

SCULPTURAL AND EPIGRAPHICAL RESTORATIONS TO ATTIC DOCUMENTS

(PLATES 61–63)

THE ATHENIAN PRACTICE of putting reliefs on large numbers of inscribed public documents of the Classical period has in five instances led epigraphists to propose sculptural solutions to epigraphical problems.¹ These problems consist of inscriptions apparently lacking part of their texts, in most cases a part of the prescript; the solutions call for the superimposition of another stone carrying a hypothetical relief and usually one or more lines of text missing from the inscription beneath. However satisfactory these restorations may be from an epigraphical point of view, in a number of respects they depart from the usual form for document reliefs, which are usually carved from the same stone as their inscriptions. This paper reexamines these restorations in light of the evidence for Attic document reliefs and the construction of Classical stelai made from more than one stone.²

Although the characteristics of the five stelai with proposed reliefs differ considerably, all have physical features in addition to their epigraphical peculiarities that have encouraged attempts to superimpose another stone.³

The treatment of the top surface of the stele inscribed with the alliance of 433/2 between Athens and Leontinoi (*IG* I³, 54) has been described as anathyrosis, standard preparation for a join, and it has been suggested that this inscription, with its erased and recarved prescript, was reused because it originally had a valuable relief.

¹ Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Binnebössel = R. Binnebössel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, diss. University of Leipzig, Kaldenkirchen 1932
Meiggs and Lewis = R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1969
Stroud = R. S. Stroud, "Greek Inscriptions: Theozotides and the Athenian Orphans," *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 280–301
Svoronos = J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens 1903–1937
Walter = O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen*, Vienna 1923

For document reliefs in general, see Binnebössel; C. Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods: Their History, Development and Use*, diss. Princeton University 1984. M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs*, *AM-BH* 13, Berlin 1989, appeared too late for citation in this article. The author's *corpus* of Attic document reliefs is in preparation.

² For permission to study and publish reliefs and inscriptions in their care, I am grateful to Dina Peppadelmouzou, Director of the Epigraphical Museum, T. Leslie Shear, Jr., Field Director of the Agora Excavations, Evi Touloupa, former Ephor of the Akropolis, and Nicholas Yalouris, former Director of the National Museum. I am particularly indebted to John McK. Camp, Ronald S. Stroud, and Michael B. Walbank, who read early drafts and contributed valuable advice and criticism, and to the anonymous readers of the paper for their helpful suggestions. I would also like to thank Jack Cargill, Margaret M. Miles, and Jere Wickens for discussions and advice, Chara Karapa-Molisani for assistance in the Epigraphical Museum, Geneva Brinton for undertaking difficult photography in the Akropolis apotheke, and Diane Fortenberry for drawing the top of the First Tribute Stele (Fig. 1).

³ The five stelai are discussed in detail below (pp. 243–250) with bibliography.

The top surface of the First Tribute Stele (*IG I³*, 259–272, dated 454/3–440/39) has a smoothed front edge with a raised ridge behind it; these features have suggested to several scholars that a finial of some sort, possibly a relief with an allegedly missing list on its reverse, was originally attached at the top (Fig. 1).

The stone inscribed with the late 5th-century decree proposed by Theozotides that provided financial support for the sons of democrats who died fighting oligarchy (*SEG XXVIII*, 46, known as the war orphans' stele) has two dowel holes on its top for attaching a second stone and lacks the name of its eponymous archon; it has been suggested that the upper stone carried a relief and the missing name of the archon (Pl. 61:a).

The top of the opisthographic stone recording decrees concerning the priestess and temple of Athena Nike (*IG I³*, 35, ca. 450–445?; *IG I³*, 36, 424/3) has two rectangular cuttings for dowels and a sloping surface at the top, physical characteristics that clearly call for the addition of another stone above it (Pl. 61:b, c). The top is damaged, and part of the heading of the earlier decree must be restored, but it appears that the stone originally had room for only one of the three expected parts of the prescript of this decree (name of the tribe in prytany, secretary, and epistates). Those who restore the upper stone as the solution to the problems posed by the incomplete prescript are divided over whether it bore only the name of the secretary or whether it carried the name of the tribe in prytany as well, but the existence of a relief on the upper stone is almost universally accepted.

The stele recording the decree concerning Athenian regulations imposed upon Chalkis (*IG I³*, 40, 446/5?) lacks the name of its secretary and has a rectangular cutting on its top and anathyrosis down its left side (Pl. 62:a). The relief usually proposed for this stele would have carried the name of the secretary as a superscript either above or below it and served as a capping stone over the inscription and another (now missing) stone, set beside it on the left, thought to have recorded the regulations themselves or a related document.

The most immediately striking aspect of these reconstructions is that they stand in sharp contrast to the existing evidence for the usual form of document reliefs, which were normally carved from the same stones as their inscriptions. The earliest securely dated document relief, carved on the stele recording decrees concerning Athens and Methone (*IG I³*, 61) in 424/3, is a panel slightly recessed above its inscription, a form of relief that continues into the 4th century and accounts for about one-third of all document reliefs with lower borders preserved.⁴ In the 4th century that simple form is overtaken in popularity by a relief with a more elaborate architectural frame, often with a profiled molding beneath making a graceful transition to the text below, but this type is also consistently carved from the same stone as its inscription.⁵ In fact, among the more than 190 surviving Attic document reliefs, there are only three possible examples of reliefs carved on separate stones; their dimensions suggest that separately carved reliefs were special cases usually limited to very large stelai, probably because stones of the large sizes required were not readily available or because on such a scale the stelai were more safely and conveniently worked in pieces.

⁴ Athens, E.M. 6596: Svoronos, no. 428, p. 664, pl. 205:1; O. Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Bonn 1913, no. 15, p. xi, pl. 15; Binnebössel, no. 3.

⁵ A typical, well-preserved example is the relief of the Athenian alliance with Korkyra (*IG II²*, 97) of ca. 375: Svoronos, pl. 103; Binnebössel, no. 34; G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, 7th ed., London/New York 1977, fig. 221.

The only certain example of a public document with a separately worked relief is the stele of 295/4 honoring an otherwise unknown Herodoros for his influence with Demetrios Poliorketes on behalf of Athens, contributing to the lenient treatment of the city and the restoration of democracy after the fall of the tyrant Lachares (*IG II²*, 646). As reconstructed by Otto Walter, the stele was originally well over two meters high, its scale in keeping with the lavish honors bestowed upon Herodoros in the decree.⁶ Although the relief, depicting Athena crowning Herodoros, and the surviving right half of the inscription are stored in different museums, precluding at least for the present a test of their join, the name Hero[do] just below the lower molding of the relief and the appropriately spaced rectangular cuttings in the bottom of the relief and the top of the inscription indicate that the two stones were originally doweled together just below the superscript, which consisted of the honorand's name (Pl. 62:b-d).⁷

Walter also recognized and reconstructed another probable example of this type of stele, the huge monument of ca. 342 B.C. honoring the exiled Molossian king Arybbas (*IG II²*, 226).⁸ This unusual stele, originally perhaps as much as four meters high, the largest extant stele for an individual, apparently had two reliefs, one above and one below the inscription (Pl. 63:a, b).⁹ The top relief does not join the other three joining fragments of the inscription, but the dimensions, the similar equestrian subjects of the reliefs, and the possibility of restoring the name [A]r[ybbou] as the superscript just below the relief and its molding strongly suggest that the fragment belongs to the same stele. Differences in the marble foliation of the upper relief and the lower fragments, however, indicated to Walter (pp. 17–19) that the stele was made from two separate blocks; the bottom of the relief fragment and the top of the upper fragment of the inscription are broken and lack any traces of the dowels which must once have held the two stones together. The prominence of the honorand's name just below the frame of the relief and its location on the upper rather than the lower stone with the rest of the text are strikingly similar to the arrangement of the same elements of the Herodoros stele.

The only other example known to me of a separately worked relief that probably belonged to a public document is a very worn relief in the Akropolis Museum, which, to judge

⁶ Walter, no. 9, pp. 8–9, fig. 9.

⁷ Relief (Athens, Akr. 4063 + 2307): H. 0.54, W. 0.48, Th. 0.20 m. On underside of relief, beginning 0.06 m. from left edge and 0.065 m. from front surface, a rectangular cutting 0.055 m. long, 0.045 m. wide, 0.06 m. deep. Inner edge of cutting of same depth, mostly broken away, begins ca. 0.13 m. from right edge. Inscription (E.M. 7386): H. ca. 1.68, W. 0.29, Th. 0.20 m. In top surface, rectangular dowel hole 0.06 m. long, 0.055 m. wide, 0.07 m. deep, beginning 0.07 m. from front, 0.07 m. from back, and 0.075 m. from right edge, with pour channel 0.02 m. wide to back. Very slight traces of smooth band around edges of top surface. Rest. H. of complete stele 2.22 m. (Walter). Clamp grooves on back of stele from Roman reuse: M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Verhandelingen van de koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Jaargang 43, 98) I, Brussels 1981, pp. 145–148.

⁸ O. Walter, "Die Stele des Molosserkönigs Arybbas," *ÖJh* 32, 1940, pp. 1–24, figs. 1, 2, 6; D. Peppadelmouzou, «Επιγραφική Συλλογή», *Δελτ* 28, 1973, B' 1 [1977], p. 11, pl. 7.

⁹ Upper relief and superscript (Athens, N.M. 2948): p.H. 0.42, p.W. 0.31, Th. 0.18 m. (relief), 0.14 m. (inscription). Text of inscription and lower relief (three joining fragments = E.M. 13291): p.H. 2.43; W. 0.58, (top), 0.65 (bottom); Th. 0.215 (top), 0.26 m. (bottom). Osborne ([note 7 above] p. 57), taking into consideration the probable nature and length of the lost section of the inscription, estimates that the stele was closer to four meters in height than the 2.58 m. actually preserved.

from the proportions of its figures, dates from the second half of the 4th century (Pl. 63:c).¹⁰ It has the remains of two large, rectangular dowel holes in its bottom surface, indicating that it was originally attached to another stone beneath (Pl. 63:d).¹¹ The relief depicts a tall, bearded figure, Demos or perhaps Zeus, standing beside an altar, with two apparently male worshippers standing behind him on the right. On the other side of the altar are traces of the raised left hand of another figure, Athena or possibly Hera, who occupied the missing left side of the relief. Although the focus of attention on the deities rather than the mortals is more typical of votive reliefs than document reliefs, the separately worked stone below is more likely to have been required for a substantial document than for the short dedicatory inscription that sometimes accompanies Attic votive reliefs.

Two further examples, although not strictly speaking document reliefs, might be cited as evidence for the usual construction of composite stelai: a casualty list for hippeis who died in the Corinthian War of 394/3 (*IG* II², 5222)¹² and the Telemachos Monument, a large, complex, and unusual dedicatory stele with relief and inscription commemorating the foundation of the cult of Asklepios at Athens by Telemachos of Acharnai.¹³ The casualty list is crowned by a large and elaborate anthemion attached to the inscription below in a manner resembling the construction of the Herodoros stele. The first two lines of the inscription were carved on the recessed surface just beneath the anthemion, and this was attached to the lower stone with two dowels; the bottom of the upper stone has two symmetrically placed, rectangular cuttings and a smoothed band, *ca.* 0.02 m. wide, around the edges. The missing lower stone is usually envisioned as a relief, but there are no parallels for frame, text, and relief arranged in this way. The use of dowels, probably indicating that the bottom stone was flush with the stone above, and the small number of names on the upper stone, more probably the casualties of only one tribe than of the entire mounted force, suggest that the list continued on the lower stone.

¹⁰ Walter, no. 5, pp. 5–6, fig. 5. A relief from an inscription concerning Aphytis (Athens, E.M. 6954) has often been described as separately worked, but Benjamin D. Meritt (“Greek Inscriptions,” *Hesperia* 36, 1967 [pp. 57–101], no. 3, pp. 57–58, pl. 19) demonstrated that it was originally carved from the same stone as its inscription and that it does not belong to *IG* II², 55, another inscription concerning Aphytis with which it is often still associated. A number of document reliefs in the storerooms of the Akropolis and National Museums have dowel holes in their bottom surfaces, but these reliefs are broken along their bottom edges, and their round and trefoil-shaped holes are modern; traces of plaster in the holes and old photographs of some of the reliefs indicate that the holes were made when the reliefs were set in plaster for installation in modern bases, a practice unfortunately still common in many museums. See note 11 below.

¹¹ Akr. 3189: H. 0.405, p.W. 0.44, p.Th. 0.17 m. In bottom surface two broken, rectangular dowel holes: right-hand hole 0.05 m. long, 0.03–0.035 m. wide, 0.06–0.07 m. deep, beginning 0.065 m. from front surface, 0.09 m. from right edge. Similar hole, 0.06 m. deep but almost entirely broken away, begins 0.23 m. further left. Bottom surface finished with claw chisel. Two large round holes in bottom are modern.

¹² Athens, N.M. 754: Travlos, fig. 421; R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*, diss. University of Münster 1977, pp. 18–21; C. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (*BAR-IS* 161 [i]), Oxford 1983, pp. 212–214, pl. 3:a.

¹³ *IG* II², 4960 (E.M. 8821–8823); *IG* II², 4961 (E.M. 8825); *IG* II², 4963 (E.M. 8824) and relief fragments Athens, N.M. 2477, 2490, 2491; London, B.M. 1920.6-161.1; 1971.1-25.1; Padua, Museo Civico 14: L. Beschi, “Il Monumento di Telemachos, Fondatore dell’Asklepieion Ateniese,” *ASAtene*, n.s. 29–30, 1967/1968, pp. 381–436 (with earlier bibliography); E. Mitropoulou, *A New Interpretation of the Telemachos Monument*, Athens 1975; F. Ghedini, *Sculture greche e romane del Museo Civico di Padova*, Rome 1980, pp. 15–18; L. Beschi, “Il Rilievo di Telemachos Ricompleato,” *AAA* 15, 1982, pp. 31–43; *SEG* XXXII, 266.

The reconstruction of the Telemachos Monument is problematic, complicated by its very fragmentary state and by pieces that appear to come from a copy of it, but the fragments indicate that the large relief on top was attached to the tall, inscribed shaft below by a series of dowels and pins.¹⁴ The copy appears to have been differently attached, the large relief inserted into a deep, wide socket or channel on top of the lower stone. Dowels must have been used to secure it, but too little of the top is preserved to indicate their position.¹⁵

In light of the rarity of separately worked reliefs and inscriptions and the apparently consistent method of joining them, most of the suggested restorations discussed here seem less compelling, and closer examination indicates that too little attention has been paid to the physical characteristics of the stelai. Only in the case of the war orphans' stele do most of the features support a reconstruction with relief; in the others the physical characteristics of the stelai either favor alternative reconstructions or rule out the possibility of a relief altogether.

THE LEONTINOI STELE

In the case of the stele concerning Athens and Leontinoi, the treatment of the upper surface of the stele has been mistakenly called anathyrosis, the smooth marginal dressing with a sunken roughened center often applied to surfaces of stones to be closely joined.¹⁶ The top of the stone does have a drafted edge around the front and sides, but the picked surface within it is slightly raised rather than sunken, obstructing rather than providing for a join at the top of the stone.¹⁷ The stele also lacks holes for the dowels that would have been necessary to hold the stones together. The treatment of the top of the Leontinoi stele is not unusual; Athenian masons often smoothed only the outer margins of the upper surface of a stele, creating a crisp edge that probably made the top of the stele appear completely dressed from a distance or from below. The erased and reinscribed prescript of the Leontinoi stele requires another explanation, and the clue lies in a stele recording a similar alliance with Rhegion (*IG* I³, 53), which had its original prescript erased and replaced at the same time as the alteration of the Leontinoi prescript. The prescripts of both alliances were probably erased and recut simply as the easiest way of either renewing the alliances or regularizing their prescripts.¹⁸

¹⁴ Beschi 1967/1968 (note 13 above), pp. 400–407, figs. 6:1, 13–16, 22.

¹⁵ Beschi 1967/1968 (note 13 above), pp. 405–406.

¹⁶ For anathyrosis see W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 3rd ed., London 1950, p. 387.

¹⁷ Athens, E.M. 6855 (four fragments): H. 0.74, W. 0.423, Th. 0.155 m. (approx.); E.M. 6855 a: H. 0.24, W. 0.16, Th. 0.155 m. On upper surface, a smoothed marginal dressing, 0.04 m. wide along front, 0.02 m. wide along left side and back, 0.045 m. wide along right side; within, a slightly raised picked surface. For the restoration with relief, W. Bauer, "Epigraphisches aus dem Athener Nationalmuseum," *Klio* 15, 1917/1918 (pp. 188–195), pp. 189, 191; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* I², 53; S. Accame, "L'alleanza di Atene con Leontini e Regio," *RivFil* 63, 1935, pp. 73–75; *idem*, "Note storiche su epigrafi attiche del V secolo," *RivFil* 80, 1952 (pp. 111–136), pp. 127–136. See also B. D. Meritt, "The Athenian Alliances with Rhegion and Leontinoi," *CQ* 40, 1946 (pp. 85–91), p. 90, note 1.

¹⁸ Meritt (note 17 above), pp. 85–91; H. B. Mattingly, "The Growth of Athenian Imperialism," *Historia* 12, 1963 (pp. 257–273), p. 272; Meiggs and Lewis, nos. 63, 64, pp. 171–172; J. D. Smart, "Athens and Egesta," *JHS* 92, 1972 (pp. 128–146), pp. 144–146; E. Ruschenbusch, "Die Verträge Athens mit Leontinoi und Rhegion vom Jahre 433/2 v. Chr.," *ZPE* 19, 1975, pp. 225–232; D. M. Lewis, "The Treaties with Leontini and Rhegion," *ZPE* 22, 1976, pp. 223–225; T. E. Wick, "Athens' Alliances with Rhegion and Leontinoi," *Historia* 25, 1976, pp. 288–304.

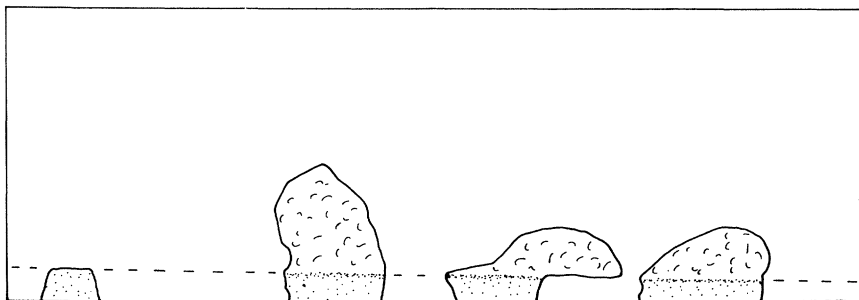


FIG. 1. The top of the reconstructed First Tribute Stele. Drawing of fragments preserving top with drafted edge

THE FIRST TRIBUTE STELE

Similar physical characteristics argue against a relief on the First Tribute Stele, but some uncertainty persists because the top of the stele is so poorly preserved (Fig. 1).¹⁹ The treatment of the top surface, however, is not anathyrosis or that of a resting surface, as Pritchett has suggested;²⁰ behind the marginal dressing along the front of the upper surface is a badly weathered, rough "plateau" rising 0.025–0.03 m. above the drafted surface.²¹ Attempts to explain this "plateau" or "ridge" as either the remains of a relief or of a tenon or other form of attachment for a relief are not convincing. Pritchett maintained that the unsightly ridge must have been covered and vaguely suggested that his proposed upper stone was secured by a mortise and tenon, either with the ridge forming all or part of a tenon fitted into a socket in the upper stone or with a socket in the lower piece for a tenon in the center of the upper stone.²² For the first suggestion he cited as a parallel a sphinx capital from an Archaic grave stele. This comparison does more to refute than to support his argument, for the capital not only illustrates very clearly the mortise and tenon method for piecing stelai but also how distinctly the top of the First Tribute Stele differs from such an arrangement.²³

¹⁹ The stele has been reconstructed from 183 fragments in the Epigraphical Museum. Approximate restored dimensions (from *IG I³*): H. 3.583 (minimum), W. 1.105, Th. 0.385 m. On top of upper fragments 1, 1a, 3, and 4, a smooth, marginal dressing along the front edge, ca. 0.03–0.04 m. wide, and behind it a rough-picked surface, ca. 0.025–0.03 m. high, and much weathered and pocked. For the reconstruction of a relief or other crowning member, see K. S. Pittakys, *ΑρχΕφ* 1853, p. 693; W. K. Pritchett, "The Height of the *Lapis Primus*," *Historia* 13, 1964, pp. 129–134; *idem*, "The Koan Fragment of the Monetary Decree," *BCH* 89, 1965 (pp. 423–440), p. 437; *idem*, "The Top of the *Lapis Primus*," *GRBS* 7, 1966, pp. 123–129, pls. 6–9; *idem*, "The Location of the *Lapis Primus*," *GRBS* 8, 1967, pp. 113–119; V. F. Allen, *The First Tribute Stele and the Athenian Empire, 455–445*, diss. University of California, Los Angeles 1971, pp. 38–41, fig. 11.

²⁰ Pritchett (1966 [note 19 above], p. 124) retracted the term anathyrosis early in the controversy over his reconstruction but continued to regard the unevenly drafted edge of the top surface of the First Tribute Stele as a resting surface for an additional stone.

²¹ B. D. Meritt, "The Tribute Quota List of 454/3 B.C.," *Hesperia* 41, 1972 (pp. 403–417), pp. 403–405, pls. 99, 100. See also B. D. Meritt, "The Top of the First Tribute Stele," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 134–140, pl. 42; M. F. McGregor, "The Postscript of the First Attic Quota-List," *GRBS* 8, 1967 (pp. 103–112), pp. 103–104.

²² Pritchett 1966 (note 19 above), p. 125.

²³ For his example, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London 1961, no. 1, p. 10, figs. 1–7.

The Archaic capital has anathyrosis, indicating that the stele attached to it had anathyrosis as well, and it has a precisely cut, deep socket, calling for a tenon *ca.* 0.06–0.08 m. high in the center of the lower stone. In contrast, the projection on the First Tribute Stele appears to have extended nearly the width of the stele, it is at most merely 0.03 m. high, with no indications of cutting or breakage, and it curves irregularly upward from the dressed surface in front of it, making a precise fit with the socket of any finial unlikely. Pritchett's second suggestion, that the upper part of the stele had a socket, was apparently prompted by the possibility that a fracture in the broken back of the upper part of the stele might be the edge of a broken cutting.²⁴ Pritchett himself doubted that this was the case, however, and it is difficult to imagine how a socket cut *into* the irregular, protruding ridge could have worked. Finally, V. F. Allen suggested that the ridge was not part of a tenon at all but rather the broken bottom of a slightly recessed relief carved from the same stone as the inscription.²⁵ There are examples of reliefs recessed in this manner, but even the most fragmentary have traces of relief where they broke away from their inscriptions, while there are no indications of breakage, sculpture, or tool marks anywhere along the ridge of the First Tribute Stele. The present condition of the top fragments suggests that the top was neither covered nor broken. It was originally rough picked, and it is now very weathered, with small, irregular pocks like those on the front and right side of the stele.

Although the raised area on top of the First Tribute Stele is much higher than the slightly raised, rough upper surface of the Leontinoi stele, it is probable that the explanation for the appearance of the upper surface is the same. The mason smoothed the upper surface to achieve a crisp edge, but he worked back only as far as he thought necessary to create the impression from below of a completely dressed stele.²⁶ He did not even bother to measure the drafted edge carefully; it varies from 0.03 to 0.04 m. in width along the front. He left more rough stone than usual behind the drafting, but at a height of over 3.5 m. the rough part of the top of the stone is not visible to an observer standing on the ground, even at some distance from the stele. On the restored stele, the ridge extends all the way to the right and left sides of the stone, but no fragment preserves the ridge at the right and left edges; it is probable that the stele had a marginal dressing all the way around. Pritchett's point that the top of the stele might have been visible from some more distant point on the Akropolis is valid, but the precise location of the stele and the points of view from which the top of it could be seen remain unknown.²⁷

Finally, it is necessary to inquire whether the First Tribute Stele is a type of inscribed document likely to have been given a relief. Among the other inscribed documents concerned with the tribute itself, the other tribute lists and assessment decrees, there are no stelai with reliefs. Moreover, as Meritt pointed out, the Second Tribute Stele also had a smooth drafted edge along the front of its top, although the roughly worked stone behind it is not raised.²⁸ The only document concerning the tribute that had a relief is not an account but the considerably later decree of 426/5 concerning the appointment of tribute collectors (*IG* I³, 68),

²⁴ Pritchett 1964 (note 19 above), pp. 129–130; *idem*, 1966 (note 19 above), pp. 123–124.

²⁵ Allen, *loc. cit.* (note 19 above).

²⁶ Meritt 1972 (note 21 above), pp. 403–405.

²⁷ Pritchett 1967 (note 19 above), pp. 117–118.

²⁸ Meritt 1972 (note 21 above), p. 404.

inscribed on a much smaller stone.²⁹ With respect to the practice on accounting stelai in general, reliefs were occasionally provided for the annual accounts of the treasurers of Athena and of the Other Gods, but these were also later stelai of consistently more modest dimensions.³⁰ If the First Tribute Stele had a relief, it would appear to have been the first of its kind and an isolated experiment possibly not repeated for some 25 years.³¹

THE WAR ORPHANS' STELE

In contrast to the First Tribute and Leontinoi stelai, the stones inscribed with the decrees concerning the war orphans, the temple and priestess of Athena Nike, and the Athenian regulations for Chalkis have very convincing physical evidence for the attachment of another stone, but whether these were reliefs is open to question. Of the three, the best candidate for an inscription with a separately worked relief is Theozotides' decree concerning the war orphans.³² Its editor, Ronald S. Stroud, first suggested that it bore an upper stone with a relief and the missing part of its prescript.³³ The stele is very large (together with its crowning stone probably exceeding two meters in height), and thus in scale it resembles the later stelai constructed from two stones. In their position and in some of their dimensions, the dowel holes (Pl. 61:a) resemble those of the lower part of the Herodoros stele, and together with the smooth band on the front and sides of its upper surface they suggest that the stone above was tightly joined and flush with the front surface of the inscription. The only part of the text missing, the archon's name, is an element occasionally set apart and emphasized in large letters in the headings of stelai of this period, often on the moldings above or below reliefs but sometimes merely set some distance above the rest of the text, as in the superscripts of the Herodoros and probably the Arybbas stelai. Thus from the physical point of view, the war orphans' stele can be reconstructed to resemble the stelai concerning Herodoros and Arybbas. The document is in essence if not in formula an honorary decree for the fathers of the orphans,³⁴ and honorary decrees, usually for foreigners but occasionally for citizens, are the type of Attic documents most frequently decorated with relief. The reliefs typically represent Athena crowning the honorand, and a suitable relief for the war orphans' stele might have depicted Athena presenting her largess to the grateful fathers or their sons.³⁵

²⁹ Athens, E.M. 6595: B. D. Meritt, "Collectors of Athenian Tribute," *AJP* 88, 1967, pp. 29–32, pl. II; Binnebössel, no. 4.

³⁰ *IG* I³, 375 (Louvre, MA 831): Richter (note 5 above), fig. 175; Binnebössel, no. 14; *IG* II², 1374 (E.M. 7862): Svoronos, pl. 203; Binnebössel, no. 23; *IG* II², 1392 (Athens, N.M. 1479, E.M. 7801): Svoronos, pl. 107:2; Binnebössel, no. 24; *IG* II², 1410 (E.M. 7859): Svoronos, pl. 210:1; Binnebössel, no. 33.

³¹ See pp. 250–251 and notes 50 and 51 below.

³² Agora I 7169: H. 1.53; W. 0.67 (bottom), 0.645 (top); Th. 0.135 m. Two rough, oblong dowel holes in top surface, each ca. 0.06 m. long, 0.02 m. wide, 0.07 m. deep and beginning 0.115 m. from sides and 0.065 m. from front surface. Left hole still partly filled with lead. Smooth band, 0.015–0.02 m. wide and very worn, along sides, front, and perhaps back edges of top surface.

³³ Stroud, p. 285.

³⁴ Stroud, pp. 300–301; M. H. Hansen, "Nomos and Psephisma in Fourth-century Athens," *GRBS* 19, 1978 (pp. 315–330), p. 320, note 18.

³⁵ If the Agora stele had a relief, it is most unlikely that Theozotides' proposal concerning reduction of the hippeis' pay, known from other sources and sometimes considered part of the same decree, was inscribed on the same stele: Stroud, pp. 297–300; cf. Hansen, *loc. cit.* The subjects of document reliefs normally correspond

THE ATHENA NIKE STELE

It appears less likely that the Athena Nike stele had a relief (Pl. 61:b, c).³⁶ Although there are parallels for reliefs on 5th-century decrees concerning cults, and although it is possible to reconstruct an upper stone for the Athena Nike stele that would resemble those of the Herodoros and Arybbas stelai, there are a number of other aspects of this inscription that argue against such an arrangement. If the top of the stone lacks only part of the pre-script of the earlier decree, the inscription appears to have been too short to have required a separately worked relief. The bottom of the stone has already reached an amendment, suggesting that the stone was broken near the end of the inscription; even additional riders would not have made it a very long document. It is therefore difficult to see why, if it were to have been the only decree inscribed and if it had a relief, the inscription and relief were not originally put on the same stone. Equally puzzling is the apparent location of the join between two lines of regular lettering in the earlier decree; the join would have been exactly halfway between the first line of the bottom stone and what would have been the last line of the top stone, if its interlinear spacing were the same as that of the rest of the inscription.³⁷ It must therefore have been the desire for a nearly seamless join between the two lines of regular text that dictated the use of the very unusual, sloping scarf join. As William B. Dinsmoor pointed out, the scarf join is actually a form of splice,³⁸ and it is an unnecessarily difficult and precise provision merely for the addition of a relief, which could have been joined more easily along a level surface at its lower molding (as in the Akropolis relief) or between a superscript and the main text (as in the stele for Herodoros and probably the stele for Arybbas). It is also odd that the later inscription on the reverse, a decree concerning the priestess of Athena Nike (*IG* I³, 36), begins only near the top of the lower stone and therefore a considerable way down the surface of the entire reconstructed stele, strangely respecting the join between the two stones so carefully camouflaged between the two lines of text on the obverse and apparently leaving the reverse of the upper stone blank.³⁹ The only existing opisthographic stele with a relief, the accounts of the treasurers of Athena in 410/9 and

closely to the content of their inscriptions, and a relief appropriate for the war orphans' provisions would not have suited the other decree.

³⁶ Athens, E.M. 8116: p.H. 0.30; W. 0.39; Th. 0.095 (top), 0.096 m. (bottom). Top surface slopes downward toward the reverse, with a vertical distance of ca. 0.035 m. between top of front and top of back. In top surface, two rectangular dowel holes, 0.045 m. long, 0.012 m. wide, and approximately 0.025–0.04 m. deep, beginning 0.035 m. from front surface, 0.04 m. from back, 0.065 m. from sides; much of left hole broken away. Smooth band, 0.02–0.025 m. wide, preserved along front, back, and right sides of top surface; area within treated with claw chisel. For arguments for a relief on its top see F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* I², 24; S. Dow in R. Schlaifer, "Notes on Athenian Public Cults," *HSCP* 51, 1940 (pp. 233–260), pp. 257–259; A. Boegehold, "The Preamble of the Early Athena Nike Decree," *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 58), Urbana 1969, pp. 175–180, pls. I–III; Meiggs and Lewis, pp. 110–111; M. McGregor, review of Meiggs and Lewis, *Phoenix* 24, 1970 (pp. 176–182), pp. 179–180; R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, pp. 499–501; J. M. Balcer, *The Athenian Regulations for Chalkis: Studies in Athenian Imperial Law (Historia, Einzelschrift* 33), Wiesbaden 1978, pp. 85–86. For problems concerning the date and content of the decree, see Meiggs and Lewis, pp. 109–111, and most recently H. B. Mattingly, "The Athena Nike Temple Reconsidered," *AJA* 86, 1982, pp. 381–385.

³⁷ B. D. Meritt, "Notes on Attic Decrees," *Hesperia* 10, 1941 (pp. 301–337), p. 312.

³⁸ W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Inscriptions of Athena Nike," *AJA* 27, 1923 (pp. 318–321), pp. 319–320.

³⁹ The decree on the reverse begins 0.035 m. from the top of the stone: Kern (note 4 above), pl. 14, bottom.

probably 407/6 (*IG I³*, 375, 377), is similarly inscribed, with the accounts on the reverse beginning only at the level of the molding between relief and inscription on the obverse; in this case the mason almost certainly avoided using the reverse of the considerably narrower relief above in order to have an inscription of uniform width throughout, whereas the carefully hidden joint of the Athena Nike decree suggests that its two stones were to have created a continuous surface on the obverse.⁴⁰

There are several alternatives to the restoration of a relief on the Athena Nike decrees that could satisfy the epigraphical requirements of the text and more easily account for the peculiar characteristics of the existing stone. One possibility that could explain both the unusual join and the location of the decree on the reverse is that the upper stone carried substantial text rather than a relief with part of the prescript. Both Dinsmoor and Meritt originally believed that the upper stone was intended to carry additional text, and Meritt therefore restored on the upper stone a major decree concerning the reorganization of the western end of the Akropolis and the construction of the Propylaia, to which he considered the Athena Nike decree merely a rider.⁴¹ He later retracted that idea and decided that the decree concerning the priestess and temple was the major document on the stele, capped by a relief with the missing prescript,⁴² but other arguments for restoring substantial text rather than a relief to the upper stone should be considered. Multiple decrees inscribed on one stele are not unusual, and the existing text may have been preceded by other business concerning the cult of Athena Nike. If that was the case, Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery may have been correct in suggesting that the position of the decree on the reverse is to be explained by the mason's fear of loosening the already joined stones by hammering on the upper half.⁴³ Another alternative for the reconstruction of the Athena Nike stele, although one that does not go very far in explaining the peculiar join, is that the upper stone was an architectural crown carrying with it the missing part of the text. Separately worked architectural members appear to be as rare and difficult to justify on stelai as separately worked reliefs, and they are less likely to have required a scarf join, but an elaborate molding or pediment of a shape or size inappropriate for inscribing could explain why the decree on the reverse was not begun on the upper stone;⁴⁴ the text begins, in fact, at about the distance below the top surface of the lower stone that is normal for inscriptions of this period.

THE CHALKIS STELE

The construction of the stele with the decree concerning Athens and Chalkis has often been cited as a parallel for the Athena Nike stele, but the similarities are more epigraphical

⁴⁰ Meritt, *loc. cit.* (note 37 above). Reverse of the treasurers' accounts: B. D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century*, Ann Arbor 1932, pls. VII, VIII, XI; W. K. Pritchett, *The Choiseul Marble* (University of California Classical Studies 5), Berkeley/Los Angeles 1970, pls. 1, 2.

⁴¹ Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.* (note 38 above); Meritt (note 37 above), pp. 312–314; B. D. Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Dating of Documents to the Mid-fifth Century—II," *JHS* 83, 1963 (pp. 100–117), pp. 109–110.

⁴² Meritt in McGregor (note 36 above); Mattingly, *loc. cit.* (note 36 above). J. A. Bundgaard (*Parthenon and the Mycenaean City on the Heights*, Copenhagen 1976, pp. 48–49, fig. 25, and pp. 168–169) still follows Meritt's original idea.

⁴³ Meritt and Wade-Gery (note 41 above), p. 110, note 61.

⁴⁴ For a crowning anthemion doweled onto a stele with an early 4th-century casualty list, see p. 242 and note 12 above. A small, plain pediment with round attachment holes in its lower surface (Agora S 2830, unpublished) came to light in the Athenian Agora in 1977.

than physical.⁴⁵ Like the earlier Athena Nike decree, the Chalkis decree lacks the name of its secretary in the prescript, but the Chalkis stele appears to have been part of a more complex construction: it has provisions for attachments on both its top and left side. The usual reconstructions of the stele assume another inscribed stone of the same dimensions attached to the left of the existing stone and a relief capping the two inscriptions. The most elaborate of these reconstructions yields a relief with a width of 0.856 m., some 0.15 m. wider than any surviving document relief.⁴⁶

The physical characteristics of the existing stele, however, are not appropriate for the addition of a relief. The single large, shallow cutting in the center of the top of the Chalkis decree is not a dowel hole but rather a mortise for the insertion of a tenon (Pl. 62:a). The claw-chiseled surface around the mortise, in contrast to the anathyrosis on the left side of the stele, is not preparation for a tight join. Moreover, the upper stone does not appear to have been flush with the face of the lower stone: although most of the top surface of the lower stone is fresh, indicating that that part was covered by the upper stone, the corners and front edge of the lower stone are worn and corroded from exposure to the elements. Finally, although the true anathyrosis all along the left side of the stele indicates that there was something attached to the stone at that point, there are no traces of the clamp or clamps necessary to attach the stone on the left. It therefore seems unlikely that there was another freestanding stone in that position. From a purely practical point of view, it also seems unlikely that the tripartite structure envisioned in these reconstructions could have been held together securely by a relief set only 0.04 m. into the stones beneath it.

There are no close parallels for the physical characteristics of the Chalkis stele. The only surviving stele with a relief that was similarly attached to something alongside it is another casualty list of 394/3 (*IG II²*, 5221), which has clear anathyrosis down its right side.⁴⁷ The relief and list of names immediately beneath it, however, were carved from a single block and attached to the adjoining stone with a clamp, the usual means of joining stones horizontally; its cutting is preserved at the right edge of the upper surface of the block. The closest parallels for the treatment of the upper surface of the Chalkis stele are found not on inscriptions with reliefs but on Archaic grave stelai, where mortises and tenons of similar dimensions were used to attach sphinx capitals to shafts of comparable width and

⁴⁵ Akr. 6509: H. 1.21, W. 0.43, Th. 0.135 m. On its top surface, a neat rectangular cutting 0.18 m. long, 0.069 m. wide, 0.04 m. deep, beginning 0.12 m. from edges, 0.03 m. from front surface. Top surface uniformly treated with claw chisel. On the left side, a smooth band 0.063 m. wide along the top, 0.049 m. wide along the front edge, with recessed, rough-picked surface within. For arguments for a capping relief see S. A. Koumanoudes, «Ἀττικά Ψηφίσματα», *Αθήναιον* 5, 1876/1877 (pp. 74–106), p. 76; U. Köhler, “Über zwei athenische Vertragsurkunden,” *AM* 1, 1876 (pp. 184–205), p. 184; P. Foucart, “Décret des Athéniens relatif à la ville de Chalcis,” *RA* 33, 1877 (pp. 242–262), pp. 246–247; M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1946, no. 82; Meiggs and Lewis, pp. 111, 138; Meiggs (note 36 above), p. 500; A. S. Henry, *Prescripts of Athenian Decrees (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 49)*, Leiden 1977, p. 13; Balcer (note 36 above), pp. 83–101. For the date, see Meiggs and Lewis, pp. 140–144, and Mattingly, *loc. cit.* (note 36 above).

⁴⁶ Balcer (note 36 above), pp. 84–88.

⁴⁷ Athens, N.M. 2744: A. Brückner, “Kerameikos-Studien; Das Staatsgrabmal um 394 v. Chr.,” *AM* 35, 1910, pp. 219–234; Travlos, figs. 422, 423; Stupperich (note 12 above), pp. 17–18; Clairmont (note 12 above), pp. 209–212, pl. 2.

thickness.⁴⁸ The mortise of the Chalkis stele is considerably shallower than these. If the reconstruction of the Chalkis stele were to proceed from its physical characteristics rather than from its supposed epigraphical requirements, the depth of the mortise and the evidence of wear on the top surface of the surviving stone suggest that it held a low, heavy finial rather than a tall, unstable relief. The anathyrosis on the left side might have been intended to ease it into an architectural setting. The missing secretary remains a problem, but public documents lacking secretaries and other standard components of their prescripts were not so rare in Classical Athens as usually supposed.⁴⁹

CONCLUSIONS

As the foregoing discussion indicates, the evidence for inscribed public documents with separately carved reliefs is limited and fragmentary, but there is enough consistency to permit a few conclusions about normal practice in these cases. Separately worked reliefs were rare, probably used primarily for stelai that were to have been larger than the usual quarry-dressed slabs available (Herodoros, probably Arybbas, and war orphans' stelai). Stelai constructed from two stones were often joined not, as might have been expected, at the bottom of their reliefs but some distance beneath them, with the joins falling between lines of text on the regular faces of the stelai (Herodoros, probably Arybbas, and war orphans' stelai; possibly Athena Nike stele). The usual method of fastening the stones together was with two symmetrically positioned dowels penetrating both stones to a depth of *ca.* 0.04–0.07 m. (Herodoros, Athena Nike, war orphans' stelai, Akropolis relief). True anathyrosis was not used on the horizontal surfaces of the stones to be joined, but narrow bands were often smoothed around the edges of the bottom and top surfaces of the stones, particularly when a tight join was required part way down the inscribed surface of the stele (Herodoros, probably Athena Nike, war orphans' stelai).

Thus of the five stelai discussed here, only the late 5th-century war orphans' stele remains a likely candidate for restoration with a separately worked relief. The elimination of reliefs proposed for the First Tribute, Leontinoi, Athena Nike, and Chalkis stelai would significantly affect the picture of the early development of Attic document reliefs. All four are usually dated from the middle to the third quarter of the 5th century, some years before the earliest securely dated document reliefs of the 420's. The only other document reliefs that have been assigned to the third quarter of the century are three very fragmentary ones of uncertain date.⁵⁰ If the epigraphical and historical arguments of H. B. Mattingly are

⁴⁸ Richter (note 23 above), nos. 1, 5, 7, 23, 29, 38, 42, 53, figs. 6, 24, 87, 134.

⁴⁹ Henry (note 45 above), pp. 31–33, 43–49, 59, note 37; see also *IG* II², 97.

⁵⁰ The reliefs are above the Regulations for Miletos (*IG* I³, 21; E.M. 6801, usually dated to 450/49), above a decree honoring the sons of one Iphiades (*IG* I³, 28; E.M. 6820 + 6820a, often dated to the 440's), and above a document apparently concerning Messenians or Sicilian Messana (*IG* I³, 148; Leiden, Rijksmuseum R.O. III. 95, usually dated to the mid-5th century). The early dates for these and a number of other important documents of the Athenian empire depend upon the presence of certain letter forms, particularly the three-barred sigma, which according to the traditional view disappeared from Athenian public inscriptions after *ca.* 446: B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 13, 1944 (pp. 210–266), pp. 224–229; B. D. Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Dating of Documents to the Mid-fifth Century—I," *JHS* 82, 1962, pp. 67–74; Meritt and Wade-Gery (note 41 above), pp. 100–117; R. Meiggs, "The Crisis of Athenian Imperialism," *HSCP* 67, 1963 (pp. 1–36), pp. 24–36; *idem*, "The Dating of Fifth-century Attic Inscriptions," *JHS* 86, 1966,

correct and these inscriptions belong to the 420's, there would be no certain sculptural evidence for Attic document reliefs before that time.⁵¹ The appearance of Attic document reliefs in the 420's would accord well with what we know of sculptural practice in Athens at this time, for the reliefs were probably produced by the sculptors of the stylistically and qualitatively similar grave and votive reliefs that were revived in Athens in the late 430's or early 420's.⁵²

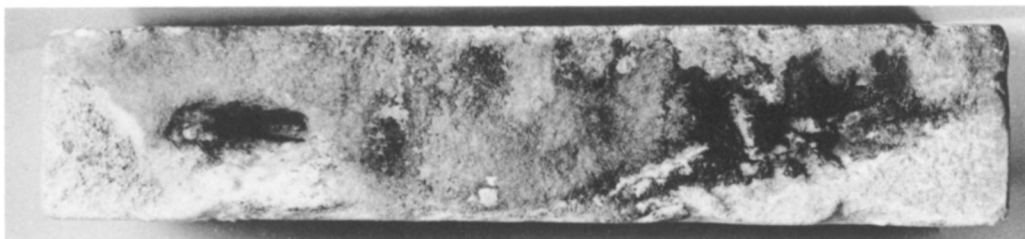
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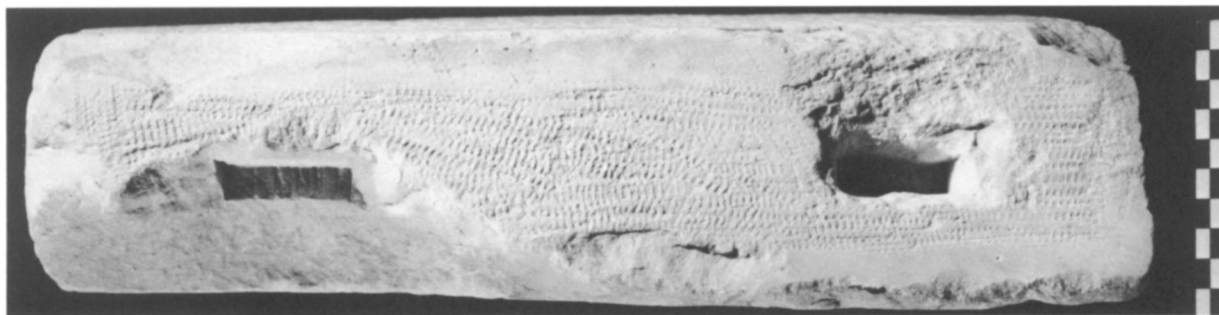
pp. 86–98; *idem* (note 36 above), pp. 425–427; D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, *Studies in Fifth-century Attic Epigraphy* (University of Cincinnati Classical Studies IV), Norman, Okla. 1973, pp. 24–70; M. B. Walbank, "Criteria for the Dating of Fifth-century Attic Inscriptions," in *ΦΟΡΟΣ: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1974, pp. 161–169; *idem*, *Athenian Proxenes of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Toronto/Sarasota, Fla. 1978, no. 17, pp. 115–122.

⁵¹ Mattingly questions the use of the three-barred sigma and other letter forms for dating the inscriptions of this period and places these and many other documents usually dated to the mid-5th century in the 420's: Mattingly (note 18 above), pp. 257–273; "The Athenian Coinage Decree," *Historia* 10, 1961, pp. 148–188; "Periclean Imperialism," in *Ancient Societies and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg*, Oxford 1966, pp. 193–223; "Epigraphically the Twenties are Too Late . . .," *BSA* 65, 1970, pp. 129–149; "Formal Dating Criteria for Fifth Century Attic Inscriptions," *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge 1967, Oxford 1971, pp. 27–33; "The Language of Athenian Imperialism," *Epigraphica* 36, 1974, pp. 31–56; "Three Attic Decrees," *Historia* 25, 1976, pp. 38–44.

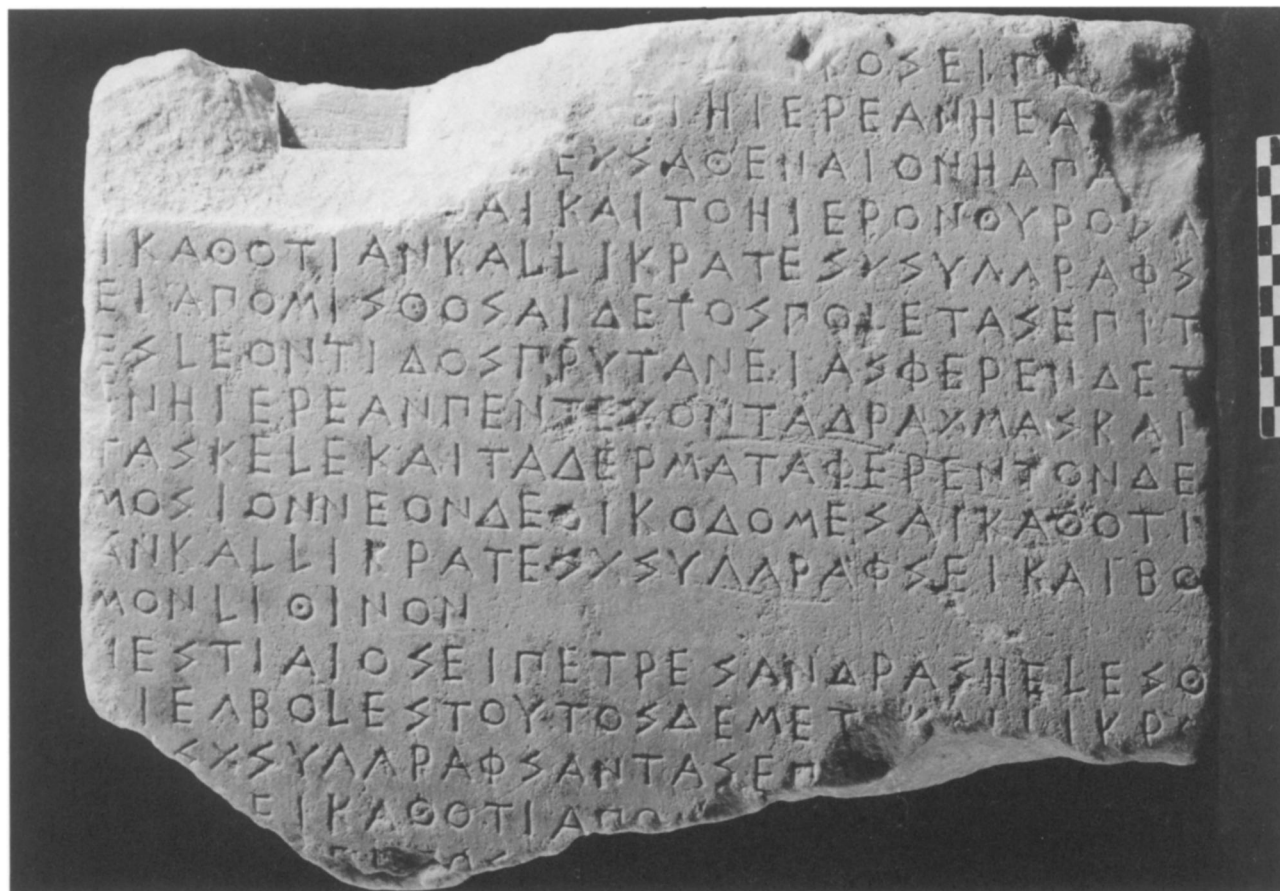
⁵² For the revival of grave reliefs, see H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin 1931, p. 7; K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period*, Copenhagen 1951, pp. 146–147; T. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik von Tode des Phidias bis zum Wirken der grossen Meister des IV. Jahrhunderts v. Christus*, Krefeld 1957, pp. 85–87; C. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Period*, Mainz am Rhein 1970, pp. 41–45; B. Schmaltz, *Griechische Grabreliefs*, Darmstadt 1983, pp. 197–200.



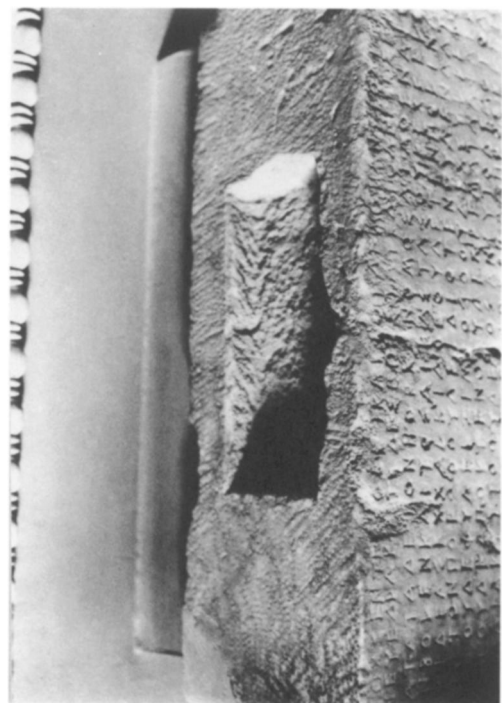
a. The war orphans' stele, top. Agora I 7169



b. The Athena Nike stele, top



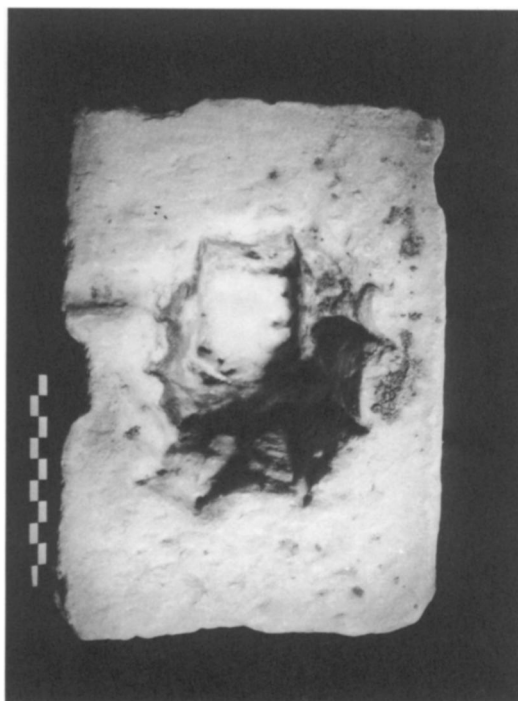
c. The Athena Nike stele, obverse. Athens, E.M. 8116



a. Athens and Chalkis, top. Athens, Akr. 6509



b. The Herodoros stele: relief. Athens, Akr. 4063+2307



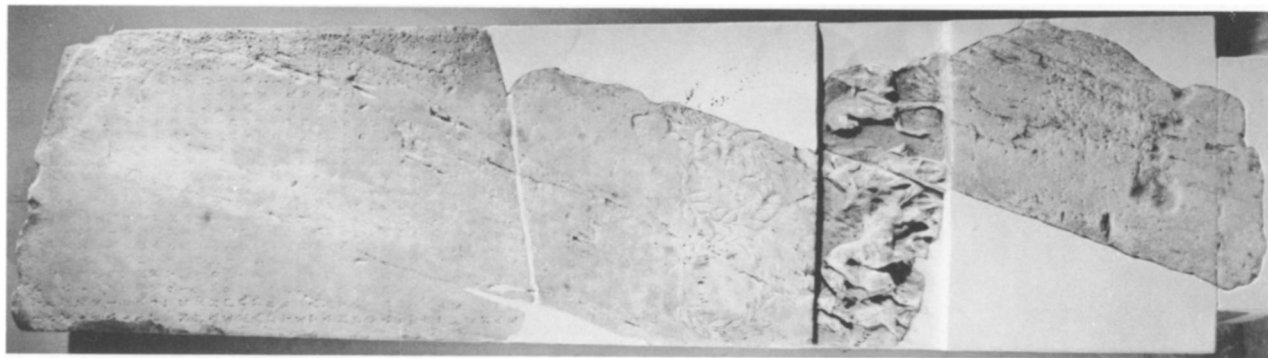
d. The Herodoros stele: inscription, top. Athens, E.M. 7386



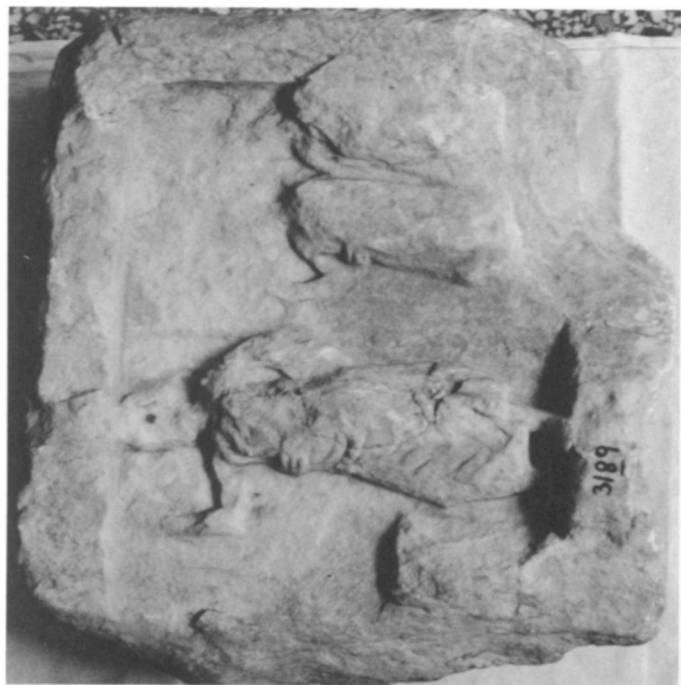
c. The Herodoros stele: relief, bottom



a. The Arybbas stele: upper relief. Athens, N.M. 2948



b. The Arybbas stele: inscription and lower relief. Athens, E.M. 13291



c. Athens, Akr. 3189



d. Athens, Akr. 3189, bottom