ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS: EDUCATION

TEACHERS' NOTES ON GCSE CLASSICAL CIVILISATION

(OCR J199; for first assessment 2019)

In these notes we discuss a number of inscriptions which are relevant to the specifications. They aim to address a wide range of aspects of the Greek cultural aspects of the GCSE curriculum, covering the Thematic Studies on *Myth and Religion* (especially Herakles, priests and priestesses, animal sacrifice, death and burial) and *Women in the Ancient World* (especially young women, women at home, women and religion) and the Literature and Culture component on *War and Warfare* (especially equipment and impact on society.

Note: Parts B and C of these slides consist mostly of examples of *stelai* and other forms of funerary monument. These were set up usually in family enclosures (*periboloi*) which would have contained a range of monuments for family members. An overview of shapes of *stelai* can be found in the **AIE resources for A-level Classical Civilisation under Greek Art.**

A. Myth and Religion

In these slides we look at the representation of heroes and deities on Athenian inscriptions.

Slides 3 and 4: Athena (and others) depicted at the head of decrees. *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*) no. 2 and *AIUK* 4.2 (*British Museum. Decrees*) no. 10. Both 350-25 BC.

When the Athenians wrote up decrees of their assembly on stone they set them up in religious places (such as religious sanctuaries or, in the case of Athens, the Acropolis, a network of sanctuaries). They sometimes added depictions of the gods and/or heroes on reliefs above the writing. At one level these reliefs clearly functioned as visual signals, complementing the text. There is discussion, however, about what exactly the reliefs represented and their relationship to the inscribed texts: perhaps they signified a sort of analogy between human and divine activity, with the gods 'setting an example' to the humans. Alternatively, the reliefs perhaps indicated that the written inscriptions were directed at an audience not only of human readers but also of the Gods.

The **British Museum** relief (**slide 3**) depicts a standing Athena with helmet and spear, named on the epistyle above, crowning a male human figure who is depicted in much smaller scale. It can be inferred that the relief is from the top of an Athenian Assembly decree honouring at least one man; parallels would suggest he was a foreigner, probably from another Greek city-state. Athena in such scenes represents, or personifies, the city of Athens, though this depiction clearly also goes beyond mere symbolism, asserting divine agency in the honorific process. The substantive content

of the decree is lost; all that remains is the heading ‘Gods’, which may strengthen the implications of divine agency.

In the **Fitzwilliam** monument (**slide 4**), the only inscriptions that are preserved (fragmentarily) are the labels at the top above the relief. The first figure on the relief is Athena with shield, the label for the second does not survive, but it may have been the personification of Demos (‘the People’). The label above the third figure, in military dress, is partially preserved and might be read as ‘Me[ne]laos’, mythical king of Sparta during the Trojan War (a legendary conflict in which Athens and Sparta appear to have been allied).

It has been suggested that the decree might date to 331 BC, at which time Athens came close to joining in an anti-Macedonian uprising led by the Spartan king Agis. In the event Athens did not join the revolt, and Agis was defeated by the Macedonians the following year; but it is quite plausible that Athens passed a decree (e.g. perhaps one honouring Spartan envoys) in the context of Athenian diplomacy with Sparta at this time, and Sparta would appropriately have been represented on such a decree by the figure of Menelaos.

A video including discussion of this inscription is available on the AIO Youtube channel.

Points for discussion: how and why did the Athenians represent Athena on public documents? In what sense can she be regarded as a patron deity of the city?

Slide 5. Ephebic dedication commemorating victory at Eleusis, 158/9 AD. *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*) no. 7

The plaque is a dedication in honour of an athletic victory at Eleusis by the ephebes, Athenian cadets experiencing a training course undertaken by male citizens on the cusp of adulthood, which involved military and athletic training, guarding the Piraeus, patrolling the Athenian border, and participation in religious and commemorative rituals throughout Attica.

The event at Eleusis at which the ephebes were victorious might have been the Antinoeia, festival games held by the ephebes in honour of Antinoos, the young lover of Emperor Hadrian. Or it might have been the ‘Contest of Prowess’, which involved a contest between two teams of ephebes, called ‘Theseidai’ and ‘Herakleidai’ – perhaps the relief decoration indicates that the latter team was victorious.

The relief depicts Herakles reclining on a lion’s skin under a tree. His bow and quiver hang from a branch and his club leans against the tree. The motif, representing Herakles’ well-earned repose after labours, was common throughout the ancient world. At some point, the relief has been snapped in half horizontally, Herakles’ head has been carefully removed, and his genitals may have been removed as well. We have made a video about this inscription.

Discussion: why would ephebes (cadets) make such a dedication to Herakles to commemorate a sporting victory? What was it about Herakles that might make him an appropriate recipient of such a dedication?

Slide 6. Dedication to Pan and the Nymphs, 350-330 BC. *AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby Park*) Appendix

This marble tablet with sculpture in relief represents Hermes leading three Nymphs towards a group of worshippers. Behind them, at the extreme right side of the scene, is the head of a personification of a fountain or river (perhaps the river-god Acheloos, the father of the Nymphs: Plato, *Phaedrus* 263d); above them sits Pan, depicted with beard, pointed ears and goat's legs. There are five worshippers and a smaller figure (perhaps a child or, more likely, a slave) who leads an animal towards a stone altar, probably for sacrifice. Animal sacrifices were widespread in Greek cult practice and they were thought as a way of appeasing or maintaining good relations with a deity; usually the edible parts of the meat was distributed among the community and the inedible parts were burnt as an offering to the gods.

Pan and the Nymphs were associated with (and worshipped at) cave sites. In Menander's *Dyskolos*, Pan refers to the Nymphs who 'share my shrine' (line 37), and at least nine caves in Athens and Attica can be linked with worship of Pan and the Nymphs. The precise findspot of this object is unknown, but it is possible that our relief originally stood in, or just outside, one of the many caves of Pan and the Nymphs in Athens.

Pan was worshipped at Athens after the Persian wars perhaps as a consequence of stories about his intervention on their part. According to Herodotus (6.105-6): 'Before they left the city, the Athenian generals sent off a message to Sparta. The messenger was an Athenian named Pheidippides, a professional long-distance runner. According to the account he gave the Athenians on his return, Pheidippides met the god Pan on Mount Parthenium, above Tegea. Pan, he said, called him by name and told him to ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, in spite of his friendliness towards them and the fact that he had often been useful to them in the past, and would be so again in the future. The Athenians believed Pheidippides's story, and when their affairs were once more in a prosperous state, they built a shrine to Pan under the Acropolis, and from the time his message was received they held an annual ceremony, with a torch-race and sacrifices, to court his protection.'

The dedication was evidently made by a demesman of Phlya whose name is lost, save for the second element of his patronymic.

This tablet, the current whereabouts of which are unknown, is attested only by way of the illustration which appears in the *Museum Worsleyanum* (2 volumes, first published 1798 and 1803). All editions of the text and discussions of the relief are based on this depiction.

Point to discuss: why would an individual make a dedication like this? What would it say about the dedicant? Why depict this type of scene?

Slide 7. Ordinances of the deme Skambonidai, 475-50 BC (*AIUK* 4.1 (*British Museum. Cult Regulations*) no. 3):

Ancient Athenians (and other Greeks) wrote down on stone slabs ordinances relating to sacrifices and religious celebrations offered to deities and heroes. This is one example from the Athenian deme of Skambonidai in the city centre: two others are held at the British Museum (see *Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections* 4.1 (Cult Provisions) nos 1, 2 and 3). Like many other examples of its type, the text lacks sufficient historical references for us to be able to date it precisely. But the shapes of the letters and the forms of spelling point to a date between about 475 and 450 BC.

The inscription includes instructions for festivals and sacrifices on a number of different occasions. Among the festivals it mentions are the Dipolieia (a festival celebrating Zeus on the acropolis) and the Panathenaia (the most prominent of the festivals celebrating Athenian identity, which also took place on and around the acropolis). It includes detail about responsibility for the cult activities (the demarch, that is the mayor of the deme, seems to pay an important role) and the division of meat and skins among members of the community: sometimes meat was allocated to specific groups (e.g. metics, who were resident foreigners in Athens); at other times it was sold to make a profit for the cult; the skin (useful for leather making) was to belong to the demarch. It is an important inscription in terms of demonstrating how religious regulations and practices at sacrifices might be act as a reflection of social organisation.

The decision to write these details down on stone may reflect an ambition to formalise practice or it may reflect actual reform of practices. In the inscription we read of the type of sacrifices that would be offered to the different heroes and deities on different occasions and details about how the sacrifices were shared.

Now in store at the British Museum. There is a video about this inscription and two other cult regulations at the British Museum on the AIO Youtube channel.

Question: what do written ordinances show us about ancient Athenian religion? Why would they write them down on stone? Could they be viewed as a way of formalising practices hitherto which had been regulated by oral tradition?

Slide 8. Tombstone (stele) for Priestess Choirine, c. 375-50 BC. British Museum 2007,5001.1

Ancient Athenians commemorated individual deceased on stone slabs known as *stelai* (singular *stele*). These were set up usually in family enclosures (*periboloi*) which would have contained a range of monuments for family members.

On occasion these monuments included details about, or depictions of, those people who they commemorated. Choirine – whose name means Piglet in ancient Greek – stands beneath the inscription of her name facing to her left in a sleeved chiton, peplos, and himation, wearing slippers and holding a large temple key in her right hand,

signifying her role as a priestess. Her clenched left hand points forward in a gesture often encountered in votive reliefs showing devotees approaching a god, perhaps with small incense boxes clutched in their hand.

The temple key was a conventional symbol of office as a priestess (*kleidouchos*, key-bearer), representing her function as custodian of the sanctuary (in contrast to a male priest, conventionally depicted holding a sacrificial knife). Priestesses of Demeter were selected by lot from the *genos* (a family with particular religious office-holding privileges) Philleidai and held office for life. *Genos* priests sometimes have appropriate priestly names, and it may not be coincidental that the piglet was an important sacrificial animal, not least at Eleusis.

Priests and priestesses are one of very few 'professions' to be regularly depicted on Attic funerary monuments. One might think, in a funerary context, that this was associated with the religious aspects of funerary culture. It is however more plausible to interpret it as a manifestation or extension of characteristic gender roles for citizens which are commonly commemorated on these monuments, with the priestess as custodian of the god's 'house' in the same way as the housewife is custodian of her own home.

We don't know which cult Choirine's priestesshood was associated with, but it is believed that the stone originated from the area of Eleusis, to the west of Athens. For this reason, it has been suggested that she was a priestess of Demeter and Kore, whose cult activities were prominent at Eleusis.

Questions to consider: what is the significance of the key in the deceased's hand? Why would Choirine have been commemorated in this way?

Please note also that some of the funerary stelai that we discuss in the sections on *Women in the Ancient World* and *War and Warfare* are relevant to the death and burial part of *Myth and Religion* as a way of thinking about whom the Athenians commemorated (and why they did so).

Slide 9. Honours for the girls who worked on the robe for Athena (108/7 BC). *AIUK* 1 (Petworth House) no. 1

The main fragment of this inscription is built into the modern base of a statue of Artemis in the 'Marble Hall' of Petworth House in West Sussex. It contains parts of two decrees of the Athenian citizen Assembly. They both relate to the rituals surrounding the new robe (*peplos*) which was presented to the statue of Athena on the acropolis of Athens at the city's principal religious festival, the Panathenaia. The central scene of the Parthenon frieze in the British Museum (which dates more than 300 years earlier than this inscription) is thought by most scholars (such as Robert Parker and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood) to represent the presentation of the robe.

The peplos robe was a rectangular woollen cloth. In Homer's *Iliad* the women of Troy present a peplos made by women of Sidon to Athena in her temple on the acropolis (6.86-98 and 269-311) and comparable rituals are attested historically both in Athens and elsewhere in the Greek world. Athena's robe was decorated with mythical scenes and was an important symbol of Athenian identity.

The inscription records honours awarded in 108/7 BC to the teenage girls (*parthenoi*) who had worked on the robe. The *parthenoi* for that year had made a silver bowl to commemorate their piety in their work and the decree records how they were granted the permission that they had sought to dedicate it to Athena. They were granted the privilege of foliage garlands and having their names written out on the inscription that was to be set up by the temple of Athena *Polias* on the Acropolis.

These girls were adolescents from the upper echelons of Athenian society. A period of service weaving the peplos will have provided them with acculturation in the characteristically feminine task of textile-making in a context that enabled them to mix with daughters of other elite families and to garner public prestige and visibility in the context of the city's major festival. The inscription suggests how the Panathenaia festival, like other religious events served more than religious functions, such as the reinforcement of the role of the elite young women.

A video about the Petworth House inscription is available on the AIO Youtube channel.

B. Women in the Ancient World

Note that **slide 9** (see above), on the honours for the maidens who worked on the Peplos for Athena, is also relevant to the role of women.

Slide 11a. Unknown Woman, late fourth century BC. BM 1894,0616.1

The relief depicts a woman seated on a stool and holding an open box on her lap, perhaps for jewellery. A young woman stands before her holding an infant, suggesting the deceased died in childbirth. The baby is swaddled, likely indicating a new-born, as slightly older children are normally represented as sitting on the ground or being held. The mother turns her head away from the attendant and child, demonstrating a detachment and isolation from the world of the living. The scrappy traces of the inscription are preserved only on the far right of the stone (-leos) and the lettering is of inferior standard than the sculpture.

Slide 11b. Glykylla, 400-375 BC. British Museum, 1893,0627.1

In this early fourth-century monument, Glykylla sits on a stool resting her feet on a footstool, taking or replacing something (jewellery?) from a lidded box held by a female. The box may have signified wealth or the possessions. This name is not otherwise attested at Athens; uncertainty about its provenance means that we do not know for certain from which part of Greece the inscription derives from.

These stelai are examples of the *nasikos* (‘little temple’) marker, in which a family group is depicted in a relief sculpture in a niche either in outline or three-dimensionally.

Question to consider: Why was Glykylla depicted alongside a female slave? What was the significance of the jewellery box?

Slide 12. Funerary stele for Arkesis, 400-360 BC. *AIUK* 5 (*Lyme Park*) no. 1

This funerary monument (stele) for a woman named Arkesis was obtained by Thomas Legh in Athens in 1811-1812. Still today it is on display at the National Trust property Lyme Park in Cheshire. It was set in its present location in the window bay of the library in the context of the refurbishment of the House carried out under Legh's direction from 1814.

The monument depicts Arkesis holding a baby, from which we may probably infer that she had died in childbirth. Greek funerary monuments commemorating the death of women in childbirth are well-attested, a reflection of the relatively high rate of maternal deaths at parturition, as well as the blow to the material and emotional well-being of a family that the loss of a mother is likely to have represented. As the procreation of offspring was considered an important contribution of the female citizen in Athens, a woman who had died in childbirth can perhaps be understood as the female equivalent of a male warrior who had died in battle for his city. The depiction of a deceased mother interacting with an infant or child would serve to underline her maternal status as well as the status of her offspring (assuming that the child survived; it is not impossible that

the infant represented in these monuments also died at birth). This is one way in which a funerary enclosure could have functioned as a source of family history, to be called on in cases where issues of status or inheritance came into question.

Question to consider: Why was this woman depicted with a baby? Perhaps it may have had some association with mourning?

Slide 13. Timarate, early fourth century BC. British Museum 1947,0714.1
In this grave monument of the fourth century BC Timarete stands with her head inclined mournfully downwards and holding a bird towards a small child who reaches out her arms. The scene suggests that she died young, leaving behind a baby girl, although her youth might instead point to them being sisters. The absence of detail in the inscription (unlike many other Athenian grave markers it contains no indication of her ethnicity or her father's name) leaves open the question of the deceased's citizen status: she may have been a citizen or a slave.

Syllabus relevance: GCSE Classical Civilisation (Women), A-level Classical Civilisation (Culture and the Arts, Beliefs and Ideas).

Question to consider: Why was Timarete commemorated in this way? What can we know about her?

Slide 14. Dedication of a Shrine to Aphrodite, AD 127-30. British Museum 1816,0610.165
This inscription of the second century AD commemorates the dedication of a statue of Aphrodite and parts of a shrine – columns, pediment, and latticed partitions (perhaps intercolumnar screens) – to a deity, by a woman who held two offices which are associated with the cult of Isis. The woman had held the offices of lamp-lighter and interpreter of dreams and had been charged with the interpretation of dreams sent by Isis to her devotees.

The offices held by the woman demonstrate that the divine recipient was the deity Isis, whose cult – with its origins in Egypt – at this time was assimilating (or replacing) that of Aphrodite at Athens. The find-spot of the inscription on the south slope of the Acropolis is close to the location of the sanctuary of Isis: it is likely that the inscription was originally set up there.

Overall, then, the inscription provides good evidence for the interest one particular family and of a (presumably) wealthy donor in the cult of Isis in the second century AD; it is compatible with evidence that suggests the promotion of Isis in Athens during this period. It also attests to the role of female benefactors in the period in the cult developments of the second century AD.

Questions to consider: why was shrine-building so important to ancient communities?

What does this say to us about women's contribution to religious cult and their financial role in the second century AD?

Please note also that some of the stele of Choirine discussed under *Myth and Religion* is relevant also to the *Women in the Ancient World* part of this GCSE.

C. War and Warfare

Slide 16. Archiades and Polemonikos from Athens, early fourth century BC (British Museum 1886,1008.1)

This well-preserved stele, in the shape of a *loutrophoros* (water-carrier: see below), contains a scene of two warriors clasping hands with name labels engraved around their heads.

The right figure is bearded, the left, although damaged, is perhaps not, and both carry shields and Attic helmets.

It is clear from their name-labels that they are from different demes:

Archiades of Hagnous. Polemonikos of Athmonon

The deme Hagnous lies SW of Markopoulo in the plain of Attica, while Athmonon is at Amarousion (known as Maroussi) in the northeastern suburbs of Athens.

Their different demotics (and tribes) mean that the men are not closely related (brothers, father and son), but they could be from a wider family group (cousins); it is unclear whether we are to imagine both men having died (together in battle?), or, if only one of them, then which?

It is hard to know whether warriors found on funerary monuments actually commemorate men who died in battle, or whether it was simply a convention to reflect the service that a citizen had formally rendered to his country.

It is common in fifth-century funerary iconography for the soldiers to be heading out to war within a home environment, bidding farewell to relatives or being handed their armour, carefully avoiding any notion that they are victorious warriors in the thick of glorious battle, a focus on the individual which might be considered unacceptable within the sphere of community-based commemoration. Robin Osborne has argued (in D. M. Pritchard ed., *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*, 2010, 253-62) that this picture changes in the late fifth and early fourth century, when we see reliefs depicting Athenians dispatching individual enemies (most famously on the Dexileos monument), perhaps as a reaction to prolonged political attacks against the cavalry following the regime of the Thirty.

A large number of *loutropohoros* representations on tombstones include military scenes, presumably giving the message that the dead warrior, while fulfilling his duty to the state, had not been able to reach his potential in the private sphere as a husband and father (see P. Hannah in D. M. Pritchard ed., *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*, 2010, 266-303). These vases were also used in the washing of the corpse before burial, and it has been suggested that their representation on a warrior's tomb indicates that a body had not been recovered from the battlefield (N. T. Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories: The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens*, 2015, 208-170).

Other monuments at the British Museum (**Slides 17 and 18**) depict ways in which the shield was held, and even sometimes by an attendant.

Questions to consider: why were men represented in funerary monuments with military gear? Did it mean they had died in battle?

Slide 19. Stone model of a shield with list of cadets' names, AD 194/5: *AIUK* 4.3B (*British Museum. Ephebic Monuments*) no. 5

The inscription is a catalogue of ephebes (cadets), the young men of the city who undertook a year of official training. It is one of three surviving ephebic catalogues of the 2nd century AD in the form of a shield, reflecting the traditional function of ephebic training as preparing the young men to defend the city.

Consider the importance of the shield to civic identity. Why would it have been important to write down the names of cadets on a stone inscription like this?

Slide 20. Casualty List for Athenians who died in 424/3 BC, British Museum 1816,0610.173.

During the second part of the fifth century BC the Athenians fought a series of bloody wars. They commemorated their dead by listing them on marble slabs (*stelai*) like this. One view is that the representation of the war dead with just their names (and no reference to their family background) reflected the egalitarian nature of their social organisation. The setting up of such slabs may indicate the value of public commemoration, manifested also in the habit of public burial and the speech of a prominent statesman over the bodies of the dead at the end of each year.

The part of this inscription preserved at the British Museum consists of 2 columns of those who had died in Athenian battles in the year 424/3 BC; there are 77 of them in total. The upper part of the stone is lost and would have consisted of further names and a heading. Our slide, for reasons of space, offers a translation only the first 29 lines of column 1.

The casualties are listed according to the 10 tribes of Athenian citizens. They are followed by names of those described as 'mercenaries (*engraphroi*)', 'archers', and 'foreigners': this demonstrates that non-citizens died in the Athenian war effort and were recognised as doing so.

Beneath the tribal dead in column I are further individual casualties listed not by tribe but by place: Amphipolis, Thrace, Pylos, Sermylia, and Singos. These places have been linked with a series of battles in the north of Greece narrated by Thucydides in book 4 of his book on the Peloponnesian War. These battles took place in the year 424/3 BC, and there may also be a reflection of the heavy causalities taken at Delion (Thucydides 4.101); those mentioned on the inscription as the dead from Pylos might

be left over from the previous year.

After the stele was engraved and set up, several additions and corrections were undertaken on the stone. It is likely that such changes were made as information became clearer in the months following the battles and the public burial. This provides remarkable evidence for the official nature of the inscribed versions of these lists, demonstrating a very detailed procedure of subsequent checking of spellings (did family members notice these mistakes?) and the inclusion of further deceased individuals whose fate had been discovered after the inscription had originally been set up. These stones were perhaps meant not only to be monumental expressions of public commemoration, but were set up also to be read and to form an official record of the campaign dead.

Topics for discussion: how and why did the Athenians list their dead? Can we see similarities in ancient and modern forms of commemoration of the dead?

Slide 21. Potidaia Epitaph, 432 BC. British Museum, 1816,0610.348
This inscription was written up to commemorate the Athenians who died fighting at Potidaia (in Chalkidike, Northern Greece) in 432 BC.

In 432 BC, just before the Peloponnesian War broke out, the Athenians were involved in hostilities at Potidaia (Thuc. 1.56-65) after the Potidaians, tribute-paying members of the Delian League, revolted from Athens with the help of the Corinthians. Both Socrates and Alcibiades are known to have served at Potidaia (Plato, *Symposion* 219-20). Athenian intervention in that part of the Greek world was one of the 'causes of complaint' of the Peloponnesians against the Athenians that led to the outbreak of war in 431 BC (Thuc. 1.66, 118, 139).

It is likely that this inscription was the base for a bigger monument. Thucydides says that the Athenians won an easy victory at Potidaia but that 150 Athenians died in the battle, including the general Kallias (Thuc. 1.63). Their names could have fitted on a single stone slab set upon this base (originally ca. 1.34 m long).

The inscription consists of 12 lines of verse which was made up of three four-line epigrams. The behaviour of the Potidaians, some of whom fled the battle, is contrasted with the honourable fate of the dead, who receive glory (*arete*) and brought good fame (*eukleia*) to their homeland (*patris*). The epigram of three elegiac poems is of high quality and remarkable both for its reflection of civic attitudes about the war dead and for the references to the separation of body and soul at death: *aither* (the air) takes the souls of the dead whereas the earth takes their bodies.

The translated text here refers to the Athenians as 'the people of Erechtheus'. However this should be treated with caution: this part of the stone is broken away and the words have been restored by modern scholars. Nevertheless, the Athenians did

sometimes refer to themselves in this way, referring to Erechtheus, one of their mythical kings, often thought to the be the founder of their city.

Topics of discussion: the significance of verse as a way of commemorating a group of soldiers. How did the Athenians commemorate their war-dead?

Slide 22. Marble tombstone (stele) with a horseman and attendant, early 4th century BC. British Museum 1816,0610.384,
On this stele, the bearded Aristokles is depicted seated on horseback, holding onto the horse's mane and perhaps once painted reins, enjoying the leisure sports mentioned in the epigram; an attendant in short chiton runs along behind him.

Its inscription seems to reflect his tastes and status:

After many pleasant sports with my
age-mates, born from earth I am
earth once more. I am Aristokles of Piraeus,
son of Menon.

The epigram and relief suggests pastimes which may have included hunting and horse-riding competitions. One oddity is the apparent discrepancy between the relief and epigram: the epigram discusses 'young pursuits' whereas the relief shows Aristokes with a beard (suggesting maturity).

The expression 'I have become earth' passes over any allusion to the continued enjoyment of such games and pleasure in the afterlife. The idea of the earth receiving or hiding a body is common, especially among Athenians, who regarded themselves as 'autochthonous', that is, sprung from the earth: their link to the physical space of Athens was underscored by the story that their mythical ancestral king, Erichthonius, had sprung from the earth and had been raised by Athena.

Areas for discussion: what are the implications for the afterlife of these words? Why is something made of Aristokles' leisure pursuits in the epigram?

Slide 23. Dedication of a horse-rider, 4th century BC: *AIUK* 9 (*Brocklesby Park*) no. 1

This is a square base with reliefs on the sides and a rectangular socket in the top of the block for a pillar, a common form for dedications commemorating athletic victories. The fragment in Brocklesby Park depicts an armed soldier riding a charging horse; the fragment also preserves part of the man's name, his patronymic and his demotic (ancestral home village in Attica): -okles son of Polyaratos of Alopeke.

It was previously interpreted as from a funerary monument. However, other fragments of the base, now in Athens, preserve another, very similar, depiction of a mounted cavalryman, another name, patronymic and demotic (‘Hierophanes son of Polyaratos of Alopeke’), and a heading (‘The tribal commanders of Antiochis dedicated this’). The patronymic and demotic of the two men named on this monument are the same, and from this we conclude that the monument was set up by two brothers, who served as *phylarchoi*, commanders of the cavalry contingent of the tribe Antiochis.

The surviving fragments of the monument do not provide any explicit information about the context of its creation. However, we suggest that it was set up to commemorate the tribe’s victory in the *anthippasia*, a ‘mock fight when the tribes pursue and escape from one another at the gallop in two squadrons of five tribes, each side led by its hipparch’ (Xenophon *Hipparchikos*, 3.11-13). Such monuments are relatively well-known in fourth-century Athens. We have no other evidence for the sons of Polyaratos, but the fact that they served as tribal leaders (*phylarchoi*) suggests that they belonged to the social and economic elite of the city. It is likely that they set up this monument to celebrate their achievement (and that of their tribe), and to advertise the services which they had performed for their tribe and for the city.

Points for discussion: why might a family commemorate a victory with a dedication to the Gods? Is it significant that two brothers are co-tribal leaders in this context?