὲ ξυνβάλλεσ-		ρίου, ἐν ὧι ἰδρῦσονται τὸ
	θαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δή-		ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, καθ-
	μον, ὅτι δοκεῖ τῆι βουλεῖ		ἄπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ
20	ἀκούσαντα τὸν δῆμον τῶν	45	τῆς Ἴσιδος ἱερὸν ἰδρυντ-
	Κιτιέων περὶ τῆς ἰδρύσ-		αι.
	ειως τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλου		
	Ἀθηναίων τοῦ βουλομένο-		
	υ βουλευέσασθαι, ὅ τι ἂν αὐ-		
25	τῶι δοκεῖ ἄριστον εἶναι.		

Gods. In the archonship of Nikokrates, in the first prytany of Aigeis. Theophilos of Phegous of the *proedroi* put to the vote: The Council decided. Antidotos, son of Apollodoros of Sypalettos proposed: **concerning what the Kitians say about the foundation of the sanctuary of Aphrodite** the Council shall resolve: that the *proedroi* allotted to preside at the next assembly shall introduce them [=the Kitians] and place the matter on the agenda and submit the opinion of the Council to the demos that it seems good to the council that the demos, **having heard the Kitians concerning the foundation of the sanctuary**, and any other Athenian who wishes, shall deliberate as seems to it best.

In the archonship of Nikokrates, in the second prytany of Pandionis. Phanostratos of Philaidai of the *proedroi* put to the vote. The demos decided. Lykourgos son of Lykophron of Boutadai proposed: concerning what is deemed to have been the lawful supplication of **the Kitian merchants** who are asking the demos for the right of ownership of a plot of land (*enktesis*) on which to found a sanctuary of Aphrodite, the demos shall decide. To grant **the Kitian merchants** right of ownership of a plot of land (*enktesis*) on which to found a sanctuary of Aphrodite, as the Egyptians have founded a sanctuary of Isis.

9. KAI 60 and IG II² 2946

BYM 4 LMRZḤ BŠT 14 L ‘M ŠDN TM BD ŠDNYM BN ‘SPT L ‘ṬR
‘YT SM‘B‘L BN MGN ‘Š NŠ‘ HGW ‘L BT ‘LM W‘L MBNT ḤŠR BT ‘LM
‘ṬRT ḤRŠ BDRKNM 20 LMḤT K BN ‘YT ḤŠR BT ‘LM WP‘L ‘YT KL
‘Š ‘LTY MŠRT ‘YT R‘T Z LKTB H‘DMM ‘Š NŠ ‘M LN ‘L BT
‘LM ‘LT MŠBT ḤRŠ WYṬN‘Y B‘RPT BT ‘LM ‘N ‘Š LKNT GW
‘RB ‘LT MŠBT Z YŠ‘N BKSP ‘LM B‘L ŠDN DRKMNM 20 LMḤT
LKN YD‘ ḤŠDNYM K YD‘ HGW LŠLM ḤLPT ‘YT ‘DMM ‘[.]Š P‘L
MŠRT ‘T PN GW.

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σιδωνίων
Διοπεῖθ[η]ν Σιδώνιον

On the fourth day of the Mazreah, in the fourteenth year of the people of Sidon. It was resolved by the members of the Sidonian assembly: to crown Shama'baal, son of Magon, who is the president of the association in charge of the temple and the construction of the court of the temple with a gold crown of 20 legal darics because he built the court of the temple and he fulfilled all public functions conferred on him. Those who are the leaders of the temple should inscribe this decision on a cut stone and they should erect it in the portico of the temple for everyone to see. The association shall appoint the guarantor of the stele: they will take from the silver of the god Baal of Sidon 20 legal drachmas. In this way, the Sidonians will know that the association rewards men who fulfill public functions for the association.

The association (*koinon*) of the Sidonians for Diopeithes the Sidonian.