INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PELOPONNESOS

(Plates 49-52)

A. HERMIONE

Inscriptions 1-5 are on the “Bisti” (Albanian, “tail”), the ákré of Pausanias (II, 34, 9) which projects into the sea from the modern town. They are all in or near the second tower from the south of the Venetian wall which cuts across the promontory roughly halfway from the tip (see the plan, copied from A. Philadelphus, in Ath. Mitt., XXXVI, 1911, pl. 1).

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Four dedications to Demeter Chthonia, spanning in all probability four generations. Nos. 1, 2, and 4, large rectangular bases of limestone, placed lengthwise and forming the west face of the tower, can be seen on Plate 50 (Nos. 2, 4, and 1, from front to back).


Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.76 m.; length, 2.20 m.

For other details see W. Peek, “Griechische Inschriften,” Ath. Mitt., LIX, 1934, pp. 46-7. This and the following inscription, known since Fourmont, were rediscovered by A. Philadelphus (Πρακτικά, 1909, p. 174); the upper surface has been completely uncovered since Peek republished the inscription. With Peek I underline those letters read by Fourmont but now lost.

'Αριστομένες ἀνέθε[κ]ε 'Ἀλεξία
ταῖ Δάματρι ταῖ Χθονίαι
νερμοιεύς

Δορόθεος ἐβεργάσατο 'Ἀργείος

Noteworthy in the text of the dedication are the forms for ξ in 'Ἀλεξία, and Υ for χ in Χθονίαι; the alphabet is that used in the Argolic Akte.2 The signature, in

1 These inscriptions were examined by my wife and me in the winter and spring of 1950 while we were members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Inscriptions previously published are marked with an asterisk. I am most grateful for the advice and guidance while in Greece of Professors Eugene Vanderpool and John H. Kent. To Professor G. J. Georgacas I am greatly indebted for advice and annotation on linguistic matters; I am solely responsible for the topographical identifications.

2 In the Argolic alphabet + (Χ) = ξ, I.G., IV, 800 (Troizen), I.G., IV², 1, 141 (Epidauros); ↓ (Ψ) = χ, I.G., IV, 760, line 6, I.G., IV, 800 (both Troizen).
contrast to the first three lines, shows Δ for ∆, and angular for rounded ρο; its attribution to the alphabet of Argos (as opposed to the Akte) is confirmed by the Argive gamma (cf. Hesperia, XIV, 1945, p. 140, No. 18, fragment f).


Height, 0.32 m.; width, 0.73 m.; length, 2.02 m.

"Αλεξίας : Δύονος : ἀνέθε[κε]
τά Δάματρι : τάθ χθονίαμ μερμονέος
Κρεσίλας : ἐποίεσε : Κυδονιάτ[α]ς

Note the inconsistent use of the form Χ for ξ in 'Αλεξίας, but also for χ in Χθονίαμ. The same alphabet is used for the text of the dedication and the signature. In the signature the thinner epsilon (but compare that in 'Αλεξίας, line 1) and nu remarked by Peek are in keeping with the smaller scale of the whole line, as is common in signatures (average letter height, line 4, 0.020 m. compared to lines 1-3, 0.022-0.025 m.). The use of X for χ in Χθονίαμ has been explained (e.g., by M. Fraenkel, I.G., IV, 683; H. Roehl, Inscr. Graec. ant., Berlin, 1882, No. 47) as a stonemason’s error, presumably under the influence of an “East Greek” alphabet. Peek (p. 47) regarded it rather as a more recent development of the alphabet of Hermione (but cf. the continued use of Χ for ξ in the line above). 3 Palaeographically the more likely explanation of the inconsistent usage in 2 is that X in 'Αλεξίας is written for ΧΞ and that X for χ in Χθονίαμ is correct and not in error for Υ. A local workman, accustomed to writing X (or +) alone for ξ, understandably omits the sigma and proceeds to cut the rest of the name. His copy was in an alphabet identical with that of Hermione except for ΧΞ instead of X, and X instead of Υ. This is not Ionic (cf. the O of Δύονος and the E of ἀνέθεκε) nor Attic nor Argive (Λ = λ) but Aeginetan, the alphabet in which the known fifth-century inscriptions of the sculptor Kresilas’s native city of Kydonia are written, in marked contrast to the characteristic Cretan forms of other Cretan cities. 4 Kydonia was colonized by Aeginetans in 515 B.C.

3 Such an explanation, however, is relevant to the solitary occurrence in 2 of the nu with short right shaft (in χερμονειος, line 3) and to the use of X instead of +, whatever its value.

4 See M. Guarducci, Inscriptiones Creticae, II, pp. 122 f. In the Aeginetan alphabet + (X) = χ, I.G., IV, 55, 56, 65, 70 (cf. Arch. Anz., 1938, cols. 498, 501, S.E.G., XI, 14), 1580 (= A. Furtwängler, Aigina: Das Heiligtum der Aphaia, Munich, 1906, 1, p. 367, fig. 292; II, pl. 25. 1), and 1590; Ath. Mitt., LXI, 1934, pp. 42-3, No. 5 (S.E.G., XI, 1). A tile stamp of the late 6th or early 5th cent. B.C., published by G. Welter, Arch. Anz., 1938, col. 487, No. 7 (and No. 5, if the text is the same), S.E.G., XI, 20, shows Υ which the editor transliterates as χι. Until the resultant word, δαβοκ[έφα], is substantiated, our picture of the Aeginetan alphabet need not be changed. + = ξ, I.G., IV, 55.
(Herod., III, 59; Strabo, VIII, 376; Plato, Leg. IV, 707e) and it has been thought that the sculptor’s family may have been of Aeginetan origin. I suggest that Kresilas prepared the copy for both the signature and the text of the dedication (in contrast to 1, there are no differences in letter forms). The great similarity of the two alphabets, Hermionian and Aeginetan, makes the error of ΑΛΕΞΙΑ for ΑΛΕΞΙΑ understandable.

3 (Pl. 50). Limestone block inside the chapel of Hagios Nikolaos about 150 m. northeast of 1, 2, and 4. The block is built into the back wall, behind and to the left of the iconostasis.

The visible dimensions of the block, 0.30 m. high and 0.93 m. wide, are close enough to the dimensions of the short, inscribed faces of 1, 2, and 4 to show that this is almost certainly the front portion of a similar rectangular base. The surface is finely stippled with a smooth band 0.02 m. wide running around the outside edges. The letters are well cut and in the Ionic alphabet. Height of letters, lines 1 and 2, 0.030-0.035 m.; lines 3 and 4, 0.020-0.023 m., omikron smaller, 0.013 m. Distance between lines 1 and 2 and between 2 and 3, 0.035 m.; between lines 3 and 4, 0.010 m.

The style of the writing accords with the floruit of Ol. CII (372-68 B.C.) assigned by Pliny to a sculptor in bronze by the name of Polykles (Nat. Hist., XXXIV, 50) whose non-Attic origin is clear by contrast with Polykles, Athenaios, ft. Ol. CLVI (156-52 B.C.; Nat. Hist., XXXIV, 52).

4* J. Marcadé, B.C.H., LXXIII, 1949, p. 537, fig. 18.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.76 m.; length, 2.07 m.

For the position of the block, comparable in size and shape to 1, 2, and 3 (in the visible surface), see Pl. 50. There are only three holes for the setting of hooves on the upper surface. Evidently the left front foot was raised.

Εὐφόρος Λύωνος
Δάματρι Ἔρμονεύς


6 Both the dedication and the signature on the base of the bull of the Corcyraeans (or Plataeans? cf. P. Amandry, B.C.H., LXXIV, 1950, pp. 10-21) at Delphi are in the Aeginetan alphabet of Theopropos the sculptor (early 5th cent. B.C., Fouilles de Delphes, III, 1, No. 2, and S.I.G. 3, 18).
For the dedicators of these four inscriptions the following stemma is probable:

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Alexias (1)  
|    |    |
Lyon (2)    | Aristomenes (1) |
|    |    |    |
Alexias (2) |    |
|    |    |
Lyon (3, 4) |
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Klenagoros (3) fl. ca. 370 B.C.  
Euphoros (4)

If the Alexias of 1 and 2 are the same, the dedicator of 1, Aristomenes, has his *floruit* around 400 B.C., a date inconsistent with the character of the writing of 1. Furthermore, 1 and 2 do not seem as much as twenty years apart (Peek believes they are by the same hand), but a date around 400 B.C. would make 1 approximately twenty years later than 2 since Kresilas’s latest work cannot be placed later than the twenties of the fifth century.7

The statues carried on these bases have been thought to be equestrian. The three whose upper surfaces are visible, 1, 2, and 4, show dowel holes for fixing the feet of a four-footed animal. However, the distinctive ritual of Demeter Chthonia in which the victims, four cows, take on special importance,8 and the frequent dedication of images of bulls, cows, and oxen throughout Greece,9 often by the most distinguished

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The priority of 1 to 2 may also receive support from its consistent use of the *nu* with right side short, noted by Peek, and from the upright + as against the X of 2 [cf. note 3, supra]. Two reasons advanced by Peek are not valid: that the X for Υ in Χθωρίας (2, line 2) is a later development of the Hermonian alphabet, and that Dorotheos is the elder of the two sculptors, a conclusion based on H. Pomtow’s restoration of an inscription at Delphi which he dates to 460 (*Klio*, IX, 1909, pp. 170 ff.; *R.E.*, Suppl. 4, No. 22, pp. 1239-40). E. Bourguet has shown the impossibility of Pomtow’s total restoration and reconstruction and although Δο[π]θεος...[’]Αφυ[εις is a possible restoration we are no closer thereby to dating Dorotheos vis-à-vis Kresilas (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1, 1929, pp. 326 ff. on No. 502). Raubitschek does not consider Bourguet’s rejection of Pomtow.

8 Paus., II, 35, 5-7; Aelian, *de Nat. An.*, XI, 4; *I.G.*, IV, 679 (*S.I.G.*3, 1051); a coin of Hermione under the empire shows a cow being led by an attendant, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* (reprinted from J.H.S., 1885, 1886, 1887), p. 51, No. 6, plate M, iii.

9 E.g., a bronze bull being led to sacrifice in front of a temple containing an image of Triptolemos in the Eleusinion in Athens (Paus., I, 14, 4); two bronze bulls at Olympia (Paus., V, 27, 9); at Delphi, a bull (Paus., V, 27, 9 and X, 9, 4) and two bronze oxen (Paus. X, 15, 1 and 16, 6); at Sparta, a bronze ox (Polemon *ap.* Athenaeus, XIII, 574c-d). Attempts have been made to recon-
suggest the possibility that these bases carried bronze images of the cows of the Chthonia ritual. The repetition is not unreasonable; this cult and the stories connected with it were Hermione’s chief claim to fame.\(^\text{11}\)

The cuttings on those bases whose upper surfaces are visible permit this hypothesis (see Pl. 50, Nos. 2, 4, and 1, from front to back). The two fifth-century bases (1 and 2) have large holes to receive the dowels for the hooves of the animals, forming parallelograms with right feet, front and rear, advanced (on 2, the hole for the right rear foot is covered with mortar but there can be little doubt of its existence); this agrees with the walking gait seen in the fifth-century statuettes of both cows and horses.\(^\text{12}\) The fourth-century base dedicated by Euphoros (4) has only three hoof-marks: the left front foot is raised and both left feet are forward; this shows the greater freedom probably already achieved in the fifth century in free-standing statues of horses.\(^\text{13}\) In later times, to judge from bronze statuettes and Roman marbles of cattle, the type with one foot raised was very popular.\(^\text{14}\)

struct these statues, primarily through the remains of bases. Several other statues are known from coins. A convenient, though incomplete, list of small bronze cattle of the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ is given by N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenien Expedition*, Lund, 1938, p. 446.

\(^\text{10}\) E.g., Myron’s heifer on the Acropolis at Athens, later removed to Rome (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 57); the four bulls attributed to Myron by Propertius (II, 31, 7), if not by him perhaps inspired by his success; the twelve bronze cows of Phradsmon of Argos, a contemporary of Kresilas (he too competed in the contest for an Amazon for Ephesos, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 53), at the temple of Itonian Athena in Thessaly (*Anth. Pal.*, IX, 743, Theodoridas); Strongyllion was known for his bulls and horses (Paus., IX, 30, 1). Many of the Roman copies of statues in stone and statuettes in bronze are probably derived from well-known Greek types, though attempts at specific identification have not been successful.

\(^\text{11}\) Cf. the hymn of Lasos of Hermione, Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III, p. 376, fr. 1, and Strabo, VIII, 6, 12. Though Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 19) certainly exaggerates when he says the Greeks dedicated equestrian statues only for victories in the games, the great majority of such dedications were for military or athletic victories; there is no reason to connect the Hermionean dedications with either class. Images of cattle are likely to have represented sacrificial animals, cf. W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, pp. 295 ff.


\(^\text{13}\) E.g., the dedication of the Hippes on the Acropolis at Athens, which probably had both the left front and right rear foot raised, shortly after 457 B.C., G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 82-83, fig. 5, and Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, No. 135. Cf. Markman’s analysis of the gait of the Metro-
All these cuttings could have been used for either cattle or horses, but on 1, the earlier of the two fifth-century bases, supporting the statue by Dorotheos, there is a carefully cut round hole, 0.026 m. in diameter and 0.015 m. deep, 0.016 m. to the right and slightly behind the left rear foot, and 0.048 m. to the right and behind the right rear foot. The hole is to be explained as for a short support for the low-hanging tail of a cow. There is no question of a support for a horse's tail at this date in a work in bronze.15 The tail of cattle is naturally long and cannot be bobbed; it was cast as a separate piece, in all probability, and, added to the body, was in considerable danger of fracture unless braced by a support.16 The problem was usually solved by supporting it partly on the flank or leg of the animal,17 but even when braced against a leg it might still project and on a large scale require some fastening.18 Furthermore, there are examples where the body itself was not used as a support19 and to these

politian statuette, op. cit., p. 167. The horses on the façade of St. Mark's are derived by Markman, pp. 130-131, from originals of 310-290 B.C., not of the second half of the fifth century B.C. as by Richter, Animals, pp. 59-60, fig. 70.

14 Some at least of these must go back to Greek originals, e.g., the Roman copy of a Hellenistic bull in the Metropolitan Museum, Richter, Animals, fig. 104; S. Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine, IV, Paris, 1910, p. 485. 1, with which cf. D. K. Hill, Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1949, No. 253, p. 112, pl. 51; Reinach, op. cit., II, 1897, pp. 734, 735, 736, etc.

15 In Geometric and Archaic art the tails of horses touched or came close to the ground, cf. Markman, op. cit. figs. 5-7, 9-11, 16-22, 25; Richter, Animals, figs. 49-54; the use of the early bronzes must also be considered. In two dimensions and relief the long tail hairs continued to be shown trailing low, e.g., Richter, Animals, fig. 71. Marble copies often needed support where none had existed in the original bronze: on the equestrian statue of Nonius Balbus, the elder, in Naples, the tail is continued to the base in the form of a square pillar, L. v. Schlözer, Röm. Mitt., XXVIII, 1913, p. 152, fig. 12. Small bronzes of both horses and cattle continue to use the tail as a support and are of course no evidence for supports for the tail on larger figures, e.g., C. Waldstein, The Argive Heraeum, II, Boston, 1905, pl. LXXV, 24. The horses on the façade of St. Mark's show the treatment once the anatomy had been fully mastered, Richter, Animals, fig. 70; L.v. Schlözer, Röm. Mitt., XXVIII, 1913, pp. 129 ff.; cf. note 13 (supra), ad fin.

16 For the natural position of the tail as conceived by fifth-century artists, hanging down behind and ending only slightly above the fetlocks, see Richter, Animals, figs. 92, 97, 100. Varro, de Re rust., II, 5, 8, recommends cattle whose tails are long, reaching to the heels and ending in a tuft. For separate attachment on a small bronze figure cf. K. A. Neugebauer, Die griechische Bronzen der Klassischer Zeit und des Hellenismus, Berlin, 1951, No. 54, p. 63.

17 On the flank, e.g., the Paris cow, note 12 (supra) and the Kerameikos bull, Richter, Animals, fig. 103. A variation has the tail arching up before touching the flank, e.g., Richter, Animals, fig. 104. Against a leg, e.g., R. Delbrueck, Röm. Mitt., XVI, 1901, pl. IV; H. N. Couch, A.J.A., XXXV, 1931, p. 45, figs. 1, 2; Neugebauer, op. cit., No. 30 (Olympia), No. 39 (Kabeirion near Thebes).

18 Cf. Reinach, op. cit., II, p. 733. 5; p. 734. 2 and 4; III, p. 214. 6 and 7; IV, p. 485. 5.

19 E. g., Reinach, op. cit., II, p. 731. 1 (Ostia), p. 732. 3 (Athens); p. 733. 2 (Tegea); II, p. 733. 4 and IV, p. 484. 5 (Kabeirion); Neugebauer, op. cit., No. 28 and No. 29 (Olympia). I can see no support for the tail in the photograph of the statuette from Scafati near Pompeii, Notizie, 1899, p. 395 (cf. Reinach, III, p. 214. 9 and IV, p. 485. 5). Cf. an Athenian coin of the Roman period, Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, op. cit., p. 146, plate DD, vii, viii, and O. Benndorf,
should probably be added the negative evidence of some of the tailless survivors.\textsuperscript{20} The awkwardness of an artificial support and the risks in employing this treatment without a support (loss of the tail mutilated an animal statue, cf. Paus. V, 27, 3) clearly discouraged its use and it is significant that only Dorotheos appears to have employed it. I suggest, however, that not only this base but the other three statues as well represented the special victims of Demeter Chthonia. Failing acceptance of this suggestion, the small cutting on 1 can be explained as part of a repair for a horse's tail, though even so such a repair is more likely to have been required for a cow.

5 (Pl. 50). Limestone base lying on its right side near the northeast corner of the Venetian tower, covered by rubble and fill.\textsuperscript{21}

Height, 0.75 m.; width, 0.45 m.; thickness, 0.41 m. The height of the inscribed face, between the crowning and base mouldings, is 0.61 m. Height of letters, 0.013 m. (\textit{omikron}, 0.010 m.).

Φιλοκλής Καλλικράτεως Μεγαλοπολίτας

\[\text{έποιησε}\]

The same signature is found at Epidauros, \textit{I.G.}, IV\textsuperscript{a}, 1, 656, lines 7-8, on a statue base honoring Laphanta (the second of that name known to us in that family, cf. stemma, \textit{I.G.}, IV\textsuperscript{a}, 1, p. xxv), where Hiller suggested that the Philokles signature was added at the end of the second century after Christ to the honorary inscription of the first century. But neither of the signatures (which in general style resemble each other)\textsuperscript{22} is inconsistent with a series of inscriptions at Epidauros touching the lifetime of two generations on either side of Laphanta (\textit{I.G.}, IV\textsuperscript{a}, 1, 214-220; they show the wide-looped \textit{mu} of the Hermione signature). The one fixed date for the family is 74 B.C. when Laphanta's father was honored by the city (\textit{I.G.}, IV\textsuperscript{a}, 1, 66, cf. \textit{S.E.G.}, XI, 1950, 397). There seems to be no reason to assign either of the Philokles signatures to a date later than the erection of the statue of Laphanta, i.e., the last half of the first century before Christ or the beginning of the first century after Christ (cf. G. Lippold, \textit{R.E.}, "Philokles").

Inscriptions 6-15 are now in the garden of the Papabasileios family in the plain


\textsuperscript{20} Notably, the Delphi statuette, note 12 (\textit{supra}), and Neugebauer, \textit{op. cit.}, No. 54.

\textsuperscript{21} The limestone base in the foreground of the photograph on Pl. 50 is preserved only to a height of 0.51 m., the top being broken off; width, 0.64 m.; thickness, at least 0.55 m. About 0.32 m. from the highest point preserved \(\Psi(\psi\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\iota)\) \(\text{B} \,(\omega\lambda\eta\varsigma)\) in large letters.

\textsuperscript{22} Facsimile of the Epidauros signature in P. Cavvadias, \textit{Fouilles d'Épidaure}, Athens, 1893, I, 28.
known as the Kampos outside the town of Hermione on the right-hand side of the road to Kranidi, the ancient straight road to Mases (Paus., II, 35, 11 and 36, 1). The garden is next to the modern cemetery and above a part of the ancient cemetery (cf. A. Philadelpheus, Πρακτικά, 1909, pp. 179 ff.). The location accounts for the sepulchral character of most of the inscriptions collected there. With the possible exception of 11, all probably date from the Christian era.

6 (Pl. 50). Fragment of light gray limestone broken on all sides; the left margin of the text is preserved between lines 2 and 5. There seem to be traces of letters or of a carved decoration on the left edge of the inscribed surface, approximately level with lines 2 and 3, which, combined with the irregular margin, suggests that the base may have honored more than one person and carried more than one inscription.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters, 0.025-0.029 m.; distance between lines, 0.01 m. Lines 4 and 5 are indented 0.01 m. from the left margin.

\[\text{Αὐτοκράτορ Καίσαρ Μ(άρκον) Αὐ-} \]
\[\text{ρῆπιον Ἀν[τωνέινον Σε-} \]
\[\text{βαστόν, Α[ὐτοκράτο-} \]
\[\text{ρος Καίσ[αρ Α(ρός Λ(οικίου) Σεπτ-} \]

5 \[\text{μίου Σεο[νῆρον Περ-} \]
\[\text{τύνακος [άνεικήτου] } \]
\[\text{[υίόν, ἢ πόλις ἢ τῶν] } \]
\[\text{[Ἐρμονέων τὸν αὐτῆς] } \]
\[\text{[εὐεργέτην] } \]

This inscription honoring Caracalla is probably to be associated with I.G., IV, 704, honoring Julia Domna, and I.G., IV, 705, honoring Geta, both from Hermione, despite the spelling Σενήρος here but Σενήρος in Fourmont's transcription of I.G., IV, 704, 705. On the probable contemporaneity of the latter two see Fraenkel on I.G., IV, 705. Caracalla is here designated Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ as in 704; Geta in 704 and 705 is only Καίσαρ Σεβαστός. The date of the group lies between A.D. 198, when Caracalla received the title Imperator and Geta that of Caesar, and 209 when Geta was also made Imperator.23

7 (Pl. 50). Marble fragment, probably from a curved dedicatory base, broken on all sides; above the inscription, a groove and a simple cavetto moulding.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Maximum height of in-

scribed surface, 0.09 m., and width, 0.13 m. Height of moulding, 0.045 m. Height of letters, 0.020-0.022 m. The letters are deeply and evenly cut.

\[\Pi\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\nu\alpha[ka\ vel\ -\kappa\sigma\] \]

Probably an honorary dedication for one of the Severi. Cf. 6 (supra) and I.G., IV, 704, 705.

8 (Pl. 50). Fragment of a marble grave stele (?) broken on all sides and back. Relief of a kicking foot on right; reaching to 0.055 m. from the right edge.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.55 m. Height of letters, lines 1-3, 0.02 m.; line 4, 0.025 m. The letters are deeply and evenly cut. Distance between lines 1 and 2, and between 2 and 3, 0.005-0.007 m.; between lines 3 and 4, 0.020-0.023 m.

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{--- --- --- τοῖς γλυ[πτοῖς}~
&\text{--- τοῖς}~\delta\varepsilon\ \lambda\iota\pi\omega\iota\iota\sigma\iota\delta~
&\text{--- ourovisionov}~\text{---}~
&\text{--- ---}~\text{M [1-2]}~\text{MY}~
\end{align*}\]


9 (Pl. 50). Fragment of a thin marble slab, broken on all sides except for the rough back. There appears to be a lightly scratched guide line along the left margin (preserved below line 1) which extends below the inscribed area.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.035 m. Height of letters, lines 1 and 2, 0.010 m.; lines 3 and 4, 0.013 m. Distance between lines 0.006 m.

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{[ . ] ΑΝΙΚΑΣΤΑΙ}~
&\text{-πον Προκοπ[ι] -}
&\text{συναγωγή}~
&\text{πιστὸς Ω - --}~
&\text{vacat}
\end{align*}\]

Line 1: Τ or, less probably, Ι or Γ.

Line 3: Other Jewish communities in or near the Peloponnesos are known at Patrai (Frey, No. 716 [C.I.G., 9896], cf. 717 [I.G., IX, 2, 232]), Corinth (Frey, No. 718 [Meritt, Corinth, VIII, 1, No. 111], cf. Act. Ap. 18. 4), Argos (Frey, No. 719 [B.C.H., XXVII, 1903, pp. 262-3, No. 4]), Mantinea (Frey, No. 720 [B.C.H., XX, 1896, pp. 159-61, No. 27], No. 721 [Coll. of Anc. Inscr. in the Brit. Mus., II, p. 9, No. 149]), Aegina (Frey, Nos. 722-3 [I.G., IV, 190], cf. No. 724 [I.G., IV, 191]). A Jewish community in Hermione is perhaps to be explained by the local purple industry (Plut., Alex., 36; Alciphron, III, 46, 4; Steph. Byz., s.v. 'Αλιείς) for it seems likely that at Hierapolis in Phrygia the Jews constituted the guild of purple dyers and weavers.24

The plaque is probably sepulchral, cf. line 4 πιστοῖς ὦν τῷ Θεῷ (? ) with the use of πιστός in Christian gravestones 25 (or ὅ[δε κεῖται, e.g., Frey, No. 129, although usually at the beginning of epitaphs).

10 (Pl. 50). Marble gravestone, broken on right and in upper left-hand corner.

Height, 0.305 m.; maximum width, 0.335 m.; thickness, 0.03 m. Left-hand margin, 0.135-0.150 m.; upper margin, 0.050 m.; lower margin, 0.055 m. Height of letters, 0.025-0.030 m.; omikron, 0.015 m. Distance between lines, 0.025-0.030 m.

Ἐρμίας — —
ζήσας — —
ἐν ἐπισκοπ[ἡ —
ηδὲ τοῦτον — —

Lines 1 and 2 contained, respectively, the deceased’s patronymic or ethnic and his age at death (cf. I.G., V, 1, 1253, 1254, 1264).

Lines 3 and 4: e.g., ἐν ἐπισκοπ[ἡ τῶν δεσμῶν ητῶν] ηδὲ τοῦτον [θήκην καὶ τάφην], cf. I.G., XII, 9, 1179, lines 21-28 (S.I.G. 8, 1240). Alternatively, in line 4, ἦδε τοῦτον [ψυχή], with the common contrast between the fate of the body and the soul.26

11 Upper right-hand corner of a marble grave stele, broken at left and bottom; simple moulding above and projecting to the right.


Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.06 m. Height of inscribed surface, 0.12 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. Letters evenly cut. Surface worn.

The bar of the alpha is straight; the middle bar of the right-angled epsilon very short. Late 4th-3rd century before Christ (?)

12 (Pl. 50). Reddish stone, broken left, right, and bottom; back smooth.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Height of letters, 0.017 m.-0.023 m. The letters are placed irregularly between lightly scratched guide lines, starting from the top of the stone at intervals of 0.023 m., 0.019 m., 0.023 m., 0.019 m., 0.023 m., 0.012 m., and 0.013 m. The last line is very lightly scratched; the interval above it is blank in the preserved portion of the inscription and the distance preserved below it is 0.036 m. On the guide lines in early Christian epitaphs in Attica, see J. S. Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, “Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens,” *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 21-22.

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Line 2: e. g., ἐτελευτὴς σαμεν.27

Line 3: Perhaps συμα. The final alpha in this line and the upsilon of line 4 are certain.

13 (Pl. 50). Fragment of a thin marble slab, broken on all sides except back.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Height of letters, 0.03 m.; distance between lines, 0.003 m.

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27 The joint graves of a husband and wife are particularly common among Christians, according to Creaghan and Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 6-7, but W. M. Calder, *Cl. Rev.*, LXII, 1948, p. 152, demurs.
- ΔΙΟΦΕ -  
- ΑΝΩ -  
- \-Μ -  

Line 3: Only the looping cross-bar of the late μυ is preserved.

14 (Pl. 50, photograph of a squeeze). Christian grave stone, thin marble slab, broken on all sides except for the smooth back.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.02 m. Height of letters, 0.015-0.020 m., varying from line to line, as does the distance between lines.

† ἔχη δὲ ὁ άδε[τός ? - - - - - ]  
μαράν ἄθα [- τοῦ Ἰουδα]  
τοῦ προδότ[ου - - - - - ἀ]  
γιοσθύτω - - - - - -  
ἀρον σταυ[ρόν - - - - - ]

The position of the cross normally would indicate that the first line of the inscription is preserved or that a symbol or monogram at the most has been lost (cf. Hesperia, XVI, 1947, p. 14, pl. III, Nos. XV and XVII, pl. X, No. 31). But in view of the δὲ in line 1 (unless this is a scriptural quotation) we should probably assume that the name of the deceased, written in some manner so as to be distinct from the body of the text (e.g., κοιμητήριον τοῦ δείνος), has been lost from the top of the stone.

Line 1: ἔχη probably = ἔχου (cf. Hesperia, XVI, 1947, p. 28, No. IX). For the sense of the line, cf. perhaps I.G., VII, 175, lines 5-6, ἐκμυθήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ (ἡ) ὁ αὐτὸς τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Λουκᾶς (the first two lines had proclaimed this to be the grave of Loukas and his wife Kyriake), but the restoration αὐτὸς is not altogether certain.28

Line 2: ἄθα or ἄθαν. In view of the single instance of this Syriac phrase likely to be familiar to European Christians, 1 Ep. Cor., 16. 22, εἶ τις οὖθεν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα, μαράν ἄθα (cf. I.G., III, 3509, the disturber of the grave is to answer to God καὶ ἀνάθεμα ἦτω μαράν ἄθαν), it is possible that the phrase

28 Judging only from the squeeze, the break after the ν of line 1 seems to have occurred along the vertical line of the next letter and favors γ, ε, ρ or σ rather than τ. In view of such warnings as ἔχη δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεόν ὁ ἀνόιγων χωρίς τῷ κυρίῳ, Pessinus, Arch.-epigr. Mitt. Oest.-Ung., VII, 1883, p. 184. No. 54 (quoted in J.R.S., XIV, 1924, p. 37, note 1) and κατάκριμα τοῦ Ἰουδα ἔχετω ὁ ἀνύξια, Athens, I.G., III, 1428, it is tempting to suggest ἔχη δὲ ὁ δὲ ἄνόιγος ὁ ἔκειων [γων] and understand all the first three lines as containing the warning. Cf. the sense of μαράν ἄθα suggested in the text. For the name of the deceased followed by a sentence of warning with the particle δὲ, cf. Hesperia, XVI, 1947, p. 30, No. XII.
was not only used to add force to imprecations but popularly understood as itself an imprecation and not as δ ἴηκεν.  

Line 3: the curse of Judas, δ προδότης, on whoever disturbs the grave.  

Lines 3-4: ἤν, cf. ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὅνομά σου, Ev. Matth. 6. 9, etc.

15* (Pl. 51). Peek, Ath. Mitt., LIX, 1934, pp. 47-52 (S.E.G., XI, 377). The Hermione copy of the arbitration of a border dispute with Epidauros (known already from the less complete Epidauros copy, I.G., IV², 1, 75, S.E.G., XI, 405), probably found by Philadelpheus in the course of his excavations on the Bisti in 1908 (cf. Πρακτικά, 1909, 174), published by Peek in 1934 and commented upon by A. Wilhelm, “Ein Gebietsstreit in der Argolis,” Anz. d. Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl., LXXXV, 1948, No. 4, pp. 58-79, who had previously contributed greatly to the understanding of the Epidauros copy. (All references to Wilhelm will be to this latest article.) The following remarks are concerned with the topographical problems of the arbitration and with the interpretation of the text as it relates to these problems. For maps of the district, see the sketch map, Plate 49, and compare the Tabula I of I.G., IV², 1, and Peek’s Abbildung 2, p. 51, whose topography, however, is misleading:

Date: beginning of the second century before Christ. Two boards of arbitrators, from Miletos and Rhodes, give their identical decisions (discrepancies are inadvertent and purely verbal). The Hermioneans lodged a complaint against the Epidaurians over some land. The area under dispute is ἡ χώρα κατὰ Σελλαίτα καὶ Ἀγρίους Διμένας ἄχρι τοῦ Στρονθοῦντος (lines 14-15). The decision by the arbitrators was: εἶναι ταύτην κοινὴ Ἐρμονέων καὶ Ἐπιδιαυρίων (line 15). There follows a description of the land by means of a participial clause modifying ταύτην (sc. χώραν): οὗσαν τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τοὺς ὄρους οἱ εἰσίν βολεύοντι λίθοι κείμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς καλουμένης Φιλανορείας καὶ κατ’ ἀκραίας τὰς Κολού̃̂ς ἔως τοῦ Στρονθοῦντος κατ’ εὐθυροῖαν ἔως εἰς θάλασ-

29 Cf. H. Leclercq, Dict. Arch. Chrét. Lit., X, pp. 1729-30, who quotes a Spanish canon of the seventh century after Christ in which, as here, both anathema maranatha and the curse of Judas are used.


31 Prepared by V. B. Jameson from the British Army series 1: 100,000 GREECE, Sheets K8, L8 (1943, from a Greek map dated 1941), but with place names from various sources including local informants. See also the map in the valuable book by A. Miliarakis, Τεωρεία τοιχική λέη καὶ άρχαια τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας, Athens, 1886 and the map by I. Sarris, Ἀργολιδοκορινθία -Ἀνατ. Ἁρκαδία, 1: 170,000, published by N. Sideris, Athens.

32 Cf. Hiller on I.G., IV², 1, 75. Wilhelm, op. cit., pp. 69-70, with reference to I.G., IV², 1, 74, suggests that common rights were established in the first half of the third century b.c. and renewed in the first half of the second.
σαν | τὰ πρὸς νότον ὡς ύδατα καταρεῖ (lines 16-19). There follows mention of crops, grazing, goats, and tax collectors.

The usual topographic identifications, which will be found in the articles of Peek and Wilhelm (cited supra), are briefly as follows: 33 in the general description of the area, the Ἑλλάς, understood as a river name (cf. Ἑλλήσ, Ιliai, II, 659, 839; Strabo, VIII, 3, 5 and XIII, 1, 20), is identified with the Μπεδένι (or Ἰρά) river, the only considerable stream in the Argolic Akte (see Pl. 51 a, looking downstream towards the mountains of Kynouria from the abandoned monastery of Ἀγνος Νεμήτρως τοῦ Δύνου). Ἀγρῖοι Δλένες are identified with the bay of Βουρλιά to the south of Ἰρά, as the harbors most likely to be under dispute. 34 Στροβνοῦς, known from Pausanias (II, 36, 3) as a cape lying to the right of Mases (modern Κοιλάδα) as one comes from Hermione, is usually identified with Κάβο-Βουρλιά, the eastern of the two points that form Βούρλι α bay. It could as well be Κάβο-Τιρά to the west of the bay (or even, to the south of the bay of Σαλάντι, Λκροτήρι Σαλάντι, called Καρτέρι on some maps). Thus the area in dispute is thought to lie in the vicinity of two places on the seacoast and a river valley.

The area that is to be held in common by Epidaurus and Hermione is defined by border markers called Βολεοί, which start near a certain Philanoreia, and by a line of heights, described as κολούραι, reaching the sea at cape Strouthous. This whole area is understood to be part of the Didymia. All these places are mentioned by Pausanias. 35 The Didymia is the territory attached to the ancient Δίδυμοι, modern Δίδυμο (officially Δίδυμα), an enclosed valley and village under the high twin-peaked mountain which accounts for the name, and separated from the Bedeni valley by the long ridges of the mountain Δύνο. There can be little doubt that in ancient times the village was attached to Hermione, as Pausanias implies. 36 The remaining points have

33 A more detailed discussion of the area based on a visit in June of 1950 is included in a paper of the American School by my wife and me, “An Archaeological Survey of the Hermione,” pp. 88-114.
34 Cf. Hesychius, s.v.: τόπος ἐν Ἑρμών. Hiller in the geographic index of I.G., IV2, 1, p. 166, compares I.G., IV2, 1, 108, lines 156 and 168, Ἀγριά— a local division of Epidauria? The Admiralty chart, Gulf of Nauplia, 1518, marks on the west side of the bay a small harbor which it calls “Xerolimini”; locally it is known now as Ξερολιμάνι. A fisherman at Koilada, when asked about Vourlia, described the district as δύνα ἄγρια. There is a fine spring and grazing for flocks but no cultivated fields. The coast between Vourlia and Salanti, the first valley to the east after the coast turns south towards Koilada, is described as barren but no doubt is grazed.
35 Paus., II, 36, 3-4: ἀπὸ Μάσιγος δὲ ὀδὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ ἄκρα παλαιόν Στροβνοῦτα. στάδιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ταύτης κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς κορυφὰς πεντήκοντα εἶτα καὶ διακόσιοι ἐς Φλανιρίδων τε καλυβόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ Βολεοίς· οἱ δὲ Βολεοί ὦτοι λίθων εἰσὶ σωροί λογάδων. χωρίον δὲ ἔτρον, δὲ Δίδυμος ὧν ὁμαξύοι, στάδια ἐκοινὸν αὐτόθεν ἄφεσικεν. ἐντάθη ἐστὶ μὲν ἰερὸν Ἀπάλλωνος, ἐςτὶ δὲ Ποσειδόνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς Δήμαρτος, ἀγάλματα δὲ ὀρθὰ λίθῳ λευκοῦ. 4. τὸ δὲ ἐνεδώθη εἰσὶν ἄργειῶν ἡ ποτα Ἀσυνάια καλυμμένη, καὶ Ἀσίνης ἐστὶν ἐρέιπτα ἐπὶ θαλάσση.
36 One inscription is known from Didymo, I.G., IV, 746 (see Pl. 51), a cyndrical limestone base built into the outside of the chapel of Hagia Marina: height, 0.80 m. (of which 0.32 m. belong
not been located. The βολεῖον λίθοι or λίθων (the latter in the Rhodian decision, Epidauros copy, S.E.G., XI, 405, line 34) are described by Pausanias as σωροί λογάδων. Both in the inscriptions and in Pausanias they are closely connected with a place called Φιλανορεία (inscriptions; Φιλανόρων, Paus.). Wilhelm, who explains the name as property, perhaps a heroon, belonging to one Φιλάνωρ (cf. Pindar, Ol., 12, 13; Paus., VI, 4, 11), would look for it on the ridge of Avgo between the monastery of Hagios Demetrios and Didymo. Our examination of this bleak ridge was not exhaustive but the spot is highly improbable. More attractive for Wilhelm’s interpretation would be the small, level, upland valley called Μαλαβρία, between the ridge and the monastery, although there too no clues were found. Pausanias gives a distance of 250 stades from Strouthous to Philanorion and the Boleoi, and thence 20 stades to Didymoi. Wilhelm convincingly accounts for the obvious error of the former figure by the palaeographical confusion of Ν καὶ Σ for Ν καὶ Ε. The correction, 55 stades (11 km.), agrees with Wilhelm’s topography but also with the identifications proposed below. Εκραι αἱ Κολούραι are identified with Pausanias’s τῶν ὄρων αἱ κορυφαί and in turn with the ridge of Avgo reaching the sea in either of the two promontories flanking the bay of Vourlia, and thus, ἐως τοῦ Στρουθοῦντος; the “dock-tailed heights” have been thought to describe its rounded, blunt appearance. Wilhelm, however, thinks rather of the hollow curving ridge forming the two capes of Vourlia and Iri and containing the bay of Vourlia. to the roughly curved capital); visible width, 0.40 m.; height of letters, 0.035 m. Under many layers of whitewash the body of the initial ϕι appears diamond shaped. Φάντα | Ἀριστομήδα | Δάματρι | δεκάταν. The festival of H. Marina here is on July 18th, “with the figs,” as the people say; for Demeter and figs, see Paus., I, 37, 2, and cf. note 35 (φύτα).

Charles A. Leppien. This is the point suggested on a number of earlier maps, e.g., with a query, on the southern sheet of G. B. Grundy’s excellent Graecia, 1: 633,600, in “Murray’s Handy Classical Maps.”

A single Ionic capital of late though careful workmanship capping the lone column in the chapel of Hagios Demetrios and Hagios Theodoros in the monastery near by is no evidence of ancient remains in the immediate neighborhood in view of the absence of all other ancient blocks in the Byzantine chapel. It may well come from the area of Sheshe, Pelei, and Voithiki above the narrows of the Bedeni river where ancient habitation is reported, cf. Miliarakis, ιπτ. cit., p. 214, and K. Gebauer, Arch. Anz., 1938, col. 561. I saw two worked blocks at Sheshe and heard in Didiymo of occasional discoveries.

Cf. Snudas, κολούρα Πέτρα Κοίλη, κεκαμμένη, ή στρογγυλή, on Callimachus, fr. 235 Pfeiffer (72 K., 66 Schn.) ; cf. also the ring-shaped bread known in modern Greek as κολούρι, from κολούρι with vowel assimilation. See further Wilhelm, Anz. Wien. Akad., 1927, pp. 218-19. For a different explanation of the name Κόλορας on Salamis, equally applicable here, see A. Ch. Chatzes, Ἀρχαῖα. Εφ., 1930, p. 59, line 8, and pp. 60, 63 ff. The Argive demotic Κόλορας no doubt derives from a place name; see Guarducci, Annuario, N.S., III-V, 1941-43, p. 142, lines 26, 40-41, and p. 150.
The boundary line resulting from these identifications runs from east to west along the south of the Bedeni river valley and comes to the sea at Kavo-Vourlia. This line has to be taken in connection with the general area under dispute, according to the usual identifications: the Agrioi Limenes of the bay of Vourlia, and the Sellas understood as the Bedeni river. The proposed line can then only serve as a southern boundary to the κοινὴ χώρα.

There are three difficulties in this: (1) It is doubtful that the Bedeni valley, including the Iri plain—for the text does not warrant our separating the two—can have belonged to the Didymia. The river valley is separated from Didymo and its mountain by the ridge of Avgo along whose north face, well below the crest, a sharp line of cliffs forms the clearest natural boundary in the district. The Iri plain is connected rather with the Kandia plain to the north.41 For the coastline of Epidauros on the Argolic gulf, Scylax (51) gives a figure of 30 stades which, if taken from the inlet of Drepanon coming after the Asine plain, brings us well into the coastline of the Iri plain. Today Didymiotes work the plain of Malavria and, to the north, Sheshe (Σέσε) and Pelei, but the valley below the monastery is farmed by recent immigrants from the Tripolis region who live in villages on the slopes north of the river (Kounoupitsa and Stavropodi). It was no lack of man power—they boast the highest rate of emigration in the Hermionid—that prevented the exploitation of the valley by the Didymiotes on the confiscation of the monastery lands in the twenties when Hagios Demitrios and the whole valley attached to it was abandoned. Judging by present conditions the Bedeni valley was not in antiquity a disputed χώρα farmed by Epidaurians from outside the valley and Hermionians from Didymi, but contained permanent farms worked by people settled in the valley, then as now, and probably constituted one or more of the Epidaurian “demes” whose names are known from inscriptions.42

41 K. Gebauer found evidence of activity, presumably Epidaurian or Argive, in the Kandia plain in late Hellenistic or early Roman times. See Arch. Anz., 1938, cols. 557-62; 1939, cols. 287-94; 1940, cols. 220-21. A stone bearing the inscription Ὀρος | Ἀσκλα | παῦ, I.G., IV², 1, 701 (I.G., IV, 911), now built into the wall of the home of Georgios Papatheophanis at Karnezeika (see Pl. 49), was seen there by Kontakis (Ἀθηναῖον, VIII, 1879, pp. 371 ff.) and reported to have been found in the Kandia plain; we were told, however, that it came from the plain of Iri. Since there has been some doubt about the letter forms, I add a few details (cf. Pl. 50): broken-barred alpha; projecting horizontal bar on the pi; wide base on the rho but no base on the upsilon which has wide, straight serifs at right angles to the arms; cross bars, top and bottom, on the iota. There is no reason to suppose this stone marks the border of Epidaurios or of the sanctuary at Lygourion. Rather we must suppose with Hiller (on I.G., IV², 1, 701) an ager sacer probably belonging to the Lygourion sanctuary (a μετώπι, so to speak). This implies that the territory was Epidaurian.

42 Cf. I.G., IV², 1, Index Locorum, s.v. Ἐπίδαυρος. At Karnezeika we saw the lower half of a large, ancient mill. There are two strong points on the right-hand, northern, side of the valley (cf. E. Curtius, Peloponnesos, II, Gotha, 1852, p. 429) : one, called Τεφτόκαστρο (also known as Καστράκι and Το Κάστρο τοῦ Καπιτάνου), dominates the entrance to the Bedeni valley after the open Iri plain (K. Gebauer, Arch. Anz., 1939, col. 294); the other is the καστρο a half hour above the village of
It is a question, however, whether the text requires that the *chôra* itself lie within the Didymia. Certainly the general location of the area within the Didymia at this point in the decision seems out of place. The words τῆς Διδυμίας should perhaps be taken together with what follows as a single phrase τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τῶν ὅρων, as the attributive use of the partitive genitive of place: "in the region of the Didymia along the borders which are . . ."; the borders would then be those of the territory of Didymoi.\(^{43}\)

(2) Even if the common territory, and so the Bedeni valley, need not be regarded as part of the Didymia, what of a northern and eastern border? If the Bedeni is the Sellas, the proposed line is only a southern boundary. It seems unlikely that the other boundaries were taken for granted. They could hardly consist of the river itself for the valley is very narrow and the land along it lies now on one side, now on the other. On the Iri plain the river is dry in summer and fall and the bed is constantly shifting. Nor do the heights on the right bank form a clear boundary as do the cliffs on the left bank; much of the usable land lies above the river some 400 m. above sea level. Upstream, two smaller streams join to form the river, but the point of juncture is not a natural limit to the area downstream. Finally, the Iri plain, though it narrows considerably, is not separated completely from the Kandia plain to the north. For the definition of an area, and not simply a border line as in the Corinth-Epidauros dispute (*I.G.*, IV\(^2\), 1, 71), the terms, as they have been identified, are impossibly vague.

(3) The line described in the decision of the arbitrators cannot in any case be a *southern* boundary, for τὰ πρὸς νότον can only refer to an area *south* of the line where it comes to the sea at Stroutous.\(^{44}\) Wilhelm, realizing the difficulty, proposes that the participial clause beginning with ὀδηγεῖ, which agrees with ταὐτην (*sc. χώραν*), *excepts* Stavropodi at a height of 569 m., high above the juncture of the two streams that form the Bedeni river, overlooking the Tracheia valley to the east and the whole ridge of Avgo down to Kavo-Iri and the sea, to the south and west. Both sites (the former certainly) may date to Mycenaean times; the rubble walls of Kastro Stavropodion—a circuit of some 400 m. may be traced—and the absence of sherds provide no criteria. No doubt it is the *palaiokastron* marked on the map in Miliarakis, *op. cit.*, but located on *Σουργκάνα*, a peak between Gyphtokastro and Kastro Stavropodion.\(^{43}\) See E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II, Munich, 1950, pp. 113-14 and Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, I, Hanover, 1898, p. 338.

\(^{44}\) The evidence is presented by Wilhelm, p. 74. Cf. in particular, Collitz-Bechtel, *Gr. Dial. Inschr.*, 5016, lines 8 ff., Thuc., III, 6, 1, Sophocles, fr. 24, line 6. Wilhelm somewhat reluctantly abandons the following hypothesis: after Ἐπίδαυριον, line 15, in the statement of the decision of the arbitrators, there has been an omission of ἔρμονέων δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν followed by ὀδηγεῖ τῆς Διδυμίας κατὰ τῶν ὅρων κτλ.; τὰ πρὸς νότον would stand in apposition to the supposed area south of the line, assigned to the Hermionians in contrast to the common territory to the north. This would require the assumption of an identical omission at two points on each of the two copies of the decision.
the area lying to the south of a given line as being part of the Didymia and therefore belonging to Hermione. Syntactically this is most unconvincing.\footnote{Cf. L. Robert, Rev. Ét. Gr., LII, 1949, p. 117, No. 68. Robert intends to present an explanation in his forthcoming \textit{Frontières grecques} with the help of the “persistence d’un toponyme.” If my suggestions, utilizing the probable survival of an ancient place name, prove to duplicate or anticipate Robert, I hope they may serve as topographic footnotes to his much needed and most welcome work.}

The inescapable conclusion is that the line is the \textit{northern} boundary of the common territory (whether or not that territory is regarded as part of the Didymia), from which it follows that the Bedeni river valley cannot be included and cannot therefore be the Sellas. A border line on the right bank of the Bedeni, which could include the river, is ruled out by the necessity of coming to the sea at a cape and all the possibilities lie to the left of the river. The topographic identifications must be re-examined. The identification of Vourlia as the Agrioi Limenes can stand if Kavo-Iri, not Kavo-Vourlia, is Strouthous, for then a line following the ridge to the sea will enclose Vourlia to the south \textit{òs ùδατα καταρεῖ}, while excluding the Iri plain. For the area \textit{katà Σελλάντα} I propose the valley known today as Σαλάντι, east and slightly south of Vourlia, running east-west for about three kilometers. The north side of the valley continues along the coast as the south face of Avgo without a break up to Kavo-Vourlia (Pl. 51 b, from the ridge Boskaria, looking northwest). There are fields on the bottom of the valley and grazing on the considerable slopes of Prophitis Ilias to the north. Today it is farmed by Didymiotes and reported to be good land. A \textit{revma}, dry in June, runs down the middle; it is not necessary that the Sellas of the inscription refer to a large stream or the largest stream in the area.\footnote{We are not bound to identify the principal river of the area with the one named in this particular inscription. Another arbitration inscription from Epidauros (\textit{I.G.}, IV\textsuperscript{2}, 1, 78, 2nd cent. B.C.) refers to a \textit{potamos}, and if that dispute is not with Hermione about the Bedeni it may be with Troizen over its upper reaches.} It is cut off from the Lambagiana valley to the south by the steep and barren ridge of Boskaria. The path between the two valleys goes around by the point, Akrotiri Salanti, before skirting a wide, sandy beach. Salanti is also cut off from Didymo by a steep pass (Pl. 51 c, from Boskaria, looking northeast). One can see how the valley might have been a “no man’s land.” By nature it is more closely connected with the slopes to the west than to the near-by Didymo or Lambagiana plains.

The name itself seems to preserve the ancient name: \textit{Σαλάντι}, with assimilation of the first to the second \textit{a}, from \textit{τὸ Σελλάντι}, either diminutive \textit{τὸ Σελλάντιον} of \textit{Σελλᾶς}, gen. \textit{Σελλάντως} (Doric, from \textit{Σελλάες} cf. \textit{Σελλήες}) or an adjective \textit{τὸ Σελλάντιον} [\textit{sc. πεδίων}], cf. \textit{χώρα κατὰ Σελλάντα} and Messenian \textit{Σελλάντι}, \textit{I.G.}, V, 1, 1434.\footnote{Other cases of the continuity of place names in the Hermionid, despite the introduction of an Albanian population, are: modern \textit{Δίδυμο}: ancient \textit{Δίδυμος}; mod. \textit{Δλόκαστρον} or \textit{Στά Πλα}: anc. \textit{Ελλεί} (Paus., Π, 34, 6, a Mycenaean site, cf. Philadelphus, \textit{Παρτικά}, 1909, p. 183) ; mod. \textit{Θερμιζή}: anc. \textit{ιερὸν Δήμητρος ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν Θερμασίας} (Paus., Π, 34, 6). The promontory of \textit{Βούπορμος}, separated
With Philanoreia I would identify Lambagiana, the next valley to the south of Salanti, which, in contrast to the enclosed Salanti, leads eventually past the village of Phournoi to Hermione. Lambagiana is separated effectively on the side of the sea from the Koilada plain and bay to the south first by the hill behind the chapel of Hagios Ioannis, and then by a long ridge which descends steeply to the sea. The road mentioned by Pausanias as leading from Mases (in the Koilada plain) to Strouthous must have passed around this ridge to the east and continued around the projecting point of Akrotiri Salanti, as does a path today. At this promontory, where alone the south face of Avgo and Salanti are not clearly contained, near Philanoreia, would be a reasonable starting point for the line of the Bolei. In the Lambagiana valley about 200 m. from the seashore are the remains of a square tower of polygonal masonry (Pl. 51 d and e, from the south and west respectively). It probably dates from the fourth or late fifth century before Christ. It's purpose, as much as to protect the harbor of Mases, may have been to block the direct route from a good beach to Hermione itself and to keep a watch on the land border of the Hermionid.

by a narrow channel from 'Απεροσία, mod. Δωκό (Paus., II, 34, 8-9), has been identified by means of topography alone with mod. Μουζάκη, very likely reflecting the Albanian translation, muzâ = "bull," with Greek -άκι for Albanian -āti. The Σέλλος on the Epidauros-Corinth border (I.G., IV², 1, 71, line 4) seems to survive in Σέλλωντος Κόλπος (cf. the map by I. Sarris [note 31, supra] and "Selonta Portus," Tab. I of I.G., IV², 1) and the hamlet Selonta (British Army map 1:100,000 GREECE, Sheet K8, 1943, from a Greek map dated 1941). This points rather to a form *Σέλλων, gen. *Σέλλωντος, cf. Στροβύλος, Στροβύλοντος from *Στροβύλος, *Στροβύλοντος, and cf. the greater frequency of the suffix -ός (-όν), -όντος (-όντος), C. D. Buck and W. Peterson, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, Chicago, 1944, p. 460, with 240 examples, exclusive of place names, as compared to 160 for -ές. Dr. D. J. Georgacas will discuss the survival of place-names in -ές in the south-eastern islands of Greece in the form -όντα or -όντα in a forthcoming treatment of the suffix -οντ- in Greek.

48 It is built towards the southwest corner of a slight rise on the north side of a stream bed. About 9.5 m. square, of conglomerate blocks up to 1.5 m. in length and between 0.50 and 1.00 m. thick. Polygonal masonry of indeterminate finish; drafted corners. Entrance in the center of the north face. A row of supports for an upper story about 3 m. from the east side. On the outside, starting from the middle of the west face are traces of a wall about 2 m. thick with conglomerate blocks on both faces; on the opposite side of the tower a terrace wall utilizing ancient blocks may follow the line of another such wall. The polygonal technique, which lingered in the fourth century in the Peloponnese (cf. R. L. Scranton, Greek Walls, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p. 69), is comparable to the polygonal wall of the ramp at Asine (Scranton, fig. 10, p. 53 and Frödin-Persson, *Asine: The Results of the Swedish Expedition, 1922-30*, Stockholm, 1938, fig. 12, p. 31). Mr. F. E. Winter, on the basis of my photographs, compares the blockhouse at Lessa between Nauplia and Lygourion and the fort at Katzingri and suggests a fourth-century date. An inaccurate description of the Lambagiana tower from the diary of Dr. Walter Müller is given by E. Mayer, R.E., "Mases," pp. 2065-66.

49 On the location of Mases at the east end of the harbor of Koilada and the view that this fort was to guard its harbor, see Mayer, R.E., "Mases," pp. 2065-6, cf. Bölte, R.E., "Hалиeis," pp. 2250 ff. Nothing between the prehistoric (Mayer, loc. cit., and Heurtley quoted by Karo, R.E., Suppl. VI, "Mykenische Kultur," p. 606) and Roman periods has been reported and we ourselves saw nothing certainly earlier than Roman (cf. inscription 16, infra). All we hear of Mases in
The line defining the common territory is in two parts: first, the Boleoi; second, the Akrai Kolourai, ending in Strouthous. (I would punctuate with a comma after Φλανοπέιας, line 17 of the Hermione copy.) The Akrai Kolourai will be the ridge enclosing Vourlia and ending in Kavo-Iri (Strouthous), whichever explanation of the name is accepted (see note 40, supra). More extended examination of the region than we were able to make might determine at what point artificial markers replaced the natural ridge line. It seems likely that the markers made the turn at the pass that separates Salanti from Didymo and continued down Boskaria to Akrotiri Salanti. This eastern end of the territory is the most uncertain and is likely to remain so, since even in antiquity man-made markers were required.50

All the area delineated by this line can easily be understood as part of the Didymia, if that is necessary. The sea supplies most of the southern border. The identifications proposed agree with the figures given by Pausanias (as corrected by Wilhelm), 55 stades (11 km.) from Strouthous to Philanorion and the Boleoi, and 20 stades (4 km.) thence to Didymoi.51

B. MASES (Koilada)

16 (Pl. 51). A pedimental grave stele of marble, much worn, and broken on the bottom, found in a perivole and now in the near-by house of Goumenos I Tsiritsikos on the plain east of the harbor of Koilada in the western Hermionid, and in the vicinity of Roman Mases (see sketch map, Pl. 49, and note 49 [supra]).

Height (of inscribed field), 0.60 m.; width, 0.47 m.; thickness, 0.09 m. Height of letters (shallow and irregular), 0.015-0.030 m. On the raised and roughly curved

Hellenic times is the seeming reference to its capture by the father of a man honored at the sanctuary of Apollo Hyperteleates in Laconia, I.G., V, 1, 977, line 11; this incident Hiller (in I.G., V, 1) connects with the occupation of the Argolid by Nabis, ca. 195 B.C. (Livy, XXXII, 38 and XXXIV, 33, 35). Mases was used as a port (ἐπίνειον) by the Hermionians (Paus., II, 36, 2, cf. 36, 1) but Scylax (51) speaks of the coastline of Ἀλλὰ (i.e., Ἀλιεῖα, at Porto Cheli across from Spetsas) as coming immediately after that of Epidauros.

50 It is tempting to believe that the sharp cliffs above the Bedeni on the north face of Avgo and leading to the suggested Strouthous (Kavo-Iri) were utilized in the decision as the Akrai Kolourai. This would place Philanoreia near the upland plain of Malavra and the Boleoi would follow the ridges west of Didymo and separate Didymo from Salanti. At present, however, Philanoreia seems more likely to be in the vicinity of Lambagiana.

51 It may seem strange that Pausanias first mentions the route all the way to Strouthous and then returns to Philanorion and the Boleoi. The path from Koilada and Lambagiana is continued higher up along the south side of Avgo, as well as along the coast. It can be argued that he gives first the coastal route and then works back along the ridge route to include a mention of Didymo (which he has omitted), lying much closer to Mases. The coastal route itself was no doubt known as "the path to Strouthous." He almost certainly did not traverse the area of which he shows no first-hand knowledge—he makes no mention of Epidaurian territory on this coast—but took ship at Mases for Lerna (cf. R. Heberdey, Die Reisen des Pausanias in Griechenland, Prague, 1894, pp. 49-50).
pediment (0.13 m. high) two fishes are crudely and deeply incised; they are not necessarily Christian symbols.\textsuperscript{52} Two shallow circles, 0.025 m. in diameter, are cut 0.09 m. below the inscription and 0.08 m. from either edge.

$$
\Pi\omega\nu\varepsilon \phi\lambda\tau\alpha\tau\varepsilon \\
\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon
$$

The inscription dates from the Christian era. I do not believe the name \(\Pi\omega\nu\varepsilon\) is otherwise known. If the reading is correct it appears to be formed like a number of other personal names from animals, e.g., \(\Upsilon\rho\kappa\tau\iota\nu\sigma\varepsilon\), \(\Upsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\kappa\iota\nu\sigma\varepsilon\), \(\Pi\omicron\rho\tau\iota\nu\sigma\varepsilon\), \(\Mo\omicron\sigma\chi\iota\nu\eta\), etc.\textsuperscript{53} The animal word in this case is the epic \(\pi\omega\nu\iota\), "flock." If an error is supposed, cf. \(\Pi\tau\omega\nu\iota\nu\sigma\varepsilon\)\textsuperscript{[s], Acraephiae, early second century B.C., \textit{B.C.H.}, XXIII, 1899, p. 93 (but that particular theophoric seems unlikely at this remove in time and space) or \(\Pi\omega\lambda\iota\nu\sigma\) (\(\Pi\alpha\nu\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu\sigma\)).

C. ZARAX (Geraka in Lakonia)\textsuperscript{54}

17 (Pl. 51). Four inscribed blocks, two intact and two fragmentary, of a crystalline and brittle gray limestone, belonging to the funeral monument of a single family. They were found on the hill dominating the entrance to the harbor, about 150 m. southwest of the acropolis and within the circuit of the city walls. Blocks I and III and portions of II are in a retaining wall of a terrace to the rear of a small, roofless Byzantine building, known locally as \(\tau\omicron \alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\omicron\omicron \tau\omicron \omicron \nu \omicron \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\omicron\iota\).\textsuperscript{55} In the rubble wall across the east end of this building and in the adjoining terrace retaining wall were found the remaining fragments, as well as a number of small marble fragments, some of drapery, one of an ovolo in deep relief, but none having any demonstrable connection with this monument.

The upper edges of the intact blocks show wear. Local information claims they were removed from the medieval structure in 1899 at a depth of some two meters while some statuettes were found at one meter. The breaking up of blocks II and IV is recent, perhaps by the same hands that scratched the cabalistic \(\chi\) and its accompanying formula in the mirror of block III (Pl. 51). The order of the four blocks, originally adjoining and facing in the same direction, is certain (cf. the clamp-cuttings on the upper surfaces of block I and block III, on Pl. 51, and the anathyrosis on the interior surfaces). Although one or more uninscribed blocks may have adjoined

\textsuperscript{52} Cf. F. J. Dölger, \textit{T\(\chi\)b\(\varepsilon\)s, II: Der heilige Fisch in den antiken Religion und im Christentum}, Münster, 1922, pp. 387 ff.


\textsuperscript{54} For the identification of the site, the walls, and the topography, see A. J. B. Wace and F. W. Hasluck, \textit{B.S.A.}, XV, 1908-9, pp. 167 ff. and plan, fig. 4.

\textsuperscript{55} This structure can be seen on Wace and Hasluck's plan (note 54, \textit{supra}), facing northwest, about halfway between the acropolis and the walls to the southwest, approximately in the center of the triangular area enclosed by the wall.
block IV to the right, all decorated and inscribed pieces among the numerous fragments can be assigned to blocks II and IV. Above the inscribed blocks was a row of moulded capping blocks (cf. the fragment in Pl. 51, f, max. preserved height, 0.50 m.). All four inscribed blocks have the same mouldings at the top of their decorated surface: a row of eggs, alternating with blank spaces instead of the usual tongues, above a bead-and-reel and a short cyma reversa. Details of the individual blocks, from left to right, follow (Pl. 51):

I. Height, 0.41 m.; width, 0.91 m.; thickness, 0.545 m. Height of letters, 0.02 m. (ε, σ) to 0.03 m. (μ). Low relief of hunting scene below inscription: dog chasing deer, dog chasing boar, all facing right. Only this block does not have the relief decoration seen most clearly on block III.

II. Four fragments of the decorated surface. Width (as joined), 0.735 m. Height of letters, 0.030 m. to 0.035 m. (μ). Mu with rounded belly in contrast to the deep angular μ of the other blocks. Below the inscription, a six-leaved rosette in a circle, flanked by the two humps of the running decoration (cf. block III). The letters and the decoration below are more deeply cut than on the other blocks.

III. Height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.91 m.; thickness, 0.51 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m. (ο, τ) to 0.027 m. (α, λ). Below inscription, low relief of mirror in center (with modern graffito), and on either side of the handle a strigil, left, and a comb, right; on three sides of this group, in higher relief, the running design which is seen on all blocks except I.

IV. From eleven fragments, 0.86 m. of the width of the decorated surface, at the level of the upper moulding and the inscription, was reconstructed, of which 0.59 m. is inscribed surface. Height of letters, 0.02 m. Of the score of fragments showing the running design a number doubtless belong to this block, especially the three sizable fragments which share with the writing of this block the characteristics of a finer and tighter carving.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{I} & : \text{Kalikratēs Menekleía} \\
\text{II} & : \text{Ti(βérios) [\text{Kla}]vdiōs \ Menekleías} \\
\text{III} & : \text{Damoúsa Kalistrátōn} \\
\text{IV} & : \text{Kalliōstr[α]s \ M[ε]nekle[θ]a}
\end{align*} \]

Assuming that Kalikrates was the elder son (perhaps named after his paternal grandfather), the following stemma is indicated:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Kallistratos} \\
\text{Ti. Klaudios Menekleidas} & \text{——Damousa} \\
\text{Kalikrates} & \text{Kallistratos}
\end{align*} \]
To my knowledge, the name Menekleidas is not otherwise known in Lakonia. I suggest the chronology of the monument was approximately as follows: first, the four blocks with the upper moulding on all four, the running design on the two center blocks (for the father and mother), and the rosette and inscription on II (the father’s, differing in the size and the form of the letters from the others), all probably around the time of the father’s death. At the time of the mother’s death her name and her symbols (mirror, strigil, and comb) were added. Subsequently, at the time of their death, the reliefs and the names of the two sons were carved, perhaps I (Kallikrates, by the same hand as III, Damousa) and then IV (Kallistratos, whose workman imitated the relief design on the parents’ blocks, II and III). Date: second to third century after Christ.

D. EPIDAUROS LIMERA

18 (Pl. 52). On the east coast of the Peloponnnesos, 5 km. north of Monemvasia, on the side of the hill now known as Βοῦλα. Southwest of the acropolis and just inside the city walls, on a small terrace facing west northwest, extending approximately 8 m. out from the side of the hill, are the remains of a building backed by the hill, evidently uncovered by local excavation. At the rear, a niche above six orthostates of worn and pitted limestone of which all but the farthest to the right are inscribed. These were topped originally by a row of three moulded blocks, 0.28 m. high, which extend as far back as 0.39 m. with an irregular rear edge and a rough-picked upper surface (Pl. 52a). The width of the niche is 2.77 m.; the depth, 0.93 m., at the height of the capping blocks, above which the original back wall, showing traces of pink stucco, remains for at least 0.72 m. Walls of rubble, pottery, and mortar, covered with well-preserved panels of pink stucco, form the right-hand corner of the room, projecting 0.14 m. in front of the inscribed blocks and running parallel to them for 0.92 m.; the right-hand wall is preserved for a distance of approximately 2.5 m. (Pl. 52 b). To the left of the niche a line of rubble running forward may mark the course of the corresponding left-hand wall.

The orthostates below the moulding are visible for a height of 0.50 m.; their width, from left to right, is a, 0.54 m.; b, 0.48 m.; c, 0.43 m.; d, 0.56 m.; e, 0.30 m.; f, 0.36 m. The poor quality of the stone was in evidence at the time of engraving: in line 3 on block d a space of 0.05 m. was left between the a and the π of δαπανήγαντος because of a flaw in the stone (see Pl. 52 c), and for the same reason there is an exceptionally wide space before that word. There are traces of a flaw in the stone or a stone-cutter’s error after the πόλις of line 1 and at the beginning of line 2.

56 On the popularity of the name Tiberius Claudius in Lakonia in the first and second centuries after Christ, see H. Box, J.R.S., XXI, 1931, pp. 202-205.
57 For a plan of the site and a discussion of the remains, mostly walls, see Wace and Hasluck, B.S.A., XIV, 1907-8, pp. 179 ff.
Height of letters, 0.04 m. Distance between lines, 0.02 m. The letters are shallow and somewhat irregularly disposed. The forms of the *xi* and *omega* and the lunate *epsilon* and *sigma* point to the second century after Christ, probably the latter years in view of the provincial character of the town.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
 a & b & c & d & e \\
 \text{α πόλις} & \text{Νεικ[ία]ν Ν[ε]ικία} & \text{καὶ Ἀλέξανδ} & \text{ροῦ Ὀνησίμ[o]ν} & \text{τοὺς} \\
 \pi[o]λείτας & \text{ἀρ[εῖς χάρ]ω} & \text{καὶ τὰς εἰς [a]́} & \text{τὰν εὐνοίας τὸ} & \text{ἀνάλωμα} \\
 τ[oú] ναοῦ & \text{[καὶ τῶν ἀνδρ]ίαν} & \text{τὸ<ν> ἐκ τῶν} & \text{idίων δαπαν} & \text{ήσαντος} \\
 & & & & \text{'Αλεξάνδρου} \\
\end{array}
\]

Line 3: [ἀνδρ]ίαν[το]<ν>. There is space (0.056 m.) for the final ν before the ἐκ, but no indication that it was ever cut. There is no flaw in the stone at this point. If the restoration is correct, ἀνδριάντες following ναὸς might refer to statues of gods, but this use is rare (cf. Collitz-Bechtel, *Gr. Dial. Inschr.*, 5421, Delos) and ἀνδριάς regularly refers to the statue of the man honored in Lakonian honorific inscriptions; here the statues were probably in the niche above the inscription.

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58 Cf. *I.G.*, V, 1, 547, line 6, Sparta; 1167, line 10, 1170, line 8, and 1177, line 9, all from Gytheion.
EPIDAUROS-HERMIONE BORDER AREA

Paths ....

MICHAEL JAMESON: INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PELOPONNESOS
Epidaurus Limera

Michael Jameson: Inscriptions of the Peloponnesos

David M. Robinson: A Magical Inscription from Pisidian Antioch

Eugene Vanderpool: New Evidence for the Location of the Attic Deme Kopros