

ARCHITRAVAL ARROGANCE? DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS IN GREEK ARCHITECTURE OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

ABSTRACT

Current orthodoxy considers the proliferation of architraval inscriptions naming the donors of architectural dedications in the middle of the 4th century a striking departure from Greek practice of the High Classical period, when modest self-effacement is supposed to have been the rule. I argue, however, that a comprehensive view of the evidence suggests substantial continuity rather than drastic change: that inscribing personal names on the architraves of Greek buildings is not the product of foreign influence or royal arrogance, nor an appropriation by individuals of rights previously exercised only by the state, but rather a natural and predictable manifestation of widespread Greek votive and epigraphical habits of long standing.

Dedicatory inscriptions are attested on Greek architectural monuments from the 6th century B.C. onward.¹ They record dedications made both by individuals and corporate groups (usually cities), and appear on a variety of structures, including temples, treasuries, altars, stoas, gateways, fountain houses, and commemorative monuments. Extant examples for the 6th and 5th centuries, however, are far fewer in number, and sometimes less impressive in appearance as well, than those from the 4th century and later. In fact, the second half of the 4th century witnesses a striking proliferation of architectural dedicatory inscriptions, most of them recording gifts by individuals.² This proliferation has often been considered a product of the great changes in Greek social and political life from the Classical

1. I am indebted to more people than I can name for their comments on and responses to earlier versions of this paper presented as talks at the University of California, Berkeley, the University of Virginia, McMaster University, and in Chicago at the 99th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America. For advice, information, references, and comments

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2. No extant examples of inscribed architectural dedications by individuals are known from the period 460–360 B.C., but more than a dozen date between 360 and 300. This dramatic increase is not accompanied by an analogous upsurge in dedicatory inscriptions naming cities or corporate groups.

to the Hellenistic period—an index of the decline of older civic values of the polis and the rise of the ambitious individual, no longer restrained by the religious or social scruples of the Classical Age.³

In the archaeological record of the Classical period, architraval dedicatory inscriptions by individuals seem to make a sudden and spectacular debut, not in the heart of the Greek world, but rather in Caria, with the imposing dedications of Maussollos and his brother Idrieus in the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda (350s–340s B.C.).⁴ These include two imposing androns, one dedicated by Maussollos and one by Idrieus, a stoa dedicated by Maussollos, and a peristyle temple, a gateway, a suite of *oikoi*, and another Doric building, all dedicated by Idrieus. Many of these monuments carry prominent, elegantly carved dedicatory inscriptions in the center of their marble architraves.⁵ In his publication of these inscriptions, Jonas Crampa writes: “It was contrary to the older Greek spirit to record a public or private dedication of an edifice to (a) god(s) by an inscription on the walls or on the architrave, though some few instances are known.”⁶ In one form or another this view is shared by many scholars.⁷ It continues to be widely accepted in part because it fits so well with much that we know, or think we know, about Greek (and particularly Athenian) political and social values of the 5th century and the hostility of Athenian democracy toward anyone setting himself above his fellows.⁸ Accordingly, the phenomenon of private architectural dedication, and the prominent inscribing

3. For example, Lehmann (*Samo-thrace* 4.2, p. 118) writes: “In the decade of 340–30 B.C. . . . the recording of such a personal dedication of a building in a monumental inscription on its entablature was a novelty attainable only by a member of a royal family. . . . The precedent for dedications recorded on the great altars of Greek sanctuaries was offered by city-states . . . and, in the fourth century, only royalty could assume such prerogatives.” Similarly, with particular reference to temples, Hornblower (1982, p. 281) remarks: “Greek practice regarding temple dedications is socially illuminating. In few other areas is it possible to trace so clearly the development from the classical corporatism of old Greece to the assertiveness of the Hellenistic period.” Other examples include Morgan 1993, p. 19; and *Labraunda* III.2, p. 5, both quoted below, as well as Botermann 1994, p. 182; Bean 1966, pp. 58–59; Picard 1965, p. 95.

4. The earliest of these is the andron dedicated by Maussollos (Andron B) on the terrace below the Temple of Zeus (discussed below). The monuments at Labraunda may soon have to surrender their status as the earliest

4th-century examples of architraval inscriptions. Ongoing work by H. R. Goette suggests that Athenian choregic monuments could have taken the form of buildings with inscribed architraves as early as the 360s B.C. (Goette 1999).

5. For these buildings and inscriptions, see a fuller discussion below.

6. Crampa (*Labraunda* III.2, p. 5) briefly adumbrates a slow and sporadic development of the practice, which he sees becoming more common in the Hellenistic period and normal by Roman times. In light of eastern precedents (Egyptian, Lydian, and Persian), however, he concludes that it was “natural that Mausollus and other Hecatomnids proudly recorded their dedications of monumental edifices by means of inscriptions, mostly placed on the architraves, where they could be read in the most impressive way.”

The most comprehensive presentation of the precedents for and significance of the dedicatory inscriptions from Labraunda is that of Hornblower (1982, pp. 286–288). The possible contributions and significance of Near Eastern (especially Persian) and Anatolian models are discussed in

detail by Gunter (1985, pp. 118–119).

7. See, for example, Hornblower 1982, p. 274: “By inscribing their dedications in conspicuous positions on the architraves and facades of religious buildings, the Hecatomnids broke with a firm archaic and classical Greek tradition. The tradition was that which enjoined self-effacement by the dedicants, however generous, of such buildings. . . . Hence, precedents for Hecatomnid practice may be sought from beyond the Greek world.” Other examples are listed in n. 3, above.

8. The institution of ostracism, the cessation of the use of funerary relief sculpture, and the tendency in portraiture to emphasize communally valued civic virtues rather than individual features all seem to support this general view; see Scholl 1996, pp. 26–29, n. 178. Yet, recent scholarship also highlights the complexity of ongoing tensions between individual and communal prestige and the remarkable range of responses to these tensions in various arenas of Athenian public life; an excellent example is Peter Wilson’s study of the *choregeia* (Wilson 2000, esp. pp. 11–49, 109–197).

of the name of the donor, particularly in such a highly visible location as the architrave, has been frequently viewed as an example of the citizens of Greek poleis adopting the practices of foreigners, tyrants, and kings.⁹

In the following reconsideration of Greek architectural dedications, I argue that the significance and novelty of placing a dedicatory inscription on a building's architrave should not be overestimated, that foreign influence is negligible for this Greek practice, and that fundamental political or religious changes need not be invoked to account for the proliferation of surviving examples in mainland Greece in the second half of the 4th century. The inscribed monuments at Labraunda have deservedly played a prominent role in scholarship on this topic (and will be discussed in more detail below), but they are not the sole, or even the primary, focus of this paper. The goal here is to assemble a more complete picture of the range of possibilities, precedents, and expectations that shaped Greek attitudes toward inscribing architectural dedications. In light of the irremediable loss of one of the most essential categories of evidence for classical practice, namely painted inscriptions on wood or plaster, it is very important not to ignore or marginalize the potentially relevant types of evidence that do remain. Accordingly, the following discussion takes a broad view, considering epigraphical, aesthetic, and religious as well as sociopolitical factors, and their manifestations in other media as well as architecture. I shall argue that architraval inscriptions should be viewed not as a departure from the traditions of major (uninscribed) public architectural monuments, but rather as a consistent manifestation of long-standing epigraphical habits applicable to personal religious dedications of all types.

EXAMPLES FROM THE ARCHAIC AND EARLY CLASSICAL PERIODS

The extant examples of inscribed Greek architectural dedications from the Archaic and Early Classical periods are relatively few in number, but they provide important background for assessing later monuments. These early examples encompass a variety of donors, building types, and geographical locations, as well as of letter sizes, styles, and positions of the inscriptions on the monuments. The following survey illustrates the variety and flexibility that characterized this epigraphical form in its early stages, but also highlights underlying aesthetic principles and shared features that continue in later manifestations.

One of the most impressive early examples of an inscription on a Greek building is an imposing (ca. 8 m long) but imperfectly preserved inscription carved in large letters on the vertical face of the limestone stylobate of the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse, constructed ca. 580 B.C.¹⁰ Although the stone is badly weathered, approximate consensus has been reached on the

9. Hornblower 1982, p. 274: "Once the tradition had been breached, private citizens followed the example of the satraps"; see also Morgan 1993, p. 19 (quoted below), and *Samothrace* 4.2,

p. 118 (quoted in part in n. 3, above).

10. *IG* XIV 1; *SEG* XXXI 841; Guarducci 1985; letter height: ca. 0.15–0.18 m; drawing: Guarducci 1967, p. 343, fig. 173.

identification of most of the surviving letters, though not on their interpretation.¹¹ One possible reading of the text is:

Κλεομ[. .] ες : ἐποίησε τὸπέλονι : ὁ Κνιδιείδα : κέπικ[λ]ῆς
 <σ>τυλεῖα : καλὰ Ἔργα.¹²

Kleom[. .]es, son of Knidieidas, made (the temple) for Apollo, and Epik[λ]es (made) the columns, beautiful works.

The inscription is generally considered to be dedicatory, on the assumption that ΤΟΠΕΛΟΝΙ should be understood as τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, but it is not certain what is being dedicated—the entire temple, part of the temple, or something else entirely.¹³ It is generally agreed that the principal dedicator is Kleom . . es son of Knidieidas, but his role and status are not clear. Likewise, it is not clear whether ΕΠΙΚΛΗ is an adjective modifying στύλεια or the name of a second dedicator, Epikles. The use of the verb ἐποίησε (rather than ἀνέθηκε) has suggested to some that Kleom . . es should be an architect, not simply a donor, but this need not be the case.¹⁴ In conjunction with a new reading of the inscription, M. Guarducci has recently revived T. J. Dunbabin's suggestion that Kleom . . es was neither donor nor architect, but instead a local notable entrusted with responsibility for oversight of the project.¹⁵ I believe that the dedicatory nature of the inscription must imply some kind of personal financial contribution, whether direct (a contractor covering part of the costs) or indirect (an architect working without pay). Whatever his status and the precise nature of his contribution, the large scale of the lettering with which Kleom . . es advertised his role is not surpassed in any extant monument until the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi at least half a century later.

The contribution of the Lydian king Kroisos to the adornment of the great Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesos (before 547 B.C.) is attested

11. The extensive bibliography is most readily accessed through Engelmann 1981 and Guarducci 1987.

12. Guarducci 1967, p. 343; on the basis of 19th-century drawings she has more recently proposed Κλεομ[έν]ες : ἐποίησε τὸπέλονι : ὁ Κνιδιείδα : κέπικλε στυλεῖα : κα[λ]ὰ Ἔργα (*SEG* XXXI 841), reading ἐπίελε as “set on foot, instigated” (“e suscitò i colonnati”) as in Hom. *Od.* 22.49 (Guarducci 1987, expanding on her earlier publication of this reading in *RendLinc* 37 [1982], pp. 13–20). Engelmann 1981, p. 94, based in part on word groupings suggested by the interpuncts, reads: Κλεο[. . .]ες : ἐποίησε τὸπέλονι : ὁ Κνιδιείδα : κέπικλε στυλεῖα : κα[λ]ὰ Ἔργα (“Kleo . . . es, son of Knidieidas, made for Apollo also famous columns, beautiful works”). He considers κα[λ]ὰ Ἔργα (“and other works”) a

possible alternate reading for the last two words.

Jeffery (1990, p. 265) notes that the inscription appears to date later than the building itself (i.e., to the third or even fourth quarter of the 6th century). If the inscription truly is this late I think it is likely to be a reinscription of an earlier text, perhaps originally carved or painted elsewhere. Reinscription is attested for the Marathon base beside the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and for the Altar of the Chians, also at Delphi (discussed below).

13. For the Doric spelling Ἀπέλλων, see Burkert 1975, pp. 6–7.

14. Svenson-Evers (1996, pp. 462–463, 466–467) concludes that this inscription is not an architect's signature; for other examples of ἐποίησε as causative (referring to the donor, not the artist), see

Svenson-Evers 1996, pp. 382–383.

15. See n. 12, above. Dunbabin 1948, p. 59, n. 3: “He was perhaps an official of the State charged with the building of the temple, as Agathokles was of an early Athenaion”; see Guarducci 1987, pp. 44–45. Literary references to individuals in analogous roles include Agathokles at Syracuse (Diod. Sic. 8.11), Phalaris at Akragas (Polyainos, *Strat.* 5.1.1), Theron at Akragas (Polyainos, *Strat.* 6.51—a close doublet of the Phalaris story), and the Alkmaionidai at Delphi (Hdt. 5.62.3). Holloway (1991, p. 73) endorses Guarducci's view; he sees Kleom . . es as an epistates taking particular pride in the columns as his own special achievement: “They were an addition to what was expected, perhaps even to what had originally been planned.”

by fragments of the inscribed base molding of four or five of the sculpted marble column drums:

- (1) [βασιλεὺς] Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν]
- (2) [βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέ]θηκεν]
- (3) βα[σιλεὺς Κροῖσος] ἀν[έθηκεν]
- (4) [βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκε]εν.¹⁶

Ki[ng] Kr[oisos] d[e]dicated (this).

The placement of the inscription on these column drums is analogous to that of dedicatory inscriptions in other media. Greek votive gifts of all kinds often carried their dedicatory inscription on the base on which the gift was displayed, rather than on the object itself. Kouroi and korai, both votive and funerary, were frequently set on inscribed bases, although the figures themselves could also be inscribed.¹⁷ This was both a practical and aesthetic matter: the base offered a plain, smooth surface suitable for inscribing, and the object itself was not cluttered or damaged thereby. In the case of Kroisos's sculpted column drums, the inscribed molding under the feet of the figures functions visually as a base for the relief figures progressing around the drums. Similarly, at the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse, the stylobate (the base of the building as a whole) provides a clearly visible and readily accessible location for the dedicatory inscription.

On the Greek mainland, a nearly contemporary marble Ionic treasury building at Delphi (mid-6th century) shows a different approach. This monument carried its dedicatory inscription on the architrave, in relatively small letters in a single line from near the left-hand edge, with a short, boustrophedon return at the end of the line. The text is quite fragmentary and no consensus exists on its restoration. Georges Roux has proposed the following:

τὸν θησαυρὸν τόνδε καὶ τὰγάλα[τα Ἀπόλλωνι] Πυθίῳ
[ἀνέθηκε] δεκάτ[αν ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Κνιδί]ων.¹⁸

[The demos of the Knidians dedicated] this treasury and the statue[s] to Pythian [Apollo] as a tith[e].

The restoration of the Knidians as the dedicators in this fragmentary text is based upon architectural considerations in conjunction with a brief

16. *IEphesos* 1518; *Syll.*³ 6; London, British Museum B 16. See Hicks 1890, no. 518, with reference to Hdt. 1.92 for Kroisos's having donated "the majority of the columns." For bibliography and commentary see Viviers 1992, p. 88, ns. 117–118, fig. 12; Schaber 1982, pp. 13–18. Viviers (1992, p. 88, n. 118) notes that Schaber's drawing (1982, p. 14) is more accurate in some details than Guarducci 1967, pp. 264–265, fig. 118.

17. Raubitschek (1949) presents a wide selection.

18. Pouilloux and Roux 1963, p. 68; letter height: 0.03–0.06 m; photographs and drawings: Salviat 1977, pp. 26–27. If Salviat's reconstruction of the spacing of the blocks is correct (see below), then the actual text must have been longer than this or any previous version. *Syll.*³ 8 reads [Κνίδιοι] τὸν θησαυρὸν τ[όν]δε καὶ τὰγάλα [τα Ἀπόλλωνι] Πυθίῳ [ἀνέθεν] δεκάτ[αν]

ἀπὸ τῶμ πολέμ[ι]ων, but Salviat (1977, p. 24) has established that the first surviving letters must have been the beginning of the original text. Salviat (1977) does not offer a text himself, but a rough approximation based on his discussion and drawings (esp. p. 32, fig. 6) might be as follows: τὸν θησαυρὸν τόνδε καὶ τὰγάλα[τα ---ca. 6--- Ἀπόλλωνι] Πυθίῳ [-----ca. 25-----] δεκάτ[αν -----ca. 12-----]ων.

mention in Pausanias (10.11.5).¹⁹ The inscribed blocks are unusually shallow for an architrave, but the underside of the largest and best-preserved block has a smoothly finished soffit, with more roughly dressed resting surfaces at its ends only—clear indication that it was designed to span the opening between two supports.²⁰ With the exception of the final return, the lettering is generally confined to the upper third of the face of the blocks; this position, as well as the slight irregularity of the line, is very similar to that of the inscription on the stylobate of the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse. This is the earliest extant architraval dedicatory inscription; it may also be the earliest extant Greek architectural dedicatory inscription by a corporate group.

In Athens, parts of several inscribed altars survive from the Archaic period. The earliest of these (ca. 600–575? B.C.) is a large poros slab, the crowning element of an altar, or perhaps of a table, whose inscription ran from right to left across the long, smoothly dressed, front face:

[-----ca. 13----- ἀνέθ]εκεν : Ἀθηναῖαι : Χα[ι]ρίον : ταμειύον :
Κλεδικ[οῦ υἱός].²¹

Cha[i]rion, [son of] Kledik[os, dedic]ated [the . . .] to Athena
when he was treasurer.

The dedicator may have been the same Chairion whose tombstone (in Eretria) identifies him as one of the Eupatridai, and who may ultimately have been connected to the family of Kleinias and Alkibiades.²²

A poros altar of apparently somewhat smaller dimensions was dedicated to Athena Nike on the western bastion of the Acropolis at or shortly before the middle of the 6th century.²³ One block of the dado was found reused and in damaged condition; its front face was inscribed in five lines, beginning quite close to the top and left side of the block:

τῆς Ἀθ[η]ν[α]ίας
τῆς Νίκης
βομός.

Πατροκ<λ>έδ[ε]ς
ἐποίησεν.
*vacat*²⁴

Altar of Athe[na] Nike. Patrok(l)eid[es] made/dedicated (it).

19. Bommelaer 1991, pp. 141–142; Pausanias mentions the Treasury of the Knidians together with those of the Athenians and Thebans.

20. Salviat 1977, pp. 28–29. The other, smaller fragments conform to this pattern as well; for a drawing of the undersides of the blocks, see Salviat 1977, pp. 26–27, fig. 2. Earlier theories about the placement of this course varied widely; resting surfaces of the blocks, formerly incorporated in a reconstruction in the museum at

Delphi, were for many decades concealed by plaster (Salviat 1977, pp. 23–24).

21. *IG I³ 590*; letter height: 0.06–0.07 m (round letters smaller); height of face: 0.30 m, length: 2.30 m; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 364–365 (no. 330); photograph: Kirchner 1948, no. 4. The placement of the letters, immediately below the upper edge, resembles that on the stylobate of the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse.

22. Raubitschek 1949, pp. 364–365;

Davies (1971, pp. 12–15 [600, IV]) accepts the association with the funerary marker, but does not follow Raubitschek in connecting Chairion's family with that of Alkibiades.

23. For description and drawing see Mark 1993, pp. 32–34; his drawing is based on an earlier reading of the dedicator's name (Patrokles).

24. *IG I³ 596*; letter height: 0.03–0.04 m, lines 4–5 stoichedon; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 359–364 (no. 329).

Because of damage to the right-hand side of the stone, the termination of the dedicator's name is not certain. Here, as at the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse, ἐποίησε(ν) indicates responsibility for the dedication rather than direct authorship of the handiwork.²⁵

From the second half of the century in Athens we have portions of two marble altars with dedicatory inscriptions on the front face of their crowning elements. The earlier of these (ca. 530–520 B.C.) is represented by three inscribed fragments; it was apparently dedicated by three individuals, but only the third name survives in full:

[- - -? Χαί]ρελείδες :: Θοπείθεσ :: [ἐ]ποίηον :: [- - - τὸν βο]μόν.
*vacat*²⁶

[. . . , Chai]releides, (and) Thopeithes made/dedicated [the al]tar
[for/to . . .].

The text runs in a single line from left to right, with letters very neatly carved in the upper half of the fascia; although the letters lie in the upper part of the band, they are set near the middle, rather than along the very top as was the case on the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse, the Knidian Treasury, and the altar dedicated by Chairion.²⁷

The crowning fascia of a white marble altar of Apollo Pythios, dedicated by Peisistratos son of Hippias (in or shortly after 522/1 B.C.), bore an elegantly cut metrical inscription:

μνῆμα τόδε ἡὲς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστ[ρατος ἡιππίο]υιὸς θεῖκεν
Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθ[ί]ο ἐν τεμένει.²⁸

In the temenos of Apollo Pyth[i]os, Peisist[ratos,] son [of Hippias,]
dedicated this memorial of his archonship.

The lettering runs in a single line, slightly above the center of a flat fascia immediately above a cyma reversa molding with lesbian leaf decoration.²⁹ Like two of the earlier Athenian altars, and like the Knidian Treasury at Delphi, this monument is inscribed on a flat surface in a high position,

25. Raubitschek 1949, p. 359: "Patrokles was not the mason, but the dedicator"; see also Mark 1993, p. 33, with bibliography in n. 10.

26. *IG I³* 605; letter height: 0.03–0.035 m (round letters 0.02 m); height of face: 0.115 m, length: 2.30 m. Kirchner 1948, no. 4.

27. For photograph, see Raubitschek 1949, p. 366 (no. 331).

28. *IG I³* 948 (*IG I²* 761; EM 6787); *SEG XXXI* 31; cf. Thuc. 6.54. The date, based on the archonship of Peisistratos (Develin 1989, p. 47), has recently been much discussed. Viviers (1992, pp. 87–88) rejects Immerwahr's view (1990, pp. 18, 76) that the in-

scription may have been recut at the end of the 5th century. Viviers points to similarities between this inscription and contemporary or earlier Ionian inscriptions and associates it with inscriptions on works by Endoios or his atelier. Dillon (1995, esp. pp. 62–65) surveys and rejects various recent arguments for dating after 522/1 B.C.; Aloni (2000, pp. 84–86) also argues against downdating.

29. The lettering began at the left-hand edge of the monument; at the end of the line the lettering became somewhat less tidy and precise—less regular in both horizontal and vertical positioning.



Figure 1. Inscribed crowning molding of the Altar of Apollo, Delphi. Courtesy École française d'Athènes, photo P. Amandry, neg. L.4187.51

rather than on the base; this is the location that would yield the greatest visibility.

The impressive marble altar dedicated by the Chians in front of the great Temple of Apollo at Delphi, ca. 500 B.C., was also inscribed on its crowning molding (Fig. 1):

Χῖοι Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν βωμόν.³⁰

The Chians (dedicated) the altar to Apollo.

Pierre Amandry has argued that the surviving inscription belongs to a Hellenistic version of the monument, but that its text and position, though not all details of its letter forms, replicate those of the Archaic original.³¹ The brief inscription consists of a single line running from the left edge and stopping well short of center; for maximum legibility, the letters nearly fill the height of the band in which they are located. The prominence and visibility of the inscription derived not only from its lofty location, but also from the color contrast between the white marble of the crowning molding and the blue-black stone of which the altar was primarily made.

Perhaps the most prominent dedicatory inscription of all at Delphi was that of the Stoa of the Athenians, just below the Altar of the Chians, against the great polygonal wall supporting the temple terrace. The precise date of the stoa is controversial, but should fall somewhere between

30. *Syll.*³ 19a; *FdD* III.3, no. 212; Homolle 1893, p. 614 (brief mention); 1896, pp. 617–620; Amandry 1986, p. 206.

31. Amandry 1986, pp. 216–217. The architecture preserves Archaic molding profiles, but uses hook-clamps and horizontal pour channels. The letters do not replicate Archaic forms—

Amandry notes (1986, p. 217) that “if it were not for the moulding and Herodotus, this inscription would have been dated to the fourth century.” The monument as seen on site today is the result of a modern reconstruction carried out partially in 1920 and more fully in 1959 (Amandry 1986, pp. 206–209).



Figure 2. Stoa of the Athenians, Delphi. Courtesy École française d'Athènes, photo P. Amandry, neg. 10.836

480 and 450 B.C.³² The inscription on its stylobate is impressively large and beautiful, with letters among the largest to have survived from the 5th century (Figs. 2–3). It is carved in a single line and the letters occupy nearly the full height of the stylobate, running from left to right. The inscription reads:

Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνέθεσαν τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰ ἡόπλ[α κ]αὶ τὰ κροτέρια
 ἑλόντες τῶν πολε[μίων].³³

The Athenians dedicated the stoa and the equipme[nt a]nd the
 stern ornaments, having taken them from their ene[mie]s.

The Stoa of the Athenians follows the well-established practice of placing a dedicatory inscription immediately beneath the dedication itself.

32. Pausanias (10.11.6) states that the Athenians built a stoa out of the spoils taken from the Peloponnesians and their allies; he mentions ships' ornaments and bronze shields and records the names of the cities from which the Athenians dedicated first fruits. Pausanias infers from the

accompanying inscriptions (no longer extant) that the victories include those of Phormio (429 B.C.). Because features of the architecture and letter style suggest a much earlier date, however, many scholars believe that Pausanias has mistakenly conflated the dedication of the Peloponnesian spoils with the

original dedication of the building. Amandry and Fomine (1953, pp. 112–114) believe that this is a dedication by Kimon of booty from Mykale and Sestos (479–478 B.C.), but Walsh (1986) argues for a later date. The 470s seem most probable to me.

33. *Syll.*³ 29.



Figure 3. Detail of inscription on stylobate of Stoa of the Athenians, Delphi. Courtesy École française d'Athènes, neg. 12.688

But in the relation of letter height to height of inscribed surface, it is effecting at a much larger scale the aesthetic preferences shown in the Artemision column drums and in the crowning moldings of the altars of the Chians and the younger Peisistratos. The prominence of this inscription was achieved not only through the size of its lettering, but also through its position. Because of the steeply rising course of the Sacred Way, the inscription on the stylobate of the stoa would appear at eye level or higher as one approached. Thus the location on the stylobate is in no sense a sign of modesty—it is in fact an impressive example of conspicuous display, successfully exploiting particular local conditions.³⁴

Several other, less well preserved, early instances may also be mentioned here. Thucydides (6.54.6–7) reports that Peisistratos the Younger dedicated the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora of Athens, but that its inscription was obliterated in a later enlargement of the altar. No traces of this (or any subsequent) inscription now survive, but the expansion in which it vanished seems to have occurred in the final third of the 5th century B.C.³⁵ At Delphi, Plutarch reports that the Corinthians sought and received permission to inscribe the treasury dedicated by Kypselos as that of the city.³⁶ Plutarch's wording does not offer a clear indication of whether this inscription constituted a replacement of one dedicatory inscription with another.³⁷ One fragmentary poros block inscribed with the

34. Of course, practical considerations also play a role: the entablature of the stoa seems to have been of wood and thus not as suitable as the stylobate for a carved inscription.

35. For chronology of the altar, see Gadbery 1992, esp. pp. 466, 470–472, 487.

36. Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 13 (*Mor.* 400D–E); in response to Sarapion's question τί δὴ τὸν οἶκον οὐ Κυψέλου τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἀλλὰ Κορινθίων ὀνομάζουσιν, Plutarch repeats the story of the guides: τῆς τυραννίδος καταλυθείσης ἐβούλοντο Κορίνθιοι καὶ τὸν ἐν

Πίσῃ χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα τουτονὶ θησαυρὸν ἐπιγράψαι τῆς πόλεως. Δεῖφοι μὲν οὖν ἔδοσαν ὡς δίκαιον καὶ συνεχώρησαν, Ἡλείους δὲ φρονήσαντας ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ μετέχειν Ἰσθμίων. See also Hdt. 1.14.

37. Scholars assuming replacement of an original Kypselid inscription include Flacelière (1937, p. 60) and Schröder (1990, p. 286); those rejecting a Kypselid inscription include Bousquet (1970, p. 671) and Partida (2000, p. 181). Herodotos (1.14) does not mention inscriptions, but does distinguish the roles of Kypselos and the

Corinthians. Without more precise information on timing we cannot be sure, but if it came as late as the 5th century (see n. 38 below), the Corinthians' request to inscribe the building as their own may have arisen primarily from a desire for greater visibility for their city's name in the intensely competitive landscape of monuments in the sanctuary, rather than a need to make a specifically antityrannical gesture. For examples of inscriptions later added to existing treasury buildings, see n. 41, below.

letters KOPIN has previously been taken as a possible remnant of the (dedicatory?) inscription referred to by Plutarch. Jean Bousquet, however, has associated this block with another closely similar fragment on which the letters ΔΕ survive; he offers the plausible restoration Δε[λφοὶ ἔδοξαν] Κοριν[θίοις προμαντεύαν] (“The De[lyphians granted promanteia to the] Corin[thians]”).³⁸ Accordingly, we cannot be certain whether Plutarch refers to this inscription or to another, nor whether Kypselos’s name originally appeared on the building; if it did, it would be the earliest known example of an inscribed architectural dedication by an individual.

At Olympia, Pausanias reports (6.19.15) that the inscription of the treasury nearest the stadium says that the treasury and the images within it are a dedication of the Geloans. He does not indicate where this inscription was located, and no traces of it now survive. The Sikyonian treasury, dating to the first half of the 5th century, is inscribed on the front face of the anta, perhaps indicating a preference for display closer to eye level: Σεκυώνιοι (“Sikyonians”).³⁹ The inscription was carved over the joint between two blocks, of which only the upper survives; this failure to avoid the joint may indicate that the lettering began immediately below some object mounted on the anta above it. Without the lower block we do not know whether there was more to the inscription and cannot tell whether it is a dedicatory inscription for the building or for some other offering.⁴⁰ Architectural fragments from Delphi and Olympia are not abundant enough to indicate whether most treasury buildings carried inscriptions or where these would have been located, but the examples that survive suggest that a range of positions were possible.⁴¹

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON EARLY EXAMPLES

Several conclusions—epigraphic, aesthetic, and sociopolitical—may be drawn from this survey of architectural dedicatory inscriptions of the Archaic and Early Classical periods. Although the inscription from Syracuse

38. Bousquet 1970, pp. 672–673. The script is Delphian, of the first half of the 5th century B.C.; the blocks probably belong to the horizontal cornice of the building. Letter height ca. 0.13 m; the letters fill most of the height of the flat face on which they are inscribed, like those on the stylobate of the Stoa of the Athenians. I disagree with Partida’s view (2000, p. 180) that “often the award of promanteia or proxeny . . . was preferable to a plain dedicatory inscription.” Although both may confer prestige, these are two very different categories of inscription—one pertaining to a direct transaction with the god and the other to a relationship with the Delphians or the sanctuary administration. The Altar of the

Chians carried both a dedicatory and a promanteia inscription.

39. *IvO* 649; *SEG* XLII 393; brown sandstone.

40. *IvO* 650 (roughly contemporary), carved on the side of one of the antae of the same treasury, seems to record another dedication. It too has lettering that crosses the joint between blocks.

41. Amandry (1988, pp. 600–601) notes that poor preservation of the architrave of the Siphnian Treasury does not allow certainty, but concludes: “Le nom des donateurs était probablement gravé à l’architrave du trésor; il l’était sûrement au linteau de la porte.” The (partially preserved) inscription on the lintel is *FdD* III.1 197, a pro-

manteia inscription of uncertain date, perhaps of the 4th century B.C. On the fragmentary architrave of the Massaliot Treasury (second half of the 6th century B.C.) are preserved three letters carved in the late 5th or early 4th century: Σ Α Λ (a second Σ was later added); see Daux 1958. At Olympia, too, single-word inscriptions were added to some buildings long after the original construction (*IvO* 653: Μεγ[αρ]έων, on the architrave of the Megarian Treasury in letters of the Roman period; *IvO* 652: Σαμίων, on a shallow block from an unknown building, letters of the Hellenistic period); these may be more properly considered as labels than as dedicatory inscriptions.



Figure 4. Votive column dedicated by Ithidike to Athena Poliouchos, Athens (EM inv. 6241). Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. NM 2403

poses difficulties in detail, all of the architectural dedications discussed above employ the patterns or formulas that were already well established for votive gifts in other media. They include various combinations of the basic elements of Greek dedicatory inscriptions: the name of the donor, name of the recipient, identification of the gift, and occasion of the gift. The presence or absence of any of these elements seems to be determined by circumstances specific to the monument, rather than the result of any special rules or habits applicable to architectural dedications in particular. In short, nothing in the wording or formulas of these dedications distinguishes them from inscriptions on dedications in other media.⁴²

Great variety is evidenced both in letter size and in placement of the inscriptions, but some apparent preferences may be noted. Well-defined, narrow bands, such as stylobates and bases (or base moldings), or crowning fascias of altars, were often favored locations; this preference is seen as well in the habit of inscribing flutes of dedicatory columns (Fig. 4).⁴³ Such bands offered convenient limits and structure for the lettering, giving it prominence, but also maintaining harmony with the monument as a whole. Substantial variety in placement on the building is possible. Flat stone faces in highly visible positions are ideal, but it is particular circumstances such as material, scale, and the nature of the site (and probably of nearby monuments and inscriptions as well) that most directly affect the placement of the inscriptions.⁴⁴ Clarity and prominence are consistent goals, but there are no fixed or universal rules governing how these should or should not be achieved.

42. It is worth noting, however, that although in offerings of other sorts (generally quite small in scale) the formula is sometimes reduced to just the name of the divinity, no certain case survives of an architectural dedicatory inscription that did not include the dedicator's name as well.

43. Examples of votive columns thus inscribed: Raubitschek 1949, pp. 5–28. On all of the monuments discussed thus far, with the exception of the Treasury of the Knidians at Delphi and the Sikyonian Treasury at Olympia, the inscriptions are positioned within a distinct band.

44. Highly effective areas for display

included the crowning moldings of relatively low monuments like altars, the stylobates of buildings whose scale or location rendered this position more highly visible (Temple of Apollo at Syracuse, Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi), and the architrave or anta of smaller treasury buildings.

Finally, it should be noted that extant examples of Archaic and Early Classical architectural inscriptions are not restricted to any particular geographical or political center. Moreover, both individuals and poleis are represented as dedicators.⁴⁵ In both cases the inscription serves to record a relationship with the divinity in question and to present the achievement and status of the donor to the appropriate audience.

ARCHITRAVAL DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS AT LABRAUNDA

There are no extant examples of architectural dedicatory inscriptions from buildings of the second half of the 5th or the early 4th century. When they do reappear in the archaeological record, later in the Classical period, these inscriptions show greater uniformity in style and placement than did the Archaic and Early Classical examples. The building material is now almost always marble, and the architrave is frequently the favored location. This pattern (i.e., architraval inscription in marble) is used with great consistency, authority, and grace by Maussollos and Idrieus in their dedications at Labraunda. Examination of the relationship of these monuments to Greek traditions can contribute, at least indirectly, to a better understanding of architectural dedicatory behavior on the Greek mainland in this period for which direct evidence is so scarce. To that end, the following account reviews the architectural dedications at Labraunda in light of the aesthetic principles and epigraphical habits identified above as characteristic of Greek practice in the Archaic and Early Classical periods.

The Hekatomnid buildings at Labraunda include traditional Greek forms, Anatolian building types, and some unusual innovations. The heart of the sanctuary was a small, Archaic temple of Zeus, ultimately replaced by Idrieus with a larger peripteral temple (perhaps completing work begun by Maussollos).⁴⁶ Around this earlier temple, Maussollos added two buildings, probably beginning in the early 350s.⁴⁷ One of these, the North Stoa, was a very traditional type of building for any Greek sanctuary, but the other, Andron B, was unusual, perhaps unique, both in its design and its decoration; it employs Greek architectural orders and ornament in a nonconventional way and its plan seems to owe more to Anatolian than to Greek building types.⁴⁸ In broad terms, the andron, distyle *in antis*, resembles a large treasury building or small temple. It was, however, intended to accommodate ritual dining and also included a broad, elevated niche across the back of the interior, perhaps an indication of dynastic or ruler cult functions; the exterior featured a boldly mixed order, with a Doric entablature supported by Ionic columns.⁴⁹ Maussollos's brother and successor Idrieus dedicated an andron, gateway, and set of oikoi, and replaced the earlier temple with a larger peristyle structure in the Ionic order.

These buildings are unusual in many respects, but in their dedicatory formulas they are utterly conventional and fully in accordance with Greek

45. The fact that no inscriptions by poleis are attested within cities' own territories has led many to conclude that poleis inscribed buildings that were dedicated outside of their own territory, but not those within. I suggest below that the primary distinctions underlying this phenomenon are not necessarily ones of geography and audience, but rather of the nature and funding of each project, i.e., the more technical details of the building's status as a dedication.

46. For building phases, see *Labraunda* I.3, pp. 40–46. For early dedications at the sanctuary, see Hornblower 1982, p. 278.

47. Hellström 1996a, p. 134.

48. The superstructure of the stoa is not well enough preserved to assess the degree of conservatism or innovation of its architectural order.

49. A good, recent overview of the features, functions, and significance of this monument, with current bibliography, may be found in Hellström 1996a, pp. 134–136; the architecture is discussed by Westholm (*Labraunda* I.2, pp. 45–51, 84, 93–95, 103–108), as well as by Hellström (1981; 1989; 1996a; 1996b).



Figure 5. Dedicatory inscription from Andron B, Labraunda. Photo author

traditions and practice. The inscription of Andron B (before 352 B.C.) may be taken as representative (Fig. 5):

Μαύσσωλλος Ἑκατόμνω [ἀνέθηκε τὸν ἀ]νδρῶνα [κα]ὶ τὰ ἐνεόντα
Διὶ Λαμβραύνδωι. *vacat*⁵⁰

Maussollos, son of Hekatomnos, [dedicated the a]ndron [an]d its contents to Zeus Labraundos.

The other architectural dedicatory inscriptions from the sanctuary all follow the same pattern, with some slight variation in nomenclature. Although some of the other inscriptions are fairly heavily restored, in most cases the architectural evidence for number and spacing of missing letters makes these restorations quite secure. The dedicatory inscriptions of Idrieus differ from those of his brother in including the adjective *Μυλασεύς* in addition to the patronymic *Ἑκατόμνω*.⁵¹ Both Maussollos's and Idrieus's inscriptions present a fairly full version of the standard Greek dedicatory formula, with dedicator's name, verb, direct object, and indirect object (Zeus Labraundos) explicitly included in almost all instances. The following examples illustrate how consistently and conventionally this formula is used.

50. *Labraunda* III.2, pp. 9–10, no. 14, pl. 2; letter height: 0.10–0.12 m. The term for the structure dedicated, i.e., andron, is somewhat surprising—in Greek contexts it generally refers to the reception room of a house rather than a freestanding building. For discussion of the use of androns, with ancient literary references, see *Labraunda* III.2, p. 10; see also Hellström 1989; 1996b. Maussollos and Idrieus each dedicated an andron; the other structures were designated in more familiar terms: naos, stoa, oikoi.

51. The relevant portions of the inscriptions of the temple and of Andron A are not preserved, but those of the Oikoi, South Propylaia, and Doric building all include *Μυλασεύς*.

Crampa (*Labraunda* III.2, p. 6) suggests that by adopting this formula, which emphasized local ties, Idrieus was pointedly distinguishing himself from his brother. Hellström (1996a, p. 138) gives greater nuance to the distinction: Idrieus was concerned more with internal domestic consolidation and therefore stresses his native Carian identity, whereas Maussollos, looking primarily to his role on the international stage, had no reason to stress local roots. It is also possible that Maussollos's omission of *Μυλασεύς* was not intended to downplay his Carian identity, but instead to emphasize that Labraunda was a pan-Carian, rather than a merely local, sanctuary.

The North Stoa on the temple terrace, dedicated by Maussollos, carried its dedicatory inscription in three lines on the eastern anta:

[M]αύσσωνος Ἑκα[τόμνω]
ἀνέθηκε τὴν στοῖν ν ν
Διὶ Λαμβραύνδωι. *vacat*⁵²
vacat

[M]aussollos, son of Heka[tomnos],
dedicated the stoa
to Zeus Labraundos.

The Oikoi dedicated by Idrieus on the temple terrace carried a single-line inscription on a Doric architrave:

Ἰδριεὺς Ἑκατόμνω Μυλασεὺς ἀνέθηκε τοὺς οἴκους Διὶ
Λαμβραύνδωι. *vacat*⁵³

Idrieus, son of Hekatomnos, of Mylasa, dedicated the oikoi to Zeus Labraundos.

The Temple of Zeus was inscribed in a single line on the upper of the two fascias of its Ionic architrave; the direct object and the dedicator's ethnic are missing, but have been plausibly restored:

Ἰδριεὺς Ἑκατόμνω Μυλασεὺς ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Διὶ
Λαμβραύ[?]νδωι. *vacat*⁵⁴

Idrieus, son of Heka[tomnos, of Mylasa, dedicated the temple] to
[Zeus Labrau]ndos.

Three other monuments dedicated by Idrieus in the sanctuary carried analogous formulas on their architraves (the Propylaia, Andron A, and the Doric building), as did a gateway at Amyzon.⁵⁵

The sanctuary at Labraunda is exceptional in the narrowly focused chronological range of its architectural development and in the degree to which that development was the work of two individuals. Yet the novelty of the circumstances of construction of the monuments should not lead us

52. This inscription (*Labraunda* III.2, p. 8, no. 13, pl. 1) is unique in being the only quasi-stoichedon inscription at Labraunda; letter height: 0.024 m. It begins at the top left corner and is not vertically centered on the block; dimensions of block: H. 0.565 m, W. 0.69 m. Later, below this dedicatory inscription, was carved the text of a decree of 267 B.C. honoring Apollonios, oikonomos of Ptolemy. If Doric, the columns of this stoa were probably ca. 4.5 m high: Hellström 1996a, p. 134.

53. *Labraunda* III.2, pp. 14–15,

no. 17; letter height: 0.06 m. The letters are set 0.16 m above the lower edge.

54. *Labraunda* III.2, p. 13, no. 16; architrave height: 0.56 m; upper fascia: 0.29 m; lower fascia: 0.22 m; letter height: 0.08 m, with letters set 0.105 m above the lower edge of the fascia. For the architecture of the temple, see *Labraunda* I.3.

55. Propylaia: *Labraunda* III.2, pp. 15–16, no. 18; Andron A: *Labraunda* III.2, pp. 11–13, no. 15; Doric building: *Labraunda* III.2, pp. 17–18, no. 19; Propylaia at Amyzon: Robert and Robert 1983, pp. 93–

94, no. 1; *OGIS* 235. Labraunda had two closely contemporary gateways, designated by the excavators as the South Propylaia and the East Propylaia (*Labraunda* I.1), though Crampa concludes that *πολών* was the more likely term. Westholm (*Labraunda* I.2, pp. 96–97, 111–112), followed by Crampa (*Labraunda* III.2, p. 16), suggests that the East Propylaia was the earlier building, destroyed and reused partly in the construction of the South Propylaia. Parts of the lettering were removed in conjunction with this reuse.

to overestimate the nature and extent of aesthetic and conceptual innovation represented by their inscriptions. The Hekatomnids at Labraunda (and Maussollos at his tomb) repeatedly combined Greek with non-Greek architectural idiom and brilliantly clad non-Greek practices and institutions in Greek-style artistic splendor. A contemporary Greek would undoubtedly have found the sight of an entire sanctuary filled with architectural dedications by two men arresting and remarkable. But would he have found the form or location of the dedicatory inscriptions themselves surprising? I believe not. The following discussion highlights the closeness with which the aesthetic features of the Hekatomnid architrave inscriptions reflect contemporary Greek practice for scale and positioning of votive and commemorative inscriptions. The separate, and more complex, issue of how inscribed architectural votives fit with Greek ideas concerning entitlement and propriety is then considered.

AESTHETIC PRECEDENTS AND CONTEXT

We have already seen that, as Greek dedicatory texts, the Hekatomnid architectural inscriptions are quite unremarkable: their formulas are in no way unusual for or inconsonant with Greek traditions.⁵⁶ In aesthetic terms as well, the inscriptions at Labraunda follow closely the same principles that governed Archaic and Early Classical architectural inscriptions throughout the Greek world. Some variety exists, but most are carved on the smooth face of a narrow horizontal band at a prominent location on the building. The architrave position places them at a height above the viewer comparable to that of the inscriptions of the Altar of the Chians and of the Treasury of the Knidians at Delphi. It is possible that the use of two fascias, rather than three, on the Ionic architrave of the Temple of Zeus at Labraunda was intended specifically to better frame and accommodate the handsome dedicatory inscription.⁵⁷

More importantly, however, the Labraunda inscriptions fit comfortably not only within the broad aesthetic parameters observed in architectural inscriptions of the Archaic and Early Classical periods, but also with related monuments in their more immediate High and Late Classical context. Although thus far discussion has focused on freestanding structures, these were by no means the only kind of inscribed architecture in the Classical Greek world. From the later 5th century onward, many funerary monuments develop increasingly elaborate architectural frames. These can provide an overhanging brow, offering some protection from weather, but for the most part they are intended to highlight and set off the images within. It is easy to appreciate the architectural component in the examples in which frame and relief are carved from a single block (Fig. 6), but many funerary monuments at a larger scale (usually less well preserved) offer even more impressive parallels for the inscribed architraves at Labraunda. In these larger monuments the relief sculpture was set into a separately constructed architectural frame. Many of the most impressive reliefs became separated from their architectural frames long ago, but fragments of such frames, at all scales, indicate that the architrave, or an architravelike

56. This point is emphasized by Gunter (1985, p. 119).

57. Hellström and Thieme (*Labraunda* I.3, p. 54, n. 66) survey precedents for architraves with two fascias; they note that three fascias would mean that letters would need to be smaller, and that the use of a Doric architrave on Andron B (despite Ionic columns) allowed letters to be larger than would be possible on an Ionic architrave with fascias. The letters on Andron B are 0.10–0.12 m high, whereas those on the temple are only 0.08 m high.



Figure 6. Funerary relief stele of Damasistrate, Athens (NM 423).
 Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. NM 423

band, was the most frequently used location for inscriptions (Fig. 7).⁵⁸ Imposing as these monuments were, they were not necessarily intended to suggest the heroization of the deceased.⁵⁹

Votive reliefs too made use of architraval areas to carry inscriptions. Their development seems, in loose terms at least, to accord closely with that of funerary reliefs: both appear in the final decades of the 5th century and become more numerous and varied throughout much of the 4th century. But differences in function and context of display lead to differences in appearance as well. Architectural frames are rarer for votive than for

58. These large-scale architectural frames are generally thought to date to the middle of the 4th century or later, but dating can be difficult when the sculptural components have been lost. One ironic consequence of the use of larger, independent architectural frames is that many of the figures represented on the most imposing funerary reliefs

are now nameless, while their less grandly commemorated contemporaries remain clearly labeled on one-piece stelai. Funerary monuments with independent architectural frames seem to become larger and to occur more frequently as the 4th century progresses, but their difference from the late-5th-century stelai is one of scale

rather than conception.

59. Ridgway (1997, pp. 160–161) and Clairmont (1993, p. 40) emphasize that the naiskos frame does not, in and of itself, imply heroization. This is important for the present argument: it was not only “heroes” who could have their names inscribed on architraves.

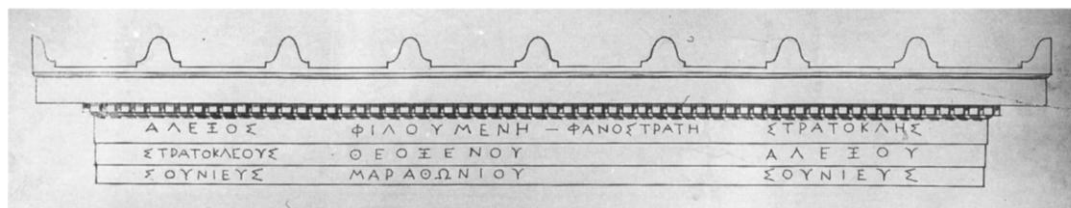


Figure 7. Inscribed architrave of funerary naiskos of Alexos, Athens (NM 2584). Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. 72/3870

funerary reliefs.⁶⁰ When they do appear they can occasionally be naiskos-like in form, but architectural frames without a gable (resembling the side of a building, or perhaps a stoa) are far more common, in part because they can accommodate larger groups of figures and more complex actions. Although some votive reliefs feature inscribed architraves or architravelike bands, many more were set up on tall bases, which would have carried the dedicatory inscriptions.⁶¹ These raised bases seem often to have provided a more spacious and highly visible location for inscriptions, with architraval inscriptions appearing only on a few of the larger monuments, though even some of the smaller architectural frames may originally have carried painted inscriptions, now lost.⁶² There was apparently no single, correct place for inscriptions nor way of inscribing them, nor was there a hierarchy of ostentation in inscription location. Individuals chose how and where to inscribe, with practical circumstances determining how best to attain the goal of maximum visibility.

These habits of funerary and votive inscribing do not offer conclusive evidence for contemporary practice in full-size, functional, freestanding architecture, but they do suggest that, in other media at least, architraval (or similarly prominent) labeling was a standard part of the visual landscape of late-5th-century Athens.⁶³ From the late 5th century onward, the city of Athens was surrounded with inscribed funerary naiskoi or naiskos-style stelai. The Peiraieus may have been even more crowded with these impressive monuments, virtually all carrying the names of the deceased on the architrave or on flat fascias or bands near the top.⁶⁴ In sum, inscribed architraves, including personal names in both funerary and votive contexts, had been commonplace in Athens, and probably much of the rest of the Greek world, for half a century before the start of the Hekatomnid building program at Labraunda.

60. Architectural frames for votive offerings are discussed briefly by van Straten (1992, pp. 265–266). For votive reliefs, van Straten (1992, p. 265) observes that “antae seem to occur from ca. 420 B.C., the complete architectural frame somewhat later.” Early examples of funerary reliefs with architectural frames include the stele of Ktesilas and Theano, ca. 410–400 B.C. (see Stewart 1990, fig. 430); the names of the deceased are inscribed on the architrave.

61. For the practice of setting votives up on a pillar or tall base

(at a level allowing for effective visual display), see van Straten 1992, pp. 248–249.

62. I am grateful to Carol Lawton for these observations, and for further information and bibliography concerning votive reliefs. Document reliefs frequently feature projecting moldings (taenia plus other forms) between sculpture and text, often inscribed with the opening line or heading of the document (Lawton 1995, p. 11); for development of more explicitly architectural frames in the 4th century, and votive con-

notations of these frames, see Lawton 1995, p. 12.

63. This kind of labeling occurs in a broad continuum, including true architraves, fascias resembling architraves, horizontal geisa, and flat surfaces or bands with no particular architectural analogy whatsoever; modern attempts to isolate architraval inscriptions from this continuum and view them as a striking new departure impose an artificial isolation on one aspect of a much more broadly based phenomenon.

64. See Scholl 1994; 1996.

ENTITLEMENT AND PROPRIETY

Given the widespread use of architraval inscription in other media, it is clear that if the architraves of votive structures were never inscribed in Classical Greece, this would have represented a specific and very narrow exclusion—a notable exception to an otherwise widely used set of practices and expectations for epigraphical display of individuals' names. Many scholars believe that a specific exclusion of this sort did indeed exist, that the rules for architectural dedications were different than those for dedications of other types, and that the inscription of a donor's name on an architectural votive, or on a temple in particular, would have been unacceptable in a way that inscriptions on gifts of other sorts were not.⁶⁵ The likelihood or extent of this exclusion is difficult to assess, since much of the relevant evidence is either negative or indirect.⁶⁶ In the following discussion I first address the question of what kind of limitations, if any, applied to individuals' dedication of buildings in Classical Greece, and then consider specifically epigraphical restrictions.

There is no question that limitations of various sorts did apply to Greek votive behavior. Many categories of offerings could only be given by those entitled to do so. Obvious examples include the erection of military trophies, choregic monuments, and athletic victor statues. The right to offer these types of dedications had to be earned by conspicuous achievement in the appropriate field.⁶⁷ The finds at most Greek sanctuaries suggest, however, that, apart from commemorative dedications of those types, almost anything could be dedicated by almost anyone.⁶⁸ Fulfillment of vows, and expressions of gratitude for economic prosperity or for other divine favors received or hoped for, offered scope for a tremendous range and variety in personal dedications. Special local traditions of the cult or the requirements of specific ritual occasions may have exerted some influence, but generally, for most dedicators at most sanctuaries, the principal constraint seems to have been their own financial

65. For example, Henner von Hesberg (1994, p. 39) writes: "In der Polis klassischer Zeit hat es starke Widerstände dagegen, dass eine Einzelperson ihren Namen auf den von ihr gestifteten Bau setzt." Similarly, Botermann (1994, p. 181): "Tempel wurden den Göttern von Gemeinden oder Individuen gebaut, ohne dass diese ihrer Eitelkeit durch eine Bauinschrift Ausdruck gaben." Amandry (1988, p. 600), by contrast, emphasizes continuity of dedicatory expectations and practice across all media: "Les trésors étaient des monuments votifs, au même titre que les groupes de statues et autres ex-voto. Quelque forme que revêtît l'offrande, le donateur ne laissait pas

ignorer son identité." Amandry is not here addressing the question of temples specifically, or of individual vs. corporate donations, but I would maintain that the same principles apply in all cases.

66. I am not aware, for example, of any instance in which a building known to have been a personal dedication can be conclusively demonstrated to have been uninscribed.

67. Even in the case of military monuments, however, there was apparently scope for both publicly awarded and privately initiated commemoration. For example, a fragment of a 5th-century dedication from Eleusis, a relief depicting a man leading troops, is inscribed

with the text [Πυθόδωρο]ς Ἐπιζήλο
ἐπ[ι]αρχέ[σας] ----ca. 8---- (IG I³
999). Other kinds of monuments may have been subject to restriction according to context, rather than type. For example, in recognition of distinguished service, the state could award the right to set up a herm in the northwest part of the agora (*Agora* III, pp. 301–313); this was a carefully controlled activity at this location, but it is not clear what restrictions, if any, would have applied to the setting up of herms elsewhere.

68. For discussion of various aspects of Greek votive behavior, see van Straten 1981 (esp. pp. 78, 81, 88, 102); 1992.

capacity.⁶⁹ This general situation of freedom and abundance in individual votive behavior is reflected in the complaint in Plato's *Laws* about the proliferation of dedications and founding of shrines for every conceivable reason.⁷⁰

Social, political, or family status could be a requirement or limit in determining the nature of participation in various cult activities (e.g., the Panathenaic procession, the Eleusinian mysteries), but these do not seem to have been decisive factors in determining the kinds of votive offerings individuals could make. This point emerges clearly in Diane Harris's study of the inventories of dedications to Athena stored in the Parthenon and Erechtheion in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. She notes that the most impressive offerings are not necessarily made by the dedicators of the highest social status, and that few of the dedicators recorded in the surviving inventories are of particularly high status, or otherwise attested at all.⁷¹

But if, in Classical Greece, differences in status among individuals do not impose significant limitations on what may be dedicated by whom, what of that larger difference, considered by many to be absolutely fundamental: the difference between individuals and states? Were there kinds of votive gifts or offerings that states could make that individuals could not? Again, it would seem not. Greek states could award honors and privileges to individuals, and could appoint officers to regulate various aspects of the organization and financial affairs of cults, but there does not seem to have been any specific type of gift that a state alone could dedicate to a divinity. It has often been assumed that temples differed significantly from other dedications in this respect. For example, Catherine Morgan writes:

From Archaic times at least, the right of temple commission was a prerogative of the state (although individuals, such as the Alkmaionidai at Delphi, often contributed money or materials), and this remained the rule outside the east Greek world until changing concepts of kingship and personal rule during the Hellenistic period encouraged the kind of personal investment evident in, for example, the Philippeion at Olympia (c. 335 B.C.).⁷²

In fact, however, although extant physical remains are scarce, literary and epigraphical texts attest a number of examples of private sponsorship of temples and other religious monuments in mainland Greece in the Classical period. Themistokles may have built a temple to Artemis(?) Herkane before the battle of Salamis.⁷³ He restored the telesterion of the Lykomidai at Phlya and decorated it with paintings (probably in the 470s B.C.).⁷⁴ He also built a temple to Artemis Aristoboule near his home

69. Indeed, the tradition of *aparche* dedications suggests that financial prosperity virtually required that thanks be rendered with a suitably impressive dedication.

70. *Leg.* 10.909e–910a. This passage is cited and the phenomenon discussed by Uta Kron (1996, p. 166). For the introduction of new cults by individuals, see Parker 1996, pp. 215–217.

71. Harris 1995, p. 228 (with specific reference to the Erechtheion inventories).

72. Morgan 1993, p. 19.

73. *SEG* XXVI 121 (perhaps early 1st century A.C.), concerning the repair of sacred buildings in the Peiraieus, mentions (line 45) a shrine of -kane, which Themistokles set up before the battle of Salamis. Garland (1992, p. 76)

considers a shrine to Artemis Herkane a plausible component of Themistokles' religious activities; Parker (1996, p. 155, n. 9) urges skepticism: "the ascription to Themistokles in a text of this character has little authority."

74. *Plut. Them.* 1.3. Near the end of his life he also set up a shrine to the Dindymian Meter in Magnesia (*Plut. Them.* 30).

in Melite.⁷⁵ Shortly before 419/8 B.C., a certain Telemachos (otherwise unknown to us) founded the sanctuary of Asklepios on the South Slope of the Acropolis in Athens and set up a wooden propylon at its entrance.⁷⁶ This propylon, perhaps depicted in the relief decoration of the monument Telemachos set up (ca. 400 B.C.) to commemorate his foundation, was probably replaced in stone during the course of the 4th century.⁷⁷ Konon built a sanctuary to Aphrodite in Peiraieus as a dedication after the defeat of the Lacedaemonian navy off Knidos in 394 B.C.⁷⁸ Xenophon dedicated a sanctuary, with temple and altar and cult image, to Ephesian Artemis on his estate at Skillous.⁷⁹

Nor were these temples and sanctuaries the only examples of private architectural sponsorship or adornment in mainland Greece in the 5th (and early 4th) century. In Athens, Peisianax built or sponsored the Stoa Poikile (ca. 460 B.C.) and Kimon decorated the Theseion with paintings (ca. 470).⁸⁰ At Delphi, Brasidas may have helped sponsor the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians (ca. 420 B.C.).⁸¹ This broad range of examples strongly suggests that the mainland Greeks did not need a Macedonian king (or even their own eastern cousins) to set an example for temple building by individuals in the late 4th century. Moreover, Peisianax and the Stoa Poikile seem to show that, even in 5th-century Athens, building by individuals was not necessarily restricted to sanctuary contexts alone.⁸²

It is noteworthy that so many of the examples listed above pertain to the foundation of new cults by individuals. New cults may have offered a somewhat more flexible venue for prominently expressing devotion to a divinity (and engaging in conspicuous display) than did existing cults, especially major ones. But differences would have been primarily practical, rather than moral, in nature: established cults are more likely already to

75. Plut. *Them.* 22.1–2; *de Her. Mal.* 37. This temple should almost certainly be associated with the remains of a small anta-temple excavated by J. Threpsiades in 1959 and published by Eugene Vanderpool (1966). Identification is based on an inscription commemorating the renewal (apparently) of the sanctuary by Neoptolemos of Melite, ca. 330 B.C.; the extant remains date primarily to the time of this rebuilding. Pierre Amandry's doubts (1967–1968) about the identification and/or date of these remains do not affect the value of Plutarch's testimonia for the original dedication.

76. This foundation is recorded, in both words and relief carving, in the Telemachos monument (*IG II²* 4960–4963; *SEG XXV* 226); Aleshire 1989, pp. 7–11; Mitroupoulou 1975. For revised text and discussion, see *SEG XLVII* 232.

The role of the playwright Sophokles in bringing Asklepios to Athens is

much better known than that of Telemachos (unattested before the discovery of *SEG XXV* 226). Sophokles was a priest in the healing cult of Amyntos (*Vit. Soph.* II); Sara Aleshire (1989, p. 9) suggests that his hosting of Asklepios may have been as a private household cult, as opposed to the formal, public one, for which Telemachos claims credit. *SEG XXV* 226 records some opposition by the Kerykes: ἡμφεσβ[ήτον τὸ] χωρίο καὶ ἔνια [ἐπεκώλ]υσαν ποῆσαι (lines 21–23). Aleshire (1989, p. 9) notes that this opposition was probably based not only on the Kerykes' ownership of land within the Pelargikon, the ultimate site of the sanctuary, "but also [on] their support for the private healing cult at the Amyneion."

77. For the propylon: Aleshire 1989, p. 34. *SEG XXV* 226, line 34: ξυλοποι[λίου]; cf. lines 35–36: [ἐπεσκ]εῦασθαι τὰ ξυλοπύλῳ.

78. Paus. 1.1.3. For discussion of the location and political significance

of Konon's temple in the Peiraieus, see Funke 1983, pp. 175–189.

79. Paus. 5.6.5–6; Xen. *An.* 5.3.9, with further description at 5.3.11–12.

80. Stoa Poikile: *Agora XIV*, pp. 90–94; Paus. 1.15.4. The Theseion is sometimes attributed to Kimon, but it is not known whether it was a personal project or a public one undertaken with his leadership. See Plut. *Thes.* 36.1–4; Plut. *Cim.* 8.5–7; Paus. 1.17.2–3, 6; Boersma 1970, p. 242. Plutarch's account of the role of Perikles in the construction of the Parthenon presents special problems and will be discussed separately below.

81. Plut. *Lys.* 1; *Mor.* 400F.

82. Boersma (1970, p. 9) notes (in reference to a somewhat shorter list): "These examples give the impression that private citizens were allowed a large measure of freedom in such matters. Yet this kind of activity can never have been very common, because ordinary Athenians could not afford to finance a big project."

have temple buildings, which would make architectural gifts by individuals complicated or even redundant. In any case, it is clear that private construction of temples, as well as other forms of architectural display in religious contexts, was in fact possible in mainland Greece throughout the Classical period and that those who could afford to and felt so inclined could apparently engage in it with little restriction, at least on privately owned property.⁸³

NATURE AND ROLE OF DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

The freedom to dedicate buildings does not necessarily imply the freedom to inscribe them. The physical remains of the buildings mentioned above are too scant to indicate whether they carried inscriptions, but the fact that larger and better-preserved temples apparently did not has led many to conclude, *a fortiori*, that smaller, private dedications must also have been uninscribed. Consideration of the nature and role of dedicatory inscriptions suggests that this inference is by no means necessary, and perhaps not even valid.

The contractual nature of many aspects of Greek religion has long been recognized. Dedicatory inscriptions, because of their public and permanent nature, present a particularly strong manifestation of this contractual outlook. At a minimum they declare whose property the dedicated object has become, but often they mark more fully the transfer of ownership from the dedicator to the divinity by naming both parties and other details of the transaction, such as gift and occasion. The act of dedication, the giving of the gift, establishes a relationship between donor and deity—a relationship that the dedicatory inscription commemorates and announces to all.⁸⁴ Accordingly, the circumstances in which such inscriptions are likely to appear will be those in which the relationship, the transfer of ownership, is clear and straightforward. By this criterion, however, major, “publicly sponsored” temples are precisely the kind of building *least* likely ever to have carried dedicatory inscriptions. In the cases for which we have information it is clear that the funding of such projects was generally diverse, involving a variety of sources, often over a long period of time, and frequently relying at least in part on the divinity’s own resources.⁸⁵ A temple built using a god’s own money can hardly be presented as a gift from someone else to that god. In short, the larger and more expensive the temple, and more complex its funding, the less likely it would be ever to bear a dedicatory inscription.

These observations have significant implications for how we understand smaller, privately funded architectural gifts. Modern scholarship on this subject has tended to organize its categories and expectations based on the nature of the object (buildings vs. other types of votives) rather than the nature of the relationship (personal gifts vs. projects of other sorts). This is surely an error. Whatever the reasons that major, corporately sponsored temples lacked inscriptions, these reasons do not necessarily apply to temples dedicated by individuals. On the contrary, temples (or other structures) dedicated by individuals fall into a different and more

83. Walter Burkert (1988, p. 43) considers *anathemata* (including temple buildings) “a form of display . . . which, in contrast to other such forms, does not raise rivalry or envy because the objects are no longer private property.” I would not go quite so far—there was probably no area of Greek life from which rivalry and envy were entirely absent—but, to some degree, dedications *did* enjoy a special status. Restrictions and limitations could clearly have been imposed by the administrators of a given sanctuary or area, but a lawmaker or assembly would have had to be bold indeed to deprive the gods of temples or gifts offered on privately owned land.

84. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1992, p. 265) writes: “Dedications by individuals, like polis and group dedications, were often commemorated through inscriptions, which perpetuated the memory of the donor’s action and his-her claim to a special relationship with the divine.”

85. The Temple of Zeus at Olympia was built from spoils when the Eleians took control of the sanctuary from Pisa (Paus. 5.10.2)—it may be that this monument represented, at least in part, a redeployment of resources previously dedicated in the sanctuary. The funding of the Parthenon is a vexed question, but divine revenues do seem to have played at least a small role (Ameling 1985, p. 51, n. 18; see also Kallet-Marx 1989; Samons 1993; Giovannini 1997). Contributors to the 4th-century rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo were named at Delphi in accounts displayed in the sanctuary, but no simple dedicatory formula could possibly have encompassed this diverse and international group.

straightforward category of religious relationship than larger projects that in some cases might not be properly classed as dedications at all. Their epigraphic needs and opportunities will have differed accordingly.⁸⁶ Indeed, throughout the Hellenistic period, major temples sponsored by state funds, the god's own resources, or widely based subscriptions apparently continue to remain uninscribed, in sharp contrast to the abundant contemporary examples of inscribed buildings dedicated by individuals. In light of this clear distinction in later periods, and the importance of the contractual nature of votive inscriptions in general, we should expect that individuals would *always* have been the most frequent inscribers of dedications, even in the more poorly attested early periods.

As we have seen, literary evidence is not lacking for architectural projects carried out by individuals in the Classical period. Did Themistokles, Peisianax, Telemachos, Konon, or Xenophon inscribe their buildings? In none of these instances are there physical remains sufficient to indicate whether or how the structure was inscribed, but in Plutarch's day, at least the Treasury of Brasidas and the Akanthians at Delphi carried a prominent inscription naming the dedicators.⁸⁷ Others may have been similarly adorned as well, in accordance with the limits and potential of materials and setting in each case.

DATE AND DISTRIBUTION OF EXTANT EXAMPLES

In the absence of firm information about the appearance or inscribing of the architectural dedications now attested only in literary sources, it has seemed natural to many to interpret the later, better-preserved examples as signs of a new Hellenistic ethos or the result of private citizens aping the actions of kings. The extant, datable, 4th-century examples from Greece do fall, for the most part, within the time of Macedonian hegemony. It is my contention, however, that the broad range of types of buildings and of individual dedicators using inscriptions in the final third of the 4th century are more consistent with the florescence of an existing and widespread tradition than with the sudden introduction of a new one. The following selection illustrates this geographical breadth and diversity of context.

The Leonidaion at Olympia was a guest hostel of impressive scale and expense, sponsored apparently exclusively by a single individual,

86. The lack of dedicatory inscriptions on major temples is often explained by asserting that religious buildings were inscribed only in cases where there was risk of ambiguity, for example treasury buildings in international sanctuaries, but not within the home community, where identity of both divinity and dedicators alike would be well known. This position assumes that it would have been technically possible to write, for example,

"the Athenians dedicated . . ." on most of the major temples in the city of Athens, and that the only reason this was not done was that it was unnecessary and otiose. I believe, however, that, far from being otiose, such a formulation would have been strictly accurate in only the rarest of circumstances; most temples lacked dedicatory inscriptions because no single group, not even the polis, could rightly claim sole financial responsibility for them.

87. Plut. *Lys.* 1.1: 'Ο Ἀκανθίων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει τοιαύτην "Βρασίδας καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων." Plutarch continues with the observation that, because of the inscription, many think that the statue inside is of Brasidas, whereas actually it represents Lysander. He also mentions the inscription (though not its connection to the building) at *Mor.* 401C, and the building at *Mor.* 400F.

probably in the 330s B.C.⁸⁸ The surviving architrave blocks indicate that the donor's name was inscribed not just once, but on at least two sides of the building:

Λ[ε]ωνίδ[η]ς Λεώτου Νάξιος ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ].⁸⁹

L[e]onid[e]s, son of Leotos, a Naxian, ma[de and dedicated (this) to Zeus Olympios].

Two monuments at Thasos dating to the later 4th century carry architraval dedicatory inscriptions. A grand, two-storied facade, featuring Ionic half-columns above Doric pillars, was erected on the interior side of the Gate of Zeus and Hera by one Pythippos, probably son of Paistratos. The surviving fragment reads:

Πύθιππος Πα[ιστράτου].⁹⁰

Pythippos, son of Pa[istratos].

A large square hall with columned porch near the Herakleion was dedicated by Thersilochos (probably son of Orthomenes) in the final third of the 4th century. Its architraval inscription reads:

Θερσίλο[χος Ὀρθομένου? τῶι δήμῳ] ἀ[νέθηκεν].⁹¹

Thersilo[chos, son of Orthomenes] d[edicated this to . . .].

In the Amphiaraion at Oropos a large stoa dating to the middle of the 4th century B.C. carried an impressive dedicatory inscription on its Doric frieze course, with one letter per metope.⁹² The only letters preserved are Θ, Π Ο (two metopes on one block), and a final Ν (followed by a blank metope); it is therefore not possible to say whether the building was dedicated by an individual or a group.⁹³

Within the city of Athens, choregic monuments constitute an important body of 4th-century architraval dedicatory inscriptions.⁹⁴ These are not, for the most part, fully functional buildings, but rather architectural structures used as bases for the tripods dedicated to Dionysos by victorious producers in the dithyrambic competitions. These monuments entail some of the same problems as naiskos-type funerary monuments: it is often difficult to match superstructures to foundations or even sometimes to other elements of the same structure; these problems can, in turn, make dating difficult as well. One such “floating” epistyle fragment from about the middle of the 4th century⁹⁵ records the dedication of Ktesippos:

Κεκροπὶς παῖδ[ων ἐνίκα].

Κτήσιππος Χαβρ[ίου Αἰξωνέδης]

ἐχορήγει. υ υ υ Δα[- - ἡϋλει?].⁹⁶

(The tribe) Kekropis won in the boy[s'] competition].

Ktesippos, son of Chabr[ias, of Aixone],

was producer. Da[— was flute-player].

88. For bibliography and discussion, see Svenson-Evers 1996, pp. 380–387; for Pausanias's (5.15.2) misreading of the dedicatory inscription (taking ΝΑΞΙΟΣ as ΗΛΕΙΟΣ), see Svenson-Evers 1996, p. 381.

89. *IvO* 651. Svenson-Evers (1996, p. 383) points out that other restorations are possible, for example, ἐποίησε ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ].

90. *Études thasiennes* III 21. A Pythippos, son of Paistratos, appears in a list of archons and theoroi dating ca. 315–285 B.C. For architecture and date, see Martin 1968, esp. p. 173.

91. *Études thasiennes* III 22.

92. For detailed description, bibliography, and discussion, see Petrakos 1997, pp. 259–260, no. 339 (with fig. 13). The frieze blocks are of poros; metope height: 0.48 m, letter height: 0.21 m. Some of the letters have small holes for the attachment of gilded bronze letters (μικρὲς ὀπές γιὰ τὴν προσήλωσι γραμμάτων ἀπὸ χάλκινου ἐπίχρυσου ἔλασμα: Petrakos 1997, p. 259).

93. For attempts at restoration of the text, see Petrakos 1997, p. 260.

94. Most of the securely datable examples thus far known belong to the final third of the century, but new research suggests the existence of some examples several decades earlier. Goette (1999) has argued that impressive full-scale architectural choregic monuments can be dated back to the 360s at least.

95. Goette 1989, p. 97.

96. *IG* II² 3040.



Figure 8. Inscribed architrave of choregic monument dedicated by Lysikrates, Athens. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens

97. For full discussion see Wilson 2000, pp. 219–226, including consideration of Bauer’s proposal (1977) that the front intercolumniation was left open to reveal a statue of Dionysos displayed within.

98. *IG II² 3042*.

99. In emphasizing the difficulties in reading the inscription and frieze, Wilson (2000, p. 222) may underestimate the clarity of fresh stone and painted letters; I believe he is too pessimistic in saying of the inscription that “under such conditions it was surely illegible.” Although Macedonian features are recognizable in the architectural style of the monument, and seem to fit well with Lysikrates’ family connections and the political and military context of 335/4 B.C. (McCredie 1984), the architraval position of the inscription has good precedents in Attica and should not be taken as “Macedonian.”

Some of the later choregic monuments are better preserved and better known. The innovative and impressive cylindrical monument dedicated by Lysikrates (335/4 B.C.) is a monopteros with dark blue screen walls closing off most or all of the spaces between its white Corinthian columns.⁹⁷ The inscription was carved in three lines on the three fascias of the epistyle (Fig. 8):

Λυσικράτης Λυσιθείδου Κικυννεὺς ἐχορήγει.

Ἀκαμαντὶς παίδων ἐνίκᾳ. Θεὸν ἠϋλεῖ.

Λυσιάρχης Ἀθηναῖος ἐδίδασκε. Εὐαίνετος ἥρχε.⁹⁸

Lysikrates, son of Lysitheides, of Kikynna, was producer.

(The tribe) Akamantis won in the boys’ competition. Theon was flute-player.

Lysiades the Athenian was trainer. Euainetos was archon.

This inscription provides an indirect indication that the architraval position was by this time quite canonical. A lower location, such as the stylobate of the monopteros or the crown of the base, might have offered greater legibility, but established aesthetic expectations and conventions favoring the architraval position seem already to have been strong enough to outweigh this practical consideration.⁹⁹

Other roughly contemporary examples include a monument of uncertain type (ca. 335–320 B.C.), with an architrave adorned with a series of crowns and with brief inscriptions alluding to the service for which they

were awarded;¹⁰⁰ the choregic monument of Euagides (328/7 B.C.), inscribed on its Ionic architrave;¹⁰¹ and Lysikles' monument, inscribed on its Doric architrave.¹⁰² The slightly later monument of Nikias, son of Nikodemus, commemorating a victory in the dithyrambic competition for boys in 320/19 B.C., also carried its dedicatory inscription on its architrave.¹⁰³ Located just to the northwest of the sanctuary of Dionysos, this monument was a full-sized (16.68 × 11.79 m) building similar to a temple, with a prostyle porch of six columns in the Doric order.¹⁰⁴

Most of the datable, inscribed choregic monuments belong to the period during or after the reign of Alexander. Do their prominent inscriptions represent the influence of Macedonian royal practice?¹⁰⁵ A look at the visual landscape of Athens in the 4th century strongly suggests otherwise. As we have seen, Attic funerary reliefs, from the late 5th century onward, frequently bore the name of the deceased on the architrave or an equivalent flat upper fascia; likewise, votive plaques were often thus inscribed. In view of these abundant local precedents, it is difficult (and unnecessary) to demonstrate any significant role for external influence in the form or placement of the inscriptions on 4th-century Attic choregic monuments. The proliferation of these prominently inscribed monuments does not indicate any introduction of foreign habits, breakdown in the social structure of the polis, or easing of (putative) restrictions on private architectural activity; it is simply a function of continuing evolution in a well-established medium of competitive display.¹⁰⁶

Similarly, these geographically diverse examples—not only from Athens, but from Olympia, Thasos, and perhaps Oropos as well—represent a range of building types, none of which seems particularly likely to have been affected by any direct influence from Macedonian (or Hekatomnid) monuments, or even from each other. Given the numbers, geographical range, and approximate contemporaneity of these monuments, it is more efficient to see in them a natural manifestation of long-standing, fundamental Greek social and religious habits, rather than to assume external influence or to posit that foreign royal practice was so quickly adopted and imitated by private individuals in such widely varying contexts.

In sum, a combination of archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence suggests a strong possibility that dedicatory inscriptions were inscribed or painted on at least some of the votive structures now attested solely (or primarily) in ancient literature. This evidence also points to the architrave as a logical location for such inscriptions, on both aesthetic and practical grounds, with good comparanda known in other media. The lack of inscriptions on buildings not sponsored by individuals is in no way predictive of epigraphical practice on buildings dedicated by individuals. Accordingly, the increase in the number of extant inscriptions in the second half of the 4th century need not represent anything other than the results of the ongoing trend, in both public and private architecture, toward more extensive use of permanent materials (especially marble).¹⁰⁷

100. *IG II²* 3206; Goette 1989, pp. 94–95.

101. *IG II²* 3052; *SEG* XLV 696.

102. *IG II²* 3054; *SEG* XXXIX 206.

103. *IG II²* 3055.

104. Hintzen-Bohlen 1997, pp. 60–61. Plutarch (*Nic.* 3.3) seems to erroneously associate this monument with the 5th-century general and statesman Nikias, son of Nikeratos, who is said to have dedicated several tripods with his brothers in 415 B.C. (cf. *Pl. Grg.* 472a; Hintzen-Bohlen 1997, p. 61, with n. 460). For other large-scale choregic monuments of the late 4th century, see the annotated lists provided by Goette (1989, p. 97) and Hintzen-Bohlen (1997, pp. 145–147).

105. In the case of the Lysikrates Monument, James McCredie (1984, pp. 182–183) has argued for Macedonian influence in various aspects of style and design of the building, but the inscription is not one of the elements for which he claims specifically Macedonian precedents.

106. Wilson (2000, p. 221) notes, with reference to the monument of Lysikrates: “The stylistic change should not deceive us into imagining that choregic display had necessarily begun to operate with a completely different dynamic in this period. Even at the height of city-state ‘corporatism,’ there was always a tension between the collective ideals of the polis and the more or less acknowledged pre-eminence of individuals.” See also Wilson 2000, p. 235.

107. As, for example, in the case of the propylon to the Athenian Asklepieion, originally wooden, but rebuilt in stone, as mentioned above.

ANCIENT ANECDOTES

Several ancient anecdotes appear to reveal a deep antipathy for inscriptions of the sort that I argue could have been almost commonplace. Despite the fact that these stories—concerning Themistokles and the Temple of Artemis Aristoboule, Perikles and the Parthenon, and Alexander the Great and the Artemision at Ephesos—are often rejected (or ignored) as apocryphal or anachronistic, assumptions based on them nevertheless continue to color modern views.¹⁰⁸ In the following discussion I do not seek to prove or disprove authenticity, but rather to point out that in no case do these stories, even if authentic, imply any Classical aversion to architectural dedicatory inscriptions. In each of these anecdotes the locus of the conflict described lies not in the proposed dedicatory inscription per se, but rather in the specific circumstances of the particular building in question.

For example, in a list of occasions of public discontent with Themistokles, Plutarch reports: “He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed *Aristoboule*, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes.”¹⁰⁹ If this building did carry an inscribed (or painted) dedication, it would have been the implications of the epithet of the goddess, not the name of Themistokles, or the fact that he had dedicated a temple, that would have rendered the inscription offensive.

A roughly contemporary, nonarchitectural example, taken by many as evidence for state-enforced anonymity of dedications, concerns Kimon and the herms dedicated after his victories at Eion on the Strymon in 476/5 B.C. Aischines claims that the victorious generals asked the demos for permission to dedicate the herms, but were allowed to do so only on condition that they not inscribe their own names.¹¹⁰ The point of contention here is not the inscribing of dedications, but rather the fair apportionment of credit for a particular achievement. This story does not indicate that individual dedications would never be allowed, only that in this case the demos was not willing for this particular honor to be considered an exclusively personal one.¹¹¹

Similar issues are raised in Plutarch’s account of Perikles’ building activities and the financing of the Parthenon. According to Plutarch, Perikles responded to his opponents’ criticism by asking the Assembly whether he was spending too much; when they answered with a strong affirmative he announced that he himself would fund the construction and would inscribe his own name as dedicator. “When Perikles had said this, whether it was that they admired his magnanimity or vied with his ambition to get the glory of his works, they cried out with a loud voice and bade him take freely from the public funds for his outlays, and to spare naught whatsoever.”¹¹²

This story is problematic in many respects and may indeed deserve to be dismissed as an outright fiction, but such rejection should be based on grounds other than an *a priori* assumption that a proposal of personal

108. So, for example, Botermann (1994, p. 182) on Alexander and Ephesos: “Die ganze Episode ist eine Anekdote. Aber eine signifikante, deren historischer Kern das Befremden der griechischen Öffentlichkeit über Alexanders Anmassung ist.”

109. *Them.* 22.1–2 (Loeb, B. Perrin, trans.). Garland (1992, p. 76) suggests that the offense might lie in upstaging the public cult of Artemis Boulaia, worshipped in the Agora.

110. Aischin. 3.183–185. This formulation and emphasis are no doubt shaped to some degree by Aischines’ desire to argue that Ktesiphon had acted improperly in proposing honors for Demosthenes.

111. This emphasis is clear also in Plutarch’s reference to these herms (*Cim.* 7). The same principle is illustrated at *Cim.* 8.1, where Miltiades is said to have been refused an olive crown in part due to the words of Sophanes of Dekeleia: “when you have fought alone, then demand to be honored alone.”

112. *Plut. Per.* 14.2 (Loeb, B. Perrin, trans.).

financing for public buildings or the use of personal dedicatory inscriptions would have been inconceivable in Classical Athens.¹¹³ Such an offer of private funding for a public project may not be as far-fetched as it is often assumed to be. The Stoa Poikile (or Peisianakteios) may well have been sponsored in this fashion. Few Greek cities at any period could undertake major projects without some special source of revenue being devoted to the project; “matching grants” from individuals may have helped to provide that revenue more often than we realize. For example, a fragmentary inscription (the Springhouse Decree) from the 430s seems to include the response of the demos to an offer of funding from Perikles and members of his family for some kind of waterworks.¹¹⁴ The offer was apparently declined, with thanks, by the demos, but nothing in the remaining fragments of the decree suggests that the offer was considered inappropriate or unusual. Of course this decree, even assuming it is correctly understood, does not prove that Perikles would or could have used the threat described by Plutarch, but it does suggest that neither the idea of private architectural sponsorship nor the tensions and rivalry between public, communal achievement and private, individual accomplishment would have been wholly out of place in 5th-century Athens.¹¹⁵ The point here is not to claim that Plutarch is accurately describing an actual debate, but rather to make clear that, whatever its status, his account cannot be taken as evidence for a Classical aversion to architectural dedicatory inscriptions. Within the context of Plutarch’s narrative, as in the other anecdotes discussed so far, the issues at stake are the proper apportionment of responsibility, credit, and glory, not excess in personal display or the appropriateness of inscribing architectural dedications.¹¹⁶

The story most frequently referred to in scholarly discussions of Late Classical architectural sponsorship is that of Alexander and Ephesos. Strabo, following Artemidoros, reports that Alexander promised to pay all the expenses for rebuilding the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos (destroyed by fire on the night of Alexander’s birth) if he could have a dedicatory inscription, but the Ephesians were unwilling.¹¹⁷ Strabo remarks that Artemi-

113. Ameling (1985, esp. pp. 59–61) presents a very skeptical view of Plutarch’s account, emphasizing parallels with 2nd-century A.C. Imperial building practice; see also Stadter 1989, pp. 181–183. For funding of the Parthenon see Giovannini 1997; Samons 1993; and Kallet-Marx 1989.

114. *IG* I³ 49 (= *IG* I² 54); *SEG* X 47, XII 19, XIX 12. The text is badly damaged and most of the document is missing, but what remains includes parts of two amendments. A conservative version of the text is presented by Woodhead (1973–1974, p. 761). The matters treated include water supply, a desire to minimize expense, reference to the sons of Perikles in the dative case, and probably a motion of

thanks. Scholars differ on whether the thanks accompany a refusal (Connor 1971, p. 127, n. 69) or an acceptance (e.g., Mattingly 1961, p. 164) of the offer. Ameling (1985, p. 59) believes that modern understanding of this text has been prejudiced by Plutarch (*Per.* 14), and that the inscription is so fragmentary that no conclusions should be based on it at all.

115. Perikles could not, in any case, have paid for the entire cost of the Parthenon as built, but this need not affect the possibility that private and public financing would have been considered and balanced and, in some cases, played off against each other.

116. The charges against, and exile of, Pheidias suggest that the Parthenon

was a project in which the boundaries between personal and public spheres were quite problematic and the potential for abuse a source of real anxiety. The charges against Perikles and Pheidias all seem to have involved excessive “personalizing” or appropriation in one way or another: the inclusion of Perikles’ face on the shield of Athena, and the embezzlement of funds. Plut. *Per.* 31.2–5; Diod. Sic. 12.39.1–2. Suggestion of an inscription on the Parthenon would be a yet more extreme version of this same kind of personal appropriation of the monument.

117. Strab. 14.1.22 (C 640). Botermann (1994, p. 182; see above, n. 108).

doros praised the Ephesian who told Alexander that it was not fitting for a god to make dedications to the gods. Does this response reflect deep-seated antipathy toward dedicatory inscriptions or even toward dedication of temples by individuals? By no means. As with Plutarch's account concerning Perikles and the Parthenon, the Ephesians' objection is not based on the inappropriateness of the idea of Alexander's building (or inscribing) a temple; they object only to his building and inscribing *their* temple. Alexander was not claiming a privilege of an outrageous or unprecedented type, but in this case it was a privilege the Ephesians considered their own and did not wish to relinquish or share. They did not want to be deprived of the credit, both with the goddess and their fellow Greeks, for the work they themselves had already done, and planned to do, in rebuilding her temple. Inscribed fragments from the base moldings of a number of columns show that individual contributions were in fact epigraphically commemorated on the building itself.¹¹⁸

In both of these stories, Plutarch's on Perikles and Strabo's on Alexander, the opposition between public monument and private appropriation is drawn in the clearest possible terms. But they by no means suggest that the only way an individual can have a monument inscribed is by usurping a public right. On the contrary, stories in which cities are represented as unwilling to give over into private hands the religious and social benefits of communal responsibility for great temples of their patron deities have little bearing on attitudes toward the distinct class of buildings (such as those of Themistokles, Telemachos, Konon, and Xenophon) that are more truly and appropriately personal in their origins. Individuals could make, and claim credit for, architectural dedications in the Classical period, but gifts (or other monuments) that were truly corporate in nature were not to be subsumed or obscured under the name of any individual.

These anecdotes describing resistance to the appropriation by an individual of something that should be public (Themistokles' claim to "best counsel," Perikles' claim to the Parthenon, Alexander's to the Artemision) emphasize the importance of giving credit where credit is due, but none of them implies any restriction on inscribing monuments that properly fall within a person's own responsibility. Indeed, the numerous attested examples of structures built by individuals in the 5th and early 4th centuries make it clear that, in their proper context, private architectural dedications were acceptable and appropriate and were in no way expected to be made anonymously.

CONCLUSIONS

I have argued that architraval inscriptions carrying the names of dedicators of buildings should not be considered the product of major social or religious changes in Late Classical Greece, but rather an expression of Greek votive and epigraphical traditions of long standing. Literary evidence shows that architecture (including temples) fell within the range of votive offerings that individuals could and did make throughout the Classical period. From the Archaic period on, the architrave was among the

118. *IEphesos* 1519; 29 fragments from at least eight (and probably more) different columns. The most complete of these (1519a, in four fragments) reads: [] γι [] Σαρδηνῶν Ἀρτ[έμι]δι τ[ὸ]ν οὐδὸδ[ὲν ἀνέθηκεν]. Hicks (1890, pp. 173–174, no. 510a) notes that the letter forms "precisely suit the date of the restoration of the temple in the second half of the fourth century B.C." and he connects the inscriptions with several ancient testimonia concerning the temple's financing: Strabo (14.1.22 [C 640]) notes that the jewelry and personal possessions of the Ephesian women were sold to raise money; the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oecon.* 2.20 reports that the Ephesians passed a law requiring women to surrender to the city what gold they had, and allowing any who gave money sufficient for a column to have their names inscribed as dedicators; and Pliny (*HN* 16.40 [213]) informs us that "all Asia" contributed to the rebuilding.

avored locations for inscriptions, with particularly frequent use in votive and funerary contexts from the late 5th century onward. Apart from practical and aesthetic considerations, the primary issue governing whether a building could carry a dedicatory inscription was not arrogance vs. modesty, not state vs. individual, but financial responsibility. The structure must represent a true gift to a god from a distinct and nameable individual or group; few large-scale, corporately funded projects fully met those criteria.

Availability of, and priorities for, both public and private capital would certainly have affected the frequency, scale, and permanence of architectural dedications by individuals; these factors would have varied from place to place and decade to decade. For Athens in particular, the second half of the 5th century was a time of extraordinary collective self-assertiveness on the part of the *demos*, which reveled in many of the activities previously available only to wealthy individuals.¹¹⁹ The current state of the evidence, however, does not justify the supposition that Athenian democratic ideology (much less, universal Greek morality) required that the inscribing of architectural dedications be governed by rules significantly different from those governing religious dedications of other types. Epigraphical anonymity (voluntary or otherwise) should no longer be assumed to have been a governing principle for personal architectural dedications in Classical Greece.

119. See, e.g., Ober 1989; Kallet-Marx 1993.

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