

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BASSAI

(PLATE 50)

**A**N unpublished limestone stele in the *apothēke* at Bassai is significant as the single, inscribed record of Apollo as deity of the famous temple.<sup>1</sup> The fragmentary stele is cut from a smooth, hard limestone which is beige-gray in color. The stone is of better quality than the dark gray local material quarried for the temple of Apollo and is comparable in appearance to that used for several inscriptions from the nearby city of ancient Phigalia.<sup>2</sup> Evidently, the stele was used as a building block in one of the several modern constructions which ring the northern perimeter of the archaeological zone. Traces of cement speckle the damaged right side. A crowning molding (height 0.15 m.) has been chopped off, leaving a rough surface which projects 0.01 m. beyond the inscribed plane. The bottom portion of the stone is broken away. A maximum of 0.14 m. of inscribed surface is preserved beneath the molding. The right third of the face is chipped so that the text is effaced in this area. The top and left sides are intact and most of the right side is preserved along the back edge. The face is smoothly dressed; top, side and original back are rough picked. A circular dowel hole, 0.042 m. in diameter and 0.017 m. deep, is cut into the top, 0.06 m. back from the frontal plane and 0.10 m. to the left of center (Pl. 50, b). The lettering is badly worn and barely visible but it can be read with the aid of raking light and a squeeze illuminated from behind (Pl. 50, c).

Height 0.37 m. max. preserved, 0.30 m. min. preserved; width 0.390 m.; thickness 0.185 m. to 0.193 m.

Height of letters 0.024 m., of Θ and Ο 0.020 m.; space between lines 1 and 2 0.022 m.; between lines 2 and 3 0.028 m.; left margin 0.046 m. Each line begins with a new word and letters appear to be spaced so as to form an even margin on the right side (here restored).

ca. 370-300 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Θεοπέι[θης]  
ἀνέθηκ[ε τῶι]  
Ἀπόλλ[ωνι]  
*vacat*

<sup>1</sup> Only with trepidation do I hazard the unaccustomed specialty of Greek epigraphy, or more particularly that of Arkadian epigraphy. I have received advice from several scholars whose comments I have tried assiduously to incorporate into the text. In this regard I want to thank Professors Michael Jameson, Ronald Stroud, Eugene Vanderpool, William Wyatt. All blunders are my own. My gratitude also goes to the Archaeological Service of Greece for granting me permission to work at Bassai and more particularly to Mrs. Karagiorga and Miss Parlama, the successive Epimeletriai at Olympia, for their interest in my research.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 419; *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 236 and 237.

Line 1. Dot for the *theta* uncertain because of worn condition of face. Dot of *theta* in line 2 however is discernible.

Line 3. For the third letter only the upper part of a circular letter is extant and only an apex remains for the fifth letter. Restoration of *omicron* and *lambda*, respectively, presents no difficulty.

Pausanias' (VIII, 41, 7) description of Bassai which clearly establishes Apollo as occupant of the site has gone unquestioned. This is in contrast to his remarks concerning the date and architect of the temple, which have endured emendation or complete rejection.

During the excavations of 1903 a bronze manumission was discovered next to a temple of Artemis at the peak of Mount Kotilion in Arkadia (*I.G.*, V 2, 429).<sup>3</sup> The inscription mentions an Apollo Bas(s)itas along with Artemis and Pan. While this tablet is important and its significance has never been fully realized, the find-spot (and original place of display) is nonetheless 500 meters distant from the temple of Apollo and higher in elevation by 105 meters. It is the otherwise rather modest Theopeithes dedication which verifies the account of Pausanias on at least one major point.

The main purpose of my paper is to discuss dating criteria for two of the major inscriptions from Bassai. The texts are of critical importance to a reconstruction of the history of the site and cult. It is for this reason that I shall delve into a detailed analysis of letter forms. Otherwise the Theopeithes dedication would not deserve the extensive discussion given it here.

#### COMMENTARY

Line 1. The name, Theopeithes, although common elsewhere, has not been found previously in Arkadia.

Line 2. The rendering of long *e* by *eta* attested here (and therefore restored in line 1) is not found in Arkadian inscriptions before the second quarter of the fourth century B.C.<sup>5</sup> The alphabet is not Arkadian, but presumably Ionic. In the fifth century

<sup>3</sup> K. Kourouniotes, "Ἀνασκαφὴ ἐν Κωτίλῳ," *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1903, pp. 178-183. Identification of the temple of Artemis is discussed by L. Deubner, "Zu den Funden vom Kotilon," *Rh. Mus.*, LIX, 1904, pp. 473-476. See also *S.E.G.*, XI, 1164 to which add U. Pannuti, "Il Tempio di Apollo Epikourios a Bassai (Phigalia)," *Memorie della (R.) Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. 8, XVI, fasc. 4, 1971, pp. 187-189.

<sup>4</sup> See F. Bechtel, *Die Historischer Personennamen des Griechischer*, Halle, 1917, p. 204; F. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, Berlin, 1901, nos. 7000-7007; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 245 (= *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 118); B. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 94-95, no. 23 (= *S.E.G.*, XXIV, 187) and references there cited.

<sup>5</sup> Late fourth—early third-century B.C. dedications with this form include: *I.G.*, V 2, 61 b, 66, 72, 97; *S.E.G.*, XI, 1070; *S.E.G.*, XXV, 439; *I.G.*, V 2, 406 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1120), 103, 109, 110, 112, 145, 283, 297, 416, 450, 453, 454, 510 and 511 (ἀναθῆναι); *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 240. Arkadians at Delphi, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, i, 4, 199 (= *S.E.G.*, XIV, 455); *I.G.*, V 2, p. 69, lines 42-44. Arkadians at Olympia, Dittenberger and Purgold, *Olympia*, V: *Die Inschriften*, Berlin, 1896

B.C. ἀνέθεκε (i.e. long *e* represented by *epsilon*) is standard for Arkadian inscriptions, including those found at Olympia and Delphi. This form persists into the fourth century but disappears by the third quarter, by which time the Ionic alphabet prevails in Arkadia.<sup>6</sup>

The article appears before the deity's name occasionally in Arkadian dedications but practice seems to vary by locality.<sup>7</sup> Τῶι fits the remaining space of line 2 and therefore is restored provisionally.

Line 3. In a fifth-century dedication from Tegea *omicron* is used for long *o* in the spelling of Ἀπόλλωνι.<sup>8</sup> In the fourth century B.C. and thereafter Ἀπόλλωνι becomes regular.<sup>9</sup> The second spelling is the one restored here.

#### DATE OF THE THEOPEITHES DEDICATION AND *I.G.*, V 2, 429.

The manumission from Mount Kotilion (*I.G.*, V 2, 429) is stored in the National Museum, Athens (NM 13096) and in 1968 Mrs. E. Touloupa at my request kindly undertook cleaning and conservation of the bronze (Pl. 50, d). A detailed commentary will be part of my monograph on the temple of Apollo at Bassai (forthcoming). My intention here is to discuss briefly those problems related to the dating of the two inscriptions.

The content of the Theopeithes dedication and that of no. 429 provide no positive clues as to their dates. Letter forms on the inscriptions might point to the fifth century B.C. Indeed, K. Kourouniotes, the excavator of no. 429, believed the letter forms

(hereinafter *I.v.O.*), no. 294. The ἀνέθηκη on *I.G.*, V 2, 397 (fifth century B.C.) might be the single exception but this dedication is probably Achaian, J. Herbillon, *Les Cultes de Patras*, Baltimore, 1929, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> Arkadia: fifth century B.C., *I.G.*, V 2, 76, 77 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1066), 102, 564; early fourth century B.C., *I.G.*, V 2, 105, 108 (551 restored); Delphi: *F.D.*, III, i, 4, 199; Olympia: *I.v.O.*, 149 (= *S.E.G.*, XIV, 356 and also P. Amandry in *Charites, Festschrift Langlotz*, Bonn, 1957, p. 84), 147, 148 (= *S. E. G.*, XXIII, 258 and also Amandry, *op. cit.*, p. 76 ;F. Eckstein, *ANAGRAMATA*, Berlin, 1969, p. 126, note 32. This inscription was recut in the first century B.C. with the spelling ἀνέθηκε); Arkadians in Sicily (?): *I.G.*, XIV, 270 (= *S.E.G.*, XIV, 594). For the way in which some of these dedications reflect Arkadian nationalism see J. Roy, *Mnemosyne*, XXV, 1972, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 399, 401 (Lousoi), 453 (Megalopolis), 555, 556 (Melpai). On the other hand, none of the dedications from Tegea show the article before the god's (goddess') name: *I.G.*, V 2, 60, 61, 66, 75, 90, 97.

<sup>8</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 282; cf. A. Morpurgo, "S.E.G., XI, 1112 e il sincretismo dei casi in Arcado-Cipriota," *La Parola del Passato*, XIX, 1964, p. 353, note 19.

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 4 (= *S.E.G.*, XXII, 315), *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 306, line 57 (= *S.E.G.*, XV, 227), *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 559 (= *S.E.G.*, XIX, 662), *I.G.*, V 2, 178, 321 and especially no. 429 which is discussed here. For the dialectical formula see R. von Velsen, *De titulorum Arcadiae flexione et copia verborum*, diss., Berlin, 1917, p. 7; A. Thumb, ed., A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, II, Heidelberg, 1959, p. 139. Incidentally, the index to R. von Velsen, *op. cit.*, provides a helpful supplement to that in *I.G.*, V 2.

R, V, ⊕ and the presence of the *digamma* pointed to a fifth-century B.C. date, although he recognized that *theta* with a central dot and the Ionic alphabet were signs of a later period. But the presence of “Bas(s)itas” to the exclusion of “Epikourios”



FIG. 1. Theopeithes dedication.

convinced Kourouniotes of a date prior to the supposed renaming of Apollo in 421 B.C., a date which accorded with the fallacious theory of a plague of this time. The ante-421 B.C. date has been generally accepted. I shall argue that epigraphically a

421 B.C. or earlier date for no. 429 is impossible. *Ca.* 370 to *ca.* 300 B.C. for both inscriptions is far more probable.

Unlike their Athenian contemporaries Arkadians never had a penchant for inscribed records and even less seldom did they display artistic engraving.<sup>10</sup> What was acceptable style in one city was not necessarily so in another.<sup>11</sup> As a result, writing in Arkadia did not develop consistently or uniformly throughout the territory. On the other hand, Arkadians spoke a dialect having homogeneous traits regardless of location. To a certain extent, the same may be asserted for Arkadian scripts.<sup>12</sup>

## LETTER FORMS

*Theopeithes dedication.* Several letters on the limestone stele are distinctively fifth century B.C., but each type persists into the fourth century: *alpha* with a sloping bar,<sup>13</sup> *epsilon* of three equal bars (second letter in Θεοπέι[θης]),<sup>14</sup> uneven *lambda*.<sup>15</sup> Smaller scaled *thetas* and *omicrons* appear to be typical in the fourth and third centuries B.C.<sup>16</sup>

*I.G.*, V 2, 429. L. H. Jeffery lists R, V, ⊕ as being current in the Arkadian

<sup>10</sup> *Inscriptiones Graecae*, V 2, *Arcadiae*, ed., Hiller von Gaertringen, Berlin, 1913 publishes 571 inscriptions to which should be added approximately 96 subsequent finds, the most recent published by W. Peek in *Epigramme und andere Inschriften aus Lakonien und Arkadien*, Heidelberg, 1971.

<sup>11</sup> In Arkadia *stoichedon* vs. non-*stoichedon* can never be taken as an indicator of date, a point emphasized by H. Lattierman and H. von Gaertringen in "Stymphalos," *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, p. 85. R. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938, pp. 69-70 lists those examples published by *I.G.*, V 2. Add for Tegea: *S.E.G.*, XI, 1051, 1070; *S.E.G.*, XV, 227 (Delphi); W. Peek, *op. cit.*, no. 19, pp. 35-36. Phigalia: *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 236. Megalopolis: *S.E.G.*, XVI, 313 (Delphi). Arkadia: *S.E.G.*, XVI, 315 (Delphi); *S.E.G.*, XXII, 339 ? (Olympia).

<sup>12</sup> For instance, see the tables in L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, p. 211 and M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*, I, Rome, 1967, pp. 118-120.

<sup>13</sup> A few fifth-century B.C. examples are *I.G.*, V 2, 77 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1074), 159 (= *S.E.G.*, XV, 229), 387 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1114); early fourth century B.C., *I.G.*, V 2, 117, 551. This style of *alpha* is standard on Arkadian coinage until the end of the fifth century B.C. when it is displaced by an A whose bar is horizontal. See R. T. Williams, "The Confederate Coinage of the Arcadians in the Fifth Century B.C.," *Amer. Num. Soc. N. Mon.*, CLV, 1966, nos. 299-320. It should be noted however that the developed *alpha* does appear on a fifth-century B.C. inscribed column from Mantinea, *I.G.*, V 2, 261 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1086).

<sup>14</sup> For *epsilon* of three equal bars compare the fifth-century examples: *I.G.*, V 2, 387, 402-404, and fourth century B.C.: *I.G.*, V 2, 2, 3, 105, 114, 548, and see pls. I and II in *I.G.*, V 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Lambda* of two symmetrical strokes appears in the late fifth—early fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, V 2, 1, 2, 6, 77, 108) and displaces the uneven *lambda* by the end of the fourth century B.C. The uneven *lambda* on *I.G.*, V 2, 390 (assigned IV/III cent.) appears to be one of the last instances.

<sup>16</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 6 and pl. III, 117, 199, 343, and pl. III; third—second century B.C., 351, 352, 419 (Phigalia), 549, 550. Smaller scaled *thetas* having crossed strokes generally precede the variety with a central dot: *I.G.*, V 2, 77, 105, 159, 551.

alphabet by the mid-fifth century B.C.<sup>17</sup> By 400 B.C. the tailed *rho* and  $V=Y$  have virtually disappeared but are still written *ca.* 390 B.C. in the text of *I.G.*, V 2, 3 and even later on an ostrakon from Mantinea (*I.G.*, V 2, 323, no. 20, *ca.* 371-340 B.C.).<sup>18</sup> Tailless *phi* is regular in Arkadian epigraphy through the fifth and into the first half of the fourth century B.C. when it is displaced by the tailed *phi*. The tailless *phi* occurs on the earliest extant Phigalian inscription (*I.G.*, V 2, 425 = *S.E.G.*, XXIII, 241) which can be assigned only a general date of "fifth century B.C." The tailless *phi* also occurs on an unpublished graffito on a skyphos from Bassai of the mid-fifth century B.C. A tailless *phi* is also inscribed *ca.* 369 B.C., incidentally, on the monument for the Olympic victor Tharykidos of Phigalia.<sup>19</sup> Transformation from tailless *phi* to tailed *phi* is most clearly seen in the coinage of Pheneos which alters its ethnic in the early fourth century B.C. from  $\textcircled{D}\text{ENIKON}$  or  $\textcircled{D}\text{E}$  to  $\textcircled{D}\text{E}$  or  $\Phi\text{ENE}\Omega\text{N}$ , the two different types of *phi* interchanging during the intermediate period.<sup>20</sup>

#### DIGAMMA

*I.G.*, V 2, 429. *Digamma* is written before the initial vowel of Artemis' epithet *φορθασία* in line 13 and is restored by all editors in line 8 to read *φιστίας*, a proper name which is attested in a Mantinean decree of the middle fourth century B.C. (*I.G.*, V 2, 271). At the beginning of this period, *ca.* 390 B.C., usage of the *digamma* fluctuates within the same inscription,<sup>21</sup> but later in the century it is gradually sup-

<sup>17</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *Scripts*, p. 211.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, the ethnic on the coins of Arkadia APK bears the tailed *rho* until *ca.* 428 B.C. after which time it disappears, R. Williams, *op. cit.* (note 13), nos. 281-296. The tailed *rho* continues in fashion to a somewhat later date on the coinage of Heraia: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum-Copenhagen*, 235, *ca.* 418-322 B.C., and on an issue of Parrhasia or Paroreia: *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Peloponnesus*, pl. 35, 22, *ca.* 431-370 B.C.

<sup>19</sup> *I.v.O.*, 161 (= *S.E.G.*, XVI, 288).

<sup>20</sup> The sequence of Pheneos coinage *ca.* 400-370 B.C. seems to run  $\textcircled{D}\text{E}$ : *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.*, pl. 36, 2 and E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III, 1914, nos. 886-888 with plate CCXXIV, 24-26;  $\Phi\text{E}$ : *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.*, pl. 36, 3 and 4 = L. Forrer, *The Weber Collection*, London, 1924, no. 4316 = Babelon, *Traité*, III, no. 889 with pl. CCXXIV, 27;  $\textcircled{D}\text{E}$ : *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.*, pl. 36, 5 = *Hirsch Col.*, no. 1378 = Babelon, *Traité*, III, 895 and this style ethnic seems to be struck in a series also bearing  $\Phi\text{E}$ , Babelon, *Traité*, III, no. 894 with pl. CCXXV, 3 = *Weber*, no. 4318. A subsequent issue, *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.*, pl. 36, 8 is approximately dated by coin hoard no. 69, *ca.* 350-325 B.C. in M. Thompson, Mørkholm, and Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York, 1973. A tailed *phi* on the coinage of Stymphalos may be late fifth—early fourth century B.C. and therefore an exception to this rule of thumb. See below, note 37. J. Roy in "Ethnics of North-eastern Arcadia (Pheneos, Caphyae, and Alea)," *Athenaeum*, L, 1972, pp. 330-336, notes orthographic changes which occurred during this period. However, the author has overlooked several epigraphic examples published by A. Plassart and G. Blum, "Inscriptions d'Orchomène d'Arcadie," *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 459-463, nos. 4 and 6 (Caphyae) and no. 9, pp. 466-467 (Alea).

<sup>21</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 3 = C. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 3rd ed., Chicago, 1955, no. 18, pp. 199-200 and §55c: Plassart and Blum, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 79-81.

pressed from the Arkadian alphabet.<sup>22</sup> For instance, *κάταρφος*, *ρέκαστος*<sup>23</sup> and *ροικία*<sup>24</sup> in the second half of the fourth and third century B.C. become *κάταρος*,<sup>25</sup> *έκαστος*<sup>26</sup> and *οικία*.<sup>27</sup> The spelling of *φαλόντοις* (<άλίσκομαι) in the mid-third century B.C. marks the last occurrence of the *digamma*. It is written on the earliest<sup>28</sup> of a series of decrees which were inscribed on a single stele from Stymphalos.<sup>29</sup>

## IONIC ALPHABET

*Theopeithes dedication* and *I.G.*, V 2, 429. Recently, J. Taillard and P. Roesch have persuasively demonstrated that the Boiotians adopted the Ionic alphabet ca. 395 B.C. or shortly after the Battle of Corinth and their alliance with Athens. During the initial period the newer alphabet intermixed with the older, traditional forms, especially in private dedications.<sup>30</sup> Nearly a generation later a comparable assimilation of the Ionic alphabet occurred in Arkadia. Judging from the evidence provided by datable inscriptions, this transformation coincides with the founding of the Arkadian League in 370 B.C.<sup>31</sup> Little is known of the legislative transactions of the Arkadian League but it may not be unreasonable to assume that the Arkadian Federal Council established orthographic standards for official texts. In any case, the League's imposition of uniformity in script would have been perfectly consistent with the spirit of the times, however short lived, "*οἱ Ἀρκάδες συνέθεαν*."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Synopses of *ϕ* in Arkadian dialect and brief surveys of change during the fourth century B.C. are found in A. Thumb-A. Scherer, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 123-124; C. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, pp. 46-47, 196-206; G.-J. te Riele, *B.C.H.*, XC, 1966, pp. 255-256 and *idem*, *Mnemosyne*, XXI, 1968, pp. 338, 345. A more complete bibliography of Arkadian dialects is listed by A. Morpurgo, *Parola del Passato*, XIX, 1964, p. 346, note 1 and A. Thumb-A. Scherer, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>23</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 3, lines 4, 18-25, ca. 390 B.C. (see C. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, no. 18, p. 199) and *I.G.*, V 2, 261.

<sup>24</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 261 and 262 (see Buck, *Greek Dialects*, no. 17, p. 198).

<sup>25</sup> *S.E.G.*, XXV, 447, line 14 from Aliphera dated to the end of the third—beginning of the second century B.C. See G.-J. te Riele, *Mnemosyne*, XXI, 1968, p. 338 and J. Roy, "When did Cleonymus Liberate Aliphera," *Talanta*, IV, 1972, pp. 39-45.

<sup>26</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 6, lines 23 and 29; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 306, lines 10 and 16 (= *S.E.G.*, XV, 227 = C. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, no. 22, p. 206); *I.G.*, V 2, 265, line 8; 357, line 57; 421, line 9; 439, line 3; 440, line 11.

<sup>27</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 17, line 3; 394, line 15; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 306, lines 10 and 17.

<sup>28</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 351. For date and relative chronology see Hiller von Gaertringen in *I.G.*, V 2, p. 146 and in *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, pp. 84-89.

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 352-357. *I.G.*, V 2, 357 (ca. 200 B.C.) is the best preserved and historically the most important. See *S.E.G.*, XVI, 276; H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, III, Munich, 1969, no. 567, pp. 354-371; J. and L. Robert, "Bull. ép.," in *Rev. Et. Gr.*, LXXXIV, 1971, no. 326 and *ibid.*, LXXXV, 1972, no. 176.

<sup>30</sup> "L'Inventaire sacré de Thespies," *Rev. Phil.*, XL, 1966, pp. 70-87.

<sup>31</sup> A detailed chronology of Arkadia during the 360's B.C. is reviewed by J. Roy, "Arkadia and Boeotia in Peloponnesian Affairs," *Historia*, XX, 1971, pp. 569-599.

<sup>32</sup> A. Plassart and G. Blum, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 53-115, who date the decree to 369

Generally speaking, local letter styles and the “red” forms for  $X = xsi$  and  $V$  or  $Y = chi$  prevailed in Arkadia,<sup>33</sup> and the characteristic letters of the Ionic alphabet appear not at all in Arkadian documents prior to *ca.* 370 B.C. *I.G.*, V 2, 3 dated *ca.* 390 B.C. shows their alphabet in transition. The text employs the Ionic style of  $X = chi$  and  $\Xi = xsi$ , but retains traditional usage of  $E = \bar{e}$ ,  $\square = h$ ,  $O = \bar{o}$  ( $\omega$ ) and the *digamma*.<sup>34</sup> It is with the foundation of the Arkadian League that the change seems to take place. As far as I can discover, all of the historically datable Arkadian inscriptions after *ca.* 370 B.C. show *omega* and *eta*.<sup>35</sup> The Arkadian base at Delphi (*F.D.*, III, i, 4) is typical, as well as a number of other examples,<sup>36</sup> including the substitution of *eta* for long *e*, *omega* for long *o* in the respective coinages of Heraia, Pheneos and Stymphalos before *ca.* 362 B.C.<sup>37</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The bronze manumission could be of the 360's B.C. This date might be too high, however, in view of the fact that bronze documents with letters *en pointillé* become fashionable only by the latter part of the fourth century and continue through the third and second centuries B.C. A few *en pointillé* letters on a bronze strip from Lousoi, now lost, seem to be an exception.<sup>38</sup> Elsewhere in Greece there are earlier examples

B.C. (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1100 and C. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 204, no. 20). J. Roy does not include this important document in his chronological discussion in *Historia*, XX, 1971, pp. 569-599.

<sup>33</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *Scripts*, p. 208; G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*, Göttingen, 1966, pp. 40-41.

<sup>34</sup> See above, note 23.

<sup>35</sup> A fragmentary bronze plaque from Olympia, *I.v.O.*, no. 31, granting proxeny *ca.* 360 B.C. to a Theban, a Syrakusan, a Sikyonian and an Argive, has been tentatively assigned an Arkadian provenance or possibly Pisatan. This inscription uses  $O$  for  $\bar{O}$ . Since its origin is questionable this inscription does not affect the general rule of  $\omega$  in Arkadian inscriptions after 370 B.C. Moreover, the Ionic alphabet is used in two marble inscriptions at Olympia which have been assigned to Arkadia by E. Kunze in *Ausgrabungen in Olympia, 1956-1958, Bericht*, VII, Berlin, 1961, pp. 211-217 (= *S.E.G.*, XXII, 339). For date of *ca.* 365/4-363/2 B.C. see J. Roy, *Historia*, XX, 1971, pp. 594-595, notes 127 and 128.

<sup>36</sup> For example, *I.G.*, V 2, 1 (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1050), *ca.* 362 B.C. (for dispute of date cf. M. Cary, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 188-190); Tod, *Gr. Hist. Ins.*, II, 1948, no. 132 and J. Roy, *Historia*, XX, 1971, p. 571, note 13; *I.G.*, V 2, 2 after 370-360 B.C.; *I.G.*, V 2, 343, *ca.* 360-350 B.C.

<sup>37</sup>  $\text{HPAE}\Omega\text{N}$ , *ca.* 322 B.C. and later;  $\text{D}\text{E}$  or  $\text{D}\text{ENIKON}$ , *ca.* 421-362 B.C. and  $\text{P}\text{ENE}\Omega\text{N}$  after *ca.* 362 B.C. (see above, note 20);  $\text{STYM}\text{D}\text{ALLION}$  *ca.* 400-362 B.C. and  $\text{STYM}\text{P}\text{ALLION}$  after 362 B.C. See, for instance, *S.N.G.—Cambridge*, 3906-3908 for alteration in orthography within the same issue. Cf. *S.N.G.—Copenhagen*, 283-287. Babelon, *Traité*, III, pp. 594-595 places the change to omega coincident with the founding of the Arkadian League, 370 B.C. or a date confirmed by hoard no. 9, *ca.* 420-400 B.C. in M. Thompson, *op. cit.* (note 20), which included *B.M.C.*, *Pelop.*, pl. 37, 1 bearing  $\text{STYM}\text{P}\text{ALLION}$ . My thanks go to Dr. James Dugdale for his numismatic guidance.

<sup>38</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 400; L. H. Jeffery, *Scripts*, pp. 209, 214, and no. 4, *ca.* 525 B.C.



of letters *en pointillé*, but these tend to be on dedicatory bronze armor<sup>39</sup> and vases.<sup>40</sup> Bronze public inscriptions having letters punched in this style seem more common after the second half of the fourth century B.C. than before.<sup>41</sup> Numerous examples of this type have been found at Lousoi,<sup>42</sup> Orchomenos,<sup>43</sup> Akarnania<sup>44</sup> and Dodona.<sup>45</sup> In fact most of those from Dodona are likewise manumission decrees. 331 B.C. is the date of the earliest of these Dodona manumissions.<sup>46</sup> I would judge the style of lettering of this latter group of bronzes generally to be later than the Kotilion inscription (*I.G.*, V 2, 429) where the tailless *phi*, the sloping strokes of *nu*, the tailed *rho*, V for Y and the mixed use of *τῶι* and *τῷι* favor an earlier date.<sup>47</sup> But as L. H. Jeffery remarks, "On the whole, the general standard of Arkadian writing is not so high that the lack of interest in technique should impress us . . . the number of brief dedications on bronze (often cut hastily on awkward spaces) . . . [means] that to generalize about their standards may well be premature."<sup>48</sup> With this word of caution, we may place our manumission sometime between *ca.* 370 B.C. and *ca.* 325 B.C.

On the same grounds the Theopeithes dedication should date not earlier than the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. The spelling of *ἀνέθῆκε*[ε] fixes this *post quem*. Older styles of letter forms, especially the sloping-bar *alpha*, elevated stroke of *nu*, uneven *lambda*, the one *epsilon* of three equal bars point to an *ante quem* of 300 or even 325 B.C.

<sup>39</sup> Examples of blades and spear points: *I.v.O.*, 707, 715 and A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Louvre*, Paris, 1933, pp. 11-14, no. 4079.

<sup>40</sup> Examples of vases include *I.G.*, V 2, 414 and several Attic victory amphorae, A. Amandry, *B.C.H.*, XCV, 1971, pp. 601-602.

<sup>41</sup> Synopsis of find-spots of public bronze inscriptions in Greece, L. Robert, *Hellenica*, X, 1956, p. 290, note 1. For Arkadian bronze inscriptions of all types I have compiled the following list without attesting to its completeness: *I.G.*, IV, 1476 (?); Jeffery, *Scripts*, pp. 214-216, nos. 1-4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 23, 27, 31, 35, 36, 38 ?, 39?; *I.G.*, V 2, 388-409, 414, 429, 430, 510, 511, 548, 551, 560; *I.v.O.*, 27 ? (= *S.E.G.*, XI, 1168a), 30, 31?, 147, 174; *S.E.G.*, XI, 1146, 1722; XXII, 320, 347?; XXIV, 299; XXV, 452; and *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 451-471, nos. 1-10.

<sup>42</sup> *I.G.*, V 2, 392, 393, 406 (*ca.* third century B.C.). Cf. W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm, *Jahresh.*, IV, 1901, pp. 64-89.

<sup>43</sup> A. Plassart and G. Blum, *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 447-478, no. 4, end third—beginning second century B.C., no. 11, third century B.C.

<sup>44</sup> L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, Paris, 1936, no. 35, third century B.C.

<sup>45</sup> C. Carpanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, Paris, 1878, no. 10 (= *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, 1359, third-second century B.C.), no. 15 (= *S.G.D.I.*, 1346, after 331 B.C., with some stamped letters), no. 19 (= *S.G.D.I.*, 1354), no. 22 (= *S.G.D.I.*, 1360), no. 39 and L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, *op. cit.* (note 44), no. 39.

<sup>46</sup> *S.G.D.I.*, 1346 and 1347 and so others. P. R. Franke, *Alt-Epirus von das Königtum der Molasser*, Erlangen, 1954, p. 39, no. 169, p. 48; N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus*, Oxford, 1967, p. 536.

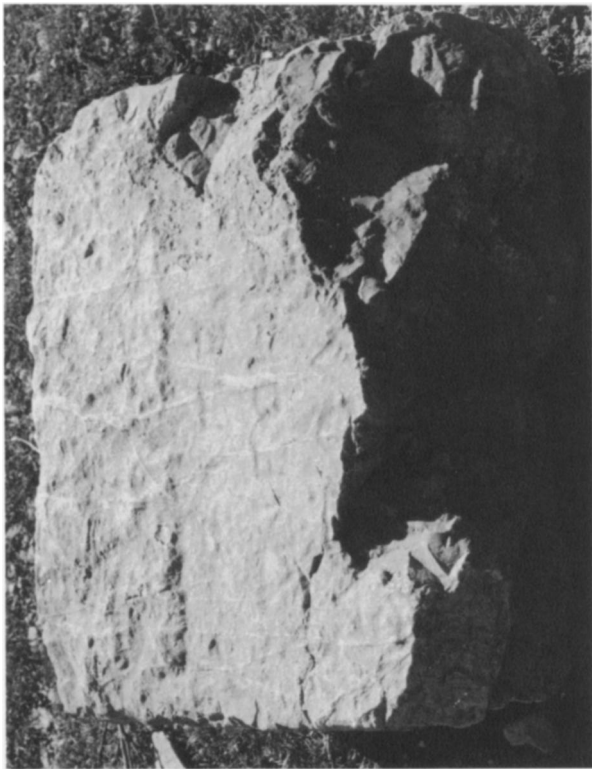
<sup>47</sup> I note in passing the third-century B.C. bronze decree from Lousoi which grants proxeny to a Phigalian, *I.G.*, V 2, 395.

<sup>48</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *Scripts*, p. 207.

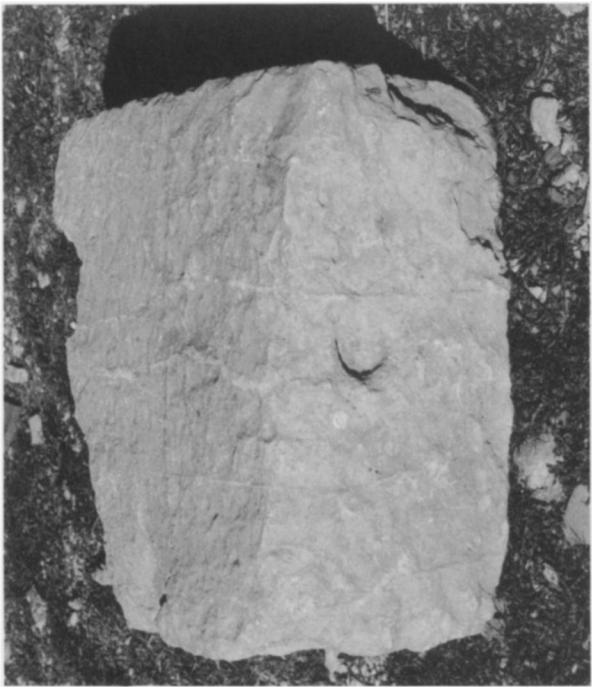
As I shall show in a monograph on the temple of Apollo, the two inscriptions represent a significant part of the testimonia from the site. This analysis of letter forms has been necessitated by the paucity of comparable studies of Arkadian epigraphy, especially for the fourth century B.C. For it is in the second or third quarter of the fourth century that the Arkadians regularized their script somewhat and adopted the Ionic alphabet for their *koine*. More precisely, the change appears to have been coincident with the founding of the Arkadian League in 370 B.C.

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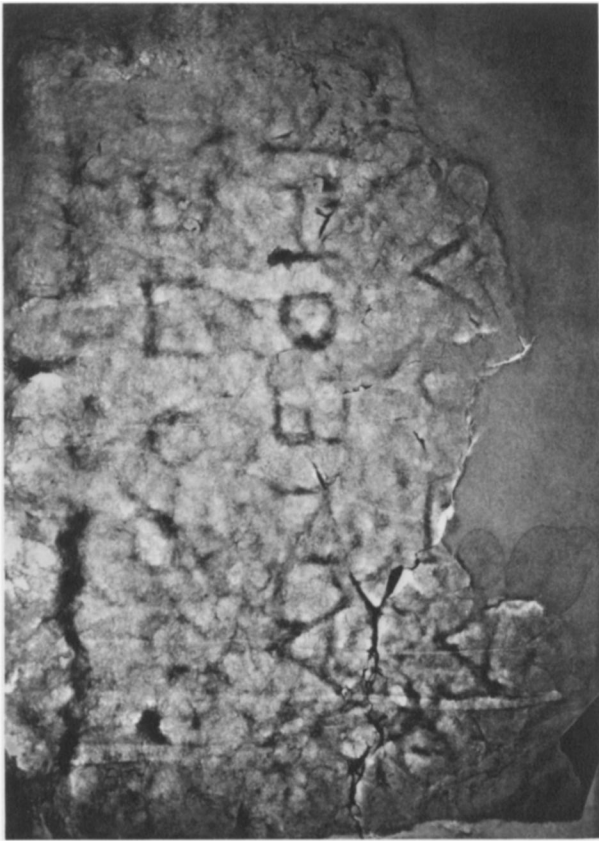
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a. Theopeithes dedication from below



b. Theopeithes dedication from top



c. Squeeze illuminated from behind and printed in reverse



d. Bronze manumission from Mt. Kotilion