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# Religion and family politics in Hellenistic Kalaureia

## Three new inscriptions from the sanctuary of Poseidon

Εἶχα δυὸ ἀγάλματα περίφημα, μιὰ γυναῖκα κι' ἕνα βασιλόπουλο, ἀτόφια—  
φαίνονταν οἱ φλέβες· τόση ἐντέλειαν εἶχαν. Ὅταν χάλασαν τὸν Πόρον,  
τᾶχαν πάρει κάτι στρατιῶτες καὶ εἰς τ' Ἄργος θὰ τὰ πουλοῦσαν κάτι  
Εὐρωπαϊῶν· χίλια τάλαρα γύρευαν ... πῆρα τοὺς στρατιῶτες, τοὺς μίλησα·  
«Αὐτά, καὶ δέκα χιλιάδες τάλαρα νὰ σᾶς δώσουνε, νὰ μὴν τὸ καταδεχτῆτε νὰ  
βγοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν πατρίδα μας. Δι' αὐτὰ πολεμήσαμεν.»\*

I had two splendid statues, a woman and a prince; intact, you could see their veins. Such  
was their perfection. When Poros was destroyed, they were taken by some soldiers who  
were going to sell them to some Europeans in Argos. They were asking for 1,000 thalers ...  
I took the soldiers aside, I spoke to them: “Even if they give you 10,000 thalers, don’t  
stoop to letting [these statues] leave our fatherland. These are what we fought for.”

### Abstract

This article presents three unpublished Hellenistic inscriptions from the sanctuary of Poseidon in Kalaureia (modern Poros): two found during archaeological excavations on the site and one recorded in a letter that was once part of Ioannis Kapodistrias’ official correspondence. All three inscriptions were dedicatory and carved on bases supporting portrait statues. Interestingly, they were offered to Poseidon by members of a single family already known from other documents in the Kalaureian epigraphic corpus. Remarkably, eight out of the 18 inscriptions discovered

in Kalaureia make repeated references to men and women of this very family, which appears to have materially dominated Poseidon’s *temenos* and its environs during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC through the careful placement of portraits of its members. Most of these statues were conspicuously placed by the entrance to the sanctuary, though at least one of them was erected inside of the god’s temple. In our article, we present in detail the three new inscriptions, one of them an epigram, and attempt an analysis of the religious behaviour of this prominent local family against the background of contemporary sociopolitical developments.\*\*

\* Yannis Makriyannis’ *Memoirs*, book 3, ch. 1; quote from the edition of Asdrachas 1957.

\*\* For permission to study and publish inscription *no. II* we are grateful to Dr Eleni Konsolaki, Dr Maria Giannopoulou, and Dr Stella Chrysoulaki (Ephorate of Pireaus). For permission to study and publish inscription *no. I*, our gratitude goes to Dr Arto Penttinen, director of the Poros excavations. Nikolaos Papazarkadas would like to thank Professors Mark Griffith, Andy Stewart, and Mario Telò for fruitful discussions on the epigram and the statue bases, and the S.B. Aleshire Center of Greek Epigraphy for financial support. We are also grateful to the two referees for their valuable comments, one of whom, Professor Joseph Day, shed his anonymity. We have integrated into our text several of their suggestions, although responsibility for the final version of the article lies with us. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are our own. Finally, we warmly thank the editor of *Opuscula* Julia Habetzeder for her professionalism and patience.

*Keywords:* Greek epigraphy, Greek inscriptions, dedications, Poseidon, Zeus Soter, Kalaureia, epigram, family, prosopography, statues

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### Introduction

The island of Kalaureia (modern Poros) was primarily famous in antiquity for its shrine of Poseidon (*Figs. 1a & 1b*). Archaeologically detectable from the 7th century BC, the shrine was administered by an amphictyony from at least the Archaic pe-

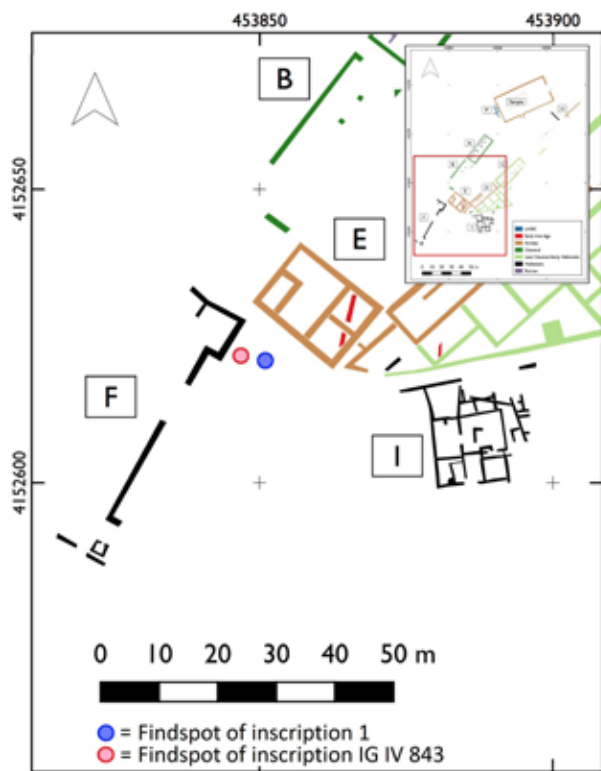


Fig. 1a. Plan of the sanctuary of Poseidon, detail. Image by R. Rönnlund.

riod and came to be known as an important place of asylum.<sup>1</sup> Recent excavations have identified an intensive construction phase around 500 BC followed by a flourishing of sanctuary activities in the 4th–3rd centuries BC. Poseidon’s shrine appears to have declined in the 2nd century AD.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the Kalaureian amphictyony, see below pp. 154. Although some scholars have argued for a Mycenaean cult of Poseidon at the site of the later sanctuary (Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 287; Hägg 2003; *CGRN* 106, 107; contra Kelly 1966), this cannot be corroborated by recent excavations. The Mycenaean remains found west of the *peribolos* of the later temple appear to belong to a single-period site of unknown extent, datable to a late stage of the Late Helladic (LH) period (perhaps founded in LH IIIc Early and abandoned already in LH IIIc Middle). The 2011 excavations showed that the temple was indeed built on top of the Mycenaean settlement, but evidence for a Poseidon cult, or even for indisputable cultic activities within the settlement, is lacking. Although scattered finds from the area include objects sometimes associated with religious rituals, e.g., fragments of Mycenaean human and animal figurines, two miniature bronze double axes and a Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Reshef-figurine (Wells 2009), these should not be understood as indisputable evidence of religious activities. Rather, other finds suggest a domestic context: stone spindle whorls, obsidian blades, grinding stones, fragments of a bone awl, etc. (unpublished INSTAP report by Michael Lindblom, October 2011). For a Mycenaean cult of Poseidon in nearby Aghios Konstantinos on the Methana peninsula in the territory of Troizen, see Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Penttinen *et al.* 2009, esp. 131–132; Alexandridou 2013, 82–83, 142–143.



Fig. 1b. Plan of the sanctuary of Poseidon. Image by R. Rönnlund.

Post-antiquity, the site was known, visited, and described by travellers at least as early as the 18th century. The first organized archaeological investigation was undertaken by a Swedish team in 1894, when Sam Wide and Lennart Kjellberg conducted a brief campaign that focused on the sanctuary’s architectural remains.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, there was no follow-up to this initial fieldwork. Apart from a limited study by the German archaeologist Georg Welter in the 1930s,<sup>4</sup> and minor fieldwork carried out by members of the Greek Archaeological Service in 1979, it was not until the late 1990s that the shrine once again became the site of systematic excavations. In 1997, the Swedish Institute at Athens gratefully accepted an invitation from the Greek Ministry of Culture to initiate new work, and field campaigns have been regularly conducted ever since. Between 2006 and 2012, Kalaureia was the focal point of the large-scale scientific project *The City, the God and the Sea*, which aimed at further understanding the daily life in a major Greek sanctuary.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Wide & Kjellberg 1895; see now Berg 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Published in Welter 1941.

<sup>5</sup> This project was initially directed by the late Dr Berit Wells and then by Dr Arto Penttinen. Full publication of the results is pending. Riksbankens Jubileumsfond provided funding, reference no. M2006-0814:1-PK.

Among the finds of the Swedish project there is a statue base with a verse inscription, which became the starting point of our treatment (inscribed monument *no. I*). While analysing this epigram in the context of other Kalaureian dedications, we came across references to what appeared to be two related monuments. The first one, a statue base, was found during excavations of the 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in 1979 and is now stored in the Archaeological Museum of Poros (inscribed monument *no. II*). The second related monument appears to be lost (inscribed monument *no. III*). Its text was recorded in a letter that was once part of the official correspondence of Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first Governor of Greece; sadly, the letter is nowhere to be found today. This inscription too must have been carved on a statue base similar to the two monuments bearing the other two inscriptions. Interestingly, the three offerings, all portrait statues, were presented to Poseidon by members of one and the same family, whose pervasive influence in Kalaureia can be traced in other local documents from the sanctuary ground. The family in question appears to have materially dominated the *temenos* and its environs through the careful placement of portraits of its members. In our article we present and analyse these three inscriptions against the background of the religious behaviour of this prominent local family.

## No. I. A new epigram from the sanctuary of Poseidon (Figs. 2–9)

The first monument of the present study was found in 2011, during the Swedish Institute's excavation of the shrine of Poseidon, in front of the so-called Building E, which is traditionally identified as a propylaeum, and Stoa/Building F, which is generally thought to be a *bouleuterion* (Council House).<sup>6</sup> It is now stored in the Archaeological Museum of Poros where it has been given the inventory number ΜΠ 2111.<sup>7</sup>

**Description:** Orthogonal crowning member of bluish limestone. The front side is smooth and bears a four-line inscription (Fig. 2a). The upper surface has two holes for the insertion of the feet of a slightly larger than life-size bronze statue (Fig. 3). The distance between the footprints is 0.35 m. The right footprint, which is fully preserved with a length of 0.23 m, is placed further back from the left footprint and slightly outwards. The left footprint is partly damaged but enough of the outline survives to show that it had a comparable length of

almost 0.24 m.<sup>8</sup> It is aligned straight towards the viewer. Both footprints are excavated to a depth of approximately 0.058–0.060 m below the upper surface. The underside is formed into a moulding that consists downwards of a narrow fillet, a cavetto, and an apophyge (Figs. 4 & 5). Two lengthy dowel holes connected the crowning to a lower member, probably an orthogonal base, that is now lost (Fig. 6). One dowel hole is placed near the right front of the underside running parallel to the inscription, whereas the second hole is placed to the left rear side of the underside running perpendicular to the front face. The back of the monument is also smoothly worked, and preserves a 0.003 m high Α (alpha, Fig. 7), placed off-centre at a distance of *c.* 0.20 m from the right edge of the rear side.

**Dimensions:** Height without the moulding 0.159 m, height with the moulding: 0.195 m; width 0.685 m; depth: 0.655 m; letter height 0.006 (omicron, theta)–0.015 m.

### EPIGRAM

χάλκεος ἀλλὰ χρυσὸν ἀμύνεται οὔνεκεν ἀν[ῆρ?]   
 τίμιος ἦμ παντᾶι καὶ μέγας ἐκ πατέρων   
 υἱὸς ὁ Σωφάνεος Σωσίστρατος· οὔ σύ, Ποσειδόν,   
 4 τὰν ἀγαθὰν σώζεις ἀνδρὸς αἰεὶ γενεάν.

### TRANSLATION

It [scil. the statue] is bronze but recompenses (*vel fends off?*)<sup>9</sup> gold because the son of Sophanes, Sosistratos, was in every way a precious man, and a great one from his forefathers. Poseidon, may you always preserve *this* man's noble family.

### EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

A break along the right end of the upper edge of the stone has resulted in some damage at the end of line 1. Thus, the three last letters of οὔνεκεν and the alpha of ἀν[ῆρ] have lost their upper parts, albeit not to the extent that the use of underdots is necessary. However, of the dotted nu only the leftmost stroke survives (the trace could also belong to a gamma, an eta, an iota, a mu, a pi, or even a rho).

<sup>8</sup> According to Krumeich 2010, 368, one can calculate the size of a statue by multiplying the footprint's length by a factor of 8 or 9. Taking the smaller, left, footprint (0.23 m) and using Ralf Krumeich's minimum factor of 8, we can reach an estimated height of 1.84 m. For comparison, data collected by the health network NCD-RisC (<http://www.ncdrisc.org>) shows that the average height of a Greek man born between 1976 and 1996 is about 1.77 m, up from 1.62 m in 1896. The average height of a male individual in the Hellenistic Mediterranean would have been much closer to the 19th-century average, if that. A statue 1.84 m high could well be described as "larger than life".

<sup>9</sup> For the two alternative translations, see our analysis below (pp. 146–147).

<sup>6</sup> Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 281–283.

<sup>7</sup> We carried out autopsy of ΜΠ 2111 on 14 July 2015. Jenny Wallensten had already studied the stone on several occasions. She also studied squeezes of Kalaureian inscriptions kept at the collection of Uppsala University.



Fig. 2a. Inscribed monument no. I: the epigram. Photograph by authors.



Fig. 2b. Inscribed monument no. I: guidelines. Photograph by authors.



Fig. 3. Inscribed monument no. I: footprints. Photograph by M. Nilsson.

The lettering is reminiscent of, albeit not identical to, the lettering of *IG IV 840, 841, and 844*, which are thought to date to the late 3rd century BC.<sup>10</sup> The letters are carefully carved on (and thus also under) incised horizontal guidelines which are still visible, as is a vertical line to the left of the epigram (see *Fig. 2b*).<sup>11</sup> Several letters show the inception of serifs. The horizontal stroke of alpha is for the most part straight, but occasionally shows a very slight curve. The middle hori-

zontal of epsilon tends to be placed relatively high and to be shorter than the upper and lower strokes. Zeta consists of two horizontal strokes connected via a perfect vertical. The upper and lower strokes of sigma are slanting outwards, albeit very slightly so. Thetas, omicrons, and omegas are considerably smaller than other letters. In addition, theta has a central dot rather than a horizontal bar. The curved element of phi is a compressed oval.

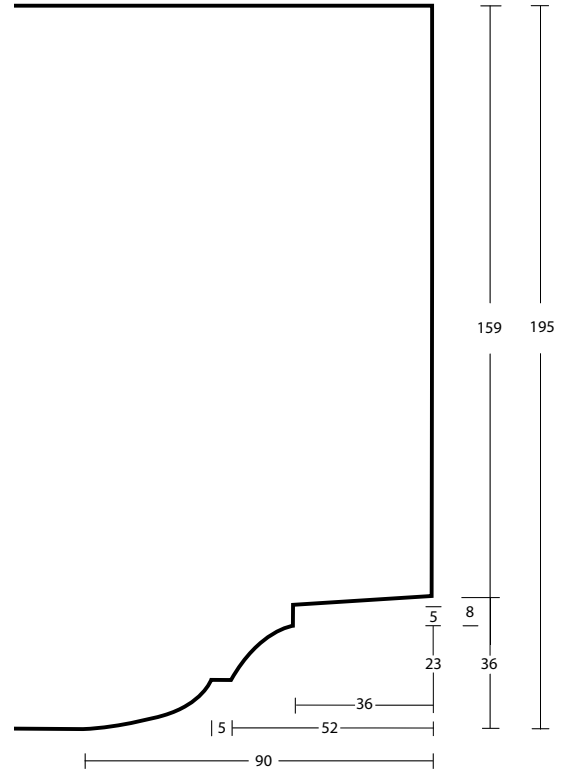
Since there are no good datable parallels from Kalaureia itself, it is worth looking at the better-studied epigraphic tradition of Athens. Upon comparison the lettering of the Kalaureian monument looks in some respects similar to that of the so-called “Cutter of Agora I 6664”, whose *floruit* was

<sup>10</sup> In fact, *IG IV 844* should be dated to the early 2nd century BC on prosopographical grounds.

<sup>11</sup> In fact, letters are carved not only on, but also between, guidelines, which together with the vertical on the left margin clearly delineate the layout of the text, see *Fig. 2b*.



Fig. 4. Inscribed monument no. I: base profile. Photograph by authors.



0 5 cm MΠ 2111 Moulding Profile

Fig. 5. Inscribed monument no. I: drawing of base profile by A. Hooton.



Fig. 6. Inscribed monument no. I: dowel holes on underside. Photograph by authors.



Fig. 7. Inscribed monument no. I: detail of rear side. Photograph by authors.

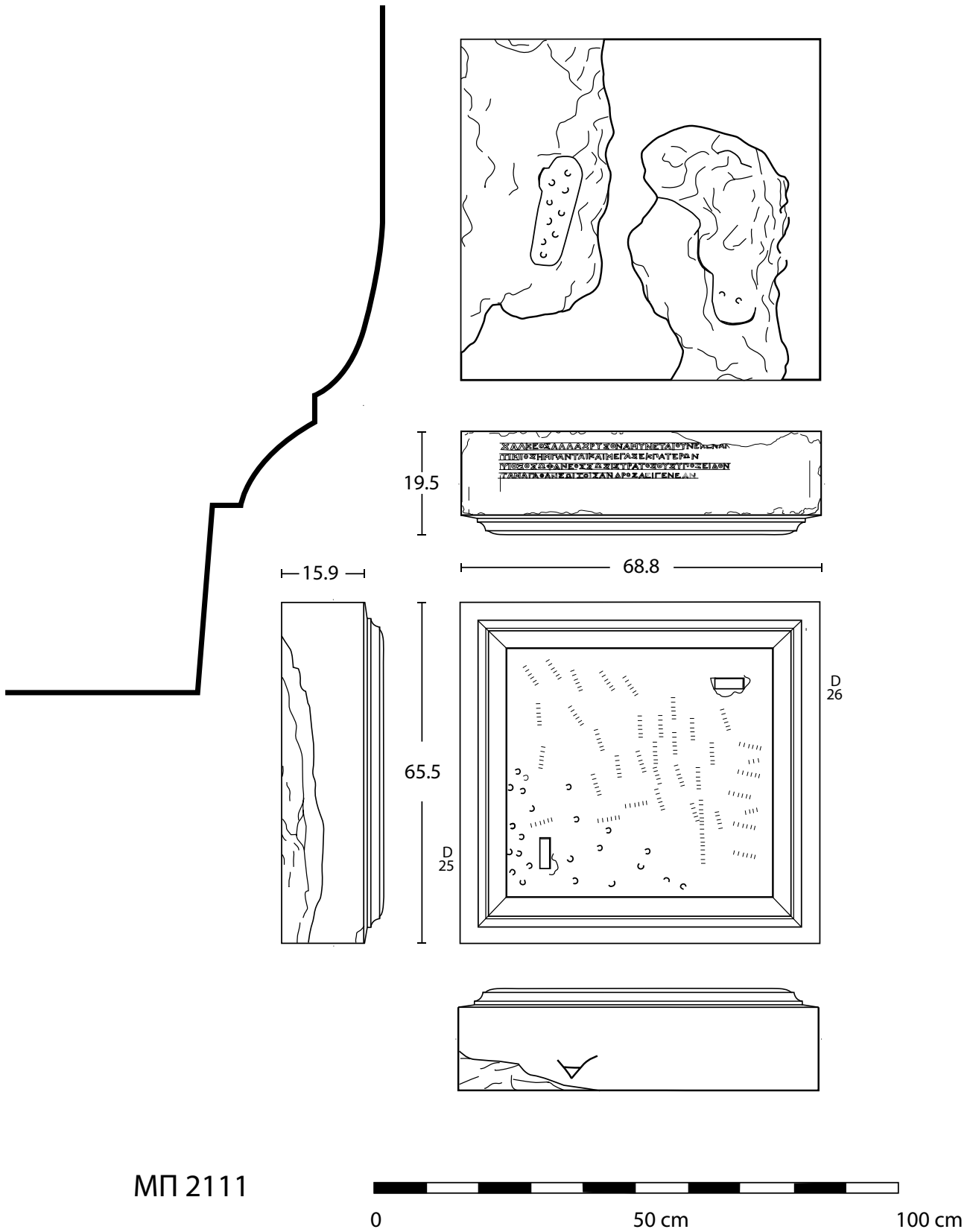


Fig. 8: Inscribed monument no. I. Illustration by A. Hooton.



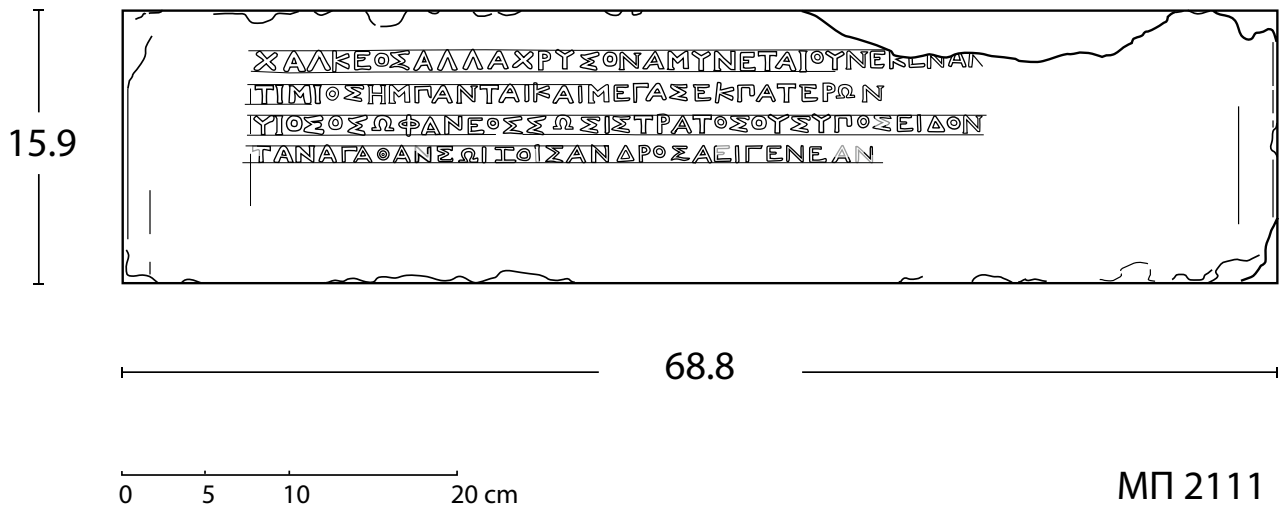


Fig. 9. Inscribed monument no. I. Illustration by A. Hooton.

established by Stephen Tracy as c. 281/0–240 BC.<sup>12</sup> We believe that on epigraphical grounds, the new inscription dates to the 3rd century BC, probably in its middle or late part, although our assessment should be considered provisional.

#### COMMENTARY

The epigram consists of two elegiac distichs. The language is typical of epigrammatic poetry, i.e. Ionic, with some Doric dialectal elements (line 2, παντᾶι; line 4: τὰν ἀγαθόν), which are explicable given the cultural milieu. Below we provide a line-by-line contextualized commentary.

**Line 1.** The first two words are identical to the inception of an epigram preserved in the *Greek Anthology*:

Χάλκεος, ἀλλ' ἄθρησον ὅσον θράσος ἄνυσε κάπρου  
 ὁ πλάστας, ἔμπνουν θῆρα τυπωσάμενος etc.

It is of bronze, but see what strength he contrived to show, the sculptor of the boar, moulding a living beast etc.<sup>13</sup>

Just as in the case of the epigram above, which is attributed to Archias, the uncontracted adjective χάλκεος of the new text refers to a bronze statue. In our epigram the masculine form χάλκεος should be construed as a predicate adjective modifying either an assumed noun ἀνδριᾶς, or the depicted man, the ἀν[ήρ] of line 1.<sup>14</sup> As can be seen from Archias' poem,

the privileged mention of the material of the statue is not unusual. One is immediately reminded of the ἀνδριαντοποιικά poems of the New Posidippus.<sup>15</sup> Consider, for instance, the following verses from Posidippus' praiseful epigram for the bronze statue of the Coan poet Philitas:<sup>16</sup>

αὐδῆσ]οντι δ' ἔοικεν, ὅσωι ποικίλλεται ἦθει  
 ἔμψυχ]ος, καίπερ χάλκεος ἐὼν ὁ γέρων

Although made of bronze, the old man seems like one about to speak, with so much character is he decorated (alive?).

It has been noted that poems like this evoke another 3rd-century BC epigram, that has come down to us in the *Planudean Anthology*, namely Asclepiades' (or Archelaos') praise for Lysippus' statue of Alexander:<sup>17</sup>

τόλμαν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὄλαν ἀπεμάξατο μορφὰν  
 Λύσιππος· τίν' ὀδὶ χαλκὸς ἔχει δύναμιν.  
 αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος ἐς Δία λεύσσω  
 “γᾶν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεται, Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὀλυμπον ἔχε.”

The boldness of Alexander and his entire form were imitated by Lysippus. What power this bronze has!

The brazen man, as he looks at Zeus, resembles someone about to say:

“I subject the earth to myself; Zeus, you keep Olympus!”

<sup>12</sup> Tracy 2003, 99–111.

<sup>13</sup> *AP* 15.51 = Archias 31 Gow & Page *GPB*; translation by Paton 1918, 155.

<sup>14</sup> χάλκεος of course works well as a dactyl, but note that this uncontracted form was habitually employed in the prosaic building accounts of neighbouring Epidaurus in the 4th century BC; see the observations by Tod 1946, esp. 47–48.

<sup>15</sup> See Stewart 2005, 183–205.

<sup>16</sup> *AB* 63, lines 7–8 (translation by Sens 2005, 209); cf. Tueller 2008, 175–177.

<sup>17</sup> *AP* 16.120 = Asclep. 43, Gow & Page *HE*; see Sens 2011, 291–300 (translation and analysis).

Note the dynamics generated by the poet's treatment of the bronze statue: such is the power of the bronze image that the man depicted is perceived as if he can claim secular power equal to the divine power of the Father of the Gods.

Lapidary poetry also preserved such notions. As concerns the new Kalaureian poem, the best parallel, in terms of diction, is offered by the Rhodian epigram *Nuova Silloge* 19, lines 6–13:

ἀθρήσας, ᾧ ξεῖνε, τὸν ἔμπνοον ἐγγύθι χαλκὸν  
 μυᾶσαι τᾶς ὀσίας τοῦδε δικαιοσύνας·  
 τρὶς δέκα γὰρ λυκάβαντας ὁμοῦ ξεῖνοις τε καὶ ἀστοῖς  
 χρυσὸν σὺν καθαρᾷ πάντ' ἐφύλαξε δίκαι·  
 10 οὔνεκ' Ἀπολλοδότῳ μίμνει κλέος, ἄδε δὲ μορφὰ  
 ἐξ Ἡρακλείτου παιδὸς ἀναγράφεται.  
 ἀλλὰ γένος τελέθει καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ὡς ὄδε πατρός  
 φέρτερος, ὡς παίδων παῖδες ἀριότεροι.

Stranger, gaze close upon the living bronze  
 and remember the holy justice of this man:  
 during thirty years, for foreigners and citizens alike,  
 he kept watch over gold, with constant pure justice.  
 Hence glory remains with Apollodotos, and this image  
 is inscribed by his son Herakleitos.  
 May the race continue in future times, and just as this  
 man was better  
 than his father, thus may the children of their children be  
 yet stronger.<sup>18</sup>

One should pay attention in particular to the lexical similarities of χαλκὸν and χάλκεος, χρυσὸν and χρυσόν, οὔνεκ' and οὔνεκεν, γένος and γενεά, or even the similar wish for the future well-being of the families of the honorands (both expressed with optatives of wish; see our note on lines 3–4 below).

Close to the new inscription, not only conceptually, but also geographically and chronologically, stands the following epigram from the Epidaurian Asklepieion:<sup>19</sup>

ὄσσον ἐπ' ἀελίος τε μέγ[αν πόλον ἄστρα τ' ἀμ]εῖβει,  
 5 αἰνετὸν Ἑλλάνων ἀγ[εμὸν] ἐξενέπω],  
 εἰ καὶ χάλκεός εἰμι κ[ράτει δορὸς οὔνεκα] νάσωι  
 Ἀπίδι τὰν ὄλοαν ἄρκε[σε δουλοσύναν],  
 πολλὰ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσι κ[αὶ Ἀλείοις κακὰ ῥ]έξας,  
 μυρία δ' εὐπῶλωι λυγρὰ [Λακωνίδι γαῖ].  
 10 τῶι καὶ νῦμ μ' Ἐπίδαυρο[ς ἀνέστασ]. ἀλλ' ἀφύλασσε,  
 Ζεῦ, τὸν ἀπὸ Σπάρτας ἐ[σθλὸν ἔχοντα] κλέος.

As long as the sun transverses both the great celestial  
 sphere and the stars,  
 I proclaim the glorious leader of the Greeks,  
 even though I am bronze, because by the force of his spear  
 he kept destructive slavery away from the island of Apis,  
 causing many ills to the Aetolians and the Eleians  
 and countless afflictions to the Laconian land, which is  
 famous for its foals.  
 For him has Epidauros now set me up; but protect,  
 Zeus, the man who draws his noble glory from Sparta.

Here the bronze statue takes pride in how, despite the fact that it is just that, a bronze statue, it actually proclaims the glory of the man depicted; the Macedonian king Philip V (reigned 221–179 BC), as it happens.

We have indulged ourselves in this long digression to emphasize that a strand of Hellenistic poetry, especially 3rd-century BC poetry, had an obsession with ideas of artistic representation and realism, a phenomenon closely connected with ecphrasis.<sup>20</sup> It is in this context that we have to analyse the new epigram, in particular the crux of line 1.

To begin with, the middle ἀμύνομαι does not equal the active ἀμύνω, unless it governs a genitive, which is not the case here: the first verse cannot be taken to mean that the bronze statue defends gold, i.e. the treasury of the shrine or something similarly valuable. One possibility is that ἀμύνεσθαι has here its usual meaning “to fend off”, and the composer of the epigram meant to say that the bronze statue wards off gold.<sup>21</sup> One

<sup>18</sup> English translation by Ma 2013, 205. In his edition, Amedeo Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge*, argued that Apollodotos had been a banker. He dated the inscription to c. 200 BC on the basis of the lettering. The lettering of the Rhodian inscription looks similar to that of the Poros epigram, albeit slightly later (sigmas have horizontal strokes, and there is a more emphasized finishing of the serifs).

<sup>19</sup> *ISE* no. 47 = *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.1 590.

<sup>20</sup> Ecphrasis in the context of (primarily literary) epigram has received much scholarly attention. The bibliography is enormous: see, e.g., Manakidou 1993; Goldhill 1994; Männlein-Robert 2007; Bruss 2010; Floridi 2019. A well-known example is Myron's cow, whose exceptional lifelike quality was celebrated in at least 36 epigrams that have come to us in the *Greek Anthology*: *AP* 9.713–742; 9.793–798, with Gutzwiller 1998, 245–250; Goldhill 2007; Squire 2010. Even more relevant to our discussion because of its material is the dedicated bronze rooster that was treated by Callimachus in a famous humorous ecphrastic epigram: *AP* 6.149 = Callim. 25 Gow & Page *HE*, with Meyer 2007, 200–201; Tueller 2008, 191–192; Christian 2015, 67–71; Day 2019, 23. We owe several of the references in this footnote to Professor Day.

<sup>21</sup> See, for instance, Eur. *Heracl.* 302–303: “τὸ δυστυχῆς γὰρ ἠγύγεται ἀμύνεται τῆς δυσγενείας μάλλον” (“Noble birth repels misfortune better than ignoble birth”; translation by Kovacs 2005, 41).

obstacle to such an interpretation is that it apparently forces us to assume that contrary to canonical use χρυσόν here has negative connotations. Alternatively, we ought to hypothesize that χρυσόν refers to something concrete, a golden object of a sort, which stood nearby and to which the bronze statue of the epigram is contrasted and/or favourably compared. Indeed, statues were often perceived as interacting with their immediate environment. The best known such instance is arguably the statue of the tyrannicide Philitas at Erythrae, which had its sword removed by oligarchs who felt its orientation targeted them. The restored democracy restored the sword as well, but the salient point is that the statue's posture was felt as posing a threat to at least a segment of the Erythraean society.<sup>22</sup> The hypothesis, therefore, that the ἀμύνεται of the epigram denotes actual warding-off of a golden object should be kept in mind,<sup>23</sup> even though it cannot be confirmed due to lack of specific archaeological evidence from the shrine of Poseidon itself.

The gist of the text would make us expect a slightly different verb, namely ἀμείβεσθαι. Interestingly there are a couple of occurrences of the middle ἀμύνεσθαι with a meaning that comes close to that of ἀμείβεσθαι, “to reciprocate”, “to repay”.<sup>24</sup> This meaning was unusual enough to draw the attention of a most eminent ancient grammarian, Aristophanes of Byzantium: “φησὶ γὰρ ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀριστοφάνης τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι οὐ μόνον σημαίνειν τὸ κακῶς παθόντα ἀντιδιατιθέναι, ἀλλὰ τεθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ φιλοῦ ἀμείψασθαι ὁτιοῦν· καὶ φέρει χρῆσιν ἔκ τε Ἀλκμᾶνος τὸ (1, 65 *PMG*) ‘οὐ γὰρ πορφύρας τόσσοις κόροις ὥστ’ ἀμύνασθαι’ καὶ ἔκ τῶν Θουκυδίδου τὸ (1,42,1) ‘ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι’.”<sup>25</sup> And another lexicographical tradition associated the use of ἀμύνεσθαι in this specific

Thucydidean passage with a use of the verb in a now lost verse by Simonides.<sup>26</sup> Aristotle too used the middle in a fairly similar way in his *Nicomachean Ethics*: “τὸν γὰρ φιλοῦντα καὶ εὔ ποιοῦντα οὐδεὶς δυσχεραίνει, ἀλλ’ ἔαν ἢ χαρίεις, ἀμύνεται εὔ δρῶν.”<sup>27</sup> We feel that this might be an appropriate meaning for the verb ἀμύνεται in the new epigram. If so, it is even conceivable that the poem's unknown composer intentionally opted for this *recherché* verbal form, aiming to imitate the greatest of all elegiac poets, Simonides himself.

Still on the same verse, we interpret οὔνεκεν as introducing a causal clause: “because”, rather than “wherefore”. We subsequently restore ἀν[ήρ], a proleptic predicate to the subject Σωσίστρατος.

**Line 2.** The rather rare term τίμιος, attributive to the partly restored ἀν[ήρ] in line 1, has here the meaning of “held in honour”, as in *I.Smyrna* 522b, lines 5–7: “τὸν ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίης χώρης [ὁ π]ατήρ ὑπεδέξατο κόλποις | χρηστομαθῆ, χαρίεντα, φίλ[ο]ν καὶ τίμιον ἀσστ[ο]ῖς” etc.<sup>28</sup> One wonders whether the term was chosen because of the connotations of the noun τιμή as referring to the actual value of precious metals, bronze and, in particular, gold. On this reading, the moral τιμή enjoyed by Sosistratos in his lifetime somehow transformed into a more tangible type of τιμή intrinsic both in the actual bronze statue and in the eternal value of gold. After all, the adjective τίμιος has also the technical meaning of “valuable”: cf. Xenophon, *De Vectigalibus* 4.10: “ἐκεῖνο μέντοι οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ χρυσίον ὅταν πολὺ παραφανῆ, αὐτὸ μὲν ἀτιμότερον γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τιμώτερον ποιεῖ.”<sup>29</sup> This interpretation works particularly well if we take the verb ἀμύνεσθαι to mean “to reciprocate, to repay”, that is, the bronze statue reciprocated a man who was “gold” because he was so “precious”. One is also reminded of the proverbial “gold for bronze”, which, we think, the composer of our epigram might have been playing with.<sup>30</sup> We wish to close this section

<sup>22</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 284, with Ma 2011, 249–250 and Teegarden 2014, 142–145.

<sup>23</sup> Regarding this point, Professor Day has drawn our attention to the adversative force of the conjunction ἀλλά. We quote him: “Whatever the gold was, it would *not* normally be thought to be ‘warded off’ by a bronze.”

<sup>24</sup> *Diccionario Griego-Español* II, s.v. ἀμύνω III 2: “*deolver el favor, agradecer*”; Montanari 2015, s.v. ἀμύνω 2.mid. We have not included in our discussion above Callim., *Hymn* 4 (*In Delum*) 226–227 (“ἀλλά, φίλη, δύνασαι γὰρ, ἀμύνω πότνια δούλους | ὑμετέρους, οἱ σείο πέδον πατέουσιν ἐφετμήν”), which contains an emendation first proposed by Paul Maas, subsequently accepted by Rudolf Pfeiffer, but recently rejected by most scholars, including Stephens 2015, 216–217. We would like to note, however, that the middle ἀμύνω might work if we translate the crucial phrase as “repay your servants”.

<sup>25</sup> “For Aristophanes the grammarian claims that (the verb) ἀμύνεσθαι does not only mean ‘to retaliate after having been mistreated’ but that it has also been used simply instead of ‘to requite anything whatsoever’. And he makes use of Alcman’s ‘For abundance of purple is not sufficient to recompense’ and also of Thucydides’ ‘let them realize that it is only right to repay us with like treatment.’ See Slater 1986, fr. 33, who strangely states that “[i]t was shown that the middle voice meant ‘answer, reward’ rightly: see Puelma 1977, 37 n. 68”, whereas Puelma actually rejects Aristophanes’ interpretation.

<sup>26</sup> Simonides F329 (ed. Poltera 2008): Phot. *Lex* a 1269 (1, 132 Theodoridis) = Suid. a 1676 (1, 148, 27–28 Adler) = Zonar. *Lex.* (p. 160 Tittmann) “ἀμύνεσθαι· Θουκυδίδης μὲν (1,42,1) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμείβεσθαι, Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ (F 1004) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαλεξῆσαι (ἀπαλεξε. Suid)”.  
<sup>27</sup> Arist. *EN* 1162b: “Since nobody is angry with one who loves him and benefits him, but on the contrary, if a person of good feeling, requites him with service in return”; translation by Rackham 1934, 505.

<sup>28</sup> “His father welcomed him in the bosom of a foreign land, a man adept in learning, graceful, beloved and held in honour amongst the townfolk”.  
<sup>29</sup> “But I know this, that when gold is plentiful, silver rises and gold falls in value”; translation from Marchant & Bowersock 1965, 209.

<sup>30</sup> Pl. *Symp.* 219a: “ἀλλ’ ἀντὶ δόξης ἀλήθειαν καλῶν κτᾶσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖς καὶ τῷ ὄντι ‘χρῶσεα χαλκείων’ διαμείβεσθαι νοεῖς” (“You are trying to get genuine in return for reputed beauties, and in fact are designing to fetch off the old bargain of ‘gold for bronze’”; translation by Lamb 1925, 229–231). The proverb goes back to the famous exchange of the gold and bronze weapons between Glaucus and Diomedes: Hom. *Il.* 6.234–236: “ἔνθ’ αὐτὲ Γλαῦκος Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς, | ὅς πρὸς Τυδείδην Διομήδεα τεύχε’ ἀμειβε | χρῶσεα χαλκείων,

quoting one of Professor Day's insightful observations communicated to us: "In terms of epiphraisis in epigrammatic poetry, this is sophisticated and interesting: the epigram denies realistic representation (which would require a golden statue); rather, it insists that the bronze only provides a faulty, base-metal representation of that precious, golden man."

ἦμ is the third person singular imperfect of εἶμι, i.e. ἦν, with assimilation of the nasal consonant. The use of the imperfect suggests, we contend, that the subject was no longer alive: this is a case of posthumous honours. παντᾶ is the Doric form of Attic πάντη, "everywhere";<sup>31</sup> "in all aspects". For the expression "ἐκ πατέρων", cf. Theoc., *Id.* 17.13–14: "Ἐκ πατέρων οἶος μὲν ἔην τελέσαι μέγα ἔργον | Λαγείδας Πτολεμαῖος".<sup>32</sup>

**Line 3.** Σωσίστρατος, son of Σωφάνης, was previously allegedly unattested (see however next paragraph), but his father's name allows us to identify him as a member of a prominent local family heavily involved in the administration of the shrine of Poseidon of Kalaureia over several generations. One of the crucial pieces of evidence is *IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236* (= *IG IV 840* = *LSGC 58*), which is traditionally dated to the late 3rd century BC. *IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236* records an endowment set up by a woman called Ἀγασίγρατις (variant of Ἀγασίκρατις) on behalf of herself, her husband Σωφάνης, her daughters Νικαγόρα and Ἀριστόκλεια, and her son, Σωσιφάνης. However, the absence of any reference to a son called Σωσίστρατος makes it unlikely that Agasigratis' husband could be identified with the father of Sosistratos.<sup>33</sup> A Σωφάνης is also attested as a treasurer in another similar text from Kalaureia, namely *IG IV*

841 (*LSGC 59*), the endowment of Agasikles and Nikagora, presumably the daughter of Sophanes and Agasigratis.<sup>34</sup>

More important turns out to be the fragmentary dedication *IG IV 843*, which is now unfortunately lost. In the *editio princeps*, Wide & Kjellberg provisionally provided the text ". . . . ΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΣΩΦ. . . . | ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑΝΙ", and went on to propose the restoration "Σωφ[άνεος]".<sup>35</sup> Max Fraenkel in the corpus printed "[Σώσ]τρατος Σωφ- - | Ποσειδᾶνι", simply noting in the *apparatus criticus* that Wide and Kjellberg's "Σωφ[άνεος]" could well be correct. We believe that the new inscription commends a better restoration for *IG IV 843*: "[Σωσί]στρατος Σωφ[άνεος] | Ποσειδᾶνι" ("Sosistratos, son of Sophanes, to Poseidon"). If so *IG IV 843* must be slightly earlier than the new epigram, in which, as we have already pointed out, Sosistratos is implicitly presented as having died.

**Lines 3–4.** We note οὐ (here demonstrative because in first position) with ἄνδρος in hyperbaton, and the optative of wish σώζοις. Now, the onomastics of this family implies a preoccupation with ideas of preservation, and indeed it has been suggested that they had a special connection with Zeus Soter (Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, i.e., Zeus Saviour).<sup>36</sup> The two personal names attested in the new epigram further emphasize such notions. Remarkably, the plea to Poseidon to preserve (σώζοις) the family nicely plays out a pun on the family's onomastics.<sup>37</sup> But whereas the temporality of Sosistratos' actions was contingent upon his mortal nature—his greatness was manifest as long as he was alive—anticipated divine protection is construed *ad infinitum*: Poseidon is implored to preserve Sosistratos' family forever.

ἐκατόμβοι' ἔννεαβοίων" ("And then from Glaucus did Zeus, son of Cronos, take away his wit, seeing he made exchange of armour with Diomedes, son of Tydeus, giving golden for bronze, the worth of a hundred oxen for the worth of nine"; translation by Murray 1999, 291). Of course, the exchange was grossly unequal, which is why it gave rise to the ancient proverb. This Homeric episode has never ceased to perplex modern commentators who keep coming up with all sorts of interpretations (see Graziosi & Haubold 2010, 38–40, 144, with the earlier bibliography). The salient point, however, is that gold is patently more valuable than bronze, and it is this uneven ratio between the two precious metals, especially as treated in the literary tradition, that is arguably explored by the composer of our epigram, especially if we take ἀμύνεται of line 1 to equal ἀμείβεται (note Plato's use of the verb διαμείβεσθαι in the extract quoted above).

<sup>31</sup> For the form, see Pind. *Ol.* 9.23–25: "καὶ ἀγάνορος ἵππου | θᾶσσον καὶ ναὸς ὑποπτέρου παντᾶ | ἀγγελίαν πέμψω ταύταν" ("More swiftly than either a high-spirited horse or a winged ship I shall send this announcement everywhere"; translation by Race 2012, 153).

<sup>32</sup> "From his ancestors what a man for bringing to completion a mighty deed was Ptolemy, son of Lagos"; translation by Hunter 2003, 79.

<sup>33</sup> There is, of course, a remote possibility that if Sosistratos was their son, he was already dead by the time of the endowment (see below our comments on the posthumous character of the epigram). However, this scenario runs into another serious problem: we would have expected the endowment to refer to Sosistratos' bronze statue, given that other statues depicting members of the family are explicitly mentioned.

## MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The monument may belong to the type described in German scholarship as "*Zusammengestzte Quaderbasen—Haupttyp*", i.e. "main type of compound orthogonal base".<sup>38</sup> The form first appeared in the early Hellenistic period, but its popularity exploded after the 2nd century BC. The Kalaureian monument will then be a relatively early example. It is worth noting that in the majority of the known examples of this type the crowning block is *not* inscribed. On the contrary, inscriptions

<sup>34</sup> *IG IV 841*, line 11: "ἐπὶ ταμία Σωφάνεος τοῦ Πολι[- -]" ("When Sophanes, son of Poli[- -], was the treasurer"). The defective patronym shows that this Sophanes is a different man. Nevertheless he could have been a distant relative. Incidentally, *IG IV 841* must be slightly later than *IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236* (= *IG IV 840*): a date around 200 BC is likely.

<sup>35</sup> Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 296, no. 8.

<sup>36</sup> See section "The recipient deity and the pantheon of Kalaureia" below.

<sup>37</sup> As Professor Day aptly pointed out to us, there is some verbal artistry here that is consistent with the bronze/gold play of the opening line of the epigram.

<sup>38</sup> Schmidt 1995, 43–59.

are carved on the main shafts of such bases. Amongst the rare examples of inscribed crownings, we should mention the early 3rd-century BC dedication of the statue of Pythoklea by her son Thrymondes, *I.Oropos* 375; the late 3rd-/early 2nd-century BC dedication to Amphiaraios *I.Oropos* 432; and the inscribed base for the statue of Phanos, priest of Amphiaraios, *I.Oropos* 405, of c. 240–180 BC. In Athens proper, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3860, the inscription commemorating the early 3rd-century BC dedication of an equestrian statue for Ischyrius, was also carved on a crowning block. In his treatment of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3860, John Ma aptly observed: “The monumental inscription on the crowning course might have been completed by an epigram on the shaft of the base, making clear the exploits of Ischyrius”.<sup>39</sup> We think that something similar is true in the case of the new Kalaureian monument, with the epigram, however, having been inscribed on the crowning member rather than the other way around.

The textual and material evidence shows beyond doubt that the crowning member supported a single bronze statue. The traces of the feet suggest a rather static posture, with the right leg slightly behind the left one. This feature is evocative of statues of the so-called Aischines type.<sup>40</sup> Finally, given that only one statue stood on the original monument, the letter Α (alpha) at the back of the crowning appears, at first sight, to be tantalizing (*Fig. 7*). The two aforementioned endowments attest to the presence of multiple portrait statues of members of Sosistratos’ family in the shrine and its vicinity.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore conceivable that the alpha was inscribed in order to pinpoint the position of the monument of Sosistratos in relation to the other family statues that lay nearby. It should be noted that with its horizontal stroke placed relatively high, the isolated alpha looks considerably different from the alphas of the epigram and it might be a later addition. It could then evince a later rearrangement, after more statues had been erected. With this observation we can move to the second inscribed statue base of our article.

## No. II. A new dedication to Poseidon (*Figs. 10–15*)

In the *Archaiologikon Deltion* of 1980, which appeared belatedly in 1988, Eleni Konsolaki reported the discovery of a fragment of an inscribed monument, “βάσιν ἀγάλματος”, at excavations of the 2nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the shrine of Poseidon at Kalaureia.<sup>42</sup> The fragment was found outside the house of Y. Makris, in the area between the so-called Propylaion (Building E) and the stoa usually identified as the Council House.<sup>43</sup> On prosopographic grounds, Konsolaki aptly associated it with similar inscribed dedications from the same shrine. With her generous permission, we are offering here the long awaited *editio princeps*.

**Description:** Left (right for the viewer) part of a rectangular coping block of bluish limestone with ochre striations, likely to be of the same provenance as our monument *no. I*. On the top surface there is a cutting for the left foot of a bronze statue: its length, c. 0.305 m, shows that this was a larger-than-life statue (*Fig. 11*). The underside has been worked with a claw chisel. Two dowel holes are preserved, one completely, the other partly damaged in connection with the break on the right side of the stone: they are probably cuttings for the attachment of this block to another underneath (*Figs. 12, 13*). The inscribed stone is currently stored in the Archaeological Museum of Poros, inv. no. ΜΠ 628.

**Dimensions:** Height 0.24 m; width (preserved) 0.40–0.51 m; max preserved depth: 0.55 m; letter height 0.012 m (omicron)–0.026 m (phi).

### INSCRIPTION

[ vac. Νικαγ]όρα ὕ τὸν ὕδν  
[Ἀγασικλῆς τὸν π]ατέρα Σωσιφάνη  
[ vac. Ποσειδᾶ]νι

### TRANSLATION

[ vac. Nikag]ora (dedicated the statue of) her son,  
[Agasikles (dedicated the statue of) his f]ather Sosiphanes  
[ vac. to Poseid]on

<sup>39</sup> Ma 2013, 206.

<sup>40</sup> Ridgway 1990, 226 with pl. 109.

<sup>41</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236, lines 7–8: “παρὰ τὰν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐ|τᾶς Σωφάνεος” (“near the image of her husband Sophanes”), 12–14, “τᾶς τε εἰκόνας καθαρὰς | ποιεῖν τὰς ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐξέδρας καὶ τὰν ἐν τῷ ναῶι τὰν Ἀ|γασιγράτιος” (“to clean both the images on the *exedra* and the image of Agasigratis in the temple”); *IG* IV 841, lines 23–24, “βωμὸν ἐσσάμενοι πρὸ τᾶν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν τὰν ποι[τ]ῶι βουλευτηρίῳ” (“after having set up an altar in front of their images that are next to the Council House”). There may have been a statue fixed on top of *IG* IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236; see the commentary in *CGRN* 106. We have not been able to carry out autopsy of this stone, which is presumed lost.

<sup>42</sup> Konsolaki 1980, 95–96; reported in *SEG* XXXVIII 324.

<sup>43</sup> In exactly that area one can still see nowadays *IG* IV 846, the inscribed base for Agasikles. It is worth noting that Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 282, reported foundations for three statue bases.



*Fig. 10. Inscribed monument no. II: front side. Photograph by J. Wallensten.*



*Fig. 11. Inscribed monument no. II: footprint. Photograph by J. Wallensten.*



*Fig. 12. Inscribed monument no. II: dowel holes on underside. Photograph by J. Wallensten.*



*Fig. 13. Inscribed monument no. II: side view. Photograph by J. Wallensten.*

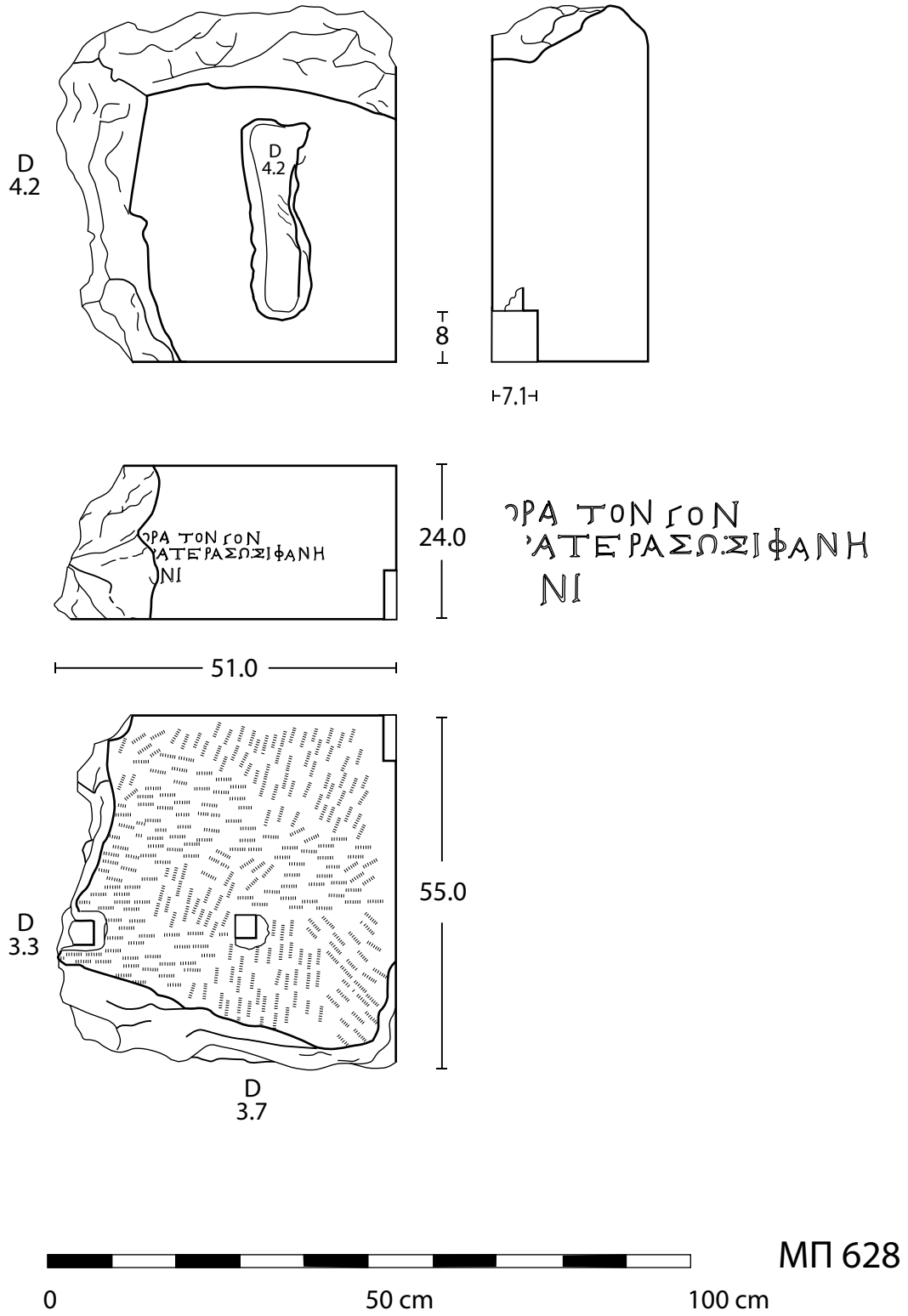


Fig. 14. Inscribed monument no. II. Illustration by A. Hooton.

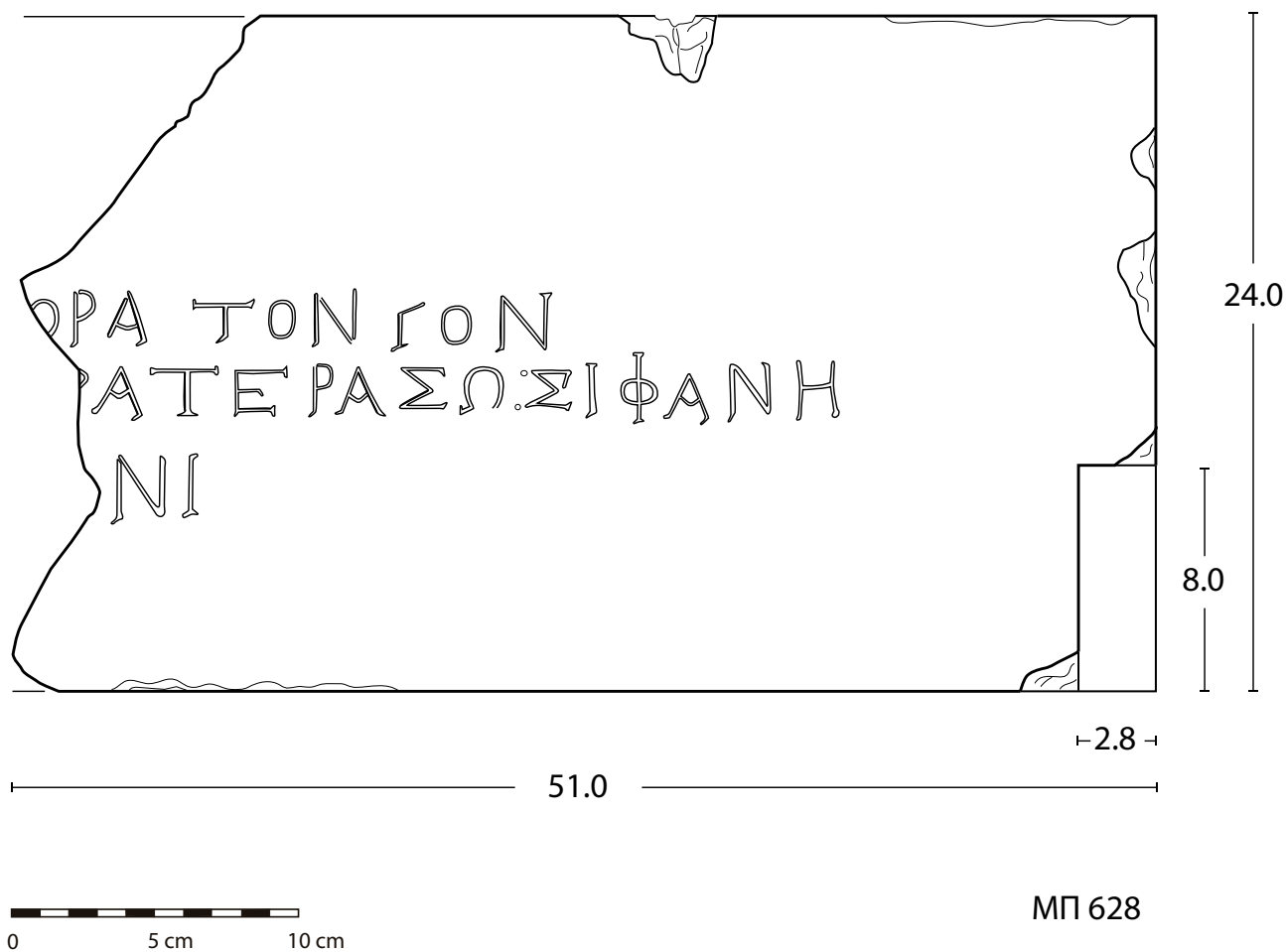


Fig. 15. Inscribed monument no. II. Illustration by A. Hooton.

### EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

Although the text is incomplete, the preserved letters are easily legible. They are rather sloppy, often quite curved (alpha, upsilon).<sup>44</sup> Most of them feature fairly pronounced wedge-shaped serifs. The right and middle strokes of nu do not reach the bottom line. Omicron is rather small and floating. Similarly, the curved element of rho is noticeably small. The curved element of phi is a compressed oval placed below the middle of the vertical stroke. The vertical strokes of the eta bulge slightly outwards. The middle horizontal stroke of epsilon is cut above the middle of the vertical hasta and considerably shorter than the other horizontals; its lower stroke is curved and does not rest on the line. The lower stroke of sigma leaves the line and both its upper and lower strokes splay out. In general, we think that the lettering suggests a date in the

first half of the 2nd century BC, and more likely in the second quarter of the century, a date that accords well with our prosopographical analysis below.

### COMMENTARY

The traces on the base indicate one single statue, i.e., one single honorand. There can be little doubt that this is Sosiphanes of line 2. This observation has guided our supplements below.

**Line 1.** We have restored with a great deal of confidence the name [Νικαγ]όρα. This woman belonged to a local family with a long record of active involvement in the shrine of Poseidon, as we showed above in our analysis of the epigram.<sup>45</sup> In the late 3rd century BC, her mother Agasigratis set up an endowment (*IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236 = IG IV 840*) for the god on behalf of her husband Sophanes, and her children Sosiphanes,

<sup>44</sup> The alphas are quite similar to those of *IG IV 844* (squeeze UASA 139, Museum Gustavianum Collections), for which see below.

<sup>45</sup> See also the family stemma on p. 156 below.



Aristokleia, and (our) Nikagora. This Nikagora is almost certainly the homonymous woman who appears as the wife of Agasikles in *IG IV 841*, which must date to *c.* 200 BC.<sup>46</sup> From yet another inscription, *IG IV 844*, we learn that a roughly contemporary Nikagora dedicated a statue of her daughter to Aphrodite, possibly presenting the gift in the company of a second dedicator.<sup>47</sup> The new monument then makes a nice pair with *IG IV 844*.

**Line 2.** [τὰν θυγ]ατέρα or [τὰν μ]ατέρα are both logically untenable, and therefore [τὸν π]ατέρα is fairly certain. On the understanding that the honorand is one, the three accusatives refer to the same person, i.e. Sosiphanes. The inference is ineluctable: Sosiphanes is honoured by his mother [Nikag]ora and by his unknown son or daughter, i.e. Nikagora's grandson or granddaughter. This Sosiphanes is different from, but was almost certainly named after, Sosiphanes, brother of his grandmother Nikagora. The missing name of the second dedicator would have been written at the beginning of line 2, projecting slightly to the left of the inception of lines 1 and 3 in a pattern of symmetry. Thankfully, inscription *no. III* (see below) allows us to recover the missing name: we restore with confidence [Ἀγασικλῆς]. At any rate, we think that we are dealing here with a type of private honorific monument recently well analysed by Ma, namely a multi-generational monument.<sup>48</sup>

**Line 3.** The find-spot and the family's known involvement in the local shrine do not leave any doubts that the divine recipient should be identified as Poseidon, hence [Ποσειδᾶ]νι in the appropriate dialectal form for the region.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> For the date see n. 34 above.

<sup>47</sup> At the time of the discovery of *IG IV 844* only the accusative ending -τιδα survived of the name of Nikagora's daughter. Wide and Kjellberg 1895, 294, naturally proposed to restore the daughter's name as [Ἀγασιγρά]τιδα. The editors of *IG* restored a second dedicator on the missing left part of the statue base. Since the publication of *IG*, the inscribed monument has suffered further damage. A squeeze kept in the Museum Gustavianum in Uppsala preserves the full *IG* text, but the stone stored in the Poros Museum preserves only the right part of the inscription. The squeeze indicates a crack between the words Νικαγόρα and τὰν θυγατέρα in line 1 and -τιδα and Ἀφροδίται in line 2.

<sup>48</sup> Ma 2013, 160–162: "In a multi-generational monument, a single individual is represented by a statue set up by several people, all listed, usually with indications of kinship." (160)

<sup>49</sup> For the form Ποσειδᾶνι, see *IG IV 843* and *845*, as well as the inscription published by Wallensten & Pakkanen 2009 (= *SEG LIX 367*). The same form appears in inscription *no. III* below.

### No. III. A lost dedication to Poseidon

Vasileios Petrakos, the Secretary General of the Archaeological Society at Athens, recently published an erudite three-volume work on Ioannis Kapodistrias, first Governor of Greece, and the archaeological work undertaken by his administration. Amongst the numerous pieces of evidence collected by Petrakos, there is one that unexpectedly bears on issues dealt with in this article. This is a letter sent to Kapodistrias on 1 November 1829. It is purported to be deposited in the Greek State Archives (Γενικά Αρχεῖα του Κράτους). The letter was written by Konstantinos Axiotis, who reported in passing the discovery of two inscriptions in the Palatia area, i.e., the ruins of the sanctuary of Poseidon. One of the inscriptions was readily, and correctly, identified by Petrakos as *IG IV 844*. With regard to the second inscription Petrakos prudently observed that it was either unpublished or a garbled version of *IG IV 846*.<sup>50</sup> We are almost certain that this is an unpublished text, which has long escaped scholarly attention and has never been included in any epigraphical corpus. Since, despite systematic search in the Greek State Archives, we have been unable to locate the letter in question, we rely on the publication of the document by Protosaltis and Petrakos, which we reproduce here:<sup>51</sup>

ΑΓΑΣΙΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑ  
ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΑΓΑΣΙΚΛΗΣ  
ΩΣΙΦΑΝΕΟΣ . . .  
ΤΙΟΣ ΕΙΔΑΝΙ . . .

#### COMMENTARY

Since the inscription is lost and Axiotis' transcription is understandably very rudimentary, we cannot possibly comment on the letter-forms. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the format of the inscription was recorded accurately by Axiotis. Note in particular that the first letter of the name Sosiphanes appears to have been separated from the other letters of the name, even though the other lines clearly end in full words. Avoidance of word division, it should be noted, is a standard feature of all the other known dedications of the family from the sanctuary of Poseidon. In the local context of the shrine of Poseidon, a plausible arrangement of the inscribed text would be:

<sup>50</sup> Petrakos 2015, 286 n. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Protosaltis 1967, 115 no. 89; Petrakos 2015, 286–287.

## INSCRIPTION

Ἀγασικλῆς καὶ Νικαγόρα  
τὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ υἱὸν  
Ἀγασικλῆ Σωσιφάνεος  
Ποσειδᾶνι

## TRANSLATION

Agasikles and Nikagora (dedicated the statue of)  
the son of their son,  
Agasikles of Sosiphaneos,  
to Poseidon

Agasikles and Nikagora are almost certainly the husband and wife of the endowment *IG IV 841*, here appearing to have set up a statue of their grandson for Poseidon. The use of the collocation “τὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ υἱὸν” to denote a grandson is rather uncommon, but can be found in a 2nd-century BC inscription from nearby Epidauros and in an Arcadian dedication dating after 146 BC.<sup>52</sup> At any rate, this is yet another multi-generational monument set up by the same extended family in the shrine of Poseidon in Kalaureia. We think that the inscription was carved on the base of a portrait statue of Agasikles, very likely the co-dedicator of monument *no. II* above and almost certainly the honorand of *IG IV 846*.<sup>53</sup> Although inscription *no. III* is lost, it should be roughly contemporary with inscription *no. II* and *IG IV 846*. A date *c.* 175–150 BC seems very likely.

## The recipient deity and the pantheon of Kalaureia

During the Classical period Kalaureia lay under the domination of Troizen, but at some point in the early Hellenistic

period it became a city in its own right: *IG IV 839* (late 4th century BC) makes explicit mention of the *polis* of Kalaureia, whereas *IG IV 846* and *848* (securely dated to 197–159 BC) refer to the *polis*. These political changes, however, do not seem to have had any visible impact on the pantheon of Kalaureia, whose main deity had always been Poseidon. According to the extant literary sources he had acquired this status as a result of an exchange with Apollo or Leto, following which he received Kalaureia in return for Delphi or Delos.<sup>54</sup> Poseidon’s sanctuary was run by a seven-member amphictyony,<sup>55</sup> and was widely known as a place of refuge for supplicants, among them, famously, Demosthenes.<sup>56</sup> The small corpus of inscriptions from Kalaureia, including the three texts presented in this article, confirm Poseidon’s role as the island’s principal deity. One text refers to the “νᾶσος Ποσειδᾶνος”, and all but one of the (admittedly few) inscribed dedications that have been found in the shrine honour Poseidon.<sup>57</sup>

The character of Poseidon of Kalaureia is not well understood. Full publication of the votive material from the recent excavations is still pending, but we already know that it is variegated, including, *inter alia*, jewellery, arrowheads, miniature shields, pottery, fragments of large Archaic bronze tripods, etc. It additionally contains material traditionally associated with Poseidon, such as sea-shells, fishermen’s tools, and horse figurines.<sup>58</sup>

It has been tentatively suggested that Poseidon of Kalaureia was connected with seismic phenomena, but no evidence supports this contention.<sup>59</sup> The situation is all the more complicated by the fact, noted above, that the cult epithet of Poseidon in Kalaureia is, surprisingly, not known, and has consequently long been debated by scholars. When mentioned in literary sources or addressed as the recipient of sacrifices and dedications, Poseidon is never specified through a byname. The Athenian state loans from the period of the Pelopon-

<sup>52</sup> *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.1 247; *IG V*.2.535.

<sup>53</sup> *IG IV 846* (2nd century BC): “Ἀγασικλῆ Σωσιφάνεος ἀ πόλις | ἀνέθηκε | ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας | τᾶς εἰς αὐτάν”. We note in passing that an Agasikles son of Sosi[- -] and father of a Thebais is recorded as a *mystes* in nearby Hermione, *SEG XI 382*, line 25. It is striking that amongst the names of the dedicants and their ancestors, we encounter Σωσιπᾶ | [τροῦ] (lines 3–4), [?Σω]σικλ[έ] | ος (lines 12–13), Σωσιφ[τρ] | άτου (lines 17–18), and Σωτηριδ | ας (lines 19–20), i.e., the type of onomastics that, as we are arguing below, run through the family of the Kalaureian Agasikles. We are therefore wondering whether *SEG XI 382* is a list of Kalaureians, and more specifically of members of the family treated in this article. A problem to this interpretation is posed by the fact that the first editor of the document, Werner Peek, dated it to the 4th century BC. Dating by letter-forms is a notoriously tricky business and fresh autopsy of *SEG XI 382* is required in order to test the connection advocated here.

<sup>54</sup> Paus. 2.33.2, 8.5.6; Strabo 8.6.14, with Constantakopoulou 2007, 137 and Kowalzig 2007, 149–150.

<sup>55</sup> The main source is Strabo 8.6.14, who is following Ephorus. This account is confirmed by a single inscription, *IG IV 842*. Modern accounts of the Kalaureian amphictyony are inevitably based on this meagre evidence: see, e.g., Kelly 1966; Mylonopoulos 2003, 427–431; 2006, 133–136; Constantakopoulou 2007, 29–27; Funke 2013, 460–462.

<sup>56</sup> On Kalaureia as an asylum and the supplication of Demosthenes (Paus. 2.33.3–5), see Sinn 1993; 2003; Schumacher 1993, 58.

<sup>57</sup> Dedications: *IG IV 843* and *845*; Wallensten & Pakkanen 2009; the inscriptions published in the current article; “Island of Poseidon”: *IG IV 842*.

<sup>58</sup> Horse and chariot figurines: Alexandridou 2013 112–113; fish-net sinkers: Penttinen *et al.* 2009, 111; sea-shells: Theodoropoulou in Penttinen *et al.* 2009, who argues that to a large extent this material indicates mollusc consumption and further notes (138–140) remains of inedible species, possibly from a ritual context.

<sup>59</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 79. The area is highly seismic and, indeed, a large volcano was active in the Methana peninsula at least as late as the 3rd century BC.

nesian War enumerate Poseidon Kalaureatas amongst the Other Gods, but as Robert Parker has pointed out, this need not have been his local cult epithet but rather a topographic description from the point of view of the Athenians.<sup>60</sup>

As already mentioned, the neighbouring city of Troizen periodically held Kalaureia in her firm grip and could potentially have had an impact on the cult of Poseidon. Troizen counted Athena and Poseidon as her principal deities,<sup>61</sup> and claimed to be the birthplace of Theseus, son of Poseidon, who might even have been conceived in Kalaureia.<sup>62</sup> Troizen's epigraphic output preserves only the epithet Phytalmios (Φυτάλιμος) for Poseidon.<sup>63</sup> Pausanias mentions a cult of Poseidon Basileus (Βασιλεύς) in Troizenia, and it has even been suggested that it was this god who was worshipped in Kalaureia.<sup>64</sup>

Another suggestion for Kalaureian Poseidon's cult epithet is Geraistios (Γεραίστιος).<sup>65</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium tells the story of three brothers and sons of Zeus, Geraistos, Tainaros, and Kalauros.<sup>66</sup> Geraistos founded a sanctuary of Poseidon in the Euboian village of Geraistos (named after him) and Tainaros founded the sanctuary of Poseidon in Tainaron; perhaps it is not too much of a stretch to believe that a similar story was told of Kalauros and Kalaureia. This idea was put forward by Rob Schumacher, who also argued that there was a connection between the three sanctuaries and that the cult spread from Euboea.<sup>67</sup> The name of the month Geraistios, which

has been related to festivals of Poseidon, is attested in both Kalaureia and Troizen. Schumacher further believes that the sanctuaries shared aspects of location (low accessibility) and function (places of refuge). Was this entailed in a common epithet Geraistios, once carried from Euboea? In the absence of literary or epigraphic evidence of Geraistios as a cult epithet on the island of Kalaureia, this must remain speculation.<sup>68</sup> In any case, apart from Phytalmios, the epithets discussed above are all rather generic and cannot help us understand the character of Poseidon in Kalaureia.<sup>69</sup>

We would like to close this section with a potentially important observation. Cultic trends very often leave their traces on local onomastics, yet despite its heavy involvement in the shrine of Poseidon, the illustrious family that is one of the main foci of our treatment seems to have no members with personal names based on the root Ποσει-, Ποτει-. What their names do show (see next sub-section), is a fixation with ideas of safety and preservation, linguistically expressed by virtue of variants of the root Σω- and Σωσι-, and even Σωτ-.<sup>70</sup> We have therefore wondered whether this onomastic trend could be taken to reflect the hitherto unattested epithet Σωτήρ of the Kalaureian Poseidon. According to Herodotus (7.192), the Greeks had called Poseidon by that name ever since the Persian fleet was badly damaged by storms off Cape Artemision. Nevertheless, Poseidon is rarely attested with this epithet in epigraphic sources.<sup>71</sup> We only put forward this suggestion as a remote possibility, although, of course, indisputable proof is lacking. After all, it is much easier to attribute the personal names above to the cult of Zeus Soter, which the family demonstrably promoted.

<sup>60</sup> *IG I<sup>3</sup> 369*, l. 74: Ποσειδῶνος Καλαυρε[άτο], with Parker 1996, 27–28, and especially Parker 2003, 176–178. We should like to note that, although the restoration Καλαυρε[άτο] has been unanimously accepted, a viable alternative could be Καλαυρε[ἄθεν]: cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1496*: [ἡρό]ρος | [τε]μείνος | ἴονος | Ἀθένεθεν, and *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1498*: [ἡρό]ρος | [τε]μείνος | ἐπώνυμων | Ἀθένεθεν. This, however, would not affect at all Parker's basic contention that the designation was topographical.

<sup>61</sup> See now the comprehensive analysis by Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2016, esp. 57–74 for the post-Mycenaean period.

<sup>62</sup> See Pausanias 2.33.1, but this depends on accepting the identification of Pausanias' island of Sphaira with Kalaureia.

<sup>63</sup> *IG IV 797* (Imperial period); cf. Pausanias 2.32.8. *SEG XLVII 330*, a Hellenistic boundary stone from the area of Methana, also attests to Poseidon Phytalmios; see Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2016, 57–59. It has recently been suggested that Methana might have originally been part of Troizen's territory (Meadows 2018, 149). This would then provide yet another attestation of Poseidon Phytalmios in a Troizenian context.

<sup>64</sup> This theory, first put forward by Meyer 1939, 650, has been accepted by, amongst others, Mylonopoulos 2003. Useful summary of the various theories in Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2016, 59–63, who rejects the Kalaureian connection, and instead argues that the city-holding Poseidon of Plutarch's *Life of Theseus* 6, was actually worshipped under two epithets, Βασιλεύς and Φυτάλιμος (Basileus and Phytalmios).

<sup>65</sup> Shaw 2001, 176; Schumacher 1993.

<sup>66</sup> This tradition is late, but it is noticeable, in connection with the joint honours bestowed upon Poseidon and Zeus Soter in Kalaureia, that these men, founders of Poseidon sanctuaries, are sons of Zeus. Schumacher 1993, 64–65, suggests that the "sons of Zeus" element could be connected with Zeus as the protector of supplicants *par excellence*.

<sup>67</sup> Schumacher 1993, 63–65. For the spread of the cult, see also Nilsson 1906, 67–69. Miles 2016, 167, has recently hypothesised that the sibling

relationship between Geraistos and Kalauros might have been part of the aetiology for the Archaic amphictyony in Kalaureia.

<sup>68</sup> Schumacher 1993. The month name and the epithet attested for Poseidon can be found in 3rd- and 2nd-century BC Kalymnos and Kos: see for example *IG XII.4 1.298*, 302, 408; 2.1227, 1231. Sparta also had a month Gerastios (Schumacher 1993, 65).

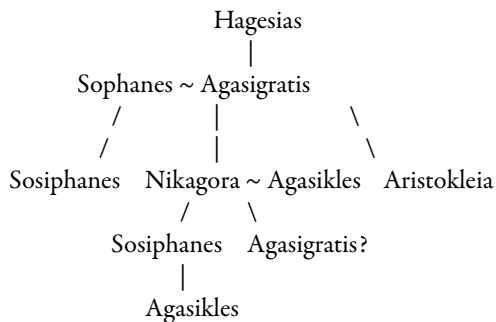
<sup>69</sup> It is worth noting that both Basileus and Phytalmios are also epithets of Zeus; see, for example, *IG VII 3096* and *IG XII.5 13*, as well as Hesychius, *Lex. s.v. Φυτάλιμος Ζεύς*.

<sup>70</sup> In *IG IV 841* (= *CGRN 107*), line 6, the name of a certain Nikagora is followed by the sequence of letters ΣΩΤ. If these letters belong to her patronym, this Nikagora is different from the Nikagora of *IG IV 840* (= *IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236*), although she may well be a homonymous member of the same family. In their recent edition of the inscription, the editors of *CGRN* wonder whether, instead of ΣΩΤ, we should be reading ΣΩΦ, in which case this Nikagora can be identified as Νικαγόρα Σωφ[άνεως]. Conversely, given that in the following line we can discern a sequence of two female names without patronymics, it is conceivable that lines 5–6 contained names of female slaves, Nikagora being one of them (perhaps named after her mistress?).

<sup>71</sup> *I.Didyma 132*: Asphaleos Soter Poseidon Megistos; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1300*: Poseidon Soter at Sounion. For the Soter/Soteira epithets, see now Jim 2015; Graf 2017.

## An élite local family and their (material) presence in the shrine of Poseidon

Kalaureia has yielded rather limited epigraphic material considering the importance of the sanctuary of Poseidon, its *asylia* function and its status as the seat of an amphictyony. These factors should have generated a plethora of publicly displayable administrative texts. The absence of such documents is probably attributable to the systematic use of the shrine, throughout the early 19th century, as a source of building material.<sup>72</sup> *IG IV* includes only 14 inscriptions from Kalaureia (*IG IV* 839–852), to which we can now add four inscriptions found during recent excavations or by means of archival research (*Table 1*).<sup>73</sup> It is remarkable that out of these 18 inscriptions, eight make reference to members of the same family stretching over several generations.<sup>74</sup> These eight documents enable us to provide the following tentative stemma:



Although the family manifests itself in sundry documents, such as endowments (*IG IV* 840 and 841) and honorary inscriptions (*IG IV* 846), it is first and foremost visible in dedications. The latter mention both family members and the recipient gods (once Aphrodite, Poseidon in the remaining cases). At least three, and probably four, of these dedications are what Ma calls multi-generational monuments, enumerating men and women of the family across two or three generations.<sup>75</sup> It is worth noting that no specific occasions, such as tenures of priesthoods or political offices, are mentioned as incentives for the dedications:<sup>76</sup> only the relationships between humans and between humans and gods are expressed.

<sup>72</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 32–33.

<sup>73</sup> Wallensten & Pakkanen 2009 (= *SEG LIX* 367) and the three inscriptions presented in the article at hand.

<sup>74</sup> *IG IV* 840 (= *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.2 1236), 841, 843, 844, 846 and the three inscriptions published here. *IG IV* 849 mentions a Sostratos, but it is of a much later date (Imperial period).

<sup>75</sup> Ma 2013.

<sup>76</sup> A comprehensive overview of reasons for setting up private statues is given by Ma 2013, 168–187.

More importantly, the members of the family under examination are never designated by an ethnic, something that is easily explicable only if we assume, as we should, that the family was locally based and therefore well-known to worshippers from the vicinity. Yet, due to the status of Poseidon's shrine as a regional or even international sanctuary, visitors certainly came from afar too.<sup>77</sup> It is fair to assume that such visitors, unfamiliar as they were with the local population, would have at first found it difficult to see a connecting thread between the inscriptions. It was only the onomastics of the family, with the repeated So(si)- and Agasi- elements, that would have created some sense of coherence. Paradoxically the absence of an ethnic would have further underscored the familial aspects of the dedications and their unity.

In light of all this, we contend that the visitor to the sanctuary of Poseidon in the mid-2nd century BC would have easily grasped a message of strong family ties and pride in previous generations. In order to gauge the anonymous visitor's experience we need to acquire a sense of the distribution of the inscribed monuments in the wider area of the shrine (*Figs. 1a & 1b*). Moving towards the *temenos*, just before its entrance and fixed on a high pedestal, stood the costly, eye-catching bronze statue of Sosistratos, proudly celebrated by the accompanying epigram (our inscription *no. 1*). A second, slightly smaller, statue of the same man could be seen a few metres away to the west (*IG IV* 843). These and other similar bronze statues of men and women, for instance the effigy of Sophanes and those of his relatives on their family *exedra* (*IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.2 1236),<sup>78</sup> would have flanked the road that led past the Council House (Building F) towards the monumental entrance (“*das Propylaion*”) to the *temenos*.<sup>79</sup> Amazed by this forest of bronze artefacts, our imaginary visitor would have further marvelled at the two

<sup>77</sup> In the words of Constantakopoulou 2015, 274, “‘regional’ are those cults whose appeal transcended the borders of their immediate geographical surroundings, normally those of the city-state where the centre of the cult was located.”

<sup>78</sup> The *exedra* is mentioned in *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.2 1236 (*IG IV* 840; *CGRN* 106), lines 12–13 (“τάς τε εικόνας καθαρὰς | ποιεῖν τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξέδρας”; see n. 41 above). An *exedra*-like monument can still be seen on site, near Building E looking towards Building F. Wide & Kjellberg 1895, assumed, as did Welter 1941, 51, that this *exedra* still stood on its original location. Nevertheless, members of the modern archaeological team do not believe that the monument is *in situ*, but instead think that the assembled pieces come from three different *exedras* (pers. comm. Arto Penttinen & Robin Rönnlund); if so, this cannot be the *exedra* mentioned in *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.2 1236, although parts of it might have been built into the *exedra*-looking amalgam. The statue of Sophanes mentioned in *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.2 1236, line 7, might or might not have been standing among the statues of the *exedra*.

<sup>79</sup> Identification of Building E as the propylaeum and Building F as the Council House: see Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 282–283; Welter 1941, 51. Mylonopoulos 2003, 77–78, is skeptical to the interpretation. A possible road leading to the propylaeum has been revealed by geophysical examinations: see Penttinen *et al.* 2009, 90.

Table 1. Corpus of Kalaureian inscriptions. Asterisks (\*) mark inscriptions associated with the Kalaureian family treated in our article.

Document	Findspot	Current location	Type	Date	Further references
IG IV 839	Poros, Agia Paraskevi	Athens (EM 11521)	Decree	Late 4th century BC	<i>Syll.</i> <sup>3</sup> 359
IG IV 840*	Poros	Museum of Aigina	Endowment	2nd half of the 3rd century BC (c. 225–200 BC?)	IG IV <sup>2</sup> .2 1236; <i>LSCG</i> 58; <i>CGRN</i> 106
IG IV 841*	Poros, sanctuary of Poseidon, stoa C	Poros?	Endowment	Late 3rd century BC (c. 200 BC?)	<i>LSCG</i> 59; <i>CGRN</i> 107
IG IV 842	Poros, sanctuary of Poseidon	Poros?	Decree	2nd century BC	
IG IV 843*	Poros, sanctuary of Poseidon, stoa F	Poros?	Dedication to Poseidon	Middle of the 3rd century BC?	
IG IV 844*	Poros, Vayionia	Museum of Poros	Dedication to Aphrodite	Early 2nd century BC	
IG IV 845	Poros, sanctuary of Poseidon, stoa F	Poros?	Dedication to Poseidon	Hellenistic?	
IG IV 846*	Poros, sanctuary of Poseidon	Poros, sanctuary of Poseidon	Honorific inscription	c. 175–150 BC	
IG IV 847	Poros, sanctuary of Poseidon, building G	Poros school?	Dedication	Imperial	
IG IV 848	Poros	Museum of Aigina	Honours for Eumenes II	197–160 BC	IG IV <sup>2</sup> .2 1237; <i>OGIS</i> 297
IG IV 849	Poros, church of Aghios Spyridon	Poros?	Dedication of a temple? in honour of Roman Emperors	Imperial	
IG IV 850	Poros	Poros?	List of names	?	
IG IV 851	Poros	Poros?	Funerary?	Imperial?	
IG IV 852	Poros	Aigina	Funerary	Imperial?	IG IV <sup>2</sup> .2 1239
SEG LIX 367	Sanctuary of Poseidon	Sanctuary of Poseidon	Dedication to Poseidon in honour of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe	270–246 BC	
Papazarkadas & Wallensten, <i>no. I</i> *	Sanctuary of Poseidon, between buildings E and F	Poros Museum	Dedicatory epigram	Middle or late 3rd century BC	
Papazarkadas & Wallensten, <i>no. II</i> *	Sanctuary of Poseidon, between buildings E and F	Poros Museum	Honorific dedication to Poseidon	175–150 BC	SEG XXXVIII 324
Papazarkadas & Wallensten, <i>no. III</i> *	Poros	Lost	Honorific dedication to Poseidon	175–150 BC	

portrait statues of Agasikles and Nikagora standing in front of the Council House, and might even have noticed an altar next to them.<sup>80</sup> If adequately observant, she would have realized that it was this very couple who had nearby dedicated to Poseidon the beautiful statue of their grandson Agasikles (our inscription *no. III*), and she would have begun grasping the family's special status in the area. The honorary statue of Agasikles the Younger, erected by the political community of the Kalaureians (IG IV 846), would have further underlined the political prestige enjoyed by the family,<sup>81</sup> although the

clever layout of the inscription on the base would have given an air of sanctity appropriate to the locale.<sup>82</sup> Nor was the young Agasikles ungrateful towards his family; for, indeed, he had not neglected to honour his own father Sosiphanes with assistance from his beloved grandmother, the ubiquitous Nikagora (our inscription *no. II*).

Walking through the monumental gate into the main area of the shrine, the anonymous visitor must have been still feeling dazzled by the numerous dedications set up by what appeared to be members of the same family. She would have been

<sup>80</sup> IG IV 841, lines 23–24, “βωμὸν ἐσάμενοι πρὸ τᾶν ἐ|ικόνων αὐτῶν τᾶν ποι [τ]ῶι βουλευτηρίῳ” (see n. 41 above).

<sup>81</sup> The statue base was discovered in the late 19th century by the Swedish excavators: Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 294–295. Surprisingly, it was never

removed from its find-spot where it can still be seen nowadays, the only Kalaureian inscribed monument remaining *in situ*.

<sup>82</sup> See Ma 2013, 41–42: “The similitude of the base for the honorific statue to bases for dedications to gods reinforced the effect of the dedicatory formula, by bringing out the sacred connotations of formula and space.”

momentarily side-tracked by two impressive antique statues: “King Ptolemy and Arsinoe” read the faded, old-fashioned inscription on the base (*SEG LIX 367*) and our proxy visitor remembered tales she had heard as a child about the munificent royal siblings of Egypt. Yet, the distraction would have been temporary. As she solemnly stepped into the god’s temple, she would have come across the portrait statue of Agasigratis (*IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236*), carefully polished by the superintendents as per Agasigratis’ request. The devout pilgrim would, by now, have been pleased with, perhaps even impressed by, the piety of Sosistratos’ clan.

The family’s special position in Kalaureia, both around and within the sacred space, and its close relationship to the resident gods were thus expressed materially through the placement of stand-ins for the depicted individuals. At this point, it should be stressed that the surviving evidence does not substantiate the existence of a family cult in Kalaureia, as often assumed.<sup>83</sup> Eran Lupu refers to their endowment documents as private foundations for public cult, contending that they were commemorative.<sup>84</sup> Yet, the cleansing and crowning of the statues of Sophanes and Agasigratis, as prescribed in *IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236*, arguably aimed at pleasing the gods, and should not be understood as a religious act *vis-à-vis* the portrayed humans. Likewise, the altars placed near the statues of Sophanes, Nikagora, and Agasikles were not meant for them but for Zeus and Poseidon, although, it has to be said, the dividing line between divine and human statues may have become blurred in the course of time, as an unintentional secondary effect.<sup>85</sup>

Other factors, however, appear to seriously problematize the overall effect of this spatial arrangement to our imaginary visitor. We have already brought attention to the striking, al-

beit not inexplicable, absence of ethnics. As noted above, the family’s onomastics emphasize their close association with Zeus Soter, something that is made explicit by the sacrificial provisions of the endowments. In these documents, Zeus’ epithet is almost highlighted by the concomitant absence of an epithet for Poseidon. Why is it then, that whereas Poseidon is the recipient of almost all dedications, Zeus Soter never appears in this capacity? This seems unfathomable, but one could argue that Poseidon, hospitable though he was to other gods, was perceived as the main deity of the site and as such received the lion’s share of dedications.

Another riddle is that concerning the placement of so many dedications, statues, and altars outside the sanctuary proper. As we saw, inscriptions *nos. I* and *II* of the article at hand, *IG IV 846* and very likely the statues mentioned in the endowment *IG IV 841*, were all set up in the area flanked by the Council House to the west and the propylaeum to the north. Perhaps the location was chosen not as much, or not exclusively, because it readily provided access to the shrine, but because of its vicinity to the Council House, the administrative centre of the *polis* of Kalaureia.<sup>86</sup> In turn, this observation might even explain the enigma of Zeus Soter.

Under the epithet Soter, Zeus was frequently invoked in the Greek world for both political and individual reasons, helping states in war, as well as saving sailors in times of need.<sup>87</sup> From at least the Classical period onwards, cult centres of Zeus Soter were often located in agoras; a case in point is the agora of nearby Troizen.<sup>88</sup> In this capacity Zeus Soter was a civic god.<sup>89</sup> Already in the 4th century BC, a statue of Zeus Soter stood in the agora of Athens (Isocrates 9.57) and in the Hellenistic period the same god had particularly close ties to the Boule: *IG II<sup>3</sup>.1.903*, from 272/1 BC, attests to the priest of Zeus Soter sacrificing for the health of the Athenian council.<sup>90</sup> In this light, we contend that in Kalaureia’s special spa-

<sup>83</sup> The endowment documents: *LSCG 58 = IG IV 840 = IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236 = CGRN 106*; *IG IV 841 = LSGC 59 = CGRN 107*. Both endowments provide for the sacrifice of one adult animal each to Poseidon and Zeus Soter. Family cult: Lupu 2009, 86–87; Carbon & Pirenne-Delforge 2013.

<sup>84</sup> Commenting on *LSCG 58 (= IG IV 840 = IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236 = CGRN 106)*, Lupu 2009, 83–84, contends that Agasigratis’ husband was deceased and that therefore the sacrifice performed on the altar near his statue makes the foundation commemorative in character; cf Déniz 2016, who argues against a funerary context but for commemoration through associated ritual actions. However, the same procedure, sacrifice for the gods on an altar in front of statues of humans, is also stipulated in the second document, namely *IG IV 841 (= LSGC 59 = CGRN 107)*. Since on this occasion the donors are also the people actually portrayed in the statues, we do not think that Agasigratis’ husband was necessarily dead at the time of the endowment *IG IV<sup>2</sup>.2 1236* (thus Bielmann 2002, 37) nor that the foundation was set up with a commemorative intention. The motive was rather ostentation thinly disguised as divine worship.

<sup>85</sup> Ma 2013, 178 has captured this point well: “The sacrifice was obviously not a sacrifice to the heroized dead ... [T]he act associated the family of statues with the religious offering to the gods—not recipients, but present and dominating throughout the ritual act ...”. See also Biard 2017, 125–126: «*Si Agasigratis et ses proches ne sont ni héroïsés ni divinisés, leurs*

*statues sont, par leur association étroite au rituel, plus que de simples statues honorifiques*»; cf. Durvy forthcoming; Wallensten 2020.

<sup>86</sup> Note that whereas Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 282–283 believed that the agora of Kalaureia was entered through Building E (“*das Propylaion*”), Welter 1941, 51, argued that the agora was placed in front of the propylaeum, which led to the area of the sanctuary proper. In other words, he very reasonably assumed that the Council House (*bouleuterion*) was located in the agora, not in the *temenos*.

<sup>87</sup> See Clayton & Price 1989, 143–144; Parker 2005, 403, and now Graf 2017, 242–244 with numerous references.

<sup>88</sup> Zeus Soter in the agora: Troizen, Paus. 2.31.10; Messene, Paus. 4.31.6; Aegion, Paus. 7.23.9; Korone, Paus. 4.34.6; Megalopolis, Paus. 8.32.10; Pergamon, *IPergamon* 8.1 246; see also Dickenson 2016, 97–98 with n. 216; Graf 2017, 250 with n. 66.

<sup>89</sup> Parker 1996, 239, 240, on the public role of Zeus Soter of the Athenian agora.

<sup>90</sup> For Zeus Soter as Zeus Eleutherios, worshipped in the stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora, see Mikalson 1998, 110–112, who believes the statue of Zeus Soter to have stood in the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios;

tial context our family's dedications to Poseidon could have both celebrated the lord of the seas and connected the human donors to Zeus Soter, an agora-based civic god, providing the latter with the splendid gifts enjoyed by his divine brother. One last observation might strengthen our contention that Zeus Soter was primarily a civic god in Kalaureia: the two endowments *IG IV*<sup>2</sup>.2 1236 and *IG IV* 841 mention sacrifices to Poseidon and Zeus Soter, but it is striking that the superintendents (ἐπιμεληταί) in charge of the sacrifices are explicitly instructed to swear their oath of non-embezzlement only to Zeus Soter.<sup>91</sup> But the ἐπιμεληταί were civic magistrates, appointed by a decree of the Kalaureians in order to manage the endowment funds; it is therefore likely that the choice of Zeus Soter as the god binding these officials' oath was dictated by his importance as a civic deity.

At any rate, other families,<sup>92</sup> some of them conceivably as prominent as the family treated in this article, and perhaps even other gods,<sup>93</sup> would have featured in documents that are now lost. We believe, however, that our family would hold its own even in the context of the, now lost, wider contemporary epigraphic corpus; they certainly did so throughout most of the Hellenistic period due to the large investment in large-scale dedications, both sculpture and monetary endowments. But what made them act this way?

As we have already mentioned, in the early Hellenistic period Kalaureia gained its independence.<sup>94</sup> Thus, it was in those new conditions of political autonomy that the generous family of our epigraphical evidence operated. Now, Andreas Wittenburg has argued for an increase in family foundations

during the Hellenistic period caused by the uncertainty felt by local élites faced with a new cosmopolitan competition.<sup>95</sup> On this interpretation, the establishment of such foundations was a way of stabilizing one's ancestral prestige in a fluid society. Although family foundations of the traditional type are non-existent in the case of Kalaureia, the endowment documents and the many portrait statues placed at strategic spots in and around Poseidon's shrine may well be seen in the same light, namely as a response to the new political realities. Or, alternatively, did a local Kalaureian family seize the opportunity to aggressively assert itself once Troizenian influence on the island had dwindled? Since we know very little of the exact socio-political context of Kalaureia, any attempt at answering has to remain speculative for the time being.<sup>96</sup> Future excavations at Kalaureia are, however, likely to focus on the environs of the sanctuary and may in time provide us with information that will allow further contextual analysis.<sup>97</sup>

Finally, there is a lingering question: where is the amphictyony? With the notable exception of *IG IV* 842, no documents found in Kalaureia allude to the famous administrative institution. There can be no doubt that most of the inscriptions originally set up in the Kalaureian sanctuary, dedications, decrees, or other documents, have disappeared during the millennia that have passed since the flourishing of the shrine. The invisibility of the amphictyony may well be an accident of epigraphic preservation rather than a reflection of historical reality. The recent discovery of the dedication of the statues of Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe to Poseidon by the city of the Peloponnesian Arsinoeans has offered a welcome corrective to the distorted view that the shrine was exclusively frequented by individuals and their families, by highlighting its function as a venue of display of political entities for propagandistic reasons.<sup>98</sup> Here again, we can only hope that future

Parker 1996, 157 argues that Eleutherios, in Athens and other cities, was "grafted" on an already existing cult of Zeus Soter.

<sup>91</sup> *IG IV* 841, lines 30–31: "καὶ ποτομοσοῦνται τὸν Δία τὸν Σιωτήρα, εἰ μὲν μηθὲν νοσοφίζεσθαι" ("And they will swear to Zeus Soter, verily, to appropriate nothing.")

<sup>92</sup> There is nothing, for instance, connecting Euanor, the dedicant of *IG IV* 845, with the family of Sosistratos.

<sup>93</sup> The editors of the endowment *CGRN* 107 (= *IG IV* 841) have tentatively suggested that in the very fragmentary line 4 (α Εὐκλεία [ . . . ? . . . ]) there might be a reference to Artemis Eukleia. This is, however, doubtful both on epigraphical reasons (one would have expected τῆς Εὐκλείας, which is obviously not the case here) and because (Artemis) Eukleia is not enumerated as one of the recipients of offerings in the main, fully-preserved, text of the document. Otherwise, there is Nikagora's dedication to Aphrodite *IG IV* 844, found near the bay of Vayoniá, site of one of Kalaureia's ancient harbours. On the basis of this inscription, Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2016, 71, has now identified a building in the Vayoniá bay with the temple of Aphrodite. If so, statues of our family would have welcomed visitors upon their disembarking on the island, way before they had reached the shrine.

<sup>94</sup> We do not know what triggered Kalaureia's move towards independence. Shipley 2018, 286, speculates that this might have something to do "with the aspirations of certain groups among the political active". If so, the family of Sosistratos might have been at the forefront of Kalaureia's independence movement, but these are admittedly speculations upon speculations.

<sup>95</sup> Wittenburg 1998.

<sup>96</sup> Here it is worth recalling Petra Pakkanen's slightly revisionist take on the shrine of Poseidon, especially her analysis of the two Hellenistic dining deposits (Pakkanen 2011, 124–128), of which the earlier dates to c. 165–160 BC, that is, in the period of the latest epigraphic monuments treated in this article. Observing that these deposits do not sit well with a traditional *polis*-orientated interpretation of the shrine of Kalaureia, Pakkanen queries "the encounter between official *polis*-religion and that of the private sphere". But whereas for Pakkanen this encounter could be linked with the shrine's *asylia* functions, we wonder whether the strongly private character of the early Hellenistic deposit is somehow a reflection of the disproportionately pervasive presence of our family in the shrine of Poseidon.

<sup>97</sup> The bioarchaeological material recovered during the 2003–2005 Kalaureia excavation campaigns was published in 2019, providing a first step towards an understanding of ritual (and non-ritual) activity in the sanctuary of Poseidon: Penttinen & Mylonas 2019.

<sup>98</sup> Wallensten & Pakkanen 2009, esp. 164: "This surely impressive monument . . . , placed at the heart of the sanctuary, would have provided a clear introduction to the new city. The monument not only presented the city's new name, however; it also gave Arsinoe an opportunity to show its identity through its allegiance. The choice of honorands could be in-

discoveries will allow for a more nuanced understanding of the shrine of Poseidon at Kalaureia. The foregoing analysis has been based on a chronologically circumscribed conception of the Kalaureian shrine and its surroundings. While methodologically expedient, this approach runs the risk of missing a potentially more enthralling diachronic perspective. With the demise of the sanctuary, the numerous cult, dedicatory, and honorific statues dotting its landscape—the images of Poseidon and Zeus, of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, of Sosistratos, Agasigratis, and Agasikles—would have gradually faded away. Detached from their inscribed bases, they would have become incomprehensible, almost irrelevant. Some might have been looted; others would have been reused as building material; yet others would have been melted into bronze metal or heated and slaked into lime. A few might have survived. The two statues from Poros mentioned by General Makriyannis in the famous passage quoted in the frontispiece of our article almost certainly came from the shrine of Poseidon. Whom did they depict? Nikagora? Agasicles? A goddess and a god? We may never know. Immortalized by a semi-literate war veteran, the sculptures in question were turned into symbols of freedom and markers of national identity:<sup>99</sup> a good reminder that the shrine of Kalaureia outlived antiquity.

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## Abbreviations

- CGRN* = J.-M. Carbon, S. Peels & V. Pirenne-Delforge, *A collection of Greek ritual norms*, Liège 2016—<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>
- Gow & Page *GPh* = A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page, *The Greek anthology. The garland of Philip and some other contemporary epigrams*, Cambridge 1968.
- Gow & Page *HE* = A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page, *The Greek anthology. Hellenistic epigrams*, Cambridge 1965.
- I.Didyma* = A. Rehm, *Didyma II. Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1958.
- IG* = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1895–
- I.Oropos* = V.C. Petrakos, *Οι ἐπιγραφές του Ψωροπού* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 170), Athens 1997.
- I.Pergamon* = M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon I, nos. 1–250. Bis zum Ende der Königszeit* (Altertümer von Pergamon, 8.1), Berlin 1890–1895.
- ISE* = L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche. Testo critico, traduzione e commento 1. Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia*, Florence 1967.
- I.Smyrna* = G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 23, 24:1 & 24:2), Bonn 1982–1990.
- LSCG* = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.
- Nuova Silloge* = A. Maiuri, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence 1925.
- OGIS* = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, I–II, Leipzig 1903–1905.
- PMG* = D.L. Page, *Poetae melici Graeci. Alcmanis, Stesichori, Ibyci, Anacreontis, Simonidis, Corinnae, poetarum minorum reliquias, carmina popularia et convivialia quaeque adespota feruntur*, Oxford 1962.
- SEG* = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden & Amsterdam, 1923–
- Syll.*<sup>3</sup> = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* I–IV, Leipzig 1915–1924.

terpreted as a political statement, which shows the city—as we would expect—firmly on the side of the Ptolemies.”

<sup>99</sup> This transformation owes much to the famous lecture “Ένας Έλληνας, ό Μακρυγιάννης” (“A Greek: Makriyannis”), which was delivered by George Seferis (later Nobel laureate) in 1943, in the middle of World War II; the text can be found in Seferis 1981, 228–263.



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