

Attic Inscriptions
in UK Collections
**National Galleries
of Scotland**

Peter Liddel and Polly Low

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PREFACE

The National Galleries of Scotland is one of two public collections in Scotland known to contain Attic inscriptions.¹ Both the inscriptions it holds derive from the collection of the Dowager Lady Ruthven of Winton Castle, which she bequeathed to the Gallery in her will of 1884. Both are funerary stelai. The earlier history of this collection can productively be compared with that of the major private Scottish collection of Attic inscriptions (that of Lord Elgin in Broomhall, discussed in [AIUK 8](#)) – not least because Lady Ruthven was related (by marriage) to the seventh Earl of Elgin.

We are very grateful, for their assistance in tracking down the whereabouts of these inscriptions and for granting us permission to study them, to Margaret Maitland (Senior Curator of the Ancient Mediterranean, National Museums Scotland), Aidan Weston-Lewis (Chief Curator and Head of the Print Room of the Scottish National Gallery), Holly Prentice (Store Manager of the National Galleries of Scotland) and Colin Lindsay (Art Movement Manager of the National Galleries of Scotland). We would particularly like to record our gratitude for the efforts that the staff at the National Galleries made to enable us to continue our research on these inscriptions in spite of the challenges caused by the Covid-19 lockdowns of 2020 and 2021. Papers relating to the collection history of these two inscriptions are held at the National Records of Scotland; we are indebted to the staff there for their guidance, and to Amalia Kakissis, Archivist of the British School at Athens, for her fruitful suggestions on further lines of archival research. We are grateful for discussion of the name Ἄφφειν (2) to Jaime Curbera, Chris de Lisle, David Langslow, Peter Oakes and Tim Parkin. Thanks are due to Hugh Griffiths for design of the cover. For their close attention to this paper we owe thanks to Chris de Lisle, Stephen Lambert, Angelos Matthaïou, Douglas Olson, Robert Pitt, P. J. Rhodes, and the two peer reviewers. We would also like to thank Irene Vagionakis for her help in preparing this volume.

¹ The National Museum of Scotland is the other Scottish public collection containing an Attic inscription (an ephobic list: NMS A.1956.368): this will be the subject of a future *AIUK* volume.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Ackermann: D. Ackermann, *Une microhistoire d'Athènes: le dème d'Aixônè dans l'Antiquité* (2018)
- Athenian Onomasticon*: S. Byrne, *Athenian Onomasticon*. Online: <http://www.seangb.org/> [accessed: 20/07/21]
- Baldwin Brown: G. Baldwin Brown, "Sepulchral Relief from Attica, at Winton Castle, Haddingtonshire", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 6, 1885, 16-18
- Beaumont 2012: L. A. Beaumont, *Childhood in Ancient Athens. Iconography and Social History*
- Beschi: L. Beschi, "Uno scavo del 1819 nel demo di Aixone (Glyphada). Nuove individuazioni", *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 30 (1975) A'. Μελέται [1978], 309-21
- Bubenik: V. Bubenik, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area* (1989)
- Catalogue*: *Catalogue, National Gallery of Scotland*, 51st edition (1951)
- Byrne 2003: S. Byrne, "Early Roman Athenians", in D. Jordan and J. Traill eds., *Lettered Attica. A Day of Attic Epigraphy. Actes du Symposium d'Athènes, Proceedings of the Athens Symposium, 8 mars / March 2000*, 1-20
- Cavalier: O. Cavalier, "Une stèle attique classique au Musée Calvet d'Avignon", *Revue du Louvre* 4, 1988, 285-93
- Collingridge: K. Collingridge, "'Hello Dolly'. Figurines as an Indicator of Gender in Child Graves", in C. Mattusch, A. Donohue, A. Brauer eds., *Common Ground. Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities: Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23-26, 2003* (2006), 486-87
- Conze: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 4 vols. (1890-1922)
- Curbera: J. Curbera, "Simple Names in Ionia", in R. Parker ed., *Personal Names in Anatolia, Proceedings of the British Academy* 191 (2013), 107-43
- Damsgaard-Madsen: A. Damsgaard-Madsen, "Attic Funeral Inscriptions. Their Use as Historical Sources and some Preliminary Results", in E. Christiansen, A. Damsgaard-Madsen, E. Hallager, eds., *Studies in Ancient History and Numismatics Presented to Rudi Thomsen* (1988), 55-68
- Diepolder: H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1931)
- Dillon: *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (2001)
- Dörig: J. Dörig, "Von griechischen Puppen", *Antike Kunst* 1, 1958, 41-52
- Golden: M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Ancient Greece* (1998)
- Gutschke: F. Gutschke, "Greek Terracotta Dolls: Between the Domestic and the Religious Sphere", in G. Papantoniou, D. Michaelides, M. Dikomitou-Eliadou eds., *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas* (2019), 215-22
- Hildebrandt: F. Hildebrandt, *Die attischen Namenstelen: Untersuchungen zu Stelen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (2006)
- IK Parion*: P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Parion. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 25 (1983)
- Lee: M. M. Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece* (2015)

- Marchiandi: D. Marchiandi, *I periboli funerari nell'Attica classica: lo specchio di una "borghesia"* (2011)
- Matthaiou: A. P. Matthaiou, "Αἰξωνικά", *HOPOS* 10-12, 1992-98, 133-69
- McWilliam: C. McWilliam, *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian (except Edinburgh)* (1978)
- Michaelis: A. T. F. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, translated by C. A. M. Fennell (1882)
- Michaelis 1884: A. T. F. Michaelis, "Ancient Marbles in Great Britain: Supplement I", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 5, 143-61
- Michaelis 1884-1885: A. T. F. Michaelis, "Notice of Ancient Marbles, &c., in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 19, 66-72
- Mitsopoulos-Leon 1997: V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, "Tonstatuetten im Heiligtum der Artemis von Brauron", in V. Petrakos ed., 'Επαινος Ιωάννου Κ. Παπαδημητρίου, 379-404
- Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009: V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, Βραυρών: *Die Tonstatuetten aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Brauronia: Die frühen Statuetten 7. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr.*
- Möbius: H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*, 2nd edition (1968)
- Muehsam: A. Muehsam, "Attic Grave Reliefs from the Roman Period", *Berytus* 10, 1952, 51-114
- NMS: National Museum of Scotland
- NRS: National Records of Scotland
- ODNB: Baldwin Brown, Gerard: D. T. Rice, revised by A. P. Baker, "Brown, Gerard Baldwin, (1849–1932)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online at <https://www.oxforddnb.com/> [accessed 08/07/19])
- ODNB: Murray, Alexander Stuart: A. Hughes and B. Cook, "Murray, Alexander Stuart (1841–1904), museum curator", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online at <https://www.oxforddnb.com/> [accessed 30/10/19])
- Osborne: R. J. Osborne, "The Potential Mobility of Human Populations", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 1991, 10, 231-52
- Perry: M. J. Perry, *Gender, Manumission and the Roman Freedwoman* (2014)
- Pologiorgi: M. I. Pologiorgi, "Παρατηρήσεις για την επανεπεξεργασία και την επαναχρησιμοποίηση αττικών επιτύμβιων στηλών", *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 54 (1999) Α'. Μελέται [2003], 173-214
- Reilly: J. Reilly, "Naked and Limbless. Learning about the Feminine Body in Ancient Athens", in A. O. Kolokowski-Ostrow and C. L. Lyons eds., *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*, 1997, 154-73
- Sale Catalogue: *Catalogue of an Interesting Collection of Ancient Greek and Other Coins and Medals, Egyptian and Greek Antiquities, etc (Removed from Winton Castle), the Property of the Late Dowager Lady Ruthven* (1885)
- Schmaltz and Salta: B. Schmaltz and M. Salta, "Zur Weiter- und Wiederverwendung attischer Grabreliefs klassischer Zeit", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 118, 2004, 49-203
- Schmidt: R. Schmidt, *Die Darstellung von Kinderspielzeug und Kinderspiel in der griechischen Kunst* (1977)

Smith: A. H. Smith, "Lord Elgin and his Collection", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 36, 1916, 163-372

Taylor: K. Taylor, *Ottoman Greece and Turkey: Travels with William Page and Lady Ruthven* (2017)

Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (1980-96)

Vermuele: C. C. Vermuele, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain", *American Journal of Archaeology* 59, 1955, 129-50

von Moock: D. W. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* (1998)

1. ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS IN THE NATIONAL GALLERIES OF SCOTLAND

The National Galleries of Scotland hold two Athenian grave stelai. These inscriptions were collected by Mary Hamilton Campbell, Lady Ruthven (1789-1885), together with her husband James, seventh Lord Ruthven of Freeland (1777-1853).

Little is known of the details of either Lord or Lady Ruthven's lives, and any attempt to reconstruct their motivations in collecting antiquities therefore relies on a certain amount of inference and guesswork; the same applies to the reconstruction of the history of their collection. Lord Ruthven's early adulthood was spent in the army; he served in the 90th Regiment of Foot until 1807, reaching the rank of Major.² He married Mary Campbell in 1813, and they set off on a European tour a few years later. (In a letter sent from Paris in July 1823, Lord Ruthven says that he has been travelling for "six years and a half"; it therefore seems likely that they left Scotland in late 1816.) They were in Venice in early 1817, intending to travel from there to Rome;³ they had reached Athens by 1818. By this point – and perhaps earlier – their party also included Lady Ruthven's brother William Hamilton Campbell and the artist William Page.⁴

In Athens, the Ruthvens made contact with other British (and British-linked) collectors and travellers. Lady Ruthven took art lessons from Lusieri (Lord Elgin's agent in Athens);⁵ according to another British visitor, "the visit of Lord Ruthven, and that of his accomplished lady to Athens, will ever be remembered with grateful satisfaction by the surviving inhabitants of that since unfortunate place".⁶ The Ruthvens initially stayed in the Capuchin monastery in the centre of Athens, but in 1819 they moved to Cape Zoster, near Vouliagmeni.⁷ Here, they conducted some excavations,⁸ which reportedly produced the first of the grave stelai discussed in this paper (1).⁹ The findspot of the second stele (2) is

² C. D. Waterston & A. Macmillan Shearer *Former Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (1783-1802), Biographical Index, Part Two* (2002), p. 814.

³ NRS GD26/13/897: Letter from Lord Ruthven to David, Earl of Leven, Venice, 6th January 1817.

⁴ William Hamilton Campbell travelled further east to Constantinople, but died on his return journey in 1821: Taylor, 10.

⁵ Taylor, 10; Smith, 286.

⁶ W. Kinnard, in Stuart and Revett *Antiquities of Athens*, 2nd edition (1827), Vol. III, p. 67, n.1. Kinnard also reports that Lady Hamilton's companion and attendant, Elizabeth Cumming, had died in Athens in 1818, and was buried in the Hephaisteion (alongside Benjamin Gott, for whose collection of inscriptions see [AIUK 6 \(Leeds\)](#)).

⁷ Taylor, 11; Baldwin Brown, 17.

⁸ In the same year, more formal archaeological explorations commenced to the north of Cape Zoster somewhere between Cape Aghia or Pounta and the then-existing church of Ag. Nikolaos, in the area of modern Glyphada (the territory of the deme Aixone); this was a collaborative effort involving French (under Fauvel, their vice-consul at Athens), Dutch and Austrian participants (for detailed discussion of these excavations and their results, see Beschi; Matthaiou, 157-60; Ackermann, 44-68). We have found no evidence that the Ruthvens were part of this enterprise, but it is not impossible that their activities were inspired by these neighbouring explorations (this is implied by Beschi, 315); Fauvel's notes show that he was aware of the presence of burial sites in the area around Cape Zoster, and believed that this could be a productive area for excavation (Beschi, 310-15; Ackermann, 50).

⁹ Lady Ruthven's will (dated 5th April 1884, and quoted in the Minute Books of the National Gallery of Scotland, 14th May 1885: NRS NG1/1/48) describes 1 as follows: "a Bas Relief of a girl

less certain, but it is also reported to have been found “near Athens”,¹⁰ and it is safe to assume that it was acquired in this same period. Clairmont’s claim that the inscription was collected in or close to Vouliagmeni (*CAT* 2.374c) is speculative: none of the contemporary accounts of its discovery say that it was found in the same place as **1**, and it seems equally plausible that the Ruthvens acquired it elsewhere in Attica.¹¹

The Ruthvens left Greece for Naples in 1820. By the summer of 1823, they were in Paris, where Lady Ruthven’s illness forced them to pause their journey home. (A letter from Lord Ruthven expresses his frustration at the delay, noting that Paris “disappoints me in many respects”, and that the ballet was no compensation for another missed shooting season.)¹² It seems likely that the Ruthvens returned to the United Kingdom later that year, and there is no record of them travelling to Continental Europe again.

At some point, the two stelai which the Ruthvens had acquired in Athens, together with an extensive collection of pottery and other artefacts,¹³ must have been shipped to

standing with an Image in her Hand (many like this image in Terra Cotta have been found in Greece). The Girl has the name of ‘Aristomache’ above. It was found in a tumulus twelve miles from Athens and is of Pentelican Marble.” The *Edinburgh Evening News* (July 23rd, 1885, p. 3), reporting on the bequest, says that the stele was found in a “sandbank near Athens”; the source of this claim is unclear but is not incompatible with a discovery near Cape Zoster. Baldwin Brown, 17 gives this account of its discovery (presumably drawing on information given to him by Lady Ruthven): “Shortly before the breaking out of the Greek revolution in 1821, Lord and Lady Ruthven spent a year in Athens, and acquired the use of some land containing ancient burial places near Cape Zoster, a few miles from the city. Here the relief of Aristomache was discovered a few feet below the surface of the ground”.

¹⁰ Lady Ruthven’s will (dated 5th April 1884, and quoted in the Minute Books of the National Gallery of Scotland, 14th May 1885: NRS NG1/1/48) describes it as: “a Greek Bas Relief of a marriage also found near Athens though evidently of a later time and very inferior to the other”.

¹¹ In the Classical period, we would expect an inscription with the demotic of Melite to derive from central Athens or Piraeus. Damsgaard-Madsen, 57 and 65 (with Table 1) observes that monuments for individuals from city demes with known findspots are typically found either in the urban centre or in Piraeus, but rarely elsewhere. Osborne’s study of findspots of funerary monuments for individuals from the city deme Kerameis reveals a similar picture: 62% are located in or close to the deme; the majority of the remaining 38% are from the area of Piraeus (Osborne, 241). However, the connection between deme affiliation and residence is less strong by the Roman period.

¹² NRS GD26/13/987: Letter from Lord Ruthven to John Melville, Paris, 11th July 1823.

¹³ This collection included ca. 170 white-ground lekythoi (perhaps also a product of the Ruthvens’ “excavations”?), as well as other ceramics, terracottas, bronzes and coins, but appears never to have attracted sustained scholarly attention: an outline list was produced of the items (the bulk of the Ruthvens’ collection) donated to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in 1884 (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 18 (1883-1884), 170-76), but the only objects in this bequest which are described in detail are two black-figure vessels singled out for comment by Michaelis in his note on the donation (Michaelis 1884-1885; the items he mentions are NMS A.1956.431, an oinochoe depicting Herakles and the abduction of Deianeira, and NMS A.1956.432, an oinochoe depicting an Amazonomachy). Over time, the Ruthvens’ bequest appears to have been assimilated into the general holdings of the Society of Antiquaries and its successor organisations (on which, see below n. 26), and its origins have become obscured (for example, the Ruthvens are not mentioned in the brief history of the National Museum’s collection of Greek vases in the relevant volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (*Great Britain* Fasc. 16 (*Edinburgh*), pp. 8-9). A

Britain. The details of this process are obscure, although Lord Ruthven's letters do reveal that he was in contact with Lord Elgin in 1820;¹⁴ one possibility, therefore, is that the Ruthvens drew on Elgin's expertise and contacts to arrange the transport of their collection. We also have no information about the immediate destination of the collection after its arrival in the United Kingdom. It is possible that it was sent to Freeland House in Perthshire, Lord Ruthven's ancestral home; it is recorded that "radical reconstruction" of the house was undertaken in 1825 and 1826, although there is no evidence that Lord Ruthven (unlike other contemporary collectors) took any steps to create in his house a gallery or other display space for his and Lady Ruthven's collection of antiquities.¹⁵

The Ruthvens had no children, and on Lord Ruthven's death in July 1853 Freeland House passed to his sister.¹⁶ Lady Ruthven moved to Winton Castle in East Lothian, a house embellished in the style of the Scottish Renaissance,¹⁷ whose estate she had inherited in 1846. It seems likely that the Ruthvens' collection of antiquities had moved to Winton by 1853, if not earlier.¹⁸ The first secure attestation of the presence of the stelai at Winton (and the first evidence of scholarly interest in the inscriptions) comes in 1882. In that year, Michaelis' study of *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* offered texts and descriptions of **1** and **2** on the basis of "two drawings by Miss Agnes C. Imlach communicated to Mr Conze" (Michaelis, xxvi) and a letter "sent to Prof. Conze by Mr A. S. Murray" (Michaelis, 721).¹⁹ **1** was published more fully in 1885 by the art historian and holder of the Chair of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh, Gerard Baldwin Brown (1849-1932), who had visited the collection at Winton before Lady Ruthven's death in

comprehensive reconstruction of the Ruthvens' collection might be a productive exercise, though it is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁴ NRS GD26/13/987: Letter from Lord Ruthven to David, Earl of Leven, Naples, 20th June 1820 ("The Elgins are talking of leaving this way soon, but not quite determinedly yet"). Lady Ruthven was a cousin of Mary Nisbet, the wife of Lord Elgin.

¹⁵ On the building and design of Freeland House, see the online *Dictionary of Scottish Architects*: http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/building_full.php?id=200221. We might contrast the efforts made to house and display the ancient marbles at Chatsworth (see [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\)](#), 1-3), Appuldurcombe (see [AIUK 9 \(Brocklesby Park\)](#), 5-6), Lyme (see [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#), 2-4); to a lesser extent Broomhall (see [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#), 2) and Brocklesby (see [AIUK 9 \(Brocklesby Park\)](#), 8-9).

¹⁶ "Fashionable World", *Morning Post* (London), 30th July 1853.

¹⁷ See McWilliam, 472-74, describing it as "one of the finest houses of the Anglo-Scots Renaissance" (472).

¹⁸ On the collection at Winton, see <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1240870>. Winton Castle is currently the family home of Sir Francis and Lady Ogilvy; the house and its estate are available for hire, but not otherwise open to the public.

¹⁹ Agnes Imlach (1848-1916) was a Scottish artist, known particularly for portraits, but who also produced copies of artworks for members of the Scottish aristocracy (cf. NRS GD233/99/18/8, an exchange of letters between the 12th Earl Dundonald and the 10th Earl of Elgin, dating to 1890-91, arranging for Imlach to make copies of some works in Elgin's possession). "Mr A. S. Murray" is most likely Alexander Stuart Murray (1841-1904), Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum from 1886 to 1904, and author of (among many other works) *A History of Greek Sculpture* (ODNB: Murray, Alexander Stuart).

that year.²⁰ Baldwin Brown (16) mentioned a second “sepulchral relief” which he described as “small and of poor workmanship”: this was probably 2.

Baldwin Brown reported that when he saw the stele of Aristomache at Winton it was still in the “wooden case, with the corners filled in with packing of Attic moss” in which it had been shipped from Piraeus, although his account of the stele also implies that it was intended to be visible to visitors: he says that it was “placed in the hall” at Winton.²¹ However the antiquities were displayed, they seem to have made an impact; the *Scotsman*’s obituary of Lady Ruthven claimed that the collection “attracted the attention of all visitors to that interesting mansion” (i.e. Winton).²² The same article hails the Ruthvens as trail-blazers in classical collecting: “this [their collection] was all the more noteworthy as having been made at a time when but few persons took an interest in such pursuits, and ground had scarcely been broken in the rich field of research which has since been so industriously investigated by collectors of all nations”.

As we have already noted, the exiguous state of the evidence relating to either Lord or Lady Ruthven makes it hard to assess how they themselves saw (or wished others to see) their activities as collectors or connoisseurs of antiquities, although it seems fair to say that their extant writings give an impression of enthusiasm rather than expertise. In a letter to his cousin David, Earl of Leven (1785-1860), sent from Naples in 1820, Lord Ruthven mentions another English traveller’s collection of Greek coins, and adds: “I hope that you have not lost your taste for that sort of amusement and that we shall [have] some scrubbing [sic] together at each others’ collections”. His letters do not ignore cultural activities (he writes at some length about the architectural interest of Venice, for example), but he seems to have been as much interested in the social side of travelling and collecting as in its historical or archaeological aspects. Lady Ruthven’s aesthetic sensibilities were perhaps rather better developed than those of her husband, and her obituary in the *Scotsman* remarked that she had “enjoyed the advantages of an excellent education” (see n. 22). Lusieri (who was himself a highly accomplished artist) was complimentary about her skill at drawing,²³ and Baldwin Brown describes her as “an excellent artist in water colours in the bold and masculine style of “Grecian” Williams” (cf. [Fig. 1](#), depicting the “Theseion”, now known as the Hephaisteion, beside the Agora).²⁴ The description of her collection which she included in her will not only demonstrates the breadth of her interests (which encompassed modern as well as ancient art and sculpture), but also conveys a

²⁰ See *ODNB*: Baldwin Brown, Gerard.

²¹ Baldwin Brown, 17. We cannot be certain that the packaging of the stele was, as Baldwin Brown suggested, the original from Athens (it would have been at least 65 years old at that point). Notes provided to us by the National Gallery of Scotland state that the stele was displayed “in the entrance hall” of Winton Castle.

²² “The late Lady Ruthven”, *The Scotsman* Tuesday April 7th 1885, p. 5, col. 2. McWilliam, 473, notes neoclassical aspects of the interior of Winton.

²³ Smith, 286 quotes a letter from Lusieri to Elgin, in which Lusieri reports that “the Lady draws like an artist”. Lady Ruthven’s copies of some of Lusieri’s drawings of Athenian monuments were included in her bequest to the National Gallery of Scotland (see n. 27 below).

²⁴ Baldwin-Brown, 18. “Grecian” Williams was the nickname of Hugh William Williams (1773-1829), who travelled to Greece and Italy in 1816-18 and published a series of watercolours of Greece (*Select Views in Greece*) in the 1820s.

sense of her personal connection with many of the objects described, particularly through the detail in which their collection or acquisition is recounted. A similar picture emerges from Baldwin Brown's account of his conversation with Lady Ruthven about her time in Athens: "she still loved to talk about the beautiful scenes of Greece whither – with the enthusiasm of youth still unquenched – she would fain again have turned her feet".²⁵ Her description in her will of the relief on **2** as "depicting a marriage" (see n. 10 above) hints at a lack of familiarity with the iconography of Greek funerary sculpture, but such confusion is perhaps fairly understandable at this stage of the development of the study of the subject (we might note that the curators of the National Gallery of Scotland were initially also happy to accept this description: see n. 41).

The bulk of the Ruthvens' collection was donated to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in February 1884, and became part of the collections of the Museum of National Antiquities of Scotland.²⁶ Most of the remaining items (including **1** and **2**) were bequeathed to the National Gallery of Scotland in Lady Ruthven's will, and were transferred into the Gallery's collection very shortly after her death in April 1885.²⁷ The inscriptions were put on display in the Gallery in the summer of 1885,²⁸ and seem to have formed a valued part of its collections; the Gallery's curator wrote to the editors of a number of Edinburgh newspapers in July 1885, inviting (in fact, instructing) them to send

²⁵ Baldwin Brown, 18.

²⁶ On the scale of this bequest, see n. 13 above. The Museum of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, which was established in 1780, had been transferred to the government and named the Museum of National Antiquities in 1858; the focus of this Museum, however, was very much on items relating to or illustrating the history of Scotland (its 1892 *Catalogue*, for example, includes non-Scottish items, including some objects from the Ruthven collection, only as comparanda to Scottish material). In 1921, the Classical vases in the Museum's collection were sent on long-term loan to the Royal Scottish Museum; in 1951, the loan became a formal transfer. (This took some time to process, with the result that items deriving from this transfer have an accession date of 1956 in the NMS catalogues.) In 1985, the Royal Scottish Museum merged organisationally with the National Museum, and in 2006 the two museums formally merged as the National Museum of Scotland. As far as we are aware, all of the items which the Ruthvens bequeathed to the Society of Antiquaries in 1884 are still in the National Museum's collections, although (largely as a consequence of this complex history), they are not straightforwardly identifiable in the Museum's catalogue.

²⁷ Michaelis 1884-1885, 72. The executors wrote to the National Gallery on 17th April 1885 to request that the items be collected from Winton as soon as possible; this was done on 18th April 1885 (NRS NG1/3/38). The remaining parts of Lady Ruthven's collection were sold at auction in December 1885: the sale included some antiquities (principally Greek and Roman coins, but also some Greek pottery, Egyptian statuary, and two marble sarcophagi) as well as other souvenirs of the Ruthvens' travels (some Albanian pistols and knives; "six pairs of Albanian shoes": *Sale Catalogue*, s.v. "Miscellaneous").

²⁸ Report of the Committee of the National Gallery, 9th July 1885 (NRS NG1/1/48). Both of the inscriptions are reported to have been placed "in suitable positions in the Gallery", along with a third piece of Greek sculpture donated by Lady Ruthven (a bas-relief depicting the head of a faun, which she reported had been "given me by Canova because he said it was the only Greek work he had": National Gallery, Minutes of meeting of 14th May 1885 (NRS NG1/1/48); the item is still in the National Galleries' collection: NG 688).

reporters to view the new acquisitions.²⁹ The inscriptions remained on display until 1946, when, in response to increasing pressure on space in the Gallery, they were sent (along with “a number of classical, medieval and oriental works”) on long-term loan to the Royal Scottish Museum (now the National Museum of Scotland).³⁰ They were returned to the National Gallery in 1988, and were again put on display until 2010, at which point they were transferred to the stores.³¹



Fig. 1. Mary Hamilton Campbell, “Temple of Theseus”. National Galleries Scotland (Lady Ruthven Bequest), D NG 712. (CC BY-NC 2.0.)

²⁹ NRS NG1/3/38. Complimentary reports of the new displays were carried in, *inter alia*, the *Edinburgh Evening News*, 23rd July 1885; *The Scotsman*, 25th July 1885.

³⁰ *Catalogue* 9, 314.

³¹ Aidan Weston-Lewis per. e.litt.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1 GRAVE STELE OF ARISTOMACHE. Edinburgh, National Gallery 686. Found near Cape Zoster (cf. [sect. 1](#)). A tall stele of off-white (Pentelic?) marble representing a young woman; damaged at the lower left and upper right corners but otherwise complete. The stele is crowned by an anthemion with central and lateral palmettes consisting of acanthus plants; traces of painted egg-and-dart decoration are visible at the base of the anthemion. Beneath this, carved in three-quarter relief, stands a female figure between pilasters; her left leg and the back of her himation intrude into the right-hand frame. Her head is slightly inclined; she places her weight on her right leg, with left leg bent at the knee. Her hair is rolled around her head and forms a plait which falls onto her neck. She wears a chiton, which is draped over with a himation; she wears slippers; her hair is bound with a fillet. Her left hand is lifting her chiton; in her right hand she holds a small seated figurine which appears to be draped; she gazes at it. H. 1.632, w. 0.438, th. 0.08. The inscription is written along the architrave; lettering is neat and widely-spaced, with plain letter-forms, generally square, although the mu and sigma have markedly sloping outer strokes. L. h.: 0.013.

Eds. Michaelis xxvi, 721; Baldwin Brown (ph.); *IG II* 3497; Conze 817 (drawing); *IG II*² 10783.

Cf. Michaelis, 1884, 161; Diepolder p. 43 (ph.); Moebius p. 30 (ph.); Vermeule, 135; Cavalier, 286-87 (ph.); Clairmont *CAT I* 1.367 (ph.). Autopsy Low 2021. In store. [Figs. 2, 3](#).

ca. 375-350 BC Ἀριστομάχη

Aristomache

In the field of funerary sculpture, it is exclusively females who are represented as holding figurines;³² typically they are held by the deceased, though on occasion they might be held by a servant (e.g. Clairmont, *CAT* 2.204 (no inscription)) or handed from an adult to a child (e.g. Clairmont, *CAT* 1.711 (= *IG I*³ 1326)). The general consensus is that these depictions do not represent these figures as playthings reflecting the carefree activities of childhood (in other words, “dolls”) but rather that they make visual reference to the terracotta votive figurines that were so important in the worship of the deities (such as Artemis) who were believed to be significant in the development of young females.³³ In other words, they represent the piety of the female and her *oikos* and the attention they

³² Similarly, terracotta figurines are found only in female graves (of girls/young women): see Collingridge; Beaumont, 2012, 36, 131-32; for a comprehensive treatment of terracotta statuettes at Brauron to the end of the fifth century BC, see Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009; for a broad overview of the practice, see Mitsopoulos-Leon 1997.

³³ Collingridge; Reilly; Beaumont 2012, 81, 129-31. *Greek Anthology* 6.280-86 mourns the death of Timareta, who had made dedications including statues of *korai* to Artemis as she prepared to leave childhood behind, but passed away before she completed the transition.

paid to normative social conduct. It is generally agreed that the depiction of a female holding a figurine is an indication that the deceased had died unmarried, given that terracotta figurines were dedicated to Artemis at the time of marriage.³⁴ Indeed, the specific style of figurine held by Aristomache – a seated female – is very well-attested at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron from the fifth century onwards.³⁵ However, it is unclear whether the representation of these figurines in funerary sculpture says anything firm about the readiness of the commemorated female for marriage at the time of death:³⁶ dolls are held by (female) children, adolescent females and young women in Athenian funerary art.³⁷

It seems likely, therefore, that Aristomache, depicted here as a young woman (note, for instance, her youthful hairstyle: cf. [AIUK 4.6 \(BM, Funerary\) no. 22](#)),³⁸ died unmarried. Her face is smooth and youthful. Her attire does not pick out the shape of her body, indicative of the modesty with which she is represented (compare Clairmont, *CAT* 0.722 (= *IG* II² 17271a) for a portrayal of a young woman with similar hairstyle and clothing, albeit less clearly delineated). Aristomache's left hand is concealed beneath her clothing and perhaps picks up her chiton, giving an impression of motion which adds vibrancy to the portrayal; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.430 offers a near parallel for this gesture, but on that example the outline of the hand is visible. Slippers or soft boots are particularly feminine forms of attire, and may also carry implications of luxury (or, in this context, wealth).³⁹

Ἀριστομάχη is a very common name, with 49 individual examples (including this one) attested in the *Athenian Onomasticon*, most of them dating to the fourth century BC, and most (although not all) associated with Athenian citizen women. (The name is attested, but rare, outside Athens: *LGPN* records eight non-Athenian Aristomaches, two of whom were commemorated in Athens). The inscription provides no definitive information about Aristomache's status, although it is reasonable to assume that the original viewers of the monument would have been able to infer this from context: it is likely that this monument would have stood in or near a *peribolos*, or family burial enclosure, which would have clarified Aristomache's family relations and status. Such *periboloi* are well-attested in the

³⁴ Dörig; Dillon, 215-16; Gutschke.

³⁵ Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 150-77. The profile view of Aristomache's figurine most closely matches the rather less common "Rhodian" style figurines, distinguished by a less elaborate chair (Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 173-77), but the level of detail in the sculpture does not allow for a definitive typological analysis.

³⁶ For the view that they represent girls of marriageable age, see Schmidt, 127 and Golden, 74-75; for the view that they represent younger girls, see *Agora* XXXV, 98 no.59.

³⁷ See the examples listed by Clairmont, *CAT* 6.102.

³⁸ For hairstyles as indicators of age, see Lee, 72, who notes that female hairstyles display a "clear progression ... from girlhood to adult womanhood": a young girl would have loose hair; a young woman's hair would (as in this instance) be partially bound; an adult woman's hair would be fully bound.

³⁹ Lee, 162, citing *Ar. Lys.* 229-30 for the connotation of luxury; for a comparable depiction of a woman wearing slippers or soft shoes, cf. *IG* II² 12220, grave stele of Myttion (now in the Getty Museum, but originally part of the collection of Lord Elgin at Broomhall: see [AIUK 8, n. 4](#)).

general area of Vouliagmeni and Cape Zoster, the territory of the deme Halai Aixonides.⁴⁰ Indeed, as Christopher de Lisle has pointed out to us, Lady Ruthven's comment (n. 9 above) that the inscription was found in a "tumulus" may well be a reference to a degraded *peribolos*.

Moebius, 30, dates the stele to the period 390-365 BC on stylistic grounds; Kirchner suggested ca. 375-350. The style of the palmette is broadly comparable to (though less elaborate than) those of *IG II² 6105* (= Hildebrandt no. 121) and *SEG 30.204* (= Hildebrandt no. 109), dated to 360/50 and 350/40 respectively. Aristomache's hair style, rolled around the head and with a plait which falls onto her neck, is paralleled in the stele of Klearete at the British Museum ([AIUK 4.6 \(BM, Funerary\) no. 22](#)), which is dated to 375-350. The letter-forms are also consistent with a date in the second quarter of the fourth century BC.

⁴⁰ Marchiandi identifies one *peribolos* in the immediate vicinity of Cape Zoster (Marchiandi, 429-31, [= Hal. Aix. 20]), though there is no reason (prosopographical or archaeological) to associate our inscription with that burial complex; the wider area is rich in *periboloi* (25 examples from Halai Aixonides are catalogued in Marchiandi, 418-34). More generally on the funerary landscape of Halai Aixonides, see Marchiandi, 622-23, with further references.

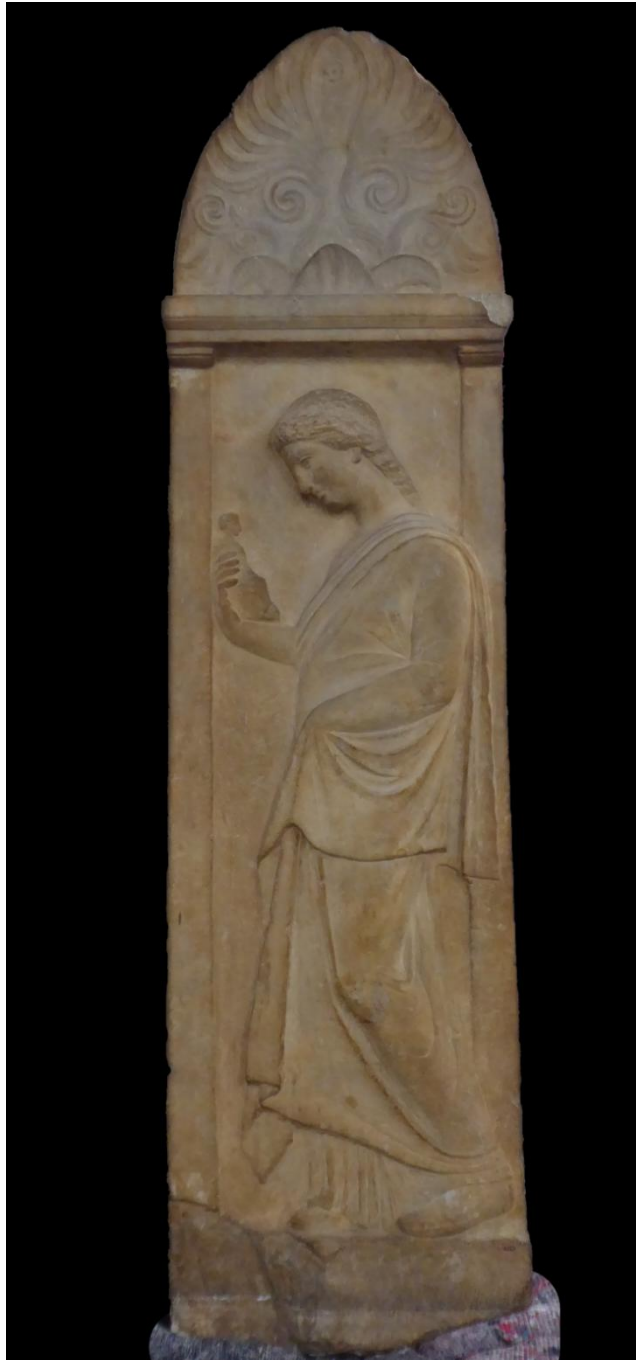


Fig. 2. 1. Edinburgh, National Gallery 686. (Photograph: P. Low.)



Fig. 3. 1. Edinburgh, National Gallery 686. Detail of inscription. (Photograph: P. Low.)

2 GRAVE STELE OF CLAUDIA APHPHEIN. Edinburgh, National Gallery 687. “Found near Athens” (Lady Ruthven’s will, cf. [sect. 1](#)). A pedimental stele with relief sculpture in *naiskos*-style; carved in high relief. The central acroterion is well-preserved but the lateral ones are damaged. The relief depicts two female figures, both of whom are clad in chiton and himation. The figure on the left stands with left hand raised. The figure on the right is seated on a backless cushioned stool (*diphros*), with feet resting on a raised platform; she clasps hands (in *dexiosis*) with the standing figure. The hair of both is tied in a ring at the top of the head and curls around the forehead; it resembles the “simple type” fashionable in the Antonine period/mid-second century AD (von Moock, 36-7, style ♀ 12). The faces of both figures are damaged, perhaps as a result of iconoclasm, or perhaps during excavation or an attempt at restoration. H. 0.98, w. 0.49, th. 0.10 (top) – 0.124 (bottom). The inscription is carved in the pediment and along the pediment’s base. Letters with apices or serifs; Α; mu with crossed diagonals; ornamental upsilon with curved upper strokes forming arches terminated by short bars; bowler-hat shaped omega. L. h. 0.025-0.03 (line 1); 0.016-0.019 (line 2).

Eds. Michaelis, xxvi, 721; Conze IV 1853 (drawing); *IG II²* 6837; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.374c (ph.); von Moock, no. 420.

Cf. Michaelis, 1884, 161; Baldwin Brown, 16. Autopsy Low 2021. In store. [Figs. 4, 5](#).

Mid-2nd cent. AD

Κλαυδία
Ἀφφειν ἐκ Μελιτέων

Claudia
Aphphein of Melite.

2 Ἀφφειν = Ἀφφιον Kirchner

There can be little doubt that this was a funerary stele for a woman named Claudia Aphphein from Melite (Traill, *PAA* 250235 (= *571120)).⁴¹ Nothing more is known of this woman, although her Roman *nomen gentile* Claudia suggests that she was a Roman citizen.⁴² The *nomen gentile* Claudia appears in Greece from the time of the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54); those who were granted citizenship by Claudius adopted this *nomen* to reflect that fact.⁴³ It is, however, impossible to tell whether this Claudia was a Roman citizen “by virtue of membership of a prominent family which had gained the *civitas*

⁴¹ Some of the late nineteenth-century categorisations of the monument were confused: Lady Ruthven’s description (in her will) described it as “a Greek Bas Relief of a marriage”. This description is repeated in the report of the Museum Committee, 9th July 1885, recording the accession of the item, and probably informs the interpretation of the *Scotsman* (25th July 1885), that the scene represents someone “offering congratulations”. This identification seems, however, to have been quietly dropped from subsequent editions of the Museum’s catalogues, where the object it is described simply as a “stele”. In his 1882 volume Michaelis (721) took the view that it was sepulchral.

⁴² See Byrne, *RCA*, Claudia, no. 191.

⁴³ Byrne, 2003, 11; Byrne, *RCA*, Claudius, no. 207i-ii.

through connections with the Roman elite”,⁴⁴ as a descendant of a family enfranchised under Claudius, or as a freedwoman of such a family, or (a more remote possibility) via direct connection with the imperial household.

Given that freedwomen would take the *nomen gentilicium* of their patron in the Roman world,⁴⁵ it is possible that Claudius was the *nomen* of her former master, and that Ἄρρην was her original name or a Hellenised form of it. Ἄρρην is otherwise attested epigraphically in that precise form only two other times: once as the name of a dedicant from Smyrna “to the Goddess Phosphoros” at Parion in the Troad in the late second to early third century AD (*IK Parion* 4 line 1), and once in a funerary inscription from Kolophon (*SEG* 33.980; undated, but perhaps Christian?). It is not otherwise known from Attica. Kirchner (in *IG II²*) suggested it was a syncopated form⁴⁶ of the female diminutive name Ἄρριον known once from Attica in a Roman-period inscription (*IG II²* 7143) but more common in Asia Minor.⁴⁷ As Jaime Curbera suggests to us, Ἄρρ- is a variant spelling of ἄρρ-, a stem associated with terms of endearment (ἄρρα, ἀρρίδιον, ἀρράριον, ἀρρῦς) and well-known in onomastics.⁴⁸ Ἄρρην may therefore be viewed as a *Lallname*: a simple name of endearment which had its origins in baby-talk (see Curbera, 111-12).

Other, less likely, possibilities include that the name Ἄρρην and perhaps also its bearer had non-Athenian origins; if we take the view, advocated in the Brown-Driver-Briggs *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, that Ἄρρην is a Hellenised form of the Hebrew masculine name Huppim, known in the Septuagint as a son of Benjamin (*1 Chronicles* 7:15), the name may have Semitic origins.⁴⁹ An alternative, but also unlikely, solution is that Ἄρρην is assimilated from the Latin Appius (a name which may, however, have a comparable origin as a *Lallname*: see Curbera) or Appianus.⁵⁰

The demotic form ἐκ Μελιτέων (literally “from the Meliteans”) is used to describe other Melitean females in the Roman-era sepulchral monuments *IG II²* 6868, 6883 and *I Rhamnous* 366. This mode of designating female deme affiliation is a characteristic of inscriptions of the Roman period; a particularly clear example of the practice is *IG II²* 2361 (a decree of the association of Euporia Thea Belela), in which all the men are listed with a standard adjectival demotic, whereas all the women have demotics in the form ἐκ +

⁴⁴ Byrne, *RCA* xi.

⁴⁵ Perry, 101.

⁴⁶ On the syncopation of the suffix -ιον to -ις, -ις or -εις, see Threatte, I. 400-404; Bubenik, 192-93.

⁴⁷ Ἄρριον: see, e.g., *IK Smyrna* 377b l. 2; 688 l. 2. The form Ἄρρην appears in *SEG* 56.125 l. 9 (Lydia, 137/138 AD).

⁴⁸ Ἄρρην, plausibly a variant spelling of the same name: see, e.g. *IK Smyrna* 192.

⁴⁹ <https://www.studydrive.org/lexicons/hebrew/2650.html> According to the Rahlfs Septuagint apparatus, it is in the Codex Alexandrinus manuscript of *1 Chronicles* 7:15.

⁵⁰ As Threatte, I. 468-69 notes, the transliteration of Latin “p, t” into Greek “φ, θ” occurs throughout the Imperial period; on the transcription of “Appius” in Greek, see also Threatte, I. 543-44.

genitive plural.⁵¹ As Chris de Lisle notes (pers. comm.), this appears to be a way of differentiating between male and female membership of a deme.⁵²

Judging by the decorative letter forms, the extant inscription on this monument is certainly of the Roman period, probably the mid-second century AD.⁵³ Likewise, the hairstyles are characteristic of the imperial period; von Moock classified them as coiffeur-type style ♀ 12 (“Simple Type”), typical of the early Antonine period/mid-second century AD. There is, however, debate about whether the sculpture is a reworking of a fourth-century BC original (the position advocated by Clairmont and von Moock),⁵⁴ or, as Conze suggested, a Roman original mimicking fourth-century BC style. Conze’s view is accepted by Muehsam, who argues (94 n. 13) that the flatness of the monument’s pediment points to a date in the period “as the [second] century advanced”. However, as Janet Grossman points out to us, the Classical style of the drapery, covering the bodies with its soft, large folds, points to a fourth-century BC date for the original; she observes also that the proportionately small size of the heads of both figures may indicate that they have been reworked.

An alternative possibility is that this is a Classicising monument of the Augustan period, which was re-used in the second century (cf. [AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 14](#)). This would account for the presence of the motif of *dexiosis*, which is rare on post-Augustan reliefs,⁵⁵ and for the fact that the figures are represented in profile: reliefs of the Imperial period tend to have more frontal representations (cf., e.g., [AIUK 4.6 \(BM, Funerary\), no. 43](#)).⁵⁶ However, these characteristics are also compatible with the sculpture being originally of the fourth century BC. The gesture which the standing figure makes with her left hand, interpreted by Clairmont as a “speaking gesture”, is found in Classical *dexiosis* scenes involving seated and standing figures; it is more commonly performed by the seated individual, but it can also be found being used by the standing figure.⁵⁷ Its use by the

⁵¹ A comparable formula is used on Roman-era inscriptions to describe women from Athmonon (*IG II³ 4, 1724*), Halimous (see [AIUK 4.5 \(BM, Dedications\), no. 26](#)), and a deme beginning Ai- ([AIUK 2 \(BSA\), no. 6](#)).

⁵² An alternative way of marking this distinction, standard in the Classical period but persisting into the Roman era, is to render the woman’s demotic in the masculine genitive singular, agreeing with her patronymic rather than her own name. For a Roman-era example of this, see [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\), no. 9](#) (second century AD).

⁵³ For funerary monuments of the second century AD with comparable ornamentations of letters, see Muehsam, 56.

⁵⁴ For surveys of Classical funerary monuments re-used later in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Schmaltz and Salta; Pologiorgi’s paper focuses on Classical reworking of funerary monuments.

⁵⁵ Von Moock, 76. See [AIUK 5 \(Lyne Park\) no. 2](#) for further discussion of the significance of *dexiosis*, with references.

⁵⁶ The use of profile in *dexiosis* scenes does persist into the first century AD (see, for example, von Moock no. 268 (= *IG II² 12685*), 281 (= *IG II² 9837*), 391 (= *IG II² 6422*), 460 (no inscription)), but becomes rare thereafter.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Clairmont, *CAT* 2.422, 2.426b; cf. also Clairmont, *CAT* 2.332a, 2.355d, 2.426 (although in these cases the position of the hand, with upward-facing palm, offers a less close parallel to our example). For the gesture’s use by the seated figure in a *dexiosis* scene, see, e.g., Clairmont, *CAT* 1.859, 2.207, 2.211, 2.277a, 2.277b, 2.324b, 2.749. For its use by an upright figure in a *dexiosis* scene in which both figures are standing, see, e.g., Clairmont, *CAT* 1.687,

standing figure in this relief is, therefore, unusual but does not rule out a Classical date. (The gesture is also uncommon in Roman-era *dexiosis* scenes; a near-parallel – but with pointed finger rather than an open palm – is von Moock no. 460, second quarter of the first century AD.)

The epigraphic evidence for re-use is inconclusive. It is possible that the name inscribed inside the pediment replaced a Classical inscription also within the pediment,⁵⁸ but there is no clear evidence of earlier inscriptions; the damage to the area at the left side of the pediment (to the left of l.1 of the extant inscription) does not seem to be the result of an erasure. In the field of the relief, discoloration to the stone in the area between the two extant figures might be indicative of reworking (perhaps to remove a third figure originally represented there?), but here too certainty is impossible. It is surprising for a stele which represents two figures of apparently equal status to include only one name, but this is not without parallel (cf., e.g., *IG II² 9837*, a first-century AD monument for Paralion, representing a man and woman in *dexiosis*), so again cannot be used as conclusive evidence for re-use of the monument.

On balance we tend towards the view (held by Clairmont and von Moock) that this is a fourth-century BC original, with the heads re-worked in the second century AD when the currently-extant inscription was added.

1.843, 1.892, 2.207, 2.430, 2.288b. For further examples of the gesture, see Clairmont, *CAT* index s.v. “Gesture: Speaking, Farewell”.

⁵⁸ For examples of inscriptions within pediments, see those collected by Clairmont, *CAT* vol. 6 p. 123; see, for instance Clairmont, *CAT* 2.441 = *IG II² 5633* in which the inscriptions are a century later than the relief sculpture.



Fig. 4. 2. Edinburgh, National Gallery 687. (Photograph: P. Low.)



Fig. 5. 2. Edinburgh, National Gallery 687. Detail of inscription. (Photograph: P. Low.)