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FABIENNE MARCHAND

## The Associations of Tanagra: Epigraphic Practice and Regional Context

The proliferation of professional and religious associations in the Hellenistic and Imperial Periods is widely attested in the Greek world, and Boiotia is no exception, leading Polybius to use this phenomenon as a *topos* in his picturesque description of Boiotian decadence in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>1</sup> Tanagra is the Boiotian city that has produced the largest number of documents relating to the subject, with eleven inscriptions. Remarkably, all of them are funerary (see appendix), except for one fragmentary dedication by συνθύται to Athena.<sup>2</sup> The funerary stelai are overall rather modest. Four of them are cut in the local black limestone (nos. 1, 7, 8, 9), and the most elaborate decoration displayed by the marble stelai consists of banal rosettes (nos. 2, 5 and 7). One stone also shows signs of re-use (no. 2).

Many of the associations attested at Tanagra revolve around gods, such as Διονυσιασταί (nos. 1 and 2), Ἀθηναῖσταί (nos. 3 and 4), and Ἀφροδισιασταί (no. 6).<sup>3</sup>

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I wish to thank V. ARAVANTINOS for allowing me to study the inscriptions nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 and 9, and A. CHARAMI, Director of the 9<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities for granting me permission to re-publish the inscriptions discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I am also grateful to the Fonds PAUL ROESCH at the Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée in Lyon (HiSoMA UMR 5189), and particularly to I. PERNIN, for permission to publish photographs and squeeze fig. 2, 3, 5 and 6. I also wish to thank CH. KRITZAS and A. THEMOS for allowing me to study no. 3, and M. SASANOW, Research Support Officer at the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford, for assistance. My warmest thanks also go to V. GABRIELSEN for many stimulating conversations and CH. SCHULER and A. V. WALSER for comments. I am grateful to the Warwick Summer Research Fund, and the Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies at Ohio State University for the award of a Sterling Dow Fellowship. Finally I wish to thank audiences at Oxford, Copenhagen and Kyoto, where different versions of this paper were presented, for their invaluable comments. All errors remain my own. Measurements are in centimetres unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> Plb. 6. 20. 5–6. See on this passage MÜLLER 2013.

<sup>2</sup> ROESCH 1982, 122 no. 2. A catalogue of ten funerary inscriptions arranged in thematic order is provided in the appendix at the end of the article.

<sup>3</sup> Such associations know parallels in the Greek world. Διονυσιασταί are attested at Athens: IG II<sup>2</sup> 1325–6; Smyrna: I.Smyrna II p. 352–3; Rhodes: IG XII 1, 155 a II, I.Lindos II 391–2; Nisyros: IG XII 3, 104; Istros: I.Histriae 99 and 199. Other Ἀθηναῖσταί are registered at Rhodes:

Vine-dressers (ἀμπελοῦργοί, no. 2), as well as an association of archers (nos. 6 and 7), have also erected tombstones for their deceased members. The earliest document in this series is the dedication to Athena from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC mentioned above. The epitaphs cover the entire Hellenistic period and one association, the Ἀθηναῖσται, may even have been active in the early Imperial period (see nos. 3 and 4).<sup>4</sup>

Groundwork on the topic of Boiotian associations was carried out by PAUL ROESCH in his *Études béotiennes* (1982, 91–202). One new inscription relating to the topic has come to light since then,<sup>5</sup> and thanks to a new autopsy of the stones discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new association without any parallel in the Greek world has come to light: an association of μάγειροι. The dossier of the enigmatic Ἀριστιασται will be re-assessed and a new interpretation offered. Finally, the Tanagra associations' epigraphic practice of erecting epitaphs for their deceased members will be analysed and placed in a wider geographical context involving the island of Euboea.

### 1. Funerary Formulae and Terminology

The formulae used in the series of epitaphs set up by associations at Tanagra follow those found in the Hellenistic and Imperial funerary epigraphy of the city. With one notable exception, the pattern remains strikingly stable throughout our series. The name of the deceased appears first either in the nominative (nos. 1, 4, 6, 8 and possibly 9) or, following the typically Boiotian formula, in the dative preceded by the preposition ἐπί (nos. 2, 3, 7 and 10). In one epitaph the vocative is followed by the greeting χαῖρε (no. 5). Following the Boiotian custom, this series of tombstones does not record any patronymics. The name of the deceased is most often followed by the pronoun τοῦτον (or the dialect form οὔτον) and the verb ἔθαψεν / ἔθαψαν. The name of the association setting up the monument is indicated in the nominative in the last position. Only one inscription in the series does not follow this pattern (no. 10).

A distinctive feature of the associations of Tanagra is that many of them bear theophoric names terminating in -ασται like Διονυσιασται, Ἀθηναῖσται, Ἀφροδισιασται and Ἀριστιασται (nos. 1–4 and 6). These derive from verbs in -άζειν, and as such imply that a ceremony or a festival was celebrated.<sup>6</sup> Although such theophoric names are common in the Greek world, in Boiotia they are so far attested only at Tanagra.<sup>7</sup> Συνθύται is the most common term for members of associations in Boiotia, and as it

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I.Lindos II 252, 391 and 392b, and in Caria: I.Rhod.Per. 302 A. Ἀφροδισιασται are known so far only at Lindos: see I.Lindos II 252, 391, and 392.

<sup>4</sup> Dating remains cautious as it is based mainly on the letter forms and comparison with over 1,000 funerary inscriptions from Tanagra to be published in a further study.

<sup>5</sup> See app. to no. 6; ROESCH also omitted no. 10, an epitaph already published in 1884 by BERNARD HAUSSOULLIER, but which remained unnoticed since it was not recorded in IG VII.

<sup>6</sup> ROBERT 1967, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Note the ἠρωῖασται from Akraiphia organised around the funerary cult for the two deceased children of the female founder in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (ROESCH 1982, 136–8 no. 16).

rarely occurs elsewhere in the Greek world,<sup>8</sup> it can be added to the catalogue of peculiarities displayed by Boiotian associations. It derives from the verb συνθύειν and emphasizes that the association's activities involved a common sacrifice. At Tanagra the term appears in no. 9 in an epitaph in the *koine*, and in nos. 5, 6, and 8 in various dialect forms – respectively συνθύτη, συνθούτη, and σιουνθούτη. An additional dialect form, συνθύτη, is provided in a 4<sup>th</sup> century dedication.<sup>9</sup> Few other terms are used for associations at Tanagra: σύνδοδος – meaning «association», «assembly», «gathering» – is found only once for a group of Ἀθηναῖσται (no. 4). The archers are organised in a τάξις, a technical term for military regiment (no. 7).<sup>10</sup> The term κοινόν, well-attested elsewhere in the Greek world, is not found at Tanagra, and is remarkably scarce in Boiotia as it has appeared only once, for a 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD association of quarrymen.<sup>11</sup>

In no. 3, the Ἀθηναῖσται call themselves τὸ Ἄθαν(α)ῖστίη, while in no. 4 they clearly specify, as mentioned above, that they are organised in a σύνδοδος. Similarly, the archers are described simply as τὸ φαρατρῖτη in no. 6, while in no. 7 they state that they belong to a τάξις (τάξις τῶν φαρετριτῶν). These variations in the vocabulary could be interpreted as an indication of the existence of two distinct organisations: an association of Ἀθηναῖσται, for example, would have used both the term σύνδοδος and the *koine* to distinguish itself from a homonymous group. It seems more likely that only one group of Ἀθηναῖσται and archers existed at Tanagra. A striking feature in this series of inscriptions from Tanagra is that the terms σύνδοδος and τάξις are used exclusively in inscriptions in the *koine*, while with the exception of no. 8, συνθύται seems to be reserved for dialect inscriptions. The same applies throughout Boiotia.<sup>12</sup> It is therefore tempting to argue that the term συνθύται bore some kind of regional colour, and that it gradually disappeared, along with the Boiotian dialect, in the course of the Hellenistic period. The introduction of the *koine* in Boiotia seems therefore to have had an influence on the vocabulary used by associations. It is worth stressing here that evolution in the terminology should not imply a transformation of the nature of Boiotian associations, or their purposes, institutions and activities.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Some examples can be found for example in Rhodes (IG XII 1, 157).

<sup>9</sup> ROESCH 1982, 122 no. 2 = IG VII 553.

<sup>10</sup> For τάξις: see RE V A 1 (1934) s. v. Τάξις (LAMMERT); POLAND 1909, 154.

<sup>11</sup> SEG XXXII 475 (see ROESCH 1982, 182–3 no. 29: κοινόν τῶν λατόμων). The term κοινόν, however, is used for the Dionysiac *technitai*.

<sup>12</sup> Σύνοδοι appear in the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and feature only in *koine* inscriptions (ROESCH 1982, 136–8 no. 16, 152–3 no. 20 and 168–71 no. 23), while συνθύται are attested both in dialect and *koine* inscriptions (dialect inscriptions: ROESCH 1982, 120–2 no. 1, I.Thesp 60 and 65; *koine*: SEG XXXII 453 and 454; SEG LIII 475; SEG XXXII 512).

<sup>13</sup> On the transformation of vocabulary related to associations at Athens with similar words of caution on implications regarding social structures, see ISMARD 2010, 346–8 (348: «Enfin, il paraît sans doute imprudent de s'appuyer sur l'évolution du vocabulaire pour identifier une mutation des structures sociales que ne peut tout à fait confirmer l'ensemble de la documentation»).

## 2. The associations of Tanagra

### 2.1 «But the wine produced holds first place in Boiotia»: Διονυσιασταί and ἀμπελουργοί

Unsurprisingly, two associations organised around Dionysos and wine production – the Διονυσιασταί and an association of ἀμπελουργοί (vine-dressers) – are known at Tanagra, whose temple of Dionysos, according to Pausanias, contained a cult statue in Parian marble attributed to the 5<sup>th</sup> century Athenian sculptor Calamis.<sup>14</sup> Further evidence for the cult of the god at Tanagra is provided by a dedication in epichoric script dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC found near modern Harma (IG VII 550). The local wine appears to have been reputed,<sup>15</sup> and played an important role in the local mythology.<sup>16</sup>

In the earlier of the two gravestones erected by Διονυσιασταί, dating to the later part of the third century BC, the dialect form Διωνιουσιαστή, with the characteristic Boiotian spelling -ιου for -υ, is used (no. 1). The later stele (no. 2), from the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, was set up jointly by the Διονυσιασταί and the ἀμπελουργοί for the burial of their common member Εὔτυχος, who appears to have been a member of two clubs with similar interests.

### 2.2 Ἀθηναῖοι

At Tanagra the Ἀθηναῖοι commemorate two of their deceased members, one of them a woman (nos. 3 and 4). Although Pausanias does not describe any temple of Athena at Tanagra, the presence of the goddess in the city is attested in two restored inscriptions. In IG VII 548, she appears with the epithet Zosteria (Ἀθα[νάς] Ζω[στερι]ίας) alongside Zeus Machaneus.<sup>17</sup> Her name was also supplemented as the recipient of the dedication by the group of συνθύται mentioned above.<sup>18</sup> These συνθύται may well

<sup>14</sup> Paus. 9. 20. 4. The temple of Dionysos might well be the temple converted into a Byzantine church excavated in 1890 by D. ΚΟΝΣΤΑΣ at the top of the hill above the theatre (ΚΟΝΣΤΑΣ 1890), and described in greater detail by J. G. FRAZER following his visit of the site in November 1895 (FRAZER 1913, vol. V 78–9). A picture taken during World War II by the Royal Air Force shows that remains of a temple were still visible in 1945, but they have vanished since then (BINTLIFF – SLAPŠAK 2007, 103 fig. 2). On Dionysos at Tanagra, see SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. I s. v. Dionysos (Tanagra), with Dionysos (Soros/Moustaphades). On Calamis: DNO 578–610, and more specifically 584.

<sup>15</sup> Heracleides Creticus/Criticus 1. 8: Καρποῖς δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς χώρας σιτικοῖς οὐ λίαν ἀφθονος, οἶνον δὲ τῷ γινομένῳ κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν πρωτεύουσα.

<sup>16</sup> In one of the two versions of the myth of the Triton, a bowl of wine was used to lure the beast from the sea. As he lay drunk on the beach, the Tanagraians were able to sever his head. For a discussion of the two *aitia* related by Pausanias 9. 20. 4 and their link to the cult and temple of Dionysos, see SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. I 183–4.

<sup>17</sup> See SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. III s. v. Athena (Tanagra).

<sup>18</sup> See SEG XXXI 497 for different restorations of the mutilated text, which has only been seen by LOLLING and now seems to have disappeared. ROESCH 1982, 122 no. 2 suggests to read Τοῖ

have been a club of Ἀθηναῖσται, but another group or association could also potentially have commissioned the monument.

### 2.3 A new association: μάγειροι

The reading of the fourth line in no. 5 has always been problematic. Since only associations of Ἀθηναῖσται had been found at Tanagra at the time of the discovery of the stone in the early 1870s, all editions of the inscription have so far followed the restoration of Ἀθηναῖσται proposed in the *editio princeps*. When ROESCH took over this dossier he was unable to locate the stone. I was fortunate to find the extremely worn stele of beige marble it at the Museum of Skhimatari (fig. 4). Its upper part was recut, making it impossible to determine its original shape. The two four-petalled rosettes underneath the inscription have also been completely worn down to their central incisions. The first three lines, Ἰππόμεχε | χήρε · | οὔτον ἔθαψαν are perfectly clear. Thanks to several squeezes, I am able to offer a new transcription of the fourth line: τὸ συνθύτη τὸ μάγειρον.

The new autopsy of the stone brings to light a unique occurrence of an association of μάγειροι in the Greek world. One of the closest parallels could perhaps come from a τέχνη of butchers active in the Imperial period at Perinthos in Propontic Thrace and the Ὀνιτάδαι of Miletus.<sup>19</sup> Μάγειροι acted as butchers, meat dealers and cooks, and also performed private and public sacrifices.<sup>20</sup> They were hired by cities during religious festivals,<sup>21</sup> for example, and appeared on occasion among staff serving at the *prytaneion*.<sup>22</sup> In Middle and New Comedy, μάγειροι were typically staged in a private context, where they were hired for banquets, weddings and funerals.<sup>23</sup> They also played a significant role in the running of associations: for example they attended to

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συνθύτη [Ἄθα]νῆ Λ[- -8-11- -] ἀν[έθ]λιαν, while SCHACHTER 1981–94 vol. I s. v. Athena (Tanagra) restores τοὶ συνθύτη [Ἄθα]νῆ Λ[ογγάτιδι] ἀνέθλιαν (see SEG XXXI 497). SCHACHTER notes the similarity between this inscription and SEG XXXII 493 (from Thebes), and does not rule out that they are actually the same.

<sup>19</sup> SEG XLVIII 939 (I.Perinthos 117): τέχνη τῶν μακελλαρίων. On the Ὀνιτάδαι, who acted as butchers and cooks in sacrifices: HERDA 2006 (commentary of the whole Μοῖποι decree, of which one third deals with the Ὀνιτάδαι), and HERDA 2011, 61–2. Another association of μάγειροι is perhaps to be identified in IGBulg 2078 (Imperial period): see ZIMMERMANN 2002, 206 (μάγειροι, Imperial period), with 141 (Köche/Metzger/Sülzemaker). At Imperial Aphrodisias seats are reserved for μακελλῖται in the stadium: ROUECHÉ 1993, 112 no. 46 J, 13<sup>th</sup> row (= InsAph2007 8. 61, 13).

<sup>20</sup> See RANKIN 1907; RE XIV 1 (1928) s. v. Μάγειρος (LATTE); DOHM 1964 and BERTHIAUME 1982.

<sup>21</sup> BERTHIAUME 1982, 27–32. On μάγειροι in the accounts from Delos, see 28, 39–40.

<sup>22</sup> I.Reggio Calabria 8 (Rhegion); IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 247 (Thyrrheion). Both are discussed by BERTHIAUME 1982, 22 and 37–9.

<sup>23</sup> DOHM 1964.

groups of σύσσιτοι by proceeding to the sacrifices that inaugurated the common meal.<sup>24</sup>

The occurrence of the profession at Tanagra is not unexpected, for a μάγειρος is already recorded in a Hellenistic tombstone dated around 200 BC, reading Ἀγάθων μάγειρος (IG VII 1562). Since professions are not commonly indicated in epitaphs at Tanagra, the mention of a μάγειρος stands out.<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere in Boiotia μάγειροι are attested only once, in an honorific decree from Akraiphia dating to the early Imperial period, recording the benefactions of three εὐεργέται, who, among others, helped local tradesmen. Listed along with tavern-keepers and bakers, these μάγειροι are considered by LOUIS ROBERT to have been butchers.<sup>26</sup>

What tasks were performed by the association of μάγειροι at Tanagra remains unclear. They could simply have been butchers or cooks, but they may also have been involved in the religious life of the city performing sacrifices. They might also have performed more than one of the tasks described above, and could also have provided equipment for the sacrifices, skinned the animals or prepared food to be sacrificed. GUY BERTHIAUME's relentless attempts to make clear distinctions between their various roles has led to an unsatisfactory outcome for our purposes, as in a city like Tanagra μάγειροι were likely to have fulfilled various duties. It is remarkable that at Tanagra μάγειροι existed in sufficient numbers to organise themselves into an association. It is conceivable that they sought to defend their economic «perks», as well as providing for the funeral of deceased members, as our epitaph shows. Whether or not Ἀγάθων the μάγειρος of IG VII 1562 was a member of the association cannot be determined. It is unlikely, though, that his stele was erected by the corporation of μάγειροι, as was 'Ἰπτόμαχος'.

#### 2.4 *A network of soldiers?: archers, Ἀφροδισιασταί and Ἀριστιασταί*

In no. 6 Ἀφροδισιασταί, Ἀριστιασταί and archers set up a monument for their deceased member Εὐκλίδας. According to ROESCH, the fifth line involving the archers was added by a different hand, suggesting that perhaps the archers joined in at a later stage.<sup>27</sup>

The presence of an association of Ἀφροδισιασταί at Tanagra is not surprising: the goddess is well attested throughout Boiotia. At Tanagra she had her own temple close to that of Themis and the Apollonian Triad, in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Dionysos.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> BERTHIAUME 1982, 35–7. See for example the μάγειροι serving the Ταινάριοι at Sparta (IG V 1, 210, 59; 211, 54; 212, 64–5).

<sup>25</sup> See the hairdresser (πλοκιστρα) discussed in MARCHAND 2011a, and the architect (οἰκοδόμος) in IG VII 1646.

<sup>26</sup> OMS I 289, on l. 56 of the decree (see p. 281).

<sup>27</sup> For military institutions and archers in Boiotia: see FEYEL 1942, 187–218; ROESCH 1965, 109–21; ROESCH 1982, 167–8.

<sup>28</sup> Paus. 9. 22. 1.

The Ἀριστιασταί have attracted a lot of attention, as their identity remains problematic.<sup>29</sup> Contrary to Ἀφροδισιασταί, no other association in the Greek world bears that name. For many decades the most favoured eponym for the Ἀριστιασταί remained the goddess Ariste herself, or the epithet Ariste for Demeter or Artemis.<sup>30</sup> An eponymous Ἀριστίων or Ἀρίστων was also proposed, but not strongly defended, by ROESCH,<sup>31</sup> whose list of potential eponyms could have featured the name Ἀριστίας, attested at Tanagra.<sup>32</sup> The naming of an association after a person – for example a κτίστης, a leader, a reformer or an εὐεργέτης –<sup>33</sup> is a well-known process, but the formulae tend to be different: inscriptions show that οἱ σύν, less often οἱ μετὰ and οἱ ἐπί are favoured in such instances. The name of the founder in the genitive is also sometimes encountered.<sup>34</sup> ROESCH also noted that at Thespiai the names of two associations follow a different, but well-attested, pattern – «Φιλετηρεῖες» for an association of συνθῦται founded by Philetairos of Pergamon, and «Εἰσιόδειοι» for Hesiodic συνθῦται worshipping the Muses.<sup>35</sup> Linguistically, ROESCH's solution might well be viable. At Eretria for example, the Ἀμφιασταί dedicate a statue of Ἀμφίας son of Ἀριστοδήμος to Asklepios and Hygia.<sup>36</sup> If their eponym is the Ἀμφίας in question, he could have been heroized after his death, and have received a cult.

ALBERT SCHACHTER explored a potential link between the association of Ἀριστιασταί and the military, by deriving their name from the word ἄριστον, meaning «breakfast», or «midday meal». This led him to identify the Ἀριστιασταί with a group of «(former or active) messmates linked together in the worship of a goddess [i.e. Aph-

<sup>29</sup> All hypotheses have been conveniently gathered and commented upon by PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 288–9.

<sup>30</sup> HERKENRATH 1906, 435–6; PFOHL 1966, 24; FOSSEY 1971, 244–5, with a preference for Demeter. SCHACHTER ruled out the three female deities, mostly on the grounds that their cult is unattested in Boiotia. He also pointed out that if the Ἀριστιασταί were worshipping Ariste, for linguistic reasons their name should then be \*Ἀρισταιῖσταί (SCHACHTER 1976, 252–3, followed by PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 288).

<sup>31</sup> ROESCH 1982, 124.

<sup>32</sup> See LGPN III.B s. v.

<sup>33</sup> On the «personalisation» of associations in the late Hellenistic period see the discussion by MAILLOT 2013, 204–7.

<sup>34</sup> POLAND 1909, 73–8 reviews associations named after individuals.

<sup>35</sup> ROESCH 1982, 124, with 126–7 nos. 6 and 7 (respectively I.Thesp 60 and 65). For a discussion of the suffix -εἰοι see POLAND 1909, 73–5 where these two examples are discussed. A recently published funerary monument re-used as a statue base at Thespiai honouring P. Cornelius Vetranus takes an unusual, more descriptive, approach with the formula οἱ συναχθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνθῦται, where the pronoun stands for Vetranus himself (SEG LIII 475).

<sup>36</sup> SEG XXXI 807: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφιαστῶν Ἀμφίαν Ἀριστοδήμου Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ὑγίαι (c. 150 BC). See additional examples in POLAND 1909, 63. SINEUX 2007, 113 n. 95 however argues for an association worshipping Amphiaros and derives the name of the association from Ἀμφίας, which would be an unattested hypocoristic for Amphiaros. CHARBONNET 1984 also considers Ἀμφίας as a local name for Amphiaros. For the name of the association deriving from the eponym honorand Amphias: DUCREY et al. 1993, 146–7 no. 2; KNOEPFLER 2000, 346 n. 60.

rodite] who seems to have been the patron of the military in Boiotia» – perhaps σύσσιτοι.<sup>37</sup> As a parallel he offered the συναρίστιον of Nisyros.<sup>38</sup> However, the naming of an association after a meal appears to be so far unattested, and the ending in -ασταί implies participation in a religious ceremony, and an association celebrating food in one form or another would be rather unexpected.

A so far unexplored hypothesis might reveal a new solution. The Ἀριστιασταί might have derived their name from ἀριστεία – ἀριστεία in the Boiotian dialect – meaning «excellence» or «prowess» (LSJ), a term used in a military context along with other words from the same family. The ἀριστεῖον was the award of merit – in the form of crowns or panoplies for example – bestowed upon soldiers who displayed bravery on the battlefield.<sup>39</sup> On the monument erected to commemorate the involvement of the two locals Ὀμολώϊχος and Ἀναξίδαμος in Sulla's victory of 86 BC at Chaironeia, the soldiers are branded as ἀριστεῖς, a term indicating that they had been awarded the ἀριστεῖον.<sup>40</sup>

The Ἀριστιασταί from Tanagra therefore could have been soldiers or former soldiers who would be honouring Aristeia, the personification of the award that had been granted to them. Although rare, the worshipping of the personification of a privilege by an association is not completely unattested. At Rhodes, ἐπιδαμιασταί honour the personification of ἐπιδαμία, the right of residence bestowed upon them.<sup>41</sup>

This exegesis for the Ἀριστιασταί has the merit of coherently linking Ἀφροδισιασταί, Ἀριστιασταί and archers. Aphrodite indeed displayed various military and civic features as a goddess sometimes depicted in arms,<sup>42</sup> and as the guardian of magistrates.<sup>43</sup> Aphrodite also appears to have been at home in the gymnasium: the «Vénus de Milo» was for example originally exhibited in a niche in the gymnasium of

<sup>37</sup> SCHACHTER 1976, 254.

<sup>38</sup> IG XII 3, 93–4. On associations of soldiers, see LAUNEY 1958, 1001–36.

<sup>39</sup> For military ἀριστεία see PRITCHETT 1974–91, vol. II 276–90. On ἀριστεία in a civic context in the Hellenistic period, see THÉRIAULT 2007.

<sup>40</sup> SEG XLI 448, with full commentary in CAMP et al. 1992 (on the ἀριστεῖον see their n. 2). The text of the inscription reads ἀριστις, a dialect form due to the Boiotian iotacism according to the editors: see CAMP et al. 1992, 447 n. 14. Remarkably, the names of the two heroes are also preserved in Plut. Sull. 19. 10. On this monument see also RABE 2008, 178 no. 33 and 143–4, as well as KALLIONTZIS 2014, 350–9, who casts doubt on the nature of the monument, and on its proposed date in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. He suggests that Ἄριστις might be a third personal name added to a funerary monument originally erected for two deceased. Let us simply note that the masculine anthroponym Ἄριστις is not known at all in Boiotia, and that it is mostly attested at Cyrene (cf. LGPN I).

<sup>41</sup> ROBERT 1967, 12–3. The ἐπιδαμιασταί might have celebrated a specific festival: see POLAND 1909, 63. On associations and personifications: see POLAND 1909, 225–6.

<sup>42</sup> LONIS 1979, 212–3; PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 450–4, who however does not highlight this feature of the goddess in her discussion of our no. 6 p. 287–9; PIRONTI 2005; PIRONTI 2007, 237–77.

<sup>43</sup> SOKOŁOWSKI 1964; CROISSANT – SALVIAT 1966; PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 446–50; WALLENSTEN 2003.

Melos, where, as a *κουροτρόφος* goddess, protector of young men and closely associated with Hermes, she presided over the training of future citizens.<sup>44</sup> In Boiotia, Aphrodite's connection with war takes an intimate twist, as in the local mythological tradition she was companion to Ares and mother of Harmonia, who went on to become the wife of Kadmos, one of the founders of Thebes.<sup>45</sup> Ares and Aphrodite are also united by Sulla, who inscribed their names alongside Nike's on the trophy he set up after his victory at Orchomenos in 86 BC.<sup>46</sup> The triad is considered as «unusual» by JOHN CAMP et al., while GILBERT CHARLES-PICARD links Aphrodite's prominent place with personal taste expressed by the Roman general – whose nickname was *Epaphroditos* –, and with his activities in the East.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, to the Boiotians, Aphrodite's celebration on a trophy alongside her husband would not have appeared out of place. At Thebes, for example, the goddess is the patron of the polemarchs.<sup>48</sup> In this context, the synergy between *Ἀριστιασταί*, *Ἀφροδισιασταί* and archers at Tanagra makes perfect sense. Our funerary monument no. 6 was therefore probably erected for an archer who had shown bravery in battle, and who was a member of two – perhaps three – associations with common interests.

One question remains, however: are we dealing here with one, two, or perhaps three associations? The archers appear to be a separate group, for not only did they set up another monument by themselves (no. 7), but they also seem to have been involved in the funeral of *Εὐκλίδας* later than the *Ἀφροδισιασταί* and *Ἀριστιασταί*. A careful examination of the wording of no. 6 seems to support this argument, for the definite article *τὸ* is reiterated just before the archers in the very last line of the inscription, whereas it is omitted before the *Ἀφροδισιασταί* (*συνθούτῃ τὸ Ἀριστ[ι]αστῆ κῆ Ἀφροδισιαστ[ῆ] κῆ τὸ φαρατρίτῃ*). This notable omission has led several scholars to

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<sup>44</sup> See KOUSSER 2005, 241–8. Aphrodite was also associated with the gymnasium of Corinth: see LONIS 1979, 212.

<sup>45</sup> Hes. Th. 933–7; Apollod. 3. 4. 2; Hellanicos FGrH 4 F 51. See also SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. I s. v. Aphrodite (Thebes); PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 167–9; VALDÉS 2005, 92–103; PIRONTI 2007, 100–4.

<sup>46</sup> The monument he set up at Orchomenos was unearthed in 2004, and it seems that Plutarch's testimony (Plut. Sull. 19. 5) is once again accurate: ARAVANTINOS 2009, 222 fig. 351 specifies that «[the trophy] praises Sulla's victory and his protecting gods», while BONNANO ARAVANTINOS 2012, 234, appears to confirm that the divinities in question are «Afrodite, Ares e Nike». In SEG LVIII 428 (quoting AR 51 2004/2005, 44) the inscription is reported to be «clearly bearing the names of Sulla and Mithridates in Gr[ee]k letters». See also BE 2012, no. 193 and 2013, no. 164; SEG LIX 483; AD 2001–2004, 193–4; RABE 2008, 185 no. 55 and p. 143.

<sup>47</sup> CAMP et al. 1992, 448 n. 15; CHARLES-PICARD 1957, 172–8.

<sup>48</sup> See the famous episode of the assassination of the Theban polemarchs in 378; Xenophon depicted the outgoing magistrates celebrating the festival of the *Aphrodisia* with a banquet: Xen. Hell. 5. 4. 4–7. For the *Aphrodisia* celebrated in this passage, see among others CROISSANT – SALVIAT 1966, 466–71; SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. I s. v. Aphrodite (Thebes); PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 281–6; WALLENSTEN 2003, 61–3. Aphrodite and military commanders: PIRONTI 2007, 244–8 and 268–73.

recognize in our inscription a single joint association of Ἀριστιασταί and Ἀφροδισιασταί, particularly since in our no. 2 the article is provided for both the Διονυσιασταί and the ἀμπελουργοί.<sup>49</sup> The Ἀριστιασταί however erected a monument by themselves, without the involvement of the Ἀφροδισιασταί (see app. to no. 6). This could be understood as a proof that the Ἀριστιασταί and Ἀφροδισιασταί were separate entities. However, we could also be dealing with a group of Ἀριστιασταί separate from a joint association of Ἀριστιασταί and Ἀφροδισιασταί, just as in Rhodes, where for example Ἄλιασταί appear either by themselves or in the names of other κοινά.<sup>50</sup> Another solution could also potentially lie in the chronology: an association of Ἀριστιασταί might at some point have agreed to merge with a group of Ἀφροδισιασταί.

### 3. Members and institutions

The inscriptions emanating from associations at Tanagra do not provide any clue as to their institutions, nor the number and background of their members. Their activities, besides funerary duties, remain equally elusive. Epigraphic documentation from other Boiotian cities reveals that associations tend to have had a rather restricted number of members. For example a Theban 4<sup>th</sup> century BC dedication to Athena reveals the names of 22 συνθύται arranged in two columns, which might well be an exhaustive list of members given that the text ends with the signature of the artist in charge of the monument.<sup>51</sup> Another roughly contemporary association from Thespiai reaches a similar total, with two θαμυρίδδοντες and 19 ἀγιόμενοι as well as a hierarch who is also likely to be an official of the association.<sup>52</sup> Some κοινά appear to count even fewer adherents: the ἱερὰ γεπουσία of Hyettos in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD gathered about 12 members from the same family,<sup>53</sup> while the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC Thespian σύσσι-

<sup>49</sup> See SCHACHTER 1976, 252 and n. 2 (with earlier references).

<sup>50</sup> GABRIELSEN 1994, 149.

<sup>51</sup> ROESCH 1982, 120 no. 1.

<sup>52</sup> ROESCH 1982, 138 no. 17 = I.Thesp 313. ROESCH sees in the θαμυρίδδοντες worshippers of the Thracian bard Thamyris. However, the text of the inscription leaves no doubt that only two members are θαμυρίδδοντες, Πίσανδρος and Δαμολῆς. It seems safer to assume that the term derives from θαμυρίζω (to take part in a meeting), and that they were officials serving the association. See LSJ s. v. θαμυρίζω (listing this example), SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. III s. v. Thamyris (Thespiai) and the lemma to SEG LV 562 (CHANOTIS).

<sup>53</sup> ROESCH 1982, 153–5 no. 21. The number of members is not firmly established as some names were scratched away. It seems that the γεπουσία aimed to keep a stable number of members: only one son can succeed his father, or a close member of the family. If the deceased does not have any heir, a replacement outside the family is allowed to apply, but is required to undergo a process of δοκιμασία (side B l. 9–10) and pay a membership fee of 100 *denarii* (side B l. 12). On processes of δοκιμασία to become a member of an association, see FEYEL 2009, 372, who discusses three cases dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (the γεπουσία of Hyettos is however not discussed).

τοί listed in a dedication to Zeus Καραίος are as few as eight.<sup>54</sup> Although sketchy, this data shows that few members were required to form an association. Occasionally Boiotian κοινά were organised around families, like the sacred Imperial γερουσία of Hyettos and the ἡρωϊασταί of Akraiphia.

The requirements to become a member of some associations at Tanagra can be gathered from scattered clues. The club of archers, and by extension the Ἀριστιασταί if, as argued above, they are a group of war heroes, are more likely to have been citizens than mercenaries.<sup>55</sup> The pronoun ταύτην used in our no. 4 leaves no doubt that the Ἀθηναῖσταί of Tanagra admitted women. Ἐλπίς is the only securely attested female member of a Boiotian association – except perhaps the founder of the ἡρωϊασταί of Akraiphia Πυθίς evoked above. Other κοινά are likely to have practiced similar policies. A recently re-published list of names in epichoric script found in Thebes, probably dating from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, could perhaps also be added to the dossier of women in Boiotian associations. It displays two columns with seven male anthroponyms to the left, and six female to the right. The purpose of the monument remains undetermined, but the unusual combination of names of both sexes potentially points to some kind of organised group, perhaps an association, as suggested by the editors.<sup>56</sup>

As for the social status of the μάγειροι, on the basis of literary texts and onomastic criteria, EDWIN M. RANKIN came to the conclusion that they were mostly slaves,<sup>57</sup> while BERTHIAUME gathered references to μάγειροι who were citizens.<sup>58</sup> Overall, epigraphic data points to a low status for μάγειροι in the Greek world, including slaves and freedmen.<sup>59</sup> At Tanagra, onomastic evidence is compatible with a servile condition of some members of associations. Indeed, Greek slave names often derive from ethnics,<sup>60</sup> like Γαλάτας in no. 1, or from abstract notions, such as hope and fortune, evoked respectively by Ἐλπίς and Εὐτυχός in nos. 4 and 2.<sup>61</sup> Heronyms, such as Λυκάων

<sup>54</sup> ROESCH 1982, 143 no. 18 = I.Thesp 323. The *vacat* at the bottom hints that the inscription is complete.

<sup>55</sup> ROESCH 1982, 167.

<sup>56</sup> KALLIONTZIS – ARAVANTINOS 2012, 1031, although their suggestion that the monument emanates from a θίασος probably needs to be questioned on the grounds that θίασοι are so far completely unattested in Boiotia.

<sup>57</sup> RANKIN 1907, 14–36.

<sup>58</sup> BERTHIAUME 1982, 24–6 and 41–3.

<sup>59</sup> At Sparta, the absence of patronymics for μάγειροι implies that they are slaves: see among others IG V 1, 141, 7; 208, 9; 210, 59; 211, 54; 212, 64–5. In I.Reggio Calabria 8 (Julio-Claudian period), the μάγειρος' Greek name Ζώσιμος combined with the absence of *tria nomina* point to a servile status. MAMA IV no. 3, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, reveals another probable slave. In IG V 1, 209, 33 the μάγειρος is a freedman (Φιλόδαμος ἐξ Εὐθυκλέος μάγειρος). The young μάγειρος offered by King Nikomedes III to Delphi in 102/1 BC is clearly a slave (FD III.4 77 l. 22).

<sup>60</sup> On slave names deriving from ethnics, see MASSON, OGS I 151; FRASER 2000, 152–7.

<sup>61</sup> See MASSON, OGS I 152.

in no. 3, also routinely feature in servile onomastics.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, none of the deceased buried by a κοινόν displays a typically Boiotian name. However, none of the anthroponyms registered in this series displays a clear foreign origin.

Deriving conclusions from onomastic data is perilous. However, the simplicity of the monuments erected, combined with the arguments presented above, point to an overall rather low, yet varied, status of the deceased buried by associations, which is not surprising per se. However, despite the variety of social strata touched by associative phenomena, the epigraphic habit of the associations from Tanagra remains strikingly homogenous. Whether for a distinguished soldier, a slave or a woman, and whether engraved on a monument erected by a religious group or by a professional corporation, the funerary formula remains virtually unchanged for several centuries.

What place did the deceased hold within their κοινά? Were they distinguished members or benefactors, or were they on the contrary so destitute that their fellow members had to provide for their funeral? None of our monuments seems to have had a clear honorific function, not even the stele for the archer Εὐκλίδας. None of the documents emanating from the associations of Boiotia shows any kind of charity work. Several inscriptions refer to land property for example, but the revenues tend to be allocated to cults.<sup>63</sup> In the Imperial period, a σύνοδος from Anthedon administers various resources coming from donations. A sum of money would be lent with interest, and its revenues allocated to cultic activities, while a benefactor organised banquets, and donated the small sum of 10 *asses* to each of the συνθύται, which can hardly be seen as anything but a one-off benefaction.<sup>64</sup> The only other association in the whole of Boiotia which was devoted to funerary practice is, again, the foundation by Πυθίς of a club of ἡρωϊασταί for her deceased children. It seems though that the sole purpose of that particular association was to ensure that funerary rites were performed around the tomb of Pythis' children. It does not seem that the members would have benefitted from similar privileges after their death, and therefore it cannot be considered as a *mutuelle*.

#### 4. Epigraphic practice

Among the explanations for the stable and homogenous epigraphic practice displayed by the associations of Tanagra the use by associations of common burial grounds could be considered. The two tombstones erected by the Ἀθηναῖσταί were indeed found in a necropolis of secondary importance, the so-called necropolis of Ghelezi, located to the south of the city in the modern plain of Haghios Thomas, across the

<sup>62</sup> ROESCH 1982, 130–1 expresses preference for the Arcadian hero whose sons were exiled to Boiotia (Plut. Quaest. Gr. 39).

<sup>63</sup> ROESCH 1982, 126–7 nos. 6 and 7 (= I.Thesp 60 and 65), Hellenistic period; 153–61 no. 21 (ἱερὰ γερονσία of Hyettos), 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.

<sup>64</sup> ROESCH 1982, 128–30 no. 10.

Asopos river.<sup>65</sup> The coincidence was noted by BERNARD HAUSSOULLIER, who postulated in 1884 already that the Ἀθηναῖοι owned a plot in the cemetery.<sup>66</sup> His hypothesis may well be correct: the practice for κοινά of owning their own burial grounds is attested elsewhere in the Hellenistic period, notably at Rhodes and Cos. At Rhodes, for example, ἐρανιστοὶ joined together to buy a piece of land they intended to use for their burials.<sup>67</sup> At Cos, a series of boundary stones for such plots, dated between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, display a homogeneity in their formulae similar to that of the tombstones of Tanagra.<sup>68</sup> The ὄροι of two 1<sup>st</sup> century AD associations, the Ἀφροδισιαστοὶ gathered by Artemisia and the ἱερόδουλοι of Isis, provide the dimensions of the θηκαῖον.<sup>69</sup> It is worth noting that the tombs owned by these two κοινά are of much more modest dimensions than those owned by local families.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, at Rhodes, a plot of land offered to ἐρανιστοὶ (IG XII 1, 736) measures an impressive 25 × 16 ὄργυια,<sup>71</sup> illustrating a funerary practice which probably differed from that at Cos.

Since the cemeteries of Tanagra were systematically looted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, archaeological evidence for potential burial grounds maintained by κοινά is meagre. Modern excavations of the necropoleis of Tanagra have brought to light funerary enclosures dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC onwards.<sup>72</sup> They are traditionally considered to have been family enclosures, but it cannot be completely ruled out that some might also have been owned by associations. This would go a long way towards bringing satisfactory answers to some issues not yet discussed. For example, the use by κοινά of private burial grounds at Tanagra would explain why nos. 8 and 9 were erected by members of associations who called themselves, respectively, simply τὸ σιουνθούτη and [οἱ] συνθύται, without any further specification, unlike in the other documents of our series. If these two monuments stood in funerary plots reserved for a specific

<sup>65</sup> For a map of the necropoleis of Tanagra, see HIGGINS 1986, 21 fig. 21.

<sup>66</sup> HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 74–5.

<sup>67</sup> SEG XXXIX 737 (185 BC). See also IG XII 1, 736. See also the Τεμεν(ε)ῖται of Miletus: HERRMANN 1980 and GÜNTHER 1995.

<sup>68</sup> PH 155–9; HERZOG 1899, no. 40–1; NS 489–98; SEG LVIII 876–90; Iscr.Cos EF 78, 200, 201 (= NS 491), 202 (= NS 496), 214, 219, 221, 399–400, 413, 429 (= NS 495), 440, 454, 458, 460–1, 464, 466, 470. See also BE 2009, no. 403 and SEG LVII 777–89).

<sup>69</sup> BOSNAKIS 2008, no. 280 II (= SEG LVIII 883 II): 5 feet by 5 feet; Iscr.Cos EF 470 (= SEG LVII 787): length unknown, width 10 feet.

<sup>70</sup> Iscr.Cos EF 213 (= SEG LVII 790): 20 × 9 feet; PH 152: width 14 feet, and the θηκαῖον stretches out as far as a stream; NS 499: 28 × 15 feet; BOSNAKIS 2000–2003, 271 no. 2: 40 × 17 feet; BOSNAKIS 2008, no. 269: 10 × 10 feet. See also BOSNAKIS 2000–2003, 272 on the size of private burial grounds at Cos. MAILLOT evokes possible family links to explain burial grounds set up by associations (MAILLOT 2013, 208). The practice of indicating dimensions is perhaps a Roman influence: see A. CHANIOTIS' commentary to SEG LVII 190.

<sup>71</sup> C. 47 × 30 m.

<sup>72</sup> ANDREIOMENOU 1985, 112; AD 52 1999 B' 1 chr., 377; ANDREIOMENOU 2007, 6 and n. 15, with figs. 8 and 45.

association, then the archaeological context would make it superfluous to indicate the name of the κοινόν on every stone. Such clusters of tombstones for association members would furthermore explain the longevity and immutability of the funerary formulae, and consequently the survival – or the revival – of the Boiotian dialect in the late Hellenistic period: indeed, some inscriptions in this series, such as nos. 3 and 5, display a remarkably late use of the Boiotian dialect.<sup>73</sup> The hypothetical use of common cemeteries by the associations of Tanagra nevertheless raises its own set of problems, for example in the case of multiple memberships.<sup>74</sup> Even though the use of the verb ἔθαψαν evokes the action of burying the deceased, one could wonder where the actual body was laid to rest, leaving open the question of the role in the funerary rites of the families of the deceased. Of course, this last issue becomes irrelevant if the deceased was a slave or a foreigner.

### 5. Regional context

The burial of association members is not specific to Boiotia, and is practiced in many regions of the Greek world down to the Imperial period and even beyond.<sup>75</sup> In Central Greece, however, the practice is remarkably localised. Tanagra is the only Boiotian city to have produced such funerary stelai. Strikingly, four similar monuments were set up by associations across the Euboic gulf, on the island of Euboea.<sup>76</sup> Three originate from Eretria, and display the name of the deceased in the accusative, followed or preceded by the name of the association in the nominative.<sup>77</sup> One of them, IG XII 9, 262 (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βουκόλ(ω)ν | Ζώπυ[ρον] Ἀσκληπιάδου), was for a long time considered to be an honorific inscription and as such was catalogued by ERICH ZIEBARTH in that category in IG until its funerary purpose was unravelled by DENIS ΚΝΟΕΠΦΛΕΡ.<sup>78</sup> A closer parallel with the formulae in effect at Tanagra is offered by a 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC tombstone from Chalcis, IG XII 9, 1151, set up by Νουμηνιασταί and reading Δημοσθένης | Λύσιος χρηστός · | τὴν στήλην ἔστησαν | Νουμηνιασταί, with the verb ἔστησαν and not ἔθαψαν as commonly found at Tanagra.

<sup>73</sup> On the disappearance of the Boiotian dialect: see, among others, VOTTÉRO 1996, 75–81, 88–90.

<sup>74</sup> Aspects of these questions are discussed by GABRIELSEN 1994 (about Rhodes).

<sup>75</sup> For a general overview, see BASLEZ 2006, 160–1. For Imperial Asia Minor, see DITTMANN-SCHÖNE 2001, 82–92; VAN NIJF 1997, 38–55. For Cos, see MAILLOT 2013, 207–10 and for Rhodes FRASER 1977, 58–70.

<sup>76</sup> A feature briefly noted by TE RIELE 1975, 94; ROESCH 1982, 124 and n. 12; ΚΝΟΕΠΦΛΕΡ 2000, 346.

<sup>77</sup> IG XII 9, 262: Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Βουκόλ(ω)ν | Ζώπυ[ρον] Ἀσκληπιάδου (1<sup>st</sup> century BC); SEG L 876: .ΩΝΑΝΩ | τὸ κοινὸν | τῶν ὀγδοιστῶν | Ζώπυλον | Θεοφίλου (c. 150 BC); BE 1976, no. 544: Δήμονα Διογυσιού ὁ θίασος τῶν παιδαρίων (early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD).

<sup>78</sup> TE RIELE 1975, 94–5.

The terminology displayed in Euboian inscriptions set up by associations differs from that used in Boiotia: for example a θίασος was registered at Eretria in BE 1976, no. 544, a type of association so far unrecorded in Boiotia, as we have seen above. Κοινόν seems to be the most commonly used term in Euboea for associations,<sup>79</sup> a term which made a late entry in the Boiotian repertoire where it has been registered only once, in the latest inscription recording an association in the region – after AD 212 – featuring quarry-workers at Lebadeia.<sup>80</sup> The συνθύται so commonly found in Boiotia are so far completely unrecorded in Euboea. It is therefore solely the epigraphic practice of commemorating the burial of a deceased member with a tombstone that is common to associations from Eastern Boiotia and Euboea. This dossier of Boiotian and Euboian inscriptions emanating from associations illustrates the strong links and influences between the two regions, as well as the community organised around the Euboic gulf. It also highlights privileged relations between Tanagra, Chalcis and Eretria.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, it is striking that Thespiiai, the city that has yielded one of the largest corpora of funerary inscriptions in Boiotia, has not produced a single tombstone erected by an association. The most likely explanation for this lies in different regional epigraphic practices. In Boiotia, epigraphic habits varied considerably from one city to the other. For example, the heroization of the deceased was widely practiced at Thespiiai, Thebes, Thisbe, Akraiphia, Kopai, Chaironeia, Haliartos and Plataia, but it remains so far completely unattested in the c. 1,500 funerary inscriptions of Tanagra. Our series of inscriptions is therefore probably the reflection of yet another very localised epigraphic practice rooted in Eastern Boiotia, which spread across the Euboic gulf over to the closest Euboian neighbours, but not to cities located in other parts of Boiotia.

### Conclusion

The series of epitaphs commemorating deceased members of κοινά throws a unique and distinctive light on Hellenistic and perhaps even early Imperial Tanagra that is not offered by other documents. The associations of Tanagra appear to have been closely intertwined with the military and economic life of the city, as well as with its cults, although the links between the κοινά and the temples of the city, for example, remain unclear. The activities of the various associations of Tanagra were certainly not limited to funerary duties and the dedication of statues; unfortunately our documentation does not even allow a glimpse of the other pursuits of the Tanagran κοινά. Common dining, and perhaps designated buildings, can only be postulated from parallels known elsewhere, including other Boiotian cities. The analysis of epigraphic, ono-

<sup>79</sup> SEG XXXI 807; SEG L 876; IG XII 9, 260; RICIS 104/0103.

<sup>80</sup> SEG XXXII 475 (ROESCH 1982, 182–3 no. 29): κοινόν τῶν λατόμων.

<sup>81</sup> Another facet of these relations has been explored in a study on a different topic: see MARCHAND 2011b for common onomastic repertoires in Boiotia and Euboea.

mastic and archaeological data shows that members probably belonged to the modest *milieus* of Tanagra as was common in the Greek world. This series of tombstones fits altogether well not only in the general world of Greek associations, but also in a localised Eastern Boiotian system closely connected with its Euboian neighbours.

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*Appendix: Epigraphic Dossier*

1. Skhimatari Museum, inventory no. 1141. Thin stele of local black limestone with triangular top. The pediment is outlined with finely picked bands.

Dimensions: H: 93; W: 33; Th: 6.

New autopsy, photograph (fig. 1), squeeze.

MARTHA 1880, p. 141 (MEISTER 1880, no. 85b; LARFELD 1883, no. 509; CAUER 1883, no. 373; MEISTER 1884, no. 962); HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 74 no. 4; IG VII 686 (SCHWYZER 1960, no. 463, 2); ROESCH 1982, 132–3 no. 14 (JACCOTTET 2003, no. 8; KLOPPENBORG – ASCOUGH 2011, 285 no. [57]b; ASCOUGH – HARLAND – KLOPPENBORG 2012, 36 no. 31 B).

Cf. SEG XVII 211; FRASER 1977, 59; MERKELBACH 1988, 116 and n. 95; COLE 1993, 286.

Second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

Γαλάτας·  
 οὔτον ἔθαψαν τὸ  
 Δωνιουσιαστή

Δωνιουσιαστή – ed. pr., despite using HAUSSOULLIER's squeeze.

2. Skhimatari Museum, inventory no. 1052. Very worn stele of beige marble with pediment and acroteria. Two four-petalled rosettes are placed between the second and third lines of the inscription. The stone has probably been re-used: faint traces of letters – of which none can be securely read – are visible above the rosettes.

Dimensions: H: 91; W: 39; Th: 10.

New autopsy, squeeze.

ROESCH 1982, 133–6 no. 15 (SEG XXXII 488; BE 1983, no. 208; ROLLER 1989, no. 91, JACCOTTET 2003, no. 9; KLOPPENBORG – ASCOUGH 2011, 287 no. [58]; ASCOUGH – HARLAND – KLOPPENBORG 2012, 36 no. 31 E).

Cf. MERKELBACH 1988, 116 and n. 95; COLE 1993, 286.

Illustration: ROESCH 1982, pl. X, 3 (fig. 2).

2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.

ἐπὶ  
Εὐτύχῳ ·  
τοῦτον ἔθαψαν  
4 οἱ Διονυσιασταὶ  
καὶ οἱ ἀμπελουργοὶ



Fig. 1: No. 1.



Fig. 2: No. 2  
(Archives P. Roesch – HiSoMA UMR 5 189 –  
MOM, Lyon).

3. Athens, Epigraphical Museum inventory no. EM 937. Stele of white marble with pediment and acroteria in relief over a grossly carved triangular top. Large letters are carved across the whole width of the stele, over two-thirds of its height. The stone was discovered in looted tombs by P. STAMATAKIS in the plain of Haghios Thomas (so-called «Ghelezi» necropolis) during the winter of 1873–74.

Dimensions: H: 32.5; W: 18.5; Th: 7.

New autopsy.

KOUMANOUDIS 1873, 402; KAIBEL 1874, 428 no. 34 (LARFELD 1883, no. 507; CAUER 1883, no. 371); HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 74 no. 1; IG VII 685 (SCHWYZER 1960, no. 463, 1; ROESCH 1982, 130 no. 11; KLOPPENBORG – ASCOUGH 2011, 284 no. [57]a; ASCOUGH – HARLAND – KLOPPENBORG 2012, 36 no. 31 A).

Cf. HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 74 (findspot); FRASER 1977, 59; AD 50, 1995 B' 1, 17 (SEG XLIX 528).

Illustrations: AD 50, 1995 B' 1, pl. 13b.

1<sup>st</sup> century BC or later.

ἐπὶ Λυκάωνι ·  
οὔτον ἔθα-  
ψαν τὸ Ἄθα-  
4 ν(α)ϊστή

L. 4: The bar of the alpha was omitted by the lapicide.

The stone probably disappeared from Skhimatari at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although it is not registered in the old inventory of the Skhimatari museum completed in 1911, HAUSSOULLIER saw it there in 1878 or 1879. ROESCH was not able to find the stone. It was rediscovered at the Epigraphical Museum by its then director CH. KRITZAS, who published a photograph in 1995 in AD.

4. Skhimatari Museum, inventory no. 182. Stele of whitish marble with pediment and acroteria in relief over a roughly carved top. The inscription is engraved immediately under the pediment. Lolling noted traces of red colour in the letters, but these are no longer visible. The stone was discovered in the plain of Haghios Thomas in the course of the winter of 1873–74.

Dimensions: H: 72; W: 55; Th: 8.

New autopsy, squeeze.

KOUMANOUDIS 1873, 402 (KAIBEL 1874, 430); HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 74 no. 2; IG VII 688 (Syll.<sup>3</sup> 1119); ROESCH 1982, 131–2 no. 13 (KLOPPENBORG – ASCOUGH 2011, 286 no. [57]d; ASCOUGH – HARLAND – KLOPPENBORG 2012, 36 no. 31 D).

Cf. FRASER 1977, 59.

Illustrations: ROESCH 1982, pl. X, 1 (close-up of the inscription) and X, 2 (photograph of the whole stele, fig. 3).

1<sup>st</sup> century BC or later.

Ἐλπίς·  
 ταύτην ἔθαψεν ἡ σύνο-  
 δος τῶν Ἀθηναίων

ROESCH does not commit to a precise date because of the «composite» nature of the palaeography (ROESCH 1982 p. 132). DITTENBERGER in Syll.<sup>3</sup> suggests a date in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, LGPN a date in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (LGPN III.B (1)), and KLOPPENBORG does not commit to a date. A date before the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC seems unlikely, and the unusual script may have belonged to the Imperial period.



Fig. 3: No. 4 (Archives P. Roesch – HiSoMA UMR 5189 – MOM, Lyon).

5. Skhimatari Museum, inventory no. 1569. Badly worn stele of beige marble. Its upper part has been re-worked and therefore the original shape of the stele cannot be determined. Underneath the inscription two flattened four-petalled rosettes of which only the central cross-shaped incision remain.

Dimensions: H: 79; W: 38.5; Th: 9.5.

New autopsy, squeeze (fig. 4).

ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΙΣ 1873, 403 (KAIBEL 1874, 430; LARFELD 1883, no. 508; CAUER 1883, no. 372; HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 74 no. 3); ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΙΣ 1874, 174 no. 77 (MEISTER 1880, no. 90, 77; LARFELD 1883, no. 536; MEISTER 1884, no. 961); IG VII 687 (SCHWYZER 1960, no. 463, 4; ROESCH 1982, 131 no. 12; KLOPPENBORG – ASCOUGH 2011, 285 no. [57]C; ASCOUGH – HARLAND – KLOPPENBORG 2012, 36 no. 31 C).

Cf. BAUNACK 1889, 425–6 (discussion of l. 4).

2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

Ἰππόμαχε  
χῆρε·  
οὔτον ἔθαψα[v] *vac.*  
4 τὸ συνθῦτη τὸ μάγισυ

Νικόμαχε | χαίρε· | οὔτον ἔθαψαν | τὸ Ἀθαναϊστή[ – ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΙΣ 1873; Ἰππόμαχε | χῆρε. | οὔτον ἔθαψαν. | ...υ;ν...αν – ΚΟΥΜΑΝΟΥΔΙΣ 1874; Ἰππόμαχε | χῆρε· | οὔτον ἔθαψαν | τὸ Ἀθαναϊστ[ή]. – Meister; ΠΙΠΟΜΑΧΕ | ΧΗΡΕ | ΟΥΤΟΝΕΘΑΨ//Ν | ΤΥΑΘΑΝΑΙΣΤΙ// Π//ΜΛ`ΙΕ – fac simile in IG VII.

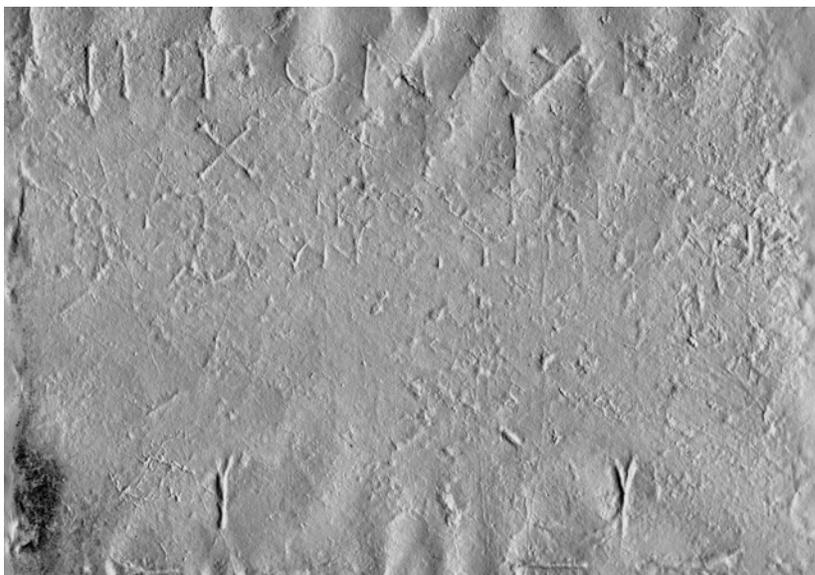


Fig. 4: No. 5.

6. Thebes Museum, inventory no. 32211. Rectangular stele of white marble with pediment and acroteria in relief. The letters of the last line are irregular and seem to have been engraved by a different hand. The stone was first seen by HERKENRATH in 1906 in the vicinity of the Prophitis Elias church located on a hill north of the village of Vathy near ancient Aulis. It was found again by FOSSEY in 1965 at the same place, but it had disappeared by his next visit in 1969. The stone was identified by SCHACHTER in 1975 at the Museum of Thebes.

Dimensions: H: 65; W: 33; Th: 10.

No new autopsy.

HERKENRATH 1906, 434 (HONDIUS 1950, no. 41; SCHWYZER 1960, no. 463, 3; PFOHL 1966, no. 19; SEG XXV 502); FOSSEY 1971, 242 (BE 1972, no. 185); SCHACHTER 1976, 251 (LLOYD-JONES 1977, 135; SEG XXVI 614; Teiresias Epigraphica E.77.80; cf. BE 1977, no. 214); ROESCH 1982, 123 no. 3 (Teiresias Epigraphica E.82.129; SEG XXXI 499; PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 287; KLOPPENBORG – ASCOUGH 2011, 288–90 no. [59]).

Cf. FRASER 1977, 149 n. 333 with addendum p. 170; SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. I s. v. Aristiastai [Aristaios, Ariste] (Tanagraia).

Illustrations: SCHACHTER 1976, pl. VI b (photograph); ROESCH 1982, pl. VIII, 1 (photograph, fig. 5).

2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

Εὐκλίδας ·  
οὔτον ἔθαψαν τὸ  
σουνθούτη τὸ Ἄριστ[ι]-  
4 αστή κῆ Ἄφροδισιαστ[ῆ]  
κῆ τὸ φαρατρίτη

L. 3: The differences between the various editions lie essentially in the letter restored at the end of the third line. The restoration of an iota is now secure thanks to a parallel provided by HIGGINS 1986, 57 fig. 55, an inscription already noted by SCHACHTER 1981–94, vol. III 35 n. 5. An eta – for the diphthong αι in the Boiotian dialect – was supplemented by LLOYD-JONES in an attempt to identify the association with a group worshipping Aristaios, the son of Apollo married to Autonoe, Kadmos' daughter, with whom he fathered Aktaion.<sup>82</sup>

L. 5: FOSSEY restores the kappa on the previous line.

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<sup>82</sup> LLOYD-JONES 1977. His interpretation was accepted by FRASER 1977, 170, addendum to n. 333.



Fig. 5: No. 6 (Archives P. Roesch – HiSoMA UMR 5189 – MOM, Lyon).

7. Skhimatari Museum, no known inventory number. According to ROESCH's description, the stone is a stele of local black limestone with raised band at the top. Two rosettes are placed underneath the inscription.

Dimensions: H: 65; W: 38; Th: 10.

No new autopsy.

ROESCH 1982, 166–7 no. 22 (SEG XXXII 487; BE 1983, no. 208; Teiresias Epigraphica E.82.49; ROLLER 1989, no. 89).

Second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (ROESCH).

ἐπὶ  
Σωσιλκεῖ · τοῦ-  
τον ἔθαψεν ἡ τάξι-  
4 ς τῶν φαρετριῶν

8. Skhimatari Museum, inventory no. 1956. Rectangular stele of local black limestone. Its upper part is marked out with a smooth band surrounding a picked rectangle. The top right corner is broken.

Dimensions: H: 57; W: 28; Th: 8.2.

ROESCH 1982, 125 no. 4 (SEG XXXII 486; BE 1983, no. 208).

Cf. FOSSEY 1991, 218 (typology).

Illustrations: Squeeze Roesch archive (fig. 6); FOSSEY 1991 pl. 65 (photograph).

No new autopsy.

First half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

Ζώπουρος ·  
οὗτον ἔθαψαν τὸ  
σιουνοῦτη



Fig. 6: No. 8 (Archives P. Roesch – HiSoMA UMR 5189 – MOM, Lyon).

9. Skhimatari Museum, inventory no. 209. Fragment of a stele of undetermined type carved in the local black limestone.

Dimensions: H: 33; W: 14.5; Th: 12.

New autopsy, squeeze (fig. 7).

HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 74 no. 5; IG VII 689; ROESCH 1982, 125–6 no. 5 (Teiresias Epigraphica E.82.85).

Cf. FRASER 1977, 59.

2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.

[ὁ δέϊνα ·]  
[τοῦτ]ον ἔθαψ-  
[αν οἱ] συνθύται

L. 1: The preposition ἐπί followed by the name of the deceased in the dative is also possible.

L. 2–3: [τοῦτ]ον ἔθα[ψαν] | [οἱ] συνθύται – HAUSSOULLIER; [τοῦτ]ον ἔθα|[ψαν οἱ σ]υνθύται|[ι] – IG VII; [τοῦτ]ον ἔθα|[ψαν οἱ σ]υνθύται – ROESCH. Traces of the psi are visible at the end of the second line. The variant spelling ἔθαψ[εν] is possible in the light of nos. 4 and 7.

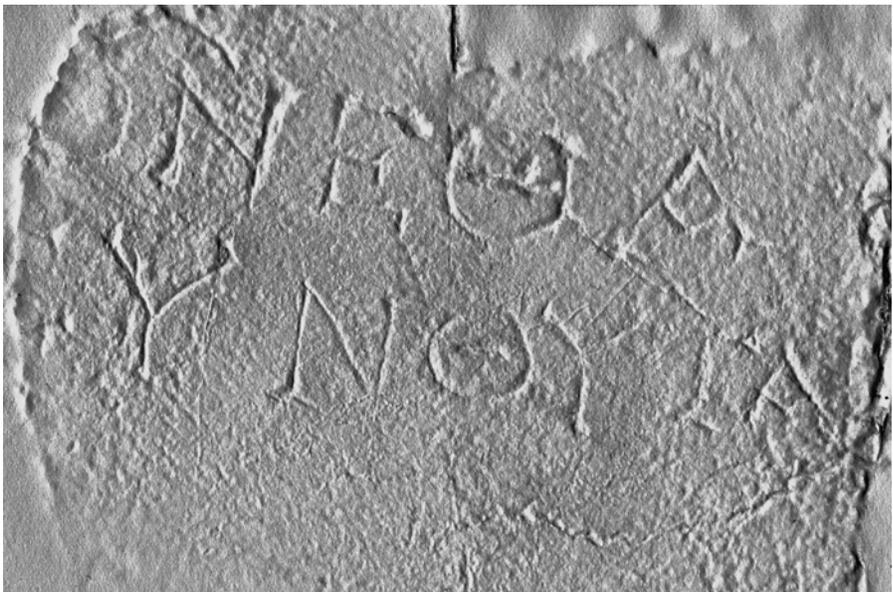


Fig. 7. No. 9.

10. Skhimatari Museum, inventory no. 1592. Fragment of a poros column found in the so-called necropolis of Bali.

No new autopsy; the stone could not be found at the Skhimatari Museum.

HAUSSOULLIER 1884, 30 n. 1; STROSZECK 2007, 199 (BE 2008, no. 251).

Illustration: STROSZECK 2007, 199 (fac-simile of LOLLING's notebook).

2<sup>nd</sup> century BC?

ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδάμῳ ·  
ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐπέθη-  
κα[ν ?] --- ΙΣΤ---

This stone is currently lost. It was seen in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by two scholars, B. HAUSSOULLIER and H. G. LOLLING.

L. 1: Both editors agree on the reading.

L. 2: The verb remains uncertain. HAUSSOULLIER suggested ἐποίησα[ν], while LOLLING transcribed ΕΤΕΘΗΚΑ, a reading similar to the one found in the old inventory of the museum – ΕΤΕΘΗ. STROSZECK in her edition of LOLLING's manuscript does not commit to a solution. D. ΚΝΟΕΠΦΛΕΡ (BE 2008, no. 251) restores the verb ἐπέθηκα[ν], which is reproduced here. His suggestion is not without problems: the name of the deceased is in the Boiotian dialect, whereas the rest of the inscription appears to be in the *koine*. With ἐπέθηκα[ν] a complement in the accusative, followed by the name of the association in the nominative, is expected, and both 19<sup>th</sup> century autopsies only record three lines and a couple of letters after the verb, and no fourth line. Besides, such a formula would be unique at Tanagra, although, as ΚΝΟΕΠΦΛΕΡ noted, it bears some resemblance to the funerary stele erected by the Νουμηνιασταὶ of Chalcis (IG XII 9, 1151). HAUSSOULLIER's autopsy of the stone led him to the conclusion that it had been re-used and that two distinct sets of inscriptions are to be identified: 1. ἐπὶ Ἀρχεδάμῳ · τοῦτον ἐποίησα (?) [sic] 2. ἐπὶ ΚΑ ---. A palimpsest could indeed explain the unusual formula, but the layout of the inscription does not seem to allow a link to the preposition ἐπὶ in the second line with the letters at the beginning of the following line.

L. 3: The letters ΙΣΑ were deciphered by LOLLING and HAUSSOULLIER, whereas the old catalogue of the Museum offers the reading ΙΣΤ. These letters might belong to a complement in the accusative, as one is needed after the verb. Such a formula would also imply that the name of the association which erected the monument appears in the nominative, perhaps in a fourth line, but neither LOLLING nor HAUSSOULLIER report letters in that area.

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