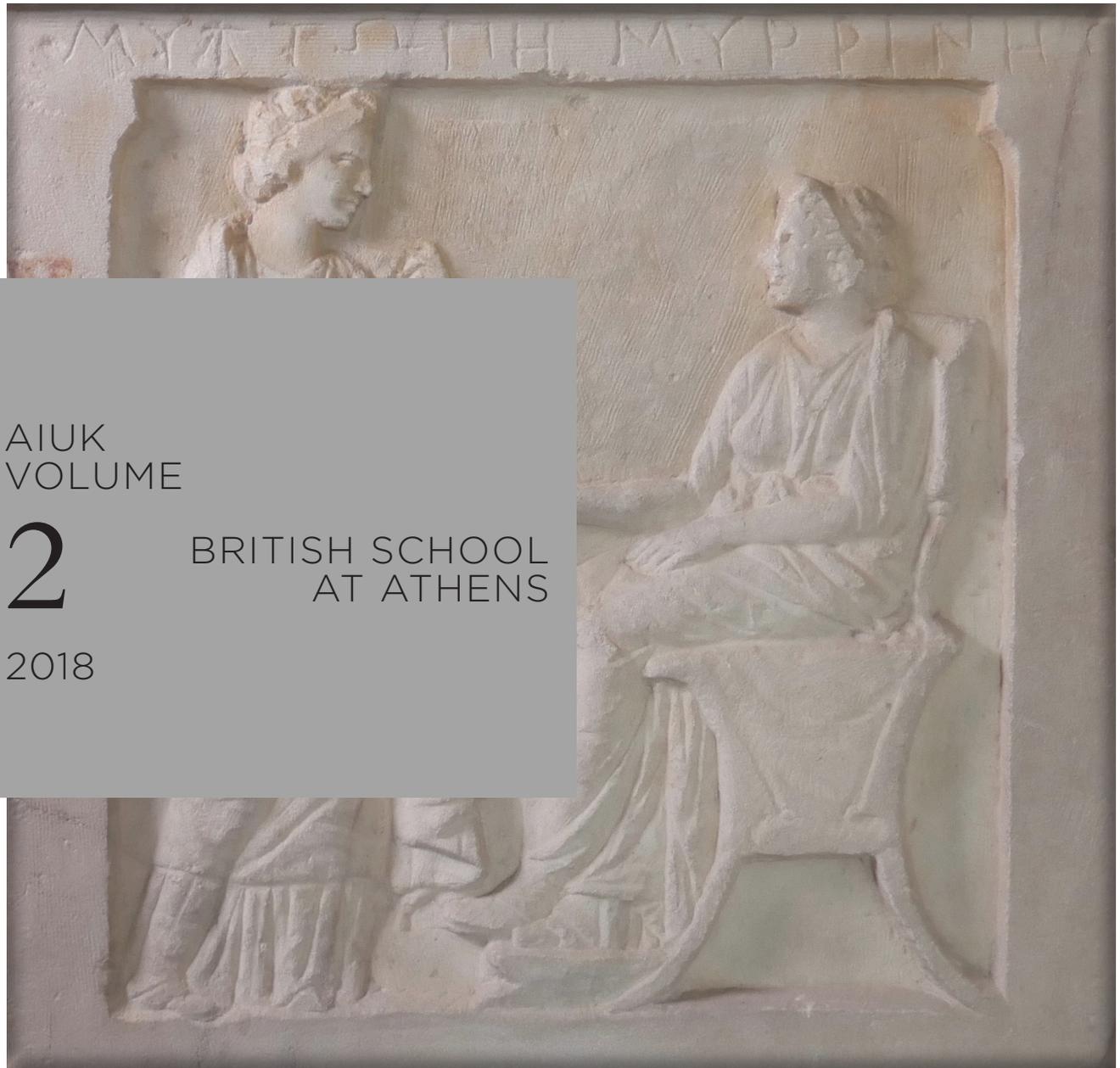


# Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections British School at Athens

Stephen Lambert



AIUK  
VOLUME

2

BRITISH SCHOOL  
AT ATHENS

2018

AIUK Volume 2

Published 2018

AIUK is an *AIO Papers* series

ISSN 2054-6769 (Print)

ISSN 2054-6777 (Online)

AIUK

Attic Inscriptions  
in UK Collections

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This paper is part of a systematic publication of all the Attic inscriptions in UK collections by **Attic Inscriptions Online** as part of a research project supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).



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## PREFACE

As with volume 1 of *AIUK*, on the Athenian inscription in Petworth House, preparation of volume 2 has entailed revisiting material I first worked on some twenty years ago, when preparing an edition of the stone inscriptions in the British School at Athens (BSA), Attic and non-Attic, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 485-516 (summarised at *SEG* 50.1705). As with the Petworth inscription I have been pleasantly surprised by the extent to which, thanks to the progress of scholarship in the meantime, it has been possible to advance our understanding of this group of inscriptions in their historical context. This is especially the case with the important Athenian decree of 314/3 BC honouring Asandros of Macedon, another fragment of which is fortuitously also in a UK collection (in the British Museum), and which I treat here more fully than I did in 2000; but it has also proved possible to offer something new of interest on several of the BSA's other inscriptions. As in vol. 1, I have sought as far as possible to avoid merely repeating points made in my earlier article, to which I refer the reader interested in epigraphical detail and other matters not rehearsed at length here. Texts and more lightly annotated translations of the inscriptions are being published on the *AIO* main site to coincide with the publication of this volume.

Though the BSA's collection is modest in size, it offers a rich variety of insights into the life of our best documented city of ancient Greece between the fifth century BC and the third century AD. It also offers representative examples of three major genres of Attic inscription: two Assembly decrees ([1](#), [2](#)); five dedications or statue bases ([3](#), [4](#), [5](#), [6](#), [7](#)); and seven funerary monuments ([9](#), [10](#), [11](#), [12](#), [13](#), [14](#), [15](#)), in addition to a list of names, perhaps of donors, on a wall block ([8](#)).<sup>1</sup> Together with nine non-Attic inscriptions, it is a very suitable collection for teaching purposes and is frequently deployed by the BSA in that context. Three of the Attic funerary monuments, [9](#), [10](#) and [14](#), are on permanent display in the BSA entrance hall, and the remaining inscriptions are kept in the School's museum collection.

I am very grateful to Josine Blok, Peter Liddel, Polly Low, S. Douglas Olson and P. J. Rhodes for comments on drafts of this volume of *AIUK*; to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for its support of the *AIUK* project as a whole; to my brother, Julian, for taking the photographs of inscriptions in the BSA, reproduced here with his permission and that of the BSA; and to the Director of the School, John Bennet, the librarian, Penny Wilson, the archivist, Amalia Kakissis, and other BSA staff, for facilitating my work, which was carried out in 2017/8 while enjoying the privilege of the School's Visiting Fellowship. The drawings of [4](#) (*Figs.* 6a and 6b) and [11](#) (*Figs.* 16a and 16b) are reproduced from George Finlay's notebooks with the permission of the British School at Athens.

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview of the major types of Attic inscription see *Attic Epigraphy*.

## ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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

*Attic Epigraphy*: S. D. Lambert, “Attic Epigraphy”, in N. Papazarkadas ed., *Oxford Handbook of Greek Epigraphy* (forthcoming)

*Azoulay*: V. Azoulay, *Les tyrannicides d’Athènes. Vie et mort de deux statues*, 2014 [English edition: *The Tyrant-Slayers of Ancient Athens*, 2017; page references are to the French edition]

*Biard*: G. Biard, *La représentation honorifique dans les cités grecques aux époques classique et hellénistique* (2017)

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

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

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

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

*Conze*: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, I (1893), III (1906), IV (1911-22)

*Domingo Gyax*: M. Domingo Gyax, *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City* (2016)

*Finlay, MS Cat.* = a manuscript notebook of G. Finlay entitled “Catalogue” (= Hussey C10)

*Finlay, MS Coll. Gr.* = a manuscript notebook of G. Finlay entitled “Collectanea Graeca” (= Hussey C12)

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

*Hicks, GIBM I*: E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum. Part I Attika* (1874)

*Hussey* = J. M. Hussey, *The Finlay Papers, a Catalogue* (1973)

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

*IALD II*: S. D. Lambert, *Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees in the Age of Demosthenes. Historical Essays* (2018)

*IG I*: A. Kirchhoff ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores* (1873, Supplementa 1877, 1887, 1891)

*IG I<sup>2</sup>*: F. Hiller von Gaertringen ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores. Editio altera* (1924)

*IG II*: U. Koehler ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora* (I 1877, II 1883, III 1888, IV *Indices* [J. Kirchner] 1893, V Suppl. 1895)

*IG III*: W. Dittenberger ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae* (1878, 1882)

*IG XII 6, 1: Inscriptiones Sami insulae (I Decreta etc.* K. Hallof ed., 2000)

*Koumanoudes*: S. A. Koumanoudes, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφῶν Ἐπιτύμβιοι (1871)

*Low*: P. A. Low, “The Epigraphy of Death”, in N. Papazarkadas ed., *Oxford Handbook of*

*Greek Epigraphy* (forthcoming)  
 Ma: J. Ma, *Statues and Cities* (2013)  
 Marchiandi: D. Marchiandi, *I periboli funerari nell'Attica classica: lo specchio di una "borghesia"* (2011)  
 von Moock: D. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* (1998)  
*PAA*: J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*. 21 vols. (1994-2012)  
 Posamentir: R. Posamentir, *Bemalte attische Grabstelen klassischer Zeit* (2006)  
*RCA*: S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* (2003)  
 Schmalz: G. C. R. Schmalz, *Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens. A New Epigraphy and Prosopography* (2009)  
 Scholl: A. Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4 Jhs. v. Chr.* (1996)  
 Schultz and von den Hoff: P. Schultz and R. von den Hoff, *Early Hellenistic Portraiture* (2007)  
 Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions 1: Phonology* (1980); *2: Morphology* (1996)  
 Tracy, *ADT*: S. V. Tracy, *Athenian Democracy in Transition. Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 BC* (1995)  
 Tracy, *ALC*: S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter Cutters of 229 to 86 BC* (1990)

## 1. GEORGE FINLAY AND THE BSA'S COLLECTION OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

Most of the Attic inscriptions in the BSA once formed part of the private collection of George Finlay (1799-1875), the British philhellene, historian of Modern Greece and resident of Athens in the early decades of Greek independence, and were donated to the School from his estate in 1899.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the stones themselves, the BSA possesses an extensive Finlay library and archive.<sup>3</sup> This includes two of Finlay's manuscript notebooks, which refer to his inscriptions, and which I drew on in my 2000 publication for information on findspots and on Finlay's own readings.<sup>4</sup> In one case Finlay records an inscription which (like several of those he possessed<sup>5</sup>) did not find its way into the BSA, and which I published from his notebooks (4, present whereabouts unknown). In a few cases the inscriptions are documented before they were acquired by Finlay. For example E1 (1 in this edition) and E15 (8) were first edited in 1835 by the pioneering epigraphist of the early years of Greek independence, K. S. Pittakis, who recorded them at the "église nommée Catholicon" near the Kapnikarea.<sup>6</sup> The choregic monument, E8 (3), was known to M. Fourmont in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, but a precise findspot was first supplied by A. R. Rangabé, who noted in 1842 that it was "found (trouvé) in the foundations of Finlay's house" [Odos Adrianou 199, not far from the Lysikrates monument, *IG II*<sup>3</sup> 4, 460]. Most of the others were edited for the first time while in Finlay's possession. The funerary monuments E3 (9), E4 (10), E9 (11), E10 (13), E12 (15) were published by S. A. Koumanoudes in 1871 as being at Finlay's house. In one of his notebooks Finlay explicitly records them among "other tombs in my garden in Koumanoudes' collection."<sup>7</sup> The small fragment, E2 (12), also apparently a funerary monument, was transcribed in Finlay's garden by the great epigraphist, U. Koehler, and first published by him in the 1895 Supplement to *IG II*. Finlay was not an epigraphist and did not venture to publish any of his inscriptions himself, though in two cases, E11 (5) and E13 (6), he supplied the relevant corpus editor, W. Dittenberger, with a transcript.<sup>8</sup> In one case, E14 (7), an inscription recorded in Finlay's notebooks was already in the BSA when transcribed by J. Kirchner and a squeeze made for the relevant fascicule of *IG II*<sup>2</sup>, published in 1935.<sup>9</sup>

The origins of the funerary monument, E7 (14), which was first edited in my 2000 article, are somewhat opaque. According to the MS catalogue of the BSA's inscriptions prepared shortly after the end of the Second World War by Daphne Hereward and edited

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<sup>2</sup> I briefly described the history of the BSA's collection of inscriptions at *ABSA* 95, 2000, 485-86. For a concise but informative account of Finlay's life, see J. M. Hussey, *The Journals and Letters of George Finlay, vol. 1, The Journals* (1995), xiii-xxxiii. See also *vol. 2, Finlay-Leake and Other Correspondence* (1995). Finlay's papers were catalogued by Hussey (1973). See also A. Henry and J. Traill, *ABSA* 96, 2001, 321-25.

<sup>3</sup> On this, see W. Miller, "The Finlay Library", *ABSA* 26, 1923/5, 46-66.

<sup>4</sup> Finlay, *MS Cat.* and Finlay, *MS Coll. Gr.* For references in these notebooks to specific inscriptions in the BSA's collection, see my 2000 article. In the case of E3 (9) and E4 (10), the findspot, "beyond the house of Mr Prokesch, Austrian Minister at Athens", was published there for the first time. In the case of E9 (11) Finlay apparently read letters no longer on the stone.

<sup>5</sup> See *ABSA*, 95, 2000, 486 n. 3; *APMA* IV p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> Pittakis, *L'ancienne Athènes* (1835), 494.

<sup>7</sup> Finlay, *MS Cat.*

<sup>8</sup> E11: *IG III* 653. E13: *IG III* 926.

<sup>9</sup> *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 4056.

by David Clarke, it was first mentioned in the BSA Director's report for 1918 and is from Finlay's collection, though there is no reference to it in Finlay's notebooks. The only Attic inscription definitely not from Finlay's collection is the second Assembly decree in the BSA, E6 (2). It was found (by whom is not recorded) in 1897 unusually distant from its original location on the acropolis, in a Byzantine chapel between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> kilometre stones by the Athens-Marathon road, and subsequently presented to the School.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> "The stone was found in 1897 [*description of findspot*]: it was presented to the British School at Athens, and is now in the museum of the Macmillan hostel", M. N. Tod, *ABSA* 9 (1902-3), 154.

## 2. THE INSCRIPTIONS

**1** HONOURS FOR ASANDROS OF MACEDON. BM 1816,0610.187 (*a*), BSA E1 (*b*). *a* Athens (Elgin collection), “in acropoli” (Chandler, II 50), “in casa cuiusdam Turcae in pavimento infixum” (Chandler, II xxii), *b* Athens, near Kapnikarea (Pittakis). Two non-joining fragments of a stele of white marble, associated by Wilhelm. *a* left and right sides preserved, and top (worked so as to suggest that a further decorative element may originally have been affixed), h. 0.648, w. 0.525, th. 0.12, *b* left and right sides and back preserved, h. 0.49, w. 0.53, th. 0.15. Letter h. 0.011-0.012. Stoich. grid h. 0.024 x w. 0.024. “Cutter of EM 12807”, 334/3-314/3 BC (Tracy, *ADT* 124).

Eds. *a* R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae* II (1774), 50 no. 11; *CIG* I 105; Hicks, *GIBM* I 14; *IG* II 234; *b* Pittakis, *L’ancienne Athènes* (1835), 494; *IG* II 410; *IG* II 5, 410; *ab* A. Wilhelm, *ABSA* 7, 1900-1, 156-62 [= *Kl. Schriften* II 3, 78-84] (ph.); [IG II<sup>2</sup> 450](#); *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 320; M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (1981-83), D42; H. Kotsidu, *Τιμὴ καὶ δόξα. Ehrungen hellenistischer Herrscher* (2000), 91-93, no. 41; S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 486-89, E1 (ph. *b*) (*SEG* 49.106).

Cf. J. R. Ellis, *ABSA* 63, 1968, 229 (*SEG* 25.75); L. O’Sullivan, *ZPE* 119, 1997, 107-16; P. Gauthier, *Bull. ép.* 1998, 164; S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 126, 1999, 129-30; P. Gauthier, *Bull. ép* 2002, 158; P. Paschidis, *Between City and King* (2008), 507-9 (*SEG* 58.115); L. O’Sullivan, *The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317-307 BC* (2009), 116-31, 260-63 (*SEG* 59.114). *Fig.* 1 and, with BM fragment, *fig.* 2.

314/3 BC	<i>a</i>	<p>ἐπὶ Νικοδώρου ἄρχοντος ὕ  ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος ἕκτη-  ς πρυτανείας· Γαμηλιῶνος  ένδεκάτη, ἕκτη καὶ εἰκο-  5 στή τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη-  σία· τῶμ προέδρων ἐπεψήφι-  ζεν Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀριστο-  δήμου Οἶν(αῖος) καὶ συμπρόεδρο-  10 ς Θριάσι(ος) εἶπεν· δεδόχθαι τ-  ῶι δήμῳ Ἄσανδρον Ἀγάθων-  ος Μακεδόνα ἐπαινέσαι ὅτ-  ι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἰδία  τε περὶ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἀφ-  15 ικνουμένους εἰς τὴν χώρα-  ν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κοινεῖ περ-  ὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, κ-  αὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴμ  πόλιν τὰς τε ναῦς τὰς ἰδία-  20 ς καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρ-  [εἶχε]ν Ἀθ[η]ν[α]ίο[ι]ς εἰς τὰς χ-</p>	stoich. 21
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[ρείας - - - - -]ρ  
*lacuna*  
**b** [. . .<sup>5</sup>. .]ας [ε]ἰς τ[ὴν] ἑαυτῶν ἀπ[ε]-  
[έστ]ειλαν τέλος[ι τ]οῖς [αὐτ]-  
25 [οὔ]· δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ [σίτ]-  
ησιν ἐμ πρυτανείωι καὶ [πρ]-  
οεδρίαν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀγῶ-  
σιν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐ[κ]-  
γόνων τῶι πρεσβυτάτῳ· ε[ἰ]-  
30 ναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ εἰκόνα στ-  
ῆσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἵππ-  
ου ἐν ἀγορᾷ ὅπου ἄμ βούλη-  
ται πλὴν παρ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ  
Ἄριστογείτονα.  
*vac. 0.198*

Ll. 1 and 2 have 20 letters, ll. 5 and 16 22 letters. || 21 παρ[εἴχε]ν or παρ[έσχε]ν Lam. 1999, comparing Polyb. 3.97.4 for the active, παρ[έσχετο] or παρ[έχετα]ι previous eds., yielding a 22-letter line || 23 in. e.g. πολίτ]ας, cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 493*, 21 || 23 fin. W. G. Forrest ap. Lam. 1999, τ[ὴν] ἰδίαν ἀπ[έ]στε[ι]λα[v] Wilh., yielding a 20-letter line || 24-25 Osb., [αὐτῶν] Wilh. || 29 Ellis, ἐ[ξεῖ]λναι previous eds., yielding a 23-letter line.

In the archonship of Nikodoros (314/3),  
in the sixth prytany,  
of Kekropis; on the eleventh  
of Gamelion, the twenty-sixth  
(5) of the prytany. Assembly.  
Of the presiding committee  
Aristokrates son of Aristodemos of Oinoe was putting to  
the vote and his fellow presiding committee members.  
Thrasykles son of Nausikrates  
(10) of Thria proposed: the People  
shall decide to praise Asandros  
son of Agathon of Macedon, because  
he is a good man individually  
towards Athenians who come to  
(15) his own country, and  
collectively towards the  
Athenian People, and  
on visiting the city he  
provided his own ships  
(20) and soldiers to the Athenians  
to meet their needs . . .  
*Uncertain number of lines missing*  
. . . returned them to their own  
land at his own expense;  
(25) and to grant him also dining  
rights in the city hall and

priority seating in all the city's  
competitions, and for his  
eldest descendant; and  
(30) he shall be permitted to set up  
a bronze likeness of himself on  
horseback in the Agora wherever he  
wishes except beside Harmodios and  
Aristogeiton.

This decree supplements Diodoros' account of Athens' involvement in an episode in the long drawn-out struggle for supremacy among the successors of Alexander the Great, but is mainly of interest as the only well-preserved Assembly decree from the period in which Demetrios of Phaleron governed Athens on behalf of Kassandros (317-307 BC) and the earliest well-preserved decree awarding the so-called "highest honours" (*megistai timai*), i.e. dining rights in the city hall (*sitesis* in the *prytaneion*), priority seating at competitive festivals and a bronze statue.

The honorand, Asandros of Macedon, is not Asandros son of Philotas, who was appointed satrap of Lydia and the rest of the territory of Spithridates by Alexander in 334 BC,<sup>11</sup> but Asandros son of Agathon of Pydna, who was appointed satrap of Caria by Perdikkas in 323 BC and confirmed in that role by Antipater at Triparadeisos in 321.<sup>12</sup> At this time he was allied with Seleukos, Ptolemy, and Kassandros in opposition to Antigonos the One-Eyed. According to Diodoros 19.62-75, in 315 BC Asandros came under pressure from Antigonos and was supported by a force led by Myrmidon of Athens and, in the following year, an expedition sent by Kassandros under the command of Prepelaos and Asandros himself. Also in 314 BC Athens despatched twenty ships to recover its traditional Aegean possession, Lemnos, which had fallen under Antigonos' control. None of these efforts was successful, and in 313 BC Asandros was forced to come to terms with Antigonos. Our decree, passed in Gamelion (approximately late January-early February) 313,<sup>13</sup> belongs comfortably in the context of this allied military activity. We learn that Asandros had visited Athens (ll. 17-18), and we may guess that this was in the previous winter (315/14 BC) while he was making arrangements for the expedition he and Prepelaos were to lead in the following campaigning season. It is plausible enough that some or all of the ships and soldiers supplied by him for Athenian use (18-22) were involved in the Lemnos venture and that among the Athenians referred to at the start of fragment b, whose return home was assisted by Asandros, were men stranded by its failure. Their reports, as they arrived back in Athens in the winter of 314/13 BC, would have contributed to support for the decree. O'Sullivan brings into the picture two poorly

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<sup>11</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* 1.17.7.

<sup>12</sup> Diod. 18.3.1, 18.39.6, Arrian, *Succ. Alex.* 6, 37, etc., see Osborne, *Naturalization II*, pp. 113-14.

<sup>13</sup> It was passed on 11 Gamelion = pryt. VI 26 of 314/3 BC. The equation indicates an intercalary year in which the intercalary month had already been inserted, making Gamelion the eighth month of the year rather than, as normally, the seventh (the month previous to Gamelion, Posideon, was the one most often duplicated). This is as one would expect in what should be the fifth year of a Metonic cycle (Cycle VII; for the operation of the cycle in the last years of the Classical democracy see *IALD*, 389-400). Assuming (what is not certain) an even distribution of full (30-day) and hollow (29-day) months starting with a full month, Gamelion 11 would be the  $(4 \times 30) = 120 + (3 \times 29) = 87 + 11 = 218^{\text{th}}$  day, and pryt. VI 26 the  $39 \times 4 = 156 + 38 + 26 = 220^{\text{th}}$  day of the year (for the common assumption that intercalary years normally started with four prytanies of 39 days, cf. *IALD*, 398). There was thus perhaps a slight additional irregularity in this year.

preserved, not precisely dated, inscriptions from Samos, *IG XII 6*, 1, 51 and 52, suggesting that they document an Athenian attack on Samos, perhaps in late 314, and that, given the strategic importance of Samos to Asandros, who controlled Miletos on the opposite coast, this might be a more plausible context for Asandros' involvement than the Lemnos venture.<sup>14</sup> O'Sullivan is supported by Paschidis, who prefers, however, to date the putative attack on Samos to 315 or early 314 BC. In the absence of a firm date for the Samian inscriptions or of any reference to an attack on Samos in Diodoros, this seems overly speculative.<sup>15</sup> The Athenians did not scatter the *megistai timai* about like confetti, and it is not implausible that Asandros had indeed shown particular generosity in supporting Athens' attempt to recover Lemnos, despite its more tangential connection to his immediate interests and despite being under pressure himself in Caria. There are other possible contexts for an Athenian attack on Samos in 318-317 or 315-311 BC (see Hallof's note on *IG XII 6*, 1, 52).

This inscription figures largely in O'Sullivan's recent analysis of the operation of the Assembly and Council under the regime of the Peripatetic Demetrios of Phaleron,<sup>16</sup> "nominally an oligarchy, but in practice a monarchy", as Plutarch characterised it, echoing Thucydides' famous description of Periclean Athens as nominally a democracy, but in practice rule by the first man;<sup>17</sup> though according to Demetrios' own account he had "not only not destroyed the democracy, but even set it right".<sup>18</sup> The regime was "moderately" oligarchic, with active citizenship limited to those possessing more than 1,000 dr.<sup>19</sup> One other inscribed decree can be firmly dated to the regime, preserving only the prescript, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 453* (cf. *SEG 32.100*). Clearly few, if any, decrees were inscribed at public initiative and expense at this time, but as O'Sullivan notes, we cannot infer that the Council and Assembly were inactive. The decision to cease inscribing was probably driven by a move to cut unnecessary public expenditure<sup>20</sup> and limit competitive display, and is to be seen against the background of an accelerating "epigraphical habit" in previous decades and the curtailment of other types of inscribed monument under Demetrios, including the replacement of figurative funerary monuments with more modest funerary columellae<sup>21</sup> and the cessation of the increasingly extravagant forms of choregic commemoration that had appeared since 338 under both democratic and oligarchic regimes.<sup>22</sup> No simplistic correlation can be drawn between "democracy" and a propensity for the Assembly to inscribe decrees – decrees had continued to be inscribed under the previous, ostensibly more extreme, oligarchy, of 322-318 – but the practice of inscribing (predominantly honorific) decrees had, since the 340s, increasingly become an expression of elite competitive display which will have sat uncomfortably with Demetrios of Phaleron's

<sup>14</sup> Most recently O'Sullivan (2009), 260-63.

<sup>15</sup> Gauthier (1998) was also sceptical.

<sup>16</sup> O'Sullivan (2009), 116-31.

<sup>17</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 10.2, cf. Thuc. 2.65.9.

<sup>18</sup> οὐ μόνον οὐ κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ηὐρώθησε, Strabo 9.1.20, citing Demetrios' *Memoirs*. On the constitutional character of Demetrios' regime, see M. Canevaro, *Dike* 14, 2011, 55-85, at 63-69.

<sup>19</sup> Diod. 18.74.2-3, cf. O'Sullivan (2009), 108-16; under the oligarchy imposed by Antipatros after the Lamian War, 2,000 drachmas had been required. It is usually assumed that those with property under this threshold lost their right to vote in the Assembly.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. O'Sullivan (2009), 117-18.

<sup>21</sup> O'Sullivan (2009), 47-66.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 460](#), with notes; O'Sullivan (2009), 176-78.

political philosophy.<sup>23</sup> Equally uncomfortable from an elite philosophical perspective, since the 340s increasing numbers of ordinary Athenians were having their tenure of democratic offices commemorated by inscribed decrees. In the last phase of the Classical democracy it became a rhetorical *topos* to draw attention to a lamentable proliferation and devaluation of honorific decrees<sup>24</sup> and particularly in connection with Demetrios of Phaleron, one thinks of the satire on the “seeker after petty honours” (*mikrophilotimos*) by his teacher, Theophrastos.<sup>25</sup>

The Assembly’s fund for expenditure on decrees, the usual source of public funding for inscribing decrees, was presumably abolished at this period<sup>26</sup> and the absence of any mention of a secretary or other inscribing official in the prescript of our decree and *IG II<sup>2</sup> 453*, and of provision, in the surviving text, for payment for the inscription, or statue, from public funds tends to confirm that this decree was probably inscribed, and Asandros’ statue erected, at private initiative and expense, a practice for which there were occasional precedents in the last phase of the Classical democracy.<sup>27</sup>

δὲ ... καὶ in l. 25 imply that the award of *megistai timai* supplemented an earlier accolade, presumably awarded in the now lost lines between the two fragments. Most likely, as Osborne suggested, this was a grant of Athenian citizenship. If not, this would be the earliest known grant of the *megistai timai* to a non-citizen (see further below). We can not tell whether fr. b belonged to the same decree as fr. a, or to a rider, perhaps passed at the same Assembly. As O’Sullivan points out (124-26), the ultimate political reality underlying the decree is that it sprang from a military alliance driven by Kassandros’ interest, but, despite the ostensibly oligarchic character of the regime, the democratic features of the decree are notable. Tracy has noted (*ADT*, 37) that the heading in ll. 5-6, plain “Assembly”, suggests a regular Assembly meeting on the normal schedule (in the Classical democracy there were normally four per prytany), not one of any special character;<sup>28</sup> and ll. 6-9 shows that the Assembly continued to be presided over by officials known as *proedroi*, as it had been for the later part of the fourth-century democracy. Presumably they continued to be members of the Council representing each tribe except the one in prytany (*Ath. Pol.* 44.2). In the Classical democracy the *proedroi* were ordinary councillors, typically otherwise unknown to the historical record (*IALD II*, 190). Otherwise unknown in person, our chairman of *proedroi*, Aristokrates of Oinoe (*PAA* 171435), would not have been out of place in that office in the previous generation, albeit that we may assume that he met the Demetrian property qualification. Plausibly enough his father, Aristodemos, had been a lessee of sacred properties and manager of the dockyards in the 340s and 330s (*PAA* 169050). A more strongly oligarchic aura surrounds the proposer, Thrasykles of Thria, who had held, in the first year of its existence, 321/0, the prominent office of *anagrapheus*, who seems to have supplanted the democratic

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. *IALD II*, 187-90.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Aeschin. 3.177-88.

<sup>25</sup> *Char.* 21; *IALD II*, 203.

<sup>26</sup> P. J. Rhodes with D. M. Lewis, *The Decrees of the Greek States* (1997), 44.

<sup>27</sup> See as regards inscriptions e.g. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 337](#). O’Sullivan (2009), 119-20, however, is cautious about drawing the natural inference. Whether earlier statues were publicly funded is obscure.

<sup>28</sup> The same applies to *IG II<sup>2</sup> 453*; on headings of this kind in the last phase of the Classical democracy, where the heading “Assembly” correlates closely with non-probouleumatic decrees see *IALD II*, 241-45.

secretary of the Council in the oligarchy imposed on Athens by Antipater after the Lamian War (*PAA* 517295).<sup>29</sup>

Particularly noteworthy is that the decree is non-probouleumatic (δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ll. 10-11), implying that its provisions were formulated in the Assembly and were not simply a rubber-stamping of a *probouleuma* formulated by the Council. This too corresponds to the pattern for major decrees established in the fourth-century democracy; in the third century a much higher proportion of decrees were to be probouleumatic (*IALD* II, 227-71). The interest of ordinary Athenian citizens is engaged, implicitly and explicitly, by the terms of the decree: Asandros had looked after Athenian citizens who, for the most part no doubt through the fortunes of war in 315 and 314, had visited his territories; he had placed his own ships and soldiers at Athenian disposal, most likely in a venture in which Athenians who were members of the long-standing Athenian cleruchy on Lemnos had a vital interest; and he had taken steps to ensure the safe return home of Athenians at his own cost. The formulations are conventional, but they are not hollow. Securing the safe return of citizens in adversity was especially likely to result in expressions of the Assembly's gratitude, regardless of the complexion of the prevailing constitution. Such had been the occasion for a non-probouleumatic decree proposed in democratic times by Demades in favour of Eurylochos of Kydonia in Crete in 328/7, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 358](#). Such was also to be the occasion of a non-probouleumatic decree awarding an honorific statue to another Kydonian, Eumaridas, in 228/7, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1137](#), in the wake of the restoration of "freedom and democracy" following the departure of the Macedonian garrison in 229, but at a time when non-probouleumatic decrees had become much less common (*IALD* II, 264).

Since my 2000 edition of this inscription, a number of studies have explored awards of the *megistai timai* in Athens, building on P. Gauthier's *Les cités grecques et leur bienfaiteurs* (1985), including G. Oliver's 2007 survey of Hellenistic awards of statues,<sup>30</sup> and most recently M. Domingo Gygax's 2016 study, arguing that grants to benefactors at Athens of statues, *sitesis* and *proedria* originated in the honours which Greek cities had awarded to their athletes who had won victories in Panhellenic Games.<sup>31</sup> Statues throughout the Greek world have recently been explored by J. Ma,<sup>32</sup> and "honorific representation", with an emphasis on the material remains, by G. Biard.<sup>33</sup> Our decree is the earliest well-preserved inscribed example of an award of the *megistai timai*, though in [SEG 29.86](#) = RO 11 we possess fragments of the decree or series of decrees that awarded a statue and other honours to Euagoras of Salamis in 394/3. Despite the lack of full epigraphical documentation, the earlier development of these high awards at Athens is tolerably clear, in outline if not in detail. The archetype is the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who were awarded posthumous honorific statues in the Agora at some point between 510 and the 480s. Antenor's originals were removed from Athens to Persia by the invading Persians in 480 and replaced in 477/6 with the pair of statues by Kritios and

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<sup>29</sup> For the democratic connotations of this secretaryship in the later phase of the Classical democracy see *Ath. Pol.* 54.3.

<sup>30</sup> In Schultz and von den Hoff, 181-204 (tabulation of awards, 184-88, see also R. Krumeich, in Schultz and von den Hoff, 161-80).

<sup>31</sup> Domingo Gygax, 162.

<sup>32</sup> Ma.

<sup>33</sup> Biard (whose table of honorific statues in bronze according to the epigraphic evidence, Annexe C, pp. 411-13, however, requires updating).

Nesiotes which are familiar from Roman copies.<sup>34</sup> The descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were also awarded perpetual *sitesis* ([IG I<sup>3</sup> 131](#), revised on AIO), *proedria* and exemption from liturgies.<sup>35</sup> In the 420s Kleon was apparently awarded *proedria* and *sitesis* for his success at Pylos,<sup>36</sup> but consonantly with the collectivist ethos of the fifth-century democracy observable also in patterns of funerary commemoration, statues were not awarded as public honours at this period, and the first since Harmodios and Aristogeiton were awarded to Konon and Euagoras, the victors over the Spartans at Knidos in 394.<sup>37</sup> Between then and the end of the Classical democracy a handful of further such high awards is documented, though the precise combination is generally uncertain; in some cases, for example, only a statue is explicitly attested, and we can not be certain what other honours, if any, accompanied it. Recipients included major Athenian military leaders, Chabrias, Iphikrates and Timotheos;<sup>38</sup> major foreign leaders and benefactors, such as Philip II and Alexander,<sup>39</sup> and Pairisades, Satyros and Gorgippos of the Spartokid dynasty that ruled the Cimmerian Bosphoros and played a crucial role in the Athenian grain supply.<sup>40</sup> In the period after Chaironeia statues were also awarded to Athenian civilian leaders, notably in his lifetime to Demades, probably in response to the remarkably favourable settlement he managed to negotiate with Alexander following the sack of Thebes in 335,<sup>41</sup> while in 317-307 numerous statues of Demetrios of Phaleron were apparently erected, as well as one of Kassandros.<sup>42</sup> In 307/6 a statue was erected posthumously for Demades' rival Lykourgos, on Stratokles' proposal.<sup>43</sup> Though not perhaps so obviously the case with statues alone, the perpetual *sitesis* and/or *proedria* which generally accompanied them entailed privileged symbolic integration into the community, and Athenian citizenship was a normal, perhaps at this time invariable, prerequisite.

<sup>34</sup> Paus. 1.8.5; [IG I<sup>3</sup> 502](#) (with notes on AIO); Domingo Gyax, 137, 162; Azoulay; Biard, 257-61, with pl. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Isae. 5.47; Dem. 20.127-30, 159; Domingo Gyax, 161-65.

<sup>36</sup> Ar. *Knights* 573-80, 702-4.

<sup>37</sup> See [SEG 29.86](#) = RO 11 with notes [significant progress with the text of this inscription has been achieved by Angelos Matthaiou]; Domingo Gyax, 192-96; Biard, 69-74, emphasising precedents in archaic votive representation. Konon was awarded *ateleia*; Euagoras was awarded *proedria*; whether either or both of them were awarded *sitesis* is unclear.

<sup>38</sup> Domingo Gyax, 196-99; Iphikrates' award for exploits against the Spartans in 390 is the earliest firmly attested combination of statue, *proedria* and *sitesis* after Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

<sup>39</sup> Statues, Paus. 1.9.4, Hyp. *Dem.* 32 with Azoulay, 161; citizenship, Osborne, *Naturalization* T68 and T69.

<sup>40</sup> Statues, Din. 1.43; they were already citizens, cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 298](#) and [870](#).

<sup>41</sup> *Sitesis* and a statue, Din. 1.101, unsuccessfully opposed by Polyeuktos of Sphettos and Lykourgos F9 Conomis, cf. M. H. Hansen, *The Sovereignty of the People's Court* (1974), 39 no. 31, [AIO Papers no. 6](#) = *IALD* II, 298-99.

<sup>42</sup> Demetrios of Phaleron: Diogenes Laertius 5.75. Kassandros: Plut. *Mor.* 559d. Tracy, *ADT* 36-51, demonstrated that the statue base from Eleusis, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 281](#), relates not to our Demetrios of Phaleron, but to his homonymous grandson. The base of a statue of Demetrios set up by the deme Sphettos, [SEG 25.206](#), may relate to our Demetrios or his grandson (Tracy, *ADT* 39, n. 19). [IG II<sup>2</sup> 1201](#) is a fragmentary decree of the deme Aixone honouring our Demetrios, but the preserved portion of the text does not provide for a statue.

<sup>43</sup> *Sitesis* and a statue, [IG II<sup>2</sup> 457 + 3207](#), with notes, and [AIO Papers no. 6](#) = *IALD* II, chapter 11.

Such statues were usually placed in the Agora. Sometimes we know that they were in specific locations with symbolic charge; those of Konon and Euagoras, for example, were erected near the statue of Zeus Soter/Zeus Eleutherios, celebrating the honorands' achievement in liberating Greece from Spartan domination, as Harmodios and Aristogeiton had liberated Athens from tyranny;<sup>44</sup> and Konon had also dedicated a votive statue of himself on the acropolis, later to be extended to incorporate a statue of his son Timotheos, who was also honoured with a statue in the Agora next to his father's.<sup>45</sup> Asandros' is the first known case of explicit prohibition of erection of the statue near Harmodios and Aristogeiton, but the prohibition expresses a long-standing conception of the heroic achievements of the pair not only as archetypal but in a class of their own, implicit in the long refusal to erect statues of other citizens and the emphasis in literary sources on the statues for Konon and Euagoras being the "first since Harmodios and Aristogeiton", and it is quite possible that the avoidance of a location next to the Tyrannicides was conventional in statue grants before Asandros'. Azoulay, 168-72, speculates that the prohibition may reflect a differentiation between royal figures, who were permitted statues next to Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and subordinate ones, such as Asandros, who were not. In the case of Philip II and Alexander he infers from Pausanias' (vague) description of their location at 1.8.5-1.9.4 that they had already been granted statues close to Harmodios and Aristogeiton, and he guesses that the same might have applied to statues of Kassandros and Demetrios of Phaleron. This seems questionable. It is not clear that Pausanias implies that Philip and Alexander were located close to Harmodios and Aristogeiton (he does not describe the statues in immediate succession) and the observation of nice distinctions between sovereigns and others seems anachronistic in fourth-century Athens. Moreover, as we shall see, the later grant for Herodoros seems to imply that there was only one other set of statues by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, those of Antigonos and Demetrios Poliorketes.

There may have been a religious aspect to the prohibition. The polemarch made sacrifices commemorating the war dead and offered *enagismata* to Harmodios and Aristogeiton, a term indicating offerings designed to counteract the potential hostility or pollution of the dead (it may or may not be relevant that in this case they were themselves killers).<sup>46</sup> Whether or not the *enagismata* were offered at the statues themselves,<sup>47</sup> just as Zeus Soter/Eleutherios drew Konon and Euagoras in close, Harmodios and Aristogeiton required likenesses of other human benefactors to maintain an awesome distance, despite, or perhaps precisely because of, the similarity of the honours being awarded to their own. A similar prohibition appears in the decree of 295/4 BC honouring Herodoros, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 853](#), ll. 40-42 (Azoulay observes that he too was not a sovereign). As Oliver notes, it is also expressed in negative formulations of the kind, "except where the law forbids it".<sup>48</sup> Most such cases date from the mid-second century onwards, but they include the decree of 307/6 for Lykourgos. Whatever the history of the restriction before Asandros' decree, in the context of Demetrios of Phaleron's regime, the respectful reference to Athens' quintessential democratic heroes bespeaks a sense of continuity with and respect for the city's democratic heritage consonant with other aspects of the decree's wording, and with

<sup>44</sup> Isoc. 9.57, cf. Dem. 20.68-70.

<sup>45</sup> Paus. 1.24.3; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 3774](#) = C. Löhr, *Griechische Familienweihungen* (2000), 76-77, no. 86. Iphikrates also dedicated a votive statue on the acropolis, Paus. 1.24.7, Domingo Gyax, 196-97.

<sup>46</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 58.1, cf. Dem. 19.280, Parker, *Athenian Religion* (1996), 136.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. R. Krumeich, in Schultz and von den Hoff, 163.

<sup>48</sup> Oliver, in Schultz and von den Hoff, 198-99.

Demetrios' own claim not to have abolished the democracy, but "set the democracy right".<sup>49</sup>

This aspect of honorific practice continued to resonate powerfully in both the short and the much longer term. As well as proposing a statue of Lykourgos "except where the law prohibits", Stratokles also proposed a decree "to erect golden statues on a chariot (ἐφ' ἄρματος) of both Antigonos and Demetrios (scil. Poliorketes) near Harmodios and Aristogeiton, to crown both of them at a cost of 200 talents, and having consecrated an altar to them, to call it 'of the Saviours'."<sup>50</sup> There may be a trace here of the exaggerated invective that characterises literary accounts of Demetrios Poliorketes at Athens; but in 295/4 the "Saviours" are duly conjoined with Harmodios and Aristogeiton as locations next to which Herodoros' statue was not to be located, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 853](#), ll. 40-42. Konon and Euagoras' statues had been erected next to the divine Saviour's (i.e the statue of Zeus Soter); Antigonos and Demetrios were themselves divine Saviours who had nothing to fear from propinquity to Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who were, like themselves, also Liberators.<sup>51</sup> As Oliver remarks, we may assume that the statues of these "Saviours" were removed as part of the *damnatio memoriae* of the Antigonids in 200 BC.<sup>52</sup> But this was not the end of the story, as in 42 BC, following the assassination of Julius Caesar, Brutus and Cassius were warmly received by the Athenians, who decreed bronze statues of them next to Harmodios and Aristogeiton.<sup>53</sup> The original statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton by Antenor carried off by Xerxes are said to have been returned to Athens by Alexander,<sup>54</sup> by Seleukos,<sup>55</sup> or Antiochos.<sup>56</sup> There are various ways that these claims can be reconciled with the epigraphic evidence.<sup>57</sup>

Not by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, but the liberty granted Asandros to locate his statue otherwise wherever he wishes in the Agora is striking. It may serve as an antidote to any inclination we may have to assume tight control of the public space of the Agora by the polis, or a regimented placement of statues in particular locations.<sup>58</sup> One wonders, however, whether this lack of control by the collective would have been tolerated in the Classical democracy.

Asandros' is the earliest public honorific statue in Athens known to have been on horseback,<sup>59</sup> and is one of, if not the earliest, such statue known in Greece.<sup>60</sup> The connotation seems to be military leadership. H. B. Siedentopf, *Das Hellenistische*

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<sup>49</sup> Strabo 9.1.20, quoted above.

<sup>50</sup> Diod. 20.46.2; for discussion of physical remains of a probably different gilded equestrian statue, not apparently ἐφ' ἄρματος, see Biard, 297-300.

<sup>51</sup> Azoulay, 168-72, suggests that there were also later exceptions for royal figures such as the Ptolemies.

<sup>52</sup> Oliver, in Schultz and von den Hoff, 198.

<sup>53</sup> Dio 47.20.4.

<sup>54</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* 3.16.7-8, 7.19.2, Pliny *NH* 34.70.

<sup>55</sup> Val. Max. 2.10 ext. 1.

<sup>56</sup> Paus. 1.8.5.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. J. Finn, *Historia* 63, 2014, 385-403 at 395 n. 31.

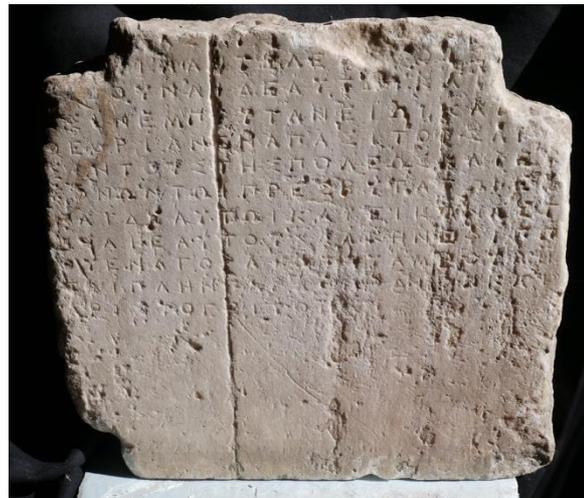
<sup>58</sup> Cf. Ma, 128-29, who notes early parallels in other cities.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Biard, 297.

<sup>60</sup> *CID* II 34 col. 2 ll. 56-63 (cf. Biard, 295-96) is generally taken to imply that there were equestrian statues of the Phokian generals, Philomelos and Onomarchos at Delphi before 352, though the text separates honorands and horses and it is unclear whether the honorands were depicted mounted.

*Reiterdenkmal*, (1968), 12-13, notes that honorific equestrian statues were later almost exclusively restricted to Hellenistic kings; and, though not later limited to Macedonians, this award for the Macedonian Asandros would be consistent with the type originally having had specifically Macedonian connotations.<sup>61</sup>

Where was the decree erected? The absence of an explicit erection clause makes certainty impossible, but especially if statue and inscription were both erected privately, it is perhaps most likely that the permission to erect the statue in the Agora granted by ll. 29-34 also implicitly covered the inscription and that, as earlier scholars have suggested,<sup>62</sup> the inscription, complete with its crowning decorative feature, was placed next to the statue and functioned as a commentary on it. The alleged findspot of one of the fragments in a secondary context on the acropolis does not gainsay this. It cannot, however, be established that it was common Athenian practice in the fourth century to erect the decree awarding a statue next to the statue, though it is well-enough attested later.<sup>63</sup> Demosthenes quotes from the stele the decree that awarded Konon his honours (20.69); it is generally assumed, perhaps correctly, that that stele was located next to his statue in the Agora, though Demosthenes does not explicitly state where the stele was. The evidence for the original location of the stele recording the honours for Euagoras is inconclusive as between the Agora and the acropolis.<sup>64</sup> In the case of the statue for Lykourgos, erected in 307/6, the relevant decree, with a record of other decrees honouring him, seems to have been placed on the acropolis, not next to the statue in the Agora.<sup>65</sup> In some cases no decree may have been inscribed at all and the statue itself may have fulfilled the role of monumental commemoration of the honour granted. There is no sign that the decree(s) honouring Harmodios and Aristogeiton and their descendants were ever inscribed and some indications to the contrary, if my reading of [IG I<sup>3</sup> 131](#) ll. 8-9 (see AIO n. 5) is correct, though in any case the honours for the Tyrannicides will have been awarded before Athens began inscribing honorific decrees on the acropolis in the mid-fifth century.<sup>66</sup> It was common enough for decrees awarding Athenians more modest honours to be commemorated by an inscribed dedication, which only after the 340s sometimes carried the text of the decree itself.<sup>67</sup>



*Fig. 1. 1 fr. b (= BSA E1)*

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Biard, 297; later equestrian statues at Athens are indicated in Oliver's table, in Schultz and von den Hoff, 184-88.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Wilhelm (1900-1901).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1137](#), ll. 29-30; Ma, 59.

<sup>64</sup> See Lambert and Rhodes in AIO on [SEG 29.86](#), n. 6.

<sup>65</sup> See [IG II<sup>2</sup> 457 + 3207](#) with [AIO Papers no. 6 = IALD II](#), 293-96.

<sup>66</sup> For the earliest inscribed decree effectively honouring Athenians, see [OR 178](#) with n. 5.

<sup>67</sup> *IALD* 49-55; cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 57](#) with Lambert and Weidgennant's notes on AIO.



*Fig. 2. 1 fr. b (= BSA E1)*  
below *1 fr. a (= BM 1816,0610.187 © Trustees of the British Museum)*

**2** HONOURS FOR OFFICIALS, 303/2 BC. BSA E6. In ruins of a Byzantine chapel on the left of the road from Athens to Marathon, between 10th and 11th kilometre stones, 1897. Stele of bluish-grey marble, both sides preserved, h. 0.92, w. 0.405, th. 0.14. Letter height 0.006, stoich. grid h. 0.013 x w. 0.013.

Eds. M. N. Tod, *ABSA* 9, 1902-3, 154-75; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 488](#); S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 492-95, E6 (ph.) (*SEG* 50.143).

Cf. J. S. Traill, *Hesp.* 35, 1966, 236; A. S. Henry, *Chiron* 14, 1984, 1-63. *Figs.* 3 and 4.

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 304/3 BC [ .<sup>4</sup>. ]κων τῶν ἐπὶ Φερε[κ]λέους ἄρχοντο- stoich. 30  
 [ς καὶ] στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν χρυσ-  
 [ῶι στ]εφάνωι κα[τ]ὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐπειδὴ δι-  
 [καίω]ς ἄρξαντες τὰς εὐθύνας δεδώκασ-  
 5 [ιν κατ]ὰ τὸν νόμον : Ἀρχίαν [Ε]ὐβίου Ποτ-  
 [άμιο]ν<sup>I</sup> : Λυσικράτην Λυσιστράτου Μελ-  
 [ιτέα<sup>II</sup> :] Μνησίμαχον Τηλεκλέους Εὐωνυ-  
 [μέα<sup>III</sup> : Β]ράχυλλον Βραχύλλου Ἐρχιέα<sup>IV</sup> : Ἀν-  
 [τίοχο]ν Πίθωνος Προβαλίσιον<sup>V</sup> : Παντή-  
 10 [νορα Φ]υλέως Σκαμβ[ων]ίδην<sup>VI</sup> : Καλλιππί-  
 [δην Δ]ιονυσίου Θορ[ίκι]ον<sup>VII</sup> : Πολλιάδην  
 [ .<sup>4</sup>. ]ου Λουσιέα<sup>VIII</sup> : Τ[ε]λέ[σ]αρχον Τελέσω-  
 [νος Ἀ]λαιέα<sup>IX</sup> : Ἰ[π]ποκράτην Φιλοκράτου-  
 [ς ἔξ Οἴ]ου<sup>X</sup> : Ὀνήσανδρον Φαγοστράτου Σ-  
 15 [ημαχί]δην<sup>XI</sup> : δικαιοσύνης ἔνεκ[α] καὶ φ-  
 [ιλοτι]μίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν  
 [δῆμον] τὸν Ἀθηναίων· δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 [τὸν ἐπ]ὶ τεῖ διοικήσει εἰς θυσ[ί]αν καὶ  
 [ἀνάθη]μα : Η : δρα[χμ]άς, ὅπως ἂν [κ]αὶ οἱ ἄλ-  
 20 [λοι ἄρχ]οντες φι[λ]οτιμῶντ[αι] εἰ[ι]δότες  
 [ὅτι τιμ]ηθήσονται ὑπὸ τῆ[ς] βου[λ]ῆς καὶ  
 [τοῦ δήμ]ου· [ἀν]α[γ]ράψαι δὲ τό[δε τ]ὸ ψήφισ-  
 [μα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτ]ανεία-  
 [ν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι] ἐν ἀκ-  
 25 [ροπόλει· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς] στή-  
 [λης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμ]ου ΔΔΔΔ  
 [: δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψ]ηφίσματ-  
 [α ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δήμωι].

*vacat* 0.55

Rest. Tod, 7 Τηλεκλέους, 8 Β]ράχυλλον Βραχύλλου, 12 Τ[ελ]έ[σ]αρχον Lam. 2000 || 1 e.g. στρατιωτικῶν, Διονυσιακῶν, cf. [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 995](#), 17 || 8-9 Ἀν[τίοχο]ν Traill, cf. *Agora* XV 61, 239 || 15 δικαιοσύνης, cf. Threatte I 533 || 26 Lam. 2000, δήμου : Δ]Δ[Δ] Tod, or τὸν ἐπὶ τῆι διοικήσει :] Δ[Δ|Δ δραχμὰς Henry, 56.

...  
of the - in the archonship of Pherekles (304/3)  
and crown each of them with a gold  
crown according to the law, since  
having fulfilled their office justly, they have rendered  
(5) their accounts according to the law: Archias son of Eubios  
of Potamos<sup>I</sup>; Lysikrates son of Lysistratos of Melite<sup>II</sup>;  
Mnesimachos son of Telekles of Euonymon<sup>III</sup>;  
Brachyllos son of Brachyllos of Erchia<sup>IV</sup>;  
Antiochos son of Pithon of Probalinthos<sup>V</sup>; Pantenor  
(10) son of Phyleus of Skambonidai<sup>VI</sup>; Kallippides  
son of Dionysios of Thorikos<sup>VII</sup>; Polliades  
son of - of Lousia<sup>VIII</sup>; Telesarchos son of Teleson  
of Halai<sup>IX</sup>; Hippokrates son of Philokrates  
of Oion<sup>X</sup>; Onesandros son of Phanostratos  
(15) of Semachidai<sup>XII</sup>; for their justice and  
love of honour towards the Council and  
People of the Athenians; and the officer in charge of  
the administration shall give them for a sacrifice and  
dedication 100 drachmas, so that other officials  
(20) may also show love of honour, knowing  
that they will be honoured by the Council and  
People; and the prytany secretary  
shall inscribe this decree  
on a stone stele and stand it on the  
(25) acropolis; and for the inscribing of the stele  
the treasurer of the People shall give 40 (?)  
drachmas from the People's fund for  
expenditure on decrees.

In 307 BC Demetrios of Phaleron was ousted and “democracy” was restored under the aegis of Antigonos and his son Demetrios Poliorketes.<sup>68</sup> Reacting, it seems, to the dearth of inscribed decrees under the previous regime, the Athenians revived their traditional epigraphical habit along with their “ancestral constitution”, and more inscribed decrees are extant from 307/6-301/0 than from any comparable period of Athenian history. Under the Classical democracy decrees honouring Athenian officials with gold crowns had been regularly inscribed since the mid-340s,<sup>69</sup> and particularly it seems where the duties had a religious aspect, the crowns might be accompanied by an award of funding for a sacrifice and dedication, as in our ll. 17-19.<sup>70</sup> In fact in almost every detail of its wording this decree could have been passed in the 330s or 320s. Particularly significant ideologically

<sup>68</sup> Diod. 20.45.5, 46.3; Plut. *Demetr.* 10.2; presumably this entailed abolition of the property qualification for active citizenship that had existed under the previous regime, see above note on 1. Two new tribes were created and named Antigonos and Demetrias.

<sup>69</sup> The earliest dated example is [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 301](#).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *IALD*, 54-55.

are the hortatory intention clause, common in inscribed decrees under the Classical democracy since the 340s, the emphasis on the democratic principles of accountability (5), and the reference not once, but twice, to adherence to the law (ll. 3 and 5). Decrees honouring Athenian officials in the last phase of the Classical democracy had carefully specified that the honours were subject to, or followed, the completion of the accounting process (*euthynai*);<sup>71</sup> the difference was that now the decrees were normally only inscribed after the *euthynai* had been completed.<sup>72</sup> There had been an increasing emphasis on the rule of law in the decrees of the last phase of the Classical democracy,<sup>73</sup> and the restored democracy of 307/6 carried out a revision of the laws, which we are informed about in a decree honouring Eucharis of Konthyle for his work in writing up (*anagraphe*) the laws that had been passed (νενομοθετημένοι), *IG II<sup>2</sup> 487*. The precise scope of this legislative activity is obscure, but it seems likely that these were laws which re-established the democratic systems after the interruption of Demetrios of Phaleron's regime.<sup>74</sup> In any case it is unlikely to be coincidental that the double emphasis on adherence to the law in our decree relates to officials who were in office in precisely the same year as Eucharis' writing up of the laws, 304/3; and we may probably assume that the law on crowning of officials only after their rendering of accounts was among those written up by Eucharis. These laws also perhaps included one specifying the value of crowns to be awarded to officials, since from this year on this wording, specifying crowning "according to the law", replaces the earlier wording specifying the crown's value.<sup>75</sup>

Unfortunately we do not know what office the honorands fulfilled; -κων (l. 1) is from the end of its description; and we may probably infer from the fact that they had rendered their accounts that the decree was passed early in 303/2, the year following that in which they had held office. Eleven officials are named, one from each of the twelve tribes except Aiantis. Perhaps, as Tod suggested, their chairman had been praised separately in the earlier part of the decree, now lost. One of the board, Antiochos of Probalinthos, was also on the Council in the same year,<sup>76</sup> but at least two of the others, Lysikrates of Melite and Onesandros of Semachidai, were certainly not councillors that year, implying that the board was not a committee of the Council. Lysikrates himself proposed an honorific decree at around the same period (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 506*) and, unremarkably, several of the other honorands can be connected to families attested on funerary monuments,<sup>77</sup> or serving on the Council in other years. Onesandros of Semachidai served again on the Council in 281/0.<sup>78</sup> By that time, and possibly already by 304/3, the ban on serving on the Council more than twice in a lifetime that operated in the Classical period had been lifted.<sup>79</sup>

Two different officials appear to perform disbursement functions in this decree, the officer in charge of the administration for the sacrifice and dedication (18), the treasurer of the People for the stele (26). This is unusual, though rather characteristic of these years of

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<sup>71</sup> *IALD II*, 10-11.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. E. M. Harris, *ZPE* 202, 2017, 113.

<sup>73</sup> *IALD II*, chapter 7.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Canevaro, *Dike* 14, 2011, 69-79.

<sup>75</sup> Tod, 165-66.

<sup>76</sup> *Agora XV* 61, 239.

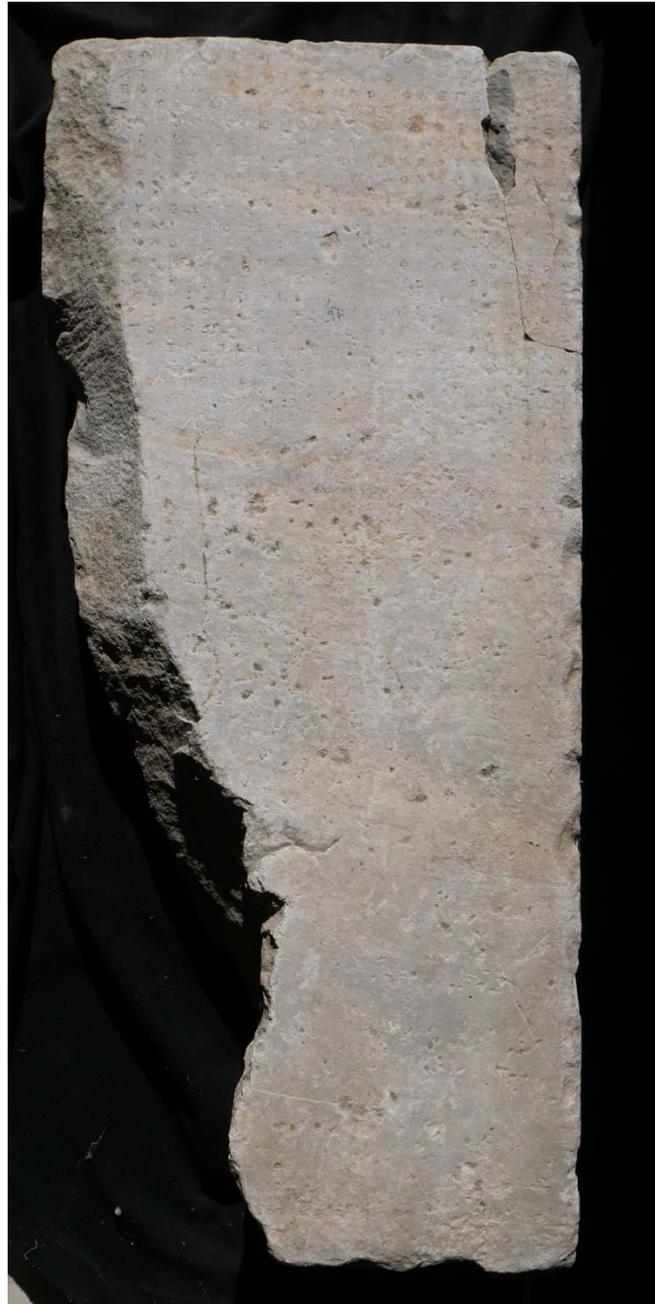
<sup>77</sup> For the family of Archias of Potamos see *IG II<sup>2</sup> 7257*, 7263 and 11360; for Brachyllos of Erchia, *SEG* 21.1013.

<sup>78</sup> *Agora XV* 72, 265.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *IALD II*, 261-62.

prolific inscribing and somewhat confused organisation of the arrangements with regard to funds and officials responsible for payment.<sup>80</sup>

It is not uncommon for inscribed decrees originally erected on the acropolis to be found elsewhere in central Athens; often they were shifted for use as building stone;<sup>81</sup> but unsurprisingly, given the weight of the stones, it is much more unusual for them to be found outside the city. Tod, 155-56, notes some other examples.



*Fig. 3. 2 (= BSA E6)*

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. Henry, 51-63; Lambert 2000, 495. In general on arrangements for paying for the inscription of decrees at this period, see P. J. Rhodes, *Greece and Rome*<sup>2</sup> 60, 2013, 203-31 at 224-25.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *IALD* II, 21 with n. 6.



Fig. 4. 2 (= BSA E6), ll. 1-21.

**3** CHOREGIC MONUMENT OF THE SON OF DOROTHEOS OF HALAI. BSA E8. Athens (*CIG* from Fourmont), “trouvé dans la direction de la rue des Tripodes, non loin du monument de Lysicrate, dans les fondements de la maison de M. Finley [Odos Adrianou 199, cf. **11**]” (Rangabé). Base of white marble, top and bottom preserved, h. 0.19, w. 0.46, th. 0.24. Letter height 0.025, stoich. grid h. 0.031 x w. 0.033. Neat late-5<sup>th</sup> cent. Attic script.

Eds. *CIG* I 1037 (deriving from papers of Fourmont); A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques* (1842), no. 55; *IG* I 337; *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 771; [IG I<sup>3</sup> 959](#) (S. Agelidis, *Choregische Weihgeschenke in Griechenland*, 2009, 151-52 no. 1); S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 497-98, E8 (ph.).

Cf. P. Amandry, *BCH* 101, 1977, 168, 183-85 with n. 38 (ph.). Fig. 5.

Late-5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC      [- -]ος Δοροθέο Ἁλαίει[ὺς ἐχορέγε -]      stoich.  
                                  [- -] Παντακλῆς ἐδίδ[ασκε -]  
                                  vacat 0.12

ἐχορέγε Αἰγείς ἐνίκᾱ] Lewis.

-os son of Dorotheos of Halai was sponsor . . .  
 . . . Pantakles was trainer . . .

One of the liturgies that might be undertaken by a wealthy Athenian in the Classical period was the *choregia*, the sponsorship of a performance at one of the great choral-dramatic festivals. The prize for the victorious *choregos* at the competition in the dithyramb, a type of choral hymn, at the City Dionysia and the Thargelia was a bronze tripod, and from the late fifth century onwards it became conventional for the victors to dedicate these tripods on inscribed bases, those at the Dionysia in the area of the “Street of the Tripods”, fairly close to the theatre of Dionysos, those at the Thargelia a short distance away in the area of the Pythion, south of the Olympieion (see map of findspots, *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 4 p.

182). In the fourth century the monuments tended to become more elaborate, and the most famous of all, the monument dedicated by Lysikrates to commemorate a victory at the City Dionysia in 335/4 BC, [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 460](#), is still in situ at the end of the Street of Tripods. The *choregoi* at the City Dionysia represented one tribe, while at the Thargelia they represented two;<sup>82</sup> but in this case we cannot tell from the surviving wording how many tribes were involved. The inscription was recorded in Athens by Fourmont in the early eighteenth century,<sup>83</sup> and on the basis of its nineteenth-century findspot in the vicinity of the Street of Tripods, most scholars have assumed that our monument relates to the City Dionysia, but the findspot recorded then is in the foundations of Finlay's house. It is possible that it was there in secondary use, that it had been shifted to that location from the area of the Pythion, and that it relates to the Thargelia.<sup>84</sup> Other choregic monuments of this period might mention an archon date (e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 960*), the pipe player (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 962*), and specify whether the victory was at the boys' or men's competition (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 966*). We do not know if any of this information was included on our monument. It is also unclear whether our *choregos* was from Halai Araphenides in Aigeis, or Halai Aixonides in Kekropis. The name Dorotheos was common, and it cannot be established that our *choregos* was related to Dorotheos of Halai Araphenides, chairman of the *proedroi* in 331/0.<sup>85</sup> The *proedroi* were ordinary councillors and are commonly otherwise unattested in the historical record. This would be the only *proedros* of the years 354/3-322/1 who was known (by virtue of this monument) to be a member of the liturgical class.<sup>86</sup>

Pantakles was a well-known poet, mentioned in several literary sources<sup>87</sup> as well as on other choregic monuments, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 958* and *967*; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀτῆνη (α 518 Billerbeck).<sup>88</sup>

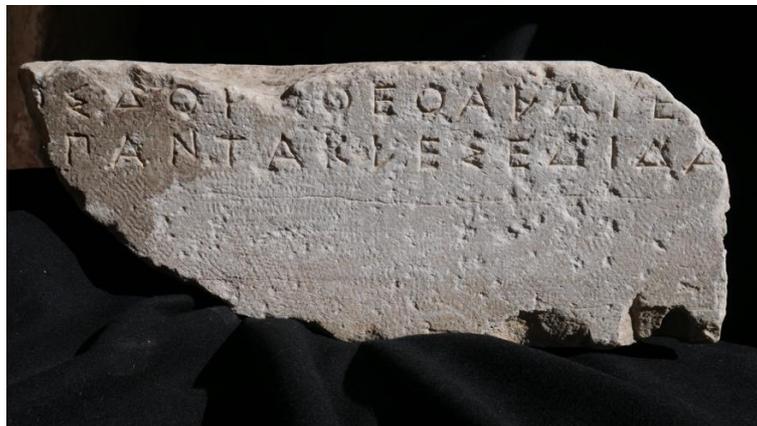


Fig. 5. 3 (= BSA E8)

<sup>82</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 56.3.

<sup>83</sup> No specific findspot is recorded in Boeckh's citation of Fourmont in *CIG*.

<sup>84</sup> It was argued inconclusively by Amandry to be a Thargelia monument on the grounds that the *choregos* has both patronymic and demotic (cf. *ABSA* 95, 2000, 498 n. 52). Agelidis overlooks my 2000 discussion.

<sup>85</sup> [IG II<sup>3</sup> 1, 351](#), ll. 7-8.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *IALD* II, 222-23.

<sup>87</sup> Eupolis *PCG* fr. 318; Ar. *Frogs* 1036-38, Antiphon 6.11, Aristotle, *Didaskaliai* F624 Rose = Harp. s.v. διδάσκαλος (δ 84 Keaney).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. G. Ieranò, *Il ditirambo di Dioniso* (1997), 314-15, and in B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson eds., *Dithyramb in Context* (2012), 376, 381-82, who, however, overlooks my 2000 edition.

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**4** DEDICATION BY MNESITHEOS SON OF MNES- (?). Lost.

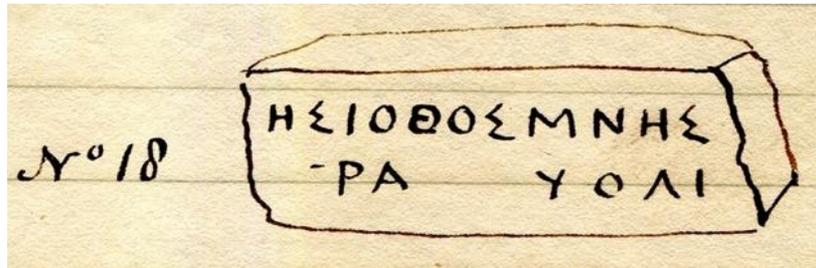
Edited from Finlay's notebooks by S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 516, Appendix (ph. of Finlay's drawings) ([SEG 50.204](#)). *Fig. 6*.

4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC (?)      [Mv]ησίθεος Μνησ-  
[-]ΠΑ[-<sup>32</sup>-]ΥΟΔΙ-

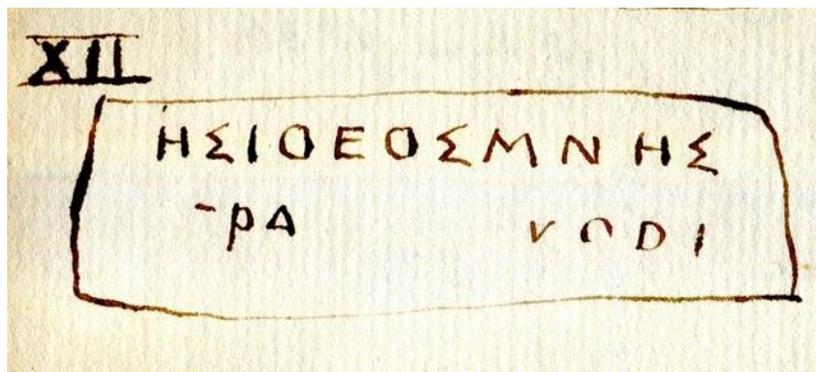
1 Lam. 2000 || 2 Π]υθα- ?.

Mnesitheos son of Mnes-  
*traces*

This was perhaps a dedication by, or possibly a funerary monument for a Mnesitheos son of Mnes-.



*Fig. 6a. 4 as drawn by G. Finlay, MS Cat. (= Hussey C10) no. 18*



*Fig. 6b. 4 as drawn by G. Finlay, MS Coll. Gr. (= Hussey C12) no. 12*

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**5** BASE OF STATUE OF ANTIPATROS SON OF ANTIPATROS OF PHLYA. BSA E11. Findspot unknown. Finlay collection. Curved (convex) base of blue-grey marble, top with cutting for statue, and bottom preserved. H. 0.175, w. 0.37, th. 0.16. Letter height 0.033. Late Hellenistic lettering, with modest apices or serifs and A.

Eds. *IG* III 653 (from transcript of Finlay); [IG II<sup>2</sup> 3539](#); S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 501-2, E11 (ph.) ([SEG 50.198](#)).

Cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 17, 1948, 41 (*SEG* 17.70); T. C. Sarikakis, *The Hoplite General* (1951), 37 and 41; G. A. Stamires, *Hesp.* 26, 1957, 249-50 (*SEG* 17.70); W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesp.* 30, 1961, 186-94; D. J. Geagan, *AJP* 100, 1979, 59-68, especially 62 (*SEG* 29.125) and in M. C. Hoff and S. I. Rotroff eds., *The Romanization of Athens* (1997), 19-32, esp. 22-24; *RCA*, xiii, 487-88, 492-93; S. Follet, *Bull. ép.* 2003, 269; Schmalz, 149 no. 185. *Fig.* 7.

18/7 BC or shortly after            [Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντιπ]άτρου Φλυέα *vac.*  
    [τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας] στρατηγὸν τὸ ἕβδο[μον]  
    [*praenomen nomen* Π]ρόκλος ἀρετ[ῆς ἕνεκα].

Dittenberger, 1 in. Meritt, from *SEG* 17.71, 3 in. Byrne ap. Lam 2000.

Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phlya,  
 hoplite general for the seventh time,  
 [*praenomen nomen*] Proculus for his excellence.

This statue, set up apparently by a Roman with the cognomen Proculus, commemorates the seventh hoplite generalship of one of the leading Athenians of the Augustan period, Antipatros son of Antipatros of Phlya, the abundant evidence for whom, entirely epigraphical, is now conveniently set out by Byrne, *RCA* pp. 487-88 s.v. (Vipsanius) Ἀντίπατρος of Phlya 4, cf. 492.<sup>89</sup> In addition to monuments commemorating his first term as hoplite general *ca.* 28 BC, *Agora* XV 284 = *SEG* 28.160 (Schmalz no. 24), his third term in 24/3 BC (?), *Agora* XV 290, 22 (Schmalz no. 33) and *SEG* 29.170 (Schmalz no. 183, with some doubt as to the term), his fifth term *ca.* 20 BC, *Agora* XV 293, 80 (Schmalz no. 35), his seventh term *ca.* 18/7 BC or shortly after is commemorated by this statue and one set up by the merchants, *SEG* 17.71 (Schmalz no. 186), perhaps suggesting that Antipatros was active as a naval commander. He also proposed a decree concerning the celebration of Augustus' birthday in 22 BC (?), *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1071 + *SEG* 17.34, 3, perhaps when hoplite general for the fourth time (Schmalz no. 8). In the 20s BC he may also have been honoured by the Delphian Amphictyony, *SEG* 18.223, and he was probably the Antipatros named as owner of three slaves, Roushion, Philemation and Ma, who are depicted as having perished in a shipwreck on a funerary monument in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, and are referred to there as Vipsanii (Βιψανοί), *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8413 (= von Moock no. 443 (ph.)). The last, together with the fact that his descendants are named Vipsanius, shows that the family was awarded the Roman citizenship under the patronage of Augustus' lieutenant, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and Byrne has attractively suggested (492) that this was on the occasion of Agrippa's likely visit to Athens in 16 BC, at which time he instigated the building of the Odeion, or Agrippeion, in the Agora.<sup>90</sup> This project had suitably military connotations, being linked with the neighbouring construction of a temple of Ares, deploying blocks transported from the fifth-century temple of Athena at Pallene.<sup>91</sup> Byrne suggests that Agrippa's visit and the award of citizenship to Antipatros coincided with Antipatros' seventh generalship. The non-use of his Roman name on an

<sup>89</sup> See also Schmalz, who has a slightly different chronology.

<sup>90</sup> J-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (1984), 423, cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4122-23; the building is discussed by A. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (2012), 59-86.

<sup>91</sup> Spawforth, 65.

Athenian civic monument would not be especially unusual,<sup>92</sup> though it is also possible that Antipatros' seventh generalship fell a year or two earlier than the putative citizenship grant in 16 BC. Whatever the precise timing, this makes Antipatros the earliest leading native Athenian known to be prominent in Athenian affairs who was created a Roman citizen. (The earlier case of Lysiades of Berenikidai is known only in a Roman context.<sup>93</sup>) Cf. Spawforth, 42-43, 82, 84, who notes (42) that Antipatros and Lysiades were two of ten "provincial grandees in Achaia who were also Roman citizens as a result of grants from Caesar, Antony, Augustus or members of his family, or from highly placed broker figures".



Fig. 7. 5 (= BSA E11)

**6** DEDICATION TO EILEITHYIA ON BEHALF OF JULIA RUFINA. BSA E13. Findspot unknown. Finlay collection. Slightly concave base of blue-grey marble, top, bottom, and possibly left and right side preserved. H 0.16, w. 0.33, th. 0.19. Letter height 0.01-0.03 (ΔΙΑΝ 1. 3 smaller). Α, rectilinear Ε, Σ, Π; Ω. Hyperextension of right diagonal of Α/Δ/Λ. Modest apices.

Eds. P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, 1843-44* (undated), I no. 89; *IG III* 926 (from transcript of Finlay); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4066; E. Kapetanopoulos, *Rev. belge phil. hist.* 52, 1974, 63-64 no. 7; S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 503-5, E13 (ph.) (*SEG* 50.200); [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 1151](#).

Cf. S. Pingiatoglou, *Eileithyia* (1981), E41; S. Follet, *Bull. ép.* 2003, 269. Fig. 8.

ca. 150 AD                    Γά(ιος) Ἰούλιος Ὀππᾶτ[ος]  
                                   τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θῦ [Ἰου]-  
                                   λίαν Ῥουφῖναν Ἰλιθυία

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Spawforth, 84.

<sup>93</sup> He was enrolled by Antony as a juror in Rome in 44 BC, Cicero, *Phil.* 5.13-14, 8.27, Byrne xiii.

5 χαριστήριον  
 [ἐπι] ἱερίᾳς Ἰσιδώρας τῆ[ς]  
 [-at least ca. 6-] ἐξ Αἰ[-c. 3- θυ]γα[τρός].

Dittenberger, 1 in. Kap., 2-3 Lam. 2000 (Θυ | [Ἰου]λίαν previous eds.), 5 ἱερίᾳς (PH in ligature) Curbera (ἱερίᾳς previous eds.), 6 Lam. 2000. On the abbreviations see Threatte I 99-105.

Gaius Julius Optatus (*sc. dedicated a statue of*)  
 his own daughter, Ju-  
 lia Rufina, to Eileithyia,  
 a thank-offering  
 (5) in the priestess-ship of Isidora  
 daughter of - of Ai[xone] *or* Ai[thalidai] *or* Ai[gilia].

This dedication to Eileithyia, goddess of childbirth, was made by a father on behalf of his daughter, Julia Rufina. From another dedication cut in the same hand and under the same priestess, datable to *ca.* 150 AD, *IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 1150*,<sup>94</sup> and from the prosopography of this prominent family, it can be established that Julia Rufina was the new-born daughter, not the baby's mother.<sup>95</sup> At the other end of her life, in *ca.* 220 AD, she was honoured by her husband, C. Julius (69) Musonius of Steiria (*I Eleus.* 633), and two of her sons are also known, Julius (72) Cassianus Mousonius and Julius (73) Cassianus Bassus "Hierokeryx", archon in 231/2 AD.<sup>96</sup>

As I noted in 2000, it seems that the text was first drafted using the baby's cognomen only, by which she would have been known in the family, but on second thoughts Optatus decided that, for form's sake, her nomen, Julia, should also be included, and this was squeezed in as an afterthought running over from the end of l. 2 to the beginning of l. 3. The absence of any mention of the mother is notable. She might have dedicated separately, or have died in childbirth.<sup>97</sup> Distinguishing different sanctuaries of Eileithyia at Athens is tricky. Most recently Sourlas, 171-73, identifies one mentioned by Paus. 1.18.4-6, close to the temple of Serapis, located by Pingiatoglou between the Athens cathedral and the Lysikrates monument, and another in the deme Kollytos, northwest of the acropolis and the Areopagos, *Agora XIX L6 II, ll. 97-98*; and is uncertain whether there was a third sanctuary in Agrai in the Ilissos area. In any case it is unclear from which sanctuary this dedication derives. The extant inscribed dedications to Eileithyia, dating from the fourth century BC to *ca.* the third century AD, are now conveniently collected at *IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 1141-52*;<sup>98</sup> to which add *IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 79*, of 339/8 BC, from the Agora, now identified by Curbera as a private dedication to Eileithyia by members of the prytany of

<sup>94</sup> Cf. *RCA* p. 14.

<sup>95</sup> *RCA* p. 325 Iulia ῥουφίνα no. 113.

<sup>96</sup> *RCA* pp. 317-18.

<sup>97</sup> On patterns of naming in other dedications to Eileithyia, see *ABSA* 95, 2000, 504 n. 82; for dedications to her of statues of infants, Pingiatoglou, 64-65 with pl. 14, 1, cf. Parker, *Polytheism and Society* (2005), 428; D. Sourlas, in H. Frielinghaus ed., *Kulte und Heiligtümer in Griechenland. Neue Funde und Forschungen* (2017), 163-91, at 172-73.

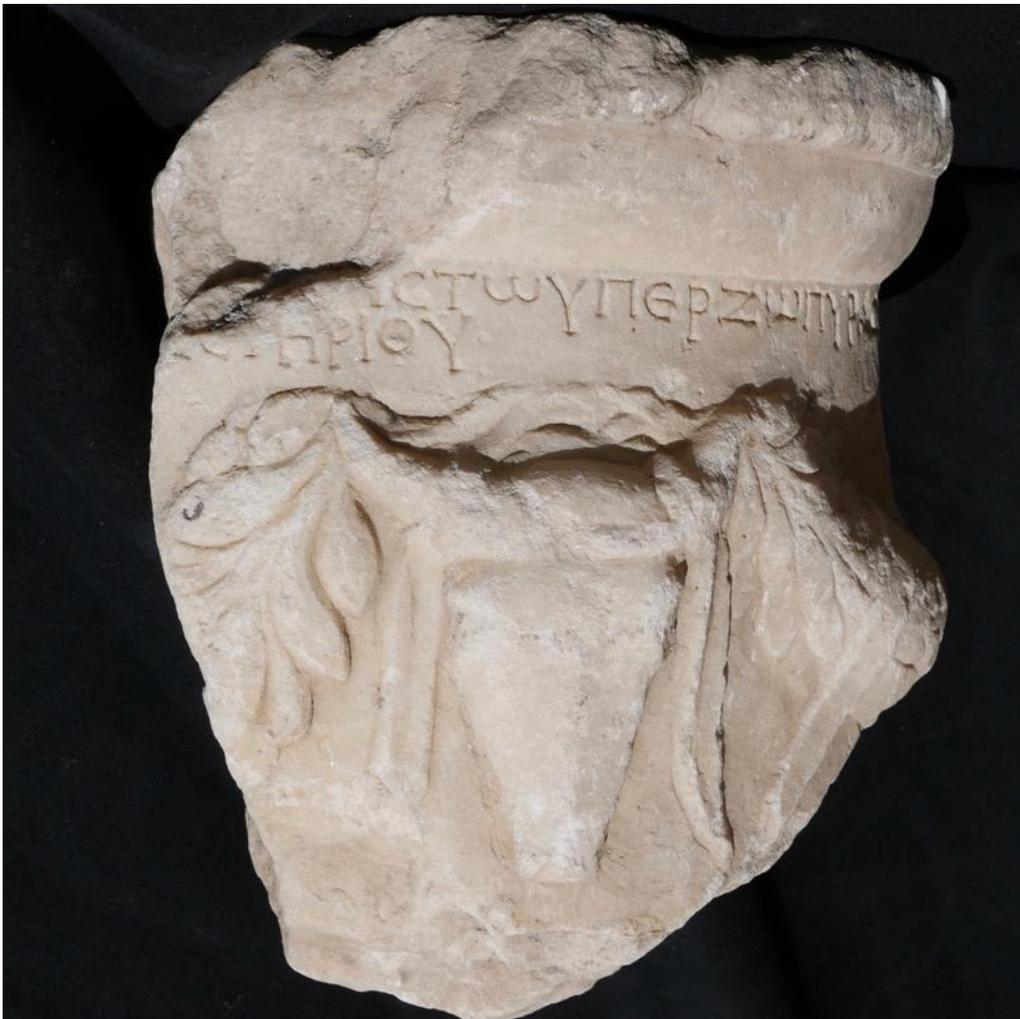
<sup>98</sup> 1141 = Sourlas, 168-69 (ph.), a striking newly discovered relief of *ca.* 400-350 BC dedicated to Eileithyia by a woman from Thespiiai, where cult of Eileithyia was well established, and depicting three female herms which Sourlas plausibly interprets as an allusion to the three ancient wooden cult statues of Eileithyia which Pausanias noted on his visit to the Athenian sanctuary.



[and ?] Anthesterios

*boukranion*

This was convincingly identified by Hereward as a dedication to Zeus Hypsistos, sometimes referred to simply as Hypsistos (“The All High”), on behalf of Zopyra and Anthesterios, or possibly Zopyra daughter of Anthesterios. The letter forms, physical characteristics, including boukranion relief, wording and onomastics of the dedication are consistent with other surviving dedications from the sanctuary of (Zeus) Hypsistos at the former meeting place of the Assembly on the Pnyx, which date from the first, and mostly to the second and third centuries AD.<sup>99</sup> The inscribed dedications are now collected with helpful bibliography at *IG II<sup>3</sup> 4*, 1239-76. The character of the cult is discussed by S. Mitchell, in S. Athanassiadi and M. Frede eds., *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (1999), 81–148 (Attic inscriptions, 128–29); and in S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen eds., *One God* (2010), 167–208 (cf. *SEG* 60.2036).



*Fig. 9. 7 (= BSA E14)*

<sup>99</sup> Cf. B. Forsén, in B. Forsén and G. Stanton eds., *The Pnyx in the History of Athens* (1996), 47-55.

**8** LIST OF MEN. BSA E15. Athens, in area of the “church called Catholicon”, near Kapnikarea. Front left block of a wall (gateway?) of whitish-grey marble, h. 0.31, w. 0.62, th. 0.48. Letter height 0.014. Lettering in late Hellenistic style, with very modest apices, hyperextended diagonals and some straight-bar alphas; more progressive forms include Α and the pi with right vertical extending to the bottom of the letter space. “The date is probably about 100” (Tracy, *ALC* 247).

Eds. Pittakis, *L’ancienne Athènes* (1835), 494; P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, 1843-44* (undated), I no. 293; (*IG* II 1048); [IG II<sup>2</sup> 2460](#); S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 506-8, E15 (ph.) (*SEG* 50.181). Fig. 10.

ca. 100-90 BC Ἀλκέτου τοῦ Εὐαγίωνος Περιθοΐδου  
 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου Σφηττίου  
 Ἀρισταγόρου τοῦ Τρωΐλου Πειραιέως  
 Ἄνδροκλέους τοῦ Θεοφιλίσκου Κηφισιέως  
 5 Λευκίου τοῦ Λευκίου Ῥωμαίου  
 Μαάρκου τοῦ Μαάρκου Ῥωμαίου  
 Ἀχιλλέως τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως Πειραιέως  
 Διοδότου τοῦ Λυσίου Γαργηττίου  
 Σελεύκου τοῦ Σελεύκου Περιθοΐδου  
 10 Βυττάκου τοῦ Πύρρου Λαμπτρέως  
 Νικίου τοῦ Ξενοδίκου Ἀζηνιέως.

This list of names in the genitive must have been preceded by text on another block that explained the context. D. M. Lewis ap. Lam. 2000 compares [IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 9](#), ἡ . . . ] βουλή [. . . ἀνέθηκεν . . . ἐπιμεληθέντων τῶν] κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα [κεχειρο]τονημένων· || 6 On the double alpha see Threatte I 136-37 || 7 AXIΛAEΩΣ stone || 9 and 11 The cutter left uninscribed spaces to avoid damaged areas.

Alketes son of Euagion of Perithoidai  
 Herakleides son of Herakleides of Sphettos  
 Aristagoras son of Troilos of Piraeus  
 Androkles son of Theophiliskos of Kephisia  
 (5) Lucius son of Lucius of Rome  
 Marcus son of Marcus of Rome  
 Achilleus son of Achilleus of Piraeus  
 Diodotos son of Lysias of Gargettos  
 Seleukos son of Seleukos of Perithoidai  
 (10) Byttakos son of Pyrrhos of Lamprai  
 Nikias son of Xenodikos of Azenia.

This list of 11 names on a wall-block includes five Athenians identifiably from prominent Athenian families of the period (ll. 1-4, 10)<sup>100</sup> as well as two Romans, referred to, as was

<sup>100</sup> For details, see *ABSA* 95, 2000, 507-8.

normal practice before the Sullan sack of the city, by praenomen only (ll. 5 and 6).<sup>101</sup> From the prosopography the inscription can be dated to the unsettled decade *ca.* 100-90 BC, and the two Romans doubtless reflect the close ties that existed before Athens' decision in 88 BC to support Mithridates' struggle with Rome and the consequent sacking of the city by Sulla in 86 BC.<sup>102</sup> Probably the men had contributed financially to some project, perhaps the structure to which the block belonged.

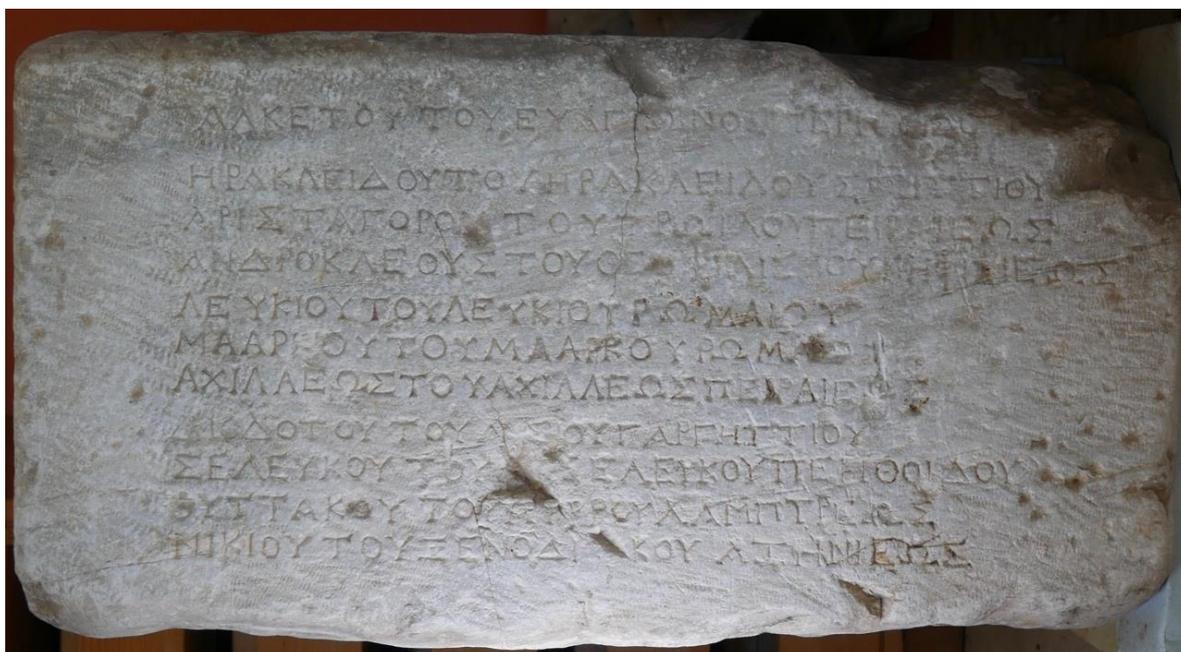


Fig. 10. 8 (= BSA E15)

**9** FUNERARY MONUMENT. MYTTOPE WITH MYRRHINE. BSA E3. Athens, “beyond house of Mr Prokesch, Austrian Minister at Athens” (Finlay), i.e. Odos Phidiou, next to German Institute (same location as [10](#)). Stele of white marble, with anthemium. In the upper part of the stele, a shallow inset panel depicting two women in relief shaking hands, one standing to the viewer’s left, the other seated to the right on a chair with footstool. H. 0.815 (stele), 0.275 (anthemium); w. 0.375 at top, 0.40 at bottom (stele), 0.405 (anthemium); th. 0.11. H. of letters 0.016. Standard 4th-cent. Ionic script.

Eds. Koumanoudes, no. 3170; *IG II* 4001; Conze I no. 141 (drawing, pl. 43); *IG II<sup>2</sup>* [12221](#); Clairmont, *CAT* 2.377a (ph.); Scholl, no. 15; S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 490-91, E3 (ph.); *APMA* IV 489. *Figs.* 11-14.

*ca.* mid-4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC    Μυττώπη    Μυρρίνη

*Relief*

<sup>101</sup> On this and for other early evidence for Romans in Attic inscriptions, see *RCA* xi-xii, and S. G. Byrne, in D. Jordan and J. S. Traill eds., *Lettered Attica* (2003), 1-20 (Romans before 86 BC discussed at 4-9; list of 53 Romans attested in public inscriptions before 86 BC, 12-15).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. C. Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (1997), chapters 12-13.

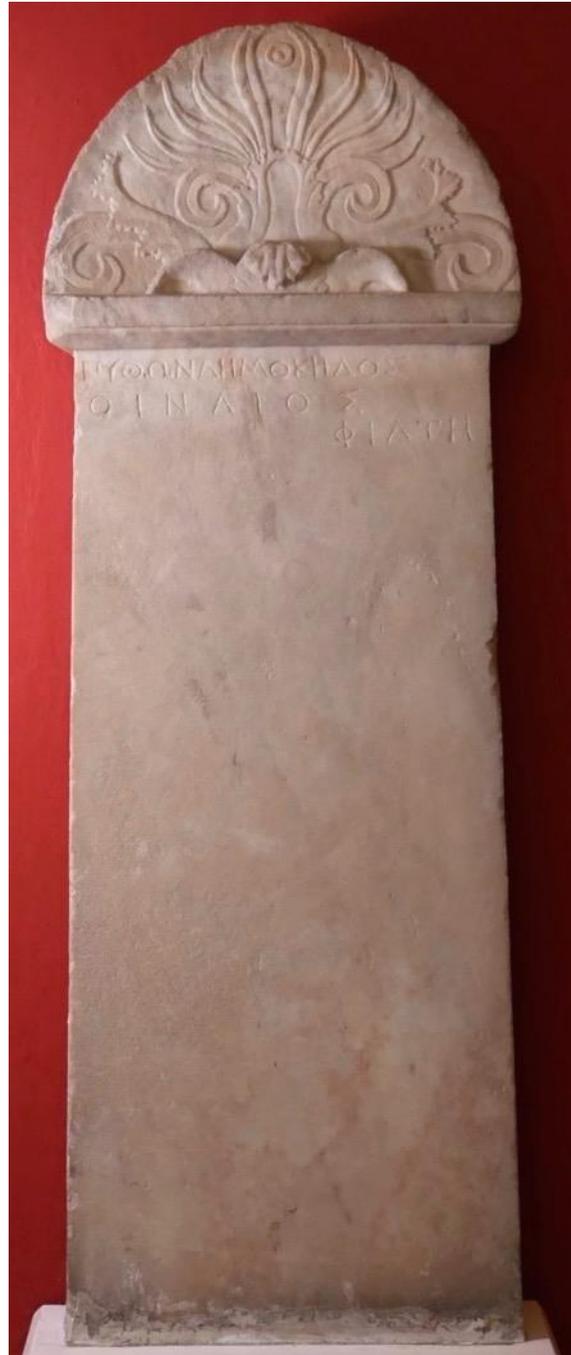
The mason originally cut the first T as Λ and corrected it without erasure.

Myttopo. Myrrhine.

*Relief*



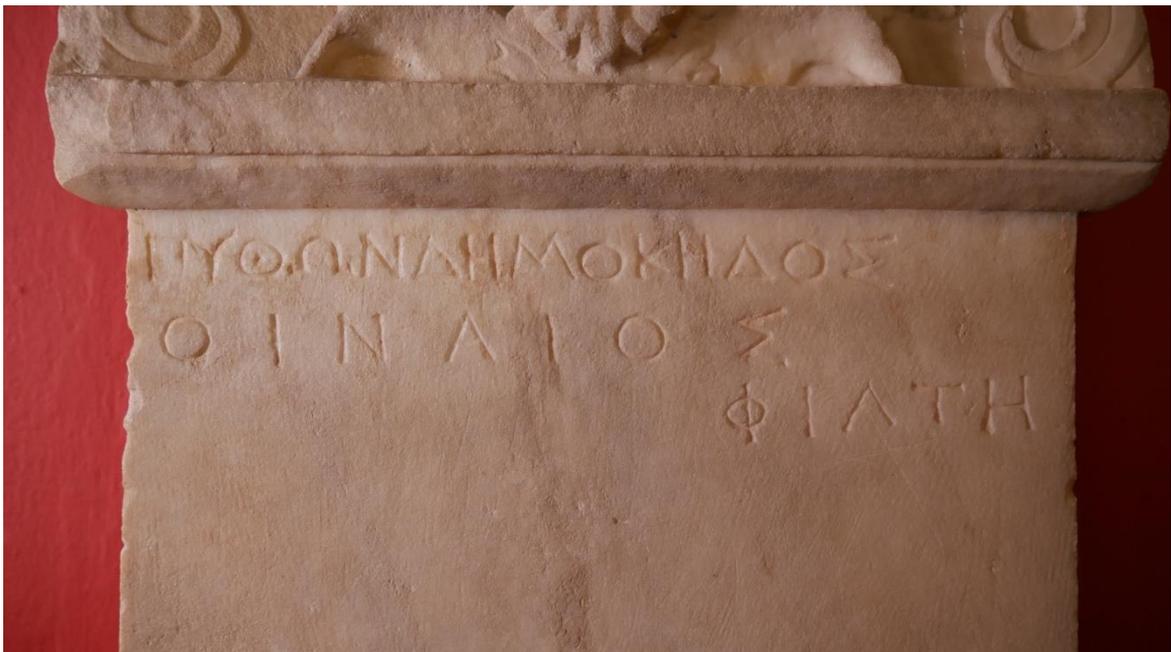
*Fig. 11. 9* (= BSA E3)



*Fig. 12. 10* (= BSA E4)



*Fig. 13. 9 (= BSA E3), detail of inscription*



*Fig. 14. 10 (= BSA E4), detail of inscription*

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**10** FUNERARY MONUMENT. PYTHON OF OINOE AND PHILTE. BSA E4. Athens, same location as [9](#). Stele of white marble, with anthemium similar in style to [9](#). The vacant stone below the names will originally have carried a painting of the two persons named. H. 0.75 (stele), 0.235 (anthemium); w. 0.30 at top, 0.345 at bottom (stele), 0.345 (anthemium); th. 0.07. H. of letters 0.018. The lettering is in a standard 4<sup>th</sup>-cent. Ionic

script, retaining the “Attic” orthography -ο for -ου in the genitive ending -ους. The hand of the cutter is very close to that of [9](#).

Eds. Koumanoudes, no. 930; *IG* II 2384; Conze III no. 1582 (drawing pl. 336); [IG II<sup>2</sup> 6982](#); Clairmont, *CAT* 2.319b (ph.); S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 491-92, E4 (ph.); *APMA* IV 492. *Figs.* 11-14.

ca. mid-4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC Πύθων Δημοκήδος  
Οἶναϊος  
vac. Φίλτη

The letters in l. 2 are slightly larger and more spread out. The name in l. 3 is displaced to the right, no doubt labelling a painted figure below, cf. Posamentir no. 44 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5799 for a similarly displaced inscribed woman’s name labelling a painted figure.

Python son of Demokedes  
of Oinoe  
Philte

As I showed in my previous edition, this pair of funerary monuments is closely related, as can be seen to good effect in their current position on either side of the fireplace in the entrance hall to the BSA.<sup>103</sup> The anthemia are of broadly similar design, and the lettering is so close that the cutter was probably identical.<sup>104</sup> We now know that the stones were also found together in central Athens. Almost certainly, therefore, they are contemporary or near contemporary products of the same workshop, albeit that on one the persons named are depicted in relief and on the other they were originally shown in paint;<sup>105</sup> and these two stelai may well derive from the same funerary enclosure (*peribolos*), in which, to judge from other examples, family members may have been commemorated via an ensemble of different monument types, added to over time.<sup>106</sup> Accordingly the persons named on these monuments may well have been related, though their names give no hint of this. The name Myttope is not otherwise known in Attica (not specially indicative given the relatively small number of Athenian women whose names are known); and none of the others can be identified with or shown to be related to anyone attested elsewhere. At a time when a high proportion of wealthier and more prominent Athenians are known from abundant literary and epigraphical evidence, this is consistent with this family belonging to the more or less affluent “middle class” typically represented on this type of funerary monument, as elucidated recently by D. Marchiandi.<sup>107</sup> The man’s nomenclature, as was

<sup>103</sup> This linkage has been missed in conventional studies of funerary monuments which categorised them by type, one as a “relief-stele”, the other a “painted stele”.

<sup>104</sup> Note the bowler-hat style omegas, the upsilons with slight outward curve to the upper strokes, the mus of Μυρρίνη and Δημοκήδος with left stroke slightly more vertical than the right, and the final etas on both inscriptions with a slightly curving right vertical.

<sup>105</sup> For the application of new technology to bring out painted figures and other painted decoration on funerary stelai, see now Posamentir (not including this monument).

<sup>106</sup> See Closterman; Marchiandi.

<sup>107</sup> Marchiandi, 185-93. For a catalogue of Athenian *Grabbezirke*, see J. Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit* (2013), 171-98 [Attica outside Athens, 198-226], though the lack of indexing makes it difficult to confirm whether this pair is listed, where it would seem to belong, in

usual, included both father's name and demotic, marking him as an Athenian citizen. (We do not know whether his deme was the Oinoe in north-east Attica in Aiantis or that in north-west Attica in Hippothontis.) All three women, not unusually, are designated by their names only.<sup>108</sup>

Around 500 examples of the type of Attic funerary stele depicting individuals in a relief panel, as in [9](#), are extant, dating across a period of about 100 years from the late fifth century until Demetrios of Phaleron's funerary legislation.<sup>109</sup> The basis for Scholl's dating of [9](#) to 340-330 BC is unclear.<sup>110</sup> The orthography -ο for -ου (Δημοκίδος), in [10](#), common in the earlier fourth century, became increasingly unusual as the century progressed, cf. Thraette I 238-59. A date *ca.* mid-4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC would seem right for both stelai.

The partial character of our evidence means that we obtain only a very partial picture of this family's members and their funerary monuments; but it is clear enough that a fuller evidence base would have filled out that picture; and clear enough too from these cases how an ensemble of monuments in a funerary *peribolos* might have served not only a private commemorative function, but a broader public one in a society in which they displayed the family connections necessary for securing inheritance of property, and the citizen descent on both the mother's and father's side which, under Pericles' citizenship law, was necessary for citizen status.<sup>111</sup>

The relief on [9](#) depicts a scene of *dexiosis* (shaking hands) between a standing Mytlope and a seated Myrrhine. Clairmont takes the deceased to be the standing woman, "depicted together with her mother to whom she bids a last farewell"; but the *dexiosis* scene, which occurs in around half of all Classical *Bildfeldstelen* depicting multiple figures, is now generally agreed to be a signifier of human intimacy, usually within the *oikos*, rather than specifically of greeting or farewell, as is the gesture of uncovering, *anakalypsis*, which Mytlope also performs.<sup>112</sup> Sometimes it is apparent which of those named and/or depicted on a funerary monument is the deceased, but in a case such as this it is impossible to tell with confidence and may in a sense have been beside the point.<sup>113</sup> It is similarly impossible to pin down the relationship between the two women; comparison of apparent ages in the images is not necessarily a reliable indicator, as to an extent relief sculpture was clearly bought "off the peg" rather than bespoke to order; but the women

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Katalog II: *Zusammengehörige Grabstelen mit unbekanntem Kontext*, pp. 227-57; my 2000 article is overlooked in the bibliography.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Scholl, 174; Closterman, 643.

<sup>109</sup> Scholl's catalogue includes 528 examples.

<sup>110</sup> Kirchner, following the stylistic scheme of H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen* (1929), 88, dated both stelai to 390-365 BC.

<sup>111</sup> On the public significance of family tombs in securing status claims see especially *Ath. Pol.* 55.3, *Xen. Mem.* 2.2.13. Cf. *Isae.* 2.4, 2.36; *Dem.* 57.28; *Lyk.* 1.147. On the debate as to how far such public/political factors influenced funerary commemoration, Marchiandi, 111-13, cf. J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos* (1997); Closterman. On patterns and purposes of inscribed funerary commemoration, in Attica and across the Greek world, see Low.

<sup>112</sup> Scholl, 164-67, 169-70. For differing emphases in recent scholarship on the character of the intimacy signified by *dexiosis* (unity? common citizenship? equality?) see Closterman, 635 n. 10.

<sup>113</sup> On identifying the deceased see most recently K. Margariti, *Journal of Greek Archaeology* 1, 2016, 177-92. Closterman, 637, makes the point that, since funerary markers were placed in *periboloi* that continued to be used over generations, a monument on which a living figure was initially represented might come in time to commemorate a deceased one.



no. 214 = Ginestí Rosell no. 166. The nine Toroneans attested on these monuments are listed by *FRA* pp. 307-8. One other is certainly a woman, Protho on *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 10454. The name and gender of the deceased on our monument cannot be reconstructed with certainty, though Henry and Traill's case that we should discount the letters shown in Finlay's drawings, which are generally accurate, is inconclusive. It is not difficult to imagine that the letters might have been broken off when the inscription was inserted into or removed from the wall in Finlay's garden into which it was built when seen by Koehler. Ginestí Rosell studies the funerary inscriptions commemorating foreigners at Athens, with close attention to dialectal and other linguistic features, but also discussing social and political aspects, emphasising that those commemorated were predominantly long-term residents.<sup>116</sup>



*Fig. 15. 11* (= BSA E9)

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<sup>116</sup> Helpful summary in English, 395-402. Neither this nor any of the other monuments for Toroneans is included by F. Hildebrandt, *Die attischen Namenstelen* (2006) (cf. *SEG* 56.34).



Fig. 16a. 11 as drawn by G. Finlay, *MS Cat.* (= Hussey C10) no. 14



Fig. 16b. 11 as drawn by G. Finlay, *MS Coll. Gr.* (= Hussey C12) no. 6



**13** FUNERARY MONUMENT OF ISIAS “OF MILETOS”. BSA E10. Findspot unknown. Once in garden of Finlay’s house, Odos Adrianou 199. Stele of white marble, right side and back preserved. Above the inscription, a pediment in relief, with shallow tympanum and right acroterion. A moulding on the right side continues the line of the base of the pediment. Below the inscription, in relief a curved segmental arch, with a moulding and capital preserved to the left, above a frontal female figure, with head facing to the viewer’s left. The raised right arm would originally have held the sistrum (a rattle associated with Isis), now almost completely destroyed; the left is bent at the elbow and held across the waist. From the left forearm hangs the situla (the pendent vase associated with Isis). Over her shoulders she wears the fringed mantle joined at the chest, and on her head the upright frontal ornamentation, both associated with Isis. The hair is tied in a knot at the back of the head. Hands and face have been deliberately destroyed by iconoclasts (cf. **14**). H. 0.39, w. 0.30, th. 0.08. H. of letters: 0.025. Lettering of a late Hellenistic style, with modest apices or serifs and Α; no cursive forms.

Eds. Koumanoudes, no. 2177; *IG* III 2719; Conze IV no. 1928 n. 1; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 9691](#); von Moock no. 82; S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 499-500, E10 (ph.) (*SEG* 50.258); L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques*, Supplément I, in *idem* ed., *Biblioteca Isiaca* I, 2008, 104 no. 101/0255; *APMA* IV 495. Fig. 18.

ca. early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD    Ἰσιὰς Μιλησία

Isias of Miletos

In 2000 I identified the relief on this monument as representing a woman in the characteristic pose and dress of a worshipper of Isis. Over a hundred such reliefs were collected by Walters in 1988,<sup>117</sup> dating from the last quarter of the first century BC to the early fourth century AD. The style of our relief perhaps indicates a date in the earlier part of the first century AD, to which the inscription was assigned by Kirchner. The popularity of Isis cult at Athens at this period is also reflected in the Isis-derived name of the deceased. More common as a woman’s name (Ἰσιὰς) than a man’s (Ἰσιός), on the latest count it is attested in Attica for four men and thirty-seven women. The women are more or less evenly divided between Athenians and foreign residents and date from the very end of the second century BC through the imperial period, a span of time coinciding with the popularity of other Isis-derived names (Isidotos, Isigenes etc.).<sup>118</sup> Since figurative funerary reliefs only begin to be set up again in Attica around the Augustan period, the onomastic evidence helps confirm that the popularity of Isis cult in Attica was already well-established before that date. L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques* (2005), is a collection of relevant epigraphic sources.<sup>119</sup> P. Martzavou, in A. Chaniotis ed., *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2011), 61-84, is a suggestive discussion of Isis cult in Hellenistic Athens, drawing attention to links with

<sup>117</sup> E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis* (1988), cf. von Moock, 62 and *passim*.

<sup>118</sup> See <http://seangb.org/Z-K.html> (updated December 2017).

<sup>119</sup> Attica I, pp. 1-34, supplemented by Bricault 2008, and see now also the same author’s *Les cultes isiaques dans le monde gréco-romain. Documents réunis, traduits et commentés* (2013). The earliest epigraphic evidence for the cult of Isis in Attica dates to the Lykourgan period, *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 337, ll. 43-45.

Eleusinian cult, which, she suggests, tend to confirm that the reliefs betoken initiates, and discussing the extent to which these had a quasi-sacerdotal character.

At this same period “Milesian” is much the most common foreign ethnic in the Attic epigraphical record. As of 1996, no less than 2011 “Milesians” were attested as Attic residents, most of them dating to the first century BC to the third century AD,<sup>120</sup> accounting for around a quarter of all known foreign residents of ancient Athens, more than three times the next largest group,<sup>121</sup> and for 107 of the 136 persons with foreign ethnics named on the figurative Attic funerary monuments of the Roman period catalogued by von Moock, p. 202. In 2000 I supported the view<sup>122</sup> that these “Milesians” were not all literally from Miletos, but were a status category that incorporated freedmen and the offspring of mixed marriages, similar in some ways to the Classical metic status.<sup>123</sup> “Milesians” are disproportionately female, have mothers’ rather than fathers’ names (bastards?), marry citizens (Athenians marrying their own freed slaves?), are found in Athenian family tombs (freedmen within an Athenian *familia*?) and filling attendant-type posts (*leitourgoi* of archons, *thyroroi* of ephebes etc.). They also form a separate category on lists of ephebes from the late first to the early second century AD.<sup>124</sup> L.-M. Günther has now demonstrated that there is little compatibility between the names of Attic “Milesioi” and names attested in Miletos itself, which to my mind tends to confirm that the Attic “Milesioi” are probably an artificial category.<sup>125</sup> Athenian “Milesioi” also disproportionately have Isis-derived names.<sup>126</sup> In 2000 I further speculated that the earliest known “Milesia” at Athens, Aspasia, prominent mistress of Pericles, whose son, though illegitimate, was exceptionally permitted entry into a phratry, might have been a deliberately chosen archetype for the Hellenistic status category.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> *FRA* 3735-5746.

<sup>121</sup> 617 from Herakleia, *FRA* 1679-2296, cf. C. L. Gray, in M. Carrol, J. Rempel eds., *Living through the Dead. Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World* (2011), 47-64, at 48.

<sup>122</sup> For which see e.g. M.-F. Baslez, in S. Walker and A. Cameron eds., *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (1989), 17-36, especially 24-27.

<sup>123</sup> On the termination of the metic status in the late third century see now M. Niku, *The Official Status of the Foreign Residents in Athens 322-120 BC* (2007). A more literal interpretation of Attic “Milesioi” as real Milesians continues to be favoured by some, e.g. T. Vestergaard, in G. Oliver ed., *The Epigraphy of Death* (2000), 81-109; see also Gray.

<sup>124</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2271, 1996, 2026, 2024.

<sup>125</sup> In L.-M. Günther ed., *Migration und Bürgerrecht in der hellenistischen Welt* (2012), 127-45. Günther seems unaware, however, of the possibility that the Attic “Milesians” are an artificial category, as well as of relevant bibliography, e.g. *FRA*. In her *Bürgerinnen und ihre Familien im hellenistischen Milet. Untersuchungen zur Rolle von Frauen und Mädchen in der Polis-Öffentlichkeit* (2014), she shows that in Hellenistic Miletos women were registered as citizens independently of men, and in large numbers; but it is unclear what connection they had with the “Milesians” attested in Athens.

<sup>126</sup> For the suggestion that these derive from a context of “sacral manumission” in the name of Isis, see von Moock, 84-85, J. Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1991), 95-107; Martzavou, 78, who draws attention to evidence for sacral manumission in the Isis/Serapis cult on Lemnos, an Athenian possession, L. Bricault, *RICIS* Supplément I, in Bricault ed., *Biblioteca Isiaca* I, 2008, 77-122 at 110-12, no. 201/0302 and 0303.

<sup>127</sup> *ABSA* 95, 2000, 500 n. 58. Aspasia’s son: Plut. *Per.* 24. He was later one of the generals at Arginousai, Plut. *Per.* 37.5.



*Fig. 18. 13 (= BSA E10)*

**14** FUNERARY MONUMENT FOR A FAMILY FROM MARATHON. BSA E7. Findspot unknown. First mentioned in BSA Director's report for 1918 and said to be from Finlay's collection. Naiskos stele of white fine-crystalled marble. Below an inscribed epistyle, a man and a woman in relief shaking hands, the man's raised left hand holding a stick to which a bird was probably attached. Iconoclasts have smashed away facial features of both heads, right hands and part of the left hand of the man holding the stick. Overall h. 1.67, w. 0.81, th. 0.16. H. of upper moulding: 0.035. Inscribed epistyle (excluding upper moulding): h. 0.142 (right side), 0.152 (left side), w. 0.80. Letter height (c) 0.017-0.022, (b) max. 0.028, (a) 0.019. W. of letter and space: (b) 0.026, (c) 0.023-0.028. Relief panel: h. 1.34, w. 0.64 plus 0.07 (left anta), 0.07 (right anta); depth of ground

line: 0.035; tenon for inset into base: 0.10-0.12. W. of tenon: 0.54. Fairly austere lettering including A and theta with central line extending across the full width of the letter, similar to that of *SEG* 29.127.

Ed. S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 495-97, E7 (ph.) ([SEG 50.254](#)).

Cf. S. Follet, *Bull. ép.* 2003, 269. *Figs.* 19-20.

(a) *Upper moulding*

[[ - Ω - - ]]

(b) *Left side of panel*

[[ [ - - - - - - - - ] ]]

[[ - - - - - - - - ] ] Μα-  
ραθώνιος]

(c) *Right side of panel*

[[ Ἀρίστιον Νεοφίλου ]]

[[ Μαραθωνίου θυγάτηρ ]]

[[ Ποπιλλίου Πίου Μαραθω ]]-

[[ ν[ίου] γυνή ]]

### *Relief*

In (c) the text legible today was inscribed *in rasura*. The same applies to the name in (b), though in this case the first elements of the name *in rasura* have themselves been erased. The text on the upper moulding has also been erased. It is unclear whether the one legible letter belongs to an original inscription or a later one.

(a) *Upper moulding*

[[ . . ]]

(b) *Left side of panel*

[[ [ [ Popillius? ] ]]

[[ Pius? ]]

of Marathon]

(c) *Right side of panel*

[[ Aristion daughter ]]

[[ of Neophilos of Marathon ]]

[[ wife of Popillius Pius ]]

[[ of Marathon ]]

### *Relief*

The form of the stele, the shallowness of the relief, the attenuation of the proportions and the blandness of the drapery folds (with absence of drill work) are consistent with a classicizing monument produced in the Augustan or Julio-Claudian periods;<sup>128</sup> and there is a close parallel in another funerary relief of a man and wife, now in Munich, which is

<sup>128</sup> For a more detailed description by G. Waywell, see Lambert 2000, 496-97.

dated by von Moock to the second quarter of the first century AD.<sup>129</sup> The pose of the figures is identical, as are many details, e.g. the positioning of the feet, the detailed carving of only the man's foot, the cutting of the lower drapery of the woman, and the painted bird once perched on the man's left forefinger. An inscription on the moulding above the inscribed panel, which has been deliberately erased, is undatable, but might relate to the stele's original use or to its re-use in the second century AD. The text (presumably names labelling the figures below) originally inscribed on the panel above the relief was erased in the late second century AD and replaced with the inscriptions which are, with difficulty, still legible. The woman is now identified as Aristion. Her father, Neophilos of Marathon, is not otherwise known, but her husband is named as Popillius Pius of Marathon, identifiable with the Popillius Pius whose Athenian citizenship qualifications were challenged and subsequently confirmed in a judgement of Marcus Aurelius of 174/5 AD.<sup>130</sup> At this stage Popillius Pius' name will presumably also have been inscribed above the male figure to the left, though this was subsequently itself erased (perhaps by his enemies, or iconoclasts), leaving only his demotic legible. This type of reuse of funerary monuments is not unusual, cf. e.g. von Moock no. 216 (Augustan, reused in second century), 261 (Julio-Claudian, reused in Hadrianic period), 175, 192, 205, 212, 214, 231, 264 etc. As I noted, 2000, 497, "it is tempting to interpret the appropriation and reinscription of this funerary monument of the Augustan/Julio-Claudian period, with its classicizing relief harking back to the fourth century BC, as a symbolic assertion in death of the quality of *genos* which Popillios' enemies had challenged when he was alive."



Fig. 19. 14 (= BSA E7), detail of inscription

<sup>129</sup> Von Moock no. 460 [ph.] = Conze IV, no. 2093. Cf. also von Moock nos. 441 and 512 = Conze IV, no. 2096, no. 2103.

<sup>130</sup> See *RCA* p. 413 Popillius 1; *SEG* 29.127 II, 30, 52, cf. *SEG* 46.145 and now K. Harter-Uibopuu, *ZRG* 125, 2008, 214-50 [*SEG* 58.150], at 234-41, based on the improved text. V. Wankerl, *Appello ad Principem. Urteilstechnik in kaiserlichen Berufungsentscheidungen (Augustus bis Caracalla)* (2009), 17-94, uses the old text. Neither notes the relevance of this monument.



*Fig. 20. 14 (= BSA E7)*

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**15** FUNERARY MONUMENT FOR -ATOS SON OF PHILETOS OF PHLYA. BSA E12. Findspot unknown. Once in garden of Finlay's house, Odos Adrianou 199. Pedimental block of white marble, with, at the centre of the tympanum, a frontal relief of a naked figure of Herakles, with right arm bent (originally holding a bow?) and left arm leaning on a club. Left and right ends broken off. Also broken away to the top and the upper left, removing most of the figure's head and right shoulder area. To the upper right

there remains a trace of the protruding, sloping geison of the pediment. The pediment would have rested on pilasters to either side, where the block is now broken, possibly enclosing a representation of the deceased. The inscription is on the raised band at the bottom of the pediment, on which the figure stands. H. 0.43, w. 0.73, th. 0.17. H. of letters 0.068. Α, square-sided sigma, V=Y, light apices.

Eds. Koumanoudes, no. 1263; *IG III* 2094; [IG II<sup>2</sup> 7713](#); S. D. Lambert, *ABSA* 95, 2000, 502-3, E12 (ph.) (*SEG* 50.255).

Cf. S. Follet, *Bull. ép.* 2003, 269. *Fig.* 21.

*Relief*

2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD      [- -]ατος υ Φιλίητου Φλ[υεύς]

*Relief*  
-atos son of Philetos of Phlya

Men named Philetos son of Nikokles of Phlya are attested as epebes in 142/3 AD (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2049, ll. 45-46) and 203-211 AD (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2207, l. 9), while a Claudius Philetos of Phlya was *hoplomachos*, an adult epebic officer, in 173/4 AD (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2103, l. 82, cf. <http://seangb.org/Phi-Omega.html> revised December 2017). The man commemorated by this monument was perhaps the son of one of these three men. The portrait of Herakles is unusual in this context; the only other link with Herakles made on an Attic funerary relief in von Moock's collection is no. 471, where a deceased infant is portrayed with attributes of Herakles.<sup>131</sup> In 2000 Byrne suggested that this might indicate that -atos had died while on epebic service.<sup>132</sup>



*Fig. 21. 15* (= BSA E12)

<sup>131</sup> Cf. von Moock no. 68.

<sup>132</sup> Ap. *ABSA* 95, 2000, 503 n. 75. Cf. S. Woodford in D. G. Mitten et al. eds., *Studies ... G. M. Hanfmann* (1971), 214.