

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM IRIA

(Plates 12–13· Fig. 1)

The two inscriptions published here were found at Iria, and transferred to Nauplia Museum in 1963. My warmest thanks are due to Dr. N. Verdelis, at that time Ephor of the Argolid, for his kindness in showing me the stones, supplying all the details of discovery, and generously offering me the opportunity to publish them; also to Mr. Ser. Charitonidis, present Ephor, for his kind co-operation¹.

1. Nauplia Mus. 13867. From Kalo Pegadi. Found on the property of the brothers Tsilimangas, having been transferred there from a neighbouring area which contains the foundations of a baptistery or similar building of the Byzantine period. Large basin hewn from a cylindrical block of reddish-grey marble, hollowed out on top to make a round bowl with a flat horizontal rim (Plates 12 - 13). Rim and hollow are polished smooth. The block tapers down slightly, like a modern flowerpot, its surface finished off with rough-picking. A dedication (Fig. 1) is cut in a single line from L. to R. on the rim, the letters facing outwards; some are battered or worn, especially those near the end.

Measurements (in cms.): block, di. 73, h. 33; hollow, di. 60, depth c. 16.5, w. of rim 6.5. L.H. 3 (o = 2.5).

τοὶ φρονοὶ ἀνέθεν τοὶ ἐπὶ Σπούδιος καὶ Ἀνδροκνώδε[ε]ος.

If this basin was brought from elsewhere to be re-used in the Byzantine building – which of course is not certain – then the area of Epidaurus is perhaps the most likely provenance, since many other dedications by φρονοὶ have been found there (see below). However that may be, it seems very likely that this is the inscription which was mentioned briefly by A. Frickenhaus in 1912 (see (i) below); listing other dedications by φρονοί, he added: ‘ dazu kommt noch eine von W. Müller und mir bei Iria (südöstlich Nauplia, an der Mündung des Bedeniflusses) gefundene Inschrift’. Clearly this offering was made in a sanctuary, though the deity is not mentioned (cf. also (iv) and (vi) below, both from the Asklepieion). If this basin was a περιρραντήριον, it may have stood on another block – on the ground it is barely knee-high – and perhaps held a bronze bowl in its hollow. But of course it may have served some other ritual purpose, and stood directly on the ground².

The short, squarely-plotted letters suggest a date not earlier than the mid-

1. Further, I am most grateful to Lord William Taylour, to whose generosity and photographic skill are due the photographs in this article.

2. Many *perirrhanteria* were dedicated in the Asklepieion, but of a shape different from this: *IG* iv². 1. 171 - 195 (*IG* iv. 957 - 977), all from the early fourth century B.C. onwards. Usually each

dle of the fifth century B.C. : the crossbars of *alpha* and *epsilon* are horizontal and *delta* is not the local *D* of the Argolid. More archaic are the 'legless' *rho* ρ and crossed *theta*; but, comparing this inscription with the sacral law from the Asklepieion, (iii) below, usually dated c. 400 B.C., we note there too some archaic letter-forms still in use (closed *heta*, tailed *rho* Ϟ), though combined with other, later features (dotted *theta*, *lambda* Λ (not Λ), flattened *phi* ϕ). From its overall appearance, (iii) should be later than our 1; but (iii) was cut by an expert hand,



Fig. 1.

1 less skilfully, so that they may in fact be not far apart in date. If (iii) does belong at or near the end of the fifth century, 1 may be set tentatively in the third quarter.

The dialect shows the Doric forms normal for the area (*τοί, ἀνέθεν*), and the

is dedicated by two men, who in some of the later examples are specified as *hieromnemes* (e.g. *IG* iv² 971 - 2). See further, on these basins in general, A. Deonna, *Delos* xviii (1938) 73ff., pls. 21 - 5, 31 - 2, 34; A.E. Raubitscheck, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (1948) 370ff.

improper diphthong in *φρουροί* is spelt with *omikron* only. The name Spoudis seems unattested, though the form Spoudias is fairly common elsewhere³. In the second name *Ἀνδρο* is certain, followed by a vertical stroke (K, ρ, T?). The worn and battered traces of this letter and the next two appeared to me to show ρϕϕ, but this is quite uncertain; the next letter is wholly illegible; then O appears, faint but reasonably secure on the squeeze; and the final Σ is clear. There seems no warrant for a form *Ἀνδροπυθις*, or *-ης*; *Ἀνδροπειθης* is well-attested, but the traces did not look to me anything like EI. I therefore suggest *Ἀνδροκώδης*⁴ (for genitive *-εος*, as here, instead of the normal *-ου*, cf. *Ἀνδροκώδους* in Plut. *Mor.* 665D).

Nine other inscriptions from the Argolic area refer certainly or probably to *φρουροί*, nearly all in some connexion with cults. Another cluster of like inscriptions occurs in northern Thessaly (pp. 23 f. below). The discovery of the new example raises again the question, to be further discussed below, as to what exactly these Guards were—purely military, as the title suggests, or units with special duties concerned in some way with precincts?

The other Argolic examples are as follows, roughly in chronological order ((ii), (iv) - (ix) are published in majuscule only; their dates are as given in *IG*).

(i). *Tiryns*. Frickenhaus, *Tiryns* i (1912), 105, no. 226, fig. 43. From a dump of material from the archaic temple of Hera on the acropolis of Tiryns. Fragment from the rim of a large black-glazed plate (Attic, 5th c.), with part of a graffito on the rim: [? τοί] φροφ[οί ἀνέθεν ?]. Lettering not later than the 5th c. (*phi* not yet flattened, *rho* nearly legless ϐ). Though noting that these letters might be from a personal name, Frickenhaus clearly preferred the view that this was a public offering by *φρουροί*, who perhaps protected the acropolis as a whole, not only Hera's temple; for *φρουροί* elsewhere he cited (ii) - (v) and (viii) - (ix) below, and, as we have seen, mentioned what was almost certainly our 1.

(ii). *Kekryphaleia* (Kyra). *IG* iv². 1. *adn.* 5 - 24 (= *IG* iv. 194). Stone (now lost?) once built into the church of the Dormition of the Virgin. τοί φρουροί μ' ἀν[έθεν ?], with letters ρ and P, V, Φ. Jamot, the discoverer and first editor⁵, read the first letter tentatively as ϐ, and associated the inscription with the Aiginetans in the early fifth century: *hoi φρουροί κτλ.* M. Fraenkel (*IG* iv) referred it to the action off Kekryphaleia c. 459/8 (Thuc. i. 105), and suggested the Corinthians as dedicators, since the spelling OV would fit their dialect, and the first letter might well be T. Hiller von Gaertringen (*IG* iv² 1) returned without comment to ϐ, and referred these *φρουροί* to the other Argolic examples as then known. We can only speculate over the exact date of this inscription; but it may well be no earlier than the second half of the fifth century, if we accept the Doric form τοί

3. Especially in Attica (e.g., *SEG* xvi, 23, 63 : xvii, 83 : xviii, 36A : and cf. *IG* iv². 1. 261, *Σπυρδίας Ἀθηναίος*).

4. Not in *IG* iv or iv². 1; nearest is an Argive, *SEG* xi. 379b.

5. *BCH* xiii (1889) 186.

as the most likely in any event, and compare the R and OV of (iii) below (? c. 400 B.C.), in which only the form of *phi* is more developed than here. I see no compelling reason to postulate that any Guards made a dedication on this islet, in any case, but would suspect rather that the modern church-builders brought over some of the ancient blocks from the ruins of Palaia Epidauros, or even from the Asklepieion; cf. *IG* iv². 1. 742, which seems to have found its way from the mainland to Kyra and thence to Aigina (see Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.*).

(iii). *Asklepieion*. *IG* iv². 1. 40/1 (= iv. 914). Marble stele, broken top and bottom, the inscribed surface sunk between moulded edges. C. 400 B.C. ? It bears part of two sacral laws, listing the offerings due first to Apollo and then to his son Asklepios, with their *δμόναοι* and *δμόνααι*. The Apolline law, broken at the top but complete at the end, says (lines 10 ff.): [τῶι θεῶι] τὸ σκέλος τοῦ βοῦς τοῦ πρώτου, τὸ δ' ἄτερον σκέλος τοῖ ἱερομυνάμονες φεροσθῶ· τοῦ δευτέρου βοῦς τοῖς ἀοιδοῖς δόντῶ τὸ σκέλος, τὸ δ' ἄτερον σκέλος τοῖς φρουροῖς δόντῶ καὶ τενδοσθίδια.

The list for Asklepios which follows breaks off at the relevant part, but in the extant part says much the same as the other, and so presumably referred likewise to the φρουροί.

(iv). *Ibidem*. *IG*. iv². 1. 305 (= iv. 1352). Marble relief showing Pan, whose cult in the Asklepieion is well-attested; above, in lettering of the fourth or third century B.C.: Γοργίας Κρηθεὺς | τοῖ φρουροῖ ἀνέθεν.

(v). *Palaia Epidauros*. *IG*. iv². 1. 2 (= iv. 872). Round stone altar or base, exact provenance unrecorded. 4th - c. lettering: Πυθέας Τιμαίνετος | τοῖ φρουροῖ Λυκεῖωι. For the Lykeion at Epidauros see *IG* iv. 1467.

(vi). *Ibidem*. *IG*. iv². 1. 4. Stone column, presumably to hold an offering, exact provenance unrecorded. 4th - c. lettering: Ξενός | Ἀριστολαΐδας | τοῖ φρουροῖ.

(vii). *Ibidem*. *IG* iv². 1. 5 - 24 (= iv. 876 - 893). A series of big, long blocks bearing the remains of widely-spaced inscriptions, built into the medieval walls on the acropolis. 4th or 3rd - c. lettering. M. Fraenkel (*IG* iv) suggested that the structure whence they came may have been a stadium, for in the stadium at the Asklepieion some of the surviving stones of the seats bore the names of freedmen, similarly inscribed. The original inscriptions here seem to have each consisted of a heading (restoration uncertain) in very widely-spaced lettering which ran over more than one block, and below it personal names, more closely spaced. The names are never more than two, though this may be merely the chances of survival. Three of the blocks preserve traces which suggest τοῖ φρουροῖ as the heading, i.e. 5, [τ]οῖ φρο[υροῖ?] and below [- -]ις Λαδαμίδα | [- -]ας Ἐπικράτεος; 6, [τ]οῖ φρο[υροῖ] vac.; 7, [τ]οῖ φρο[υροῖ] vac.

(viii). *Hermion*. *IG* iv. 695. A fragmentary inscription known only from a sketch by Fourmont. Date apparently in the 4th c. or later. I include it here because it can be restored to give the same opening formula as our other examples; the following may be suggested *exempli gratia*: [? A son of B ; c. 10 ?]Κλεα[γέ]νης

c.4?], τοὶ φρο[υρο]ὶ τοῦ ναοῦ?] τὸ πρόδομ[οῖν κατ]εργασάμ[ενοι | ἀνέθειν]ταὶ
 Ἐφροδ[ίται].

(ix). *Troizen. IG iv. 769.* Block with cutting on top for a dedication (not further described). 3rd century lettering: *Φρούραρχος Κυρθα[---] | καὶ φρο[υρο]ὶ ---*. Here the title of the leader is given, as in the Thessalian dedications (below), which also record a single leader.

These inscriptions⁶ establish, then, that units bearing the military title of Guards existed in this part of the Peloponnese at least as early as the fifth century (1, (i), (ii)). These units made dedications in the various precincts of their cities; and the brief, standard formulae suggest that these were regular offerings, probably made at the end of the term of service, as were the Thessalian dedications (below). In the complete inscriptions from Epidauros (?1, (iv), (vi)) a body of Guards consisted of two leaders⁷ and an unknown number of men serving under them⁸; but, as at Troizen (ix), so here too we have also references to a single *φρούραρχος* (below). As well as making dedications, these Guards may possibly have been public benefactors sometimes to their cities – (vii), (viii) – by helping to finance the erection, or restoration, of public buildings. If this were certain, it might support the theory that these *φρο[υρο]οὶ* were something more than ordinary serving soldiers; but the restorations must remain conjectural. (iii), however, does imply that at the Asklepieion the Guards performed some service to the deities in this precinct which earned them a place in the honorific list at festivals – below the *hieromnemes*, and next after the *aidoi* (or perhaps equal with them, since they got the less good joint, but the offal in addition). The Asklepieion, remote from the city and rich in money and other valuables, may well have needed special guard beyond the *naophylakes* or the ordinary standards of a military patrol or garrison; but whether such *φρο[υρο]οὶ* are likely to have come from the young military trainees in the ordinary way, or to have been a special body, I am not clear (p. 23 below).

In this connexion two references to *φρούραρχοι* in the Asklepieion may be relevant. One (*IG iv*². 1. 42) is cut on the side of (iii), and has been dated in the second half of the third century B.C. It is the record of a repayment of money which the Epidaurians made to the Elisphasians of Arcadia, and the name of a

6. I omit from this list the ill-spelt inscription (5th c.?) on the bronze statuette-base in Berlin, said to be from Liguria (*IG iv*³. 1. 141; *LSAG* 180, no. 12, n. 1). The relevant letters *κεπρο[υρο]ο* may conceal *οὶ (τοὶ?) φρο[υρο]οὶ*; but – as the varied emendations show – certainty is impossible.

7. This is, I think, the most likely interpretation of the two names cited as eponymi in 1, and as the first two dedicators in (iv) – (vi). It is also possible that they were the two *hieromnemes* of the Asklepieion (n. 2 above); but this would mean that the two priests made offerings not only by themselves, but also jointly with the Guards, which seems unlikely.

8. Hiller von Gaertringen (*IG iv*². 1. 2) suggested that the Guards were two only – the named men in each case. But the dual is never used in the formula: a fact which alone would invalidate this hypothesis. In the few inscriptions of this kind which do list all the names, we have 20 at Thasos (n. 12 below), 11 and 12 at Sykourion (or Mopsion) and 10 at Gonnos (nn. 10 – 11 below).

φρούραρχος is given, as if he were eponymous, between the date and the witnesses' names: *φρούραρχ[ος] Τιμοκράτης*. Secondly, in the early fourth-century building accounts of the temple (*IG* iv². 1. 102) [*φ*]ρούρα[ρ]χος Σωφάνης [*Υσ*]μινάτας is cited once, alongside the date and the name of the *ιερεὺς*. Why is a *phourarchos* cited thus in these money-transactions in the Asklepieion? He cannot, surely, have been an eponymous civilian official, or the commander of some garrison imposed on Epidauros? Was he cited, possibly, because these transactions concerned the temple treasury⁹?

The dedications of *φρουροί* recorded at Mikro and Megalo Keserli (Sykourion or Mopsion) and Gonnos in northern Thessaly, both sites near the entrance to the Pass of Tempe, range in date from the fourth century B. C. to at least the late first century A.D. They are all of the same type: the form of painted stele particularly characteristic of central Greece and Thessaly, which usually has a pediment-shaped top, and mouldings up the front sides to represent the engaged columns or antae of a small naiskos. The lettering is sometimes on the pediment, sometimes in the main field between the two columns; occasionally traces of the paintings survive. So far fourteen examples are known from Sykourion (Mopsion?)¹⁰ and probably seven from Gonnos¹¹. The former examples were dedicated to various deities or heroes, the latter, all from the acropolis of Gonnos, to Athena Polias. For these Thessalian Guards, unlike the bulk of the Peloponnesian examples cited above, there is only one eponymous leader; he has the title *ἀρχιφρουρος* and his company are (with dialectal variants) called *σύμφρουροι* or occasionally *φρουροί*. Thrice the company's names are given also; in one case they were ten in number, in two, eleven and twelve¹². The dedications were made *after service* (*ἀρχιφρουρήσας*)¹³.

From the original implication by Kavvadias that Guards such as those mentioned in the sacral law of the Asklepieion (iii) must have been primarily concerned with the protection of the precinct, an implication followed by A.M. Woodward's observation, made with all due reserve, that the Thessalian Guards perhaps patrolled the Sacred Way through Tempe, came the much more positive hypothesis that

9. Here may be added the inscription from Klazomenai, A. Plassart and Ch. Picard, *BCH* xxxvii (1913) 183ff., no. 17. It is the lower part of a lease of property, and at the end the date is given, *ἐπὶ προῦροῦ Ἑκαταίου*. The French editors, noting the unlikelihood that this could be some foreign garrison-commander, suggested tentatively some form of eponymous *νομοφυλακία*, as attested elsewhere. If the property belonged to a temple, this could be an analogy for our Epidaurian *Φρούραρχος*; but in the surviving lines the landlords speak of themselves only as 'ἡμεῖς'.

10. *IG*. ix. 2. 1057 (12 names and one leader), 1058a, 1059-64; Arvanitopoulos, *Rev. de phil.* xxv (1911) 123ff., nos. 31-2; A.M. Woodward, *LAAA* iii (1910) 155, no. 7; P. Franke, *AA* 1956, 183ff., no. 1; E. Mastrokostas, *REA* lxvi (1964) 316ff., nos. 1 (11 names and one leader), 2.

11. Arvanitopoulos, *EA* 1911, 123ff., nos. 51 (10 names and one leader), 52-55: 1914, 15ff., nos. 214, 218 (= *DGE* 600), and probably others also, on which only 1-2 letters survive.

12. See nn. 10-11, and *IG* ix, suppl., 429 (Thasos): 20 names, the 20th erased deliberately; no leader. In 430, also a dedication by *φρουροί*, the number seems to be incomplete.

13. A typical example of the formula is *IG* ix, 2.1059: *Λευκάτα Ἀντιγένειος Δεξιπείσιος | ἀρχιφρουρήσας καὶ οἱ σύνφρουροι*.

these units were not military, but a kind of 'Kultgenossenschaft'¹⁴. Against this extreme view J. and L. Robert rightly protested in their invaluable *Bulletin épigraphique* of 1959¹⁵; they maintained that all these were purely military garrisons, making offerings to their particular patron - deities: the view also adopted in M. Launey's standard work¹⁶, and already postulated for the Thessalian inscriptions by *IG* ix. 2 and Arvanitopoulos¹⁷. Indeed, it is hard not to accept this view as essentially the right one. Admittedly, any belief that such garrisons were all Macedonian can no longer stand against the accumulated evidence of 1 and (i) - (iii) above, all earlier than the mid - fourth century. But garrison - duty and patrolling were perennial tasks for the Greek city¹⁸. Whether all these Guards were analogous to the Athenian Epheboi, and, if so, whether their eponymous leaders were officers from their own numbers or older men such as the Athenian *σωφρονισταί* and *κοσμητής* (*Ath. Pol.* 42) I do not know. It is possible, in any case, that the named pairs of 1 and (iv) - (vi) above were not the same officials as either the *φρούραρχος* of (ix) and *IG* iv². 1. 42 and 102, or the *ἀρχιφρουρός* of the Thessalian dedications. And this brings us to the last point. Were some of these units élite bodies, picked for special duties? Arvanitopoulos observed¹⁹ that the list of ten names from Gonnos contained names which reappeared elsewhere in authority, suggesting that these were young men of leading families. We have seen that Epidaurian Guards had some special duty in the Asklepieion ((iii) above, and possibly *IG* iv². 1. 42 and 102). And it is possible, I suppose, that some difference of meaning, or at least of emphasis, may underlie the Thessalian use of *ἀρχιφρουρός*; 'chief guard' has the echo of an honorific title about it, something slightly less professional, as it were, than the more usual military title *φρούραρχος*, garrison - commander²⁰. It may be that among the total numbers drafted for patrol and garrison duties there were special units which manned special posts to guard certain precincts of their city, and by convention made a dedication there after their period of service. This could account for those cases like our 1, which do not seem quite to fit the picture of the ordinary military garrison.

2. Nauplia Mus. 13868. From Xenaga. Thick, roughly - shaped grey stone horos (Plates 12 a - b, 13e), broken or battered at sides, top, back and

14. Kavvadias, *EA* 1899, 10 and 14f., suggesting that the *φρουροί* of our (iii) were the same as the *ναυφύλακες* of the Asklepieion in the Roman period (*IG* iv². 1.393); Woodward, loc. cit. n. 10 above; further developed, Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG* iv². 1. ad 2; finally stated by the great authority of Stählin, *RE* s.v. *Sykyrion*; cf. Franke and Mastrokostas, loc. cit. n. 10 above.

15. *REG* 1959, 201f.

16. *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* ii (1950) 911f., 1010f., 1057f.

17. *EA* 1911, 123ff.

18. Cf. the observations of J. and L. Robert, loc. cit. (n. 15 above).

19. *EA* 1911, 123ff., on no. 51. Cf. also Poland, *RE* s.v. *σύμφρουροι*, citing Ziebarth, *Jahresber.* clxxxix, 15, 51 (a brief statement of Arvanitopoulos' conclusion).

20. Arvanitopoulos (loc. cit., n. 20 above; cf. also Launey, op. cit. 1011, n. 4) compared with the *ἀρχιφρουρός* the *ἀρχέσκοποι* of Halmyros (*IG* ix. 2.1322) and the *ἀρχιπτολιάρχος* of Phalanna (*IG* ix. 2.1233).

bottom, where the remains of a slightly - projecting base survive, for embedding in the ground. Max. H. c. 53, Max. W. c. 42, Max. Th. c. 40. L. H. 2.5 - 3.5 (O = 3).

Ϝ Ρ Ο Σ
ΓΥΘΗΔΟΣ

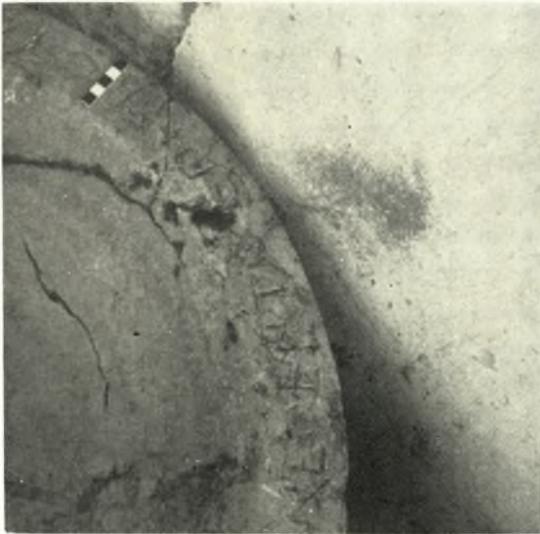
Letters carefully cut, of the late fourth or third c. B.C. I am unable to explain the word *Πυθηδος*, which appears to be complete. Recalling the feminine name *Πυθηίς*, *-ηίδος*, it may suggest a sanctuary, or area: (*τᾶς*) *Πυθη(ί)δος* (*μοίρας?* *φράτρας?*). It is hoped that other scholars will provide the right explanation.

L. H. JEFFERY



Inscriptions from Iria: a. Basin (1), with Horos - Stone (2) behind, b. Horos - Stone (2) lying on back, with Basin (1) behind

L. H. JEFFERY



Inscriptions from Iria: a - d. Details of inscription 1, e. Inscription 2

L. H. JEFFERY