

ATARBOS' BASE AND THE PANATHENAIA*

Abstract: Re-examination of the well-known Atarbos base in the Akropolis Museum shows that the monument had two distinct phases which have generally been ignored in previous discussions: it originally consisted of a pillar supported by the extant right block decorated with the relief of *purrhikhistai*; subsequently, the pillar was removed, the base was doubled in size, and three bronze statues were erected. Close examination of the remains and the style of the reliefs indicates that the original period dates to 323/2 BC with the second phase following within a year. In light of this chronology, the prosopography of the family is reviewed and new restorations are suggested for the base's inscriptions. In its first phase, the monument belonged to a newly identified series of memorials consisting of rectangular bases with pillars supporting either a relief or a Panathenaic amphora. Such structures commemorated victories in various tribal events of the Panathenaia and were set up both by individuals and by tribes. The earliest known example appears in a vase painting of c. 430-420 and the type continued to be used until at least 323/2. The identification of this series also provides further evidence for history of the *purrhikhē*, the cyclic chorus, the *anthippasia*, and the apobatic race at the Panathenaia, as well as the identities of specific victors in these contests.

CLASSICAL Athens was dotted with various monuments commemorating the achievements of her citizens in battle, in athletic contests, in dramatic competitions, and in choral and musical events. Successes in the Panhellenic games and the City Dionysia and Lenaia were certainly celebrated by these memorials, as were victories in the competitions of other festivals held in Athens and elsewhere. During the fourth century, a certain Atarbos set up such a structure either on the Athenian Akropolis or, more probably, on its western slope to commemorate his victory in a contest for the *purrhikhē* at the Little Panathenaia (PLATE 2a).¹ Two of its blocks were later reused in the bastion near the Beulé Gate, where they were found in 1852.² Despite the prominent display of the remains in the foyer of the Akropolis Museum and their treatment in several recent studies, the full history of the monument has never been elucidated and its date remains contentious.³ The inscription on the extant right block specifies that the memorial was erected in the archonship of Kephisodoros, that is in either 366/5 or in 323/2 BC; some scholars, primarily epigraphists and historians, have chosen the earlier date of 366/5, while a second group, including specialists of Greek sculpture and some historians, has placed it in the 320s.⁴

Our re-examination of this base shows that it had two phases of construction which have been almost completely ignored in previous discussions, perhaps because the two blocks have not always been displayed together in the Akropolis Museum. As we shall see, the remains also indicate that the first period must be dated to 323/2 on the basis of the style of the reliefs and the name of the archon, and that the second phase, when the base was doubled in size and the original offering replaced with three bronze statues, belongs shortly after the first, perhaps within a year of

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¹ *IG* II² 3025 = Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1338. For the text and bibliography, see the catalogue below. For the *purrhikhē*, see the discussion below and n.45.

² Guignaut (1852) 243-4 no. 8; Guignaut (1853) 92;

Beulé (1854) 314-15; Rangabé (1855) 705-6 no. 987; Brouskari (1974) 20; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) 210 no. 101; Kosmopoulou (1998) 163.

³ For recent studies, see e.g. Boegehold (1996) 101-3; Kosmopoulou (1998) 163-72; Wilson (2000) 39-40, 304-5.

⁴ Date in 366/5: e.g. Oikonomides (1980) 22; Davies (1971) 74 no. 2679; Traill (1994) 480 no. 224325; Makres (1994) 274, 311 no. P12+P/D21, 417; Ceccarelli (1998) 34, 244 no. 2. Boegehold and Wilson refuse to choose between the two archons: Boegehold (1996) 101; Wilson (2000) 39. Date in the 320s: e.g. Kyle (1992) 95, fig. 61; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) 210 no. 101; Boardman (1995) 133; Kosmopoulou (1998) 168-9; Rausa (1998) 226; cf. Stewart (1990) 322; Lewis (1973) 191 with Makres (1994) 274, 417.

its original erection. Establishing the correct history and appearance of Atarbos' memorial also associates it with a previously unidentified group of related monuments all commemorating victories at the games of the Panathenaia in events open only to Athenian citizens who competed both as individuals and in teams.⁵ These structures, in turn, provide important evidence for Athena's festival during the fourth century BC.

THE REMAINS AND DATE OF ATARBOS' BASE

The extant remains of the monument dedicated by Atarbos consist of two white marble blocks originally joined together by two double T-clamps which were set into their upper surfaces and are now preserved by the cuttings and parts of the clamps (PLATE 2a). The front vertical face of each block is decorated with a sculpted relief above which is a projecting fascia where the inscription was carved (PLATE 2b-c). The fascia does not continue on to the monument's left side, which is smoothly worked; the back and right side are currently not visible, but they were probably treated in the same fashion. The upper surfaces of the two blocks preserve the remains of the monuments which they supported: on the left, the footprints of an apparently slightly over life-size bronze statue (PLATE 2a);⁶ on the right, a square cutting that is roughly centred on the block and is now filled with a square patch and two sets of smaller footprints of bronze statues in the centre and on the right (PLATE 3a).⁷ The outside edge of the left foot of the right statue is located 0.035 m from the right edge of the block so that this foot was close to, but not at, the edge of the block.⁸ The traces of the central figure are superimposed on the square piece of marble and indicate that it stood frontally, while the statue on the right was rotated somewhat to the viewer's left. Around the edges of the patch, traces of the lead that holds it in place are visible.

The two reliefs require further comment. On the left side, the panel shows seven bearded men wrapped in long *himatia* and advancing to the right in two groups (PLATE 2b); the figure at the left end of the block is somewhat separated from his companions in their group. Their left arms are lowered at their sides, while their bent right arms and hands are held in front of their chests. Their hair is held in place by fillets and they wear boots or closed shoes on their feet. On the far right side of the panel is a frontal woman in a long *khitōn* with a mantle slung over her left shoulder and wrapped around her body so that it terminates over her bent left arm (PLATE 3b). Her weight is supported by her straight left leg and she holds her right arm against her side. She has turned her head slightly to look at the contestants on her right. On the right block, we see a very similar woman also wearing a *khitōn* and mantle on the left end of the panel. Like her companion, she supports her weight on her left leg and holds her right arm at her side, while her bent left arm supports the end of her mantle. She, too, has turned her head somewhat to watch the activity to her left where two groups of four beardless and naked *purrrhikhistai* or armed dancers are shown moving to the right in a three-quarter view (PLATE 2c). They are equipped with helmets and shields which they hold away from their bodies with their extended left arms. Their right arms are lowered so that their clenched hands are at the level of their hips; they must originally have held spears, which were presumably added in paint because there are no holes for metal attachments.

⁵ For the *purrrhikhē* as tribal, see J.L. Shear (2003) 50 and n.7.

⁶ For the size of the statue on the left block, see Kosmopoulou (1998) 163, 169 n.4; Palagia (1994) 115.

⁷ The left edge of the cutting is 0.266-0.269 m from the left edge of the block and right edge is 0.285-0.289 m from the right side of the block. The front of the cutting is 0.171 m from the front of the base, while its back is 0.148-0.150 m from the back of the block. Wilson erro-

neously describes the right block as having 'three holes in the upper surface' (Wilson (2000) 305). There are, in fact, four cuttings for the four feet of two statues and, consequently, the right statue did not span two blocks as stated by Wilson; see further below, n.26.

⁸ The original surface of the marble at this point is now broken away, an event that probably occurred when the statue was removed.

On the fascia over the reliefs, the fragmentary inscriptions record: vacat 0.057 m νική[σας ἀνδρῶν χο]ρῶι. vacat 0.559 m [πυρρική]ισταῖς νικήσας ^{νν} Ἄταρβος Λυ[- c. 9-11 - K]ηφισό[δ]ωρο[ς ἦρχε], '[having] won [with a men's cho]rus. Having won [with *purrhikh*]istai, Atarbos, son of Ly[- c. 9-11 - K]ephisod]oro[s was archon]' (PLATE 2b-c). Although the beginning of the text is not fully preserved, it can be restored with confidence because, in this context, the supplements νική[σας and χο]ρῶι are certain. The remaining space is sufficient for only six or seven letters and must be restored as κυκλίωι, ἀνδρῶν, or παίδων, with iota filling approximately half the space of a regular letter. The customary supplement κυκλίωι, however, is attested in Attic epigraphy only once, in the first century AD, and remains unlikely.⁹ In contrast, the phrase χορῶι παίδων was used in the early fourth century on a Salaminian choregic monument, while the similar phrase χοροὺς δύο, τὸν μὲν παίδων, τὸν δὲ ἀν[δ]ρῶν, 'two choruses, one of boys, the other of men', is preserved in an honorary deme decree in the middle of the fourth century.¹⁰ Since the figures on Atarbos' relief are bearded, the text must record a men's victory in the cyclic chorus or dithyramb; hence the new restoration ἀνδρῶν χο]ρῶι. The text concerning the chorus begins 0.057 m from the left end of the left block and it is separated from the passage about the *purrhikhē* on the right block by 0.559 m of uninscribed space. On the right half of the monument, the names of the dedicator and the archon were carved in larger letters 0.018 m in height, while the rest of the text on both blocks was inscribed in smaller letters only 0.009 m high.

The name of the dedicator has occasioned a certain amount of discussion during the last twenty or so years, but these comments generally seem to have been made without the benefit of autopsy of the remains.¹¹ As our new edition of the text makes clear, we have only about nine to eleven letters for the rest of the man's patronymic and deme and, consequently, there is no room either for the word ἀνέθηκε or for the patronymic Λυ[σιστράτου as Oikonomides' restoration, Λυ[σιστράτου Θορίκιος ἀνέθηκε. K]ηφισό[δ]ωρο[ς, requires.¹² Our *chorēgos* can, however, be identified with some certainty because the name Atarbos is rarely attested in Athens and Attica. In the middle and second half of the fourth century, the name is certainly known only in the deme of Thorikos, as we learn from a dedication now built into the north wall of the Akropolis.¹³ Its inscription records that it was set up by a certain Stratos, the son of Atarbos, of Thorikos in about the middle of the fourth century BC.¹⁴ At about the same time, a now nameless son of [At]arbos of Thorikos erected a monument to commemorate his choregic victory at

⁹ *IG* II² 3157.1-2. For this reason, κυκλίωι should not be restored on the fourth-century choregic monument *IG* II² 3106.

¹⁰ Choregic monument: *IG* II² 3093.1-2. Deme decree: *IG* II² 1186.12-13. Note that the forms ἀνδρῶν and παίδων are regular in the extant choregic monuments.

¹¹ Oikonomides (1980) 20-2; Wilson (2000) 39, 325 n.153; cf. Traill (1994) 480 no. 224325; Lambert (1997) 153 no. 13.

¹² Oikonomides (1980) 20-2. For the absence of a verb, see below *SEG* XXI 695 = Agora Excavations, Athens, S 399.

¹³ Another Atarbos is known from the *rationes centesimarum*; Lambert (1997) F16B.14. Only the first letter of the patronymic is partially preserved and it could be not only a chi but also a lambda, in which case this man would probably be the same individual who dedicated our base; Lambert (1997) 153.

¹⁴ *SEG* XXX 128, as interpreted by Immerwahr, the original editor. Immerwahr believed that the left edge of the block marked the left side of the whole monument and that Stratos was the dedicator's complete name; Immerwahr (1942) 343-4 no. 2. Oikonomides, however, postulated that the memorial originally included two other blocks which were placed on either side of the existing block; Oikonomides (1980) 21-2. The text of the first line he restored as: [πυρρική]ισταῖς νικήσας Λυσί[στράτου Ἄταρβου Θορίκιος ἀνέθη]κε - ἦρχε], '[having won with *purrhikhistai*, Lysi]stratos, the son of Atarbos, Thorikios dedica[ted (this). - - - was archon]'. There is, however, no evidence that these two blocks ever existed and, since the name Lysistratos is not attested in the family, as we shall see below, there is no compelling reason to accept Oikonomides' radical supplements; cf. Wilson (2000) 325 n.153; *contra*: Makres (1994) 174-5, 430. We should, accordingly, following the lead of Immerwahr, who studied the block *in situ* in the north wall of the Akropolis, and interpret the dedicator's name as Stratos.

the Thargelia.¹⁵ It is very likely, accordingly, that the dedicator of our base on the Akropolis came from Thorikos. Since, in this section of the inscription on the right block, the letter iota takes up half of the space of the other letters, the demotic Θορίκιος requires seven letters and leaves us with a maximum of three to three and a half letters for the patronymic. Our dedicator was also very probably the same Atarbos, the son of Lys[–], whose purchase of two pieces of property is recorded in the *rationes centesimarum*, the accounts of a one-percent tax on the sale of land, documents which are dated to c. 343-340.¹⁶ The only man's name that will fit these combined criteria is the name Lysias and, in the form Λυ[σίου Θορίκιος], it fills the available space exactly. Furthermore, the way in which the stone has broken after the extant upsilon of the patronymic is consistent with a sigma but not a kappa. It is, consequently, very probable that the name of Atarbos' father was Lysias.

The problems connected with the inscriptions bring us back to the date of the monument because, as we have already noted, an archon named Kephisodoros held office both in 366/5 and in 323/2 BC. The earlier date would be quite satisfactory because the Great Panathenaia was celebrated in 366/5 and the *purrikhē* in the city of Athens was held only at Athena's festival.¹⁷ The style of the reliefs, however, does not support a date in the second quarter of the fourth century and requires them to be placed later in the century. The appearance of the two women is particularly important for determining the date because the line of their waists is unnaturally high and is placed just under their breasts (PLATE 3b). This style of female clothing is typical of the period around 330, but not of the second quarter of the fourth century when the line of the waist was placed in a more natural position, as comparison with reliefs from these two periods indicates. On the document reliefs of a treaty between Athens and Korcyra in 375/4 and of a decree of alliance from 362/1, the women's waistlines are placed at a distinctly natural level (PLATE 4a); in contrast, on the relief of the law against tyranny of 337/6, the line of Demokratia's waist is just under her breasts.¹⁸ A similar style of dress is also worn by the females on the relief dedicated in c. 330-320 by Neoptolemos of Melite (PLATE 4b).¹⁹ On Atarbos' base, we should particularly notice the treatment of the drapery of the two women, especially the bunched tops of the heavy mantles and the long diagonal folds along their relaxed right legs, as well as the vertical folds of the thinner *khitōnes* (PLATE 3b). These details find their best parallels in the garments of the Nymph receiving the baby Dionysos in the centre of Neoptolemos' relief (PLATE 4b) and the very similar clothing of the Muse with the pipes and the Muse with the kithara on the contemporary Praxitelean base from Mantinea.²⁰ The depiction of the Nymph's mantle is especially close to the garments of the women on Atarbos' base, while the pose of the Muse with the

¹⁵ SEG XXVI 221 = XXVIII 212 = XXX 127. The correct restoration of this man's name has been the subject of some scholarly dispute. It was restored as [Stratos] by Michaud and Amandry, as [- c. 10 -] by Labarbe, and as [Lysistratos] by Oikonomides and Makres; Michaud (1972) 606; Amandry (1977) 179-82 no. 23, figs 6-7; Labarbe (1977) 140 no. 181; Oikonomides (1980) 20-2; Makres (1994) 275, 430. The photograph and drawing published by Amandry indicate that, on the extant block, two letters in line 1 occupy the same amount of space as three letters in line 2, an observation which suggests that we should restore line 1 as [- c. 7-8 - Ἀτάρβου Θορίκιος. If this interpretation is correct, then the name Lysistratos is too long for the space.

¹⁶ Lambert (1997) F8A.35, 37. For the date, see Lambert (1997) 214-17.

¹⁷ Schol. vet. Ar. *Clouds* 988a; cf. schol. rec. Ar. *Clouds* 988f, 989h; schol. Tzet. Ar. *Clouds* 989b; Vian (1952) 249 and n.9.

¹⁸ Treaty: National Museum, Athens, 1467 = IG II² 97; Stewart (1990) fig. 490; Lawton (1995) 126-7 no. 96, pl. 50; for doubts about the date, see Lawton (1995) 126. Decree of alliance between Athens, Arkadia, Akhaia, Elis and Phleious: National Museum, Athens, 1481 = IG II² 112; Stewart (1990) fig. 491; Lawton (1995) 94 no. 24, pl. 13. Law against tyranny of 337/6: Agora Excavations, Athens, I 6524 = *Agora* 16.73; Stewart (1990) fig. 523; Lawton (1995) 99-100 no. 38, pl. 20. On the general trend, see Boardman (1995) 15-16.

¹⁹ Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7154; Stewart (1990) 192-3, 321, fig. 581; LIMC 2 s.v. Artemis, no. 1280 (L. Kahil with N. Icard). For the date, see T.L. Shear, Jr (1973) 190-1.

²⁰ Muses: National Museum, Athens, 216-17; Stewart (1990) figs 494-5; LIMC 6 s.v. Mousa, Mousai, no. 106 (A. Queyrel); Kosmopoulou (1998) 168.

pipes is quite similar to that of our two women.²¹ The style of the sculpture, accordingly, fits comfortably in the decade between 330 and 320 and the archon in question must be Kephisodoros of 323/2 BC;²² the victory in the *purhikhē* should belong to the Little Panathenaia of that year.²³

On the basis of these observations about the date and the prosopography of the dedicator, we can briefly construct the history of this family. In about 343-340, Atarbos of Thorikos bought two pieces of property and, probably during the same decade, his son Stratos made a dedication on the Akropolis. At about the same time, either Stratos or another son set up a monument to commemorate his choral victory in the Thargelia. Subsequently, in 323/2 BC, Atarbos won with youth *purhikhistai* at the Little Panathenaia and celebrated his success with our memorial; the win with the men's chorus belongs very soon afterwards, as we shall discuss shortly. This chronology suggests that Atarbos was born before c. 390 and that his son or sons ought to have been born about 365-360 BC. The nameless son who won at the Thargelia must have been quite young at the time, and he very probably sponsored a men's chorus because, by 345 BC, the *chorēgos* for a boys' chorus was required by law to be over 40 years old.²⁴ Atarbos' father Lys[ias] remains a name only and was probably born by about 425 BC; he is not to be confused with his homonym, Lysias, the son of Lysanias, also of Thorikos.²⁵

THE HISTORY AND APPEARANCE OF ATARBOS' BASE

Although we can be certain that the extant right block of the monument commemorated the success of a team of dancers sponsored by Atarbos in 323/2, the history of the overall structure is rather more complicated as the cuttings on the upper surfaces of the blocks and the inscriptions indicate. We have already noticed that, on the right block, the cuttings for the central bronze statue are superimposed on a square marble patch and that the names of Atarbos and Kephisodoros are carved in larger letters than the rest of the inscription (PLATES 2c and 3a). The remains on the top of the block can best be explained if it had two phases, an earlier one which involved what now appears to be a square marble patch and a later one when the bronze statues were erected. We should also notice that what we have been calling a patch is not properly a repair, i.e. some work taken to correct a mistake made by the mason or sculptor. It is, rather, the remains of a square marble pillar which was set into a square socket on the base. At some later time, it was removed by cutting it off at the level of the top of the block; hence its current appearance.

Based on these observations, we can reconstruct the monument's history as follows. When it was first erected, the offering consisted of the right block decorated with the relief of the *purhikhistai*. It supported a square stone pillar which was set into the cutting on the top of the block and led into place. Subsequently, the left block was added to the memorial and clamped to the left side of the original base with two double T-clamps, while the pillar, and whatever it carried, was cut off to ensure a level surface on the right block; as part of this operation, the tops of both blocks and the remains of the pillar were worked down with a claw-toothed chisel, the marks of which are still visible (PLATES 2a and 3a).²⁶ The original offering was now replaced by three bronze statues: a larger frontal figure on the left and two smaller ones on the right. The rather simple original design was altered to a significantly larger, more expensive, and more grandiose arrangement.

²¹ Kosmopoulou (1998) 168.

²² Kosmopoulou (1998) 168-9. It is difficult to tell the style of the women's hair because their heads are very worn. Kosmopoulou thought that they were done in the 'melon' style: Kosmopoulou (1998) 168.

²³ For the *purhikhē* at the Little Panathenaia, see the discussion below with n.45.

²⁴ Aeschin. 1.10-11; Wilson (2000) 55-7.

²⁵ *IG* II² 6227. For other members of his family, see *IG* II² 6217, 6226.

²⁶ It is important to note that there is no evidence for the third block postulated by Boegehold and Wilson; Boegehold (1996) 101; Wilson (2000) 305. As evidence for this block, Wilson adduces the 'three holes' in the

These two phases are also apparent in the inscription. On the right block, the words Ἄταρβος Λυ[σίου Θορίκος Κ]ηφισό[δ]ωρο[ς ἡρχε], 'Atarbos, son of Ly[sias, of Thorikos. K]ephisos[d]oro[s was archon]', have a letter height of 0.018 m and are separated from the rest of the text on the left end of the block by a small blank space which measures 0.040 m and is large enough for about two letters. The letters of the passage [πυρρική]ισταίς νικήσας, 'having won [with *purhikh*]istai', are 0.009 m high, as are the letters of the inscription on the left block, νική[σας ἀνδρῶν χο]ρῶι, '[having] won [with a men's cho]rus'. The section with the names of Atarbos and the archon should belong to the original phase, while the rest of the inscriptions were added in the second period. That the phrase [πυρρική]ισταίς νικήσας was added after the names is also clear from the way in which it is disposed on the stone. Although the text is not preserved at the extreme left end of the fascia, measuring out the restored section indicates that the mason must have begun inscribing the passage at the very left end of the block, a decision which ensured that there would be sufficient room for the additional words before, and to the left of, the original inscription. In contrast, on the left block, where there was plenty of room, the text begins 0.057 m from the end of the block. At the same time, the chiasmic arrangement of the new inscriptions, νική[σας ἀνδρῶν χο]ρῶι. vacat 0.559 m [πυρρική]ισταίς νικήσας, emphasized that the two blocks belong together, a connection reiterated by the statues. These additions seem to have been made quite soon after the original monument was erected because the style of the two reliefs is particularly close; the treatment of the drapery around the women's bent knees and the vertical folds along their straight legs suggest that both panels were carved by the same sculptor, as does the very distinctive outlining cut with a flat chisel behind both the *purhikhistai* and the men in the cyclic chorus (PLATES 2b-c and 3b).²⁷ We shall discuss shortly when and under what circumstances this second phase was added to the original memorial.

PANATHENAIC MONUMENTS AND ATARBOS' BASE

The original design of Atarbos' offering, the right block with the relief of the *purhikhistai* and a pillar set into the square socket and supporting some object, clearly commemorated his victory with armed dancers at the Little Panathenaia of 323/2. Although the festival was not mentioned in the inscription, the context would have been apparent to viewers because the *purhikhē* was limited in the city of Athens to Athena's celebration, an event commemorating the divine victory in the Gigantomachy and the occasion of the goddess' invention of the dance in arms.²⁸ The location of the offering either in Athena's sanctuary on the Akropolis or, more probably, on its western approach should also have reinforced the relationship between the offering and the festivities, the most important ones connected with the sanctuary.

The monument's appearance in its first phase is of particular interest because the design was used for a number of other monuments in the city. The Akropolis apobatic base, a roughly square

upper surface of the right block and states that the third statue must have spanned the second and third blocks. We have already seen that there are four attachments, two for each statue and, consequently, there is no need to postulate that the third statue straddled two blocks. That no such third block existed is also suggested by the carefully cut clamps which joined the two existing blocks; if the monument included a third block, we would expect to find traces of the clamps on both the left and right sides of the extant right block. No such remains ever existed on the right side of the right block and we can, therefore, be confident that, in its second phase, the monument consisted only of the two extant blocks.

²⁷ Kosmopoulou believes that some small differences indicate that they were carved by two different sculptors: Kosmopoulou (1998) 169. In any event, they must come from the same workshop.

²⁸ Gigantomachy: Arist. *fr.* 637 (Rose); quoted by the schol. Aristid. *Or.* 1.362 (Lenz and Behr) = Dindorf 3.323 = Jebb 189.4; Vian (1952) 246-59; Pinney (1988) 465-77; Siewert (2001) 4-5; cf. schol. Ar. *Knights* 566a (II); repeated by *Suda* s.v. πέπλος. Invention of the *purhikhē*: Dion. Hal. 7.72.7; Pinney (1988) 468-73; Poursat (1968) 580-3; Wheeler (1982) 231; Borthwick (1969) 389-90; Borthwick (1970) 322-3; Anderson (1997) 269-70; Ceccarelli (1998) 27-30; Siewert (2001) 5; cf. Pl. *Leg.* 7.796b 6-c 4; Pl. *Crat.* 406d 3-407a 4.

block decorated on its front vertical face with a scene of an *apobatēs* mounting his chariot, has a square cutting in its upper surface that contains the remains of a pillar (PLATE 5a-b).²⁹ It was removed when the block was reused, probably in a late context; at that time, the upper surface was worked down and the ovolo moulding above the relief, which probably held the dedicatory inscription, was cut back. The apobatic base set up by [K]rat[e]s of Peiraieus in the Agora has a very similar form, although no traces of the pillar now remain in the socket (PLATE 5c-d).³⁰ Both monuments date to about 400 and indicate that the form was already in use at this time. A second fragmentary base from the Agora also has a similar design, although in this case reliefs were carved on both the back and the front of the rectangular block (PLATE 6a-b).³¹ The inscription on the front states: [Ἀντι]οχίδος φυ[λῆς] | Ἱεροφάνης Πολυαράτο Ἄλωπεκ[ῆθεν], '[of the] tr[IBE Anti]okhis. Hierophanes, the son of Polyaratos, Alopek[ethen]'. The combination of this information and the mounted horsemen of the two reliefs indicates that the monument commemorated the victory of the tribe Antiokhis under the leadership of Hierophanes of Alopeke in the *anthippasia* in about the middle of the fourth century. Like the other three bases, this memorial preserves the remains of a rectangular socket for a pillar in its upper surface.

None of the extant inscriptions on these four bases indicates the occasion which was commemorated, but, since the apobatic race, like the *purrihikhē*, was held in the city of Athens only at the Panathenaia, the context of the two apobatic monuments and Atarbos' memorial would have been very clear from their reliefs.³² The design of a base supporting a pillar links the Antiokhis memorial with the other examples and, accordingly, with Athena's festival. Originally, the celebration at which the victory was won must have been clear from the overall monument and the object that stood on top of the pillar would have helped viewers to identify the context. In the case of the two apobatic bases, they may have supported one of the Panathenaic amphorae awarded to the victors.³³ Similar monuments are shown on two red-figure vases dating to about 430-420 BC and to about 400 BC. The earlier vessel, a bell-krater by the Painter of Munich 2335, shows a young jockey and his horse standing in front of a pillar which supports a Panathenaic amphora, while a Nike carrying another such vase approaches them from the right.³⁴ She is either presenting a prize to the victor after the race or acknowledging that he will win it. The second and later example of this type of monument is found on a chous in the manner of the Erbach Painter (PLATE 7a).³⁵ It shows three youths taking part in the contest for the javelin-throw on horseback as they ride by a prize vase decorated with the same event and displayed on an Ionic column. Although this jar is supported by a column rather than a pillar and neither structure shown on the vases has the more elaborate base of our fourth-century examples, the type was clearly known when the earliest of our extant monuments was erected. The incorporation of the amphorae would certainly have indicated the context of the memorials and their use recalls the standard kind of choregic monument that displayed the prize tripod.³⁶

²⁹ Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1326. For the bibliography, see the catalogue below.

³⁰ SEG XXI 695 = Agora Excavations, Athens, S 399. See the catalogue below.

³¹ Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7515. See the catalogue below.

³² Apobatic race: *Anecd. Bekk.* s.v. ἀποβατῶν ἀγών; repeated by Phot. *Lex.* s.v. ἀποβατῶν καὶ ἀγών. This association between Athena and the contest should indicate that the apobatic race was not part of the Anthesteria as Kyle and Crowther have thought from the representations on two choes, Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, no inventory number, and the fragmentary Agora

Excavations, Athens, P 19464: van Hoorn (1951) nos. 2487, 611, figs 388f, 127; M.B. Moore (1997) no. 765, pl. 79; Crowther (1992) 37 n.6; Kyle (1987) 45-6, 188-9.

³³ Compare *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum* 208; Kyle (1992) 206 n.81.

³⁴ Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, GR.8.1943 = ARV² 1164, 47; Vos (1981) pl. 15; Kephaliidou (1996) 228-9 no. 110; Valavanis (1991) 488.

³⁵ Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich, v. Sch. 71 = ARV² 1419, 2; Sparkes (1977) 10, 11, pl. 4; Valavanis (1991) 488.

³⁶ For a brief survey of the various possible types of choregic memorials, see Wilson (2000) 213.

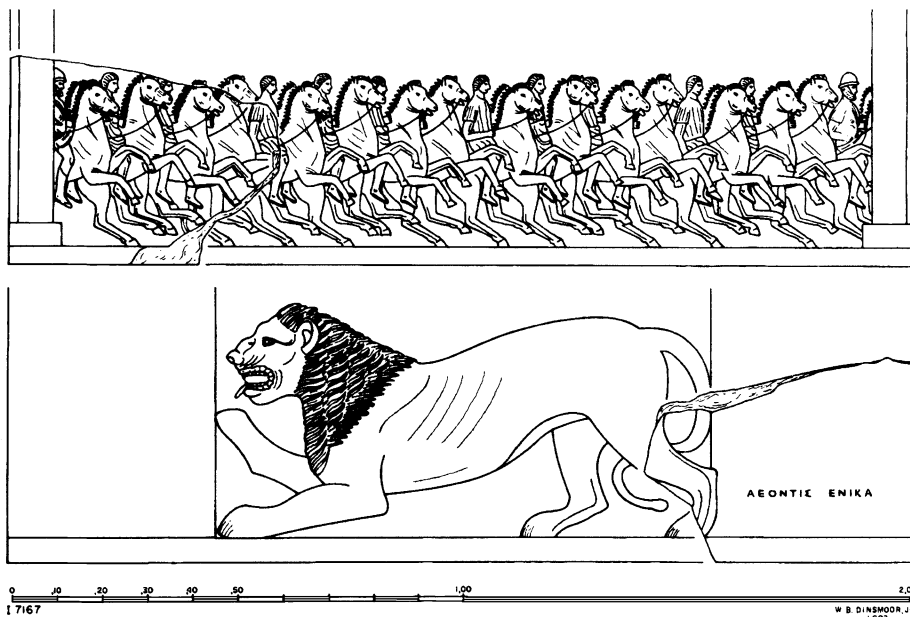


FIG. 1. Leontis relief: Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7167 (restored drawing: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations)

In the team events at the Panathenaia, the victors did not receive jars of oil; we know that the winning teams in the *purrhikhē*, the *euandria* (a competition that seems to have emphasized male beauty and perhaps strength), the torch-race and the contest of ships all received oxen, and it is highly likely that the successful team in the *anthippasia* did as well.³⁷ Their monuments very probably carried panels like the one set up in the Agora about 400 by the tribe Leontis to celebrate its victory in the *anthippasia* (FIG. 1).³⁸ On the front, the fragmentary relief shows a file of young cavalymen led on the far left by a bearded man, probably the *phularkhos*, and, on the back, part of the left hind leg and tail of a lion in a pun on the name of the tribe;³⁹ on this side, the inscription records Λεωντις ἐνίκα, ‘Leontis was victorious’. Since the relief has scenes on both the front and back, it must have been part of a monument which was visible from several different angles; the Antiokhis base presumably supported a similar double-sided relief. Some of the sculpted panels probably also showed the goddess as well as the event, like other votive reliefs.⁴⁰ The presence of Athena either carved in stone or painted on the amphorae would firmly have connected the monuments and the victories which they commemorated with the Panathenaia.

These memorials celebrating both individual and team successes in the goddess’ games would have contrasted with the other commemorations of agonistic victory in the city. Choregic monuments regularly displayed the tripod awarded to the successful contestants, as did memorials of the *anthippasia* at the Olympieia, such as the well-known Bryaxis base from about the middle of the fourth century.⁴¹ Victories in the gymnastic and hippic games were often celebrated with

³⁷ *IG* II² 2311.83-93 with the text as J.L. Shear (2003) 88-9. The sums of 100 *drakhmai* which appear in the left margin of the inscription record the worth of the individual ox awarded to the winning team as the entries for the boat-race in lines 91-3 indicate; the first place team received probably three oxen and a sum of 200 *drakhmai* for a feast. There is no evidence that tripods were ever awarded to victors at the Panathenaia.

³⁸ Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7167. See the catalogue below.

³⁹ On the identity of the bearded man, see Bugh (1988) 78 n.135.

⁴⁰ For a probable example commemorating, in this case, a success in the torch-race, see *IG* II² 2974 = British Museum, London, 813 (GR 1864.2-20.11); Palagia (2000) 403-8, fig. 1.

⁴¹ *IG* II² 3130 = National Museum, Athens, 1733; Travlos (1971) 18 figs 24-5; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) 320-1 no. 205; Davies (1971) 103-4. For further discussion of the tripod and its appearance, see Pharaklas (1969) 59-65.

bronze statues, a much more elaborate and expensive monument than our bases supporting reliefs or amphorae. The contrasts between these different types of memorials ought to have emphasized the unity of our group and its connection with the Panathenaia. At the same time, they also indicate that the different classes of structures were easily recognizable, so that viewers could tell at a glance the sort of festival and the type of victory which the dedicator had won. We should also notice that all these remains commemorating Panathenaic successes have been found in reused contexts near the route of Athena's procession: the two Akropolis bases were found on the west slope of the hill, while the Agora material comes from the south-east and north-west corners of the square.⁴² They were all probably set up not far from the Panathenaic Way, so that participants in the parade would have marched by these memorials of earlier victors in the games and spectators may have stood near them. The marchers would periodically have seen similar monuments celebrating victories in the games as they made their way from the starting point in the Kerameikos to the sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis; the repetition of the same type of memorial must have emphasized the connections between them and also unified the overall group. At the same time, like other structures commemorating agonistic victories, these monuments served as exempla for both the participants and the spectators, who were encouraged to strive to achieve successes equalling or surpassing the ones displayed in these memorials.

The erection of [K]rat[e]s' monument in the south-east corner of the Agora is of further interest because the course for the apobatic competition was very probably located on the Panathenaic Way in the fourth century, as it certainly was in the second century BC.⁴³ After its erection, accordingly, the structure overlooked the contest in which the victory commemorated had been won and it served as an exemplum for the members both of the deme of Peiraieus and of the tribe Hippothontis. It was also located under the watchful eyes of the eponymous hero Hippothoon who, from the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the south-west corner of the square, had presided over both the win and the erection of the monument.⁴⁴ Subsequent members of the tribe later performed in front of him, as did [K]rat[e]s, who was shown perpetually competing in the Panathenaia and winning honour. In the same way, the tribal heroes also watched over the members of the cavalry as they participated in the procession, a process which took them past the monuments commemorating earlier successes won by the teams from their tribes.

CONCLUSIONS

If our observations are correct and these bases belonged to monuments that were clearly associated with the Panathenaia, then we must consider their implications for Atarbos' base and its history. As we have already seen, in its original phase, it consisted of the right block with the relief of the beardless *purrhikhistai* and a square pillar supporting a relief which is not preserved. The inscription provided the names of Atarbos, the dedicator, and Kephisodoros, the archon of 323/2, the year in which the victory was won. The appearance of the memorial placed it in a known series of structures that commemorated victories at Athena's games and emphasized its Panathenaic context. Since contests in the *purrhikhē* were restricted to this festival, we can be certain that, in the 320s, they were held not only at the penteteric but also at the annual celebration. This situation is corroborated by the remarks of the speaker of Lysias 21, who specified

⁴² Akropolis bases: Atarbos' base (*JG* II² 3025): see above n.2; Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1326: Brouskari (1974) 23. Agora material: *SEG* XXI 695 = Agora Excavations, Athens, S 399: T.L. Shear (1935a) 334, (1935b) 379 n.4; Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7167: T.L. Shear, Jr (1971) 271; Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7515: Camp (1998) 31.

⁴³ Tracy and Habicht (1991) 198; Kyle (1987) 63-4; cf. Tracy (1991) 140-1.

⁴⁴ For the location of the Eponymous Heroes at this time, see T.L. Shear, Jr (1970) 203-22; *contra*: Kron (1976) 229-32; Robertson (1990) 50-2.

that he won with adult *purrhikhistai* at the Great Panathenaia of 410/9 and with beardless *purrhikhistai* at the Little Panathenaia of 403/2.⁴⁵ The *purrhikhē* probably continued to be held annually at Athena's festivities during the intervening 80 years between 403/2 and 323/2. The Little Panathenaia, however, did not include a full cycle of games; only tribal contests for the cyclic chorus and the *purrhikhē* are certainly attested.⁴⁶ The armed dance was included because its invention was associated with Athena's rejoicing after the divine victory in the Gigantomachy, the *aition* for the festival's celebration.

Not long after the original version of Atarbos' memorial was erected, the decision was made to enlarge it by adding a second block to the base and by replacing the pillar and relief with three bronze statues, a much more imposing and expensive display. It was, however, a design that de-emphasized the Panathenaic connections present in the monument's original form. The inscription was also expanded at this time to indicate that Atarbos was victorious both with *purrhikhistai* and with a men's chorus in the dithyramb. We should notice, however, that no changes were made to the archon date and the names of no additional archons were added. The text of the second phase, accordingly, should indicate that both victories occurred in the same year; the occasion of the second success, however, is not specified, but it could not have been the Little Panathenaia of 323/2. Had Atarbos' chorus as well as his *purrhikhistai* won at Athena's games, then the victories could easily and less expensively have been commemorated at the same time on the same monument, as was done on another Akropolis monument some time in the middle of the fourth century.⁴⁷ The remains of Atarbos' base, however, indicate that there were two phases in the memorial and we should consider other possible occasions. We learn from the *Athenaion Politeia* preserved in the corpus of Xenophon that, when it was written, the Athenians held competitions for choruses every year at the Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaia, Promethia and Hephaisteia.⁴⁸ All these choruses seem to have been cyclic, and Atarbos could have won at any of these celebrations except the Panathenaia. The Dionysia took place in the middle of Elaphebolion and the Thargelia in early Thargelion, i.e. almost eight and a little over nine months after the Panathenaia, respectively, while the dates for the Promethia and the Hephaisteia are not known. Since the period between the two victories was relatively short, it is entirely reasonable that Atarbos should have patronized the same establishment when he wanted to enlarge his memorial.

His second victory would have been emphasized by the new and expanded form of the monument, which was no longer part of the series of Panathenaic memorials commemorating tribal victories. On the reliefs, the two festivals should be represented by the two women who recall the personifications of Olympias, the Olympic games, on two prize amphorae of 360/59 and 340/39 (PLATES 3b and 7b).⁴⁹ Although the women on the base now appear to be very similar,

⁴⁵ Great Panathenaia: Lysias 21.1. Although the class of the dancers which the speaker sponsored in 410/9 is not specified in the text, the juxtaposition of this clause with the preceding one concerning a successful men's chorus at the Thargelia of 411/10 suggests that the team at Athena's festival was made up of adult men. Little Panathenaia: Lysias 21.4. The specification that the dancers were beardless indicates that other classes existed, presumably adult men and boys as at the Great Panathenaia; *IG II²* 2311.84-6 with the text as J.L. Shear (2003) 88-9.

⁴⁶ Cyclic chorus: Lysias 21.2; cf. [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; for the textual problems of this passage, see Moore (1971) 140-1; Davies (1967) 35. *Purhikhē*: above n.45 and Atarbos' base (*IG II²* 3025).

⁴⁷ *IG II²* 3022. The fragmentary text records victories in the torch-race and the *euandria* at the Panathenaia as well as the boys' cyclic chorus at the Thargelia.

⁴⁸ [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; on the textual problems, see above n.46. For the problems of its date, see Hornblower (2000) 363-76 and Mattingly (1997) 352-7, both with further bibliography.

⁴⁹ From 360/59: Archaeological Museum, Eretria, 14814: Bentz (1998) 173 no. 4.054, pl. 114 with further bibliography. From 340/59: Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1925.30.124A (PLATE 7b): Bentz (1998) 176 no. 4.081, pl. 120 with further bibliography.

when they were originally carved and painted, they may well have looked less alike.⁵⁰ The bronze statues, in contrast, probably alluded more directly to the initial success in Athena's games. Atarbos himself probably stood on the left block as *khoregos*, but the identity of the figures on the right is less clear. They were certainly smaller and, since the two victories were won by adult men and beardless youths, they probably represented two of the *purrikhistsai* who, as youths, would have been smaller than the mature *khoregos*.⁵¹ If this restoration is correct, then Atarbos' monument would have continued to be connected with the Panathenaia, but it would have looked more like memorials commemorating victories in the gymnastic and hippic games rather than the series recording successes in the tribal events.

Atarbos' base is not the only such monument that had several phases relatively early in its history. The memorial for [K]rat[e]s' apobatic victory also had a second period in which two small stelai were added to the monument on either side of the existing marble shaft (PLATE 5d) and the Akropolis apobatic base also seems to have been expanded at a later period.⁵² A closer parallel may be found in a base commemorating a victory with *purrikhistsai* in the Great Panathenaia in probably the 370s BC.⁵³ On the vertical front face of the memorial, a relief and an inscription indicate the occasion for the structure, while, on the right side, a second text commemorates a victory at the City Dionysia. The lettering of the two inscriptions is very similar, and it suggests that the success at the Dionysia was probably won in the same year, not quite eight months after Athena's festival.⁵⁴ Since very little of the top surface of the block is preserved, it is not clear what it supported and whether it belongs to our series of monuments; it is, however, similar to them in its modest scale and proportions.

As a group, our Panathenaic bases indicate that successes in the tribal contests of Athena's games were generally not commemorated with elaborate displays but with rather modest structures which could be erected quickly and, therefore, soon after the celebration. The reliefs of the two apobatic monuments are almost identical (PLATE 5a and c), and they suggest that such bases were made in advance and were on hand when a victor entered the shop in search of a suitable memorial to celebrate his victory at the Panathenaia. If he later wished to expand the structure to include successes won on other occasions, he may well have returned to the same establishment, as both Atarbos and the dedicator of SEG XXIII 103 seem to have done. The patrons of such workshops included not only individual victors but also tribes eager to erect a monument recording their successes in the team events. The process of purchasing and erecting such structures appears to have been relatively easy, and such memorials were probably fairly common in the cityscape of Classical Athens, and particularly along the Panathenaic Way, despite the relatively small numbers that are now extant.

Elucidating the history and date of the particular group set up by Atarbos in 323/2 also provides us with important evidence about Athena's festival. It indicates that, in the 320s, the *purrikhē* was contested by teams of Athenians at both the annual and the penteteric celebrations, as it had been 80 years before in the last decade of the fifth century. At that time, the cyclic chorus was also held every year at the Panathenaia, but Atarbos' monument does not provide evidence for the situation in the fourth century because his victory in the dithyramb clearly occurred

⁵⁰ Various other identifications have been proposed including Muses, *phulai* and personifications such as *theōria*; Kosmopoulou (1998) 166-7; Wilson (2000) 40. Earlier scholars frequently identified the figures as male and, therefore, the *khoregos*; Beulé (1854) 317, 320-1; Klein (1898) 358; Casson (1921) 240; Brouskari (1974) 20; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) 210 no. 101; Makres (1994) 273-4; identified as female: Süsserot (1938) 66; Horn (1931) 16-17; Boegehold (1996) 101; Kosmopoulou (1998) 163-4, 166-7; Wilson (2000) 40.

⁵¹ *Contra*: Kosmopoulou (1998) 168. She tentatively identifies the group as Dionysos with two satyrs. Since the attachments for the two smaller statues are in the shape of human feet, this restoration seems unlikely.

⁵² For further discussion, see the catalogue below.

⁵³ SEG XXIII 103 = SEG XLVII 202 = National Museum, Athens, 3854; photographs: Wilson (2000) 237, fig. 21.

⁵⁴ Wilson (1997) 174-5; Poursat (1967) 105-6; cf. Wilson (2000) 236-7.

at some other festival. The form of the first phase, a base supporting a pillar and a relief, links the structure with a series of memorials for victories in Athena's games. They indicate that both the apobatic race and the *anthippasia* were certainly on the programme about 400 and they provide us with the earliest known victors in these competitions: [K]rat[e]s of Peiraieus in the individual competition and the tribe Leontis in the team event.⁵⁵ Similarly, about the middle of the century, the tribe Antiokhis was also successful in the *anthippasia*.

The form of the monuments themselves seems to have been particularly associated not only with Athena's games but especially with the tribal contests. This connection distinguished the structures from other agonistic memorials in the city and it emphasized that the victors had been successful in competitions open only to Athenians. Their status was further stressed by the inscriptions that listed these men's demes and/or tribes, the verbal markers of their citizenship. The overall monuments, consequently, displayed the victors' status as Athenians in much the same way that their earlier participation in the tribal contests at the Panathenaia had identified their privileged position in the city. At the same time, the structures emphasized the importance of competing as a citizen in Athena's games, because only such men could erect this type of memorial. In 323/2, accordingly, Atarbos' original base displayed his Athenian status in what was, by then, a conventional way, but the second phase suggested a rather different image: the wealthy individual man as victor rather than the good citizen taking part in the city's most important festival.

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CATALOGUE

IG II² 3025 = Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1338: Atarbos' base

Left block	Right block
length: 0.935 m	length: 0.961 m
width: 0.723 m	width: 0.723 m
height: 0.334 m	height: 0.327 m
letter height: 0.009 m	dimensions of shaft: 0.405 x 0.403 m
	letter height: first phase: 0.018 m
	second phase: 0.009 m

Left block: vacat 0.057 m νική[σας ἀνδρῶν χο]ρῶι. vacat 0.559 m

Right block: [πυρριχ]ισταῖς νικήσας ^{νν} Ἄταρβος Λυσίου Θορίκος· Κ]ηφισό[δ]ωρο[ς ἦρχε].

[Having] won [with a men's cho]rus. Having won [with *purhikh*]istai, Atarbos, son of Ly[sias Thorikios. K]ephisod]oro[s was archon].

Epigraphical commentary. Left block: Michaelis and all subsequent editors: νική[σας κυκλίωι χο]ρῶι. Right block: space exists for c. 9-11 letters; for the restoration Λυσίου Θορίκος, see the discussion above; Oikonomides followed by Traill: Λυσιστράτου Θορίκος ἀνέθηκε Κ]; Michaelis followed by Koehler and Kirchner: Λυ[σ - - ἀνέθηκε Κ]. Of the dotted rho, only the bottom of a left vertical is preserved; of the dotted omikron, only the curved bottom is visible; Koehler followed by Kirchner: Κ]ηφισό[δ]ωρο[ς; Michaelis: Κ]ηφισό[δ]ωρος [ἦρχε].

Date: 323/2 BC

⁵⁵ The fragmentary relief Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7518 may represent a monument commemorating a team victory won some time between c. 446 and 403 BC,

but we cannot be certain of its purpose from the scanty remains; Bugh (1998) 81-3 no. 1, pl. 14.

For the remains of the base, the inscription and the history of the monument, see above in the main text (PLATES 2-3).

Bibliography: Guignaut (1852) 243-4 no. 8; Guignaut (1853) 92; Beulé (1854) 313-23; Rangabé (1855) 705-8 no. 987; Michaelis (1876) 295-6; *JG* II 1286; Casson (1921) 240-2; *JG* II² 3025; Brouskari (1974) 20; Oikonomides (1980) 20-2; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) 210 no. 101; Kalligas (1991) 12; Kyle (1992) 95 fig. 61; Makres (1994) 273-4, 311 no. P12+P/D21, 417; Traill (1994) 480 no. 224325; Ceccarelli (1995) 296-7; Boegehold (1996) 101-3 figs 4.1, 4.2; Ceccarelli (1998) 34, 35-6, 244 no. 2; Kosmopoulou (1998) 163-72; Rausa (1998) 226, pl. 36.1-2; Wilson (2000) 39-40, 304-5. Compare Wilson (1997) 174-8.

SEG XXI 695 = Agora Excavations, Athens, S 399: [K]rat[e]s' apobatic base

length: 0.949 m

width: 0.49 m

height: 0.49 m

cutting for shaft: 0.245 x 0.220 m

letter height: 0.014 m

[K]ράτ[η]ς Ἡορτίο Περαιεύς. vacat 0.185 m

[K]rat[e]s, the son of Heortios, of Peiraieus.

Epigraphical commentary. Of the dotted omikron, only the bottom part of the curve is visible. T.L. Shear: Κράτῆς Ἡορτίο.

Date: c. 400 BC

A rectangular base of white marble broken away at back of top surface and top of back side (PLATE 5d). Vertical front face decorated with a carved relief crowned with an ovolo surmounted by a fascia on which is the inscription; at bottom, a cyma recta moulding (PLATE 5c). Upper mouldings continue on both left and right sides and originally also on now broken back. Lower moulding used on back and now mostly cut away. Both sides decorated with a rusticated panel and back smoothly worked. Top surface preserves an almost square cutting for a marble pillar no longer extant (PLATE 5d); socket on axis of block and somewhat offset. On left, a cutting for a stele 0.265 x 0.080 m; on right, a second cutting 0.185 x 0.065 m. Backs of both cuttings aligned with the back of socket.

Relief very similar to contemporary Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1326; on right two-thirds of the panel and shows scene from the apobatic contest (PLATE 5c). Chariot pulled by four galloping horses and driven to left by charioteer dressed in long *khitōn* and looking at viewer. Outstretched arms and hands originally held reins. Driver accompanied by naked *apobatēs* armed with a helmet and shield and mounting back into the vehicle with right hand on chariot rail. He pulls himself up and forward and leans back against movement of car. Bent right leg and foot planted on chariot's floor and left leg hangs free in air with foot placed next to inside of wheel. Left arm supports his shield hanging behind body. Same pose used on north side of Parthenon frieze for *apobatai* N50 and N64.⁵⁶

Several phases evident: originally, consisted of rectangular base with relief and marble shaft presumably supporting a Panathenaic amphora. Later, two stelai erected on either side of pillar. Subsequently, monument damaged and used as hitching post as traces of rope wear at bottom centre of left and right sides suggest. Then built into late Roman fortification wall in southern tower of gate at south end of Stoa of Attalos where found in 1933.

[K]rat[e]s and his father Heortios are otherwise unattested.

Bibliography: T.L. Shear (1935a) 334, (1935b) 379-81; Travlos (1971) 19 fig. 26; Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 121, pl. 66a; Kyle (1987) 205 no. A37; *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*, 207-8; Kyle (1992) 90 fig. 57.

⁵⁶ Jenkins (1994) 89, 92.

Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7167: Relief of the tribe Leontis

preserved length: 0.61 m
 preserved height: 0.48 m
 thickness at pilaster: 0.157 m
 thickness of relief background: 0.111 m
 letter height: *c.* 0.016 m

Back: *vacat c.* 0.062 m Λεωντὶς ἐνίκᾱ. *vacat* 0.101 m
 Leontis was victorious.

Date: *c.* 400 BC

Double-sided relief of white marble broken at top and right side (FIG. 1). Scene on front framed on left by square pilaster and originally showed file of cavalrymen riding prancing mounts to right; preserved are parts of five riders and six horses. Rider on left edge of panel emerges from behind pilaster. Bearded and wears helmet, short *khitōn*, and boots; handle of sword is visible above his hand; presumably to be identified as *phularkhos* of tribe Leontis, which erected relief. To left of horse's neck, mane, bit of neck, and ear of another horse visible. Beyond bearded man, two younger, beardless riders wearing short *khitōnes* and boots and with bare heads. Head of third man's horse now mostly broken away, as is right front leg. Only clenched left hand of fourth rider visible; neck, shoulders, chest, belly, and parts of legs of mount preserved. Fifth rider preserved by right shoulder, torso, right arm and right hip; belly and part of rear leg of mount visible. Man wears short *khitōn* like companions and holds lowered arm at side. Small holes in mouths and necks of horses for bronze reins; holes in tops of riders' fists for bronze spears. Overall design clearly derived from Parthenon frieze; extant section particularly recalls riders S26-36.⁵⁷ Relief on back preserves much of left rear leg and part of tail of large lion facing left. To right of lion, a smoothly worked panel with inscription.

Bibliography: T.L. Shear, Jr (1971) 271-2, pl. 57c; Thompson and Wycherley (1972) 95 n.72; Camp (1986) 121-2, figs 96-7. Compare Bugh (1988) 78 n.135.

Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7515: Base of the tribe Antiokhis

length: 0.67 m
 preserved width: 0.465 m
 height: 0.322 m
 cutting for shaft: 0.37 x 0.155 m
 letter height: line 1: *c.* 0.015 m
 line 2: *c.* 0.011-0.014 m
 line 3: *c.* 0.009-0.011 m

Front: [Ἄντι]οχίδος φυ[λῆς].
 Ἱεροφάνης Πολυαράτο Ἄλωπεκ[ῆθεν].

Left side: [φυ]λῆται.

[Of the] tr[ibe Anti]okhis. Hierophanes, the son of Polyaratos, Alopek[ethen]. The members of the [tri]be.

Epigraphical commentary. Line 1: most of the bottom of the dotted omikron is visible. Line 2: of the dotted kappa, only the bottom of a left vertical is preserved. Line 3: the lower part of the right diagonal of the dotted lambda is present.

Date: mid 4th century BC

Five joining fragments of rectangular base of white marble; preserved are parts of all four vertical sides and upper and lower surfaces (PLATE 6a-b). Vertical front and back faces decorated with carved reliefs

⁵⁷ Jenkins (1994) 58-9.

framed at top and bottom by mouldings: above ovolo surmounted by fascia and below cyma reversa above half round. Upper mouldings preserved on left side of front with traces on right end of left side. Lower moulding preserved on left side of front, left end and centre of left side, and centre of right side; mouldings originally on all four sides. On front, first line of inscription inscribed on fascia; second line inscribed below crowning mouldings (PLATE 6a). On top, original roughly worked surface preserved at front left corner and along small section of right side. Cutting for rectangular pillar partially preserved; at bottom, traces of a deeper oval cutting in two places.

On front, relief extant on left side of the block; right side not preserved (PLATE 6a). Bearded horseman galloping mount to left; armed with Attic helmet and sword and wears tunic. Left hand and part of left ankle and foot broken away. Horse's head, neck, chest and left shoulder battered and preserved primarily in outline. Parts of both forelegs and left hind leg damaged and end of tail broken away.

On back, relief preserved in the middle of left side of panel (PLATE 6b). Horseman wearing tunic and galloping mount to right; rider's torso, right hip and right arm preserved. Horse's neck, chest, right shoulder, back, hip, parts of both forelegs and tip of tail extant. Original appearance presumably similar to front panel. Smoothly worked left and right sides partially preserved and left side bears fragmentary third line of inscription. Style of two reliefs very similar to Bryaxis base commemorating victories in *anthippasia*, hence Agora base dated to middle of fourth century.⁵⁸

Hierophanes of Alopeke presumably *phularkhos* of Antiokhis at time of victory and attested only by this base. His brother presumably [X]en[o]kles, son of Polyar[-], of Alopeke known from gravestone *IG II² 5574*. From victory monument, gravestone should be restored as [Ξ]εν[ο]κλῆς Πολυαρ[άτου] Ἰλῶπι[εκῆθεν]; presumably dates to second half of fourth century BC.

Bibliography: Camp (1998) 31-3, fig. 45.

Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1326: The Akropolis apobatic base

length: 0.840 m

preserved width: 0.729 m

height: 0.400 m

dimensions of shaft: 0.302 x 0.306 m

Date: c. 400 BC

White marble base broken at back and along part of right side (PLATE 5a-b). Front face decorated with relief surmounted by damaged ovolo; at bottom, a fascia (PLATE 5a). Visible sections of left and right sides both roughly worked. On left edge of top, a cutting for T-clamp and part of clamp preserved (PLATE 5b). In centre of base, square socket filled with marble shaft cut off at level of top of base; base and cut-down shaft preserve abundant traces of claw-toothed chisel. Lead used to secure shaft in socket also visible. No traces of inscription.

Relief shows apobatic scene very similar to contemporary *SEG XXI 695* = Agora Excavations, Athens, S 399, but here group centred on block (PLATE 5b). Four-horse chariot driven to left by beardless charioteer in long belted *khitōn*. Arms outstretched to hold reins presumably shown in paint. Joined by naked *apobatēs* armed with helmet and shield. Holds chariot rail with right hand and leans back against movement of vehicle. Bent right leg and foot planted on chariot's floor and left leg hangs free in air with foot next to inside edge of wheel and under car. Left arm supports shield behind body. Same pose also used on Parthenon frieze for *apobatai* N50 and N64. Date suggested by similarity of relief to *SEG XXI 695* = Agora Excavations, Athens, S 399.

Originally, probably a base with square shaft. T-clamp from later phase when base expanded or another structure placed against it. Removal of shaft and reworking of top presumably from third period when the monument perhaps reused in another structure.

Bibliography: Casson (1921) 227-8; Travlos (1971) 19 fig. 27; Brouskari (1974) 23-4.

⁵⁸ Bryaxis base: *IG II² 3130* = National Museum, Athens, 1733; Travlos (1971) 18 figs 24-5; Tzachou-Alexandri (1989) 320-1 no. 205; Camp (1998) 30 fig. 43; Davies (1971) 103-4.

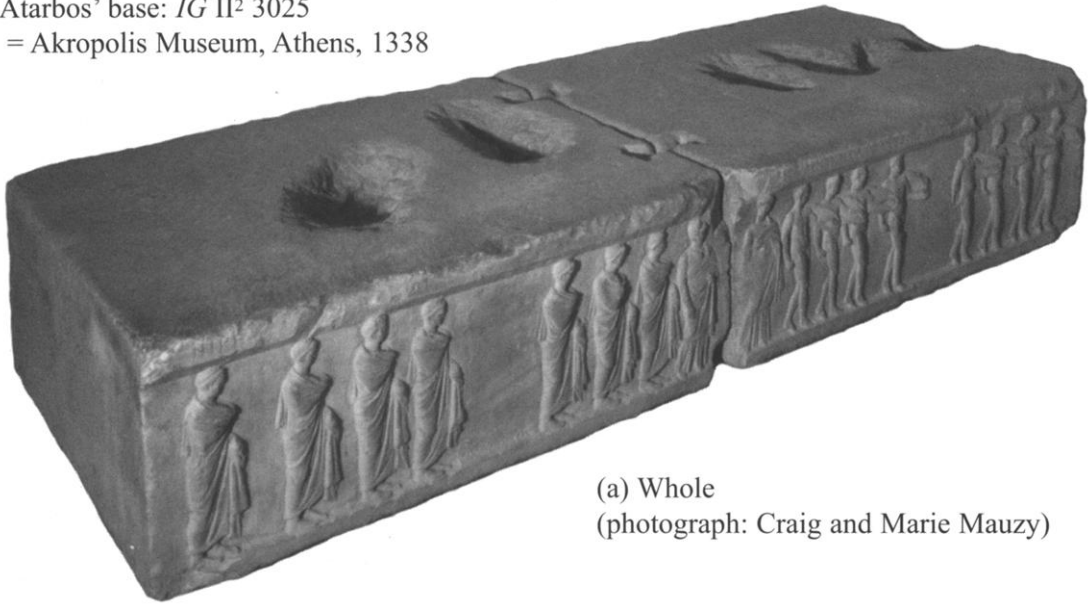
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Atarbos' base: *IG II² 3025*

= Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1338



(a) Whole
(photograph: Craig and Marie Mauzy)



(b) Left block: relief showing the cyclic chorus
(photograph: Craig and Marie Mauzy)



(c) Right block: relief showing the *purrhikhistai*
(photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athen, neg. no. 72/3004)

Atarbos' base: *IG II² 3025*
= Akropolis Museum, Athens, 1338



(a) Right block: top
(photograph: author)



(b) Reliefs: detail of the two female figures
(photograph: author)



(a) Decree of alliance between Athens, Arkadia, Akhaia, Elis and Phleious
IG II² 112 = National Museum, Athens 1481. Relief

(photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Athen, neg. no. NM 3873)



(b) Relief dedicated by Neoptolemos of Melite
 Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7154. General view

(photograph: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations)



(a & b)
Akropolis apobatic base
Akropolis Museum, Athens,
1326 (photographs: author)

(a) Relief

(b) Top surface



(c & d)
[K]rat[e]s' apobatic base
Agora Excavations, Athens,
S 399 (photographs: American
School of Classical Studies at
Athens: Agora Excavations)



(c) Relief

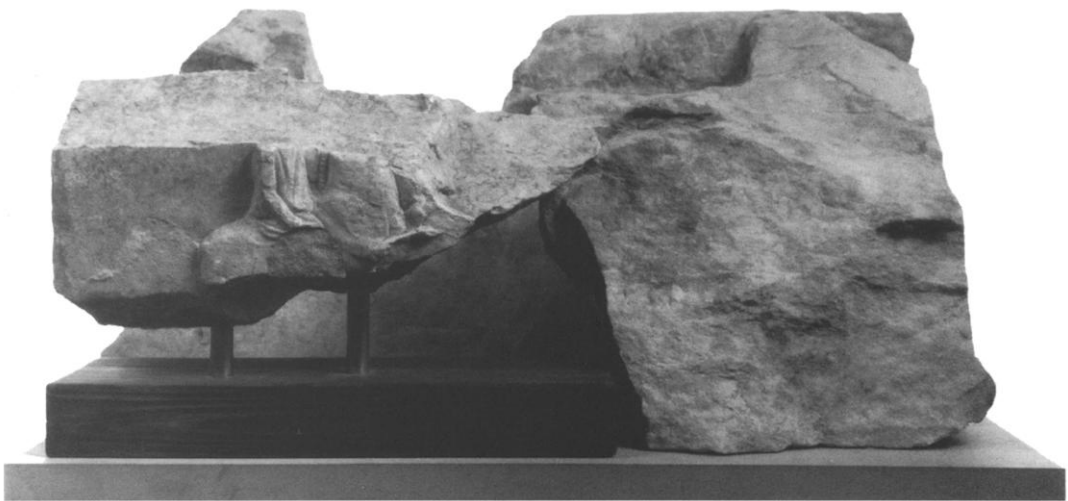


(d) Top

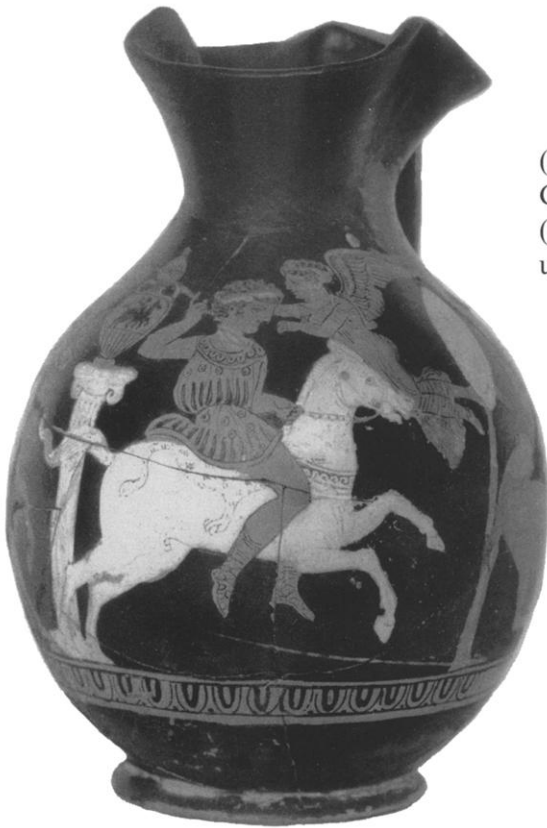
Antiokhis base. Agora Excavations, Athens, I 7515
(photographs: American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations)



(a) Front



(b) Back



(a) Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich, v. Sch. 71 = *ARV*² 1419, 2 (photograph: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich)



(b) Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1925.30.124A. Side B (photograph: Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Joseph C. Hoppin)