

# SOME ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATE 72)

## 1. ZEUS EXOPSIOS OR ZEUS EXOUSIOS?

IN the 1947 campaign of excavations in the Athenian Agora an inscribed boundary stone was discovered in the area west of the Areopagus. It was not *in situ*, but had been re-used face down as a cover slab for a water channel of late Roman times. It was first transcribed by the excavator, R. S. Young, who crawled into the drain and read the inscription while lying on his back. He noted that the inscription was apparently complete and he recorded the text as follows:

Ο Ρ Ο Σ  
Ι Ε Ρ Ο Υ  
Δ Ι Ο Σ  
Ε Ξ Ο Υ

He read the last letter as psi (though his drawing, correctly as we shall see, shows the upper part of the vertical, above the fork, as inclined to one side and disconnected), and “Zeus Exops” thus became part of the Agora canon.

The stone remained in its rather inaccessible position in the water channel for some time before being removed and taken to the Agora Museum. In 1957 it was published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, p. 90, no. 37, with a brief commentary which included an opinion from the late A. B. Cook that the sanctuary belonged to *Zeὺς ἐξόψιος*, the god who looked forth from his sanctuary, though no precise parallel could be cited. Soon afterwards the text appeared in R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, p. 124, with the comment “the reading ἐξοῦ has also been suggested, but the upper part of the vertical of the Ψ is definite.” These publications were picked up in *S.E.G.*, XVI, no. 147 and *R.E.G.*, LXXI, 1958, p. 228, and Zeus Exopsios is thus becoming ever more deeply entrenched; he was mentioned again quite recently by Wycherley, but with a double question mark, in a synopsis of Zeus cults in Athens (*G.R.B.S.*, V, 1964, pp. 177 f.).

I have examined the stone repeatedly and I am convinced that the last letter has been wrongly read and that the epithet Exopsios is therefore fictitious. The letter is in fact upsilon. What appears to be the upward continuation of the vertical stroke, above the fork, is nothing but a flaw in the stone similar to other flaws in the same area. It is not continuous with the stroke below the fork, but disconnected. It is not

straight, but inclined slightly to the left. It is not uniform in width and depth as the proper strokes are, but quite irregular. All this can be seen even in a normal photograph. To make the point more clearly I offer a detail of the letter in question at about three-fifths actual size (Pl. 72).

The disappearance of the improbable Ζεὺς Ἐξόψ(ιος) can only be a relief. As a replacement I suggest Ζεὺς Ἐξού(σιος) or the like, Zeus of Power or Authority (ἐξουσία), an appropriate epithet for the "Father of Men and Gods."

## 2. ΛΙΘΟΣ

(Pl. 72)

On April 28, 1959, in the course of excavations in the area of the Eleusinion just east of the Panathenaic Street and about halfway between the Agora and the Acropolis, a rough piece of stone with an inscription on it was found in a loose fill near the modern surface.<sup>1</sup> The stone (Pl. 72) is a piece of limestone of the kind of which the Acropolis, the Areopagus and the neighboring hills are composed. The inscribed face is a natural rock surface, smooth and slightly undulating. Apart from this surface the stone is rough on all its other sides, and what we have is evidently a fragment broken from a much larger mass. The inscription on the face is complete at the left, but an indeterminable amount is missing at the right. It consists of only one line, and possibly a second which has been damaged, perhaps deliberately, with a pointed instrument. The letters are shallow but rather carefully cut with a broad flat chisel making strokes about 0.002 m. in width.

The text is as follows:

*aet. imp.*

λ ι θ ο ς [ - - - ]  
[ - - - - ? ]

A date in Roman imperial times is suggested by the forms of the letters lambda and sigma.

What is this stone that has written on it the word "stone"? We know that at Athens there were certain special stones and that ὁ λίθος was used as a name for various stones that served as rostra or platforms, such as the *bema* of the Pnyx, the Herald's Stone (κήρυκος λίθος) in the Agora which is perhaps identical with the Selling Stone (πρατήρ λίθος) on which the auctioneer stood when selling slaves, and the Stone in the Agora on which the archons took their oath.<sup>2</sup> Finally there are the

<sup>1</sup> Agora Inventory no. I 6876. Preserved height 0.19 m.; preserved width 0.20 m.; preserved thickness 0.08 m. Height of letters 0.02 m. The place of finding is in square U 19 on the general plan of the Agora which appears in all volumes of *The Athenian Agora* series.

<sup>2</sup> References to all these will be found in L. S. J.,<sup>9</sup> s.v. λίθος IV. We might add the λιθοφόρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου mentioned in an inscription from Eleusis published by John Threpsiades in *Eleusiniaka*,

two Stones on which the litigants stood in the Areopagus. These were called the Stone of Injury (λίθος Ὑβρεως) and the Stone of Ruthlessness (λίθος Ἀναιδείας), and Pausanias tells us that they were rough stones.<sup>3</sup> I should like to suggest that our fragment is part of one of these stones in the court of the Areopagus on which the litigants stood. It is a rough unworked stone of the same kind that the hill is composed of, it was found only about 200 meters from the Areopagus hill where the court was presumably located and downhill from it, and the fact that it is inscribed indicates that it was a Special Stone. The inscription might then be restored either λίθος [Ὑβρεως] or λίθος [Ἀναιδείας].

### 3. ΗΟΡΟΣ ΗΕΛΙΚΗΣ

A boundary stone bearing the above inscription was found in 1811 by Fauvel, the French Consul in Athens, in the course of excavations conducted by himself outside the gate of the city on the road leading to Acharnai. He transcribed and gave a drawing of the stone in an account of these excavations contained in a letter of April 4, 1811, addressed to Barbié du Bocage, the substance of which was later published in the *Magasin Encyclopédique ou Journal des Sciences* (ed. Millin), Année XVII, 1812, II, pp. 91 ff.<sup>4</sup> From here the text was taken by August Boeckh for the *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, no. 529, and it has appeared in subsequent editions of the *Corpus*, most recently in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 864. Meanwhile the stone itself had disappeared. It was re-discovered on February 5, 1935, in the course of the Agora Excavations just below the modern surface in the area where Fauvel's house is known to have stood and was published anew by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 77-79, no. 24.

The interpretation of the text has been difficult. The early editors either gave up entirely or toyed with the idea of a sanctuary of the mythical Helike, the wife of Ion, not otherwise attested. Meritt gives a summary of these early views, only to reject them, and suggests a new idea of his own that ἐλίκη here means a willow tree, as it does in and near Arcadia according to Theophrastos (*H.P.*, III, 13, 7), and that the stone marked a conspicuous willow tree in the Agora which served as a rallying point in the same way that certain other trees are known to have done. To maintain this view, Meritt is forced to discredit the reports of the original place of finding of the stone and to assume that it was originally found in or near the Agora as it was on its second appearance. This is not really justifiable, however, for Fauvel's

I, 1932 (ed. K. Kourouniotes), pp. 223-236, lines 15-16; and again by Pierre Roussel in *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819-834, especially pp. 822-827.

<sup>3</sup> I, 28, 5. τοὺς δὲ ἀργούς λίθους, ἐφ' ὧν ἐστᾶσιν ὅσοι δίκας ὑπέχουσι καὶ οἱ διώκοντες, τὸν μὲν Ὑβρεως τὸν δὲ Ἀναιδείας ἀντὼν ὀνομάζουσι. ἀργούς is a universally accepted emendation for the meaningless ἀργυρούς of the manuscripts.

<sup>4</sup> Extracts from this are quoted in Ludwig Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, I, p. 31.

account of his excavation given in the *Magasin Encyclopédique* is perfectly explicit. He says that his excavations took place along the great road that leads from the Hippades Gate to Acharnai, to the left as one goes to that town, at 130 toises (= 253 meters) from the Hippades Gate and 140 from the present gate. There he found the ancient cemeteries 15 feet below the present surface. He goes on to describe the graves and gives the texts of several inscribed markers found fallen among them. The *hópos helíkēs* stone was one of these, and a drawing of it as well as a majuscule text appears in Fauvel's original letter which is preserved in the Gennadius Library in Athens.<sup>5</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the stone comes originally from an ancient cemetery outside the walls of the city and not from the Agora. If it was later re-discovered in the Agora area, this is because it had been part of Fauvel's private collection which he kept in his house between the Stoa of the Giants and the Church of the Holy Apostles. This collection was violently broken up and dispersed during the Greek War of Independence, but many objects belonging to it remained in the area and have been re-discovered in the Agora Excavations, among them our stone.

The determination that the stone does in fact come from an ancient cemetery permits us to suggest a new and utterly simple interpretation of the inscription. It is the boundary marker of the burial plot of a mortal woman named Helike, the word *σήματος* or *μνήματος* being understood. The name Helike has been reported at least three times in Attica. It is the name of a hetaira on an early red-figured stamnos in Brussels.<sup>6</sup> It appears on an Attic grave lekythos in Copenhagen which has been dated about 375 B.C.<sup>7</sup> and again on a grave loutrophoros of the end of the fourth century B.C. from the Attic deme of Kephale.<sup>8</sup> For the omission of the word *σήματος* we may compare *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 907, *hópos Χσανθίο* (retrograde), found near the Grande Bretagne Hotel, a well known cemetery area.

#### 4. A MORTGAGE STONE FROM TEITHRAS

(Pl. 72)

A rough slab of schist, complete save minor chips. Found in 1964 in the village of Pikermi, the ancient Teithras, about a hundred meters north of the main road and not far from the spot where the stele published in *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 401-403, was found. It was discovered by Costas Xindaris who also found Nos. 10 and 11 below. It is now in the storerooms of the Ephor of Attica in the National Museum where it has received the accession number 2366.

<sup>5</sup> Manuscript no. 134, sheets 41 and 49; illustrated *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Publication references can be found in Beazley, *A.R.V.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 20, no. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11255. Poulsen, *Acta Archaeol. Hafniae*, V, 1934, 58.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1963, 478-482, no. 8, fig. 11. *S.E.G.*, XXI, 1022.

Height, 0.37 m. Width, 0.215 m. Thickness, 0.03-05 m. Height of letters 0.01-0.02 m.

*post med. saec.* IV *a.*

Ὅρος οἰκιῶν καὶ  
 περιουκίου ἀπο{τ}-  
 τιμήματος ἔρα-  
 νισταῖς τοῖς με-  
 5 τὰ Μνησιθέου  
 Ἄλωπεκῇ (θεν) υ. τοῦ  
 ἑράνου τοῦ τα-  
 [λ]αντιαίου.

This is the marker of the houses and lot put up as security to Mnesitheos of Alopeke and his group of lenders for the loan of one talent. *Eranos* loans and loan groups are discussed by Moses I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens*, 500-200 B.C., *The Horos Inscriptions*, pp. 100-106. The *apotimema* here seems to be merely an ordinary security obligation; see Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

The name Mnesitheos of Alopeke is not listed in I. Kirchner's *Prosopographia attica*, nor is it to be found in the indices of such recent epigraphical publications as I have consulted. It does indeed appear in Demosthenes' oration *Against Meidias* (XXI, 82), where Mnesitheos of Alopeke and two other men are called as witnesses. The testimonies inserted in the text of this speech are however usually considered spurious by the editors, and this is why Kirchner has omitted Mnesitheos of Alopeke and the rest from his list, as he explains in his introduction on p. vi. The editors are apparently right in condemning these names. In the *Meidias* oration there are seventeen of them with demotics,<sup>9</sup> and twelve of these are not otherwise known, a remarkably high proportion for fourth century Athens where, as a colleague once remarked, "we know almost everybody." Of the five names that do recur with the same demotics, no identity can be established. Kallisthenes of Sphettos (§ 82) occurs in Roman times.<sup>10</sup> Dionysios of Aphidna (§ 107) is known from three inscriptions of the second or first century B.C.,<sup>11</sup> but Dionysios is an excessively common name. Lysimachos of Alopeke (§ 121) occurs several times in the fifth century in the family of Aristides the Just, and also later,<sup>12</sup> but the name is relatively common and again no identity can be established. Aristokles of Paiania (§ 168) is reported by Kyparisses on a mid-fourth century B.C. tombstone found near Liopesi<sup>13</sup> but again the name is relatively common.

<sup>9</sup> B. D. Meritt has helped me in what follows by checking the Princeton card index.

<sup>10</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4315 and 7519.

<sup>11</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 119; 1009, line 84; and 5761.

<sup>12</sup> *P.A.*, nos. 9504-9507.

<sup>13</sup> *Δελτ.*, X, 1926, *παράρτ.* 79; the name is given as Aristoteles in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7098, line 5, no doubt erroneously.

Finally, Mnesitheos of Alopeke (§ 82) appears on our mortgage stone which is closely enough contemporary with the Meidias oration for the names to refer to the same person. In view of what has been said above, however, it is best to regard this as a coincidence and not try to identify our real banker Mnesitheos with the probably fictitious witness in the speech *Against Meidias*.

# 5. FRAGMENT OF AN INSCRIBED STATUE BASE

(Pl. 72)

Found at the deme site south of the Tatoi Air Field described at the end of my article "The Acharnian Aqueduct" in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀ. Κ. Ὁρλάνδον*, I, pp. 174-175. The stone was brought to Athens on March 26, 1965, by Mr. Verdelis, then Ephor of Attica, and deposited in the storerooms of the Ephorate in the National Museum. It was given the accession number 2396.

Fragment from the upper left corner of a rectangular base of Hymettian marble. Broken at right, below and behind. Inscribed face, left side and top dressed with a toothed chisel, the last a little more roughly. In the top, part of the rounded corner of a cutting to receive the plinth of a marble statue is preserved; the cutting is 0.09 m. deep.

Preserved height, 0.13 m. Preserved width, 0.28 m. Preserved thickness, 0.19 m. Height of letters, 0.04 m.

Late fourth or third century B.C.

Ἡ φ α  
Ἡ φ α ι

Line 1: the first letter is almost certainly eta; the lower end of a vertical stroke is preserved in the left hand part of the letter space.

Line 2: the last letter is almost certainly iota; the lower end of a vertical stroke is preserved in the middle of the letter space.

There are several possible interpretations of the inscription. The simplest is that we have a name followed by a patronymic, both names being formed on the root Hephaist — . Another is that we have a dedication to Hephaistos by someone whose name was Hephaistion or the like. The possibility that the second line is to be interpreted as a demotic should also be considered. The deme Ἰφιστιάδαι is often spelled Ἡφαιστιάδαι, especially in later times but beginning as early as the fourth century B.C.<sup>14</sup> The deme Iphistiadai was located across the Kephisos from the place where our stone was found, southwest of the village of Heraklion.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1556, line 38, and 1558, line 61. *R.E.*, s.v. Demoi, 67, and Iphistiadai.

<sup>15</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LI, 1926, pp. 21-24.

6. I.G., II<sup>2</sup>, 6219

(Pl. 72)

The sepulchral inscription published in the *Corpus* under the above number is said to be on a bronze pot found in Peiraeus and now in the museum in Winterthur. The text is given as follows:

Διονυσίου ΑΥΤΕ  
Θορικίου

The pot has recently been published by H. Bloesch in a catalogue entitled *Antike Kleinkunst in Winterthur, Teil I, Vasen, Bronzen, Terrakotten*, p. 15, no. 33 and plate 7.<sup>16</sup> It proves not to be of bronze but of clay, a bell krater with a lid which Bloesch would date on the basis of the shape of the pot and the character of the writing as probably first half of the fourth century B.C.

The letters ΑΥΤΕ were left unresolved in the *Corpus*. Bloesch takes *aute* as a word and suggests that it refers to the object (i.e. the pot) or rather its contents. This means, I suppose, taking it as the demonstrative pronoun *αὐτή*. It seems doubtful, however, whether the letter epsilon could represent eta in the fourth century. It is more likely, I think, that the letters ΑΥΤΕ are an abbreviated patronymic Αὐτέ(ου), the name Auteas being known in Attica.

## 7. COLUMNAR GRAVE MONUMENT

(Fig. 1)

Found September 7, 1964, outside the house at No. 32 Zakynthos Street in Aigaleos, a suburb of Athens. This is at the western edge of the plain of Athens at the very foot of Mt. Aigaleos, about 500 meters north of the Sacred Way to Eleusis. The deme Ptelea is sometimes placed in this general area: see *R.E.*, s.v. Ptelea 2.

The stone was taken to the storerooms of the Ephor of Attica in the National Museum where it received the accession number 2367.

A small columella. Height of letters, average, 0.02 m.

*saec.* III-II a.

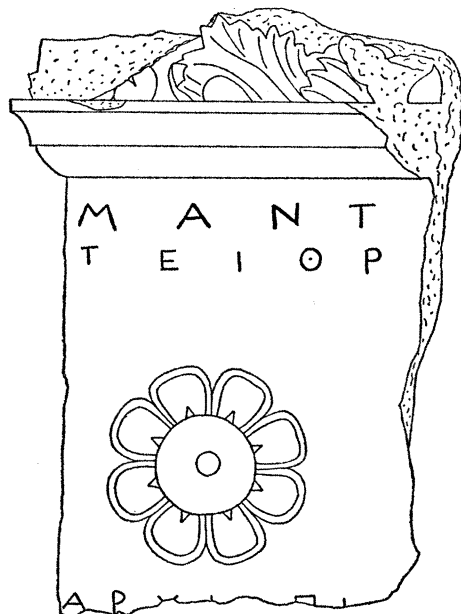
Μνησικλῆς  
Πτε[λε]άσιος

## 8. FRAGMENT OF GRAVE STELE

(Fig. 1)

Fragment from the upper left part of a large grave stele. The palmette at the top is broken away except for a small part, but the moulding at the top of the stele

<sup>16</sup> Here, Plate 72, from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr. Bloesch.



No. 8

ΔΑΜΟΞΕΝΑ  
ΧΑΙΡΙΓΕΝΟΥ  
ΥΛΑΣΙΟΥ  
ΔΕΛΦΗ

No. 9a

ΖΩΡΙΜΗ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ  
ΜΙΛΗΣΙΑ

No. 9b

ΜΟΝΙΜΟΣ  
ΜΑΙΩΤΗΣ

No. 10

ΜΝΗΣΙΚΛΗΣ  
ΤΑΣΙΟΣ

No. 7

ΓΑΥΚΙΑΣ  
ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ

No. 11



proper is preserved. Broken at right and below. About half the width appears to be preserved, including one of the two rosettes, carefully carved.

Found April 1, 1965, at Yerovuno south of Menidi. It was built into a ruinous late wall near the south end of the top of the hill. Taken to the storeroom of the Ephor of Attica in the National Museum where it was given the accession number 2394.

Preserved height 0.42 m. Preserved width 0.30 m. Thickness of stele 0.13 m. Height of letters, average, 0.015 m.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Μ α ν τ [ — <sup>ca.</sup> — ]

Τ ε ι θ ρ [ ά σ ι ο ς ]

Rosette

’ Α ρ χ ι [ π ] τ η

For the name in the first line Mantikles or Mantitheos are possible restorations. A man named Mantikles was one of the councillors from Teithras in 331/330 or 330/329; see *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 401-403, no. 3, line 14. Whatever name we restore, we probably have to do with the family of Mantikles the councillor if not the councillor himself.

Line 3: the upper part of the second pi and the top of the left vertical of the eta are preserved.

## 9. A SMALL COLUMNAR GRAVE MONUMENT, USED TWICE

(Fig. 1)

Found north of Pikermi; now in a private house in Spata.

The first inscription, in letters about 0.015 m. high, probably dates from the third century B.C. and reads as follows:

Δ α μ ο ξ έ ν α

Χ α ι ρ ι γ έ ν ο υ

Φ υ λ α σ ί ο υ

ἀ δ ε λ φ ή

It is unusual for a woman to be identified as someone's sister rather than as daughter or wife. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6479 and 12228; also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 905.

The second inscription is written in large coarse letters of Roman times on the other side of the column. The first two letters in each line of the earlier inscription were partly erased when the second inscription was written. It reads

Ζ ω σ ί μ η

Δ ι ο ν ν σ ί ο υ

Μ ι λ η σ ί α

## 10. COLUMNAR GRAVE MONUMENT

(Fig. 1)

Found near Pikermi. Broken below.

Preserved height 0.25 m. Diameter at top 0.17 m. Height of letters 0.02-0.03 m.

*saec. III-II a.*

Μόνιμος

Μαιώτης

## 11. COLUMNAR GRAVE MONUMENT

(Fig. 1)

Found near Pikermi.

Height 0.53 m. Diameter at top 0.18 m. Height of letters 0.025 m.

*aet. imp.*

Γλαυκίας

Χρηστός

## 12. FRAGMENT OF GRAVE STELE

(Pl. 72)

Found near a small ruined chapel, which has since been excavated revealing an early Christian basilica, about two kilometers southeast of Pikermi (Passades).<sup>17</sup>

Two joining fragments preserve the upper right corner of a stele of Pentelic marble with a flat top. There is a crowning moulding at the top of the front face and the right side. The back is rough.

Preserved height 0.20 m. Preserved width 0.29 m. Thickness of stele, not including moulding, 0.095 m. Height of letters, average, 0.017 m.

*post med. saec. IV a.*

Χαιρέλεια

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<sup>17</sup> E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Blatt VII, upper right corner, marked "verfallene Kapelle mit antiken Säulenstumpfen."



No. 2



No. 1, Detail



No. 6



No. 12



No. 4



No. 5