

# THE CHABRIAS MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 11–12)

IN *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 314–320, Eugene Schweigert published some fragments of an inscribed statue base (Agora I 994 and related stones) with a reconstruction and a brief commentary. Since that time other fragments have been found, one of which makes the original restoration impossible, and in the course of a consequent reexamination of all the pieces some new relationships have been established which dictate a new form for the monument (Pl. 12).<sup>1</sup> Schweigert's publication included eleven fragments (A–K), to which can now be added the more recent discoveries as well as several fragments known earlier but not used in the original reconstruction. To avoid undue confusion the letters first used to designate fragments have been retained wherever possible, and the alphabetical series has been continued to include the additional pieces.<sup>2</sup>

Fragment A: three joining fragments preserving the inscribed face with three lines and part of a wreath and the original smooth-picked top; found April 21, 1936, in a modern wall over the southern part of the Late Roman Gymnasium complex (M 14). Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.65 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.013 m. Inv. no. I 994 f.

Fragment B: four joining fragments preserving a part of two finished faces, all with bits of wreath, no letters; small fragment from forward face found May 19, 1953, in a Turkish well west of the East Stoa (O 14); central fragment from left face found August 1, 1959, in a marble pile south of the Odeion (M 14); finding places of other fragments not recorded. Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.57 m.; thickness, 0.17 m. Inv. no. I 994 j.<sup>3</sup>

Fragment C: three joining fragments preserving the lower part of two wreaths and the smooth-picked bottom of the base; right-hand fragment found March 24, 1952, in a late wall north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O–P 15), finding

<sup>1</sup> This study originated from an inquiry sent by A. G. Woodhead to the Agora, and owes much to his kindness and generosity. Thanks are also due to Eugene Vanderpool, B. D. Meritt, Evelyn Harrison, and to Alison Frantz for photographs. The physical and epigraphical description and commentary are principally the work of Colin Edmonson, while Anne Pippin Burnett is chiefly responsible for the historical section.

<sup>2</sup> For future reference, Agora inventory numbers are to be taken from the present publication. Note the error on Plates 11 and 12 where the 944 should in each instance be read as 994.

<sup>3</sup> The fragment which connects the corner piece with the central wreath of the left face was found too late to be included in our photograph, and appears only in the drawing (Fig. 1).

place of other fragments not recorded. Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.095 m. Inv. no. I 994 i.

Fragment D: two joining fragments preserving three lines on inscribed face and original smooth-picked top; larger fragment found February 9, 1935, in modern house foundations west of the East Stoa (N 14), smaller fragment found March 3, 1937, in a late context northwest of the Odeion (K 8). Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.127 m.; thickness, 0.177 m.; height of letters in line one, 0.016 m. Inv. no. I 944 d (smaller fragment also catalogued as I 4587 and I 994 g).

Fragment E: three joining fragments preserving two inscribed faces of three and one lines respectively; at the corner the top has been rough-picked for re-use, but very little surface has been lost; elsewhere smooth-picked top preserved; smallest fragment found June 16, 1933, in the fill of the Late Roman Fortification Wall (Q 13); corner fragment found March 5, 1936, in a modern wall over the west end of South Stoa II (L 15); largest fragment (Schweigert's fragment F) found December 31, 1934, in a modern house wall west of the East Stoa (N 14). Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.14 m. Inv. no. I 994 a (plus I 3710 and I 994 b).

Fragment F: now joined to and treated as a part of E (I 994 b).

Fragment G: inscribed face (one line) and smooth-picked top preserved; found March 18, 1935, in modern foundations west of the East Stoa (O 15). Height, 0.147 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Inv. no. I 994 e.

Fragment H: two joining fragments with traces of one inscribed line, a substantial part of a wreath, and original bottom and right edge, both smooth-picked; found January 3, 1935, in a modern house wall over the northern part of the East Stoa (O 13-14). Height, 0.385 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.095 m. Inv. no. I 994 c.

Fragment I: treated with fragment K below.

Fragment J: smooth-picked bottom and two finished surfaces preserved, one with the lower part of a wreath; found with fragment K. Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Inv. no. I 994 l.

Fragment K: four joining fragments preserving parts of two wreaths and original bottom surface, smooth-picked; fragments I, J and K were found early in 1935, in late contexts around the north and west sides of the East Stoa (N-O 13-14). Fragments I and K were both found to join another fragment (of unknown provenance), and a fourth small piece with plain original face and bottom surface joins fragment I; the four pieces as joined are here designated K. Height, 0.375 m.; width, 0.46 m.; thickness, 0.18 m. Inv. no. I 994 k.

Fragment L (Pl. 11, a): two joining fragments with original top and left edge, both smooth-picked, two inscribed lines and most of the top of a wreath; 0.024 m. from the left edge and 0.10 m. from the top is a shallow circular cutting as for a door pivot; smaller right-hand fragment found February 9, 1952, in a modern house

wall at the north edge of Holy Apostles' Street; larger corner fragment found May 22, 1952, in a Turkish pit over the west end of the East Stoa (O 14). Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.365 m.; thickness, 0.11 m. Inv. no. I 994 h.

Fragment M: badly weathered fragment which preserves the lower part of a wreath, original bottom and left edge, both smooth-picked; found June 15, 1957, in a marble pile northeast of the Odeion. Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Inv. no. I 994 m.<sup>4</sup>

Schweigert restored a rectangular base with three wreaths on each of the three inscribed faces, placing fragment A at the left of the left face. This scheme is now rendered impossible by fragment L, which preserves at the left the uninscribed back of the monument and a part of the top surface, and so must be placed in the upper left corner of the left face. The other two fragments which show the uninscribed back surface can also be placed with certainty: M below L at the bottom left of the left face, and H in the lower right corner of the right face. With these pieces fixed, the structure of the marble itself reveals certain necessary relationships among the other fragments.<sup>5</sup> The foliation plane of the stone inclines down and to the right when viewed from the back of the monument, and consequently any fragment which can be held right side up with certainty can be assigned to its proper face. The foliation dip of D and E places them in the forward face; F goes in the right face and with it G, which belongs in an adjacent position as is shown by the character of the stone and the angle of its fractured surface, as well as the fact that its citation is inscribed at precisely the same distance from the top as the citation begun at the right of fragment F. Fragments A and C belong to the left face, B to the left and front, J to the front and right, and K to the right face.<sup>6</sup> This arrangement places three wreaths and three citations on each of the flanks, and one wreath and one citation, topped by the sculptor's signature, on the front. The base could be expanded

<sup>4</sup> The material is a medium-fine-grained Pentelic marble with a considerable accessory amount of greenish mica; many of the fragments have taken on a distinctive patina of yellowish brown on their finished surfaces. Eight other fragments, mostly from the core of the base, probably belong but cannot be placed.

<sup>5</sup> See N. Herz and W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.A.*, LVII, 1955, pp. 71 ff.

<sup>6</sup> When the fragments were so placed, five new joins were discovered.

At an early stage of this study—before the structure of the marble had been examined carefully and before the discovery of fragment M—it was believed that fragments L, A and B could not be fitted into the same face, and a different reconstruction, conveyed by the writers to Woodhead, is cited in his useful new book, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 127, note 3, as an example of the need for studying the stones themselves before attempting to reconstruct a monument. The present writers are entirely responsible for Woodhead's citation of this erroneous reconstruction. It should be noted, however, that the error strengthens rather than weakens Woodhead's point (*op. cit.*, p. 69). That fragments L and A do belong in the same face is clear from the photograph of the backs of both stones, Plate 11, b.

indefinitely by the addition of imaginary lost wreaths and citations, but its most economical restoration is with three-wreath flanks and a one-wreath front.<sup>7</sup>

The left face (Fig. 1; Pl. 12, a) gives the best evidence for the length of the two flanks, for it preserves the bottoms of all three wreaths (C and M), the distance between two wreaths (B and C, which can be compared with K on the right face, Fig. 2; Pl. 12, c), and the distance of the wreaths from either edge (B and M). It also gives a minimum distance between wreath tops, since A and L do not actually

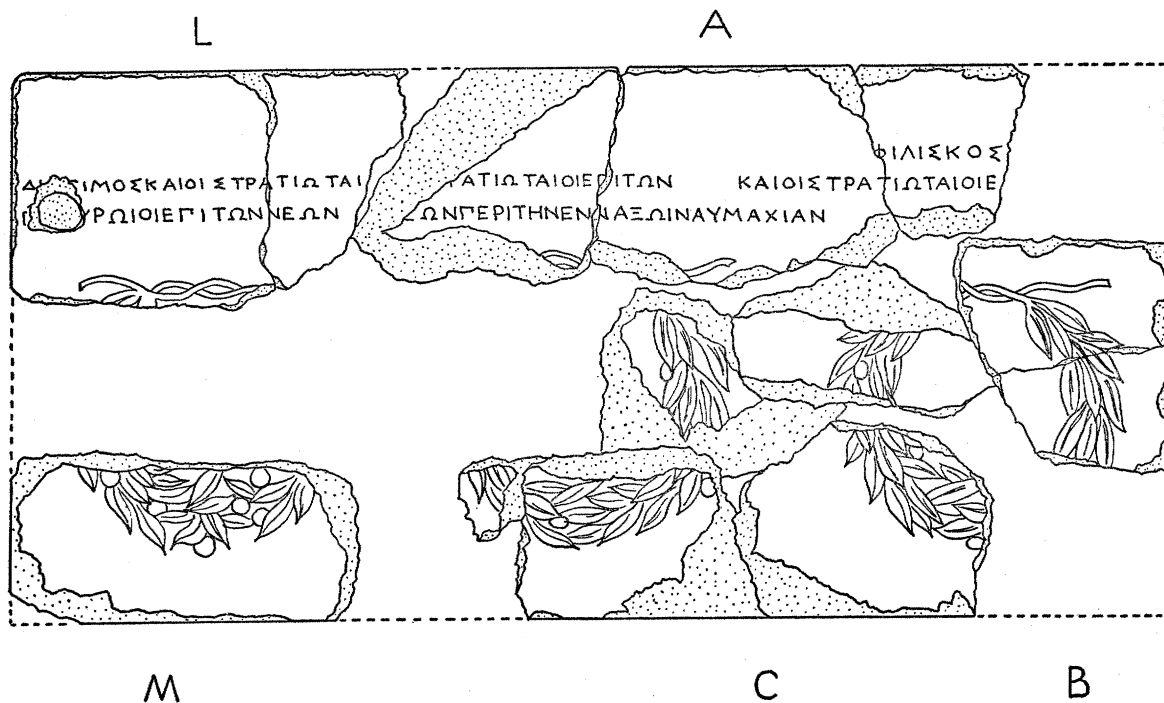


FIG. 1. I 994. Left Face.

join. The full diameter of a wreath cannot be measured exactly and no two are precisely the same size or shape, but if the flanking wreaths are placed equidistant from the center of the slightly higher middle wreath and in the positions indicated by the interwreath spacing shown on B and C, the over-all length of the base can be calculated at *ca.* 1.08 m. A comparison of the measurements of the wreaths and their positions as shown on A, C, B and H indicates that the height of the base was *ca.* 0.52 m., and the front face, restored with a single wreath equidistant from both

<sup>7</sup> The proportions of the resulting base are somewhat unconventional (Figs. 1-3; Plate 12), and it is possible that there was a second wreath on the forward face, which would make its width *ca.* 0.79 m. (see below, p. 90). The three-wreath flank is made quite certain by the fact that the central wreath on the left face is larger and 0.02 m. higher than the other two.

edges, is *ca.* 0.44 m. wide (Fig. 3; Pl. 12, b). If, as is suggested later, this face actually carried a second wreath to the left, its width would have been *ca.* 0.79 m.

The back and bottom surfaces of the block were carefully finished with a tooth chisel. The top is similarly treated but bears no trace of a setting line or of anathyrosis, nor is enough of the surface preserved to show cuttings for a plinth or statue. The fact that this was a statue base is proved by the appearance of a sculptor's signature on fragments D and E: [- - -]ης Σουν[ιεύς ἐ]ποίησε. G. Lippold has suggested that the name Oinades be restored here,<sup>8</sup> comparing an early 4th century

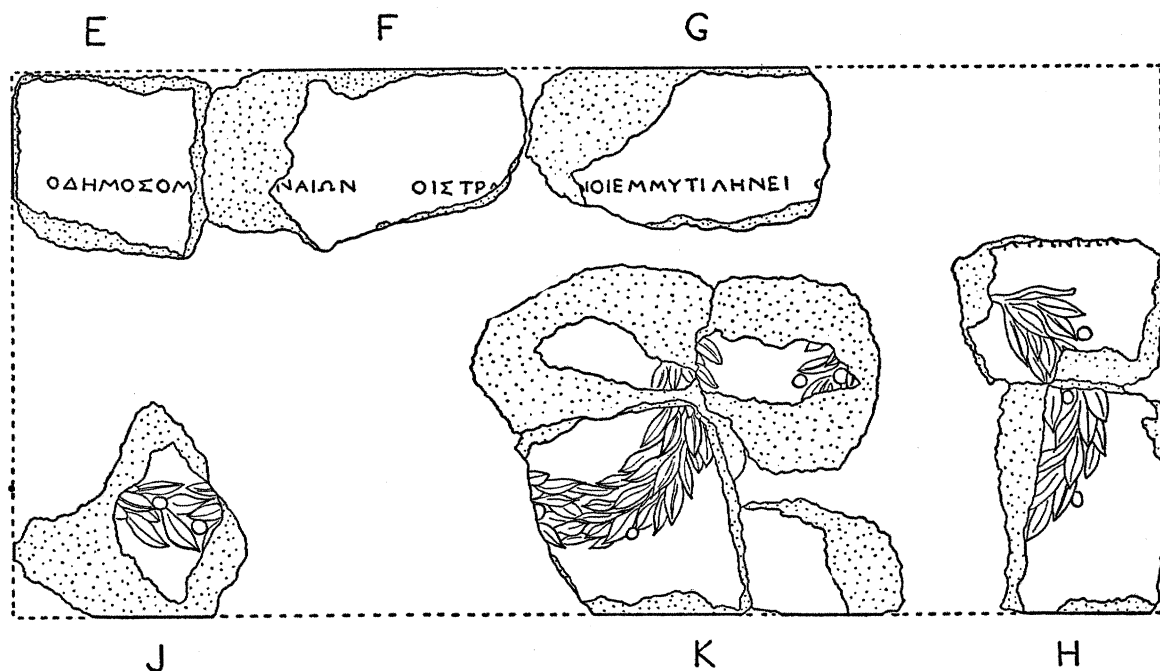


FIG. 2. I 994. Right Face.

statue base from the Acropolis signed, *Οἰνάδης Σουνιεύς Ἐπιχάρης ἐποίησαν* (*Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 343). But it is almost certain that Sounieus in the Acropolis signature is not a demotic but the name of a third sculptor, and Lippold's restoration must be rejected.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Griechische Plastik* (Otto von Herbig, *Handbuch der Arch.*, III, 1), 1950, p. 244.

<sup>9</sup> The only known sculptor from Sounion is Hermippos, who worked in the early second century B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4282, 4283). The name Oinades is known only from the Acropolis signature and the "Sandwich Marble," *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 23 and 133, where it is Tenian, and this, together with the fact that the name Souniades (though not Sounieus) is common on Tenos (Index to *I.G.*, XII, fasc. 5), suggests the possibility that the three Acropolis sculptors were from that island, perhaps brothers. If so, Meritt suggests that the Agora signature might be read [Οἰνάδ]ης (*vel* [Ἐπιχάρ]ης) Σουν[ιεύς ἐ]ποίησε. The second name might be either the patronymic or the demotic in any case.

The inscription itself offers almost no difficulties in reading. Schweigert's restorations in fragments E, F and G are wholly convincing, and the letters preserved on fragment H, which he read as [Σι]κυνίων, do not seem to permit any other completion. A. Wilhelm has now pointed out that the citation on fragments D and E

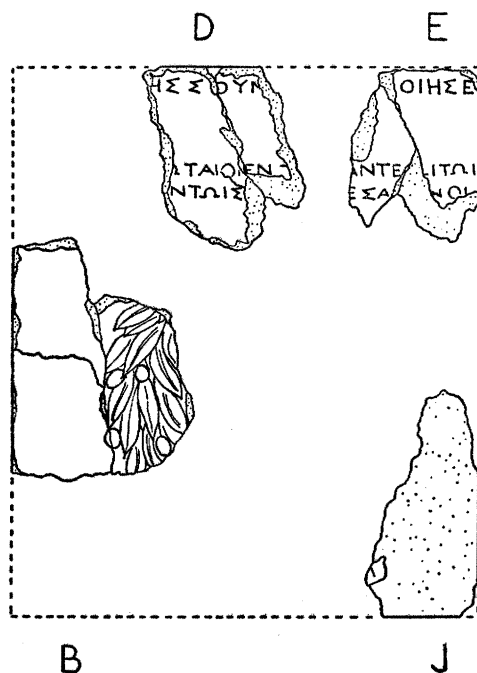


FIG. 3. I 994. Front Face.

can be read as a reference to that Aianteion which Strabo places near Rhoiteion, on the Hellespont.<sup>10</sup> The new fragment L lends itself to certain restoration, since, of place names in *-vpos*, only Syros will fit the space.<sup>11</sup> The restoration ἐ[ν Ἀβύδωι] on fragment A is discussed below.

#### LEFT FACE

(L)

Δι[ό]τιμος καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται [οἱ]  
ἐ[ν Σ]ύροι οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν

CORONA

(A)

[οἱ στ]ρατιῶται οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν  
[ν]εῶν περὶ τὴν ἐν Νάξωι ναυμαχίαν

CORONA

Φιλίσκος

καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐ[ν Ἀβύδωι]

CORONA

<sup>10</sup> *Anzeiger Öster. Akad.*, LXXXIV, 1947, pp. 190 ff. The spacing of the letters on fragment E makes the restoration [Αἰ]αντεῖον more likely than Wilhelm's [Αἰ]αντέων, which was based on the published text.

<sup>11</sup> Nisyros seems a possibility, but it would force the reading of [ἐν] at the end of the first line, which the close proximity of fragment A will not allow.

## FRONT FACE

(D)

(E)

[---]ης Σουν[ιὺς ἐ]ποίησε

[οἱ στρατι]ῶται οἱ ἐν τ[ῶι Αἰ]αντε[ί]ωι τῶι

[ἐν Ἑλλησπό]ντῳ σ[υμμαχ]εσά[με]νοι

CORONA

## RIGHT FACE

(E)

(F)

(G)

(H)

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μ[ντιλ]ηναίων

οἱ στρα[τιῶτ]αι οἱ ἐμ Μντιλήνῃ

οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ <sup>ca. 8</sup>—][<sup>ca. 12</sup> Σι]κυνίων

CORONA

CORONA

CORONA

The wreaths of the Agora base are the first example of a convention which was to become a commonplace by the end of the fourth century B.C. They represent actual honorary wreaths granted by the groups of men listed; they are used here, however, not merely as symbols but as a decorative motif of remarkable elegance. Unlike the wreaths of the later honorary stelai, at best incised and often mere scratches to indicate where leaves should be painted,<sup>12</sup> these are fully sculptured in relief. They are evidently of olive, like the crowns granted by the demos to the heroes of Phyle in 403 (Aeschines, III, 187). The monument is plainly honorary, but none of the preserved headings names the recipient of these honors.

The central heading of the left face holds the clue to the identification of the base, for here, in the position of donors, are listed the soldiers on the ships at the battle at Naxos. Chabrias was the victor of Naxos, and it is almost inconceivable that the full force of the men who fought there—a large number, and citizens, according to Xenophon (*Hellenica*, V, 4, 61)—would have united to honor anyone else. If the other citations can be shown to have a plausible connection with Naxos and with Chabrias, this can be taken as the base of a statue in his honor; if not, then this citation by the men of Naxos will become the chief problem of the base. Whatever the occasion, the base was inscribed sometime after September, 376.<sup>13</sup>

On fragment L, Diotimos and the men on the ships at Syros appear, honoring the recipient of the statue. Diotimos had served with Chabrias as captain of mercenaries at Corinth in 389/8 (schol. on Aristeides, *Panath.*, 172, 3-4: Dindorf, III, pp. 274-275), and in the following year, with Iphikrates, he had commanded the Athenian fleet then blockading the Spartans at Abydos (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 1, 25). It was probably in the same period that he held command of a convoy for grain

<sup>12</sup> See S. Dow, *Prytaneis, Hesperia*, Suppl. I, 1937, p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, *Phokion*, 6; *Camillus*, 19; *de glor. Ath.*, 349; see K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 1, p. 152; III, 2, p. 234.

ships (Polyainos, V, 22, 1), and was falsely accused of withholding 40 talents, paid by the merchantmen for state protection (Lysias, XIX, 50). He seems to have served under Chabrias at Naxos, for one of the maneuvers of that battle, at first loosely attributed to Chabrias by Polyainos, is later cited as an example of the tactics of Diotimos (Polyainos, III, 11, 3; cf. V, 22, 2).

According to Demosthenes (XX, 77), Chabrias after the battle at Naxos brought most of the Cycladic islands into the Athenian sphere, making friends of those who had been enemies. He sent Phokion off to visit the islands that were already allies (Plutarch, *Phokion*, 6), and he himself apparently visited others on the voyage back to Athens. The advantage won by the battle would be only momentary unless the islands were tied into the system of Athenian alliances;<sup>14</sup> in fact, more than diplomacy was needed to keep the grain route open, since Aigina and Naxos still offered possible bases for Spartan operations.<sup>15</sup> The Agora base proves that a small Athenian force of men and ships was based on Syros soon after the battle at Naxos, and it is likely that Chabrias established Diotimos and a group of mercenaries there before himself leaving the Cyclades.<sup>16</sup> That these men should honor Chabrias is natural (he would have arranged for their pay), as the other examples of garrison honors to a commanding general show.<sup>17</sup>

The next four citations seem to belong to a Hellespontine and Lesbian expedition, and such a voyage is commonly attributed to Chabrias in the spring and summer of 375.<sup>18</sup> Diodoros reports that Chabrias was operating with a fleet off the Thracian

<sup>14</sup> G. Busolt, *Der zweite Athenische Seebund*, Leipzig, 1874, p. 757, supposes that Chabrias stopped at Oliaros, Seriphos, Syros and Kythnos. S. Accame, *La Lega Ateniese del secolo IV a.c.*, Rome, 1941, p. 78, follows a chronology of his own in which all the Cycladic members listed on face A of I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 43 entered the League before the battle at Naxos.

<sup>15</sup> Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 758, has shown that the one doubtful piece of evidence for the conquest of Naxos at this time, Ampelius, *Lib. mem.*, 15, cannot be accepted. The siege was evidently a difficult one and not likely to be taken up again by a crippled fleet (Diodoros, XV, 35, reports 18 triremes lost) laden with trophies and injured men. If Naxos had been taken it would have been a success almost as great as the defeat of the Lakedaimonian fleet, yet left unmentioned by both Xenophon and Diodoros. Naxos probably joined the League of its own accord, in the wake of the other Cycladic islands (F. H. Marshall, *The Second Athenian Confederacy*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 60). Beloch, however, believed that the island had been previously a member of the League and had revolted (II, 1, p. 242), and he is followed by Accame, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82, 86, who offers as his only evidence the "bitterness" of Chabrias' siege and the fact that Naxos was shown as in arrears on the Marmor Sandwicense (I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, line 119).

<sup>16</sup> The fact that the soldiers are identified by the name of their captain indicates that they were probably mercenaries; thus Nepos, *Iphicrates*, 2, 4, speaks of the *Iphicratenses*. This appears to have been the regular practice in Attic inscriptions at a later period: I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, line 42; see H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, Oxford, 1933, pp. 21, 77 f.

<sup>17</sup> For example, I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 1281; 1286; 1310.

<sup>18</sup> Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 761; Beloch, III, 1, p. 154; G. Glotz and R. Cohen, *Histoire grecque*, III, p. 134; H. Berve, *Griechische Geschichte*, II, p. 101.

coast at that time, and that he rescued the city of Abdera from threatening barbarian tribes (Diodoros, XV, 36).<sup>19</sup> And Abdera appears among the members of the Second Athenian League, just after Kerkyra, standing at the head of a group of Thracian cities (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, face B, line 3). If the Hellespontine and Lesbian members which follow later in the list were the fruits of the same expedition, then it will not be hard to interpret the wreaths of the men at the Aianteion, of the mercenary captain Philiskos and his soldiers, and of the garrison and demos of Mytilene, but the theory that Chabrias made such a voyage must be argued a little, for it is not universally accepted.

Those who hold that the Thracian, Hellespontine and Lesbian allies did not enter the League as a result of visits by Chabrias in 375, connect their adherence instead with the events of 373, when Timotheos was unsuccessfully trying to man and equip a fleet for the relief of Kerkyra (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 2, 11-14; Diodoros, XV, 47, 2-4).<sup>20</sup> By implication, then, they accuse the Athenians of two years of blind inactivity in the Aegean—the advantage of Naxos forgotten and the victorious general unoccupied. It is indeed possible that Timotheos went to Thrace in 373<sup>21</sup> (although it is improbable that he went further, since he returned to Athens at least by mid-summer), but a general pressed for time and in search of crews turns to cities and rulers already friendly before he sets out to make new alliances. Timotheos' expedition to the north, if he made it, suggests that Athens already had allies in this region, made at a time when she seemed powerful and victorious, and not in the desperate months when the Spartans were on Kerkyra, the Sicilian fleet had set sail, and the Athenians were still unable to move. A further reason to doubt the Timotheos hypothesis is that the peace of 374, so favorable to Athens that the Spartans jumped at a chance to break it,<sup>22</sup> is very hard to explain if the Thracian and Hellespontine allies had not already entered the Athenian League. And finally, the League charter

<sup>19</sup> Diodoros' account is interrupted by a false report of Chabrias' assassination (suspiciously like that of Thrasyboulos), but this is an isolated error in a narrative otherwise orderly and credible. Chabrias in fact lived on for 19 years, and Diodoros gives an accurate notice of his death at XVI, 7, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 58-59; H. Pistorius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos in IV Jhdt. v. Chr.*, Bonn. 1913, p. 39; Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Woodhead, *A.J.A.*, LXI, 1957, p. 370.

<sup>21</sup> Jason's vaunted penestae (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 1, 11) may have drawn him at least to Thessaly in search of rowers. Xenophon says that he went "to the islands," which usually means the Cyclades; Diodoros specifically says Thrace, but his entire treatment of the events of 373 is filled with falsehoods, and it is evident that he was following an apologetic life of Timotheos (perhaps the same source which influenced Plutarch, *de glor. Ath.*, 8, where Timotheos is falsely credited with the taking of Histiaia). Diodoros reports a triumphant return to Athens, followed by the reinstatement of Timotheos in his command and a grandiose setting forth for Kerkyra, but we know from Xenophon and from Demosthenes that Timotheos barely got off with his life and was deprived of his command and replaced by Iphikrates.

<sup>22</sup> R. E. Smith, *Historia*, II, 1954, pp. 274-288.

stone dictates a chronology in which all its listed members entered the League before the formal adherence of the Zakynthians.<sup>23</sup> This event cannot be exactly fixed in time, but it must have occurred after early summer, 374, when Timotheos returned to Athens, and before the end of summer, 373, when Iphikrates had restored Athenian domination (and the local democratic governments) at the western end of the Corinthian Gulf. The special designation, *Ζακυνθίων ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν τῷ Νήλλῳ*, shows that the men whom Timotheos had established on the coast of Zakynthos were still exiles and had not yet been able to return to their city when they entered the Athenian Confederacy (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, face B, line 131). The Athenians voted to send aid to these exiles sometime in the late winter or very early spring of 373, as soon as they heard of the success of Mnasippos, which suggests that the democratic exiles of Zakynthos were already among their allies at that time. Even if the Zakynthians at Nellos entered the League at the latest date possible, the time schedule for the preceding members becomes extremely tight when the Aegean allies are attributed to Timotheos. One is forced to suppose that embassies from eighteen cities (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, lines 112-130; see Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, II, p. 67) travelled to Athens, were received, and returned with League representatives to administer oaths, and then that those representatives travelled back to Athens to make official notification, and finally that the stonecutter did his work, all in a single summer. It is far more satisfactory to believe that the members listed on the lateral face of the charter stone were garnered by both Chabrias and Timotheos on their separate expeditions to west and east in 375, and that the Zakynthians were inscribed in consequence of the Spartan announcement that the attempted return of the exiles had broken the peace. The names of the new allies were cut in groups and only when the final ratification of League membership was completed; thus it is not surprising that neighboring cities, probably visited consecutively, do not always follow one another in the official list.

If this interpretation of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43 is correct, Chabrias' voyage of 375 can be conjecturally plotted from one new League member to the next: from Abdera to Thasos, Samothrace, and Elaious, down to Lesbos, and then back through the Cyclades to Athens.<sup>24</sup> Thus the Hellespontine citations on the Agora base should properly be

<sup>23</sup> Woodhead, *op. cit.*, p. 371, note 15, proposed the idea that the Zakynthians might have been inscribed first, and not last, of all the names on the lateral face of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43. In order to accept this idea one must assume that at the time of cutting the Zakynthian entry the stonecutter was not thinking in terms of a column of any length—in other words, that no other new members were immediately in view. But in fact, since the action at Zakynthos was an episode of Timotheos' return voyage, and an embassy from the exiles could hardly have reached Athens before he himself did, the stone could not possibly have been inscribed before Athens had learned of the adhesion of Kerkyra, Akarnania, Kephalenia, Pronnos, and of Alketas and Neoptolemos.

<sup>24</sup> Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 766, includes Samos on the basis of a passage in Frontinus (I, 4, 14) which mentions that in an unspecified year the Samians closed their harbor to Chabrias and he got in by a stratagem.

considered first. The adherence of Elaious (on the tip of the Thracian Chersonese) to the League still left the Hellespont only half sure,<sup>25</sup> and the general who had accompanied Thrasyboulos on his Hellespontine expedition in 390<sup>26</sup> was not likely to underestimate the importance of the opposite shore. Wilhelm has shown, on the basis of Strabo, XIII, 1, 30, and Pliny, *H.N.*, V, 33, 125, that there was a heroön of Ajax on that shore near Cape Rhoiteion, and that the citation on the forward face of the Agora base should be read: the soldiers who fought as allies at the Aianteion on the Hellespont.<sup>27</sup> These men were not a garrison; the aorist participle *συμμαχεσάμενοι* refers to one specific time when they fought together. This action took place in the region dominated by Abydos, a city vitally important to the food supply of Athens, as the whole population had learned during the years when the city was in Spartan hands (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 8, 3-6). It had come under the control of Ariobarzanes soon after he took over the satrapy of Daskyleion in 387 (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 1, 26-28; Beloch, III, 1, p. 94), and he, as he grew more estranged from the King, was showing increasing friendship to Athens.<sup>28</sup> Even before the battle at Naxos the Athenian grain ships met trouble only when they reached the southern tip of Euboea, where the raids of the Peloponnesian fleet began. The continued tolerance of Ariobarzanes was essential to Athens' survival, and it is in the light of this fact that the Aianteion and Philiskos citations on the Agora base can be understood.

Ariobarzanes' most trusted lieutenant was one Philiskos of Abydos, who, incidentally, is the only known Philiskos of this period (*P.A.*, 14430). He was the emissary whom Ariobarzanes sent to Greece to try to negotiate an end to the war against Thebes in 369/8, and to hire mercenary soldiers (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 1, 27); he was important enough to receive the same honor as the satrap himself when both were granted Athenian citizenship at the request of Timotheos in 367 (Demosthenes, XXIII, 141). In the years that followed this grant, Philiskos was in command of mercenaries at Perinthos, and for a brief moment he controlled the

<sup>25</sup> Elaious was at this time a separate community unconnected with the other cities of the Thracian Chersonese, so that even the Chersonese side of the Hellespont was far from secure at this moment; see Kahrstedt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Thrakischen Chersones*, Mainz, 1954, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 21; see Kirchner, *R.E.*, s.v. "Chabrias." The expedition of Thrasyboulos (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 8, 26-30) was almost exactly repeated by Chabrias, except for Byzantion.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Five citizens of Abydos received the grant of Athenian proxeny early in the fourth century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 49). This decree, dated only by its style, could belong to 387 when a pro-Athenian party might have existed in Abydos, but if so the five were honored for an unsuccessful action, for Iphikrates was forced at that time to give up the blockade of Abydos. It is more probable that the decree comes from the early '70's when Ariobarzanes, involved in destroying the remnants of Spartan control in his satrapy (Anaxibios had held most of the Aeolian cities, Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 8, 31), began to pursue an independent foreign policy more favorable to the Athenians. On this proxeny decree, see *Anz. Öster. Akad.*, XIV, 1911, p. 8.

Hellespont, until his outrages and cruelties caused his assassination (Demosthenes, XXIII, 141-142).<sup>29</sup>

At the time of Chabrias' voyage in 375, Ariobarzanes had been called to the south by the border raids which were troubling his territories (Nepos, *Datames*, 14, 4),<sup>30</sup> and Philiskos was the natural second in command to stay at Abydos and watch the coast. He and his mercenaries appear on the Agora base to honor an Athenian in thanks for some service done them; a group of soldiers who were led in a successful skirmish in support of a friendly power on the shore just south of Abydos appear on the same stone to honor the same man. It is reasonable to conclude that the operation at the Aiantion was the service which caused the gratitude of Philiskos, and to restore ε[ν Ἀβύδῳ] in the second citation on fragment A. Athens' real aim was to get a foothold in the Hellespont, as she did when a similar benefaction on a much larger scale won Sestos and Krithote as the grateful gift of Ariobarzanes in 366. Chabrias did not have, in 375, so rich an opportunity as Timotheos found in the following decade, but he could ensure the friendship of the satrap and his lieutenant by sending a part of his force to support Philiskos in an engagement against some restive coastal faction, thus putting him in Athens' debt.

Two neighboring citations on the right face of the base list the demos of the Mytileneans and the soldiers based on Mytilene. The formal alliance made in 378/7 between Athens and Mytilene (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 40) had been followed by the entrance of Mytilene into the Second Confederacy as one of its first members (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, line 80; Diodoros, XV, 28, 3), and the Athenian fleet probably used the city in the years after Naxos as a repair and supply station.<sup>31</sup> The Mytileneans fought actively beside the Athenians in the war with the Peloponnesian League, and were afterwards honored by the Athenian people for their loyalty (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 107). The appearance of Antissa and Eresos among the new members of the Athenian League listed on the flank of the charter stone (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, face B, lines 116-117) indicates that Chabrias visited Lesbos in 375, after leaving the Hellespontine area. While there, he seems to have sailed around to Mytilene, either to establish a garrison or to visit one already organized. The evidence which the Agora base provides for a garrison at Mytilene indicates that the phrase in the Confederacy charter, μήτε [φρορ]ὰν εἰσδεχομένῳ (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, line 22), did not mean that there were to be no Athenian garrisons, but that no garrison was to be forced on a city unwilling to receive it.<sup>32</sup> Evidently the garrison at Mytilene was popular enough, as the neighboring citation from the

<sup>29</sup> A Philiskos of Sestos was honored at Athens in 355/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 133).

<sup>30</sup> Justin von Prasek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur Makedonischen Eroberung*, II, Gotha, 1910, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>31</sup> [Demosthenes], L, 53; see Pistorius, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Diodoros, XV, 38, reports that one of the terms of the peace of 374 was the (surely mutual) agreement to withdraw garrisons.

demos shows, and it seems to have been maintained even in the years that followed the Theban war.<sup>33</sup> The honors of the garrison and demos may have been granted Chabrias in gratitude for a strengthening of the city's defenses (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, etc.).

Only one citation on the base remains to be accounted for: that of fragment H, but it presents great difficulties in interpretation. The opening of the first line can be restored tentatively on the analogy of the other citations as ο[ἰ στρατιῶται οἱ — —],<sup>34</sup> and the last word of the second line must be read Σ[υ]κωνίων. This leaves about eight letter spaces at the end of the first line (there is no example on this monument of a word broken at the end of a line), and about twelve at the opening of the second.

Sikyon had been a member of the Spartan Confederacy for a long time; after that league was reorganized in 377, Sikyon, with Phlious, contributed one division to the allied forces (Diodoros, XV, 31, 2). At the end of the 390's Iphikrates was raiding Sikyon from Corinth (Polyainos, III, 9, 24; Diodoros, XIV, 91, 3), and in 388 Diotimos won a victory against the Sikyonians (*supra*, p. 10), but there are no recorded actions against the city—or indeed anywhere beyond the isthmus—in the decade of Naxos. Wilhelm has suggested<sup>35</sup> that perhaps Athens intervened in the Sikyonian party strife which broke out, according to Diodoros (XV, 40, 4), after the peace of 374. In this passage Diodoros has collected instances when oligarchs, exiled by the increasingly democratic governments of some of the members of the Peloponnesian League, made unsuccessful attempts to reenter their cities. Athens might have aided the government at Sikyon, hoping to draw the city away from Sparta; a commercial treaty with Troizen from the years just following the battle of Naxos is evidence that Athens was using diplomacy to attack the unity of the Peloponnese (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 46).<sup>36</sup> And yet there is not a word of real evidence for Athenian intervention at Sikyon. The strife seems to have been short-lived and insignificant, and Diodoros disposes of the entire affair in a sentence.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Astyphilos died while at Mytilene with Athenian forces some time after 371; he must have been on garrison duty, for there is no question of an expedition against Mytilene in the '60's, and Isaïos (IX, 14) remarks that this expedition was, of all his military services, the one from which he had the least to fear.

<sup>34</sup> δ[δῆμος δ — —] is epigraphically possible, but considerations of space as well as the apparent mention of Sikyon make it extremely unlikely.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 46; see now Woodhead, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 227 and note 9. There was a second agreement recorded on this stone, made with a city which survives only as [— —]N, and Woodhead mentions Sikyon as a possible candidate for restoration.

<sup>37</sup> Beloch, III, 1, p. 174, notes 2 and 4, argues that the strife at Sikyon came only after Leuktra and should be identified with Euphron's brief tyranny. But Euphron's was in name at least a democratic uprising against the oligarchs; certainly Diodoros did not think that the revolution at Sikyon was the same as the Euphronian *coup*, for he describes the latter event with some care in its proper place (XV, 70, 3). It is true, however, that the Sikyonian strife cannot be securely dated in 374, for Diodoros has collected a number of roughly similar episodes from various times and places and treated them as though they all had happened at once.

The explanation of the entry on the Agora base probably lies instead in the fact that Sikyonian ships were in operation against Athens at this time. Sikyon had been an important contributor to the Peloponnesian naval forces raised in the early '70's,<sup>38</sup> and in 371 Sikyon supplied triremes to carry the Spartan army against Thebes (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 4, 19), but in 374 she was unaccountably missing from the list of cities providing ships for the expedition against Zakynthos (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI, 2, 3). It looks as though the fleet of the Sikyonians had been crippled in the preceding seasons, and this is not surprising when we remember that, in addition to the 51 Peloponnesian ships taken at Naxos (the *τριήρεις αἰχμάλωτοι τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου* of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1606 and 1607), Chabrias took in all 22 more at other times (Demosthenes, XX, 77). The men listed on fragment H may have taken a Sikyonian ship (or ships) while serving under Chabrias.<sup>39</sup> In this case, the citation would be something like ο[ἰ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐλόντες | τὴν τριήρη τὴν τῶν Σι]κωνίων.

Since each honor recorded on the Agora base can be connected with the activities of Chabrias and since the listing of the men who were on the ships at Naxos seems almost to leave no alternative, we may conclude that this was a monument erected to honor that general. It seems at first sight to have been set up by at least seven groups of individuals acting in common, some Athenian and some non-Athenian, some military and some civil. There are such dedications among the garrison decrees of the third century, when citizen and mercenary forces joined with the demos where they were stationed to honor a general with a crown and a statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299, 1304), but in such cases the donors are all in the same locality, where they have enjoyed a common benefaction from the man so honored. Sometimes the joint committee in charge of collecting contributions and ordering the statue is listed with the decree, so that the whole process of cooperative action can easily be followed. In the case of the Agora base, however, it is almost impossible to imagine how groups of men so distant and so dissociated as those listed as donors could even have conceived the idea of raising a common monument, much less how they could have collected funds for it.

A way out of this difficulty is suggested by another of the garrison inscriptions, in which the garrisons of Panakton, Phyle and Eleusis honor Demetrios of Phaleron with a statue (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2971, ca. 315/4). The base of the statue has survived, and it too is decorated with wreaths and citations; the first three crowns hold the names of the three donating garrisons, but the others commemorate Demetrios' past honors received from various hands at various times.<sup>40</sup> If the wreaths on the Agora base

<sup>38</sup> C. H. Skalet, *Ancient Sikyon, Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology*, 1928, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> Compare a Samian inscription of the late second century in which the men of a single ship honor the commander of their expedition: Stamatiades, *Σαμιακά*, I, 1881, p. 275; see L. Robert, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XLVI, 1933, p. 442, note 1.

<sup>40</sup> The idea of summarizing honors developed in the fourth century and became a regular practice

likewise represent a summary of recent crowns independently won by the man who now receives or raises the statue, the monument becomes comprehensible. The men on the ships at Naxos, for instance (some six to eight hundred citizens),<sup>41</sup> did not contribute to a cooperative statue after they had returned and scattered throughout Attica; instead, they voted to crown their general immediately after the battle, and that honor was later commemorated on the base of his Agora statue.<sup>42</sup>

This solution seems to create a greater problem, however, for if it is correct we are left without the name of the donor or donors of this base and statue. Fortunately, there are only two strong possibilities: either the statue was set up by the Athenian demos or it was set up by Chabrias himself, that privilege having been granted him by the demos. Chabrias was rich and proud (Hyperides, fr. 137; Plutarch, *Phokion*, 5), and there are a number of very similar monuments of the third and second centuries raised by individuals in celebration of their own honors (*supra*, note 40), but these very parallels demonstrate a significant characteristic which does not belong to the Chabrias monument, for they were all set up in sacred areas. If Chabrias had raised his own statue, he should not have put it in the Agora, but should, like his colleagues, have made it a gift to Athena. The trierarch Hippiskos set up a statue of himself on a base which listed, in a wreath, honors given him by the demos, but he

in the centuries that followed, as the granting of public and private crowns became a habit. Closest in time to Chabrias is an Attic base of about 346 which lists in crowns honors won from the demos by an unknown man when he was taxiarch, from the phyletai when he was gymnasiarch, and from the boule (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3201). Five marble thrones in the theater at Rhamnous were inscribed across their backs by a priest of Dionysos who had been crowned by the boule, by his demesmen, by the garrison, and perhaps by a last illegible group; these inscriptions probably belong to the late fourth century (J. Pouilloux, *La Forteresse de Rhamnonte*, Paris, 1954, p. 141, no. 25). Also at Rhamnous the strategos Kallisthenes set up a statue dedicated to Dionysos, on the base of which he listed each separate honor he had won from the boule and demos (*ibid.*, p. 121, no. 9; mid third century). The choregic monument of Glaukon had the flanks of its base decorated with eight wreaths, representing victories at the games and military honors won from the demos (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3079, *ca.* 280/79). A marble plaque with wreaths from the Amphiareion at Oropos commemorates the four different times that the strategos Thoukritos (*ca.* 270) was honored by boule and demos (*ibid.*, p. 126, no. 12; cf. p. 112, no. 3). A base set up at Delphi by an Athenian strategos *ca.* 151 carries 25 crowns with headings listed honors from various cities, from garrisons, from men on ships, from the Athenian hippeis, etc. (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 654 A; cf. the stelai of Cassander, L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, I, 29; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 653 A and B). Other monuments quote from several honorary decrees: Eudemos of Seleucia, *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 644-5 (see Keil and Wilhelm, *Jahresh.* XVIII, 1915, pp. 17 ff.); Nikomedes at Kos, Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, nos. 17-19 (see R. Herzog, *Riv. Fil.*, LXX, 1942, pp. 12 ff.); Asklepiades of Pergamon, *Mon. Ant.*, I, 23 (see Wilhelm, *Sitz. Akad. Wien*, phil.-hist. kl., 179 Bd., 6 Abh., pp. 59 ff.).

<sup>41</sup> Chabrias had 83 ships at Naxos according to Diodoros (XV, 34, 4), about 65 according to Aeschines (III, 222). Each ship was ordinarily manned by 10 epibatai (see *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1951, from *ca.* 406/5).

<sup>42</sup> For a discussion of honors and dedications made by groups of soldiers in the Hellenistic world, see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Hellenistiques*, II, Paris, 1950, pp. 1005-1012.

dedicated his monument to the goddess (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4330, a base of the mid 4th century). Images of Timotheos and Konon, set up by themselves, stood on the Acropolis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3774), and Pausanias saw a statue of Iphikrates just outside the adyton of the Parthenon (I, 24, 7).

On his return from the victory at Naxos, Chabrias was received with great enthusiasm (Diodoros, XV, 35, 2) and was honored by the demos with a statue in the Agora (Aeschines, III, 243) and with a golden crown, which he later dedicated on the Acropolis with the inscription *Χαβρίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίας* (Demosthenes, XXIV, 180).<sup>43</sup> The psephisma granting these honors was kept in the archives, and Demosthenes had it read out in the course of his speech against Leptines (XX, 84), after he had described Chabrias' many services to the state. The idea of setting up an honorary statue as a public reward to a great general was new in the fourth century. The heroes of Strymon had been granted the privilege of dedicating anonymous herms, and Miltiades, when he asked to have his name under his portrait in the Stoa Poikile, was refused (Aeschines, III, 183 ff.). Thrasyboulos had only been given a crown and a stele (*Syll.*<sup>8</sup>, 108). The first man since the tyrannicides to have his statue publicly raised in the market place was Konon, only fifteen years before the honors to Chabrias (Demosthenes, XX, 70). An image of Timotheos was placed beside that of his father, but only after he had returned from Kerkyra (Aeschines, III, 243). Thus the granting of an honorary statue to Chabrias is the second known example of that practice which soon filled the Greek cities with likenesses of generals, benefactors, and conquerors.

The Agora statue of Chabrias was well known because it was an extraordinary piece of sculpture. Lykoleon (*apud* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1411b), speaking on behalf of Chabrias, reproached the Athenians for "not even reverencing the suppliant attitude of his bronze image," and an explanation of this phrase is found in both Diodoros and Nepos. In 378/7 Chabrias had turned Agesilaos back from Thebes by ordering his men—mercenaries he himself had trained (Diodoros, XV, 32, 5)<sup>44</sup>—to wait for the enemy each on one knee with his shield resting against the other knee and his spear held in readiness. Despite the fame of Naxos, Chabrias himself was prouder of this victory, and he demanded that the statue which the Athenians raised to him in the Agora should be made to represent him in the posture of a kneeling hoplite (Diodoros, XV, 33, 4; Nepos, *Chabrias*, 1, 3).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> D. M. Lewis, *B.S.A.*, XLIX, 1954, p. 45, supposes that this is an invented illustration or an interpolation, but there is no reason to doubt it. We know that Chabrias was awarded a gold crown and that crowns were dedicated to the goddess, but we do not know when such a dedication would be made and therefore cannot insist that Chabrias' crown must appear at a given point in the records of the temple treasury.

<sup>44</sup> Parke, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 81.

<sup>45</sup> The pose will have been similar to the figure which Furtwängler (*Aigina*, I, München,

Did the Agora base, with its record of honors won in the Aegean, hold the suppliant statue as the public monument for the victor of Naxos? Its remarkable elegance and its provenance suggest that it did, and if it is restored with a two-wreath forward face, it is a suitable size and shape for a life-sized kneeling figure.<sup>46</sup> Crowns not conferred by the demos were sometimes commemorated on public honorary monuments set up by the demos. Thus on the stele raised to honor Arybbas the Molossian king (*ca.* 342), inscribed at public expense with the text of the decree, there are three wreaths representing victories in the games (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 226).<sup>47</sup> And at the end of the century, when a last posthumous statue was granted to Lykourgos, its base, like the Chabrias base, was covered with wreaths in recapitulation of his many honors; there were at least twelve, including one from the demos of the Samians and one from the demos at Lemnos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3207).<sup>48</sup>

The question of the major dedication allows only speculation. If the stele which recorded the decree honoring Chabrias for Naxos was set up beside the statue,<sup>49</sup> then the eighth crown might simply have been labelled  $\delta \delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma \delta \text{'}\text{Αθηναίων}$ , and the honors listed and the statue itself would have been adequate identification. If, as seems probable, Chabrias not only dictated the form of the monument but contributed to its cost as well, he might with the finer pride of the fifth century have left his statue ostensibly anonymous.<sup>50</sup> If, however, donor and recipient were named on the base itself, then the dedicatory inscription should have been in one of three places: on a

1906, p. 223) places next to the last on the right of the West pediment at Aigina. Such a statue is represented on a coin of Orontes from Klazomenai: Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Cambridge, 1885, pl. X, no. 26, dated 371-335. Orontes was a contemporary of Chabrias and both were allies of Evagoras in the '80's (*R.E.*, s.v. "Orontes"); he was again associated with Chabrias in the '60's during the Satraps' revolt, when Chabrias was serving with Tachos against the King (Diodoros, XV, 90, 3 ff.). His close relations with Athens in the '50's are shown by the honors he received from the demos, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 207. A kneeling Roman soldier in Florence is in this "suppliant" attitude (Reinach, *Répertoire*, I, 516), and it is not impossible that a copy of Chabrias' statue existed in Rome, for there was a portrait tradition of Chabrias there (compare the headless Vatican herm of Chabrias, Viscontus, *Mus. Pio Clem.*, I, 14).

<sup>46</sup> A less than life-sized figure, which would fit the narrower reconstruction, would not be typical of fourth century portrait sculpture and would leave the forward face dominated in almost unprecedented fashion by the sculptor's signature (see J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs Grecs*, Paris, 1953, *passim*).

<sup>47</sup> See O. Walter, *Wiener Jahreshefte*, XXXII, 1940, pp. 2-24.

<sup>48</sup> See Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden*, III, Wien, 1925, pp. 3-6. A second century example is offered by the stele which recorded the grant of Athenian citizenship to Telesias, a Troizenian, and carried twelve crowns from different cities: *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 971, of 140/39; see Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 323, and *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 314.

<sup>49</sup> This is sometimes ordered in the decree, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1299.

<sup>50</sup> A man inscribed his own name when dedicating a gold crown to Athena, but Iphikrates was the first to put his name on a trophy (Suidas, s.v. "Iphikrates"; Pausanias is the unsuccessful exception *regulam probans*). Note that Arybbas apparently added to the public appropriation for his honorary stele (Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

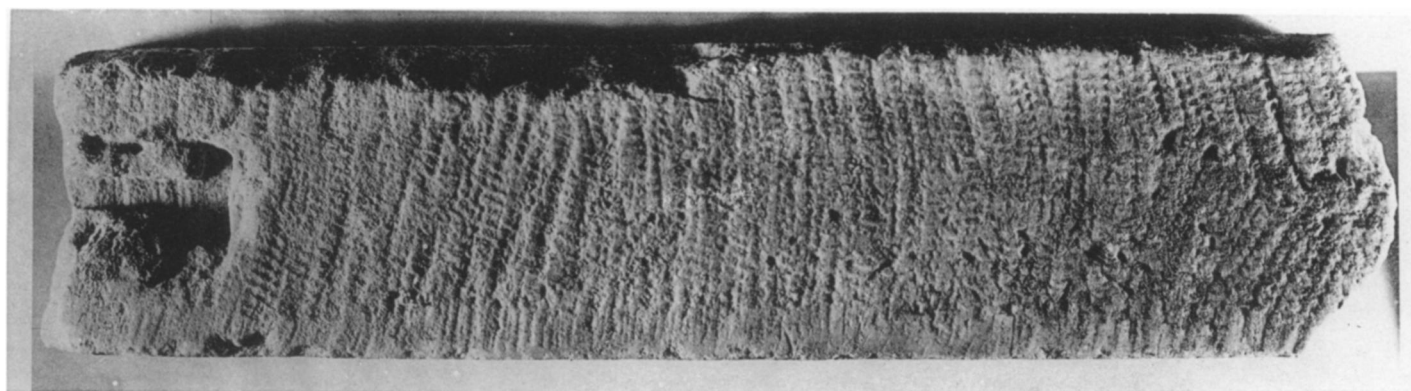
cornice, on a foundation step, or on the base itself. The existence of a crowning member is made extremely doubtful (though not impossible) by the finish of the top surface of the base; a step beneath would offer only a very unlikely position for the dedication; thus the base proper provides the most suitable surface for the citation by the Athenian demos, in the place of honor, over a missing left-hand wreath on the forward face. Inscribed in the common fashion, with the first lines high on the stone and in slightly larger letters than those following, it would explain the otherwise somewhat presumptuous size of the sculptor's signature beside it. Large letters reading *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων | τὸν στρατηγὸν Χαβρίαν* and *στεφανώσας διὰ τὴν περὶ Νάξου | ναυμαχίαν* in letters of the ordinary size would fit a space equal to that occupied by the artist's signature and the Aianteion citation.

The vote of public recognition for the victory at Naxos, granting Chabrias a crown and a statue, was most likely passed in the fall or winter of 376/5, soon after the return of the fleet. In the following spring Chabrias was sent to gather the fruits of that victory, and by the time he returned at the end of the summer the statue would have been finished or very nearly so, and the base could be cut. At this moment Chabrias seemed to have outdone even the glory of Naxos, and to have restored to Athens the power and preeminence she had known in the time of Perikles. He would have brought back with him envoys from the recovered allies and news of his own fresh crowns. These new achievements were fittingly recognized by covering the Agora base with a wreathed record of his honors, a list that symbolized the strength and popularity of the new Athenian League. It is quite likely that the statue was placed near the charter stone of the Second Athenian Confederacy, which Chabrias had now made worthy of its name.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> In addition to the inherent probability, E. Vanderpool points out that *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 43, which stood near Zeus Eleutherios, was found in the Late Roman Fortification Wall a little below the Eleusinion; the fragments of I 994, though re-used, were found in the southeast quarter of the Agora, and one from the fill of the Late Roman Wall.



Fragment C. Top

STERLING DOW: THE WALLS INSCRIBED WITH NIKOMAKHOS' LAW CODE



a. I 944 h. Fragment L.

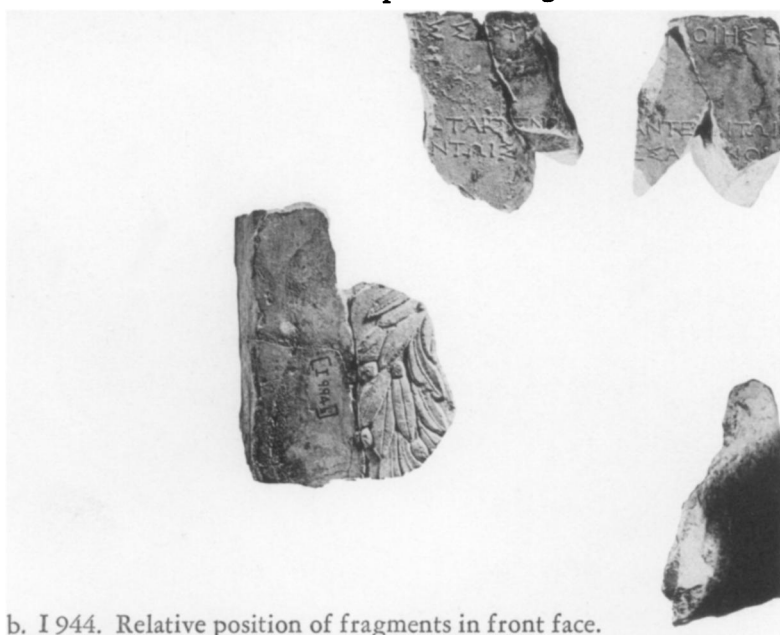


b. I 944 f and h. Backs of Fragments A and L.

ANNE PIPPIN BURNETT AND COLIN EDMONSON: THE CHABRIAS MONUMENT IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA



a. I 944. Relative position of fragments in left face.



b. I 944. Relative position of fragments in front face.



c. I 944. Relative position of fragments in right face.