A Prosopographical Note on *Iolbia* 71 (Dubois *IGDolbia* 11)

Iolbia 71, found in the Olbia excavation in 1938 and first published by A. Beleckij,¹⁾ represents a fourth-century BC statue base of Zeus Soter inscribed with the names of priests and members of a *thiasos* listed in two columns.²⁾ The preserved measurements of the stone are 0.25 m in height, 0.34 m in width and 0.22 m in thickness. Despite serious damage to both ends of the block, the left column (A) allows a reliable restoration, naming seven sons of a certain Leokrates, ordered presumably according to seniority within the family. Unlike Column A, the patronymics of eight other persons listed in the right column (B) are badly damaged and thus either preserve just one or two initial letters or are entirely missing (Fig. 1).

The stone is currently on display in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in Kiev. Its inspection in the summer of 2006 has prompted some corrections to the previously proposed name restorations in Column B:

Text

Museum Inv. no. B5-237

		[Ζε]ὺς Σωτ[ήρ]
		[Ἰ]ερεῖς Εὐρησιβ[ίου]
	[Θι]ασίται	Λεωκράτης Π[ολυχάρμου?]
4	[Εὐ]ρησίβιος Λεωκράτεος	Ἡραγόρη[ς] Παρ[-----]
	[Πο]λυκράτης Λεωκράτεος	Ἀρρενείδης Ἀ[-----]
	[Πο]λυμήδης Ἀ[ε]ωκράτε[ο]ς	Εὐμένης Λεω[πρέπεος?]
	[Πολ]ύστρατος Λεωκράτεος	Εὐρησίβιος Ε[ὐμένεος?]
8	[Πολ]ύχαρμος Λεωκράτεος	Λεωπρέπης Εὐμ[ένεος]
	[Πολύδ]ημος Λεωκράτεος	Συρίσχος Ε[ὐμένεος?]
	[Πολυμέ]δων Λεωκράτε[ο]ς	[Πο]τ[ειδώνιος /-εἰδιππος? ----]

¹⁾ Beleckij 1955, 180-91 (with photo) [*Bull. ép.* 1959, 270; *SEG* 18.304]. The text was later re-published in *Iolbia* 71 (with photo) and Dubois *IGDolbia* 11. Cf. also comments by Jajlenko (1987, 51, no. 100) and Vinogradov (1981, 64 n. 98; 1989, 147-8).

²⁾ Whereas Beleckij (1955, 181) and Knipovič (1958, 165; 1966, 21) date the inscription to the third century BC, an earlier date, in the last third of the fourth century, is more likely. See *Iolbia* 71; Vinogradov 1989, 136 and n. 4; Dubois *IGDolbia* 11. At any rate, according to the lettering, *Iolbia* 71 should be roughly contemporary with or slightly earlier than the inscription *IOSPE* I², 25+31 (= *SEG* 32.794), which Vinogradov and Karyškovskij (Karyškovskij 1976, 214-5; Vinogradov & Karyškovskij 1982, 30; Vinogradov 1989, 153-63) place at around 325-320 BC.

Fig. 1. Inscription *IOlbia* 71

1 [Ἡρακλέο]υς Σωτ[ή]ρος Beleckij (commentary), [Θεο]ὺς Σωτ[ή]ρας] *Bull. ép.* 1959, 270, [Ζε]ὺς Σωτ[ή]ρ] *IOlbia* 11 2 [Ἰ]ερεῖς Εὐρησιβ[ιάδαι ?] Beleckij, [Ἰ]ερεῖς Εὐρησιβ[ιάδαι/-ίου] Dubois

Column A: 3 [καὶ θι]ασίται Beleckij 8 [Πολύ]χαρμος Beleckij 10 [Πολυμέδ]ων Λεωκράτ[εος] Beleckij

Column B: 3 Λεωκράτης Ἰ[πποκράτεος ?] Beleckij, Λεωκράτης Ἰ[- - -] Dubois 4 Πρα[ξαγόρεω] Beleckij 5 Ἀρρενείδης [- - - - -] Beleckij 6 Λεω[κράτεος] Beleckij 7 Εὐρησίβιος Ε[ὐρησιβίου ?] Beleckij 8 Εὐ[ρησιβίου?] Beleckij 9 Συρίσκ[ος - - - - -] Beleckij, Συρίσκος Ε[ὐρησιβίου?] Jajlenko, Συρίσκος Εὐ[ρησιβίου] Vinogradov

The arrangement of the first two lines with neat and accurately spaced lettering implies that the entire inscription must have had a roughly symmetrical design (see Fig. 2). In the light of this criterion, the traditional restoration, Εὐρησιβ[ιάδαι], at the end of l. 2 certainly appears too long, making room for an alternative variant, Εὐρησιβ[ίου], considered but rejected already by Beleckij.³⁾ By the same token, there is no space to restore the conjunction *καὶ* at the beginning of line 3.

³⁾ On rather vague grounds though. Beleckij 1955, 184: “due to the fact that the existence of priests of Heuresibios is very doubtful”; “(this) option would have been possible under the condition of existence in Olbia of a hitherto unknown local cult of some Heuresibios”.

Fig. 2. Inscription *IOlbia* 71. Drawing by V.F. Stolba

Column B: Seven of the eight names listed in this column read clearly. Their patronymics have been restored, but none of these restorations seems to withstand scrutiny. Πα[ξαγόρεω] in line 4, suggested for the father's name of Heragores, is problematic, as it is otherwise unattested in the northern Pontic area. Alternatively, one can point to Prasilas, which occurred in an early fourth-century BC graffito (Πρασιλάτος εἶμι) found at the Olbian rural site of Kozyrka 2,⁴⁾ or to recorded compound names starting with Praxi-.

Ἀρρενίδης in line 5 is an exceptionally rare name with a distinct Attic connotation. Apart from a single instance from Egypt,⁵⁾ it seems to be restricted exclusively to Athens, where four different persons of that name are attested in the fifth through the third century BC.⁶⁾ Given the chronology of the name, its appearance in Olbia does not seem accidental.⁷⁾ Along with archaeological evidence for trade, the city's

⁴⁾ Domanskij & Marčenko 1980, 35-6, fig. 12.a; Tochtas'ev 2000a, 124-5; *LGNP* IV, p. 289, s.v.

⁵⁾ In the form Ἀρρενίδης (*SEG* 8.573; third/second century BC).

⁶⁾ *LGNP* II. Arrheneides, son of Charikles (*PA* 2254), whose activity falls between the 350s and 320s, was a prominent figure in Athens. On Arrheneides and his career, see Davies 1971, 67-8, no. 2254; Wallbank 1983, 198; Hedrick 1989, 135. An Athenian archon of this name (in 262/1 BC; *PA* 2252; Manni 1975, 24) may be his descendant, as assumed already by Davies (1971, 68). The relation of these persons to a certain Arrhe[nei]des, who emerged in 442/1 BC among the *epistatai* of a statue of Athena (*IG* I³, 457.2; Develin 1989, 89) is uncertain.

⁷⁾ The physical presence of the Athenians in fourth/third-century BC Olbia is furthermore

close connections to Athens are documented by a proxeny decree for the Athenians Xanthippos, son of Aristophon, and Philopolis, son of Philopolis, issued in the 340s-330s BC.⁸⁾ No suggestions for the patronymic of Arrheneides have ever been made, yet the traces of a slanting stroke immediately following the name and possibly belonging to an *alpha*, a *lambda* or a *my* are clearly discernable on the stone.

In l. 8, the father's name for Leoprepes was tentatively restored as Εὐ[ρησιβίου] by Beleckij. A clearly discernable oblique stroke which follows an *upsilon* prompts, however, the reading Εὐμ[ένεος]. In view of the Greek practice of naming a child after the grandfather or providing him with at least an element of his grandfather's name,⁹⁾ Εὐμένης Λεω[—] in line 6 is perhaps Leoprepes' father (cf. the left column of the inscription, where the names of six of Leokrates' seven sons begin with Πολυ-,¹⁰⁾ the only exception being Εὐ[ρησιβίος Λεωκράτεος in line 3, which is explained by the wish to name the first born after the city's local hero and eponym of this religious association). A similar practice is also evident in connection with the family of Eumenes mentioned in column B: Εὐρησιβίος Ε[ὐμένεος?] in Col. B l. 7 is likely to be his first-born son.¹¹⁾ Accordingly, Leoprepes, Eumenes' second son, was the one to acquire his grandfather's name, which leads me to conjecture Eumenes' patronymic as Λεω[πρέπεος?] rather than the earlier proposed Λεω[κράτεος].

attested by two gravestones of Athenian citizens found in the city: Sosias, son of Kephalos, and Arkephon, son of Kephisodotos (*IOSPE* I², 232; *Iolbia* 98). In addition, the Olbian soil yielded two marble statue bases signed by the fourth-century Athenian sculptors Praxiteles and Stratonides (for other works by Attic artists from Olbia, see Farmakovskij 1914, 140-1; Trever 1914, 47-64, pls. 1-3; Waldhauer 1936, 32, no. 270; Vermeule 1977, 813 with n. 4). Notably, Stratonides' statue was commissioned by a certain Leokra[tes], who may possibly be identified with Leokrates P[- - -] (B l. 3) of our inscription. As argued, however, by W.M. Calder (1971, 326-8; cf. Vinogradov & Karyškovskij 1976, 26-7), the sculptors themselves apparently did not travel to the northern shore of the Euxine, and both statues should rather be considered imports. See already Levi 1965, 91. Cf., however, Marcadé 1957, 115; Knipovič 1966, 6.

⁸⁾ Levi 1958, 235-8; *Bull. ép.* 1960, 278; *Iolbia* 5; Dubois *IGDolbia* 21. Cf. Vinogradov 1990, 51-64 = Vinogradov 1997, 484-92. On Olbia's relationship to Athens, see Karyškovskij 1960, 57-100; Brašinskij 1961, 319-21; 1963, 140-6.

⁹⁾ On this tradition of name-giving, see Angermann 1893, 17-8; Bechtel & Fick 1894, xi-xii; Fränkel 1935, 1624; Habicht 1972, 110-3; Stolba 2005, 176 n. 83.

¹⁰⁾ Vinogradov's assertion (1989, 147 n. 44) that "for the first component in the names of the other six sons philoprogenitive Leokrates used his life motto—πολύ" is bizarre.

¹¹⁾ Also beyond these families, Heuresibios was an exceptionally popular name in Olbia from the late sixth century BC through the second century AD. From this city alone, *LGPV* IV lists 26 persons of this name, whereas it is virtually absent from the other Greek centres of the northern shore of the Black Sea.

Along with Heuresibios and Leoprepes, Syriskos in line 9 was probably another offspring of Eumenes, despite Vinogradov's attempt to reconstruct his father's name as Εύ[ρησιβίου].¹²⁾ As a patronymic of a certain Eumenes, the name Syriskos is attested by another inscription (*IOSPE* I², 201 II.26), which represents a diachronic list of local Olbian eponyms.¹³⁾ Given the great rarity of both names in the city, the combination of Συρίσκος Ε[ὐμένεος] and Εὐμένης Συρίσκου in two Olbian documents is striking, suggesting that they are members of the same family.¹⁴⁾

Both the position and lettering of the name Leokrates in line 3 point to its being added to the stone after the whole text had already been engraved, or perhaps at some later point (along with the shape of a *lambda*, an *epsilon*, and a *kappa*, the discrepancy is also evident in the overall height of letters). The first letter of his patronymic is likely to be a *pi* rather than an *iota*, which was conjectured by the *editor princeps* and accepted in subsequent publications of the text. This is apparent from the missing apex on top of the preserved vertical, thus giving grounds to view this Leokrates (II) as a grandson of Leokrates (I) of lines 4-10 of the document's left column and to conjecture his patronymic as, for example, Π[ολυχάρμου]. Such restoration would conform to the tentative identification of Leokrates II as a person whose name emerges on the base of Stratonides (Λεωκρά[της...⁸...]) ου),¹⁵⁾ fitting the estimated lacuna size¹⁶⁾ as well as the genitive ending -ου preserved on the stone (*IOlbia* 65).

Heuresibios and Polymedon of *IOlbia* 71, sons of Leokrates, can be positively identified as persons of the same name listed in *IOSPE* I², 201 I, lines 1 and 39 respectively.¹⁷⁾ Leokrates, son of Polymedon, and Eumenes, son of Syriskos, occurring in

¹²⁾ Vinogradov 1989, 136 n. 4, 148. Cf. also Dubois *IGDOLbia*, p. 25 (ad no. 11). A yet unpublished Olbian inscription of the early fourth century BC makes mention of a certain Heuresibios, son of Syriskos. See Beleckij 1975, 91; Vinogradov 1989, 135-6. Cf. Dubois *IGDOLbia* 9; *LGNP* IV, s.v. Συρίσκος (1).

¹³⁾ Vinogradov 1989, 220.

¹⁴⁾ In Olbia, the name Eumenes also seems to be restricted to the members of this family. A homonymous person occurring in an Olbian *defixio* of the second half of the fourth century BC (Tochtas'ev 2000b, 311-3, no. 4 [*SEG* 50.702 IV; *LGNP* IV, p. 133: Εὐμένης (7)]) may be the Eumenes of our inscription.

¹⁵⁾ See n. 7.

¹⁶⁾ See Calder 1971, 325-6 n. 11, who restores though Λεωκρά[της Εὐρησιβί]ου. Cf. also Vinogradov 1989, 150.

¹⁷⁾ In the second half of the fourth century BC, a certain Polymedon is mentioned in an ostrakon found in the Lower City of Olbia (Lejpunskaja & Rusjaeva 2006, 112-4; Rusjaeva 2010a, 503-4, no. S-15, pl. 378 = Rusjaeva 2010b, 168, no. 15, pls. 58.2 and 59.2). His relation to the family of Leokrates assumed by Rusjaeva is uncertain, though not impossible, given the date of the graffito scratched on a fragment of an Attic red-figured lekanis of the

IOSPE I², 201 I.62 and II. 26, are likely to be descendants of Polymedon and Syriskos of our inscription. The stemmata of these Olbian families are provided in Figure 3.

Testifying to the presence in the city of a cult of a local hero named Heuresibios and of an association of his priests,¹⁸⁾ *Iolbia* 71 offers, unfortunately, no conclusive answer to many other questions which arise in this connection. The text as such provides little clue as to when and by whom this cult and the association were founded. Also about the hero himself we know next to nothing. One might recall an early fourth-century BC graffito purchased in Olbia in 1900 (Tolstoj 1953, no. 44: Ἑρμέω Εὐρησιβίῳ) which Dubois (*IGDolbia* 12) regards as an asyndetic dedication to the god Hermes and the local hero Heuresibios. This is not, however, the only possible interpretation of the inscription.¹⁹⁾ Another epigraphic document from Olbia mentions a statue of certain Heuresibios erected by his son, yet here, too, his identity as the homonymous hero cannot be ascertained.

The heroizing of Heuresibios and establishment of his cult account for the striking popularity of his name in Olbia, where, in the fourth century BC through the second century AD, 26 (!) individuals named Heuresibios are attested.²⁰⁾ This figure is particularly arresting against the background of the complete absence of the name in other Greek cities of the Black Sea region, except for a single instance from Apollonia (fourth century BC).

Attempts to provide a conjectural historical framework for Heuresibios and the emergence of his cult were endeavoured by Vinogradov.²¹⁾ Following Beleckij's reading of l. 2 as Ἱερεῖς Εὐρησιβ[ιάδαι, i.e. priests from the family of Heuresibios, he ascended this clan to Heuresibios, son of Syriskos, mentioned in Dubois *IGDolbia* 9. According to his restoration and interpretation of an early fourth-century BC

Otchet Group (cf. *ARV*² 1496-8; Moore 1997, nos. 1095-100) and the rarity of this name in the region.

¹⁸⁾ A certain Sosias mentioned by *IOSPE* I², 32 B, 4 was another such local hero worshipped in the city. The name is very rare in the local onomastics and does not seem to appear on the entire northern shore of the Euxine until the Roman period. Whether this hero is identical to the Athenian Sosias, son of Kephalos (*IOSPE* I², 232), who died in Olbia in the late fifth or early fourth century BC, remains unknown. On the Greek religious associations in general, see Ziebarth 1896, 33-69; Poland 1909; Nielsen 1950, 111-2; Kloppenborg 1996, 16-30.

¹⁹⁾ Heuresibios of this graffito might, for example, be a founder of the cult of Hermes. Cf. Lajtar 2000, nos. 30-5; *EBGR* 2000, 281, no. 108: Διόνυσος Κάλωνος (interpretation by A. Chaniotis). Tolstoj's suggestion that this may be read as a name with a patronymic was rejected by Dubois, who rightly notes that the use of Hermes as a personal name is characteristic of a much later epoch. See Meyersahm 1891, 3-5, 11-3; Masson 1986, 128. Cf. Baumgart 1936, 47; Solin 1971, 108-9.

²⁰⁾ *LGN* IV, 135.

²¹⁾ Vinogradov 1989.

Fig. 3. Stemmata of the Leokrates and Eumenes families

epigram *SEG* 31.702 (= *CEG* 2.884),²²⁾ this Heuresibios allegedly liberated Olbia from a tyrant—a deed which must have secured him and his kin a prominent position in the city. Although Vinogradov's conjecture of the latter text is far from certain,²³⁾ his hypothesis about the Olbian tyranny cannot be dismissed so easily, as it is independently supported by the local numismatic testimony.²⁴⁾

Little specific can be deduced about the priesthood associated with the cult of this hero, apart from it appearing to have been the exclusive preserve of a corporate descent-group. As we could see, the majority of priests listed in *IOlbia* 71 are close relatives from at least two families, probably kin: those of Leokrates and Leoprepes. A shared component, Λεω-, of the names of these two persons

²²⁾ Vinogradov 1981; 1989, 142.

²³⁾ Lebedev 1996, 263-8.

²⁴⁾ Vinogradov 1981, 53-6; Stolba 2009, 29.

suggests that they might in fact be brothers, though this may also be purely accidental. Leokrates, if not a founder, must have also been closely related to the cult of Heuresibios, just like his sons, judging by the name of his first-born. His absence from the list of priests and *thiasitai* probably indicates that by the time of the dedication he was no longer alive. The argument might be stretched a little further to conclude that the priests whose names occur on the stone and who organised themselves in a *thiasos*²⁵⁾ may not have been priests διὰ βίου, i.e. for life. Priesthood as such rarely required a full-time dedication and might sometimes have allowed a combination of liturgical authority and some civic duties.²⁶⁾ It is therefore unlikely that all fifteen persons listed in *Iolbia* 71 were priests simultaneously, although boards of ἱερεῖς are not unknown.²⁷⁾ Presumably, in accordance with common Greek practice, they performed their duties individually, which is also suggested by the presence of an addendum in l. 3. The above prosopographical observations suggest their chronological listing, yet one cannot tell whether these priests were appointed annually or for a longer period, as the rules for such appointments varied across time and place.

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²⁵⁾ Less likely is the possibility that this association embraced a larger body of Heuresibios' worshippers, as then it becomes unclear why, out of the whole *thiasos*, only priests participated in the dedication of a statue to Zeus Soter. On the associations of priests, cf. *IG V* 2.266 (τὸ κοινὸν τᾶν ἱερειῶν τᾶς Δάματρος) and 269 (ἡ σύνοδος τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ), Mantinea.

²⁶⁾ Cf., e.g., Stengel 1890, 26.

²⁷⁾ Three priests of Dionysos Karpophoros are mentioned, for example, in an early second-century AD inscription from Histria (Avram & Marcu 1999, 71-7).

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Abbreviations

ASborGE	Archeologičeskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža. Leningrad/St Petersburg
EBGR	Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion, Kernos
IAK	Izvestija imperatorskoj Archeologičeskoi Komissii. St Petersburg
MASP	Materialy po archeologii Severnogo Pričernomor'ja. Odessa
RosA	Rossijskaja archeologija. Moskva
SCIVA	Studii și Cercetari de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Bucharest
ZOAO	Zapiski Odesskogo archeologičeskogo obščestva. Odessa