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PREFACE

Chatsworth in Derbyshire includes among its extensive collection of ancient and modern art and sculpture a small number of Attic inscriptions. These inscriptions are interesting in their own right; building on foundations laid by previous editors (particularly Boschung et al.), we have been able to improve not only the texts, but also our understanding of all three inscriptions in their respective original historical contexts. The fact that these inscriptions form part of such a large, diverse, and unusually long-lived private collection means that they also offer a quite distinctive example of the collection and display of inscriptions in the United Kingdom; and their post-antique history usefully illustrates the way in which attitudes to the value and significance of these objects can shift over time.

We are grateful to the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement for permission to study these inscriptions, and to the staff at Chatsworth, particularly Charles Noble (Curator of Fine Art) and Aidan Haley (Assistant Archivist and Librarian), for their invaluable advice and assistance. We are indebted, once more, to Stephen Lambert for his careful scrutiny and perceptive suggestions, to Peter Thonemann for his very helpful comments, and to the AIO Advisory Board (particularly S. Douglas Olson and P. J. Rhodes). We would also like to thank the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the Archaeological Institute of the University of Cologne for granting us permission to reproduce Mr R. Laev's photographs of the Chatsworth inscriptions (originally published in Boschung et al.), and the Country Life Picture Library for permission to reproduce their image of the "Lodge of Fragments". The cover for this volume (as for previous volumes in this series) was designed by Hugh Griffiths; it is a pleasure to express our thanks to him.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

Agora XXXV: J. B. Grossman, *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*. Volume XXXV. *Funerary Sculpture* (2013)

Alexandridis: A. Alexandridis, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses: eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna* (2004)

Athenian Onomasticon: S. Byrne, *Athenian Onomasticon*. Online: <http://www.seangb.org/> [accessed: 11/08/19]

Benario: H. W. Benario, “Julia Domna: Mater Senatus et Patriae”, *Phoenix* 12, 1958, 67-70

Blunt: A. Blunt, *Treasures from Chatsworth: The Devonshire Inheritance* (1979)

Boschung et al.: D. Boschung, H. von Hesberg, A. Linfert, *Monumenta Artis Romanae XXII: Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth sowie in Dunham Massey und Withington Hall* (1997)

Burckhardt: L. A. Burckhardt, *Bürger und Soldaten. Aspekte der politischen und militärischen Rolle athenischer Bürger im Kriegswesen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1996)

Chatsworth: D. Freeman-Mitford Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, *Chatsworth: the House* (2002)

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

Clinton 1997: K. Clinton, “Eleusis and the Romans: Late Republic to Marcus Aurelius” in M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff eds., *The Romanization of Athens* (1997), 161-81

Clinton, *ANRW*: K. Clinton, “The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors, Second Century B.C. to A.D. 267”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.18.2 (1989), 1499-539

Conze: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 4 vols (1890-1922)

Dillon: S. Dillon, *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World* (2010)

Erdas: D. Erdas, “What Laws Applied to Guarantors? Epigraphic Evidence for Legal Procedure Affecting Personal Security in Athens and Beyond”, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 5, 2018, 333-57

Fejfer: J. Fejfer, “The Portraits of the Severan Empress Julia Domna: a New Approach”, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 14, 1985, 129-38

Follet: S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: études chronologiques et prosopographiques* (1976)

Friend: J. Friend, *The Athenian Ephebeia in the Fourth Century BCE* (2019)

Furtwängler: A. Furtwängler, “Ancient Sculptures at Chatsworth House”, *JHS* 21, 1901, 209-28

Garden: D. Freeman-Mitford Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, *The Garden at Chatsworth* (1999)

Gardner: E. A. Gardner, “Inscriptions Copied by Cockerell in Greece”, *JHS* 6, 1885, 143-52

- Gauthier: P. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (1972)
- Geagan, *ANRW*: D. Geagan, “Roman Athens: Some Aspects of Life and Culture I. 86 B.C. – A.D. 267”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.7.1 (1979), 371-437
- Graindor: P. Graindor, *Marbres et textes antiques d'époque impériale* (1922)
- Grossman: J. B. Grossman, “Forever Young: an Investigation of the Depictions of Children on Classical Attic Funerary Monuments”, in A. Cohen and J. B. Rutter eds., *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy. Hesperia Supplement* 14 (2007), 309-22
- Guilding: R. Guilding, *Owning the Past. Why the English Collected Antique Sculpture, 1640-1840* (2014)
- Hagemajer Allen: K. Hagemajer Allen, “Becoming the ‘Other’: Attitudes and Practices at Attic Cemeteries”, in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke eds., *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration* (2003), 207-36
- Handbook*: W. Spencer Cavendish, Sixth Duke of Devonshire, *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick* (1845)
- Hansen: M. H. Hansen, *The Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes: Structure, Principles and Ideology* (1991)
- Heil: M. Heil, “Clodius Albinus und der Bürgerkrieg von 197” in H.-U. Wiemer ed., *Staatlichkeit und politisches Handeln in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2006), 55-85
- Kettenhofen: E. Kettenhofen, *Die syrischen Augustae in der historischen Überlieferung: ein Beitrag zum Problem der Orientalisierung* (1979)
- Koumanoudes: S. Koumanoudes, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφῶν Ἐπιτύμβιοι (1871)
- Lambert 2006: S. D. Lambert, “Athenian State Laws and Decrees, 352/1-322/1: III Decrees Honouring Foreigners. A. Citizenship, Proxeny and Euergesy”, *ZPE* 158, 115-58
- Lees-Milne: J. Lees-Milne, *The Bachelor Duke. A Life of William Spencer Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire, 1790-1858* (1991)
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- Lewis: D. M. Lewis, “The Rights of Aliens”, *CR* n.s. 25, 1975, 262-63
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- Marshall: J. Marshall, *Royal Naval Biography. Supplement, Part 3* (1829)
- Montalbo: E. Montalbo, “I motivi della dinastia e dell'esercito nella monetazione di Giulia Domna” in E. dal Covolo and G. Rinaldi eds., *Gli imperatori Severi: storia, archeologia, religione* (1999), 343-46
- Oakley: J. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens. The Evidence of the White Lekythoi* (2004)
- Oliver: J. H. Oliver, “Julia Domna as Athena Polias”, in *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology Suppl.* 1 (1940), 521-530
- Osborne: R. G. Osborne, *Demos. The Discovery of Classical Attica* (1985)
- PIR*²: L. Petersen ed., *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III*, 2nd edn, Part IV, Fasc. 3 (1966)
- Posamentir: R. Posamentir, *Bemalte attische Grabstelen klassischer Zeit* (2006)

- Proukakis: A. M. Proukakis, “The Evolution of the Attic Marble Lekythoi and their Relation to the Problem of Identifying the Dead among the Figures Shown on the Funerary Reliefs”, PhD Thesis, University of London (1971)
- Rhodes: P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (1981)
- Schmaltz: B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (1970)
- SEMA: Συμπλήρωμα τῶν ἐπιτυμβίων μνημείων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, eds. V. N. Bardani and G. K. Papadopoulos (2006)
- Smith: A. H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and his Collection”, *JHS* 36, 1916, 163-372
- Stroud and Stroud: H. C. Stroud and R. S. Stroud, “The Empress Julia Domna at Epidauros Limera”, *ZPE* 105, 1995, 85-88
- Stukely: W. Stukely, *Itinerarium Curiosum; or, An Account of the Antiquities, and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art, Observed in Travels through Great Britain*. 2 vols. 2nd edition (1776)
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ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS AT CHATSWORTH

Chatsworth House, the Derbyshire seat of the Dukes of Devonshire, is home to one of the most important and extensive private collections in the United Kingdom, encompassing art, sculpture, ceramics, textiles, jewellery, books, and – most importantly for the purposes of this paper – at least two, possibly three, Attic inscriptions. To understand how those inscriptions came to be in Derbyshire, it will be helpful to start by sketching the wider history of the collection of antiquities at Chatsworth.

The origins of the Chatsworth collection as a whole can be traced back to the sixteenth century, but it is the Second Duke of Devonshire (1672-1729) who is credited with bringing the first Greek and Roman antiquities to the house: his collection included ancient coins, and Greek and Roman gems.¹ Even more important is the contribution of the Sixth Duke of Devonshire (the “Bachelor Duke”; 1790-1858). He was a passionate collector of ancient and (particularly) contemporary sculpture (as well as books, stones, and rare plants);² he also transformed both the house and garden at Chatsworth, creating, among other things, the “Lodge of Fragments”, or West Lodge (*Fig. 1*). This modestly-sized room, located just by the Porter’s Lodge at the gateway to the house, held around 100 objects which the Duke regarded as “exceedingly interesting to me”.³ These included items which he had collected himself, as well as pieces given to him by friends and relations; they were primarily, although not exclusively, ancient (deriving from Greece, Rome and the Near East).⁴ The Sixth Duke also constructed a more formal Sculpture Gallery in the North wing of the house, but later explained that it “was intended for

¹ Blunt, 18. Some “antique marbles” were part of the collection by 1776 (when they were seen by William Stukely: see below, p. 2), but it is not clear when they came to Chatsworth.

² On the Sixth Duke’s collections of modern sculpture (particularly the works of Canova), see Yarrington, Lees-Milne, 55-57, Blunt, 19-20. On his books: Lees-Milne, 23-24. On his fondness for stone: *Chatsworth*, 126 (which quotes the Sixth Duke’s reflections on the impact of his visit to Rome in 1819: “the love of marble possesses most people like a new sense”: *Handbook*, 80); Yarrington, 44 (emphasising that the Duke’s interests in marble were geological, and even commercial, as well as aesthetic). On his “horticultural mania”: Lees-Milne, 114-15. An extensive collection of ancient coins, the product of an early bout of collecting enthusiasm, was sold in 1844 (to fund drainage work at Chiswick House: Lees-Milne, 23) and is now in the British Museum. A vivid sense of the combined effect of the Duke’s various collections can be obtained from the German art-historian Gustav Waagen’s description of his visits to Chatsworth in 1835 and 1850: “with a mind quite engrossed with the splendours which art, nature, and science have united in Chatsworth, I left this princely residence with no little admiration for the elevation of mind and fine moral cultivation of the nobleman who has called all this into existence” (Waagen 1854, 370).

³ *Handbook*, 156.

⁴ *Handbook*, 150-56 gives a (self-confessedly incomplete) catalogue of items held in the Lodge; a more recent summary of its contents notes that it “includes the legacy of his [the Sixth Duke’s] stepmother’s interest in Roman excavations, gifts from friends and relations, and souvenirs of his own travels among which are many pieces given to him from Canova’s studio after the sculptor’s death” (*Chatsworth*, 207). For a discussion of the creation of the “Lodge of Fragments”, see Guilding, 292-95 (with illustrations in plates 274-78), who argues that its less formal setting allowed the Sixth Duke to construct a particularly personal, even sentimental, assemblage of material: “the random juxtapositions in this picturesque *mélange* allowed association and memory to operate freely” (295).

modern sculpture, and I have almost entirely abstained from mixing with it any fragments of antiquity: it was vain to hope for time or opportunities of collecting really fine ancient marbles” (*Handbook*, 87-88).⁵ Those ancient pieces which were displayed in the Sculpture Gallery seem mostly to have been chosen because of the interesting (in the Duke’s eyes) qualities of their marble: for example, a “small column of Verde antico” from the Acropolis of Athens (*Handbook*, 96) or two half-columns “of Cipollino and Coralline breccia” from Melos (*Handbook*, 97). Ancient works were also used as decorative elements in the Duke’s re-landscaping of Chatsworth’s grounds: column drums from the temple of Poseidon at Sounion were re-used as a base for a bust of the Duke (*Handbook*, 180-81; Boschung et al. no. 121), and two inscriptions (the statue-base for Julia Domna (2), and an altar from Melos, now lost) were also set up in the garden of the house (*Handbook*, 181).⁶

Subsequent holders of the Dukedom have continued to add to the collection (typically, however, with greater focus on contemporary works than on antiquities), though its growth has not been unbroken. Several items were disposed of in the straitened financial situation which affected the estate after the death of the Tenth Duke in 1950,⁷ and some items (including the inscription we discuss in the **Appendix**) have been either lost or given away in more recent years.

The very richness of the house’s collections might help to explain why the antiquities held there have only relatively recently been catalogued comprehensively. The first hint of the presence of ancient sculpture and inscriptions at Chatsworth comes in Richard Stukely’s *Itinerarium Curiosum* of 1776, which noted the presence there of “several antique marbles”, including two Roman inscriptions.⁸ In 1838, a list of the “Marbles, Bronzes and Fragments at Chatsworth” was drawn up by the sculptor Richard Westmacott; in the same year, Gustav Waagen published his account of his visit to Chatsworth (made in 1835), which provided a detailed (though not complete) description of the house’s collections, focussing particularly on the modern sculpture and art.⁹ This was followed in 1845 by the Sixth Duke’s *Handbook to Chatsworth*, an idiosyncratic, and very personal, guide to the house and its contents, written in the form of a letter to his

⁵ For a detailed analysis of the design (and contents) of the Sculpture Gallery, see Yarrington.

⁶ Other antiquities (including a non-Attic Greek inscription, *SEG* 47.2212) were built into a wall at the north end of the garden (near the Stables): Boschung et al., Abb. 1; the Sixth Duke dwells on the combination of flowers (a “yellow China rose”, wisteria, magnolia) and antiquities in this location (*Handbook*, 160). Two statues of Sekhmet (from the Temple of Mut at Karnak) were initially set up by the Sixth Duke in the Rose Garden (*Handbook*, 162), before being moved first to a location above the tennis courts (“like line judges at Wimbledon”, Vermeule 1999, 167), and then inside the house (*Treasures*, 64).

⁷ These include the “Chatsworth Head” (BM 1958,0418.1, a bronze head of Apollo, from Cyprus), which was passed to the British Museum in lieu of death duties.

⁸ Stukely, II 26.

⁹ Waagen 1838, 432-53; the only ancient work which he mentions is a marble head, probably of Alexander the Great, extensively restored and supplemented with modern sculpture (Waagen 1838, 448; Boschung et al. no. 47). The English edition of Waagen’s work includes additional notes from a second visit, made in 1850; these focus on the “improvements” made to Chatsworth’s gardens (Waagen 1854, 369-70), but do note some further ancient works (some “tasteful Roman cinerary urns”, Waagen 1854, 368), as well as a pair of bronze greyhounds, misidentified as ancient (Waagen 1854, 367).

older sister Harriet. The *Handbook* contains a catalogue of the contents of the “Lodge of Fragments” (based on Westmacott’s list, and, the Duke notes, not updated to reflect acquisitions made since then: *Handbook*, 150); it also provides vivid descriptions (including details of provenance) of some – but unfortunately not all – of the antiquities located elsewhere in the house and gardens.



Fig. 1. The “Lodge of Fragments” (or West Lodge), Chatsworth.
© Country Life (CL 07/06/2001). Photograph: Paul Barker.

Michaelis, the great chronicler of antiquities in Great Britain, included Chatsworth in his study of *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, but did not visit the house himself, relying instead on descriptions provided by Waagen and other sources.¹⁰ Furtwängler's 1901 study of "Ancient Sculptures in Chatsworth House" was slightly more extensive, but again not comprehensive (mentioning only one Greek inscription, a grave monument from Macedonia: *IG X 2, 1, 901*). The funerary lekythos (1) was one of the objects listed on an itinerary of a four-day tour of collections of sculpture in English country houses undertaken around the time of the 11th *International Congress of Classical Archaeology* in 1978 (Waywell, 20). Only with the publication of Boschung et al.'s comprehensive catalogue in 1997 could the true extent of the collection of antiquities at Chatsworth fully be appreciated. It was also only at this point that the presence of Attic inscriptions in the collection was properly recognised: the inscriptions on the lekythos (1) and the (possibly) Attic decree (**Appendix**) were published for the first time in this volume. Boschung et al. were also the first to confirm that the statue base for Julia Domna (2), which had been published on the basis of an early transcription, was not in fact lost (as had previously been believed), but had instead been relocated to Derbyshire.

Reconstructing the detailed provenance and acquisition history of individual items in the Chatsworth collection is, therefore, not always entirely straightforward, and this is true for two of the three inscriptions discussed in this paper. In their magisterial survey of the ancient sculptures of Chatsworth, Boschung (et al.) helpfully delineate four principal routes by which antiquities came into the collection: by transfer from other properties once owned by the Dukes of Devonshire (especially Devonshire House in London); by purchase at auction; by personal collection, particularly by the Sixth Duke; and by gifts from friends and relatives.¹¹ This template can usefully be applied to the inscriptions in the collection.

Of the three inscriptions discussed in this paper, one (2) definitely reached Chatsworth by the fourth route: this inscription, a statue base honouring Julia Domna, was given to the Sixth Duke by his half-brother, Sir Augustus Clifford. The base was in Greece, and very probably in Eleusis, when it was seen and transcribed by Charles Cockerell, who included a copy of the text in his unpublished manuscript of *Inscriptions Collected in Greece ... from the year 1810-14*. It is highly likely that it was still in Attica when it was acquired by Clifford, the illegitimate son of the Fifth Duke of Devonshire. From 1821-25, Clifford was Captain of the H.M.S. *Euryalus*, which in 1822 was deployed to the Mediterranean.¹² In a letter written in 1875, Clifford recalled that in 1824 he visited

¹⁰ Michaelis, 276-77 (Michaelis seems not to have had access to the – privately published – *Handbook*, and so does not report on the many antiquities listed in that work). Vermeule offered some brief corrections and supplements to Michaelis' account, but (like Michaelis and Waagen) did not comment on the Greek inscriptions in the collection: see Vermeule 1954, 132 (who notes the existence of the lekythos (1), but not that it is inscribed); Vermeule and von Bothmer, 325-26.

¹¹ Boschung et al. pp. 14-16 (their comments focus on the parts of the collection which can be directly linked to the Sixth Duke, but their quadripartite scheme can be more broadly applied). It is worth noting that very little of the Chatsworth collection was acquired on "Grand Tours" undertaken by members of the immediate family (cf., for example, the collections at Lyme Park, or those now in Leeds Museum ([AIUK 5](#) and [6](#))).

¹² Marshall, 80-81.

Melos and Delos, where he collected some “fragments”;¹³ the same letter reports that he spent two weeks in Athens in the same year. Although he does not mention this statue base specifically, it seems reasonable to assume that it was acquired on this visit.¹⁴



Fig. 2. 2, current setting, Chatsworth Garden. Photograph: P. A. Low.

At some point before 1845, Clifford gave the inscription (along with other antiquities which he had collected in Greece) to his half-brother, the Sixth Duke of Devonshire, who placed it in the garden at Chatsworth. The *Handbook* (181) describes its setting: “... we go through a walk on the sides of which the British ferns are collected. Two other monuments from Greece are in this neighbourhood, both given by the same kind contributor [i.e. Augustus Clifford]; one an altar from the island of Milo; the other from Eleusis, containing a municipal inscription”.¹⁵ By the twentieth century the base was thought to have been lost, but it was rediscovered, “smothered in roots, branches and leaves”, during works to the garden carried out in the late 1980s under the supervision of

¹³ These include: from Melos, several architectural elements from the Roman theatre, an altar (now lost), and two half-columns; from Delos, another architectural fragment, a Corinthian capital, and a fragment of mosaic (Boschung et al. p. 16).

¹⁴ CS2/92/19 (letter to the Seventh Duke of Devonshire, 7th October 1875). The only acquisition mentioned in detail in this letter is “the head of a young man... much injured” (this is in fact a female portrait-head, probably Athenian: Boschung et al. no. 53). Other Athenian antiquities collected by Clifford (presumably on this same voyage) include an uninscribed votive relief (Boschung et al. no. 67) and four column drums from the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (Boschung et al. no. 121). On its return to the United Kingdom in May 1825, the H.M.S. *Euryalus* also conveyed (from Naples) the final shipment of items from Elgin’s collection (Smith, 294); for further discussion of this part of Elgin’s collection, and for the role of the Fifth Duke of Devonshire in providing a temporary home (at Burlington House) for other parts of Elgin’s collection, see Liddel and Low, [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#), Introduction.

¹⁵ The Melian altar is now lost: Boschung et al. p. 16.

Deborah, Duchess of Devonshire;¹⁶ “on it” (she reports) “had been put a headless Victorian statue”.¹⁷ The Duchess decided to move the statue base (without its headless addition) to a location higher in the garden, above the 100 Steps, “to encourage [the visitor] to stop and look west”.¹⁸ The base has since been moved again (ceding its position to a piece of modern sculpture),¹⁹ and now stands at the far south-east boundary of the garden (*Fig. 2*). It is worth noting that, for both the Sixth Duke in the mid-nineteenth century and the Duchess of Devonshire in the late twentieth, the value of the statue-base seems to lie not primarily (or indeed for the Duchess, not at all) in its historical or antiquarian interest, but rather in a belief that the object could ornament and complement the context in which it stood.

The provenance of the other two inscriptions discussed in this paper is uncertain. It is possible that they were collected by the Sixth Duke, who visited Greece (including Athens) in 1839²⁰ and is known to have acquired antiquities there. He was, however, rather pessimistic about both the quality and the quantity of the material available to him by the time of his visit, noting in the *Handbook* (6) that “so little can be got [in Athens] that I became less fastidious”.²¹ But it is equally possible that they came to Chatsworth from some other source.²² The funerary lekythos (1) does not seem to be included in the Sixth Duke’s *Handbook to Chatsworth*, which might suggest that it had not been acquired by the time that work was produced (in 1845) – or at least by the time that Westmacott produced his hand-list of Chatsworth’s antiquities (in 1838). But the *Handbook* is not comprehensive, nor does it always give detailed descriptions of the objects it does mention,²³ an earlier date of acquisition cannot, therefore, be ruled out. Boschung et al. (p.

¹⁶ *Garden*, 138, describing works carried out between 1985 and 1987. The base (misidentified by the Duchess of Devonshire as the Melian altar), thought to be “long since stolen, lost or strayed”, was found above the “Bamboo Walk” (that is, south of the maze).

¹⁷ *Treasures*, 11.

¹⁸ *Garden*, 154.

¹⁹ “Chaos meteor” by Jedd Novatt; on this sculpture, and its display at Chatsworth, see <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2016/beyond-limits-116010/lot.18.html>.

²⁰ Generally on the Sixth Duke’s visit to Athens (which was part of a longer tour, which also included Italy, Malta and Constantinople), see Lees-Milne, 138.

²¹ The scarcity of antiquities in Athens was not just (as the Duke’s remarks might suggest) a consequence of the “best” material already having been collected, but also (and perhaps more especially) a result of the new Kingdom of Greece having passed, in 1834, the first legislation designed to regulate the sale and export of antiquities. (The terms of the law are summarised by Voudouri, 549-50). Nevertheless, some items do seem likely to have been acquired on this visit: a fragment of egg-and-dart moulding from the Erechtheion (Boschung et al. no. 109); perhaps also a relief of Cybele (Boschung et al. no. 64) and a sculpted head, probably from a funerary monument (Boschung et al. no. 79). The head of a metope from the Parthenon (donated to the British Museum by the Sixth Duke, BM 1854,0513.1) may have been acquired at the same time.

²² Of the other two Greek (but non-Attic) inscriptions at Chatsworth, one (*IG X 2, 1, 901*, a grave monument for Herennia Syriska and her son) was acquired in Macedonia by the Sixth Duke’s uncle, George Cavendish (*Handbook*, 114). The other (*SEG 47.2212*, the upper part of a funerary stele, of uncertain provenance) was given to the Sixth Duke by an associate of the British Ambassador at Constantinople (*Handbook*, 160).

²³ The *Handbook* mentions in passing the existence of some “ancient urns [which] have been at Chatsworth ever since I can remember” (24), a description which might conceivably include this

16) suggest that the lekythos might have been collected in Athens by the Sixth Duke, but there is no definitive evidence to support this view. Indeed, the fact that the *Handbook* gives no description of the object might suggest that it was not one of the Sixth Duke's own acquisitions, since he tends to dwell on these in more detail.

No information exists about the provenance of the inscription (now lost) which we discuss in our **Appendix**, nor about how it came to be at Chatsworth. The West Lodge (this inscription's last reported location) was used to house many of the antiquities collected by the Sixth Duke; but, as already noted, it also held objects of varying provenances given to him by friends and relations. The inscription was last seen between 1973 and 1975, when it was photographed as part of the research project of Cologne University's Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik. When Boschung et al. visited Chatsworth in 1990 and 1993, it was reported as lost, and it had not been rediscovered by the time of our visit in 2019.

monument. But these urns were located in the main house, not the "Lodge of Fragments"; since the contents of the Lodge seem to have remained relatively stable since the Sixth Duke's time, we are inclined to conclude that this lekythos is not one of those "ancient urns".

1 FUNERARY LEKYTHOS. Boschung 78. Athens or Attica; findspot unknown. Lekythos of yellow-white marble, with two inscriptions above a sculpted relief depicting three adults and a young child: two adults face each other, clasping hands; between them, a small child runs towards the figure on the left hand side; a smaller adult figure (probably a slave), carrying a small box, stands behind the left-hand adult figure. Inscription A sits above the left side of the scene, over the figure of the slave; Inscription B is to the right, continuing above and behind the figure on the right edge of the scene. The base and neck of the lekythos are lost; its upper parts are worn and discoloured. The surface of the lower part is delaminating and is under conservation. H. 0.489; diameter 0.219. The inscriptions are of different sizes: the lettering of Inscription A is larger than that of Inscription B; the lettering at the start of line 1 of Inscription B appears to be more lightly incised (although this might be a result of later damage). In other respects, the inscriptions are similar in their style of lettering (relatively regular, though with slightly smaller omicrons; slightly square; no serifs), which is compatible with a date in the second or third quarter of the fourth century BC. L. h. 0.0153 (Inscription A); 0.0101 (Inscription B).

Eds. Linfert, in Boschung et al. no. 78 (ph., plates 71, 72.1); Clairmont, *CAT* 3.777 (ph.); (*SEG* 47.245; *SEMA* 297).

Cf. Vermeule 1954, 132; Waywell, 20.

Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. West Lodge. *Figs.* 3, 4, 5, 6.

ca. 375-325 BC

A

Πύρρος
Παγκλέους
Ποτάμιος

B

-τη [ca. 3]σοστράτου
Κεφαλή(θεν)

Relief

A. 1 ΠΥΡΡΟ(Κ)ΛΗΣ Linfert, Πυρρῶδης G. Petzl (in Boschung et al.), Πύρρος Clairmont, Πυρρο(κ)ῆς *SEG* || 2 Παγκλέους G. Petzl (in Boschung et al.), Παγκάσους Clairmont.

B. Clairmont reports seeing ΦΡ in the line above ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ; we could detect no traces of letters in this space. || 1 ...-τη [...]Σωστράτου Clairmont, [Κηφι]σοστράτου Stroud (in *SEG*), Κ[ηφι]σοστράτου Lambert (from photo) || 2 Κεφαλή(θεν) Linfert.

A. Pyrrhos son of Pankles of Potamos.

B. ... -tē (daughter) of –sostratos of Kephālē.

The use of free-standing stone lekythoi as grave markers is attested in Athens from the end of the fifth century, and continues down to the last quarter of the fourth century BC.²⁴ The shape of the Chatsworth lekythos indicates that it belongs to the second quarter of the fourth century or later (when shorter, broader lekythoi replace the taller and slimmer types

²⁴ *Agora* XXXV, pp. 23-24 offers a useful survey of the development of this form of grave marker, with references to the (34) examples found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora; cf. also Lambert, *AIUK* 3 (Fitzwilliam), no. 4. Further examples are collected in the studies of Schmaltz and Proukakis.

characteristic of the late fifth and early fourth centuries); the letter forms of the inscriptions are also compatible with a date in the second or third quarter of the fourth century. Marble lekythoi, whose shape closely resembles that of the ceramic vessels (also called lekythoi) which were closely associated with rituals of death and burial,²⁵ typically formed part of the sculptural decoration of family funerary enclosures (*periboloi*); it is possible, in fact, that they marked the boundaries of these enclosures.²⁶

This lekythos commemorates two individuals, named in the two inscriptions placed above the relief. Unfortunately, neither inscription is easy to read, and some aspects of the relief are also ambiguous.

Both Clairmont and Linfert took the view that Inscription A (*Fig. 4*) was a later addition to the stone, noting its larger and less careful lettering, as well as its rather awkward relationship with the sculpted decoration of the lekythos (discussed further below: pp. 11-12). We agree that the different sizes of the two inscriptions point towards their having been carved at different times, but we are not persuaded that Inscription A is necessarily the later addition, nor that there must have been a substantial time-gap between the creation of the two inscriptions. (There is no significant difference in their styles of lettering.)

The patronymic (son of Pankles) and deme (Potamos) of the man commemorated in Inscription A are clear. There has been more debate about his name, the reading of which is complicated by damage at the end of line 1. Some readers have seen traces of letters in this damaged area, and suggest restoring a longer name: Πυρρόκλης or Πυρρῳδης. This would be a unique attestation of either name.²⁷ Our view is that the damaged area was uninscribed, and that the final visible letter should be read as a sigma; we therefore follow Clairmont in reading the name of the man commemorated in Inscription A as “Pyrrhos”.

Pyrrhos is a relatively common Athenian name (seventy-one instances are listed in the *Athenian Onomasticon*), but Pankles is much rarer. Moreover, the only two other attestations of the name seem to involve members of the same family as our Pyrrhos: a (Pan)kles son of Pyrrhos of Potamos is named in *IG II² 7269* (a fourth-century grave stele, found in Piraeus);²⁸ and a Pyrrhos son of Pankles of Potamos appears alongside his brother Philophon in an ephobic list of 324/3 (*I Orop 353*, lines 52-53). The man

²⁵ Although it seems clear that the stone lekythoi gradually supplanted ceramic vessels (certainly as markers placed outside tombs), the details (including the detailed chronology) of this development are more opaque: for discussion, see Proukakis, 11-16. Generally on ceramic lekythoi in commemorative contexts, see Oakley.

²⁶ *Agora XXXV*, p. 24; Proukakis, 16-18. The function is explicit in *IG I³ 1132*, a lekythos bearing the inscription ὄρος μνήματος (“boundary of the memorial”).

²⁷ *SEG* prints Πυρροκῆς (and this is reproduced in the version of this text on the *PHI* database), but gives no explanation for this reading. Πυρροκῆς is also unattested as a personal name in Greece.

²⁸ It is, unfortunately, impossible to give a more exact date for this inscription, which was first published (without illustration or detailed description) by Koumanoudes (no. 1053) and appears not to have been seen since then. The Piraeus stele might, therefore, be earlier or later than the Chatsworth lekythos.

commemorated on this lekythos could therefore be the father or son of the Pankles commemorated in Piraeus, and the grandfather of the ephebic Pyrrhos.

The person commemorated in Inscription B (*Fig. 5*) was a member of the deme Kephale.²⁹ It seems likely that she was female, since the first two visible letters in this inscription (-τη) are most plausibly interpreted as the end of a female personal name (ca. 152 female names with this ending are attested at Athens).³⁰ The ending of her patronymic is clear,³¹ but “Sostratos” (spelled with an omicron in the first syllable) cannot be a complete personal name: the name is consistently spelled with an omega in Attica.³² The only attested Athenian personal name which might be consistent with the extant letters and letter-traces is Κηφισόστρατος;³³ this cannot be ruled out, but the traces on the stone do not definitely imply an initial kappa, unless (as is possible) the letter was untidily carved. An alternative, also problematic, is Χρυσόστρατος; but this is otherwise attested only in Rhodes and the Rhodian Peraia (e.g. *IG XII 1, 46, 1542*; *IK Rhod. Peraia 151*) and is one letter too short to fit comfortably into the available space. On balance, therefore, we are unwilling to commit to any restoration for this name.

What connects the people commemorated in these two inscriptions? Here, the relief (*Fig. 6*) provides some clues. Four figures are depicted. In the centre of the scene are two standing figures: the one to the left, who wears a *chiton* and a cloak, is female; the figure on the right, also in *chiton* and cloak, might be male (Linfert’s view) or female (Clairmont); the figure’s head is not preserved. (Our view, for reasons we discuss further below, is that the right-hand figure is male.) A smaller female figure stands on the far left of the scene, carrying a small box. This individual seems likely to be a slave; the box, perhaps to be interpreted as a jewellery casket, might be intended to signify the wealth of

²⁹ Linfert suggested that the demotic would originally have been written in full (as Κεφαλήθεν), and that the final three letters (of which there is no trace on the stone) would have been added in paint. For examples of the use of paint to add text to an inscription, see Posamentir nos. 1 (= Clairmont, *CAT* 1.050, Conze 1178), 14 (= *IG II² 12938*), 45, 62, 65, 111 (= Conze 1456a), 136 (= *SEG* 39.1729); cf. also Clairmont, *CAT* 6, p. 123. Of these examples, however, only Posamentir no. 1 seems to combine incised and painted lettering (apparently in distinct texts, rather than as part of the same word). Κεφαλήθεν is certainly the more commonly used form of demotic, but Κεφαλή is also found (e.g. in *IG II² 1631*, lines 128, 474), and abbreviation of demotics is a well-attested practice (see Whitehead). We therefore see no need to assume that painted letters were originally present in this inscription.

³⁰ These figures are derived from the listing of Athenian personal names in the *Athenian Onomasticon*.

³¹ For the interpretation of this name as a patronymic (rather than the name of a husband), see p. 11 below.

³² The name appears with an omicron in a small number of fifth-century inscriptions which use the Attic alphabet (e.g. *IG I³ 311, 357, 476*); but literary texts of the fifth century confirm that the vowel of the first syllable was always long (e.g. Aristophanes *Clouds* 678, *Wasps* 1397, *Thesmo.* 375). The *Athenian Onomasticon* lists 196 attestations of the name.

³³ This name is attested twice, in both instances for an individual from the deme of Besa in Southern Attica: *IG II³ 4, 81*, line 16; *Agora XV 62*, line 337.

the woman depicted;³⁴ alternatively, it might allude to the practice of bringing offerings to the tombs of the dead.³⁵ At the bottom of the scene, between the two central figures, a small naked boy runs towards the female on the left (presumably his mother). Such a scene is uncommon on funerary lekythoi, but not without parallel: a very similar example can be found on an (uninscribed) lekythos from Salamis (Clairmont, *CAT* 3.680), perhaps to be dated to the end of the fifth century.³⁶

On our lekythos, the two central figures greet each other with clasped hands (*dexiosis*): this is a commonplace feature of the iconography of funerary monuments, symbolising a bond (whether familial, or of marriage, or simply of friendship) between two individuals which is unbroken by death.³⁷ The figure on the left is also performing the gesture of unveiling (*anakalypsis*); this gesture too is well attested on other funerary monuments,³⁸ and signifies an intimate relationship between the two central figures. A scene of unveiling is a regular part of the iconography of marriage, but is also found in scenes where women are depicted alongside relations, or with other women.³⁹ Therefore, although the iconography of the relief tells us that the two central figures shared some close relationship, it does not in itself determine what that relationship was. However, the fact that the pair are depicted with a young child tips the balance of probabilities towards this relief being a representation of husband and wife. The female figure on the left of the scene could then be identified with the woman named in Inscription B, and the figure on the right (by a process of elimination) should be identified as male, and as the man named in Inscription A (that is: Pyrrhos son of Pankles).

³⁴ Cf. [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\) no. 2](#); for further examples, see Clairmont, *CAT* 6 Index s.v. “Box held by girl servant-maid”, p. 86. On the significance of this iconography, see Hagermajer Allen, 225-29.

³⁵ Suggested by Proukakis, 71.

³⁶ = Athens NM 816; Conze II 1129 (with ph. at pl. CCXXXVII); Schmaltz A22; on its date (based on the shape of the lekythos), see Proukakis, 47. The scene is not identical (the child is standing rather than running, and is accompanied by a dog; and the smaller female figure is, Clairmont suggests, a sibling or companion rather than a slave), but its overall composition is nonetheless closely comparable. Cf. also Clairmont, *CAT* 3.672 (= Athens NM 1053; Conze II 1130 (with drawing at pl. CCXXX); Schmaltz A19); Clairmont, *CAT* 3.681 (= Louvre MA 3403; Conze II 1128 (with drawing at pl. CCXXX), Schmaltz A29); Clairmont, *CAT* 3.746 (= University of Missouri Museum of Art and Archaeology 79.144), in which the two standing figures, rather than touching hands in *dexiosis*, extend an arm towards the child which stands between them; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.843 (= Brauron BE 837; Conze II 1138 (with ph. at pl. CCXLI); Schmaltz A89). More generally on the depiction of children on Athenian grave monuments, see Grossman (esp. 319-20 for representations of children as parts of family groups).

³⁷ For a list of 33 memorials with *dexiosis* representations, see Clairmont, *CAT* 6 Index, s.v. “Dexiosis” p. 99. On the significance of the gesture (and a survey of recent scholarly approaches to it), see Lambert’s discussion at [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#) 31 n. 112 and [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), 33, and our discussion in [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#) n. 25.

³⁸ Compare [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#) no. 9 (for an unveiling scene between two female figures); [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#) no. 2 (unveiling between female and male). For further examples, see *Agora* XXXV, p. 39, Table 5 (which counts between 19 and 21 examples of this gesture in the funerary monuments of the Athenian agora, of which eight also depict *dexiosis*).

³⁹ Emphasised by Llewellyn-Jones, 98-104.

This interpretation is not without problems. If the woman of Inscription A is Pyrrhos' wife, we might expect her to be identified by the name of her *kurios* (that is, her husband Pyrrhos) rather than that of her father. There are, however, epigraphic parallels for a woman being identified by patronymic even after marriage (see, for example, [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\), no. 2](#); with discussion of possible reasons for this practice on p. 11). There is also a certain awkwardness in the fact that the inscriptions do not straightforwardly “label” the figures in the relief: Pyrrhos' name sits closest to the woman we have identified as his wife; her inscription is above the figure we have suggested is Pyrrhos. Clairmont, in attempting to resolve this problem, suggested that Pyrrhos was not depicted in the relief at all, but that the monument was re-used for his commemoration at a significantly later date than its original creation.⁴⁰ This possibility cannot be ruled out, but it seems to us less likely than the scenario we have proposed. However, if the inscriptions were carved at different points (as their different size might suggest), this might explain their puzzling placement in relation to the relief.

The Athenian origin of this monument is confirmed by the demotics in both inscriptions, though these provide little help in pinning down its precise provenance: Kephale is in Southern Attica, about 20 km north of Sounion. There are three demes called Potamos, but it seems most likely that Pyrrhos should be connected with Potamos Deiradiotes, a coastal deme close to Kephale (since this is the deme of the sons of Pankles listed in *I Orop.* 353).⁴¹ The lekythos might, therefore, once have stood in a grave enclosure in one of these southern Attic demes, but this family may instead have chosen to bury and commemorate their dead in another (most likely, central Athenian) location. In fact, we might hypothesise that this lekythos stood in the same enclosure as the gravestone for another member of the family (*IG II² 7269*, mentioned earlier) found in Piraeus.⁴²

As we have already seen, Pyrrhos' family is known from two other inscriptions, but this constitutes the entirety of the evidence for it. We cannot therefore reconstruct their social or economic status with any precision. The use of demotics on the lekythos shows that both Pyrrhos and his wife were Athenian citizens; indeed, we can assume that one of the functions of this monument was to allow Pyrrhos' descendants to demonstrate this status.⁴³ The fact that the family had sufficient resource to invest in a relatively elaborate funerary monument probably indicates a certain level of financial security and of social status. The participation of family members in the *ephebeia* points in the same direction: although there is still no scholarly consensus on whether such participation was formally

⁴⁰ Clairmont, *CAT* 6, p. 71, collects examples of grave monuments with names added after the original inscription.

⁴¹ On the location of this deme (and its relation to the other two demes named Potamos), see Traill, 44-45. Marriage between members of a neighbouring deme was not rare (Osborne, 130-31, working from the corpus of Attic grave stelai, counts between 32 and 112 intra-deme marriages; 22 examples of marriage between members of neighbouring demes; 89 between non-neighbours).

⁴² As Lambert notes in [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), p. 33, these family burial enclosures (*periboloi*) could serve an important function in “displaying and confirming the family connections necessary for securing inheritance of property, and . . . citizen descent on both the mother's and father's side”.

⁴³ Compare the use of demotics in [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#), no. 2 (with discussion, and further references, at p. 10 n. 42).

tied to membership in the hoplite class or was accessible to Athenians of all classes before 321 BC, it seems likely that participation was proportionately higher among wealthier groups.⁴⁴



*Fig. 3. 1. Chatsworth. © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. Köln.
Photograph no. FA 1276-10. Photograph: R. Laev.*

⁴⁴ Rhodes, 503, outlines the arguments for ephebic participation being restricted to the hoplite class; Hansen, 108-9, makes the case for it being open to all Athenian citizens (but thinks that not all will have participated), as do (in much greater detail) Burckhardt, 33-43 and Friend.



Fig. 4. 1, detail of Inscription A. Chatsworth. © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. Köln.
Photograph no. FA 1276-10. Photograph: R. Laev.



Fig. 5. 1, detail of Inscription B. Chatsworth. © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. Köln.
Photograph no. FA 1276-10. Photograph: R. Laev.



*Fig. 6. 1, relief. Chatsworth. © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. Köln.
Photograph no. FA 1276-10. Photograph: R. Laev.*

2 STATUE BASE FOR JULIA DOMNA. Boschung 133. Eleusis. Square base of white marble (now very weathered and discoloured), with remains of three small circular cuttings (for a crowning course? See discussion below) on the upper surface. A portion of the upper left face appears to have broken off and been re-attached; lower left also broken. H. 1.263; w. 0.532-0.65; th. 0.612-0.695. Letters are deeply cut and clear; style is typical for non-cursive monumental lettering of this period. L. h. 0.0275-0.0315 (lines 1-6); 0.0409 (line 7).

Eds. Gardner no. 20 (from Cockerell's notes); (*IG II²* 3415; *I Eleus.* 519); Petzl (in Boschung et al.) no. 133 (ph., plate 97.5); (*SEG* 47.223).

Cf. Graindor, 62-63. Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. Garden (above the Grotto House). *Figs.* 7, 8.

after 195 AD	Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν Σεβαστήν <u>Λ</u> . Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ 5 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ γυναῖκα μητέρα κάστρων ἢ πόλις.
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Underlined letters were seen by Cockerell, but are no longer visible. || 2 Λ[ε.] Gardner; Λ. Graindor (noting that Λ. is the more usual abbreviation for Lucius, and that this reading is also more compatible with Cockerell's transcription, which seems to show two points (perhaps in fact an abbreviation mark) after the lambda).

Julia Domna Augusta, wife of L(ucius) Septimius Severus Eusebes Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, mother of the camps. The city (dedicated it).

This monument was set up by the city of Athens, almost certainly at Eleusis,⁴⁵ in honour of the Roman Empress Julia Domna (AD 160-217; *PIR²* I 663). Its earliest possible date is AD 195 (when Septimius Severus adopted the title “Adiabenicus” after his campaigns against the Assyrian kingdom). The list of Septimius' titles does not include “Parthicus”, which was added to his titulature in AD 198, but it would be unsafe (*pace* Graindor) to derive a *terminus ante quem* from this omission, since it is clear from other examples that the drafters of honorary texts were not always consistent or comprehensive in their use of imperial titles.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Gardner, 148, notes that Cockerell does not specify that the text is Eleusinian, but is confident that its location can be inferred from its position in Cockerell's manuscript (since the inscriptions which precede and follow it are definitely from Eleusis). The Sixth Duke of Devonshire also describes the base as being “from Eleusis” (*Handbook*, 181), presumably on the basis of information given to him by its collector, Augustus Clifford.

⁴⁶ Stroud and Stroud, 87-88 (pointing to the variation in titles used on apparently contemporaneous statue bases to Julia Domna and Septimius Severus at Epidauros). On Septimius' titulature, see Follet, 58.

The title “mother of the camps” (line 6) was formally granted to Domna on 14th April 195 or 196, in recognition of her morale-boosting role in Septimius’ eastern campaigns.⁴⁷ The title, it has been argued, is intended to reflect the symbiotic relationship between empress (and the Severan dynasty in general) and army: the troops were under the protection of the imperial family; the empress, in turn, could expect to be supported and defended by the army.⁴⁸ As this inscription shows, however, the title was not deployed only in military contexts; the fact that it had previously been held by Faustina (wife of Marcus Aurelius) meant that it could also help to legitimate Domna’s position as empress to a wider audience.⁴⁹ “Augusta” (line 2), which likewise serves to emphasise the legitimacy of Domna’s rule, was a standard feature of her titulature, adopted as soon as Septimius came to power in AD 193.⁵⁰ The base supported a statue of the empress: this is shown not just by the form of the monument, but also by the formulation of the inscription, in which her name is in the accusative (with an implied verb of “setting up”: that is, the city set up (a statue of) Domna).⁵¹ Several other bases for Domna are known from Greece, although this is the only extant example from Eleusis.⁵²

We do not know exactly what prompted the Athenians to set up this monument. Septimius Severus had spent some time as an exile in Athens during the reign of Commodus (SHA, *Vit. Sev.* 3.7); but he is also alleged to have been hostile to the city

⁴⁷ The conventional dating is 14th April 195: see *PIR*² I 663. The month and day are derived from *BGU* 2, 362, p.11, lines 16-17, and are not disputed. The year is derived from *CIL* VIII 26498, but the reading of the title in this inscription relies on a supplement which is not entirely secure (see Heil, 73-74). The earliest secure epigraphic attestations of the title (in Latin: *mater castrorum*) date to 196 (*CIL* XII 4345, from Narbo; *CIL* XIV 120, from Ostia). For its use in Greek inscriptions, compare (e.g.) *IG* IV 705 (Hermione; AD 212-17); *IG Bulg.* V 5214 (Nicopolis ad Istrum, AD 198); *IG Bulg.* III 2, 1558 (Augusta Traiana, AD 196-217). *IG* II² 3418, from the Athenian Acropolis, uses the title μήτηρ κάστρων, but since the name of the honorand is not preserved we cannot be certain whether the inscription relates to Julia Domna or to Faustina. An alternative translation, μήτηρ στρατοπέδων, is also well attested: see, e.g., *IG* IV 704 (Hermione, AD 209-11); *I Iasos* 10 (ca. AD 215); as well as *Agora* XVI 341, line 29 (on this inscription, see below).

⁴⁸ Montalbo, 346; Levick, 42.

⁴⁹ Levick, 43.

⁵⁰ *PIR*² I 663; more generally on Domna’s imperial titulature, see Kettenhofen, 76-97; Benario.

⁵¹ The cuttings in the top surface of the Chatsworth base might, if ancient, have been used to attach a crowning course, on which the statue would have been placed (Dillon, 27), but it is possible that they should be associated with the modern re-use of the base (see Introduction, p. 5). There is evidence that female portrait statues in the Roman period could simply be set onto the base, without the use of any fixing elements (Dillon, 28, with n. 108).

⁵² Fejfer, 134, lists eight examples from the province of Achaia and from Samos: *IG* IX 1, 5 (Antikyra); *AE* 1908, no. 57 (Drymaia); *IG* IV² 1, 610 (Epidauros); *IG* IV 704 (Hermione); *IG* IX 1, 224 (Tithronion); *IG* XII 8, 382 (Thasos); *IG* VII 1845 (Thespiiai); *IG* XII 6, 1 425 (Samos). She includes no Athenian instances in her catalogue, but Stroud and Stroud, 87 n. 6, suggest (on the basis of *Agora* XVI 340, 341) that statues of the empress would have been set up on the Athenian Acropolis. For examples of statues of Domna, and discussion of her iconography, see Alexandridis, nos. 217-35.

once he came to power, as a result of some perceived slight (SHA, *ibid.*).⁵³ However, this hostility did not dissuade the Athenians from attempting to cultivate his, and his family's, goodwill. (Perhaps, in fact, it spurred them to more enthusiastic efforts.) The most striking manifestations of this are the two decrees (of AD 196 or later) which set out a range of sacrifices and religious rituals which are to be performed in honour of the imperial family. Both decrees are very poorly preserved, and it is impossible to reconstruct the precise range of honours which was voted. But it is clear that Domna was specified as a recipient: her name is mentioned in the first decree (*Agora XVI 340*, fr. c, lines 4, 10), and her honours are the focus of the extant part of the second (*Agora XVI 341*). The second decree enhances the honours voted to the empress, in terms which suggest that she is not just to be worshipped alongside Athena Polias, but rather equated with and worshipped as the goddess.⁵⁴ This decree also includes provision to set up in the Parthenon a golden cult-statue (*agalma*) of Domna (*Agora XVI 341*, lines 33-34).

Our statue base might be related to this same bout of honorific activity, but it is equally possible that it represents a separate attempt to cultivate or maintain the imperial family's goodwill. In this respect, it can be compared with a number of other inscriptions from this period. A dedication to the imperial family was also set up in central Athens (*IG II³ 4*, 1397, dated to some point before 209). Other efforts to win imperial approval are also visible at Eleusis: in addition to this statue base, there exists a (very fragmentary) dedication to Septimius and Domna (*IG II² 3413 = I Eleus. 518*), as well as a statue to Fulvius Plautianus, Septimius' cousin and second-in-command (*IG II² 4216 = I Eleus. 630*). None of these inscriptions can be precisely dated, however, and it is therefore impossible to know how (if at all) they relate to one another. There is no evidence that Septimius, unlike earlier Roman emperors, took any particular interest in Eleusis.⁵⁵ The SHA (*Vit. Sev. 3.7*) suggest that he was initiated into the Mysteries, but place this event before his accession as emperor; there is no other recorded interaction with the sanctuary which might provide a context for the creation of honours or dedications for him at Eleusis.

As discussed in the Introduction (p. 4), the Chatsworth base was first seen and transcribed when it was still in Attica. The inscription found its way into the epigraphic *corpora* from this transcription; but the fact that the base survived, and had been moved to Chatsworth, was not recognised until Boschung et al.'s edition. Although its surface is weathered, the inscription does not seem to have deteriorated significantly since it was edited by Petzl in the early 1990s.⁵⁶

⁵³ Clinton *ANRW*, 1534 n. 184. The SHA (*Vit. Sev. 3.7*) say only that Septimius curtailed the *privilegia* of the city; this might have entailed removal of some territories from Athens' control or (perhaps less likely) the appointment of a "corrector" (see Geagan *ANRW*, 406).

⁵⁴ This interpretation of the decree was proposed by Oliver (esp. at 524-25), and has been accepted by subsequent editors.

⁵⁵ Clinton *ANRW*, 1534. For earlier emperors' relations with Eleusis, see Clinton 1997, 163-75 and (on the particularly striking interventions made by Hadrian), Clinton *ANRW*, 1516-25.

⁵⁶ The damage to the left side of the inscription seems likely to have occurred at some point between its removal from Eleusis (Cockerell's transcription gives no indication that the stone was incomplete when he saw it) and its rediscovery in the 1980s (*Garden*, 138, claims that the works



Fig. 7. 2. Chatsworth. © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. Köln. Scan no. 4224.
Photograph: R. Laev.

of the 1980s found the base “none the worse for the experience”, *sc.* of having been buried in and excavated from the undergrowth).



Fig. 8. 2, inscribed text. Chatsworth. Photograph: P. A. Low.

APPENDIX. FRAGMENT OF A DECREE? Boschung 134. Provenance unknown. Fragment of white marble stele (surface very blackened); complete on the left side, broken on all other sides. H. 0.094; w. 0.123; th. 0.014 (measurements reported by Boschung). Clear, square lettering (esp. very square beta), low-slung alphas, slightly splayed sigmas; stoichedon. L. h. ca. 0.01 (estimated from photo).

Ed. G. Petzl (in Boschung et al.) no. 134 (ph., plate 97.3). Current location unknown (previously: West Lodge). *Fig. 9*.

Mid-4 th cent. BC?	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] [...]Ε[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] κατὰ ?] τὰς συμβολ[ὰς ? — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] κατὰ τὰς συ[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]— νθήκης· ὅτι [ι δ' ἄν ? — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] 5 ὑριον ἔστ[ω ? — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] το· ὅτι [δ' ἄν ? — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]	stoich.
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1 Rest. Petzl || 2 or -τας συμβολ[ευομένων (cf. *IG II² 15*, line 10) ? Lambert || 3 κατὰ τὰς συ[μβολάς] Petzl; or συ[νθήκας], συ[γγράφας] Thonemann || 4, 6 δ' ἄν Lambert || 4-5 Thonemann, cf. e.g. *IG II² 15*, lines 10-11, [κ]ύριόν ἐστ[ι] Petzl. We also considered καλέσαι ... ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς [α]ῦριον ἐς τ[ὸ] πρυτανεῖον, but, aside from this being less suitable in context, the normal expression is ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον; the only parallel for the inverted word order is in a restoration in an erasure in *Agora XVI 36*, line 13 (the restoration of the inverted form in *IG II² 251*, lines 11-12, is not accepted in the latest edition, *IG II³ 1, 490*, cf. Lambert 2006, 123, no. 1 (= *IALD 105-6*)). || 5-6 τοῦ]το ? Lambert.

... in accordance with the judicial convention (?) ... in accordance with the (judicial convention? agreements?) ... of the agreement. Whatever ... let it be valid But whatever ...

This is a fragment of a public document, probably recording or referring to an interstate agreement. Two terms which appear in the text as restored by Petzl are critical to its interpretation: τὰς συμβολ[ὰς] (line 2), and [συ]νθήκης (lines 3-4).

The word συμβολή (and its related neuter form, σύμβολον)⁵⁷ have a wide range of possible meanings, including (in epigraphic contexts) tokens or receipts (e.g. *IG I³ 34*, lines 11, 16), contributions or subscriptions (e.g. *IG XII 7, 22*, line 28), and agreements which set out arrangements for legal processes involving citizens of two city-states (numerous examples are collected in Gauthier, ch. IV.1). The final, technical, sense of the word seems the best fit for the context here (hence our translation “judicial convention”), though the very fragmentary state of this document means that we cannot be certain.

Symbola agreements might well be established in the context of more wide-ranging interstate agreements (*synthekai*).⁵⁸ However, this would be, to our knowledge, the only

⁵⁷ On the significance of use of the neuter vs. feminine nouns to describe these agreements, see below, p. 23.

⁵⁸ Woodhead, *Agora XVI*, p. 80.

extant epigraphic text in which the explicit terminology of a *symbola* agreement appears alongside the term typically used for the more general agreement (*syntheke*).⁵⁹

Nothing is known of the provenance of this inscription. Its letter-forms (discussed further below) and its use of the stoichedon style point to an Athenian origin. There is nothing in its content or formulation which is definitively Athenian – nor, however, is there anything which rules out an Athenian provenance. The phrase κατὰ τὰς συμβολάς (“in accordance with the contracts”), restored in lines 1-2, is relatively well-attested in Athenian documents (e.g. *IG I³ 66*; *IG I³ 127* (= *IG II² 1*); cf. also *IG I³ 10*).⁶⁰ However, we cannot be certain that κατὰ is correctly restored here, and we should note that τὰς συμβολάς (without preposition) does appear in non-Athenian texts, albeit of a later period.⁶¹ The phrase κύριον ἔστω (“let it be valid”) is widely attested in documents from the Greek mainland and islands, regularly appearing in exactly the sort of context we seem to be dealing with here (that is: the establishment of a treaty or legal agreement).⁶² The closest linguistic parallel from Athens appears in the fifth-century decree (“Kleinias’ decree”) regulating tribute-payment (*IG I³ 34* (= OR 154), line 38: κυρία ἔστο).⁶³ A formulation with the indicative, as proposed for this text by Petzl, is rarer, but not unparalleled (compare, for example, εἶσι κύριαι in *IG II³ 1, 411*, line 7 (ca. 342)). For the possible flow of the sense here, we could compare *IG II² 15* (alliance between Athens and Locris, ca. 395/4) lines 9-11: ὅτι δ’ ἂν ἄλλο δοκῆι Ἀ[θη]ν[αίων] καὶ Λοκροῖς συμβουλευομέν[ο]ις, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι] (“whatever else seems good to the Athenians and the Locrians in consultation, this is to be valid”). Indeed at a late stage of our work on this inscription, Lambert suggested that we might restore our l. 2 -τας (acc. plural e.g. of an ethnic) συμβολ[ευομένων] vel sim., i.e. a reference to consultation

⁵⁹ The two terms appear alongside one another in Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1360a15: πρὸς τούτους [i.e. those who can facilitate imports and exports] καὶ συνθηκαὶ καὶ συμβολαὶ γίνωνται. Gauthier argues that this indicates that the two terms were seen by Aristotle as complementary; more specifically, that *symbolai* were understood by Aristotle as part of the “mesures économiques ou fiscales qui pouvaient du reste figurer dans un traité plus général” (Gauthier, 93).

⁶⁰ Outside Athens, cf. *IG IX 1², 3, 717*, line 15 (Locris, first half of the 5th cent.): δικάζεται κατὰ τὰς συνβολᾶς. A formulation with the singular (either feminine: κατὰ τὴν συμβολάν, predominantly dating to the period 200-167 BC; or neuter: κατὰ τὸ σύμβολον, predominantly dating after 167 BC) is a standard feature of the manumission inscriptions of Delphi (Gauthier, 94-100). But the plural form never appears in these documents, and it therefore seems safe to exclude the possibility that this inscription belongs to that category of text. In the Delphian inscriptions, κατὰ τὸ σύμβολον tends to be used interchangeably with κατὰ τὸν νόμον as a guarantee for the manumission sale: see Erdas, 345 n. 33.

⁶¹ Outside Attica, the formulation τὰς συμβολάς (without κατὰ) appears in three inscriptions from two locations: *IG XII 7, 22* and *24*, Amorgos, 3rd cent. BC; *SGDI II 1730*, Delphi, 2nd cent. BC.

⁶² For non-Athenian examples see, e.g., *SEG 34.849* (= OR 195, Mytilene, late 5th cent. BC?), *IG V 2, 6* (Tegea, 4th cent. BC), *FD III 4, 42* (Phocis, end 2nd cent. BC), *IG XII 1, 155* (Rhodes, 2nd cent. BC).

⁶³ Cf. also, in a non-state decree (the “Decrees of the Demotionidae”), *IG II² 1237* line 102 (κυρία ἔστω). More common in Athenian inscriptions is the very similar formulation with infinitive, which is found in public documents from the early fourth century onwards: examples include *IG II² 16*, fr. b, line 3 (394/3), *IG II³ 1, 292*, lines 85-6 (352/1), *IG II³ 1, 378*, line 16 (323/2).

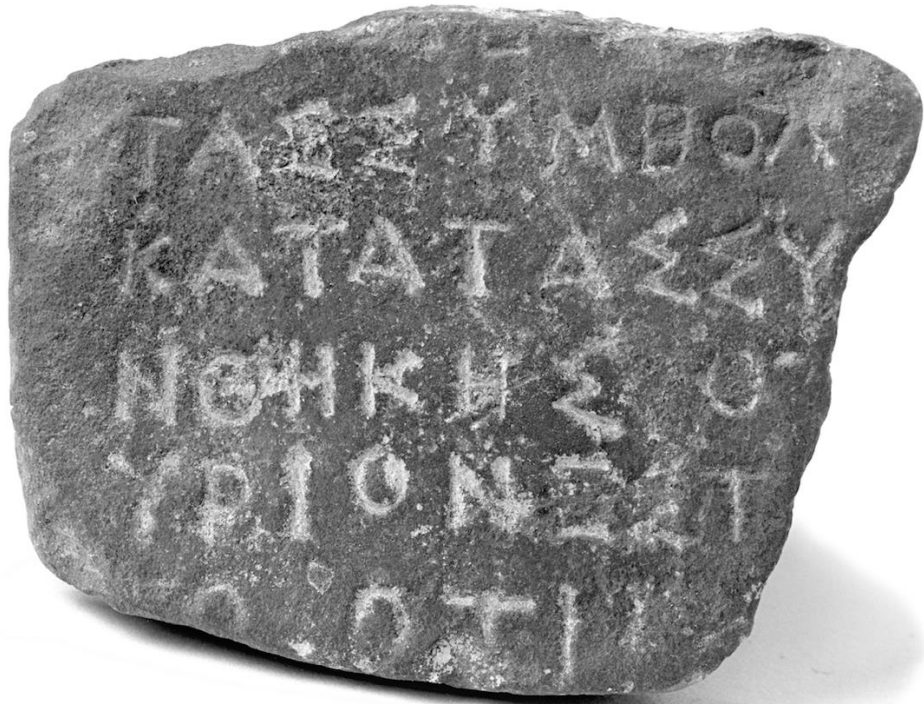
between the parties to the agreement, which would remove the reference to *symbola/ai* altogether from this text.

Petzl suggested that the letter-forms of this inscription indicate a date in the fourth or third century BC. Comparison with [IG II³ 1, 296](#) (an Athenian Assembly decree of 349/8), whose letter-forms (especially those of the alphas and betas) are very similar to the Chatsworth fragment, points rather towards a date in the middle of the fourth century.⁶⁴ One argument in favour of a slightly earlier date for our text might be its use, if Petzl's restoration is correct, of the feminine plural form (συμβολάς), rather than the neuter singular or plural (σύμβολον or σύμβολα). In Athenian decrees, the former term is predominantly attested in the fifth and very early fourth century BC, and seems to fall out of use (in favour of the latter term) from the second quarter of the fourth century.⁶⁵ However, the extremely fragmentary state of many of the relevant texts makes it unwise to be dogmatic about using this as a dating criterion, and indeed the feminine plural form has been proposed as a restoration in two Athenian decrees dated later in the fourth century: *Agora XVI 47(1)* (ca. 368 BC), and *Agora XVI 50* (ca. 365-355 BC)).

Overall, therefore, we suggest – on the basis of the wording, lettering and layout of this inscription – that this document derives from Athens or Attica, and should be dated to the middle years of the fourth century BC.

⁶⁴ See the photograph: *IG II³ 1*, tab. III (also at *ZPE* 140, 2002, Tafel II). [IG II³ 1, 296](#) also refers to a *symbola* agreement (τὰ σύμβολα, line 14), but the difference in the recorded thicknesses of the two stones (0.014 for the Chatsworth fragment; 0.06 for [IG II³ 1, 296](#)) would suggest that, in spite of their similar lettering and content, they are unlikely to have been part of the same document. (Since we have not seen the Chatsworth fragment ourselves, we cannot confirm its dimensions, or that the fragment preserved the original thickness of the stele.) The letter-heights of the two inscriptions also appear to differ: [IG II³ 1, 296](#) has a letter-height of 0.005; the letters of our fragment, insofar as it is possible to estimate them from the photograph, are closer to 0.01. [IG II³ 1, 295](#), probably of the same year as 296 (349/8), also refers to *symbola* (ll. 13, 23). Whether this is a coincidence is unclear.

⁶⁵ The exact timing (and significance) of this change in form is disputed: Gauthier argues that *symbolai* are a legal tool associated specifically with the Athenian Empire, which allowed access to Athenian courts to citizens of the states to whom *symbolai* were granted; *symbola* (in his view) are a distinct (post-imperial) instrument, which establish reciprocal legal arrangements between Athens and another *polis*. Objections to this argument are summarised by Lewis, 263, who points to *IG II² 46* (treaty between Athens and Troezen, first quarter of the 4th cent.) as a post-imperial document which describes the legal arrangements it establishes as [συ]μβολάς (line 38). Lewis' view (which we follow) is that the variation between neuter and feminine forms in Athenian texts cannot be mapped onto any demonstrable difference in the nature of the agreements described by these terms.



*Fig. 9. Appendix. Chatsworth. © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. Köln.
Photograph no. FA 1144-10. Photograph: R. Laev.*