

SYMPOSION 2015

Conferências sobre a
História do Direito grego e helenístico
(Coimbra, 1–4 Setembro 2015)

Vorträge zur
griechischen und hellenistischen
Rechtsgeschichte
(Coimbra, 1.–4. September 2015)

coordenação por / herausgegeben von
Delfim F. Leão, Gerhard Thür

SONDERDRUCK
CARLO PELLOSO (VERONA)



VERLAG DER
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN
AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

Angenommen durch die Publikationskommission
der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der ÖAW:
Michael Alram, Bert Fragner, Hermann Hunger, Sigrid Jalkotzy-Deger,
Brigitte Mazohl, Franz Rainer, Oliver Jens Schmitt, Peter Wiesinger
und Waldemar Zacharasiewicz

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung durch

FCT

Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA CIÊNCIA E DA TECNOLOGIA

POCI/2010

Projeto UID/ELT/00196/2013 -
Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos
da Universidade de Coimbra

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen
Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

This publication has undergone the process of anonymous, international peer review.

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ISBN 978-3-7001-8052-4

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Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien

Satz: Nelson Ferreira - CECH, 3004-530 Coimbra – Portugal

Druck und Bindung: Grafoprint, SRB

<http://epub.oeaw.ac.at/8052-4>

<http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at>

Printed and bound in Serbia

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CARLO PELLOSO (VERONA)

EPHESIS EIS TO DIKASTERION:
REMARKS AND SPECULATIONS ON THE LEGAL
NATURE OF THE SOLONIAN REFORM

Summary: 1) Introduction. - 2) The opinion considering the Solonian ἔφεσις a true appeal. - 3) The opinion considering the Solonian ἔφεσις a mandatory reference. - 4) The view that interprets the Solonian ἔφεσις as a remedy with negative effects. - 5) The basic information provided by the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians* and by Plutarch. - 6) The ἀποδοκιμασία of the nine ἄρχοντες. - 7) Extraordinary and ordinary ἀποψηφίσεις. - 8) The arbitral γνώσις. - 9) Some conclusions on the legal nature of the Solonian reform. - Bibliography.

1) *Introduction.*

What is the origin of the Solonian procedural remedy called ἔφεσις εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον? What is its legal nature and its political impact? What are its consequences under legal procedure, as well as under criminal, civil and administrative law (if I am allowed to make modern distinctions)? Both historians of political institutions and legal historians have proposed many different interpretations. The current *communis opinio* interprets the ἔφεσις εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον in terms of a ‘right of appeal’ and often repeats the views of earlier scholars, who analyzed the procedure at greater length.¹

¹ Cf., for instance, Todd (1994: 100, nt. 2); Welwei (1998: 154); Schubert (2000: 53);

In recent years, a few scholars have maintained – albeit with some doubts – that from its introduction at the beginning of the sixth century, ἔφεσις was the ‘transfer’ of a case from the authority of a magistrate to the popular court rather than an ‘appeal’ to a court, which was instructed to retry a case already decided by the magistrate.²

2) *The opinion considering the Solonian ἔφεσις a true appeal.*

According to the traditional and nowadays predominant view, the Solonian procedure ἔφεσις is viewed as an actual ‘appeal’ (even many who hold this view do not use this noun as a *terminus technicus* and therefore do not appreciate all the legal implications of their use of this term). Indeed, a true appeal produces a ‘suspensive effect’ (i.e. it interrupts the enforceability of a judgment given at first instance). It directly produces a ‘devolutive effect’ (i.e. it is the private remedy that, once filed by the aggrieved party, brings about the introduction of the case before a new judge). It is characterized by a ‘substitutive effect’ (i.e. it involves a second instance procedure ending with a new judgment that entirely replaces the first judgment)³.

3) *The opinion considering the Solonian ἔφεσις a mandatory reference.*

According to a different explanation, one could define ἔφεσις, in strictly legal terms, as a ‘mandatory transfer’ of a case from any political body (at first a single magistrate, but also a board of citizens or other political body) to the popular judges. From a legal perspective, this idea implies the following consequences. Ἐφεσις is the act of an official or an act of a public officer or public board, rather than a private and discretionary act, which initiated an appellate review. Consequently, after the Solonian reform, the ἡλιεία would have passed judgments exclusively as a court of first instance, and it would have been the only (or the main) court empowered to give final judgments. As a result, magistrates – depending on the interpretation – would have lost practically all or, at least, much of their judicial power.⁴

Almeida (2003: 66); Mirhady (2006); Rhodes (2006: 255); Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010: 26-27); Leão - Rhodes (2015: 67-68).

² Cf., in these terms, Gagarin (2006: 263-264).

³ Cf., among those who describe the Solonian reform in terms of a true appeal, Hudtwalker (1812); Tittmann (1822: 219); Thalheim (1905: 2773); Lipsius (1905-1915: 27-30, 230, 440); Busolt - Swoboda (1926: 851, 1151, 1457); Ralph (1936=1941); Bonner - Smith (1930-1938: 1.231); Wade-Gery (1958: 192-195); Harrison (1971: 72-73); MacDowell (1978: 31); Rhodes (1981: 160-162); Ostwald (1986: 28, 12); Tamburini (1990). This view is mainly based on *Ath. Pol.* 9.1 and *Plut. Sol.* 18.2.

⁴ Cf., among those who describe the Solonian reform in terms of ‘transferral’, Schöll (1875: 19, nt. 1); Pridik (1892: 111); Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1893: 1.60); Ruschenbusch (1961); Ruschenbusch (1965); Hansen (1982: 37); Sealey (1983: 294-296); Hansen (1989: 260). This view considers the following *testimonia* unreliable because of strong influences played by Roman ideas: *Plut. Sol.* 18.2; *Plut. Publ.* 25.2; *Poll.* 8.62; *Luc. Bis acc.* 12.

4) *The view that interprets the Solonian ἔφεσις as a remedy with negative effects.*

A third view has received less attention in studies published in recent years.⁵ This view denies that one can characterize ἔφεσις as either a right of appeal or a transfer of jurisdiction. According to this view, ἔφεσις is a ‘claim’ submitted by the citizen who has suffered some bodily harm, monetary damages, or personal disadvantages from an ‘authoritative’ order issued by a magistrate. Yet, such a procedural remedy either would bear a resemblance to a private ‘veto’, that formally blocks the issuing of a final ruling, or it would turn out to be the ‘opposition to the enforcement of an authoritative act.’

It follows therefore that ἔφεσις produces only ‘negative effects’; either halting the enforceability of a decision coming from an official, a body, or a board different from the people, or preventing the validity – if not practically the existence – of such a decision. Moreover, if ἔφεσις basically removes any proposed judgment and award, as well as any administrative measure – on the level of either effects, or validity, or existence – the popular judges neither amend, nor quash, nor approve a previous ruling. In other words, the δικαστήριον substantially plays the role of a court of first instance before which the case, after an ἔφεσις is submitted, must or can be *ex novo* introduced (παλινδικία).⁶ In the present contribution, I will try to give some support to this neglected view.

5) *The basic information provided by the Aristotelian ‘Constitution of the Athenians’ and by Plutarch.*

Three important passages from the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians*, together with some information from Plutarch’s *Life of Solon*,⁷ provide the following information.

Before ‘ἔφεσις to the popular court’ was introduced by Solon, ἀρχαί were both κύριοι (i.e. qualified to pass decisions that could not be amended or rescinded) and αὐτοτελεῖς (i.e. qualified to initiate *ex officio* legal procedures).⁸ In other words, in the

⁵ Yet, see Loddo (2015), who gives a hybrid view of the Solonian remedy, as she keeps on labeling it as ‘appeal’ and yet, at the same time, adheres to the thesis qualifying it in terms of ‘veto’.

⁶ Cf. Steinwenter (1925=1971); Paoli (1950); Lepri (1960); Just (1965); Just (1968); Just (1970).

⁷ *Ath. Pol.* 9.1: τρίτον δὲ ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα φασιν ἰσχυκέναι τὸ πλῆθος, ἢ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἔφεσις; κύριος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δῆμος τῆς ψήφου, κύριος γίγνεται τῆς πολιτείας; *Ath. Pol.* 3.5: κύριοι δ’ ἦσαν καὶ τὰς δίκας αὐτοτελεῖς κρίνειν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν προανακρίνειν; *Ath. Pol.* 4.4: ἐξῆν δὲ τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν βουλήν εἰσαγγέλλειν, ἀποφαίνοντι παρ’ ὧν ἀδικεῖται νόμον; Plut. *Sol.* 18.2: ὁ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὐδέν, ὕστερον δὲ παμμέγεθες ἐφάνη; τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν διαφορῶν ἐνέπιπτεν εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς, καὶ γὰρ ὅσα ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἔταξε κρίνειν, ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐφέσεις ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις. See Harris (2006: 3–28), on the aims of Solon and the early Greek lawgivers.

⁸ Cf., *amplius*, Pelloso (2014–2015).

pre-Solonian legal system ἀρχαί were entitled to pass final judgments and to impose penalties on their own initiative (at least as far as the Greek perceptions of the fourth century on the Archaic age are concerned). If the magistrate enacted an ‘unjust’ judicial or administrative measure (for either procedural or substantive reasons), the citizen directly affected by the decision was only allowed to report it to the Areopagus (by filing – it is impossible to be more precise – a ‘reipersecutory’ claim or a penal one). The magisterial judgment was nevertheless final and directly enforceable.

Solon’s procedural reforms had an immediate effect on the legal nature of the magistrates’ acts, granting any Athenian citizen the right to have his case judged by a court of pairs. Indeed, any citizen – if dissatisfied by the magistrate’s decision – was allowed to submit ἔφεσις to obtain a trial in a popular court. Accordingly, on the one hand, ἔφεσις can be labeled as a voluntary procedural remedy available to any party. On the other hand, Solon seems to have just ‘strengthened’ an existing body, that is, the Athenian people as a judicial court (through the attribution of new functions and powers, as well as through its renewed composition).⁹ In *Constitution of the Athenians* Solon is said to have created a new procedure introduced by ‘ἔφεσις’ (rather than to have created the ‘popular court’ at the same time). Moreover, in Plutarch’s account, from Solon on, the popular court judged the majority of legal disputes (but not all of them), ‘even’ those included under the jurisdiction of magistrates (i.e. all those proceedings started before a magistrate, alongside other, although not better identified, disputes).

Once the previous legal characteristics have been specified, one can go further, albeit cautiously. If one believes that the original Solonian remedy and its later applications shared the same and basic legal features, one can use this evidence to refine our interpretation of the data found in the *Constitution of the Athenians* and in Plutarch’s *Life of Solon*. Indeed, other *testimonia* from the Classical period about later periods of Athenian history reveal further features and essential characteristics of

⁹ On the new (Solonian) composition of the previous (pre-Solonian) ἡλιαία, cf. Plut. *Sol.* 18.2 (οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐκαλοῦντο θῆτες, οἷς οὐδεμίαν ἄρχειν ἔδωκεν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τῷ συνεκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν μόνον μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας); *Ath. Pol.* 7.3 (τοῖς δὲ τὸ θητικὸν τελοῦσιν ἐκκλησίας καὶ δικαστηρίων μετέδωκε μόνον). See, moreover, Arist. *Pol.* 1273b35 - 1274a5 (Σόλων α δ’ ἔνιοι μὲν οἴονται νομοθέτην γενέσθαι σπουδαῖον: ὀλιγαρχίαν τε γὰρ καταλῦσαι λίαν ἄκρατον οὔσαν, καὶ δουλεύοντα τὸν δῆμον παῦσαι, καὶ δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαι τὴν πάτριον, μείζαντα καλῶς τὴν πολιτείαν: εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλήν ὀλιγαρχικόν, τὸ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρετὰς ἀριστοκρατικόν, τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια δημοτικόν. ἔοικε δὲ Σόλων ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὑπάρχοντα πρότερον οὐ καταλῦσαι, τὴν τε βουλήν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν αἴρεσιν, τὸν δὲ δῆμον καταστήσαι, τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων). In this passage, the lawgiver is said both to have preserved the existing bodies, and to have founded the ‘ancestral democracy’ (rather than the ‘popular court’ itself) by opening the existing δικαστήρια (that is, plausibly, the articulations of the same institution, i.e. the ἡλιαία) to everybody (rather than creating *ex novo* the δικαστήρια): cf. Rhodes (2006: 255, nt. 60). On the importance of the judicial functions ascribed to the Athenian people by Solon, see Maffi (2004: 305-306); Mirhady (2006: 4); Loddo (2015: 99).

the ἔφεσις-remedy. The following paragraphs will deal with the ἀποδοκιμασία of the nine ἄρχοντες (§ 6), with the extraordinary and ordinary ἀποψηφίσεις of Athenian citizens (§ 7), and with the γνώσις of arbitrators (§ 8). Finally, on the grounds of the data analyzed in this article, some speculative conclusions on the legal nature of ἔφεσις εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον – as far as the Solonian era is concerned – will be proposed (§ 9).

6) *The ἀποδοκιμασία of the nine ἄρχοντες.*

The main sources for the δοκιμασία (that is the ‘vetting’) of the nine ἄρχοντες (or, better, ‘elected candidates to the nine magistracies’)¹⁰ are *Ath. Pol.* 45.3 and *Ath. Pol.* 55.2,¹¹ together with Dem. 20.90.¹² If I am not wrong, the following picture emerges from these three passages.

During a first phase (that is before the reform of the rules in force), if the elected ἄρχων (who had to undergo a scrutiny before the Council) was rejected, the procedure stopped and the citizen who failed the δοκιμασία was not entitled to file an action against the negative vote at all. On the contrary, if he passed this first scrutiny at the vote of the Council, he was examined once more before the popular court.

Sometime later a change in the previous arrangement occurred. During a second phase those who did not pass the first scrutiny of the Council exercised their own right to be ‘newly judged’ before the Athenian people by submitting ἔφεσις. The popular decision that – in practice – could either confirm or deny the vote of the Council was final. In the case of a positive vote at the scrutiny the procedure did not change. If this reading is exact, Demosthenes’ interpretation is confirmed. It is correct to maintain that the θεσμοθέται (as well as any other major magistrate), once elected, were to pass a double δοκιμασία in order to enter office. This statement, directly confirmed by *Ath. Pol.* 55.2, is not inconsistent with the rules given at *Ath. Pol.* 45.3.

As a result, on the basis of these sources: 1. ἔφεσις is not a mandatory transfer, but a remedy to be used only by the rejected citizen against the vote of the Council (as

¹⁰ Cf. Feyel (2009: 25-27, 148-197, 171-181, 363-370).

¹¹ *Ath. Pol.* 45.3: δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς τὸν ὕστερον ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευσόντας καὶ τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας, καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἦν ἀποδοκιμασία κυρία, νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἔφεσις ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον; *Ath. Pol.* 55.2: δοκιμάζονται δ’ οὗτοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοῖς φ’, πλὴν τοῦ γραμματέως, οὗτος δ’ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μόνον ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτονητοὶ δοκιμασθέντες ἄρχουσιν, οἱ δ’ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες ἐν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ. καὶ πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἦρχεν ὄντιν’ ἀποδοκιμάσειεν ἢ βουλή, νῦν δ’ ἔφεσις ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ τοῦτο κύριόν ἐστι τῆς δοκιμασίας. On the temporal scanning of the amendments of the rules at issue, cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1893: 2.189); Hignett (1952: 205); Rhodes (1972: 176-178, 205, 316, 538); Rhodes (1981: 616-617); Lepri Sorge (1987: 432-433).

¹² Dem. 20.90: τοὺς μὲν θεσμοθέτας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους κληρουμένους δις δοκιμασθέντας ἄρχειν, ἐν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ.

one can infer by considering the presence of the dative τούτοις and the persistent link existing between ἔφεσις and the verb ἀποδοκιμάζειν only); 2. the scrutiny before the people was a completely new one (which means that the popular court neither quashes, nor amends, nor approves a decision of ‘first instance’); 3. the candidate must be evaluated *ex novo*, this implying that a new procedure – rather than the second instance of the same procedure – is commenced before the popular court; 4. the rejected ἄρχων does not play the role of appellant before the people; again, he is a ‘candidate under scrutiny’ before the people.

7) *Extraordinary and ordinary ἀποψηφίσεις.*

In 346/5 B.C., in order to remedy suspected infractions, the Athenians passed the proposal of Demophilus. It stipulated a general ‘scrutiny of the adult citizens’, referred to as a διαψηφίσις τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων τοῖς ληξιαρχικοῖς γραμματεῖσι.¹³ If the demesmen voted under oath against a scrutinized citizen, the latter, once ‘rejected by vote’ (ἀποψηφισθεὶς), was entitled to submit ἔφεσις in the view of a popular judgment. If the popular court rejected the ἀποψηφισθεὶς, he had *de facto* to leave the city: if he lost, he was sold into slavery. If, on the other hand, the vote did not go against him, he remained a citizen (πολίτης) recorded on the deme’s register. Our information about this special procedure mainly comes from Demosthenes’ speech *Against Eubulides*. In this case, Euxitheus contends that he was unjustly deprived of his citizenship as a result of the maneuverings of one of his enemies, Eubulides (who happened to be either the demarch or the mere representative of the deme of Halimous). This source provides a considerable amount of data dealing with the legal effects of ἔφεσις.

At first, the final removal from the deme’s register (ἐξαλείφεσθαι) is the result of the deme’s ἀποψηφίσις and, at the same time, the consent of the ἀποψηφισθεὶς.¹⁴ In other words the vote of the deme (which substantially consists of an ‘administrative act’, whereas it formally resembles a ‘judicial pronouncement’) is not legally valid if the citizen does not ἐμμένειν (i.e. ‘to abide by, to stand by, to be true to’, or – that is to say – ‘to agree, to accept’).¹⁵ Accordingly, the relationship between the mere citizen and the ‘administrative body’, resembling the relationship between two ‘parithetic parties’ based on their agreement, turns out to be completely different from our

¹³ On the διαψηφίσις, cf. Whitehead (1986: 99-109); Feyel 2009 (143-148).

¹⁴ Liban. *hypoth.* Dem. 57: Γράφεται νόμος παρ’ Ἀθηναίους γενέσθαι ζήτησιν πάντων τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων τοῖς ληξιαρχικοῖς γραμματεῖσι εἴτε γνήσιοι πολῖται εἰσιν εἴτε μή, τοὺς δὲ μὴ γεγονότας ἐξ ἀστοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἀστῆς ἐξαλείφεσθαι, διαψηφίζεσθαι δὲ περὶ πάντων τοὺς δημότας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποψηφισθέντας καὶ ἐμμεῖναντας τῇ ψήφῳ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐξαληλίφθαι καὶ εἶναι μετοίκους, τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις ἔφεσιν εἰς δικαστὰς δεδῶσθαι, κὰν μὲν ἄλῳσι καὶ παρὰ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, πεπράσθαι, ἂν δὲ ἀποφύγῳσιν, εἶναι πολῖτας; cf., moreover, Dem. 57.12: ... καὶ ὅ τι γνοίησαν περὶ ἐμοῦ, τούτοις ἦθελον ἐμμένειν. The source is reliable: cf. Rhodes (1981: 502) and Harris (2013: 76 and nt. 52), *pace* MacDowell (2009: 288).

¹⁵ Cf. LSJ s.v. ἐμμένω.

conceptions in which any ‘authority’ vested with administrative functions is hierarchically superior and entitled to exercise *iure imperii* a power conferred by public law.

Secondly, since the ἐφίεις plays the role of κατεγορούμενος before the popular court, he is definitely not a real appellant.¹⁶ As a result, the ἔφεσις, as an act filed by the dissatisfied ἀποψηφισθείς, results in a ‘denial of consent’ rather than in a ‘claim’ or in ‘means tending to commence a procedure of second instance’. In other words, if an ἔφεσις is submitted, the demesmen are the only party interested in a new scrutiny, as well as in a popular vote on the same matter. They would therefore start a new procedure only if they remain convinced that the ἀποψηφισθείς must be removed from the register, without being compelled to file the case before the popular court. Since a super-individual interest is concerned, it is up to the administrative body to continue the procedure. Otherwise, given that the ἀποψηφισθείς does not ἐμμένειν, no change occurs. The final removal of the registered citizen cannot take place.

Mutatis mutandis, *Ath. Pol.* 42.1 confirms the previous legal framework.¹⁷ This passage describes the ordinary ‘scrutiny for citizenship’ (or, better to say, the ordinary ‘δοκιμασία to become ephebes’).¹⁸ The demesmen, acting like judges, voted on the candidates, assessing whether they were the right age and whether they were free and born according to the laws. If a candidate passed, he was immediately recorded. If he did not pass, he could submit ἔφεσις. Once the ἔφεσις is submitted, the demesmen must start the proceedings before the people. This case, in fact, involves a particular interest which it is impossible to satisfy without the ‘public cooperation’. *Ath. Pol.* 42.1 (along with *Dem.* 57) provides the following information. If ἔφεσις is submitted by a rejected candidate, the decision of the deme (here consisting of a ‘denial of registration’, and not of a ‘removal from the register’) is not completed since an essential requirement is missing, i.e. the scrutinized young adult’s consent. If ἔφεσις

¹⁶ *Dem.* 57.1: πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ κατηγορηκόςτος ἡμῶν Εὐβουλίδου, καὶ βλασφημίας οὔτε προσηκούσας οὔτε δικαίας πεπονημένους, πειράσομαι τάλθηθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, δεῖξαι καὶ μετὸν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν καὶ πεπονθότ’ ἐμαυτὸν οὐχὶ προσήκονθ’ ὑπὸ τούτου; *Dem.* 57.1: ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν οὗτος εἰδὼς τοὺς νόμους καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ προσήκων, ἀδίκως καὶ πλεονεκτικῶς τὴν κατηγορίαν πεποίηται, ἀναγκαῖον ἐμοὶ περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς δημόταις ὑβρίσθησαν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν; *Dem.* 57.17: νῦν δὲ τί δίκαιον νομίζω καὶ τί παρεσκευάσμαι ποιεῖν, ἄνδρες δικασταί; δεῖξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐμαυτὸν Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα καὶ τὰ πρὸς πατρός καὶ τὰ πρὸς μητρός, καὶ μάρτυρας τούτων, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἀληθεῖς φήσετ’ εἶναι, παρασχέσθαι, τὰς δὲ λοιδορίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀνελεῖν; *Liban. hypoth. Dem.* 57: ... ἐὰν δὲ ἀποφύγωσιν.

¹⁷ *Ath. Pol.* 42.1: μετέχουσιν μὲν τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότες ἀστῶν, ἐγγράφονται δ’ εἰς τοὺς δημότας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες. ὅταν δ’ ἐγγράφονται, διαψηφίζονται περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμόσαντες οἱ δημόται, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ δοκοῦσι γεγονέναι τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, κἂν μὴ δόξωσι, ἀπέρχονται πάλιν εἰς παῖδας, δεῦτερον δ’ εἰ ἐλεύθερος ἐστὶ καὶ γέγονε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. ἔπειτ’ ἂν μὲν ἀποψηφίσωνται μὴ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, ὁ μὲν ἐφήσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, οἱ δὲ δημόται κατηγοροῦνται αἰροῦνται πέντε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν, κἂν μὲν μὴ δόξη δίκαιως ἐγγράφεισθαι, πωλεῖ τοῦτον ἢ πόλις; ἐὰν δὲ νικήσῃ, τοῖς δημόταις ἐπάναγκες ἐγγράφειν.

¹⁸ Cf. Pélékidis (1962: 86-89); Scafuro (1994); Lape (2000: 191-198); Robertson (2000).

is submitted (if the young adult, interested in the record of his own name in the deme register, does not ἐμμένειν – abide by – the ‘denial of registration’), the demesmen, in order to overcome the resulting stalemate, are to proceed by selecting the accusers, and by starting a new scrutiny-procedure before the people. Since the ἐφιεῖς plays the role of κατεγορούμενος (accused/defendant) before the popular court, he does not file any appeal neither in form, nor in substance.

On the contrary, Is. 12 shows a different and exceptional example of application of ἔφεσις¹⁹. In my opinion these are the facts.

Euphiletus, once removed from his deme’s register, started a legal action for damages before the public arbitrators. The particular legal proceedings may make sense if one assumes that the demotic scrutiny takes place before the proposal of Demophilus is passed. Accordingly, as far as this time-phase is concerned, the citizen’s consent is not an essential requirement for the removal from the registry and ἔφεσις cannot be submitted. The citizen suffering damages for an unjust removal is allowed to bring a δίκη βλάβης against the demesmen: this is the only procedural remedy provided by the Athenian legislator. After two years, Euphiletus wins the case.²⁰ It is only then that he submits an ἔφεσις to the people (conceivably by supporting an extensive use of the remedy, after the Athenians passed the proposal of Demophilus) and, therefore, sues the demesmen before the people²¹.

In other words, in this case, the ἐφιεῖς formally plays the role of διώκων before the popular court. He indeed attacks an already existing, enforceable and binding ‘administrative act of removal’. On the contrary, in Dem. 57 as well as in *Ath. Pol.* 42.1, in order to surpass the stalemate, the demesmen are to start a new legal procedure before the popular court, and only if they obtain a favorable popular judgment, the negative effects produced by the ἔφεσις are overridden. Yet, the dispute shows, from a substantive point of view, a dialectical structure in which the demesmen act as

¹⁹ Cf., for a short introduction to the speech (and for its Italian translation), Cobetto Ghiggia (2012: 468-479); for different interpretations of the case, see Wyse (1904); Bonner (1907: 416-418), Ralph (1936=1941: 42); Paoli (1950); Just (1968); Hansen (1976: 64, nt. 26); Rhodes (1981: 500); Carey (1997: 213-216); Kapparis (2005).

²⁰ Is. 12.11: ἔλαχεν ὁ Εὐφίλιτος τὴν δίκην τὴν προτέραν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τῷ τότε δημαρχοῦντι, ὃς νῦν τετελεῦτηκε, δύο ἔτη τοῦ διαιτητοῦ τὴν δίκαιαν ἔχοντας; Is. 12.11: τοῖς δὲ διαιτῶσι μέγιστα <ταῦτα> σημεῖα ἦν τοῦ ψεῦδεσθαι τούτους, καὶ κατεδίητησαν αὐτῶν ἀμφοτέρω; Is. 12.12: ὡς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ τότε ὦφλον τὴν δίκαιαν, ἀκηκόατε.

²¹ Dion. Hal. Is. 14.19-20: ἡ ὑπὲρ Εὐφιλίτου πρὸς τὸν Ἐρχιέων δῆμον ἔφεσις; Dion. Hal. Is. 16.25-37: ποιήσω καὶ τοῦτο, προχειρισάμενος τὸν ὑπὲρ Εὐφιλίτου λόγον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ἐρχιέων δῆμον εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον προσκαλεῖται τις τῶν ἀποψηφισθέντων ὡς ἀδίκως τῆς πολιτείας ἀπελαυνόμενος. ἐγράφη γὰρ δὴ τις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νόμος ἐξέτασιν γενέσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ δήμους, τὸν δὲ ἀποψηφισθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν τῆς πολιτείας μετέχειν, τοῖς δὲ ἀδίκως ἀποψηφισθεῖσιν ἔφεσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἶναι, προσκαλεσαμένους τοὺς δημότας, καὶ ἂν τὸ δεύτερον ἐξελεγχθῶσι, πεπράσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἶναι δημόσια. κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ὁ Εὐφίλιτος προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς Ἐρχιέας ὡς ἀδίκως καταψηφισαμένους αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδε διατίθεται.

κατηγοροί, whereas the ἐφρείς-προσκαλεσάμενος acts as a κατεγορούμενος.²² This use of the ἔφρσις, once compared with the other cases, is revealed to be a fundamental precondition for the legal procedure before the people, rather than a kind of ‘statement of claim’ initiating the legal procedure before the people.

8) *The arbitral γνῶσις.*

As it is well recognized by the current *communis opinio*, during the fourth century the majority of δίκαι (in accordance with the principle of ‘residuality’) fell under the jurisdiction of the Forty. For private legal actions involving more than ten drachmai, these magistrates – obviously after a first summary decision at least concerned with the value of the matter at issue – referred the case to a board of public arbitrators. A stage of the procedure which partially resembled the ἀνάκρισις took place before them (even though evidence was not just presented, but also examined; the arbitrators made an attempt at conciliation; the δίκη was susceptible to end if the arbitrators, with the agreement of the disputants, passed a final decision).²³ Since the claimant and the defendant had to express their agreement about the substance of the γνῶσις suggested by the public arbitrators, such a decision cannot be easily defined as a ‘binding award’, or as a proper ‘judgment’. It rather looks like a proposal submitted to the disputants.²⁴ If that is true, with regard to the legal procedure before public arbitrators, ἔφρσις is neither an appeal, nor a mandatory transfer. Aristotle, along with Demosthenes, presents it as ‘the denial of consent’ expressed by either party (if not by both parties), which is a ‘negative requirement’ of the binding force of the decision of the arbitrator.²⁵

²² Is. 12.8: εἶτα, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ μὲν οὗτοι ἐκινδύνευον, ἤξιον ἂν τοῖς αὐτῶν οἰκείοις ὑμᾶς πιστεύειν μαρτυροῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς.

²³ Harrison (1971: 66-68, 73-74); MacDowell (1971); Biscardi (1982: 264); Todd (1993: 128-129); Scafuro (1997: 35-37, 383-391). On the features of ἀνάκρισις, see Harris (2013: 210-213).

²⁴ Steinwenter (1925=1971: 71); Wolff (1946: 79); Thür (2008: 56).

²⁵ Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 53.2: οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες, ἐὰν μὴ δύνωνται διαλύσαι, γινώσκουσι, κἂν μὲν ἀμφοτέροις ἀρέσκη τὰ γνωσθέντα καὶ ἐμμένωσιν, ἔχει τέλος ἡ δίκη. ἂν δ' ὁ ἕτερος ἐφῆ τῶν ἀντιδίκων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐμβαλόντες τὰς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὰς προκλήσεις καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰς ἐχίνους, χωρὶς μὲν τὰς τοῦ διώκοντος, χωρὶς δὲ τὰς τοῦ φεύγοντος, καὶ τούτους κατασημνᾶμενοι, καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ διαιτητοῦ γεγραμμένην ἐν γραμματείῳ προσαρτήσαντες, παραδίδοσι τοῖς δὴ τοῖς τὴν φυλὴν τοῦ φεύγοντος δικάζουσιν; Dem. 23.59: οἱ δικασταί δ' ἀκούσαντες, εἰς οὓς ἐφῆκεν, ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς τούτου φίλοις καὶ τῷ διαιτητῇ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔγνωσαν καὶ δέκα ταλάντων ἐτίμησαν; Dem. 40.17: καὶ οὗτος συνειδὼς αὐτῷ ἀδίκως ἐγκαλοῦντι οὔτε ἐφῆκεν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, οὔτε νῦν περὶ ἐκείνων εἴληξέ μοι δίκην οὐδεμίαν; Dem. 40.31: ἔτι δὲ πάντες ὑμῖν οἱ πρὸς τῷ διαιτητῇ παρόντες μεμαρτυρήκασι ὡς οὗτος παρὼν αὐτός, ὅτε ἀπεδιήθησέ μου ὁ διαιτητής, οὔτε ἐφῆκεν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἐνέμεινέ τε τῇ διαίτη. καίτοι ἄτοπον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ὅταν οἴωνται ἀδικεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰς πάνυ μικρὰς δίκας εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐφιάσιν, οὗτος δὲ μοι περὶ προικὸς δίκην ταλάντου λαχῶν, ταύτης, ὡς αὐτός φησιν, ἀδίκως ἀποδιαιτηθείσης ἐνέμεινεν; Dem. 40.55: τούτοις δ', εἰ φασὶν ἀδίκως ἀποδιαιτηθεῖσάι μου τὸν διαιτητὴν τὰς δίκας, καὶ τότε ἔξῃν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐφείναι καὶ νῦν ἐγγενήσεται πάλιν, ἐὰν βούλωνται, παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἐν ὑμῖν τὸ δίκαιον.

Obviously, if the claimant was dissatisfied by the proposal of the arbitrator, after submitting the *ἔφεσις* he had an actual interest in obtaining a binding and final judgment ‘on the same matter’²⁶ passed by the popular court. On the other hand, if the dissatisfied defendant submitted the *ἔφεσις* and, accordingly, nullified *de facto* the decision of the arbitrators, he clearly had no interest in having the case heard again before a popular court. In other words, after the submission of the *ἔφεσις*, the claimant was the only litigant interested in starting a new procedure before the people and, thence, in a new popular judgment (whether he was the *ἐφιεῖς* or not). For such reasons, the case disputed before the arbiter – perhaps due to practice – was referred to the popular court by means of the competent magistrates.²⁷ This can be inferred from a literal interpretation of *Ath. Pol.*: the passage under consideration suggests taking the indicative present tense ‘*παραδίδοασι*’ (the subject of which in my opinion is ‘the parties’ and not the arbiters or the magistrates) on deontic value.

Despite this, *ἔφεσις* is completely different from a magisterial *εἰσαγωγή* and from a true appeal. It stands for ‘absence of *ἐμμένειν*’ (‘the absence of consent’) and, as a negative requirement, it prevents a final and binding award. It provokes the referral, but it cannot be identified with the latter itself (so that, in such cases, the devolutive effect is just an indirect and passing one). It is not a magisterial act (but, clearly, an act of a disputant). It is not a mandatory act (since its submission takes place only according with one party’s will).

9. Some conclusions on the legal nature of the Solonian reform.

If one is allowed to extend to the original *ἔφεσις* the traits characterizing the more recent applications of this procedural institution, the following legal figure, though conjecturally, emerges. The Solonian *ἔφεσις*:

- is an ‘act of any dissatisfied citizen’ affected by a formal ‘authoritative decision’ pronounced by a magistrate (as well as by a public body or by an arbitrator, in later times);²⁸

²⁶ *Lex. Seg. s.v. ἔφεσις*: εἴσοδος ἡ εἰς ἄλλο δικαστήριον ἐφιεμένη ὑπὲρ τοῦ κριθῆναι αὐθις τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα.

²⁷ This practice may be considered the ground for several lexicographic definitions: they seem to confuse the effect with the cause (probably influenced by the Hellenistic *ἔκκλητος δίκη*, a legal procedure which ended up overlapping with *ἔφεσις*; cf. Cataldi [1979]): *Harp. s.v. ἔφεσις*: ἡ ἐξ ἐτέρου δικαστηρίου εἰς ἕτερον μεταγωγή· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἔκκλητος καλεῖται; *Diogen. s.v. ἔφεσις*: ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου εἰς ἕτερον δικαστήριον μετάβασις; *Etym. Mag. s.v. ἔφεσις*: Ἡ ἐκ δικαστηρίου οἰουδίποτε ἐφ’ ἕτερον δικαστήριον μεταγωγή· ἡ εἰς ἄλλο δικαστήριον ἐφιεμένη δίκη ὑπὲρ τοῦ κριθῆναι πάλιν (cf., moreover, *Lex. Simeonis*); *Lex. Seg. s.v. ἔφεσις*: εἴσοδος ἡ εἰς ἄλλο δικαστήριον ἐφιεμένη ὑπὲρ τοῦ κριθῆναι αὐθις τὸ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα; *Lex Byz. Jur.*: Ἐφεσις λέγεται ἡ ἔκκλητος; *Suda s.v. ἔφεσις*: ἡ ἐξ ἐτέρου δικαστηρίου εἰς ἕτερον μεταγωγή. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἔκκλητος καλεῖται. τὸ οὖν ἔφεσις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐφείναι ῥήματος.

²⁸ Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 53.2; *Dem.* 40.17; *Dem.* 40.31; *Dem.* 40.55. See, moreover, *Ath. Pol.* 45.1-2: ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀφείλετο τῆς βουλῆς τὸ θανατοῦν καὶ δεῖν καὶ χρήμασι ζημιοῦν, καὶ νόμον

- is a 'negative requirement', that prevents the binding force and the enforceability of the 'authoritative decision' (which is not necessarily a 'judicial ruling' only, but can also be an 'administrative and coercive measure');

- is a 'pre-condition of the popular procedure'; by blocking the previous decision, it does not introduce, from a strict procedural point of view, a '*revisio prioris instantiae*' or a '*prosecutio prioris instantiae*';

ἔθετο, ἂν τινος ἀδικεῖν ἢ βουλή καταγνῶ ἢ ζημιώσῃ, τὰς καταγνώσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιζημιώσεις εἰσάγειν τοὺς θεσμοθέτας εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν οἱ δικασταὶ ψηφίσωται, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι. κρίνει δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ βουλή τὰς πλείστας, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα χρήματα διαχειρίζουσιν: οὐ κυρία δ' ἡ κρίσις, ἀλλ' ἐφέσιμος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. ἔξεσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιωταῖς εἰσαγγέλλειν ἢ ἂν βούλωνται τῶν ἀρχῶν μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις: ἔφεσις δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐὰν αὐτῶν ἢ βουλή καταγνῶ (according to Lipsius [1905-1915: 198], if the Council voted against the denounced magistrate and condemned him to a fine within the τέλος of five-hundred drachmai, he was allowed to 'appeal' to the people; *contra*, cf. Bonner - Smith [1930-1938: 2.240-243], who believe that the verb εἰσάγειν and the noun ἔφεσις overlap and imply only a mandatory transfer when a fine exceeding five-hundred drachmai is at stake). On the contrary, Dem. 34.21, quoted by Ruschenbusch (1961: 389), is not relevant, if one reads ἀφῆκεν (cf., in this sense, Wade-Gery [1958: 193, nt. 4]). For ἔφεσις as a voluntary act of the dissatisfied party, even the following inscriptions are relevant. Cf. *IG* II² 1128, 20 (regulations passed by Karthaia, Koresos and Ioulis on Kea in response to Athenian decrees concerning the export of ruddle), where the procedural remedy at issue is submitted by the dissatisfied accuser after a simple vote by the officials (and not as 'cause of replacement-procedure for the initial decision'): τὴν δὲ ἔνδειξιν εἶν]- // αὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους δοῦνα[ι τὴν ψῆφον περὶ αὐτῆς τριάκοντα ἡ]- // μερῶν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον· τῶι δὲ φήναντι ἢ ἐνδείξαντι[ι (...)] // (...) τῶν ἡμῶν]- // σ[έ]λων· ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος ἢ ἢ ὀ ἐνδείξας, ἅμ μὲν τῶν ἐξαγόν[των ἢ, ἐλεύθερος // ἔστω καὶ τὰ τρ]- // [ί]α μέρη ἔστω αὐτῶν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ, ἐλεύθερος ἔστ[ω καὶ (...)] // (...) εἶν]- // αὶ [δὲ] καὶ ἔφεσιν Ἀθήναζε καὶ τῶι φήναντι καὶ τῶι ἐνδεί[ξαντι] (cf., moreover, *IG* II² 111,49; *IG* II² 404, 17; *IG* II² 179, 14); *IG* II² 1183, 20-21 (regulation of the Deme of Hagnous concerning the duties of the demarch), where it is stipulated that, if the ten elected men condemn the demarch who is undergoing the *euthynai*-procedure, the latter is allowed to submit the decision to a vote by all the demesmen: τὴν δὲ ψῆφον διδόντω [ὁ ν]-[έ]λος δήμαρχος καὶ ἐξορκού[τ]ω αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον τῶν δημο[τῶ]- // [ν]: εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἔφεσιν αὐτῶι [εἰ]ς ἅπαντας τοὺς δημότας· ἐ[ὰν] // [δ]έ τις ἐφῆι, ἐξορκούτω ὁ δήμα[ρ]χος τοῦ-ς> δημότας καὶ διδόν[τ]ω // [τ]ὴν ψῆφον ἐὰν παρῶσιν μὴ ἐλάττους ἢ ΔΔΔ ἐὰν δὲ καταψη[φί]ζ]- // ωνται αὐτοῦ οἱ δημόται, ὀφειλέτω τὸ ἡμιόλιον ὅσος ἂν [τιμ]- // ηθεῖ αὐτῶι ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα τῶν αἰρ[ε]θέντων; *IG* II² 1237, 29-40 (Athenian phratriy decrees of Dekelea), where a provision allows anyone who is rejected by the phratriy to submit ἔφεσις and, accordingly, to undergo a re-trial before the Demotionidai: ἐ- // ἂν δέ τις βόληται ἐφεῖναι ἐς Δημοσιων- // ἰδας ὧν ἂν ἀποψηφίσωνται, ἐξεῖναι αὐ- // τῶν ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς συνηγόρος τ- // ὄν Δεκελειῶν οἶκον πέντε ἄνδρας ὑπὲ- // ρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας, τούτος δὲ // ἐξορκώσάτω ὁ φρατρίαρχος καὶ ὁ ἱερε- // ῦς συνηγορήσεν τὰ δικαιότατα καὶ ὅκ // ἔάσεν ὀδένα μὴ ὄντα φράτερα φρατρίζ- // εν. ὅτο δ' ἂν τῶν ἐφέντων ἀποψηφίσωντα- // ἰ Δημοσιωνίδα, ὀφειλέτω χιλίας δρα- // χαμὰς ἱεράς τῶι Διὶ τῶι Φρατρίωι. Against my view, *IG* I³ 40 [= ML 52], 70 (amendment to the Athenian decree laying down rules for the people of Khalkis in Euboeia; cf. Maffi [1984]; Dreher [2006]) is not decisive, since the legal terminology used in the inscription is quite imprecise. I would like to thank Edward Harris for pointing out these passages to me.

- brings about a new legal procedure before the people, without being neither a proper ‘statement of claim’ at first instance, nor a formal ‘appeal’ from a lower judge to a higher one;

- produces negative effects on the (proposed) ‘authoritative decision’. This also means that the legal procedure before the popular court is a new one on the same matter and between the same parties playing the same role (παλινδικία), as well as that the popular ruling (by declaring the *ἔφεσις* founded or unfounded) neither quashes, nor amends, nor confirms the decision challenged by the *ἐφίεις*, but constitutes a final judgment given for the first time;

- is a ‘denial of consent’ which means that, from Solon on, the ‘agreement’ is conceived of as an essential element for any ‘official act’ both substantially determined by a public authority (different from the people) and directly affecting one member of the people²⁹.

²⁹ If this is true (i.e. if after Solon passed his procedural reform on *ἔφεσις* the ‘agreement of the parties’ was an ‘essential element’ for a final decision), on the basis of a well known passage from the *corpus Demosthenicum*, i.e. Dem. 43.75, one could suggest some further ‘speculative considerations’ (rather than ‘historically grounded considerations’, as Edward Harris *per epistulam* has pointed out to me, given that the document at issue is probably a forgery): ὁ ἄρχων ἐπιμελείσθω τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων καὶ τῶν οἴκων τῶν ἐξερημουμένων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὅσαι μένουσιν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τεθνηκότων φάσκουσαι κυεῖν. τούτων ἐπιμελείσθω καὶ μὴ ἐάτω ὑβρίζειν μηδένα περὶ τούτους. ἐὰν δὲ τις ὑβρίζη ἢ ποιῇ τι παράνομον, κύριος ἔστω ἐπιβάλλειν κατὰ τὸ τέλος. ἐὰν δὲ μείζονος ζημίας δοκῇ ἄξιός εἶναι, προσκαλεσάμενος πρόπεμπτα καὶ τίμημα ἐπιγραψάμενος, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ, εἰσαγέτω εἰς τὴν ἡλιαίαν. ἐὰν δ’ ἄλῳ, τιμάτω ἢ ἡλιαία περὶ τοῦ ἀλόντος, ὅ τι χρὴ αὐτὸν παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι (see, moreover, *Ath. Pol.* 56.7: ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ὅσαι ἂν τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σκήπτωνται κύειν. καὶ κύριός ἐστι τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιβάλλειν ἢ εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον). The νόμος stipulates that the ἄρχων – who had to take care of children without fathers, ἐπικλήρος, οἴκοι left destitute of heirs, and all pregnant women who remained in the οἴκοι of their deceased husbands – was entitled to prohibit ‘anyone’ (rather than only relatives or guardians) from committing ὕβρις to the protected individuals, as well as to punish the offender by giving a final decision, provided that the τέλος imposed by law was respected (i.e. the fine was imposed both *ratione materiae*, i.e. according to the ἄρχων’s competence, and within a given value-limit). It is noteworthy to highlight that such rules do not make any allusion to ‘ἔφεσις to the popular court’. They just deal with a ‘magisterial referral’ in terms of εἰσάγειν. They describe an archaic procedure and show an example of prosecutorial discretion of the ἄρχων; no mention to ὁ βουλόμενος occurs. The name ἡλιαία does not prove the post-Solonian origin of the rules. On these grounds, if one supposes that the νόμος reproduced in the document is (substantially) a Solonian one, but even repeating earlier provisions, the following diachronic shift appears (provided that the referral was always compulsory if the magistrate proposed penalties that were higher than a certain amount). Before Solon’s reforms (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 4.4), the person aggrieved was entitled to take a new legal action before the Areopagus, denouncing the violation perpetrated by the ἄρχων (if he infringes his own competence *ratione materiae* or goes beyond the given value-limit: cf., *amplius*, Pellosio [2014–2015]). Once Solon introduced *ἔφεσις*, even if the fine was within the legal

By the time of Solon, one could hardly qualify the ἔφεσις εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον as an ‘appeal to the people’; by the time of Solon, one could hardly qualify the ἔφεσις εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον as an ‘obligatory reference’; by the time of Solon, one – albeit tautologically – could qualify the ἔφεσις just as ἔφεσις.

τέλος (i.e. if the magistrate ‘proposed’, rather than ‘imposed’, a fine both according to his competence and within a given value-limit), the decision could anyway be ‘attacked’ for any abuse of power or any lack of power (cf., for the conjectural ‘Solonian kernel’ of the Demosthenic passage, Scafuro [2006]).

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