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AIAS AND EURYSAKES ON A FOURTH-CENTURY HONORARY DECREE FROM
SALAMIS

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In the apotheke of the Piraeus Museum is a nearly complete stele whose relief and very worn text have received little attention since they were first published in the 1949 issue of Polemon, not long after the stele was discovered in the excavation of the Byzantine chapel of Ayios Demetrios near Moulki on the island of Salamis (Taf. II a,b).¹ The subject of the relief and the wreaths carved beneath the text indicate that the inscription was an honorary decree. Since the text was published without commentary and since the relief apparently depicts a heretofore unrecognized figure of Eurysakes, son of Telamonian Aias, a figure not otherwise certainly identified in Greek art, we present a fuller study of both relief and inscription here.²

Piraeus Museum 4228. Height: 1.38 m. Width: 0.41-0.46 m. tapered. Thickness: 0.10 m. Letter Height: 0.005m. Stoichedon square: horizontal 0.009; vertical 0.0094.

Medium-grained white marble. The stele is complete, although the surface of the inscription is almost entirely worn away from use as a threshold block.

The Inscription

A new autopsy of the inscription yielded a very fragmentary text differing in a number of respects from that originally published by D.I.Pallas. A new reading is offered here, followed by Pallas' text for comparison.

stoichedon c. 45

1	.....22.....	OKΛΗ...Α.....	11.....
2	.....16.....	Ο...7...ΟΦΗΜΟ ἄρχο[ντος...8...]	
3	.....15.....	ΟΡ...7...ΟC...ΦΙ.Ο.....	12.....
4	.....15.....	ΔΙ..5...ΤΡΕΜ...ΗΞΑ.....	12.....
5	.....17.....	Υ...6...Ε.....	20.....
6	.....24.....	C...ΑΚ.....	15.....

¹ D.I.Pallas, *ArchEph* (1948-49) 121, no.1 (published in 1951); Polemon 4 (1949) 113-117, figs. 1,2. See also N.Himmelman, rev. of Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (1966), *Gnomon* 40 (1968) 632; J.Frel, *Les sculpteurs attiques anonymes*, 430-300 (Prague 1969) 35 no.223; C.Lawton, *Attic Document Reliefs of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods; Their History, Development and Use* (Diss. Princeton Univ. 1984) 281-282 no.101; M.Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs* (*Ath.Mitt.*, Beiheft 13, Berlin 1989) 27, 69, 127, 129, 140, 182 n.1257, 189, 213, 219, 318 N7, pl.56.2.

² Harris studied the inscription, Lawton the relief. We are very grateful to Basilios Petrakos, Director of the Second Attic Ephoreia, for permission to study and publish the stone and for providing photographs, to John S. Traill for confirming our readings and discussing the stele with us, and to John McK. Camp for his helpful criticism. A squeeze is available for study.

1. [----] Ο Ο Δ Η [.....] Υ Λ Ο [-----]
 [----] Ο Φ [_____⁶] Ο Ν Ο [..] Ο [----]
 3. [----] Ο Θ [_____⁷] Φ [-----]
 [-----] Ο Μ [_____¹⁰] Δ Ι [----]
 [-----] Χ [-----]

After Pallas, Polemon 4 (1949), p.114.

The available space of the inscribed surface is 0.48 m. in height and 0.41 m. in width, which could yield at the maximum approximately 51 lines of text. Only a few letter traces are visible below the sixth line.

The stone is too worn to assess how much space was allowed along the edges of the inscription. In stelai with reliefs framed by flat antae, as ours is, the texts below do not respect the frame, but begin and end at the edges.³ The measurements suggest a stoichedon of 45 letters per line at the maximum, with 41 or 43 also possible.

The text published by Pallas consisted of five lines. The letters which were visible to us do not seem to agree very closely with his readings.

Commentary:

Line 1: The four consecutive letters may be part of a personal name ending in *-okles*.⁴

Line 2: ---ΟΦΗΜΟ ἄρχο[ντος]

If this were the formula for the date by archon, we should expect *epi* followed by the name of the archon in the genitive before *archontos*. The *omicron* stands for the genitive ending *-OY*. The use of *O* for the diphthong *OY* is a common phenomenon in fifth and fourth century Attic inscriptions, becoming more rare by c. 350, but there are examples as late as 325 B.C.⁵

After the initial *omicron*, there is room for seven letters for the *epi* and the beginning of a name ending in *-ophemos*. Because the only Athenian eponymous archon who fits this requirement is *Nikophemos* of 361/0, a date seemingly too early for the style of the letters and the relief and frame above, and because the position of the archon in the second line of the prescript is unusual, we suggest that the official in question is not the Athenian

³ Cf. IG II², 231 (Lawton, 193-194 no.48; Meyer, A 91, pl.27.2); SEG 12.87 (Lawton, 196-200 no.50; Meyer, A 97, pl.30.2); SEG 21.519 (Lawton, 296-298 no.112; Meyer, A 137, pl.41.2); IG II², 1202 (Lawton, 228-230 no.67; Meyer, A 140, pl.44.1).

⁴ There are at least 142 attested Greek personal names ending in *-okles*: F.Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle 1917) 242-248; F.Dornseiff-B.Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Berlin 1957) 160-161.

⁵ L.Threatte, *The Grammar of Greek Inscriptions I*, (Berlin and New York 1980), 238-261, especially p.257.

eponymous archon but rather another magistrate.⁶ It is also possible, but less likely, that this could be a reference back to the archonship of Nikophemos in a subordinate clause, which might not be unexpected in reviewing the career of an honorand.⁷

A few scattered strokes appear sporadically for at least twenty-eight centimeters below line six, but little point is served in describing them, except to note that the inscription did carry on for at least twenty-eight more lines.

The style of the inscription provides some information about its date. The letter forms, especially the *phi* with its compressed circle and the small *omicrons*, look Lycourgan, as the letter height would also indicate.⁸ On historical grounds it seems likely that the decree was set up before 318/17, when Kassander forced the surrender of Salamis in seige and placed the island under the rule of Demetrios of Phaleron (Diod.Sic. 18.69). The length of the text may have been considerable, comparable to such decrees as SEG 28.103, Eleusis honors Philokomos, dated to the year 332 B.C.⁹ The line length is also unusual; most honorary decrees of the second half of the fourth century have a line length between 20 and 34 letters. Notable exceptions are the previously cited SEG 28.103, with a line length of 43 letters, and IG II², 445 (335/4 B.C.), where the text has 65 lines and 46 letters per line.¹⁰

The relief

Following the well-established tradition of reliefs on Attic honorary decrees, the relief depicts a large figure crowning the honorand of the decree. Another figure looks on from the right.¹¹ The two wreaths carved beneath the text, common on honorary decrees of the second half of the fourth century, probably represent a crown or crowns awarded in the decree.

Without the help of the text of the decree, the identity of the honorand cannot be established. He is bearded and wears a himation and generally resembles most of the honorands on Attic document reliefs in his small scale and nondescript character.¹² The identity of the large crowning figure, on the other hand, has never been questioned. He is Telamonian Aias, the hero of Salamis, and an appropriate representative of the island on a

⁶ Other attested Greek names ending in *-ophemos* include Aglaophemos, Theophemos, Kleophemos, Orthophemos, Antiophemos, Enantiophemos, Kritophemos, and Aristophemos: Bechtel, *op.cit.*, 446; Dornseiff-Hansen, *op.cit.*, 261.

⁷ Cf. IG II², 776; 1198; 1203; 1217 and SEG 28.103, honorary decrees with archon names embedded in subordinate clauses.

⁸ See J.Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*² (Berlin 1948), pl.29, for comparanda.

⁹ C.J.Schwenk, *Athens in the Age of Alexander* (Chicago 1985), 212-219 no.43. The text is 53 lines long, and the length of the line is stoichedon 35 (lines 2-17) and 43 (lines 18-53).

¹⁰ Schwenk, 95-105 no.18.

¹¹ For document reliefs in general, see R.Binnebössel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.* (Kaldenkirchen 1932); Lawton; Meyer. Lawton's monograph on Attic document reliefs is in preparation.

¹² Pallas, Polemon, 117, suggested that he was an official of the ephebes, honored in connection with their participation in the festival of the Aianteia.

document relief.¹³ He had a cult on Salamis, according to Pausanias (I. 35.3) with a temple and ebony statue. Aias is depicted here as usual with his armor, a spear in his left hand and his huge and famous shield standing behind him on the right.¹⁴ But while almost all other representations of Aias show him heroically nude or wearing a cuirass, he appears here in an himation.¹⁵ In this respect he more closely resembles the non-anecdotal representations of him as an Attic phyle hero, for example on the Parthenon frieze, dressed in civilian clothes as a representative of a civic institution.¹⁶ It is a good compromise for the Salamis relief, rendering him at the same time easily recognizable with his famous armor and yet appropriately dressed for his civic responsibilities.

The third figure in the relief, a male standing somewhat apart from Aias and the honorand, has never been identified satisfactorily. Although the upper part of the figure is badly damaged by one of the holes made when the stele was re-used, it is clear that he wears a himation. He turns toward the two other figures and probably held Aias' shield with his right hand; he partly overlaps the shield and appears even more closely associated with it than Aias. Pallas suggested that the figure was the Demos of the Salaminians.¹⁷ Apart from his dress, however, the figure does not very closely resemble the figure of Demos in Athenian document reliefs, who is consistently larger in scale and more active in bestowing the city's honors. In Athenian reliefs he is often the crowning figure, and he and other personifications are usually depicted in the same scale or very nearly the same scale as the gods.¹⁸ Moreover, there is no good reason for the Salaminian Demos to hold Aias' shield. M.Meyer, on the other hand, identified the figure as a mortal, the second honorand of the

¹³ Whether the very fragmentary figure inscribed Salamis on another mid-fourth century document relief represents the island or the Cypriot city is unclear: J.H.Oliver, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 34-35 no.4, fig.4; Lawton, 187-188 no.46; Meyer, 287-288 A 77.

¹⁴ So closely is he associated with his armor at Salamis that the coins issued by the island in the second half of the fourth century bear his shield and sword on their reverse: B.V.Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (Oxford 1911) 392.

¹⁵ For other representations of Aias, see U.Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen; Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellung* (Ath.Mitt., Beiheft 5, Berlin 1976) 171-176, 275-276, pls. 16.2, 27.1-3; O.Touchefeu, *LIMC I*, 312-336, pls. 232-252, s.v. Aias I.

¹⁶ He was possibly also dressed in this way on a red-figured skyphos from the Akropolis, now very fragmentary, in which he leans on a staff: U.Hausmann, *Charites: Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* (Bonn 1957) 144-151, pl.20-2. For Aias as phyle hero, see Kron, 176, 275-276 Ai 3-8, pl.30.2.

¹⁷ Polemon, 117.

¹⁸ Examples: Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2811 (Demos and Boule, slightly smaller than Athena, crown a much smaller honorand: Lawton, 216-220 no.61; Meyer, pl.35.2); National Museum 1482 (Demos, the same scale or very slightly smaller than Athena, hands a crown to a much smaller honorand: Lawton, 224-227 no.66; Meyer, pl.39.1); National Museum 2952 + 2961 (Demos, the same scale as Athena, crowns a much smaller honorand: Lawton, 291-292 no.109; Meyer, pl.30.2); National Museum 2946 (Demos, the same scale as Athena, crowns a much smaller honorand: Lawton, 313-314 no.124; Meyer, pl.34.2); National Museum 2958 (Demos, the same scale as Eutaxia, crowns a much smaller honorand: Lawton, 310-312 no.123; Meyer, pl.42.1); Akropolis Museum 7231 (Demos, the same scale as Athena, crowns a much smaller honorand: Lawton, 340-341 no.144; Meyer, pl.35.1).

decree.¹⁹ This identification seems unlikely for several reasons. The figure is significantly larger than the mortal being crowned and must therefore be more than mortal; emphatic scale distinctions in document reliefs consistently define hierarchical relationships between gods, heroes and men.²⁰ When differences in scale occur within these spheres, they are indications that the figures are not equal in other respects, as in the relief of a decree of 410/09 concerning Athens and Thracian Neapolis, in which Athena as a representative of the empire dwarfs the Neapolitan Parthenos, patron goddess of her client ally,²¹ and, as we shall see, in the case of the two larger figures here. The only example of a document relief depicting honorands differing in height is the relief of an Athenian decree of 340/39 for three otherwise unknown men, Phokinos, Nikandros and Dexi[ppos], in which the relatively slight differences of less than a head, along with differences in their armor, may refer to distinctions in their rank.²² If the larger scale of the figure on the right in the Piraeus relief were an indication of his greater prestige as an honorand, it is unclear why the smaller figure on the left receives the crown and the hero's full attention. In all document reliefs certainly depicting more than one honorand, the mortals stand together and receive their honors simultaneously.²³ The two crowns carved beneath the text of the decree need not indicate the presence of a second honorand, as other stelai with one honorand but more than one crown attest.²⁴

A more likely identification for the third figure is suggested by just those features which prove problematic for the other suggested identifications, his scale relative to that of the other figures and his relationship to Aias' shield. The figure's scale, intermediate between that of the mortal honorand and the hero Aias, places him in the heroic sphere, but not on an equal footing with Aias. It is a scale appropriate for Aias' son Eurysakes, like Aias a hero, but a hero smaller in stature than his father, who was large even by heroic standards. But it is the figure's association with the shield that is most telling. Eurysakes was named for his father's broad shield (Soph. Aj. 575), and if anyone other than Aias is to hold it, Eurysakes is surely the best candidate. There are, unfortunately, no other certain representations of Eurysakes.²⁵

¹⁹ Meyer, 213, 318 N7. Frel and Himmelmann (note 1 above) made no attempt to name the figure.

²⁰ H.Rauscher, *Anisocephalie: Ursache und Bedeutung der Grossvariierung von Figuren in der griechischen Bildkomposition* (Diss. Wien 1971) 149-156.

²¹ Athens, National Museum 1480 (IG II², 128): Lawton, 176-177 no.38; Meyer, pl.22.1.

²² Avignon, Musée Calvet 28 (IG II², 231): footnote 3 above.

²³ Examples: Avignon, Musée Calvet 28 (footnote 3 above); Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 231 (Lawton, 211-215 no.59; Meyer, pl.32.2); Athens, National Museum 2964 (Lawton, 223-224 no.65; Meyer, pl.37.2); National Museum 1419 (Lawton, 252-253 no.80; Meyer, pl.9.1); National Museum 1478 (Lawton, 328-330 no.135; Meyer, pl.43.2) National Museum 2952 + 2961 (note 10 above); National Museum 2949 + 2960 (Lawton, 294-296 no.111; Meyer, pl.26.2); Agora I 4514 (Lawton, 342-343 no.146); National Museum 2385 (Lawton, 320 no.128; Meyer, pl.49.2); Akropolis Museum 2756 (Lawton, 341-342 no.145; Meyer, pl.46.2).

²⁴ For contemporary examples, see IG II², 360; 448.

²⁵ O.Toucheffeu, LIMC IV, 111-112, s.v. Eurysakes, lists only two possible examples. The only Greek work is a relief oinochoe of c. 400 from Kerch which depicts an inscribed figure of his uncle Teukros and

His absence from art is not surprising, however, since he appears to be a late or at least post-Homeric personification of his father's shield, with little or no anecdotal life of his own.²⁶ He had a temenos in Athens, where his popularity was probably originally political; according to one tradition (Plut. Sol. 8-10), he and his brother became Athenian citizens and gave the island to Athens.²⁷

The subject of the relief may shed some light on the source of the decree, since the depictions on document reliefs normally correspond very closely to the contents of their inscriptions. The absence of Athena or the Demos of the Athenians, the usual representatives of Athens in document reliefs of the fourth century, suggests that the inscription was not a state decree; the form of the prescript also points to this possibility. Reliefs on honorary decrees published by bodies other than the Athenian state become common after the middle of the fourth century.²⁸ The inscription cannot be a decree of Salamis, since in the classical period the island was not a deme and had no legislative authority. The presence of Eurysakes in particular suggests that on the Piraeus stele we may have a decree of the genos of the Salaminioi. The basis of their organization was political interest in Salamis, they traced their descent from Aias and Eurysakes, and they administered the cult of Eurysakes in Athens.²⁹ They had an annually changing archon, perhaps the official named in line 2, and in the late fourth century they are known to have published at least one honorary decree (IG II², 1232). Although the extant epigraphical evidence suggests that their normal place of publication was the Eurysakeion in the Athenian Agora,³⁰ the Salaminioi might have set up a decree or its duplicate on Salamis if, for example, the individual honored in the decree was a resident of the island.

The style of the relief and its frame point to a date compatible with the apparent Lycourgan date of the letter forms of the inscription. The tall, slim proportions of the figures and their generally heavy, unrevealing drapery are typical of reliefs toward the end of the fourth century. Some characteristics of the stele relate it to at least seven Attic document reliefs of the third to last quarter of the fourth century which may have been produced by a single workshop.³¹ Their relief is low and sketchy, they have similar frames, with flat, smooth anta capitals, their details probably originally added in paint, and the group as a whole has a

perhaps Eurysakes as a baby in the arms of his mother Tekmessa: Leningrad, Hermitage 108 K; LIMC IV, 111 no.1, pl.56.

²⁶ W.S.Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 15-18.

²⁷ For the literary and epigraphical evidence for the Athenian Eurysakeion, see R.E.Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton 1957) 90-93.

²⁸ IG II², 209; 1187; 1190, 1193; 1202; SEG 21.519; SEG 28.102; N.Kyparissis and W.Peek, *AM* 66 (1941) 218-219 no.1 (demes); IG II², 1147; 1743; SEG 3.116 (phylai); IG II², 1238 (phratry); IG II², 1256 (orgeones of Bendis); IG II², 2970 (ephebes).

²⁹ For the Salaminioi and their cults, see Ferguson (footnote 26 above), 1-74.

³⁰ Ferguson (footnote 26 above), 5 no.1, lines 84-85; IG II², 1232, lines 21-22.

³¹ Lawton, 92-94.

relatively large number of shared figure types. The figure of Aias in the Piraeus relief, in fact, is almost identical in pose and dress, including the peculiarly short himation, to the figure of Antiochos on one of these, probably from an honorary decree of the tribe Antiochis.³²

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³² Athens, National Museum 3492: Lawton, 308-309 no.121; Kron, pl.28.2. Although its inscription is not preserved, the relief depicts a hero closely resembling the figure of Antiochos on a decree of Antiochis (SEG 3.116) which was found with it on the left bank of the Ilissos, perhaps the location of the Herakleion of Kynosarges and a related hieron of Herakles' son Antiochos: C.Karouzos, *ArchDelt* 8 (1923) 93-96.



a)



b)

a), b) Ehrendekret aus Salamis b) Detail, (Piräus Museum 4228)