Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections

British Museum

Ephebic Monuments

Stephen Lambert

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CONTENTS

PREFACE

Part 3B of our new edition of the Attic inscriptions in the British Museum covers the five inscriptions in the collection which are or may be from monuments commemorating the participation of young men in the ephebate, the programme of military training and education that is one of the most richly documented institutions of Hellenistic and Roman Athens. This type of inscription also features in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which we are publishing at the same time as this volume, as *AIUK* 11, edited by Christopher de Lisle. It became apparent to both of us while working on these inscriptions that there was a pressing need for a publication which supplied an epigraphical and historical overview of the Athenian ephebate in the Roman period, and which would both be informed by, and provide context for, our new editions. Such an overview, authored by de Lisle, is also published at the same time as this volume, as *AIO Papers* 12. As usual, our *AIUK* volumes are supplemented by publications of the inscriptions with lighter annotation on the main AIO site aimed at museum visitors, both real and virtual. In addition, *AIO Papers* 12 is supplemented by editions on the main site of a selection of other key ephebic inscriptions of Roman Athens, also edited and translated by de Lisle. We hope the reader will find it helpful in tracing a path through this forest of material that all of these publications, or sets of publications, are connected by liberal use of hyperlinks.

As in other parts of our publication of the British Museum's collection, it is fitting both to express admiration for the work of Edward Hicks, but also to register the distance scholarship has travelled since his 1874 edition of this material in *GIBM* I. All five of these inscriptions were included in Hicks' edition, but two of the five (**1** and **5**) have since been discovered to be parts of the same inscriptions as fragments still in Athens; one of them (**1**), dated by Hicks "not earlier than the second century AD" has since been shown to belong to the second century BC; Robert Pitt has discovered that, while it was still in Athens, **3** was copied by the mid-eighteenth century physician, Anthony Askew, enabling several of the names on it to be read more fully; and subsequent work on the ephebic inscriptions of Roman Athens, including most recently that of de Lisle, has transformed our capacity to understand this genre of inscriptions in their historical context.

As usual, I have accumulated many debts of gratitude in preparing this volume: pride of place academically goes to Chris de Lisle and Robert Pitt, the extent of whose contributions will be obvious from the number of times I refer to them. The two anonymous reviewers also made invaluable comments on a draft, as did Mike Edwards, Peter Liddel and P. J. Rhodes. I also gratefully acknowledge once again the support of the British Museum staff, especially Peter Higgs, Alexandra Villing, and Alex Truscott; the British School at Athens and the Seminar für Alte Geschichte of the University of Heidelberg for help of many kinds, including enabling access to their excellent libraries at times in 2020 when, because of the Covid-19 pandemic, library access was not possible in the UK; and in particular Nicolai Futás in Heidelberg and Katharine Donaldson in Athens for bibliographical assistance, including during "lockdown". I thank Alex Truscott for assistance in double-checking readings from the stones when the BM was inaccessible to researchers in autumn 2020. Last but not least, I thank my brother, Julian, for the

photograph at fig. 2.1, and Irene Vagionakis for her continuing indispensable contributions behind the scenes.

As in previous parts of this edition of the Attic inscriptions in the BM, I give an indication of the location of each inscription within the Museum at the time when I carried out my autopsy. Also as in previous volumes I do not explore in detail the early publication history of the inscriptions except where it bears on findspots or collection history. I indicate the source of Boeckh's information about an inscription in brackets after the relevant *CIG* reference; * indicates that a work contains further references to early bibliography.

ABBREVIATIONS

I use the abbreviations for epigraphical works listed at https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/ and in addition:

APF: J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971)

Athenian Onomasticon: seangb.org

Balzat 2019: J.-S. Balzat, "Roman Names and Naming Practices in Greek *Poleis*", in R. Parker ed., *Changing Names. Tradition and Innovation in Ancient Greek Onomastics*, 217-36

Biris 1940: K. E. Biris (Κ. Η. Μπίρης), Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν

Byrne, *RCA*: S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* (2003)

Camia 2014: F. Camia, "Political Elite and Priestly Posts in Athens During the Roman Imperial Period: Some Considerations", *ZPE* 188, 139-48

Camia 2017a: F. Camia, "Priests in Roman Greece: in Search of a Social Perspective", in A. D. Rizakis, F. Camia, S. Zoumbaki eds., *Social Dynamics under Roman Rule. Mobility and Status Change in the Provinces of Achaia and Macedonia*, 349-70

Camia 2017b: F. Camia, "Cultic and Social Dynamics in the Eleusinian Sanctuary Under the Empire", in E. Muñiz Grijalvo, J. M. Cortés Copete, F. Lozano Gómez eds., *Empire and Religious Change in Greek Cities under Roman Rule*, 45-66

CIG: A. Boeckh ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I [including Attica] 1828, II 1843, III [with J. Franz] 1853, IV *Indices* [H. Roehl] 1877)

Combe 1815: T. Combe, *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*

Conze 1864: A. Conze, "Museographisches", *Archäologisher Anzeiger zur Archäologischen Zeitung* 22 (Feb. 1864), 161-76

Cook 1985: B. F. Cook, *The Townley Marbles*

Cook 1987: B. F. Cook, *Greek Inscriptions*

de Lisle 2020: "The Ephebate in Roman Athens: Outline and Catalogue of Inscriptions", *AIO Papers* 12

Ellis 1846: H. Ellis, *The Townley Gallery of Classic Sculpture in the British Museum*

Follet 1976: S. Follet, *Athènes au IIe et au IIIe siècle: études chronologiques et prosopographiques*

Hicks, *GIBM* I: E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum. Part 1 Attika* (1874)

IG III: W. Dittenberger, ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae* (I 1878, II 1882, III R. Wünsch ed., *Defixionum tabellae in Attica regione repertae*, 1897)

Kaltsas 2002: N. Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*, Translated by D. Hardy

Le Bas and Waddington: P. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure fait par ordre du gouvernement Français pendant les années 1843 et 1844. 2: Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure. 1: Attique*

Liddel and Low 2019: P. Liddel and P. Low, "Four Unpublished Inscriptions (and One Neglected Collector) from the World Museum, Liverpool", in C. F. Noreña and N.

Papazarkadas eds., *From Document to History. Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World*, 408-30
Perrin 2007: E. Perrin-Saminadayar, *Education, culture et société à Athènes: les acteurs de la vie culturelle athénienne (229-88): un tout petit monde*
Perrin 2013: E. Perrin-Saminadayar, "Stratégies collectives, familiales et individuelles en oeuvre au sein de l'éphébie attique: l'instrumentalisation d'une institution publique (IIIe s. av. J.-C.- IIe s. apr. J.-C.)", in P. Fröhlich and P. Hamon eds., *Groupes et associations dans les cités grecques (IIIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIe siècle apr. J.-C.)*, 159-75
Pitt forthcoming: R. Pitt, *The Travels and Epigraphic Manuscript of Dr. Anthony Askew*
Poulou 2016: T. Poulou, "Giovanni Battista Lusieri, Lord Elgin's Unknown Agent and his Excavations in Athens", in F. Mallouchou-Tufano and A. Malikourti eds., *200 Years the Parthenon Marbles in the British Museum: New Contributions to the Issue*, 62-81
Rubinstein et al. 1991: L. Rubinstein, L. Bjertrup, M. H. Hansen, T. H. Nielsen and T. Vestergaard, "Adoption in Hellenistic and Roman Athens", *C&M* 42, 1991, 139-51
Sironen 1997: E. Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica*
Sourlas 2015: D. S. Sourlas, "Ανέκδοτη επιγραφή Θησειδῶν από την Αθήνα", in A. P. Matthaiou and N. Papazarkadas eds., ΑΞΩΝ: Studies in Honor of Ronald S. Stroud, 299-322
St. Clair 1998: W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*. *The Controversial History of the Parthenon Sculptures*[3] (first ed., 1967)
Stoneman 1985: R. Stoneman, "The Abbé Fourmont and Greek Archaeology", *Boreas* 8, 190-98
Stubbings 1976: F. Stubbings, "Anthony Askew's 'Liber Amicorum'", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, 306-21
Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I *Phonology* (1980); II *Morphology* (1996)
Tracy 1990: S. V. Tracy, *Attic Letter-Cutters of 229-86 BC* [= Tracy, *ALC*]
Traill *PAA*: J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens.* 21 vols. (1994-2012)
von Moock 1998: D. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit*
Wilson 1992: P. R. Wilson, *A Corpus of Ephebic Inscriptions from Roman Athens, 31 BC-267 AD* (PhD Dissertation, Monash)

1. ATHENIAN EPHEBIC CATALOGUES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1. Overview of the inscriptions

We saw in *AIUK* 4.2 that the two latest inscribed decrees of the Athenian Council and Assembly in the British Museum's collection feature the ephebate, the system of military training and education for young men which is richly documented in the Athenian epigraphical record from 334/3 BC until the sack of Athens by the Heruli in 267 AD. *AIUK* 4.2 no. 16, honouring the ephebes of 41/40 or 40/39 BC, is a fragment of one of five inscriptions carrying honorific decrees of the Council and Assembly dating between Sulla and Augustus. After that the inscribed honorific decrees cease, and *AIUK* 4.2 no. 17, of the early third century AD, making arrangements for the ephebes to convey the sacred objects for the Eleusinian Mysteries, is the only inscribed Assembly decree of the Roman imperial age relating directly to the ephebate. In place of the inscribed decrees, however, this period produced an abundance of other kinds of commemorative monument.[1] These typically contained catalogues of some or all the ephebes of a particular year, and might also name the annual officials of the city who commanded them, and the staff (often permanent) responsible for their training and support.[2] There are four such inscriptions in the British Museum's collection (**2-5**). The latest, **5**, is much the best preserved, and contains a complete roster of the ephebes of, probably, 194/5 AD, inscribed on a plaque in the shape of a shield set up by the *kosmetes* (ephebic superintendent), who, in a kind of footnote (or rather "sidenote") to the catalogue, addresses the viewer directly in the first person to explain that he had used his son to perform the duties of a deputy (*antikosmetes*) without formally appointing him as such. **5** is an example of the official commemorative roster of the entire ephebic year-class, usually set up by the *kosmetes*.[3] The genre emerged in the late first century AD, and in **2**, of ca. 80 AD, we perhaps have a fragment of one of the two or three earliest extant examples. There is reason to think that **4**, a fragment of perhaps ca. 163/4 AD, is also of this type. **3**, of ca. 110-120 AD, did not list the entire ephebic year-class and seems to belong to one of the more informal genres of monument which named only a selection of the ephebes.[4]

1 is an outlier, both chronologically and in genre. Dating from the late first century BC, it consists of a list of Athenian citizens not organised by tribe. It is included here as it

[1] Discussed by de Lisle 2020. As far as UK Collections are concerned, in addition to the ephebic inscriptions of the Roman period published here and in *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), two dedications which certainly or possibly relate to the ephebate at this period will be included in *AIUK* 4.5 (*BM, Dedications*): *IG* II^3 4, 401, of the 1st cent. BC, dedicated by an ephebic gymnasiarch or a holder of the adult office of that description; and *IG* II^3 4, 423, of the 2nd cent. AD, dedicated to Hermes and Herakles by the victor in a torch-race, most likely ephebic. From the 4th century BC *AIUK* 4.5 will include *IG* II^3 4, 331 and 349.

[2] City officials responsible for ephebate: de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.1; permanent staff: sect. 2.2. In addition the ephebes themselves might fulfil roles as cadet officials and liturgists (sect. 2.3). None of these cadet roles are mentioned in this set of inscriptions, but **4** col. 1 seems to be from a list of ephebic liturgists.

[3] On this genre of ephebic catalogue see de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.3.

[4] On these more selective lists see de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.2, 1.4, 1.5.

has points in common with lists of ephebes who made dedications at this period, and was categorised by Hicks as ephebic, but it may well in fact be another type of list.

2. Collection history

Though conclusive proof of the original location of the ephebic inscriptions of the Roman period is mostly lacking, it is generally assumed that they were erected in the area of the Diogeneion, the ephebic headquarters at this period, in the likely area of which, i.e. in the lower city north-east of the Acropolis, near the church of St. Demetrios Katephores, many of them were found.[5]

The findspot of the most substantial item in this set, the shield monument, **5** *a*, has not previously been clear from the scholarly literature;[6] but Robert Pitt, in his forthcoming study of Anthony Askew (1722-1774),[7] a physician and collector of classical books and manuscripts, shows that it was first recorded by the Abbé Fourmont in 1729 in the church of Stauromenos,[8] where it was still located when it was recorded and acquired by Askew at the end of 1747 or the very beginning of 1748.[9] Askew's visit to Athens took place towards the end of a European tour on which he had embarked in 1746, and which had included visits, in 1747, to Constantinople and to Mt. Athos. He wrote an important account of the inscriptions he encountered in Athens and the Islands, which he completed while in quarantine on Malta in early 1748, arriving back in England the same year.[10]

The church at which both Fourmont and Askew saw the shield monument is probably identifiable as Biris 1940, no. 45, at the corner of Thoukydidou and Nikodemou Streets, i.e. about 150 metres east of the church of St. Demetrios Katephores. This was a relatively large church, noted by more early travellers and map makers than the smaller church of Stauromenos, Biris no. 109, located at the corner of Panos and Aretousas

[5] On this location, at the junction of Kyrristou and Erechtheos streets, see *AIUK* 4.2, pp. 3-4; de Lisle 2020, sect. 0.1 (with further bibliography and catalogue of findspots, sect. 5. Particularly fruitful were the excavations in this area conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1861-1863 under the Directorship of Stephanos A. Koumanoudes, which yielded quantities of ephebic inscriptions and portrait heads of ephebic superintendents). The church was close to the post-Herulian wall, which had been constructed with materials from the locality, including many inscriptions. On the location of the Diogeneion see also Sourlas 2015, 311-14.

[6] Pitt informs me that it is unclear from Askew's manuscripts what basis there is for the claim of Combe 1815, vol. 2, pl. 36, cited by Hicks, *GIBM* I, no. 44, that Askew "was informed by the people of the place that it had been removed from the Parthenon." Cf. Boeckh ad *CIG* I 284, "olim ad Parthenonem fuerat".

[7] Pitt forthcoming. I am indebted to him for what follows. See also the summary of Askew's activities in the introduction to the forthcoming *AIUK* 4.6 (*BM, Funerary Monuments*).

[8] "Trouvée dans l'Eglise de σταυρομένης" (Fourmont). Bibl. nat. Paris, Suppl. grec. 854, f. 126 no. 252. For Fourmont's visit to Athens in 1729 see Stoneman 1985, 191-92. I am grateful to Pitt for showing me a facsimile of the relevant pages of Fourmont's manuscript.

[9] "Found upon the ground in the ruined church of St. Stauromeno" (Askew). British Library, Burney MS 402, f. 47r-48r/46v, as reported by Pitt forthcoming, no. 123. The date of Askew's arrival in Athens (no later than 23rd September 1747) is attested in his notebook at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (MS 47); cf. Stubbings 1976.

[10] Pitt forthcoming, publishing British Library, Burney MS 402.

(formerly Michael), about 200 metres south-west of St. Demetrios Katephores, under the north side of the Acropolis. Interestingly, although the shield had been removed from its surrounding frame by the time it was seen by Fourmont and Askew, it is otherwise in an excellent state of preservation and, unlike the two small fragments from the shield-frame, **5** *b* and *c*, it shows no sign of significant weathering or of re-use, e.g. in the construction of the post-Herulian Wall. Shorn of its rectangular frame, and with its rim neatly cut down, it would seem to have been preserved under cover (on display in the church?). In any case, the small fr. *b* of **5** was duly found in the area of St. Demetrios Katephores; and that was also the findspot of the other extant full ephebic catalogue in the shape of a shield, *IG* II^2 2051.[11]

3 was not previously known to have been recorded prior to its removal to England by Lord Elgin, but Pitt has discovered that it was documented by Askew in 1747/8 "in the English consul's house at Athens". Pitt has also established that this consul was most likely Nicholas Logothetis and the house in question was between the Library of Hadrian and the Stoa of Attalos, to the south of Monastiraki square, again a location close to the church of St. Demetrios Katephores.[12] In addition to **3**, **1** *b* and **2** were acquired in Athens in the years after 1801 by Lord Elgin, or by his agents, principally Giovanni Battista Lusieri, and were among the objects purchased by Parliament and transferred to the British Museum in 1816.[13] As with nearly all the inscriptions collected by Elgin, there is no record of findspots. Most likely, as apparently with many of Elgin's inscriptions, **1** *b* and **2**, as well as **3**, were obtained from locations in the lower city rather than in Lusieri's operations on the Acropolis.[14] The other surviving fragment of **1** (fr. *a*) also has no recorded findspot, and given that it is not only of uncertain genre, but also dates considerably earlier than **2-5**, the original location of this inscription is as obscure as the circumstances of its discovery.

On Askew's death his extensive collections were sold at an auction, the sales catalogue of which survives,[15] and includes at the end two inscriptions, **5** *a* and the

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[11] Cf. the commentary on 5. A third ephebic catalogue in the shape of a shield, inscribed with the names of members of the ephebic team, Theseidai, of 175/6 AD (?), Sourlas 2015, was found in 2008 during the restoration of the house of the Venizelos family at 96 Hadrianou Street, originally constructed perhaps in the first half of the 18th century. This is close to the church of Stauromenos at the corner of Thoukydidou and Nikodemou Streets, Biris 1940, no. 45, which perhaps supports the idea that it was at that church that Fourmont and Askew recorded **5**. In this case the monument has been cut down for secondary use.

[12] Pitt forthcoming, no. 9.

[13] Cf. *AIUK* 4.1, pp. 1-4; *AIUK* 4.2, pp. 1-4. On the activities of Lusieri see Poulou 2016.

[14] For Elgin's acquisitions in the lower city see *AIUK* 4.1, pp. 2-3; *AIUK* 4.2, pp. 1-3. Many further examples will be given in other parts of *AIUK* 4. One may speculate that Elgin's agents obtained **3** directly from the Spyridon Logothetis who, in the early 19th century, was consul in succession to the consul of Askew's time, and collaborated with Elgin and his team ("Logothetes", strictly an official title, was used in Athens at this period specifically in reference to members of the Chromatianos family who also held British consular appointments, St. Clair 1998, 351 n. 1). Philip Hunt, Elgin's chaplain, lodged with Logothetis in 1801 (St. Clair 1998, 91) and Logothetis is recorded as having made Elgin a present of antiquities that had been lying in his yard for many years (St. Clair 1998, 100).

[15] *Biblioteca Askeviana* (1775).

funerary relief stele for Xanthippos (now BM 1805.0703.183).[16] They were acquired at the auction by Lyde Browne, a Governor of the Bank of England, who in the same year, 1775, sold them to Charles Townley. Townley (1737-1805) was responsible for one of the most influential collections of Greek and Roman antiquities to come to the Museum before Elgin's.[17] He collected mainly in Italy, turning his London home on Park Street into a well-known gallery. After Townley's death the British Museum acquired his collection in two groups, in 1805 and 1814, to the first of which belonged **5** *a* and the Xanthippos stele.[18]

We are in the dark about the findspot of **4**. When it was first published by Boeckh, in the Addenda to *CIG* I (p. 911, 305b), it was already in London in the collection of the sixth Viscount Strangford, who had taken the opportunity of a term as British Ambassador in Constantinople in 1820-1824 to acquire a collection of antiquities.[19] Strangford died in 1855 and in 1864 the Museum acquired part of his collection from his son, the eighth Viscount.[20]

3. Lettering and other graphic features

The style of lettering on **1**, of ca. 125 BC, displays in modest form the apices or serifs (which later included hyperextended right diagonals on Α/Δ/Λ) that are characteristic of Attic inscriptions from the later Hellenistic period onwards, but not the split-bar alphas (Ⱥ) that appear on some public inscriptions from around the mid-second century BC.[21] Split-bar alphas (Ⱥ) do, however, appear on **2**, of ca. 80 AD, sporadically on **3**, of 110-120 AD, and **4**, of ca. 163/4 AD?, but have fallen out of use again on **5**, of 194/5 AD. None of the inscriptions is cut stoichedon; the style had gone out of fashion in the Hellenistic period,[22] There are, however, incised horizontal guidelines on **1**.[23] The major development in

[16] *IG* I^3 1282 bis = *IG* II^2 12332 = Clairmont, *CAT* 1.630. Obtained by Askew from the Petraki Monastery, which still exists, and in the grounds of which was built much later the British School at Athens.
[17] Cook 1985.
[18] See the introduction to the forthcoming *AIUK* 4.6 (*BM, Funerary Monuments*).
[19] Boeckh's edition was based on a transcript made in London by the Danish diplomat, Brønsted. Cf. *AIUK* 4.2, pp. 4-5. On Strangford see also other, forthcoming, parts of *AIUK* 4 and *AIUK* 13 (*Mount Stewart*).
[20] Conze 1864, 163-65, is an account of an exhibition, opened in the British Museum the previous September, of sculpture and inscriptions from the Strangford collection (on **4** see p. 165). One wonders whether **4** had a similar provenance to Strangford's fragment (*b*) of the post-Sullan decree honouring ephebes, *AIUK* 4.2 no. 16, which, before it was acquired by him, was recorded (in 1816) in a private house not far from the church of St. Demetrios Katephores (house of Stamataki-Hadgi, see *AIUK* 4.2, p. 4).
[21] For a summary of the key features of the lettering of Attic inscriptions of the period 229-86 BC see Tracy 1990, 238-39.
[22] Threatte I, 60-64.
[23] Cf. Threatte I, 62 + Add. p. 647.

lettering of the Roman period, however, is the introduction of cursive letter forms.[24] They are entirely absent in **2**, in the otherwise slightly florid lettering on **3**, and **4**, but do creep into **5**, where Ϲ, Ε, and ϖ appear alongside non-cursive forms. **3**, **4** and **5** also illustrate two other common abbreviatory features of inscribed name catalogues and other inscriptions of the Roman period, the use of Ↄ to indicate a man with the same name as his father (**3**, **4**, **5**),[25] and the sign ⁄ to indicate an abbreviation, usually, but not always, of a name element (**3**, **5**).[26] **5** also uses some ligatures and compendia and sometimes inscribes the last letter of an abbreviated name in a smaller superscript form;[27] and it also deploys a decorative sign, *J*, to mark off the division of the catalogue into different tribes.[28] **5** also contains the only passage of prose in these inscriptions (ll. 128-138), the most notable feature of which is perhaps the absence of the iota adscripts in dative singulars which had characterised the epigraphic writing of an earlier period, but which are somewhat unusual (and perhaps deliberately old-fashioned) in those relatively few cases in which they are retained in inscriptions of the second and third centuries AD.[29]

[24] On these see *AIUK* 4.2 no. 17 with commentary. Cf. Sironen 1997, appendix 1 (based on analysis of cursive lettering from 270 AD onwards; we lack up-to-date systematic analysis of this kind for pre-Herulian Athens).
[25] Used extensively from the 1st century BC onwards, Threatte I, 105-6.
[26] Used with abbreviations after 100 AD, Threatte I, 104.
[27] Cf. Threatte I, 107-110.
[28] The special signs mentioned here are rendered somewhat schematically in this edition. For their precise shape and position, and the precise character of the ligatures and compendia, see the photographs.
[29] Cf. Threatte I, 362. A case later than **5** in which the iota adscript is mostly retained is *AIUK* 4.2 no. 17, of ca. 220 AD.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1 CATALOGUE OF NAMES. EM 8692 (*a*), BM 1816,0610.285 (*b*). Two non-joining fragments of a stele (?) of white marble, associated by Tracy. Findspots not recorded (*b* Elgin collection, cf. sect. 1.2). *a* left side preserved?, *b* broken on all sides (the finished top on b relates to secondary use). *a* h. 0.11, w. 0.20, th. 0.12; *b* h. 0.195, w. 0.20, th. 0.14. L. h. 0.006. Modest apices/serifs. No Ⱥ. Letters inscribed within incised horizontal guidelines. Cutter: "unfamiliar/school of *FD* III 2, no. 24, 138-127 BC" (Tracy).

Eds. *a IG* II 5, 1048c; *IG* II^2 2450; *b CIG* I 295 (from Osann and Rose)*; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 45; *IG* III 1235; *IG* II^2 2272; *a* + *b* Tracy 1990, 245-46 (*SEG* 40.173). Autopsy Lambert 2019 (*b*). In store. *Fig.* 1.

ca. 125 BC

– – – – – – – – – – – – –

a
[Δημ]ήτριος [– – – – –]
[Ἀ]ρίστων Ἐπι[– – –]
Δωρόθεος Δωρο[θέου – – –]
Σωτέλης Νικοδ[ήμου Ἐκαλῆθεν?]
Θεμιστοκλῆς Α[– – – –]
[Ἀ]γαθοκλῆς Ἀσωπ[– – –]
[Θρα]συκλῆς Ἀπολλω[– – – –]

b
[– –$^{c.12}$– –]| . . Ṇ I . . . Ọ I[– –?]
[– –$^{c.12}$– –]ρου Σουνιεύς, γόν[ωι Ἀ]-
[– –$^{c.12}$– –]άνδρου Ἰωνίδης πο[λλωνί?](ου)
[– –$^{c.12}$– –]ος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν
[– –$^{c.9}$– –]τρίδου Παλληνεύς
[– –$^{c.9}$– –]ḷιαίου Ἀλαιεύς
[– –$^{c.6}$– Ἀπο]λλωνίου Ἐρικεεύς
[– –$^{c.9}$– –]ρος Ἀρτεμιδώρου Σουνιεύς
[– –$^{c.10}$– –]νος Κολωνῆθεν
[– –$^{c.10}$– –] Φρυνίσκου Σφήττιος
[– –$^{c.8}$– – Ἐχ]εσθένου Κειριάδης
[– –$^{c.11}$– –]οκλέους Θορίκιος
[– –$^{c.11}$– –] Διονυσίου Ἰφιστιάδης
[– –$^{c.12}$– –]νος Σουνιεύς
[– – – $^{c.17}$– – –]ου Βατῆθεν
[– – – $^{c.19?}$– – – Στ]ειριεύς
[– – – – – $^{c.26?}$– – – – –]τος [– –?]
– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – ?

Χαρίτω[ν]
Ὀλυμπι[οδώ]-
ρου
Κοθωκ[ίδης]

Tracy identified these two fragments as from the same inscription on the basis of the lettering, vertical spacing and the presence of incised guidelines. The exact spatial relationship of the two fragments is uncertain. Indications of numbers of letters to be restored to the left in fr. *b* are based on the uncertain restorations of ll. 14, 17 and 18, and are approximate. Here and there the cutter made corrections to individual letters without erasure. 1-7 Rest. Koehler (*IG* II), 4 Lambert, cf. Σωτέλης | Νικοδήμου | Ἑκαλῆθεν on the unpublished funerary columella of ii BC from the Agora noted by Traill *PAA* 867970 || 8 KI . . . Ọ̣I eds. || 9-10 Tracy, who noted that the text at the end of 9 and 10 has been crowded into the margin in slightly smaller lettering by a later cutter. "The two lines are to be taken together and identify the natural father of the man in l. 9." || 9 Tracy. One might expect γόν[ωι δὲ, but cf. *F. Delphes* III 2 no. 8 l. 7. || 13 -ναίου eds. || 14 [Ἀγήνωρ?] Tracy, see below || 17 [Καλλίστρατος?] Tracy after Kirchner (*IG* II^2), see below || 18 [Ἐχεσθένης?] Tracy, see below || 24 E.g. ἄρχον]τος, παιδοτριβοῦν]τος or part of a name, Lambert; ΤΟΓ eds. || 23, 25-28 Hicks. 25-28 "are crowded into the right margin by the same cutter who made the additions at lines 2 and 3" (Tracy).

a

. . .
Demetrios . . .
Ariston son of Epi- . . .
Dorotheos son of Doro[theos] . . .
Soteles son of Nikod[emos of Hekale?]
Themistokles son of A- . . .
Agathokles son of Asop- . . .
Thrasykles son of Apollo- . . .

b

- son of - of - ?
- son of -ros of Sounion, by birth son of Apo[llonios?]
- son of -andros of Ionidai
- son of - of Alopeke
- son of -trides of Pallene
- son of -iaios of Halai
- son of [Apo]llonios of Erikeia
-ros son of Artemidoros of Sounion
- son of -on of Kolonai
- son of Phryniskos of Sphettos
- son of [Ech]esthenes of Keiriadai
- son of -okles of Thorikos
- son of Dionysios of Iphistiadai
- son of -on of Sounion
- son of - of Bate
- son of - of Steiria

. . .
. . . ?

Chariton
son of Olympiodo-
ros
of Kothokidai

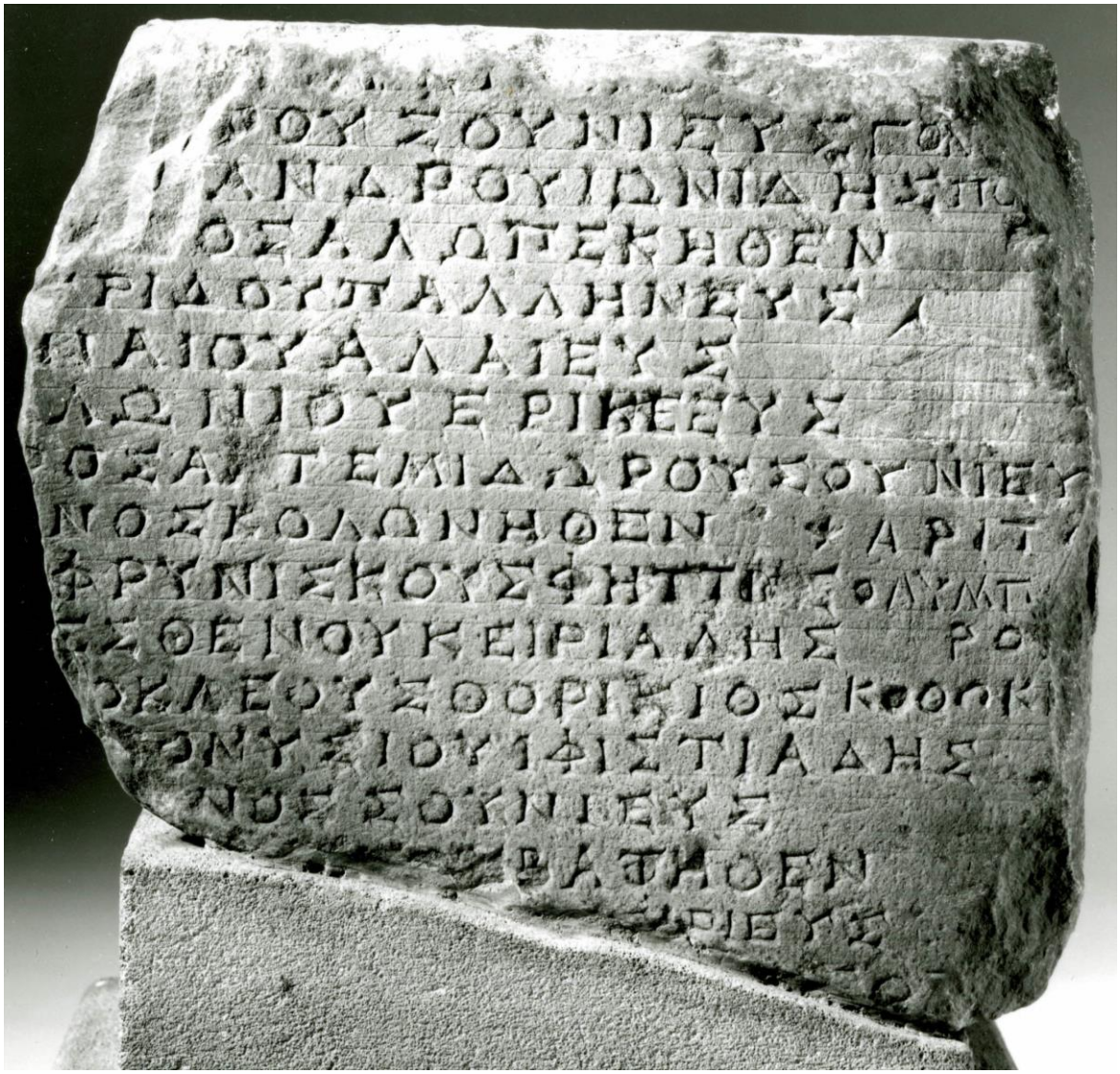


Fig. 1. **1 b** © Trustees of the British Museum.

Hicks identified *b* as an ephebic list "not earlier than the second century AD", but Kirchner (*IG* II^2) recognised that it was much earlier and voiced uncertainty about its categorisation. Tracy, in associating *b* with *a*, confirmed a date of ca. 125 BC on the basis of lettering and prosopography, but did not venture an opinion on the categorisation of the monument. The absence of tribal organisation rules out certain types of official list, e.g. the catalogues of councillors appended to prytany inscriptions or of ephebes appended to decrees honouring ephebes.[30] On the other hand the systematic inclusion of patronymics and demotics suggests a public context of some kind, for example a list of contributors to a public project. There are some similarities to the dedications of the second century BC to Hermes by groups of ephebes (with patronymics and demotics) with their physical trainer, found in the Piraeus and the Agora, all or mostly on bases, *IG* II^3 4, 357-364, and the

[30] For examples of this type of inscription in the British Museum's collection see *AIUK* 4.2 no. 15 (prytany), no. 16 (ephebes).

dedications mostly to the Muses by pre-ephebes (*mellepheboi*) of the late-second and early first century BC, also all found in the Piraeus and the Agora area, *IG* II^3 4, 367 (stele, ca. 120 BC), 370 (base, 100-60 BC), 373 (stele, Piraeus, 95/4 BC) 374 (base, Piraeus, 94/3 BC?).[31] If they are ephebes, the fact that all those listed appear to be Athenian citizens might suggest that the inscription pre-dates the opening of the ephebate to foreigners by at the latest 123/2 BC, though foreigners might also have been listed elsewhere on the stone.[32] On the other hand, the number of men listed on our inscription was probably rather greater than on these ephebic dedications; and our inscription more closely resembles *IG* II^2 2452, a catalogue of prominent men of the same period, also listed with patronymics and demotics, but not in tribal order. It too has names added at different times, but it is not ephebic.[33] The character of our catalogue must be left open.

Apart from Soteles (l. 4, see above, app. crit.), the following men on the list are identifiable:

9-10. The natural father of this man may be the [Apollonios?] son of Apollonios of Sounion who was prytany treasurer in 131/0 BC (*Agora* XV 246 + 232 = *SEG* 28.88, ll. 39, 45) and/or the Apollonios son of Apollonios of Sounion who was superintendent (*kosmetes*) of ephebes in 128/7 BC (*SEG* 15.104, ll. 49, 61 etc., *FD* III 2, 24, l. 9). It became common on inscriptions in the second century BC for adopted children to indicate their natural parent. As persuasively elucidated by Rubinstein et al. 1991, this practice was probably a consequence of the relaxation of Pericles' citizenship law. Now that it was no longer necessary for the citizen to be of citizen descent on both sides, "genuine" citizenship descent was something the office-holding elite wished, or needed, to advertise explicitly.[34] It is interesting that, in this case, the natural parent was added as an afterthought. This might suggest status consciousness in a general way, though if these were ephebes it might be explained more specifically by the desire to flag up that this ephebe was the natural son of an ephebic *kosmetes*, albeit not, it seems, in the same year.[35]

14. Identified by Perrin 2007, 411 (stemma) as the Agenor son of Apollonios of Erikeia who was a kithara-player and pythaist (official pilgrim to Delphi) in 138/7 BC (*FD* III 2, 47, l. 23). Might alternatively be a brother.

---

[31] It is quite possible that our fragments were from a stele, but it cannot be ruled out that they were cut down from a base.

[32] Foreigners are first attested in the ephebate in Perrin 2007, 206-17, T26 (*IG* II^2 1006 + *SEG* 38.114, archon Demetrios, 123/2 BC). At 250-53, however, Perrin notes that this development may in fact have taken place rather earlier. Cf. *AIUK* 4.2 no. 16 with commentary.

[33] It was cut by multiple hands, see Tracy 1990, 17, 214-15 etc.

[34] Cf. *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam Museum*), pp. 57-58, n. 144.

[35] The names on this list do not correspond with the ephebes listed on *SEG* 15.104. On the tendency for the epigraphical record to emphasise connections between *kosmetai* and their ephebe- or ephebic-officer-sons, cf. e.g. *IG* II^2 2017, 19, with de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.3; *IG* II^2 3750, 3762, 3769, with de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.4; de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.1, sect. 3.8; Perrin 2013, 163-65; **5** below. This phenomenon generally applies, however, to fathers and sons serving in the same year.

17. Perhaps the [Kallis?]tratos son of Phryniskos of Sphettos on the list of prominent men ca. 100 BC (?), *IG* II^2 2452, l. 8.

18. Perhaps (if our list is not ephebic) identical with the Echesthenes of Keiriadai who was councillor in 135/4 BC (*Agora* XV 243, l. 69), or a son of the same, or, as Tracy notes, identical with (or grandson of?) the Kallisthenes son of Echesthenes of Keiriadai who was *epimeletes* of the Piraeus ca. 140 BC (*IG* II^2 1939, l. 59).

25-28. If our list is not ephebic, perhaps father of the Olympiodoros son of Chariton (no demotic) who is known from an inscription from Delphi as an ephebe in 106/5 BC, *FD* III 2, 25, l. 13, col. 3.

2 EPHEBIC MONUMENT. BM 1816,0610.335. Elgin collection (cf. sect. 1.2). Fragment of a stele of white marble, broken on all sides (the apparently preserved left side is not original) and back. H. 0.21, w. 0.20, th. 0.09. L. h. 0.008. No cursive forms, A, modest apices/serifs. To the right of the inscription in relief a standing male figure, in profile facing to the right, wrapped in a chalmys, with right arm raised, head and feet missing.

Eds. *CIG* I 280 (from Osann and Müller)*; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 43; (*IG* III 1086); *IG* II^2 1993; Wilson 1992, E.119. Autopsy Lambert 2019. In store. *Fig.* 2.1.

ca. 80 AD

– – – – – – – – |
[γραμματ]εύς
[Ἀθη]νίων
[Δη]μητρίου
Φαληρεύς.
ἡγεμών
Διονυσόδωρος
Διονυσίου
Ἀναφλύστιος. *Relief*
ὁπλομάχος
Σώ[σ]τρατος
Νι[κίο]υ
[Παλλην]εύς.
[κεστρο]φύλαξ
. . .[5]. . νης
. . .[5]. . εύς
– – – – – –

Rest. Hicks. 2. 3. 12. 13 Dittenberger (*IG* III). I have made minor adjustments to dots and square brackets from autopsy.

. . .
Secretary
Athenion
son of Demetrios
of Phaleron.
Leader
Dionysodoros
son of Dionysios
of Anaphlystos. *Relief*
Weapons trainer
Sostratos
son of Nikias
of Pallene.

Kestrophylax
15 -nes
of -.
. . .

Fig. 2.1. **2** Photograph: J. R. T. Lambert. © Trustees of the British Museum

This is a fragment of an ephebic catalogue of the Roman period. It belongs in the second half of the first century AD, a period when the monuments set up by informal groups of ephebic friends (*philoi*) were transitioning into the more official monuments normally set up under the aegis of the overall ephebic superintendent, the *kosmetes*, with a full catalogue of the year's ephebes and their adult staff.[36] That our fragment belongs to the latter category may be implied by the figure in relief to the right of the fragment, for he is

[36] On these categories see de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.2 (*philoi* lists), 1.3 (ephebic catalogues).

very similar to the figure located to the right of a list of ephebic *sophronistai* on *IG* II^2 2044, an ephebic catalogue of 139/40 AD (archon Flavius Alkibiades of Paiania) (*Fig.* 2.2).[37]

Fig. 2.2. Relief panel depicting the crowning of a *kosmetes*, National Archaeological Museum, Sculpture Collection, no. 1484 (*IG* II^2 2044). Photograph: C. de Lisle. The rights on the depicted monument belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Resources Fund (Law 3028/2002).

The figure depicted there, identifiable as an ephebe, holds in his extended right hand a crown which he places on the head of an adult male figure, facing the viewer, representing the *kosmetes.* The composition is balanced by another ephebe to the right of the *kosmetes*, this one depicted frontally, naked, his chlamys slung behind him around his shoulders, also crowning the *kosmetes*. The figures are located within the framed relief panel at the top of the stele, with adult ephebic officials (*sophronistai*) listed to the left and ephebic staff (*paidotribes*, *hoplomachos* and *hegemon*) to the right on the relief ground, and

[37] See also the photograph of the complete stele in Kaltsas 2002, p. 336 , no. 710. The quality of the relief is higher on our piece, with more detailed carving of the drapery, but the dress, general appearance and attitude of the figure with raised arm is the same. Similar motifs appear on *IG* II^2 2017 (catalogue, 109/10 AD; photo at Perrin 2013, 175), 2018 (*philoi* list, ca. 120 AD), NM 1468 (uninscribed/erased catalogue, ca. 120-140 AD, ph. Kaltsas, p. 337 no. 711), *IG* II^2 2050 (catalogue, 143/4 AD), 2208 (catalogue, 214/5 or 215/6 AD, NM 1465, ph. Kaltsas, p. 335 no. 709), but *IG* II^2 2044 is the closest parallel.

inscriptions naming the emperor on the upper moulding of the frame, and the *kosmetes* on the lower moulding, the latter effectively labelling the figure being crowned in the centre of the relief. Below the relief panel on the main body of the stele is the catalogue of the ephebes. Probably our fragment belonged to a similar framed relief panel. If so, it may be from one of the three earliest known official ephebic catalogues. The earliest of all is *IG* II^2 1990 of 61 AD and the second clear case *IG* II^2 1996, of the reign of Domitian (81-96 AD). For a later, fully preserved example of this genre of monument, see **5**. The following ephebic staff are named:[38]

2-5. Athenion son of Demetrios of Phaleron, the secretary.[39] Not identifiable.[40]

7-9 Dionysodoros son of Dionysios of Anaphlystos, *hegemon* ("leader").[41] He was also *hegemon* at *IG* II^2 1995, 5, suggesting a similar date for both inscriptions. Dionysodoros and Dionysios are both very common names, making it unclear whether there are family connections with other bearers of the names in Anaphlystos.[42]

10-13. Sostratos son of Nikias of Pallene, *hoplomachos* ("weapons trainer").[43] Held the same post at *IG* II^2 1994, 4. He is identifiable as son of Nikias son of Antigonos of Pallene, *pyloros* in 36/7 AD[44] and himself *hoplomachos* 41-54 AD.[45] This suggests a date of ca. 80 AD for our inscription, 1994 and 1995. Connections with other men of Pallene with these names are possible, but uncertain.[46]

---

[38] On the adult ephebic staff at this period see de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.2.

[39] Cf. **5**, 161-162. There the secretary was a permanent staff member. Athenion is only attested in this post on this inscription. It is unlikely on chronological grounds that he was the Athenion of Phaleron (Traill, *PAA* 110625) who was *periegetes* (official guide) for life and is known from the two monuments commemorating his daughter Kekropia's son, P. Aelius Phaidros of Sounion, who died aged 20 in ca. 172-178 AD (see Byrne, *RCA* p. 24), and Byrne in the *Athenian Onomasticon* prudently declines to make the identification.

[40] The naming of Athenion's father for Demetrios of Phaleron, the well-known ruler of Athens 317-307 BC, might not be coincidental. Given that the name was so common, however, Davies, prudently hesitates to attach significance to its later occurrence in Phaleron (*APF* pp. 109-10).

[41] The precise duties of this ephebic staff member at Athens are unknown. In Hellenistic Beroia he was responsible for keeping the ephebes in order and organising the gymnasium's schedule. See de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.2.

[42] The Dionysioi of Anaphlystos attested in the Hellenistic period include an ephebe in 80/79 BC, son of Sarapion of Anaphlystos, *AIO* 1798, l. 187. Note also Dionysodoros son of Zosimos of Anaphlystos who was councillor in 169/70 (*Agora* XV 380, 30) and again in 195/6 AD (*Agora* XV 425, 20).

[43] Cf. de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.2 and below, commentary on **5**.

[44] *IG* II^2 2292, 31.

[45] *IG* II^2 1973 (= *AIUK* 11 [*Ashmolean*], no. 5), 5; 1974, 10; Traill, *PAA* 712660. It was not uncommon for ephebic staff positions to be held by different generations of the same family.

[46] Sostratos son of Sostratos of Pallene, *thesmothetes* in early-i AD (*IG* II^2 1729, 7) may have been a relation. Traill, *PAA* notes the possible identity of Nikias of Pallene, father of our *hoplomachos* (*PAA* 712655), with the man of that name who was councillor in i AD (*PAA* 712640, *Agora* XV 309, 42), the Nikias father of Moschion of Pallene, councillor ca. 138/9 AD (*PAA* 712645, *Agora*

14-16. This man was the *kestrophylax*, trainer in the use of the *kestros*, a missile fired from a sling.[47] This is the earliest reference to a trainer of this description. One next appears in *IG* II^2 2030, ll. 38-39 (100/101 AD). He was apparently designated by ethnic only, without patronymic, indicating that, as commonly with this trainer, he was not an Athenian.

XV 333, 40, for the date see *Athenian Onomasticon*), and the Nikias father of Artemon of Pallene, ephebic *hegemon* ca. 61/2 AD (*PAA* 712650, *IG* II^2 1990, 11, date *Athenian Onomasticon*).

[47] See de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.2 and below **5**, 163-164, with commentary.

3 EPHEBIC MONUMENT. BM 1816,0610.162. Recorded by Askew in late 1747 or early 1748 in Athens at the house of the English consul while still in one piece, later acquired by Elgin (cf. sect. 1.2). Two joining fragments (see below) of white marble, broken on all sides (back now encased in plaster). Wilson suggests that the right side, though worn, may be original ("The kink in the lower part of that side, just opposite 1.15 supports this. Many stelae are cut away sharply in this manner near the bottom of the stone.") H. 0.25, w. 0.24, th. 0.125. L. h. 0.006. No cursive forms. Modest apices and slightly hyperextended right diagonals on Α/Δ/Λ, some Ⱥ, phi = two circles on either side of |. Ↄ = son of man of same name, ⁄ used sporadically to indicate an abbreviated demotic or patronymic.

Eds. *CIG* I 303 (from Osann and Rose)*; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 46; (*IG* III 1099); *IG* II^2 2028; Wilson 1992, E.145; Pitt forthcoming, no. 9. Autopsy Lambert 2019. In store. *Fig.* 3.

ca. 110-120 AD

– – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
Διογένη[ς Ↄ Γαργ(ήττιος)?] *vac.*
Καρπόδωρος Διογένους Γαργ[(ήττιος)]
Φίλων Ↄ *vvv* Μελιτεύς
Ἐπίγονος Ↄ Ἀθμονεύς
Ζωίλος Ἐλευθέρου Ἀχαρν
Εὔφημος Ↄ Μελιτεύς
Σωκράτης Κύρου Βερενεικί ⁄
Διονύσιος Μενεκράτους Εὐπυ ⁄
Ἰσίδωρος Φιλοξένου Κολ ⁄
Σωτᾶς Εὐβουλίδου Πειρ ⁄
Ζώσιμος Εὐβουλίδου Πειρ ⁄
Ἡρακλεόδωρος Ζωίλου Ἀναφ
Ἡρακλείδης Ἀντιόχου Ῥαμ
Ἑρμίας Ↄ ἐκ Μυρι ⁄
Ἱέρων Ↄ Κηφισ ⁄

[Ὀν]ήσιμος Ὑγείνου Φιλαθήναι[ο]ς Ἐπ
[Ἀσ]κληπιάδης Ἡρακ Λίβανος Εὐκλ
[Μέ]λισσος Ↄ Ἀττικὸ[ς] Ξενοφ
[Χαρί?]των Ξενοφῶ ⁄ Ἐπίκτητος Διο ⁄
[Εὐτ]υχίδης Ἐμπο(ρικοῦ?) *vac.*
[Σωτ]ήριχος Ἡρακλε
vac.

It is apparent from Askew's edition (for which see Pitt), that the break of the stone into two fragments took place after it was recorded by him. Letters read by Askew that have been lost in the break are underlined. I have also made minor adjustments to readings from autopsy. Rest. Hicks. 3 Μ[ε]λιτεύς Wilson, ΜΕΛΙΠΕΥΣ Askew, Ἀ[μαξ]αντεύς previous eds. || 5 ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥ

Askew, ’Ελε[υσινίο]υ eds. || 7 KYPOY Askew, [Ↄ] eds. || 20 ’Εμπο(ρικοῦ) Dittenberger (*IG* III).

. . .
Diogenes [son of same of Gargettos?]
Karpodoros son of Diogenes of Gargettos
Philon son of same of Melite
Epigonos son of same of Athmonon
Zoilos son of Eleutheros of Acharnai
Euphemos son of same of Melite
Sokrates son of Kyros of Berenikidai
Dionysios son of Menekrates of Eupyridai
Isidoros son of Philoxenos of Kolonai *or* Kollytos
Sotas son of Euboulides of Piraeus
Zosimos son of Euboulides of Piraeus
Herakleodoros son of Zoilos of Anaphlystos
Herakleides son of Antiochos of Rhamnous
Hermias son of same of Myrrhinoutta
Hieron son of same of Kephisia
Onesimos son of Hygeinos
Asklepiades son of Herak(-)
Melissos son of same
[Chari?]ton son of Xenophon
Eutychides son of Empo(rikos?)
Soterichos son of Herakle(-)
Philathenaios son of Ep(-)
Libanos son of Eukl(-)
Attikos son of Xenoph(-)
Epiktetos son of Dio(-).

This inscription is characteristic of ephebic catalogues in that it first lists Athenian citizens with patronymics and demotics (ll. 1-15), followed by non-citizens with patronymics only (ll. 16-25).[48] Also typical is the listing of two pairs of brothers (ll. 1, 2 and 10, 11). An approximate date of 110-120 AD is indicated by Dionysios (l. 8), who is son of the Menekrates of Eupyridai, ephebic superintendent (*kosmetes*) on *IG* II^2 2026 (l. 4), of 115/6 or 116/7 AD, and brother of Poplios at l. 8 of that inscription. In addition Karpodoros son of Diogenes of Gargettos (l. 2) was father of three ephebes of 163/4 AD, Arisemos, Zosimos and Alexis;[49] and also father of Karpodoros, councillor ca. 188 AD.[50] The lack of tribal organisation of the citizen names and of a heading for the foreigners, together with the relatively small number of the latter, suggests that this is not an official ephebic catalogue listing the whole of the year class; but whether it is a list of ephebic “friends” (*philoi*) or belongs to some other category cannot be determined.[51] Of the new names that can now be read thanks to Pitt’s work on Askew’s manuscript, there is no Eleutheros (l. 5)

[48] For this pattern cf. **5**, with commentary.
[49] *IG* II^2 2086, 53-55, *IG* II^2 2087, 18-20.
[50] *Agora* XV 403 = *SEG* 32.192B, 7.
[51] On the categories of ephebic monument at this period see de Lisle 2020, sects. 1.2-1.6.

otherwise attested in Acharnai, and no Kyros (l. 7) in Berenikidai. As on **5** the absence of ephebes with demonstrable connections to the elite is notable.

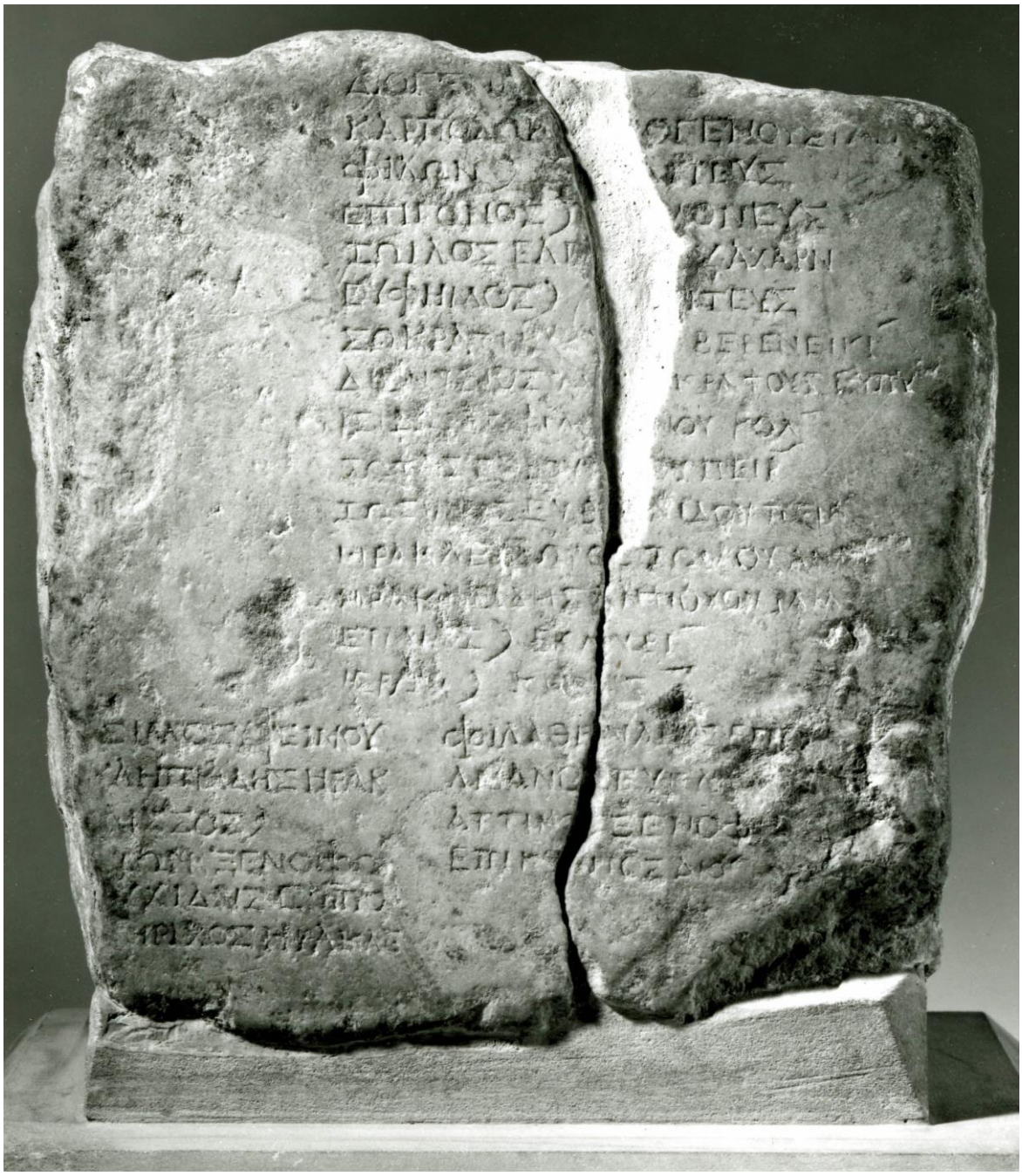


Fig. 3. **3** © Trustees of the British Museum.

4 EPHEBIC MONUMENT. BM 1864,0220.101 (Strangford collection, cf. sect. 1.2). Fragment of white marble, broken on all sides. H. 0.125, w. 0.233, th. 0.015. L. h. 1-6 0.009, 7-18 0.006. No cursive forms, almost no apices/serifs, but some slightly hyperextended right diagonals on Α/Δ/Λ, Φ with elongated vertical, some Ⱥ. Ↄ = son of man of same name.

Eds. *CIG* I p. 911, 305b (from Brønsted); Le Bas and Waddington, no. 575; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 47; (*IG* III 1130); *IG* II^2 2088; Wilson 1992, E.213.

Cf. Conze 1864, 165. Autopsy Lambert 2019. In store. *Fig.* 4.

ca. 163/4 AD ?

	col. 1		*col. 2*
			Διο| – –
			Ποσιδώνιο[ς – – –]
	– – Παλ		Ἀσκληπιόδοτος Σωσιστ[ράτου – – ?]
	– – – ΓΑ ᵛ Η	10	Κεκροπίδος^{IX}
	– – ς Ↄ Χολαργε)		Μυστικὸς Ἐλευσεινίου *vac.* ?
	– – δος Σφήτ		Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀρτεμιδώρ *vac.*
5	– – ώρου Ἀντ		Διονύσιος Ἀρτεμιδώρ *vac.*
	[σωφρον?]ιστής		Διονύσιος Ↄ *vac.* Ἐπιε[ικίδης]
	– – – – – – – – –	15	Ἐπαφρόδιτος Νήφοντο[ς – –?]
			Ἱπποθεωντίδο[ς]^{X}
			[–$^{ca.\ 4–5}$–]τείδης Φιλιστείδ[ου Πειραιεύς?]
			…..^{12}…..τίμου – – –

Rest. Dittenberger (*IG* III). If normal tribal order was maintained, the names in ll. 7-9 will have belonged to Oineis^{VIII}. H in 2 and E in 3 are in smaller letters, like *col. 2*, and were perhaps added later. 2 -ς Γα<ργ>ή(ττιος) Dittenberger || 3 Χολαργε Ↄ Kirchner (*IG* II^2), but the curved line after the demotic was perhaps added at the same time as the final epsilon and intended to divide it from the letters of *col. 2* || 17 [Φιλισ]τείδης Dittenberger; perhaps rather [Ἀρισ]τείδης (see below).

	col. 1		*col. 2*
			[Oineis^{VIII}?]
			. . .
			Dio-
			Posidonios . . .
	. . . of Pallene		Asklepiodotos son of Sosistratos [of -?]
	. . . of Gargettos ?	10	Kekropis^{IX}
	. . . son of same of Cholargos		Mystikos son of Eleusinios
	. . . son of - of Sphettos		Aphrodisios son of Artemidoros
5	. . . son of -oros of Ant(inoeis)		Dionysios son of Artemidoros
	[controller?]		Dionysios son of same of Epieikidai

. . .

15 Epaphroditos son of Nephon [of -?]
Hippothontis[X]
-tides son of Philistides [of Piraeus?]
- son of -timos of -

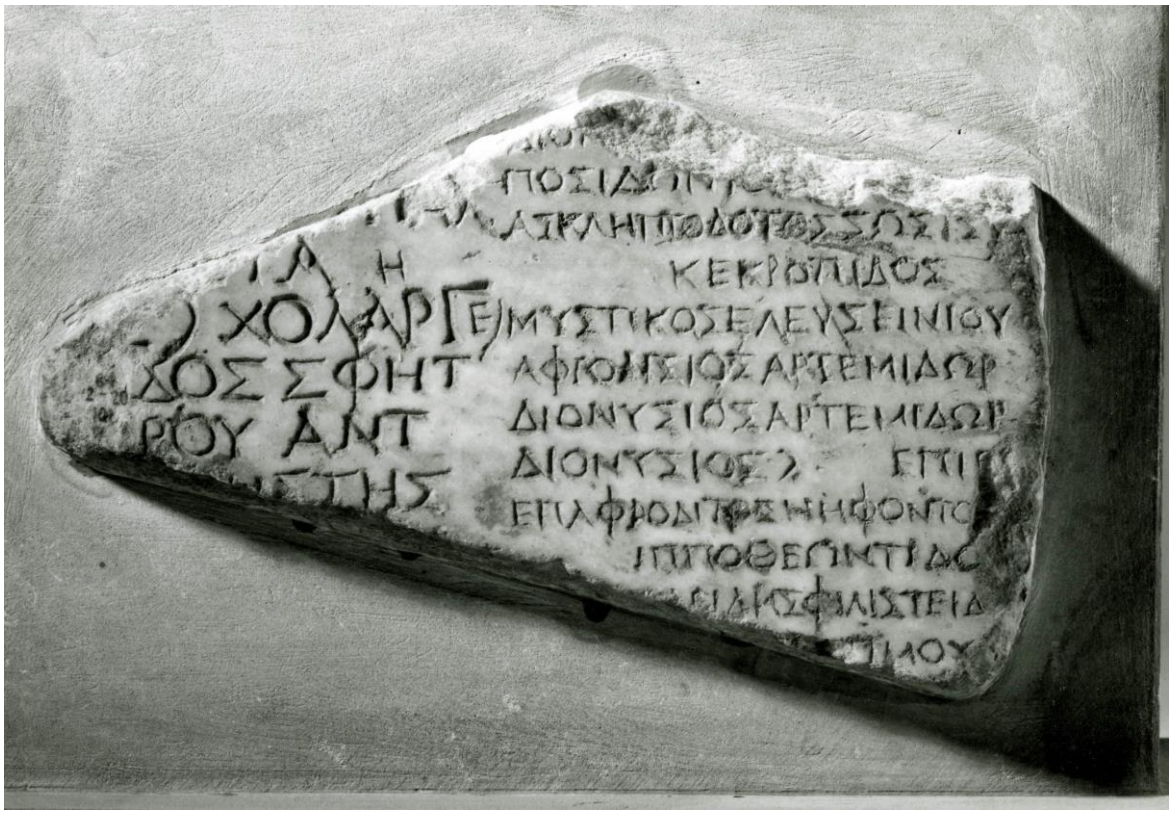


Fig. 4. **4** © Trustees of the British Museum.

The character of this fragment suggests that it is part of an ephebic monument, with the cadet gymnasiarchs and/or *agonothetai* listed in larger letters in *col. 1*[52] and part of a catalogue of the ephebes by tribe in *col. 2*. Note the presence of two brothers (ll. 12-13), as commonly in ephebic lists. *IG* II^2 2086, an ephebic catalogue of 163/4 AD, also lists five ephebes from Kekropis (ll. 152-157), and generally in lists containing the complete year-class Kekropis supplies between five and ten ephebes. It would seem, therefore, that this fragment was from the official ephebic catalogue for the year. There is one apparent anomaly, which indirectly helps to confirm this interpretation. In an ephebic context at this period [σωφρον]ιστής (or possibly [ὑποσωφρον]ιστής) would seem the only plausible restoration of l. 6, i.e. one of the ephebic controllers subordinate to the *kosmetes*.[53] On the ephebic catalogues the *sophronistai* are usually named in the plural,[54] whereas a single *sophronistes* or *hyposophronistes* is named in contexts where (non-tribe

[52] On these cadet roles in ephebic catalogues see de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.3.
[53] See de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.1, and commentary on **5**.
[54] E.g. *IG* II^2 2044, l. 2; 2054, l. 5; 2067, l. 9, etc.

based) competitive teams (*systremmata*) are commemorated, most clearly in the *systremma* catalogue *IG* II^2 2055, 19-21 (145/6 AD).[55] However, when no ephebe was available to fill a cadet role as gymnasiarch or *agonothetes*, one of the elected (adult) ephebic officials would step in to fill the gap, and when they did so, they were listed with their title.[56] Most likely, as suggested to me by de Lisle, this accounts for the presence of a singular *sophronistes* in our *col. 1*: he had stepped in to fill a gap in the roster of cadet gymnasiarchs/*agonothetai*.

The presence of the demotic of Antinoeis (l. 5) guarantees a post-Hadrianic date, and the ephebe of Hippothontis listed in l. 17, [-$^{ca.\ 4-5}$-]τείδης Φιλιστείδ[ου Πειραιεύς?], enables the date tentatively to be narrowed down further. Dittenberger identified him as a homonymous son of the Philistides of Piraeus who was archon in 163/4 AD, *IG* II^2 2086, 3 and 2087, 4.[57] However, homonymous father-son pairs are normally indicated by Ↄ, so it is more likely that this was a different (second?) son of Philisteides. A candidate lies to hand in [Ἀ]ριστίδης Φιλ- | Πιραιεύς on the funerary monument in the Piraeus museum, *IG* II^2 7150, dated by Kirchner to the second century AD.[58] A degree of caution is in order. It is not certain, for example, that our ephebe was from Piraeus; but if the identification of our ephebe as a son of the archon of 163/4 AD is correct, this would suggest a date for this monument not far from the year of his father's archonship, 163/4 AD, though it cannot actually be that year, given the lack of overlap with the names in *IG* II^2 2086.

[55] On ephebic *systremmata* see de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.5.
[56] E.g. *IG* II^2 2067, ll. 216-218; 2097, ll. 40-41 (both *antikosmetai*).
[57] Cf. Byrne, *RCA* 509 with 528-29.
[58] Kirchner records that this is a stele with broken relief. It is not included in von Moock 1998. The archon of 163/4 AD does seem to have had an (older?) homonymous son, identifiable as the Philisteides of Piraeus who was archon ca. 194/5-200/1 AD (*IG* II^2 2127, cf. Byrne, *RCA* 509 with 530). This Philisteides of Piraeus in turn had a son, (Aurelius) Philistides of Piraeus, who was ephebe in 195/6 AD (*IG* II^2 2130, 48 and 52 = *AIUK* 11 [*Ashmolean*], no. 10, 49 and 53, cf. Byrne, *RCA* 530-31) and archon ca. 225 AD (*IG* II^2 2109, cf. Byrne, *RCA* 510 with 529).

5 EPHEBIC MONUMENT. BM 1805,0703.232 (*a*), EM 8492 (*b*), EM 3891 (*c*). Athens, church of Stauromenos (*a*, Fourmont and Askew, cf. sect. 1.2), church of St. Demetrios Katephores (*b*), unknown findspot (*c*). Three fragments of a white marble plaque in the form of a framed shield, *a* preserving most of the circuit of the shield, but with frame removed, *b* the upper right corner of the frame and a small section of the shield rim, *c* a lower right section of the frame and a small section of the shield rim. *a* diameter of shield 0.79, width of rim 0.06, th. 0.05 at edge, ca. 0.065 in centre of shield; *b* h. 0.285, w. 0.16, th. 0.064; *c* h. 0.21, w. 0.16, th. 0.063. L. h. 0.009. Neat lettering ("wrote elegantly", Askew), no Ⱥ, mostly non-cursive forms, but with square-sided lunate sigma, Ɔ, in 29, 30, 35, 36, 58, 59, 80, 89, 94, fr. *b*, lunate sigma, Ↄ, in 83, 84, 105, fr. *b*, lunate epsilon, Ɛ, in 57, 84, 94, fr. *b*, fr. *c*, ω in 84, fr. *b*, fr. *c*. Very few/slight apices/serifs, but slightly hyperextended right diagonals on Α/Δ/Λ, Φ with elongated vertical. / = abbreviation mark (usually placed over the end of the abbreviated name), Ↄ = son of man of same name, tribe names II-VIII preceded by J, which was not however used for tribes I or IX-XIII.

Eds. *a* Combe 1815, vol. II, pl. 36*; *CIG* I 284* (from Fourmont); Le Bas and Waddington, no. 558; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 44; (*IG* III 1165); *IG* II^2 2191; *b IG* III 1166; *IG* II^2 2192; *c IG* II^2 2131; *a* (epigram), *b*, *c* W. Peek, *Epigraphica* 19, 1957, 87-92 (ph.) (*SEG* 18.55); *a*, *b*, *c* Wilson 1992, E.255.

Cf. Ellis 1846, vol. 2, 299-301 with Appendix; Follet 1976, 230; Cook 1987, 24-25 (ph.); Byrne, *RCA* 532; Sourlas 2015, 322 (ph. of cast at Berkeley); Pitt forthcoming, no. 123. Autopsy Lambert 2019. Gallery 78, Classical Inscriptions. *Figs.* 5.1 and 5.2.

194/5 AD ?

Ἀλκαμένους κοσμη-
τεύοντος ἔφηβοι

Ἐρεχθεῖδος[I]
Αὐρ/ Δημήτριος
Ἰσίτυχος Ζωπύ /
Ζώπυρος Ↄ
Ζωσιμιανὸς Σόφ /
Φανίας Μυστικοῦ
Ἡρακλείδης Ↄ
J Αἰγεῖδος[II]
Μεγιστόδωρος Ↄ
Κάρπος Ↄ
J Λεωντίδος[IV]
Ἀπελλῆς Ἀφροδ /
Εὐτυχιανὸς Ἀφρο /
Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀπο /
Διοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Τρύφ /
Λεωνίδης Ζωσί /
Ζώσιμος Ↄ
Ἰσίδοτος Ἑρμ /
Εὐφρόσυνος Ἑρμ /
Συμφέρων Μελίσ /
Μέλισσος Ↄ
Λόγος Ↄ
Εὐέλπιστος Ↄ
Ξενοκλῆς Ὀνησί /
J Ἀκαμαντίδος[VI]
Κρίτων Ↄ
Νίκων Εὐτυχ /
Χρύσανθος Σωσι /
Ἀθήναιος Εὐκ /
J Ἀδριανίδος[VII]
Κλ/ Πρωταγόρας
J Οἰνεῖδος[VIII]
Εἰσίδοτος Ↄ
Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐτ
Ἀμμώνιος Ↄ
Δίφιλος Ἀφρο /
Φαρνάκης Ἐλευ /
Ἀφροδείσιος Ↄ
Ἰατροκλῆς Ↄ
Ἀγαθόπους
Ἱπποθοοντίδος[X]
Θεοφάνης Φιλέρ[ωτος]
Φιλοκράτης Ↄ
Διόφαντος Φιλ
Εὐκράτης Φιλ
Θεοφάνης Ↄ
Ἀφροδείσιος Ↄ
Εὐπόριστος
Αἰαντίδος[XI]
Στέφανος Τρο /
Μίλων Ↄ
Σεραπιακὸς Εὐκ
Φοῖβος Δορυφ /
Δορυφόρος Ↄ
Κλα/ Γάιος
Πρωτόκτητος Ↄ
Διόφαντος Διον
Θρασύβουλος Ↄ
Ἀτταλίδος[XIII]
Πο Αἰλ Δίφιλος
Πόπλιος Ταΰγε

ἀντικοσμητῆ δὲ οὐ-
κ ἐχρησάμην διὰ τὸ
ἐν τῷ νόμῳ περὶ τού-
του μηδὲν γεγρά-
φθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ
τῷ υἱῷ ἐχρησάμην
εἰς ταύτην τὴν
ἐπιμέλιαν
Μ/ Αὐρηλίῳ
Ἀλκαμένει Λαμ-

J Πτολεμαίδος[V] Μακρεῖνος Φιλο Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ↄ πτρεῖ.
Τίτος Ↄ Ἀφροδείσιος Φιλ Ζώσιμος Ἀγα
Νικόστρατος Ↄ Κεκροπίδος[IX] Ἀρτεμίδωρος Α
Τιμοκράτης Νικ[ο /] Ἐπέραστος Ἀθηνίω Με [/] Ἀντιωχίδος[XII]
Ζώπυρος Νικο [/] Κλ[/] Παυλεῖνος Αἰ̓λ Διονύσιος
Αὐρ[/] Πάνταινος Κλ[/] Ῥητορικός Κλα Νυμφίος
Ὑμέναιος Μητρ Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀρκ
Σόλων Ἀρκολύ

ἐπένγραφοι ἐπένγραφοι ἐπένγραφοι
Κλα Ὀνόμαστος Περιγένης Ὑγίν Εὐτύχης Γ[α] Μάχιμος Σύμφορος Ↄ
Φιλῖνος Μυστικ [/] Ἀγάθων Ↄ Πρῖμος Ↄ Ἀπολλώνι Πανθίων
Νεικηφόρος Εὐδ [/] Στ[ά/] Εὐτυχιανός Ζωσᾶς Πρί [/] Πλάτων Ἀφροδίσιος
Ἑρμόφιλος Εὐδ [/] Ἑρ[/] Δωσίθεος Ἐπικτᾶς Εὐκαρπᾶς Εὐκαρπᾶς
Πομπ[/] Μάρων Γα<ν>υμήδης Ἀττικίων Εὐτυχᾶς Ἀρτεμᾶς
Ὀλυ<μ>πικός Δαμᾶς Ζήνων Λέων Θεόδοτος
Ἀφροδείσιος Ↄ Κόρυμβος Πίνος Πωσφόρος Ἀρτεμίδωρο<ς>
Εἰσίδοτος Διο[/] Ἡρακλείδης Νείκων Διονύσιος Σωτήριχος
Βότρυς Εὐγνώμων Κλα Σωτηρίων Ζώπυρος *vac.?*
Θίασος Νεάνθης Ἀρτεμίδωρ [/] Μᾶρκος
Ζμύρνος Ἰσίδοτος Σωτήριχος 149 Εὐφραντικός
vac. Ἰσίδωρος Ζώσιμος Κλ[/] Εὐτύχης
Μάρων Δημήτρι<ο>ς Ἀθηνίων
Ἐπαφρᾶς Κλα· Ὀνήσιμος *vac.*
Ζμάραγδος

On right rim of shield:

b *a* *c*

[– –]ορων πυ[–]φορος ἀλκῆς [ν] αἰὲν ἐς ἀνχέμαχον πατρίδ’ ὁπλισσ[άμενοι].

Upper right corner of frame:

b [γραμμ]ατεύς
[Στράτω]ν Κιθαίρωνο[ς]
vacat
κε(στροφύλαξ)
[–]ασέας [ν] Ζω[–]
vacat

Lower right side of frame:

c ὑποπαιδο[/](τρίβης)
Εὐτυχιανὸς Ὑ[/](ακίνθου)
ὑπογραμ[/](ματεύς)
Πο Αἰ̓λ[/] Ἄνθος
πυριάτης

170 Πο Αἰλ/ Ζώσιμος
θυρωρός
[Κ]λ̣εο- - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - -

Ligatures/compendia: 2 ΗΒ 16 ΠΟ 126 ΠΟ 165 ΔΟ || 34 ΟΛΥΠΙΚΟΣ, 70 ΓΑΛΥ, 119 ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΣ, 158 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟ stone || 69 Ἐρ/ = Ἐρ(έννιος) Lambert after Wilson and Boeckh (cf. Byrne, *RCA* 298), Ἐρ$^{\alpha}$(-) *IG* after Hicks || 135 ἐπιμέλειαν eds. || 160 Letters preserved on *a* are underlined. Peek showed that this was an elegiac couplet, suggesting for the first line e.g. [χώρας or πολλάκις ἐμνήσαντο δ'] ὅρων πύ[ργοις δ]ορὸς ἀλκῆς, "In the border forts of the country they were mindful of the strength of their spears", or "Many times in the border forts they were ..."; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 962, had suggested εὐήν]ορος ἀλκῆς, rejected on metrical grounds by Peek, who also considered ἥτ]ορος ἀλκῆς unlikely. However, Wilson correctly detected a vertical mark to the left of ΟΡΟΣ well below the line and persuasively interpreted it as the bottom of a phi (or less likely psi). || 164 [Μν]ασέας or [Θρ]ασέας Ζω[σί(μου)?] || 166 Wilson, cf. *IG* II^2 2130 = *AIUK* 11, no. 10, 32 etc.

Fig. 5.1. **5 a** © Trustees of the British Museum.

Under the superintendent Alkamenes
the ephebes

a

Erechtheis[I]
Aur(elius) Demetrios
Isitychos son of Zopy(ros)
Zopyros son of same
Zosimianos son of Soph(os)
Phanias son of Mystikos
Herakleides son of same
Aigeis[II]
Megistodoros son of same
Karpos son of same
Leontis[IV]
Apelles son of Aphrod(isios)
Eutychianos son of Aphro(disios)
Asklepiades son of Apo(-)
Diokles alias Tryph(on)
Leonides son of Zosi(mos)
Zosimos son of same
Isidotos son of Herm(-)
Euphrosynos son of Herm(-)
Ptolemais[V]
Titos son of same
Nikostratos son of same
Timokrates son of Niko(stratos)
Zopyros son of Niko(stratos)
Aur(elius) Pantainos
Sympheron son of Melis(sos)
Melissos son of same
Logos son of same
Euelpistos son of same
Xenokles son of Onesi(mos)
Akamantis[VI]
Kriton son of same
Nikon son of Eutych(ides)
Chrysanthos son of Sosi(-)
Athenaios son of Euk(-)
Hadrianis[VII]
Cl(audius) Protagoras
Oineis[VIII]
Isidotos son of same
Alexandros son of Eut(ych-?)
Ammonios son of same
Diphilos son of Aphro(disios)
Pharnakes son of Eleu(sinios?)
Makrinos son of Philo(-)
Aphrodisios son of Phil(o-)
Kekropis[IX]
Eperastos son of Athenion of Me(lite)
Cl(audius) Paulinos
Cl(audius) Rhetorikos
Hymenaios son of Metr(-)
Aphrodisios son of same
Iatrokles son of same
Agathopous
Hippothontis[X]
Theophanes son of Phileros
Philokrates son of same
Diophantos son of Phil(okrates)
Eukrates son of Phil(okrates)
Theophanes son of same
Aphrodisios son of same
Euporistos
Aiantis[XI]
Stephanos son of Tro(phimos)
Milon son of same
Serapiakos son of Euk(-)
Phoibos son of Doryph(oros)
Doryphoros son of same
Cla(udius) Gaios
Agathokles son of same
Zosimos son of Aga(thokles)
Artemidoros son of A(gathokles?)
Antiochis[XII]
Ael(ius) Dionysios
Cla(udius) Nymphios
Heliodoros son of Ark(olykos)
Protoktetos son of same
Diophantos son of Dion(-)
Thrasyboulos son of same
Attalis[XIII]
Pu(blius) Ael(ius) Diphilos
Poplios son of Tauge(tos)

I did not use a deputy superintendent because nothing is written in the law about this and also because I used a son to exercise this responsibility, M. Aurelius Alkamenes of Lamptrai

105 Solon son of Arkoly(kos)

Additional enrollees
Cla(udius) Onomastos
30 Philinos son of Mystikos
Nikephoros son of Eud(-)
Hermophilos son of Eud(-)
Pomp(-) Maro
Olympikos
35 Aphrodisios son of same
Isidotos son of Dio(-)
Botrys
Thiasos
Zmyrnos

Additional enrollees
Perigenes son of Hygin(os)
Agathon son of same
Sta(tius) Eutychianos
Her(ennius) Dositheos
70 Ganymedes
Damas
Korymbos
Herakleides
Eugnomon
75 Neanthes
Isidotos
Isidoros
Maron
Epaphras

Additional enrollees
Eutyches son of Ga(-)
Primos son of same
Zosas son of Primos
110 Epiktas
Attikion
Zenon
Pinos
Nikon
115 Cla(udius) Soterion
Artemidor(os)
Soterichos
Zosimos
Demetrios
120 Cla(udius) Onesimos
Zmaragdos

Machimos
140 Apolloni(os)
Platon
Eukarpas
Eutychas
Leon
145 P(h)osphoros
Dionysios
Zopyros
Markos
Euphrantikos
150 Cla(udius) Eutyches
Athenion

Symphoros son of same
Panthion
Aphrodisios
155 Eukarpas
Artemas
Theodotos
Artemidoros
Soterichos

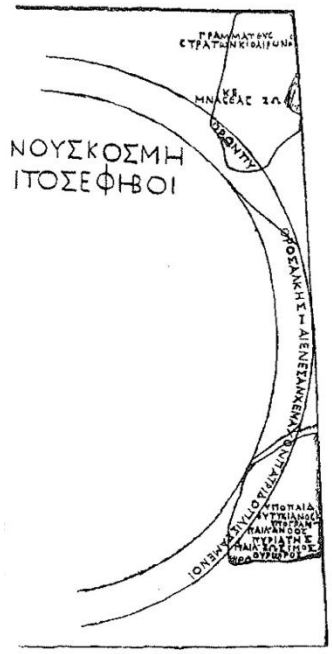
On right rim of shield (fr. *a* + *b* + *c*)
160 . . . of the strength . . . | always armed for hand-to-hand combat for the fatherland

Upper right corner of frame (fr. *b*)
161 secretary
Straton son of Kithairon
Uninscribed space
kestrophylax
[Thr or Mn]aseas son of Zo[simos?]

Lower right side of frame (fr. *c*)

165 assistant trainer
Eutychianos son of Hy(akinthos)
undersecretary
Pu(blius) Ael(ius) Anthos
gymnasium attendant (*pyriates*)
170 Pu(blius) Ael(ius) Zosimos
door-keeper (*thyroros*)
[K]leo- . . .
. . .

This is the latest and much the best preserved Athenian ephebic monument in the British Museum's collection. It is an example of the catalogue in which (usually) the *kosmetes* (ephebic superintendent) officially commemorated the entire graduating class of ephebes.[59] As we saw above, **2** of ca. 80 AD is perhaps from one of the early examples, but this type of catalogue is particularly well represented from the mid-second to the mid-third century AD. **4** seems to be from an example of ca. 160s AD. *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 10 is the official catalogue of (probably) the year following ours, 195/6 AD. The monuments are usually in the form of a stele or plaque, but this is one of two examples in the shape of a shield, the other being *IG* II^2 2051, of perhaps 144/5 AD.[60] A third ephebic monument in the shape of a shield, Sourlas 2015, dates between these two (175/6 AD?).



Though comparable in form, it appears not to be a complete catalogue of the year class, but a list of the "Theseidai", which seems to be an ephebic team of some description, perhaps specifically for the competition, *Peri Alkes* ("About Strength").[61] Our monument seems to have been modelled on these earlier examples. Indeed it was by comparison with *IG* II^2 2051 that Peek realised that our shield, as preserved, is missing not only all but a small section of its rim, but also its quadrangular frame, which is present in *IG* II^2 2051. He identified *IG* II^2 2192 as the top right corner of the frame (fr. *b*) and 2131 as from its lower right side (fr. *c*), both inscribed with the names of ephebic staff. See the drawing *fig.* 5.2. Confirmation that the association is correct is supplied by the fact that both these smaller fragments also contain part of the elegiac couplet inscribed on the right side of the shield's rim and preserved also on fr. *a*.[62]

Fig. 5.2. Drawing of **5 b** and **c** with right side of **a**. Reproduced, with permission, from W. Peek, *Epigraphica* 19, 1957, Tab. II no. 4, opposite p. 89.

The date of our monument is determined in the first place by the titulature of the secretary, Straton son of Kithairon (of Acharnai) (162). This man is attested on ephebic inscriptions from the 180s onwards as "secretary for life", but from 195/6 AD, the

[59] Cf. sect. 1.1.

[60] EM 8642. Date: Byrne, *RCA* 527. The monument is schematically represented in *IG* II^2, photos are at P. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale* (1924), pl. 45; P. Jacobsthal, *Diskoi* (1933), 23, pl. 16; Sourlas 2015, 321, pl. 4. For photos of the more usually shaped monuments, Graindor, pl. 52, pl. 53; *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 10; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 335-37.

[61] See the edition and analysis of Sourlas 2015 (with ph. p. 318, drawing p. 319) = *SEG* 65.121; de Lisle 2020, 3.5 (iv). The Theseidai appear, together with the "Herakleidai", in *IG* II^2 2119, ll. 240-63 (AIO's line-numbering), following a reference to the *Peri Alkes*, ll. 238-39.

[62] The third monument in shield format, Sourlas 2015, has also been cut down, but unlike our monument, this process seems to have been designed to produce a smaller rectilinear block for secondary use. See the photograph and drawing, Sourlas 2015, pp. 318 and 319. Cf. sect. 1.2.

fourteenth year of his tenure, he also carries the title "priest."[63] He does not carry the title in our catalogue, so Follet inferred that the date was earlier than that year.[64] However, the assistant trainer, Eutychianos (165), and the undersecretary, Publius Aelius Anthos (168), are the same in both inscriptions, suggesting a date for our inscription close to 195/6 AD;[65] in fact, as Follet observed, 193/4 and 194/5 AD are the only two possible years. 193/4 AD is now occupied by *IG* II^2 2125, implying that our inscription probably dates to 194/5 AD.[66]

The *kosmetes*, overall superintendent of the ephebes,[67] named at the head of the inscription, was Marcus Aurelius Alkamenes of Lamptrai (same name as his son, ll. 136-139). His father, also an Aurelius Alkamenes, is attested with the title "Pyrphoros", an Eleusinian priesthood, in a number of inscriptions, most notably playing a prominent role in a fragmentary decree of the Areopagos of (probably) the year after our inscription, 195/6 AD.[68] The son of the *pyrphoros*, our ephebic superintendent, is not known in person prior to our inscription, but is attested subsequently as councillor c. 205 AD,[69] and as hoplite general, gymnasiarch of the deified Hadrian and antarchon of the Panhellenion in 209/10 AD, when he proclaimed the resolution of the Areopagos, Council and People celebrating the accession of Geta.[70] His son had been ephebic liturgist in ca. 191/2 AD,[71]

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[63] *IG* II^2 2130 = *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 10, l. 8. For the date (archon C. Helvidius Secundus of Pallene) see Follet 1976, 230-31, with n. 6; Byrne, *RCA* 530-31. Straton is also restored as "priest" in the catalogue published by E. Kapetanopoulos and G. E. Malouchou, *Horos* 17-21 (2004-2009), 174-84 no. 4 = *SEG* 59.174, l. 5, dated by the editors 192/3 AD or slightly later (this would seem to require further analysis). Note also that the son of the *kosmetes*, who assisted his father in his duties in our inscription, had himself been an ephebe in ca. 191/2 AD, *IG* II^2 2119, 19 and 239 (AIO's line numbering).

[64] Follet 1976, 230.

[65] Cf. J. A. Notopoulos, *Hesp.* 18, 1949, 45.

[66] This final step in the argument is made by Byrne, *RCA* 530 and 532. A certain caution is in order given the fragility of some of these chronological indicators. It is possible, for example, that Straton was not named as "priest" uniformly after a specific date (cf. n. 63).

[67] For more on the functions of the *kosmetes*, which were partly administrative, partly those of a role model, see de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.1.

[68] Byrne, *RCA* 80, Aurelius 17. The decree of the Areopagos is *Agora* XVI 339 (*IG* II^2 1104 etc.) + *IG* II^2 1118 (associated by S. Follet, in A. A. Themos, N. Papazarkadas eds., *Attika Epigraphika. Meletes ... Habicht*, 2009, 155-63 = *SEG* 59.136) = *AIUK* 4.3A (*BM, Decrees of Other Bodies*), no. 10 (see ll. 9, 24, 29). It seems that Alkamenes "Pyrphoros" played an important role in the measures stipulated, which apparently entailed a wide-ranging review of financial and other aspects of the city's administration. Alkamenes "Pyrphoros" is also attested on two or three lists of *aeisitoi* (probably in 186/7 AD, *Agora* XV 411, 28, cf. Byrne, *RCA* 80; in ca. 191/2 AD, *SEG* 57.148, 59; and in 209/10 AD, *Agora* XV 460, 88), and as a dedicant to Artemis at Eleusis, *IG* II^3 4, 1102 = *I Eleus.* 530. It is not always certain to which of the three men named "Alkamenes of Lamptrai" in successive generations specific epigraphical references relate. I follow Byrne's articulation of the three individuals, which is based on the assumption that all references to Alkamenes "Pyrphoros" relate to the father of the *kosmetes*.

[69] *Agora* XV 468, 10. Alkamenes the ephebic superintendent is Byrne, *RCA* 80, Aurelius 18 (where Byrne's identification of him as archon eponymous is apparently a misprint).

[70] *Agora* XV 460, ll. 9 and 14. These references are sometimes attributed to the ephebic superintendent's son, but Byrne *RCA* 81, argues that the importance of the offices suits better the elder Alkamenes.

and in the curious note on the right side of the shield (ll. 128-138), the *kosmetes* of our inscription declares that he decided not to appoint a deputy (*antikosmetes*)[72] and instead to give the duties to his son, stating defensively that appointment of an *antikosmetes* was not required by law.[73] Apparently he wanted his son to perform the role but could not actually appoint him for some reason. It seems that this was not because of a bar on appointing relatives, since there are several cases of sons and brothers serving as *antikosmetes*.[74] Perhaps, as de Lisle attractively suggests,[75] it reflects a minimum age requirement. In the fourth century there had been such an age limit for *sophronistai* and *kosmetai* (forty years); this would be our only attestation of it in the Imperial period.[76] Certainly a close association between the *kosmetes* and his son(s) is not unusual. *Kosmetai* were often the subject of portrait herms erected in the name of their ephebic cohort together with the Areopagos, and these are not infrequently dedicated by the son(s) of the *kosmetes*, while passing through the ephebate.[77] In our case, a second son, Aurelius Demetrios (of Lamptrai) heads the list of ephebes from Erechtheis, which, since it was the first tribe in the official order, placed him at the head of the whole catalogue (l. 4). Father and eldest son are also recorded serving together as councillors in ca. 205 AD.[78]

Ephebic catalogues commonly included details of members of the ephebic staff.[79] In this case the list of staff was inscribed in the shield frame and is incompletely preserved in fragments *b* and *c*. Some of the staff at this period enjoyed appointments for life, as we have already seen in the case of the secretary, Straton son of Kithairon of Acharnai (161-162).[80] Before appointment as secretary he had served as *sophronistes* (ephebic controller,

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[71] See above n. 63.

[72] A single *antikosmetes* was first appointed between 140 and 145 AD, replacing the two assistants known as *hypokosmetai*. See de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.1.

[73] The (mis)alignment of the text of this note raises the possibility that it was not originally part of the plan for the inscription, and Chris de Lisle suggests to me that it might have been added in response to a challenge.

[74] Son: *IG* II^2 2037 = *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 6 (108/9 AD, one of the *hypokosmetai*); *IG* II^2 2067 (154/5 AD), perhaps *IG* II^2 2239 (238-243 AD). Brother: *IG* II^2 2224 (218/9 AD).

[75] de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.1.

[76] *Ath. Pol.* 42.2. As we have seen, the *kosmetes'* son had himself been an ephebe in *IG* II^2 2119 (ca. 191/2 AD), so would have still been in his early twenties. One wonders if there might also have been a financial motivation for this arrangement.

[77] *IG* II^2 3750, 3762, 3769. Cf. de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.4. For images of such portrait herms see Kaltsas 2002, pp. 325-34.

[78] See above for the elder Alkamenes' service as councillor, *Agora* XV 468, 11 for Aurelius Alkamenes "the younger".

[79] For the ephebic staff in the Roman period see de Lisle 2020, sects. 2.1, 2.2. It is unclear whether in this case, as frequently on these catalogues (including the catalogue of the following year, *AIUK* 11 [*Ashmolean*], no. 10), the ephebes who performed functions as cadet officials and liturgists were also named somewhere within the rectangular frame. On these roles see de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.3. If listed separately, the names of the cadet officials and liturgists do not usually appear also in the main catalogue, but on *IG* II^2 2245, of 254/5 or 255/6 AD, the names appear both in their own list and in the main list.

[80] Traill, *PAA* 840250, cf. *Athenian Onomasticon* s.v. Straton of Acharnai, and above n. 63.

subordinate to the *kosmetes*).[81] The *kestrophylax* (163-164) trained the ephebes in the use of the *kestros*, a type of barbed missile fired from a sling.[82] Attested since the late-first century AD (for the first time, it seems, in **2** above), this specialist seems to have been the main military technician among the ephebic staff at this period, alongside the *hoplomachos* (the more general "weapons-trainer", not listed in what survives of our inscription). His importance is signalled by the ephebes' reference to themselves in one inscription as *kestrophoroi* ("*kestros*-bearers").[83] He was sometimes a non-citizen. This seems to have been the case in **2** and may well have been the case in 194/5 (?) AD, the only year that this particular *kestrophylax* is attested. Further down the frame fr. *c* preserves another section of the list of ephebic staff, recording the assistant trainer (*hypopaidotribes*), Eutychianos son of Hyakinthos (of Sphettos) (165-166), and the undersecretary (*hypogrammateus*), Publius Aelius Anthos of Eiresidai (167-168). The assistant trainer was responsible along with the trainer (*paidotribes*, name not preserved in this catalogue) for organising the physical training of the ephebes on a day-to-day basis, and both these staff enjoyed permanent tenures.[84] The undersecretary is also attested in the same office in the following year.[85] The preserved part of the list finishes with two less prestigious functionaries, the *pyriates* ("boilerman", apparently a post in the gymnasium) and the *thyroros* ("doorman"). These personnel, with the *lentiarios* ("cloakroom manager"), almost invariably appear last in lists of ephebic staff and their relatively low status is commonly signalled by their nomenclature. They are often mononymous (i.e. without patronymics) and only once is an Athenian citizen certainly attested in these roles.[86] Publius Aelius Zosimos, the *pyriates* in our catalogue (169-170), is not otherwise attested,[87] and one suspects that he was at the lower end of the social scale of Roman citizens, perhaps a freedman or descendant of a freedman.[88]

The roster of ephebic staff is incompletely preserved, but in one respect the surviving list is characteristic, namely in its implied emphasis on military training and physical education more broadly. An anecdote in Plutarch about his teacher, Ammonios, implies that the ephebes at Athens were still studying academic subjects in the 60s and 70s AD,[89] and *paideutai* (tutors) are listed on some ephebic catalogues until ca. 120 AD,[90] but

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[81] *IG* II^2 2106, 24 (shortly before 182/3 AD, Byrne, *RCA* 529). On the *sophronistai* at this period see de Lisle 2020, sect. 2.1. In the 4th cent. BC they had been tribal commanders, but this was no longer the case. Cf. **4**, l. 6, with commentary.

[82] Cf. **2**, l. 14, with commentary.

[83] *IG* II^2 2021 A. l. 7, of ca. 120 AD (Byrne, *RCA* 525).

[84] De Lisle 2020, sect. 2.2. The *paidotribes* at this period was Nikostratos son of Hilaros of Pallene (for references see *Athenian Onomasticon*). On Eutychianos see Traill, *PAA* 447255, cf. *Athenian Onomasticon* s.v. Eutychianos of Sphettos.

[85] *IG* II^2 2130 = *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 10, l. 35 (cf. Byrne, *RCA* 10).

[86] De Lisle 2020, sect. 2.2.

[87] Cf. Byrne, *RCA* 41.

[88] The *thyroros*, [K]leo-, is apparently different from the man who held this post the following year, Cornelius Demetrios, *IG* II^2 2130 = *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 10, l. 224 (also likely of freedman descent).

[89] Plut. *Table Talk* 9.1 = *Mor.* 736D. The subjects specified included letters (*grammata*), geometry, rhetoric and music.

[90] The last case is *IG* II^2 2021, of ca. 120 AD (cf. Byrne, *RCA* 525).

there is little evidence for such activities much later than that. *Didaskaloi* ("instructors") are attested, but these are apparently chorus trainers rather than academic teachers.[91] The ephebic *agones* included competitions in poetry, encomium, and heralding alongside the athletic competitions, and ephebes still delivered orations at Plataia and elsewhere in the late second century,[92] which may imply some continuing training in rhetoric, but such evidence is thin on the ground in comparison with that for military training and physical activities. We saw in *AIUK* 4.2 how, in the years following the opening of the ephebate to foreigners in the 120s BC, the inscribed decrees document a heightened emphasis on the academic side of the ephebic programme.[93] By the late second century AD it seems the primary emphasis was again on physical and military training.[94]

Echoes of the past are also much in evidence. Several of the titles of ephebic officers and staff inscribed in the frame are not attested before the Hellenistic period or later, but the title of *kosmetes* for the overall ephebic superintendent, prominently advertised at the head of the monument, goes back to the fourth century BC.[95] The shield format of the monument clearly symbolised the central defensive role of the ephebes, but it also recalled archaic and classical dedications of military equipment that were still visible in Athens in the second century AD. These included the 120 shields captured from the Spartans at Pylos in 425 BC, displayed, according to Pausanias, in the Stoa Poikile.[96] Only the second line of the couplet on the shield's rim (160) can be read with confidence, but, although not easy to construe precisely,[97] it clearly delivered a message consonant with the monument's physical format about the ephebes being for ever armed and ready to defend the fatherland in hand-to-hand combat. The wording does not in this case so much

[91] See *IG* II^2 2086, of 163/4 AD.

[92] Part of an inscribed transcript of one such oration survives from 184/5 AD, *SEG* 50.155.

[93] See *AIUK* 4.2 no. 16 with commentary. D. Knoepfler, in J. Jouanna et al. eds., *La Grèce et la guerre* (2015), 59-104 (= *SEG* 65.19), however, emphasises the continuing military aspects of the ephebate after 229 BC.

[94] For fuller discussion of the role of rhetoric and academic training in the ephebic programme at this period see de Lisle 2020, sect. 3.4. The institutions of rhetorical and philosophical education in Roman Athens were well frequented by wealthy citizens and foreigners, but appear to have existed largely independently of the ephebate.

[95] See RO 89, with AIO's notes.

[96] Paus. 1.15.4. The display of the shields in the Stoa Poikile placed these exploits on a par with other heroic exploits commemorated there, such as the battle of Marathon. One shield captured on this occasion survives; see *IG* I^3 522, with AIO's notes. In an ephebic context one might also compare the relief on the dedication from Acharnai including the oath of the ephebes and the oath of Plataia, which features a shield and other items of armour, RO 88 (third quarter of 4th cent. BC). On monuments of the Roman period note also the shields depicted in the pediments on *IG* II^2 3732 (*SEG* 12.153, drawing, Mitsos, *BCH* 74, 1950, 222), an ephebic catalogue of ii-iii AD; on *IG* II^2 2087, of 163/4 AD; other examples noted by de Lisle 2020, sect. 5. For further discussion see also Sourlas 2015, 310-11.

[97] In particular ἀνχέμαχον is a little puzzling. In Homer the adjective ἀγχέμαχος invariably occurs in the plural and describes warriors fighting at close quarters (as e.g. ἀγχέμαχοι θεράποντες, "retainers who fight hand-to-hand", *Iliad* 17.165, cf. 13.5, 16.248 and 272), though *LSJ* notes that in Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.13 it is used (also in the plural) of a type of weapons (τὰ ἀ. ὅπλα καλούμενα). Here it is difficult to say whether it is an adjective (awkwardly) qualifying "the fatherland" or an adverb with ὁπλισσ[άμενοι].

recall epigrams on real dedications of the Classical period, as that of archaic Greek literature, above all Homer in the *Iliad*.[98] One recalls that in the decree commemorating the ephebes of the archonship of Polycharmos (44/3 or 43/2 BC) the *Iliad* was apparently mentioned among the books they donated to the ephebic library in the Ptolemaion.[99] One wonders whether this epigram might be taken to imply that Homer was still studied by the ephebes as part of their attenuated programme in "letters" at the end of the second century AD. If Peek's restoration of the first verse is along the right lines, the epigram will also have alluded to the ephebes' traditional service in border forts,[100] though that restoration has been undermined in detail by Wilson's new reading, and whether ephebes still in fact performed such duties at this period is not known. The last and only word of the first line that can confidently be read, ἀλκῆς, recalls the name of one of the regular ephebic events, the *Peri Alkes,* or competition "about strength".[101]

The catalogue of citizen ephebes, arranged by tribe,[102] and "additional enrollees" (*epengraphoi*), who all appear to be non-citizens, is completely preserved, containing a total of 71 in the former category and 61 in the latter, broadly comparable with other years at this period.[103] It is an interesting question how far the ephebate at this period was a socially inclusive institution and how far it retained the more elitist character apparent in the late Hellenistic period. Prosopography and onomastics supply one route to addressing this.[104]

Most of the ephebes listed have exclusively Greek nomenclature, but a scattering of both citizens and *epengraphoi* have Roman names.[105] In a few cases these are probably to be interpreted as Greeks being given Roman praenomina as quasi-Greek names, a practice that had become somewhat fashionable from the 2nd century BC onwards;[106] but

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[98] While none of the words used in the epigram is to be found in Kaczko, *Epigrams*, Index of Greek words, pp. 597-601, every one is listed in R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (1924).

[99] *AIO* 1836 (*IG* II^2 1041), 23-24, with AIO's note.

[100] Peek compares RO 89 and Plato, *Laws* 6.778e.

[101] On this competition see de Lisle 2020, sect. 3.5 (iv). For a broader discussion of the significance in an ephebic context of demonstrating *paideia* through inscribed verse, see *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 6 (also a somewhat awkward example), with de Lisle's commentary, cf. nos. 3, 15, 16.

[102] Pandionis^{III} is omitted from the roster, presumably because (unusually) it supplied no ephebes this year.

[103] See the discussion of the size of the ephebic year-class, de Lisle 2020, sect. 1.3, emphasising the breadth of participation in the Roman period compared with some earlier ones.

[104] For a broader discussion of social status and the ephebate in the Roman period see de Lisle 2020, sect. 3.6-3.8. On the definition of the political elite in Roman Athens (marked in particular by tenancy of the three highest offices, eponymous archon, hoplite general and herald of the Areopagos) and their association with tenure of priesthoods, especially Eleusinian ones and those of the imperial cult, see Camia 2014, cf. Camia 2017a, 2017b.

[105] For a brief introduction to Roman names at Athens see Byrne, *RCA* XI-XVI; the same topic is dealt with from the perspective of the Greek world as a whole by Balzat 2019.

[106] This is a likely interpretation of Gaios in the name of Claudius Gaios (97), where "Gaios" fills the place normally occupied in Roman citizen nomenclature of Greeks by a Greek name, e.g. Demetrios in Aurelius Demetrios (4) or Protagoras in Claudius Protagoras (51). Similarly Poplios in Poplios son of Tauge(-) (127) might equally have been named Isidotos (20) or Timokrates (25),

the presence of the nomen indicates that we have to do with Roman citizens. If Roman citizens were Greeks they usually employed their Greek name as a cognomen (and rarely use the patronymic). Distinguished Athenians had first been awarded the Roman citizenship in the late first century BC,[107] but such grants only became a regular feature from the time of Claudius. Not very long after this catalogue was compiled, in 212 AD, Roman citizenship was extended to all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire under the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, and the nomen Aurelius was adopted by all who were not already Roman citizens. On this list we have nine Athenian citizen ephebes with Roman nomina,[108] and seven *epengraphoi.*[109] We cannot, however, infer high social status from the mere possession of Roman citizenship. In principle some of these Romans may have been descendants of prominent Athenians who had been recipients of Roman citizenship grants, but equally they may be freedmen carrying the nomina of their former masters, or descendants of freedmen.[110] The fact that the "boilerman" (*pyriates*) on this inscription has a Roman nomen (169-170) alerts us to this possibility. In fact, none of the Roman citizen *epengraphoi* on this list is otherwise identifiable, and of the Athenian citizens with Roman nomina, only the family of the *kosmetes,* Aurelius Alkamenes, shows clear signs of membership of the elite.[111] It is difficult to be certain, but one gains the impression from such data as we have that the Roman citizens on this list were as likely to be of the relatively low-status type represented by the *pyriates* as they were to belong to an elite family such as that of the *kosmetes.*

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though it may be significant that he is listed immediately after a Poplios (i.e. Publius) Aelius Diphilos, clearly a Roman citizen and unusually on this list named with praenomen as well as nomen. A family connection between the two men seems possible. It is difficult to know how to interpret Roman names used in isolation, e.g. Titos (23), Markos (149), Primos (108-9).

[107] The earliest known grant to an Athenian prominent in Athenian affairs was to Antipatros of Phlya, many times hoplite general in the Augustan period and enfranchised at Rome under the patronage of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. A statue base of him is in the British School at Athens, see *AIUK* 2 (*BSA*), no. 5, with commentary.

[108] 5 Claudii (51, 62, 63, 97, 103), 2 Aelii (102, 126) and 2 Aurelii (4, 27). The Roman citizenship of the Claudii goes back no further than the reign of Claudius, that of the Aelii no further than Hadrian and of the Aurelii no further than Marcus Aurelius. The authentic Roman cognomen Paulinos (62) may indicate a non-Greek Roman enfranchised at Athens.

[109] 4 Claudii (29, 115, 120, 150), 1 Pomp(eius) or Pomp(onius) (33, cf. Byrne *RCA* 404), 1 Statius (68, *RCA* 447) and 1 Her(ennius) (69, *RCA* 298). Again the authentic Roman cognomen of Pomp(-), Maron (33), may indicate that this was a Roman citizen of non-Greek origin.

[110] As Byrne, *RCA* XIII-XIV, aptly observes, Roman *civitas* united in the pages of his catalogue people of Athens of disparate backgrounds, "as in reality they will have been united by their Roman super-nationality".

[111] In addition Aelius Dionysios (102) of Antiochis, identified by Byrne (*RCA* 14, Aelius 55) with a man of that name who was councillor ca. 205 AD, *Agora* XV 447, 16, was perhaps member of an elite family from Pallene and son of Publius Aelius Dionysos, the dadouch whose position as such was challenged in 174/5 AD (*SEG* 29.127 II, cf. Byrne, *RCA* 12-14), though given that the name Dionysios is very common it cannot be ruled out that our ephebe belonged to another deme of Antiochis. Claudius Gaios (97) was perhaps a member of a known family from Marathon, members of which are not, however, attested other than as an ephebic official (*IG* II^2 2085, 18, Cl. Gaios of M., *hyposophronistes* in 161/2 AD) or a councillor (*Agora* XV 446, 3, Cl. Gaios of M., ca. 200 AD, cf. Byrne, *RCA* 129-130).

A consonant impression is given by the prosopography of the non-Roman Athenian citizen ephebes, though identification of these is hampered by the fact that only one of them is named with demotic, Eperastos son of Athenion of Melite (61), and he seems to have been squeezed in at the top of the Kekropis list as an afterthought.[112] Prosopography enables the demes of a few others to be identified, but this is invariably on the basis of other ephebic lists, or Council lists, rather than attestations in more elite contexts.[113] Diokles of the tribe Leontis was also known as Τρυφ(ῶν), "Wanton" or "Effeminate" (17), a nick-name which scarcely suggests elevated social status, and may imply servile origin.[114]

In one respect alone can a reasonably clear distinction be drawn between categories of ephebe listed on our inscription, and that is between the Athenian citizens and the *epengraphoi*. The citizens had been referred to in early-second century lists as *protengraphoi*, the implication being that they had "prior" status, and this does seem to have had a social dimension. While *epengraphoi* are later attested as ephebic staff, it is usually in lower status roles, as *thyroros* and *hypopaidotribes*. They are never found in the prestigious offices of *kosmetes* or *sophronistes*, which are reserved, it seems for citizens.[115] This impression of the relatively low status of the *epengraphoi* is confirmed by prosopography – none of the 61 in the list left any other mark on the historical record – and especially by onomastics. The majority are mononymous and several have names suggestive of (former) servile status (e.g. Botrys, Thiasos and Zmyrnos, 37-39). There are two demonstrable pairs of brothers among the *epengraphoi*, Nikephoros and Hermophilos sons of Eud(-) (31-32), and Primos and Zosas sons of Primos (108-109). This follows the much more strongly attested pattern of citizen brothers serving together in the ephebate,[116]

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[112] The decision not generally to include demotics was perhaps influenced by lack of space available in the shield. They had been included in the other full-year catalogue in this form, *IG* II^2 2051, but that did not list *epengraphoi.* They are also included in the third ephebic shield monument, Sourlas 2015, which did include *epengraphoi,* but seems not to have been a full list of the year class. In any case there is no political or social significance in the omission of the demotics in our case; they are included in the following year's catalogue, *IG* II^2 2130 = *AIUK* 11 (*Ashmolean*), no. 10.

[113] Identifying the demes of homonymous father-son pairs on the basis only of tribal affiliation is hazardous and I do not repeat identifications of this type that have been suggested by others; but on the basis of Byrne's *Athenian Onomasticon* the ephebe at l. 7, Zosimianos son of Sophos, is identifiable as Zosimianos son of Sophos of Kephisia, later ephebic *kestrophylax* (*IG* II^2 2221, 74 = *Arch. Eph.* 1971 p. 57, no. 1, 105, 216/7 AD; *IG* II^2 2228, 12 = Follet 1976, 410 no. 8, 45, 222/3 AD); ll. 40-44, Sympheron and Melissos, as sons of Melissos son of Sympheron of Berenikidai, ephebe in 154/5 AD, *IG* II^2 2067, 74; l. 47, Nikon son of Eutychides, as father of (Aurelius) Eutychides son of Nikon of Cholargos, ephebe in 211/12 AD, *IG* II^2 2208, 63; l. 84, Theophanes son of Phileros, as son of Phileros son of Theophanes of Koile, councillor ca. 190/1 AD, *SEG* 58.167, 40, and on another occasion, *Agora* XV 396, 4.

[114] On the use of the alias, or "supernomen", which is found in Attica from ca. 150 AD, see *AIUK* 3 (*Fitzwilliam Museum*), no. 9 with commentary. Cf. Liddel and Low 2019, 424-25, nn. 45-46. Its significance varies and cannot always be pinned down, but this seems to be a clear case of its use as a nick-name.

[115] De Lisle 2020, sect. 3.6.

[116] Among the citizens pairs of brothers are listed at 5-6, 14-15, 18-19, 20-21, 40-41, 58-59?, 95-96, and three brothers at 24-26, 85-87 and possibly 98-100.

and may be a sign of a degree of "respectability", but while it is possible that they, or other *epengraphoi* in this list, had come to Athens from elsewhere specifically to participate in the ephebic programme, we seem generally in the *epengraphoi* to be dealing with resident non-citizens; and in any case with a rather different category of person from the *xenoi*, proudly bearing the ethnics of their home cities, and including foreign princes in their number, that characterised the ephebic catalogues of the late Hellenistic period. In short, one gains the clear impression that the days of the international elite being attracted to Athens in significant numbers by a prestigious balanced programme of academic and physical training that characterised the ephebate in the century following its opening to foreigners in the late 120s BC are by now a thing of the past.[117]

As for the Athenian citizens, a degree of caution is in order. The lack of demotics hinders identifications; and the absence in this case of the cadet officials and liturgists that are usually found on these catalogues[118] means that internal evidence for "elite" ephebes is lacking; but it remains a notable feature of our inscription that the *kosmetes*, Alkamenes, and his sons are the only securely identifiable members of the elite; and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, by the end of the second century AD, the social status of the typical citizen ephebe was rather lower than in the Hellenistic period, and that service as an ephebe no longer functioned, as it once had, as a marker of membership of the "tout petit monde" of the office-holding class.

[117] Cf. *AIUK* 4.2 no. 16 with commentary.
[118] Cf. above n. 79.

CONCORDANCE

***AIUK* 4.3B**	***GIBM* I**	***IG* II²**	**Wilson 1992**	***SEG***
1 fr. *a*		2450		40.173
1 fr. *b*	45	2272		40.173
2	43	1993	E.119	
3	46	2028	E.145	
4	47	2088	E.213	
5 fr. *a*	44	2191	E.255	18.55
5 fr. *b*		2192	E.255	18.55
5 fr. *c*		2131	E.255	18.55