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978-0-521-89630-6 - Archaic Greek Epigram and Dedication: Representation and Reperformance

Joseph W. Day

Excerpt

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CHAPTER I

(Re)presentation and (re)performance

QUESTIONS ABOUT RECEPTION

At the end of the archaic period, Telesinos of the Attic deme Kêttos, possibly an aristocrat and eponymous archon of 487/6,¹ dedicated a small bronze statue to Athena on the Akropolis at Athens, outdoors, perhaps near the great altar east of her “Old Temple.”² The statue is lost; but, from the evidence of its plinth embedded in the top of an unfluted white marble column, we can conclude that it was an Athena Promachos, perhaps similar to the one dedicated by Melesô on the Akropolis ca. 480–470 (Figure 1.1). She was striding into battle, left foot forward, armed with helmet, aegis, shield, and spear, possibly with some features overlaid in gold or other materials.³ Two hexameter verses are inscribed on the column in three lines, each starting just beneath the abacus and running downwards with the letters turned on their sides to the right (CEG 227, ca. 500–480, Figure 1.2):

φαρθένε,⁴ ἐν ἀκροπόλει Τελεσίνος | ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκεν
Κέτιος ἥϊ⁵ χαίροσα διδοίης | ἄλο ἀναθέναι.

¹ Keesling 2003a: 67.

² The stone support suggests an outdoor location; see Keesling 2003a: 11 with note 28, but compare 13 (with note 39). The column's findspot (*DAA* 40: “built into the north-east corner of the North Wall”) suggests it may have stood near the altar in 480, perhaps thirty meters south of its findspot. See Bundgaard 1974: 15–16 (a reference I owe to Prof. T. L. Shear, Jr.); the findspot must have been inside the corner of the wall where squares Bk and Bl meet on his map.

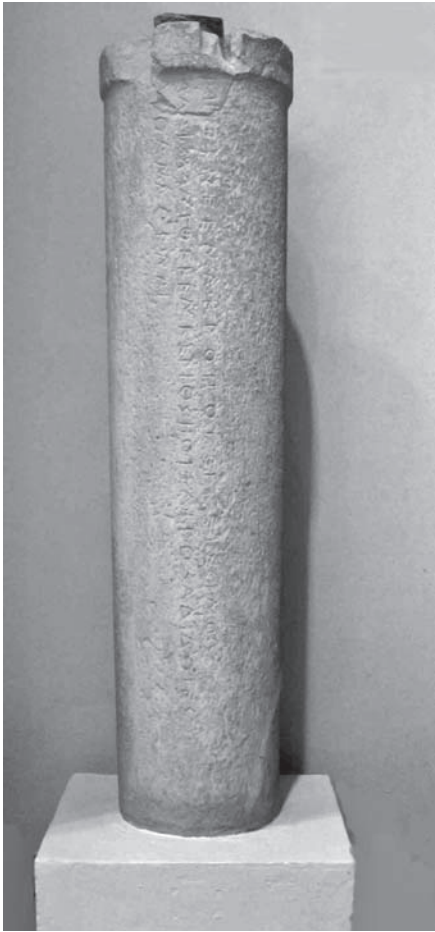
³ The column is AM 6505; see *CEG* 227 and *IG* 1³ 728, both citing Konstantinou 1957: 23, with fig. 8. For the type of statuette, see *LIMC* 2 s.v. Athena, 971–2, nos. 135–7, 146, pls. 718–20 (P. Demargne), Niemeyer 1960: 25–55, pls. 1–4, 1964: 15–22, pls. 1–11, Keesling 1995: 223–41, 2003a: 81–4, with fig. 22, Van Straten 1992: 248, note 3. Melesô's Promachos is NM Akropolis 6447, ca. 0.29m high, for which see also Hurwit 1999: 23–4, fig. 22; its prose inscription is *DVA* 647 = *IG* 1³ 540. *DAA* 40 incorrectly suggests Telesinos' dedication was a horse or horse with rider; Kissas 2000, B 186 accepts a small kouros as also possible, doubtfully in my mind.

⁴ I retain Hansen's comma; compare indications of the dedication's location at *CEG* 253, 305, 330, 347, perhaps 351, 428. FH 39 and *DVA*, page 77 (no. 805) take “on the Akropolis” with “virgin” as a kind of epithet; perhaps compare *CEG* 320.

⁵ With *CEG* (page 285, s.v. ὄς), I take ἥϊ (= ῥῖ) as neuter; FH 39 and *DVA*, page 136 (no. 805) take it as masculine.



1.1. Melesô's Athena
 Promachos. H. 0.29m.



1.2. Telesinos' column (inscribed with CEG 227).
 H. 1.175m.

Figure 1. Two dedications from the Athenian Akropolis.

Virgin, Telesinos of Kêttos set up (this) ἄγαλμα (*agalma*, “splendid gift”) on the Akropolis; may you, experiencing pleasure (verb χαίρω, *chairô*) in it, grant⁶ (him) to set up another.

The inscription is aligned with the front of the plinth, so that viewers meeting the striding goddess straight on, or perhaps standing slightly to

⁶ Parker 1998: 110 translates, “Take delight in it, and allow him . . .”

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their left to get a fuller view of her partly turned torso and a three-quarter view of her helmeted head, could easily read it by tilting their heads to the right, as we do in reading the spines of books.⁷ In fact, the order of the inscribed lines would pull readers leftwards toward the optimal viewpoint, since the second and third lines run down the column to the reader's left of the first, or "beneath" it. The letters, probably once filled with bright red paint, would contribute to the ensemble's striking appearance, cascading straight down the white marble surface beneath the front of the gleaming statuette.

Dedications that stood outdoors had to be visually striking and handsome, raised up on platforms, with easily readable inscriptions, if they were to attract viewers, human or divine, and hold their attention long enough to read the texts. Archaic sanctuaries were bursting with pious offerings of all sorts, humble and grand, outside and inside buildings. On the Athenian Akropolis, small forests of eye-catching statues and other finely crafted objects in stone, metal, or other materials stood outside on pillars or columns like Telesinos' or on the stylobates of buildings.⁸ Beginning early in the seventh century and increasingly in the sixth, fine dedications attracted inscriptions, the earliest of which were predominantly composed in poetic meters, that is, they were epigrams. In time, writing in prose and verse appeared on a wider variety of dedications, though epigrams continued to be associated mostly with offerings like Telesinos', medium to large in scale, located outdoors, and displaying a high level of artistry. These dedications were meant to be attractive to human viewers and divine recipient; and people may have felt that well-carved epigrams in competent meter added to their attractiveness, perhaps especially if the verses displayed a touch of originality as Telesinos' do.⁹ But what can we really say about the (nearly) contemporary reception of these epigrams, that is, the responses of their earliest readers, who were also viewers of the inscribed objects?

⁷ See Keesling 1995: 227, 232. Since the feet of Telesinos' Promachos were widely spaced, the primary view was probably not frontal. Estimating the downward angle of view is difficult. The column is 1.175m high (Kissas 2000, B 186, kindly confirmed by Prof. N. L. Klein). If we assume the column stood on the ground (perhaps sunk into a cutting 0.01–2m deep) and that viewers' feet rested at the same level (also not certain), the feet of the (perhaps 0.20–30m high) statuette would have been about 1.16–17m high, i.e., somewhat below eye level. Perhaps Telesinos ordered a relatively short monument so it could be placed in front of larger ones without violating rules or etiquette by obstructing views of them; see Keesling 2003a: 12 with note 35. The inscription would begin about 0.065m (the thickness of the abacus) below the statue's feet, so readers perhaps bent over slightly, though the letters' size (0.015–0.02m high) made bending unnecessary.

⁸ For reconstructions (albeit of the Periclean Akropolis), see Stevens 1958, pls. v, vi, and viii. For the earlier Akropolis, see Hurwit 1999: 35–63, *passim*, Keesling 2003a: 12–16, *passim*, Schneider and Höcker 2001: 71–109. For dedications on stylobates, see Kissas 2000: 35–6, figs. 1–2.

⁹ Compare Lougovaya 2004: 53–6, 60–74; see at note 36 below.

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Let us imagine a family of Athenians processing up to the Akropolis one morning, shortly before Xerxes' invasion. It is the first of the month, the Noumênia, and they are going to offer cakes to Athena Polias, pray that she favor them and their polis, and dedicate a little terracotta Athena by her altar east of the "Old Temple" to fulfill an earlier vow.¹⁰ After finishing their rituals, the family walks down a path, looking at some of the more attractive dedications, among which Telesinos' shiny Athena catches the eye of one of our friends. She stops to look more closely and enjoy its beauty. The others join her, and finally one asks: "Who dedicated her? What do the γράμματα, 'letters,' say?" She starts poring through the text, sounding out letters and words; others chime in, completing predictable epigraphic and poetic patterns. As they look, read, and hear, they . . .

What *did* go on as our family viewed Telesinos' dedication and read (or heard) its epigram – what went on, that is, beyond their decoding of basic iconographic and linguistic content? How did they respond? Did the dedication and epigram mean something significant to them? Perhaps more importantly in a postmodern scholarly atmosphere, did they *do* something in their reading, listening, and viewing.

This book attempts to reconstruct some ways dedications inscribed with epigrams might have been viewed and read in their original physical, social, and religious contexts in the seventh, sixth, and (especially earlier) fifth centuries. My central focus is the epigram; but since prose inscriptions share some of the same phraseology and could function in similar ways, they cannot be ignored. More centrally, since inscriptions were integral parts of the objects on which they were written,¹¹ I pay considerable attention to the dedications and, most importantly, the ways that epigrams framed or guided the viewing of the objects.¹² Mine is primarily a reader-oriented study of reception, but it is secondarily a viewer-oriented one.

My conclusion will be that dedications with epigrams memorialized the ritual of their own dedication. This is hardly a novel observation. Rouse devoted a chapter to this common function of dedications, and inscriptions are typically understood to serve the same function, especially epigrams with their standard formula, "s/he set up" or something similar.¹³ However,

¹⁰ Compare Hurwit 1999: 47.

¹¹ See Häusle 1979: 88–105 and Raubitschek 1968: 3, both cited by Gutzwiller 1998: 3, note 7, and the important study of Keesling 2003a.

¹² For Tanner 1999: 158, an inscription was "a framing device." This topic interests students of Hellenistic epigram; see Day 2007: 29, 33.

¹³ Rouse 1902: 274–309. For inscriptions, see Tanner 1999: 158, Umholtz 2002: 282.

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it is not enough to assemble a dedication's literal references to ritual on the assumption that it was a dead record or a mere conduit for sending a neutral message about a prior ritual act to passive receivers. To a degree, we can recover the kind of communicative situation that emerged when visitors to the late archaic Akropolis stopped before Telesinos' dedication, viewed the statuette of Athena, and read or heard the epigram. My quarry is what Stehle would call the "psychological efficacy" of reading, hearing, and viewing.¹⁴ Something was accomplished in those activities, and I hope to contribute to our understanding of it. What was the activities' force? What social or religious acts would those reading an epigram aloud accomplish? How might those hearing the readers respond as they viewed the dedication, and what were the effects of their responses? Answering such questions is an exercise in pragmatics, which, in all its myriad forms, attempts to explain how to do things with words, as Austin put it in articulating his concept of speech-acts, and also with images and other objects, rituals and performances, and all other forms of symbolic communication.¹⁵ With such an approach, we can discover how epigrams and dedications memorialized ritual effectively.

STRAIGHTFORWARD REPRESENTATION

The memorializing efficacy of reading, hearing, and viewing dedications inscribed with epigrams resulted from their power of representation, or better, presentation. The close association of dedication and sacrifice suggests that the ritual during which a dedication was given typically included sacrifice accompanied by libation and prayer, followed by the offering of a durable gift and memorial.¹⁶ This sequence, however, is rarely if ever represented epigraphically or iconographically in a full, straightforwardly literal, photographic manner, and in any case I shall argue that effective (re)presentation must be sought elsewhere. Nevertheless, aspects of

¹⁴ Stehle 1997: 19–21, *passim*.

¹⁵ Austin 1962. Prof. C. M. Keesling writes *privatim* that "all dedications . . . deserve to be seen as a form of 'active' rather than 'passive' religious experience"; see Potter 1994: 4–15.

¹⁶ See Hurwit 1999: 57. For sacrifice and dedication joined, see Van Straten 1981: 65–6 and, e.g., *Il.* 1.39–41, *Od.* 3.273–4, *A. Th.* 271–8 (with Hutchinson 1985: 88; compare *E. Ph.* 572–6), *Hdt.* 1.50–1, *Herod.* 4 (see Chapter 2 below, from note 177); for a vase image, see note 45 below, no. 1; for the Panathenaia (hecatomb and peplos), see Shear 2001: 167–206; and see also *IG* 1³ 78.36–44, Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 3.187, 190 (with *CEG* 431). For acts of dedication amidst elaborate rituals, see *Plut. Nic.* 3.5–8, Kurke 2005: 117 (*Pind. Pae.* 6 performed at the dedication of the Aiginetan monument at Delphi; compare *Hdt.* 8.122). See further from note 45 below, also Keesling 2003a: 118–20. *ThesCRA* 1.270 (R. Parker) concludes, however, that, as distinct from the other kinds of ceremonial activity, "special rituals of dedication were not performed."

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straightforward representation of dedicatory ritual did play a role in people's encounters with inscribed dedications, so let us review the common forms.

The first verse of Telesinos' epigram narrates his ritual act: "Virgin, Telesinos set up (this) *agalma* on the Akropolis." The hexameter is based on the simple narrative pattern that constitutes shorter epigrams and lies at the syntactical core of nearly all longer ones: dedicator as subject, verb of dedicating (usually ἀνέθηκε,¹⁷ *anethêke*), dedication as direct object, and god as indirect object (sometimes replaced by, as here, or joined to apostrophe of the god). The pattern can be summarized thusly: ὁ δέϊνα ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ + name of object,¹⁸ "person X set up for god Y dedication Z," where Z may be a pronoun (often "me"), a noun naming the dedication, or both. Some 75 percent of prose inscriptions in *DVA* follow the same pattern.¹⁹ Certain additions in both prose and verse supply more information about dedicators' rituals. Most commonly, either the rite is described as the fulfillment of a vow – in epigrams typically with a participle modifying the dedicator, εὐξάμενος/-αμένη (*euxamenos/-ê*, "having vowed") – or the dedication's name identifies another kind of ritual mechanism, for example, δεκάτη (*dekâtê*, "tithe") or ἀπαρχή (*aparchê*, "firstfruits").²⁰

Another option was available, one indicating the god's ownership of the dedication.²¹ The god's name can appear alone in the nominative or more commonly the genitive; "I am" and/or the substantive ἱερὸν may be added. We can schematize: (ἱερὸν) (εἶμι) τοῦ θεοῦ, "(I am) (the consecrated object)

¹⁷ Ἀνατίθημι describes a symbolic and physical act: a dedicator removes something from human circulation and "sets it up (high)" for the god; see Keesling 2003a: 3, 215 (note 1), Rudhardt 1992: 214–18. Arkadian prose inscriptions can replace ἀνέθηκε with a verb of sacrifice (ἀνέθυσσε *vel sim.*); see *DVA* 106–11, 290, with page 72. Six variations on ἀνατίθημι in epigrams also represent the ritual act. (1) Forms of τίθημι are often used for metrical reasons: of twenty certain or restored uses in *CEG* (including 434–5), three (unaugmented) appear as the first word in a pentameter or its second half, two fit nicely into trimeters, and five yield convenient hexameter ends after short syllables. (2) Use of ἵσθημι may be associated with statue dedications (*DVA*, page 72), but meter played a role: nine of fifteen certain or restored forms with their long first syllables appear at the beginnings of verses. (3) Ἀνάκειμαι can be used as the passive of ἀνατίθημι; in *CEG* 192, 347, and 390, a regular dedicatory verb also appears. (4) The middle of ἱδρύω may be more explicitly ritual in connotation; see Chapter 2 below, note 158. (5) Ποιέω can function as a dedicatory verb, "cause to be made" (Umholtz 2002: 264, note 14), though it may indicate that a dedicator also made the object; see *CEG* ?187, 211, 262, ?291, 307, 327, 329 *adn.*, 334, 388, 418 (ἐτέλεσσε; see *CEG adn.*), 425, and compare 348, 387, and Keesling 73–4. (6) A prayer to receive the offering replaces the verb of dedication at *CEG* 235, 367, 418. See *DVA*, pages 70–4.

¹⁸ I conflate Lazzarini's types 1 and 15 (*DVA*, pages 111, 128).

¹⁹ *DVA*, pages 111–28; see also *ThesCRA* 1.269–78 (R. Parker). This 75 percent includes abbreviations (Lazzarini's types 2–4 and 6). Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 151–69 suggests readers would "mentally supplement" abbreviations.

²⁰ *DVA*, pages 87–109, Keesling 2003a: 4–10.

²¹ See Johnston 1983, Thomas 1992: 56–9.

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of god X.”²² Nearly all the remaining 25 percent of prose inscriptions in *DVA* employ these forms, and they appear in five epigrams.²³ It is significant that the narrative formula was massively dominant on dedications from the beginning, especially in epigrams, which tend to be inscribed on finer pieces. Most of those who included writing on their offerings wanted, not simply to record a god’s ownership, but to memorialize the act of dedicating as an interaction between a named dedicator and a named god through the mediation of an offering ritually made.²⁴

Simply in being read out in the god’s sanctuary, narrative inscriptions fulfilled two functions.²⁵ The *μνημα* (*mnêma*, “memorial”) function was social, aimed at a human audience: the text extended the memory of the dedicator’s name in connection with the monument beyond the time it would be remembered without the aid of writing.²⁶ There was also an *ἄγαλμα* (*agalma*, “pleasing gift”) function, a religious one directed to the god: the inscription extended the monument’s role as a ritual medium linking dedicator and god. We are, then, approaching our quarry of effective representation of the rite of dedication, but not the specific role of epigrams. They imported meter, phraseology, and rhetorical patterns that echo poetic tradition.²⁷ Besides being construed as two hexameters, Telesinos’ epigram expands or varies the minimal narrative by employing a divine epithet in the vocative rather than Athena’s name in the dative, locating the dedication (both act and object) “on the Akropolis,” naming the offering with a poetic word (*agalma*), and construing the whole text as an apostrophe of the god and a prayer.

The poetic additions seem to import ritual language into epigram.²⁸ Every word, phrase, and structural or rhetorical feature of dedicatory

²² Lazzarini’s types 7–14. For ritual allusion here too, see Lazzarini 1989–90: 845, Rudhardt 1992: 223–30.

²³ *CEG* 251, 302, 354, 400; compare 407. Only in 354 (not a secure text) is a narrative formula not also present.

²⁴ The narrative formula perhaps derived from Semitic models; see Amadasi Guzzo 1989–90.

²⁵ Keesling 2003a: 91, 199–200. Compare Duplouy 2006: 186–7, Hedrick 2002: 20, and for Herodotus, Gould 2001: 295–6.

²⁶ For epigraphic “name display,” see Keesling 2003a: 22–35 (citing Stoddart and Whitley 1988: 765–6), who notes the name’s frequent initial position; see Chapter 2 below, at note 61. See also Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 291–306, Hurwit 1990: 194, Jeffery 1990: 61–2, Johnston 1983, Scodel 1992: 58, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 140–80, Svenbro 1993: 64–79, Thomas 1992: 56–9, Várhelyi 1996.

²⁷ Reflection of poetry has been more thoroughly studied in verse epitaphs than in dedications; see, e.g., Day 1989a, Derderian 2001: 86–93, Di Tillio 1969, Ecker 1990, Gentili 1968, Lougovaya 2004, also Tsagalis 2008.

²⁸ FH, page 66. Sepulchral epigrams may echo poetic lament; see Day 1989a, 2007: 38, Cassio 1994a, *contra* Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 119, note 34, 174, note 277. Compare Derderian 2001: 63–113, Lougovaya 2004: 68–73.

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epigram not also typical in prose inscriptions²⁹ is conventional, not only in archaic and often later poetry composed for performance at religious rituals and other ceremonial occasions,³⁰ but also in poetic representations of such occasions. The language typically appears in contexts of prayer, sacrifice, and dedication, or those involving ritualized giving such as marriage, hospitality, and the awarding of prizes. It is difficult to see, however, what this epigrammatic language added to the effective representation of the rite of dedicating beyond what narrative prose inscriptions supplied.

A traditional epigraphical approach, grounded in formalist analysis that reads each epigram against the corpus of all other dedicatory inscriptions, tends toward a reductionist conclusion:³¹ the conventionality of most epigrams, because it precludes their offering new information or exhibiting artistic quality, minimized their meaning or force for ancient readers. When words are treated as a conduit for transmitting information, as they generally have been by students of inscriptions, it is new information that has significant meaning or force; old information has little value.³² Epigrams, however, disappoint as conduits of new or unique information about the rite of dedication: most offer only the dedicator's identity, not in itself a specifically epigrammatic feature.³³ Additions to the *anethêke*-formula tend to be formulaic, either conventional (*agalma*, divine epithets like Telesinos' "virgin") or generic (the ritual mechanism: vow, tithe, firstfruits); even the prayer in *CEG* 227, though without exact surviving parallel, is composed of conventional elements.³⁴ Conventionality likewise reduces epigram's claim to aesthetic quality, since beauty is normally linked to creative

²⁹ Most prose additions to the *anethêke*-formula fall into one of four categories, each also present in verse, though often phrased there in a poetic manner: (1) further identification of the dedicator, usually by patronymic, ethnic, or demotic; (2) identification of the god by epithet, usually a "cultic" one found only in prose, occasionally a poetic one found in epigrams (compare *DVA* 59–63, 202 with *CEG* 357); (3) names for the dedication that point to the ritual mechanism (*aparchê*, *dekatê*, etc.); (4) indication of victory on athletic and military dedications.

³⁰ "Cultic" hymns certainly differ from their "literary" brethren (including epinicians); but features that concern me appear in both and suggest that "literary" compositions fulfilled religious functions in performance. See Clark 1996, Depew 1997, 2000, Furley 1995, Furley and Bremer 2001, García 2002a, Käppel 1992, Kurke 2005, Pulleyn 1997, Race 1992: 28–31, Rutherford 2001.

³¹ Compare Papalexandrou 2004: 252 with note 18. Moreover, for every surviving inscription, ancient readers saw many similar ones that have perished.

³² Bakker 1993a: 5–7.

³³ Exceptions include naming family members and achievements, but Chapter 5 shows that the manner of presenting this information is as important as the facts.

³⁴ From the Akropolis, one finds: "virgin" (*CEG* [?208], 228, 272); *chairô* or *charis* and a prayer (231, 258, 275, 279a); prayers to be allowed to dedicate again (214, 255); whole texts similarly construed as prayers or addresses to the goddess (190, 197, 235, 275).

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verbal artistry.³⁵ Telesinos' epigram may exhibit originality and elegance in combining multiple conventional elements into a truly epigrammatic *brevitas*.³⁶ Certainly, fine poetry does appear in earlier inscribed epigrams that are, insofar as the surviving corpus allows us to judge, original, bold in expression, and moving, and a few are dedications.³⁷ Most dedicatory verse, however, is not of high aesthetic quality. Therefore, I generally bracket from my discussion not only the informational value of epigrams (largely shared with prose) but also their poetic aesthetics.

Epigrams, then, represent the rite of dedication, often more fully than prose inscriptions; but significant meaning for readers is hard to find. Ritual speech or that of poetic performance there may be, but was its inclusion more than a formal gesture? For example, could reading generate something of the force of rites or performances? We must seek effective representation of that sort elsewhere. I reach a parallel conclusion concerning the visual representation of ritual in dedications.

We cannot reduce the meaning or force of dedications for ancient viewers to one thing. Tremendous numbers of them were offered, in great variety, at countless sites, over a huge span of time during which votive practices changed.³⁸ Nevertheless, visual representation of the act of dedicating was a fundamental, probably close to universal, function of

³⁵ Some suggest that most epigrams derived from craftsmen's sample-books; see *DAA*, pages 424–31, also Gutzwiller 1998: 10, note 33. On the literary status of epigram, see Gutzwiller 2–11, 47–52, also Day 2007: 30. See also Bing 1998: 38 with note 54, 2002: 47.

³⁶ Compare Lausberg 1982: 20–101.

³⁷ Most specimens of high quality appear in four groups: (1) very old hexametric texts such as clever sympotic graffiti (e.g., *CEG* 432, 454) that contain poetic allusions; see Bing 2009, Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 285–7; (2) early hexameter epitaphs from Corinth and Corfu (*CEG* 132, 143, 145); (3) early private elegiac epitaphs from Attica (e.g., 13, 24, 27); (4) public elegiac epigrams, probably by professional poets, e.g., the Arta inscription (*SEG* 41.540A) and Simonides' work (e.g., Petrovic 2007, D. Sider and E. Cingano's forthcoming edition and commentary). Compare Fowler 1989: 97–8, Lougovaya 2004: 53–6, 60–74 and *passim* in Chapter 1, Wallace 1984. A wider appreciation of literariness in pre-Hellenistic inscribed epigram is developing; see Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic 2010, Tsagalis 2008.

³⁸ No universal treatment has been attempted since Rouse 1902. Recent synthetic studies include: Alcock and Osborne 1994, Bremmer 1994: 27–37, Hägg, Marinatos, and Nordquist 1988, Hellström and Alroth 1996, Linders and Nordquist 1987, Marinatos and Hägg 1993 (with E. Østby's bibliography, 192–227), Morgan 1990, De Polignac 1995, Schachter 1992a (esp. Van Straten 1992), *ThesCRA* 1.269–318 (J. Boardman, R. Parker, *et al.*), Van Straten 1981. Detailed investigation requires immersion in excavation reports with accompanying object studies (exemplified by Bookidis and Stroud 1997, Merker 2000, Pemberton 1989, and subsequent fascicules of *Corinth* 18), studies of classes of objects or iconographic motifs (e.g., Alroth 1989, Comella 2002, Doepner 2002, Karakasi 2003, Van Straten 1995), treatments of individual sanctuaries (for the Athenian Akropolis, *DAA*, Hurwit 1999, Keesling 2003a, Schneider and Höcker 2001) or specific dedications (Kyrieles 1996), surveys of regions and/or specific deities (e.g., Baumbach 2004, Brulotte 1994, Schachter 1981–94, Simon 1986), and analyses of inscribed temple inventories (Aleshire 1989, 1991, Hamilton 2000, Harris 1995, Linders 1972, also Hedrick 2002: 20–4, Higbie 2003).

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dedications.³⁹ This proves so, at least, if we recognize that representation can be indexical, iconic, or symbolic:⁴⁰ a dedication can point to its ritual origin, depict ritual iconographically, or symbolize it with a conventional sign. I give examples of each, citing impressive objects of the sort that attracted inscriptions.⁴¹

Every dedication provided an indexical representation of a religious transaction: it was the surviving remnant of that transaction, and it pointed to the place where it had been given to the god in some kind of ceremony. Location or orientation often generated a strong ritual association, most obviously with placement in or near a site where cult or other ceremonial events occurred.⁴² As was likely the case with Telesinos' offering, larger outdoor dedications often stood near or were oriented toward altars, thereby indicating that the original acts of offering involved sacrifices there. Other popular locations included feasting or athletic venues;⁴³ and the sides of "sacred" or processional ways often attracted grand dedications, as illustrated by Ischês' kouros, the Geneleôs group, and other sixth-century dedications along the Sacred Way in the Samian Heraion.⁴⁴

Iconic aspects of dedications often reinforced the indexical representation of ritual, although the act of offering the dedication is rarely depicted.⁴⁵

³⁹ Rouse 1902: 274–309 and Van Straten 1981: 81–91 provide models for categorizing dedications accordingly.

⁴⁰ Compare Mitchell 1995: 14, Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 113–22, 136–9.

⁴¹ Only a more expansive review could adequately survey the repertoire of visual associations on which viewers based the inferences necessary to construct meaning for allusive representations, abbreviations, symbols, and emblems, which presented the rite of dedication in a certain way to viewers who were competent in archaic culture's language of visual signs. On such an approach, see Steiner 1994: 10–60 (esp. 11–16), Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 4–5, 217–77, also Clarke 2003: 3, *passim* (a reference I owe to Prof. J. E. Fischer), Merker 2000: 323–4. Detailed treatments appear in subsequent chapters, e.g., Panathenaic allusions in Chapter 4, victor statues in 5, divine images in 6.

⁴² See studies in note 38 above, Ridgway 1971 (esp. 336–45), Stemmer 1995: 83–218.

⁴³ See Chapter 2 below, after note 162. For Panathenaic victory dedications near competition venues, see Shear 2001: 300–14, 340–5, Stemmer 1995: 298–9, C 4 (R. Krumeich), Thompson and Wycherley 1972: 95, 121, pl. 66a.

⁴⁴ See Stemmer 1995: 133–47, note 52 below, and Index *s.v.* "dedication of Ischês, Geneleôs group."

⁴⁵ I cite three cases where it is shown. (1) On a dedicated Panathenaic-shaped, black-figure amphora, ca. 510–500, from Athens (NM Akropolis 842, *ABV* 369, 119), a goat is being led to sacrifice by a man carrying a Panathenaic amphora, probably to dedicate it along with his sacrifice; see Valavanis 1991: 489–90, fig. 1, Van Straten 1995: 25–6, 196 (V16), fig. 18. (2) Craftsmen might be depicted on reliefs offering a sample of their work, e.g., Akropolis 577, ca. 480–470; see Comella 2002: 31–2, 190, Atene 7, fig. 19, Hurwit 1999: 16, fig. 13, Mitropoulou 1977: 30–1, no. 29, fig. 48, Van Straten 1981: 93, fig. 32. (3) From the later fifth century, reliefs can depict reliefs in ways that may point to their own offering, but note the caution of Van Straten 1992: 255–65. I cite two examples: (a) NM 1398, ca. 410–400 (Comella 199, Atene 110, Mangold 1993: 21–2, 69, no. 46, pl. 3, with *DAA* 300 = *DVA* 28 = *IG* 1³ 899), (b) NM 3369, fourth-century, from the Amphiareion (Comella 132, 216, Oropos 5, fig. 134, Kroll 1979: 352, note 23); see also Depew 1997: 247–58 on Louvre MA 755.