

Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections *Ashmolean Museum* *Oxford*

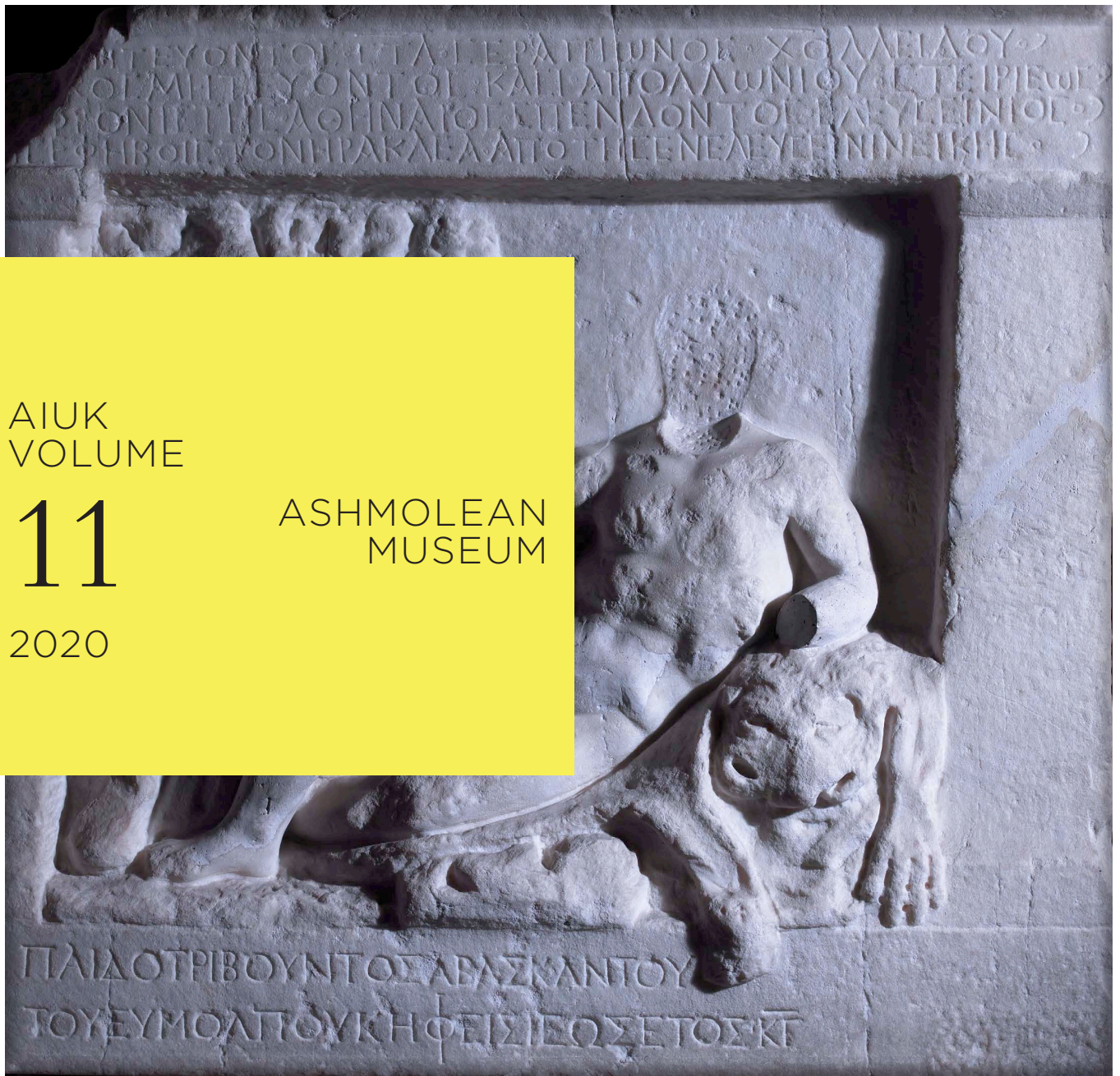
Christopher de Lisle

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PREFACE

The Ashmolean Museum, founded in 1683, is the University of Oxford's museum of art and archaeology and Britain's oldest public museum. Its collection includes the first Attic inscription to be brought to Britain ([7](#) in 1627) and all but one of the Attic inscriptions in the collection had been brought to the UK by 1751. It thus belongs to the earliest phase in the history of antiquities collection in the UK, before the main wave in the nineteenth century. The main collectors – William Petty, Thomas Howard, George Wheler, and James Dawkins – are key figures in the history of British engagement with Greek antiquity and the development of the Grand Tour. As part of the University collection, the inscriptions were studied by some of the most important British epigraphers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably John Selden and Richard Chandler. Since then, however, they have received only intermittent attention; today, most are in storage or unlabelled.

The sixteen Attic inscriptions in the collection range in date from the early fourth century BC to the late fourth century AD and provide illuminating insights into a wide range of aspects of Athenian history, particularly in the Roman period. [1](#) is a proxeny decree for Straton, King of Sidon in Phoenicia, recently re-dated to ca. 385 BC, and provides insights into the Athenian relationship with Phoenicia and the Persian empire and its treatment of resident foreigners. [2](#) is a calendar of offerings probably erected in the second century AD, at least four hundred years after any other example of its genre at Athens. It probably belonged to a private cult association and provides a valuable insight into the character of Athenian local religion in the Roman Imperial period, revealing both continuities and differences from Classical practice. [3](#) is a late fourth-century AD dedication in honour of a hierophant, one of the very last epigraphic documents of the Eleusinian cult, and an example of the importance of poetry for generating cultural capital in this late period. [4-10](#) are dedications and catalogues of the ephebate, the main public institution of education in Athens. The insights they provide into the development of this institution in the Roman Imperial period are supplemented and contextualised by the outline of the Roman-period ephebate that is published alongside this volume as [AIO Papers 12](#). [11-16](#) are funerary monuments. The very fragmentary [11](#) is perhaps part of an early fourth-century BC memorial of the war dead. [12](#) is a fragmentary fourth-century BC funerary stele; I propose a new reconstruction of its iconography. [13](#) is also a fourth-century BC funerary stele and an interesting example of the modification of funerary monuments in light of new deaths. [14](#) is another fourth-century BC funerary stele, reinscribed in the first century BC. [15](#) and [16](#) are herms set up in honour of boys who died young. The former is one of a series set up by the magnate Herodes Atticus in the mid-second century AD to commemorate his young ward Polydeukion, while the latter was erected in honour of the son of an ephebic superintendent who died as an ephebe, probably in 234/5 AD. [Appendix 1](#) is an early modern forgery, part of a set that appear to have been produced for a Grand Tourist in the late seventeenth century.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the contributions of a great number of people. I am grateful to Andrew Shapland, Sir Arthur Evans Curator of Bronze Age and Classical Greece at the Ashmolean Museum, and Claire Burton of the Ashmolean's Collection Management team for allowing me access to the collections of the museum, and to Chrysanthi Tsouli of the Department of Sculpture at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens for facilitating my autopsy of NM 1470, as well as Tania Gerousi for aid in applying for image permissions from the National Archaeological Museum. Charles Crowther of the Centre for

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the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford, granted me access to their collection of squeezes and documentation, provided photos of several inscriptions, and gave much helpful advice. Paul Jackson at the Institute for Classical Studies provided enthusiastic assistance in navigating the Wood Archive, and the staff of the British Library assisted with various archival collections. I am grateful to the staff of the Bodleian Libraries, in general, and specifically for their heroic efforts to “keep the University reading” during the coronavirus crisis. The British School at Athens was similarly helpful. For advice and comment on a range of points, I am indebted to Philippa Adrych, Angelos Chaniotis, Denis Knoepfler, Stephen Lambert, Peter Liddel, Will Mack, Georgia Malouchou, S. Douglas Olson, Robert Parker, Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Robert Pitt, P. J. Rhodes, Julian Schneider, Erkki Sironen, Julianne Zachhuber (who kindly allowed me to consult her unpublished work on **2**), and the anonymous reviewers. I am grateful to Irene Vagionakis for the skill she displayed in formatting and encoding, which were especially demanding in a volume such as this. My research was made possible by a postdoctoral fellowship from the British Academy.

ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the abbreviations listed at <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/> the following abbreviations are used in this volume:

- Ainsworth, *Kempiana*: R. Ainsworth, *Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana* I (1720)
- Alcock 1993: A. E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*
- Aleshire 1999: S. B. Aleshire, “The Identification of Archaizing Inscriptions from Roman Attica,” in *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina*, II.153-61
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- Arnautoglou 2003: I. Arnautoglou, *Thusias heneka kai Sunousias: Private Religious Associations in Hellenistic Athens*
- Arrington 2014: N. T. Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories: The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens*
- AshLI, *Monumental*: a catalogue published online by the Ashmolean Latin Inscriptions Project, entitled *Ashmolean Monumental Latin Inscriptions* (2017), accessed 23.07.2020 (latininscriptions.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/resources/pdfs/ASHLICatalogueMonumental.pdf)
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- Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977: M. M. Austin and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece*
- Baird 2018: J. A. Baird, *Dura-Europos*
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- Beekes: R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (2009)
- Boardman 1999: J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*⁴
- Boatwright 2000: M. T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*
- Bodnar 1960: E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*
- Bol 1984: R. Bol, *Das Statuenprogramm des Herodes-Atticus-Nympäums*
- Briant 2002: P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*
- Bricault, *RICIS*: L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques* (2005)
- Brown 2010: C. Brown, *The Ashmolean Museum: Britain’s First Museum*

Abbreviations

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- CIG*: A. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I [including Attica] 1828, II 1843, III [with J. Franz] 1853, IV Indices [H. Roehl] 1877)
- CIL* VI: E. Bormann and G. Henzen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VI: Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae* (I 1876, II 1882, III 1886, IV 1894, 1902, 1933, V 1885, VI 1926, 1980, 2006, VII 1974-1989, VIII 2018, 1996, 2000)
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- IG IV*: M. Fraenkel, *Inscriptiones graecae Aeginae, Pityonesi, Cecryphaliae, Argolidis* (1902)
- IG IV²* 1: F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inscriptiones Argolidis. 2nd ed. Fasc. 1, Inscriptiones Epidauri* (1929)
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- IG IX, 1²*: W. Dittenberger, *Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii* (1897)
- IG XII* 6: K. Hallof, *Inscriptiones Sami insulae* (2000, 2003)
- IG XII* 8: C. Friederich, *Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici* (1909)
- IG XII* 9: E. Ziebarth, *Inscriptiones Euboeae insulae* (1915)

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- IG XIV: G. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, additis Galliae, Hispaniae, Britanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus* (1890)
- IK Smyrna: G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* I (1982), II (1987)
- ILS: H. Dessau ed., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* I (1892), II (1902, 1906), III (1914-1916)
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- Lewis 1994: D. M. Lewis, "The Persepolis Tablets: Speech, Seal and Script," in A. Bowman and G. Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, 17-32
- LGS I: J. von Prott [and L. Ziehen], *Leges Graecorum Sacrae, I: Fasti Sacri* (1896)
- Liddel and Low 2019: P. Liddel and P. Low, "Four Unpublished Inscriptions (and One Neglected Collector) from the World Museum, Liverpool," in C. F. Noreña and N. Papazarkadas eds., *From Document to History: Epigraphic Insights Into the Greco-Roman World*, 408-30
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1. THE COLLECTION OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

The collection of Attic inscriptions in the Ashmolean is largely the product of three collectors, who toured Greece in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and played an important role in the development of the study of Greek history and archaeology generally: William Petty on behalf of the Earl of Arundel, George Wheler, and James Dawkins. There is rich documentation for all three of these collectors, which is important for the insights it provides regarding the formation of the Ashmolean's collection, as well as the interests and methods of these early modern collectors.¹

The first of these collectors, William Petty (d. 1639), was an agent for Thomas Howard, Second Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), the Earl Marshal and first great English art-collector who formed a collection of Greek and Roman statuary and inscriptions known as the Arundel Marbles.² The majority of the Aegean items in this collection were acquired by Petty, who arrived in Constantinople in January 1625 to act as Arundel's buyer. Petty's activities over the next two years are known to us through a set of letters to Arundel from Thomas Roe (d. 1644), who had earlier been responsible for opening Mughal India to English trade and was then Ambassador to Constantinople. Roe had also been contracted by Arundel to act as a buyer, but lacked the acumen or time to do so. Arundel characterises Petty as "a man of very good learning & other partes who hath bin longe in my house & is ledde with a great desire to see Turkye... [he] doth not only love antiquities extremely but understands them very well."³ Roe varies between enthusiastic praise and snide criticism of Petty,⁴ dismissively characterising the two hundred items that Petty had acquired by November 1626 as "all broken or few entire" at a time when Roe himself had not yet acquired a single object.⁵

Roe's correspondence provides a useful window into the attitudes of collectors at this time. The focus of interest is manuscripts, sculpture, and coins – inscriptions are not mentioned. Quality is judged on the basis of "bewty or antiquity", but, at least for Roe, the aesthetic element was pre-eminent.⁶ Roe also regularly dismisses contemporary Greeks and Turks as uninterested in the remains of the Hellenic past – or actively hostile to them on religious grounds – while simultaneously decrying their unwillingness to part with items or

¹ For a general history of the Ashmolean Museum, see Brown 2010, with further references.

² Haynes 1975 explains the significance of the Arundel collection and gives an account of Petty's travels. This is summarised by Stoneman 1987, 42-51 and Vickers 2006. Arundel's correspondence is preserved in the Arundel Castle Archives and in the British Library, Thomas Roe's correspondence in the British Library as *Add. MS 4106* and in the National Archives in *SP 97/8-14*, published as S. Richardson, ed., *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe, in his embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive* (1740). Correspondence of both relating to Petty is most easily accessed in Lapierre 2004, 462-78 (whose numbering system is followed here).

³ Lapierre 2004, no. 3 (September 1624).

⁴ Lapierre 2004, no. 7 (May 1625), "his experience will be my best direction"; no. 9 (26 August 1625), "hee is a close and subtile borderer and will not bragge of his prizes"; no. 14 (28 March 1626), "ther was never man so fitted to an imployment, that encounters all accident with so unwearied patience; eates with Grekes on their worst days; lyes with fishermen on plancks, at the best; is all things to all men, that he may obteyne his ends, which are your lordships service"; no. 17 (17 February 1626 [i.e. 1627]).

⁵ Lapierre 2004, no. 16 (November 1626).

⁶ Lapierre 2004, no. 5 (24 January 1624 [i.e. 1625]), no. 15 (May 1626).

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allow him to dig for them.⁷ The disconnect between Roe's presentation and reality is shown by Roe and Petty's prolonged efforts to acquire a set of reliefs from the Golden Gate in Constantinople by bribing a number of local officials and paying an imam to whip up popular hostility to the reliefs by declaring them idols. The Constantinopolitans responded by rioting – in opposition to the reliefs' removal.⁸

The majority of Petty's acquisitions were sculpture. The only Attic inscription in the set, 7, an ephebic dedication of the second century AD with a relief of Herakles, was probably acquired for its relief rather than its text. However, Petty's key acquisition was an inscription: the Parian Marble, a chronological record of events from the mythological foundation of Athens to the Hellenistic period, which offered western European scholars the prospect of assigning absolute dates to many events of Greek history. Petty acquired this and (it seems) many of the other Arundel inscriptions in Smyrna, where the agent of another collector had been imprisoned while preparing to ship them to France. 7 may have formed part of this haul, but Petty is attested operating in Attica at the end of 1626, so could have acquired it then.⁹ Petty dispatched his purchases to Arundel in November 1626 and then relocated to Italy, where he continued to act as a buyer for Arundel.¹⁰

When 7 and Petty's other purchases arrived at Arundel House in London in January 1627, they were the first Greek inscriptions ever to come to England. Robert Cotton, a friend of Arundel who was present for the unboxing, was so excited by the inscriptions that he ran across town and woke the polymath John Selden (1584-1654), to insist that he produce an edition. Within a year this was published as *Marmora Arundelliana* ("The Arundel Marbles"). This work contained only a small selection of the inscriptions in Arundel's collection: ten Latin and twenty-one Greek texts, including 7. For the fragmentary texts, Selden gives a diplomatic text preserving original line numbers, sometimes with an edited text with supplements in rubric majuscules, and a Latin translation. The work was highly acclaimed throughout Europe.¹¹ The focus of the work, however, is the Parian Marble and a Hellenistic treaty between Smyrna and Magnesia (*OGIS* 229). Most of the other inscriptions are presented in a perfunctory manner.

The collection was displayed in the garden of Arundel House, but it fell into neglect after Thomas Howard's death in 1646, owing to legal battles between his heirs, the abandonment of Arundel House during the English Civil War, and the lack of interest of the Earls after their return to the house in 1660. The upper part of the Parian Marble was broken off and used as the hearthstone of a chimney. In 1667, the diarist John Evelyn convinced the second Earl's grandson, Henry Howard (1628-1684), to save the inscriptions from "miserable neglect" and the "corrosive air of London" by donating them to the University of Oxford. Parts of the collection continued to be rediscovered on the former grounds of the House throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹²

Once they reached Oxford, the inscriptions from the collection were displayed outdoors, set in niches in the masonry wall of a "Garden of Antiquities," designed by

⁷ e.g. Lapierre 2004, no. 5 (24 January 1624 [i.e. 1625]), "I have found, the spight or sordidness of barbarisme hath trode-out all steppes of civility..."; no. 14 (26 March 1626); no. 15 (May 1626).

⁸ Lapierre 2004, no. 7-8 (May 1625), 9 (August 1625), 11 and 13 (October 1625), 15 (May 1626).

⁹ Lapierre 2004, no. 17 (February 1626 [i.e. 1627]).

¹⁰ Correspondence relating to this period is preserved in the British Library as *Add MS* 15970.

¹¹ Toomer 2009, 360-87; P. Liddel, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 26, 2014, 387-98.

¹² Evelyn, *Diary*, 1667, 19th September-25th October; Haynes 1975, 11-14.

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Christopher Wren, which surrounded the newly built Sheldonian Theatre. Viewing their new setting, Evelyn noted that they were already being damaged by “idle persons” and recommended a hedge of holly be planted in front of them to keep them safe. One of the surviving niches is depicted in *Fig. 0.a*.¹³ On the acquisition of the stones, John Fell (1625-1686), Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of the University, assigned the task of publishing the new acquisitions to Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724), a Student of Christ Church and protégé of Fell. Prideaux’s edition, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (“Oxford Marbles”), which appeared in 1676, was characterised by the printer Thomas Hearne as “wonderfully defective” – a result of the pace at which Fell and the press had forced Prideaux to work and the fact that the material was well outside his competence as a scholar of Semitic languages. Michael Maittaire, an independent scholar based in London and best known for works on grammar and typography, published a second edition, *Marmorum Arundellianorum Seldenianorum, aliorumque Academiae Oxoniensi donatorum* (“The Arundel-Selden Marbles, and others donated to Oxford University”), in 1732-33, without actually visiting Oxford in order to view the collection.¹⁴



Fig. 0.a. One of the surviving niches of the “Garden of Antiquities,” in the wall between the Sheldonian Theatre and Exeter College.

Sixteen years after Arundel’s inscriptions were installed in the “Garden of Antiquities,” another twelve inscriptions were donated to Oxford University by George

¹³ Evelyn, *Diary*, 1669, 18th July; Carter 1975, 83-86, 392-95. Excavation of the wall: D. Sturdy and N. Moorcraft, *Minerva* 10 (1999), 25-28.

¹⁴ Tod 1951, 172; Carter 1975, 83-86; H. de Quehen, “Prideaux, Humphrey (1648-1724)” in *ODNB*; M. C. Ross and A. J. Collins, “Maittaire, Michael (1668–1747)” in *ODNB*.

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Wheler (1651-1724), most of which are Attic ([4](#), [5](#), [6](#), [8](#), [9](#), [10](#), [12](#), [13](#), and [14](#)).¹⁵ Wheler was an epigrapher and botanist, who had studied at Lincoln College, Oxford from 1668 to 1673, as a gentleman-commoner (i.e. a student who paid a higher rate of fees in return for special privileges). Wheler's education helped him to win a legal battle to inherit the estate of a wealthy uncle, which gave him the funds to travel through Greece from 1675 to 1676, as part of his Grand Tour. He was joined in this venture by Jacob Spon (1647-1685), a French Huguenot doctor whom Wheler had met in Rome. The pair were far more academically minded than most Grand Tourists. This was especially the case with Spon, who had already edited and published the work of J.-P. Babin, *Relation de l'état présent de la ville d'Athènes* ("Account of the Present State of the City of Athens," 1674), following the latter's death. Both Wheler and Spon were keenly interested in epigraphy, transcribing over a thousand inscriptions during their travels. Spon's transcriptions appear in his account of the journey, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (1678) volume III, part 2. Some of Wheler's transcriptions appear in his published account of his travels, *A Journey into Greece* (1682), while elegant hand-written transcriptions of the inscriptions in his own collection survive in the British Library as *Add. MS 35334*. The pair were among the earliest western Europeans to travel to Greece for research purposes and the first to publish travellers' accounts of Greece since Pausanias.¹⁶

Wheler and Spon visited Athens briefly from 27 January until 5 February 1676, where they were hosted by Jean Giraud, who had been the French consul in Athens from 1658 until 1664, when he lost his position for punching a French naval captain and switched to English service. A scholar of Athenian antiquities in his own right, Giraud spent most of his time investigating Athenian antiquities and had collected several ancient marbles.¹⁷ From Spon's account of his travels we learn that most of Wheler's inscriptions were purchased from the collection that Giraud had gathered at his house ([4](#), [5](#), [6](#), and [9](#)).¹⁸ Spon states that they encountered [10](#) "at the house of Mr Benaldi" along with a number of other inscriptions which remained in Athens (*IG II²* 3738, 5939 and 9548). The location of this house within Athens is unknown, but its owner appears to be Ioannes Benaldes, an important figure in the Athenian community, with close links to Italy. His son Argyros would later study at the Greek School in Rome, providing advice on Papal protocol to his countrymen and leading embassies to Venice on Athens' behalf. Wheler and Spon's visit to the house presumably reflects the family's interest in Italy and the western Mediterranean.¹⁹ Wheler reports that [14](#) came from ἁγία παρασκινιά in Marcopoli. This town, now called Markopoulo Mesogaïas, is located near ancient Hagnous; the name of the church is presumably a slip for Agia Paraskevi. Wheler and Spon did not visit this part of Attica, so this provenance information must be

¹⁵ The most recent editions of the other three inscriptions are *I Patras* 65, *SGDI* 2674 (Delphi), and *CIG* 4183 (Paphlagonia?).

¹⁶ On Wheler's life: N. G. Wilson, "Wheler, Sir George (1651-1724)," in *ODNB*; C. Knight, *The Georgian Group Journal* 10, 2000, 21-35. On Spon: Etienne and Mossière 1993. On Wheler and Spon's journey: Spon, *Voyage*; Wheler, *Journey*; Tod 1951, 173; Constantine 1984, 7-33; Stoneman 1987, 61-81; Eisner 1991, 56-58; Pollard 2015, with index.

¹⁷ Constantine 1984, 11-20; Stoneman 1987, 60-61; Augustinos 1994, 115-16.

¹⁸ Spon, *Voyage* III.2, pp. 75, 154, 168, and 196. Spon also reports at pp. 158-65 that Wheler bought *IG II²* 2111, but this inscription remained in Athens. Two large fragments of it were re-discovered on the Acropolis in 1838 and are now in the Epigraphical Museum (EM 9654 and 3647): K. S. Pittakis *Arch. Eph.* 2, 1838, 104-5, no. 50.

¹⁹ Spon, *Voyage* II, pp. 187, 384, 396, 445, 453 ("chez le 'sieur Benaldi'"). Greene 2010, 220-23.

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second-hand.²⁰ No provenance information survives for [8](#), [12](#), and [13](#). Wheler sent his purchases back to England by ship in late March or early April 1676 and arrived in England himself in November.²¹

Wheler had purchased the inscriptions with the intention of donating them to Oxford University and did so in 1683, the year after he had published his account of his travels. Wheler expressed particular pride in [6](#) and [10](#), which he correctly identified as inscriptions relating to the gymnasium. The bulk of his Attic inscriptions pertain to the ephebate, the Athenian education system. The anachronistic language that Wheler used to describe these inscriptions (e.g. “governours of the schools”) shows the close resonance he saw between Greco-Roman antiquity and contemporary education, which he valued highly. This perhaps led him to consider them particularly fitting donations for the University.²² Wheler’s inscriptions initially joined the Greek and Latin inscriptions from the Arundel collection in the wall surrounding the Sheldonian theatre. However, most of this wall was torn down between 1712 and 1714, in order to make way for the Clarendon Building, the first headquarters of the Oxford University Press. At that point the inscriptions were moved to a hall in the basement of the nearby Bodleian Library, known as the Museum Arundelium.²³

Two generations after Wheler, James Dawkins (1722-1757) donated five Attic inscriptions ([1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [15](#), [16](#)), along with twenty-eight other Greek inscriptions, mostly from western Asia Minor, and one Palmyrene inscription. Dawkins was a fellow of St John’s College, Oxford. His family owned a Jamaican sugar plantation, which employed slave labour, and this provided the funds for Dawkins to undertake an extraordinarily well-provided tour of the Aegean and Near East between May 1750 and June 1751, with Robert Wood (1716-1771), Giovanni Battista Borra (1712-1786), and John Bouverie (c. 1722-1750), who died *en route*. The journey was notable for its focus on academic research and as the first occasion on which European travellers visited Palmyra and Baalbek.²⁴ On their way back from the Levant, the travellers stayed briefly in Athens from 10-16 May 1751 and again, after a tour of Boiotia, from 3-7 June. Dawkins must have acquired his Attic inscriptions during these visits. Wood’s account of their discovery of [15](#), a Roman-period herm, gives a sense of their *modus operandi*. The inscription was found in a ruined church or mosque at Kephisia on the ride out to Marathon on 16 May 1751 and was “taken” by Dawkins. Since they rode on the next morning, the actual removal and transportation of the stone seems to have been left to the local villagers. Over the following two days the travellers stopped at two other churches where they noted two further herms from the same set.²⁵

The provenance of the other inscriptions are not recorded in Dawkins’ or Wood’s surviving diaries (the relevant pages are missing),²⁶ but some of them are recorded by Richard Chandler in his 1763 publication of the Oxford inscriptions, perhaps relying on

²⁰ Wheler, *MS*, p. 88, no. 328/ciii.

²¹ Wheler, *Journey*, 334-425 and 476.

²² Wheler, *Journey*, 399-401 and 403-4.

²³ Carter 1975, 83-86, 392-95; Haynes 1975, 11-14.

²⁴ Tod 1951, 173; Constantine 1984, 66-71; M. St John Parker “Dawkins, James (1722-1757)” and D. M. White “Wood, Robert (1716/17–1771)” in *ODNB*. The original documentation relating to these travels is held by the Institute of Classical Studies, in the Wood Archive.

²⁵ Wood, *Diary*, 16-17 May 1751.

²⁶ The surviving diaries do not provide any information on this stay in Athens: Dawkins, *Diary* is broken at this point and very brief, Wood, *Diary* is much fuller, but only omits the period spent in Athens itself.

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documentation that has since been lost. His information indicates that [2](#) and [3](#) had also been taken from secondary contexts in religious buildings. Chandler states that [3](#), a fourth-century AD dedication relating to an Eleusinian priestly family, was found *in ea parte D. Cyriani, quam architecti vocant Metochi, prope palatium archiepiscopi* (“in that part of St. Cyrianus, which the architects call *metochi*, near the Archbishop’s palace”). A *metochi* (μετόχι) is a dependency or “branch church” of an Eastern Orthodox monastery. The mother church, “St. Cyrianus,” is the Kaisariani Monastery, located on Mt Hymettos, southeast of Athens, which had two *metochia* in Athens. One of these, Agios Nikolaos, was indeed located near the archbishop’s palace, where the Metropolitan Cathedral now stands.²⁷ The subject matter of [3](#) makes it likely that it was spoliated from the City Eleusinion. This was located southeast of the Agora, quite a distance from the Metropolitan Cathedral. However, blocks did travel that far; another dedication of similar date and probably derived from the City Eleusinion (*IG II² 2342/5, 13620*) was also found in Agios Nikolaos, according to Fourmont. Architectural fragments from the Eleusinion have also been found in the area around the Metropolitan Cathedral.²⁸ Chandler attributes [2](#), a Roman-period calendar, to “a nunnery near Poecile.” This is the Church of the Pantanassa in Monastiraki Square, near Hadrian’s Library, which was mistakenly believed to be the Stoa Poikile in the eighteenth century.²⁹ Anthony Askew saw and transcribed this inscription in the church during his visit to Athens in 1747, shortly before Dawkins acquired it.³⁰ The Pantanassa was the other *metochi* of Kaisariani Monastery in Athens; it appears that Dawkins made a deal for the pair with the monastery’s authorities. Chandler also reports that [1](#), a fourth-century BC proxeny decree, was found on the Acropolis behind the Parthenon – the only item in the Ashmolean collection known to have been found there. This is likely the decree’s original location, since the Acropolis was the most common location for decrees of the Council and Assembly in the Classical period.³¹ The final item acquired by Dawkins, [16](#), another Roman-period herm, has no recorded provenance. Dawkins’ Attic inscriptions were donated to the University of Oxford on his death in 1757 and joined the rest of the University’s collection in the Bodleian Library.

The first scholarly edition of the whole set of the University’s ancient inscriptions was published in 1764, after the arrival of Wheler and Dawkins’ material: the *Marmora Oxoniensia* (“Oxford Marbles”) by Richard Chandler (1738-1810), demy of Magdalen College. This work contained all the ancient statuary and inscriptions then in the University’s possession, including inscriptions in Greek, Latin, Palmyrene, and Egyptian hieroglyphs. Chandler provided diplomatic and edited texts for all the inscriptions (except the hieroglyphs, which had not then been deciphered), as well as Latin translations of the Greek and Palmyrene texts. Drawings were provided for almost all the inscriptions (the drawing of [1](#) is reproduced below, as *Fig. 0.b*). The work’s size and expense led to the production of a more

²⁷ Chandler 1763, 111, no. lxxii. I owe most of this to Robert Pitt, who also points out that “the architects” are probably Dawkins’ friends James “Athenian” Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who were resident in Athens when he visited the city. Agios Nikolaos: Mommsen 1868, 119 no. 143.

²⁸ M. M. Miles, *Agora XXXI*, pp. 89-90, 209. The whole area is off the map of finds from the Eleusinion on p. 7.

²⁹ Chandler 1763, 14-17, no. xxi; K. S. Pittakis, *L’ancienne Athènes*, 1835, 502-3; Mommsen 1868, 107-9, no 128. I owe this identification to Georgia Malouchou.

³⁰ I owe this identification to Robert Pitt; the transcription will appear as no. 161 in his forthcoming publication of Askew’s notebook.

³¹ Chandler 1763, 34-37, no. xxiv. Location of decrees: P. Liddel, *ZPE* 143, 2003, 79-93; *IALD* II, 21-30; *IG I³ 8*, with notes; K. Trampedach in U. Gotter and W. Schuller, eds., *Identität aus Stein* (2020).

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manageable edition by William Roberts of Corpus Christi College in 1791, entitled *Marmorum Oxoniensium Inscriptiones Graecae ad Chandleri exemplar editae* (“Greek Inscriptions of the Oxford Marbles, published in accordance with Chandler’s edition”), which reproduced the edited texts and Latin translations of the Greek inscriptions from Chandler’s volume.³² On completion of the New Ashmolean, the museum’s current buildings, in 1845, most of the ancient inscriptions in the possession of the University of Oxford were moved there, except for the sepulchral reliefs (12, 13, and 14) which remained in the basement of the Bodleian Library until January 1888.³³

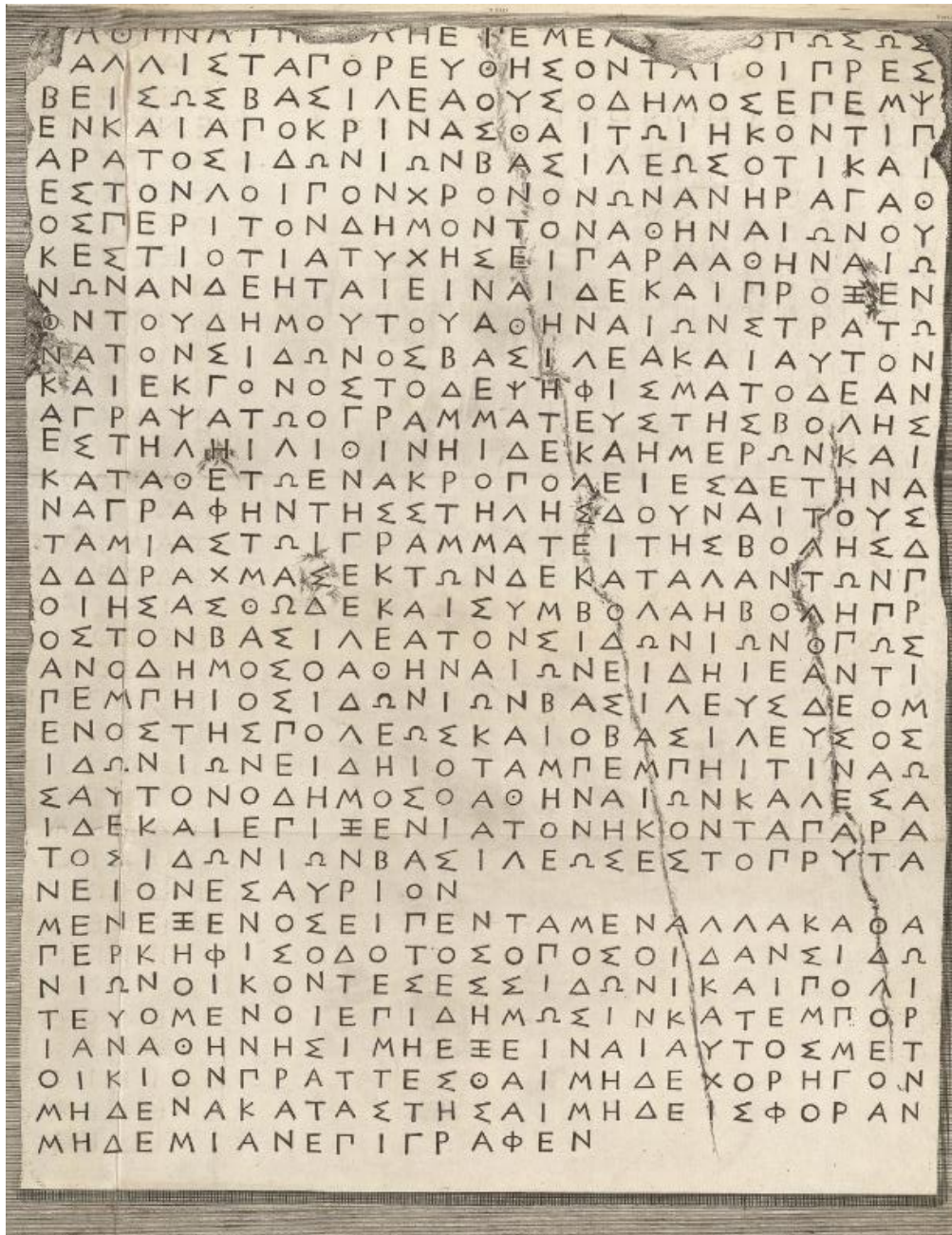


Fig. 0.b. Chandler 1763, p. 35, drawing of inscription no. 24 = 1.

³² Carter 1975, 392-95.

³³ Michaelis, p. 574-75. *Ashmolean archive MS*, “Marbles sent from Ashmolean Museum” cited in AshLI, *Monumental*.

11 was donated to the Ashmolean in 1858 by Rev. J. W. Burgon. It was part of a group of inscriptions acquired by his father Thomas Burgon (1787-1858), who collected antiquities and carried out excavations while residing in Smyrna as an agent of the Levant Company in the early nineteenth century, and became a scholar of ancient Greek numismatics and art after his return to Britain in 1814. Thomas Burgon stayed in Athens in 1813 on his way back to Britain and carried out excavations in the Kerameikos, the most famous finding of which was the Burgon Vase, the earliest known Panathenaic Amphora, which is now in the British Museum (BM 1842,0728.834). Since most of Burgon's inscriptions came from Smyrna, **11** was assumed to do so as well. However, the Ashmolean's records state that he acquired it in Athens, along with a lekythos-stele (Michaelis p. 564, no. 94 = Conze, no. 1338) and a loutrophoros (Michaelis, p. 564, no. 95), both from the fourth century and uninscribed. It seems likely that all three pieces derive from Burgon's Kerameikos excavations.³⁴

Appendix 1 is an attractive forgery, closely modelled on a late fourth-century AD honorific inscription (*IG* II² 4222 = 5, 13274). The details of how it came to be created are discussed in the appendix. It is first attested as part of the collection of John Kemp (1665-1717), in R. Ainsworth, *Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana* ("Kemp's Mementoes of Antiquity," 1720), which includes a drawing of it. Most of Kemp's collection was acquired in 1695 from the heirs of George Carteret, Baron de Hawnes (1667-1695). Carteret had obtained it in turn from his tutor, the Calvinist propagandist Jean Gailhard (d. 1708), who had served as a bear-leader (a guide to young men undertaking the Grand Tour) in the 1670s.³⁵ John Kemp's collection was broken up and auctioned off in 1721. The antiquarian Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) of St John's College purchased six Latin inscriptions at that auction. In 1749, Christopher Wren (son of the architect) sold Rawlinson at least seven more Latin inscriptions that had belonged to the Kemp collection. All were donated to the University in 1753, the forgery presumably among them.³⁶ The five Latin inscriptions from the Kemp collection in the Ashmolean which are attested before Kemp are all known from collections in Rome in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁷ It is a reasonable guess that the forgery was also acquired by a Tourist in Rome, probably Gailhard.

³⁴ G. Martin Murphy, "Burgon, John William (1813-1888)," in *ODNB*; Stupperich 1978. Stupperich proposes to equate **11** with a piece sketched by Fauvel in Athens in 1800. This is known only from a description by Boeckh in *CIG* I, p. 906, no. 170 which does not quite match our stone and was identified by Boeckh with *IG* I³ 1179 (now in the BM).

³⁵ Ainsworth, *Kempiana* (1720), p. xv; Michaelis, p. 48-49; G. Goodwin and H. Carter "Kemp, John (1665-1717)," in *ODNB*.

³⁶ Michaelis, p. 539; M. Clapinson, "Rawlinson, Richard (1690-1755)," in *ODNB*; AshLI, *Monumental*, p. 205-59.

³⁷ AshLI, *Monumental*, pp. 205-59. *CIL* VI.2, 12651; *CIL* VI.3, 16171, 17161, 20018; *CIL* VI.4 28493.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS: A DECREE, A CALENDAR OF SACRIFICES, AND A DEDICATION

1 PROXENY DECREE FOR STRATON, KING OF THE SIDONIANS. ANChandler 2.24. Acquired in Athens by Dawkins, Acropolis (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Stele of grey marble, left and right sides, bottom, and back preserved. Top lost when the stone was recut for secondary use, h. 0.77, w. 0.52, th. 0.12. Letter h. 0.008-0.014. Stoich. 0.024 (vert.), 0.024 (horiz.). “Cutter of IG II² 17”, 414/3-386/5 BC (Matthaiou, *Grammateion* 5, 2016, 71-72).

Eds. Chandler 1763, 34-37, no. xxiv (dr.) (*CIG* I 87 + add. p. 899; *IG* II 86); *IG* II² 141 (*Syll.*³ 185; RO 21); Culasso Gastaldi 2004, no. 5 (ph.) (*SEG* 54.5); Vagionakis 2017.

Cf. R. P. Austin, *JHS* 64, 1944, 98-100; Gauthier 1972, 119; R. Moysey, *AJAH* 1, 1976, 182-8; Whitehead 1977, 15; Henry 1982, 108 and 111; Hagemajer-Allen 2003, 230-32; A. Matthaiou, *Grammateion* 5, 2016, 71-72 and 113-19. Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2019. On display (“The Greek World 1000-100 BC” gallery). *Figs.* 0.b, 1.

ca. 385 BC	-----	[.] Ἀθηναί[ων, κ]αὶ ἐπεμελ[ήθη] ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα πορευθήσονται οἱ πρέσ- βεις ὡς βασιλέα οὐς ὁ δῆμος ἔπεμψ- εν· κ<α>ὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ ἤκοντι π- 5 ἀρὰ τῷ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ὅτι καὶ ἔς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθ- ὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων οὐ- κ ἔστι ὅτι ἀτυχῆσει παρὰ Ἀθηναίω- ν ὦν ἂν δέηται· εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρόξεν- 10 [ο]ν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων Στράτω- να τὸν Σιδῶνος βασιλέα, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνος· τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀν- [α]γραψάτω ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βολῆς [ἐ]στήληι λιθίνῃι δέκα ἡμερῶν καὶ 15 καταθέτω ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ἔς δὲ τὴν ἀ- ναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τοὺς ταμίας τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βολῆς Δ ΔΔ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων· π- οιησάσθω δὲ καὶ σύμβολα ἢ βολὴ πρ- 20 ὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Σιδωνίων, ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εἰδῆι ἕάν τι πέμπῃ ὁ Σιδωνίων βασιλεὺς δεόμ- ενος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σ- ιδωνίων εἰδῆι ὅταμ πέμπῃ τινὰ ὡ- 25 ς αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων· καλέσα- ι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν ἤκοντα παρὰ τῷ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως ἔς τὸ πρυτα- νεῖον ἔς αὖριον. <i>vacat</i> Μενέξενος εἶπεν· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθά- 30 περ Κηφισόδοτος· ὀπόσοι δ' ἂν Σιδω-	stoich. 27
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2. *The Inscriptions: A Decree, a Calendar of Sacrifices, and a Dedication*

35 νίων οἰκῶντες ἐς Σιδῶνι καὶ πολι-
τευόμενοι ἐπιδημῶσιν κατ' ἐμπορ-
ίαν Ἀθήνησι, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτὸς μετ-
οίκιον πράττεσθαι μηδὲ χορηγὸν
μηδένα καταστῆσαι μηδ' εἰσφορὰν
μηδεμίαν ἐπιγράφεν. *vacat*

1 rest. Kirchner || 4 ΚΑΙ stone.

...

... of the Athenians, and has taken care that
the ambassadors whom the People sent
to the King should travel as finely as possible,
and to reply to the man who has come
(5) from the king of the Sidonians that, if
he is also a good man in the future
to the People of Athens, he
will not fail to obtain from the Athenians
whatever he needs. Also Straton
(10) the king of Sidon shall be a *proxenos*
of the People of Athens, both himself
and his descendants. Let the secretary
of the Council inscribe this decree
on a stone stele within ten days and
(15) set it down on the Acropolis; and the treasurers shall
give the secretary of the Council
30 drachmas from the ten talent fund
for inscribing the stele; and
let the Council also have tokens made
(20) for the king of the Sidonians, so that
the People of Athens may know if the
king of the Sidonians sends anything when making
a request to the city, and the king of
the Sidonians may know whenever the People
(25) of Athens sends anybody to him; and also
to invite the man who has come from
the king of the Sidonians to hospitality in the
city hall tomorrow.

Menexenos proposed: in other respects in accordance
(30) with Kephisodotos; but for any Sidonians
residing in Sidon and enjoying citizen
status who visit Athens for purposes of trade,
it shall not be permitted to exact
the metic tax from them, nor to appoint
(35) any as a theatrical sponsor, nor to register them
for any capital tax.

2. The Inscriptions: A Decree, a Calendar of Sacrifices, and a Dedication

This inscription is the only Assembly decree in the Ashmolean collection. In the fourth century BC, the Athenian Assembly (*ekklesia*) was open to all male citizens and normally met forty times a year. Its schedule was prepared by the Council (*boule*) of Five Hundred, which introduced proposals (*probouleumata*) which the Assembly could adopt as its own or put aside in favour of a different solution (which of these approaches was adopted in this case is discussed below).³⁸ Not all Assembly decrees were inscribed, but decrees that granted an honour or relating to foreign affairs, both of which apply in this case, were particularly likely to be. The findspot of this inscription indicates that it was set up on the Acropolis, like nearly all Assembly decrees of the fourth century BC. Setting up a decree in stone in a sacred place gave it an impression of permanence and a religious sanction. The Acropolis was also a fitting place for decrees dealing with foreign connections, as the monumental heart of Athens, where the city's relationship to Athena, its chief divinity, and its international prominence were commemorated.³⁹ From the second half of the fifth century BC onwards, Assembly decrees usually contain a prescript which gives the names of the key magistrates in office when the decree was passed, dating elements, and the motion's proposer.⁴⁰ This information often enables decrees to be precisely dated. In this case, unfortunately, the prescript is lost and the date of the decree has to be determined by other means, which are discussed below.

This is the only certain example of an Athenian proxeny decree in a UK collection, but they were a common kind of decree.⁴¹ Proxeny was a status granted by one polis to a citizen of another polis, recognising them as an official friend of the granting polis. *Proxenoí* were expected to support the granting polis, by guiding public and private visitors from the granting polis and supporting the interests of the granting polis in public decision-making (even to the death, see [RO 39](#), ll. 38-40). The status was usually granted in response to benefactions and was considered an important honour, one step below a grant of Athenian citizenship and often accompanied by other honorific and material awards.⁴² The grant of *proxenos* status was intended to recognise and perpetuate a mutually beneficial friendship between the polis and the benefactor. Because they were honorific and intended to create an ongoing relationship, proxeny decrees were frequently inscribed in stone, from the second half of the fifth century BC onwards.⁴³

The background to the decree, set out in ll. 1-5, is that an Athenian embassy to the Persian king had passed through Sidon in Phoenicia (modern Sayda, Lebanon) and received substantial aid from the Sidonian king, Straton, who then sent an envoy to Athens – perhaps accompanying the Athenian embassy on its return journey, perhaps sent at a later date. This ambassador's arrival in Athens prompted this decree, which made Straton and his descendants Athenian *proxenoí*. The decree is our main source for the political, cultural, and economic relations between Athens and Sidon in the fourth century BC. Previously dated to the 360s BC, it now appears that the decree must have been inscribed in or shortly after 387/6

³⁸ For an introduction to decrees of the Assembly and Council, see [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\)](#), sect. 2, with further references.

³⁹ [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\)](#), sect. 2.6; Lambert, *IALD* II, 21-30; P. Liddel, *ZPE* 143, 2003, 79-93.

⁴⁰ [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\)](#), sect. 2.3-4

⁴¹ A possible case is [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 8](#), a decree for a man from Argos.

⁴² See [IG II³ 1, 293](#), with note on AIO.

⁴³ Mack 2015, esp. 22-89, supported by an online database, *Proxeny Networks of the Ancient World*. On the honorific impulse to inscribe, see [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\)](#), sect. 2.6, and Lambert, *IALD* II, 71-92 = S. D. Lambert, ed., *Sociable Man* (2011), 193-214.

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BC. This redating has implications for our understanding of the Peace of Antalkidas and the end of the Corinthian War. A rider to the decree, which extends important privileges to Sidonians visiting Athens for trade, is important for our understanding of the position of metics in Athens and for the degree to which economic factors played a role in Athenian decision making.

Straton is universally equated with King ʿAbdʿaštart I of Sidon. In the Greek tradition, Straton was noted for his sumptuous court and his interest in Greek culture. He and Nikokles of Salamis in Cyprus (reigned 373-362 BC) were said to have competed with one another in sumptuousness and to have suffered similarly violent deaths.⁴⁴ Straton’s interest in Greek art and culture was part of the long-standing bidirectional cultural interaction between Greece and the cities of Phoenicia. Recent work by J. Quinn and S. R. Martin has stressed, in different ways, the intensity of this interaction and how porous and blurred any cultural boundary between Greeks and Phoenicians was in this period.⁴⁵ Emblematic of this interchange are the sarcophagi of the Sidonian kings, artefacts which made heavy and expert use of Greek motifs and materials and are often presented as masterpieces of Greek art, although produced only in Sidon. One of these, the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, may have belonged to ʿAbdʿaštart I himself.⁴⁶

Although proxeny was developed for interactions between Greek communities, the Athenians apparently did not find it problematic to apply it to Sidon. On the contrary, the decree presupposes that Straton was conversant enough with Greek diplomatic and honorific norms to understand that the status of *proxenos* was an honour and to understand the duties that came with it. There is no suggestion that he is an outsider to this world; on the contrary, he is presented as a “good man,” who has engaged with the economy of honours in an exemplary fashion. This suggests that the Greek/Barbarian distinction was not a controlling factor in how the Athenians conducted diplomacy with – or generally conceived of – other state actors.⁴⁷ Another indication of the degree to which the Athenians perceived or assumed Sidon to function like a Greek polis is the fact that the Sidonians exempted from financial burden at the end of the decree are assumed to “enjoy citizen status” at Sidon (*politeuomenoi*, l. 31-32) just like citizens of a Greek polis (it is unclear whether such a concept of citizen status actually existed at Sidon).

By the early fourth century BC the Athenians had already granted proxeny to several kings and other autocrats. Alexander I of Macedon had been an Athenian *proxenos* before the Persian Wars (Hdt. 8.136.1), a status that was reasserted for his grandson Archelaos in a decree shortly before 407 BC ([IG I³ 117](#)). Artas, ruler of the Messapians in southern Italy and ally of the Athenians, was also an Athenian *proxenos* before the Sicilian Expedition in 415 BC (Thuc. 7.33.4; *Suda* A4051). A proxeny decree for a king of the Pelagonians (northwest of Macedonia) was passed in 371/0 or 365/4 BC (*IG* II² 190). It was also common to award prominent dynasts the greater honour of Athenian citizenship. Straton’s neighbour, Euagoras of Salamis in Cyprus received such a grant in 410 or 407 BC ([IG I³ 113](#)). In [IG II³ 1, 411](#), the

⁴⁴ Athen. *Deip.* 12.531a-e = Anaximenes *FGrH* 72 F18 and Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F114; Ael. *VH* 7.2; Hieron. *Adv. Jov.* 1.45.

⁴⁵ Martin 2017; Quinn 2019, esp. 65-90. For earlier discussion see F. Millar, *PCPS* 209, 1983, 55-71; Boardman 1999, 54-84.

⁴⁶ Martin 2017, 141-44; Kuhrt, 752 n. 3.

⁴⁷ Hagemajer-Allen 2003, 199-246 argues for this as a general proposition. Cf. Quinn 2019, 45-56, challenging the idea that the Greeks recognised a category of “Phoenician.”

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Athenians confirmed that Arybbas of Molossia (northwestern Greece) possessed the citizenship originally granted to his grandfather, Tharyps (reigned ca. 430-393 BC). Later in the fourth century, grants of citizenship formed part of Athenian alliances with Dionysios I of Syracuse (*IG II² 103*, 369/8 BC), Leukon of Cimmerian Bosporos (before 355 BC, Dem. 20.29-40, with *IG II³ 1, 298* and *AIUK 4.2 (BM) 12*), and Orontes the satrap of Mysia (*IG II³ 1, 295*, 349/8 BC?). However, the Athenian Assembly consciously chose not to grant citizenship to Straton. Nor did they grant any of the specific privileges that often went with proxeny, such as the right to acquire land in Athens (*enktesis*), tax-free status (*ateleia*), or the honorific status of benefactor (*euergetes*).⁴⁸ This cannot be attributed to Straton's non-Greek ethnicity, since, as the list above shows, the Athenians were willing to make citizenship grants to non-Greek rulers. It may have been assumed that *enktesis* and *ateleia* would not have any practical utility for Straton, who was unlikely to ever visit Athens, but that cannot explain the absence of citizenship and benefactor status. One possibility is that the Athenians considered their relationship with Straton and the Sidonians to be a relatively distant one and that the Athenians hoped to receive further services from Straton before they offered greater honours and benefits.⁴⁹

The emphasis on proxeny may also have communicated that the Athenians wanted Straton to play the role of Athenian representative not just in relation to Sidon, but also with respect to his overlord, the Persian king.⁵⁰ The Sidonian kings maintained a close relationship with the Persian kings in general. Herodotos presents the king of Sidon as first in honour after Xerxes himself at the war council before the Battle of Salamis in 480 BC.⁵¹ Sidonian coinage seems to depict the Sidonian king standing alongside the Persian king's chariot, marking the Sidonian king out as royal stool-bearer.⁵² Sidon was also the centre of Persian administration in Phoenicia until at least 351 BC (Diod. 16.41.4, 44.6). This inscription shows that the Sidonian kings were able to leverage this special relationship into influence with actors outside the Persian empire. The practical service rendered to the Athenian embassy may have been the provision of the authorisation document (Elamite: *halmi / miyatukkaš*), which was required to travel along Persian royal roads, and introductions to the Persian court.⁵³

As mentioned above, the loss of the dating formulae which would have appeared in the upper portion of the inscription has caused uncertainty about the date of the inscription and of the embassy to the Persian king mentioned in it. The issue has been resolved by Angelos Matthaiou's identification of the inscriber's hand as that of the "Cutter of *IG II² 17*"

⁴⁸ Cf. *IG II² 53* and 180; Mack 2015, 122-30 on these privileges. Will Mack (pers. comm.) points out that Straton would have been included in the tax exemptions granted in the decree's rider (discussed below).

⁴⁹ Cf. Hagemajer-Allen 2003, 216 on the "tendency in Athens to weigh carefully and give out honors gradually" with the example of Dionysios of Syracuse.

⁵⁰ Cf. Thuc. 2.29 (grant of proxeny to the son-in-law of the Thracian king Sitalkes), *IG II³ 1, 322* (grant of proxeny to courtier of Philip II).

⁵¹ Hdt. 8.67-68. This prestige was probably due in part to the number of ships that he had contributed on that occasion, rather than indicating a permanent prestige ranking. Cf. Kuhrt, p. 663 n. 45 (funerary inscription of King Ešmun'azar II).

⁵² Xen. *Anab.* 4.4.4; Deinon, *FGrH* 690, F 26 = Athen. *Deip.* 12.514a; Briant 2002, 221 and 607-8.

⁵³ On the authorisation documents: Lewis 1994, 27-28; Briant 2002, 364-68.

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(attested dates 414/3-386/5 BC). This identification has been confirmed by Stephen Tracy.⁵⁴ Before this identification, arguments about the dating of the decree centred on various formulae and institutions mentioned in decree. These discussions remain relevant for locating the decree within the long career of the “Cutter of *IG II² 17*”. A broad *terminus post quem* is provided by two formulae. Firstly, the term ἐν ἀκροπόλει (“on the Acropolis”) used at l. 15 replaced the term ἐν πόλει (“on the polis”), between 394/3 and 386/5 BC.⁵⁵ Secondly, the earliest dated example of εἶναι (“to be”), rather than ἀναγράψαι (“to register”), in the formula granting the proxeny in l. 9 is in an inscription of 388/7 BC; it gradually became the norm over the following two decades.⁵⁶ These two factors suggest a *terminus post quem* of 388/7 BC or perhaps a little earlier. There is no clear *terminus ante quem*, but the Cutter’s attested career is already the longest of any cutter identified by Tracy, so it would be surprising if this inscription fell after the mid-380s BC. Consistent with this is the use of καταθεῖναι (“set it down”) rather than στήσαι (“stand it”) in l. 15, which is rare after ca. 370 BC,⁵⁷ and the fact that the payment for the erection of the stele comes from the ten talent fund (l. 18), which last occurs in 378/7 BC (although there are several undated examples).⁵⁸ Prosopography is less helpful. The proposer of the decree, Kephisodotos, has often been connected with the prominent rhetor of that name active from ca. 370 to the mid-350s BC.⁵⁹ Menexenos, the proposer of the amendment, has sometimes been identified with the proposer of a decree mentioned in [RO 39](#), l. 8 (363/2 BC).⁶⁰ These identifications suggest a later date than that proposed here, but both names are exceptionally common. As of June 2020, Sean Byrne’s *Athenian Onomasticon* lists forty-three fourth-century Athenians named Kephisodotos, and eleven named Menexenos. Without patronymics or demotics, no solid identification is possible and their presence has little relevance for dating the decree. The evidence of the cutter and the indications of formulae thus make a date in or shortly after 388/7 BC most likely.

This result indicates that the standard chronology of the Sidonian kings, based on their coinage, requires revision. The regnal years on ‘Abd’āšart I’s coins show that he reigned for fourteen years and the numismatists A. G. Elayi and J. Elayi have dated this reign to 365-352 BC.⁶¹ On that chronology, this decree has often been placed in the context of the Great Satraps’ Revolt (367-362 BC), although the evidence that Sidon or Athens were involved in

⁵⁴ Matthaïou, *Grammateion* 5, 2016, 71-72; S. V. Tracy, *Horos* 26-31, 2014-2019, 49-50. For the “Cutter of *IG II² 17*,” see Tracy 2003, 351-63; Matthaïou 2010, 73-81; Tracy, *Athenian Lettering*, 149-80.

⁵⁵ Henry 1982, 91-97. Latest dated example of ἐν πόλει: *IG II² 19* (394/3 BC). Earliest dated example of ἐν ἀκροπόλει: [IG II² 29](#) (386/5 BC).

⁵⁶ Henry 1983, 116-42. The earliest firmly dated example of εἶναι is *IG II² 23* (388/7) and the last example of ἀναγράψαι is *IG II² 190* (probably 371/0).

⁵⁷ Knoepfler, 1995, 329-30; Vagionakis 2017, 174-75.

⁵⁸ *IG II² 22* (390/89 BC); [RO 22](#) (378/7 BC). Henry 1982, 111; Knoepfler 1995, 329-30. For the ten talent fund as indicator of a later date, see *RO*, p. 90, with further references.

⁵⁹ *PAA* 8331; Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 110-11; *RO*, p. 88-91; Vagionakis 2017, 176. Aside from this inscription, his first attestation is as part of an embassy to Thebes in 371/0 BC: Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.2.

⁶⁰ *PAA* 9972; Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 113; Vagionakis 2017, 176. This would be the only other attestation of the proposer.

⁶¹ Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 115; Elayi and Elayi 2004, 400-35 and 635-94; summarised by Elayi 2008, 104-6 and Elayi 2014, 117; Woolmer 2011, 31.

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that revolt is very ambiguous.⁶² But the new dating of this decree in or shortly after 388/7 means that ‘Abd’āstart I’s fourteen year reign must have ended before 372 BC. ‘Abd’āstart and this inscription thus belong to the period of the Corinthian War (395/4 BC-387/6 BC), the King’s Peace which ended it (387/6 BC), and its aftermath.

The political situation in this period is as follows. The Spartans had won the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) with Persian support, but in 400 BC they began military activity in Persian territory in western Asia Minor. In response, the Persian King Artaxerxes II helped the opponents of the Spartans in mainland Greece, including Athens, to begin the Corinthian War against Sparta in 395 BC. The Spartan navy was destroyed at the Battle of Knidos in 394 BC by a Persian fleet. Part of this fleet, under the command of the Athenian exile Konon, was composed of ships crewed by Athenian exiles and ships sent by Euagoras of Salamis in Cyprus, a Persian vassal and long-term Athenian ally. The rest of the fleet consisted of Phoenician ships under the Persian satrap Pharnabazos, possibly with Straton’s father, Ba’alšillem II (Greek name unknown) as his deputy (*Oxy. Hist.* 9.2). The Athenians and their allies continued the war against Sparta, increasingly independently of the Persians.⁶³ As a result, in 392 BC, Tiribazos the newly appointed satrap in Sardis attempted to switch Persian support from Athens to Sparta (*Xen. Hell.* 4.8.12-15).⁶⁴ He was dismissed for this by Artaxerxes, but he resumed the policy when he was re-appointed in 388 BC, arranging for the Spartan admiral Antalkidas to visit Artaxerxes in Susa. On his return in 387/6, Antalkidas defeated the Athenian fleet at Abydos and seized control of the grain route through the Hellespont, forcing the Athenians to sue for peace (*Xen. Hell.* 5.1.28-29).⁶⁵ Tiribazos then summoned the representatives of the Greek cities to Sardis where he presented them with peace terms that had been sent down by the King with Antalkidas: “King Artaxerxes thinks it is just that the cities in Asia and the islands of Klazomenai and Cyprus belong to him, but that the other Greek cities, great and small, be left autonomous, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros; these should belong to the Athenians, as in ancient times. Whoever does not accept this peace, I will go to war with, alongside those who support these terms, on land and sea, with ships and money.” The envoys reported back to their cities, and at a second meeting at Sparta their representatives swore to abide by the resulting peace, known variously as the Peace of Antalkidas or the King’s Peace (*Xen. Hell.* 5.1.25-32; *Diod.* 14.110).⁶⁶ While the Corinthian War had still been ongoing, Euagoras made efforts to bring the whole of Cyprus under his control and the Persian king responded in 391/0 BC by sending forces to occupy the island (*Diod.* 14.98.2-3). Diodoros says that Euagoras immediately revolted against the Persian king, but the contemporary Isocrates appears to date the outbreak of conflict to 386/5 BC (*Isoc.* 4.141). At any rate, the Athenians had been implicated since, at Euagoras’ request, they had sent three separate squadrons of ships to Cyprus which helped bring the island under Euagoras’ control before the King’s Peace (*Xen. Hell.* 4.8.24, 5.1.10; *Lys.* 19.21, 19.43; *Nep. Ch.* 2.2).⁶⁷ Euagoras’ revolt lasted until around 380 BC and saw substantial fighting in

⁶² Earlier arguments are summarised by RO, p. 88-91; Vagionakis 2017, 173-74.

⁶³ Ruzicka 2012, 49-65. On Euagoras, see [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 7](#) with notes. On Ba’alšillem II: Elayi and Elayi 2004, 638-40, Ruzicka 2012, 248 n. 10.

⁶⁴ Ruzicka 2012, 61-64.

⁶⁵ cf. Polyain. 2.24, and [IG II² 29](#) with notes on AIO.

⁶⁶ Ruzicka 2012, 77-78, 80-82.

⁶⁷ Ruzicka 2012, 66-70, 78-80; the Athenians also made an alliance with King Hakoris of Egypt, another Persian enemy in 388: *Aristoph. Plut.* 178 with Scholion and Ruzicka 2012, 75.

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Phoenicia, in which Tyre joined Euagoras against the Persians (Isoc. 4.161; Diod. 15.3-4). The literary sources do not indicate that Sidon participated in this revolt.⁶⁸

This is the context for this decree. The Sidonian embassy to Athens that occasioned this inscription should fall after the Peace, since Straton would probably not have sent a mission to the Athenians while his overlord was at war with them. The Athenian embassy to King Artaxerxes that passed through Sidon (ll. 1-3) must have come before this. One possibility is that the embassy occurred as part of the negotiations before the King's Peace. This would reveal a different picture from that given by the literary sources, which present the Persians and Spartans as dictating the Peace to the other Greeks. Another inscription, [IG II² 28](#), also seems to refer to preliminary negotiations, since it empowers the Athenian generals to make special provisions (the details are lost) for the island of Klazomenai. Two clauses in the final King's Peace suggest Athens did have input into its terms: a clause that specifically affirmed Athenian possession of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, which was presumably included at Athenian insistence, and a clause specifying that Klazomenai would be under Persian control, perhaps a rejection of whatever was decreed by [IG II² 28](#). However, any such negotiations are more likely to have happened at the court of the satrap Tiribazos at Sardis, as happened in earlier attempts at negotiation during the war (e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.12-16). In the emergency situation after the Athenian defeat at Abydos in 387/6 BC there would not have been time for the Athenians to travel all the way to Susa and back – a round trip of about 5,000 km, which took three months each way.⁶⁹ Tiribazos had been to Susa with Antalkidas only a few months earlier and thus his instructions from the king were still current. The congress at Sardis after the Spartan victory, at which Tiribazos presented the peace terms to the representatives of the Greek cities, would have provided an opportunity for the Athenians to have input into the terms of the Peace. If [IG II² 28](#) does refer to preliminary negotiations, it supports the idea that they took place in Sardis, since it entrusts the role of negotiation to the generals at Klazomenai (in a bay downriver from Sardis), not to envoys going to Susa. It seems more likely, therefore, that the Athenian embassy that passed through Sidon was sent after the conclusion of Peace in order to re-establish relations with Artaxerxes. This was a task of particular urgency, since the war and its conclusion had decisively reasserted the Persian role as powerbrokers in the Aegean. Tiribazos enjoyed great favour with Artaxerxes and was consistently pro-Spartan. The Athenians may have decided to send the embassy through Sidon in the hope that Straton, as a similarly high-ranking grandee, would balance Tiribazos out, or because they feared Tiribazos would not even grant them passage to Susa. Exculpating themselves from Euagoras' developing revolt may have been an additional factor. In this case, Straton's envoy to Athens might have accompanied the Athenian embassy on their way home.

The decree prescribes an exchange of *symbola* (ll. 18-25). This term often refers to reciprocal legal agreements between *poleis*, but this inscription's explanation of the purpose of the *symbola* makes clear that that is not the intended sense here.⁷⁰ In this context, *symbola* are tokens used by two parties to identify one another. They were objects, such as tablets or

⁶⁸ Elayi 1990, 176; Ruzicka 2012, 83-98.

⁶⁹ Cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 65-67; Hdt. 5.50-54. Cf. A. Matthaïou, *Grammateion* 5 (2016), 115-18, with various additional candidates for the embassy.

⁷⁰ For *symbola* as reciprocal legal agreements, see [IG I³ 10](#). There are many ambiguous cases, such as [IG I³ 113](#), and [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\). App.](#), where it is not clear whether *symbola* are legal agreements or tokens.

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knucklebones, which were broken into two pieces, one of which was taken by each of the parties. The unique shape of the break guaranteed authenticity when the two pieces were fitted back together.⁷¹ These *symbola* simply served as proof of identity (as ll. 20-25 make clear); they are distinct from *skytalai* which were used to send encrypted messages. *Symbola* were originally used to guarantee long-distance relationships that were expected to endure over long periods of time, such as multi-generational guest-friendships (*xenia*) and financial relationships of debt and credit (cf. Hdt. 6.86; Eur. *Med.* 613). With the spread of literacy in the fourth century BC, they were increasingly replaced by written documents, and the term began to be used generically for other kinds of proof of identity.⁷² Although *symbola* had been used by the Athenians in the fifth century to guarantee the security of the tribute collection (e.g. [IG I³ 34](#)), they were not a normal feature of Athenian diplomacy, as shown by the fact that the decree's framers had to explain in detail what they were for (ll. 20-25). A possible parallel is provided by an agreement of 349/8 BC with the satrap Orontes ([IG II³ 1, 295](#)). This may indicate that *symbola* were preferred in relations with Persian satraps, although seals were the normal proof of identity amongst the Persians themselves.⁷³

The final section of the decree (ll. 29-36) is introduced in a rider as an amendment. In the most common format, the amender announces his agreement with the Council and then gives his proposed amendment. This indicates that the rest of the decree was “probouleumatic” – i.e. a decree that the Assembly passed in the same form as the proposal (*probouleuma*) presented to them by the Council. In this case, however, the amender Menexenos announces his agreement with an individual proposer, Kephisodotos (ll. 29-30). This formula is rare in this period (there is only one other case from the fourth century BC, [IG II³ 1, 298](#)), but was usually employed to amend “non-probouleumatic decrees” – that is, decrees that had been formulated in the Assembly itself, either because the Council had presented the issue to the Assembly without offering a specific proposal (an “open” *probouleuma*) or because the Assembly had set aside the Council's *probouleuma* altogether.⁷⁴ Other indications of a non-probouleumatic decree, like the decree's enactment formula, unfortunately do not survive. Discussing material from the second half of the fourth century BC, Lambert identifies a distinction between probouleumatic and non-probouleumatic decrees based on topic: the former were uncontroversial honorific decrees, while anything unusual or contentious was left to – or taken up by – the Assembly.⁷⁵ That distinction may be relevant in this case as well. At any rate, the presence of the amendment shows that this decree was indeed the subject of active debate in the Assembly.

One interpretation of the amendment is that Sidonians in Athens are granted the status of metics (permanent residents), without the corresponding financial burdens.⁷⁶ If this was the intention, a number of parallel cases show that this decree could have been more explicit. For example, the fragmentary *Agora* XVI 51 (mid-fourth century BC), specifically grants

⁷¹ Gauthier 1972, 62-89; Schol. in Eur. *Med.* 613.

⁷² Gauthier 1972, 85-89 with Dem. 50.18.

⁷³ On seals: Lewis 1994, 7-32. An agreement with an Akarnanian tribe ([IG II³ 1, 296](#)), also in 349/8 BC may be another parallel, but this decree is very fragmentary and may refer to *symbola* as reciprocal legal agreements rather than proofs of identity.

⁷⁴ See [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\)](#), sect. 2.2; Rhodes, *Boule*, 65, 71-74, 259; Lambert, *IALD* II, 227-68, esp. 245, 249-51 on riders.

⁷⁵ Lambert, *IALD* II, 252-68.

⁷⁶ e.g. Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, 273; Oliver 2007, 84.

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freedom from the metic tax to a Cretan community “on the same terms as for the Knossians,” implying that a detailed set of terms existed in that case. Similarly, [IG II³ 1, 316](#) (338/7 BC) grants Akarnanian refugees residency rights and freedom from the metic tax, “until they return home.”⁷⁷ By contrast, the beneficiaries of the amendment are limited to those Sidonians “residing in Sidon and enjoying civic rights there” (ll. 31-32) who are “visiting” Athens (*epidemosin*, l. 32), both phrases that apparently exclude Sidonians permanently resident in Athens. In his definition of a metic, the Hellenistic grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium draws a distinction between metics and “visitors”:

A metic is anyone who comes from a foreign country and resides in the city, paying a payment for some of the city’s fixed expenses. For a certain number of days he is called a visitor (*parepidemos*) and is not liable to pay, but after the set time has passed, he becomes a metic and liable to payment (Arist. Byz. F 38)

The amendment seems to grant the Sidonians this visitor status, preventing them from being subjected to the financial burdens of metics only when not actually resident. Perhaps a general visitor status did not yet exist at the time of this decree or perhaps the amendment granted it to Sidonians for a longer period of time.⁷⁸ In the latter case, the length of the period is left vague – perhaps to be determined by the courts on a case-by-case basis. By contrast, the inscription is very clear about which payments the Sidonian visitors were not subject to: the metic tax (*metoikion*), service as a *choregos* (theatrical sponsor), and occasional capital taxes (*eisphorai*). These are all attested elsewhere as financial obligations of metics. The metic tax was a flat tax of twelve drachmai a year for men and six for women, paid in monthly instalments; it was the defining feature of metic status and failure to pay led to enslavement.⁷⁹ Service as a *choregos* (theatrical sponsor) could fall on metics in the same way that it fell on citizens. The occasional property tax was imposed to meet particular expenses. Metics paid a sixth of the total value of their property or possibly a sixth of the total amount sought through the tax ([IG II³ 1, 429](#), l. 19; Dem. 22.61).⁸⁰ Usually it was levied on metics and citizens together, but in some cases, apparently on metics alone.⁸¹

The amendment is the earliest evidence for the presence of Sidonians in Athens. There is evidence for a Sidonian community in Piraeus, Athens’ main port, from the later half of the fourth century, including a number of Sidonian funerary monuments, as well as a bilingual honorific decree of an Association (*Koinon*) of the Sidonians probably erected in 319 BC ([IG II² 2946 = SSI no. 4](#)).⁸² By 333/2 BC, the Piraeus was also home to an established community of Phoenicians from Kition in Cyprus.⁸³ Phoenicians were also present elsewhere in the Aegean in this period; a group of Tyrians and Sidonians on Delos made a dedication to Apollo during the reign of ‘Abd’astart (*I Delos 50*). In the late fourth and early third centuries, several Tyrians and Sidonians are honoured in Athenian decrees for

⁷⁷ Whitehead 1977, 14-16. The extremely fragmentary [IG II³ 1, 503](#) may be another parallel.

⁷⁸ Gauthier 1972, 119; Whitehead 1977, 15; Culasso Gastaldi 2004, 113-14.

⁷⁹ Harp. sv. μετοίκιον = μ 27 Keaney; Bekker, *Anec. Gr.* 1.298.27; Whitehead 1977, 75-77; Fawcett 2016, 165

⁸⁰ Whitehead 1977, 77-82. On *eisphorai* generally, see Fawcett 2016, 156-58, 165.

⁸¹ e.g. [IG II² 554](#), Lys. 12.20; Gauthier 1972, 118-23.

⁸² W. Ameling, *ZPE* 81, 1990, 189-99; J. Stager, *Hesperia* 74, 2004, 427-49. See [IG II² 10270](#), which will appear in *AIUK* 4.6 (BM) with discussion and further references.

⁸³ See [IG II³ 1, 337](#) with notes

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their role in the grain trade. Apollonides of Sidon was honoured with proxeny, the status of benefactor, and the right to own land in 323/2 BC at the prompting of the “merchants and shippers” (*IG II³ 1, 379*), while Aspes and Hieron of Tyre were honoured in the 320s BC for bringing grain from Italy and Carthage (*IG II³ 1, 468*). The Athenians did not inscribe honorific decrees for mercantile activity before 338 BC,⁸⁴ but the Sidonians and other Phoenicians may already have been a factor in the grain trade at the time of this decree.⁸⁵

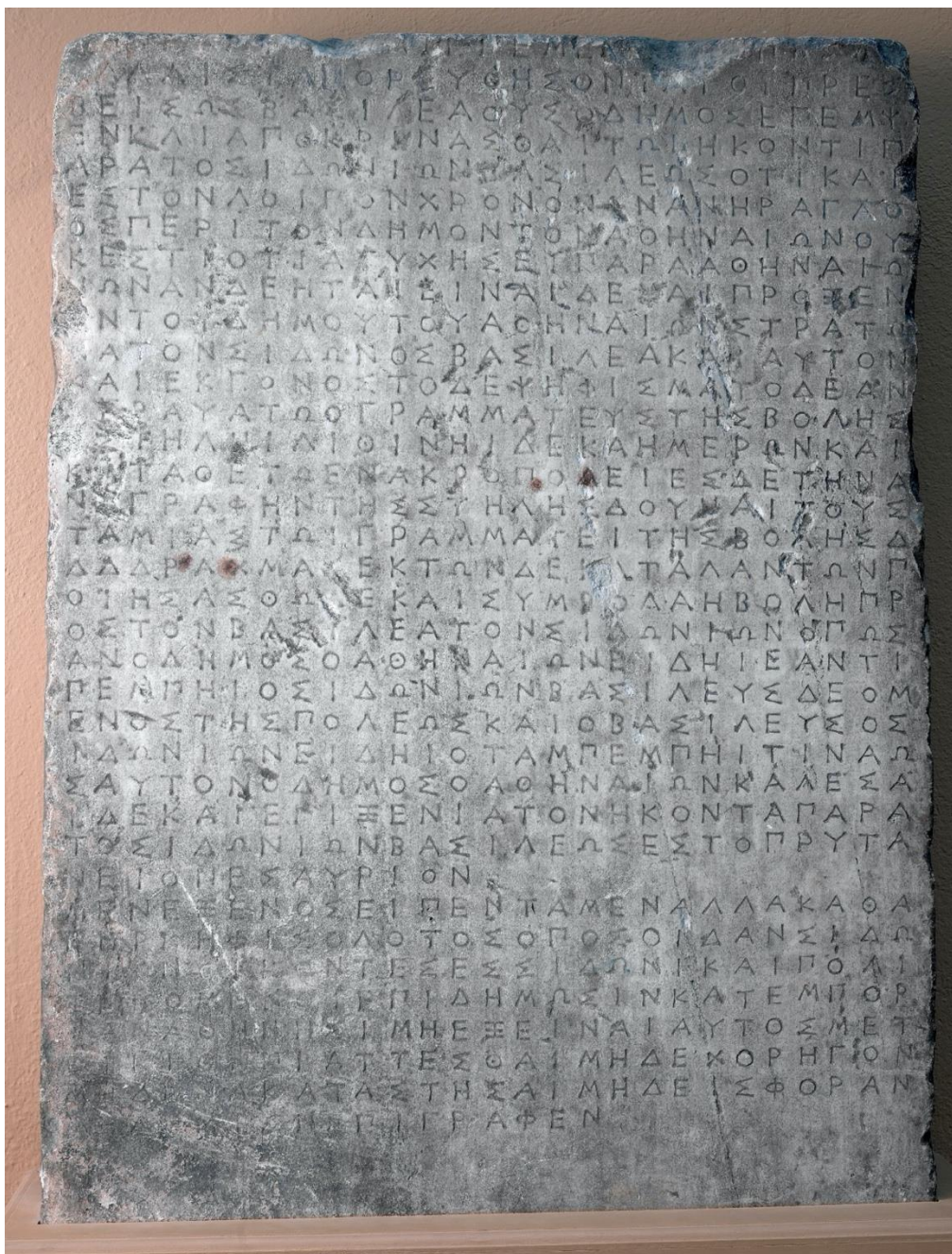


Fig. 1. 1 = ANChandler 2.24. © Ashmolean Museum.

⁸⁴ Lambert, *IALD II*, 100-2 = V. Azoulay and P. Ismard, eds., *Clisthène et Lycurgue d'Athènes* (2011), 179-81.

⁸⁵ Moreno 2007, 303, 340-41.

2 CALENDAR OF OFFERINGS. ANChandler 2.21. Acquired in Athens by Dawkins in 1751 from Monastiraki church (Chandler, cf. [sect. 1](#)). White marble stele; broken at top. H. 0.66, w. 0.28, th. 0.11. Letter h. 0.009. No cursive forms and no serifs. Alpha = A; zeta = Z (ll. 7, 10), I (l. 19); pi = Π; omega = Ω; hyperextended right diagonals on A/Δ/Λ, elongated vertical of Φ; Σ not usually, M never splayed. Traces of red paint survive in some letters. Date of letter forms discussed below.

Eds. Chandler 1763, 14-17, no. xxi (*CIG* I 523; *IG* III 77; Prott [and L. Ziehen], *LGS* I, 7-13, no. 3); *IG* II² 1367 (Vidman, *SIRIS*, 10-11, no. 14; Bricault, *RICIS*, 18, no. 101/0225); Sokolowski, *LSCG* 52; Zachhuber 2014 (ph.).

Cf. Graindor 1934, 148-60; M. N. Tod, *ABSA* 45, 1950, 129; Dunand 1973, 137-40; D. Guarisco, *Simblos* 3, 2001, 157 (*SEG* 51.138); Alvar 2008, 314, n. 429; Pologiorgi 2008, 130 (*SEG* 58.44). Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2019. In store. *Fig. 2*.

ca. ii AD

 δ[ωδεκόνφαλον?]
 Μεταγιτνιῶνος θεαῖς β[ι?...⁸⁻¹⁰...]
 ΤΟΥ τῆς παντελείας πόπανον [δωδεκόμ]-
 φαλον χοινικιαῖον, ιε νηφάλιον. *vacat*
 5 Βοηδρομιῶνος γι Νέφθυι καὶ Ὀσίριδ[ι]
 ἀλεκτρούνα καρπώσεις σπείρων πυρ[οὺς]
 καὶ κρειθᾶς, σπένδων μελίκρατον. ζι Δήμ[η]-
 τρι Κόρη δέλφακα ἀνυπερθέτως. ηι τρύγ[η]-
 τον Διονύσω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀν[υ]περ[θ](έτως) ·
 10 Πυανοψιῶνος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ζ π[ό]-
 [πα]νον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον καὶ καθήμεν[ον]
 δωδεκόνφαλον. *vacat*
 Μαιμακτηριῶνος Διὶ Γεωργῶ κ πόπανο[ν]
 χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον δωδεκόνφαλ[ον,]
 15 ναστὸν χοινικιαῖον ἐπιπεπλασμένον,
 πανκαρπίαν, νηφάλιον. *vacat*
 Ποσιδεῶνος ἠ ἰσταμένου πόπανον
 χοινικιαῖον δωδεκόνφαλον καθήμεν[ον]
 [Π]οσιδῶνι Χαμαιζήλω, νηφάλιον. θι
 20 Ἄνεμοις πόπανον χοινικιαῖον ὀρθό[ν]-
 φαλον δωδεκόνφαλον, νηφάλιον. *vacat*
 Γαμηλιῶνος κιττώσεις Διονύσους θι.
 Ἄνθεστηριῶνος ἱερεῖς ἐκ λουτρῶν. ^{vv}
 [Ἐ]λαφηβολιῶνος εἰ Κρόνω πόπανον
 25 δωδεκόμφαλον καθήμενον ἐπι-
 [πλάσ]εις βοῦν χοινικιαῖον ἀνυπε[ρθέ]-
 [τω]ς. ^{vv} Μουνιχιῶνος β ἀπιόντος Ἡ[ρα]-
 κλεῖ καὶ θεῖω ἀλέκτορας β, πόπαν[α]
 30 χοίνικος δωδεκόμφαλα ὀρθόνφα[λα]
 ἀνυπερθέτως.

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The numerals in ll. 4, 5, 7, 13, 17, 22, 24, 27 are overlined; other numerals are not. On the unusual order of the digits, see discussion below || 1 Zachhuber, line omitted by previous eds. || 2 β[ι' or β de Lisle; κ[αι ... Zachhuber || 9 Sokolowski || 13 κ omitted by Kirchner || 23 ἱερεῖς Kirchner, Sokolowski; ἱερ<ι>εῖς Prott, meaning “you will consecrate,” gives clearer sense, but the word is otherwise attested only once in the corpus of ancient Greek || 25-26 ἐπι[[πλάσ]εις Sokolowski, ἐπι[[θύ]σεις Zachhuber || καρπώσεις 6, κιττώσεις 22, and ἐπι[[πλάσ]εις 25 have been interpreted as nouns (Boeckh, Alvar) or second person singular verbs (Prott, Vidman, Sokolowski), as here.

...

[with twelve bosses?]

Metageitnion: for the goddesses on the [2nd or 12th ...]

... of the Panteleia, a twelve-

bossed round cake, containing a *choinix* (of flour), on the 15th, wineless libation.

(5) Boedromion: On the 13th for Nephthys and Osiris

you will burn a rooster, sprinkling wheat

and barley, pouring a libation of honey-mixture. On the 17th for

Demeter and Kore, (sacrifice) an adult pig immediately. On the 18th (sacrifice) the vintage to Dionysos and the other gods, immediately.

(10) Pyanopsion: for Apollo and Artemis, on the 7th,

a straight-bossed round cake containing a *choinix* and a flattened one with twelve bosses.

Maimakterion: for Zeus Georgos on the 20th, a round cake containing a *choinix*, straight-bossed, with twelve bosses,

(15) and a kneaded-cake containing a *choinix*, moulded on top, an offering of all kinds of harvest produce, a wineless libation.

Posideon: On the 8th from the beginning of the month, a round cake containing a *choinix*, with twelve bosses, flattened,

for Poseidon Chamaizelos, wineless libation. On the 19th,

(20) for the Winds, a round cake containing a *choinix*, straight-bossed, with twelve bosses, a wineless libation.

Gamelion: you will garland (statues of) Dionysos with ivy on the 19th.

Anthesterion: priests from the cleansing water.

Elaphebolion: On the 15th, for Kronos, a round cake

(25) with twelve bosses, flattened – you will mould a

a bull on top (?) – containing a *choinix*, (sacrifice) immediately.

Mounichion: On the 2nd to last day of the month, for

Herakles and his Uncle, 2 roosters, round cakes

containing a *choinix* with twelve bosses, straight-bossed, (sacrifice) immediately.

This inscription is a calendar of religious offerings, an example of a genre of inscription which is well-attested in Attica, with at least thirteen examples known from the fifth and fourth centuries BC.⁸⁶ These calendars were erected by the city, demes, and other civic sub-

⁸⁶ See [AIUK 4.1 \(BM\), no. 1](#) (Eleusinion, 510-475 BC), with notes on AIO for an overview of the genre and selection of examples from Athens and elsewhere. Other Athenian calendars: [IG I³ 230](#) (uncertain, ca. 520-480 BC) [I Eleusis 7](#) (Eleusinion, ca. 510-490 BC), [AIUK 4.1 \(BM\), no. 2](#)

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groups and made provision for what sacrifices were to be offered when, ensuring both ritual accuracy and the accountability of the officials in charge of offerings. However, this calendar dates to the Roman period, probably the second century AD, at least four hundred years after any other example of its genre at Athens.⁸⁷ It probably belonged to a private cult association and provides a valuable insight into the character of Athenian local religion in the Roman Imperial period, revealing both continuities and differences from Classical practice.

The second-century date is indicated by a number of features of the text. The most significant of these for dating purposes is the use of alphabetic numerals. These replaced acrophonic numerals in the reign of Augustus, but they only become common in Attic epigraphy in the second century AD. The highlighting of the numerals by overlining them is also most common after ca. 100 AD, while the unusual order of the digits, in which the ones appear before the tens (thus γι rather than ιγ for 13), is otherwise attested only in the mid-second century AD.⁸⁸ The orthography of the text is discussed below; it includes a number of hypercorrections (erroneous spellings based on false analogy from older or more prestigious forms), which indicate confusion between the vowels “I” and “EI.” This linguistic phenomenon occurred throughout the Imperial period, becoming particularly common after ca. 100 AD.⁸⁹ P. Graindor proposed that this inscription be dated specifically to around the reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD) because the letter forms are similar to 6 (then dated to 125/6 AD, now dated to 108/9 AD).⁹⁰ However, the letters of the two inscriptions are not identical. We should be wary of using letter forms to date Imperial inscriptions; there has been no full study for this period akin to the work done by S. V. Tracy for the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Some broad trends in Roman-period letter forms have been identified for state decrees by A. G. Woodhead in *Agora XVI* and for funerary inscriptions by A. Muehsam.⁹¹ But it is unclear whether the patterns that they identify can be used to date this document, since it belongs to neither of these genres. Furthermore, both Woodhead and Muehsam emphasise that multiple different letter forms co-existed through the first three centuries AD, limiting their use for dating. Muehsam associates irregular lines of text with the Late Antonine Age (ca. 150-190 AD), but the irregular lines in this inscription might be due to the roughness of the work. Thus, while the letter forms in this inscription are compatible with a date in the second century AD, they allow no further precision.

The prescript, if there ever was one, is lost, so it is not immediately apparent whom this calendar was intended to govern. In the Classical period, all known sacred calendars were erected by citizen groups: the Athenian state, its individual demes, and the *gene*.⁹² The

(uncertain *genos* or deme, 470-450 BC), [AIO 1303](#) (= *IG I³ 234*, uncertain *genos* (?), 475-450 BC), [AIUK 4.1 \(BM\), no. 3](#) (Skambonidai, ca. 475-450 BC), [OR 146](#) (Thorikos, ca. 440-420 BC), [AIO 1189](#) and [AIO 1185](#) (= *SEG 52.48a-b*, state calendar, 410-399 BC), [AIO 593](#) (= *SEG 21.541*, Erchia, ca. 375-350 BC), [SEG 21.542](#) (Teithras, 400-350 BC), [SEG 50.168](#) (Marathonian Tetrapolis, ca. 375-350 BC), [RO 37](#) (Salaminiotai, 363/2 BC), [I Eleusis 175](#) (Eleusis, ca. 330 BC), all with notes on AIO.

⁸⁷ Inscribed calendars are attested elsewhere in the Aegean in the Hellenistic period (e.g. *CGRN* 149 and 158, Kameiros, 50 BC-AD 50). Roman ritual calendars, known as *fasti*, were inscribed in the late Republic and early Imperial period, but their format is different from Attic calendars and they largely cease by the reign of Claudius: Rüpke 2011.

⁸⁸ M. N. Tod, *ABSA* 45, 1950, 129; Threatte I, 101, 113-17.

⁸⁹ Threatte I, 198-99. Cf. [6](#), l. 21.

⁹⁰ Graindor 1934, 148.

⁹¹ *Agora XVI*, p. 472-86, no. 336-42; Muehsam 1952, 55-65. cf. Von Moock 1998, 30-31.

⁹² On demes, see [RO 46](#) and on *gene* [RO 37](#), with notes on AIO.

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offerings in this calendar are too small for it to be a product of the Athenian state, and by this period the demes had ceased to be functioning units that made collective decisions. The group that produced this calendar could be a *genos*. These continued to be a feature of Athenian civic religion into the third century AD but their exact nature in the Imperial period is rather shadowy. If this calendar was the product of a *genos*, the Eleusinian focus of the offerings (discussed below) would suggest that it belonged to the Eumolpidai or Kerykes, the two *gene* responsible for the Eleusinian cult. However, both of these *gene* had several hundred members, including many of the richest families in Athens.⁹³ The offerings of the calendar seem to be associated with a smaller group, with more limited financial means. Most likely, this is a product of a “voluntary” or “private” association.⁹⁴ These organisations (for which various terms were used, e.g. *eranoi*, *thiasoi*, *koina*, *orgeones*, *synodoi*) were groups focused on a principal deity or deities, after whom they were often named, who gathered together for regular ritual meetings. They were endowed by a private individual or group, whereas *gene* were integrated into the cultic system of the polis, e.g. supplying priests for older polis cults. In their organisation, voluntary associations shared many features with public institutions, such as communal decision making, magistracies and liturgies, and contributions to shared funds. Voluntary associations already existed at Athens in the Classical period, but become common in the epigraphic record in Hellenistic and Roman times.⁹⁵ A number of inscriptions from associations in Attica in the second century AD survive (mostly decrees and regulations) and they have a number of features in common with the group that was governed by this calendar.⁹⁶ Like these associations, this calendar focuses on a central group of deities, but includes offerings for a range of other gods as well; it schedules at least one event every month; it interacts with the Athenian festival year; and it appears to have possessed a sanctuary which served as a central meeting place or clubhouse.⁹⁷ Most of these features can also be paralleled in second-century associations outside Athens.⁹⁸ It is not clear who would have been entitled to participate in the group that erected this calendar. Membership of *gene* was limited to male and female citizens, while voluntary associations differed in their membership restrictions. They usually included non-citizens, but

⁹³ On *gene*, see Parker 1996, 284-342; Aleshire and Lambert 2011; Spawforth 2012, 148-56, 192-204. Cf. [I Eleusis 300](#) (*genos* of the Kerykes, ca. 20/19 BC) *IG II² 2338* (*genos* of the Arynandridai, 18/17 BC); *SEG 29.150* (*genos* of the Kerykes?, late ii or early iii AD); [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 17](#) (*genos* of the Eumolpidai, ca. 220 AD). On the Kerykes and Eumolpidai, Clinton 1974; Parker 1996, 293-97, 300-2.

⁹⁴ Prott [and L. Ziehen], *LGS I*, pp. 12-13; Sokolowski, *LSCG*, p. 103.

⁹⁵ Collected in Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011 and 2012. General discussion: Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996. For Classical and Hellenistic associations, see Arnaoutoglou 2003, Ismard 2010, Steinhauer 2014. [AIUK 4.3A \(BM\), no. 4, 5](#) and [6](#) are decrees of such associations. Humphreys 2018, 403-4 explores factors that probably influenced the decline of the deme (especially in the Attic countryside) and rise of the urban association in the Hellenistic period.

⁹⁶ See *SEG 31.122* (Herakliasts in the Marshes, early ii AD), *IG II² 1368* (Iobacchoi, 164/5 AD); *IG II² 1369* (association of friends, late ii AD), *IG II² 1365-1366* (association of Men Tyrannos at Laureion, ca. 200 AD); *IG II² 2361* (association of Euproia Thea Belela, early iii AD); *IG II² 2963* (Paianists of Mounichian Asklepios, 215/6 AD).

⁹⁷ The best archaeological evidence for these club-houses comes from first-century BC Delos and third-century AD Doura-Europos: Trümper 2007; Baird 2018, 96-112. That the framers of this calendar had such a central place is shown by the reference to a set of statues of Dionysos in l. 22 and by the decision to set up this large, permanent stone inscription.

⁹⁸ e.g. *ILS 7212* (regulations of the worshippers of Diana and Antinoos, Rome, 136 AD); *ILS 7213* (regulations of the association of Aesculapius and Hygiae, Rome, 153 AD).

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not all admitted women and many had requirements of wealth, ritual purity, or general good standing.⁹⁹

The gods who were the central focus in this calendar are all linked to the Eleusinian cult, which was very prominent in Roman Athens, as it had been since the archaic period.¹⁰⁰ Demeter and Kore, the main deities of the Eleusinian cult, receive multiple sacrifices: a cake in Metageitnion (Il. 2-4) and an adult pig, the largest sacrifice of the year, on 17th Boedromion during the Eleusinian Mysteries (Il. 7-8). The importance of Dionysos to the group is shown by the offering of the vintage on 18th Boedromion, the day after the major offering to Demeter and Kore (Il. 8-9) and by the statues of Dionysos that seem to have stood in the group's meeting place (l. 22).¹⁰¹ However, there are also offerings for many other gods, not obviously connected to the group's main deities, such as Apollo, Artemis, Zeus Georgos, Poseidon, Kronos, and Herakles. A similar pattern is seen in the Classical Attic calendars and in other contemporary associations, like the Iobacchoi, who focused on Dionysos but also honoured Kore, Palaimon, Aphrodite, and Proteurythmos (*IG II² 1368*, ll. 121-25, 164/5 AD), the Herakliasts in the Marshes, who worshipped Demeter and Kore, as well as Herakles (*SEG 31.122*, l. 31, early ii AD), and the association of "Euporia Thea Belela and the gods associated with her" (*IG II² 2361*, ll. 4-6, 68-77, early iii AD). The group may have possessed separate altars for all these deities, but, given that the group's resources seem to have been relatively limited, it is perhaps more likely that they used the same altar for all their offerings.

The decision by this group to adopt the form of a sacrificial calendar – a type of inscription which had not been produced in several hundred years – is an example of a common phenomenon in Roman Athens' epigraphy and society: conscious archaism, defined by S. B. Aleshire as "the deliberate and conscious use of motifs and forms which once were prevalent and familiar, but which have become antiquated and unfamiliar by the time of actual application."¹⁰² Archaistic forms were particularly common in religious contexts, where tradition and authenticity were considered closely linked.

The most recent discussion of epigraphic archaism in Roman Athens, by C. Lasagni, is restricted mostly to archaising aspects of format, such as the use of pre-Euclidean letter

⁹⁹ Male and female citizens and non-citizens were included and held positions in the association of Euporia Thea Belela (*IG II² 2361*, early iii AD). The Iobacchoi was limited to men, but included citizens and non-citizens, who had to have the financial means to pay various fees (*IG II² 1368*, esp. ll. 37-41, 126-36). The association of Men Tyrannos (*IG II² 1365*), established by a non-citizen, seems to have been limited to men and required ritual purity and a "straightforward soul" of its members. The association of friends (*IG II² 1369*) was also male-only and required new members to be approved as "pure, pious, and good" by existing members.

¹⁰⁰ Eleusinian cult: Parker 2005, 327-68; Clinton 1997, 161-82; Spawforth 2012, 142-59; Camia 2017; [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 1](#) and [17](#) with notes. For Demeter and Kore in Classical Attic calendars, see Lambert 2018. In the second century AD, Pausanias judged that, in Greece, "the Eleusinian rites and the Olympic games have the greatest share of divine inspiration" (μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἐλευσῖνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ θεοῦ φροντίδος, Paus. 5.10.1). For the Eleusinian cult's later history, see [3](#).

¹⁰¹ Dionysos was an Eleusinian god in that his sanctuary was one of the most important at Eleusis and he was closely associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis in literature, art, terminology, and cult personnel. Whether worship of Dionysos formed part of the Eleusinian Mysteries is controversial. Cf. Clinton 1992, 123-25; Jaccottet 2003, 127-28; Parker 2005, 341.

¹⁰² On this archaising trend at Athens, see [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 17](#); Aleshire 1999; Aleshire and Lambert 2011; Lasagni 2020; Lambert (forthcoming). M. L. Lazzarini, *AION-Linguistica* 8, 1986, 147-54 considers the phenomenon throughout the whole Roman world.

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forms or the *stoichedon* layout, which would have been immediately apparent even to non-literate viewers of inscriptions.¹⁰³ There are few such features in this text. In contrast to other archaizing documents from the Imperial period, the imitation of archaic or classical letter forms (cf. *IG II² 6791*) or formulae (cf. [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 17](#)) is not attempted in this text. Perhaps the rough quality of the inscription, which contrasts with the neat lettering common in the Roman-period inscriptions (e.g. [5](#), [10](#), and [15](#)) was intended to look old, but it could simply result from financial constraints. The decision to adopt the calendar format was, as mentioned above, already archaizing in and of itself, but the inscriber did not seek to follow the format of the Classical calendars particularly closely. In those calendars, the text is generally arranged with entries for new months on new lines and numbers marked out using blank space, which made consultation easier, but was more expensive since it required more stone.¹⁰⁴ In this calendar each new month does start on a new line, resulting in some blank space, but this is not done to the same degree as in Classical calendars, and numerals are marked out by overlining rather than spacing. Similar strategies were used to make inscribed lists easier to consult in other contemporary contexts (compare the use of layout in [6](#) and [10](#), below), so these aspects would not have been perceived as antiquated or unfamiliar.

Archaizing linguistic features are much more prominent. For example, after the fourth century BC, the consonant cluster -vφ- usually becomes -μφ- in Attic inscriptions. In this text, by contrast, -όμφαλον (“boss, knob”) is nearly always written -όνφαλον, as if to avoid this “modern” spelling. In fact, this is a hypercorrection, since ὄμφαλος was actually the original form of this word.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, from the early Roman period, inscriptions often use “ει” where earlier texts had “ι”, but this text scrupulously avoids the newer form. It is one of the few Attic texts of the Roman period to spell the month Ποσιδεῶνος (l. 17), which was the usual spelling in the Classical period, rather than Ποσειδεῶνος. As mentioned earlier, the text also includes hypercorrections of this feature, using “ι” even in contexts where “ει” would have been expected in a classical text, such as the month Μεταγίτνιῶνος (l. 2) and the god Ποσιδῶνι (l. 19). Linguistic archaism is also achieved by specific word choices. For example, the word used in the text for the wineless libations, “*nephalion*” (literally “sober”) is encountered only in Athens, where it appears in Classical calendars ([AIO 1189](#) = *SEG* 52.48a; [AIO 593](#) = *CGRN* 52) and other inscriptions of ritual norms (e.g. *IG II² 4962*). This archaism may have been particularly attractive because the term also appears in classical tragedy and thus emphasised the learnedness of the calendar’s framers.¹⁰⁶ Archaisms in Roman-period inscriptions often seem to be created by copying earlier models – either old inscriptions that were still visible or perhaps documents in archives.¹⁰⁷ This inscription may have drawn on earlier models in this way, but the hypercorrections mentioned above indicate that the text was substantially composed around the time it was inscribed, rather than being a transcription or re-inscription of an earlier document. Thus there was archaism in this text, but it was not focussed at the text’s point of composition, not its point of inscription. The offerings and practices recorded in the inscription may themselves have been intended to be

¹⁰³ Lasagni 2020.

¹⁰⁴ e.g. [OR 146](#) with commentary at *CGRN* 32.

¹⁰⁵ Threatte I, 597. Beekes, *sv.* ὄμφαλος cf. Latin *umbilicus* which is cognate.

¹⁰⁶ Aesch. *Eum.* 106-7; a variant in Soph. *Oed. Col.* 100. Cf. the cultivation of the cave of Apollo hypo Makraia in Roman Athens, which Rigsby links to the prominent role of that cave in Euripides’ *Ion*: *IG II³ 4, 128*, with notes on AIO and Rigsby 2010.

¹⁰⁷ See [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 17](#) with notes.

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archaizing, recalling the practices of the now-defunct demes, but they also drew on the practices of contemporary voluntary associations, and on other influences.

In the Classical calendars, the types of offering, their dates, and the deities to whom they were offered were bound up in two annual cycles: the agricultural year and the festival year of the Athenian *polis*, which were themselves interlinked. Both these cycles also occur in the Ashmolean calendar, but their presence would probably not have seemed “antiquated and unfamiliar,” since both cycles remained central to contemporary Athenian life.

Many of the sacrifices in the calendar can be linked to milestones of the agricultural year.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the vintage (*trygetos*) was offered to Dionysos on the 18th of Boedromion (ll. 8-9), right after it had been picked from the vine, and shortly before it was sealed in *pithoi* to ferment until the Anthesteria five months later.¹⁰⁹ Pyanopsion saw the end of the fruit crop harvest and the beginning of the ploughing and sowing of the grain crop, perhaps a factor in the large offering of two cakes for Apollo and Artemis (ll. 10-12).¹¹⁰ Maimakterion was the beginning of winter, when the sowing was completed and late ploughing took place – the last action that the farmer could take that could influence how the grain crop would turn out.¹¹¹ The large offering to Zeus Georgos (“the Farmer”) of two cakes and *pankarpia*, “all the fruits” from the harvest of the previous month (ll. 13-16), was thus particularly appropriate.¹¹² Parallels can be cited from the classical calendars. For example, the festivals of the Thorikos calendar follow the life-cycle of grain, while the most expensive offering of the Marathon Tetrapolis calendar is the sacrifice of a pregnant cow for “Earth in the fields.” In all the classical calendars, offerings are concentrated around sowing and harvest, and sparse during the lean winter months.¹¹³ The relationship between the offerings and the agricultural year had an economic element – offerings were made when there was produce to offer. But the main purpose was to create and maintain an ongoing cycle of reciprocity between the gods and their worshippers. Thus, acts of sowing were accompanied by offerings in the hope that the gods would repay them with a successful harvest. In turn, the first fruits of the harvest were offered to the gods in thanks and to encourage them to provide successful harvests in future.

The calendar also interacts closely with the civic festival year, in a creative and selective way, which allowed the members of the association to engage with both the civic cycle and the association’s cycle.¹¹⁴ The most important example of this phenomenon are the sacrifices in Boedromion, which cluster around the Eleusinian Mysteries. The start of the festival of the Mysteries was the 13th of Boedromion, when the ephebes went to Eleusis to collect the sacred objects in order to bring them to Athens.¹¹⁵ The offering by the group on this day (ll. 5-7) was likely a preliminary sacrifice for the festival. The same type of sacrifice appears in *CGRN* 86 A, ll. 33-39, a mid-fourth-century BC sacred law from Kos as a preliminary sacrifice for a festival of Zeus Polieus, and is described with the same

¹⁰⁸ On the Athenian agricultural year, see Simon 1983; Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 160-68.

¹⁰⁹ Plut. *Quast. Conv.* 671d.

¹¹⁰ Plut. *Isid.* 378e.

¹¹¹ The personification of this month on the Calendar Frieze is a man ploughing: Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 168.

¹¹² Harp. *sv.* Πυανόψια = π 120 Keaney; Sokolowski, *LSCG*, pp. 102-3.

¹¹³ Parker 1987, 141-42; Lambert 2018.

¹¹⁴ Cf. S. Georgoudi, *Ktèma* 23, 1998, 325-34.

¹¹⁵ [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no.17](#), ll. 9-15; Lambert (forthcoming).

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vocabulary: burning an animal (*karpoun*) and a libation of honey-mixture (*melikraton*). The calendar schedules no events for the 16th of Boedromion, when the procession down to Phaleron for the purification of prospective initiates took place, but it features major offerings on the 17th and 18th (ll. 6-9), when no civic events connected to the Mysteries occurred.¹¹⁶ In fact, the offering of an adult pig to Demeter and Kore on the 17th (l. 8) appears to have been the highlight of the whole calendar; it is the largest sacrifice made by the community and their only blood sacrifice.¹¹⁷ The calendar schedules no events for the 19th, which was when the actual procession to Eleusis probably took place.¹¹⁸ Thus, the calendar supplemented the civic celebrations, without clashing with them. A similar, if simpler, interaction between civic and group calendars is seen in another second century AD association, the Iobacchoi, whose central deity was Dionysos and who held their most important annual event on 10 Elaphebolion – the same date as the grand procession of the civic Dionysia (*IG II² 1368*, ll. 117-21).¹¹⁹

Many of the other offerings in the Ashmolean calendar can also be linked to civic festivals, with varying degrees of certainty. The offering on 2nd or 12th Metageitnion to “the goddesses” (ll. 2-4), might be linked to the Eleusinia festival. *IG II² 1496* shows that festival fell between the end of Hekatombaion and 12th Boedromion, while a large number of sacrifices on 12th Metageitnion in the Erchia calendar (*AIO 593*; *SEG 21.541*, A ll. 4-11, B ll. 1-13, Γ ll. 13-25, Δ ll. 13-17) may indicate that the Eleusinia was on that date.¹²⁰ The term *Panteleia* (“total completion”) in l. 3 is of uncertain significance, but elsewhere in the Greek world, at Syracuse, it was connected with Demeter and Kore.¹²¹ The offerings to Apollo and Artemis on 7th Pyanopsion coincide with the festival of Pyanopsia (ll. 10-12), in which a sacred bough with wool and fruits wrapped around it, called an *eiresione*, was carried in honour of Apollo.¹²² The offering to Poseidon on 8th Posideion (ll. 17-19) probably marks the Posidea festival after which the month was named.¹²³ The Lenaia festival took place over several days in Gamelion, including the 12th, so the wreathing of the statues of Dionysos on

¹¹⁶ The 17th was a day of rest and quiet for initiates and the occasion of the Epidauria festival of Asklepios for non-initiates. There was no festival activity on the 18th since several meetings of the Assembly are attested on the day. Bloodless sacrifices are discussed below.

¹¹⁷ Pigs were particularly associated with Demeter, Kore, and the Eleusinian cult: *AIO 1320* (= *IG I³ 250*, offerings from Paiania to the Eleusinion, 450-425 BC); *I Delos 290*, l. 88; Plut. *Phoc.* 28.6 (piglets at Eleusinian mysteries); *IG II² 1177* and Schol. in Luc. *Dial. Meretr.* 2.1 (Thesmophoria).

¹¹⁸ Mikalson 1975, 54-58; Parker 2005, 346-47. For the dating of this final procession to the 19th rather than the 20th, see *AIUK 4.2 (BM), no.17* with pp. 135-36.

¹¹⁹ Parker 2005, 317-18 and 467.

¹²⁰ Mikalson 1975, 35, 38, and 46 tentatively dates the festival to 13-20 Metageitnion; Parker 2005, 328-29 and 468-69. *AIO 1284* (= *IG I³ 5*) confirms that (unsurprisingly) “the goddesses” were among those who received sacrifice at the Eleusinia.

¹²¹ Athen. *Deip.* 14.647a; E. Müller-Graupa, *RE XVIII 3, sv. Panteleia*. The term also appears in *SEG 44.30* as an epithet of Ge, who is closely linked to Demeter.

¹²² Harp. sv. Πυανόψια = π 118 Keaney; Plut. *Thes.* 22.4; Sokolowski, *LSCG*, pp. 102-3; Mikalson 1975, 69-70; Parker 2005, 204-6; S. D. Lambert, *AIO Papers 6* (2015), 10-11. The Pyanopsia also appears in the late fourth-century sacrificial calendar from Eleusis, *I Eleus. 175*, ll. 8-20. *Agora XV 399* (an honorific decree of the Council, 179/80 AD) confirms that it continued to be celebrated in the Roman period: S. Follet, *RPhil* 48, 1974, 30-32.

¹²³ *IG I³ 255*, l. 10; Mikalson 1975, 19-20 and 89; J.-M. Carbon and S. Peels in the notes to *CGRN 26*. The 8th of every month was sacred to Poseidon: Plut. *Thes.* 36.

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19th Gamelion (l. 22) could have marked its end.¹²⁴ The instruction for Anthesterion (“priests out of the cleaning water” l. 23) is brief and obscure and the exact date is not specified, so it must have been very obvious to the author of the text what happened and when. The most likely date is the Anthesteria festival (11th-13th Anthesterion), which marked the completion of the fermentation of the year’s vintage and was one of the most important celebrations in the Athenian year.¹²⁵ All temples except for that of Dionysos in the Marshes were closed on the 12th and cleaned on that day or the following one.¹²⁶ The cryptic instruction about the cleaning water might indicate that this cleaning period applied to the location where this calendar stood as well. The sacrifice to Kronos on 15th Elaphebolion in early spring (ll. 24-26) seems to coincide with the City Dionysia (which began on the 8th, had its main procession on the 10th, and continued for an uncertain number of days, perhaps as late as the 16th) or with the Pandia festival, dedicated to Zeus, which immediately followed the Dionysia.¹²⁷

This inscription was produced for a different milieu from the sacred calendars of the fifth and fourth centuries BC and it differs from those calendars in some key ways. Firstly, this calendar is not “grounded” in a particular local landscape. The location of offerings is never specified and all the deities who receive offerings would be readily comprehensible anywhere in the eastern Mediterranean.¹²⁸ By contrast, most of the Classical calendars were produced by demes or other groups linked to a locality. They generally specify that offerings were to be made at important local sites to deities and heroes who were important in that locality but often had limited relevance elsewhere. For example, the Thorikos calendar ([OR 146](#)) includes offerings for a series of local heroes, such as Kephalos, Prokris, Thorikos, and “the Heroines of Thorikos,” at sites such as a set of salt pans and sacred land associated with a particular lightning strike.¹²⁹ Forging connections to a particular locality does not seem to have been part of the role of this calendar or of the group it regulated. Such connections do seem to have remained important in the Roman period, but continued to be made by local sanctuaries, many of which remained active, though apparently administered centrally rather than by the atrophied deme organisations.¹³⁰ A few of these local cults are attested in the Roman period from archaeology or epigraphy, as at Rhamnous and Myrrhinous.¹³¹ More are known from literary sources, notably Pausanias, who mentions active sanctuaries in more

¹²⁴ Bekker, *Anecd.* 1.235; Mikalson 1975, 109-110; Parker 2005, 317 n. 96.

¹²⁵ Sokolowski, *LSCG*, pp. 102-3. On the Anthesteria: Parker 2005, 290-316. Evidence of the festival’s continued popularity in the Imperial period: *IG II²* 5, 13139 and *IG II²* 1368, l. 130; Philostr. *Her.* 35.9.

¹²⁶ Phanodemos *FGrH* 325 F 11; Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F347; Poll. 8.141; Parker 2005, 295-96.

¹²⁷ Mikalson 1975, 123-30 and 137; Parker 2005, 477-78. The Erchia Calendar has a sacrifice to Semele and Dionysos on the 16th, perhaps indicating the festival had just ended on that date: ([AIO 593](#) = *SEG* 21.541), A ll.45-51, D ll. 34-40.

¹²⁸ The otherwise unattested Zeus Georgos and Poseidon Chamaizelos might theoretically belong to some local context, but the epithets of both would have been readily comprehensible: “Zeus the Farmer” and “Poseidon down-on-the-ground”, suggesting a connection to fertility and the underworld.

¹²⁹ Lambert 2018, 152-56, with a focus on the Marathon Tetrapolis calendar ([SEG 50.168](#)). The ordinances of Skambonidai ([AIUK 4.1 \(BM\), no. 3](#)) are an interesting exception.

¹³⁰ Alcock 1994, 33-92 (on changing settlement patterns in Roman Greece), 172-214 (on urban and rural cult).

¹³¹ Rhamnous: Petrakos 1999, 42-43, 288-94, with *I Rhamnous* 156-164. Myrrhinous: Kakavogianni and Argyropoulos 2009 (= *SEG* 55.310).

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than twenty different Attic localities, many devoted to specific local deities or linked to local myths. Some of the settlements linked to these sanctuaries, like Eleutherai, were uninhabited in his day, but at most sites Pausanias encountered inhabitants or temple wardens with whom he discussed local myths (Paus. 1.31-39).¹³²

A second difference is that one of the key roles of the classical calendars was to provide financial accountability, ensuring that officials expended the resources of a given group and of the Athenian community in accordance with the group's will. This is particularly apparent in the documents from Erchia ([AIO 593](#) = [SEG 21.541](#)), Marathon ([SEG 50.168](#)), Thorikos ([OR 146](#)), and Skambonidai ([AIUK 4.1 \(BM\), no. 3](#)). These calendars were part of an ethos of accountability that characterised the Classical democracy, in which any power came with close scrutiny. To that end, calendars regularly list the amounts to be spent on each individual sacrifice.¹³³ This aspect is not present in the Ashmolean calendar. The only possible example in it is the specification that most of the cakes should contain one *choinix* (a dry measure of wheat equal to one forty-eighth of a *medimnos*; that is a little over one litre or about 800 grammes of flour).¹³⁴ However, like the careful delineation of the types of cake and number of bosses each cake is to have, the concern behind this specification is probably ritual correctness rather than financial accountability. The lack of emphasis on accountability results from two factors. Firstly, unlike the demes, *gene*, and other groups that framed the classical calendars, the group that produced this calendar was probably not part of the Athenian state apparatus and thus not accountable to it. Secondly, the political ethos of Roman Athens was much less democratic and accordingly placed much less emphasis on accountability as a political value in general.¹³⁵ Significantly, the decrees of the associations of the Iobacchoi ([IG II² 1367](#)) and of Men Tyrannos ([IG II² 1365-1366](#)) focus on regulating the conduct of their regular members, not their leaders.

The calendar also displays two striking divergences from most evidence for civic religion in Roman Athens. Firstly, the festivals which commemorated Athens' military achievements, especially the victories at Marathon and Salamis, go unmentioned in this inscription, despite their prominence in Athenian religious life (see [10](#)). This absence is also seen in the Classical calendars.¹³⁶ Secondly, there is no reference to the Imperial cult. The calendar's silence on this matter contrasts strongly with other evidence from Athens. Comparison with the ephebic inscriptions, like [4-10](#) below, is especially interesting. Many aspects of the ephebate were also archaising (see [sect. 3](#)), but Athens' military heritage and the Imperial cult were nevertheless central in that context. Similarly, the Imperial cult was embedded in the priestly offices and built environment at Eleusis from the early first century AD onwards.¹³⁷ The absence of these two themes here could be due to archaism, since both are also absent from Classical calendars. Another possibility is that these aspects of

¹³² Pausanias reports sanctuaries at Halimous, Zoster, Prospalta, Anagyrous, Kephale, Prasiai, Lamptrai, Potamoi, Phlya, Myrrhinous (where he encountered locals whose interpretation of the cult is disputed by him), Athmonon, Acharnai, on Mounts Pentelikos, Hymettos, and Parnes, at Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnous (with housing), Oropos, on Salamis, at Lakiadai, along the road to Eleusis, at Eleusis, and at Eleutherai (community in ruins). He refers to most of these places by demonyms not toponyms, showing that he considered them to belong to extant groups.

¹³³ See comments in [AIUK 4.1 \(BM\), no. 3](#); Parker 2005, 64; Lambert 2018, 156-69.

¹³⁴ See [AIUK 4.1 \(BM\)](#), p. 4.

¹³⁵ Cf. [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 16](#) with notes, p. 125-26.

¹³⁶ Lambert 2018, 152-56.

¹³⁷ Clinton 1997; Spawforth 1997.

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contemporary civic religion were ignored because – unlike the ephebate and the sanctuary at Eleusis – the group it governed was not part of the part of the Athenian civic apparatus and thus represented a less “official” stream of religion in Roman Athens.

The majority of the offerings mentioned in this calendar take the form of wineless libations and cakes, rather than wine and meat. Cake offerings were a prominent part of festivals from at least the late fifth century BC. The first-fruits offering at Eleusis included a *pelanos* cake, which could include over 25 *medimnoi* of grain.¹³⁸ In the scenes of banqueting heroes (*Totenmähler*), found on Athenian votive and funerary offerings from the late fifth century BC onwards, cakes are prominent and their specific types are also carefully distinguished.¹³⁹ A large set of Classical and Hellenistic model cakes excavated at Corinth were votive offerings to Demeter and Kore.¹⁴⁰ However, cakes are almost entirely absent from the sacred calendars of the Classical period, probably because the calendars’ accounting function meant that they focused on the expensive animal sacrifices.¹⁴¹ They only become prominent in the epigraphic evidence from the fourth century BC onwards, perhaps because the tightened financial situation of the Late Classical and early Hellenistic period precluded more expensive offerings.¹⁴² Several Attic inscriptions from the fourth century BC onwards, concentrated on the south slope of the Acropolis, regulate the forms of offering cakes – one even included diagrams of the different types of cake ([IG II³ 4 1773](#), iv BC).¹⁴³ Emily Kearns attributes the efforts taken to distinguish different types of cake in this and other inscriptions to the importance of ritual precision, and the role of cakes as part of the spectacle of processions and rituals, in which an elaborate and distinctive cake could demonstrate a group’s vitality and uniqueness.¹⁴⁴ In the Roman period, cakes were more popular than ever in religious rites. Their popularity is decried by the late second-century AD Christian author, Clement of Alexandria, in his criticism of pagan Mysteries (Clem. *Exort.* 2.19).

Most of the cakes in this inscription are specified by the word *popanon*. This can be a generic term for “cake” but here probably refers to a specific type of cake also known as a *plakous* (“flat-cake”), which consisted of many layers of filo pastry with a honey or cheese filling. When baked they puffed up, so that they looked like the seed pod of a mallow plant.¹⁴⁵ As puff pastry, they yielded the largest possible – and thus most impressive – cake

¹³⁸ [I Eleusis 28a](#), with notes on AIO.

¹³⁹ e.g. Agora T 883 a-b, T 2349, late fourth- to third-century moulds from the Athenian Agora: Grandjouan 1989, 9-11. On banqueting scenes generally, see Dentzer 1982, with Athenian evidence discussed at p. 95-116, 182-83, 301-64, 470-71, and depicted at pl. 20-21, 66-83, 98-103.

¹⁴⁰ Brumfield 1997.

¹⁴¹ Cakes do appear in [RO 5](#) (396/5 BC), [RO 37](#) (363/2 BC) and the aforementioned offerings of first fruits at Eleusis. Occasionally they might be provided for indirectly, e.g. cakes might be included within the offerings of “a table” given to various heroes in the Marathon Tetrapolis calendar ([SEG 50.168](#), col. ii, 4, 14, 24-25, 53). Offerings of wheat and barley mentioned in sacred regulations along with honey or oil (e.g. [AIUK 4.1 \(BM\), no. 1](#), [IG II² 1184](#), [CGRN 57](#)) may also have been offered as cakes.

¹⁴² cf. [IG II³ 1, 1026](#) with Lambert 2012, 79-80.

¹⁴³ [IG II³ 4 1747](#), [1748](#), [1759](#), [1775](#), [1776](#), [1788](#), with commentaries on *CGRN*. Kearns 1997, 65-70 and 2011, 89-103.

¹⁴⁴ Kearns 1994 and 2011. For cakes carried in procession, see *CGRN* 86, A ll. 29-31 (Kos, ca. 350 BC).

¹⁴⁵ Ath. *Deip.* 10.449b-c = Antiph. *PCG* F 55; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 2.58d-e; Phot. *sv.* πόππανα; Grandjouan 1989, 57-67.

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from a given amount of flour. These cakes usually had a single large boss on top but some had multiple bosses – up to five on the model cakes from Corinth.¹⁴⁶ The twelve bosses of the cakes in this inscription are unparalleled.¹⁴⁷ The cakes in this inscription were thus exceptionally elaborate. Two other cakes appear in the inscription. The *nastos* (“kneaded-cake”) which is offered to Zeus Georgos along with a *popanon* in l. 15, was a cone-shaped cake full of honey, raisin juice, or almond milk.¹⁴⁸ The same cake is also included among the offerings “appropriate for the god” in the regulations of the association of Men Tyrannos at Laureion (*IG II² 1366*, ll. 23-24, ca. 200 AD). The twelve-boss cake with a bull in ll. 25-27 might be a variant of the *bous* (ox-cake), a set of six circular cakes topped by a cake in the shape of a set of horns, which was traditionally offered to Artemis, Hekate, and Apollo.¹⁴⁹ This too is an example of baking as spectacle.

In most months, these cakes are accompanied by wineless libations (*nephalia*, *melikrata*), which could consist of water, oil, or milk and honey. It is common for cakes and wineless libations to be grouped together (along with sacrifices in which the offering is entirely destroyed, like the rooster in ll. 5-6) and to be opposed to blood and wine sacrifices.¹⁵⁰ Various explanations have been proposed for why these bloodless and wineless offerings were made.¹⁵¹ One idea is that these offerings were appropriate for a particular type of deity – often “chthonic” deities, but this category has been increasingly problematised. Recently, Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge has proposed a variety of types of deity for which bloodless and wineless offerings were appropriate: gods associated with the fertile earth, human fertility, the prosperity and reproduction of the community, as well as gods particularly associated with honey, and gods who were particularly dangerous or ambivalent. This is casting a rather wide net and even so it does not cover all the recipients in this case (as Pirenne-Delforge acknowledges).¹⁵² Apollo and Artemis do not fall into any of these categories, but receive cakes. Poseidon and the Winds receive both cakes and wineless libations and are difficult to fit into these categories. Despite fitting most of Pirenne-Delforge’s descriptors, Demeter and Kore receive the only blood sacrifice of the year (the adult pig, l. 8). In this inscription, at least, it was not the nature of the recipients that motivated the offering cakes and wineless libations. Rather, avoidance of meat and wine was a general characteristic of the group. Financial limitations might explain the absence of animal sacrifices but are less likely to explain the absence of wine, so it seems likely that the motivation was ideological. Prott and Sokolowski suggested that the group made these

¹⁴⁶ Polyb. 6.25.7; Brumfield 1997, 150-59.

¹⁴⁷ The other Athenian inscriptions that specify all call for a single boss: [IG II³ 4, 1747](#) and [1775](#).

¹⁴⁸ Ath. *Deip.* 14.646e; Poll. 6.78; Brumfield 1997, 156.

¹⁴⁹ Poll. 6.76; Eustath. *Comm. in Hom. Il.*, sv. 18.575 = 1165: “one should understand, through ancient learning, that among the ancients ‘ox’ (*bous*) was also the name of a kind of cake, whence the proverb ‘seventh ox,’ which has this source: Moons (*selenai*) were flat circle-shaped cakes. And along with six such moons, they baked (so they say) a ‘seventh ox’ which had horns in imitation of the new moon,” [IG II³ 4 1748](#) (to Apollo Pythios), and [IG II³ 4 1788](#) (to Hestia); Kearns 2011, 94-95.

¹⁵⁰ e.g. [IG II³ 4 1773](#) and Polemon *FHG III*, F 42 = Schol. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 100 (Helios and Mnemosyne); *IG II² 4997* (Health and Asklepios); Callim. F681 (Eumenides); Paus. 1.26.5 (Zeus Hypatios).

¹⁵¹ Graf 1981; Henrichs 1983; Lambert, *ZPE* 139, 2002, 78; Parker 2011, 80-84, 283-85; Kearns 2011.

¹⁵² Pirenne-Delforge 2011. On “chthonian”: S. Scullion, *Cl. Ant.* 13, 1994, 75-119; Parker 2005, 424-25 with further bibliography.

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offerings because it had an “Orphic” or “Pythagorean” outlook which opposed the consumption of meat and wine.¹⁵³ Three surviving essays give a taste of how this outlook could be presented in the Imperial period: Plutarch, *On Unintelligible Creatures’ Use of Intelligence* and *On Flesh-eating* (= *Mor.* 985-999), and Porphyry, *On Abstinence from Animate Food*. They show that there were ethical and mystical aspects to this position. Ethically, the key concern was that the consumption of both wine and meat was associated with excess and irrationality, which was harmful to the self and others – an idea derived from Classical sources, especially Plato. Mystically, the consumption of meat and wine could be linked to the coming of death and the end of the Golden Age – an idea found already in Hesiod. Thus, bloodless and wineless offerings could be part of efforts to perfect the self, overcome death, and restore the Golden Age.¹⁵⁴ If ideology motivated the bloodless and wineless offerings in this calendar, it was more complicated than a desire for total abstinence, since the aforementioned blood sacrifice of a pig for Demeter and Kore (l. 8) and the offering of the vintage to Dionysos (l. 9) show that meat and wine were not entirely off the table.

Another possibility is that the offerings in this calendar are related to the negative view of private associations in contemporary discourse, as a source of drunkenness, disorder, and dissidence. This view had its roots in discussion about alcohol, *symposia*, and *hetaireiai* in the fifth century BC.¹⁵⁵ In the first and second centuries AD, it had great credence with the Imperial authorities and, as a result, associations that caught their attention could be treated very harshly, as is seen in a number of letters between Pliny and Trajan in which the emperor outlines a blanket policy of close surveillance and suppression of associations. The Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria and the early Christian author Tertullian both deploy this stereotype of associations in invective against rival religious groups, while making strenuous efforts to disassociate the private gatherings of their own religions from it, claiming that their group’s gatherings ate only bread and drank little if any wine.¹⁵⁶ Concern to avoid disorderliness is visible in the regulations of the association of the Iobacchoi, which penalise both fighting at the association’s banquets and reporting fighting at association banquets to civic authorities (*IG II² 1368*, ll. 63-67, 72-83). Similar punishments are found in the regulations of the “*eranos of philoi*” (*IG II² 1369*, ii AD), of the Herakliasts in the Marshes (*SEG 31.122*), and of associations from elsewhere in the Roman empire.¹⁵⁷ The emphasis on meatless and wineless offerings in this calendar might have been intended to indicate that drinking and raucous partying were not what this association was about.

A significant portion of the scholarship on this calendar has focused on the presence in it of the Egyptian gods, Osiris and Nephthys.¹⁵⁸ Versions of Egyptian religion had been present in Greece, and Athens specifically, for centuries by the time this calendar was erected. There was already a sanctuary of Isis in the Piraeus for Egyptian traders in 333 BC

¹⁵³ Protz [and Ziehen] *LGS I*, p. 13; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 52, p. 102.

¹⁵⁴ Hes. *Op.* 109–201; Pl. *Leg.* 781e–783b; Dombrowski 2014, 535-54.

¹⁵⁵ Murray 1990 on the *Hermokopidai*; Davidson 1997, esp. 40-49, 294-301; Arnaoutoglou 1998, 70-76.

¹⁵⁶ Plin. *Ep.* 10.93, 96-97. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 32; Philo, *Vit. Cont.* 40, 64, 83-89, *In Flacc.* 135-37; Tert. *Apol.* 38-39; Cotter 1996, 74-89; Arnaoutoglou 2003, 156.

¹⁵⁷ e.g. *IG IX*, 1² 670 (Physkeis, ii AD), cf. Artemid. *Oneir.* 4.44.2, connecting drunken behaviour with expulsion from an association.

¹⁵⁸ Graindor 1934, 158-60; S. Dow, *HThR* 30, 1937, 224-25; Dunand 1973, II.137-40; Alvar 2008, 314; Pologiorgi 2008, 127-34.

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([IG II³ 1 337](#), ll. 43-45). During the Hellenistic period, cults of the Egyptian gods spread throughout the Mediterranean, especially in communities that enjoyed close ties to Ptolemaic Egypt, as Athens did after 229 BC.¹⁵⁹ This process continued in the Imperial period and by the third century AD the largest temples in Pergamon and Rome were devoted to Egyptian deities.¹⁶⁰ Elena Muñiz Grijalvo has argued that in the Roman period, the Egyptian gods should be seen as part of the Athenian religious context rather than “foreign deities.” Nevertheless, the specific Egyptian gods who appear in this calendar are a little unusual. Although Sarapis and Isis are very prominent in the Athenian epigraphic record, the god Osiris otherwise appears in Attica only in [IG II³ 4, 1128](#) and [SEG 24.230](#) (fragmentary dedications), while the goddess Nephthys appears only here in all of Greek epigraphy.¹⁶¹

The cycle of myths associated with Osiris was at the centre of Egyptian religion. The most detailed account of this cycle as it was known to the Greeks is Plutarch’s *On Isis and Osiris*. In outline, the myth is as follows: Rhea and Kronos (the Egyptian Nut and Geb) had two sons: Osiris and Typhon (the Egyptian Set), and two daughters: Isis and Nephthys. Osiris was paired with Isis and Nephthys with Typhon. Osiris, linked to the Nile and the fertile ground, received kingship over the Earth from his father, but Typhon, lord of chaos and the desert, disputed his claim and killed him. Isis and Nephthys held Osiris’ funeral and revived him long enough for Isis to conceive Horus/Harpokrates, who went on to defeat his uncle, Typhon, and take the kingship. As the first being to die, Osiris became the lord of the dead, but paradoxically also a source of new life, linked to the annual agricultural cycle.¹⁶² The Greeks perceived deep connections between this myth and the Eleusinian Mysteries, both of which dealt with overcoming death and with the agricultural cycle. Osiris was often equated with Dionysos and Isis could be connected with Demeter.¹⁶³ Diodoros explicitly states that the Eleusinian Mysteries were brought to Eleusis from Egypt in mythical times (Diod. 1.29). Plutarch does not go that far, but his account of Isis’ search for Osiris’ body includes a doublet of Demeter’s visit to Eleusis and attempt to give immortality to the baby Demophon, set in Byblos (Plut. *Isid.* 15-16). The myth narrated by Plutarch derives from the Egyptian Osiris myth and it retains a distinct Egyptian flavour; the gods go by their Egyptian names and the story is grounded in Egyptian geography and cultural practices. But other aspects formed part of the synthesis with the Greek religious context, like the addition of the doublet of Demeter’s visit to Eleusis. Aspects of the myth that did not fit Greek interests were discarded: most importantly, the figure of the Pharaoh in the person of Horus is central to the Egyptian myth, but much less prominent in Greek versions. The pairing of Osiris and Nephthys in this inscription is another example of this adaptation. The two do not appear as a pair in Egyptian contexts, but in Greco-Roman sources they were the parents of Anubis, the

¹⁵⁹ Cf. [AIUK 4.3A \(BM\), no. 5](#) (= [IG II² 1292](#)) with notes.

¹⁶⁰ W. Radt, *Pergamon* (2011), 200-9; Coarelli 2014, 238.

¹⁶¹ Muñiz Grijalvo 2009. For the cults of Egyptian gods at Athens, see [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 13](#), [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\), no. 4](#) with notes. Bricault, *RICCI* I, 1-34 collects the relevant epigraphic sources. See also L. A. Mazurek, *AJA* 122, 2018, 611-44 on the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods on Herodes Atticus’ estate at Marathon. Nephthys may be identical with Neotera, who occurs in a few inscriptions: L. Moretti, *Aegyptus* 38, 1958, 203-9.

¹⁶² Plut. *Isid.* 12-19, see Griffiths 1970. Similar narratives are embedded in Diod. 1.11-29 and Hdt. 2.144.2. Totti 1985 collects Greek literary, epigraphic and papyrological evidence for the Osiris-myth.

¹⁶³ Hdt. 2.42.2, 156.5; Diod. 1.25.1. Both gods could be identified with several other Greek deities. Parker 2017, 83-88 and 104-7.

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god of mummification, whose intervention was central to allowing the dead to live again.¹⁶⁴ It was thus particularly appropriate to commemorate the pair at the start of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which promised the same thing.¹⁶⁵

The process of simultaneous distinction and integration of the Egyptian gods in the Greek religious context is also visible in the form of their offerings. At ll. 5-7, Osiris and Nephthys receive a holocaust sacrifice of a rooster, a scattering of barley, and a libation of milk and honey, instead of the cake and wineless sacrifice offered to most of the other deities. Bird sacrifices had been part of Greek religion since at least the sixth century BC (cf. *CGRN* 192, l. 2), but were particularly associated with Egyptian gods (cf. *I Priene* 195; Paus. 10.32.16; Plut. *de Is.* 60).¹⁶⁶ The libation of milk and honey (*melikraton*) was similar to the other wineless libations, but marked out by the distinct word used for it.¹⁶⁷ The offerings given to Osiris and Nephthys were thus distinguished from the others, while remaining readily comprehensible in a Greek religious context – as discussed above, they were an appropriate preliminary sacrifice in advance of the Mysteries.

Osiris and Nephthys are probably not the only Egyptian gods in the calendar. The other pair of deities who are marked out with a rooster sacrifice are Herakles and “θείω” on 29 Mounichion (ll. 27-28). Prott, followed by Sokolowski, read the name of the latter as the neuter adjective θεῖον (*theion*, “divine”) used substantively, i.e. an abstract impersonal divine force. In western Asia Minor, *theion* received dedications along with a deity called either Zeus Hypsistos or Theos Hypsistos (“Highest God”). This cult arose in the second century BC, but reached its greatest popularity in the first three centuries AD, and has been identified, controversially, as a form of “pagan monotheism.” Sokolowski linked the presence of this god with the “Orphic” character of the calendar. Zeus/Theos Hypsistos did have a small cult as a healing god at Athens, centred on the Pnyx.¹⁶⁸ *Theion*, however, is not attested outside Anatolia, only rarely appears without Zeus/Theos Hypsistos, and never in combination with Herakles or other gods. The other possible interpretation of θείω is as the noun θεῖος (*theios*, “uncle”), which was proposed by Boeckh in *CIG* II, 483. This interpretation has not been taken up in subsequent scholarship because Herakles has no notable uncles in Greek myth. I suggest that the pair might be interpreted in terms of the Osiris-myth, as Horus and his uncle Typhon/Set. Although the usual Greek equivalent of Horus was Apollo (Hdt. 2.156.5), Harpokrates (Horus as a child) was often equated with Herakles.¹⁶⁹ This identification would explain the pairing of the two figures and the fact that they receive the “Egyptian” offering of a rooster, like Osiris and Nephthys.

¹⁶⁴ Plut. *Isid.* 14, 38, 44, and 59. Cf. Diod. 1.18.1. In Egypt, Nephthys usually appears paired with Isis: *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (2001), *sv.* Nephthys.

¹⁶⁵ Attempts to link the Egyptian Hathyr festival with the offering on 13th Boedromion are discredited: Alvar 2008, 314, n. 429.

¹⁶⁶ Dunand 1973, II.137-39. Alvar 2008, 314; Villing 2017, 63-73.

¹⁶⁷ Henrichs 1983, 93; R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* (2011), 80-84 and 283-85.

¹⁶⁸ See [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 7](#); more dedications of this type will be published in *AIUK* 4.5 (BM). Mitchell 1999; Mitchell 2010, 167-208; Parker 2017, 124-31.

¹⁶⁹ *Reallexikon*³ p. 274. Both are depicted as babies holding a snake in each hand. Multiple co-existing Greek equivalents for a single deity are not unusual, see n. 163 and Parker 2017, 46-52.

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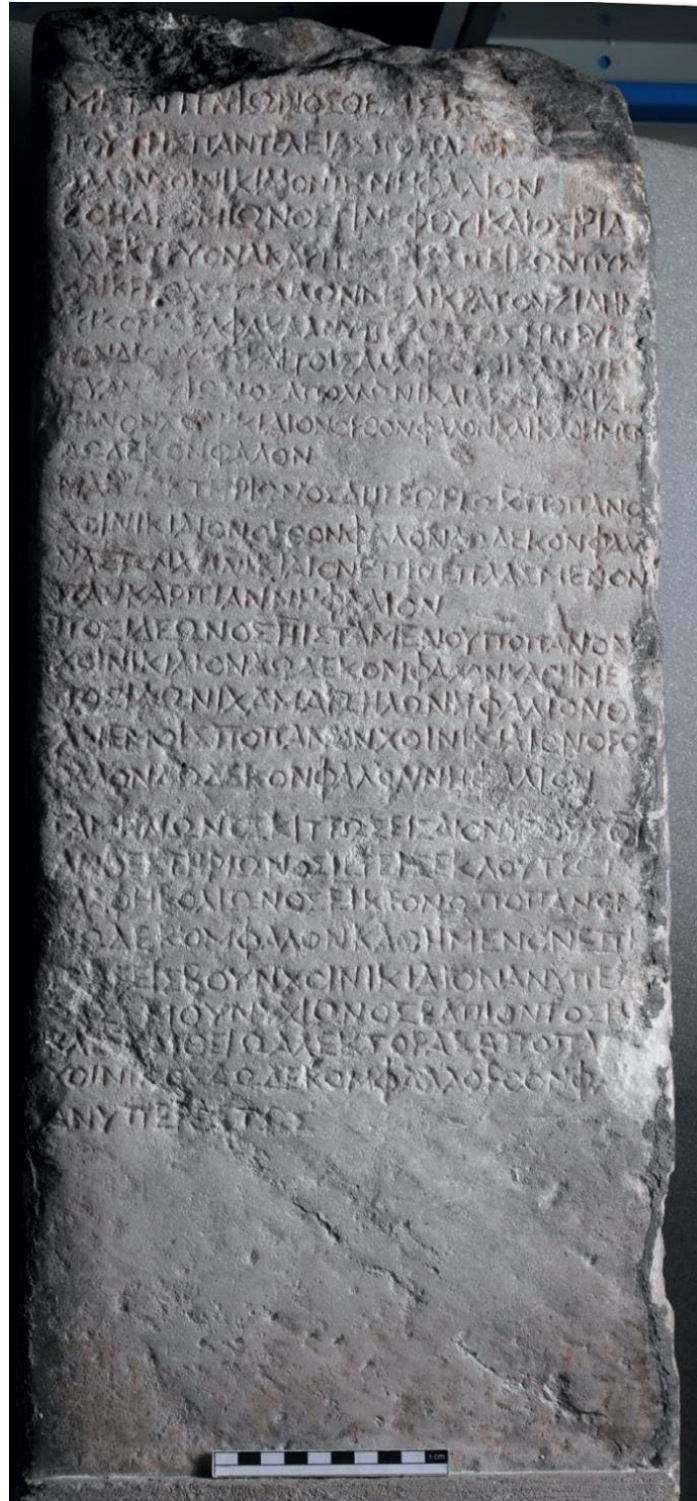


Fig. 2. 2 = ANChandler 2.21. © Ashmolean Museum.

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3 DEDICATION IN HONOUR OF A HIEROPHANT. ANChandler 2.72. Acquired in Athens by Dawkins, from a church, probably Agios Nikolaos; perhaps originally located in the City Eleusinion (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Cubic grey marble altar, all sides preserved, with plain moulding at top and bottom, inscribed on the top surface. H. 0.30, w. 0.31, th. 0.24. Letter h. 0.014. Tidy cursive and oval forms with some light apices/serifs; alpha = Α; epsilon = Ε; sigma = Σ, omega = Ω; occasional hyperextension of right diagonal on Α/Δ/Λ; Θ and Ο have a tall, narrow oval shape, Φ with elongated vertical. Slight traces of red paint in the letters. Late iv AD (Sironen).

Eds. Chandler 1763, 111, no. lxxii (*CIG* 405; *IG* III 718; Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 355-56, no. 866); *IG* II² 3674 (Sironen 1997, 74-75 no. 16; *IG* II² 5, 13278).

Cf. Follet 1976, 273; Clinton 1974, 42-43; Sironen 1994, 33-34 (*SEG* 42.238); *Agora* XXXI, p. 209, no. 79; Piérart 1997, 149-57. Autopsy, de Lisle 2019. In store. *Fig.* 3.

late iv AD	[Δ]ηοῦς καὶ Κούρης θεοῖκελον ἱεροφάντην ^v κυδαίνων πατέρα στήσε δόμοις Κλεάδας, [Κ]εκροπίης σοφὸν ἔρνος Ἐρώτιον· ὧι ῥα καὶ αὐτὸς ^v Λερναίων ἀδύτων ἴσον ἔδεκτο γέρας.
5	☪

1 ΘΕΟΪΚΕΛΟΝ ἹΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΝ stone || 4 ἼΣΟΝ stone.

Glorifying Deo and Kore’s god-like hierophant,
 Kleadas erected in the halls (a statue of) his father,
 Kekropia’s wise scion, Erotios, through whom he himself
 received the Lernaian sanctuary’s equivalent privilege.

This epigram in elegiac couplets, recording Kleadas’ erection of a statue for Erotios, is inscribed on an altar which was set up in a sanctuary as a dedication – a gift to the gods intended to attract or give thanks for divine favour. The statue presumably stood nearby and formed part of the dedication. This is the only dedicatory altar in the Ashmolean collection. It was probably not intended for actual use as an altar, since the upper surface has no indentation for offerings and bears the inscription.¹⁷⁰ The recipients of the dedication were the Eleusinian goddesses, Demeter (“Deo”) and Kore (l. 1), of whom Erotios was priest. This would have been even clearer when the altar stood in its original location, which was probably the City Eleusinion.¹⁷¹ The altar was also an honorific monument, commemorating Erotios, and Kleadas’ relationship to him.¹⁷² It was common for dedicatory and honorific impulses to be combined in a single monument in this way; honorific monuments originally developed as a type of dedication. Dedications were particularly effective honorific monuments, because they became visible and permanent features of the sanctuaries in which

¹⁷⁰ Discussion of dedications with further bibliography in the forthcoming *AIUK* 4.5 (BM), *Agora* XVIII, pp. 285-89, 305-9, *ThesCRA*, sv. “Greek dedications.” For another votive altar in a UK collection, see [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 7](#). The Ashmolean also has three ephebic dedications (4, 6 and 7).

¹⁷¹ On the City Eleusinion, see *Agora* XXXI. For this inscription’s provenance, see [sect. 1](#) above.

¹⁷² On honorific monuments, see Ma 2013, esp. 103-7, 155-240. Honorific decrees are discussed in [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\)](#), sect. 2.6-7. [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 7](#) and [11](#) are honorific decrees providing for the erection of statues; [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 5](#) and [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\), no. 2](#) are honorific statue bases.

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they were set up, which were important public places.¹⁷³ Honouring priests like Erotios in the sanctuaries with which they were associated emphasised the connections of the individuals and their families to that sanctuary – an important source of prestige, especially in the Roman period.¹⁷⁴ However, the combination of dedicatory and honorific aspects also had religious implications. Incorporating the mortal honour into an offering dedicated to the god avoided the divine wrath that could result from failing to acknowledge the gods' role in mortal success. This element is enhanced by the syntax of honorific and dedicatory inscriptions. In honorific inscriptions the name of the honorand is generally placed in the accusative case, eliding the honorand and the statue (i.e. the inscription literally states “Kleadas erected his father...”), while in dedicatory inscriptions the accusative case identifies the object offered to the god.¹⁷⁵ Thus, honorific dedications commended the honorand to the god. Finally, there was a thematic link between dedications and honorific monuments, in that both dealt with thanksgiving and presented an ongoing relationship between beneficiary and benefactor – an element that is clear in this inscription's expression of Kleadas' gratitude to Erotios.¹⁷⁶

Erotios had served as the hierophant (“discloser of the sacred”), the principal priest of Demeter and Kore's cult at Eleusis. In this role, he was responsible for organising and conducting the Eleusinian Mysteries in collaboration with another priest called the dadouch (“torchbearer”). The hierophants were always chosen from the *genos* of the Eumolpidae and the office was held for life.¹⁷⁷ During their time in office, there was a taboo on using the hierophant's personal name; his title was used instead in all contexts – a practice known as “hieronymy.” Since Erotios' name is used, he must have been dead by the time of this inscription.¹⁷⁸ Erotios is identified as Kleadas' father and as a scion (“seedling”) of Athens (“Kekropia”). The nature of Kleadas' relationship with Erotios and of the “equivalent privilege” he received from him are clarified by another epigram, originally inscribed on a gateway in Lerna and preserved as *Greek Anthology* 9.688:

Τήνδε πύλην λάεσσιν ἐυξέστοις ἀραρυῖαν,
ἀμφοτέρων κόσμον τε πάτρη καὶ θάμβος ὀδίταις,
τεῦξε Κλέης Κλεάδας ἀγανῆς πόσις εὐπατερείης,
Λερναίων ἀδύτων περιώσιος ὀργιοφάντης,
τερπόμενος δώροισιν ἀγασθενέων βασιλῆων.

This gateway, built with well-polished stones,
at once ornament to the fatherland and marvel to wayfarers,
was built by Kleadas, husband of Kleë, a gentle lady of a noble father,
the Lernaian sanctuary's extraordinary orgiophant,
who delights in the gifts of the most powerful kings.

¹⁷³ Ma 2013, 26-27, 79-84; Parker in *ThesCRA*, 270; *IALD* II 21-30

¹⁷⁴ Ma 2013, 84-85, cf. D. J. Geagan, *ZPE* 85, 1991, 145-65 on [IG II³ 4, 849-851](#) and Lambert 2012 89-92 on the changing image of the priest in the Roman period.

¹⁷⁵ Ma 2013, 24-30.

¹⁷⁶ Parker in *ThesCRA*, 276; van Straten, 78-104.

¹⁷⁷ Clinton 1974, 42-47. A second-century AD relief depicts a hierophant: E. Vanderpool *AJA* 64, 1960, 268, pl. 73, fig. 17. Cf. [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 1](#), with notes.

¹⁷⁸ Clinton 1974, 9-10.

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The sanctuary at Lerna hosted mysteries akin to those at Eleusis in honour of Demeter Prosymna, Kore, and Dionysos Saotes.¹⁷⁹ The office of orgiophant seems to have played the same role at Lerna as the hierophant did in the Mysteries at Eleusis and this office is presumably the “privilege” that Kleadas had received from Erotios.

The “cursive” forms of the letters (especially Α, Ε, C, Ω) are characteristic of the late Roman period (i.e. 267 – ca. 600 AD), though they do sometimes occur earlier. The oval form of the omicron and theta are indicative of a date in the second half of the fourth century or later.¹⁸⁰ Erotios’ tenure must come between those of Tiberius Flavius Glaukos (ca. 225-235 AD) and that of the last hierophant, Nestorios (before 355-392 AD). Another hierophant, son of one Xenagoras and Aristophaneia, was in office for an unknown period of time in the first half of the fourth century AD, so Erotios probably served after him.¹⁸¹ The relationship between Lerna and Eleusis in this text is paralleled in [IG II² 5, 13252](#) of 361-87 AD (discussed below), which may also support a date in the late fourth century AD.¹⁸²

In the second and early third centuries AD, the Eleusinian Mysteries were central to the Athenian religious landscape domestically (as we have seen with [2](#)) and to Athenian prestige abroad. The hierophant and dadouch were the most important priests in Athens.¹⁸³ The Herulian sack of Athens in 267 AD brought an end to many important institutions of Athenian civic life (such as the ephebate, discussed in [sect. 3](#) of this volume), but the Eleusinian cult, like the Panathenaia, survived.¹⁸⁴ On the contrary, along with the Neo-Platonic Academy, with which it became closely intertwined, the Eleusinian cult remained central to Athenian prestige, especially under the pagan Emperor Julian (361-363 AD).¹⁸⁵ Even after Julian’s reign, the cult remained prominent: the hierophant was credited with protecting Athens from an earthquake in 375 AD (Zosimos 4.18) and it was still vibrant enough to be the target of Christian polemic in the 380s AD (Asterius, *Encomium* 10.9.1). The cult came to an abrupt end in 395 AD when Alaric the Goth destroyed Eleusis (Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* 7.3-4, 10.8), but some continuity even after that is indicated by remains of a sacrifice of a piglet (associated with the Eleusinian cult) found in a private house on the south slope of the Acropolis in a fifth-century AD context.¹⁸⁶ In general, the construction of large churches in public spaces and the destruction of Athenian temples or their conversion into churches only took place, with substantial resistance, over the course of the fifth century AD.¹⁸⁷ This altar, as a product of the late fourth century, thus belongs not to a period when the Eleusinian cult or Athenian religion were “under siege” but to a final period of prosperity.

This is the only example of the hierophant of Eleusis playing a role in the selection of sacred officials at another sanctuary, let alone one located in a different city. It is tempting to connect it with the pre-eminent role of the hierophant that is suggested by Eunapius’ report

¹⁷⁹ Paus. 2.36.6-37; *IG IV* 664-667; Piérart 1996.

¹⁸⁰ Sironen 1997, 380-83. E. Sironen (pers. comm.).

¹⁸¹ Clinton 1974, 42-44. Son of Xenagoras: *IG II² 2342* = *IG II² 5, 13620* (not Erotios).

¹⁸² Sironen 1994, 33-34; Sironen 1997, 74-75.

¹⁸³ See [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 17](#), with notes; K. Clinton, *ANRW* 2.18.2, 1989, 1499-539; Clinton 1997, 161-81; Camia 2014, 139-48; Sironen 2012.

¹⁸⁴ Panathenaia: Himer. *Or.* 47.12, *IG II² 5, 13281*. On Post-Herulian Athens, see A. Frantz, *Agora XXIV*; P. Castrén, ed., *Post-Herulian Athens* (1994); Sironen 1997, 2012.

¹⁸⁵ Saradi 2011, 265-87; Sironen 2012, 217-18.

¹⁸⁶ This is House Chi, often identified as the house of the Neoplatonic philosopher Proklos: Saradi 2011, 275-80, with further references.

¹⁸⁷ A. Frantz, *Agora XXIV*; Saradi 2011, 265-87, with further references.

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that Emperor Julian entrusted the hierophant Nestorius with protecting all the temples of Greece (Eunapius, *Vit. Soph.* 7.3.9). Kleadas is not the only example of a connection between Lerna and Athens in this period. A late fourth-century AD altar from Phlya in Attica was dedicated by one Archeleos who boasts of both his Athenian ancestry and his position as kleidouch and dadouch at Lerna (*IG II² 5, 13252*). He also appears in an inscription found at Lerna (*IG IV 666*). One of the last prominent pagan aristocrats of the Roman empire, Aconia Fabia Paulina mentions Lerna in a mid-fourth-century AD dedication, which lists the mystery sanctuaries where she had been initiated, with Eleusis at the head of the list (*CIL VI.1 1780*).¹⁸⁸ It appears that the mystery sanctuaries of Greece were coming to be seen as part of a network with Eleusis at its hub. This inscription reinforces that picture, showing that the leaders of the sanctuary at Lerna actively cultivated links with Eleusis.

The familial relationship between Erotios and Kleadas is a little unclear. In *Greek Anthology* 9.688 Argos seems to be Kleadas' "fatherland". Boeckh's suggestion that he was the son of Erotios and an Argive woman has generally been followed.¹⁸⁹ However, it may be that Kleë rather than Kleadas was Erotios' child. Her name is in an Ionic form more associated with Athens than with Doric Argos, and, in a self-consciously learned text like this, the poetic epithet given to her, "of a noble father" (*eupatereiē*), suggests membership in the Eupatridai, the old aristocratic families of Athens, to which the Athenian hierophants belonged as members of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai. Athenians did not generally marry non-Athenians in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, because only the children of a citizen father and mother would be Athenian citizens, but under Roman rule aristocrats from different communities often intermarried and their descendants often maintained prominent positions in multiple communities, developing into a "supra-civic" provincial aristocracy.¹⁹⁰

Epigrams remained a prominent type of inscription in Post-Herulean Athens, peaking in popularity in the fourth and fifth centuries AD but continuing to be produced until the late sixth century AD.¹⁹¹ These learned monuments displayed their author's mastery of Greek language and culture (*paideia*). In this inscription, for example, the author employs vocabulary common in Classical poets, such as *κυδαίνων* (l. 2, "glorifying") and *ἔρνος* (l. 3), literally "seedling" but frequently used metaphorically by Pindar and the tragedians to mean "offspring." The poetic practice of using a plural form for a singular object is used twice, in both cases with words that are used this way in classical poetry (*δόμοις*, l. 2, "hall(s)," and *ἁδύτων*, l. 4, "sanctuary").¹⁹² The epigram also maintains correct poetic metre, which was difficult, since spoken Greek had lost the distinction of vowel quantity on which

¹⁸⁸ Piérart 1997, 149-57; Kahlos 2002.

¹⁸⁹ Boeckh; Kirchner; Clinton 1974, 42-44.

¹⁹⁰ Alcock 1993, 78 puts the beginning of this trend in the first century AD, on the basis of survey archaeology and anthropology. Prosopography supports this. E.g. Herodes Atticus (discussed in [15](#) below) descended from the Vibullius family of Corinth on his mother's side and held property there: Byrne, *RCA*, p. 481, *Corinth* VIII.1.85. The descendants of the late second-century AD marriage of Lucius Gellius Xenagoras of Delphi (and Corinth?) and Claudia Praxagora of Athens (member of the Kerykes) held prominent positions in both *poleis*; they include the hierophant son of Xenagoras mentioned above: Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 281-84. Already in the first century AD, Titus Statilius Lamprias, commemorated as one "in whom the nobility of Greece came together to the highest degree," claimed descent from *gene* of Athens (Kerykes), Epidauros, Argos, and Sparta: *IG IV² 1, 86*.

¹⁹¹ On the epigram habit in this period, see Sironen 2017. For earlier examples, see [6](#) and [15](#).

¹⁹² *LSJ sv.* *κυδαίνω*, *ἔρμος*. Cf. *I Eleus.* 502, l. 26, *IG II² 3754*.

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the metre is based before 100 AD.¹⁹³ In two cases standard metrical variants are employed: long first syllables in ἱερο- and ἴσον. Diaeresis is used on the iota in these cases (and in θεοῖκελον, l. 1) to indicate that the iota should be treated as a separate syllable and a long vowel. This is common in metrical inscriptions from the second century AD onwards.¹⁹⁴ Particularly characteristic of the period is the use of standard poetic alternatives for the names of gods and places, like Deo for Demeter (l. 1) and Kekropia (l. 3) for Athens, both of which were authentic in inscribed epigrams in the Classical period.¹⁹⁵ The phrase, “Kekropia’s wise seedling,” is particularly rich. It recalls the myth of Athenian autochthony (the idea that the original Athenians were born from the Attic soil), which had been an important aspect of Athenian identity from the Archaic period onwards, through the metaphor of the seedling and the reference to Kekrops, the autochthonous first king of Athens. Simultaneously, “seedling” also referred to Erotios’ role in the Eleusinian cult, which commemorated the original disclosure of agriculture to mortals in Attica. The epigram is thus an example of the continued link between traditional learning and religion in this period.

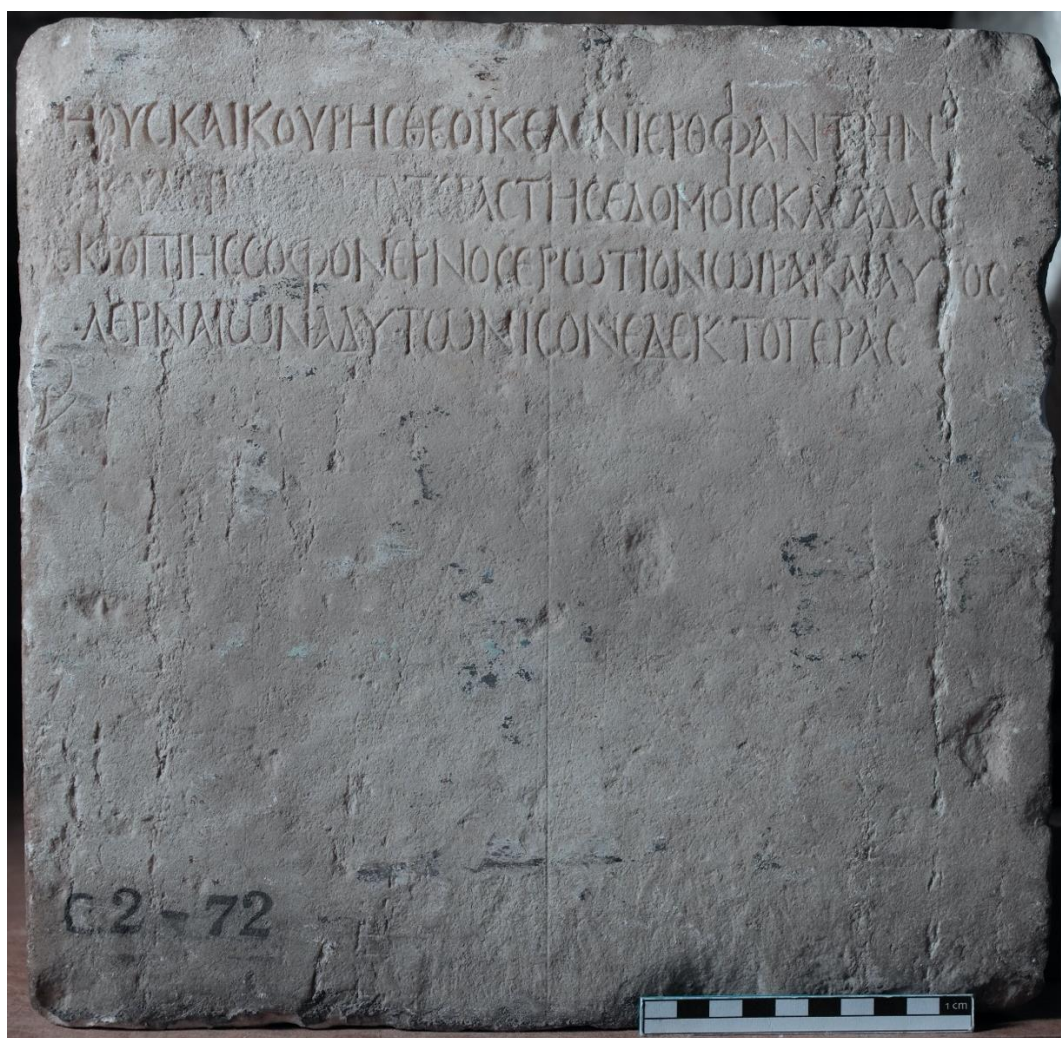


Fig. 3. 3 = ANChandler 2.72. © Ashmolean Museum.

¹⁹³ Threatte I, 385-87.

¹⁹⁴ *LSJ* sv. ἴσος, ἱερός. Threatte I, 94-98.

¹⁹⁵ Sironen 2017, 449-52. Cf. *I Eleus.* 494; *IG* II² 5, 13262, l. 9; *IG* II² 5, 13276, l. 2. Classical precedents: e.g. *IG* I³ 953, *IG* II² 3138.

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The ephebate was the main public institution of education at Athens, which young men (ephebes) passed through at around eighteen years of age in order to prepare them for life as an adult member of the community. Established in the Classical period, the ephebate adapted and survived until the Herulian Sack of Athens in 267 AD. Ephebic inscriptions are thus important evidence for changing Athenian ideas about citizenship, masculinity, and Athens itself, as well as key sources for Athenian prosopography, from the Classical period until the beginning of Late Antiquity. The ephebic inscriptions in the Ashmolean's collection all derive from the Roman Imperial period. Over 350 inscriptions relating to the Imperial ephebate survive in total, but the set of inscriptions in the Ashmolean (**4-10** and **16**) and the five inscriptions in the British Museum published as [AIUK 4.3B](#) are the only substantial collections of Athenian ephebic inscriptions from the Imperial age outside Greece. While the Classical and Hellenistic phases of the ephebate are already well-represented on AIO and in other scholarship,¹⁹⁶ the Roman period has received relatively little attention.¹⁹⁷ Publication of the ephebic inscriptions in the Ashmolean has provided the opportunity to produce an outline of the ephebate and its epigraphic habit in the Imperial period, [AIO Papers 12](#), which can be consulted for details and full references for the following introductory remarks.

The Ashmolean's ephebic inscriptions provide a useful overview of the types of inscription which the Roman ephebate produced. Four genres are represented in the collection. The first is votive dedications, produced by individual ephebes or ephebic officials and by groups of ephebes, usually in honour of a victory in one of their athletic contests. These were being produced already in the Hellenistic period.¹⁹⁸ An early Imperial example is **4** (36/7 AD), which appears to be the first firmly dated ephebic inscription of any kind since 13 BC. The relief plaque, **7**, is a second-century AD example. The second genre is the "philoï list" or "list of ephebic friends", which first appears in the mid-first century AD. In these inscriptions one ephebe inscribes a group of his "fierce friends and fellow ephebes" (sometimes they inscribe themselves as a collective). Most lists contain around twenty individuals, but some have more than fifty. **5** is a particularly fine example of the form they took in their heyday, during the reign of Claudius (41-54 AD), while **9**, from the second century AD, is one of the latest examples.¹⁹⁹ The ephebic catalogue is the third type of ephebic inscription. These were official documents, listing all the ephebes in a given year, usually erected by their superintendent (*kosmetes*). They generally take the form of large marble stelai, often decorated with relief sculpture. The genre first developed in the late first century AD – the earliest examples are [IG II² 1990](#) (61/2 AD) and [IG II² 1996](#) (81-96 AD). They become more frequent and more sumptuous in the early second century and continue

¹⁹⁶ An introduction to the Classical ephebate is provided in the notes to [RO 89](#) and [IG II³ 4, 329](#) on AIO. See also Henderson 2020 (on the Classical and Hellenistic periods); Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 (on the ephebate from 229-86 BC); Friend 2019 (on the Classical ephebate); Chankowski 2010 (on the Hellenistic ephebate, mostly beyond Athens). For the inscribed decrees relating to the ephebate from the period between the Sullan Sack of 86 BC and Augustus, see [AIUK 4.2 \(BM decrees\) 16](#) and the improved texts published in S. D. Lambert and J. G. Schneider, [AIO Papers 11](#) and [11B](#).

¹⁹⁷ Ph. Graindor, *Musée Belge* 26, 1922, 165-228; Perrin-Saminadayar 2004; Newby 2005, 160-201; S. Hin, *Anc. Soc.* 37, 2007, 141-66; Kennell 2009; H.-U. Wiemer *Chiron* 41, 2011, 487-538. Wilson 1992, a corpus of Roman-period ephebic inscriptions in Athens, remains unpublished.

¹⁹⁸ See [IG II³ 4, 357](#); de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.1.

¹⁹⁹ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.2.

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until the mid-third century AD. These ephebic catalogues developed a set format, including the names of all the adult magistrates and staff who had administered the ephebate in that year, followed by all the ephebes who had performed liturgies, then all the citizen ephebes of the year, arranged by tribe, with their patronymics and demotics, and finally the non-citizen ephebes who were called the *epengraphoi* (additional enrollees), with patronymics but no demotics.²⁰⁰ In the Ashmolean collection, [10](#) belongs to this genre, as do [AIUK 4.3B \(BM ephebic\)](#), [no. 4](#), [5](#) and perhaps [2](#). The fourth genre is the honorific portrait herm, usually erected in honour of the ephebes' superintendent, which became popular in the second and third centuries AD. [6](#) may be an early example of this genre. Occasionally, portrait herms were dedicated in honour of other individuals involved in the ephebate, as in the case of [16](#), which was erected for the son of a superintendent who died prematurely while serving as an ephebe.²⁰¹ The only common type of ephebic inscription that is not represented in the Ashmolean collection is the *systemma* list, which appears in the second half of the second century AD, and names all the members of a given ephebic "team" (*systemma*).²⁰²

The Ashmolean inscriptions also provide an insight into the role of the Imperial-period ephebate in Athens' political and social life. Versions of some of the democratic ideals that had characterised the Classical ephebate endured, but, compared to its Classical precursor, the Roman-period ephebate was an elitist institution, in the sense that it gave prominent youths an opportunity to advertise their wealth, family ties and fitness for officeholding. This reflects changes that had begun during the Hellenistic period and accords with the oligarchic and elitist nature of Athenian society in the Roman period more generally.²⁰³

The idea of the ephebate as an institution run by citizens and for citizens continued to be important. A set of annual magistrates – the superintendent (*kosmetes*) and a board of controllers (*sophronistai*) – was responsible for overseeing the institution and for modelling proper citizen behaviour, while a large staff, mostly composed of Athenian citizens, oversaw the ephebes' athletic and military training.²⁰⁴ However, the magistrates used their tenure as an opportunity to showcase their wealth and euergetism. The production of the official ephebic catalogues was (usually) funded by the superintendent, not the polis, and the sumptuousness of their decoration was probably intended to display their beneficence. Wealthy ephebes served as liturgists (gymnasiarchs and competition-directors) and in ephebic versions of the main magistracies of the Athenian state – preparing them for roles that they would play as adults.²⁰⁵ It was common, as in [6](#) and [10](#), for the most prominent of these ephebic liturgists to include the children of the magistrates overseeing the ephebate that year. Thus the official ephebic monuments blurred the distinction between public and private, simultaneously

²⁰⁰ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.3.

²⁰¹ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.4.

²⁰² de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.5.

²⁰³ For general studies of Roman Athens, see Hoff and Rotroff 1997; Boatwright 2000, esp. 144-57; Spawforth 2012, all with much further bibliography.

²⁰⁴ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 2.1-2.2.

²⁰⁵ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 2.3.

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showcasing the operation of the ephebate as a public institution and advertising the superintendent's own family.²⁰⁶

Mass-participation remained an important aspect of the ephebate. The cohort of **10** contained 123 ephebes (84 citizens and 39 non-citizens), which is slightly under the average for this period and larger than many cohorts of the Hellenistic period. Participation in the ephebate was far broader than the elite sub-set who would go on to hold the top magistracies of the Athenian state and sit in the Areopagos Council, which was the supreme decision-making body in Athens in the Imperial period.²⁰⁷ The idea that all the ephebes were a corps of equals still had some purchase, as shown by the insistence on listing all the ephebes in the ephebic catalogues and the prominence of terms like “fellow ephebes” (**5**) and “partners” (**9**) in ephebic inscriptions. However, the inscriptions showcase hierarchies within the ephebate, with the ephebes who held magistracies or performed liturgies having precedence over the mass of citizen ephebes, who in turn had precedence over the non-citizen *epengraphoi*. This was a hierarchy that was intended to carry over into adult life.²⁰⁸

The ideal of the citizen man envisioned by the Roman-period ephebate is a traditional one which emphasised physical and military prowess and a connection to the Athenian past. The focus was on athletic and military training, even at a time when no Athenian was likely to actually see combat in his life. Among ephebic staff mentioned in **4-7** and **10** were a physical trainer (*paidotribes*), a weapons trainer (*hoplomachos*) and the *kestrophylax*, who instructed the ephebes in the use of a kind of barbed sling. The relief decoration of **10** emphasises the ephebes' athletic and military activities. The focus of the liturgies undertaken by the ephebes was on financing their athletic activities: the gymnasiarchs paid for the oil that was required each month for athletic training (**6** and **10**), while the competition-directors (*agonothetai*) paid for festival games featuring a range of athletic events (**10** lists nine separate festivals).²⁰⁹ The Hellenistic ephebate had developed a prominent academic component (see [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 16](#)). That is much less prominent in the evidence from the Imperial period, although the inscriber of **6** showcases his ability to produce elegiac couplets and **10** includes references to an oratorical contest which the ephebes attended at Plataia. The importance of the Persian Wars and the mythic past to Athenian identity was a key theme of the Roman-period ephebate. In addition to the contest at Plataia, both text and relief decoration of **10** emphasise the “naval battle” (*naumachia*) undertaken by the ephebes which recalled Classical Athenian naval prowess in general and the Battle of Salamis in particular.²¹⁰ Among the athletic festivals mentioned in **10** is one in honour of Theseus and another which revived the mythical Athenaia festival that was supposed to have existed in Theseus' time. These elements were augmented, however, by a stress on the close and enduring relationship with the Imperial house, particularly through the celebration of a large number of festivals in honour of past and present emperors and their families (**10**). The close

²⁰⁶ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 2.3 and 3.8. This aspect is also important context for **16**. The importance of family to the ephebate meant that brothers often passed through the ephebate together, as seen in **4**, **6** and **10**: de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 0.2.

²⁰⁷ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.3 and 4.3. On the Areopagos, see **16**.

²⁰⁸ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 4.1-4.3.

²⁰⁹ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.2-3.3 for athletic and military training, 3.5.iii for athletic contests.

²¹⁰ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.1 and 3.5.i for the ephebes and identity, 3.4 for academic training.

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relationship with the emperor was thus presented as being as integral to Athenian identity as the achievements in the Persian Wars.²¹¹

²¹¹ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.1 and 3.5.iii.

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4 DEDICATION BY EPHEBES TO HERMES. ANChandler 2.55 (a) and G1223 (b). Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676; findspot unknown (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Two near-joining fragments of a stele of grey marble, separated sometime between 1763 and 1878; *a* preserving the top, with ornamental moulding, left (ll. 1-11) and right (ll. 1-14) sides intact, bottom broken and now embedded in a modern base; *b* preserving left side (ll. 13-24). *a* h. 0.35, w. 0.22, th. 0.09; *b* h. 0.24, w. 0.16, th. 0.09. Letter h. 0.015. Marked apices or serifs. Alpha = Α; xi = Ξ; pi = Π; hyperextension of diagonals of Α/Δ/Λ/Μ; Μ always, Σ never splayed; elongated vertical of Φ; feet of Ω are not attached to the curve and splay upwards. Ω = son of a man of the same name.

Eds. Spon, *Voyage* III.2 (1678), 196-97; Wheler, *MS* (ca. 1680), 254, no. xxix; Chandler 1763, 100, no. lv (*CIG* I 265); *IG* III 1077 + add. p. 513; *IG* II² 1967; Wilson 1992, 175-76, no. E.081; O. Thomas, *ZPE* 157, 2006, 71-76 (ph.) (*SEG* 56.214); *IG* II³ 4, 389 (ph.).

Cf. Graindor, *Alb.* 20, no. 17 (ph.); B. D. Merritt, *Hesp. Supp.* 8, 1949, 225 (reporting Royal Society *MS* 73, diary of Francis Vernon, 1675). Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2019. In store. *Fig.* 4.

36/7 AD	<i>a</i>	οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες ἐν τῷ ἐπ[ι] βασιλέως Ῥοιμητάλκα γε(ωτέρου) ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυτῶι Ἑρμῆ· πα[ι]- δοτριβούντων Θηβαγένου κα[ι]	<i>a</i>
	5	Θεοδώρου τῶν Ἴρηνάιου Ἑρ- μήων, ὑποπαιδοτριβ<ο>ῦντος Δημοσθένος τοῦ Μύρωνος Κυδαθηναίως Αὔλος Ῥ Βάσσου Ῥ Παλληνεύς	
	10	Λεοντίσκος Διονυσίου Σουνιεύς Βάσος Ω Παλληνεύς Δήναιος Ω Γαργήτιος	
	<i>b</i>	Ἀθήναις Ω ἔξ Οἴου Φιλήμων Ω [ἐκ] Μυρινούντης	
	15	Χαβρέας Τιμοκράτος Πειραιεύς Ἀριστοτέλης Τιμοκράτος [Πειραιεύς] Εὐμήδης Δημητρίου - - - Ναυκύδης Ἰσιδότου - - - [Α]φροδίσιος Φιλήμων[ος] - - -	<i>b</i>
	20	[Κ]αλλίξενος Διον[υσίου] - - - Ἐπ[ι]κτητος Ἰσιδώρ[ου] - - - [Δ]ιονύσιος Μη- - - [Δη]μήτρ[ιο]ς Δισ- - - [. . ^{2-3?} .]ητ- - -	

Underlined letters, read by Vernon, Spon, Wheler, and Chandler, now lost. Rest. Curbera (*IG* II³) after previous eds. || 16 rest. de Lisle cf. l. 15 || The absence of demotics after l. 15 is due to a break in the stone.

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Those who were ephebes in the year that
King Rhoimetalkes the Younger
was archon (36/7) (dedicated this) to Hermes;
the trainers being Thebagenes and
(5) Theodoros, the sons of Irenaios of Hermos,
the deputy trainer being
Demosthenes son of Myron
of Kydathenaion.
Aulos son of Bassos of Pallene
(10) Leontiskos son of Dionysios of Sounion
Bassos (son of Bassos) of Pallene
Lenaios (son of Lenaios) of Gargettos
Athenais (son of Athenais) of Oion
Philemon (son of Philemon) of Myrrhinoutta
(15) Chabreas son of Timokrates of Piraeus
Aristoteles son of Timokrates [of Piraeus]
Eumedes son of Demetrios ...
Naukydes son of Isodotos ...
Aphrodisios son of Philemon ...
(20) Kallixenos son of Dionysios ...
Epiktetos son of Isidoros ...
Dionysios son of Me- ...
Demetrios ...
...

This votive dedication by a group of fifteen ephebes – probably not the full cohort of the year – is the first securely dated ephebic inscription of any kind since [IG II² 1963](#) in 13 BC. The gap in ephebic inscriptions has been seen as evidence for a downturn in the fortunes of the ephebate in the early Julio-Claudian period,²¹² but there are relatively few inscriptions of any kind from Athens in this period, so this may simply be part of a wider shift in the Athenian epigraphic habit. The chronology of the archons in this period is not yet fully understood;²¹³ ephebic inscriptions that can currently only be dated “late i BC-early i AD” or “early-mid-i AD” (e.g. [IG II³ 4, 403-404](#), [IG II² 1978](#)) may fill the gap to some degree. Nevertheless, the inscription stands at the beginning of a period when ephebic inscriptions became much more frequent.

The target of the dedication is Hermes, who was one of the patron deities of the ephebate and the gymnasium, along with Herakles.²¹⁴ A series of ephebic dedications to Hermes is known from the second century BC (see [IG II³ 4, 357](#) with links to further examples), which have a number of similarities with this monument. Like this inscription, they open with ἐφηβεύσαντες in the aorist tense (“those who were ephebes”), indicating that the dedication was made when the ephebes had finished their year of service; they list the names of the participating ephebes in a single column; and they often include the name of the

²¹² Perrin-Saminadayar 2004.

²¹³ The chronology and prosopography of Julio-Claudian Athens are revised in Schmalz.

²¹⁴ On herms, see [sect. 5](#) and [15-16](#) (below).

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paidotribes, although generally at the end of the list rather than at the beginning, as in this case. Many of these dedications appear to commemorate victories in ephebic competitions, particularly the torch race.²¹⁵ Ephebes continued to make victory dedications until the second century AD (*IG II³ 4, 423*). However, after *IG II³ 4, 374* (94/3 BC), they no longer include a list of names and usually have only a single dedicator. This inscription thus revived an earlier format of ephebic dedication. This may have been done in order to celebrate an athletic victory in the torch race or another event, or it might be a precursor of the *philoï* list genre (see [5](#) below)

Rhoimetalkes III, the final Roman client-king of Thrace, was son of Kotys VIII, who had been client-king of Thrace from 13 to 19 AD. After his father's death Rhoimetalkes was excluded from the kingship by a cousin and exiled, but he became an associate of the future emperor Gaius Caligula (reigned 37-41 AD), who appointed him king of Thrace in 37 AD (*IMT 1439*). Rhoimetalkes reigned until he was assassinated in 44 AD, after which the client kingdom was abolished and Thrace became a regular Roman province.²¹⁶ *IG II² 2292*, ll. 27-29 states that the proclamation in Athens of Gaius Caligula as emperor occurred in Rhoimetalkes' archonship. Gaius' predecessor Tiberius died on 16th March 37 AD (*Tac. Ann.* 6.50), i.e. late in archon year 36/7 AD. Accordingly, Rhoimetalkes' archonship has been placed in that year by Thomas and Curbera in *IG II³ 4*, who are followed here. Schmalz instead dates it to 37/8 AD.²¹⁷ *IG II³ 4, 606* also derives from this archonship. It was relatively common for kings to serve as the chief magistrates of Greek cities in the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods – Rhoimetalkes also held the equivalent of the archonship at Chios (McCabe, *Chios*, no. 220). However, it was very rare at Athens. Rhoimetalkes and his father Kotys VIII (*IG II² 1070*, early i AD) are the only reigning kings who ever served as Athenian archons.²¹⁸ These honours were part of a special relationship that existed between Athens and Thrace in the early first century AD, apparently revolving around Athenian access to Thracian grain.²¹⁹

As the ephebes' trainers (*paidotribai*), the two brothers Thebagenes and Theodoros were responsible for supervising the physical activities of the ephebes on a day-to-day basis. The fact that they are mentioned here while the superintendent is not strengthens the idea that the dedication was motivated by athletic achievements.²²⁰ The fact that there were two trainers in this year is very unusual. There are three other examples: *IG II³ 4, 391* and *395*, from the late first century BC, and *IG II² 2024*. In all three cases, the two trainers were kinsmen from families that had held the trainership for several years. In those cases, the dual tenure may have been a kind of transition period. That may have been the situation in this case as well, but neither brother, nor their father Irenaios, is otherwise attested.

None of the ephebes in this list are otherwise attested or associable with known families. This could indicate that they belonged to a social stratum below the office-holding elite, but, given the sparse epigraphic record for this period in general, it may not have much

²¹⁵ On the Hellenistic dedications, see Reinmuth 1974.

²¹⁶ R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* 7.1, 1979, 203-21; L. Robert, *JS*, 1982, 143-48

²¹⁷ Schmalz, pp. 61-62.

²¹⁸ Philopappos (descendant of the kings of Kommagene) served in 74/5 AD, as did several emperors: Domitian in 87/8 AD, the future emperor Hadrian in 111/2 AD, Commodus in 188/9 AD, and Gallienus in 264/5 AD.

²¹⁹ J. H. Oliver, *GRBS* 6, 1965, 51-55.

²²⁰ de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, 2020, section 2.2.

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significance. The list includes two pairs of brothers (ll. 9, 11 and 15-16). Such pairs are encountered in ephebic inscriptions in all periods, but become increasingly common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. If the rule that the ephebate was undertaken at the age of eighteen was strictly enforced then these would have to be twins. Even in the Classical period, brothers occur too frequently for this to be the case. The rule of entry must have been interpreted flexibly in order to allow brothers to serve together; presumably by postponing the enrolment of the older sibling.²²¹ Many ephebic lists contain some ephebes with demotics and some without, a distinction which has been interpreted as signifying different citizenship statuses or age classes.²²² This inscription has played an important part in that debate, especially since it appears to include two brothers, Chabreas and Aristoteles, one with the demotic and one without (ll. 15-16). However, the absence of demotics for Aristoteles and the other ephebes listed after l. 15 is a result of the way the stone is broken.

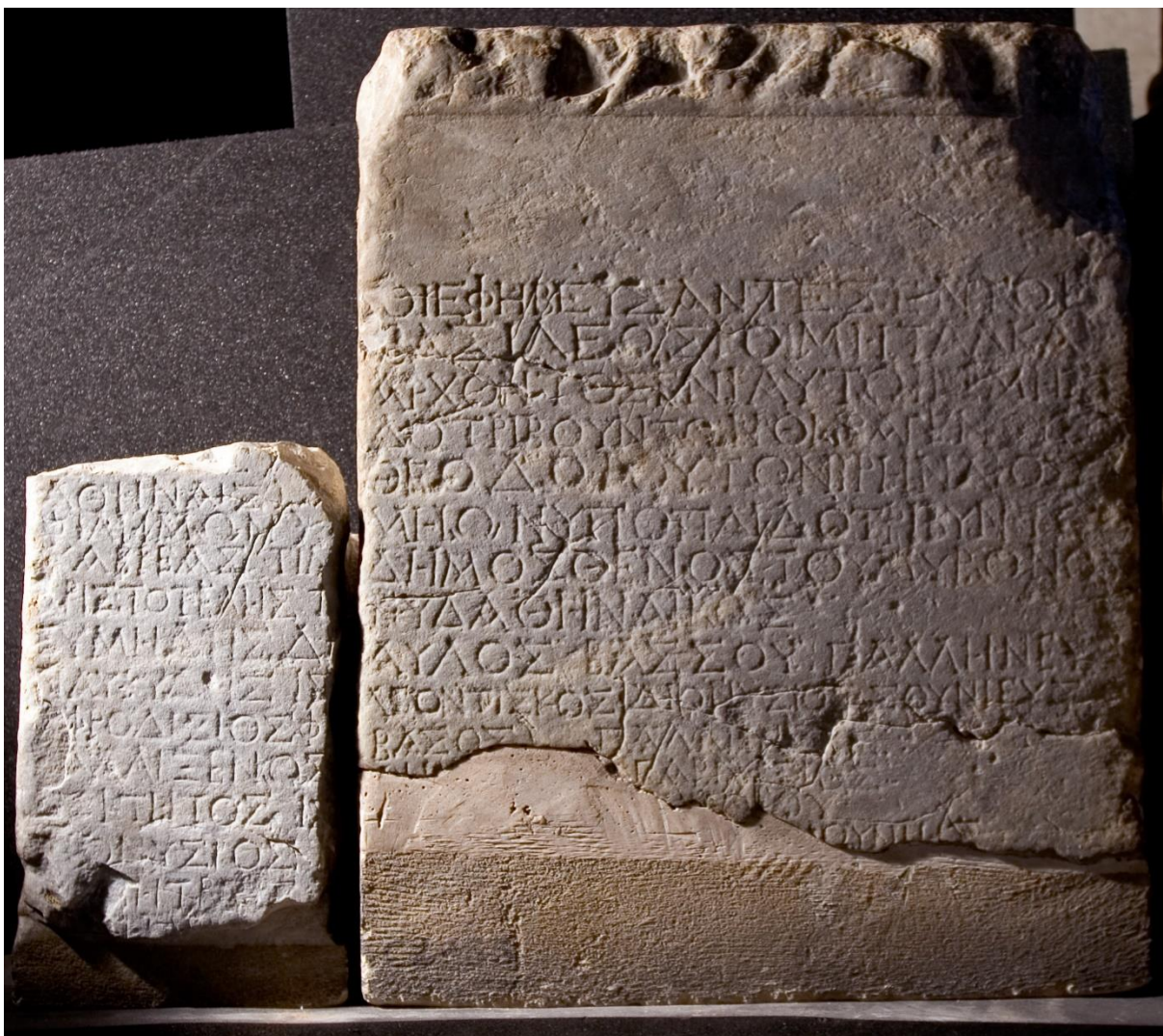


Fig. 4. 4 = ANChandler 2.55; *a* at right, *b* at left. © Ashmolean Museum.

²²¹ de Lisle, *AIO Papers 12*, 2020, section 0.2. Friend 2019, 89 (Classical); Perrin-Saminadayar 2007 399-400 (Hellenistic); Reinmuth, *TAPA* 79, 1948, 214-15; Kennell 2009, 330.

²²² de Lisle, *AIO Papers 12*, 2020, section 3.6.

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5 LIST OF EPHEBIC FRIENDS. ANChandler 2.56B. Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676; findspot unknown (cf. [sect. 1](#)). White marble stele. Top, left side, and back preserved. At top, an ornamental cornice, on which l. 1 is inscribed, surmounted by three architectural ornaments carved in relief. In the centre of the stele, a vase in shallow relief, surrounded by four crowns, but only a single leaf of the lower right crown survives. H. 0.55, w. 0.36, th. 0.07. The distance from left ornament to the central one is 0.225, so original width was ca. 0.45. Letter h. 0.014-0.020 (l. 1), 0.004-0.019 (ll. 2-35). Modest apices or serifs. Alpha = Α; zeta = Ζ; xi = Ξ; pi = Π; rho (l. 1) = Ρ; omega = Ω; hyperextension of right or both diagonals of Α/Δ/Λ; Δ sometimes very broad; verticals of Μ curve outwards, diagonals meet at groundline; Σ never splayed; elongated vertical of Φ.

Eds. Spon, *Voyage*, III.2 (1678), 154-56; Wheler, *MS* (ca. 1680), 68, no. 252/xxvii; Chandler 1763, 102, no. lvi (*CIG* I 266); *IG* III 1081; *IG* II² 1973a + add. p. 815; Wilson 1992, 185-87, no. E.085; Hitchman and Marchand 2004 (ph.) (*SEG* 54.228).

Cf. Follet 1976, 170-72; Byrne, *RCA*, p. 523; Schmalz, no. 62. Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2019. In store. *Fig.* 5a (front) and 5b (back).

41-54 AD Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσα[ρος]
 ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ἐπὶ Μητροδώρου ἄρχοντος, κοσμη[τεύοντος]
 Διονυσόδωρου Ὁ Φλυέως ἡγεμόνος Φιλοστράτου - - -
 Ἀφιδναίου, παιδοτριβοῦντος Διοδότου τοῦ Ἀντιπάρχου Κρω]-
 5 πίδου, γραμματεύοντος Εὐφροσύνου Ὁ Φαληρέως, ὄπλι[ομάχου Νικίου]
 τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου Παλληνέως Ἀλέξανδρος Ὁ Ἀζηγιεύς φίλο[υς γοργοῦς]
 καὶ συνεφήβους.

	<i>in crown</i>		<i>in crown</i>
	Αἰολίωνα		Ἡράκων[α]
	Ἀντιπάρχου		Ἡρακλεί[δου]
10	Φλυέα		15 Μαραθ[ώνιον]
		<i>vase in relief</i>	
	<i>in crown</i>		<i>in crown</i>
	Θεογένην Ὁ		- - -
	Κηφισιέα		

		<i>col. 3</i>		
		Χαροπεῖνο[v]		
		30 Τρύφωνα		
		Εὐδημογ		
	<i>col. 1</i>	<i>col. 2</i>	<i>col. 4?</i>	<i>col. 5?</i>
	Διονυσόδωρον	Σκάμανδρον	Συμφέρ[οντα]	<i>not preserved</i>
	Σωτᾶν	Ἀπολλόδωρον	Ἀθηνι-	<i>not preserved</i>
	Ἀρίστωνα	25 Σύμμαχον	35 Θ-	
	Εἰσίδωρον	Στέφανο[v]		
20	Ζώιλον	Διονυ[σ-]		
	Μένανδρον	Σ-		
	<u>Ἀντίγονον</u>			

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5 and 8, previously joined, separated by Hitchman and Marchand. Rest. Kirchner (*IG II²*) after earlier eds. || 3 patronymic or O lost after Φιλοστράτου Hitchman and Marchand || 5 ὀπλ[ομάχου Hitchman and Marchand, ὀπλ[ομαχοῦντος previous eds. || 6 φίλο[υς γοργούς] de Lisle, cf. *IG II²* 1968, 1969, 1974, 1985; φίλο[υς] previous eds. || 22 read by Spon and Wheler, now lost || col. 4 and 5 not noted in previous eds.

In the reign of Tiberius Claudius Caesar (41-54),
For Good Fortune. In the archonship of Metrodoros, the superintendent being
Dionysodoros (son of Dionysodoros) of Phlya, the leader being Philostratos [son of ...]
of Aphidna, the trainer being Diodoros son of Antipatros of Kropidai,
(5) the secretary being Euphrosynos (son of Euphrosynos) of Phaleron, the weapons trainer
being Nikias
son of Antigonos of Pallene, Alexander (son of Alexander) of Azenia (inscribed the names
of) his [fierce] friends
and fellow ephebes

In crown at left

Aiolion
son of Antipatros
(10) of Phlya

In crown at right

Herakon
son of Herakleides
(15) of Marathon

relief of vase

In crown at left

Theogenes (son of Theogenes)
of Kephisia

In crown at right

...
...

col. 3

Charopeinos
(30) Tryphon
Eudemos

col. 1

Dionysodoros
Sotas
Ariston
Eisidoros
(20) Zoilos
Menandros
Antigonos

col. 2

Skamandros
Apollodoros
(25) Symmachos
Stephanos
Dionys-
S-

Lenaïos

Sympheron
Athen-
(35) Th-

[*col. 4*]

not preserved

[*col. 5*]

not preserved

This inscription is a *philoï* list, commemorating a group of friends (*philoï*) who went through the ephebate together. The ephebes began to erect these lists very regularly in the reign of Claudius (twenty-four examples are attested from the mid-first century AD). This list named at least forty-four ephebes (the twenty-four preserved names, one more in the lost crown, five in the missing parts of col. 2 and 3 and at least fourteen in the totally lost col. 4 and 5), plus an unknown number missing from the bottom. The number of ephebes included in contemporary *philoï* lists varies from nineteen in *IG II²* 1984 to more than seventy in *IG II²* 1970, so this is a typical number for the *philoï* lists of this period. Cases where multiple *philoï*

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lists survive from a single year (e.g. [IG II² 1969](#)-1971) make clear that these lists only included a subset of the ephebes, not the whole cohort, which is likely to have numbered around a hundred individuals.²²³

One of the purposes of these lists was to commemorate the close relationships formed by the ephebes during their year of service and express the desire for those relationships to endure for life. The phrase “fierce friends and fellow ephebes” (*philoï gorgoi kai synepheboi*) which occurs nearly invariably in *philoï* lists of this period is particularly rich. It emphasises the corporate identity of the ephebes as a band of equals. This idea of equality is also conveyed by the listing of the vast majority of the ephebes without their patronymics and demotics, eliding distinctions of tribe, descent, and perhaps even citizenship. The same technique was used to emphasise collectivity in the casualty lists of the classical period (cf. [IG I³ 1147](#), with note on AIO). The word *gorgoi* (“fierce”) had a learned flavour, looking back to classical texts. For example, Aischylos and Euripides used it of the youthful warrior Parthenopaios, while Xenophon uses it of Spartan warriors in their battle gear.²²⁴ The phrase thus presented the ephebes as a band of aristocratic warriors akin to the heroes of myth.

At the same time, this *philoï* list is also typical in serving as an advertisement for the prosperity and social prominence of the inscriber, Alexander of Azenia. This is clear from the sumptuous nature of the plaque, which is made of fine white marble and decorated with relief sculpture. Compared to some of the later ephebic monuments (e.g. [10](#)), this decoration is relatively restrained, but this is the earliest example of an ephebic monument to include relief decoration. Comparison with [4](#) makes clear how much it would have stood out as an advertisement of Alexander’s financial means. The cutting of the letters is also very fine, especially l. 1, which includes an archaising form of the letter rho last in common use in the fifth century BC. Additionally, the format and very nature of the text presented Alexander as the central figure in his social circle. Alexander places his own name in the prescript, alongside the civic archon, the ephebic superintendent and the ephebic staff, and in close proximity to the honoured ephebes inscribed within the crowns, and separated off from the mass of ephebes whose names are given below. Their names are given in the accusative case, while Alexander’s own name appears in the nominative as the subject who decided who would and would not be included in the select group of friends and fellow ephebes. We see the same kind of dynamic in [6](#), another *philoï* list from about half a century later. This pattern can be contrasted with [9](#), the other *philoï* list in the Ashmolean’s collection, in which all the ephebic friends are listed together in the nominative, thereby claiming collective responsibility for the monument in question.

The provenance of this inscription is unknown, so it is not clear where it would have been set up. Some contemporary *philoï* lists have been found in or near the Agora ([IG II² 1984](#), B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 29, 1960, 59, no. 92), though mostly in secondary contexts. Two contemporary *philoï* lists ([IG II² 1989](#) and 1972) were found in excavations at St Demetrios Katephores, which was located north of the Acropolis, to the east of the Tower of the Winds, in material which is generally believed to derive from the Diogeneion, the ephebes’ headquarters.²²⁵ It seems likely then, that the *philoï* lists were set up there, with the ephebes and any other users of the Diogeneion as their primary audience, and the broader Athenian public as a secondary audience.

²²³ de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.2.

²²⁴ Aesch. *Sept.* 537; Eur. *Phoen.* 146; Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 11.3.

²²⁵ On the Diogeneion, see de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 0.1 with further references.

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From l. 1 it is clear that the inscription dates to the reign of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 AD), but the order of the Athenian archons within that reign remains uncertain.²²⁶ The leader (*hegemon*) Philostratos and weapons trainer (*hoplomachos*) Nikias appear in the same posts in *IG II² 1974* (archon Kallikrates), which itself shares a secretary with *IG II² 1988=2264* (archon's name not preserved). These three ephebic inscriptions must form a fairly compact sequence, but the order of that sequence is unclear; this inscription may be the first or final link in the chain.²²⁷ Graindor, followed by Byrne, placed the inscription early in the reign of Claudius (43/4-45/6 AD) on the basis of its stylistic similarity to [IG II² 1969](#) and 1970, both from 45/6 AD. Notopoulos, followed by Schmalz, infers a date late in the reign of Claudius from the subsequent career of Aiolion son of Antipatros of Phlya (see below).²²⁸

Prosopographic analysis of the individuals mentioned in this stele gives some indication of the backgrounds of the ephebes and their officials. The position of superintendent (*kosmetes*) gave its holders an opportunity to showcase their beneficent community spirit (*philopatria*) and, in acting as role models for the ephebes, to present themselves as paragons of citizen virtues generally. As such, the position was a prestigious one, usually held by members of the same hereditary elite that dominated the civic archonships, performed expensive liturgies, and sat on the Areopagos Council. The superintendent in this inscription, Dionysodoros son of Dionysodoros of Phlya, however, cannot be linked with any known Athenian families. It is possible that the ephebe Dionysodoros listed first in column 1 (l. 16) might be the superintendent's son. Superintendents often enrolled their sons in their ephebate during their year of office, using this as an opportunity to vault them into the public eye (cf. [6](#), [9](#), and [10](#)).²²⁹ This suggestion must remain tentative, however, since Dionysodoros is a very common name. The ephebic staff do not generally belong to the elite class and none of the staff in this inscription seem to belong to identifiable families, except for the weapons trainer Nikias. His son, Sostratos, is attested in the same role in *IG II² 1993* and 1994 of ca. 80 AD; this sort of hereditary officeholding is common in the ephebic staff from the first century BC onwards.²³⁰

The three ephebes honoured with crowns in this inscription, Aiolion, Theogenes, and Herakon, had probably served as ephebic liturgists – if the urn depicted in relief is a prize amphora, it might indicate that they had been competition directors (*agonothetai*). They can be identified with important Athenian politicians with varying degrees of certainty. The clearest example is Aiolion son of Antipatros of Phlya (ll. 8-10). His great-grandfather, Antipatros, was one of a group of Athenians, like Eukles the ancestor of Herodes Atticus (see [15](#)), who took advantage of the political disruption after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC in order to become leading figures in Athens, holding the position of Hoplite General seven times in the period ca. 30-15 BC. He is the earliest prominent Athenian known to have held Roman citizenship, which he received from Augustus' son-in-law Agrippa, probably in 16

²²⁶ J. H. Oliver, *Hesp.* 11, 1942, 83-84; Schmalz, 320-25.

²²⁷ Wilson 1992, 191; Schmalz, no. 62.

²²⁸ Graindor 1922, 79-82; Byrne, *RCA*, p. 523; J. Notopoulos, *Hesp.* 18, 1949, 25-26; Schmalz, no. 62: given the prominence of Aiolion's family, he ought to have still been relatively young when he achieved the archonship. But his archonship's date is very unclear and depends on this inscription: see n. 232.

²²⁹ See de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, 2.1.

²³⁰ See de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 2.2 and 3.8.

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BC.²³¹ Aiolion's grandfather, also called Aiolion, was archon late in Augustus' reign (*IG II²* 3242), and his father Antipatros was archon around the time of this inscription, in 44/5 AD (*FGrH* 257 F 36.6, *IG II²* 1945, 1969-1970). Aiolion himself would go on to be archon at an uncertain date (*IG II²* 1998).²³² A nephew was archon in turn (*SEG* 26.233, ca. 110-115 AD) and members of the family are traceable into the mid-second century AD. It is characteristic of Athenian epigraphy of the early first century AD that Aiolion's Roman *nomen*, Vipsanius, is not mentioned. From the reign of Claudius onwards, grants of Roman citizenship became much more common and it becomes more frequent for Athenians, including those whose citizenship dated back to the early Principate, to appear with their Roman *nomina* in inscriptions. In the second century AD, they are very common (cf. [6](#) and [10](#), with discussion). Aiolion clearly illustrates how scions of elite families held the same prominence in the ephebate that they would go on to enjoy in civic politics as adults.

By contrast, Theogenes and Herakon are much less prominent in the epigraphic record. Theogenes (or a homonymous son) appears as Treasurer for Erechtheis in a list of *prytaneis* from the 90s AD (*Agora* XV 312, l. 10).²³³ The only possible descendant is a regular ephebe of 142/3 AD (*IG II²* 2049, l. 38). Herakon son of Herakleides of Marathon is not otherwise attested.²³⁴ Other individuals from Marathon named Herakleides need not be relatives – the name is very common. They include a regular *prytanis* of ca. 222/1 BC ([IG III²](#) 1, 1152, l. 53) and a regular ephebe, Vipsanius Herakleides (*IG II²* 2046, l. 32, ca. 138 AD). It is unclear whether Theogenes and Herakon should be interpreted as members of the same prominent class as Aiolion, whose families happen to be less well-attested, or as examples of people from a lower level of the elite, for whom the ephebate offered a chance to stand on equal footing with men like Aiolion. The inscriber, Alexander of Azenia, is similarly not otherwise known. Alexander son of The- of Azenia, who is attested as an ephebe in [IG II²](#) 1006+1039, l. 160 (79/8 BC) might conceivably be an ancestor. It is not unusual for the inscribers of these *philois* lists to be obscure individuals (cf. Potheinos in [6](#), who is also otherwise unknown). Perhaps the status-display aspects of the *philois* list were particularly attractive to individuals who were outside the top tier of Athenian society and looking to make a name for themselves. As for the mass of ephebes listed in ll. 16-35, it is not possible to conclusively identify any of them, since their patronymics and demotics are not given and most of them have very common names. However, the rare name Charopeinos (l. 29) is primarily associated with a family from Rhamnous, who are attested for two generations in the early second century AD.²³⁵ At that time, the family bore the *nomen* Claudius, implying that they had received Roman citizenship under Claudius or Nero. If the Charopeinos of this inscription is their ancestor, then he was probably the recipient of the grant and thus a prominent figure in Athens in the mid-first century AD. The Charopeinos of Rhamnous who served as treasurer of Athena in 371/0 BC (*IG II²* 1424a, l. 2) might be a distant ancestor.

²³¹ See [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 5](#), with notes. Geagan 1997, 22; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 423-24, 484-86, stemma xvi; Schmalz, 233-6.

²³² ca. 76-89 AD: W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesp.* 30, 1961, 190, n. 31; ca. 75 AD: Byrne, *RCA*, p. 524.

²³³ Date of *Agora* XV 312: Byrne, *RCA*, p. 512.

²³⁴ S. Dow, *Hesp.* 3, 1934, 169 identified Herakon with -ΚΩΝ, a *thesmothetes* in *IG II²* 1735, but this must be rejected; that inscription belongs to the same year as this inscription and Herakon cannot have held the civic position while still an ephebe: Hitchman and Marchand 2004, 171.

²³⁵ Byrne, *RCA*, p. 133, no. 47-50; *IG XII* 8, 645 (dedicator at Peparethos, 99/100), *Agora* XVIII 322, ll. 60-61 (*prytaneis*, ca. 130 AD), *IG II²* 3320 (honouring Hadrian as a personal benefactor, 132 AD).

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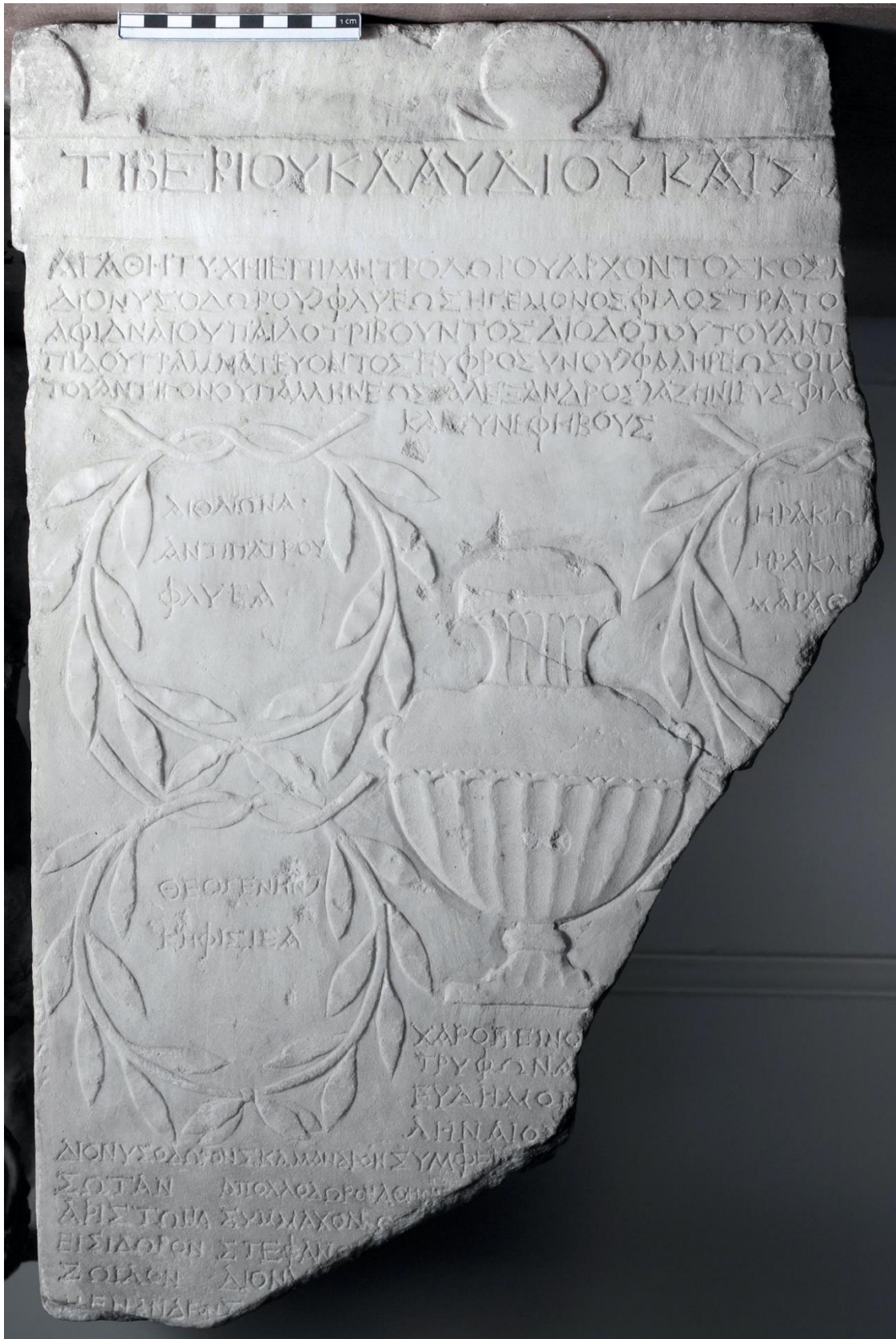


Fig. 5. 5 = ANChandler 2.56B. © Ashmolean Museum.

6 LIST OF EPHEBIC FRIENDS AND EPHEBIC STAFF. ANChandler 2.54. Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676; findspot unknown (cf. [sect. 1](#)). White marble block with rectangular base, inscribed on front (A), left (B) and right (C) sides. Face A intact on all sides; Face B broken on left side and C on right side. H. 0.53 w. 0.325 (A), 0.20 (B), 0.21 (C). Letter h. 0.007. Extensive remains of red paint, especially on Face B.

Eds. Spon, *Voyage* II.2 (1678), p. 75-83; Wheler, *MS* (ca. 1680), 65, no. 250/xxv; Chandler 1763, 96-100, no. liv (*CIG* I 270; Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 399, no. 956); *IG* III 1104; Graindor, *Alb.* no. 42 (ph., face A); *IG* II² 2037 + add. p. 816; Wilson 1992, 312-16, no. E.140.

Cf. Follet 1976, 188-91; E. Kapetanopoulos, *Horos* 10-12, 1992-9, 219-20; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 229-30, 412, and 501-10. CSAD squeeze and photo (A, B), autopsy (C), de Lisle 2019. In store. Fig. 6a (Face A), 6b (Face B), 6c (Face C).

Face A (front)

108/9 AD
 5
 10
 15
 20
 25

εἰκόνα τήνδε Ποθεῖνος ἐν εὐφήβοισι παλαίστραι
 τεύξας κοσμητοῦ θήκατο Νυμφοδότου·
 ἐπὶ τῆς Γαίου Ἰουλίου Κασίου Στεριέως ἀρχῆς
 κοσμητῆς ἐφήβων
 Ὡλος Πόντιος Νυμφόδοτος Ἀζηνιεύς
 καὶ ὑποκοσμητῆς Ὡλος Πόντιος Δημήτριος Ἀζη-
 νιεύς καὶ Χαρίτων Ἰατροκλέους Μελιτεύς
 γυμνασιάρχαι καθὼς ἐγυμνασιάρχησαν·
 Βοηδρομιῶνα · Νυμφόδοτος Ὡ Ἀζηνιεύς
 Πυανοπιῶνα · Δημήτριος Νυμφοδότου Ἀζηνιεύς
 Μαιμακτηριῶνα · Συμφέρων Ὡ Ἀζηνιεύς
 Ποσειδεῶνα · Α · Ἀντίοχος Μενάνδρου Μελιτεύς
 Ποσειδεῶνα · Β · Κλ(αύδιος) · Νίκων Μαραθώνιος
 Γαμηλιῶνα · Ἐπίκτητος Ζωσίμου Λαμπτρεὺς
 Ἀνθεστηριῶνα · Μακρεῖνος Ζωσίμου Λαμπτρεὺς
 Ἐλαφηβολιῶνα · Λικίννιος Πολύαινος Κ[ολ]λυτεύς
 Μουνιχιῶνα · Τίτος Φλάυ(ιος) · Ἄλυπος Μαραθώνιος
 Θαργηλιῶνα · Τίτος Φλαυιαγ[ὸς Μ]αραθώνιος
 Σκιροφοριῶνα Ἄνθος καὶ Παγχάρης οἱ Ἄνθου Λαμπτρεῖς
 [Ἐκατο]μβαιῶνα · Ὡλος Πόντιος Νυμφόδοτος [Ἀζ]ηνιεύς
 ν(εώτερος)
 [Μετ]αγιτνιῶνα · Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρώνας Ὀ[ῆ]θεν
 Π[οθεῖνος] Ἡρακλείδου Ἐρικαιεύς τ[ὸν] Ἐρμῆ
 Ἀρχέλα[ος Ἀπολ]λωνίου Πειραιεύς · Ἀγάθων Μελιτεύς
 Σιμ[ωνίδης?] Πυλάδου Μαραθώνι · Σέμνος Ὑγίνου Μαραθώνιος
 Πάππος Ζωστήρος Γαργήτιος · Πομπώνιος Ζωστήρος Γαργήτ
 Διονύσιος Εὐφροσύνου Λευκ · Ἐ[παφρόδ]ειτος Ζωσίμου Παιονί
 Ἐπαφρίων Σεύθου Γαργήτιος *vac.*
 Ἐλευσίνιος Δημητρίου Πειραι · Φιλωτικὸς Ἀττικοῦ Ἀλιμούσιος
 παιδοτρίβης · Ἀρίστων Ἀφροδισίου “Ραμνούσιος

4. The Ephebate in the Roman Period: The Inscriptions

Face B (left)

- 30 -σος Νικοστράτου

-ος [Ἀ]ριστ[έ]ου
[Στέ]φανος Π[ρα]ξιτέλους
-ιος Ὁ
- 35 -ων Ὁ
-ιος Ἴσιδότου
-ς Ἀθηναγόρου
-ς Βακχύλου
-ος Ζήνωνος
- 40 -ς Δημητρίου
- - - Χρυσογόνου
[Ἀγαθόπ]ους Ὁ
[- - - Ἀ]γαθόποδος
-ιμος Τίτου
- 45 -ιτος Γλαύκου
-ς Γλαύκου
-ριος Σωκράτους
-ς Φωκίωνος
[- - Σ]ωτηρίδα
- 50 -ος Ὑγείνου
- - - Πυλάδου
- - - Ζωσίμου
-ων Διονυσίου
-ος Ὁ^ῆ Σωτᾶς Παριανοῦ
- 55 -ς Παρ[ι]ανοῦ
-ιος Ἴσιδότου
-ης Διογένους
-ος Σταφύλου
[Εὐφρόσ?]υνος Ἐλευσινίου
- 60 -ς Στρά[τ]ωνος
- - - Ὁ
-ρ Ὁ
- - - Νικίου
- - - Ἀντιπάτρου
-εος Ἡθικοῦ
- 65 -ος Ἀρχελάου
-νιος Ὁ
- - - Καλλιμάχου
- - - Ἐπαφροδίτου
- - - Μουσαίου

Face C right

- 70 παιδευταί
Λικίννιος Πολύαινος Κολ[λυτεύς]

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- ἡγεμῶν Ἐπίκτητος Προσδέ[κτου ...]
 γρ(αμματεύς) ^m Διονύσιος Ὁ Μελιτεύς
 Ἡρακλείδης Ποθείνου Ἐρικ[αieiύς]
 75 ὄπλομάχος Ἀσκληπιάδης [Ἀζηνιεύς]
 Πλουτιανὸς Ἀγαθημέρους Σφ[ήττιος]
 Μηνόφιλος Ἀφροδισίου Μα[ραθώνιος]
 Διονύσιος Ἀφροδισίου ἐξ Ο[ΐου]
 Παίων Διομήδους Παλλη[νεύς]
 80 Σέξστιος Νικάνωρ Σφήττιο[ς]
 Πιστοκράτης Φιλοστράτου Ἀ[λαιεύς?]
 Ἀβάσκαντος Εὐμόλπου Κηφ[ισιεύς]
 Ἑρμίας Τρύφωνος Μαραθ[ώνιος]
 κεστροφύλαξ Πυθικὸς Εὐδ[ώρου]
vacat
 85 θυρωρὸς Αἰσχίνης ὁ καὶ Ψία[ξ]
vacat

Text after Kirchner (*IG* II²) except where noted. Underlined letters read by Spon and Wheler, now lost. || 14 Ζωσίμου de Lisle; Ζωσίλου Kirchner || 18 Φλαυιαγ[ὸς Wilson, Φλαβιαγ[ὸς Kirchner || 31 -ιος Wilson || 36 -νιος Wilson || 44 -ιμος Wilson || 45 -ιτος Wilson || 48 [Κόσμιο]ς Kirchner, cf. *IG* II² 2054, l. 7 || 61 omitted in previous eds. || 72 rest. Wilson || 73 ΓΡ written as digraph (with P on top) || 75 Kirchner, cf. *IG* II² 2032, l. 3 || 76 Σφ[ήττιος] Wilson, Σ- eds. || 81 Φιλοστράτου de Lisle after Spon and Wheler, Φιλοκράτου eds. || 85 Ψία[ξ] Wilson, Ψιλ eds. || Following the *vacat* after 85, a rough graffito, KOK.

Face A (front)

Having produced this image of Nymphodotos the superintendent, Potheinos set it up amidst the euphebes in the wrestling-ground, in the archonship of Gaius Julius Casius of Steiria (108/9) superintendent of the ephebes:

(5) Aulus Pontius Nymphodotos of Azenia,

and deputy superintendents Aulus Pontius Demetrios of Azenia and Chariton Iatrokles of Melite.

Gymnasiarchs and when they served as gymnasiarchs:

Boedromion: Nymphodotos (son of Nymphodotos) of Azenia

(10) Pyanopsion: Demetrios son of Nymphodotos of Azenia

Maimakterion: Sympheron (son of Sympheron) of Azenia

Posideon: 1: Antiochos son of Menandros of Melite

Posideon: 2: Claudius Nikon of Marathon

Gamelion: Epiktetos son of Zosimos of Lamptrai

(15) Anthesterion: Makreinos son of Zosimos of Lamptrai

Elaphebolion: Licinius Polyainos of Kollytos

Mounichion: Titus Flav(ius) Alypos of Marathon

Thargelion: Titus Flavianus of Marathon

Skirophorion: Anthos and Pancharos, the sons of Anthos of Lamptrai

(20) Hekatombaion: Aulus Pontios Nymphodotos of Azenia, the younger

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Metageitnion: Ptolemaios son of Heron of Oa.

Potheinos son of Herakleides of Erikeia (dedicated) this Herm.

Archelaos son of Apollonios of Piraeus, Agathon of Melite,

Simonides son of Pylades of Marathon, Semnos son of Hyginos of Marathon

(25) Pappos son of Zoster of Gargettos, Pomponios son of Zoster of Gargettos

Dionysios son of Euphrosynos of Leukonoion, Epaphrodeitos son of Zosimos of Paionidai

Epaphrion son of Seuthes of Gargettos

Eleusinius son of Demetrios of Piraeus, Philotikos son of Attikos of Halimous

Trainer: Ariston son of Aphodisios of Rhamnous.

Face B

(30) -sos son of Nikostratos

...

... son of Aristeas

Stephanos son of Praxiteles

-ios (son of -ios)

(35) -on (son of -on)

-ios son of Isidotos

... son of Athenagoras

... son of Zenon

(40) ... son of Demetrios

... son of Chrysogonos

[Agathop]ous (son of Agathopous)

... son of Agathopous

-mos son of Titos

(45) -tos son of Glaukos

... son of Glaukos

-rios son of Sokrates

-s son of Phokion

... son of Soteridas

(50) ... son of Hygeinos

... son of Pylades

... son of Zosimos

-on son of Dionysios

-os son of -os^{vv} Sotas son of Parianos

(55) ... son of Parianos

-ios son of Isidotos

-es son of Diogenes

-os son of Staphylos

[Euphros]ynos son of Eleusinius

(60) ... son of Straton

... son of ...

-r (son of -r)

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... son of Nikias
... son of Antipatros
-eos son of Ethikos
(65) -os son of Archelaos
-nios son of -nios
... son of Kallimachos
... son of Epaphroditos
... son of Mousaios

Face C

(70) Teachers:
Licinius Polyainos of Kollytos
Leader: Epiktetos son of Prosdektos ...
Secretary: Dionysios (son of Dionysios) of Melite
Herakleides son of Potheinos of Erikeia
(75) Weapons trainer: Asklepiades of Azenia
Ploutianos son of Agathemeros of Sphettos
Menophilos son of Aphrodisios of Marathon
Dionysios son of Aphrodisios of Oion
Paion son of Diomedes of Pallene
(80) Sextius Nikanor of Sphettos
Pistokrates son of Philostratos of Halai
Abaskantos son of Eumolpos of Kephisia
Hermias son of Tryphon of Marathon
Kestrophylax: Pythikos son of Eudoros
uninscribed space
(85) Doorman: Aischines, also called Psiax
uninscribed space

This inscription supported an honorific image of the year's superintendent (*kosmetes*), set up by one of the ephebes, Potheinos, in the ephebes' "wrestling-ground (*palaistra*)," that is the Diogeneion. The stone is described as a herm in l. 22 and this is not inconsistent with the use of the term *eikon*, "statue, image" in l. 1. No trace of a bust or phallus remains and the shaft is very short for a herm. Perhaps it was cut up into separate blocks at a later date. If it is a portrait herm, it would be the earliest attested example of the genre; the next example is *IG II² 2023* (112/3-114/4 AD). The text is typical of that found on the portrait herms in honour of superintendents.²³⁶

The inscription lists the gymnasiarchs at ll. 8-21 according to the month that they served in the "archon's calendar", that is the lunar year which was equivalent to the term of the eponymous archon. This archon year ran from Hekatombaion to Skirophorion (roughly equivalent to July/August and June/July respectively). As this inscription and [10](#) illustrate, the ephebes started their service in Boedromion, the third month of this year, and finished at the end of Metageitnion of the following archon year. When ephebic inscriptions give the

²³⁶ See de Lisle, *AIO Papers 12*, 2020, sect. 1.4. For further examples, see [IG II² 2048](#), [2193](#), [3737](#), [3739](#), with notes on AIO.

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archon-date, it is always the archon at the time when the ephebes were enrolled, although many ephebic inscriptions, including this one, were probably set up when the ephebes graduated, early in the following archon year. The inscription shows that in this year there was an intercalary month, which was called “Posideon 2,” as in this inscription (l. 13), until renamed “Hadrianion” in honour of the Emperor Hadrian in the calendar reform of 124/5 AD (at which point the start of the archon year was also shifted to Boedromion). The insertion of this extra month was intended to keep the solar and lunar calendars from drifting apart, in a similar manner to the extra day in modern leap years. The intercalary month was inserted according to a 19-year cycle, devised by the astronomer Meton, which began in 432/1 BC and was consistently followed by the Athenians from ca. 350 BC at the latest. Intercalary months occurred in the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 16th, and 18th years of this Metonic cycle.²³⁷ Combined with a pair of inscriptions from Delos that list the Athenian archons between 95/6 and 108/9 AD (*ID* 2535-2536), the Metonic cycle allows the archon of this inscription, Gaius Julius Casius of Steiria, to be placed in 108/9 AD – the 8th year of the 29th cycle.²³⁸

The inscriber, Potheinos, is not otherwise attested and mentions no official role that he had performed as an ephebe, aside from erecting this monument. He appears to be the son of Herakleides, one of the teachers listed on Face C (l. 74). No earlier relatives are attested, but the councillors from Erikeia in a prytany list of 138/9 AD, Zopyros son of Potheinos and Pannychos son of Herakleides (*Agora* XV 331, ll. 32-33) might be a son and brother respectively. The son of the latter was an ordinary ephebe in 145/6 AD (*IG* II² 2052, l. 38) and clerk (*antigraphus*) of the Council in 169/70 AD (*Agora* XV 378, l. 42; XV 380, ll. 47-48).²³⁹ They thus appear to be a family of moderate (and increasing?) rank, involved in the government of Athens, but not rising to the level of major positions and membership of the Areopagos Council. Perhaps the production of this herm was attractive to Potheinos and his family because of the opportunity it provided to claim membership of the civic elite.

Like [5](#), the inscription is carefully crafted to portray the inscriber, Potheinos, as an influential individual. The inscription opens with an elegiac couplet (ll. 1-2), structured so as to place Potheinos’ name at the centre of the top line of the inscription. Potheinos may have intended this couplet to demonstrate his *paideia* (education and culture), an important component of which was the mastery of high-register, literary Greek, a key skill for the ephebes, whose festival games included competitions in rhetoric and poetry.²⁴⁰ Potheinos’ success is open to debate; to make the metre work, Potheinos invents the word *euphebos*, a portmanteau of the words *eu* (“well, good”) and *ephebos* (“ephebe”), which would probably have been considered poor style (cf. Demetrios, *On Style* 91-97).²⁴¹ More felicitous efforts to demonstrate *paideia* through inscribed poetry are encountered elsewhere in the Ashmolean collection ([3](#), [15](#), and [16](#)). Other aspects of the inscription were probably also designed to emphasise Potheinos’ status and contributions. At l. 22, he divides himself off from the

²³⁷ See [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\)](#), sect. 2.4; *IALD*, 389-400 = S. D. Lambert in A. Tamis, C. J. Mackie, S. Byrne eds., *Philathenaios* (2010), 91-102. Introduction of Hadrianion: Follet 1976, 363. Calendar reform: Shear 2012.

²³⁸ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 501-7; Follet 1976, 150-54, 168-91.

²³⁹ Follet 1976, 188-91.

²⁴⁰ See de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.4. On poetry and *paideia* in this period, see Baumbach 2017, with further references.

²⁴¹ Threatte I, 347, “clearly a barbarous creation to get the necessary long syllable for the meter (cf. the artificial -οιοσι ending).”

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majority of the ephebes, who are listed on Face B, and places his erection of this herm on a par with the provision of oil for the ephebes by the ephebic gymnasiarchs, even though the latter task was much more expensive and important for the general operation of the ephebate. Finally, like Alexander the inscriber of [5](#), Potheinos presented himself as a central social figure, who got to decide which ephebes to include and exclude from the inscription and how much prominence to give to those who were included.²⁴²

As is common in the Roman period, the family of the superintendent (*kosmetes*), Aulus Pontius Nymphodotos, had a prominent role in the year's cohort. The superintendent's homonymous son Aulus Pontius Nymphodotos the younger appears among the ephebic gymnasiarchs at l. 20, while one of the deputy superintendents (*hypokosmetai*), Demetrios, appears to be the superintendent's brother. Nymphodotos and Demetrios, sons of Nymphodotos (ll. 9-10) appear not to be sons of the superintendent since they lack his Roman citizenship; perhaps they were the children of a cousin. They are the only members of the family attested subsequently, appearing together as councillors in *Agora XV 336* (152/3 or 153/4 AD). Nymphodotos appears alone in *IG II² 2776*, l. 73, which appears to be a property tax assessment, where he is assessed at 375 denarii (towards the lower end of the scale), while Demetrios appears as a court-president (*thesmothetes*) in *SEG 36.213*. His own son was ephebe in 139/40 AD ([IG II² 2044](#), l. 45).²⁴³ A little under half of the ephebes listed on Face A (mostly the gymnasiarchs) are otherwise attested or can be connected with known families. Antiochos of Melite (l. 12) was head (*archeranistes*) of a private association of Asklepiastai in the middle of the century (*IG II² 2960*) and Claudius Nikon (l. 13) may have been his maternal cousin. Licinius Polyainos (l. 16) was the son of one of the ephebic staff (l. 71) and went on to be a councillor in 148/9 AD (*Agora XV 337*, l. 17). Titus Flavius Alypos (l. 17) appears in the same property tax assessment as Nymphodotos with an assessment of 956 denarii, 3 ½ asses (*IG II² 2776*, l. 113). Archelaos of Piraeus was ephebic superintendent and priest of Good Reputation and Good Order (*Eukleia kai Eunomia*) in 139/40 AD ([IG II² 2044](#) and 3738). A number of probable sons are attested as ephebes and one as the Athenian governor of Imbros.²⁴⁴ The fathers of Anthos, Panchares, Dionysios, and possibly -os son of Staphylos (ll. 19-20, 26, 58) are attested as ephebes under Domitian ([IG II² 1996](#), ll. 36-37, 50). Given the lacunose state of the evidence, this is a high rate of attestations, indicating that several of the ephebic liturgists went on to be members of the civic elite, but that few if any of them belonged to the very top rank of Athenian society.

Of the ephebic staff, the trainer (*paidotribes*), Ariston, appears on Face A (l. 29) and the rest are listed on Face C. The positions of leader (*hegemon*), secretary, weapons trainer (*hoplomachos*), *kestrophylax* (who trained the ephebes in the use of a special kind of sling), and doorman (*thyroros*) are discussed in [AIO Papers 12](#), section 2.2. The nature of the untitled teachers (*paideutai*) is uncertain. The arrangement of the list suggests that the first two, Polyainos (l. 71) and Herakleides (l. 74), might be the deputy trainer (*hypopaidotribes*) and deputy secretary respectively. The other eight (ll. 76-83) might be precursors of the twelve Controllers (*sophronistai*) introduced in the reign of Hadrian to supervise subgroups of the ephebes (see 7). Alternatively, they might be the tutors in grammar, geometry, rhetoric,

²⁴² It is unlikely that the 41 ephebes listed on Faces A and B were the whole cohort of the year, since the other cohorts known from this period are much larger: cf. [IG II² 1996](#), 84-92 AD with ca. 270 ephebes and [IG II² 2017](#) of 109/10 AD with 93+ ephebes, de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.3.

²⁴³ Byrne, *RCA*, p. 412; S. C. Miller, *Hesp.* 41, 1972, 50-95 on the tax assessment.

²⁴⁴ *IG II² 2041*, ll. 16-17 (128/9 AD), [IG II² 2044](#), l. 13 (139/40 AD), *IG XII 8*, 216 (mid ii AD).

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and music who are mentioned by Plutarch in a scene set in the Diogeneion in the mid-first century AD (*Table Talk* 9.1). Similar “teachers,” usually four in number, appear in other ephebic inscriptions from the late first century AD until ca. 115 AD (e.g. [IG II² 1996](#), l. 139, [IG II² 2026](#), ll. 7-11). The prosopography of the ephebic staff is mostly limited to attestations in other ephebic inscriptions. Ariston the trainer (l. 29) already held this post “for life” in 100/1 AD ([IG II² 2030](#)) and retained the position until he handed it over to a fellow demesman sometime between 112/3-114/5 AD ([IG II² 2023](#)).²⁴⁵ His grandfather had also been the ephebes’ trainer under Nero ([IG II² 1990](#), ll. 10, 20). Asklepiades the weapons trainer and Pythikos the *kestrophylax* (ll. 75, 84) also hold those positions in [IG II² 2032](#) (perhaps 107/8 AD), with Pythikos there said to hold his office “for life.” The untitled teacher Abaskantos (l. 82) would go on to be the ephebes’ trainer from 138/9 until 175/6 (see [7](#)).²⁴⁶ Trainers were already holding office for multiple years in the first century BC and lifetime tenure became increasingly common for all ephebic staff during the Imperial period. By the third century AD the staff are referred to collectively as *hoi dia biou* (“the men in office for life,” e.g. [IG II² 2245](#)). This process of professionalisation was thus already fairly advanced by the time of this inscription.

In general, the instructors do not seem to belong to the same elite officeholding class as the superintendents and ephebic gymnasiarchs, but there is significant variation. We have seen that some of the instructors’ sons appear as honoured ephebes on Face A and went on to be Councillors. Paion and Pistokrates (ll. 79, 81) may also have attested descendants: Aelius Paion, who served as ephebic controller (*sophronistes*) later in the second century AD ([IG II² 2090](#), l. 16),²⁴⁷ and Annius Pistokrates, who was councillor around 180 AD and in 182/3 AD (*Agora* XV 398, l. 33 and 387, l. 31).²⁴⁸ On the other hand, the *kestrophylax* Pythikos and the Doorman Aischines appear to be non-citizens, as is common for these positions, since they lack demotics.²⁴⁹ Aischines also lacks a patronymic, which may indicate that he was a freedman. His second name, Psiax (“droplet”), is not suggestive of high status.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Follet 1976, 201-6

²⁴⁶ Follet 1976, 188-91.

²⁴⁷ Byrne, *RCA*, p. 17.

²⁴⁸ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 53-54.

²⁴⁹ See de Lisle [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, sections 2.2 and 3.6.

²⁵⁰ cf. [AIUK 4.3B \(BM\), no. 5](#), l. 17, “Diokles also known as Tryphon.” For the phenomenon of double-naming in Roman Athens more generally, see [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\), no. 9](#); M. Lambertz, *Glotta* 4, 1913, 135-40; Liddel and Low 2019, 424-25, nn. 45-46. This is a very early example.

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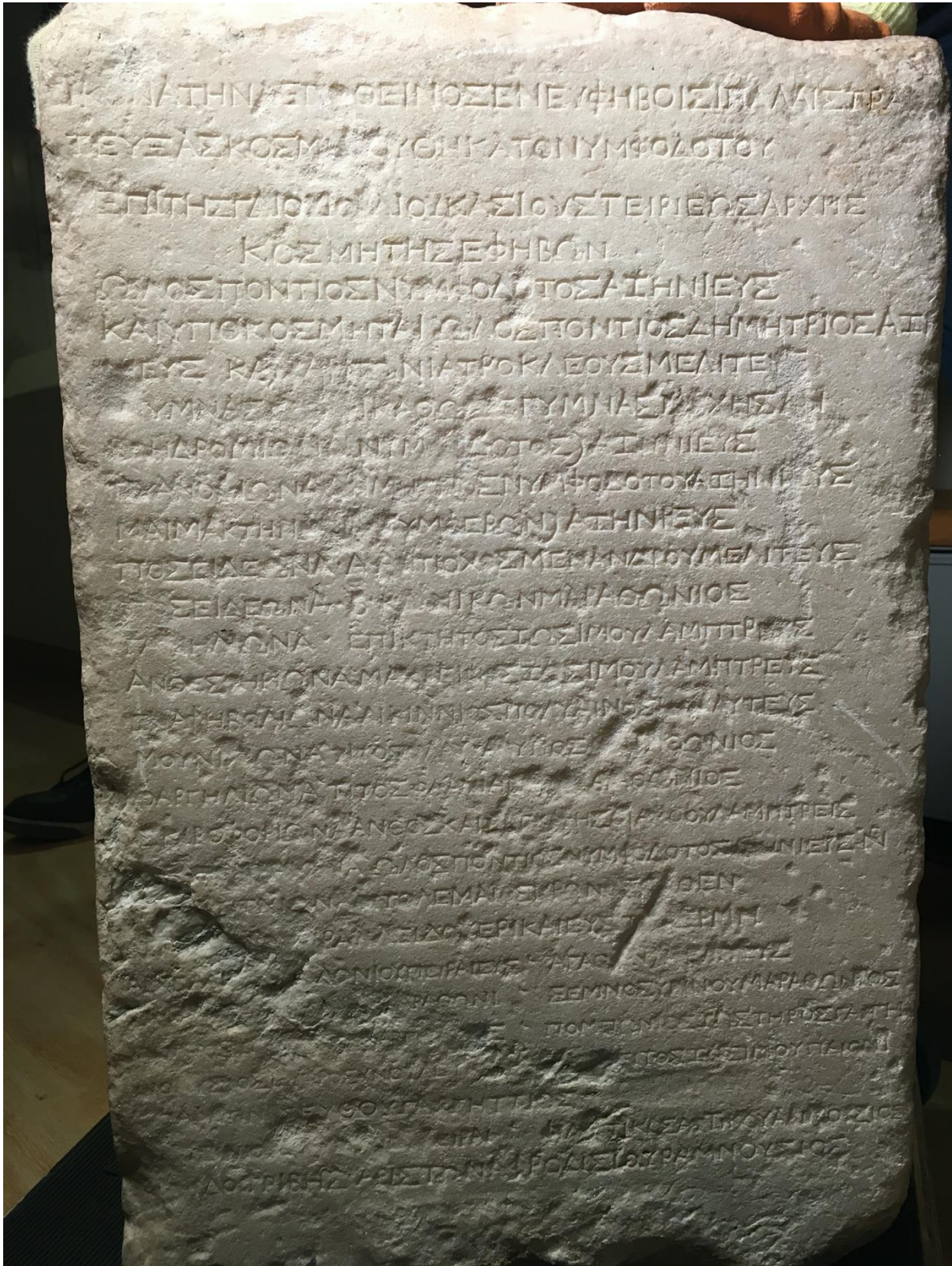


Fig. 6a. 6, Face A = ANChandler 2.54. © Ashmolean Museum.

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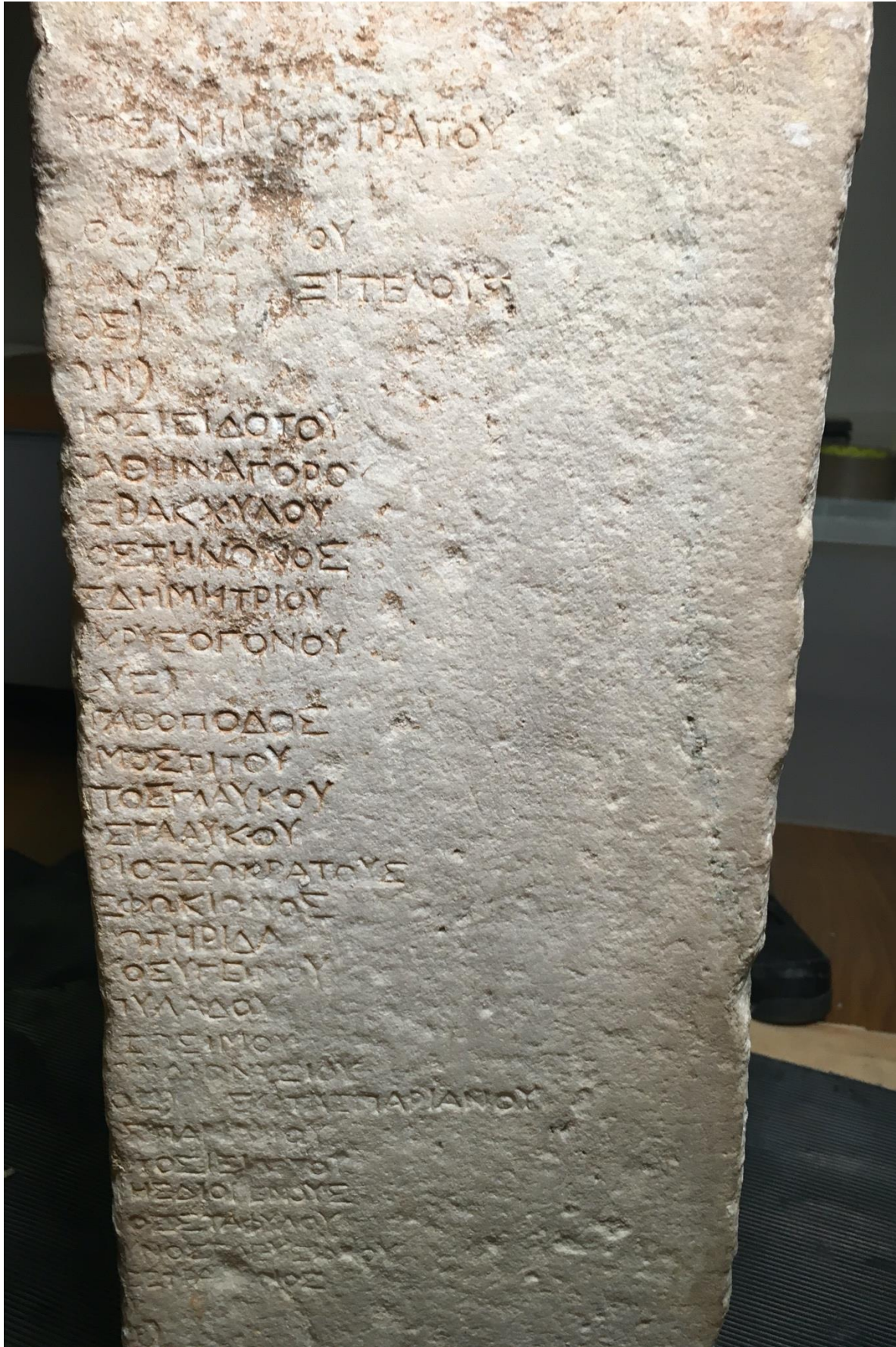


Fig. 6b. 6, Face B = ANChandler 2.54. © Ashmolean Museum.

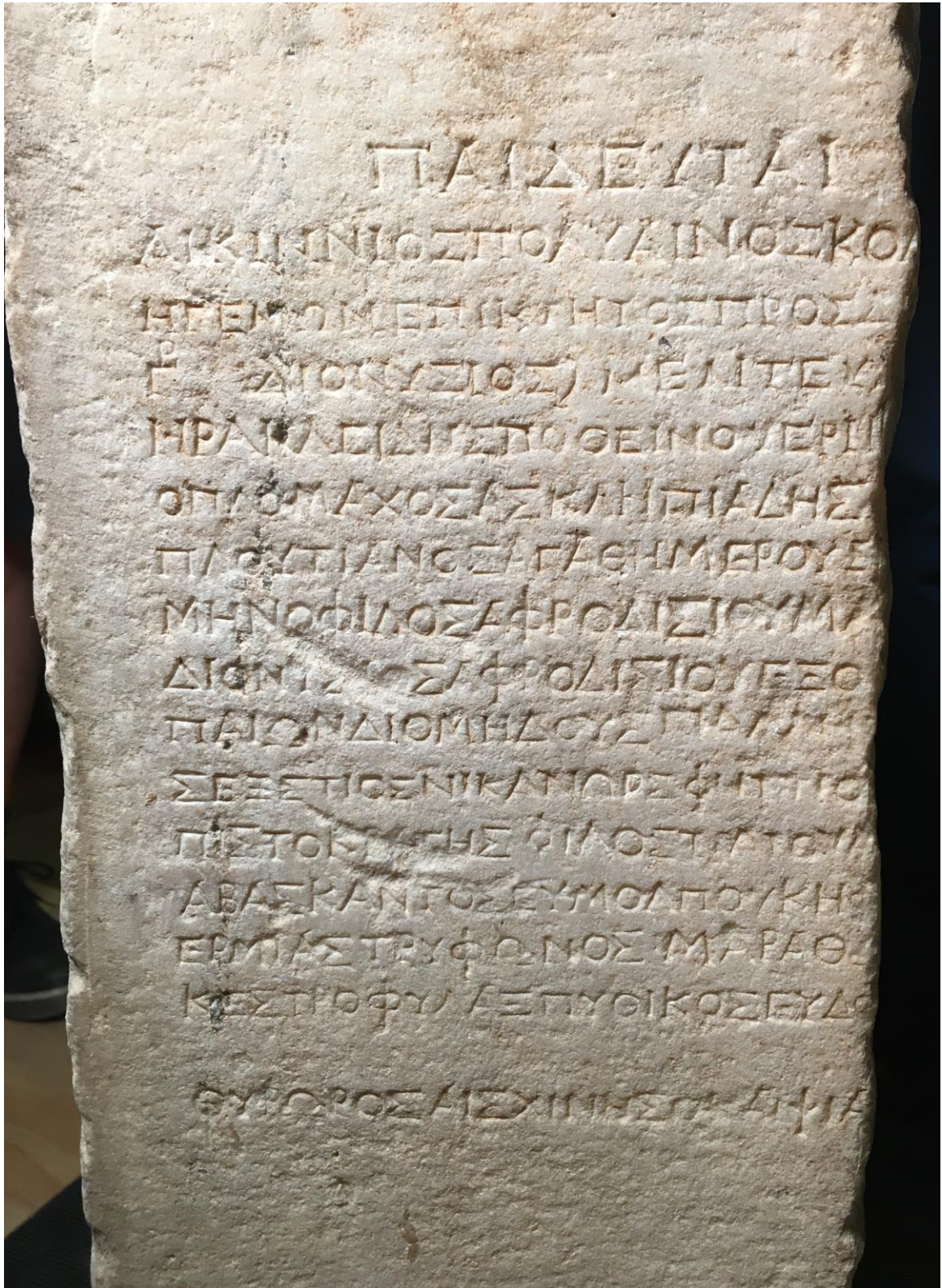


Fig. 6c. 6, Face C = ANChandler 2.54. © Ashmolean Museum.

7 DEDICATION TO HERAKLES BY A SOPHRONISTES. ANChandler 2.57. Acquired by Petty in 1626, probably in Athens (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Grey marble plaque. Top left corner lost, but all other sides intact. The whole plaque was snapped in half horizontally and has been repaired with plaster in modern times. The relief depicts Herakles reclining on his left side, resting on top of his lionskin. At left, a tree, with Herakles' bow and quiver hanging from a branch and his club resting against the trunk. Herakles' forearms and left shin are lost. His head has been carefully and totally picked out. It is unclear whether his genitals have been defaced (Wilson) or just damaged. The relief is flanked by two squat pilasters; inscriptions on flat areas above and below the relief. H. 0.67, w. 0.78, th. 0.14. Letter h. 0.013-0.018. Square letters with modest apices or serifs. Alpha = Α; pi = Π; sigma = Σ; omega = Ω; hyperextension of right diagonal of Α/Δ/Λ; M splayed; elongated vertical of Φ. J = decorative flourish at line end.

Eds. J. Seldon, *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628), no. xvi; H. Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1676), no. xv; Chandler 1763, 105, no. lvii (dr.) (*CIG* I 271; *IG* III 119); Michaelis, 573, no. 135; *IG* II² 3012; Schörner, *Votive*, 256 and R 39 (ph.); Wilson 1992, 34-35, no. E.012; *IG* II³ 4, 420 (ph.).

Cf. P. Graindor, *Mus. Belg.* 26, 1922, 213; C. Forbes, *CPh* 29, 1934, 150; Follet 1976, 213, 330-31; *LIMC* IV.2, sv. Herakles, no. 1049 (ph.); Wolf 1998, 75 n. 97, Abb. 22a (ph.); Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 315, 441-43; Newby 2005, 197-98. Autopsy, de Lisle 2019. In store. *Fig. 7*.

158/9 AD [κοσμ]ητεύοντος · Στα(τίου) · Σεραπίωνος · Χολλείδου · J
[ἀντι]κοσμητεύοντος · Κασι(ανοῦ) · Ἀπολλωνίου : Στειριέως · J
[σ]ωφρονιστῆς · Ἀθήναιος · Σπένδοντος · Ἐλευσεῖνιος · J
[το]ῖς ἐφήβοις · τὸν Ἡρακλέα · ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι νείκης · J

Relief

5 παιδοτριβοῦντος Ἀβασκάντου
τοῦ Εὐμόλπου Κηφεισιέως ἔτος · κγ'.

Rest. Boeckh || 1 ΣΤΑ, ΧΟ overlined || 2 Κασι(ανοῦ) Curbera, Forbes; Κασι Kirchner || 6 ΚΓ overlined.

The superintendent being Sta(tius) Serapion of Cholleidai,
the deputy superintendent being Casi(anus) Apollonios of Steiria,
the controller Athenaios son of Spendon of Eleusis (dedicated)
for the ephebes (this image of) Herakles, from the victory at Eleusis

Relief

(5) while the trainer was Abaskantos
son of Eumolpos of Kephisia, year 23.

This plaque, the only certain example of an ephebic victory monument in the Ashmolean collection (cf. [4](#) above), was dedicated by one of the controllers (*sophronistai*) in 158/9 AD. The date is established by the reference to the trainer Abaskantos' career (ll. 5-6).²⁵¹ The same ephebic cohort also produced *IG* II² 2079, an ephebic catalogue, which shows that the archon during their year of office was Tiberius Aurelius Philemon (who is thus dated to 158/9 AD), and *IG* II² 3743, a funerary dedication for an ephebe who died during the year.

²⁵¹ Follet 1976, 213 and 330-31.

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The nature of the “victory at Eleusis” which this plaque commemorates is not immediately clear. Presumably it was one of the many ephebic festivals, which featured athletic and oratorical competitions.²⁵² One candidate is the Antinoeia at Eleusis, one of two festivals celebrated by the ephebes annually in honour of Antinoos, Hadrian’s young companion and lover, who was deified in 130 AD after he drowned in the Nile. However, this festival consisted of a number of competitions which all had individual victors ([IG II² 2119](#), ll. 161-71), so one would expect a monument commemorating it to mention individual victors and the individual events they had won. Another possibility is that the victory took place at the festival called the *Peri Alkes* (the contest “about strength” or “about prowess”). This appears to have involved two teams of eleven ephebes, called the Theseidai and the Herakleidai ([IG II² 2119](#), ll. 253-78), each led by a *taxiarchos* (infantry commander). It is thus tempting to see this plaque as celebrating a victory by the Herakleidai in this contest. *SEG* 12.110, ll. 50-55 seems to indicate that the *Peri Alkes* took place at Eleusis.²⁵³

The motif of the “reclining Herakles” was widespread in Hellenistic and Roman times. Two very similar dedicatory plaques are known from second-century AD Athens (NM 1454; [AIUK 9 \(Brocklesby Park\), no. 4](#)). Other examples are attested from Italy to Iran, but the earliest example is a late third- or early second-century BC relief from Eleusis (NM 1462), probably dedicated in the sanctuary of Herakles in Akris (cf. *I Eleusis* 85).²⁵⁴ In most of these reliefs Herakles holds a *skyphos* cup in his right hand and a wineskin in his left. It is likely that the Herakles in this plaque originally did the same. Although Herakles reclines, the club, bow, and lionskin scattered around the scene all recall the labours accomplished by him. The general idea of well-earned repose is one that is often connected to Herakles. Other realisations of this idea are regularly found in other visual media – for example, the Farnese Hercules sculptural type (an example of which appears in [10](#)). Herakles’ repose also occurs in literature, notably in Pindar, *First Nemean Ode*, 69-75, where – as in this case – it is used to celebrate an athletic victory. There are a number of possible reasons for the selection of this motif for this dedication: its association with athletic victory, the possibility that the victorious ephebes belonged to the Herakleidai team, the fact that Herakles was one of the patron gods of the gymnasium and the ephebate (along with Hermes) and the close association of the motif with Herakles at Eleusis, which NM 1462 suggests.

The superintendent (*kosmetes*) Staius Serapion was a member of a well-known Athenian family. His grandfather of the same name, originally from Hierapolis in Syria, was a friend of Plutarch, who calls him a poet and includes him in some of his philosophical dialogues. Serapion himself appears as a regular ephebe in *IG II² 2018*, l. 14 (ca. 120 AD) and appears to have later held the priestly titles of *zакoros* and *pyrphoros* from the Acropolis (*IG II² 3805*). Descendants are encountered as ephebic liturgists and as priests down to the mid-third century AD.²⁵⁵ The family was responsible for the Serapion monument, which was erected in the Asklepieion on the south face of the Acropolis as a choregic monument by one Serapion and then remodelled by a grandson ([IG II³ 4 849-851](#)). The present Serapion is

²⁵² See [10](#) below and de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.5.iii.

²⁵³ See de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.5.iv.

²⁵⁴ Wolf 1998, 49-90. Cf. *LIMC* IV.2, sv. Herakles, no. 1017-61 for other examples of the motif.

²⁵⁵ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 441-44.

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generally interpreted as the grandson but a minority position considers him the grandfather.²⁵⁶ The deputy superintendent Gaius Julius Cassianus Apollonios of Steiria is also a well-known individual, who was involved in the funerary games for Herodes Atticus' ward Polydeukion probably in the year before or after this inscription, and went on to serve as full superintendent in 161/2 AD (*IG II² 2085*, l. 5). His sons, grandsons, and great-grandson are also attested in prestigious civic and religious positions.²⁵⁷ Serapion and Apollonios thus belonged to some of the most prestigious families in Athens. This sort of background was typical for ephebic superintendents in the Imperial period. It is also typical that their management of the ephebate is not mentioned in any of the non-ephebic inscriptions set up by these individuals or their descendants; the role was not as prestigious as the archonships, Hoplite Generalships and Eleusinian priesthoods which were also dominated by this class.²⁵⁸

By contrast, the controller (*sophronistes*) who dedicated this plaque, Athenaios, is not otherwise attested and cannot be connected with any known family. In this period, there was a board of six controllers and six deputy controllers (*hyposophronistai*) each year, who assisted the superintendent in supervising the ephebes. Their title emphasised their role in inculcating the key virtue of *sophrosyne* ("self-control," "moderation") in the ephebes. As [10](#) illustrates, the controllers were older individuals with sons among the ephebic cohort, while the deputy controllers seem to have been closer to the age of the ephebes and occasionally had younger brothers in the cohort. The office, probably created as part of Hadrian's constitutional reforms, derived its name from a long-obsolete position in the fourth-century BC ephebate – an example of the way in which Roman Athens cultivated links with its Classical past.²⁵⁹ Prosopographic analysis of the twelve controllers in [10](#) (below) suggests that holders of this position tended to come from a lower social level than superintendents, so the lack of other evidence for Athenaios is probably not an anomaly, but indicative of a real difference between his status and that of Sarapion and Apollonios.

The trainer Abaskantos, on the other hand, is very well known.²⁶⁰ We have already encountered him as an untitled member of the ephebic staff in [6](#), l. 82. He was the ephebes' trainer for thirty-four years from 136/7 AD until his retirement or death in 169/70 AD (*IG II² 2097*, ll. 189-91) and is attested in no other public role. During his career, he clearly became a fixture of the ephebate. The prominence of his name and year of tenure in this inscription is typical. In 156/7 AD, he received an honorific monument from the ephebes and the Areopagos Council, similar to those granted to superintendents (*IG II² 3737*) and his grave monument also survives (*IG II² 6397*). Its inscription, "Abaskantos son of Eumolpos of Kephisos, may he live, trainer of the free children," suggests the centrality of this role to his personal status and sense of self. No ancestors are known, but two possible sons are. One Abaskantos son of Abaskantos of Kephisia was superintendent of the ephebes ca. 194-200 AD (*IG II² 2127*, ll. 3-5). This is the only example of the relative of a trainer achieving the position of superintendent of the ephebes. Another probable son or freedman is Telesphoros,

²⁵⁶ Grandson: Aleshire, *Asklepios*, p. 73, n. 27; D. J. Geagan, *ZPE* 85, 1991, 145-65; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 441-44, and J. Curbera in *IG II³ 4*. Grandfather: E. Kapetanopoulos, *Prometheus* 20, 1994, 234-42 (*SEG* 45.175).

²⁵⁷ Byrne, *RCA*, p. 314-20. For the date of the funerary games in honour of Polydeukion, see n. 367.

²⁵⁸ On the superintendents, see de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 2.1 and section 4.3 on the ephebate and the Athenian elite.

²⁵⁹ On *sophronistai*, see de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 2.1.

²⁶⁰ Follet 1976, 206-26.

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who served as deputy trainer alongside the (presumably quite elderly) Abaskantos from 163/4 AD (*IG II² 2086*, ll. 201-2) until Abaskantos' retirement or death in 169/70 AD. He was not an Athenian citizen, but a "Milesian" – a group of non-citizens attested frequently in Roman Athens, who appear to be identical with the *epengraphoi* encountered in **10**. Telesphoros is important evidence that this group were not actually people from Miletos, but a group of free residents without full citizen rights, perhaps because they were illegitimate children or freedmen.²⁶¹ It may be that Abaskantos' long service allowed his family to move up in the world, such that his citizen son achieved a prestigious magistracy and his illegitimate son a position of prominence unusual for a non-citizen.



Fig. 7. 7 = ANChandler 2.57. © Ashmolean Museum.

²⁶¹ For full discussion of this group, see Baslez 1989, 17-36; S. D. Lambert *ABSA* 95, 2000, 500; [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 13](#) with note; de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 4.1.

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8 LIST OF NAMES (EPHEBES?). ANChandler 2.56A. Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676. Findspot unknown (cf. [sect. 1](#)). White marble stele, left side, bottom (?) and back preserved. Column 1 runs down the whole length of the stele to the left; col. 2 occupies the upper right part of the stele; cols. 3 and 4 the lower right part. H. 0.29, w. 0.22, th. 0.09. Letter h. 0.013 (ll. 1-10, 30-37), 0.007 (l. 11-29, 38-71). Modest apices or serifs. Alpha = Α; zeta = Ζ; pi = Π; hyperextension of right diagonals of Α/Δ/Λ; verticals of Μ curve outwards, diagonals meet at groundline; Σ never splayed; elongated vertical of Φ; feet of Ω little more than serifs.

Eds. Wheler, *MS* (ca. 1680), 70, no. 255/xxx; Chandler 1763, 102-3, no. lvi (*CIG* I 266); *IG* III 1081; *IG* II² 1973b; Wilson 1992, 212-14, no. E.096; Hitchman and Marchand 2004 (ph.) (*SEG* 54.228)

Cf. Follet 1976, 170-72. Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2019. In store. *Fig. 8.*

early ii AD?	<i>col. 1</i>		<i>col. 2</i>			
	[Ε]πάγαθος		---			
	Μᾶρκος		---			
	Μᾶρκος	30	Ἐμ-			
	Τιμοκράτης		Δημ-			
5	Δημήτρ[ρ]ιος		Θάλλος			
	Ἐπάγαθος		Σοφιστικός			
	Μήδιος		Δημοκράτης			
	Θέων	35	Κίττος			
	Βόηθος		Σωσίβιος			
10	Ἄτταλος		Θρέπτος			
	Ἰανουάριος		<i>col. 3</i>		<i>col. 4</i>	
	Διόγνητος		Εὔπορος		Εὐτυχ-	
	Φιλήμων		Εὐκαρπίδης		Ἐπικτ-	
	Ζώσ[ι]μος	40	Ἀλέξανδρος		Ἄρτεμ-	
15	Βάκχις		Ἀθηνό[δ]ωρος		Ἀσκλη[π-]	
	Ἀπολλώνιος		Εὔπορος	60	Ἀφροδ-	
	Ζώσιμος		Εὔοδ[ος]		Ἐκ..κ	
	Ἀντίοχος		Ἐλευσίσιος		Ἀθη-	
	Χρυσόγονος	45	Ἔραστος		Ἡρακ-	
20	Ἄγνος		Θάλαμος		Εὐ-	
	Ἀπο[λλ]ωνίδης		Ἰέρων	65	Ἀσκλη[π-]	
	Εἰσίδοτος		Γοργίας		Ἄγα-	
	Φιλόξενος		Εἰσίδο[τ]ιος		Ἀθη-	
	Διονυσόδωρος	50	Εὐκαρπος		Ζωι-	
25	Ζώσιμος		Δημοσθ<έ>νης		Ἡφ-	
	Βενύστος		Νικίας	70	Νικ-	
	Θεογένης		Δίσκος		Ἐπι-	
	<i>vac.</i>		Ἡδιστος		<i>vac.</i>	
		55	Ἐπιτυχνάνων			
			<i>vac.</i>			

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Rest. Hitchman and Marchand after earlier eds. || 51 Δημοσθ<έ>νης Hitchman and Marchand; ΔΗΜΟΣΘΝΗΣ stone || 61 Ἐκ[τῆ]κ[ός ?] Wilson || 64 Εὐ[φ]ρ- Wilson.

<i>col. 1</i>	<i>col. 2</i>	
Epagathos	...	
Markos	...	
Markos	(30) Em-	
Timokrates	Dem-	
(5) Demetrios	Thallos	
Epagathos	Sophistikos	
Medios	Demokrates	
Theon	(35) Kittos	
Boethos	Sosibios	
(10) Attalos	Threptos	
	<i>col. 3</i>	<i>col. 4</i>
Ianouarios	Euporos	Eutyech-
Diognetos	Eukarpides	Epikt-
Philemon	(40) Alexandros	Artem-
Zosimos	Athenodoros	Asklep-
(15) Bakchis	Euporos	(60) Aphrod-
Apollonios	Euodos	Ek-k-
Zosimos	Eleusinius	Athe-
Antiochos	(45) Erastos	Herak-
Chrysogonos	Thalamos	Eu-
(20) Hagnos	Hieron	(65) Asklep-
Apollonides	Gorgias	Aga-
Eisidotos	Eisidotos	Athe-
Philoxenos	(50) Eukarpos	Zoi-
Dionysodoros	Demosthenes	Heph-
(25) Zosimos	Nikias	(70) Nik-
Benystos	Diskos	Epi-
Theogenes	Hedistos	<i>Uninscribed space</i>
<i>Uninscribed space</i>	(55) Epitynchanon	
	<i>Uninscribed space</i>	

Hitchman and Marchand show that this inscription is not part of the same monument as **5**, as was long believed – the connection went back to Chandler. There are a number of pieces of evidence: the listed names on this stone are in the nominative, while those on **5** are in the accusative, the two stones have different colour and thickness, the lists have different interlinear spacing, the lettering is slightly different, and the chisel marks of the rough picking on the reverse of the stones are different.²⁶²

Once the inscription has been separated from **5**, the question then arises of what this inscription is and when it was inscribed. Hitchman and Marchand are probably correct that it

²⁶² Hitchman and Marchand 2004, 173-74.

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is a list of ephebes.²⁶³ The apparent division of the listed individuals into two groups, one inscribed in larger letters (ll. 1-10, 30-37) and one in smaller letters (ll. 11-29, 38-71) is characteristic of the construction of hierarchies seen in ephebic *philoï* lists (see discussion of 5). The absence of patronymics and demotics is also common in *philoï* lists. Other lists of names that were inscribed in Roman Athens, such as the prytany lists (*Agora XV* 263-491) and lists of members of a *genos* (e.g. *IG II²* 2338-2340), tend to include patronymics and demotics.

As for the date, Follet, Hitchman and Marchand place the inscription in the late second century AD.²⁶⁴ The orthography of the names is idiosyncratic in some respects, but includes some indicative features.²⁶⁵ The transliteration of Latin V with B rather than OY, seen in the Latin name Venustus (l. 26), is first encountered in the late first century AD, but is more common later.²⁶⁶ The text displays free variation of I and EI – Eleusinius is spelt with an I rather than EI (l. 44), Eisisdotos with EI rather than I (ll. 22, 49). This is common in the early Roman period, but by the end of the second century AD, EI predominates.²⁶⁷ Some very common names in this inscription, like Epagathos (ll. 1, 6), Zosimos (l. 17) Euporos (l. 38), and Eukarpos (l. 50), are comparatively rare before the second century AD (less than 10% of attestations). Other names, like Hagnos, Ianouarios, and Sophistikos are first attested in the early second century AD, but are very rare in all periods. Letter forms are of limited value for dating inscriptions from the Roman period, but this inscription's lettering is particularly close to 5 (as Follet noted).²⁶⁸ Distinctive shared features are the M whose diagonals meet on the groundline and the broad Δ. An early second century AD or even a late first century AD date would accord best with the evidence of the letter forms while still being consistent with the orthography and onomastics.

Given the uncertainty about the date and the lack of patronymics, it is not possible to confidently identify any of the individuals named in this inscription, though tentative identifications are possible for Ianouarios (l. 11), Bakchis (l. 15), and Benystos / Venustus (l. 23).²⁶⁹ A number of these names are primarily associated with particular demes or with the non-citizen ephebes who were referred to as *epengraphoi* ("additionally enlisted").²⁷⁰ Chrysogonos (l. 19) is mostly found in Phlya, Hagnos (l. 20) in Athmonon, Thallos (l. 32) and Threptos (l. 37) among the "additionally enlisted" ephebes.²⁷¹ Seventeen of the names in this inscription, including the uncommon Kittos (l. 35), Threptos (l. 37), Thalamos (l. 46), and the rare Sophistikos (l. 33) are found in *SEG* 29.152A, an ephebic catalogue of ca. 140

²⁶³ Hitchman and Marchand 2004, 171, 176.

²⁶⁴ Follet 1976, 170-72; Hitchman and Marchand 2004, 174-75.

²⁶⁵ Transliteration of the Latin vocalic V in the second syllable with Greek Y is very unusual (l. 26): Threatte I, 220. The usual transliteration would be O (before ca. 100 AD), or OY (thereafter).

²⁶⁶ Threatte I, 442-44. Early examples of B: *IG II²* 1996, l. 195 (AD 84-92), *IG II²* 2018, l. 138 (ca. 120 AD), *IG II²* 4064, l. 3 (before 128/9 AD).

²⁶⁷ Threatte I, 198-99.

²⁶⁸ Follet 1976, 214.

²⁶⁹ Ianouarios (= Januarius) might be the councillor from Besa of ca. 110 AD (*Agora XV* 321, l. 26), or the father of the ephebe and councillor from Eupyrilai (*IG II²* 2097, l. 67, 169/70 AD and *Agora XV* 399, l. 28, 178/9 or 179/80 AD?). Benystos (= Venustus) might be the father of an *epengraphos* (*IG II²* 2086, l. 94, 163/4 AD), the councillor from the Piraeus (*SEG* 28.167, l. 22, ca. 155-175 AD), or the latter's homonymous father.

²⁷⁰ For *epengraphoi*, see 10, below and de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, 2020, section 4.1-4.2.

²⁷¹ S. G. Byrne, *Athenian Onomasticon*, svv.

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AD, which might therefore be the ephebic catalogue for the same year as this inscription. However, the rarest names in the present inscriptions: Medios (l. 7), Benystos (l. 26), Diskos (l. 53), and Hedistos (l. 54) do not occur on the surviving portions of SEG 29.152A.

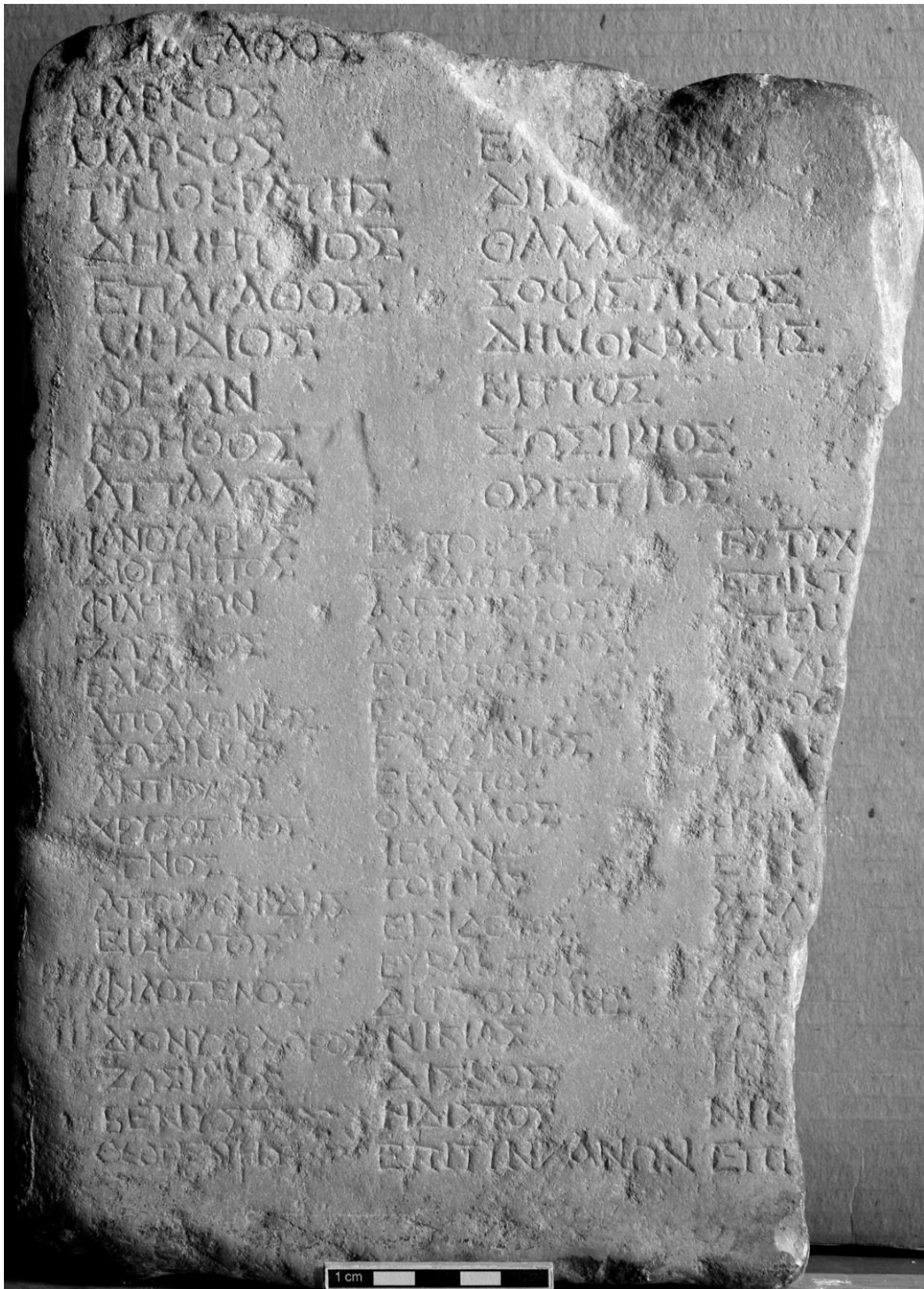


Fig. 8. 8 = ANChandler 2.56A. © Ashmolean Museum.

9 LIST OF EPHEBIC FRIENDS. ANChandler 2.53. Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676. Findspot unknown (cf. [sect. 1](#)). White marble plaque, with a raised frame on the left and right sides and a pediment. Bottom not preserved. H. 0.25, w. 0.25, th. 0.04. Letter h. 0.08. The plaque has been reused as the front of an ash chest, which measures h. 0.21, w. 0.32, th. 0.25. Modest serifs or apices. Alpha = Α; zeta = Ζ; pi = Π; slight hyperextension of right diagonals of Α/Δ/Λ; Μ and Σ never splayed; elongated vertical of Φ/Ψ.

Eds. Spon, *Voyage* III.2 (1678), 168-69; Wheler, *MS* (ca. 1680), 69, no. 253/xxviii; Chandler 1763, 94, no. liii (*CIG* I 273; *IG* III 1136); *IG* II² 2104; Wilson 1992, 616, no. E.214.

Cf. M. T. Mitsos, *AE*, 1977, 12-22 (*SEG* 29.152); Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 18, 165, and 529. Autopsy, de Lisle 2019. In store. *Fig.* 9.

175/6 AD	ἐπι ἄρχοντος Κλ(αυδίου) Ἡρακλεί- [δ]ου Μελιτέως, κοσμητεύ- οντος Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ [Χάρη]- τος Γαργητ[ίου φίλοι]
5	καὶ συστάται αὐτο[ῦ]ς ἀνέ- γραψαν. Πό(πλιος) Αἴλιος Λεύκιος Παλλη Φιλοίτιος Γάμου Μελιτ Ἵονήσιμος Μενεκράτ(ους) Φιλ
10	Ζώσιμος Ἴσιγένους Παλλ Τελεσφόρος Μενεκρ[άτ]- <i>vacat</i> οὐς [Φ]ιλ[ά]δ[ης]

3 Mitsos, cf. *SEG* 29.152 || 7 ΠΟ digraph, with O on top || 11-12 Wilson, Μενεκρ[άτ Φιλ] | *vac.* previous eds. For this spelling of the demotic, cf. *IG* II² 2055, l. 10.

In the archonship of Cl(audius) Herakleides
of Melite (175/6), the superintendent being
Attikos the son of Chares
of Gargettos, [friends]
(5) and partners inscribed
themselves:
Pu(blius) Aelius Leukios of Pallene
Philoitios son of Gamos of Melite
Onesimos son of Menekrates of Philaidai
(10) Zosimos son of Isigenes of Pallene
Telesphoros son of Menekrates
uninscribed space of Philaidai
...

This inscription is a *philo* list, like **5**. The official ephebic list for this class is *SEG* 29.152 (right side), which is very fragmentary, but has the same superintendent (*kosmetes*) and lists Leukios (l. 7) and Telesphoros (l. 11) as gymnasiarchs at ll. 21-22 and 25-26. The group of

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friends appears much smaller than 5 (though it is possible that more names appeared on the lost portion of the plaque) and the inscription is attributed to all of them collectively (as in 4) rather than being the work of a single individual. A sense of fraternity is also conveyed by the term *systatai* (“partners, men who stand together”), which also appears in earlier *philoï* lists, (e.g. *IG II² 1970*, l. 15, ca. 45 AD, “the *systatai* who maintain goodwill for each other”).

However, it is probably not by chance that Aelius Leukios is listed first, since his family was very prominent in the late second century AD. He himself served as tribal eponymos in ca. 190/1 and 191/2 AD (*Agora XV 423*, l. 8-9, *Hesp.* 76, 2007, 545, no. 2, l. 5) and was honoured by the Areopagos with a herm which mentions that he claimed descent from Konon, the early fourth-century BC general (*IG II² 3643*). In the third century AD, Leukios’ homonymous son served as tribal eponymos (*Agora XV 472*, l. 12) and probable descendants served as councillors ca. 255 AD (*Agora XV 466*, ll. 23-24). Likely cousins are Aelius Dionysios, who was Dadouch in the 170s and 180s AD and Aelius Apollonios, who was King Archon (*basileus*) before 210 AD and Hierophant ca. 235-237 AD. The Aelii from Pallene in 10 might also be relatives.²⁷² Telesphoros (l. 11) went on to be the ephebic trainer (*paidotribes*), ca. 197-219 AD (e.g. *IG II² 2193*, l. 34). His father was an ordinary ephebe in 145/6 AD (*IG II² 2052*, l. 41, *IG III³ 4, 419*, l. 10). Telesphoros’ brother Onesimos (l. 9) and the other ephebes are not otherwise attested.²⁷³ Thus, there seems to have been a disparity in status between Leukios and his friends, and the egalitarian phrasing may hide a patron-client relationship.

The inscription is on a small plaque which has been inserted into the front face of a stone box. Mortar is visible on all sides of the plaque, especially at the bottom, where the break cuts across the middle of l. 12 (thus this may not have been the final line of the original text). The box appears to be a rather plain Roman ash chest, undecorated except for a simple moulding along the bottom of the front face and forward parts of the left and right sides. A rim to hold a lid steady runs around the top and stone fragments (remnants of the lid?) remain inside. Ash chests were produced in Italy throughout the Imperial period, but mostly in the late first century and early second century AD; they are not found in Greece.²⁷⁴ Thus, the incorporation of the inscription into the box must have happened in early modern times. It was common in eighteenth-century Italy to modify ash chests by adding inscriptions in order to make them more attractive to collectors, as Glenys Davies has outlined in her studies of the ash chests in the collection assembled by Henry Blundell at Ince Blundell Hall between 1782 and 1792. Davies even identifies one example (*CIL VI.3 15245*) where the original front was removed and replaced with a new inscribed panel. However, the modifications to the Ince Blundell ash chests are of a higher quality, were made at a later date, and none of them involves the insertion of a genuine inscription, let alone one with Greek text.²⁷⁵ The demand for antiquities in eighteenth-century Italy, which drove the creation of forgeries in the Ince Blundell case, did not exist in Greece when Wheler acquired this object. Perhaps Wheler had the plaque and chest combined between his return to England in 1676 and his donation of his collection to the University in 1683.

²⁷² Byrne, *RCA*, p. 18.

²⁷³ Follet 1976, 232-36.

²⁷⁴ Sinn 1987.

²⁷⁵ Davies 2000a, 2000b.

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Fig. 9. 9 = ANChandler 2.53. © Ashmolean Museum.

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10 EPHEBIC CATALOGUE. NM 1470 (*a*), ANChandler 2.52 (*b*). *a* Athens, St. Demetrios Katephores, post-Herulian wall (Semitelos). *b* Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676, house of Mr Benaldi (Spon, cf. [sect. 1](#)). Two fragments of a white marble stele, associated by Dittenberger. *a* left part of the stele, composed of twenty-eight joining fragments, top, left side and bottom preserved. At top, the left edge of an ornamental pediment, with corner acroterion. The relief in the pediment is lost except for traces of a Nike flying right towards a (lost) shield. Below the pediment is a relief depicting nude figures, from left to right: an ephebe carrying a torch, running left, past an altar topped with a conical object (flame?); two ephebes wrestling, one throwing the other; Herakles, right arm behind his back, weight on his left foot, club and lion-skin resting on a rock (style of the Farnese Hercules). The relief is framed by a square pilaster. An incised band of the same width frames the left side of the inscription. Below inscription, lower left, a smaller relief shows three figures in a war-ship heading right. The leftmost figure, fully clothed, mans the steering oar; the central, nude, figure holds a palm in one hand and raises a crown in the other; and the rightmost figure, also nude, raises his oar (in triumph?). H. 1.71, w. 0.50, th. 0.07. *b* right part of the plaque, right side preserved, top cut away above l. 3, so that the relief is lost, bottom embedded in modern base. An incised band frames the right side of the inscription. At the bottom, the ram of the boat from the lower relief on fr. *a* is preserved. A hole has been cut in the upper part of the stele and two next to each other at the bottom, probably to allow the stone to be reused as a lintel. H. 1.16, w. 0.445, th. 0.075. The gap between the two halves of the plaque is about 5 letters wide at top but narrows further down until the two fragments join or nearly join at l. 115. Letter h. 0.03 (l. 1), 0.015 (ll. 2-4, 141), 0.008 (ll. 4-225). Modest serifs or apices. Alpha = Α; zeta = Ζ; xi = Ξ; pi = Π; omega = Ω; hyperextension of right diagonals of Α/Δ/Λ; M and Σ never splayed; elongated vertical of Φ/Ψ. Χ = “denarii,” cf. Threatte I, 106-7.

Eds. *a* D. Ch. Semitelos, *Arch. Eph.* 1.8, 1862, col. 191-204, no. 199; *b* Spon, *Voyage* III.2 (1678), pp. 45-58; Wheler, *MS* (ca. 1680), 62, no. 249/xxiv (Wheler, *Journey* 1682, pp. 399-401); Chandler 1763, 92-95, no. lii (*CIG* I 275); *ab* R. Neubauer, *Commentationes Epigraphicae* (1869), pp. 28-62 (*IG* III 1160); Graindor, *Alb.* no. 82 (ph. *b*); *IG* II² 2130; Wilson 1992, 831-39, no. E.257.

Cf. J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* III (1937), 617, no. 253-1470, tab. cx (ph. *a*); J. Notopoulos, *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 45; Follet 1976, 230-31, 341; E. Kapetanopoulos, *Epigraphica* 43, 1981, 121; E. Kapetanopoulos, *Epigraphica* 52, 1990, 32; Hamilton 1992, 164-65; E. Kapetanopoulos, *Horos* 10-12, 1992-98, 217; Shear 2012, 165-66; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 530-31. *a* autopsy, de Lisle 2019. In store. *b* autopsy, de Lisle 2019. *Fig.* 10a-d.

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195/6 AD

a Above pediment
ἀγαθῆι [τύχη]

Pediment with relief depicting flying Nike

Relief of ephebes exercising with Herakles

a b

ὁ κοσμητῆς τῶν ἐφήβων [- - -]
ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Γ· Ἐλβιδίου Σε[κούνδ]ου Παλληνέως ἀνέγραψεν
τούς τε συνάρχοντας καὶ [τούς ὑ]π' αὐτῷ ἐφηβεύσαντας.
5 ἀντικοσμητῆς Πό Αἴλιος Ἰ[σόχρυ]σος Παλληνεύς.

col. 1	col. 2	a	col. 3	b	col. 4
παιδοτρίβης διὰ βίου Νεικόστρατος Ἰλάρου Παλ γραμματεὺς διὰ βίου ἱερεὺς Στρ[ά]των Ἀχαρ τὸ δι'	ἀρχων καὶ γυμνασίαρ[χος] δι' ὅλου ἔτους Φιλιστείδης Ὁ Π[ειρ] στρατηγός		Ἐρεχθεΐδος [. . ⁶ . .]μος ὁ καὶ Ἐλευσεΐνιος Κηφ [. . ⁶ . .]νιος ὁ καὶ Π Αἴλ Ἐλευσί Κη [. . ⁵ . .]ος Ὁ Κηφ		Ἀδριανίδος Εὐπόρος Ἀπολλωνίου Βησ Ζώσιμος Ἀρίστωνος Βησ
10 σωφρονισταί Ἡρακλέων Ὁ Φλυ Ἀπολλώνιος Ζωσίμου Βησ Ἐλευσεΐνιο[ς] Σόφου Κηφι Σωτᾶς Ὁ ἔξ Οἴ	55 Πό Αἴλ Κορνῆλιος Πα[λ] κῆρυξ Φλά Μαρεΐνος Παια βασιλεύς Πό Αἴλ Φεΐδιμος Παλ		100 -ρος Εὐπόρου Κηφ [. . ⁵ . .]ητος Δημητρίου Λαμ -ιος Δημητρίου Λαμ -ς Ὁ Κηφ [Ἀπο]λλώνιος Σόφου Κηφ		165 Ἡδιανός Ὁ Φηγαί Μένανδρος Ἡδιανοῦ Φηγ Ραδινός Ὁ Ὠαθ Ἀγαθόπους Εἰσιδώρ Ἀφι Νεικηφόρος Γλύκωνος Βησ
15 Ἀφροδείσιο[ς] Ἐπ[α]φρο Στει Ἐλπίνεικο[ς] Μυρι ὑποσσωφ[ρο]νισταί Ἰσίδοτος Ὁ Σουნი Ἀπελλῆς Ὁ Ἀντ[ι]	60 ἐπετέλεσεν τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ληναίων καὶ ἐστίασε τούς συνεφήβους καὶ τούς περὶ τὸ Διογέειον πάντας		105 -λιος Ἐπιγόνου Κηφ -ιγένης Θάλλου Φηγ Δ[η]μήτριος Ὀνησίμ Κηφ Ἐ[ρμ]ῆς Ζωπύρου ἐκ Κη ab Αἰγεΐδος		170 Οἰνεΐδος Χαρίτων Φιλῆτου Ἀχαρ Γαργήτιος Φιλῆτου Ἀχαρ Αἴλ Φιλωνίδης Ἀχαρ Στράτων Ὀρθαγόρου Φυλά
20 Ἀθηνόδωρο[ς] Ὁ Ἐκα Διονύσιος Σ[ώτ]ου ἔξ Οἴ Λεωνίδης Σ[ωτί]ω Ἀθμ	65 πολέμαρχος Αὐρ Διονυσόδωρος Ἀχαρ ἀγορανόμοι		110 Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἀπτικοῦ Γαρ -ν Ἐπικουριανὸς Γαρ Πανδιονίδος		175 Ἀθήναιος Φιλοστράτ Ἀχαρ Κεκροπίδος Φιλῆμων Ὁ Τρινε Ἰσίδοτος Φιλῆμονος Τρινε

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25	Παράμονος [Ῥαδι]νοῦ ᾠαθ προστάτη[ς] Πό Αἴλιος Παιδ[έ]ρωσ Παλ ἡγεμών Ἀθηνόδωρος Ὁ Ἄθμο ὄπλομάχος [Ζω]ῖλος Εἰρηνα[ί]ου Φλυ 30 διδ[ασ]καλος Ζώσ[ιμ]ος Ἀλεξάν Λαμ ὑποπαιδοτρίβης Εὐτυχια[νὸς] Ἰακίν Σφήτ ὑπογραμματεύς 35 Πό Αἴλ Ἄνθος [Ῥ]ρεσί κεστροφύλαξ Κάρπος Ὁ Ἀ[ρ]αφ ἐκ τῶν σεβαστοφορικ[ῶ]ν ἐδόθη τοῖς ἐφήβ[ο]ις πᾶσι ἐ[ν] 40 Πλαταιαῖς τῶι δι[ι]αλόγω[ι] ἐκάστωι Χ Γ̄ καὶ ὑπέ[ρ] τῆς ὑγείας τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος εἰς θυσίας τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν τε[τ]α- 45 γμένοις ἐκάστωι Χ Ε̄ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περισσῶν ἐπετελέσθη ὁ ἀγὼν τῶ[ν] ~ Ἀθηναίων ~ <i>vacat</i>	70	Διονυσόδωρος Ὁ Βησαι Μηνόδωρος Εὐόδου Ἀχαρ ἐπετέλεσαν τοὺς Κύθρους ἀγωνοθέται Ἀντινοείων ἐν ἄστει Ἀπολλώνιος Ὁ Πειρ Ἀδριανείων 75 Αἴλ Ἐρωτιανὸς Φλυ Ἀντινοείων ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι Νεικόστρατος Νείκωνος Τριν Θησείων Περικλῆς Προσδέκτου Κεφ 80 Φιλαδελφείων Αὐρ Διονυσόδωρος Ἀχαρ τοῦ περὶ ἀλκῆς Πό Αἴλ Κορνήλιος Παλ Φλά Μαρεῖνος Παια 85 Γερμανικεῖων <i>vacat</i> Ἀθήναια ἐκ τῶν σεβαστοφορικῶν Ἐπινεικίων 90 Πό Αἴλ Φεΐδιμος Παλ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελέσας ὁμο[ι]ον τῶ̄ περὶ ἀλκῆς εἰστί[ασ]ε τοὺς συνε- 95 φήβ[ο]υς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸ Διογένειον	115	[Ἐπ]αφρόδειτος Ἀφροδει Στει [Αἴ]λ Λούκιος Ἀγγε 120 [Ὀκ]τάβιος Ἐλπινεῖκου Μυρι Ἐλπίνεϊκος Ὁ Μυρι Μουσώνιος Ἡροξέν Στει Ἰσίδοτος Ἡροξένου Στει Θ[ε]αγενῆς Σπόρου Κυδα 125 Βάσσοσ Ὁ Κυθ Λεωντίδος Σω[τ]ᾶς Ὁ ἐξ Οἴ Ζω[. . .]ου ἐξ Οἴ Ἰλα[ρος Διονυ]σίου ἐξ Οἴ 130 Πισ- ... Παιο Ζώσ[ιμ]ος Τ[ε]ιμοκρά Λευκ Ἀτ[τ]ικὸς Φιλίτου Εὐπυ Πάν[νυ]χος Ὁ ἐξ Οἴ Πτολεμαῖδος 135 Ἡρα[κλέ]ων Ὁ Φλυ Ἀθή[ναι]ος Ἡρακλέω Φλυ Διόν[υσι?]ος Φιλοστράτ Βερ Ἀρτ[έμ]ων Ὁ Φλυ Μητ[ρό]δωρος Ἀρτέμω Φλυ 140 Σεκ[οῦ]νδος Ρητορικοῦ Βερ Ἀκαμαντίδος Ἀκάμας Προσδέκτου Κεφ Αὐρ Ἀττικὸς Πορι Πα[ρ]άμονος Μόσχου 145 Διονυσόδωρος Μόσχ <i>ab</i> Ἐπένγραφοι Εὐδαίμων Ἀφροδεῖσιου	180	Εὐοδιανὸς Ὁ Αἰξω Ἀθήναιος Στεφάνου Ἐπεικ Ζώσιμος Πολυκτῆτου Μελι <i>vacat</i> Ἴπποθοωντίδος Πιστοκράτης Πιστικοῦ Πειρ 185 Διονύσιος Γενεθλίου Πειρ Διονύσιος Ἰσιδότου ἐκ Κοί Ἐρμείας Ζωσίμου Πειρ Φιλοκράτης Γενεθλίου Πειρ Αἰαντίδος 190 Κλ Ἐλενος Μαρα Ἰούλ Ἀγρίππας Μαρα Αὐρ Λυκούργος Μαρα Ἰούλ Διόσκορος Μαρα Κράτων Διονυσίου Φαλη 195 Ἀρίστων Ὁ Ψαφι Ἄντιοχίδος Κλ Ρουφεῖνος Παλ Πομπητιανὸς Εὐνόμου Παλ Ἐρμείας Κλεωνύμου Φυρν 200 Φιλων Ὁ Ἴτεα Ἄτταλίδος Γοργίας Ἡρακλείδου Σουν Μόσχος Κορνηλιαν Ἄγν Βακχύλος Εὐκάρπου Ἀπολ	205	Αὐρ Σωτήριχος
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<i>vacat</i>	Κλ Σύνφορος	Πραξιτέλης Ο
	Πρ[ό]σχολος Σωσιπάρχου	Δομετιανὸς Μαρκέλλου
<i>Relief (boat)</i>	145 Φιρμάνιος Πειριῶν	Ἀρέσκων Ο
	Κλ' Ἑρμείας	Μηνόφιλος Σωτῦ
	Φλ Νεικήτης	210 Ζώσιμος Αὐγαίου
	Ζωτικός Μητροδώρου	Ἴππεὺς Εἰσᾶ
	Κλ' Ἐπίκτητος	Παράμονος Ο
	150 Εὐτυχιανὸς Περσέ[ω]ς	Εὐτυχὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου
<i>a</i>	Φ[ι]λοσέρατις Ζωσίμου	Ζώσιμος Ἀντωνείνου
	[Ἀ]ριστοκλείδης	215 Ἀττικὸς Ἰκέλου
<i>b</i>	Λάιος Νηρέως	Ἀντιπᾶς Νείκωνος
	Ἐπιχάρης Ἰσιδώρου	Στρατοκλῆς Πρεΐμου
	155 Ζώσιμος Χρυσίωνος	Δάφνος Ο
	Νεικηφόρος Ζωσίμου	Ἀγαθόπους Εὐφήμου
	Γέλως Ο	220 Ἐπαφρόδειτος Εὐφήμου
	Ὀλυμπος Ἀγαθημέρου	Αὐρ Ἡρᾶς
	[Ε]ὔτυχος Ὀνησίμου	Εὐήμερος Ἀπολειναρίου
	160 Πάμφιλος Ο	Νεικηφόρος Διονυσίου
	Ἐφηβος Ο	<i>vacat</i>
		θυρωρός· Κορνήλιος Δημήτριος
		225 λεντιάριος· Μέλισσος Διοφάντου

Rest. Kirchner (*IG II²*), unless otherwise noted || Πόπλιος abbreviated as digraph, Ο inside Π in ll. 5, 25, 35, and 49, Ο on top of Π in ll. 55, 59, and 90 || 9 on the order of digits, cf. Threatte I, 114 || 21 Wilson, ἐξ [Οἴου] Kirchner || 37 Ἀ[ρ]αφ Notopoulos, Ἀ[.]αφ eds. || 50 Μουνίχια Kapetanopoulos, Μουνίχια Follet || 70 Κύθρους for Χύτρους, cf. Threatte I, 467 || 98 ΟΚΑΙΠΠΑΙΔΕ.Λ.ΥΣΙ stone; ὁ καὶ Π(όπλιος) Αἰλ(ιος) Ἐλευσί(νιος) Dittenberger; ὁ καὶ Παιδέ [Ἐ]λ[ε]υσι(νιος) Graindor, Kirchner, Wilson || 101 Ἐπικτ[η]τος Boeckh; Ἀνεμέ[?]σητος Wilson || 102 Εὐν[ο]μος Wilson || 106 [Εἰ]σιγένης Wilson || 107 Wilson, [Δη]μήτριος Kirchner || 111 [Π(όπλιος) Πο]ν(τιος) Byrne, *RCA*, p. 412 || 119 Wilson, Θ..γένης Kirchner || 124 Wilson, Ἴλα[ρος ..^ο...]σίου Kirchner || 125 Πισ[τὸς Ο] Wilson || 126 Wilson, Ζώχιμος Kirchner || 132 Wilson, Διό...ος Kirchner || 143 Wilson, Αὐρ Σύνφορος Kirchner.

4. The Ephebate in the Roman Period: The Inscriptions

above pediment

Good Fortune

Relief in pediment

The superintendent of the ephebes ...

in the archonship of G(aius) Helvidius Secundus of Pallene (195/6), inscribed
his fellow magistrates and those who went through the ephebate under him.

(5) Deputy superintendent: Pu(blius) Aelius Isochrysos of Pallene

col. 1

Trainer, for life:

Nikostratos son of Hilaros of Pallene.

Secretary, for life:

Priest Straton of Acharnai in his 14th year.

(10) Controllers:

Herakleon (son of Herakleon) of Phlya

Apollonios son of Zosimos of Besa

Eleusinos son of Sophos of Kephisia

Sotas (son of Sotas) of Oion

(15) Aphrodeisios son of Epaphrodeitos of

Steiria

Elpineikos of Myrrhinoutta.

Deputy controllers

Isidotos (son of Isidotos) of Sounion

Apelles (son of Apelles) of Antinoeis

(20) Athenodoros (son of Athenodoros) of

Hekale

Dionysios son of Sotas of Oion

Leonides son of Sotias of Athmonon

Paramonos son of Rhadinos of Oa.

col. 2

Archon and Gymnasiarch

for the whole year:

Philisteides (son of Philisteides) of

Piraeus.

General:

(55) Publius Aelius Cornelius of Pallene.

Herald:

Flavius Marinus of Paiania.

King:

Publius Aelius Pheidimos of Pallene

(60) paid for the Lenaian

Games and hosted

the cohort of ephebes and

everyone associated with the

Diogeneion.

(65) Polemarch:

Aurelius Dionysodoros of Acharnai.

Market-inspectors:

Dionysodoros (son of Dionysodoros) of

Besa

Menodoros son of Euodos of Acharnai

(70) paid for the Chytroi.

col. 3

Erechtheis^I

-mos also called Eleuseinios of Kephisia

-nios also called P(ublius) Ael(ius)

Eleusi(nos) of Kephisia

-os (son of -os) of Kephisia

(100) -ros son of Euporos of Kephisia

-etos son of Demetrios of Lamprai

-ios son of Demetrios of Lamprai

-s (son of -s) of Kephisia

Apollonios son of Sophos of Kephisia

(105) -lios son of Epigonos of Kephisia

-igenes son of Thallos of Phegous

Demetrios son of Onesimos of Kephisia

Hermes son of Zopyros of Kedoï

Aigeis^{II}

(110) Agathokles son of Attikos of

Gargettos

-n Epikourianos of Gargettos

Pandionis^{III}

Epaphrodeitos son of Aphrodei- of Steiria

Aelius Lucius of Angele

col. 4

Hadrianis^{VII}

Euporos son of Apollonios of Besa

Zosimos son of Ariston of Besa

(165) Hedianos (son of Hedianos) of

Phegaia

Menandros son of Hedianos of Phegaia

Rhadinos (son of Rhadinos) of Oa

Agathopous son of Eisoros of Phegaia

Neikephoros son of Glykon of Besa

(170) Oineis^{VIII}

Chariton son of Philetas of Acharnai

Gargettios son of Philetas of Acharnai

Aelius Philonides of Acharnai

Straton son of Orthagoros of Phyla

(175) Athenaios son of Philostratos of

Acharnai

Kekropis^{IX}

Philemon (son of Philemon) of Trinemeia

Isidotos son of Philemon of Trinemeia

Euodianos (son of Euodianos) of Aixone

(180) Athenaios son of Stephanos of

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Foreman: (25) Pu(blius) Aelius Paideros of Pallene.	Competition-directors: For the City Antinoeia: Apollonios (son of Apollonios) of Piraeus.	(115) Oktabios son of Elpineikos of Myrrhinous Elpineikos (son of Elpineikos) of Myrrhinous	Epieikidai Zosimos son of Polyktetes of Melite <i>uninscribed line</i>
Leader: Athenodoros (son of Athenodoros) of Athmonon.	For the Hadrianeia: (75) Aelius Erotianos of Phlya.	Mousonios son of Heroxenos of Steiria	Hippothontis ^X
Weapons trainer: Zoilos son of Eirenaios of Phlya.	For the Eleusinian Antinoeia: Neikostratos son of Neikon of Trinemeia.	Isidotos son of Heroxenos of Steiria Theagenes son of Sporos of Kydathenaion	Pistokrates son of Pistikos of Piraeus (185) Dionysios son of Genethlios of Piraeus
(30) Instructor: Zosimos son of Alexandros of Lamptraï.	For the Theseia: Perikles son of Prosdektes of Kephisia.	(120) Bassos (son of Bassos) of Kytheros	Dionysios son of Isidotos of Koile Hermeias son of Zosimos of Piraeus Philokrates son of Genethlios of Piraeus
Deputy trainer: Eutykchianos son of Hyakinthos of Sphettos.	(80) For the Philadelpheia: Aurelius Dionysodoros of Acharnai.	Leontis ^{IV} Sotas (son of Sotas) of Oion	Aiantis ^{XI}
Deputy secretary: (35) Pu(blius) Aelius Anthos of Eiresidai.	For the Contest of Prowess: Publius Aelius Cornelius of Pallene,	Zo- of Oion Hilaros son of [Diony]sios of Oion	(190) Claudius Helenos of Marathon Julius Agrippa of Marathon Aurelius Lykourgos of Marathon Julius Dioskoros of Marathon
<i>Kestrophylax</i> : Karpos (son of Karpos) of Araphen.	Flavius Marinus of Paiania. (85) For the Germanikeia: <i>uninscribed line</i>	(125) Pis- of Paionidai Zosimos son of Teimokrates of Leukonoion	Kraton son of Dionysios of Phaleron (195) Ariston (son of Ariston) of Psaphis Antiochis ^{XII}
From the Sebastophoric (fund) all the ephebes were given (40) at Plataia at the debate 3 (denarii) each, and for the sacrifices for the Emperor's health, to those assigned to take care of them (45) 5 (denarii) each, and from the excess (of the fund) the Athenaia Games were funded. <i>uninscribed space</i>	The Athenaia: (paid for) from the Sebastophoric (fund). For the Epinikeia: (90) Publius Aelius Pheidimos of Pallene, having paid for the games, in the same way as for the Contest of Prowess, he hosted the cohort of ephebes and those associated with the (95) Diogeneion.	Attikos son of Philetos of Eupyridai Pannychos (son of Pannychos) of Oion Ptolemais ^V (130) Herakleon (son of Herakleon) of Phlya Athenaios son of Herakleon of Phlya Dio[nysi?]os son of Philostratos of Berenikidai Artemon (son of Artemon) of Phlya Metrodoros son of Artemon of Phlya (135) Sekoundos son of Rhetorikos of Berenikidai	Claudius Rufinus of Pallene Pompeianos son of Eunomos of Pallene Hermeias son of Kleonymos of Phyrhinesioi (200) Philon (son of Philon) of Eitea Attalis ^{XIII} Gorgias son of Herakleides of Sounion Moschos son of Kornelianos of Hagnous Bakchylos son of Eukarpos of Apollonieis
		Akamantis ^{VI} Akamas son of Prosdektes of Kephale Aurelius Attikos of Poros Paramonos son of Moschos	

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Philisteides (son of Philisteides) of Piraeus and Pu(blius) Aelius Cornelius of Pallene, (50) having held the naval competition at the Mounichia, were crowned together.

Relief

(140) Dionysodoros son of Moschos

Eudaimon son of Aphrodeisios

Aurelius Synphoros

Proscholos son of Sosipatros

(145) Firmanius Peierion

Claudius Hermeias

Flavius Neiketes

Zotikos son of Metrodoros

Claudius Epiktetos

(150) Eutykhanos son of Perseus

Philoserapis son of Zosimos

Aristokleides

Laios son of Nereus

Epichares son of Isidoros

(155) Zosimos son of Chrysiion

Neikephoros son of Zosimos

Gelos (son of Gelos)

Olympos son of Agathemeros

Eutychos son of Onesimos

(160) Pamphilos (son of Pamphilos)

Ephebos (son of Ephebos)

Additional enrollees:

(205) Aurelius Soterichos

Praxiteles (son of Praxiteles)

Domitianos son of Markellos

Areskon (son of Areskon)

Menophilos son of Sotys

(210) Zosimos son of Augaios

Hippeus son of Eisas

Paramonos (son of Paramonos)

Eutychos son of Asklepiades

Zosimos son of Antoneinos

(215) Attikos son of Ikelos

Antipas son of Neikon

Stratokles son of Preimos

Daphnos (son of Daphnos)

Agathopous son of Euphemos

(220) Epaphrodeitos son of Euphemos

Aurelius Heras

Euhemeros son of Apolleinarios

Neikephoros son of Dionysios

uninscribed space

Doorman: Cornelius Demetrios

(225) Cloakroom manager: Melissos son of Diophantos

uninscribed space

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This is the official ephebic catalogue for the year 195/6 AD,²⁷⁶ which probably originally stood in the Diogeneion gymnasium, before being split in half after 267 AD in order to be reused in the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall. The left portion remained in the wall until it was discovered during the excavation of St Demetrios Katephores,²⁷⁷ while the right portion was subsequently recycled again, probably as a door lintel.

Ephebic catalogues were erected annually in the second century AD and the first half of the third century AD, usually by the superintendent (*kosmetes*).²⁷⁸ A more or less standard format had developed by the middle of the second century. Variation remained common, as shown by comparing this inscription with the catalogue of the previous year, [AIUK 4.3B \(BM\), no. 5](#), which has several idiosyncratic features. By contrast, this inscription is a good example of the standard format. The list opens with an invocation of good fortune (l. 1), as in inscribed decrees. This is followed by the inscription formula (ll. 2-5), in which the superintendent declares responsibility for the inscription, incorporating the archon date and the name of his deputy. The rest of the inscription consists of a number of related lists of names. The first column (ll. 6-38) lists the six controllers (*sophronistai*) and deputy controllers (*hyposophronistai*) (see [7](#)), as well as the permanent staff who ran the ephebate (see [6](#)), who are referred to in this inscription and elsewhere in this period as “those associated with the Diogeneion” (*hoi peri to Diogeneion*, 64). The second column (ll. 51-95) lists the ephebes who had been monthly gymnasiarchs (see [6](#)), competition-directors (*agonothetai*), or ephebic archons. Usually this part of the list is structured around the months of service as gymnasiarch and the festivals that had been sponsored. Because one ephebe had served as gymnasiarch for the entire year, the first part of this list is instead structured around the magistracies that the pre-eminent ephebes had held. The upper part of the third and fourth columns (ll. 96-137, 159-200) is a list of all the other citizen ephebes, arranged by tribe, with their patronymics and abbreviated demotics. The notable disparity in size of the different tribal contingents is normal and appears to be the result of random fluctuations: Erechtheis has twelve ephebes, Aigeis only two (ll. 96-112). The lower part of the third and fourth columns (ll. 142-61, 205-223) gives the “additionally enrolled” ephebes (*epengraphoi*), who are discussed below. Ephebic catalogues are frequently decorated with reliefs at the top and bottom. On this stele, the relief at bottom left, depicting ephebes in a ship and labelled as a *naumachia* (“sea battle”) is a common motif (discussed further below). The upper relief, which presents the ephebes wrestling and running torch races, watched by Herakles (identifiable by his club and lion-skin) in the style of the Farnese Hercules, is unusual. Normally, the relief in this position shows two or more ephebes crowning their superintendent; cf. [AIUK 4.3B \(BM\), no. 2](#).²⁷⁹ The pediment probably featured a shield flanked by two winged Nikai, but except for traces of the left Nike, it is now lost. This is a common motif.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ For the date, see Follet 1976, 230-31, with n. 6; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 530-31. *IG* II² 2186=2265 is a small fragment from another inscription from the same ephebic year.

²⁷⁷ Svoronos (1937), p. 617, no. 253.

²⁷⁸ On these catalogues generally, see de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, 2020, section 1.3.

²⁷⁹ For the Farnese Hercules type, cf. *LIMC* IV.2, *sv.* Herakles, no. 659-753.

²⁸⁰ Cf. *IG* II² 3732, 2047, [2087](#), 2113. Two catalogues, *IG* II² 2051 and [AIUK 4.3B \(BM\), no. 5](#) are in the shape of shields. For a third monument in this format see *SEG* 65.121.

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Fig. 10a. **10** = NM 1470, detail of upper relief panel with l. 1 and lower left relief panel with ll. 49-50. The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Resources Fund. (Law 3028/2002).

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The festival games celebrated by the ephebes (ll. 71-95) provide insight into the central concerns of the ephebate and of Athens more generally in this period. They consisted of roughly the same set of events: contests in encomium and poetry; *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *dolichos* footraces (ca. 180 metre run, ca. 360 metre run, and a long race of several kilometres); wrestling and *pankration*; and another footrace in armour.²⁸¹ Through these contests, an ideal of Athenian citizenship and masculinity, focused on physical prowess and rhetorical ability, was perpetuated. The importance of the physical aspect of the ephebate is emphasised by the relief at the top of the inscription, with its depictions of ephebes exercising under the watchful eye of Herakles (compare [7](#)). In the classical ephebate, this kind of physical training had been seen as part of preparing the youths for military service. Even though Athenians did not go on campaign by this period, that idea remained current – hence the shield borne by Nike in the pediment of the stele (cf. [AIUK 4.3B \(BM\), no. 5](#) in which the entire catalogue takes the form of a shield).²⁸² The festivals also provided an opportunity for elite ephebes to engage in euergetism. Particularly interesting in this respect is the note that the ephebic king paid for a competition at the Lenaia (probably a dramatic competition rather than athletic games) and a feast for all the ephebes and ephebic staff (ll. 58-64).²⁸³ The (adult) king archon was traditionally in charge of the Lenaia festival (*Ath. Pol.* 57.1), so this might have been an occasion when the ephebic archon and his adult equivalent teamed up to organise a single civic event, in a symbolic gesture of continuity between adult and youth elites.²⁸⁴

Two other central themes of Athenian identity in the Roman period are emphasised by the festivals. The first of these is the centrality of the Athenian past, especially the Persian Wars, to Athenian identity. The *naumachia* (ll. 48-49) seems to have taken place at the Mounichia festival, as a continuation of the “contest of boats” (*hamilla tōn ploion*) that took place at the festival in the Hellenistic period (*IG II² 1011*, l. 16). It may have been a rowing race, a mock-battle, or some kind of demonstration of military manoeuvres (cf. the *anthippasia*, [IG II³ 4, 252](#)). It was clearly one of the highlights of the ephebic year, as shown by its depiction in relief here and on many other ephebic plaques. The event commemorated the naval supremacy of Classical Athens and especially the victory over the Persians at the Battle of Salamis. It mirrored similar events held in Rome and Nikopolis in honour of Augustus’ victory at Actium.²⁸⁵ The ephebes’ activities also looked back to the mythic past of Athens. The ephebes honoured Theseus at the Theseia (ll. 76-77) and looked even further back at the Athenaia (ll. 74-77, 85-86), which ostensibly revived a mythical festival held for Athena before Theseus instituted the Panathenaia festival. Theseus was a particularly fitting hero and role model for the ephebes, since his mythical cycle centred on his transition from a youth to adult, in the course of his journey from Troezen to Athens and his mission to Crete

²⁸¹ In general on these festivals: Follet 1976, 230-31, 321-28; Newby 2005, 192-95; de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.5.iii.

²⁸² On these physical and military aspects: de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.2-3.3; König 2005, 45-157; Newby 2005, 183-85.

²⁸³ The *Chytroi* paid for by the ephebic market-inspectors (ll. 67-70) were also spectacles or dramatic competitions associated with a civic festival: Hamilton 1992, 38-42.

²⁸⁴ *IG II² 2046*, in which an ephebic king performs the sacrifice at the Great Dionysia, might offer a parallel. Geagan 1967, 9 and 11 interprets these instances differently.

²⁸⁵ On the *naumachia*, Newby 2005, 179-92, de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.5.i (with further references). Cf. [IG II² 1996](#), [2087](#), [2245](#).

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to face the Minotaur. This is discussed in an inscribed ephebic speech ([SEG 50.155](#)), delivered in 184/5 AD, probably at the Theseia.²⁸⁶ The ephebes were thus encouraged to see themselves as the latest links in a chain stretching back to mythical times.

The other theme running through the ephebic festivals was the close Athenian relationship with the Imperial House. The oldest of the imperial festivals was the Germanikeia (ll. 82-83), established in the Julio-Claudian period in honour of Germanicus, who was heir to the Emperor Tiberius and thus perhaps considered an especially fitting model for the ephebes. The two Antinoeia festivals and the Hadrianeia (ll. 71-75) were established in honour of Emperor Hadrian and his youthful lover Antinoos (see [7](#)). The pederastic relationship between him and Hadrian was perhaps intended as a model for the ephebes. After this, new festivals were established in honour of most emperors into the third century AD. The Philadelphia (80-81) and Epinikeia festivals (89-90) were both established in honour of the co-Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The Commodeia festival, in honour of the Emperor Commodus, is absent, because he was still under *damnatio memoriae* in the year of this catalogue. Another connection to the Imperial House was emphasised by the Sebastophoric fund which paid for various expenses in this year (ll. 37-47, 85-86). Its name referred to the role of the ephebes as *sebastophoroi* (“emperor-bearers”), who carried busts of the emperors and their consorts in processions and the Assembly.²⁸⁷ The ephebes thus spent at least as much time honouring the emperors as they did glorifying the Athenian past.

The two themes were interconnected. The prestige of the Athenian past was a major factor in the emperors’ interest in a special relationship with Athens and, in turn, the continued imperial interest in Athens demonstrated the continued relevance of that past.²⁸⁸ This interconnection is apparent in the fact that the same kind of festival honoured both the emperors and Theseus, and, particularly, in the debate (*dialogos*) and distribution of money from the Sebastophoric fund at Plataia (ll. 37-44). This event took place every four years and seems to have centred on a ceremonial debate between Athens and Sparta at the common Council of the Greeks over which city would have precedence at the Eleutheria festival, held two years later, which celebrated the Greek victory over the Persians at Plataia in 479 BC. The ephebes attended as a sympathetic audience and were presented with a clear demonstration of how Athens’ contemporary prestige was linked to its historical achievements. A second disbursement of money for sacrifices for the emperor’s health (and usually for his victory) immediately followed the debate (ll. 41-44), associating Athens’ historical achievements with the contemporary loyalty to the Emperor.²⁸⁹

Prosopographic analysis of the ephebes and officials in this list can help us get an idea of the social groups that were involved in the ephebate.²⁹⁰ In the discussion of [6](#), above, we saw close family connections between the magistrates that managed the ephebate and the ephebes who were celebrated for performing gymnasiarchies. These families used the

²⁸⁶ Discussion in de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.1 and 3.5.iii.

²⁸⁷ See de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.1; [SEG 21.509](#), discussed in J. H. Oliver, *Historia* 26, 1977, 89-94, an important parallel case in G. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesus* (1991), 80-135.

²⁸⁸ Boatwright 2000, esp. 129-35, 208-9; Spawforth 2012, esp. 103-41 and 242-55.

²⁸⁹ N. Robertson *Hesperia* 55, 1986, 88-102; de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.5. *IG II² 2788* = Chaniotis 1988, T10 preserves one of these orations.

²⁹⁰ Discussed in general terms in de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.8. Cf. [AIUK 4.3B \(BM\), no. 5](#), where, however, analysis is stymied by the absence of demotics.

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ephebate as a way to advertise their prominence and introduce their children to public life. The same phenomenon can be seen in this inscription. The Publius Aelius family of Pallene are the clearest example. An adult member of the family, Publius Aelius Isochrysos (l. 5), served as deputy superintendent (*antikosmetes*), while the ephebes Publius Aelius Cornelius and Pheidimos, who may be brothers or cousins, held key ephebic magistracies, organised multiple games, co-organised the *naumachia*, and repeatedly hosted dinners for the whole cohort in the gymnasium (ll. 48-49, 53-54, 57-63, 81-82, 87-92). The foreman (*prostates*), whose exact function is unknown, Publius Aelius Paideros (ll. 24-25) might have been another member of the family. The family is probably related to the Publii Aelii of Pallene discussed in 9 above, although the exact link is not clear. Isochrysos went on to hold a number of Athenian magistracies, sitting on the Council twice, acquiring a priesthood, and serving as Hoplite General (one of the three highest posts in the Athenian political system). On one of his stints on the Council, Cornelius and Pheidimos served with him, along with eight other relatives (*Agora XV 447*, ll. 11-21).²⁹¹ The family bond showcased here thus continued to be salient in political life after the ephebate.

The only ephebe in the cohort to exceed the prominence of the Aelii is Philisteides (ll. 49-53), who held an extraordinary range of positions in his ephebic year, serving as ephebic archon, performing the gymnasiarchy for the whole year (rather than a single month), and serving as one of the organisers of the *naumachia*. Again, his prominence in the cohort was matched by the prominence of his family in civic life. His grandfather and his father, both also named Philisteides, served as archon, and he would go on to hold the position himself ca. 225 AD (*IG II² 2109*).²⁹² Philisteides' dominant position among the year's ephebes might indicate that his father was the superintendent of the cohort (Φιλιστείδης Φιλιστείδου Πειραιεύς would fit the gap in l. 1, but so would countless other possibilities). The ephebic herald and liturgist, Flavius Marinus (ll. 56-57, 84) did not have any relatives involved in the administration of the ephebate in this year, but he also went on to be prominent in public life, serving on the Council twice in the early third century (*Agora XV 460*, l. 64, *XV 477*, l. 31). There are several prominent families of Flavii in Paiania to which he may have belonged.²⁹³ Perikles (ll. 78-79), who sponsored the Theseia, and his brother Akamas (l. 137), were sons of Prosdektos who was councillor in 167/8 AD (*Agora XV 371*, l. 50) and held a number of important religious positions in the 170s AD, such as *lithophoros*, archon of the *genos* of the Kerykes, and archon of the Sacred Gerousia (*I Eleusis 624*). Through him, Perikles and Akamas had Roman citizenship, but their Roman *nomen* (Aurelius) is not used in this inscription, perhaps because it would have hidden the relationship with their father. Perikles is not encountered again, but Akamas was a councillor some time before 215 AD (*Agora XV 440*, l. 14).²⁹⁴ The other ephebes who served as magistrates or competition directors in this year are attested tenuously or not at all.²⁹⁵

The superintendent and deputy superintendent were assisted in their management of the ephebate by a board of six controllers (*sophonistai*) and six deputy controllers

²⁹¹ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 13-14, 18-19.

²⁹² *IG II² 2086-2087* (163/4 AD); *IG II² 2127* (194-200 AD). Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 528-30.

²⁹³ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 255-62.

²⁹⁴ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 78-79.

²⁹⁵ Menodoros (ll. 67-70) may be related to the controller and deputy controller in *IG II² 2113*, ll. 17, 24 (187/8 AD). Neikostratos (ll. 76-77) could be related to Eraton son of Neikon who was councillor in *Agora XV 398* (ca. 180 AD).

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(*hyposophonistai*), as discussed in 7. The controllers were older and had one or more sons among the year's ephebes. In total there were eleven sons of controllers in the cohort of 195/6 AD. They enjoyed a certain precedence as shown by the fact that they are listed first in their respective tribal cohorts (ll. 97-98, 104, 113, 115-16, 122-23, 130-31, 163). The deputy controllers were closer to the ephebes' own age – two of them had younger brothers in the cohort (ll. 21 and 27-28, ll. 23 and 168). Half of the controllers and deputy controllers in this inscription are attested elsewhere, mainly in prytany lists as members of the Council. The high number of controllers in this inscription attested in prytany lists from before 195/6 AD might indicate that the position of controller was only open to those who had served a term on the Council.²⁹⁶ At any rate, these individuals were clearly politically active and involved in the operation of their community, but none of them seem to have had family achievements higher than the Council and none of their children were able or willing to perform ephebic liturgies. Nor can the subsequent careers of any of their children be traced.

Aside from the eleven ephebic liturgists and the eleven sons of controllers, there are fifty-two "regular" ephebes in the catalogue. Sixteen of these can be identified. Nine of these can be linked (with varying degrees of certainty) to individuals known only from other ephebic catalogues.²⁹⁷ Three more served as or were related to (deputy) controllers.²⁹⁸ Five regular ephebes went on to be councillors²⁹⁹ and another seven appear to be related to councillors.³⁰⁰ Thirty-six of the regular ephebes cannot be connected with any other known individual (this includes several cases where a name is too common to make a meaningful

²⁹⁶ Herakleon (l. 11) was a regular ephebe in 165/6 AD ([IG II² 2090](#), l. 94) and councillor ca. 175 AD (*Agora XV* 392, l. 45). His father had also been councillor and controller (*SEG* 28.170, l. 33, [IG II² 2090](#), l. 21). Apollonios (l. 12) was councillor with his brother in 188 AD (*Agora XV* 418, ll. 18-19). Sotas (l. 14) is not otherwise attested himself, but his homonymous father and grandfather were councillors ca. 150 AD and ca. 120 AD, respectively (*IG II² 2483*, l. 15, *IG II² 2018*, l. 30). Aphrodeisios (l. 15) was councillor with his own father ca. 169/70 AD (*Agora XV* 364, ll. 18-19). Of the deputy controllers, Isodotos (l. 18) was son of one of the deputy controllers in [IG II² 2090](#), l. 28 (165/6 AD); Leonides (l. 22) was councillor with his brother in 181/2 AD (*Agora XV* 402, ll. 43-44).

²⁹⁷ -ros (l. 100): probable descendant in [IG II² 2245](#), l. 45 (255/6 AD). Demetrios (l. 107): (grand?)father and uncle in *SEG* 29.152 i, ll. 16-17 (ca. 140 AD), three brothers/cousins in *IG II² 2128*, ll. 8-10 (184/5 AD), and a possible descendant in [IG II² 2245](#), ll. 44, 178 (255/6 AD). Agathokles (l. 110): probable descendant in *IG II² 2215*, l. 22 (238-254 AD). Mousonios and Isidotos (ll. 117-8): father in *IG II² 2067*, l. 42 (154/5 AD). Attikos (l. 127): probable son in *SEG* 26.189, l. 34 (220s AD). Pannychos (l. 128): probable father in *IG II² 2067*, l. 54 (154/5 AD). Dionysios and Philokrates (ll. 185, 188): father in *IG II² 2097*, l. 221 (169/70 AD) and brother in *IG II² 2123*, l. 5. None of these relatives held gymnasiarchies or other positions within the ephebate.

²⁹⁸ Hermes (l. 108): father is controller in *SEG* 59.174 (192/3 AD). Zosimos (l. 164): deputy controller in [IG II² 2193](#), l. 94 (201/2 AD). Artemon (l. 133): son is controller in *IG II² 2239*, l. 15 (238-43 AD).

²⁹⁹ Secundus (l. 135) in *Agora XV* 469, l. 11 (early iii AD). Gorgias (l. 202) in *Agora XV* 470, l. 49 (215-225 AD). Artemon and Metrodoros (ll. 133-4) in an unpublished prytany list (Byrne, *Athenian Onomasticon*). Akamas (l. 137) has been mentioned above (n. 294).

³⁰⁰ Th-genes (l. 119): probable father in *Agora XV* 362, l. 10 (ca. 160 AD), *Agora XV* 437, l. 26 (ca. 165 AD). Straton (l. 174): possible cousin in *Agora XV* 473, l. 20 (after 216 AD), also attested as Kleidouch in *IG II³ 4*, 895, l. 6. Zosimos (l. 181): father in *Agora XV* 398, l. 28 (ca. 180 AD). Dionysios (l. 186): possible brother in *SEG* 58.167, l. 20 (ca. 190 AD). Hermeias (l. 199): father in *SEG* 57.148, l. 44 (191/2 AD), brother in *Agora XV* 472, l. 54 (215-225 AD); another brother appears as a key ephebe in *IG II² 2133*, l. 12. Paramonos and Dionysodoros (ll. 139-140), whose demotics are not inscribed, are probably nephews or grandchildren of Dionysodoros Moschou of Sphettos, regular ephebe in *IG II² 2050*, l. 88 (143/4 AD) and councillor in *Agora XV* 373, l. 35 (168/9 AD).

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connection). Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, but it appears that the majority of the regular ephebes were not members of the families that dominated the chief magistracies of Roman Athens, sat on the Areopagos Council, and held major priesthoods. The most prestigious civic position that most ephebes could expect in this period was a stint as one of the five hundred annual members of the Council and, for many, participation in the ephebate and attendance at Assemblies may have been the limit of their political participation.

The catalogue also includes thirty-nine “additionally enrolled” ephebes (*epengraphoi*, ll. 142-61, 205-23), as is normal in ephebic catalogues from the early second century onwards. The exact nature of these additionally enrolled ephebes is disputed, but they seem to be a group of non-citizens who enjoyed some civic rights, including illegitimate sons, freedmen, and resident foreigners. Their participation was limited; they are never attested as ephebic liturgists or as victors in any of the ephebic competitions.³⁰¹ None of these ephebes can be conclusively identified, but some have possible relatives among the “additionally enrolled” ephebes of other years,³⁰² and many of them bear names that are commonly or exclusively possessed by “additionally enrolled” ephebes (e.g. Agathemeros, l. 158 and Areskon, l. 207). This supports the idea that they belonged to families that were long-term residents of Athens, unlike many of the “foreigners” (*xenoi*) who enrolled in the ephebate in the late Hellenistic period.³⁰³

The final group that can be analysed prosopographically are the ephebic staff. The roles of these individuals are discussed in full in [AIO Papers 12](#), section 2.2. The signs of the professionalisation of their posts are similar, but more extensive than those seen in [6](#), nearly a century earlier. Several of the staff in this inscription are known to have held office for several years; the trainer Neikostratos (ll. 6-7) and the secretary Straton (ll. 8-9) are specifically stated to hold office “for life” (*dia biou*). This and their separation in the list from the other ephebic staff seem to mark them out as having a higher status – from other sources we know that some of the other staff also held their positions “for life.”³⁰⁴ It is possible to trace the pair’s careers in some detail. Neikostratos was probably born a little before 160 AD and served as a regular ephebe in 176/7 AD (*SEG* 26.177, l. 109). He was deputy trainer (*hypopaidotribes*) in 187/8 AD (*IG* II² 2113, l. 31), becoming full trainer (*paidotribes*) by 193/4 AD (*IG* II² 2125, l. 8), and is last attested in that post in the late 190s AD (*IG* II² 2132, l. 1). This kind of “career progression” from the deputy role to the full role is common throughout the Roman period (cf. the trainer Abaskantos in [6](#) and [7](#)). Straton, known from other inscriptions to have been son of one Kithairon, served as controller along with his brother around 180 AD (*IG* II² 2106, l. 24). He was then secretary of the ephebes for over thirty years from 182/3 AD (l. 9) until 214/5 or 215/6 AD (*IG* II² 2208, l. 11), by which time he must have been over eighty. The nature of his priesthood, which is first attested in this

³⁰¹ See de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.6.

³⁰² e.g. Praxiteles (l. 205): possible grandfather (?) in *SEG* 29.152 ii, l. 109 (ca. 140 AD). Menophilos (l. 208): possible brother (?): *IG* II² 2128, l. 181 (184/5 AD). Attikos (l. 214): father in *SEG* 29.152 v, l. 64 (175/6 AD). Aurelius Heras (l. 220): possible father in *SEG* 29.152 v, l. 51 (175/6 AD).

³⁰³ On the foreign ephebes of the Hellenistic period, see AIO note on [IG II² 1039](#); Pélékidis 1962, 186-96; S. Follet, *Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 9, 1988, 19-32; Perrin-Saminadayar 2007, 250-53 and 449-78; Henderson 2020, 267-73.

³⁰⁴ Zosimos (*IG* II² 3751), Eutychnianos (*IG* II² 2207, etc.).

4. The Ephebate in the Roman Period: The Inscriptions

year, is uncertain. It need not indicate more than moderate social status.³⁰⁵ The other ephebic staff are only attested in their roles within the ephebate. The instructor (*didaskalos*) Zosimos (Il. 30-31) held his post from 177/8 AD until this year; he also set up a dedication (*IG II² 3751*) in which he emphasises his position on the ephebic staff which suggests that he saw it as a source of prestige. Eutykianos the deputy trainer (Il. 32-33) first appears in this post in 193/4 AD (*IG II² 2125*, l. 8), the same year that Neikostratos started as trainer. This kind of long-term partnership between the full officer and his deputy is also common. Unlike Neikostratos, Eutykianos did not move up to the full office when it became vacant, but remained deputy until at least 222/3 AD (*SEG 40.166*).³⁰⁶ The doorman (*thyroros*) and cloakroom manager (*lentiarios*), Cornelius Demetrios and Melissos (Il. 223-24) are listed separately from the other staff at the very end of the inscription. As is common for holders of these roles, they lack demotics and thus were probably not citizens. The staff, then, included a range of different status groups, with Neikostratos and Straton belonging to the same social stratum as the controllers, a less prestigious group comprising the majority of the staff, and a couple in manual roles whose status was lower than the rest.

Many of the Athenians in this inscription had Roman citizenship and accordingly employed a distinct naming structure (already encountered in [6](#), [7](#) and [9](#)) that is modelled on the traditional Roman naming formula. The deputy superintendent (l. 5) provides a clear example of this structure, which consisted of a *praenomen* (Publius), a *nomen* or family name (Aelius), their personal name as a *cognomen* (Isochrysos), and their demotic (of Pallene). The *praenomen* and *nomen* were inherited from the Roman from whom the family originally received citizenship. The patronymic is usually omitted. Twenty of the ephebes bear Roman names: five of the eleven ephebic liturgists (45%), none of the children of the controllers, eight of the seventy-four regular ephebes (10%), and seven of the thirty-six “additionally enrolled” ephebes (20%). The proportion among the ephebic staff is three out of eleven (30%). The ephebic liturgists with Roman names are mostly identifiable (as has already been discussed), while none of the other ephebes with Roman names are. This disparity and the different proportions of ephebes with Roman names in the different groups are explained by the two different routes by which Roman citizenship was acquired. On the one hand, prominent individuals could receive citizenship from the emperor, provincial governor, or other notable Roman as an honour; they would then personify the interconnectedness of civic tradition and loyalty to the Emperor that was discussed above in relation to the ephebic festivals. This explains the prominence of Roman names among the ephebic liturgists, which is paralleled in other evidence: of the 114 Athenian archons known to have held office between 69/70 and 212/3 AD, only six were from families that did not hold Roman citizenship. Only one Hoplite General and one Herald of the Areopagos (the two chief posts in Roman Athens) in that period did not hold Roman citizenship. On the other hand, citizenship was also granted to Roman citizens’ freedmen on manumission.³⁰⁷ The Roman citizens among the regular ephebes and especially the “additionally enrolled” ephebes are perhaps more likely to have received their Roman citizenship in this way. In Athens of this

³⁰⁵ Follet 1976, 230-32, 481-85; Camia 2014, 139-48.

³⁰⁶ Follet 1976, 480-84. Anthos the deputy secretary (Il. 34-35) appears only here and in [AIUK 4.3B \(BM\), no. 5](#).

³⁰⁷ Mouritsen 2011, 66-92.

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period, then, Roman citizenship could simultaneously mark out both very high and relatively low status within the free community.³⁰⁸



Fig. 10b. **10** = Composite of NM 1470 and ANChandler 2.52. The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Resources Fund. (Law 3028/2002) and the Ashmolean Museum.

³⁰⁸ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. xi-xvi; Balzat 2019, 217-36.

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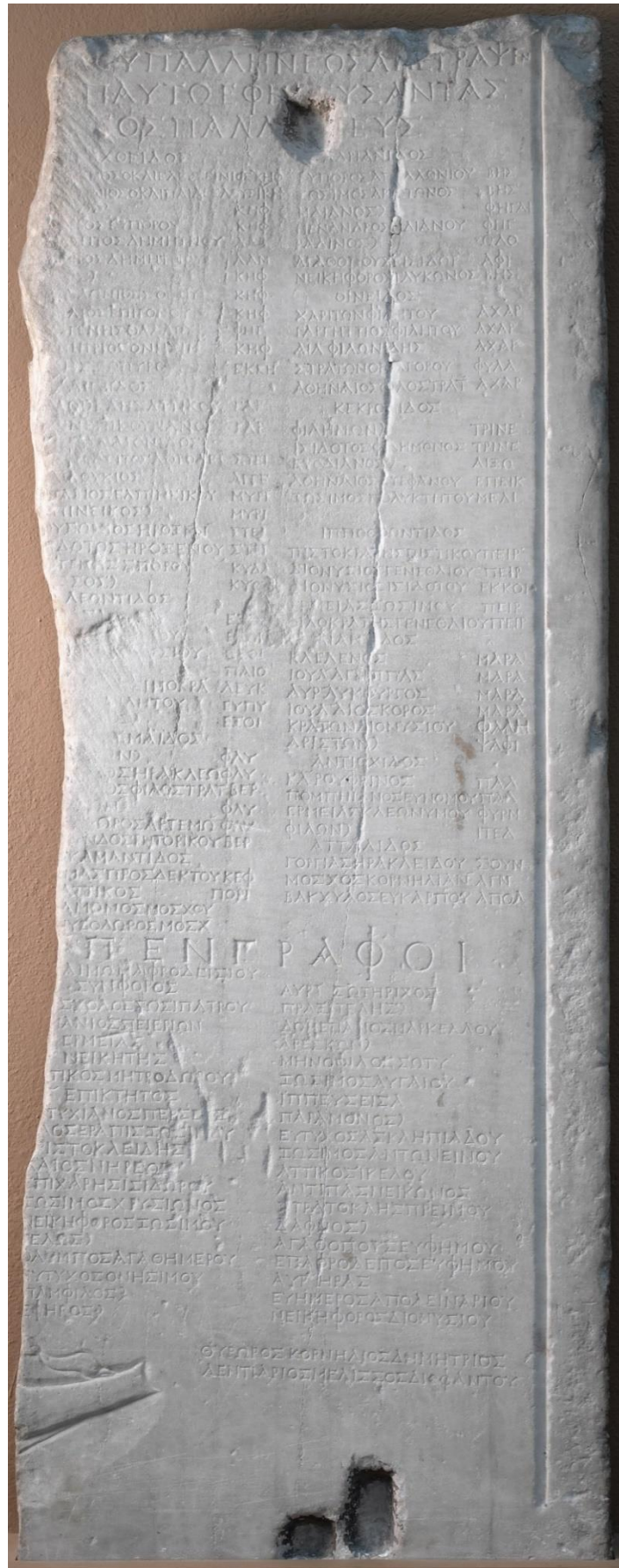


Fig. 10c. 10 = ANChandler 2.52. © Ashmolean Museum.

4. The Ephebate in the Roman Period: The Inscriptions

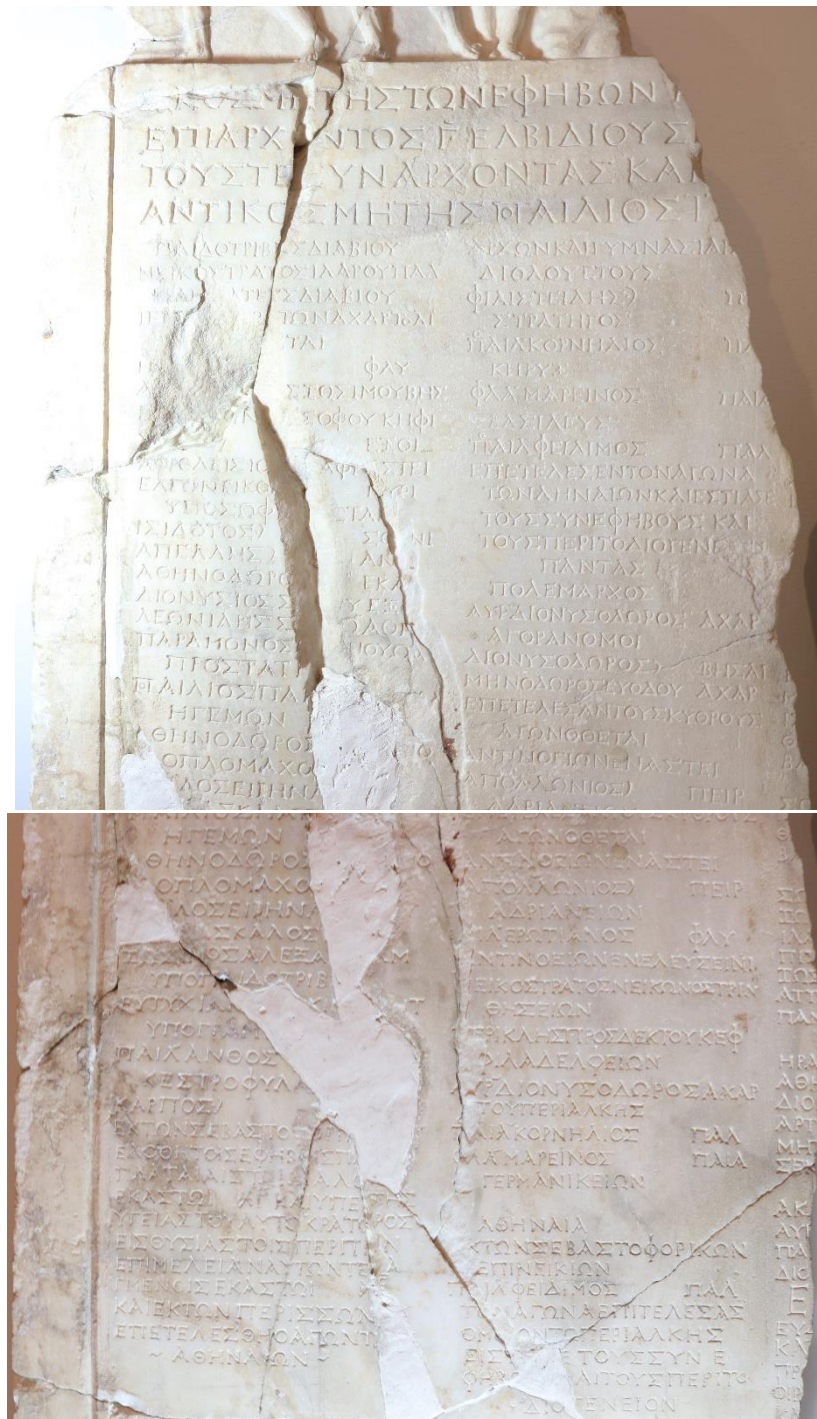


Fig. 10d. 10 = NM 1470, details of columns 1 and 2, upper section, l. 2-29 and 51-73 (top) and lower section, l. 26-48 and 71-95 (bottom). The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Resources Fund. (Law 3028/2002).

5. FUNERARY MONUMENTS: INTRODUCTION

Funerary monuments were the most common form of stone inscription in ancient Athens.³⁰⁹ Almost all UK collections contain at least one and several contain significant numbers.³¹⁰ In the Ashmolean collection there is a fragment that may come from a Classical grave for the war dead (**11**), three funerary stelai with figurative relief from the Classical and Hellenistic periods (**12**, **13**, **14**), and two commemorative herms of the Roman period (**15** and **16**).

Two of the major categories of Attic funerary monuments with figurative relief are represented in the Ashmolean collection. **12** is an example of the *naiskos* (“little shrine”), in which architectural surrounds enclose figures in high relief, and **13** and **14** are examples of the *Bildfeldstele* (“image-field stele”) with scenes in shallow relief. Figurative funerary monuments were produced at Athens in two periods. The first phase, to which **12** and **13** belong, began around 430 BC.³¹¹ During this period, the *naiskoi* and *Bildfeldstelen* co-existed with funerary monuments in the shape of stone vessels, *lekythoi* and *loutrophoroi*; the Ashmolean holds a number of examples of these (e.g. Conze, no. 1338), but none with inscriptions.³¹² This period came to end when figurative funerary monuments were banned as part of the sumptuary laws instituted during the period when Demetrios of Phaleron ruled Athens (317-307 BC). They were replaced with a more restrained form of funerary monument, known as a *columella* or *kioniskos* (“little column”), which is not represented in the Ashmolean collection.³¹³ The second period of figurative funerary monuments at Athens began in the late first century BC, when these sumptuary laws were relaxed, and continued into the third century AD.³¹⁴ **14** is an example from early in this revival.

An important role of funerary stelai was to communicate messages about the social status of the deceased and their family. Thus, although they were private monuments, in the sense that they were erected by private individuals, they were public-facing monuments that presented the deceased and their family as exemplary citizens. In the Classical and early Hellenistic periods, citizen status required one to be the legitimate child of both a citizen father and a citizen mother. Care for family tombs was one of the basic duties expected of a citizen, and was considered relevant both for inheritance of property and for standing for public office. The particular importance of citizen status under the Classical democracy may be partly responsible for the boom in private funerary monuments during the late fifth and fourth centuries BC.³¹⁵ These themes shaped the text and relief sculpture of both **12** and **13**. Funerary monuments were also produced for non-citizens, like **14**. These monuments are

³⁰⁹ For more details, see the “Introduction to funerary monuments,” in [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), sect. 3.

³¹⁰ The British Museum’s collection, the UK’s largest, will appear in [AIUK 4.6 \(BM\)](#).

³¹¹ Overview of this phase in *Agora XXXV*, pp. 1-64. The monuments are collected in Clairmont, *CAT*. Cf. Scholl, *Bildfeldstelen*. Frequency over time: E. A. Meyer, *JRS* 80, 1990, fig. 6.

³¹² Cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\), no. 4](#); [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\), no. 1](#); Schmaltz, *Marmorlekythen*; Kokula, *Marmorloutrophoren*.

³¹³ See [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\), no. 7](#), and Houby-Nielsen 1998, 129-39.

³¹⁴ Examples of figurative stelai from this later phase include [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 13](#), [14](#), [15](#); [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\), no. 9](#), [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\), no. 4](#). Von Moock 1998 is a corpus.

³¹⁵ E. A. Meyer, *JHS* 113, 1993, 99–121; [AIUK 5 \(Lyne Park\), no. 2](#) with notes on AIO. cf. Isaios 2.36-37, 7.30; [Dem.] 43.75; *Ath. Pol.* 55.3.

5. Funerary Monuments: Introduction

often difficult to distinguish from those for citizens, suggesting that advertising family unity and virtue was just as important to foreign residents as to citizens.³¹⁶

The original context of these monuments is important for understanding this public-facing focus. The Kerameikos cemetery, where [12](#) and [13](#) were probably located, lined the road out of Athens from the Dipylon city gate, so that anyone entering or leaving Athens through that gate (the nearest one to the Agora) had to pass by the tombs. Within the cemetery, the monuments were typically grouped together in family plots (*periboloi*). Viewed as a group, the monuments in a given *peribolos* would have provided a sense of the family as a lineage that endured over generations and made it clearer how the individuals on the individual stelai related to one another. Many *periboloi* also contained *Namenstelen* (“name stelai”), which list the individuals buried in the plot, further clarifying relationships between family members. This dimension is unfortunately lost for stelai in museum collections, isolated from the other monuments of their *peribolos*.³¹⁷

A distinctive feature of Attic funerary monuments is the frequency with which they were reworked or reused. This could be done in order to take account of other members of the family who had died after the stone was erected, as in [13](#), or as part of the appropriation of a stone for another individual who might be unrelated to the original dedicatee, as in [14](#). Both phenomena have been analysed in detail in [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#).³¹⁸

[15](#) and [16](#) are funerary herms, commemorative monuments erected in honour of the deceased at a location that was particularly significant for them in life, rather than at the site of their burial. Herms are tall rectangular blocks, unadorned except for a phallus on the front and a bust on top. The first herms appeared in Greece in the Archaic period. These herms were bearded figures, generally identified as depictions of the god Hermes, and they were erected as apotropaic devices in liminal spaces, especially the doorways to households, but also at the borders of public spaces like the Agora, and at crossroads.³¹⁹ They developed a strong association with the Classical democracy.³²⁰ In the Hellenistic period they also became common in gymnasia, but it was only in the late first century BC in Italy that they began to be used as a support for portraits of real people. Romans favoured herms as a portrait support because they were space-efficient and because their prominence in Greek *gymnasia* and (supposed) Attic origins made them symbols of Athenian *paideia* (culture and education). In Italy, portrait herms of living people fell out of fashion after the mid-first century AD, but by then the format had spread to mainland Greece, where it was very popular in the second and early third century AD (the date of both of the Ashmolean herms).³²¹ In Athens, herms were especially associated with the ephebate, where portrait herms were erected annually by the ephebes in honour of the superintendent (as [6](#) may have been) and occasionally in honour of other ephebic officials or of prominent ephebes who had died, as with [16](#).³²² The format

³¹⁶ Other funerary monuments for non-citizens include [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 11](#), [13](#) and [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\), no. 7](#). Gray 2011, 49-50.

³¹⁷ On *periboloi* see W. E. Closterman, *AJA* 111, 2007, 633-35 (images of *periboloi* in the Kerameikos, *fig. 1*, and at Rhamnous, *fig. 10*); Stears 2000, 207-18; Marchiandi 2011; also [RO 7b](#) with AIO’s note. On *Namenstelen*, see Hildebrandt 2006; several will appear in *AIUK 4.6 (BM)*.

³¹⁸ Another example is [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 14](#).

³¹⁹ Wrede 1985, 1-12.

³²⁰ R. Osborne, *PCPhS* 31, 1985, 47-73; J. C. Quinn, *Greece & Rome* 54, 2007, 82-105.

³²¹ Fejfer 2008, 228-33.

³²² e.g. [IG II² 2193](#), [3737](#), [3764](#), see also de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 1.4.

5. Funerary Monuments: Introduction

could also be used to honour other individuals, living or dead (e.g. [I Eleusis 494](#), [IG II² 3960](#)), usually in collaboration with the People, Council, and/or Areopagos.

6. FUNERARY MONUMENTS: THE INSCRIPTIONS

11 LIST OF WAR-DEAD? ANMichaelis 85. Athens, Kerameikos (see [sect. 1](#)). Fragment of a white marble stele broken on all sides and at the back, discoloured by fire damage. Above a moulding at the top of the inscribed surface, a fragment of a relief depicting two figures, on a convex surface. At left, a naked man seated on the ground, preserved except for his head, with his right hand stretched out behind him. At right, a man in a chiton looms over him, preserved to chest-height. The rim of a shield is visible between them. H. 0.42, w. 0.28, th. 0.16. Inscribed area: h. 0.115, w. 0.22. Letter h. 0.026. Straight-barred alpha (Α); no serifs or apices.

Eds. H. Roehl, *Schedae epigraphicae* (1876), p. 4, no. 8 (as Smyrnaean); Stupperich 1978 (ph.); *IK Smyrna* 807 (ph.) (as Smyrnaean); *IG I³* 1193bis.

Cf. Michaelis, p. 561, no. 85; R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Munich, 1977, I. 17, II. 16-17, no. 2; Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos*, I 202-3, no. 59 (*SEG* 33.44); T. Schäfer, *Andres Agathoi* (1997), p. 162, no. 3; Goette 2009, 189-90; Arrington 2014, 101-2. Autopsy de Lisle 2020. In store. Fig. 11.

late v or early iv BC? -NA-
vacat

1 ΑΘΕ]να[ίον hoίδε ἀπέθανον Stupperich, Lewis and Jeffery; -v ἀ[νέθεκε Lewis and Jeffery, alternative restoration || 2 -Α- Stupperich, Lewis and Jeffery; Α[εοντίς Clairmont.

-NA-
vacat

Stupperich identified this inscription, which was previously believed to derive from Smyrna, as Athenian and argued that it was a fragment of a public funerary monument, listing the Athenian war-dead. This conclusion has been endorsed by Clairmont, Lewis and Jeffrey in *IG I³*, Schäfer, Goette, and Arrington.

Lists of the war-dead began to be produced in the period following the Persian Wars. The earliest known example is *SEG* 56.430, commemorating those who died at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC and the last known examples were produced in 394 BC during the Corinthian War (*IG II²* 5221 and 5222). All the citizen war-dead in a given year were interred in a single monument in the area of the Kerameikos known as the *demosion sema* (“the public tomb”) and the monument included a stele listing the war-dead by tribe. Unlike private funerary monuments, these monuments do not include the patronymics or demotics of the deceased, occluding the family identity of the war-dead in favour of an emphasis on their equality and their relationship to the Athenian state.³²³

The identification of this fragment as a list of war-dead is based on the probable findspot of the inscription in the necropolis near the Acharnian Gate. Stupperich considered the monument too thick and too tall to be a private monument (the convex shape of the surface on which the relief is carved implies that it was intended to be viewed from below).

³²³ Other monuments of this type on AIO: [OR 109](#) (460/59 BC); [OR 111](#) (458/7 BC); [OR 129](#) (ca. 447 BC?). The format is studied in Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos* and placed in the broader context of commemoration of the war-dead in Arrington 2014, esp. 33-122.

6. Funerary Monuments: The Inscriptions

Similar scenes appear in the three known reliefs from public funerary monuments: [IG II² 5221](#) (NM 2744), a public monument set up for the cavalry killed in 394 BC; the Palaiologou relief ([SEG 48.83](#), Athens Ephoria M 4551), from a monument for cavalry killed in the 420s BC; and the uninscribed Met. Museum 29.47 of ca. 390 BC.³²⁴ All show a figure on the ground being protected from an assailant (sometimes mounted, sometimes on foot) by the shield of a third soldier. The relief on this monument probably depicted a similar scene, since the shield visible in the upper centre of the relief cannot have been held by either of the two surviving figures.³²⁵ If this is correct, the surviving fragment would have capped a tall stele, inscribed with the names of the fallen, listed by tribe.

Stupperich's reconstruction of the text, followed by Lewis and Jeffery, Ἀθη]να[ίων hoίδε ἀπέθανον ("these Athenians died"), is the standard heading on these casualty lists (cf. [IG I³ 1162](#), [IG II² 5221](#)), but the two letters could be understood in many other ways, e.g. part of the common form ἀνέθεκε ("dedicated"), or part of the name of the location where the soldiers were killed. The apex of a triangular letter reported at the bottom of the fragment, which Clairmont interpreted as the sub-heading for the tribe Leontis, was not visible on autopsy.



Fig. 11. **11** = ANMichaelis 85. © Ashmolean Museum.

³²⁴ For these reliefs, see Goette 2009, 188-206, fig. 40-41, Arrington 2014, 100-4, figs. 3.2-3.4.

³²⁵ Stupperich 1978, 89-91.

12 FUNERARY STELE OF GLAUKETES. ANMichaelis 138. Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676; findspot unknown (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Upper right corner of a white marble *naiskos*. The surviving portion of the relief depicts a bearded man, overlapping the right *anta* (pilaster), preserved down to the waist, head supported with his right hand, while his left hand rests on something no longer visible. A small portion of the drapery of another figure appears at left. Above, a simple architrave and triangular pediment, with traces of a corner acroterion. The surviving text is on the architrave, above the bearded man's head. H. 0.65, w. 0.45, th. 0.035. Letter h. 0.016. Early iv BC (Kirchner), 400-375 BC (Clairmont). No serifs or apices; straight-barred alpha (Α); splayed Σ.

Eds. Chandler 1763, 109, no. lxii (dr.) (*CIG* I 929, Koumanoudes, no. 2713; *IG* III 3061; Michaelis, p. 574, no. 138; *IG* II 3567); Conze 1258 (ph.); *IG* II² 10996; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.273a (ph.). Autopsy, de Lisle 2019. On display (Greek and Roman Sculpture gallery). *Fig.* 12 a-b.

early iv BC - - - Γλαυκέτης
Relief

... Glauketes
Relief

This fragment is the top right-hand corner of a funerary stele. The reconstruction of this scene proposed by Clairmont would have Glauketes facing a seated female figure (probably his deceased wife), whose name would have been inscribed on the lost left-hand portion of the architrave. However, in this case, we would expect the couple to be holding each other's right hand in the gesture of *dexiosis* (discussed in [13](#) and also seen in [14](#)). Glauketes' gesture – raising his right hand to his face in grief – is typically assumed by a figure standing behind a person engaged in *dexiosis* with a third individual. The scene was thus probably similar to that found in *CAT* 3.171, 3.210, 3.221, 3.297, in which a young soldier is farewelled by his parents. In that case the figure in front of Glauketes would be his wife, facing away from him and engaged in *dexiosis* with a third figure (their son?) to the left. The visible portion of drapery might be her shoulder. If this reconstruction is correct, the monument is preserved to about a third of its original width, rather than about half.

Glauketes was a common name in Attica – seventeen individuals of the name from at least eight demes are attested in the fifth and fourth centuries BC in the *Athenian Onomasticon*. All seventeen are Athenian citizens and the name is not attested outside Attica until the first century BC, according to the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. The absence of the patronymic and demotic in this inscription does not indicate non-citizen status. Clairmont suggests that Glauketes' left hand rests on a walking stick (*bakteria*), which would indicate citizen status, since these sticks were a standard part of the iconography of adult male citizens, symbolising the individual's right to speak in assemblies and judge in public courts.³²⁶ Other monuments in the *peribolos* (family plot) where this stele originally stood may have made Glauketes' status and family relationships clearer to its original viewers than they are to us.³²⁷

³²⁶ S. Courvet, *Metis* 9.1, 1994, 257-81; Brulé 2006, 75-83.

³²⁷ Grossman, *Agora XXXV*, pp. 17-18.

6. Funerary Monuments: The Inscriptions



Fig. 12a. 12 = ANMichaelis 138. © Ashmolean Museum.

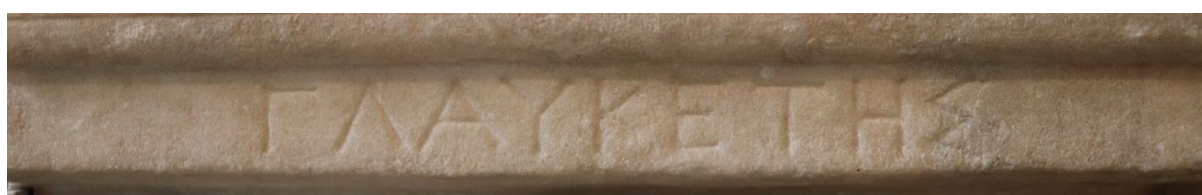


Fig. 12b. 12 = ANMichaelis 138. © Ashmolean Museum.

13 FUNERARY STELE OF PHILODEMOS AND LYSIMACHE. ANMichaelis 140. Acquired in Athens by Wheler in 1676; findspot unknown (cf. [sect. 1](#)). Pedimental stele of grey marble, broken at the top and bottom. Above the inscription, a moulding and the lower part of a pedimental relief depicting a Siren. Below the inscription, two figures depicted in shallow relief: at left, a young man in a chiton, holding the bridle of a horse with his left hand, and at right a young woman, her left hand held up, perhaps to perform the gesture of unveiling (*anakalypsis*). They grip each other's right hand (*dexiosis*). H. 0.67, w. 0.38, th. 0.10. Letter h. 0.017 (lines 1-2), 0.010 (lines 3-4). Lines 3-4 are inscribed in shallower, scratchier letters than lines 1-2. Broadly similar lettering throughout: no serifs; splayed M; letters tend to lean backwards and forwards (e.g. Δ in l. 2, Α in l. 3.). Distinctive features of ll. 3-4: smaller O; splayed E/Σ; hyperextension of verticals in B/E and of diagonals in Λ/M.

Eds. Chandler 1763, 109, no. lxiii (dr.); *CIG* I 800 (Koumanoudes, no. 1304; *IG* III 2118); Michaelis, p. 574, no. 140 (*IG* II 2674); Conze 1099 (ph.); *IG* II² 7807; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.335a (ph.).

Cf. Vedder 1985, pp. 36-37; Scholl, *Bildfeldstelen*, no. 461, tab. 47.1 (ph.); Langenfass-Vuduroglu 1973, no. 25; Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 33 (ph.). Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2019. On display (“The Greek World 1000-100 BC” gallery). *Fig.* 13a-b.

ca. 375-350 BC (?) [Φ]ιλόδημος Σοφίλου
Χολλείδης.
vacat
Λυσιμάχη Τιμογείτονος
Φρεαρρίου.

Relief

1 Λ of Σοφίλου written above the line; apparent reading N results from scratch on the stone.

Philodemos son of Sophilos
of Cholleidai
uninscribed space
Lysimache daughter of Timogeiton
of Phrearrhioi.
Relief

This stele probably belongs in the period 375-350 BC. On stylistic grounds, Vedder dates the relief to around the 360s BC, although some of the letters (the epsilons throughout and the tall, thin lettering in ll. 3-4) perhaps suggest a slightly earlier date.³²⁸ The spelling of Sophilos with an omicron rather than an omega, which occurs occasionally in funerary monuments and “semi-literate” texts like curse tablets, does not help with dating.³²⁹

³²⁸ Vedder 1985, 36-37; S. D. Lambert, pers. comm.

³²⁹ Threatte I, 223-25. Cf. *IG* II² 11024 (Γνόμη), 12746 (Σοτηρικός), 6646 (Λεύκονος). Some previous editors have read Sophinos, due to a scar in the stone, but this name is only attested once, in Serdica: E. N. Lane, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Sabazii* II (2015), no. 6 (ii-iii AD), where it occurs as Σοφεῖνος and is probably derived from Sophianus (i.e. with a suffix derived from Latin).

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Lysimache's name (ll. 3-4) was a later addition to the stele. It is inscribed in smaller, scratchy letters in a slightly different style from those of ll. 1-2, perhaps because a different individual cut the letters, or as a consequence of a quicker, rougher, job. The way that the text of l. 4 curves to fit around Philodemos' head also suggests that it was not part of the original plan for the stele. The inscription is thus an example of how funerary monuments in classical Athens were living monuments that were remodelled to reflect family developments. This remodelling was a common phenomenon, starting not long after the introduction of private funerary stelai ca. 430 BC. Modifications are particularly frequent on stelai originally produced ca. 375-350 BC. There were two components to this kind of remodelling: "reinscription," in which the text of the inscription was modified, and "re-carving," in which the relief decoration was modified to add or remove figures or change their appearance (e.g. gender or age). Often, both reinscription and re-carving were deployed together. M. Pologiorgi outlines a three-step process of reinscription and recutting by which *SEG* 51.252, originally a monument depicting a man, his wife, and his father became a monument for the same man, his son, and his daughter-in-law. Reinscription could also occur without re-carving (or vice versa). For example, the name of a male relative was added to *IG* II² 7061a, a stele for one Kallistrate, but the relief which depicted her sitting alone remained unchanged.³³⁰ The stele of Philodemos and Lysimache seems to fall into this category, since there is no evidence of re-carving. Rather, the addition to the inscription identified the hitherto anonymous female figure as Lysimache, which may or may not have been the intended identification of the figure when the stele was originally set up.

Philodemos is a common name, but this man happens to be the only known example from the deme of Cholleidai. No other Sophilos is known from Cholleidai. One Sophilos from Leontis (the tribe which Cholleidai was in) appears as a trierarch in a list of war-dead of 409/8 BC (*IG* I³ 1191, l. 120), but the name is also attested in two other demes of the tribe, Leukonoion and Kettos, so this need not be a relative. Lysimache is also a very common name. Timogeiton is not; the only other attestation is a member of the tribe of Leontis in a late fifth-century list of war-dead (*IG* I³ 1193, l. 137). The deme Phrearrhioi was in Leontis, so this could be Lysimache's father.³³¹

A number of elements of the stele's iconography suggest that Philodemos was still a young man when he died. Most obviously, he is shown without a beard. Further, the Siren, which caps the monument and is a frequent motif on Attic funerary stelai from around the 360s BC onward (there are two other examples in the UK), is particularly associated with tombs for people who died prematurely.³³² Finally, the depiction of Philodemos with his horse might indicate that he was a member of the Athenian cavalry corps, who tended to be

³³⁰ A range of examples are collected in [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\) no. 1-5](#). Discussion in Pologiorgi 1999; Houby-Nielsen 1998, 139–42.

³³¹ Another Lysimache from Phrearrhioi appears in *SEMA* 700, l. 4 (late iv BC). She belongs to an identifiable family characterised by the use of the names Dieuches and Epieuches. A Lysimachides son of Patrokleides from Phrearrhioi is also attested: *IG* II² 7724 (iii BC). No examples of the name Lysimachos are attested from Phrearrhioi.

³³² See [AIUK 12 \(Great North Museum: Hancock\), no. 1](#) for discussion of the motif and full bibliography. Schmaltz, *Marmorlekythen*, 104-5 (citing this inscription). The fullest discussion and catalogue of Sirens in funerary reliefs is Woysch-Méautis 1982, 94-108, 135, 137-40. Another Siren stele, *IG* II² 11851a, will be included in *AIUK* 4.6 (BM).

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young men. The motif was used generally to symbolise the deceased's status, wealth, and youth.³³³

The exact relationship between Philodemos and Lysimache is not stated, but she is probably his widow. The female figure in the relief appears to be performing the gesture of *anakalypsis* ("uncovering"), in which a veil is removed from the head or a mantle around the shoulders is pulled forward away from the body, usually with the left hand. A woman making this gesture is generally presumed to be married, but it can also be used to indicate communication and conversation and appears often in scenes where no men are present.³³⁴ Athenian men did not normally marry until around the age of thirty, so there is an outside chance that Lysimache might be the young Philodemos' mother. Horsemen can be depicted being farewelled by their mothers, but then we would usually expect the father to appear as well (cf. *CAT* 3.297, 3.382, 4.219). Other monuments in the family plot (*peribolos*) where the stele originally stood would probably have made the family relationships clearer.

The pair grip each other's right hand in the gesture known as *dexiosis*. This gesture is ubiquitous in Attic funerary reliefs of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The pair engaged in the gesture may be of any gender or age combination and examples of all kinds of family relationship are attested. The motif also appears in vase painting, where it is frequently used in marriage scenes and scenes of the warrior departing from home – both themes which could be relevant to this inscription. Personifications of states are shown engaged in the gesture in the relief decoration of inscribed treaties (e.g. [IG II² 1](#)). The gesture has been interpreted in a number of different ways, but the central idea seems to be an enduring bond or unity.³³⁵ The idea that familial ties transcended death was probably reassuring to Philodemos and Lysimache's survivors, and presented the kind of harmonious internal relations that were meant to characterise the ideal family. As discussed in [sect. 5](#), the monuments in the *peribolos* played an important role in establishing families' social and legal standing. For example, in the official scrutiny undertaken before assuming a magistracy, Athenians were asked about the location of their family tombs (*Ath. Pol.* 55.3). Tombs could also help demonstrate that an individual conformed with the requirement, under Perikles' citizenship law, that a citizen be of citizen descent on both the father's and the mother's side. Lysimache's patronymic and father's demotic might have been included to demonstrate this citizen descent and her capacity to bear citizen children, which would have been important whether she was Philodemos' mother or wife.³³⁶

³³³ Langenfass-Vuduroglu, 1973, 115-19; Spence 1993, 191-210; [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), no. 4, with commentary.

³³⁴ See [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\)](#), no. 1, with commentary; Stears 1995, 119-20; J. Grossman, *Agora* XXXV, p. 38-39, Table 5. For further examples, see [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#), no. 2, [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#), no. 9 (between two female figures)

³³⁵ See [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), p. 33; [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#), no. 2, with commentary; G. Davies, *AJA* 89, 1985, 627-30; E. G. Pemberton, *Med. Arch.* 2, 1989, 45-50; J. Grossman, *Agora* XXXV, p. 38.

³³⁶ Timogeiton can be presumed to be Lysimache's father; when a women's name is followed by a male name in the genitive without further qualification, it is always a patronymic, regardless of who her *kyrios* (legal guardian) was: L. Rubinstein, M. H. Hansen, T. H. Nielsen et al. *AJAH* 10, 1993, 178-85.



Fig. 13a. 13 = ANMichaelis 140. © Ashmolean Museum.

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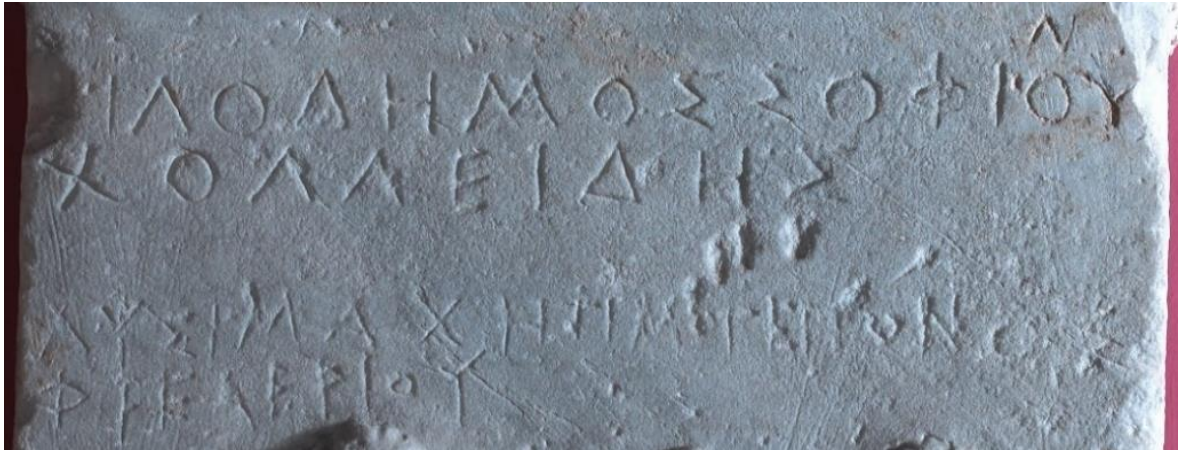


Fig. 13b. 13 = ANMichaelis 140. © Ashmolean Museum.

14 FUNERARY STELE OF DIODORA. ANChandler 2.93. Acquired by Wheler in 1676, found in Agia Paraskevi, Markopoulo Mesogaïas, Attica (Wheler, *MS*, cf. [sect. 1](#)). White marble rosette stele with relief panel. Left and right sides and part of top intact. Fragments of acroterion (?) preserved at top behind moulding. Bottom inaccessible within modern mount. Two large rosettes immediately below inscription, with traces of red paint at centre of right-hand one. Below them, square relief panel with two standing figures shaking hands (*dexiosis*). At left, woman in chiton wearing open veil, himation and mantle; her left hand grips the end of a piece of cloth wrapped around her wrist (part of her mantle?). At right, beardless man with chiton and a himation slung over his left shoulder. An ornate seriffed “W” between the rosettes probably stands for “Wheler.” H. 0.75, w. 0.44, th. 0.13. Letter h. 0.027-0.030 (ll. 1 and 3), 0.025 (l. 2). Stele with rosettes of iv BC; relief and lettering of late i BC; some apices and serifs; broken bar alpha (Α); no hyperextension of diagonals in Α/Δ or of vertical in Φ.

Eds. Wheler, *MS* (ca. 1680), 88, no. 328/ciii; Chandler 1763, 119, no. xciii (dr.) (*CIG* I 825; Koumanoudes, no. 1505; Michaelis, p. 575, no. 141; *IG* III 2303); Conze 2092 (ph.); *IG* II² 8151. Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2020. In store. *Fig.* 14a-b.

Late 1st cent. BC Διοδώρα
 [[*traces ?*]] «Νικηφόρου»
 Ἀντιόχισσα.
 Relief

2 Slight traces of original inscription remain visible, viz. a lower vertical between P and O, an upper vertical above the Y || 3 N reversed.

Diodora
 «daughter of Nikephoros»
 of Antioch
Relief

Like **13**, this stele is an example of a funerary inscription being modified, but in a different way. **13** was reworked by the addition of an extra line of text a relatively short time after the original inscription, relying on the pre-existing meaning of the monument to contextualise the new addition. By contrast, **14** was originally set up in the fourth century BC, then erased, reworked, and reinscribed in the late first century BC, in order to appropriate the monument for a different individual (cf. [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\), no. 1](#)). The only feature of the original stele which survives are the rosettes, which are very rare as decorative motifs on late Hellenistic and Roman-period stelai at Athens; the letters of l. 3 had to be slightly squashed in order to fit around them. Most close parallels fall in the second half of the fourth century BC, but there are examples from the early fourth and even late fifth century BC.³³⁷ The original stele would have been significantly taller than it is now and topped by a floral acroterion, which has since snapped off (*Fig.* 14b). The original inscription appears to have

³³⁷ Muehsam 1952, 91; Hildebrandt 2006, 60-67. The rosettes belong to Hildebrandt’s type II (“*Rosetten mit einem Blattkranz*”). The closest parallels (with dates ascribed by Clairmont) are: *IG* II² 10436 (420-400 BC), *SEMA* 435 (375-350 BC), Clairmont, *CAT* 2.462 (350-300 BC), *IG* II² 7263 (350-300 BC), *SEG* 32.315 (350-300 BC), *IG* II² 6355 (350-300 BC).

been a single line, where l. 2 is now located. The erasure of this inscription has left a visible indentation in the stele. There are some strokes that might be traces of the original inscription or errors by the cutter who produced the new inscription: part of a vertical between the P and O and another vertical incorporated into the Y.

This kind of reuse could in principle have an ideological dimension, associating the deceased with traditional morals and virtues, although, given the wholesale reworking of the stele, that does not seem very relevant in this case.³³⁸ It also had a financial aspect, since reusing an existing stone was cheaper than cutting a new one. Several aspects of this inscription suggest that cost saving was a relevant factor: the relief is not of high quality, the letter cutter did not work to high standard, bungling the spacing of ll. 2-3 and accidentally reversing the N in l. 2. Appropriation of a stele like this was only possible when interest in preserving the monument in its original form was lost. This could be due to some kind of violent rupture. For example, large-scale spoliation of the Kerameikos cemetery for wall-building in 338 BC and Demetrios of Phaleron's ban on new figurative monuments prompted several examples of reuse in the following decades.³³⁹ Reuse could also result from the absence of heirs interested in maintaining the earlier monument. Thus, it is particularly common for the tombstones of foreign residents to be reused in this way, presumably because they often did not leave descendants or relatives resident in Athens.³⁴⁰ In this case, however, interest in the earlier commemorand may simply have been lost as a result of the passage of time, since the reuse took place several centuries after the original erection of the stele (cf. [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\), no. 5](#)).

The current inscription was produced in the late Hellenistic or Roman periods, since Diodora's ethnic is given as Ἀντιόχισσα rather than Ἀντιόχης – a “later” development according to Fraser and Hornblower.³⁴¹ The relief was probably added when the stele was reinscribed. There is a slight mismatch between the relief which depicts a couple and the inscription which names a single individual, but this is not unusual. Various features of the figures' outfits are more typical in funerary reliefs of the Roman period than of the Classical period: the man wears a tunic under his himation, the woman has an open veil, and her mantle is secured at both shoulders.³⁴² A date after the first century BC is unlikely, however, since the handshake pose (*dexiosis*) is rare in reliefs after Augustus.³⁴³ Thus, the reinscription of this stele and the addition of the relief probably took place during the late first-century BC revival of figurative grave monuments, which had been absent from the Athenian epigraphic landscape since the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron at the end of the fourth century BC.

The deceased Diodora was a foreign resident from Antioch. Antiochenes were among the largest groups of migrants settled at Athens in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Over 550 Antiochenes are attested in Athens and they account for 8.3% of all the gravestones of non-Athenians at Athens.³⁴⁴ The most notable Antioch was Antioch on the Orontes (modern Antakya, Turkey), but there were around twenty other cities of the same name, including

³³⁸ Houby-Nielsen 1998, 141-42.

³³⁹ Houby-Nielsen 1998, 139-42

³⁴⁰ Pologiorgi 1999, 208-13.

³⁴¹ Fraser 2009, 329.

³⁴² Von Moock 1998, 28-46 on dating Roman grave reliefs. Stylistic differences between Classical and Roman stelai are summarised in J. B. Grossman, *Agora XXXV*, pp. 30, 41, 44, 59-60.

³⁴³ Von Moock 1998, 76. On *dexiosis*, see [13](#).

³⁴⁴ Vestergaard 2000, 86.

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Antioch-Alabanda in Caria whose citizens had been granted Athenian citizenship around 200 BC (*IG II³ 1, 1178*). It is very rare for Athenian inscriptions to specify which Antioch an individual hailed from. Accordingly, we cannot know which Antioch Diodora was connected to.³⁴⁵ A Nikephoros of Antioch who appears in *IG II² 8259* (i AD) might be a relative of Diodora, but the name is so common that there need not be any connection.

The majority of foreign residents seem to have lived and been buried in the city of Athens or the Piraeus, especially in the Roman period. However, Diodora's stele probably stood in south-central Attica, not Athens. Wheeler's notes indicate that the stele was found in secondary use in the church of Agia Paraskevi in Markopoulo Mesogaïas, about 20 km southeast of Athens on the other side of Mt Hymettos, very near the site of ancient Hagnous.³⁴⁶ At least fifteen other funerary monuments have been found in Markopoulo. Seven of the funerary inscriptions found there belonged to Hagnousians; one belongs to a demesmen of Prasiai (Porto Rafti, near Markopoulo); the rest are either uninscribed or without a demotic. Thus, Hagnous' necropolis was probably a quarry for early modern Markopoulo.³⁴⁷ In general, the rural settlements of Attica declined in the first century BC and did not revive until ca. 300 AD, but excavation in the region has shown that some activity continued at several necropoleis around Markopoulo in the Roman period.³⁴⁸ Only one other funerary monument found at Markopoulo dates to the post-classical period – a stele for Epiktetos son of Epitynchanon the Milesian (*IG II² 9572*, ca. 50 BC – 150 AD), which was also found in the church of Agia Paraskevi.³⁴⁹ Diodora may have been buried at Hagnous, but, as the example from Prasiai shows, it remains possible that her stele was brought from further afield.

³⁴⁵ On the difficulty of distinguishing individuals from different Antiochs, see L. Robert, *BCH Supp.* 1, 1973, 435-66; Fraser 2009, 172-75, 184.

³⁴⁶ Traill 1986, 132; Humphreys 2018, 979-81.

³⁴⁷ Hagnousians: *IG II² 5259 = CAT 2.377e; IG II² 5277-5280; IG II² 5280a = CAT 334; IG II² 5701 = CAT 4.472*. Prasiai: *IG II² 7286*; Other funerary monuments found at Markopoulo: *IG II² 10864 = CAT 2.820; IG II² 11395 = CAT 3.345a*; Peek, *Attische Inschriften*, 125, no. 270 = *CAT 268; CAT 2.350b; CAT 2.830; CAT 3.332*.

³⁴⁸ Alcock 1993, 39-40; Galiatsatou 2020, 50-62.

³⁴⁹ *CAT 2.243* (stele, early fourth century BC) is also from the church of Agia Paraskevi.



Fig. 14a. 14 = ANChandler 2.93. © Ashmolean Museum.

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Fig. 14b. Top view of 14 = ANChandler 2.93. © Ashmolean Museum.

15 POSTHUMOUS HONORIFIC HERM ERECTED BY HERODES ATTICUS FOR POLYDEUKION. ANChandler 2.60. Attica, acquired by Dawkins in 1751, from a church or mosque at Kephisia (Wood, *Diary*, cf. [sect. 1](#)). Herm, preserved on all sides, except missing head, and a splinter on the left side of Face A near the bottom. Genitals defaced. Ll. 1-4 inscribed on front (Face A) below a schematically carved chest, ll. 5-27 below the herm's genitals, ll. 28-40 on right side (Face B). H. 1.43, w. 0.28, th. 0.23. Letter h. 0.015 (l. 1-4), 0.013 (l. 5-27), 0.011 (l. 28-40). Face A: characteristic square, non-cursive lettering of mid-ii-iii AD, very light serifs or apices, alpha = Α; xi = Ξ; pi = Π; omega = Ω; hyperextension of right diagonal of Α/Δ/Λ; M sometimes slightly splayed, Σ never; elongated vertical of Φ. Face B: similar, but more irregular rounded letters; groundline uneven; horizontals often slanted; alpha sometimes has broken cross-bar (Α, e.g. l. 31); right horizontal of N does not descend to groundline; Ω squatter.

Eds. Chandler 1763, 106-7, no. lx; (*CIG* I 989; Koumanoudes, no. 2569; Michaelis, p. 583, no. 177; *IG* III 1418; Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 493, no. 1090); *IG* II² 13194; Tobin 1997, 121-23, no. 4

Cf. S. Karusu, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 76, 1969, 259-60; S. Follet, *REG* 90, 1977, 47-54; Tobin 1997, 99-107, 113-60; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 485-86; Knoepfler 2018, 317-70. Autopsy and CSAD squeeze, de Lisle 2019. On display (Greek and Roman Sculpture gallery). *Fig.* 15b-d.

ca. 157/8 AD

Face A (front)

ἥρωσ Πολυδευκίων,
ταῖσδέ ποτ ἐν τριό-
δοις σὺν σοὶ ἐπε-
στρεφόμην.

Phallus

5	πρὸς θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ὅστις εἶ ὁ ἔχων τὸν χῶρον, μήποτε μετακινήση[ς] τούτων τι· καὶ τὰς τούτω[ν] τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰκόνα[ς]	curse A
10	καὶ τειμὰς ὅστις ἢ καθέλ[οι] ἢ μετακεινοίη, τούτῳ μή- τε γῆν καρπὸν φέρειν μ[ή]- τε θάλασσαν πλωτὴν εἶ- ναι, κακῶς τε ἀπολέσθα[ι]	
15	αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος. ὅστι[ς] δὲ κατὰ χώραν φυλάττω[ν] καὶ τειμῶν τὰ εἰωθότα καὶ αὔξων διαμένοι, πολλ[ὰ]	
20	καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι τούτῳ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνοις. λυμήνασθαι δὲ μηδὲ λω- βήσασθαι μηδὲν ἢ ἀπο-	

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25 [κ]ροῦσαι ἢ συνθραῦσαι ἢ
 συνχέαι τῆς μορφῆς κ[αὶ]
 τοῦ σχήματος· εἰ δέ τις οὐ-
 τω ποιήσῃ, ἢ αὐτὴ καὶ ἐ-
 πὶ τούτοις ἀρά.

Face B (right side)

30 ἀλλ' ἔαν τὰ τε ἐπ[ι]-
 θέματα τῶν μο[ρ]-
 φῶν ἀσινῆ καὶ ἀκ[έ]-
 ραῖα καὶ τὰ ὑποσ[τή]-
 ματα, τὰς βάσεις ὡ[ς]
 ἐποιήθησαν. καὶ ἐ[πι] **curse B**
 35 πρῶτῳ γε καὶ ἐπὶ π[ρῶ]-
 τοῖς ὅστις ἢ προστ[ά]-
 [ξ]ειεν ἑτέρῳ ἢ γνώμη[ς]
 ἄρξειεν ἢ γνώμη συ[μ]-
 βάλοιτο περὶ τοῦ το[ύ]-
 τῶν τι ἢ κεινηθῆν[αι]
 40 ἢ συνχυθῆναι. **curse C**

6 ΩP and 7 NH in ligature || 16 φυλάττοι in all the versions of this text on other herms || 24-27 are inscribed around a large crack in the stone at left.

Face A (front)

Hero Polydeukion,
 at this crossroads, once,
 I used to wander
 with you.

Phallus

(5) In the name of the gods and heroes, **curse A**
 whoever you are who owns this land,
 never remove
 any of these things. And anyone who
 pulls down or removes
 (10) these statues'
 images and honours, for them
 the land shall not bear fruit,
 and the sea shall not be navigable,
 and they and their family
 (15) shall die terribly. ^{vν} But whoever
 protects them on the land,
 and honours the customary things,
 and continues to augment them,

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for him there will be many good things,
(20) for himself and his descendants.
Do not wreck, nor
mistreat in any way, nor
knock over, nor break up,
nor obscure the shape and
(25) form. And if anyone
acts thus, the same curse
upon them too.

Face B (right side)

But let the upper parts **curse B**
of the statues
(30) be undamaged,
uncorrupted, and the lower parts,
(and) the bases, as
they were made. And in addition to the **curse C**
the primary actor or primary actors (*i.e. who move or destroy*),
(35) whoever commands
another, or initiates
a proposal, or supports
a proposal about
moving or destroying
(40) any of these (will be under this curse).

This herm is one of a large group of commemorative monuments set up in honour of various dead friends and relatives by Herodes Atticus, the most powerful and wealthy man in Athens in his day and archetype of the wealthy sophists who dominated the Greek aristocracy under Rome.³⁵⁰ Born in 101 AD, Herodes belonged to the Claudii family of Marathon, which had originally risen to prominence in the late first century BC due to their close connections with Julius Caesar and Augustus (see [IG II³ 4, 12](#)) and had made close relations with the Imperial House the foundation of their position in Athenian society and politics. The Athenian priesthood of the Imperial family had been hereditary within the family since the reign of Tiberius (Herodes inherited the position in 138 AD) and the family had held Roman citizenship since the reign of Claudius. Herodes' mother and adoptive father were members of the Vibullii family of Marathon, who descended from veterans settled by Julius Caesar in his *colonia* at Corinth in 44 BC.³⁵¹ Herodes himself was an active member of the Athenian civic elite, serving as archon at the age of twenty-five in 126/7 AD, and funding major construction projects, including the Panhellenic Stadium and the Odeon which still bears his name. He owned two large estates in Attica, one at Marathon and another at Kephisia (from which this inscription derives).³⁵²

³⁵⁰ For Herodes Atticus: Ameling 1983, Tobin 1997; Smith 1998, 75-79; Galli 2002; Rife 2008.

³⁵¹ Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 106-28, 477-81; Geagan 1997; Spawforth 1996, 171.

³⁵² Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.562. Marathon estate: Tobin 1997, 241-87; Galli 2002, 134-38, 178-203; Kephisia estate: Gell. *NA* 1.2, 18.10; Tobin 1997, 211-39.

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Herodes' activities were not limited to Athens, however. He had holdings and connections throughout the province of Achaia, which comprised all Greece south of Thessaly. He maintained particularly close ties with Sparta, where he probably followed his father in going through the Spartan education system (*IG V 1*, 45, l. 7), served as *patronomos* (the equivalent of archon) probably in 134/5 AD, and his sister Claudia Teisamenis was married to a local aristocrat (*SEG 30.407*).³⁵³ His estate at Eua in Kyanouria on the Spartan border (modern Eva-Loukou, Arkadia) has been excavated.³⁵⁴ He probably maintained other estates at Corinth (the provincial capital) and on Euboea, where he funded a number of important building projects.³⁵⁵ Further works include statuary at Isthmia, the stadium at Delphi and the nymphaeum at Olympia.³⁵⁶ He was thus an example of the supra-civic, provincial aristocracy that developed in the Imperial period, a precursor to Kleadas and Erotios in [3](#). This network of Panhellenic elites had been actively fostered by the Emperor Hadrian, through the creation of the Panhellenion, an assembly of all “true” Greek cities, with its headquarters in Athens, of which Herodes was the second archon (137/8-141/2 AD).³⁵⁷

Like his father before him, Herodes was also a member of the Roman senatorial aristocracy. He rapidly ascended the series of Roman magistracies known as the *cursus honorum*, culminating in his election as consul *ordinarius* for 143 AD at the minimum age (*suo anno*),³⁵⁸ and married Appia Annia Regilla, member of an old Roman family with connections to the Imperial House.³⁵⁹ He constructed a villa called the Triopion three miles southeast of Rome on the Villa Appia, part of which survives as the Church of St. Urbano alla Caffarella, with Attic marble a prominent part of the design.³⁶⁰

The third key aspect of Herodes' public persona, alongside his role as civic/provincial benefactor and Roman senator, was his status as a sophist. Sophists were the core of the cultural phenomenon now known as the Second Sophistic, the literary flowering of the second century AD – men of standing in their communities, who demonstrated their mastery of Greek rhetoric and *paideia* (culture and education) by delivering declamations in an artificial form of Greek modelled on the Attic dialect of Classical authors.³⁶¹ Herodes is presented at length as the ideal sophist by Philostratos (*Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 546-66), a characterisation which goes back to Herodes himself.³⁶² Self-proclaimed master of the Attic dialect, nicknamed “the emperor of words” and “the tongue of the Athenians” (Philost. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 586, 591), Herodes presented himself as the paragon of the *paideia* which formed the basis of Athenian prestige in the Imperial period. His stress on his links to Marathon, his

³⁵³ A. J. S. Spawforth, *ABSA* 75, 1980, 203-20; Ameling 1983, ii.74-80. Her name recalls the seer Teisamenos, the only foreigner ever to receive citizenship in Classical Sparta: Hdt. 9.35.

³⁵⁴ Pritchett 1989, 84-90; Tobin 1997, 333-54; *SEG 49.370* (review article); Spyropoulos 2006.

³⁵⁵ *Corinth* VIII.1 85; Galli 2002, 57-63, 86-103 (South theatre and Peirene nymphaeum). Eretria and the sanctuary of Artemis at Amarynthos: Knoepfler 2018, 354-70.

³⁵⁶ Isthmia: Paus. 2.1.7. Olympia nymphaeum: *IvO* 613-626; Bol 1984; Smith 1998, 75-77.

³⁵⁷ Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1., 549-51, Ameling 1983, ii.12-14. For the Panhellenion, see Boatwright 2000, 147-51, with further references.

³⁵⁸ Ameling 1983, ii. no. 76-87; A. Birley, *ZPE* 116, 1997, 236-37.

³⁵⁹ Ameling 1983, ii. p. 16-18, Tobin 1997, 76-83; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 60-63; Pomeroy 2007.

³⁶⁰ Coarelli 2014, 392-3; Tobin 1997, 355-71; Galli 2002, 110-43.

³⁶¹ The most recent introduction to the Second Sophistic and its vast bibliography is Richter and Johnson 2017, ch. 9-18.

³⁶² But note E. Strazdins, *CPh* 114, 2019, 238-64, who sees Philostratos' picture as subtly critical, reflecting the contested nature of Herodes' legacy.

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deme of origin and the location of his main estate,³⁶³ as both site of the Athenian victory over the Persians and source of undiluted Attic speech, was a central part of this posture. His appropriation of the Marathonian legacy for his own purposes is encapsulated in his incorporation of *SEG* 56.430, a list of war-dead from the Battle of Marathon, into a door of his villa at Eva-Loukou. Herodes used his position as a sophist not just to build prestige in Greece, but also to further his career in Rome, where he was friend and tutor to the imperial heirs Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 562-63, *Hist. Aug. Marcus* 2.4, *Verus* 2.5).³⁶⁴

In Athens, Herodes was a controversial figure, honoured for his benefactions but also involved in conflicts with other members of the Athenian elite and dogged by charges of tyranny and violent outrages, following his decision in 138 AD to cancel a disbursement of money promised to the Athenian People in his father's will (Fronto *Ad M. Caes.* iii.3-5; Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 549). The tension culminated in a trial before Marcus Aurelius at Sirmium in 174/5 AD, at which Herodes was ultimately acquitted (*IG* II² 3606, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 559-61). A long letter by Marcus Aurelius resolving disputes among the Athenian elite (*SEG* 29.127) seems to be part of the fallout from this trial and deals mostly with freedmen (of Herodes?) who had been inappropriately admitted to prominent priesthoods, magistracies, and the Areopagos Council. On his death in 177 AD, Herodes was given a state funeral and buried above the Panathenaic stadium (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 565-66). Probably associated with the tomb is an altar for worship of him as a hero (*IG* II² 6791), from which his name was subsequently erased.³⁶⁵

The honorand of this herm was one of a number of wards that Herodes raised in his household: Vibullius Polydeukes, invariably referred to in epigraphic sources as Polydeukion (the diminutive version of his name). His *nomen* Vibullius suggests that he belonged to Herodes' mother's family.³⁶⁶ His death prompted awards of posthumous honours at Athens (*IG* II² 3968) and Delphi (*FD* III 3, 74), including hero cult and funeral games. The record of the Athenian funeral games (*IG* II² 3968) indicates that his death occurred shortly before the archonship of Dionysios, which is dated to 173/4 or 174/5 AD by Follet, (thus placing the death during the Antonine Plague), but to 157/8 or 159/60 AD by Byrne. Neither argument is decisive, but the latter seems stronger and is preferred here.³⁶⁷ Philostratos describes how Herodes set up monuments for Polydeukes and other deceased wards "in glades, by fields,

³⁶³ On the estate and its archaeological remains, see n. 352.

³⁶⁴ Swain 1996, 43-101. Spawforth 2012, 101, who sees his posture as recalling Roman literati like Cicero's correspondent Tiberius Pomponius Atticus, as well as Greek ones.

³⁶⁵ Ameling 1983, I.136-51; N. M. Kennell, *CPh* 92, 1997, 346-62; Tobin 1997, 181-85; Rife 2008, 117-21.

³⁶⁶ Woloch 1973, 119-21; Tobin 1997, 99-107; Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 485-86.

³⁶⁷ S. Follet, *REG* 90, 1977, 48, followed by Ameling 1983, II.166-73, Knoepfler 2018, 351. The basis for this position is that Philostratos *Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 559 says that memorials like this herm were among the things Herodes was criticised for by the Quintilii, while they were proconsuls of Achaia, and *SEG* 29.127 shows that the Quintilii were in office in the 170s AD. But Philostratos does not say that the Quintilii were criticising Herodes for a recent act and many of the charges against Herodes that were live in the 170s went back decades. The addition of further curses to the inscription (discussed below) suggests that the controversy surrounding these monuments was long-running. Philostratos also states that the criticism related to Herodes' erection of memorials for all his wards, not those of Polydeukion specifically. Byrne, *RCA*, p. 516 bases his argument on the restoration of Dionysios' name in *Agora* XV 400+427, a prytany list which is firmly dated to the 150s AD by the names of the *aeisitai* in it.

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next to springs, and in the shade of plane trees, not secretly, but with curses against anyone demolishing or removing them” (*Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 559). This herm is one of these.

In total, twenty-six of these commemorative inscriptions are attested: fifteen herms, five bases, four stelai (some of which may be fragments from herms), and one plaque.³⁶⁸ Most of these monuments have been found around Marathon (ten) or Kephisia (eleven, including this one), where Herodes had estates, but further examples have been found at Rhamnous (*I Rhamnous* 160), on Euboia (*IG XII* 9, 134 and Eretria Museum no. 20211),³⁶⁹ and at Herodes’ villa at Eva-Loukou (*SEG* 36.349). Some have an initial section of text that is personalised (here ll. 1-4); all employ the same text for the curses, which seems to have been supplemented over time. Curse A (ll. 5-27) appears on all monuments. Subsequently Curse B (ll. 28-33) was added to most monuments, and finally Curse C (ll. 33-40), which forbade anyone from undertaking legal action against the monument.³⁷⁰ The process of supplementation is clear on the Ashmolean herm, on which the epigram for Polydeukion and Curse A appear to have been inscribed first, using all the available space on Face A (the front). When Curse B and C were added, there was no remaining space on the front, so they were inscribed on the right hand side (Face B), in a different, more irregular style, apparently by the same letter cutter who added this text to other herms. The monuments from Kephisia, like this one, form a group distinguished from those centred on Marathon by a number of textual variants: αὐτοῦς rather than αὐτὸν in l. 15, οὕτω rather than οὕτως in ll. 25-26, and ἐπιθέματα rather than ἐπιθήματα in ll. 28-29. This is the earliest group, erected after the death of Polydeukion and Herodes’ wife Regilla (*IG II*² 13200). Some of the other monuments in this group never had curses B or C added (*IG II*² 13197-13200). The Marathonian group are a little later; all were inscribed with curses A and B, but some lack C (*IG II*² 13206-13207, *SEG* 35.209). They were erected after the deaths of two additional wards, Achilles and Memnon (*IG II*² 13195-13196, *SEG* 35.210), but also include an additional monument for Polydeukion (*IG II*² 13190+3970, found at the Kato Souli spring near Marathon). In Eretria Museum no. 20211, all three curses were inscribed at once, separated by punctuation marks. The majority of the herms are anonymous or have lost the section of text that identified their honorand; presumably the portrait busts would have made it clear whom they were for. Although the head of the Ashmolean herm is lost, we have a clear idea of what it would have looked like, since more portraits survive from Antiquity of Polydeukion than of any other human outside the Imperial family. *Fig. 15a* below depicts one of these busts, *NM* 4811, which was found at Kephisia along with a bust of Herodes himself. A large votive plaque found at Eva-Loukou depicting Polydeukion as a hero is also on display at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, as *NM* 1450.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ *IG II*² 13188-13208, re-edited with additional monuments by Tobin 1997, 113-60, updated by Knoepfler 2018, 319-54.

³⁶⁹ *Editio princeps*: Knoepfler 2018, 334-42; this is a plaque, perhaps intended to front an altar.

³⁷⁰ Tobin 1997, 113-7; Knoepfler 2018, 347-54.

³⁷¹ Smith 1998, 79; Goette 2003. On *NM* 4811: E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 65, 1961, 299-300.

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Herodes' extreme grief at the loss of loved ones in general and Polydeukion in particular is commented on by a number of authors. Philostratos mentions it several times (*Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 557-58, 560-61), Lucian criticises it as unbecoming of a philosopher (*Demon.* 24, 33), and Fronto wrote consoling letters to Herodes in response to it, at the prompting of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (Fronto, *Epist. Graec.* 3, *Ad M. Caes.* i.6.7). Beyond expressing this grief, these monuments and their presentation of Herodes' relationship with Polydeukion were also part of Herodes' self-representation as sophist and aristocrat. The relationship seems to be modelled on the bond between man and youth presented in Plato's *Symposium*, which had recently been imitated by Emperor Hadrian and his youthful lover, Antinoos.³⁷² The term *trophimoi* ("boarders") used by Herodes to refer to his wards (*IG II²* 3969, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 558) was a learned reference to this model; it is the same term that was used for the non-citizens enrolled in the Spartan educational system (Xen. *Hell.* 5.3.9) and for the youths trained as philosopher-kings in Plato's ideal republic (Plat. *Rep.* 520d). The opening epigram of this inscription (ll. 1-4) in the Aeolic metre demonstrated Herodes' mastery of Greek

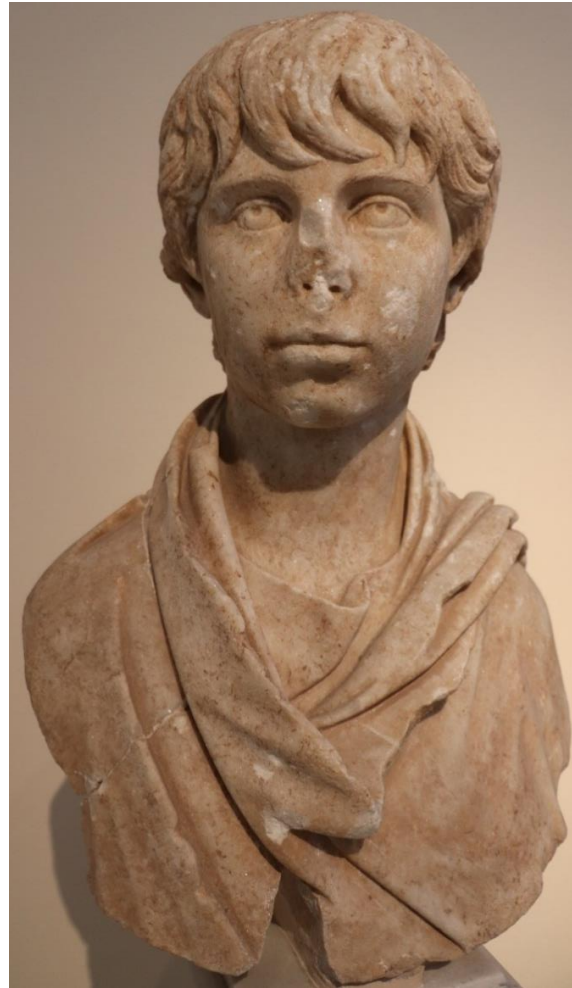


Fig. 15a. Bust of Polydeukion from Kephisia = NM 4811. The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Resources Fund. (Law 3028/2002).

literary forms; the same use of poetry to demonstrate *paideia* that is seen in [3](#), [6](#) and [16](#), but at a much more advanced level.³⁷³ The "crossroads" (*triadois*) on which it dwells was in Classical literature a metaphor for momentous decisions, lent particular power in this context by the association of crossroads with the deities of death, Hekate and Persephone. In particular, the theme recalls the popular allegory of the young Herakles at the crossroads deciding between virtue and vice with the help of philosophy (Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21-34),³⁷⁴ a decision that Polydeukion had been on the verge of making under the mentorship of Herodes. The idea is reinforced by the fact that herms were traditionally placed at crossroads (*Anth. Pal.* 9.314). As mentioned in [section 5](#), the herm was in regular use as a commemorative monument in Roman Greece, particularly for youths, and was considered particularly Attic, making it especially appropriate for Herodes to deploy in his Athenian guise. The emphasis on the close fellowship of the pair in the phrase, *σὺν σοὶ ἐπεστρεφόμην* ("I used to wander

³⁷² Tobin 1997, 105-6; Goette 2003, 552.

³⁷³ On poetry and *paideia* in this period, see Baumbach 2017, 493-503, with further references. Herodes also commissioned a poetic epitaph for his wife Regilla (*IG XIV* 1389).

³⁷⁴ Cf. S. Halliwell, *JHS* 106, 1986, 187-90.

with you”) is paralleled by the epigram on another of the Kephisian herms (*IG* II² 13201), which also has Spartan and Platonic resonances, καὶ ἐνθάδε συνεσιτοῦμεν καὶ συνεπισπένδομεν (“and here we used to dine together and make libations together”). Philostratos reports that the monuments focused on hunting (*Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 559). The present monument does not make any obvious reference to this (unless that is understood as the reason for the pair’s wandering), but such a reference does occur in *IG* II² 13196, which refers to another of the wards, Memnon, as “Artemis’ friend” (Artemis being the goddess of hunting).³⁷⁵

The prominent public profile which the herms for Polydeukion (and other *trophimoi*) gave to his private tragedies may have inflamed the charges of tyranny against him. The number of monuments Herodes erected goes far beyond that produced for any other private individual in the period and none of the monuments make reference to any permission from the People, Council or Areopagos for their erection (contrast [16](#) below). Philostratos reports that these specific monuments drew censure from the Quintilii, who were joint-proconsuls of Achaia and in conflict with Herodes in the period leading up to his trial at Sirmium (*Philost. Vit. Soph.* 2.1, 558-9). The curses on these monuments can be connected with this political dimension. From the Classical period curses are frequent in formal epigraphy, being used, for example, to reinforce civic decisions about public order (e.g. the “*Dirae Teae*,” OR 102), in treaties (e.g. [SEG 64.30b](#)), and in public oaths (e.g. [RO 88](#)). The curses in this document take the form of “conditional curses,” the most common type of curse in public documents. They are distinguished from the curses found on curse tablets in that they were publicly displayed, looked to prevent future action rather than punish past action, and tend to lack magical formulae like nonsense words and proclamations of binding.³⁷⁶ This type of curse was frequently incorporated into funerary inscriptions in Roman Asia Minor and Thrace, alongside legal threats, but is very unusual in Mainland Greece.³⁷⁷ Curse A looks far into the future, being directed at future owners of the land on which the herm was erected (l. 6), perhaps seeking to prevent the kind of reuse seen in [14](#). However, the addition of further curses suggests growing anxiety about the monuments’ safety and the focus on possible legal opposition to the monuments in Curse C (ll. 33-40) seems likely to be linked with Herodes’ developing legal conflicts.³⁷⁸ The curses appear to have worked. Although none of Herodes’ monuments survives entirely intact, they do not seem to have been defaced in antiquity – unlike the aforementioned tomb of Herodes himself (*IG* II² 6791). In the Medieval or Early Modern period, this herm was incorporated into a church or mosque. This may have been done simply because it was a convenient block of stone, but the incorporation of herms into Greek churches is so frequent that some scholars have proposed that they were intentionally used in the hope that they would lend their apotropaic powers to the buildings. That the curse

³⁷⁵ Xenophon and Herodes’ contemporary Arrian wrote handbooks which present hunting as an archetypal activity of the Greek aristocrat. The Emperor Hadrian appears in hunting scenes with his ward Antinoos in a series of *tondi* now found on the Arch of Constantine in Rome: P. A. Stadter, *GRBS* 17, 1976, 157-67.

³⁷⁶ See Versnel 2015, 453-59 with further references.

³⁷⁷ See Lattimore 1962, 108-18; Strubbe 1997. *IG* II² 10385, another conditional curse, is the exception that proves the rule, since it belonged to a foreign resident from Synnada in Phrygia. If the strange added inscription on [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\), no. 4](#) is a curse, it is more akin to a curse tablet, employing nonsense words and using the tomb as a source of power rather than protecting it.

³⁷⁸ Perhaps Herodes had in mind the famous mutilation of the Herms of 415 BC, connected closely by Thucydides with the legal persecution of Alkibiades by his enemies: Thuc. 6.27.

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inscription was left visible, for Dawkins and Wood to find in 1751, might be an indication that this was the intention in this case.³⁷⁹

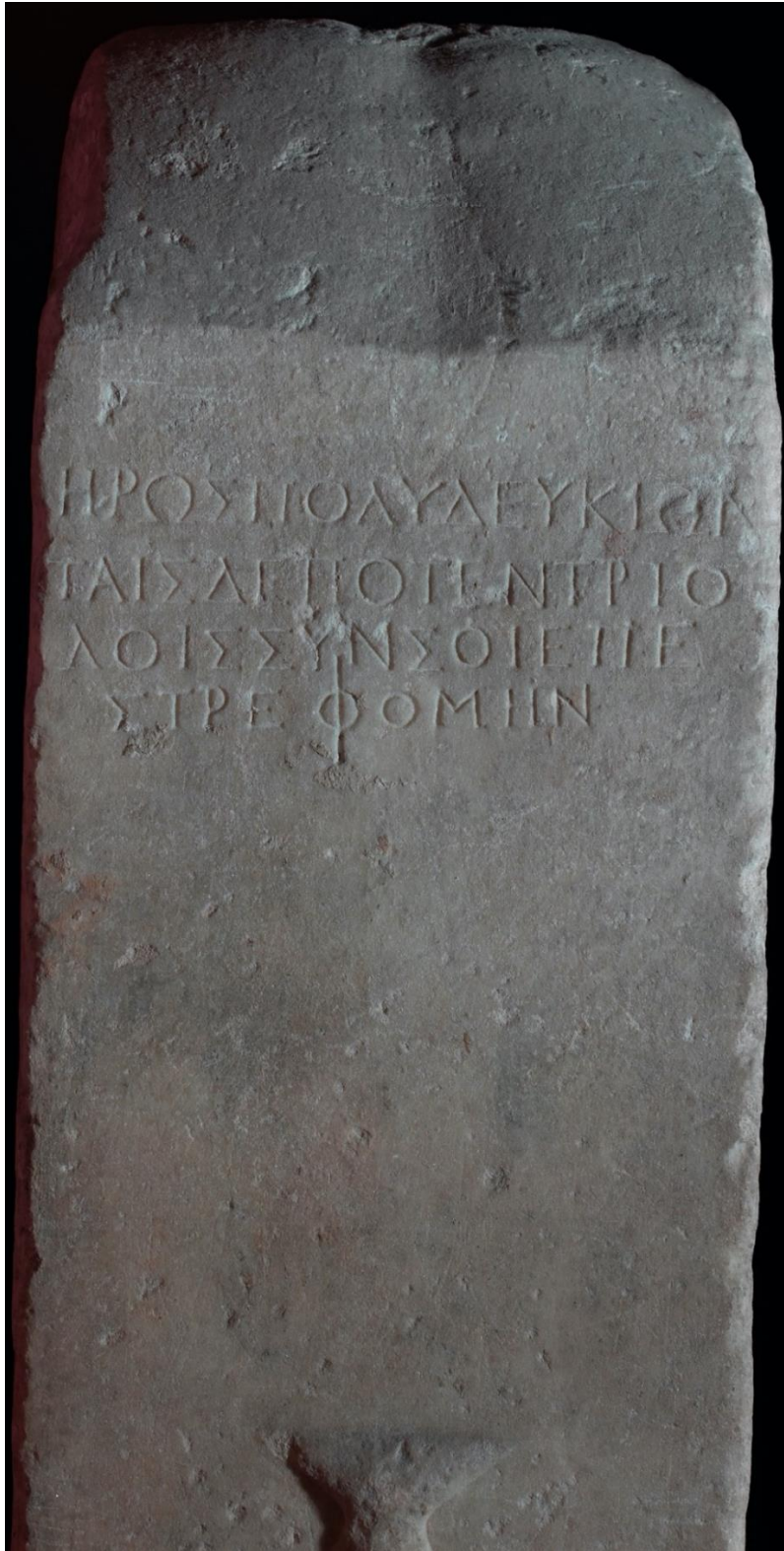


Fig. 15b. Face A, ll. 1-4 of **15** = ANChandler 2.60. © Ashmolean Museum.

³⁷⁹ Saradi 2011, 297-99. Cf. the veneration of a monumental *cistophorus* statue at Early Modern Eleusis: Palagia 1997, 83-85.

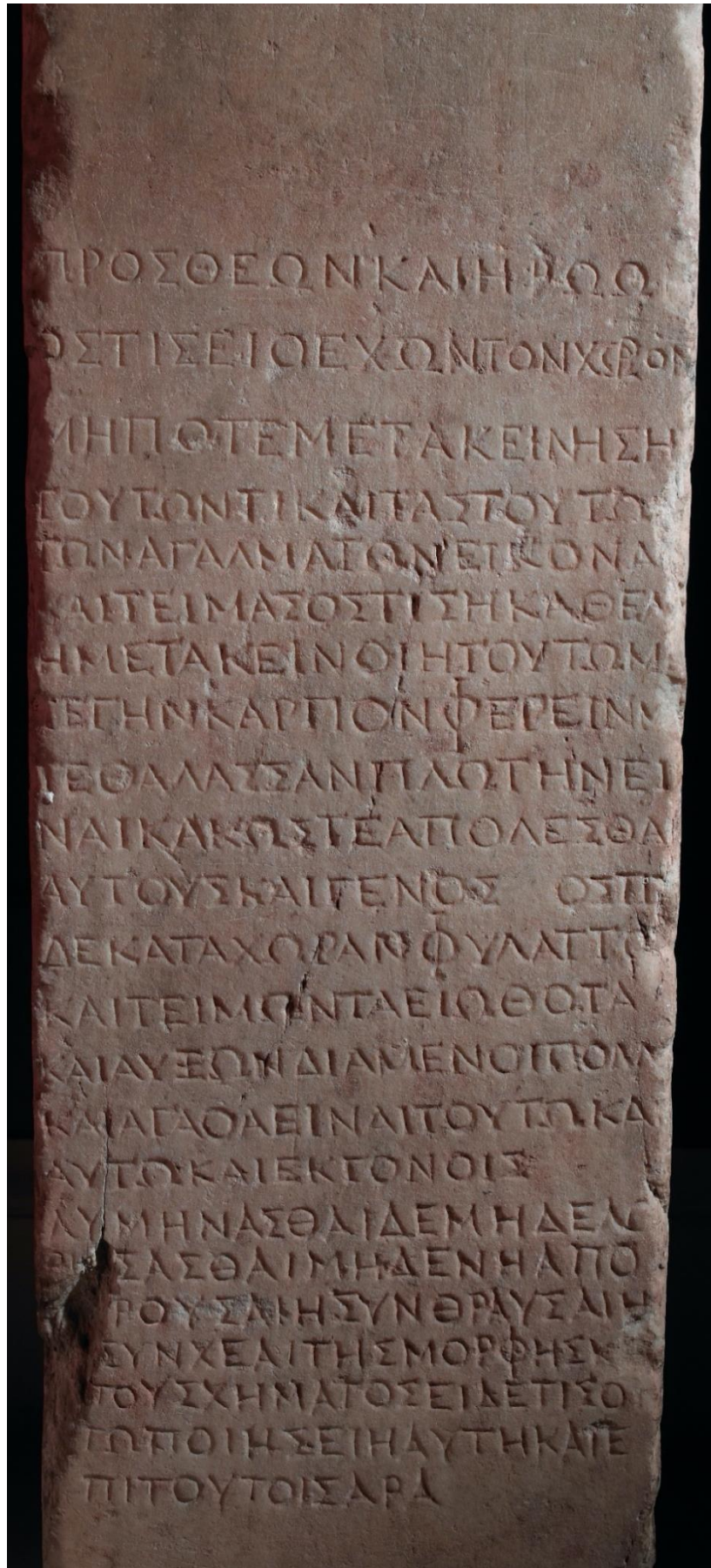


Fig. 15c. Face A, ll. 5-27 of 15 = ANChandler 2.60. © Ashmolean Museum.

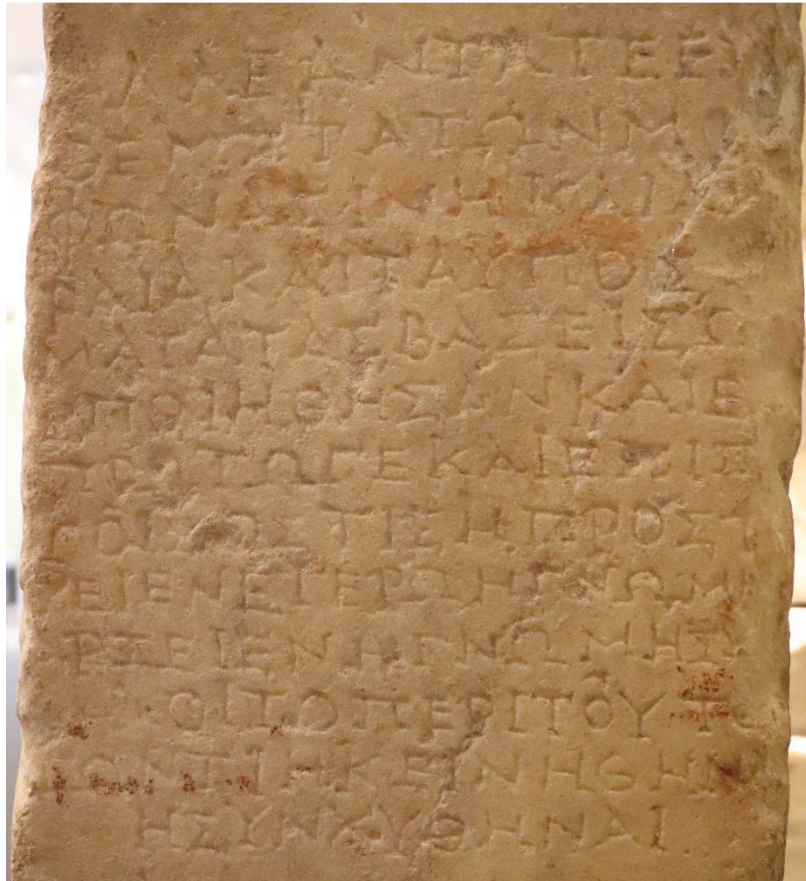


Fig. 15d. Inscribed section of Face B of **15** = ANChandler 2.60. © Ashmolean Museum.

16 POSTHUMOUS HONORIFIC HERM FOR AURELIUS APPHIANUS. ANChandler 2.61. Athens, acquired by Dawkins in 1751, near the “Tower of the Winds” (Chandler, II lxi, see [sect. 1](#)). Herm, intact on all sides, except missing head. Drapery around the neck and left shoulder, inscription above and below phallus. H. 1.44, w. 0.25, th. 0.26. Letter h. 0.017 (ll. 1-9), 0.011 (ll. 10-17). Characteristic square, non-cursive lettering of mid-ii-iii AD, very light serifs or apices, zeta = Ζ, pi = Π, omega = Ω, broken-bar alpha (Α), slight hyperextension of right diagonal of Α/Δ/Λ, vertical and crossbar of Ξ form a loop, Μ/Σ never splayed, elongated verticals of Φ/Ψ.

Eds. Chandler 1763, 109, no. lxi (dr.) (*CIG* I 427; Michaelis, p. 584, no. 178; Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 39, no. 114); *IG* III 751 + add. p. 502; *IG* II² 3765 (Vérilhac 1978, I.204-6, no. 136); Wilson 1992, pp. 140-41, no. E.067.

Cf. Follet 1976, 239-40 (*SEG* 26.248). Autopsy, de Lisle 2019. On display (Greek and Roman Sculpture gallery). *Fig.* 16a-b.

234/5 AD (?)	ψηφισαμένης τῆς [ἐ]ξ Ἀρείου πάγου βου- λῆς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ κοσμητοῦ Ἐ Αὐρ(ήλιον)
5	Ἀφφιανὸν Χρήστου Μαραθῶνιον οἱ περὶ τὸ Διογένειον συνάρχοντες ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.
	<i>phallus</i>
10	ὅστις καὶ τίνας εἰμὶ τὰ πρόσθεν γράμματα φράζε[ι]. ἀμφὶ δ' ἐμῆς μοίρης πᾶς ἔδάκρυσεν λεῶς, οὔνεκεν οὐκ ἔφθην
15	χλαῖναν περὶ αὐχέγι θέσθα[ι] κώμῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῳ παυσάμενος βίότου.

The Council of the
Areopagos having decreed it,
the college of magistrates
of the Diogeneion
(5) (erected this for) the son of the
superintendent, Aurelius
Apphianos son of Chrestos
of Marathon,
on account of his excellence.

phallus

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(10) Who I am and whose son I am, the
letters on the front declare,
but about my fate, the whole
host sheds tears,
since I had not yet
(15) placed the cloak around my neck,
when I departed from life,
in most holy revel.

This herm was set up to commemorate Aurelius Apphianos, a young man who died shortly before he was due to pass through the ephebate. Apphianos was also honoured by the Areopagos with a bronze statue in the Agora (*Agora XVIII* 145). Apphianos' father, Aurelius Chrestos son of Apphianos was the superintendent (*kosmetes*) of the ephebes for the year, and also appears in the official ephebic catalogue for the year (*IG II² 2235*, cf. [10](#)), which does not mention Apphianos in its surviving portions. This catalogue gives the eponymous archon for the year, Epiktetos of Acharnai. Simone Follet has proposed associating that inscription with a fragment which would place it in the year of the 30th Panathenaia (235/6 AD for Follet and Byrne, revised to 234/5 AD by Shear). This association is not universally accepted, but prosopography supports a date in the 230s AD.³⁸⁰ The findspot suggests that the herm originally stood in the Diogeneion, the gymnasium that served as the ephebes' headquarters, which is believed to have been located near the Tower of the Winds and hosted a large number of portrait herms, commemorating superintendents and other ephebic officials (see [6](#) for a possible example, and [IG II² 3739](#) with notes on AIO). As mentioned in [section 5](#), herms were particularly fitting monuments for people associated with the ephebate because Hermes was one of the patron deities of the gymnasium.³⁸¹ Herms for ephebes are rare, but not unattested. At least one ephebic portrait herm was explicitly erected for a deceased ephebe (*IG II² 3754*), as were two monuments in other formats (*IG II² 3743, 3746*).

The herm was erected in accordance with a decree of the Areopagos (ll. 1-3), a Council composed of men who had held one of the nine chief annual magistracies of Athens: eponymous archon, king archon (*basileus*), polemarch, and the six court presidents (*thesmothetai*). These men, known as "Areopagites," served on the Council for life. The Areopagos had existed in Athens since the Archaic period and maintained an amorphous responsibility for maintaining moral standards throughout the Classical period (cf. [RO 79](#)). In Imperial times it achieved a pre-eminent position in Athens. It possessed wide-ranging judicial powers and joined the Council of 650/500 and People as one of the three main decree-issuing bodies of the Athenians. These three bodies could issue decrees together or separately, as in this case.³⁸² The Areopagos was treated as analogous to the Councils of ex-magistrates in Roman communities – the Senate of Rome and the Curiae of Roman *coloniae* and *municipia* (autonomous Roman communities). Members of these Roman Councils and their families belonged to a distinct "class" (Latin: *ordo*) – the Senatorial class in Rome and

³⁸⁰ Follet 1976, 453-54; Byrne, *RCA*, p. 534. The association is rejected by E. Kapetanopoulos, *Studies Mylonas* iii (1989), p. 261-70. Panathenaic year: Shear 2012.

³⁸¹ See de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 0.1 (Diogeneion), 1.4 (portrait herms).

³⁸² Geagan 1967, 41-61. Cf. [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 17](#), with commentary. For an inscribed decree of the Areopagos see [AIUK 4.3A \(BM\), no. 10](#).

the Curial class in *coloniae* and *municipia*. In the second century the “Areopagites” became a similarly privileged group (*SEG* 24.200).³⁸³ The pre-eminent position of the Areopagos is shown by the fact that when all three bodies issue decrees together it is always listed first (e.g. *IG II³ 4, 415*) and by the epithet “most reverend” (*semnotatos*) increasingly attached to it and its members from the mid-second century AD onwards (e.g. *IG II² 3699*). Individuals or groups (in this case Chrestos’ subordinates) wishing to erect honorific monuments in civic spaces, like the Agora and the Diogeneion, seem to have been required to seek permission. The most prestigious honorands, such as Emperors and prominent Romans, received grants from all three decision-making bodies, but for Athenians grants were usually given by the Areopagos alone.³⁸⁴

Apphianos’ family appears to have been an upwardly mobile one. His father, Chrestos, was a regular ephebe along with his brother Apphianos in the late second century AD (*IG II² 2123*, ll. 21-22). The fact that Chrestos and his brother did not perform any liturgies as ephebes suggests that they did not belong to a particularly wealthy family. Chrestos subsequently served as controller (*sophronistes*) in 219/20 AD (*IG II² 2223*, l. 25) and a relative, Aurelius Apphianos son of Demetrios, served as deputy controller (*hyposophronistes*) in 215/6 AD (*IG II² 2208*, l. 20). As discussed in [10](#), these positions were not especially high-status ones. Chrestos did not bear the Roman *nomen* Aurelius when he passed through the ephebate, indicating that the family were among those who received their Roman citizenship only in 212 AD when the Emperor Caracalla extended citizenship to all free individuals in the Roman empire with the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. As discussed in [10](#), most families in the elite class of Athenians who held archonships and sat on the Areopagos had received Roman citizenship by the late second century AD; the fact that Chrestos’ family did not suggests that they were outside that elite class. The name Apphianos, borne by the honorand of this herm and his grandfather, is derived from the Latin *praenomen* Appius combined with the Latin suffix *-amus*, common in Greek names from the second century AD (The transliteration of Latin “p, t, k” with Greek “φ, θ, χ” occurs occasionally in inscriptions throughout the Imperial period).³⁸⁵ The use of Roman *praenomina* and *cognomina* as personal names, referred to by modern scholars as *nomina nuda* (“bare names”) occurred in the Greek East from the second century BC onwards. It does not indicate Roman citizen status and is not correlated with a particular social status.³⁸⁶ Chrestos’ attainment of the role of ephebic superintendent was thus a significant achievement. This social mobility is important for contextualising this monument. As discussed in relation to [6](#) and [10](#), the sons of the superintendent often went through the ephebate in their father’s year of office and distinguished themselves by performing ephebic liturgies like the gymnasiarchy and the games-sponsorship. This provided the families with an opportunity to introduce their next generation to public life and showcase the successful transition of their family from one generation to the next.³⁸⁷ Apphianos’ death before completing the ephebate turned this public triumph into a tragedy.

³⁸³ Geagan 1967, 38-39; G. Woolf, *PCPS* 40, 1994, 134. A similar assimilation to the Roman civic structure took place in the cities of Asia Minor, with the development of a “conciliar order” (*bouleutike taxis*); Zuiderhoek 2009, 14-15, 60-66.

³⁸⁴ Geagan 1967, 41-48.

³⁸⁵ Threatte I, 468-69.

³⁸⁶ Rizakis 1996, 21-23; Balzat 2019, 218-30.

³⁸⁷ See also de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.8.

6. Funerary Monuments: The Inscriptions

The herm emphasises however that this was a public tragedy, afflicting a prestigious family to the detriment of the whole community. The chief indication of this is the very fact of public commemoration: both this herm and the base, *Agora XVIII 145*, stress the role of the Areopagos Council in their erection. This represented official recognition of the loss by the most prestigious decision-making body in the city and the one most closely associated with the elite. It must also represent the outcome of more extended discussion – at the very least, an appeal to the Council by the ephebic magistrates, deliberation in the Council, and the promulgation of a decree. As was normal in the Roman period, the full decree is not inscribed – it could be consulted in the city archives – but given that it made provision for this herm and the base *Agora XVIII 145*, it may also have made provision for other tokens of recognition, such as a public reading of the decree (cf. [AIUK 4.2 \(BM\), no. 16](#), ll. 55-57). The same idea of public tragedy is emphasised by the phrase, “the whole host shed tears” (ll. 12-13), a common expression used to create an emotional community.³⁸⁸

The other way in which the inscription asserts the family’s status is through the use of poetry to demonstrate the family’s *paideia* (education and culture), a phenomenon also seen in [3](#), [6](#), and [15](#).³⁸⁹ The epigram is a set of two elegiac couplets (ll. 10-17), and deploys standard poetic *topoi* and vocabulary. Most notable is the opening line, which uses the first person singular to place the poem in the mouth of the deceased and is couched as the answer to a question about his identity, creating an imaginary dialogue between the viewer and the deceased. This was a topos of funerary epigraphy from the Archaic period onwards (cf. [IG I³ 1503](#)). The cloak (*chlaina*) in l. 15 must be the ephebic cloak (called a *chlamys* in prose). “Putting on” and “taking off the cloak” were standard terms for enrolling in and graduating from the ephebate (e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 752F, Artem. *Oneir.* 1.54). In art, ephebes are usually represented as naked except for this chlamys around their neck and shoulder. Apphianos’ cloak is also represented visually by the drapery around the herm’s neck and shoulder, which is seen on other ephebic herms as well (e.g. [IG II² 2241](#)). A very similar idea occurs in [IG XII 6, 2.1253](#), a contemporary funerary monument from Ikaros: “Poor child! He had not yet thrown the cloak around his body, nor seen Hermes presiding over the gymnasium.”³⁹⁰ The “most holy revel” in which Apphianos lost his life is an example of poetic vocabulary – ἡγᾶθεος (“most holy”) is a word found only in early poetry (e.g. Homer *Il.* 1.252, 21.58, *Od.* 2.308, 4.599; Hesiod *Theog.* 499). It is debatable whether the poet has used it effectively, since in those poets it is only ever used as an epithet for places.³⁹¹ The “revel” (κῶμος) that was the occasion of Apphianos’ death could refer to a drunken party (e.g. Aristoph. *Pl.* 1039-40) but also to the procession that came before and after those parties, including those in celebration of athletic victors (e.g. Pind. *O.* 4.9). This athletic dimension seems most likely to be the focus here; death during a moment of celebration adds a tragic note and it seems unlikely that an honorific epitaph would draw attention to a death at a drunken party or characterise the ephebate – an institution intended to inculcate youths with self-control (*sophrosyne*) – as such.

³⁸⁸ Chaniotis 2016, 106, citing [IG II² 7447](#) and other comparanda.

³⁸⁹ On poetry and *paideia*, see Baumbach 2017, 493-503, with further references.

³⁹⁰ VÉrillhac 1978, II pp. 165-66; Ph. Gauthier, *Chiron* 15, 1985, 156; de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), 2020, section 3.1.

³⁹¹ VÉrillhac 1978, I p. 206.

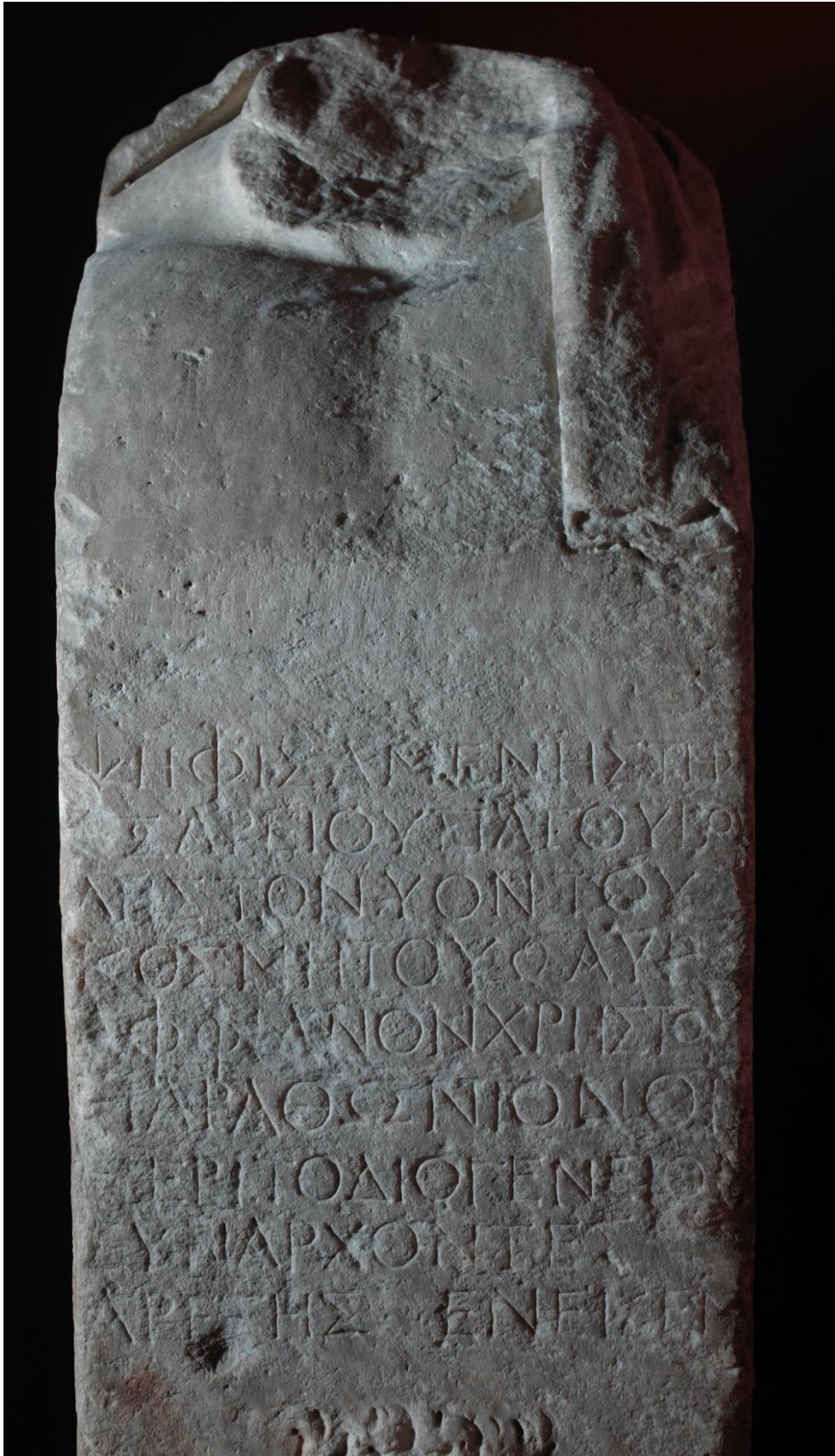


Fig. 16a. Upper section of **16** = ANChandler 2.61. © Ashmolean Museum.

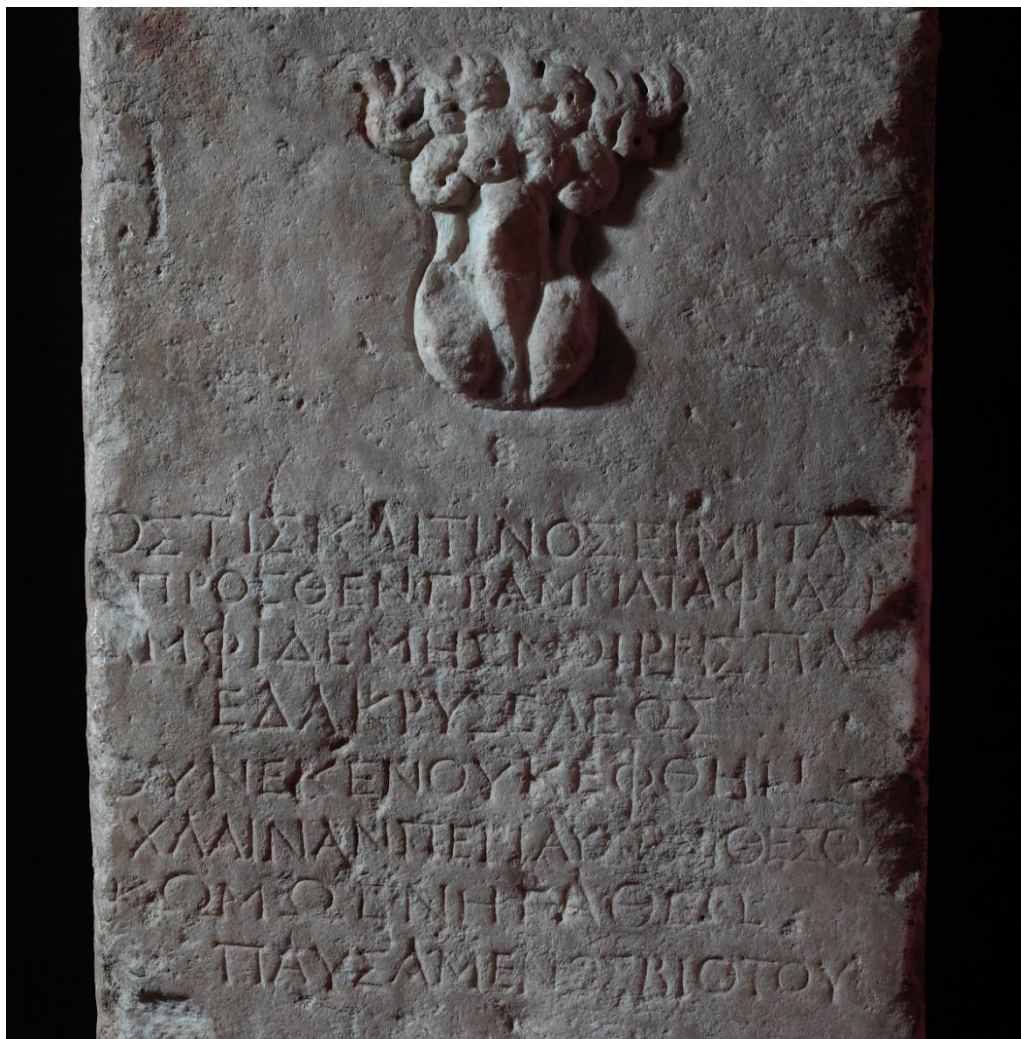


Fig. 16b. Lower section of 16 = ANChandler 2.61. © Ashmolean Museum.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1. HONORIFIC DEDICATION FOR RUFIOUS FESTUS. AN 1951.476. Early modern forgery. White marble plaque, with splotches of discoloration. Intact on all sides, except for a chip at bottom left. H. 0.26, w. 0.30, th. 0.03. Letter h. 0.011-0.013.

Eds. Ainsworth, *Kempiana* (1720), 44, no. 35 (dr.).

Cf. R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae* (1774), p. xxiv and 19; L. A. Muratori *Novus Thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* (1740), 560 and 567; E. Corsini, *Fasti Attici* (1744), 380-84; *CIG* I, pp. 435-36; Sironen 1997, 67, n. 91. Autopsy, de Lisle 2019. In store. Fig. 17a-e.

1679-1695 AD?

τὸν λαμπρότατον
ἀνθύπατον τῆς Ἑλλάδος
Ρούφιον Φῆστον καὶ Ἄρε-
οπαγείτην ἢ ἐξ Ἀρέου πάγου
5 βουλή καὶ ἡ βουλή
τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ ὁ
δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων εὐνο-
ίας ἕνεκα καὶ εὐεργε-
σίας τῆς περὶ τὴν πόλιν
10 ἀνέστησεν προνοοῦντος
Φλαβίου Πρυλάδου

The prototype of this forgery is *IG* II² 5, 13274, which opens with ἀγ]αθῆ τύχη before l. 1 || 10-11 underlined letters differ from the prototype, which ends προνοία Φλαβίου Πομ(πείου) δαδούχου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καὶ ἀπὸ κομίτων (“through the management of Flavius Pompeius the dadouch, *vir perfectissimus*, and *comes*”).

(In honour of) the most brilliant
proconsul of Greece
and Areopagite,
Rufius Festus, the Council
(5) of the Areopagos and the Council
of the Three Hundred and the
People of the Athenians, for his
goodwill and beneficence
towards the City,
(10) set this up, with Flavius
Prylades managing it.

This inscription is an early modern forgery, modelled on a late fourth-century AD honorific inscription (*IG* II² 5, 13274 = *IG* II² 4222), which is among the very last inscriptions to mention functionaries of the Eleusinian mysteries (cf. 3). The stone of the prototype is now in the Acropolis Museum in Athens (no. MA 13247) and was visible throughout the early

modern period near the entrance to the Acropolis, where it was transcribed by Cyriacus of Ancona in 1436 and by Spon and Wheler in 1676.³⁹²

When Cyriacus of Ancona transcribed *IG II² 5, 13274*, he found it difficult to read and made a number of errors: he excluded the first line, rendered Flavius' name incorrectly, as ΠΟΥΔΑΔΟΥ · ΑΛΟΥ, and left out καὶ ἀπὸ κομίτων.³⁹³ E. Sironen has outlined how an increasingly corrupt textual tradition developed in the following centuries as the text was included in various corpora with further errors and attempted corrections.³⁹⁴ The first stage in this process was the presentation of the text in Petrus Apianus and Bartholomaeus Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534), cccclxxxviii on an imaginary base (Fig. 17a). This version corrected some of Cyriacus' errors, but also introduced new ones, including ΠΡΟΝΟΙΟΣ for ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ and the non-existent name ΠΡΥΔΑΔΟΥ. Then Johan Gruter included the inscription in his *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani in absolutissimum corpus redactae* I.2 (1602-1603), p. 464, no. 7 (Fig. 17b), with further modifications: ΠΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ and ΠΡΥΛΑΔΟΥ. Gruter is explicit that his source for the inscription was Apianus' work, not autopsy. His text is identical with that on the Ashmolean inscription, including the line divisions, except that the last two lines of Gruter's text are absent from the Ashmolean stone. It is thus clear that the text of the forgery developed in the manuscript tradition. Both Gruter's version of the text and that of Apianus were reproduced by John Selden in *De synedriis et praefecturis iuridicis veterum Ebraeorum* (1653), p. 217 (Fig. 17c), with a note that Gruter's version was preferable.

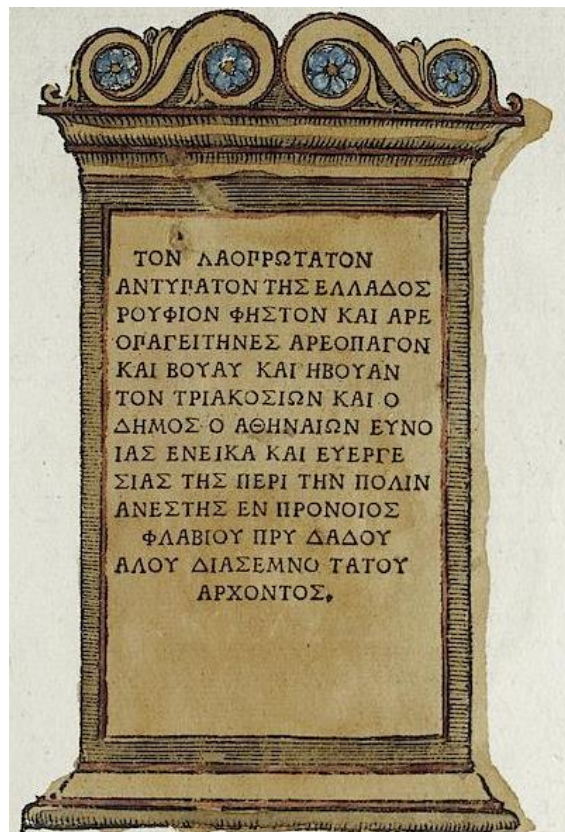


Fig. 17a. P. Apianus and B. Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (1534), cccclxxxviii.

³⁹² Bodnar 1960, 173; Spon, *Voyage*, 18; Wheler, *MS* p. 55 n. 229.

³⁹³ Bodnar 1960, 134 and 173.

³⁹⁴ Sironen 1997, 67 n. 91.

7
Athenis.

ΤΟΝ ΔΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΑΤΟΝ. ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ
ΡΟΥΦΙΟΝ. ΦΗΣΤΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕ
ΟΠΑΓΕΙΤΗΝ. Η. ΕΒ. ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΟΥ
ΒΟΥΛΗ. ΚΑΙ. Η. ΒΟΥΛΗ
ΤΩΝ. ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ. ΚΑΙ. Ο
ΔΗΜΟΣ. Ο. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. ΕΤΝΟ
ΙΑΣ. ΕΝΕΚΑ. ΚΑΙ. ΕΤΕΡΓΕ
ΣΙΑΣ. ΤΗΣ. ΠΕΡΙ. ΤΗΝ. ΠΟΛΙΝ
ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ. ΠΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ. ΠΡΥΤΑΔΟΥ
ΤΑΔΟΥ. ΔΙΑ. ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ

Ex Apiano.

* Haec inscriptio refertur potest ad Rufum Festum Avienum
Azateorum interpretem, vide Spon, miscel. p. 99. & Fabric.
c. x. p. 742. & ibi eius notas, vide & Meuri. de Arcop. c. 7.
b An ΠΥΤΑΔΟΥ? Rein. c Rein. l. ΔΙΑΧΜΟΤΑΤΟΥ.

† Remae juxta Sanctum Nicolaum de Forthiteribus in re-
giosa Columnae in basi statuae.

ΤΟΝ ΔΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΑΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ
ΡΟΥΦΙΟΝ ΦΗΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕ
ΟΠΑΓΕΙΤΗΝΕΣ ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΟΝ
ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ
ΤΟΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ο
ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΝΟ
ΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΓΕ
ΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ
ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ ΠΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ ΠΡΥΤΑΔΟΥ
ΑΔΟΥ ΔΙΑΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.

Quae ab Jano Grutero¹ correctius sic transcribitur, ² Diff. in. fol.
464, 7.

ΤΟΝ ΔΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΑΤΟΝ. ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ
ΡΟΥΦΙΟΝ. ΦΗΣΤΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕ
ΟΠΑΓΕΙΤΗΝ. Η. ΕΒ. ΑΡΕΟ
ΠΑΓΟΥ. ΒΟΥΛΗ. ΚΑΙ. Η. ΒΟΥΛΗ.
ΤΩΝ. ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ. Ο
ΔΗΜΟΣ. Ο. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ. ΕΤΝΟ
ΙΑΣ. ΕΝΕΚΑ. ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΓΕ
ΣΙΑΣ. ΤΗΣ. ΠΕΡΙ. ΤΗΝ. ΠΟΛΙΝ
ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ. ΠΡΟΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ
ΦΛΑΒΙΟΥ. ΠΡΥΤΑΔΟΥ
ΤΑ. ΤΟΥ. ΤΑΔΟΥ ΔΙΑ. ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.

Fig. 17b. Johan Gruter, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani in absolutissimum corpus redactae* I.2 (1602-1603) p. 464, no. 7 (left). Fig. 17c. John Selden in *De synedriis et praefecturis iuridicis veterum Ebraeorum* (1653), p. 217 (right).

Either Gruter or (less likely) Selden might have served as the model for the Ashmolean plaque, which is first recorded in print in 1720 in Ainsworth's catalogue of the collection of John Kemp (p. 44, no. 35). Already in 1740, Lodovico Antonio Muratori made the connection between the inscription presented by Gruter and *IG II*² 5, 13274, which he had seen in Athens, and questioned the authenticity of Gruter's inscription. The Ashmolean plaque was specifically identified as a forgery by Chandler in 1774 and by Boeckh in *CIG*.

This is not the only forgery from the Kemp collection – Boeckh identifies Ainsworth, *Kempiana*, p. 45, no. 40 as another, imitating *IG II*² 6419 (also known to Western European scholars since Cyriacus of Ancona and now embedded in the Little Metropolis Church in Athens). From Ainsworth's sketch this fake appears to have the same dimensions as the Ashmolean forgery.³⁹⁵ *IG II*² 5902, a first-century AD grave stone transcribed by Spon at Eleusis, also appears on Ainsworth p. 45, as no. 41.³⁹⁶ This forgery was rediscovered in London in 1810, being used by a butcher as a chopping block and a facsimile of it is included in an account of the last days and death of Professor Richard Porson (*Fig. 17d*).³⁹⁷ This shows that it was the same size as the Ashmolean forgery and was inscribed by the same hand. Especially notable shared features are the small omicron and theta, the splayed mu and sigma and the general lack of serifs. The Ashmolean forgery also features pi with verticals of uneven length. All of these features are characteristic of much earlier periods than the supposed dates of the inscriptions. The three Kemp forgeries thus appear to have been created together as a set, of which the Ashmolean forgery appears now to be the sole survivor. As discussed in [section 1](#), the Kemp collection was largely formed before 1695 by the Calvinist propagandist Jean Gailhard. The text of *IG II*² 5902 was only known in western Europe after

³⁹⁵ *CIG I*, p. 502, no. 652; Bodnar 1960, 179.

³⁹⁶ Spon, *Voyage III.2*, p. 102; *CIG I*, p. no. 614. Byrne, *RCA*, pp. 147-48 for the date.

³⁹⁷ A. Clarke, *The Classical Journal* 2, 1810, 720-42, at 720.

the publication of Spon's book in 1678. Thus the set of forgeries were probably manufactured in the 1680s or early 1690s.

This is a very early date for the forgery of Greek inscriptions. Forged Latin inscriptions, however, are already attested at this date, especially in Italy.³⁹⁸ One of the earliest examples is the set of Latin inscriptions created by Pirro Ligorio for his patron Cardinal Pio da Carpi between 1550 and 1551 to meet his patron's appetite for inscriptions relating to ancient occupations or bearing his own name (*CIL* VI.3, 16171, a Latin inscription from this collection, for a L. Cornelius Carpus, which also passed through the Kemp collection and into the Ashmolean, is apparently not a forgery). This case illustrates the profit that people with the knowledge to produce convincing forgeries could make from collectors.³⁹⁹ The production of forgeries increased in the seventeenth and especially eighteenth centuries with the publication of more anthologies of inscriptions (clearly a factor with the Kemp inscriptions, all of which were derived from anthologies) and the increase in demand that accompanied the rise of the Grand Tour. This aspect too is probably at work with the Kemp forgeries, given that they were probably acquired (or manufactured?) by Jean Gailhard while serving as a bear-leader, a guide to Grand Tourists. The forgery of inscriptions developed into an industry alongside the trade in forged coins and medallions, but it was never as lucrative, owing to the comparative bulkiness of inscriptions. Probably to counteract this, forged inscriptions tend to be relatively compact marble plaques, as with this inscription. This format was very suitable for forgeries of Roman *columbarium* inscriptions, but rather less appropriate for an Attic honorific inscription. The Ashmolean forgery is thus the sole surviving example of a set, which stand at an early stage in the development of the trade in forged inscriptions – an important part of early modern engagement with and commodification of Antiquity.

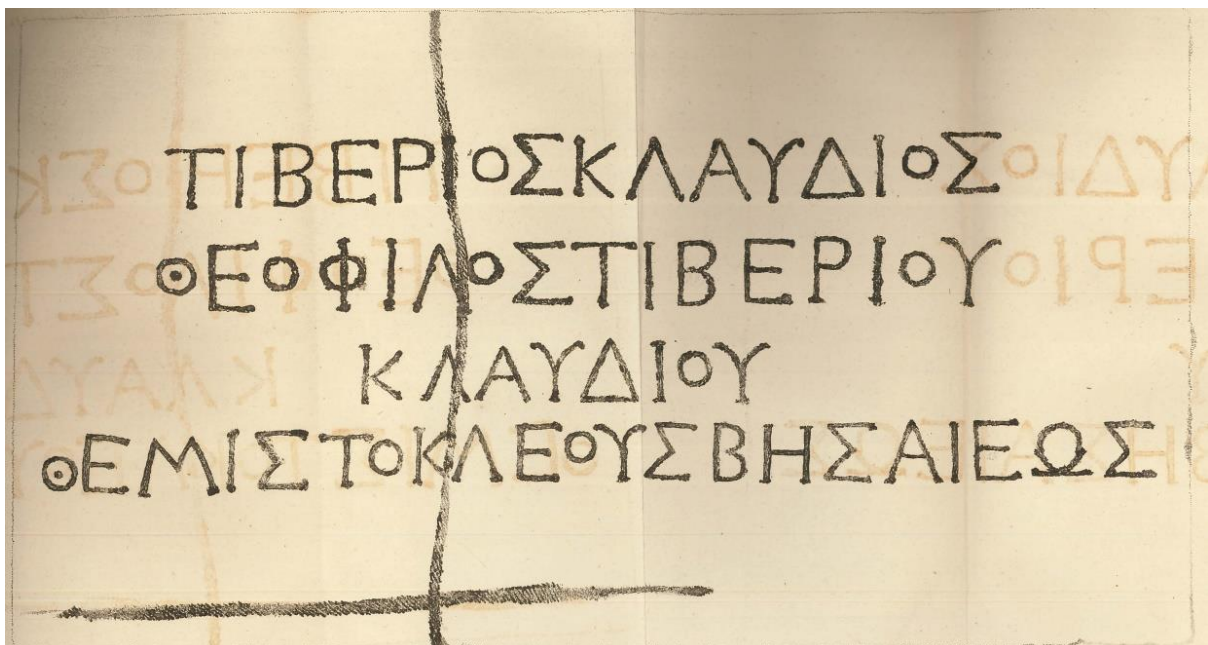


Fig. 17d. Facsimile of Ainsworth, p. 45, no. 41, in A. Clarke, *The Classical Journal* 2, 1810, 720.

³⁹⁸ Caldelli 2014, 48-54. AshLI, *Monumental*, p. 231-32.

³⁹⁹ Stenhouse 2005, 89-93.

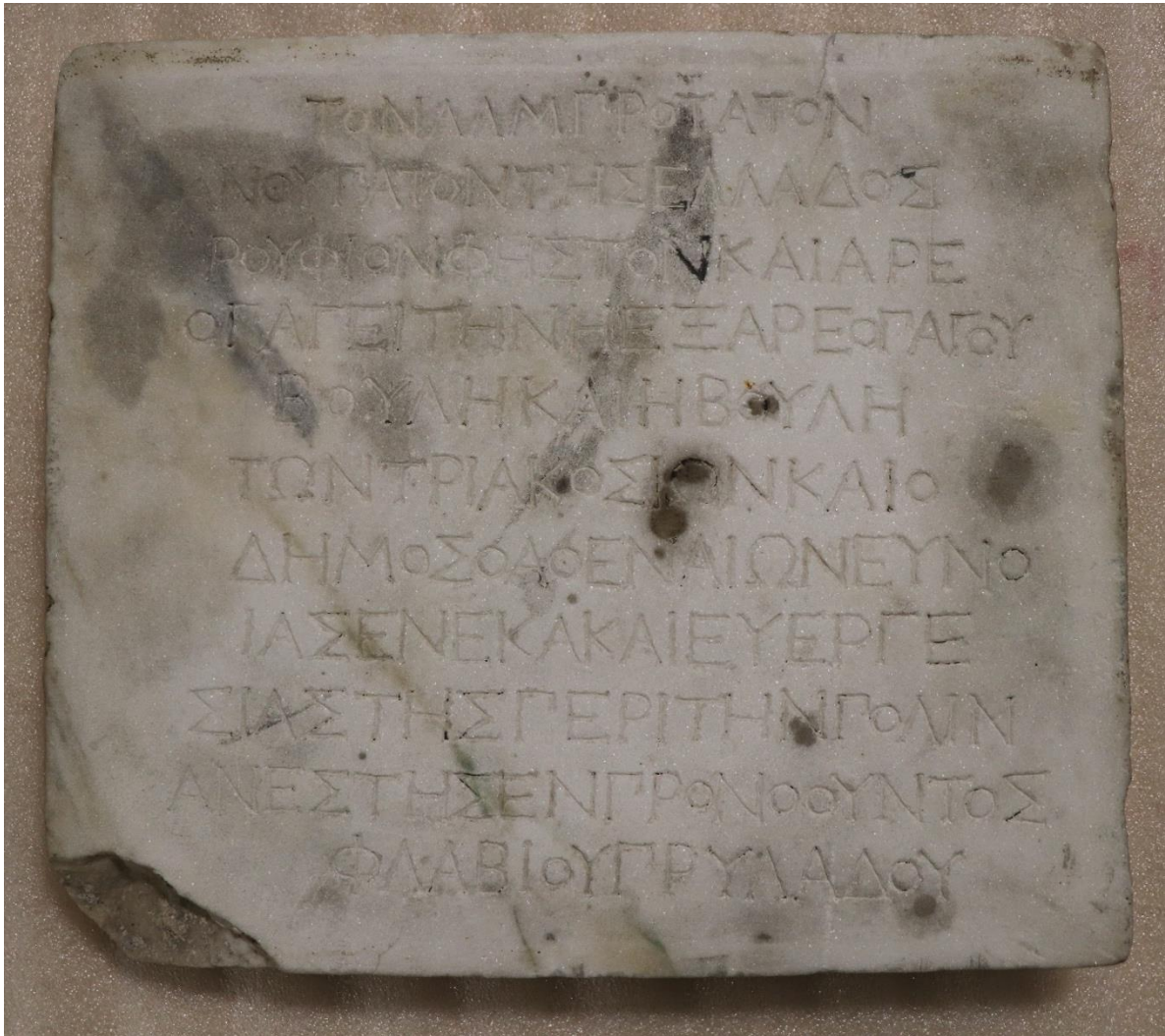


Fig. 17e. Appendix 1 = AN 1951.476.