

SOME ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 13–14)

A DEDICATION TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS AT MARATHON

IN *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XVIII, 1893, p. 208, Alfred Koerte published an inscription which he had seen in the courtyard of the Skouzes estate at Bei near Marathon. It had been found in a field belonging to Mr. Skouzes southeast of the village. It was a small square altar of Pentelic marble 0.43 m. high and 0.20 m. wide. On the front in low relief, badly damaged, were two standing women wearing chiton and himation; the one to the right held in her left hand an uncertain object. On the other sides were garlands. Above the relief on the front was the inscription ΛΗΔΑΤΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥ and on the right side of the altar ΕΥΧΗΝΜΗΤΡΙΘΕΩΝ. The letters were 0.012 m. high and the writing careful. The inner cross strokes of Α, Ε and Θ did not connect with the outer strokes. Koerte thought that the dedicant might have been the daughter of the Paramonos known from an ephebic monument of the middle of the second century after Christ, Isikles Paramonou Marathonios.¹

This inscription was not included by Kirchner in *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II², no doubt through an oversight,² nor does it appear in Solders' list of cults in Attica.³ The stone itself is lost; at least I have not been able to locate it. It is not in the Epigraphical Museum or in the National Museum in Athens.⁴ The Skouzes house in Bei has long since been demolished, and the stone is not to be seen on the premises. I think, however, that it may well lie hidden there among the piles of stone that encumber the site of the old Skouzes house.

Fortunately, however, there exists in the files of the German Institute in Athens an old photograph taken in the court of the Skouzes house showing the altar placed on a chair and beside it a headless statue of a woman standing and holding a box⁵

¹ *C.I.A.*, III, 740, line 17 = *I.G.*, II², 3740, line 30.

² Mr. Klaffenbach, the present editor of *I.G.*, has kindly confirmed this fact and also the fact that the Eleusinian inscription in Salamis published by Koerte lower down on the same page was likewise overlooked by Kirchner.

³ Severin Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, Lund, 1931. One would expect to find the entry on p. 52.

⁴ Mrs. Delmouzou, Mr. Kallipolitis and Mr. Despinis have kindly looked for it at my request.

⁵ Attika 56. Margarete Bieber, *Verzeichnis der käuflichen Photographien des kaiserlich Deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen*, I, p. 237 where, under the heading "Marathon" one reads the following entry. "4179. a) Weibliche Gewandstatue. AM. 1887, 309 Nr. 344; Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire* II 680, 4 b) Altärchen der Göttermutter. AM. XVIII 1893, 208, 1." For the statue see also Maxime Collignon, *Les statues funéraires dans l'art grec*, pp. 198-199, fig. 125. The statue was still at Bei in 1926 where it was seen by Svenssen (*B.C.H.*, L,

(Pl. 13, a). Mr. Neumann kindly arranged to have a detail enlargement made of the altar from the old plate which shows one side of it fairly well, and it seems worth while to reproduce this for the record (Pl. 13, b), the inscription having been overlooked in the *Corpus* and the altar itself being lost, temporarily at least.

Koerte read the name of the dedicant as ΛΗΔΑ, but Leda seems not to exist as a personal name.⁶ Of the first letter, however, only a right diagonal stroke is preserved. As can be seen in the photograph the slope of the stroke is too low for lambda and the letter must have been kappa. The name then was Κῆδα. This too is unattested as far as I have found, but the root appears in a number of other names.

A LATE GRAVE STELE NEAR MARATHON

An inscribed grave stele of Roman times is built into the southeast corner of the church of Hagioi Saranda about two kilometers west of Marathona village on the north side of the Charadra river in the district of Ninoi, the ancient Oinoe. A new road, still under construction, leading from Marathona village via Kalenzi to the Marathon reservoir, passes just above the church. The stele (Pl. 14, b) is complete except for minor damage and has a pedimental top with a round shield in low relief in the pediment. It measures 0.67 m. high, 0.41 m. wide and 0.10 m. thick. The inscription, in letters 0.03 m. high, reads as follows:

aet. imp.

Νεικόδαμος
Νεικηφόρου
Καρύστιος

The last line is very hard to read and at first glance one sees almost nothing. Under good lighting conditions, however (best in the late afternoon), the letters begin to come out, and I feel fairly confident of the reading given above. In some cases the strokes can more easily be felt with the fingers than seen. Of the kappa the vertical and the upper branch seem sure. The alpha shows only traces. The vertical and part of the loop of the rho can be made out. The remaining letters I consider sure. The first four letters are rather closely spaced, the last five more widely so as to cover the full width of the stone. The middle of the second line is also hard to decipher, particularly the phi, but the reading is, I think, sure.

This inscription has been reported several times before but since it has been variously read, especially the third line, and since the location of the stone has some-

1926, p. 527) but was taken to Athens soon after and is now in the National Museum (Inv. 3650): see Δελτ., XI, 1927-1928, Parartema, p. 5, no. 4. I am grateful to Messrs. Kallipolitis and Despinis for locating the statue for me.

⁶ I find it only in *I.G.*, XIV, 1476, where it is doubtfully read from a damaged stone and is merely one of several possible readings.

times been given either wrongly or not at all, some confusion has resulted. The first report, I believe, is that of Fourmont whose text is published by August Boeckh in *C.I.G.*, I, 683:

NEIKOΔΑΜΟΣ
NEIKHΔΩΡΟΥ
ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΣ

Fourmont apparently does not say exactly where this inscription was seen, but Boeckh, who takes it from a copy of Fourmont's papers, includes it among the Attic inscriptions. A clue to its location is provided, I believe, by the demotic which I assume to be not a real reading but a guess based on the district in which the stone was found, the stone itself being difficult to read.⁷ That Fourmont's stone is indeed ours seems clear from the identity of name and patronymic and from the fact that there is difficulty with the middle of the second line which, as we have already noted, is hard to read on the stone. Fourmont gave NEIKHΔΩΡΟΥ which Boeckh considered corrupt and emended to Νεκ[ο]δώρου or Νεκη[φό]ρου. Dittenberger in *I.G.*, III¹, 1842, although he recognized the difficulty, preferred to keep Fourmont's reading Νεκηδώραν. He is followed by Kirchner in *I.G.*, II², 6807. My examination of the stone has convinced me that Νεκηφόρου is the correct reading; see also the readings of Koumanoudis and Androutsopoulos cited below.

The next reports are two by Milchhoefer in *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XII, 1887, p. 309, no. 343, and in the text to E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, III, pp. 47-48. An element of confusion is introduced in these reports because the names of two churches are interchanged. Our church of Hagioi Saranda is identified on the *Karten von Attika* as the Taxiarchoi, and the name Hagioi Saranda is given to another church, actually the Taxiarchoi, at the outskirts of the village of Marathona two kilometers farther east. The two names have simply been switched on the map. When, therefore, Milchhoefer in the first passage cited above reports from a manuscript of Koumanoudis that in the church of Hagioi Saranda west of Marathon there is a stone inscribed Νεκόδημος / Νεκηφόρου / Σπειριεύς (= *I.G.*, II², 7466) he adds that it had disappeared. He had obviously looked for it at the church marked Hagioi Saranda on the map, not in the true church of Hagioi Saranda two kilometers to the west. When, in the second passage, he does visit our church, which he calls "Taxiarchi," he actually sees our stele but fails to recognize it merely saying "an der Südseite eine römische Grabstele mit Giebel und Schild, die Inschrift -]εικόλλιος u.s.w. kaum zu entziffern."

Finally G. D. Androutsopoulos in *Polemon*, III, 1948, p. 133 (cf. also *ibid.*, Σύμμεκτα ιγ') reports seeing an inscription in the southeast corner of the old church

⁷ It is known that Fourmont actually visited Marathon. On Fourmont and his reliability see L. Robert in *Rev. phil.*, XVIII, 1944, p. 19, note 2.

of Hagioi Saranda at *Oinoe* (italics mine). He reads Νεικόδαμος / Νεικη[φ]όρου / Ο[ι]ν[αί]οιs!

All these reports concern one and the same stone, that described at the beginning of this note.

REGILLA'S ESTATE AT MARATHON

Ἡ Μάνδρα τῆς Γρηᾶς, the Old Woman's Sheepfold, is the name given today to a large area in Marathon enclosed by a wall of rough stones estimated at 3300 meters in circumference and entered through an ornamental arched gateway in front of which were two seated marble statues. The interpretation of these remains has always been something of a puzzle. The local inhabitants call them the Old Woman's Sheepfold, and this name has been thought to be a product of modern Greek folklore. The story of its origin is given first and most fully by Richard Chandler who visited Marathon in early May 1676.⁸ Leaving Vrana and heading for Ninoi and the cave of Pan by way of the Avlona valley with some natives of Vrana as guides, he writes as follows:

In the vale, which we entered, near the vestiges of a small building, probably a sepulchre, was a headless statue of a woman sedent, lying on the ground. This, my companions informed me, was once endued with life, being an aged lady possessed of a numerous flock, which was folded near that spot. Her riches were great, and her prosperity was uninterrupted. She was elated by her good fortune. The winter was gone by, and even the rude month of March had spared her sheep and goats. She now defied Heaven, as unapprehensive for the future, and as secure from all mishap. But Providence, to correct her impiety and ingratitude, commanded a fierce and penetrating frost to be its avenging minister; and she, her fold, and flocks were hardened into stone. This story, which is current, was also related to me at Athens. . . . I regretted afterwards my inattention to it on the spot; for I was assured that the rocky crags afford at a certain point of view the similitude of sheep and goats within an enclosure or fold.

Chandler, as he says, did not really examine the ruins and so did not have an opinion of his own as to their true nature. Subsequent investigators have gradually filled out the picture.

In 1792 Fauvel visited the site and recorded an inscription reading "Gateway of Immortal Harmony. The place you enter belongs to Herodes."⁹ On the basis of this the remains were interpreted as an estate of Herodes Atticus who is known to have belonged to the deme of Marathon. In 1843-1844 Philippe Le Bas visited the site with an artist and attempted a restoration of the gate; he showed that the inscription was on the keystone of an arched gateway.¹⁰ In 1926 Soteriades turned over the keystone block and found on the other side an almost identical inscription

⁸ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, II, chapter 36.

⁹ *C.I.G.*, 537.

¹⁰ *Rev. Arch.*, I, 1844, pp. 50-51. Salomon Reinach, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. Philippe Le Bas (1842-1844)*, Paris, 1888, plate 90.

reading " Gateway of Immortal Harmony. The place you enter belongs to Regilla " (Pl. 14, a).¹¹ He concluded from this that the ruins belonged to an estate of Herodes and Regilla. In 1964 Daniel Geagan found a third inscription, this time on a vertical pilaster forming one of the jambs of the gateway.¹² This is an epigram in three couplets apparently written by Herodes himself. The first couplet expresses joy at the building of a new city called after Regilla, the second expresses grief at the loss of his wife, the third philosophical resignation to his fate. Alfred Mallwitz at the same time made a careful study of the blocks and a new restoration of the gateway.¹³ He also records some slight remains of a villa within the enclosure. It is clear from these latest studies that we have to do with an estate presented by Herodes Atticus to his wife Regilla. It was enclosed by a wall entered by a monumental gateway and had in it a villa.

I offer here a few remarks on the placing of the inscriptions. The epigrams are on the outer face of the jamb as shown by Mallwitz (Tafel 1, 3 and Tafel 3), not on the face under the arch as stated by Geagan (p. 150). The keystone block is placed by Mallwitz with the Regilla inscription on the outside and the Herodes inscription on the inside. This arrangement is not required on technical grounds and is contrary to ancient practice if the property enclosed by the gate and wall indeed belonged to Regilla as it must have on the evidence of the epigrams. Ancient practice was to place the identifying inscription on its *proper* side. For example, the arch of Hadrian in Athens has on the side towards the Acropolis the inscription " This is the Athens of Theseus, the old city " and on the outside the inscription " This is the city of Hadrian not of Theseus." ¹⁴ Similarly an old pillar near the isthmus of Corinth had an inscription on the side facing the Peloponnesus reading " This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia " and on the side facing Megara " This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia." ¹⁵ Therefore on our gate the Herodes inscription should be outside and the Regilla inside.

With the new knowledge that the property belonged to Regilla we may now reconsider the popular name applied to the ruins today, *Μάνδρα τῆς Γρηᾶς*. The words are modern Greek but they are also good ancient Greek if one changes the spelling and accent slightly. Now a *mandra* is basically any enclosed space, sometimes for

¹¹ Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, I, 1928, p. 20. Πρακτικά, 1933, p. 32 and 1935, pp. 149-150. *I.G.*, II², 5189, *S.E.G.*, XXIII, no. 131. The text given in the Corpus, based on Πρακτικά, 1933, is incomplete. The full text is given in the Ἐπετηρὶς and, wrongly punctuated, in Πρακτικά, 1935: Ὀμονοίας ἀθανάτου | πύλη· | Ῥηγίλλης ὁ χώρος | εἰς ὃν εἰσέρχει. I publish on Plate 14, a the photograph taken several years ago by James R. McCredie which shows the letters more clearly than that published in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXIX, 1964, Beilage 85, 1.

¹² *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXIX, 1964, pp. 149-156. *S.E.G.*, XXIII, no. 121.

¹³ *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXIX, 1964, pp. 157-164. See also the description by J. R. McCredie, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. XI), pp. 35-37.

¹⁴ *I.G.*, II², 5185.

¹⁵ Strabo, IX, 1, 6 and III, 5, 5. Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, XXV, 3.

cattle or sheep, but already in early Christian times it is used of monasteries which are essentially a group of buildings enclosed by a wall. I would suggest then that the name of the place goes back to antiquity and is not a modern or recent designation. Although it may have pleased Herodes to think of his wife's estate in terms of Immortal Harmony ("a pompous title, marking the decline of good taste" says Frazer¹⁶), the local peasantry may well have referred to it from the start as the Old Woman's Mandra, the old woman being Regilla herself. Only after Regilla had been long forgotten did the Old Woman become identified with one of the seated statues, and even this, as now seems probable, was a statue of Regilla.

CHAIRIPPOS OF APHIDNA

A large marble stele found not far from the Dipylon gate has on the lower part of its face a stirring epigram in memory of a young man named Chairippos who fell beneath the walls of Munichia fighting for his fatherland, probably in 287/6 B.C.¹⁷ In the epigram Chairippos' name appears by itself without patronymic or demotic. His full name, however, was given in large letters on the now missing upper part of the stele, and four letters of the demotic, unnoticed by the earlier editors,¹⁸ are in fact partially preserved at the very edge of the break, — ΦΙΔΝ—, i.e. [Ἄ]φιδν[αῖος]. This upper inscription may accordingly be restored:

[Χαίριππος]
[nomen patris]
[Ἄ]φιδν[αῖος]

ON AN ACROPOLIS DEDICATION

A dedicatory pillar set up by Hippotherides of Acharnai has the following inscription:

ἡπποθερίδης ἀνέθηκεν Ἀχαρνέως
δεκάτην τ' ἀθENAΐαι τὰρ {ν} γυρίου

The stone, which is built into the north wall of the Acropolis, was published by Oscar Broneer in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 148-149, figure 37, and by A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 281, no. 246. Broneer remarks on the queer misspelling of the last word and thinks the extra letter must be a simple error

¹⁶ J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, Vol. II, p. 438.

¹⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 146-150. *I.G.*, II², 5227a (p. 879). W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, no. 40. Luigi Moretti, *Inscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*, I, pp. 26-27, no. 13. The stone is in the Epigraphical Museum, no. 12748.

¹⁸ Werner Peek writes me that although he did not see the letters when he first copied the inscription under unfavorable conditions, he did notice them in 1960 when he saw the stone set up in the Epigraphical Museum.

on the part of the stonecutter. Raubitschek thinks the error may have been caused by the occurrence of the sequence of letters $-\alpha\rho\nu-$ in the preceeding line. Whatever the reason, it is not the only error the stonecutter made in this word. After the initial T he first wrote ON, perhaps for the genitive plural of the article $\tau \delta \nu$, then erased the ON and wrote AP in its place. This can be seen clearly in the photograph made from a squeeze, Plate 14, c.

A HOROS INSCRIPTION

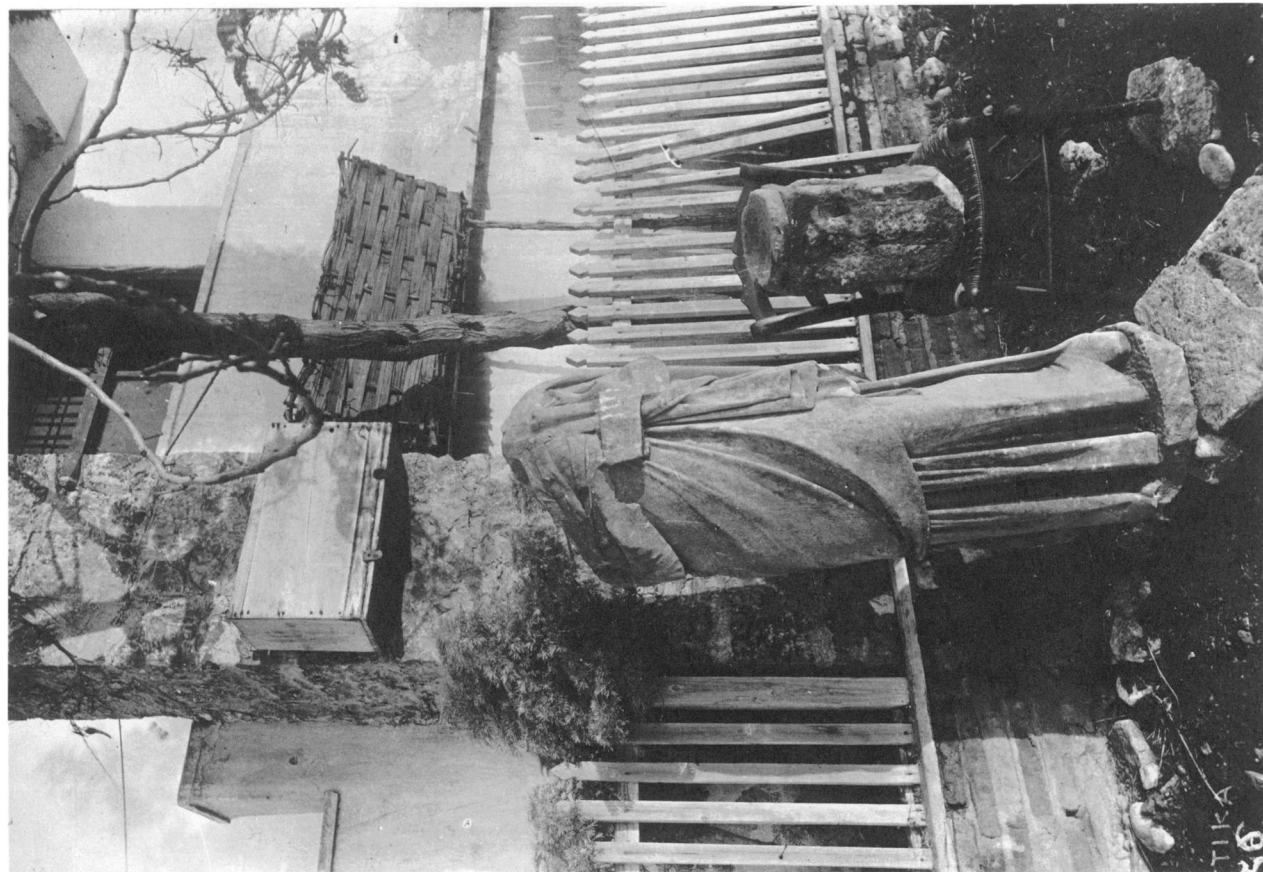
A slab of blueish marble, roughly triangular in shape, 0.40 m. high, 0.26 m. wide and 0.07 m. thick. The letters average about 0.02 m. high. Found by Kostas Xindaris in a vineyard northeast of Spata and about a kilometer north of the Vourva farm. Now in the Piraeus Museum. The writing suggests a date about the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Pl. 14, d).

Ὅρος χωρί
ο ἀποτιμή
ματος Μικρ
ῷ παιδί.

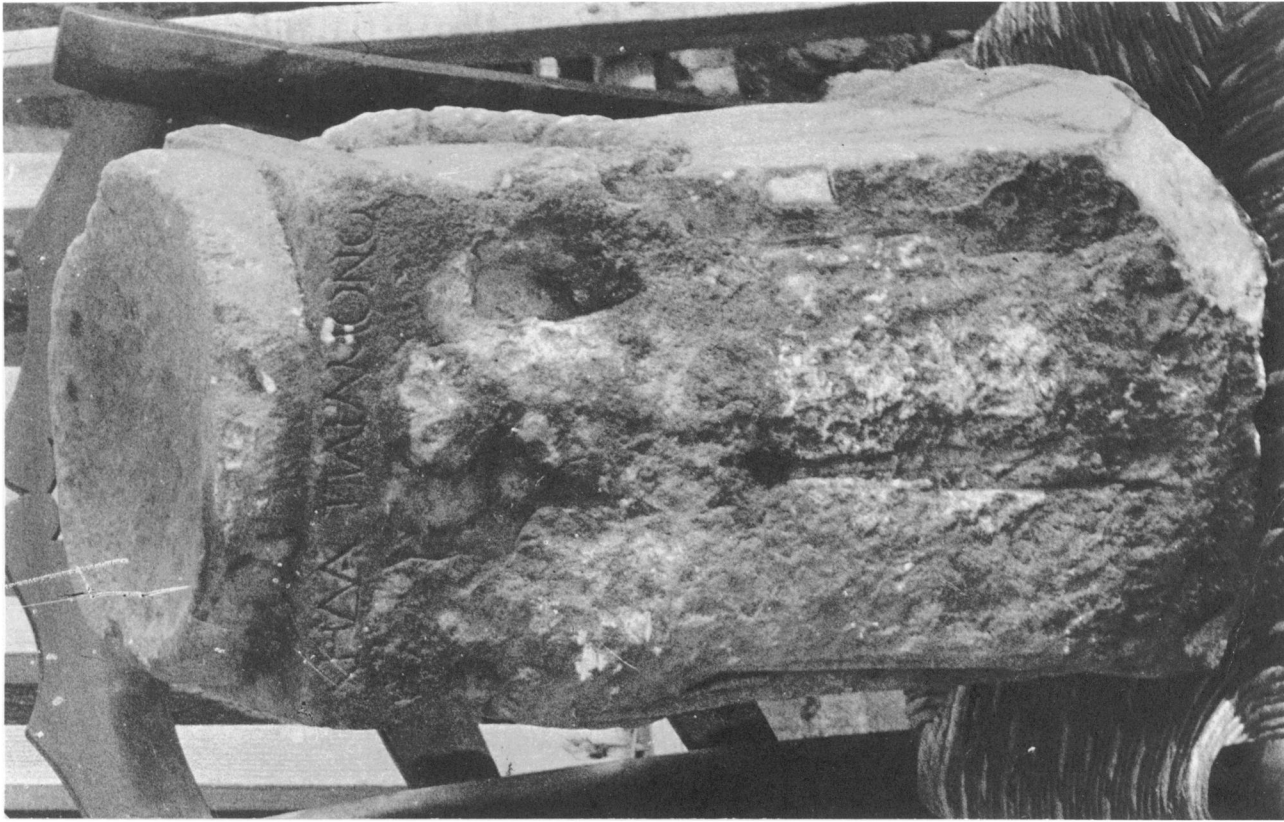
On this type of horos which marks property held in trust for an orphan see Moses I. Finley, *Studies in Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500-200 B.C. The Horos Inscriptions*, pp. 38-44 and the texts pp. 151-156; also John V. A. Fine, *Horoi (Hesperia, Suppl. IX)*, pp. 96-115.

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS



a. Statue and Altar at Bei, near Marathon



b. Altar at Bei, near Marathon. Detail of a.

(Courtesy of German Archaeological Institute)

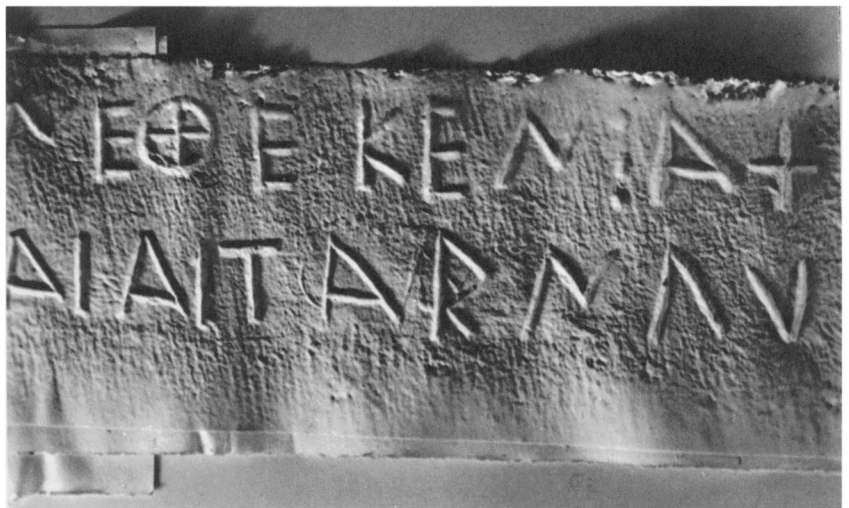
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: SOME ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS



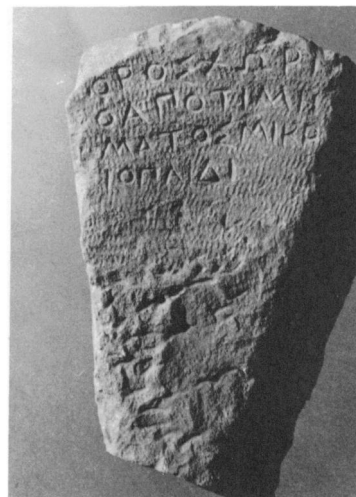
a. Marathon. Inscription on Gateway of Regilla's Estate



b. Late Grave Stele near Marathon



c. Acropolis Dedication. Detail showing Erasure.



d. Horos Inscription