

Attic Inscriptions
in UK Collections
British Museum
Funerary Monuments

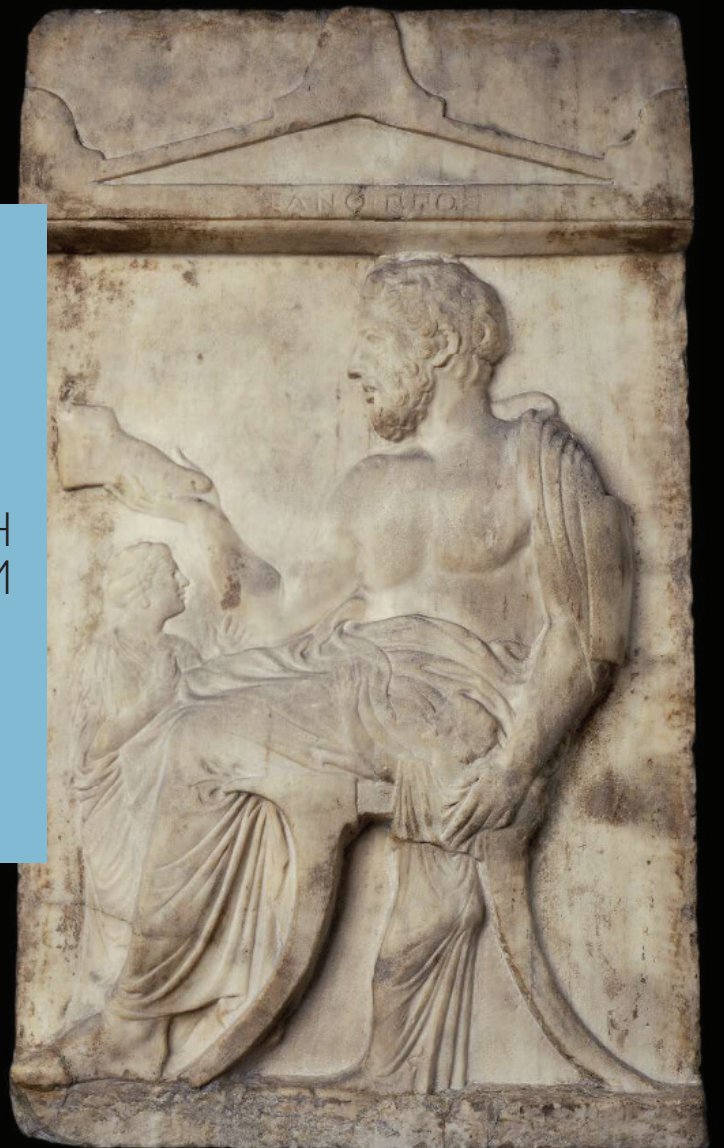
Robert K. Pitt

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Arts & Humanities
Research Council

**PRINCIPAL
INVESTIGATOR**
Stephen Lambert

**PROJECT
TEAM**
Christopher de Lisle
Peter Liddel
Polly Low
Robert Pitt
Finlay McCourt
Irene Vagionakis

**AIO ADVISORY
BOARD**
John Bennet
Josine Blok
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Peter Liddel
Polly Low
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† P.J. Rhodes
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PREFACE

This volume of the *AIUK* Series presents the eighty inscribed Athenian funerary monuments of the British Museum (**1-80**), along with three further inscriptions which have at times been thought Athenian, but which are probably not (**81-83**). These grave markers afford us a fascinating view of funerary and commemorative rituals from the Archaic period through to the fifth century AD, as well as providing an illuminating introduction to Athenian society more generally. We can see through the scale of the monuments, the iconography of sculpture, and their inscriptions a whole gamut of methods to project the social, economic and political status of citizens and resident foreigners in the private grave plots that lined the roads of Attica. This was a very public sphere in which to promote adhesion to social attitudes, lay claims to the legitimization of ethnic or other groups, and to prove ancestral links that were so important in issues and contests surrounding the status and lineage of citizens in the polis. The collecting of these marbles also forms a fascinating history in itself, explored below, full of individual stories of intrepid travellers, dubiously conducted excavations, sponsored expeditions, crates of antiquities shipped and captured at sea, as well as the chance discovery of ancient stones in a London builder's yard (**37**) and an Essex garden rockery (**78**), their own travel narratives unfortunately lost *en route*.

My warmest thanks must go first to Stephen Lambert for the invitation to contribute to the *AIUK* project and for much valued guidance and patience on the long road to completion; also to Peter Liddel and Polly Low for their good-humoured collaboration and support. The field work for this corpus was undertaken at the British Museum in 2018-2019 and could not have been accomplished without the sterling cooperation of the Department of Greece and Rome. I thank Leslie Fitton, Alexandra Villing and Peter Higgs for answering numerous questions about the collection, and particularly Alex Truscott for Herculean efforts to provide access to a daunting number of stones in public galleries and labyrinthine basements. I deeply regret that Ian Jenkins did not live to see this work completed; he had been a great guide to the collections since my earliest studies in the Museum as a postgraduate student and became a valued friend in the years that followed, generously offering sage advice on the material presented here and the collectors responsible for bringing the monuments to the UK. Several friends and colleagues have been willing to answer questions epigraphic, archaeological, artistic, and archival, and I gratefully acknowledge the help of Joe Day, Denise Demetriou, Georgia Malouchou, Angelos P. Matthaiou, Michael Metcalfe, Olga Palagia, and Timothy Shea. Alessia Zambon made her database of Fauvel's papers freely available to me and provided invaluable information about the monuments he recorded in Athens. A work like this, containing as it does a large number of names, simply could not be undertaken without the solid foundation provided by Sean Byrne's *Athenian Onomasticon*, itself updating his earlier work with Michael J. Osborne on *LGPN* II; he further answered calls for help with onomastics and related bibliography. The research for the commentaries was undertaken in the incomparable environment of the British School at Athens Library, and, when the pandemic closed its doors in 2020-2021, the saintly librarians Evi Charitoudi, Sandra Pepelasis, and Penny Wilson provided unstinting assistance in scanning works not otherwise available and unravelling obscure references among the journal stacks. Erkki Sironen (Helsinki

Preface

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1. THE ATTIC FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM: AN OVERVIEW

1. *An Introduction to Athenian Funerary Monuments*

The eighty inscribed Athenian funerary monuments presented here form the largest such collection in the United Kingdom and encompass almost the whole range of known types across a span of time from the late sixth century BC to the fifth century AD (for introductions to Athenian funerary material in other large UK collections, see [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#) sect. 3 and [AIUK 11 \(Ashmolean\)](#) pp. 94-96).¹

The funerary monuments of Archaic Athens were principally the privilege of an elite, who set up great marble columns, stelai, and large figurative sculpture – the famous kouroi and korai statues² – over their family tombs and tumuli. Along with inscriptions naming those commemorated, perhaps with epigrams in their honour, these are monuments that focused on the individual and often emphasised youth, athletics, aristocratic values and symbols of wealth, as well as heroic ideals of manly, military virtue. One fragment of a fluted marble column is preserved in this collection signed by the sculptor Aristion (72); it would have supported a sculpted element such as a lion or mythological guardian of the tomb. Many of these grand memorials were destroyed during the Persian invasion of Athens in 480-479; a large number were then repurposed into building material for the construction of the Themistoclean circuit wall of the city and have frequently been discovered during excavations of the fortifications.³

The foundation of Athenian democracy following the reforms of Cleisthenes seems to have ushered in a period of modesty in the setting up of private funerary monuments. Such trends in the funerary landscape have been attributed to sumptuary laws, although our evidence is limited to the archaeological remains of monuments, or rather their absence, and we should remember that such modesty in funerary monuments is noticeable across mainland Greece.⁴ The great figured memorials to the dead of Athens' upper crust, however, do come to an end for half a century or more, although one monument type that thrives in this period is the casualty list recording the names of Athens' sons (and their allies) killed

¹ The Museum houses a number of further Attic funerary monuments that probably originally had accompanying texts that are today lost and that are listed in the following. An undecorated lekythos stele BM 1816,0610.164, iv BC; a pair of marble lekythoi with relief sculpture BM 1997,0714.1-2, ca. 350 BC. Lekythoi with relief sculpture: BM 1925,0422.5, 400-375 BC; BM 1816,0610.132, 375-350 BC; BM 1880,0504.6, 370-350 BC; BM 1816,0610.195, ca. 350 BC. Naiskos stele with relief of a girl: BM 1909,0611.1, ca. 330-320 BC; naiskos stele with a youth holding a bird: BM 1864,0220.14, early iv BC. Crownings of palmette stelai: BM 1843,0531.38, ca. 390-365 BC; BM 1816,0610.191, ca. 340-320 BC; BM 1885,0416.3, ca. 350-320 BC; BM 1843,0531.42, ca. 350-325. Bildfeldstele(?): BM 1816,0610.389, ca. 400 BC.

² See G. M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens*, 1968; ead. *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths*, 3rd edition 1970; M. Meyer – N. Brüggemann, *Kore und Kouros. Weihegaben für die Götter*, 2007.

³ See A. M. Theodoraki, *The Ancient Circuit Walls of Athens*, 2020, 159-164.

⁴ See I. Morris, "Law, culture and funerary art in Athens 600-300 BC", *Hephaistos* 11-12, 1992-3, 35-50; J. H. Blok, "Solon's funerary laws: questions of authenticity and function", in J. H. Blok – A. P. M. H. Lardinois eds., *Solon of Athens. New Historical and Philological Approaches (Mnemosyne Suppl. 272)*, 2006, 197-247, esp. 240-42.

in the year's fighting and set up over the mass graves of their ashes brought back from the battlefield to the public burial ground, the demosion sema (78-80).

Sculpted tombstones are seen again in the Athenian funeraryscape around the 420s BC, although initially only in small numbers.⁵ The sheer volume of men killed during the Peloponnesian War, and the depletion of the population by a terrifying plague, may have contributed to changes in commemorative practices in the later fifth century. The ready supply of marble workers (many of them metics) suddenly out of a job with the completion of the Parthenon (the Xanthippos relief 16 is in the style of the Parthenon frieze) and then the cessation of the Periclean building programme at the start of the war may well have been contributing factors to the revival of figurative monuments at this time; after all, it is not just funerary reliefs that begin again at this period, votive and document reliefs appear around the same time also.⁶

One notable feature of these earliest Classical funerary reliefs is the presence of women, who had been almost completely absent on Archaic grave monuments (but for a small number of funerary korai). They are shown in large numbers as wives and mothers, taking a central role within the oikos, and therefore the polis, on lekythoi from the 460s BC and on sculpted memorials from after the middle of the century. This new female iconography in the cemeteries of Attica has been plausibly linked with the introduction of Pericles' citizenship law of 451, after which it was essential to prove citizen descent along both the male and female lines, with family graves providing a rare opportunity to display citizen status in public, and so stimulating the production again of sculpted memorials.⁷

Classical grave sculptures and stelai proliferate from the early fourth century BC and continue to be produced in great numbers to the end of the century, when they come to an abrupt stop around 310. A major reason for this was no doubt the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron, who governed Athens for the Macedonians from 317 BC (although it cannot be the only reason, since the pattern continued after his short reign, when we might expect the Athenians to have rebelled against his reforms). These reforms included, according to Cicero (*De Legibus* 2.66), sumptuary legislation that limited grave markers to small columns (*columellae*) less than three cubits high, a "table" (*mensa*) or a "labellum" (see discussion in [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), p. 31). Cicero's *mensae* (rectangular tables, sometimes with marble vessels placed on top) are not represented in the BM collection, although his *labellum* might well equate to the small, low stele or *cippus* 12. There are, however, a good number of examples in the collection of what seems to have been the most common form of funerary monument after Demetrios' reform, the *columellae*, also known by the Greek term, *kioniskoi* (57-70).

There are in fact some small funerary reliefs that can be dated to the first half of the third century BC, but larger ones do not reappear before the second century BC (see *Agora*

⁵ We do, however, have a small group of simple grave markers from the period 480-430 BC, mostly for non-Athenians, see K. E. Stears, "The Times They Are A'Changing: Developments in Fifth-Century Funerary Sculpture", in G. J. Oliver ed., *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, 2000, 31.

⁶ As noted by C. Lawton, *Hesperia* 61, 1992, 251 n. 52.

⁷ See Stears op. cit., and R. Osborne, "Law, the Democratic Citizen and the Representation of Women in Classical Athens", in *Past and Present* 155, 1997, 3-33.

1. *The Attic Funerary Monuments in the British Museum: An Overview*

XXXV pp. 14-15), and during the first century BC the industry of funerary sculpture is back in full swing. When funerary sculptures return in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, representations of the self-contained Classical family are less common than individual figures (**40-43**) standing frontally to face and engage the viewer (see Grossman, *Agora* XXXV, pp. 16-17). Roman-period stelai often have dowel holes and sometimes the surviving metal pins that allowed mourners to hang wreaths from them during commemorative rituals at the graveside (see Walters 1988, 43-45; Grossman 2001, no. 35). The scale of these Roman monuments was often huge, with architectural frames inscribed with long epigrams (**73, 76**).

2. *The Organisation of this Corpus*

The following corpus is broadly divided between private (Sections 3-7: **1-77**) and public (Section 8: **78-80**) monuments; the latter is comprised of three memorials for the war dead. The private monuments are arranged into the following types: name stelai (**1-15**), sculpted stelai and naiskoi (**16-43**), marble vessels (**44-56**), kioniskoi (**57-70**), and miscellaneous monuments (**71-77**). Within each type, the individual monuments are presented by date. This order prioritises the form of the monuments over a division by date or citizen status (Johannes Kirchner, in part 3 of *IG II²*, arranged the more than 8000 private gravestones then known by status – citizens by deme, isoteleis, foreigners by ethnic, unknown – and then chronologically). It must be admitted that some of these categories (kioniskoi, marble vessels) are more coherent than others (name stelai). The forms of stelai and naiskoi fall into several sub-groups (see *Agora* XXXV 19-23 for a classification into nine groups), although any rigid categorisation should perhaps be avoided. Firstly, stelai in particular can have elements added in paint that do not survive and would change their classification from plain name stelai to something more akin to relief stelai (cf. Posamentir 2006, no. 6 = *IG I³* 1326).⁸ Secondly, there is an enormous amount of reuse of these monuments over time, either with the addition of inscribed elements or changes to the sculptural decoration within the same family plot, or else with stones being completely repurposed for another family. Such occurrences are not always possible to detect in the surviving remains, particularly in the case of painted additions, which should caution us against being too rigid with typologies; the monuments frequently evolved from their initial form, which itself cannot always be established.

Name stelai (Section 3; German *Namenstelen*, see Hildebrandt 2006) are an amorphous category of stelai that now bear only names, although it should be remembered that painted figural elements have been identified on many examples, and the placing of names as labels hovering on otherwise blank stones suggests these were written over now lost figures (**3** is surely such a case). *Namenstelen* that truly were just for names served as a record of certain family members buried in the plot, some of whom would have been

⁸ For painted decoration and inscriptions, see Posamentir 2006 and discussion at [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#) pp. 4-6.

commemorated with further monuments.⁹ They are often tall and imposing, with names added over time. A good example of this stands today in the Kerameikos (*IG II² 6609*), commemorating eight family members inscribed in several hands as the monument was added to (for the stemma see Humphreys 2018, 877 table 24.6).¹⁰ This stele was probably always designed for such a purpose, although they could be repurposed, such is the case with *IG II² 5768* (EM 10432), a tall stele with a name at the top, a painted ribbon just beneath, and an epigram lower down the shaft, from the early fourth century BC. Around the middle of the century two names were added in different hands, cutting through the ribbon, and later still a relief was carved into the epigram but was never completed, leaving a great muddle of information for the viewer to decode. Inscription **2** in our collection may have been a true *Namenstele*, with traces of a deeply carved finial above,¹¹ but several of the other monuments in this section of the corpus would belong to different categories had their painted or sculptural elements survived (such as **9**, **13** and **14**), while the fragmentary **29** is placed under Relief Stelai since although it does not preserve any sculpture, it certainly would have done so originally.

The monuments with sculpted figures (Section 4) fall into three main categories:¹² simple stelai with sculpture not in a frame, stelai with a relief in a sunken panel (*Bildfeldstelen*), and *naiskoi* (sculpture within a frame of pilasters, side walls, or columns). The British Museum has one of the earliest Classical sculpted stelai in that of Xanthippos (**16**) from ca. 430-420 BC. These reliefs are often surmounted by a pediment and have the inscription on the geison above the figures (see **17**). Non-figural reliefs are represented by the *loutrophoros* stelai **21** and **31** and the *lekythos* stele **38**. The collection contains eight *Bildfeldstelen* (**23**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **32**, **35**, **36**, **37**; **9** might also be included). *Naiskoi* with relief sculpture between pilasters crowned by a pediment or epistyle, often representing the family within their home, range from small examples with shallow relief, not far removed from the class of *Bildfeldstelen*, to large monuments later in the fourth century BC with figures almost in the round and stepping out beyond their deep frame (**30**, **33**). There are no sculptural funerary monuments in the collection from the late fourth until the early first century BC, when the relief stelai with pediments return (**39**), now with the figure beneath an arch and pilasters or columns in relief (see von Moock 1998). The *naiskos* stele is represented in the Roman period by three impressive examples (**40**, **42**, **43**), and there is a single *Bildfeldstele* (**41**) from the first century AD.

Marble *lekythoi* and *loutrophoroi* (Section 5) begin to be erected in tomb *periboloi* from the late fifth century BC and continue to the late fourth (ten *lekythoi* and three

⁹ On funerary *periboloi*, see D. Marchiandi, *I periboloi funerari nell'Attica classica. Lo specchio di una "borghesia"* (*Studi di Archeologia e di Topografia di Atene e dell'Attica* 3), 2011, and J. Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit*, 2013.

¹⁰ One extraordinary example of a name stele from Myrrhinous lists eleven members of the same family over six generations: *SEMA* 453 (*SEG* 23.161), v/iv BC; S. C. Humphreys, "Family Tombs and Tomb Cult in Ancient Athens: Tradition or Traditionalism?", *JHS* 100, 1980, 115 for the stemma.

¹¹ On *antheia* atop stelai, see U. Vedder, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhr. v. Chr.*, 1985, 48-61.

¹² For an excellent and detailed introduction to sculpted funerary monuments, their typologies, dating, and iconography, see Grossman, *Agora* XXXV, 9-71.

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loutrophoroi are presented below). These are stone versions of the pottery vessels that were traditionally buried with the dead and placed on top of graves, and generally follow the evolution in shape of the ceramic types (for marble vessels and loutrophoros stelai in other UK collections, cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#) nos. 4, 5; [AIUK 6 \(Leeds\) no. 1](#); [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\) no. 1](#)). Lekythoi held oil, likely perfumed, for ceremonial use at the burial, and were also brought to the cemetery in later acts of commemoration involving the anointing of grave markers by mourners. The marble forms tend to have a figural relief on a ground line around the body of the vessel, and much of the monument would have been painted (for a surviving painted example, see Grossman 2001, no. 25). They can also be plain, and the presence of a lone hovering inscription on such vessels points to the whole figural scene having been painted (cf. Posamentir 2006, no. 7). One example from this collection is ornamented with carved vertical tongues and a guilloche band around the shoulder (53) and does not have an area reserved for figural decoration, perhaps in imitation of metal vessels. Marble lekythoi seem to have been placed at the edges of tomb periboloi and can mark out the boundaries of the family plot; one even has a boundary marker inscribed onto it (*IG I³ 1132*: ὄρος μνήματος, 420-400 BC). The loutrophoros is found in two types: the amphora with two vertical handles, and the hydria with one vertical and two horizontal handles. There is a general belief that the amphora form is for a male burial and the hydria a female, but there are some known exceptions (Clairmont, *CAT* 6, p. 127). As with lekythoi, they normally have a figural relief, although 46 must have been painted instead. Loutrophoroi stood over the graves of the unmarried (Dem. 44.18), although again the rule cannot be pressed too far (see Grossman, *Agora XXXV*, pp. 24-26). Unlike the stelai, these vessels show little sign of reuse, in part because they are difficult to uproot from their bases; the narrow ankle breaks easily and indeed none of the BM examples maintains its original foot.

The British Museum houses fourteen *columellae* or kioniskoi (Section 6; 57-70, probably all collected by Elgin) dating from the second century BC to the second century AD. These are simple cylindrical markers with a *torus* around the top (perhaps for holding wreaths), although the original rule that these should be modest monuments is flouted by 64, weighing over two tonnes. The kioniskoi are usually undecorated, but small reliefs do appear, such as the loutrophoros on 67, and larger sculptures can be added in the Roman period (cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\) no. 8](#)).

The category of Miscellaneous Monuments (Section 7) includes an Archaic marble discus (71) that imitates athletic equipment and may have functioned as the cover of a libation channel on a grave. Two large Roman epistyles (73, 76) probably crowned funerary naiskoi or some other grand monuments. They were inscribed with epigrams for the deceased, which is a well-represented phenomenon in this section during the Roman and Late Roman periods, appearing also on three marbles whose original forms are unknown (47, 75, 77).

Section 8 presents the three public monuments for the war dead, while Section 9 collects three monuments once thought to be Athenian but that in fact are probably not.

3. *Funerary Inscriptions*

The monuments set up to commemorate the dead in Athenian cemeteries project messages to the passer by, many of which we can detect, if not fully appreciate, while other signs must have been obvious to an Athenian and remain obscure for the modern viewer. The commentaries in the following corpus discuss numerous visual aspects of social, economic, and religious status markers, including monument type, clothing, accessories (jewellery boxes, book rolls, cult paraphernalia), animal companions, and weaponry. The written information inscribed onto the monuments also furnishes us with a plethora of status markers with which to understand the wider context of the gravestone, and it is often only by combining both visual and written messages – along with an appreciation of the many missing elements of paint or wider funerary context – that we can best hope to understand the impact of these monuments on the ancient viewer.

The Athenian male citizen under the democracy had a tripartite nomenclature of name, father's name (patronymic in the genitive), and the deme where his family had been registered since the reforms of Cleisthenes. This demotic took different forms depending on how the home deme decided to style its demesmen.¹³ The majority (some 115 out of 139) used adjectival forms, such as in **9**: Εὐέτης Ἀρχιδάμου Παιανιεύς (Euetes (son) of Archidamos (of the deme) Paiania). Seven demes¹⁴ instead employ the preposition ἐκ/ἐξ to denote 'from' (scil. the body of demesmen), including Kerameis: Σμικυλίων Εὐαλκίδου ἐκ Κεραμέων (**8**) (literally, 'from the Kerameans'). A further 17 demes use the termination -θεν 'from' to designate their demotic, including Alopeke (**6**: Εὐμάχος Εὐθυμάχο Ἄλωπεκῆθεν) and Hestiaia (**63**: Ἀριστείδης Λυσιμάχου Ἑστιαίοθεν). Citizen women were not officially members of the deme, and so they are typically referred to with reference to their father's or husband's name together with his demotic in the genitive:¹⁵ Φιλουμένη Τηλοκλέους Κυδαθηναίως (**34**), 'Philoumene [daughter] of Telokles of Kydathenaion'. The relationship can be made more explicit by the addition of θυγάτηρ ('daughter') or γυνή ('wife'), and the demotic can be left out of the woman's name altogether if the context allows it to be inferred from elsewhere, such as in **56**, where a brother and sister are each commemorated with their patronymic but only the brother is given the demotic. While demotics can be abbreviated, the practice is usually limited to certain lists, reducing the cost of inscribing, and is more often found after the Classical period. In funerary inscriptions, abbreviated demotics are particularly rare, especially before the Roman period, but **32** presents four family members, three with demotics for Xypete that were abbreviated depending on the space available: Ξυ, Ξυπ, Ξυπε.¹⁶

Foreigners and metics buried at Athens often identify themselves with a polis/city ethnic (**12**: Τίμων Σινωπεύς; cf. the plural form Σήστιοι used for a group of family

¹³ This section relies on D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica 508/7 – ca. 250 B.C.: A Political and Social Study*, 1986, 73.

¹⁴ The others are ἐκ Κηδῶν, ἐκ Κοίλης, ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, ἐκ Μυρρινού(ν)της, ἐξ Οἴου.

¹⁵ During the Hellenistic and Roman periods this system begins to break down and other forms of demotic can be attached to female names, see Whitehead, *op. cit.*, 78-81. Cf. [AIUK 4.5 \(BM Dedications\) no. 26](#), with notes.

¹⁶ See D. Whitehead, "Abbreviated Athenian Demotics", *ZPE* 81, 1990, 105-161.

members in **28**) or a pan-island ethnic (**38**: Σωτηρὶς Σικελιῶτις). One bilingual inscription in this collection for Artemidoros of Sidon translates his Phoenician names into their Greek equivalents (see commentary on **11**). Female foreigners take the feminine ethnic, even when it follows the patronymic, demonstrating membership of their own ethnos, not just through their male kin: Σύνφορον Ἡρακλείδου Καρυστία (**41**). Certain metics at Athens were awarded privileged status, such as the right to own property or an exemption from the metic tax, and they proudly display these markers on their gravestones (for the designation *isoteles*, see commentary on **37** for Μέλιττα Ἀπολλοδώρου ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ). Certain other categories of foreigners have caused greater interpretative difficulties, such as the intractable problem of what a “Milesian” is at various periods in Athens (see **39**), or what it means on a funerary inscription or ephebic list to be classed as “Athenian” while surrounding men have their demotics (see **67**).

Many of the reliefs in the following corpus are accompanied by name labels, often single names inscribed next to sculpted figures on smaller scenes, or above them onto architectural mouldings on the larger naiskoi. Some of these labels now seem to float in empty space because their accompanying figures were once painted onto the marble (see **3**, **5**, **31**, **46**). The identification of figures can be problematic when several people are given labels or indeed when only some are singled out, and other factors may help to determine who the monument commemorated. In many cases, what now seems confusing would have been made clear by the other surrounding monuments and inscriptions within the family burial plot (e.g., **50**). The citizen status of the dead when accompanied by a single name is often indeterminate, but again context would have aided identification, as well as monument type (e.g., the remarkable sculpted stele for Xanthippos **16** must surely be for a citizen so early in the series of re-emergent figural gravestones), the inclusion of accompanying symbols (**23** is for a priestess with a temple key, necessarily a citizen), or the iconography of dress (most obviously with warriors).

Ten private inscriptions (**20**, **37**, **45**, **71-77**) and one public monument for the war dead (**79**) in this collection contain elements of verse or whole epigrams commemorating the deceased. These poems often speak to the viewer about the dead in the third person, “This is the tomb of...” (**20**, **71**, **76**, **77**, **79**), or else they speak as the deceased themselves in the first person with information about their lives (**73**, **75**); **37** is a hybrid, where the speaker first addresses the passer-by, introducing the tomb, before turning to her deceased nurse and praising her directly. As well as signifying an educated status in their own right, these epigrams are full of further status markers, extolling the citizen virtues of the dead and their illustrious lineage (**73**) or emphasising the status awarded them by the state and the legitimacy of their children (**75**). It is mostly in epigrams (but cf. **15**) that we find references to the age of the dead, usually mentioned because of remarkable longevity (**75**: 82 years old) or else the tragedy of a life cut short (**73**: 20 years, **76**: 25 years).

One additional practice hampering attempts to understand these monuments is the wide-spread recycling of gravestones and sculpture, often simply by erasing the text and reinscribing over it (**7**, **75?**). Family members could be added to an inscription later as they died (**1**, **18?**); while additional information might at a later time be thought necessary to assert the status of the dead or to avoid confusion between relatives, such as on **21**, where demotics were added to what had simply been two single name labels above the figures of

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warriors. Stele **40** presents us with an intriguing case of a woman who perhaps set up an impressive sculpted monument of herself and her late husband (a Roman citizen) on his death, and then later felt the need to add to the stone her own father's Athenian demotic, asserting her citizen status. The fragmentary nature of other monuments or now missing painted texts/images further hinders any explanation of why their inscriptions were added to or erased (**14, 37**).

2. THE ATTIC FUNERARY MONUMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM: COLLECTION HISTORY

The acquisitions history of the inscribed Attic funerary monuments of the British Museum parallels the institution's own development, including as it does monuments from the Museum's founding father, Sir Hans Sloane, through to the large collections of Greek antiquities purchased or bequeathed whole or in part by aristocratic travellers and ambassadors such as the Earl of Elgin, the Earl of Belmore, the Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Strangford, and the Earl of Guilford. Expeditions sent specifically to record and acquire Greek monuments from Attica are principally represented by the donations of the Society of Dilettanti, whose first Ionian mission brought back a crop of inscriptions under its leader, the accomplished Oxford epigrapher Dr. Richard Chandler. But many of the Museum's inscriptions edited here are individual finds, often accompanied by intriguing stories of their own, collected by travellers, soldiers and sailors from Greece, or accidentally discovered in Britain during remodelling of older properties, their origins completely lost. The purchasing activities of the Museum during the 20th century provide insights into the antiquities trade, often through Greek dealers abroad, as well as the breaking up of collections following the turbulence across Europe caused by two World Wars. In more recent years, the Department of Greece and Rome has acquired a small number of additional pieces through the benefactions of individuals and foundations. The following account is arranged by date of acquisition by the Museum.

The British Museum was established by an Act of Parliament under King George II in 1753, principally as a universal museum housing the enormous collection of the Irish-born physician Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), who had bequeathed his 71,000 objects to the nation upon his death. With the exception of coins, Sloane's collecting interests rarely touched on the ancient Greek world, and the only piece represented here – a marble lekythos (52) – is without further provenance, although Sloane was known to have purchased objects from collections that included Greek antiquities, such as that of the Earl of Arundel.¹⁷

In 1785 the Society of Dilettanti donated a group of marbles brought back from Greece and Asia Minor by its first Ionian mission (1764-1766).¹⁸ The head of that expedition, Dr. Richard Chandler, was a talented classicist and epigraphist who had come to the Society's attention through his valuable work in publishing the antiquities held by the University of Oxford, and his epigraphic interests are a running theme throughout the published diaries of his travels.¹⁹ While in Athens in 1765-1766, Chandler had found and

¹⁷ I. Jenkins, "Classical Antiquities", in A. MacGregor ed., *Sir Hans Sloane. Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*, 1994, 167-73.

¹⁸ See J. M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment*, 2009, 180-5.

¹⁹ R. Chandler, *Marmora Oxoniensia*, 1763. Chandler published several works based on material from the first Ionian mission, including a corpus of the inscriptions, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, 1774, and two volumes of travel diaries, *Travels in Asia Minor*, 1775, and *Travels in Greece*, 1776, which proved very popular, running to several editions (including a bootleg Irish edition) and being translated into French and German. The official publication of the mission, and its two successor expeditions under Sir William Gell and Richard Popplewell Pullan, was eventually issued in five

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acquired several pieces of ancient sculpture and inscriptions on behalf of the Dilettanti, most famously two pieces of the Parthenon frieze and the eponymous Chandler stele, a report from 409/8 BC of a commission set up to assess the state of the unfinished Erechtheion temple (see *AIUK* 4.4 forthcoming). Three funerary monuments included here were also part of the same donation (6, 28, 39), discovered by Chandler built into modern walls and churches and published in his corpus of inscriptions from the expedition, *Inscriptiones Antiquae* (1774).

Among the most influential of the major British collections of Greek and Roman antiquities to have come to the Museum is that of Charles Townley (1737-1805), who had collected extensively in Italy, turning his London home on Park Street into a celebrated gallery and producing his own hand-written catalogues to the rooms.²⁰ The Museum acquired the collection in two groups in 1805 and 1814, and from the first of these comes the grave relief of Xanthippos (16), which had been brought to England in 1748 by Dr. Anthony Askew from the Petraki Monastery (Ἅγιοι Ἀσώματα Ταξιάρχες – The Holy Incorporeal Taxiarchs) on the southern slopes of Lykavittos hill. Askew (1722–1774) was a distinguished physician and collector of Classical books and manuscripts, who had travelled through Europe from 1746, arriving in Constantinople in 1747 and proceeding to Mount Athos in order to hunt for manuscripts, before heading south for Athens by September.²¹ He wrote an important manuscript of the inscriptions he met with in Athens and the Islands, which he completed while in quarantine on Malta in 1748, arriving back in England the same year. On his death, his collections were sold at auction over several weeks; the sales catalogue of his books (*Biblioteca Askeviana*, 1775) records 3570 lots, and finishes with two antiquities, both inscriptions now in the British Museum: an ephebic inscription in the shape of a shield (*IG* II² 2191; [AIUK 4.3B \(BM Ephebic\) no. 5](#)), and the Xanthippos relief, bought for £6.16s.6d. by Lyde Browne,²² a Governor of the Bank of England (whose own collection was kept at a house at Wimbledon), who in the same year sold the two inscriptions to Townley.²³

parts between 1769-1915, see Kelly, op. cit., 194-5. See also [AIUK 11 \(Ashmolean\)](#) pp. 5-7 for Chandler's publication of the ancient marbles of the University of Oxford.

²⁰ B. F. Cook, *The Townley Marbles*, 1985.

²¹ An Askew notebook held by Emmanuel College, Cambridge (MS 47) shows that he had arrived in Athens by 23rd September 1747 (see F. Stubbings, "Anthony Askew's 'Liber Amicorum'", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, 1976, 306-21); he must have departed later that year or very early the next, as he finished his epigraphic manuscript (now in the British Library) on January 24th 1748, 'the 3^d. day of my Quarrentine at Malta' (Burney MS 402, f.71v; see Pitt, forthcoming), before visiting Syracuse, Catania, and Taormina (by August 1748; see F. Muscolino, *ZPE* 162, 2007, 132-8).

²² The Getty copy of *Biblioteca Askeviana* contains the hand-written prices realised, including those for the two antiquities on p. 149.

²³ H. Ellis, *The Townley Gallery of Classic Sculpture in the British Museum*, vol. 2, 1846, 106-7, mistakenly asserts that Townley purchased the relief at the Askew sale directly. Askew was likely the original owner of a bust of Nero, also acquired by Townley and now in the Museum (BM 1805,0703.246; *BM Sculpture* 1887). It is not clear why this bust and other antiquities either mentioned by Askew in his epigraphic manuscript as being collected by him (Burney MS 402, f.71v) or known to have been brought back by him were not part of the same sale (B. F. Cook, "Two 'lost' Greek inscriptions", *The Antiquaries Journal* 51, 1971, 263-5, no. 2: an inscription from Lesbos, *IG*

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The majority of the Museum's Attic funerary monuments are from the Elgin collection, the history of which has been elucidated elsewhere (see [AIUK 4.1 \(BM Cult\)](#) pp. 1-3; [AIUK 4.2 \(BM Decrees\)](#) pp. 1-4; [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\)](#) pp. 1-2). The fervent acquisition of these forty-two inscriptions by Elgin's agent, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, was undertaken over several years from his arrival in Athens in 1801.²⁴ If Lusieri kept detailed records of his marble hunting, they have not survived; but certain information both in his correspondence with Lord Elgin and in the travel writings of visitors of the day can offer further clues to the findspots of some of these funerary inscriptions. A letter to Elgin dated 30th August 1805 notes the discovery of six marble lekythoi during excavations south of Philopappos Hill near the Ilissos River, four of which have been identified from drawings made by Dodwell (**51**, **53**, **54**, and an uninscribed example, BM 1816,0610.195).²⁵ The lekythos of Mys (**50**) might be traceable to a known family grave plot in Glyfada, ancient Aixone (see commentary).

In 1802²⁶ Lusieri acquired the stele of Aristokles (**20**) from a Greek school near the Megali Panagia, the church within the Library of Hadrian,²⁷ where it had previously been recorded by Chandler and Stuart & Revett, and probably earlier by Fourmont and Askew. The school was also the findspot of the lekythos of Pamphilos (**56**), according to Fauvel ("A la principale école d'Athènes"); it may originally have been set over a grave in the Kerameikos, since there is a potential link with another monument from a family peribolos there (see commentary).

The kioniskos of Sokrates (**60**) had been noted by Fourmont in the stables of the Petraki Monastery (where **16** was also found) and was perhaps still there when Lusieri bought it – the monastery was the source of inscriptions also collected by Chandler, and others. The exceptionally large kioniskos of Thrason (**64**) was seen by several travellers beside a road from Piraeus to Athens ("près le chemin d'Athènes à Phalère", Fauvel). Earlier, Fourmont had recorded the location as "ἐν τοῖς κάμποις, τρουπιολιχάρη καλουμένοις" ("in the plains called Troupiolichari"), which should be Τρούπιο Λιθάρι, an area west of Agios Sostis.²⁸ The stone was eventually loaded onto the ship *Hydra*, after some difficulties due to its size (Hunt & Smith 1916, 280, 284).

The lengthy casualty list from the battle of Poteidaia (**79**) attracted much attention from visitors to Athens, although their reports of its findspot are confused, and some commentators had also attributed the discovery to Fauvel, when in fact it was from a dig of

XII, 2, 129, bought by the Museum in 1970 from the Earl of Lonsdale's collection at Lowther Castle, now BM 1970,0925.1). See discussion of Askew in [AIUK 4.3B \(BM Ephebic\)](#) pp. 2-4.

²⁴ T. Poulou, "Giovanni Battista Lusieri, Lord Elgin's Unknown Agent and His Excavations in Athens", in F. Mallouchou-Tufano and A. Malikourti eds., *220 Years: The Parthenon Marbles in the British Museum: New Contributions to the Issue*, 2016, 62-81.

²⁵ Poulou, op. cit., 71-2 (Letter to Elgin, EP7, folio 177); Dodwell 1819, I, 399-406; D. Williams, "Lusieri in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1800-1821", in A. Weston-Lewis ed., *Expanding Horizons: Giovanni Battista Lusieri and the Panoramic Landscape*, 2012, 177-86.

²⁶ Letter of Lusieri to Elgin, May 10, 1802: brought from 'the school', quoted in Hunt & Smith 1916, 216.

²⁷ A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, 1868, no. 138; Biris 1940, 38, no. 100.

²⁸ See K. H. Biris, *Αἱ τοπωνυμῖαι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν περιχώρων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, 1971, 112; *ARMA* 3, 696.

Elgin's men. Hobhouse, in the first edition of his travel narrative, puts the excavation in 1802 at the Kerameikos within the city limits, but later corrected his second edition to record it as being near the Academy. In fact, we have an eyewitness to the excavation in the French consul Fauvel: "près l'emplacement de l'Académie, nouvellement découverte", information corroborated by Clarke, who was given a copy of the text by Fauvel.²⁹

A further casualty list (80) in the Elgin collection was recorded by Clarke when it was with Lusieri prior to shipping, while Fourmont had recorded it previously "apud Michaelēm Αστροκάρη" (BnP, Manuscripts, Supp. gr. 571, f. 81), likely in Plaka, which was also the findspot of an inscription Chandler copied that made its way to Cambridge (*JG* II² 8499; [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\) no. 8](#)).

The final Elgin marble in this collection is of Tryphera (76), first recorded by Jacob Spon during his 1675-1676 expedition with George Wheler (cf. [AIUK 11 \(Ashmolean\)](#) pp. 3-5) in a small chapel that Fourmont and Askew confirm was that to St. George Alexandrinos, which lies immediately to the east of the Theatre of Dionysos within the archaeological site (Άγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρινός, Biris 1940, no. 3).

In 1839, the Museum bought the large Roman funerary sculpture of Tryphon (40) from the collection of Rev. Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell (1780-1846), who had been a chaplain at Smyrna from 1822 and travelled extensively around the Eastern Mediterranean (see *DNB*), publishing *A visit to the seven churches of Asia* (1828) and *Discoveries in Asia Minor* (1834). In a letter to W. R. Hamilton in 1839, Arundell states that he purchased the stele at Smyrna, but Edward Hawkins, the Keeper of Antiquities, in a report to the Trustees recommending the sale, noted it was dug up at Athens (BM Register). It is likely that Smyrna, a major hub of commerce and travel, was simply the point of sale.

A lekythos (55) was acquired in 1842 from Somerset Lowry-Corry, 2nd Earl of Belmore (1774-1841), one year before the majority of his vast collection of (mostly Egyptian) antiquities was bought by the Museum. He was Dublin born, and one-time governor of Jamaica, but his collecting was undertaken during extensive travels with his family in 1816-1818 in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Egypt.

Two grave stelai here hail from the collection of Henry William Inwood (1794-1843). The first (29) was found by Inwood on the Acropolis to the west of the Parthenon (and must have been transported there as building material), and the second (5) at the house of Demetrius Zografos, a guide and servant of Lord Byron, who had travelled to England with the poet and later returned to Greece to fight in the War of Independence.³⁰ Inwood had travelled to Greece in 1819, studying its architecture and collecting antiquities. He would write an influential study on Greek architecture,³¹ and played an important role in the Neoclassical revival, working on a number of churches, including St. Pancras New Church in London, which boasts a Karyatid porch modelled on that from the Erechtheion. He died

²⁹ Fauvel manuscript: BnF, Manuscripts, ms. fr. 22877, 1, f. 104 verso; see also Hobhouse 1817, I, 264; 1855, I, 268; Clarke, *Travels* IV, 28; A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 13, 1944, 352; Clairmont 1983, I, 174-7 no. 41, pl. 55; L. Beschi & I. Travlos, "La casa di L. S. Fauvel, primo museo Ateniese", *Eph. Arch.* 140, 2001, 120 n. 162 mistakenly attribute the excavation to Fauvel.

³⁰ Hobhouse 1817, I, 400; T. S. Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, vol. 1, 1820, 315.

³¹ H. W. Inwood, *The Erechtheion at Athens: Fragments of Athenian Architecture and a few remains in Attica, Megara, and Epirus* (1st ed. 1827, 2nd ed. 1831).

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in 1843 sailing to Spain on a ship that sank with all hands lost, and his collection of some 48 objects was sold to the Museum that same year.

The bilingual (Greek-Phoenician) stele of Artemidoros (**11**) was excavated some time before 1797 in Sepolia between the ancient walls and the Academy at a place called Vouno, northeast of a church of the Panagia (see *ARMA* 4, 898), and was taken to the Capuchin monastery in Athens (which housed many visitors to Athens and incorporated the Lysikrates monument into its fabric). It was seen at the house of the French consul Fauvel by the Swedish diplomat and orientalist Johan David Åkerblad, whose drawing was used by Edward Dodwell for a plate in his travel narrative. Fauvel had at some point offered it to Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier, who had been French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (1784-91).³² The stele was sent from Athens along with other antiquities collected for Choiseul on the French corvette *L'Arabe*, but the ship was intercepted on 14th June 1803 between Sicilian Messina and Italy by the British frigate *Maidstone*, under the command of Captain R. H. Moubray, and taken to Malta, where Lord Nelson noted that "There are several large cases of Antiquities on board L'Arabe, brought from Athens, said to be for Buonaparte for the French Republic".³³ The cargo was sent to London, and consigned for sale at Customs House (where Elgin bought a number of lots). The stone is not heard of again until it was donated by Lady Gray, the widow of a naval officer, to the Naval and Military Museum (now the Royal United Services Institute) at some point between its foundation in 1831 and 1837, when it was seen by James Yates (see lemma **11**). The United Services Institute donated the stone to the BM in 1861. The stele of Smikylyon (**8**) was also donated by a Royal Navy officer, Alexander Robinson, in 1850 but nothing more is known about him; a career at sea would have afforded such opportunities to remove souvenirs from antique lands.

Three stelai (**27**, **32**, **36**) were donated by the 5th Earl of Aberdeen in 1861 from the collection of his father, the 4th Earl, George Hamilton Gordon (1784-1860), a politician of considerable achievement and British Prime Minister from 1852 to 1855. Aberdeen had visited Athens twice during a tour of Europe, the first sojourn between 17th and 28th April 1803, and the second from 30th August to 26th September the same year,³⁴ during which he probably witnessed the removal of the Parthenon marbles by Elgin's agents, and undertook an excavation around the bema of the Pnyx at the suggestion of Lusieri, uncovering votive reliefs from the sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos³⁵ (see [AIUK 4.5 \(BM Dedications\)](#) section 7F) that were shipped on one of Elgin's transports in 1806 and became part of Elgin's collection sold to the British Museum.³⁶ The two men were linked in a poem of Lord Byron ("Let Aberdeen and Elgin still pursue / The Shade of fame through regions of vertu"). Aberdeen supported Elgin's removal of the marbles as well as their genuine antiquity at the parliamentary committee set up to assess the collection and its purchase by the nation.

³² For Elgin's relationship with the Choiseul collection, see Hunt & Smith 1916, 358-9.

³³ N. H. Nicolas, *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, vol. 5, 1845, 90.

³⁴ On Aberdeen's time in Athens, see M. E. Chamberlain, *Lord Aberdeen: A Political Biography*, 1983, 36-7, 41-2.

³⁵ Dodwell 1819, I, 401-4.

³⁶ See Hunt & Smith 1916, 280.

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In 1864, two grave stelai (**35**, **83** [not Athenian]) were purchased from the collection of the Irish peer Percy Clinton Sydney Smythe, 6th Viscount Strangford (1780-1855),³⁷ from his son. His time as British Ambassador to Constantinople 1820-1824 (arriving in 1821) allowed him to build a collection of antiquities, including the Strangford Shield (BM 1864,0220.18; *BM Sculpture* 302), a Roman copy of the shield from Pheidias' chryselephantine statue of Athena in the Parthenon, but there is no indication that he went to Greece (which was in the middle of a revolution against the Ottoman Empire), nor of how he came across the Athenian pieces in his collection; they were perhaps purchased in Constantinople.

The large naiskos stele of Agathemeris (**43**) was donated by Sir T. J. Malcolm, a military officer otherwise unknown. Vidua states that the stone was excavated by the British consul Logothetis³⁸ just before the War of Independence on the road to Piraeus that passed through the "Inte" gate in the Haseki wall – Athens' final fortification circuit built in 1778; it is likely this was the Arvanitiki Gate, since Pittakis notes the monument was discovered in 1818 in the Ilissos area.³⁹

The British politician Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford (1766-1827) (see further discussion of the Guilford collection in *AIUK* 4.7 (BM Miscellaneous) forthcoming), had travelled extensively in Greece, establishing the first university, the Ionian Academy, on the island of Corfu in 1824, where he taught Kyriakos Pittakis (noted epigrapher, Ephor of Antiquities from 1835, and General Ephor of Antiquities from 1848 until his death in 1863).⁴⁰ Guilford's collection was broken up on his death, and included the stele of Archiades (**21**), given in 1886 by one George Plucknett, and that of Melitta (**37**), which eventually found its way to a builders' yard and was donated to the BM in 1909 by Messrs. Cubitt, London building contractors. A drawing of the stone by Haller had been given to the archives of Conze's great project on Attic funerary reliefs by Bergau (see Conze IV, *Nachträge*, p. 15) with the note that it was 'Dans l'église Dimitrios à Négroponte, hors de la porte', i.e. once at Chalkis in Euboia, although a further drawing discovered by Conze among the collection of the bibliophile Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872) recorded it as "bought at Athens" (Codex 17369).⁴¹

In 1890, construction work for the foundations of a building at 67 New Bond Street in London, the premises of the famed cabinet maker John Johnstone, produced a surprise find – the grave stele of Epigona (**42**). How it came to England, and how it ended up in the foundations of a London property, is not known, but it had previously been recorded in

³⁷ For Strangford see also discussions in [AIUK 4.2 \(BM Decrees\)](#) pp. 4-5; [AIUK 4.3B \(BM Ephebic\)](#) p. 4; [AIUK 13 \(Mount Stewart\)](#) pp. 3-4.

³⁸ This is likely Spyridon Logothetis, who had been consul from at least 1800, see D. Wilson, *List of British Consular Officials in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories, from the sixteenth century to about 1860*, p. 25:

[http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey\(1581-1860\)-D_Wilson.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey(1581-1860)-D_Wilson.pdf) (retrieved 21.05.19).

³⁹ Pittakis 1835, 205.

⁴⁰ A. Hobson, "Frederick North, Fifth Earl of Guilford", in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 15, 2014, 73-83.

⁴¹ This enormous collection of books and manuscripts was broken up over a very long period, see the 5-volume history by A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, 1951-1960.

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Athens as far back as the late 17th century, when Jacob Spon saw it in the courtyard of one Giorgaki Livaditi; the stone was then seen by Fourmont in 1729, but thereafter disappears. Similarly, stele **18** was discovered ca. 1870 in the wine-cellar of Alphington House, on the island of Jersey,⁴² at that point owned by Arthur Sanders, who donated it in 1894 to the Museum. There is no record of how it got to Jersey, but perhaps it was brought back by traders to the Mediterranean, following a long tradition of ancient stones being taken as ballast.⁴³

The stelai of Hierokleia (**24**) and of Stratios (**25**) were purchased in 1907 from William Talbot Ready; **24** had been seen before 1888 by Dragatsis on Pigadas street (Πηγάδας) west of Karava (Καραβά) over a door of a factory belonging to G. Grypaios.⁴⁴ Ready was from a family of restorers who worked at the BM, but he left to become a dealer after 1884, taking over the firm of Rollin and Feuardent.⁴⁵

The Museum purchased the disk of Gnathon (**71**) in 1908 from the dealer Jean P. Lambros (1843–1909) in Athens, where it had been seen “some years” before 1909 by A. Lampropoulos (see lemma **71**). Both his father and brother also sold antiquities to the BM, particularly coins.⁴⁶

The stele of Klearete (**22**) was purchased in 1910 from the Paris dealer C. A. Lembressis through Talbot Ready for 160 pounds (along with **24** and a sculpture fragment). The naiskos stele of Metagenes (**34**) was bought through the intermediary Spink & Son Ltd for 150 pounds in 1915 without provenance, but a garbled text of the inscription was sent to the Berlin Academy in 1912 by Wiegand from Istanbul, and if he saw it there rather than in Athens then it might have been sold at Istanbul or at least shipped from there. Lembressis was also the dealer who sold the stele of Melantes (**31**) to the Museum, for 160 pounds through W. C. Bacon & Co.

The naiskos stele of Aristeis (**33**) was purchased from the dealer Georges Yannacopoulos (Γιαννακόπουλος) in Paris in 1910 for 600 pounds, accompanied by a confidential note that it came from “Velaniderya in East Attica” (Βελανιδέζας, formerly Loutsia, now Artemis). In 1911, he also sold the funerary naiskos of Archagora (**30**) to the Museum for 1000 pounds, again with a note that it was said to have been found at Menidi (Acharnes) in Attica. Such notes may preserve information from earlier collectors, although we cannot discount the possibility that they were added to raise the price through false private claims to provenance.

⁴² For the story of its discovery, see A. H. Smith, *JHS* 14, 1894, 268.

⁴³ Note, e.g., the interesting case of *GIBM* 1030, copied by Sherard at Smyrna in 1701 (*CIG* 3376), found during excavations at Vauxhall in 1901, and presented to the BM by the Director of the London and South-West Railway Company, see L. Robert, “Pierres errantes, muséographie et onomastique”, *Berytus* 16, 1966, 5-39 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* 7, 637-71).

⁴⁴ Dragatsis communicated the information to the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 1888, 163, no. 9; see *ARMA* 4, pp. 309-10.

⁴⁵ D. M. Wilson, *The British Museum: A History*, 2002, 357 n. 128; M. Caygill, “An enduring legacy”, *British Museum Magazine* 51, Spring 2005, 55.

⁴⁶ On Lambros as a dealer in Athens, see Y. Galanakis, *ABSA* 106, 2011, 186-92, esp. nn. 36 and 45. A further inscribed monument (BM 1895,1029.10) purchased from Lambros is [AIUK 4.5 \(BM Dedications\) no. 12](#).

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The lekythos of Hippylos (47) was purchased in 1924 for 350 pounds from the London dealer B. Coureau, who sold items from Greece to the BM between 1924-1926.

The fragment of the Argive casualty list from the battle of Tanagra (78) was found by the antiquary Daniel Wray (1701-1783) at the house of a Mr. Jones of Finchley in 1771, one of several marbles given to him by an unnamed naval officer who had sailed throughout the Levant. In preparing a paper for the Society of Antiquaries, Wray spoke with James “Athenian” Stuart, who produced papers proving that he had not only found the inscription himself at the Stoa Poikile (Library of Hadrian) during his famed expedition to Athens (1751-1753) but had had it shipped to Smyrna with the intention of bringing it home to England. But the marble never arrived;⁴⁷ the unknown naval officer perhaps found it uncollected at Smyrna. A. S. Murray⁴⁸ was alerted to part of the inscription alongside a fragment of the Parthenon’s north frieze (block 41, BM 1919,0715.1) – surely also part of Stuart’s lost shipment – in 1901 in a garden rockery at Colne Park, Essex, home of the Botterell family, that once had been the property of the antiquary and specialist in early writing, Thomas Astle (author of *The Origin and Progress of Writing*, 1784), who Murray surmised may well have been interested in collecting such unusual specimens of Greek script. On further enquiry, the joining fragment was also dug up from the same place and the inscription went on display (loaned by J. D. Botterell) at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in summer 1903.⁴⁹ Both sculpture and inscription were donated by Botterell to the British Museum in 1919 and 1923. Examples such as these emphasise how misleading a findspot for an inscription can be without further documentary evidence. The transportation of marbles as ballast on ships, the trade in antiquities from the major ports of the Eastern Mediterranean, and the potential for shipments to be lost or stored with missing consignment details led to a great many ancient monuments becoming *pierres errantes*.

The stele of Timarete (17) is first recorded as being in a Venetian collection in a 17th century drawing.⁵⁰ It next appears in London, transcribed ca. 1835 by James Yates, owned by a chemist called Dodd (perhaps the same C. Dodd who presented a Marsyas in 1838: BM 1838,1201.1, *BM Sculpture* 1557), before becoming part of the collection of Sir Francis Cook (1817-1901), a wealthy textile magnate living in Richmond, whose son Frederick loaned the piece to the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition in 1903.⁵¹ The stele was bought by the Museum at the sale of the Cook family collection in 1947.⁵²

The stele of Synphoron (41) was copied in Valetta, Malta in 1749 by Thomas Blackburne, whose epigraphic manuscript was seen by M. N. Tod in the possession of C. T. Onions, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.⁵³ How it got there, or how it came to England, is unknown, but many marbles found their way to or via Malta, a major military

⁴⁷ D. Wray, “Observations on a Greek inscription, brought from Athens”, *Archaeologia* vol. 2, 1773, 216-21; reprinted 2nd edition, 1809.

⁴⁸ “A Fragment of the Parthenon Frieze”, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 10, 1902, 31-2.

⁴⁹ For the date, see *JHS* 25, 1905, 183; *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, 1904, 88 no. 109.

⁵⁰ The Molin or Grimani collections? See I. Favaretto, *Arte antica e cultura antiquaria delle collezioni venete al tempo della Serenissima*, 1990, 200, 384 fig. 63.

⁵¹ *Catalogue: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, 1904, no. 31.

⁵² For the Cook collection, see E. Strong, *JHS* 28, 1908, 1-45.

⁵³ M. N. Tod, “A Forgotten Epigraphist”, *JHS* 48, 1928, 1-6, inscription on p. 4.

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and commercial hub and quarantine centre. It was copied by Müller for Boeckh, who published it in 1828 when it was already at the Museum.

The stele of Soteris (**38**) had once been owned by Howe Peter Browne, 2nd Marquess of Sligo (1788-1845),⁵⁴ who arrived in Athens in 1810 and obtained a *firman* to excavate a number of sites, amassing a collection of some 1,059 vases, and almost a hundred marbles (cf. [AIUK 4.2 \(BM Decrees\)](#) p. 5; [AIUK 13 \(Mount Stewart\)](#) p. 3). The Museum purchased the stele from Hadji Baba Galleries in 1982 for 700 pounds.

The marble loutrophoros of Mnesimede (**48**) may be linked with an excavated lekythos of the same family from a cemetery at Voula (ancient Halai Aixonides). It was purchased in Paris by Jean Mikas in the 1920s and was sold by his nephew George N. Krimitsas in the 1970s. It came on the market once more in 1999 through the Cahn Gallery in Basel and was bought by the Museum through Oliver Forge and Brendan Lynch for 20,000 pounds.

The stele of Choirine (**23**) was acquired in Eleusis in 1819 by the French Rear Admiral E. Halgan (1771-1852), becoming part of the collection of Francois Lenormant. In more recent decades it passed through the Swiss and London markets and was last owned by Carlo-Maria Fallani of Geneva. The Museum bought it from Oliver Forge and Brendan Lynch for 38,000 pounds in 2007.

⁵⁴ On the Second Marquis of Sligo, see now A. Chambers, *The Great Leviathan: The Life of Howe Peter Browne, Marquess of Sligo 1788-1845*, 2017.

3. PRIVATE MONUMENTS: THE NAME STELAI

1 GRAVE STELE OF THE FAMILY OF ARISTOPHOSA. BM 1816,0610.266, Elgin collection. Athens? Undecorated stele of white marble with a rounded finial that may include traces of a painted band, h. 0.768, w. 0.285, th. 0.085. Lettering and orthography of the late fifth to early fourth century BC, h. 0.022.

Eds. *CIG* 921 (Boeckh, copies Rose and Müller); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 135*; *IG* II 3503 (Koehler); *IG* II² 10799 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 1.

Late v - early iv BC

	Ἀριστοφώσης	(Memorial) of Aristophosa,
	τῆς μητρὸς τῆς	mother of
	Ἀμφήνορος καὶ	Amphenor and
	Διογνήτο : καὶ	Diognetos and
5	Θυμίλο : καὶ τῷ	Thymilos, and (memorial) of
	Θυμίλο : ὕῶ ^{vv}	Thymilos, son of
	Ναύκλο : καὶ	Nauklos, and (memorial)
	Τιμοκράτος	of Timokrates,
	τῷ : ὕῶ : τῷ Ἀμφή-	son of Amphenor.
10	νορος. ^{vacat}	(Memorial)
	Θρασυκλέος.	of Thrasykles.

This list of family members on the same stele is unusually headed by a woman, Aristophosa, who is identified not as a daughter or wife but as a mother of three sons. She was buried with one son, Thymilos, and a grandson, Timokrates, and was perhaps a widow. The final line lists one further interment, that of Thrasykles, whose familial relationship is unspecified, but who was certainly added to the stone at a later date, as evidenced by the shallower engraving of his name.

Several of the names presented are rare or otherwise unknown at Athens. As Lambert has noted, only about 13% of Athenians in the fifth century BC had names otherwise unattested for Athenians, and only about 7.5% in the fourth century.⁵⁵ This suggests we may not be dealing with an Athenian family. Ἀριστοφῶσα (or Ἀριστοφώση, *PAA*), perhaps a simplification of Ἀριστοφῶσσα,⁵⁶ is a feminine version of Ἀριστόφως, a name whose first component, Ἀριστο-, is very common, and whose second, -φως, though less widespread, is well-enough attested. The name appears five times in its masculine form in Hellenistic Crete, once in Cyrenaica, and once in a feminine form, as Ἀριστοφῶσσα, in imperial Rhodes (cf. *LGPN* I, and note also the two Cretan occurrences of Ἀριστόφοος).

⁵⁵ S. D. Lambert, “*LGPN* and the Epigraphy and History of Attica”, in R. W. V. Catling and F. Marchand eds., *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names presented to Elaine Matthews*, 2010, 143-52, at 149. As he notes, however, these statistics include the less well-attested female names; the number of unique male names is accordingly rather lower than these figures suggest.

⁵⁶ -σσ- does not normally occur in Attic, which has a tendency in inscriptions to simplify to -σ-, although the cases noted by Thraette I, 514-16 are mostly ethnic adjectives.

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Of her three sons, two are not commemorated here and so might have been responsible for erecting the stele: Ἀμφήνωρ is a name formed of two common components,⁵⁷ albeit unattested in this combination; Διόγνητος is common across the Greek world. Θυμίλος, their deceased brother, though a rare name, is also regularly formed from the component Θυμ(ο)- and the diminutive/familiar suffix -ίλος. The name is otherwise found only on a dedication to Asklepios from Crete (*SEG* 28.750, early Hellenistic?). Ναῦκλος, a hypocoristic variant of Ναυκλής, occurs at Ephesos (the patronymic of a decree proposer) in the third century BC (*I Eph.* 2004.2).⁵⁸ The name-type is rare in Attica; the closest parallel at this period is a worker from the Erechtheion accounts, Σῶκλος, a metic resident in Alopeke.⁵⁹ Timokrates and Thrasykles are both very common names.

The inscription should date to the late fifth or early fourth century BC on the basis of its lettering and orthography (such as the consistent use of O for OY). The text is written in Ionic script, which is often the case on funerary monuments for foreigners in the late fifth century,⁶⁰ although the syntax is also non-Attic (καί ... καί ... καὶ τοῦ). The monument type – rounded top without connecting moulding – finds a good fifth-century parallel in *IG* II² 11378 (for the date and image, see *Agora* XVII 813, pl. 66), inscribed with the single name Εὐεθίδες in a slightly older style of lettering than that of our monument, and bearing traces of a painted egg-and-dart pattern in a band above the inscription. The blank finial of Aristophosa's memorial may similarly have received painted decoration (there may be surviving traces), likely with a palmette, such as we see on the stele of Aristippos (*IG* II² 9156; Posamentir 2006, no. 11).

The naming of the deceased in the genitive, with σῆμα or μνῆμα understood, finds ready parallels in Attic funerary epigraphy of this period (cf. *IG* I³ 1339: Ἀρχεδίμο | Ἀριστοβόλης, ca. 410-400 BC). The form ὕος for υἰός is normal in Attic inscriptions after ca. 450 BC and until the Roman period,⁶¹ although its use here where we would expect simply the patronymic in the genitive is rare.⁶² While it is unusual to find the definite article between names (at this period principally in epitaphs of foreigners, cf. *IG* I³ 1358, 1366, 1372), it is necessary when the main name is in the genitive to avoid the awkward juxtaposition of two genitive names (cf. [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 8](#)); ὕος also clarifies that the genitive is different from the preceding one, “memorial of ... son of ...” The use of two-dot

⁵⁷ See S. Minon, “Anthroponymes en Ἀμφ(ι)- et en -αρ(ι)-: de Ἀμφιάρης à Ἀμφαρίων”, *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 84, 2010, 289-324.

⁵⁸ A further example on a sherd from Naukratis (A. Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien* I, 1970, 670, 287) should be deleted following a new reading by Alan Johnston: [- -]νδριπος με[- -] ([BM 1886.0401.503](#)).

⁵⁹ Threatte II, 182, citing *IG* I³ 476.173 (also at *IG* II² 1654.7-8, as it may now be read, cf. [AIO Papers 7, no. 1](#), 8). The common name Σοκλῆς also occurs in the same accounts (ll. 202, 239) for a slave named with reference to his owner.

⁶⁰ Threatte I, 33. For the change from Attic to Ionic script in public documents and the influence of the language of the country demes on the *asty*, see A. P. Matthaiou, “Attic public inscriptions of the fifth century BC in Ionic script”, in L. Mitchell & L. Rubinstein eds., *Greek History and Epigraphy. Essays in honour of P. J. Rhodes*, 2009, 201-12.

⁶¹ For the use and forms of υἰός in Attic inscriptions, see Threatte I, 340.

⁶² But cf. *IG* II³ 4, 550 (late iv BC): - - τοῦ ὕος Ἀριστ- -; *IG* II³ 4, 706 (350-325 BC): Φρύνων Παμνόςιος ὑπὲρ | Διογνήτο τὸ ὕος ἀνέθηκεν.

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interpuncts on funerary monuments, though not very common, can also be paralleled at this period (e.g., *IG I³* 1354, ca. ?410-400, for a Megarian from the Piraeus).⁶³

Early publications of this inscription doubted its authenticity. Koumanoudes omitted the stele from his collection of Attic funerary inscriptions, and Hicks dismissed it as a forgery on the basis of its lettering and “diction”. This scepticism was cogently contradicted by Koehler, who, on the basis of a squeeze supplied by Gustav Hirschfeld, noted that the letter-forms and the later addition of the final line argued for its authenticity. The absence of a published image of the stone has not aided decision on this question, and, though included in *PAA*, the persons named are not in *LGPN* or *Athenian Onomasticon*. The monument type, rarity of the names, style of letter-cutting, and the later addition of a further family member support Koehler’s argument that this is a genuine gravestone. What seems quite certain, if this is Attic, is that the family were foreigners with their own traditions of funerary commemoration. A further possibility, however is that the stone may not have been discovered in Attica: a number of objects from the Elgin collection described as having been discovered in Athens were in fact found elsewhere (see [AIUK 4.5 \(BM Dedications\)](#) sect. 1 with nn. 11 and 12 and Appendix). A further argument against this being a forgery is the rarity of invented simple Greek funerary stelai, since there was little market for such stones in the Ottoman Empire of the late 18th and early 19th centuries (see M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca I*, 1967, 488-501).

Koehler supposed that Amphenor had brought his family with him from Teos or Abdera, although the onomastics do not seem particularly indicative of such an origin; the fact that two of the more unusual names occur later in Crete does no more than raise the possibility of a Cretan origin. Another alternative, consonant with (but not definitely implied by) the absence of an ethnic, is that this is the monument of a family of mixed ethnicity and/or servile origin.

⁶³ Cf. Threatte I, 77.

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Fig. 1. 1 © Trustees of the British Museum.

2 GRAVE STELE OF EUPOLEMOS AND FAMILY. BM 1816,0610.385, Elgin collection. Athens. Fragment of a white marble stele broken on all but the right side with a thick, broken moulded band above and the floor of a recessed field containing a curved object (foliage?); the top was cut and worked smooth during reuse. H. 0.38, w. 0.225, th. 0.12. Lettering and orthography (Ionic script but O for OY) of ca. early fourth century BC (Lewis, *IG I³* p. 987), h. 0.18-0.22; stoichedon: hor. 0.041, vert. 0.033.

Eds. *CIG* 79 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 95; *IG I* 548 + Suppl. p. 54 (Kirchhoff); *IG II* 2693 (Koehler); *SEMA* 3181. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig. 2*.

ca. early iv BC

Stoichedon

	[Εὐπόλ]εμος [ῥ]	[Eupol]emos
	[. . . .]ιδος ῥ	(son) of --is
	[Πτελε?]άσιος.	of [Ptelea?].
	[. . . σ]τράτη	[-s]trate
5	[Εὐπολ]έμο. ῥ[ῥ]	(daughter) of [Eupol]emos.
	[Εὐπόλ]εμος [ῥ]	[Eupol]emos
	[Εὐπολέ]μο ῥ[ῥ]	(son) of [Eupole]mos.
	-----	...

Earlier eds. leave the inscription unrestored: [- -]εμος | [- -]ιδος | [- -]άσιος | [- -σ]τράτη | [- -]έμο. | [- -]εμος | [- -]ο | - - - *SEMA*.

Boeckh classified this inscription as part of a fifth-century decree, and Kirchhoff designated it a *fragmentum incertum*, but since Hicks it has been correctly identified as a funerary monument listing a father, daughter and son.⁶⁴ Koehler was first to recognise that the father's name must be -όλεμος, but the fact that the names are inscribed stoichedon, here noted for the first time, enables us to take restoration a step further, albeit with a leap of faith. There are only certain possible combinations of names and demotics that would all fit the same stoichedon grid (utilising the *Athenian Onomasticon* search functions), assuming the lines start at a left margin. Although far from certain, I suggest that Εὐπόλεμος is the only attested name that suits all the parameters, while the only two possible demotics that would then fit in l. 3 are Τειθράσιος or Πτελεάσιος.⁶⁵ While the former cannot be ruled out, the name Eupolemos is not otherwise found in Teithras, and it may be that this monument relates to members of the same family as that which supplied an ephebe, Eupolemos of Ptelea, ca. 330 BC (Reinmuth, *Ephebic Inscriptions*, no. 12, col. I 36 = J. L. Friend, *The Athenian Ephebeia in the Fourth Century BCE*, 2019, T19). We would then

⁶⁴ The monument was omitted from *IG II²*, perhaps because of the lingering possibility of a late fifth-century date. Lewis then did not include it in *IG I³* on the grounds that it belonged more comfortably in the fourth century (*IG I³* p. 987).

⁶⁵ If the stoichedon pattern included one further letter, we might also consider the name [Τληπόλ]εμος (variant spelling of Τλημπόλεμος) and the demotic [Ἀναγυρ]άσιος (a suggestion I owe to Angelos P. Matthaiou), although in that case there is no known attestation of the name in that deme, as there is with Eupolemos of Ptelea, and it would require the omission of mu.

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have a family memorial of Eupolemos son of --is of Ptelea (Εὔπολις would share a name component, although there is a Σώπολις of Ptelea in 329/8 BC: *IG II² 1672.260*), his daughter (many possibilities, such as Δημοστράτη, Λυσιστράτη), and a son, also likely called Eupolemos. If the restoration of line length is correct, the stele was originally twice the width (ca. 0.45 m) and perhaps listed further members in the manner of other tall Namenstelen; the curving object in the crowning element above would then lie towards the right and likely be part of a rosette or foliage from a palmette finial.

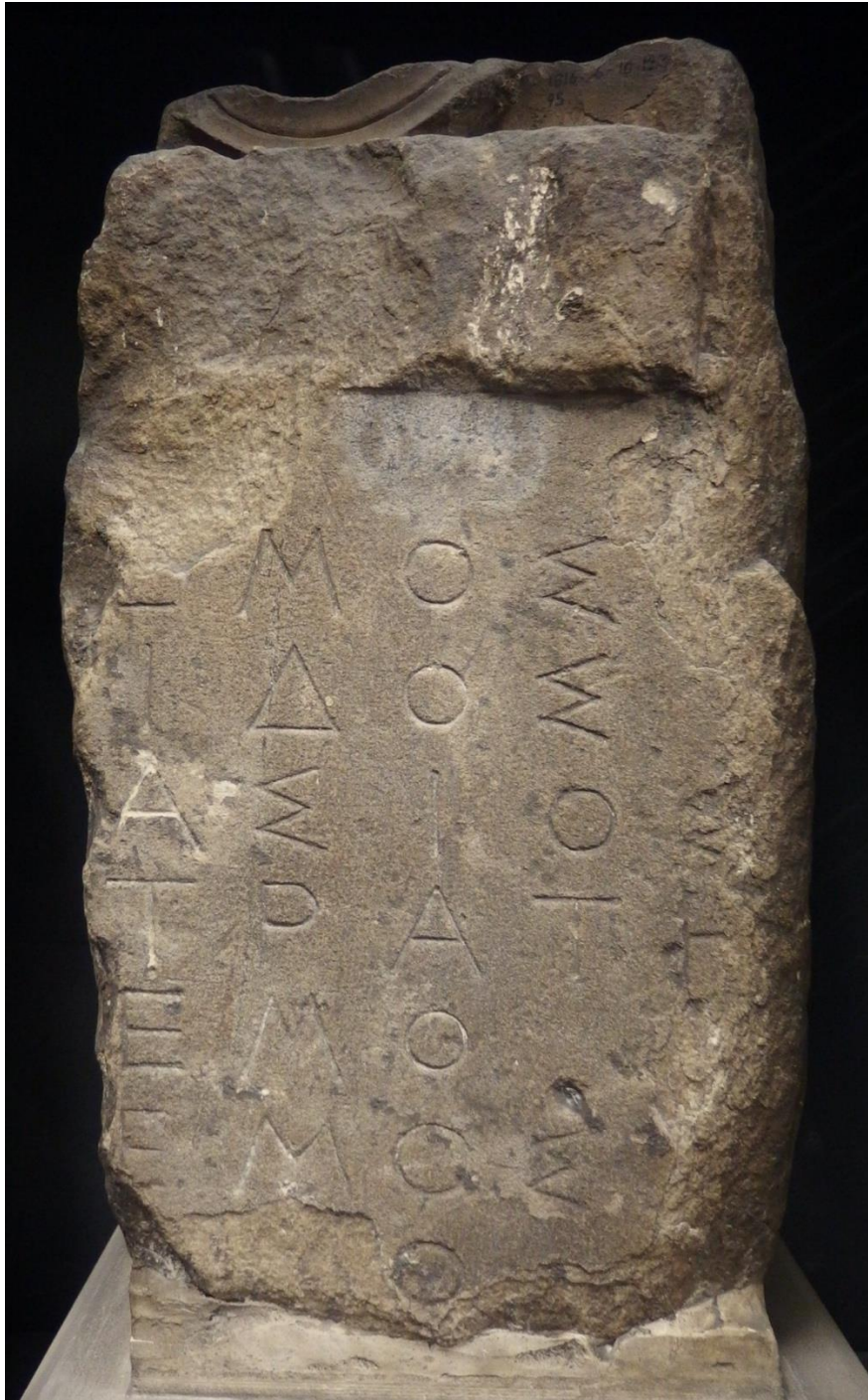


Fig. 2. 2. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

3 GRAVE STELE OF HIPPOKRATES AND BAUKIS. BM 1816,0610.351, Elgin collection. Athens. Complete stele of white marble crowned with a palmette acroterion, h. 1.25, w. 0.385, th. 0.085. Lettering of the late fifth to early fourth century BC, h. 0.015. For the palmette decoration, cf. Hildebrandt 2006, nos. 17 (390-380 BC) and 18 (ca. 370 BC).

Eds. *CIG* 958 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 3000; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 120; *IG* II 3810 (Koehler); *IG* II² 11722 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 600; Conze III 1513, pl. 314 (*ARMA* 4, 2316). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 3.1, 3.2.

early iv BC

Ἱπποκράτης Ἰ Βαυκίς.

Hippokrates. Baukis.

The tall undecorated shaft of this grave stele likely once bore painted decoration beneath the inscribed names of Hippokrates and Baukis, perhaps husband and wife (cf. the stele of Sosistratos and Phanokleia, *IG* II² 5520 = Posamentir 2006, no. 64). Βαυκίς is a rare name, occurring only once more in a fragmentary poem by the fourth-century BC poet Erinna, *The Distaff*, a lament for her childhood friend Baukis who died shortly after marriage; they may have lived on the small Dodecanese island of Telos.⁶⁶ The male name Βαυκίς is found once more, on a statue base at Olympia seen by Pausanias (6.8.4), commemorating the wrestling victory of Baukis of Troizen (v-iv BC, L. Moretti, *Olympionikai*, 1957, no. 358). The related names Βαυκίς, Βαυκῶς, Βαυκίων, and Βαυκος all derive from βαυκος, meaning ‘soft’, rather than the sense ‘prudish, affected’ given by LSJ.⁶⁷ In Latin, the name was made famous by Ovid’s Baucis and Philemon legend (*Met.* 8. 611-724). The rare name, lack of patronymics, demotics or ethnics, suggest this could be a metec pair.

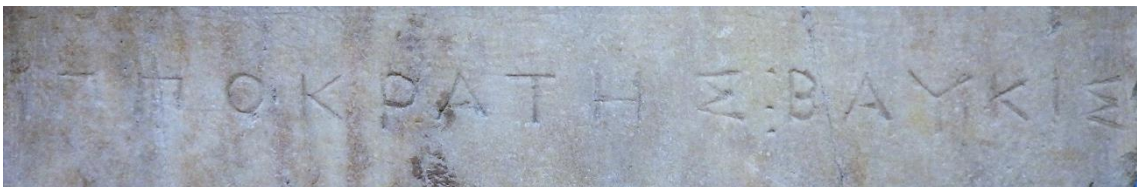


Fig. 3.1. **3**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁶⁶ D. L. Page ed., *Greek Literary Papyri*, 1942, no. 120.

⁶⁷ See C. P. Jones, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 96, 1994, 203-27 (*SEG* 45.2283); O. Masson, *ZPE* 102, 1994, 174-77 (*SEG* 44.261).

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Fig. 3.2. 3. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

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4 GRAVE STELE OF CHABRIAS FROM SELYMBRIA. BM 1816,0610.290, Elgin collection. Athens. Upper section of a marble stele with two stylised rosettes below the inscription, surmounted by an acroterion of one central palmette and two smaller ones at the sides, broken above. H. 0.495, w. 0.44, th. 0.105. Lettering of the early fourth century BC, h. 0.016, increasingly spaced out towards the end of the line. Palmette type of ca. 400-375 BC (Hildebrandt).

Eds. *CIG* 888 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 2350; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 107; *IG* II 3296 (Koehler); *IG* II² 10261a (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 608; Conze III 1641, fig. 347 (*ARMA* 4, 2327); Hildebrandt 2006, no. 156. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 4.

early iv BC Χαβρίας Σαλυπριανός. Chabrias of Salypria (Selymbria).
(rosette) (rosette)

1 pi may be beta, the upper horizontal perhaps curves slightly.

Chabrias was a metic from Selymbria, a Megarian colony in Propontic Thrace (modern Silivri, west of Istanbul). The city ethnic is recorded elsewhere in Athenian sources as Σηλυμβριανός and Σελυμβριανός, but on its own fifth-century BC coins is abbreviated ΣΑΛΥ, suggesting the spelling in our inscription is more authentically Selymbrian.⁶⁸ The city joined the Delian League after the Persians were expelled from Thrace, and appears in the Athenian Tribute Lists in the Hellespontine district many times from 454/3 to 418/7, at first paying nine talents and then ever decreasing amounts down to 900 drachmas in 435/4, but is then assessed at nine talents again in 430/29 (see *Inventory* no. 679). It revolted from the Athenians during a period of stasis which saw the pro-Athenian party exiled, but was recaptured by Alcibiades in 408, who acted as the proposer of the surviving inscribed settlement with the city ([IG I³ 118](#)) that includes discussion of several hostages taken by the Athenians (for all of which, see *Inventory* no. 679). The Selymbrians later joined the second Athenian naval confederacy ([RO 22, 125](#)).

Only two other Selymbrians are known to have been commemorated at Athens: the proxenos Pythagoras son of Dionysios, on a well-known funerary monument in the Kerameikos ca. 460-450 BC (*IG* I³ 1154); and a woman, Xeno, who died ca. 410-400 BC (*IG* II² 10261: Σηλυβριανά).

⁶⁸ See *Inventory* no. 679; Threatte I, 133 for variants at Athens. Epigraphically, the ethnic with *alpha* is attested otherwise from Selymbria itself only in the Roman period: *IK Byzantion* S5, S23, S24.

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Fig. 4. 4 © Trustees of the British Museum.

5 GRAVE STELE OF CHAIRIPPE. BM 1843,0531.21. Found at Athens in the house of Demetrius Zografos in 1819 by Inwood (see Collection History). Complete stele of white marble, very abraded, with a simple rounded central acroterion, likely once carrying a painted palmette. H. 0.705, w. 0.32, th. 0.095. Letters worn and undiagnostic, h. 0.02. For the finial, cf. Hildebrandt 2016, nos. 18 (ca. 370), 22 (ca. 380-70), 42 (390 BC).

Eds. H. W. Inwood, *The Erechtheion at Athens*, 1827, 146, pl. 31 [2nd ed. 1831, 34, pl. 31]; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 130; *IG II²* 13040a (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. Figs. 5.1, 5.2.

early iv BC

Χαίριππης.

(Memorial) of Chairippe.

The inscription is engraved at the upper right corner of the stele shaft, likely acting as a name label (albeit in the genitive) to a now lost painted figure beneath (cf. Posamentir 2006, no. 20 = *IG II²* 10483; no. 21 = 11887, [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\) no. 1](#)). The name Χαίριππη is attested 14 times at Athens, with 12 belonging to the fourth century and two perhaps Hellenistic (see *Athenian Onomasticon*). The use of the single name for a woman leaves the citizen status indeterminable, although further information may have been conveyed by a painted scene or through neighbouring monuments within a family peribolos.



Fig. 5.1. 5, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

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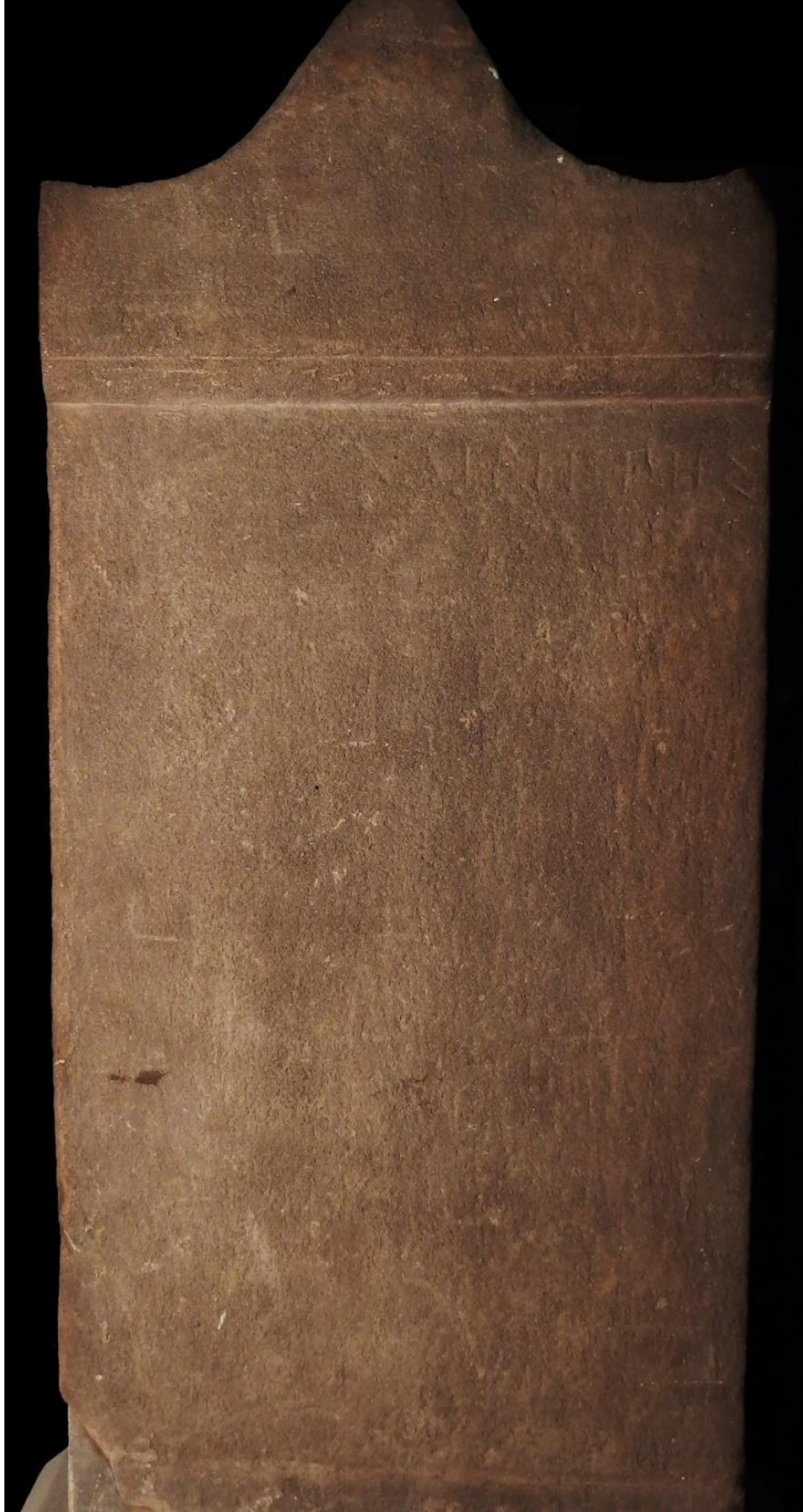


Fig. 5.2. 5. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

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6 GRAVE STELE OF EUMACHOS. BM 1785,0527.4. Athens, found by Chandler built into a wall and presented by the Society of Dilettanti (see Collection History). Upper part of a white marble stele surmounted by a palmette acroterion, missing the left section, h. 0.515, w. 0.445, th. 0.13. Lettering of the early fourth century BC, h. 0.018. Palmette type ca. 390-380 BC (Hildebrandt).

Eds. Chandler 1774, no. 87; *CIG* 579 (Boeckh, from Chandler); Koumanoudes 197; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 79; *IG* II 1812 (Koehler); *IG* II² 5556 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 605; Conze III 1611, fig. 342 (*ARMA* 4, 2305); Hildebrandt 2006, no. 199, pl. 74 (dr.). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig. 6*.

early iv BC	Εὐμαχος	Eumachos
	Εὐθυμάχο	(son) of Euthymachos
	Ἀλωπεκῆθε[ν].	of Alopeke.

The sharing of components in a name between father and son (as here with Εὐ-) was a common phenomenon at Athens, particularly before ca. 200 BC when it becomes much more likely to find father and son with the same name (see S. D. Lambert in A. P. Matthaiou – G. Malouchou eds., *Attikai Epigraphai. Praktika Symposiou eis mnemen Adolf Wilhelm*, 2004, 335-6 = *IALD* 329-30). This inscription provides the only instances of these names in Alopeke (*Athenian Onomasticon*), a deme located at modern Katsipodi, southeast of the city walls (Traill 1986, 139). The continuation of the stele may have listed further family members below, or perhaps bore painted decoration.



Fig. 6. 6 © Trustees of the British Museum.

7 GRAVE STELE OF ASKLEPIODOROS AND EPIKYDES OF OLYNTHOS. BM 1816,0610.258, Elgin collection. Athens. Upper part of a marble stele with rounded palmette acroterion, h. 0.425, w. 0.325, th. 0.08. Lettering ca. mid-fourth century BC, h. 0.012. Palmette type ca. 370-360 BC (Hildebrandt).

Eds. *CIG* 879 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 2286; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 106; *IG* II 3243 (Koehler); *IG* II² 10019 (Kirchner); Ginestí Rosell 2012, no. 170.

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 601; Conze III 1579, fig. 335 (*ARMA* 4, 2326); Hildebrandt 2006, no. 7, pl. 8. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 7.1, 7.2.

mid-iv BC	Ἀσκληπιόδωρος Θράσωνος Ὀλύνθιος. Ἐπικύδης Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Ὀλύνθιος.	Asklepiodoros (son) of Thrason of Olynthos. Epikydes (son) of Asklepiodoros of Olynthos.
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The stele commemorates two Olynthians, father and son, who may have been depicted in a painted scene below the inscription (cf. Posamentir 2006, no. 64). They may not, however, have been the people for whom the stone was first erected, as traces of letter strokes and/or a cutting-back of the inscribed surface (not previously noted) suggests this is a reinscription over an erased text. The surviving lettering is scrappy and poorly planned, in contrast to the finely worked palmette decoration, but it is not diagnostic enough to suggest a wide difference in date. This example shows the difficulty of assessing the relationships between text and images when monuments were frequently reused (see Clairmont 1970, 55-71; *CAT Introductory Volume*, 119-21).

Asklepiodoros is spelled once with single and once with double sigma, a common false gemination of the sibilant before τ, κ, θ in Attica, with many examples in names beginning Ἀσκληπι-.⁶⁹ *FRA* lists 37 Olynthians at Athens (principally from the fourth century BC), the majority known from funerary monuments, but two became citizens (Osborne, *Naturalization* III, T61 = P. Liddel, *Decrees of Fourth-Century Athens (403/2-322/I BC)*, 2020, T1, D109; and T62), and one was a secretary of *thiasotai* (*IG* II² 1263.5, 21, 48). Aeschines (2.154-5) claims that Demosthenes had tried to persuade the Olynthian metic Aristophanes to testify against him, but that he had refused. The incident is told as part of the events surrounding Philip's taking of Olynthos in 348, after which an Athenian garrison there was sold into slavery, and exiles from the city poured into Athens. Our Thrason has been recognised (Tataki 1998, 138 no. 67) as a member of the pro-Macedonian party mentioned by Demosthenes (18.137),⁷⁰ but Thrason is quite a common name and the identification is far from certain, raising as it does the political problem of why a family with such associations would settle in Athens. One further Olynthian Epikydes is found as a governor of Teucheira in 322 BC among Photius' excerpts of Arrian's *Events after Alexander* (*FGrH* 156 F9, 17; Tataki 1998, 134 no. 41). Olynthian refugees were mostly not granted Athenian citizenship but may have been given *isoteleia* (see Osborne, *Naturalization* III, X12).

⁶⁹ Threatte I, 527-29; K. A. Garbrah, *ZPE* 70, 1987, 152-55.

⁷⁰ M. Gude, *A History of Olynthus with a Prosopographia and Testimonia*, 1933, 45 no. 69.

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Fig. 7.1. 7 © Trustees of the British Museum.

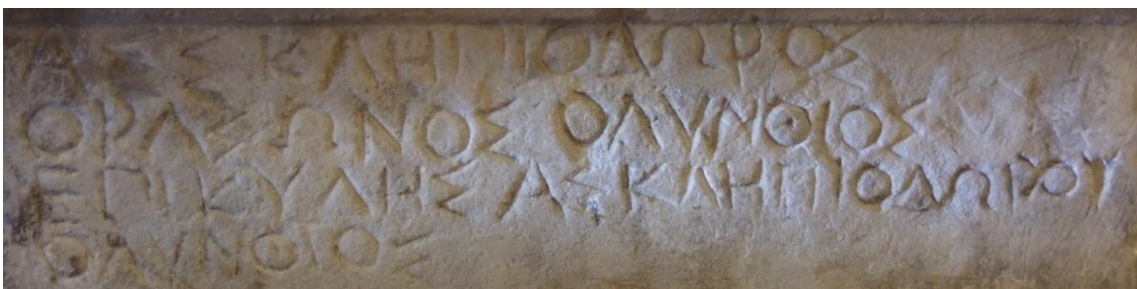


Fig. 7.2. 7, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

8 GRAVE STELE OF SMIKYLION. BM 1850,0724.1. Athens. Presented in 1850 by Alexander Robinson, RN (see Collection History). Upper part of a white marble stele surmounted by an elaborate deeply carved palmette acroterion springing from foliage and rosettes; the shaft is decorated with two carved rosettes beneath the inscription and is broken below. H. 0.84, w. 0.45, th. 0.125. Lettering and orthography of the mid-fourth century BC, h. 0.016. Acroterion ca. 350-340 BC (Hildebrandt).

Eds. E. Gerhard, *Archäologische Zeitung (Anzeiger)* 1850, 226; Koumanoudes 615; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 86; *IG* II 2139 (Koehler); *IG* II² 6338 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 599; Conze III 1624, fig. 344 (*ARMA* 4, 2306); Hildebrandt 2006, no. 103. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 8.

mid-iv BC	Σμικυλίων Εὐαλκίδου ἐκ Κεραμείων. (rosette) (rosette)	Smikylion (son) of Eualkides of Kerameis.
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Smikylion is a rare name, attested twice at Athens, and only four other Athenians called Eualkides are known, one other (son of Alkimachos) also from the deme Kerameis, a cavalryman who made a dedication on Salamis ca. 320 BC (*IG* II³ 4, 323.24), and who was perhaps from a younger generation of the same family. The deme Kerameis covered an elongated area in northwest Athens within and without the Themistoklean circuit wall and seems to have been strung out along a major road lined with pottery workshops.⁷¹ The lack of findspot does not allow us to ascertain whether this stele was set up in the deme cemetery. Robin Osborne (*Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10, 1991, 231-52) has shown from provenanced gravestones of Kerameis demesmen that 62% were buried in or near their ancestral deme in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and 38% elsewhere, showing a high level of mobility away from the registered deme.

The form of the finial and moulding transition suggests this is a Namenstele, without sculpted elements below the rosettes, perhaps including other inscribed names further down the shaft.

⁷¹ See I. Steffelbauer, *MDAI(A)* 122, 2007, 227-61.

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Fig. 8. 8 © Trustees of the British Museum.

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9 GRAVE STELE OF EUETES. BM 2013,5017.2. Athens. Upper section of a white marble stele with central shallow palmette and right acroterion. A recessed panel can be discerned below the inscription, likely once holding relief sculpture (Bildfeldstele). H. 0.31, w. 0.295, th. 0.095. Lettering of the mid-fourth century BC, h. 0.012.

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 91; *IG* II 2404 (Koehler); *IG* II² 7044 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 9.

mid-iv BC	Εὐέτης υἱὸς Ἀρχιδάμ[ου] Παιανιεύς.	Euetes (son) of Archidamos of Paiania.
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Euetes is a rare name, with three other holders known from Athens, but without demotics (*Athenian Onomasticon*). Archidamos is more common (16), with one other example from Paiania (*IG* II³ 4, 83.6, ca. 330 BC). Humphreys (2018, 1218) suggests that Euetes may belong to a different branch of the family of Archikleides of Paiania, councillor in 343/2 (*IG* II³ 1, 307.5 f.; 308.3; *IG* II³ 4, 83.6). The recessed panel below the inscription should have carried a sculpted or painted scene, such as a dexiosis (a so-called Bildfeldstele, see Scholl 1996).



Fig. 9. **9** © Trustees of the British Museum.

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10 GRAVE STELE OF THEOPHILOS. BM 1816,0610.296, Elgin collection. Athens. Upper part of a white marble pedimental stele, broken below and right, h. 0.285, w. 0.24, th. 0.08. Lettering ca. late fourth century BC, h. 0.011.

Eds. *CIG* 955 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 2981; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 119; *IG II* 3778 (Koehler); *IG II*² 11667 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 10.

ca. late iv BC	Θειόφιλος ὕ Εὐ[--].	Theophilos (?son of) Eu–.
	Εὐφρώ. Διονυσία. ὕ [?-]	Euphro. Dionysia.

2 Δ corrected from A *lapis*.

The stele names Theophilos and two female relatives – and perhaps a fourth member if Eu- is the start of a name rather than a patronymic – likely as labels for a missing painted scene beneath, which may have helped to identify their relationships. The absence of patronymics suggests the women may be daughters of Theophilos, whose name would normally be spelled Θεόφιλος, but the short vowel E is frequently written EI before O from the late fifth to mid-third century BC in Attica.⁷² Taking the pediment apex as the centre of the stone, there is room for around seven missing letters in Theophilos' patronymic, and we might posit a name sharing elements with his daughter Εὐφρώ, such as Εὐφρόνιος. Euphro finds only one further parallel at Athens, from the Imperial period: Εὐφρῶ Ἐπ- - ἰ ἐκ Θριασ[ίων] (*IG II*² 6254). The name Διονυσία would be consistent with, but does not necessarily imply, a non-Athenian: it is found 62 times in Athens (our example not included in *LGN/Athenian Onomasticon*), 23 of them certainly foreigners; it is rare before the Hellenistic period (4 examples).

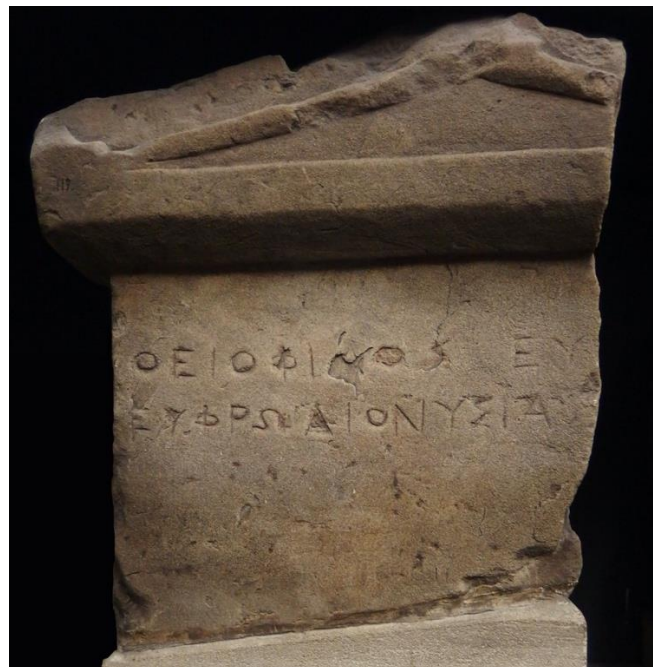


Fig. 10. **10.** Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁷² For examples of this in Θεο- names, see Threatte I, 153, to which add *SEG* 61.182, an epitaph of Θειόφιλος from Agryle.

11 BILINGUAL GRAVE STELE OF ARTEMIDOROS OF SIDON. BM 1861,0726.1 (Egypt); 1937,1211.1 (Greece & Rome). Athens, excavated some time before 1797 in Sepolia (Fauvel), once in the Choiseul collection, donated by the United Services Institution (see Collection History). Tall marble stele broken below, surmounted by an elaborate acanthus finial springing from foliage; two stylised rosettes on the shaft separate a Greek inscription above and a Phoenician one below. H. 1.264, w. 0.489; th. 0.23. Lettering of the mid-fourth century BC, h. 0.021. Finial decoration ca. 340 BC (Hildebrandt).

Eds. D. Åkerblad, *Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis* 14, 1800, 225-28; *CIG* 894 (Boeckh, from Åkerblad, Dodwell); J. Yates, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 4, 1837, 148-9; Koumanoudes 2374; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 109; E. Renan, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* I, 1881, 141-42, no. 116, pl. 22; *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* no. 53; *IG II* 3318 (Koehler); *IG II²* 10270 (Kirchner); Bäbler 1998, 144-45, 246-48 no. 60, pl. 9; Ginestí Rosell 2012, no. 484.

Cf. Dodwell 1819, I, 411; Conze III 1575, fig. 333 (*ARMA* 4, 898); Hunt & Smith 1916, 358-9 (on the Choiseul collection); C. Bonnet, *Les enfants de Cadmos. Le paysage religieux de la Phénicie hellénistique*, 2015, 452-3, fig. 104; Hildebrandt 2016, no. 80, pl. 33. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 11.1, 11.2.

ca. 340 BC	Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἡλιοδώρου ^{vv} Σιδώνιος. ^{vww} (rosette) (rosette)	Artemidoros (son) of Heliodoros of Sidon.
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MŠBT SKR BḤYM L‘BDTNT BN A stele to the memory among the living of Abdtanit,
‘BDŠMŠ HŠDNY son of Abdshamash, the Sidonian.

The Sidonians formed by far the largest Phoenician community in Athens (65 in *Athenian Onomasticon*, see also *FRA*) and were often engaged in trading, naturally concentrating around the Piraeus from the fifth century BC onwards. In the following century, Sidon and Athens developed close ties, particularly under the reign of King Straton, who is honoured ca. 394-386 BC in an Athenian decree that grants Sidonians staying in Athens for trade purposes exemption from the metic and property taxes (*IG II²* 141; [AIUK 11 \(Ashmolean\) no. 1](#)). Several such Sidonian traders are also honoured by the Athenians, such as Apollonides son of Demetrios, who had been praised by the merchants and shippers and was awarded proxenia in 323/2 BC ([IG II³ 1, 379](#)).

There is a small corpus of bilingual Phoenician and Greek inscriptions from Athens, principally of the fourth century BC.⁷³ Often on impressive funerary monuments, these inscriptions provide evidence for the interactions of this community within a Greek-speaking city in which they are proudly identified as Phoenicians but with Greek credentials, their names sometimes translated, as here, where the Greek names render their Phoenician equivalents. Both father and son have names adapted into Greek using the same criteria: the Phoenician ‘bd (servant) + a divine element, that in Greek becomes divine name + δωρος

⁷³ See F. Briquel Chatonnet, *CRAI* 2012, 619-38.

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(gift).⁷⁴ The Punic and Phoenician goddess Tanit is often equated with Artemis (and other divinities as well), while Helios and Shamash (the sun god) are more direct equivalents (see Bonnet). For further Phoenician bilinguals from Athens, see *IG II²* 8388, 8440, 9034, 10271, *SEG* 51.284, 59.306.



Fig. 11.1. 11, inscription detail © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁷⁴ See M. G. Amadasi Guzzo & C. Bonnet, *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 8, 1991, 6.

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Fig. 11.2. 11 © Trustees of the British Museum.

12 GRAVE MARKER OF TIMON OF SINOPE. BM 2013,5017.3. Athens? (no provenance). Complete small cippus of white marble with a flat top, preserving the roughly worked lower part to be set into a base, h. 0.21, w. 0.225, th. 0.072. Letter forms fairly undiagnostic, sigma and mu with parallel outer strokes perhaps suggest a date ca. 100 BC or later⁷⁵ (ii BC, Kirchner), h. 0.015.

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 110; *IG* II 3356 (Koehler); *IG* II² 10354 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig. 12*.

ii-i BC	Ἰ Τίμων Σινωπέυς.	Timon the Sinopean.
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This small stone without any further decoration beneath the inscription would have sat very low on the ground and was either a simple grave marker or part of a series of monuments set into a grave peribolos. The monument type may be the labellum described by Cicero (*De Legibus* 2.66) (see Section 1.1 above and [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#) p. 31).

Timon is among 103 Sinopians attested as being resident at Athens, no fewer than three of whom were comic poets in the fourth and third centuries BC (*FRA* 6801, 6802, 6811). Sinope, modern Sinop, was a substantial polis on the south coast of the Black Sea with an ideal harbour and strong trading ambitions, and was particularly known for exporting ruddle, red ochre, used in the maintenance of ships (see [RO 40](#)).⁷⁶ The Athenians sent 600 men to the city following Pericles' ousting of the local tyrant Timesileos ca. 436 (Plut. *Per.* 20), but the cleruchy does not seem to have survived the end of the empire (see *Inventory*, no. 729).

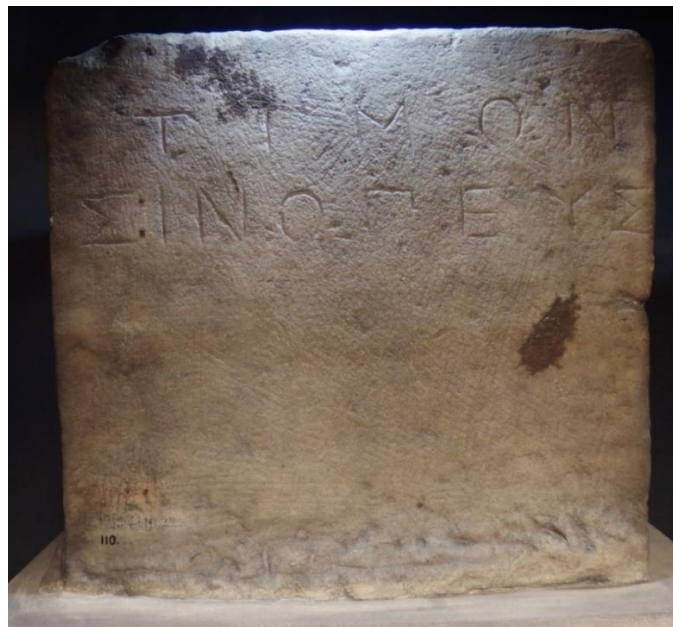


Fig. 12. 12. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁷⁵ See Tracy, *ALC*, 238.

⁷⁶ See E. Lytle, "Farmers into Sailors: Ship Maintenance, Greek Agriculture, and the Athenian Monopoly on Kean Ruddle (*IG* II² 1128)", *GRBS* 53, 2013, 520-550.

13 GRAVE STELE OF A DAUGHTER OF EUPHROSYNOS. BM 1816,0610.259, Elgin collection. Athens. Upper part of a white marble epistyle block, broken left and right, with one complete and two partial stylised antefixes in relief above, h. 0.27, w. 0.354, th. 0.195. Lettering of the second century AD, h. 0.032.

Eds. *CIG* 949 (Boeckh, from Osann); Koumanoudes 2920; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 117; *IG* III 3174 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 11516 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 13.1, 13.2.

ii AD [- -]η Εὐφροσύνου [- -] -e (daughter) of Euphrosynos.

A clear right vertical before epsilon (not previously recorded, *Fig.* 13.1) has serifs at the top and bottom but is broken from within the letter, removing anything to its left. Such traces can only be eta, iota, mu or nu, and since names do not end in mu or iota, and the other nu on the stone has a noticeably different disposition at the point where the diagonal meets the right vertical, the letter must be eta, producing the end of a female name in the nominative. The relief decoration suggests that there is ample space missing to the right of the name for a demotic or ethnic.

The flat roof with a row of stylised antefixes is a Roman element of funerary monuments that sometimes comprised separate epistyle blocks (as here); the antefixes may have contained painted designs and could include sculpted elements (such as the butterfly relief on **14**).⁷⁷



Fig. 13.1. **13**, detail of first letters. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁷⁷ For the crowning type, cf. von Moock 1998, nos. 382 (*IG* II² 5871, AD 50-75), 394 (Conze IV 1936, AD 150-200), 409 (*IG* II² 6441, Hadrianic).

3. Private Monuments: The Name Stelai



Fig. 13.2. 13. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

14 GRAVE MARKER OF MOUSONIAS. BM 1816,0610.331, Elgin collection. Found near Athens (Dodwell). Upper fragment of a white marble stele or epistyle broken on all sides except the top. A stylised relief antefix above contains a butterfly on a bunch of grapes. Two inscriptions were carved at different times, one on the moulding (a), the other on the stele shaft (b). H. 0.255, w. 0.26, th. 0.16. Lettering (a) h. 0.012-0.015, (b) 0.017-0.025 (see below).

Eds. *CIG* 619 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 402; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 83; *IG* III 1647 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 5945 (Kirchner).

Cf. Dodwell 1819, I, 466 (dr.); *BM Sculpture* 2278; Conze IV 2152 (*ARMA* 4, 965). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 14.

ii-iii AD	(a)	<i>vac.</i> Μουσωνίας.	(Of?) Mousonias.
ii AD	(b)	[- -]νων ^v [- - -]	-non (erasure)
		[- -]νοντος Γαρ[γήπιος].	(son of) -non of Gargettos.

This monument proves difficult to interpret due to its fragmentary nature and evident re-use. It could be a stele with relief decoration above and bands of horizontal mouldings beneath, or perhaps it is a small part of a longer crowning epistyle of a monument. The earlier inscription comprises a name terminating in -νων followed by a space of one letter and then an erasure for the remainder of the line. The second line has a male name that also should end with -νων (and so sharing a name element between father and son?), and the beginning of a demotic. That we have name/patronymic/demotic would be unproblematic were it not for the erasure. Are we to imagine the cutter began to carve the father's name, decided there was not enough room, and tried again on the second line? But if the erasure were carried out when the later name Mousonias was inscribed, to what end? This is the only Attic example of Μουσωνίας (a male name in the nominative, or perhaps rather the genitive of the female name, Mousonia?),⁷⁸ although there is both a Μουσώνιος (*IG* II² 2341) and a Μουσάϊος (*IG* II² 5944) of Gargettos in the second century AD (for the deme, see **59**).

The butterfly carved in relief is a symbol connected with the soul leaving the body: both share the same Greek word ψυχή, and the personification Psyche is often depicted with butterfly wings. The insect is found carved upon Athenian grave monuments of the Roman period (cf. *Agora* XXXV no. 384, with nn. 309-11; von Moock 1998, no. 494).

The two styles of lettering are quite different, although, as Muehsam ("Attic Grave Reliefs from the Roman Period", *Berytus* 10, 1952, 55-64) cautions, this is not necessarily indicative of a wide temporal gap between them; both styles were common and coexisted throughout the second and early third centuries. (a) uses cursive forms with rounded strokes for mu and omega, lunate sigma, and alpha with the right stroke continuing beyond the meeting of the diagonals; while (b) is in the more formal imperial script with straight strokes for nu and sigma, alpha with broken crossbar, and serifs at the terminals.

⁷⁸ Sironen 1997, 120 n. 15 lists this as an uncertain example of names in prose Attic epitaphs in the genitive.

3. Private Monuments: The Name Stelai



Fig. 14. 14. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

15 GRAVE STELE OF KOINTOS OF TYRMEIDAI. BM 1816,0610.284, Elgin collection. Athens. Stele of white marble broken on all but the right side, h. 0.245, w. 0.234, th. 0.11. Lettering of the second to third century AD or later, h. 0.025.

Eds. *CIG* 778 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 1205; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 94; *IG* III 1461 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 7580 (Kirchner, with incorrect *GIBM* number). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 15.

ii-iii AD	[Κοί]ντος ὁ Ἀθηναίο[υ] [Τ]υρμείδης ὁ [ἔτ]ελεύτα ὁ ἔτῶν ὁ ὁ κγ ὁ	Kointos (Quintus) (son) of Athenaios of Tyrmeidai died aged 23.
-----------	--	--

This fragmentary stone was perhaps a simple undecorated name stele or cippus. The Hellenised Roman name Quintus arrives in Athens in the second and first centuries BC (*Athenian Onomasticon*) and is part of a trend of Athenian citizens being given Roman names (Cf. [IG II³ 4, 275](#) with AIO's note). Only one Ἀθήναιος is known before the Hellenistic period, and the majority of the remaining 158 examples from Athens are Roman in date. Our inscription is most likely related to a family from Tyrmeidai which produced generations of members called Kointos in the late second and early third centuries AD, stemming from one Athenaios (*Agora* XV 402, 28). If this is the same Athenaios here, then Kointos will be a brother of Bernikides (*IG* II² 2113.135, ca. AD 181-223), and uncle and great-uncle of men called Quintus. The location of the family deme is unknown (Traill 1986, 134).

The use of an age reference is also a phenomenon influenced by Roman practice, which in Athens is seen particularly from the second century AD and was principally used on the gravestones of those who died young, typically children and young men up to their early 20s.⁷⁹ The style of interpunct (antisigma) becomes common in the second to third centuries AD (see Threatte I, 86-7).

⁷⁹ Ascertained from a search of PHI. See B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, 2002, 264-5 on the increasing inclusion of the age of the deceased during the Roman period.

3. Private Monuments: The Name Stelai

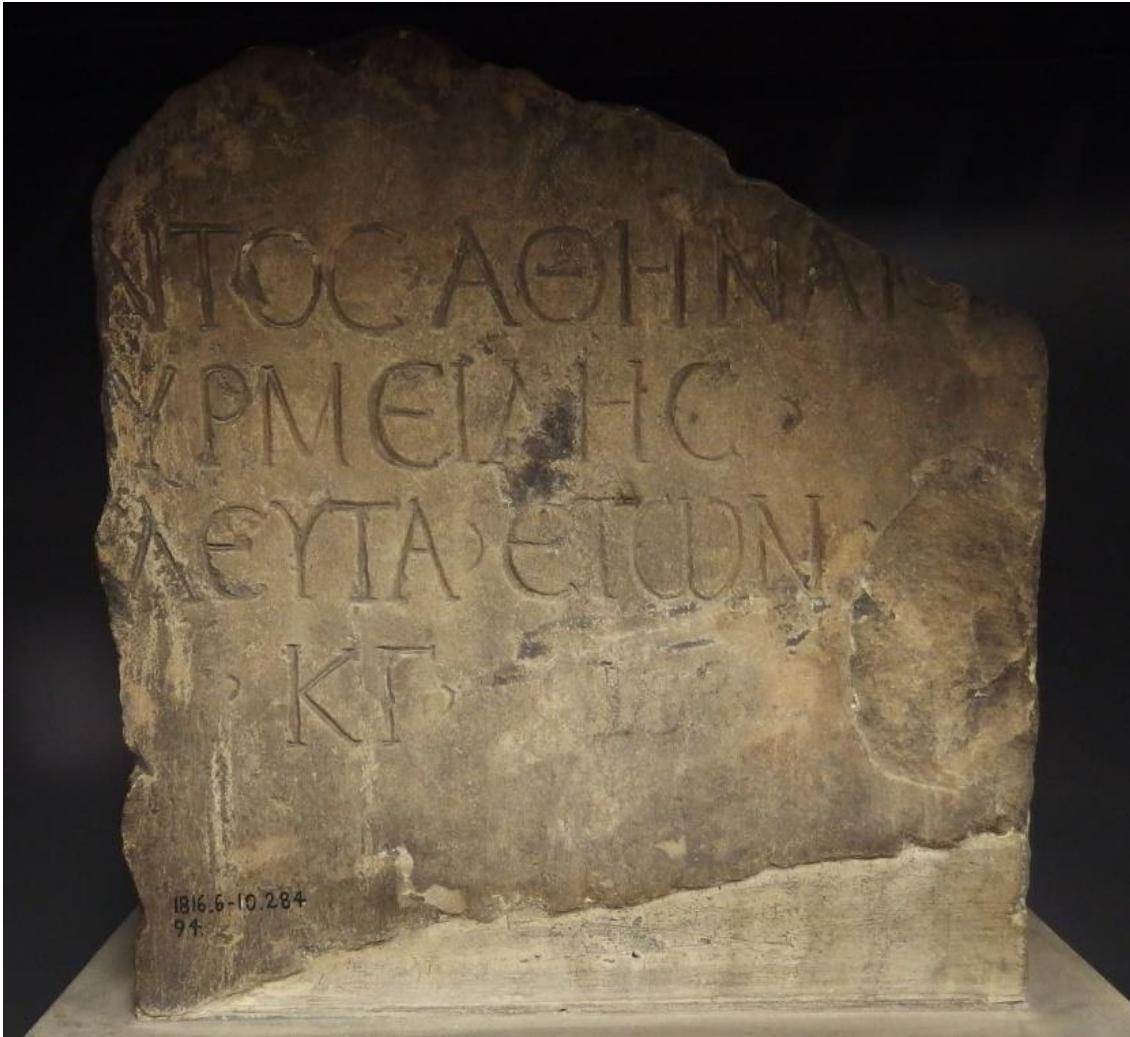


Fig. 15. 15. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. PRIVATE MONUMENTS: RELIEF STELAI

16 GRAVE STELE OF XANTHIPPOS. BM 1805,0703.183, Townley collection. Athens, found at the Petraki Monastery by Askew (see Collection History). Complete white marble stele with pediment and acroteria in relief above an unframed sculpted scene; name label carved centrally on the geison above Xanthippos' head. H. 0.838, w. 0.508, th. 0.13; letter h. 0.013. Letter forms and strong similarities to figures on the Parthenon east frieze suggest a date shortly after 430 BC (440-430 Robertson, Cook; ca. 420 Stupperich).

Eds. *CIG* 980 (Boeckh, copy Müller); Koumanoudes 3221; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 123; *IG* II 4040 (Koehler); *IG* II² 12332 (Kirchner); *IG* I³ 1282bis (Lewis).

Cf. A. Askew, British Library, Burnley MS 402, f. 60v/61r, 71v; *BM Sculpture* 628; Conze II 696, pl. 119 (*ARMA* 4, 414); R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*, 1977, 178, no. 455; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* I, 1975, 365-6; B. F. Cook, *The Townley Marbles*, 1985, 27-8, fig. 27; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.630; J. H. Oakley in O. Palagia ed., *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War*, 2009, 222-3, fig. 62. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 19. Fig. 16.

ca. 430-420 BC

Ξάνθιππος.
(relief)

Xanthippos.

Xanthippos is depicted as a bearded man dressed in a himation and sitting on a high-backed chair with curving legs (*klismos*); he holds a cobbler's last (καλάππους) in his right hand, presumably a tool of his profession. Two smaller female figures stand either side stretching their hands up towards him; the older girl wears a chiton and earrings and holds a bird, which, if a dove, might have suggested a romantic relationship (being associated with Aphrodite), but the smaller scale of the figure identifies her most probably as a daughter. The younger girl is dressed in a peplos and is comforted by his left arm around her; she should be a younger daughter. Birds of various kinds – often generic types – were thought appropriate animals to accompany the dead, in some sense as symbols of the soul (Woysch-Méautis 1982, 42-6); they appear on numerous grave reliefs and funerary pottery, while bird bones have been found in Athenian graves, sacrificed to accompany the dead (see J. H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens*, 2004, 209-12).

The sculpture is thought to be stylistically similar to the east frieze of the Parthenon, and so is dated around 430 BC (Oakley). It has been suggested that Xanthippos' lack of patronymic and low-status employment marks him out as of servile status (Robertson), but this could be refuted on several counts. The absence of patronymics on funerary monuments at this early date was not an uncommon feature (see the comparanda in *IG* I³; in the case of monuments in *periboloi*, the father's name, demotic and/or ethnic of the deceased might have been specified or implied on another monument in the *peribolos*). Clairmont notes that it is unlikely that a work of such high quality, and indeed one of the earliest sculpted Classical Attic tombstones, was for a slave (*CAT*, vol. 5, p. 9); some of the more exceptional aspects of the stele could also be explained by it being one of the first of the new series of sculpted funerary monuments, since the genre had not yet acquired established norms.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

There is some tendency, especially in contemporary elite authors, to denigrate artisanal trades such as shoemaking (e.g., Ar. *Knights*, 736-40; Pl. *Rep.* 421a); but on the other hand, one of Socrates' philosophical friends is supposed to have been Simon the shoemaker (σκυτοτόμος), although he is named only in late sources (D.L. 2.122; Plut. *Mor.* 766b). We can get a sense of such leatherworking establishments around the Agora from a fourth-century BC votive stele depicting a cobbler's workshop and tools of the trade dedicated by Dionysios the cobbler (παλαιουργός) to Heros Kallistephanos (Agora I 7396; *Agora XXXVIII*, no. 89, figs. 2-3, pl. 27; *SEG* 39.235; 55.307). There were various terms for shoemakers and related professions, including νευρορράφοι (cobblers) and σκυτοτόμοι (leather-workers, or shoemakers);⁸⁰ and we also hear of 'shoe/leather-sellers' (e.g., [RO 4, 21](#), σκυτοπώ(λης), among the foreigners honoured in 401/0 BC for supporting the democrats against the Thirty). It may be that these reflected gradations of social status, and that Xanthippos was at the 'upper end' of the profession. The quality of the stele and its stylistic closeness to the Parthenon east frieze suggests that Xanthippos may have been more than a simple cobbler, perhaps a shoe-factory owner (cf. P. Acton, *Poiesis: Manufacturing in Classical Athens*, 2014, 165-170). The fact that he is depicted wearing a himation could also signal a higher social status, or at least show an aspiration in that direction.⁸¹

It is more difficult to know whether Xanthippos was a citizen or a metic (a category which included freedmen). Twenty-three of the 32 known Attic bearers of the name Xanthippos are Athenian citizens, only two of them certainly metics and one slave ([IG I³ 1032.478](#), a naval catalogue, 405 BC) (*Athenian Onomasticon*). Shoe-workers (νευρορράφοι) appear in the phialai inscriptions, likely identifying at least some as metics (*IG II² 1558.14-17*; E. A. Meyer, *Metics and the Athenian Phialai-Inscriptions*, 2010, nos. [2-9](#), 456-9); and in addition to the σκυτοπώ(λης) noted above, the foreigners honoured by the Assembly in 401/0 BC included a σκυτοτόμ(ος) (18) and a σκυτο(-) (72).

Referencing the profession of the principal deceased or a role they had undertaken (as opposed to secondary figures such as attendants) either by inscriptions or the inclusion of an object of their trade is rare in the Classical period. Men are not uncommonly depicted as warriors and women as housewives, but these are less indicators of profession than of conventional gender roles, especially for citizens. The principal exceptions are priests/priestesses and nurses, both discussed further below in [24](#) and [37](#). Outside of these recurring examples, Xanthippos is one of a very small group of deceased on Classical Attic grave reliefs who profess their occupations, the majority being metics: Sosinous, a copper-smelter (χαλκόπτης) from Gortyn in Crete, is shown with objects identified perhaps as bellows and a bowl (*CAT* 1.202; *IG II² 8464*); Tokkes from Aphyte (perhaps a Macedonian) sits with a cup or bottle, conceivably suggesting he worked in the wine trade (*CAT* 1.388; *IG II² 8397*); the Boiotians Olympichos and Potamon, father and son, who were both successful pipe-players, are each shown with a double pipe in their joint relief (*CAT* 2.235; *IG II² 8883*); and several grave stones from the fourth century BC have a single male name followed by παιδαγωγός (tutor) (*IG II² 10715, 10903, 12433*).

⁸⁰ Rarer words for these professions include ἐμβαδάς, καττυματοποιός, παλαιοράφος, παλαιουργός, ῥαφεύς and ὑπόρραφος, see LSJ *s.vv.*

⁸¹ On the range of potential messages that the wearing of the himation could communicate, see M. M. Lee, *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*, 2015, 113-16

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

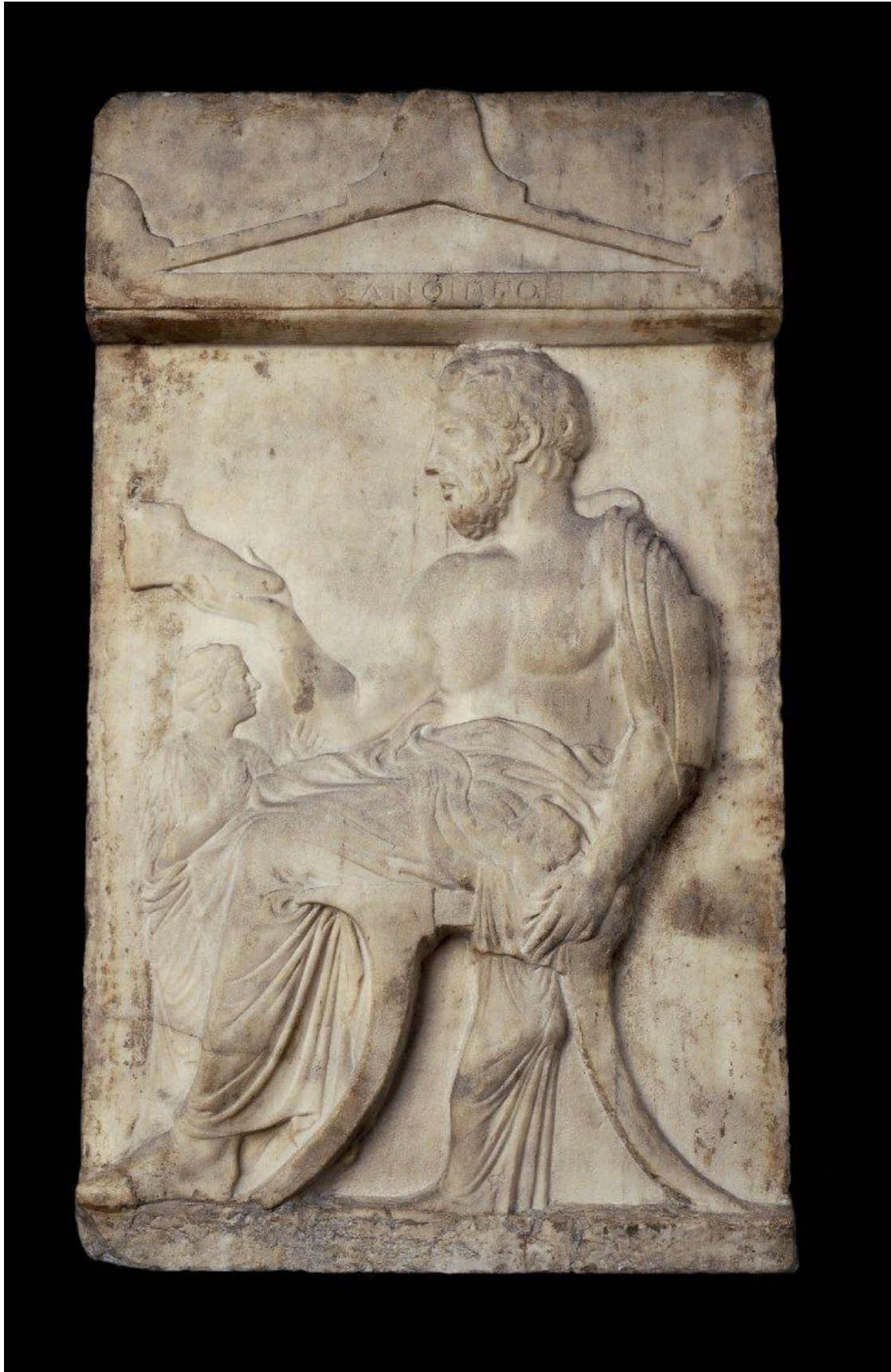


Fig. 16. 16 © Trustees of the British Museum.

17 GRAVE STELE OF TIMARETE. BM 1947,0714.1, Cook collection. Athens. Part of a Venetian collection in the 17th century, next recorded in London ca. 1835 (see Collection History). Two joining fragments of a white marble pedimental stele with broken central acroterion and side acroteria above an unframed figural scene; a wide plain panel beneath the relief may have traces of a painted band (Clairmont). The name label was carved centrally within guidelines onto the geison above Timarete's head. H. 0.825, w. 0.38, th. 0.09; letter h. 0.01. The sculpture has been variously dated from 430-400 (BM), the first quarter of the fourth century BC (Olga Palagia, *per.ep.*), and 375-350 (Clairmont); the letters suggest a fourth century date (360-350, Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 7002 (Boeckh-Kirchhoff, copy Yates); *IG* II 5, Add. 4181 b (Koehler); *IG* II² 12782 (Kirchner).

Cf. Michaelis 1882, 626, no. 10; Conze II 888, pl. 173 (*ARMA* 4, 2302); E. Strong, *JHS* 28, 1908, 7, no. 3; Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 136, pl. 22; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.867. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 19. *Figs.* 17.1, 17.2.

early iv BC

Τιμαρέτη.
(relief)

Timarete.

Timarete stands with her head inclined mournfully downwards, wearing a sleeved chiton and draped in a himation that envelops her left arm. She holds a bird towards a small child in a long chiton who reaches out her arms. The scene suggests that Timarete died young, leaving behind a baby girl, although her youth might instead point to them being sisters.⁸² The lack of further detail in the inscription leaves open the question of the deceased's citizen status. The name Timarete appears 13 times at Athens between the fifth and third centuries BC: six citizens, six with unknown status, and one slave (*Athenian Onomasticon*). For birds in funerary iconography, see **16**.

⁸² So L. A. Beaumont, *Childhood in Ancient Athens: Iconography and Social History*, 2012, 244 n. 187. The partially tied-back hair may also suggest she was *parthenos*.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 17.1. 17 © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 17.2. 17, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

18 GRAVE STELE OF A WOMAN. BM 1894,0616.1. Athens? Found ca. 1870 at Alphington House, Jersey (see Collection History). Complete white marble naiskos stele crowned by a pediment with central and left acroteria surviving. A deeply carved figural scene steps out in front of the side pilasters. The inscription is carved lightly and poorly on the geison of the pediment, only the rightmost portion surviving. A roughly worked band below would have been set into a base. H. 0.80, w. 0.46, th. 0.10; letter h. 0.006. Sculpture dated ca. 400-375 BC (Clairmont); lettering a later addition, perhaps late fourth century or early Hellenistic (see below).

Eds. Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 941; *SEMA* 3193.

Cf. A. H. Smith, *JHS* 14, 1894, 268, pl. 11; *BM Sculpture* 2232 (Smith); Clairmont, *CAT* 2.786; O. Bobou, *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representation*, 2014, 103-6, fig. 38; K. Margariti, *BABESCH* 91, 2016, 87-104, cat. 9; A. Cohen in B. Rawson ed., *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, 2011, 476-7, fig. 28.5. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 19. *Figs.* 18.1, 18.2.

late iv BC? [- - - ?'Αχ]ιλλέως. [- - (daughter) of ?Ach]illeus.
(relief)

[- - ?Κε]φιλέως(?) Marshall, Clairmont, [---]έως *SEMA*. The first preserved letter has a vertical seemingly unattached to other strokes, followed by a right diagonal and then Λ, although both are smaller than the remaining letters and could be parts of a single Μ; Ω could be Ο.

The relief depicts a woman, her head inclined mournfully downwards, dressed in a chiton with a himation pulled across the back of her head and seated on a stool (*diphros*); she holds an open box on her lap, perhaps for jewellery.⁸³ A young woman, perhaps a relative or servant, in chiton and himation stands before her holding an infant, suggesting the deceased died in childbirth. The baby is swaddled, likely indicating a new-born, as slightly older children are normally represented as sitting on the ground or being held (Bobou). The mother turns her head away from the attendant and child, demonstrating a detachment and isolation from the world of the living (Margariti). The form of the monument and the iconography mark this stele out as Athenian, although it has no provenance.

The scappy traces of the inscription are preserved only on the far right of the stone and the lettering is of inferior standard than the sculpture, which I suggest is evidence of reuse, perhaps, to judge by the letter forms (e.g., sigma with splayed outer strokes), around the late fourth century or early Hellenistic period. This final part of the inscription should form the end of a demotic or ethnic of the dead woman's father or husband (although the remains prove difficult to resolve as such), or a name in -εύς. The traces could be restored to form the genitive of the patronymic Ἀχιλλέως,⁸⁴ attested 25 times at Athens (*Athenian Onomasticon*), 13 of whom are certainly citizens, with only eight examples before the first century AD, which may suggest the reinscribing of the monument is from a Hellenistic phase.

⁸³ For such boxes, see E. Brümer, "Griechische Truhenbehälter", *JDAI* 100, 1985, 1-168.

⁸⁴ I owe this suggestion to Stephen Lambert.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 18.1. **18**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 18.2. **18** © Trustees of the British Museum.

19 GRAVE STELE OF ERASIPPOS. BM 1816,0610.229, Elgin collection. Athens. Complete stele of white marble surmounted by a stylised rounded finial with traces of a painted palmette; a relief is carved within a sunken panel (Bildfeldstele) below the inscription. H. 0.64, w. 0.23; letter h. 0.01. Lettering and sculpture suggest a date in the first half of the fourth century BC (400-375, Posamentir, Scholl; 375-350, Clairmont).

Eds. *CIG* 665 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 695; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 88; *IG* II 2223 (Koehler); *IG* II² 6548 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 635 (Smith); Conze II 909, pl. 180 (*ARMA* 4, 2324); Clairmont, *CAT* 1.384; Scholl 1996, no. 433; Posamentir 2006, no. 107, figs. 107.1-3. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 19.

early iv BC

Ἐράσιππος
[Κα]λλενίκου
[Κρ]ιτωεύς.
(relief)

Erasippos
(son) of Kallenikos
of (the deme) Krioia.

The rounded finial contains traces of a painted palmette decoration with a horizontal band at its base, identified by Posamentir using UV-reflectography. The relief depicts a bearded elderly man resting upon a once painted stick (see Posamentir 2006, fig. 107.2). Both father and son have rare names in Athens, in both cases the only known examples to preserve a demotic (*Athenian Onomasticon*).⁸⁵ The location of the deme Krioia remains unknown (Traill 1986, 139).

⁸⁵ The relatively low quality of this monument does not seem to support Davies' suggestion that this family may be related later in the century to a syntrierarch called Kallenikos (see *APF* 7769).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 19. 19 © Trustees of the British Museum.

20 GRAVE STELE OF ARISTOKLES. BM 1816,0610.384, Elgin collection. Athens, built into a Greek school near the church of the Megali Panagia (see Collection History). Stele of white marble with a broken moulded band above, and an unframed relief of a horseman and attendant on a ground line beneath an inscribed epigram. H. 0.813, w. 0.457, th. 0.105; letter h. 0.013. Lettering and sculpture of the early to mid-fourth century BC (380-370, Scholl).

Eds. Chandler 1774, 69 no. 78; *CIG* 749 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 1002; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 92; *IG* II 2442 (Koehler); *IG* II² 7151 (Kirchner); Peek, *GV* 1702; Hansen, *CEG* 2 no. 482.

Cf. Fourmont, BnP, Manuscripts, Suppl. gr. 854, f. 315; Askew, British Library, Burney MS 402, f. 36v/37r; Stuart & Revett, *Antiquities* III, 56; *BM Sculpture* 638 (Smith); Conze II 1161, pl. 250 (*ARMA* 4, 176); Clairmont 1970, no. 24, pl. 12; G. Daux, *BCH* 96, 1972, 531-2; Scholl 1996, no. 435, pl. 47.2; M. M. Sassi, *Dialoghi di archeologia* 1 [n.s. 3], 1981, 33-40; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 25, cat. no. 17, pl. 5; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.209a; M. González González, *Funerary Epigrams of Ancient Greece*, 2019, 129-32. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 20. *Figs.* 20.1, 20.2.

early-mid iv BC

πολλὰ μεθ' ἡλικίας ὁμοήλικος ἠδέ-
α παίσας / ἐκ γαίας βλαστῶν γαῖα πάλι-
ν γέγονα· / εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς Πειραι-
εύς, παῖς δὲ Μένωνος.
(relief)

After many pleasant sports with my
age-mates, sprouting from the earth I am
earth once more. I am Aristokles of Piraeus,
son of Menon.

A bearded Aristokles, clad in a himation, is depicted upon a rearing horse, holding onto the horse's mane and perhaps once painted reins, enjoying the leisure sports mentioned in the epigram; an attendant in short chiton runs along behind him carrying some sort of stick. The inscription forms an epigram with an elegiac couplet followed by a hexameter (see Clairmont, *Gravestone*), a non-canonical literary combination which is not uncommon in verse inscriptions (cf. *CEG* 1 no. 89; 2 nos. 490, 493, 509 etc.). A certain disconnect has been registered between the relief and epigram, specifically the references to youthful pursuits despite Aristokles being shown with a beard. The use of παῖς led to the idea that the stele is not for the horseman but the slave groom, Aristokles “the boy of Menon”, rather than his son (K. Vierneisel, *AM* 88, 1968, 20, n. 1). This should be rejected: not only would a relief stele with epigram be highly unusual for a slave at this period, but the aristocratic nature of the epigram – the name too is suggestive of high status – suggests pastimes hunting with contemporaries, hardly appropriate for a servant, and not the most obvious manner of commemorating his service (cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#) pp. 33, 35 and [AIUK 11 \(Ashmolean\) no. 13](#) on horse-related high-status expressions in funerary iconography).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

In fact, another Menon (II) son of Aristokles from Piraeus is known from a curse tablet of legal content from the fourth century BC (*IG* III, 3, App. 95 B), and his father may well be our Aristokles. The use of παῖς rather than a simple patronymic tends to be for sons who died before the age of the ephebeia, and while this seems unlikely in the case of the bearded Aristokles, the epigram alludes nonetheless to his youth. Strauss' suggestion (*Fathers and Sons in Athens: Ideology and Society in the Era of the Peloponnesian War*, 1993, 28-30) that παῖς has a more technical and legal sense than υἱός was interpreted by Tsagalis (2008, 196 n. 199) to be evidence within funerary epigrams for an increased concern with legal and/or property issues, which – alongside questions of status of various forms – is ubiquitous on gravestones.

Reference to Aristokles' youth and horsemanship may imply that he had taken part in the tribal *anthippasia* competition or perhaps had later served as phylarch (Humphreys 2018, 1106; cf. the horses on the *anthippasia* monument in [AIUK 9 \(Brocklesby\) no. 1](#)). He had enjoyed sports with young men of his own age (cf. LSJ s.vv. ὀμηλικά, ὀμηλιξ), although the word can also denote military comrades, such as in a third-century BC epigram (*IG* II² 11960) for Leon who died in battle: ζηλοῦτ' ἀλλὰ νέοι τὸν ὀμηλικά, 'But, young men, emulate your comrade' (M. C. Taylor, *Salamis and the Salaminioi*, 1997, 248). This may lend further weight to the notion that Aristokles had served in a cohort of ephebes or cavalry troop.

Athenian funerary epigrams employ first person verbs either to allow the grave to speak or, as here, to give voice to the deceased (Tsagalis 2008, 78). As González has noted, the idea of the earth receiving or hiding a body is common, but here we have a new expression in 'I am earth', a noteworthy eschatological sentiment which passes over any allusion to the continued enjoyment of such games and pleasures in the afterlife (for an analysis of similar philosophical ideas, see Sassi; on the absence of allusions to expectation of post-mortem existence in Attic funerary commemoration, cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#) pp. 32-33, and **37** below with a conventional reference to Hades and Persephone in another epigram).

The notion of being sprung from earth finds a parallel in Eretria, where the deceased 'becomes dead, in the land of the dead': ἐκ γῆς γὰρ βλαστῶν γενόμεν νεκρός, ἐγ δὲ νεκροῦ γῆ (*IG* XII 9, 290.3 = *GV* 1126). The sentiment is echoed in another epigram for Symmachos, a Chian who died at Athens, where the fatherland never to be returned to is contrasted with the body now lying in Kekropian soil: Χῖος μὲν γενεὰν βλαστῶν, πατὴρ δὲ Σίμωνος, | Σύμμαχος ἐν δαπέδοις Κεκροπίας ἐκλίθην (*IG* II² 10510.4-5 = *CEG* 606); but the way Aristokles returns again to the earth is a specifically Athenian refrain lauding the autochthony of the Athenians (for further parallels, see Sassi).



Fig. 20.1. 20, inscription detail © Trustees of the British Museum

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

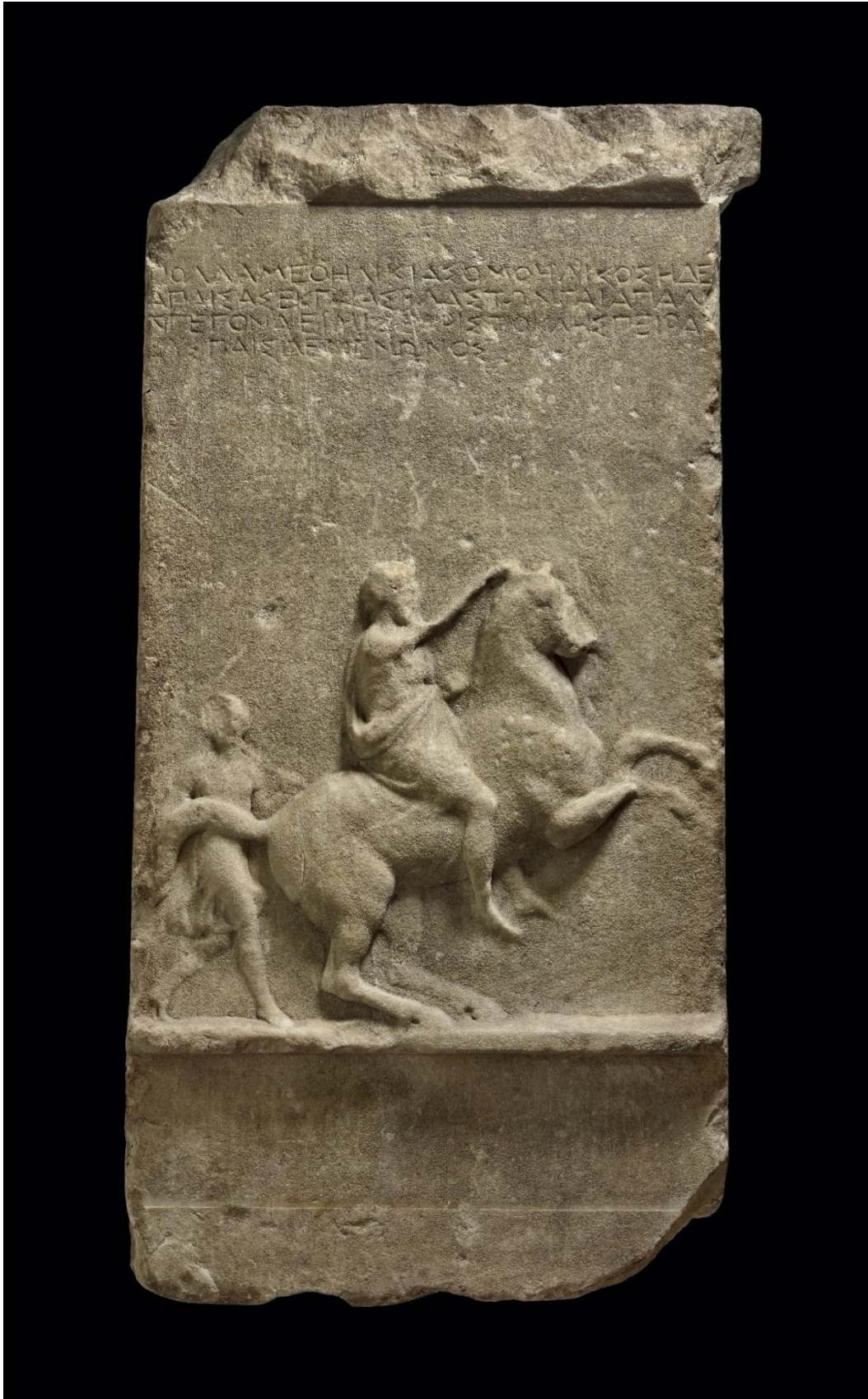


Fig. 20.2. 20 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

21 GRAVE STELE OF ARCHIADES AND POLEMONIKOS. BM 1886,1008.1, Guilford collection (see Collection History). Athens. Complete stele of white marble with rounded finial and a relief loutrophoros containing a sculpted scene supported by a double-bodied sphinx. H. 1.26, w. 0.335, th. 0.145 (as reconstructed); letter h. 0.009 (upper line), 0.01-0.02 (lower line). Sculpture of the early fourth century BC (400-375, Clairmont; 380-370, Kokula; ca. 375, Woysch-Méautis).

Eds. *CIG* 552 (Boeckh, copy Müller); Koumanoudes 32; Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 1152; *IG* II 1700 (Koehler); *IG* II² 5261 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 693 (Smith); Conze II 1005, pl. 195 (*ARMA* 4, 2303); Schmaltz 1970, A193; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 83-7; Kokula 1984, 52-3, 79, L9; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.284b. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 21.1, 21.2.

early iv BC	Ἀρχιάδης Ἄγνόσιος.	Πολ ^{vac.} εμόνικος Ἄθμονεύς.
	(relief)	

Archiades of Hagnous.	Polemonikos of Athmonon.
--------------------------	-----------------------------

This well-preserved loutrophoros stele contains a scene of two warriors clasping hands (dexiosis) with name labels engraved slightly awkwardly around their heads. The lettering is poor, and the upper line of names was engraved by a different hand than the lower line of demotics, which is in a deeper and larger script. The right figure is bearded, the left, although damaged, is perhaps not, and both carry shields and Attic helmets. Their different demotics (and tribes) mean that the men are not closely related (brothers, father and son), but they could be from a wider family group (cousins). It is unclear whether we are to imagine both men having died (together in battle?), or, if only one of them, then which?

The fact that Polemonikos' name is interrupted by his head may have pointed out to an ancient audience used to such labels on painted pottery that he was the deceased, although the decision could simply have been determined by the space available. We see the same phenomenon in **47**, where of three named figures only the central warrior (who should be the deceased) has his name bisected by his head (cf. **54**, although only one figure is named there, and [AIUK 6 \(Leeds\) no. 1](#) (*IG* II² 11132), a loutrophoros stele with two single name labels, Demochares and Hegelochos, hovering on the vase, that for Hegelochos with a vacant gap in the middle of it where a figure must once have been painted).

The later addition of demotics may be significant in terms of the function of funerary monuments in the context of guaranteeing claims to citizenship status and inheritance (cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#) p. 33). The specific motivation here is unclear, unless it was perhaps to avoid confusion arising from other family members in the funerary plot with the same names. Only one other Polemonikos is attested at Athens (*IG* II² 1696.28, 350/49 BC, without a demotic). The deme Hagnous lies southwest of Markopoulo in the Mesogeion (Traill 1986, 132), while Athmonon is at Amarousion (known as Maroussi) in the northeastern suburbs of Athens (Traill 1986, 135).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

Whether warriors found on funerary monuments actually commemorate men who died in battle, or whether it was simply a convention to reflect the military service that a citizen had formally rendered to his country, is difficult to assess. Chairedemos and Lykeas, two soldiers commemorated together on a stele in the Piraeus Museum, have been identified in casualty lists two years apart (*SEG* 33.57bis), Chairedemos in a battle of 409 and Lykeas as a trierarch in 411 BC. The identification is far from certain, but if correct, the stele would be a cenotaph at a family grave precinct, their ashes buried in the demosion sema with their fallen comrades. It is common in fifth-century funerary iconography for soldiers to be depicted within a home environment heading out to war, bidding farewell to relatives or being handed their armour, carefully avoiding any notion that they are victorious warriors in the thick of glorious battle, a focus on the individual which might be considered unacceptable within the sphere of community-based commemoration. Robin Osborne has argued that this picture changes in the late fifth and early fourth century,⁸⁶ when we see reliefs depicting Athenians dispatching individual enemies (most famously on the Dexileos monument [RO 7b](#)), perhaps as a reaction to prolonged political attacks against the cavalry following the regime of the Thirty. From the late fifth century, the casualty lists themselves begin to pick out individuals, such as generals, commanders and seers, where the earlier practice was to include no distinction other than tribe.

Loutrophoros stelai usually indicate that, as here, the deceased was unmarried (see discussion in [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\) no. 5](#), [AIUK 6 \(Leeds\) no. 1](#)). They frequently occur alongside winged mythical beings such as sirens and sphinxes, which further signify an untimely death (see [AIUK 12 \(Great North Museum: Hancock\)](#) pp. 4-5, and [22](#) below). The double-bodied sphinx with frontal head (cf. *Agora* XXXV 22) acts both as a chthonic symbol and guardian of the tomb (see Woysch-Méautis).

A large number of loutrophoros representations on tombstones include military scenes, presumably giving the message that the dead warrior, while fulfilling his duty to the state, had not been able to reach his potential in the private sphere as a husband and father.⁸⁷ These vases were also used in the washing of the corpse before burial, and it has been suggested that their presence on a warrior's tomb highlights the absence of a body,⁸⁸ although we cannot be certain that depictions of warriors imply death in battle.

⁸⁶ R. Osborne in D. M. Pritchard ed., *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*, 2010, 253-62.

⁸⁷ See [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\) no. 5](#); P. Hannah in D. M. Pritchard ed., *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*, 2010, 266-303.

⁸⁸ N. T. Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories: The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens*, 2015, 208-17.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

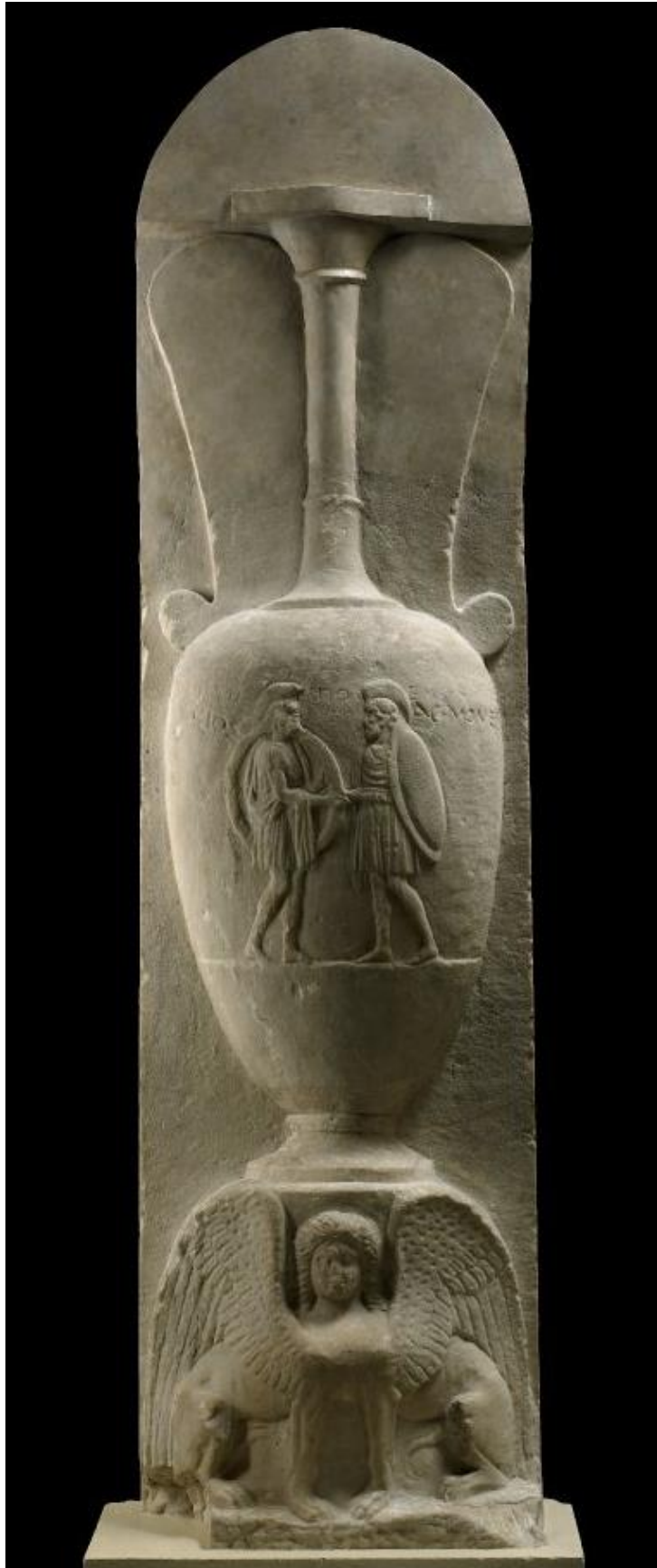


Fig. 21.1. 21 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 21.2. 21, detail © Trustees of the British Museum.

22 GRAVE STELE OF KLEARETE. BM 1910,0414.1. Athens? (see Collection History). Upper section of a white marble pedimental naiskos stela surmounted by a central acroterion with relief of a winged siren and right acroterion; the sculpted figure beneath is framed by pilasters; the name is carved on the geison above the head. H. 0.38, w. 0.44, th. 0.10; letter h. 0.012. Sculpture dated to ca. 375-350 BC (cf. Grossman 2001, 24-26, no. 7).

Eds. Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 937; *IG* II² 11851a (Kirchner).

Cf. A. H. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 75-6, no. 7, fig. 8; Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 400, pl. 67; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.326. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 22.

ca. 375-350 BC

Κλεαρέτη.
(relief)

Klearete.

Only Klearete's head survives on this upper section of a funerary relief, although the width of the stela suggests she would have been a lone figure. Stylistically, she has been compared to a funerary relief in the Getty Museum for Mynnina dated ca. 370 (Grossman). Sirens start to appear on Attic funerary monuments from around 360 BC, where they are often shown in mournful postures lamenting the dead (see discussion in [AIUK 12 \(Great North Museum: Hancock\) no. 1](#)). They are found almost exclusively on the gravestones of those prematurely deceased of either sex (for bibliography and further examples, see *Agora* XXXV, 130-2), and tend to sit on top of stelai, where their apotropaic nature makes them appropriate guardians of tombs (see Woysch-Méautis 1982, 91-9, 101-8). Klearete's loose long hair at the nape of the neck also suggests her youthful, unmarried status (cf. **24**, **34**).

There are only two other attestations of the name Klearete in Athens, one certainly an Athenian from the early fifth century BC, and a dedicant at the Asklepieion in 339/8, who may be a metec (*IG* II² 1533 = Aleshire, *Asklepieion*, Inv. III, 21); the masculine Κλεάρητος is also very rare (*Athenian Onomasticon*).



Fig. 22. **22** © Trustees of the British Museum.

23 GRAVE STELE OF CHOIRINE. BM 2007,5001.1. Acquired at Eleusis in 1819 by Halgan, once part of the Lenormant collection (see Collection History). Complete stele of white marble with stylised rounded finial with slight acroteria, likely once bearing painted decoration, and below a relief within a sunken panel (Bildfeldstele); the inscription is engraved centrally above Choirine's head. H. 0.54, w. 0.285, th. 0.125; letter h. 0.014. Sculpture of the mid-fourth century BC (375-350, Clairmont; ca. 370, Kosmopoulou; 370-360, Scholl; ca. 360, Freyer-Schauenburg; Roman period, Kirchner).

Eds. F. Lenormant, *Recherches archéologiques à Éleusis*, 1862, 356-7, no. 95; *IG II² 13062* (Kirchner).

Cf. Clairmont, *CAT* 1.350a; B. Freyer-Schauenburg in N. Başgelen and M. Lugal eds., *Festschrift für Jale Inan Armağani*, 1989, 59-65, pl. 27; Scholl 1996, no. 520, pl. 38.1; A. Kosmopoulou, *ABSA* 96, 2001, 312-13, cat. P4; J. B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess*, 2007, 230-33, fig. 8.5. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 19, display case 2. Fig. 23.

ca. 375-350 BC Χοιρίνη. Choirine.
(relief)

Choirine stands facing to her left in a sleeved chiton, peplos, and himation, wearing slippers and holding a large temple key in her right hand, signifying her role as a priestess. Her clenched left hand points forward in a gesture often encountered in votive reliefs showing devotees approaching a god, perhaps clutching a small incense box (Connelly, 232 n. 32).

The temple key was a conventional symbol of office for a priestess (κλειδοῦχος, key-bearer), representing her function as custodian of the sanctuary (in contrast to a male priest, conventionally depicted holding a sacrificial knife). The findspot of this gravestone in Eleusis has led to the suggestion that Choirine was a priestess of Demeter and Kore. Priestesses of Demeter were selected by lot from the genos Philleidai and held office for life (J. Blok & S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 169, 2009, 119-20). Genos priests sometimes have appropriate priestly names,⁸⁹ and her porcine name may not be coincidental, since the piglet was an important sacrificial animal, not least at Eleusis. On the other hand, the priestess of Demeter and Kore in office ca. 360 BC has been recently identified as Chairippe daughter of Philophron of Kephisia, whose statue by Praxiteles was dedicated by her brothers.⁹⁰ The fifth-century priestess Lysistrate dedicated crowns in the City Eleusinion, and her base is inscribed with an epigram in elevated poetic diction (*IG I³ 953*). In contrast to these “high-end” monuments, this funerary stele is rather modest, and might perhaps have been for an Eleusinian priestess other than the Philleid priestess of Demeter and Kore (cf. *I.Eleusis* 229, ll. 10 and 37, and *I.Eleusis* 175, ll. 15-16, attesting plural priestesses at Eleusis, but not specifying which ones).

⁸⁹ Cf. S. D. Lambert, “The Social Construction of Priests and Priestesses in Athenian Honorific Decrees from the fourth century BC to the Augustan period”, in M. Horster and A. Klöckner eds., *Civic Priests. Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity*, 2012, 71 n. 19.

⁹⁰ *SEG* 51.215. Blok & Lambert, 119, priestess of Demeter no. 3; no. 4, name unknown, mother of Epigenes of Acharnai, is another possible priestess ca. 400-350 BC (*SEG* 16.160).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

As noted above (16), priests and priestesses are one of very few “professions” to be regularly indicated on Attic funerary monuments. One might think, in a funerary context, that this had to do with the religious aspects of funerary culture, although such aspects do not otherwise generally feature strongly in Attic funerary commemoration, which usually focuses on the deceased in life and their human, especially family relations (see [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#) p. 33). It is perhaps more plausible to interpret this as a manifestation or extension of characteristic gender roles for citizens which are commonly commemorated on these monuments, with the priestess as custodian of the god’s “house” in the same way as the housewife is custodian of her own home (and the nurse assists her in that), and the priest sacrificing on behalf of the community, performing a characteristic masculine citizen role akin to that of the citizen warrior. This need not be pressed too far: since a number of the important priesthoods were provided by the descent groups known as *genē*, the depiction of priests/priestesses on gravestones within funerary periboloi could alternatively be viewed as projecting the purity of citizen descent that was closely associated with membership of such groups.



Fig. 23. 23 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

24 GRAVE STELE OF HIEROKLEIA. BM 1907,1025.3. Athens, seen in the late 19th century over a door around Karava, west of Piraeus (see Collection History). Upper part of a white marble pedimental naiskos stele with broken acroteria; the inscription is cut along the length of the geison; the deeply carved figure is framed by pilasters. H. 0.38, w. 0.495, th. 0.175; letter h. 0.012. Sculpture dates before the mid-fourth century BC (375-350, Clairmont).

Eds. *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 1888, 163, no. 9 (copy Dragatzis); Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 936; *IG* II 5 Add. 2130 b, p. 304 (Koehler); *IG* II² 6328 (Kirchner).

Cf. Conze II 868 (*ARMA* 4, 1091); A. H. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 75 no. 6; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.366. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 24.1, 24.2.

ca. 375-350 BC

Ἱερόκλεια Ναυσινίκου ἐκ Κεραμέων.
(relief)

Hierokleia (daughter) of Nausinikos of Kerameis.

There is space in this narrow naiskos for a single figure, but only the head of the girl survives, her youth indicated by her long hair that has been let down. Of the seven attested Athenians named Nausinikos, one other might be from Kerameis (*IG* II² 11404).⁹¹ The findspot of this monument is rather distant from the deceased's paternal deme of Kerameis (see **8**). There are several possible explanations, including that the family had shifted its residence to the Piraeus (which was largely inhabited by non-deme members, see discussion in [AIUK 4.3A \(BM Decrees Other Bodies\)](#) nos. 1-3), or that Hierokleia had married a Piraeus resident (though it is notable in that case that she is commemorated singly).⁹²

⁹¹ This funerary lekythos portrays two men, Euthyphron and Nausinikos (single name labels); the former has been attributed to Kerameis (see entry in *IG* II² 11404).

⁹² For patterns of correlation between demotics on funerary monuments and their findspots in the fourth and third centuries BC, and what that can tell us about mobility away from the ancestral deme, see R. Osborne, "The potential mobility of human populations", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10, 1991, 231-52 (repr. *Athens and Athenian Democracy*, 2010, ch. 8). For preliminary results of a wider project on deme mobility, taking into account a variety of epigraphic categories, see D. L. Kellogg, "Migration and Landscapes of Value in Attica", in J. McNerney & I. Sluiter eds., *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity: Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination*, 2016, 325-48.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 24.1. 24. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 24.2. 24, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. *Private Monuments: Relief Stelai*

25 GRAVE STELE OF STRATIOS. BM 1907,1025.2. Athens? (see Collection History). Small naiskos stele of white marble broken below and crowned with a straight roof of five stylised antefixes; the shallow sculpture is framed by pilasters. H. 0.57, w. 0.42, th. 0.095. Inscription carved centrally on the horizontal geison, letter h. 0.011. Sculpture ca. 375-350 BC (Clairmont).

Eds. Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 940; *IG* II² 12657a (Kirchner).

Cf. A. H. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 73-4, fig. 5; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.365. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 20. *Figs.* 25.1, 25.2.

ca. 375-350 BC

Στράτιος.
(relief)

Stratios.

A standing youth looks mournfully downwards, his left hand covered by a himation and his right holding a bird (see **16**). The lower missing portion of the relief may have included a companion dog. The name is common at Athens (31 examples in *Athenian Onomasticon*), the majority borne by citizens.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 25.1. **25** © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 25.2. **25**, inscription detail © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

26 GRAVE STELE OF KLEO. BM 1816,0610.373, Elgin collection. Athens? Stele of white marble broken below with rounded finial (likely once painted) above a horizontal band and a relief within a sunken panel (Bildfeldstele). H. 0.63, w. 0.385, th. 0.085. Names inscribed above the panel over the heads of the figures in staggered lines to fit across the width of the stele, letter h. 0.009-0.018. Dated by sculpture to 360-340 BC (Scholl) and lettering consistent with that dating.

Eds. *CIG* 981 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 3225; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 124; *IG* II 4042 (Koehler); *IG* II² 12345 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 694 (Smith); Conze I 324 fig. p. 74 (*ARMA* 4, 2320); Clairmont, *CAT* 3.410a; Scholl 1996, no. 439. Autopsy 2019. In store. *Fig.* 26.

360-340 BC	Κλεώ.	Kleo.
	Ἑρμόδωρος.	Hermodoros.
	Ξενώ.	Xeno.
	(relief)	

Xeno sits on a chair with a high back, perhaps suggesting old age or social maturity (such as married status). She wears a sleeved chiton and a himation drawn up over the back of her head and shakes hands with a standing younger woman, Kleo, in sleeved chiton and himation, her hair held up with a fillet. In between and in a plane behind the women stands a bearded male, Hermodoros, who rests his right hand and himation-covered left arm on what would have been a painted stick. The figures are labelled above their heads in staggered lines; it is not clear who the deceased should be, but perhaps Kleo is the late daughter whom both parents face. The significance of the dexiosis handshake has been much discussed, but most likely signifies the close bonds between family members; the majority of such scenes on funerary reliefs, as here, shows one of the figures seated and the other standing (see *Agora* XXXV p. 38; [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#) p. 31 n. 112, [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#) n. 40; [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\)](#) p. 11).

Hermodoros and Kleo are common Athenian names, while Xeno is relatively rare, with only five attestations at Athens, four arguably citizens and one Thracian metec (*Athenian Onomasticon*).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 26. 26 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

[27](#) GRAVE STELE OF DEMETRIA. BM 1861,0523.6. Athens, acquired by the 4th Earl of Aberdeen (see Collection History). Pedimental stele of white marble, broken left, with damaged central and right acroteria; the inscription is carved across the width of the stele above a relief within a sunken panel (Bildfeldstele). A modern inscription has been carved beneath the relief, including the date 1780. H. 0.67, w. 0.335, th. 0.085; letter h. 0.022. Sculpture of the mid-fourth century BC (375-350, Clairmont; 360-340, Scholl), and lettering consistent with such a date.

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 113; *IG* III 3072 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 11071 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 646 (Smith); Conze I 296 (*ARMA* 4, 2314); Clairmont, *CAT* 3.366b; Scholl 1996, no. 437. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 27.

360-340 BC

[Δ]ημητρία.
(relief)

Demetria.

Demetria is seated on a klismos with her feet resting on a footstool; she wears a sleeved chiton and himation drawn over the back of her head and takes something out of a box held by an attendant. A younger woman, perhaps a relative, stands in between these two figures in a secondary plane. The theme of a box held out by a slave is found on many funerary reliefs for women and was presumably meant to represent the deceased's collection of jewellery and as such was a status symbol and perhaps also a representation of the dowry she had brought into the marriage (see discussion at [18](#); [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\) no. 2](#); [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\) no. 1](#)).

The large lettering is well-carved and spaced out attractively across the stone, which was likely once immured into a building when the date 1780 was carved onto it with a panel containing repeated symbols, either decorative or of unknown meaning (repeated letter xi?). Demetria is a common name at Athens with 78 examples (*Athenian Onomasticon*), although only around 20% of holders are likely Athenian citizens.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 27. 27 © Trustees of the British Museum.

28 GRAVE STELE OF A FAMILY FROM SESTOS. BM 1785,0527.6. Athens, found by Chandler in a church on the road to Kifissia and donated by the Society of Dilettanti (see Collection History). Part of a white marble stele with relief decoration within a sunken panel (Bildfeldstele), broken above the inscription but with a trace of a circular rosette(?) at the upper left break, and broken below through the relief. H. 0.21, w. 0.372, th. 0.095; letter h. 0.010. Sculpture dated to the mid-fourth century BC (375-350, Clairmont; 360-340, Scholl) and lettering consistent with such dating.

Eds. Chandler 1774, no. 95; *CIG* 892 (Boeckh, copy Müller); Koumanoudes 2369; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 108; *IG* II 3313 (Koehler); *IG* II² 10262 (Kirchner); Ginestí Rosell 2012, no. 216.

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 637 (Smith); Conze I 325 (*ARMA* 4, 807); Clairmont, *CAT* 3.394a; Scholl 1996, no. 434. Autopsy 2019. In store. *Fig.* 28.

ca. 350 BC (rosette?) [(rosette?)]
 Ἀριστοδίκη ὕψ' Ἀρίσταρχος ὕψ' Ἀθηναίς
 Σήστιοι.
 (relief)

Aristodike, Aristarchos, Athenais,
 Sestians.

This fragmentary stele was likely crowned with a floral finial (carved or painted) with two rosettes below (only traces of the left one survive), the inscriptions acting as name labels above the figures within the sunken panel. A seated Aristodike and standing Aristarchos face right towards a standing younger woman, Athenais, wearing chiton and himation drawn over the back of her head. As Clairmont points out, the distance between the women precludes a dexiosis. The two older figures are likely mother and father looking towards their deceased daughter.

Names taken from Athens/Athena down to the late Classical period in Athens are normally the preserve of citizens: Athenodoros (36 citizens/1 metic), Athenais (9/3), Athenippos (6/0), Athenokles (6/2), Athenophanes (2/0) (*Athenian Onomasticon*, counting only secure status identifications). This may suggest that the daughter of this metic family was born in Athens and given a name that suited her new home. Our three names are not otherwise attested at Sestos (see *LGPN* IV, listing 31 entries). Only seven foreign residents from Thracian Sestos are known at Athens, all from funerary monuments (six from the fourth century BC, one Imperial, see *FRA* s.v. Σήστιος). Sestos lay at the narrowest part of the Hellespont and was taken by Athens in 479/8 (Hdt. 9.114-19; Th. 1.89.2). It is listed as a tribute paying member of the Delian League from 446/5 to 421/0 (see *Inventory*, no. 672), and an Athenian cleruchy was installed in 353/2 following the capture of the city and slaughter of its adult population by the general Chares (Diod. 16.34.3-4);⁹³ this would suggest that our family were pro-Athenian (hence the naming of their daughter?) and had come to Athens before 353/2, a date consistent with the funerary relief.

⁹³ For an Athenian decree probably relating to the cleruchy (352/1? BC), see [IG II³ 1, 387](#).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

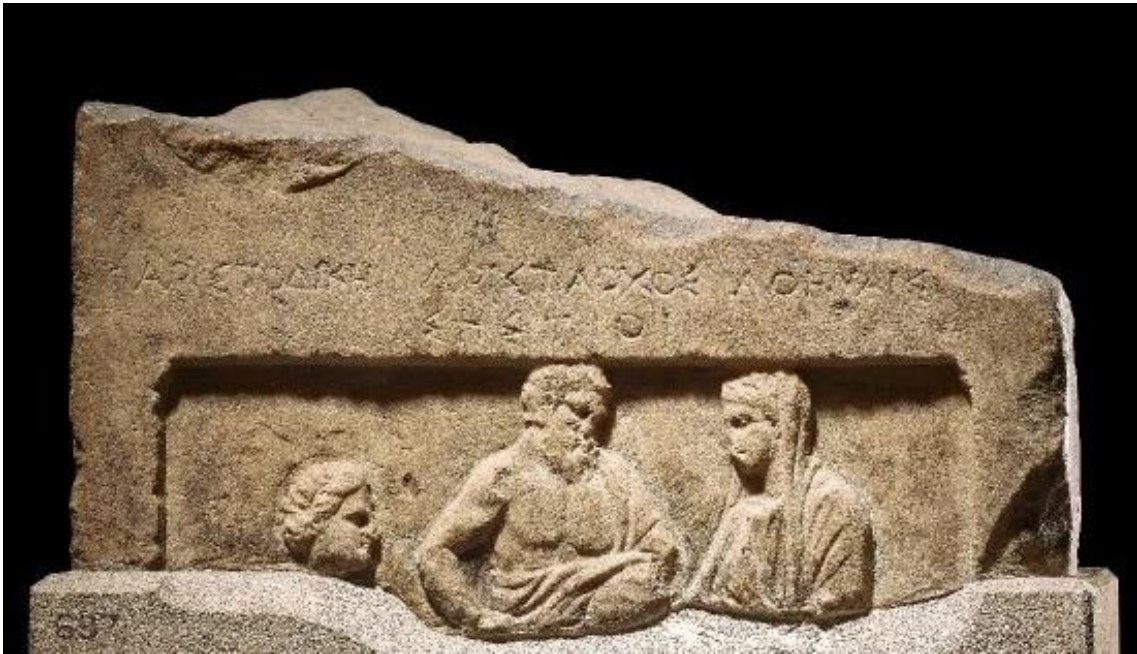


Fig. 28. 28 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

29 GRAVE STELE OF EUKLEIA. BM 1843,0531.20. Athens, found west of the Parthenon by Inwood (see Collection History). Upper right corner of a white marble pedimental naiskos stele preserving the right acroterion; the inscription is on the geison. H. 0.235, w. 0.245, th. 0.182; lettering of perhaps the mid-fourth century BC, h 0.012.

Eds. *CIG* 467 (Boeckh, copy Müller); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 115; *IG* II² 11408a (Kirchner).

Cf. H. W. Inwood, *The Erechtheion*, 1827, 134-5, pl. 24 [1831², 22-3, pl. 24]; Clairmont, *CAT Suppl.*, p. 35, PE 53. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig. 29*.

mid-iv BC? [- - -]ο : Εὐκλεία ^{vacat} (Name) of (name). Eukleia.
[(relief)]

1 omicron likely the contracted genitive of a patronymic.

The large scale of this monument and depth of the naiskos suggest it contained substantial sculpture. Inwood's drawing of the stone included the letters MA within the pediment, which Hicks took to have been damaged at some point, but the drawing indicates that no stone has been subsequently lost, and there is no sign of these extra letters; they likely arose from a copying error. Eukleia, as the last element inscribed on the geison, should be a name label above a lost figure, and the probable patronymic before the punctuation suggests at least one further figure. Thirty-one women named Eukleia (*good repute, glory*) are known from Athens (10 certainly Athenians, see *Onomasticon*).

If the omicron before the interpunct is a genitive, then O for OY in a private text such as this should date no later than ca. 330 BC (Threatte I, 258). Interpuncts are rare in sepulchral texts of the fourth century, but tend to comprise three dots (Threatte I, 77; cf. [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\) no. 2](#) with the same genitive contraction and interpunct in the mid-fourth century).



Fig. 29. 29 © Trustees of the British Museum.

30 FUNERARY NAISKOS OF ARCHAGORA. BM 1911,1010.1. Menidi(?), Attica (see Collection History). Pedimental naiskos stele of white marble crowned by a central acroterion containing a double-bodied sphinx; the upper right section has been restored. The deeply carved figures stand outside a frame of pilasters; a name label is inscribed on the geison. H. 1.71, w. 0.92, th. ca. 0.30; letter h. 0.016. Sculpture dated ca. 350-320 BC (350-300, Clairmont).

Eds. Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 939; *IG* II² 10851 (=Add. 10747a, with incorrect name, see *SEG* 50.221) (Kirchner); A. Wilhelm, *ZPE* 29, 1978, 75.

Cf. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 79-80, no. 11, pl. 3, fig. 2; Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 378, pl. 63; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.418. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 30.1, 30.2.

350-320 BC

Ἀρχαγόρα Ι- -
 θυγάτηρ.
 (relief)

Archagora daughter
 of I- -.

1-2 Ἀρχαγόρα | θυγάτηρ Smith, Marshall, Ἀρχαγόρα Ι^{vac.} | θυγάτηρ *IG* II² 10851, Ἀρισταγόρα | θυγάτηρ *IG* II² 10747a.

This high-quality and deeply carved sculptural scene depicts a seated Archagora on the right dressed in a sleeved chiton, peplos and himation, resting her sandalled feet on a footstool. She shakes hands (dexiosis) with an old, bearded man on the left who rests his other hand on his himation. An older female figure stands in the background between them, dressed in a sleeved chiton with a himation draped over her shoulders; she touches the edge of her himation above the left shoulder and her head is slightly inclined in a gesture of mourning.

Archagora is the only figure whose name was inscribed (as a label above her head), and so should represent the deceased; she may have died first and the family were to be commemorated in their turn, perhaps with now lost painted labels. The crowning acroterion depicts a double-bodied sphinx (for these apotropaic figures, see **21**), which can – like sirens – indicate an untimely death, stressing the unmarried status of Archagora.

Archagora's patronymic begins with a clear iota, which is not an accidental stroke followed by a *vacat* (as Marshall thought, followed by Wilhelm); the stone in fact breaks immediately after the iota and the monument has been convincingly restored to the right, leaving ample room for a patronymic. Only two other Attic examples of the name survive: 1) on a grave lekythos of the late fourth century BC found at Koropi (*IG* II² 11198: Διότιμος. Νικομάχη. Ἀρχαγόρα. Γλαυκίας); and 2) on a lekythos also in the British Museum (*IG* II² 10852 (**51**): Ἀρχαγόρα. Πιθυλλίς. Πολύστρατος). Unfortunately, the provenance of the BM lekythos is unknown (Elgin collection), and the lack of further patronymics/demotics on these examples does not allow us to establish a family connection.

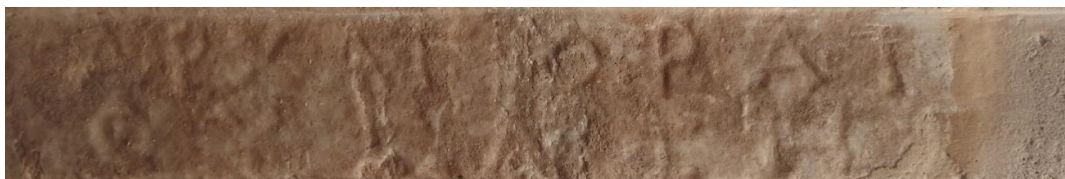


Fig. 30.1. **30**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 30.2. 30 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

31 GRAVE STELE OF MELANTES AND MENALKES. BM 1915,0415.1. Athens? (See Collection History). White marble stele with simple pediment and an unframed relief of an elegant loutrophoros with two birds drinking from it. H. 101.6, w. 0.48, th. 0.185; inexpert and worn lettering, h. 0.006. Sculpture dated ca. 350-320 BC (350-300, Clairmont).

Eds. A. H. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 70-2, no. 2, fig. 3; Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 1153; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 50-2, no. 235, pl. 34 (*SEG* 33.230); *SEMA* 2159.

Cf. Clairmont, *CAT* 2.417b. In Store. *Figs.* 31.1a and b, 31.2.

ca. 350-320 BC Μελάντης. (relief) Μενάλκης. Melantes. Menalkes.

This elegant and well-preserved loutrophoros relief (see **21** for the monument type) occupies the whole stele and includes two doves perched on its rim, one of which drinks from the vessel. While many birds are found in Greek funerary art, the dove is associated with Aphrodite, herself a goddess of mourning (see **16** for birds in funerary contexts, and W. G. Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z*, 2007, index *s.v.* doves). The inscriptions were inscribed onto the shoulder of the vessel below the handles and were poorly executed, particularly in comparison with the relief sculpture. They were likely name labels for painted figures on the body of the vase, but perhaps not from the original use of the stele. Without the scene we cannot know which of the men was the deceased, but the loutrophoros indicates that he was unmarried. Both names are uncommon at Athens but are attested principally as being held by citizens (see *Athenian Onomasticon*).



Figs. 31.1a and b. **31**, details of inscriptions. Photos: A. Truscott © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 31.2 31 © Trustees of the British Museum.

32 GRAVE STELE OF A FAMILY FROM XYPETE. BM 1861,0523.8. Athens, acquired by the 4th Earl of Aberdeen (see Collection History). Part of a white marble stele with a sunken relief (Bildfeldstele), broken above and below. H. 0.31, w. 0.365, th. 0.095; letter h. 0.012. Sculpture and lettering suggest a date ca. 350-320 BC (350-300, Clairmont; mid-iv, Scholl).

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 90; *IG* II 2365 (Koehler); *IG* II² 6932 (Kirchner); Peek 1954, 14 no. 38.

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 632 (Smith); Conze I 358 (*ARMA* 4, 2315); Clairmont, *CAT* 4.468; Scholl 1996, no. 432. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 32.

ca. 350-320 BC [Ἀρι]στονίκη : Διοκλείο[υ]ς. [...^{c.5}..]π[.¹⁻².]
 [Κ]ηφισ[ο]γένης : Κηφισοφῶντος : Ξυ
 Ἄριστ[ο]νίκη : Κηφισοφῶντος [:] Ξυπ
 Κηφισοφῶν : Κηφισοδώρου : Ξυπε :
 (relief)

Aristonike (daughter) of Diokles of ---.

Kephisogenes (son) of Kephisophon of Xypete.

Aristonike (daughter) of Kephisophon of Xypete.

Kephisophon (son) of Kephisodoros of Xypete.

1 Διοκλείο[υ]ς : Ξυπ[ε] Hicks, Διοκλείο{ο}[υ]ς Ξυπ[ε] or Διοκλεί(δ)ο[υ]ς Peek from a squeeze. The spacing suggests a deme other than Xypete, perhaps 3-4 letters following the punctuation and before pi, allowing Alopeke, Kropidai, Lamptrai or Prospalta || 2 Ξυ[:] Kirchner || 3 Ξυπ[:] Kirchner.

At first reading, this stele names four members of an immediate family (mother, son, daughter, father) listed in four lines, representing from left to right the figures in the relief. On closer inspection, however, the figures in fact represent three women and a man (*contra* Smith, Clairmont). The identifications are problematic since the inscription is a list (as with the *Namenstelen*) rather than being inscribed as name labels above the figures. The relief, not of very high-quality workmanship, may have been purchased without being a perfect match for the family in question, and emphasises the complexities of linking inscriptions with sculpted figures in funerary monuments, particularly bearing in mind how many of these stones were reused.

The three figures on the right look towards the first figure, who faces right, and so it has been suggested that Aristonike I is the principal deceased (also listed first in the inscription), likely the wife of Kephisophon.⁹⁴ The fact that the two women of the text have the same name, Aristonike, might suggest they are mother and daughter. The recurrence of names in three generations of the male line from the same root is also notable: Kephisos was the god of the like-named river, whose sanctuary at Echelidai is known from dedications

⁹⁴ Humphreys 2018, 1048-9, n. 35 suggests the seated figure Aristonike II is the deceased.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

(see *SEG* 54.78; 61.73),⁹⁵ and which was near to or in the family deme of Xypete (Traill 1986, 134; Humphreys 2018, 1045 n. 27).

Abbreviations are rare in Attic funerary inscriptions, but tend to occur with the triple dot interpunct, as here (see Threatte I, 99-101); it is notable also that the three abbreviations of the same demotic are each different, as the space allowed.



Fig. 32. 32 © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁹⁵ On the sanctuary and naming practices related to the river-god, see R. Parker in S. Hornblower & E. Matthews eds., *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, 2000, 59-61.

33 FUNERARY NAISKOS OF ARISTEIS. BM 1910,0712.1. Velanideza(?), East Attica (see Collection History and below). Several joining fragments (with partial restorations) of a large pedimental naiskos stele of white marble with broken central and corner acroteria. The figures stand out from a frame of pilasters. H. 1.12, w. 0.73, th. 0.165; the inscription on the geison forms two name labels over the female figures, letter h. 0.012. Sculpture dated ca. 350-320 BC (350-300, Clairmont).

Eds. Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 938; *IG* II² 10758 (erroneously repeated as 10754a, Add. p. 887) (Kirchner).

Cf. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 78 no. 9; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.415a. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 33.1, 33.2.

ca. 350-320 BC Ἀριστεῖς Ἐπιχάρου θυγάτηρ. ^{vac.} [-^{max. 6}-]ἡ Ἐπιχάρου γυνή.
(relief)

Aristeis daughter of Epichares.

—e wife of Epichares.

A woman on the right seated on a diphros with a footstool takes the hand (dexiosis) of her standing daughter Aristeis; their name labels take up the whole geison above their heads, separated by a small gap. The third figure of an elderly man between them is presumably Epichares, but he is not afforded a label; we learn his identity only from his relationship to the two women (he may have been commemorated on a separate monument).⁹⁶ Only one other Aristeis is known from Athens (*IG* II² 10876, early iv BC, within a series of single names).

The BM acquisition records for the monument give the information, no doubt from the dealer, that it came from ‘Velaniderya’, properly Velanidia or Velanideza in East Attica, just inland from the temple of Artemis Tauropolos, and – if accurate – might suggest it was taken from a cemetery of the ancient deme Halai Araphenides (modern Loutsa, Traill 1986, 128). Two men called Epichares from Halai (Araphenides?) may be related to each other and perhaps also to our Epichares: *IG* II³ 4, 1563 (Acropolis dedication, f. iv BC) and Kroll, *AAP* no. 88 (from a grave in Kypseli, ca. 367-360 BC).



Fig. 33.1. **33**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁹⁶ Clairmont, *CAT* 3.415a, thought Aristeis was inscribed first and so was the principal deceased, but the lettering cannot bear such an interpretation as there are no clear signs of a different hand, only a wider spacing towards the right edge. The gazes of the figures also support the identification of the mother as the deceased.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 33.2. 33 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

34 FUNERARY NAISKOS OF METAGENES. BM 1915,0416.1. Athens, recorded by Wiegand in 1912, perhaps in Istanbul (see Collection History). Upper part of a small white marble pedimental naiskos stele with a small loutrophoros-hydria in the pediment, and surviving left acroterion. The figures are in a cramped scene standing out in front of framing pilasters. H. 0.42, w. 0.495, th. 0.10; the inscriptions are on the geison with a slight gap between, letter h. 0.009. Sculpture of the mid- to late fourth century BC (Clairmont).

Eds. Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 939a; *IG* II² 6587 (inaccurate copy Wiegand) + Add. p. 881 (Kirchner).

Cf. A. H. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 80-81 no. 12; Kokula 1984, H37; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.414a. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 34.1a and b, 34.2.

350-300 BC	Μεταγένης Ἐπιγένου ^{vac.} Κυδαθηναίου ^{vac.}	Φιλουμένη Τηλοκλέου ^{vac.} Κυδαθηναίως ^{vac.}
	(relief)	

Metagenes (son) of Epigenes of Kydathenaion.	Philoumene (daughter) of Telokles of Kydathenaion.
---	---

As with several other sculpted family monuments in this set, the relief poses a puzzle for the viewer since, while a man, Metagenes, and a woman, Philoumene, are named on the epistyle, the relationship between them is not clear from their nomenclature; and the relief obscures the situation further in that it depicts a man and two women, one standing and the other seated. Philoumene might be Metagenes' wife, and a daughter of a fellow demesman (thus Davies and Humphreys); but the loutrophoros in the pediment is normally a symbol of unmarried status and raises the possibility that Philoumene was the principal deceased and an unmarried relative (e.g., half-sister) of Metagenes (cf. Clairmont). It seems reasonable enough to take the bearded standing man in the relief, his hands once supported by a stick, as Metagenes, and the position of the name Philoumene on the epistyle suggests that she is meant to be the young woman standing next to him with long hair flowing down her back. This, however, leaves unresolved the identity of the seated woman with her himation pulled over the back of her head. The two women were likely shaking hands in a dexiosis.

Though neither Telokles nor Metagenes are further attested, members of a family from Kydathenaion which includes men named Epigenes and Nikias are found in the fourth century BC in the liturgical class, though it is not possible to tell for certain how they were related to Metagenes (for different possibilities, see Davies, *APF* 10807; Humphreys 2018, 690 table 20.2, 891).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai

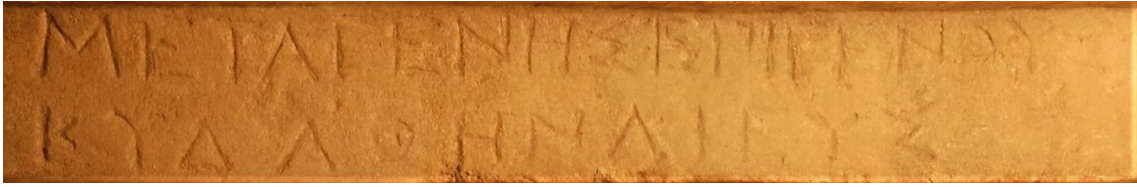


Fig. 34.1a and b. **34**, inscription details. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 34.2. **34**. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

35 GRAVE STELE OF MENEKRATES. BM 1864,0220.9. Athens? Acquired by the 6th Viscount Strangford (see Collection History). Small stela of white marble with a simple tall pediment, perhaps once painted, and a relief within a sunken panel below (Bildfeldstela). H. 0.53; w. 0.285, th. 0.075; the inscription is above the relief, letter h. 0.01. Sculpture of the second half of the fourth century BC (Clairmont, Scholl).

Eds. Koumamdoues 3132; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 121; *IG* III 3276 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 12090 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 651 (Smith); Conze II 947, pl. 185 (*ARMA* 4, 711); Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 107, pl. 18; Clairmont, *CAT* 0.921; Scholl 1996, no. 438, pl. 33.4. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 35.

350-300 BC

Μενεκράτης Μένωνος.
(relief)

Menekrates (son) of Menon.

This low-quality relief does not have a certain Attic provenance but is generally taken to be Athenian (the figure bears a striking resemblance to Scholl 1996, no. 176 (pl. 33) = *IG* II² 12175, of certain Athenian origin and the same date range). It depicts a standing nude boy with a himation draped over his left shoulder and holding a bird (dove, Clairmont) in his left hand and touching or stroking it with his left. Menekrates' nudity likely emphasises his youth and unmarried status, as a boy who frequented the gymnasium (see discussion in [AIUK 13 \(Mount Stewart\)](#) p. 8, and cf. **40**).

Menekrates and Menon are very common names at Athens (143 and 91 examples listed in *Athenian Onomasticon*), but they are not otherwise attested in conjunction, and in the absence of a demotic this Menekrates cannot be identified.

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 35. 35 © Trustees of the British Museum.

36 GRAVE STELE OF [DE?]MO. BM 1861,0523.7. Athens, acquired by the 4th Earl of Aberdeen (see Collection History). Pedimental stela of white marble, broken to the left but preserving some of the frame, now restored in plaster, with a relief in a sunken panel (Bildfeldstela). H. 0.58, w. 0.308, th. 0.055. One inscription is on the pediment above the figure, and a later, more roughly inscribed text is below the panel, letter h. (a) 0.012, (b) 0.009. Sculpture dated after the mid-fourth century BC (350-300, Clairmont; 340-330, Scholl).

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 133; *IG* II 5, 3612b, p. 282 (Koehler); *IG* II² 11134 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 644 (Smith); Conze I 46, pl. 23, fig. 1 (*ARMA* 4, 2313); Clairmont, *CAT* 1.455; Scholl 1996, no. 436. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 36.

ca. 340-330 BC	(a)	[Δη?]μώ. (relief)	[De?]mo.
	(b)	[- - -] χάρετε ἅπαντες.	[- -] Farewell, you all!

This simple relief depicts a woman facing right seated on a klismos with a foot stool and pulling her himation forward over a shoulder. Inscription (a) preserves the right half of a mu followed by omega, and if the inscription is centred then only two letters should be missing from the start of the name (around four if it starts from the left of the stone). All editors have restored the name Δημώ, the most commonly attested four-letter name to fit (24 examples in *Athenian Onomasticon*), although Τιμώ would also be possible (12 attestations).

At some point, text (b) was added below the relief in a smaller and less competent script, either with a further name now missing at the left or simply as a greeting or farewell from the deceased, almost like a verbal equivalent of a dexiosis, meaning both greeting and farewell. This is the only example of the phrase χάρετε ἅπαντες in Athens, where after the Archaic period even χάρετε (ubiquitous in other areas of the Greek world, cf. [AIUK 6 \(Leeds\)](#) p. 9) is rare.⁹⁷ χάρει is used almost exclusively on the gravestones of metics and non-citizens at Athens (or at least alongside single names without demotics), and is principally a post-Classical phenomenon, suggesting that the deceased commemorated in this secondary use was not Athenian.

⁹⁷ A PHI search reveals only eight other Attic cases of χάρετε in funerary contexts, six in verse inscriptions of the mid-v to mid-iv century (*IG* I³ [1181], [1288], 1503; II² 5552a, 10435, 11780), and two in prose from ii BC (*IG* II² 11632) and i AD (*IG* II² 11669).

4. Private Monuments: Relief Stelai



Fig. 36. 36 © Trustees of the British Museum.

37 GRAVE STELE OF THE NURSE MELITTA. BM 1909,0221.1. Athens, perhaps via Chalkis; once part of the Guilford collection, later discovered in a London builder's yard (see Collection History). Pedimental stele of white marble with broken acroteria and a sunken relief panel (Bildfeldstele) with inscriptions (a) above, (b) within, and (c-d) below. H. 0.94, w. 0.405, th. 0.132; letter h. (a) 0.013, (b) 0.01, (c) 0.01, (d) 0.007. Relief and letter forms of the second half of the fourth century BC (330-320, Scholl).

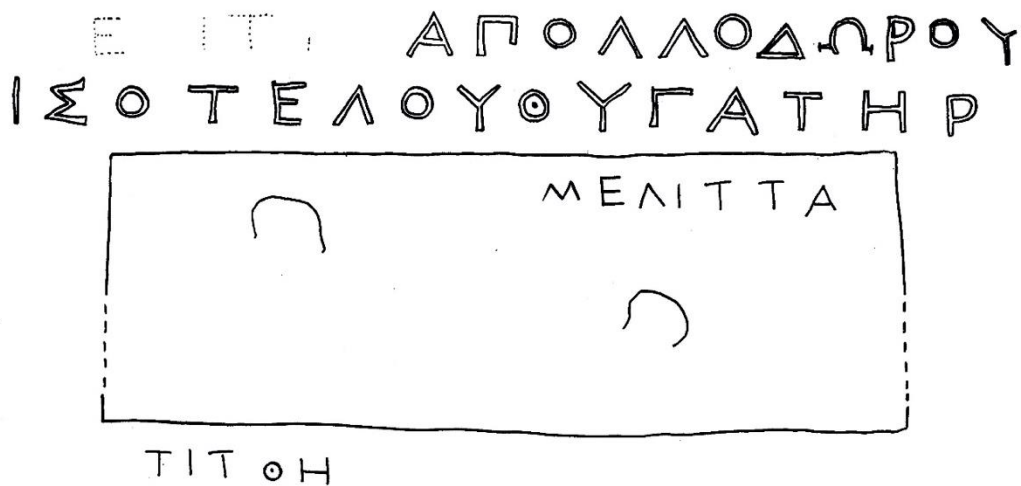
Eds. *CIG* 808 (Boeckh, copies Mustoxydes, Müller); R. Walpole, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, 1820, 560-1, no. 27 (copy Schinas); Koumanoudes 1349; Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 942; *IG* II 2729 (Koehler); *IG* II² 7873 (Kirchner); Peek, *GV* 747; Hansen, *CEG* 2, no. 571.

Cf. A. H. Smith, *JHS* 36, 1916, 76-8 no. 8, fig. 9; Conze I 130 (*ARMA* 4, 1567) with IV Add. p. 113; Clairmont 1970, no. 25, pl. 12; G. Daux, *BCH* 96, 1972, 532-5 no. 25, fig. 2; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.969; Scholl 1996, no. 442; A. Kosmopoulou, *ABSA* 96, 2001, 281-319, N7; Tsagalis 2008, 100-108; G. Vestrheim, in M. Baumbach *et al.* eds., *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram*, 2010, 64-6. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 37.1, 37.2, 37.3a and b.

ca. 330-320 BC

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (a) | [[[M]έ[λ]ιττ[α]]] Ἀπολλοδώρου
ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ | [[Melitta]] daughter of Apollodoros,
<i>isoteles</i> . |
| (b) | (relief) Μέλιττα | Melitta. |
| (c) | τίτθη | Nurse. |
| (d) | 5 ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίτ[θ]ην κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτ-
ει / Ἴπποστράτης· καὶ νῦν π[ροθ]εῖ σε. / καὶ ζῶσαν σ' ἐφίλ-
ουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμ[ω] / οὔσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς,
καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ· / οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ [γ]-
ῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν, / πρώτει σοὶ τι[μ]-
10 [αί], τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνει Πλούτωνί τε κεῖνται. | |

Here the earth covers over the worthy nurse
of Hippostrate; and now she longs for you. As long as you were alive I loved you,
nurse, and now I still honour you, though you are below the earth,
and I will honour you as long as I live. I know that even below the earth,
if there is in fact a reward for the worthy ones, the first and foremost honours,
nurse, are yours, next to Persephone and Pluto.



ΕΝΘΑ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ ῬΗΣΤΗΝ ἠνυκαταγλια κλαγγ-
 ειπποστραθησε και η ειξε και τωσανσεσ /
 ουντι οηκαι νυ... ΤΙΤΙΜ ἠυσαι και καταγι
 και τιμ ησε εα χυι α . Ι. ο. ο. α. Δ. ε. ο. ο. τ. ι. κ. α. ι. κ. α. τ. α.
 Η ΕΙΠΕΡΥΡΗ ΕΤΡΙΣ ΓΕΡΑΣ : - ΤΙΤΙΠΡΥΤΙ...
 ΤΙΤΘΗ ΠΑΡΑΦΕΡΣ ΕΦΟΝΕΙ ΠΛΟΥΤΑΝΙΤΕ ΚΕΙΝΤΑΙ

Fig. 37.1. 37, drawing of the inscriptions from a squeeze: Pitt.

The relief depicts a woman, Melitta, seated on a klismos, resting her feet on a footstool and identified with a name label to the right (b) and ‘nurse’ beneath (c).⁹⁸ She faces a young girl, Hippostrate, who was once in her care, and who now, grown up, has composed the accompanying epigram (d) to honour her carer. Both figures hold out an object towards each other, perhaps birds or a doll in the case of the girl. Text (a), in larger letters above the relief, includes a careful erasure of the name Melitta, which was likely part of a reuse of the stele when a new name was painted in (there are no traces of reinscription). It is hard to see how this repurposing could have been successful, since the patronymic and *isoteles* status, not to mention the relief labels and epigram, remain untouched. This provides further evidence that in reusing funerary monuments, many incongruities could be forgiven when the alternative was purchasing an expensive new stele.

We possess a large number of funerary monuments for nurses (τίθη, τιθήνη, τροφός), who tend to be slaves and metics in Athens (the name Melitta was held by citizens, slaves and freedwomen). Nurses are often depicted with a standard iconography, clad in chiton and himation (Kosmopoulou; see 16 on professions in funerary monuments). Melitta

⁹⁸ Clairmont (CAT) makes an elaborate series of conjectures to explain the erasure, which hinge upon the name label Melitta being above the child’s head and added by a later hand; all this should be rejected. There is no space above the nurse’s head for a label, so it is placed to the right and, perhaps perceiving the potential confusion, the nurse label was added beneath. All the inscriptions seem to me to be in the same hand and executed at the same time. For further criticism of Clairmont’s positions, see Daux, Hansen, Tsagalis.

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was the daughter of a metic who had the privileged status of *isoteles*,⁹⁹ paying taxes equal to citizens and exempt from the metic tax (*metoikion*).¹⁰⁰ The privilege could apparently be transferred within a family, but only along the male line.¹⁰¹ When *isoteleis* so designate themselves on tombstones, they omit their ethnics,¹⁰² their new status superseding any previous citizenship, showing quite how important such financial and social markers were for foreigners in Athens. They display these rights to special treatment in a similar manner to citizens recording patronymics and demotics on their tombstones, which can then be employed as evidence of such status for the family in litigation.

The epigram is most unusual in that we are offered almost no information about the dead, neither a name (perhaps why it appears twice above), nor a listing of their virtues (Vestheim). We are instead presented with an entirely personal account of the importance of the nurse to her former charge, Hippostrate, who (now grown up) seems to have composed it herself. Tsagalis has highlighted the strong similarities between this epigram, with its references to Persephone and – uniquely in epigrams before the Hellenistic period – Pluto, and the myth of Demeter and Kore as attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, perhaps suggesting that Hippostrate had a religious association with the Thesmophoria, although the emphasis on a form of “life” in the honours given to the dead below may rather point to a connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries (on the Thesmophoria, see R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, 2005, 270-83).

⁹⁹ We would expect the genitive with final sigma: ἰσοτελοῦς (see Threutte II, 154 ff.).

¹⁰⁰ See D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, 1977, 11-13. Conflicting information about the findspot of the stone places it either in Chalkis or Athens. There is nothing to suggest that this is anything other than an Athenian work, which may have once been taken to Euboia. The class of *isoteles* is not epigraphically attested in Euboia in the Classical period (on the question of *isoteleia* as part of a package of honours granted to, e.g., proxenoi, see D. Knoepfler, *Décrets érétriens de proxénie et de citoyenneté (Eretria XI)*, 2001, 56-60). For another Athenian *pietre errante* in Chalkis, see S. D. Lambert, *ZPE* 130, 2000, 71-75 on *IG I³ 255* and for Euboian funerary inscriptions moving to Athens, see V. Bardani, *HOPOΣ* 1, 1983, 57-58.

¹⁰¹ A. Ginestí Rosell, “*Próxenos, métoikos, isotelés*. La integración de extranjeros en Atenas”, *Faventia Suppl.* 2, 2013, 287-302.

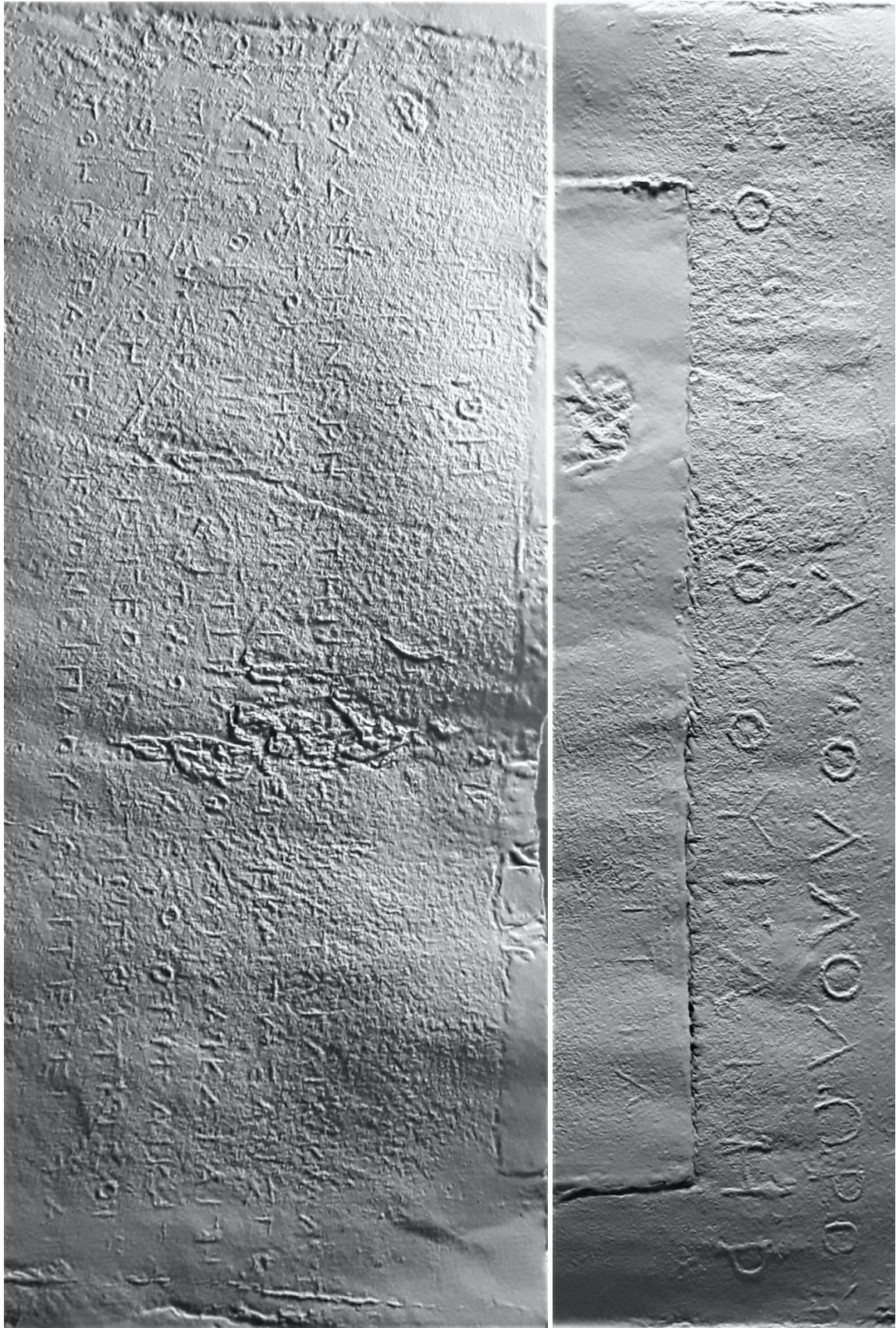
¹⁰² E.g., *IG II² 7862-7881*; note one possible exception in 8652, although there the status is implied from a family connection and is not explicit.

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Fig. 37.2. 37 © Trustees of the British Museum.

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Figs. 37.3a and b. 37, squeezes of the inscriptions. Photos: Pitt.

38 GRAVE STELE OF SOTERIS. BM 1982,1214.1. Athens, likely excavated by the 2nd Marquess of Sligo (see Collection History). Stele of white marble with a horizontal moulding above, broken at the lower left and right, with a large lekythos in relief inscribed to the left of the neck. H. 0.825, w. 0.41, th. 0.07; letter h. 0.015. Relief dated to fourth century BC (Cook).

Eds. B. F. Cook, *JHS* 114, 1994, 243, pl. 7a (copy Walker) (*SEG* 44.198, Stroud); *SEMA* 1431; Ginestí Rosell 2012, no. 307. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 38.1, 38.2.

iv BC	Σωτηρίς Σικελιώτις.	Soteris the Sicilian.
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1-2 Σωτηρης Σικελιωτις Walker, Σωτηρις Σικελιώτις Stroud.

The female name Soteris is much more common at Athens for non-Athenians (only 2 out of 39 are certainly citizens, 21 foreigners, see *Athenian Onomasticon*). The use of the suprapolis island ethnic Σικελιώτης (masculine) for the Greeks of Sicily is commonly found outside Sicily in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, after which, as Jonathan Prag has demonstrated,¹⁰³ it gives way between 350 and 50 BC to Σικελός, frequently in a form of a double ethnic: Σικελός ἀπὸ + city-name, with one exception: Syracuse, citizens of which often kept their polis ethnic, a phenomenon noticeable at Athens (for the Athenian evidence, see *FRA s.vv.* Σικελία, Συράκουσαι).¹⁰⁴ The form of the ethnic here is unique; the only other female with the ethnic “Sicilian” recorded at Athens uses Σικελή (*IG* II² 10289, i AD).

The vessel most probably bore a painted scene, such as we see in *IG* II² 7180 (revealed in Posamentir 2006, no. 66; cf. [AIUK 6 \(Leeds\) no. 1](#)).

¹⁰³ J. R. W. Prag, “Identità siciliana in età romano repubblicana”, in C. Ampolo ed., *Immagine e immagini della Sicilia e delle altre isole del Mediterraneo antico. Giornate internazionali di studi sull’area elima e la Sicilia occidentale, Erice 12-16 Ottobre 2006*, 2009, 87-99; idem, “Sicilian Identity in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Epigraphic Considerations”, in P. Martzavou and N. Papazarkadas eds., *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis. Fourth Century BC to Second Century AD*, 2013, 37-53, where on p. 48 Prag raises the possibility that Sikeliotis could be a personal name rather than an ethnic, but the two lines of text are close together and we would expect two single names to be further apart if the monument commemorated two people.

¹⁰⁴ The Athenian epigraphic material bears out this pattern: *IG* II² 61 (before 378/7) provide honours for a Σικελιώτης without polis ethnic; four funerary monuments record Σικελιώται without polis ethnic from the 5th and 4th centuries: *IG* I³ 1369bis = II² 10290; 10287; 10288; *SEG* 44.198 (38). Four funerary monuments record Σικελοί from the Late Hellenistic to Imperial period: *IG* II² 10289, Σικελή, i AD; 10291, Σικελός ἀπὸ Καλῆς Ἀκτῆς, i BC; 10292, Σικελός ἀπὸ Νεαίτου, i AD; 10293, Σικελός ἀπὸ Τυνδαρίδος, imp. One possible exception to Prag’s pattern is a Hellenistic(?) funerary stele (EM 1997) published by W. Peek (*Attische Grabchriften* II, 1957, 25 no. 62) as [Ἐ]τέ[αρ]χος | [Πλε]ιστ[ί]νου | [Ἡρα]κλεώτης. L. Moretti, *Riv. Fil.* 1959, 96-97 corrected the reading [...]ελκωτης to [Σικ]ελ(ι)ώτης (*BE* 1960 no. 148; now *SEMA* 1073), and, if correct, perhaps the inscription should instead be 4th century.

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Fig. 38.1. 38, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 38.2. 38 © Trustees of the British Museum.

39 GRAVE STELE OF MOUSIS. BM 1785,0527.5. Athens, acquired by Chandler and donated by the Society of Dilettanti (see Collection History). Stele of white marble with a relief pediment of a (once painted) central stylised palmette and corner acroteria; a circular object in the pediment is possibly a shield. The relief is framed by an arch set on columns or pilasters, above which are two stylised rosettes, lazily carved. H. 0.74, w. 0.365, th. 0.075; poorly aligned lettering of formal Imperial type, splayed mu, straight sigma, alpha with broken crossbar, h. 0.02. Relief dated to the Julio-Claudian period (von Moock).

Eds. Chandler 1774, no. 91; *CIG* 726 (Boeckh, copy Müller); Koumanoudes 2218; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 103; Conze IV 1848, pl. 390 (*ARMA* 4, 777); *IG* III 2758 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 9781 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 642 (Smith); von Moock 1998, no. 447, pl. 59a. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 39.

early i AD	Μουσις Ἀργαίου Μιλησία. (relief)	Mousis (daughter) of Argaios of Miletos.
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The relief depicts a woman seated on a stool (diphros) performing the gesture of unveiling or anakalypsis with her left hand (cf. [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\) no. 2](#)). She holds an aulos (double pipe) in her right hand, a common symbol of culture at this period (von Moock 1998, p. 78), which might also allude to the deceased's name, associated as it is with the Muses, raising the possibility that she was a professional musician (cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\) no. 9](#) with nn. 142-3). The form of the stele with a figured scene surmounted by an arch is common at Athens from the late first century BC, when figured reliefs are again seen in great numbers in the funeraryscape; it is principally an early Imperial phenomenon (see discussion in *Agora* XXXV 375; [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 13](#); and cf. von Moock 1998, 85, 87, 93, 96).

Five women called Mousis are attested at Athens, four of them foreign residents from Miletos. More generally, female names beginning Mous- (e.g., Μουσάριον, Μουσική, Μουσικόν) are predominantly held by resident foreigners and span the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. By contrast, the majority of men called Ἀργαῖος at Athens are citizens (*Athenian Onomasticon*), raising the possibility that Mousis was an illegitimate daughter. “Milesians” were very numerous in Roman Athens, and it seems they were not all literally from Miletos but were a status category which included freedmen and illegitimate children. Mousis would seem likely to have been a “Milesian” in this sense.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ For recent discussion of this topic, and extensive bibliography, see Lambert, [AIUK 2 \(BSA\)](#) p. 37; de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), pp. 48-50.

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Fig. 39. 39 © Trustees of the British Museum.

40 FUNERARY NAISKOS OF TRYPHON. BM 1839,1102.1. Excavated at Athens and bought in Smyrna by Rev. Francis Arundell (see Collection History). Large naiskos stele of white marble surmounted by a horizontal beam with five stylised antefixes, restored at the upper right. The deeply carved figure stays within the framing pilasters. Iron dowels on left and right sides suggest it was once attached to other blocks or had pins for wreaths. H. 1.775, w. 0.90, th. 0.265; lettering shows some archaizing with tailed rho and phi of two small loops, h. 0.025. Sculpture dates from the time of Claudius or Nero (von Moock).

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 129; *IG* III 3391 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 12832 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 626 (Smith); Conze IV 2005, fig. 435 (*ARMA* 4, 778); von Moock 1998, no. 419. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 40.1, 40.2.

mid-i AD Τρύφων υἱὸς Εὐτύχου -⁷⁻⁸- Tryphon (son) of Eutychos [of - -].
(relief)

This large naiskos stele contains a nude youth, Tryphon, superbly carved in deep relief with a cloak (chlamys) draped over one shoulder and holding a strigil in his right hand; if he held an object in his left hand it cannot be identified, although an aryballos would be an appropriate accompaniment. He evidently died young and is represented as a naked athlete with his gymnasium equipment (a common depiction of youths from the Classical period as well as the Roman, see von Moock 1998, pp. 69-75). The chlamys is a marker of citizen and military status closely associated with the ephebeia (de Lisle, [AIO Papers 12](#), p. 30).

The British Museum catalogues the piece as from the mid-fourth century BC, repurposed in the Augustan period with the addition of the inscription and the re-cutting of the head (not noted by von Moock). But this is hard to square with the lack of obvious reworking of the monument or inscription. The row of large, tall, antefixes is frequently found on Roman monuments (cf. **43** in this volume; von Moock 239 = *IG* II² 12418), whereas it is difficult to parallel the type on Classical naiskos stelai, where such antefixes are much smaller, not as squat as their Roman versions, and tend to be part of a more evident roof structure.¹⁰⁶

The inscription is not centred, and so likely continued to the right with a demotic or ethnic. Τρύφων is a common name at Athens (67 of 98 certain Athenians) but only from the late first century BC onwards; Εὐτύχος follows a similar pattern (but only 34 of 111 are Athenian citizens), although with some Hellenistic and earlier examples. The letter forms (tailed rho with small loop, slightly curving epsilon, epsilon with smaller middle bar, phi with two small loops) find parallels in the first century AD and into the second (see images of *Agora* XVII 279, pl. 21, ii AD; *IG* II³ 4, 805, pl. 101, early i AD; 809, pl. 101, late i AD; for the archaizing tailed rho cf. the list of ephebic friends from 41-54 AD in [AIUK 11 \(Ashmolean\) no. 5](#)).

¹⁰⁶ For a statement of the fourth-century origin of the monument, without supporting references, see I. Jenkins & V. Turner, *The Greek Body*, 2009, 29, 49. Scanning the plate volume of Clairmont, *CAT*, there are noticeably few parallels for a large naiskos with this form of roofing, the closest is perhaps the stele for Silanion (*CAT* 1.361 = *IG* II² 6480), although the antefixes are much smaller than our monument.

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Fig. 40.1. **40**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 40.2. **40** © Trustees of the British Museum.

41 GRAVE STELE OF SYNPHORON. BM 1973,0330.2. Athens? Seen in Valetta, Malta¹⁰⁷ by Blackburne in 1749 (see Collection History). Simple stele of white marble broken at the upper right, with a small sunken relief (Bildfeldstele), h. 0.50, w. 0.295, th. 0.075. The inscription is carved at the top of the stele with straight “official” Imperial letter forms in a neat hand with broken crossbar alphas and heavy serification, h. 0.026. Sculpture of the Julio-Claudian period (for a very similar monument and lettering, cf. von Moock 1998, no. 122).

Eds. *CIG* 857 (Boeckh, copy Müller); Koumanoudes 1875; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 101; *IG* III 2510 (Dittenberger); M. N. Tod, *JHS* 48, 1928, 4 (copy Blackburne); *IG* II² 8985 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 650 (Smith); Conze IV 1925 (*ARMA* 4, 779); von Moock 1998, no. 448. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 41.

i AD	Σύνφορο[ν] Ἡρακλείδ[ου] Καρυστία. (relief)	Symphoron (daughter) of Herakleides of Karystos.
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1 Σύνφορο[ις] Boeckh, Σύνφορο[ν] Koumanoudes.

A young female wearing a chiton and himation holds a bird (or a book roll, von Moock) in her left hand and an ivy leaf fan in her right hand, highlighting the elegance of the deceased, a feature found on several reliefs of the Roman period (see von Moock 1998, 78 n. 925). The name Σύνφορον (or Σύμφορον) is only borne by seven women at Athens, both citizens and metics, in the first and second centuries AD; the male Σύμφορος is more common (51 occurrences), also overwhelmingly of Roman date. *Athenian Onomasticon* lists 79 Athenian residents from Euboian Karystos, quite evenly distributed from the early fourth century BC through to the Imperial period.

After the fourth century BC, the Bildfeldstelen re-emerge in any significant numbers as a funerary monument type only in the Imperial period, although there are a small number of identified examples from the third to first centuries BC (see Scholl 1996, 77-81; von Moock 1998, 48-9, and for examples of other Roman Bildfeldstelen, cf. nos. 99, 122, 327, 435, 461, 497). The Attic provenance of this gravestone is not certain since its first recording was in Malta rather than Athens; Conze took the marble to be Pentelic, but this has not been verified.

¹⁰⁷ von Moock mistakes the findspot, recording “westlich des Kerameikos” from Kirchner’s “olim Athenis, tum Melitae”, but this refers to Malta, not the Athenian city deme of Melite.

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Fig. 41. 41. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

42 GRAVE STELE OF EPIGONA. BM 1890,0919.1. Athens, recorded by Spon and Fourmont and then excavated in London (see Collection History). Naiskos stele with a tall pediment containing a vase or kalathos in relief and acroteria; a single figure stands between framing pilasters, h. 1.415, w. 0.495, th. 0.13. The inscription on the geison is in mixed lettering of straight (epsilon, sigma) with slightly curved forms (mu, alpha), h. 0.02. Sculpture dated to mid-first century AD (von Moock).

Eds. Spon 1679, ii, 445; Fourmont, BnP Manuscrits, Supp. gr. 571, f.138 no. 587; 854 f.249, f.341v; *CIG* 706 (Boeckh, from Spon and Fourmont); Koumanoudes 2121; Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 943; *IG* III 2660 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 9558 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 667 (Smith); A. H. Smith, *JHS* 14, 1894, 268; Conze IV 1917, pl. 410 (*ARMA* 4, 650); von Moock 1998, no. 449. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 42.1, 42.2.

i AD Ἐπιγόνα Μοσχίωνος Μειλησία.
(relief)

Epigona (daughter) of Moschion of Miletos.

The relief depicts Epigona, heavily draped in chiton and himation with hands wrapped within her garments, her face now badly damaged. This form of monument with tall pediment and stylised acroteria at the three corners finds its closest parallels around the middle of the first century AD (cf. von Moock 1998, nos. 243 and 398). The object in the pediment is normally identified as a basket (*Arbeitskorb*, Conze) or kalathos (von Moock),¹⁰⁸ although the shape is not typical at this period (cf. Conze IV, 1915, 1916, 1935). The kalathos is a symbol of the feminine domestic virtues of the deceased, just as other Roman funerary reliefs include book rolls to indicate education or fans to emphasise elegance (von Moock 1998, 78).

We would expect the form Ἐπιγόνη both at Athens and Miletos,¹⁰⁹ but by this period “Milesians” in Athens were not necessarily from Miletos, they were likely a special class of metec (see **39**). This is the only attestation of the name at Athens with the alpha termination (*Athenian Onomasticon*), while there are seven examples of Ἐπιγόνη from the late first century BC to the second century AD, including three other women “Milesians” (*IG* II² 9557, 9749, 9559; see Threatte I, 136). The common name Moschion was held both by foreigners and citizens from the Classical period onwards, and three other Milesians are known (*IG* II² 9849, iii BC; 1996 ll. 120 and 180, 87/8 AD).

¹⁰⁸ On the kalathos, see R. Trinkl, “The Wool Basket: function, depiction and meaning of the kalathos”, in M. Harlow & M.-L. Nosch eds., *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 2014, 190-206.

¹⁰⁹ A. Morpurgo-Davies, in S. Hornblower & E. Matthews eds., *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*, 2000, 27.

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Fig. 42.1. 42 © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 42.2. 42, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

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43 GRAVE STELE OF AGATHEMERIS. BM 1878,0725.1. Athens, excavated by the English consul Logothetis near the Ilissos along the road to Piraeus (see Collection History). Large naiskos stela with inscribed geison below a flat roof of four (originally five) stylised antefixes. Two dowel holes on each side preserve lead and iron for attachments or to join the monument to other structures. The figures are deeply carved within the framing pilasters, their faces broken off. H. 1.695, w. 0.94, th. 0.28; untidy lettering with lengthened upper parts of alpha, delta, and short perpendicular strokes at the terminations, h. 0.018-0.027. Sculpture dated to the late Antonine period (Walters, von Moock; AD 100-120, Eingartner).

Eds. C. Vidua, *Inscriptiones antiquae a comite Carolo di Vidua in turcico itinere collecta*, 1826, 49, pl. 50.4; *CIG* I 662b, Add. p. 916 (Boeckh, after Vidua); Pittakis 1835, 205 (*ARMA* 3, 499); Koumanoudes 675; Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 944; *IG* III 1760 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 6498 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 630 (Smith); Conze IV 1963, pl. 422 (*ARMA* 4, 408); E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs that Represent Women in the Dress of Isis* (*Hesp.* Suppl. XXII), 1988, 81, pl. 32e; J. Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1991, no. 109; von Moock 1998, no. 446, pl. 58d. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 43.1, 43.2.

ca. AD 150-200	Ἀγαθημερίς ὕ Σ ὕ Η ὕ Ἀφροδεισίου ἐκ Κολλυτέων. (relief)	Σενπρώνιος ^{vacat} Νικήτης Κολλυτεύς.
	Agathemeris SE(?) (daughter) of Aphrodeisios of Kollytos.	Sempronius Niketes of Kollytos.

1 (ζ)ῆ? Dittenberger || 2 ἐκ Κολλυτέων added in smaller letters.

A deeply carved relief depicts two frontal figures: a follower and perhaps priestess of Isis, Agathemeris, and her husband(?), Sempronius Niketes, a Roman citizen (*RCA*, 429). Walters identifies a fragmentary sculpture from the Agora as a copy of Agathemeris, likely from the same workshop and sculptor (Walters 1988, no. 18, pl. 33d). Both faces have been deliberately mutilated, perhaps as an attack against the family or rather by iconoclasts (cf. [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 13](#) and [AIUK 10 \(National Gallery, Scotland\) no. 2](#)). 106 reliefs showing women in the costume of Isis from Athens were catalogued by Walters, strongly suggesting that her followers wore such apparel. A himation with long fringe is tied with a knot at the chest, worn over a sleeved gown (chiton). Typically, as here, these Isis worshippers carry objects associated with the cult. The sistrum raised in her right hand is an Egyptian musical rattle made of disks loosely strung along prongs within a loop; the situla carried in her left hand is a type of suspended pail (cf. the Isis worshipper grave stela [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\) no. 4](#) and see L. A. Mazurek, “Gender and Alterity in Provincial Portraiture: Reconsidering the Isiac Grave Reliefs of Roman Athens”, *Hesperia* 90, 2021, 605-40).

The letters sigma eta after Agathemeris have not been satisfactorily explained, but Dittenberger’s suggestion of amending the letters to ζῆ (“she lives”) is particularly attractive when taken together with the different sizes of letters of the whole inscription and the order

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of their inscribing. The letter forms throughout are in the same style, but Sempronius' inscription is in larger letters than that of Agathemeris, ΣΗ is also larger, and Agathemeris' demotic is smaller and clearly an afterthought, squeezed into an inadequate space before meeting the second inscription. The inclusion of ζῆ on Greek funerary inscriptions is a Roman phenomenon analogous to the Latin *v(ivus) f(ecit)* or *v(iva)*, denoting that the named individual was still living when the monument was created.¹¹⁰ It would then be intriguing that Agathemeris had the stele made on the death of her Roman husband or relative, and then later felt the need to add the fact that she was still living and wanted to assert her own status as an Athenian citizen, thus emphasising the function of funerary monuments in guaranteeing status in relation to inheritance and citizenship.



Fig. 43.1. 43, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

¹¹⁰ As noted by L. Robert, “Inscriptions d’Aphrodisias”, in *Antiquité Classique* 35, 1966, 379 n. 5 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* 6, p. 3 n. 5), this can take various verbal forms but is not an expression of hope for an afterlife. At Athens, we find this phenomenon from the first century AD onwards, cf. *IG* II² 7776, a large funerary epistyle from the late second century commemorating father (living), son and probably wife, in three columns: Διονύσιος Ὁ Χολαργεύς *folium* ζῆ. Ἀλέξανδρος Διονυσίου Χολαργεύς. Ἀσκληπιάς Ἐπικτήτου Φλυέ[ως]; and, rather more explicitly about the circumstances, *IG* II² 12350, another epistyle from a Roman funerary monument: Λ. Ὠλιος Ὀκταβιανός [κατεσκευά]σε τὸ μνημεῖον ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ [τῇ συμβίῳ]. The confusion of Σ for Z is, however, not common; Threatte I, 548-9 lists just two examples, both before a vowel: Βυσαντία (*IG* II² 8439, i BC) and Σώσιμος (II² 2097.276, 169/70 AD).

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Fig. 43.2. 43 © Trustees of the British Museum.

5. PRIVATE MONUMENTS: STONE VESSELS

44 LEKYTHOS OF DEMOSTRATE. BM 1816,0610.275, Elgin collection. Athens. Body of a white marble lekythos, hollowed out and later still cut back above, broken below. Relief sculpture with inscribed name labels above the two central figures. H. 0.48, di. 0.43; letter h. 0.013. Lettering of the late fifth (420-410? Lewis) or fourth century BC (Kirchner); sculpture ca. 420-400 (Clairmont).

Eds. *CIG* 936 (Boeckh); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 114; Koumanoudes 2757; *IG* II 3611 (Koehler); *IG* II² 11129 (Kirchner); *IG* I³ 1286 (Lewis).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 689 (Smith); Conze II 905 (*ARMA* 4, 953); Schmaltz 1970, 118, A2, pl. 1; C. W. Clairmont, *Boreas* 9, 1986, 32; Clairmont, *CAT* 4.120. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 44.1, 44.2a and b.

ca. 420-380 BC Δημοστράτη. Καλλιστρά[τη].
(relief)

Demostrate. Kallistrate.

This grave marker is stylistically one of the earliest marble funerary lekythoi known (see Schmaltz), and the sculptor has been plausibly identified on two further reliefs (*CAT* 3.672 and 4.670, 420-400 BC, Clairmont). Two standing women are shown clasping hands in a dexiosis scene flanked on the left by a mourning girl and a youth on the right (or a girl? *CAT*). The central women are identified by inscriptions immediately above them, and the sharing of a name component (-strate), if not coincidental, may suggest they are sisters or mother and daughter. Demostrate draws her himation forwards over her head (anakalypsis) and looks mournfully downwards without meeting the gaze of Kallistrate, and so she may be the deceased. The smaller flanking figures look towards the central pair, each with their heads lowered and their chin resting on a hand in a gesture of mourning.

The name Demostrate is attested 47 times at Athens, the overwhelming majority of holders being citizens and dating within the Classical period; Kallistrate follows a similar pattern with 44 occurrences, 29 of them certainly Athenians.

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Fig. 44.1. **44** © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figs. 44.2a and b. **44**, inscription details © Trustees of the British Museum.

45 LEKYTHOS OF HERMOTION(?). BM 1816,0610.122, Elgin collection. Athens. Body of a white marble lekythos, cut off above and missing its foot. The inscription runs around the vessel below the relief. H. 0.724, di. 0.385; letter h. 0.009; stoichedon 0.011 (hor.), 0.0115 (vert.). Sculpture and vase form dated to the early fourth century BC (ca. 400-390, Schmaltz; 400-375, Clairmont); lettering of the late fifth or early fourth century BC (see below).

Eds. *CIG* 1041 (Boeckh, from *Synopsis BM*)¹¹¹; Koumanoudes 3486; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 132; *IG* II 4312 (Koehler); *IG* II² 11338a (Kirchner); Peek, *GV* 2070; Peek 1980, no. 58; Hansen, *CEG* 2 no. 476.

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 690 (Smith); Conze II, 1135, pl. 230 (*ARMA* 4, 2325); Clairmont 1970, no. 59, pl. 27; Schmaltz 1970, A 30; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.220. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 45.1, 45.2, 45.3.

late v - early iv BC

stoichedon

(relief)

[- - - . . .] E [. ¹³] ον Ἑρμοτίων [ος ?]	- - (of?) Hermotion
[- - - . . .] ι [. ⁹ σο] φία [ς] μετέχεν	- - shared in wisdom
[- - -] Υ [.] Υ [. ¹²] πατρός, ἡνίκα τε ἔζη	- - of his father, while he lived
[- - - . . .] ε ι [. ¹¹ ω] ν ἔτυχεν.	- - he obtained(?)

1 ΟΝΕΛΟΤΙΩΝ name ending -δοτιων Hicks, -ον Ἑ[ρμ]οτίων? Koehler, -ον Ἑρμοτίων Peek *GV*, [ἦδε χθών κ]ε[ύθει Σωσίστρα]τον Ἑρμοτίων[ος] Peek 1980, ε.[. . . ¹² .]ον Ἑρμοτίων[ος] Hansen || 2 ΦΙΑ . . δ' ἔτεκεν Boeckh, -φια δε τε(κ)εν Koum., ΦΙΑ.ΔΕΤΕΧΕΝ Hicks, -φια . δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν Koehler, καὶ σο]φία[ς] μετέχεν Peek *GV*, [ὅς ποτε σωφ]ρ[οσύνης κα]ὶ σ[ο]φία[ς] μετέχεν Peek 1980, ερτ[. . . ⁸ .] σοφίας μέτεχεν Hansen || 3 πατρός? ἡνίκα τέγξη Boeckh, τενξη? Koum., Ε-- πατρός ἡνίκα τέγξη, τέγ(ξ)η[ι] Kirchner, τε ἔζη Peek *GV*, [κάτθανε δὲ] εὐ[τυχίαν ὀλέσα]ς πατρός, ἡνίκα τ' ἔγζη Peek 1980, ψ[.]υ[.]ε[υ] . . . ¹¹ .]ς πατρός, ἡνίκα τε ἔζη Hansen || 4 -Ν ἔτυχεν Boeckh, Koum., -ων ἔτυχεν Hicks, [πλείστων τ]ερπ[ωλῶν ἠδ'] ἀγα[θ]ῶν ἔτυχεν Peek 1980, ερ[. . . ¹⁰ .]ων ἔτυχεν Hansen.

The relief depicts a warrior with helmet and shield in a knee-length belted chiton and a chlamys draped over his shoulder facing two figures (parents?) and shaking hands (dexiosis) with one of them, a bearded man; the deceased may have been killed in battle. An epigram in four lines, now badly damaged, particularly at the left, is inscribed beneath the figures in letters reminiscent of professional letter cutting from public decrees and in a stoichedon arrangement more common in official texts than on private monuments.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Boeckh takes the text from a guidebook to the BM galleries, *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, which ran to dozens of editions in the 19th century. I cannot trace which volume he was using; his reference to this monument as no. 167 fits with the 25th edition of 1827 (p. 168), but the text of the inscription is not given in that version.

¹¹² Cf. some of the later fifth- and early fourth-century cutters illustrated in S. V. Tracy, *Athenian Lettering of the Fifth Century B.C.: The Rise of the Professional Letter Cutter*, 2016.

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The epigram (of two elegiac couplets?) preserves the name Hermotion, likely either the deceased or his father, one of only three examples from Athens, the other two from the fifth century unfortunately not preserving any family connections or demotics (*IG I³ 1030, 1144.25*, the latter certainly a citizen).



Fig. 45.1. 45 © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 45.2. **45**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

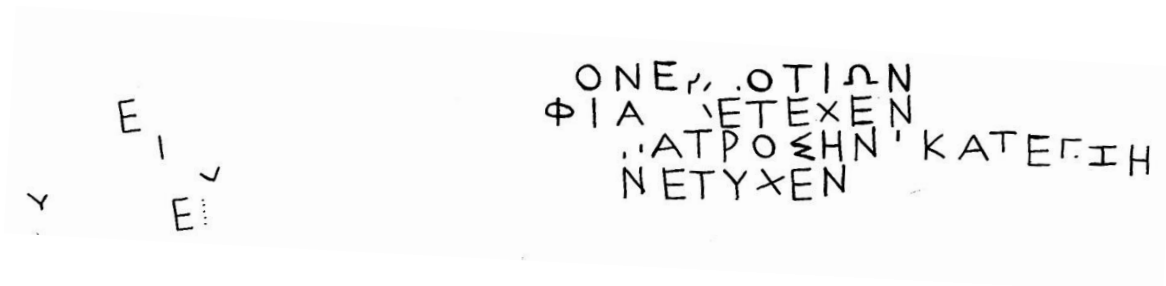


Fig. 45.3. **45**, drawing of the inscription: Pitt.

46 LOUTROPHOROS OF PHAIDEMOS. BM 1816,0610.124, Elgin collection. Athens? White marble loutrophoros with traces of two painted lines 0.032 m. apart around the shoulder. The inscription is repeated on either side of the vase. H. 0.99, di. 0.27; letter h. 0.008. Loutrophoros type of the early fourth century BC (Kokula); letter forms late fifth or early fourth century BC (see below).

Eds. Koumanoudes 2274; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 105; *IG* II 3239 (Koehler); *IG* II² 9986 (Kirchner); Ginestí Rosell 2012, no. 490.

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 683 (Smith); Conze III 1715, fig. 367 (*ARMA* 4, 2328); Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*, 1977, 179 no. 471; Kokula 1984, 30. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 46.1a and b, 46.2.

late v - early iv BC

side a Φαίδιμος : Ναυκρατίτης.
Phaidimos of Naukratis.

side b Φαίδιμος : Ναυκρατίτης.
Phaidimos of Naukratis.

The undecorated nature of this loutrophoros suggests that it was once painted, and in fact there are surviving traces of a painted band around the shoulder. Vases of this type were perhaps produced as ‘blanks’ which could be customised relatively cheaply by painting in scenes and other embellishments. The two inscriptions (the repeated text not previously noted) also suggest that the monument was set up in such a way as to be viewed from all sides, such as standing on a stone funerary trapeza, whereas many of the marble funerary vessels tend to have a focus on one side only, to be viewed frontally, as at the edge of a peribolos.

The lettering (in the same hand on both sides) shows affinities with cutters of the late fifth to early fourth centuries, with the diagonal of nu not reaching the base line, and with tall upsilon and sigma (cf. the later hands in Tracy, *Athenian Lettering*, 185-93, cutters of *IG* I³ 316, ca. 408/7, and *IG* II² 1401, ca. 385 BC).

Phaidimos is one of six metics attested at Athens from Naukratis in Egypt (v-iv BC, see *FRA*), an important Greek colony and trading centre on the Canopic branch of the Nile. The loutrophoros form suggests he died unmarried.

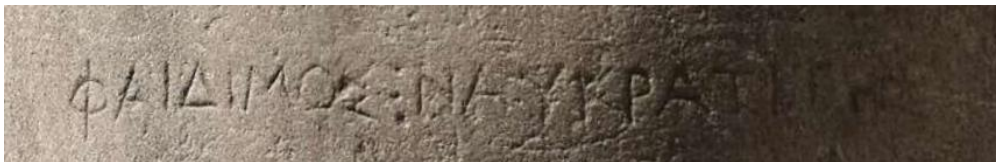


Fig. 46.1a. **46**, inscription detail © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 46.1b. **46**, inscription details Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

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Fig. 46.2. 46 © Trustees of the British Museum.

47 LEKYTHOS OF HIPPYLLOS. BM 1924,0513.1. Athens? (see Collection History). White marble lekythos missing mouth and foot. H. 0.86 (restored), di. 0.275; letter h. 0.007. Sculpture dated to the first quarter of the fourth century BC (Clairmont).

Eds. *IG II²* 10787a (Kirchner, copied 1938).

Cf. Schmaltz 1970, A 60, pl. 22; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.234. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 47.1a and b, 47.2.

early iv BC Ἀριστομάχη. Ἱπ^{vac}·πυλλος. Τιμο[κ]ρίτη.
(relief)

Aristomache. Hippylos. Timokrite.

ἹΠΠΥΛΑΣ Clairmont, corrected by Hallof (*SEG* 50.248).

A young warrior, Hippylos, dressed in short-sleeved chiton and chlamys and carrying a helmet and shield shakes hands with a young woman, Timokrite, while a further woman, Aristomache, stands facing them on the left. The name labels above the figures run together except for a break within the name Hippylos written either side of his head; the dexionis suggests that he was Timokrite's husband.

Aristomache is a common name at Athens, with 49 examples known, mostly held by citizens; only six other men are recorded called Hippylos, all citizens. Timokrite is also rare, with four other attestations, three citizens and one woman from Oropos.



Figs. 47.1a and b. **47**, inscription details. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

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Fig. 47.2. 47 © Trustees of the British Museum.

48 LOUTROPHOROS OF MNESIMEDE. BM 2000,0526.1.¹¹³ Athens, probably from a known ancient cemetery at Voula (see Collection History and below). White marble loutrophoros broken at the base of the neck and missing its foot. H. 0.70, di. 0.30; letter h. 0.008. Sculpture dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BC (Clairmont).

Eds. Clairmont, *CAT* 4.375 (Olympiodoros only, from ph.) (=SEMA 2287); H. A. Cahn & D. Cahn, *Kunst der Antike (Gallery Cahn, Basel). Sales Catalogue at the Occasion of TEFAF Maastricht 13-21 March, 1999*, 24 no. 317 (full inscription) (=SEG 49.271).¹¹⁴

Cf. N. Himmelmann, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1988, 352-3, n. 7, fig. 2 (ph. used by Clairmont). Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 19. *Figs.* 48.1, 48.2, 48.3.

375-350 BC

Μέδων.

Φερίας.

Μνησιμήδη.

Ὀλυμπιόδωρος.

(relief)

Medon.

Pherias.

Mnesimede.

Olympiodoros.

The relief on the body of this loutrophoros-amphora contains four figures, one female seated on a klismos and three standing bearded males, with name labels in a staggered arrangement over their heads. The first is Medon, who is in a dexiosis with the seated third figure, Mnesimede, their hands stretching in front of Pherias, standing in the background. The two men on the left face right, while Mnesimede and Olympiodoros – standing behind her chair, perhaps leaning on a (partly painted?) stick – face left.

The name Olympiodoros is ubiquitous at Athens, while 11 Medons are known (8 certainly citizens); Pherias is the only Athenian attestation (*LGPN* lists one further holder, an Aeginetan Olympic victor: *SEG* 11.1231, Hansen, *CEG* I 350, 468-464 BC). Only one other Mnesimede has been reported from Athens, creating a potentially very important link with our commemorated group, not previously noticed. A marble lekythos of ca. 375-350 (*Fig.* 48.3) was discovered in 1989 during excavations in Voula (Pigadakia) at the junction of Kavalas and Athinon streets in the area of a known ancient cemetery of periboloi and stone funerary vessels.¹¹⁵ The relief on the lekythos presents striking similarities to the BM

¹¹³ This monument is said to have been on the Paris art market in the 1920s (see Collection History).

¹¹⁴ It has not previously been realised that the BM loutrophoros was included in Clairmont, *CAT* (4.375, ph. in plate vol.), reading from a photograph of this otherwise unpublished monument included by Himmelmann in an article about another loutrophoros (*AA* 1988, 352-3, n. 7, fig. 2); the image had come from the Photosammlung of the Bonn Institute with a note that it was seen on the Paris art market in 1973. Himmelmann and Clairmont read only the name Olympiodoros (hence *SEMA* 2287). As can be seen in the images, they are certainly the same vase. Clairmont misreads the second figure as female, perhaps holding a baby, and so questions the odd choice of a loutrophoros-amphora.

¹¹⁵ Ed. pr. I. Andreou, *AD* 44, 1989 [1995], B' p. 61 (*SEG* 44.203); M. Polojiorghi, "Ein Neufund im Archäologischen Museum Piräeus", *AM* 109, 1994, 163-72, pls. 28-30 (*SEG* 49.272); Clairmont, *CAT* 4.350; *SEMA* 1946; now Piraeus Museum inv. no. 5794. On this deme cemetery of Halai Aixonides, see I. Andreou, "Ὁ δῆμος τῶν Αἰξωνίδων Αλών", in W. D. E. Coulson *et al.* eds., *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*, 1994, 205-6, n. 74; Polojiorghi, *op. cit.*, 164 and nn. 2-5.

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example in terms of the appearance, stance, and order of the figures, and the letter forms are also close in style. Two bearded men, Theophilos and Olympiodoros, flank a seated Teisistrate on a klismos in dexiosis with a standing Mnesimede. The figure of Olympiodoros is in the same position within the group (far right, facing left) as in the BM loutrophoros, and the way his arms are wrapped within his clothing is also similar. The discovery of a second Mnesimede on a funerary monument of the same period with a further repeated name (albeit a common one) strongly suggests we have here two grave markers from the same family peribolos. If her seated position marks Mnesimede as the principal deceased in the BM vase, then perhaps the seated Teisistrate is commemorated in the Voula monument.

The prosopographical evidence does not allow any certain links between members of these two groups and the deme of Halai Aixonides (modern Voula) on the coast south of Athens where the lekythos was discovered. While there are no known Athenians from the deme with the names Medon, Pherias, Olympiodoros, or Teisistrate, there are ten certain demesmen of Halai Aixonides with the common name Theophilos (mid-iv to mid-i BC, see *Athenian Onomasticon*), and Polojiorghi suggests there may be a link with a Theophilos (*PA/APF* 7123) known for his active participation in deme business (*IG II²* 2820.25, but doubted in the republication [IG II³ 4, 223.25](#): [...] $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron$ [ς]).

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Fig. 48.1. 48 © Trustees of the British Museum.

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Fig. 48.2. 48, inscription detail © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 48.3. Marble funerary lekythos from Voula © Piraeus Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 5794).

49 LEKYTHOS OF ADA. BM 1816,0610.188, Elgin collection. Athens? White marble lekythos broken above the shoulder and missing its foot. H. 0.68 (restored), di. 0.315; letter h. 0.012. Sculpture dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BC (Clairmont).

Eds. E. Hawkins, *Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, Part IX, 1842, 139, pl. 32 fig. 2; Koumanoudes 2525; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 111; *IG* II 3438 (Koehler); *IG* II² 10573 (Kirchner); Bäbler 1998, 217-18 no. 16, pl. 5.

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 697 (Smith); Conze I 218 (*ARMA* 4, 2318); Schmaltz 1970, A 213; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.384d. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 49.

375-350 BC	- - - -	Ἄδα.
	(relief)	
	- - - -	Ada.

The relief scene shows a standing bearded man shaking the hand (dexiosis) of a woman, Ada, seated on a klismos and wearing a sleeved chiton and himation, who should be the deceased with, perhaps, her husband. Faint traces of letters around the man's head show that he too was once labelled, but nothing can now be read. The name Ada is attested only eight times at Athens, none of the holders certainly of citizen status; two metics with attested ethnics are both from Caria (*Athenian Onomasticon*), an area which also produces the most examples of the name (*LGPN*),¹¹⁶ suggesting Ada was a foreign resident.

¹¹⁶ The daughter of Hekatomnos bore the name Ada, see Bäbler 1998, 218 for further references.

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Fig. 49. 49 © Trustees of the British Museum.

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Fig. 50.2. 50 © Trustees of the British Museum.

51 LEKYTHOS OF ARCHAGORA. BM 1816,0610.182, Elgin collection. Athens, likely excavated by Lusieri south of Philopappos Hill (see Collection History). White marble lekythos broken at the neck and without its foot. H. 0.895 (restored); di. 0.275; letter h. 0.006. Sculpture dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BC (Clairmont, BM).

Eds. Dodwell 1819, I, 455; *CIG* 996 (Boeckh, copies Rose, Osann); Koumanoudes 3265; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 112; *IG* II 3524 (Koehler); *IG* II² 10852 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 695 (Smith); Conze I 394 (*ARMA* 4, 959); Schmaltz 1970, A 195; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.388b. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 51.1, 51.2.

375-350 BC Ἀρχαγόρα. Πιθυλλίς. Πολύστρατος.
(relief)

Archagora. Pithyllis. Polystratos.

The relief shows a standing youth, Polystratos, on the right taking the hand (dexiosis) of a woman on the left, Archagora, seated on a klismos, while a mourning woman, Pithyllis, stands in a secondary plane behind them, their names inscribed over their heads at different levels. Archagora may be the deceased, since she is seated with the other figures looking towards her and yet she does not meet their gaze (Clairmont preferred Polystratos to be the principal dead, with Pithyllis perhaps a sister and Archagora the mother). The name Archagora appears only three times at Athens, once on another funerary monument for a young woman also in the British Museum (see discussion at **30**), and on a funerary lekythos found at Koropi (*IG* II² 11198, before 350 BC). This is the only attestation anywhere of the name Pithyllis, which may be derived from *πείθω*,¹¹⁷ or else is perhaps an animal-based name from *πίθηκος*, monkey (as are *Πιθήκη*, *Πίθιον*, and *Πιτθώ*).¹¹⁸



Fig. 51.1. **51**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

¹¹⁷ Cf. F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, 1917, 366-367.

¹¹⁸ See H. Solin, *Arctos: Acta Philologica Fennica* 34, 2000, 158-59 (=SEG 50.1727).

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Fig. 51.2. 51 © Trustees of the British Museum.

52 LEKYTHOS OF PYTHARATOS AND HEROPHILOS. BM 1756,0104.1, Sloane collection (see Collection History).¹¹⁹ Athens? White marble lekythos missing its foot. H. 0.895 (restored), di. 0.26; letter h. 0.008. Sculpture dated to the mid-fourth century BC (375-350 Clairmont; 350-325 BM).

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 126; *IG II²* 12546 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 682 (Smith); Conze II 678 (*ARMA* 4, 2300); Schmaltz 1970, A 217; Clairmont, *CAT* 2.385d. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 52.1, 52.2.

mid-iv BC	Πυθάρατος. Ἡρόφιλος. (relief)	Pytharatos.	Herophilos.
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The relief shows two elderly men shaking hands (dexiosis): Pytharatos stands to the left and Herophilos sits on a klismos (and so is the principal deceased?). The men are perhaps brothers (Clairmont). Both names are attested at Athens but are not common.



Fig. 52.1. **52.** Detail © Trustees of the British Museum.

¹¹⁹ The object was at some point mislabelled BM 1816,0610.164 (in fact an uninscribed stele with a lekythos relief from the Elgin collection), and the error was repeated in *CAT* and *ARMA*. It was, however, only entered into the Department's Register much later than the rest of the Sloane material, at the very end of the sequence. The reason for this is not recorded.

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Fig. 52.2. 52 © Trustees of the British Museum.

53 LOUTROPHOROS OF TIMOPHON. BM 1816,0610.263, Elgin collection. Athens, likely excavated by Lusieri south of Philopappos Hill (see Collection History). White marble ornamented loutrophoros broken at the base of the neck and foot with carved vertical tongues and a horizontal guilloche band around the shoulder. The inscription is carved across the flutes, one letter per flute. H. 0.69 (restored), di. 0.35; letter h. 0.015. Vessel type and lettering ca. mid-fourth century BC (Kirchner; 350-340, Kokula).

Eds. Dodwell 1819, I, 451 (dr.); *CIG* 585 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 236; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 80; *IG* II 1850 (Koehler); *IG* II² 5636 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 684 (Smith); Conze III 1719, fig. 367 (*ARMA* 4, 2329); Kokula 1984, O 12. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 53.1, 53.2.

mid-iv BC	Τιμοφῶν	Timophon
	Τιμοστράτου	(son) of Timostratos
	Ἀναγυράσιος.	of Anagyrous.

Koumanoudes had noted that this type of stone loutrophoros with flutes (or tongues) was never inscribed and conjectured that our inscription was added later in the Roman period. There is still no parallel for such a vase being inscribed, although they do occur with reliefs (Kokula 1984, H 8).¹²⁰ The careful letter forms on our example (almost horizontal outer bars of sigma, straight forms of alpha, nu, gamma, small, squashed loop of phi, curving epsilon, incipient serifs at the terminals) find ready parallels around the mid-fourth century and so are likely to be contemporary with the vessel,¹²¹ although there are archaizing early Imperial inscriptions that imitate such forms.¹²²

An inscription from the mid- to late fourth century BC has been restored on the basis of this monument: [?Τιμόστρατ]ος Τιμοφῶντος Ἀναγυρ[άσιος] (*Hesp.* 33, 1964, 209 no. 54, restored by Reinmuth 1971, no. 16.2).¹²³ This would produce a grandfather-grandson pair from Anagyrous, a deme at modern Vari (Traill 1986, 145; Eliot 1962, 35-46).

¹²⁰ For close parallels of the vessel type, cf. *Agora* XXXV 206, 350-325 BC; Kokula 1984, O 9, ca. 350 BC.

¹²¹ See, e.g., images in *IG* II³ 4,1 for carved (as opposed to cut, decree-style) letters: 480 (365/4 BC) with curving epsilon, similar omega and phi and with the incipient serifs at the terminals; 31b (343/2 or 336/5) and 489 (352/1) provide parallels for the epsilon.

¹²² The monument of Augustus and Roma, *IG* II³ 4,1 10 (after 27 BC) has curved epsilon, similar omega and phi, and the beginnings of serifs, but many other letters are more block-like than our example.

¹²³ Perhaps not ephebic but a dedication by epilektoi ca. 350 BC, see J. L. Friend, *The Athenian Ephebeia in the Fourth Century BCE*, 2019, 174 n. 11.

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Fig. 53.1. **53**, inscription detail © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 53.2. **53** © Trustees of the British Museum.

54 LEKYTHOS OF SOSIPPOS. BM 1816,0610.230, Elgin collection. Athens, likely excavated by Lusieri south of Philopappos Hill (see Collection History). White marble lekythos with restored foot, neck and handle. H. 0.985 (restored), di. 0.28; letter h. 0.009. Sculpture and form dated to the second half of the fourth century BC (Clairmont).

Eds. Dodwell 1819, I, 455 (dr.); *CIG* 1008 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 3349; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 127; *IG* II 4156 (Koehler); *IG* II² 12729 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 692 (Smith); Conze I 470 (*ARMA* 4, 1541); Schmaltz 1970, A 282, pl. 45; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.956. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 54.1, 54.2.

ca. 350-320 BC

Σώσιππος^{vv}ος.
(relief)

Sosippos.

The relief scene shows a beardless warrior, Sosippos, dressed in a short-sleeved chiton, chlamys and cuirass taking the hand (dexiosis) of a woman seated on a klismos with a small girl at her knees. A boy carries a large shield behind Sosippos, while a female figure stands mournfully in the background. The name label is interrupted by the head of the warrior (for the same phenomenon pointing out the deceased among other labelled figures, cf. **21**, **47**). The seated woman may be Sosippos' mother and the standing female his wife, perhaps the girl is their child (Clairmont). There are 31 instances of the name Sosippos at Athens (*Athenian Onomasticon*), all but five of them citizens.



Fig. 54.1. **54**, detail © Trustees of the British Museum.

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Fig. 54.2. 54 © Trustees of the British Museum.

55 LEKYTHOS OF HEDYLE AND ALKIMACHOS. BM 1842,0203.4, Belmore collection. Athens, likely acquired by the 2nd Earl of Belmore during his travels (see Collection History). Body of a white marble lekythos broken above and below. H. 1.06 (restored), di. 0.31; letter h. 0.013. Sculpture of the second half of the fourth century BC (Clairmont).

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 118; *IG* II 3761 (Koehler); *IG* II² 11584 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 698 (Smith); Conze I 379 (*ARMA* 4, 2299); Schmaltz 1970, A 230; Clairmont, *CAT* 3.910. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 55.1, 55.2.

ca. 350-320 BC

Ἡδύλη. Ἀλκίμαχος.
(relief)

Hedyle. Alkimachos.

A dexiosis scene presents Hedyle seated on a diphros, taking the hand of a standing bearded Alkimachos, likely husband and wife, both with name labels inscribed above. A female figure stands to the left of Hedyle and a small girl behind Alkimachos, perhaps their daughters. The two names are common at Athens: 18 out of 33 attested examples of Hedyle are held by citizens, while 31 out of 35 Alkimachoi are certainly citizens.



Fig. 55.1. **55**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

5. Private Monuments: Stone Vessels



Fig. 55.2. 55 © Trustees of the British Museum.

5. Private Monuments: Stone Vessels

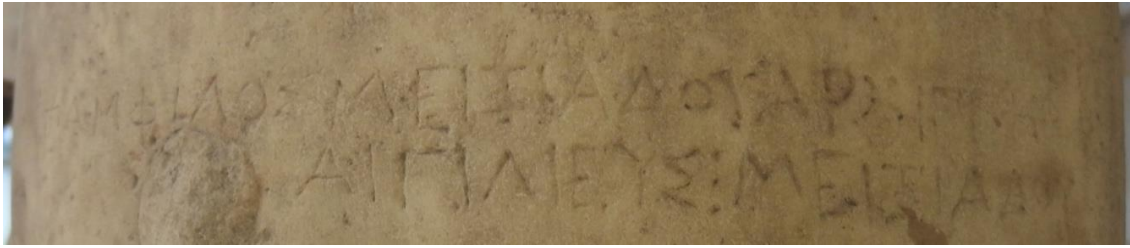


Fig. 56.1. **56**, inscription detail. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 56.2. **56** © Trustees of the British Museum.

6. PRIVATE MONUMENTS: KIONISKOI
(photographs pp. 154-156)

57 KIONISKOS OF SIMON. BM 1816,0610.286, Elgin collection. Athens. Small white marble kioniskos, h. 0.207, di. 0.152; letter h. 0.015. Lettering of third or second century BC (ii BC, Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 578 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 179; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 78; *IG* II 1797 (Koehler); *IG* II² 5516 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 57.1, 57.2.

iii-ii BC

Σίμων
Ἀριστοδήμου
Ἁλαιεύς.

Simon
(son) of Aristodemos
of Halai.

1 Σιμ[--] earlier eds., but traces of a circular letter and diagonal and left upright of nu are clear.

We know of 63 Simons in Athens, a name common at all periods (*Athenian Onomasticon*), and the majority of them are citizens. The deme Halai is either Halai Aixonides or Halai Araphenides, both employing the same demotic (a similar problem of deme identification occurs with Oinoe, see [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 10](#), and Oion, see [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\)](#) p. 9 n. 37). No other Simon is attested in this deme, but two men called Aristodemos are recorded; one in an honorific ephebic decree of 258/7 BC (*IG* II³ 1, 986.54, Halai Aixonides) could plausibly be the same individual. The lettering here is scrappy and fairly undiagnostic, and so a third century date is not out of the question (cf. letter forms of *Agora* XVII 80, pl. 8, iii-ii BC).

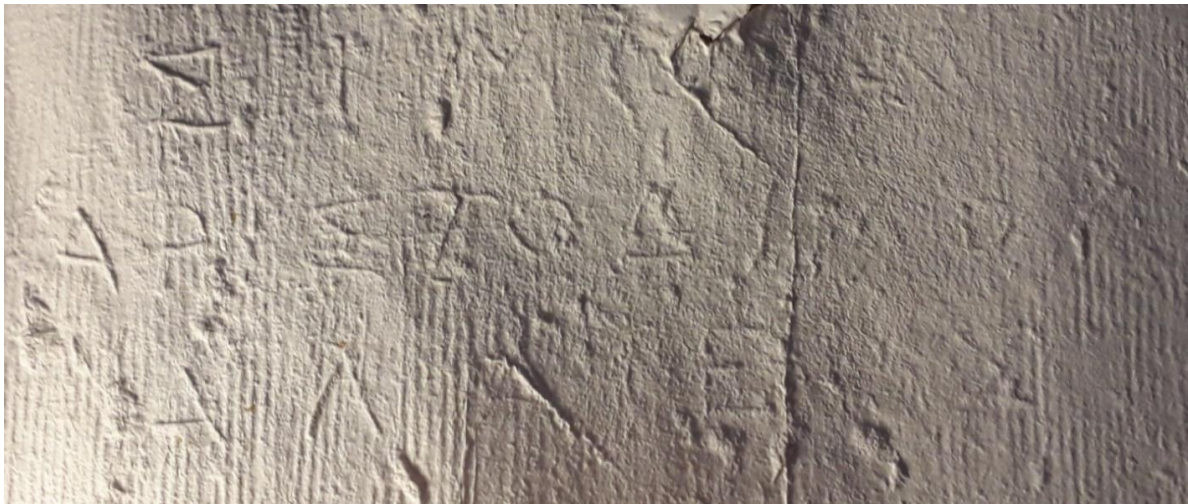


Fig. 57.1. 57, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

58 KIONISKOS OF ATHENODOROS. BM 2019,5002.1, Elgin collection? Athens. Small white marble kioniskos, h. 0.496, di. 0.138; letter h. 0.013. Lettering of the third or second century BC (ii BC, Kirchner).

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 89; *IG* II 2269 (Koehler); *IG* II² 6640 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 58.1, 58.2.

iii-ii BC	Ἀθηνόδωρος Μενεμάχου Λαμπτρεύς.	Athenodoros (son) of Menemachos of Lamptrai.
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Hicks, the first editor of this inscription, thought the simplicity of the letters suggested a date in the fourth century BC, but the presence of quite pronounced serifs in places pushes the inscription into the Hellenistic period. One further [Mene]machos, son of Menestratos, of Lamptrai was secretary of the Council in 193/2 BC, perhaps a relation (father?) of our Athenodoros (*IG* II³ 1, 1262.1-2). Lamptrai was divided into two deme-sites: Upper, at modern Lambrika, and Lower (or Coastal) Lamptrai, between Kitsi and Thiti (Eliot, *Coastal Demes*, 59-61).

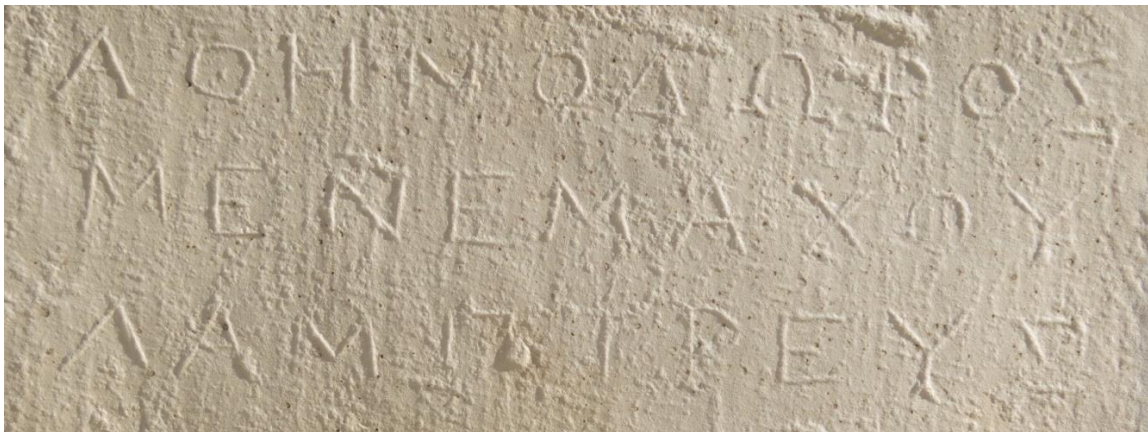


Fig. 58.1. **58**, squeeze courtesy of Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin.

59 KIONISKOS OF KALLIS. BM 1816,0610.328, Elgin collection. Athens. Kioniskos of white marble, h. 0.61, di. 0.32; letter h. 0.024. Lettering of the second to first century BC (Kirchner, see below).

Eds. *CIG* 616 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 391; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 82; *IG* III 1637 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 5933 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 59.1, 59.2.

ii?-i BC	Καλλίς Στράτωνος Γαργητίου ἡ θυγάτηρ.	Kallis, Straton of Gargettos' daughter.
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The letters of this monument have prominent serifs, alpha with broken crossbar, omega with long horizontal bars, wide eta and nu, and sigma with almost horizontal outer strokes, which can be paralleled in the second and first centuries BC (cf. images of *Agora* XVII 147, pl. 13, ii-i BC; *Agora* XVIII H329, after 140 BC). Two further Stratons (a very common name) are known from Gargettos, but not from the same period (*IG* II³ 4, 75.39, 343/2 BC; II² 2086.52, 163-172 AD). The location of Gargettos was securely identified by the discovery of a deme decree at the site of the monastery of Ieraka on the pass between Pentele and Hymettos, near modern Gerakas (*AM* 67, 1942, 7-8, no. 5; Traill 1986, 127).

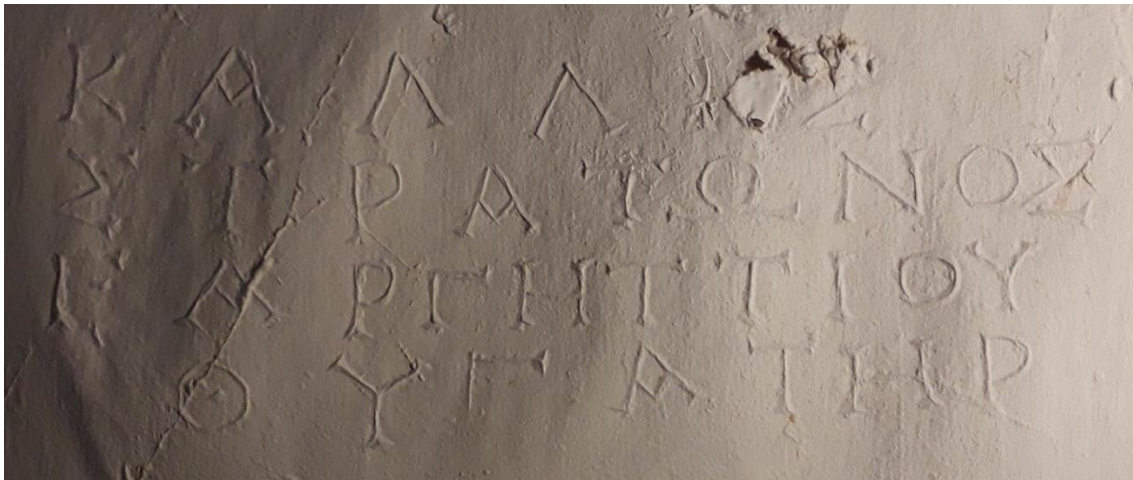


Fig. 59.1. **59**, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

60 KIONISKOS OF SOKRATES. BM 1816,0610.183, Elgin collection. Athens, recorded by Fourmont at the Petraki monastery (see Collection History). White marble kioniskos, h. 0.405, di. 0.23; letter h. 0.022. Lettering of the second or first century BC (Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 811 (Boeckh, copies Fourmont, Rose); Koumanoudes 1394; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 97; *IG* III 2227 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 7934 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 60.1, 60.2.

ii-i BC	Σωκράτης. Σωκράτου Ἄγκυρανός.	Sokrates (son) of Sokrates of Ankyra.
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Sokrates and his father were part of the large Galatian community in Athens: 134 people from Ankyra (modern Ankara) are listed in *FRA*, none earlier than the Hellenistic period. Alexander the Great had taken the city from the Persians in 333 BC, and it became an important Greek trading centre. The letter forms are fairly undiagnostic but show a gradual thickening of the strokes ending with simple serifs, alpha with a curved crossbar, and sigma with parallel outer bars, suggesting a date in the Late Hellenistic period (cf. image of *Agora* XVII 388, pl. 31, i BC).



Fig. 60.1. **60.** Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

61 KIONISKOS OF THALIA. BM 1816,0610.201, Elgin collection. Athens. White marble kioniskos, h. 0.585, di. 0.27; letter h. 0.018. Lettering of the second or first century BC (i BC, Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 570 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 132; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 76; *IG* II 1761 (Koehler); *IG* II² 5427 (Kirchner); Ackermann 2018, 414-15 HGL 49, 451. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 61.1, 61.2.

ii-i BC?	Θάλια Καλλιστράτου Αιξωνέως θυγάτηρ.	Thalia, Kallistratos of Aixone's daughter.
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Kirchner places this inscription in the first century BC, but the letter forms could be earlier (generally straight, elegant lettering, slight serification and alpha with curved crossbar, cf. **60**), which is perhaps strengthened by a potential prosopographical connection with another similar kioniskos from the Elgin collection for Kallimachos son of Kallistratos (**62**), which Kirchner placed in the Roman period, but whose letters again warrant a Hellenistic date (following *Athenian Onomasticon*). The only other known Kallistratos from Aixone, also father of one Kallimachos, is listed in a decree honouring epebes from 197/6 BC (*IG* III³ 1, 1256.95), and is perhaps Thalia's father or a close relative. Since Elgin's agents in Athens do seem to have collected related pieces – often through the excavation of such material – we could have two kioniskoi from a family tomb, Thalia and Kallimachos perhaps siblings (Ackermann rejects this link, citing the ubiquity of Kallistratoi in Athens, and maintaining a first century date for Thalia's monument).

Thirteen women called Θάλεια are attested at Athens, with – as here – many orthographic variants, particularly from the first century BC onwards (e.g., Θάλεια: *SEMA* 130, i BC-i AD; *IG* II² 11617, imp.; Θάλια: *SEG* 51.271, i-ii AD; see *Athenian Onomasticon*; Threatte I, 191, 206, 321).

Aixone has been securely identified at modern Glyfada by the discovery of several deme decrees and reports of early travellers (see Traill 1986, 136; Eliot 1962, 6-24; E. Giannopoulou-Konsolaki, *Γλυφάδα: Ιστορικό Παρελθόν και Μνημεία*, 1990; A. P. Matthaiou, “Αιξωνικά”, *HOPOS* 10-12, 1992-1998, 133-169; Ackermann 2018).

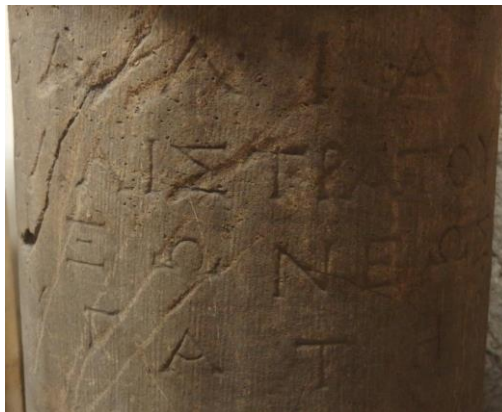


Fig. 61.1. **61**. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

62 KIONISKOS OF KALLIMACHOS. BM 1816,0610.317, Elgin collection. Athens. White marble kioniskos, h. 0.55, di. 0.33; letter h. 0.027. Letter forms and prosopography suggest a late Hellenistic date (Roman, Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 571 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 137; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 77; *IG* II 1764 (Koehler); *IG* II² 5431 (Kirchner); Ackermann 2018, 414-15 HGL 52, 454. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 62.1, 62.2.

ii-i BC?	Καλλίμαχος	Kallimachos
	Καλλιστράτου	(son) of Kallistratos
	Αἰξωνεύς.	of Aixone.

3 the cutter carved ΑΞΩΝΕΥΣ and later added a small iota.

Boeckh connected this inscription with kioniskos **61** (see above) on prosopographical grounds, but the difference in lettering suggested to Hicks (followed by Ackermann) that **62** was much later, and Kirchner placed the inscription in the Roman period. In fact, the lettering cannot be pushed so late. We have here a much less competent engraver, the letters poorly spaced, not straight, and with an inserted correction, and it seems sensible to link the two gravestones. There may also be a prosopographical link with a Kallimachos son of Kallistratos of Aixone in an ephobic inscription of 197/6 BC ([IG II³ 1, 1256.95](#), where the editor also dismisses the Roman date of our kioniskos), but we cannot be certain they are the same person.



Fig. 62.1. **62**, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

63 KIONISKOS OF ARISTEIDES. BM 1816,0610.175, Elgin collection. Athens. White marble kioniskos, h. 1.415, di. 0.535; letter h. 0.045. Dated by lettering and prosopography to the early first century BC (see discussion).

Eds. *CIG* 629 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 480; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 85; *IG* III 1678 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 6137/8 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 63.1, 63.2.

early i BC	Ἀριστείδης Λυσιμάχου Ἑστιαίουθεν.	Aristeides (son) of Lysimachos of Hestiaia.
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Kirchner dated this inscription to the Roman period, citing the serification of the letters, perhaps influenced by Dittenberger's majuscule version of the text, which employs exaggerated forms of these decorations. In fact, the letters are much simpler and in keeping with a late Hellenistic date (cf. *IG* II³ 4, 317, pl. 44, late ii-early i BC). The prosopography of this family also suggests a date around the first half of the first century BC. The alternating father and son names Aristeides and Lysimachos are attested several times in the deme Hestiaia: an Aristeides son of Lysimachos appears in a catalogue dated by cutter to ca. 106/5-96/5 (*IG* II² 2452.51; Tracy, *ALC*, 214-15), while a Lysimachos son of Aristeides and father of an Aristeides is found on Delos donating on behalf of his wife and son (*ID* 2616 I, 3-7), and is restored in a list of contributors to the Pythais in 98/7 BC (*SEG* 32.218, l. 233). It is tempting to think our funerary monument is for one of these men named Aristeides, and so all the attested men of this name from Hestiaia are related. This seems particularly likely for such a small deme with a bouletic quota of only one (the deme is not securely located, see Traill 1986, 127; Humphreys 2018, 853). One wonders if at this period such father and son naming was part of an invented tradition since the fifth-century Aristeides the Just was also a son of Lysimachos.

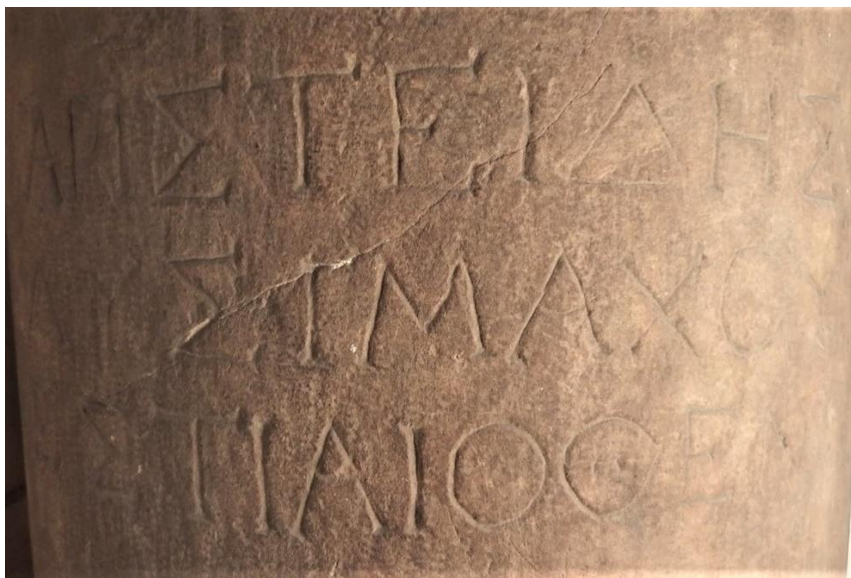


Fig. 63.1. **63.** Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

64 KIONISKOS OF THRASON. BM 1816,0610.398, Elgin collection. Athens, seen on the road to Piraeus by Fourmont (see Collection History). Exceptionally large kioniskos of white marble, h. 1.405, di. 0.895; letter h. 0.085. Lettering of the mid-first century BC (Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 658 (Boeckh, copies Fourmont, Villoison, Müller); Pittakis 1835, 18; Koumanoudes 660; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 87; *IG* III 1747 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 6465 (Kirchner).

Cf. Fourmont, BnP, Manuscripts, Suppl. gr. 569, f.215; Fauvel, BnF, Manuscripts, ms. fr. 22877, I, f.108 v.; W. Kinnard in Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities* IV, 1830, 7; Conze II 793 (*ARMA* 4, 916); Hunt & Smith 1916, 280, 284; É. Famerie ed., *Jean-Baptiste d'Ansse de Villoison. De l'Hellade à la Grèce. Voyage en Grèce et au Levant (1784-1786)*, 2006, 242 (copy Villoison). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. Fig. 64.

mid-i BC	Θράσων Θρασυφῶντος Κικυννεύς.	Thrason (son) of Thrasymphon of Kikynna.
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This is among the largest of Athenian kioniskoi, in what could be said to be a breach of the initial legislation that brought in these monuments to reduce spending on tomb adornment. Thrason appears again in a list of Athenian Πυθαϊστοί undertaking an unknown role in the embassy to Delphi under the archon Agathokles in 106/5 BC (*FD* III 2, 15, II.15). His father had a further son, Hermogenes, who was commemorated with a kioniskos found at the Kerameikos (Agia Triada), of similarly large dimensions to this (1.33 m. in height) and with a loutrophoros carved in relief, suggesting he died unmarried (*IG* II² 6460: Ἑρμογένες | Θρασυφῶντος | Κικυννεύς). The two brothers were buried in different cemeteries, assuming Thrason's monument had not moved far from its findspot at or near Mounychia (see Collection History). Kikynna has been tentatively located at modern Chalidou (Traill 1986, 132), between Sphettos and Aixone, and so neither brother was buried in the ancestral deme.

The lettering is competent with large serifs, alpha with broken crossbar and crossing horizontal strokes, bow-like additions to omega, and phi with small loops either side of the vertical (closely paralleled by *IG* II³ 4, 121, drawing at pl. 25, ca. 20 BC; cf. [AIUK 11 \(Ashmolean\) no. 14](#), late i BC).

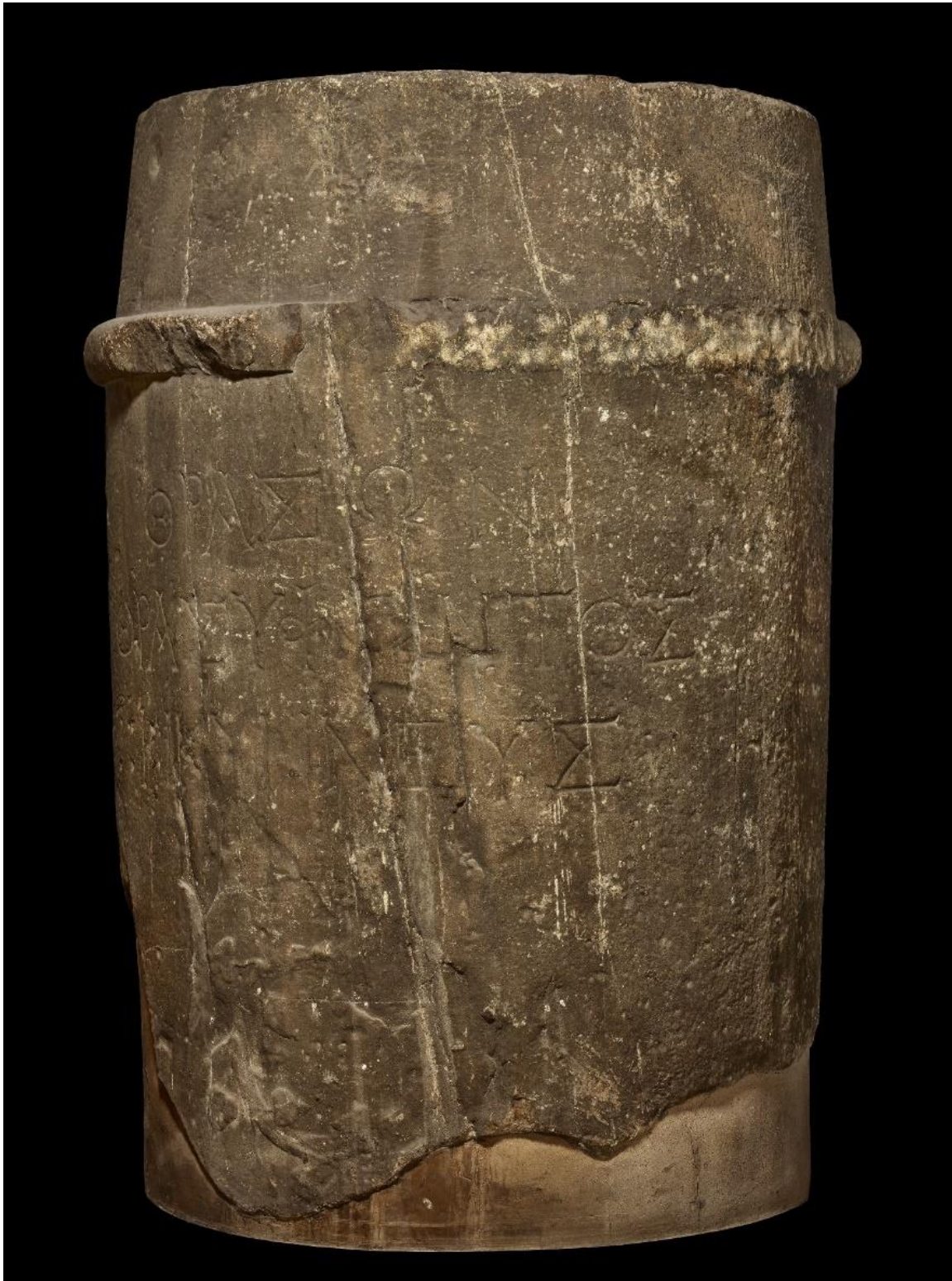


Fig. 64. 64. © Trustees of the British Museum.

65 KIONISKOS OF BIOTTOS. BM 1816,0610.228, Elgin collection. Athens. White marble kioniskos, h. 0.71, di. 0.275; letter h. 0.032-0.048. Lettering of the late first century BC (Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 621 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 408; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 84; *IG* III 1648 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 5967 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 65.

late i BC	Βίωπτος Φιλοξέ- νου Διραδιώτης.	Biottos (son) of Philoxe- nos of Deiradiotai.
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Biottos son of Philoxenos appears once more under his deme in a catalogue of the tribe Leontis from the late first century BC (*IG* II² 2461.46, for the date note l. 4 and cf. [IG](#) II³ 4, 399.5f.). The name appears at Athens from the late fifth to first centuries BC and then dies out, with only one of 24 examples from the Roman period (*Athenian Onomasticon*). The coastal deme of Deiradiotai has been located at modern Daskalio, east of Keratea (Traill 1986, 131), where gravestones and a boundary marker have been found (*IG* II² 2650, 5965). The demotic here without epsilon is a later and far less common spelling, with examples emerging only after the middle of the second century BC (see Threatte I, 195-8).

The lettering exhibits some cursive forms, with alpha, delta and lambda extending the right diagonal beyond its meeting with the left; alpha has broken crossbar, and the serifs are quite small.

66 KIONISKOS OF BOTRICHOS. BM 1816,0610.222, Elgin collection. Athens? White marble kioniskos, h. 0.885, di. 0.255; letter h. 0.032. Lettering of the late Hellenistic period (Imperial, Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 844 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 1712; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 100; *IG* III 2433 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 8601 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 66.1, 66.2.

late Hellenistic	Βότριχος Εὐφάνου Ἡρακλεώτης.	Botrichos (son) of Euphanes of Herakleia.
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Kirchner dated the inscription to the Imperial period, but the lettering could go back to the Late Hellenistic (as with many of our kioniskoi, the cutting is poor, but the formal style with straight mu and curved crossbar alpha can be paralleled in Hellenistic texts in this collection). This is the only Botrichos found at Athens; six others are known (from Kos, Arcadia, Beroia, Kyaneia, two from Tlos), all Hellenistic. Of 35 examples of Euphanes at Athens (*Athenian Onomasticon*), our man is the only certain non-Athenian; all but one example is also before the Roman period. Herakleia produced one of the largest foreign populations in Athens (618 people listed in *FRA*), and the ethnic is generally taken to refer to Herakleia Pontica, with which Athens had strong links, but the plethora of poleis called Herakleia, even by the Classical period (*Inventory* lists eleven), means that we cannot be sure of the origin of each of these residents (a similar problem exists with metics from Antioch, see **68**).

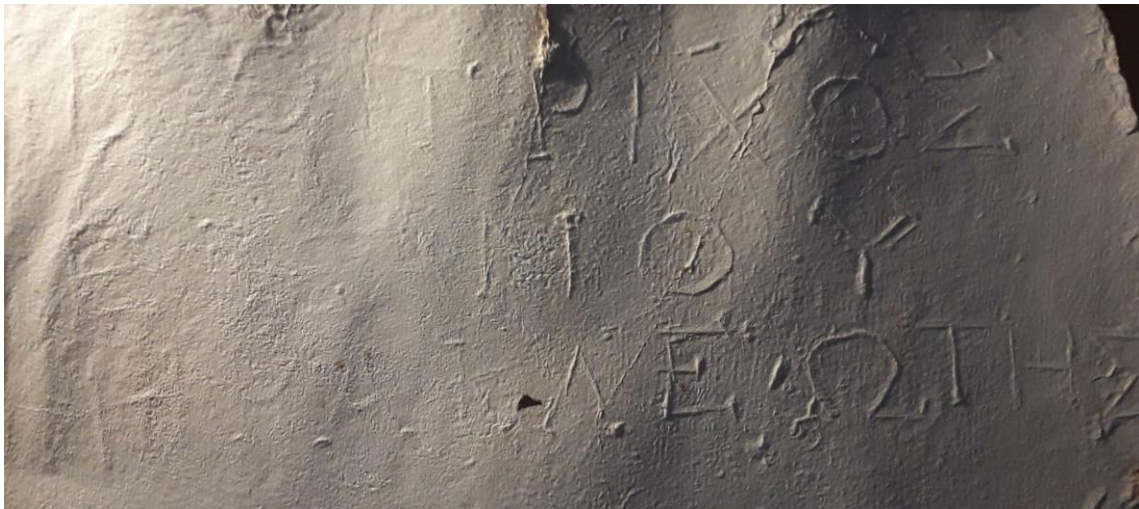


Fig. 66.1. **66**, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

67 KIONISKOS OF ANAXIKRATES. BM 1816,0610.123, Elgin collection. Athens? White marble kioniskos with a loutrophoros in relief. H. 0.625, di. 0.34; letter h. 0.025. Lettering of the first century BC to first century AD (Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 801 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 1308; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 96; *IG* III 1471 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 7859 (Kirchner).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 686 (Smith). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 67.1, 67.2.

i BC - i AD	Ἀναξικράτης Δεξιόχου Ἀθηναῖος.	Anaxikrates (son) of Dexiochos of Athens.
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Twenty-three other men named Anaxikrates are known at Athens from the mid-fifth century BC onwards, with a noticeable petering out towards the late second century BC and just one example roughly dated second to first century BC (see *Athenian Onomasticon*). More generally in the Greek world the *LGPN* shows the same pattern, with very few entries in the first centuries BC and AD. Dexiochos is a rare name, with only two further examples from Athens (*IG* II³ 1, 1162.90, 214/13 BC, and *FD* III 2, 23.25, 138/7 BC) and one from anywhere else (*IG* XII 5, 129.39, 48, Paros, ?ii BC). The onomastics suggests that our inscription should be in the earlier part of the date range offered by the lettering, in the late Hellenistic period, although the letter forms (broken crossbar alpha, right vertical of nu slightly higher and shorter, rho with small loop, kappa with short arms, heavily serifed) find their closest parallels in the first century AD (cf. images of *IG* II³ 4, 2B, pl. 1, i AD; 130, pl. 26, 85-95 AD; 893, pl. 111, mid-i AD). The relief of a loutrophoros may indicate that Anaxikrates died unmarried.

For an Athenian to use his ethnic rather than demotic on a grave within Attica is highly unusual. Athenians might use an ethnic when speaking to a larger audience, so Thucydides describes himself at the opening of his *History*, and Athenians abroad could have their ethnic inscribed on their tombs, although there are also some cases where the demotic is inscribed outside Athens (see P. M. Fraser, *Greek Ethnic Terminology*, 2009, 56-58). Within the polis, sculptors tended to be identified by their ethnic, perhaps as part of a more internationally focused marketing of their work, and Athenian choregic inscriptions often designate the victorious *auletes* or *didaskalos* as Athenaios, perhaps to distinguish them among long lists of foreign participants (e.g., on the Lysikrates monument, *IG* II³ 4, 460; see P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia*, 2000, 214-15, n. 50).

There are only a handful of cases where we find Ἀθηναῖος on a tombstone at Athens instead of a demotic and they are not fully understood. These are collected as *IG* II² 7856-61, although only 7860-61 are included in the *Athenian Onomasticon/LGPN*;¹²⁵ both these stones were shipped to Italy probably from Rheneia. Excluding these two Athenians dying abroad, the remaining four are spread between the second century BC and the second AD. Hicks (*GIBM*) first proposed that these “Athenians” might either be new citizens who had not been enrolled into a deme and tribe, or else were citizens of a different Athens, such as Athenai Diades in Euboeia, whose ethnic can be Ἀθηνίτης as well as Ἀθηναῖος (see *Inventory* no. 364) – although we might expect more care to distinguish their ethnic when

¹²⁵ One, Οὐάριος (Varius) Εὐπρέπης, is included in *RCA*, p. 469.

6. Private Monuments: Kioniskoi

commemorated in a homonymous city (other monuments around them may have cleared up any confusion).¹²⁶ It seems more probable that these “Athenians” were a status category of citizens who did not have deme membership at this period. We find lists of “Athenians”, for example, in ephebic documents such as [IG II² 1043](#), where around eleven such men are found in a list of ephebes who are otherwise accompanied by their demotics or foreign ethnics; they are, however, all formed up under the same tribe, Antiochis (XI), suggesting that they shared a status given to them by Athens that included tribal but not deme affiliation.

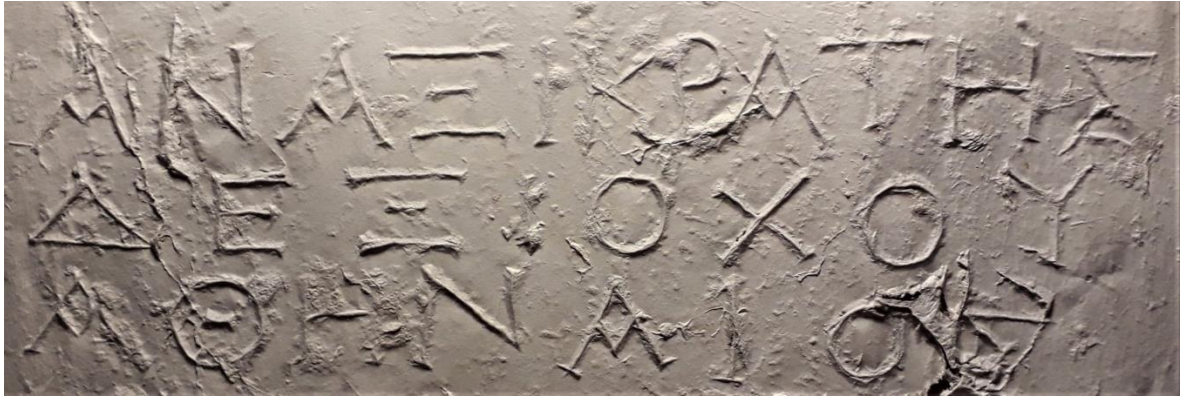


Fig. 67.1. 67, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

¹²⁶ For further possibilities of other cities called Athens, see A. N. Oikonomides, “Πόθεν οἱ ἐν Ἀττικοῖς ἐπιτυμβίοις «Ἀθηναῖοι»”, *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 19, 1954, 181-87 (=SEG 14.189; *Bull. ép.* 1958, 212).

68 KIONISKOS OF THEODOTOS. BM 1816,0610.181, Elgin collection. Athens. White marble kioniskos, broken below, h. 0.345, di. 0.22; letter h. 0.024. Lettering of the first century BC to first AD (i AD, Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 828 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 1536; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 99; *IG* III 2327 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 8204 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 68.1, 68.2.

i BC - i AD	Θεόδωτος	Theodotos
	Διοδώρου	(son) of Diodoros
	Ἀντιοχεύς.	of Antioch.

There are a number of cities called Ἀντιόχεια in the ancient world,¹²⁷ and it is not possible to ascertain from which Theodotos hailed, although the ethnic is often taken to designate Syrian Antioch (*FRA* lists 557 Antiochians in Athens). L. B. Urdahl (“Jews in Attica”, *Symbolae Oslenses* 43, 1968, 39-56, no. 2) argued that the combination of these two theophoric names with the ethnic favoured identifying the family as Jewish, but, as the Roberts noted (*BÉ* 1969, no. 208), such occurrences are very common in non-Jewish contexts.

The lettering is fairly undiagnostic (except alpha with broken crossbar, delta tending to continue the right diagonal), but a date earlier than Kirchner’s first century AD proposal is possible (cf. **67**).

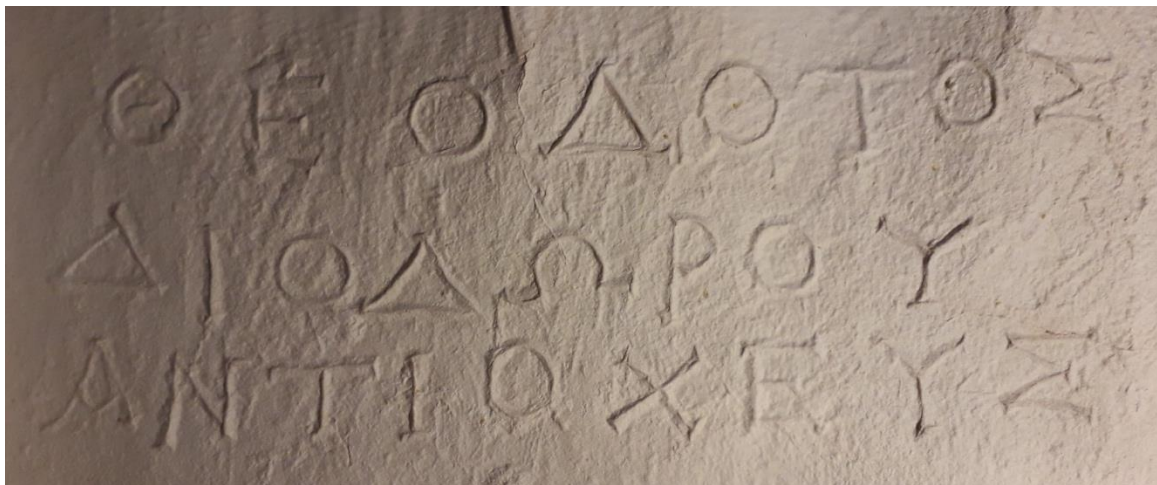


Fig. 68.1. **68**, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

¹²⁷ See Pleiades Project *s.vv.* Antiochia ad Maeandrum, Antiochia Chrysaoron, Antiochia ad Taurum, etc.

69 KIONISKOS OF MENESTRATOS. BM 1816,0610.184, Elgin collection. Athens. Kioniskos of grey-blue marble, h. 0.32, di. 0.255; letter h. 0.030. Lettering of the first or second century AD (Kirchner) or earlier.

Eds. *CIG* 860 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 1903; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 102; *IG* III 2523 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 9070 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 69.1, 69.2.

i BC – ii AD?	Μενέστρατος Θωρακίδου Κορίνθιος.	Menestratos (son) of Thorakidas of Corinth.
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The spelling of the Menes(s)tratos with false gemination of sigma occurs once more in Athens on the gravestone of Menestratos from Apamea (*IG* II² 8337, i BC; see Threatte I, 527-9). This is the only attestation of the name Θωρακίδας in Athens (where names from θώραξ are rare); three other men with the name are found in Tanagra and Mantinea-Antigoneia from the fourth and third centuries BC, and two men called Θωρακίδης are known from Larissa (?iii AD) and Tanagra (early i BC) (see *LGPN*). Sixty-eight Corinthians are recorded at Athens (see *FRA*), but only one is epigraphically attested earlier than the fourth century BC (*IG* I³ 1348, mid-v BC grave of Kallitimos). This likely reflects the hostilities between these two competing poleis in the fifth century but suggests closer contacts thereafter.

The lettering is block-like on the whole, with broken crossbar alphas, rho with small loop, wide delta, and omega with wedge feet; Kirchner dated this to the early centuries AD, although a late Hellenistic date is not impossible.



Fig. 69.1. **69**, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

70 KIONISKOS OF MYSTA. BM 1816,0610.208, Elgin collection. Athens. White marble kioniskos, h. 0.72, di. 0.23; letter h. 0.014. Letters of the second century AD (Kirchner) or earlier.

Eds. *CIG* 727 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 2222; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 104; *IG* III 2178 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 9787 (Kirchner). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 70.1, 70.2.

i - ii AD?	Μύστα ὁ Διονυσίου Μιλησία, Βάτωνος Θριασίου γυνή.	Mysta (daughter) of Dionysios of Miletos, wife of Baton of Thria.
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The name Mysta is found at Athens mostly in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and is principally borne by non-Athenians. One other “Milesian” resident with the name is known (*IG* II² 9788). Dionysios is particularly popular among Milesians in Athens, with 71 examples listed in the *Athenian Onomasticon*, although it is a very common name generally. Baton here is the only securely identified Athenian with the name, while one quarter (10) of the total known examples are Milesians. The large number of marriages to Milesian women may indicate that Athenians were marrying their freedwomen, “Milesian” to a large extent being a status category at this period rather than an ethnic (see discussion at **39**).

The deme Thria lies southeast of Aspropyrgos, and its general location is known from gravestones (Traill 1986, 134).

Certain aspects of the letter forms (generally squat and wide, splayed mu, alpha with broken crossbar, deep serifs) can be paralleled (although not altogether, and the examples here are public inscriptions and not funerary) in the late first and second century AD (cf. *IG* II³ 4, 557.1-3, pl. 74, AD 83-93; 567, pl. 76, ii AD; 772B, pl. 98, ii AD; 810, pl. 101, late i AD), and the inscription could be pushed back earlier than Kirchner’s dating of the second century.

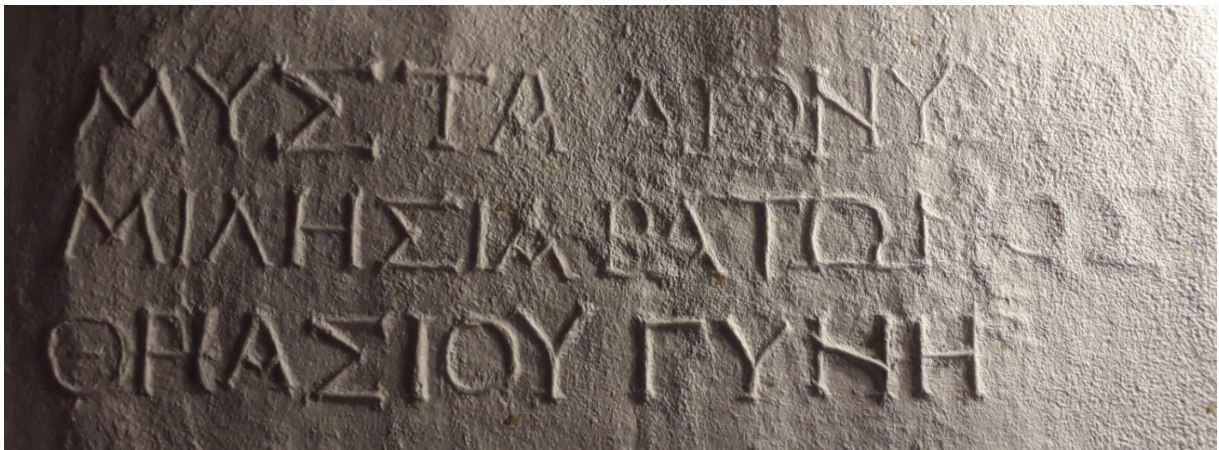


Fig. 70.1. **70**, squeeze. Photo: Pitt.

6. Private Monuments: Kioniskoi



Figs. 57.2. **57**; 58.2. **58**; 59.2. **59**. Photos: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figs. 60.2. **60**; 61.2. **61**; 62.2. **62**. Photos: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

6. Private Monuments: Kioniskoi



Figs. 63.2. 63; 65. 65; 66.2. 66. Photos: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

6. Private Monuments: Kioniskoi



Figs. 67.2. 67; 68.2. 68. Photos: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figs. 69.2. 69; 70.2. 70. Photos: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

7. PRIVATE MONUMENTS: MISCELLANEOUS

71 FUNERARY DISK OF GNATHON. BM 1908,0413.2. Seen in Athens in the early 20th century (see Collection History). Marble disk, bevelled at the edge, inscribed on one side in rings, di. 0.27, th. 0.035; letter h. 0.015-0.032. Lettering dates around 530 BC (see below).

Eds. A. Lampropoulos, *Ἀθηνᾶ* 21, 1909, 311-3, no. 1, pl. opposite p. 314; F. H. Marshall, *JHS* 29, 1909, 153-4, fig. 4.1; Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 935, fig. on p. 107; I. N. Svoronos, *J. Int. Num.* 20, 1920/21, 12-15, fig. 3 (*SEG* 3.57); *IG* I² 975 (Hiller); P. Jacobsthal, *Diskoi*, 1933, 26, fig. 19; Peek, *GVI* no. 58; L. H. Jeffery, *ABSA* 57, 1962, 147, no. 64 (*SEG* 21.170); G. Pfohl, *Greek Poems on Stone* I, 1967, no. 40; Hansen, *CEG* I no. 37; *IG* I³ 1210 (Lewis).

Cf. M. B. Wallace in D. E. Gerber ed., *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury*, 1984, 317; M. Dillon & L. Garland, *Ancient Greece: Social and Historical Documents from Archaic Times to the Death of Socrates (c.800-399 BC)*, 2000², 402 no. 13.38; M. Kajava & E. M. Salminen, “Greek Inscribed Discs: Athletes, Dedications and Tombstones”, in A. Kavoulaki ed., *Πλειών: Papers in Memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (Ariadne Supplement 1)*, 2018, 289-331, no. 10, fig. 8. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 69, display cabinet 7. Fig. 71.

ca. 530 BC Γνάθονος : τόδε σῆμα : θέτο δ' αὐτὸν :
ἀδελφῆ : / ἡλίθιον : νοσελεύσα- :
σα.

This is the tomb of Gnathon. His sister buried him,
having nursed him in vain.

This is one of a number of surviving inscribed stone disks from Archaic Athens that likely played some role at the tombs of the dead (cf. *IG* I³ 1393-7; Kajava & Salminen). We do not know precisely how they were displayed, although it seems likely they covered offering channels or urns; one (*IG* I³ 1393), describing itself as a μνῆμα, has holes drilled through it and was likely hung somehow on a funerary monument. They have a fairly standardised diameter, suggesting that they imitate real athletic *diskoi* (Kajava & Salminen), symbolising the athletic prowess of the dead.¹²⁸ The uncertain origin of this disk and the poor attempt at hexameter verse (Wallace) have led some to doubt its authenticity (Svoronos), but given the parallels and the presence of incised guidelines (noted by Raubitschek, *SEG* 10.430), it should be accepted as genuine.

Gnathon is a common enough Athenian name, with four examples from the sixth century alone. His unnamed sister evidently nursed him during some illness *in vain* (ἡλίθιος taken adverbially, see LSJ; Hansen), not ‘in mental illness’ (as Dillon & Garland, Friedländer & Hoffleit; see A. M. Woodward, *CR* 64, 1950, 19).

The lettering is somewhat scrappy (note the final sigma of Γνάθονος is an upright with further strokes added perhaps later at its ends) but exhibits characteristic forms of the mid-sixth century BC with wagon-wheel theta, phi as a circle with a vertical line within it,

¹²⁸ See B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Chicago 1993², 236; Jacobsthal, *Diskoi*.

7. *Private Monuments: Miscellaneous*

epsilon with three strokes slanting downwards, three-bar sigma and alpha with a diagonal crossbar touching the bottom of the right stroke.



Fig. 71. 71 © Trustees of the British Museum.

72 COLUMNAR GRAVE MARKER SIGNED BY THE SCULPTOR ARISTION OF PAROS(?). *a* BM 2013,5017.24.¹²⁹ Two fragments of a fluted Doric column of Pentelic marble, *a* perhaps found near the church of Ag. Nikolaos near Kantza (see below); *b* by the ruined church of Ag. Andreas outside Kalyvia Kouvara (now storeroom of B' Ephoreia?).¹³⁰ *a* h. 0.404, w. 0.2120, flute w. 0.057; *b* h. 0.57, w. 0.37; original h. >0.96, di. estimated ca. 0.37. Letter h. 0.03-0.038, similar to *IG I³ 1206* (Jeffery's Mason B). Inscribed down the flutes with a sculptor's signature and an epitaph. Lettering around 530 BC (Lewis; not before 540s, Jeffery) with downward slanting strokes of epsilon, crossbar of alpha touching lower terminal of right diagonal, three-bar sigma with upper stroke tilting backwards, and wagon-wheel theta.

Eds. *a* G. Hirschfeld, *Archäologische Zeitung* 31, 1874, 108; *IG I s 477a*, pp. 47, 164 (Kirchhoff); E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, 1885, no. 18; *IG I² 988* (Hiller); *b* Petrou-Anagna, *Ἑλληνικά* 8, 1935, 215-9, A.2, fig. 2; *a+b* A. E. Raubitschek, "Zu altattischen Weihinschriften", *Jahreshefte ÖAI* 31, 1939, Beiblatt 58-62, no. 29, fig. 17; P. Friedländer & H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata. Greek Inscriptions in Verse*, 1948, no. 6; Peek, *GVI* no. 54; Ch. Karusos, *Aristodikos: Zur Geschichte der spätarchaisch-attischen Plastik und der Grabstatue*, 1961, 61, A 12; L. H. Jeffery, *ABSA* 57, 1962, 140, no. 49 (*SEG* 21.163); Hansen, *CEG I* no. 36; *IG I³ 1269* (Lewis).

Cf. E. P. McGowan, "Tomb Marker and Turning Post: Funerary Columns in the Archaic Period", *AJA* 99, 1995, 615-32. *a* Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig. 72.1. b Non vidi. Figs. 72.1, 72.2.*

ca. 530 BC

a

[?Ἀριστίον Πάριό?]ς μ' ἐποίησε[ν]
[— — τόδ]ε σῆμ' ἀγαθῶ [καὶ σόφρ]ονος ἀνδρός.

b

[?Aristion of ?Paro]s made me.

[- -] this is the monument of a brave and sound-minded man.

These two fragments were part of a funerary column with a text inscribed down two of its flutes. The artist signature suggests it supported a sculpted element, such as a sphinx, but the top is not preserved. Such columns are more familiar in Archaic Attica as dedications, particularly numerous from the Athenian Acropolis (see Raubitschek, *DAA*, 3-60), but we have a small number of funerary examples from the Greek world (see McGowan), as well as bases that likely held them; one Attic example for Antilochos is also signed by Aristion (Jeffery, *ABSA* 57, 120 no. 8; *IG I³ 1208*). Above graves they may have served a totemic

¹²⁹ The stone had been marked with the registration number 1823.4-5. The BM Register for 1823.4-5.1-28 reads: 'Marble fragments [apparently mineralogical specimens] from important ruins in Greece and Italy. Presented by Rev. Francis Lee'. A further number is also marked on the fragment in error: 1785.5-27.9 13, which is in fact *GIBM* 13 = *IG II² 2498*.

¹³⁰ Jeffery places fragment *b* in a storeroom of the 2nd ephorate of antiquities in Attica, *IG I³* in the Epigraphic Museum; the EM informs me *per ep.* that they do not possess the stone.

function, standing in for the dead man, and their normal architectural function may have been appropriated to symbolise the strength of the individual (see McGowan).

Raubitschek noted the similarity in lettering between our inscription and the Antilochos base, mentioned above, and Jeffery also identified the same cutter (Mason B), hence the restored signature of the sculptor Aristion of Paros, who signed two further works at Athens (*IG I³ 1211*, restored from the ethnic, and 1261, the famous Phrasikleia kore in the National Archaeological Museum).

The phrase τόδε σῆμ' ἀγαθῷ καὶ σώφρονος ἀνδρός is paralleled in *IG I³ 1197* (ἔστεσ' ἐνγύς ἡοδοὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ [σόφρονος ἀνδρός]) and again on the Antilochos monument (1208: [Α]ντιλόχο : ποτὶ σῆμ' ἀγαθῷ καὶ σώφρονος ἀνδρός) and resonates also with ἀρετῆς ἐδὲ σαιοφροσύνης in *IG I³ 1211* (see Hansen). Archaic Attic gravestones often speak of the dead as brave and sound, something that we also find paralleled in literary epitaphs (C. H. Kahn, *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus*, 1979, fr. 32).

There is unresolvable uncertainty about the findspot of fragment *a* due to conflicting information in the Museum's records. The BM registry lists it as 'Found near colossal lion at foot of Mount Hymettus. Presented by the Rev. Francis Lee' in 1824, although a further note adds that there is no evidence for this. Conze appears to have transmitted this same comment to Kirchhoff. Jeffery remarks that the lion was an important landmark in the Mesogeia for travellers of the nineteenth century; it lay north of Liopesi, near the chapel of Agios Nikolaos, just east of the main road running south through the Attic plain. Fragment *b* was found around 15 km away on the outskirts of Kalyvia (near the ancient deme of Prospalta) by the ruins of a church of Agios Andreas, southeast of the village, and so might originally have been set up in the Archaic cemetery of Volomandra to the west of the church, where the Volomandra kouros (NM 1906) was discovered.

7. Private Monuments: Miscellaneous

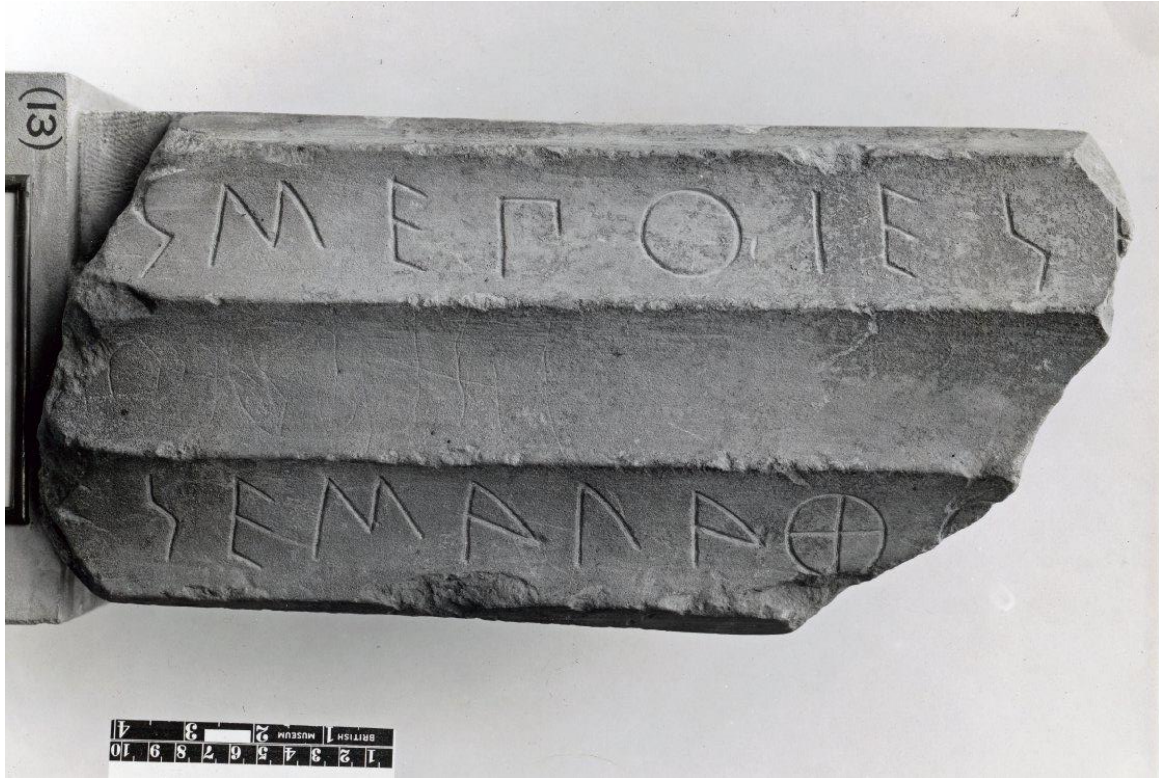


Fig. 72.1. 72 a © Trustees of the British Museum.

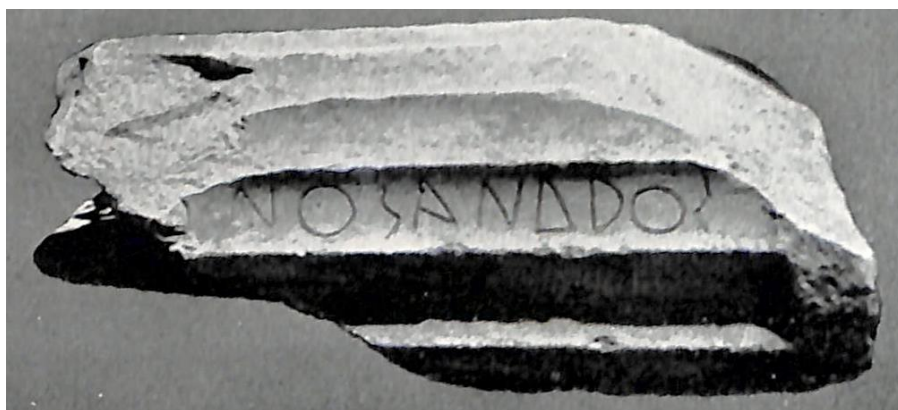


Fig. 72.2. 72 b (from Raubitschek, *Jahreshefte ÖAI* 31, 1939, 60, fig. 17).

73 FUNERARY MONUMENT OF PUBLIUS AELIUS PHAIDROS. BM 1816,0610.274, Elgin collection. Athens. Monumental white marble entablature block preserved on all sides, the back likely reworked in modern times, clamp and dowel holes above. H. 0.56, w. 1.73, th. 0.25. The prose text on the upper moulded band (ll. 1-2) is larger and stretches the length of the block, while the elegiac verses are arranged on the lower two bands in three columns. Simple and elegant lettering with small serifs, letter h. band 1: 0.016; bands 2-3: 0.009 m. Dated by prosopography to the 170s AD.

Eds. Visconti 1816, no. 54 (ll. 3-18); *CIG* 765 (Boeckh, copies Osann, Rose); Koumanoudes 1148; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 93; *IG* III 1335 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 7447 (Kirchner); Peek, *GV* 1068; A. Wilhelm, *ZPE* 29, 1978, 63 (ll. 7-8) (*SEG* 28.275); E. Kapetanopoulos, *Ancient World* 4, 1982, 10 (l. 2).

Cf. Peek 1960, no. 315 (German trs. ll. 3-18). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 73.1, 73.2, 73.3.

ca. AD 170-180

upper band:

Πό(πλιος) [Α]ἴλιος Φαῖδρος Σουνιεύς υἱὸς τοῦ ἔξ Εὐπατριδῶν ἔξηγητοῦ καὶ ἱερονείκου καὶ Ξυστάρχου Αἰλίου Θεοφίλου τοῦ (leaf)

Πρα[ξιτ]έλους Σουνιέως καὶ Κεκροπίας τῆς Ἀθηνίωνος Φαληρέως τοῦ διὰ βίου περιηγητοῦ θυγατρὸς. (leaf)

<i>col. I</i>	Κεκροπία μὲν ἐμοὶ σαόφρων πέλει, ᾧ ξένε, μήτηρ ξυνὸν γῆς πατρίας οὖνομ' ἐνεγκαμένη·
5	[ἐ]κ δὲ πατρὸς γενόμεν μεγακύδεος ἐν Κεκρόπεσσι Θεοφίλου, πρόγονοις καὶ γένει Εὐπατρίδου· [τῶν γον]έων καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἀνήρπασεν ἄγριος αἴσα [τέκνων π]αρθενικὴν ἄνθος Ἀθηναίδα,
<i>col. II</i>	ἀμφὶ δ' ἐμεῦ καὶ δῆμος ἅπας ἐδάκρυσεν Ἀθήνης
10	εἶνεκεν ἡλικίας τ' ἠδὲ σαοφροσύνης καὶ κάλλεος μελέων ἀνδρηίου. ὥς τε μάλιστα παιδείᾳ πινυτῆ καὶ σοφίᾳ μελόμην. δάκρυα δ' οὐ ψύχει γενέτης ἐμὸς οἰκτρὸς ὀλέσσας εὐφροσύνην βιότου καὶ χέρα γηροκόμον.
<i>col. III</i>	15 μέτρον μοι ζωῆς ἔτη εἴκοσιν, οὖνομα Φαῖδρος, χήρας Λευκείας λέκτρ' ἀλόχου λιπόμην· κούρην δ' ἦν τέκομεν, γεραροὶ κομέουσι τοκῆ[ε]ς βραιὴν ἀντὶ τόσης, δύσμοροι, ἀγλαΐης.

1 small abbreviation mark above ΠΟ || 2 Πι[στοτ]έλους Boeckh, Ditt., Kirchner, Peek, Πι
έλους Hicks, noting third letter cannot be a sigma, *lapis* preserves upright of rho and lower left
diagonal of alpha. Πρ[αξιτ]έλους Kapetanopoulos || 7 παρ' τούτων Visconti, Boeckh, [Οἷς
βρε]φέων Hicks, Ditt., [οἷς τεκέ]ων Kirchner, [τῶν γο]γέων Peek, [ῶν γε σ]φρων Wilhelm;
possible upper bar of epsilon surviving || 8 [τέκνων] Peek, Wilhelm, [τερπνῶν] other eds.

Publius Aelius Phaidros of Sounion, son of the expounder of the Eupatridai and victor in crowned games and president of the athletic association Aelius Theophilos, son of Pra[xit]eles of Sounion, and Kekropia, daughter of Athenion of Phaleron, official guide for life.

Kekropia is my prudent mother, stranger,
 she bears a name our ancestral land shares,
 5 and I am born from a father, Theophilos, renowned among
 the descendants of Kekrops, Eupatrid by ancestry and genos.
 Cruel Fate had already carried away a child
 from my parents, the blossoming girl Athenais,
 but for me also the whole People of Athens wept
 10 on account of my youth and modesty,
 the manly beauty of my form, and as I worked so diligently
 for learned education and wisdom.
 And my pitiable father's tears dry not, for he lost
 the joy of his life and the hands that would tend his old age.
 15 Twenty years long was my life, my name is Phaidros,
 I left the marriage bed, my wife Leukeia a widow.
 The girl we brought into the world, the aged parents now care for,
 little in place of such splendour, ill-fated ones.

This large monolithic entablature block likely formed the upper element of a sculpted monument on a scale that matches the elite status of this family, several members of which are known to have held state and religious offices, as well as being active in the ephebate. Phaidros died at twenty and had already been an ephebe and likely also one of the monthly gymnasiarchs for his year around AD 170-176 (*SEG* 26.176, A l. 4, B l. 179, see de Lisle, *AIO Papers* 12, p. 85). An honorific marble (statue?) base for Phaidros discovered in the Agora was recognised by J. H. Oliver as containing the same prose text as his gravestone (*Hesp.* 10, 1941, 259-60 no. 63; *Agora* XVIII H380):

[- - - - το]ῦ χειροτονη[θέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου]
 5 [ἔξ Εὐπατρι]δῶν ἐξηγητ[οῦ καὶ ἱερονείκου καὶ]
 [Ξυστάρχου] Αἰλίου Θεοφίλ[ου τοῦ Πιστοτέλους]
 [Σουνιέως] καὶ Κεκροπίας [τῆς Ἀθηνίωνος]
 [Φαληρέω]ς τοῦ διὰ βίου π[ερὶ ἡγητοῦ θυγατρὸς.]
 [ἡ μήτ]ηρ αὐτοῦ τὸ τρίτον [- - - - -].

Given Phaidros' age, this statue was perhaps erected posthumously at the instigation of his family to further honour their prized son. The verbatim listing of the family lineage, honours and civic roles, almost like an official titlature, emphasises the centrality of such office performance to the ideology this family wished to promote to the world. The preponderance of vocabulary related to prudence, moderation, soundness of mind and judgement (σαόφρων, σωφροσύνη, σοφία) further announces their suitability for high office.

We learn from an honorific inscription (*IG* II² 3737) that Phaidros' father, Theophilos (for his career, see *RCA* p. 23, Aelius 104), had also served the ephebeia in 156/7 or 157/8 in its highest role, as *kosmetes* (superintendent), where he is described as *paradoxos*, a title referring to his athletic distinction,¹³¹ an aspect of his life also emphasised in the two Phaidros inscriptions by the titles *hieroneikes* (victor in a crown games)¹³² and *xystarch* (an overseer of the discipline of athletes).¹³³ This concentration on athletic prowess is mirrored by Phaidros' own active participation in the ephebeia as well as his description in the epigram as being physically beautiful, literally the manly beauty of his limbs, an emphasis on youthful masculine beauty that – together with his display of education – is characteristic of the ephebate (see de Lisle 2020, *AIO Papers* 12, pp. 31-2). Theophilos did not shirk his political responsibilities either, having served as *prytanis* in 170/1 (*Agora* XV 405.13), ca. 180 (402a.5), and again in 181/2 (402.7). These prytany lists style him as *exegetes* (expounder) of the Eupatridai, a priestly office appointed by the Demos.¹³⁴ What exactly is meant by Eupatrid is unclear at this period; the general meaning is the well-born, but the epigram suggests they are perhaps thought of as a *genos* at this point.¹³⁵ The Roman nomen Aelius marks out Phaidros and his father as Roman citizens (Byrne, *RCA*, xi). Kapetanopoulos' suggestion that Phaidros' grandfather should be restored as Praxiteles is now confirmed by autopsy (accepted already by *RCA*), and not the otherwise unattested Pistoteles (see app. crit.).

Phaidros' mother, Kekropia, holds an interesting and – as the epigram notes – seemingly very ancestral Athenian name from the mythical first king of Athens and tribal hero, Kekrops. The name, however, is only attested once more, centuries earlier (*IG* II³ 4, 1021, ca. 375 BC).¹³⁶ Her father, Athenion, held the rare title of *periegetes* for life, “one who guides”, likely also a religious office (cf. *periegetes* and priest of Zeus Polieus: *IG* II² 3563, i-ii AD). Phaidros' sister Athenais and wife Leukeia are not otherwise known, but the latter is the only secure attestation of the name at Athens.

On the use of υἱός for the Latin *filius*, see [AIUK 8 \(Broomhall\) no. 5](#) and cf. **1** above.

¹³¹ For its use in another ephebic context, cf. *IG* II² 3769.

¹³² Two dedicatory monuments for *hieronikai* are also likely ephebic: *Agora* XVIII C199, for an agonistic victor, and C201, for a *sophronistes*.

¹³³ On this post, see most recently B. Fauconnier, “The Organisation of Synods of Competitors in the Roman Empire”, *Historia* 66, 2017, 442-67. See commentary on *Agora* XVIII C205 for an agonistic victor from Alexandria; cf. *IG* II² 2193, 3687.

¹³⁴ Two other offices of *exegetai* are found at Athens: the *pythochrestos exegetes* from the Eupatridai, and the *exegetes* of the Eumolpidai, see K. Clinton, *Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, 1974, 88-93.

¹³⁵ It was not one of the traditional Attic *gene*, see R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History*, 1996, 323-4. A statue base for Attikos Bradua, son of Herodes Atticus, from after the mid-ii AD (*IG* II² 3978) calls him eupatrid, which J. Tobin, *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens*, 1997, 92 takes to be a translation of the Roman “patrician”, perhaps reflecting more accurately the sense in which the term was used at this period.

¹³⁶ There is a single Κεκροπίδων from the deme Koile, *IG* II² 1616.52, m. iv BC.

7. Private Monuments: Miscellaneous



Fig. 73.1. 73 © Trustees of the British Museum.

7. *Private Monuments: Miscellaneous*



Fig. 73.2. 73, detail of ll. 1-2. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

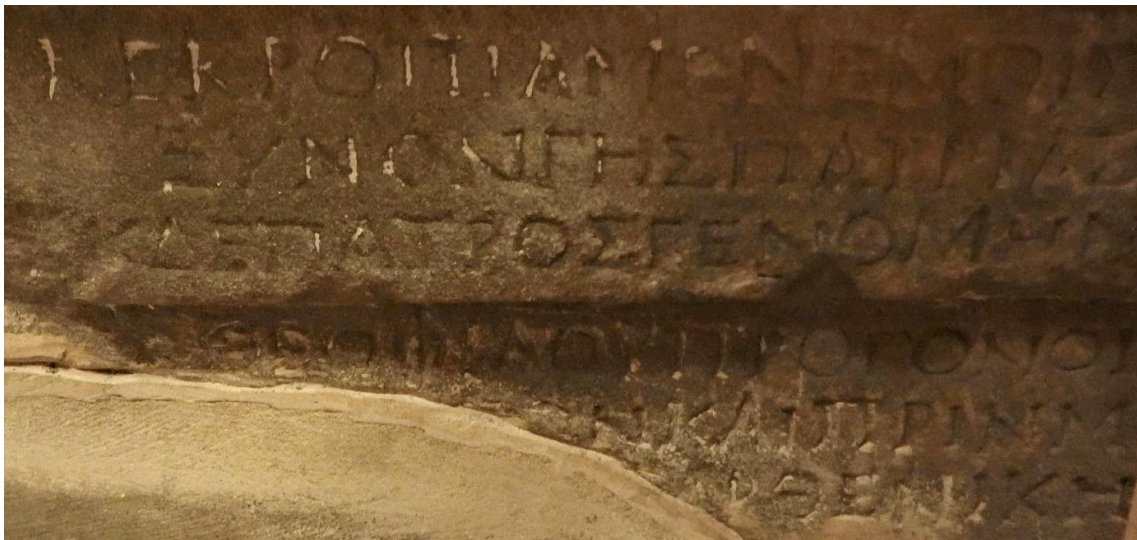


Fig. 73.3. 73, detail of ll. 3-8. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

74 FUNERARY MONUMENT OF BRISEIS. BM 1816,0610.288, Elgin collection. Athens? Fragment of white marble with a projecting band above, broken on all sides except the top, h. 0.235, w. 0.125, th. 0.055; letter h. 0.011. Letter forms of the second century AD (Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 815 (Boeckh, copies Osann, Rose); Koumanoudes 1432; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 98; Kaibel 1878, no. 94; *IG* III 1320 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 10981 (Kirchner); Peek, *GV* no. 1085. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 74.

ii AD	[π]ατρὶς Ἀλεξά[νδρεια - - -]	Homeland Alexandria - - -
	Βρισηῖς πυκιν[- - -]	Briseis, shrewd - - -
	[. ^{c.2} .] ἸΥ με κῆρ ἐδά[μ- - -]	- - heart laid low - - -
	[. ^{c.3} .] ρον Ἐλειθυίη[ς - - -]	- - Eileithyia - -
5	[... ^{c.5} ..] ἸΩΣΤ[- - -].	-----

1 Ἀλεξ[άνδρεια, πατὴρ ~~, ἐγὼ δέ] Kaibel || 2 πυκιν[αῖς ἔξοχος ἐν πραπίσιν] Kaibel || 3 [καί] νύ με κῆρ ἐδά[μασσε νόσου - -] Kaibel, ἐδά[μασσε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο] Peek || 4 [πικ]ρὸν Ἐλειθυίη[ς - -] Dittenberger, Kirchner, [πικ]ρὸν Ἐλειθυίη[ς ἢ μοι ἐφῆκε βέλος] Peek.

The form of this monument is difficult to reconstruct from the surviving fragment; it may be the upper part of a stele (Hicks). From the few clear words, it appears to contain a funerary epigram in dactylic hexameter for Briseis from (Egyptian?) Alexandria. The reference to the goddess Eileithyia may indicate that she died in childbirth (see discussion of dedications to Eileithyia in [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 6](#)). Only one other Βρισηῖς (a famous Homeric name) is known from Athens (*IG* II² 6771, ii AD, a citizen from Marathon), and a scattering of perhaps 16 others listed in *LGPN* are almost exclusively Roman in date. 106 Alexandrian residents are known from Athens (*Athenian Onomasticon*), although which of the many cities named after Alexander the Great is not specified, and it is assumed that the reference is to the most famous (and historically most closely connected to Athens), the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt (for similar problems identifying homonymous poleis, cf. **66**, **68**).

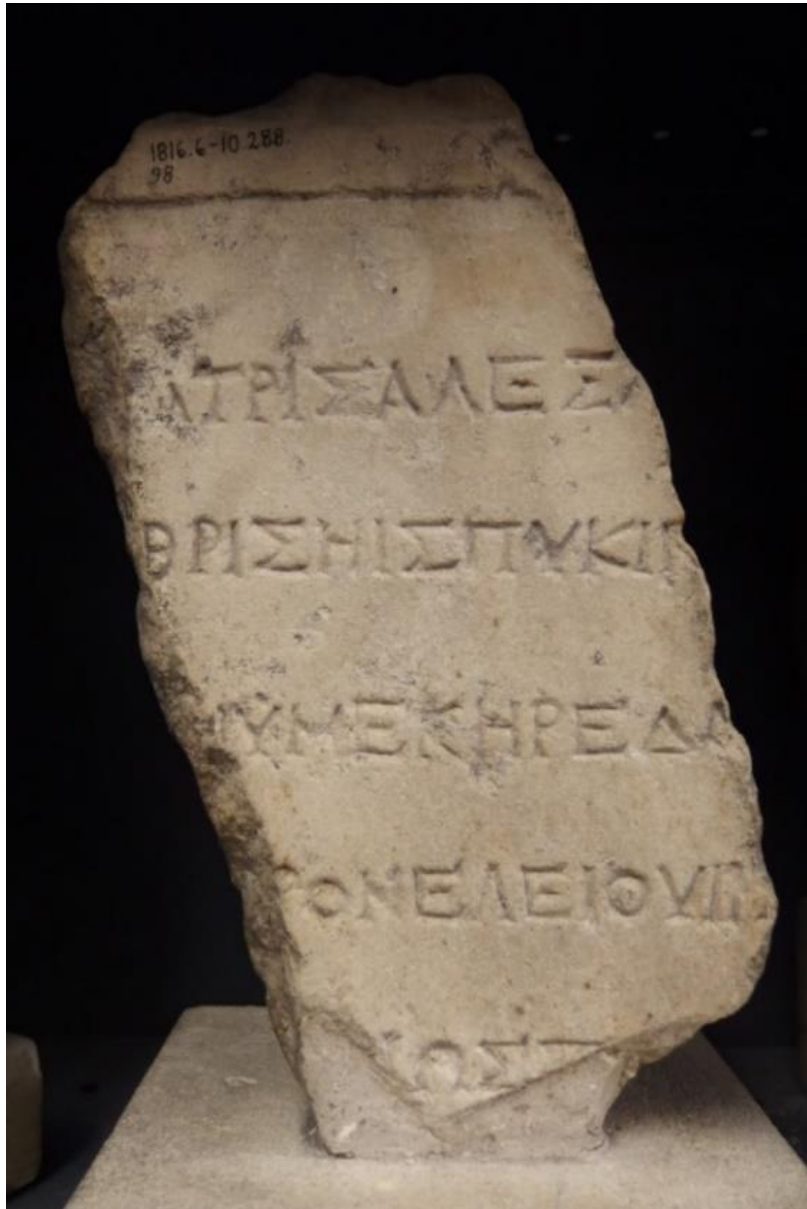


Fig. 74. 74. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

75 FUNERARY MONUMENT. BM 1816,0610.369, Elgin collection. Athens. Fragment of white marble broken on all sides except perhaps the top; the inscribed face is convex, the text within a slightly recessed panel that cuts through earlier decorative(?) elements. H. 0.24, max. w. 0.305, estimated original di. 0.62; letter h. 0.007. Letter forms of the second to third centuries AD (Kirchner).

Eds. *CIG* 1030 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 3505; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 131; Kaibel 1878, no. 120; *IG* III 1363 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 13150 (Kirchner); Peek 1980, 63-64, no. 78 (*SEG* 30.302); E. Dettori in A. Inglese ed., *Epigrammata. Iscrizioni greche e comunicazione letteraria*, 2010, 117-34 (on l. 7) (*SEG* 60.499). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. Fig. 75.

ii-iii AD

[-----]του πατρός. μὴ κλαύσης φθιμέ-
 [νου ----- ἀθ]ρήσας. ὀγδοήκοντα δυσὶν ἔτεσιν
 [-----] τε Κεκρόπων ἱερὰν βουλήν τε γε-
 [ραίων? ----- ἔσ]χον ἐλευθερίας : ^{vv} ἔξήκοντ' ἔτε-
 5 [σιν? ----- ἐ]ξ ἧς ἔσχα τέκνα γνήσια κούχι νόθα.
 [----- μο]ρφὴν ἐτύπωσεν, πᾶσιν ὄραν με
 [-----]ς : ^v εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις θέλγειν ψυχὴν
 [-----]ν ἐπισπίσας ὅσσα βροτοῖσι
 [-----]. ^{vac.}

1 Κλει]τοῦ Boeckh, ὦ φίλε παῖ σ]οῦ Hicks, οἰκτροτά]του Kaibel, [οὔνομά μοι Σίμων ἠδ' Ἑρακλῆς] μου Peek, first letter preserves base of an upright || 3 [γαῖάν] τε Hicks || 3-4 γε[ρόντων. καὶ λέχος εἶ]χον Boeckh, γε[ρόντων | ηὔξον καὶ μελέτην εἶ]χον Hicks || 6 [Σωσοῦς, ἦτ'] Peek || 7 παρερχομένοι]ς Kaibel, φιλημοσύνη]ς Dittenberger rejected by Dettori as only attested in the Archaic period || 8 [τεθνηκόςτος ἀνδρός, θέλξο]ν Boeckh || 9 [θέμις] Boeckh.

--- was my father. Do not weep for the dead
 --- having looked upon. At eighty-two years
 --- of the sons of Kekrops and the sacred Council of elders (?)
 --- obtained freedom. Sixty years
 5 --- from whom I had legitimate children and not bastards.
 --- impressed the form, for all to see me(?)
 --- But if you wish to charm the soul
 --- having induced however many things as for mortals (?)

This fragment has a curved surface that if extrapolated could have formed a column with a diameter around 62 cm, perhaps a kioniskos (so Hicks and Dittenberger); the way the stone has broken, and the small letter size, however, may suggest otherwise (Kirchner labels it a stele). The recessed area in which the text was inscribed was cut into pre-existing decoration, and so whatever form the monument took, it had been repurposed. The letter

7. Private Monuments: Miscellaneous

forms suggest a date in the late second or third century AD: alpha with occasionally extended right diagonal, phi with small circle and long vertical, theta as an oval with horizontal across its width (cf. images of *Agora XVIII C222*, pl. 20, AD 198-209), sigma as a sort of squared form (cf. *Agora XVIII V 608*, pl. 60, AD 225-250; X753, p. 77, ii-iii AD) and cursive omega.

Several editors (most adventurously Peek) have attempted to reconstruct the epigram (see lemma and app. crit.), the general sense of which is a first-person narration from the dead about his life to the passer-by at his tomb, a common funerary motif from the earliest examples onwards. He died at the age of 82, a long life indeed by ancient standards, and was likely married for 60 years to a wife who bore him children. There is a distinct interest in projecting status in this inscription, as with so many funerary texts advertising the family to the wider world at the road-side cemetery: the reference to freedom may imply that this man was a freedman, perhaps manumitted as a child (Peek). Furthermore, he emphasises not once but twice that his children are legitimate and born in wedlock.

For the rather epic description of the Athenians as the sons of Kekrops, cf. **73** and [I.Eleusis 515.6](#) (Kekropidai). The sacred council is perhaps a reference to the Areopagos, who may have honoured the man with citizenship.

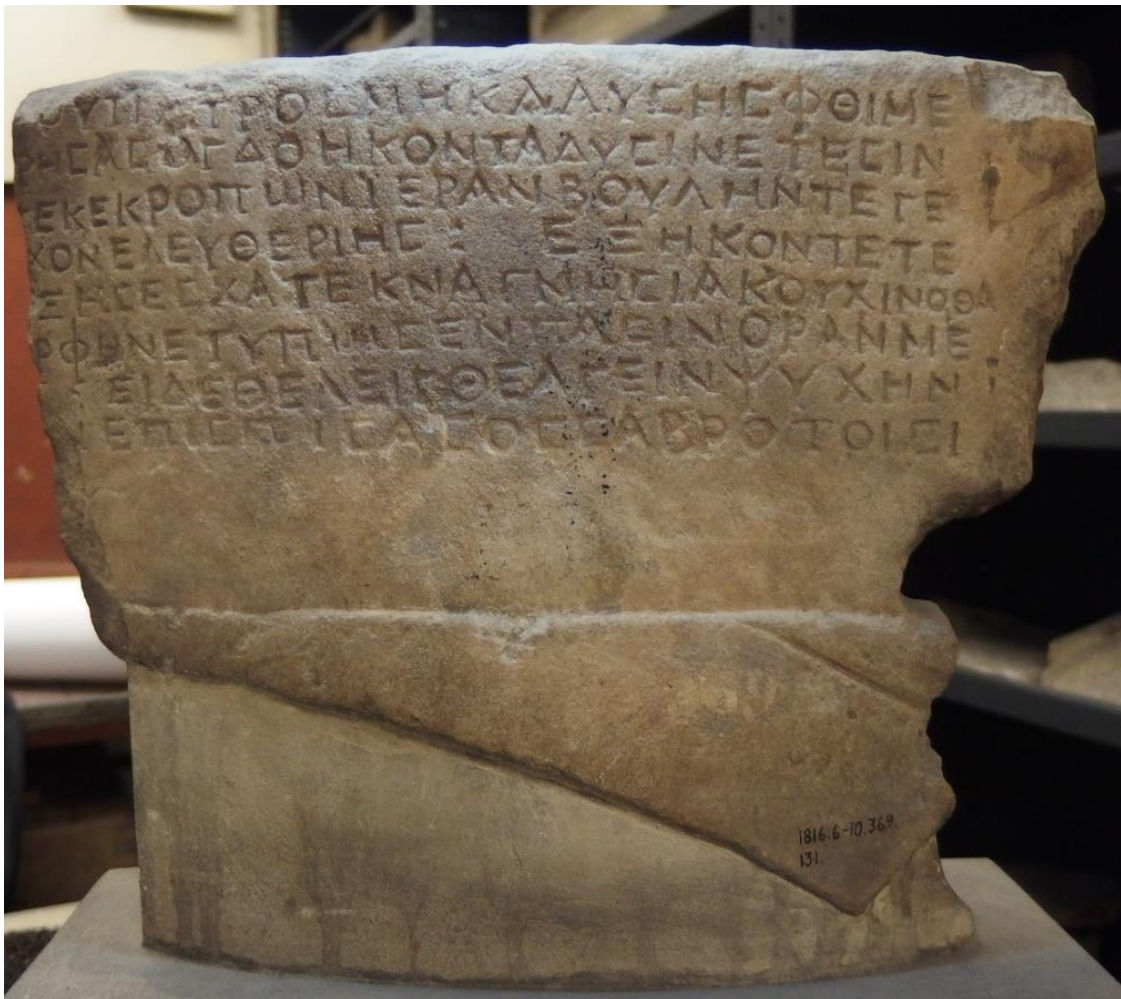


Fig. 75. 75. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

76 FUNERARY MONUMENT OF TRYPHERA. BM 1816,0610.366, Elgin collection. Athens, recorded at the church of St. George Alexandrinos by Spon (see Collection History). Three joining fragments of a long block of white marble, worked smooth on all sides, h. 0.235, w. 141.5, th. 0.14. Text in two columns, letter h. 0.014. Lettering of the second to third centuries AD (iii-iv Kirchner).

Eds. F. Vernon, Royal Society MS 73, f.20v (B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* Suppl. 8, 1949, 227 n. 50); Spon 1678, III, ii, p. 38; Spon 1685, 318; Fourmont, BnP Manuscripts, Supp. gr. 570, f.60; 854, f.132 no. 256; Askew, BL Burney MS 402, f.56r/55v (Pitt forthcoming, no. 144b); Chandler 1774, 67 no. 61; *CIG* 1012 (Boeckh, from earlier eds.); Koumanoudes 3388; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 128; Kaibel 1878, no. 169; *IG* III 1376 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 12828 (Kirchner); Peek, *GV* no. 746.

Cf. A. Wypustek, *Images of Eternal Beauty in Funerary Verse Inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman Periods*, 2013, 189 (Eng. trans.). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. Figs. 76.1, 76.2a and b.

ii-iii AD

col. I ἡ ποτὲ κυδιώσασα ξανθαῖς ἐπὶ κρατὸς ἐθίραις
καὶ χαριτοβλεφάροις ὄμμασι λαμπομένη
χιονέοις τε πρέπουσα προσώποις ἠδὲ παρειαῖς
καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος ὅπα λιριόεσσαν ἰεῖσα
5 χίλεσι πορφυρέοις ἐλεφαντινέων δι' ὀδόντων
col. II παντοίην τε ἀρετὴν περικαλλῆ σώμα[τ]ι θεῖσα,
ἦν τέκεν Εὐτυχίδη σθεναρῶ Κιλικία χαριτωπῆς,
εἴκοσιπενταετῆς Τρυφέρα τῆδ' ἐν χθονὶ κεῖται·
Ἑρμέρωσ δὲ Ἀριστομάχοιο πατρὸς[ς] καὶ μητέρος Ὀρφη(ς?)
10 μνήμ' ἀλόχῳ φιλίῃ θήκατο κουριδίη.

Underlined letters recorded by Vernon || 6 ΚΑΛΛΛΕΙ *lapis* || 7 σθεναρῶ omitted by Kirchner.

Once the gold of her hair she would proudly wear,
her graceful gaze shined brilliantly,
her snow-white face and cheeks brightened,
and the sweetest mouth uttered the most delicate of sounds,
5 through ivory teeth and scarlet lips.
To the beauty of her body she added all sorts of virtues;
Such a child the attractive Kilikia bore for the strong Eutychides.
In the earth here rests twenty-five-year-old Tryphera.
This tomb was raised by Hermeros, born to the father Aristomachos and the
mother Orphe,
10 out of love for his wedded wife. (Trans. Wypustek, adapted)

The block upon which Hermeros had this love poem inscribed to his late wife Tryphera appears architectural and was likely part of a large built tomb monument. There are no

certain Athenians called Tryphera, but among seven attestations there are four “Milesians” (late Hellenistic to Imperial, see discussion at **39**). *LGN* records 50 total known examples of the name Tryphera, the largest concentration of which outside Athens are from Miletos (five women in the epigraphy of Miletos and Didyma), perhaps suggesting that in the Athenian cases of these names the individuals are in fact Milesian and not part of a status category. Her father Eutyichides has a name common in Athens, but of the only eight cases with foreign ethnics, six are Milesians, again suggesting non-citizen status for the family. Her mother’s name Κιλικία is unique anywhere. At Athens there is a Κιλικίδας from Cilicia (*IG II² 10427*, undated), and we might hypothesise a Cilician origin for Kilia also, known epigraphically only as a personification of the region, rather than a personal name.¹³⁷ Hermeros was more likely an Athenian citizen, since six of eight attestations are Athenians, and while his father’s name Aristomachos is ubiquitous, the majority are citizens. His mother’s name Orphe was read only by Francis Vernon in 1675, the first person to record the inscription; this part of the stone must then have broken away only a year or two later when it was then seen by Jacob Spon. The reading is problematic since the name is completely unknown in Greek onomastics (related to the Roman Orfitius, or a feminine form of Orpheus?), and although it could perhaps be amended to Μορφή (there is one Athenian resident from Thrace attested in *IG II² 8917*, iii BC), this would make the scansion of an already hypermetrical verse even more difficult.

The inclusion of age at death is rare in Greek gravestones (cf. **15**, **75**) but is more common in epigrams and in the Roman period, often when the deceased was notably young, as here, or old (**75**). As with many high to late Roman epigrams, the style of this verse diction is notably Homeric (or pseudo-Homeric), as in the use of the genitive Ἀριστομάχοιο (l. 9), and vocabulary choices such as λειριόεις (l. 4) for lily-white skin (cf. *Iliad* 13.830), and particularly the phrase “wedded wife” in line 10, paralleled in *Iliad* 1.114: κουριδῆς ἀλόγου (see discussion in [AIUK 4.3B \(BM Ephebic\)](#) pp. 32-33, cf. **77** below).

The hexameters of the verse are interspersed in lines 2 and 10 with pentameters. The lettering of the inscription is competent and in a formal style with light serification, diagonals slightly curving, phi with long upright, non-splayed sigma, theta with a horizontal bar, alpha with straight crossbar (cf. images of *Agora XVIII H 393*, pl. 37, before AD 238; *H514*, pl. 52, ii-iii AD).

¹³⁷ The personification of Cilicia appears epigraphically in a mosaic from Syrian Antioch, see L. Jalabert *et al.*, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, 1911, no. 1123 (ii AD); F. Cimok, *Antioch Mosaics. A Corpus*, 2000, no. 33.

7. Private Monuments: Miscellaneous



Fig. 76.1. **76** © Trustees of the British Museum.

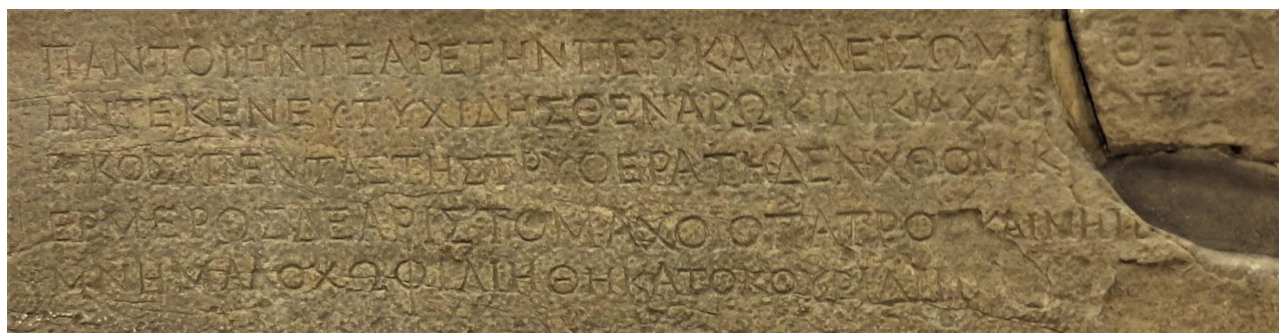
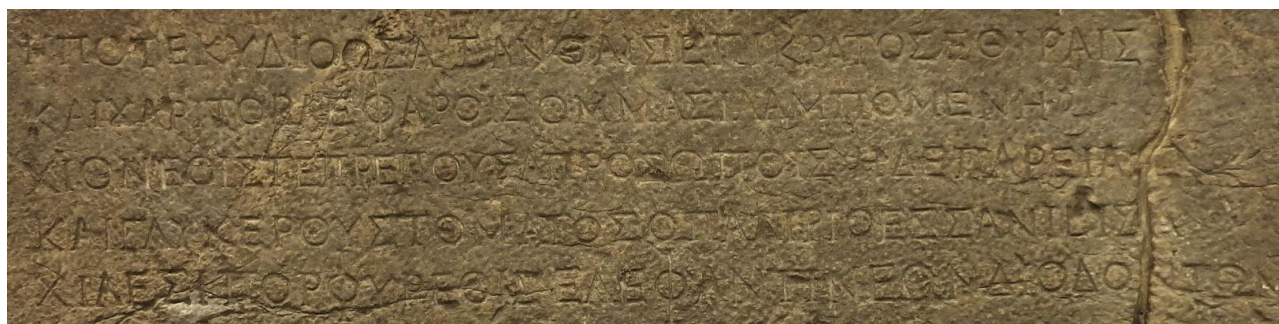


Fig. 76.2a and b. **76**, inscription details, col. I, col. II. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

77 FUNERARY MONUMENT OF PLOUTARCHOS. BM 1816,0610.236, Elgin collection. Athens. Fragment of white marble broken above, left and right, back smoothly dressed, set into a modern base, h. 0.235, w. 0.415, th. 0.014; lettering (see below) of the fourth to fifth centuries AD (Sironen), h. 0.014 (omicron 0.006, phi 0.018; guidelines 0.018 apart).

Eds. Visconti 1816, no. 24; *CIG* 987 (Boeckh, copy Rose); Koumanoudes 3255 + Προσθήκαι p. 402; Kaibel 1878, no. 146; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 125; *IG* II² 12473 (Kirchner); Peek, *GV* 639; Sironen 1997, no. 240; *IG* II² 13532, pl. 35 (Sironen).

Cf. Peek 1960, no. 275. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 77.

iv-v AD

Πλουτάρχου τόδε σῆμα σαόφρονος, ὃς πολυμόχθου
" κύδεος ἰμείρων ἤλυθεν Αὐσονίην,
ἔνθα πόνοισι πόνους ἀνεμέτρεε, τηλόθι πάτρης,
" μουνογενῆς περ ἔων " καὶ πατέρεσσι φίλος·
5 ἄλλ' ἐὼν οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε πόθον μάλα περ μενεαίνων,
" πρόσθε γὰρ ἀστόργου " Μοῖρα κίχεν θανάτου. (leaf)

Hicks first noted the breathing marks in this text: 1 omicron of ὃς has over it a small T on its side || 2 ἸΜΕΙΡΩΝ diaeresis on initial iota || 5 elision mark above ἄλλ', epsilon of ἐὼν with breathing above.

This is the grave of the prudent Plutarchus,
who came to Ausonia (i.e. Italy) longing for toilsome renown.
There, far away from his homeland he underwent a succession of labours,
although he was an only child dear to his own parents.
But, despite his very eager desire, he did not fulfil his yearning,
for a Fate of an unkind death overtook him before that. (trans. Sironen, adapted)

The name Πλούταρχος enjoys a flourishing at Athens from the mid-second century AD, and is particularly common in the Late Antique city, including among its holders the famous Neoplatonist scholar Plutarchus of Athens (see *SEG* 62.112). Our Plutarchus was likely a young man, his epigram lamenting his unfulfilled ambition and suggesting that his parents were still alive; references to only children are often found on funerary monuments, not only to emphasise the scale of loss to the remaining parents but also for reasons of inheritance disputes (cf. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\) no. 5](#)). The verse bristles with epic resonances (for τηλόθι πάτρης cf. *Iliad* 16.461 = 24.86 and *Odyssey* 2.365, Sironen 1997, no. 240); his labours and travails are perhaps meant to evoke the heroic trials of Herakles, Odysseus and Jason. The wording of the epigram may suggest that Plutarchus died in Italy, although that would make his *sema* here a cenotaph (perhaps again in part set up owing to him being an only child and needing a monument to stress matters of family succession).

The learning of the young man is perhaps also reflected in the representation on the stone of the diaeresis and spiritus asper, not seen in Attic inscriptions until the second

7. *Private Monuments: Miscellaneous*

century AD and almost always found in metrical texts (see Threatte I, 94-8). The lettering is artistically executed between guidelines and is cursive with long extensions of the right diagonal of alpha, curling mu and omega, lunate epsilon and sigma (cf. image of *Agora XVIII X760* pl. 77, late iv-v AD).

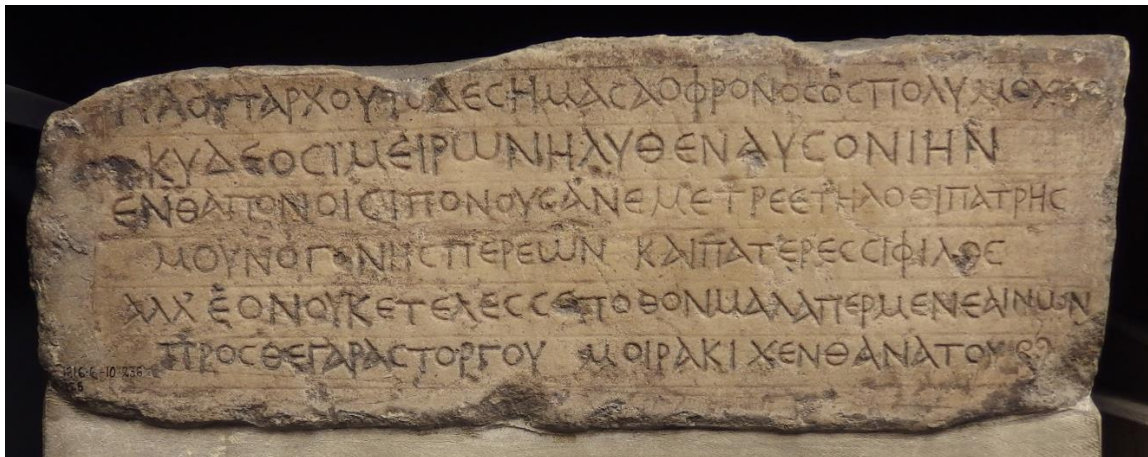


Fig. 77. 77. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

8. PUBLIC MONUMENTS

78 CASUALTY LIST OF THE ARGIVES FROM THE BATTLE OF TANAGRA. BM 1923,1017.1. Athens, found at the Library of Hadrian by James Stuart and sent to Smyrna for transport to England, but the marble was lost; later discovered in a garden rockery in Essex in 1901 (see Collection History). Fragment of white marble with right margin only preserved, h. 0.325, w. 0.34, th. 0.082; letter h. 0.02 m. Argive script (D=Δ, Θ=Θ, Η=Ξ, Q=koppa, P=P, V=Y, Φ=Φ, Ψ=X); stoichedon: hor. 0.0207, vert. 0.0205.

Eds. D. Wray, *Archaeologia*, vol. 2, 1773, 216-21; *CIG* 166 (Boeckh, from Wray); *IG* I 441 fr. a (Kirchhoff); *IG* I² 931 fr. γ (Hiller); *Kerameikos* III A29 (Peek); B. D. Meritt, *Hesp.* 14, 1945, 134-47; *Hesp.* 21, 1952, 351-5 no. 4; ML 35; *Agora* XVII 4 fr. c (Bradeen); Peek, *GV* 15; Hansen, *CEG* I 135; Clairmont 1983, I, 136-8 no. 21a; *IG* I³ 1149 fr. c (Bradeen, Lewis); N. Papazarkadas & D. Sourlas, *Hesp.* 81, 2012, 585-617 (*SEG* 62.36); OR 111.

Cf. A. S. Murray, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 10, 1902, 31-2; *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (published for the Burlington Fine Arts Club), 1904, 88 no. 109; *LSAG*² 164, 406, pl. 29 no. 30. Fr. c autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 78.

458 or 457 BC

Stoichedon

fr. c

down the right side of the front face:

2 [- - πέρ]ρι μαρναμ[εν - -] - - fighting for - -

col. iv (line and fr. numberings of *IG* I³/*SEG* 62.36; underlined letters are on fr. d):

	<u>Ε</u> [..]λ[..]ς	<u>E</u> [..]l[.. <u>s</u>
	Φοῖνιξ	Phoinix
	[Φ]ιλέας	Phileas
	[B]ράχας	Brachas
70/86	Τελέστας	Telestas
	Δαμοφάνες	Damophanes
	Θυμάρες	Thymares
	Δαΐκλῆς	Daikles
	Σύλιχος	Sylichos
75/91	Δέρκετος	Derketos
	ΛυϞοδόρκας	Lyqodorkas
	Κλέον	Kleon
	Κρατιάδας	Kratiadas
	[A]ῖσχύλος	Aischylos
80/96	[Εὔ]αρχί[δ]ας	Euarchidas
	-----	-----

8. Public Monuments

66 Ε[ὐά]λ[κε]ς *LGN* IIIA, but Ἐ[πά]λ[κε]ς, Ἐ[πί]λ[κο]ς, Ε[ὐκ]λ[έα]ς possible, Papazarkadas & Sourlas.

Thucydides (1.108.1) reports that the Athenians were joined by 1000 hoplites from Argos to fight the Spartans and their allies at Tanagra in 458 BC, and that the slaughter was great on both sides; the number of Argive dead estimated from this list is at least ca. 280 (Papazarkadas & Sourlas, 602). The casualty list was in fact seen over the tomb of the war dead in the Kerameikos by Pausanias (1.29.7-9), and it is the earliest such monument for foreign allies set up at Athens. It would have stood out from other casualty lists by its pedimental crowning and very distinctive Argive script. The use of a foreign script is paralleled at Athens in the inscription along the top of the Tomb of the Lacedaimonians in the Kerameikos (*IG II² 11678*, 403 BC), which employs Spartan letter forms and is written retrograde, something that would have seemed very archaic at the end of the fifth century in Athens.

The British Museum fragment (fig. c) was discovered by James ‘Athenian’ Stuart near the Library of Hadrian, and 14 other pieces of the monument have subsequently come to light, the most recent (fig. o) in 2008 at 6 Kladou Street in Plaka, close to where our fragment was recorded (see Papazarkadas & Sourlas, fig. 2 for a plan of all the findspots). The fragments were first believed to belong to two separate stelai for the Kleonians and the Argives, following Pausanias’ description of the foreign war dead in the Demosion Sema, but the stone was convincingly reconstructed by Meritt in 1955 as a single catalogue of the Argives. All the known fragments have received an excellent recent reconstruction and reappraisal of their relative positions (Papazarkadas & Sourlas). For a translation of the whole monument with further commentary, see AIO’s entry for this inscription [OR 111](#).

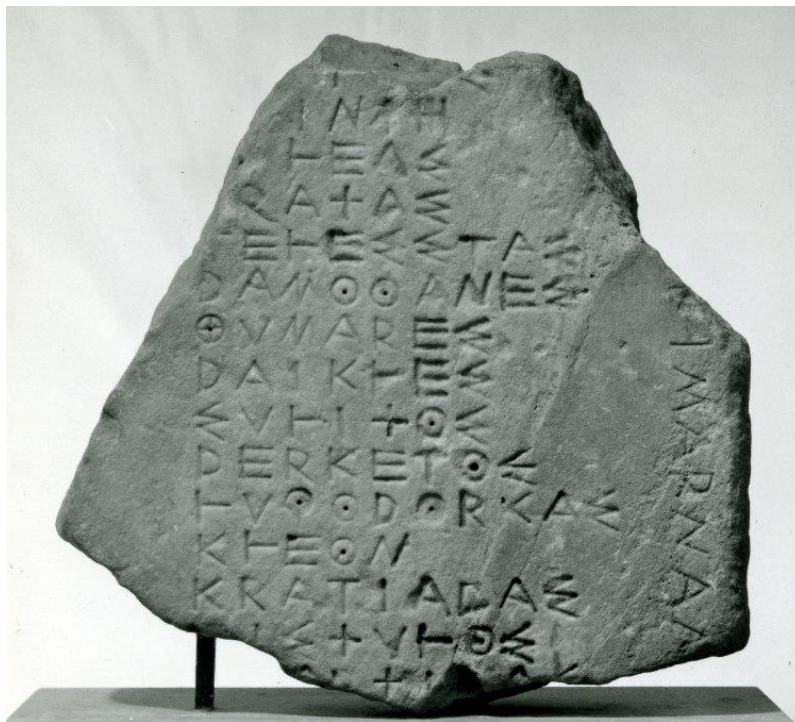


Fig. 78. 78 © Trustees of the British Museum.

79 EPIGRAM COMMEMORATING THE ATHENIANS WHO FELL AT THE BATTLE OF POTEIDAIA. (a) BM 1816,0610.348, Elgin collection. Athens, excavated by Elgin's agents near the Academy (see Collection History). Block of white marble broken right, anathyrosis at left and a small section of the flat top preserved; the back is smoothed but angled, likely cut back for transportation. H. 0.315, w. 0.89, th. 0.178 (max.); letter h. 0.015 m. (l.1 larger letters). Stoichedon: hor. 0.020, vert. 0.022. (b) (right end of ll. 11-13) Ag. I 2277, found in the Athenian Agora in 1935 over the east end of the Middle Stoa. Bottom and right sides preserved, h. 0.107, w. 0.44, th. 0.14. Original width of monument ca. 1.34.

Eds. (a) F. Thiersch "a. 1816 folio singulari Monachii impresso" (Boeckh), *non vidi*; Visconti 1816, 170-96 and no. 64; F. Thierch ed., *Acta Philologorum Monacensium*, vol. 2, fasc. 3, 1817, 399-431; *CIG* 170 + p. 906 (Boeckh, copy Fauvel); Koumanoudes 9; *IG* I 442 + Suppl. p. 46 (Kirchhoff); Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 37; *IG* I² 945 (Hiller); (a+b) A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesp.* 12, 1943, 19-24, no. 4 (ph. of squeeze of b); Peek, *GV* I 20; *Agora* XVII 16 (Bradeen); *IG* I³ 1179 (Bradeen, Lewis); Hansen, *CEG* I 10.

Cf. Fauvel, *BnF*, Manuscripts, ms. fr. 22877, 1, f.104v.; *Hobhouse* 1817, I, 264 (1855, I, 268); Clarke, *Travels* IV, 28; Conze II 1155 (*ARMA* 4, 950); A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesp.* 13, 1944, 352; Clairmont, *ZPE* 36, 1979, 126-29 (on Fauvel's papers); Clairmont 1983, I, 174-7 no. 41, pl. 55; Hildebrandt 2006, 84-5; A. Mihai, *Numen* 57, 2010, 553-82 (on *aither*); E. Bowie in M. Baumbach, A. Petrovic & I. Petrovic eds., *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigrams*, 2010, 370-2. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Fig.* 79.

432 BC	Stoichedon
a	<p>Ἔμ Ποτ[ειδαίαι Ἀθηναίων ἠοῖδε ἀπέθανον]</p> <p>Ἀθάνατόμ με θα[νο - - - - -]</p> <p>σεμαίνεν ἀρετ[ὲν - - - - -]</p> <p>καὶ προ(γ)όνο(ν) σθέν(ο)ς(?) - - - - -</p> <p>5 νίκεν εὐπόλεμοι μνῆμ' ἔλαβοι φθ[ίμενοι].</p> <p>Αἰθήρ μεμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο, σόμ[ατα δὲ χθὼν]</p> <p>τῶνδε Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἐλ[ύθεν].</p> <p>ἔχθρῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχοσι τάφο μέρος, ἠ[οὶ δὲ φυγόντες]</p> <p>τεῖχος πιστοτάτεν ἠελπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίο].</p> <p>10 Ἄνδρας μεμ πόλις ἠέδε ποθεῖ καὶ δέ[μος Ἐρεχθῶς],</p> <p>πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας ἠοὶ θάνον ἐμ πρ[ο]μάχοις b</p> <p>παῖδες Ἀθηναίων· φσυχὰς δ' ἀντίρρο[π]α θέντες</p> <p>ἐ[λλ]άχσαντ' ἀρετὸν καὶ πατρ[ίδ'] εὐκλ[έ]ϊσαν.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>vacat</i></p>

Underlined letters were read by Fauvel and are now lost || 1 suppl. Raub. although perhaps ἠοῖδε more likely above a list than an epigram, cf. *IG* I³ 1147.2 || 2 TOMMEOA Fauvel || 3 APET Fauvel || 4 ΠΡΟΔΟΝΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ or ΘΝΝΕΣ Fauvel, προγόνοσθέν(ο)ς (= προγόνων σθένος) Koumanoudes, Peek, ΠΡΟΔΟΝΟΣΘΕΝΝΕΣ, Lewis, the horizontal of delta seems clear || 5 ELABOI.Φ. Fauvel.

At Pot[eidaia these Athenians died.]

8. Public Monuments

Immortal - - -
to mark out excellence - - -
and the strength of their forefathers - - -
a victory fine in war they got as their memorial when they perished.

Aither received their souls, and earth the bodies
of these men; and around the gates of Poteidaia were they severed.
And of their foes, some have their share of a tomb, others fled and
set their wall as the surest hope of life.

This city and people of Erechtheus longs for these men,
who before Poteidaia died in the front ranks,
sons of the Athenians; but casting their lives into the scales,
they drew the lot of excellence and brought glory to their country.
(trans. Bowie, adapted)

The Battle of Poteidaia on the Thracian peninsula took place in 432 BC after the city, a tribute paying ally, revolted from Athens with the help of the Corinthians. Both Socrates and Alcibiades are supposed to have served at Poteidaia (Pl. *Symp.* 219-20). The events are narrated by Thucydides, who reports that the Athenian losses numbered 150 and included the general Kallias (Thuc. 1.63). The names of the dead could have fit onto a single stele set upon this base (originally ca. 1.34 m long). Boeckh saw a drawing made by Fauvel of a relief (now lost) in the possession of Koehler depicting three warriors along with a transcription of the text, and associated the two, but in fact they must simply have been on the same page, since the relief cannot have stood over our monument, which is instead the base for a casualty list; any relief would have to be placed above that missing list (see Conze, Clairmont, Hildebrandt).

The epigram of three elegiac poems is of high quality and is remarkable both for its reflection of civic attitudes about the war dead and for the eschatological references to the separation of body and soul at death. Although we do not possess many epigrams associated with casualty lists, there is a recognisable shared vocabulary and set of concepts. The immortality achieved by the dead is mirrored in an epigram from 447 BC ([IG I³ 1162.48](#)): αὐτοῖς δ' ἄθανάτων μνῆμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν, as is the lauding of their *arete*, “a watchword for Athenian aristocracy”¹³⁸ in funerary inscriptions that the democracy appropriated for its own lost sons.

References to the actual battle or sphere of war were no doubt common among the casualty lists, the epigrams being written for specific events. Our text twice mentions Poteidaia, its walls and gates, and an unpublished epigram from a list discovered during the Athens Metro excavations mentions the walls of Alkathöös ([SEG 48.83](#): Ἀλκάθοο παρὰ τεύχεσιν, 420s BC?), perhaps a reference to the defences erected by this mythical king of

¹³⁸ N. T. Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories: The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens*, 2015, 99.

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Megara.¹³⁹ A further epigram notes that the Athenians died fighting by the Hellespont (*IG I³ 1162.5*). The Poteidaia epigram even goes into a specific detail about the battle itself: that some of the enemy fled behind their walls, an aspect perhaps recorded in dispatches that became known more widely in Athens. The epigram's inclusion of "walls" and "hope" in this context seems particularly Thucydidean: two key leitmotifs in his *History* are the power and symbolism of fortification walls and the holding on to hope in times of fear. The Athenians' scornful attitude towards the Melians as they cling to hope in the Melian Dialogue is designed later to resonate most painfully in Nikias' final exhortation to the desperate Athenians and their allies at the end of the Sicilian disaster (Thuc. 7.77): "We must still hope on ... I have still a strong hope ... indeed we may hope ... Men make the city and not walls ..." This last sentence (ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη...) is particularly reminiscent of our inscription (l. 10).

The idea that *aither* takes the souls of the dead is in many ways a Pre-Socratic concept that blurs the lines between mortals and gods (see Mihai), although the idea that the soul separates from the body at death is attested as early as Homer (*Il.* 16.856). A similar separation can be seen in a funerary inscription from the mid-fourth century BC (*IG II² 11466 = Agora XVII 827*): Εὐρυμάχου ψυχὴν | καὶ ὑπερφιάλος διανοίας / αἰθὴρ ὑγρὸς ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύμβος ὄδε, "The soul of Eurymachos and his exceeding intelligence are held by the fluid *aither*; his body by this tomb". This appears to be a sentiment closely echoed in other grave epigrams: θυμὸν δὴ Κύκνου καὶ ὑπερφιάλους ἐπινοίας / αἰθὴρ λαμπρὸς ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύμβος ὄδε (Aristotle, *Fragmenta varia*, fr. 641, ed. Rose).¹⁴⁰ Earth taking the bodies of the fallen can be seen as a direct reference to the bringing back of these men to be buried in Athenian soil, linked as that is with the common notion of the autochthony of the Athenians. Although the line calling the Athenians the people of Erechtheus is restored here, this epic title appears in a further fragmentary casualty list epigram (*IG I³ 1174*: δῆμος Ἐρεχθεῖδ᾽[ν - -], see Thraette I, 234). That the warriors fought "in the front ranks" is most appropriate for a people whose patron goddess Athena was worshipped as Promachos.

¹³⁹ For the dating and interpretation of this casualty list, see A. P. Matthaïou, *The Athenian Empire on Stone Revisited*, 2010, 14-16 and eudem, *Τὰ ἐν τῆι στήλῃι γεγραμμένα*, 2011, 83-91 (where at 90 n. 38 he proposed that Alkathos may be an otherwise unattested name for the citadel of Spartalos, mentioned along with Tanagra on the stele, rather than a reference to the walls of Megara).

¹⁴⁰ I owe this reference to A. P. Matthaïou; see also the note on *IG II² 11466* in Koumanoudes, *Προσθήκαι*, p. 395. On the separation of the soul and body in funerary epigrams, see M. González González, *Funerary Epigrams of Ancient Greece*, 2019, 60-61.

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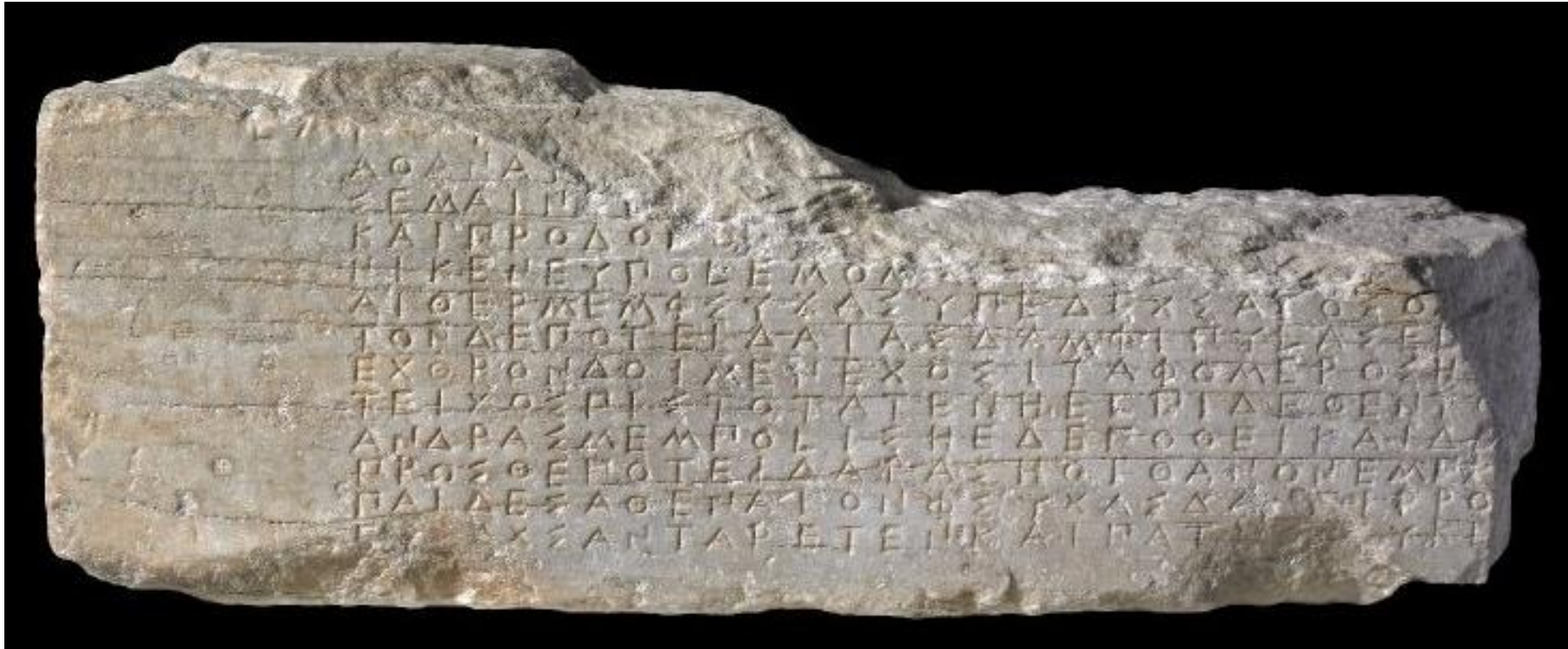


Fig. 79. 79 © Trustees of the British Museum.

80 CASUALTY LIST FOR ATHENIANS WHO FELL IN 424/3 BC. BM 1816,0610.173, Elgin collection. Athens, recorded in Plaka by Fourmont (see Collection History). Stele of white marble broken above, sides worked flat without anathyrosis.¹⁴¹ H. 0.927, w. 0.533-0.562, th. 0.105. Attic letters (except ll. 39, 53a, where H=η), h. 0.009; variable stoichedon arrangement: hor. 0.014-0.019, vert. 0.021.

Eds. Clarke, *Travels* II, ii, 592-3; A. Boeckh, “Prooemium semestris hiberni anni MDCCCXVI” (=A. Boeckh, *Kleine Schriften* IV, 1874, 98-112); *CIG* 171 (Boeckh, copies Fourmont, Osann, Rose); *IG* I 446 + Suppl. p. 46 (Kirchhoff); Koumanoudes 10; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 38; *IG* I² 949 (Hiller); *IG* I³ 1184 (Bradeen, Lewis).

Cf. M. Fourmont, BnP, Manuscripts, Suppl. gr. 571, f.81 (plate); 584, f.193 no. 500 (drawing); D. W. Bradeen, *CQ* 19, 1969, 150; D. W. Bradeen & D. M. Lewis, *ZPE* 34, 1979, 244; Clairmont 1983, I, 186-8 no. 49, pl. 61; N. Arrington, *ZPE* 181, 2012, 69-70. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 80.1, 80.2, 80.3.

424/3 BC	<i>Col. I</i>	stoichedon	<i>Col. II</i>

	[.]ρασ[ύ . . . ³⁻⁴ . .]ο[ς]		
	<u>ΟΙΝΑΣΦΛΟΣ</u>		
	<u>Ἀριστόνυμος</u>		
	<u>Αἰ[σχί]νες</u>		
5	<u>Σμ[ίκυθο?]ς</u>		
	[vacat]		
	<u>Οἰ[νείδος]</u>		
	<u>Λύσιππος</u>		
	<u>Καλλιφῶν</u>		
	<u>Σπρουδίας</u>		-----
10	Φερεκλῆς	55	[.] Π Π Ρ Α - - -
	Παυσία[[δες]]		[.]στρα- - -
	Φιλιππίδες		Τιμαν- - -
	vacat		Εὐβου[λ- -]
	Κεκροπίδος		Μνεσ- - -
	Λυκομέδες		vacat
15	Θεόδοτος		Οἰνείδ[ος]
	Λυκῖνος	60	Τελεφά[νες]
	Ἀναίτιος		Χαρισ- - -
	Μενεκλῆς		Δεμοστρατ- -
	Φρύνιχος		vacat
	vacat		Κεκροπίδος
20	ἡποθοντίδος		Λύκον
	Θεότιμος		

¹⁴¹ Clairmont 1983, 186-7 n. 14 is adamant both sides of the stele have anathyrosis, and that it was thus part of a larger architectural monument, but this is entirely erroneous, see Bradeen 1969, 155, “polished sides”.

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	Σκυροκλῆς	65	Τιμοδεμί[δες]
	Χαρίας		Σοιναύτ[ες]
	Εὐάγγελος		Λεοχάρε[ς]
25	Νικόστρατος		<i>vacat</i>
	Θρασύμαχος		
	Φανίας		Αἰαντίδος·
	Καλλικλῆς		Γλαυκο- -
	Ἐχσοπιάδες	70	Θράσον
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>
30	Αἰαντίδος		Ἄντιοχίδο[ς]
	Κρατῖνος		Ἄντιόφεμος
	<i>vacat</i>		Ἐπιτελίδ[ες]
	Ἄντιοχίδος		Εὐθύμαχος
	Ἄριστομέδες	75	Νίκιππος
	Ἄμεινοκλῆς		<i>vacat</i>
35	Αἰσχίνες		ἔνγρα[φοι]
	Παντακλῆς		ἱερόν
	Χαρίδεμος		Ἄντιφάνες
	Τιμόχσενος		τοχσόται
	Ἄντιφάνης		Φίλιππος
40	ἐμ Ποτειδαῖαι	80	Ναύπακτος
	Παντακλῆς		Δέχσιος
	Ἄγνόδεμος		Μνεσαγόρας
	Ἀρχίας		ἠερακλείδες
	ἐμ Ἀμφιπόλει		ἠερόφιλος
45	Φιλόφρον	85	Ἄνεσιμος
	ἐπὶ Θράικες		ἠιερ[ο]κλῆς
	Εὐκράτες		Ἄναξι- - -
	ἐμ Πύλοι		χσένοι
	Ἐγ[[εσ]]ίας		Ἄθηνόδορος
50	ἐν Σερμυλῖαι	90	Εὐφραῖος
	Πολύμνεστος		Χαιριγένης
	ἐς Σίγγοι		Ποσεί[δι]ππος
	Παυσί[[ας]]		Μένον
53a	[[Ἀντιφάνης]]	95	Στράτον
	<i>vacat</i>		<i>vacat</i>

Underlined letters were read by Fourmont and are no longer extant. 1 [.]ρασ[...]ο[ς] Lewis, although Fourmont gives 4 spaces between Σ and Ο, allowing Θρασύδημος, Θρασύλοχος, Θρασύμαχος, Θρασύξενος || 2 Ὀνεσίφιλος Boeckh, Koehler, Hiller, but the name not attested until late ii BC at Athens and only once; Οἰνόφιλος is more common but needs much emendation of Fourmont's copy || 5 Σμ[ῖκρο]ς Lewis; Fourmont has a gap of 5 spaces, Σμίκυθος is well attested at the period || 9 Σπουδίας Lewis, but lower uprights of Π and left part of Ο survive || 11 name

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corrected with iota inserted between stoichoi 4 and 5, ΔΕΣ in stoichoi 6-8 more deeply cut over an erasure, and there are traces in stoichos 9 within an erasure of E or Σ from the original text, followed by a break, perhaps once Πανσανίας || 39 added later in larger letters in the vacant line before the following heading, rather exaggerated in Fourmont || 49 stoichoi 3-4 have been erased but faint traces survive of what was likely a correction to ΕΣ, Ἐγεσίας being the only name to fit the remaining letters || 53 Πανσίας corrected from Πανσανίας with added iota between stoichoi 4 and 5 and sigma written over an erasure, traces of the earlier ΙΑΣ visible || 53a added at the end of the column in larger letters and then erased, but still legible || 54 [. . .]ΙΦ Fourmont, [. . .]ιφο Lewis; stoichoi 3 and 4 have bases of upright strokes, 5 an left upright base with the beginning of a loop to the right, more suiting rho than phi, 6 the bottom left diagonal of alpha or gamma || 55 [..]στρ Fourmont, Lewis; [Σό]στρα[τος] or [Σο]στρα[τίδες] probable || 60 ΤΕΛΙΚΡΑ Fourmont, Τελλ[ι]α-- probably Τελλ[ι]α[ς] Lewis, but traces of a circular letter before alpha necessitate Τελεφάνες || 62 almost certainly Δεμόστρατος but there is one instance in the fifth century of Δεμοστρατίδες || 66 Σοιναύτ- Lewis, can only be Σοιναύτες || 73 ΕΠΙΤΕΛΙΔΟΣ Fourmont || 76 ΕΝΛΡΑ Fourmont, hence ἔνγρα[φοι] Osann; ἐν Ἄρ[γίλοι] Lewis *IG* app. cr., see comm. below || 79 compressed into 5 stoichoi || 83 originally ΜΝΕΑΟΡΑΣ then sigma and gamma added either side of alpha in stoichos 4 || 95 in larger letters.

	<i>Col. I</i>		<i>Col. II</i>
	[Of (the tribe) Akamantis (V)]		[Of (the tribe) Akamantis (V)]

	[.]ras[y . . .]o[s]		
	- - -philos(?)		
	Aristonymos		
	Ai[schi]nes		
5	Sm[ikytho?]s		
	<i>Of (the tribe) Oi[neis] (VI)</i>		
	Lysippos		
	Kalliphon		-----
	Spoudias		[. . .]ira- -
10	Pherekles	55	[. . .]stra- -
	Pausiades		Timan- -
	Philippides		Eubou[l- -]
			Mnes- -
	<i>Of (the tribe) Kekropis (VII)</i>		
	Lykomedes		<i>Of (the tribe) Oineis (VI)</i>
15	Theodotos	60	Telepha[nes]
	Lykinos		Charis- -
	Anaitios		Demonstrat- -
	Menekles		
	Phrynichos		<i>Of (the tribe) Kekropis (VII)</i>

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			Lykon
20	<i>Of (the tribe) Hippothontis (VIII)</i>	65	Timodemi[des]
	Theotimos		Soinaut[es]
	Skyrokles		Leochare[s]
	Charias		
	Euangelos		<i>Of (the tribe) Aiantis (IX)</i>
25	Nikostratos		Glauko- -
	Thrasymachos	70	Thrason
	Phanias		
	Kallikles		<i>Of (the tribe) Antiochis (X)</i>
	Exopiades		Antiophemos
			Epitelid[es]
30	<i>Of (the tribe) Aiantis (IX)</i>		Euthymachos
	Kratinos	75	Nikippos
	<i>Of (the tribe) Antiochis (X)</i>		<i>Enrolled:</i>
	Aristomedes		Hieron
	Ameinokles		Antiphanes
35	Aischines		<i>Archers:</i>
	Pantakles	80	Philippos
	Charidemos		Naupaktos
	Timoxenos		Dexios
	Antiphanes		Mnesagoras
40	<i>In Poteidaia:</i>		Herakleides
	Pantakles	85	Herophilos
	Hagnodemos		Onesimos
	Archias		Hierokles
	<i>In Amphipolis:</i>		Anaxi- -
45	Philophron		<i>Foreigners:</i>
	<i>In Thrace:</i>	90	Athenodoros
	Eukrates		Euphraios
	<i>In Pylos:</i>		Chairigenes
	Hegesias		Posei[di]ppos
50	<i>In Sermylia:</i>		Menon
	Polymnestos	95	Straton
	<i>In Singos:</i>		
	Pausias		
53a	Antiphanes (erased)		

The Abbé Fourmont first copied this casualty list in Athens in 1729, although his text was not published until Boeckh (or rather his informants) worked through his papers in Paris for *CIG I*. The copy was prepared as a plate by Fourmont's nephew for an aborted publication, here reproduced for the first time; it has merit in preserving a lost portion of the stone to the upper left of the present fragment, giving some further names in the first column. (Note the

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alignment of the columns is not accurate on the plate since Fourmont originally copied each onto separate pages).

This inscription would have formed a tall independent stele with two columns of casualties, likely with headings at the top announcing the two principal spheres of war and perhaps including an epigram. Since the fragment begins halfway through tribe V (certainly in col. I, likely in col. II), we have around half of the stele, originally perhaps two metres in height. The two lists continue in official tribal order, each tribe and its dead separated from the next by a vacant line (occasionally filled in by names added later). The tribes in the first list lost 34 men, those of the second 18 (there are no casualties from tribe VIII in the second list), giving an estimated total losses of around 70 and 40 Athenians in each battle. Following the tribal dead, column I continues with names under six geographical rubrics where only small numbers perished. Presumably these men were not killed in either of the two battles of the main lists, the names having been carved by the same hand without disturbing the layout of the text, suggesting that the drafters of this stele intended them to be here from the start. They should therefore be from minor skirmishes from this year, or else were casualties discovered to be missing from other lists, either from the previous year or from battles commemorated on other stelai in a series with ours, although we might wonder in that case why they there were not added to those other stones instead.

The right column ends with non-Athenian casualties under three headings: enrolled (two dead), archers (nine), and foreigners (six). The restoration of the first of these headings in line 76 is disputed: ENΛP seems fairly clear, perhaps followed by the tip of a triangular letter. Bradeen favoured Osann's restoration of ἔνγγρα[φοί], thinking they were perhaps either metics with isoteles status or else were from the border towns of Attica outside of the tribal system, such as Oropos or Eleutherai. Lewis (see *IG* comm. and Bradeen & Lewis 1979, 244), however, pointed out that the word appears on no other casualty list, and that a more likely restoration was a further geographical entry, favouring ἐν Ἀργίλοι, 'at Argilos', since it was part of the Peace of Nikias along with other cities here listed (see below). The former is a strong argument, although it should be noted that the heading xenoi only appears on two other casualty lists (*IG* I³ 1180.5, 1190.65). We might, however, expect a further battle to have been placed in column I, if the distribution was designed to have Athenian 'extras' on the left and non-Athenians on the right. The separation of the archers here with no other such military designations implies they were foreign, and without ethnics perhaps they are more likely to be mercenaries than allies (they appear in other casualty lists as βάρβαροι τοχσόται, e.g., *IG* I³ 1180.26-27, 1190.136-37). The xenoi without further ethnics are perhaps a category of resident foreigners at Athens (without the higher status of those listed as 'enrolled'?), or else are mercenaries or allies.

The dating of our inscription is complicated by the fact that we only have the geographical rubrics for the minor skirmishes, if indeed that is what these 'extras' at the end of columns represent. All the places listed, however, are from the north of Greece, with the exception of the single casualty from Pylos. This suggests that the rest of the stele dealt also with this area, and so it would be one of a series dealing with different fronts. The battles commemorated are generally agreed to have taken place in 424 to 423, with the list set up for the funeral commemorations of the Winter to early Spring of 423 (so Bradeen & Lewis 1979, and *IG* comm.).

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Nathan Arrington,¹⁴² in the course of arguing that *IG I³ 1163* should be related to the battle of Delion, proposed that the present list was an addition to that base and its stelai already set up for the many dead of Delion, necessitated by the slow arrival of news from northern conflicts in 424/3. The first column would then contain the dead from Torone (Thuc. 4.110.2, 4.113.2), where the Athenian garrison had been killed, and the second column would commemorate the battle at Lekythos (Thuc. 4.115.1).

It is more problematic to find conflicts in Thucydides with which to connect the ‘extra’ casualties, although it must be remembered that if we do indeed have individual deaths at these sites – and not leftovers from larger battles – then there are many reasons these men might have died (of their battle wounds, as guards, messengers, or spies?). In any case, Poteidaia could not be a site of war after Brasidas’ failed attempt to recapture the city in early Spring 422 (Thuc. 4.135). Amphipolis was taken by Brasidas in the winter of 424/3 (4.102-6), and the final battle in which he and Cleon were slain took place in Summer 422 (5.6-11). Chalcidic Sermylea (*Inventory* 604) is not mentioned by Thucydides during these years (although it is the site of a Peloponnesian ambush in 432: Thuc. 1.65.2), but it is listed alongside nearby Singos (*Inventory* 605) in the treaty of the Peace of Nikias in 422/1 (Thuc. 5.18.6). It is possible that these fatalities occurred as Brasidas marched on Torone (Winter 424/3, Thuc. 4.110). If Argilos is to be restored in line 76 (as argued by Bradeen and Lewis 1979, 244), then their revolt from the Athenians in the Winter of 424/3 (Thuc. 4.103.5) would fit well with the proposed chronology. The single casualty from Pylos is difficult to explain in the absence of any mention of conflict there by Thucydides after the Spartan surrender at Sphacteria in Summer 425, but it may have been carried over from an earlier list.

Several of the surviving Athenian casualty lists bear additions and corrections made after the stelai were erected, as evidenced by erasures, divergences from the textual layout, and letters carved by different masons (often with noticeable difficulty). No doubt these were necessitated as information about casualties became clearer in the months following the public burial. Our stele exhibits a number of such intriguing alterations to the text that deserve further analysis.

In line 11, Pausiades was engraved over a partly erased name, probably Pausanias; it is perhaps not coincidental that in line 53, in the list of those under extra geographical rubrics, one Pausanias was corrected to Pausias, these names perhaps being confused in the original report. A cutter has added the name Antiphanes at line 39 in larger letters within the vacant space left before the following tribal heading. The same name had been inscribed at the very end of column I (53a), again in larger letters, and was then erased. It seems that a second cutter must have been employed to add this man to the stele, first placing him at the bottom of a campaign list, and then realising he should in fact be placed higher up in his tribal contingent under a different battle. He used eta rather than the Attic epsilon both times, the only instances of the Ionic alphabet in the document. The final name of column II (line 95) was most probably also a later addition to the list of foreigners. A simple correction of spellings has also been undertaken with the erasure and reinscription of a few letters within names in lines 49 and 83, while the heading ‘archers’ in 79 has perhaps been corrected from

¹⁴² N. T. Arrington, “The Form(s) and Date(s) of a Classical War Monument: Re-evaluating *IG I³ 1163* and the Case for Delion”, *ZPE* 181, 2012, 61-75, at 69-70.

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something else and compressed together, unless the cutter absent-mindedly abandoned the stoichedon pattern here.

Such a notable series of alterations provides remarkable evidence for the official nature of the inscribed versions of these lists, demonstrating a very detailed procedure of subsequent checking of spellings (did family members notice these mistakes?) and the addition of further dead whose circumstances were perhaps discovered too late, as well as the moving around of men within the lists as mistakes were realised. It is easy to imagine such work being undertaken on paper copies in the archives, but it would be quite a different matter to send letter cutters and secretaries to the grave site to figure out ways of making the necessary changes on the erected stelai. These stones were clearly not meant solely to embody expressions of public commemoration by their monumentality, they were also raised to be read, forming an official record of the campaign dead.

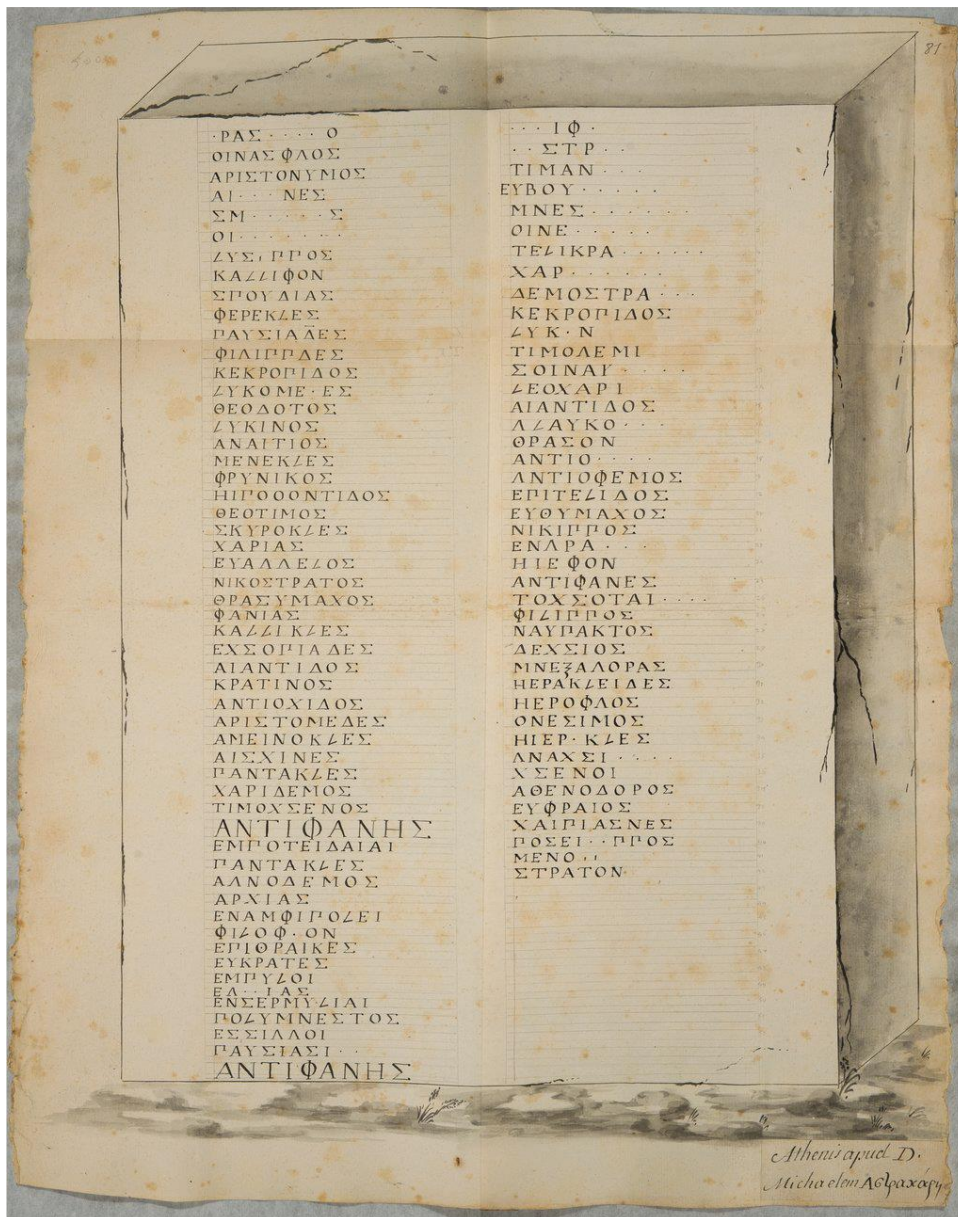


Fig. 80.1. Michel Fourmont manuscript of 80 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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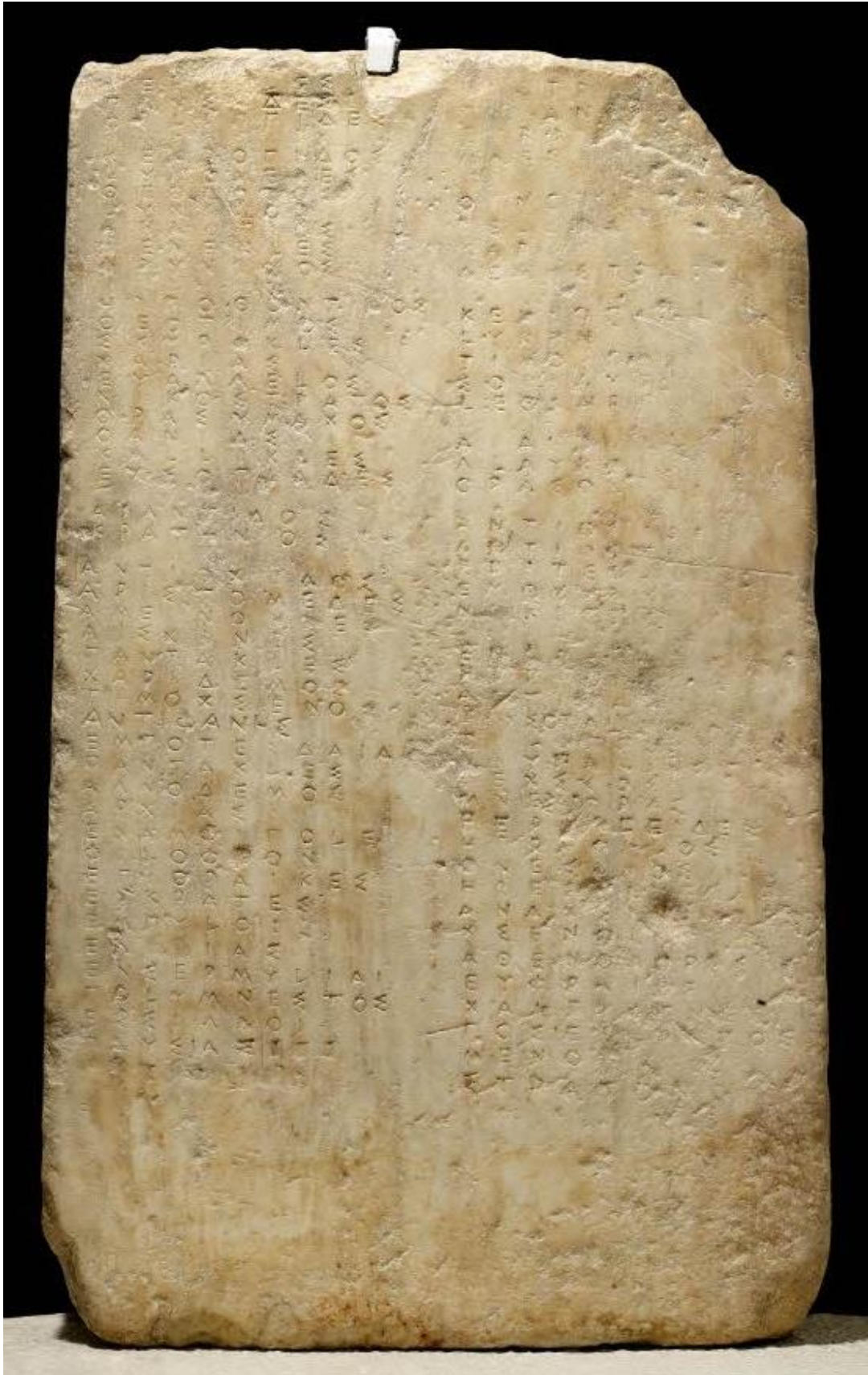


Fig. 80.2. **80** © Trustees of the British Museum.

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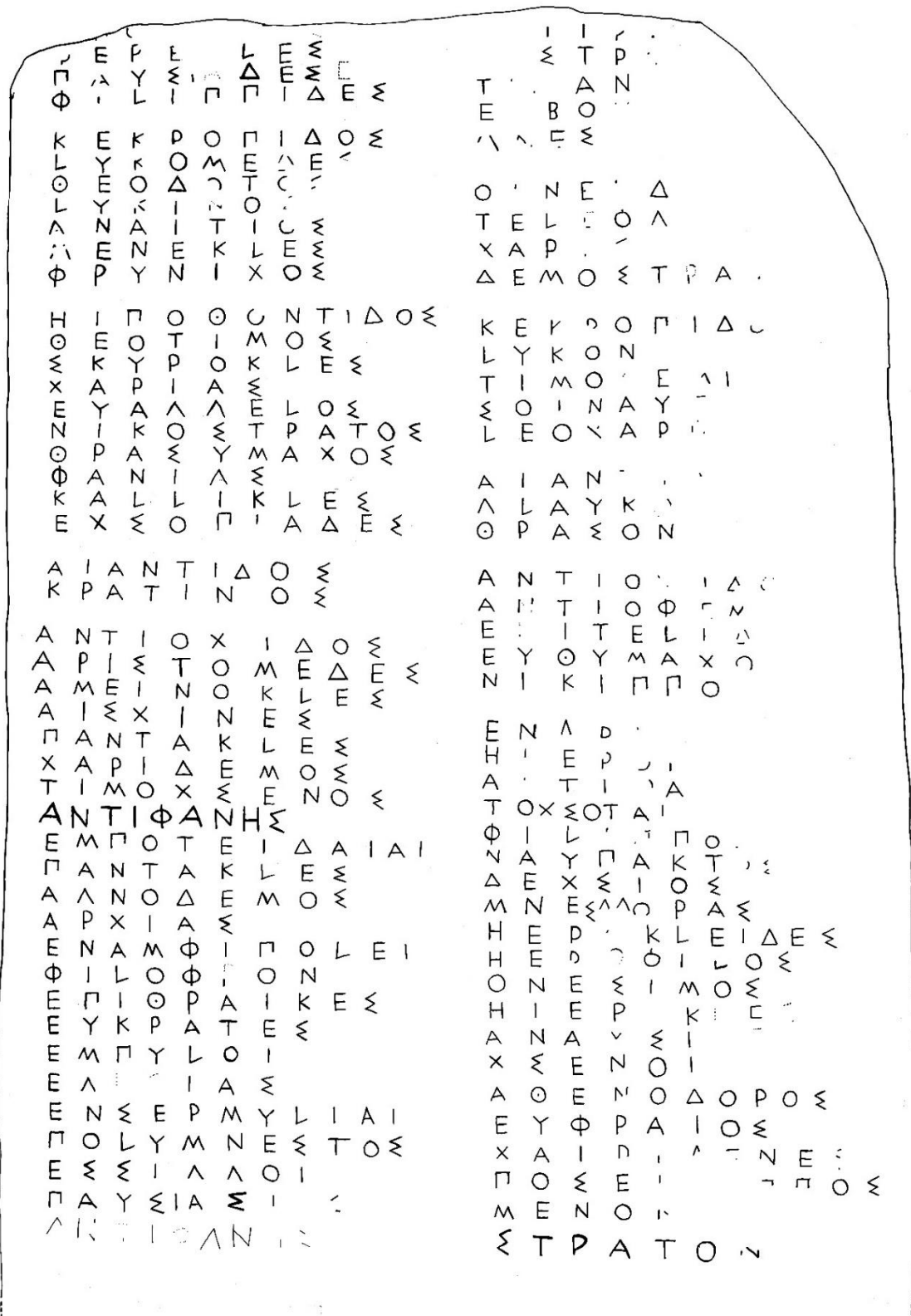


Fig. 80.3. 80, drawing from squeeze: Pitt.

9. APPENDIX: MONUMENTS ONCE THOUGHT TO BE ATHENIAN¹⁴³

81 GRAVE STELE OF GLYKYLLA. BM 1893,0627.1. Thebes? Pedimental stele of white marble with broken acroteria and a relief scene below, h. 0.91, w. 0.56, th. 0.135; letter h. 0.015. Sculpture of the first quarter of the fourth century BC (Clairmont; 400-390, Schild-Xenidou).

Eds. Marshall, *GIBM* IV no. 957; *IG* II 5, Suppl. 3579b (Koehler); *IG* II² 11021 (Kirchner); V. Schild-Xenidou, *Corpus der boiotischen Grab- und Weihreliefs des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, 2008, 41, pl. 19.

Cf. A. H. Smith, *JHS* 14, 1894, 267, pl. xi, fig. 1; *BM Sculpture* 2231 (Smith); Clairmont, *CAT* 2.223a. Autopsy Pitt 2019. Gallery 19. Fig. 81.

400-375 BC

Γλύκυλλα.
(relief)

Glykylla.

Glykylla, sitting on a diphros and resting her feet on a footstool, takes something (jewellery?) from a lidded box held by a female slave. The BM acquisition log records that the stele was brought back to England by a sailor, Capt. R. C. Turner, after working in the Levant, and that it was perhaps found in Boiotian Thebes. The work is generally considered to be Attic or by a highly Atticising Boeotian sculptor (see Clairmont), perhaps one who had learnt his trade in Athens (Schild-Xenidou).

The name is not attested at Athens, nor indeed anywhere else (not accepted by *Athenian Onomasticon*; placed in Boeotia by *LGPN*), although female names with the diminutive suffix -υλλα are commonly held by Athenians (e.g., Ἀνθυλλα, Ἀρίστυλλα, Εὐθυλλα, Φάνυλλα), while being quite rare in Boeotia (single cases of, e.g., Σίβυλλα, Ἴππυλλα, Στράτυλλα). The monument's origin must on this evidence remain obscure.

¹⁴³ The stele of the physician Jason (BM 1865,0103.3) had been thought funerary by Hicks (*GIBM* I, no. 81) but is in fact probably dedicatory (*IG* II² 4513; now *IG* II³ 4, 836) and so is included as [AIUK 4.5 \(BM Dedications\) no. 10](#). The ii-iii AD funerary relief of Asiarchos depicting a boy fishing (BM 1805,0703.439; *GIBM* IV, no. 1125; *CIG* 6892: Ἀγαθήμε(τ)ρος Ἀσ(ι)άχῳ συντρόφῳ μνήμης χάριν) was labelled as perhaps Athenian but nothing suggests such a provenance; it does not appear in *IG*. A gravestone and epigram (BM 1816,0610.372; *CIG* 3648; *GIBM* IV, no. 1107; *GV* 218; *SEG* 32.28; not in *IG*) for a family from Parion, ca. 425-400 BC, has at times been thought Athenian due to the rough stoichedon arrangement, space beneath for a probable painted scene, and because it is part of the Elgin collection, but the letter forms are poorly executed and hard to parallel at Athens, and there is not enough certainly to include it here; it will be presented more fully in *AIUK* 4.7 (BM Miscellaneous).



Fig. 81. 81 © Trustees of the British Museum.

82 GRAVE STELE OF LAODIKE. BM 1849,1201.37. Rheneia? Stele of white marble with relief pediment containing a shield; a sunken panel includes a figured scene with traces of inscriptions below and perhaps also above it. H. 0.73, w. 0.36, th. 0.095; letter h. 0.02. Developed Hellenistic letter forms; parallels for the relief date from the late second century BC (Couilloud).

Eds. *BM Sculpture* 706 (Smith). Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. *Figs.* 82.1, 82.2.

late ii BC?

- - - traces? - - -

(relief)

Λαοδίκη Ἡρ[ακ]λ[ε]ίδου

Laodike (daughter) of Herakleides

- traces - [χρη]στῆ

(of) - - - worthy.

χαῖρε

Farewell!

1-3 Λαοδίκη Ἡρ[οφίλου?].....χαῖρε Smith, Ἡρ[ακ]λ[ε]ίδου Pitt, for letter traces, see drawing || 2 [χρη]στῆ Pitt.

The relief depicts a standing male clasping the hand of a woman who sits on a draped stool and wears her mantle pulled back over her head. The inscription below is almost entirely worn away, leaving only the more deeply incised ends of letter strokes (serifs). The smooth area above the relief may also contain faint traces of letters either worn away or erased, suggesting at least one period of reuse. Smith, the only person to have previously noted the inscription, was correct in suggesting the deceased as Laodike, but the patronymic is longer than his Her[ophilou]: the ending OY is preceded by the upper tip of a triangle, and the only name to fit the space is Herakleides. The second line should then include an ethnic or demotic and likely ends χρηστῆ, while the third line gives the typical gesture of *farewell*.

Although placed among the Attic stelai in the BM records, the stone is almost certainly from the island of Rheneia, where a great many funerary monuments of the residents of Delos have been discovered. The form of the stele, the sculpture (cf. M.-Th. Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée*, 1974, nos. 8, 25, 37, 75; for the same relief pediment with shield, no. 297, all from the late ii-early i BC) and formulae (χρηστῆ χαῖρε) all have close parallels among the corpus from Rheneia, where the majority of stelai are from the late second century BC, following a growth in the Delian population after it was declared to be a free port by the Romans in 166 BC. A remarkable number of these stones were removed from the island as ballast or collectibles by a great many travellers and merchants up to the nineteenth century (Couilloud, 39-49 and Appendix 1 on travellers and *pierres errantes*; and for a collection that made its way to Zakynthos, see A. Versloot, *Journal of Epigraphic Studies* 1, 2018, 143-67).

The stele was purchased in 1849 from the sale of Thomas Blayds' collection, but no further provenance is recorded.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Blayds (1795-1849) of Castle Hill, Englefield Green, Surrey amassed a sizable collection of art and prints that was sold on his death by Christie's, London in 1849. The BM registers 139 objects from the collection, the majority Italian and Etruscan antiquities, including two other Greek stelai: *BM Sculpture* 705 (BM 1849,1201.38), a pedimental funerary stele with a seated female

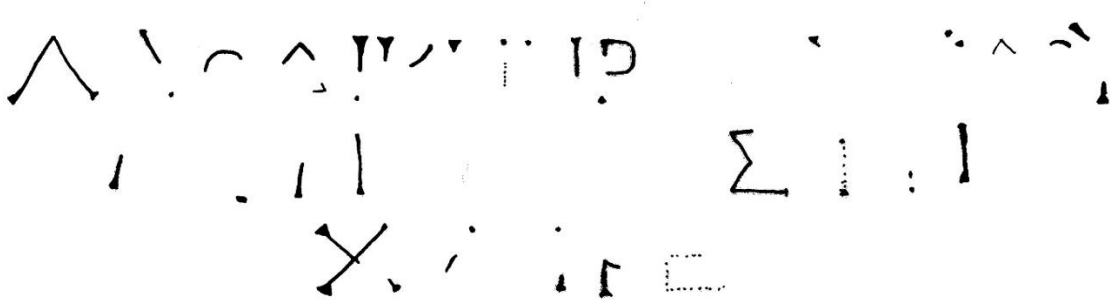


Fig. 82.1. 82, drawing of inscription: Pitt.

figure taking leave of two male figures; and *BM Sculpture* 752 (BM 1849,1201.13), a funerary or votive relief of three male figures with raised right hands leading a horse. For an account of Blayds and his collection, see L. Ambrosini, “Sui vasi plastici configurati a prua di nave (tririme) in ceramica argentata e a figure rosse”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome* 122, 2010, 73-115, especially 75-8.



Fig. 82.2. 82. Photo: Pitt © Trustees of the British Museum.

83 GRAVE STELE OF HERMIAS. BM 1864,0220.8, Strangford collection (see Collection History). Byzantion or Chalcedon? Pedimental stele of white marble with a sunken relief scene, h. 0.425, w. 0.26, th. 0.055; letter h. 0.013. Sculpture and letter forms of the Late Hellenistic period (ii-i BC, Robert).

Eds. A. Conze, *Arch. Anz.* 1864, 164; Koumanoudes 2845; Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 116; *IG* III 3138 (Dittenberger); *IG* II² 11325 (Kirchner); L. Robert, *Berytus* 16, 1966, 6-9, pl. 1 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* 7, 638-41); *IK Byzantion* 355 (Łajtar).

Cf. *BM Sculpture* 722 (Smith); E. Pfuhl – H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, Textband II, 1979, 397, no. 1619, pl. 236. Autopsy Pitt 2019. In store. Fig. 83.

ii-i BC Ἑρμίας Ἀθαναίου. Hermias (son) of Athanaion.

The relief depicts a funerary banquet scene with a male figure reclining on a couch and holding a cup or bowl before a table laden with food. A seated woman with hand to her veil is likely his wife, if this represents the anakalypsis gesture (cf. **39**), while a young girl brings a cup, and a boy stands mournfully with a hand to his chin. The stone has long been suspected of originating somewhere other than Athens from the style of relief and the lettering. The Doric form Ἀθαναίων occurs almost exclusively around the Thracian coast and the southwest corner of the Black Sea (often in Megarian colonies), principally at Byzantion, Chalcedon, Kallatis and Mesambria. This led Louis Robert to place the stone in Byzantion or Chalcedon,¹⁴⁵ cities from which many antiquities were spirited away, and close to Istanbul where Strangford was ambassador between 1820-24 (see also T. Corsten, *Topoi* 4/1, 1994, 331-32).

¹⁴⁵ For funerary banquet scenes from Byzantion, see M. Dana, *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai*, 2014, 345-71 (*SEG* 64.591).



Fig. 83. 83 © Trustees of the British Museum.

CONCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPAL EPIGRAPHIC AND SCULPTURAL CORPORA

<i>AIUK</i> 4.6	<i>GIBM</i>	<i>IG I</i> ³	<i>IG II</i> ²	<i>SEG</i>	<i>SEMA</i>	<i>CEG</i>	<i>BM</i> <i>Sculpture</i>	Conze	<i>CAT</i>	Scholl	von Moock
1	135*		10799								
2	95				3181						
3	120		11722				600	1513			
4	107		10261a				608	1641			
5	130		13040a								
6	79		5556				605	1611			
7	106		10019				601	1579			
8	86		6338				599	1624			
9	91		7044								
10	119		11667								
11	109		10270					1575			
12	110		13054								
13	117		11516								
14	83		5945				2278	2152			
15	94		7580								
16	123	1282bis	12332				628	696	1.630		
17			12782					888	1.867		
18	941				3193		2232		2.786		
19	88		6548				635	909	1.384	433	
20	92		7151			482	638	1161	2.209a	435	
21	1152		5261				693	1005	2.284b		
22	937		11851a						1.326		
23			13062						1.350a	520	

Concordance with the Principal Epigraphic and Sculptural Corpora

24	936		6328					868	1.366		
25	940		12657a						1.365		
26	124		12345				694	324	3.410a	439	
27	113		11071				646	296	3.366b	437	
28	108		10262				637	325	3.394a	434	
29	115		11408a						Suppl. PE 53		
30	939		10851; 10747a	50.221					3.418		
31	1153			33.23	2159				2.417b		
32	90		6932				632	358	4.468	432	
33	938		10758; 10754a						3.415a		
34	939a		6587						3.414a		
35	121		12090				651	947	0.921	438	
36	133		11134				644	46	1.455	436	
37	942		7873			571		130	1.969	442	
38				44.198	1431						
39	103		9781				642	1848			447
40	129		12832				626	2005			419
41	101		8985				650	1925			448
42	943		9558				667	1917			449
43	944		6498				630	1963			446
44	114	1286	11129				689	905	4.120		
45	132		11338a			476	690	1135	3.220		
46	105		9986				683	1715			
47			10787a						3.234		
48				49.271	2287 (part)				4.375		

Concordance with the Principal Epigraphic and Sculptural Corpora

49	111		10573				697	218	2.384d		
50	122		12216				688	1141	4.322		
51	112		10852				695	394	3.388b		
52	126		12546				682	678	2.385d		
53	80		5636				684	1719			
54	127		12729				692	470	3.956		
55	118		11584				698	379	3.910		
56	75		5374				687	213	2.419		
57	78		5516								
58	89		6640								
59	82		5933								
60	97		7934								
61	76		5427								
62	77		5431								
63	85		6137/8								
64	87		6465					793			
65	84		5967								
66	100		8601								
67	96		7859				686				
68	99		8204								
69	102		9070								
70	104		9787								
71	935	1210				37					
72		1269 fr.a				36					
73	93		7447								
74	98		10981								
75	131		13150								

Concordance with the Principal Epigraphic and Sculptural Corpora

76	128		12828								
77	125		12473; 13532								
78		1149 fr.c									
79	37	1179				10		1155			
80	38	1184									
81	957		11021				2231		2.223a		
82							706				
83	116		11325				722				