

Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections **Broomhall**

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PREFACE

Broomhall in Fife, the “coolly assured neo-classical mansion” (Gifford, 102) which has been the seat of the Earls of Elgin since the early eighteenth century, is home to a small but diverse collection of antiquities, encompassing Greek inscriptions, uninscribed Greek sculpture and architectural fragments. The collection is a legacy of the Seventh Earl of Elgin, Thomas Bruce (1766-1841), who acquired the items in Greece in the early nineteenth century. Elgin’s activities as a collector of Greek antiquities are famous; as is well-known, the bulk of his collection, including many inscriptions, was purchased by Parliament and transferred to the British Museum in 1816.¹ However, a small number of antiquities remained in Elgin’s possession; some have since been sold, but several are still kept in the Entrance Hall of Broomhall,² including the five Attic inscriptions which we discuss in this paper. This collection of inscriptions, which have never previously been studied together as a group, includes four distinctive examples of different types of re-use of funerary monuments (**1**, **2**, **4**, **5**; for a detailed study of this phenomenon at Athens, see Pologiorgi, *AD* 54 (1999) A [2003], 173-214). It has also proved possible to progress the scholarship on these inscriptions in other ways, offering, for example, a new reading of **2**, the first published photograph of **3**, a fresh interpretation of **4**, and the first detailed study of **5**, which does not appear in any of the standard modern corpora of ancient sarcophagi.

Like the inscriptions at Chatsworth House ([AIUK 7](#)), those at Broomhall are held in a private collection; unlike those at the National Trust properties at Petworth ([AIUK 1](#)) and Lyme ([AIUK 5](#)), these houses are the private residences of their families. Broomhall is not normally open to the public. Accordingly, we are especially grateful to the Eleventh Earl of Elgin and Lady Elgin for giving us permission to study the collection in their family home and for their kindness in facilitating our visits to Broomhall. We are very grateful to Richard Posamentir for allowing us permission to reproduce his photographs of the Kollion stele (**1**). We would like to thank Sara Chiarini for her advice on **4**, Stylianos Katakis for help on the interpretation of **5** and the anonymous reviewer for comments on the paper. As ever, we have benefitted hugely from Stephen Lambert’s insightful suggestions and those of the AIO Advisory Board, especially P. J. Rhodes and S. Douglas Olson. We warmly thank Hugh Griffiths for designing the cover for this volume.

¹ See discussion in [AIUK 4.1 \(BM Cult Provisions\)](#) section 1.

² An image of the Entrance Hall at Broomhall is published in *Country Life*, 21st February, 2018.

ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the abbreviations listed at <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/> the following abbreviations are used in this volume:

Agora XXXV: J. B. Grossman, *The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Volume XXXV. Funerary Sculpture* (2013)

Altmann: W. Altmann, *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage* (1902)

Athenian Onomasticon: S. G. Byrne, *Athenian Onomasticon*. Online: <http://www.seangb.org/> [accessed: 07/09/19]

Beaumont 1994: L. A. Beaumont, “Constructing a Methodology for the Interpretation of Childhood Age in Classical Athenian Iconography”, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13, 81-96

Beaumont 2003: L. A. Beaumont, “The Changing Face of Childhood”, in J. Neils and J. J. Oakley eds., *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, 59-83

Beaumont 2012: L. A. Beaumont, *Childhood in Ancient Athens. Iconography and Social History*

Betz: H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells*. 2nd edition (1992)

Bielman Sánchez: A. Bielman Sánchez, “Bildern (fast) ohne Worte: die Griechischen Grabstelen für Priesterinnen”, in S. Schroer ed., *Images and Gender. Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art* (2006), 351-77

Blanck: H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern* (1969)

Bloch: H. Bloch, “The Exegetes of Athens and the Prytaneion Decree”, *American Journal of Philology* 74, 1953, 407-18

Blok and van’t Wout: J. Blok and E. van’t Wout, “Table Arrangements: Sitêsis as a Polis Institution (*IG I³ 131*)”, in F. van den Eijnde, J. Blok, R. Strootman, eds., *Feasting and Polis Institutions. Mnemosyne Supplement 414* (2018), 181-204

Bricault 2005: L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques*. 3 volumes

Bricault 2008: L. Bricaut, *RICIS Supplément*, in L. Bricault, ed., *Biblioteca Isiaca I*, 77-122

Byrne, *FRA*: S. G. Byrne, *The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica* (1996)

Byrne, *RCA*: S. G. Byrne, *Roman Citizens of Athens* (2003)

Byrne 2003: S. G. Byrne, “Early Roman Athenians”, in D. Jordan and J. Traill, eds., *Lettered Attica. A Day of Attic Epigraphy. Actes du Symposium d'Athènes, Proceedings of the Athens Symposium, 8 mars / March 2000*

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Chiarini: S. Chiarini, *The So-Called Nonsense Inscriptions on Ancient Greek Vases: between Paideia and Paidia* (2018)

- CIRB: V. Struve, *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani* (1965)
- Clairmont, CAT: C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 8 vols. (1993, suppl. vol. 1995)
- Clinton: K. Clinton, "The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 64, 1974, 1-143
- Conze: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 4 vols (1890-1922)
- Cox Miller: P. Cox Miller, "In Praise of Nonsense", in A. Armstrong, ed., *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (1986), 481-505
- Dieleman: J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: the London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)* (2005)
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- Eingartner: J. Eingartner, *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mnemosyne Supplement 115* (1991)
- Elderkin: G. W. Elderkin, "An Athenian Maledictory Inscription on Lead", *Hesperia* 5, 1936, 43-49
- Ewald: B. Ewald, "Men, Muscle, and Myth. Attic Sarcophagi in the Cultural Context of the Second Sophistic", in B. Borg, ed., *Paideia. The World of the Second Sophistic* (2004), 229-75
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ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS AT BROOMHALL

Broomhall is currently home to five Attic inscriptions.³ A further three, which were once part of the collection there, were sold in the third quarter of the twentieth century, and are now at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California.⁴

The history of the collection at Broomhall is in some ways straightforward. All of the items in it were acquired by, or on behalf of, Thomas Bruce, Seventh Earl of Elgin (1766-1841), British ambassador to the Porte at Constantinople from 1799. However, as is the case for the main part of the Elgin collection (now at the British Museum), little information survives about the exact circumstances of the discovery of most of the individual inscriptions in the collection.⁵

It is known that Elgin's agent in Athens, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, conducted excavations in the Kerameikos during the first period of his operations in Athens (1801-1807), and it might be tempting to assume that this is the origin of four of the funerary inscriptions (**1, 2, 3, 4**) in the collection.⁶ Although this possibility cannot be ruled out, two facts argue against it. First: we know that most of the inscriptions which Elgin acquired in this early phase of his operations were shipped to the United Kingdom between 1800 and 1811⁷ and sold to the British Museum in 1816.⁸ In all likelihood, only one inscribed item now at Broomhall, the Roman-era sarcophagus (**5**), came to the United Kingdom in these early shipments (see below). Second: Lusieri claimed that those antiquities which he had left in his house during his (enforced) absence from the city between 1807 and 1810 were confiscated and never returned.⁹ This makes it unlikely that objects shipped to the United Kingdom after 1811 were discovered in the first phase of Lusieri's operations.

The majority of inscriptions now at Broomhall derived probably from the second phase of Lusieri's activities in Athens (1810-1813); during this period, Lusieri "excavated

³ The collection also includes a number of non-inscribed Athenian antiquities (as well as non-Athenian pieces). For a full catalogue, see Michaelis 1884, with further comments in Vermeule; note in particular Conze I 406 = *CAT* 3.889 = Schulze AG 40, an uninscribed funerary marker for a nurse. Also at Broomhall is a fragment of a decree from Melos (*IG* XII 3, 1113), but the circumstances of its discovery and acquisition are not known.

⁴ These are: *IG* II² 11630 (= Getty 78.AA.58), funerary monument of Theogenis, Nikomache and Nikodemos; *IG* II² 12220 (= Getty 78.AA.57), grave stele of Myttion; *IG* II² 5167 (= Getty 74.AA.12), the "Elgin Throne" (an inscribed marble seat; cf. Palagia). The first two were sold to J. Paul Getty in 1952, passing to the Getty Museum after his death; the third was sold directly to the Getty Museum in 1974.

⁵ For brief discussion of the findspots of Elgin material now in the British Museum, see Lambert, [AIUK 4.1 \(BM Cult Provisions\)](#), section 1.

⁶ Poulou, 72. For the details of Lusieri's activities in Athens generally, see Poulou.

⁷ The details of the shipments are tabulated in Smith, 293-94.

⁸ For details of this part of the collection, and its sale to the British Museum, see [AIUK 4.1 \(BM Cult Provisions\)](#), section 1.

⁹ Poulou, 72. The "Elgin Throne" (*IG* II² 5167), although purchased by Elgin in 1804, presumably escaped confiscation because it had not been moved to Lusieri's house, but was placed outside the church of Soteira tou Lykodemou (now the Church of the Holy Trinity or Russian Church) on Filellonon Street in central Athens (Palagia, 67).

only in the fields of the city of Athens”, rather than the central areas (Pnyx, Acropolis, Kerameikos) which had been the focus of his earlier activities.¹⁰ In 1817 and 1818, the fruits of this work, in the shape of two further shipments of antiquities, were dispatched by Lusieri. Although there is no definitive record of the destination of these shipments, it is overwhelmingly likely that the majority of the items now in Broomhall derive from them.¹¹ When Michaelis visited in the early 1880s, the inscriptions (and other pieces of Greek sculpture) had been “arranged along the walls of the spacious hall” of the house.¹² Shortly afterwards, in 1890, the hall was remodelled in a neo-classical style by R. Rowand Anderson, and several items in the collection (including nos. **1**, **2** and **3** discussed below) were built into niches in the walls,¹³ where they remain today.

5 is one of the very few inscribed objects from the Elgin collection (both at Broomhall and in the British Museum) for which we have a relatively detailed provenance. Poulou reports (76) that a letter from Lusieri to Elgin (Elgin Papers 7, folio 333) relates that on 6th March 1811, he (Lusieri) discovered a “Roman sarcophagus with a beautiful relief decoration, very well-preserved”, while excavating in a field near Athens. The precise location of this field is not recorded.¹⁴ Poulou concludes that this is the sarcophagus which is now located at Broomhall. The sarcophagus must have been sent to England in 1811, in one of the two last shipments which left Athens before the hiatus in Elgin and Lusieri’s exporting activities (shipments resumed in 1817). A drawing, dated to 1816, showing Elgin’s collection in its temporary home in the Duke of Devonshire’s shed at Burlington House, London, clearly depicts this sarcophagus (identifiable from its inscription) sitting alongside sections of the Parthenon frieze (Poulou, 76 with fig. 18). It is unclear why this object was not included in the sale to the British Museum; although we know that it had reached Broomhall by the time Michaelis visited the house in the early 1880s, the details of its history in the period between 1816 and that point remain obscure.

¹⁰ Poulou, 76.

¹¹ Full details of the contents of the shipments of 1817 and 1818 are not recorded, but the shipment of 1817 is known to have included two funerary reliefs (“not specially identified but ‘biens jolis et interessants’”: Smith, 286), and that of 1818 included the “Elgin Throne”. It is also known that the stele of Kollion (**1**) was still in Athens in 1813; since no shipments left Athens between 1811 and 1817, this object must have been included in the later dispatches. The majority of the objects now in Broomhall were thus probably transported in this period (conversely, the majority of the contents of these later shipments came to Broomhall); this was also the hypothesis of Michaelis, 144, and is consistent too with the Elgin family narrative of the history of the house’s collection (as reported to us by the Eleventh Earl of Elgin).

¹² Michaelis 1884, 144.

¹³ Gifford, 104. Bruce himself does not seem to have undertaken any measures to create a “gallery” or formal display for his collection: he did institute an extensive programme of refurbishment at Broomhall, which ran from ca. 1790-1810, but this was abandoned in the face of the financial pressures created by costs of the acquisition and transport of antiquities from Greece (Gifford, 102-3).

¹⁴ Sarcophagi at the National Museum of Athens derive from a number of locations, including the Kerameikos, the North-East cemetery, the road to Acharnai and elsewhere: Katakis 2007, 142-45 and Katakis 2018, 20-22.

1 PAINTED FUNERARY STELE FOR THE SON OF HERMAIOS AND KOLLION. Findspot unknown, but probably acquired in Athens. A plain stele of fine white marble with mica; the weathered surface has a yellowish hue; triangular top. The slab is very smooth, with no sculpture in relief at all; the outline traces of a painted composition are extant. No traces of coloured paint remain visible to the naked eye, but the painted surfaces give the impression of pale silhouettes on the marble background. In the upper part, it is possible to make out the traces of an elaborately painted architectural feature consisting of entablature, pediment and acroteria; beneath are the traces of a painted egg-and-dart cymatium. The inscription appears beneath this. Traces of a painted composition occupy the field beneath the inscription. On the right side, a youth stands naked, except for a mantle wrapped round his shoulders. In his left hand he holds a staff which projects down at an angle. His outstretched hand holds a small winged creature (probably a bird); he looks down towards a child clad in a chiton-like garment which conceals his or her features. The child sits on the ground, looks upwards and reaches with the right hand towards the bird. The stele, which was broken (just beneath the inscribed area) into two pieces which are now joined, is largely complete but missing the left-hand corner. H. 0.604, w. 0.253. The upper of the two legible inscriptions is inscribed deeply in irregular letters that could date to the second half of the fourth century or later (featuring a rather splayed omega) apparently over an erased lightly incised name; the lower line seems also to have been incised lightly and appears to have been worked over with a claw-chisel. L.h.: line 1: 0.0124 (omicron) – 0.0202 (kappa); line 2: ca. 0.010-0.011.

Eds. Michaelis 1884, no. 16; (*IG* II 3869; Conze II 1049 (ph.); *IG* II² 11887); Clairmont, *CAT* 0.836 (ph.); Scholl, no. 373; Posamentir 2001 (ph.); Posamentir 2006, no. 21 (ph.).

Cf. Fauvel (Bibl. Nat. Fr. MS 22877, Fol. 145: a sketch); Hughes, I.267-69; Robert, 167; Schmaltz, 89 n. 202; Posamentir, pp. 37-40; (*SEG* 42.64). Now set into the west wall of the Entrance Hall.

Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. *Figs.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

centered beneath painted cymatium

After 350 BC
ca. 410-400 BC

Κολλίων
[[Ἑρμα[ί]ο]]

1 Κολλίων is inscribed over an erased name which is no longer legible || 2 Ἑρμα[ί]ο Liddel and Low (EPMA[.]O Posamentir) is the erased, but still faintly legible, patronymic of the person whose name was originally inscribed in 1.

Earlier inscription

-
son of Hermaios

Later inscription

Kollion

The exact provenance of this celebrated stele is unknown, but it was first noted by the scholar and diplomat Louis-Sebastien Fauvel (1753-1838)¹⁵ in Athens at some point after

¹⁵ On Fauvel, see Stoneman 2010, 165-68.

1792 and then in 1813 by the British traveller T. S. Hughes, who saw it in the courtyard of Lusieri's Athenian house and described it as follows: "another of his [Lusieri's] most interesting monuments is a small sepulchral tablet of marble, on which appears an ancient painting of singular beauty, though its colours are much faded: it represents the figure of a handsome young man looking with a melancholy kind of interest upon a little infant, which is seated upon the ground stretching out its hand to him in a supplicating posture: the picture is charmingly designed, and surrounded by a very elegant border; over a pediment at the top is the word Kollion (ΚΟΛΛΙΩΝ)" (Hughes, I 269).

Earlier editions of this inscription reported only the name Kollion, of which this is the sole attestation in Attica (*PAA* 581700); related names, however, include: (a) Κολλυτιδης Μηδιμάχο of Athmonon (*SEG* 24.197, line 24) and (b) Κόλλων Λευκάδο Ἴκιος, known from *IG* II² 8936, a grave marker from Piraeus for a man from the island of Ikos (now Alonissos). Conze (II 1049) and Schmaltz (89 n. 102) cast doubt on whether Kollion can be identified as an Athenian; Robert, 166-67 was undecided. Names beginning with Κολλ- are known from across the Greek world, and so this name might thus plausibly be that of a non-Athenian resident in Athens. But certainty is impossible on the basis of onomastics alone.

Close examination of line 1 reveals that the name was inscribed over an erased name,¹⁶ though not enough of the previous inscription survives to enable it to be reconstructed.¹⁷ The visibility of both the second line of inscribed text and the remains of the painted image have been greatly enhanced by the images produced through crosslight photography, Ultra-Violet Reflectography and Ultra-Violet Florescence imagery undertaken by Richard Posamentir (see *Figs.* 2, 3, 4, 5).¹⁸ Posamentir's examination of the stone revealed that there was originally a second line to the erased text, reading EPMA[.]O; the omicron is bisected by a vertical stroke which may have been created during the attempt to delete the word. We propose to read this as the patronymic Ἑρμα[ί]ο; Ἑρμαῖος is a common name (the *Athenian Onomasticon* documents 45 examples, of whom 12 are thought to be foreign residents) and further identification is therefore impossible. It is probable, then, that the painted scene originally commemorated the offspring of Hermaios and that it was later appropriated on behalf of an individual called Kollion. The fact that the name of the son of Hermaios was erased might suggest that the stone was re-appropriated by a non-relative; in contrast, no. 2 in this collection appears to have been re-appropriated by another family member.

What makes this stele of particular interest is the fact that it preserves traces of an architectural and figurative decoration which was originally painted onto the monument. The use of paint is well-attested on Greek grave monuments,¹⁹ and it seems reasonable to

¹⁶ As noted by Blanck, 103.

¹⁷ For other examples of the re-use of funerary monuments via the erasure of the original name and the addition of a new name, see Lambert, *AIUK 2 (BSA)*, p. 40 citing examples of the post-classical period; see also Pitt, *AIUK* 4.6 (BM Funerary); cf. Blanck, 103-4. There is other evidence for the re-use of painted funerary monuments: see Posamentir, nos. 1 (= *SEG* 58.65), 4, 21, 34.

¹⁸ See Posamentir, no. 21 and pp. 37-40.

¹⁹ For a comprehensive study of painted grave stelai, see Posamentir, *passim*; cf. also Clairmont, *CAT 6 Indices*, s.v. "Painting", pp. 136-39; Brueckner in *Sachregister* of Conze, IV p. 142.

assume that polychromy and an enhanced level of detail would have greatly increased the aesthetic value and prestige of a marker. However, the preservation of that paint is usually poor.²⁰ On occasion, painted remains can be detected on the basis of the guide-lines that were incised before the paint was added;²¹ only very faint traces of such incisions are visible on the Kollion stele.²² Indeed, on the present monument, as with others, no actual traces of colour are visible, but weathering has left “ghosts” of the painted areas.

Posamentir’s 2006 publication, a work that has greatly enhanced our understanding of the uses of paint in this genre of sculpture, collects 137 examples of paint used on Attic grave *stelai*.²³ Paint was commonly used in Greek funerary markers to enhance sculpted decorations;²⁴ it was also used to emphasise architectural details²⁵ and frequently, as in other genres of Greek epigraphy, to highlight incised letters.²⁶ Small details were sometimes added to human figures, such as staffs,²⁷ shields,²⁸ and sandal straps.²⁹ Uninscribed letters might be painted onto the stone.³⁰ Smooth surfaces and anthemia were decorated with painted palmettes and foliage,³¹ ribbons,³² rosettes,³³ egg-and-dart patterns,³⁴ foliage wreaths;³⁵ animals real and mythical also appear to have been added in paint.³⁶ As was the case with the Kollion stele, human individuals or groups were

²⁰ For examples where editors have suggested that a painted decoration, now impossible to detect, once adorned a monument, see Lambert, [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 10](#); Liddel and Low, [AIUK 6 \(Leeds\) no. 1](#).

²¹ Grossman 2007, 28 points to *Agora XXXV* 8, 9, 13, 199.

²² See Posamentir, no. 21 plate 21.9, identifying faint traces of etching at the top of the infant’s head.

²³ See Posamentir; Posamentir 2001; for earlier bibliography on use of colour in sculpture, see Grossman 2007, 27 n. 132.

²⁴ See, for example, Posamentir, no. 2 (= *IG I³* 1283), in which palmettes are painted onto the *acroteria*; cf. Posamentir, no. 22, in which a loutrophoros-moulding is decorated with palmettes, an egg-and-dart decoration and a group of figures; Posamentir, no. 53 (= *IG II²* 12413), where a loutrophoros-moulding is decorated with a *dexiosis* scene of individuals standing on a meander-pavement; Posamentir, no. 82, in which blue paint enhances the palmette moulding.

²⁵ Posamentir, no. 85 (= *IG II²* 6996) with a painted pediment and entablature.

²⁶ Posamentir, no. 6 (= *IG I³* 1326); Posamentir, no. 41 (= *IG II²* 12220; Michaelis, no. 6); Posamentir, no. 85 (= *IG II²* 6996); Posamentir, no. 92 (= *IG II²* 12902). For use of paint on fourth-century decree *stelai* see Lambert, *ZPE* 158, 2006, 119 (= *IALD*, 100-101).

²⁷ Posamentir, no. 63 (= *SEG* 33.220); *Agora XXXV* 73, 79, 119, 167, 181.

²⁸ Posamentir, no. 95 (= Clairmont, *CAT* 3.443).

²⁹ Posamentir, no. 97 (= *SEG* 38.235); *Agora XXXV* 69, 163.

³⁰ Posamentir, no. 111 (= Conze III 1456a); Posamentir, no. 136 (= *SEG* 39.1729); Posamentir, no. 65; Posamentir, no. 62; Posamentir, no. 45; Posamentir, no. 14 (= *IG II²* 12938); Posamentir, no. 1 (= Clairmont, *CAT* 1.050, Conze III 1178).

³¹ Posamentir, no. 10 (= *IG I³* 1351), Posamentir, no. 11 (= *IG I³* 1352), Posamentir, no. 13 (= *IG II²* 11716), Posamentir, no. 14 (= *IG II²* 12938); Posamentir, no. 25; Posamentir, no. 51 (= *IG II²* 10859), Posamentir, no. 73 (= *IG II²* 12206); Posamentir, no. 78.

³² Posamentir, no. 30 (= *IG II²* 11685) and Posamentir, no. 49 (= *IG II²* 11574).

³³ Posamentir, no. 78, Posamentir, no. 101 (= *IG II²* 11895).

³⁴ Posamentir, no. 51 (= *IG II²* 10859).

³⁵ Posamentir, no. 91 (= *IG II²* 7393).

³⁶ Posamentir, no. 15 (a dog); Posamentir, no. 17 (a bird); Posamentir, no. 52 (sirens).

sometimes painted directly onto plain, unsculpted, surfaces.³⁷ Such paintings included scenes of *dexiosis*, children reaching towards an adult, seated individuals, family groups and grave-side scenes.³⁸ Painted scenes are broadly similar in their iconography to those that appear on sculpted grave monuments, but painting on a plain surface may have had the effect of making human individuals more instantly recognisable;³⁹ it certainly would have made this stele stand out from “off-the-shelf” sculpted funerary markers. Perhaps, in this case, a family’s investment in a conspicuous and elaborately-decorated painted stele would have reflected their coming to terms with the loss of a young member of the family.

While the architectural detail painted onto the Kollion stele is unique among Athenian painted stelai, its iconography is familiar among both painted⁴⁰ and sculpted grave markers.⁴¹ On this occasion we cannot be certain whether the painting was intended to commemorate the infant⁴² or the youth (or both), but the fact that the youth hands a winged creature to the infant suggests that he was the one being commemorated.⁴³ The gesture of handing over a bird to an infant who reaches out towards it is well-known in other sculpted funerary monuments, such as the stele of Timarete at the British Museum (see Pitt, *AIUK* 4.6 (BM Funerary)).⁴⁴ Our painting bears a striking resemblance to the sculpture of an early fourth-century funerary stele for two children, now in the National Museum in Athens: Kerkon, a young boy, holds out a small bird in his right hand; an infant, seated on the floor opposite him, reaches out its right hand to take it.⁴⁵ In a fifth-century monument a small boy prepares to stand from a kneeling position as he reaches out to a bird held by a young girl.⁴⁶ On an early fourth-century stele an old man offers a

³⁷ See the items marked “PF” in Clairmont, *CAT* 6 Indices, s.v. “Painting”, pp. 136-39.

³⁸ Among the most spectacular of such uses of paint are Posamentir, no. 4 (no inscription: two individuals in *dexiosis*); Posamentir, no. 6 (= *IG* I³ 1326: a small child reaches up to his mother); Posamentir, no. 8 (= Conze I 54; Clairmont, *CAT* 247; no inscription: a seated woman); Posamentir, no. 20 (= *IG* II² 10483: a seated woman); Posamentir, no. 43 (= Clairmont, *CAT* 1.253: a woman with hand raised); Posamentir, no. 35 (= *SEG* 27.27: figures in *dexiosis*); Posamentir, no. 37 (= Clairmont, *CAT* 2.052: a lekythos decorated with a grave-side scene featuring a stele); Posamentir, no. 42 (= *IG* II² 10450: a male figure); Posamentir, no. 64 (= *IG* II² 5520: *dexiosis* scene); Posamentir, no. 89 (= *IG* II² 11117: a seated figure); Posamentir, no. 96 (= *IG* II² 6444: a family group); Posamentir, no. 97 (= *SEG* 38.235: a seated male).

³⁹ Grossman 2007, 28.

⁴⁰ Cf. Posamentir, no. 6 (= *IG* I³ 1040) where a child reaches up to an adult figure (probably a woman).

⁴¹ See the comparanda cited by Posamentir, pp. 36-40.

⁴² On the mourning of deceased children, see Golden. Infant and youth mortality rates were high in the ancient world, but the death of children was still marked with particular sadness: Euripides in the *Herakles* wrote that “the whole race is child-loving” (πᾶν δὲ φιλότεκνον γένος: Eur. *Her.* 363). Grief for children is also expressed in grave monuments: Xenokleia is said to have died of grief for her eight-year-old son (*IG* II² 12335), and the parents of the infant Solon expressed bitter grief at his premature death (*IG* II² 12629).

⁴³ For the view that scenes depicting an infant with an older child generally commemorate the older child, see Beaumont 2012, 95.

⁴⁴ For further examples of small birds held by individuals on funerary monuments, see Clairmont *CAT* vol. VI, pp. 81-83.

⁴⁵ *IG* II² 11832 (= Conze II 1050; Clairmont, *CAT* 0.720).

⁴⁶ *IG* II² 12147 (= Conze II 887; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.610).

bird to a small baby who raises its right arm.⁴⁷ The gesture might be represented with a ball or other toy in place of a bird: in an uninscribed grave marker a child receives a gift, perhaps a ball, from a young woman.⁴⁸ Perhaps the image of an older sibling (or an adult) handing a bird (or other object of desire) to a younger one⁴⁹ might be seen as a form of junior *dexiosis*: children only rarely engage in *dexiosis* with each other⁵⁰ or with an adult,⁵¹ but the exchange of a gift perhaps carries similar connotations of friendship and unity. The representation of birds and other small animals heightens the impression of a poignantly intimate and harmonious domestic scene; one view is that the bird was a mere plaything,⁵² but another interpretation is that it symbolises the soul of the dead.⁵³ The state of preservation of the images makes it impossible to be certain whether the infant is a boy (Michaelis) or a girl (Clairmont).⁵⁴

Conze believed that this was a late fifth-century BC monument; Posamentir suggests the last decade of the fifth century BC on artistic grounds and from the style of the figures.⁵⁵ The form of the genitive Ἐρμούϊο is consistent with a late fifth-century date.⁵⁶ Scholl proposed the period 340-20 BC, but with no clear rationale. The untidiness of the letters of the name Κολλίων – which are very out of tune with the elegance of the original painted monument – means that it is hard to date that inscription with any certainty. Perhaps the stele was re-used on behalf of Kollion in or after the time of Demetrios of Phaleron, whose restrictions on funerary monuments gave an incentive to re-use what were now prohibited forms of commemoration.⁵⁷

⁴⁷ *IG* II² 7486 (= Conze II 1048; Clairmont, *CAT* 1.715).

⁴⁸ Clairmont, *CAT* 1.710.

⁴⁹ For an example of a male adult handing a bird to a small child, see *IG* II² 11379, the gravestone for Euempolos, depicted in Grossman 2007, 319; another example shows a female handing a bird to a child: Clairmont, *CAT* 1.694.

⁵⁰ *IG* II² 12251 (= Conze II 1100; Clairmont, *CAT* 0.910) is described by Clairmont as a “unique” example of *dexiosis* between children.

⁵¹ *IG* II² 12469 (= Clairmont, *CAT* 1.759); Clairmont, *CAT* 1.822 (= Conze I 143: no inscription).

⁵² This imagery may be representative of the youth of the deceased (see Woysch-Méautis, 39-53; *Agora* XXXV, pp. 91-92); however, birds and other small animals can appear also on grave-monuments for adults.

⁵³ Picard. See Beaumont 2012, 190 and 269 n. 295 for other expressions of this view.

⁵⁴ Furthermore, on the difficulty of trying to precisely age figurative representations of children in Athenian funerary art, see Sourvinou-Inwood, 15-20; Beaumont is more optimistic about the determination of criteria for ages and stages of childhood in Athenian art: see Beaumont 1994, 88-92 and 2003, 75-77. On constructions of childhood in Athenian funerary art, see Grossman, 2007.

⁵⁵ Posamentir, pp. 37-50.

⁵⁶ Threatte, I 258.

⁵⁷ Demetrios’ law provided that graves should be marked only by *columella* (small column) less than three cubits high, a *mensa* (table) or a *labellum*: Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.66; see, further, Lambert, [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), p. 31 with n. 90.



Fig. 1. 1. Photograph: P.P. Liddel.

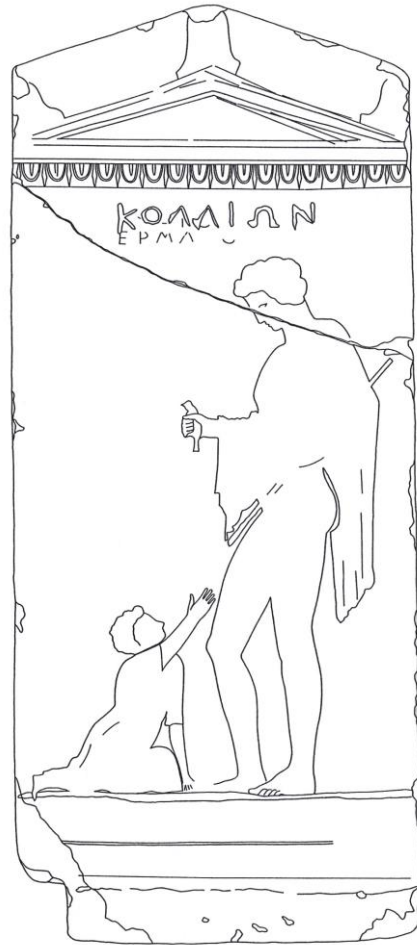


Fig. 2. 1. Drawing: R. Posamentir.



*Fig. 3. 1. Photograph of inscribed area
(raking light shot with ektachrome material): R. Posamentir.*



Fig. 4. 1. Photograph
(9x12 ektachrome under diffuse lighting):
R. Posamentir.



Fig. 5. 1. Photograph
(Ultra-Violet Reflectography + raking light):
R. Posamentir.

2 FUNERARY STELE FOR ARISTOKLEA AND ANOTHER. Very likely from Athens or Attica, but the exact circumstances of its acquisition are unknown. The top part of an acanthus stele with recessed panel; the remains consist of a semi-circular acroterion of white marble, decorated elaborately in low relief. Such “acanthus-stelai” were common in the classical period (see Grossman, *Agora XXXV*, pp. 21-23). Its decoration, like other examples, featured a decorative palmette with leaves growing out of a centrally-placed acanthus calyx from which half-palmettes and scrolls project.⁵⁸ Very little survives other than the anthemion (with an architrave). Nothing remains of the relief below except a slight trace of sculpture (of a female head?). H. 0.445, w. 0.435. There are two inscribed names: the upper, on a worn-away area at the base of the anthemion, is rather roughly inscribed; the lower, on the architrave, is more neatly inscribed. The letters of both inscriptions are plain without serifs and are not markedly different in style. L.h.: 0.0115-0.0125 (line 1), 0.0125-0.0155 (line 2).

Eds. Michaelis 1884, no. 13; (*IG II* 3494; Conze III 1649 (ph.); *IG II²* 10775); Clairmont, *CAT* 169.

Cf. Möbius 37, n. 36; 88. Now set into the west wall of the Entrance Hall.

Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. *Fig.* 6.

A little later than I. 2	Εὐ[φ]ύλλα Πινδ[άρου]?	<i>on base of anthemion</i>
ca. 400-330 BC	Ἀριστόκλεα	<i>on architrave</i>
	<i>relief</i>	

1. Εὐ[φ]ύλλα ? Liddel and Low, Πινδ[άρου] ? Lambert (from phot.). ΕΥΦΥΛΛΑΠΙΝΑ Michaelis, E[...]ΥΛΛΑΠΙΝΑ Koehler (*IG II* app. Crit.), ΕΥΡΥΛΛΑΠΙΝΑ Kirchner (*IG II²* app. crit.).

Euphulla (daughter) of Pindaros ?
Aristoklea

This monument was originally for Aristoklea (*PAA* 169500), whose name is preserved on the architrave. The name is common in Attica (though the form Ἀριστόκλεια is more usual: see *Athenian Onomasticon*).⁵⁹ Remains of letters are also visible above the original inscription in a band beneath the anthemion; they appear to have been a later addition. They are difficult to decipher, but the name Εὐφυλλα, first read here by Michaelis, now has an Attic parallel (on a funerary monument of the fourth century BC, *SEG* 21.1008 = *SEMA* 1582, *PAA* 452280) and seems the most persuasive reading here. Reading from the

⁵⁸ Examples are collected by Conze III 1511-1661; see also (for examples from the Athenian Agora excavations) *Agora XXXV*, nos. 36, 135, 149-51, 158-61, 199, 366-70. Hildebrandt, 38-50, organises palmette stelai into 16 groups; the decoration of this stele is most closely comparable with those in his Group I (Hildebrandt, 46-47). As Grossman (*Agora XXXV* p. 22) notes, “Attic grave monuments in the form of tall stelai crowned by floral anthemia appear on white-ground lekythoi from the third quarter of the 5th century BC, much earlier than any carved marbles found to date”.

⁵⁹ The diphthong EI could be interchangeably rendered either as EI or I between 450 and 250 BC: Threatte, I 318-19.

photograph, Lambert suggests that the remaining letters point to the patronymic, Πινδάρου, a name attested nine times in Attic inscriptions (*Athenian Onomasticon*, mostly Hellenistic; there is no Attic name in ΠΙΝΑ). One might speculate whether it is significant that a man named Pindar would have given his daughter the rare name Euphylla: perhaps it had resonance with the Theban poet's description of Nemea as "pleasantly leafy" (εὐφύλλος: Pindar, *Isthm.* 6.61).

Unlike on 1, the earlier name was not erased or inscribed over; the later name was thus perhaps an addition commemorating the death of another family member. Such later additions of names to existing funerary monuments are not uncommon; cf. e.g. [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\) no. 4](#); [AIUK 7 \(Chatsworth\) no. 1](#).

Michaelis dated the monument in its original form to the late fifth or early fourth centuries BC. Möbius (37 n. 36; 88) dated it to 365-40 BC on the basis of its decorations, comparing the epitaph for Philyra the wet-nurse (*IG II² 12996*, first quarter of the fourth century; for an illustration, see Hildebrandt, no. 222). Hildebrandt, 47, proposes a slightly broader dating framework, noting that this form of decoration is predominantly associated with monuments of the first half of the fourth century, but does appear on some stelai of the third quarter of the century. A date ca. 400-330 BC is also compatible with the style of the lettering.



Fig. 6. 2. Photograph: P.P. Liddel.

3 FUNERARY STELE FOR CHAIRIPPE. Originally from Athens, but the exact circumstances of its acquisition are unknown. A mostly-complete stele of white marble, broken at the left-hand corner, with recessed panel depicting two figures (one female seated, one male standing) in *dexiosis*, cut in low relief. Some damage to the acroteria. H. 0.595-0.830, w. 0.390-0.410. The letters feature modest serifs. L.h.: 0.0120-0.0147 (*omicron*) (line 1), 0.0208 (line 2). The demotic in line 2 is in larger letters; the letters in that line are spaced so that the first and last letters aligned with those above.

Eds. Michaelis 1884, no. 10; (*IG* II 2290; Conze I 169 (drawing); *IG* II² 6711); Clairmont, *CAT* 2.358c; Scholl, no. 369. Now set into the west wall of the Entrance Hall.

Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. *Fig.* 7.

ca. 375-320 BC

Χαίριππη Ἰ Εὐφρ<ά>νορος
Λαμπτρέως
Relief

1 ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ stone.

Chairippe daughter of Euphranor of Lamprai

This simple stele is crowned by a pediment with acroteria. In the relief, a female (probably Chairippe), draped in chiton and himation, sits on a chair; she offers her right hand to a bearded man standing opposite her. Her left hand rests on her lap, her feet on a low stool. The stele is very well preserved and appears to be of high-quality marble, though Michaelis attributes its whiteness to the result of it “being rubbed”.

There may have been painted decoration in the blank space beneath the recessed panel, but no traces were visible at autopsy. The relief is exceptionally well-cut and well-preserved. Stylistically, Grossman (*Agora* XXXV, p. 117) compares this stele to the fragmentary marker for Satyros (*Agora* XXXV, no. 105), which features a standing male and is dated to the second half of the fourth century BC.

Clairmont argues that the male figure is likely to be Chairippe’s husband. However, the conventional interpretation, based on the man’s apparent age, is that he is her father, and this is more likely. If so, perhaps Chairippe died before marriage. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that she does not have her mantle pulled up over her head, as we would expect if she were a married woman. Her hairstyle – including a fillet – also suggests that she is unmarried.⁶⁰ Accordingly, we translate Εὐφρ<ά>νορος as a patronymic. Chairippe of Lamprai (*PAA* 977380) is attested only in this document; the same applies to Euphranor of Lamprai (*PAA* 450770).⁶¹ Both names are, however, relatively common: the *Athenian Onomasticon* counts 45 examples of Euphranor and 14 of Chairippe. For discussion of the significance of the *dexiosis* scene on Attic funerary art as a representation of family unity and human solidarity, see Liddel and Low, [AIUK 5 \(Lyme Park\), no. 1](#).

⁶⁰ We are grateful to the anonymous reader for this interpretation of the representation of Chairippe.

⁶¹ The Euphranor of Lamprai of the ephebic catalogue *IG* II² 1996, line 37 (AD 85-94) may be a distant descendant.

Clairmont suggested a date in the second quarter of the fourth century BC, Scholl the period 340-320 on the basis of the style of the relief. Ca. 375-320 BC seems compatible with the style of the lettering.



Fig. 7. 3. Photograph: P.P. Liddel.

4 FUNERARY STELE FOR APHRODISIA OF SALAMIS TOGETHER WITH A CURSE (?). Probably from Athens, but provenance uncertain. Stele of white marble with recessed *naiskos*-style panel representing two female figures standing frontally in high relief. The shorter figure on the left-hand side wears a chiton, a cloak and shoes. Her hair resembles the “melon style” fashionable from the early Antonine through to the Severan period (von Moock, 37, style ♀ 14). On the right a taller figure, wearing a chiton, mantle (knotted over her chest) and sandals, raises a *sistrum* in her uplifted right hand and holds a simple cup-like bucket (*situla*) in her left. The hair of the larger figure is parted in the middle; locks of it frame the face and extend to the shoulders (von Moock, 37, style ♀ 13). The stele features a plain pediment with a disk in the centre, perhaps a shield (Michaelis) or a symbol (such as a percussion instrument) with cultic significance. The stele is complete, apart from slight damage to the acroteria and lower portion of the stone. Corners are cut out of the lower part of the stele to create a tenon for setting into a stone base. Stumps of two corroded iron pins are visible in the background above the head of the shorter figure on the left-hand side: these were probably originally to support garlands or wreaths in commemoration of the deceased. H. 1.130, w. 0.60 – 0.62. L.h: ca. 0.020. There are stylistic differences between the inscriptions of the left- and right-hand sides (the latter features more modest apices and sometimes disjointed alphas; see below, Fig. 1). The first letter of $\Psi\text{OC}\Delta\text{NEAM}$ resembles a rho inscribed retrograde; the sigma in this word is lunate.

Eds. Michaelis 1884, no. 19; Conze IV 1966 (ph.); *IG II²* 10182; (von Moock no. 412).

Cf. Dunand II 146; Eingartner, 151-52, no. 115 (ph.); Walters, 49, 52, 84, pl. 39c (ph.); Koumanoudes II, no. 325 (1108β); Rolley, 552-53 (ph.); Bielman Sánchez, 370; Bricault 2005, I 33 no. 101/0602; *Agora XXXV*, pp. 63-64 (ph.). Now set into the east wall of the Entrance Hall.

Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. *Figs.* 8, 9, 10.

early 3rd cent. AD

Ἀφροδισία Ὀλύμπου
Σαλαμεινία.

ΠΑΤΑΝΑΓΑΘΑ
ΨOCΔNEAM?

Left: Michaelis (Ἀφροδισία Kirchner, *IG II²*) || Right: ΠΑΤΑΝΑΙΑΘΑ Michaelis, Conze; ΠΑΤΑΝΑΓΑΘ Kirchner, or ΠΑΘΑΝΑΓΑΘ Bricault, ΜΕΑΝΑΨΟΡ (←) von Moock [not accurate]

Aphrodisia of Salamis, daughter of
Olympos

Patanagatha Rosdneam(?)

Depictions of worshippers or cult officials of Isis were commonplace on funerary

monuments from the first century BC until the start of the fourth century AD.⁶² They represent a significant proportion of published Attic grave reliefs of the period,⁶³ reflecting the substantial interest in the cult at Athens. They are attested to have derived from a range of places in Athens and Attica, but most lack a secure provenance.⁶⁴ In this monument, several aspects of the taller woman identify her as a devotee of Isis: her costume, in particular the fringed, knotted, mantle,⁶⁵ her hairstyle,⁶⁶ and the *sistrum* and *situla*.⁶⁷ The disk in the pediment and the remains of iron pins in the background are also compatible with a monument for a devotee of Isis.⁶⁸ While the hairstyle of the shorter woman is not characteristic of a devotee of Isis, her stance (in particular the crossing of her right arm across her torso) resembles that of other secondary figures in Isis reliefs.⁶⁹ Given her pose and her size, she was probably a subordinate of the taller woman, perhaps a slave or attendant. The stele thus most likely originally commemorated the taller woman, who is to be identified as Aphrodisia daughter of Olympos of Salamis.

This is the sole attestation of the name Aphrodisia *Salaminia* (PAA 24335) but there are 6 other attested examples of the name Aphrodisia associated with Attic demotics (see *Athenian Onomasticon*). The use of the descriptor *Salaminios/ia* and its cognates as an ethnic is well-attested from the classical period onwards (Byrne *FRA*, 272-76). Indeed, there is extant from Athens another Isiac grave stele commemorating a certain Ἀφείλη Διονυσίου Σαλαμεινία, wife of Zosimos *Salameinios*.⁷⁰ In terms of the actual derivation of Aphrodisia, there are two possibilities: one is that she was associated with the island of Salamis in the Saronic Gulf⁷¹ or the *demos* of *Salaminioi* associated with it;⁷² the alternative is that the reference is to the city of Salamis on Cyprus. The former is unlikely, given the rarity of gravestones found on Saronic Salamis which designate individuals as *Salaminios/ia* (Taylor, 135); accordingly, as Taylor (136) reasons, individuals named as *Salaminios/ia* on grave monuments from Athens and Attica must generally be foreigners from Salamis of Cyprus.⁷³ The stele is thus unlikely to derive from Saronic Salamis⁷⁴ or to

⁶² For extensive discussion, see Walters, *passim*; see also von Moock, 62, 84 and *passim*. For an example at the British School at Athens, see Lambert, [AIUK 2 \(BSA\) no. 13](#).

⁶³ Walters (1) counted 106 Isis funerary reliefs (see also Bricault 2005, nos. 101/0235-101/0254 and 101/0602-101/0901; Bricault 2008 adds two new ones: nos. 101/0255, 101/0256); von Moock's publication collects 577 figurative grave monuments of the imperial period.

⁶⁴ Walters, 38; Martzavou, 69.

⁶⁵ On the costume of Isis devotees, see Walters, 4-7.

⁶⁶ On the hairstyle of Isis devotees, see Walters, 18-25.

⁶⁷ On these objects and their significance, see Walters, 20-25.

⁶⁸ Disks: see Walters 105 (no. 22); iron pins: see Walters, 42-45.

⁶⁹ See for instance the monuments for Sophia and Eukarpos (*IG* II² 6311 = Athens NM 1214; Walters fig. 37e; Bricault 2005, no. 101/0247), the son of Soterion (*IG* II² 12752 = Athens NM 1223; Walters fig. 38a; Bricault 2005, no. 101/0248) and Epiteugma the wife of Sosipatros (*IG* II² 12726; Conze IV 1967; Bricault 2005, no. 101/0801).

⁷⁰ *IG* II² 10181; see Walters plate 37d; Conze IV 1959 (ph.).

⁷¹ For examples of the ethnic associated with the Saronic island, see Cargill, 119-33.

⁷² For the status of *Salaminioi*, who would have simultaneously possessed an institutional association with an Attic deme proper, see Taylor, 82-104.

⁷³ Her line of reasoning is as follows: "the 'ethnic' *Salaminios* had not replaced the demotic on the island. Why, then, should it replace the demotic on the mainland? Unless all *Salaminioi* who were

refer to an association of Aphrodisia with that island. We propose that Aphrodisia was a native of Salamis on Cyprus and that the monument was set up for her in a funerary context in Athens.⁷⁵

The nominative feminine form of the ethnic, Salameinia, stands in apposition with the name Aphrodisia. This contrasts with the usual practice for Athenian females, who were often designated by reference to the masculine genitive form of the demotic of their husband or father. However, it was normal practice for female foreigners buried at Athens to be designated with the nominative feminine form of their ethnic (see Jacquemin, *Ktema* 2005, 30, 337-48, listing foreign female ethnics beginning with alpha attested on Athenian funerary monuments). Eingartner suggests further that our Aphrodisia was of low status on the grounds that her name expressed a relation with a god (“Theophorer Widmungsname”). However, this idea is challenged by Pleket (*SEG* 41.1838), who observes that in the Hellenistic and Roman period it is hard to detect status through names alone. Indeed, given the cost and prestige of initiation into the cult of Isis,⁷⁶ Aphrodisia had likely achieved relatively high social status. But there is no reason to believe that she was part of a prominent family: unsurprisingly (for a foreign resident of Attica), her father Olympos of Salamis (*PAA* 744235) is not otherwise attested.⁷⁷ It is just possible, given the role of the Isis cult in sacred manumission,⁷⁸ that she was a freedwoman who had become a devotee of the cult.

As the women are represented in a standard pose, it is hard to be certain about their precise role in the cult. *Sistrum* and *situla* could be held by both officials and participants in the cult, making differences between cult officials and initiates hard to discern.⁷⁹ Both Walters (56-57) and Eingartner (104) take the view that most representations of Isiaca depicted *mystai* (initiates) rather than priestesses or cult-officials. However, given that the offices of the cult may not have been held for life, the distinction between officials and initiates may not have been always clear.⁸⁰ Moreover, in a recent article, Martzavou has persuasively argued that such representations in funerary contexts did not necessarily imply priestesses, but rather “sacerdotified” worshippers.

buried on the mainland had lost their sense of inclusion in their home demes, and felt only a sense of self as *Salaminioi*...., I would expect a full formula of name, patronymic, demotic, *Salaminios*, if men named as *Salaminios* on grave monuments were members of the *demos* of *Salaminioi*” (Taylor, 136).

⁷⁴ Accordingly, it is unlikely that Lusieri’s visit to Salamis in April 1807 (on which, see Smith, 266) was the context for the acquisition of this stele. For examples of post-classical grave stelai deriving from Salamis, see Taylor, 263-316 and von Moock, 17 n. 191; as von Moock points out, we know of no exact findspots of later grave stelai from that island.

⁷⁵ Nothing is known about the circumstances of the discovery of this stele; as noted above, Isis relief stelai have been found right across Attica: Walters, 33-42.

⁷⁶ Walters, 56-57, 63.

⁷⁷ Olympos is a common name (see *Athenian Onomasticon*, counting 53 examples, of which 10 are foreign residents).

⁷⁸ Bricault 2005, I 110-12; von Moock, 84-85; Eingartner, 95-107; Martzavou, 77-78.

⁷⁹ See Walters, 8, 20 n. 99.

⁸⁰ Walters, 55.

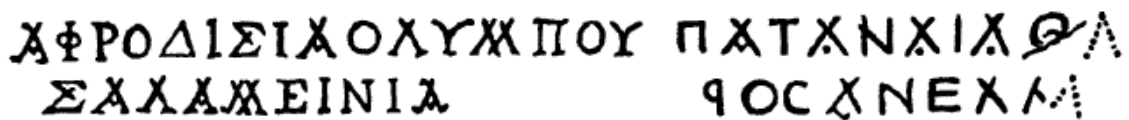


Fig. 8. 4. Detail, after the transcription in Michaelis, no. 19.

The letters on the right (which we read as ΠΑΤΑΝΑΓΑΘΑ ϑΟCΔΝΕΑΜ), given their rather different and mixed style (see Fig. 1, showing the lunate sigma and imperfectly-executed alphas) appear to be a later addition.⁸¹ The imperfect execution suggests that they were made in a hurry or without care. In the second word, the first symbol appears to be a rho written retrograde. Kirchner, Conze and von Moock take the view that this word should be read right-to-left. Examples of right-to-left or retrograde writing on stone inscriptions from Attica are rare after the sixth century BC (Threatte, I 52-54). Awareness of writing in retrograde was certainly not lost after the classical period: Pausanias (5.25.9) reported that a statue of Agamemnon at Olympia bore his name written in that style. After it had gone out of fashion, it was occasionally used for distortive or magical purposes.⁸² However, given that only the rho is written retrograde, we take the view that there is no firm reason to read the word right-to-left.

Various explanations of these inscriptions have been suggested. One possibility is that they represent names added by later appropriators of the stele: Michaelis' explanation of what he read as ΠΑΤΑΝΑΙΑΘΑ was that it is an Egyptian name composed of Pat (= Greek δῶρον) and Anaïath (= Greek Ἀναΐτις).⁸³ However, as Walters (7 n. 15) observes, this would be the sole instance of an Egyptian name on an Attic Isis grave relief. Alternatively, it could be a form of one of the names (a) Παντάγαθος, known once in Attica (*IG II² 2237* line 128 (232-34 AD)), or (b) Πανταγάθη, attested once on the North shore of the Black Sea (*CIRB 801*) and once in Pergamon (*IvP III 100*) but not in Attica. We return to ΠΑΤΑΝΑΓΑΘΑ below.

Our interpretation of ϑΟCΔΝΕΑΜ is that it represents a jumbled name, a typical feature sometimes applied to names spelt out on curses. Accordingly the common name Μένα<ν>δρος is a possibility; the unattested Μέανδρος (for Μαΐανδρος)⁸⁴ is another plausible reconstruction.

An alternative explanation is that one or both of these “words” represent a nonsense-graffito. Nonsense inscriptions or jumbled words are widely attested on Attic pots, and they may reflect the limited literacy or playfulness of the artist or an attempt to

⁸¹ Walters, 51.

⁸² For examples of retrograde curses from fourth- and third-century Attica, see Wunsch, *DTA* 24, 25, 30, 34, 63, 68; examples are accessibly catalogued in Eidinow, 352-454. For non-Attic examples, see also Jordan and Curbera, 32-33.

⁸³ Michaelis, 154. This would fit in with representation of the Isis cult as Egyptian: see Martzavou, 61. Egyptian associations of the cult are known at Athens as early as 333/2 when some Egyptians are attested as having been granted permission to construct a temple of Isis (*IG II³ 1, 337* lines 42-45). On bilingual Demotic and Greek spells in magical papyri, see Dieleman, 104-44.

⁸⁴ We owe this suggestion to Sara Chiarini. For confusion between AI and E, see Threatte, I 294-99.

add aesthetic value to the vase.⁸⁵ The letters on the right hand side of the Isis stele are, however, of such poor quality that they add nothing of visual value to the stele. The appearance of nonsense strings of letters in curse tablets and magical papyri, usually thought to convey supernatural or magical power, is perhaps a better parallel.⁸⁶ It is quite possible that ΠΑΤΑΝΑΓΑΘΑ is a “confused” form of the “magical word” ΠΑΤΑΘΝΑΞ, which appears occasionally as a nonsense on papyri setting out spells⁸⁷ and also on a lead curse tablet discovered in the Athenian agora (Elderkin, 45, line 13; *Agora* IL 72). A fourth-century AD papyrus offers an example of the “magical word” in context: among the magic spells set out in this document (*PGM* IV 2219-2225, translated in Ogden, no. 273), one is a “restraining spell”:

“For restraining spells. Make an inscription on a shell from the sea from the ink mentioned hereafter and add some Typhon’s blood. Bury it in the tomb of a man dead-before-his time when the moon is opposite the sun. The lines inscribed are the three and following: ‘IO BOLCHOSETH IAKOUB IAI IO PATATHNAX ERBETH IO PAKERBETH.’”

This spell does not constitute an exact parallel to what seems to have happened on our inscription, but the deployment of a grave as a place to make a curse would seem to be relevant. Curse-tablets were often deposited in burial-places. The scenario we suggest is thus that the second inscription was added at a later date by someone making a cryptic curse against a certain Menandros. It may be significant that the curse was written on a funerary relief for an Isiaca, given Isis’ association with magical activity.⁸⁸ In Lucian’s *Sorcerer’s Apprentice* (33-36), Isis was designated as a teacher of magic; the narrator explains how one of her disciples could use brooms and clubs to perform tasks usually undertaken by slaves. If our interpretation is correct, this is a curious inversion of commemorative practice: funerary stelai were conventionally used to commemorate the dead, but in this case, a stele has been re-used to curse a living person.⁸⁹

Walters takes the view that the “doll-like” figures in this stele indicate a “Severan period” date; she adds that the ornamental nature of their drapery, with a flat pattern of folds covering the figures of those represented, are characteristic of the first 30 years of

⁸⁵ Nonsense inscriptions on pots: Immerwahr; Chiarini. For the view that nonsense inscriptions in fact constitute evidence for early Caucasian languages, see Mayor, Colarusso and Saunders, 447-49.

⁸⁶ For a nonsensical inscription on a curse tablet, see, e.g., Gager, 20. On the magical connotations of nonsense writing in mural graffiti and papyri, see Cox Miller.

⁸⁷ See *PGM* III 75, 116; IV 3260; XII 371, 466; XIVc 17; XXXVI col. 1 22; XLVI 7; LVIII 7; CXVI 9; it appears in the form ΠΑΤΑΘΝΑΚ in *PGM* XII 450. Translations of the texts are in Betz. For other examples, see also Dieleman, 132, 136, 315.

⁸⁸ On references to Isiac cult in Graeco-Egyptian magic, see Gordon, 74, 101-2.

⁸⁹ An example from Delos (*ID* 2532 = Gager, 185-87 no. 87) of a funerary monument inscribed with a curse against the deceased’s murderer would not quite form a parallel, unless we imagined that the curse on the Broomhall stele was aimed at someone implicated in Aphrodisia’s death.

the third century AD.⁹⁰ The square-ish shape of the letters of the left-hand inscription and hyperextended diagonals also suggest a date in the early third century;⁹¹ the lunate sigma of the right-hand inscription suggests a slightly later date.



Fig. 9. 4. Photograph: P.P. Liddel.

⁹⁰ Walters, 84. Grossman, *Agora XXXV*, p. 63 suggests that the “stout proportions” of the figures point to the Severan period. Others (Eingartner, no. 115 and von Mook (no. 412 on the basis of hairstyle)) have suggested a date in the Antonine period.

⁹¹ Cf. Muehsam 1952/53, 63-64. For discussion of letter-forms, see below, on 5.



Fig. 10. 4. detail. Photograph: P.A. Low.

5 SARCOPHAGUS FOR AELIUS EPIKRATES OF BERENIKIDAI. Discovered by Lusieri in Athens, 6th March 1811 during excavations “in the fields of the city of Athens” (Elgin Papers 7, folio 333, quoted by Poulou, 76). A sarcophagus of white marble; slightly damaged at upper left corner of inscribed face beneath the architrave; otherwise well preserved. The long, front (inscribed) side is decorated with two swags of luxuriant garlands with fruit and leaves bound with a ribbon. The garlands are carried in the centre by a young boy (probably an Eros) in a diagonal dancing stance; they are held by two bulls’ heads (with fillets) on the corners. Above each of the swags is the head of a satyr (“with pointed ears, ruffled hair, small horns, and two slight tufts of beard at the chin”: Michaelis, 154). The ends of the monument each feature a similar, single, garland hanging from bulls’ heads, with a lion’s head above them. The other long face, pushed against the wall of the Entrance Hall, was not visible. The lid of the sarcophagus is moulded as a pitched roof covered with flatly-rendered leaf-effect tiles; the centres of the two pediments at each end were embellished with decorations now damaged. There is an acroterion mounted on each of the four corners. The base of the chest is formed by a plinth with a concave moulding; lower parts of the ancient plinth may perhaps be concealed within the modern plinth upon which the chest is mounted. Dimensions (treating the inscribed face as the front): h. 0.56 (to top of inscribed area), 0.99 (to top of lid), w. 1.91, th. 0.72. The inscription is cut on the lower part of the lid. Well-formed, square-ish letters; broken-bar alphas; no serifs; hyperextended diagonals; no cursive forms. L.h. 0.0282. An ornamental leaf at the end of the line is characteristic of the imperial era (cf. Threatte, I 90; *AIUK* 4.5 (BM Dedications), *IG* II³ 4, 1130).

Eds. Michaelis 1884, no. 22; (*IG* II² 5875).

Cf. Smith, 283; Altmann, 59-60 with fig 22; Matz, 50; Koch and Sichtermann, p. 438 no. 12, Poulou, 76 (with fig. 18). Mounted on a modern marble base; adjacent to the fireplace of the Entrance Hall.

Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019.

ca. 125-150 AD (chest); ca. 200-250 AD (lid, with inscription)

Ἀΐλιος Ἐπικράτης Βερενικίδης, Αἰλίου Ζήνωνος τοῦ ἐξηγητοῦ υἱός ☞

Aelius Epikrates of Berenikidai, son of the *exegetes* Aelius Zenon

Sarcophagi (stone coffins, usually highly decorated) were used in Athens by the elite as receptacles for the deceased from the second century AD until their extinction in the mid-third century AD:⁹² Attic-produced sarcophagi appear to have been exported across the Greek world in large numbers, reaching Asia Minor, Syria and Lebanon and Italy, especially Rome.⁹³ About 1500 complete and fragmentary Attic sarcophagi survive.⁹⁴

⁹² See Koch and Sichtermann, 366-475. For those now preserved at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (a collection mostly deriving from Athens but which includes examples from Patras), see Katakis 2018.

⁹³ Koch and Sichtermann, 366-475; Koch 1991; Papagianni, *passim*.

⁹⁴ Rogge, 15.

Placed in locations open to public view (cemeteries and roadsides)⁹⁵, they were an ostentatious way of celebrating the life of a member of a prominent family, and certainly distinguished the family of the deceased from those commemorated with a *stèle*.⁹⁶ They would have entailed considerable financial outlay.⁹⁷

This is one of the very few examples of an Attic sarcophagus from Athens bearing an inscription.⁹⁸ Iconographically, Attic sarcophagi divide into two types: those featuring stock representations of satyrs, Erotes, garlands, and animals (of which this is an example), and those representing in elaborate detail scenes from Athenian mythology.⁹⁹

The decorations on the chest of this sarcophagus, including heads of satyrs, bulls' heads, lions, Erotes and garlands of foliage are paralleled on other Attic sarcophagi.¹⁰⁰ The garlands, featuring leaves bound together with fruit (perhaps pomegranates and ears of corn), are standard (cf. Katakis 2018, 25). The image of the flying Eros supporting garlands is also common on Attic sarcophagi, and the iconography of the front long face, particularly in terms of the style of the garlands and the dancing Eros, bear a close similarity to another sarcophagus now at the National Museum of Athens dated by Katakis to ca. AD 140-150 (Katakis 2018, no. 2).¹⁰¹ The imagery on the Broomhall monument does not make explicit reference to any particular mythical account; however, the appearance of satyr heads above the swags, together with fruit-bearing garlands, perhaps invokes Dionysos. The depiction of an Eros and satyrs may have made some reference to the virtues of the deceased; Papagianni (99-102) suggests that Erotes (when present on a sarcophagus) represent a celebration of a pleasantly-spent life. This interpretation is not necessarily incompatible with the possibility that Aelius Epikrates died young (see below). The style of the lid, a sloped roof covered with leaf-effect tiles, is also common.¹⁰²

The inscription tells us that this sarcophagus is a commemorative monument for Aelius Epikrates Berenikides (*PAA* 113260); he is known only from this inscription (see *Athenian Onomasticon*, s.n. Epikrates Berenikidai; Byrne, *RCA*, s.n. Aelius, no. 179). He appears to have taken over his father's Roman-style *nomen*, Αἴλιος. This suggests that the family possessed Roman citizenship. It is likely that his father had gained citizenship "by virtue of membership of a prominent family which had gained the *civitas* through

⁹⁵ On the provenance of sarcophagi in the collection of the National Archaeological Museum, see Katakis 2007, 142-45 and Katakis 2018, 20-22.

⁹⁶ On the prestige of sarcophagus burial, see Ewald, 234.

⁹⁷ As von Moock (85) notes, a sarcophagus would have been much more costly than a relief-stèle as a form of commemoration.

⁹⁸ The other example of an Attic sarcophagus discovered in Athens bearing an inscription is the Dionysiac sarcophagus for Magnos Eryades, *IG* II² 6093 (= Papagianni, no. 59; cf. Katakis 2007, 144 n. 28). The inscription appears to have been added (between two figures on one of the long sides) at a point after manufacture. Attic sarcophagi were frequently adorned with inscriptions by Macedonian buyers: see Stefanidou-Tiveriou, 6-14.

⁹⁹ For mythological themes represented on sarcophagi, see Ewald; Newby; Oakley; Rogge.

¹⁰⁰ For satyrs, see Papagianni, no. 177; for bulls' heads, see nos. 5, 7, 42, 63, 68, 103, 114; for Erotes and garlands, see Koch and Sichtermann, 435 and Papagianni, *passim*; for lions, see Stroszeck, *passim*.

¹⁰¹ There are further close iconographical parallels published as Papagianni, nos. 1, 7, 61, 62, 63, 68, 103, 104; cf. Matz, 50; Koch and Sichtermann, plates 467, 469 and 470.

¹⁰² See Papagianni, nos. 54, 59, 60, 61, 68, 105, 113, 114; Katakis 2018, no. 1.

connections with the Roman elite” (Byrne, *RCA*, xi), but it may have resulted instead from servile or freedperson status, the *nomen* indicating membership, past or present, of a Roman household. In this case, the former is more probable.

The next designation, Ἐπικρότης, suggests that he was a Greek.¹⁰³ Like his father, he was a member of the deme of Berenikidai, which was created in 224/3 BC in honour of Berenike, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes (after whom the Ptolemais tribe was named in the same year).¹⁰⁴ This association drew its members from other demes and lacked a focussed centre.¹⁰⁵ Other members are attested as being involved with the cult and the sacred mysteries of Eleusis.¹⁰⁶

Aelius Epikrates Berenikides’ family is well known. His mother was Iulia of Paiania,¹⁰⁷ who was the daughter of another prominent Roman citizen, Caius Iulius Sabinos Platonikos (see Byrne, *RCA*, s.n. Iulius nos. 63, 64).¹⁰⁸ His father, Aelius Zenon Berenikides (*PAA* 113250; Byrne, *RCA*, s.n. Aelius, no. 177), was a prominent citizen in the early 3rd century AD: he was granted citizenship by the Delphians, styled as *pythochrestos exegetes* (*FD* III 2, 114 line 3). On the Broomhall sarcophagus he is referred to as an *exegetes*.¹⁰⁹ Other epigraphical evidence demonstrates that this designation was used for the magistrate who interpreted Delphic oracles (*exegetes pythochrestos*); these interpreters were appointed, probably by the Delphian authorities, from a short-list drawn up by the Athenian *demos*.¹¹⁰ The position was prestigious.¹¹¹ He was councillor for the Ptolemais tribe at some point before AD 216.¹¹²

Aelius Zenon Berenikides was father of at least two further sons:

1. Publius Aelius Teimosthenes (Byrne, *RCA*, s.n. Aelius, no. 178), was a hearth-

¹⁰³ The absence of a Roman-style *praenomen* supports the inference that he was Greek rather than Roman or Italian: see Byrne 2003, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Pritchett, 13-23; Traill, 29.

¹⁰⁵ For the view that the deme lacked a centre, see Whitehead, 392-93, arguing against the suggestion of Traill, 29 n. 12 that it had its centre near Eleusis.

¹⁰⁶ For instance, Junius Patron Berenikides was an *exegetes* of unknown type (*IG* II² 3619 with 3557 line 2) in the late first-early second centuries BC; his granddaughter Iunia Melitine was a hierophantid (*IG* II² 3633) and a hearth-initiate (*IG* II² 3557); his grandson Iunius Menneas was also a hearth-initiate (*IG* II² 3619), as was his great-granddaughter Neikostrate (*IG* II² 3647). On these individuals, see Clinton, 74, 87-88, 109, 110, 112.

¹⁰⁷ Iulia is not attested directly: see Oliver, 160 on *IG* II² 3694, reading Γα. Ἰου. Πλατ<ω>νικοῦ ἀπ[ό]γονον].

¹⁰⁸ Caius Iulius Sabinos Platonikos was a philosopher honoured with a herm by the Areopagus: *IG* II² 3803.

¹⁰⁹ For further epigraphical references to Aelius Zenon’s tenure of this office, see *IG* II² 3694 line 2; *IG* II² 3708 (= *I Eleus.* 474) lines 1-4.

¹¹⁰ On their selection, see Schmalz, 140; Oliver, 35-46 (arguing that there was only one holder of the office at a time); Oliver 1952; Clinton, 86-90; Valdés. Bloch and Oliver 1954 identified these officers as recipients of *sitesis* in the *prytaneion* decree [IG I³ 131](#) line 9 (the other classical reference to them is *Pl. Leg.* 9.865b-d), but Humphreys 104 n. 65 and Blok and van’t Wout cast doubt on this identification.

¹¹¹ A certain Perikles of Oion received a statue from the *boule* and *demos* in honour of his role as *exegetes*, see *IG* II² 3549 (1st century AD).

¹¹² *Agora* XV 469 line 9 with Follet, 76 with n. 7: [ὁ πυθό]χρηστος [ἐξηγητῆς Αἰλ. Ζήνων].

initiate at Eleusis;¹¹³ he may also have been councillor for the Ptolemais tribe at the same time as his father.¹¹⁴ As Clinton (*I. Eleus.* I, p. 359) suggests, Teimosthenes, like his father, was probably a *pythochrestos exegetes*.

2. The homonymous Aelius Zenon Berenikides (Byrne, *RCA*, s.n. Aelius, no. 180), who was listed as an ephebe liturgist (*agonothetes* of the Epinician games (ἄγωνοθέτης τῶν Ἐπινικίων)) and as an ephebe in AD 201/2.¹¹⁵ A man of the same name was the priest of Apollo Patroos who honoured the benefactor Markos Oulpios Eubiotos Leuros by a decree of the Areopagus at some point about AD 230.¹¹⁶

3? A son is also attested on an inscribed base, *IG II² 3694* (line 3), but since his name is lost we cannot be certain if this is the Aelius Epikrates Berenikides of the Broomhall sarcophagus, one of his two brothers, or a fourth (otherwise unknown) child.

The Aelius Epikrates Berenikides of the Broomhall monument, who lacks any titles on his sarcophagus, may have stood in the shadow of his illustrious brothers. Indeed, the representation of a youthful Eros on his tomb may indicate that he died young, unmarried;¹¹⁷ the mention of his father's title suggests that he predeceased his father. But his funerary monument survives.

As Muehsam (1952/53, 55) notes, Greek inscriptions of imperial times can be divided between those with straight and those with curved letters; there was a gradual change from straight to cursive over the course of the third century AD.¹¹⁸ Muehsam (1936, 2) nevertheless warns against overreliance on letter-forms as a criterion for dating an inscription. In this case, however, we can safely say that the square-ish letters are characteristic of the early to mid 3rd century AD;¹¹⁹ this dating is compatible with what we know the period of activity of Aelius Epikrates Berenikides' family.

As Stylianos Katakis advises us, the decoration of the chest points to a date of manufacture in the second quarter of the second century AD (cf. Katakis 2018, no. 2). Moreover, the Eleventh Lord Elgin and his son (*per epistulam*) offer the view that the "lid is of a different period from the base"; indeed, the relative height of the lid (which is almost equal to what is visible of the chest) indicates that the two may have been manufactured separately. What is clear, however, is that the inscription postdates the chest

¹¹³ *IG II² 3708 = I Eleus.* 474, a statue base for a hearth-initiate at the Eleusinian Mysteries.

¹¹⁴ *Agora XV 469* line 10 with Follet, 76 with n. 7: [Αἰλ. Τει]μοσθέ[νης].

¹¹⁵ *IG II² 2193* lines 27 and 69; 2194 line 10; 2196 line 10.

¹¹⁶ *IG II² 3697* lines 8-10; *IG II² 3698*. Kirchner (on *IG II² 3708*) and Oliver (159-60) identified our *exegetes*, Aelius Zenon Berenikides, as the priest of Apollo Patroos. Follet (76), on the other hand, took the view that it was his grandson, recorded as the ephebe, who went on to be the client of Eubiotos and priest. Clinton (*I. Eleus.*, I p. 358) noted that "this seems preferable to Oliver's interpretation, as the client of Eubiotos carries the title priest of Apollo Patroos but not the [title] *pythochrestos exegetes*, a venerable office that should not have been omitted from his sacerdotal title". However, Byrne's view (followed here), that Aelius Zenon Berenikides was the son of the *exegetes*, works best in terms of chronological fit.

¹¹⁷ As Huskinson (2) demonstrates, we can say nothing certain about the maturity of the deceased on the basis of the size of the sarcophagus.

¹¹⁸ Kirchner, 27 (on no. 123). On the palaeography of Imperial era funerary monuments, see also von Moock, 30-31.

¹¹⁹ Muehsam 1952/53, 64; cf. the "neat and elegant" lettering of *Agora XVI 342* of AD 203.

by perhaps as much as a century: we may thus have another example of a funerary monument embellished with an inscription at the time of its re-use.



Fig. 11. 5. Photograph: P.A. Low.



Fig. 12. 5. Corner view. Photograph: P. P. Liddel.