

Attic Inscriptions
in UK Collections
British Museum
Miscellaneous

Peter Liddel and Polly Low

AIUK
VOLUME

4.7

2026

BRITISH
MUSEUM



AIUK Volume 4.7
Published 2026

AIUK is an *AIO Papers* series
ISSN 2054-6769 (Print)
ISSN 2054-6777 (Online)

AIUK Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections

Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections is an open access publication, which means that all content is available without charge to the user or his/her institution. You are allowed to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of the articles in this journal without asking prior permission from either the publisher or the author.



This paper is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International Licence. Original copyright remains with the contributing author and a citation should be made when the article is quoted, used or referred to in another work.

Cover image: © *The Trustees of the British Museum*



This paper is part of a systematic publication of all the Attic inscriptions in UK collections by **Attic Inscriptions Online** as part of a research project supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC): AH/P015069/1.



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**
Josine Blok
Julian Lambert
Stephen Lambert
Peter Liddel
Polly Low
S. Douglas Olson
Robin Osborne
Nikolaos Papazarkadas
Rebecca Sweetman
Kai Trampedach

For further information see atticinscriptions.com

CONTENTS

PREFACE [ii](#)

ABBREVIATIONS [iii](#)

1. COLLECTION HISTORY [1](#)

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS [3](#)

1 Funerary Epigram [3](#)

2 Fragment of a sculptor's or poet's signature [4](#)

3. Sundial [7](#)

4. Fragment of an Imperial letter (?) [14](#)

APPENDICES

1. Inscriptions of uncertain provenance [16](#)

2. An inscription reported by A. Askew [20](#)

3. Attic inscriptions on metal at the British Museum [21](#)

4. Non-Athenian honours for Athenians at the British Museum [21](#)

5. The history of the British Museum's collection of Attic Inscriptions [22](#)

6. Addendum to *AIUK* 4.3b no. 5 and new photograph [24](#)

PREFACE

In this volume we publish four inscriptions that do not fall naturally into any of the categories of inscription published in *AIUK* 4.1–4.6: a fragmentary funerary epigram whose Athenian provenance is uncertain (1), a fragment bearing a partially preserved sculptor’s or poet’s name (2), a sundial bearing the name of its creator (3), and a fragment of an imperial-period letter (4). Appendices include: a discussion of a number of inscriptions which have at some point been identified as Attic, but whose provenance is uncertain (Appendix 1); notes on an inscription on a relief at the British Museum reported by A. Askew in the 18th century but now not traceable (Appendix 2); an account of Athenian inscriptions on metal in the collection (Appendix 3); a note on a Corcyrean decree for an Athenian (Appendix 4); and an analytical collection history of the inscriptions in *AIUK* volume 4 (Appendix 5); an addendum to *AIUK* 4.3B no. 5 with a new photograph (Appendix 6).

It is a pleasure to extend our thanks to the personnel of the British Museum’s Department of Greece and Rome for their assistance once again, especially for making possible our several visits to their collections and archives in the period between 2019 and 2023. In particular, we would like to thank Alex Truscott, Sovati Smith and Celeste Farge for their support. Peter Thonemann and Katherine Backler helped us with the text of 1. For discussion of 3, we are grateful to Frank King, Chairman of the British Sundial Society, and, for advice on the political systems of late-antique Athens, to Chris de Lisle; for information about the accession of 4, we are indebted to Thomas Kiely. Thanks are owed to Robert Pitt for good-humoured and critical comment. Hugh Griffiths designed the cover, and Irene Vagionakis gave invaluable assistance with editorial and encoding matters. Two anonymous readers offered many useful suggestions, and saved us from numerous errors: we are indebted to them. Stephen Lambert commented and gave valuable corrections on the volume, and we once again offer him our warm gratitude for his ongoing backing.

Though numerically the final in the series of publications of the British Museum’s holdings of Attic inscriptions, *AIUK* 4.7 (*British Museum, Miscellaneous*) will not be the last in order of appearance, since we are postponing the publication of *AIUK* 4.4 (*British Museum, Accounts and Inventories*) in order to take account of the work that Sebastian Prignitz of the Berlin Academy is undertaking on these inscriptions in the context of *IG* II³ 2.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

- ARMA* III: G. E. Malouchou-Dailiana, Ἀρχεῖον τῶν μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς 3, part I (1998)
- Biris: K. E. Biris, Αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν (1940)
- Bruun: C. Bruun, “Roman Government and Administration”, in C. Bruun and J. Edmondson, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy* (2014), 274-88
- Bull. ép: Bulletin épigraphique*, part of the *Revue des Études Grecques*, published annually
- Challis: D. Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus: British Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire 1840-1880* (2008)
- Chandler: R. Chandler, *Inscriptiones antiquae, pleraeque nondum editae, in Asia Minori et Graecia, praesertim Athenis* (1774)
- Crowley: J. Crowley, *The Psychology of the Athenian Hoplite. The Culture of Combat in Classical Athens* (2012)
- Day: J. Day, “Epigraphic Literacy in Fifth-century Epinician and its Audiences”, in P. Liddel and P. A. Low eds., *Inscriptions and their Uses in Greek and Latin Literature* (2007), 217-30
- Delambre: J. B. J. Delambre, *Histoire de l’astronomie ancienne*, volume 2 (1817)
- Donderer: M. Donderer, “Signaturen auf Sonnenuhren. Konstrukteure oder Steinmetze?“, *Epigraphica* 60, 1998, 165-82
- Edwards: E. Edwards, *Lives of the Founders of the British Museum* (1870)
- Frantz: A. Frantz, “The Date of the Phaidros Bema in the Theater of Dionysos”, *Hesperia Supplement* 20, *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture and Topography. Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (1982), 34-39 and 194-95
- Gallo: L. Gallo, *Lord Elgin and Ancient Greek Architecture: The Elgin Drawings at the British Museum* (2009)
- Gatty: M. S. Gatty, *The Book of Sun-dials*, 4th edition, H. K. F. Eden and E. Lloyd eds. (1900)
- Gibbs: S. L. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials* (1976)
- Gogos: S. Gogos, *Das Dionysostheater von Athen* (2008)
- Graindor 1922: P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l’empire*
- Graindor 1924: P. Graindor, *Album d’inscriptions attiques d’époque impériale*
- Gunning: L. P. Gunning, *The British Consular Service in the Aegean and the Collection of Antiquities for the British Museum* (2009)
- Hamilton: W. Hamilton, *Memorandum on the Subject of the Earl of Elgin’s Pursuits in Greece* (1810)
- Hawkins: E. Hawkins, *Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, with Engravings. Part 9* (1842)
- Houston: G. W. Houston, “Using Sundials”, in L. L. Brice and D. Sloop eds., *Aspects of Ancient Institutions and Geography: Studies in Honor of Richard J. A. Talbert* (2014), 298-313
- Hurwit, *Artists*: J. M. Hurwit, *Artists and Signatures in Ancient Greece* (2015)
- IK Parion*: P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Parion, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 25 (1983)

Abbreviations

- Johnston and Palagia: A. Johnston and O. Palagia, “Sculptors’ Signatures”, in O. Palagia ed., *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, Vol. 1 (2019), 22-49
- Kiilerich: B. Kiilerich, “Making Sense of the Spolia in the Little Metropolis in Athens”, *Arte Medievale* 4.2, 2015, 95-114.
- Kirchner: J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum: ein Bilderatlas epigraphischer Denkmäler Attikas* (1935)
- Kroll, *Ath. Allot. Plates*: J. Kroll, *Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates* (1974)
- Krummeich: R. Krummeich, “Vor klassischem Hintergrund. Zum Phänomen der Wiederverwendung älterer Statuen auf der Athener Akropolis als Ehrenstatuen für Römer”, in R. Krummeich and C. Witschel eds., *Die Akropolis von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (2010), 329-85
- Lattimore: R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (1962)
- Lendon: J. E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour* (1997)
- Löwy: E. Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (1885)
- Luxury and Power*: J. Fraser with L. Llewellyn-Jones and H. Cosmo Bishop-Wright, *Luxury and Power. Persia to Greece* (2023)
- Keesling: C. M. Keesling, “Epigraphy of Appropriation: Retrospective Signatures of Greek Sculptors in the Roman World”, in D. Y. Ng and M. Swetnam-Burland eds., *Reuse and Renovation in Roman Material Culture: Functions, Aesthetics, Interpretations* (2018), 84-111
- Mellor: R. Mellor, *ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ. The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (1975)
- Meritt: B. D. Meritt, “The Epigraphic Notes of Francis Vernon”, *Hesperia Supplement* 8, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear* (1949), 213-27
- Michaelis: A. T. F. Michaelis, *Ancient Greek Marbles in Great Britain*. Translated by C. A. M. Fennell (1882)
- Miller: K. J. Miller, *Time and Ancient Medicine. How Sundials and Water Clocks Changed Medical Science* (2023)
- Mommsen: A. Mommsen, *Athenæ Christianæ* (1868)
- Omont: H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVII et XVIII siècles I-II* (1902)
- Osborne: R. G. Osborne, “The Art of Signing in Ancient Greece”, *Arethusa* 42, 2010, 231-51
- PAA: J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*. 23 volumes (1994-2021)
- Petrovic: A. Petrovic, “Epigrammatic Contests, Poeti Vaganti and Local History”, in R. Hunter and I. Rutherford eds., *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture: Travel, Locality and Panhellenism* (2009), 195-216
- Pitt, *Askew*: R. Pitt, “The Epigraphic Manuscript of Anthony Askew (1747–48)” (In preparation)
- Pococke: R. Pococke, *Inscriptiones antiquae Graecae et Latinae editae* (1752)
- Roberts and Gardner: E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy. Part II. The Inscriptions of Attica* (1905)
- Schaldach 2006: K. Schaldach, *Die antiken Sonnenuhren Griechenlands: Festland und Peloponnes*
- Schaldach 2016: K. Schaldach, “Measuring the Hours: Sundials, Water Clocks and Portable Sundials”, in A. Jones ed., *Time and Cosmos in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, 63-93

Abbreviations

- Schaldach 2021: K. Schaldach, *Die antiken Sonnenuhren Griechenlands. Band 1: Die Funde in historischer Sicht. Band 2: Kataloge – Analysen – Texte*
- Shear: J. L. Shear, “Reusing statues, rewriting inscriptions and bestowing honours in Roman Athens,” in Z. Newby and R. Leader-Newby eds., *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, (2007), 221-46
- Sironen, 1994: E. Sironen, “Life and Administration of Late Roman Athens in the Light of Public Inscriptions”, in P. Castrén ed., *Post-Herulian Athens: Aspects of Life and Culture in Athens A.D. 267-529, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens. Volume 1*, 15-62
- Sironen 1997: E. Sironen, *The Late Roman and Early Byzantine Inscriptions of Athens and Attica: An Edition with Appendices on Scripts, Sepulchral Formulae and Occupations*
- Smith: A. H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and his Collection”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 36, 1916, 163-372
- Smith, *Sculpture*: F. N. Pryce and A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture in the British Museum*. 3 volumes (1892)
- Spon: J. Spon and G. Wheler, *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant: fait dans les années 1675 et 1676*. Volume 3 part 2 (1678)
- Thibodeau: P. Thibodeau, “Anaximander’s model and the measures of the sun and moon”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 137, 2017, 92-111
- Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*. 2 volumes (1980-96)
- Tsagalis: C. Tsagalis, *Inscribing Sorrow. Fourth-Century Attic Funerary Epigrams* (2007)
- Visconti: E. Q. Visconti, *Elgin Marbles. A Letter from the Chevalier Antonio Canova, and Two Memoirs read to the Royal Institute of France on the Sculptures in the Collection of the Earl of Elgin* (1816)
- Vollkommer: R. Vollkommer, “Greek and Roman Artists,” in C. Marconi ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture* (2014), 107-25
- Winter: E. Winter, *Zeitzeichen: zur Entwicklung und Verwendung antiker Zeitmesser*. 2 volumes (2016)

1. COLLECTION HISTORY

As in other volumes in this series, we discuss the inscriptions in order of their accession to the BM's collections. The sundial (3) derives from the Elgin Collection. It has been known since 1675, when it was transcribed by the English traveller Francis Vernon "at Gorgo Piro" (that is, Παναγία ἡ Γοργοεπήκοος (the Little Metropolis Church, Athens)).¹ Spon, recording it on the Spon-Wheler tour of Greece in 1676, also noted that it was located in the courtyard of the Little Metropolis Church.² It was brought by Elgin from Piraeus on the vessel *Braakel* in early 1803 together with parts of the Parthenon metopes and frieze and other fragments (Smith, 252-54). It is plausible that Elgin had a desire to obtain an ancient time-piece: among the drawings of Athenian architecture commissioned by him in the period 1800-1803 are extensive technical drawings of the Tower of the Winds undertaken by his architect Sebastiano Ittar (1768-1847).³ In 1810 Hamilton (31) claimed that Elgin had collected a sundial from the south slope of the acropolis dating to the age of the fifth-century tragedians, but it seems that his account confuses 3 with the timepiece which has recently been reported *in situ* close to the Thrasyllus monument (Gibbs 3008G =Schaldach 2016, no. 2).

In *GIBM* Hicks records, erroneously, that the fragment of an imperial letter (4) was "from the Temple Collection". Sir William Temple (d. 1856) was the younger son of the collector Henry Temple (d. 1804) second Viscount Palmerston; his collection included a fragment of a fourth-century catalogue of bronze statues bequeathed to the BM (BM 1856,1226.1742; *IG* II/III² 1499; *AIUK* 4.4 (*British Museum. Accounts and Inventories*), no. 12, in preparation). The Temple collection was transferred to the British Museum in 1856 (Michaelis 159). Obviously, this transfer is incompatible with the 1853 accession date of 4. The acquisition information in the BM's MS catalogue of Greek inscriptions corrects this misattribution and notes that 4 was purchased from Reginald Mantell in 1853, alongside other objects for the sum of £115. This is consistent with its accession number. The BM catalogue describes the previous owner of 4 as: "Fourth son of Gideon Algernon Mantell [a geologist, obstetrician, and palaeontologist], born 11 August 1827. Worked as a railway engineer in Great Britain, the United States and India. Died from cholera in Allahabad, India in June 1857". The majority of Mantell's other objects purchased by the BM were British (Neolithic, Romano-British, Bronze Age, Anglo-Saxon), but they include a limited range of classical material such as a Western Greek pyxis (1853,0412.164), Roman lamps, and Egyptian shabtis. Hicks notes also that "a label fastened on the back of the inscription tells us that it came from the Parthenon". It is unknown how Mantell obtained 4.

The fragmentary funerary epigram (1) was acquired by the BM at a Christie's sale on 9th December 1958 and accessioned in 1959. It had previously been in the possession of Howe Peter Browne, 2nd Marquess of Sligo (1788-1845). He travelled to Athens in 1810, excavated a number of sites, and accumulated more than 1000 vases and 100 marbles which were kept at Westport House, Co. Mayo, Republic of Ireland. Most of the collection was dispersed over the course of the twentieth century, including the famous columns associated with the Treasury of

¹ Vernon, Library of the Royal Society, MS 73, folio 27r (dated "Athens, October 14th, 1675"). On Vernon, see Meritt, especially p. 226; *ODNB*, s.n. "Vernon, Francis". Little Metropolis: Biris, no. 51.

² On this location, see Mommsen, 114-19 n. 142. For other monuments discovered there, see *ARMA* III nos. 393-404; Küllerich. The inscription was noted also in the French archaeologist and orientalist scholar Antoine Galland's unpublished letter of 1701: see Omont 197 n. 1.

³ On these sketches, see Gallo (especially 126-27, on the drawings of the Tower of the Winds).

1. Collection History

Atreus (now in the British Museum: 1905,1105.1-3). Nothing is known about the precise provenance of **1**. Some – but not all – of Sligo’s collection derived from Athens (see *AIUK 15 Miscellaneous* pp. 41-42), and the characteristics of the inscription are consistent with (but do not absolutely guarantee) an Athenian provenance; for these reasons, we include it in this collection.

Similarly, nothing is known about the findspot of the fragment inscribed with the name of a poet or sculptor (**2**) or the precise circumstances of its addition to the British Museum’s collections. It remained unaccessioned until 2013. In his ed. pr. Hicks (*GIBM* 1 no. 71) reported that he “found it lying in a case among a number of fragments of the Elgin marbles”, and therefore inferred that it had been collected by Elgin and derived from Athens. This seems a reasonable hypothesis, but one which cannot be definitively confirmed.

2. THE INSCRIPTIONS

1 FUNERARY EPIGRAM. BM 1959,0414.3 Formerly in the possession of Howe Peter Browne, 2nd Marquess of Sligo, cf. sect. 1. Fragment of darkish grey marble. Unevenly broken away at the top and bottom, but the left and (to a lesser degree) right sides preserve flat, smooth, surfaces which may be those of the original. Back uneven. Four lines of inscription are visible, with uninscribed areas above and below. Beneath l. 4 are horizontal strokes, likely the result of later damage. There may originally have been sculpture in shallow relief in the now-missing upper part of the stele (see further below). H. 0.235, w. 0.282, th. 0.044-0.046. Plain somewhat irregular lettering suggestive of a fourth-century BC date; l. h. 0.0075. Autopsy Lambert, Liddel and Low 2022, 2023. In store. *Fig. 1.*

4th cent. BC *vacat*
 εὐθανάτου μοίρας ἔλαχον πᾶσ-
 ίν τε παραινῶ / [τ]ερπνόν ? . . .⁵ . . .
 ΡΙΟΥϞΟΝ ὥστε θανεῖν ΠἈΣ ∘
 4 ΤῸΝ *vacat*
vacat

2 [τ]ερπνόν ἔχειν ? || 3-4 dotted letters visible when illuminated with a side-light.

εὐθανάτου μοίρας ἔλαχον, πᾶσίν τε παραινῶ
 [τ]ερπνόν ? ΡΙΟΥϞΟΝ ὥστε θανεῖν ΠἈΣ ∘ ΤῸΝ

I was allotted the fate of a good death, and I advise everyone
 ... delightful ? so that they die...

The origin of this piece is undocumented (for the history of the Sligo collection, see Section 1), but its lettering and orthography suggest that it is probably Attic and dates to the fourth century BC, before the reforms of Demetrios of Phaleron after 317 BC prohibited more elaborate forms of funerary monument.⁴ There may well originally have been shallow relief sculpture in the missing part of the stele above the inscription, which is an elegiac couplet of a type characteristic of Attic funerary monuments of this period.⁵ We have been able to read the first verse of the couplet, a hexameter, but have not been able to decipher fully the second, most likely a pentameter.⁶

At the end of the first line, παραινῶ indicates that this is a speaking stone, in this case one in which the voice of the dead person addresses the passer-by (cf. Lattimore, 230-237). Insofar as the sentiments of the inscription can be reconstructed, they seem to reflect themes which are commonplace in funerary epigram. The idea of being allotted a fate is familiar in funerary epigrams: a first-century AD epigram from Attica refers to someone who was “allotted

⁴ For the other Attic funerary monuments in the British Museum see *AIUK* 4.6; monuments with epigram and relief: 4.6 no. 37, no. 20 (where the relief is under the inscription, cf. *AIUK* 3, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. 5).

⁵ Cf. Tsagalis.

⁶ Further study of the stone, perhaps aided by RTI or similar techniques, might enable the whole of the second line to be read.

2. The Inscriptions

a fate” (that is, died) while in Cyprus (ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ μοῖραν λάχ[εν]; “of whom one received his fate in Cyprus”: *IG II² 13129/30*, l. 3). A fourth-century BC epigram for Nikeso offers an example of reference to the “fate” in relation to the death of a female subject (θν[ή]ισκῶ ζηλωτῆς μοίρας θανάτου τε τυχοῦσ[α]; “I die, having obtained an enviable fate and death”: *SEG 28.248*, l. 5); and another Attic reference to a universal μοίρα of death appears on a fourth-century monument (τῆς κοινῆς μοίρας πᾶσι[ιν ἔχει] τὸ μέρος; “the portion of the common fate of all”: *IG II² 5673*, very similar wording at *IG II² 13098*).⁷ παραινῶ (“I advise”, or perhaps “I exhort”) also has parallels in funerary inscriptions, although it is primarily attested in epigrams of the imperial period; there is one Attic example, dating to the 2nd century AD (λοιπὸν παραινῶ πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα] / φέρειν τὰ Μοιρῶν Πλουτέως κελ[εύσματος]; “finally, I advise my father and mother to endure the fates of Pluto”: *IG II² 11552*, ll. 5-6).⁸ The thought that “Death is an end of life common to all” is found in a fourth-century BC Attic epigram from Rhamnous (τέ[ρμα βίο]υ [κοῖνον τὸ] θανεῖν πᾶσιν: *I Rhamnous 362*). Reference to a “good death” is found in another fourth-century Attic grave epitaph (τύμβος ὃδ’ εὐθάν[ατον ... ἔχει]; “this tomb holds one who died well...”: *IG II² 13103*, l. 2).

The sentiments expressed here are too generic to allow us to draw any conclusions about the deceased, but the impression given by the inscription is that it refers to a “good death” which is being held up as exemplary. Among the possibilities is that the reference is to the noble death of a male in battle, perhaps at a young age (cf., on the *kalos* death, Tyrtaios as quoted by Lycurgus 1.107-8); it may describe the type of demise in combat which, while it would provoke sorrow, signified courage and bestowed honour on the deceased’s family (cf. Crowley, 95-96). Alternatively, the “good death” envisaged here may be that which comes in old age.⁹ The individual commemorated in *IG II² 13103* (cited above) was *euthanatos* because he was ὄ<λ>βιον εὐγήρων ἄνο[σον υ υ – υ υ – υ] (“blessed, aging well, free from sickness”). We might compare also *SEG 26.289*, which commemorates a woman who died εὐθ[α]νάτως, having reached her ninth decade; her daughter survived to bury her mother, and we might see this as another characteristic of a “good death”. This interpretation is perhaps more consistent with the epigram’s claim to universality (“I advise everyone”),¹⁰ and might also fit better with the description of some aspect of deceased’s life or death as *τερπνός* (“delightful”).¹¹

⁷ On fate as a theme in Greek funerary epigram, see Lattimore, 149-51.

⁸ Other examples include *IG IX 1*, 883 (Corcyra, late C2/early C3 AD), *IG XII 7*, 297 (Amorgos, imperial?), *SEG 37.736* (Peparethos, C1 AD?), *IK Smyrna 551* (C2 AD).

⁹ We are grateful to one of the anonymous readers for encouraging us to consider this possibility and suggesting relevant parallels.

¹⁰ Cf. *Anthologia Graeca Appendix, Epigrammata Exhortatoria et Supplicatoria* no. 44: πᾶσιν δὲ θνητοῖς βούλομαι παραινέσαι | τοῦφήμερον ζῆν ἠδέως· ὁ γὰρ θανῶν | τὸ μηδὲν ἐστὶ καὶ σκιά κατὰ χθονός. | Μικροῦ δὲ βίотου ζῶντ’ ἐπαυρέσθαι χρεῶν (“I wish to advise all mortals to live their short lives sweetly; for he who is dead, and the shades beneath the earth, are nothing. The one who lives must reap the fruits of a brief life”; cf. *Ibid. Sepulchralia* no. 333: τοῦτ’ Εὐδοξ βροτοῖς πᾶσι παραινῶ ... (“this ... Euodos ... I advise to all mortals ...”).

¹¹ Cf. *IG II³ 4, 777*, ll. 19-20: ἐς αἰ[εῖ θ]άλλειν ἐν βιοτῇ σὺν τερπνοτάτῃ Ὑγιείᾳ, “that they may ever flourish in life with most pleasant Health”.

2. *The Inscriptions*

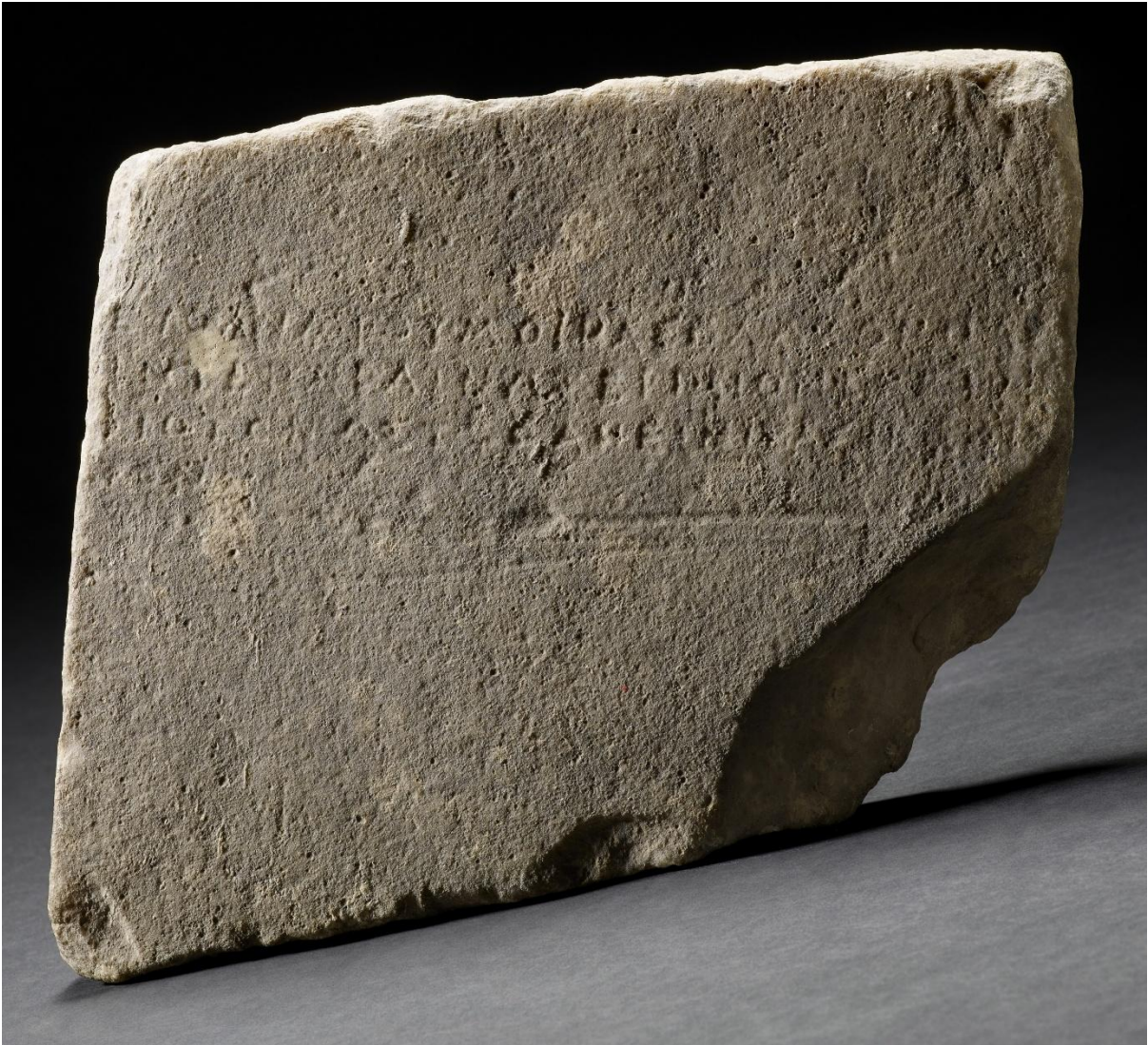


Fig. 1. 1 © Trustees of the British Museum.

2 FRAGMENT OF A SCULPTOR'S OR POET'S SIGNATURE. BM 2013,5017.1. Elgin Collection (?), cf. sect. 1. Left corner of a block of white marble with moulded ridge on front, probably part of a base for a statue or dedication. The left side and top are flat and smooth (and may be original or the product of later re-use); all other sides are broken unevenly. Dimensions: h. 0.132, w. 0.228, th. 0.13. The π has a shorter right-hand vertical; pronounced serifs on Ν, Ι, Σ, Π and Ε; ο of ἐποίει is smaller than other letters. L. h.: 0.0119 (ο of ἐποίει) – 0.0148.

Eds. *GIBM* 71; *IG III* 426; Löwy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer mit Facsimiles herausgegeben* (Leipzig 1885) no. 453; *IG II²* 3784. Autopsy: Liddel & Low 2019. In store. *Fig. 2.*

ca. 1st cent. BC – 1st cent. AD

[- - -]δόνιος ἐποίει. *vacat*
vacat

Hicks: [Ποσει]δόνιος; Kirchner: [Μακε]δόνιος.

-donios made this.
uninscribed space

The inscription was first published by Hicks, who suggested the supplement [Ποσει]δόνιος working on the assumption that this was a fragment of a statue base, and tempted by a possible connection with the Ephesian sculptor of the first century BC who was said by Pliny to have made statues of athletes, armed men, hunters and men offering sacrifice in the era of Pompey (first century BC: *Nat. Hist.* 33.53, 34.19).¹² The usual spelling of this name would be with omega (Ποσειδώνιος) rather than omicron, but Dittenberger (*ap. IG III*) thought that this sort of confusion could reasonably be expected in this period (for the spelling with omicron see *SEG* 40.661 (Delos), *IGUR II* 744 (Rome)); he therefore accepted Hicks' suggested supplement.¹³ Löwy was more sceptical, noting (correctly) that several ethnics would fit perfectly well in the available space: Καλχηδόνιος, Σαρπηδόνιος, Ἀθηδόνιος; we would add that the personal names Κερδόνιος and Μαρδόνιος also are possible. The equally speculative restoration [Μακε]δόνιος was proposed by Kirchner (*ap. IG II²*), on the grounds of a parallel with *IG II³* 4473 (an inscribed Paean for Apollo and Aisklepios, composed (Kirchner thought) by a Makedonios: ll.1-2: Μακε[δόνιος] | ἐποίη[σεν]); however, a subsequently-discovered fragment (see now [IG II³ 4, 777](#)) has shown that the name is in fact Μακεδονικός. Kirchner hypothesised that our fragment came from a similar monument, and that the extant part of the text formed the heading to an inscribed poem. Certainty is impossible, and so we print the text without restoration.

Inscribed signatures with the formula NAME + ἐποίει attribute works of art to both poets and sculptors. As Petrovic (200-2) observes, when an author's name is recorded on an inscribed epigram, he is usually a foreigner, or a “wandering poet” rather than a local. However,

¹² The inscription is not included (whether under the name of Posidonios or among the *incerta*) in the collections of sculptors' signatures assembled in *Der Neue Overbeck* (2022) or in Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs* (1953-57).

¹³ Threatte observes that there was probably no distinction in pronunciation between omicron and omega by ca. 150 AD, but that, even by and after this date, confusion between the two vowels remains limited to “a few lexical items” (Threatte, 223-24 [= 12.01]).

2. The Inscriptions

this fragment forms the front of a base supporting a statue or dedication, and for this reason it seems more likely that the signature referred to its sculptor rather than a poet.¹⁴ In our monument, the letters that preceded $\delta\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ either appeared on a separate, now lost, element that fitted to its left (though there are no traces of any cutting for a join) or were lost when the base was cut down in later times.

Hurwit's 2015 monograph *Artists and Signatures in Ancient Greece* discusses the phenomenon of artists' signatures on statue bases in depth (*Artists*, 101-43).¹⁵ Several aspects of his conclusions are worth underlining as they are relevant to the interpretation of 2: sculptors' signatures were often added by professional letter-cutters rather than the sculptors themselves (Hurwit, *Artists*, 104), and consequently "most extant sculptor signatures are proxies, not autographs" (Hurwit, *Artists*, 141); though we know the names of more than 700 sculptors who worked before the Roman imperial period and more than 200 who worked during it, the vast majority of statue-bases lack such signatures (Hurwit, *Artists*, 106-7); sculptors' signatures were sometimes found on statues or dedications but more often, as in this case, on the plinth (Hurwit, *Artists*, 117-135); signatures usually name the sculptor, but could refer to the owner of the workshop which produced it (Hurwit, *Artists*, 119). Hurwit also makes the point that the decision to add a signature was more usually made by the dedicant than by the sculptor and therefore was a reflection of their ambition: "it may not so much express the artist's pride in his own work or his own ego as the client's discernment and pride in having had the artist work for him" (Hurwit, *Artists*, 142). In the Roman period, to which this inscription belongs, we can observe a further development: the tendency for "signatures" to be used as a way of attributing a sculpture to a given artist, rather than as "clear, unequivocal markers of the sculptor's physical presence" (Keesling, 88). This development is associated both with the specific practice of re-using and re-inscribing Classical and Hellenistic statue bases in the Roman period, and with the wider phenomenon of Roman interest in assembling and displaying collections of Greek "art".¹⁶ In the case of our inscription, though, our lack of certainty about both the identity of the artist to whom the piece was ascribed and the nature of the object "made" by them, makes it impossible to know whether we are dealing here with an association made or claimed by the original artist or dedicant of the piece, or with a (real or fictive) secondary attribution.

We suggest a date ca. 1st cent. BC – 1st cent AD on the basis of the letter-forms, featuring serifs, pi with shortened right-hand vertical and the small omicron (particularly pronounced in $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$). This date is also consistent with the use of the imperfect $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$, rather than the perfect, as the verb of "making"; the former starts to appear from the second century BC, and becomes the standard formulation by the end of the first century AD (Keesling, 86).

¹⁴ Moreover, poetic signatures were often worked into the verses of their authors rather than being inscribed as freestanding elements: Day, 220-26.

¹⁵ The phenomenon is also discussed by Johnston and Palagia (citing various examples, particularly those associated with well-known sculptors) and by Volkummer (focussing on what it might reveal about the status and identity of "artists" in the Classical world; on this, see also Osborne).

¹⁶ On the former phenomenon, see esp. Shear, Krummeich; on the latter (particularly with reference to its importance for understanding artists' signatures ascribed to this period), Keesling.

2. *The Inscriptions*



Fig. 2. 2 © Trustees of the British Museum.

3 SUNDIAL. 1816,0610.186. Elgin Collection. Παναγία ἡ Γοργοεπήκοος, (Little Metropolis Church), Athens, cf. sect. 1. Sundial of white marble with four engraved faces arranged in the form of a ‘W’. The reverse of the block is in the shape of an opened book, featuring two recessed panels divided by a raised spine; within each of the panels is a moulding of a chariot-wheel. Three cuttings on the top of the block contain holes (0.058 deep) into which would have been fixed the shadow-casting instrument known as the gnomon (no metal remains are extant in the holes). There is a circular cutting on the underside of the block. H. 0.508, w. 0.99; th. 0.17-0.30. The inscribed signature is cut on the lower part of the furthest left of its four engraved faces (upon the south-west-facing surface); this face is well preserved, but its lower right corner is worn smooth. Letters oval and elongated, cursive, forms: C, €̣, ω; the phi features a hyperextended vertical stroke; cramped spacing. L h.: 0.03, 0.097 (phi).

Eds. F. Vernon, Library of the Royal Society, MS 73, folio 27r.; Spon, 176; Pococke, p. 55 no. 53; Chandler p. XXX; *CIG* 522 (from Rose’s transcription); Pittakis, *L’ancienne Athènes*, 108; (Rangabé no. 1107); *GIBM* I.72; (*IG* III 427; Roberts and Gardner, no. 308); *IG* II² 5208; Donderer no. A 4 (ph.); *IG* II² 5, 13627 (ph.).

Cf. Visconti, 101-17; Delambre, 504-9; Hawkins 193-94 no 43 fig. 1 (engraving); Smith, *Catalogue*, no. 2544 (drawing of inscription); Löwy, 297-98 no. 450; Gatty, 40 (drawing); Graindor, p. 75 no. 112 (ph.); Gibbs, 346 no. 5002G (technical drawing); Sironen, 1994, p. 46 no. 28; Sironen 1997, 116-17, no. 41; Donderer, 176-77 no. 4; Schaldach 2016, 77-78 no. 9 (ph.); Winter p. 309 no. 21 (ph.); Schaldach 2021, p. 635, E.076. Autopsy Liddel & Low 2019. In store. *Figs.* 3.1-3.4.

ca. 400 AD? Φαῖδρος Ἰ Ζωίλου
 Παιανιεὺς Ἰ ἐποίη[ι].

Phaidros son of Zoilos
 of Paiania made it (or: “had it made”).

As many as 600 sundials – devices used for time- and date-keeping – survive from the Greek and Roman worlds of the period from the fourth century BC to the fourth or fifth century AD: some were portable, but most, like **3**, were heavy objects, which were fixed in place and would have been calibrated for the latitude of a specific location.¹⁷ A number of them are identified as deriving from Athens (Schaldach counts 27: Schaldach 2021, 257-61, with nos i.1-21, 44-49, and E.076 (p. 635); the last is our **3**), the most impressive of which are the sundials on the Tower of the Winds (Schaldach 2021, no. i.1). In contrast to modern sundials, which are generally round, flat, discs, ancient versions can be divided into four main types: spherical, conical, planar and cylindrical.¹⁸ Most of those extant were manufactured out of marble or limestone; one or more pointed metal fittings (known as the gnomon: for an image see Schaldach 2021, 430) extended above the inscribed face in order to cast a shadow over a surface that had been engraved with a matrix of lines consisting of hour lines radiating from the gnomon and day-curves (which mark the summer and winter solstices and equinoxes).

¹⁷ Miller, 23-26.

¹⁸ For an analysis of the types, see Gibbs, 12-58; Schaldach 2021, 47-83; Miller, 26. The corpora of Gibbs and Schaldach 2006 (which does not include Phaidros’ sundial) are now superseded by that of Winter. For a general overview of their workings, see Houston.

2. The Inscriptions

Houston, 299 explains the working of the hour lines: “The dial was placed so that the gnomon pointed due south. As the sun rose in the east, the tip of the gnomon would cast a shadow on the upper edge of the western side of the curved surface.” As the sun rose higher and travelled across the sky, in the morning the shadow moved down and across the grid, and then in the afternoon it moved up and across the grid. Houston goes on (300-301) to explain the working of the day-curves: “The sun rises higher in the sky during the summer than it does in the winter, and the shadow of the gnomon’s tip will accordingly move up and down the shadow-receiving surface, falling on the various day-curves as the seasons change. At the summer solstice, the sun is high overhead, and the shadow will fall on the summer solstice line. In late December, when the sun is low in the sky, it will run along the winter solstice line.”¹⁹

3 is a sundial with four vertical plane faces which, in plan, form an open W-shape. Standing to the south of the sundial one can see all four faces and they may be identified by the directions in which they face: left southwest, left southeast, right southwest and right southeast. The left southeast and right southwest faces would have shared a gnomon and two further gnomons would have been needed for the other two faces. All four faces were originally engraved with five hour lines and three day-curves.²⁰ The central two faces (left southeast and right southwest), considered together, would have divided the period of sunlight into twelve periods of equal length. The left southeast face would have received the shadow of the gnomon only in the first half of the day, which it divided into six periods of equal length; the right southwest face would have received it only in the second half of the day, which it too divided into six periods of equal length. Each face also features three day-curves which indicate (from highest to lowest) the path traced by the shadow of the tip of the relevant gnomon on the winter solstice, the equinoxes and the summer solstice.

The fact that the monument is inscribed on four faces (rather than just two, which would suffice: compare a V-shaped example from Delos: Schaldach 2021, ii.8) demonstrates that this is far from a purely utilitarian time-keeping device. However, as Schaldach (2016, 77) notes, the grids on our sundial have been rather imprecisely executed (and the hour lines have been engraved less clearly than the day-curves, though originally all the engravings would have been painted); in all likelihood, it would have given inaccurate readings. As Frank King (a designer of sundials and sometime Chairman of the British Sundial Society) comments (*per epistulam*, 20th December, 2020), “Whoever engraved this sundial did a rather poor job compared with other sundials of the period! The two southeast faces and the two southwest faces should be identical pairs.” Perhaps, then, the BM example was primarily ornamental in its function?

Sundials often featured sculpted decorations, including stylised legs, vines, tendrils, rosettes, lions’ paws, dolphins, and mythical and human figures (see Gibbs, 89-90; Houston, 306-7; Schaldach 2021, ii.639-42). The BM sundial bears two recessed panels on its non-engraved rear face, both of which contain a representation of the wheel of a chariot in relief. It is just possible that this bears some significance: perhaps, for instance, this monument was set up to celebrate a victorious performance in a sporting context. An alternative interpretation is that the chariot wheel is intended to symbolise the movements of celestial bodies around the sun, alluding to the theory (primarily associated with Anaximander) which conceived of the

¹⁹ For detailed explanation of the working of the hour lines and day curves, see Schaldach 2021, 85-160.

²⁰ Damage to the right southwest face means that the top hour line is no longer visible.

2. The Inscriptions

sun (as well as the moon and stars) as a rotating wheel, with the earth as its hub.²¹ As Miller notes, the whimsicality of many sundials suggests that they could be prized as display pieces to impress their viewers as well as being practical time-keeping devices.²² The association between clocks and the educated elite, as delineated by Miller,²³ meant that a named creator, like Phaidros, might have had his name added to the inscription to promote an image of ingenuity; the fact that reverse of **3** resembled the shape of an opened book (a codex) may have heightened this impression.

Sundials often bore inscriptions (see Gibbs, 85-88; Donderer; Schaldach 2021, ii.633-38). Sometimes these included technical language pertaining to their function (hours, days, seasonal indicators, astronomical terminology, the winds)²⁴ but they also bore names of those deities or celebrity mortals to whom they were dedicated (e.g. *IG II² 5216*), their donors, their craftsmen and their designers or engineers (see Donderer). Our sundial bears the name of Phaidros son of Zoilos of Paiania (*PAA 912550*) and states that he made it (ἐποίη[ι]), as was conventional by this date for an artist's signature (see above, **2**). This could indicate that Phaidros was the craftsman, sculptor, or owner of the workshop in which it was made (see Donderer, 166, 176-77). However, given that he did not designate himself as ἀρχιτέκτων or describe his activity as a designer, it is unlikely that he was a designer or engineer of the sundial,²⁵ and it might be reasonable to infer that in fact he in fact "had it made", and was its sponsor.²⁶ Sironen 1994, 46 notes that it is very rare to indicate the patronymic and deme on a late Roman inscription; Phaidros' decision to include these elements of his name may reflect an aspiration to leave a legacy, or might be indicative of the "long and strong tradition in artists' signatures" (Sironen 1997, 116).

Since our sundial was discovered in a secondary context we cannot know where in Athens it was originally set up.²⁷ Other Athenian sundials were set up at prominent places where the sun would fall (Schaldach 2021, 213), such as above the monument of Thrasyllus on the south slope of the Acropolis (this sundial is thought to be *in situ*: Gibbs, 3008G = Schaldach 2006, 91-93 no. 2), in the ruins of the Theatre of Dionysos,²⁸ close to the Academy (Gibbs, 3007) and in the Roman Agora (5001); others have been found in secondary contexts in the vicinity of the Athenian Agora²⁹ and elsewhere in Attica.³⁰ It is quite plausible to think that our sundial was originally set up in a prominent public place such as the south slope of the

²¹ We are grateful to one of our anonymous readers for this suggestion. For discussion of this cosmological model, and references to earlier bibliography, see Thibodeau.

²² Miller, 26.

²³ Miller, 96.

²⁴ See, for instance, the long inscription explaining its use on the Athenian sundial published at Gibbs 8005 = Schaldach 2006, 116-21 no. 23.

²⁵ For the distinction between craftsmen and designers on sundial-inscriptions, see Donderer.

²⁶ Kirchner, *ad IG II² 5208*, suggests that ἐποίη might be interpreted here as indicating that Phaidros caused the sundial to be dedicated (arguing for a parallel with the use of ἔτευξε in *IG II² 5, 13292*, which we discuss below).

²⁷ On the use and display of spolia at the Little Metropolis church in Athens, see Kiilerich. A wide range of monuments has been discovered at this church: see *ARMA III* nos. 393-404.

²⁸ Gibbs, 3001G = Schaldach 2006, no. 5; 3005G = Schaldach 2006, no. 4; Schaldach 2006, no. 6.

²⁹ Gibbs, 3002G = Schaldach 2006, 104 no. 12, 3009G = Schaldach 2006, 109 no. 18; 3010G = Schaldach 2006, 107 no. 15; 3011G = Schaldach 2006, 109-10 no. 19, 3012G = Schaldach 2006, 108 no. 16; 3013G = Schaldach 2006, 108 no. 17; 3014G, 5003G.

³⁰ Others derive from Piraeus (Gibbs, 3023G = Schaldach, 2016, 124 no. 25) or Oropos (Gibbs, 3021G, 5005G = Schaldach 2006, 112-15 no. 22; Gibbs 5006G, 5007G, 8005).

2. The Inscriptions

acropolis, perhaps the crowning block of a larger monument (as the circular cutting on the underside of the block suggests). It is less likely that it was set up by an individual in a private space for personal enjoyment; however, the fact that it seems likely that the sundial did not work (or, at best, was inaccurate) might suggest that it was originally set up in some location where the sun would not regularly strike it, perhaps inside a colonnade or stoa.³¹

Relevant to the identification of the Phaidros of the sundial – whom we can identify as a citizen from his demotic – is the fact that on the highest step of the small flight of stairs leading up from the orchestra to the middle of the stage of the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens there is a block bearing an inscribed dedication by Phaidros son of Zoilos; it takes the form of two hexameter verses addressed to Dionysos ([IG II² 5, 13293](#) = Sironen, 1994, no. 28):

σοὶ τόδε καλὸν ἔτευξε, φιλόργγε, βῆμα θεήτρου
Φαῖδρος Ζωίλου βιοδώτορος Ἀτθίδος ἀρχός.

Phaidros, son of Zoilos, archon of life-giving Attica,
built this beautiful theatre stage for you, lover of rites.
(tr. Schuddeboom, AIO).

These verses, together with the inscription of the sundial, are the sole attestations of a Phaidros son of Zoilos. The letter-forms of the block, especially in terms of the phi (with hyperextended vertical), sigma, omega and epsilon (and their cramped spacing), resemble very closely those on the sundial,³² and would support the synchronicity of the two inscriptions. This, accordingly, would suggest that the Phaidroi of the two inscriptions are the same individual. Phaidros is one of only five archons known in the period after the Herulian invasion of 267 AD (Sironen 1994, 45), so it is impossible to date his archonship exactly.³³ Sironen's suggestion of a date at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth centuries (Sironen 1994, 43-45; Sironen, 1997, 116-18; [IG II² 5, 13627](#)) seems compatible with the style of the letter-forms and we suggest a date of ca. 400 AD.³⁴

Since the discovery of this inscription in 1862, the two Phaidroi have generally been identified as the same individual.³⁵ Dittenberger (in *IG III*) rightly expressed surprise (“mirum est”) that a sculptor of a sundial would have reached the high-status role of archon. This supports the view (outlined above) that Phaidros was the commissioner, rather than the craftsman, of the sundial. It is plausible that the same is true of his role in creating the theatre stage, and that ἔτευξε was used in [IG II² 5, 13293](#) for metrical reasons rather than as a precise statement of what Phaidros had done

³¹ We are grateful to one of the anonymous readers for this interesting suggestion.

³² For a photograph of the inscribed block, see Kirchner no. 150; Frantz, 34 n.2; [IG II² 5, 13293](#).

³³ An alternative interpretation would be to see the phrase Ἀτθίδος ἀρχός as being used in a looser sense here, to refer not specifically to the eponymous archon but more generally to a public official (here, a theatre architect); an approximate parallel for this might be *IG II² 5, 13276* (379-395 AD), where ἀρχον ... Ἀχαῶν is used to denote the Proconsul of Achaia. However, the role of eponymous archon is reasonably well-attested in this period ([IG II² 5 13253](#) l.3, 13262-13264, [13273](#), and perhaps 13408), and it seems to us more likely that this is the office referred to in this text too.

³⁴ Phaidros' reconstruction of the theatre stage has recently been placed at the end of the fourth century AD by Gogos, 101-2; however, for an earlier dating, see Frantz, 34-39.

³⁵ One exception to this is Graindor, *Chronologie*, 269-70, suggesting that the builder of the bema was a descendant of the creator of the sundial.

2. The Inscriptions

Whereas the inscription of the sundial presents Phaidros modestly, the inscribed block emphasises his political status and expounds the beauty of the work with which was associated; moreover, by construing the act of construction as a dedication to Dionysos, it also emphasises his piety. Unlike the utilitarian sundial inscription, the block features particularly poetic language: “ἔτευξε” is common in Homer, “θεήτρον” is an Ionicising form, “ἀρχός” is rare.³⁶



Fig. 3.1. 3 © Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁶ On the language of the inscription, see Frantz. The other epigraphical occurrences of “ἀρχός” are entirely restored: *IG II² 3113*; *SEG 26.246*.

2. The Inscriptions

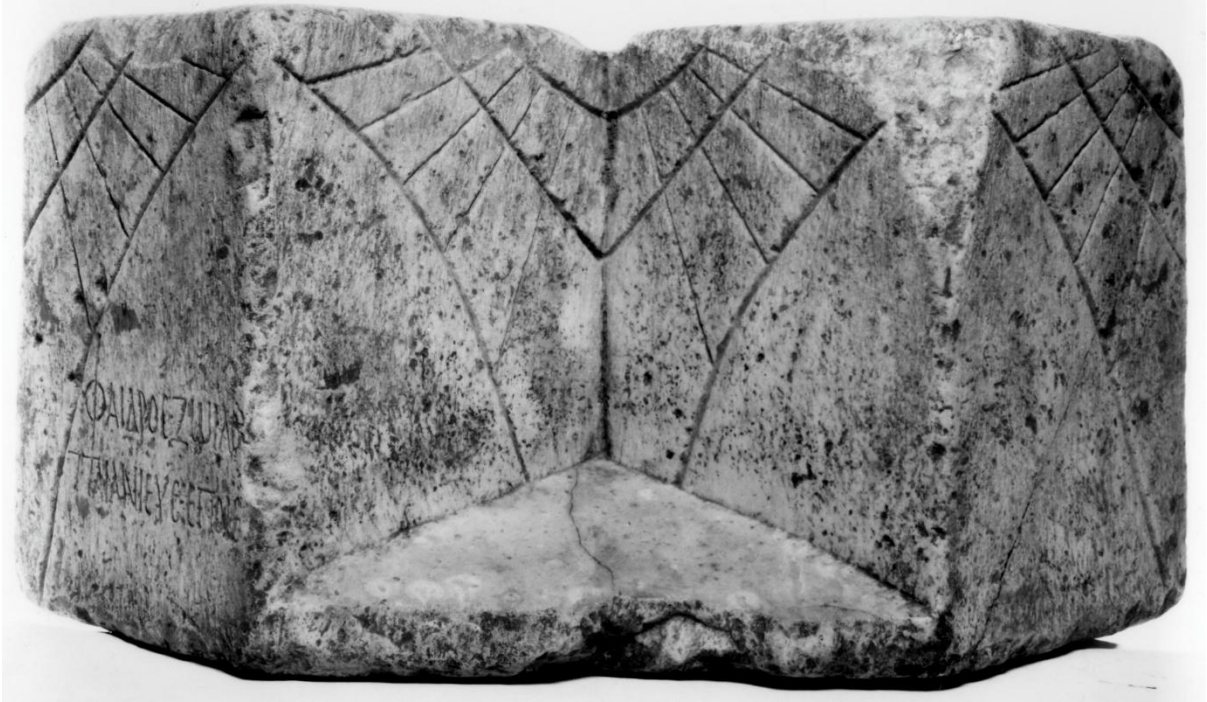


Fig. 3.2. 3 © Trustees of the British Museum.

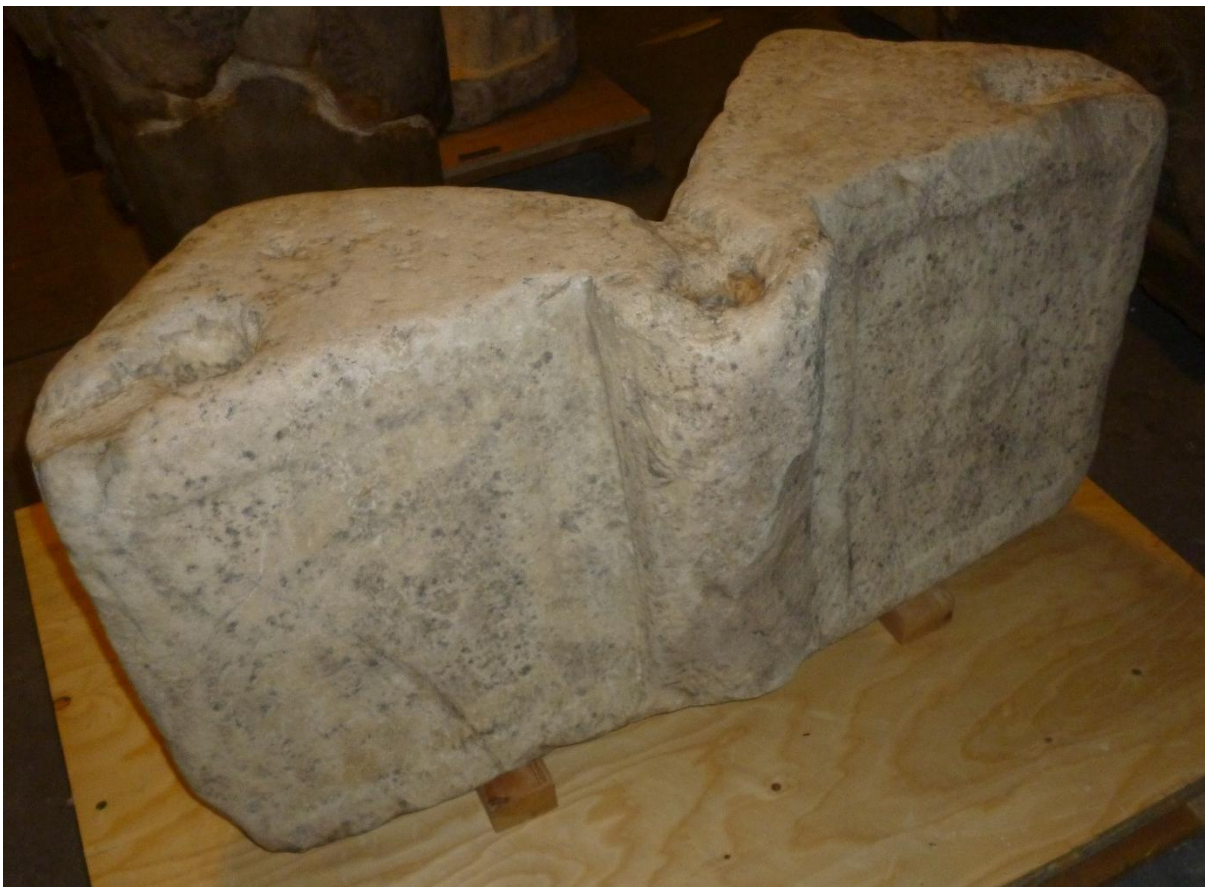


Fig. 3.3. 3 © Trustees of the British Museum.

2. The Inscriptions



Fig. 3.4. 3 © Trustees of the British Museum.

4 FRAGMENT OF IMPERIAL LETTER? BM 1853,0412.160. From the collection of Reginald Mantell (cf. sect. 1), originally from Athens. A fragment of white marble, broken on all sides except for left. Set in mould and back not visible. H. 0.1651, w. 0.0889. Cursive lettering, without apices; Α, C, Ε, Ω. L. h. 0.018.

Eds. Hicks, *GIBM* I no. 135; *IG* II² 5, 13690 (ph., tab. L). In store. *Fig. 4*. Autopsy Liddel 2022.

4 th -5 th cent. AD?	[.]ACA∪[— — — — —]
	‘Ρωμα[— — — — —]
	ΔΑΝΜ[— — — — — ε̣]
	ξελθε[— — — — —]
5	ΚΑΓΩ[— — — — —]
	ΠΕΙΝ[— — — — —]
	ΤΗC[— — — — —]
	ΝΑΓ[— — — — —]
	[— — — — —]

Our text does not differ from that of *IG* II² 5, 13690. 1 τ]ὰς Ἀθ[ήνας(?) Hicks || 2 ‘Ρωμα[ίους Hicks || 2-3 ἐπει[δὸν μ[έν(?) Hicks || 3-4 ἐ]ξελθε[ῖν(?) Hicks || 4-5 ἔνε]κα(?) *IG* II² || 5 κὰγὼ Hicks || 9 Traces of the upper part of a vertical, aligned with the centre of the alpha in l. 8, not noted in *IG*.

This was published by Hicks as a “fragment of doubtful reference”, noting that “a label fastened on the back of the inscription tells us that it came from the Parthenon”. He suggested that it may be a fragment of an imperial letter to the Athenians;³⁷ this (or the possibility that it is an imperial enactment of some sort) seems plausible given the possible reference to the ‘Ρωμα[ίους (Romans)³⁸ in line 3 and the possibility of first-person pronoun in line 5 suggested by Hicks (but not followed by *IG*). It is just possible that there is reference to an announcement in lines 5-6 ([ἀνει]πιεῖν) and possibly 7-8 (ἀ]ναγ[ορεύσεως]): this combination appears in an Athenian honorific decree of the early Hellenistic period (*IG* II³ 1, 927) and another honorific decree (for ephebes and their superintendent) of the mid-first century BC (*AIUK* 4.2, no. 16). Alternatively 7-8 are restored ἀ]ναγ[νώστης] (a slave trained to be a reader; cf. *IG* II² 5, 13496, l. 5), although this is not a particularly common term (there are around 50 epigraphic attestations, many with a Christian context). It is also possible that lines 7-8 may be the remains of a formula of epigraphical publication (ἀ]ναγ[ράψαι is an extremely common part of such formulae). The balance of epigraphic possibilities might point to the last, best-attested, restoration as the most likely, but the minimal state of preservation of the text, as well as the fact that the majority of parallels are significantly earlier than our inscription, makes certainty impossible.

Bruun (288-89) outlines a typology of Roman inscribed imperial enactments deployed in communication across the empire: the *decretum* (a verdict given by an emperor in a legal procedure, of which there are few surviving examples); *edicta* (edicts, which were generally-applicable announcements); *mandata* (consisting of instructions to local officials); *epistulae* (imperial letters); *rescripta* (rescripts, replies: responses to petitions sent to individual officials

³⁷ Around thirty inscribed Imperial letters survive from Athens, running from 121 AD to 265 AD: see AIO entry on [I Eleusis 513](#).

³⁸ An alternative is a reference to the ‘Ρωμα[αῖα (festival of the deity Roma), on which see Mellor.

2. The Inscriptions

or private individuals); and letters of appointment. We can do no more than speculate about the content or type of the text of which 4 is a fragment, though it seems likely to be a public document or even a letter of praise sent to the Athenians.³⁹ We follow the dating of *IG*.



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

³⁹ On the phenomenon of setting up letters of praise from Roman officials and emperors, see Lendon, 49 with n. 92.

APPENDIX 1: INSCRIPTIONS OF UNCERTAIN PROVENANCE

In previous volumes of *AIUK* we have published four inscriptions in the BM collection that have at some point been identified as Attic, but whose provenance is uncertain. These include the thank-offering to Apollo Tarsios ([AIUK 4.5 Appendix](#)), which shows no definite Attic features but was identified by Boeckh as Attic, perhaps on the grounds of derivation from the Elgin Collection. A fragment of an unidentified association ([AIUK 4.3A no. 6](#)) is another inscription from the Elgin Collection whose identification as Attic is tentative but which shows features typical of an Attic text. [AIUK 4.3A nos. 8](#) and [9](#), and [AIUK 4.6 no. 77](#), are other Elgin inscriptions of uncertain origin, but which may well be Attic. *AIUK* 4.6 included three funerary monuments with obscure origin that had at some point been identified as Attic ([AIUK 4.6 nos. 81, 82, 83](#)).

GIBM IV 927, a stele of white marble broken at the bottom and damaged on the right side, formerly in the Strangford collection, “was said to have been brought from Attika” (Hirschfeld). However, the editors of *CIG*, publishing it among inscriptions of unknown provenance, suggested that it derived from Teos or Miletos (*CIG* 6851); Hirschfeld favoured Miletos and published it among the inscriptions from Didyma. It is dated to the early imperial period.

At the end of *GIBM* volume 4 (Marshall, *GIBM* IV, nos. 1107-1154a) are inscriptions of ‘uncertain locality’. Several have been included in *AIUK* volumes on the grounds of likely Attic identification (*GIBM* IV, no. 1151 = [AIUK 4.5 no. 9](#); *GIBM* IV, no. 1152 = [AIUK 4.6 no. 21](#); *GIBM* IV, no. 1153 = [AIUK 4.6 no. 31](#)). Three others have been in the past identified as Athenian but we do not find sufficient evidence to definitively identify them as such, and so we present them in concise form here: **(a)**, **(b)**, **(c)**.

(a) A stoichedon funerary epigram for a family from Parion (in Mysia). Derives from the Elgin collection but provenance not documented. A tapering pedimental stele of greyish marble with central and lateral acroteria (the right of which is preserved). There is a rectangular cutting in the top of the pediment, behind which is inserted a piece of metal (modern?). The inscribed lines occupy the top of the stele, beneath which is a smooth area which once may have been occupied by a painted scene. Tentatively identified by Wilamowitz (*Hermes* 65, 1930, 253-254 = *Kl. Schr.* 4.521-522) as Attic on the basis of its (rough) stoichedon pattern, its use of interpuncts, the space possibly for a painted scene in the space beneath the inscription and the fact that it was brought by Elgin. Wilamowitz suggested that it commemorated men of Parion who had fallen in the Dekeleian War fighting for the Athenians.⁴⁰ However, the letters, which are shaped inconsistently, do not have clear Attic parallels. Association with Parion in Mysia on the grounds of the ethnicity of those commemorated (the possibility was raised very tentatively by Boeckh)⁴¹ is similarly indecisive. The form of the ethnic, Παριηνός, is the Ionic variant of the more usual Πάριος (the latter is what would be expected at Athens); this is another argument in favour of non-Attic origin.

⁴⁰ “Lord Elgin hat den Stein mitgebracht, und die Schrift, στοιχηδόν, drei Trennungspunkte zwischen den Wörtern, Raum für ein verloschenes Gemälde unter den Versen, alles macht den Eindruck athenischer Herkunft. Es gehört in *IG* I; die beiden Leute aus Parion, die stolz als στρατιῶται bezeichnet werden, sind im dekeleischen Kriege gefallen.”

⁴¹ “Titulus ubi repertus sit, non constat: rettuli ad urbem Parium, utpote patriam defunctorum, nec facile potuit alio atque ibi loco positus esse.”

BM 1816,0610.372; F. Osann, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Antiquarum Graecarum et Latinarum* (1834), p.192, no. 44; *CIG* 3648*; Marshall, *GIBM* IV, no. 1107; Peek, *GVI* 218; Kaibel, *Epigrammatum anthologia palatina* no. 86; *CEG* 94, *SEG* 32.28; *IK Parion* pp. 80-81.

Cf. Jeffery, *Local Scripts* p. 367 and 372 no. 49; Threatte, 1.35, 135, 412). H. 1.07, w. 0.482 (top)-0.46 (bottom), th. 0.73-0.8. Rho, alpha and epsilon are shaped inconsistently; pi with short right-hand vertical; splayed omega; l. h. 0.06-0.09, getting smaller on the right side. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2023. *Figs.* 5.1, 5.2.

c. 410-400 BC

Stoich: 0.008-0.014

Διετρέφης : Ζώιλο : Παριηνός : στρατιώτης : Δημοφῶν : Μητροδώρο
 Παριηνός : στρατιώτης : μνήμα φίλη μήτηρ με Διετρέφει ἐνθάδ' ἔθ-
 ηκεν καὶ Περικλεῖ φθιμένοιν Μητρίχη αἰνόμορος. Ἄγνηίς τ' ἐνθά-
 ννννν δε οἱ θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἔχουσιν μοῖραν Δημοφῶων ννννν
 5 ννννν τῆς μετὰ πᾶσι βροτοῖς. *vacat*

Dietrephes son of Zoilos of Parion, a soldier; Demophon son of Metrodoros of Parion, a soldier. Metriche, a dear mother doomed to a sad end, set me up here as a memorial for Dietrephes and Perikles who perished; and her daughter Hagneis and her brother Demophon have a fate here which is common to all mortals.'

In metrical format, the text is as follows:

Διετρέφης Ζώιλο Παριηνός στρατιώτης, Δημοφῶν Μητροδώρο | Παριηνός
 στρατιώτης.
 μνήμα φίλη μήτηρ με Διετρέφει ἐνθάδ' ἔθληκεν
 καὶ Περικλεῖ φθιμένοιν Μητρίχη αἰνόμορος,
 Ἄγνηίς τ' ἐνθάδε οἱ θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἔχουσιν
 5 μοῖραν Δημοφῶων, | τῆς μετὰ πᾶσι βροτοῖς.

Marshall took the view that Metriche married twice, and had two sons (Dietrephes and Perikles) by one husband, Zoilos; and a son and daughter (Demophon and Hagneis) by the second husband, Metrodoros. Our translation follows the interpretation of Wilamowitz, also followed by Merkelbach, that Demophon was the brother of Metriche, and that she had three children by Zoilos (Dietrephes, Perikles and Hagneis). Merkelbach (*ZPE* 45, 1982, 39-40) took the view that the name Ἄγνηίς was a patronymic, comparing the Ἐρσηῖς of *IG* II² 11345; however, J. and L. Robert (*BE* (1982) no. 124) observe that the stemma of this family contains no Hagnos.

A modern replica in limestone, based loosely on the text of the BM stele, with orthographical errors, a rounded finial, smaller dimensions (h. 0.345, w. 0.347, th. 0.015) and letter height (0.005), a different lineation, and additional decoration consisting of a vase standing on a table is held in the stores of the World Museum, Liverpool (LIV.2013.60: *Fig.* 5.3). The errors are largely those which suggest lack of comprehension in reading and/or skill in carving (confusion of similar letters – pi/gamma; alpha/delta, epsilon/sigma, etc; reversal of one letter (nu); some omissions of letters; dittography). Nothing is known about the provenance of the Liverpool replica (it is likely that the records of its accession were destroyed through bomb damage in World War II).

(b) An inscribed marble capital of a Doric column with the name of Dionysios son of Dionysios of Paiania; Roman period. Now identified as originating from Delos (BM 1973,0328.1; *GIBM* IV, no. 1110 (“Athens?”); *I Délos* 2510ter.

166-80 BC ἐπὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ δὲ τῆ[ς νήσου]
Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου
Παιανιέως

And when the manager of the [island] was
Dionysios son of Dionysios
of Paiania

(c) A funerary relief of Asiachos depicting a boy fishing (BM 1805,0703.439; *CIG* 6892; *GIBM* IV, no. 1125; Smith, *Sculpture* 1.648), which lacks features which suggest an Athenian provenance. It was purchased from the Besborough Collection in 1801.

2nd-3rd cent. AD Ἀγαθήμε(τ)ρος Ἀσ(ι)άρχῳ συντρόφῳ μνήμης χάριν

Agathemetros (erected this) in memorial of Asiarchos his foster-brother

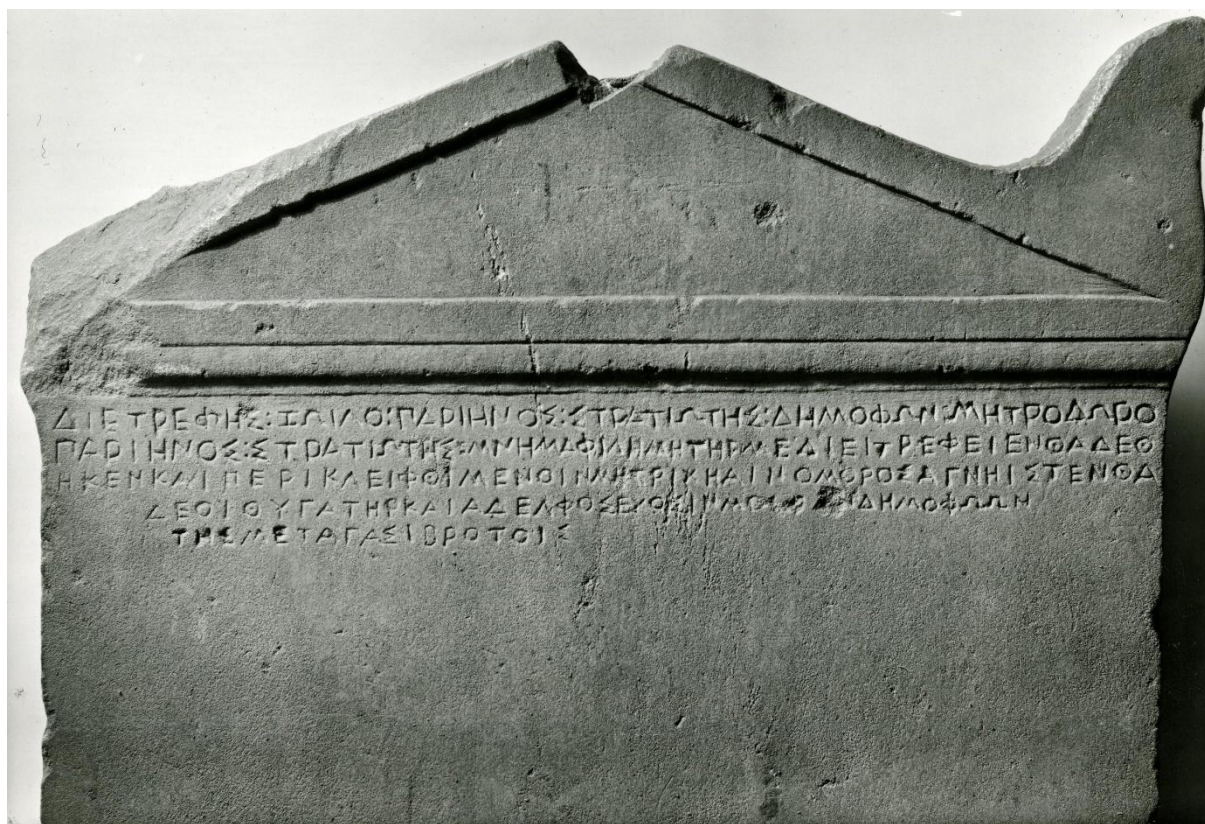


Fig. 5.1. Appendix 1(a) © Trustees of the British Museum.

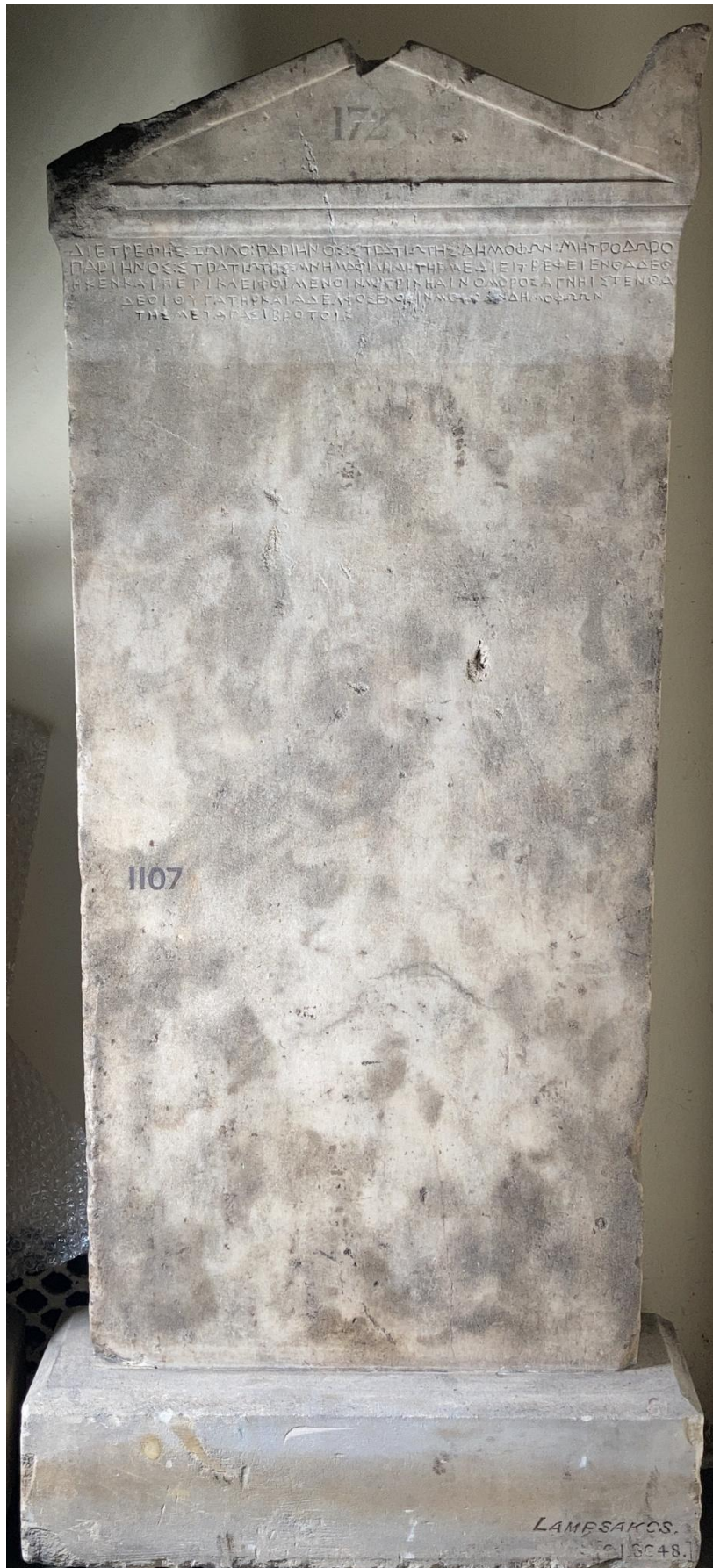


Fig. 5.2. Appendix 1(a) © Trustees of the British Museum.

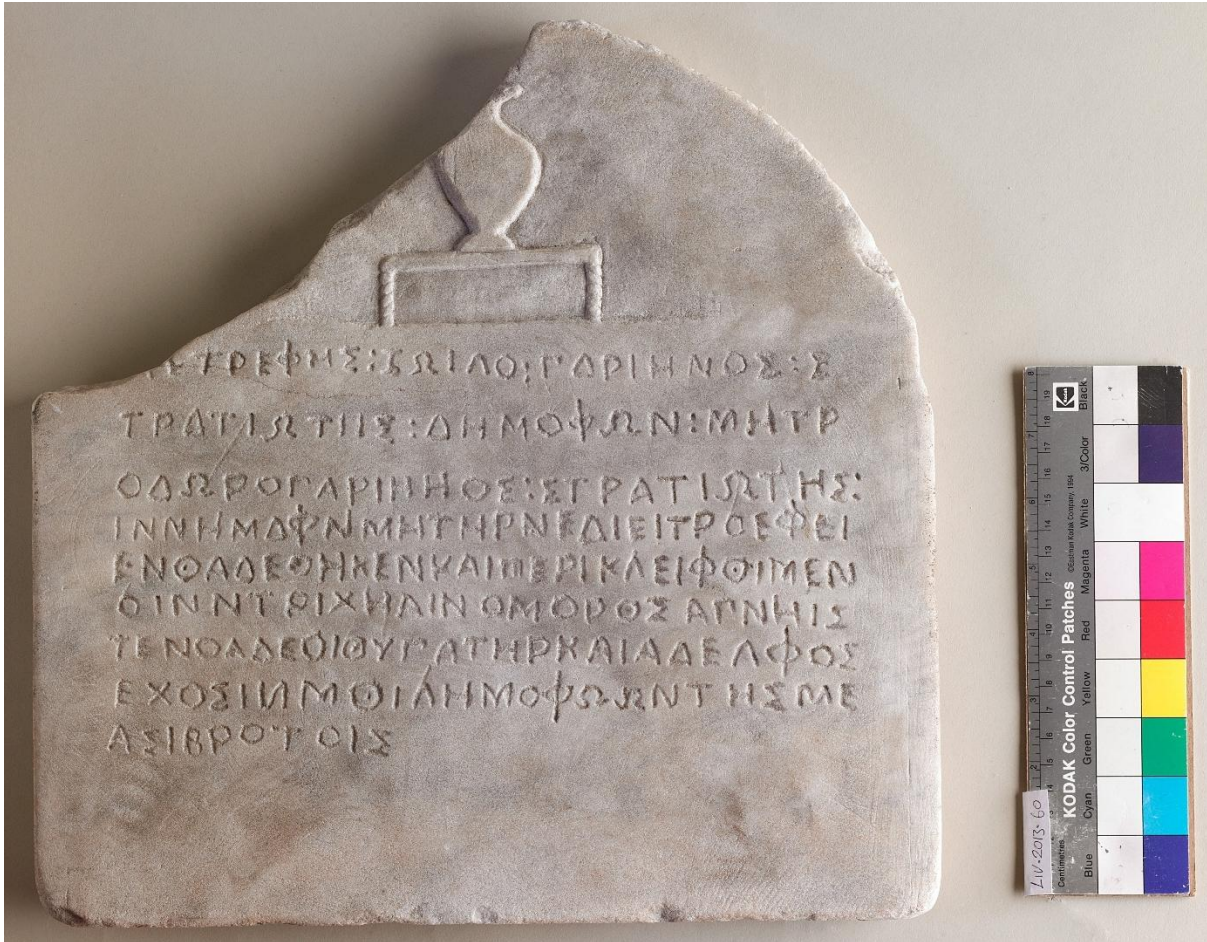


Fig. 5.3. **Appendix 1(a)** Replica: LIV.2013.60 © National Museums Liverpool (World Museum). All rights reserved .

APPENDIX 2: AN INSCRIPTION REPORTED BY A. ASKEW

BM 1816,0610.193 (Smith, *Sculpture* III.2154; W. R. Lethaby, “An Attic Cistern Front at the British Museum”, *JHS* 48, 1928, 7-8; Pitt, *Askew* no. 19) is a relief of white marble depicting two satyrs and a maenad pouring a libation to Dionysos; late-Hellenistic/Roman period. The upper section may have originally carried a moulding that was later chiselled away. Its back has been cut away. It was found at the Odeon of Herodes Atticus sometime before 1748 and taken to the house of Niccolo Logotheti, the English Consul, where it was seen by Dr Anthony Askew, author of a manuscript reporting inscriptions he had seen when at Athens (completed on 24th January, 1748, the third day of his quarantine at Malta; it is entitled, “A collection of Inscriptions copied by Anthony Askew, MD, during his voyage to Greece”: Burney 402 f. 12r/11v). Askew notes an inscription ΗΠΟΛΙΣ (which could be -- ἡ πόλις --- or a sculptor’s signature with a name ending -πολις) appearing on a relief identified on the basis of Askew’s description by Lethaby as 1816,0610.193. However, no inscription was visible on our autopsy in 2023: it is likely either that the inscribed area was cut away at, or by, the time of Elgin for transportation; or that Askew saw the inscription on an adjacent stone. *Fig. 6.*



Fig. 6. Appendix 2 © Trustees of the British Museum.

APPENDIX 3: ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS ON METAL AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

This project does not collect Attic inscriptions on metal at the British Museum, but we note that there are examples of classical Athenian *pinakia* in its collection, including those for: Philochares of Halai and Aristophon son of Aristodamos of Kothokidai (*IG II²* 1849; Kroll, *Ath. Allot. Plates* 83 = BM 1873,0820.129); Aristandros of Eleusis and Deinias of Halai (*IG II²* 1850; Kroll, *Ath. Allot. Plates* 62 = BM 1842,0728.674.b); Thoukydides of Upper Lamprai (*IG II²* 1877; Kroll, *Ath. Allot. Plates* 78 = 1895,1029.9); Archilochos of Phaleron (*IG II²* 1865; Kroll, *Ath. Allot. Plates* 36 = 1865,0720.50); Philochares of Acharnai (*IG II²* 1864a Add. pt. 2.2 p. 814; Kroll, *Ath. Allot. Plates* 41 = 1905,0609.4); lost name (Kroll, *Ath. Allot. Plates* 36 = 1920,0805.521).

We have not attempted a comprehensive survey of the inscribed slingshots from Athens in the Museum of which the one inscribed ΔΕΞΑΙ (“take it!”) is an example (1851,0507.1; cf. *Luxury and Power* 165, no. 158, ph.).

APPENDIX 4: NON-ATHENIAN HONOURS FOR ATHENIANS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

AIUK does not collect inscriptions of other Greek communities pertaining to Athens or Athenians. We note here, however, an example at the British Museum: the fourth-century bronze inscribed proxeny decree from Coreyra for Dionysios son of Phrynichos of Athens (1868,0110.3 = *GIBM* 166 (with dr.) = *IG IX,1* 682).

APPENDIX 5: THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM'S COLLECTION OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

We published a list of the collectors of Attic inscriptions in UK collections in *AIUK* 15 (Miscellaneous) pp. 51-56. What follows here is a summary of the collection history of Attic inscriptions at the British Museum.

Of the **164** Attic (or possibly Attic) inscriptions on stone now held at the British Museum, a handful (**thirteen**) came into its possession over the course of the eighteenth century. The earliest-acquisitioned piece, with a date of 1756, a lekythos for Pytharatos and Herophilos ([AIUK 4.6 no. 52](#)), is associated with Sir Hans Sloane, the Irish-born physician (1660-1753), who had bequeathed his 71,000 objects to the British nation upon his death. Nine Attic inscriptions were collected by Dr Richard Chandler on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti in Athens in 1765 and 1766 and were donated to the Museum in 1785 ([AIUK 4.1 nos. 1, 3; 4.3A nos. 1, 2, 3](#); 4.4 no. 7; [4.6 nos. 6, 28, 39](#)). Three others were accessioned to the BM in 1805 from the collections of Charles Townley (1737-1805), two of which derived from the collections of Dr Anthony Askew (1722-1774) a distinguished physician and collector of Classical books and manuscripts (cf. Appendix 2), and one from that of Francis Russell, the Marquess of Tavistock (1739-1767): [AIUK 4.3B no. 5](#) (Askew); [4.5 no. 9](#) (Tavistock); [4.6 no. 16](#) (Askew).

The majority (**97**) of the Athenian inscriptions in the BM derived from the Elgin collection (accessioned mostly in 1816, the year of their purchase on behalf of the museum).⁴²

Twenty-three Athenian inscriptions were acquired by the museum in the period between the 1816 accession and the publication of the first volume of the *GIBM* in 1874; these were bequests or purchases from the accumulations of previous collectors: Percy Clinton, Viscount Strangford (1780-1885): [AIUK 4.2 nos. 3, 16](#); [4.3B no. 4](#); [4.5 no. 4](#); [4.6 nos. 35, 83](#); George Hamilton-Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860): [AIUK 4.5 nos. 17, 21](#); [4.6 nos. 27, 32, 36](#); the architect and scholar H. W. Inwood (1794-1843): [AIUK 4.5 no. 2](#); [4.6 nos. 5, 29](#); Somerset Lowry-Corry, 2nd Earl of Belmore (1774-1841): [AIUK 4.6 no. 55](#); Reginald Mantell: [AIUK 4.7 no. 4](#), see above; the archaeologist Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823-1896): *AIUK* 4.4 no. 1); Sir William Temple (d. 1856), ambassador at Naples in 1833-1856: *AIUK* 4.4 no. 12; the United Services Institute: [AIUK 4.6 no. 11](#); Rev. Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell (1780-1846): [AIUK 4.6 no. 40](#); Thomas Blayds (1795-1849): [AIUK 4.6 no. 82](#); and Comte James Alexandre de Pourtalès-Gorgier (1776-1855): [AIUK 4.5 no. 10](#), [AIUK 4.6 no. 8](#) was donated to the British Museum by a Royal Navy officer, Alexander Robinson, in 1850. **Five** other Attic inscriptions of unknown provenance, thought to have been acquired at some point in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century, were accessioned in 1973 ([AIUK 4.5 no.11](#); [AIUK 4.6 no. 41](#)) and 2013 ([AIUK 4.6 nos. 9, 12, 72](#)).

⁴² Athenian inscriptions at the British Museum deriving from the Elgin collection: [AIUK 4.1 no. 2](#); [AIUK 4.2 nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10\(?\)](#), [11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17](#); [AIUK 4.3A nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10](#); [AIUK 4.3B nos. 1, 2, 3](#); [AIUK 4.4 nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14](#); [AIUK 4.5 nos. 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, Appendix](#); [AIUK 4.6 nos.1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 26, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58\(?\)](#), [59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80](#); [AIUK 4.7 nos. 2\(?\)](#), [3](#). For a collection history of the inscriptions associated with Elgin and now at the British Museum, see *AIUK* 4.1, pp. 1-4 and *AIUK* 4.2, pp. 1-4; for the inscriptions in the Elgin collection generally, see *AIUK* 8, pp. 1-2.

Sixteen inscriptions were acquired in the period during which *GIBM* was published (1875-1916): they derived from the dispersed collections of Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford (1766-1827): [AIUK 4.6 nos. 21, 37](#), or took the form of donations from Arthur Sanders ([AIUK 4.6 no. 18](#)), Captain R. C. Turner, a sailor working in the Levant ([AIUK 4.6 no. 81](#)), and the military officer Sir T. J. Malcolm ([AIUK 4.6 no. 43](#)). Another was donated after having turned up in the foundations of a London property in 1890 ([AIUK 4.6 no. 42](#)). Others were purchased through dealers such as William Talbot Ready ([AIUK 4.6 nos. 24, 25](#)), C. A. Lembressis ([AIUK 4.6 nos. 22, 31](#)), Jean P. Lambros ([AIUK 4.5 no. 12; 4.6 no. 71](#)), Georges Yannacopoulos ([AIUK 4.6 nos. 30, 33](#)), Spink & Son Ltd. ([AIUK 4.6 no. 34](#)), and an unknown dealer ([AIUK 4.3A no. 4](#)).

Post-1916 acquisitions of new Attic inscriptions have been rare. There were **four** in the period 1916 to 1950, consisting of those deriving from the collections of Sir Francis Cook ([AIUK 4.6 no. 17](#)) and the Rev. William C. Hall ([AIUK 4.4 no. 2](#)); there was a donation of a well-travelled casualty list, set up in Athens but commemorating Argives, by J. D. Botterell ([AIUK 4.6 no. 78](#)) and a purchase from the dealer B. Coureau ([AIUK 4.6 no. 47](#)). In the second half of the twentieth century there were another **four** acquisitions, consisting of purchases from the sale of the collection of Howe Peter Browne, 2nd Marquess of Sligo (1788-1845): [AIUK 4.2 no. 7; 4.6 no. 38; 4.7 no. 1](#), and a purchase from the family of John Peter Gandy Deering ([AIUK 4.5 no. 5](#)). The **two** inscriptions acquired in the first two decades of the 21st century were purchased from auction houses ([AIUK 4.6 nos. 23, 48](#)).

On the basis of this brief collection history we might surmise that the majority of the British Museum's collection of Athenian inscriptions derives from pre-existing UK-based collections which were being dissolved and sold off; only a small number were purchased from dealers based outside the UK. In contrast to the acquisition of the BM's collection of inscriptions from (for instance) Ephesos (see Challis, 114-39) or Kalymnos there has been no institutional involvement of the British Museum in excavations that brought Athenian inscriptions to the UK. Individual collectors, therefore, seem to have played a central role in the evolution of the BM's collection of Athenian material: indeed, this is a narrative that resembles that of the librarian and library historian Edward Edwards in his 1870 book *The Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*. His view was that the BM's collection was "conspicuously indebted to the liberality of individual benefactors. In a degree of which there is elsewhere no example, the British Museum has been gradually built up by the munificence of open-handed Collectors, rather than by the public means of the Nation, as administered by Parliament, or by the Governments of the day" (Edwards, 6). However, we should note that, *pace* Edwards, the majority of the Athenian inscriptions appear to have been purchased from these collectors or their successors (sometimes through the intermediary of an auction house) rather than donated by their owners.⁴³

⁴³ Edwards' words were written the same spirit as Michaelis' plea in his *Ancient Marbles* for private owners to hand over their marbles to the national collection (183-84): "May a noble emulation on the part of individuals make ever greater and greater efforts to remedy such defects as still exist in the public collection ... the author of the present work would desire nothing better than that the following catalogue should soon be pronounced out of date, and should only remain as a kind of sepulchral monument to the private galleries of antiques in Great Britain; that a great part of the collections it enumerates here should vanish from its lists, while the names of their owners should be inscribed in letters of gold on the roll of donors to the British Museum."

Edwards (703) took the view that the exertion of British diplomatic ties had, at his time, only relatively recently become a factor in collecting. However, the history of the collection of Athenian inscriptions suggests that the exploitation of consular links had a longer heritage: indeed, at the end of the eighteenth century, Elgin was able to use diplomatic links to collect material, having served as ambassador to the Sublime Porte from 1798 to 1803. He was not alone: in the period 1820-1824, Percy Clinton, Viscount Strangford, held the same position and used it for the collection of antiquities. Earlier still, in 1739, John Montague, fourth Earl of Sandwich, came across the inscribed Athenian accounts of the Delian Amphictyony in the wood-yard of Niccolo Logotheti, the English consul at Athens (*AIUK* 3 p. 1). British geopolitical power and influence, therefore, are relevant to the development of the collection of Athenian inscriptions at the British Museum.⁴⁴

APPENDIX 6: ADDENDUM TO *AIUK* 4.3B no. 5 AND NEW PHOTOGRAPH

Bull. Ep. 2021, 165 comments on the significance of Lambert's new reading of -φορος in the epigram on [AIUK 4.3B no. 5](#), l. 160. Here we publish a new image of the rim of ephebic shield, showing clearly the reading of a vertical stroke well below the line, which is interpreted by Lambert as the bottom of a phi (Fig. 7). As noted by Lambert in the apparatus criticus, Wilson had correctly observed this stroke in his PhD thesis.

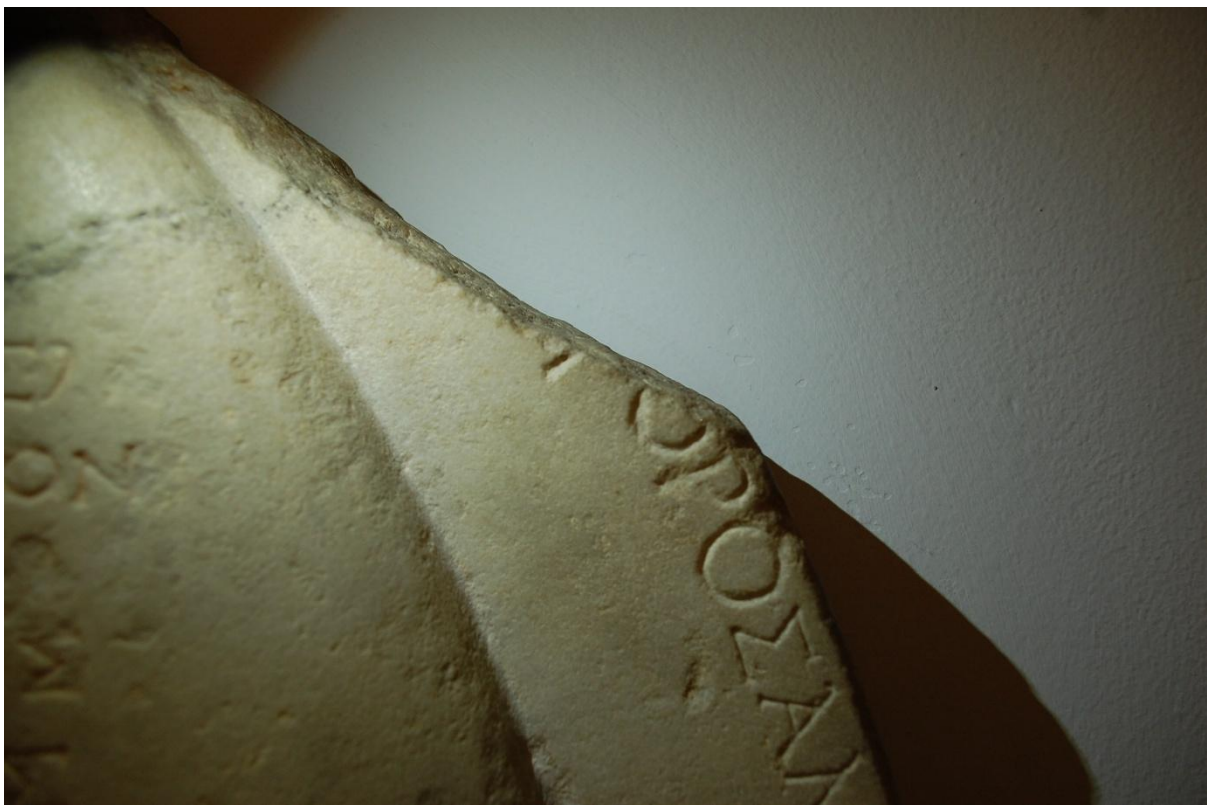


Fig. 7. Appendix 6 (= *AIUK* 4.3B, no. 5, l. 160) © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁴⁴ On the relevance of the British consular service in the Aegean to the collection of British Museum antiquities, see Gunning.