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Recent epigraphic research in central Greece: Euboea, Phokis & Lokris

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Map 5. Locations referred to in the text. © BSA. 1. Karystos; 2. Styra; 3. Zarex; 4. Amarynthos; 5. Eretria; 6. Chalcis; 7. Rovies; 8. Halai; 9. Histiaia; 10. Opous; 11. Abai; 12. Daphnous; 13. Panopeus/Phanoteus; 14. Elateia; 15. Boulis; 16. Naryka; 17. Ambryssos; 18. Tithorea; 19. Antikyra; 20. Cave of Pan, Mount Parnassos; 21. Anavra; 22. Delphi; 23. Erochos; 24. Amphissa; 25. Myania; 26. Physkeis; 27. Naupaktos.

Over the past ten years, the regions of Euboea, Phokis and Lokris have yielded epigraphic material that is not only abundant, but also very varied – whether viewed in chronological, thematic or archaeological terms.¹ All three regions have, for example, produced new manumission records, including the very first for the island of Euboea. The use of inscriptions has made crucial contributions to the identification of several Euboean sanctuaries, such as that of Apollo Selinaios, in the territory of Histiaia, that of Artemis Amarysia, near Amarynthos, and Apollo Delios at Zarex. The sanctuary located at the top of the acropolis of Eretria is now understood to be a sanctuary of Athena, thanks to an inscribed statuette of a lion.

The region of Phokis in particular has yielded very diverse epigraphy. Once again, inscriptions associated with sanctuaries stand out, with, for example, a dedication to Pan and the Nymphs from a cave on Mount Parnassos, inscriptions from the oracular sanctuary of Apollo at Abai and from two sanctuaries of Artemis at Antikyra. Scholars working on Roman Phokis will welcome the publication of several new inscriptions, particularly a document from Elateia mentioning an Aetolarch, an honorific inscription from Antikyra, which provides the first occurrence in central Greece for a *dekaprotos*, and, from Ambryssos, a statue base commemorating the emperor Gallienus. Remarkably, the texts of two recently published inscriptions from Panopeus/Phanoteus in Phokis and Opous, in eastern Lokris, had long been known to

¹ This article is meant as a follow-up to last year's piece in this journal, devoted to the epigraphy of the region of Boeotia (Marchand 2014). It has benefited from the generosity of several colleagues and institutions. I am deeply grateful to the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece and particularly to Karl Reber and Thierry Theurillat for providing seven illustrations for the Euboean section (figs 86–92), to Daniela

Summa (*Inscriptiones Graecae*) for providing the sketch by G. Klaffenbach (fig. 96), and to the French School at Athens and Denis Rousset for permission to publish the photograph of the manumission records from Physkeis (fig. 97). Denis Rousset also kindly shared his work on Panopeus/Phanoteus ahead of publication (Rousset *et al.* 2015).

us thanks to copies displayed at Delphi. Research in eastern Lokris will now be greatly facilitated by the recent publication of *IG IX 1², 5* by Daniela Summa. A bronze pedimental stele, which preserves the text of a letter from the emperor Hadrian to the people of Naryka, is one of the most outstanding finds from central Greece in the last decade.

Euboea

Following a rescue excavation, the site of the oracle of Apollo Selinountios (Str. 10.1.3), or rather, as revealed by new epigraphic evidence, Apollo Selinaios, was identified in 2001 at the foot of Mount Telethron, in the vicinity of modern Rovies, in the territory of ancient **Histiaia (ID3432)**. Besides remains of walls and Hellenistic pottery, the site has yielded two inscriptions. The first is a broken stele of white marble, dating to the Late Hellenistic period. It records the very first manumission act ever found in Euboea, with the dedication of a female slave to Apollo Selinaios. A college of *astynomoi* is also mentioned in the document (*SEG LVI 1030*). The other inscription is a fragmentary list of names dating to the first half of the fourth century BC (*SEG LVI 1029*). Another sanctuary – presumably of Herakles – located in the area of Neos Pyrgos has yielded an over-lifesize statue group from the first half of the sixth century BC, featuring Herakles and the Nemean lion, with a dedication by a man called Kylon engraved on the left side of the beast (*SEG LIX 1009*).

Excavations carried out in 2004 in the eastern cemetery of **Chalcis** brought to light a fourth-century BC boundary stone reading *Ὀρος ἱεροῦ* (*SEG LIX 976; ID3445*), reused in the wall of a later tomb. Additional boundary stones, also dating to the fourth century BC and bearing identical inscriptions, were uncovered near the acropolis (*SEG LIX 977–78*). Among the Hellenistic tombstones found in the eastern cemetery of Chalcis (**ID3445**), two belong to foreigners, a man from Arbela in Syria (*SEG LIX 980*) and another from Zone in Thrace (*SEG LIX 981*; see also *BE 2014: no. 243*, where Denis Knoepfler argues that they belonged to the Antigonid garrison stationed at Chalcis). Further epitaphs from Chalcis include that of the Maiotian Gelon (Hellenistic, *SEG LVI 1024*), an epitaph from the third or fourth century AD copied by Lolling at Kastella (*SEG LVII 824*) and an early fourth-century BC tombstone reused in the ancient cemetery at Pedio Volis (*SEG LIX 975; ID1026*). Two inscribed rings in copper alloy, from the fourth or fifth century AD, were found at Dokos (*SEG LV 976–77*). Finally, a black dipinto on the neck of an amphoriskos from the Late Hellenistic period (or later) entered the archaeological collection at Chalcis (*SEG LIX 983*).

An exhibition devoted to **Eretria** was organized in Athens and Basel between 2010 and 2011 as an early celebration of the 50th anniversary of work in Euboea undertaken by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece. The richly illustrated exhibition catalogue in French, German and Greek, produced for the occasion, offers photographs of many inscriptions (Martin Pruvot *et al.* 2010; with *SEG LX 961* for a discussion of the inscriptions).

86. Eretria, gymnasium: marble basin dedicated to Hermes and Herakles. © Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

Several fragmentary inscriptions associated with the gymnasium of Eretria were discussed in detail in 2009 by Knoepfler, who offers several re-editions of inscriptions with additional restorations, such as one concerning the honorary inscription for Theopompos (*SEG LIII 922*), dating to *ca.* 100 BC (*SEG LIX 985*), a possible Hesiodic monument from the Hellenistic period (*SEG LIII 925* with *SEG LIX 987*), the fragment *SEG LIII 924* (*SEG LIX 989*) and the dedication of a bench by two gymnasiarchs (late second century BC; *SEG LIX 988*). He also provides the *editio princeps* of a late second-century BC marble basin dedicated to Hermes and Herakles that may well originally have been erected in the gymnasium, in room D which is equipped with a mosaic and wash basins (**Fig. 86; SEG LIX 986**).

Substantial developments in scholarship on the Eretrian tribal system – and on two tribes in particular – have resulted from the discovery and publication of several inscriptions. A small epigraphical dossier pertaining to the tribe Narkittis has now been created thanks to several choregic inscriptions of which two, possibly from the late fourth century BC, were unpublished (Knoepfler 2010). The first is carved on a marble base for a bronze tripod, found reused in a Hellenistic house (*SEG* LX 965), while the second is a fragment of a rectangular base found on the acropolis (*SEG* LX 966). The other tribe (Admetis) is attested so far in only one document, a subscription dated to the first half of the third century BC involving a polemarch. The four joining fragments of the inscription were found in 2011 reused in the caldarium of the Roman baths (**Fig. 87**; Knoepfler and Ackermann 2012). Besides many demes, two tribes are recorded in this document: a tribe Demetrias – whose eponymous is Demetrios Poliorcetes and therefore implies a date after 304 BC – and the completely new tribe, the tribe Admetis, whose eponym, the hero Admetos, was closely linked with Apollo at Tamynai. The original provenance of the stele may be either the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros or the agora.

87. Eretria: subscription revealing the new tribe Admetis.
© Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

88. Eretria, Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros: Late Geometric graffito. © Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

Three important sanctuaries of the Eretriad have yielded varied and significant epigraphical material dated between the eighth century BC and the Late Roman period. Excavations carried out by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece in the *intra muros* **Sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros** have brought to light a series of 64 graffiti and two dipinti on vases and a spindle whorl from archaeological contexts securely dated between the Middle and the Late Geometric periods (*ca.* 800–700 BC; *SEG* LV 980). Twenty eight were extracted from pits containing large quantities of pottery and 13 from various fills, while seven were found inside buildings. Out of the 66 graffiti and dipinti, 23 are alphabetic and display the characteristic features of the Euboean alphabet such as the Chalcidian lambda (**Fig. 88**; *SEG* LV 980, 31). One remarkable piece features a segment of one of the earliest *abecedaria* of the Greek world, involving a ‘window sign’ – borrowed from the Phoenicians – previously attested only in Etruria (**Fig. 89**; *SEG* LV 980, 3). The occurrence of this letter in eighth-century BC Eretria will no doubt feed the debate on the transmission, by the Euboeans, of their alphabet to Etruria via their overseas settlements. One graffito is a Semitic inscription dated to *ca.* 800–750 BC.

Excavations carried out in 2006 in a cultic precinct located on the **acropolis of Eretria** brought to light, in the fill of one of the terraces, an inscribed Cypro-Ionian limestone statuette of a lion (**Fig. 90**; **ID447**). The late sixth-century BC retrograde inscription carved on the side of the statuette reads ἈθENAΪΕΣ (*SEG* LVII 828), and provides additional evidence for the identification of the site as a sanctuary of Athena.

89. Eretria, Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros: fragment of eighth-century BC abecedarium. © Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

90. Eretria, acropolis: Cypro-Ionian limestone statuette. © Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

Campaigns involving the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece and the Ephorate of Antiquities of Euboea (formerly the 11th EPCA) have been carried out since 2007 on a site east of the modern village of Amarnthos, identified with the elusive **Sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia (ID448, ID4225)**. Excavations have unearthed significant remains of the sanctuary. A poros wall belonging to a fourth-century BC building was excavated in 2007. Among the *ca.* 100 fragments of marble architectural blocks found in a layer covering the wall was an undated inscribed fragment bearing the three letters YNΘ, which suggest a potential connection with the local Artemis ἐν Ἀμαρύνθῳ. Another inscription was discovered in the course of the

91. Sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia: seventh-century BC bronze wheel. © Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

2013 campaign in the fill generated by the construction of a stoa. It belongs to the upper-left corner of a statue base, presumably commissioned around 100 BC, by the demos of Eretria for a benefactor (*BE* 2014: no. 232), and appears to confirm that the precinct was used to exhibit honorific monuments in the Late Hellenistic period. Some letters in epichoric script belonging to personal names – probably names of dedicants – were read on two artefacts: a seventh-century BC bronze wheel (**Fig. 91**) and an undated sherd of pottery. Some letters are also preserved on a glazed tile from the late fourth century BC (*Rapport sur les activités de l'École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce en 2014*: 45–46).

The corpus of Eretrian funerary inscriptions has also grown considerably. The epitaph of the philosopher Asklepiades of Phlious (*ca.* 270 BC) has attracted attention (*SEG* LV 979, *SEG* LX 972), as has that of the Neapolitan lyric poet Trebios (*ca.* 100 BC; *SEG* LVII 829). Following torrential rains in September 2009, rescue excavations carried out in the river bed – which was canalized by the Eretrians as early as the seventh century BC – and the western cemeteries uncovered 30 marble stelae dated between the fourth and the third centuries BC, of which 27 are inscribed (**Fig. 92**; **ID 1034**). Two additional epitaphs come from known archaeological contexts: the stele for a Timoklea, daughter of Euphiletos (**ID3464**; *SEG* LIX 992), dated to the third century AD, was found between the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros and the West Gate and *SEG* LIX 996 was discovered northeast of the theatre. Two undated epitaphs were found reused in a modern house (*SEG* LIX 993–94), while a third was brought to the museum by a shepherd (*SEG* LIX 995). A tomb has also yielded a painted *kalos* inscription on the rim of a fragmentary early fifth-century BC black-glazed aryballos (*SEG* LX 975).

A private collection from the islet of Agia Triada was seized in 2003 and transferred to the Museum of Eretria. It includes six tombstones (*SEG* LIX 1001–06) and a list of citizens providing the names of two Eretrian demes (*SEG* LIX 991).

92. Eretria: funerary stelae brought to light during the 2009 rains. © Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece.

An erotic inscription from **Styra** has recently been republished with a new interpretation of the meaning of the text (*SEG* LII 819, *SEG* LVII 833).

Several inscriptions have been brought to light in the region of **Karystos**. Two of them appear to be fragmentary fourth-century BC cult regulations. The first displays 14 preserved lines and deals with cult objects and animal parts (*SEG* LVI 1037), while the second, found in a terrace wall near Platanistos, offers ten hardly legible lines of text referring to a Pallas Athena (*SEG* LVII 831). Another fragmentary inscription dated to the second half of the fourth century BC, found in the vicinity of an ancient sacred building, regulates the leasing of land (public or sacred) to an individual; conditions include the burning of shrubs (*SEG* LVI 1038). New funerary inscriptions from Karystos include *SEG* LVI 1040 (*ca.* 300–250 BC) and Christian epitaphs dating to the fourth to sixth century AD (*SEG* LIX 1007–08).

Phokis

Scholarship on the epigraphy of **Delphi** has benefitted since 2012 from a major work offering the texts of over 300 inscriptions from *ca.* 600 BC to AD 1868 accompanied by very accessible French translations, even to non-native speakers of French (Jacquemin *et al.* 2012). While it is unfortunate that not a single illustration is provided in the book itself, the gallery of pictures made available on the website of the French School at Athens will delight researchers, students and teachers of epigraphy at all levels (<http://www.efa.gr/index.php/fr/publications/dernieres-publications/ressources-en-ligne/etudes-epigraphiques-5-galerie-d-images>).

Important excavations at **Zarex** (3km from the modern village of Zarakes) in 1997–1998 led to the discovery of remains of buildings dating from the late eighth century BC to the Roman Imperial period (*ID*2014). A bronze weight of the fourth century BC decorated with a ram's head and with Ἀπόλλωνος Δηλίου inscribed on it in pointillé allows the identification of the site with a Sanctuary of Apollo Delios, which played a role in the journey of the Hyperborean offerings to Delos (*SEG* LI 1128, *SEG* LVI 1042). Additional epigraphic findings include fragments of fourth-century BC black-glazed skyphoi with scratched letters IE – for ἱερός (*SEG* LI 1127) – on their base found outside a Classical building (building IV), a fragment of a fifth-century BC skyphos with the personal name Lysikleides scratched in the black glaze (Λυσικλέδης; *SEG* LVI 1041) and various other graffiti on sherds added before or after firing, dated between the seventh and fourth centuries BC (*SEG* LVIII 963). Five joining fragments of a much earlier pithos (mid seventh century BC), decorated with centaurs and hares, and bearing a potter's signature, were found in building II (**Fig. 93**; *SEG* LVIII 962).

93. Zarex, Sanctuary of Apollo Delios: pithos decorated with centaurs and hares, and underneath the signature of a potter. © Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs.

New epigraphic discoveries at Delphi include a sixth-century BC pithos, inscribed with a potter's signature before firing, which was discovered in 2001 south of the archaeological site (*SEG* LV 578). What may be a mason's instructions were also found carved in the rock south of the Kastalia fountain (*SEG* LV 579).

A dedication to Demeter and Kore, no doubt associated with the Sanctuary of Demeter at **Erochos**, has now been transferred to the Museum of Amphissa, after having been stored for decades in a private house. An inscription consisting of the names of three men in the nominative – probably an epitaph – is built into the wall of the same house (*SEG* LIX 549).

In 2011 a small bronze plaque with a dedication by a woman called Aristo to Pan and the Nymphs, inscribed in dots, was discovered in a cult cave on **Mount Parnassos**. Further archaeological remains from the cave include terracotta figurines and pots dated between the end of the sixth and the fourth centuries BC (Rousset 2012: 1679–80; Katsarou 2013).

Four manumission records dating to the reign of Trajan were found at **Tithorea**, engraved on two orthostats that may originally have supported offering tables but were eventually reused in a fifth-century AD basilica. These sacral manumissions describe the sale of slaves to the Sarapis of Tithorea and follow similar processes to those in use at Delphi (*BE* 2013: no. 210). A white marble milestone erected in the reign of the emperor Probus (AD 276–282), but found in the Church of Ioannis Theologos, offers a very rare glimpse of third-century AD Phokian epigraphy (Rousset 2012: 1682–84, no. 6).

At **Elateia**, an Attic red-figure cup by the Pithos Painter (510–500 BC), inscribed with an erotic pentameter verse in Phokian epichoric script, was found in 2004 in a tomb (*BE* 2013: no. 212). Two inscriptions dating from the Imperial period are published in a recent monograph dedicated to Hellenistic and Roman Elateia (Zachos 2013: pl. 68; *BE* 2014: no. 248). The first consists of another metric inscription, a distich in honour of a priest of Pallas. The Aetolarch ([A]ἰτωλάρχη---) mentioned in the other will no doubt feed discussions on the history of the Aetolian koinon and of Aetolian institutions in the Imperial period. In the same monograph, the material of a local lamp workshop is also published. Some readings of new stamps (personal names), all dated between the second and third centuries AD, are provided.

The DAI has been carrying out excavations at the Sanctuary of Apollo at **Abai** (modern Kalapodi) since 2005. A new piece of evidence for the identification of the site with the oracular sanctuary came to light in 2007 during the cleaning of the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin, west of the village, where a fragmentary statue base erected by the polis of Abai for the emperor Constantine was brought to light (**ID435**). A fragmentary dedication scratched on a vase after firing, dated *ca.* 480–460, was also found at the sanctuary (*SEG* LIX 551).

Three unpublished rock-cut inscriptions were found at **Panopeus/Phanoteus** in 1993 and 1998, between the upper city and the acropolis, near an opening in the fortification (Rousset *et al.* 2015). Two of them date to the Archaic period and may be part of an open-air sanctuary of the eponymous hero Phanotos. The first, from the late sixth century BC, describes a series of gifts by Phanotos to his daughter Boupyga in the form of animal parts, sacrificed to Athena Pronaia and Apollo Lykios. The text itself had been long known from a later copy displayed at Delphi, the well-known cippus of the Labyadai (*CID* I 9; Jacquemin *et al.* 2012: no. 30). The second inscription also belongs to the Archaic period, and records the incomplete dedication of a shield by the Phanoteans to Phanoteus. The third inscription is a Hellenistic dedication to Dionysos.

As for recent epigraphic discoveries pertaining to **Ambryssos**, a new dedication to Artemis and Prometheus dating to the third century BC has been deciphered on the base of a small column reused in the Church of Agios Panteleimon and Agia Paraskevi near Distomo (*SEG* LV 581). Knowledge of the Imperial epigraphy of Ambryssos has been enhanced thanks to a fragment of a statue base, found reused in a building near an early basilica at Distomo in 2002, bearing an honorary inscription for the emperor Gallienus dated to *ca.* AD 267. An undated base for a votive offering preserves four letters (*SEG* LIX 533). Eleven epitaphs have also been documented (*SEG* LIX 534–42).

Several inscriptions associated with two local sanctuaries of Artemis at **Antikyra**, Artemis Diktyнна and Artemis Eileithyia, have been published recently. For the former, a family monument from the second century AD, according to the *editio princeps*, set up in honour of two women, of which one was a former priestess of Artemis Diktyнна, was found in the Early Christian basilica of Antikyra in 1980, but was only

94. Antikyra: area of the Temple of Artemis Eileithyia.
© Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs.

published in 2014 in a monograph devoted to Antikyra (Sideris 2014: 122–24). Two new dedications to Artemis Eileithyia have also been brought to light. One is a fragmentary base from the third or second century BC found at Antikyra (Sideris 2014: 125) and the other is an undated rock-cut inscription from the area of the Temple of Artemis (**Fig. 94**; *SEG* LV 583). Further rupestral inscriptions were discovered in the same area, such as a heavily damaged text spread over two columns, whose purpose remains unclear. A personal name in the genitive and epithets of Artemis have been offered in the *editio princeps* (*SEG* LV 584). Although equally ravaged, another undated rock-cut inscription offers enough readable text to identify a manumission record (*SEG* LV 582).

Regarding institutions at Antikyra, a third-century AD honorific inscription on a limestone statue base found in 1980 in the course of the rescue excavation of an Early Christian basilica largely built from spolia, records over 16 lines the career of a local man and offers the first piece of evidence in central Greece for a *dekaprotos*, a magistracy so far primarily attested in Asia Minor (*BE* 2014: no. 249; Rousset 2012: 1673–74). Among other spolia from the basilica of interest to us are seven inscriptions, with the possible exception of the first all dating to the

Imperial period: one tombstone, three honorific inscriptions for citizens and three for emperors. Only one of them has been published so far: a statue base from the late second to early third century AD for a M. Ulpius Xenagoras, erected by his father (Sideris 2014: 136, n.262). New funerary material from Antikyra includes two undated epitaphs (*SEG* LIX 543–44) for which the archaeological context is not known. On the other hand, a third-century AD *defixio*, written on a lead tablet, was found in the course of excavations in a cemetery in 2001. Finally, a funerary stele with a Thracian rider in relief, bearing a Late Roman inscription celebrating a heroized deceased man, was found south of the acropolis of **Boulis**, and has now entered the archaeological collection of Distomo (**Fig. 95**; *SEG* LIX 545).

Eastern Lokris

Scholars working on eastern Lokris will be delighted by the richly illustrated recent volume in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* series by Daniela Summa (*IG* IX 1², 5: *Inscriptiones Locridis Orientalis*) published in 2011 and collating 268 entries, of which some *inedita* are discussed below (*BE* 2012: nos 209, 245). Sixty eight unpublished inscriptions come from Günther Klaffenbach's archive, and his sketches and transcriptions are generously provided in the plates (**Fig. 96**; *IG* IX 1², 5 1857). A convenient map is provided at the end of the volume, and Summa has compiled (1–25) invaluable *Fasti* for eastern Lokris.

95. Boulis: funerary stele with Thracian rider in relief. © Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs.

96. Sketch by Günther Klaffenbach of the epitaph IG IX 1², 5 1857.
© Inscriptiones Graecae.

One of the most remarkable new epigraphic documents for eastern Lokris – and probably for central Greece – originates from the small city of **Naryka** and dates to the very end of Hadrian's reign (IG IX 1², 5 2018; SEG LVI 565). The monument consists of the upper part of a cast bronze pedimental stele whose original height exceeded 1m. The ductus of the letters shows that the text was inscribed on wax before the monument was cast, and the bust of a bearded emperor was inserted into the pediment at some point in modern times. In his letter, which can be assigned to a date between January and July AD 138, Hadrian confirms to the people of Naryka that their city had achieved the status of polis. The text lists the reasons behind his decision – no doubt provided by the people of Naryka themselves in their plea to the emperor – such as the involvement of Naryka in the Amphictyony, the Boeotian koinon and the Panhellenion, and references to local institutions and heroes, as well as to Naryka in the work of Greek and Latin poets. It has important consequences for many aspects of our knowledge of second-century AD central Greece, including political institutions (see, for example, SEG LVI 504 for the implications of this document regarding the Boeotian koinon). The stele may have stood at Naryka next to the statue of an emperor – probably Hadrian himself (SEG III 425). Indeed, an inscribed statue base naming the emperor was found in a building identified as the Sebasteion.

One new manumission record from eastern Lokris has recently been published. It was found at **Anavra** and records the dedication of a female slave to Sarapis in the second century BC (IG IX 1², 5 2030).

At Agia Aikaterini (**Alope?**) a fragmentary list of 50 male names – perhaps a casualty list or a military catalogue – engraved in Lokrian epichoric script on three faces of a limestone pillar dateable to the first quarter of the fifth century BC was uncovered in the course of excavations (SEG LVI 563; IG IX 1², 5 2002). Three graffiti and a dipinto from the late sixth to early fifth century BC were found during the same campaign, within a pithos tomb (SEG LVI 564; IG IX 1², 5 2014–16).

At **Opous** (modern Atalanti), a mid fourth-century statue base dedicated to Zeus Patroos and Athena was found in an Early Christian basilica, where it was used as building material (IG IX 1², 5 1926). The *facsimile* by Klaffenbach of a now lost Amphiktyonic decree dated *ca.* 117 BC from Opous has also recently been published (IG IX 1², 5 1921). It is a copy of a well-known inscription from Delphi, belonging to the dossier related to wrongdoing in the administration of Apollo's properties (CID IV 119 H); the readings of lines 60–81 can now be improved (SEG LIX 543). The section dedicated to Opous in the new IG volume also reveals the upper part of a new ephebic list from the second century AD (IG IX 1², 5 1925).

Excavation of the Asklepieion of **Daphnous** at Agios Konstantinos in 2007 (BE 2014: no. 252) revealed several buildings, as well as an altar, an *eschara* and several pits. These contexts yielded material that allows the period of use of the sanctuary to be placed between the end of the sixth century BC and *ca.* 100 BC, when the temple was destroyed. Several graffiti on vases were retrieved, including a sherd with the four letters ΑΣΚΛΑ- (SEG LVIII 506) and another with -ΚΑΗΠΠΙΩ. Along with bronze snakes also discovered in the course of the same excavation, these confirm the identification of the site with an Asklepieion (Papakonstantinou 2012: figs 6β, 6γ, 7α, 7β; cf. IG IX 1², 5 2017).

Several cities have yielded funerary material. At **Halai**, for example, a retrograde epitaph from the second half of the sixth century BC was discovered (SEG LVIII 507; IG IX 1², 5 1873).

Western Lokris

At **Amphissa**, a Hellenistic inscription warns of 'immovability', either of a tombstone or of someone's property (SEG LVI 566). Nineteen tombstones from excavations carried out at Amphissa were published in 2011 (Rousset and Kolonia 2011; cf. BE 2012: no. 246). One of them, dating perhaps to the sixth century

BC, features the letter *san* for the first time in Lokris – perhaps an influence from neighbouring Phokis (Rousset and Kolonia 2011: no. 1). An epigram was engraved on a funerary monument from a polyandron dated to the third century BC. Among the possible historical contexts for such a monument, the *editio princeps* shows a preference for the Galatian invasions of 279 BC (Rousset and Kolonia 2011: no. 6). Three additional tombstones dated between the fifth century BC and the Imperial period, originating from **Myania**, are now kept at the Museum of Amphissa (Rousset and Kolonia 2011: no. 20–22).

Work at the Church of Agios Ioannis at Malandrino allowed several blocks bearing nine new manumissions records from **Physkeis** to be extracted (Fig. 97; SEG LVI 570–78). The documents all date to the mid second century BC, except for SEG LVI 575 which appears to be a couple of decades earlier. The records describe either a sacral manumission (fictive sale) to Athena Ilias, in whose sanctuary the documents were originally displayed, or the dedication of the slave to the goddess. A Hellenistic dedication to Zeus Agoraios and other gods, of unknown provenance (perhaps **Physkeis**), was copied by Paul Jamot in 1888, but published only recently (SEG LVI 579).

Finally, at **Naupaktos** a Christian inscription from the fifth century AD – a signature of a *presbyteros* – can be read in a mosaic decorating the pavement of a building which may have served a religious function.

97. *Physkeis*: manumission records. © EfA and Denis Rousset.

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