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PREFACE

This paper publishes editions, translations and commentaries on the twenty-seven Athenian dedications in the collections of the British Museum (together with one other dedication which has conventionally been included in the Attic corpora but which, in our view, does not derive from Attica). The inscriptions date from the fourth century BC to the Roman imperial period; they include dedications made in private and public contexts, by men and women from all strata of Athenian society; and they offer examples of a wide range of physical forms, from simple plaques to elaborate sculpted reliefs. Although, therefore, the BM collection of dedications does not offer a comprehensive cross-section of ancient Athenian dedicatory practice, it does give a very good insight into both the persistence and the diversity of this aspect of the Athenian epigraphic habit.

We are grateful above all to the staff of the British Museum for their assistance in this project, extended over several visits to their collections and archives, and maintained also during the "lockdown" periods of 2020-2021, when we were unable to visit the Museum in person. In particular, we would like to thank Peter Higgs, Alex Truscott and Celeste Farge for their patient and expert help. Jaime Curbera, whose editions of **1-23** appear in the revised *Inscriptiones Graecae* volumes (*IG* II^3 4, fascicules 1 and 2), very kindly shared his results with us in advance of publication, and has been generous in offering further advice; our enormous debt to his work will be apparent throughout this volume. Michael Metcalfe provided valuable perspectives on Lord Aberdeen's collection and its origins, based on his ongoing research on the Aberdeen papers in the British Museum. We are indebted also to Julian Lambert for photography, to Sebastian Prignitz for sharing with us his photographs of and insights on **12**, and to a number of other colleagues for discussion and advice: Robert Pitt on a wide range of epigraphical questions, Rebecca Flemming on matters related to ancient medicine, Felix Budelmann on metrical problems, John Friend on ephebic inscriptions, Ralf Krumeich and Matthaeus Heil on Acropolis monuments, Georgia Malouchou for discussion of **2** and Edward Harris on aspects of law. We are grateful to the East Attica Ephorate of Antiquities for facilitating autopsy of the parts of **5** at Rhamnous, and to Mrs Tania Gerousi of the British School at Athens for her assistance in obtaining permissions for this. Josine Blok, Chris de Lisle, Angelos Matthaiou, Kai Trampedach and other members of the AIO Advisory Board offered extremely learned and helpful suggestions on a number of the inscriptions published here; Michèle Brunet also offered very constructive advice and corrections. Thanks are due to Hugh Griffiths for design of the cover, and to Irene Vagionakis for invaluable assistance with editorial and encoding matters. As ever, we owe deep gratitude to Stephen Lambert for his patient reading, and re-reading, of this volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Agora Site Guide: J. McK. Camp, *The Athenian Agora. Site Guide.* 5th ed. (2010)
Agora III: R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora. Volume III. Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (1957)
Agora XXXVIII: C. Lawton, *The Athenian Agora. Volume XXXVIII. Votive Reliefs* (2017)
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1. THE INSCRIBED ATHENIAN DEDICATIONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM: THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The provenance of the inscribed dedications currently in the collection of the British Museum is varied, but most are known to have been gathered by private collectors who later sold or donated their collections to the British Museum. In this section, we start with discussion of the two largest groups of material: those dedications collected by Lords Elgin and Aberdeen. We proceed to discuss smaller groups and collections, in chronological order of their accession to the Museum; and we conclude with those dedications whose provenance is more complex (or, in one case, unknown).

As is the case with the BM's collection of decrees,[1] the majority of the inscribed dedications now in the Museum derive from the Elgin collection, and were acquired at Athens by Elgin's agent, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, during the first period of his operations in Athens (1801-1807).[2] The bulk of Elgin's collection, including most of the inscriptions which he had acquired, was shipped to the United Kingdom between 1800 and 1811,[3] and sold to the British Museum in 1816.[4] We know little or nothing about the circumstances of Elgin's discovery of inscriptions.[5] However, we may surmise on the basis of its content that **3** (a dedication to Apollo commemorating an archonship) may have been set up originally in a cave on the north slope of the Acropolis; the gymnasiarchic and lampadarchic contexts of **6** (commemorating a gymnasiarchy) and **7** (a dedication to Hermes and Herakles commemorating a victory in a torch-race) make it possible that they were from the lower city (though there is a possibility that **6** and **7** may derive from outside Attica); **24** and **26** (statue bases) may derive from either the Acropolis or elsewhere in Athens. More can be said about the provenance of the three of Elgin's dedications which were noted by earlier visitors to Athens: **1** (commemorating a priesthood of Pandion) was first recorded by Richard Chandler (1738-1810)[6] on the Acropolis. **25** (statue-base of Polyllos) was first noted on the Acropolis, in front of the Parthenon, in April 1436 by Cyriacus of Ancona (1391-1452), the antiquarian and keen copyist of inscriptions who recorded 52 inscriptions at Athens, of which at least 22 are extant;[7] it was seen also by E. D. Clarke on his visit to Athens in 1800-1801 (Clarke, 366).[8] **8** (shrine to Aphrodite/Isis) was reported originally in

[1] See Lambert, *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly*), 1.
[2] Poulou, 69. Generally, for the details of Lusieri's activities in Athens, see Poulou. See also Liddel and Low, *AIUK* 8 (*Broomhall*), Introduction.
[3] The details of the shipments are tabulated in Smith, 293-94.
[4] For details of this part of the collection, and its sale to the British Museum, see *AIUK* 4.1 (*BM, Cult Provisions*), 1-3.
[5] For discussion of the findspots of decrees (including those both on the Acropolis and in the area of the lower city) in the Elgin collection at the BM, see *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Council and Assembly*), 1-5; *AIUK* 4.3A (*BM, Decrees of Other Bodies*), 3-4; also *AIUK* 4.3B (*BM, Ephebic Monuments*), 3-4. Those inscriptions now in the possession of the Eleventh Earl at Broomhall (all of them funerary) appear to have derived from either the Kerameikos or the suburbs of Athens: see *AIUK* 8 (*Broomhall*), 1-2.
[6] On Chandler, see Lambert, *AIUK* 4.1 (*BM, Cult Provisions*), 1.
[7] Bodnar 1960, 35-40, 131; Bodnar 1970; Chatzidakis, 201-208.
[8] On Clarke, see *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam*), 1-5.

1729 by the scholar and antiquarian l'Abbé Fourmont, who had been sent by Louis XV to collect manuscripts and inscriptions from the eastern Mediterranean;[9] he recorded that it was built into the outer wall of the Church of Panagia Spiliotissa ("Our Lady of the Grotto"),[10] that is the Thrasyllos monument, on the south slope of the Acropolis.

The inscription in the **Appendix** (thank-offering to Apollo Tarsios), which is from the Elgin collection, is likely to have derived from outside Attica. Smith's 1916 article paraphrases a letter written by Philip Hunt (Chaplain of the British Embassy at Constantinople, who played a central role in Elgin's acquisition of antiquities) giving an account of the acquisition of this inscription at Gallipoli, noting his success "in the purchase of a draped torso, and a small votive tablet dedicated by certain fellow sailors to Apollo of Tarsus as a thank offering".[11] The majority of inscriptions in the BM's 1816 acquisition of the Elgin collection are Attic, but there is a significant number of inscribed items from other parts of the Greek world.[12]

The votives from the Pnyx (**13-23**), all but two of which (**17** and **21**) derive from the purchase of the Elgin marbles, have a collection story of their own. When Chandler visited the Pnyx in 1765, he noted the carved niches on the scarp wall, and speculated that these "were for tablets containing decrees and orders",[13] but it was not until 1803 that the anatomical dedications themselves came to light. George Hamilton-Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860), is a key figure in this story. Michael Metcalfe's research on Aberdeen's diaries of the period March to November 1803 now held at the British Museum confirms that Aberdeen made two visits to Athens during that year and that, at the time of his second visit at the end of August, Lusieri suggested that the Pnyx would be a good place to excavate.[14] Dodwell's report (based on his second visit to Athens in 1805) was that the "earth" which covered the site "was cleared away by the orders of a British nobleman (the Earl of Aberdeen)".[15] It was these explorations which uncovered the inscriptions which are now in the British Museum.[16] (Further examples were found in later phases of excavation

[9] For Fourmont's visit to Athens in 1729 see Stoneman, 191-92.
[10] "Athenis ad angulum exteriorem templi παναγίας σπιλιοτίσσας".
[11] Hunt and Smith, 194.
[12] Non-Attic inscriptions purchased as part of the Elgin collection by the BM in 1816 include the famous bi-dialectal boustrophedon inscription of Phanodikos from Sigeion, BM 1816,0610.107; the loan-agreement between Euboulos of Elateia and Orchomenos, BM 1816,0610.377; a choregic dedication from Orchomenos, BM 1816,0610.381; the funerary monument for Hieroklea from Troas, BM 1816,0610.295; honorary decrees from Tenos, BM 1816,0610.226 and 1816,0610.362; a list of victors from Boiotia, BM 1816,0610.166; a decree from Oropos, BM 1816,0610.378. (This is not a comprehensive list.)
[13] Chandler, 1776, 68. Chandler was the first traveller to correctly identify the Pnyx: Judeich, 23.
[14] See also Chamberlain, 37 and 42. Poulou, 69, notes that Lusieri was also involved in the work on the Pnyx.
[15] Dodwell, *Tour* I 401-402.
[16] Dodwell noted several votives, including our **13**, **14**, **15**, **16**, **18**, **19**, **20**, **22**, **23**. Clarke (200-201 n.) reports an account written by Robert Walpole (1781–1856), who travelled to Greece shortly after graduating from Cambridge in 1803 (*ODNB*, s.v. Walpole, Robert) of the same votives (again crediting their discovery to Aberdeen). Michaelis 1882, 118, also reports on Aberdeen's activities in Athens, although his account of the anatomical votives is rather misleading ("a few very

of the site, and are now in collections in Athens and elsewhere.[17]) According to Smith, some of Aberdeen's material from the Pnyx was transported to the UK in March 1810 on board the *Pylades*, along with a large shipment of Elgin material.[18] It was probably at some point in this process that all but two of Aberdeen's votives were assimilated into the Elgin collection; they were thus acquired as part of that collection by the British Museum in 1816. Other parts of Aberdeen's collection were shipped separately to Britain, and remained in his possession until his death in 1860.[19] Shortly after this, in 1861, his son, the fifth Earl of Aberdeen, donated them to the British Museum; the bequest included our **17** (votive depicting an eye) and **21** (votive depicting a thigh). It is odd that Boeckh (who was aware of this material through transcriptions sent to him by H. J. Rose) identified **17** as part of the Elgin collection; indeed, the account of Visconti (no. 60) in 1816 lists it as being one of the marbles sold by Elgin to the BM. Yet the records of the British Museum suggest that it was passed to the BM from the collection of Aberdeen in the accession of 23rd May 1861. We presume that ownership of the item was unclear in 1816, but that it ended up in Aberdeen's possession.

Clarke, a critic of Elgin,[20] claimed there was a marked contrast between the collection styles of Elgin and Aberdeen:

> "Among English travellers, the Earl of Aberdeen is particularly distinguished for his liberality in encouraging works of this kind: the more laudable, in being opposed to the lamentable operations which another British Earl, one of his Lordship's countrymen, was then prosecuting, to the *utter ruin* of the finest works of Antient Greece. To Lord Aberdeen, History and the Fine Arts will ever be indebted, for the pains he bestowed in the excavation and restoration of the *Pnyx*, and for other similar undertakings."[21]

It is less than clear, however, whether this contrast reflected an actual rivalry between the two collectors. In 1816 Aberdeen was a member of the British Museum committee formed

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remarkable reliefs, which place before our eyes in the minutest detail the paraphernalia of a feminine toilet").

[17]. Cf. Kourouniotes and Thompson, 196; Thompson 1936, 155 a-c. Kourouniotes and Thompson, 89-94 summarise the history of excavation of the site between Aberdeen's initial clearances and the systematic excavations of the 1930s; see also Calligas 1996. The inscribed dedications from the Zeus Hypsistos sanctuary are collected in *IG* II^3 4, 1239-76; cf. Mitchell, 128-29 and *AIUK* 2 (*BSA*), no. 7. For monuments from the Agora excavations associated with Zeus Hypsistos, see *Agora* XVIII, pp. 322-25. On the cult, see below, **section 7F, Introduction**.

[18] The rest of Aberdeen's collection (published as *GIBM* I nos. 69 (= our **17**), 70 (= our **21**), 90, 113, 133, 141, 142) appears to have been shipped to England from Malta on the *Standard* on 24th September 1808: we are grateful to Michael Metcalfe for informing us of this on the basis of his research into the Aberdeen Diaries.

[19] Aberdeen seemed to lose interest in the ancient world after his return from Greece, becoming more focussed on science and geology, and on developing his political career: Chamberlain, 61-78, 91-104.

[20] On Clarke, see *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam*), pp. 1-6.

[21] Clarke, 199-200, n. 5.

to consider the purchase of the Elgin marbles; it was Aberdeen who proposed the purchase sum of £35,000 that Elgin accepted (nearly half of what Elgin had wanted).[22]

One of our stones (**2**: commemorating an award of crowns) derives from the Inwood collection. Henry William Inwood (1794-1843) travelled to Greece in 1819, studying architecture and collecting antiquities.[23] On his death, the collection was sold to the British Museum: it consisted of inscriptions (Attic and non-Attic), marble sculpture (including material from the area of the Erechtheion), ceramics and prints purchased by the British Museum in 1843. **2** was purchased by the British Museum, together with the rest of Inwood's collection for £40 on 8th March 1843.[24]

The collection of Percy Clinton Smythe, sixth Viscount Strangford (1780-1855; ambassador to the Porte at Constantinople between 1820 and 1824) is the origin of **4** (dedication by a gymnasiarch). During his period of residence in Constantinople he accumulated a collection of antiquities, although the precise circumstances by which he came to acquire them are unclear. Strangford died in 1855 and in 1864 the Museum acquired part of his collection from his son, the eighth Viscount.[25] Robert (6-9) cast doubt upon the Athenian provenance of another inscription at the BM which derived from his collection (the stele for Hermias: *IG* II^2 11325 = BM 1864,0220.8);[26] however, in the case of **4**, Fourmont's record confirms its Athenian provenance (in a private house).[27] Strangford's collections were divided between the British Museum and Canterbury (Michaelis 1882, 167); the trustees of the BM paid £100 for them, and this piece was accessioned at the BM in 1864.[28]

12 (dedication to Pan and the Nymphs) was sold to the British Museum in 1895 by Jean P. Lambros, a well-known antiquities dealer in late nineteenth-century Athens (the 1884 edition of Murray's *Handbook* for British travellers to Greece recommended his services, though warned that his "prices were very high and variable").[29] Greek law at this time had provision for landowners to conduct private excavations on their properties (in theory, though not always in practice, under the close supervision of the state), and, with certain restrictions, to sell to private owners any resulting finds; the sale of objects already

[22] Chamberlain, 68-69.

[23] On Inwood, who played an important role in the Neoclassical revival, working on a number of churches, including St Pancras New Church in London, which boasts a Karyatid porch modelled on that from the Erechtheion, see *AIUK* 4.6 (*BM, Funerary*).

[24] BM Archives: *Inventory of Mr Inwood's Collection*, p. 4, no. 4.

[25] On Strangford and his collection, see Michaelis 1882, 161-62; *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Council and Assembly*), 4-5; *AIUK* 4.3B (*BM, Ephebic Monuments*), 4 with notes 19 and 20; *AIUK* 4.6 (*BM, Funerary*).

[26] For other false attributions in the Strangford collection, see Rigsby, *Asylia*, 343.

[27] *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Council and Assembly*), no. 16*b* was also acquired by Strangford having been discovered in a private home in Athens.

[28] BM *Trustees' Minutes and Letters, 1861-9*: a letter from the Principal Librarian states that the trustees "sanctioned the purchase of Viscount Strangford's antiquities for £100"; these antiquities included our **4** (dedication by gymnasiarch).

[29] Murray, 161 (quoted in Galanakis, 187, n. 36).

in private collections was also permitted. We do not know which of these routes brought this item into Lambros' possession.[30]

The two BM fragments of **5** (commemorating victory in a torch-race) were collected by John Peter Gandy Deering at Rhamnous in late 1813. Deering's MS Journal (now held at the BM) described how it was discovered, in two pieces "in the cella of the larger temple" at Rhamnous, which is now identified as the Temple of Nemesis.[31] The UK-based fragments of this object appear to have been largely forgotten until they were purchased by the BM in 1952 from Mr Eric Gandy, the great-grand-nephew of their collector. They were published by Ashmole in 1954 and were first associated with the Rhamnous fragments by Ashmole (initially in 1959 and then in 1962); the reconstruction of the relief and text was developed further by Petrakos (1976, 1982; *I Rhamnous* 106).

Two of our dedications have a more complex collection history. **10** (dedication by Jason the Physician) was discovered and drawn by the French diplomat and scholar Louis-Sebastien Fauvel (1753-1838) and obtained by him for the collection of Marie-Gabriel Florent Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752-1817),[32] the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1784-92). It then passed into the collection of Comte James Alexandre de Pourtalès-Gorgier (1776-1855);[33] on his death it was sold at auction in Paris in 1865 and was purchased by the BM.

9 (dedication to Apollo) was acquired not in Athens but in Italy, having been moved from Attica to Rome by the late sixteenth century: a *terminus ante quem* for this move is 1605, by which date the Renaissance scholar and antiquarian Cassiano del Pozzo had included an illustration of the relief (apparently already re-worked) in his *Museo Cartaceo*, an extensive collection of drawings of classical antiquities.[34] By the middle of the eighteenth century, it had come into the possession of the sculptor and restorer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. (It appears as Plate I in the third volume of his *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, teste cognite ed altre sculture antiche scelte*). Since Cavaceppi was well-known for his fondness for reworking items of classical sculpture, it is likely that the relief was further reshaped by him,[35] before being sold on (directly or via an agent) to a collector.[36]

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[30] For a fuller explanation of the complex legal situation (and its practical application) in the period before the passing of the Second Archaeological Law of 1899, see Galanakis, 186-89. For an Attic funerary inscription in the BM's collections, also acquired from Lambros, see *AIUK* 4.6 (*BM, Funerary*), Introduction and no. 71.

[31] On Gandy's visit to Rhamnous, see Petrakos, *Rhamnous* VI, 246-47.

[32] Dubois 1818, no. 156.

[33] Dubois 1841, 76 with plate 26.

[34] Dal Pozzo's collection is now held in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle; the drawing of this relief is Vol. x, Fol. 44, no. 8037, fig. 255 (Vermeule, 64). Vermeule notes (5) that Volume 10 of the collection contains 120 drawings, presumably purchased as a group, executed between 1590 and 1605.

[35] For details of the changes to the sculpted relief, see the commentary on **9**. On Cavaceppi's approach to restoring and reshaping ancient sculpture, see briefly Coltman 2009, 84-85, and (for more detailed analysis), Howard.

[36] Seymour (57-62) notes that by the 1760s, as his reputation and popularity grew, Cavaceppi's dealings with English collectors were increasingly conducted via agents (particularly Thomas Jenkins and Gavin Hamilton) rather than at first hand.

That collector was Francis Russell, the Marquess of Tavistock (1739-1767), who travelled to Continental Europe between 1759 and 1763, and spent some time in Rome studying ancient and Renaissance art.[37] It seems very likely that Russell purchased the dedication during this visit to Rome (the caption to Cavaceppi's illustration of the relief, published in 1772, notes that it was by then located "In Inghilterra").[38] By the early nineteenth century, the relief was in the possession of Francis Russell's younger son, the Sixth Duke of Bedford, John Russell (1766-1839). In May 1804, John Russell wrote to Charles Townley, offering him "two pieces of Antiquity" acquired by his father in Rome (which, he reported, "until very lately have not been unpacked").[39] Townley accepted,[40] and the relief was sent to his house in Park Street, London, where it was put on display as part of his large and celebrated collection of antiquities; it remained there until Townley's death in 1805.[41] The relief did not form part of Townley's major bequest to the British Museum,[42] but was sold to the Museum in 1805 by his cousin, Peregrine Edward Towneley, along with other drawings and smaller works of sculpture.

Finally, one of our inscribed dedications, has an unknown provenance. **11** (dedication to Herakles) was first published in Ellis' 1846 catalogue of the Townley Galleries of the British Museum; however, it does not seem to have formed part of the Townley Collection, and no information is preserved about its accession or provenance. The

[37] Wiffel, 532, points to the "critical minuteness" with which Russell studied the art and architecture which he encountered on his travels, and notes the "accurate eye, refined taste and ... most solid judgement, very remarkable in one so young".

[38] There is no detailed record of Russell's purchases of antiquities in Rome, although his letters to the Earl of Upper Ossory (reproduced in Wiffel, 533-44, 547-49) make clear his intense interest in ancient sculpture, and mention some other purchases of artworks; Russell also encourages Ossory to make use of the services of Gavin Hamilton, one of Cavaceppi's agents (Wiffel, 537).

[39] British Museum Townley Archive: TY 7/1913. Russell describes the relief as "in all probability a sepulchral monument", and observes that the "inscription at the foot of it is so much defaced that I fear it will be very difficult to make any thing of it".

[40] British Museum Townley Archive: TY 7/1914. In his diary (TY 1/20; entry for May 14th 1805), Townley mentions the letter from Russell, and gives a description (fuller and more accurate than Russell's) of the relief: "a bas relief with Apollo sitting; two female deities Juno and Diana before him, and a father and two sons standing in an action of veneration; in the lower margin is a Greek inscription much obliterated. This B. R. seems to have been a votive offering".

[41] The relief was mounted in the hallway of Townley's house, and is included as no. 24 in the *Parlour Catalogue* of 1804; the catalogue, however, contains only a small sketch of the relief (Townley died before he could add the written description of the object). For an overview of Townley's collection and its display in Park Street, see Cook. For analysis of Townley's motivations and exploration of the cultural and social contexts in which he was operating, see Coltman 2006, 165-93; Coltman, 2009, 233-72.

[42] The details of the bequest are usefully summarised by the *ODNB* s.v. Townley, Charles: "In his [Townley's] will, dated 29 November 1802, his marbles were bequeathed to the British Museum, but in a codicil dated 22 December 1804 he left them in trust for his brother [Edward] or his uncle [John] on condition that a gallery be built to display them either at Towneley Hall or in London, and failing that for the British Museum. John Towneley wished to build a gallery, but Edward was unwilling to undertake the expense, and a compromise was eventually negotiated under which the marbles … with some terracottas and bronzes, passed to the British Museum for £20,000 and (until the passage of the British Museum Act, 1963) the right to nominate a trustee."

Athenian origin of the dedication seems always to have been assumed rather than explicitly argued for,[43] but is not implausible (particularly on the grounds of the iconography of the relief).

The majority of the dedications are currently in store, but at the time of writing three are on display in Room G 69 (the "Greek and Roman Life" gallery): **16** (votive depicting a pair of eyes) is displayed in Case 12 (previously it had been displayed in Room 90 in an exhibition entitled *In Search of Classical Greece: Travel Drawings of Edward Dodwell and Simone Pomardi, 1805-1806* (7 February–28 April 2013)). **10** (dedication by Jason the Physician) is displayed beside Case 4 of the same room; **8** (dedication of a shrine to Aphrodite/Isis) is mounted on this room's south wall. In 2018 and 2019, **4** (dedication by a gymnasiarch) formed part of the exhibition "La competición en la antigua Grecia", organised by the Foundation of La Caixa Bank, in collaboration with the British Museum, which toured to a number of locations in Spain (Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Saragossa and Palma).

[43] Smith, I no. 791, describes the marble of the dedication as "Pentelic", but does not explicitly say that he believes the monument to be Athenian. The next discussion of the dedication of which we are aware is Woodford's (1966) PhD thesis; she assumes that the relief is Athenian (she does not discuss the inscription); subsequent discussions have followed this lead.

2. THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF INSCRIBED DEDICATIONS

This *AIUK* Paper publishes twenty-seven Athenian inscriptions, dating from the fourth century BC to the Roman imperial period, which are classified as "dedications".[44] This category is a broad one, and so it will make sense for us to offer some introductory comments on the nature and purposes of inscribed dedications in ancient Greece in general, and Athens in particular, which will also serve to introduce (and explain) the range of inscribed monuments included in this paper.

At its core, the purpose of a dedication is straightforward: it is an offering, made to a god or gods by an individual or group, either as thanks for, or in the hope of obtaining, divine favour or assistance. As a religious practice, therefore, it should be seen, along with sacrifice and choruses, as a manifestation of one of the key characteristics of ancient Greek religion: a belief that the relationship between mortals and gods was based on reciprocal exchange,[45] and (like prayer) as a means of developing and sustaining a relationship between humans and deities.[46] Unlike a prayer, sacrifice or chorus, however, a dedicated object left a tangible mark on earth; it was therefore possible for it to function not only as a gift to the gods, but also as a lasting memorial to the individual or group which made the dedication. Consequently, as Parker notes, "Greeks consistently and without embarrassment used dedication as a way of commemorating their achievements";[47] that act of commemoration was particularly facilitated by the inscriptions which, from the early seventh century BC onwards, are frequently added to dedicated objects.[48]

There are no fixed formulae of dedication, although some elements regularly appear.[49] The name of the dedicator(s) is the most consistent element (though it is not present in every dedication); this typically appears in the nominative, and is often the first

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[44] We also include, in our **Appendix**, a dedication which has conventionally been classified as Athenian, but which, we argue, in fact derives from Asia Minor. Not included in this paper is *GIBM* I no. 58 (BM 1864,0220.100), a dedication which Hicks believed to be Athenian, but which has now (properly) been included in the corpus of Lemnian inscriptions (*IG* XII 8, 67). The BM holds also two fragments of the "Telemachos" monument (BM 1920,0616.1, part of *IG* II^3 4, 665; BM 1971,0125.1, part of *IG* II^3 4, 666); since neither fragment is inscribed, we have not included them here. Two final deliberate omissions are *IG* II^2 3784 (Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 71; BM 2013,5017.1) and *IG* II^2 5208 (Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 72; BM 1816,0610.186), which have previously been misclassified as dedications; these will be included in *AIUK* 4.7 (*BM, Miscellaneous*).

[45] Parker, in *ThesCRA*, 270. More generally on reciprocity in Greek religion, Parker 1998; on the role of votive offerings in reciprocal exchange, see van Straten, 78-104.

[46] van Straten, 80.

[47] Parker, in *ThesCRA*, 270.

[48] Among the earliest extant inscribed dedications is one probably from Thebes: the bronze hoplite dedicated by Mantiklos, ca. 700-650 (Jeffery, *LSAG* 94,1); in Attica, seventh-century dedications on pottery have been found in the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos (Langdon, nos. 1, 2) and in the shape of graffiti and other inscriptions from the sanctuary of Zeus Parnessios (Matthaiou 2021, 256-57). Epigraphic studies (including this one) naturally focus on objects which were inscribed, but it is important to remember that inscription was not an essential element of dedication: on this, see Parker, in *ThesCRA*, 200; Osborne 2004.

[49] A very full exploration of formulae of dedication is provided by Lazzarini (and summarised by Parker, in *ThesCRA*, 274-75); the overview in Rouse, 322-44, is still useful.

word of the inscribed text. The inclusion of the dedicator's name is, of course, central to the commemorative function of a dedicatory text. The importance which was attached to this aspect of the dedication can be inferred from various anecdotes in which normal naming practices are hijacked or subverted: the (alleged) attempt of the Spartans to claim credit for Croesus' offerings at Delphi, for example, by conniving in a scheme to add their name to the dedicatory inscriptions (Hdt. 1.51);[50] or the Athenians' refusal to allow Cimon to claim excessive (in the eyes of the democracy) personal credit for the victory at Eion by including his own name on the dedications which commemorated the battle (Aeschin. 3.183).[51] In cases where dedications were made by groups of people, the names of all the dedicants might be listed or the name of their collective group (e.g. "the tribesmen": **1**).

Other elements also recur in dedicatory inscriptions. The name of the divine recipient(s) of the dedication, in the dative or genitive, is often present, although it can be omitted (presumably in contexts where either the placement of the dedication or some aspect of its physical form made its recipient obvious); sometimes the divine name(s) can be followed by an epithet. A verb of dedicating (especially ἀνέθηκεν, "set up") is often included (but the reader can also be left to supply it). The simple τίθημι (θῆκεν) appears in **7**, to describe the setting up of prize torches. And the inscription might (but again, need not always) include a noun describing the nature of the dedication, whether in very general terms (ἀνάθημα ["offering"], δῶρον ["gift"]) or in terms which allude to the reason for the offering being made (εὐχή ["vow"], χαριστήριον ["thank-offering"]), ἀπαρχή ["first-fruits"], or δεκάτη ["tithe"]).[52] The inscriptions are often in prose, but verse dedications are also attested from an early date, and continue to be used into the Roman period (e.g., in this collection, nos. **7**, **9**, **25**).[53]

Some dedications are laconic in the extreme, confining themselves to some or all of the elements just listed. It is, of course, important to remember that these inscriptions were often not intended or expected to be comprehensive: apart from the information conveyed by the dedicated object itself, the context in which the dedicated object stood – often unknown to us – is likely to have provided further guidance to the original viewer/reader of the inscribed text. Moreover, some dedications originally bore fittings, in the shape of statues (e.g. **24**, **25, 26**) or victory tripods, that would have communicated a clear message about their purpose. That said, some dedications do include more information in their inscriptions: they might specify, in more or less detail, the reason why the dedication has been made; they sometimes describe the object dedicated (or specify the creator of the object); and they might also give more information about the person or people who made the dedication. It is in these more expansive forms of dedication that overlaps with other categories of inscription become most visible: a dedication might (for example) serve to

[50] Another example is the Spartan regent Pausanias' addition of an epigram including his own name to the tripod-base celebrating Greek victory after the Persian Wars at Delphi: Thuc. 1.132.2.
[51] Keesling 2003, 24-26.
[52] Jim 2012 analyses the terms used to describe dedicatory offerings; cf. also the catalogue of types of dedication in *ThesCRA*, 281-318.
[53] For a recent collection of inscribed Attic dedicatory epigrams, see Kaczko.

commemorate the deceased (e.g., probably, **25**), or to commemorate a civic honour (e.g. **24**, **26**).[54]

The physical form of dedications is as varied as their epigraphic content. First of all, we should bear in mind that an offering in stone was neither the only nor the most common form of dedication possible. We might divide dedicated objects into two broad categories: objects originally intended for other uses (pieces of armour or clothing, for example), and objects created specifically for the purpose of being given to the god.[55] Inscriptions on stone often fall into the latter category (although they might be intended as permanent representations of objects in the former category: e.g. the crowns represented on **2** and **3**). Dedications can be inscribed on free-standing stelai or blocks (e.g. **1**). They could be placed on bases (including Herms: e.g. **27**), which might support statues (usually of mortals, but sometimes of gods), busts, or offerings (e.g. **1**). Another common form is the votive relief, which could depict the mortals who made (and are commemorated in) the dedication (e.g. **4**, **5**, possibly **7**) or (less commonly) the gods to whom the dedication was made (e.g. **12**); or could even offer a visual representation of the interaction between men and gods which underpinned the act of dedication (e.g. **9**).[56] A distinctive category of dedicatory inscription, with an equally distinctive physical form, is the anatomical votive; these make up a significant part of the British Museum's collections (they are nos. **13-21** in this paper). We discuss this type of dedication in more detail below.

Dedications were, naturally enough, typically set up in sacred places. But these sacred places were varied in form and location. In Athens, the Acropolis and Agora attracted a particularly large quantity of dedications,[57] something which can be explained both by the number of sanctuaries in those two locations, and by the prominence and prestige of these spaces – once more, we should remember that the makers of dedications were often as much (or perhaps even more) concerned with their mortal as with their divine audience. In this collection, three inscriptions (**1**, **2**, **25**) can securely be connected with the Acropolis, but it

[54] In other examples, we see honorific decrees themselves being set up as dedications (e.g. *IG* II^3 1, 360 = *I Oropos* 299; on the occasional "conceptual overlap" between decrees and dedications, see Lambert 2015, 4-5); sacred *nomoi* can also be inscribed as dedications (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 376 = Lupu, *NGSL* 4, a sacred regulation from Marathon).

[55] Jim 2012, 311-12, building on a distinction between "raw" and "converted" dedications of spoils first made by Snodgrass, 291-92. Examples of "raw" dedications with inscriptions include dedicated helmets (e.g. *IG* I^3 517, 1467); "converted" dedications include spoils upcycled into statues (cf. *IG* I^3 501, 511; *IG* II^3 1, 444). For painted wooden panels, and silver and gold plaques, most of which are lost, see van Straten, 79-80; van Straten 1992, 252. For dedicatory inscriptons on altars and sacred buildings, which occupy a space conceptually between the "raw" and "converted" dedication, see Mylonopoulos.

[56] On votive reliefs, see now *Agora* XXXVIII. As Josine Blok points out to us, the frequency of depictions of sacrifice in dedicatory monuments again emphasises both the fact and the commemoration of human interaction with the gods (for examples, see van Straten, 83-88).

[57] Dedications found in the Athenian Agora are collected in *Agora* XVIII (though many of these would originally have been set up on the Acropolis: for examples of inscribed decrees originally set up on the Acropolis that moved to the lower city, see *IALD* II, 21 n. 6). Archaic dedications on the Acropolis are catalogued in Raubitschek, *Dedications*; cf. also Keesling 2003 (focussing on votive statues) and Wagner (tracing the development of dedicatory practices on the Acropolis from the Archaic into the Classical periods).

seems quite likely that some others whose findspot is not recorded (particularly those in the British Museum's Elgin collection) originally stood either here or in the Agora. Dedications were also set up in sanctuaries throughout Athens and Attica, and in natural sites (such as caves: e.g. **3**, **12**) which had come to be associated with a deity. Some sanctuaries attracted particular and distinctive types of dedication: anatomical votives at the sanctuary of Zeus or Theos Hypsistos on the Pnyx (nos. **13**-**21**); offerings of crowns of office at the Sanctuary of Apollo on the slopes of the Acropolis (**3**); or representations of embassies to the Delphic Oracle at the Sanctuary of Apollo Pythion at Ikaria (**9**). In some sanctuaries, enough is known of the archaeological shape of the site to allow us to reconstruct the original context(s) of dedicated objects with a quite high degree of certainty (as, for example, the anatomical votives from the Hypsistos sanctuary, and quite possibly also the dedication to Apollo, **3**). Some stone reliefs appear to have had a fixing to set them up on a pillar of some sort (cf. our **4**); others, including the anatomical votives from the Pnyx, were placed into rock-cut niches at a sanctuary; others may well have been set up on the ground.

Inscribed dedications, not least those preserved in one particular collection, do not easily lend themselves to a system of organisation for the purposes of publication. In 1981 van Straten offered a very useful classification of "motifs" of dedications in the Greek world: the three principal headings consisted of "participants and concomitants", "occasion", and "desired effect". These "motifs" might be subdivided into a range of different occasions, including commemoration of victories in agonistic (that is, competitive) settings, commemoration of office-holding, commemoration of the dead, tithes and first-fruits, dedications made during warfare, and dedications made in response to disaster or illness. Yet the Attic dedications in the British Museum's collection do not reflect a comprehensive range of these typologies.[58] In this paper, therefore, we have followed the system of classification used in *Inscriptiones Graecae*:

1. Public dedications (**1**-**7**), grouping the agonistic dedications together (**4**-**7**).
2. Private dedications according to cult listed alphabetically by English name (**8**-**23**).
3. Other objects, including statue bases and herms (**24**-**27**).

[58] Absent from the collection are dedications pertaining to prayer, sacrifice, and initiation.

3. THE DATING OF INSCRIBED DEDICATIONS

The dates of the inscribed dedications in this collection are proposed sometimes on the basis of the institutions and offices to which they make reference, prosopography, and (particularly relevant to those of the Roman period) the forms of name that they preserve. Other chronological indicators of inscriptions lacking other datable features are letter-forms and the appearance of other symbols. We remark upon aspects of letter forms in our commentaries and in particular on their relevance to dating. Unsurprisingly, given their wide chronological scope, the BM dedications exhibit a spectrum of lettering styles. On monuments of the fourth century BC, we observe plain lettering with sigma with splayed outer diagonals (**1**, **2, 4**), amygdaloid phi (**1**) and pi with shorter right-hand vertical (**1**, **4, 25**).[59]

By the first century BC, sigmas and mus tend to feature parallel outer strokes (e.g. **6**). Broken-bar alphas (Ⱥ) appear on some inscriptions from around the mid-second century BC (e.g. **3**, **8, 26**). In the late Hellenistic period we see inscriptions with thicker letter strokes (e.g. **6**) and ornamentation including apices ("adornments in the shape of a swallowtail at the end of bars": Muehsam, 56), serifs, hyperextended diagonals (which extend into the interline spaces) on the alpha, delta and lambda (**3**, **7, 10, 24**) and hyperextended verticals on the phi (e.g. **27**). Cursive, rounded, letters appear later in the imperial period: **7** and **10** include cursive-style lunate sigma and epsilon (Ϲ, Ɛ), curved mu and omega (ϻ in place of the earlier standard Ω) and serifs on delta and alpha. However, straight forms do not become obsolete (e.g. **8, 24, 26, 27**; cf. Muehsam, 55-57). The lettering of the dedications to Zeus Hypsistos of the 2nd-3rd centuries AD illustrates a mixture of cursive (e.g. **14**, **15**, **16**, **19**, **21**) and straight forms (e.g. **17**, **18**, **20**, **22**, **23**), sometimes within the same inscription: **13** features square epsilon but lunate sigma; modest apices; broken-bar alpha (Ⱥ). They feature also hyperextended diagonals (**13**, **18**) and hyperextended verticals of psi (**18**, **21**, **22**) or phi (**23**) and sometimes apices (**13**, **18**) or serifs (**16**, **19**, **20**, **22**). In the imperial period, non-alphabetical features are also notable: in **10** we see the use of Ↄ to indicate a man homonymous with his father and ′ to indicate an abbreviation of a name element.

[59] On the tendency for the outer strokes of sigmas and nus to become more parallel than splayed and for the lengthening of the right-hand vertical of the pi after the fourth century BC see Lambert *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Council and Assembly*), 13 with notes 69 and 70.

4. DEDICATIONS BY CITIZENS IN A PUBLIC CAPACITY: INTRODUCTION

In ancient Athens, as was the case across the rest of the Greek world, dedications were frequently made by, or on behalf of, citizens functioning in a public capacity as holders of civic or religious offices. This is a phenomenon which has its origins in the Archaic and early Classical period and is documented by some of the earliest stone inscriptions from Athens: for instance, a dedication by Chairion, a treasurer of Athena, dated to the first quarter of the sixth century BC, commemorated his holding of that office (*IG* I^3 590).[60] Perhaps one of the most famous examples is the dedication of Peisistratos, son of Hippias the tyrant of Athens, who set up an altar at the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in about 521 BC (*IG* I^3 948 = ML 11) in commemoration of his archonship; at the end of the fifth century Thucydides noted that it was still legible, despite its faded letters (Thuc. 6.54.6).[61] Prytaneis (the tribal contingents of 50 men that functioned as the Council's executive committee for a tenth of the year) are widely attested as making dedications.[62] From the fourth century BC there are extant dedications set up by the archon, *paredroi*, *grammateus*, *thesmothetai*, *agoranomoi*, priests and others.[63]

Some inscribed dedications are so laconic that we can ascertain no more than that they were associated with the successful completion of an office (e.g. **3**). Perhaps this dedicatory practice was a way of demonstrating the accountability and piety of the office-holder: Aeschines (3.21) asserted that someone who was still subject to audit (*hypeuthynos*) was not allowed to make a dedication (*anathema*).[64] Sometimes office-holders made dedications to commemorate the receipt of honours (cf. **1**, **2**) or to commemorate having been crowned, as prytaneis and other office-holders did.[65] Some made dedications to mark

[60] It has recently been observed that dedications by officials are among the earliest inscriptions from the Acropolis and influenced later developments in the epigraphic habits there (see Meyer, 463-66; Moroo, 32-36). Moroo (46-48) helpfully tabulates the earliest Athenian inscribed dedications on stone and the earliest Athenian public documents.

[61] 664 inscribed dedications from Athens set up by individuals functioning in public capacities between 403 BC and circa 267 AD are published in the recent *IG* II^3 4 fascicule 1.

[62] For an analysis of inscribed honours for prytaneis and the related competitions, see *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Council and Assembly*), no. 15 with Commentary and Lambert 2021, 118-20. *Agora* XV catalogues the relevant inscriptions then known from 408/7 BC through to the Roman imperial period. For dedications by *prytaneis* and other civic, tribal and deme magistrates, see also *Agora* XVIII 77-112.

[63] For public dedications by magistrates and boards in general, see *IG* II^3 4, 20-220; cf. also Rouse, 261-62; for those specifically of archons *Agora* XVIII 35-44.

[64] The date from which there was a rule against a person who was *hypeuthynos* making a dedication is not clear, but 357/6 (the year in which public provision for dedications commemorating the award of honours to officials was initiated: see *AIO Papers* 9, p. 3) is one possibility for its introduction. Aeschines mentions the rule in the *Against Ktesiphon* as part of an account of restrictions on the disposal of property by someone who was *hypeuthynos*. On Aeschines' interpretation of the law about crowning in the same speech, see Harris. We cannot know whether Aeschines is accurately representing a law on dedications but there is no obvious reason for him to misrepresent one.

[65] From 357/6 BC dedications made by officials, including prytaneis, begin to make reference to the award of crowns by the Council and/or People (see *AIO Papers* 9; Lambert 2021, 120-23). As Lambert (2021, 122-23 n. 27) notes, financial provision for a dedication is one of the things that might be awarded as an honour to an official, alongside the award of a crown.

an achievement such as victory in a tribal competition, and this is the likely context of the dedications by gymnasiarchs who had sponsored athletic teams (examples of these in the BM are the agonistic dedications, **4**, **5**, **6** and probably **7**). Some examples of dedications made in relation to office-holding are more complicated: our **24** is a dedication (probably to Asklepios) which honoured Biesius Piso of Melite; the inscription records that Biesius had served as archon eponymous, but it is perhaps more likely that the dedication was intended to commemorate his tenure of the religious office of "fire-bearer" in the cult of Asklepios.[66]

How should we interpret this habit of officials making dedications? In many such inscriptions there is no explicit mention of the deity to whom the dedication was being made.[67] Perhaps this reflects an emphasis on the identity of the dedicant: it shows a desire to mark the receipt of honours or the successful completion of office with supererogation (or at least probity). In other words, it was a practice which primarily commemorated human achievement. However, agonistic dedications may have been garlanded by visitors in practices that are suggestive of their ritual significance, as is indicated by a reference in an inscribed dedication to Hermes Enagonios by a victorious gymnasiarch in 338/7 BC to the good fortune of someone who "adorns" it ([ὁ δὲ] κοσμῶν: *IG* II^3 4, 431, l. 6).[68] This is compatible with a view of dedications as thank-offerings made to the gods in exchange for their assistance or protection over the course of a magistracy.

As we have already noted, several of our dedications were made by those whose office-holding had led them to be involved in some sort of competition. This group of material illustrates a prominent aspect of the Greek epigraphical habit, namely the dedication of objects to commemorate or give thanks to the gods for victories in competitions, including athletic and dramatic contests, which took place in religious contexts. This practice typically had its origins in the wider habit among elite groups of making tangible commemorations of military and sporting success at sanctuaries,[69] offering thanks to the gods and at the same time raising the profile of the dedicators. Such dedications could consist of a wide range of objects,[70] both inscribed and uninscribed. At Athens they famously included dedications which were set up by a *choregos* (sponsor of a choir) to support a tripod awarded to the winner of a tribal competition in the dithyramb (a type of choral hymn) at the City Dionysia and Thargelia. During the second half of the fourth

[66] As it appears to have been a statue base it is treated in **section 9** of this collection.
[67] Certain deities, however, were habitually the recipient of dedications of particular officers, e. g., Aphrodite or Apollo. On Aphrodite, see Wallensten; for an altar set up by the Council to Aphrodite as the Leader of the People and the Graces, see *IG* II^3 4, 8; Apollo: **3** with discussion.
[68] In this inscription, the phrase [ὁ δὲ] κοσμῶν με εὐτυχήσει (line 6) is spoken by the Herm (the dedication) that stood on the inscribed base. On the ritual adornment and anointment of Greek inscriptions, see Steiner, 69-71.
[69] See Morgan, 16-20.
[70] For the range of commemorative offerings, see Rouse, 163-86. In the dramatic context these included items of stage equipment (Lys. 21.4), dramatic masks (Aristophanes, *Geras* 131 Kock), paintings (Wilson, 242-43; Aristotle, *Politics* 1341a35-36) or humble strips of wood (Theophrastos, *Characters* 22.1-2).

century more spectacular tripod bases appear.[71] Similarly, athletes and their sponsors commemorated success and achievement through inscribed dedications.[72] On some occasions, the instrument of the sport, such as a discus or a jumping weight (*IG* I³ 988 = *I Eleusis* 1), could be repurposed as a dedication;[73] prizes (such as tripods, crowns or amphorae) were dedicated for the sake of piety and ostentation.[74]

Of the four Athenian inscribed agonistic dedications in the British Museum's collection only one bears an inscription which is complete (**6**, whose Athenian provenance is uncertain). All four may, however, with varying degrees of confidence, be associated with the commemoration of the sponsors of athletic teams. In fourth-century dedications pertaining to torch-racing, the officials most frequently cited are the sponsors, the gymnasiarchs.[75] This reflects a pattern in Athenian dedications in which the sponsors appear to be more prominent in the commemoration of victories than the competitors. Of the BM dedications, **4** is firmly identifiable as the dedication of a victorious gymnasiarch; **6** (and possibly **5**) appears to commemorate the completion of that office; **7** marks a victory the context of which is not clear.

4, **5** (on the basis of its iconography) and **7** are dedications associated with victory in a torch race or "lampadarchic" competition (λαμπάς, λαμπαδηφορία, λαμπαδηδρομία),[76] that is, in foot-race competitions between teams of tribally-based runners bearing a torch in a relay. These torches, which transported a flame between sacrificial altars,[77] were sometimes depicted on victory monuments.[78] The torch-races at the Panathenaia, Promethia and Hephaistia are very well documented,[79] and may in the

[71] On the nature of these inscribed dedications and their findspots, see *AIUK* 2 (*BSA*), no. 3 and *IG* II³ 4 p. 182; *IG* II³ 4, 460 (Lysikrates' monument, a glorified tripod base), with notes. For other spectacular monuments, see *IG* II³ 4, 467, 468.

[72] For dedications pertaining to the winners of contests, see van Straten, 91.

[73] Rouse, 160-63; Lazzarini, 827-68.

[74] Dedication of prizes: Rouse, 151-60.

[75] For dedications of adult gymnasiarchs of this period see *IG* II³ 4, 426-32. See also *Agora* XVIII, pp. 70-71 and *IG* II² 1250. For dedications of ephebic gymnasiarchs see *IG* II³ 4, 331 (= **4**) and 336.

[76] Herodotos describes the torch race as a relay race (Hdt. 8.98). For a view of the torch-race as an institution with specifically Athenian origins, see Chankowski, discussing also its iconography.

[77] For the start- and end-points of the torch races, see Parker 2005, 472: the race at the Panathenaia brought fire from the altar of Eros in the Academy to the altar of Athena Polias on the Acropolis; that at the Promethia and Hephaistia brought fire from the altar of Prometheus at the Academy probably to the Hephaisteion. For detailed discussion of the torch-race at the Panathenaia, see Bentz; Shear 2021, 106-107, 121, 198-99, 200-201, 274-77, 281-82, 330, 335-39.

[78] *Agora* XVIII, p. 70. Torch-racing ephebes were a common motif on Athenian vase-paintings from about 430 BC: Palagia, 2000, 404.

[79] Parker 2005, 472 collects the sources for the three torch-races. On the torch race at the Panathenaia, see above, n. 77. According to Harpokration, s.v. λαμπάς, there was disagreement among ancient antiquarians about how many festivals included torch-races: Polemon claimed that the Athenians conducted three "festivals of the torch" (ἑορτὰς λαμπάδος), during the Panathenaia, the Hephaistia, and the Promethia, but Istros added the Apatouria to that list. See Lambert 1998, 154. Istros records a tradition that the the use of fire had its origins at Athens and that the Athenians commemorated this by taking burning torches from the hearth and singing hymns to Hephaistos: *FGrH* 334 F2. On the association between the worship of Hephaistos and torch races, see *IG* I³ 83 line 32 with AIO's notes.

Classical period have required the support of as many as thirty sponsors per year, known as gymnasiarchs.[80] Other cults which may have featured torch races include those of Pan, Bendis, and, during the Hellenistic period, Aias, Theseus, and Dionysos. Torch races are attested also at the Epitaphia and Hermaia;[81] there was some expansion of the range of torch races during the Roman period (see our commentary on **7**). As we shall see below (**5**), there is significant evidence for the performance of torch races in the vicinity of Rhamnous, though it is unclear to which cult they were connected.

Torch-races often appear to have taken place between teams of ephebes, though our sources do not always allow us decisively to distinguish between ephebic and other (adult) torch races: it is not always clear, for instance, whether the teams at the Panathenaia or other festivals were ephebic or not.[82] The depiction of individuals in dedications allows only the tentative identification of ephebic-related dedications (see, e.g., **4**). Identification of ephebic activity is enabled more securely by inscriptions which make mention of ephebic officials (the commander of a tribal contingent of ephebes [*sophronistes:* *IG* II^3 4, 337, l. 2] or the trainer of ephebes [*paidotribes*: *IG* II^3 4, 348, l. 2]), or the group who ran the race (*IG* II^3 4, 335). Ephebes might participate in relay teams or as individuals; the dedication of 333/2 (*IG* II^3 4, 336) lists 46 or 47 ephebic *lampadephoroi* (torchbearers) from which a team, perhaps of ten ephebes, would be drawn.[83] But the BM dedications lack the kind of reference which would enable us to identify them definitively as pertaining to adult or ephebic contests.

As already noted, **4** and **6** (and possibly **5**) pertain to the gymnasiarchy. During the Classical period of Athenian history, this was a regular (*enkyklios*)[84] liturgy which supported the upkeep (olive oil and daily provisions for those training at the gymnasium) for athletic competitors at festivals.[85] One version of the office sponsored adult athletic competitions; in the Classical period these were organised tribally,[86] but in the Hellenistic period the adult gymnasiarchy appears to have changed from being a liturgy into a public office with

[80] For the figure of thirty gymnasiarchs, see Davies, 35-37; see also Wilson, 35-36.
[81] The evidence is collected by Wilson, 322 n. 123.
[82] Chankowski, 58-59 discusses the association of the ephebate with torch-races. Shear, following Hermias on Pl. *Phdr*. 231e, strongly associates Panathenaiac torch-races with the ephebes: Shear 2021, 199, 204, 274, 276-78. See, however, below, **4**. Hellenistic and Roman ephebic dedications commemorate victories in a number of festival competitions (including but not limited to torch-races), including: the Heroia (*IG* II^3 4, 366); Hermaia (*IG* II^3 4, 368); Sylleia (*IG* II^3 4, 375); Theseia (*IG* II^3 4, 377, 379(?), 388, 396, 397); Epitaphia (*IG* II^3 4, 379(?), 385, 395, 396, 397); Hephaistia (*IG* II^3 4, 412); Soteria (*IG* II^3 4, 417); "at Eleusis" (*IG* II^3 4, 420); Hadrianeia (and other festivals?) (*IG* II^3 4, 425). See AIO's discussion of *IG* II^3 4, 357.
[83] See Friend, 124. As Friend suggests (pers. comm.), "all the ephebes of a given tribe would have trained as *lampadephoroi* under the *paidotribes*; probably the *sophronistes* selected the team for each race. If so, it would mean that the composition of the team (but perhaps not the size) may well have varied from festival to festival."
[84] Dem. 20.21.
[85] On the gymnasiarchy at Athens in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, see Culasso Gastaldi; Friend, 123-25, 161 n. 119; Wilson 36 with 323, n. 126. Oil: Bekker, *Anecd*. *Graec*. 1.228; upkeep (*trophē*): Xen. *Poroi* 4.52; [Xen.] *Ath*. *Pol*. 1.13. The fact that when orators list liturgies *gymnasiarchia* always follows the *choregia* suggests that it was less expensive and may have been viewed as less prestigious: Kremmydas, 226 with Dem. 4.36, 39.7; Isae. 6.60; Lys. 21.1-5.
[86] See Isae. 6.36; Dem. 4.36, 39.7. For the adult gymnasiarchy, see, e.g., *IG* II^3 4, 431.

honours awarded by the Assembly rather than a tribe.[87] The civic gymnasiarchy persisted into the Roman era. In this period, the office seems to have been viewed as a high-profile (and costly) one, which might be boasted about as part of a citizen's *cursus honorum*.[88] From the time of the institutional establishment of a reformed ephebic system in 334/3 BC,[89] there existed a specifically ephebic version of the gymnasiarchy; as Lambert and Kamphorst note, this duplication of civic liturgies at the ephebic level reflects the way in which "the ephebic system mirrored the structure of adult society, preparing the ephebes for roles they would perform in later life".[90] Ephebic gymnasiarchs,[91] who were drawn from the ranks of ephebes,[92] sponsored tribal teams of their fellow ephebes (this may be the context of **4** and **5**).[93] In the Classical period it seems that there were one or two annual gymnasiarchs per tribe in each competition (there appears to be one in **4**, but at least two in *IG* II^3 4, 336).[94] It is not clear that ephebic gymnasiarchs existed in the Hellenistic period, but the office appears to have been re-instituted after the time of Sulla.[95] In this period we find reference

[87] See *IG* II^3 4, 369 with AIO's notes. Hellenistic adult gymnasiarchs: *I Eleus*. 207 (216 BC) and *IG* II^2 1227 (131/0 BC).

[88] See, e.g., *IG* II^2 3531, 3546, 3580. As Chris de Lisle points out to us (pers. comm.), there are times where we can be certain that a gymnasiarch was not an ephebe; see, for instance, *IG* II^2 1072 (now dated 99/100 AD) in which T. Coponius Maximus serves as gymnasiarch, hoplite general, hierokeryx, and priest, while his son is the eponymous archon of the year. For the expense of the office (and in particular the amount of oil which the office-holder would be required to supply), see Geagan 1967, 131-32; at Athens (unlike in other Greek cities in the Roman period) it appears that the *elaionai* (magistrates responsible for oil) were required only to supervise the supply of oil, not to pay for it. De Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, section 2.1 observes that "the only evidence for these gymnasiarchs interacting with the ephebate are a set of late first century BC dedications at the Lykeion gymnasium by ephebic torch-race victors (*IG* II^3 4, 396-399), where the adult gymnasiarch appears in the dating formula". Generally, on the civic gymasiarchy in the Roman era, see Geagan 1967, 128-32.

[89] The two-year ephebic programme of the 330s-320s is described by *Ath. Pol*. 42. See now Friend, *passim* (making, at 34-57, a case for the establishment the ephebate in the mid 330s BC) and Lambert, *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Council and Assembly*), p. 124; Henderson 2020, 74-77, 81-196, 298-302.

[90] See AIO on *IG* II^3 4, 331.

[91] "Gymnasiarchs of the ephebes": see *IG* II^3 4, 336 of 333/2 BC.

[92] This is demonstrated by the fact that Charikles son of Aleximenes, who is listed as one of the gymnasiarchs of the Erechtheid ephebic dedication of 333/2 *IG* II^3 4, 336 (l. 4) was listed together with other ephebes in *IG* II^2 2401 = *SEG* 39.184. Moreover, the names of the gymnasiarchs were originally inscribed among those of the ephebes in ll. 7 and 17 of *IG* II^3 4, 336.

[93] For ephebic dedications of the period before 321 BC see *IG* II^3 4, 329-352 (especially the AIO notes on *IG* II^3 4, 329) and Friend, *passim*. For examples of dedications commemorating ephebic victories in torch races, see *Agora* XVIII C124-46. On the history of the gymnasiarchy in Athens from the fourth-century BC onwards, discussing selection, qualifications, terms of service, tribal affiliation, duties, sponsorship of athletic competitions and relationship with the ephebate, see Culasso Gastaldi.

[94] See Friend, 123 with n. 119. Two gymnasiarchs per tribe: Henderson 2020, 97-104, 201-205.

[95] Henderson, 284-85 considers ephebic gymnasiarchs a (re-)innovation of the Post-Sullan period. On the ephebic gymnasiarchy in the imperial period, see de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, section 2.3; the first explicit attestation of the system appears in *IG* II^2 1043, 26 (37/6 or 36/5 BC). For the (largely private) funding of the ephebate in Hellenistic Athens, see Perrin, 256-69; Henderson, 201-205. As

to ephebic gymnasiarchs taking on responsibility for providing oil for their own gymnasium, usually for one month, but sometimes for shorter or longer periods.[96] Our view (which we discuss further in our commentary below) is that **6**, a dedication of the first century BC, should also be associated with the ephebic (rather than the civic) gymnasiarchy.

Of the agonistic dedications in the BM, two inscriptions date from the late fourth century (**4**, **5**), one from the first century BC (**6**) and one from the second century AD (**7**). Three of them (**4**, **5**, **7**) combined texts with reliefs, though these reliefs are preserved to rather different degrees. A related, well-preserved, relief without inscription at the British Museum is BM 1895,1028.1 (Smith, *Sculpture* III no. 2155) from Piraeus, dedicated after a victory in the torch races at the celebrations of the cult of Bendis (*Fig*. 0).[97] On its right side it depicts Bendis, approached by a group of eight naked athletes led by two bearded and draped males, perhaps the gymnasiarchs, one of whom bears the torch. Its theme of human-divine encounter, in the shape of athletes, sponsors and deity, therefore, is reminiscent of those of **4** and **5**.[98]

Lambert and Kamphorst note, during the Hellenistic period fewer young men served as ephebes and it became customary after the Chremonidean War to honour them with inscribed Assembly decrees: see AIO on *IG* II^3 4, 357. For ephebic dedications of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see *IG* II^3 4, 357-425; de Lisle, *AIO Papers* no. 12.

[96] See, e.g., *IG* II^2 2026, in which we find one ephebe serving as gymnasiarch for one month (ll. 14-15), and another serving for fifteen days (ll. 17-18); in the same inscription, a number of non-Athenians are reported to have supplied oil for five-day periods (ll. 21-30). For a list of references to gymnasiarchs in Athenian ephebic inscriptions, see Kennell, 17.

[97] On the famous torch-race on horseback and "all-night rite" for Bendis, see *IG* I^3 136 with AIO's notes.

[98] This relief is now on display in Room G19 of the British Museum. However, as it does not appear to bear an inscription, we do not provide an edition of it here.

Fig. 0. BM 1895,1028.1 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Inscribed monuments for gymnasiarchs and their athletes could take on a variety of physical forms: the dedicatory inscription might be carved on a base, upon which a statue (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 336), a votive column (*IG* II^3 4, 428 = *Agora* XVIII C 124), a Herm (*IG* II^3 4, 358 = *Agora* XVIII C 126, *Agora* XVIII C 138)[99] or other dedicatory offering would have been mounted; dedications in the form of altars are also (rarely) attested (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 410 = *Agora* XVIII C140). As noted above, such dedications sometimes included objects related to the contest in which they were won: some bases bore cuttings for the insertion of dedicatory torches (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 397 with AIO's note; perhaps also *IG* II^3 4, 410). Two of the inscriptions published here appear above a sculpted relief which depicts a scene featuring individuals (perhaps victorious ephebes, trainers and a hero or deity: **4**, **5**). In the case of **7** the inscription appears beneath a relief preserved only fragmentarily. **4**, preserving a tenon, perhaps for insertion into a supporting base or pillar, appears to have been part of a larger monument.

[99] According to Harpokration (s.v. ἑρμαῖ), officials of the city and its subdivisions made dedications in commemoration of their offices sometimes in the form of herms.

5. PUBLIC DEDICATIONS: THE INSCRIPTIONS (1-7)

1 DEDICATION COMMEMORATING A PRIESTHOOD OF PANDION. BM 1816,0610.374. Elgin collection (cf. sect. 1). Acropolis (Chandler). Block of grey-blue marble, broken at the bottom but otherwise complete. The back is smooth. It is not clear that a rectangular cutting at the centre of the top of the monument is original. H. 0.290; w. 0.870; th. 0.109. Plain, carefully executed, lettering consistent with a date in the mid-4th cent. BC (pi with shorter right-hand vertical; amygdaloid phi; splayed sigma). L. h. 0.02 (ll. 1-2); 0.013 (l. 3).

Eds. Chandler 1774, p. 48 no II; (*CIG* I 128); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 51; *IG* II 1179; *IG* II^2 2828; *IG* II^3 4, 230 (ph. of squeeze, tab. XXXIV). Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 1.

ca. 360-325 BC

[ἱερ]εὺς Πανδίονος Ἀντισθένης
Ἀντιφάτους Κυθήρριος ἀνέθηκεν.
οἱ φυλέται. *vacat*

1 [ὁ ἱερ]εὺς Chandler, Hicks. Spacing suggests the article was omitted.

The priest of Pandion Antisthenes
son of Antiphates of Kytherros dedicated (this).
The tribesmen.

This dedicant is to be identified with Ἀντισθέν[ης] Ἀντιφάτο Κυθήρριο[ς],[100] the victorious *choregos* for Pandionis and Akamantis in the boys' dithyramb at the Thargelia in 360/59 BC.[101] He is attested as a trierarch in the early 330s;[102] he died probably before 326/5 BC (one of his sons is attested as acting as heir of his father's trierarchic debt in 325/4).[103] Accordingly, this inscription can be dated on prosopographical grounds to ca. 360-325 BC.

This inscription was said by Chandler (1774) to have been found on the Acropolis, and it is likely that it was originally set up there, at the *heroon* of Pandion which served as the sanctuary of the tribe Pandionis. This *heroon* was situated on the Acropolis,[104] probably in the vicinity of the statue of Pandion,[105] and was the place of erection of other dedications by tribesmen including *IG* II^3 4, 21, 26, 29, 48, 55, 83, 94 (?), 221-23.

[100] Davies (*APF* pp. 38-39) discusses the plentiful evidence for Antisthenes as a member of the liturgical class. Cf. Traill, *PAA* 136890, *Athenian Onomasticon* s.v. Antisthenes of Kytherros.
[101] *IG* II^2 1138 ll. 27-29; *IG* II^3 4, 485 confirms the date.
[102] *IG* II^2 1623, ll. 227-34.
[103] *IG* II^2 1629, ll. 569-70.
[104] *IG* II^2 1144, ll. 9-10.
[105] Paus. 1.5.4 refers to the statue on the Acropolis but indicates nothing about its location. Indeed, the precise location of the sanctuary is uncertain. The most recent suggestion is that it was located close to the SE angle of the Acropolis (Stevens, 21-25), now identified with "Building IV" (Hurwit, 188-89, 314 with further bibliography); against this identification, see Binder, 146. Cf. Kron, 109-10; Immerwahr, 341-43; Jones, 508.

Little is known about the appointment and tenure of the tribal priesthoods, none of which is attested before the fourth century BC.[106] Probably allotment was used, as was normal for Athenian priesthoods;[107] but while the older priesthoods, supplied by the *gene*, were held for life, tenure of the newer, "democratic", priesthoods, at least the male ones, was annual.[108] Unfortunately it is unclear to which of these categories the tribal priesthood of Pandionis belonged. As Lambert points out to us, in the case of three tribes, Erechtheis, Kekropis and Hippothontis, the attested priests are from a deme which did not belong to the tribe in question, and it has been attractively suggested that in these cases, at least, the priesthood was supplied by a *genos* (Eteoboutadai for Erechtheis, Amynandridai for Kekropis, an unknown Eleusinian *genos* in the case of Hippothontis[109]). It is generally assumed that, in the case of the other seven, appointment was made "democratically" from the members of the relevant tribe for a single year, but as Lambert has noted, it is possible that the priests in (some or all of) the other seven tribes were also appointed from a *genos*: "the only difference from Erechtheis, Kekropis and Hippothontis being that that the *genos* had members that belonged to the 'right' tribe".[110] We do not know, therefore, whether Antisthenes was appointed from a *genos*, or from all the members of his tribe, and whether he held office for life or for a year.

It was usual in the fourth century for dedications commemorating successful terms of office to be made by the office-holder in the nominative (see, for instance *IG* II^3 4, 42); after 357/6 there is acknowledgement that the office-holder had been crowned by the Council/People, but the office-holder is still named in the nominative case. As Kai Trampedach suggests to us, it is plausible that the mention of οἱ φυλέται ("the tribesmen") in smaller letters below the main text of the dedication, in the nominative case, refers to them as co-dedicators: the dedication may have been set up by Antisthenes with their consent, with the smaller letters indicating that they contributed a lesser amount to its manufacture than did Antisthenes. However, it may be relevant, in the interpretation of this dedication, that Antisthenes was a member of the liturgical class; this was also the case with another priest of Pandion, Demon of Paiania,[111] honoured by the tribesmen in 386/5 BC for his "justice" (*dikaiosyne*), for which he was awarded lifetime freedom from liturgical obligations (*ateleia*).[112] As Davies notes, Demon's award seems unusually substantial, and

[106] Lambert, *Historia* 59, 2010, 150.
[107] Perhaps attested explicitly for the priesthood of Erechtheis by *IG* II^2 1146 = *LSCG* 31 (*SEG* 25.140). Cf. Blok and Lambert, *ZPE* 169, 2009, 95-121, at 98.
[108] Most clearly in the case of the priesthood of Asklepios, Lambert, *Historia* 59, 2010, 156-60.
[109] The groundbreaking study of this topic was by R. Schlaifer, *HSCP* 51, 1940, 233-60; cf. Parker 1996, 285-86; Lambert, *Historia* 59, 2010, 150.
[110] Lambert, *Historia* 59, 2010, 150.
[111] Perhaps an uncle of the famous Demosthenes, as Michèle Brunet points out to us. See Davies, *APF*, 116-18.
[112] *IG* II^2 1140, ll. 12-15: δοῦναι [αὐτῶι ἀτέ]λειαν τῶν ἐκ [τῶν νόμων λ]ηιτοργιῶν [ἁπασῶν ἐφ' ὃ ἃ]ν ζῆι. The extent of the *ateleia* bestowed by a tribe is unclear, but it is likely to have applied primarily to liturgies pertinent to the life of a tribe.

one suspects that underlying it was "some gift in cash or in kind".[113] By analogy, therefore, we suggest that Antisthenes had also made a substantial donation while serving as priest of Pandion, and that this dedication in effect commemorated that.[114] According to this interpretation, the inscription of οἱ φυλέται indicates that Antisthenes, like Demon before him, had been honoured by the tribesmen of Pandionis for his contribution.[115] Reticence about referring explicitly to voluntary financial contributions as grounds for honours displayed both by the decree for Demon and our dedication accords with the democratic ideology of this period.[116]

It is possible that this block was part of a larger monument. Indeed, its smooth back suggests that the stone as preserved is the front face of a thicker block which was sawn off in Athens in order to facilitate transportation to the UK (see also on **25**). Furthermore, there are possible traces of erased letters in the space beneath the extant inscription, but they are indecipherable.

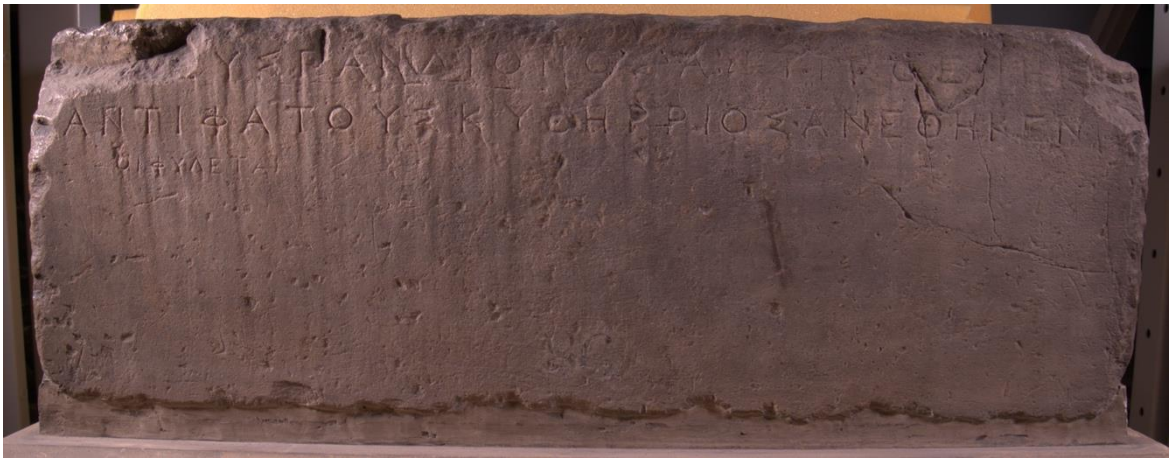

Fig. 1. **1** (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

[113] *APF* p. 115. Davies aptly compares the donation of property to Asklepios by Demon's later homonym (probably his grandson), in exchange for the priesthood, commemorated by *IG* II^3 4, 1768 (on which see the AIO note; this inscription will be the subject of future work by Michèle Brunet).
[114] Compare *IG* I^3 953, dedicated ca, 450-425 BC in the City Eleusinion by a priestess of Demeter, who does not "spare her possessions, but to the gods she is unstinting to the extent of her ability". The epigram may imply that she had been honoured for her contributions (see the AIO note on *IG* I^3 953).
[115] Hicks' suggestion that the inscription commemorated Antisthenes' victory at the Thargelia recorded in *IG* II^2 1138, 27-29, has rightly been set aside in later bibliography. There is no reason to suppose any connection between that victory and Antisthenes' priesthood.
[116] Cf. *IALD* II, 96 and especially 194-96.

2 DEDICATION COMMEMORATING AN AWARD OF CROWNS. BM 1843,0531.37. Inwood Collection (cf. sect. 1).[117] According to the BM archives it was "found on the Acropolis between the south side of the Erechtheion and the Parthenon forming part of the jamb of a table".[118] Fragment of a block of white marble engraved with crowns in low relief. Top and right side preserved but broken at the bottom and left. The back is uneven. A small cutting in the centre of the top surface contains some remains of lead dowelling. H. 0.149, w. 0.235, th. 0.106. L. h. 0.008-0.011. The diameter of the crown is 0.0152 and it is engraved with 17 olive-leaves. Plain lettering with slight emphasis on the ends of strokes, relatively large omicron, and the outer diagonals of the sigma more splayed than those of the mu, ca. 350-300 BC.

Ed. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 16. In store. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. *Figs.* 2.1, 2.2.

ca. 350-300 BC	*Olive crown* - - - - - (?)	*In olive crown* ὁ δῆμος
	Not preserved	*Olive crown* - - - - - (?)
	Olive crown	*In olive crown* The People.
		Olive crown

The inscribed face of this block contains, carved in low relief, a single complete inscribed olive crown;[119] to its left is the upper-right quadrant of another olive crown; and, to the lower right of the block, the top of a third crown. As with other examples of this era, the crown has a bow at top and opens at the bottom.[120] Hicks noted only the upper two crowns and suggested that they were from the bottom of an honorific decree of the Council and People, as for example *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly*), no. 12, the left crown perhaps inscribed ἡ βουλή, "The Council". Given the absence of the text of a decree, we prefer to classify this stone as a dedication. The top surface of the stone has been worked as if to receive another block or other attachment (see *Fig.* 2.2). If, as we suspect, this is original and does not relate to a secondary use, it would suggest that this was a commemorative dedication inscribed with multiple crowns containing the names of bodies that have awarded honours (possibly in the form of an honorific crown)[121] to an unknown

[117] BM Archives: *Inventory of Mr Inwood's Collection*, p. 4, no. 4, describing it as "an olive wreath and portions of two others *in intaglio* inscribed *o demos* found on the Acropolis of Athens near the Erechtheum".
[118] BM Archives: *Acquisitions of Greek & Roman Antiquities 1840-1845*, p. 162.
[119] On the olive crown in Attic epigraphy, see Tracy, 101, 107-109.
[120] *IG* II^3 4, 7, 19, 68, 72, 85, 89; cf. **3** below.
[121] Inscribed crowns were decorative but also sometimes reflected a crown vote: Tracy, 109.

individual or group.[122] A dedicatory text was perhaps included elsewhere on the monument. We might compare *IG* II^3 4, 84 (329/8 BC), a dedication by a court president (*thesmothetes*) who was the recipient of honours, which has a text including the name of the dedicant, two olive crowns beneath this inscribed with ὁ δῆμος (left) and ἡ βουλή (right), a crown on the left side inscribed οἱ φυλέται and a crown on the right side inscribed [οἱ δημότ]αι.

K. Pittakes, *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1842 no. 895 (cf. *SEG* 43.113) published a block, described as the epistyle of a circular monument with ὁ δῆμος inscribed within a crown, which had been "εὑρέθη ἐντὸς τοῦ Παρθενῶνος εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖ κατακρημνισθὲν τσαμὶ, καὶ εὑρίσκεται μέχρι τοῦδε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον μέρος" ("discovered inside the Parthenon at the pulled-down mosque there, and still situated in the same place"). Pittakes' illustration, of a longer block preserving the remains only of a single crown, reveals that it is distinct from the BM inscription.

Fig. 2.1. **2** © Trustees of the British Museum.

[122] For fourth-century examples of dedications bearing crowns inscribed with names of more than one group making an award, see e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 61 (*prytaneis*, demesmen), 68 (Council, People), 70 ([Council], People), 72 (Council, People), 76 (Council, People), 81 (Council, tribesmen), 84 (tribesmen, People, Council, demesmen), 85 (tribe, Council, People, demesmen, *synarchontes*), 89 (People, Council, tribe), 99 (Council, demos), 111 (Council, People, tribe), 239 (tribesmen, People, demesmen), etc. On inscribed crowns generally, see Hussey.

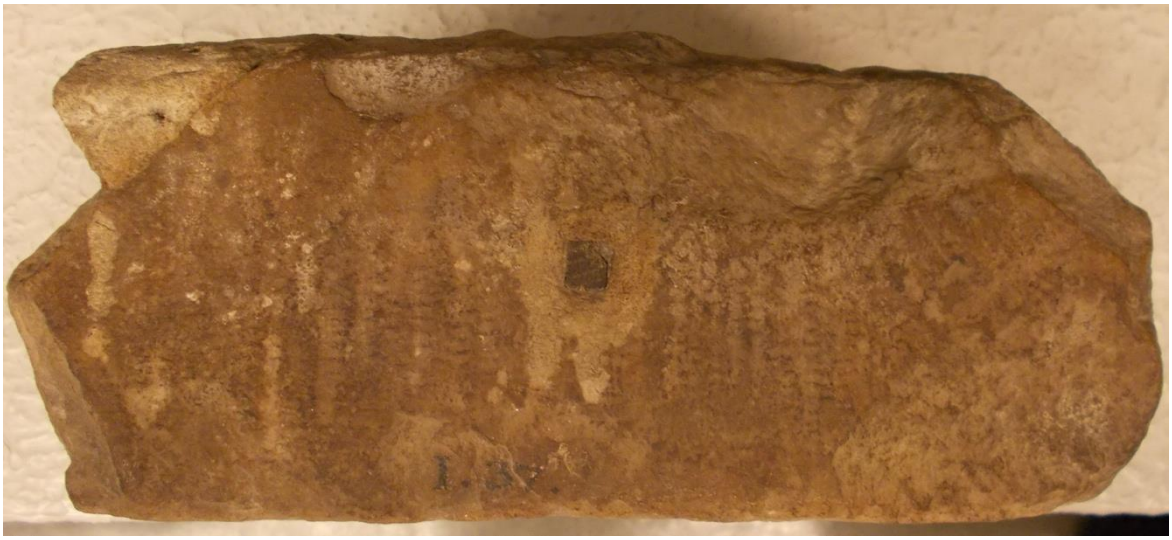

Fig. 2.2. Top surface of **2**, showing working of stone and remains of dowelling (Photo: Robert Fairbairn). © Trustees of the British Museum.

3 DEDICATION COMMEMORATING AN ARCHONSHIP. BM 1816,0610.163. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Tablet of white (Pentelic?) marble, broken on the right side; the left side, top and bottom are well-preserved; on the extant part of the tablet half of a plain myrtle crown is carved in relief, with the partially-preserved text of a dedication within it. H. 0.22, w. 0.107, th. 0.003. Regular, generally square lettering, other than mu (cursive with very splayed bars); Ⱥ. L. h. 0.011. Crown height: 0.195.

Eds. Osann no. 86; *CIG* I 1049b (from Osann and Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 134; *IG* II^3 4, 167 (ph., tab. XXVIII). Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig.* 3.

Late1st cent.-2nd cent. AD

In myrtle crown
Α – – –
Κλα[ύδιος]
Μου̣ – –– – –
Ἀμφ[ιτροπῆ]–
θεν̣ [Ἀπόλ]–
λω[νι ἀνέθη]–
[[Σ]] «κ»[εν]

Rest. 2 Hicks, 4-7 Curbera || 1 ἄ[ρχων]? Curbera || 6-7 ὑπὸ Μα]κ̣[ραῖς] Hallof *IG* II^3 || 7 Σ corrected to K.

In myrtle crown
A[rchon?] Claudius Mo- of Amph[itrope] dedicated (this) to Apollo.[123]

Neither Hicks nor Boeckh were able to make sense of this inscription (Hicks described it as being "of doubtful reference"), but it has been correctly identified by Curbera as an example of an Athenian archon marking the end of his year in office by making a dedication to Apollo "Below the Long Rocks" (ὑπὸ Μακραῖς) or "Below the Heights" (ὑπ' Ἀκραῖς) at the sanctuary located in a cave on the North Slope of the Acropolis.[124] Plaques like this began to be dedicated by the annual archons of Athens, including the eponymous archon, the "king" (*basileus*), the polemarch, the six court presidents (*thesmothetai*) and their secretary, in the early first century AD, probably during the reign of Claudius. The practice continued until the mid-third century AD.[125] Inscribed examples of such dedications are collected at *IG* II^3 4, 128-205.[126] Archons appear to have dedicated these plaques at the termination of

[123] If Hallof's restoration of ll. 6-7 is accepted, the final ll. of the dedication would read: "… dedicated this to Apollo below the Long Rocks".
[124] The two terms are used interchangeably to refer to the cave for the entire duration of the period during which the plaques were dedicated at the sanctuary; on the site, see Nulton, 11-23.
[125] On the practice, its origins, and its motivations, see Rigsby; our discussion here broadly follows his interpretation. See also the discussion in AIO (notes to *IG* II^3 4, 128).
[126] There are also examples of secretaries to the archons making dedications at this shrine (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 130, 144, 170, with Geagan 1967, 16. Nulton, 11-23 provides a catalogue of 68 votive plaques – not including this example – which he believes can be associated with this sanctuary). For further discussion of specific examples, see Geagan 1967, 8, 11 (dedications by the *archon basileus*), 12 (by the polemarch), 13 (by the *thesmothetai*, the most prolific dedicators in this location).

their office in mid-summer when they entered the Council of the Areopagos. The myrtle crown represents the crowns which were worn by the archons during their year of office and which symbolised their political and religious authority;[127] it seems quite possible too that this crown of office would have been dedicated to Apollo as part of the ceremony.[128]

The decision to begin commemorating this ceremony with marble plaques may reflect the increasing prominence of the Areopagos in the Imperial period (on which, see below, no. **24**) and the desire to emphasise the aspect of the Areopagos that most resembled the Roman Senate – the fact that its members were ex-magistrates.[129] It may also reflect the desire of the archons for a cult centre of their own, like the cult of Apollo Prostaterios maintained by the *prytaneis* and the cult of Artemis Boulaia by the Council.[130]

Nulton (31) observes that a distinctive characteristic of these plaques is that the leaves of the crown are carved so that they all point upwards (in contrast to carvings of other sorts of crowns, in which the leaves typically point downwards: see, for instance, **2**); this further supports the case for seeing this inscription (with its upward-pointing leaves) as an example of an office-holder's dedication to Apollo.

The precise findspot of this inscription is unknown, but other examples show that these dedications were typically made at the cave of Apollo, on the North Slope of the Acropolis.[131] (If Hallof's proposed alternative restoration for ll. 6-7 is accepted, then this would be explicit in this text too – but there is, of course, a risk of circularity in that argument.) This site was (according to myth) the place where Apollo raped Kreousa the daughter of Erechtheus, and where Kreousa exposed the son who was born from this rape: Ion, the ancestor of the Athenians.[132] The connection with Ion might explain why this was thought to be an appropriate place for Athenian archons to make dedications, since Ion was said to have been the first polemarch, and thus the first non-monarchic office-holder in Athens.[133]

The dating is based on the style of lettering (following *IG* II^3 4) and is compatible also with the date range of similar dedications made by Athenian archons to Apollo. The very plain style of myrtle crown (with widely-spaced, un-engraved leaves) is broadly comparable to that of *IG* II^3 4, 199 or 203, both dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD, although the partial preservation of all three examples makes close comparison problematic. We can

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[127] Aristophanes F 124; *Ath. Pol*. 57.4; Hesychios s.v. *Myrrhinon*; Scholia in Aristophanes, *Wasps* 861; Pollux 10.69; Parker 2005, 97; Nulton, 31-32.
[128] Suggested by Rigsby, 173; cf. *IK Ilion* 3B.
[129] See Rigsby.
[130] Woodhead, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 285; Nulton, 25-30; *SEG* 52.48A F5, ll. 2-3.
[131] Eighteen of the dedications to Apollo ὑπὸ Μακραῖς collected in *IG* II^3 4, 128-205 (nos. 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 138, 139, 141, 143, 144, 146, 147, 150, 151, 173, 182, 198, and 200) are reported as having been found in or near the cave of Apollo. Cf. also *Agora* XVIII, C45-C76 (for discussion of examples found in the Agora excavations).
[132] This version of the myth (in which Apollo's rape of Kreousa serves as the origin-story for Ion) was developed in Sophocles' (lost) *Creusa*, and in Euripides' *Ion*. Nulton (21) suggests that, although this latter play is set at Delphi, its repeated references to Μακραὶ (Πέτραι) (e.g. at ll. 13, 283, 494, 937, 1400) should be interpreted as allusions to "the dramatic location of the rape in Athens".
[133] Rigsby, 174, citing Hdt. 8.44.2, *Ath. Pol.* 3.2.

assume that Claudius was a Roman citizen, which is not incompatible with his holding the archonship (in fact, only three known archons from the Flavian Era until the grant of universal Roman citizenship in 212 AD are definitely not Roman citizens).[134] However, he cannot be associated with any known archon, nor with any otherwise known individual: Claudius is an extremely common name in Athens from the middle of the first century AD (*RCA* lists 424 individuals called Claudius or Claudia), but a Claudius Mo- from the deme Amphitrope is not otherwise attested.

Fig. 3. **3** © Trustees of the British Museum.

[134] Byrne, *RCA*, xv.

4 DEDICATION OF AN (EPHEBIC?) GYMNASIARCH COMMEMORATING VICTORY IN A TORCH-RACE. BM 1864,0220.11. Strangford collection (cf. sect. 1). Boeckh, following Fourmont, wrote that it was found "prope domum Anastas. Turminitae": presumably a secondary findspot rather than its original location, the location of the house is not known. Panel of white marble, carved in high relief, broken on the left and right sides. Inscription on the architrave, beneath which is a scene featuring a male figure wearing a chiton (head is lost) and perhaps a spiked crown, who places his right hand on the head of a smaller figure holding an object (possibly a torch over an altar); to their left are visible three naked young male figures (the outer two of whom are bearded), who are noticeably larger than the smaller figure on the right, and the leg of a fourth on the extreme left-hand-side. Crowned with an entablature carrying antefixes. Beneath the relief panel are visible remains of a now-broken tenon, perhaps for insertion into a supporting base or pillar.[135] H. 0.452; w. 0.323; th. 0.0561-0.0909 (top). Letters plain and well-spaced; outer diagonals of the sigma are splayed as are those of the mu. There are considerable remains of red paint in the letters, increasingly towards the right-end of the line. L. h. 0.0096.

Eds. *CIG* I 257 (from Fourmont); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 41; (*IG* II 1221); *IG* II² 2974; *IG* II^3 4, 331 (ph., tab. XLVII).

Cf. Fourmont Bib. Nat. Suppl. grec. 854, f. 18v, no. 32 (drawing); Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 813; Rouse, 177; van Straten, 258; Palagia 2000 (= *SEG* 50.92) (ph.). Autopsy Liddel and Low 2009. In store. *Figs.* 4.1, 4.2.

After 334/3 BC?

[ὁ δεῖνα λ]αμπάδι νικήσας γυμνασιαρχῶν [ἀνέθηκεν].
Relief

λαμπάδα νικήσας γυμνασίαρχον Boeckh (ex schedis Fourmonti). On autopsy of the stone we were able to see the inscribed feet of the omega of γυμνασιαρχῶν; however, it appears to have been painted in red paint as an omicron.

. . . (sg.) dedicated (this) having won the torch-race as gymnasiarch.
Relief

As the text makes clear, this dedication was set up by a gymnasiarch who sponsored the victorious team in a torch race ([λ]αμπάδι νικήσας).[136] We might suppose that the name, patronymic and demotic of the victorious gymnasiarch would have appeared before "λ]αμπάδι",[137] but no traces of these survive. The relief appears to show two scenes.[138] On the left there are at least four figures (only a single leg of the figure on the far left survives; of those whose heads are extant, two are bearded and one is without beard); Palagia (2000, 404-405) suggests that they could be trainers. *IG* II^3 4 identifies them as "iuvenes" and

[135] For pillars, fluted and unfluted columns supporting dedications, see van Straten, 1992, 248-49.
[136] The form λαμπάδι νικήσας is paralleled in a second-century AD dedication of an *agonothetes* victorious at the Hermaia: *IG* II^3 4, 368. Cf. also Andoc. *Against Alcibiades* 42.
[137] Cf. *IG* II^3 4, 335, 368; *I Rhamnous* 98, 146.
[138] As Palagia 2000, 405.

concludes that the dedication is ephebic. It is possible but far from certain that the unbearded figure represents an ephebe; their nudity is not a decisive indicator and perhaps makes reference to athletic prowess. The number of figures represented does not help us identify whether the dedication is ephebic: it is unclear how many figures would originally have been represented on the left: a fragmentary relief from Rhamnous (Rhamnous inv. no. 531 [ex Athens NM 2332]; see Palagia and Lewis pl. 49a) depicts at least four youths while **5** has at least six. Anyway, as noted above (**section 4**), we are uncertain about the size of an ephebic torch-racing team, but ten is a possibility (Friend, 124). A presiding deity may have taken up some of the space on the missing left of the monument.

On the right there is a larger figure looming over a shorter figure who holds an object over the altar. The larger figure (who may be, as suggested by Palagia 2000 and *IG* II^3 4, the eponymous hero of the victorious tribe)[139] appears to wear a spiked crown, which would indicate the celebration of a victory.[140] He may well be placing a wreath upon the head of the smaller figure, but damage to his right hand makes it hard to be certain. The object that the smaller figure holds over the altar is likely to have been a torch: Hermias, a Neoplatonist commentator, in his commentary *On Plato, Phaedrus* (33 on 231e: see Share and Baltzly, p. 85), says that the fire for the sacrificial rites of the goddess was lit by the victor in athletic competitions,[141] and we can infer that this is what is happening in this scene. This smaller figure, apparently undertaking an active role in cult activity, may possibly be the ephebe who served as gymnasiarch, and the dedicant of the relief; certainty however is impossible.

There is no consensus as to the festival at which this victory was won. Palagia 2000 identifies the torch race represented on the dedication as that of the Panathenaia and the altar as one to Athena Polias, probably the end-point of the Panathenaiac torch-race (see above, n. 77). She suggests that a large figure of Athena would have stood to the right of the preserved scene.[142] However, the association with the Panathenaia is disputed in the *IG* II^3 4 edition on the grounds that ephebic activity is not firmly associated with that festival.[143] It is plausible, then, that the gymnasiarch celebrated victory in some other torch-racing contest (perhaps the Promethia or Hephaistia), along the lines of the one commemorated in *IG* II^3 4, 336, l. 2, commemorating an Erechtheid victory.

In 1915, O. Walter made an association between this relief and Acropolis Inventory no. 3012, which appears to depict the birth of Erechthonios. However, this association has now been challenged by Palagia (2006), on the grounds that the iconography of Erechthonios has little to do with torch-race iconography.

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[139] For an ephebic team's dedication to its tribal hero, see *IG* II^3 4, 329.

[140] On the iconography of the spiked crown as attested in vase-painting, see Chankowski, 55 n. 4. Cf. also our no. **5**, below.

[141] A less plausible interpretation is that of Smith, I 813 (followed by Rouse, 177 n. 12), who took the view that the smaller figure carried a whisk for sprinkling.

[142] Shear 2021, 198 n. 100 follows Palagia's interpretation in connecting the dedication to the Panathanaia; for Shear's views on the festival context of torch-races, see above, ns. 77 and 82.

[143] Hellenistic and Roman ephebic dedications commemorate victories in a number of other festival competitions, including the Heroia, Hermaia, Sylleia, Theseia, Epitaphia, Hephaistia, Soteria and Hadrianeia; see above, n. 82. On the association between the worship of Hephaistos and torch races, see also *IG* I^3 83 line 32 with AIO notes.

As noted already (cf.), the original findspot within Athens of this inscription is uncertain. However, it may have been set up at a tribal sanctuary in the city.[144]

The possible (but not certain) ephebic associations of this relief suggest that the monument dates to the period after the re-organisation of the ephebic institution in 334/3.[145] The letter-forms are compatible with a date in the late fourth century BC.

Fig. 4.1. **4** © Trustees of the British Museum.

[144] The tribal sanctuaries were located in Athens, with the exception of that of Hippothontis, which was at Eleusis; see Jones.

[145] See discussion of RO 89 (= *IG* II^2 1156) in AIO.

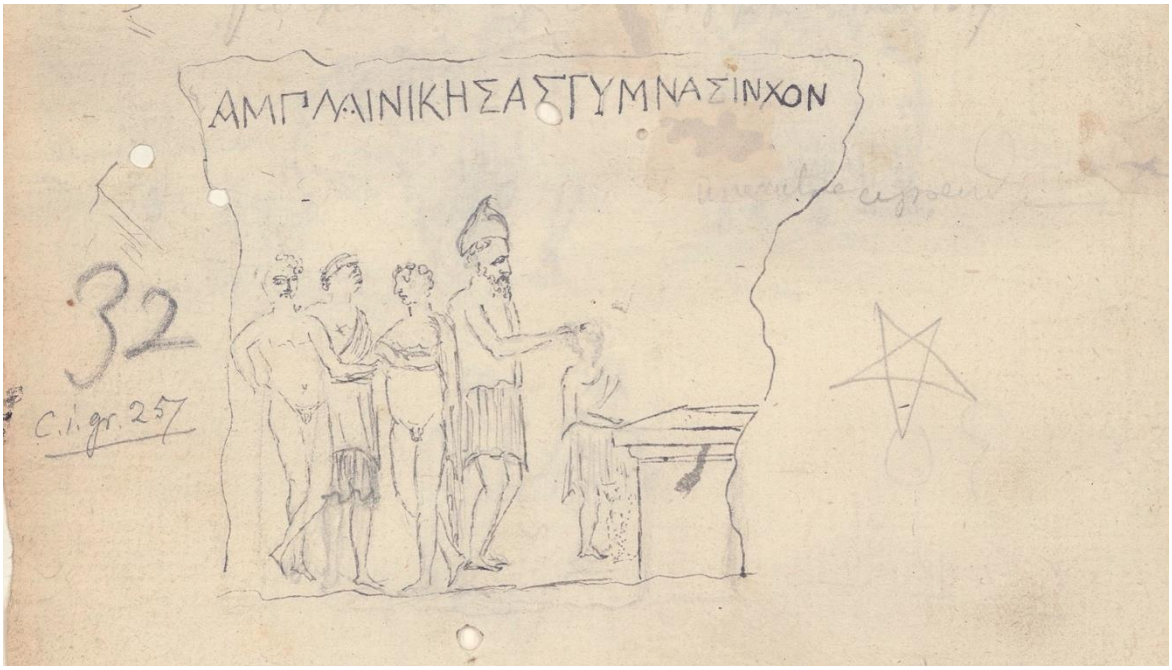

Fig. 4.2. Drawing of **4** from Fourmont's notebooks (Bib. Nat. Suppl. grec. 854, f.18v, no. 32). © gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

5 DEDICATION COMMEMORATING VICTORY IN A TORCH-RACE. BM 1953,0530.1. The BM fragments of this relief (two substantial parts, now joined together), which make up the larger part of its whole, were collected by Mr Gandy Deering at Rhamnous in late 1812 and were purchased by the BM in 1952. Deering's MS Journal (now held at the BM) describes their discovery "in the cella of the larger temple" at Rhamnous, which is now identified as the Temple of Nemesis. The BM fragments consist of the left-hand side of a sculpted relief, representing four figures; only the left-most figure's head is preserved, and the right arm of the third figure is missing, but the figures are otherwise complete. On the left are three larger female figures, all facing to the right. The first figure wears a short-sleeved *chiton* and a *himation*; she has bare feet. The second wears *chiton*, *peplos* and *himation*; she wears sandals and carries a sceptre. The third, winged, figure wears a girded *peplos* and sandals. Their larger size indicates that all are deities: the identity of the two goddesses on left of the scene is uncertain (see below); the third is Nike. This goddess stretches her left hand towards a fourth, smaller (and therefore presumably mortal) male figure, who stands at the far right of the BM fragments, facing towards the viewer; he is bare-chested, with a *himation* draped over his left shoulder; he carries an unlit torch in his right hand, which he holds horizontally across his waist. The scene is framed by a pillar on the left edge; an architrave is preserved above the first, third and fourth figures, and includes, on its right side, the section of inscription labelled below as (*c*). A further fragment of the left-hand side of the architrave, bearing the section of inscription labelled (*b*) below, was discovered at Rhamnous in 1960 and published by Petrakos 1976: he reported the letters ΟΥ on this section of architrave; this fragment also includes the tip of the wing of Nike. Petrakos published a further part (*a*) of the left-hand architrave in 1999 (see *I Rhamnous* 106 = *SEG* 49.223): this bears the letters ΟΥΡΑΜ. The head of Nike was discovered at Rhamnous by Valerios Stais, and its association with the BM fragments was made by Ashmole (1959), using a plaster-cast. The right-hand fragments, excavated in the late nineteenth century by Stais, were associated with the BM fragments by Petrakos in 1976 (*PAE* 1976 A [1978], 53 no. 13 (*SEG* 28.236)). They are now reconstituted as Rhamnous inv. no. 530, consisting of ex-Athens NM 2331 + NM 2332 + Rhamnous inv. nos. 267+398; they include a further fragment of architrave, bearing section (*d*) of the inscription, as well as partially-preserved relief sculptures of at least six smaller male figures, all facing towards the left; the first of these wears a cloak and carries a burning torch in his right hand; the others are nude, though the second figure wears a spiked crown. The total dimensions of the reconstructed relief bringing together all twenty-one fragments in Rhamnous and at the BM (*I Rhamnous* 106) are h. 0.64; w. 1.23; max. th. 0.14; the maximum dimensions of the BM fragments are h. 0.62; w. 0.58 (at bottom), 0.635 (at top); th. 0.135. The maximum depth of the relief is 0.075; the maximum depth of the frame is 0.05. The inscribed area is located on the epistyle of the architrave; the letters are very worn. L. h. 0.009 - 0.012.

Eds. Petrakos, *PAE* 1976 A [1978], 53 no. 13 (*SEG* 28.236); Petrakos *PAE* 1982, 161-62 (ph.); *I Rhamnous* 106 (drawing); *T Rhamnous* 199 (ph.); *IG* II^3 4, 349 (ph., tab. LI).

Cf. Knight, i (fig.); Süsserott, 120 (ph.); Ashmole 1954 (ph.); Ashmole 1959 (ph.); Ashmole 1962 (ph.); Palagia and Lewis, 340 (ph.); Güntner 162, G 7 (ph.); Palagia, 2000 (ph.); *LIMC* VI.I, s.v. Nemesis no. 215; s.v. Nike. no. 232; Friend, 122. Autopsy Liddel and Low, 2019. In store. *Figs.* 5.1, 5.2, 5.3.

Late 4th cent. BC

a *b* *c* *d*
[– –]ου ʽΡαμ[ν]ού[σιος γυμνασιαρχήσας?] Δ̣ή̣μ̣η[τρι καὶ Κόρει ἀνέθηκεν]
Relief

Rest. *I Rhamnous* and *IG* II^3. On the uncertain letter-traces preserved on the BM fragment (*c*, underlined) see below.

… son of - of Rhamnous [having been gymnasiarch? dedicated (this)] to Demeter [and Kore?].

Relief

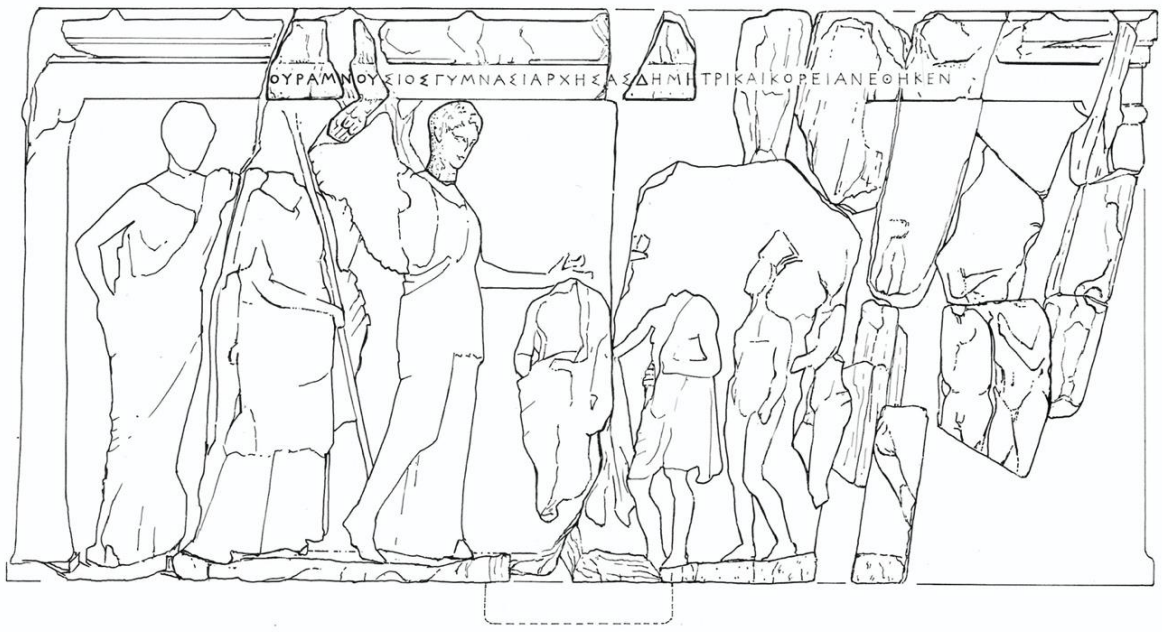

Fig. 5.3. Reconstruction of **5**, including the BM and Rhamnous fragments. Reproduced with permission from V. Petrakos, Ὁ δῆμος τοῦ Ραμνοῦντος. II. Οἱ ἐπιγραφές, Athens 1999, p. 91 (dr. by M. Skouloudi). © Ἡ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία.

The BM fragments of this monument were published by Ashmole in 1954 and first associated with the Rhamnous fragments by him (initially in 1959 and in more developed form in 1962); Petrakos' publication went further in reconstructing the relief and published the inscription for the first time (1976, 1982; *I Rhamnous* 106; cf. *Fig.* 5.3). The relief was dated to the late fourth century BC on the basis of the poses, proportions and movement of the figures (Ashmole 1954, 93-94).

The reading of the BM fragment of the inscribed architrave (here marked as *c*) is very difficult. Petrakos (1976, 53) read a sigma (which he identified as the final sigma of Ῥαμ[ν]ού[σιος]), but Palagia and Lewis, 340 n. 29, were unable to discern it. Nor, upon autopsy, were we able to do so. For the rest, we have been unable to make sense of the faint letter traces preserved on this fragment.[146] The reading proposed by Petrakos, if accepted, would allow us to be confident that this dedication was set up by a gymnasiarch, presumably to celebrate victory in an athletic competition. This interpretation is certainly consistent with the form and context of the monument, although it is not absolutely guaranteed by it.

The sculpted part of the relief, starts, as we move from left to right, with two deities; Palagia and Lewis, 341 (followed by Güntner, 80-81, 162 G 7 and Friend, 122), identify them as Themis and Nemesis, who shared the cult at the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous.[147] In this case, the dedication may have commemorated the sponsorship of a torch-racing team at the Nemesia.[148] An alternative possibility is that they represented Demeter and Kore:[149] the paucity of evidence for Demeter and Kore at Rhamnous makes this a problematic association,[150] but it is supported by Petrakos' reading and restoration of fragment *d*.

The wings of the next figure identify her (uncontroversially) as Nike.[151] Next come two men in *himatia* carrying torches,[152] one of whom is being crowned by Nike. There are then a number of youths (the exact figure is uncertain, but Palagia and Lewis, 340, suggest that there were no fewer than six), the leader of whom wears a spiked crown. The most plausible interpretation of this scene, therefore, is that it represents a group of victorious ephebes, being led by their supervisors or perhaps gymnasiarchs towards some deities or heroes, in celebration of their achievement. The fact that the cloaked men are carrying

[146] Ashmole noted that the likelihood of recovering the letters on the BM fragment is extremely slim: "there seem to be traces of an inscription on the architrave, especially in front of the leading goddess, but squeezes, and photographs taken in strong crosslight, fail to give more than a doubtful letter here and there." He notes also that Corbould, a careful draftsman who drew the engraving appearing in Knight's 1835 publication, did not reproduce the traces of any letters.

[147] For the cult of Nemesis and Themis at Rhamnous, see Palagia and Lewis, 341 n. 35 and Güntner 81; cf. *IG* II^3 4, 314, 513, 1419 and *IG* II^2 3462.

[148] See Friend 2014; Friend, 122. Humphreys, *The Strangeness*, 115 interprets *IG* II^3 4, 336 as evidence for the torch race specifically for the *Nemesia* at Rhamnous. However, there is explicit evidence for the annual celebration of the *Nemesia* only from the third century BC: Friend, 122.

[149] This interpretation was first proposed by Ashmole, 1962, 233-34 and followed by Petrakos, *T Rhamnous* p. 287. For examples of votive reliefs for Demeter and Kore from the Athenian agora, see *Agora* XXXVIII, pp. 50-58.

[150] As evidence for the identification of these deities as Demeter and Kore, Petrakos points to a fifth-century sculpted representation of the two, now at the Glyptothek in Munich: see Petrakos, *T Rhamnous* p. 281 (ph.). Ashmole, 1954, 99, raised but then withdrew the possibility that these deities were personifications, concluding that they look like Olympians.

[151] As Palagia and Lewis observe, Nemesis was represented with wings only in the Roman period: Paus. 1.33.7.

[152] The torches were identified by Ashmole 1962, 233.

torches, together with the spiked crown worn by the leader of the youths strongly suggest that the victory was in a torch race.[153]

The findspot of the relief supports the view, even if it does not prove, that the victory was won at the garrison-deme of Rhamnous itself. This hypothesis would also be consistent with the interpretation of it as commemorating an ephebic victory: Rhamnous was an important centre for ephebic activity, being probably one of the garrisons visited by ephebes (*Ath. Pol*. 42.4).[154] Moreover, there is other evidence from Rhamnous for the activity of (Rhamnousian) gymnasiarchs, most notably an inscribed base of the late fourth century for a dedication to Themis made by a certain Megakles of Rhamnous after having been a victorious gymnasiarch in the men's and boys' competitions (*I Rhamnous* 120 = *IG* II^3 4, 513; the nature of the contest is not specified).[155] Gymnasiarchic sponsorship of torch races at Rhamnous is known from other dedications: an inscribed base of 333/2 BC commemorating the Erechtheid victory in a torch race dedicated by the gymnasiarchs listing 46 ephebic *lampadophoroi* (*I Rhamnous* 98 = *IG* II^3 4, 336) and another fragmentary relief which depicts the procession of a team after a torch race (Rhamnous inv. no. 531).[156]

Overall, the relief suggests the vitality and prestige of ephebic and perhaps gymnasiarchic activity at Rhamnous during the second half of the fourth century BC. If Petrakos is right to take the view that this is a dedication of the gymnasiarch of an ephebic torch race, we can envisage that the dedicant would have hoped for a heightened level of prestige, the likes of which might potentially be drawn upon in *captatio benevolentiae* in the lawcourts.[157]

A cast of BM 1953.5.30.1 + ex Athens NM 2331 exists in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

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[153] Ashmole 1962. The spiked crown worn by the victorious runner is attested in a late fifth-century Attic krater (BM 1898,0716.6, on display in G 69) depicting victorious torch-runners of the phyle Antiochis: see Wilson, 254 fig. 26. For another depiction of a spiked crown in a dedication commemorating victory in a torch-race, see **4**.

[154] On Rhamnous as a centre of ephebic activity, see Petrakos, *T Rhamnous* 30-31; Wilson, 36; Humphreys 2004-9, 89-90 (listing extant ephebic victory dedications); *IG* II^3 4, 336, 347-50. For further dedications of this period from Rhamnous by the ephebes of Leontis (333/2 BC) see *Rhamnous VI* no. 452 = Friend T8 (to be distinguished from Reinmuth no. 9 = *SEG* 21.513), and by the ephebes of Oineis (332/1 BC) see *Rhamnous VI* no. 454 = Friend T13.

[155] See also *I Rhamnous* 50 l. 8 and possibly also *IG* II^3 4, 409 (a dedication from the Athenian Agora probably by a Rhamnousian perhaps who had acted as a gymnasiarch).

[156] See Palagia and Lewis, 340.

[157] For examples of orators citing their gymnasiarchic activity in the lawcourts, see Isae. 4.60, 7.36, Lys. 21.1-5.

Fig. 5.1. **5 c** © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 5.2. Inscribed area of **5 c** (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

6 DEDICATION COMMEMORATING AN (EPHEBIC?) GYMNASIARCHY. BM 1816,0610.202. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). A block of blue-white marble, broken at top and lower right corner; otherwise complete. H. 0.22, w. 0.37, th. 0.22. Thick letter-strokes, neatly cut with squarish appearance, with apices, sigmas and mus with outer strokes parallel; theta with a central horizontal; faint traces of horizontal guide-lines; the three rows appear to be aligned centrally, giving the impression of symmetry. L. h. 0.019; interv. 0.035.

Eds. *CIG* I 252 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 40; (*IG* II 1227); *IG* II^2 3001 (from squeeze); *IG* II^3 4, 401 (ph., tab. LVII). Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig.* 6.

1st cent. BC

Γοργίας Λυκίσκου
γυμνασιαρχήσας
ἀνέθηκε.

Gorgias son of Lykiskos, | having been gymnasiarch, | dedicated (this).

If this inscription derives from Attica (see below for further discussion), then we cannot be certain which of the two Roman-era versions of the Athenian gymnasiarchy (see above, **section 4**) was held by Gorgias. However, there are reasons to believe that this gymnasiarchy was the ephebic rather than the civic version. First, we should note the relatively modest scale of this dedication; this is in keeping with examples whose ephebic connection is clearer (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 380, 402, 406; the last example is inscribed on a small stele depicting an oil flask),[158] and contrasts with the more elaborate monuments set up by or in honour of those who had held the civic gymnasiarchy.[159] Also worth noting is the fact that Gorgias makes no reference to having held any other office (whereas, as we have discussed above, the civic gymnasiarchy was typically one of multiple offices advertised on a dedication: see, for instance, *IG* II^2 1072). It might also be significant that Gorgias does not give a deme affiliation. This might suggest that he is not an Athenian citizen, but was one of the numerous non-Athenians who participated in the Athenian ephebate in this era.[160]

An alternative explanation for the absence of a demotic, advanced by Koehler, is that the inscription is not in fact from Athens. The lack of detailed information about the stone's discovery, together with the fact that the office of gymnasiarch was ubiquitous in the cities of the Greek world in the Roman period, means that there is a real possibility that it is non-Athenian. Indeed, there is little that is distinctively Athenian about the letter-forms or shape of the monument. The exact formula (name+patronymic γυμνασιαρχήσας

[158] For ephebic dedications of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see *IG* II^3 4, 357-425.

[159] E. g. *IG* II^2 3573, 3591, 3593, honorific decrees inscribed on statue-bases for men who had served as hoplite general and gymnasiarch.

[160] As Lambert and Kamphorst observe (in the AIO notes on *IG* II^3 4, 357), by 123/2 BC non-Athenians from a wide range of cities were allowed access to the ephebate, a development that can be linked to the introduction of a significant academic element into the ephebic programme. Cf. AIO 1798 n. 10 (with Lambert and Schneider *AIO Papers* 11). Baslez discusses the presence of non-Athenians in the Athenian ephebate in the Roman period, noting (at 27-28) examples of non-citizens performing the role of gymnasiarch. See also Perrin, 206-17, 250-53, 449-78; de Lisle *AIO Papers* 12, section 4.1. On the educational aspect of the ephebate in the second century, see Haake 2007, 44-55; Perrin, 259-61.

ἀνέθηκε) of this inscription is known elsewhere in the Greek world (e.g. *IG* V 2, 119 from Arkadia). Given Elgin's collecting habits, however,[161] the balance of probabilities points towards this being an Athenian dedication.

Care appears to have been taken with the cutting of the letters, as is suggested by the visibility of horizontal guide-lines and the alignment of the three lines of text along a single vertical axis.[162] *IG* notes traces of a cutting in the top surface of the stone, in which a votive would have been fixed, but we were unable to detect this on autopsy; nor could we see the traces of the base of a relief sculpture which *IG* reports.

In dating this monument to the first century BC we follow the judgement of Kirchner and Curbera, made on the basis of its letter-forms.

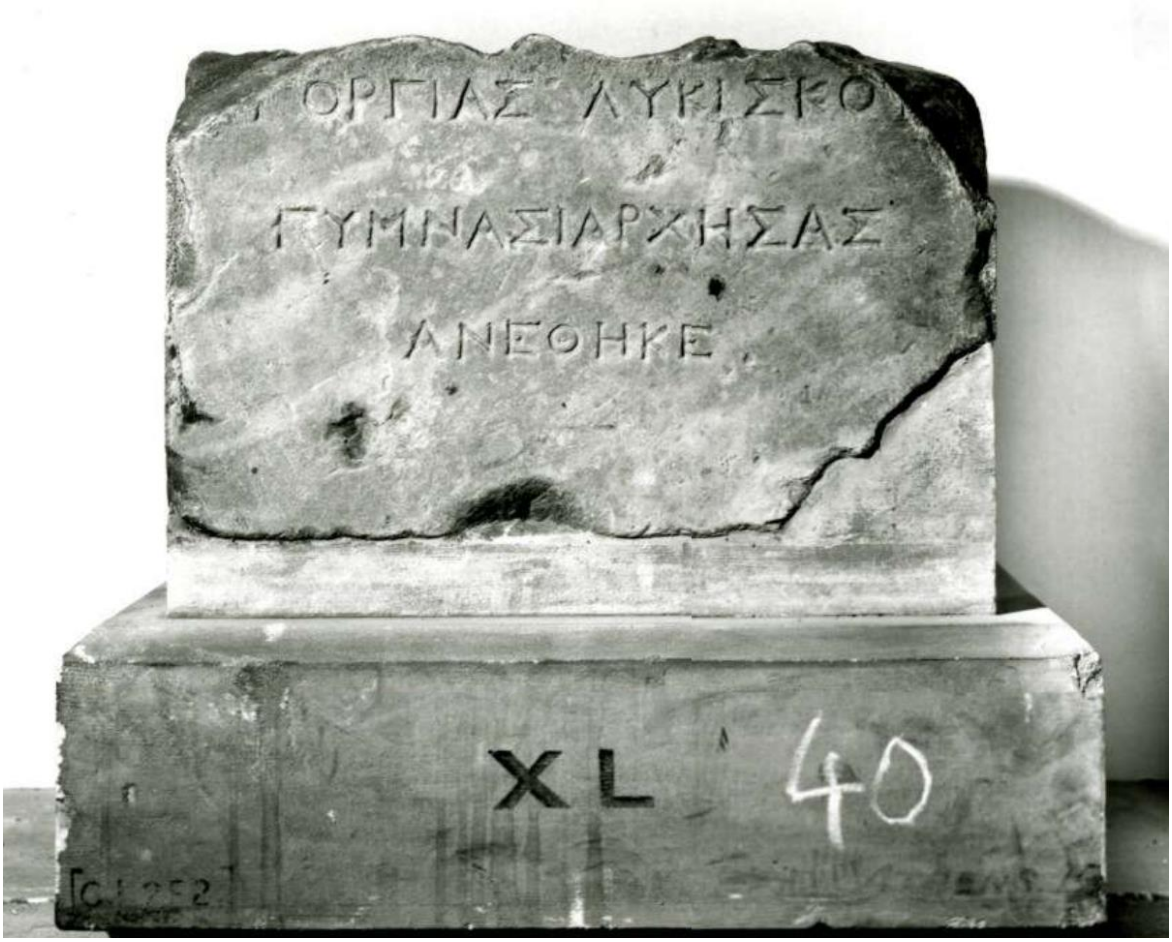

Fig. 6. **6** © Trustees of the British Museum.

[161] See above, **section 1**, noting that the majority (but not all) of inscriptions in the Elgin collection derive from Athens; cf., however, **Appendix**.

[162] Guide-lines: see Tracy, 118; for the observation that Attic inscriptions were not normally centre-aligned, see Tracy, 115-16.

7 DEDICATION COMMEMORATING VICTORY IN A TORCH-RACE. BM 1816,0610.298. Elgin collection (cf. sect. 1). Base of a relief of white marble, broken at the top and at the lower left and right corners. The inscribed text appears below the remains of a relief, of which only the feet of one figure survive: this figure, on the right side of the (extant part of the) monument, seems to have been standing face-on to the viewer; his weight is on his right foot, the left foot is slightly lifted. H. 0.19, w. 0.334, th. 0.05. Cursive lettering, Ϲ, Ε, Ѡ; curved mu; small apices; theta with a horizontal mark in the centre. Hyperextended diagonals on alpha, delta and lambda. L. h.: 0.0014.

Eds. *CIG* I 250 (from Osann and Rose); (Kaibel *Epig. Gr*. 943); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 42; (*IG* III 123); *IG* II^2 3164 (from squeeze); *IG* II^3 4, 423 (from squeeze and photo; ph., tab. LIX).

Cf. Smith, *Sculpture* III no. 2156. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig.* 7.

2nd cent. AD *Relief*

[ἆ]θλα τὰ τῆς νίκης Ὡ ράριος Ἡρᾳ[˘ — ˘]
[λα]μπάδας Ἑρμείαι θῆκε καὶ Ἡρακ̣[λέϊ].

1 The word at the end of the line has been restored as a patronymic (e.g. Ἡρα[κλείτου], Ἡρα[κλείδου] Boeckh); an ethnic (e.g. Ἡρα[κλεώτης] Curbera, in apparatus); more likely it was a Greek name in the nominative, functioning as a cognomen: e.g. Ἡρα[κλείδης] (thus already Dittenberger).

Relief

Horarius Hera…. dedicated torches to Hermes and Herakles, the prizes of his victory.

This dedication has always been assumed to be of Attic origin, and (as we discuss below) several aspects of its form and content are consistent with this assumption. However, it also has features which are less usual in Athenian contexts; for that reason, a non-Athenian provenance is also worth considering.

The monument, which (following Kirchner and Curbera) we date to the second century AD on the basis of the inscription's cursive letter-forms, bears a verse epigram (an elegiac couplet), and was created by a certain Horarios (or Horarius) to commemorate the setting up of the torches he won as a prize. (A comparable formulation, τῆ]ς λαμπάδος ἆθλον θ[έμενος, appears in *I Eleusis* 194, l. 24, a decree of the mid-third century BC.)

The name Horarios/Horarius is attested in Athens (*SEMA* 2567; *Agora* XV 372.33, XVII 1016; *SEG* 21.766) and elsewhere in Greece. The nomen Horarius is attested among the Roman and Italian *negotiatores* based in Delos in the first century BC (*I Délos* 1764, l. 12). After Delos' decline, these traders settled elsewhere in the province of Achaia and their descendants are found among the elites of several Greek cities in the imperial period.[163] It is possible, therefore, that our Horarius is the descendant of one of those Republican *negotiatores* (or of one of their freedmen), and that he had settled in Athens or another Greek

[163] Cf., e.g., the Gaius Horarius Anthesterios in *IG* II^2 1996, line 16 (an Athenian ephebic list of ?87/8 AD), with AIO's note on the significance of the name. On the place of the *negotiatores* in the "Italian diaspora" in Greece, see Spawforth, 75-77.

city. In that case, it is also likely that the partially-preserved name at the end of line 1 is not (as earlier editors have suggested) a patronymic or ethnic, but rather a Greek personal name used as a cognomen.[164]

The nature of Horarius' dedicated prize suggests that he had been victorious in a torch-race. In the Roman period in Athens, there is epigraphic evidence for the running of torch races at several festivals.[165] The bulk of the evidence for torch-races outside Athens dates to the Hellenistic and early Roman period,[166] when they are widely attested, particularly in the Aegean and Asia Minor; the non-Athenian evidence for imperial-era torch racing is less rich, but it is clear that such contests were still being held outside Athens (see, for example, *I Didyma* 187-90, a series of honorific decrees for victors in early third-century AD torch-races at Didyma). Although it is certainly possible, therefore, that Horarius could have participated in an Athenian torch-race in this period, this need not necessarily be so; if he did compete at Athens, then we cannot know at which festival he was victorious.

The capacity in which the dedicant won this victory (as a gymnasiarch or competitor) is also unclear. As already noted (**section 4**), the dedications which commemorated victories in races might be put up by various parties involved in the competitions: officials, trainers, groups, or competitors. Moreover, we cannot be certain whether Horarius' victory was won in an ephebic or adult contest, although the closest parallel to the phrasing of his victory epigram comes from an ephebic context: the poetic form θῆκε appears also in a dedication of the period 1st-2nd century AD to describe the setting up of a torch ([λα]μ̣π̣[άδα]) by a *synephebos* Achilleides (*IG* II^3 4, 413).[167]

Horarius' choice of gods deserves comment and strengthens the case for an ephebic context. Hermes, as one of the patron deities of the ephebes and the gymnasium, is a regular recipient of lampedarchic and other dedications made by or on behalf of victorious ephebes (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 357 (with AIO's notes and links to further examples) 375, 377, 378, 384, 386, 388, 389 = *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 4).[168] Herakles is not strongly associated with the ephebate in Athens, although there are some parallels for his appearance in ephebic inscriptions in Athens.[169] Herakles and Hermes are, however, attested as joint recipients of

[164] We owe this suggestion to Christopher de Lisle (pers. comm.).

[165] e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 412 (Hephaistia, 1st cent. AD); *IG* II^2 2024, Face C, col. II, ll. 133-35 (Germanikeia, 112/3 AD; *IG* II^2 2119, col. II, ll. 227-31 (torch races for the Heroes and for Gaius (Caesar?), 189/90-191/2 AD. See also n. 79 above.

[166] For an overview of the evidence for non-Athenian torch races, see J. Jüthner, λαμπαδηδρομία, *RE* 12 (1924), 569-77, at 570-71. On the diffusion of torch-racing across the Greek world in the Hellenistic period (and for discussion of epigraphic evidence which has emerged since Jüthner's article), see Chankowski.

[167] On ephebic torch-races in Roman Athens, see de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, section 3.5.ii. An ephebic or equivalent context is also plausible if this is a non-Athenian monument; Chankowski (72) notes that, across the Greek world, torch races are predominantly associated with "the context of the education of youths and their integration into the world of adult citizens".

[168] Hermes is also a regular recipient of ephebic dedications in other contexts (see, e.g., *IG* II^3 4, 357-64).

[169] Herakles and the ephebate: *Agora* XVIII, p. 312. *IG* II^3 4, 372 is an ephebic dedication from Athens mentioning gymnasiarchic and lampedarchic activity on Delos dedicated to Hermes, [Herakles] and Apoll[on] during the archonship of Herakleitos (97/96 BC). *IG* II^2 3747 (late 2nd century AD) is an ephebic dedication to Herakles Kalliphron. The fragmentary relief decoration of

dedications by victors in torch races elsewhere in the Greek world (Erythrai: *SEG* 30.1329; Cyprus: *SEG* 20.311; Byzantion: *IK Byzantion* 11). If Horarius' cognomen in l. 1 had a Heraklean connection this might have influenced his decision to include Herakles in his dedication.[170]

As we noted in **section 4**, agonistic dedications are well known in Roman Athens. Approximately contemporary examples include *IG* II^3 4, 413 (1st-2nd cent. AD), 418 (145/6), 421 (165/6).[171] The physical form of this dedication is, however, slightly unusual for this period. Although, as we have seen in **4** and **5**, victories in torch races in the Classical period were sometimes commemorated with a dedicatory relief, the more common form of inscribed dedication in the Roman period was a plain base (in which the torch itself was probably displayed).[172]

Horarius' dedication appears to have diverged from the norm also in its lack of reference to any gymnasiarchical or ephebic context for his victory. In the Athenian victory dedications of the Hellenistic and Roman eras (*IG* II^3 4, 357-425), the ephebic context of the competition is usually made explicit (by a reference to ἐφήβοι or συνεφήβοι or trainer) and there is sometimes reference to a gymnasiarch. In non-Athenian dedications, likewise, we would normally expect some reference to the context of the victory (see, for example, the Erythraian, Cypriot and Byzantine examples cited above). The absence of such references in this inscription means that we cannot with any certainty determine what role the dedicant played in the victory commemorated on this monument, although it is possible that this would have been clarified by the monument's relief; if this had been more fully preserved, it may well have helped us understand more about the context of Horarius' victory.

Finally, we return to the problem of this monument's provenance. As we have seen, there is nothing in the text or physical form of the monument which guarantees an Athenian provenance, and some features which might point towards non-Athenian origins: the atypical style of the monument; the fact that the dedication is made to Herakles; and – perhaps most significant – the lack of any reference to an Athenian institutional context. However, none of these features is absolutely incompatible with this being an Athenian dedication. In addition, the fact that the inscription derives from the Elgin collection, the vast majority of which was acquired in Athens (see **section 1**), also tips the balance of probability slightly in favour of an Athenian derivation. We therefore tend towards the view that this is an Athenian inscription, but acknowledge that certainty is impossible.

AIUK 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 10 depicts ephebes watched over by Herakles, and Herakles is also depicted on the mid 2nd-century AD ephebic dedication *AIUK* 11 (Ashmolean), no. 7. Also worth noting is the fact that the gymnasium at Kynosarges was sacred to Herakles (Paus. 1.19.3), although lack of evidence about the original location of this dedication means we cannot demonstrate any specific link to that sanctuary. On Herakles at Kynosarges, see Parker 2005, 250 and 472-73.

[170] Cf. *AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby*), no. 4, where a Herakleote makes a dedication to Herakles at Athens.

[171] For other examples, see *IG* II^3 4, 370-425 and for an overview of the pattern of lampedarchic dedications in the Roman period see *Agora* XVIII, pp. 70-71.

[172] E.g. *IG* II^3 4, 410 with *Agora* XVIII, p. 70; cf. also the reconstruction of such a dedication in Pantos, 178, fig. 1.

Fig. 7. **7** © Trustees of the British Museum.

6. DEDICATIONS BY INDIVIDUALS IN A PRIVATE CAPACITY: INTRODUCTION

While section 5 presented dedications made by individuals in a public capacity, this section consists of dedications made by individuals in contexts where there is neither any formal agonistic setting nor office-holding directly attested in the inscription. Like public dedications private dedications are generally laconic about the circumstances of dedication; like public dedications they usually name the dedicator and more commonly than public dedications the divine recipient. Where their original place of erection is known, they appear usually to have been set up in sacred locations. However, the often ill-documented circumstances of the acquisition of dedications now at the British Museum and other European museums makes it often difficult or impossible to pin down their original context; the offerings to Zeus Hypsistos (**13-23)** are somewhat exceptional in this regard.

Of the BM dedications published here, **8** is an inscribed marble block recording the dedication of a monumental shrine to Isis on the Acropolis, which provides interesting evidence for female euergetism and its commemoration (cf. **26**). **9** consists of a sculpted dedication to Apollo with an inscribed epigram of the fourth century BC; it appears to have been re-worked in the Roman period (thus it illustrates another phenomenon which is encountered among dedications: their re-use). **10** depicts a physician treating a patient and lists his immediate descendants but offers no details on the context or motivation for the dedication. Others in this group relate to some aspect of cult activity broadly construed. **11**, which depicts a standing Herakles, bears an inscription so fragmentary as to make certainty about its context impossible. **12** is an example of a widely-attested genre of dedications in Athens: votives set up to Pan and the Nymphs. **13-23** are offerings to Zeus Hypsistos made in return for acts of healing and will be discussed as a series below. Our order of presentation follows that of *IG* II^3 4 for the most part, but for convenience we have placed the anatomical votives at the end of this section, where they have a separate introduction.

Taken as a series, these dedications represent a set of vignettes of what lay behind the act of dedication by private individuals, including the celebration of a privileged professional career (**10**), the commemoration of investment in the adornment of a shrine (**8**) and dedications made in return for acts of healing made by otherwise-unknown individuals (both male and female) and perhaps non-citizens (**13-23**). Accordingly, they reflect the socio-economic breadth of humans making dedications. The BM dedications represent, however, only a snapshot of the spectrum of inscribed dedications of post-Euclidian Athens: the bigger picture is clearer in the recent publication of *IG* II^3 4 fascicule 2, which contains 1074 inscribed dedications made by individuals in a private capacity set up to a variety of gods and heroes across Athens and Attica.

7. PRIVATE DEDICATIONS: THE INSCRIPTIONS (8-23)

A. APHRODITE/ISIS

8 DEDICATION OF A SHRINE TO APHRODITE/ISIS. BM 1816,0610.165. Elgin Collection. Reported originally by Fourmont to have been built into the outer wall of the Church of Panagia Spiliotissa ("Our Lady of the Grotto", i.e. the Thrasyllos monument on the south slope of the Acropolis, cf. sect. 1). A stele of pinkish-white marble; mostly complete; but worn at the top; damage to the left side and in particular the lower left corner. Rear not visible. A spherical cutting in the left side of the top surface, ca. 0.02 deep, is probably not original. H. 0.470; w. 0.250; th. 0.050. The lettering, close-packed within widely-spaced lines, features modest serifs; Ⱥ. An ornamental leaf at the end of l. 8 is characteristic of the imperial era (cf. Threatte I.90 and *AIUK* 8 (*Broomhall*), no. 5). L. h. 0.0107-0.0110.

Eds. Chandler 1774, II 55 no. 29; *CIG* 481 (from Fourmont and Chandler); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 57; *IG* III 162; *IG* II² 4771; *IG* II^3 4, 1130 (ph., tab. CXXIX).

Cf. Fourmont Bib. Nat. Suppl. grec. 571, f. 125r. (drawing) and 854, f. 241v., no. 563 (drawing); Vidman no. 16; Walker (ph.); Schörner no. 241; Bricault 2005 I. no. 101/0221 (with ph. pl. V in vol. III). Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. On display: Room G 69. *Figs*. 8.1, 8.2.

ca. 126/7-130 AD

[τὰ] κιόνια καὶ τὸ αἴτωμα
[κ]αὶ τὰς κινκλίδας καὶ τὴν
[Ἀ]φροδείτην τῇ θεῷ ἐκ
τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἐ–
πισκευάσασα καὶ αὐτὴν
τὴν θεὸν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτήν,
οὖσα καὶ λυχνάπτρια αὐ–
τῆς καὶ ὀνειροκρίτις
στολίζοντος Αἰμιλίου Ἀ[τ]–
[τ]ικοῦ Μελιτέως, ἱερατε[ύ]–
οντος ἰακχαγωγοῦ Διονυ–
σίου Μαραθωνίου, ζακορ–
εύοντος ἀγιαφόρου Εὐκάρ–
που.

0-1 [ἡ δεῖνα κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Ἴσιδος | τὰ] Wilamowitz ap. Rusch (see below). The text is otherwise uncontroversial, and ours does not differ from *IG* II^3 4, 1130. In 8 *IG* II^3 prints a decorative leaf; this is now obscured by damage.

> The columns (*kionia*) and pediment (*aitoma*) | and the latticed partitions (*kinklides*) and the (statue of) | Aphrodite she dedicated | to the Goddess from her own resources | (5) having repaired both (the statue of) | the goddess itself and the things related to it; | she was her

> lamplighter (*luchnaptria*) | and dream-interpreter (*oneirokritis*). | In charge of the sacred vestments was Aemilius | (10) Attikos of Melite; the priest, | bearer of the image of Iakchos (*iakchagogos*), was the son of Diony|sios of Marathon, temple | attendant (*zakoros*) and bearer of the holy vessels (*hagiaphoros*) was Eukar|pos.

This inscription commemorates the dedication of a statue of Aphrodite and parts of a shrine – columns, pediment,[173] and latticed partitions (perhaps intercolumnar screens) – to a deity by an unknown female. The recipient of the dedication is not specified, but can be identified as Isis on the basis of the cult offices named in the inscription. The roles of lamplighter (*luchnaptria*) and dream-interpreter (*oneirokritis*), which were held by the dedicant, are both associated with the cult of Isis: we discuss them in more detail below. The temple attendant (*zakoros*; ll. 12-13) was a characteristic officiant of Isis in the first and second centuries AD (*IG* II^3 4, 1129 with Walker, 255-56). The officer "in charge of the sacred vestments" (*stolistes*: l. 9; see Dunand, 137-41) was associated with the same cult in a second- or third-century AD dedication (*IG* II^3 4, 1343); he would have had the task of dressing the cult statue, probably daily. Details of the office (its level of prestige and duration of tenure) are not known. The bearer of the holy vessels (*hagiaphoros*, known in inscriptions from other cities as the ἱεραφόρος)[174] would have had the role of carrying cult images in processions. The *iakchagogos* (bearer of the statue of Iakchos, probably during the procession from Athens to Eleusis celebrating the Eleusinian Mysteries; Paus. 1.2.4; Pollux *Onom.* 1.3) is attested as a priesthood in the Hadrianic period, and an inscribed throne from the theatre of Dionysos bears the title (ἱερέως Ἰακχαγωγοῦ: *IG* II^3 4, 1940).[175]

The cult of Isis was well known at Athens as early as 333/2 BC, by which time some Egyptians had been granted permission to construct a temple of Isis (*IG* II^3 1, 337, ll. 42-45). It is not clear that this Piraeus-based cult survived for very long,[176] but the cult of Isis in Attica more broadly flourished during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[177] Our inscription exemplifies an important feature of the cult of Isis in the Greek world, namely

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[173] The word for "pediment", αἴτωμα, l. 1, seems to be a later form of ἀέτωμα: Threatte I.278.

[174] See notes to Vidman, no. 15.

[175] On the role and its place in the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Clinton, 96-97. Generally, on these minor offices of the cult of Isis, see Dunand, 133-34 and 157; Martzavou, 62.

[176] Mikalson, 146 and Simms assume that it did not long survive its foundation.

[177] If the pre-250 BC date proposed for *IG* II^3 4, 1585 (a priest's dedication on the Acropolis) by its first editor (E.-L. Choremi, *Horos* 17-21, 2004-2009, 126-27 (*SEG* 59.274)) is correct, it is among the earliest items of evidence for Attic cult of Isis. Links with Ptolemy III appear to have encouraged the spread of the Isis cult after 229 BC: see, e.g., *AIUK* 4.3A (*BM, Decrees of Other Bodies*), no. 5; *I Rhamnous* 59; *IG* II^3 4, 1113, with notes and references to other examples). For the cult of Isis during from the late third century BC onwards, see Mikalson, 275-77; for its development during the Roman period, see Dunand, 132-53. For a wide-ranging collection of testimonia relating to Isis in Attica, see Bricault 2001, 2-5; on Isis and Sarapis in the Eastern Mediterranean see Arnaoutoglou 2018. For funerary monuments associated with the worship of Isis on the basis of gesture and dress, see *AIUK* 2 (*BSA*), no. 13 and *AIUK* 8 (*Broomhall*), no. 4; and for discussion of the iconography of such monuments, see Mazurek. For cult of the Egyptian gods in an Attic calendar of offerings contemporary with this inscription, see *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 2.

its assimilation to the cult of Aphrodite.[178] This is confirmed by an inscribed block indicating that Aphrodite and Isis were worshipped on the south slope of the Acropolis alongside Hermes and the Nymphs and Pan during the first century BC (*IG* II^3 4, 1804).[179] Accordingly, it is generally agreed that during the Roman era a shrine of Isis was established in the area to the west of the Asklepieion on the site of a sanctuary of Aphrodite.[180] The earliest surviving remains of the Iseion, dated to the era of Hadrian, consist of the foundations of a *naiskos* (7.45m x 5.40m), the steps and stylobate of its porch and some column shafts.[181]

The statue and its surrounds mentioned as being repaired by the dedicant at ll. 5-6 are likely to be those of the statue of Aphrodite mentioned in ll. 2-3 of the inscription. The fact that only certain architectural elements of a shrine are mentioned in the inscription supports our view that we are dealing with renovation or extension of an already-existing structure.[182] Walker's opinion is that a rededication of the sanctuary of Aphrodite to Isis took place during the Hadrianic era (at a time when the cult of Isis was attracting the patronage of the emperor and other prominent citizens: Walker, 257) and that the shrine's reconstruction took place at, or very close to, the time of this inscription. Others argue that an Isis sanctuary was established at this site in the first century BC, perhaps on the occasion of Antony and Cleopatra's stay in Athens around 34 BC and that the BM inscription records its further physical embellishment more than 160 years later.[183]

As we have already noted, the dedicant's personal name does not appear (or does not survive: for the suggestion that she was named in a previous now lost initial line see Wilamowitz in Rusch, 11-13; at our autopsy, however, no traces of Wilamowitz's l. 0 were visible in the worn area above our l. 1). As Angelos Matthaiou suggests to us, given that the subject of the verb ἀνέθηκεν (l. 4) does not appear in the extant text, there may originally have been a crowning member (in the shape of another stone above the extant one) upon which the name of the dedicant was inscribed.

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[178] Walker, 248-53. The process of assimilation is clearly visible by the early Hellenistic period (see Bricault 2019, 39-42), and is also implicit in *IG* II^3 1, 337 (333/2 BC), the Athenian decree granting permission to the Kitians to found a sanctuary of Aphrodite, which cites as precedent an earlier decision to allow Egyptians to found a sanctuary of Isis (ll. 43-45). Michèle Brunet points out to us that Isis might also be assimilated to Demeter (cf. Hdt. 2.92.2).

[179] Other dedications to Isis and other Egyptian gods discovered in the area of the north slope of the Acropolis or elsewhere in the lower city (*IG* II^3 4, 1113-21, 1123-28; *IG* II^2 3565) may have derived from the sanctuary of Sarapis (and other Egyptian gods) visited by Pausanias (1.18.4). Cf. *AIUK* 4.3A (*BM, Decrees of Other Bodies*), no. 5. For dedications relating to the cult of Isis discovered elsewhere in Attica, *IG* II^3 4, 1132 (Teithras), *IG* II^3 4, 1133 (Rhamnous, for the cult there see also *IG* II^3 4, 1331, *I Rhamnous* 59), *IG* II^3 4, 1122 (Marathon); for those from unknown locations, *IG* II^3 4, 1134-37.

[180] Walker; Triandi, 401; Beschi 2002, 28. Two other dedications from the south slope of the Acropolis deriving from the sanctuary of Isis date to the 2nd century AD: see *IG* II^3 4, 1129, 1131.

[181] See Walker.

[182] For another dedication of architectural features to a shrine of Isis see *I Délos* 2204 l. 2, in which the Roman Publius Laelius Leukiou dedicated latticed partitions and a mosaic in 104/3 BC; cf. also *IG* II^3 4, 1132 ii, of the mid 1st-century AD, which records dedication of lattices to Isis in a (pre-existing) Isis temple.

[183] Aleshire 1989, 22-23 n. 4 and Triandi.

The donor is attested as having held two offices. One is that of lamplighter (*luchnaptria*, l. 7); this role is attested also in Eleusinian cults and at the Panathenaia and was particularly prominent among Isis-cults in Greece.[184] The other is interpreter of dreams (*oneirokritis*, l. 8); this was a role performed often (though not exclusively) by women in Athens and Delos.[185] Her role was to interpret dreams sent by Isis to her devotees: recipients could be directed to make dedications or acts of devotion to the deity; incubation may therefore have been practised at the Isis sanctuary on the south slope or possibly at the Asklepieion which was close by. Given the prestigious location of the Iseion on the south slope of the Acropolis, it is likely that the donor's investment was a significant one and that she was wealthy. Walker, 255, followed by Bricault (2005, 16), suggests that she was granted the offices named here in return for the donations; alternatively, it is plausible that she made the donations during the course of her office.

This is one of several inscriptions of the second quarter of the second century AD which provide insight into the activity and identity of officials associated with Isis cults at Athens.[186] The son of Dionysios of Marathon, named as *iakchagogos* in lines 11-12 of our inscription, appears, with the same designation, in two other dedications (*IG* II^3 4, 1120, ll. 7-10; *IG* II^2 3733, ll. 20-21; in the latter case he is also performing the role of *kosmetes*). Both of these inscriptions are dated to 126/7, and therefore allow us to date **8** to this same period.[187] This individual is the sole known incumbent of the office of *iakchagogos*. His father cannot be identified with any certainty, though there are several attestations of individuals named Dionysios of Marathon in the early second century AD.[188] We have interpreted "ἰακχαγωγοῦ Διονυσίου Μαραθωνίου" (the phrasing which appears in all three inscriptions) as meaning "*iakchagogos* **the son of** Dionysios of Marathon", which we see as an example of hieronymy. This practice, according to which an individual replaced their name with the title of their priesthood, was deployed widely among officials related to the Eleusinian Mysteries (Clinton, 9). Although Clinton (96-97) argues that it was not practised among *iakchagogoi*, our view is that this interpretation best explains the formulation (*iakchagogos* + name and demotic in genitive) which we see in all three examples. Hieronymy would also account for the variation of naming patterns visible in *IG* II^2 3733: in ll. 20-21, the *kosmetes* is identified as "*iakchagogos* the son of Dionysios of Marathon"; in ll. 22-23, the *paidotribes* has the more expected naming pattern of personal name, patronymic and demotic (Δημητρίου τοῦ Εἰσιγένους ῾Ραμνουσίου).[189]

The two other male temple personnel mentioned in this inscription are also known from other inscriptions. The Roman citizen Aemilius Attikos of Melite (see *RCA* 43, s.v. Aemilius 6), named as the *stolistes* in ll. 9-10, appears with the same designation in *IG* II^3

[184] Walker, 254-5; Dunand, 136.
[185] For the *oneirokritis*, see *IG* II^3 4, 1115, l. 16; *I Délos* 2071, l. 3; 2072, l. 1; 2105, l. 5.
[186] These include the dedications *IG* II^3 4, 1120, 1129 and 1343 and the ephebic dedications *IG* II^2 3733 and 3734 of 126/7 AD.
[187] On *IG* II^2 3733, see *AIO Papers* 12, p. 77.
[188] Dionysios of Marathon in the late 1st/early 2nd century AD: *IG* II^2 2257 l. 4; *IG* II^2 2033 + 2064 = *AE* 1971, pp. 61 ff. no. 5, l. 33 (f. ῾Ηρακλέων); *Ag.* XV 322 l. 56; *Ag.* XV 322 l. 36; *Ag.* XV 322 l. 37; *Ag.* XV 322 l. 41.
[189] Cf. also *IG* II^2 3734, ll.1-2, where the *kosmetes* is again identified by designation rather than by personal name (κοσμήτεε δ' ἐσθλὸς [Ἰάκχο]υ).

4, 1120 (ll. 9-12), an inscription of ca. 126/7 AD which records the dedication of a statue of Asklepios. Eukarpos, the temple attendant (*zakoros*) and bearer of the holy vessels (*hagiaphoros*) (ll. 13-14) may be identified with the Eukarpos of Phyle who appears in the same inscription, and claims primary responsibility for setting up the dedication (*IG* II^3 4, 1120, ll. 1-2). Another dedication, *IG* II^3 4, 1129, tells us that Kranae, the mother of Eukarpos, was the *zakoros* when she made a dedication on instructions received in a dream from Isis. It seems, therefore, that Eukarpos was at least the second generation of his family to be involved in the cult of Isis as an official.[190]

The connection of **8** with *IG* II^3 4, 1120 deserves further comment. Given that all three cult personnel mentioned in that inscription (Eukarpos, the son of Dionysios of Marathon, and Aemilius Attikos of Melite) also appear in **8**, it is likely that it belongs to the same year or a very similar period. *IG* II^3 4, 1120 reports that the dedication was set up on the basis of an instruction (perhaps through a dream: κατ᾽ ἐπίταγμ[α: l. 3); it is tempting to speculate that the dream-interpreter (*oneirokritis*) of **8** was also the interpreter of the ἐπίταγμα. In any case, the demonstrable overlap of personnel between the two inscriptions highlights the connections between the cults of Isis and Asklepios, the sanctuaries of which were adjacent to one another on the south slope of the Acropolis.[191]

Overall, then, this inscription provides good evidence for the role of named individuals and a (presumably) wealthy donor in the cult of Isis in the second century AD; it is compatible with other evidence for the promotion of Isis in Athens during this period.[192] It also attests to the role of female benefactors in the period (compare **26**), in particular in the cult of Isis.[193]

The find-spot of the inscription (built into the wall of the Church of Panagia Spiliotissa (“Our Lady of the Grotto”), i.e. the Thrasyllos monument on the south slope of the Acropolis, is close to the physical remains of the Iseion (see above): it is likely that the inscription was originally set up there.[194]

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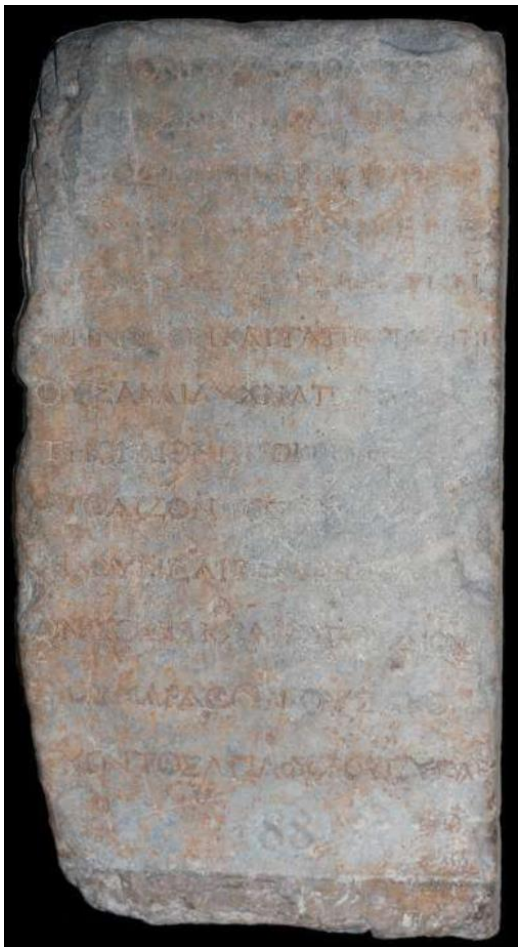
[190] The Dionysios named in *IG* II^3 4, 1129 (brother of Eukarpos and son of Kranae) cannot be the same man as the Dionysios of Marathon named in our inscription, since we know from *IG* II^3 4, 1120 that Eukarpos (and therefore also his brother Dionysios) were “of Phyle”.

[191] On overlap between Asklepios, Isis and Sarapis, see Parker 2017, 168-69.

[192] See Graindor 1934, 160-65; for a bronze plaque of the period commemorating Isis as “saviour of Athens”, see Walker, 246 no. 5; for Attic “Isis” grave reliefs, see Walters 1988 and 2000; *AIUK* 8 (*Broomhall*), no. 4; see above, n. 177.

[193] On the prominence of women in the Roman-era cult of Isis at Athens, see Walters 2000. For an association of Sarapiastai with a female president (*proeranistria*), see *AIUK* 4.3A (*BM, Decrees of Other Bodies*), no. 5. Funerary monuments for those associated with the worship of Isis are another indication of the prestige of the cult: see above, n. 192.

[194] For other documents attesting to the shrine of the Isis on the terrace of the Asklepieion, see Bricault 2005, I.5-18.



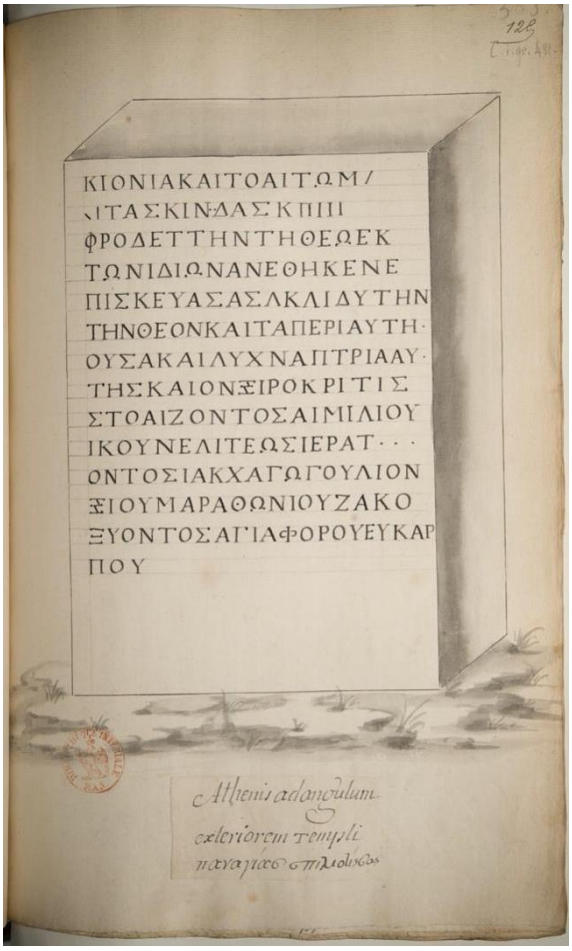


Fig. 8.1 (left). **8** © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 8.2 (right). Drawing of **8** from Fourmont's notebooks (Bib. Nat. Suppl. grec. 571, f. 125r). © gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

B. APOLLO

9 DEDICATION TO APOLLO. BM 1805,0703.139. Townley Collection. Purchased in Rome (cf. sect. 1), but probably originally from Ikaria, Attica. Sculpted relief in white marble, crowned by moulding of seven antefixes, depicting, on the left, three male figures approaching Apollo (seated on an omphalos, at the right edge of the scene) and two standing female figures (probably Leto and Artemis). The inscribed dedication is located beneath the relief. H. 0.502, w. 0.813, th. 0.009 (top) – 0.012 (bottom). Letters are plain and slightly untidily carved; forms are consistent with a fourth-century date, although later re-working of the stone has distorted their shape and depth; part of the inscribed area has been lost (the gap is filled with a modern piece of marble: w. 0.09). L. h. 0.008; stoichedon.

Eds. Combe, II no. V (illus.); *CIG* 1946; (Kaibel, *Epig. Gr*. 799; Wolters, p. 346); *IG* II Add. 1527b (from Purgold's transcription); Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 1151 (Hiller von Gaertringen, p. 1391; *IG* II^2 4556; *CEG* 751); *IG* II^3 4, 942 (Curbera, contulit Prignitz, ph., tab. CXVI).

Cf. Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 776; Palagia, *Euphranor*, 26-27 (ph.); Voutiras, 233 (ph. 5); Rutherford, 315. Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. In store. *Figs*. 9.1, 9.2.

Second half of the 4th cent. BC

Relief

σὴγ χάρ[ιν, ὦ βα]σιλεῦ Παιάν, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολ[λον], stoich.
vacat Ἱππο̣κ[ράτης ˘ ˘ — ο]υ παῖς ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

1 Marshall after Wolters (Σὴν χάρ[ιν ὦ βα]σιλεῦ Wolters) ‖ 2 Ἱππο[κράτης] Wolters; Ἱππο̣κ[ράτους δῶρον] Koehler; Ἱππο̣κ[ράτης Χάρμου] Hiller von Gaertringen; Ἱππο̣κ[ράτης] Χ̣α̣ρ̣ίου Peek (reported in *IG* II^3); Ἱππο̣κ[ράτης .]ΛΓ[. .]υ *IG* II^3.

Relief

For your favour, o King Paian, far-shooting Apollo,
Hippokrates, son of […] set this up.

In essentials the character of this monument is clear enough: it is a dedication to Apollo, set up by a certain Hippokrates in the second half of the fourth century BC.[195] However, much else is uncertain, partly owing to the incomplete state of preservation of the inscription, partly owing to the later re-modelling of the accompanying relief, and partly owing to the stone's obscure provenance (cf. **section 1**).

[195] The date is based partly on the letter-forms of the inscription (which Marshall, in *GIBM*, ascribes to the fourth century BC; this was followed by later editors), and more particularly on the style of the (original) relief: Palagia (1980, 27) observes that this points to a date in the second half (perhaps the third quarter) of the fourth century, drawing attention to "the arrangement of the figures in space, the irregular background of the relief, the tapering pilasters at either end, and the cornice with antefixes".

The dedicatory epigram, an elegiac couplet, records Hippokrates' gift to the god Apollo. The terms used to describe the god ("Paian" and "far-shooter") are otherwise unattested as epithets in Attic epigraphy.[196] However, "Paian" is quite widely used as a title or epithet of Apollo in literary texts of the Classical and Hellenistic period (LSJ, s.v. Παιάν I.2);[197] Ἑκατηβόλος is a Homeric epithet for Apollo (e.g. *Il*. 5.444), and is also sporadically attested in (non-Athenian) inscriptions (e.g. *F.Delphes* III 4, 179, ca. 480 BC). The term *charis* is frequently found in inscribed Attic dedicatory epigrams to record gratitude to a deity for a favour and is indicative of the relationship of reciprocity between dedicant and deity; as Kaczko (211) notes, it appears in this sense often within the formula χάριν ἀντιδίδωμι (and cognates). However, the precise formulation σὴγ χάριν ("for your favour") is epigraphically rare (though there is a near contemporary parallel in *I Oropos* 378), and is better-attested in literary verse (e.g. Soph. *Trach*. 485, *Phil*. 1413).[198]

The second line of the epigram is more straightforward; the only uncertainty here relates to the identity of the dedicant. Hiller von Gaertringen suggested that Χάρμου, "son of Charmos", could be restored as Hippokrates' patronymic, and that the dedicator of this inscription should therefore be identified as a descendant of Hipparchos son of Charmos, son-in-law of the Athenian tyrant Hippias. However, Davies (*APF*, p. 452) is rightly sceptical of this argument (on both epigraphical and historical grounds), and our view is that Hippokrates' precise identity must remain a mystery (the name is hardly rare: the *Athenian Onomasticon* records 51 individual bearers).

Interpretation of the relief is complicated by the fact that it has been reworked at least once; the overall content of the scene remains clear, but some details have been lost or distorted. The scene depicts three male mortals (one larger than the other two, so probably to be interpreted as either older than the others or superior to them in status) approaching three divine figures, two (female) standing and one (male) seated. The seated god must be Apollo: this is made clear not only by the content of the dedicatory epigram, but also by the fact that he is sitting on the omphalos (we should therefore understand the scene as taking place at Delphi). The two standing goddesses are usually identified as Artemis and Leto. As Palagia (1980, 26-27) notes, the appearance of all three gods has been dramatically changed in the re-sculpting of the relief: "the Leto seems about 3 cm shorter than originally intended … the faces have been entirely altered, the Leto now appearing as an elderly matron. The hands are shapeless. Artemis' naked arm has been turned into a non-Greek sleeve. Apollo's sandals look suspect. The attributes have been destroyed". The appearance of the mortal figures has also been altered; among other changes, they are shown in Roman military dress. It is not clear whether the original composition depicted men in Greek military (the view of Palagia 1980, 26 and Voutiras, 233) or civilian clothing (the view of Cook, 58); this uncertainty has implications for the interpretation of the scene depicted here, which we discuss further below. A drawing of the relief (inscription omitted) by the Renaissance scholar and antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo (Vermeuele, 64), made in Rome probably

[196] ἑκατηβόλον was restored in *IG* II² 4473 l. 3 but is now rejected on the basis of a new join: see *IG* II^3 4, 777.

[197] "Paian" appears also as an epithet for Asklepios (e.g. *IG* II^3 4, 777, 852; both from the Imperial period).

[198] Cf. σάν τε χάριν, Διόνυσε: *Anth*. *Pal*. 142, l. 1.

between 1590 and 1605, shows that it had already been reworked by his time, so it is quite possible that this reshaping was undertaken in antiquity. The precise motivations of the person or persons who first reworked the iconography are unclear (but a heightened emphasis on the military aspect of the scene is suggested by the appearance of the reworked mortals); it is also unclear whether they tried to alter the inscription or merely attempted to erase it.[199]

The original provenance of the stone is unrecorded, and neither inscription nor relief have any explicit information about the context of the dedication. Combe interpreted the relief as a representation of an oracular consultation; he did not make any explicit suggestion about the provenance of the stone, but did note that the most important oracles of Apollo were located at Delos and Delphi.[200] Boeckh placed the inscription in *CIG*'s category of "tituli aliquot locorum in Graecia incertorum" ("inscriptions from some uncertain locations in Greece"), and proposed that it might derive from Delos or Delphi (again presumably on the basis of the connection with Apollo). However, Koehler, in *IG* II, included the monument among Athenian dedicatory inscriptions, citing Purgold's assessment that "both the art and the lettering" of the monument pointed to an Attic origin. His classification has been followed by subsequent editors of *IG*.

The case for the Athenian origin of the stone has been significantly strengthened by Voutiras, who has drawn attention to parallels between the iconography of this relief and that of four similar dedicatory reliefs, all plausibly connected with the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in Ikaria, Attica; like our dedication, these reliefs date to the middle years of the fourth century.[201] Voutiras suggests that the dedications might have been intended to commemorate the Pythais, a religious procession from Athens to Delphi. These processions were both spectacular and irregular (Voutiras, 232), and therefore likely candidates for this form of special commemoration.[202] The Delphian destination of the procession would also explain why a dedication made in Attica would depict a scene which is clearly situated at Delphi. There is no fourth-century parallel for the presence of a soldier among the figures represented, but (as noted above) it is not certain that the original relief depicted the three mortals in military dress, so this might not be a relevant concern.[203] On balance, therefore, it is very likely that this is in origin an Athenian dedication; a specific association with the cult of Apollo Pythios at Ikaria also seems very plausible. As Rutherford, 315 notes, this

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[199] The dedication was perhaps re-worked for a second time by the sculptor and restorer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi during the eighteenth century: see discussion of the object's collection history in .

[200] Ellis, whose interpretation of the stone (and inscription) is very closely based on Combe's, adds the suggestion (138) that "it is highly probable that this bas-relief was erected in a city which was under the especial care of those deities" (i.e. Leto, Artemis and Apollo).

[201] These are: Buck XI (= *IG* II^3 4, 638, dedication by a Peisikrates son of Akrotimos, a *Pythaïstes*); Buck XII (uninscribed), both found near the Pythion; *IG* II^3 4, 632 (dedication by a group of *Pythaïstai*, now in the Mueso Barracco, Rome); *IG* II^3 4, 639 (a dedication by *Hebdomaistai*, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts).

[202] Cf. *IG* II^3 4, 18, with AIO's notes.

[203] Even if the military depiction of the men is original, this need not be a fatal objection: military participation in the procession is attested in the later Hellenistic period (see Boethius, 110, n. 2, noting the presence of a group of συστρατιῶται in *SIG*^{3} 711G (= *F.Delphes* III 2, 28), face III, ll. 41ff), and it is not impossible that it was also a feature of earlier processions.

inscription considered alongside others from Ikaria demonstrates how "extraterritorial religious activity is embedded in local religion".

Fig. 9.1. **9** © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 9.2. **9**: detail of inscribed area. © Trustees of the British Museum.

C. ASKLEPIOS (?)

10 RELIEF OF JASON THE PHYSICIAN. BM 1865,0103.3. Relief plaque of white marble, discovered at Athens by Louis Fauvel at an unknown location.[204] Purchased by the BM in 1865 (cf. sect. 1). The inscription is beneath a relief depicting a seated, bearded clothed male handling a smaller, unclothed, male; an oversized cupping vessel sits at the lower right of the scene. The relief is crowned by a moulding of four antefixes. Perhaps recut from an earlier monument. Generally complete and well-preserved despite some weathering. H. 0.825; w. 0.562; th. 0.076 (bottom) 0.068 (at top below antefixes). The inscribed ll. are widely spaced (interv. 0.018-0.025); the letters are sometimes irregular: Ϲ, Ε (cf. Muehsam, 55, 66). Hyperextended diagonals on Α, Δ, Λ. Ↄ = son of man of same name (l. 4); ′ = abbreviated demotic (ll. 3, 4). L. h. 0.010-0.011.

Eds. *CIG* 606 (from Dubois, *Catalogue d'antiquites egyptiennes, grecques, romaines et celtiques ... formant la collection de feu M. le Cte de Choiseul-Gouffier* no. 156); Hicks *GIBM* I no. 81; *IG* III 1445; *IG* II^2 4513; *IG* II^3 4, 836 (ph., tab. CIV).

Cf. Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 629; Koumanoudes 330; Roberts and Gardner no. 384; Conze IV no. 1890 (ph.); Holländer 460 (ph.); Muehsam XIII.3 (ph.); Phillips pl. 9 (ph.); Kampen 72 (ph.); Hillert 125-28 (ph.); Krug 211; von Moock no. 445 (ph.); Samama no. 19; Jackson no. 219 (ph.); *APMA* 4, 785; Baker 385 (ph.) Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. On display: Room G 69. *Fig*. 10.

Mid-2nd cent. AD

Relief

⟦ – – – ⟧ «Ἰάσων ὁ καὶ Δέκ»μος Ἀχαρνεὺς ἰατρός.
Διονύσιος Ἰάσονος Ἀχαρ(νεύς), γόνῳ δὲ Θεοδώρου Ἀθμονέως.
Θεόμνηστος Διονυσίου Ἀχαρ̣(νεὺς) καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς Ἰάσονος Ἀχαρ̣(νέως),
[Φι]λοστράτη Ἀφροδεισίου τοῦ Ↄ ʿΡαμν(ουσίου) κἀριστίου τῆς Καρποδώρ̣(ου)
vacat Μελι(τέως).

1 The initial letters are inscribed over an erasure || 2, 3 ΑΧΑΡ′ stone || 4 ΡΑΜΝ′Κ stone; κ(αὶ) Ἀριστίου Hicks, Kirchner; κἀριστίου Threatte I.102 (*SEG* 30.168).

Relief

Jason, known also as Dekmos, of Acharnai, doctor. | Dionysios son of Jason of Acharnai, by birth son of Theodoros of Athmonon. | Theomnestos son of Dionysios of Acharnai and of Eirene daughter of Jason of Acharnai. | Philostrate daughter of Aphrodisios son of Aphrodisios of Rhamnous and of Aristion daughter of Karpodoros | (5) of Melite.

This was once thought to be a gravestone from a family's funerary enclosure (*peribolos*), and this was the view of it taken by Hicks, Smith and in earlier *IG* editions. However, since

[204] The exact place of discovery of this relief is not known: Fauvel's manuscript, in which he drew the inscription when he encountered it in Athens, gives no details of its findspot: Paris Nat. Library MS fr. 22877, Fol. 116r; see: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9063569m/f208.item.

the discovery in the early twentieth century of *IG* II^3 4, 808, a dedication of the first century AD to Asklepios and Hygieia from the Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis, reinscribed in the second century AD as a dedication by the same Dekmos son of Theomnestos of Acharnai as is named on the BM relief, the BM relief has generally also been interpreted as a votive dedication set up at the Asklepieion.[205] In the absence of evidence on the original findspot and context of the monument, certainty about its original purpose is not achievable.[206]

In the relief Jason is shown seated on a folding, cushioned, stool,[207] bearded and draped, in the style of a respectable citizen with chiton and himation,[208] but not distinctively as a doctor. He examines a patient who has an unnaturally enlarged stomach.[209] As Jackson (345-46) points out, though the patient's size has led to him being identified as a child, he appears to be bearded, implying that he should be regarded as an adult; perhaps, as Josine Blok has suggested to us, his smaller size indicates that he was an enslaved person, possibly a paidagogos or other trusted house slave. In any case, Jason's disproportionate size compared to his patient may be intended to reflect his relatively high status and authority.[210]

The horizontal ridges along the left flank of the patient's torso have the appearance of protruding ribs, demonstrating the invalid's poor physical state, though it has also been suggested that they represent the fingers of the doctor holding him from behind.[211] To the right is an egg-shaped object resembling an oversized cupping vessel. This representation was widely associated with medical professionals: such vessels were deployed for draining infected areas or for treating headaches and painful joints.[212] Rather like the modern stethoscope, they symbolised medical professionalism[213] and are well-attested on Attic

[205] This interpretation was proposed by Graindor 1917, 20-21. Cf. Aleshire 1989, 64.

[206] Samama (125-26) and von Moock have recently maintained the funerary interpretation. For a discussion of commemoration of doctors in funerary monuments, see Massar.

[207] On the association of folding stools with doctors, see von Moock, 61; see also Berger, figs. 1 and 79. On folding stools in general, see Richter, 39-43.

[208] On the cloak (Latin *pallium*; Greek *himation*) as the mark of a respectable citizen or an individual associated with intellectual endeavour, see Tertullian, *On the Cloak*, 6; Olson; Vössing; Rothe, 148.

[209] The swollen belly of the patient has been interpreted as a representation of malnutrition or malaria (Jackson, 345-46).

[210] Large size of figures relative to adult humans in relief iconography typically implies divine or heroic status, and it has been suggested that the seated figure in this case represents not Jason himself, but Asklepios. On the negotiation of power-dynamics between patient and doctor, see Barton; Petridou and Thumiger; Letts; Kosak. As Rebecca Flemming observes (*per e-epistulam*), if the seated figure does represent Jason, his large size relative to the patient contrasts with another tradition in the ancient world that the patient was the dominant partner. Cf., for instance, the story of Demokedes, doctor to the Persian king, Darius: Hdt. 3.131-35.

[211] The significance of a doctor touching the patient was much-discussed in the Hippocratic corpus and can sometimes represent hands-on-therapy: see Kosak.

[212] On their practical uses, see Baker, 367. The vessel is known as a ἰατρικὴ σικύα in inventories of the Asklepieion: see *IG* II^2 47, ll. 8 and 11; cf. Aleshire 1989, 158.

[213] On the symbolism of the cupping vessel in antiquity, see Heller, 78-81; Baker. In its portrayal of a cupping vessel and a doctor seated on a folding stool the BM relief resembles the *Basler Arztrelief* of the early fifth century BC, a funerary relief of a doctor of unknown Greek provenance: see Berger. For the outdated view that the object on Jason's relief represented a *cipeus* (κλίβανον, or vapour-bath), see Hicks on *GIBM* I no. 81.

funerary reliefs and votives.[214] In the Roman period, Greek representations of male doctors tend to maintain the iconographical patterns of the Classical period, depicting cupping vessels, stools and other instruments.[215] The state of calmness exuded by the representation of the doctor as he makes eye-contact with his patient was in accordance with medical etiquette.[216]

Other than designating him ἰατρός, the inscribed part of the monument tells us nothing more about the medical profession or Jason's activities, but represents his family's genealogy. This is not out of kilter with other monuments associated with medical professionals in this era. At Ostia, the tomb of Scribonia Attice of the mid second century AD bears an inscription accounting for a complex set of family relationships, starting with Scribonia Attice and her husband Marcus Ulpius Amerimnus. The inscription contains no indication of their professional roles. However, two terracotta plaques on either side of the inscription show a male figure bleeding another man's leg and a female figure delivering a baby; the usual interpretation is that the figures represent Amerimnus and Scribonia working as doctor and midwife.[217] In both that case and ours, therefore, iconography seems to be more important than wording in identifying the profession of the subject.

Jason of Acharnai was known by an alternative name, "Dekmos", which is a transliteration of the Roman praenomen Decimus; Athenians with praenomina were concentrated in Melite, Piraeus and (as in this case) Acharnai (Byrne 2003, 7). The use of a Roman praenomen may, but need not, imply that a man was an Athenian citizen of Roman or Italian origin:[218] since the first century BC, it had become fashionable in some Athenian families to give their children Roman praenomina as personal names (e.g. Kointos = Quintus; Markos = Marcus; Gaios = Gaius). Indeed, the fact that Jason is named as Dekmos son of Theomnestos when dedicating a re-used base to Asklepios and Hygieia in *IG* II^3 4, 808, suggests that his father was Greek. The phenomenon of double-naming had its origins in Hellenistic Egypt, but had spread to Attica by 150 AD; such double-names sometimes indicate a nickname or other kind of informal name.[219] In this case Hicks' suggestion (*GIBM* I no. 81) that Jason was an assumed name which made reference to his medical profession, is attractive (cf. the verb "I heal", ἰάομαι). It appears that the stonecutter originally started

[214] A cupping vessel is represented on the Telemachos monument from Athens (*IG* II^3 4, 665 and 666), on a votive relief from Piraeus (Berger, 77 fig. 96) and on a votive relief of the second or third century AD from the Asklepieion (Berger, 77, fig. 98). For examples of cupping vessels on Attic funerary sculpture, see, e.g., *IG* II^2 5881 (= Conze 2148 T. 404), *IG* II^2 7539 (= Conze 2149 T. 404); *IG* II^2 9836 (= Conze 2078). For a fuller bibliography on dedications set up in honour of physicians: see Jackson, 345-46; Samama, 125-26.

[215] This is noted by Kampen, 72.

[216] Jackson, 345-46; on the "medical gaze", see Petridou and Thumiger, 1.

[217] For details of this tomb, see Kampen, 70 with her catalogue I.6 and II.16.

[218] The view of Byrne (2003, 5) is that "if a bearer of a praenomen also has a father (or son) with a praenomen, or where a praenomen stands alone, he is likely to be of Roman or Italian origin. If however the paired name is Greek, he is considered to be of Athenian origin".

[219] Outside Attica at least, double names are sometimes attributable to adoption or part of a strategy aimed at securing inheritances. On the phenomenon of double-naming, see Lambertz; *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam*), 52-53; cf. von Moock, 31.

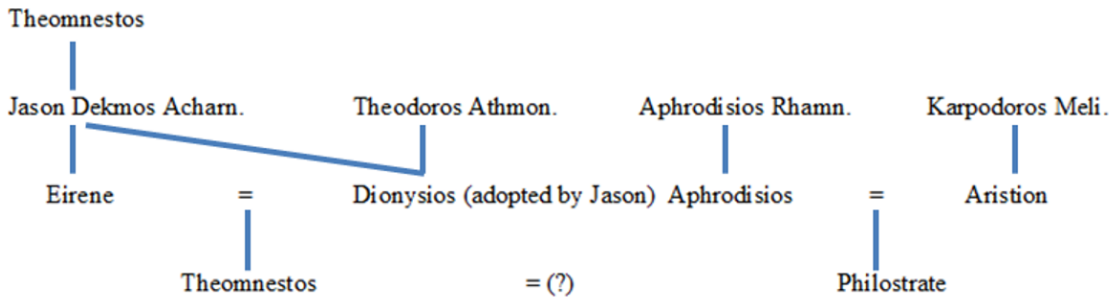
carving just one of Jason's names at the beginning of l. 1, but corrected the reference to include both his names.

In terms of this naming formula, therefore, a date in the mid second-century AD seems plausible. This approximate date is also supported by the appearance, in l. 4, of a symbol (Ↄ) to mark the filiation of Aphrodisios to a man of the same name.[220] Similarly, the use of the mark ´ to indicate abbreviation of demotics supports a date in or after the mid-second century.[221]

From ll. 2-3 it seems that Jason's daughter, Eirene, married Dionysios of Athmonon, by birth (γόνῳ) the son of Theodoros, whom Jason then adopted as his son. This was common practice where a man's only child was a daughter (an heiress, *epikleros*) and was designed to ensure that the man's property remained in his household (*oikos*) after his death.[222] The phrase, γόνῳ (with or without δέ) + genitive of name, is the common formula to indicate the natural father: see, for example, *AIUK* 4.3B (*BM, Ephebic*), no. 1, ll. 9-10, with notes.

Though this is not made explicit, it may be that Philostrate was the wife of Jason's grandson, Theomnestos. A certain Ἀρίστων Ἀφροδισίου ῾Ραμνούσιος is well-attested in ephebic inscriptions as trainer (*paidotribes*) in 111/12 BC (*IG* II^3 4, 414, l. 1) and on other occasions in that era.[223] Boeckh and Hicks (considering the inscription to be an epitaph) suggested he was the brother of Philostrate, named after her mother Aristion,[224] and that the monument was set up after Philostrate's death. If so, this would also indicate a date in the mid-second century AD.

We reproduce below Hicks' stemma of the family, with the addition of Jason's father, Theomnestos, from II^3 4, 808:



[220] Threatte I.105-106; for further examples from funerary monuments, see von Moock, 31 with n. 375.
[221] Threatte I.103-104.
[222] On the possible iconographic representation of this practice in a fourth-century funerary monument, see *AIUK* 5 (*Lyme Park*), no. 2.
[223] *IG* II^2 2023, l. 58; 2024, l. 124; 2037, l. 29; see de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, 74.
[224] This is the view taken also by Follet in her discussion of Ariston's activity as *paidotribes*: Follet, 201-206.

Fig. 10. **10** © Trustees of the British Museum.

D. HERAKLES

11 DEDICATION TO HERAKLES. BM 1973,0103.7. Provenance unknown (cf. sect. 1). Relief of white marble, depicting Herakles, with club and lion-skin, standing, on the right side and fragments of a second, draped, figure approaching from the left. Broken on the left side, but complete at top, bottom and right; there is a small square cutting (probably modern) in the top. The inscription runs along the upper frame of the relief. H. 0.626, w. 0.205 (max.), th. 0.125. No serifs. L. h. 0.014.

Eds. Tagalidou no. 34 (ph.); (*IG* II^3 4, 1167).

Cf. Ellis, *Townley* p. 170; Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 791; Woodford p. 201; *LIMC* IV.1 no. 759 (ph.). Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. In store. *Figs*. 11.1, 11.2, 11.3.

ca. 400-375 BC

[– – ἀνέθεσ]αν
Relief

[– – ἀνέθηκ]εν *IG* II^3 after Tagalidou, but the first visible letter is clearly A.

… they set up ...
Relief

Very little is known of either the ancient or more recent history of this inscription, other than that it has some connection with Herakles. The hero is clearly depicted on the surviving part of the stone; although his head is missing, his identity is confirmed by his characteristic lion-skin, draped over his left shoulder, and club, held in his left hand. The style of depiction, the "Dexioumenos" type, suggests that the monument belongs in the first quarter of the fourth century BC.[225] Traces of the clothing of a second, probably mortal, figure are visible on the left side of the relief.

The identification of this inscription as a dedication rests primarily on its physical form: a rectangular frame containing depictions of the god and other figures is a characteristic style of votive relief.[226] A particularly good parallel for this example is Athens, NM 2723 (*LIMC* s.v. "Herakles" no. 760), in which Herakles (as here, the "Dexioumenos" type) stands at the right of the scene, and is approached by two (mortal) figures from the left. Comparison with the proportions of this better-preserved example suggests that our dedication would originally have been ca. 70-80 cm wide and would therefore have had space for the representation of other figures to the left of the preserved figure of Herakles.[227]

[225] The "Dexioumenos" type depicts Herakles holding a cup in his right hand; this is lost in this example, but the characteristic stance confirms that it would have been part of the original composition: Vikela, 205 (with comparanda in n. 78); see also *LIMC* s.v. "Herakles", pp. 766-69 (nos. 754-860); Woodford, 201-202.

[226] The monument was originally described (by Ellis) as "a mutilated fragment of the front of a sarcophagus"; Smith correctly identified it as a dedication, but did not notice the inscription on its architrave.

[227] The dimensions of the Athens dedication are reported by Frickenhaus, 122 (no. 2) as "57 x 46 cm".

Woodford plausibly suggests that these scenes depict worshippers approaching the hero, presumably in order to seek or offer thanks for his assistance.[228] They may have been the subject of the final verb of dedication, which the last two preserved letters indicate was the plural [ἀνέθεσ]αν, rather than, as supposed by previous editors, the singular, [ἀνέθηκ]εν. We suggest the form [ἀνέθεσ]αν (rather than [ἀνέθηκ]αν) on the grounds that this form is usual on Attic inscriptions until about 360-350 BC (Threatte II.615-19).

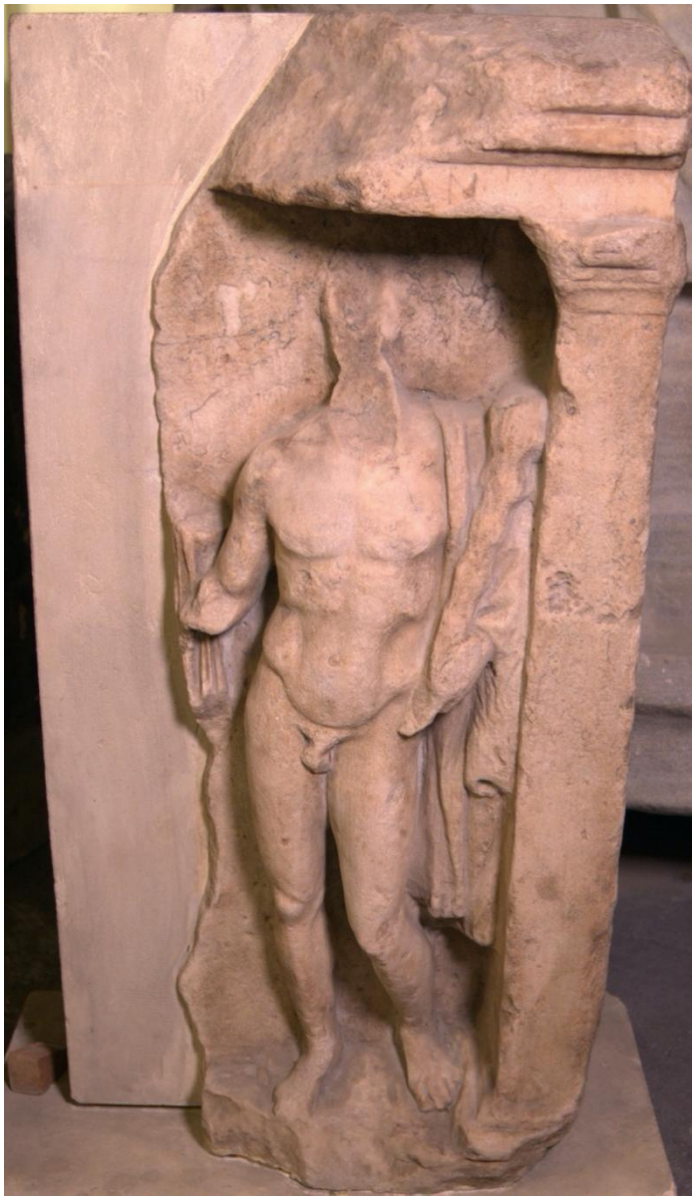


Fig. 11.1. **11** (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

[228] Woodford finds five examples (including this one) of this category (which she labels: "Heracles receiving worshippers (without sacrifices)"): of the four other examples, two are now lost (but were found in Attica); one is Athens NM 2723; one is now in the Dresden Museum (Dresden 1190), and is reported to have been acquired in Rome. None of these examples are inscribed. Votives of a later date offered to Herakles in thanks for his assistance include *AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby*), no. 4 and *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 7 (ephebic) both depicting a reclining Herakles.

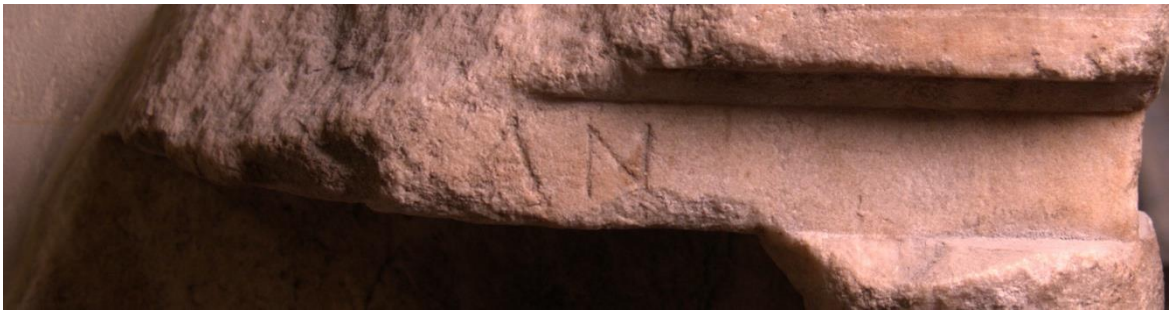


Fig. 11.2. **11**: detail of inscribed area (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 11.3. **11**: cutting in top surface (Photo: Peter Liddel). © Trustees of the British Museum.

E. PAN AND THE NYMPHS

12 DEDICATION TO PAN AND THE NYMPHS. BM 1895,1029.10. Acquired in Athens by Jean P. Lambros and purchased by the British Museum in 1895; findspot unknown (cf. sect. 1). Rectangular marble slab, broken on the left and in the lower right corner, but otherwise well preserved. A relief depicts three nymphs dancing in a cave, progressing from right to left; the nymph at the left edge of the scene faces ahead, the other two look out towards the viewer; each nymph holds the *himation* of the one ahead of her, forming a chain. A square altar sits on the left edge of the scene, a head or mask of Acheloös on the right. The inscription is carved on the lower frame of the relief. H. 0.34, w. 0.50, th. 0.08. Widely-spaced letters; generally plain and square, but with slight serifs on the mu, and a curved upsilon. The initial, lunate sigma, noted by other editors, was not visible. L. h. 0.012.

Eds. A. S. Murray, *AA* 1896, p. 143 (*IG* II^2 4875); Smith, *Sculpture* III no. 2158; Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 945 (ph.); Edwards, 699-702, no. 70; *IG* II^3 4, 1468 (ph., tab. CLIII).

Cf. *LIMC* s.v. “Acheloos”, no. 195; Schörner, no. 254 (ph.); Isler, no. 127; Güntner, no. A14. Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. In store. *Figs*. 12.1, 12.2

Late 2nd cent. BC or later? *Relief*

– – – –ḢNI Πανὶ Νύμφαις.

1 cεν Curbera after Murray; ἔστη]cεν Kirchner; ἀνέθηκ]εν Smith. Our tentative reading of an iota after the first nu is new (first suggested by Sebastian Prignitz). Before this nu is the trace of a vertical stroke, which, following a suggestion of Angelos Matthaiou, we take to be the left vertical of an eta. This sequence of letters is most plausibly interpreted as from the name of a divine recipient in the dative singular, perhaps, as Angelos Matthaiou proposes, [M]ῃνὶ . Michèle Brunet suggests, on the basis of our photograph, that remains of a theta may be visible at the start of the extant inscribed surface; surface damage, however, makes it impossible to confirm this.

Relief

…. to Men (?), Pan, the Nymphs.

Both the iconography and inscription of this monument suggest that it is a dedication to Pan and the Nymphs. The formula Πανὶ Νύμφαις is unparalleled in Attic inscriptions; Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις is more usual, but the reading of this part of the inscription is clear. Our tentative reading [M]ῃνὶ (see above) would imply that they were joined as recipients with Men, a deity associated with the moon, agricultural fertility, the protection of tombs and the Underworld. Men is attested as a recipient of votive reliefs in Athens and Attica from the fourth century BC onwards (*Agora* XXXVIII no. 59; *IG* II^3 4, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1343, 1344). The association of Men with Pan and the Nymphs has a parallel from the third century AD in the shape of an inscribed invocation reading “ὁ Παν, ὁ Μήν, χαίρετε Νύνφαι καλαί” (*IG* II^3 4, 1771 l. 1) and a Hellenistic-period relief in which Men is depicted alongside Pan and a Nymph (NM 1444: see *LIMC* s.v. “Men”, p. 471 no. 135 pl. 252). Men,

depicted often with a Phrygian cap and alongside a crescent moon, does not appear in the preserved part of the relief on the BM plaque.[229]

As we have noted elsewhere (*AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby*), Appendix), dedications to Pan and the Nymphs are well known in Athens (and in other parts of the Greek world); in his 1985 study, Edwards identified 112 Classical and Hellenistic examples of this type of votive (approximately seventy-eight of which are from Athens). The earliest extant example dates to the last decade of the fifth century (*IG* I^3 955, found in the Athenian Asklepieion). In that example, the nymphs are standing outside a cave (from which Pan is emerging); from the fourth century onwards, it becomes normal for the nymphs to be depicted inside the cave, frequently (as in this example) joined in a dance.[230]

There is no obvious mythological link between Pan and the Nymphs, but both were associated with (and worshipped in) cave sites. In Menander's *Dyskolos*, Pan refers to the Nymphs who "share my shrine" (l. 37), and at least nine caves in Attica can be linked with worship of Pan and the Nymphs.[231] This spatial connection explains why they might also share votive offerings; it also reinforces and is reinforced by a belief that Pan and the Nymphs were united in their concern for rural and uncultivated spaces.[232] It is possible that Pan would originally have been depicted in this relief, occupying the space (now lost) behind the altar on the far left of the scene, leading the nymphs in their dance.[233]

The bearded head on the far right of the scene is identified (on typological grounds) as the river-god Acheloos, the father of the Nymphs. In the fifth and earlier fourth centuries, Acheloos was typically depicted as a bull with either a human head or face.[234] However, from the middle of the fourth century, the characteristic depiction of the god becomes the one we see on this relief: a disembodied head or mask, always located at the border of the scene. This may well reflect the fact that Acheloos was worshipped in mask form; it is possible, too (as Edwards argues) that both the depiction and the placement of the Acheloos mask are intended to signify his apotropaic power, keeping the nymphs' cave sanctuary safe from harm.[235]

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[229] On the cult of Men and associated iconography, see Lawton, *Agora* XXXVIII pp. 59-64; *LIMC* s.v. "Men".

[230] On the origins and stylistic development of the "cave frame", see Edwards, pp. 52-63; for the various ways in which the nymphs, and their dance, might be depicted, see Güntner, 10-25 (who places this example in his group of the "Himationschema", in which the nymphs hold onto each others' cloaks while dancing, rather than dancing with joined hands).

[231] Wickens, I 169. For more detailed discussion of the evidence in different periods, see Wickens, I 166-67 (Archaic period), 169-86 (Classical period), 197-200 (Hellenistic period); 204-210 (early Roman period).

[232] Wickens notes (I 173) that the majority of these caves are not only in areas of pastureland (a suitable context for the goat-god Pan) but also associated with water sources (for which the Nymphs would be highly appropriate protectors).

[233] Suggested by Edwards, p. 701, who points to his no. 107 (Ashmolean Museum 1921.161; possibly from Smyrna) as a parallel; compare also *AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby*), Appendix.

[234] With human head: *IG* I^3 987 (= NM 2756); with human face: *Agora* XXXVIII, no. 60. Further examples and discussion: Edwards, 66-67; *LIMC* s.v. "Acheloos" (esp. nos. 166-212 for depictions of Acheloos with nymphs); Isler, 29-35.

[235] Edwards, 67. For further examples of depictions of Acheloos as mask on votive reliefs, see the list in Isler, 114; for this iconography in other media, see Wrede 1928.

There has been some disagreement about the dating of this dedication. Marshall placed it, tentatively, in the fourth century BC; Smith proposed a date in the early Hellenistic period (largely on stylistic grounds), while Edwards suggests that the style of the relief is comparable with others dated to the late second century BC (e.g. BM 1859,1226.684, from Knidos). However, both Murray in his *ed. pr.* and subsequent editors of *IG* recorded traces of a lunate sigma at the start of the extant text; the presence of this letter form would indicate a date no earlier than the third century BC, and more probably the Roman period.[236] *IG* suggests that the monument be dated ca. 100 AD. This sigma was not, however, visible to us on autopsy, and in other respects the style of lettering (e.g. mostly without significant apices; *pi* with short right vertical) is, as Stephen Lambert points out to us, more suggestive of a Hellenistic date than a Roman one. Cult activity at sites of Pan and the Nymphs in Attica decreases slightly in the Hellenistic period, and continues to decline in the Roman period, but some sites do remain in use.[237] In historical terms, therefore, any of the proposed dates is plausible, although dedicatory reliefs of this type do seem to be very rare in the imperial period: we are aware of only one possible instance (Louvre Ma 962; Edwards no. 66),[238] dated by Edwards to the early imperial period (although others have suggested dates ranging from the fourth to first centuries BC for this example). Here, therefore, we have tentatively accepted the late second-century BC date proposed by Edwards, but would not rule out a later date.

Many of the votives to Pan and the Nymphs (including this one) have no known findspot. Of the examples which do have findspots, however, several can very plausibly be associated with caves of Pan and the Nymphs.[239] It has been suggested that niches within the caves were used to display votive plaques of this sort, but it is more likely that they were free-standing.[240] It therefore seems likely that our relief originally stood in, or just outside, one of the many caves of Pan and the Nymphs in Attica, though we can go no further than this in narrowing down its origins.[241]

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[236] Guarducci, I 377 notes that lunate sigmas are sparsely attested in the third century BC, become more common in the second century BC, and persist throughout the Roman period.

[237] Slight decline in the Hellenistic period: Wickens, I 197. In the Roman period, there is good evidence for continued activity at the caves of Pan in Athens, Eleusis and Marathon, but others (for example, at Vari and Pendeli) seem to have fallen out of use (Wickens, I 205-206).

[238] See the website of the Louvre: https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010279255.

[239] The best examples are the two very-well preserved votives found in 1952 in a cave near the quarries on Mt Pendeli (*SEG* 12.166; *SEG* 29.195). Wickens, I 185-86, suggests that NM 3874, found near Ekali, might originate from one of the caves on the W. slopes of Pendeli, near Kifissia; NM 1445 from Eleusis can plausibly be linked with the cave sanctuary there.

[240] Travlos, 417, suggests that the niches inside the Cave of Pan on the Acropolis were used to hold votive reliefs; Edwards, 20-26 surveys the evidence, but is, generally, sceptical of the strength of the connection between known votives and cave niches (largely on the basis that the niches are the wrong size and shape for the reliefs). For a free-standing votive, see *SEG* 29.195 (in which both the relief and its support are preserved).

[241] For its collection history, see **section 1**. If this relief emerged from a private excavation, then we might hypothesise that it is more likely to derive from one of the rural cave sanctuaries of Pan and the Nymphs than from a central Athenian location (where private excavation was less common by the late nineteenth century); but certainty is impossible.

Fig. 12.1. **12** © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 12.2. **12**: detail of inscribed area. © Trustees of the British Museum.

F. ZEUS/THEOS HYPSISTOS

Among the Attic inscriptions in the British Museum are eleven inscribed dedications found on the Pnyx Hill in central Athens, all of which are examples of the same phenomenon: the habit of making an offering to a god as thanks for, or sometimes in the hope of, the curing of a medical affliction. The usual votive formula includes the name of the dedicant, the divinity's name (in the cases here, Zeus or Theos[242] Hypsistos) and the single word εὐχήν ("a vow" in the accusative: cf. Geagan in *Agora* XVIII, 322). The inscriptions are often decorated with a sculpted relief of a body part; this is true of nine of the eleven inscribed items in this collection (the exceptions, which are inscribed plaques, are **22** and **23**). (The collection also includes a marble sculpture of toes which seems very likely to have been a similar offering; since it is uninscribed, we do not include it here: BM 1816,0610.217, cf. Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 803.)[243] The dedications appear mostly to have been made by the individual afflicted, though on one occasion in our collection, the dedication has evidently been made by a family member (**23**). This example, like others from the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos set up "on behalf" of afflicted individuals, lacked anatomical sculpture (*IG* II^3 4, 1242, 1250, 1269 (= Lambert, *AIUK* 2 (*BSA*), no. 7)): in these cases it seems that the person making the dedication decided against a sculpture that represented the afflicted region of the body, preferring to leave the record of illness ambiguous.

The majority of the inscribed dedications in our collection (**13**, **14**, **15**, **16**, **17**, **18**, **20**, **21**, **23)** refer to the dedication of a εὐχή ("a vow"). As van Straten observes, these "should usually be regarded as a prayer of supplication combined with a vow whose redemption is conditionally connected with the answering of the prayer";[244] accordingly, they appear to be dedications that were made as a pledge to the gods in return for healing. One of our objects (**22**), set up by an individual named Syntrophos, describes itself as a χαριστήριον, which makes it explicit that he is offering thanks for divine-assistance already received; similarly, the votive set up by Claudia Prepousa (**19**), which uses the verb εὐχαριστῶ, was presumably made in return for Zeus Hypsistos' assistance with some problem affecting her arms. In one of our examples (**16**), the verb ἀνέθηκε ("he/she set up") is used to describe the deposition of a votive.[245]

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[242] On the variation in names, see below, n. 251.

[243] Visconti, 172 reports two other anatomical votives from the Pnyx which were once included in Elgin's collection: a hand ("in which the name of the person is almost entirely effaced"), and an ear, inscribed with the name Παιδέρως (= *CIG* I 497; *IG* II^3 4, 1276). Ellis, *Elgin Marbles*, II p. 107 reports that these items "were believed to have been stolen at the time when the Elgin collection was located in the court-yard of Burlington House"; in any case, their current location is unknown. Other anatomical votives from Athens are held in collections in Athens (Epigraphical Museum, Agora and Archaeological Museum: see Petridou, 101), and Boston; two further examples (perhaps from this sanctuary; see n. 270, below) were once in the Antikensammlung Berlin but are now lost. The most convenient catalogue of the material can be found in Forsén 1996a, 60-72 (to which should be added three objects omitted by Forsén because they do not include a relief: *IG* II^3 4, 1241 (= **23** in this collection), *IG* II^3 4, 1266 (= **22** in this collection); Thompson, 155 (c). The inscribed dedications to Zeus Hypsistos are published together as *IG* II^3 4, 1239-76.

[244] van Straten, 70. See also Jim 2014, 634-36.

[245] For discussion of the significance of the use of this verb, see van Straten 1992, 248.

The practice of making anatomical votive offerings (or "Gliederweihungen") was widespread in the ancient Mediterranean. Evidence for it is found in various locations in Greece and Asia Minor, as well as in Cyprus, Italy and Gaul; the earliest secure examples date to the late eighth or early seventh century BC; the latest known ancient examples come from the third century AD (although the practice has continued since antiquity).[246] The offerings were made in stone (as in the examples discussed here), terracotta, or precious metals; the last category is best attested not in surviving objects but in lists of dedications recorded on temple inventories (e.g. *IG* II^2 1532-37, 1539, from the Asklepieion in Athens).[247]

Almost all parts of the body are represented in the extant Greek dedications: whole or part bodies or torsos; upper and lower limbs; faces, the neck, chest, abdomen and parts of the face; breasts and genitalia.[248] The one general (though not absolute) absence is any representation of internal organs.[249] This is in marked contrast to the practice in Italy and Gaul, where internal organs are more commonly found,[250] a pattern which must surely reflect differences in religious and dedicatory practice between the different communities, rather than correlating to any actual variation in levels of internal health. These objects, in other words, act as indirect evidence of the realities of health and medicine in the communities which created them, but their form and deployment are primarily shaped by religious and cultural factors, and we certainly cannot extrapolate statistics for the relative prevalence of any given disease in a particular place or time from this material. Indeed, we should probably be wary of assuming that the body part depicted was necessarily also the part which was affected by the disease; in some cases the representation should perhaps be interpreted in a more symbolic sense (eyes, for example, might signify an actual or hoped-for vision of the god).

Anatomical votives are found in the sanctuaries of various gods. The majority of examples are dedicated to gods who specialise in healing: Asklepios, Amphiaraos, Amynos, or Hieros Iatros. But these gods did not have a monopoly on healing, as the examples from the British Museum demonstrate.[251] All of the items in this collection are dedications to "Hypsistos", "Theos Hypsistos" or "Zeus Hypsistos" ("the Highest", "God the Highest", or

[246] The evidence for ancient anatomical votives is catalogued in van Straten, 105-51; see also Forsén, *Gliederweihungen* (which deals only with sculpted votives); Geroulanos (for votives depicting diseases); Holländer, 286-316 (for discussion and illustration of a number of votives depicting, in his interpretation, diseased body-parts); and the various studies collected in Draycott and Graham. Some studies of post-ancient anatomical dedicatory practices are usefully listed at van Straten 1981, 148-49; for an overall analysis, see Hughes, with particular reference to the practice in Classical Greece at 25-61.

[247] Hughes, 34 notes that all the surviving votive body parts from Athens take the form of sculpted marble reliefs; in Corinth, by way of contrast, such dedications are usually made from terracotta.

[248] For a catalogue of anatomical dedications from across the world, see van Straten, 105-51.

[249] For some exceptions, see (e.g.) *IG* II^2 1533, l. 16 (a silver heart), l. 84 (a bladder); cf. van Straten, 109. For the dedication of sculpted wombs in Italy, see Flemming.

[250] On these, see e.g. Flemming; Turfa.

[251] For other gods appealed to in Athens as healing deities, see (briefly) Parker 2005, 411-13 (these include Aphrodite, Artemis, the "Good Goddess" (*Agathe Theos*) and Herakles). For dedications of sculpted representations of eyes to Demeter and Kore, see Petridou.

"Zeus the Highest");[252] in some instances **(13**, **14**, **15**, **17**, **18**, **19**, **20**, **21**, **22)** this is made explicit in the inscription, but in all cases it can safely be inferred from the findspot of the object.

The cult of Zeus or Theos Hypsistos is first attested in Athens in the Roman period, and is, in the view of Parker, "unquestionably a novelty which assigned to Zeus a function [namely: healing] that he never exercised in the Classical period".[253] The cult is found in numerous locations in Greece and Asia Minor; the earliest evidence for it dates to the second century BC, but its heyday comes in the Roman imperial period. It has been claimed that the cult represents an important point of transition between paganism and monotheism: "more than any other cult of the Greek and Roman world … it has been taken to illustrate a predisposition among pagans of the second and third centuries AD to worship a single, remote and abstract deity in preference to the anthropomorphic figures of conventional paganism".[254] A distinctive characteristic of the cult seems to have been its use of rituals of collective worship (something which struck some contemporary observers as similar to Christian or Jewish practices: see e.g. Epiphanius *Panarion* 80.1-2); the sanctuary on the Pnyx fits reasonably well into this pattern: "the theatre-like form of the site was ideally suited for open-air communal worship".[255]

In other respects, however, the patterns of worship of Zeus/Theos Hypsistos are very similar to those of other cults. His role as a healing god is attested at several sanctuaries other than Athens (including Delos, Ephesos and Golgoi on Cyprus), but it is clear that he could also be appealed to for assistance in other areas, including agricultural prosperity, safety while travelling, or success in war.[256] Anatomical votives constitute the bulk of the material from the Athenian sanctuary (van Straten 1981, 116-19), but finds from (or associated with) the site also include several altars,[257] as well as a small number of other votive objects.[258] There is no sign (at Athens or elsewhere) that the cult appealed to a specific status or gender of worshipper. At the Pnyx sanctuary, there is a predominance of female offerings, but male dedicants are also represented.[259] Status is not usually easy to infer from the limited information on the stones, but onomastic analysis indicates that some of the names are usually associated with non-Athenians or slaves (e.g. **16**: Philemati(o)n; **18**: Tertia), while others are more suggestive of Athenian citizen status (e.g. **14**: Eutychis).

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[252] The two terms are not synonymous, but evidence for cult practice reveals that Zeus and Theos Hypsistos were nevertheless extremely closely associated; both designations can be used at the same sanctuary (as is the case with the material from the Pnyx: see **15**). Further discussion: Mitchell, 99-102; Belayche 2005, 430.

[253] Parker 2005, 412.

[254] Mitchell, 92. Mitchell discusses the character of the cult; see also Mitchell in S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen eds., *One God* (2010), 167-208 (cf. *SEG* 60.2036); Belayche 2005 and 2011.

[255] Mitchell, 98.

[256] See the summary at Mitchell, 106 (with references to relevant material, collected in his appendix).

[257] Forsén 1993, n. 19.

[258] Forsén 1993, n. 20. One of these objects is now in the collection of the British School at Athens: see *AIUK* 2 (*BSA*), no. 7.

[259] The predominance of female dedicants in our material (see our nos. **13**, **14**, **15**, **16**, **18**, **19**, **20**, perhaps **21**) is not out of line with wider patterns in the corpus of Greek anatomical votives: Forsén 1996, 163, notes that eighty of the dedications in his catalogue can be ascribed to women, and forty to men.

Nor does it seem that the god specialised in curing a particular type of ailment: the most commonly represented body-part is the breast, but most other parts of the body are found.[260]

Understanding of the archaeology of the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos in Athens is complicated by its relationship with the surrounding landscape of the Pnyx, an area of central Athens which was extensively reshaped on several occasions in antiquity.[261] It was originally thought that the foundation of the sanctuary pre-dated the construction of the third phase of the assembly-place on the Pnyx (so-called "Pnyx III"); the construction of Pnyx III, in turn, was initially dated to the Hadrianic period.[262] More recent studies, however, have convincingly shown that Pnyx III was an earlier development, to be dated in the latter part of the fourth century BC;[263] the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos is now agreed to post-date the construction of Pnyx III, and its foundation might therefore reflect a more fundamental change of use of this area of Athens, from a primarily political to a primarily religious space.[264] The generally accepted date for the foundation of the sanctuary is the first century AD, but this is based largely on the dating of the epigraphic material associated with it; the archaeological evidence remains inconclusive, and earlier or later foundation dates cannot be ruled out.[265] The lettering of our votives features a mixture of straight and curved letter forms (there are both straight and lunate sigmas, straight and curved epsilons, and different shapes of omega) which suggest that they were produced at some point in the second and third centuries AD).[266]

While the origins of the sanctuary remain uncertain, therefore, its overall shape is relatively clear. As already noted, the backdrop of the former assembly-place of the Pnyx provided a theatre-like space for ritual activities. The scarp to the east of the *bema* seems to have been the focal point for ritual offerings; niches cut into this scarp held the anatomical votives and other dedicatory plaques (*Fig.* 13.1). Indeed, even though none of the inscriptions which we discuss here was found *in situ*, comparison of their dimensions with those of the carved niches makes it possible to speculate, sometimes with a quite high degree of precision, about their original location (we have tabulated these suggestions below, as *Fig.* 13.2, and also report them in our comments on each inscription). As discussed already (see **section 1**), when Chandler visited the Pnyx in 1765, he noted the carved niches on the scarp wall, and speculated that these "were for tablets containing decrees and orders".[267] Dodwell's account of the discovery of the votives suggests that they were found at the base of the scarp wall;[268] presumably they had either fallen there once the site passed into disuse,

[260] Of the twenty-two votive dedications associated with the sanctuary, eighteen include an identifiable anatomical feature; these consist of: six depictions of breasts; three faces (or parts of faces, including eyes); two male or female torsos; two vulvae; two sets of feet; one pair of arms; one hand; and one ear.
[261] See the studies of Travlos, 569-72; Tačva-Hitova; Forsén 1993; Geagan in *Agora* XVIII, 322.
[262] Kourionotes and Thompson, 180-88.
[263] Thompson and Scranton, 297-301; see also Rotroff and Camp.
[264] Suggested by Forsén 1996, 49-50.
[265] Middle of the first century AD: Forsén 1993, 517; Camp and Rotroff, 270. Second century AD or later: Binder, s.v. Zeus 36*. Fourth century BC (or earlier): Travlos, 569.
[266] See Muehsam (55).
[267] Chandler 1776, 68.
[268] Dodwell, *Tour* I 401-402.

or deliberately been placed or buried there in order to create space for later dedications in the process of *kathairesis*.[269]

Although the votives in the British Museum's collection are united in their context and in their overall function, they are quite diverse in form and in quality. As we have noted, the god is referred to in different ways. The lettering of the inscriptions varies, and it is also notable that there is not always a correlation between the quality of the relief sculpture and the standard of inscribing. We might, then, speculate that, in at least some of these examples, the sculptures were produced first, perhaps even *en masse*, and inscriptions added at a later stage as required: this is particularly clear in the case of **14** and **15**, where the inscription is squeezed clumsily onto the flat surface around the moulding.

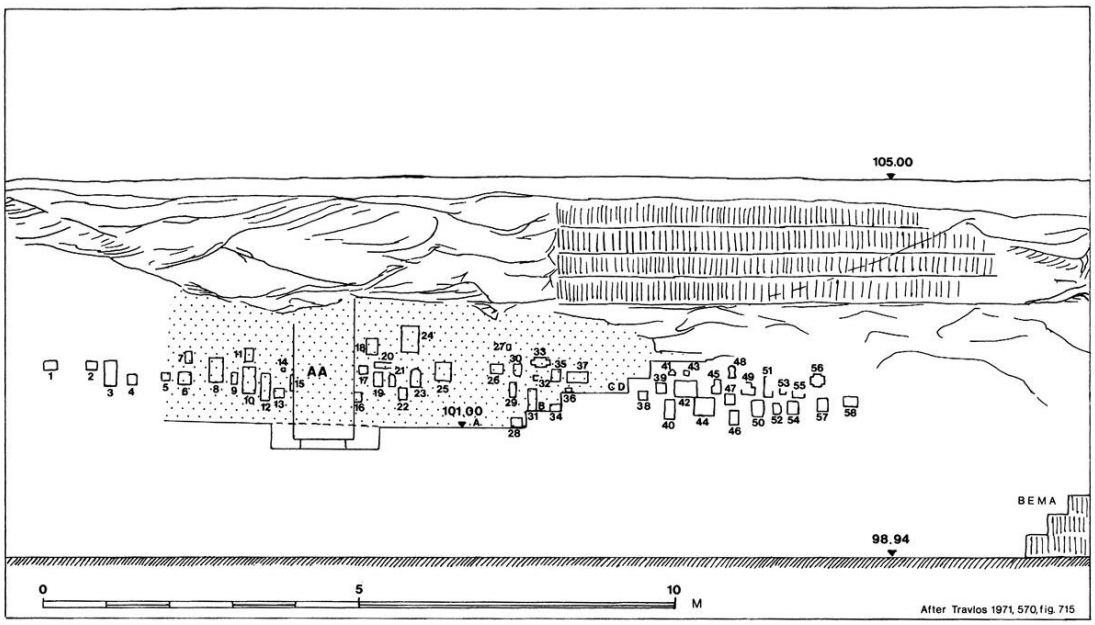

Fig. 13.1. Niches in the wall of the Sanctuary of Zeus/Theos Hypsistos, Pnyx, Athens. Reproduced from B. Forsén, "The Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx", *Hesperia* 62 (1993), fig. 1, pl. 88:a, courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

[269] On the burial of marble and terracotta dedications, see Rouse, 346; Salapata, 31-32; Kindt, 151-52 (noting also their deployment as filler material); metal votives more usually would be melted down: for discussion of this practice, see Linders; Lindenlauf.

AIUK 4.5 no.	**Possible location (following Forsén 1993). [Numbers are those of the niches marked in *Fig*. 13.1]**
13	6a *or* 39a
14	17 *or* 47
15	13 *or* 22 *or* 28
16	43
17	58
18	50
19	18
20	2a *or* 26
21	---
22	13 *or* 22
23	---

Fig. 13.2. Table summarising possible original locations of the inscribed votives **13-23**.

13 VOTIVE DEPICTING A BREAST. BM 1816,0610.209. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. White marble votive tablet, broken at the upper and lower right corners; reverse is unworked. A single breast is carved in relief, with the inscription below. H. 0.182, w. 0.17, th. 0.034 (min.), 0.078 (max., incl. relief). Lettering clear but slightly uneven and angular (straight epsilon but lunate sigma); modest apices; Ⱥ with hyperextended diagonal. L. h. 0.015-0.016; interv. 0.005.

Eds. Dodwell, *Tour* I 403; *CIG* 505 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 67 (*IG* III 155 and Add. p. 488; *IG* II^2 4804); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 63-64 no. 8.7 (ph., fig. 57); *IG* II^3 4, 1255 (ph., tab. CXXXVIII).

Cf. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II no. 209 (drawing, p. 105 = Travlos, p. 571 fig. 716); Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 800; van Straten, 117 no. 8.6; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 2; Schörner, no. 250. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 13.3.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Relief
Εἰσιὰς Ὑψ[ίστῳ]
εὐχ[ήν].

Supplements in ll. 1 and 2 were proposed by Boeckh, and have been accepted by all subsequent editors || 2 [χ] Curbera, but traces were visible to Rose, and to us at autopsy.

Relief
Isias, to the Highest (God), | a vow.

Like other anatomical votives described in this section, this inscription was dedicated at some point in the second or third centuries AD (the letter forms, which mix cursive and straight forms, do not enable a more exact dating). Forsén 1993, 515 n. 2, suggests that it might originally have been placed in Niche 6a or 39a on the scarp wall of the Hypsistos sanctuary (*Fig.* 13.1).

Votive breasts are a common form of dedication, and several examples are known from this sanctuary (also nos. **14** and **15** in this collection; cf. also *IG* II^3 4, 1243, 1245, 1251, found in subsequent excavations on the Pnyx).[270] They must have some connection with female health, although we need not necessarily assume that the dedicant was suffering from a disease directly afflicting the breast. A connection with breast-feeding, or fertility more generally, is also possible; the *Hippocratic Aphorisms* reveal that the condition of the breast could be seen to be indicative of a woman's reproductive health (see, for example, *Hippocratic Aphorisms* 5. 37-38, 52-53).[271]

Εἰσιάς is a variant spelling of the common personal name Ἰσιάς (forty-four individuals with this name are listed in the *Athenian Onomasticon*, of whom at least sixteen

[270] Forsén includes two further breast dedications in his catalogue of Pnyx votives (*Gliederweihungen*, 64, nos. 8.9, 8.10 = *IG* II^3 4, 1248, 1249: both formerly in Berlin, but now lost), but these were found on the North Slopes of the Acropolis, and, though they are perhaps from the Pnyx, might alternatively be associated with a separate Hypsistos sanctuary.

[271] Oberhelman, 50, suggests that the dedication of a breast might indicate "gratitude for the birth of a child or … a request for pregnancy or good lactation".

are foreign residents).[272] Ἰσίας is occasionally attested as a male name (the *Onomasticon* lists four or five examples) but the fact that this name is sculpted next to a representation of a breast makes it certain that the Isias of this inscription is female. Forsén, *Gliederweihungen* (p. 64) notes that the name is common in manumission inscriptions at Delphi and elsewhere, and suggests on this basis that our Isias might be a slave or freedwoman. But certainty is impossible.

A cast of **13**, originally made in the early twentieth century, is currently held in the collection of the Science Museum, London (A635558).

Fig. 13.3. **13** © Trustees of the British Museum.

[272] Threatte I.198 notes that there was widespread use of EI for I in the Roman period.

14 VOTIVE DEPICTING A BREAST. BM 1816,0610.210. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. White marble votive tablet. There is some damage to the stone, but it is largely complete on all sides; the back of the stone is unworked. A single breast is carved in relief, with the inscription above. H. 0.14; w. 0.15; th. 0.32-0.48. The letters are squeezed onto the moulding above the relief with the upsilon of εὐχή placed between the lines. Forsén (*Gliederweihungen*, no. 8.8) suggests that the cutter planned this as a single-line inscription but ran out of space; lunate epsilon and sigma. L. h. 0.009.

Eds. Dodwell, *Tour* I 403; *CIG* 504 (from Rose and Osann); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 66; (*IG* III 154 with Add. p. 488; *IG* II^{2} 4803); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 64-65 no. 8.8 with fig. 58; *IG* II^{3} 4, 1272 (ph., tab. CXXXIX).

Cf. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II no. 210 (dr. p. 105; = Travlos, 571 fig. 716); Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 799; van Straten, 117 no. 8.7; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 1; Schörner, no. 249. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 14.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Εὐτυχὶς Ὑψίστῳ εὐ–
χή<ν>.
Relief

2 XHH stone.

Eutychis, to the Highest (God), a | vow.
Relief

This dedication was, like the other anatomical votives in this collection, set up at some time in the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD at the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx hill (the letter forms do not enable a more exact dating). In his study of the vertical scarp identified with the sanctuary to the east of the *bema*, Forsén (1993, 515 no. 1) suggests that it would fit into Niche 17 or 47 (*Fig.* 13.1). This is one of several votive breasts known from this sanctuary (cf. **13**, **15** and the commentary on for other examples); as with the other examples, we can assume that this was set up either because the dedicant was suffering from a disease affecting the breast, or in connection with some issue relating to fertility or breast-feeding.

The name Eutychis is attested twice in the fourth century BC as that of a freedwoman (*IG* II² 1553, l. 16; *IG* II² 1567, l. 7); of the twenty-four other attestations of the name, seven are believed to have been foreign residents (see *Athenian Onomasticon*).

Fig. 14. **14** © Trustees of the British Museum.

15 VOTIVE DEPICTING A BREAST. BM 1816,0610.211. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. White marble votive tablet, complete on all sides; single breast carved in relief, broken off at the front. There are grid-like incisions on the rear, of uncertain date and significance (*Fig.* 15.2). The inscription is carved above and below the relief; the lower line is interrupted by the bottom edge of the moulding. H. 0.123, w. 0.163, th. 0.022 (min.) - 0.055 (max., incl. relief). Cursive lettering, without apices; Ϲ, Ε, Ϣ. L. h. 0.009.

Eds. Dodwell, *Tour* I 403; *CIG* 503 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 65; (*IG* III 153; *IG* II^2 4802); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 63 no. 8.6 (ph., fig. 56); *IG* II^3 4, 1271 (ph., tab. CXXXIX).

Cf. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II no. 211 (dr. p. 105 = Travlos, p. 571 fig. 716); Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 807; van Straten, 117 no. 8.5; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 9; Schörner, no. 248. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Figs*. 15.1, 15.2.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Ὀνησίμη εὐχὴν
Relief
Διὶ Ὑ- [v.] -ψίστῳ.

Onesime, a vow
Relief
to Zeus the Highest.

This votive is very similar in style (including letter-forms) to that set up by Eutychis (**14**). As with Eutuchis' dedication, the rather untidy arrangement of inscription and relief suggest that the inscription was added to the votive after the relief had been completed.

We can assume that this votive was set up for a similar purpose to those of Isias (**13**) and Eutychis (**14**): that is, in order to secure (or as thanks for securing) assistance either with a disease specifically affecting the dedicant's breast, or with more general concerns relating to fertility or breast-feeding. Like the other votives in this section, it was set up in the sanctuary of Zeus or Theos Hypsistos on the Pnyx (its provenance is confirmed by Dodwell, who mentions this particular object in his account of Aberdeen's excavations). Forsén (1993, 515 no. 9) suggests that it might originally have been placed in Niches 13, 22 or 28 (arguing that Niche no. 13 might be most likely, because of its relatively shallow depth; *Fig.* 13.1).

Onesime is a fairly common name: the *Athenian Onomasticon* lists sixteen individuals with this name, of whom four are probably foreign residents. The name is borne by both slaves and Athenian citizens (Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 63 no. 8.6).

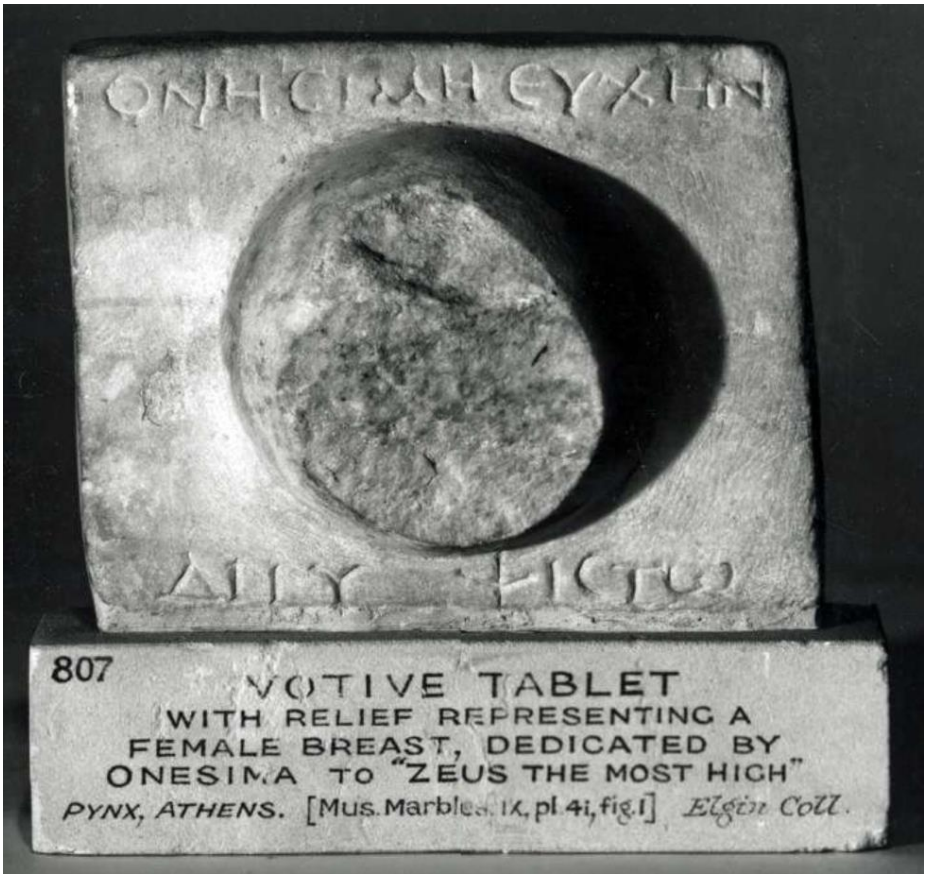

Fig. 15.1. **15** © Trustees of the British Museum.

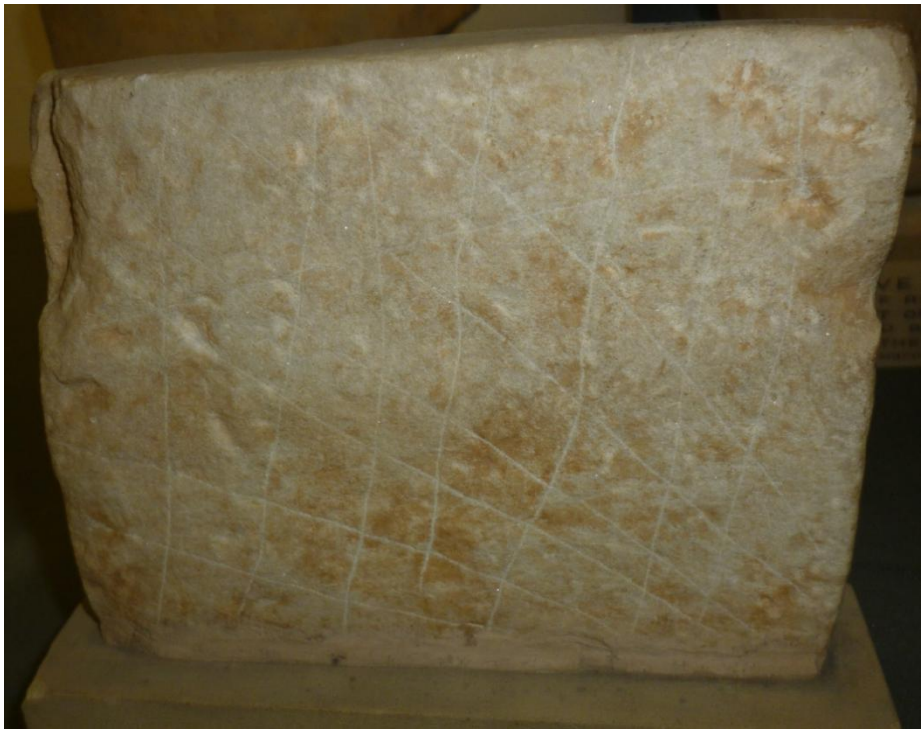

Fig. 15.2. Rear surface of **15** (Photo: Peter Liddel). © Trustees of the British Museum.

16 VOTIVE DEPICTING A PAIR OF EYES. BM 1816,0610.214. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. White marble tablet sculpted with a representation of a pair of eyes. The inscription is below the moulding. H. 0.090, w. 0.140, th. 0.049. The letters are not deeply-cut and are rather untidy. Lunate epsilon; only the alphas have serifs. L. h. 0.009.

Eds: Dodwell, *Tour* I 403; *CIG* 506 (from Rose and Osann); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 68; (*IG* III 156; *IG* II² 4805); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 62 no. 8.4 with fig. 54; *IG* II^3 4, 1256 (ph., tab. CXXXVIII).

Cf. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II no. 214 (dr. p. 105 = Travlos, p. 571 fig. 716 (dr.)); Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 801; van Straten, 117 no. 8.2; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 3; Schörner no. 251. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. On display in case 12 in room G 69. *Figs*. 16.1, 16.2.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Relief
Φιλημάτιν
[ε]ὐχὴν ἀνέ–
[θ]ηκεν.

Relief
Philematin | set up this | vow.

This dedication was, like others discussed in this section, set up at some time in the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD at the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx hill (the letter forms do not enable a more exact dating). In his study of the vertical scarp identified with the sanctuary to the east of the *bema*, Forsén (1993, 515 no. 1) suggests that it would fit into the rectangular Niche 43 (*Fig.* 13.1).

Dodwell and Hicks took the view that a scratch to the left eye indicated "that a surgical operation had been performed" on the dedicant, but Forsén (*Gliederweihungen*, 62 no. 8.4 believes it more likely to be the result of later damage. This seems to us convincing given that the scratch is carried over into the inscription. Moreover, as van Straten notes, votive eyes need not necessarily imply a dedicant seeking the healing of diseased or injured eyes, but might allude to the eyes with which the dedicant saw a vision of a deity, or to the eyes of the deity him- or her-self (van Straten, 125, 144). Eyes are commonly attested as Athenian anatomical votives, especially at the sanctuary of Asklepios (where over 150 dedications are recorded, although the data here might be skewed by the preservation of the inventory lists: Aleshire 1989, 42).[273] Two others are known from the Pnyx: our **17** (= Forsén 1993, 515 no. 4), and Forsén 1993, 516 no. 16.

The name Φιλημάτιν (which is a contraction of the form Φιλημάτιον,[274] meaning "Little Kiss") is attested eight other times in Attica, both for Athenian citizens and non-Athenian residents (see *Athenian Onomasticon*) in the imperial period. It also appears in a Thessalian manumission text (*IG* X 2, 1 370), as the name of a fictional *hetaira* in Lucian's

[273] For discussion of eye-dedications from sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, suggesting that the votives were related not only to healing but also to intense visual experiences related to the cult, see Petridou.

[274] For the personal name ending ιν as a syncopation of -ιον, see Threatte I.400-401. The phenomenon is exhibited on another dedication from the Pnyx, *IG* II^3 4, 1267 (Chrysari(o)n).

Dialogues of the Courtesans 11. The Latin form Philematium is attested on a Roman tombstone of the first century BC for two freed slaves of Greek origin, Lucius Aurelius Hermia and his wife Aurelia Philematium (*CIL* 1.2.1221 = BM 1867,0508.55); it is also the name of a freed slave in Plautus' *Mostellaria* (a play set in Athens). It therefore seems quite possible that the dedicant of the BM object was a freed slave.

There exists a nineteenth-century drawing of the votive tablet, by James Inskipp, bound in an album of drawings of antiquities, formerly belonging to Edward Dodwell and now held at the British Museum (2012,0519.1.46; *Fig.* 16.2).

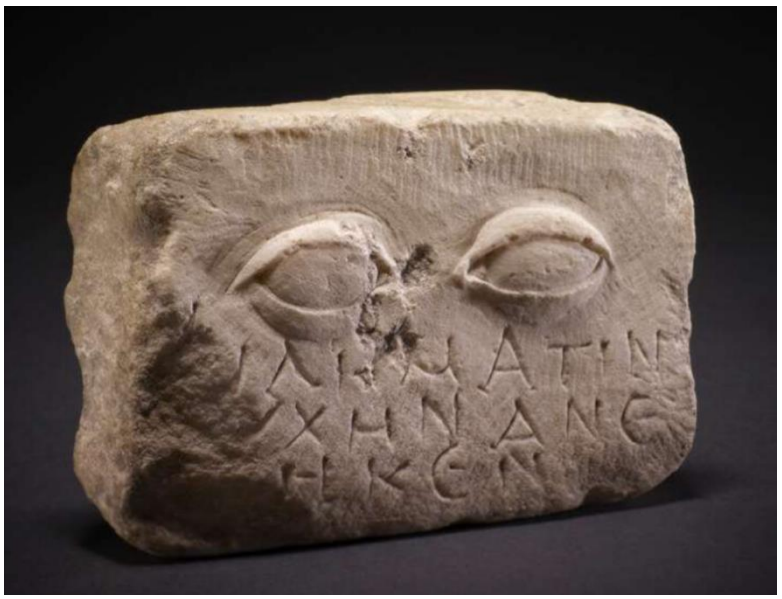

Fig. 16.1. **16** © Trustees of the British Museum.

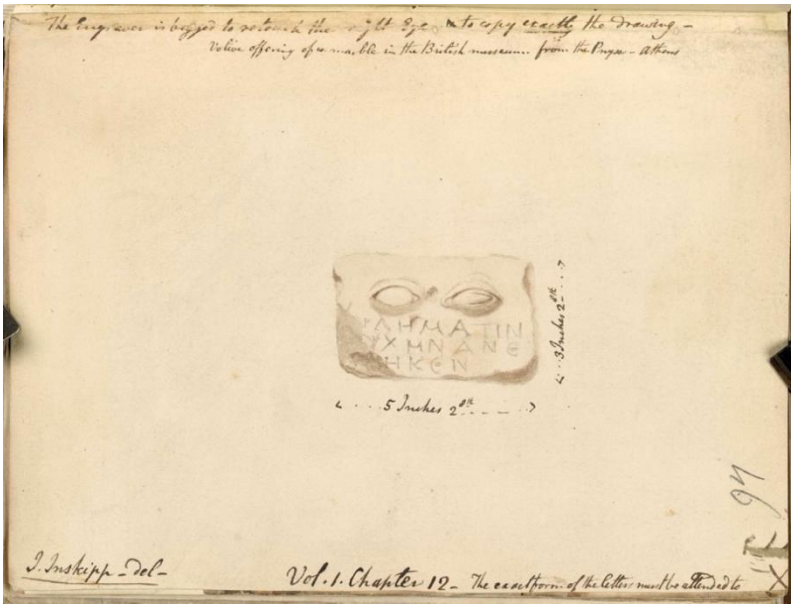

Fig. 16.2. Drawing of **16** by James Inskipp. © Trustees of the British Museum.

17 VOTIVE DEPICTING AN EYE. BM 1861,0523.9. Aberdeen Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. Fragment of a white marble relief depicting a right eye. The inscription is beneath the eye. Complete at top and right side; otherwise broken. The back is partly worked. H. 0.88, l., 0.123, th. 0.052. Non-lunate sigma. L. h.: 0.012 (estimated: no single letter is completely preserved).

Eds. Clarke, 200-201 n., citing Walpole's account; *CIG* 499 (based on Clarke's account of Walpole's MS); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 69; (*IG* III 149; *IG* II² 4799); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 61-62 no. 8.3 with fig. 53; *IG* II^3 4, 1275 (ph., tab. CXL).

Cf. Visconti, 172; Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 802; van Straten, 117 no. 8.3; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 4. Schörner, no. 252. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 17.

2nd-3rd cent. AD *Relief*

Εὔοδος Ὑψίστῳ [εὐχήν].

The underlined letters were recorded by early witnesses, but are no longer legible.

Relief

Euodos, a vow to the Highest (God).

Clarke's account gives details of a relief depicting a sculpted eye and the words Εὔοδος Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν.[275] Boeckh's text (*CIG* 499) was based on the accounts of Clarke, Visconti and others. It is highly likely (as Hicks thought) that Clarke's report describes the inscription under discussion here. If this identification is correct, the stone must have been damaged after its discovery in Athens: little now remains of the inscribed part of this dedication. The extant part of the relief depicts a right eye above a text; the lack of moulded frame on the left-hand side might suggest that originally it would have depicted a pair of eyes (cf. Forsén 1993, 515 (no. 3), 516 (no. 16)), a possibility which is not ruled out by the fact that the earliest reports of this object (e.g. that of Visconti, no. 60) record a fuller text but a single eye. (It is plausible that the stone might have sustained damage both before and after its excavation.)

Euodos is a common male name in Attica; there are 104 examples in the *Athenian Onomasticon*, of whom sixty-five can confidently be classed as Athenian citizens. It is attested also as a name of non-Athenians resident in Athens; it is not certainly attested as a slave name.

This dedication, which does not appear to have been described by Dodwell in his account of the Earl of Aberdeen's excavations of the Pnyx (*Tour*, I 403), was, like the other items in this section, set up probably at some time in the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD at the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx hill (the letter forms do not enable a more exact dating). Forsén (1993, 515 no. 6) suggests that the plaque could originally been placed in Niche no. 58 In the scarp wall at the rear of the sanctuary (*Fig.* 13.1).

[275] On Clarke and his travels to Greece in 1800-1801, see Lambert, *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam*), pp. 2-5.

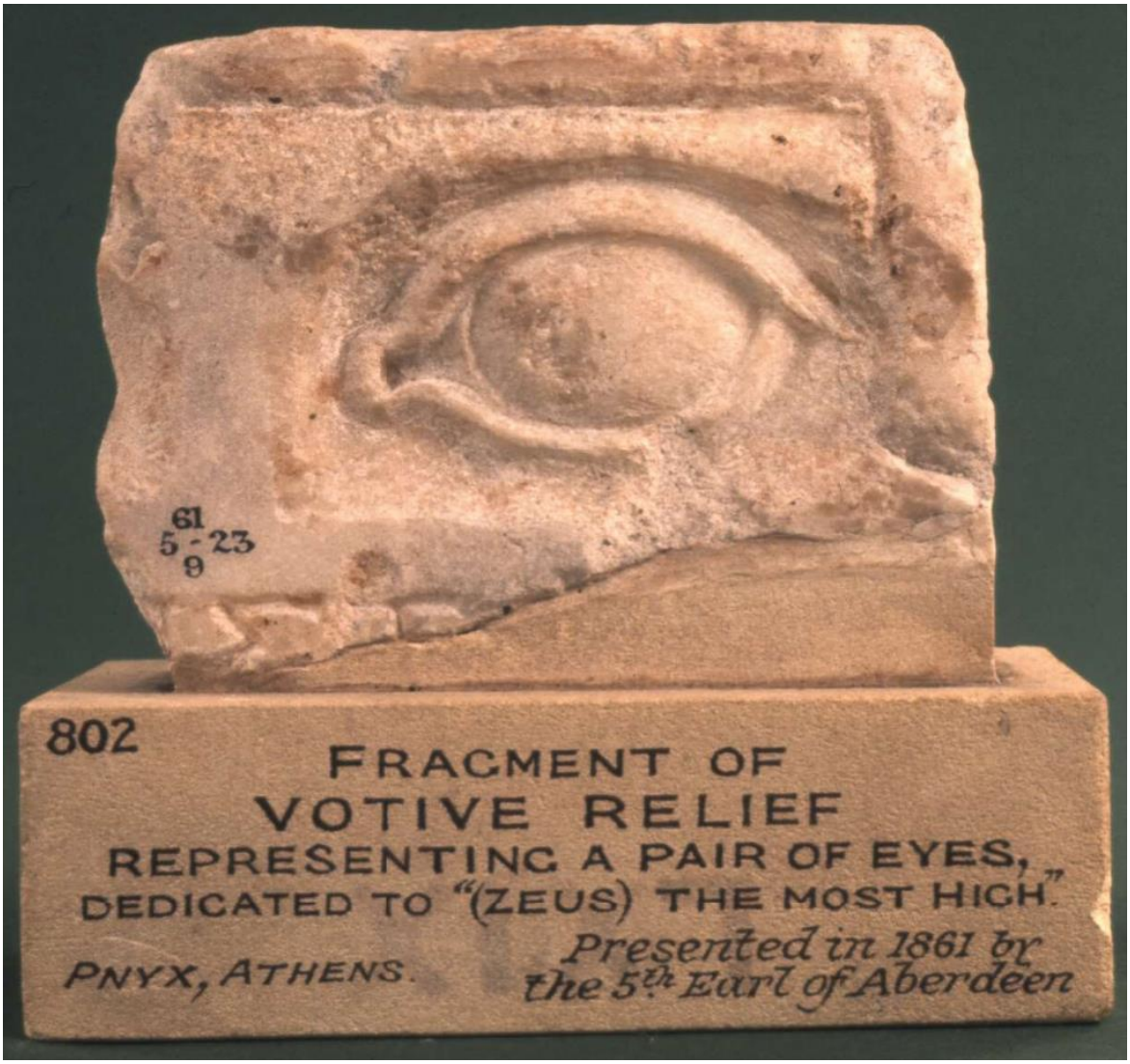

Fig. 17. **17** © Trustees of the British Museum.

18 VOTIVE DEPICTING LOWER PART OF A HUMAN FACE. BM 1816,0610.218. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. A tablet of white marble with rough back; complete on the top and right but broken off at the left side. The nose is broken off; the relief is fractured also across the top of the face but has been repaired in modern times. H. 0.238; w. 0.191 (max); th. 0.031-0.046 (including moulding 0.083). The inscription is above the moulding and l. 1 preserves traces of a horizontal guide-line. Uncertain remains of paint in the letters. The letters are decorative with modest apices; psi with hyperextended vertical; Α with hyperextended right-hand diagonal; straight sigma and epsilon. L. h. 1.5-2.0 (psi).

Eds. Dodwell, *Tour* I 404 (drawing); *CIG* I 501 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 63; (*IG* III 151; *IG* II² 4801); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 60 no. 8.1 with. fig. 52; *IG* II^3 4, 1259 (ph., tab. CXXXVIII).

Cf. Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 805; Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II no. 218 (dr. p. 105 = Travlos, p. 571, fig. 716f (dr.)); van Straten, 117 no. 8.1; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 7; Schörner, no. 246. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Figs*. 18.1, 18.2.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Τερτία Ὑψίστῳ
εὐχήν.
Relief

Tertia, to the Highest (God), | a vow.
Relief

One other attestation of the name "Tertia" is known from Athens (*IG* II² 3554, l. 2 (d. Λεύκιος)); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 60 no. 8.1 suggests that this Latin name may indicate slave-status. The face seems to have relatively youthful features, but given that it is possible that such votives were "off the shelf" (see above), we cannot draw any firm conclusions from this about the age of the dedicant. For another example of a votive inscribed face, see *Agora* XVIII V 602, a white marble votive plaque dedicated to the Heros Iatros (photograph, Meritt, *Hesperia* 17 (1948) p. 39 no. 26); cf. van Straten, p. 114 no. 3.1.

Dodwell's account confirms that this votive derives from the Sanctuary to Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx. Forsén (1993, 515 no. 7), noting that the plaque could originally have been more or less rectangular, suggests that it may originally have been placed in niche no. 50 (*Fig.* 13.1).

Edward Dodwell's album of drawings of antiquities (cf. comments on **16**, above) includes an illustration of this dedication, again drawn by James Inskipp (BM 2012,5019.1.44; *Fig.* 18.2).

Fig. 18.1. **18** © Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 18.2. Drawing of **18** by James Inskipp. © Trustees of the British Museum.

19 VOTIVE DEPICTING ARMS. BM 1816,0610.215. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. Marble tablet, complete on top and sides but broken at the bottom; back is very roughly worked. A recessed panel below the inscription contains a sculpted relief depicting a pair of arms, from biceps to forearm. H. 0.16, w. 0.191, th. 0.06. Slightly irregular lettering, with small serifs; Ϲ, Ε, Ѡ. L. h. 0.009-0.014; interv. 0.002–0.003.

Eds. *CIG* 502 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 64 (*IG* III 142; *IG* II^2 4806); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 70-71 no. 8.20 (ph.); *IG* II^3 4, 1257 (ph., tab. CXXXVIII).

Cf. Dodwell, *Tour* I 402 (illustration; no transcription); Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II no. 215 (illus. p. 105; = Travlos, p. 571, fig. 716); Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 806; van Straten, 118 n. 8.17; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 8; Schörner, no. 247. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Figs*. 19.1, 19.2.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Κλαυδία Πρέπουσα
εὐχαριστῶ Ὑψίστῳ.
Relief

I, Claudia Prepousa, | give thanks to the Highest (God).
Relief

This votive offering was set up by Claudia Prepousa, presumably in return for Zeus or Theos Hypsistos' assistance with some problem affecting her arms (the extant relief breaks off just above the wrist, but it is possible that hands, now broken off, were also included in the original votive). Forsén (1993, 515 no.8) suggests that the votive might originally have been placed in niche no. 18 in the Pnyx scarp wall (*Fig.* 13.1).

The sense of the second line is not absolutely certain. It is possible that the first word should be interpreted as εὐχαρίστῳ; that is, an adjective agreeing with Ὑψίστῳ, meaning something like "to the Gracious Highest (God)". But it seems more likely that εὐχαριστῶ is a first-person verb; this formulation of votive offerings, interpreted by van Straten (72) as an expression of gratitude, is not a common one, but there is one clear parallel from Attica (*IG* II^3 4, 1450, also dated to the imperial period).[276]

The nomenclature of this dedicant is frustratingly opaque when it comes to assessing her status. The name Claudia appears commonly in Athens, as in Greece more generally, from the time of the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD; cf. Byrne 2003, 11; see Byrne, *RCA* 169 Claudius 207i-ii), but could indicate either a freedwoman or a member of a family that had obtained Roman citizenship (Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 70-71). Her Greek cognomen, Prepousa, accords with a common pattern for Romans of Greek origin; but it is much rarer, and never certainly attested for an Athenian citizen. (The two other Attic examples are *IG* II^3 4, 1624 and *IG* II^2 9859; the status of the woman named in the former inscription is unclear; the latter is a Milesian). Like other names deriving from a participle (this form of

[276] See also Robert, *Hellenica* X, 55-58, for further parallels from Asia Minor; Robert notes that the formula first appears in the 2nd century AD, and is more common in the 3rd century; he suggests that the term should be interpreted as "la transcription sur pierre d'une acclamation, d'un remerciement qui était prononcé dans le sanctuaire par le fidèle qui avait éte exaucé" (58).

the verb πρέπω could be translated as "the seemly one" or "the conspicuous one"), it suggests the characteristic of desirability.[277]

This dedication was, like others in this collection, set up at some time in the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD at the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx hill (the letter forms do not enable a more exact dating).

A drawing of **19** (like those of **16** and **18**, by James Inskipp) was included in Dodwell's album of illustrations of antiquities, now in the British Museum (BM 2012, 5019.1.45; *Fig.* 19.2). A cast of of the dedication, originally made in the early twentieth century, is currently held in the collection of the Science Museum, London (A635591).

Fig. 19.1. **19** © Trustees of the British Museum.

[277] On this name and other female names formed on the basis of participles, see Masson, 1987, esp. 108; Masson, 1990, 131-32.

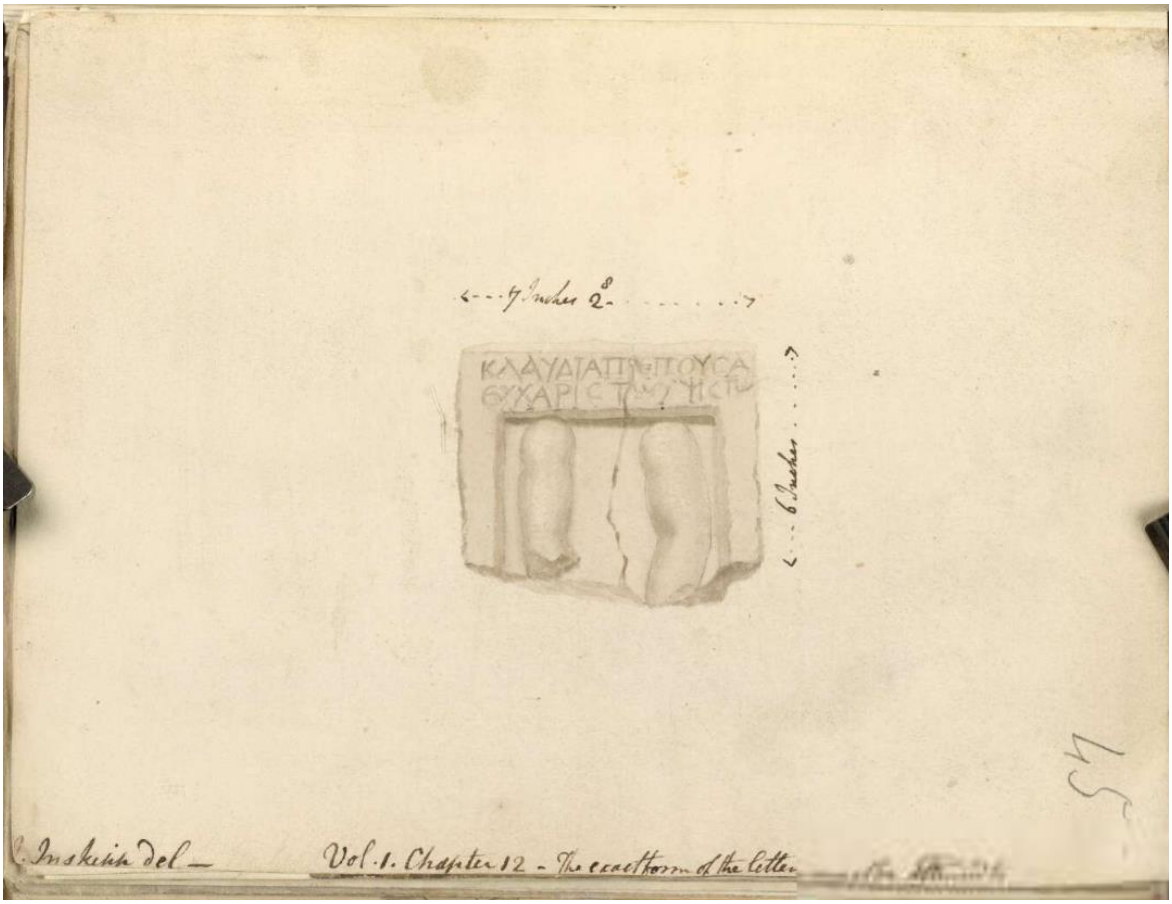

Fig. 19.2. Drawing of **19** by James Inskipp. © Trustees of the British Museum.

20 VOTIVE DEPICTING A VULVA. BM 1816,0610.216. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. Largely complete sculpture of white marble, with one line of inscription. H. 0.148; w. 0.194; th. 0.045 in inscribed area but up to 0.056 in the lower part of the moulding. The inscribed area is in a band above the moulding. Letters with serifs but disjointed; Ⱥ; straight-sided epsilon and sigmas. L. h. 0.009 (l. 1) – 0.011 (l. 2).

Eds. Dodwell, *Tour* I 403; *CIG* 500 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 52 (*IG* III 150 with Add. p. 488; *IG* II² 4800); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 69-70 no. 8.18 with fig. 65; *IG* II^3 4, 1270 (ph. tab. CXXXIX).

Cf. Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 804; van Straten, 118 no. 8.14; Forsén 1993, 515 no. 6. Schörner, no. 245. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig.* 20.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Ὀλυμπιὰς Ὑψίστῳ
εὐχήν.
Relief

Olympias, to the Highest (God), a vow.
Relief

As Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 69-70 no. 8.18 notes, the sculpted part of the object appears to be featureless; two vertical cuts represent later damage rather than anatomical features. Other votive vulvae associated with the Pnyx sanctuary are extant, two of which are inscribed: *IG* II^3 4, 1254 and *IG* II^3 4, 1262 (cf. Forsén, *Gliederweihungun*, 70 no. 8.19; Łajtar).[278] One can reasonably assume that these votives were set up in association with illness or healing related specifically to females.

Of the nineteen attestations of the name Olympias in Athens, two are associated with foreign residents (see *Athenian Onomasticon*).

This dedication, described first by Dodwell in his account of the Earl of Aberdeen's excavations of the Pnyx (*Tour*, I 403), was, like others in this collection, set up at some time in the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD at the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx hill. In his study of the vertical scarp identified with the sanctuary to the east of the *bema*, Forsén (1993, 515 no. 6) notes that the plaque could originally have been more or less rectangular and suggests that it may originally have been placed in niches 2a or 26 (*Fig.* 13.1).

[278] For vulvae deriving from places in Attica other than the Pnyx in the form of dedications to Aphrodite, see *IG* II^3 4, 1519-21, 1532.

Fig. 20. **20** © Trustees of the British Museum.

21 VOTIVE REPRESENTING A THIGH (?). BM 1861,0523.10. Aberdeen Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. Tablet of pink-white marble, complete on right and bottom; broken on left and top; back is smooth. Two partially-preserved inscribed lines, beneath a sculpted relief of a body part, perhaps a thigh. H. 0.105, w. 0.118, th. 0.036 (min.)-0.5 (max., incl. relief). Clear, but slightly scrappy, lettering, with small apices; curved, w-shaped, omega; vertical of psi is hyperextended. L. h. 0.012; interv. 0.005.

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 70 (*IG* III 237; *IG* II² 4807); Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 68 no. 8.16 (ph.); *IG* II^{3} 4, 1273 (ph., tab. CXXXIX).

Cf. Smith, *Sculpture* I no. 808; van Straten, 118 no. 8.16; Schörner, no. 253. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 21.

2nd-3rd cent AD

Relief
– – – –α Θεῷ Ὑψί–
[στῳ ε]ὐχήν.

Relief
(….)-a, to the Highest God, | a vow.

2 Rest. Hicks.

Interpretation of this votive is slightly hampered by its poor state of preservation, but the basic features are sufficiently clear: this is a votive offering to Theos Hypsistos, dating from the 2nd or 3rd century AD (the letter-forms do not enable a more exact dating), and set up on the Pnyx. The dedicant's name ends in an 'A', indicating a female.

There has been more disagreement about the identification of the body-part depicted in the relief. Smith (followed by van Straten) suggested that it might be a thigh, and noting the curved surface of the relief we are inclined to agree. But we would not rule out other possibilities: a shoulder (Hicks' proposal, also entertained by Smith), or the lower part of a female torso (Forsén, *Gliederweihungen*, 68). We are less persuaded by Curbera's suggestion that the relief was intended to represent a nose.

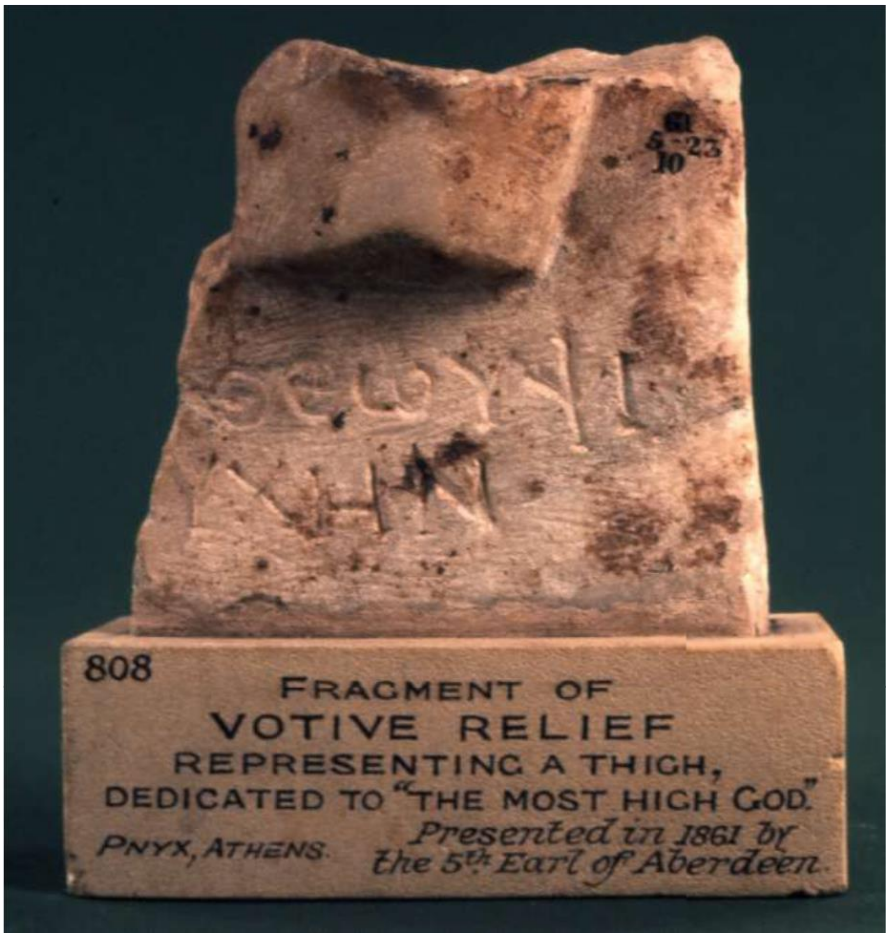

Fig. 21. **21** © Trustees of the British Museum.

22 VOTIVE TABLET. BM 1816,0610.212. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. Plain tablet of white marble, with three lines of inscription (no relief extant); broken at the top, complete (though roughly finished) on other sides; back is roughly finished. H. 0.12, w. 0.16, th. 0.042. Angular letters, of slightly square shape (e.g. epsilon), with small serifs. Square sigmas. Non-cursive omegas. L. h. 0.009-10; interv. 0.0015.

Eds. Dodwell, *Tour* I 402, Clarke, 202, n. (from Walpole's Journal); *CIG* 498 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 61 (*IG* III 148; *IG* II^2 4798); *IG* II^3 4, 1266 (ph. of squeeze, tab. CXXXIX).

Cf. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II no. 212 (dr. p. 105; = Travlos, p. 571, fig. 716); Forsén 1993, 515 no. 10; Schörner, *Votive* no. 244. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 22.

2nd-3rd cent. AD

Σύντροφος
Ὑψίστῳ Διὶ
χαριστήριον.

Syntrophos, | to Zeus Hypsistos | a thank-offering.

This dedication, like others in this group, was set up to Zeus Hypsistos, and is dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD (the letter-forms do not enable a more exact dating). Unlike the other dedicants in our set, however, Syntrophos has chosen language which makes it explicit that he is offering thanks for help already given: this is indicated by the use of the term *charistērion* rather than the more ambiguous *euchē* to refer to the dedication. The second (apparent) peculiarity of the votive is that it consists only of an inscription, with no sculpted relief; however, we cannot rule out that there was originally a relief on the upper part of the tablet, which has now been lost.

Forsén (1993, 515 no.10) suggests that the dedication might originally have been placed in niche 13 or 22 in the scarp wall of the sanctuary (see *Fig.* 13.1).

Syntrophos is a relatively common name in Athens (the *Athenian Onomasticon* lists twenty-nine individuals with this name).

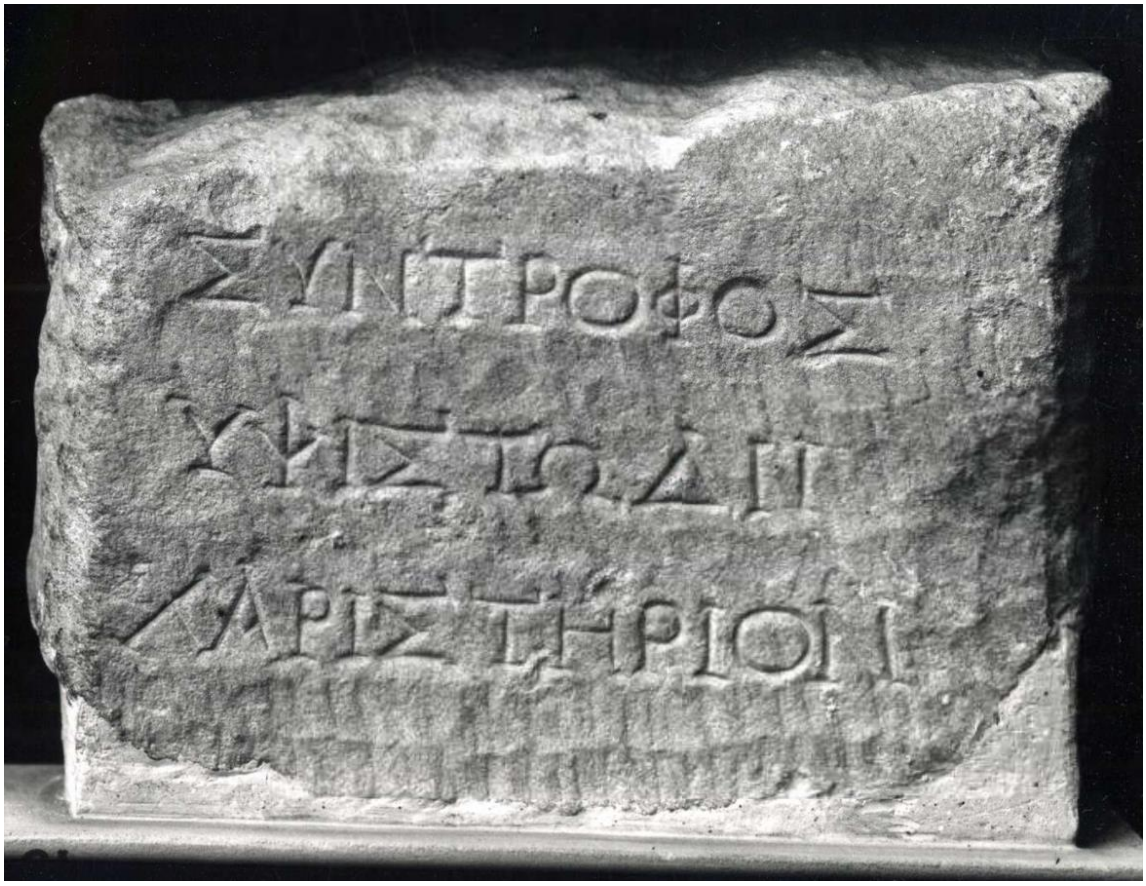

Fig. 22. **22** © Trustees of the British Museum.

23 VOTIVE TABLET. BM 1816,0610.213. Elgin Collection (cf. sect. 1). Pnyx, Athens. A piece of veined whiteish marble, broken at top and worn on the left side. Now set in a mount. H. 0.0916, w. 0.15, th. 0.0075. Square epsilons and sigmas; the phi features a hyperextended vertical. L. h. 0.0098-0.018 (phi).

Eds. Dodwell, *Tour* I 403; *CIG* 497 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 60; (*IG* III 147; *IG* II² 4766); *IG* II^3 4, 1241 (ph. of squeeze, tab. CXXXVII)

Cf. Schörner no. 243. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 23.

1st-2nd century AD

[*vacat*?] – –?
[*vacat*?] – –?
vacat? Ẹ̣Ị–
vacat NH
εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ
Εὐφροσύνου.

–ei|ne | a vow on behalf | of Euphrosynos.

The formula εὐχὴν ὑπέρ suggests that this dedication was made by someone on behalf of Euphrosynos in the hope that he be healed from some affliction. The formula is paralleled in a tablet discovered near the Propylaia but which is thought to have derived from the Pnyx, which appears to be made by three individuals perhaps on behalf of their parents: Γλαῦκος, Τρύφαινα, Λέων [Ὑ]ψίστῳ [εὐχὴν] ὑπὲρ [τῶν γονέων?] (*IG* II^3 4, 1242, now at the Epigraphical Museum, Athens).[279] By analogy, therefore, we might presume that Euphrosynos' dedication was made, and its physical form chosen, by a close relative; he may have been unable to make the dedication owing to illness or even death (see Jim 2014, noting that these inscriptions often leave the details ambiguous).

No traces of letters are visible in the spaces before the extant letters of ll. 1-2. Editors since Hicks have read είνη in ll. 1-2, suggesting that the dedicant was a female whose name ended in –είνη; we agree that this is the most plausible interpretation. Names with this ending attested in Athens in the Roman era, include Ἀγριππείνη (*IG* II^2 3704, l. 7); Ἀκυλείνη (*IG* II^2 10474, l. 1); Μαρθείνη (*IG* II^2 2361, l. 44); Ποθείνη *IG* II^2 6981, l. 1); Σαβείνη (*IG* II^2 3388, l. 9). It is less likely that -είνη belonged to the name of a female healing deity with the epithet ἰατρείνη (cf. *IG* II^3 4, 1324, 1326, 1328 (1st–2nd century AD, from Piraeus)).

The name Εὐφρόσυνος is a common one; of the 111 attestations in the *Athenian Onomasticon*, only five are foreign residents, so it is more likely that this dedication was made on behalf of an Athenian.

The surviving part of the slab is undecorated, but it is possible that the arrangement of the letters of the dedicant's name constituted an attempt at aesthetic expression. It is even possible that there was originally was a design in the damaged area on the top left corner of the plaque.

[279] Two further examples of the "on behalf of" formula in dedications to Hypsistos are *IG* II^3 4, 1250 and 1269 (= *AIUK* 2 (*BSA*), no. 7). Neither of these are decorated with anatomical sculpture.

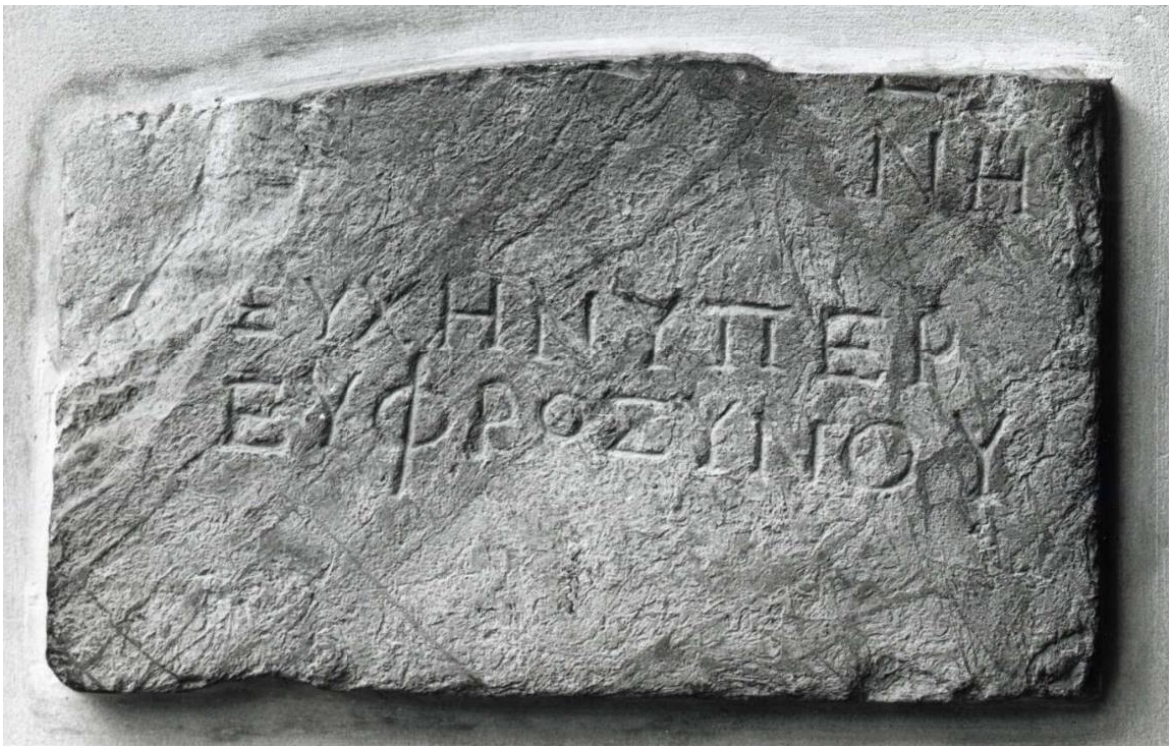

Fig. 23. **23** © Trustees of the British Museum.

8. STATUE BASES AND HERMS: INTRODUCTION

This final section of our edition of the Attic dedications in the British Museum contains four inscriptions which, although they have a dedicatory aspect, are not classified in *IG*'s system among the "public" dedications (*IG* II^3 4 fasc. 1) or the "private" dedications (*IG* II^3 4 fasc. 2), but are designated to appear in a future fascicule of *IG* II^3 4 containing statue bases, herms and other inscriptions with an honorific function. Our order of presentation follows that of *IG*. **24**, **25**, and **26** are inscribed elements of monuments which probably originally included a statue; their findspots are not recorded but it seems likely that **25** was set up on the Acropolis.[280] **24** honoured an eponymous archon of the 2nd century AD. **25** was set up by a sibling in commemoration of his brother. **26** commemorated an award made by public bodies in honour of a female benefactor of the Roman period, providing evidence for female euergetism and its commemoration (cf. **8**). **27** is an example of a practice often thought to be typically Athenian: the dedication of a Herm; like **10** it has sometimes been interpreted as a funerary monument.

9. STATUE BASES AND HERMS: THE INSCRIPTIONS (24-27)

24 STATUE BASE OF PISO. BM 1816,0610.271. Elgin collection (cf. sect. 1). Part of a small columnar monument of white marble, broken vertically in half; rectangular cutting (dowel-hole?) in the rear part of the upper surface. H. 0.325, w. 0.209, th. 0.147. Very neat square lettering with serifs (especially on alpha and delta) and some hyperextension of diagonals, no cursive forms, unsplayed sigma and mu, pi with right vertical as long as the left, consistent with a late 2nd cent. AD date; some traces of red paint. L. h. 0.010 (pi)-0.027 (phi).

Eds. *CIG* I 402 (Boeckh, from Ross); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 52; (*IG* III 693 (Dittenberger); Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 868); *IG* II^2 3640 (Kirchner). Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. In store. *Fig.* 24.

Ἀσκληπιοῦ με δμῶα πυρφόρο[ν θεοῦ]
Πείσωνα λεύσσεις, ἱππικὸν ἡγ[ήτορα],
173/4 AD ἄρξαντ' Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τὴν ἐπ[ώνυμον].
vac. 0.082
κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῶν [σεμνοτάτων]
5 συνεδρίων, ἱερέως δ[ιὰ βίου]
Ἀγαθόποδος Φλυέως.

1 Kaibel; φίλον Boeckh; ξένε Hicks, Dittenberger || 2 ἱππικῶν ἡγ[ήτορα] Boeckh; ἱππικόν <θ'> ἡ[γήτορα] Hicks ("sed fortasse poeta potius peccavit quam lapicida", Dittenberger). See below || 3

[280] For the view that all statues on the Athenian Acropolis before 280 BC were votive rather than honorific, see Krumeich 2007 (a view modified by Lambert, "Honorific Statues", suggesting that "there is no case before 168 BC where the Athenian Assembly demonstrably provided for erection of an honorific statue on the Acropolis").

Boeckh || 4 Dittenberger; τῶ[ν Ἀρεοπαγειτῶν τὸ ἱερὸν] Kaibel || 5 ἱερέως Ἀ[σκληπιοῦ] Dittenberger; ἱερέως δ[ιὰ βίου Ἀσκληπιοῦ] Kirchner: both are compatible with the traces on the stone, but neither is attested as a way of referring to the priesthood-for-life of Asklepios; ὁ ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου without further specification is the most common formula (Aleshire 1989, 86).

> You look upon me, fire-bearer, servant of the god Asklepios, | Piso, leader of the cavalry, | who was eponymous archon of the Athenians (173/4 AD).
>
> With the sanction of the most august | (5) councillors, in the priesthood-for-life | of Agathopous of Phlya.

The upper inscription indicates that this monument honoured Piso, who is described as fire-bearer (*pyrphoros*), leader of the cavalry and eponymous archon. The honorand is attested more fully elsewhere as Biesius Piso of Melite, and as archon of Athens in 173/4 AD.[281] The marble column must have stood next to, or perhaps served as the base of, an image of Piso. The cutting in the top of the column, if original, might have held a small (bronze?) statue or bust, although the block is too small to have served as the base for a full-sized statue. Although the findspot and original location of this monument are unknown, its content suggests that it stood in the Athenian Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis, a flourishing sanctuary in the Roman imperial period.

The first three lines of the inscription are a verse epigram, in iambic trimeters. There is a small metrical peculiarity in the second verse, where the *omicron* of ἱππικόν needs to be treated as a long vowel; early editors (Boeckh, Hicks) assumed that either the stonecutter or the composer of the epigram was at fault, but more recent studies suggest that treating a final single nu as if it were a double-consonant (thus lengthening the preceding vowel) was a fairly commonly-deployed poetic conceit (Hagel). The choice of vocabulary in these lines (δμῶα, λεύσσεις) further emphasises the epigram's literary pretensions.

Piso was *pyrphoros* (fire-bearer) in the cult of Asklepios,[282] an official responsible for providing fire from the Acropolis for use in the cult's sacrifices. This official is first attested for the cult of Asklepios in 138/7 BC, but was initially referred to as the *kleidouchos* or *kleidouchos kai pyrphoros*; he was also responsible for a significant amount of day-to-day administration of the sanctuary (Aleshire 1989, 89-90). By the imperial period, the job title had changed to *pyrphoros*, and it seems likely that the nature of the role had also shifted to being more honorific than administrative; certainly, it is a position which seems to be held by prominent citizens.[283]

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[281] *IG* II^2 2103, l. 5; *IG* II^2 1782, ll. 1-2, with Follet, 514, and Byrne, *RCA*, 509.

[282] There was also a *pyrphoros* in the Eleusinian cult: see *I Eleusis* 300, l. 9, of ca. 20/19 BC; *AIUK* 4.3A (*BM, Decrees of Other Bodies*), no. 10, l. 9, with pp. 71-72; cf. *AIUK* 4.3B (*BM, Ephebic Monuments*), no. 5, p. 29.

[283] The office can be linked to only three named individuals in the Roman period, but those individuals are always of high status: as well as Piso, the office is known to have been held by Quintus Statius of Cholleidai (*IG* II^3 4, 849, l. 3), and Licinius Phirmos (*IG* II^3 4, 850, ll. 48-49). This pattern leads Geagan to suggest that these office-holders are less likely to be enhancing their own status by holding this office than they are to be adding lustre to the role by their association

The second office which Piso held, referred to poetically as "leader of the cavalry", might be a reference to a Roman office (e.g. *praefectus equitum*, commander of a regiment of auxiliary cavalry), emphasising Piso's standing in both Roman and Athenian political circles,[284] but this would presuppose that he had invested sufficiently in a military career to achieve high-ranking office in Rome. It is more likely that he had held the Athenian office of cavalry commander (*hipparchos*), which existed at the time (see *IG* II^2 3404 = *I Eleusis* 482 of 163/4 AD).

Piso had also served as archon eponymous, the most high-ranking magistracy in the city, and an office typically held at this period by extremely prominent and wealthy individuals.[285] "Biesius" is a very rare nomen gentile (cf. Schulze, *Eigennamen*, p. 587: add. ad p. 133) and in Rome appears to be connected with freedmen;[286] "Biesios" is also attested in Macedonia (*IG* X 2, 1, 58 l. 14; *SEG* 1.276, l. 20).

Agathopous, who is not otherwise known, was the priest of Asklepios, holding a role which in the Classical and Hellenistic periods rotated annually, but which became a permanent position some time between 25 BC and 10 AD and remained so until the office ceased to exist in the third century AD (Aleshire 1989, 85). The reasons for this shift are not entirely clear, but perhaps reflect some combination of changes of cult practice (driven by the growing popularity of the cult?) and the increased potential which a lifetime office provided for both drawing on and contributing to the wealth and status of elite families in the city (Geagan 1991, 158). The creation of life priesthoods at Athens also accorded with the tendency for institutional innovations of the Roman period to have an archaising aspect, in the sense that it alluded to a form of tenure associated in Athens with the ancient priesthoods supplied by the *gene*; moreover, given that it resembled the Roman practice of priesthoods for life it may be viewed as Romanising.[287]

The setting up of the monument had been approved by the Areopagos Council (these are the "most august councillors" of l. 4). During this period, the Areopagos had the power to pass resolutions on behalf of the city, sometimes jointly with the Council of 500 or 600 and/or the Assembly (Geagan 1967, 32-91; see below, no. **26**).[288] More commonly in these

with it (Geagan 1991, 158-59). For the view that priesthoods in the cities of Roman Greece were reserved usually for those who belong to the upper strata of society and exploration of the connection between high political offices and priestly posts see Camia 2014, 2017a, 2017b, 2021.

[284] This is Kaibel's suggestion (arguing that the δέ in l. 3 signals the transition from Roman to Athenian spheres).

[285] On the function and status of this office in Roman Athens, see Geagan 1967, 6-10; Geagan observes that a clear indication of the office's status is the fact that it was on several occasions held by "Roman emperors, foreign rulers, noble Romans, and the most influential Athenians" (6).

[286] A search of the *Clauss-Slaby* database reveals five individuals, all of them freedmen or likely to have been freedmen.

[287] See Aleshire and Lambert, 565, discussing the reforms of the *gene* in the Augustan period; Spawforth, 192-97.

[288] See also *AIUK* 4.2 (*BM, Decrees of Council and Assembly*), no. 17, and *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 16, with commentaries. For an inscribed decree of the Areopagos in the British Museum's collection see *AIUK* 4.3A (*BM, Decrees of Other Bodies*), no. 10.

circumstances the name of an individual who has instigated the honours is included on the monument, but this is missing in our case.[289]

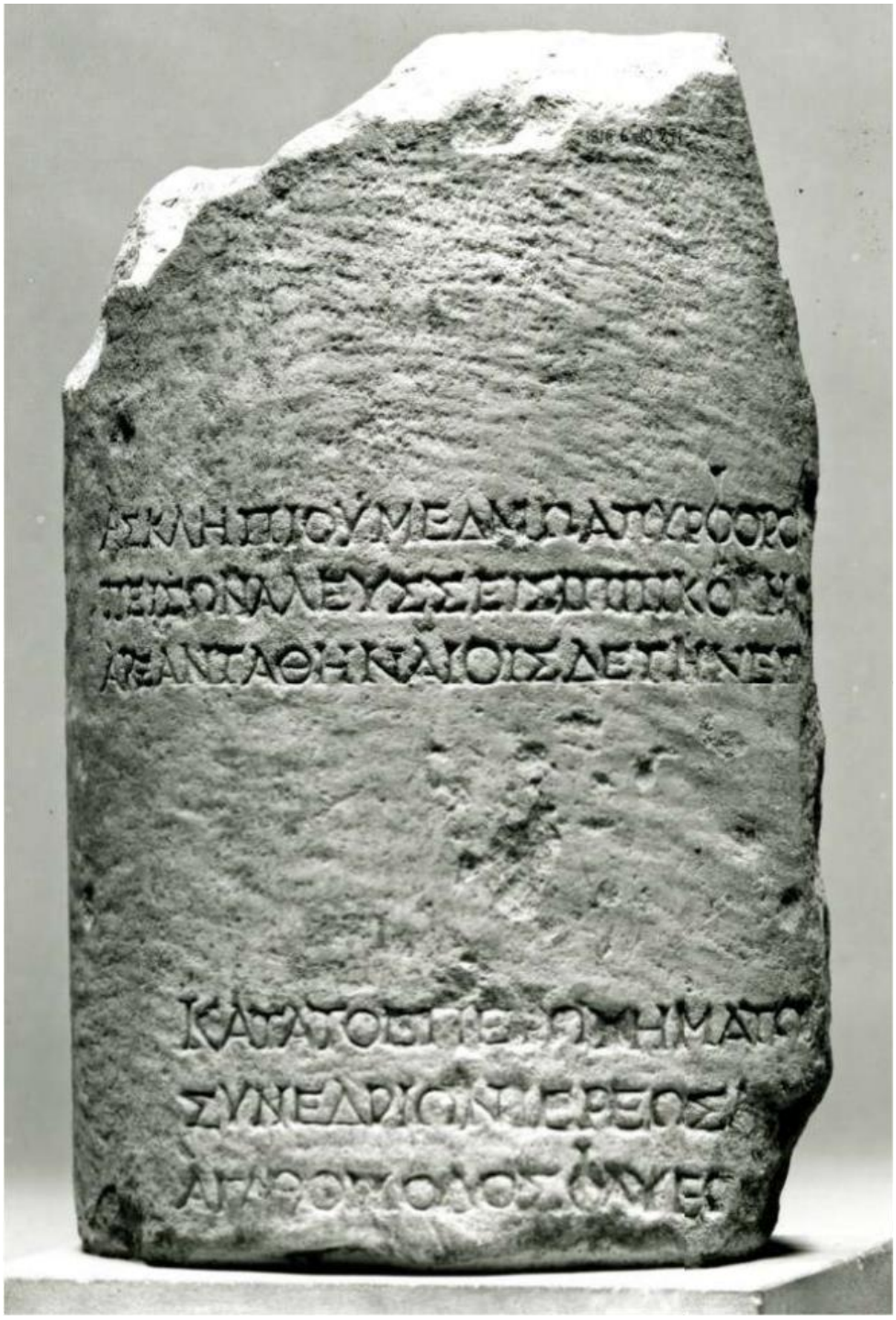

Fig. 24. **24** © Trustees of the British Museum.

[289] A near-contemporary parallel is *IG* II^2 3748 (ca. 161 AD), a statue instigated by Tib. Cl. Apollodoros in honour of Tib. Cl. Polyzelos. For a discussion of the procedure, see Geagan 1967, 45-47 (cf. Keil, *Areopags*, 36-42, who argues that the ἐπερώτημα formula indicates that the Areopagos initiated, rather than simply approved, the creation of the monument).

25 STATUE BASE OF POLYLLOS. BM 1816,0610.345. Elgin collection (cf. sect. 1). Noted by Cyriacus of Ancona on the Acropolis, "in front of the great temple of Pallas" (i.e. the Parthenon). A low base of dark blueish (Eleusinian) limestone. Worn front face; preserved left side and top; damaged right side and bottom. Rear surface smooth, perhaps the result of reworking. No cuttings are detectable on the upper surface, as preserved. H. 0.236; w. 0.818; th. 0.135. The letters are plain but neatly cut; pi with shorter right vertical; outer strokes of sigma slightly splayed; omicrons relatively small; slight apices. The lettering suggests a date in the second half of the fourth century. L. h. 0.017-0.021 (l. 1); 0.011-0.012 (ll. 2-3).

Eds. Moroni no. 105 (drawing upon the X^2 codex of Cyriacus of Ancona); Muratori 1739-42 vol. 2 p. 1066 no. 3; Pittakes, *L'ancienne Athènes*, 286; Koumanoudes I 124 no. 9696; *CIG* 747 (from earlier accounts, and from Osann and Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 56; (*IG* II 1398); *IG* II^2 3838.

Cf. Clarke, 366; Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* no. 70; Bodnar 1960, 172 (based upon Moroni and the MS *Mutinensis* 431 f. 127); *CEG* 2.780; Löhr no. 89; Krumeich 2014, 72; Chatzidakis 1.30 (ph.). Autopsy Lambert, Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Figs*. 25.1, 25.2.

350-300 BC?

Πόλυλλος Πολυλλίδου Παιανιεύς.

vac. 0.050

εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε Πολύστρατος αὑτοῦ ἀδελφόν,
μνημοσύνην θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον.

2 fin. ἀδελφόν Moroni, Muratori, Clarke; ἀδελφο<ῦ> Hansen in *CEG* || 3 fin. ἀθάνατον Muratori, Clarke.

Polyllos son of Polyllides of Paiania.

Polystratos set up this statue of his own brother,
an immortal memory of a mortal body.

This base, bearing a dedicatory epigram in the form of an elegiac couplet, was first noted in April 1436 by Cyriacus of Ancona (1391-1452). Bodnar cites two sources for the text: (a) Carlo Moroni's edition of Cyriacus' manuscripts (originally published around 1660 in Rome, Bodnar 1960, 12, and reprinted at Rome in 1747); (b) Muratori's edition, the source of which was Martin De Sieder's *Codex Estensis Latinus* (Bodnar 1960, 87). The second and third lines were complete when the stone was seen by Clarke during his visit to Athens in 1800-1801 but their right-hand parts had been lost by the time Hicks saw it:[290] presumably the damage was done before or during its journey to the UK. The current dimensions of the block and the smoothness of the back face suggest that the stone as it is now consists of the front face of a block which was sawn off in Athens in order to facilitate transportation to

[290] On Clarke and his travels to Greece in 1800-1801, see *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam*), pp. 2-5.

the UK (see also on **1**).[291] The block originally would have been much thicker, perhaps ca. 0.8 m.

According to Moroni's edition of Cyriacus' text (1747 p. XV no. 105), Cyriacus reported that the inscription was located *ante magnam Palladis aedem*, that is, "in front of the great temple of Pallas" (i.e. the Parthenon): cf. Bodnar 1970, 103. Muratori amended "aedem" to "statuam", suggesting that it was originally located in front of the statue of Athena, but this is nothing more than speculation.[292] Given that it was discovered on the Acropolis, it is likely that it was originally set up there (though it is not impossible that it was moved at some point from the lower city to the Acropolis before it was seen by Cyriacus); accordingly, this monument is most plausibly identifiable as an Acropolis dedication. The juxtaposition of "immortal memory" with "mortal body" need not necessarily be understood as an indication that Polyllos was deceased when the statue was dedicated, though this is a possible interpretation (see below for plausibly epitaphic aspects of the verse);[293] the lines might alternatively be a poetic description of an essential function of the monument (as an enduring commemoration of a mortal Athenian).[294]

The preserved text suggests that the inscribed stone formed part of a monument which supported a statue. There may originally have been another block fixed above the inscribed stone (which may have been an element of a stepped base): this is suggested by the presence of an incised line on the top surface of the extant block, which may have marked the position of the block above it (see *Fig*. 25.2). It may be relevant from an aesthetic point of view that the same dark Eleusinian marble was the material of other inscribed dedications on the Acropolis (cf., e.g., Raubitschek, nos. 165, 168).[295]

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[291] As Ralf Krumeich points out to us, blocks of the Parthenon frieze were treated in a similar way and were dissected, with only the iconographic material transported to London. *IG* II^2 3669 (Dexippos) is a comparable case of a base altered while in the hands of western collectors: according to Sironen (1997, no. 4) its back was sawn off in the Louvre (Louvre Ma 215 and Ma 222).

[292] See Muratori 1739-42 vol. 2 p. 1066 no. 3.

[293] An example of a clearly post-mortem statue on the Acropolis is that of the long-serving priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimache, the inscribed base of which states that she had lived to 88 years and served as priestess for 64: see *IG* II^2 3453 with AIO's notes. For the view that Polyllos' base was a post-mortem monument, see Keesling 2007, 144-45 (cf. Hansen in *CEG*; Holtzmann 2003, 186; Keesling 2003, 191; Keesling 2017, 60, 129), taking the view that the statue was set up to commemorate a prematurely deceased sibling. Holtzmann (2003, 186) suggests that this monument was set up by a brother who aimed to commemorate his sibling ostentatiously but without transgressing the limitations on funerary commemoration introduced by Demetrios of Phaleron: Demetrios' law provided that graves should be marked only by a small column (*columella*) less than three cubits high, a "table" (*mensa*) or a "labellum": Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.66; see further *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam*), p. 31 with n. 90.

[294] For the argument that Polyllos was not necessarily deceased at the time of the dedication of his statue, see Krumeich 2007, 388 with n. 24; Löhr, 79-80 no. 89.

[295] Bases of the same material have, however, been found in the lower city too, e.g. *IG* II^3 1, 306, a base of Eleusinian limestone containing honours for the Council, councillors and Council officials, was discovered at the Church of St. Demetrios, east of the Tower of Winds.

The setting up of family portrait dedications emerged as a practice in the middle of the fourth century in Athens and Attica.[296] As Humphreys (2019, I.415-16) notes, such dedications tend to be set up by a relatively narrow range of kin: usually spouses, siblings, parents and offspring. Another example of a post-mortem fraternal dedication of the fourth century BC is *IG* II^2 3841 (*I Eleusis* 110), in which siblings commemorate a brother at Eleusis.[297] The act of setting up a monument to a relative on the Acropolis was one way that, in Humphreys' words, "intimate remembrance and permanent commemoration" were combined and reflects the "private and public faces of death" (Humphreys 1993, 122).[298]

As Lambert notes, in fourth-century Athens honorands who had received by Assembly decree a statue in the Agora appear on occasion to have erected a votive statue on the Acropolis.[299] It is not inconceivable, therefore, that his brother set up this dedication for Polyllos on the occasion of his receiving a statue decreed by the Athenian *demos*. Alternatively, he may have been deemed worthy to receive a statue on the Acropolis on the basis of his service to a particular cult.[300] Neither of these hypothetical possibilities, however, is suggested by the wording on the base.

The name Polyllos (which may be interpreted as a shortened form of Πολύλαος) is rare: it is attested on a vase-inscription of the late sixth century BC (Immerwahr, *Script* 356, Πόλυλ(λ)ος) and in one other inscription of the fourth century BC (*IG* II^2 11630).[301] The latter inscription was discovered in the village of Grammatiko in NE Attica; the Polyllos named there (Traill, *PAA* 780025) is the father of Nikodemos; no demotic is specified, and the findspot of the inscription argues against, though does not conclusively rule out, an association with the deme Paiania (which was located in central Attica).

Polystratos, father of the Paramythos of Paiania who proposed a proxeny decree in 286/5 BC (*IG* II^3 1, 864, ll. 11-12), is plausibly identifiable with our dedicator; and a Pollylides, not necessarily connected with our honorand's father, is probably named on another dedication from the Athenian Acropolis (ἀνέθηκεν [- - -] Πολλυλί[δ? - - -], *SEG*

[296] For an extensive study of dedications made by or on behalf of family members during the Archaic and Classical periods, see Löhr. See also Ma 2013, 198, identifying probably post-mortem examples from the Acropolis: *IG* II^2 4914 (Löhr 104); 3823 (Löhr 111); 4024 (not in Löhr); 3829 (Löhr 161).
[297] Other examples of honorific monuments set up specifically by siblings are known from Classical and Hellenistic Athens: see *IG* II^2 3609, 3667, 3841 and *SEG* 59.238.
[298] On the social and commemorative implications of portrait statues dedicated in Greek sanctuaries, see Krumeich, 2007.
[299] Lambert, "Honorific Statues", pointing to the examples of Konon, Timotheos and Iphikrates (Iphikrates received a statue decreed by the People in the Agora: Aeschin. 3.243, Dem. 23.130 and 136 and a votive statue on Acropolis: Paus. 1.24.7. For this interpretation of Iphikrates' statues, see Domingo Gygax, 196).
[300] The statue base for Syeris, *diakonos* of Lysimache (herself priestess of Athena Polias), is an example of a member of cult personnel receiving a statue in the Acropolis: see *IG* II^2 3464 with AIO's notes.
[301] Given that *IG* II^2 11630, the funerary monument for Nikomache, Theognis and Nikodemos son of Polyllos was, until the mid-twentieth century, in the Elgin collection at Broomhall (see *AIUK* 8 (*Broomhall*), Introduction; it is now at the Getty: Grossman, no. 9), it may be tempting to associate the circumstances of its collection with those of the British Museum base. Given the very different (and securely attested) findspots of the two inscriptions, however, it seems more likely that the appearance of the name on both monuments is coincidental.

48.280, ll. 3-4). Overall one gets the impression of a rather obscure citizen family, albeit one that was well-enough off to make a dedication on the Acropolis; Polyllos' statue would have stood among those of much more prominent Athenians.[302]

The epigram on this monument contrasts the mortality of Polyllos' body with the immortality of his statue as a memorial; this juxtaposition was deployed also in some funerary texts: Lysias, at the end of his *Epitaphios Logos* for those killed in the Corinthian War, proclaimed that "those who have died are praised as mortals (*thnetoi*) owing to their nature, but as immortals (*athanatoi*) owing to their virtue" (Lys. 2.80). The notion of the immortal memory (μνημοσύνην ἀθάνατον) in Polyllos' base is reminiscent of the μνήμην ἀθάνατον ("immortal memory") of the virtue of the deceased Nikoptolemos invoked in a fourth-century grave marker from Attica (*IG* II^2 6551).[303] The will to commemorate is, of course, universal, but there are some unusual features to the verse: the term μνημοσύνη (cf. Homer, *Iliad* 8.181) is not otherwise attested on Athenian Classical dedications or funerary markers, though it does occur in a third-century AD monument from Eleusis for the priestess Eunike (*IG* II^2 3709 = *I Eleusis* 659). It is plausible that the composer of the verse was invoking Mnemosyne, the Mother of the Muses. Perhaps μνημοσύνη is here deployed both in the sense of a physical monument-memorial and as a more abstract immortal record of a human life.[304]

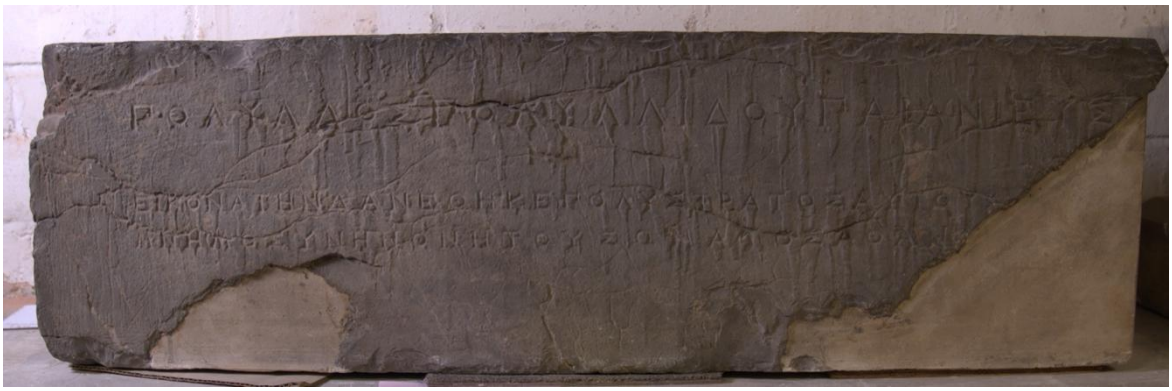


Fig. 25.1 **25** (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

[302] For discussion of the setting up during the fourth century BC of statues of prominent Athenians on the Acropolis, see Krumeich and Witschel, 18-19 (e.g. Konon, Timotheus, Iphikrates).
[303] Cf. also *IG* II^2 12924a: σω[φροσύνη]ς δὲ ἀρετῆς τε π[ρόφρ]ων τόδε τεῦξε πατήρ σοι | μνημεῖον θνητοῖς πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν φανερόν.
[304] As Tsagalis (153-57) points out, the term μνημεῖον is, in fourth-century funerary epigrams, generally used to refer to an epitaph-record rather than in the sense of a monument-memorial; one exception, though, is the early fourth-century monument for Kallimachos (*IG* II² 11780).

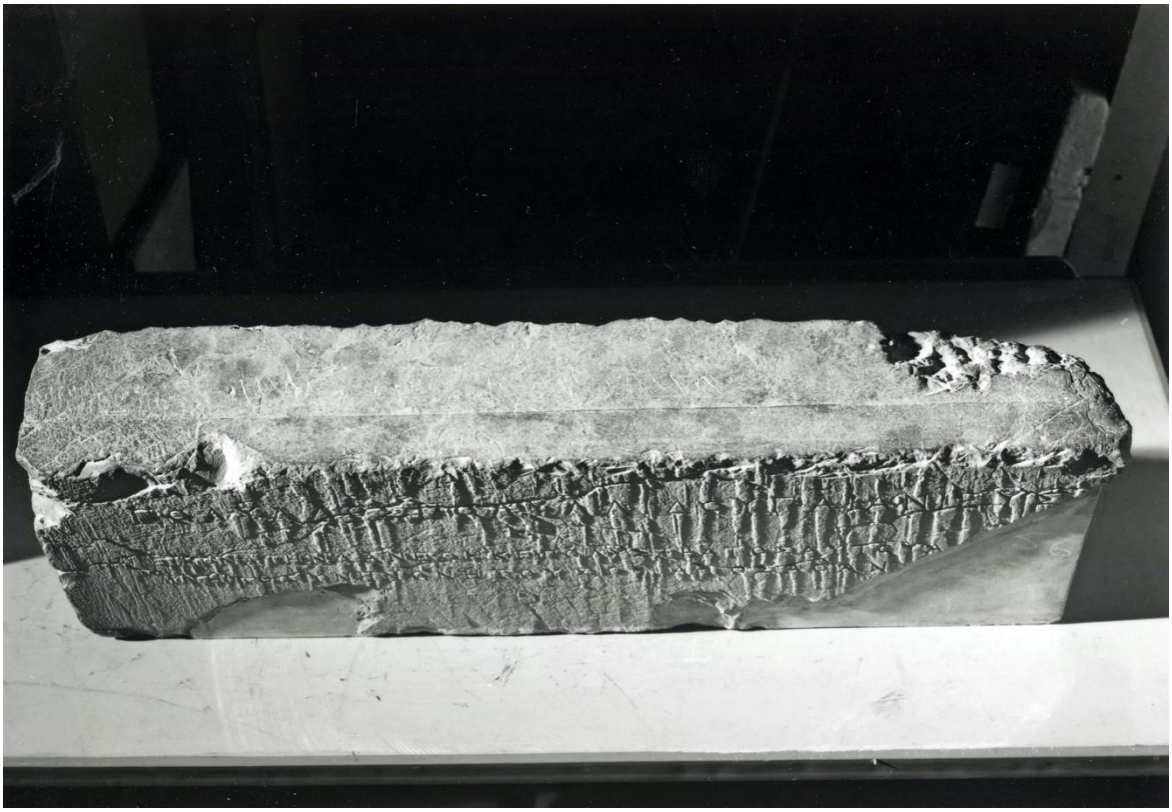


Fig. 25.2. Top surface of **25**, showing incised line. © Trustees of the British Museum.

26 STATUE BASE OF CLAUDIA DEMETRIA. BM 1816,0610.299. Elgin collection (cf. sect. 1). Athens; no findspot recorded. Fragment of white marble broken on all sides (the left side may have been re-worked; some of the original bottom seems to be preserved); very rough back. H. 0.292; w. 0.186; th. 0.054. Non-cursive lettering, neatly cut and well spaced; small apices; unsplayed sigma; rho with small loop; Ⱥ. L. h. 0.030-0.032.

Eds. *CIG* 437b (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 54; (*IG* III 891; *IG* II^2 4044).

Cf. Siekierka, Stebnicka, Wolicki, 45.1

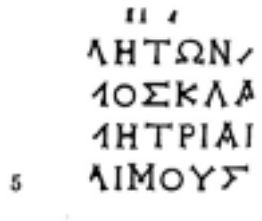
Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 26.

ca. 40-124/5 AD

[ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρ]-
[είου] πᾰ́[γου καὶ]
[ἡ βου]λὴ τῶν Χ̣ [καὶ]
[ὁ δῆ]μος Κλα[υδί]-
5 [αν Δη]μητρίαν̣
[ἐξ Ἁ]λιμουσ[ίων].

1-2 Kirchner (*IG* II^2) after Dittenberger (*IG* III) || 3-5 Hicks || 6 M. Heil per epist., Δη]μητρίαν . . . | [. . . Ἁ]λιμουσ[ίου | θυγατέρα] Hicks, Kirchner (*IG* II^2) after Dittenberger (*IG* III).

Reproduced below is Hicks' facsimile, including the remains of letters in l. 2 interpreted by Dittenberger as a pi and alpha.



[The Council of the | Areopagos and] the Council of 600 and | the People (erected this statue of) Claudia | Demetria | (5) of Halimous.

Claudia Demetria of Halimous (Traill, *PAA* 571050) was hereby honoured with a statue by the Council (at this point, an institution with 600 members, as is indicated the alphabetical numeral X), the People, and (largely restored, but plausibly so) the Areopagos. In the period after Sulla, decrees of the Athenian polis were commonly enacted in the name of these three corporations: ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν Χ (or Φ to denote the Council of 500) καὶ ὁ δῆμος; many examples of this formulation are known, appearing on marble *stelai*, statue bases, and herms (see Geagan 1967, 32-38 and 140-45, counting more than 90 examples of enactments in the name of the three corporations in the period from the mid-first century BC to the end of the fourth century AD; see above, **24**). Dedications made in

the name of just the Council and People are also known (see Geagan 1967, 62-67, 151-52). Pittakes (287) reported a separate inscription on the Acropolis commemorating honours granted by the Boule and Demos to a Claudia Demetria for the sake of her virtue (ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν), but the whereabouts of this stone are not known (see now *IG* II^2 4045 = Siekierka, Stebnicka, Wolicki, 45.2). If there were indeed two separate honorific statues of the same woman on the Acropolis, that would seem to imply an unusually prominent benefactress. The findspot of the BM fragment is not recorded but it is quite possible that it was originally set up on the Acropolis, where honorific statues were quite commonly erected during this period (see e.g. *IG* II^2 4029, 4033, 4035, 4045, 4070, etc.).

In this edition we have followed Matthaeus Heil's persuasive restoration, kindly communicated to us *per epist.*, [ἐξ Ἁ]λιμουσ[ίων], "from the Halimousians": this is a form that is used to describe Halimousian females in the Roman-era sepulchral monuments *IG* II^2 5538, 5540 and 5458.[305] This mode of designating female deme affiliation is a characteristic of inscriptions of the Roman period; a particularly clear example of the practice is *IG* II^2 2361 (a decree of the association of Euporia Thea Belela), in which all the men are listed with a standard adjectival demotic, whereas all the women have demotics in the form ἐκ + genitive plural. This restoration makes redundant Hicks' hypothetical restoration of Ἁ]λιμουσ[ίου θυγατέρα] which would identify Claudia Demetria as the daughter of a certain Demetrios of Halimous who was honoured by the Areopagos, the Council of 600 and the People for the sake of his virtue ([ἀρετῆς] ἕνεκεν) in the same era (*IG* II^2 3907).[306] As Heil points out to us, if Ἁ]λιμουσ[ίου referred to Claudia's father or husband, the preceding space would leave only an implausibly small gap of three letter-spaces for his name.[307]

Nothing more is known of Claudia Demetria. However, given her Roman nomen gentile Claudia, she was evidently a Roman citizen (see Byrne, *RCA* 169 Claudius 207i-ii; Schmalz no. 222; see above, **19**), most likely, the Greek cognomen suggests, of an Athenian or at least Greek family. The nomen gentile Claudia appears in Greece from the time of the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD; cf. Byrne 2003, 11). It is impossible to tell whether this Claudia was a Roman citizen "by virtue of membership of a prominent family which had gained the *civitas* through connections with the Roman elite" (Byrne, *RCA* xi), or as a freedwoman of such a family, or (a more remote possibility) via direct connection with the imperial household.

Though it is not made explicit, it seems likely that Claudia was awarded the statue by the Athenians in response to some benefaction that she made to the city. There are other examples of inscribed honours at Athens for females in this era, including *IG* II^2 4042

[305] A comparable formula is used on Roman-era inscriptions to describe women from Athmonon (*IG* II^3 4, 1724) and Oion (*IG* II^2 6997). Cf. also *AIUK* 10 (*National Galleries of Scotland*), no. 2, at pp. 12-13, discussing the demotic form ἐκ Μελιτέων.

[306] Alternatively, a restoration of γυνή would make her his wife.

[307] Had her father already been a Roman citizen or had she received Roman citizenship together with him, we would expect him to have been designated with at least two names (both the nomen gentile and cognomen). Even if we suppose that Claudius was abbreviated Κλ., then space for just a single letter would remain.

(awarded by the Council and People); *IG* II^2 4043 (awarded by the Areopagos, the Council and the People).[308]

Two aspects of the text allow us to date this inscription in the period from the mid-first century AD to the early second century AD. The nomen Claudia implies a date in or after the reign of the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD; cf. Byrne 2003, 11); see Byrne, *RCA* 169 Claudius 207i-ii; and the Council of 600 remained in this form until its reformation and classicising reversion to a membership of 500 in 124/5 AD.

Fig. 26. **26** (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

[308] For honours for females in the first and second centuries AD, see Siekierka, Stebnicka, Wolicki nos. 37-74.

27 HERM COMMEMORATING A WARD OF HERODES ATTICUS. BM 1816,0610.382. Elgin collection (cf. sect. 1). Fragment of a white marble block, complete on both sides and at rear but broken at top and bottom; the left-hand face is also badly worn. Beneath the inscription is preserved relief of male genitalia. H. 0.205, w. 0.305, th. 0.165. Plain, non-cursive letters, without serifs; hyperextended vertical of phi. L. h. 0.022-0.024 (phi: 0.049).

Eds. *CIG* 1033 (from Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 55; (*IG* III 812; *IG* II^2 3976).

Cf. Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II 168; Smith, *Sculpture* III no. 2139. Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. In store. *Fig*. 27.

ca. 150-180 AD

[- - - - - - -]
τ̣ρ̣όφιμον
Phallus

1 [τὸν] τρόφιμον Boeckh (*CIG*); [τὸν ἑαυτοῦ] τρόφιμον Dittenberger (*IG* III). Only traces of the verticals of the tau and rho are legible, but -οφιμον (which is very clear) could not be preceded by any other letters.

. . . Foster-child
Phallus

This object was initially thought by its modern editors to be a funerary monument: Boeckh classified it as such in *CIG*; Ellis, in his early catalogue of the Elgin Marbles, placed it in his section on "Sepulchral Urns", but also suggested that it might be a "votive offering" (Ellis, *Elgin Marbles* II 168).[309] In fact (for reasons we discuss further below) it is probable that this monument was indeed erected as a posthumous commemoration. The sculpted genitals beneath the inscription, however, show that its physical form was that of a herm (as Hicks correctly noted).

Herms frequently took the form of a quadrangular marble pillar, with tenons on its sides and a phallus on its front, which supported a bust (though in this case there are no traces of tenons and the upper section of the monument is not preserved). Herms sometimes supported representations of deities,[310] but could serve also as bases for representations of historical (e.g. *Agora* XVIII H443-46) and contemporary notables (e.g. athletes: *IG* II^3 4, 578; politicians: *IG* II^3 4, 42; religious officials: *Agora* XVIII A10) sometimes with individualised portraits of the honorands. By the Imperial period, they were regularly used

[309] Cic. *De Leg*. 2.26.64-65 claims that herms could be used as grave markers, a claim which might have influenced these early editors. There are no clear examples of this practice, however, and it seems likely that Cicero is using the word "herm" imprecisely or inaccurately (Osborne 1985, 48).
[310] In the case of *Agora* XVIII C388 the bust is not extant, but the content of the inscription makes it clear that it depicted Hermes. Pausanias (1.19.2) noted a Herm representing Aphrodite.

as honorific monuments for ephebes and their officials, and are also deployed as commemorations for prematurely-deceased ephebes.[311]

One sub-group of this last category of herm is a set of monuments erected by Herodes Atticus. Herodes was the most powerful and wealthy man in second-century AD Athens, perhaps best known for funding major construction projects in the city, but also deeply embedded in the political and cultural life of Athens and Attica. (His career is discussed in more detail in *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), pp. 114-16.) Herodes raised in his household a number of adopted children, known as *trophimoi:* "wards" or "foster-sons".[312] According to Philostratos of Athens, when three of Herodes' favourites – Achilles, Polydeukes (also known as Polydeukion), and Memnon – died at a young age,[313] he set up a large number of monuments commemorating them, "some in his shrubberies, others in the fields, others by springs or in the shade of plane-trees, not hidden away, but inscribed with execrations on any one who should pull down or move them" (*Vit. Soph*. 2.559, tr. Wright). Twenty-seven of these monuments are extant (or partially extant), of which at least fifteen are herms (not including the current inscription).[314]

The case for associating this inscription with that group of commemorative monuments rests primarily on its only extant word: τ̣ρ̣όφιμον. "Trophimos" is a common personal name (the *Athenian Onomasticon* lists 92 individuals with this name, all attested in the 1st-3rd centuries AD), and names of human honorands on statue bases do often appear in the accusative case.[315] However, as Matthaeus Heil points out to us, there are no extant parallels of inscribed Athenian herms bearing single names in the accusative. It is more likely therefore that this is the accusative form of the noun ὁ τρόφιμος. This term is used by Philostratos (*Vit. Soph.* 2.559) to describe the young men cultivated by Herodes.[316] It also appears in two of the extant commemorative monuments which Herodes set up for Polydeukion: *I Rhamnous* 159 ("… [εὐμε]νῆ καὶ ἀΐμνηστον τὸν [τρό]φιμον": ll. 10-12) and *F.Delphes* III 3, 73 ("τὸν ἑαυτο[ῦ τρόφιμον]"), and could be used to support a hypothetical restoration of the British Museum monument ("[τὸν ἑαυτοῦ] τρόφιμον", suggested by Dittenberger in *IG* III).

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[311] Commemorative use of herms in Athens during the Roman period, see *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), nos. 6, 15, 16 with commentary. Herms bearing honorific inscriptions for ephebes and ephebic officials: see de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12. For the view that these monuments implicitly compared ephebic officials to Hermes, see Krumeich 2008, 138-39.

[312] On Herodes' *trophimoi*, and their representation in literary and material sources, see Tobin, 95-109.

[313] On the date of these deaths, see below.

[314] The monuments with curses are collected at *IG* II^2 13188-13208, re-edited with additional monuments by Tobin, 113-60; for two further examples, see *SEG* 56.309; Knoepfler 2018. Not included in the total of twenty-seven known monuments are two monuments commemorating Herodes' wife Regilla, which include the same set of protective curses (*IG* II^2 13200; *IGUR* III 1155).

[315] Ma, 49-55.

[316] As de Lisle notes (*AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), p. 188), the term τρόφιμος carries implications of philosophical and cultural education which might have been particularly appealing to Herodes: it was used to refer to non-citizens enrolled in the Spartan educational system (Xen. *Hell*. 5.3.9) and the young men trained as philosopher-kings in Plato's *Republic* (520d).

Other aspects of the monument provide further support for associating it with commemoration of a ward. As already noted, the herm is used as the commemorative form for the monuments for all three *trophimoi*. The view of Hermes as a deity of prosperity (Homeric Hymn 18 *To Hermes*), his association with foundlings (Menander, *Epit*. 284) and pedagogy (*IG* II^3 4, 1354 is a dedication of the imperial period by a *paidagogos* to Hermes Hegemon) may be relevant here. The presence of a phallus on the monument is of course in part a continuation of the traditional form of the sculpted herm,[317] but might also have been thought particularly appropriate in an ephebic context, given the wider nexus of associations between ephebes, athletics, nudity and pederasty. The inscription, like that on *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 15 (the herm for Polydeukion), may have emphasised the association between the ephebic establishment and a youth recruited into it.[318] Although the very incomplete state of our example does not allow for close physical comparison with Herodes' other commemorative herms, it might be significant that its width (ca. 30 cm) is very similar to other, better-preserved examples.[319] The lettering on our inscription is also comparable to that of other monuments in this group, particularly the distinctive hyper-extended phi, which appears also on the Ashmolean herm for Polydeukion and on the Rhamnousian statue-base mentioned above.

As Philostratos noted, a characteristic feature of Herodes' monuments for his *trophimoi*, absent from the extant part of our inscription, is a curse (or set of curses), threatening anyone who destroyed or damaged the stone.[320] However, it is entirely possible that one or more curses were inscribed on a now-lost part of the monument (perhaps, as in the Ashmolean example, below the phallus); it is also possible, though perhaps less likely, that a curse was never present (two of Herodes' other commemorative herms appear to lack any curse).[321] Another possible argument against associating this inscription with Herodes Atticus is the fact that the majority of the other examples with known find-spots derive from the countryside of Attica; they are particularly associated with locations in which Herodes is known to have had estates – something which is consistent with Philostratos' claim that the monuments were set up in rustic locations.[322] The findspot of this inscription is unknown, but the majority of Elgin's collection derived from central Athens (cf. **section 1**). However, it is not impossible either that this fragment could have been moved to Athens from elsewhere in Attica, or that Elgin could have acquired it at another location. On balance, then, we suggest that this is likely to be part of a commemorative herm set up by Herodes Atticus for one of his three favourite *trophimoi*.

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[317] On the significance of the phallus in herms of the Archaic and Classical periods, see Osborne 1985, 55 (rejecting the view that the phallus should be seen as simply apotropaic).

[318] The same theme appears in the inscription on a herm now at the Ashmolean commemorating a prematurely deceased ephebe (*AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 16).

[319] For example, *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 15: 28 cm; *IG* II^2 13192: 27 cm; *IG* II^2 13198: 29 cm.

[320] These curses are well preserved on the Ashmolean herm: *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 15, lines 5-40; see commentary there for discussion and comparanda.

[321] *IG* II^2 3971, a herm commemorating Polydeukion; *IG* II^2 3977, a herm commemorating Achilles (although in this case it is possible that a curse has been erased from the lower part of the monument).

[322] See the convenient table of findspots in Knoepfler 2018, Fig. 8. Of examples found outside Attica, one derives from Eva-Loukou in Arcadia and two from Euboea.

If that is correct, then the monument should be dated to the third quarter of the second century AD (a date which is also compatible with its style of lettering). Polydeukion's date of death is disputed, but it was not much earlier than 157/8 AD,[323] and it is generally thought that Achilles and Memnon died a short time later.[324] Herodes' own death, in either 177 or 179, would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the monument.

Fig. 27. **27** (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

[323] Funeral games for Polydeukion are recorded in *IG* II^2 3968, in the archonship of Dionysios; this archonship is variously dated to 157/8, 159/60, 173/4 or 174/5: see *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), p. 116 for discussion and further references.

[324] *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), p. 117, following the chronology established by Ameling, II 25-27; but cf. the note of caution in Tobin, 145-47.

10. APPENDIX

APPENDIX SAILORS SET UP A THANK-OFFERING TO APOLLO TARSIOS. BM 1816,0610.174. Elgin collection. Gallipoli? (cf. sect. 1). Base of white marble, right side and rough-cut back preserved. H. 0.380 (to top of inscribed face), 0.440 (to the highest part of the object); w. 0.34; th. 0.174. Plain lettering, not obviously Attic in style, without serifs, thickly and deeply cut especially in l. 1, compressed at the ends of lines; slightly more spaced in the final line. L. h. 0.011.

Eds. *CIG* I 495 (from Osann, Mueller, Ross); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 59 (*IG* III 236 (Dittenberger); *IG* II^2 3003 (Kirchner); Schörner 2003, no. 242); *IG* II^3 4, 949 (Curbera, ph. squeeze).

Cf. Walbank, 190. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. In store. *Figs.* 28.1, 28.2.

2nd-1st cent. BC

[– –$^{c.10}$– – Μ]ατρίνιος Τίτο[υ υἱὸς]
[μετ' Ἀσκληπ]ιοδώρου τοῦ Μ̣[–] ,
[. . .^{6}. . .]υ τοῦ Σωσθένου, ᾽Α̣φηγο[υμε]-
[νοῦ?] κ̣αὶ Ἀσκ<λ>ηπιάδου τῶν Ματρ[ινίου],
[ο]ἱ̣ συνπλέοντες ναῦται Ἀπόλλ[ωνι]
Ταρσίῳ ᾽ χαριστήριον.

Rest. Curbera after Dittenberger || 1 in. E.g. [ὁ ναύκληρος] Curbera, fin. Τίτο[ς ὑπὲρ] Hicks (sic) || 2 in. Curbera ([καὶ Ἀσκληπ]ιοδώρου Kirchner), fin. Liddel and Low, reading the left part of a mu (τοῦ I / Curbera). Μ̣[ατρινίου] is possible, but would sit uneasily with τῶν Ματρ[ινίου] in 4 || 4 ΑΣΚΑΗΠΙΑΔΟΥ stone.

[E.g. The ship-owner] Matrinios son of Titus | with Asklepiodoros son of M-, | - son of Sosthenes, Aphegoumenos | and Asklepiades (the servants?) of Matrinios | (5) sailors voyaging together, to Apollo | Tarsios a thank-offering.

Previous scholarship has identified this dedication as Athenian. Boeckh did not explain his reasons for doing so, but it may have been an inference from its provenance in the Elgin collection. However, as we note in **section 1**, this inscription is identifiable from Hunt's account as a dedication acquired for Elgin at Gallipoli, which by the early nineteenth century had become a gathering point of inscriptions from across Asia Minor.[325] The absence of other attestations of the cult of Apollo Tarsios from Attica,[326] along with the inscription's lack of other distinctively Attic features, makes it unlikely that it originated from Athens.

The inscription is a thank-offering made by a group of sailors, apparently headed by Matrinios,[327] who has tentatively been identified as a ship-owner by Curbera. As currently restored the text attests to perhaps four other individuals, whose relationship to Matrinios

[325] See Robert 1966.
[326] For attestations of the cult in Western Asia Minor, see below.
[327] Traill, *PAA* 635790; Byrne, *RCA*, 355-56 s.v. Matrinius.

can only be speculatively worked out. Walbank (190 n. 5) viewed this inscription as a genealogy covering six generations; Curbera's replacement of previous editors' καὶ (l. 2) with μετ' makes this less plausible. The remains of a mu at the end of the legible section of l. 2 implies that Asklepiodoros was "of M-"; the next individual, whose name is lost, was "of Sosthenes" (l. 3). We have interpreted "of M-" and "of Sosthenes" as patronymics, but they could equally be the names of slave-owners.[328] At ll. 3-4, Curbera's suggestion (*IG* II^3 *ap*. *crit*.) is that Aphegoumenos and Asklepiades τῶν Ματρ[ινίου] are his *domestici* (that is, personal slaves); others have regarded them as his sons. We follow Curbera's suggestion and therefore propose that Aphegoumenos and Asklepiades were Matrinios' slaves but that he was accompanied by two other men ("Asklepiodoros son of M-" and "- son of Sosthenes") who may have been free.

Matrinios is the Roman nomen Matrinius (see Byrne, *RCA*, s.v., with parallels), and in l. 1 M]ατρίνιος Τίτο[υ υἱὸς] is the normal way of rendering a Roman nomen + filiation in Greek (see, e.g., *IG* VII 2225 line 1). The absence of cognomen is indicative of date (see below). Cicero (*For Cornelius Balbus,* 48) refers to a man with the same praenomen + nomen combination, Titus Matrinius, who had been granted the freedom of Spoletum (which was still a Latin colony in Italy in 95 BC according to Cicero). In the absence of other indications of a connection, the possibility that our Matrinios was son of Cicero's Titus Matrinius is remote; however, it seems plausible that they were both members of the *gens* of the Matrinii and both favoured the praenomen Titus. The gap at the start of l.1 means we cannot know if Matrinios used his father's nomen as a single name, or if the inscription originally also recorded his praenomen.[329]

Groups of sailors frequently came together in the Greek world to make dedications or even to pass decrees.[330] Voyages by sea were perilous and success depended on the good will of the gods. Hence there was good reason to offer a dedication as a thank-offering for a successful voyage.[331] Hicks suggested that this inscription was a thank-offering set up by sailors who had escaped shipwreck; they made the dedication to Apollo Tarsios on the grounds that they had travelled, at first across land then over sea, from a city called Tarsos.[332] Apollo Tarsios is attested in a number of locations in Western Asia Minor: see *TAM* V.1.195, a dedication to Apollo Tarsios set up by a certain Pleuratos at Davala on the

[328] For slaves lacking patronymics and identified with their masters' names in the genitive case, see Lewis, 41 n. 48.

[329] If Matrinios used his father's nomen as a single Greek name then it is possible that he used it as a *peregrinus* (a free subject of the Roman Empire who was not a citizen): see Balzat's discussion of the *nomina nuda*: Balzat, 218.

[330] E.g. in *I Rhamnous* 31 sailors (οἱ συνπλεύσαντες) honour a certain Menandros: see Constantakopoulou 218 n. 28. Other examples of dedications by sailors include *I Délos* 2128 and 2401, made ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοϊζομένων πάντων, and *IG* XII 4, 566-67, made by Milesian sailors to Apollo Didymeos Soter on Cos.

[331] For dedications by sailors who survived perilous seas, see van Straten, 96-97. Cicero, *De natura deorum* III.89, records an anecdote about the quantity of dedications at the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace thanking the gods for rescuing sailors from the violence of storms. Gabrielsen, 109 notes examples of Rhodian sailors commemorating successes.

[332] There are two cities known to have been called Tarsos, one in Bithynia and another in Cilicia (as *BNP*, s.v. Tarsos) and it is ambiguous which of them this inscription relates to.

Hermos river in Lydia. The cult is well known in the first century AD and later in Phrygia and Lydia: see, for instance, *SEG* 38.1229, 1232 and *SEG* 47.1184; *TAM* V.1.196-97, 240, 448, 460; Herrmann and Malay nos. 66 and 81. Related cults known from across the Greek world include Apollo *Tarsenos*; Meter *Tarsene*; Theos *Tarsios*.[333]

As Curbera comments in his *IG* II^3 edition, "Litteratura et **cognomen absens** (v. 1) aetatem definiunt": in other words, the use of the nomen Matrinius without a cognomen helps determine the date, given that this is a feature of earlier use of Roman names in Greece, before they were fully understood and became widespread.[334] We are grateful to Curbera for clarifying, *per e-epistulam*, his view, on these grounds, that the date of the monument is likely to be 2nd-1st century BC.

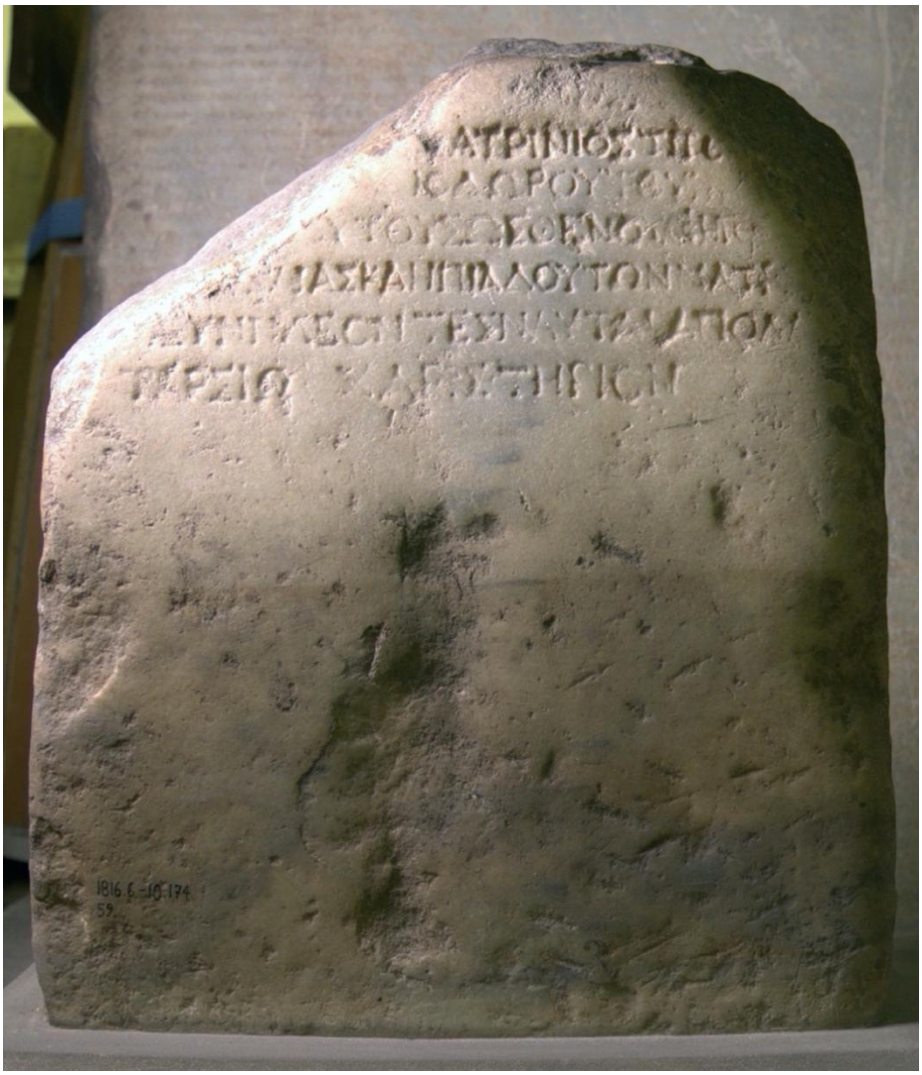

Fig. 28.1. **Appendix** (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

[333] See *Base de Données des Epiclèses Grecques* (online resource).

[334] The emergence of the Roman naming system in Greece generally follows this pattern: first praenomen alone, then praenomen and nomen, with the cognomen added in the 2nd to 1st centuries BC, then later the nomen unicum. See Solin 1974, 108 and 1991.

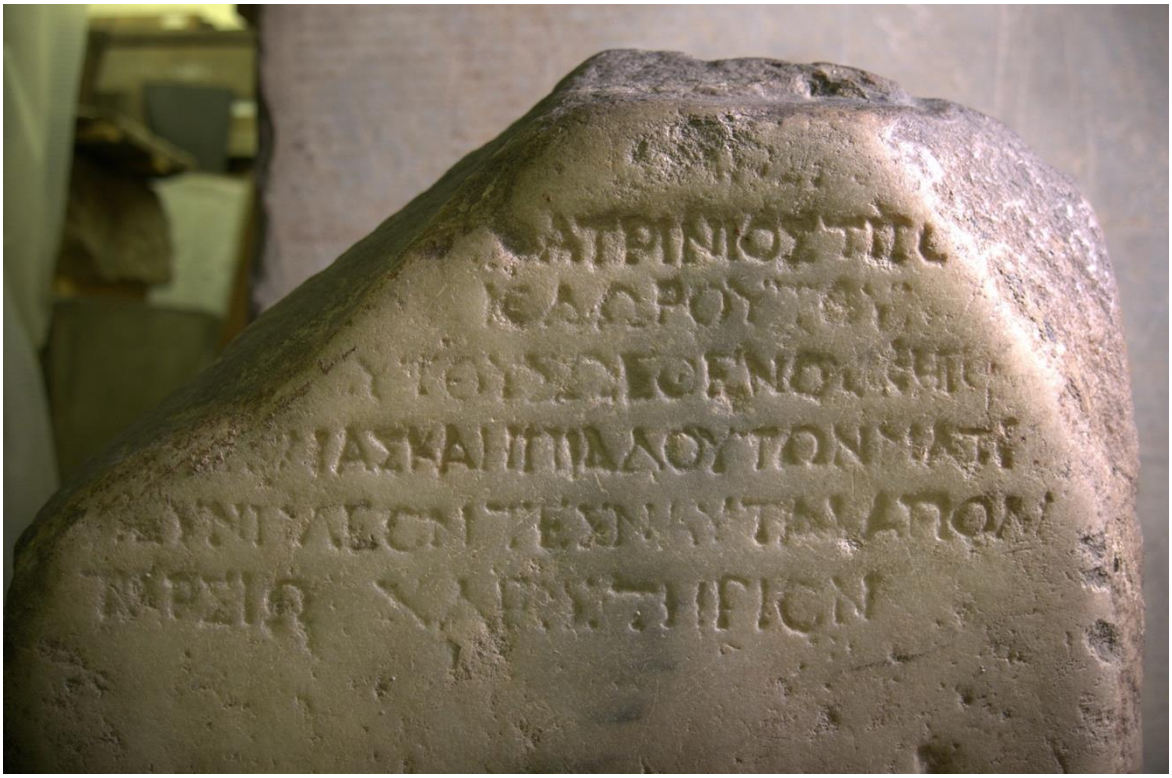

Fig. 28.2. **Appendix**: detail of inscribed area (Photo: Julian Lambert). © Trustees of the British Museum.

CONCORDANCE WITH PRINCIPAL CORPORA

AIUK 4.5	*GIBM*	*IG* II	*IG* III	*IG* II^2	*IG* II^3, 4
1	I 51	1179		2828	230
2	I 16				
3	I 134				167
4	I 41	1221		2974	331
5					349
6	I 40	1227		3001	401
7	I 42		123	3164	423
8	I 57		162	4771	1130
9	IV 1151	Add. 1527b		4556	942
10	I 81		1445	4513	836
11					1167
12	IV 945			4875	1468
13	I 67		155	4804	1255
14	I 66		154	4803	1272
15	I 65		153	4802	1271
16	I 68		156	4805	1256
17	I 69		149	4799	1275
18	I 63		151	4801	1259
19	I 64		142	4806	1257
20	I 52		150	4800	1270
21	I 70		237	4807	1273
22	I 61		148	4798	1266
23	I 60		147	4766	1241
24	I 52		693	3640	
25	I 56	1398		3838	
26	I 54		891	4044	
27	I 55		812	3976	
Appendix	I 59		236	3003	949