

favourite slave Autolekythos, ἄθυρμα of that notorious hermaphrodite Favorinus?¹⁶

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¹⁶ Pliny *Ep.* viii 1.2; Philostr. *VS* 490.

New Evidence for a Polyandrion in the Demosion Sema of Athens?

In 1967 Miss Olga Alexandri reported the discovery of ten trenches on the road from the Dipylon gate to the Academy.¹ The area into which the trenches were dug measures *c.* five by seven meters; the individual trenches measure 1.10–1.35 m in length, 0.35–0.65 m in width, and 0.80–1.05 m in depth. They are arranged to form two pairs and two further groups each of three trenches set one behind another. In attempting to interpret the trenches, the excavator was reminded of beddings for stelai such as are attested for the archaic period. Apt as this observation is, it does not help to explain the number ten nor the togetherness of the trenches.

In the introductory chapter to the Funeral oration by Perikles, Thukydides (ii 34) describes in general terms what the *patrios nomos*, the ceremony for the public burial of Athenian soldiers consisted of. The ceremony took place at the end of the Athenian campaigning season, the date corresponding roughly to a date in (our) late Fall. Ashes and bones of the dead soldiers were placed in ten larnakes of cypress wood; an eleventh larnax was carried in the burial procession for those soldiers whose remains could not be recovered. The ten larnakes corresponded in number to the ten tribes of Kleisthenes' constitution. The larnakes were duly buried in the *Demosion Sema*, the public burial ground which is identical with the 37–40 m wide road which leads from the Dipylon gate to the Academy, which is close to 1500 m long. At the beginning of this road, just outside the Dipylon gate, Perikles delivered his famous oration.

I propose that Miss Alexandri's discovery is to be connected with the public burial of the ten larnakes and the erection of ten stelai with casualty lists.

There are three considerations which render attractive the hypothesis that we deal here with a polyandrion for Athenian soldiers.

(i) The location of the trenches is on the (south)–west edge of the *Demosion Sema* road. Except for the polyandrion of the Spartans, the victims of war in 403 B.C., which is situated on the (south)–west edge at the very beginning of the road, and some adjacent tombs, both public and private, we have no evidence from excavations or literary sources about how precisely the polyandria were placed on the road to the Academy. However, the suggestion that the public tombs occupied the center of the road has been abandoned in favor of placing the tombs close to both edges of the *Demosion Sema* with a free passage in the middle of the road. If my further interpretation of the ten trenches is credible, their location corresponds to that of the Spartan

¹ *ADelt* xxii (1967) *Chron.* 86, site no. 40, figs 39–40. The exact location is at the intersection of Kerameikou and Plateon streets, a short distance north-west of the temple of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste.

polyandrion and the other tombs previously mentioned.²

(ii) Most Athenian casualty lists are unfortunately very fragmentary (among them, of interest in our context, *IG* i² 928³). There are two exceptions, *IG* i² 929 and 943. *IG* i² 943, from the year 447/6 B.C. consists of a single stele and is the most complete casualty list in the sense that it contains all the information which we expect ideally to find on such a list: the reference to the theaters of war which yields the clue for the date of the list and hence of the polyandrion; the listing of casualties by the ten tribes; the honoring of the dead which takes the form of an epigram—in the case of our memorial two distichs placed at the bottom of the stele.

IG i² 929 is also a single stele. Its smooth sides suggest that it was free standing, not contiguous with other stelai as is often the case in other memorials where three to five stelai form a sort of wall, the stelai being separated from each other only by sunken channels which have not the depth of the thickness of the stelai.⁴ *IG* i² 929 is inscribed with a heading which names the first of the ten Athenian tribes, Erechtheis. Below the heading reference is made in smaller letters to the theaters of war, with mention of no less than six sites: Kypros, Egypt, Phoenicia, Halieis, Aegina, and Megara. Generals' names are among the casualties which occurred according to the inscription 'in the same year'. Among the casualties there is a reference to archers, and to a seer named Telenikos, losses resulting from the campaign in Egypt, as a second heading explicitly assures us. As in *IG* i² 943, the mention of sites is helpful for the dating of the list. It cannot be earlier than 460 B.C. The question is whether the list covers two campaigning seasons, that is some fifteen months. *IG* i²

² The most detailed attempt to restore the *Demosion Sema* is by A. Brueckner, 'Kerameikos-Studien', *AthMitt* xxxv (1910) 183–234. He argued for a center-of-the-road disposition of the polyandria. Later attempts at restoration are dealt with by F. Jacoby, 'Patrios Nomos: State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos', *JHS* lxiv (1944) 37–66. The most recent discussion of the polyandrion of the Spartans and the adjacent tombs is by F. Willemsen, 'Zu den Lakedämoniergräbern im Kerameikos', *AthMitt* xcii (1977) 117–57. Excavation in the area with the trenches has yielded the following results. The ancient road to the Academy is attested by 4–5 layers, 2.20 m thick, dating from the (late) archaic to the Hellenistic period. The trenches encroach upon the west side of the road and were dug into its earliest level(s). In the north-east of the excavated plot was found tomb VIII, its date determined by two white-ground lekythoi from about 450–25 found in it. Other tombs (III–V) are located to the west of the ten trenches and are of Hellenistic date, as is a wall, running north–south, of which 4 m survives and which seems to have served as a peribolos wall for the tombs. Another tomb (II) is again of classical date. To the east of the wall a conduit of Hellenistic date, also running north–south, was dug deep down into the Academy road levels and cuts in part through the trenches. It becomes quite obvious from the excavation that the original site of the ten trenches was preserved intact for a maximum of *c.* 200 years; it coexisted with at least two private tombs. If one compares the life span of the site to that of the tomb of the Spartans of 403, which survived only for some 50 years, we probably have on our excavation site a characteristic feature which could apply to other public memorials along the Academy road.

³ *IG* i² 928 consists of several fragments, some of them only known by nineteenth-century transcripts. See D. W. Bradeen, *Inscriptions. The Funerary Monuments, Athenian Agora xvii* (1974) no. 1. Bradeen's view that *IG* i² 928 consisted of ten stelai has remained unchallenged as far as I know.

⁴ For such a stelai wall and the sunken channels see the reconstruction by Bradeen in *Hesp.* xxxiii (1964) 26, fig. 1.

929 and presumably the other nine stelai could have been erected as late as 458 B.C.⁵

Whatever the date, casualties in Egypt and elsewhere were heavy; IG i² 929 alone lists 177. The very prominent tribal heading on our stele suggests that there were nine similar stelai, each listing the dead of a single tribe. To be sure, we cannot simply multiply 177 by ten, but it is fairly safe to assume that the total number of casualties in all ten Athenian tribes lay somewhere between 1500 and 2000.

IG i² 928 can be compared to 929 in so far as tribal headings were also prominently engraved.⁶ The fragments which belong to different stelai have smooth sides; consequently they were free standing, presumably one stele to a tribe. Since the theaters of war referred to in IG i² 928 are well known from Greek military history—namely Sigeion, Thasos, Eion, and Kardia—and since citizens from Byzantium and other allies, the Madytians, fought at Athens' side, the date of the casualty list is the year 464 B.C.⁷ Returning to the ten trenches it is now fairly obvious that if the stelai were free standing, that is were individually placed, the use of the trenches would find a proper explanation. I think it possible that in each trench was placed a larnax and that the stele was embedded on top of the larnax. The measurements of the trenches leave open various possibilities but they do not exclude their use for this purpose.

(iii) Finally we must consider the location of the ten trenches in relation to Pausanias, who gives us our only description of the *Demosion Sema* in its totality. His account is based in part on earlier authors (3rd century B.C.); but when Pausanias visited the site in the 2nd century A.D. he must still have seen a number of the old memorials. Considering the fact that the partial destruction of the *Demosion Sema* had already begun in the mid 4th century B.C. (when, for instance, the tomb of the Spartans and the adjacent tombs disappeared under the foundations for an avenue which was greatly reduced in width compared with the older road to the Academy); considering also the spoliation, attested in literary sources, of the public monuments in the Hellenistic period and under Sulla, one can only stand amazed at how much Pausanias saw and recorded when he visited the area. In i 29.2 Pausanias states that 'outside the city (walls) and in the demes, along the roads, are sanctuaries of the gods and heroes and men's tombs'. The road which he chose to go along was the road to the Academy. Among the sanctuaries he records the precinct of Artemis with *xoana* of (Artemis) Ariste and Kalliste; he also saw a small temple of Dionysos. Vestiges of the precinct and the sanctuary have been found in the area which is beyond the territory of the German excavations in the Kerameikos and which yielded the tomb of 403 B.C. and the other tombs which

are perhaps related to this crucial year of Athenian history. In i 29.3 Pausanias refers to private tombs of famous Athenian statesmen, of Perikles, Thrasybulos, Chabrias and Phormion: the tombs cover a span from 429 to 357 B.C. but not a single one has been discovered so far. All we can gather is that these memorials had been erected in the initial section of the road to the Academy, somewhere between the Dipylon gate and the precinct of Artemis and the sanctuary of Dionysos.

Physically still present in the vicinity of the latter Pausanias begins to speak about the 'memorial(s) for all those Athenians whom it befell to meet their death in land- and in sea-battles' (i 29.4). Here then begins the *Demosion Sema* proper for Athenian soldiers and for allies who fought at Athens' side, such as the Argives and Kleoneans in the battle of Tanagra. From what Pausanias describes in the first two paragraphs (i 29.2–3) and from what is known to us from excavations, we may conclude that the initial section of the Academy road comprised tombs of famous Athenians as well as burials of enemies like the Spartans whom the Athenians honored with a memorial despite the inimical role which they had played in warfare.

The first polyandron mentioned by Pausanias in i 29.4 is that for the Athenian casualties in the battle of Drabeskos.⁸ From what has been said earlier, we may conclude that the memorial was in close vicinity to the sanctuaries of Artemis and Dionysos. It so happens that the ten trenches were discovered precisely in the area under consideration. I hold that these findings exclude sheer coincidence. Therefore, I hypothesize that the ten individual stelai of which scraps survive with the casualty lists from the northern Greek theaters of war are to be connected with the ten trenches excavated on the road to the Academy.⁹ The continuous use of the area with the ten trenches into the Hellenistic period (*cf.* n. 2) suggests that Pausanias may not have seen the polyandron of 464 intact. Thus, his knowledge about the burial of the war dead of Drabeskos in this very spot may be based either on information, literary or other, handed down to his time or on the very scrappy evidence of an actual memorial pointed out to him. Neither of these possibilities would be exceptional in Pausanias' description of the *Demosion Sema* as a whole; we may rather speak of a test case where the alternative explanations could apply to other memorials as well. If Pausanias thought it still worth while to make mention of the polyandron, the reason may well lie in the much discussed *πρώτοι*, which we have to comprehend topographically and not chronologically (see n. 8).

Whether or not my hypothesis is acceptable, the evidence as such seems well worth considering in an attempt to visualize what one type of Athenian polyandron may have looked like. Beside the stelai there may have existed an altar or sacrificial *trapeza* for offerings to the war heroes. Upon it may have been

⁵ I hope to deal with some controversial aspects of the dating of IG i² 929 in a comprehensive study of the *Demosion Sema*. There I shall also discuss the late additions of names to the principal list.

⁶ See for fragment (d) Bradeen (n. 3) 4, with *OI[NE]IE* in the nominative and not, as usually, in the genitive.

⁷ Only minor casualties are listed after the sites of which mention is preserved. There has been a good deal of controversy about where the majority of the casualties occurred, since the site is unfortunately not preserved on the extant fragments. However, that it was Drabeskos, where the Athenians incurred great losses, is unquestionable, and this battle gives us the date for the memorial.

⁸ *πρώτοι* in Pausanias i 29.4 must in my view be explained with reference to the topography rather than the chronology of the *Demosion Sema*.

⁹ The location in the *Demosion Sema* of the memorial for the dead in the Egyptian campaign is not recorded by Pausanias. Since it emerges from Pausanias' description that polyandria associated with Athenian defeat were grouped together, separately from others attesting victory, the memorial to which IG i² 929 belongs may have been located close to that of 464. If that is so we are left with an alternative for the identification of the ten trenches.

engraved the epigram. In conclusion we may say that, if the ten trenches can indeed be connected with Pausanias' memorial for the casualties at Drabeskos, this would be the first of Athenian polyandria securely located within the *Demosion Sema*.

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was it another *παρωνύμιον* (of Iophon)? Or what? I prefer to leave it as a question.¹

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¹ As in all things I am grateful to the generous genealogical genius of J. K. Davies.

A Lost Peisistratid Name

The family of Peisistratos did not indulge in strikingly uncommon names but it is noteworthy that all but one of them also appear in Chios. Neleus or Neileus (e.g. c. 150^d, *SEG* xvii 381 A I.2), Hippokrates (c. 420^d, *RE* s.n. 14), Hipparchos (s. I^a, *BSA* lxi [1966] 199 no. 3.15), Heges[istratos?] (e.g. s. IV^a, *NC* xv [1915] 430), Peisistratos, Hippias and Thessalos (see below): only Iophon is certainly missing. Their occurrences cover many centuries and no long filiations can be established, nor is there any positive argument that they all belonged to the same family, but for the late fourth and third centuries there is a hint. Chian social units had a family-based molecular structure. A catalogue of one of them gives us about 70 names c. 300^d with an average of two additions *p.a.* thereafter (*BSA* lv [1960] 181–7 = *SEG* xix 580). On it there is a Hippias of the later fourth (father of the named member) and a Thessalos of the later third century. At least one Hippias appears on coins of the later fourth (*NC* xv [1915] 430) and another (or the same) on a subscription list of the mid third as father of the subscriber (*SEG* xix 578.12). A Chian Peisistratos dedicated in Rhodes in the second century (*IG* xii.1 113), a Peisistratos son of Peisistratos made a patriotic subscription in the later third (*BCH* xxxvii [1913] no. 27. 18–19), a Chian Peisistratos, grandson of Peisistratos, is given *proxenia* at Delos in the mid third or a little earlier (*IG* xi.4 598), a Peisistratos put his name on coins belonging to the same chronological group as those of Hippias (*NC* xv [1915] 430). That the Hippias-group and the Peisistratos-group were somehow related is put beyond doubt by the name which one fourth-century Hippias and one fourth-century Peisistratos gave to their sons. Given what we know of the Athenian family's ties with Argos, Argeios Peisistratou (*IG* xi 598) and Argeios Hippiou (*SEG* xix 580) are no accident.

There are three possibilities. That an otherwise unattested Neleid family in Chios was tempted to import names from its Athenian cousins; that antiquarianism prompted fantasy; that the Athenian family established some real connection, by marriage or emigration, with Chios. The first is improbable. The second is made attractive by two other antiquarian names, Pindaros Hippiou (*SEG* xix 578. 12) and Lykourgos Argeiou (*ibid.* line 21), but antiquarianism is a third-century rather than a fourth- or fifth-century failing: we have a fifth-century Hippokrates and for that matter a fifth-century Hippias (*NC* xv [1915] 430) lurking in the background. Some real connection must be the most likely guess—the Peisistratidai of Hdt. viii 52.2 will have had to settle somewhere.

But in any case we are left with the problem of Argeios. Was he a real sixth-century Peisistratid? Or

A Note on the Chrysanthina of Sardis

The periodic festival known as the *Χρυσάνθινα* celebrated at Sardis in the late Imperial period is known already from numerous inscriptions, noted below. This note concerns an unpublished letter of the year 1838, which contains a brief allusion to an inscription, apparently now lost, in which the festival is mentioned.¹

In 1838 Henry Wentworth Acland,² aged at the time 23, and an undergraduate of Christ Church, visited the Troad from H.M.S. *Pembroke*, in which he was cruising in the eastern Mediterranean for the sake of his health, to study the topography of that region. This study resulted in the publication in 1839 (Wyatt, Oxford; the sketch republished by Stanford, 1873) of *The Plains of Troy*, a panoramic sepia sketch of the Troad drawn from Üvecik Tepe ('Tomb of Aesytes') with an accompanying text. It is a far cry from this booklet describing the ringing plains, dedicated to Dean Gaisford, to Acland's next work, *Letters from a Student on some Moral Difficulties in his Studies* (1841), to say nothing of slightly later works, occasioned by more topical studies: *Memoir on the Cholera at Oxford in the Year 1854, with considerations suggested by the Epidemic* (1856), and *Notes on Drainage, with especial reference to the Sewers and Swamps of the Upper Thames* (1857), and the later production of his very distinguished medical career. The work on the plains of Troy is not of any archaeological importance,³ and contains no texts of local inscriptions. But a long letter (Acland was, or was to become, a profuse correspondent) 'On board the Fevzie, Capladan Pasha's ship—near Sestos and

¹ My attention was first drawn to this letter by Mr John Sparrow, but I owe the opportunity to study it, and ready agreement to publishing the relevant passage from it, to Dr H. C. Harley, who is preparing a full-scale study of Sir Henry Acland, based on the Acland papers in the Bodleian Library. I must also thank the Keeper of Western MSS of the Library for permission to publish the passage (MS Acland d. 23, fol. 39).

² Later Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford (1857–94), and Fellow of All Souls College from 1840 to 1847. For a summary of Acland's life (1815–1900) see *DNB* Suppl. (1901) s.v.

³ Acland heads the alphabetic list of discarded sources in J. M. Cook's authoritative survey of the Troad, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 15. I am not here concerned with Acland's opinions on Trojan topography, and may refer readers not familiar with the 'Problem of Troy', as it was before Schliemann's excavations, to Cook 14 ff., and, for Troy itself (Asarlık) to Cook 91 ff. Both in the letter quoted and in *The Plains of Troy* 36 ff., Acland accepted the current identification (Lechevalier's) of the Homeric Troy with Bunarbashi (mod. Pınarbaşı), S. of the Menderes river (for which see Cook 123 ff.) and rejected that with Tchiblak (mod. Çiplak) (for which, as the wrong nomenclature for the actual site at Truva/Asarlık, see Cook 93). Acland's sketch gives a good panoramic view of the plain down to the foothills of Mt Ida to the south, and including the offshore islands. The best detailed map of the plain is behind vol. ii of Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion* (Athens 1902) Taf. I (after Spratt); Cook's maps suffer a little from lack of contrast.