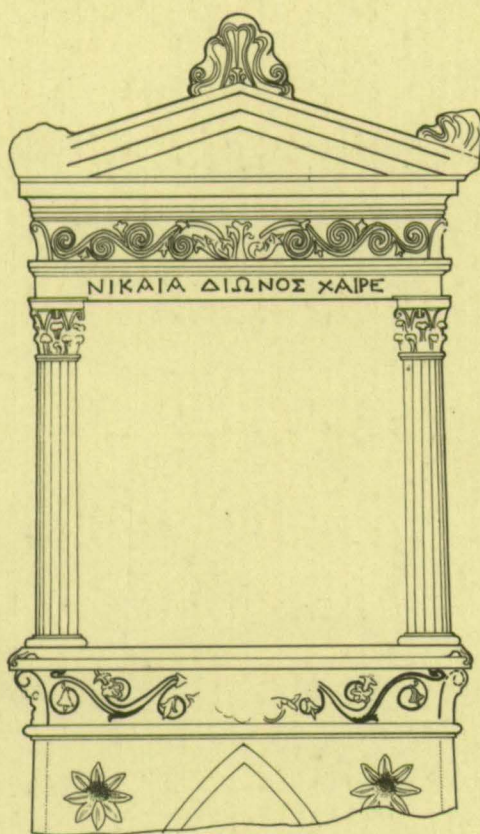


J. A. PAPAPOSTOLOU

ACHAEAN GRAVE STELAI

WITH EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES BY A. RIZAKIS



ΑΘΗΝΑΙ 1993

ACHAEAN GRAVE STELAI

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ΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΡ. 135

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*To the memory
of my mother,
an Achaean*

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THIS STUDY treats the grave stelai dating from the Classical to the Late Hellenistic periods that have been found in the region of ancient Achaea, including four belonging to the same types from Northwest Arcadia which in some aspects forms a unit with Achaea. They are stored in the Patras Museum, except for those from Eastern Achaea, which were recently transferred to the Aegion Museum.

Fewer than a third of these stelai have been published or mentioned in isolated reports in the *ΑΔ*, *Χρονικά*, and in various articles (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 49, 55, 74),* or have been the subject of incidental reference and comment in such distinguished monographs on funerary monuments as those by Möbius, Fraser and Rönne or Schmaltz. A short article on the sofa-capitals of Achaean stelai was published by the writer in the *AAA*, 1975.

A number of inscribed stelai from Achaea are also known from earlier references, but they were never inventoried in the Museum, cannot now be located and are probably lost. They are mentioned in epigraphical publications, but no details of their exact types are given. It has therefore not been possible to include them in the typological analysis except for two, about which the information is more complete (see n. 102, 124). The inscribed stelai from Pellene are also not to be found in the Patras or Aegion Museum and their fate is unknown to me (see n. 19).

A few recent finds are not included here because they will be published by archaeologists of the Ephorate of Antiquities, who found them, but they are of the commoner and simpler types and except for the names in their inscriptions they add no new element of interest.

Athanasios Rizakis, who has undertaken to publish a *Corpus of Achaean Inscriptions* for the National Hellenic Research Foundation, has written an epigraphical commentary on the inscriptions on these stelai. He has also verified the present reading of the inscriptions.

The text of this book was completed in October 1990.

J. A. P.

* The numbers of the plates are the same as those in the Catalogue.

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Last but not least I would like to express my gratitude to the Board of the Archaeological Society in Athens and especially to the General Secretary, Basil Petrakos, who agreed to publish this work in the series of the Archaeological Society Library.

Abbreviations

Except for abbreviations used by the Archaeological Society the following have also been used:

AvP	<i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> I ff, 1912 ff.
BECHTEL HPN	F. BECHTEL, <i>Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit</i> , 1982, reprint of the 1st ed. of 1917.
BÖRKER	CHR. BÖRKER, Neuattisches und Pergamenisches an den Ara Pacis-Ranken, <i>JdI</i> 88 (1973) 283-317.
BWGT	P. M. FRASER and T. RÖNNE, <i>Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones</i> , 1957.
ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΔΗΣ	Σ. Ι. ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΔΗΣ, <i>Μνημειακή διαμόρφωση τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν</i> , 1957.
CLAIRMONT	CHR. CLAIRMONT, <i>Gravestones and Epigrams</i> , 1970.
CONZE	A. CONZE, <i>Die attischen Grabreliefs I-IV</i> , 1893-1922.
Délos XXX	M. TH. COUILLOUD, <i>Les monuments funéraires de Rhenée (Exploration archéologique de Délos XXX)</i> , 1974.
DYGGVE	E. DYGGVE, FR. POULSEN und K. RHOMAIOS, <i>Das Heroon von Kalydon</i> , 1934.
FIRATLI	N. FIRATLI, <i>Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine</i> , 1964.
LGPN	<i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> (ed. by P. M. Fraser and E. Mathews) I, 1987.
HELLY, Ateliers lapidaires	B. HELLY, Ateliers lapidaires de Thessalie. <i>Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Epigraphie grecque et latine</i> (Constanza, 9-15 Septembre 1977), 1979, 63-90.
HÜBNER	G. HÜBNER, Dachterrakotten aus dem Kerameikos von Athen, <i>AM</i> 88 (1973) 67-143.
JEFFERY, <i>Local Scripts</i>	L. H. JEFFERY, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> , 1961.
KIESERITZKY - WATZINGER	G. V. KIESERITZKY und C. WATZINGER, <i>Griechische Grabreliefs aus Südrussland</i> , 1909.
KRAUS	TH. KRAUS, <i>Die Ranken der Ara Pacis. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der augusteischen Ornamentik</i> , 1953.
La Thessalie	<i>Actes de la Table Ronde</i> , 21-24 Juillet 1975, Lyon, 1975.
MÖBIUS 1929	H. MÖBIUS, <i>Die Ornamente der griechischer Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit</i> , 1929.
MÖBIUS 1968	As above, reprint 1968 with additions.
OpAth 1971	P. M. FRASER and T. RÖNNE-LINDERS, Some more Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones, <i>OpAth</i> X (1971) 53-83.
ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ	ΧΡ. ΣΑΑΣΤΟΓΛΟΥ-ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, <i>Τὰ ἐπιτάφια μνημεῖα ἀπὸ τῆ Μεγάλῃ Τούμπα τῆς Βεργίνας</i> , 1984.
ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975	I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, Στήλες με ἰωνικὸ ἐπίκρανο στὸ Μουσεῖο τῆς Πάτρας, <i>AAA</i> 9 (1975) 291-304.
ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1977	I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, Ἑλληνιστικοὶ τάφοι τῆς Πάτρας I, <i>ΑΔ</i> 32 (1977) 1982, 282-343.
ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1978	I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, Ἑλληνιστικοὶ τάφοι τῆς Πάτρας II, <i>ΑΔ</i> 33 (1978) 1984, 354-385.
PAPE-BENSELER	W. PAPE, G. E. BENSELER, <i>Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen</i> , 1911.
PFROMMER 1982	M. PFROMMER, Grossgriechischer und mittelitalischer Einfluss in der Rankenornamentik frühhellenistischer Zeit, <i>JdI</i> 97 (1982) 119-190.
PFROMMER 1987	M. PFROMMER, <i>Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit</i> , 1987.
PFUHL-MÖBIUS	E. PFUHL-H. MÖBIUS, <i>Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs</i> , 1977-1979.
PREISIGKE, <i>Namenbuch</i>	F. PREISIGKE, <i>Namenbuch</i> , 1922 (reprint 1977).

- SALZMANN D. SALZMANN, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken*, 1982.
- SCHMALTZ B. SCHMALTZ, *Griechische Grabreliefs*, 1983.
- SCHEDE M. SCHEDE, *Antikes Traufleistenornament*, 1909.
- SGDI H. COLLITZ, *Sammlung der griechischer Dialekt-Inschriften I-IV*, 1884-1910.
- TE RIELE G.J.-M.J. TE RIELE, *Inscriptions conservés au musée d'Olympie*, *BCH* 88 (1964) 169-195.
- Θησαυροὶ Θησαυροὶ τῆς Ἀρχαίας Μακεδονίας, 1979.
- TRENDALL -
- CAMBITOGLU I, II A.D. TRENDALL and ALEXANDER CAMBITOGLU, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, I, 1978, II, 1982.
- WILHELM, *Beiträge* A. WILHELM, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, mit einem Anhang über die öffentliche Aufzeichnung von Urkunden, 1909.
- WILHELM,
- Neue Beiträge I-VI* A. WILHELM, *Neue Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde I-VI*, 1911-1932.

Overview

Types and Decoration

The funerary monuments of Achaea and the Northwest Peloponnese followed the course of the Achaean World which moved from the wings, where it had been during the Classical period, into the historical limelight of the Hellenistic period. The gradual political and economic expansion of Achaea and the consequent prevailing social conditions, account for the finds of that period, like the gold funerary jewellery and the composite grave stelai.¹ Such creations with their originality and high quality must be considered products befitting the primary role of the Achaean Confederacy.

Before the 3rd c. B.C. grave stelai in Achaea were not only rare, but without any special individuality of their own: the pillar-types and the plaques (1-10), the stelai with a crown moulding (13-16) and the simple pedimental stelai (17-29), which continue down to the late Hellenistic period and later, are common types with a long duration in many areas. A search for the centre where the last two types originated might lead to Attica. Their appearance in the Northwest Peloponnese, not before the 4th c. B.C., cannot be explained by any facts we can determine. They are simple types of elementary forms with a wide distribution in Greece and they could easily have been imitated by local craftsmen.

There may have been some political reason why Attic palmette-stelai, a very common 4th c. B.C. type, did not occur in the Peloponnese as they did elsewhere (see p. 37 f), and almost the only known example is our stele 12, which must be an import from Attica. Direct Attic influence is clear on stele 11 as early as the 5th c. B.C., but this is a unique example.

While types of Groups I, III and IV (figs. 1-6) continued until late in the Roman period, the most numerous and characteristic examples of Hellenistic stelai, especially from the 2nd c. B.C., are the pedimental stelai with sunken panels (30-42) (fig. 7), the simpler naiskos-stelai (43-44) (figs. 8-9) and the composite types A and B (45-73) (figs. 10-11)².

On the composite types the naiskos is always on the upper part of the stele, while, except for a few cases (53 and 54), the lower part has a sofa capital crowning. In most cases the lower part is plain except for some stelai which carry relief representations of certain

1. On the historical background of Achaean art of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see ΠΑΠΑΡΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, 1977, 282 ff.; IDEM, *Τιμητικός τόμος Κ. Ν.*

Τριανταφύλλου, 1990, 465-471 and below p. 20, 122.

2. The last Group of fragments (59-73) may include some non-composite naiskoi (see p. 53 and stele 70).

objects. The difference between the two types is found in the naiskos form: according to the present evidence Type A (fig. 10) always has a pedimental crowning, the sofa-capital frieze is decorated with relief scroll and the architrave has one band. Type B (fig. 11) has an upper horizontal termination and usually an added finial, in all probability pedimental; it has a plain sofa-capital frieze with a cyma recta section and a two-band architrave. As we shall see below, the composite form is a broader characteristic feature in Hellenistic funerary art and also occurs elsewhere, sometimes in similar types to the Achaean. The actual Achaean composite types, however, are to some extent an original creation peculiar to the region and possess their own style. The fact that the precursors of the composite naiskoi are also to be found in Achaia, is evidence of this.

The wide range of types encountered in Achaia is considerable compared with the Hellenistic grave monuments of Northwest and Central Greece and the rest of the Peloponnese. They come second only to the Aegean and East Greek grave monuments in the variety of their types and the richness of their motifs.

The connections between Achaia and other centers on the Greek mainland, the East and the West in terms of the principles of the decoration and motifs, which we shall treat later, were undoubtedly stimulated by the role of the old Achaean world as the nucleus of the Confederacy, which enabled it to build up relations with the rest of the Hellenistic world. Achaia was an open country.

When we consider these Achaean stelai we must bear in mind that painting was one of their most important characteristics. The only unpainted ones were the sandstone stelai **5**, **8**, **9**, **10**, and possibly the simple inscribed slabs; all the rest must have carried painted representations and/or ornaments.

Not only did the shallow sunken panels (depth 15-3 mm) and naiskoi backgrounds (depth 1.5-2.5 cm) provide fields for representations or floral ornaments like those on the naiskoi painted on Apulian vases,³ but the plain surfaces of the shafts of stelai with a crown moulding (**13-16**) or a pediment (**17-29**) could also be decorated with painted representations or ornaments, like the red knotted ribbons on stelai **17** and **20**, or other objects. Furthermore the raised bands on the upper part of the shafts, the plain sofa-capitals, the background of the pediments, the acroteria, mouldings, cornices, etc., must have been decorated with painted scrolls or other motifs.⁴ Colour would also have been used on the relief decoration. Only faint traces of all this profusion of painted decoration have survived, as we shall see below.

On the composite stelai the relief decoration has survived. The half-columns are mostly Corinthian and a few naiskoi have Doric antae (**43**, **44**, **59**, **71**, **72**); there is only one

3. Examples: Trendall-Cambitoglou I, pl. 124. 1-4; II, pl. 208. 6; and Suppl. I, pl. 8. 4. And see H. LOHMANN, *Grabmäler auf Unteritalischen Vasen*, 1979,

115 ff.; R. PAGENSTECHER, *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, 1912, 79 ff., 98 ff.

4. See n. 88.

instance of Ionic half-columns (69). The most prominent and characteristic feature of our naiskoi, which is not found in other centres, is the frieze in the form of a sofa-capital, which we see repeated on the top of the lower shaft of the composite stelai. It is decorated in relief, at least on the composite type A, with a running spiral-scroll in the Classical tradition or a flower-scroll. This foliate decoration on the friezes of Achaean stelai is a further unique characteristic. From these relief ornaments we can to some extent guess at the form of the missing painted scrolls, for example on the plain sofa-capitals of the composite type B (59-73), although of course in painted decoration many other ornamental motifs are possible.

Figurative relief representations are entirely absent from the Achaean stelai, and in only a few cases do we find various objects or rosettes depicted in relief on the lower parts of stelai 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52. The same holds true for the stelai from the whole Northwest Peloponnese, except for the Eleian stele from Skillountia.⁵ In this respect, therefore, our stelai, even though they lack their painted representations, should be assigned to the same class as the painted stelai from Thessaly, Macedonia, Sidon, Alexandria, etc.⁶

On the stelai with a crown moulding or a pediment and especially on the much simpler inscribed slabs the engraved inscriptions play an important ornamental role,⁷ but in the absence of the painted decoration, which was their principal feature, we cannot tell what sort of impression was made by the relationship between these two different elements. Concern for the decorative function of the inscription continues in the case of the pedimental stelai with a sunken panel or the naiskos stelai, on which the inscription is symmetrically arranged above the sunken panel or on the architrave. The rules governing the disposition of the inscriptions on the stelai and the composition of their elements are treated separately for each type.

5. Olympia Museum A917: AA 33 (1978) B1, 78, pl. 22γ.

6. See V. v. GRAEVE, *La Thessalie*, 112, no. 3 with bibliography; SCHMALTZ, XIX; ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ no. 7 ff., pp. 15, 97 ff.; G. MENDEL, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines des musées impériaux ottomanes* I, 1912, 258 ff., nos. 102-108; B. R. BROWN, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style*, 1957, pls 1-21. There are now painted stelai with decorative ornaments and one with a figure from Messene in the Mavromati Museum: *Tò 'Eργον* 1987, 104. For the rare painted representations of Aegean and East Greek stelai, see PFUHL-MÖBIUS II, 563 ff. For the stelai of Lilybaeum, see G. GABRICI, *MonAnt* 33 (1929) 41 ff., pls. 1-7. In this context we remember the often cited comments of PAUSANIAS

about an Achaean grave monument with a painting of Nikias, which he saw at the gates of Tritaia (VII, 22, 6), another one at Aigai near the river Krathis with a painted representation that was already faint in his day (VII, 25, 13), and another in Sicyon (II, 7, 4). Although he says nothing about the form of these monuments, we can assume that they were probably naiskoi and of considerable depth, since the representation, which was presumably painted on the stone and inside the naiskos, needed to be protected from the elements. The pedimental roof of an aedicula from Tritaia is reminiscent of such a monument (pl. I, n. 200). SCHMALTZ, 96-97, has already referred to the lost painted decoration on the Achaean stelai.

7. The designation "Namenstele" (W. SCHIERING, AA 1974, 652) is very appropriate for this category.

Chronology, Use and Reuse

The catalogue contains finds of stelai spanning the chronological period from Classical to Late Hellenistic times.

Only two stelai, **1** and **11**, can be dated to before the 4th c. B.C., the first to around the middle of the 5th c. B.C., and the second to the end of the 5th or to the beginning of the 4th c. B.C. Few belong to the 4th c.: apart from the Attic palmette-stele **12**, there are only plaque **3** and stelai **13** and **14** with crown mouldings. Stelai **15**, **16** (though not its inscription) and **17** can be dated to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd c. B.C.

The majority of the stelai, some sixty-two in number, belong to the Hellenistic period, and most of them, indeed, to the 2nd c. Within this period the chronological boundaries are difficult to determine, and the epigraphical evidence does not allow of more precise dating. Most of the inscriptions, however, can be more readily assigned to the 2nd c. B.C. Only two, plaques **4** and **5**, are securely dated by their letter-forms to the 3rd c. B.C., while on others (**6**, **30**, **43**, **44**, **59**, **60**, **61**, **62**, **65**, **74**) the inscriptions could have been carved at any time between the last decades of the 3rd c. and the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. Other, fewer stelai (**22**, **25**, **31**, **40**, **72**) can with some certainty be restricted to the second half of the 2nd c. and the beginning of the 1st c. B.C.

It is difficult to detect any typological development in the shapes of the stelai within the framework of the groups. Only some secondary traits on the simpler pedimental stelai, such as the mouldings, are subject to development from the 4th c. B.C. to the Late Hellenistic period. The stelai with a sunken panel, which constitute a relatively large category, possess a typological uniformity that spans the late 3rd to the early 1st c. B.C. The naiskos-stelai **43** and **44**, which with their bipartite form may be considered the direct forerunners of the fully composite stelai, may even belong to the last decades of the 3rd c. B.C., although a number of naiskos-stelai of the last group with Corinthian half-columns and a horizontal top, such as **59**, **60**, **61**, **62** and **65**, which would have been evidently more developed composite stelai, are also contemporary with **43** and **44**.

The sofa-capitals and scrolls are of some help in determining the chronology. The capitals with the Classical formation of a half-roundel above the canalis on **74** and **75** are an older form than that with the canalis border alone, like **46**, **49**, **50**, **51**, **58** and **75**, or the simpler type like **45** and **47**, on which the modelling is restricted to the two side volutes without a canalis or roundel. The older type continued to exist for a time alongside the simpler Hellenistic forms. It does not in any case occur on the Late Hellenistic sofa stelai.

Indeed, both types of scroll-ornament, the traditional spiral-scroll and the running flower-scroll, which are described in the appropriate chapter, seem to have coexisted. This is clear from stele **45**, which has a Classical spiral-scroll on the upper part and a flower-scroll on the lower, but it is undoubtedly true that the latter occurs only on the later of the examples available to us on stelai **45**, **46**, **50**, **55**, **72** and **76**, which must belong to the late 2nd c. B.C., to judge mainly from the type of the sofa friezes. The latest of all is the flower-scroll on **72**, which dates to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st c. B.C. The former scroll is found on stelai that could be as early as the 3rd c. B.C., like **74** and **75**, but also on later ones like **45**, **47**, **48**, **56**, **58**. It is thus safer at present to treat the Middle and Late Hellenistic phases as a single unity. The lower limit for Groups V-VI based on epigraphical

and stylistic criteria may be placed at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st c. B.C. A very few of the Achaean tombstones of Groups I, III and IV may be later in date: the simple plaques **8**, **9** and **10** could on the basis of their Greek inscriptions belong from the 1st c. B.C. to the 1st c. A.D., as could fragment **27**, which is classified among the group of simple pedimental stelai.

26, a small stele with a triangular top, which is included in the group of plain pedimental stelai, has a 1st - 2nd c. A.D. inscription – apparently for a gladiator, Aneiketos. The type of this stele also seems to accord with the letter-forms. This is not, however, the case with stele **23** from Psophis, whose type is Late Hellenistic (2nd - 1st c. B.C.) but whose inscription could also be 3rd c. A.D.; this also applies to **16**, whose type belongs to the 4th - 3rd c. B.C., while the letter-forms are 2nd - 1st c. B.C. These were probably old stelai, uninscribed (unless they originally had painted inscriptions that were effaced), which were reused on later graves.⁸

In Achaia older tombstones reused in the Imperial period are less numerous and show less variety than that evident in other parts, for example Thessaly.⁹ The reuse of stelai appears to have been limited and almost accidental. In Achaia, moreover, the Roman period is poor in gravestones generally; the only changes made to the tombstone were the erasure of the older name and the engraving of a new one, but no fixed rule was observed.

The Hellenistic stelai **48** and **69** were reused for Roman burials in the Imperial period, and they have indeed been inscribed with the same name, probably that of a father and a son or grandson; the earlier names had been erased. **48** and perhaps **52**, belonging to composite stelai, had Greek inscriptions in a place not normally used for this purpose: below the sofa-capital of the lower section; the normal place is on the architrave of the upper part, which is missing here. This shows that they had apparently already been reused in the Hellenistic period, but we do not know when or in what circumstances. The Late Hellenistic stele **42** has an erased inscription above the sunken panel and a new one, of the 1st c. B.C., on the panel; this is apparently an instance of reuse by another individual and as his name, Aneiketos, shows perhaps a gladiator. On the contrary, we can say that **4** and **5** were reused a few or more decades after their first service, probably for members of the same family, since the earlier names were not erased. The double names on stelai **32**, **34** and **37** clearly belonged to members of the family who were buried in the same tomb, either simultaneously or within a short time of each other. Only in the case of **34** does it appear that the second name was inscribed by another hand, perhaps shortly after the first. Apparently with the same purpose in view, the inscription on **55** was confined to the left side of the architrave in order to leave room on the right for another inscription. On **32** and **37** the names were inscribed at the same time by the same hand. These stelai may have been placed on a double tomb, either because two deaths occurred simultaneously or because a member of the same family was buried some time later in an existing unmarked grave and on this occasion a stele was erected containing both names. Stelai **9** and **10** commemorate an Epiktesis, and may therefore belong to members of the same family.

8. Cf. *BWGT*, 161 ff.

9. CHR. WOLTERS, *La Thessalie*, 91 ff.

The relatively small number of 3rd c. B.C. grave stelai and of burial finds, at least in Patras, where there have been extensive excavations and a great many tombs have been investigated,¹⁰ must be attributed to the catastrophic activities of the Achaean Confederacy during the 3rd c. and the ensuing economic and social crisis. Soon after the formation of the Confederacy in 280 B.C., Patras suffered great destruction in the war against the Gauls in 279 B.C. The inhabitants endured so much want that, as Pausanias tells us,¹¹ they were obliged, except for a few, to abandon the city and take refuge in the countryside and neighbouring towns. Pausanias' account has been questioned and these events have been equated¹² with a similar situation that occurred at Patras after 146 B.C., when the citizens were overcome by panic and fled from the city "πρὸς οὐδὲν ὀρισμένον ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν".¹³ Recent excavations, however, suggest that we should now take Pausanias' account seriously, because they indicate a falling off in the number of burials after the first quarter of the 3rd c. B.C., which continued until nearly the end of the century. Can this then be taken as confirmation of Pausanias' account? In any case the abandonment of Patras in 146 B.C. could not have lasted for long and certainly not until the founding of the colony there by Augustus in 14 B.C., because there is an abundance of excavation finds in the second half of the 2nd c. and the graves become richer; it was also just at this time that one or more workshops that made gold funerary jewellery were flourishing.¹⁴ The city then acquired a special importance for Roman policy, especially after the destruction of Corinth. The seaward extension of the city plan indicates a certain economic development, which must have been connected with the small class of landowners and perhaps merchants. The Roman conquest, so far from having a negative effect on the production of grave stelai, created the very conditions that favoured their development. Furthermore the same types and the style continued, and customs did not change. We have nearly as many Late Hellenistic finds from Dyme,¹⁵ of which the most important is gold jewellery as we have from Patras about which our information is more complete because of the excavations there; and even though there have been no extensive excavations at Dyme, a relatively large number of stelai come from that city. Moreover, in the number of stelai it has produced, the city of Pharai is about on an equal footing. In view of this, it is reasonable to suggest that the stelai from Patras that we generally date to the 2nd c. B.C., and by extension the similar stelai from other Achaean cities, can for the most part be dated to the second half of that century. The last Achaean stelai we treat seem to coincide with the first decades of the 1st c. B.C. The few specimens from the Imperial period (26 and perhaps 8-10) and other sporadic gravestones of this period found in Achaëa, which are not included here, do not change the picture: the production of grave stelai stops during the 1st c. B.C.,

10. A publication of the Classical and Hellenistic finds at Patras by a team of archaeologists under my care is under way.

11. VII, 18, 6-7.

12. See recently A. ΡΙΖΑΚΗΣ, *Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, 1985 (1987-8)

27, n. 30.

13. POLYBIUS 38, 16.

14. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1977, 281 ff.; IDEM 1978, 354 ff.; IDEM *AE* 1990, 83 ff.

15. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1977, 281, n. 1; IDEM, *AE* 1990, 86ff., 99, 125 ff.

or at least does not continue to the same extent. The warring and decline that occurred in the 1st c. B.C. must indeed be adequate reasons for the dispersal of the old workshops and subsequently for certain changes of custom.

Geographical Distribution and Workshops

Only five of our stelai were found outside the borders of ancient Achaëa, in Northwest Arcadia:¹⁶ **21**, **48** and **69** in the district of Kalavryta (ancient Kynaitha), **4** at Kleitoria and **23** at Psophis. Apart from the Patras stelai, they are all stray finds that were picked up. The Patras stelai, with one or two exceptions¹⁷ came from excavations in the city, chiefly of the cemeteries,¹⁸ but none of them were found in situ or could be associated with a particular grave. They had generally been reused as building material in structures of later periods. Three bases were found in one place without their stelai (pls. X-XIa).

As long as the number of the Northwest Peloponnesian stelai known to us remains the same and relatively small, and no new ones appear as the result of extensive excavations in the other main centres, no conclusions can be formed about the extent to which stelai were employed in different parts of Achaëa during the Hellenistic period, since it is quite possible that new excavations will uncover stelai in areas where stray finds have hitherto been few. The only certainty is that stelai in general are conspicuously rare in eastern Achaëa. Very few examples have come from Aigion: there is only one still in existence (**22**); two others have since been lost. Although there have been many excavations in Aigion in recent years, they have not produced any stelai. Stele **42**, which was formerly kept in the Akrata Community and is now in Aigion Museum, is another isolated example. The stelai from Pellene and from Mamousia (ancient Keryneia) (**24-26**, and a few other unpublished poros fragments of architectural members, used later as tombstones) are the only groups so far known from eastern Achaëa. There is also a unique example, **27**, from central Achaëa. A number of inscribed stelai of Achaëa are also known from earlier publications but they are now apparently lost.¹⁹

16. See maps: pp. 24-25, C. BURSIA, *Geographie von Griechenland* II, 1868-1872; E. MEYER, *Peloponnesische Wanderungen*, 1957, pl. XII.

17. Nos. **1** and **5**; the circumstances of their discovery are unknown. It is not even certain whether **5** came from Patras.

18. They revealed funerary constructions of the Hellenistic period that could be related to the stelai treated here. In addition to cist-graves like the two with gold funerary jewellery (see n. 14), periboloi of the Π-form have been found; this is a usual form in Northwest and West Greece from the 4th c. B.C. on

(*AA* 28 (1973) B1, 210, pls. 168β, 174a, 219, figs. 8-9). See also the bibliography: *AA* 32 (1977) B1, 185, and add *AA* 22 (1967) B2, 319.

19. The stelai of Pellene: A. K. ΟΡΛΑΝΔΟΣ, *ΠΑΕ* 1931, 82-83; *SGDI* 1630; *SEG* XI, 1276-1281. The lost stelai: From Dyme: E. DODWELL, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806* (1809) II, 310; F.C.H.L. POUQUEVILLE, *Voyage de la Grèce* IV, 1824, 377, no. 1; *CIG* I, 1547, 1549, 1550, 1551; *SGDI*, 1616, 1617, 1621; Σ.Ν. ΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ιστορία της πόλεως τῶν Πατρῶν*, 1887, 2nd edition 1950, 235-236, nos. 10-21;

In attributing the stelai to local workshops, which is one of the most difficult problems, the following criteria have to be borne in mind: local provenance of the stone, local typological preferences and the technical and stylistic similarities between the stelai. Generally it is helpful if there is a common provenance, since the place where they are found must be the place of use. The question is whether the place of use can always be accepted as the place of production. Here the source of the stone may be important, because it is reasonable to suppose that the workshops existed close to the quarries. There is in any case no reason to think that there were not separate workshops in the four main centres where the stelai have been found: Dyme, Patrai, Pharai and Tritaia. Nearby there must have existed quarries. As we shall see below, most of the stelai were made from a similar kind of limestone that occurs on Mount Erymanthus and in the Araxos district, but it is difficult to make a more precise attribution. A few composite stelai only are of a stone distinctly different from this common kind: **60, 61, 66** of microbreccia limestone from Mount Panachai-kon or Erymanthus, found at Pharai; **49, 63** and perhaps **52** of laminated gray limestone from Mount Skollis, found at Tritaia. It is however also necessary to keep in mind the possibility that in particular cases ready-made stelai were transported from one town to another, while it is known that groups of craftsmen moved from place to place.

Be that as it may, some general observations can be offered about typological preferences in different districts. For example, it appears from the distribution given in the relevant table that at Pharai the most popular stelai were those of composite type B (**59-73**), whose upper section consisted of a naiskos with regular Corinthian half-columns, an architrave with two bands and a "frieze", which usually carried an added crowning, probably a pediment. It is significant that stele **64** of this type, which differs greatly in style from all the stelai found at Pharai, was found in fact in Patras. And the same is true to a lesser degree for stele **65**. Moreover, the stele **72**, the only one with a relief ornament on the frieze, was found in Tritaia. On the other hand, at Pharai only two pedimental stelai with a sunken panel have been found (**30** and **40**), which is a type that occurs more frequently at Patras and Dyme. The latter place seems to have been rich in grave-monuments of the 2nd c. B.C., and among the stray finds from there virtually all the current Hellenistic types are represented, except for the type common at Pharai. In the Pharai district, again, the type A of the composite stelai seems to be absent, unless **47** belongs to type A.

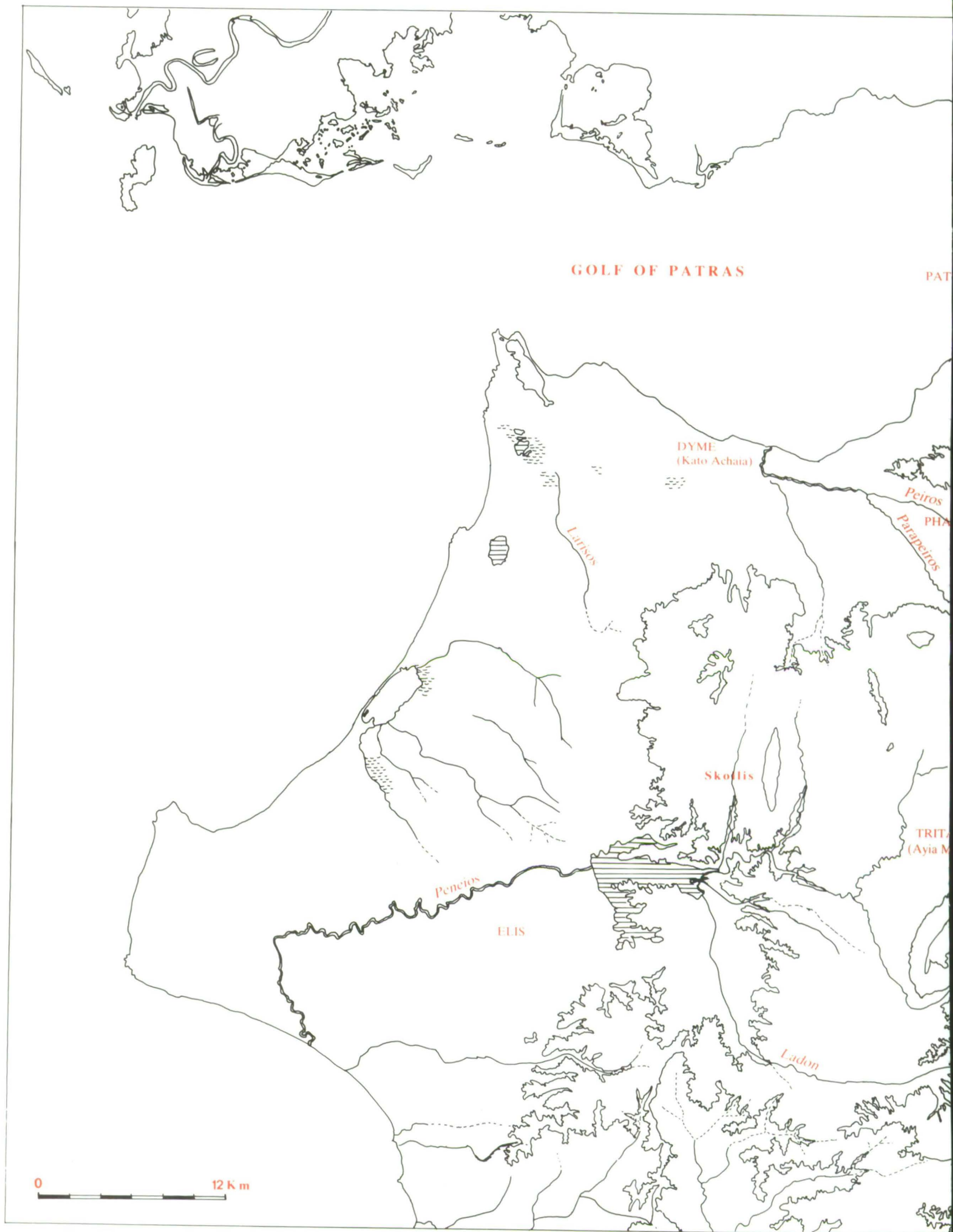
More important criteria for workshop attributions than the existence of local typological preferences and the local provenance of the stone are the technical and stylistic similarities. One instance of this is the group of craftsmen that produced the Hellenistic stelai with a pediment and sunken panel. They almost all share similarities in both the material and technique and the form of the mouldings, in addition to the general typological unity of the stele form itself. We can postulate a particular "workshop" situated in Dyme or Patras,

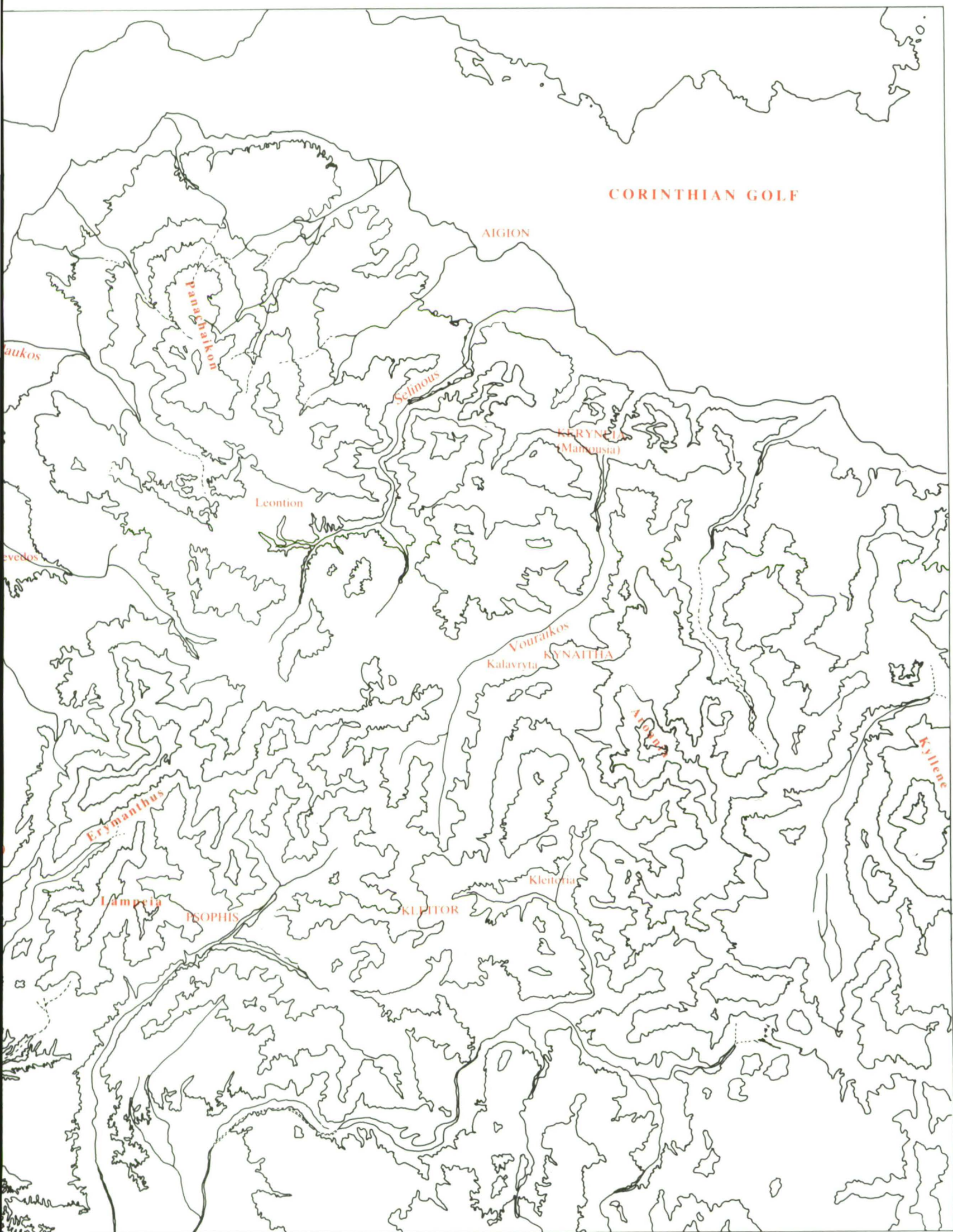
M. DUBOIS, *BCH* 4 (1880) 521; J. BINGEN, *BCH* 78 (1954) 400, nos. 11-16, 398, no. 9, fig. 3. From Keryneia: F. v. DUHN, *AM* 3 (1878) 63; *SGDI*, 1610. From Aigeira: WILHELM, *Beiträge*, 1909, 109, no. 94, fig.

62. From Aigion: Σ.Γ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *AE* 1884, 90; *SGDI*, 1606; DUHN *op.cit.* 65. From Patras: *CIG* I, 1548, 1552, *SGDI*, 1627; ΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ *op. cit.* 231. From Pharai: *ibid.* 237.

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES IN ACHAEA AND NW ARCADIA

No	TYPES	PATRAI	DYME	PHARAI	TRITAIA	AIGION	KERYNEIA	KLEITOR	PSOPHIS	KYNAITHA	OTHER OR UNKNOWN PROVENANCE
I	Pillar-Stelai and Plaques	12 5?		3	68 9 10			4			7
II	Palmette-Stelai	12		11							
III	Stelai with Crown Mouldings	14 15 16		13							
IV	Stelai with Pedimental Finial	17 19 20 28 29	18			22	24 25 26		23	21	27
V	Pedimental Steilai with a Sunken Panel	31 34 35 37 38?	32 33 36 39	30 40							41 42
VI	Naiskos-Stelai a. Simpler Types b. Composite Types Fragments with Elements of Both Parts Upper Parts of Composite Steilai Type A Upper Parts of Composite Steilai Type B	 53 54 57 58 64 65 70 73	43 45 46 50 55 56	44 47 59 60 61 66 67 68 71	 49 51 52 63 72					48 69	 62
VII	Pedimental Steilai with a Sofa-Capital (Eleian Type)		74								
VIII	Indeterminate Types (with a Sofa-Capital)		75?	76							





where so far most of these stelai have been found. The situation is different in the case of another large group, the composite type B, which for the most part comes from Pharai. Even the examples found at Pharai do not closely resemble one another in their execution. Only a few of them exhibit certain stylistic affinities in the moulding over the architrave: **60**, **61** (both from the same stone) and **69**. Equally, stelai **43**, **45**, **55** and **56** have the same cornice on the pediment and other similar features. They may in fact have come from the same "workshop" in Dyme, where they were found. Similar are the slanting geisa of the pediment on the roof of an aedicula from Tritaia (pl. I and n. 200). These examples perhaps indicate the existence of narrower circles or groups of craftsmen using the same models or patterns and methods of execution which belong to the same tradition.

Unfortunately we cannot, I think, use the foliate ornaments on the stelai as evidence in this way, because they are subject to the dictates of interrelation and interdependence, and they belong to a wider entity, that of Northwest Peloponnese; indeed, although close typological and stylistic similarities are observable between some, for example **46** and **50**, it is impossible to detect the hand of a particular craftsman. This holds even for the simple and commonly repeated motifs from which ordinarily such a diagnosis would be possible. In any case more material than we now possess would be necessary for the identification of separate hands; nor do the disposition and structure of the inscriptions afford clues to local attribution, since the rules governing them are variable.

The Hellenistic stelai from Achaia and Northwest Arcadia to some extent form a unity together with the stelai of Eleia.²⁰ In both regions types exist that are also common to other areas, such as those with a crown moulding or a sunken panel and the simple pedimental type. In addition to these, however, part of a naiskos composite stele of type B was found in Eleia with Corinthian half-columns and a horizontal top with the upper surface prepared to receive an added crowning (see n. 132), showing that this type also spread to that region. A type that at present is rare in Achaia but frequent in Eleia is represented here by stele **74**, with a pediment, dentils and a sofa-capital, but without the naiskos frame or sunken panel (pls. VI-IX). The sofa-capital form of the "frieze" of these stelai and on the naiskos-stelai is the chief element connecting the grave stele art of Achaia and Eleia. The use of this form can also be followed in Northwest Arcadia.²¹ This partial regional unity between Achaia, Eleia and Northwest Arcadia, in other words all of the Northwest Peloponnese, is not confined to the types of stelai, but extends to the decorative motifs, which are related both in type and style. This region in general keeps alive the old Classical tradition of the running spiral-scroll more than any other centre, as well as being subject to Macedonian, South Italian and Pergamene influences, which are especially apparent in the different forms of the

20. A comprehensive study of all the Northwest Peloponnesian material would be worth while and desirable, but it has not been possible. As virtually only the stelai in the Patras Museum (and a few from Eleia) were available to me, I have had to confine myself to publishing these; the stelai in the Patras

Museum, in fact comprise the largest collection in the Northwest Peloponnese.

21. Stelai from Kleitoria, Thelpousa and another in the Tripolis Museum, 1612 (see n. 135) and stelai **48** and **69** from Kynaitha.

Achaean flower-scrolls. Moreover, as we shall see, we can trace the lines connecting the workshops of the Northwest Peloponnese with those of the Northwest Greek World through the types of stelai and sometimes the style of their decoration.

The Peloponnesian Background. Social and Eschatological Evidence

The surviving grave stelai in the Peloponnese as a whole are relatively few, as also, according to the present evidence, are distinctive groups showing a continuous, uniform typological development. The northwest region forms the most obvious exception. A relatively large number of stelai have been found there, and they form typological groups that have a markedly local character and in some cases have evolved from one type to another. This is the case of the composite stelai with their morphological precursors, the pedimental stelai with a sunken panel. Apart from these Achaean stelai there are in the Peloponnese some other small, isolated and peculiar tombstone groups, but without any development, whose existence is a special Peloponnesian characteristic. A distinctive type, predominant in Eleia, is the pedimental stele with a sofa-capital (pls. VI-IX). Other groups include the special 4th c. naiskos-stelai from the Argolid, which remain almost unknown²² and the equally small and isolated group of Spartan "stelai".²³ Some unpublished grave σήματα at Messene consist of plaques in the shape of kantharos which stood perhaps on small pillars. The existence of unusual and peculiar local types of tombstones is also indicated by a tomb monument in Sicyon,²⁴ which is to the best of my knowledge unique (pl. V). It is a pillar carved in the form of a naiskos with antae on the front and lateral sides and a low pediment. Its background is plain and may have been intended for a painting. The stylobate is a projecting moulding which likewise forms the crowning of the lower part of the pillar, which is short and seems to be truncated. Perhaps the pillar-naiskos stood on another pillar that served as a podium. Thus this mediocre monument seems to be a reflexion of the grave monuments which Pausanias describes in Sicyon as follows: "They cover the body with earth, build a basement of stone over it, set up pillars on the basement and place on the pillars a superstructure like the gables of temples."²⁵ The reconstruction of these monuments according to Pausanias' description has not yet been definitely demonstrated. Yet the view that Roman coins of Sicyon "illustrate very well the words of Pausanias" has much to be said for it. Thus it seems reasonable to accept that these structures were a kind of a naiskos, like the monument above, or a baldachino with a pedimental roof²⁶ (cf. also the remains of a grave edifice in Sicyon n. 37). Of an individual character in Peloponnese are also some

22. *AA* 29 (1974) B2, 209, pl. 152a; and see n. 188.

23. MÖBIUS 1929, 74 ff., pls. 67a, 70, 72a; A. J. B. WACE, *BSA* 13 (1906-7) 12, fig. 4; M. N. TOD and A. J. B. WACE, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 1906, 179, no. 454b, fig. 58. And there exist many unpublished pieces.

24. Ca. 115 × 60 × 35 cm.

25. II, 7, 2. J. G. FRAZER, *Pausanias Description of Greece*, 1913, I, 81, III, 46.

26. H. MÖBIUS, *Studia Varia*, 1967, 39, n. 55 with bibliography.

isolated relief stelai in Mani. (see n. 195). The only ubiquitous types in the Peloponnese are the simple undecorated slabs, tombstones with crown mouldings or pediments and imitations of Attic stelai.²⁷ Most of the above material remain insufficiently known or still unpublished.²⁸

All these forms, ordinary or more peculiar, evidently existed to satisfy the needs of a financially wide spectrum of Peloponnesian citizens. It is however generally difficult to associate the different kinds and types of stelai with the different social classes, and this applies equally to the Achaean examples, since in their case even the quality is almost the same, except for some of the primitive sandstone stelai. Moreover they lack indicative inscriptions²⁹ and exist virtually no representations. One can only suppose that in the case of the composite stelai we have to do with funerary monuments of a higher rank. These stelai, with their size and monumental character, call for tombs to match. Large cist-graves and Π-form periboloi³⁰ would be appropriate for such stelai for both aesthetic and practical reasons. More expensive and representative as they must have been than the simple stelai, they would only have been supplied to the owners of elaborate graves. Since however no grave stelai have been found in situ, it is not actually possible to connect any of them with particular types of tomb. I think also that such periboloi or rich graves were not always necessary, because wealth and social distinction could be manifested in other ways, especially by adorning the dead with gold jewellery and burying them with sumptuous objects, a situation often encountered in Achaëa,³¹ as well by the funerary rites. In general we know little of the social classes, employments, wealth, ages, etc. of the owners of the stelai or the relatives who erected them, not only in Achaëa but in the rest of the Peloponnese. It may be possible to understand more of these matters when more finds are available and all the existing archaeological material has been documented and published.

To try to form conclusions from the present evidence about the views on the afterlife prevalent in Achaëa and the rest of the Peloponnese would seem to be a futile exercise, not only because the painted representations that decorated many of the stelai, and which might have thrown some light on the matter, have disappeared and the inscriptions are inadequate, but also because there is no reason to suppose that attitudes were any different here than in the rest of the Greek world. Changes in religious and metaphysical beliefs occur in different periods, to be sure, but differences are far less marked from place to place especially in the Hellenistic period. There are hints of this in the Hellenistic inscriptions and some of the monuments: to judge from the representations and the motifs on the

27. The question of Attic influence on funerary art in the Peloponnese requires systematic study.

28. See e.g. TOD and WACE, *op. cit.* 137, no. 19; 159, no. 257 and 294, fig. 40; 179, no. 449; 189, nos. 558, 565, fig. 64; 195, no. 604.

29. An indicative grave inscription is that on the base of a stele from Dyme (J. BINGEN, *Mélanges helléniques offerts à G. Daux*, 1974, 13-19, fig. 1-2, *SEG* XXXI, 379, XXXVI, 398 with bibliography). It was on

the grave of Kleupatra, wife of the physician Nicias. The inscription calls on the passerby to pay attention because she was virtuous and prudent and enjoyed respect in life. The base must have supported a fine stele, like the others from Dyme. Whoever erected it possessed the wealth as well as the social standing to honour the dead woman in this way.

30. See n. 18.

31. See n. 14.

funerary jewellery in Achaëa during the Late Hellenistic period, there may have been an upsurge of hope and belief at this time in a life hereafter.³² And it is natural that the principal supporters of such beliefs would have been the representatives of the upper class, the owners of the rich graves. Concrete evidence for this, however, is not to be found in our stelai, and the few objects of a symbolic character depicted on them (dice, wheel) seem rather to be allusions to man's fate in this world than in the next.

Be that as it may, we know from both literary references³³ and the archaeological evidence that in several places in the Peloponnese the grand grave monuments were reserved for persons who had been powerful in their lifetime or heroized after death. There are isolated remains in some places of what had apparently been imposing grave edifices like the heroa at Messene³⁴ and Mamousia (Keryneia),³⁵ of the 2nd c. B.C., the monuments at Alipheira³⁶ and a similar one in Sicyon.³⁷ In Laconia also are remains, not yet published, which manifest the monumentality of grave structures, including the fragments of a Doric frieze, possibly from a heroon in the Sparta Museum.³⁸ We should also remember the "capitals" or "acroteria" from Sparta³⁹ which might have come not only from temples but also from heroa or tomb aediculae. Remains of such aediculae are also abundant in Messene. The pedimental tympana of Mantinea and Tegea (pls. XVIIa, b) should be mentioned here.⁴⁰ We have also in Achaëa parts of aediculae: some unpublished fragments reused in the tombs of Mamousia, consisting of pedimental roofs and side walls and a fragmentary pedimental roof recently found in Tritaia (pl. I and n. 200). As we have noticed above, the description of the grave monuments in Sicyon by Pausanias recalls the form of such monumental constructions. In the North cemetery of Patras a poros double-faced sofa-capital from a door anta? (pl. XVb-d, n. 229), reused, has been found together with fragments of poros building material, very probably from a grave edifice of undetermined type.

Except for the small distinctive groups of grave σήματα, aediculae and grand edifices, there exist also in the Peloponnese isolated, unique and sometimes elaborate grave monuments which might also be regarded as tombs of distinguished citizens. In addition to those mentioned by Möbius⁴¹ we may cite the poros astragal that formed the base of a tombstone on a grave at Tsopani Rachi in the Pylos Museum,⁴² the 4th c. B.C. Varvasaina lion

32. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1977, 337 ff.

33. PAUSANIAS IV, 32, 3; VIII, 16, 3; I, 43, 3. And see N. ΠΑΠΑΧΑΤΖΗΣ, *Πανσανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, Κορινθιακὰ καὶ Λακωνικά*, 1976, 346, n. 3, 96, n. 4.

34. A. BLOUET, *Expédition scientifique de Morée I*, 1831, pls. 30-34; *Tò Ἔργον* 1987, 102; 1988, 42. New evidence about heroa in Messene is offered by the recent excavations of P. Themelis. An imposing crepis has been uncovered near the "Arcadian Gate" and it may belong to a similar heroon.

35. *AA* 30 (1975) B1, 120, pl. 68a; it will be published by Iphigenia Dekoulakou.

36. *BCH* 57 (1933), 262-263, fig. 21; A. K. ΟΡΛΑΝΔΟΣ, *Ἡ ἀρκαδικὴ Ἀλίφειρα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς*, 1967-68, 203 ff., 219 ff.

37. *AA* 22 (1967) B1, 165, pl. 124 α-β.

38. ΑΛΕΞ. ΜΑΝΤΗΣ, *Πρακτικὰ XII Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Κλασσικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας 1983 Γ'* (1985), 177 ff., pl. 39.

39. MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 71, H. LAUTER-BUFÉ, *AM* 89 (1974) 205 ff., pls. 79-85.

40. See n. 252.

41. *Studia Varia*, 1967, 39 ff.

42. *AA* 18 (1963) B1, 91, pl. 105a.

attacking a ram in Olympia Museum⁴³, another poros lion at Messene and a Late Hellenistic figured capital from Kollyri in the Olympia Museum,⁴⁴ probably part (the base?) of a funerary monument. All these isolated monuments and peculiar groups should be the subject of a comprehensive systematic study. Such a study should include the Peloponnesian funerary epigrams, which might well throw light on the subject of lost scenes, the social situation of the dead, and, above all, the conception of death at that time.

43. *ΑΔ* 1888, 19.

44. Ε. ΠΑΠΑΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ-ΧΑΡΙΤΟΥ, *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Ἡλειακῶν Μελετῶν* 1 (1982) 505 ff., figs. 1-2.

Technique

The stone used for the Achaean stelai is limestone and, with few exceptions, a fine-grained limestone that comes from Mount Erymanthus and the district of Araxos. Although no ancient quarries have yet been investigated, they have been recorded, principally in the district of Dyme (Araxos).

The fine-grained limestone from which most of the stelai are made is more or less porcelaneous; the surface of the break is jagged and like a conch shell. The texture is readily discernible even in photographic reproductions: see for example **7, 22, 34, 36, 41, 45, 47, 50, 53-55, 58, 62, 68, 75** and others. The colour of the limestone varies from yellowish white to light brown or grey; on some of the stelai it has a light pink or sand-coloured hue, as on **47** and **75**. Other kinds of limestone, infrequently used, include the fine-grained variety of stelai **2** and **32**, from Patras and Dyme respectively, the microbreccia limestone from the mountain chain of Panachaikon and Erymanthus of stelai **60, 61, 66** from Pharai and perhaps **69** from Kynaitha, and the laminated grey limestone of **63** and **49**, both from Tritaia and both probably parts of the same stele (see p. 53). The eroded stele **52**, also from Tritaia, may be made of the same stone. This last limestone comes from Mount Skollis, which is in the district of Tritaia. The grey limestone of stele **42** from ?Akrata in East Achaia is similar. Apart from the palmette-stele **12**, which is an Attic import, only three Achaean Hellenistic stelai are of marble: **64, 25** and **26**. **5, 8, 9** and **10** are made from a sandstone that occurs in the district of Tritaia, whence they come, except for **5**, whose provenance is given in the inventory as Patras, but with a query. It may be noted here that remains of ancient quarries of this sandstone have been observed in the district of ancient Tritaia.

The quality of the workmanship is almost always high (excluding the sandstone examples). This is important, because skill is required to work the porcelaneous limestone.

The front and sides of nearly all the stelai were dressed with a coarse claw-chisel. The surface of stele **4** was tooth-dressed with a finer tool, producing an ornamental effect, and **3** shows the marks of a punch. The carved elements (cymatia, etc.) are continued onto the sides (cf. **60**). **30** is the only example on which the sides were left rough like the back. The finer the porcelaneous fabric of the stone, the smoother the surface of some of the stelai appears today, due to wear: for example **11, 36, 41** and **47**. The marble stelai **25, 26** and **64** were smoothed in the regular fashion. The sandstone stelai **5, 8, 9** and **10** were left rough, just as they were hewn in the quarry. **38** may be unfinished.

On the stelai with a sunken representation panel, the panel, margins and raised band

which also exists on most of the simple pedimental stelai, have all been dressed with a claw-chisel in the same manner. The tool marks on the ground of the panel show various degrees of roughness and are sometimes more pronounced than those on the margins; they are like the marks left by a punch. Only on **53** and **54** were the margins tooled almost completely smooth, and the visible remaining marks are few. In two instances, **19** and **35**, a narrow strip on the raised band and immediately below it was smoothed for ornamental reasons.

On the pediments there is also a difference between the ground of the tympanum and the margins, which are less rough and which on some of the stelai have in fact been smoothed (**20**, **35-38**, **45**, **55**, **56**, **58**).

On the plaques with or without a crown moulding and on the pedimental stelai the inscription was engraved without preliminary smoothing of the panel, except in the case of **3** and, in part, of **35**. The inscribed architraves were also dressed with a claw-chisel, the traces of which are more or less obvious.

The backs of most of the stelai were left undressed and hammer-faced, after the initial rough hewing. A smooth surface on the back, where it occurs, seems to be fortuitous and due to the grain of the stone, which was often cut vertically; it is flat and gives the impression of having been dressed (e.g. **15**, **19**, **20**, **32**, **33**, **36**, **43**, **45**, **75**, **76**). Marks of a coarse punch used for dressing were observed on **14** and **55**, on the marble stele **64** and on the Attic stele **12**.

Where the lower parts have survived, as in the case of the earlier stelai **1** and **3** and the later **30**, **32**, **34**, **43** and **44**, the ends were left rough-hewn for insertion into the ground (**1**, **3**) or into a base (**30**, **32**, **34**, **43**, **44**). On **1** and **3** this section is thicker in front, and on **30** the sides are not hammered. Stelai **42** and **52** have a dowel for insertion into the base.

The Achaean stelai presented here have no figural relief representations. Among them the naiskoi of the composite type A (**45-52**, **55-58**), one stele of type B (**72**), another with a sunken panel (**41**) and stelai **74-76** are decorated with scrolls in relief. In general the relief is only slightly raised. On some, however (**46**, **50**, **76**), the acanthus-calyces from which the scroll-ornaments grow are in higher relief and more strongly modelled. The use of the drill in the decoration of stelai **45** and **50** may be noted. On the 5th c. stele **11** the relief of the volutes is almost flat.

Some naiskos-stelai of the composite type B have a socket on the upper surface to receive an additional member.

As we have already noted, Achaean stelai except for those made from sandstone must have carried painted representations and/or decoration which was easier and cheaper. A technical examination of most of the stelai by the team of Prof. V. v. Graeve, using ultra-violet light, failed to detect any other traces of paint except for those visible; it seems that on limestone, unlike marble, paint disappears without leaving a trace. The rare remnants of red colour that have survived are from the letters on the 5th c. B.C. stele **1** and the early Hellenistic **17**, from decorative motifs on the mouldings and the knotted ribbon on the shafts of stelai **17** and **20**, and the fragments **28** and **29**. On the mouldings in particular it seems that the red paint was used for the background of the egg-and-dart or leaf-and-tongue designs, as the traces on **17** show. No other paint is preserved anywhere else except on the Attic stele **12**, where vestiges of both red and blue have survived (see below). Nor have traces of plaster been preserved, and the surviving traces of paint show that the latter had been applied directly on the surface of the stone, as on the painted stelai of Demetrias

and Vergina.⁴⁵ Is it possible that the technique of tempera, which is the least resistant, was employed on ours, as it is thought to have been on those from Demetrias, or was it encaustic?⁴⁶ It is equally impossible to tell whether a brush or a sponge was used to apply the colour, except in the case of **12**, where traces of brushstrokes indicate the use of tempera. A rough surface on the stone is not necessary, as is often maintained, as a preparation for the paint.⁴⁷ In fact the opposite is sometimes the case: a fine linear sketch requires a smooth surface. As we noticed above, however, the surface working of the Achaean stelai, as on other painted stelai, varies considerably. This is moreover an indication that they originally were painted, mainly because it was more economical not to completely smooth the surface that was to receive the painted decoration. On the rougher surfaces the application of the paint in successive layers played a major role and served to define both the outlines and the masses of the figures. When we find smother surfaces we expect that they were painted with decorative linear motifs.

Certainly in Eleia the poros stelai were given a coat of plaster which would have consolidated the brittle stone and provided a smooth surface for the application of colours (see p. 57).

45. Χρ. ΣΑΛΤΣΟΓΛΟΥ-ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη* 2 (1988) 140.

46. V. v. GRAEVE und FR. PREUSSER, *Jdl* 96 (1981) 136, 138, 145-6.

47. Cf. *ibid.* 123.

Types of Stelai

I. Pillar-Stelai and Plaques: 1-10 (figs. 1-2)

The oldest tombstone in the Patras Museum, from the 5th c. B.C., is the pillar-stele 1, of which the upper part is missing. The place where it was found, in unknown circumstances, west of Maizonos Street in Patras, had not previously produced any finds, and the cemetery did not extend to this point; most probably the stele was transported there from elsewhere. It bears the remains of an inscription, ...θεος, apparently the termination of a name in the genitive case, inscribed vertically on its perpendicular axis; there is red colour in the incisions,⁴⁸ and the ornamental function of the inscription is clear. The lower part, h. 40 cm, which is thicker and unworked, was apparently for insertion in the ground. We are inclined to believe that it had a horizontal upper termination, but it is not impossible that it had an arched or triangular one like similar examples from Attica (5th - 1st c. B.C.) and Thesaly.⁴⁹

The slab of Damocadeos, apparently now lost, which A. Wilhelm⁵⁰ saw in Ano Souda-neika and dated to the Archaic period, must in any case have been older than the previous one. Wilhelm does not describe the form of the stele, but to judge from the dimensions (1.22 × 11 × 18 cm), it could have been similar to stele 1.

Slab 2, of Psamonios, belongs to the tradition of stelai without a finial or margins, which in thickness approach the Archaic type of pilaster.⁵¹ It comes from Patras and dates to the 3rd-2nd c. B.C.

Stelai in the form of simple rectangular plaques existed in Achaia throughout the Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods (2-10; Stele 7, of unknown provenance, which is broken all round, is conventionally classified here). They do not all seem to have been tall and narrow. However, only one of the wide ones, plaque 4, from Kleitor, preserves its original height (1.30 m), and this is not much greater than its width (80 cm). Sometimes the

48. See HELLY, *Ateliers lapidaires*, 74, n. 36 with bibliography.

49. CONZE III, 303, pls. 280, 291, 307, 312; ΧΑΡΙΤΩ-ΝΙΑΗΣ, 31-32; *AA* 29 (1973-74) B2, 584, pls. 395β-δ, 396; *AA* 30 (1975) B1, 198 ff., pls. 109β-γ, 110α-β.

50. WILHELM, *Beiträge*, 121, no. 106, fig. 69; see n. 343. Compare also with the pillar-stele, a similar tombstone in the Sicyon Museum, (83 × 45 × 27 cm)

with a Hellenistic inscription, Ἑρμαῖος (*SEG* XI (1954) no. 261) (pl. III).

51. G. M. A. RICHTER, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, 1961, no. 7, figs. 29, 30; K. F. JOHANSEN, *The Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period*, 1951, 89; MÖBIUS 1968, 102; PFUHL-MÖBIUS I, 6-7 with earlier bibliography.



Figs. 1-2 Type I (stelai 3, 4).

material, like the sandstone from which the late stelai **5**, from Patras?, and **8-10**, from Tritaia, were made, did not lend itself to the normal treatment; such slabs occur naturally in the quarries in almost this finished form. Two similar stelai were recently found at Tritaia, but are not included here.

On the simple stelai the inscription serves not only to identify the *sema*, but also constitutes the only form of decoration except where some form of painted ornament existed. The 4th c. B.C. and Hellenistic slabs carry the inscriptions, usually in large careful letters and in one to three rows, depending on the space available, on the upper part of the slab. The rows are composed symmetrically, the smallest word being in the middle, as on **3**, **5**, **6** and **7**. In the older inscription on stele **4** the first letters of the names are arranged in a vertical column. In the later inscriptions the *χαῖρε* is generally in the middle of the last row. The latest ones, **9** and **10**, made of sandstone, show carelessness in the disposition of the inscriptions. Unique in Achaia is the smooth field for the inscription of Telesarchos on stele **3**, although this feature is known from other regions.⁵²

52. Cf. HELLY, *Ateliers lapidaires*, 65, 77; ΑΓΓ. Κ. ΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΜΕΝΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 23 (1968) A, 140, pl. 66a.

II. Palmette-Stelai: 11-12

The Phaikylos stele **11** should date to the late 5th or early 4th c. B.C. on the grounds of its inscription. It is an interesting example of an Attic type of stele in Achaëa. Its considerable width shows that it was the type of stele with a three-pointed termination and palmette decoration, a type found in Attica towards the end of the 5th and at the beginning of the 4th c. B.C.⁵³ The central palmette should be restored above the horizontal S-scrolls; the lower part of its stem has been preserved between the two opposed volutes.⁵⁴ The presence of a central vertical stem shows that the palmette was undivided and had a heart from which the leaves sprouted, a form that in Attica, although it did not entirely disappear, gave way to the split palmette in the latter years of the 5th c. B.C.⁵⁵ The partly preserved stem on the left indicates the probable existence of a half-palmette at either end. A significant feature is the form of the S-shaped horizontal scrolls, which occurs earlier in Attica, by the middle of the 5th c. B.C., in representations of slender palmette-stelai on white lekythoi and continues later.⁵⁶ Corresponding grave stelai belong to the last quarter of this century.⁵⁷ Can the Phaikylos stele be regarded as a provincial example of this type? That it is not an Attic product is clear from the treatment of the sunken panel on the finial with the palmette decoration, which does not occur in Attica, where the field is raised, or articulated with the shaft of the stele by a moulding.⁵⁸ Another provincial work with a finial of the same type but closer to the Attic style is the stele of Euthedemos in Chalcis, which dates to the 5th c. B.C.⁵⁹

The slender stele **12** with the anthemion-finial, undoubtedly the work of an Athenian craftsman, is the most noteworthy of the 4th c. stelai, few as they are.⁶⁰ The background of the flame and split palmette retains traces of blue colour⁶¹ and is already concave. The pointed leaves, however, which were red coloured as on painted palmettes, are not de-

53. E.g. MÖBIUS 1929, 19f., 27; CONZE III, nos. 1511, 1513, 1518, pl. 314; 1514, 1521, pl. 315; 1524, pl. 316; 1523, 1528, pl. 317.

54. Cf. 5th c. B.C. Attic examples: the palmettes on the finial of the Salamis stele (CONZE II, no. 1032, pl. 234, R. LULLIES-M. HIRMER, *Greek Sculpture*, 1960, pl. 182), and the painted anthemion on the Aristippos stele (CONZE III, no. 1492, pl. 308).

55. MÖBIUS 1929, 20-21.

56. W. RIEZLER, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen*, 1914, pls. 33, 58, 60; A. FAIRBANKS, *Athenian Lekythoi* II, 1914, pls. 15.2; 27.1. See MÖBIUS 1929, 10. And cf. Thessalian stelai: H. BIESANTZ, *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs*, 1965, 55, fig. 1, pl. 1 (K 5), pl. 10 (K 19), pl. 12 (K 25). For the short element (a small leaf?) which grows out of the volute without curling, see MÖBIUS 1929, 11. On the Salamis stele (see n. 54)

it has become an acanthus-leaf.

57. Could the absence of such finials before this period be due to the existence of stelai made from perishable materials? Cf. MÖBIUS 1968, 102; S. KARUSU, *AM* 71 (1956) 125, n. 3; W. SCHIERING, *AA* (1974), 652.

58. MÖBIUS 1929, 18; MÖBIUS 1968, 106 dates the decoration of the finial of the Grottaferrata stele to the 3rd c. B.C. Cf. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 56, pl. 14.

59. MÖBIUS 1929, 52, pl. 42a.

60. See A. FURTWÄGLER, *AM* 3 (1878) 298, n. 1 for fragments of grave reliefs from the first half of the 4th c. B.C. incorporated into a building at Patras. And see MÖBIUS 1929, 74 f.

61. Cf. MÖBIUS 1929, 63. V. v. GRAEVE informs me that it must be Egyptian blue, as on the Thessalian palmette-stelai.

tached and are framed by the edge of the finial. The volutes, on the other hand, are freer and more raised, as are the acanthus leaves. Those on the sides, curling up beside the volutes, interrupt the outline of the finial,⁶² as do the poppies at each lower corner. The badly preserved relief carving of the same motif in profile at the top between the two groups of leaves, in the place of the usual rosette, is especially prominent. This kind of profile representation is rare.⁶³ Its painted stem, faintly preserved, undulates upwards from the acanthus calyx. The existence of such painted stems was proposed by Brueckner for those stelai lacking them in relief,⁶⁴ but rejected by Möbius.⁶⁵ If it does not exist or has not been observed in Attica, it appears on anthemia on Thessalian stelai where stems in relief are also present.

The stele was richly decorated with colour, which was used not only to paint the relief ornamentation, but also to fill in those parts of the decoration that were not carved in relief, such as the ovolo and band or the leaves of the rosettes on the shaft. The visible but faint red colour and perhaps the traces of other unidentifiable colours on the shaft indicate that originally it had painted decoration, perhaps a knotted ribbon, but a scientific examination did not reveal any details of the decoration. The only result of the examination was to reveal brush traces, indicating the use of the tempera technique.

The forms and style of the palmette relate this stele to the period of the Lysicrates Monument, 340-317 B.C., and also to the workshop group that produced such well-known Attic stelai as that of Artemidoros of Sidon⁶⁶ or of Epikrates,⁶⁷ and others.⁶⁸ As Möbius has shown, this workshop tradition already existed and examples of it are known from before the middle of the century, like the stelai of Koroibos⁶⁹ and Lysias Thorikios;⁷⁰ it was to culminate, with an ever growing plasticity and freedom in the treatment of the leaves, in the colossal, highly plastic anthemia.⁷¹ Furthermore, the prominent quarter-round ovolo belong to the same period,⁷² which also produced more austere types. It is the end of the period, before the law of Demetrius of Phalerum prohibited extravagant grave monuments (317 B.C.).

The Attic tradition was carried on by Attic craftsmen in other regions. Local workshops started up in Boeotia, Euboea, Phocis, Thessaly, the Islands and the North Euxine region, which received a stream of migrant marble carvers, and they continued to be active into the Hellenistic period.⁷³ The Peloponnese does not at this time appear to have accepted Attic

62. Cf. e.g. the stelai of the second half of the 4th c.: MÖBIUS 1929, pls. 22a, 26b; CONZE III, nos. 1575, pl. 333; 1563 pl. 329; 1566, 1570, pl. 330.

63. Cf. the stele of Thoutimos: CONZE III, no. 1558, pl. 327, MÖBIUS 1929, 42, pl. 28a. Formerly, and indeed more frequently, the poppy capsule was depicted from above: e.g. CONZE III, no. 1570, pl. 330; 1573, pl. 332.

64. See relief stems, MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 37a, 39c, 46 ff. *passim*.

65. A. BRUECKNER, *Ornament und Form attischer*

Grabstelen, 1886, 13; MÖBIUS 1929, 42, n. 27; 60 ff.

66. CONZE III, no. 1575, pl. 333.

67. *Ibid.* no. 1563, pl. 329.

68. Cf. MÖBIUS 1929, 41-42, n. 23.

69. CONZE III, no. 1534, pl. 319.

70. MÖBIUS 1929, 36-37 and n. 32, pl. 22a.

71. CONZE III, pls. 319, 320, 321, 324; MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 29.

72. Cf. e.g. the Attic stele of 304-3 B.C.: O. KERN, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 1913, pl. 29.

73. MÖBIUS 1929, 81-82.

craftsmen from the workshops that produced palmette- and other stelai, due, I think, to political causes.⁷⁴ We know that Athens was the object of rivalry in this period between the opposing Macedonian factions of Cassander, the son of Antipater, and Polysperchon, Antipater's successor. In ca 318 Polysperchon held sway over the Peloponnese, except for Megalopolis, and not only was he on bad terms with Athens, but he even attempted to sieze the city. Cassander, on the other hand, made a pact with the Athenians in 317 and himself appointed Demetrius of Phalerum as ἐπιμελητῆς of the city. Cassander made two expeditions to the Peloponnese, in 317 and 316, and installed his own garrison at Patras. Later it may have been possible for Polysperchon to assume mastery of Achaëa again.⁷⁵ Athenian craftsmen would therefore not have been welcomed by the authorities in the Peloponnesian cities. Moreover, the military activities of the Diadochs in the Peloponnese at this time, in which Antigonos from Asia Minor took a hand,⁷⁶ hardly created favourable conditions for the immigration of Athenian craftsmen.

The Patras stele was the first of its kind to be discovered in the Peloponnese.⁷⁷ It is of the same style as the older examples outside of Attica, and almost identical, for example, to one of the earlier stelai from Demetrias⁷⁸ and obviously imported from Attica, where perhaps it was never put to use.

III. Stelai with Crown Mouldings: 13-16 (fig. 3)

There are four stelai (13-16), three from Patras and one from Pharai, with crown mouldings and a slight upward taper, a feature found on every stele that carries any kind of finial; they can be dated by their inscriptions to the 4th and 3rd c. B.C. 16 has been reused and carries a Hellenistic inscription. To these must be added a badly preserved example in the Koumaniotis house at Prevedos in the district of Pharai (65 × 38-35 × 8 cm). Stelai with this simple shape were common from the early Classical period throughout the Greek

74. Also remarkable is the absence or great rarity of such stelai in Aetolia and Epirus (MÖBIUS 1929, 69; AA 29 (1973-1974) B2, 537, pl. 360β) as well as in Asia Minor (PFUHL-MÖBIUS, 51, no. 1542, pl. 222). This also remains to be explained.

75. B. NIESE, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* I, 1893, 246 f.; K. J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV 2, 1927, 440-444; RE XVIII, Patrai, 2206 (E. MEYER).

76. NIESE, *op. cit.* 279 ff. It should be noted that in 314 Cassander's opponent, the Milesian general Antipater, was active in Achaëa; he liberated Patras from the Macedonian garrison and siezed and pillaged Aigion. Dyme then also rose up against the Macedo-

nian garrison (*ibid.* 281).

77. MÖBIUS 1929, 74 also mentions a fragment of an anthemion from Megalopolis (*ibid.* pl. 62c). In the village of Zougra (ancient Pellene) there is said to be a stele "crowned with a sculpted anthemion," F. v. DUHN, AM 3 (1878) 1, A.K. ΟΡΑΝΔΟΣ, ΠΑΕ 1931, 83. I have not seen it. There is now a new find, the upper part of a Late Hellenistic palmette-stele in the Sicyon Museum.

78. MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 52a, CH. WOLTERS, *La Thessalie*, 86, pl. 1. 4 (with perhaps an effaced painted stem on the palmette). Also from Demetrias comes a stele (MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 53a) with a red painted ribbon on the shaft, the way ours probably was.

world.⁷⁹ Hellenistic stelai of Northwest Greece form a special category having the same general shape and sometimes a similar termination at the top.⁸⁰ Dentils and astragals, garlands and less frequently spiral scrolls and tabulae ansatae give these stelai an especially ornamental style, which did not spread to the Peloponnese.

Only the Archelaos and Timarchis stelai, **13** and **15**, have partially well-preserved cyma reversa mouldings, which appear to belong to the Classical tradition of the first half of the 4th c.⁸¹

The inscriptions in this group also have a decorative purpose. The name with or, in the earlier ones, without the patronymic, is always found on the upper part of the stele below the moulding. This rule is fairly common except in the case of the Rhodian and Aegean stelai.⁸²

In the Archelaos inscription the name is below a band defined by an incised line on the upper part of the stele, and this also seems to have been the case with stelai **14** and **16**.⁸³ On this band there may have been a painted foliate ornament (see n. 88). We can also assume that there was a painted representation or decoration on the shafts of the stelai.

Only **14** preserves the lower edge; this does not terminate in a base-moulding, which is an early Ionian feature found on the stelai from Rheneia and Rhodes, for example,⁸⁴ nor does it show any preparatory working for insertion into a base or the ground.

IV. Stelai with Pedimental Finial: 17-29 (figs. 4-6)

Stelai with a pedimental crowning, without margins on the shaft and with a slight upward taper, Attic in origin, were widespread and continued over a long period.⁸⁵ The type is

79. ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, 32, 49, 56; and see e.g. the Attic stelai: CONZE III, nos. 1424-6, pl. 293; 1427, pl. 293 A; 1428, pl. 294; KIESERITZKY-WATZINGER, 4 ff.; FIRATLI, 12. Other more recent finds: the stelai from Thebes: AΔ 19 (1964) B2, 202, pl. 242α; from Thyrreion: AΔ 27 (1972) B2, 436 ff., pls. 367γ, 368α, ε; AΔ 29 (1973-74) B2, 540, pl. 364β-γ; from Leukada: AΔ (1971) B2, 353, pls. 334-335; Π. ΚΑΛΛΙΓΑΣ, *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Λευκαδικῶν Μελετῶν* 5 (1978-1980) 82 ff.; from Rheneia: Délos XXX, pl. 72, 73; from Rhodes: P. M. FRASER, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, 1977, 9-10, figs. 18, 20-21; from Vergina: ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, 252. Painted on white lekythoi: RIEZLER, *op. cit. passim*; FAIRBANKS, *op. cit. passim*.

80. BWGT, 176 f., pl. 22; *OpAth* 1971, 64 ff.; AΔ 27 (1972) B2, pl. 367β, δ. At the same time the commoner type also existed.

81. Cf. the stele of the Κερκυραῖοι of 375 B.C. in

the Kerameikos: KERN, *op. cit.* pl. 24, CONZE III, no. 1470, pl. 305.

82. Similar Rhodian stelai have the inscription engraved on the lower part: FRASER, *op. cit.* fig. 20 ff.; in the Cyclades the position is varied: Délos XXX, pls. 72-76.

83. Cf. KIESERITZKY-WATZINGER no. 25, pl. 1, where a painted stripe borders the band above the inscription.

84. Délos XXX, pl. 73; FRASER, *op. cit.* figs. 18-22. And see PFUHL-MÖBIUS I, 50, nos. 3, 4, pl. 2 for the beginning of the form.

85. For early stelai, from the 5th c., see MÖBIUS 1929, 14-15, TE RIELE, 169-170, with the earlier bibliography; and see PFUHL-MÖBIUS I, 51; ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, 40, 44, 61. Classical examples from Attica: CONZE III, nos. 1445 ff., pls. 299, 303; Other more recent finds from Athens: Agora XVII, no. 506, pl. 1; from Boeo-

represented here by stelai 17-23; they mainly come from Patras. Variations, all later, are represented by stelai 24-26, found at Mamousia (ancient Keryneia).⁸⁶ 27, from central Achaëa (Gourzoumisa), is tentatively classified as a pedimental type.

The pediment on these Achaean stelai is freestanding. The type with a pediment carved in relief on the shaft of the stele which has a triangular or horizontal termination,⁸⁷ known from ancient times, does not occur in this group, although it probably exists on pedimental stelai of other types (see 41, 58 and perhaps 74). None of the stelai have relief decoration, but all of them may have had painted decoration on the pediment, mouldings, raised band and shaft.⁸⁸ No traces of colour have survived except in the case of stelai 17 and 20.

Stele 17 of Euphanes belongs to the 4th to early 3rd c. B.C. and still preserves the remains of its painted decoration. Only red colour applied directly to the stone has survived: in the letters, for the palmette-leaves on the acroteria, on the horizontal cornice and on the quarter-round ovolo; on the latter an egg-and-dart or leaf-and-tongue decoration had been painted on the red ground in some colour that has since disappeared, perhaps white.⁸⁹ The knotted ribbon painted on the shaft, whose curving ends hang obliquely down and terminate in tassels, is also red. The motif occurs earlier in Attica and other regions,⁹⁰

tia: *AD* 19 (1964) B2, 202-203, pls. 242β, 243β, 244α-β, 245α, 246β, 247α, 248α; 21 (1966) B1, 204, pl. 209γ; L. H. JEFFERY, *AD* 22 (1967) A, 1 ff., pls. 3b, 4; from Macedonia: *AD* 22 (1967) B2, 377, pl. 284α-β; ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, 250; Θ. ΡΙΖΑΚΗΣ-Ι. ΤΟΥΡΑΤΣΟΓΛΟΥ, 'Επιγραφές Ἀνω Μακεδονίας, 1985, nos. 41, 42; from Mesembria: A. Βαβρίτσας, *ΠΑΕ* 1980, 6, pl. 8β; from Euboea: *AD* 23 (1968) A, 140-142, pl. 66β; *AD* 29 (1973-74) A, 100 ff., pls. 66, 67, 70; from Kato Vasiliiki, Naupaktia (ancient Chalkis): *AD* 29 (1973-74), B2, 539, pl. 362β; from Thyreion: *AD* 27 (1972) B2, 437, pl. 367α; from Kallion: *AD* 26 (1971) B1, 283, pl. 249β; from Corcyra: *BWGT*, pl. 21,1; from Thelpousa: THERIELE, 169 ff., nos. 760, with dentils 766, 767; from Rhodes: FRASER, *op. cit.* figs. 21d, 22, 23a,b; *AD* 20 (1965) B3, 597, pl. 753α; from Kalolesti in Eleia: *AD* 20 (1965) B2, 210, pl. 236β-γ. For the more elaborate pedimental stelai in Eleia and Northwest Greece, see below Type VII.

86. For the place distribution see the Table, p. 23. To these should be added the published inscribed stelai of Pellene: ΟΡΛΑΝΔΟΣ, *op. cit.* 82-83, nos. 5, 7, 8, *SEG* XI, 1276, 1278, 1280.

87. Cf. CONZE II, nos. 821, pl. 158; 893, pl. 174; III, nos. 1448, pl. 299; 1452-55, pl. 300; *OpAth* 1971, 66, Ceph.11, fig. 34; *AD* 34 (1979) B2, 309 pl. 132β; ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, nos. 15, pl. 35; 26, pl. 50; 28, pl. 53; FIRATLI, 12, nos. 11, 13, 25, 26; ΡΙΖΑΚΗΣ-ΤΟΥΡΑΤΣΟΓΛΟΥ, *op. cit.* nos. 41, 42, pl. 13; *AD* 22 (1967) B2, 377, pl. 284α. The Menokrates stele from Eleian Makistos in the Olympia Museum Λ896 should also be added,

on which the pediment is carved in relief on the somewhat flattened termination of the stele (see E. MEYER, *Neue Peloponnesische Wanderungen*, 1957, 52, pls. 62-64: before the upper part was found and joined to it).

88. Pediments and raised bands may have carried foliate or other decoration: cf. e.g. the stelai of Antimachos or of Diodotos of Demetrias: V. v. GRAEVEFR. PREUSSER, *JdI* 96 (1981) 131, fig. 13; A. Σ. ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Γραπται Στήλαι Δημητριάδος-Παγασών*, 1928, 168, fig. 200; the Rhodian stele in Copenhagen which preserves traces of painted decoration with a spiral-scroll on the upper margin of the sunken panel: PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 150, pl. 33. And see further ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ *passim*; G. MENDEL, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines des musées impériaux ottomans*. I, 258 ff.; B.P. BROWN, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style*, 1957, pl. 20.

89. Cf. the stele from Thebes: *BWGT*, Theb. 40, pl. 9. See also recently the observations about the colours of the background in paintings of the 4th c. B.C. (and on stelai): E. WALTER-KARYDI, *Fest. E. Berger*, 1988, 337.

90. CONZE III, nos. 1324a, pl. 279; 1333, 1325, pl. 280; *OpAth* 1971, 66, 75, figs. 32, 35; *AD* 26 (1971) B2, 407; ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, nos. 26-29, pls. 50-54; *AD* 29 (1973-74) B2, 534, fig. 2, pls. 355γ, 356α, 536, fig. 4, pl. 360α (with other subjects as well); MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 53a; ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.* 135, fig. 162.

and representations on vases of stelai bedecked with a ribbon reflect the use of real ribbons to adorn stelai.⁹¹ Elsewhere, in Western Greece, the ribbon is in relief.⁹² For its original overall appearance the stele of Euphanes may be compared with stelai from Attica, Demetrias and Vergina on which the colour is better preserved.⁹³

It is noteworthy that the much later stele **20** of Nostia Aristodamou of the same type, dating to the end of the 2nd c. B.C., has the same painted ornament. Although later in date, this stele differs only in the shape of the apophyge (cavetto) below the pediment, to which the cyma reversa has been reduced, as it also has on stele **21** of Lochitas. On stele **19** of Sophia Euthykrateos and **23** of Apollonios the cyma reversa form has been preserved. On the Lochitas stele the articulation between the cymatium and the pediment is given particular emphasis by the adding of a lightly projecting fillet, and the stele acquires a more pronounced tectonic character than, for example, the older Euphanes and Sotiricha stelai with their simple quarter-round ovolos and the rest with the cyma reversa. Other Hellenistic stelai of the same type are similar in form.⁹⁴

Chronological differences are displayed by the acroteria on the stelai, which in the later, less well preserved examples are usually slenderer. Moreover the raised band below the pediment, not present on **17** and **18**, is a characteristic of the later stelai of Sophia, Nostia and Lochitas.

The Apollonios stele **23** is also later, I think, and belongs to the 2nd-1st c. B.C. The clumsy inscription with the crescentic epsilon and the later form of the omega are due to reuse of the stele in Roman Imperial times.⁹⁵ Among the later examples are those found in eastern Achaia. The shape of the pediment of the Hesychion stele **24**, a triangular projection without a geison, derives from the old Classical three-pointed termination,⁹⁶ which seems to have remained an active tradition in the Hellenistic period, and is not uncommon, especially in the East Greek world. To some extent, in its overall shape, this stele can be compared with types common in Asia Minor, Thrace and Byzantium, and rare in West Greece.⁹⁷ The Epiphaneas stele **25** with its flat angular summit without articulation, between rudimentary side acroteria may be ascribed to the same tradition. The Aneiketos stele **26** with a similar triangular summit is, according to the letter forms much later.⁹⁸

91. W. RIEZLER, *op. cit.* pls. 17, 31, 37, 51-53, 85, etc.; TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLU II, pl. 208, etc. *passim*.

92. *BWGT*, 191, Anakt. 9, pl. 24, Ceph. 6, pl. 23; Palairos stele: *AA* 27 (1972), 437, pl. 368β; the Pellene stele: *ΟΠΑΝΔΟΣ*, *op. cit.* 83, no. 7; and another in the Sicyon Museum with an egg-and-dart moulding below the pediment and an inscription: Νικία χαῖρε (3rd c. B.C.) ca. 100 × 55 cm. (pl. IV).

93. See n. 90.

94. Cf. stele **42** and TE RIELE, no. 760 (end of 2nd - beginning of 1st c. B.C.), 852; *AA* 26 (1971) B1, 283, pl. 249β.

95. See p. 19. A similar case can be seen in the

Eleian stele from Xenies: *AA* 20 (1965) 219, pl. 256α.

96. Cf. e.g. CONZE III, pl. 313. Later Attic parallels: CONZE II, no. 969, pl. 188; III, no. 1458, p. 301.

97. For Eastern examples see PFUHL-MÖBIUS, nos. 102, pl. 24; 340, pl. 57; 842, pl. 122; FIRATLI, 12, nos. 16, 19, 21, 23, 24, 153, 177 and others. For a West Greek parallel see *AA* 30 (1975) B1, 174, pl. 97δ.

98. The simplification of **26** puts it close to similar Classical examples, like CONZE III, 322, no. 1507; ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, 32. But cf. also the late stele CONZE IV, no. 2085a, pl. 458. No. 2039, pl. 442 has similar acroteria. The type of **25** is found sporadically in Roman times, FIRATLI no. 27, pl. 7.

These forms occur in Achaia along with the regular types. A date in the 1st c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D. is also suggested by the inscription on the badly preserved stele 27.

The inscriptions, which except for 17 are accompanied by a χαῖρε, are just below the raised band, or a little below the pediment when the former is missing (17, 18). Only 21 has the inscription on the raised band. The name and patronymic on 17 are in two rows. More usually both names are inscribed in one row and the χαῖρε occupies the space below in the middle. An exception is the Nostia stele 20, on which the three words are in three rows and the first letter of each lies in the same vertical line, a feature that is very common for instance in Attica.⁹⁹ The Nostia inscription displays remarkable untidiness and carelessness compared with that on 19, for example. The same applies to the much later inscription of Apollonios. There are no inscriptions on the middle or lower parts of any of these stelai, as there are on the Cycladic and East Greek ones.¹⁰⁰ Placing the inscription high up was also a way of providing space for the painted decoration, a practice followed elsewhere, in Attica and Thessaly.

Fragments 28 and 29, both of which were found in the same place as the Euphanes stele, come from stelai with painted red ribbons; they could be parts of stelai with a pedimental crowning.

The same comments would apply to their lower ends, none of which have survived, as to those of the previous type.

V. Pedimental Stelai with a Sunken Panel: 30-42 (fig. 7)

Stelai 30-42 belong to the pedimental type with a sunken panel as the field for representations; it is known in Attica from the second quarter of the 4th c. and elsewhere.¹⁰¹ Apart from Patras, where most of them (four) were found in excavations (two more, not included here, have recently been added to their number), four were found at Dyme, two at Pharai and one at ?Akrata.¹⁰² On the basis of the letters, the majority are 2nd c. B.C.; 30 probably dates to the 3rd c. and 31 and 40 could even belong to the 1st c. B.C.

99. There, as at Demetrias, the engraver often took care to see that the inscription was evenly disposed; to this end he increased or diminished the size of the letters and the spaces between them so that the lines were closed "in a block": e.g. CONZE I, nos. 169, pl. 53; 155, pl. 46; ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΔΗΣ, 43, 50 ff.; HELLY, *Ateliers lapidaires*, 85.

100. See n. 82.

101. CLAIRMONT, 47, e.g. nos. 19, pl. 10; 25, pl. 12; CONZE I *passim*; IV, nos. 1841-2, pl. 390; 1887, pl. 403; 2010, pl. 443; PFUHL-MÖBIUS, nos. 51, pl. 13; 114, pl. 27; 131, pl. 30; 250, 256, pl. 48; 264-266, pl. 50; 907, pl. 136; *Délos* XXX, e.g. nos. 14, pl. 3; 25, 26, pl.

5; 173, pl. 41; 319, pl. 62, etc. *passim*; ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, 249-250, nos. 5, pl. 14; 8, pl. 21; 22, pl. 46; 42, pl. 64; She distinguishes these stelai from the "Bildfeldstelen" and calls them pseudo-naiskos stelai. I reserve this term for another type (see n. 116).

102. To the stelai published here should be added one found "in the garden of A. Rathosis" in Kato Achaia (ancient Dyme) (J. BINGEN, *BCH* 78 (1954) 398, no. 9, fig. 3, *SEG* XIV, no. 371 Στρατόνικε Τιμοκράτεος, Εἰρήνην, χαίρετε), which today is apparently lost. There are also similar stelai in the museums of Arkadia (Tripolis, Tegea, Astros); see n. 194.

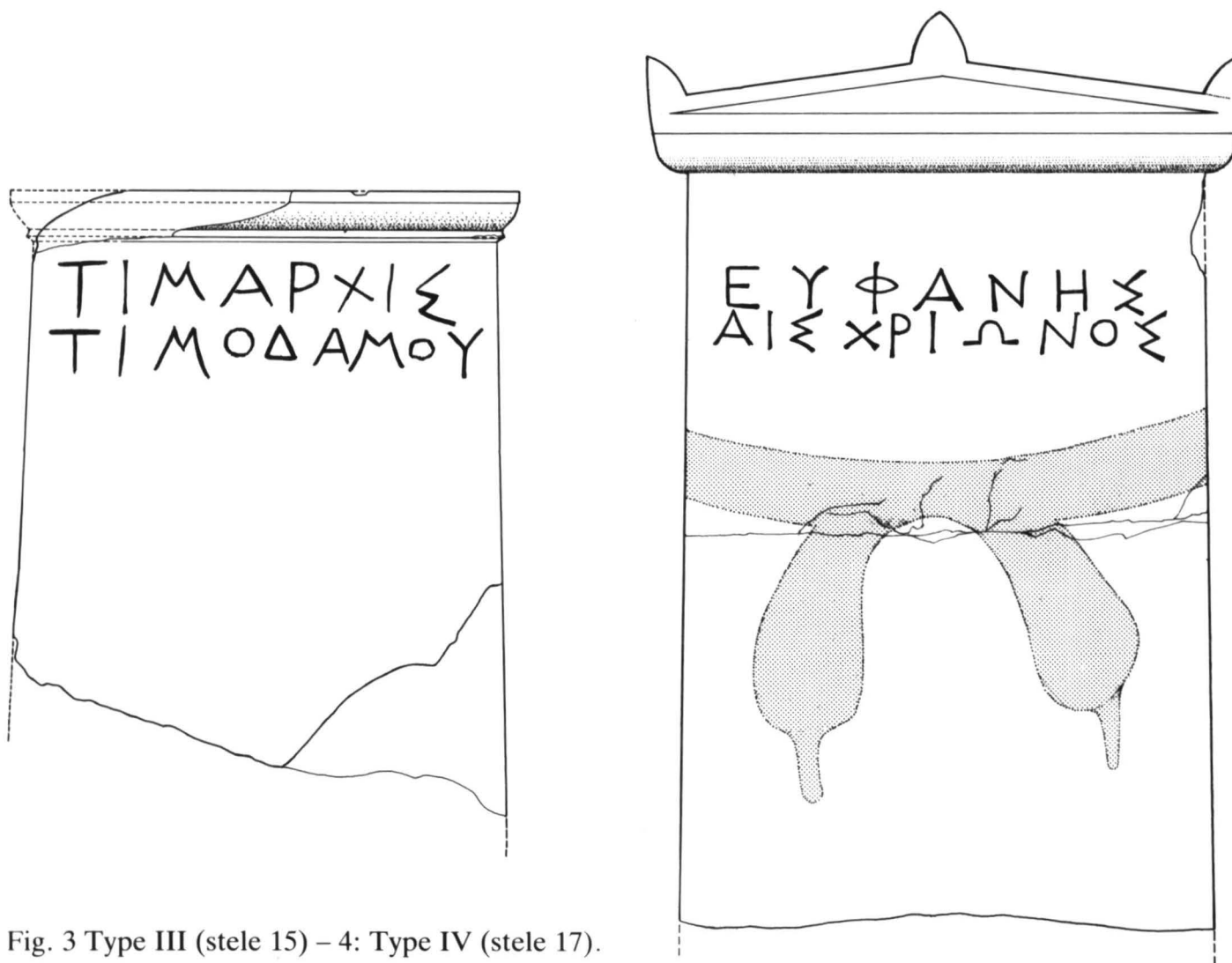
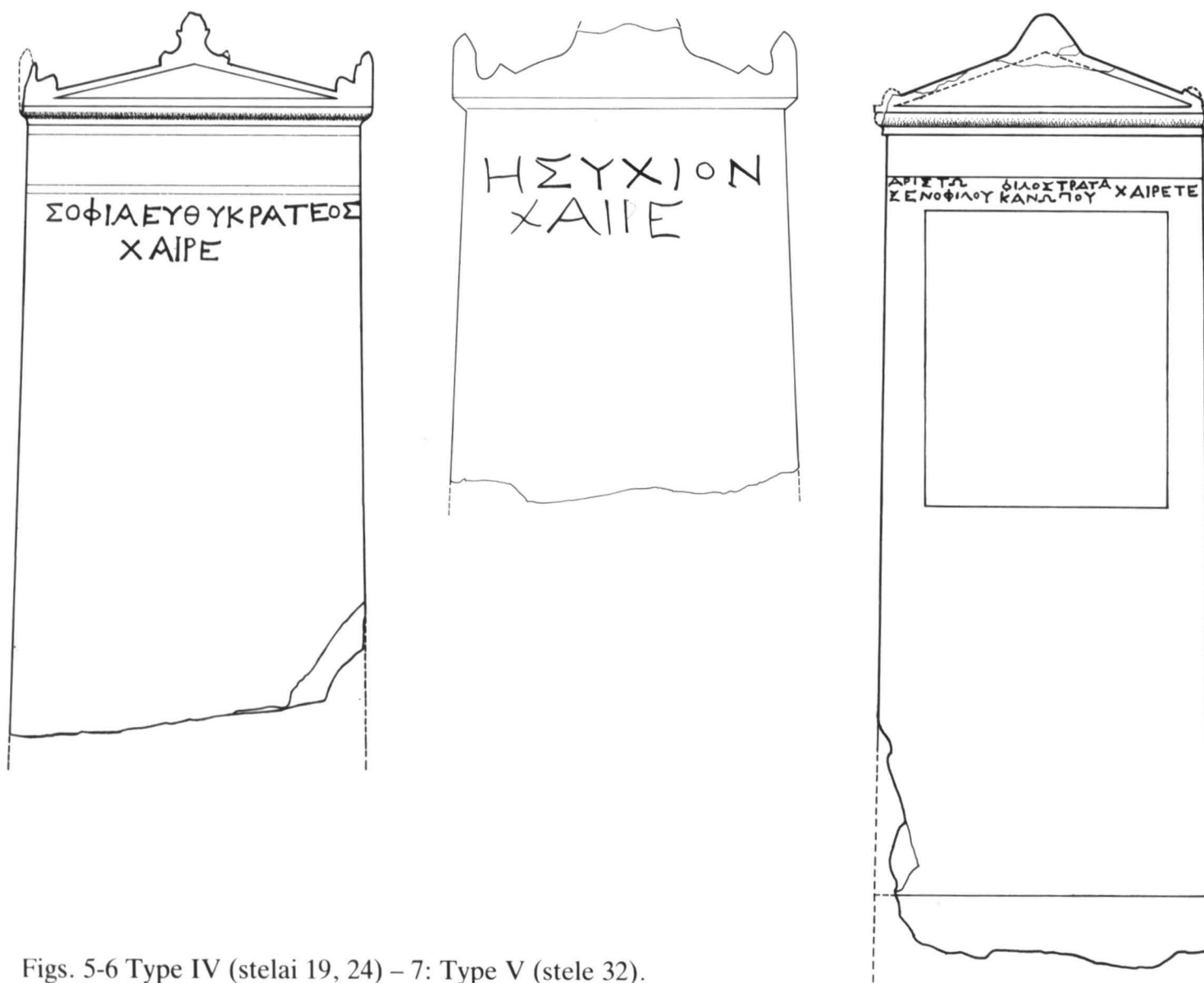


Fig. 3 Type III (stele 15) – 4: Type IV (stele 17).

It is interesting to note that except for the stele **32**, which is made of sandy limestone, and the reused **42**, which is of grey limestone, they all technically form a single group. They are made from a similar sort of stone and are worked in the same manner. Moreover a stylistic unity is apparent in the form of the mouldings. We have already observed (p. 22) that they may have come from the same workshop situated in Patras or Dyme. They differ basically from the previous type in having a rectangular representation panel slightly sunken (1.5-3 mm deep) so as to form a margin above it and on each side. On **31** and **34-36** the upper margin is wider than the side ones; on the rest the margins are of the same width. There was a raised band, as with the previous type, above the upper margin between it and the pediment, except for **37**, **38**, **41** and **42**. On the Achaean stelai the sunken field occurs only on the upper half or at one third of the height of the stele. There is greater variation in the relative proportions in the case of the Attic stelai, as there is on those in the East Greek world and the Islands: as a rule the sunken panel is relatively smaller and room is left between it and the crowning for decoration or an inscription, as well as below it.¹⁰³ The

103. See n. 101.



Figs. 5-6 Type IV (stelai 19, 24) – 7: Type V (stele 32).

type is also found on the stelai of the North Euxine region, with the pediment carved in relief on the surface of the stele, which terminates in a horizontal moulding on the top (see below). These stelai are often slender and the surface below the sunken panel, which regularly carries an inscription, is more often of the same height or even higher.¹⁰⁴ On the Vergina stelai the rectangular representation field, which is more deeply sunk than on the Peloponnesian ones, extends over nearly the full height of the stele. The stelai of Alexandria, which for the most part belong to this type and sometimes also have pseudo antae, are short, and the panel, which is more deeply sunken, also occupies all of the surface or at least more than half of it.¹⁰⁵ The same is true of the stelai from Byzantium.¹⁰⁶ Those from

104. KIESERITZKY-WATZINGER, pl. 12 ff. *passim*. Sometimes a high frieze or “attic”, as on the Eastern examples, is formed between the sunken panel and the pediment decorated with rosettes: e.g. *ibid.* nos. 221, pl. 15; 271, pl. 19; 455, pl. 33; 529, pl. 36; 633, 647, pl.

45, etc., *passim*.

105. BROWN, *op. cit.* pl. 1 ff. Only no. 28, pl. 21, is tall and has a relatively small panel.

106. FIRATLI, e.g. pl. 12 and *passim*.

Eleia with a sunken panel appear to be either the same as the Achaean ones,¹⁰⁷ or variations: there is a stele in the Olympia Museum, of unknown provenance, that is unique in the Northwest Peloponnese.¹⁰⁸ It has a deeply sunken panel, much lower than the pediment, so that a high section of the surface of the stele is left above it. In this respect it approaches the Attic, Island and Eastern stelai. Another Eleian pseudo-naiskos stele from Ayios Ioannis (ancient Heraia), lacking its lower part, also has a deep sunken panel and pseudo antae.¹⁰⁹ The panel began high up and evidently occupied the full height of the stele.

No. 41 probably had a pediment carved in relief within the outline of the plaque, but we cannot tell whether the termination was triangular or rectilinear. The same feature, which is common in other places, as we have noted above, also occurs on another stele in Achaia, no. 58, which is classified as the composite type A and perhaps on 74.¹¹⁰

In contrast to the Attic, Eastern and Island stelai with relief representations, the panel on the Achaean ones, which was left unsmoothed and shows signs of a claw chisel, was intended like a pinax to receive a painted representation, as on the Alexandrian stelai, some of the Macedonian ones and those of Demetrias, or even an ornamental decoration, as can be seen in the illustrations of such stelai on Apulian vases.¹¹¹ In all probability the pediments, acroteria and raised bands were also painted, in the manner of the simple pedimental stelai. It may also be supposed that the margins of the sunken panel were painted to imitate real picture frames; this may also have been the case on the simple pedimental stelai and has been observed on stelai from Demetrias.¹¹² There is also another possibility, however, which is that antae or half-columns were painted on the margins. In this case the raised band with the upper margin would have given the impression of being either a stepped architrave or an architrave with a frieze above it. No visible traces of colour have survived nor are remains of stucco recorded, such as often appear on the poros Eleian stelai.¹¹³ Stele 41 has a relief spiral scroll on the "frieze"; the band here may have had the form of a sofa-capital, but the ends are broken.

The inscriptions were engraved as high as possible on the margin over the panel, with the χαῖρε in one row. 32, 34 and 37 have two names placed either in two continuous rows (34, 37) or in two "columns" (32). The χαίρετε is in the second row (34, 37) or beside the "columns" in the middle (32). The inscription in the sunken panel on 42 comes from a later, 1st c. A.D. reuse of the stele after the original inscription above the sunken panel had been erased. There is never an inscription below the sunken panel. Such inscriptions are found in

107. See the stele from Eleian Pylos: *AA* 20 (1965) B2, 215, pl. 243a.

108. *A435*, *TE RIELE*, 193, no. 901, fig. 22.

109. *TE RIELE*, *BCH* 89 (1965) 587, fig. 2.

110. See n. 87 (for the pedimental stelai). The pseudo-naiskos and naiskos-stelai from the North Euxine region can be included here (see n. 104). Also from Byzantium (*FIRATLI*, no. 80, pl. 12) and Vergina (*ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ*, nos. 2, pl. 7; 4, pl. 13). On the Boeotian plaques also the pediment is often rendered in relief like the other decorative elements on the distinctive

rectangular slab: see *BWGT*, pl. 1 ff. *passim*; *OpAth* 1971, 53 ff.

111. E.g. *TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLU* I, pls. 108.1, 124.1, 3; II pls. 200.6, 297.1, 320.4 and *passim*.

112. V.v. *GRAEVE*, *La Thessalie*, 113, n. 9-11, pl. 1, and cf. S. *KARUSU*, *AM* 71 (1956) 124 ff., pl. A. The painted remains on the stele *CONZE* III, no. 1364, pl. 287 should be examined to see whether they were originally a frame.

113. See pp. 33, 57.

other regions: in the Cyclades and the North Euxine region regularly, sometimes in East Greece¹¹⁴ and very often in Attica, where there are no strict rules and the same inscription, with the names or an epigram, may continue below the panel. For their lower edges see comments above p. 39.

VI. Naiskos-Stelai

Although the previous type, unchanged in its basic elements since the Classical period, is common in the Northwest Peloponnese, other varieties and related types that are also old do not appear to be present here: missing are stelai with curved or angular projections at the upper corners of the panel, which recall the anta-capitals and are found in Attica;¹¹⁵ also missing are pseudo naiskos-stelai with anta-capitals that are imperfectly formed and without bases.¹¹⁶ From the pedimental stelai with a sunken panel we come directly to the naiskos-stelai. These Achaean naiskoi have peculiarities of their own and are local creations, different from those of the Hellenistic period in Attica, the Cyclades and the East Greek world. From the point of view of originality and quality they are equivalent to the finest products of the other centres. There are three types of naiskos forms in Achaëa. The first is represented by the simpler stelai **43** and **44** (figs. 8-9), and the other two coincide with the Composite Types A and B (figs. 10, 11) that follow.

a. Simpler Types: 43-44 (figs. 8-9)

The two stelai **43** and **44**, the first from Dyme and the second from Pharai, have survived almost intact, and can be dated to the 3rd-2nd c. B.C. by the letter-forms of their inscriptions. They possess fully developed all the features that constitute the Achaean naiskos, which typically is confined to the upper part of the stele and is shallow (2-4 mm). The lower part, taller than the naiskos part and slightly wider, is decorated in the case of **43** only with a four-spoked wheel.¹¹⁷ At the bottom a short unworked section was inserted into a base. The direct relationship with those of the previous type is clear: the naiskos is confined to the upper part, as is the sunken panel on them, and it is still shallow.¹¹⁸ This dependence qualifies the function of the naiskos form: it is simply a frame for a representation or decoration and does not have the same sense of an oecus as in Classical prototypes.¹¹⁹ The

114. E.g. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, nos. 118, pl. 28; 274, pl. 115. And see nos. 101, 104.

115. E.g. CLAIRMONT, nos. 34, pl. 18; 38-39, pl. 19; 40-41 pl. 20; 89, pl. 35, and PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 71, pl. 18, to which should be added the Eleian stele from Ayios Ioannis: see n. 109.

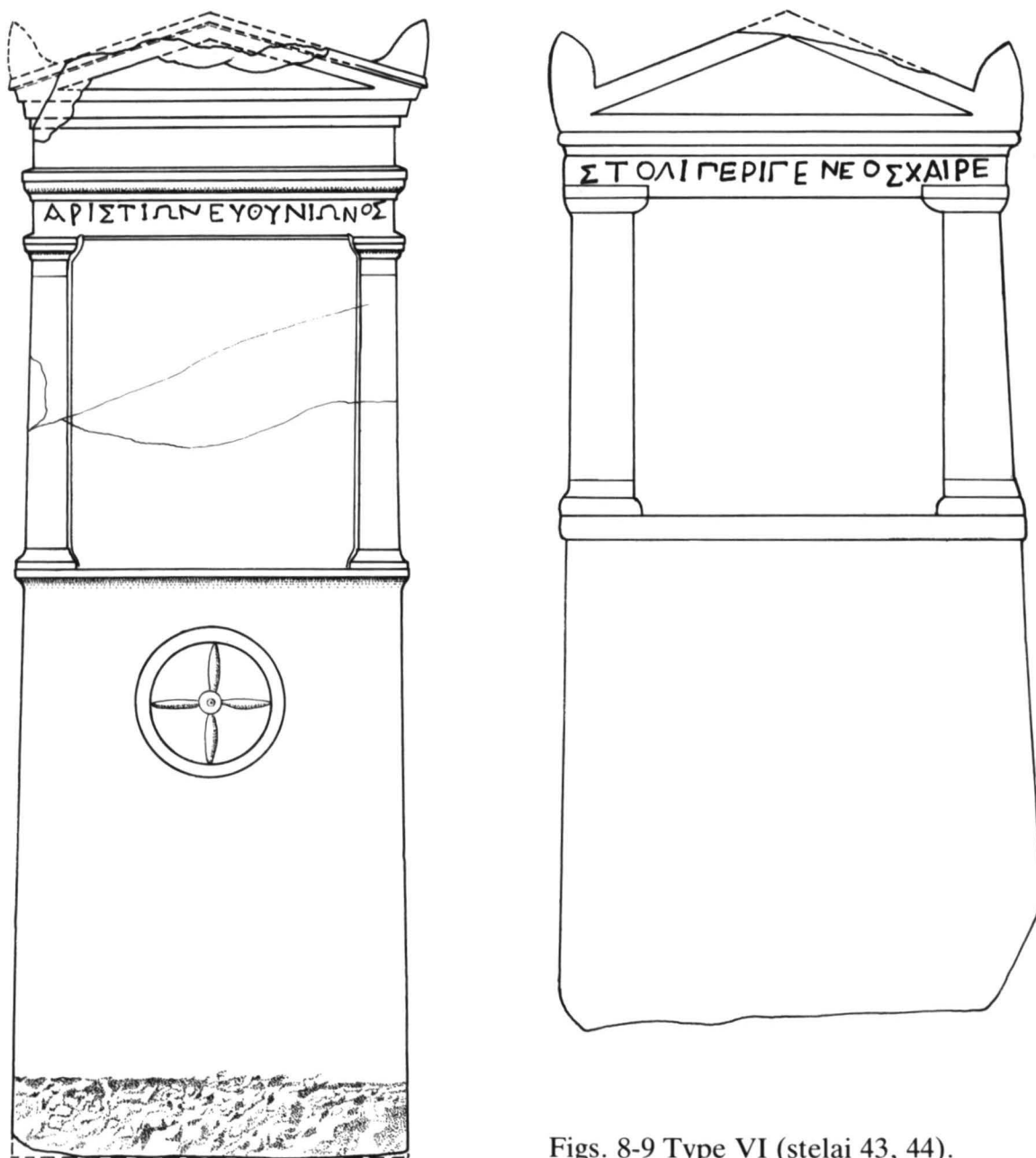
116. Cf. CLAIRMONT, no. 57, pl. 27. The Demai-

netos stele from Vergina has a similar type: ΠΑΛΙΑ-ΔΕΛΗ, 28, 40 ff., pls. 5, 7, with Alexandrian examples.

117. See n. 339.

118. The notes made above (p. 43f.) for this relationship and the proportions of the upper and lower halves on the occasion of the sunken panel also apply here.

119. Cf. SCHMALTZ, 241.



Figs. 8-9 Type VI (stelai 43, 44).

notion of a pinax with its frame that could have been painted in the form of a naiskos is already dominant in the previous type. The raised band between the upper border and the pediment, which is common there, becomes a frieze on **43**. The Philokratis stele from Phigaleia in the Olympia Museum,¹²⁰ of which only the upper part has survived, is a naiskos with Doric antae and is still close to the stelai with a sunken panel in respect to the architrave and raised band without a transition moulding; it thus would seem an intermediate form between the two. We do not know, however, whether the naiskos part of this stele was restricted at the top as on the Achaean ones.

120. TE RIELE, *BCH* 90 (1966) 262, fig. 16.

The "frieze" most usually takes the form of a sofa-capital with or without mouldings or relief decoration. This feature is especially characteristic of the Hellenistic naiskoi of the Northwest Peloponnese, as is the "attic" in East Greece, and to some extent the frieze of triglyphs and metopes in the Cyclades. On **43** it has a slight cyma recta section and S-shaped sloping outlines and is plain, but this formation calls for a painted decoration, which has since disappeared. We shall meet the sofa-capital form of crowning on other groups, not only on the frieze of the naiskos-stelai, but on stelai without a naiskos-frame (**74**), and not only below the pediments, but also on the lower parts of composite stelai. In the latter case we can speak more correctly of a sofa-capital crowning the stele as though it were an anta.

The antae on these two stelai have Doric capitals and bases with a moulding that rests on a pseudo stylobate. In Achaia during the Hellenistic period Doric antae are few compared with the Corinthian half-columns that are usual on naiskos-stelai of the other types. On the other hand Doric antae are a common feature on Attic and Thessalian stelai. There are three other stelai, belonging to group VIb (**59**, **71**, **72**), with Doric antae, although in one case their existence is not quite certain. Ionic half-columns are also rare, occurring only on **69**.¹²¹ Our comments above also apply to the disposition of the inscription on the architrave.

b. Composite Types: 45-73 (figs. 10-11)

After the upper part formed like a naiskos, the lower sections of these stelai take on an identity and importance of their own; thus on stele **43** we find a relief ornament in the form of a four-spoked wheel high up in the middle of this section. Both stelai **43** and **44**, whose upper parts (nearly half their total height) are complete naiskoi in shape, already possess an elementary composite form. They could each be said to consist of two parts, of which the upper is a naiskos-stele and the lower is like a plain stele with a crown moulding¹²²: the gravestone has now already become bipartite. Out of this form it was a simple matter, by the addition or modification of different elements, to create fully developed composite stelai.

FRAGMENTS WITH ELEMENTS OF BOTH PARTS: 45-54 (TYPES A AND B)

The better preserved stele **45** of Nikaia, belongs to Type A of our composite stelai (fig. 10). It has Corinthian half-columns instead of Doric antae and the representation field is now

121. This is a general fact. Cf. CONZE IV, no. 1913, pl. 410. The rarest form is that with the Doric half-columns; cf. votive stelai: B. HELLY, *Gonnoi* II, 1973, nos. 195-197, pl. 31. Sofa-capitals on the antae of naiskos-stelai occur only once to my knowledge: on a votive relief from Tegea: *AA* 21 (1966) B1, 154, pl.

149a. The East Greek naiskos-stelai show a great variety of combinations of different elements: PFUHL-MÖBIUS, 52, and below, n. 169.

122. Apart from the wheel in relief on **43**, we should think of lost paintings on the lower part.

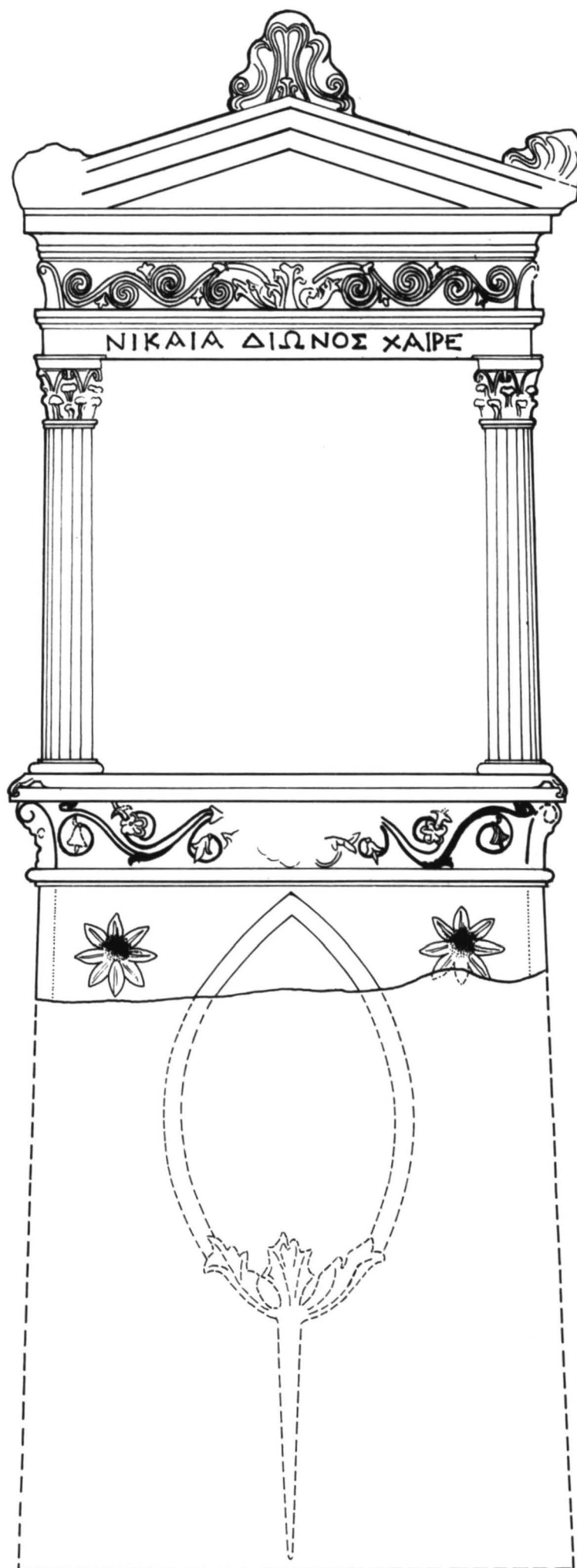


Fig. 10 Composite Type A (stele 45).

deeper (up to 2 cm). The one-fascia architrave carries the elaborate inscription, symmetrically disposed in the space between the half-columns. Aided by only two simple volutes, the frieze assumes the form of a sofa-capital (cf. also 47) decorated with a scroll, and a similar capital constitutes the crowning of the lower stele which has anathyrosis on the edges. The two "rosettes", adjuncts of the slender Attic and sometimes of the West Greek grave stelai,¹²³ and the almond-shaped motif preserved whole on stelai 49 and 52, serve further to increase the illusion that it is a separate stele that is already produced by the lower section of the composite stele.¹²⁴

Some of the fragments that follow, nos. 46-54, come from the middle or, more frequently, the lower parts of composite stelai, although we cannot tell whether they belonged to Type A or B. In only one case, fragment 52, is its identification as part of a composite stele uncertain, because of the damage to the upper surface, on which no remains of half-columns or other features have survived. It does, however, resemble the lower parts of other composite stelai: on all of them, except for 53 and 54, there is a sofa-capital or a quasi sofa-capital, like that on 48, decorated with a scroll. The surface of the lower stele, except for 53, 54, 45 and 51, has no margins. 45 has anathyrosis and 51 may have a raised margin. 53 and 54 are of a different type: not only does the lower part not possess a sofa-capital, but it has an unsmoothed panel with a smooth margin, perhaps once painted.

On one or two examples —48 and perhaps 52— directly below the spiral-scroll there was an inscription, which was erased in Imperial times for a new one in the case of the first, and obliterated by damage on the second. Since the inscription is normally found on the architrave of the upper part, it would seem that there had originally been a second name here, in which case either these stelai had already been reused in the Hellenistic period, or else they stood on a group (family) grave and had successive inscriptions carved on them.

At first glance stele 48 might appear to belong to 69, which has been included in the last group of naiskos-stelai, having a horizontal top and often a finial attached; this is not just because according to the inventory they were both found at the same place, Drosato, near Kalavryta (ancient Kynaitha), in Northwest Arcadia and because the stone is similar, but because they carry the same name: once in Latin on the sofa-capital frieze of 69, T. Claudius Antipater, and the second time in Greek, ΤΙ. Κλαύδιος Ἀντίπατρος, on the shaft of 48. In both cases the stele had been reused and the earlier names erased. Careful measurements of the two fragments, however, show that they do not belong together, 69 being appreciably wider than 48, while the reverse should be the case. Nor do they appear to have come from the same piece of rock. It therefore remains to be explained why two different stelai should have been inscribed with the same name. One can only suppose that they stood on the grave of Tiberius Claudius Antipater and of his synonymous son or grandson.

No. 49, which was also reused in the Roman period, was found in the same place at Tri-

123. See MÖBIUS 1929, 26-27; MÖBIUS 1968, 108, 115, IDEM, *Studia Varia* 1967, 32; BWGT, 76, 189; *OpAth* 1971, 67, Ceph. 16, fig. 37.

124. J. MARTHA, *BCH* 2 (1878) 100, published a

"similar" stele found on the property of K. Georgiades in Kato Achaia with the inscription ...ρια Διοσκούριδα χαῖρ[ε], which has not been found since. And see *SGDI*, 1621.

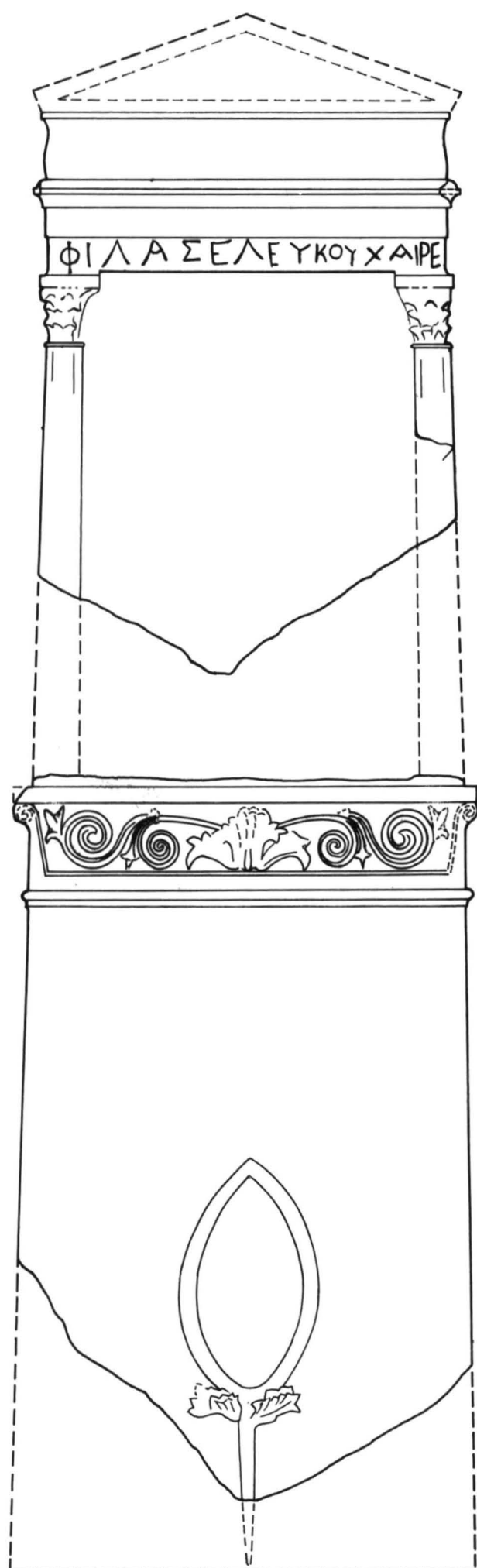


Fig. 11 Composite Type B (stelai 63 + 49).

taia as **63**. In this case the proportions match and the upward taper of the width is uniform (lower width of **49**: 54 cm; upper width of **63**: 47,5 cm). We cannot tell with absolute certainty whether their thicknesses match, owing to damage and the irregular surface of their backs, but no obvious lack of correspondence between them is apparent. As usually happens, it cannot be proved that both pieces came from the same block; however the stone of which they are made is the same. I therefore think it almost certain that fragments **49** and **63** do belong together,¹²⁵ and that they constitute another type, B, which differs to some extent from and parallels the Nikaia stele of type A (fig. 11).

UPPER PARTS OF COMPOSITE STELAI TYPE A: 55-58

Fragments **55-58** may be attributed to composite stelai of type A. Best preserved is fragment **55**, of Archedaos (or Archelaos, if we correct the engraver's mistake), with Corinthian half-columns and other features forming part of a naiskos, such as the stepped raking cornices of the pediment, which are similar to those on the Nikaia stele **45**. Fragment **56** should be included here. All three come from Dyme, and apparently from the same workshop.¹²⁶ The frieze on **55** has the side outlines of a sofa-capital; it is clumsily modelled and lacks any other element serving as a border, such as a canalis or roundel. Perhaps **56** and **57** had the same form of frieze, or that of the Nikaia stele. They are all decorated with scroll ornaments; however, except for **55**, the naiskos shape of the other three poses some problems: we do not know whether **58** in particular had antae, because this part of the stele is missing; it may have belonged to the same type as **74**, on which the shaft was unframed. Stele **58** (fig. 12) like **41** and perhaps **74**, had a pediment with acroteria carved in relief on a triangular? extension of the shaft.¹²⁷ It seems more certain that **56** and **57** were naiskos-stelai, because the member with the inscription below the spiral-scroll band must have been the architrave, since this always carries the inscription on naiskos-stelai. On **57**, indeed, the beginning of the background of the naiskos below the architrave has been preserved to a depth of 1.5 cm from its lower edge. From the style of the letters, this stele could even belong to the 3rd c. B.C.

UPPER PARTS OF COMPOSITE STELAI TYPE B: 59-73

The connection between fragments **69** and **63** and fragments **48** and **49**, respectively, has already been mentioned. There are insuperable difficulties in attributing fragments **69** and **48** to the same stele and this can effectively be ruled out. It seems almost certain, however,

125. They have been entered separately in our catalogue because they do not match nor have they been joined to form a complete stele as they could have with the aid of plaster.

126. Cf. the fragment of a stele from Chelidoni, in Eleia, in the Olympia Museum A447, which shares all the features particularly of the Archedaos stele.

However, the zone with slightly curved ends between the architrave and pediment is without relief decoration (AA 18 (1963) B1, 104, pl. 139γ). The stele of Apollonios with a sunken panel in the Elis Museum also has acroteria with leaves like those on the Archedaos stele.

127. See n. 87 and 110.

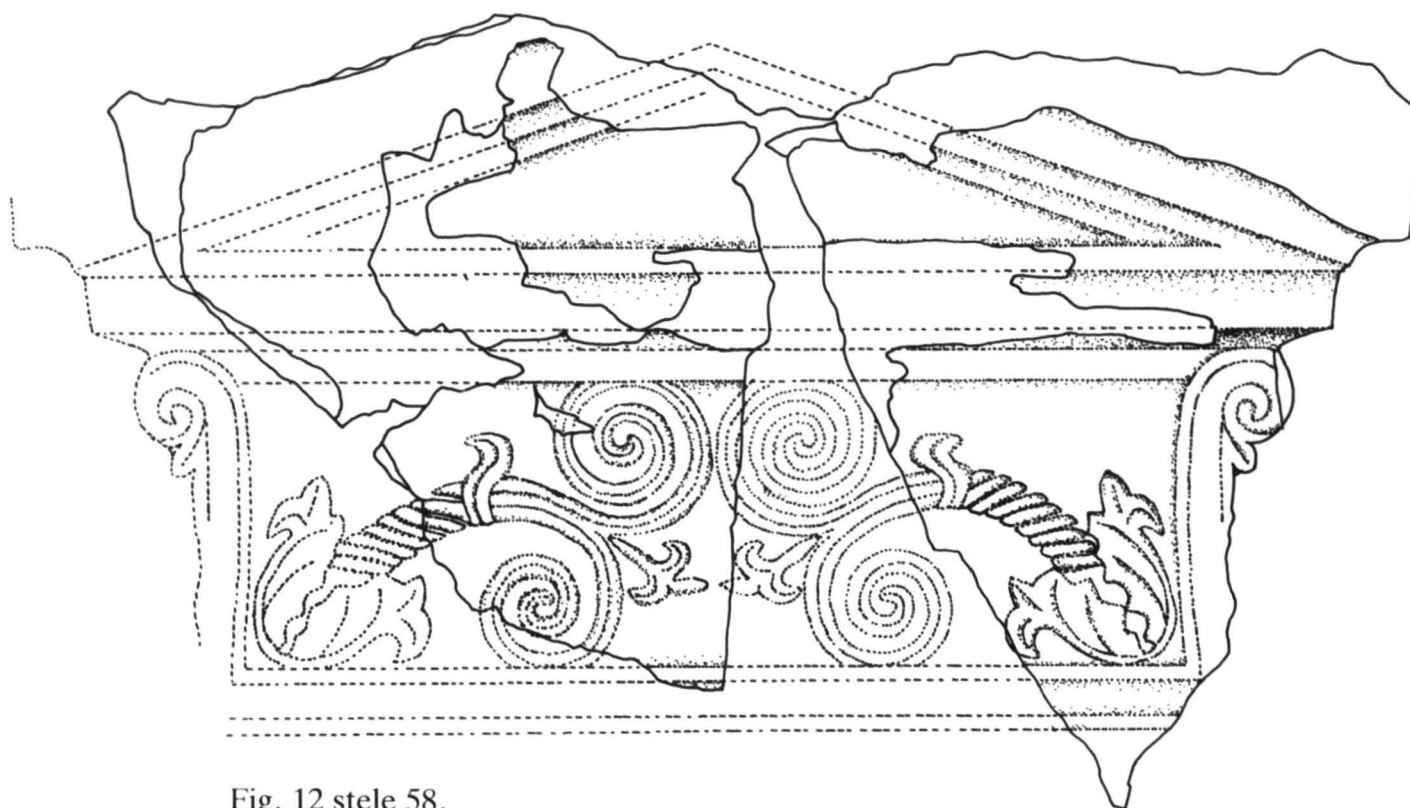


Fig. 12 stele 58.

that **49** and **63** formed part of the same composite stele (fig. 11). Furthermore a naiskos of this type from Eleia, which I mention below, gives a clue to a restoration of the same composite form. It is therefore possible that the similar stele fragments **59-73** also belong to this second type of composite stele, although this cannot be proved, since their lower parts, with the exception of **63** and the Eleian example, are always missing. Thus these fragments may include some non composite types. These naiskoi form a broad group. The half-columns are as a rule Corinthian; in one case they are Ionic (**69**) and in three cases we have Doric antae (**71**, **72** and **59** uncertain). They are surmounted by an architrave with two bands, the lowest of which carries the inscription. On the majority the bands are equal in width. Only on **59**, **60**, **64** and **73** is the lowest band almost twice as wide as the upper, on **67** it is half the width and one example, **71**, has an architrave with one fascia. This is usually crowned with a cyma reversa. In most cases the "frieze" has the outline of a sofa-capital (**59-61**, **64**, **69**, **71**), sometimes (**59**, **69**, **71**) in a cyma recta section, as on stele **43**, and crowning moulding, but without foliate decoration in relief. Only the frieze of **72**, which does not have a cyma recta section, is decorated with a floral scroll. On the rest the plain sofa-capital must have been decorated by painting.¹²⁸ The sofa-capital shape itself, which

128. See n. 88; these instances allow us to entertain a similar possibility for the sofa-capital of this type.

otherwise would remain unintegrated, could have been finished off with painted volutes. Sometimes the edges are missing or chipped, but since part of the original cyma recta surface has survived, these stelai also probably had sofa-capitals (65, deeply concave, and 73). On stelai 62, 63, 66, the surface of this "frieze" is flat, and the edges, where they are preserved, do not have the profile of a sofa-capital. A crowning moulding or a simple projecting fillet (59, 65) articulates the shaft to an added, and only once to an integral finial: most of these stelai have a socket or holes on the flat horizontal top by means of which a separate finial-member was attached (60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69). 61, 65, 66, 71 and 72 have no traces of a socket and 67 and 73 are broken at the top. It is very probable that the added finial was also pedimental, since this was the general rule for all naiskos-stelai. This is indicated by the integral pediment of stele 59 of Damareta and by the Diophantos stele in the Ashmolean Museum,¹²⁹ which should be included here, and also by the complete pediment with a socket, obviously for attaching it to this kind of stele, lying in the Koumaniotis field at Prevedos, in the district of Pharai (pl. II).¹³⁰ Thus it is difficult to restore any other kind of crowning for these naiskoi apart from a pediment, although there are many exceptions of the common crowning types.¹³¹ In any case, a number of these stelai appear to have been left with only the horizontal crowning and its moulding above the sofa-capital and without any added finial. Fragment 70 could belong to a naiskos of another type.

129. T. RÖNNE-LINDERS, *OpAth* X (1971) 85 ff., fig. 1.

130. It is made of limestone and measures 67.5 cm wide, 22.2 cm high and 18-16 cm thick. The acroteria are broken, the righthand one being the better preserved. The relief of the pedimental features is shallow, ca 1 cm. The slanting cornices are moulded. On the under surface, the front edge of which is smoothed, there is a socket 4.5 × 2 × 2 cm. This piece should be examined to see whether it could fit onto any of the stelai that came from the same area (60, 66, 67, 68, 71), particularly 60, whose full width is preserved and is only slightly less than that of the pediment. However the pediment still remains in Prevedo.

131. In similar cases in other regions we encounter very unusual and peculiar finials in the form of whole sculptures like that on the Apollonia Stele (*BWGT*, pl. 32.1). Another finial from Apollonia consists of a pediment topped by an acanthus calyx from which emerges a nude female figure flanked by four griffins (P. C. SESTIERI, *Le Arti* 5 (1942-43) 118, fig. 3). An "acroterium" in Petrograd (MÖBIUS 1929, 72, pl. 64; IDEM, *AM* 51 (1926) 121 ff.) combines different iconographical traditions. To these should be added a foliate-skirted creature from Kerch (KIESERITZKY-WATZINGER, nos. 153-155, pl. 10). It is worth mentioning here the finials of the simple stelai from Kerch,

which are pomegranates in relief (*ibid.* nos. 36, 37, pl. 1) and the ram's head (no. 9, pl. 2). Unusual and unique in West Greece is the finial on the Samiko palmette-stele (*AA* 20 (1965) B2, 210, pl. 234β, *OpAth* 1971, fig. 38), on which a relief bust is carved. It is obviously derived from Athenian prototypes (MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 32b, CONZE III, no. 1660, pl. 354), and it matches the kind of slender stele, which is not of the naiskos type. Also extraordinary are the finials on some Thessalian stelai of the "Pheraian type": CHR. WOLTERS, *La Thessalie*, 87, pl. 2. 3-4; *AA* 32 (1977) B1, 124, pl. 75α; *AA* 35 (1980) B1, 273, pl. 126α). Some representations of stelai on vases, although they do not give any safe clue, cannot be omitted. There is (a) a representation on a lekythos in the Metropolitan Museum of New York of a stele with a crown moulding on top of which lies a hare (D.C. KURTZ, *Athenian White Lekythoi, Patterns, and Painters*, 1975, 51, 216, pl. 39.1). I cannot say if this figure, which as far as I know is unique, corresponds to a real finial, and (b) a representation on an Apulian hydria in Matera: as in many other cases, there is a "phiale" above the crown moulding of a stele, according to TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLU II, 550, pl. 208-2, or could it be a disc? The evidence is very slight, and I leave open the question, whether this 'disc' is an organic element of the stele.

The inscriptions are engraved on the lower band of the architrave in the same manner as that noted for the previous stelai. Only **69** was inscribed on both bands. It was rarely possible to confine the row to the space on the architrave between the half-columns, which is aesthetically more pleasing, as on the Nikaia stele. It is also the same on **61**. As a rule however the inscription runs from one end of the architrave to the other.

To sum up, the following characteristics distinguish, for the present, Type B from Type A: the architrave with two bands, the plain sofa-capital often with a cyma recta section and usually an added finial.

A number of these stelai (**60**, **61**, **62**, **65**,) can be dated epigraphically to the 3rd c. B.C. **72**, because of its running flower-scroll, can be dated to the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st century B.C. Here, too, no typological development can be discerned. Closer similarities in their execution or in the forms of moulding, such as those between **60**, **61** and **69**, may merely signify a common pattern or a workshop tradition.

T. Rönne-Linders correctly maintained that the Diophantos stele mentioned above, the gift of G. Wheeler to the Ashmolean Museum in 1676, should be assigned to the Northwest Peloponnese; this has now been confirmed by the other stelai of this type from Achaia. It is, however, unique in its relief decoration of a bucranium between two leonine figures on the sofa-“frieze”, although the bucranium, in another iconographic connection, occurs on unpublished Eleian stelai that will be mentioned below. At the ends of the frieze there are half-palmettes in a style similar to that of stele **48** of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀντίπατρος (see p. 72).

While the specimens of Type A are distributed between Patras, Dyme and Tritaia, most of the stelai of Type B come from Pharai. This can be provisionally explained as an indication of local preference and of the consequent ascription of the type to a local workshop (see p. 22). It is noticeable that two stelai, **64** and **65**, both found in Patras, show a certain stylistic difference, and the Tritaia stele **72** is the only one with a relief ornament on the frieze.

The type has also been noted in Eleia: the stele of Malakon, from Agrapidochori,¹³² has an architrave with three bands and evidently a sofa-capital “frieze” with a socket on the top to receive an added finial. At the lower left, below the stylobate, is preserved the beginning of what may be the lower part of the stele, which for this reason must have been composite. This type should also, I think, be looked for in Arcadia.

Two similar naiskoi with Doric antae may be noted from Thyrrheion.¹³³ They differ in the mouldings at the articulations and in the single architrave with the dentils. The “frieze” does not have a sofa-capital profile but vertical ends and a flat surface. These stelai are the Northwest Greek equivalent of the Achaean stelai we are considering here. In Thessaly there are many examples of a related type of naiskos-stele, with Doric antae and antefixes

132. *AA* 20 (1965) B2, 218, pl. 254a.

133. T. RÖNNE-LINDERS, *op. cit.* 90, fig. 2. For the

motif of the leaves and ribbon on the moulding, cf. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 1104, pl. 166.

on the cornice;¹³⁴ in both cases these stelai are not composite.

Since the fragments of stelai in this group are all broken at the bottom, we do not know the shape of their lower ends.

VII. Pedimental Stele with a Sofa-Capital: 74 (fig. 13)

This type as a whole could be called Eleian, because it is often found in Eleia.¹³⁵ Stele 74 is the only example of its kind in Achaia. That it does not come from a composite stele is clear from the better preserved Eleian examples. The upper part of the shaft, on which the sofa-capital rests, has a slightly raised band with a projecting fillet above it. Below the band a tabula ansata, a common Hellenistic feature on West Greek and Boeotian tombstones,¹³⁶ carries the inscription with the name of the dead person, which can be dated to the 3rd-2nd c. B.C., and immediately beneath that the *χαῖρε* is inscribed. We cannot tell whether it had a sunken panel, like the Eleian examples. The preservation of the surface of the raised band suggests that it had painted decoration. The pediment of this stele which perhaps was carved on the shaft, as on 41 and 58, is the only one in Achaia with dentils. Dentils also occur in Eleia on other types of stele, such as simple pedimental ones without sofa-capitals and naiskos-stelai, as elsewhere.¹³⁷ The same ornamental feature is found without an architectural significance on some stelai from Northwest Greece and Cephallenia.¹³⁸

Notable examples are the stelai of Eleia. The stele of Nikostrata in the Elis Museum Λ87 preserves the greater part of its shaft, on which there is a sunken panel for a representation, as there is on the well-known Xenies stele.¹³⁹ There is a similar panel on another

134. ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *op. cit.* 143f, pls. 1, 2, and a stele from Nea Anchialos: ΑΔ 20 (1965) B2, 322, pl. 382β.

135. Stelai: of Phila, from Goumero: ΑΔ 28 (1973) B1, 197, pl. 163: here pl. VI, of Eukrartes, from Glarentza: A. BON, *BCH* 70 (1946) 25, fig. 5, of Nikostrata, from Elis: J. SERVAIS, *BCH* 85 (1961) 141, fig. 10, of Kala, from Samiko (see n. 131) with its unusual finial and from Glarentza with rosettes: SERVAIS *op. cit.* fig. 9. There are unpublished ones in the Olympia Museum: Λ915 from Mazi (17×13×6.5-7 cm), pl. VIIa; Λ327 from Mazi (19.7×18.7×11 cm), pl. VIIb; Λ485 from Goumero (27×23×11 cm), pl. VIIc; Λ898 from Makistos (42×50×16-20 cm), pl. VIId, with two simple wavy stems branching from a central calyx on the sofa-capital; Λ1040 of Aristodemos from Samiko, and others. In the Elis Museum there are also more such unpublished stelai, among which Λ2619 and Λ2068 may be mentioned (see below). Note also the known stelai in Northwest Arcadia from Thelpousa:

BWGT, 201, pl. 30.6, TE RIELE, no. 763, fig. 7, from Kleitoria: WILHELM, *Beiträge*, 116, fig. 64, *BWGT*, 202, N. Δ. ΠΑΠΑΧΑΤΖΗΣ, *Πανσανίου Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, Ἀχαϊκὰ καὶ Ἀρκαδικὰ*, 1980, 256, fig. 237 (both reused) and the stele in Tripolis Museum 1612: A. ΣΤΑΥΡΙΔΗ, *Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν 1985* (1987-88) 2, 474, pl. ΞΖ', fig. 6, reused several times in the Imperial period.

136. *BWGT*, 179.

137. From Lepreon: TE RIELE, no. 850, fig. 18, and in the Elis Museum, a naiskos-stele with Doric antae, which has dentils below the pediment. An Arkadian stele from Thelpousa in the Olympia Museum should also be noted (TE RIELE, no. 760, figs. 3-4).

138. In Northwest Greece: *BWGT*, pls. 22, 24, 25, 28, 31, 32; *OpAth* 1971, *passim*; ΑΔ 32 (1977) B1, 154, pl. 95γ. In Cephallenia: *OpAth* 1971, 67, Ceph. 16, fig. 37.

139. The stele of Nikostrata: see n. 135. From Xenies: see n. 95



Fig. 13 stele 74.

stele, recently found at Samiko and now in the Olympia Museum. It is of poros, comprises two fragments and has a coating of plaster, as the Eleian stelai made of this stone often do. A distinctive feature is that the panel of the sofa-capital is deeply sunken. Traces of red colour are preserved, evidently to depict the dentils and also perhaps for the decoration of the moulding above them.

Stele Α2619 from Kalyvia in the Elis Museum¹⁴⁰ has a sofa-capital with bucrania¹⁴¹

140. Poros; broken below, pediment chipped (41 × 44 × 13.5 cm). A moulding below the pediment marks the transition to the dentils, and a large deep canal turning upwards at the ends forms the volutes. On the smooth band below the capital is a later inscription which reveals a view of heroization in the 2nd c. A.D. of considerable interest:

Τύμβος ὁ μυριόκλαυτος ὁδ-
οιπόρε, Ἰακτῆς ἐστὶ ἥς ὁ τρόπ
[ος ναο]ῦ ἄξιος οὐχὶ τάφου.

The rest of the surviving surface is roughly picked. *AA* 42 (1987) B1, 135. (See p. 120).

141. On the question of bucrania in the decoration of grave stelai, see T. RÖNNE-LINDERS, *OpAth* X (1971) 85-86; other examples: PFUHL-MÖBIUS, nos. 421, pl. 216; 1647, pl. 241 and others *passim*; *Délos* XXX, nos. 57, pl. 12; 304, pl. 59.

alternating with omphalos phialai (pl. IXb). The same subject is encountered again on the extraordinary stele from Daphniotissa, also in the Elis Museum, Λ2068 (pls. VIII-IXa).¹⁴² Below the pediment, which is decorated with spiral-scrolls springing from a central acanthus calyx, there is a low frieze of triglyphs and metopes instead of dentils. The sofa-capital is also decorated with a spiral-scroll with corded stems and bordered below between ridges by a roundel covered with leaves and surrounded by ribbons, like a garland, as on the Thyrrheion examples.¹⁴³ At the base of the capital there is a running dog pattern composed of two opposed halves, and at the sides a toothed acanthus-leaf margin. A unique and distinctive decorative element is the frieze below the capital with alternate bucrania with ribbons hanging from their horns and rosettes. Here, too, there is a sunken panel relatively low down on the shaft, so that above it a high margin remains, on which there could have been a painted inscription. The holes in the upper part of the sunken panel, if they are ancient, may have served for the insertion of some sort of metal ornaments (rosettes?), which would, however, have been most unusual in this position, or to attach some kind of pinax.

According to the evidence of another unpublished stele in Elis, there may sometimes have been a zone between the pediment and the sofa-capital that was painted. Except for the sunken panel for representations, there is sometimes a rough field for the same purpose, as on the stele from Goumero (pl. VI). The sofa-capital was sometimes plain and apparently carried painted decoration. This was so in the case of the Phila stele and the Thelpousa and Kleitoria stelai. Finally, the Kleitoria stele does not have dentils. From these observations the great differences and variety in the forms of decoration on this type are evident.

Lavishly decorated stelai like Λ2068 are on a par, in terms of the richness, variety and elaboration of their decorated zones, with the Boeotian funerary monuments, especially those at Thebes,¹⁴⁴ and the other ornate Hellenistic stelai we find in West and East Greece. It will be possible to make a more systematic study of this type when all the Eleian stelai have been published, but it already appears that the stelai from Kalyvia and Daphniotiossa are later than the other Eleian stelai of the same type, which should be dated to the ripe Hellenistic period.

VIII. Indeterminate Types (with a Sofa-Capital): 75-76

Finally, two fragments have been recorded which, because of the singularity of the first and the bad preservation of the second, cannot be assigned to the preceding categories. 75 belongs to the upper part of a stele; it has a projecting horizontal moulding and on the smooth top there are no traces of any attachment for a finial. The bottom is broken and we

142. Poros; broken below on the right side; chipped on the left edge and acroteria (135×38.5-41×10-11 cm). It carries modern engravings.

143. See n. 133.

144. *BWGT*, no. 2 ff.

do not know how the lower end of the stele was shaped. Below the crowning is a sofa-capital decorated with spiral-scrolls and a central acanthus calyx with a rosette.

Fragment 76, being broken all round, gives no clue to the form of stele it came from; it may have been part of a simple or a bipartite type. Only about half of the sofa-capital has survived; it was decorated with a flower-scroll (fig. 16).

Stele Bases

Three stele bases were found at the corner of Korinthou and Poukevil street 19 in Patras, where graves came to light dating to the 4th c. B.C. and the Hellenistic period. The bases had been reused in later times as building material. The stelai belonging to them were not found, and stele 2 of Psamonios, which came from the same excavation, does not belong to any of them.

Two of these bases are roughly hewn¹⁴⁵ (pl. X); one of them indeed has barely been dressed and its corners have been only crudely squared. Their date is uncertain. The third, no. 1415¹⁴⁶ (pl. XIa) is of the same type as the well-known inscribed base from Dyme (Kato Achaia), with consoles.¹⁴⁷ The elegiac funerary inscription makes it clear that the latter was the base of a grave stele. Its date in the late 2nd to early 1st c. B.C. inevitably suggests a coordination with late Hellenistic stelai, like the composite ones, many of which also come from the district of Dyme, and certainly with stelai of other types. This connection is further corroborated by the style of the bases with the consoles, which is related to that of the sofa-capitals. It is a rare type of stele-base.

In this same period the shape similarly made an appearance on hypopodia, like the smaller one of the Heroon at Kalydon,¹⁴⁸ on which the lion's feet of the Classical hypopodia¹⁴⁹ have arrived at the stylization of the console. There is also indeed a similarity in the cymatia on the consoles of both works.¹⁵⁰ The development of this form was followed in the case of the thrones and trapezophora. On benches¹⁵¹ and seats in theatres and stadia there existed from the beginning the stylization of the consoles that we find on the Hellenistic hypopodia and the stele bases and even on the simplest forms.¹⁵² This is not the first

145. *AA* 31 (1976) B1, 97 (a: 73×63×49, b: 124×110×17 cm).

146. Broken at the top in front and below on the left side. Limestone; 52×33×20 cm. There are consoles in front at each side. The upper surface has a rectangular socket for the stele, 39.6×9×6 cm. The rear part of the upper surface, invisible when the stele was standing on the base, was left roughly dressed.

147. Patras Museum 73. J. BINGEN, *Mélanges helléniques offerts à G. Daux*, 1974, 13, figs. 1-2, *BullEpigr* 89 (1976) no. 287. Chipped; the consoles above are broken.

148. DYGGVE, figs. 54, 56; G. M. A. RICHTER, *The*

Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans, 1966, fig. 283.

149. RICHTER, *op. cit.* 50-51.

150. The largest hypopodium with the spiral-shoot preserves below the form of the lions' feet.

151. Cf. e.g. *Délos* XVIII, 12 ff.; DYGGVE, 69, figs. 69-71; F. VERSACE, *AM* 33 (1908) pl. 14.3.

152. The benches in the theatres of Asia Minor have mouldings similar to our bases: cf. e.g. D. DE BERNARDI FERRERO, *Teatri classici in Asia Minore* 3, 1970, pls. 10 (Iasos), 20 (Tralleis), 30 (Perge), 37 (Aizanoi), 43 (Myra). And see the sections of the benches in stadia: Π. Μ. ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ, *Στάδια*, 1952, 58, fig. 65.

instance of the hypopodion form being employed for another purpose. Apart from the trays for carrying folded draperies at displays on the Locrian clay reliefs,¹⁵³ the hypopodion appears in relief representations as support. We must mention the representation on a grave stele from Byzantium dated from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd c. B.C.,¹⁵⁴ in which the kalathos is depicted on a base that has the shape of a stylized hypopodion. On a stele in the Tirana Museum the throne in the representation stands on just such a base.¹⁵⁵ The hypopodion has probably been represented as a stele base on the slab from Amphilochikon Argos (pl. XIII).¹⁵⁶ The fragment of this slab came, I think, from a composite Hellenistic stele of which the middle has survived with the termination of the upper part of the stele and the beginning of the lower part (see p. 67). The relief hypopodion may have been meant as the base of the upper part of the stele. Next to the lion's feet hangs an ivy leaf, and the surface between them is decorated with a double acanthus-calyx, each with two leaves, from which a composite flower emerges (see p. 76f.).

Apart from Achaia in West Greece bases of this type occur, as far as I know, in Eleia, Messene¹⁵⁷ (pl. XIb, c) and Aetolia¹⁵⁸ (pl. XIIa, b), while in the rest of the Greek world the usual form is the plain base or that terminating in cymatia.¹⁵⁹ From Eleia come monumental examples of console-bases of grave (or votive) stelai, and one from Chelidoni has already been illustrated.¹⁶⁰ They have side consoles, and on the front the facade of a monumental funerary building with antae and a portal is shown in relief. On the narrow sides they usually have an ivy leaf in relief. There are more such bases in the museums of Olympia and Elis.

153. RICHTER, *op. cit.* 51; P. ZANCANI MONTUORO, *ArchCl* XII (1960), 40 f., pl. 1; 44, pl. 6.2.

154. PFUHL-MÖBIUS II, no. 2256, pl. 319.

155. N. CEKA in *Albanien, Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren*, 1988, no. 325.

156. Agrinion Museum 277: *AA* 30 (1975) B1, 176, pl. 96γ.

157. There are several examples in the Mavromati Museum, e.g.: nos. 343, 1124, 1140, 26,5-29×22, H: 25 cm. (pl. XIb) 3222, 38,5×22, H: 25 cm. (pl. XIc). They generally have shorter consoles, and on the lower part a large band.

158. Agrinion Museum 130 (pl. XIIa) from Capsor-rachi. Mended from several fragments and restored with plaster (the right side incorrectly); chipped; 78×53×31 cm. On the facade above and below, a projecting band. On the upper surface, a socket

53×15 cm. The stele on it in the museum does not belong to the base. – 131 (pl. XIIb), from Capsor-rachi. Mended from several fragments and restored with plaster below on the right; chipped; 1×60×38 cm. On the upper surface, a socket 72×16×7 cm. Same form as above. Left side rough; on the right side, a relief console. The stele mounted on it does not belong. (*AA* 22 (1967) B2, 319).

159. A. BORBEIN, *MarbWPr*, 1968, 99 ff. On East Greek naiskoi these bases are often an integral part of the stele, its lowest termination. See e.g. PFUHL-MÖBIUS I, 50-51, with bibliography, no. 158, pl. 35, and *passim*; *Délos* XXX, no. 304, pl. 59; SCHMALTZ, 224-225.

160. Olympia Museum A450: *AA* 22 (1967) B1, 209, pl. 149γ.

The Style of the Composite Stelai

The epigraphical evidence of the two best preserved naiskos-stelai, the near composite stele **43** of Aristion and the fully composite stele **45** of Nikaia, suggests that the first was the earlier. The morphological connection between them as defined above, however, is most likely to have resulted from attempts by local workshops to give expression to the same general trend towards the creation of composite monumental stelai, a trend that progressed from simpler to more elaborate and complete composite forms, but that by itself has no absolute chronological significance. This development seems to have lasted for only a few decades, but it was not one in which later types superseded earlier ones; the different typological forms existed side by side and were all produced at the same time. Even the pedimental stelai with a sunken panel, which may be regarded as typological forerunners of stelai **43** and **44**, continued alongside the 2nd c. B.C. composite stelai. The absence of more examples dating to the late 2nd c. B.C. of the naiskos type of **43** and **44**, which is simpler than, but already approaching, the composite form of **45**, may be fortuitous. On the other hand some developed, in all probability composite examples of the group VIb may also date to the 3rd c. (**59, 60, 61, 62, 65**).

We also come across composite stelai during the Hellenistic period in the Northwestern region, at Apollonia, etc.¹⁶¹ The particular elements are largely common to the Achaean composite stelai, but there is greater variety in the way they were assembled: We have stelai like the Achaean ones and the Skillountia stele,¹⁶² with the naiskos on the upper part of the composition, while the lower part is in the form of a simple slab. The place of the sofa-capital on this part is here taken by a garland or two symmetrical oak branches. I know two examples of this type: one from Apollonia¹⁶³ and another from Margellic,¹⁶⁴ which I think belong to the 2nd c. B.C. Another type is the stele with several relief bands and this is best represented by an example from Apollonia¹⁶⁵ with three superimposed naiskoi containing relief representations. The form with several relief bands must be an old one here, to judge from a stele fragment "of the end of the 4th c. B.C." with two zones of Amazonomachy and

161. *BWGT*, 193 ff., with bibliography, pls. 31.2-3, 32; *OpAth* 1971, fig. 23; CEKA, *op. cit.* no. 323 ff. J. BERGEMANN, *Iliria* 9, 2 (1989) 103 ff. They are dated for the most part to the 2nd c. B.C.

162. *AA* 33 (1978) B1, 78, pl. 22γ.

163. CEKA, *op. cit.* no. 324. The upper field with

arched conch inscribed in a triangular termination should be regarded as only the finial of the stele.

164. N. CEKA, *Iliria* 7, 2 (1987) 99, fig. 31.

165. CEKA in *Albanien, Schätze aus dem Land der Skipetaren*, 1988, no. 327.

perhaps a pediment.¹⁶⁶ Lastly there are the examples, long known to us,¹⁶⁷ on which the naiskos forms the lower part of the tombstone. It has been suggested that the upper part, which is usually highly decorated, is to be regarded as an enlarged form of the "attic" on the East Greek naiskos-stelai,¹⁶⁸ which took here the form of a complete stele with a pedimental finial or even a horizontal termination that might also be crowned by a freestanding figure in the round.

The Eastern stelai form a special type parallel to the typical and more common naiskos-stelai; they are characterized by an "attic" between the pediment and the architrave.¹⁶⁹ The "attic" carried rosettes, wreaths and more rarely triglyphs and other motifs, including winged demons and vases. Most of them have an elaborate base with mouldings carved on the lower part of the same stone, and always have a relief representation within the naiskos. A comparison between the two classes of stele, the Northwestern and the Eastern, is inevitable, since they are linked by the broader trends of the time. The upper part of some Northwestern stelai does in fact give the impression of being an enlargement of the "attic" that is found on the East Greek ones. Nevertheless, the upper part of the Northwestern stelai has the character of a complete stele. An example is the Avaricë stele,¹⁷⁰ on which the lower naiskos has a pediment, while the upper part with a crown moulding is decorated with branches and has an inscription with letters in relief, after the type of the stelai in Northwest Greece. Parallels of a kind are to be found in the North Euxine region. On the series of stelai with a sunken panel or on the naiskos-stelai, chiefly from Kerch, the relief pediment is below the horizontal crown moulding, and there is space above it for two relief rosettes.¹⁷¹ This section, however, is much shorter than the corresponding section of the Avaricë stele, and thus their typological connection is external. The stelai of the North Euxine region are not composite stelai, as are the latter.

It is worth noting that a composite stele from Kerch has a type similar to the Northwestern stelai with the naiskos on the lower part (pl. XIV a). Here it carries a relief representation and ends in an architrave. The upper part also has a horizontal top and represents in relief a prostyle pedimental naiskos with five Ionic columns.¹⁷² This stele to some extent fits into the category of Late Hellenistic and later stelai with several relief bands from North-

166. *Ibid.* no. 168.

167. See n. 161.

168. *BWGT*, 193 and T. RÖNNE-LINDERS, *OpAth X* (1971) 89-90. She uses the term "attic" for the Achaean "frieze" as well, which regularly has the form of a sofa-capital.

169. See PFUHL-MÖBIUS I, 52, nos. 112, pl. 26; 149, pl. 33; 413-414, pl. 68 (with Doric and Ionic antae); 137 pl. 31 (and E. PFUHL, *Jdl* 20 (1915) pl. 6); 158, pl. 35; 170, pl. 37; 405, pl. 66; 435, pl. 72; 539, pl. 83 (with missing pediment); 534, pl. 84; 906, pl. 135; 989, pl. 149.

170. *OpAth* 1971, 68, fig. 23.

171. KIESERITZKY-WATZINGER, pl. 12 ff., *passim*.

172. *Ibid.* 407, pl. 28, *BWGT*, 51-52. Cf. the facade of the tomb at Leucadia: Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ, *Ὁ τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων*, 1966, pl. A. The fragments of sidewalls with a half-column on the front, which belong to an aedicula at Tanagra, should be borne in mind. They have a two-tier division on the inner side and on the upper part is represented a "loggia" with half-columns. On the outer side there is an imitation of barred openings: (W. ALTMANN, *Die römischen Grabaltären der Kaiserzeit*, 1905, 137, figs. 112, 113, DAI Athens neg. Tan. 4, 5, nos. 4398, 4399.

west Asia Minor and the North Euxine region,¹⁷³ and may be seen as a variation of them. Thus it is difficult to say whether the typological resemblance to the Northwest Hellenistic stelai is due to some sort of dependence or contact. The same is true in another instance: a Late Hellenistic stele from the region of Magnesia on the Maeandrus in the Selçuk Museum (pl. XIVb), dated to the first half of the 1st c. B.C.,¹⁷⁴ consists of two parts, of which the upper is a full naiskos with Doric antae and a frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The stylobate serves as the crowning of the lower part, on which an arched sunken panel preserved remnants of painting. This example is unique in Asia Minor, although a certain relationship between it and the stelai with several relief bands can be detected. On the other hand, the principles of the composition are clearly the same as those of the Achaean and some Northwestern examples. Somewhat similar is a broken stele "of unusual form" from Cos,¹⁷⁵ which belonged to the upper part of a bipartite monument (pl. XIVc, d). The slab has a naiskos carved on all four of its sides and the stylobate formed the crown moulding of a lower pillar-stele that is now lost.

The interdependence of the different areas in regard to the shapes and organization of the composite stelai is natural and inevitable within the framework of the more general propensity to create monumental stelai in the Late Hellenistic period. The partial typological elements are common and widely distributed, and various ways of assembling them, which may have a similarity, were tried at the same time in the different local workshops. When a workshop adopts and develops a particular manner of composition, it then produces a type that becomes characteristic of this local workshop. The same manner of composition, however, may also appear elsewhere without having been cultivated or creating a typological tradition.

In the case of the West region the connections between the different centres are sufficient to conclude that there was a more or less steady trend crossing the whole of the West side from Eleia to Apollonia. According to the present chronological evidence it seems that the Achaean bipartite form with a naiskos preceded that of the Apollonia.

After these observations it is reasonable to look for the primary forms and for the origin of the idea of the composite stele. And this, I believe, leads us to Attica. For in Attica we have the stele of the Kerkyraian ambassadors of 375 B.C., which is an elementary form of composite stele.¹⁷⁶ It has no margins at the sides, the upper part is pedimental and the lower part has a crowning moulding. It thus appears that the composite form had already been tried out long before its many Hellenistic variations and elaborations were evolved.

173. E.g. KIESERITZKY-WATZINGER, nos. 404, pl. 27; 640, pl. 44; 688, pl. 59, etc.; PFUHL-MÖBIUS, nos. 509, pl. 79; 961, pl. 144; 1021, pl. 153, etc. And see SCHMALTZ, 225 ff. They differ from the Northwestern stelai in that their representation fields have no architectural frames.

174. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 2125, pl. 329 (V).

175. *Ibid.* no. 175, pls. 38, 302, 314.

176. CONZE III, 1470, pl. 305, O. KERN, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 1913, pl. 24. Many "decree reliefs" of the 4th c. B.C. have the same structure: e.g. I. N. ΣΒΟΡΩΝΟΣ, *Τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικὸν Μουσεῖον*, I, 1903, no. 1467 (375 B.C.), pl. 103; 1471 (347-6 B.C.), pl. 104; 1482 (318-7 B.C.), pl. 108; also in *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 337, pl. 65 c-d.

The stele of the Κερκυραῖοι provides us with an early primary type to which the composite stelai of Apollonia, those of Achaea, etc., could be related.

Lastly a few comments are needed on two other matters. Firstly, the relationship of the composite stelai with the monumental two-storied grave structures. The tradition of the monument of the Nereids,¹⁷⁷ the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus¹⁷⁸ and the distyl-prostyl aedícula on a podium in Kallithea¹⁷⁹ continues in the Hellenistic period, from the East Mediterranean to Sicily and South Italy,¹⁸⁰ in forms as varied as the composite stelai, with which they may be compared in terms of their structure and monumental character. The four-sided naiskos stele on Cos¹⁸¹ (pl. XIV c, d) and the Sicyonian pillar-naiskos (pl. V) (see p. 27) were combined with a lower shaft that recalls a podium and could be an abbreviated imitation of a two-storied structure such as, for example, the "Tomb of Theron" at Acragas, dated variously by different scholars from the 4th to the 1st c. B.C.¹⁸² This same monument resembles the bipartite Achaean stelai in its composition. In Greece there are only a few vestiges of such monuments,¹⁸³ while in Italy more of them seem to have been found. Their exact forms and dates are uncertain. The continuation of this tradition there until the 1st c. B.C. and later is evidenced by the funerary monuments of Pompei, Rome and elsewhere, which display a great variety of types.¹⁸⁴

Secondly, the composite stelai could be distinguished from the late (1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.) slender palmette-stelai of Thessaly, which have a naiskos carved on the shaft (from reuse?), serving as a frame for the painted decoration;¹⁸⁵ the Thessalian stelai, however,

177. P. COUPEL-P. DEMARGNE, *Le Monument des Néréides, Fouilles de Xanthos III*, 1969.

178. F. KRISCHEN, *Weltwunder der Baukunst*, 1956, fig. 31 ff., K. JEPPESEN, *Paradeigmata*, 1958, 61 ff., fig. 48 ff., IDEM, *ActaArch* 38 (1967) 30 ff., *AJA* 79 (1975) 75, n. 33.

179. H. ΤΣΙΡΙΒΑΚΟΣ, *AAA* 1 (1968) 108 ff., *AAA* 4 (1971) 108-110, *BCH* 92 (1968) 749, *JHS* 89 (1969) *Arch. Reports*, 6, U. VEDDER, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen*, 1985, 302, J. FEDAK, *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age: A Study of Selected Tombs from the Pre-Classical to the Early Imperial Era*, 1990, 103.

180. V. KOCKEL, *Die Grabbauten vor dem Herculaneer Tor in Pompei*, 1983, 29 ff., 32 ff., with earlier bibliography.

181. See n. 175.

182. FR. MATZ, *Die Antike* 4 (1928) 277, fig. 4, H. BÜSING, *Die griechische Halbsäule*, 1970, 22, pl. 2c, KOCKEL, *op. cit.* 30, n. 246.

183. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* 31, n. 264, with bibliography. The Heroon at Messene was set on a high crepis and podium (see n. 34). The Cycladic and Asia Minor sarcophagi standing on a base and sometimes decorated with half-columns and pilasters are equivalent forms

and exhibit the variety and the tendency to monumentality of the Hellenistic grave structures: *Délos XXX*, 226, fig. 9; M. TH. COUILLOU, *BCH* 94 (1970) I, 533 ff.; FEDAK, *op. cit.* 179. Cf. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, 51, nos. 1922, 1923, 1978, 1979, pl. 277. Roman sarcophagi of this kind have been found in recent excavations in Paros, as Mrs. Zaphiropoulou kindly informs me.

184. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* 32 f.; H. GABELMANN, *Fest. Fr. Brommer*, 1977, 101-117; IDEM, *Römische Grabbauten der früheren Kaiserzeit*, 1977; *Un Impegno per Pompei*, 1983, *passim*. The naiskos is in any case a usual form for grave monuments in Italy from the 4th c. B.C. on; this is apparent from representations on Apulian vases, surviving architectural fragments and a few examples of complete stelai: R. PAGENSTECHER, *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, 1912, 105 ff.; H. KLUMBACH, *Tarentiner Grabkunst*, 1937; J. C. CARTER, *AJA* 74 (1970) 125 ff., pl. 34; H. LOHMANN, *Grabmäler auf Unteritalischen Vasen*, 1979, 1, 52 ff.

185. MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 57a; CHR. WOLTERS, *La Thessalie*, 92, n. 31, 105, pl. 7.3; *AA* 27 (1972) B2, 417, pl. 348 β-γ; *IG X*, 2648, with at least two naiskoi. WOLTERS, *loc. cit.*, takes the stele from Larisa 602 to be reused, and the naiskos-frame to belong to the second phase of the stele.

are not composite stelai like the preceding ones. We also find a model for this type of stele in Attica, at the end of the 4th c. B.C., in the stele of Simon and Aphrodisia,¹⁸⁶ which is crowned with a pediment and on the shaft, below the two rosettes, has a naiskos panel much narrower than the shaft, for the painted representation: antae and an architrave with acroteria. Another Attic stele of the middle of the 1st c. B.C., that of Charixenos,¹⁸⁷ may also be compared. It has a pedimental crowning carved on the shaft; a naiskos with Doric antae and a two-fascia architrave is carved on the shaft below the inscription. The significance of the background of the stele and the connection of the architectural elements with each other and the shaft may have more than one meaning, as Rügler observes, but I am inclined to think that the pediment has no connection with the naiskos-frame which uses the shaft of the pedimental stele in the same way that a pinax uses the wall on which it is hung. The absence of an organic relationship between this element and the stele as a whole is manifest, especially when it is compared with the pseudo naiskos-stelai, on which there is a correlation between the crowning, whether pedimental or palmette, and the panel. The architectural frame on the pedimental stele of Kleonymos from Vergina¹⁸⁸ is similar: on the shaft below the inscription is carved a naiskos with a horizontal geison and antefixes. Thus on the Attic stelae, as on the Thessalian and Macedonian ones, the panel appears as a secondary, additional feature, like a pinax, on the surface of the stele.

A Hellenistic stele in Rhodes¹⁸⁹ is related to these forms; it is a splendid example of a naiskos without pediment, with only a horizontal Doric cornice and antae, carved on the middle of the shaft, leaving a narrow space on both sides of the stele, which is crowned by a moulding with palmette-antefixes. There are three corresponding amphorae on the top of the naiskos. The part of the shaft above it resembles the well-known "attic" of other East Greek stelai. This "attic" with the horizontal crowning is more suitable than the pediment on the Attic stelai, that of Kleonymos or the palmettes on the Thessalian stones, because it gives a rhythmic, organic unity to the whole. The stele appears more symmetrical in the proportions of the different elements of which it is composed.

In the Peloponnese, apart from the common types, there exist some small peculiar tombstone groups,¹⁹⁰ but the only distinctive group of stelai showing a morphological continuity is that in the Northwestern part of the region, namely in Achaia. The predominant type in Eleia is that of 74, a pedimental stele without margins, having dentils below the

186. CONZE III, no. 1469, pl. 304; cf. the stele of Malthake, CONZE I, no. 155, pl. 46.

187. CONZE IV, no. 1995, pl. 433, A. RÜGLER, *AM* 104 (1989) 221, n. 12, pl. 39.2. And cf. other late Attic stelai with an arch framing the representation: e.g. CONZE IV, pl. 394 and *passim*.

188. ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, 152, no. 20, pls. 42-43. It is convenient here to mention an unknown category of grave naiskoi in Argos, of which one is illustrated in *AD* 29 (1973-74) B2, 209, pl. 152α. The naiskos has Doric antae, but it lacks a stylobate and needs some sort of supporting piece to be erected somewhat in the way

that Boeotian tombstones are. In the middle of the background a rectangular field carries a representation in low relief. The stele seems to belong to the 4th c. B.C., and there are other unpublished examples of the same type in the Argos Museum which deserve a special study. Cf. p. 27.

189. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 138, pl. 32. For other examples, see ΠΑΛΙΑΔΕΛΗ, 154, n. 477; SCHMALTZ, 225, n. 526. Add PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 412, pl. 66 (1st c. A.D. pedimental naiskos frame).

190. See p. 27.

pediment, a sofa-capital and in some cases a sunken panel; it is a type with many variations and enriched by many features, but it does not appear in composite forms. The Composite Type B also spread to Eleia, because the Malakon stele shows indications of having been composite.¹⁹¹ There is, however, a stele from Skillountia,¹⁹² made of shelly limestone covered with stucco, that is unique for Eleia, but is also an exceptional example of a composite stele in the Northwest Peloponnese. In respect to the principle of its composition, this stele seems to accord with the Achaean Composite Form. The upper termination is missing and we do not know what crowning or inscription it had. Of the upper part we have only the remains of the unfluted half-columns and the lower parts of a female and a male figure from the relief representation in the naiskos. The stylobate is a half-round roll in the form of a leaf-garland with rosettes and a curling ribbon, the ends of which hang down in the lower part of the composition flanking on both sides the relief representation of a pedestalled kantharos standing on a base, which decorated the surface of this part of the stele.¹⁹³ The roughly dressed lower part was inserted in a base. The type of decoration of this lower section is exactly like that on the Achaean stelai. On the latter, instead of a kantharos, there is the wheel on 43 or the stem with the amygdaloid motif on 45, 46, 49 and 52, or the objects on 47. The uniqueness of the Skillountia stele in the West Greek region lies mainly in the fact that it has a relief representation within the naiskos, a feature that relates it to the worlds of East Greece and the Northwest.

Relief representations are rare in the Peloponnese.¹⁹⁴ In this context the existence of two Late Hellenistic relief grave stelai of a particular composite type in Laconia is interesting. These are two stelai from Keria in the Mani,¹⁹⁵ on which the upper part is of the pedimental naiskos-type with Doric antae: the stele of Kallikratidas and Gorgidas, built into a wall of the church of Ayios Ioannis, has dentils, and that of Polykratis and Nikandria, now in the Sparta Museum, has a frieze of triglyphs and metopes. Both of them have relief representations in the naiskos and foliate scrolls on the pediment. The antae of the second one are also decorated with guilloches and the stylobate with a frieze of animals, rosettes and bucrania. It is not possible at first sight to say whether the lower part, which is about

191. See n. 132.

192. See n. 162.

193. See n. 337.

194. The subject should be investigated systematically to ascertain whether some of the existing reliefs are funerary or votive, like an unpublished poros example in the Elis Museum with a seated central figure. Relief grave stelai are to be found in the Sparta Museum, M.N. TOD - A.J.B. WACE, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, 1906, 159, nos. 257 + 294, fig. 40; 189, nos. 558, 565, fig. 64; 195, no. 604. And see the naiskoi in Argos n. 188. A stele with a sunken panel in the Tegea Museum 215, had a relief representation that was erased when it was reused, at which time the background field was engraved with the later in-

scription. The stele 189 in the Astros Museum with the 4th c. anthemion finial also preserves the traces of a relief figure, but this stele is an Attic type. Some of the Arcadian pseudo naiskos-stelai or naiskos-stelai in the Tripolis Museum (ΣΤΑΥΡΙΔΗ, *op. cit.* 472 f. or unpublished: 3085, 2987, 2982, 2988) carry relief representations of a popular style or they were apparently given reliefs only when they were reused during Imperial times (pl. XIX).

195. A. ΔΕΛΗΒΟΡΙΑΣ, *AAA* 1 (1968) 119-120, fig. 2: built in a wall in the church of Ayios Ioannis; fig. 4: Sparta Museum 6661, *BCH* 94 (1970) 984, figs. 197, 198, *BCH* 95 (1971) 804, V. M. STROCKA, *Πρακτικά XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Ἀρχαιολογίας 1983 Α'* (1985) 287 f., pls. 50.4; 51.2.

half the height of the naiskos above it, is a stele like the lower part of a composite whole or a base for the naiskos. In the case of the first of the stele, which looks like an imitation of the other, it is without margins and is decorated with a relief "rosette" in a circular frame (mirror with a handle? or phiale?) between two amphorae. The motifs and arrangement recall the decoration of stele no. 47. The second one has Doric antae and a relief with Nikai around a chest or basket. Both these stelai are certainly isolated examples in the Peloponnese and it is plausible to make comparisons with the Eastern world. In particular the shape of their lower parts recalls the bases carved out of the same stone on some Eastern stelai. A few of them carry also relief representations¹⁹⁶. But is it necessary to regard the second of them as an import, as Strocka does?¹⁹⁷ The composite conception of the two parts is different from that of the Eastern stelai, in which the base is lower and has mouldings, which is a particular Ionian feature. In the Peloponnese and Northwest Greece composite stelai are a well-tried type. This also explains their presence in Laconia. Moreover, their decorative features, in addition to the Eastern connections, also have parallels in the Peloponnese, such as the wavy, fluted stems on the pediment of the stele of Polykratis and Nikandria, which are found on the Tegea pediment (pl. XVIIa).

Aetolia and Acarnania have not so far yielded any bipartite stelai. However, the fragment from Amphiloichikon Argos (pl. XIII),¹⁹⁸ deserves attention. It is broken all around except for the left side and preserves a footstool in relief, in which, as we have seen above (p. 60), a kind of stele base may be recognized. The shaft above it ends in a moulding, and below it part of a raised panel surface survives, a well-known feature in this region. The fragment would thus seem to belong to the middle of a composite stele.

The grave stele in Achaia was designed primarily to be painted. The sunken panel therefore was of special significance. It is placed high so that it is crowned by the pediment. The entire stele is thus a painting in a naiskos frame. This basic unity can best be understood by comparing the Achaean with the above stelai (n. 185-189) on which the panel has an architectural frame unrelated to that of the stele itself. If the sunken panel is placed high up, the lower part takes on the character of a separate stele; this is the composite stele. In Attica the stele with sunken panel never developed into the composite type. Rather, a relief within an aedícula prevailed and the monumentality was emphasised by means of a podium. Nonetheless, these Attic monuments affected the development of the composite stele.

196. Cf. PFUHL-MÖBIUS nos. 178, pl. 38; 535 (with a similar motif of a six-petal rosette in a circular frame); 539, pl. 83 (especially to the Kallikratidas stele). And see n. 336.

197. STROCKA, *op. cit.* 287, n. 5, makes a comparison with the Cos throne (DAI Athens neg. nos. 101-103) without specifying what he is comparing. Probably he refers to the curling tendril that surrounds the end of the stems at the corners of the pediment of the Polykratis and Nikandria stelai. This is also a well-

known South Italian and Macedonian motif (PFROMMER 1982, 129). One could also compare the wavy interlaced stems forming guilloches on the antae of this stele with the ornament of the door antae of the temple of Ancyra: D. KRENCKER und M. SCHEDE, *Der Tempel in Ankara*, 1936, 38 ff., pl. 26. A more analytical study is certainly needed of these stelai decorations to reveal the different connections.

198. See n. 156.

Sculptured Decoration

Pediments

The types of pediments used on Achaean stelai possess no special features and all of them occur more or less frequently in other regions. Nevertheless their numbers make it possible to trace an evolutionary development in them. The older pediments on simple pedimental stelai (17, 18) have slightly projecting plain fillets as geisa and a half-round ovolo below, on which in one case (17) vestiges of coloured decoration are preserved. The pediments on the Hellenistic stelai are also shallow, but now the moulding below them is regularly a cyma reversa. The transformation of this moulding into a cavetto on stelai 20 and 21 may signal a later date. In a few cases there is a distinctive elaboration: on 21 a projecting strip is formed between the pediment and the moulding to emphasize the articulation and the section becomes finer. The junction between pediment and shaft is similar on 42, but here the elements become more angular.¹⁹⁹

The naiskos of stele 43 shows a remarkable variety in its mouldings, having a cyma reversa from the architrave to the frieze and a recessed double fillet below the pediment. Sometimes the mouldings appear with double strips (45, 60, 61, 66). The slanting geisa of 58, containing a receding strip, constitute a fine variation. The cornices of 74, 59 and of the pedimental crowning from Pharai (pl. II) are similarly moulded. Four stelai that form a unit and perhaps come from the same workshop at Dyme, having pediments of a distinctive shape, are 43, 45, 55 and 56. Their slanting cornices consist of two recessed bands of rectangular section. This is a rare form in the long series of common stele-pediments throughout the Hellenistic world; they have good, though scarce, equivalents in the pediment on the roof of an aedicula from Tritaia (pl. I)²⁰⁰, on some pediments of Cycladic stelai²⁰¹ and on certain East Greek stelai, sometimes with dentils or mouldings in the same position.²⁰² Pediments with sloping fillets on their geisa, common on late Attic stelai, do not occur in Achaea.²⁰³

199. Cf. n. 94.

200. Locality of Renia, Patras Museum 2742. Broken behind and on the sides. Missing are also the ends of the pedimental front. Porcelaneous limestone. Length 67 cm, height 20 cm, depth 37.5 cm. The slanting geisa have a cyma reversa moulding and two receding bands, and the horizontal cornice has an angular rib and a hanging fillet. There is no architrave. A zone (width 8 cm) at the forepart of the under surface of the

slab is slightly deeper (8 mm) than the rest. On the background of the pediment light marks of a punch (unfinished in order to be painted).

201. *Délos* XXX, nos. 56, 81, 84, 106, 107, etc. The slanting geisa here are more likely to have a cyma reversa moulding.

202. E.g. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, nos. 137, 405, 1077, etc.

203. CONZE IV, *passim*.

Among the types in Achaëa that of the pediment of the Hesychion stele **24** is unique. It is a triangular projection without geisa and I think it derives from the old Classical three-pointed termination, which seems to have remained a lively tradition in the Hellenistic period, and it is not uncommon especially in the East Greek world. To some extent this stele in its overall shape can be compared with types that are common in Asia Minor, Thrace and Byzantium and rare in West Greece.²⁰⁴

As we have seen, there may have been painted decoration on the pediments. The acroteria on all these pediments except for a few are plain and were intended to receive painted anthemias, as the traces preserved on **17** show. A tendency to elongated acroteria is discernible on the later examples, whose form is otherwise unremarkable and commonly found everywhere.

The acroteria on the pediments of **45**, **55** and **56** have anthemias in relief. The lateral anthemias of **55** and **56** are of a familiar though not very frequent type and not easy to date,²⁰⁵ while the anthemias of **45** and the middle of **56** are quite peculiar with their motifs of slender nonfoliate volutes.

Sofa-Capitals

A particularly Northwest Peloponnesian feature of 3rd and 2nd c. B.C. stelai is the sofa-capital. This is the form taken by the frieze on the naiskoi; we use this term for the sake of convenience although it is not an architectural member. The same shape is usually repeated as a crowning element on the lower shaft of the composite stelai and it occurs regularly on the "Eleian" stelai below the pediment.

Sofa-capitals appear in two types: in the first, mouldings are not used for the formation of the sofa shape, and it does not have relief ornaments. The capital has usually a simple cyma recta section, and at the lateral ends the sofa shape is conveyed by the S-form of the outline;²⁰⁶ the actual features of the sofa-capital (e.g. volutes) and decoration may have been added by painting.²⁰⁷ It is a form mainly and frequently found on the naiskos parts of composite stelai of Type B mentioned above (**59**, **60**, **61**, **64**, **65**, **69**, **71**), but also on the naiskos **43**.

The second type is composed of elements in relief on a flat surface,²⁰⁸ and in Achaëa is

204. See n. 96 and 97.

205. Cf. *Délos* XXX, no. 167, pl. 39; KIESERTZKY-WATZINGER, *passim*; CONZE IV, no. 2131.

206. Such capitals with a cyma recta profile originating in the Doric cavetto are rare in architecture: see L. T. SHOE, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, 1936, 98, pl. 48.

207. Cf. n. 88 and 128.

208. For the origin and forms of this sofa-capital, which must be considered a Peloponnesian creation,

see E. WEIGAND, *Vorgeschichte des korinthischen Kapitells*, 1920, 45 ff.; G. ROUX, *L'architecture de l'Argolide aux IV^e et III^e siècles avant J.-C.*, 1961, 383 ff.; E. FIECHTER, *Jdl* 33 (1918) 209 ff.; A. D. BROCKMANN, *Die griechische Ante. Eine typologische Untersuchung*, 1968, 88; E. L. SCHWANDNER, *AA* 1988, 276 ff. The anta-capital from Tiryns, dating to the beginning of the 6th c. B.C., may be in its details a forerunner of the Doric capital, as Schwandner believes (*op. cit.* 280-281); however, its general shape

decorated with scroll ornaments. The most usual form consists of a horizontal canalis at the lower border, edged above and below, or only above, by a narrow fillet; the canalis turns upwards in a right angle and curls outwards at the ends. In two cases (50, 58) there is a leaf or flower in the angles formed by the volutes and the vertical outline of the capital. Below the channel and parallel with it is a convex moulding that forms the end of the shaft of the stele and its articulation with the capital; this formation appears on stelai 46, 49, 50, 51, 58 and 76, and is characteristic of the Hellenistic period. We encountered the large canalis of this form on stele A2619 in the Elis Museum (pl. IXb). We also find it on the capitals from Priene in the British and Berlin Museums,²⁰⁹ which came from the backs of benches, and on the capitals of votive bases²¹⁰ as well as on a capital from Magnesia at Maeandrus.²¹¹ On the Rhamnous capitals²¹² of 101-100 and 99-98 B.C. the grooved channel has become flat, as on the Achaean stelai 50 and 76. A capital from Lousoi in the Patras Museum²¹³ (pl. XVa) came from a building and its lower surface was dressed to fit onto the shaft of a pilaster. Below it has a mixed cymatium and above it the canalis turning upwards to form the volutes of the sofa-capital, and it therefore belongs rather to this category, but I think it is earlier than our stelai examples.

A half-round strip bordered by two fillets above and parallel to the canalis constitutes another form of sofa-capital border of the second type; it continues vertically upwards at the ends and resembles a lanceolate leaf beside the volutes of the canalis. It obviously disappeared at the point where the volute converged with the abacus, before it merged with the canalis as an integrated volute, as on the capitals from Didymaion,²¹⁴ for example. The form with the half-round strip appears on stelai 74 and 75. It is a regular feature on older capitals²¹⁵ as well as on the 4th c. and Hellenistic architectural sofa-capitals, like those at Corinth,²¹⁶ Pella,²¹⁷ Vergina,²¹⁸ Samothrace,²¹⁹ Phigaleia,²²⁰ Arta,²²¹ Epidauros,²²²

may with some point be compared with the other capitals that constitute early forms of the sofa-capital. The most appropriate in this direction is the capital from the theatre at Argos (ROUX, *op. cit.* 385, fig. 104, SCHWANDER, *op. cit.* fig. 13), or the capitals from the treasury of the Heraion at Silaris (W. B. DINSMOOR, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, 85, fig. 32). See also SCHWANDNER, *op. cit.* 280, n. 7.

209. TH. WIEGAND und H. SCHRADER, *Priene*, 1904, 132, figs. 102-103, FIECHTER, *op. cit.* figs. 62-63.

210. WIEGAND und SCHRADER, *op. cit.* 131, fig. 101; E. v. MERCKLIN, *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, 1962, no. 104, figs. 180-181, 184; FIECHTER, *op. cit.* 215, figs. 61, 64, 65.

211. C. HUMANN, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 1904, 159, fig. 171. Add the capital from the 3rd c. B.C. tomb at Sveštirim, in Bulgaria: P. ZAZOFF-CHR. HÖCKER - L. SCHNEIDER, *AA* 1985, 629, fig. 28.

212. MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 33c; Tò 'Eργον 1989, 6, figs. 7, 8.

213. 1937, w. 60, h. 19, th. 24 cm.

214. FIECHTER, *op. cit.* fig. 60; v. MERCKLIN, *op. cit.* 103, figs. 168-179.

215. Like 763 in the Sparta Museum and those from Tegea (FIECHTER, *op. cit.* 209, figs. 56, 56a; 211, figs. 57, 57a; figs. 58, 58a.

216. O. BRONEER, *AJA* 39 (1935) 66, fig. 9.

217. *BCH* 83 (1959) 704, fig. 22, X. ΜΑΚΑΡΟΝΑΣ, *AA* 16 (1960) A, 79, pl. 66β; *AA* 18 (1963) B2, 205, pl. 244β; S. G. MILLER, *Hellenistic Macedonian Architecture. Its Style and Painted Ornamentation*, 1970, 30 ff.

218. M. ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ et al., *Tò 'Ανάκτορο τῆς Βεργίνας*, 1964, pl. 23β.

219. v. MERCKLIN, *op. cit.* no. 106, fig. 186.

220. One unpublished in the Olympia Museum, undecorated, and another in situ in a church at Pavlitsa, carelessly illustrated in TE RIELE, *BCH* 90 (1966) 250, fig. 4.

221. *AA* 33 (1978) B1, 179, pl. 66α.

222. ROUX, *op. cit.* 383, pl. 95.2.

Tegea,²²³ Aphrodision in Northwest Arcadia,²²⁴ Oropos,²²⁵ Apollonia²²⁶ and Naples.²²⁷ On the architectural sofa-capitals there are different ornaments in addition to the scrolls.²²⁸ Most of the Eleian and other stelai of Type VII²²⁹ have this sofa-capital. On a capital from Rhodes²³⁰ the roundel has disappeared and what remain are the two fillets above the canalis. An extraordinary form can be seen in the roundel on the sofa-capital of the stele from Daphniotissa in Elis (pls. VIII-IXa), which lacks the canalis. It is bordered by ridges and covered with leaves, like a garland, and surrounded by ribbons.²³¹ The elaborateness of the capital is further enhanced not only by the scroll ornament but also by the running dog border and the upright acanthus half leaf on each side. The same acanthus leaf with a serrated edge next to the everted side elements of the roundel is also found on the sofa-capital of 75 and on the stele from Samiko.²³² This motif is commoner on architectural capitals, like the one from Pella, where it extends onto the horizontal margin, on one of the two capitals from Samothrace, Epidauros, and on one of the two capitals at Rhamnus, where it is very schematized;²³³ on the Apollonia capital there is an astragal in the same place.

The capitals with a combination of roundel and canalis represent an earlier form which may continue in use for a time alongside the simpler form that only had a canalis bordered by thin fillets above the narrow moulding of the shaft. In any case they are not found on any

223. DAI Athens, neg. 78/419-420 and 78/414-415 (29×27,2 cm pl. XVI).

224. ΧΡ. Π. ΚΑΡΔΑΡΑ, 'Αφροδίτη Έρρικίνη, 1988, 174, pl. 94a.

225. F. VERSACE, *AM* 33 (1908) 262, pl. 14. 2.

226. v. MERCKLIN, *op. cit.* 114, fig. 211. It was found in a building dated to the 3rd-2nd c. B.C.

227. H. KLUMBACH, *Tarentiner Grabkunst*, 1937, no. 285, pl. 33.

228. Palmettes and lotus flowers on the Phigaleia capital, another contemporary one in Tegea Museum: DAI Athens neg. 78/414,415 (pl. XVI) and an older one in Mystra: FIECHTER, *op. cit.* 211, figs. 57, 57a. The Archaic capital from Tegea, (*ibid.* 212, figs., 58, 58a), has an imposing round palmette resting on minute volutes whose stems terminate on both sides in overhanging flowers. A Hellenistic capital from Paros (2nd c. B.C.) has a distinctive decoration: acanthus leaves surround its lower part (MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 67b), and the capitals at Rhamnous (see n. 212) have an anthemion; on the better preserved capital it sprouts from an acanthus calyx. The Milet, Priene, Samothrace and Apollonia capitals combine foliate and figurative motifs.

229. See n. 135 and the stelai from Pronnoi in Cephallenia: *OpAth* 1971, 66-67, Ceph. 15, 16, figs. 36-37. Exceptions are the two stelai in the Elis

Museum (see n. 140, 142 and pls. VIII-IX) and the Glarentza stele with the rosettes (J. SERVAIS, *BCH* 85 (1961) 141, fig. 9). I no longer consider, as I previously did (ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975, 301), that the Thelpousa stele and that from Samiko are older than the Glarentza stone with the rosettes. The Glarentza stele seems to me to be earlier because of its composite cymatium consisting of a roundel between two canales bounding the capital and forming the volute without a break. It recalls the capital from Lousoi (pl. XVa). The Cephallenia stele is also earlier, as the inscription of Menemachos shows. In Patras (Poukevil Street 25) a poros double-face anta sofa-capital was found, broken at one side (2646, 22.5×14×16 cm, pl. XVb-d). It carries an abax crowned on both sides with a moulding and preserves a coating of plaster. The outside canalis forms the volute, while inside it there is a roundel which continues vertically and disappears beside the volute. It comes from the North Cemetery, but it is not known to what structure it belonged. (And see p. 29).

230. *AA* 24 (1969) B2, 483, pl. 481γ.

231. For parallels see n. 133 and for the stylobate of the Skillountia stele see n. 192.

232. See n. 131.

233. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975, 298.

of our Late Hellenistic examples, and the Eleian stelai with this form could not have lasted into the late 2nd c. B.C. It is symptomatic that the letter-forms of the inscription on stele 74 of Aspasia could place it in the second half of the 3rd c. B.C.

Apart from the two canonical forms of sofa-capital just mentioned, other peculiar forms also occur on our stelai: on stele 45 of Nikaia the side outlines of the sofa-capital shape are rendered by a relief line rising vertically to the ends of the architrave parallel to the sides and curling outwards. Here, too, there was a leaf or flower where the volutes branched off. The grooved and convex borders are lacking. The capital of stele 47 has a similar line: this is not, however, the simple narrow strip of the previous stele, but a relief fillet edged with incised lines, the innermost of which forms the outward curling volute. This peculiarity is found on the sofa-capital of the altar at Capua and is thought to have derived from the form of the Aeolic capital.²³⁴ Here we should also mention a singular sofa-capital at Rhodes,²³⁵ on which the sofa shape is formed by a simple horizontal band that curls at the ends, recalling some Tarantine Corinthian capitals.²³⁶

On stele 55 the ends of the "frieze", which are sloping and form the outline of a volute above, suffice to convey the sofa-form of the first type. There are no relief elements, nor does the flower-scroll decoration play a part in the formation of the volutes, which may have been painted. This is a rare example, and we may call it a quasi sofa-capital. 56 and 57 may have had this form or else that of the Nikaia stele.

On the stele from Xenies in Eleia²³⁷ the outline of the capital is rendered only by the acanthus leaves of the calyces at the ends. For this reason it has been thought to be a transition type to the sofa-capital of our stelai. I have commented elsewhere²³⁸ that the Xenies stele cannot be considered earlier than the Achaean and other known stelai with sofa-capitals, since the scroll decoration does not permit it, and I concluded that this stele looks like an experimental work. Furthermore, it is not unique: stele 48 also displays the basic form of the sofa-capital in a similar manner. The antithetical spiral-scrolls spring from a central acanthus calyx, the successive stems are grooved and from the end ones sprout half-palmettes with three leaves, the tallest of which curls outwards to form the outline of the sofa-capital. This stele too, which was reused in the 2nd c. A.D. as the gravestone for Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ἀντίπατρος, is late Hellenistic and certainly not earlier than the stelai with the more typical sofa-capitals formed by the volutes of the canalis. The sofa-capital on the Oxford stele²³⁹ also has half-palmettes at each end, but the tallest leaf does not quite reach to the end and is not identical with the outline, which is curved. These variations, which create quasi sofa-capitals, are rooted in the same principle as that of the acanthus leaves on the Xenies stele: they are an experiment in the application of the scroll motif that terminates in a half-palmette, or a palmette seen in perspective from the side, which is known both from grave stelai of the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th c. B.C. and from many

234. H. KOCH, *RM* 22 (1907) 407.

235. *AA* 20 (1965) B3, 602, pl. 771a (from a "thesaurus" ?).

236. KLUMBACH, *op. cit.* no. 269, pl. 32.

237. See n. 95 and *OpAth* 1971, 76.

238. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975, 300 ff.

239. See n. 129.

Hellenistic and other architectural ornaments²⁴⁰, in place of the relief volutes. This practice was not extended systematically to grave stelai, and at present we have only the examples of stele 48 and the Oxford and Xenies stelai. It is equally rare on architectural pilaster capitals, and I know of only one instance of a similar use of the half-palmette to create a sofa shape, and that is on the capital of the anta of the Temple of Athena at Priene.²⁴¹

On a fragment of the upper part of a stele from Samiko²⁴² with a pediment there is a row of three acanthus leaves with a "palmette" appearance in the place of the sofa-capital zone. The sides of the stele have not been preserved and we therefore do not know whether it had been given the form of a sofa-capital by the use of terminal acanthus leaves. The only comparable examples are two stelai of the Imperial period from Kerch, perhaps with several relief bands, on which the frieze above the architrave is decorated with a row of similar leaves, densely packed.²⁴³

Scroll Ornaments

The decoration of the sofa-capital frieze with scroll ornaments in relief is a further peculiarity of the Northwest Peloponnesian style. This constitutes the most prominent characteristic of the Achaean naiskoi of Type A. Other similar painted ornaments can be inferred for the plain sofa-capitals of the composite naiskoi of Type B. Neither the frieze (and not only the sofa-capital frieze) nor the ornament are to be found on other Hellenistic naiskos-stelai, which have an Ionic entablature. A Late Hellenistic stele from Myrina that has no other ornament on the frieze apart from the inscription,²⁴⁴ must be regarded as a rare if not unique example.

As far as I know, such a decoration on the frieze of grave naiskoi is only found in some representations on 4th c. B.C. Apulian vases,²⁴⁵ and later again on the aedicula of the funerary "Monument of the Garlands" at Pompei in the first half of the 1st c. B.C., and on another near the Porta di Nocera.²⁴⁶ This implies that this motif had a continuous tradition in South Italy, but our present knowledge about grave monuments there and their connec-

240. E.g. MÖBIUS 1929, 27, pl. 10; *AvP* VI, 77, Beibl. 3. 1-2, BÖRKER, fig. 13, SCHEDE, fig. 52; *AvP* VII 2, 382, XXX, BÖRKER, fig. 14; *AvP* VII 2, 305, nos. 393, 394, 395; *CIRh* V2, 20, fig. 10. In Macedonia there are palmettes rendered perspectively from the Early Hellenistic period, e.g. in the Pella Gnosis mosaic (*AA* 17 (1961-62) B, 212, pl. 244, SALZMANN, pl. 29), as in the decoration on the frieze of the Tomb of Leukadia (Φ. Μ. ΠΕΤΣΑΣ, *Ὁ τάφος τῶν Λευκαδίων*, 1966, pl. B, 3).

241. PH. W. LEHMANN and D. SPITTLE et al., *Samo-thrace* 5, 125, fig. 102.

242. Olympia Museum A405, *AA* 20 (1965) B2, 210, pl. 236a.

243. KIESERITZKY-WATZINGER, nos. 617, pl. 42; 561, pl. 39.

244. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 431, pl. 71.

245. H. LOHMANN, *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen*, 1979, pls. 9.2; 11.2; 12.1; 13.1; R. PAGENSTECHE, *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler*, 1912, 112-113.

246. KOCKEL, *op. cit.* 145, fig. 32; H. GABELMANN, *Fest. Fr. Brommer*, 113 f., *Un Impegno per Pompei*, 1983, no. 34.

tion with the Greek mainland is insufficient to afford any further explanation of this fact.²⁴⁷ I will merely point out that a decorated frieze, a κοσμοφόρος, appears on the Ionic facades of some Macedonian tombs;²⁴⁸ this is an instance of the meeting of South Italy and Macedonia from the 4th c. B.C., to which we shall return later in another context.

The scroll-ornament decoration²⁴⁹ of the sofa-capitals of the Northwest Peloponnesian stelai can in general be divided into two broad typological groups. The first, the running spiral-scroll, is a formal and direct continuation of the early Peloponnesian and Attic tradition as we see it developed in the architectural ornamentation of the early 4th c. B.C., with a tendency towards the reduction of plasticity and a stiffening of the foliate motifs. These forms have a very wide distribution in the 4th c. B.C. and throughout the Hellenistic period,²⁵⁰ and most of our stelai belong to this group: **45** (the running spiral-scroll on the upper naiskos part), **41, 47, 48, 49, 56, 57, 58, 74** and **75** (figs. 10-13).

The ribbed or corded main stems (cauliculi) are traits common to these spiral-scrolls (ribbed on **48, 74, 75**, and corded on **58** and **76** of the next category), and occur on similar types of stelai in Eleia.²⁵¹ These features also occur in the Hellenistic Peloponnesian decoration of other foliate types and of a different stylistic character, as on the acroterium at Lykosoura, the crowning of what was probably a grave monument from Mantinea in the Tripolis Museum, and the pedimental plaque of a crowning, also from a grave monument, at Tegea²⁵² (pl. XVIIa) with a wavy caulis. Grooved spirals without foliate character are also common on this group.

247. See *BWGT*, 194 ff. and T. RÖNNE-LINDERS, *OpAth* X (1971) 90 for the relations of West Greece and Apollonia with South Italy in the styles and motifs of the relief representations. Cf. n. 180.

248. K. A. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ, 'Ο μακεδονικός τάφος τῆς Βεργίνας, 1951, 31, pl. A; the "Tomb of Palmettes" at Leucadia: K. RHOMIOPOULOU, *AAA* 6 (1973) 87-92. The Langada tomb also had a plain frieze; TH. MACRIDY, *Jdl* 26 (1911) 201, fig. 11; and see MILLER, *op. cit.* 40 ff.; B. GOSSEL, *Makedonische Kammergräber*, 1980, 142 ff., 192 ff., 251 ff. The frieze decorated with palmettes and lotus flowers on the altar at Pergamon should be added: *AvP* III, 1, 68 ff., pls. 16, 17.

249. Scrolls and other foliate motifs, common on Hellenistic grave stelai in the Peloponnese, Northwest Greece and Boeotia, scarcely exist on East Greek and Aegean examples (PFUHL-MÖBIUS, 55-56, nos. 1990, pl. 287 (relief scroll ornament on the capital); XXI, pl. 331; 150 pl. 33 (painted ornaments, cf. n. 88 and 128). The relief scrolls on the Coan "bench-altars" (P. M. FRASER, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, 1977, 31, n. 158, figs. 89c-d, 90b-c; *CIRh* V2, 20, fig. 10) are equivalent to those on the mainland. For other foliate ornaments on sofa-capitals in architecture, see n. 228.

250. See e.g. at Epidaurus: SCHEDE, figs. 31, 32, ROUX, *op. cit.* 105 ff., pl. 34. 1-2; 329, HÜBNER, 131 ff., pl. 75.1; on the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea: CH. DUGAS, *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tegée au IV siècle*, 1924, pls. 46, 79, 93, SCHEDE, fig. 29, HÜBNER, 133, pl. 76.1; at Olympia: SCHEDE, figs. 34-36, HÜBNER, 134-135, pl. 76.3; at Megalopolis: SCHEDE, fig. 38. Hellenistic examples: e.g. from the Middle Stoa of the Agora: *Agora* XIV, pl. 44a, DYGGVE, 117, fig. 125; from Athens: *AA* 23 (1968) B1, 42, pl. 25a; from Lykosoura: SCHEDE, fig. 39, G. DICKINS, *BSA* 12 (1905) 114; from Samothrace: K. LEHMANN - P. W. LEHMANN, *Samothrace* 3, 173, fig. 121. Add the scrolls on simas in Messene.

251. Samiko, Elis, Xenies and others, with ribbed stems and grooved volutes (see nos. 95, 131, 135). Cf. Cefallonian stelai: *OpAth* 1971, 67, no. 16, fig. 37 and *passim*. To which should be added the stele of Damosthenes in the Tripolis Museum 2982, 70 × 23 cm (pl. XIX). The imposing acroterium of this stele is to be classified together with the other Hellenistic Arcadian stones (see n. 252).

252. Lykosoura: MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 68b, K. ΚΟΥΡΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, *Κατάλογος του Μουσείου τῆς Λυκοσούρας*.

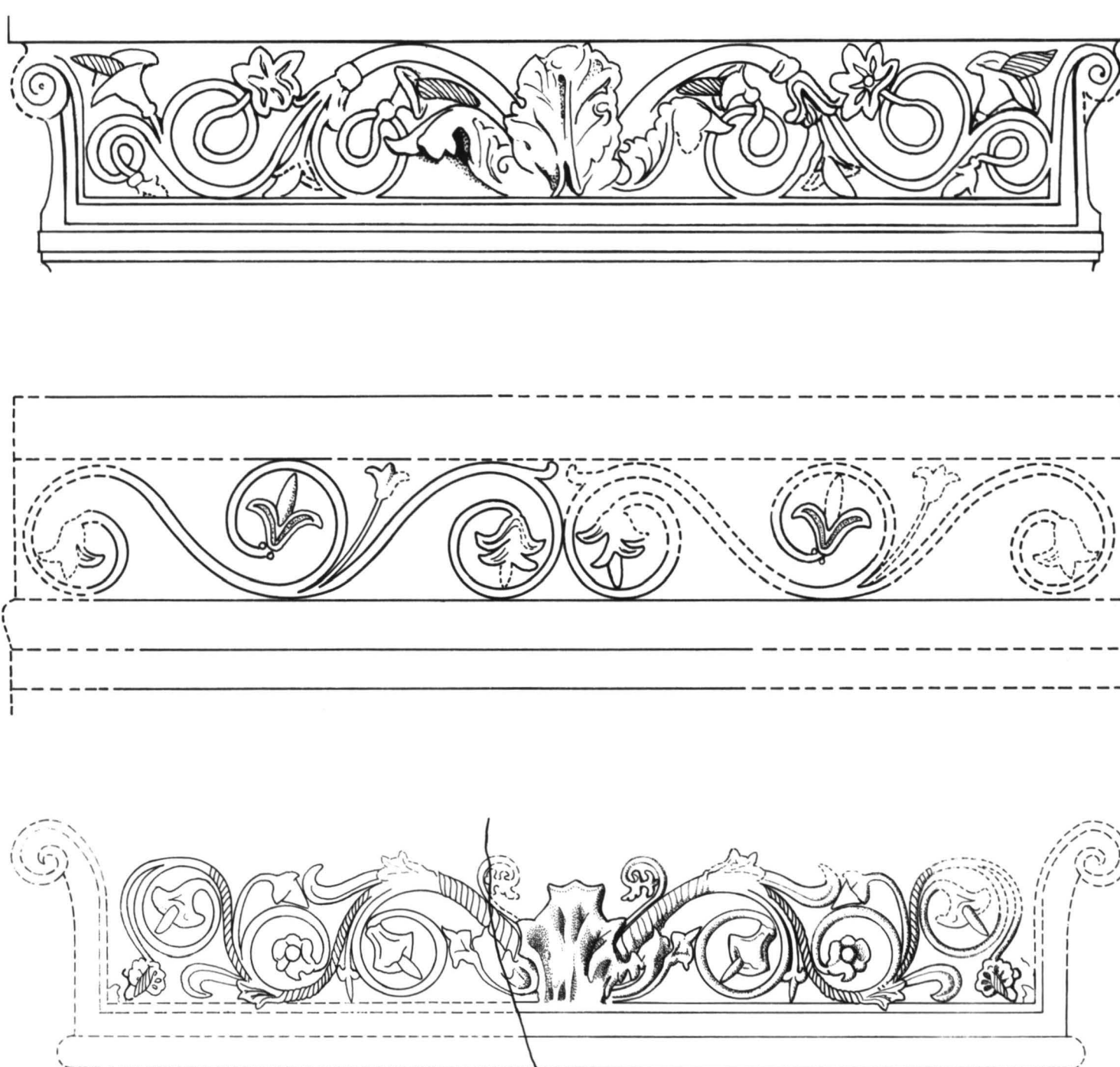


Fig. 14-16 Sofa-capitals of stelai 46, 72, 76.

The form in which both stems sprout from acanthus calyces at the corners of the capital and meet in the middle with antithetical volutes is found on most of the stelai in this group (41, 56-58, 74), along with the other type in which the two stems sprout from either side of a central three-leafed acanthus-calyx (45, 47, 48, 49, 52). Both these composite forms were used in architectural decoration from the 4th c. B.C.

The grooved spiral-scrolls on stelai 41, 45, and 56, and the wire-like stems of the flower-scrolls on 55 in the next category, run without successive branching beneath bracts. This is a

rare feature in scroll ornamentation²⁵³ and lends it suppleness. The only instance of successive branching beneath bracts in the first group occurs on stele 48, (and perhaps on 49) as on the lower scroll of 45 and on 76 of the next group. Because of the restricted field of 48, the second stem is pressed against the edges so that the half-palmette has lost its stalk and is contiguous to the acanthus-bract.

In the Peloponnesian and kindred traditions we find other features from these Achaean stelai. On 58 the bracts where the volutes branch have shrunk and what remains is a small sickle-shaped leaf, a vestigial reminder of the long acanthus leaf on, for example, the small sima of the Delphic Tholos.²⁵⁴ On some stelai from Eleia²⁵⁵ this leaf is also long, while on the Boeotian ones²⁵⁶ the same reduction in size can be observed as on those from Achaia.

The flowers where the volutes branch are found in this as well as in the following group of Achaean stelai. A comparison can be made between the type of "lily" flower on stelai 45, 47 and 57 (fig. 20a, b) and a similar one that occurs on a mature Hellenistic capital at Sparta.²⁵⁷ Another type, more widely encountered, is the bell-shaped flower (fig. 17) in the same position on the Nikaia stele 45, on stele 41 and elsewhere on other stelai, of which more will be said below. The flower in the angles of the stems on 75 is of a different and unusual kind.

On stele 75, on which spiral stems sprout from acanthus leaves at either end, the anti-thetical volutes in the centre of the field do not meet, as is normally the case with this type; there is a space between them decorated with a very stiff double-leafed acanthus calyx, above which is a rosette. Stele 55 has the same theme: the two acanthus leaves of the calyx and the flower form a composite unity, a compact decorative motif. This subject is especially common on Apulian vases,²⁵⁸ on which it occurs in various combinations; it is not, however, necessary to derive the similar ornaments in mainland Greece and Macedonia²⁵⁹

1911, fig. 67, 68; Mantinea: MÖBIUS 1929, 75, pl. 68a, G. FOUGÈRES, *Mantinee et l'Arcadie orientale*, 1898, 99, fig. 12. The pediment in Tegea Museum, without a number, 100×35×23 cm, (pl. XVIIa); and a fragment of one similar, 2324, 73×55×29, (pl. XVIIb). Cf. MÖBIUS 1929, 75 n. 20.

253. May be compared with the Boeotian scrolls: BWGT, Tan 8, pl. 3; Tan 13, pl. 4.

254. *FdD* II, 3, pl. 11, HÜBNER, pl. 75.2.

255. Samiko, Elis, Xenies.

256. E.g. BWGT, pls. 12-13.

257. MÖBIUS, 1929, pl. 71a.

258. It falls within the broad category of composite foliate ornaments and is often found combined with a woman's head or whole figures: TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLOU II, pls. 161.1; 162.1; 165. 1, 3 and *passim*, 280. 1; 284.1; M. SCHMIDT - A. D. TRENDALL - A. CAMBITOGLOU, *Eine Gruppe Apulischer Grabvasen in Basel*, 1976, pl. 15; H. SICHTERMANN, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo*, 1966,

pl. 138 and *passim*; and PFROMMER, 1982, 127, fig. 27). And see I. ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Οί ταφικοί τύμβοι τῆς Αἰνείας*, 1990, 35, 40.

259. See the Vergina larnax and the purple shroud: Θεσσαυροί, nos. 120, pl. 18; 86, pl. 19, *The Search for Alexander*, 1980, pl. 35, M. ANDRONICOS, *Vergina, The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*, 1984, 167, 169, 195, Σ. ΔΡΟΥΓΟΥ, *Ἀμνηστός, Τιμητικός Τόμος για τὸν Καθηγ. Μ. Ἀνδρόνικο*, 1987 I, 303 ff., pl. 64, 65; the first half of the 3rd c. B.C. exedra at Delphi: MÖBIUS 1929, 50c, SALZMANN, pl. 98.4; the Ionic capital of the temple of Apollo Smintheus at Chrysa: *Antiquities of Ionia* IV, pl. 29; the Damon stele from Ambrakia: *AA* 20 (1965) B2, 359, pl. 426γ, *OpAth* 1971, 64, no. 11, fig. 27, here pl. XVIII; the Boeotian stelai: BWGT, Theb 63, 65, 66, 68, pls. 12, 13; the stele from Amphiloichikon Argos: n.156, pl. XIII; the antefix from the Stoa of Attalos: J. TRAVLOS, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, 1971, fig. 646. The motif appears in the centre of the pediment on the stele of

from the 4th c. onwards from the South Italian examples. The idea and some forms of this decorative theme already existed in the repertoire of the 4th c. palmette-stelai in Attica and outside it, and it continued into the Hellenistic period: there is a rosette, a lily or iris flower above the central calyx.²⁶⁰ The double-leafed acanthus calyx on the Achaean and certain Boeotian and other monuments, already mentioned (n. 259), is a peculiar form and sometimes appears in a double version with two superimposed calyces, mainly as a central motif of scrolls, in various places from Asia Minor to Italy.²⁶¹

The Peloponnesian tradition is characterized by simplicity, precision and clarity in the treatment of the known forms and by the rhythmic repetition and alternation of the comparatively few types, at the same time combining these in a variety of ways; the result is that in no spiral-scroll are so many elements repeated that it becomes a copy of any other. They all have the same non-foliate character. Although of an older tradition this scroll survived alongside the next form of scroll until a late period. Those belonging to the Late Hellenistic period are the sole and indeed final examples in which the Classical Peloponnesian tradition continued to exist in the same territory.

The second typological group is that of floral scrolls, and comprises stelai **45** (the capital of the lower part), **46**, **50**, **55**, **72**²⁶² and **76**. The formation of the elements of the capitals places these stelai among the latest chronologically. It must be stressed from the outset that in spite of the general kinship of types, style and composition displayed by these flower-scrolls, nearly all of them are individual and to some extent unique creations. The stelai closest to each other both in type and style, as well as in their execution (e.g. the raised relief of the acanthus-calyx), are **46** and **50** (figs. 10, 14-16).

Flowers are the chief characteristic of the second scroll group. They occur in the centres of the volutes, at the ends of the tendrils or between two antithetically curling stems. They are also found in the latter position on stelai of the previous group. It is well-known that

Damosthenes from Mantinea in the Tripolis Museum 2982, pl. XIX; it is similar to that on the Archedaos stele, but clumsy and crude. There is a flower between slanting palmettes above the central raised acanthus calyx on the better preserved pedimental plaque of a grave monument in the Tegea Museum (pl. XVII a) and on a sofa-capital also in Tegea Museum (DAI Athens neg. nos. 79/414, 415): the palmettes and lotus flowers rise from acanthus-calyces (pl. XVI) (cf. the Rhamnous sofa-capital: n. 212). On a 4th c. B.C. fibula in the Metropolitan Museum the acanthus-calyx is combined with a palmette on volutes in the manner of the Classical Attic stelae. This fibula is said to have been found in Patras and is in any case a Helladic work; this is clear from the foliate decoration, which also has parallels on our stelai (EAA III, 1960, 671, fig. 825, *The Search for Alexander*, Suppl. Metropolitan Museum, October 1982-January 1983, no. 57).

The similar motif on the Scythian pectoral ornament at Tolstaya Mogila (PFROMMER 1982, 157, fig. 30) belongs to the mainland tradition.

260. MÖBIUS 1929, pls. 10a, 13a, 25a-b, 36b; CONZE III, 340, nos. 1601, 1649, pl. 352. On the pediment of a late Attic stele the only ornament is a two-leafed calyx and a poppy capsule above it (CONZE IV, no. 1923, pl. 412).

261. See W. v. SYDOW, *RM* 84 (1977) 287, fig. 28, pl. 132.2. Add the capital from Naples in Bonn (n.227) and the stele fragment from Amphiloichikon Argos (n. 156, pl. XIII).

262. There is now a newly published fragment of a stele in Drosato near Kalavryta in the Kynaitha district. It preserves part of the sofa-capital with a scroll ornament which is similar to **72** in style and in types of stems and flowers (AA 37 (1982) B1 (1989) 150, pl. 94β).

spiral-scrolls in mainland Greece were in the 4th c. B.C. rarely embellished with flowers.²⁶³ It was in Macedonia, South Italy and Pergamon that the flower-scroll and its many variations developed and spread.

The other common characteristic of this group is the form of the stems: with the exception of the main stems of **76**, which are corded, the rest are plain. The stems on **55** and **72** and on the lower scroll of **45** in particular have a supple, flexible form. The number of examples of this form increases in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods²⁶⁴ but are rare in the earlier periods.²⁶⁵

Several motifs are naturally common to both groups, but a greater variety is evident in the second group and influences from different centres can be detected. Two questions are therefore important for our knowledge of the flower-scroll category: the first concerns the interrelations and origins of the ornamental themes whose typology remained relatively stable; the second concerns the possibility of attributing them to a specific cycle of foliate decoration with particular and recognizable features which are the result of a process of evolution.

In regard to the first question, it must be borne in mind that research is agreed that the ornamental types produced in the different centres of the Hellenistic world are inter-related. This can be shown by a few examples.

(a) The absence of bracts and of a thickening of the stems where they fork, which we have also observed in the previous group, is found here on the flower-scroll of **55** and **72**; in the case of the latter the calyx too is missing. The only parallels I can cite are two Tanagran stelai.²⁶⁶

(b) The successive branching of the corded stems on stele **76** and of the plain stems on the lower scroll of **45** (see also the scroll on **48** of the previous group) is a preeminently Classical Helladic feature that became a "τόπος" and spread to the Hellenistic scrolls, and also occurs on many Eastern sima scrolls. It is a common feature on the different types of scroll on the Boeotian stelai. We have the same theme among other motifs on the crowning from Mantinea in the Tripolis Museum and on the two pedimental slabs in the Tegea Museum (pl. XVIIa, b).²⁶⁷

(c) On the better preserved Tegean example the successive ribbed and twisted stems have a wavy form that is not Peloponnesian in origin,²⁶⁸ and so do the rest of the flower-tendrils, which do not follow the direction of the main stem. These tendrils, springing from the bracts on the Mantinea and Tegea ornaments are a motif that is also present on stele **76**. The common branching, single to triple from the same stem and below the same acanthus-bract of floral tendrils or spiral elements curling sometimes in the opposite direction, occurs

263. See *BWGT*, 55; PFROMMER 1982, 128, 167 ff.

264. See the "bench-altars" of Cos: FRASER, *op. cit.* figs. 89c-d; 90b-c. Cf. a much later example from the South Stoa of the sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon (second half of the 2nd c. A.D.): *AvP* XIII, 1981, 28, 59, pls. 16.5-8; 62. This instance could be explained by the eclectic tendencies of Roman decorative art in

regard to different older models.

265. Cf. for example SCHEDE, fig. 49.

266. See n. 253

267. See n. 252.

268. See n. 263. Cf. the Tanagra stele: *BWGT*, Tan. 7, pl. 2.

in various forms in many late Hellenistic ornaments.²⁶⁹ It assumes more elaborate and particular forms on the ornaments of the Macedonian cycle in the Early Hellenistic period: the gold ornament from a vessel that was found at Stavroupolis, Thessaloniki, and dated to the last quarter of the 4th c. B.C., is one of many examples.²⁷⁰ This gold object has been thought to be of Italian origin.²⁷¹ Indeed the system of the sprouting below the same bract of different elements, a spiral band and long acanthus-leaf on a krater by the Ilioupersis painter in Boston,²⁷² dated to the first half of the 4th c. B.C., at least shows that this theme had developed very early in South Italy. It is inevitable that such Hellenistic variations in the flower-tendrils should be considered in relation to a motif that as far as I know appears for the first time on the Erechtheum, in the decorative band on the column necks of the north porch and the crowning cornice of the north door:²⁷³ an acanthus-bract, a volute and a taller tendril with a flower grow from the shoots that spring from either side of the palmette. The motif appears in an elementary form, without bracts, on the finial of a monument for the Athenians who fell at Corinth in 394 B.C., and later on some Attic palmette-stelai belonging to the middle and second half of the 4th c. B.C.²⁷⁴ The Erechtheum motif created a typological tradition that survived with many variations until late in the Hellenistic period.²⁷⁵

(d) Very often these tendrils take the form of coils that form loops, while the flowers at the ends grow outside the volutes, as on stele 46. This is very common in Macedonian decorative art²⁷⁶ and perhaps makes its earliest formal appearance there on the gold lamina of a helmet from tomb B at Derveni.²⁷⁷ This tomb should be dated to the time immediately after Alexander, and the flower-scroll decorating the gold sheet has been considered to be a local creation based on known Italian flower-scrolls.²⁷⁸ We encounter it in Hellenistic decoration at various places that were influenced by Macedonian art.²⁷⁹ On the Oropos

269. E.g. the exedra at Delphi: see n. 259; the anta-capitals at Priene: see n. 209, Rhodes: *AA* 24 (1969) B2, 483, pl. 481γ, Magnesia on the Maeander: C. HUMANN, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 1904, 123, 130, fig. 129, Sparta: MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 71c, the table of offerings at Kalydon: DYGGVE, 68, fig. 66, the throne at Oropos: DYGGVE, 118, fig. 126, upper ornament: G. SAURON, *MEFRA* 91 (1979) I, 232, fig. 38.

270. *Θησαυροί*, no. 294, pl. 42.

271. PFROMMER 1982, 142-144.

272. TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLU I, pl. 61.3.

273. J. M. PATON, *The Erechtheum*, 1927, pls. 22, 23, SCHEDE, fig. 20, A. E. LAWRENCE, *Greek Architecture*, 1962, pl. 75, H. MÖBIUS, *Studia Varia*, 85 ff.,

274. MÖBIUS 1929, 24, pl. 9d, CONZE III, no. 1529, pl. 317; MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 12b, 18b; CONZE III, nos. 1648, pl. 352; 1610, pl. 342.

275. H. MÖBIUS, *Studia Varia*, pls. 24, 25.1. See also the "coppa tarentina" (PFROMMER 1987, 132 ff., pls. 35b, 59d), the decorative zone beneath the dentils

on the altar at Pergamon (n. 248), the throne in the Dionysiac theatre (KRAUS, pl. 13).

276. E.g. Gnosis mosaic: see n. 240; Vergina mosaic: SALZMANN, pl. 39, M. ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ et al., *Tò ἀνάκτορο τῆς Βεργίνας*, 1961, pl. 16; mosaic in the Pella tholos: *AA* 19 (1964) B3, 340, pls. 399, 404, SALZMANN, pl. 38; gold larnax from Vergina, above the central acanthus calyx; the gold-embroidered purple shroud in the other larnax (see n. 259). And see the remains of the decoration on the marble fragment from Pella: *AA* 18 (1963) B2, 205, fig. 5.

277. *Θησαυροί*, no. 236, pl. 30.

278. PFROMMER 1982, 142.

279. E.g. the Ambrakian stele, the exedra at Delphi: see n. 259; the Bellerophon mosaic of Rhodes: SALZMANN, pl. 45; the Anapa sarcophagus of the late 4th - early 3rd c. B.C.: PFROMMER 1982, 161, fig. 31; the fragment of a pillar at Pergamon: *AvP* VII, 2, 328, no. 411; The Tanagra stele of the 3rd - early 2nd c. B.C.: *BWGT*, Tan.13, pl. 4.

throne of the first half of the 1st c. B.C.²⁸⁰ the same motif now also has a bell-shaped flower with a long striped pistil like that on stele **46**, an indication of the relatively late date of this composite stele. It is worth noting that the origin of this motif also appears to be Attic. On the palmette-stele of Philiste and another of Dionysios Kyrrios²⁸¹ the stems growing out of the acanthus-calyx take a similar form, with bell-shaped flowers; another Attic example dated to the second half of the 4th c. B.C., is a loutrophoros in the National Museum at Athens.²⁸² Such Attic manifestations, however, are less frequent, while in Macedonia this ornament was used systematically. From there it apparently spread to the Hellenistic workshops. On some later palmette-stelai from outside Attica the stalk rising between the two halves of the palmette sometimes forms a loop towards the top and terminates in a flower.²⁸³ There is also other Hellenistic architectural decoration in Athens that retains this motif.²⁸⁴

(e) Two antithetical secondary stems branch out from main stems below an acanthus-bract on stelai **46** and **50**; on **50**, each secondary stem is bifurcate, branching and terminating in a spiral and a flower respectively, and on stele **46** the stems end in loops and flowers. These forms are abbreviated variations of the scheme of the scroll on stele **76**. On **46** and **50** the course of the scroll appears to be interrupted because of the lack of space. A fine example of this motif as an independent theme is to be found in the elaborate Pergamene plaque, whose dating is controversial.²⁸⁵

(f) The form of "parallel offshoots"²⁸⁶ of the scroll on the lower part of the Nikaia stele may be compared with the scroll on the stele of Damon from Ambrakia, which is certainly descended from some such decoration as that on the Vergina larnax.²⁸⁷ Here three stems grow at the same time from the main stem, which springs from the acanthus-calyx, and from the lowest fixed one two others sprout, and so on to the end of the field. We also meet this motif but not the style on some stelai in Boeotia.²⁸⁸ It thus seems to have a significant presence in the craft of stelai production. It may be noted that a Late Hellenistic gold funerary diadem from a grave in Patras²⁸⁹ is decorated with parallel wavy offshoots that have much of the character of the flower-scroll on the lower capital of the Nikaia stele. Wavy parallel offshoots curling at the ends, with flowers only in the angles of the volutes comprise the ornamentation of the stele from Lepreon,²⁹⁰ which is unrelated in either style or motifs to the stele of Ambrakia or those of Achaea.

(g) An early Peloponnesian feature, which appears as a bract on the sima of the temple

280. See no. 269.

281. CONZE I, no. 197, pl. 54, MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 12b; CONZE III, no. 1656, pl. 349.

282. CONZE III, 366, no. 1724, H. MÖBIUS, *Studia Varia*, 83, pl. 23.1.

283. See p. 37, n. 64.

284. MÖBIUS, *op. cit.* pls. 23.2; 24; *Tò "Epyon* 1977, 7, fig. 7.

285. *AvPV*, I, 72, fig. 74, KRAUS, pl. 21.1, BÖRKER, 300, fig. 10. Börker dates it to the 1st c. B.C. but

PFROMMER 1987, 137, to the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 2nd c. B.C.

286. KRAUS, 40; F. COARELLI - G. SAURON, *MEFRA* 90 (1978) 2, 712 ff. Add the scroll on the offering table of Kalydon: see no. 269.

287. See no. 259.

288. *BWGT*, for example Theb 65, pl. 12; 67, pl. 13; 24, pl. 7.

289. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1977, 291 f, pl. 100a.

290. See n. 137.

of Athena Alea at Tegea in the third quarter of the 4th c. B.C., is the long sickle-shaped leaf growing from the ends of the corded stems of 76 parallel to the acanthus bract.

(h) The stelai from Achaia generally have four or five types of small flowers that are repeated with variations in all the known examples: the six-petal or star-shaped rose of 45,²⁹¹ 46 and 50 (fig. 18) the "bell-shaped" flower on 41, 45, 46, 50, 55 and 76 (fig. 17)²⁹², perhaps also the so-called arum flowers on 76 (fig. 19)²⁹³ and different lily-like flowers on 45, 46, 47, 50, 57, 58, 72 and 76 (fig. 20), on the two last also in a composite form ("tiered flowers"?). On stele 76 there is a fruit (acorn?) (fig. 21). These conventional flowers are closer in general to the repertoire of decoration in the art of Macedonia and Northwest Greece, while there is a greater variety of flowers on the Boeotian stelai, which are also larger. The "bell-shaped" flower that often occurs in both classes of scrolls (see p. 76) makes one of its earliest appearances among the ornaments on Attic palmette-stelai as early as the 5th c. B.C.,²⁹⁴ and becomes commoner later.²⁹⁵ It is an especially popular motif in Apulian vase decoration, and an early one.²⁹⁶ There, however, it soon becomes composite and is combined with another flower growing out of it, while in Greece this is very rare²⁹⁷ and it only has a spadix. In the Hellenistic period the "bell-shaped" flower, simple or composite, has a firm place in the repertoire of motifs and occurs everywhere.

The above examination of the motifs leads to the assumption that some of them have their origin in classical Athens. The contribution of Macedonia and South Italy to their spread in the Hellenistic world is anyway unquestionable.

A number of centres, which were to a certain extent interdependent, sometimes indirectly so, contributed to the spread of these motifs. This would have been due in part to craftsmen travelling and working from place to place and to commercial interchange. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that from some of the more important of these centres designs in "pattern-books" were issued that served as models for new ornamental creations. It is significant, however, as we have already seen, that even among the products of the same workshop group the composition seems not to have been copied; the stelai from

291. On the lower scroll, combined with another badly preserved flower? Is it some composite form known in nature, or a conventional composition of a rosette and another flower or fruit?

292. Except perhaps on 45, on all the rest it is represented in perspective and should be compared or identified with a simpler form of arum flower. Cf. the rendering of the same flower on the Tegea sima (see n. 250), and of the "funnel-shaped" flower on the sima from Olympia (*Olympia* II, 199, pl. 123.2, SCHEDE, 49, pl. VI.35, HÜBNER 135). That on the lower scroll of stele 45 with its lines is a rare form. It is reminiscent of a bell-shaped flower with similar lines on the hypopodium of Kalydon (see n. 304) as well as of another on a silver amphora from Certomlyk in Petrograd (P. JACOBSTAHL, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*,

1927, 201, pls. 142, 143). But the flower on this earlier amphora is three-dimensional.

293. Early appearance of an open form of the arum flower on the antefixes of the Erechtheum (W. ZÜCHNER, *AA* 1936, 323, figs. 15-17, MÖBIUS 1929, 23 with bibliography, pl. 4b, MÖBIUS 1968, 107).

294. E.g. MÖBIUS 1929, 23, pl. 7b; CONZE III, no. 1528, pl. 317.

295. E.g. *ibid.* nos. 1599, pl. 339; 1592, 1597, pl. 340; 1656, pl. 349.

296. TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLU I, pl. 61.3, and *passim*; SCHMIDT-TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLU, *op. cit. passim*; SALZMANN, pls. 96, 97.

297. CONZE III, no. 1673, pl. 356; *AA* 17 (1961-62) B, 36, pl. 38γ; PFROMMER 1982, 167, n. 230.

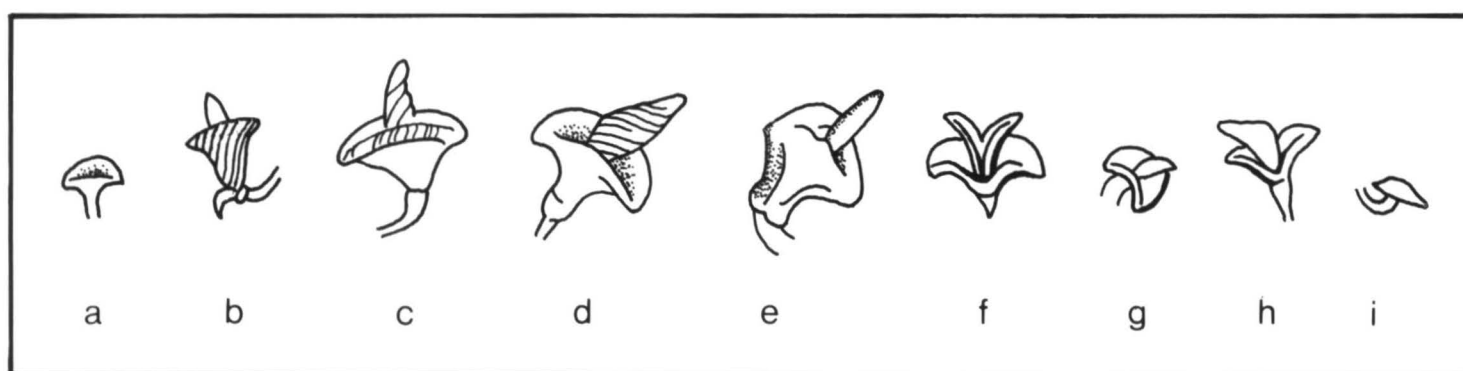


Fig. 17 Bell-shaped flowers

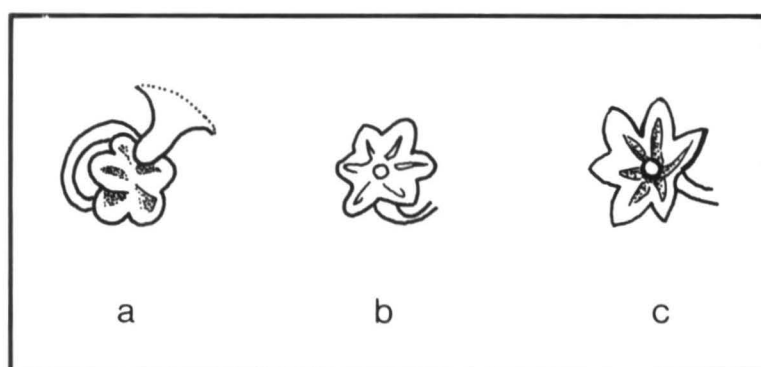


Fig. 18 Roses

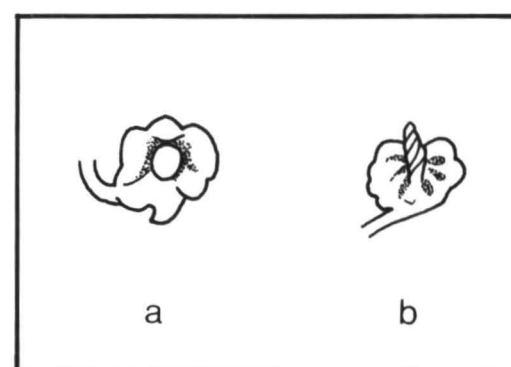


Fig. 19 Arum flowers

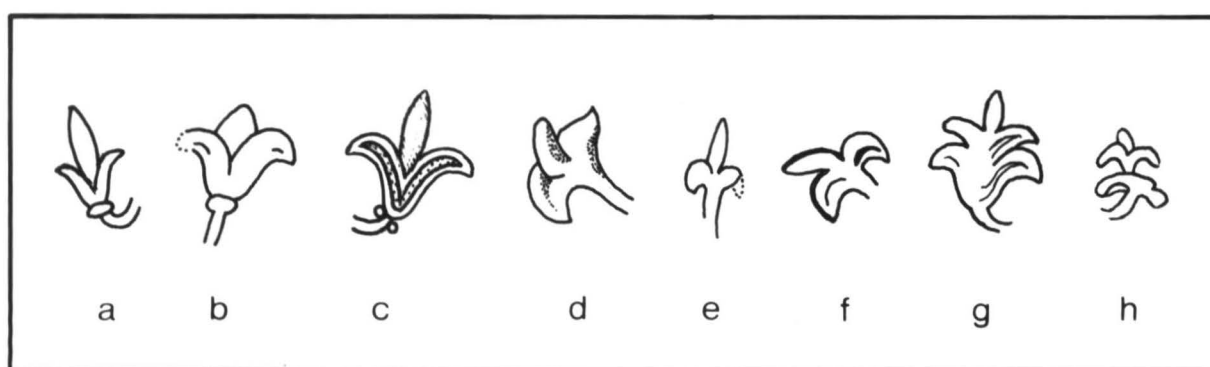


Fig. 20 Lilies

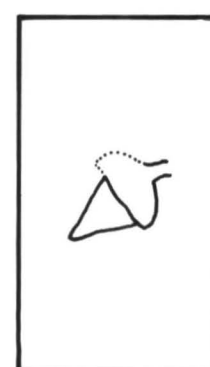


Fig. 21 Acorn?

the Achaean and Boeotian workshops are an example. The Hellenistic scrolls on Achaean grave stelai display a certain variation even among specimens of the same type, although they are basically simple and have a restricted repertory of motifs. This compositional variety on the one hand, and on the other the repetition of individual motifs in every new composition, suggest that the "pattern-books" contained separate motifs rather than complete, ready-made compositions which could be repeated on demand. Evidently the composition was left to be worked out in accordance with the propensities of the workshops

or artists, the technical conditions and the tastes and preferences of the customers.²⁹⁸ This accounts for both the originality and the constant renewal that we see, and for the fact that differences can to some extent be discerned between one place and another in the principles of composition employed, in spite of the common fixed repertoire of motifs and the typological relationships that are apparent in Hellenistic decoration²⁹⁹.

Here we come to the second question we set ourselves: whether it is possible to detect any common traits in the organization of the scrolls in the group of stelai consisting of **45**, **46**, **50**, **55**, **72** and **76** that distinguish their decoration stylistically from that of other centres.

In addition to the relationship of their repertoire of motifs and types to the products of other regions, to which we have already referred, the slender, supple style of these Achaean scrolls also suggests a comparison with the products of the workshop tradition that flourished in Macedonia during the last third of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd c. B.C. This dependence on Macedonian models is clearly apparent in West Greece, an outstanding example being the stele of Damon from Ambrakia (pl. XVIII).³⁰⁰ The flower-scroll on the gold larnax from Vergina could be regarded as a forerunner of the decoration on the Ambrakian stele. This is also the same scroll with parallel offshoots that we have seen repeated typologically and stylistically as a rear guard on the Nikaia stele **45**. The flower-scroll on the larnax is more composite and elaborate, and has a feeling of depth lacking on the later Epirote stele, but the stems have the same slenderness and there are other similarities of motif.³⁰¹ The Early Hellenistic Macedonian flower-scrolls, influenced or not by the South Italian style of decoration or the Sicyon school of Painting,³⁰² seem to

298. Naturally for every new scroll ornament it was not necessary to use the pattern-books. All that was needed was small alterations to compositions that had been already created by some original craftsmen.

299. Nevertheless, the structure of the motifs and of their composition was to a great degree determined in each case by the function of the objects and the shape and size of the surface to be decorated. We therefore have, in addition to workshop tradition, a tradition of categories. Among many examples, that of the Hellenistic relief skyphoi offer a parallel to the stelai. On such skyphoi, for example those from Delos, coming from different workshops (E.g. *Délos* XXX, nos. 632+1448+1449, 1438, pl. 119; 384, 1142, 1440+1456+1457, pl. 124; 1117, pl. 127) we find spiral- and flower-scrolls with a stylistic individuality that differentiates them from the related ornaments on stelai or in architecture and we can extend such examples to other categories (cf. the "coppa tarentina" at Bari with the phiale from Paterno in Berlin: see n. 275 and D.E. STRONG, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate*, 1966, pl. 26B). This criterion restricts the effectiveness of the previous one and limits the comparable

material mainly to objects of the same kind, substance or equivalent size.

300. See *OpAth* 1971, 67 for the late 3rd - early 2nd c. B.C. date.

301. This one, above the central acanthus-calyx, is very similar on both: an arum flower between two volute-stems in the Macedonian example and a composite one between similar stems on that from Ambrakia.

302. There is a recent essay by PFROMMER 1982: see mainly 124 ff., 128, fig. 2, 189, on the contribution of the South Italian decoration to, and its influence on, Macedonia, which in its turn determined the form of foliate decorative motifs both in Greece and Asia Minor throughout the Hellenistic period. Without entering into the question here we would like only to note that M. ROBERTSON in several articles (*JHS* 85 (1965) 83; *JHS* 87 (1967) 134; *Macedonia and Greece in Early Hellenistic Times*, edited by B. Barr Sharrar and E.N. Borza, 1982, 244 ff.) expressed the view that the spiral - and flower-scrolls on the Apulian vases, in the Macedonian and Sicyonian mosaics and on other Macedonian works had a common model in the lost

have inspired the production in West Greece of such works as the decoration on the Ambrakian stele, which comes at the beginning of the development.³⁰³ Both the flower-scroll on the lower part of the Nikaia stele and the ornament on 76 are related stylistically to examples of Macedonian and West Greek decoration and constitute a later stage of development. Nevertheless, when compared to the Macedonian and Epirote stelai, and in spite of the partially perspective rendering of some of the flowers, the later decoration on the Achaean stelai has a flatter, more sketchy character, lacking in depth, and a less extensive foliate display.

The flower-scrolls on the great hypopodium and the fragment of the "table of offerings" at the Heroon of Kalydon, dating to the beginning of the 1st c. B.C.,³⁰⁴ belong to the same West Greek workshop tradition as the Achaean ones; this is apparent both from the relationship with particular types of subjects and from the obvious similarity in style. They have the same fine corded cable stem and stellate rose as stelai 50 and 76. There is also the rare form of the "bell-shaped" flower with oblique lines and a spadix on the Nikaia stele. The lily plant on the hypopodium can be compared with the similar one on 58 and 72, and composite "lily" flowers are also found on both the hypopodium and stelai 72 and 76. Of greater importance is the deeper stylistic unity linking these Kalydonian ornaments with the Achaean stelai of the second group, and above all with the flower-scroll of 72, which must be contemporary with them.

Thus the Achaean tombstones of this second group, together with the decoration of the neighbouring regions of Kalydon and Ambrakia, possess a style of scroll decoration that can to some extent be distinguished from that of other Hellenistic centres. Firstly, they differ from the South and Middle Italian wavy scrolls; these have parallel offshoots, curling tendrils, large fleshy flowers and strongly foliate leaves, and a varied rhythm in the movement of the stalks breaking the rhythm of the main stem; Italian scrolls also have a tendency to fill the ground with successive ornaments and show an occasional differentiation

work of Pausias, who was a pupil of Pamphilus of Amphilopolis. PFROMMER 1982, 127, and PFROMMER 1987, 140-141, rejects this view because of the absence of finds from Macedonia that could be earlier than the Apulian vases and because of a chronological discordance, since Pamphilus lived in the first half of the 4th c. and Pausias was working at some time in the middle of the century, when the "Italianizing" scrolls had not yet appeared in Macedonia. More recently Fulvia Ciliberto (*HASB* 14 (1991) 11 ff., 25) expressed the view that in the 4th c. B.C. two components were active in Macedonia, one from South Italy and another from Sicily, and that the work of Pausias created the conditions for the acceptance of the Italian motifs. It is, after all, plausible to concede an important role to the lost monumental Painting for the development of such a floral decorative style. It must also be borne in mind

that many motifs of classical origin went from Greece to South Italy where they were adapted to the local style, before returning to Greece and Asia Minor to enrich the Hellenistic Koine Decorative Art.

303. To the Ambrakian stele should be added the Kamarina stele: *BWGT*, 115, *KASS*, 2, pl. 22, *OpAth* 1971, 74. They are the only known ones in Northwest Greece with such a foliate ornament, which differs from the types prevalent in that region. Another stele, of Philia, from Lacca Souli (Epirus) in Ioannina Museum has a different and rare foliate ornament under the cartouche of the inscription: wavy ivy stems with leaves and corymbs spring in both directions from a central flower: H. ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ, *Ἡπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 1981, 120 f., fig. 3

304. *DYGGVE*, 58 ff., figs. 55, 66, 67.

of the height of the relief.³⁰⁵ The basic form of the Greek flower-scroll, its uniform flow, purity and relative simplicity of design, as well as its austerity, are unrelated to these Italian forms. The flower-scroll on the "frieze" of stele 72 is a typical example: the stem with the flowers in the volutes is purely and simply a Greek design and one of the lightest and most concise known to me in stone relief decoration. Thus in a way the trend of the second group converges with that of the first and belongs to the same strong, unbroken, Peloponnesian and Attic tradition. By adapting the motifs of the Hellenistic Koine to the running spiral-scroll, this trend adheres to the Greek pattern, even in its most complex manifestations. On the other hand it is characterized by a delicate, more foliate appearance than the first group. A relative simplicity and plainness also characterized some Hellenistic Alexandrian scrolls.³⁰⁶ It may be due to the style of the time and to the current patterns available there, but it is worth mentioning that in Egypt from the Early Hellenistic period onwards a certain simplicity, clarity and stylization are apparent in the foliate ornaments, even if they copy the opulent floral motifs of Macedonian and South Italian decorative art.³⁰⁷

The West Greek group can also be distinguished from the Pergamene³⁰⁸ and Boeotian forms³⁰⁹ although it shows similarities. Boeotian scrolls are characterized by the uniformity and restricted diversity of their volutes, in spite of the variety and size of their flowers. We can, however, compare 46 and 50 with *BWGT* Tan.8, pl. 3, and Tan.13, pl. 4, and 76 with Theb 64, pl. 12, for the basic form of the scrolls. Pergamene decoration borrowed more heavily and closely from South Italian and Macedonian forms and structure than from the Greek mainland. In the case of the Pergamene scrolls it is also possible to detect a certain

305. See e.g. KRAUS, 35-36, pls. 3, 6; IDEM in P. ZANKER (Ed.) *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 1976, 461 ff., fig. 6-8; W. VON SYDOW, *Jdl* 89 (1974) 205, fig. 13; A characteristic example is the frieze of the Cupids in the Villa dei Misteri: it has the core of the wavy shoot, but instead of volutes or spirals there are short shoots parallel or opposite to the main stem together with a crowd of foliate elements, Eros figures and animals (see KRAUS, 33, pl. 4, with bibliography, U. PAPPALARDO, *Jdl* 97 (1982) 251 ff.). And see the Lecce frieze (G. BENDINELLI, *Ausonia* 8 (1913) 7, pl. 1, COARELLI-SAURON, *op. cit.* (n. 286) 715, 740, fig. 16), the date of which is uncertain (3rd c. B.C.?), the relief fragment from Ceglie in Boston (M. B. COMSTOCK and C. C. VERMEULE, *Sculpture in Stone. The Greek Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, 1976, 71, No. 113, J.M.C. TOYNREE and J.B. WARD-PERKINS, *BSR NS* 5 (1950) 6, pl. 1), the relief frieze in Pompeii (Rediscovering Pompeii. Exhibition New York, 1990, 246, no. 173 a-d). An attempt to date the Middle Italian scrolls from the 3rd c. B.C. to the middle of the 1st c. B.C. is made by R. KÄNEL, *Antk* 34 (1991) 175 ff. And see n. 302, 312.

306. Compare the Alexandrian scrolls in the necropolis of Anfushi, on the wall of Hypogeum II and the basin of Hypogeum III: A. ADRIANI, *Ann. Mus. gréco-romaine* III (1940-1950) 47, fig. 24a, 125, pl. C, fig. 59.

307. For a "strong" Macedonian-South Italian influence in Egypt, see PFROMMER 1982, 175 ff., 189. For examples of the Alexandrian plain style, see C. WATZINGER, *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, 1905, figs. 55, 57, pls. 1; 2.1; 3.

308. The artistic creativity of Pergamon in the field of decoration during the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. is apparent, e.g. in the foliate ornament of the Hephaistion mosaic: *AvP* V, pl. 26 ff., COARELLI-SAURON, *op. cit.* 747, fig. 28, 749, fig. 32; in architectural members: *AvP* II, 49, pl. 29.5, BÖRKER, figs. 6-7; *AvP* VII 2, 384, no. XXXV A-B, BÖRKER, figs. 8-9; *ibid.* 30, fig. 10, (and see n. 285), *AvP* VII, 305-306, nos. 393-395; *AvP* VI, 77, Beibl. 3. 1-2, BÖRKER, fig. 13; *AvP* VII 2, 382, no. XXX, BÖRKER, fig. 14. BÖRKER, 295 ff., dates these works, except for the last two, to the 1st c. B.C.

309. See *BWGT*, 57-58, pls. 1-14, *passim*.

synthetical relationship, for example between the same stelai **76**, **46**, and **50** and the fragment *AvP VII*, 2 no. 393a or 395, or the frieze from the upper terrace of the Gymnasium,³¹⁰ in addition to the similarities in the motifs (see above). But this relationship is limited and does not imply a closer stylistical connection. Nevertheless stelai **76**, **46** and **50** remain original works possessing their own character and are examples of a certain Achaean individuality, which existed in spite of the interconnections.

It thus seems that even if the mingling of Classical compositional forms and motifs with the equivalent forms found in the Hellenistic Macedonian, Pergamenian and South Italian decoration can be considered a wider phenomenon, and as having the character of a koine, local trends can be to some extent distinguished.³¹¹

In Late Republican Italy, where a number of stylistic traditions crossed and coexisted – South and Middle Italian, Neoattic and Pergamene³¹² – another trend is also evident from the middle of the 1st c. B.C., which seems to have connections with West Greece.³¹³ This trend features spiral-scrolls that are less foliate in feeling and have a certain stiffness and tightness; they flow more uniformly and have symmetrical antithetically branching stems and usually smaller flowers, like rosettes and lilies, as well as other motifs like the Greek ones. They may, moreover, exhibit particular stylistic similarities to other actual Greek groups. Such scrolls can be seen on the marble and poros friezes of the “Tomb of the Garlands” at Pompei,³¹⁴ on the circular base of Civita Castellana,³¹⁵ and on the friezes of

310. *AvP VI*, Beibl. 3.1-2. Cf. the scrolls of Didymaion, especially the one on the soffits: TH. WIEGAND, *Didyma*, 1941, pl. 59; and see *BWGT*, 56, n. 30.

311. Stylistic similarities are usually confined to a general disposition and appearance, and thus we can hardly speak of concrete local workshop styles. And cf. n. 299.

312. KRAUS 42, BÖRKER 309 ff. KRAUS 59, related the scroll on the circular monument from the Via Praenestina (G. CULTERA, *BdA* 4 (1910) 245 ff., pls. 1-7) directly with Pergamene decorative art. To this same trend should be added the fragment from near the temple of Caesar in the Forum Romanum (B. GÖTZE, *Ein römisches Rundgrab in Falerii*, 1939, pl. 18, fig. 25). Revealing and noteworthy is the resemblance of a frieze in the National Museum in Rome (BÖRKER, 309, fig. 15) to a spiral-scroll on fragments from the Gymnasium at Pergamon (*AM* 32 (1907) 401, fig. 13), whose dating to the 1st c. B.C. (BÖRKER, 309) cannot be considered certain. Further examples are the anta in the Antiquarium of the Forum Romanum and the fragment of a frieze in the same Antiquarium (*BullCom* 45 (1917) 101, fig. 3; P. GUSMAN, *L'art décoratif de Rome de la fin de la République au IV s.*,

pl. 132, below); and see Kraus in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*, 463; COARELLI-SAURON, *op. cit.* 712 ff. All these ornaments are also akin to the Boeotian scrolls and may be compared with them.

313. It is notable that we already find on the Apulian vases, in addition to the South Italian foliate ornaments, other simple spiral-scrolls that are Helladic in appearance; see examples chiefly on stele bases represented on vases: TRENDALL-CAMBITOGLU I, pl. 124. 1,3; II, pl. 208. 1,2,4; Suppl., pl. 8.

314. KRAUS, 37: (50-40 B.C.); V. KOCKEL, *Die Grabbauten vor der Herculaneer Tor in Pompeji*, 1983, 144 ff., pls. 44, 45, (he dates both of them to the first half of the 1st c. B.C. and notes that there is no difference in style between them); the comparison made by Kockel with the decoration on the trapezophoron in the Palazzo Doria (EA 2317, W. KLEIN, *Vom antiken Rokoko*, 1921, 164, fig. 75) is not valid for the style, but only for certain details of the motifs. The Neoattic character and the Pergamene connections of this trapezophoron were noted by MÖBIUS 1929, 48, n. 21. The decoration on the trapezophoron at Delos (*Délos XVII*, pl. 16) may be considered a forerunner of that in the Palazzo Doria.

315. R. HERBIG, *RM* 42 (1972) 129 f., Beibl. 15-19.

the circular grave monument of Pietrabbondante.³¹⁶ West Greek ornaments, therefore, may have had an influence on the course of the development of decoration at Rome and in Italy in the 1st c. B.C.³¹⁷ The evidence can be seen in the decoration on the stelai of Ambrakia, Achaia (45, 46, 50, 55, 72, 76) and the hypopodium and table at Kalydon. These are all original works, the product of many factors and antecedents; they may perhaps be thought of as repaying a certain debt to Italy and contributing to the development of the decorative art there from the beginning of the 1st c. B.C. until the transition from the Republic to the Empire.

Acanthus Leaves

The acanthus leaves³¹⁸ of the trefoil-calyces from which the scrolls sprout are best preserved on stelai 45, 48, and 50, less well on 46, 49 and 76 and very badly on 47. Their forms, which have typological parallels in the Hellenistic period, are best represented in the Peloponnese. The acanthus leaf on 50 and those on 46 and 76, which are also in high relief and drooping, belong to the style of the Hellenistic capitals in the Olympeion³¹⁹, that is also represented in the Peloponnese in the 2nd c. B.C. by the Corinthian capitals at Messene,³²⁰ a capital at Olympia,³²¹ another from Chelidoni in Eleia³²² and acanthus leaves on some stelai at Sparta.³²³ Their shape is characterized by a midrib and an outline formed by eyelets between the denticulated edges of the lobes.

The Olympia capital comes from an aedicula, and the acanthus leaf on a second capital³²⁴ from this aedicula is related to the style of acanthus leaf on stelai 48 and 49 and differs from the previous one. It has a series of ridges and grooves and is flat and static. By contrast the preceding form is more vibrant and droops more strongly outwards at the ends, in the Classical manner. These two variations have many typological elements in common. Their dif-

316. W. v. SYDOW, RM 84 (1977) 284 f., pls. 129.3; 131.2.

317. Cf. Kraus, 38. In the rich recently published material from Aesernia and Venafrum in Italy other examples of Greek-influenced scrolls can be detected. Cf. the base with the dedicatory inscription for L. Vibius Gallus from the second half of the 1st c. B.C., which on the top has a flower-scroll resembling our stelai 46 and 50 in its composition: S. DIEBNER, *Aesernia-Venafrum*, 1979, 145, pl. 22. The same publication includes other decorations which show the same relation to the Greek and Asia Minor tradition as that on pl. 74, fig. 145 (cf. the Boeotian and Pergamene: e.g. AM 32 (1907) 401, fig. 13) and that on pl. 75, fig. 150 (cf. those of mainland Greece). Much work still needs to be done on the typology and chronology of the

Italian scroll motifs. And see above n. 305.

318. For the origins, formation and ideas about the meaning of the acanthus-leaf ornament, see MÖBIUS 1929, 13, 21, MÖBIUS 1968, 103-104 (with bibliography). Recently P. PEDERSEN, *The Parthenon and the Origin of the Corinthian Capital*, 1989, 32 ff.

319. W. D. HEILMEYER, *Korinthische Normalkapitelle*, 1970, 57, pls. 16.1-3; 17.1-2.

320. A. K. ΟΡΑΑΝΔΟΣ, *ΠΑΕ* 1963, pl. 96; *Tò 'Eργον* 1971, 157, fig. 193; HEILMEYER, *op. cit.* 53, pl. 60.2.

321. *Ibid.* 54-55, pl. 11.2.

322. Olympia Museum: *ΑΔ* 18 (1963) B1, 104, pl. 139α-β.

323. MÖBIUS 1929, 78, pls. 67a, 71a.

324. HEILMEYER, *op. cit.* pl. 11.1.

ference is mainly a stylistical one. The heavy acanthus-leaves belong to a tradition created in the 3rd c. B.C., as the capitals of the Arsinoeion on Samothrace of ca 280 B.C. testify.³²⁵ This tradition is also followed in the Northwest Peloponnese by a large capital with figures from Kollyri in Eleia in the Olympia Museum.³²⁶ It has a broader expanse, as shown by the acanthus leaves on the capitals, from Sicily (2 c. B.C.)³²⁷. The coexistence of the two variations on the same monument at Olympia shows that they were in contemporary use, in the second half of the 2nd c. B.C. It has also been observed on the acanthus leaves of capitals dated later, even after the middle of the 1st c. B.C.³²⁸

The frontal acanthus leaf of the central calyx on stele **45** belongs basically to the first form, but it has been rendered in a more simplified, schematic manner through the use of incision, the drill and a little modelling, and it recalls the form of some Sicilian Hellenistic examples³²⁹ as well as that taken by this type in the 2nd c. A.D., as seen on the capitals of the Asklepieion, of Hadrian's Gate in Athens and of the Triumphal Arches at Eleusis, for example.³³⁰

These two forms of acanthus leaf can also be distinguished on the Corinthian capitals of the half-columns on the stelai, which are generally neither well preserved (the best preserved examples are on **45**) nor carefully made. Nearly all the acanthus leaves on these capitals, however, except for **60**, seem to belong to the second variation, that of stelai **48** and **49**, even though they retain a sense of movement lacking there. Only the capitals on stele **60** have acanthus leaves that are different and indeed that match the form of acanthus leaf on stele **50**, with a central rib and eyelets.

The acanthus leaves of the calyxes in the corners of the sofa-capitals on **58** and **74** are close to the above types that we have in Achaea, while those of **56** are less acanthus-like and the acanthus leaves on **75** recall those on the capital at Sparta and the Arcadian pedimental stone,³³¹ which approximate the South Italian forms of acanthus leaf as seen on the Apulian vases.³³² The central two-leafed calyx on **75** is in the same style; it is a well-known motif, in addition to the commoner three-leafed calyx, in various places from Asia Minor to Italy.³³³

325. H. BAUER, *Korinthische Kapitelle des 4. u. 3. Jh. v. Chr.*, 1973, 111 f., pl. 31.1.

326. E. ΠΑΠΑΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ-ΧΑΡΙΤΟΥ *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Ἑλληνικῶν Μελετῶν* 1 (1982) 505 ff., fig. 1, 2.

327. LAUTER-BUFÉ thinks that they are a result of a stylistic development of the "classical" form (beginning 3rd c. B.C.) towards abstraction: H. LAUTER-BUFÉ, *Die Geschichte der sikeliotisch-korinthischen Kapitells. Der sogenannte italisch-republikanische Typus*, 1987, 74f., 86f., no. 42, pl. 18a, no. 45, pl. 22e.

328. Cf. HEILMEYER, *op. cit.* 55-56, pl. 11.3-6.

329. LAUTER-BUFÉ, *op. cit.* 74, pl. 17a.

330. HEILMEYER, *op. cit.* 73, pls. 17.4; 18.4; 19.1-2.

331. MÖBIUS 1929, pl. 71c and here n. 252, pl. XVIIa.

332. SALZMANN, pl. 96. The connections between the decoration of Sparta and South Italy have already been indicated by MÖBIUS 1929, 78-79. There are exact Italian parallels not only for the above examples, but for the flat serrated acanthus leaves with simple veins that are seen on a number of Spartan stelai: *ibid.* pls. 70a-c, 72a. To these should be added the fragment from the tympanum of a pediment from Ceglie in Boston: see n. 305.

333. See p. 76f.

Various Objects

In four instances of stelai belonging to the composite Type A (nos. 45, 46, 49, 52) the lower part is decorated in relief with a stylized stem and acanthus calyx, from which sprouts the almond-shaped motif, which is formed with a raised border. Does the latter represent an object on which foliate elements were employed, or does it depict some kind of vegetational motif? The first scholar to study stele 45 thought it was a mirror (see the Catalogue), and the stem could indeed belong to a mirror or fan;³³⁴ however, the almond-shaped motif, in the way it sprouts from the acanthus calyx, gives the impression of being a bud, which would have been completed by the addition of colour. A relevant form in this context is the large ivy leaf in about the middle of the Erythrai stelai, which could be interpreted as a Dionysiac symbol on the grave of a Dionysiast.³³⁵ In the same position 47 has a six-petal "rosette" in a circular frame with a suspension loop or handle, badly preserved (a mirror or phiale?)³³⁶, a spindle shaped unguentarium³³⁷ and a rectangle (dice?) with an incised lozenge as a "σημεῖον" in its centre.³³⁸ The four-spoked wheel on stele 43 is a well-known funerary motif.³³⁹ Although the objects in stele 47 can be interpreted as attributes, as is usual on Hellenistic stelai, the almond shaped motif and the wheel have a symbolic significance. The first, if a bud, probably signifies youth; the second, life's fortune.

334. J. MARTHA, *BCH* 2 (1878) 99. Cf. PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 980, pl. 148. On a Hadra hydria, formerly in Leipzig, the fan resembles an almond with a raised border as on the stelai: B. R. BROWN, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* 1957, 62, no. 44, pl. 35.2. SCHMALTZ, 98, thinks it may be a spindle.

335. Cf. P. JACOBSTAHL, in U. V. WILAMOVITZ-MÖLLENDORFF, *AbhBerlin* 1909, 13, fig. 2.

336. For this object, cf. a similar one in the same position on the stele from Mani: AAA 1 (1968) 120, fig. 2. It must be distinguished from the rosette in a circle which often appears on pediments of Attic stelai: CONZE IV, no. 1913, pl. 410 (called a shield) and others, and more often on East Greek stelai. Cf. also the "rosette" ornament in a circle on Italian funerary monuments: S. DIEBNER, *Reperti funerarii in Umbria a sinistra del Tevere, 1 sec. a.C. - 1 sec. d.C.*, 1988, 62, Ass 5, pl. 2 and *passim*. Such an ornament and a wheel alternating with boucrania decorate the

base of an East Greek stele in Verona: PFUHL-MÖBIUS, no. 535, pl. 83.

337. For the motif of vases on grave stelai: BWGT, 195; PFUHL-MÖBIUS, 540, nos. 2257-2262, pls. 319-320. And see the Attic stelai with representations of loutrophoroi: CONZE III, pls. 281-290. The stele from Skillountia in the Olympia Museum Λ917 (AA 33 (1978) B1, 78, pl. 22γ) has a kantharos on the lower part. Cf. the kantharos on a stele painted on Apulian vases: H. LOHMANN, *Grabmäler auf unteritalischen Vasen*, 1979, 142 ff. A category of unpublished grave σήματα at Messene consists of plaques in the shape of kantharos, standing perhaps on small pillars (see p. 27).

338. For the sepulchral significance of the dice, see J.J. BACHOFEN, *Annali del Istituto* 30 (1858) 141 ff.

339. For the wheel on funerary monuments see MÖBIUS 1929, 26-27; IDEM, *Studia Varia* 1967, 29, 32; J.J. BACHOFEN, *Versuch über die Gräber-Symbolik der Alten*, 1859, 17, 39.

Catalogue

The classification is according to type. Since the descriptions of standard repeated features that are given in the chapter on Types of Stelai are not repeated here, a subheading defining the Type is placed before each group corresponding to the subheadings in that section.

With very few exceptions the material used for the stelai is a fine-grained limestone; I have therefore only included the type of stone in the description when this is different. The provenance is indicated by the ancient name of the city, if known, followed by the modern place-name or locality in parenthesis.

General remarks on the techniques used to dress the surface, which are to be found in the chapter on Technique, have been omitted, as have details of the height of the letters in the inscriptions. This varies between 1 cm on **55**, 2.5 cm on **19**, 4 cm on **14** and **72**, and 5 cm on **11**.

The stelai in this catalogue are in the Patras Museum, except for **22**, **24**, **25**, **26** and **42**, which have recently been transferred to the Aigion Museum.

I. Pillar-Stelai and Plaques

1. Upper part missing. 102 × 40.5 × 17.5 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 147. Patras, Riga Pheraiou and Aratou Street; circumstances unknown. The lower part, h. 40 cm., is thicker and unworked, apparently for insertion in the ground. Inscription on the vertical axis of the stone with red colour in the incisions.

---θεος

Ca. mid 5th c. B.C.

J. BINGEN, *BCH* 78 (1954) 400, no. 17, fig. 4, *SEG* XIV 374, JEFFERY, *Local Scripts*, 223, 409, pl. 44.

2. Bottom broken. Slightly chipped, chiefly on the edges; sandy limestone. 92 × 50 × 22 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1385. Patras, Korinthou Street and 19 Poukevil Street; built into a Late Hellenistic wall.

Inscription:

Ψαμώνιος
Θρασυμάχ-
ου Βούριος

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 31 (1976) B1, 97, *SEG* XXXIV, 339.

3. Lower right corner broken; sides chipped. $108 \times 62.5 - 58 \times 13.5 - 11.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no 173. Pharai (Prevedos, locality of Bouba) (fig. 1).

The lower part, h. 35 cm, is wider and rough-hewn, for insertion in the ground. The surface of the stele bears the marks of a punch; the inscription panel is smooth, the upper surface rough-picked.

Inscription:

Τελέσαρχος
Ἀλκία

4th c. B.C.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *AE* 1964, Χρονικά 61, no. 12, pl. Θ, α, *SEG* XXIV 333.

4. Corners broken above and lower right. $131 \times 80 \times 13.5 - 15$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 217. Kleitor (locality of "Sta Mnimata"). Temporarily stored in the Patras Odeion (fig. 2).

Clear fine claw-chisel marks over the whole surface.

Inscription:

Φιλίππα
Δαμάτριά χαί<ρ>ετε

3rd c. B.C.

Πεισία
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *op.cit.* 64, no. 4, pl. E, β, dates the first two names to the 3rd c. B.C., and the third one to the 1st c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D.; *SEG* XXIV, 287.

5. Broken above and below; sides chipped. Sandstone. $43 \times 43 \times 10$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1039. Patras?

Inscription:

Θέων Τιμάνδρου
χαῖρε

3rd c. B.C.

Νέολλι
χαῖρε

Second half of 3rd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

6. Broken below, $38.2 \times 35 \times 9$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2635. Tritaia (locality of Renia).

Inscription:

Σώφων
Θρασυβούλου
χαῖρε

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

7. Broken all round. $37 \times 30 \times 12$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2547. Unknown provenance.

Inscription:

Ἑρμιόνη
χαῖρε

2nd - 1st c. B.C.

Unpublished.

8. Broken above and below. Sandstone. $46.5 \times 37 \times 7$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 143. Tritaia (Ayia Marina).

Inscription:

Νίκηφόρε
χαῖρε

1st c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D.

Π. ΝΕΡΑΤΖΟΥΛΗΣ, *Ἀχαιῶν Δωδεκαπόλεως ἐρείπια καὶ μνημεῖα*, A', 1938-41, 21, no. 5, fig. 15.

9. Broken below and at right. Above and at left marks of the initial rough dressing are preserved. Sandstone. $36 \times 28 \times 13$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 142. Tritaia (Ayia Marina).

Inscription:

Ἐπίκτησι Ε [-ca2-]
νος χαῖρε

1st c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D.

Π. ΝΕΡΑΤΖΟΥΛΗΣ, *op. cit.* fig. 14.

10. Broken on the right and at lower right edge. Upper surface flat. Sandstone. $24 \times 41 \times 9$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1012. Tritaia (Ayia Marina)

Inscription:

Ἐπίκτησις
χαῖρε

1st. c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D.

Unpublished.

II. Palmette-Stelai

11. Fragment of the upper part of a stele. Only the right side is preserved; the right front edge is badly chipped. $33.5 \times 57 \times 12.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 175. Pharai.

Part of the shaft and the crowning above it is preserved. Decoration: horizontal S-form volutes on either side of the vertical stem of what must have been a palmette; on the left, part of a similar stem.

Inscription:

Φαικύλος

End of 5th, beginning of 4th c. B.C.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *op. cit.* 61-62, no. 13 pl., Στ, γ, *SEG XXIV*, 332. Cf. also *IG IX*, 1, 928.

12. Stele with palmette finial. Part of the middle is missing and has been restored; the lower end was broken and has been mended. The top of the finial and edges of the shaft are chipped. The back has been worked with a coarse punch; on the sides traces of rasping are visible and anathyrosis. The back of the palmette was left rough. Marble. Overall h. 184 cm, shaft of the stele 128 cm, w. 37.5-33.5 cm, th. 10.1-9 cm. It has been set in a modern base in accordance with the evidence provided by the original marks on the stone.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1452. Patras, Korinthou Street 221-223.

There are two relief rosettes on the upper part of the plaque which terminates in a quarter-round ovolo and a band carrying the palmette: out of a triple-leafed acanthus calyx, grooved wavy acanthus stalks arise from which opposed volutes and a flame-and-split-palmette spring, inscribed within the periphery of the finial. Drooping S-shaped acanthus leaves sprout from the same calyx beside the volutes, breaking the outline of the finial. There is a painted stem between the two parts of the palmette, ending in a badly preserved poppy at the top. Two more identical flowers are on the lower outside corners. Traces of blue colour are preserved on the background of the palmette and the leaves of the rosettes on the shaft of the stele, and of red on the leaves of the palmette, the ovolo (egg-and-dart?) and the band; extensive but faint traces of red and another indefinite colour remain on the shaft of the stele (from a knotted ribbon?). No traces have survived of an inscription, which may have been painted.

Third quarter of 4th c. B.C.

I. Α. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 31 (1976) B1, 95.

III. Stelai with Crown Mouldings

13. Fragment of the upper part. The cyma reversa is chipped. 41 × 50 × 12 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 139. Pharai (Prevedos).

Below the crowning a flat band is defined by an incised line. The upper surface is roughly dressed and bears no traces of an inserted finial.

Inscription:

Ἀρχέλαος

4th c. B.C.

Unpublished.

14. Complete; upper front surface eroded. The abrupt moulding is chipped and has been preserved only on the right side. Left front edge and lower corner also chipped. 104.5 × 50.5 × 12-10 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1939. Patras, Kanari and Ioannou Vlachou Street 3.

The upper side is roughly dressed without traces of a finial attachment; lower edge without moulding.

Inscription:

Ἀγήμων

4th c. B.C.

Unpublished.

15. Bottom broken; left side of crown moulding chipped. 40.5 × 32-30 × 10-9.5 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1447. Patras, Korinthou Street 221-222 (fig. 3).

It has a cyma reversa. The top surface has anthyrosis but there are no traces of attachment for another member.

Inscription:

Τιμαρχίς
Τιμοδάμου

4th - 3rd c. B.C.

I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 31 (1976) B1, 95, *SEG* XXXIV, 340b.

16. Bottom broken. The crown moulding is for the most part chipped. $46 \times 30.7 - 28.5 \times 6-7$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 845. Patras, Koumaniotou Street 30-32.

At the top an incised horizontal line defined a slightly raised band. No traces of an added finial.

Inscription below the band, 2nd - 1st c. B.C.:

Προ[ca.4]ατη
[χα]ῖρε

4th - 3rd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

IV. Stelai with Pedimental Finial

17. Lower part missing; mended from two fragments. $64 \times 35.9 - 33.8 \times 10.3 - 9.3$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1446. Patras, Korinthou Street 221-222 (fig. 4).

Beneath the pediment is a quarter-round ovolo. Apart from the painted red fillet which is depicted knotted and terminates in tassels in the middle, there are traces of red colour on the acroteria for the palmettes, on the horizontal border of the pediment, on the ovolo (leaf-and-tongue or egg-and-dart?) and in the engraved letters of the inscription:

Εὐφάνης
Αἰσχρίωνος

End of 4th - beginning of 3rd c. B.C.

I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 31 (1979) B1, 95, *SEG* XXXIV, 340c.

18. Lower part missing. The central and right acroteria are chipped. $58 \times 38.2 - 37.7 \times 10$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 63. Dyme (Kato Achaia). It was found together with **33** and **43**.

There is an ovolo beneath the pediment, as on the previous stele.

Inscription:

Σωτηρίχα Πραξίτα
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

19. Lower part missing. $82.5 \times 42.5 - 39.5 \times 9-7.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1735. Patras, Constantinoupoleos 89 and Stratokleous Street (fig. 5).

There is a cyma reversa at the junction with the pediment and below is a band 6 cm. high bounded by two smooth narrow strips.

Inscription:

Σοφία Εὐθυκράτεος
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 33 (1978) B1, 97, *SEG* XXXV, 393.

- 20.** Lower part missing. The central and left acroteria are broken; the horizontal cornice is chipped. Shaft cleaned and restored. $61 \times 43.2-41 \times 9$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2541. Patras. Constantinoupoleos 89 and Stratokleous Street.

It has a cavetto moulding and a slightly raised band. There are traces of red colour on the horizontal border of the pediment and there is a red painted fillet knotted in the middle with curving round ends.

Inscription:

Νοστία
Ἀριστοδάμου
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *op. cit.* 97, *SEG* XXXV, 392.

- 21.** Lower part missing. The pediment and the right edge of the shaft are chipped. $56 \times 43.5-42.4 \times 13.5-11.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 195. Neochorion, Community of Phlamboura, Kalavryta.

It has a moulding similar to **20**. There is a fillet between this and the horizontal border of the pediment. The raised band on the upper part of the stele has the inscription:

Λοχίτα Ἰππία
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *op. cit.*, 64, pl. H, δ (1st c. B.C.).

- 22.** Fragment of the upper part; the bottom and right side are broken. $19 \times 25.5 \times 8$ cm.

Aigion Museum inv. no. 268. Aigion (Koumari Road, in the Karvelas wine factory).

Below the pediment, which has a central acroterium, there is a raised band with an inscription:

Σεῖμε Δαμο----

End of the 2nd - 1st c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 23.** Lower part missing. $58 \times 41.2-38.8 \times 6$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2236. Psophis.

There is a cyma reversa at the junction with the pediment.

The inscription is later and Imperial in date (2nd-3rd c. A.D.):

Ἀπολλώνιε
χαῖρε

2nd - 1st c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 24.** Lower part missing. The apex of the pediment is broken. $31 \times 22-20.7 \times 4.6$ cm.

Aigion Museum inv. no. 266. Keryneia (Mamousia) (fig. 6).

It has a flat projecting pediment without a border and with acroteria. There is anathyrosis on the sides.

Inscription:

Ἡσυχιον
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

25. Bottom broken. Marble. 24 × 24.5 × 3.6 cm.

Aigion Museum inv. no. 267. Keryneia (Mamousia), "in a pile of stones covering a 1st c. B.C. – 1st c. A.D. tomb."

It has a triangular top with vestigial acroteria at each side. Vertical incised lines at the edges give the impression of antae. Four equidistant horizontal underlines are engraved across the full width of the stele. The upper one separates the triangular finial from the surface of the stele. Between two of the lines is the name and below the lower one the inscribed salutation:

Ἐπιφανέα
χαῖρε

2nd-1st c. B.C.

Unpublished.

26. Bottom missing. Marble. 18 × 20 × 3.6 cm.

Aigion Museum inv. no. 246. Keryneia (Mamousia).

It has a triangular termination with projections as acroteria: the central one is cylindrical, those on the side rectangular (the left one is broken).

Inscription (1st-2nd c. A.D.):

Ἀνείκητε
χαῖρε

Imperial period.

E. MEYER, *Peloponnesische Wanderungen*, 1957, 133, E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *ΑΔ* 19 (1964) B2, 187.

27. Broken above and below. 22.5 × 34.5 × 7 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 145. Gourzoumisa district, now Leontion.

At the top a small fragment of slightly raised band is preserved.

Inscription:

--- με Σωσιβίο[υ---]
χαῖρε

1st c. B.C. - 1st c. A.D.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, 1976 (1976-1978) 379.

28. Fragment of the left side. 37 × 18.5 × 6.5 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1454. Patras, Korinthou Street 221-222.

The curving left end with tassels of a red painted ribbon is preserved.

3rd-2nd c. B.C.

I. Α. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 31 (1976) B1, 95.

- 29.** Fragment broken all around. $21 \times 20.5 \times 2.5-0.5$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 1450. Patras, Korinthou Street 221-222.
 Part of a painted ribbon is preserved.
 3rd-2nd c. B.C.
 I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *loc. cit.*

V. Pedimental Stelai with a Sunken Panel

- 30.** The upper right part is chipped. $84.5 \times 31.5-28.5 \times 7.5-5$ cm.; sunken panel 26×23.5 cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 187. Pharai (Prevedos, locality of Koutoulorachi).
 The sides and back are unworked. The wider lower part is rough-hewn for insertion in the ground or a base. The lower corners are cut away. On the upper border of the panel, which is wider than the sides, is the inscription:

Λυκίσκα Εὐτύχου χαῖρε

3rd-2nd c. B.C.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, AE 1964, Χρονικά 62, no. 14, pl. Θ, γ (1st c. B.C.), *SEG XXIV*, 335.

- 31.** Lower part missing; left edge and side acroteria chipped. $76.5 \times 30-26 \times 13$ cm; sunken panel 20.4×20.17 cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 844, Patras, Koumaniotou Street 30-32.
 Shallow pediment and representation field. The pediment has a tall central acroterium. On the upper border, which is wider than the others, is the inscription:

Στράτιε Μουτίου χαῖρε

2nd-1st c. B.C.

I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *ΑΔ* 29 (1973-74) B2, 355.

- 32.** The pediment and left edge of the shaft are chipped. Sandy limestone. $127 \times 45.1-42.5 \times 13-11$ cm.; sunken panel 39.5×32.5 cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 2636. Dyme (Kato Achaia) (fig. 7).
 On the lower part an incised line marks the limit of the unworked section that was inserted into a base. On the upper border, which is equal in width to the sides, is the inscription:

Ἀριστὼ	Φιλοστράτα	χαίρετε
Ξενοφίλου	Κανώπου	

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 33.** Lower part missing; acroteria slightly chipped. $52 \times 32-30.5 \times 9.5$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 64. Dyme (Kato Achaia). It was found together with **18** and **43**.
 On the upper, wider border is the inscription:

Πυθίων Διοκλέος χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 34.** The pediment is totally destroyed. $64 \times 31.8-27.4 \times 5.5-4.5$ cm; sunken panel 25×23.5 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 826. Patras, Al. Ypsilantou 227-229 and Kanari Street.

The unworked bottom part, which was inserted into a base or the ground, is preserved; also traces of fine claw-chisel dressing on the shaft below the representation panel.

On the upper border, wider then the rest, is the inscription:

Παμφίλα Ἀριστωνύμου
Λύκων Λύκωνος χαίρετε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

35. Fragment of the upper right side. $22 \times 17 \times 8$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2540. Patras, Kanakari Street 90-92.

On the upper part of the raised band below the pediment and on the upper border of the representation field with the inscription is a narrow smoothed zone. The upper border is wider than the others.

Inscription:

---ακλείτου
[χαῖρ]ε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

36. Top, lower part and right side missing; front edges chipped. $45 \times 30 \times 9.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1940. Dyme (Kato Achaia, locality of Ayiovlasitika).

Fine tool marks are visible on the borders and the raised band although the surface as a whole has been worn smooth.

Inscription:

Θράσων Ἡρακλέ[ους χαῖρε]

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

37. Lower and left part missing; the acroteria are broken. $42 \times 30.7 \times 6.5-6.2$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 740. Patras, Karaiskaki and Miaouli Street 67.

The raised band is absent and the upper inscribed border of the representation field is twice as wide as the side ones. Only the flat border of the pediment and the moulding below it are smooth.

Inscription:

--- Σαραπίωνος
---ν Φιλάγρου χαίρετε

2nd c. B.C.

ΙΦΙΓ. ΔΕΚΟΥΛΑΚΟΥ, ΑΔ 30 (1975)B1, 102, *SEG* XXXII, 420.

38. The lower part and the pediment are broken. $36 \times 25.4-24.4 \times 7.5$ cm. The front surface appears to be unfinished.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1010. Unknown provenance, perhaps Patras.

Only the borders of the pediment are smooth.

No inscription.

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

39. Broken all round. $7.7 \times 7.3 \times 9$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 201. Dyme (Araxos).

At the top the moulding, raised band and beginning of the shaft of the stele are preserved.

Inscription:

---τιων---

2nd c. B.C.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *ΠΑΕ* 1964, 67, pl. 69β, *SEG XXV*, 476.

40. Fragment of the upper part of a stele, broken all round. $17.6 \times 14 \times 4.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 949. Pharai (Prevedos).

Part of the rough-picked sunken panel, the inscription band and the flat surface above (raised band?) are preserved.

Inscription:

---ίππου χαῖρε

2nd-1st c. B.C.

Unpublished.

41. The right side only, showing the initial working of the stone, is preserved, partly chipped. $72 \times 37 \times 19$ -16 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1055. "Achaia". The precise provenance is unknown.

The lump of marble on top of the pediment shows either that the stele had been left half-finished or, more probably, that it continued upwards and that the pediment was carved in relief (cf. **58**, **74**). Below the pediment the band is decorated with a grooved spiral-scroll whose two stems sprout from acanthus leaves at either end and meet in the centre in two antithetical volutes. There are "bell-shaped" flowers where the stems fork (fig. 17a).

On the upper border of the representation panel, equal in width to the sides, is the inscription:

---να...κ...ος χαῖ[ρε]

2nd c. B.C.

ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, 1975, 299, fig. 5.

42. Most of the pediment is missing. Chipped above; grey limestone. $70.5 \times 39 \times 6.6$ -7.3 cm., sunken panel 37.5×33.5 cm.

Aigion Museum inv. no. 265. Previously in the office of the Akrata Community. The precise provenance is unknown, perhaps Aigai (Akrata?).

Below the pediment there is a raised strip and a cyma reversa (cf. **21**). The bottom has a peg to join with a base. The upper margin, wider than the others, carried an inscription, now erased. On the sunken panel is a later one (1st c. A.D.):

Ἀνείκητε
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

VI. Naiskos-Stelai

a. Simpler Types

- 43.** The upper left corner and the top of the pediment are broken, and the left anta is chipped. There are two cracks across the field between the antae. $105 \times 37.8-33.7 \times 9.5$ cm.; representation field 30×26.4 cm. $\times 4$ mm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 65. Dyme (Kato Achaia). It was found together with **18** and **33** (fig. 8).

The antae with Doric capitals and bases stood on a pseudo stylobate and supported an inscribed architrave with a crown moulding. Between this and the pediment is a sofa-capital frieze of a cyma recta section, crowned with a stepped receding double fillet. The slanting cornices have three receding bands (cf. **45**, **55**, **56**). On the smooth surface of the lower part of the stele, some 50 cm. from the bottom, is a relief four-spoked wheel. The bottom rough-hewn 8 cm. of the stele were inserted in a base.

Inscription:

Ἀριστίων Εὐθυνίωνος
χαῖ[ρ]ε

3rd-2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 44.** Pediment and bottom right corner chipped. The surface is eroded and partly covered with deposit. $87 \times 42-38.5 \times 9-7.5$ cm.; representation field 28×26.5 cm. $\times 2$ mm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 189 (inventoried twice: also 1070). Pharai (Isari) (fig. 9).

The "frieze" between the architrave and the pediment is omitted. There is a cyma reversa at their junction.

The inscription on the architrave:

Στολὶ Περιγένεος χαῖρε

3rd-2nd c. B.C.

E. ΜΑΣΤΡΟΚΩΣΤΑΣ, *AE* 1964, 62, no. 15, pl. Θ, β (2nd c. B.C.), *SEG* XXIV, 334.

b. Composite Types

FRAGMENTS WITH ELEMENTS OF BOTH PARTS (TYPES A AND B)

- 45.** Bottom missing. The left corner of the pediment, the acroteria and the sofa-capital of the lower section are chipped. $92.5 \times 51.6-45.5 \times 18-10$ cm. When he first published it, J. MARTHA, *BCH* 2 (1978) 99, gave the height as 175 cm., and from his description it appears that the stele was complete at the time, but later broken and built into a house wall.

Patras Museum inv. no. 107. Dyme (Kato Achaia) (fig. 10).

The upper part of the stele is a naiskos with Corinthian half-columns standing on a pseudo stylobate. The architrave has an inscription, the "frieze" is in the form of a sofa-capital with a narrow crown moulding, and the raking cornices of the pediment have three receding bands of rectangular section (cf. **43**, **55**, **56**). The acroteria are composed of grooved spirals. The lower section of the stele, the upper part of which has survived, is crowned with a sofa-capital. An incised line forms a margin on both sides of the shaft. There are two relief rosettes on the shaft

and part of the same amygdaloid motif that is preserved almost complete on stelai **49** and **52**, and which Martha (s. below) believed to be a mirror. He makes no mention of the stem and acanthus calyx that occur together with this motif on **49** and **52**. On both capitals a relief line at each end rises vertically from the fillet and curls outward to produce the sofa-capital profile. The capital of the naiskos is decorated with a spiral-scroll springing from a central acanthus calyx, with "bell-shaped" flowers in the forks of the antithetically spiralling grooved stems. In the flower-scroll of the lower capital the central acanthus calyx is chipped and the spirals of the thin parallel stems contain rosettes, "lily" and "bell-shaped" flowers with oblique lines (fig. 18a, 20a, 17b, 17i, cf. DYGGVE fig. 55).

Νίκαια Δίωνος χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

J. MARTHA, *BCH* 2 (1878) 99, F. von Duhn, *AM* 3 (1878) 73-74, *SGDI*, 1620, J. BINGEN, *BCH*, 78 (1954) 400, pl. 7, *BWGT*, 55, ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975, 292-293, fig. 2, SCHMALTZ, 98.

- 46.** Middle section of a composite stele, broken above and below. The lower part of the naiskos with the half-columns and the beginning of the lower section of the stele with the sofa-capital are preserved. $35 \times 44-43 \times 12-10$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2731. Dyme (Pournari, in the district of Kato Achaia). Collected 1971 by the journalist Mr P. Papandropoulos.

The antae with Ionic bases rest on a pseudo stylobate fillet. The sofa-capital is formed by a canalis that terminates above in volutes. From the central acanthus calyx sprout corded stems with bracts from which antithetical flower-scrolls branch (fig. 14). These end in loops with "bell-shaped" flowers and rosettes (figs. 17d, 18c). Between the antithetical stems hangs a lily-like flower (cf. **47**, **50**, **57** and the painted scroll of tomb II in Nea Michaniona, I. ΒΟΚΟΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Οἱ ταφικοί τύμβοι τῆς Αἰνείας*, 1990, 37, pl. 4a) Part of the amygdaloid motif is preserved on the lower shaft (cf. **45**, **49**, **52**).

No inscription is visible.

2nd c. B.C.

ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975, 292, fig. 1.

- 47.** Middle section of a composite stele, broken above and below. Mended from two fragments, with many small chips. The surface is eroded. $49 \times 43.5 \times 10$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1932. Pharai (Prevedos, locality of Koutoulorachi).

The bottom of the left half-column of the naiskos is preserved with its Ionic base and a very small part of the right half-column on a pseudo-stylobate. On the capital of the lower stele vertical raised volutes bordered by incised lines rising from the ends of the horizontal fillet form the sofa-capital. It is decorated with a grooved spiral-scroll whose two stems sprout from a central acanthus calyx. There are lily? flowers where the stems fork (cf. **46**, **50**, **57**). Below the sofa-capital are depicted in relief in a row a six-petalled rosette in a circular frame with a chipped suspension loop or handle (mirror or phiale?), a spindle-shaped unguentarium and a square object, of which the bottom is missing, with an incised rhomb in the middle (dice?).

No inscription is visible.

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 48.** Lower section of a composite stele. Top and bottom missing. $74 \times 53.5 \times 15$ cm. The upper left side and the bottom have been restored with plaster.

Patras Museum inv. no. 242. Kynaitha district? (Drosato, Kalavryta): see stele **69**.

At the upper right is preserved the Ionic base of a half-column from the naiskos on top; the

pseudo stylobate has a cyma reversa moulding which crowns the lower part of the composite stele. On the quasi sofa-capital ribbed stems sprout from a central acanthus calyx, with bracts at the end; they branch off in a spiral and a similar stem with a bract and a half-palmette at its end. The outer leaf of the half-palmette formed the side outlines of the sofa-capital (the edges are chipped). Immediately beneath the fillet the first erased inscription of the 2nd c. B.C. can be distinguished:

Φίλεια χαῖρε

And underneath the later, 2nd c. A.D.:

Τι(βέριος). Κλαύδιος Ἀντί-
πατρος χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 49.** Lower section. Top and bottom missing. Laminated grey limestone. $84.5 \times 54-52 \times 10-11$ cm. Patras Museum inv. no. 1461. Tritaia (locality of Akonia): see stele **63**.

The sofa-capital has a canalis and a spiral-scroll decoration springing from the central acanthus calyx. The preservation is not good. The rest of the broken upper part belonged to a naiskos with antae, the remains of whose bases are visible. It is very likely to have formed the lower part of a composite stele with **63** as the upper section (fig. 11). They were both found in the same spot at Tritaia and are made of the same kind of stone, and there is a uniform reduction in width from the bottom of **49**: 54 cm., to the top of **63**: 47,5 cm. It is not, however, evident that they come from the same piece of stone (see p. 52). It has an amygdaloid motif in an acanthus calyx with a stylized leaf-stalk, the lower part of which is missing (cf. stelai **45**, **46** and **52**). Below the sofa-capital an incised line forms a band 12.5 cm. wide.

No inscription is visible.

2nd c. B.C.

NEPATZOYΛΗΣ, *op. cit.* 22.

- 50.** Fragment of a sofa-capital, broken above and below; left edge chipped. $42.5 \times 16.5 \times 11.4$ cm. Patras Museum inv. no. 1938. Dyme (Kato Achaia).

The traces on the upper surface are enough to tell us that there was a naiskos on the upper part of the stele: the beginning of the background is visible but the antae are missing. There are remains below of the beginning of the lower section of the composite stele with a moulding at the top of the shaft. The sofa-capital is formed by the shallow canalis that turns upwards at a right angle with volutes at either end. Antithetical stems spring from a raised acanthus calyx in the centre. At their ends, wherever there is an acanthus bract, two secondary stems curl in opposite directions and divide into two antithetical volutes terminating in a spiral and a flower respectively (rosettes and "bell-shaped" flowers with twisted spadix) (figs. 18b, 17c). Between the two stems hangs a tendril with a lily-like or bell-shaped flower (fig. 17h, cf. **46**, **47**, **57**). A drill was used in the centres of the spirals and in the central acanthus calyx.

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 51.** Lower section, consisting of two fragments. Only the left side has survived; the ends of the "frieze" are missing. $100 \times 29 \times 7$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2539. Tritaia (Ayia Marina).

The beginning of the background of the naiskos has been preserved on the upper surface some 2 cm. inwards from the front edge. There are indistinct remains of a spiral-scroll on the "frieze".

On the left can be seen a slightly raised margin. There may also have been a horizontal margin at the top, no longer visible due to erosion.

No traces of an inscription can be distinguished.

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 52.** Lower section. The upper part is missing; the right side and bottom are chipped. The surface is eroded and has become calcified. Perhaps laminated grey limestone. $88 \times 54.5 \times 10$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2850. Tritaia (locality of Akonia).

No traces remain that enable us to restore the upper part. At the bottom is a partly preserved dowel for insertion into a base. There is a possible sofa-capital with an indistinctly visible spiral-scroll springing from a central acanthus calyx. On the shaft is a completely preserved stylized conical stalk with the acanthus calyx and the amygdaloid motif (cf. **45**, **46**, **49**).

There are indistinct traces of an inscription on the upper part of the shaft.

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 53.** Middle section of a composite stele. The left edge is preserved. $32 \times 24 \times 11$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 668. Patras, Kanakari and Ermou Street 83.

On the upper part are the remains of a half-column with an Ionic base on a projecting pseudo-stylobate fillet and a small part of the background. The surface of the representation panel on the lower part, which is not sunken, is rough-picked and the equal margins are smooth.

No inscription is visible.

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 54.** Part of the left side of a stele like **53**. $25.5 \times 17 \times 6-8$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 454. Patras, Koumanioti and G. Olympiou Street 58.

Preserved are part of a broken half-column with an Ionic base and some of the background and lower shaft showing the rough-picked surface of the representation panel not sunken and the smooth margins.

No inscription is visible.

Unpublished.

UPPER PARTS OF COMPOSITE STELAI TYPE A

- 55.** Bottom broken. The top of the pediment, fillets and right capital are chipped. $68 \times 45 \times 12$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1935. Dyme (Kato Achaia); built into the house of K. Kostopoulos.

Naiskos with Corinthian half-columns, inscribed architrave and "frieze", with sloping sides and the outline of a volute (quasi sofa-capital). The raking cornices of the pediment are stepped (cf. **43**, **45**, **56**) and the "leaves" of the palmette acroteria at each side are grooved spiral shoots. On the quasi sofa capital the antithetical flower-scrolls sprout from a central acanthus calyx which is combined with a bell-shaped flower, similar to the other (fig. 17 f-g; cf. the Tegea frieze, n. 250).

The inscription is on the left part of the architrave:

Ἀρχέδαε Σωσιστράτου
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

The name Ἀρχέδαος is not found in the name-lists; perhaps it should be Ἀρχέλαος. J. BINGEN 78 (1954) 398, no. 10, fig. 6, *SEG* XIV, no. 372, ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975, 300, n. 16.

56. The top of a stele: broken on the left, below and partly on the right. $44 \times 40 \times 16$ -14 cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 2652. Dyme (Kato Achaia, Philopoimenos Street).
 The pediment has stepped raking cornices (cf. 43, 45, 55) and the acroterium on the top is decorated with spiral shoots similar to that on stele 45. A grooved spiral-scroll with no flowers on the "frieze" sprouts from an acanthus-like calyx at either end.
 Inscription:

---κράτεος [χαῖρε]

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

57. Upper part, broken all around. $27 \times 23 \times 9$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 509. Patras, Kanakari Street 113.
 A very little of the beginning of the background of the naiskos is preserved, 1.5 cm from the lower edge of the inscribed architrave. Some of the middle of the pediment is preserved with a flat horizontal cornice and the decoration of the "frieze", which is bounded below by a half-round fillet. The decoration shows two opposed grooved volutes in the centre, the remains of the bracts, and beyond the right-hand volute the beginning of an antithetical branching volute with a lily-like flower in the fork (fig. 20b, cf. 46, 47, 50).
 Inscription:

---α Ἐχεσθ[ένεος χαῖρε]

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

58. Upper part consisting of two fragments joined with the aid of plaster filling. Broken at the left, top and below. $37 \times 26 \times 8$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 1639. Patras, Korinthou Street 152-154 (fig. 12).
 The pediment, with the moulded raking cornices and perhaps acroteria was evidently carved in relief on the angular? summit of the stele (cf. 41, 74). The base of the capital consists of a canalis bordered above by a narrow fillet. Twisted stems with double antithetical grooved volutes sprout from a calyx of serrated acanthus leaves at either end and meet in the centre. There are "lily" flowers among the volutes (fig. 20 f; cf. Dyggve fig. 66).
 2nd c. B.C.
 Unpublished.

UPPER PARTS OF COMPOSITE STELAI TYPE B

59. Lower part missing, central acroterium broken. $34.5 \times 51.5 \times 7.5$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 138. Pharai (Prevedos, Koumaniotis property).
 The pediment has moulded cornices and no side acroteria. The sofa-capital zone is crowned by a projecting fillet and has a concavo-convex surface (cyma recta). The lower band of the architrave is much wider than the upper. A small part of the shaft is preserved with the remains of an anta capital, probably Doric, on the right.
 Inscription:

[Δ]αμαρέτα Σατύρου χαῖρε

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *Φίλια Ἑπη*, *Studies Presented to Georges Mylonas II*, 1987, 102, *SEG* XXXVI, 400.

- 60.** Lower part missing. The crown mouldings are chipped. Microbreccia limestone. $65 \times 66.5 \times 13.3$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1307. Pharai (Prevedos; built into the surrounding wall of the church of the Panayia).

Flat sofa-capital zone. There is a socket in the upper surface, 6.5×3.7 cm, with a channel for pouring lead for the attachment of a finial. The lower band of the architrave is twice the width of the upper.

Inscription:

Αἴσχυτε Σίμου χαῖρε

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 61.** Lower part missing. The top and the left half-column are chipped. Microbreccia limestone. $57.5 \times 56.52 \times 12$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 241. Pharai (Chalandritsa).

Flat sofa-capital zone. There is no indication on the top that a finial was attached.

Inscription:

Προξενίδα Ξεναίου χαῖρε

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 62.** Lower part missing. The half-columns and the zone above the architrave are heavily chipped. $69 \times 61.57.5 \times 10$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1052. Unknown provenance.

The zone above the architrave is flat and does not have the profile of a sofa-capital. There is a square socket 4×4 cm. in the upper surface for the attachment of a finial.

Inscription:

Σατυρίων Ἀριστοτίμου χαῖρε

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 63.** Lower part missing. The half-columns and crown moulding are chipped and the surface is eroded. Laminated grey limestone. $67 \times 49.5-47.5 \times 11$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1460. Tritaia (locality of Akonia): see stele **49**.

The zone above the architrave is the same as on **62**. There is a socket $5.5 \times 2.5 \times 2$ cm in the upper surface and vestigial anathyrosis. It appears to have belonged with **49** (fig. 11).

Inscription (badly preserved):

Φίλα Σελεύκου χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

- 64.** Lower part missing; mended from two fragments. The crown moulding is chipped. Marble. $47 \times 33 \times 7.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 148. Patras.

Two holes in the upper surface, 12 cm. apart, with a channel for pouring lead, as well as the anathyrosis, show that it had a finial, now lost. The lowest, inscribed band of the architrave is twice the width of the upper. The sofa-capital band is crowned with a quarter-round ovolo and fillet. In

the representation panel, 17 cm. below the architrave and 2.5 cm, from the left half-column there is part of a slot holding a transverse lead tube (for use as a fountain?). The surface at the back is dressed with a punch.

Inscription:

Κλεόπολι Τρύφωνος
χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

65. Lower part missing; right edge broken. 43.1 × 39.4-38 × 11.5 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 825. Patras, Karaiskaki and Yerokostopoulou Street 31.

The "frieze" above the architrave, evidently of a sofa-capital form with a pronounced concave section (the surviving end is chipped) terminates above in a plain fillet. There are no traces of the attachment of a finial on the upper surface.

Inscription:

Ξενοκλέα Ἀγεσιλάου χ[αῖρε]

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

66. Upper right half with part of the right edge. Microbreccia limestone. 43 × 38 × 12.8 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 202. Pharai (Prevedos).

The zone above the architrave is flat. There are no traces of the attachment of a finial on the upper surface.

Inscription:

---[Ἀ]ρχελάου χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

67. Only the upper right corner has survived; the architrave and half-column are chipped. 40 × 53.4 × 9.2 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1934. Pharai (Prevedos).

Very little of the "frieze" is preserved above the architrave. It is the only example on which the lower band of the architrave is half the width of the upper one.

There is an inscription on the narrower band below:

---Παννείκου χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

68. Upper left half with part of the left side. The half-column, architrave and zone above are badly chipped. 45 × 55 × 12 cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2634. Pharai (Prevedos, Koumaniotis property).

There are remains of a square socket for a finial in the upper surface.

Inscription:

Σύμμαχος Συμάχ[ου χαῖρε]

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

69. Lower part missing (restored with plaster). Microbreccia limestone? $43.5 \times 56.5 \times 13$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 243. Kynaitha district? (Drosato, Kalavryta); see stele 48.
 Ionic half-column and a concavo-convex sofa-capital "frieze". There is a socket $5 \times 3 \times 4$ cm in the upper surface for attaching a finial.
 The inscription on the "frieze":

Ti. Claudius Antipater

2nd c. A.D.

There is an older erased inscription on both bands of the architrave:

[-ca 3-]υλε K[-ca 5-]ς [χαῖ]ρε

2nd c. B.C.

M. ŠAŠSEL-Kos, *Inscriptiones Latinae in Grecia repertae* (additamenta ad *CIL* III) 1979, 40 no 73.

70. Fragment of a side with part of a half-column and the background of the slab. $22 \times 21 \times 11.6$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 1376. Patras, Kalamogdarti Street 24.
 This fragment could belong to a naiskos of another type.
 Unpublished.

71. Broken at the left. $49 \times 60 \times 25$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2482. Pharai (Prevedos, 500 m. west of the public road, by the 111th km.).

Horizontal top with a double fillet and moulding, without traces of the attachment of a finial.
 Doric anta, an architrave with one band and a cyma reversa crowning and a sofa-capital band in a cyma recta section.

Inscription:

---κλάπων Λυκίσκου χαῖρε

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

72. Broken at the right and below; the top is chipped. It consists of two parts joined. Part of the back is missing over whole area, broken vertically. $40.5 \times 46.5 \times 5.5$ cm.
 Patras Museum inv. no. 2717 + 2718. Tritaia (Ayia Marina, locality of Tourkomnemata).
 Part of the Doric anta is preserved. The flat "frieze" is decorated with a flower-scroll which does not sprout from an acanthus calyx, and whose left end and most of the right half are missing (fig. 15). It forms antithetical scrolls in the centre. The volutes end with plain and composite lily flowers, (fig. 20 c, g) and in the fork of the stems there is a tendril with a similar flower (cf. DYGGVE fig. 55).

Inscription:

Σωτηρίχα Ἀπολλᾶ [χαῖρε]

End of 2nd – beginning of 1st c. B.C.

Unpublished. Cf. the stele fragment recently discovered in Drosato: *AD* 37 (1982) B1 (1989) 150, pl. 94β.

73. Broken all around. $14 \times 13 \times 7$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 1379. Patras, Miaouli Street 55-57.

Part of the architrave with two unequal bands (the lower twice the width of the upper), and of the crown moulding and the beginning of a concavo-convex surface above it, which must belong to a sofa-capital band.

Inscription:

---δρεα χ[αῖρε]

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

VII. Pedimental Stele with a Sofa-Capital

74. Lower part missing; upper right corner broken. $31 \times 33\text{-}32 \times 11\text{-}9.5$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 122. Dyme (Kato Achaia).

The pediment, which perhaps was carved in relief on the summit (cf. **41**, **58**), has moulded cornices and dentils below it. The sofa-capital is bordered by a canalis; above it is a badly preserved roundel between two thin fillets. Antithetical spiral-scrolls with grooved stems sprout from an acanthus calyx at each end (fig. 13). The shaft was frameless. Below the capital is a slightly raised panel, and lower down the tabula ansata with the inscription:

Ἀσπασία Μοσχίωνος
χαῖρε

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1975, 296, figs. 3-4, G. DAUX, *AAA* 9(1976)1, 120, IDEM, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 226, *SEG* XXVI, 483.

VIII. Indeterminate Types (with a Sofa-Capital)

75. Lower part missing. The surface of the shaft of the stele, the upper projecting crowning and the moulding below the capital are chipped, $69 \times 68 \times 13$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 2656. Unknown provenance: perhaps the Dyme district.

There are no traces of attachment for a finial on the upper coarsely smoothed surface. The sofa-capital is crowned by a projecting abacus and is bordered by a canalis and a half-round strip between two thin fillets above it. At each end this convex moulding curls outwards and inside it is a section of an acanthus leaf with a serrated outline. Ribbed stems sprout from acanthus calyces at each corner; grooved shoots from these terminate in antithetical spirals that do not meet in the centre, where there is a composite ornament formed of a calyx with two acanthus leaves and a four-leafed rosette. There are trefoil flowers where the antithetical spirals fork.

No traces of an inscription are visible.

3rd - 2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

76. Fragment of the upper right part of a stele; only the right edge is preserved. It is cracked and chipped. $31 \times 31.6 \times 6.7$ cm.

Patras Museum inv. no. 704. Pharai (Prevedos, near Zoodochos Pighi).

The margin of what was evidently a sofa-“frieze” forms an almost flat canalis bordered below by a fillet and above by a thin relief strip that turns up vertically at each end apparently to terminate in a volute. Of the foliate decoration (fig. 16) the right half is preserved and the greater part of

the raised central acanthus calyx from which sprouts a twisted stem, which terminates in a flower-scroll, and a small antithetically curling tendril with a composite lily flower at its end (fig. 20h, cf. DYGGVE, fig. 55). There is a sickle-shaped leaf beside the missing acanthus bract on the stem. The same motifs (stem, flower-scroll, sickle-shaped leaf), but with their directions reversed, are repeated on a diminishing scale twice more towards the end. The basic wavy development of the twisted stems is evenly formed. The flowers in the volutes are alternately "bell-shaped" and perhaps arum (figs. 17e, 19a-b). The subject is not well preserved at the lower corner: There is a fruit (acorn?) among the flowers (fig. 21). In the forks of the antithetical shoots, there is a tendril with a "lily" flower (fig. 20e).

No traces of an inscription are visible.

2nd c. B.C.

Unpublished.

Epigraphical Notes

Funerary Formulas

The inscription bearing the name of the dead person, whether or not it is accompanied by other supplementary information, constitutes a sort of identity card for the funerary monument and is thus perhaps its most important element. The manner in which the text is worded, the choice of its position on the stele and the way in which it is disposed play a principal role. A discussion of these elements, apart from the more general interest it may afford, also provides a chronological basis on which, in conjunction with the palaeographic, architectural and decorative evidence, a more objective dating of the stele may be achieved.³⁴⁰

The first general characteristic of the funerary inscriptions under study is their terseness,³⁴¹ although not their uniformity. The funerary formulae in the texts can be divided into the following categories, with:

I. The dead person's name without an invocation in a) the genitive or b) the nominative case.

II. The name and patronymic without an invocation; the dead person's name and patronymic alone or accompanied by the ethnic name if the dead person was a foreigner.

III. The name accompanied by the invocation $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$, a) the name in the vocative followed by the patronymic in the genitive case or b) the dead person's name in the vocative.

I. The use of a name on funerary inscriptions was almost invariable in the Greek cities during the Archaic and Classical periods. The genitive case of the person's name (Ia) was often used in Archaic metrical or prose funerary texts either alone or accompanied by substantives designating the monument, grave, etc. This usage is known from many parts of the Greek world; in some, like Acarnania, it persisted throughout the Archaic and Hellenistic periods and was much more widely employed than the nominative form. It was not only prevalent in the backward regions but also occurred in advanced societies like those of Kos

340. Recently TH. CORSTEN, Über die Schwierigkeit Reliefs nach Inschriften zu datieren, *IstMitt* 37 (1987) 187-199; cf. *BullEpigr* 1989, 129, relying on PFUHL-MÖBIUS's *Corpus*, has set down the uncertainties existing in this respect over the dating of the inscriptions, and he analyses the problems of the relation or not between the inscription and the relief (assuming a

reuse of the inscription or a long interval between the execution of the relief and the engraving of the inscription). On the same subject, see also the precise observations by L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* II (1946) 16-17.

341. In Achaea, for example, funerary epigrams, a type well-known in Attica, do not seem to have been current. Cf. CLAIRMONT, *passim*.

and Rhodes in later periods.³⁴² In Patras Museum there is an example of a funerary monument (1) belonging to this category. A second example, which is not included in the present catalogue, came from an important archaeological site in the locality of Palaio-mylos at Ano Soudaneika and has been erroneously attributed to Dyme by some archaeologists. The provenance of this important inscription and its early date (7th c. B.C.) both suggest that it had closer links with the district of Olenus, if not with the city of Olenus itself.³⁴³

Tombstones on which the name of the dead person is in the nominative case (Ib) are assigned to the Classical period (11, 13, 14). The difference between these tombstones and those in the previous category is considerable: it is not limited to the grammatical form of the name but, as we shall see below, extends to the way in which the text was disposed on the stele, the shape of which also underwent a change. This custom of using only one name in the nominative case for the dead person appears to have been widespread in many parts of the Greek world.³⁴⁴ In Achaea, to judge from the evidence of the surviving examples, this custom was abandoned towards the end of the 4th c. B.C.³⁴⁵ The use of the nominative is unknown on Hellenistic stelai (IIIa and b), because the presence of the invocation *χαῖρε* at the end of the inscription made it necessary to use the vocative. Only one exception is known in Achaea (10), although in neighbouring Sicyon it was apparently a common practice.³⁴⁶

The absolute use of the dead person's name without the patronymic was unrelated to his social position, particularly in the earlier examples; it was a custom going back to Archaic and Classical times. This rule does not seem to have been always applied in the case of examples from the Imperial period, on which some of the names, as we shall see below, perhaps denote a servile origin.³⁴⁷

The second category (II) comprises types intermediate between those of the preceding category (Ia and b) and the large class with the invocation *χαῖρε* (IIIa and b). If the earlier examples in this class are assigned to the 4th c. B.C. (3), the later ones could be dated to the end of the same century or the beginning of the next (15, 17), when the custom began to

342. Cf. P.M. FRASER, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, 1977, 50, n. 259.

343. This stele is today unfortunately lost. Cf. WILHELM, *Beiträge*, 121, no. 106, fig. 69. For the same text, cf. JEFFERY, *Local Scripts*, 222 and 224, no. 1, M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia greca* I, 1967, 108-109, fig. 1. The dead man's name, *Δαμοκάδεος τ[όδε---*] is visible on the left. The high dating is owing to later scholars; Wilhelm only dated it to the Archaic period in general. For the meaning of *τόδε* in Archaic funerary inscriptions, see J. SVENBRO, *L'énonciation dans les premières inscriptions*, in M. DETIENNE, *Les savoirs de l'écriture en Grèce ancienne*, 1988, 463-473.

344. Cf. BWGT, 92-101.

345. It seems that the use of patronymics became

more common in the Greek world from the 4th c. B.C. onwards. But certain regions, like Boeotia, do not conform to this practice, cf. GUY VOTTERO, *L'expression de la filiation en Béotien*, *Verbum* 10 (1987) 211-229.

346. PAUSANIAS II, 7, 2; this custom was also known in neighbouring Phliasia: cf. *IG* IV, 433-434, 476-477; in the rest of the Peloponnese, in contrast to Sicyon, they preferred to use the name alone without the *χαῖρε*: cf. BWGT, 100-101. The form *Ἐπίκτησις* used on the stele 10 is an exception; names in -s dropped the consonant in the vocative. Cf. J. KAJANTO, *A Study of the Greek Epitaphs of Rome*, 1963, 17 n. 3.

347. Cf. BWGT, 95-96.

spread of using an invocation (χαῖρε, χαίρετε) on funerary monuments. Mention of the dead person's ethnic name on stelai of this class is rare, and only one example is known in the whole of Achaea (2). It is of course always possible that the ethnic name may in some cases have been overlooked through carelessness or that the inscription refers to a freedman or his descendant.

The third category of stelai, those with the invocation χαῖρε, is the largest. The Achaean stelai confirm the rule, known from other regions,³⁴⁸ that where there is a farewell to the dead person his name and ethnic name are naturally in the vocative case. On Hellenistic stelai, as a rule, the name is accompanied by the patronymic. The patronymic is absent on a series of simpler tombstones which can be dated to the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods (4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 42). In some instances, at least, the absence of the patronymic is a strong indication of the low social status of the dead person (23, 24, 25, 26, 42). It is clear from the above that the use of the invocation (χαῖρε) was more widespread and of longer duration in Achaea than any other kind.³⁴⁹ For this reason it is difficult to date a tombstone simply by the presence or absence of an invocation.³⁵⁰

Regarding the geographical distribution of these tombstones within Achaea, Kahrstedt³⁵¹ correctly concluded that a difference existed between the western and eastern parts of the region. This difference was first of all quantitative, since the great majority of stelai come from western Achaea, but also chronological, as we shall see below, because the tombstones in the western part belong as a rule to the Hellenistic period, while those of eastern Achaea are Imperial in date.

Position and Disposition of the Inscription on the Stelai

We have seen that the funerary texts on Achaean stelai are terse and often confined to the use of only the name of the dead person. If any fixed rule existed that the text-engraver had to observe, it was an obligation to cut the inscription in a place where it was conspicuous and easily legible. Nevertheless, the solution finally adopted depended on whether the artist, or rather the artistic canons of his age, regarded the text as being of primary or of secondary importance in relation to the architectural or ornamental features of the stele. Moreover, the choice of the position of the inscription was often partly dictated, as

348. Cf. G. DAUX, *BCH* 94 (1970) 602 and *Délos* XXX, 256.

349. The earliest examples of this invocation in the Greek world go back to the 4th c. B.C. and it continues in use, as we have seen, into the Imperial period. The largest number of earliest examples of the expression come from cities and districts in West Greece (Achaea, Aetolia, Akarnania, Lokris, Phokis). In Eastern Greece, on the other hand, this form of invocation has a very wide distribution in Imperial

times, although earlier examples are naturally not lacking. See U. KAHRSTEDT, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit*, 1954, 261-280.

350. It is significant that the very common invocation χρηστ(ός, έ, οί) χαίρε(τε), the use of which in certain regions (Attica, Rhodes) seems to have been confined to foreigners, is totally absent from Achaea. Cf. *BWGT*, 70.

351. Cf. KAHRSTEDT, *op. cit.* 273.

we shall see, by the requirements imposed by the form of the stele itself. In any case, in Achaëa as elsewhere, there were certain rules governing the disposition of the inscription on the stele, which were stricter in the Archaic, Classical and even Hellenistic periods, but which appear to have been more flexible in Imperial times, especially in the case of reused stelai (e.g. 23, 48 and 69).

On the grave monuments of the Archaic or early Classical periods the inscription is carved vertically on the stone and covers a large part of the surface. On the earlier stones the inscription is engraved from right to left and the letters are irregular and deeply incised. The spaces left between them are also irregular and in many cases exceed the height of the letters.³⁵² Although the inscription appears to be subordinate to the form of the stone and to conform directly to its outline, the decorative taste of the engraver is also apparent.³⁵³

The vertical disposition of the text on the stone had already been abandoned in the Classical period and the text was now engraved horizontally either in one continuous line or in two lines (e.g. 3, 15, 19), and usually covered the full width of the stele or the smooth band on the upper part of the shaft of the stele made to receive the inscription (3).³⁵⁴ On stelai with a cymatium or pedimental crowning (11, 13, 14, 15 and 17) the craftsman was careful to leave a space roughly equal to the height of one or two letters between these ornamental elements and the text.³⁵⁵ It is clear that this disposition produced a better display of the text and gave greater prominence to the dead person's name. The letters are large and sparse, as in the previous period. The difference lies in the greater care devoted to their execution; they are no longer deeply incised and their height and spacing are equal. The inscription on tombstones of this class formed a decorative element in its own right. The same practice with a similar decorative purpose is also known from other parts of the Greek world.³⁵⁶

In the Hellenistic period that followed, this traditional balance between the tombstone and the inscription survived in a category of stelai that have pedimental or horizontal crownings (16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24). It also persisted on a later class of simpler stelai that have a flat triangular finial (25, 26) or are quite undecorated (4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10), which belong to the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Here too the text is engraved on the upper part of the shaft of the stele, directly beneath the broad band below the relief pedimental crowning (18, 19, 20) or on the band itself (21, 22, 23), usually in two lines of which only the first runs the full width. The $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$ is generally placed in the middle of the second line. The exceptions to this, with regard to the position of the $\chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon$, are chiefly stelai of a late date or coming from remote districts like Tritaia (e.g. 9, 10, 20, 23). Very rarely the

352. These solutions seem to have been common in many parts of the Greek world: cf. JEFFERY, *Local Scripts*, 52, n. 3 and HELLY, *Ateliers lapidaires*, 76-77. The most probable explanation of the custom of engraving the text on the left side was given by WILHELM, *Beiträge*, 31 ff.

353. Cf. ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, 22 and 26, where similar examples from other regions and particularly from

Attica are cited.

354. For this phenomenon of the "full-width arrangement" of the text, which of course also characterizes the tombstones of other regions, see ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, 33-34.

355. Cf. ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, 33-34.

356. Cf. ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΙΑΔΗΣ, 28-31; HELLY, *Ateliers lapidaires*, 78-79.

The problem of engraving the names of two dead persons on the same tombstone is solved in quite a different manner in the case of composite stelai. On one case the name is inscribed on the lower part of the stele below the sofa-capital (48), but we cannot be sure that this was the rule. Beneath the sofa-capital there is also a Latin inscription that is certainly not contemporary with the tombstone and was carved below the earlier Greek text.

Palaeography

The uncertainties, confusions and impasses arising from attempts to date inscriptions on the basis of the letter-forms and general character of the lettering, particularly on tombstones of the late Hellenistic and the Imperial periods, are well-known to all. It is obvious that an inscription cannot be dated only by the forms of a few letters or by the general style of the lettering. No such dating can be precise, nor can a comparison of the text with other, accurately dated inscriptions ever be more than an indication. It must also be borne in mind when attempting to date an inscription on the basis of the lettering that certain letter-forms may have been employed continuously over a long period of time for reasons of fashion or conservatism, the latter being a characteristic of certain remote regions far from the large centres (e.g. the small \omicron , ω , π , etc.). Very often earlier forms continue in use alongside later ones (\sqcap and Π , A and \mathbf{A} , O , Ω and \omicron , ω). Finally, certain letter-forms that went out of use were later reintroduced and became widely disseminated (the A with a straight horizontal). It is therefore difficult in many cases to assign a text to a particular period. This does not of course mean that the epigraphist should not make cautious use of the evidence afforded by the inscription, especially in the case of funerary monuments, for which, since it is often the only means of dating at our disposal, some reference to the inscription becomes a necessity.

In Achaëa as in other parts of the Greek world three types of *alpha* were employed, differing from each other in the form of the cross-bar (A , \mathbf{A} , \mathbf{A}). This is also reflected in the order of their appearance in dated inscriptions. The *alpha* with a straight cross-bar was in continuous use until the first half of the 2nd c. B.C. (2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 48, 65, 69 and 74), and it also appears in later inscriptions of the early Imperial period (48 and 69). The two other forms are not known from dated inscriptions of the above period, but we believe this is due to chance. They occur on the great majority of tombstones dating to between the end of the 3rd and the end of the 2nd c. B.C. The second, with a curved cross-bar, does not appear to have survived into the Imperial period (6, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 32, 34, 37, 43, 57, 60, 61, 62 and 65), while the third, with a broken cross-bar, had a remarkably wide distribution in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. (7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 19, 27, 33, 36, 40, 42, 45, 48(?), 55, 56, 59, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 73) and also during Imperial times, especially in the 2nd c. A.D. (26). Perhaps, as in many other regions, the use of the *alpha* with a broken cross-bar goes back to the last quarter of the 3rd c. or first half of the 2nd c. B.C.³⁵⁷ This

357. Cf. M. HOLLEAUX, *Étude d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III, 1968, 76, n. 1 and *Délos* XXX, 244.

naturally does not mean that the older form did not continue as well, and in many cases the two different types of *alpha* were employed together in the same inscription (e.g. 18, 19, 62).

The *epsilon* is as a rule wide and in a squared form. The central bar often has the same length as the other two, and there is only one example in which it is separate from the vertical.³⁵⁸ In certain cases the vertical bar of the *epsilon* extends at the top and bottom beyond the two horizontals. This detail was noted by Wilhelm³⁵⁹ in connection with certain Boeotian inscriptions which he dates to the 2nd c. B.C., and Holleaux cites further examples from other regions.³⁶⁰ In the early texts of the Hellenistic period the left vertical bar of the N is longer (5, 6, 14, 17, 20, 32, 33, 34, 36, 43, 45, 62, 74), while later on both vertical bars of the N are equal in length (2, 7, 8, 9, 24, 37, 39, 42, 61, 64, 65, 67 and 71). The earlier N (14) with sloping vertical bars is dated to the 4th c. B.C.³⁶¹

The so-called round letters, the *omicron* and *omega*, are more characteristic. The round *omicron* of the Archaic period, for example, coexists in the next period with the square *omicron* (compare the stelai 1, 3, 11 and 13, on which the *omicron* is round, with the well-known inscription from Aigion, dated to the 4th c. B.C., in which the *omicron* is square: cf. J. Bingen, *BCH* 78, 1954, 402-407, fig. 8). From the Hellenistic period until perhaps the beginning of the 2nd c. B.C. the round *omicron* of small diameter, which is generally placed in the middle of the line and rarely in its upper or lower part, predominates (3, 5, 6, 8, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 74). The use of the small *omega* seems to have been less widespread (17, 31, 37, 62, 64, 71, 74). The normal size, more or less open, is preferred in many inscriptions that are undoubtedly Hellenistic in date (2, 6, 18, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 45, 55). Finally, it should be noted that there are inscriptions in which *omicron* of different diameters are found together (19, 20, 37).

There are very few inscriptions in which the right vertical bar of the \sqcap is shorter, indicating a high date in the Hellenistic period (4), and in Achaëa the Π with vertical bars of equal length comes early into general use (4, 9, 10, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 40, 61, 64, 67, 71).

The *sigma* and *mi* follow a similar development. The vertical and horizontal bars are very open in the Archaic and Classical inscriptions (1, 13, 14, 15, and 17, on which the carving of the *sigma* is distinctive), become more closed in the Hellenistic texts (*sigma*: 3, 57, 59; *mi*: 5, 60, 74), and parallel from the 2nd c. B.C. on, as numerous examples testify. The lunate *sigma* is predominant in inscriptions of the Imperial period, but is known in Achaëa from at least the end of the 3rd c. B.C.³⁶²

358. This form of "E" already occurred in the 1st c. B.C. in some epigraphical texts, but it appears to have been more widely used in the 2nd c. A.D. (on this subject, cf. the remarks by WILHELM, *Neue Beiträge* I, 36, and especially those by L. ROBERT, *REG* 42 (1929) 31-32 occasioned by an inscription from Amorgos).

359. *Neue Beiträge* IV, 10-11.

360. *Op.cit.* II, 78.

361. Cf. C. W. CLAIMONT, *Boreas, Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie* 2 (1979) 43-52, and the abbreviated comments in *BullEpigr* 1981, 250.

362. Cf. WILHELM, *Neue Beiträge*, 37-42, no. 7 and fig. 11. The earliest example on a stele is that in the inscription on 20 and the latest on 9.

The ornamental use of *apices* occurs in an inscription dated to the last quarter of the 3rd c. B.C.,³⁶³ but paradoxically is not known on others dating to the following century, and more specifically to 166 and 145 B.C.³⁶⁴ From the catalogue of stelai dating to the last period it appears that their use, without being general, was widespread from at least the second half of the 3rd c. B.C. Similar conclusions have been reached for many other regions in the Greek world.³⁶⁵ Certainly the appearance or not of *apices* in a text does not signal a high or low date but merely indicates the concern of the craftsmen of the Hellenistic and Roman periods to create an artistic effect by embellishing the letters.

The oldest text, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, is that on stele 1, which is dated by specialists to about the middle of the 5th c. B.C.³⁶⁶ The inscription on 11 can be assigned to the same century, perhaps a little later. A few texts with the A, O and Σ typical of the period may with caution be dated to the 4th c. B.C. (3, 13, 14, 15, 17). The two last should be placed rather at the end of the 4th or even the beginning of the 3rd c. B.C. since certain letters in them, like the smaller *omicron*, are characteristic of this period. There can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the stelai published in the present study belong to the Hellenistic period, and more especially to the years ca. 280-100 B.C. Of these, a few are dated by the features we have described to the 3rd (4, 5) or to the 3rd-2nd c. B.C. (30, 43, 44, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 74), and most of the others appear to belong to the 2nd c. The first ones (4, 5) possess all the characteristics indicative of a high date, in other words the 3rd c. B.C.: the A with a straight cross-bar, the N and Π with shorter right vertical bars, the smaller O and Ω, and the *sigma* with a slightly open horizontal bar. These features, on the other hand, are entirely absent from the inscriptions of the last period (2nd c. B.C.), at which time the *alpha* with the broken cross-bar comes into general use, along with the *ni* and *pi* with vertical bars of equal length and the *mi* and *sigma* with parallel bars. The only exception perhaps is the survival of the smaller *omicron* in a few instances. To the middle period (3rd-2nd c. B.C.) may belong inscriptions displaying features that are transitional between the two other periods (the *alpha* with the curved cross-bar, for example) or survivals of early forms alongside the new ones. Nevertheless the evidence from excavations shows that many of these stelai can be dated to the second half of the 2nd c. B.C.³⁶⁷ Finally, the catalogue includes some stelai that are Imperial in date and belong to two categories: the first, in which both the stone and the inscription are contemporary (25?, 26), and the second, in which the stone is earlier than the Hellenistic period, and has therefore been reused (48, 69). On stelai in the latter class there are also surviving traces of earlier, Hellenistic inscrip-

363. Cf. J. BINGEN, *BCH* 77 (1953) 616-628, fig. 1.

364. BINGEN, *BCH* 78 (1954) 395-396, fig. 1, and R. SHERK, *Roman Documents from the Greek East*, 1969, 246-248; for the date see J.-L. FERRARY, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme*, 1988, 188-190.

365. For Delos, cf. *Délos* XXX, 244. In Thessaly the appearance of serifs goes back, chiefly at Demetrias, to the middle of the 3rd c. B.C. Cf. HELLY, *Ateliers lapidaires*, 73-74, and IDEM, *Gonnoi II, Les inscript-*

ions, 1973, nos. 2-5, in which a higher chronology is proposed. The dating by S. Dow (in the introduction to S. V. TRACY'S, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 15 (1975) 13-14) of the appearance of this phenomenon in Attica in ca. 160 B.C. is surely low.

366. Cf. JEFFERY, *Local Scripts*, 223-224. For the Archaic *theta*, see S. LURIA, *Kadmos* 3 (1964) 88-117.

367. See above p. 116.

tions; the later texts, belonging to the Imperial period, are carved in a different position, on the shaft of the stele. In a very few instances (stele 23) the stone that was reused in Imperial times had apparently not been previously inscribed.

Onomastics

The names of the dead persons that are found on the grave stelai do not in general present any special interest. Very few can be used as chronological indicators by virtue of any particular morphological characteristics they exhibit. The provenance or national origin of persons bearing certain characteristic names is difficult to demonstrate.³⁶⁸ The great majority of them were common Greek names in use over a long period and they cannot be used for dating purposes. Rare names, although very few, are of interest precisely because of the rarity of the type to which they correspond in Achaea. The names Νέολλις, Νοστία, Ψαμώνιος and Εὐθυνίων are nowhere else evidenced.³⁶⁹ Λοχίτας is rare and is

368. The name and patronymic on stele 18 and 72 recall the well-known diminutives -ιχος and -ας. The first had a wide distribution during the Hellenistic period, especially in the Doric regions and of course the Peloponnese. Cf. E. LOCKER, *Die Bildung der griechischen Kurz- und Kosenamen*, *Glotta* 22 (1934) 56-60. The diminutives with -ας (Ἀπολλᾶς), which come from composite god-names, were widespread in the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Cf. A. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ, *Πρακτικά τῆς 5ης ἐτήσιας Συνάντησης τοῦ Τομέα Γλωσσολογίας τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Α.Π. Θεσσαλονίκης*, 1985, 16, n. 21, with all the previous bibliography. These indications, together with the presence of the χαῖρε and the character of the writing, could date the stele to the 2nd c. B.C. Finally, names with the suffix -έας (Ἐπιφανέας, stele 25) had a wide distribution in the Hellenistic period: see LOCKER, *op. cit.* 82-85.

The patronymic of the dead person on stele no. 31 comes from the Roman *gens* of *Mutius* (see W. SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, 1904, 194 and 414), but the dead person was not a Roman citizen, because his anthroponymic (name + patronymic) is Greek. (Cf. DITTENBERGER, *Inscr. v. Olympia* V, 657-658 and 643-644. On this question, see also F. PAPAIOGLOU, *Grecs et Romains à Stuberria*, *Ancient Macedonia* IV (1985) 431-436. The dead woman in the inscription (stele 63) bears two purely Macedonian names and was probably of Mace-

donian descent, although these names were widespread in the Hellenistic period (cf. J. KALLERIS, *Les anciens Macédoniens* I, 1954, 293).

369. The diminutive Νέολλις comes from the composite name *Νεόλαος* (for this phenomenon see O. MASSON, *Géminations expressives dans l'anthroponymie grecque*, *BSL* 81.1 (1986) 217-229 = *OGS* II, 549-561) which is rare: cf. e.g. *Athenian Agora* XV, 286, 5. Other morphological types of this name seem to have been common. *Νεόλας*, for example, was common at Sparta: cf. BECHTEL, *HPN*, 328, and A. S. BRADFORD, *A Prosopography of Lacedaemonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396*, 1977, s.v.; *IG* XII.3 Suppl., 1439 (Thera). This also applies to the name *Νοστία*, which occurs chiefly in the compound form *Φιλόνοστος*, *Εὐνοστος*, etc. (Bechtel, *HPN*, s.v.), but is very rare in its simple form. A literary example is known from PAPE-BENSELER, s.v. (Mantineia in Arcadia) and another from Sardis (*Sardis* VIII. 1, 224). The names of *Ψαμμήτιχος*, *Ψαμμώ*, *Ψαμίων* are clearly Egyptian and have a narrow distribution in the Greek world (see PAPE-BENSELER, s.v.; PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, s.v.), but it would be an oversimplification to argue that their owners came from Egypt. The *Ψαμώνιος* in the Patras inscription (3), for example, was from Boura. *Εὐθυνίων* is rare. *Εὐθυνος* occurs in other Greek regions: cf. PAPE-BENSELER, s.v.; *IG* VII, 2788; *LGPN* I, s.v. (Euboea).

known from only one example in Samos.³⁷⁰ Πάννεικος is mentioned in inscriptions from Thasos and Knidos.³⁷¹ A Spartan commander, Πραξίτας, at the beginning of the 4th c. B.C., is known from Xenophon (*Hell.* IV. 4, 7-13), as is an Arcadian of the same period (*IG* II 4, 2834), mentioned by Bechtel.³⁷² Σοφία, although it makes its appearance in the 4th c. B.C., is rather rare in the Hellenistic period but becomes commoner in Christian times.³⁷³ Τιμαρχίς appears to be rare, although Τίμαρχος is very common.³⁷⁴ Στολίς and Κλεόπολις are less rare and more examples are known to us today.³⁷⁵ There is a large category of early Greek names that had a particularly wide distribution in the 4th/3rd c. B.C. (Εὐθυκράτης, Ἰππίας, Ἀριστότιμος, Τίμανδρος) or 3rd/2nd c. B.C. (Θράσων, Ἡρακλῆς, Τιμοκράτης, Στρατόνικος, Σατυρίων, Ἀριστότιμος, Λυκίσκα, Λύκων, Εὐφάνης, Αἰσχυρίων, Θρασύμαχος, Πυθίων, Διοκλῆς, Φίλαγρος, Ἀριστόδαμος, Ἀριστώνυμος), and there are also examples from the 1st c. B.C. Examples of the use of these names in the Imperial period are very rare. On the other hand a series of names that were widespread in the Hellenistic period (3rd/2nd c. B.C.: Ἀπολλώνιος, Δίων, Ἀριστίων, Σωτηρίχα, Παμφίλα, Εὐτυχος, Δαμαρέτα, Σάτυρος, Ἀσπασία, Μοσχίων, Θέων, Σωσίβιος) continue in use without a break, but with less frequency, into Imperial times. Those with a particularly wide distribution in the 2nd/1st c. B.C. are far fewer; there was an upsurge in their popularity in Imperial times (Τρύφων, Σαραπίων, Περιγένης). Finally, only two names (Ἀνεΐκτητος, Ἐπίκτησις) can be securely dated to Imperial times.³⁷⁶

370. Cf. BECHTEL, *HPN*, 288, and *LPGN* I, s.v. Cf. also PAPE-BENSELER, Λοχίτης (one example).

371. Cf. BECHTEL, *HPN*, 288 and *LPGN* I, s.v. (Thasos).

372. *HPN*, s.v.

373. Cf. BECHTEL, *HPN*, 613.

374. One example is known from Rhodes: *LPGN* I, s.v.

375. Στολίς: cf. PAPE-BENSELER, s.v. (literary examples); two examples in PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, s.v., and one from Thasos (*LPGN* I, s.v., of the 4th c. B.C.), Tanagra (*SEG* XIV, 301, of the 3rd c. B.C.) and Oenoe in Boeotia (ΣΤ. Ν. ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΗΣ, *Νέον Ἀθήναιον* 2 (1957) 33 of the 3rd c. B.C.), Athens (*IG* II², 9325) and lastly Lycia (L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, 1938, 180 and especially IDEM, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, 1963, 70). For the distribution of the male Στόλος and Στόλων, see *BullEpigr* 1959, 184 and Robert, *op. cit.*, 70. Κλεόπολις: although names with

the compound -πόλις abound on the mainland and in the islands, Κλεόπολις appears to be rare. Examples are known from Maroneia (cf. BECHTEL, *HPN*, s.v.), Thessaly (*SEG* XXV, 691, 1) and Boeotia (*IG* VII 1, 328, 1: where, however, the Κλεόπολις Ἀπολλοδώρου referred to is Λαμψακηνός). They are all dated to the 4th or 3rd c. B.C.

376. Cf. 26 and 42 (Ἀνεΐκτητος), 9 and 10 (Ἐπίκτησις). The same cannot be said for the feminine diminutive Ἡσύχιον (24) which is rare as a type in Achaea but especially common in other regions (for the provenance and distribution of these names, see also W. PETERSEN, *Greek Diminutives in -ion. A Study in Semantics, passim*; C. D. BUCK and W. PETERSEN, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, 1949, reprinted 1975, 46-47; Γ. ΜΠΑΜΠΙΝΙΩΤΗΣ, *Ἀθηνα* 70 (1969-70) 206-207. It is very probable that the bearers of these names had a slave origin, a view that is supported by the absence of a patronymic (on this question, see Petersen, *op. cit.* 249).

APPENDIX

The Funerary Inscription of Akte from Elis

The funerary inscription of Akte on stele Λ 2619 in the Elis Museum (see n. 140, pl. IXb) is undoubtedly much wordier in comparison with the spare funerary inscriptions discussed in the present study. Funerary inscriptions are rarely engraved on monuments of this architectural type, since the engravers preferred the simpler forms (stelai or plain plaques), on which they could more easily inscribe relatively long texts; this at least seems to have been the rule in Achaëa.

The stele dates from the second century B.C. and it was probably reused later for the Akte epitaph. The overall style of the lettering, as well as certain particular letters, argues for a date at the end of the early or the beginning of the late Imperial period.³⁷⁷ The name of the dead person supports the above dating; it is a name that typically appears only on monuments of the Imperial period, and in most of the attested cases, at least, it refers to persons of slave origin.³⁷⁸ A study of certain characteristic words or funerary expressions leads to similar conclusions. Especially interesting is the fact that both the epithet *μυριόκλαυστος* (line 1) and the surprising apostrophe (line 3) occur once in a very similar, clearly contemporary inscription from Thisbe in Boeotia, which runs as follows: *Τύμβος ὁ μυριόκλαυστος, ὁδοιπόρε, τᾷς ἱερείας, ἃς ὁ τόπος ναῶν ἄξιος οὐχὶ τάφων*.³⁷⁹

Praise of the “*τρόπος*” of the dead person (line 2) is almost commonplace on funerary inscriptions; the opposite, however, of the “*ναὸς-τάφος*” is very rare.

377. Of the lunate letters (E and C), especially characteristic of the period is the E with a broken central bar and pronounced *apices* (cf. n. 357). This also applies to the *alpha*, whose right diagonal bar extends above the upper angle (cf. *Délos* XXX, 245-2). The form of the *phi* appears strange; it is very rare and occurs in texts of the 4th c. B.C. The most probable explanation is that the letter is unfinished and when completed might have had the form of the period: cf. the table included by W. LARFELD, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, 1902, republished 1971; one can naturally not exclude the possibility of a confusion with some other letter and especially the *chi* (cf. E. M. THOMSON, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 1966, 148, where there is a special discussion of the confusion between N and K).

378. There are not numerous examples from the Greek world; cf. BECHTEL, *HPN*, 551, who includes

the example of Tainaron: *IG* V.1, no. 1252 (2nd c. A.D.); *SEG* XI, 1959, 345 (Argos, 1st c. A.D.). One is known from Macedonia: A. TATAKI, *Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and Society*, 1988, 95, no. 93 (2nd c. A.D.) and one from Cyprus: *LGPN* s.v. (Imperial period). The majority come from Rome and belong to tombstones of the Imperial period (cf. H. SOLIN, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch* I, 1982, 566-567).

379. Cf. *IG* VII, 2359 = W. PEEK, *Griechische Versinschriften* I, 1982, 566-567. The epithet *μυριόκλαυστος* expresses the great grief towards the deceased, the theme of “*lamentatio*” being extremely common in epitaphs of both the pagan and Christian periods. In the inscriptions of the latter group, however, the hope for eternal life compensates for the death, cf. Fr. DESCOMBES, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* II, 1985, 193-94.

Short Outline of Achaean History

The stelai described in the above study come from a wide geographical region in the North-west Peloponnese whose eastern boundaries are defined by the imposing Panachaikon and Erymanthos mountain ranges. Although a series of lower mountains are interposed between these ranges and the sea on the west, this region constitutes a single geographical unit that embraces parts of Arcadia and Eleia in addition to Western Achaea (see map on pp. 24-25). This fact may partly explain the political and cultural unity of the region in the Late Bronze Age, to which the numerous archaeological finds of the last thirty years testify.³⁸⁰

That period had already faded into the distant past when the historical era began, throughout which the Achaeans and Eleans were in a continual state of enmity and friction that reached a peak during the course of the Social War in the last quarter of the 3rd c. B.C.³⁸¹ Nonetheless this rivalry does not appear to have been an obstacle to commercial transactions and cultural exchanges between the two regions, and this accounts for the wide distribution of certain decorative types of stelai in all the three regions of Achaea, Arcadia and Eleia.³⁸² The first of these, and especially the cities in the western part (Patrae, Pharai, Tritaia and Dyme) were the most important centres of this artistic activity, and most of the material from the Hellenistic period, at least, in the Patras Museum came from them.³⁸³ All these cities took part in the first Achaean Confederacy in Classical times, but none of them succeeded in emerging from mediocrity and playing a role either in the affairs of the League or in the wider political and military events that convulsed the Greek world at this time. The only one of them that seems to have played a part in the Peloponnesian War was Patrae, whose strategic position at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth made it the apple of

380. Cf. TH. PAPADOPOULOS, *Mycenaean Achaea*, 1979, *passim*; IDEM, Achaea's role in the Mycenaean World, in A. D. RIZAKIS (ed.), *Achaia und Elis, Akten des 1. Internationalen Symposiums (Athen, 19-21 Mai 1989)*, 1991, 31-37. S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, Zum Verlauf der Periode SH IIIC in Achaia, *op. cit.*, 19-29.

381. Cf. F. ARCI, Il Peloponneso al tempo della guerra sociale a 220-217 a.C., *Studi di storia antiqua*, (ed. K. J. Beloch) 2 (1893) 141-155; for the events of the Cleomenic War, see R. URBAN, *Wachstum und Krise des achaischen Bundes, Quellenstudien zur Entwicklung des Bundes von 280 bis 222 v. Chr.*, 1979, 97-135.

382. Cf. above pp. 26, 56, 60, 69f.

383. The location of these cities is now well known: Patrae and Dyme were coastal, and Pharai and Tritaia inland; only the site of Olenus has not been definitely located. Cf. *RE* V 2, 1877-1878, s.v. Dyme (A. Philippson) and especially *Kleine Pauly* II 187 (E. Meyer). For Tritaia, see *RE* VIIA 1, 237-241; and *RE* Suppl. IX, 1429, s.v. Tritaia (E. Meyer). For Pharai, see *RE* XIX. 2, s.v. Pharai (F. Bölte). For Patrae, see n. 384, 2191 ff. Lastly, the different theories proposed for the site of Olenus have been set out by F. MEYER (*Peloponnesische Wanderungen*, 1939, 119-122) without, in our opinion, having produced the final answer to the question.

discord between the Peloponnesian and Athenian fleets. Alcibiades fortified the city with long walls and converted it into a naval and military base capable of serving his ambitions in the West, and thus of destroying the long-standing supremacy of its rival, Corinth. His schemes, however, did not succeed, and in the following years the city's participation in maritime trade appears to have been insignificant.³⁸⁴

Patrae and the other cities of western Achaea only emerged from obscurity in the Hellenistic period, during which the region found itself at the centre of the conflicts between the Diadochs and between the Greek cities that were drawn into these conflicts. The new circumstances, prevailing at the beginning of the 3rd c. B.C., led the cities of the region to reorganize the Second Achaean Confederacy in the year 281/280 B.C.³⁸⁵ This proved very successful and within a short time the Second Achaean Confederacy had surpassed the first one in size, wealth and political power and influence. As early as the 3rd c. B.C. this manifested itself in the balance of power in the Peloponnese and in Greece as a whole, and brought the cities of the Confederacy both riches and disasters.³⁸⁶ The latter seem to have been particularly severe during the Cleomenic, Social and First Macedonian Wars. The costs in lives and property are hard to estimate. The fact that cities like Dyme and Tritaia repeatedly resorted to mass grants of citizenship rights to foreigners is an indication that the demographic haemorrhage had reached extreme proportions. The requirement of a sum of money from the new citizens was another indication of the economic frailty of the cities of the region.³⁸⁷ This crisis, however, seems to have been short-lived, because very soon conditions were created that fostered a general prosperity and even a measure of cultural flowering.³⁸⁸

It was in fact the Roman intervention in Greek affairs that put an end to the civil strife and destruction which had continually plagued the cities of western Achaea during the last quarter of the 3rd c. B.C. The new *status quo* established in Greece after the Second Macedonian War favoured the Confederacy, which as Rome's ally reaped the political and economic benefits that flowed from Rome's protection. At this time, also, diplomatic and other contacts with the West multiplied and reciprocal cultural influences began to make themselves felt.³⁸⁹

The Achaean War and the havoc it wrought in the decade of 150 B.C. formed a disastrous interlude for all the cities, but the archaeological evidence bears witness to their rapid economic recovery, and the production of stelai continued during this period.³⁹⁰

384. Cf. *RE* XVIII, 2207, s.v. Patrai (E. MEYER).

385. *POL.* II, 41, 1-15; for the catalogue of the cities in the Second Achaean Confederacy and the absence from it of Olenus, see F. W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I, 1957, 230-232 and III, 762 ff.

386. Cf. R. URBAN, above n. 381 and especially A. BASTINI, *Der achaische Bund als hellenische Mittelmacht*, 1987, *passim*.

387. Cf. A. RIZAKIS, *La politeia dans les cités de la Confédération achéenne*, *Tyche* 5 (1990) 109-134, pls. 15-16.

388. Cf. I. A. ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *Τιμητικός τόμος Κ. Ν. Τριανταφύλλου*, 1990, 469.

389. For the history of this period, cf. P. V. M. BENECKE, *CAH* VIII, 1970, 296-304; E. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J.-C.)*, 1982, *passim*; E. GRUEN, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* II, 1984, 437-538; J.-L. FERRARY, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme*, 1988, 186-218; ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1977, 284f, 336f.

390. The subjugation of Achaea to Rome did not bring about any substantial changes in its artistic output or burial customs; a large number of grave stelai (7, 8, 9, 10, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 31, 40, 72) are dated to this time.

Patrae profited more than all the other cities in Achaia from the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. and from the new order imposed by the Romans on the Greek states. Its strategic position at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth gave its harbour a new maritime commercial importance.³⁹¹ This together with the new political role entrusted to it by the Romans brought with it a new cultural and economic prosperity that became especially apparent from as early as the second half of the 2nd c. B.C.³⁹² This situation contrasted sharply with that of the neighboring cities, the most important of which was Dyme, whose economic and demographic decline was precipitous.³⁹³ Dyme never succeeded in recovering, even after the settlement of colonists there by Pompey and Caesar in the 1st c. B.C.³⁹⁴ When, therefore, the colony of Patrae was established by Augustus, Dyme, Pharae and Tritaia were wholly incorporated into it and lost their political independence.³⁹⁵ This undoubtedly had repercussions in the economic and cultural spheres. The production of stelai in terms of both quality and quantity was an indicator of the impoverishment and decline of these cities, and was in direct contrast to their output during the Hellenistic period. This also explains why the overwhelming majority of the grave monuments of the Imperial period come from one city alone, Patrae.³⁹⁶

391. Cf. A. RIZAKIS, Le port de Patras et les communications avec l'Italie sous la République, *Cahiers d'Histoire* 33 (1988) 453-472.

392. Cf. A. ΡΙΖΑΚΗΣ, Ἡ Ρωμαϊκή πολιτική στὴν Πελοπόννησο καὶ ἡ Ἀχαϊκή Συμπολιτεία, *Πρακτικά τοῦ Γ' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, 1985 (1987-8), 32 and ns. 47-48 (with French summary). And see the archaeological evidence: ΠΑΠΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ 1977, 272 ff.; IDEM, 1978, 354 ff.

393. Cf. A. ΡΙΖΑΚΗΣ, *op. cit.* 24-25.

394. Cf. A. ΡΙΖΑΚΗΣ, Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ ρωμαϊκοῦ ἀποικισμοῦ τῆς ΒΔ Πελοποννήσου, in *Ποι-*

κίλα, *ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 10 (1990) 321-340 (with English summary); IDEM, Cadastres et espace rural dans le NO du Péloponnèse, *DHA* 16, 1 (1990) 259-280.

395. PAUSANIAS VII. 17, 5; 22, 1 and 6. Especially on Dyme see now M. AMANDRY, Le monnayage de Dymé (Colonia Dumaeorum) en Achaïe, *Corpus, RN* 23 (1981) 45-67.

396. A. RIZAKIS, La colonie romaine de Patras en Achaïe: le témoignage épigraphique, in S. Walker and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire. Papers from the Xth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, Suppl. (1989) 180-186.

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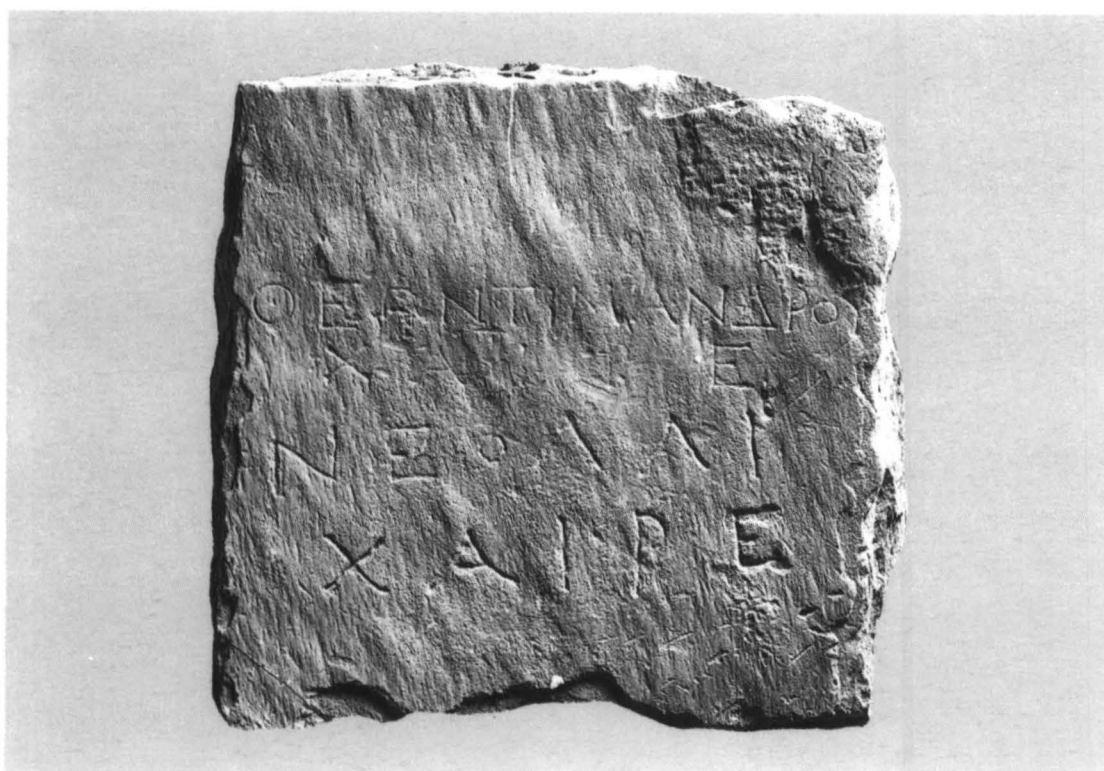




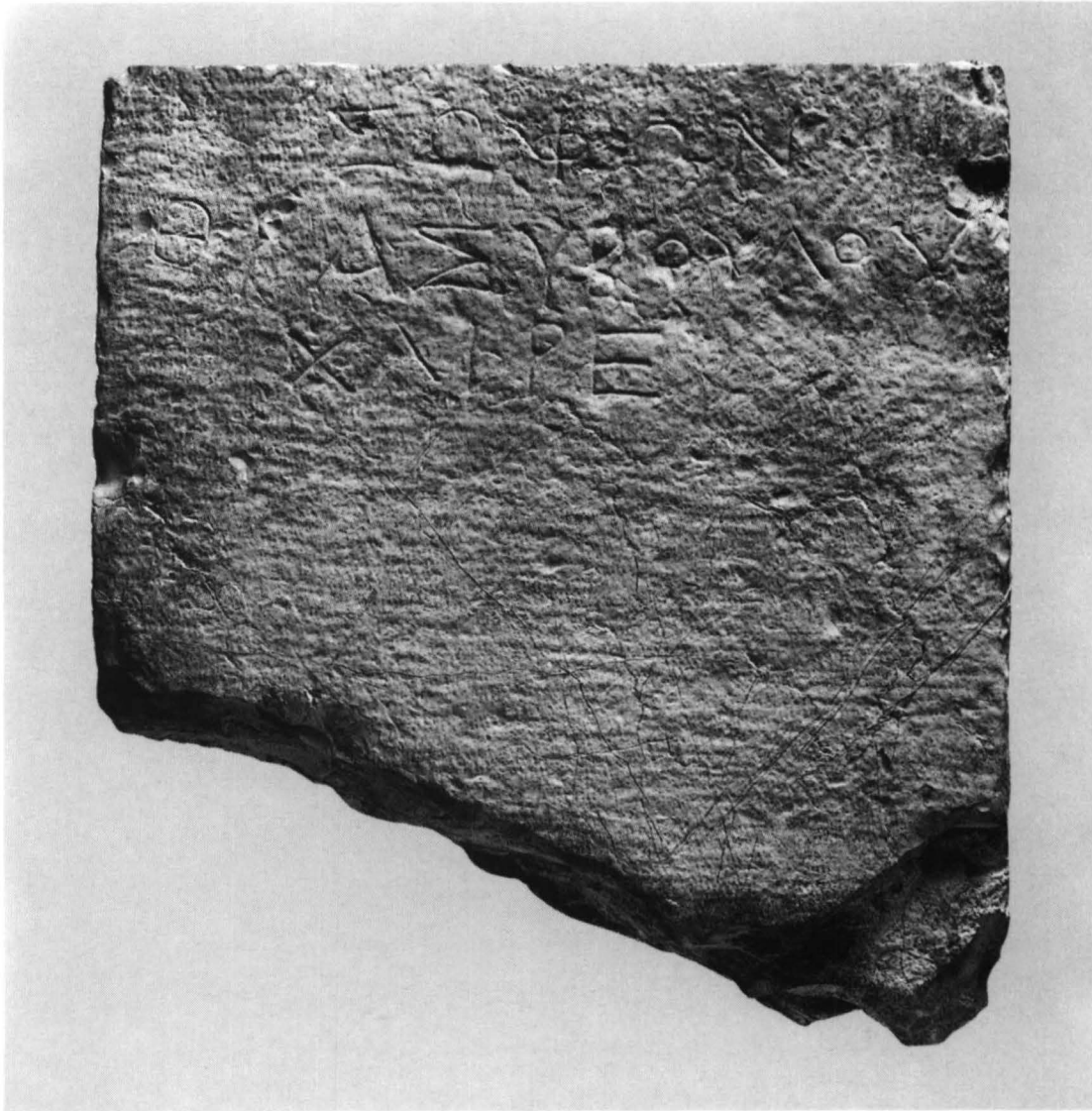




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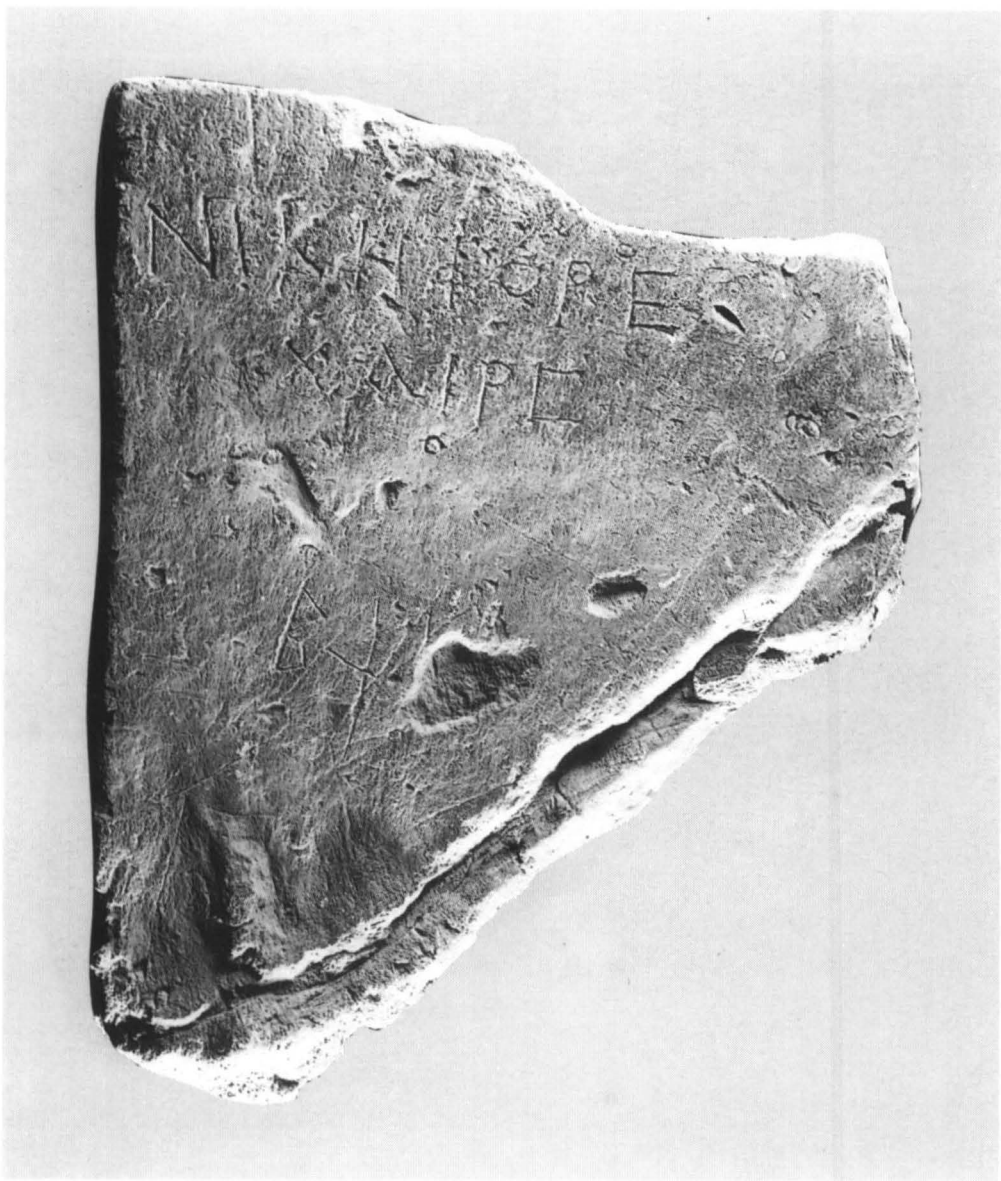
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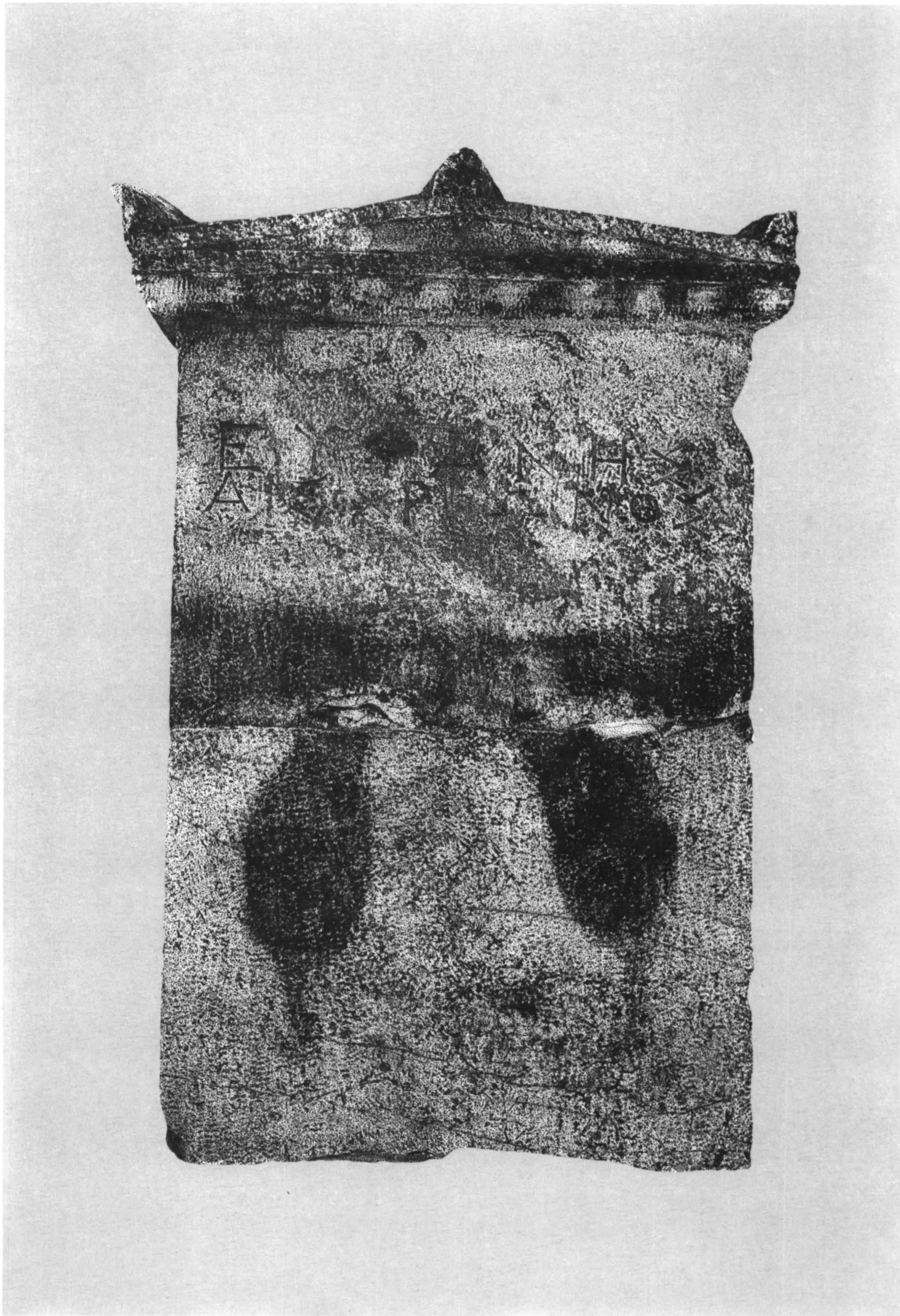
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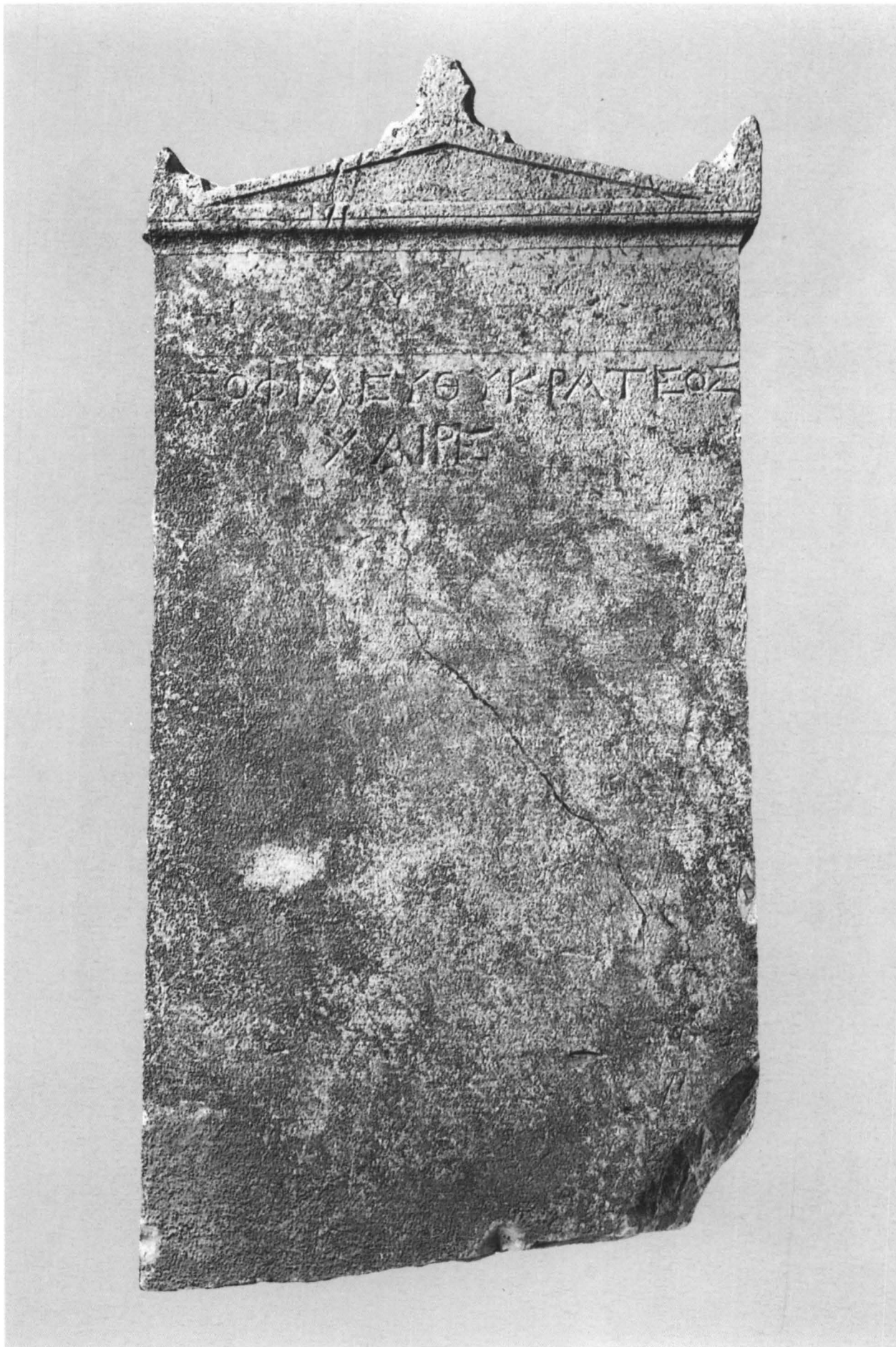




b

Photographed under ultraviolet light.



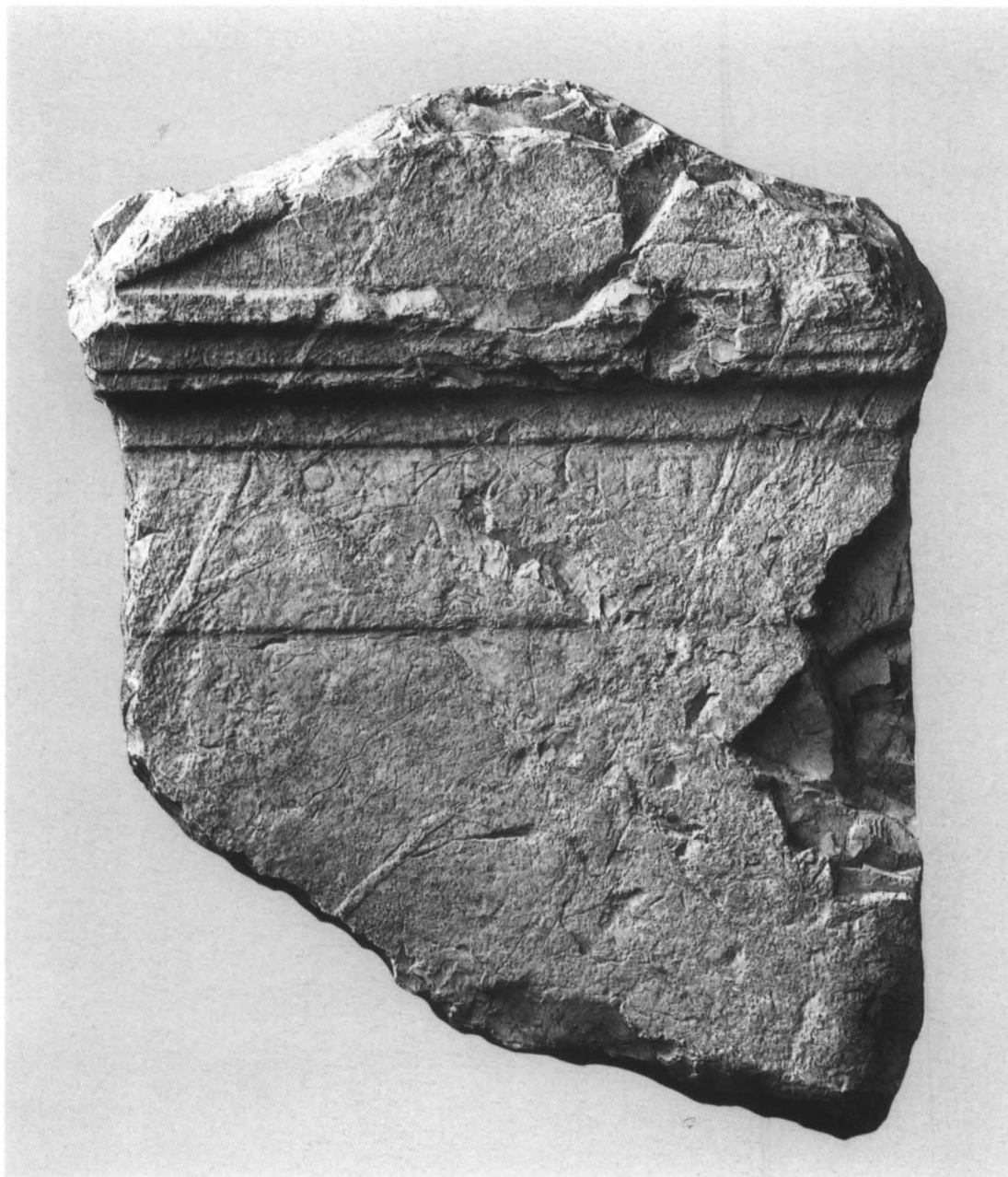




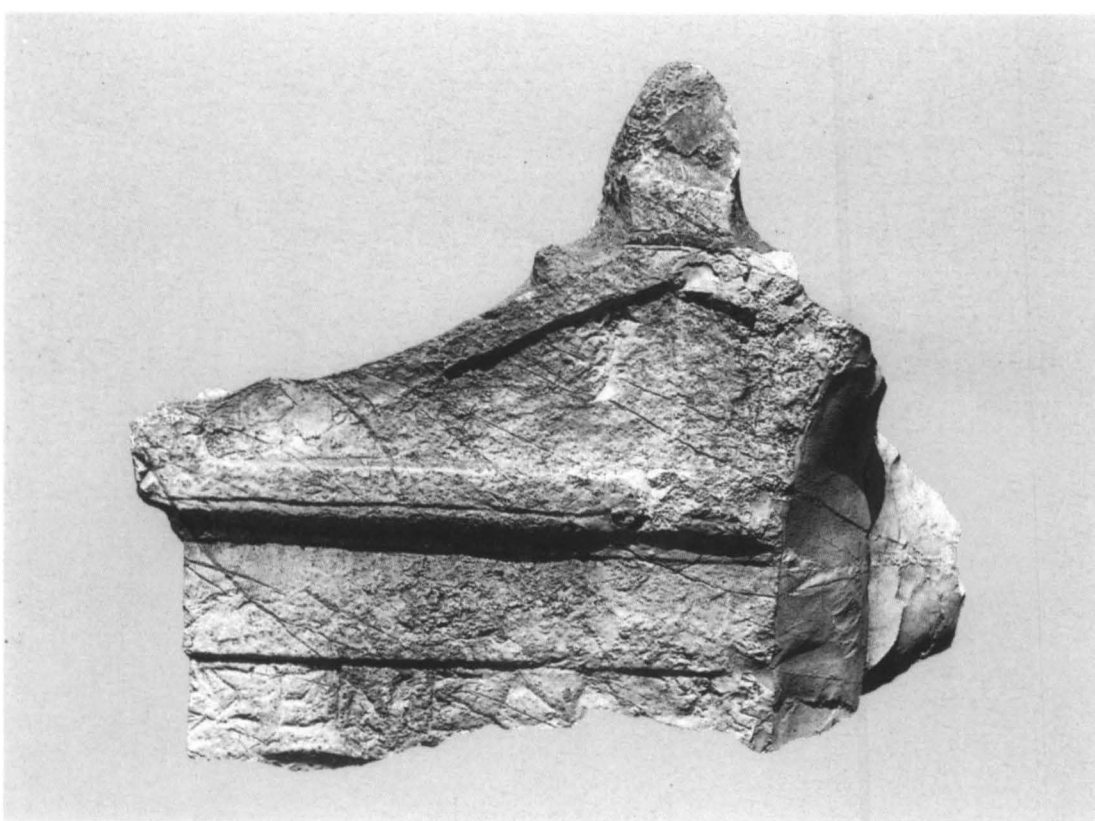


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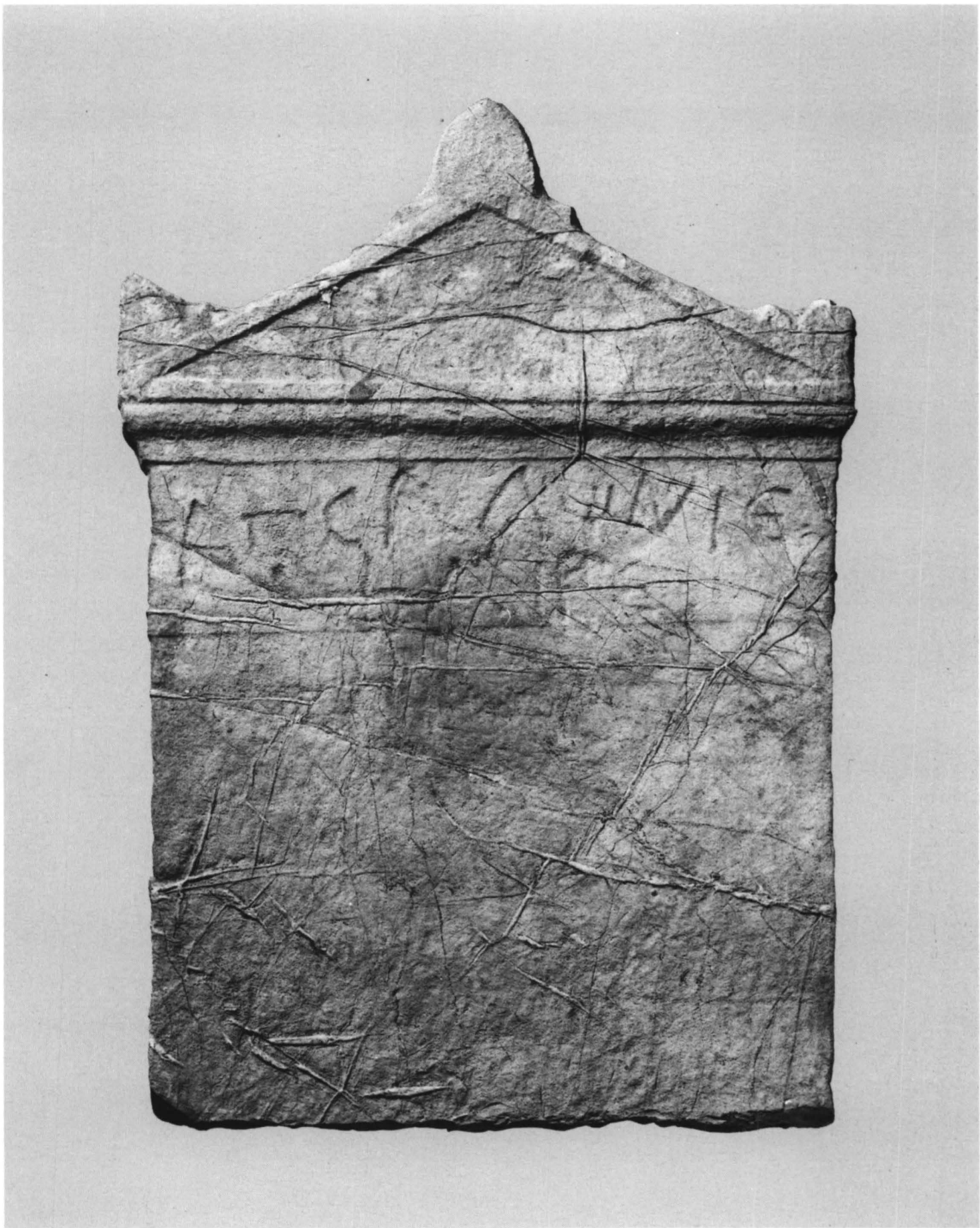
During restoration.



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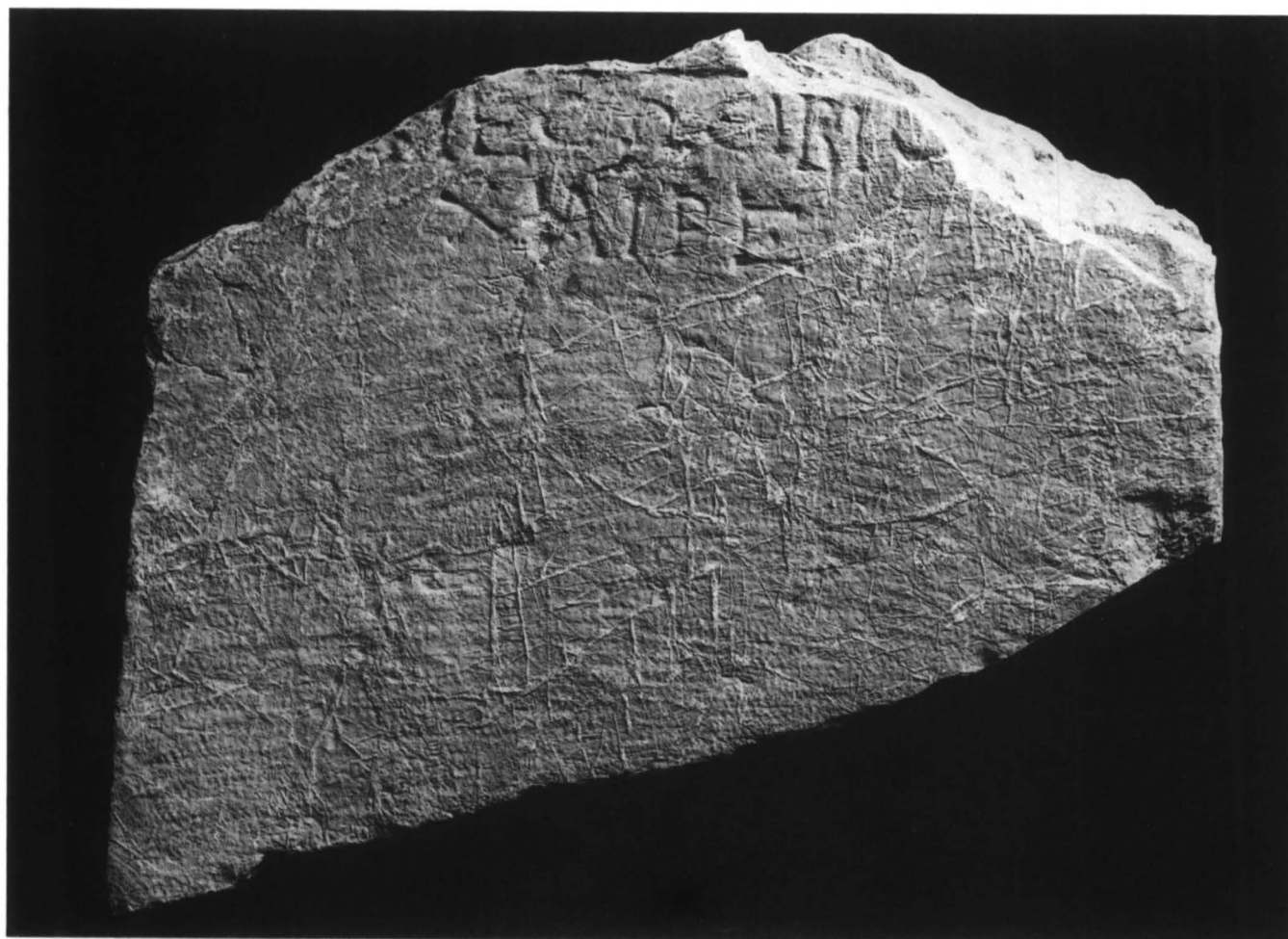




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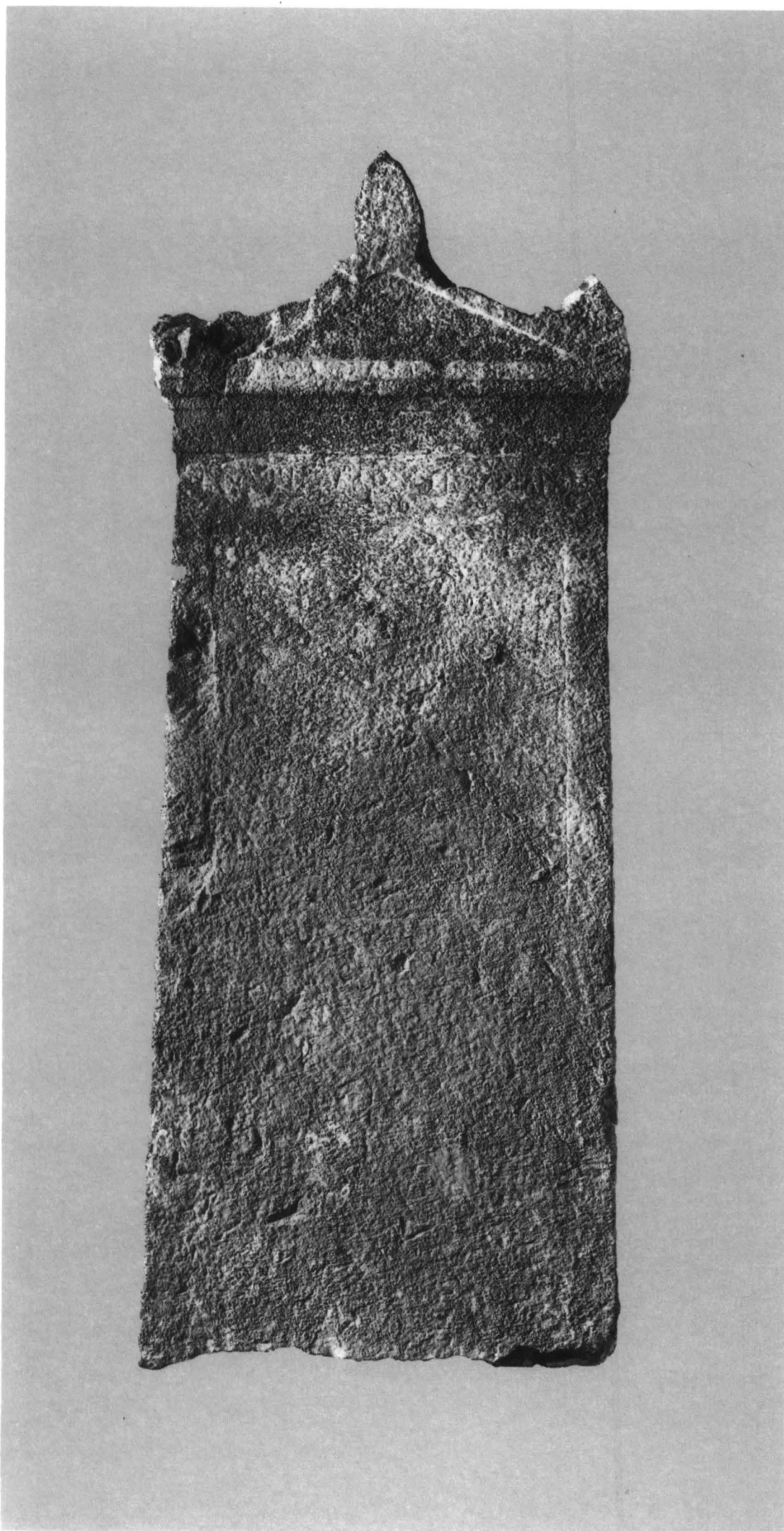


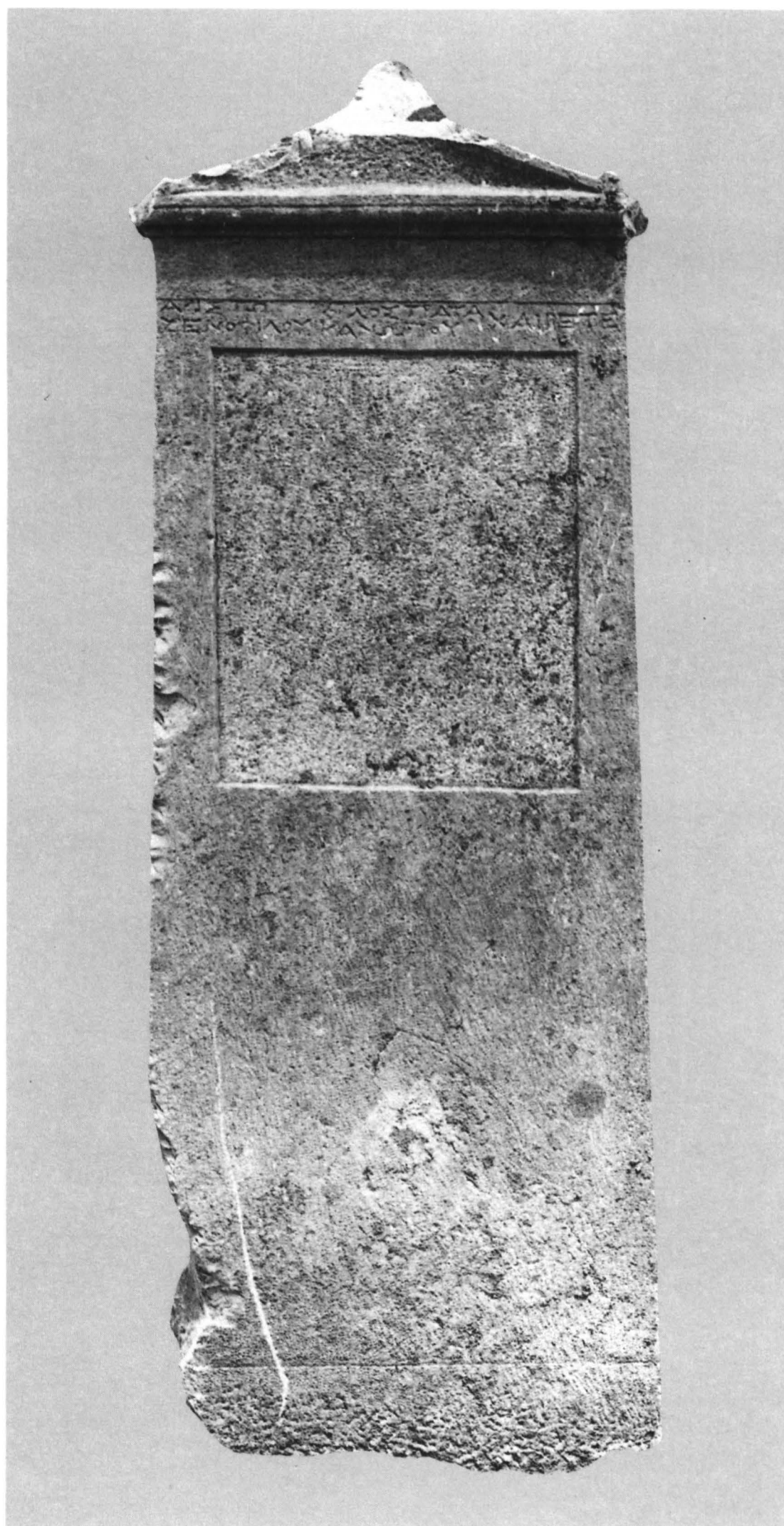
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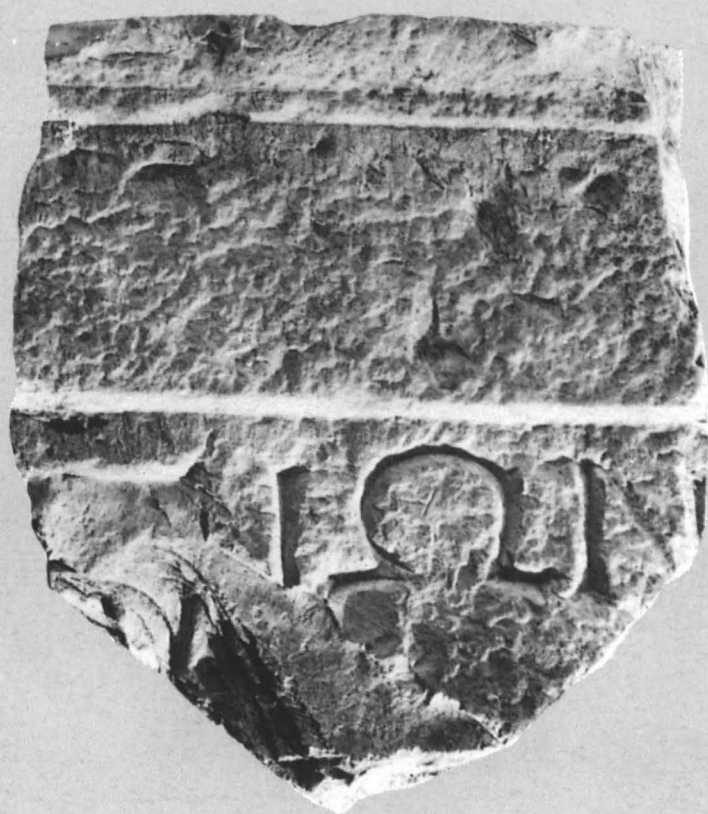


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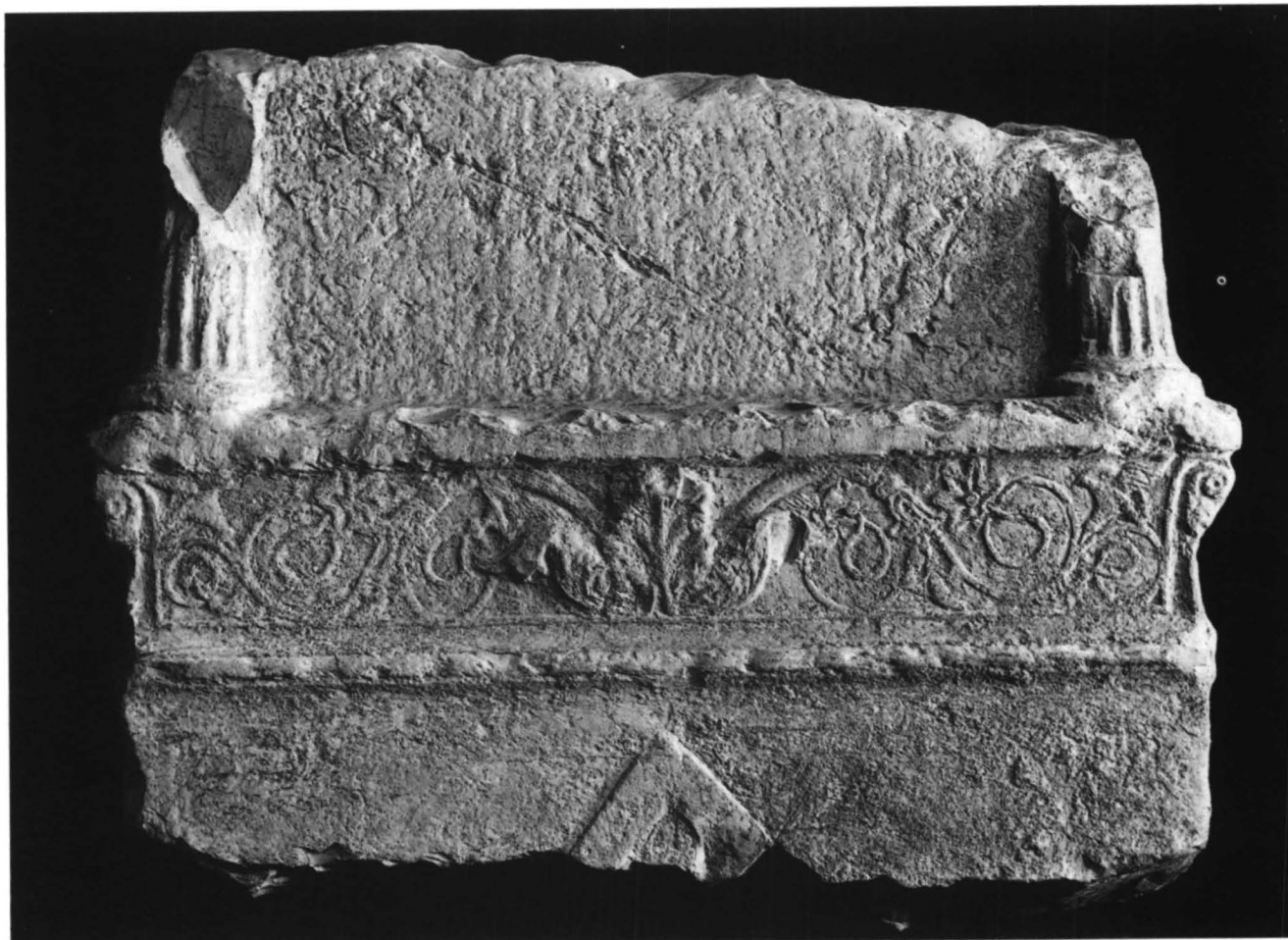


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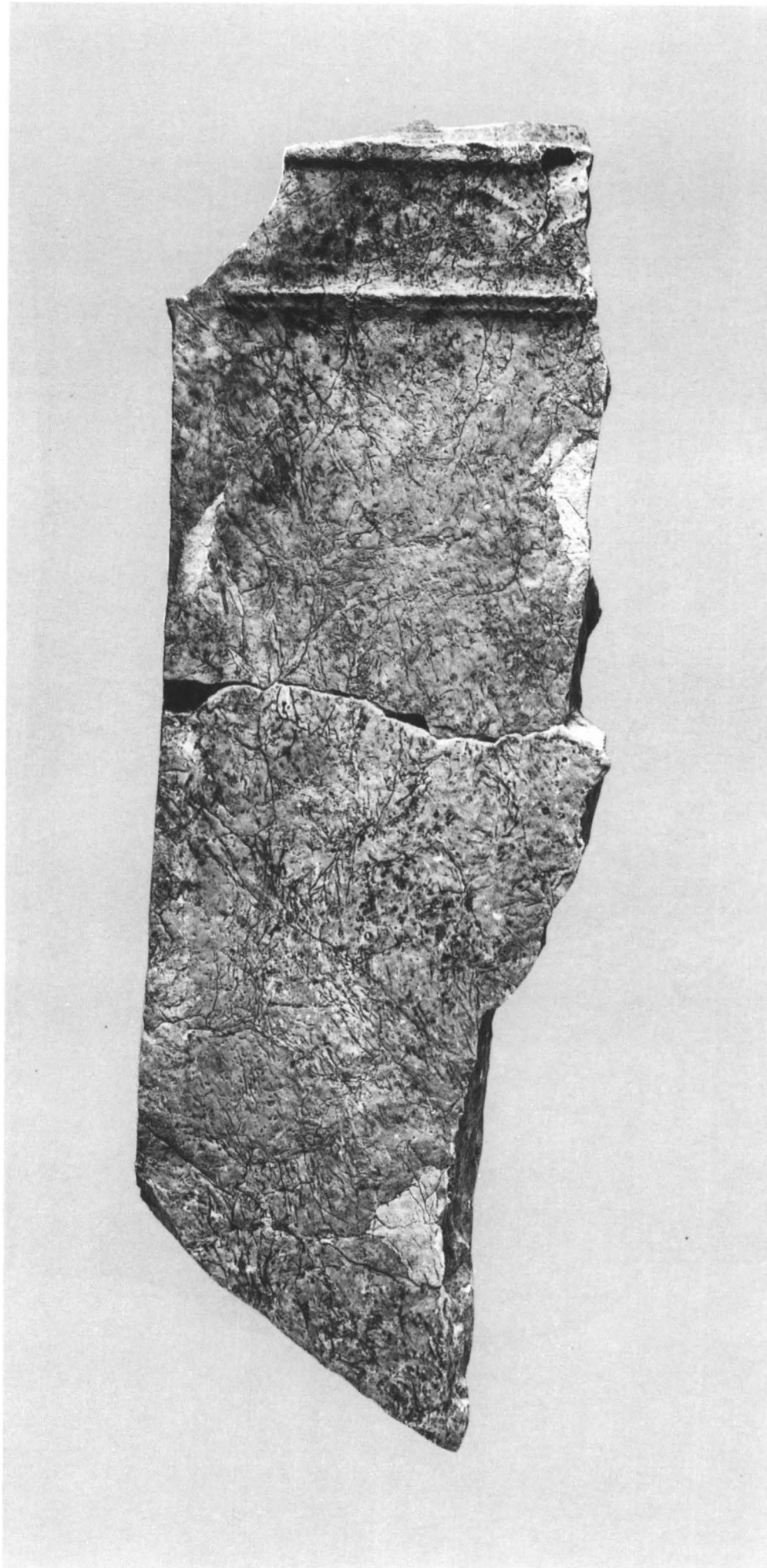


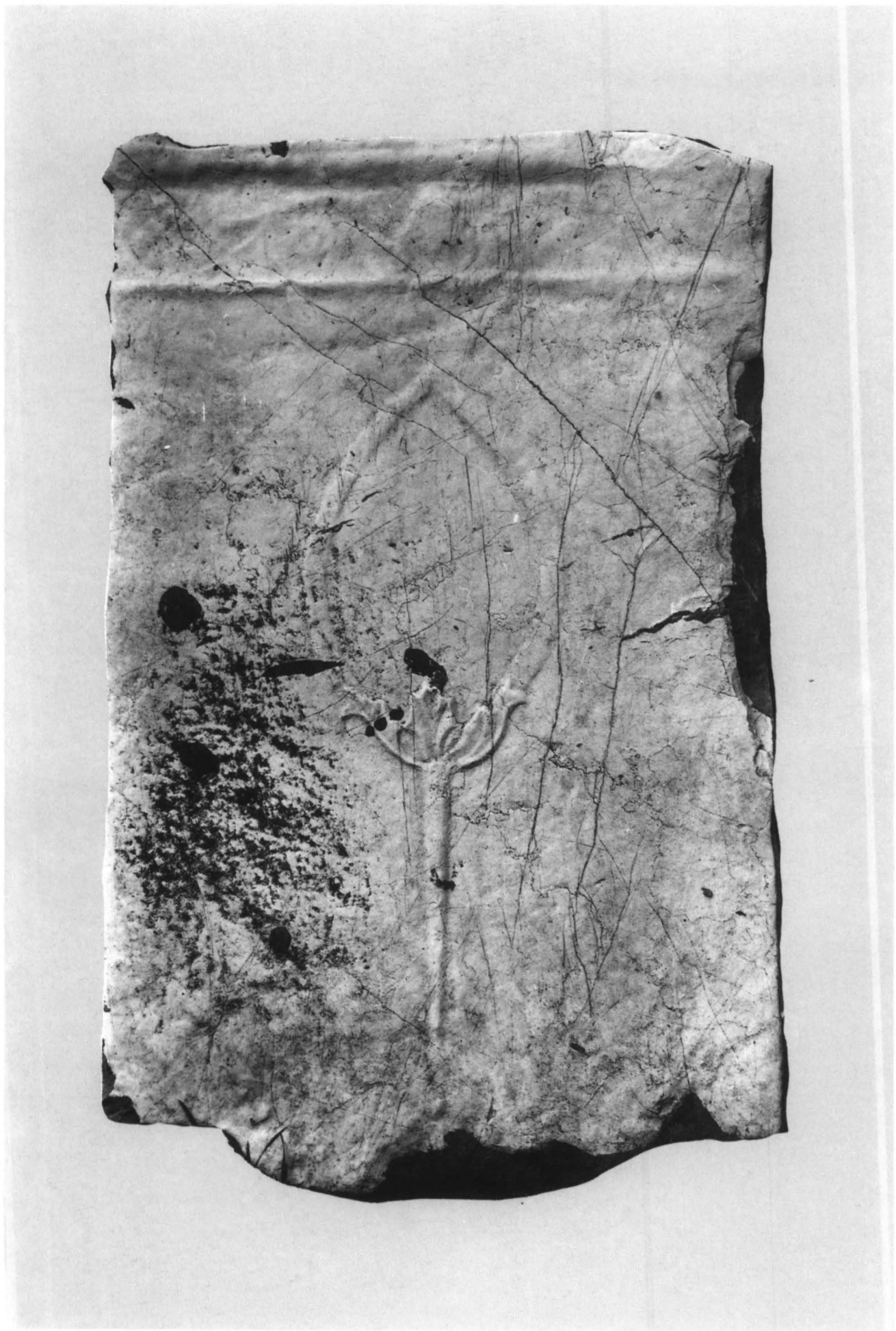
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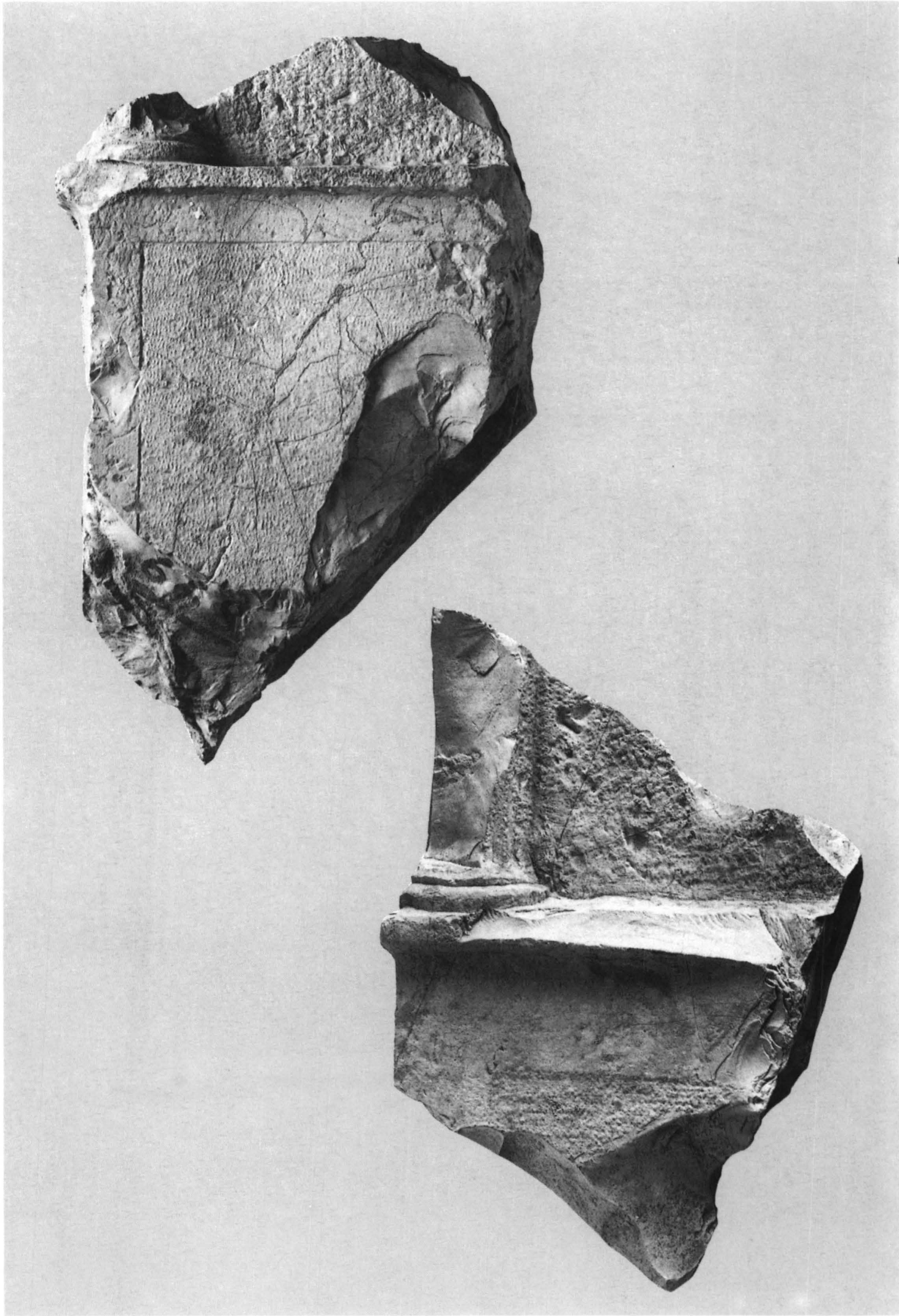








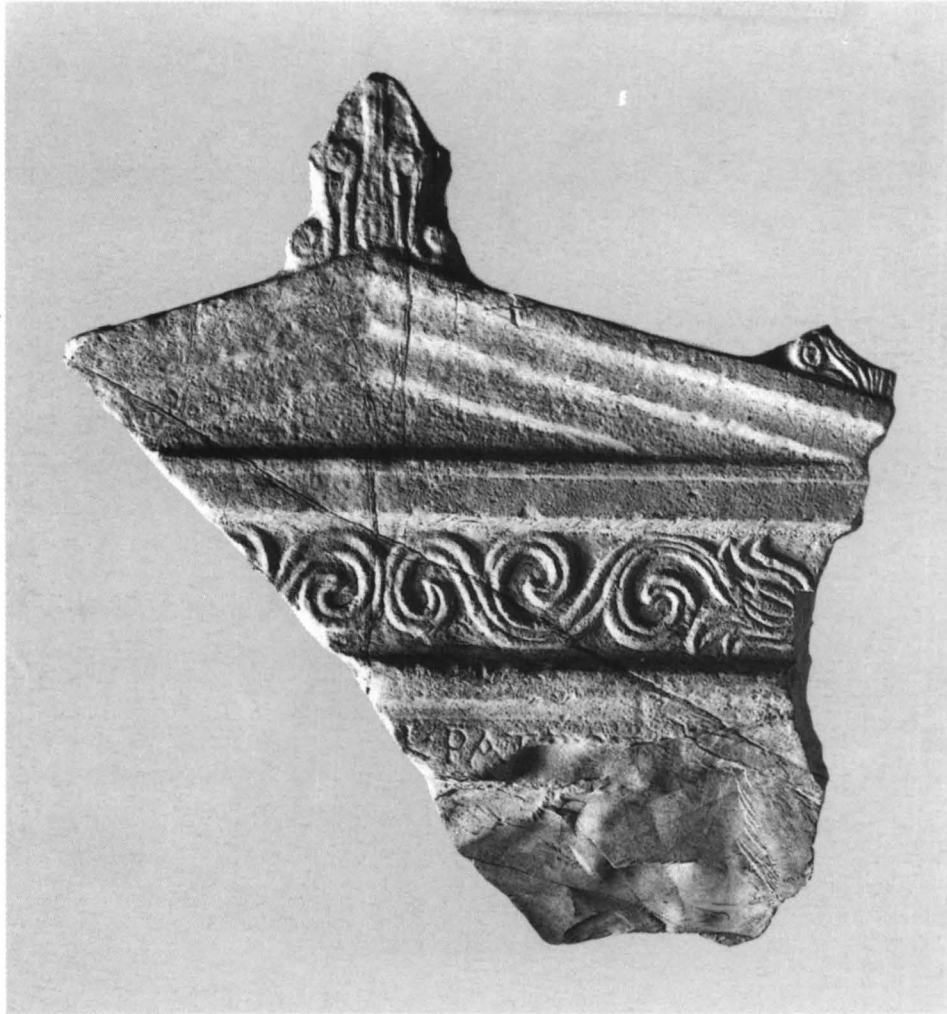




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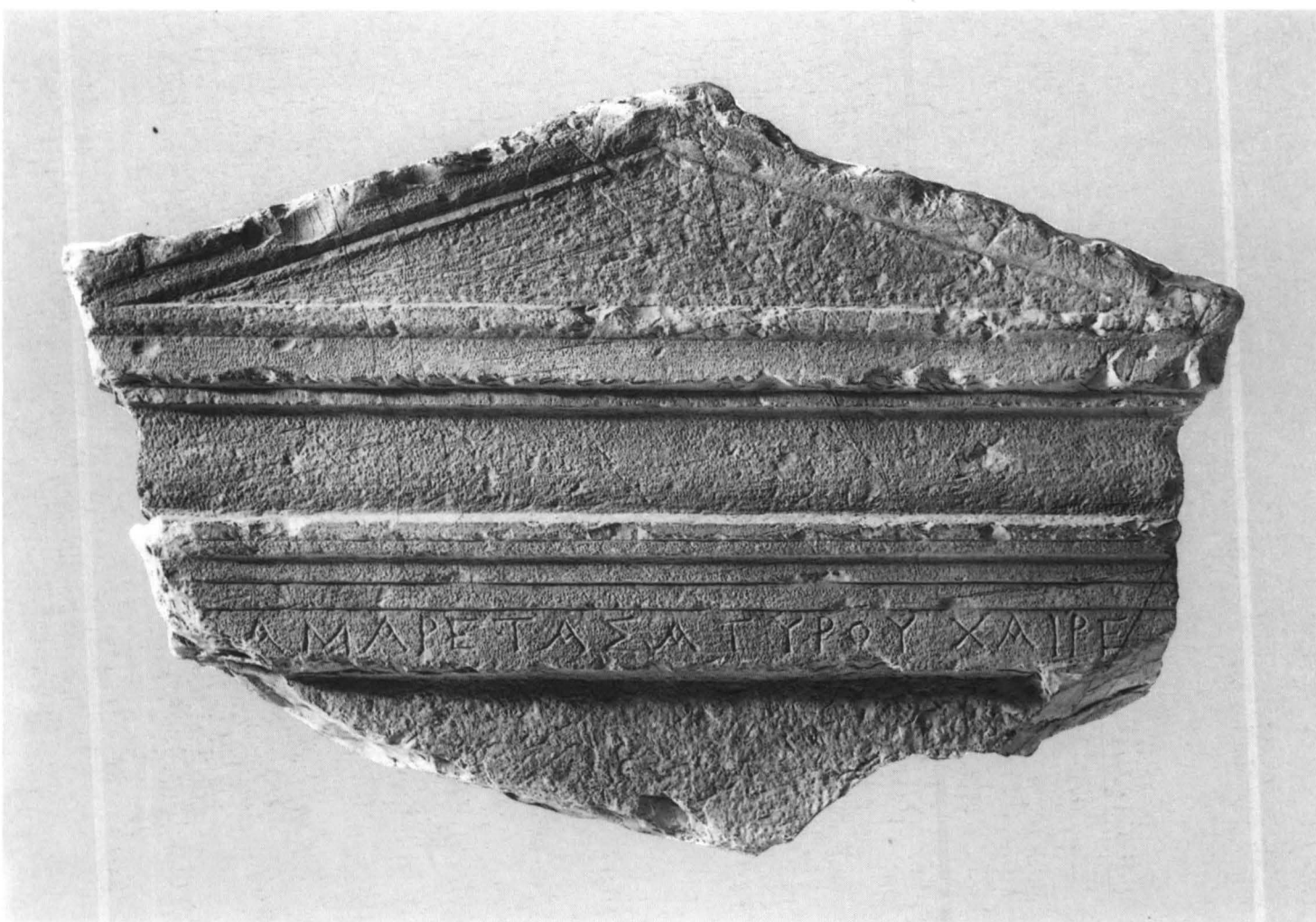
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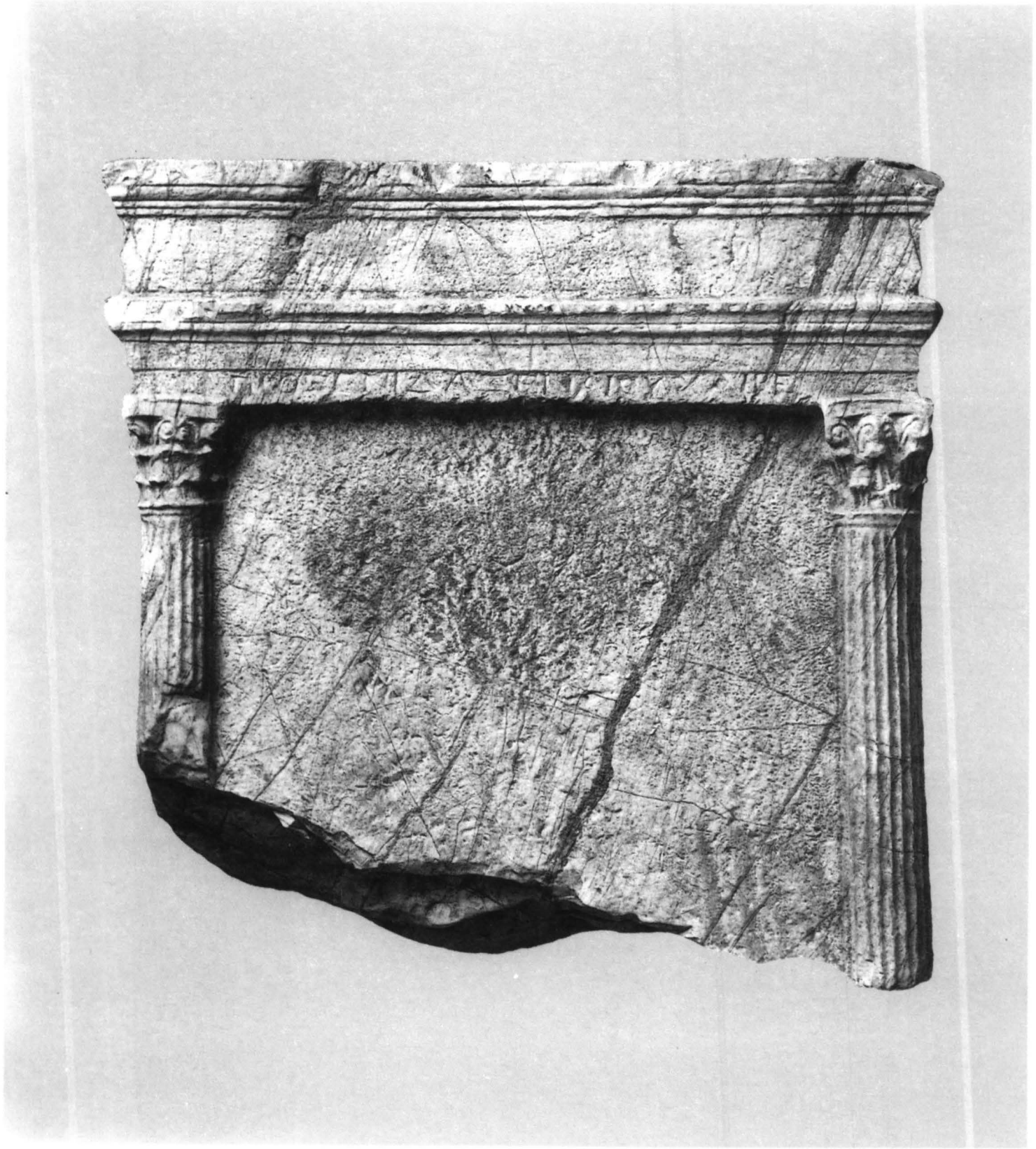
a

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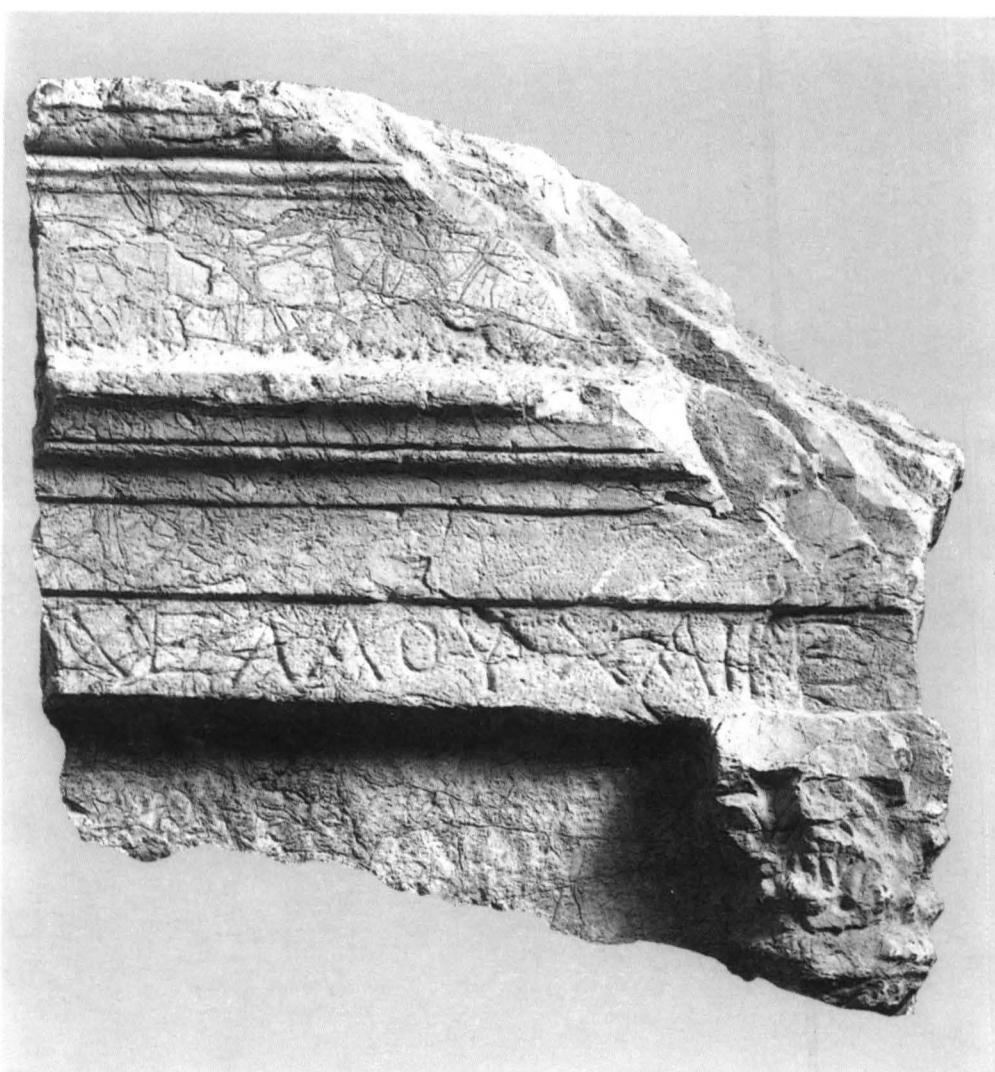




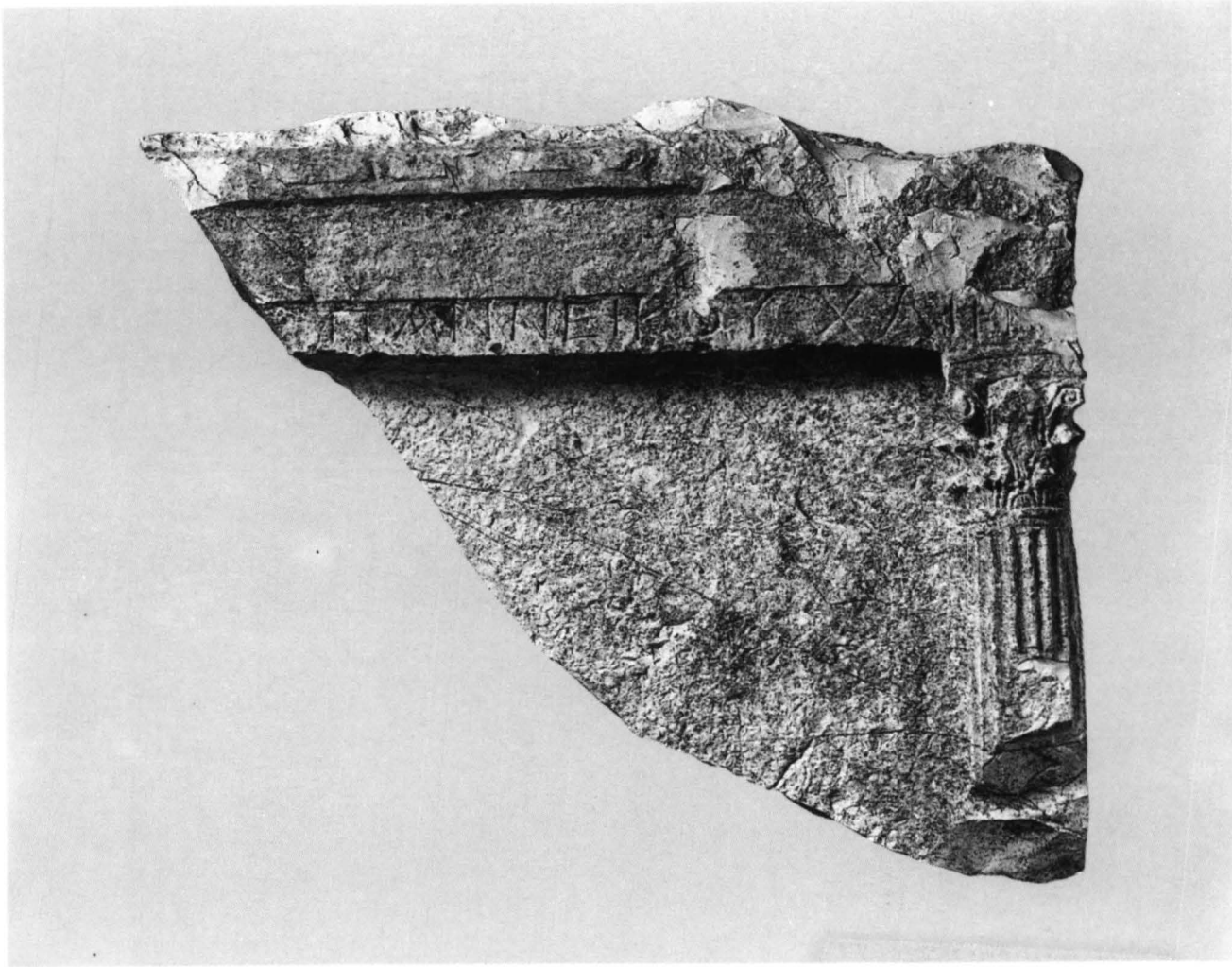




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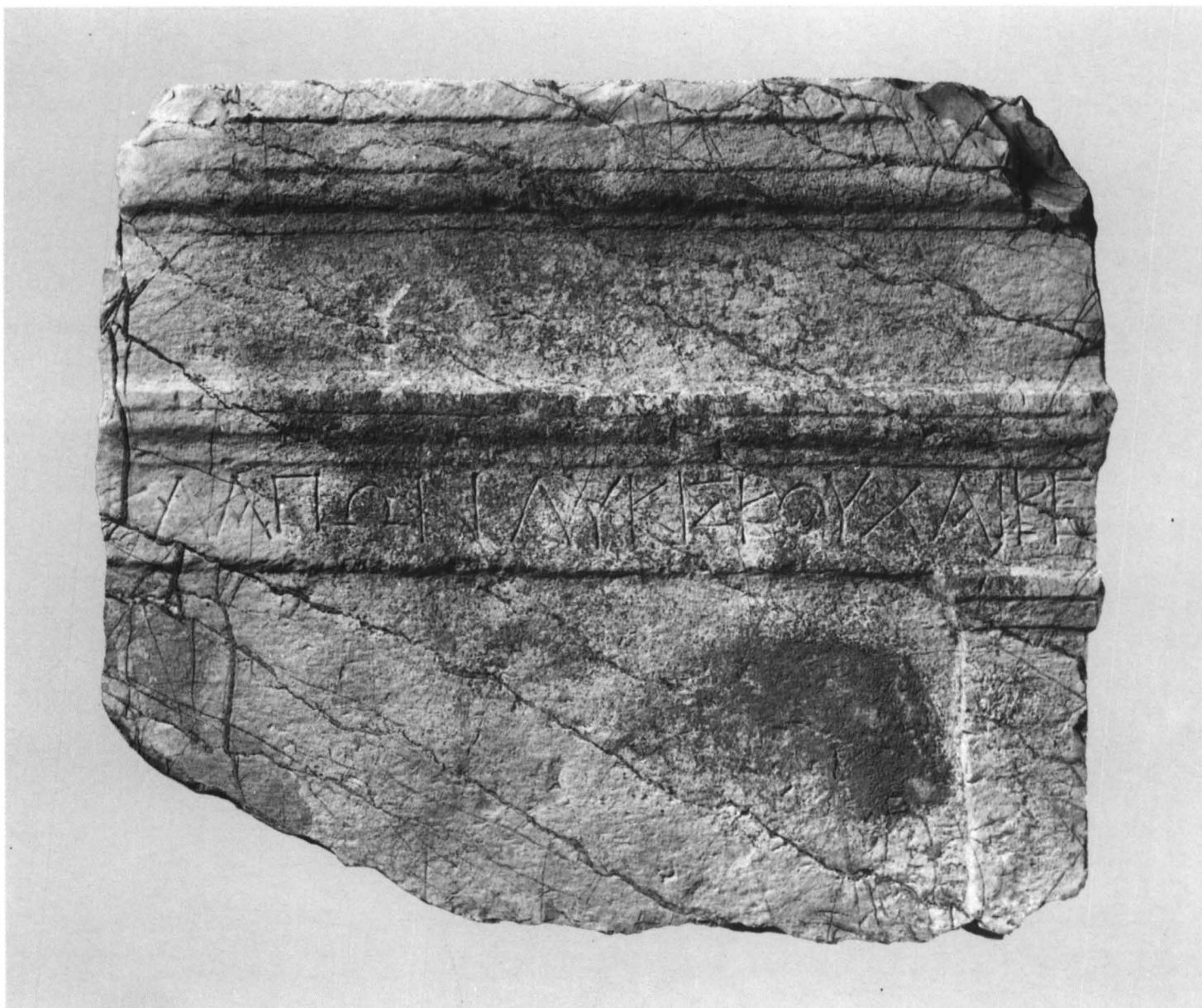


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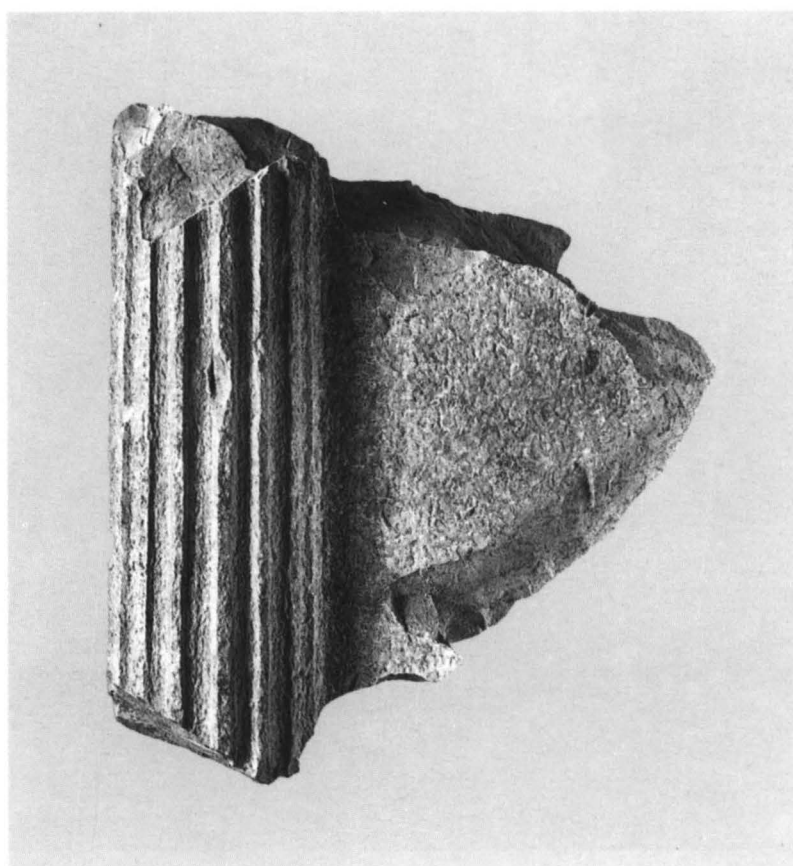


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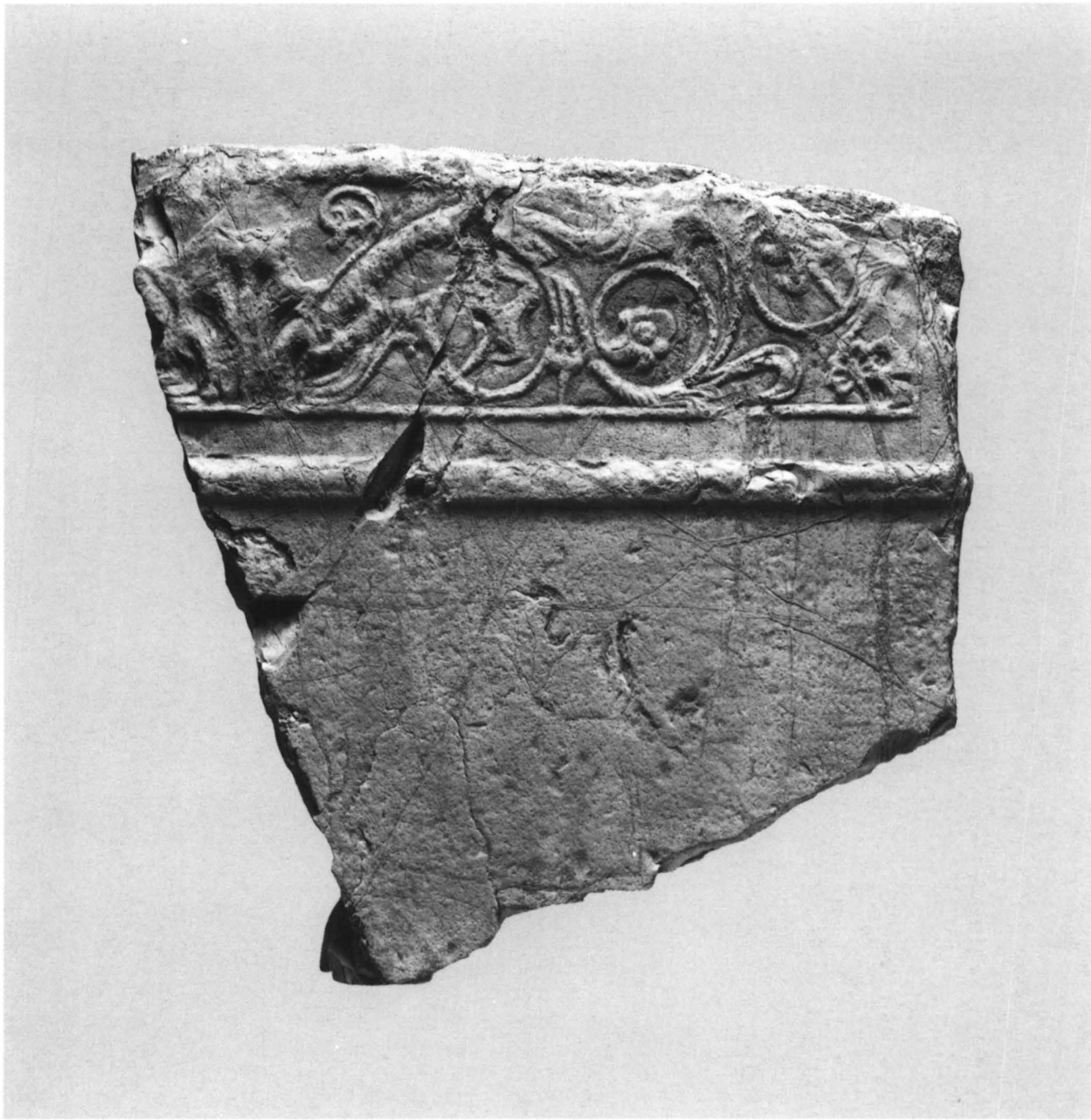
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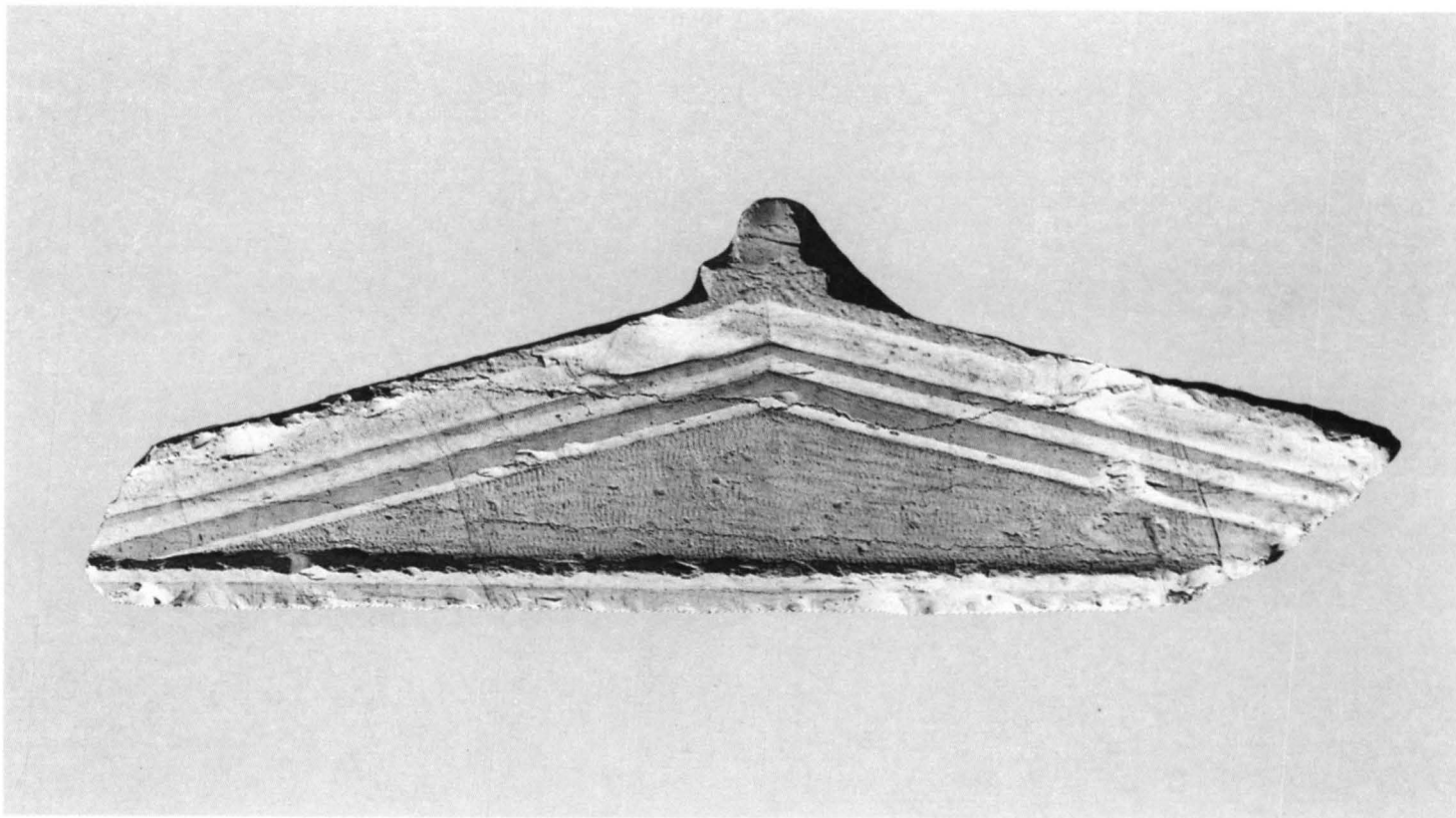
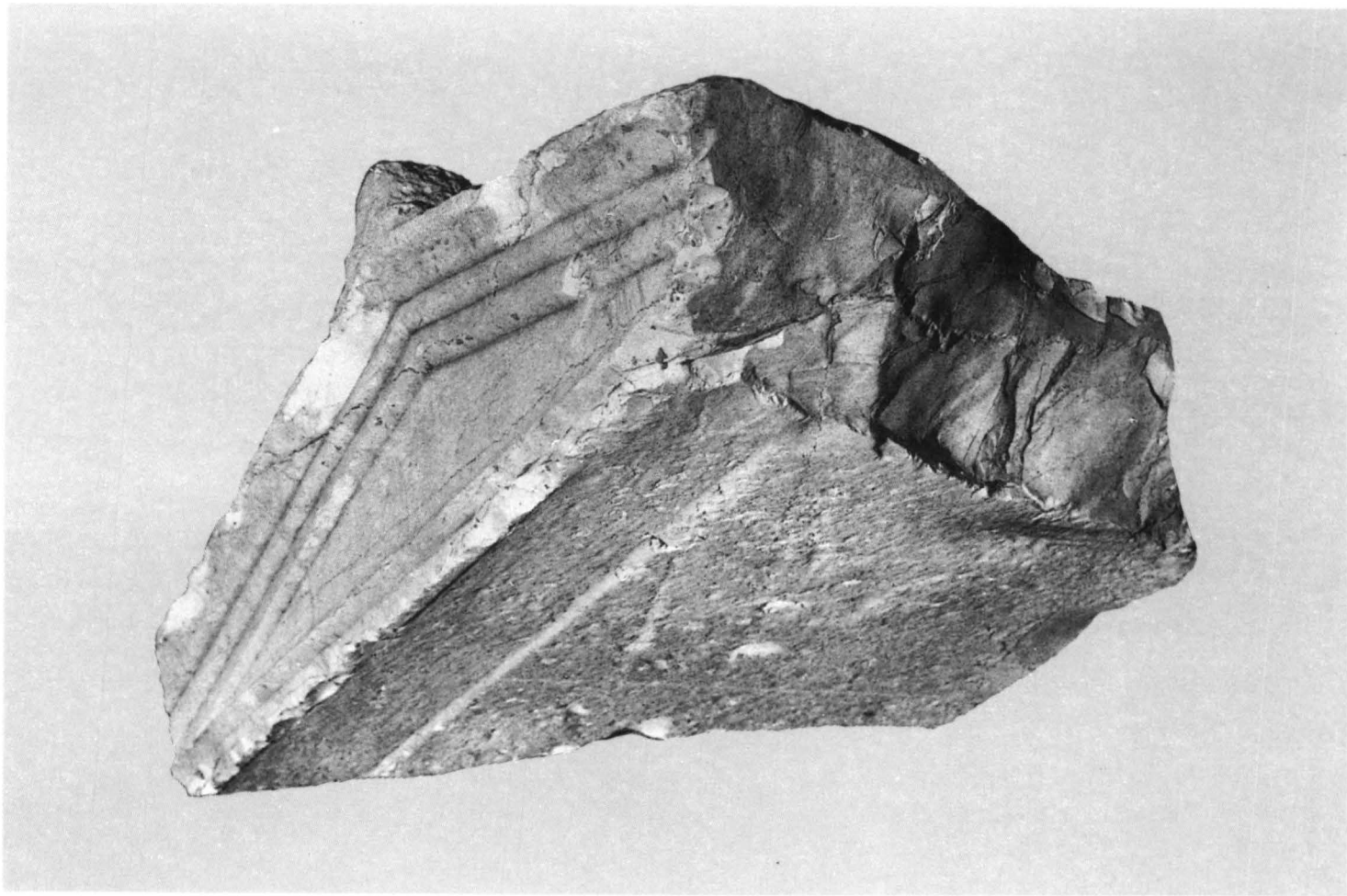


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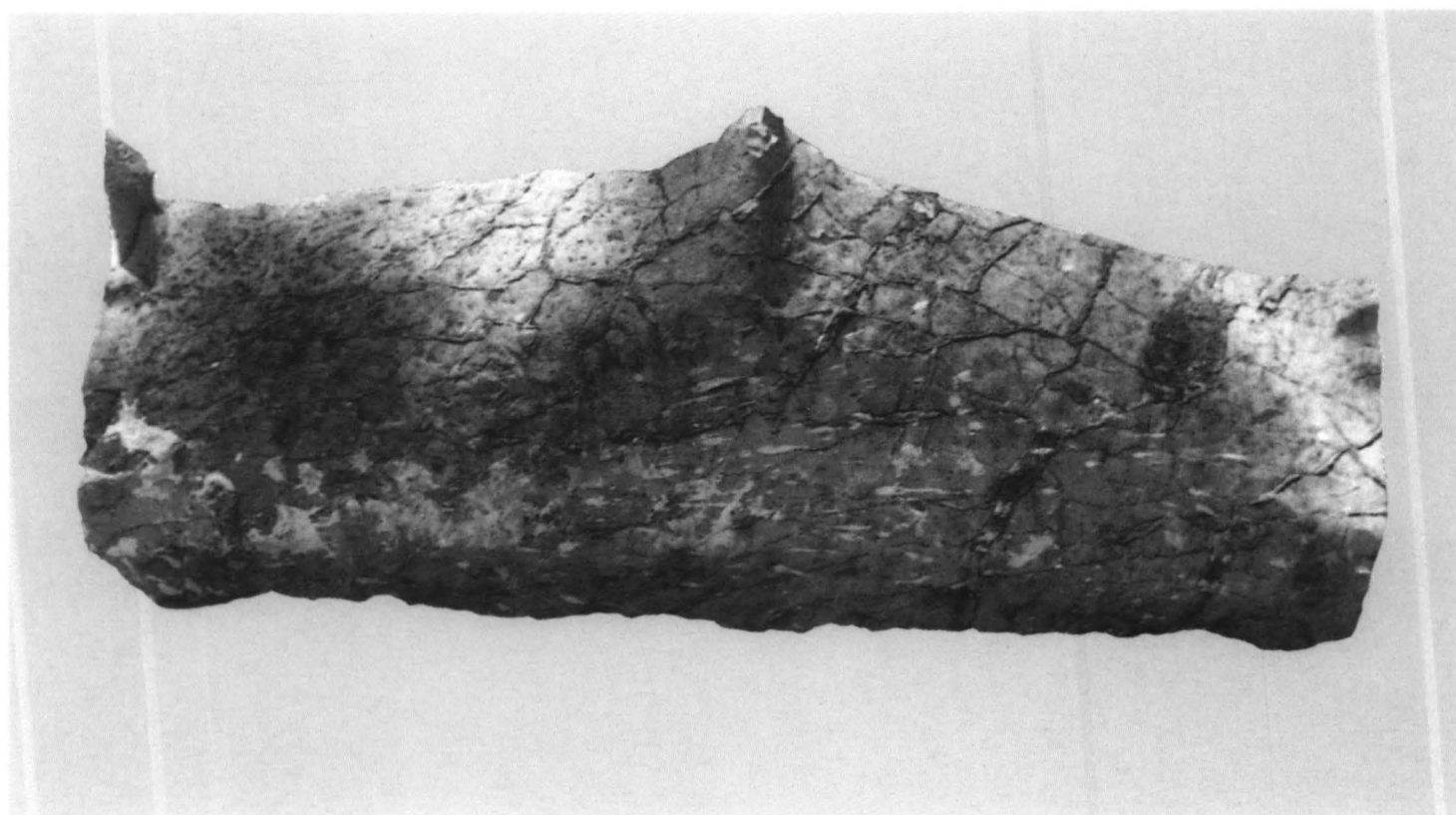
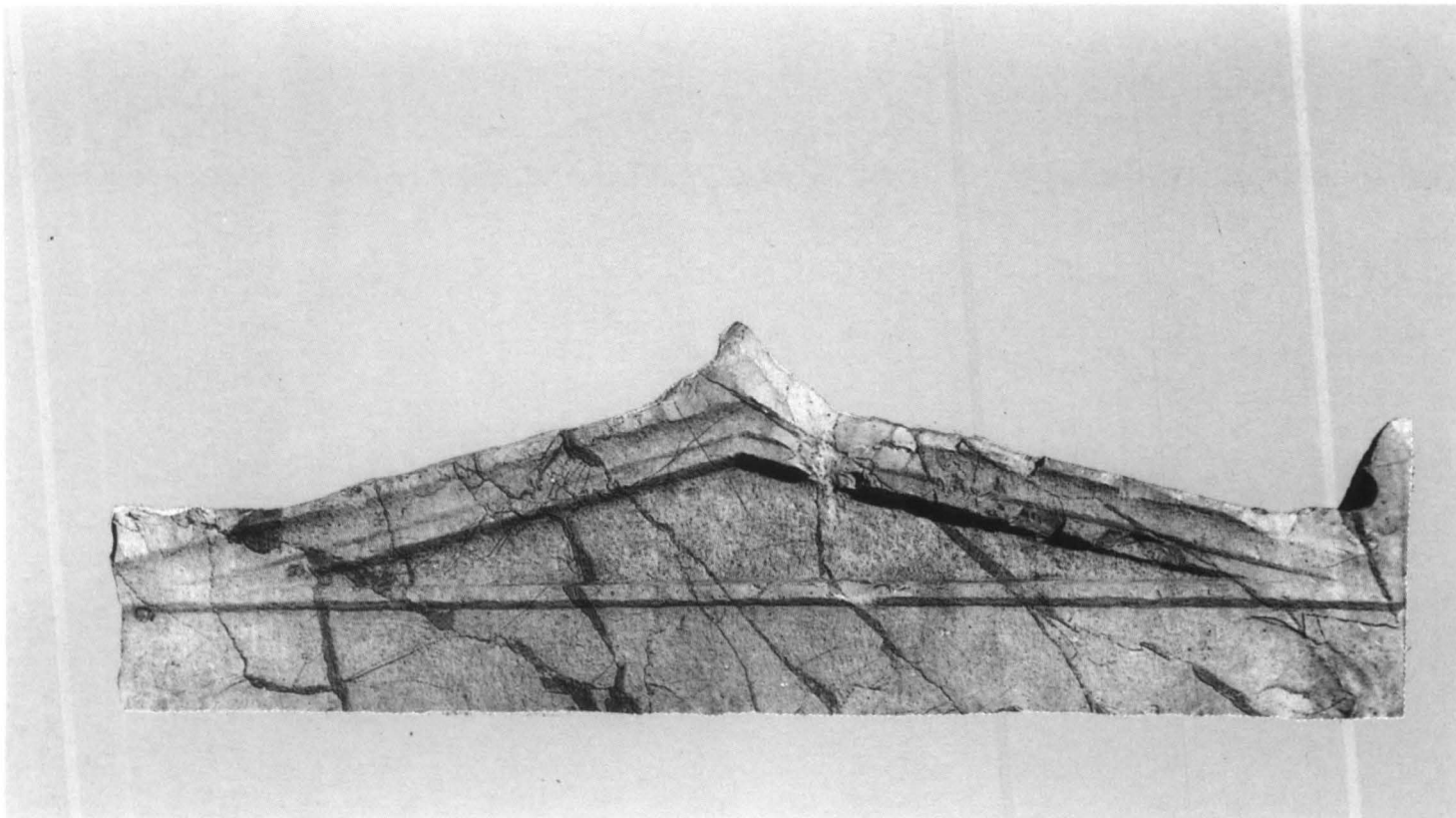








I Pedimental roof of an aedicula from Tritaia, Patras Museum 2742.



II Pedimental crowning of a stele of composite Type B from Pharai Prevedos, Koumaniotis field.



III Tombstone of Hermaios, Sicyon Museum.



IV Grave stele of Nikias, Sicyon Museum.



V Tomb monument, Sicyon Museum.



VI Stele of Phila from Goumero, Olympia Museum Λ483.



a



b



c



d

VII Stelai in Olympia Museum a. A915, b. A327, c. A485, d. A898.



VIII Stele from Daphniotissa, Elis Museum A2068.



IXa Detail of pl. VIII, b. Stele from Kalyvia, Elis Museum A2619.



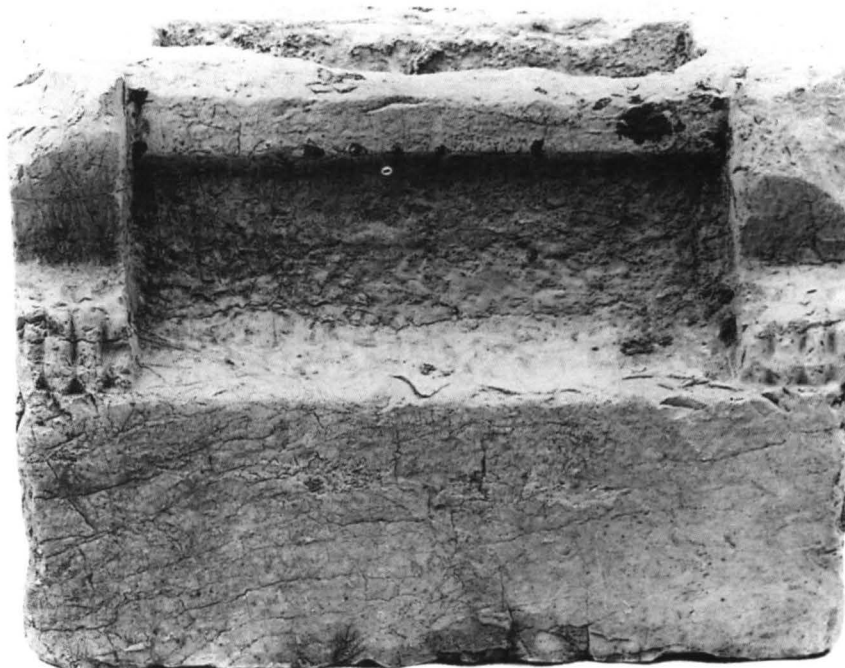
X Stele bases in Patras



a

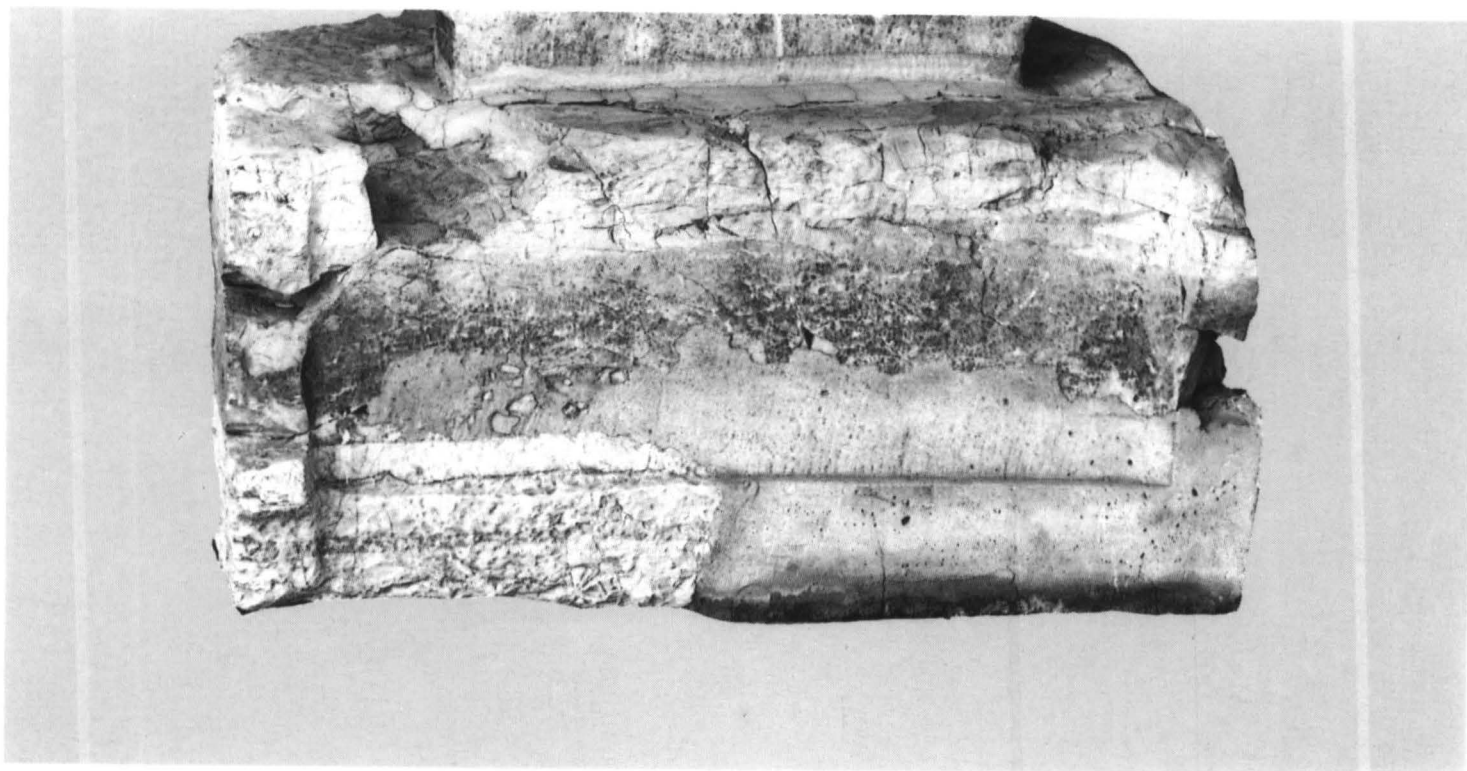


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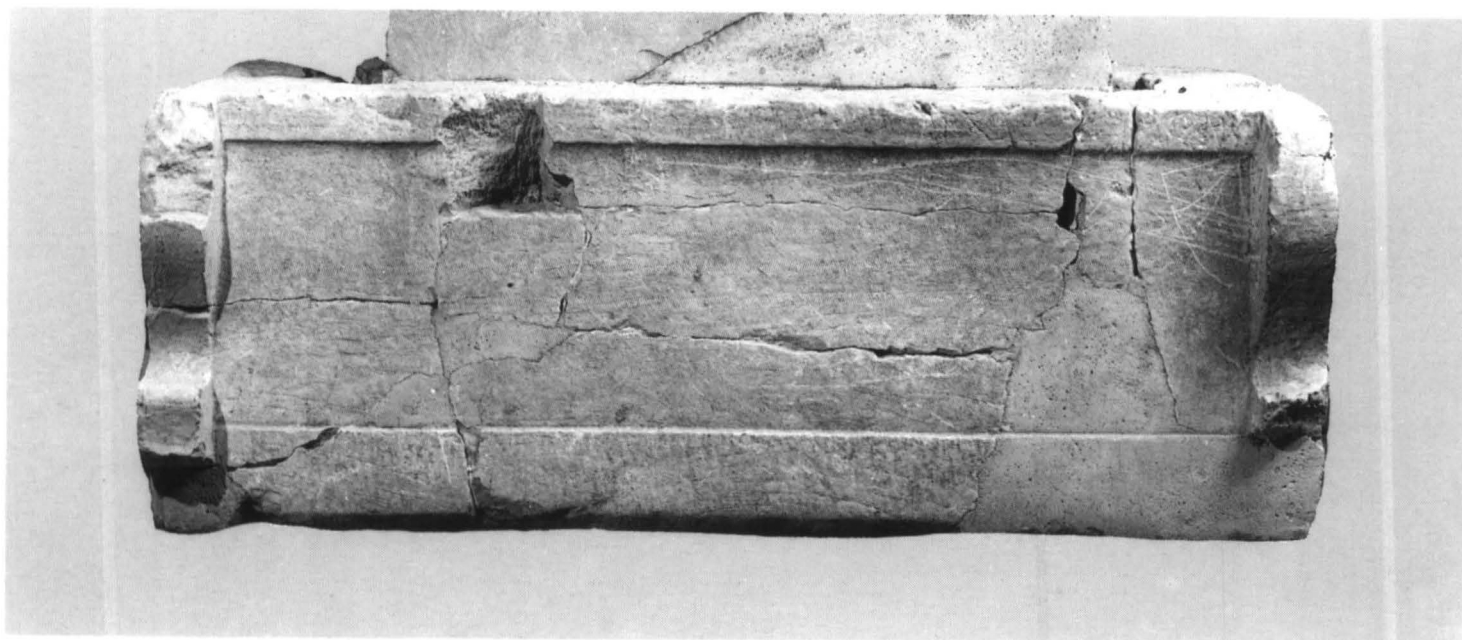


c

XIa Stele base, Patras Museum 1415, b-c. Stele bases from Messene, Mavromati Museum 1140, 3222.



a



b

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a



b

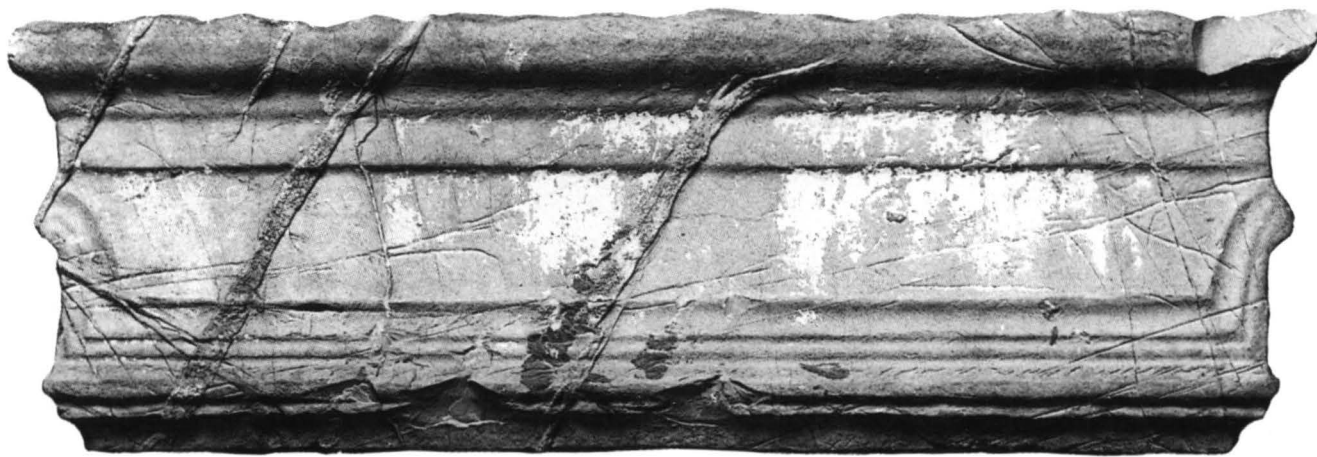


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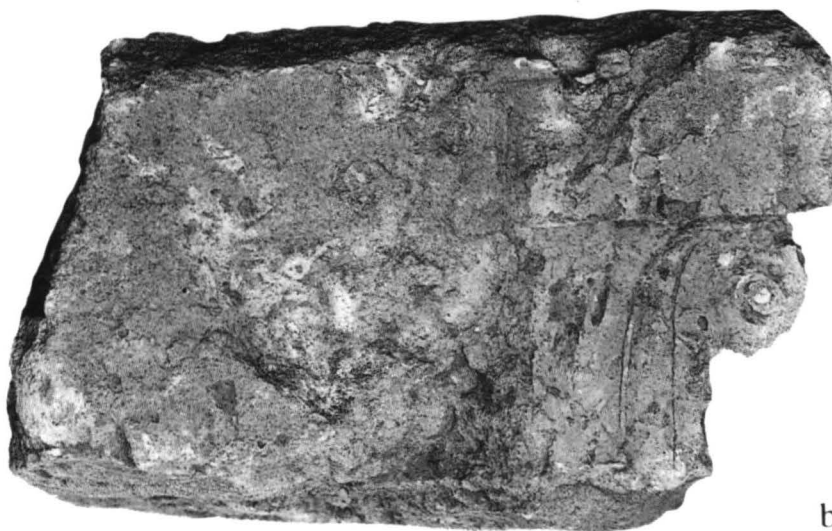


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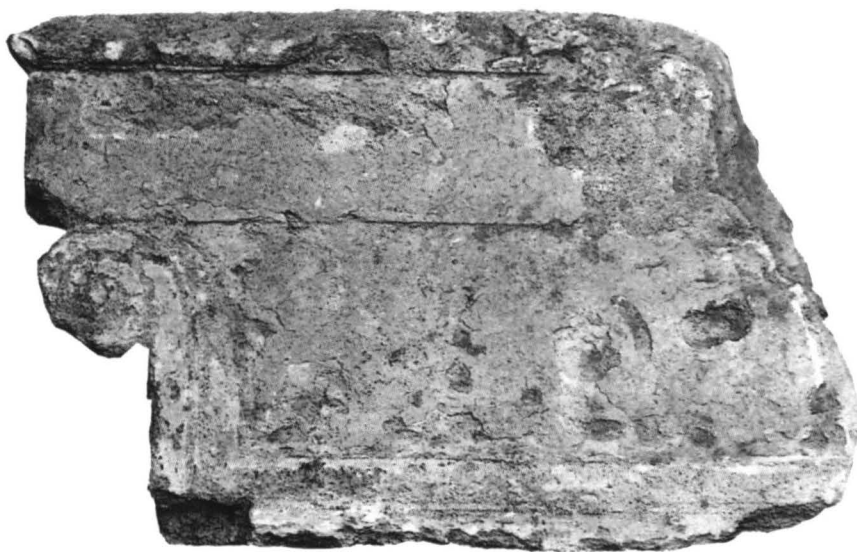
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a



b



c



d

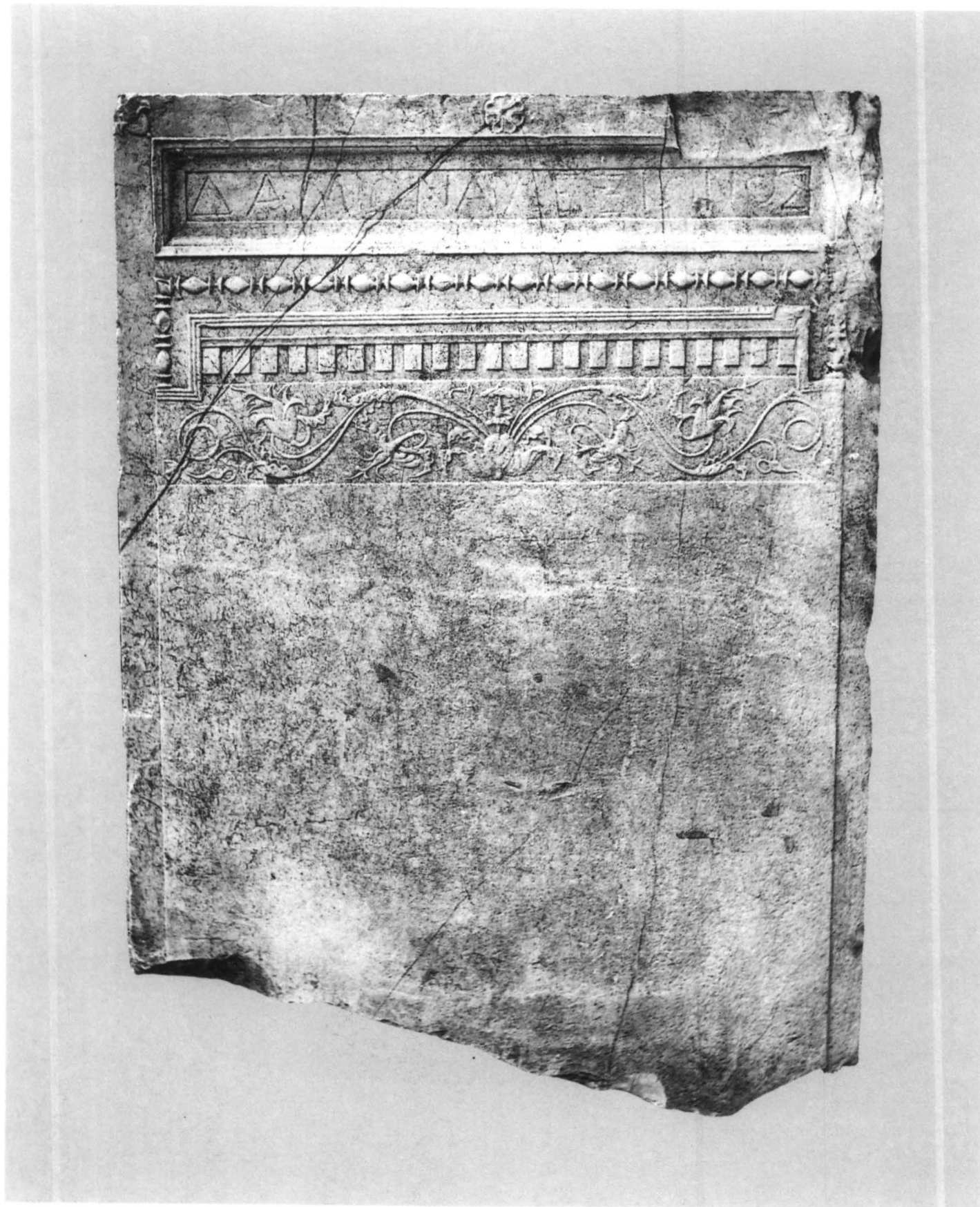
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