IAN RUTHERFORD

THE AMPHIKLEIDAI OF SICILIAN NAXOS: PILGRIMAGE AND GENOS IN THE
TEMPLE INVENTORIES OF DELOS


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THE AMPHIKLEIDAI OF SICILIAN NAXOS:
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1) The Delian Temple-Inventories

Temple-accounts from Delos survive over a period of two centuries, from the Athenian Amphictyony in the 4th century BCE through the period of Independence until the renewal of Athenian rule in the 2nd century BCE. They were compiled yearly as one group of hieropoioi handed over responsibility to the next. Most of the surviving temple accounts consist of two main parts: accounts of incoming funds (e.g. rents) and expenditures; and inventories of precious items and dedications stored and displayed in the sacred buildings of the Delian sanctuary. They list dedications in accordance with the buildings in which they were stored, including the Temple of Apollo, the House of the Andrians, the Temple of the Seven, the Porninos Naos, and the Artemisium.

The data on precious items they contain is of unparalleled detail for a Greek sanctuary. They include phialai, made of gold or silver or at least overlaid with them; other types of vessel and culinary utensil; crowns and stlenigides (head-bands, an offering characteristic of Delos); rings, necklaces and other jewellery. There are a few special objects: the Panionian krater, for example, and the “Geranos”, perhaps a collection of offerings made by participants in the famous Delian Crane-Dance. There is also one mythological relic: the “Necklace of Eriphyle”, one of several copies, apparently, since there was also one in Delphi (until the Phocians carried it off in the 4th century BCE) and another in Amathus in Cyprus.

Other precious objects were inscribed with the names of dedicators. Some of the dedicators were locals and others visitors, mostly pilgrims, particularly members of official delegations. Two traditions of state-pilgrimage are well-documented. First, golden crowns relating to twenty quadrennial enactments of the Athenian pilgrimage were preserved in the “Temple of the Athenians” during the period of the Amphictyon; stlenigides dedicated by Nikias, Kallias, Autokles on the Athenian state-pilgrimages they led in the late 5th century were still kept in the 4th century. Second, during the period of Independence, Delos is visited by sacred delegations from the Nesiotic League, particularly from Kos and Rhodes, as well as from the Ptolemies in Alexandria, and numerous offerings from these delegations were preserved in the sanctuary. State delegations came from other areas as well, including Sicily. There are also a large number of dedications by private individuals. These tend to come from less

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* Thanks to Barbara Kowalzig and John Morgan. The Delian inscriptions discussed here are:

1 Parallels include the Lindian Chronicle, where many of the entries are mythological in nature (see C. Blinkenberg, *La chronique du temple Lindien* [Copenhagen, 1912]; the temple chronicle from Roman Perge (see R. Merkelbach and S. Şahin, *Inschriften von Perge, EA 11* (1988), 97–167, where, however, the data is much less detailed.

well defined geographical areas, including areas on the Greek mainland (Sicyon, Thessaly, Elaia, Cnidus), and in the Hellenistic period Asia Minor.

We might expect that a dedication would appear in one list, in the year when the dedication was made or soon afterwards, and remain there in all subsequent inventories. And we might expect that some early dedications would appear in all the surviving inventories, from the 4th century BCE to the 2nd. Some dedications are permanent fixtures in the inventories. However, many of the dedications are attested for a sequence of inventories and then cease to appear. Often, a number appear and cease to be mentioned together at key watersheds (e.g. at the end of the Athenian Amphictyony; around 296 BCE (ID 154); around 276 BE (ID 161); around the end of the 3rd century BCE (ID 338); and at the end of Delian rule in 166 BCE). How do we explain such disappearances? Among the obvious possibilities are that dedications were looted, or that they were melted down to provide funds, or sold.

But it is also possible that the inventories are not consistently comprehensive in what they record. As Tullia Linders observes in a study of the inventories: "The list of offerings . . . never gives more than a selection of the treasure – and . . . a selection which varies from inventory to inventory – is . . . a symbol more than a record that the hieropoioi had fulfilled their duties." Accordingly, we might explain the watersheds referred to above by the hypothesis that succeeding generations of hieropoioi usually agreed about what they thought was worth mentioning, but sometimes decided to change the list, including recent dedications and omitting items that for what ever reason had become less interesting.

2) The Phiale of the Amphikleidai of Sicilian Naxos

The inventories of the Independence record the existence of a phiale bearing the inscription: Αμφικλείδαι Νάξου ἐξελίας Ἀπόλλων (“Amphikleidai of Naxos from Sicily for Apollo”). In the inventory from 229 BCE = ID 320B14, this was the last of a group of so called “Phialai of the Ancients”. The same position is restored in ID 358.15 from a few years later. Even earlier, a φαιλαὶ Ναξίων ἕκ Σικελίας is restored in IG XI.2.245b4 (precise date uncertain), but this need not be the same one.

The Phialai of the Ancients were an independent group of dedications, first attested in 249 BCE (IG XI.2.287B123); they are usually listed either after the inventory of the temple of Apollo (ID 298, 313, 314, 315, dated by Dürrbach between 240 BCE and 233 BCE) or after that of the Porinos Naos (ID 320, 338, dated to 229 BCE and 210 BCE). The phiale of the Amphikleidai is mentioned in the latest of the inventories listing the Phialai of the Ancients. In the earlier ones (ID 298, ID 313, ID 314 etc.) there is no reference to the Amphikleidai, although they do mention a phiale of Amphikleides the Naxian (ID 298A61; ID 313A51; ID 314B51); since in the sequence Amphikleides the Naxian ceases to be mentioned precisely when the Amphikleidai of Naxos begin to be mentioned, one wonders whether the references to Amphikleides represent a misreading of the inscription on the phiale; perhaps it has become dirty and was cleaned; such misreadings are not unparalleled in the inventories.

Footnotes:
5 Τῶν ἀρχαίων φαίλει is the form transmitted at IG XI.2.287B127; Dürrbach restores αἱ ἀρχαίαι φαίλει elsewhere.
6 ID 314 may in fact predate ID 313, despite Dürrbach’s chronology; see below.
7 For example, Polyandros the son of Thersandros the Samian in ID 313 (#3) turns into Polyandros and Thersos in ID 314 and following; discussed by Dürrbach, in ID, page 58. Cf. Hegesilaos Pa (#12) . . which seems to indicate that only the beginning could be read. Timophanes in ID 298 (#39) seems to correspond to Timomachus in ID 320. Carelessness in reading is also attested in a number of repetitions in the list (e.g. #1 repeated as #15, #6 repeated as #45).
The Amphikleidai of Sicilian Naxos

Delian inventories mentioning the Phialai of the Ancients

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>'Αμφικλείδαι Νάξου</th>
<th>'Αμφικλείδαι Νάξου εξικελάς</th>
<th>Απόλλωνι</th>
<th>Yes/No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>298,A56 ff.</td>
<td>240 BCE</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>313.a47 ff.</td>
<td>235 or 234 BCE</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>314,B46 ff.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320,B7 ff.</td>
<td>229 BCE</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358,8 ff.</td>
<td>around 220 BCE</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Supplied</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In later inventories (after 199 BCE), the “Phialai of the Ancients” disappear; in fact there is a major discontinuity in the temple-inventories around this time (see above). However, from 199 BCE a phiale with the inscription ‘Αμφικλείδαι Νάξου εξικελάς Απόλλωνι appears in the temple of Apollo, among the dedications visible on the left side of the entry in temple-inventories (ID 380.85; ID 396B22; ID 422.28; ID 439a48; ID 442B41 (restored); ID 455Bb15; ID 461Ba57). For the most part the dedications mentioned there are ones that have not been mentioned before. The phiale of the Amphikleidai is last in this sequence, as it was among the Phialai of the Ancients; it is not clear what the position means. This may or may not have been the same phiale; if it is, it was the only one of the Phialai of the Ancients that is mentioned in later inventory lists.

In lists after 169 BCE, there is no mention of Sicilian Naxos; it is not mentioned in any of the inventories from the second period of Athenian rule.

How old was the Phiale of the Amphikleidai? One might have thought no older than its first mention in the inventories. However, there is one strong reason for believing that any dedication from Sicilian Naxos is from the 5th century BCE or before: Sicilian Naxos ceased to exist after 403 BCE. Its successor was a new foundation at Tauromenium, and it may be no coincidence that Tauromenium sent a dedication or dedications to Delos, which are mentioned in inventories between 364 BCE and 240 BCE; these must therefore have been sent at sometime between 403 BCE (when it was founded) and 364 BCE (the date of one of the earliest surviving temple inventories). Tauromenium was perhaps continuing a tradition of pilgrimage that had been established by Naxos.8

An association between Sicilian Naxos and pilgrimage in the classical period is attested by Thucydides (Hist. 6.3.1), who says that the shrine of Apollo Arkhegetes at Naxos was where theoroi sacrificed on leaving Sicily; these would no doubt have included states that were founded from Naxos, such as Leontini, which sent an early dedication to Delos. Delos would be a natural pilgrimage center for state-pilgrims from Naxos, which was an Ionian foundation from Chalcis. One reason that Naxos came to occupy this pivotal position in Sicilian pilgrimage is likely to have been that its own traditions of pilgrimage were particularly strong.9

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9 Leontini: ID 104, 93 (366BCE) etc; restored at ID 103. 35 (367BCE); for Naxos as a pivotal centre, compare the case of Kos, discussed below.
I. Rutherford

Bii) 249 BCE and after (IG XI.2.287B123; ID 298, ID 313, ID 314 etc):
Phialai of the Ancients mentioned (IG XI.2.287) or listed (later ones); when listed, they come after the inventory of Temple of Apollo, including one from Amphikleides the Naxian

Biv) 229 BCE and after (ID 320B14; supplied in ID 358.15 [around 220 BCE]):
Phialai of the Ancients mentioned, listed after the inventory of the Porinos Naos, including one inscribed 'Ἀμφικλείδαι Νάξων ἐξεκέλισας Ἀπόλλωνα

Bv) 199–169 BCE (ID 380.85; ID 396B22; ID 422.28; ID 439a48; ID 455Bb15; ID 461Ba57):
No reference to Phialai of the Ancients, but a phiale with the inscription 'Ἀμφικλείδαι Νάξων ἐξεκέλισας Ἀπόλλωνα appears in the inventory of the temple of Apollo, among the dedications visible on the left side of the entry.

C) After 166 BCE (period of Roman Rule):
No reference to Phialai of the Ancients or Sicilian Naxos.

3) Who were the Amphikleidai?

This is the only patronymic-type noun in ἱδαι among dedicators in the list of the Phialai of the Ancients, and I think in the whole of the Delian inventories. One possibility is to interpret this as a genuine patronymic adjective: “sons of Amphikles”. In favour of this is the fact that sibling dedicators sometimes identify themselves as sons of their father: among the Arkhaiai Phialai is one dedicated by the sons of Kullios of Cyrene (#22: see appendix for reference of numbers), another by the sons of Kaphor (#23), others by the paides of Theomedes (#42), and paides of Mandronikos (#43). But against this is the fact that the usual way of expressing filiation is to use the genitive of the father’s name, not a filiation formula in ἱδαι.10

The more likely interpretation, surely, is that the “Amphikleidai” are members of a Naxian γένος. Members of γένη are often denoted by proper nouns with the “patronymic” suffix ἱδαι.11 Until recently, no such γένος-name was attested from Sicilian Naxos. But recently discovered terracotta pellets attest the existence of two γένη there: the Pollidai (early 5th century BCE), and the Hermondai (later 5th century BCE).12

In each case the name of the γένος is accompanied by a man’s name and patronymic, presumably indicating a member of the γένος.

The link between γένη and religious practices is well-established in the Greek world, particularly in Athens, where members of different γένη were concerned with different cults (the Praxiergidai with the Plunteria and so on). One explanation for their religious involvement would be that γένη are anachronistic and highly conservative forms of social organisation, which preserve older religious traditions. However, that is not the only explanation available. The key-point might be that religious practice in the ancient Greek polis can be the inherited prerogative of a family of priests; such priestly families may well have been included in or identical to γένη; thus, families or γένη of priests might be as likely to control recently etablished religious practices as ancient ones.13

One class of religious activities in which γένη concern themselves are those that involve pilgrimage. For Kos, an inscription from about 300 BCE describes the elaborate rituals that take place at the time

10 On the morphology, see most recently M. B. G. Keurentjes, The Greek Patronymics in -(i)ὁνος-/(i)ὁνας, Mnemosyne 50 (1997), 385–400.
13 Roussel (above, n. 7), chapter VI, 65–78; J. K. Davies in OCD3, s. genos.
when the Koan θεωρία sets out for Delos.\textsuperscript{14} Delegations from neighbouring states, such as Knidos, and probably Kalymna, come and take part in the sacrifice. The Coan rituals are supervised by the so-called Amphiaraidai, apparently a priestly guild who traced their lineage to Amphiaraus.\textsuperscript{15} We do not know that they went on the pilgrimage, however.

Athens supplies other examples of γέννη concerned with pilgrimage. The Puthais-inscriptions describing the hellenistic Puthaides to Delphi mention certain priestly γέννη, the Purrhakidai and the Euneidai, and these do take part in the pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{16} The founding hero of the Purrhakidai, Purrhakos, was a contemporary of Erusikhthon, according to Hesychius, and they are known to have been active on Delos also.\textsuperscript{17} The Euneidai are more obscure: Euneos was a Lemnian, a child of Theseus and Hippolyte, was a contemporary of Erusikhthon, according to Hesychius, and they are known to have been active on Delos also.\textsuperscript{17} They were associated with Prasiai.\textsuperscript{18}

Still more links between γέννη and pilgrimage have been suggested. Borimir Jordan argued that the crews of Athenian theorides may have belonged to special artificial γέννη. One of the functions of the γέννος of the Salaminioi, he suggests, was to man the sacred trireme the Salaminia.\textsuperscript{19} Similarly, the crew of the Paralos were a group called the “Paraloi”, who may also have constituted a γέννος.\textsuperscript{20}

Finally, the Attic γέννος of the Gephyraioi sent delegates to Delphi to consult the oracle, according to an Athenian inscription reconstituted by Merritt. In this activity, members of the γέννος act on behalf of the γέννος, and do not contribute to a state-pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{21}

My suggestion is that the Amphikleidai mentioned in the Delian temple inventories were members of a similar priestly γέννος who organised and performed the Naxian theoria to Delos. Amphikles will have been their mythical founder, presumably a hero worshipped in the area of Naxos (in connection with the cult of Apollo Arkhegetes?). It must be admitted that we do not know of any hero Amphikles, either on Naxos or anywhere else. But the eponymous founders of the Athenian Euneidai and Purrhakidai are obscure as well.

\textsuperscript{14} Herzog, HIK 5b; S. M. Sherwin-White, \textit{Ancient Cos. An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period} [= Hypornemata 51] (Göttingen, 1978), 299–30; LSCG 156B; M. Dubois, \textit{De Co insula} (Nancy, 1884), 44, n. 17.

\textsuperscript{15} No cult of Amphiaraus is otherwise known from Cos, but there was a cult of Amphilochus at Rhodes: D. Morelli, I culti de Rodi (SCO, 8) (Pisa, 1959), 161; connected in M. Segré, \textit{L’agorà degli dei Camirene}, Die Pythaïs: \textit{Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi} (Diss. Upsala, 1918), 109.

\textsuperscript{16} Another family seems to be indicated by . . . [τιτωδων in the introduction to the list of kanephoro] in \textit{Puthais} 3. E. A. Boethius, \textit{Die Pythaïs: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi} (Diss. Upsala, 1918), 109.

\textsuperscript{17} P. Roussel, Deux familles Athéniennes à Délos, \textit{BCH} 53 (1929), 166ff. The Delian inscriptions are \textit{ID} 6, 66 and 67, both 4th century BCE. Cf. F. Bourriot, \textit{Recherches sur la nature du genos} (Lille, 1976), 2. 1162–5.

\textsuperscript{18} Pausanias; Eusebius, \textit{PE} 3. 8 (= Tresp, 79), says that the statue of Erusichthon was used ς την θεωρίαν (for the purpose of θεωρίας?); Erusikhthoniai on Delos: P. Roussel, Deux familles Athénienennes à Délos, \textit{BCH} 53 (1929), 166 ff., 179ff., supplementing \textit{ID} 4. 1624, 5. 2616, 2517, 2518; Bourriot, 2. 1087–91. The Erusikhthoniai are discussed by N. Robertson, The Ritual Background of the Erisichthon Story, \textit{AJPh} 105 (1984), 385. Cf. Erusikhthon’s involvement in θεωρία in Callimachus, h. 5.

\textsuperscript{19} B. Jordan, \textit{The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period. A Study of Athenian Naval Administration and Military Organisation in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.} [= UCPCA, 13] (Berkeley, 1975), 166ff., particularly 170. The basis for his argument is the fact that the Salaminioi sacrificed in honour of Poseidon Hippodromios, and the heroes Phaiax, Teukros and Nauseiros (Sokolowski, \textit{Supp.} n. 19, 90–1); this seems to have happened at Phaleron, because according to Philochorus, \textit{FGrHist} 328F111 (= Plutarch, \textit{Theseus} 17. 6) there were heroes there in honour of Nausithoos (= Nauseiros?), and Phaiax, the pilot and look-out man of Theseus. This association gives us a prima facie reason to associate the Salaminioi with sea-faring. Jordan, 168, thinks that Clement of Alexandria, \textit{Protr.} 2. 40. 2: τιμᾶται δὲ τις καὶ Φαληροὶ κατὰ πρόμανην ἄρος” (“a hero of the stern is honoured also in Phaleron”) refers to Phaiax, but the Σ takes it of Androgeos, son of Minos, backing this up with a reference to Callimachus, \textit{Aitia} 4 (independent testimony as fr. 103).

\textsuperscript{20} Jordan (above, n. 15), 173 ff, referring in particular to \textit{IG II} 2 1254.

\textsuperscript{21} B. D. Merritt, \textit{Greek Inscriptions}, \textit{Hesperia} 9 (1940), 86–96.
4) The Phialai of the Ancients

As for the other “Phialai of the Ancients”, when the inventories report ethnicity of the dedicators, they usually turn out to be Ionians: Lukinos the Naxian; Polyarchus the Samian; Perillus the Phigelandrian; Pathon of Tenos; Anaxidamas of Samos; Petraios of Naxos, Kleinos of Kea, ? son of Krines, a Samian (the writing was apparently difficult to read) . Preximenes seem to be an Ionian name. There are communal dedications from Ios, Mukonos and Naxos. One, Xeniaidas, comes from Megara. Two come from Cyrenaica: one by the sons of Cyllus of Cyrene; the other from Esthloikos and Onasitimos of Barke. All in all, this suits the period before the Athenian take-over described by Thucydides, when the catchment area of Delos was principally Ionia.22

If all, or most of these, are really come from the 5th century, it does not follow that the arrangement of them in to a group of “Phialai of the Ancients” is as old. It seems more likely that this grouping is a Hellenistic development, when someone rearranged them as a display for tourists. Did ideological factors influence the decision to arrange them inthis way? We would expect a Delos which had newly regained its independence to be interested in presenting a view of its past in which Athens played little or no part. There is some support for this view in that we know that the temple which during the period of the Athenian Amphictyony was referred to in the inventories as “the Temple of the Athenians” is referred to differently in inventories from the period of Independence as the “Temple of the Seven (Statues)”.23 The change of name is presumably motivated by a desire to mimimise the appearance of Athenian influence in the sanctuary. In the Athenian period it contained many golden crowns and other dedications made by the leaders of Athenian delegations; in the period of Independence, only a small number of these are still mentioned in the inventories.

It is possible to interpret the appearance of the Phialai of the Ancients as part of the same reassessment of their past by the Delians. Although most of the Phialai purport to be by Ionians, none is dedicated by an Athenian. They seem represent a choice to look back to a period before the Athenian one to when the island was the center of Ionian pilgrimage, as described by Thucydides.

To allow that there was a political motivation in the selection of the Phialai of the Ancients opens the door to the possibility that some or even all of them could have been forgeries (it would be necessary only to forge the inscription on ancient-looking vessels). It is impossible to prove that they were not. But it is surely more likely that they were genuine, having simply been ignored for two hundred years, presumably because they were comparatively plain and inelaborate.

5) Conclusion

In the 5th century BCE, or before, a genos called the Amphikleidai from Sicilian Naxos organised and took part in a sacred delegation to Delos. They dedicated a phiale there. This phiale is mentioned in Delian temple inventories between 229 BCE and 169 BCE. Is absence from earlier inventories is perhaps to be explained by the hypothesis that the inventories were never meant to be complete records.

Lists of the Arkhaiai Phialai

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ID 298Aa, 56ff. (240 BCE);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>ID 313a47 ff. (235–4 BCE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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22 One factor that might provide guidance in the dating is the reference to “the games of Lysimachides” in #3, the phialai of a Samian, but unfortunately it seems impossible to pin this down in any way.

23 See Courby, Notes topographiques et chronologiques sue le sanctuaire d’Apollo Délien, BCH 45 (1921), 179; Bruneau (above, n. 2), 60–2.
The Amphikleidai of Sicilian Naxos

C = ID 314Ba47 ff. (dated by Dürrbach to 233 BCE, but see below)
D = ID 315.10 ff. (date uncertain; this is only a small fragment)
E = ID 320B7 ff. (229 BCE)
F = ID 338 (223–2 BCE)
G = ID 358 (ca. 220 BCE)

The basic enumeration is from A, with additions from other inscriptions marked with i and ii. It is assumed that entries occur in A unless otherwise mentioned. Asterisk * means “supplied”.

The lists are fragmentary, and in many cases only parts of entries survive. For example, in the case of #1 we have:

#1  'Ἀρχάνδρου καὶ Πολυδώρου:  B,
     'Αρχάνδρου καὶ Πολυδώρου:  C,
     'Αρχάνδρου καὶ Πολυδώρου:  D,
     'Αρχάνδρου καὶ Πολυδώρου:  E

To save space, I cite details only when there is reason think that there is variation.

There is one indication that the true chronology is (AC) followed by (BE): in #32 and #33, A, C separate the two entries, B and E seem to collapse them together. There seem to be no case of agreement of AB against CE. Dürrbach’s dating (p. 76) of C is conjectural; he acknowledges that the latest arkhon mentioned is Timagenes in B76, dated to 237 BCE; but conjectures that later arkhon were mentioned in lacunae, e.g. in B58.

Title  ΚΑΙ ΑΙΔΕ ΦΙΑΛΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ  ΚΑΙ ΑΙΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΦΙΑΛΩΝ

#1  'Ἀρχάνδρου καὶ Πολυδώρου:  A*, B, C, D, E
#2  Δικίνος Ναξίου:  A, B, C, E
#3a  Πολυφύρου τοῦ Θερσάνδρου Σαμίου άθλου ἐγ Δήλου ἐπὶ Λυσσαμαχίων:  A
     Πολυφύρου Θερσίου Σαμίου άθλου ἐγ Δήλου ἐπὶ Λυσσαμαχίων:  B
     Πολυφύρου Θερσίου Σαμίου:  C
     Πολυφύρου Θερσίου Σαμίου άθλου ἐγ Δήλου ἐπὶ Λυσσαμαχίων:  E
     ίς άθλου ἐγ Δήλου:  F

#3ia  Θερσίου Σαμίου could be a distinct dedicant in B, C, E
#4  Ἔσκερος Δήλου:  Α*, B, C, E*
#5  Δεοχρίδου καὶ παίδεων  Δεοχρίδου καὶ οἱ [παίδες]  F
#6  Τύσνως καὶ Μενέφρους:  A*, B, C*, D, E
#7b  Τεισίου τοῦ Τεισάρχου Δήλου:  A
     Τεισίου Δήλου:  C*, D, E
     B* (lacuna of uncertain size)
#8  Περίλλων Φοιγελανδρίου:
#9  Παυσανία ανάθημα  Παυσανία  Παυσανία
     Παυσανία ανάθημα άθλου ἐγ Δήλου
     Παυσανία ανάθημα  Παυσανία  C, E
     Παυσανία ανάθημα  Παυσανία  A, B, F
#9a  Ναξίων ανάθημα:  C, om. A, B, E, F
#10  Έλευχανδροῦ ανάθημα:  Ελευχανδροῦ  A*
     Ελευχανδροῦ  B, C, E*, F, G
#11  Δήλων ανάθημα:  A*, B, C, E*, F
#12  'Ηγητλάου πα . . . (παίδες ?)  A*, B, C, E*
#13  Καλλικρισίου:  A*, B, C*, E*
#14  Πετραύνος Ναξίου:  Πετραύνος ναξίου = #1?
#15  'Ἀρχάνδρου καὶ Πολυδώρου: (= #1?)  A, B, C, E
#16  'Ἀρπάλος καὶ Πάθωνος Τήριου:  'Ἀρπάλος, Πάθωνος Τήριου:  A,
     'Ἀρπάλος, Πάθωνος Τήριου:  C
     'Ἀρπάλος, Πάθωνος Τήριου:  D
     'Ἀρπάλος καὶ Πάθωνος Τήριου:  E
     [Πάθωνος Τήριος:  (B uncertain)  F(?)
#16i  Πάθωνος Τήριου seems to be separate in C, D, E, F
#17  Θάλλου τοῦ Θεομβρότου:  Θάλλου τοῦ Θεομβρότου ανάθημα:  A*, B, C, D, E,
I. Rutherford

#18 Ι. Rutherford
#19 Ήττος άνάθημα:
#19 A*, B, C, E
#20 Έστιν Μεγαλεώς:
#20i Έστιν Μεγαλεώς:
#20i A*, B, C, E*
#20ii Έστιν Κρίνων Σαμίου:
#20ii A, B, C, D, E, F
#20iii Άναδιδάμα Σαμίου:
#20iii Άναδιδάμα Σαμίου:
#21 Κυλλίου Κυρηναίου παῖδες:
#21 Κυλλίου Κυρηναίου παῖδες:
#22 οὐέτες Κόλφων:
#22 οὐέτες Κόλφων:
#23 Άναδιδάμα Σαμίου άνάθημα (NB = #21iii):
#23 Άναδιδάμα Σαμίου άνάθημα (NB = #21iii):
#24 Κλειτοῦ Κέιος:
#24 Κλειτοῦ Κέιος:
#25 Ναζίου 'Απόλλων:
#25 Ναζίου 'Απόλλων:
#26 Ελευθέρου:
#27 Προδρέμου:
#28 Κλέωνος καὶ Σημαγώρα:
#28 Κλέωνος καὶ Σημαγώρα:
#29 Επάρχου τῶν Αλεξανδρών:
#29 Επάρχου τῶν Αλεξανδρών:
#30 Εὐκλείδου τοῦ Νεωκόρου Δήλου ἄθλον:
#30 Εὐκλείδου τοῦ Νεωκόρου Δήλου ἄθλον:
#30i Δήλου ἄθλον:
#30i Δήλου ἄθλον:
#31 Παντελοῦ άνάθημα:
#31 Παντελοῦ άνάθημα:
#32, 3 Μικούσκλου άνάθημα. Ναζίου άνάθημα τῶν ἄθλων τῶν ἐν Δήλῳ:
#32, 3 Μικούσκλου άνάθημα. Ναζίου άνάθημα τῶν ἄθλων τῶν ἐν Δήλῳ:
#33 Μικούσκλου άνάθημα. Ναζίου άνάθημα τῶν ἄθλων εἰς Δήλου:
#33 Μικούσκλου άνάθημα. Ναζίου άνάθημα τῶν ἄθλων εἰς Δήλου:
#34 Εὐθλοίκου καὶ Ὀνασίτιμον Βαρκαίων άνάθημα
#34 Εὐθλοίκου καὶ Ὀνασίτιμον Βαρκαίων άνάθημα
#35 Αμφίκλείδου Ναζίου:
#35i Κλειτοῦ = #24:
#36 Ι. Rutherford
#36 Εὐθυαδώς άνάθημα:
#37 Ι. Rutherford
#37i Ναζίου άνάθημα:
#38 Τιμόφαινους Δήλους:
#38i Τιμόφαινους Δήλους:
#39 Λευμίδου:
#40 Εἰρήνους τοῦ Γλαύκου:
#40i Εἰρήνους τοῦ Γλαύκου:
#41i (Ε seems to have space for an extra name here)
#41 (Ε seems to have space for an extra name here)
The Amphikleidai of Sicilian Naxos

#41  Θεομέλεως παίδων
     Θεομέλεως παίδων:

#42  παίδων τῶν Μανήριοικῶν:
     παίδων τῶν Μανήριοικῶν ἀνάθημα:
     τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἰδώ Μανήριοικῶν

#42i Ναξίων ἀνάθημα:
#42ii 'Αριστοκλείας:
     'Αριστοκλείας ἀνάθημα

#43  Εὔκλεος καὶ Τιμησαρέτης:

#44  Τύθηνων καὶ Μενέφρωνς (= #6?):

#45  'Αριστοκλείας:
     'Αριστοκλείας ἀνάθημα:

#45i 'Αμφικλείδην Νάξιον Ἔξεκελίας:

ἀρετής φαίλων τῶν ἀρχαίων ΠΠΠ  A; B, C, E, F are blank; D*

Notes

a (a propos of #3)
     A  Πολύαρχου τοῦ Θερακάνθου Σαμίου ἄθλον ἐγὼ Δήλου ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου
     B  Πολύαρχου Θέρου Σαμίου ἄθλον ἐγὼ Δήλου ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου
     C  Πολύαρχου Θερέου Σαμίου
     E  Πολύαρχου Θερείου Σαμίου and perhaps ἄθλον ἐγὼ Δήλου ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου

B, C, E seem to interpret as two different offerings

b (a propos of #30)
     A, B: Εὐκλέειδος τοῦ Νευκάρου Δηλίου ἄθλον
     C: Εὐκλέειδος τοῦ Νευκάρου
     E: Εὐκλέειδος τοῦ Νευκάρου, Δηλίου ἄθλον

E seems to split one title into two.

c  A, C: Μυκόνων ἀνάθημα.
     Ναξίων ἀνάθημα τῶν ἄθλον ἐγὼ Δηλίους
     B, E: Μυκόνων ἀνάθημα τῶν ἄθλον ἐγὼ Δηλίους

B and E collapse two inscriptions into one.

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