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PREFACE

The collection of Greek and Roman antiquities in the Fitzwilliam Museum contains illuminating examples of three major categories of Attic inscription: Assembly decrees (**1**, **2**), sanctuary accounts (**3**), and private funerary monuments (**4-9**). **1**, an Athenian treaty with Halieis of 424/3 BC, is an important historical document, supplementing Thucydides' account of Athenian relations with the cities of the Argive peninsula in the Archidamian War. We supply here an up-to-date edition of both the Cambridge fragment and the other fragments still in Athens, reflecting the substantial improvements to the text achieved by Angelos Matthaiou in his 2009 PhD thesis. **2** is a figurative relief from the top of an inscribed decree. We make an argument that it may be from an Athenian decree of ca. 350-325 BC (perhaps 331 BC) relating to Sparta, rather than, as previously thought, a decree of or relating to Sigeion in the Troad. The accounts of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos of 377/6-374/3 BC (**3**) comprise the "Sandwich marble", which has been in Cambridge since the eighteenth century, and another fragment, still in Athens. Our publication in effect updates the standard English language edition of this important document of sanctuary management, RO 28, not least in the light of Veronique Chankowski's comprehensive 2008 study of the administration of the sanctuary. The private funerary monuments, **4-9**, fortuitously include representative examples of six different major types. I take the opportunity to preface the new editions of the individual monuments with a brief general discussion of private Attic funerary commemoration which will function as a point of reference for future AIUK volumes and for AIO more broadly (section 3). Among the fresh observations on individual monuments are a new suggestion about the pose of the figure depicted in **6**, the identification of a historical context for **7**, and new interpretative points on **4**, **5** and **9**. As with previous AIUK volumes, we are releasing at the same time more lightly annotated versions of the inscriptions on the AIO main site.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous contributions of several people to the production of this volume of AIUK. First and foremost I am extremely grateful to Anastasia Christophilopoulou and the other staff of the Fitzwilliam Museum, including the photographic department, for unstinting curatorial support and engagement, before, during and after my visit to the Museum in May 2018, and to Susanne Turner, who facilitated access to the squeezes of **1** held in the Cambridge Classics Faculty Museum. For helping to improve drafts at various stages I express warm thanks to Josine Blok, Peter Liddel, Polly Low, Angelos P. Matthaiou, S. Douglas Olson, Robin Osborne, Robert Pitt, P. J. Rhodes, and my Cardiff colleague, Ruth Westgate, who also kindly showed me relevant extracts from a descriptive catalogue of the inscriptions in the Fitzwilliam which she prepared in 1988/89. For advice on issues relating to the interpretation of **9** I am much indebted to Jaime Curbera, Tim Parkin and Lene Rubinstein; for discussion of **7** to Peter Fawcett; for work behind the scenes on formatting and encoding to Irene Vagionakis; for the cover design to Hugh Griffiths.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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

APF: J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971).

APMA 4: O. Vizyenou, Ἀρχεῖον τῶν μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς 4 (Conze) (2007).

Athenian Onomasticon: version of vol. II (Attica) of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* regularly updated online at seangb.org.

Beard: M. Beard, “Cambridge’s ‘Shrine of the Muses’: the Display of Classical Antiquities in the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1848-1898”, in *Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam*, 289-308.

Budde and Nicholls: L. Budde and R. V. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (1964).

Bull. ép: *Bulletin épigraphique*, part of the *Revue des Études Grecques*, published annually.

Burn: L. Burn, “Introduction: Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam Museum”, in *Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam*, 285-87.

CIG: A. Boeckh ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I [including Attica] 1828, II 1843, III [with J. Franz] 1853, IV *Indices* [H. Roehl] 1877).

Clairmont, *CAT*: C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 8 vols. (1993, suppl. vol. 1995).

Clarke, *Marbles*: E. D. Clarke, *Greek Marbles Brought from the Shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean and Deposited in the Vestibule of the Public Library of the University of Cambridge* (1809).

Clarke, *Travels*: E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa* (1810f.). References are to the quarto (4^o) or octavo (8^o) editions, which have different volume divisions and pagination.

Closterman: W. E. Closterman, “Family Ideology and Family History: the Function of Funerary Markers in Classical Attic Peribolos Tombs”, *AJA* 111, 2007, 633-52.

Conze: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, II (1900), IV (1911-22).

Cooper: C. L. Cooper, “The Antiquities Department Takes Shape: the Fitzwilliam in the Early Twentieth Century”, in *Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam*, 347-67.

Dobree: P. P. Dobree, “Greek Inscriptions from the Marbles in the Library of Trinity College”, *The Classical Journal* 30, 1824, 124-48, also printed as an appendix to H. J. Rose, *Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae* (1825), 389-418 (page references are to the 1825 edition).

FRA: M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, *The Foreign Residents of Athens* (1996).

Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam: Special Issue: Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam Museum, *Journal of the History of Collections* vol. 24, Issue 3 (2012).

Gill: David W. J. Gill, “From the Cam to the Cephissus: the Fitzwilliam Museum and students of the British School at Athens”, in *Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam*, 337-46.

Heichelheim: F. M. Heichelheim, “The Greek Inscriptions in the Fitzwilliam Museum”, *JHS* 62, 1942, 14-20.

IALD: S. D. Lambert, *Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees 352/1-322/1. Epigraphical Essays* (2012).

IALD II: S. D. Lambert, *Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees in the Age of Demosthenes*.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Historical Essays* (2018).
- IG I: A. Kirchhoff ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores* (1873, Supplementa 1877, 1887, 1891).
- IG I²: F. Hiller von Gaertringen ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Editio altera* (1924).
- IG II: U. Koehler ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora* (I 1877, II 1883, III 1888, IV *Indices* [J. Kirchner] 1893, V Suppl. 1895).
- IG III: W. Dittenberger ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae* (1878, 1882).
- Kokula: G. Kokula, *Marmorlutrophoren* (1984).
- Koumanoudes: S. A. Koumanoudes, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφῶν Ἐπιτύμβιοι (1871).
- Lambertz: M. Lambertz, “Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche” I, *Glotta* 4, 1913, 78-143; II, *Glotta* 5, 1914, 99-170.
- Lawton: C. L. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs* (1995).
- Lenormant: F. Lenormant, “Inscriptionum Graecarum ineditarum centuria secunda et tertia”, *Rheinisches Museum* 21, 1866, 362-404.
- Low: P. A. Low, “The Epigraphy of Death”, in N. Papazarkadas ed., *Oxford Handbook of Greek Epigraphy* (forthcoming).
- Marchiandi: D. Marchiandi, *I periboli funerari nell’Attica classica: lo specchio di una “borghesia”* (2011).
- Matthaiou 2003: A. P. Matthaiou, “Ἀπόλλων Δῆλιος ἐν Ἀθήναις”, in D. Jordan, J. S. Traill eds., *Lettered Attica: A Day of Attic Epigraphy. Proceedings of the Athens Symposium, 8 March 2000* (2003), 85-93.
- Michaelis: A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, translated from the German by C. A. M. Fennell (1882).
- von Moock: D. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* (1998).
- NCIDélos: C. Prêtre et alii, *Nouveau choix d’inscriptions de Délos. Lois, comptes et inventaires* (2002).
- Nicholls, *Classical Heritage*: R. V. Nicholls, *Classical Heritage. Greek and Roman Art from Cambridge College Collections* (1978).
- Nicholls, *Recent Acquisitions*: R. V. Nicholls, “Recent Acquisitions by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge”, *Archaeological Reports for 1970-71*, 68-76.
- Nicholls, *Trinity College Collection*: R. V. Nicholls, “The Trinity College Collection and Other Recent Loans at the Fitzwilliam Museum”, *Archaeological Reports for 1970-71*, 77-85.
- RCA: S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* (2003).
- Rubinstein et al.: L. Rubinstein et alii, “Adoption in Hellenistic and Roman Athens”, *C&M* 42, 1991, 139-51.
- Schmalz: G. C. R. Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens. A New Epigraphy and Prosopography* (2009).
- Stears: K. Stears, “Losing the Picture. Change and Continuity in Athenian Grave Monuments in the Fourth and Third Centuries BC”, in N. K. Rutter and B. A. Sparkes eds., *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (2000), 206-27.
- Stoneman 1985: R. Stoneman, “The Abbé Fourmont and Greek Archaeology”, *Boreas* 8, 1985, 190-98.
- Stoneman 2010: R. Stoneman, *Land of Lost Gods. The Search for Classical Greece*. Second ed. 2010 (first ed. 1987).
- Tracy, *ADT*: S. V. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition. Attic Letter-Cutters of 340*

ABBREVIATIONS

to 290 BC (1995).

Tracy, *ALC*: S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter Cutters of 229 to 86 BC* (1990).

Tracy, *Athenian Lettering*: S. V. Tracy, *Athenian Lettering of the Fifth Century BC* (2016).

Vermeule and von Bothmer: C. C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, “Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis”, *AJA* 63 (1959), 139-66.

Woysch-Méautis: D. Woysch-Méautis, *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs* (1982).

+ item includes references to further bibliography on sculptural aspects.

1. E. D. CLARKE AND THE ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

Though the nine Attic inscriptions in the Fitzwilliam represent but a small selection of the Museum's Greek and Roman antiquities, it is in some ways a quite characteristic one. At the time of writing (2018) seven of the nine are on display in the Museum's Greek and Roman gallery, including four of the Museum's collection of six inscribed Attic funerary monuments, which, along with several uninscribed funerary monuments from Attica and elsewhere, form part of the gallery's central display (4-6, 9). Only the two funerary *columellae*, 7 and 8, are held in the basement stores.¹

Much the longest text, and one of the most important objects in the Museum, is the "Sandwich marble", the upper portion of a stele from Athens inscribed on both sides with accounts of the administrators (Amphiktyons) of the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos in 377/6-374/3 BC (3). The inscription is a highly informative document of Classical Greek sanctuary management, commonly included in volumes of Greek epigraphical highlights of the fourth century BC, most recently as no. 28 in P. J. Rhodes and Robin Osborne's *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC* (2003). The "Sandwich marble" was also the earliest of Cambridge's Attic inscriptions to be published. A decade after it was copied by Michel Fourmont in 1729 at a church of Elias,² John Montague, fourth Earl of Sandwich came across it in the wood-yard of the English consul at Athens.³ Like most other inscriptions from central Athens, it was not found in situ; and the place of discovery of the lower fragment of the inscription, on the banks of the Ilissos close to the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, is probably more indicative of its original location. This lower fragment has been known since 1872,⁴ and is now in the Epigraphical Museum, Athens. Transported to England, the "Sandwich marble" was donated to Trinity College along with various other antiquities and first published by John Taylor, an early member

¹ On the history of Cambridge's collections of Greek and Roman antiquities see especially the introduction to Budde and Nicholls' 1964 catalogue of the sculpture in the Fitzwilliam, xi-xvii, supplemented by Nicholls, *Recent Acquisitions* and Nicholls, *Trinity College Collection*. These effectively superseded Michaelis' account of the antiquities in Cambridge, 241-72. Nicholls' 1978 pamphlet, *Classical Heritage*, contains a concise summary of both the college and University collections, pp. 5-9. More recently (2012) a series of papers marking the reorganisation of the display in 2010 was published in *Greece and Rome at the Fitzwilliam*. These papers make no more than passing reference to Attic (or other Greek) inscriptions, but in addition to a brief introduction by Burn, Beard and Cooper supply relevant background on the Museum's nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century history respectively, and Gill on the contribution to the Fitzwilliam's collection, largely in the first half of the twentieth century, made by (mainly) former Cambridge students at the British School at Athens.

² As reported by Boeckh, *CIG* I 158. It is unclear whether this is the church of prophet Elias in the area of the Roman Agora, or that of Saints Elias and Charalampes in the area of the Classical Agora. See Matthaïou 2003, 89. For Fourmont's visit to Athens in 1729 see Stoneman 1985, 191-92.

³ He found it "lying among some rubbish and lumber, in a sort of wood-yard belonging to Niccolo Logotheti, the English consul, of whom he begged it. The consul could give no account when or where it was found; otherwise than that it had lain there a good while in his father's lifetime. He set no sort of value on it; and wondered much that his Lordship would be at the trouble of carrying it away." J. Cooke, "Memoirs of the Noble Author's Life", in J. Montague, Earl of Sandwich, *A voyage ... round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739* (1807, first ed. 1799), iv.

⁴ First reported by S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον* 1, 1872, 169; published in 1883 in *IG* II 814.

of the Society of Dilettanti, in 1743.⁵ It remained in Trinity College until it was transferred to the Fitzwilliam on permanent loan with the main part of the College's collection in 1969.⁶ With this material from Trinity also came the inscribed fourth-century loutrophoros-stele (5) which had been donated to the College by the brothers, the Rev. H. V. Elliott and the Rev. E. B. Elliott, Fellows of Trinity, on their return from travels in Greece and the Middle East in 1817-1820, apparently with one or two other uninscribed fragments of Attic funerary monuments of the fourth century BC.⁷

Four of the Attic inscriptions in the Fitzwilliam's collection were acquired by the energetic E. D. Clarke (1769-1822), who in 1803 donated to the University the thirty-eight sculptures and inscriptions he had collected on his extensive travels as companion to J. M. Cripps in Europe, the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, in 1800-1801.⁸ Clarke, a mineralogist who was later to become a Cambridge professor of the subject, took a keen, if amateurish, interest in the antiquities he encountered. His visit to Athens coincided with the activities of Lord Elgin and his agents. He decried Elgin's spoliation of the Parthenon "to adorn a miserable Scotch villa", but this did not prevent him from amassing his own collection of "marbles", which, like Elgin's, suffered shipwreck en route to Britain, off Beachy Head.⁹ Clarke published his "*Marbles*" in 1809, following this up in 1810 with a vivid and engaging account of his "*Travels*", which was patently popular travel literature in the early nineteenth century, running quickly through several editions.¹⁰ Clarke's donation formed the core of Cambridge University's collection of antiquities, which was located at the Old University Library near the Senate House before being transferred to the Fitzwilliam in 1865.

Clarke's acquisitions included just two inscriptions avowedly from Athens: the decree fragment, 1, and the funerary monument, 8. 1 is a small, but important, fragment of an Athenian treaty with Halieis of the fifth century BC. Three further fragments were found to belong to the same inscription in 1877, and a fifth was added in 1945 (all the

⁵ J. Taylor, *Marmor Sanvicense cum commentario et notis* (1743). Cf. Stoneman 2010, chapter 6 (p. 118 on the 1738-9 travels of the Earl of Sandwich in context. Sandwich is more popularly known as a prominent politician, eponym of various islands and inventor of the sandwich).

⁶ Nicholls, *Trinity College Collection*, 78-79 no. 3 (ph.); *Classical Heritage*, 5-6 with 23 no. 154.

⁷ Dobree, 389 no. 2, 400; Nicholls, *Trinity College Collection*, 78 no. 2; *Classical Heritage*, 5. Uninscribed relief of two lekythoi possibly donated by them, *Trinity College Collection*, 77-78 no. 1 (ph.); acanthus-leaf stele-crowning apparently donated by them, *Trinity College Collection*, 79 no. 4 (ph.).

⁸ Nicholls, *Classical Heritage*, 6-7; Budde and Nicholls, xii. I have not seen the unpublished Cambridge PhD by K. F. Edgar, "Edward Daniel Clarke and the Collecting of Classical Antiquities", 2001. Clarke's collection is briefly discussed by Beard, 297, and Gill, 337.

⁹ See Stoneman 2010, 151-55. The Attic stage of Clarke's tour is best known for his acquisition of a supposed fifth-century cult-statue of Demeter from Eleusis, by Pheidias, familiar to travellers before Clarke, and since identified as a caryatid from the first-century BC Inner Propylaia at Eleusis, Budde and Nicholls xii, Stoneman 2010, 152-54; Beard, 297 (with photograph). Clarke encountered some resistance from locals to the removal of the statue, fearful that it would impact adversely on the fertility of the land. Clarke comments: "they predicted the wreck of the ship which should convey it; and it is a curious circumstance that their augury was completely fulfilled, in the loss of the Pinessa merchantman, off Beachy Head, having the statue on board", quoted by Stoneman, 154. The statue was recovered and is now on display in the Museum.

¹⁰ The edition used in preparing this volume was the fourth edition (copy in British School at Athens), Part I *Russia, Tahtary and Turkey* vol. 2 (1816), Part II *Greece Egypt and the Holy Land* vol. 3 (1817), vol. 6 (1818).

other fragments are now in Athens in the Epigraphical Museum). In his *Travels* Clarke notes his discovery of the fragment: “among the loose fragments dispersed in the Acropolis we found a small piece of marble with an inscription, but in so imperfect a state, that it is only worth notice as a memorial of the place where it was found, and in its allusion to the prytaneum, which is the only legible part of it.”¹¹ Clarke mistook a reference in the dating formula to the tribe which held the Council prytany as a reference to the prytaneum, an understandable slip perhaps, but he also rather more spectacularly misinterpreted a funerary *columella* with relief commemorating one Euklidas of Hermione (8), which he speculates wildly might be the funerary monument of the mathematician Euclid: “We saw also, in one of the streets, an antient marble Stele, lying horizontally, and serving as a horse-block. When we drew near to examine it, we discovered that it had been placed upon the tomb of Euclid of Hermione.”¹² In fact the monument had already been noted (“in platea”) a generation earlier by Richard Chandler,¹³ and before that had been seen by Fourmont in a private house.¹⁴ Clarke’s vivid travel writing displays a keen and broad intellectual curiosity, but systematic scholarship was not his forte. In a telling passage of his study of early travellers to Greece, *Land of Lost Gods*, Richard Stoneman compares the colourful romantic writing of Clarke with the more sober and scholarly, if duller, accounts of his contemporary traveller, W. M. Leake, “whose achievement”, writes Stoneman, “is far the greater.”¹⁵

At least one, and probably two, further inscriptions allegedly collected by Clarke from locations outside Attica also in fact originated there. In his account of his visit to Taman in southern Russia on the northern coast of the Black Sea, and the ruins of ancient Hermonassa (then thought to be the site of Phanagoria), Clarke writes:

“arriving at Taman, we were lodged in the house of an officer who had been lately dismissed the service; through whose attention, and that of General Vanderweyde, the commander of engineers, we were enabled to rescue from destruction some of the antiquities condemned to serve as materials in constructing the fortress”.¹⁶

One of these antiquities, notes Clarke, was that published as no. 1 in his *Marbles*, which is a funerary monument for a Kleopatra of Berytos (7). It is patently a Hellenistic Attic *columella*; and according to Boeckh, writing in 1828 in *CIG*, it was apparent from the archive of the scholar, diplomat and long-term resident in Athens at this period, Louis-Sebastien Fauvel (1753-1838), that it originated, plausibly enough given the identity of the deceased, in Piraeus.¹⁷ While it is possible to imagine some exotic means by which this

¹¹ Clarke, *Travels*, II vol. 6, 242.

¹² Clarke, *Travels*, II vol. 6, 286-87, cf. *Marbles*, 10-11 no. 12.

¹³ R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae* II (1774), no. 105, pp. 70 and xxix.

¹⁴ “Fourmonti aetate ‘apud Michaelē Ἀστράκαρι’, tum in platea quadam, nunc Cantabrigiae ad scalam bibliothecae”, Boeckh, *CIG* I 839. For Fourmont’s visit to Athens in 1729 see Stoneman 1985, 191-92.

¹⁵ Stoneman 2010, 158-60. Cf. the remarks of Beard, 297, who quotes the damning assessment of Clarke’s *Marbles* by Michaelis, 241, “explanations . . . so thoroughly mistaken, that pious regard for the honoured author bids us pass them over in silence”. Leake’s collection of books and antiquities was also acquired by the Fitzwilliam (Beard, 297).

¹⁶ Clarke, *Travels* I vol. 2, 82.

¹⁷ Boeckh publishes the inscription in the Addenda and Corrigenda to *CIG* I (1828) 835b, p. 918, noting “ex schedis Fauvelii Köhlerianis” that “vera tituli origo patet ex Fauvelii schedis, qui

stone had been transported the long distance from the Piraeus to Taman, in a ship's ballast for example, it is perhaps easier to assume that Clarke had simply muddled his records and that the monument was actually among the "fourteen pieces" which he claims elsewhere to have collected from Athens.¹⁸

A similar issue arises in relation to a document relief allegedly found by Clarke at Sigeion, but again apparently of Attic design (2). This time, however, Clarke is more specific:

"Chandler, who has written an interesting account of the antiquities of Sigeum, says that the Athenaeum or Temple of Minerva stood upon the brow of the high and steep hill on which the church belonging to the present village is now situated [*Travels in Asia Minor*].¹⁹ From the scattered marbles, described by him as its remains, we obtained a small bas-relief, now in the Collection at Cambridge, representing two persons, one of whom is in the military garb of the Antients, and the other in the civic habit, addressing a Figure of Minerva [*Marbles* 51, no. 29]. Over the head of the goddess is the word ΑΘΗΝΑ".²⁰

First identified as Attic work by Conze in 1864,²¹ it was long mistakenly classified as a votive,²² and not until its publication as no. 27 of Budde and Nicholls' *Catalogue* of 1964 did it enter the literature as a document relief of ca. 350-325 BC.²³ Budde and Nicholls commented that "if its provenance from Sigeion is not merely due to accident, it should have headed the local copy of some Athenian document to which Sigeion was a party" and suggested, "in view of the provenance of the relief", that the remains of the name label above the young warrior to the right might be restored, [Πρω]τε[σ]ίλαος (Protesilaos), the Greek hero of the Trojan War who was first to set foot on Trojan soil, and who paid for his courage with his life. Since Budde and Nicholls the most authoritative discussion of the relief has been that of Carol Lawton, who, in her comprehensive study of Attic document reliefs, is inclined to identify it as from a document of Sigeion.²⁴ She notes that Athena had a temple in Sigeion,²⁵ and that "in the third quarter of the fourth century, when Sigeion was in the hands of the Athenian general

titulum tractavit Athenis". These "schedae" are explained, p. 868. On Fauvel see Stoneman 2010, 165-68. For identification of the deceased on this monument see further below on 7.

¹⁸ Clarke concludes his discussion of the monument of Euklidas of Hermione with the remark: "These marbles, together with our other subsequent acquisitions in *bas-reliefs* and fragments found in Athens, amounting to fourteen pieces from this city alone, are now in the University Library at Cambridge: and as the author's account of them is already before the public, it will be unnecessary in this place to notice the rest." *Travels*, II vol. 6, 288-89.

¹⁹ This is apparently the church of St. Demetrios in Yenishehir, which J. M. Cook, *The Troad: an Archaeological and Topographical Study* (1973), 184, suggests was at the site of ancient Sigeion.

²⁰ Clarke, *Travels*, II vol. 3, 204-5.

²¹ A. Conze, *Arch. Anz.*, 1864, 172. Boeckh, *CIG* II 3635, had wondered whether the inscription was originally from Ilion, like others found at Sigeion.

²² See Michaelis, 248 no. 15.

²³ Among other things, as noted by Budde and Nicholls, p. 11, the position and nature of the break at the bottom of the fragment show that it is not a votive, but the relief heading of a much taller stele.

²⁴ Lawton, 18-19.

²⁵ Hdt. 5.95. Cf. the discussion of this temple by Clarke, cited above.

Chares, who apparently ruled the city as a tyranny, it issued its own coins with Athena on the obverse and an owl on the reverse.”²⁶ While Sigeion is not known to have had a cult of Protesilaos, she notes that there was a sanctuary of Protesilaos across the Hellespont from Sigeion at Elaious,²⁷ and that the stele might have concerned these two cities. “It would not be surprising”, she concludes, “for a city that imitated Athenian coin types to adopt as well the practice of putting reliefs on its inscribed documents; by the second half of the fourth century the practice was widespread”. The logic is difficult to fault, but this would be a unique example of an inscribed fourth-century public decree from Sigeion.²⁸ Moreover, the alleged findspot of the relief was familiar to travellers before Clarke, travellers who mention several “marbles” there, and it is a little surprising that none of them noted Clarke’s relief.²⁹ One suspects, given Clarke’s track record with the Kleopatra *columella*, that the Sigeian origin he claims for this relief is simply incorrect. He clearly thought, from his reading of Chandler’s account, that the site he had visited in the Troad was the location of a temple of Athena, and on returning home mistakenly inferred, from his observation that the relief portrayed Athena, that he had collected it there. Most likely this relief is what it would seem to be without Clarke’s questionable testimony, a document relief from an Athenian decree dealing with the relations between Athens and another city represented by the figure standing to the right on the relief. Once the link with Sigeion is undermined, the reading [Πρω]τε[σ]ίλαος becomes questionable; as we shall see, Με[νέ]λαος is an attractive alternative, in which case this will have headed an inscription dealing with Athenian diplomacy with Sparta, for which at least one plausible context can be identified.

Another case of a misleading findspot-claim by Clarke is the early fourth-century funerary lekythos of Hegemon of Epikhephisia (4). According to Clarke it was “found upon the shore of the Propontis and presented by Spencer Smith Esq., late Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, brother of Sir Sidney Smith”.³⁰ In fact, the lekythos is again clearly Attic, as is demonstrated by the use of the Attic demotic in the nomenclature of the deceased; and there is (again) documentary support for the Attic provenance in the archive of Fauvel.³¹ Kept in the Old University Library in the early nineteenth century, the monument was transferred to the Fitzwilliam with the other antiquities there in 1865.

²⁶ W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad; Book XIII* (1923), 189-90. Coins of Sigeion: Head, *Historia Nummorum*, 549. See now S. Mitchell, in M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (2004), 1014 no. 791, Sigeion.

²⁷ Strabo 13.1.31 (C 595).

²⁸ Mitchell (n. 26) notes just one extant public decree from Sigeion, dating to the second century BC.

²⁹ The trail is muddied by the apparent fact that some of the objects allegedly discovered at this spot by early travellers seem to have been brought there in relatively modern times from the site of Ilion. This includes a decree of Ilion honouring Antiochos I, Nicholls, *Trinity College Collection*, 79 no. 5. Cf. Cook (n. 19), 154-55, 184.

³⁰ Clarke, *Travels*, II vol. 6, 283 n. 3. Dobree and Michaelis have it as from the Propontis.

³¹ The fact that there is a sketch of the monument by Fauvel in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (Conze gives the reference *Cabinet des Estampes Gb 15^{a-c}*), confirms, as Conze II 1065 saw, that it is Athenian in origin. Lenormant, 386 no. 205, explicitly draws the inference, describing the monument as discovered at Athens (but also introducing a false reading of the name of the deceased as Timon).

1. E. D. CLARKE AND THE ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

The last two Attic inscriptions, both also funerary monuments, have nothing to do with Clarke, though in the first case at least their provenance is again not well documented. Between 1883 and 1889 the Director of the Fitzwilliam was the Classical archaeologist, Sir Charles Walston. In 1885 Walston presented to the Museum several items acquired by the architect W. Railton during his travels in Greek lands beginning in 1825.³² Among these was a fragment of a funerary stele for [.]eokles (6). It was reputedly “from Asia Minor”, but was convincingly identified by Conze as Attic,³³ like the antefix from the Parthenon in the Fitzwilliam, also apparently acquired by Railton.³⁴

The most recently acquired Attic inscription is the funerary monument of the Roman period for Aphrodisia daughter of Aphrodisios of Leukonoion (9). The stele was seen by Conze in private ownership in Athens in 1885, where it was said to originate in the Piraeus, and was on the market in Paris in 1907.³⁵ It was donated by the Friends of the Fitzwilliam in 1919.³⁶

³² Budde and Nicholls, xiii. Date of presentation: Conze. Walston was an American, sometimes known by the non-Anglicised version of his name, Waldstein, cf. Gill, 338.

³³ Conze II no. 912, cf. Budde and Nicholls, pp. 13-14; *IG* II² 11641.

³⁴ Budde and Nicholls no. 166, cf. p. xiii.

³⁵ Conze IV no. 1930 (ph.).

³⁶ Budde and Nicholls no. 133, with p. xv.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS - DECREES AND ACCOUNTS

1 TREATY BETWEEN ATHENS AND HALIEIS. EM 6799 + 2727 + 6819 (*a c d e*), Fitzwilliam Museum GR.36.1865 (*b*). *a c d* (and *e*?) between theatres of Dionysos and Herodes Atticus, *b* Acropolis. Five fragments of a stele of white marble, *a c d e* preserve left and right sides and back, h. 0.80, w. 0.692, th. 0.11, *b* preserves right side and back, and above the text a protruding feature (e.g. a pediment or relief), the original surface of which is not preserved, except perhaps for a small patch upper left, h. 0.25, w. 0.205, th. 0.125 (protruding feature), 0.105 (inscription). Standard late Attic alphabet and orthography ($\Gamma = \Lambda$, $H = E$, $\Omega = O$, $\Lambda = L$, but $\Sigma = \Sigma$ rather than, as commonly earlier, ς , $\Xi = X\Sigma$, $\Psi = \Phi\Sigma$, $\acute{\iota} = H$, $EI = E$, $OY = O$), letter height l. 1 at least 0.008, l. 2 0.018, ll. 3 ff. 0.01., stoich. ll. 3-35 horiz. 0.014-0.017, vert. 0.018-0.020.

Eds. *b* Clarke, *Marbles* 52 no. 30; *CIG* I 78 (from Clarke and transcript of Müller); *IG* I 71; *a d* S. A. Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον* 5, 1876, 80, 167; *a-d* *IG* I Suppl. p. 20, 71; *IG* I² 87 (but the frags. numbered *e* and *f* there do not belong to this inscription); B. D. Meritt and G. R. Davidson, *AJP* 56, 1935, 65-71; *a-e* B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 14, 1945, 97-105 (ph. *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) (*SEG* 10.80, includes suggestions of Gomme and Wilhelm per ep.); *SdA* II 184; *IG* I³ 75.

Cf. Clarke, *Travels* (part II.2) 4^o vol. 3, 497 with n. 1, 8^o vol. 6, 242 with n. 1; Dobree, 418 no. 30; A. B. West, *AJP* 56, 1935, 72-76; A. Wilhelm, *SB Akad. Wien* 217,5 = *Attische Urkunden* IV (1939), 90 no. 38; Heichelheim, 14 no. 1; L. A. Post ap. Meritt, *AJP* 66, 1945, 254; Meritt, *AJP* 68, 1947, 313 n. 5; D. M. Lewis, *ABSA* 49, 1954, 23-24 (*SEG* 14.8); W. E. Thompson, *Klio* 53, 1971, 119-24; Bradeen and McGregor, *Studies* 123-24 (ph. *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*); H. B. Mattingly, *Historia* 26, 1977, 372 n. 17 (*SEG* 26.18); A. P. Matthaiou, *Studies in Attic Inscriptions and the History of the Fifth Century BC*, PhD thesis, Latrobe (2009), 164-67. Autopsy (*b*) and Cambridge squeeze (*a* and *b*). Fig. 1.

		[θ	ε	ο]	ί·	b
a	424/3 BC (?)	[N ε]	ο κ λ ε ί δ	[ε ς ⁸⁻⁹	έ γ ρ α]	μ μ ά τ ε υ ε .
			ἔδοχσεν	τῆι	[βολῆι	καὶ τῶι δέμοι·
			Αἰγεί]	ς	ἐπρυτάνευε,	stoich. 42
			Νεοκλείδες	[ἐγραμμάτευε, ⁷ . . .	ἐπε]στάτε, Λάχες ε-
	5		ἴπε·	χσυνθέκα[ς	τε πρὸς	χαλιᾶς καὶ σπονδὰ]ς
			ἔναι	<ἀ>δόλο-		
			ς Ἀθηναίοι[ς ¹³	κατὰ	τάδε·
			πα]	ρέχεν	χαλι-	
			ᾶς Ἀθηναί[οις	τε φρορὰν	καθιστάναι	καὶ εὖ ποῶ?]ν
			Ἀθην-			
			αῖος καὶ	λ[ειστὰς	μὲ	ἠυποδέχεσθαι
			μεδ' α]	ὔτῳς	[λε]ίξει[σ]-	c
			θαι	μεδὲ	χσ[υστρατεύεσθαι	μετὰ
			τῶν	πο]	λεμίον	ἐπ' [Ἀθε]
	10		ναῖος	μεδ' ἐ]	πὶ τὸς	χσυνμάχος
			τὸς	Ἀθηναί]ον	μεδὲ	χρ[έμι]-
			ατα	παρέχε]	ν τοῖς	πολεμίοις
			μεδ' ἐς	τὰ	τ]εῖχε	ἠυποδέχ-
			εσθαι	φρ[ορὰν	τῶν	πολεμίων
			μεδεμίαν·	ἐ]ὰν	δέ	τις ἴει
			π-			
			[ολέμιος	ἐπὶ	χαλιᾶς,	βοεθῆν
			Ἀθηναῖος	χαλ]	ιεῦσιν	έτο-
			ἴμος	καὶ	ἠό	τι ἂν
			δύνονται	ὀφελῆν	? χαλι]ᾶς·	ἠόσα
			δέ	ἔχο-		
	15		[σι	χαλιῆς	ἔᾶν	ἔχεν
			ἔς	τὸ	λοιπόν·	? ἀδικ]ῆν
			δέ	μεδὲν	χαλι-	
			[ᾶς	μεδὲ	περιορᾶν	ἔαν
			ἀδικέσει	τις ?	τ]ῶν	πολεμίων·
			Ἀθε-			
			ναῖος	δέ	καθιστάναι	ἔς
			χαλιᾶς	φρορ]	ἂν	ἠέος
			ἂν	ἠό	πόλ-	

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e [εμος ἔϊ, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐρένε γίνεται ? τ]ὲν σφετέραν αὐτῶ-
 [ν φυλάτ]τ[εν ἡαλιᾶς· ἐὰν δὲ τινος ἄλλ]ο δέονται δικαίο
 20 [ἡαλιῆς παρὰ τῷ δέμιο τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἡε]γρυσκόσθον. ^{vvvv}
 [κατὰ τὰδε ὄμοσαν ἡαλιῆς· χσύμμαχο]ι ἐσόμεθα Ἀθηναί-
 [οις¹⁸ καὶ παρέ]χσομεν Ἀθηναίοι-
 [ς φρορὰν τε καθιστάναι καὶ εὔ ποέσ?]ομεν Ἀθηναίος κα-
 [τὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ ἐ]μμενῶμεν ταῖς χσ-
 25 [υνθέκαις ἡαῖς χσυνεθέμεθα Ἀθηναί]οις· ὀμνύντον δὲ
 [καὶ] ἀ[ὕ]τῳ[ν πρέσβες ? καὶ ἐχσόλειαν ἐπ]αράσθον εἰ μὲ ἐμμ-
 [έ]νοιεν [ἐν τοῖς ἡόρκοις ἡὸς ὀμομόκα]σιν ἡαλιῆς· ὄμ[οσ]-
 [αν δ'] αὐτοῖς Ἀ[θηναίων ἡε βολὲ καὶ ἡοι σ]τρατεγοὶ ἐμμε-
 [νῆν ἐ]ν ταῖς χσυνθ[έ]κ[αις ἡὰς χσυνέθεντ]ο πρὸς ἡαλιᾶς
 30 [ἡοι ἐπ]ὶ τὰ χσυνκε[ί]μενα· τὰς δὲ χσυνθ[έ]κας ἀναγράφσα-
 [ι ἐστέλε]ι λιθίνε[ι τὸν γραμματέα τῆ]ς βο[λ]ῆς καὶ κατα-
 [θῆναι ἐμ πόλει· οἱ δὲ κολακρέται δόντ]ον [τὸ] ἀργύριον·
 [ἡαλιῆς δὲ θέντον τὲν στέλεν ἐς τὸ ἡι]ερὸν [τ]ῷ Ἀπόλλων-
 [ος· πρέσβες ἡοῖδε ὄμνουσ τὲν χσυνμαχ]ίαν· " Νέον " Ἀ[. . .]
 35 [- - - - -^{c. 32} - - - - -]ος Ἀγακ[λ]
 [- - - - -^{c. 31} - - - - -] *vacat*
 - - - - - *traces* - - - - -

The restoration of this inscription has been convincingly reworked by Matthaïou. I print the text of *IG I³*, with Matthaïou's revisions. 5 Matth., cf. Thuc. 5.18.9, 5.22.3, 8.37.1, χσυνθέκα[ς καὶ χσυνμαχίαν καὶ ἡόρκο]ς *IG I³* || 6 πεντέκοντα ἔτε κατὰ τὰδε· οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτε κατὰ τὰδε· " Matth., Ἀθηναίοι[ς καὶ ἡαλιεῦσιν κατὰ τὰδε· " *IG I³* || 7 Matth., cf. Thuc. 4.45.2 (καταστησάμενοι φρούριον), *IG I³* 67 l. 6 (εὔ [ποῦν Ἀθη]ναίος), οἱ καὶ ὀφελῆ[ν], cf. *IG I³* 53 l. 15 ([καὶ] ὀφελέσομεν ἐ[ὰν τ]ο δέονται), *IG I³* 46 ll. 8-10, Th. 1.37.3, 3.63.2, 8.50.5 (παρέχειν + infin.), Ἀθηναί[οις ναύσταθμον καὶ προθύμος ὀφελῆ]ν *IG I³* || 16-17 Matth., cf. Isoc. 14.19 (φρουρὰς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καθίστασαν), Ἀθε[]ναίος δὲ φυλάττεν ἐν ἡαλιεῦσι φρορ[ὰν] *IG I³*, ἐν Μεθάνοις φρορ[ὰν], Mattingly, cf. Thuc. 5.18.7 || 17-18 Matth., after Kirchner (*IG I²*), cf. Th. 1.58.2, πόλ[εμος] ἄ[γεται, ἐρένες δὲ γενομένες τ]ὲν *IG I³*, Λ Jameson, perhaps a scratch Matth. || 22 καὶ φίλοι ἐπιτέδειοι *IG I³*, or perhaps a phrase qualifying χσύμμαχο]ι Matth., noting the variety of phrases used e.g. at *IG I³* 40 ll. 27-29, 53 ll. 13-15, 54 ll. 26-27 || 23 εὔ ποέσ]ομεν or ὀφελέσ]ομεν, Matth., cf. l. 7, ναύσταθμον καὶ προθύμος ὀφελέσ]ομεν *IG I³* || 25 Matth., cf. l. 29, πιστῶς καὶ ἀδόλος Ἀθηναί]οις· *IG I³*.

Gods.

Neokleides [of -] was secretary.

The Council and People decided. [Aigeis] was the prytany,

Neokleides was secretary, - presided, Laches

(5) proposed: there shall be an agreement between Athens and Halieis

and a truce [for - years?] without deceit on the following terms: the Halieians shall permit

the Athenians [to establish a garrison and shall do well?] to the Athenians

and [shall not receive raiders] or themselves carry out raids

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or [campaign with] the Athenians' enemies against the
(10) Athenians or [the allies of the Athenians], or
supply money [to the enemies] or receive [any enemy garrison]
within the walls; and if any enemy attacks
Halieis, the Athenians shall help the Halieians readily
[and do whatever they can to oblige?] the Halieians; and whatever
(15) the Halieians hold [they shall be allowed to hold for the future?]; and no-one shall harm
the Halieians, [or overlook it if any of their enemies] harms them;
and the Athenians [shall establish a garrison in Halieis] for as long as the war
[lasts, but when peace is restored, the Halieians shall guard]
their own land; and if the Halieians need anything else which is justifiable
(20) from the Athenian People, they shall obtain it.
The Halieians swore as follows: "we shall be . . .
allies to the Athenians and permit the Athenians
to establish a garrison and shall do well to the Athenians
as far as we can at every opportunity and shall abide by the
(25) agreement which we have made with the Athenians"; and [their envoys?]
shall swear and shall invoke destruction on any Halieians
who do not abide by the oaths which they have sworn;
and for the Athenians [the Council] and the generals swore to abide
by the agreement which they made with the Halieians
(30) responsible for making terms; and the secretary
of the Council shall inscribe the agreement on a stone stele and set it down
on the Acropolis; and the payment officers shall give the money;
and the Halieians shall place the stele in the sanctuary of Apollo.
[The following envoys swore to the] alliance: Neon . . .
(35) . . . Agakl-
. . .

As a city on the southern coast of the Argive peninsula of the Peloponnese with an excellent natural harbour, [Halieis](#) was in a strategic location that, in the fifth century BC, made it liable to the attentions of the rival powers during periods of conflict between the Athenian and Spartan alliances.³⁷ Halieis first appears in the historical record in a brief reference in Thucydides' account of the *Pentekontaetia* to an Athenian landing there in 459 BC. In the ensuing battle with Corinthian and Epidaurian forces, Corinth was victorious;³⁸ and the memorial to members of the Athenian tribe Erechtheis who lost their lives in this and other conflicts of this year is extant ([IG I³ 1147](#) = OR 109). A generation later, in the second summer of the Peloponnesian War (430 BC), an Athenian and allied force under Pericles, after attacking Epidaurus, raided the territories of [Troizen](#), Halieis and [Hermione](#), all, remarks Thucydides, on the Peloponnesian coast.³⁹ Five years after this, at the height of the Archidamian War in the summer of 425 BC, we again find an Athenian and allied force, this time under Nicias and two other generals, launching attacks in this area, landing first in Epidaurian territory, then going on to [Methana](#), which lies between [Epidaurus](#) and Troizen. "They took control of the isthmus of the Methana peninsula and fortified it, establishing a garrison which for some time later carried out raids on the land of Troizen, Halieis and Epidaurus. When the fortification of the site was

³⁷ See M. Piérart, in M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (2004), 608-9 no. 349, Halieis.

³⁸ Thuc. 1.105.1.

³⁹ Thuc. 2.56.5.

finished, the fleet sailed back home.”⁴⁰ From the other side, Herodotos, referring in passing to what appears to have been a well-known, but undatable, feat of arms by Aneristos, one of the Spartan envoys to Persia who were intercepted and executed by the Athenians in 430 BC,⁴¹ remarks that this was the Aneristos who captured Halieis, a foundation of Tiryns, by landing there in a merchant ship filled with men.⁴²

It is unsurprising, therefore, to find Athens concluding a military agreement with Halieis in the Archidamian War period. A wartime context is implied by the text, but not a precise date. Despite this the decree is unusual among Assembly decrees from before 420 BC in that its context and at least its approximate date have not been controversial. As usual before 420, the archon is not named in the prescript. Instead the decree is headed by the secretary, who at this period held office for one prytany. The same secretary was in office when the second decree for the priestess of Athena Nike, regulating payments to her, was passed, [OR 156](#) (*IG I³ 36*), in the prytany of Aigeis. Aigeis can also comfortably be restored as the prytany in our decree, but the year of the Athena Nike decree is not independently attested. Neither Thucydides nor any other literary source mentions this treaty; and the cutter is not identified by Tracy in his recent study of fifth-century letter cutters.⁴³ We are reliant therefore on circumstantial evidence to identify the context. Attention has focussed on the period between the Athenian incursion of 425 BC and the one-year truce between Athens and Sparta of spring 423 BC which preceded the Peace of Nikias in 422/1. Thucydides states that the fortification of the Methana peninsula was used as a basis for raids on other cities in the area, including Halieis, supplying a plausible context in which Athens might have exerted political pressure on Halieis to make this agreement⁴⁴ and consent to a garrison, which might in effect have been an extension of the Methana garrison. There are two possible years between the 425 raid and the one-year truce, 425/4 and 424/3 BC, but an -ippos, not Neokleides, was secretary in the prytany of Aigeis in 425/4,⁴⁵ implying that our inscription should date rather to 424/3. It must have been before the eighth prytany of that year, held by Akamantis, the date of the one-year truce in Thucydides.⁴⁶ This suits the proposer of our decree, attested by the Fitzwilliam fragment as Laches, and identifiable as the prominent general, Laches son of Melanopos of Aixone, who was also proposer of the Athenian decree on the truce of 423 BC,⁴⁷ and later negotiator and co-signatory with Nikias of the Peace of Nikias in 422/1.⁴⁸ In these years it seems that Laches, along with Nikias, was a leading sponsor of diplomatic initiatives. Thucydides’ text of the one-year truce contains a provision that the parties should “retain what they now control”, as already agreed between Athens and Troizen; it seems that, in addition to the raids on Troizen and Halieis launched from Methana after 425, Athens also concluded formal agreements with these two cities during this period.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 4.45.

⁴¹ Cf. Thuc. 2.67.

⁴² Hdt. 7.137.

⁴³ Tracy, *Athenian Lettering*, 8.

⁴⁴ Matthaiou points out per ep. that his restoration, σπονδᾶ]ς, l. 5, implying a truce, suits well a background of conflict between Athens and Halieis implicit in raids by the former on the latter.

⁴⁵ [IG I³ 71](#) (OR 153), ll. 54-55.

⁴⁶ Thuc. 4.118.11; [IG I³ 369](#) (OR 160), ll. 32-33. Cf. Meritt and Davidson 1935, 65-67; Meritt 1945, 98-105.

⁴⁷ Thuc. 4.118.11.

⁴⁸ Thuc. 5.19, 5.24, 5.43. Laches was killed in 418 at the battle of Mantinea, 5.74.

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For the most part the terms of the alliance are unremarkable. The establishment of forts and garrisons in or close to allied cities was a common Athenian measure,⁴⁹ and their location in or close to enemy territory was a common tactic by both sides in the Peloponnesian War, practised with spectacular success by Athens at Pylos shortly before the date of this agreement,⁵⁰ and later in the war with equally powerful impact by the Spartans in Attica at Dekeleia.⁵¹ There is no basis for the restoration of ll. 7 and 23, accepted into the *IG* text, to yield agreement by Halieis to establishment of an Athenian naval station (*naustathmos*). For their part, the Halieians undertake not to receive an enemy garrison “within their walls”. Fortifications at Halieis can be traced back to at least the seventh century BC, and there are remains of a fifth-century circuit wall of mudbrick on conglomerate foundations with gates and interval towers.⁵²

The arrangements for the oaths, if correctly restored, are somewhat awkwardly expressed. The effect of them, however, seems reasonably clear: the treaty was concluded in Athens on the basis of Laches’ proposal and sworn to by the Council and the generals on behalf of the Athenian People. For the Halieis, however, it seems sufficient that the oaths are sworn by the envoys who are apparently in Athens to negotiate the agreement, and no further process in Halieis is provided for. Some other Athenian treaty decrees make provision for processes in the other city. In [IG I³ 40](#) (= OR 131), for example, elaborate arrangements are made to administer oaths in Chalkis, as well as in Athens. The Athenian Acropolis was the usual location for Athenian inscriptions recording international agreements; the solemn oaths which bound the parties to the agreement made the location, with its religious character, particularly suitable.⁵³ The equivalent for Halieis was their sanctuary of Apollo, located ca. 600 metres from the gate of the city leading towards Hermione, now lying in shallow water at the north-eastern end of the bay. Two temples have been identified on the site, together with an altar, racecourse and other structures and artefacts dating from the Archaic and Classical periods.

⁴⁹ Thus, for example, in the decree making arrangements for the settlement of Chalkis, [IG I³ 40](#) (OR 131), ll. 76-79, the Athenian generals are required to take care of the “guarding” (*phylake*) of Euboea in the best interests of the Athenians (cf. [AIO Papers 8](#), p. 26), and we hear of a specific fort manned by Athenians at Eretria in 411 BC at Thuc. 8.95. Other forts with defensive purposes were established within Attica itself, as e.g. the fort on the north-east coast at Rhamnous, and the forts established in response to the Spartan fortification of Dekeleia, at Sounion in 413/2 BC (Thuc. 8.4) and Thorikos in 409 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.1 with [IG I³ 377](#), l. 20 and [AIO Papers 5](#), p. 7 with n. 20). Cf. [AIO Papers 8](#), p. 13.

⁵⁰ Thuc. 4.1-49, with [AIO Papers 8](#), pp. 37-38.

⁵¹ Thuc. 6.93.2, cf. 6.91.6. On the impact of this, including on Athenian supply routes see Thuc. 7.27-28, 8.4, with [AIO Papers 8](#), p. 13.

⁵² M. H. Jameson, C. N. Runnels and T. H. van Andel, *A Greek Countryside* (1994), 435-37, A65. The walls enclosed an area of 18 ha., of which ca. 15 ha. was suitable for habitation in the 4th century.

⁵³ Oaths also feature largely, for example, in the Chalkis decree, [IG I³ 40](#) (OR 131), cf. [AIO Papers 8](#), pp. 18-26 (general remarks about oaths in context of treaty-making, 22), 27; on other decrees providing for oaths, 29, 30, and on the significance of inscribed oaths as drivers of the practice of inscribing decrees in sanctuaries, p. 6 and *IALD* II, 25-26.



Fig. 1. 1 fr. b = GR.36.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

2 RELIEF FROM TOP OF A DECREE. Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.13.1865. According to Clarke, found “in the Remains of the ancient City of Sigeum”, 1801 (*Marbles*) at church [of St. Demetrios in Yenishehir] (*Travels*), but perhaps in fact from Athens (thus

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first Conze), see above section 1. Relief from the top of a stele of white marble, top, left and right sides and back preserved, depicting Athena standing to left, with shield resting against left hip and left arm raised to clasp a spear that would once have been shown in paint, being approached by two male figures in similar scale (implying divine status), the front figure probably bearded and wearing a *himation*, followed by a younger (beardless?) figure wearing a helmet, breastplate, *chiton*, *chlamys* and, probably, greaves, his shield resting against the anta behind him. H. 0.285, w. 0.35, th. 0.075, depth of relief 0.02. Letter height 0.005.

Eds. Clarke, *Marbles* 51 no. 29; *CIG* II 3635; Michaelis, 248 no. 15; Budde and Nicholls, 11-12 no. 27.

Cf. Clarke, *Travels* (part II.1) 4^o vol. 2, 163, 8^o vol. 3, 205; A. Conze, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1864, 172; Heichelheim 15, no. VIc; J. M. Cook, *The Troad: an Archaeological and Topographical Study* (1973), 154-55, 184; M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs* (= *AM Beiheft* 13) (1989), p. 288 A 81 (ph.); Lawton, pp. 18-19; K. Glowacki, *Hesp.* 72, 2003, 447-66, at p. 464. Autopsy. *Figs.* 2, 3, 4.

Names on architrave labelling figures below

ca. 350-325 BC Ἀθηνᾶ - - - - - Μενελάος ?

Ἀθηνᾶ is interrupted to accommodate the plume of her helmet, originally shown in paint. The label over the central figure (*Demos*?) is not preserved. For the third I suggest Μενελάος, [Πρω]τε[σ]ίλαος Budde and Nicholls, -ΛΑΟΣ Clarke. The first stroke, taken by Budde and Nicholls to be the vertical of T, is actually slightly sloping, consistent with the right diagonal of M. We are left with the apparent bottom of a vertical before the Δ, taken by Budde and Nicholls as from an iota. If Μενελάος is the correct reading we would need either to discount it or take it as the left vertical of E, rather close to the following Λ.

Names on architrave labelling figures below

Athena - - - - - Meneleas (?)

This relief is datable on stylistic grounds to about the third quarter of the fourth century (Budde and Nicholls, Lawton, ca. 350 BC Meyer). For the question of its place of origin see section 1. If, as I argue there, it was from Athens, and had nothing to do with Sigeion, it will have stood at the head of an Athenian decree, probably a treaty or decree honouring one or two allied cities or their citizens.⁵⁴ The two figures to the right may be representatives of different cities, or, as Budde and Nicholls suggest, more likely the first represents *Demos* introducing the warrior figure to Athena.⁵⁵ If the warrior figure was labelled Menelaos, mythical king of Sparta in the Trojan Wars, that would suggest a treaty

⁵⁴ The lettering is comparable with Attic lettering of this period. Compare, for example, the rendering of Ἀθηνᾶ with the equivalent name label on [IG II³ 1, 534](#) = *IG* II² 4630 = NM 2407 = Lawton 133 = Glowacki 452, fig. 6.

⁵⁵ On representations of *Demos* in Attic document reliefs see Glowacki. They cluster mostly in the 330s and 320s BC and as he notes, 462, following Lawton, “the increased popularity of *Demos* and other ‘democratic’ personifications in the visual arts of this period may be a response to a combination of artistic, political, philosophical, and even religious factors as Athenian democracy becomes more specialized, more self-conscious, and more threatened by both internal and external forces.” Cf. [IG II³ 1, 320](#); [IG II³ 4, 3](#).

with Sparta, or an honorific decree for Spartan(s). In Greek iconography Menelaos usually appears as a kingly or (as here) a warrior figure, usually of mature years, but occasionally (as here) more youthful. He is normally depicted in Trojan war contexts, but as an archetypal Spartan hero, commemorated at the Spartan Menelaion, he would be a suitable figure to represent Sparta on an Athenian decree relief.⁵⁶ Sparta was not party to the anti-Macedonian alliance that fought the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC, to the League of Corinth established by Philip II in its aftermath, or to the anti-Macedonian alliance formed after the death of Alexander in 323 BC. But, since the decisive weakening of Sparta by Thebes at Leuktra in 371 BC, the interests of Sparta and Athens had more commonly aligned, and there is one diplomatic context in this period in which Athens sailed for a while (metaphorically) rather close to her old enemy. In summer 331 BC Athens came very close to joining in the anti-Macedonian revolt led by the Spartan king Agis. The Athenians are said to have been eager to send a naval contingent to support Agis, being thwarted only by Demades' refusal to release the funding for the venture.⁵⁷ In the event Agis was defeated by Antipater at Megalopolis, probably in spring 330 BC; but whether or not the Athenians initially passed concrete measures to support Agis, an Athenian decree, e.g. perhaps honouring Spartan envoys, in the context of constructive Athenian diplomacy with Sparta at this time is very plausible; and in such a decree Sparta would very appropriately have been represented by Menelaos, a figure famous for his role in a Panhellenic military endeavour in which Athens had also participated.



Fig. 2. 2 = GR.13.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

⁵⁶ On Menelaos in Greek iconography see L. Kahil, *LIMC* VIII (1997), Suppl. pp. 834-841, pls. 562-65. There is no example of the depiction of Menelaos on a document relief, Attic or non-Attic, listed by Meyer.

⁵⁷ [Plut.] *Mor.* 818E. For the proposal to make war on Alexander on this occasion cf. [Dem.] 17.30. Cf. C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (1997), 20-21.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS - DECREES AND ACCOUNTS



Fig. 3. 2, upper-left corner = GR.13.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Fig. 4. 2, upper-right corner = GR.13.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

- 60 [υμπι]οδώρο Σκαμβωνίδης ἐγραμμάτευε[ν, Ἀθηναίων - - - -¹²- - -]
 [. . .]δο Ὀῆθεν^{VI}, Νικομένης Ἰέρωνος Ἀλα[ιεύς^{VII}, Ἐπιγένης Μεταγένος ἐ]-
 [κ Κοί]λης^{VIII}, Ἀντίμαχος Εὐθυνόμο Μαραθῶ[νιος^{IX}, Ἐπικράτης Μενεστράτ]-
 [ο Πα]λληνεύς^X, Ἀνδρίων Δαμάλης Δαμάλο, [- - - - -²²- - - - -]
 [. Λε]ωγορί[δ]ο, Θεοτέλης Ἀνδροκρίτο, Νέ[στωρ Ἀέλπτο. Λήμματα τάδε μ]-
 65 [ισθ]ώσεις τεμενῶν ἐ[ξ] Ῥηνε[ί]ας ΤΗΗΗΓ[. . . . μισθώσεις τεμενῶν ἐγ Δ]-
 [ήλο] ΧΓΔΔΓΓ· μ[ι]σθώσεις οἰκ[ι]ῶν ΗΗΓΔΔ[ΔΔΓΓΓ· ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχύρων?]
 [..]· λήμματος κεφάλαιον ΓΧΧΧΔΓΓ· ἀπὸ [τότο τάδε ἀνηλώθη· εἰς ἱερὰ τ]-
 [ὰ κ]ατὰ μῆνα καὶ μοσικῆς ἄθλα καὶ γυμ[νικῆς - - - - -¹⁸- - - - -]
 [. κ]αὶ σαλπικτεῖ καὶ κήρυκι καὶ τῶι ὑ[π]ηρέτει - - - - -¹⁶- - - - -]
 70 [..]κον ΧΓΗΓΔΔΓΓ-ΗΙΙΙΙ· τὸ τεῖχιον ἀνοί[κο]δομ[ησα - - - - -¹⁵- - - - -]
 [.]ΟΗ καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῶ ἐπιστασίου [κα]ὶ τῶ Ἀ[νδρίων οἴκο? εἰς]
 [ἀν]άθεσ[σ]ιν τῶ στεφάνο καὶ εἰς τὰς σ[τ]λεγγ[?]ίδας [- συνηγόροις τ]-
 [οῖ]ς ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τ[ῆ]ς βολῆς: ΗΓ[- - - - -¹⁵- - - - -]
 [..]ων ΓΓ· Ἀμφικτύοσιν Ἀθηναίων εἰς [τ]ἀπ[ι]τήδει[α καὶ γραμματεῖ κα]-
 75 [ἰ ὑ]πογραμματεῖ ΧΧΓΗΓΓΓ-ΓΓΓ· Ἀμφικτ[ύ]οσιν Ἀνδ[ρίων εἰς τὰπιτηδει]-
 [α Χ]ΧΗ· κεφάλαιον ἀναλώματος: ΤΧΗΔΔΓΓΓΓ-ΗΙΙΙΙΙ[· περίεστι ΧΓΗΗΗΓΔΔ]
 [ΔΓΓ]. κεφάλαιον τῶ περιόντος σὺν τ[ῶ]ι ἐκ τῶ προτ[έ]ρο λόγῳ ΤΓΓΗΗΗΓΔ
 [ΓΓ. ἀπ]ὸ τότο τοῖσδε ἐδανείσαμεν Δη[λ]ίων ἐ<π>ὶ τα[ῖ]ς αὐταῖς συνθήκαι]-
 [ς καθά]περ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα τῶ Ἀπόλλω[νος τῶ Δηλίο δεδανε]-
 80 [ισμένοι] εἰσίν ὕ ΧΧΧ· τῶτο ὀφείλο[σ]ιν δανειστ[αῖ - - - - -¹⁴- - - - -]
 [. . .⁶. . . Ἀπ]ολλοδώρο, Κοίβων Τηλ[ε]μνήστο, Ἀρισ[τ]- - - - -¹⁵- - - - -]
 [- - - - -¹²- - - - -]οκλείδο, Ἄρτυσί[λ]εως Νικάρχο, [- - - - -¹⁶- - - - -]
 [- - - - -¹⁵- - - - -] Εὐτ[υ]χ[?]ίδης Δ[ι]ονυσοδώρο, [- - - - -¹⁷- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²⁶- - - - -]ωστράτο, Πα[- - - - -¹⁷- - - - -]
 85 [- - - - -²⁵- - - - -] Πιστότιμος [- - - - -¹⁷- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²⁵- - - - -]ο, Εὐθυκράτ[ης? - - - - -¹⁶- - - - -]
 [- - - - -¹⁵- - - - -] δάνεισμα ἔτ[?]ερον ὕ Τ· τῶτ[ο ὀφείλοσιν - - - - -⁸- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²⁵- - - - -]ίο, Δ[ημ]οκλέ[ης? - - - - -¹⁶- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²³- - - - -] Δη]μοφάνης Δη[- - - - -¹⁸- - - - -]
 90 [- - - - -²⁴- - - - -]δο, Ἀρίστων Α[- - - - -¹⁸- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²⁴- - - - -]ς, Τύννων Θε[- - - - -¹⁹- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²⁴- - - - -]το, Πατροκ[λέ]ης? - - - - -¹⁶- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²⁴- - - - -]ς, Τιμῶναξ [- - - - -²⁰- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²³- - - - -]ο· Σε[ρ]ιφίοι[ς (ἐδανείσαμεν) - - - - -⁸- - - - -]
 95 [- - - - -²³- - - - -]ΗΗΗ· παρέδομ[εν - - - - -¹⁷- - - - -]
 [. . .⁷. . . Ἀνδρίων Ἀμφικτύοσ]ι Δαμάλει κα[ὶ] συνάρχουσι? - - - - -⁹- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²¹- - - - -]ἱεροποιῶ Πυθ[- - - - -¹⁹- - - - -]
 [- - - - -²²- - - - -]ωι ΓΓ[Η]Η· κεφάλ[αιον ἀναλώματος σὺν ἀρ]-
 [γυρίω] ὧ ἐδανείσαμεν καὶ παρέδ[ο]μεν· ΤΤΤ[- - - - -¹⁰- - - - -] περίεστι?]
 100 [- - - - -²²- - - - -] *vacat*

- [- - - -¹⁷ - - - - μισθ]ώσεις τῶν τεμε[νῶν τῶνδε?· ἐπὶ Χαρισάνδ]-
 [ρο ἄρχοντος (376/5) Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δ]ήλῳ δ[ἐ] Γαλαίῳ, [- - - -²⁰ - - - -]
 [- - - -²⁰ - - - -]Γ, ἐγγυητῆς Νικ[- - - -²⁰ - - - -]
 [- -⁸ - - ἐπὶ Ἴπποδάμαν]τος ἄρχοντος (375/4) Ἀ[θήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ἴππίῳ]
 105 [- - - -²² - - - -]σιμβρότο Δ[ήλιος - -⁸ - - ἐγγυητῆς]
 [- - - -²⁰ - - - -] Δήλιος. τὸ χωρ[ί]ο? - - - -¹⁹ - - - -]
 [- - - -¹⁹ - - - -]ος ΗΗ^Ϝ, ἐγγυητῆ[ς - - - -²⁰ - - - -]
 [- - - -¹⁶ - - - - ὁ ἦν?] Ἐπισθένος, Γο[- - - -²² - - - -]
 [- - - -¹⁸ - - - - ἐ]γγυητῆς Νικη[- - - -²² - - - -]
 110 [. . . ἐπὶ Σωκρατίδο ἄρχο]ν[τ]ος (374/3) Ἀθήνησι, [ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Πυρραίθο . . .⁵ . .]
 [- - - -²¹ - - - -]ρος [- - - -²⁸ - - - -]

Face B

- αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τὸ τό[κ]ο, ὃν ἔδει αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας fr. a stoich. 44
 ἀρχῆς ἀποδοῦναι, ἐνέλιπο[ν] καὶ ὁκ ἀπέδοσαν τῶν τετάρω-
 ν ἐτῶν· Κεῖιοι ΧΧΧΧΗΔΔΓ^ϜΗΙϜ, Μυκόνιοι ΗΗΗΗΔΔ, Σύριοι ΧΧΧ
 Χ^ϜΗΗΗΗ, Σίφονιοι ΧΧ^ϜΔΔΔΓ^ϜΗΗΗΗ, Τήνιοι ΧΧΗΗΗΗ, Θερμαῖο-
 5 ι ἐξ Ἴκάρου ΗΗΗΗ, Πάριοι ΤΤΤΤΧ^ϜΗΗΗΗΔΔΔ, Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἴκάρου
 Τ^ϜΔΔΔ. αἶδε τῶν πόλεων τὸν τόκον ὁκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆ-
 ς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τετάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι
 Καλλέο (377/6), Χαρισάνδρο (376/5), Ἴπποδάμαντος (375/4), Σωκρατίδο (374/3), ἐν
 Δήλῳ
 δὲ Ἐπιγένος, Γαλαίῳ, Ἴππίῳ, Πυρραίθο· Νάξιοι ΤΧΧΧ^ϜΗ, Ἄνδ-
 10 ριοι ΤΤ, Καρύστιοι ΤΧΧΗΗΗΗ· [[- -¹¹ - - -]] οἶδε τῶν ἰδιω-
 τῶν τὸν τόκον ὁκ ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τε-
 τάρων ἐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Ἀθήνησι Καλλέο (377/6), Χαρισάνδρ-
 ο (376/5), Ἴπποδάμαντος (375/4), Σωκρατίδο (374/3), ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Ἐπιγένος,
 Γαλαί-
 ο, Ἴππίῳ, Πυρραίθο· Ἀγάθαρχος Ἀρίστωνος Δή[λι]ος ΗΗΗΗ, Ἀγ-
 15 ακλῆς Ὑψοκλέος Τήνιος ΗΗ[. .], Εὐφραίνετος Εὐφ[ά]ντο Δή-
 λιος ΗΔ, Ἀλκμεωνίδης Θρασυ[δαί]ο Ἀθηναῖος ^ϜΔ, Γλαύκιππ-
 ος Κλειτάρχο Δήλιος ΗΗΗΗ· Δ(?)[. . .]ων Καρύστιος ΗΗ, Σκυλλί-
 ας Ἄνδριος ΗΗ· Ὑψοκλέης Θεο[γνή]το Δήλιος ΗΗΗΗ, Πριανεὺ-
 20 ς Σύριος Γαλήσσιος ΔΔΔΔΓ^ϜΗ^Ϝ· Ἡρα[?]κλείδης Θρασυννάδο
 Δήλιος ^ϜΗ^Ϝ, Ἄβρων Θράσωνος [Σφήτ]τιος ΗΗ^ϜΔΔΔ, Λάχης Λάχ-
 ητος Στειριεὺς ^ϜΗΗ[.], Μαισι[άδης] Νυμφοδώρο Δήλιος ΗΔΔ
 ΔΔ· Θράσων Ἄβρωνος Σφήττιο[ς . . .], Ἀ[ριστη]ίδης Δεινομέν-
 ος Τήνιος ὑπὲρ Οἰνάδο Κλεο[. . . Τ]ηνίῳ ΗΗΔΔ. *vacat*
 οἶδε ὦφλον Δηλίων ἀσεβείας [ἐπὶ Χ]αρισάνδρο ἄρχοντος
 25 Ἀθήνησι, ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ Γαλαίῳ, τ[ίμημα] τὸ [ἐ]πιγε[γ]ραμμένον

- [κ]αὶ ἀειφυγία, ὅτι [καὶ] ἐκ τῶ ἱερῶ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος τῶ Δηλίου ἤ-
γον τὸς Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ ἔτυπ[τον· Ἐ]πιγένης Πολυκράτο-
ς Μ, Πύρραιθος Ἀντιγόνο Μ, Πατρο[κλέ]ης Ἐπισθένης Μ, [[. . . .]]
30 [- - - -¹⁴ - - - -] Ἀριστοφῶν Λε[υκί]ππο Μ, Ἀντιφῶν Τύννω-
[ν]ος Μ, Ὀδοιτέλης Ἀντιγ[όν]ο Μ, Τηλ[εφά]νης Πολυάρκος Μ. *vac.*
vac. οἰκί[αι] ἐν Δή[λω]ι ἱεραὶ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνος τ-
[ὸ] Δηλίου· οἰκία ἐν Κολω[νώ]ι ἢ ἦν Εὐ[φάν]το, ἦι γείτων Ἄλεξος·
[τὰ] κεραμεῖα ἃ ἦν Εὐφά[ντο], οἱ[ί]ς γεί[τον] τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸ Ἀρ-
[ίσ]τωνος· ἐμ Πεδίωι· οἰκ[ία] ἢ ἦν Λευ[κίπ]πο, ἦι γείτων Ἀγησί-
35 [λε]ως· οἰκία ἢ ἦν Ἐπισθέ[νο]ς, ἦι γείτ[ων] ἢ ὀδ[ό]ς· χαλκεῖον ὃ ἦ-
[ν Λευ]κίππο, ὧι γείτων ἱ[. . . .⁷ . . .] ἐνδεων οἰκήματα· οἰκία
[- - - - -²⁸ - - - - -] οἰκία ἢ ἦν Ἐπισθένο-
[ς, ἦι γείτ- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -] αἱ ἦσα]ν Λευκίππο, αἶς γεί-
[τ- - - - -³² - - - - -] γ]είτω οἰκήμα-
40 [τα - - - - -²⁸ - - - - -] κεραμ]εῖα ἃ ἦν Εὐφ-
[άντο - - - - -³⁶ - - - - -]]ΙΣΘ[.]
- [- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -] ΕΟΙ[- - - - -²⁴ - - - - -] *fr. b*
[- - - - -¹⁶ - - - - -] γησικ[- - - - -²³ - - - - -]
[- - - - -¹⁶ - - - - -] ὑπερῶιο[ν - - - - -²⁰ - - - - -]
45 [- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -] καὶ γναφεῖ[ον - - - - -¹⁶ - - - - -]
[- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -] α καὶ οἰκημ[α - - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -]
[- - - - -^{14 or 16} - - - - -] ἦ]ν *or* ἦσα]ν Ἐπισθ[έ]νος [- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -]
[- - - - -¹⁶ - - - - -] ἦι γείτω[ν] Δει[- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -]
[γείτων - - δ]ωρος· οἰκ[ία] ἢ ἦ[ν - - - - -¹⁶ - - - - -]
50 [- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -] ὃς ἦν Λευκίπ[πο - - - - -¹⁵ - - - - -]
[- - - - -¹⁶ - - - - -] γ]είτων Καίβωγ [- - - - -¹⁶ - - - - -]
[- - - - -¹⁷ - - - - -] ος. *vacat*

A15 ΙΔΙΩΝ stone A78 ΕΗΙ stone. Rest. Coupry, *ID* 98, after earlier eds. I have silently made some minor adjustments to square brackets and underdots. In B10 and 28-9 entries have been erased. || A20 ΠολυΣΔΛ . ς Lambert || A39 τ[ῶν βώμων καὶ ? Chankowski || A64 Νέ[στωρ Ἀέλπτο. Λήμματα τάδε· Chankowski, cf. for name of the Andrian Amphiktyon *ID* 100, ll. 7-8, Με[-²¹- Coupry || A66 or [ἐκ τῶν τέλων Chankowski || A68 καὶ ἱερά ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων?] Coupry, Chankowski || A72 εἰς τὰς σ[τλεγγ?]ίδας *price* Chankowski after A. Mommsen, *Philologus* 66, 1907, 454 n. 40, εἰς τὰς σ[υμμαχ]ίδας [πόλεις Coupry after Wilhelm, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1903 no. 10 p. 782 = *Kl. Schriften* II 4, p. 280 no. 86 || A72 συνηγόροις Chankowski, ἀνδράσιν Coupry after Preuner ap. *IG* II² 1635 || B19 ΔΔΔΔΓΓ[ΓΓ· Ἡρα?]κλείδης Osborne, *RO* 28, or Θε]οκλείδης ? Lambert || B36 Lambert (ἱερ- ?), ὧι γείτω πι[- previous eds. || B40 Lambert, cf. B33,]ια ἃ ἦν Εὐφ[άντο] previous eds. || B41 Lambert, ΕΘ previous eds.

Face A

Fragment a

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS - DECREES AND ACCOUNTS

Prescript of accounts for 377/6-Thargelion 375/4

Gods.

These are the acts of the Athenian Amphiktyons from the archonship of Kalleas (377/6) until the month of Thargelion in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4) at Athens, and in Delos from the archonship of Epigenes until the month of Thargelion (5) in the archonship of Hippias, for the time that each of them were in office, their secretary being Diodoros son of Olympiodoros of Skambonidai: Idiotes son of Theogenes of Acharnai^{VI} from the archonship of Charisandros (376/5) until the month of Hekatombaion in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4), Sosigenes son of Sosiades of Xypete^{VII} for the year of Kalleas' archonship (377/6), Epigenes son of Metagenes of (10) Koile^{VIII}, Antimachos son of Euthynomos of Marathon^{IX}, Epikrates son of Menestratos of Pallene^X.

Receipts of interest from cities

(11) Of the cities these paid interest: Mykonos 1,260 dr(achmas), Syros 2,300 dr., Tenos 1 tal(ent), Keos 5,472 dr. 4½ ob(ols), Seriphos 1,600 dr., Siphnos 3,190 dr. 4 ob., Ios 800 dr., Paros 2970 dr., the Oinaians from Ikaros 4000 dr., the Thermaians from Ikaros 400 dr.: total interest received from the cities, (15) 4 tal. 3,993 dr. 2½ ob.

Receipts of interest from individuals

(15) Of individuals these paid interest: Ariston of Delos on behalf of Apollodoros of Delos 900 dr., Artysileos of Delos on behalf of Glauketes of Delos 700 dr., Hypsokles of Delos 300 dr., Agasikles of Delos on behalf of Theokydes of Delos 630 dr., Theognetos of Delos on behalf of Hypsokles of Delos 312 dr. 3 ob., Antipatros of Delos on behalf of Hypsokles of Delos 287 dr. 3 ob., (20) Poly-s of Tenos on behalf of M-menes of Tenos 400 dr., Leukinos of Delos on behalf of Kleitarchos of Delos 935 dr., Leophon of Delos on behalf of Pistoxenos of Delos 350 dr., Patrokles of Delos on behalf of Hypsokles of Delos 300 dr., Aristeides of Tenos on behalf of Oinades of Tenos 250 dr.: total interest from individuals, 5,325 dr.

Court receipts

Confiscated following denunciation from the property of Episthenes of Delos (25) 380 dr.; confiscated following denunciation from Python of Delos 1,100 dr.; from distraints arising from adverse outcomes of legal cases, total value 1,845 dr.

Rents

Rents of sacred properties on Rheneia in the archonships at Athens of Charisandros (376/5) and Hippodamas (375/4), and on Delos of Galaios and Hippias 2 tal. 1,220 dr. Rents of sacred properties on Delos in the same archonships 2,484 dr. Rents of houses (30) in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4) at Athens, and in Delos of Hippias 297 dr.

Total receipts: 8 tal. 4,644 dr. 2½ ob.

Expenditure

From this the following was spent: a crown for the god as mark of excellence, including pay for the maker, 1,500 dr.; tripods as prizes for the choral competitions, including pay for the maker, > 1,000 dr.; for the leaders of the sacred embassy 1 tal.; for the conveyance of the sacred delegates and the (35) choirs, to Antimachos son of Philon of Hermos the trierarch 1 tal. 1,000 dr.; number of cattle bought for the festival 109, price of these 1 tal. 2,419 dr.; gold-

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leaf and pay for the goldsmith 126 dr.; for the preliminary sacrifices at the festival -;
conveyance of the tripods and the cattle and 2% tax and fodder
for the cattle and the price of the wood for the [altars and ? -] price of . . .
(40) . . . exchange (?) . . .

Unknown number of lines missing

Fragment b

6 lines traces

(47) . . . and . . . for the . . .

. . . the cake (*pelanos*) [and the?] choral dances . . .

. . . for the Amphiktyons for their requirements and for the secretary [and under-secretary]

(50) > 30 dr.

(50) **Total expenditure:** > 6 tal.

Loans

(50) We made

loans on the same terms as the others had borrowed

the sacred funds of Apollo Delios: to - of

-os 500 dr., to Pasikles son of Deikrates of Tenos -, to

- of -os 37 dr, to Phoinikles son of Leoprepes of - -, to -

(55) of Delos 25 dr.

(55) **Total expenditure including loans:**

7 tal. 665 dr. 2 ob. Surplus, 1 tal. 3,979 dr. ½ ob.

Prescript of accounts for Skirophorion 375/4 to 374/3

(57) These are the acts of the Amphiktyons from the month of Skirophorion in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4) until the archonship of Sokratides (374/3) at Athens, and in Delos from the month of Pamenos until the archonship of Pyrraitos, their secretary being

(60) Diodoros son of Olympiodoros of Skambonidai, the Athenians were - son of -des of Oe^{VI}, Nikomenes son of Hieron of Halai^{VII}, Epigenes son of Metagenes of Koile^{VIII}, Antimachos son of Euthynomos of Marathon^{IX}, Epikrates son of Menestratos of Pallene^X, the Andrians were Damales son of Damales, - son of -, - son of Leogorides, Theoteles son of Androkritos, Ne[stor son of Aelptos].

Rents (and court receipts?)

(64) [These are the receipts.]

(65) Rents of sacred properties on Rheneia > 1 tal. 350 dr., rents of sacred properties on Delos 1,522 dr., rents of houses 297 dr., [from distraints *or* taxes ? . . .]

Total receipts: 1 tal. 3,012 dr.

Expenditure

(67) From this the following was spent: for monthly [sacrifices]

and musical and gymnastic contests . . .

and for a trumpeter and a herald and [his assistant] . . .

(70) for the - 1,672 dr. 5½ ob., for building the wall . . .

and for repair of the headquarters and the [house of the?] A[ndrians? . . . , for]

dedication of the crown and for the headdresses (?) [*price*, for supporting speakers]

sent by the Council (to the allied cities?) to plead in court cases > 105 dr. . . . for

- 550 dr. For the Athenian Amphiktyons for their requirements and for the secretary

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(75) and under-secretary 2,658 dr. For the Andrian Amphiktyons for their requirements 2,100 dr.

(76) **Total expenditure:** 1 tal. 1129 dr. 5½ ob. Surplus, 1,882 dr. ½ ob.
Total surplus including that from the previous account 1 tal. 5,861 dr. 1 ob.

Loans etc.

From this we made loans to these Delians on the same terms as the others had borrowed the sacred funds of Apollo

(80) Delios: 3,000 dr. The borrowers owe this . . .

. . . son of Apollodoros, Koibon son of Telemnestos, Arist- . . .

. . . son of -okleides, Artysileos son of Nikarchos . . .

. . . Eutychides (?) son of Dionysodoros . . .

. . . son of -ostratos, Pa- . . .

(85) . . . Pistotimos . . .

. . . Euthykrates (?) . . .

. . . another loan (?) 1 tal. They owe this . . .

. . . son of -ios, Demokles (?) . . .

. . . Demophanes son of De- . . .

(90) . . . son of -des, Ariston son of A- . . .

. . . Tynnion son of The- . . .

. . . son of -tos, Patrokles (?) . . .

. . . Timonax . . .

. . . To the Seriphians [we loaned] . . .

(95) . . . 300 dr. We handed over . . .

. . . to the Andrian Amphiktyons Damales and [his fellow officials ?] . . .

. . . to the religious official Pyth- . . .

. . . to - 800 dr.

(98) **Total expenditure** [including the money]

[which we lent and] handed over: > 3 tal. [. . . Surplus?]

(100) . . .

Rents

. . . rents of [the following?] sacred properties, [in the archonship]

[of Charisandros (376/5) at Athens, and in] Delos of Galaios . . .

. . . 5 dr.; guarantor Nik- . . .

. . . in the archonship of Hippodamas (375/4) at Athens, [and on Delos of Hippias]

(105) . . . son of -simbrotos of Delos. . . [guarantor]

. . . of Delos. Of the estate (?) . . .

. . . 250 dr., guarantor . . .

. . . [which was the property?] of Episthenes; Go- . . .

. . . guarantor Nike- . . .

(110) . . . [in the archonship of Sokratides (374/3)] at Athens, [and in Delos of Pyrraitos . . .]

. . .

Face B

Fragment a

Arrears

The following cities failed to pay the interest which they ought to have paid in our period of office and did not pay during the four years:

Keos 4,127 dr. 1½ ob., Mykonos 420 dr., Syros 4,900 dr.,

Siphnos 2,089 dr. 2 ob., Tenos 2,400 dr., Thermaians

(5) from Ikaros 400 dr., Paros 4 tal. 1,830 dr., Oinaians from

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Ikaros 1 tal. 80 dr. The following cities did not pay the interest due in the four years of our period of office in the archonships at Athens of Kalleas (377/6), Charisandros (376/5), Hippodamas (375/4), Sokratides (374/3), and on Delos of Epigenes, Galaios, Hippias, Pyrraitchos: Naxos 1 tal. 3,060 dr., (10) Andros 2 tal., Karystos 1 tal. 2,400 dr. *erasure* The following individuals did not pay the interest due in the four years of our period of office in the archonships at Athens of Kalleas (377/6), Charisandros (376/5), Hippodamas (375/4), Sokratides (374/3), and on Delos of Epigenes, Galaios, Hippias, Pyrraitchos: Agatharchos son of Ariston of Delos 400 dr., (15) Agakles son of Hypsokles of Tenos >200 dr., Euphrainetos son of Euphantos of Delos 150 dr., Alkmeonides son of Thrasydaios of Athens 60 dr., Glaukippos son of Kleitarchos of Delos 400 dr., D-on (?) of Karystos 200 dr., Skyllias of Andros 200 dr., Hypsokles son of Theognetos of Delos 400 dr., Prianeus son of Syros from Galessa 48 dr. (?) [Hera?]kleides son of Thrasynnades (20) of Delos 52 dr., Habron son of Thrason of Sphettos 280 dr., Laches son of Laches of Steiria > 700 dr., Maisiades son of Nymphodoros of Delos 140 dr. Thrason son of Habron of Sphettos -, Aristeides son of Deinomenes of Tenos on behalf of Oinades son of Kleo- of Tenos 220 dr.

Fines

The following fines were payable for impiety in the archonship of Charisandros (376/5) (25) at Athens, and on Delos of Galaios, the prescribed penalty and perpetual exile, because they led the Amphiktyons from the sanctuary of Apollo Delios and beat them: Epigenes son of Polykrates 10,000 dr., Pyrraitchos son of Antigonos 10,000 dr., Patrokles son of Episthenes 10,000 dr. *erasure* Aristophon son of Leukippos 10,000 dr., Antiphon son of Tynnion (30) 10,000 dr., Odoiteles son of Antigonos 10,000 dr., Telephanes son of Polyarkes 10,000 dr.

Buildings

Houses on Delos sacred to Apollo

Delios: house in Kolonos, which belonged to Euphantos, the neighbour of which is Alexos; the potteries, which belonged to Euphantos, the neighbour of which is the baths of Ariston; at Pedion, a house, which belonged to Leukippos, the neighbour of which is Agesileos; (35) a house, which belonged to Episthenes, the neighbour of which is the road; bronze foundry, which belonged to Leukippos, the neighbour of which . . . buildings of -; house . . . house, which belonged to Episthenes, [the neighbour of which . . . which (pl.) belonged] to Leukippos, the neighbour of which . . . the neighbour of which is the buildings (40) . . . the potteries, which belonged to Euphantos, . . .

Unknown number of lines missing

Fragment b

. . .
. . .
. . . upper room . . .
(45) . . . and fuller's shop . . .
. . . and building . . .
. . . which belonged to Episthenes . . .
. . . the neighbour of which was Dei- . . .
[the neighbour of which was -]doros; house which belonged . . .

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(50) . . . which belonged to Leukippos . . .
. . . neighbour [of which] was Kaibon . . .
. . .

This well preserved set of accounts of the Amphiktyons on Delos for the quadrennium 377/6-374/3 BC supplies us with one of our most complete pictures of the financial management of a Classical Greek sanctuary, and incidentally with evidence for unrest at Delos with Athenian control of the sanctuary in the very early years of the Second Athenian League. Inscribed on both sides of a stele that was perhaps set up in or near the sanctuary of the related cult of Apollo Pythios at Athens,⁵⁹ Face A lists receipts and expenditure for the period 377/6 – Thargelion (the penultimate month of the year) 375/4 BC, followed by the period Skirophorion (the last month) 375/4–374/3 BC. This periodicity is related to the celebration of the “Great” (i.e. quadrennial) Delia in Thargelion 375/4 (A32-40), after which the Athenian Amphiktyons are joined by five colleagues from Andros.⁶⁰ Face B details arrears, fines imposed for impiety, and buildings owned by the sanctuary. The inscription, and 54 others documenting the Athenian administration of the sanctuary in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, have recently been the subject of a full study by V. Chankowski (2008), to which the reader is referred for more detailed analysis.

Delos was the original base for the League of Greek states founded by Athens after the defeat of the Persian invasion of 480-479 BC. The treasury of the League was transferred to Athens in 454 BC, but we have no evidence for how the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos was managed before 454. The earliest inscribed records of the sanctuary, also from Athens, date to 434/3-431/0, OR 147 = *I Délos* 89 = Chankowski no. 1.⁶¹ Athens intervened heavily in Delos during the Archidamian War, “purifying” the island and reviving the quadrennial festival, the Delia, in 426 BC, and later briefly expelling the Delians;⁶² and by 410 BC we find the sanctuary being managed by a board of four Athenian Amphiktyons.⁶³ Athens ceded control over the sanctuary, apparently to the Delians, after her defeat in the Peloponnesian War,⁶⁴ regaining it after Konon’s victory at Knidos in 394 BC.⁶⁵ It used to be thought that Athens lost control again following the

⁵⁹ There may have been another copy erected in Delos, cf. n. 65.

⁶⁰ See Chankowski 2008, 110, 194.

⁶¹ The subsequent no. 2, no. 3 and no. 4 are from Delos.

⁶² Thuc. 1.8.1 (“purification”), 3.104 (“purification”, 426 BC, including removal of graves, cf. Diod. 12.58.6, and revival of festival, Great Delia), cf. 5.1 (expulsion of Delians, 422 BC) and 32 (return of Delians shortly thereafter); 8.108 (reference to earlier expulsion of Delians). Cf. on the festival, Plut. *Nik.* 3.5; [SEG 52.48A](#) F8 with n. 12.

⁶³ *I Délos* 93 = Chankowski no. 5, from Delos; the small fragment, no. 6, of 408/7 BC, is also from Delos.

⁶⁴ *I Délos* 87 = Chankowski no. 7 = RO 3 from Delos, records Spartan actions at the sanctuary after the end of the war; no. 8 = *SEG* 39.170, from Athens, belongs, in Chankowski’s view, to the transition in 402/1 BC; no. 9, ca. 398 BC, to the period of Delian control.

⁶⁵ *IG* II² 1634 = *I Délos* 97 = Chankowski no. 11, accounts of Amphiktyons, 393/2-390/89 BC, Athenian copy, *I Délos* 97 bis = Chankowski no. 12 is the Delian copy of the same accounts; it may have been normal, in periods of Athenian control of the sanctuary, for copies of the accounts to be erected in both places (see also Chankowski nos. 29 and 30, below n. 67). The very fragmentary *I Délos* 96 = Chankowski no. 10, from Delos, preserves no complete word.

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King's Peace of 386 BC, with its stipulation of autonomy for the Greek cities, and that these accounts, which date to shortly after the foundation of the Second Athenian League in 378/7 BC,⁶⁶ are the first in a series documenting regained Athenian control,⁶⁷ but the situation is not clear cut. The King's Peace did not make an explicit exception from the autonomy principle for Delos, as it did for the Athenian possessions (in a stronger sense) of Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros; but regardless of who controlled the Amphiktyony and the sanctuary, it is clear among other things from references to Delos in the accounts of the Amphiktyons that Delos was at all times an independent city (except presumably during the brief period at the end of the Archidamian War when the Delians were expelled). Chankowski therefore argues that the King's Peace probably had no effect on sanctuary administration and that features of these accounts which have been thought to suggest a new beginning, e.g. the absence of carry-over sums from the previous accounting period, reflect accounting practice rather than a real change of status.⁶⁸ The question of what impact the King's Peace had on sanctuary administration at Delos, however, admits of no definite answer. Other relevant shifts in the tectonic plates of interstate relations in Greek world, such as Athens' defeat in the Peloponnesian War and her victory at Knidos, certainly did impact on her control of the sanctuary; and the question whether our accounts document the beginning of a period of renewed Athenian control of the sanctuary, or merely the continuation of control that had been regained after Knidos, remains open. Delos was to regain independent control of the sanctuary in 314 BC⁶⁹ and retain it until it was handed back to Athens by Rome in 166 BC (cf. below on 7).

Though there are some changes of personnel in the four years, the Athenian Amphiktyons in these accounts are drawn consistently from the last five tribes in the official order.⁷⁰ This reflects a system whereby the first five tribes and the second five tribes alternated in supplying Amphiktyons in successive quadrennial terms. In the second period of these accounts, from Skirophorion 374/3 BC, they are joined by five Andrians, who continued in office for a four-year period through to 371/0, an arrangement that was not, however, continued after that.⁷¹ From the figures for the second period preserved at A74-76 and the information in *Ath. Pol.* 62.2 that Amphiktyons were paid a drachma a day, it can be inferred that the Amphiktyons and their secretary were paid 420 dr. each for a 14-month period of service. Since the second period of office began in the last month of 375/4 BC and ran to the end of the following year, this probably implies that the year 374/3 BC was intercalary.⁷² The under-secretary seems to have been paid 2 obols/day.

⁶⁶ Cf. [RO 22](#) (*IG* II² 43).

⁶⁷ See also Chankowski no. 14 (from Athens); no. 15, 373/2-370/69 BC (from Delos); no. 16, 369/8 or 367/6 (Delos); nos. 17-48 various dates between 367/6 and 333/2 BC (mostly from Delos, including 30, Delian copy of 29; but 21-22, 24, 25-27, 29 of 351/0 BC, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 44, 45 from Athens; 46 of 333/2 BC from Eleusis); nos. 49-55, inscriptions of Amphiktyons and *naopoioi* relating to building works, from shortly before 360 BC to 345/4 BC, from Athens or Delos.

⁶⁸ Chankowski 2008, 215-19.

⁶⁹ Chankowski 2008, 220-21.

⁷⁰ For the detail see Chankowski 2008, 194-95.

⁷¹ The accounts of 373/2-370/69 BC are *I Délos* 100 = Chankowski no. 15. On the Andrian Amphiktyons see Chankowski 2008, 241-45.

⁷² Interestingly this year would be predicted as intercalary as the second year of the fourth Metonic cycle (under the 19-year cycle the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 16th and 18th years were intercalary); but there is too little other evidence for the incidence of ordinary and intercalary years between the beginning of the first cycle in 432/1 BC and the mid-fourth century to confirm whether Athens stuck systematically to the Metonic system in this period. Cf. *IALD*, 389-400.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS - DECREES AND ACCOUNTS

As was commonly the case with Greek sanctuary finances, the major source of income was rents from sacred properties and interest on loans, the major object of expenditure religious rituals.⁷³ The sanctuary made loans both to cities and individuals at an interest rate of 10%.⁷⁴ The interpretation of the figures given in the accounts for interest paid and owed by the cities is not straightforward, though it is clear enough that Paros was especially heavily in debt to the sanctuary (owing 4 tal. 1830 dr. unpaid interest at B5). Unsurprisingly perhaps, the amounts of the loans correlate broadly with relative levels of tribute paid by the relevant places in the fifth-century Athenian Empire, when Paros was also the most heavily assessed of the sanctuary's debtors.⁷⁵ *IG XII 5*, 113 is a decree of Paros honouring the Amphiktyons for agreeing to a further loan of 5 talents in 341/0 BC.⁷⁶ It is notable that Athens is not recorded in these accounts as borrowing money from Delos, although the Athenians effectively controlled the sanctuary finances; but three cities, including Andros, fail to pay any interest at all, and only two of the smaller borrowers, Seriphos and Ios, pay all interest due. There is no sign of pressure being brought to bear on those in arrears. To an extent it seems that the Amphiktyons permitted these sanctuary loans to function as a safety valve to relieve financial pressure on Athens' allies in the Cyclades.

The individual borrowers, as one might expect, generally borrow lesser sums than the cities, the largest loan being one of 4,000 dr. to Hypsokles of Delos. Like the city borrowers, the individuals are from Cycladic islands, with the exception of the Athenians, none of whom pays any interest. In fact only 6 of the 24 individual borrowers pay interest, all from Delos or Tenos.

Rents from sacred properties on Rheneia and Delos raise substantial sums. Rents on Rheneia across both periods amount to over 3 talents, with 4,006 dr. coming from properties on Delos. In the second period income from the Rheneia estates amounted to 6,350 dr. or a little more, somewhat less than the 7,110 dr. annual rental income from Rheneia in 432 BC, and there was a further decline between our accounts and the 350s BC (*I Délos* 104-11 = Chankowski no. 24). Later inscriptions show Athenians to be better represented among the lessees than Delians. The buildings listed at the end of the inscription are identified by the names of former owners, pointing to their origin in property confiscation, whether from fines, default on loans or other legal processes. Two of the buildings were once owned by an Episthenes (B35, 37), who was perhaps the man of the same name who paid a fine of 380 dr. at A24-25 and father of the Patrokles who is punished heavily for assaulting the Amphiktyons.

The celebration of the quadrennial festival of Delian Apollo is the major item of expenditure, with payments for 109 cattle for sacrifice (in excess of a literal "hekatomb"), for gilding their horns, for a crown for Apollo,⁷⁷ and for tripods for the winners of the

⁷³ The receipts and expenditure in these accounts are discussed in detail by Chankowski 2008, 309-17.

⁷⁴ Cf. OR 147 = *I Délos* 89 = Chankowski no. 1.

⁷⁵ For the figures see the table, Chankowski 2008, 367. She emphasises, 367-69, that it would not be justified to infer that loans from the sanctuary were necessarily used specifically to offset tribute payments under the Delian League or later contributions to the Second Athenian League.

⁷⁶ 5 talents: *I Délos* 104-28, bA = Chankowski no. 43, l. 21.

⁷⁷ For an award of a crown to a divine figure cf. [IG II³ 1, 349](#) (Athens crowns Amphiaraos, 332/1 BC).

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS - DECREES AND ACCOUNTS

choral competitions, with over 2 talents, a very substantial amount, set aside for transport of the sacred delegates.⁷⁸

As often in the inscriptions documenting Athenian relations with allies and subordinates in the fifth and fourth centuries BC the accounts convey a sense both of the kind of arrangements that had the potential to generate discontent and of ways that the Athenians sought to offset such a dynamic. Occasionally the discontent breaks through the ostensibly calm surface of the inscribed record, though typically as here the precise ingredients fuelling the specific incidents recorded are opaque. B24-30 records the imposition of swingeing penalties, including perpetual exile and 10,000 drachma fines, on seven Delians who had been found guilty of impiety in 376/5 BC for taking the Amphiktyons from the sanctuary and beating them up. The case casts an interesting, if not especially surprising, sidelight on what might be construed as “impiety” (*asebeia*) in the Greek world. Unfortunately we know nothing more about the specific circumstances, or whether the Epigenes convicted for this incident was the Epigenes who had been Delian archon in 377/6 BC, and Pyrraitos the Pyrraitos who was Delian archon in 374/3 BC (B8-9). If, as seems possible, the assault had broad backing in Delos, it would be interesting to know whether it was motivated simply by resentment of (renewed?) Athenian control of the sanctuary, or whether it was triggered by some specific high-handedness on the part of the Amphiktyons or other Athenians.⁷⁹ In any case it is tempting to view the inclusion of Andrians among the Amphiktyons in the later period of these accounts, and the repair of the Andrian *oikos*, if that is correctly restored at A71, as a conciliatory gesture by Athens towards other island stakeholders in the sanctuary. There is continuing evidence for official Delian opposition to Athenian control in the following generation: in the 340s BC the Delians lost a case they brought against the Athenians before the Delphian Amphiktyony,⁸⁰ and in the 340s BC the leading pro-Athenian Peisitheides of Delos was awarded considerable benefits as an exile at Athens in the wake of another incident on Delos involving family splits, threats of physical violence and legal proceedings.⁸¹

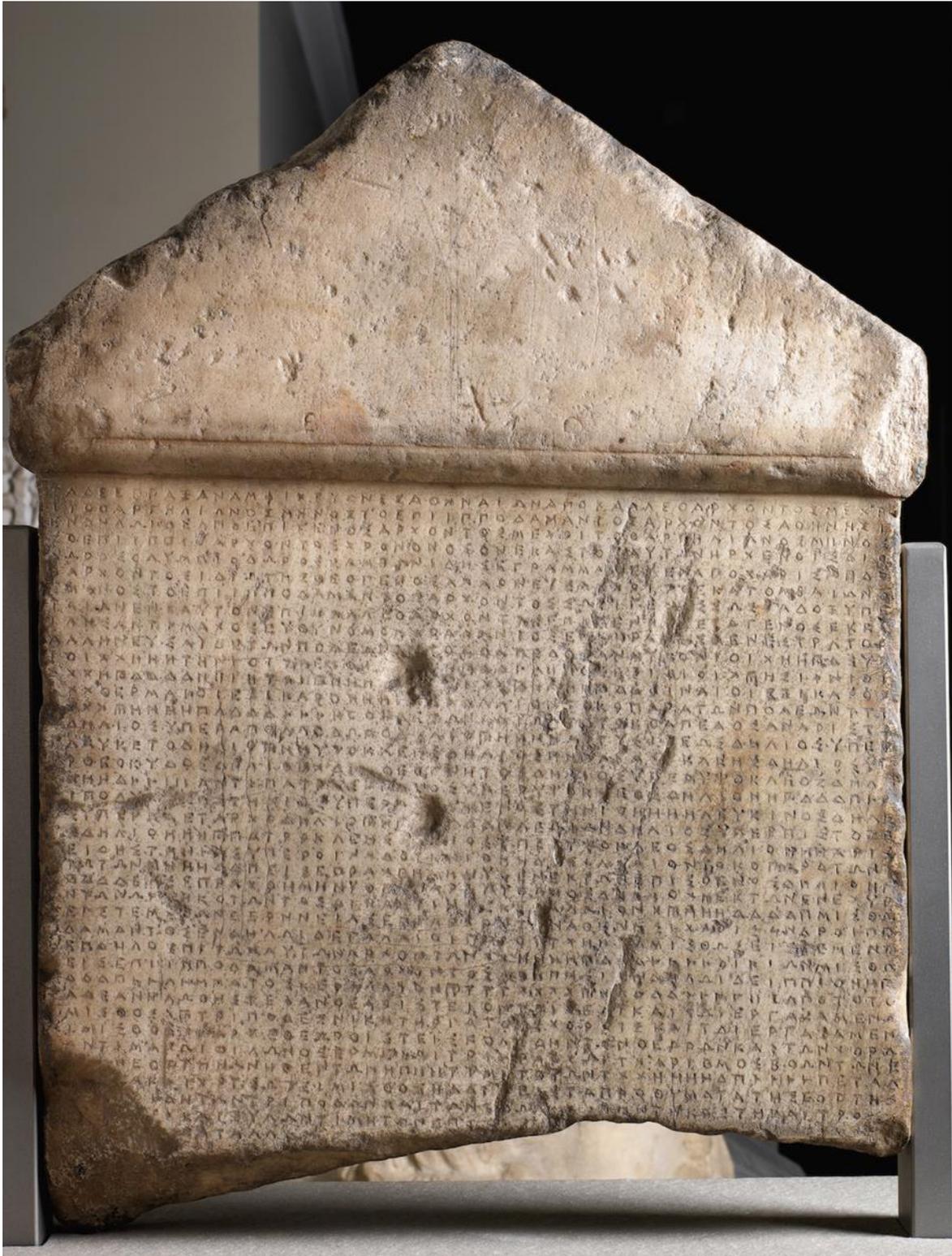
⁷⁸ For further discussion see Chankowski 2008, 119-20.

⁷⁹ The incident is discussed by Chankowski 2008, 249-53.

⁸⁰ Dem. 18.134-36. Discussed by Chankowski 2008, 256-57.

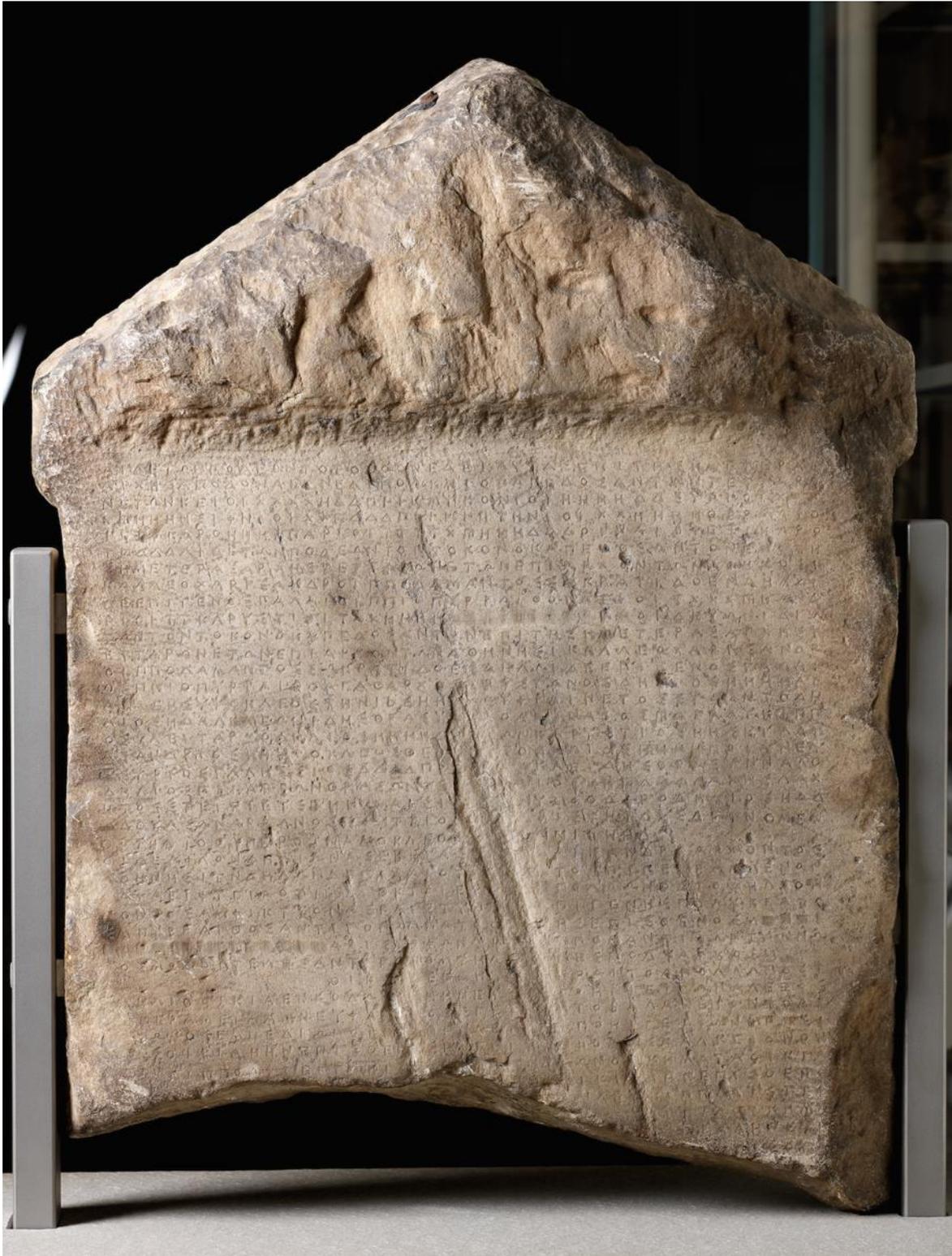
⁸¹ [IG II³ 1, 452](#); cf. *SEG* 50.178 = Chankowski no. 36.

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*Fig. 5. 3 fr. a, Face A = Loan Ant. 20 (“Sandwich marble”).
© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS - DECREES AND ACCOUNTS



*Fig. 6. 3 fr. a, Face B = Loan Ant. 20 ("Sandwich marble").
© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*

3. THE FUNERARY MONUMENTS: INTRODUCTION

Private Athenian funerary monuments between the later fifth century BC and the Roman period fall broadly into three stylistic phases.⁸² The first, ca. 430-310 BC, is characterised by figurative sculpture, which typically represents the deceased, alone or with others, usually family members, accompanied by inscribed names and occasionally epigrams. The monuments take a variety of forms, including *naiskoi* (“little shrines” enclosing up-to-life-size figures sculpted in more or less deep relief, cf. **6**),⁸³ stelai with figurative scenes either in shallow relief panels or painted (so-called “*Bildfeldstelen*”),⁸⁴ and stone vessels in the shape of two vase-types with funerary associations, the lekythos (**4**) and the loutrophoros (cf. **5**). Plain monuments also occur, without figurative representations, but inscribed with text, usually a name⁸⁵ or lists of names,⁸⁶ and occasionally an epigram.⁸⁷ As with other types of monument, in particular those celebrating victories by the sponsors of choral competitions at dramatic festivals (*choregoi*),⁸⁸ and inscribed honorific decrees of the Assembly, there was a tendency for the figurative monuments to become more numerous and elaborate as time progressed, and during the period in which Demetrios of Phaleron controlled Athens (317-307 BC) he not only abolished the *choregia* and terminated the inscribing of Assembly decrees at public expense,⁸⁹ he also passed a law providing that in future graves should be marked only by a small column (*columella*), less than three cubits high, a “table” (*mensa*) or a “*labellum*”.⁹⁰ The abolition of public provision for inscribing Assembly decrees was short-lived,⁹¹ and the *choregia* was replaced by a modified form of festival sponsorship, the *agonothesia*,⁹² but the simple *columella*, inscribed with the name of the deceased, remained the characteristic form of Attic funerary monument for three centuries and more.⁹³ From the late first century BC onwards there was a revival of the

⁸² The immediately preceding period is characterised by an absence of inscribed private funerary monuments and a proliferation of public monuments commemorating lists of war dead. At the time of writing, five such monuments have been translated on AIO: [IG I³ 1147](#) = OR 109, of 460-59 BC; [OR 111](#) = [IG I³ 1149](#) + *Hesp.* 81, 2012, 585-617, of 458 or 457 BC; [IG I³ 1162](#) = OR 129, of ca. 447 BC ?; [IG II² 5221](#) and [5222](#) = RO 7a, of 394 BC, the latest in the series.

⁸³ See also e.g. [IG II² 6217](#) = RO 7b, with AIO’s note.

⁸⁴ For examples see [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 9](#) and no. [10](#); [CEG 2, 569](#).

⁸⁵ E.g. [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 11](#).

⁸⁶ E.g. [SEG 40.216](#).

⁸⁷ [IG I³ 1503](#) = OR 113 (for an Athenian on Aegina), [IG I³ 1353](#) = OR 130 and [IG I³ 1330](#) = OR 179 are early examples.

⁸⁸ Cf. [IG II³ 4, 460](#) with notes.

⁸⁹ On this see [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 1](#) with notes.

⁹⁰ Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.66. Most of the surviving monuments from this later period are *columellae*, but a small number of low table-like structures are preserved, probably identifiable as Cicero’s *mensae*, and a small number of simple plain stelai, perhaps Cicero’s *labella*. Cf. Stears, 219. See also L. O’Sullivan, *The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum* (2009), 47-66, who explores the background and purpose of Demetrios’ funerary legislation as well as alternative explanations of what Cicero meant to say about the *mensa* and the obscure *labellum*.

⁹¹ Cf. [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 2](#) with notes.

⁹² For monuments commemorating *agonothesia* from 307/6 BC onwards see [IG II³ 4, 518-539](#).

⁹³ Apart from the two edited below, **7** and **8**, at the time of writing AIO includes [IG II² 9160](#), a *columella* originally inscribed in the 3rd cent. BC, reused in the 2nd cent. AD.

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figurative style, which endured through until the third century AD.⁹⁴ Each of these three phases is represented in the Fitzwilliam's collection: **4**, **5** and **6** all date to the fourth century BC and belong to the first figurative phase;⁹⁵ **7** is a typical plain *columella* of the late second century BC; **8** is a hybrid, a *columella* of the first century AD which is also decorated with relief; and **9**, a figurative relief stele of the second century AD, belongs squarely in the third phase.⁹⁶

Before looking at the individual monuments, there are some general points that need to be emphasised if we are to “read” them correctly in their original contexts. First, like most Athenian funerary monuments in modern museums outside Greece, they were collected as individual “marbles”, as prestige objects, and for their artistic, antiquarian and financial value. Their findspots were commonly not accurately recorded, and in any case, when discovered, they had mostly been moved from their original locations. It is important to appreciate that in their original setting the monuments would not normally have stood alone, but would have belonged to an ensemble of different monument types, generally commemorating about three generations of the same family, arranged in a walled funerary enclosure or *peribolos*, with burial plots at the back and monuments for display typically at the front of the *peribolos* facing the street.⁹⁷ All of them might carry inscriptions, but the monuments were not usually designed to be read individually, but as an ensemble which developed over time, as new monuments were added and existing monuments were modified, including by new inscriptions. An individual family member might be named on more than one of the monuments in the ensemble, other family members might not be named at all (e.g. if they were buried elsewhere) and there was not even a necessary connection between the individuals named on the monuments and those buried in the associated plot.

The common use of inscribed funerary monuments in the modern world gives us an instinctive sense that we understand their significance, but while there is certainly some overlap between ancient Athenian and modern Western funerary commemoration – the emphasis on naming, for example, is a feature of both traditions – there are also significant differences.⁹⁸ Perhaps the most striking is that in modern funerary monuments religious symbolism, connected with belief in an afterlife, is common; in ancient Athenian practice it is normally absent. Greek religion emphasised the mortality of human beings in contrast to the immortality of the gods, and was concerned largely with ensuring good relations with the gods in life. The Eleusinian Mysteries, in which many Athenians were initiated,⁹⁹ do seem to have offered reassurance concerning a continuing existence of some kind after death, and in Homer and later Greek literature the dead are sometimes portrayed as leading a shadowy existence in the underworld. The “conquest of death”, however, and the concomitant belief in an afterlife was not central to Greek religion as it is to Christianity, and a literal “hope of resurrection” had no place in the mainstream of Greek

⁹⁴ Von Moock collects 577 figurative monuments from this period of revival. From this period also on AIO at the time of writing is [I Eleus. 515](#), the inscribed base of a funerary monument commemorating the life of a hierophant.

⁹⁵ [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 9](#), [no. 10](#) and [no. 11](#) also belong to this phase.

⁹⁶ [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 13](#), [no. 14](#) and [no. 15](#) also belong to this phase.

⁹⁷ On *periboloi* cf. Closterman, 633-35 (with photographs of *peribolos* assemblages in the Kerameikos, fig. 1, and at Rhamnous, fig. 10); Stears, 207-18; Marchiandi; see also [IG II² 6217](#) = RO 7b with AIO's note.

⁹⁸ On this point cf. the remarks of Low.

⁹⁹ Cf. [I Eleus. 19](#) with AIO's notes.

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culture. Religion is intimately connected with the Athenian (and more broadly the Greek) epigraphical habit; the three major categories of inscription, decrees, accounts and inventories, and dedications, were all typically erected in sanctuaries. These inscriptions have a religious context which is largely unfamiliar in the modern world and requires some imaginative effort to comprehend. In the one category of inscription where a religious context does loom large today, the inscribed funerary monument, it is notably absent in its ancient Athenian equivalent.

Another fundamental difference is that while, with some exceptions (for example, for the wealthy or distinguished within churches), in a modern Western context it has not been common to include figurative representations of the deceased on a funerary monument, in ancient Athens not only were such representations common (at least before Demetrios of Phaleron, and after the figurative revival of the first century BC), but the living were also represented alongside the dead, sometimes in a way that makes it difficult to determine who is the deceased. Indeed the primary purpose often seems to be not so much to mark the grave of a deceased individual, as to project an image of the ideal, harmonious, family group, characteristically expressed in intimate, often poignant, scenes, most commonly in which two family members are depicted shaking hands (*dexiosis*).

A final point, or series of points, relates to the topic of status projection. First, dates of birth and death and/or statements of age at death are a common feature of modern funerary commemoration; in ancient Athenian practice they are rarely included before the Roman period.¹⁰⁰ Instead messages about the age, relationships and status of the persons commemorated are conveyed by the monument types deployed (e.g. *loutrophoroi* commemorate adults who died unmarried, see below on **5**), by the iconography of the figurative representations, as for example the portrayal of an adult male with a beard as an indicator of maturity, and via the inscription. Second, whether or not a deceased person is commemorated monumentally, and if so how, is generally a private matter in the modern world; in ancient Athens an ensemble of monuments in a funerary *peribolos* might serve a broader public function, displaying and confirming the family connections necessary for securing inheritance of property, and the citizen descent on both the mother's and father's side which, under Pericles' citizenship law, was necessary for citizen status.¹⁰¹ Finally there is another aspect of status projection that is perhaps easier to relate to from a modern perspective. The typical Athenian funerary monument conveys an image of an ideal family, displaying normative attitudes and behaviour, but not uncommonly this normative image shades into a projection of high social status, whether conveyed simply via the high quality of the sculpture, or via elite status markers such as ownership of horses or hunting dogs, by other indicators of culture or leisure, conveyed visually, but sometimes also in an accompanying funerary epigram, or even, as might have been the case with our first example, **4**, by the name of the deceased. As we shall see, in one way or another, status is a preoccupation in all the figurative Attic funerary monuments in the Fitzwilliam's collection.

¹⁰⁰ [IG II² 6217](#) = RO 7b, the monument for the cavalryman, Dexileos, is a notable exception.

¹⁰¹ On the public significance of family tombs in securing status claims see especially *Ath. Pol.* 55.3, *Xen. Mem.* 2.2.13. Cf. *Isai.* 2.4, 2.36; *Dem.* 57.28; *Lyk.* 1.147. It is debated how far such public/political factors influenced funerary commemoration, see Marchiandi, 111-13; J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos* (1997); Closterman. On this point cf. [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 10](#) (4th cent.), and [no. 14](#) (Roman period), with notes.

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4 FUNERARY LEKYTHOS. Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.20.1865. Funerary lekythos of white marble, foot, handle and most of neck broken away. “In the collection of Greek marbles at Cambridge ... found upon the shore of the Propontis and presented by Spencer Smith Esq., late Minister Plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, brother of Sir Sidney Smith” (Clarke, *Travels*), but actually Attic (see above, section 1). An older (bearded) man is depicted to the right, shaking hands with a young man (unbearded) to the left, with a *petasos* (broad traveller’s hat) hanging at the back of his neck. He leads a horse by the bridle and is accompanied by a small slave-boy and two dogs, one of which looks straight ahead, while the other intimately sniffs the ground under the raised heel of the young man’s bent right leg. H. 0.94, max. diameter 0.395. Letter height 0.012-0.017.

Eds. Dobree, 418 no. 43; (*CIG* II 2033); Lenormant, 386 no. 205 (from Fauvel archive); (Koumanoudes no. 453; *IG* II 2017); Michaelis, 250 no. 22; Conze II no. 1065 (ph.); (*IG* II² 6060); Budde and Nicholls, 13 no. 29 (ph.) +; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.867a +.

Cf. Clarke, *Travels*, 4^o vol. 3 (part II.2), 494 n. 1, 528 n. 1, 8^o vol. 6, 238 n. 1, 283 n. 3; Heichelheim, 14 no. I.4; B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (1970), A26; Woysch no. 31 (ph.) +; *APMA* 4 no. 1577. Autopsy. Figs. 7, 8, 9.

ca. early 4th cent. BC
Above head of older man
 Ἡγήμων
 Ἐπικηφίσι[ος]

ΗΓΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙΚΗΦΙΣΙ Dobree (editors since Conze have not read the initial Η), ΤΙΜΩΝ incorrectly, Lenormant.

Hegemon
 of Epikhephisia

As noted above, section 3, we should imagine this lekythos, with its relief depicting the characteristic *dexiosis* (hand-shake) scene, and its simple name label, not as an individual monument, but as one of a dynamic series of monuments in a *peribolos*. The lekythos was a type of ceramic vessel that typically contained oil associated with funerary rites and was commonly deposited in graves. Like loutrophoroi (see **5**) they begin appearing in marble form in funerary contexts from about the third quarter of the fifth century BC and continue in use until the funerary legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron in the late fourth century.¹⁰² Typically they were placed at the front corners of a *peribolos*.¹⁰³ This example is datable on stylistic grounds to around the beginning of the fourth century BC.¹⁰⁴ As noted in

¹⁰² Kokula, 15 with pl. 1 identifies NM 4468, a relief from Brauron with a loutrophoros on one side and a lekythos on the other, as perhaps the earliest example.

¹⁰³ Stears, 210.

¹⁰⁴ The development of marble funerary lekythoi and their relationship to their ceramic predecessors is summarised by Schmaltz, 115-16. Budde and Nicholls adduce stylistic dating

section 3, it is often difficult to distinguish living from deceased individuals on these monuments. This one is no exception, and earlier scholars have advanced differing interpretations. Budde and Nicholls pointed to the isolation of the older man and the fact that the inscription is placed above him as suggesting that he is the deceased. More persuasive, however, is the interpretation of Schmaltz, who notes that the inscription is partly in the zone usually occupied by the decorative egg-and-dart motif, suggesting that it was added later, presumably on the death of the older man, to a monument originally commemorating the death of the younger one, who is marked out as the primary focus of attention by his dress, his horse and slave with dogs (“durch Tracht, Pferd und Pais mit Hunden so besonders ausgezeichnet”).¹⁰⁵ The younger man might perhaps have been named on another monument in the *peribolos*. As quite commonly in funerary reliefs, the relationship between the persons portrayed is not entirely clear. It is easiest to see the older man as father of the younger, but we cannot rule out another relationship.¹⁰⁶

The name + demotic formula marks out the (older) man (and implicitly probably the younger man too) as an Athenian citizen. We know that family tombs were used as evidence in claims to inheritance of property and to guarantee citizenship status;¹⁰⁷ but there is another aspect of status that seems to be deliberately projected by this high-quality monument (and by a slightly different combination of features in **5**), namely the elite status associated with horse ownership and hunting.¹⁰⁸ And there is a further factor that may be relevant in this context. Epikhephisia was a small deme in the city trittys of Oineis, located in the Kephisos valley north of the urban area near Lakiadai and sending variably one or two men to the Council in the fourth century.¹⁰⁹ No member of the deme is listed by *APF* as in the liturgical class (p. 608), but the name Hegemon, connoting “Leader”, seems to be of a piece with the claim of this family to elite status implicit in the relief. This may be coincidental, especially if the name was added later than the relief; but this would not be the only example of conscious interplay between the connotations of a name and a relief on a funerary stele.¹¹⁰ It is notable that this public image should be projected

comparanda for an early fourth-century date, and Schmaltz, 22-23, reaches a similar conclusion, dating the relief “um die Jhd.-Wende”.

¹⁰⁵ Woysch, 27, agrees with Schmaltz. Clairmont identifies the young man as the deceased, but unconvincingly ascribes the name label to him also, despite its position above the head of the older man.

¹⁰⁶ Stears, 214 with fig. 11.6, notes the striking stele of Ampharete in the Kerameikos, which appears to show a mother holding her infant child. It is only from the epigram inscribed over the figures that we learn that the two figures are grandmother and grandchild (*IG* II² 10650 = *IG* I³ 1290).

¹⁰⁷ See above section 3.

¹⁰⁸ This is also emphasised as the primary significance of scenes involving horses and dogs by Woysch, 36-39 (horses), 58-59 (dogs, allusion to hunting, classic gentlemanly pursuit).

¹⁰⁹ J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (*Hesp.* Suppl. 14, 1975), 49, cf. D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica* (1986), 371. A decree of the deme is extant, *IG* II² 1205, found in the Dipylon area.

¹¹⁰ The best-known example is the portrait of a dog, signifying a trusty guardian, between the name inscribed at top of the stele, *IG* II² 11470 = Conze I no. 66 = Woysch no. 145 (ph. pl. 47), “Eutamia”, connoting “good guardian”, and the main relief panel below. Cf. Woysch, 32: “Le chien n’est plus l’ancienne apparition du mort mais est en liaison directe avec son nom et avec le rôle de ‘bonne gardienne’ qu’ Eutamia assumait dans sa maison.” Hegemon and cognate names are otherwise unattested in the deme, and the lack of a patronymic hinders further identification. Cf. *Athenian Onomasticon* (revised December 2017).

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in a period when the horse-owning elite was apt to be tarred with the brush of sympathy with the brutal anti-democratic regime of the Thirty which briefly held power at Athens in 404 BC following her defeat in the Peloponnesian War; but for its redemption in the 390s, cf. [IG II² 5222](#) = RO 7a with note.¹¹¹



Fig. 7. 4 = GR.20.1865.

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Fig. 8. 4 = GR.20.1865.

© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

¹¹¹ The emphasis on the demotic and omission of the patronymic might just be significant in this context.



Fig. 9. 4, detail = GR.20.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

5 FUNERARY LOUTROPHOROS STELE. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Loan 19. Pedimental funerary stele of white marble. Athens (where drawn by Kinnard). “Brought from Athens by the Rev. H. V. Elliott and the Rev. E. B. Elliott, Fellows of the College [Trinity]” (Dobree), 1820. Under an inscribed panel a loutrophoros depicted in relief portraying to the left a clothed young (beardless) man with a dog sniffing the ground, shaking hands with a naked youth to the right, with a dog whose head is turned to look up to him. The upper part of the stele, including inscribed panel esp. left side, shows fire damage. H. 1.23, w. 0.44, th. 0.14. Lettering of ca. mid-iv BC (Kirchner) h. l. 1 0.015, ll. 2ff. 0.011

Eds. Dobree, 389 no. 2, 400 (acknowledging collaboration of Reuvens); *CIG* I 805 (using transcript of Müller); Koumanoudes no. 928; Michaelis, 270 no. 111; *IG* II 1994; Conze II no. 1006 (ph.); *IG* II² 7839a; W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (1955), no. 544; *CEG* 2.527; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.297 (ph.).

Cf. W. Kinnard, in C. R. Cockerell et al., *Antiquities of Athens and Other Places in Greece, Sicily etc., Supplementary to the Antiquities of Athens by J. Stuart and N. Revett* (1830), 17 ff. (drawing); A. N. Oikonomides and S. N. Koumanoudes, *Πολέμων* 5, 1952/3, 25-26 (*SEG* 12.185); C. W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram* (1970) no. 33 (ph.); G. Daux, *BCH* 96, 1972, 542-44 no. 33 (ph.); Nicholls, *Trinity College Collection*, 78 (ph.); R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* (1977), vol. 2, 176 no. 418; W. Peek, *ZPE* 31, 1978, 272 (*SEG* 28.279); Kokula, 155 no. L14; Woysch-Méautis, 127 no. 292 (ph.); *APMA* 4 no. 714. Autopsy. Figs. 10, 11.

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ca. 380-350 BC *On upper moulding*
[Εὐ]θύκριτος Εἰτεῖαῖος

In panel above relief
ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τ-
έρμα μολόντα
[Ε]ὐθύκριτον πατρία χθῶν
5 ἐκάλυψε τάφῳ
μητρὶ φίλον καὶ πατρί, κασι-
γνήταις τε ποθεινὸν
παῶσι τε ἐταίροισιν σύντροφον
ἡλικίας.

1 fin. ΗΛΙΑΙΟΣ Dobree. Ll. 4-5 (πατρία χθῶν) imply that an Athenian demotic should be read and not an ethnic. Εἰτεῖαῖος, first mooted (but rejected) by Michaelis, is supported with varying degrees of confidence by Koehler, Peek and Hansen, who gives a detailed history of the reading at *CEG* 2 p. 41, and by the photo of Clairmont, *CAT*. This is more plausible than a non-standard form of the demotic of Halai, usually Ἀλαιεύς, but here perhaps [Ἀλ](α)ιαῖος or [Ἀ]λ(ι)αῖος (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Halai Araphenides kai Halai Aixonides*), suggested by Oikonomides and Koumanoudes, Daux. The letter before ΑΙΟΣ is a vertical to the left of the space, with the springs of upper and lower horizontal strokes, i.e. an epsilon. The apparent Λ before that remains problematic. It has the appearance of an inscribed letter but the right diagonal, which is clearer than the left, runs slightly lower than other such strokes. It was perhaps the result of a cutting error or conceivably of a deliberate act of vandalism, e.g. by someone wishing to challenge the deceased's status.¹¹²

On upper moulding
Euthykritos of Eitea

In panel above relief
Here the land of his fathers
covered in a tomb one who
had reached the goal of every excellence,
(5) Euthykritos,
beloved of his mother and father,
missed both by his sisters
and by all the companions of his youth
with whom he had grown up.

Like the lekythos discussed above (4), the loutrophoros was a type of ceramic vessel with funerary associations which, in the second half of the fifth century BC, began to be used in marble form as a funerary monument.¹¹³ In life loutrophoroi conventionally carried water

¹¹² For another, much later, case of possible tampering with an inscription on a funerary stele, in a context of a dispute over citizen status, see [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 14](#).

¹¹³ Kokula, 15. On the usual context of these monuments in a *peribolos* ensemble see section 3.

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for wedding rites; in death they were placed on the tombs of persons who had died unmarried, the idea apparently being that the deceased should receive in death what they had not obtained in life.¹¹⁴ Sometimes, like the lekythoi, the monument takes the form of a three-dimensional loutrophoros.¹¹⁵ Quite commonly, however, as here, the loutrophoros is depicted in relief on a stele, and the relief loutrophoros is itself decorated with figurative scenes depicting the deceased alone or in interaction with others, in a style similar to that typically found on other forms of funerary monument, including the characteristic handshake (*dexiosis*). This is one of fifty loutrophoros-stelai collected by Kokula dating from ca. 400-320 BC on which the deceased appears on the loutrophoros alone or with a slave (L1-6), as here with a man (L7-L22), or with two men (L23-25), or a woman (L26-34), or on which figures and loutrophoroi appear separately (L35-50). It was not uncommon for deceased males on loutrophoroi, as here, to appear naked, which seems to have been an allusion to their unmarried status. Sometimes the nakedness is associated with athletics.¹¹⁶ Here there are no athletic paraphernalia, but the deceased is also singled out by being the focus of his dog's attention and of that of the apparently slightly older, clothed, figure with whom he shakes hands.

The deceased is named with his demotic at the top of the stele on the epistyle, marking his citizen status. His name, without demotic, is also included in the epigram, which consists of two elegiac couplets inscribed in a panel above the loutrophoros relief (with, rather unusually, breaks in the line matching the end of each hexameter and pentameter). The epigram begins, however, with a conventionally worded indication that the deceased lies here in his native soil,¹¹⁷ which in effect confirms the message about citizen status implicit in the use of the deceased's demotic on the epistyle. Inscribed epigrams on funerary monuments in Classical Athens are not especially rare, but neither are they particularly common. Stears counted around 150 epigrams on extant fourth-century monuments, for citizens and non-citizens, compared with 2000 or so monuments for citizens alone which simply record names.¹¹⁸ The epigram was clearly an "optional extra", for which an additional fee would doubtless have been payable. Some poetic skill and ingenuity were needed to adapt the name and other wording of the epigram both to the circumstances of the deceased and to the exigencies of the metre, albeit that the epigrams tend, as Stears notes, to dwell in conventional terms on "the deceased's attainment of normative behavioural ideals" (as in this case their excellence, *arete*)¹¹⁹ and the grief and

¹¹⁴ Kokula, 13. The significance of this form of funerary monument is made explicit at Dem. 44.18: "Archiades was sick, and ended his life unmarried. What is the proof of this? A loutrophoros stands on Archiades' tomb". Cf. Stears, 210; and most recently, K. Margariti, *Hesp.* 87, 2018, 91-176.

¹¹⁵ See the photographs of a lekythos and a loutrophoros, Stears 211, fig. 11.

¹¹⁶ As in Kokula L1, deceased exercising with a ball; L48 = *IG* II² 10496, deceased scraping himself with a strigil.

¹¹⁷ So conventional is this wording that Peek 1955 grouped this epigram with over a hundred others under the heading "ἐνθάδε γῆ κατέχει τὸν δεῖνα und Ähnliches" (486-594).

¹¹⁸ Stears, 213-14.

¹¹⁹ Hansen (*CEG*) draws attention to close verbal parallels in the contemporary epigrams on the funerary monuments for women (note the association with the bridal chamber of Persephone, which would be out of place for a man): *IG* II² 5450 = *CEG* 2.510 (ca. 390-365 BC) (iii): ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολῶσαν | Φαναγόραν κατέχει Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος ("Here the chamber of Persephone holds Phanagoras, who reached the goal of every excellence") and *IG* II² 12151 = *CEG* 2.513 (ca. 380-350 BC) (iii): ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρ[μα μολῶ]σαν |

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loss occasioned by the death of the loved one, in this case in the father and mother (who are clearly still living) and, in what seems to be a personal touch, sisters in the plural, but no brothers. Instead of brothers the epigram refers to youthful companions.¹²⁰ The wording has the effect of focussing attention on the fact that the deceased was his father's sole male heir, heightening the poignancy of the message conveyed by the *loutrophoros* form, namely that he had died unmarried. Despite the personal touches, to a marked degree epigrams such as this seem intended to convey the same messages of attainment of respectable ideals and strong family bonds that are projected by the figurative aspects of the monument. Against this background it is not especially surprising that overt interplay between personal details alluded to in the text and in the figurative representations on Attic funerary monuments is not very common,¹²¹ though in this case the fact that both the figures in the relief are youthful in appearance, and both accompanied by a dog, may suggest that the figure on the left represents the companions of the deceased's youth alluded to also in the epigram.¹²²

Opinions on the date of the monument have varied between ca. 380-370 (Nicholls), 360-350 (Kokula) based on stylistic dating of the relief, and "mid-iv" BC, based on letter forms (Kirchner, Peek). Unlike **4** there are no horses in this case to signify elite status, but the high quality of the monument, the leisured impression conveyed by the relief and the epigram with its allusion to *arete* seem designed to convey a similar cultured impression. No Euthykritos is attested in Eitea, and as with **4** further identification of the family is hampered by the absence of a patronymic.¹²³

Μνησαρέτηγ κατέχε Φερσεφόνης θ(ά)λαμος ("Here the chamber of Persephone holds Mnesarete, who reached the goal of every excellence").

¹²⁰ L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946), 117, cites numerous parallels in funerary contexts for σύντροφος + genitive in relation to deceased youths.

¹²¹ Stears, 214, identifies just two clear cases: *IG* II² 10650 = *IG* I³ 1290, Kerameikos mus. 2620, the stele of Ampharete, on which as we saw above (notes to **4**) the epigram clarifies the relationship of the figures depicted in the relief as grandmother and grandchild; and *IG* II² 8388, Athens NM 1488 (= Clairmont 3.410), a highly idiosyncratic and puzzling *Bildfeldstele*, with Greek and Phoenician inscriptions and also mixing Attic and Phoenician iconographical traits, in which both epigram and image seem to refer to the protection of the deceased by friends from a (literal or metaphorical?) lion and involving a ship's prow. Cf. J. M. S. Stager, *Hesp.* 74, 2005, 427-49; R. Osborne, in A. Mullen and P. James eds., *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (2012), 317-34.

¹²² Clairmont's identification of the figure to the left as father of the deceased is unconvincing given his apparent youth.

¹²³ The Euthy- name component is too common to confirm a family connection with the Euthydemoi attested on the funerary monuments from the Kerameikos, *IG* II² 6001; 6008, ll. 2 and 13.

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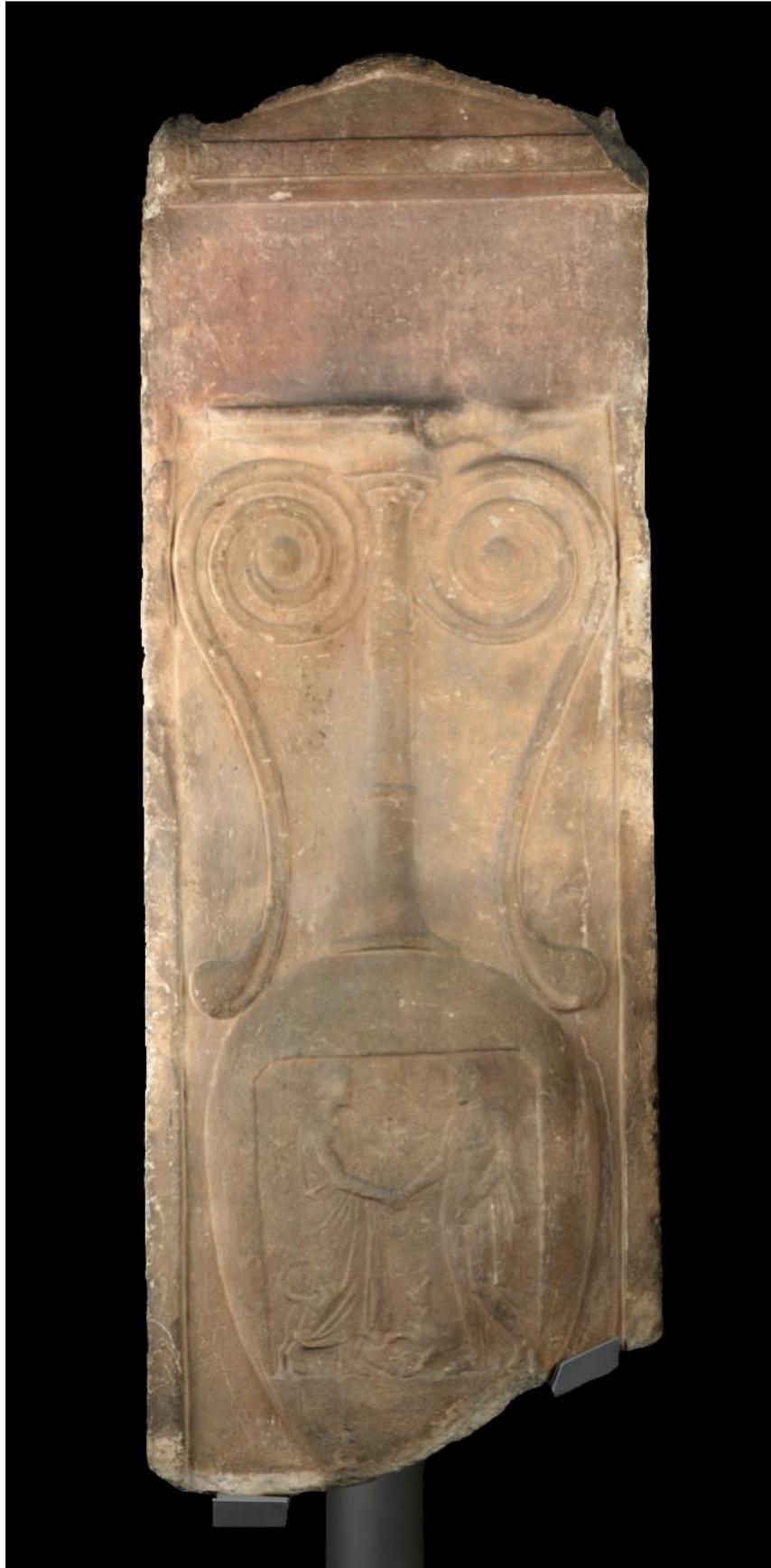


Fig. 10. 5 = Loan 19. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Fig. 11. 5, detail = Loan 19. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

6 FUNERARY STELE WITH RELIEF. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, GR.12.1885. Acquired by W. Railton during travels in Greek lands from 1825. Presented by Sir Charles Walston (or Waldstein), 1885 (see section 1). Said to be “from Asia Minor”, but more probably Attic in origin. Fragment of a pedimental funerary stele of white marble, broken on all sides, but preserving part of the original top. Beneath the pediment a bearded man, with naked right shoulder, portrayed in relief with his right hand reaching up to his cap (*pilos*), and identified by an inscription on the base of the pediment. H. 0.57, w. 0.25, th. 0.11 (at inscribed epistyle) - 0.085 (body of stele); depth of relief 0.05. L.h. 0.012.

Eds. Conze II no. 912 (ph.); *IG II²* 11641; Budde and Nicholls, 13-14 no. 30 (ph.); Clairmont, *CAT* 1.258 +.

Cf. Heichelheim, 14 no. I.5; Vermeule and von Bothmer, 143 no. 4; *APMA* 4 no. 1578. Autopsy. *Figs.* 12, 13.

ca. early 4th cent. BC

[.]εοκλέης
Relief

[Θ]εοκλέης Conze, assuming a short name centered over the tip of the deceased’s cap. [N]εοκλέης and the rarer [Λ]εοκλέης are also possible.

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[Th]eokles or [N]eokles
Relief

Stylistic features and letter forms combine to suggest a date in about the first quarter of the fourth century BC. From the shape of the pediment it can be calculated that the figure of the man occupied the whole width of the stone, without architectural framing at the sides. This, together with the absence of patronymic, demotic or ethnic to identify him, and the man's enigmatic gesture, emphasises the likelihood that this stele was one of an ensemble of monuments in a funerary *peribolos* (see section 3), which clarified his identity and relationships. The man's gesture in reaching to his cap is also attested for a seated (beardless) figure with a shield on the lekythos, Conze II no. 627 (ph.) = *CAT* 2.279b (ph.) = *APMA* 4 no. 627, where it responds to a standing (beardless) figure who is holding out his hand to the seated man, apparently offering *dexiosis*. Conze interprets the gesture on our stele as one of grief (Trauer). Budde and Nicholls note that the *pilos* was characteristic headgear of warriors and travellers and suggests that [Th]eokles is "donning his cap in readiness for the longest journey of all". Clairmont sees him as a warrior for whom warfare is over and who is thus removing his cap. I doubt if any of these interpretations is quite right. The parallel scene on Conze no. 627 suggests that it is rather a gesture of greeting, or preparatory to greeting (not unlike raising one's hat in modern culture); and I suggest there may have been another monument close by (in effect another part of the same monumental complex) depicting a figure with whom our deceased was interacting. In any case this monument exemplifies rather well the need to "read" these monuments in conjunction with others in the same *peribolos*. By itself, it presents a puzzle; as part of a monumental ensemble its significance was probably quite clear.



Fig. 12. 6, detail = GR.12.1885. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

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Fig. 13. 6 = GR.12.1885. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

7 FUNERARY *COLUMELLA*. Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.30.1865. Funerary *columella* of grey marble. Allegedly found in the ancient ruins at Taman (Hermonassa), on the Asiatic side of the Cimmerian Bosphoros, 1800 (Clarke), but actually from the Piraeus (Fauvel ap. *CIG*, see section 1). H. 0.84, diameter of top 0.35, letter h. 0.035-0.04, Α, serifs, beta with two separate complete rounds.

Eds. Clarke, *Marbles*, 1-2 no. 1; *CIG* I Add 835B p. 918 (from Fauvel archive); Lenormant 1866, 376 no. 156 (from Fauvel archive); Koumanoudes no. 1617; *IG* III 2396; *IG* II² 8408.

Cf. Clarke, *Travels* I, 4^o 404, 8^o vol. 2, 82; Heichelheim, 14 no. I.2. Autopsy. *Figs.* 14, 15, 16.

ca. 150-50 BC Κλεοπάτρα
Γοργίου
Βηρυτία

Kleopatra
daughter of Gorgias
of Berytos

As we saw above, section 3, the funerary *columella* was in use in Attica for several centuries following the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron. As simple monuments whose basic design remained the same over a long period they are difficult to date and this example is currently undated in the scholarly literature. In fact, however, the deceased can be linked to the commercial community from Berytos (modern Beirut) which flourished on Delos and at Athens between the re-acquisition by Athens, thanks to the Romans, of control over Delos in 166 BC, and Athens' break with Rome and consequent sacking of the city of Athens by Sulla in 86 BC. Apart from Kleopatra and her father, Gorgias, five Berytians are known by name from Athens at this period, all of them in connection with the ephebate.¹²⁴ The community is also abundantly attested on Delos, where from ca. 110 BC they formed an association known, appropriately enough given its dependence on maritime commerce, as the "Poseidoniasts of Berytos".¹²⁵ As Athenian citizens were commonly active at this period both on Delos and at Athens,¹²⁶ so non-Athenians engaged

¹²⁴ See *FRA* pp. 55-56 (see also *Athenian Onomasticon*). The five are: Nikon son of Alexis, ephebic officer (*paidotribes*) in 127/6 BC, *SEG* 15.104 ll. 39, 137, 271 and *FD* III (2) 24, l. 11; Antiochos son of Prostates, ephebe ca. 120 BC, *IG* II³ 4, 367, l. 18; Nikomedes son of Nikomedes, ephebe in 119/8 BC, *IG* II² 1008 IV, l. 120; Glaukos son of Agathon and Zeno son of Eirenaios, ephebes in 107/6 BC, *IG* II² 1011 V, l. 116 and VI, l. 94.

¹²⁵ *ID* 1520, 1772-1796.

¹²⁶ On this see for example the prosopographical study of the fathers of girls who helped make the *peplos* for Athena in 108/7 BC, [S. B. Aleshire and] S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 142, 2003, 79-86: Pyrrhos of Lamprai, prominent office-holder on Delos and at Athens (l. 32); Patron of Myrrhinoutta, member of family prominent on Delos after 166 BC, perhaps the man of this name who was *hieropoios* at the Apollonia on Delos in 144/3 BC, *ID* 2593, l. 7 (l. 40); Theodoros of Myrrhinoutta, dedicated to Apollo on Delos, *ID* 1975, and from a family attested almost

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in commerce seem to have divided their time between Athens and Delos.¹²⁷ Characteristically, in ca. 90 BC one Gorgias son of Apollodoros made a dedication on Delos as leader of a group of the Poseidoniasts from Berytos in honour of the Roman praetor, Gnaeus Octavius, a relative of the future emperor Augustus.¹²⁸ Kleopatra might plausibly have been his daughter. Alternatively, she may have been the daughter of Gorgias of Berytos who was gymnasiarch on Delos in 144/3 BC.¹²⁹ The letter forms on the monument are consistent with a date at this period.¹³⁰



Fig. 14. 7 = GR.30.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

exclusively as prominent in the epigraphy of Delos, 166-100 BC (l. 42); Kallias of Bate, from an old Athenian family prominent on Delos in the second century, e.g. Ophelas son of Habron of Bate, *epimeletes* of Delos in 147/6 BC, honoured by *SEG* 48.1040 (l. 43). The wealth connected with the control of the thriving commercial centre of Delos was the major source of the prosperity of the Athenian elite at this period.

¹²⁷ Apart from the attestations of Gorgias on Delos noted below, note e.g. the dedications by Dionysios son of Zeno son of Theodoros, *ID* 1772, 1783, 1784, 1785 (cf. Zeno son of Eirenaios at Athens); and Nikon, ephebe 119/8 BC, *ID* 2598, l. 9 (cf. Nikon son of Alexis at Athens).

¹²⁸ *ID* 1782, ll. 7-8. As noted by the editors of *ID* this man may be the same as the Gorgias of Berytos listed among *pareutaktoi* of ephebes, 119/8 BC, *ID* 2598, l. 11. Gnaeus Octavius was consul in 87 BC, so this inscription should date ca. 90 BC. For the cultivation of Rome by this community on Delos cf. *ID* 1778 and 1779.

¹²⁹ *ID* 2593, l. 30.

¹³⁰ The split-bar alpha is consistent with a date after ca. 150 BC. For the beta formed from two distinct segments cf. *Agora* XVII 496 (pl. 41), i BC; as a general comparandum for the letter forms cf. *Agora* XVII 507 (pl. 40), i BC; 481 (pl. 41), i BC-i AD.

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Fig. 15. 7, detail = GR.30.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

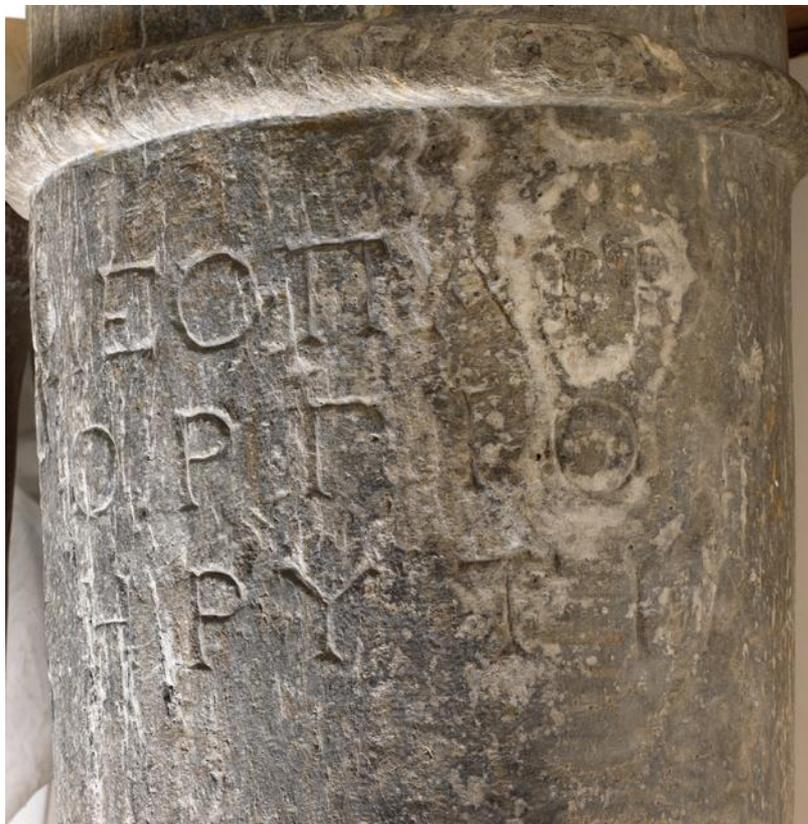


Fig. 16. 7, detail = GR.30.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

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men of Hermione are attested as residents of Attica between the sixth and third centuries BC, both cultural figures known from the literary record,¹³⁶ and this is one of four Attic funerary monuments for citizens of Hermione dating from the first century BC to the third century AD, and the only one with figurative relief.¹³⁷ There is little more that we can say about our deceased. Von Moock, 84-85, emphasises the prevalence of an economic “middle class” among the purchasers of the figurative Attic funerary stelai of the Roman period. Εὐκλ(ε)ίδας is a fairly common name in the Hellenistic Peloponnese,¹³⁸ including several other attestations in the Argolid, and one other in Hermione, for Zopyrion son of Euklidas in the second/first century (?) BC on the name list, *IG IV 731*, col. 1, l. 12.



Fig. 17. 8 = GR.19.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

¹³⁶ See *FRA* p. 67. Epikles of Hermione, lyre-player (*kitharistes*) and teacher of Themistocles, vi BC, *Plut. Them.* 5.3; Kallinos of Hermione, witness and heir to Lykon’s will, iii BC, *D.L.* 5.70 f, 73 f.

¹³⁷ The others are for a Moschion daughter of Kraton, commemorated in i BC on the *columella* *SEG* 12.190; for a Habron daughter of Taurion in i AD on the *columella*, *IG II²* 8497; and for Argylos a ship-owner (*naukleros*) in ii-iii AD on the stele, *IG II²* 8498.

¹³⁸ Cf. *LGPN IIIA* p. 167.

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Fig. 18. 8, detail = GR.19.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Fig. 19. 8, detail = GR.19.1865. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

9 FUNERARY STELE WITH RELIEF. Fitzwilliam Museum, GR.5.1919. Funerary stele of white marble. Piraeus ? (see sect. 1). Under the inscription a relief in an architectural frame of a woman of “small Herculean woman” type, facing to the front, in a *chiton* and *himation*, in act of throwing the end of her *himation* over her left shoulder, her hair in the “melon-style” fashionable from the early Antonine through to the Severan period (von Moock, 37, style ♀ 14), her left hand wrapped by the edge of her clothing; on the right in smaller scale a young long-haired servant girl in a *chiton* gazes sadly up at the deceased, holding her head in her right hand in a gesture of grief, with her right elbow resting on her left hand; on the left a *kithara* (lyre). Two lead-filled dowel holes to either side of her head and two in the edges of the stele probably for attachment of hooks carrying garlands. Further dowel hole in lower part of each side, perhaps for attachment to kerbing or other monuments in a family plot (Budde and Nicholls). H. 0.955, w. 0.57, th. 0.10. L. h. 0.017. “Narrow, closely set letter forms of Hadrianic and early Antonine age” (Muehsam)

Eds. S. Reinach, *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains* (1909-1912) III 530 no. 4; Conze IV no. 1930 (ph.); *IG II²* 6725; Budde and Nicholls, 82-83 no. 133 (ph.); von Moock, 164 no. 418 +.

Cf. *Annual Report to the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum*, 1919 I no. 1 (ph.); Heichelheim, 14 no. I.6; A. Muehsam, *Berytus* 10, 1952-3, 56 n. 4, 62 n. 2, 70 n. 5, 86 n. 3, 87 n. 7; C. Vermeule, *Archaeology* 8, 1955, 13 (ph.); Vermeule and von Bothmer, 143 no. 24; E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis*, *Hesp. Suppl.* 22 (1988), 40, 42, 44, 48; *APMA* 4 no. 1286. Autopsy. Figs. 20, 21.

ca. 150-200 AD Ἀφροδισία ἡ καὶ Ἐπίλαμψις Ἀφροδισίου
Λευκονοέως θυγάτηρ

Λευκονοέως here uniquely for Λευκονοέως.

Aphrodisia also known as Epilampsis, daughter
of Aphrodisios of Leukonoion

For the revival of the Classical figurative style of funerary monument from the late first century BC see section 3 (cf. **8**). The name Aphrodisios is first attested in the deme Leukonoion in the Augustan period for a dedicant to Asklepios on behalf of his son, Eutyichides,¹³⁹ and is common in the deme for ephebes, councillors and on funerary monuments in the second century AD, without it being possible to identify one of the bearers of the name as father of the woman commemorated in our monument.¹⁴⁰ This is the only attestation of the female version of the name, Aphrodisia, or of the name Epilampsis, in the deme. Two points about the status of the deceased have not previously been fully explored. On the one hand Aphrodisia is portrayed as a dignified young woman, being mourned by a young servant-girl, and von Moock, 78, interprets the *kithara* which appears by her side as a mark of culture and education, suggesting that musical

¹³⁹ *IG II³* 4, 800.

¹⁴⁰ *Athenian Onomasticon* (revised December 2017) lists no less than sixteen certain and two possible instances of the name certainly attributable to Leukonoion, most dating to the 2nd century AD.

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instruments performed a similar indicative function in this regard for females to the book roll or diptych commonly shown on funerary monuments for males. The use of the “small Herculaneum woman” statue-type (so-called in contrast with the more matronly, “large Herculaneum woman”) would seem consistent with that. Christiane Vorster has plausibly interpreted the common use of this statue type on Attic funerary monuments of the Roman period as a manifestation of an economically self-confident middle class, consisting predominantly of freedmen, soldiers, craftsmen and farmers, and as intended to project an image of the exemplary woman and exemplary citizen.¹⁴¹ On the other hand it does not appear that Aphrodisia was married; and the other two females accompanied on their funerary monuments at this period by musical instruments are not Athenian citizens. A *kithara* is shown on the monument of Serapias (a name consistent with, though not necessarily implying, servile origin) of Megara (von Moock 269 = *IG* II² 9324) and a pipe (*aulos*) on the monument of the surely significantly named Mousis “of Miletos” (von Moock 447 = *IG* II² 9781).¹⁴² Like Aphrodisia, these two women are portrayed singly. It may be that in all three cases the musical instruments serve as markers of culture and education, but an alternative possibility would seem to be that all three of these women were professional musicians.¹⁴³ If so, it seems that citizen and non-citizen women rubbed shoulders in Attica in the music profession at this period.

The second enigmatic feature of this monument is that the deceased went by two names, Ἀφροδεισία ἢ καὶ Ἐπίλαμψις. According to Lambertz, the practice of double naming originated in Hellenistic Egypt, spread to Syria and Asia Minor, and by ca. 150 AD is also found in Attica. Its precise significance in individual cases is often difficult to pin down and there is no single catch-all explanation: sometimes the second name (“supernomen”) represents the translation of an original name into Greek (or Latin); sometimes it is a nick-name or other kind of informal name; sometimes the two names are the result of adoption (though there seems no clear-cut case of this in Attica).¹⁴⁴ A full, up-

¹⁴¹ C. Vorster, in J. Daehner ed., *Die Herkulanierinnen. Geschichte, Kontext und Wirkung* (2007), 152 [pp. 134-35 in the English version, *The Herculaneum Women: History, Context, Identities*], cf. J. Daehner, in the same volume, pp. 122-24.

¹⁴² On the use of the ethnic “Milesios” in relation to freedmen and others of non-specific origin cf. [AIUK vol. 2 no. 13](#) with notes. Von Moock 447 = *IG* II² 9781 is in the British Museum (642) and will be included in a future volume of *AIUK*. For the appearance of persons of servile origin on figurative funerary monuments of the imperial period cf. the monument for the three slaves of Antipatros of Phlya, Roushion, Philemation and Ma, depicted as having perished in a shipwreck on a funerary monument in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, and referred to there as Vipsanii (Βιψανοί), *IG* II² 8413 (= von Moock no. 443 (ph.)), as interpreted by Byrne in *RCA* 487-488; note to [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 5](#).

¹⁴³ Pipe-players (*auletrides*), but not lyre-players, are listed among the productive occupations attested for women in Classical Athens by E. M. Harris, in U. Bultrighini, E. Dimauro eds., *Donne che Contano nella Storia Greca* (2014), 203, citing Aeschin. 1.42, 76, Ar. *Ach.* 551, *Peace* 950, *PCG* Antiphanes F49, F50 etc.

¹⁴⁴ Lambertz identified several cases of double naming as definitely attributable to adoption, but none of them is Attic (I, 124, 135, 140, 142 etc.). Thus in Thessaly (Larisa), in the late first century BC/early first century AD we encounter a Δαιῖπύλα Κεφάλου, φύσι δὲ Ἀντιγόνα Εὐπαλίδου (*IG* IX 2, 784 = *SEG* 53.556); and in 36 BC in Olympia we encounter [-]ων Καλλίππου, [κατὰ δὲ π]αίδ[ω]σιν Τηλεμάχ[ου ὁ καὶ] Τηλέμα[χος] (*IvO* 59, ll. 8-10). From ca. the second century BC, adoptions might be designated on Attic inscriptions by the formula: x son or daughter of y, but by birth (γόνωι δὲ) son or daughter of z. Thus in the Augustan period

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to-date study of the phenomenon in Attica is needed,¹⁴⁵ but in the meantime one might consider interpreting the double names in this case as a consequence of a naming strategy aimed at securing inheritances. In the Classical period too we encounter women with more than one name: Apollodoros in [Dem.] 59 claimed Stephanos' daughter Phano was originally named Strybele. More significantly perhaps in our context, in Isaios 3.30-34 a woman involved in a complex inheritance case and who is claimed to be the legitimate daughter of Pyrrhos appears to have gone by two different names, first Kleitarete, the name of her paternal grandmother, and later Phile.¹⁴⁶ In our case the name Aphrodisia would perhaps have been intended to secure inheritance rights from her father, Aphrodisios, while the supernomen, Epilampsis, might have been designed to secure her (or someone else's) inheritance via another route. This cannot be pinned down more precisely, though Follet's suggestion that our Epilampsis was related to Aelia Epilampsis of Phaleron, priestess of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis in the mid-second century AD, *IG II² 3687 = I Eleus. 523*, l. 3, might be relevant in this context.



Fig. 20. 9, detail = GR.5.1919. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Sostrate daughter of Eudemos of Cholargos, but by birth, of Herakleides of Phlya, dedicated a statue of her husband, Lysandros son of Apolexis of Oion, *IG II² 3909*; cf. 3520; and in the first century AD the priestess of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis was Kleo daughter of Eukles of Phlya, but by birth of Nikodemos of Hermos, *I Eleus. 341-343*; K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1974), 72-74 priestess of Demeter and Kore no. 9. As convincingly elucidated by Rubinstein et al., this practice originates in a period when, in consequence of the relaxation of Pericles' citizenship law, strict requirements that citizens be of citizen descent were relaxed, and "genuine" citizen descent became something the office-holding elite wished, or needed, to advertise explicitly.

¹⁴⁵ Lambertz I, 135-140, listed Attic cases known to him, without for the most part venturing explanations. Examples include [IG II³ 4, 836](#), l. 1.

¹⁴⁶ She was given in marriage with a dowry by her adoptive brother Endios and Lene Rubinstein suggests to me that Endios may have engineered her renaming as a way of strengthening his own claim to be sole heir to his adoptive father's estate.

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Fig. 21. 9 = GR.5.1919. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.