

The Attic *Tituli Memoriales*

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IN THE ROMAN ERA it was not uncommon for Greek-speaking people in various parts of the Mediterranean world to commemorate their loved ones or favorites with inscriptions containing the verb *μνηστω*.¹ In epigraphical corpora such inscriptions are put into the miscellaneous *Varia* or, when numerous enough, grouped under a separate heading, *Tituli memoriales*. Those from Attica comprise a separate group, Category XI of *IG II²* (13229–47). New finds have not subsequently enlarged this group. Rather, progress has been in the opposite direction, and several misattributions have been noted.² New readings now require the subtraction of at least three more.

13240 (PLATE 1). This inscription owes its presence in *IG II²* to an oversight. It was first edited by Boeckh as *CIG* 965, “ex schedis Fourmonti”:

Κον. . τη
Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Εὐτυχίου.
Θεοδοσίας. Ἀγαθοκλίας.

On line 1 Boeckh commented, “credo Κοῖντη ἐμνήσθη.”

Almost half a century later S. Koumanoudes recognized the inscription as a Christian epitaph and printed a much improved text:³

†	Κο[ιμη]τήριον	†	Εὐτυχίου [καὶ]
	Ὀλυμπίου καὶ		Ἀγαθοκλίας
	Θεοδοσίας		

Deterioration of the printed text soon followed. Dittenberger knew both previous versions and adopted that of Koumanoudes; though he omitted the crosses he did classify the inscription as a Christian

¹ The basic study is by A. Rehm, “ΜΝΗΣΤΩΗ,” *Philologus* 94 (1940) 1–30.

² Werner Peek, *AthMitt* 67 (1942) 64–67, 210, is responsible for the removal of 13229, part of 13236, and 13241. A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 240 n.130, pronounced 13245 to be only some scratches on a block built into the basin of the Klepsydra at the northwest foot of the Acropolis. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen²* (Munich 1931) 192, gives a slightly different reading of this inscription from the *IG* version, ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΥ instead of ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟ[Σ], but as this does not appear to be based on a personal examination, we may follow Parsons in rejecting it.

³ Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι (Athens 1871) 414 no. 3593.

tombstone (*IG* III 3457). Subsequently A. Orlandos printed a greatly inferior text,⁴ but did give the best description of the block of stone itself, recognizing it as a sarcophagus lid probably of the fourth century after Christ. Finally, Kirchner overlooked the fact that *CIG* 965 and Koumanoudes no. 3593 were the same object, and so he deleted from the corpus *IG* III 3457 along with other Christian funerary inscriptions included by Dittenberger, but retained *CIG* 965, accepting Boeckh's suggestion that this was a *titulus memorialis*.

As there has been no first-hand examination of the inscription since Orlandos' poor text,⁵ I re-edit the monument here, giving as full and correct a reading as I believe possible. The stone remains built into the Byzantine chapel of Aghios Petros just west of the village of Kalyvia Kouvara in the Attic Mesogeia. It is located just above the lintel of the entrance, and the preserved letters are easily read.

† Κοιμητήριον Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Θεοδοσίας Ϻ	† [Κ]οιμη[τήριον] Εὐτυχίου [καὶ] Ἀγαθοκλίας Ϻ
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The sarcophagus lid is a double tombstone, for which the closest Attic parallel is *IG* III 3502, where the two entries are by different hands.⁶ In the present example the two inscriptions were cut by the same hand.

13246, 13247 (PLATE 2). The final two inscriptions of *IG* II² Category XI must be reclassified. They are rupestral, cut on a level sheet of bedrock that is exposed just south of the chapel in the high saddle below the summit of Mount Pani in the Mesogeia. They are 0.90 meters apart and are situated at a right angle to each other in such a way that *Λαοδίκης* runs from north to south and *Ἀντιόχης* from west to east, the latter name beginning just to the east of the final letter of the former name. Milchhöfer, the original editor,⁷ read *Ἀντιόχ[ου]*, but the *eta* and *sigma* are preserved, cut below the line of the preceding letters in order to avoid a flaw in the rock. The *sigma* is lunate, quite small, and ends just at a long diagonal crack in the rock. A patch of lichens has somewhat obscured these two letters.

⁴ *Ἀθηνᾶ* 35 (1923) 184–86.

⁵ It is mentioned by J. S. Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 7 (where Koumanoudes' readings are provisionally accepted) and 50 (where the inscription is included in a list of Christian tombstones from Attica).

⁶ Double Christian tombstones are discussed by Creaghan and Raubitschek (*supra* n.5) 6–7; they discuss and illustrate *IG* III 3502 at 26 no. V and pl. 1.

⁷ *AthMitt* 12 (1887) 281 nos. 176–77.

The lichens are also responsible for obscuring another, more important, part of the first inscription. Just above the name *Λαοδίκης* the word *ὄρος* is preserved, almost illegible because of a thick concentration of lichens. The initial *omicron* and *rho* are above and just to the left of the first letter of the woman's name, the second *omicron* is between the *lambda* and *alpha*, and the lunate *sigma* between the *alpha* and *omicron* of her name.

One possible interpretation of the new readings may be ruled out, *viz.*, that the inscriptions are funerary and the word to be understood with *ὄρος* is *μνήματος*, *σήματος*, *vel sim.* This is precluded by the fact that there are no remains of graves near the inscriptions or anywhere else on the saddle. The gravestone *IG II² 11777* is built into the nearby chapel, but it was surely transported up the mountain from some cemetery in the plain for incorporation into the church. Instead, we are dealing with a *terminus*, with some such word as *χωρίου* unexpressed, defining a boundary between the properties of two women. The saddle of Pani is spacious and by no means completely rocky. Sheep can and do graze here, and there is a now stagnant well not far west of the chapel. The lettering of the inscription places it within the Roman era, a time when the possession of land by women was not unknown in Attica.⁸

In addition to these certain false assignments I suggest that *IG II² 13243* and *13244* be removed from Category XI. Each gives a name alone without a form of *μμνήσκω*. They are not serious commemorations but merely casual graffiti of the type that Plutarch calls 'non-sense' (*φλυαρία*).⁹ *13243* is a graffito carved on the east face of the east anta of the Thrasyllus monument, and *13244* is a similar graffito cut on the rock of the Pnyx hill.¹⁰

Ten Attic inscriptions remain as *tituli memoriales*: *IG II² 13230–39*. Six were found in sanctuaries (*13230*, *13232*, *13236–39*). Another may plausibly be associated with one. *13231* is presently lost, and no more definite provenience is given for it than "in vico Keratea." There can be little doubt, however, that it once stood in the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi at Kephale. The deme site of Kephale is just

⁸ See John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York 1942) 232–33. The closest parallel for the *terminus* may be *IG II² 2525*, most recently treated as a boundary inscription of private land: J. Ober, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 76.

⁹ *Mor.* 520D–E. Plutarch tells us that even inscriptions with *μμνήσκω* may be frivolous and not serious commemorations if they are scratched on a random wall. A good illustration of this type was recently found on Delos: *BCH* 100 (1976) 821.

¹⁰ For *13243* see M. Mitsos and E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 181 no. 9. *13244* has eluded the attempts of modern investigators to find it: Peek (*supra* n.2) 151 no. 325; K. Kourouniotes and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 1 (1932) 213 n.4.

east of Keratea, and it was in this deme that the Dioskouroi were worshipped as the Great Gods (Paus. 1.31.1). The phrase *παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς μεγάλοις* in this inscription should thus be taken to mean that the tablet was set up within their *temenos*.¹¹ The three *tituli memoriales* with unknown proveniences (13233–35) were very probably also located in sanctuaries, given the find spots of their colleagues.

Doubt attaches only to 13242, a group of names cut on a horizontal expanse of rock high on the south slope of the Acropolis. In view of the large number of sanctuaries located on this slope, it is quite possible that the inscription lay within a sacred area. Yet it is near *IG II² 1987*, a rupestral set of three names of ephebes,¹² so it too may simply be the result of a visit by some young men to this spot. The fact that the names in 13242 are in the genitive case, however, may indicate that *ἐμνήσθη* was once inscribed as part of the text. This permits the possibility that this inscription is rightfully placed in Category XI.¹³

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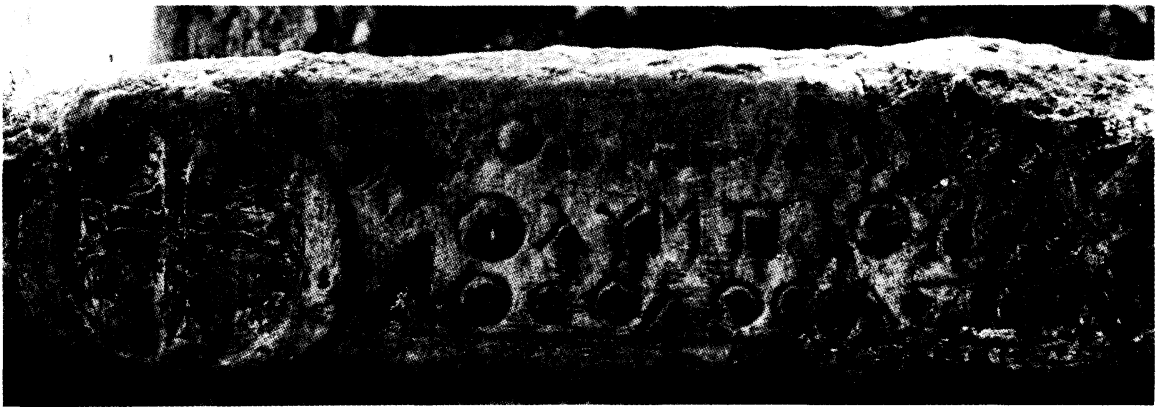
¹¹ H.-G. Buchholz, *AA* 1963, 496, speculates on the location of the Dioskourion at Kephale.

¹² For a plan showing the location of *IG II² 1987* see *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 71 no. 71.

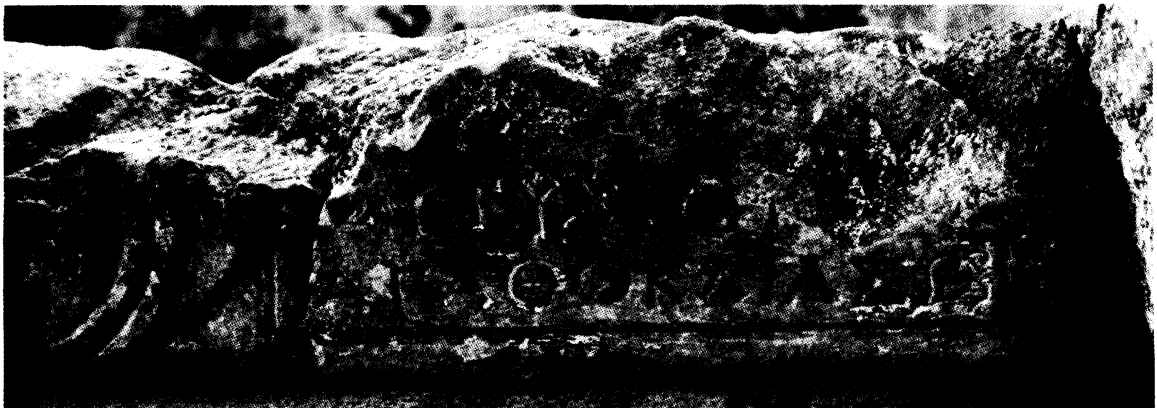
¹³ I wish to thank an anonymous referee of *GRBS* for reading an earlier version of this paper and suggesting improvements; also Gerald V. Lalonde for discussion on certain points concerning *termini*. Errors that remain are my own.



A. CHRISTIAN GRAVESTONE, *IG II*² 13240

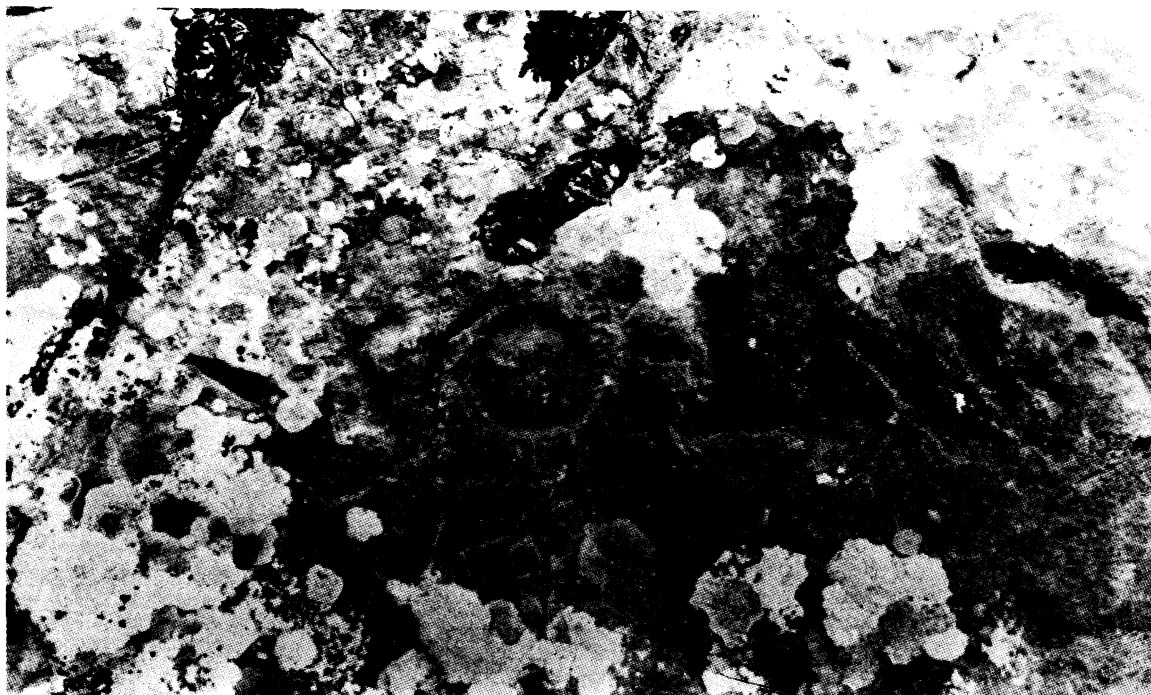


B. LEFT HALF, *IG II*² 13240

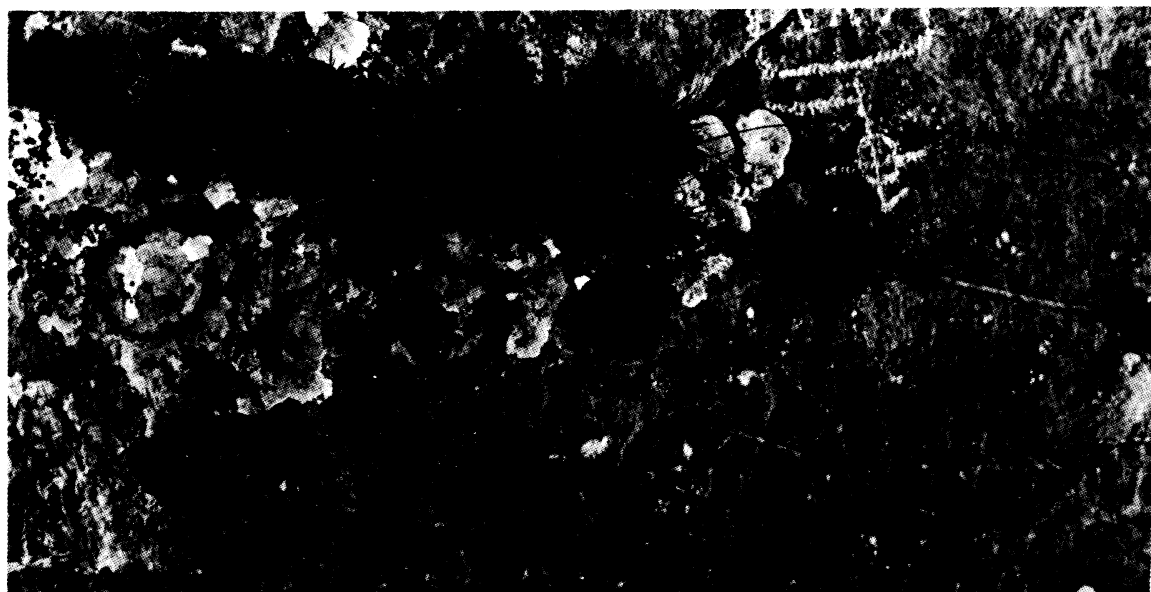


C. RIGHT HALF, *IG II*² 13240

PLATE 2 LANGDON



A. *IG II*² 13246



B. *IG II*² 13247