

A FUNERARY HOROS FOR PHILISTE

ABSTRACT

A 4th-century B.C. funerary horos (I 7525) discovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora in 1981 preserves the name Philiste. A previously published funerary stele found in the Agora in 1934 is inscribed with the same name (IG II² 6133a). Although it cannot be demonstrated conclusively, it is possible that these funerary inscriptions originally belonged to the same grave plot.

Presented below is the *editio princeps* of a funerary horos excavated in the Athenian Agora in 1981.¹ Dated to the 4th century B.C. and preserving the name Philiste, the horos may be associated with a funerary stele discovered in the Agora in 1934.

I 7525: FUNERARY HOROS

Agora I 7525

Fig. 1

Discovered August 3, 1981, in the lining of well J 3:1.² Blue-gray schist with much accretion of sediment. Top picked flat except for irregular narrow strip along back edge at left. Left and right sides preserved. Bottom broken away. Back rough. Inscribed face picked flat; rough below.

P.H. 0.416, W. 0.253, Th. 0.076 m

L.H. 0.012 (omicron)–0.027 m (phi)

4th century B.C.

Non-stoich.

ῥος μνήμα-
τος Φιλίστης

1. I would like to thank John McK. Camp II for permission to publish this inscription. An earlier draft of this article was read and improved upon by Gerald V. Lalonde, Stephanie Larson, and two anonymous *Hesperia* referees; I am grateful for their suggestions.

2. For discussion of this Byzantine well, which probably went out of use before A.D. 1150, see Shear 1984, pp. 50–56. The well, found in “East Room 2” (p. 50), is depicted on the actual state plan (p. 51, fig. 17) and in section (p. 52, fig. 18).

NOTES ON READINGS

The letters are cut without serifs. The placement of the omicron is variable: it rests on the baseline in its first appearance, but otherwise floats in the middle of the letter space. The top and bottom strokes of sigma extend beyond the upper and lower limits of the line.

Line 1: In the last letter space, the surface preserves the bottom half of the right leg of an alpha or lambda.

TRANSLATION

Boundary of the grave site of Philiste.

COMMENTARY

This stone is the fourteenth horos of the ὄρος μνήματος type found in the Athenian Agora.³ While noting that the “lettering and masonry” on such inscriptions “allow only rough datings,” Lalonde dates the earliest examples (H53–H56) to the 5th/4th century B.C., and the latest (H63) to the 4th/3rd century B.C.⁴ He places all funerary horoi with eta for *spiritus asper* within the 4th century B.C. or earlier.⁵ The lettering on this stone appears similar to that on Lalonde’s H22, a sanctuary horos dated to the first half of the 4th century B.C.⁶ Whether such funerary horoi would have been officially tolerated after the late-4th-century B.C. sumptuary restrictions of Demetrios of Phaleron is unknown, although the evidence of mortgage horoi suggests Demetrios’s policies were very much concerned with the scrupulous definition of property lines.⁷

While thousands of funerary monuments have been unearthed in the Agora, just 21 horoi of grave monuments are now known.⁸ Of these horoi, eight preserve the whole or partial name of the deceased; Philiste is one of three women’s names.⁹ It is tempting to associate the name on Agora I 7525 with the lone homonymous woman whose grave stele was found in the Agora in 1934, Philiste daughter of Pythokles of Erchia (*IG II² 6133a*).¹⁰ This stele

3. For a typology of formulae used on funerary horoi, see Lalonde in *Agora XIX*, p. 16.

4. *Agora XIX*, pp. 33–35.

5. Threatte (1980, pp. 24–25) allows for the possibility that written rough breathings on horoi might have persisted until the middle of the 4th century B.C., but he provides no date for when these breathings began to be omitted. The editors of *IG I³* note the absence of a *spiritus asper* on *IG I³ 1132*, a ὄρος μνήματος dated ca. 420–400 B.C.

6. For H22, see *Agora XIX*, p. 26, pl. 1. Lalonde (*Agora XIX*, p. 16) describes the lettering on funerary horoi as “homemade.” Except in cases where a particular cutter’s hand can be recog-

nized, dating inscription by letter forms alone is hazardous.

7. For Demetrios’s policy and mortgage horoi, see Ferguson 1911.

8. For funerary inscriptions, see *Agora XVII*. For the 20 previously published funerary horoi from the Agora (H53–H72), see *Agora XIX*, pp. 33–37. The catalogue of Attic ὄροι μνήματα in Bardani and Papadopoulos 2006, pp. 417–422, includes an additional 20 funerary horoi found outside the Agora.

9. *Agora XIX*, pp. 35–37, nos. H64 (partial name beginning with Π), H65 (Ἐπίγονος), H68 and H69 (both Ὀνήσιμος), H70 (Οἰνεύς), H71 (Οἰνάνθη), H72 (ἑλίκη), and the inscription published here.

10. *IG II² 6133a* = *Agora XVII*, p. 51, no. 128, pl. 14 = *LGPN II*, s.v. Φιλίστη, no. 2. On *IG II² 6133a* the name Philiste appears above and to the right of the names Philippe (a daughter?) and Hedylos (a son?). Kirchner reads Ἡδύλος (*IG II² 6133a*), but Bradeen Ἡδηλος (*Agora XVII*, p. 51, no. 128). Based on the photograph of the stone in *Agora XVII* (pl. 14), Kirchner’s reading of upsilon is correct. Daux (1976, p. 205) corrects Kirchner’s accentuation as well as Bradeen’s reading, viz., Ἡδύλος; see *SEG XXVI 285*. For Philippe, see *LGPN II*, s.v. Φιλίππη, no. 2; for Hedylos, see *LGPN II*, s.v. Ἡδύλος, no. 6; *PAI 482535*. The editors of *LGPN II* do not



Figure 1. Agora I 7525. Photo courtesy Agora Excavations

(Agora I 1523) was found north of the Southwest Fountain House built into the wall of the 17th-century church of the Prophet Elias and St. Charalambos; the church is 200 m south of well J 3:1, the findspot of I 7525.¹¹ Kirchner dates this grave stele to the 3rd century B.C., but Bradeen to sometime after the middle of the 4th century B.C.¹² Only six Athenian women named Philiste are known; three belong to the 4th century B.C. or earlier.¹³ Two foreigners of this name—both in inscriptions dating to the 4th century B.C.—are also known to have resided in Athens.¹⁴ Unfortunately, a link between the stele and the horos is, on present evidence, impossible to demonstrate. Further, since the grave stele and the funerary horos were discovered a considerable distance apart, in very different contexts, such an association must remain purely speculative.¹⁵

record Philiste as kin to either Philippe or Hedylos, although they do speculatively assign Hedylos (but not Philippe) to Erchia. While neither Hedylos nor Philippe have a demotic or patronymic on *IG II² 6133a*, Philiste—whose name is the most prominent—must be a relative.

11. *Agora XVII*, p. 51, no. 128; the grid reference for the findspot of the stele is H 14.

12. *IG II² 6133a*; *Agora XVII*, p. 51, no. 128.

13. See *LGPV II*, s.v. Φιλίστη; nos. 2, 3, and 6 belong to the 4th century B.C. or earlier. No. 6 may not be from Athens. Another (Athenian?) Philiste may now be attested, as the name appears on a 2nd-century B.C. Attic lamp found near Sermylia: see *SEG XLV 2260*.

14. See *FRA*, nos. 1648 (from Elis)

and 8106 (unknown origin).

15. To my knowledge, no funerary horos has ever been securely associated with a particular gravestone. While judging that “plots bounded by horoi, especially those without proper names, must ordinarily have had gravestones also,” Lalonde (*Agora XIX*, p. 17) allows that “horoi with proper names . . . could well have served double duty as boundary stones and memorials.”

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