



Institute for Balkan Studies
Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου

ANCIENT MACEDONIA

EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM



ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

ΟΓΔΟΟ ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟ

ANCIENT MACEDONIA
VIII

MACEDONIA
FROM THE DEATH OF PHILIP II
TO AUGUSTUS' RISE TO POWER

PAPERS READ
AT THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
HELD IN THESSALONIKI, NOVEMBER 21-24, 2017

ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

VIII

Η ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β΄
ΕΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΟΔΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ

ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΕΙΣ

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΟΓΔΟΟ ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟ,
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ, 21-24 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2017

Η' ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

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Πρόλογος

Το Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου (ΙΜΧΑ) ξεκίνησε το 1968, σε συνεργασία με το Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, τη Γενική Διεύθυνση Αρχαιοτήτων και Αναστηλώσεως και τα πανεπιστήμια Wisconsin και Columbia, τη διοργάνωση του Α' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για την αρχαία Μακεδονία.

Σκοπός του ΙΜΧΑ ήταν να μελετηθεί συστηματικά η ιστορία της αρχαίας Μακεδονίας, η οποία εξαιτίας αρκετών παραγόντων δεν είχε μελετηθεί ανάλογα με τη μεγάλη σημασία της. Έτσι, καθιερώθηκε η μόνιμη διεξαγωγή στη Θεσσαλονίκη μιας επιστημονικής συνάντησης με σημαντική διεθνή ακτινοβολία, η οποία μετεξελίχθηκε σε θεσμό πλήρως καταξιωμένο στην ευρύτερη ακαδημαϊκή και επιστημονική κοινότητα.

Η μεγάλη πρόοδος της ανασκαφικής δραστηριότητας στη Μακεδονία από τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1970 και τα εντυπωσιακά ευρήματα που ήρθαν στο φως στη Βεργίνα, στο Δίον, στην Πέλλα, στην Αιανή, στην Αμφίπολη και άλλους χώρους, συνετέλεσαν στην αύξηση του ενδιαφέροντος για την αρχαία Μακεδονία σε ολόκληρο τον κόσμο, στη μεγάλη διεύρυνση του κύκλου των ενδιαφερομένων (αρχαιολόγων και ιστορικών) να συμμετάσχουν στα Συμπόσια που διοργάνωσε το ΙΜΧΑ έως και το 2002 και στην τακτική συμμετοχή έγκριτων επιστημόνων.

Τα επόμενα Διεθνή Συμπόσια που διοργανώθηκαν, το Β' (1973), το Γ' (1977), το Δ' (1983), το Ε' (1989) και το ΣΤ' (1996) ασχολήθηκαν γενικά με την Αρχαία Μακεδονία. Το Ζ' (2002) είχε την πιο συγκεκριμένη θεματική «Η Μακεδονία από την Εποχή του Σιδήρου έως τον θάνατο του Φιλίππου Β'».

Το Η' Συμπόσιο διεξήχθη τον Νοέμβριο του 2017 και απετέλεσε υπό μία έννοια τη συνέχεια του προηγούμενου, όπως αποδεικνύεται και από τη θεματική του («Η Μακεδονία από τον θάνατο του Φιλίππου Β' έως την άνοδο του Αυγούστου στην εξουσία»). Πραγματοποιήθηκε σε συνεργασία με το Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του ΑΠΘ και το Διεθνές Πανεπιστήμιο της Ελλάδος. Δεκάδες συνάδελφοι από όλον τον κόσμο ανταποκρίθηκαν στην πρόσκληση της Επιστημονικής Επιτροπής που ήταν υπεύθυνη για την διεξαγωγή του. Οι εργασίες του Συμποσίου στέφθηκαν από επιτυχία και η επιστημονική κοινότητα αναμένει την παρούσα έκδοση των Πρακτικών του Συμποσίου, τα οποία θα αποτελέσουν βιβλίο αναφοράς για τους ειδικούς.

Η Οργανωτική Επιτροπή

Foreward

The Institute of Balkan Studies began in 1968, in collaboration with the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the Department of Antiquities and Restoration, and the Universities of Wisconsin and Columbia, to organize the First International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia.

The purpose of the Institute of Balkan Studies was to systematically study the history of ancient Macedonia, a task not undertaken until then, despite its great importance. Thus, the permanent holding of a Symposium with international impact in Thessaloniki was established and evolved into an institution fully recognized in the wider academic and scientific community.

The great progress of the excavation activity in Macedonia since the mid-1970s and the impressive findings that came to light in Vergina, Dion, Pella, Aiani, Amphipolis and other places, contributed to the increase of interest in ancient Macedonia all over the world, to the expansion of the circle of both archaeologists and historians who were eager to participate in the Symposia organized by the Institute of Balkan Studies until 2002 and to the regular participation of renowned scholars.

The next International Symposia that were organized, namely the 2nd (1973), the 3rd (1977), the 4th (1983), the 5th (1989) and the 6th (1996), dealt with Ancient Macedonia in general. The 7th (2002) had a more specific thematic: “Macedonia from the Iron Age to the death of Philip II”.

The 8th Symposium was held in November 2017 as a continuation of the previous one, as evidenced by its thematic (“Macedonia from the death of Philip II to Augustus’ rise to power”). It was held in collaboration with the Department of History and Archeology of the School of Philosophy of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the International Hellenic University. Dozens of colleagues from around the world responded to the invitation of the Scientific Committee responsible for conducting it. The work of the Symposium was successful and today we deliver the edited volume of its Proceedings to the scientific community.

The Organizing Committee

Bookrolls and Writing Tablets as Pictorial Gear: Images of *Literati* on Macedonian and Thessalian Tombstones of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods

This article discusses images of persons that are characterized as cultivated on figured tombstones from Macedonia and Thessaly.¹ Given that Greek funerary iconography was highly selective as to the variety of social and human types, capacities, and virtues that were allowed to show and were chosen to be advertised in public, exhibiting unmistakable preference for archetypical roles, representations of educated and cultured persons, less in the Classical more in the Hellenistic period, reveal a communally shared emphasis on the significance of *paideia* as a constituent, identity element of the Greek citizen.

On tombstones, opened or closed rolls of papyri (bookrolls) and *deltoi* (writing tablets)² are the common defining pictorial tokens which bestow the profile of the “(wo)man of letters” upon the commemorated person. By and large, this is the case also for Macedonia and Thessaly. Together with these, we also discuss the significantly fewer tombstones of persons either shown with a musical instrument or commemorated through the representation of a musical instrument in “still life” scenes, so as to broaden the scope of our investigation and look at two of the main subjects or disciplines, namely *γράμματα* and *μουσική*, which together with athletics formed the core triad of traditional ancient Greek *paideia*.³ Since physical train-

1. We would like to express our gratitude to the Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia for granting us permission to study, photograph and publish select groups of the painted stelai of Demetrias, and its Director, Dr. Anthi Batziou, and all the personnel of the Museum for facilitating our study in any possible way. We would also like to express our gratitude to the Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia and its director Dr. Angeliki Kottaridi for granting us permission to study, photograph and publish a select group of the painted stelai from the “Great Tumulus” of Aigai, and to Giannis Graekos and Eva Kontogoulidou for their invaluable help in the Museum of Aigai and its storerooms. The multi-spectral imaging of both the Aigai and the Demetrias stelai was performed by Dr. Giovanni Verri and its detailed results will appear in separate studies.
2. For ancient terminology and the technical aspects of papyri rolls and writing tablets: Chatzidimitriou, Athina. 2012-2013. “Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση στην εικονογραφία των Αρχαϊκών και Κλασικών χρόνων.” *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 67-68, *Μελέτες*: 332-336, 344-346. In late Archaic and Classical Attic vase painting, papyri rolls and writing tablets are the iconographic hallmarks of mental training and education in school scenes: Chatzidimitriou, “Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση.”
3. In general, see: Griffith, Mark. 2015. “The Earliest Greek Systems of Education.” In *A Companion to Ancient Education*, edited by Martin W. Bloomer. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, esp. 33-51; Pritchard, David M. 2015. “Athens.” In Bloomer, *Companion to Ancient Education*, 112-122.

ing and prowess in its various aspects (mainly: sports, war, and hunting) is rather pronounced in our literary and/or visual record from Macedonia and, to a lesser extent, Thessaly, we thought we might turn our look toward mental culture and the arts, and ask whether and to what extent these were valued.

The article at hand is the first step of a study in progress. It brings together Classical and Hellenistic tombstones with the theme of “cultured persons” from the two regions, establishes its broad statistics, and highlights the main pictorial patterns that it developed. In looking at images of *litterati* from Macedonia and Thessaly, two regions which, besides geographical vicinity, military and political history also bounded together, one has to take heed of two important parameters, which render discussion uneven in certain respects. First, whereas the theme in question appears on tombstones from more than one cities in Macedonia *per se*, Demetrias is the sole city of the region of Thessaly to have yielded (painted) tombstones bearing it. It is hardly surprising that in a vibrant, cosmopolitan, city such as Demetrias, images of “cultured persons” would have been present in the iconographic repertoire of its tombstones. As regards the interior of Thessaly, the seeming absence of such representations may not necessarily be meaningful. As in Demetrias, in inland Thessaly tombstones of the Hellenistic period were predominantly painted and, consequently, in the majority of cases their (painted) decoration has perished. On the other hand, the very few contemporary relief grave stelai of the region remain unpublished and thus unavailable to the present study;⁴ which brings us to the second parameter one should take heed of. The starting points of research for the two regions are different: as opposed to Macedonian, Thessalian tombstones of the Hellenistic period have not been the subject of a comprehensive study and their great majority remains unpublished.⁵ Furthermore, in addition to being fragmentarily studied and/or published, the rich series of the painted stelai from Demetrias might still hold pictorial clues back from the naked eye, awaiting for them to be uncovered once subjected to modern, cutting edge imaging technology, a major *desideratum*. The same stands true for some of the relevant painted figured monuments from Macedonia. Thus, some of the observations made in what follows might be liable to revision. As things stand, rather than converge, the

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4. We would like to thank Stella Katakouta for confirming our observations about the Hellenistic tombstones of inland Thessaly.
 5. The only published *corpora* are the epigraphic studies of Gonnoi (Helly, Bruno. 1973. *Gonnoi 2. Les inscriptions*. Amsterdam: Hakkert) and Atrax [Tziafalias, Athanasios, Richard Bouchon, Laurence Darmezis, Jean-Claude Décourt, Bruno Helly, Gérard Lucas, and Isabelle Pernin. 2016. *Corpus des inscriptions d'Atrax en Pélasgiotide (Thessalie)*. Études épigraphiques 7. Athens: École Française d'Athènes]. The epitaphs of the tombstones of the Perrhaibian Tripolis have been studied by G. Lucas in his doctoral thesis (Lucas, Gérard. 1992. “Les cités antiques de la haute vallée du Titarèse. Étude de topographie et de géographie historique antique avec Corpus des inscriptions.” PhD diss., University of Lyon), but are not fully published.

groups of tombstones with the theme from the two regions are, broadly speaking, chronologically sequential – and, in that, complementary. Since the painted stelai from Demetrias discussed here are less well-known we thought we should go into their description in relatively greater detail.

Other media and categories of finds that offer relevant evidence are selectively discussed. In scrolling the material, we did not strictly look for professionals of the mind, culture, art or science, but rather also for persons broadly qualified as learned, cultivated, educated. In other words, we looked for generators, for active, acknowledged mediators, and for “consumers” or “lovers” of knowledge and art alike. We did not, however, set out to indiscriminately collect evidence on literacy, the educational systems and their officials nor on cultural and intellectual life in Macedonia and Thessaly in general.⁶ We aimed at spotting and isolating mortals (and not divine paradigms), whose cultivation and education was pictorially or verbally – or both – made to stand out and judged worthy of special commemoration, even if as a personal virtue with no particular or assigned public role attached.

Late Classical – Early Hellenistic Macedonia

Owing to literary testimony, it is well known that the Macedonian kings entertained philosophers, launched themselves as patrons of the sciences and arts, offering royal antecedents to Maecenas, and, with a varying degree of devotion and success, even delved into intellectual quests, scholarly pursuits and scientific exercise themselves.⁷ Finds from aristocratic burials, such as the papyrus roll from tomb

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6. Thus, for example, lists of winners in athletic and musical contests, lists of *ephebes*, or inscriptions related to the life of the *gymnasium* are not consistently discussed here. For essays discussing the evidence on theatre and music in Macedonia, see Adam-Veleni, Polyxeni. 2010. *Θέατρο και θέαμα στην αρχαία Μακεδονία*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press; Giannou, Triantafyllia. 2016. “Theatre and Music in Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia.” *Logeion* 6: 30-92; Drougou, Stella. 2017. “Το θέατρο στο βασίλειο της αρχαίας Μακεδονίας.” *Logeion* 7: 86-107. For Thessaly, see below, 557-558. 81-82; also Adrymi-Sismani, Vasiliki, ed. 2010. *Αρχαία θέατρα στη Θεσσαλία. Πρακτικά Ημερίδας*. Volos: Archaeological Institute of Thessalian Studies; Δημοτικό Κέντρο Ιστορίας και Τεκμηρίωσης; Diazoma, for excavated theatres in Thessaly.
 7. Selectively: Tarn, William W. 1913. *Antigonos Gonatas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 21-36, 223-256; Hammond, Nicholas G. L., and Guy T. Griffith. 1979. *A History of Macedonia*, vol. 2, 550-336 B.C. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 148-150; Borza, Eugene N. 1981. “Anaxarchus and Callisthenes: Academic Intrigue at Alexander’s Court.” In *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson*. Institute for Balkan Studies 158. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 73-86; Sakellariou, Michael B. 1988. *Macedonia. 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 88-91 (N. G. L. Hammond), 166-168 (F. W. Walbank); Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Chryssoula. 2007. “Arts and Politics in the Macedonian Court before Alexander.” In *Ancient Macedonia VII. Macedonia from the Iron Age to the Death of Philip II. Papers Read at the Seventh International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, October 14-18, 2002*. Institute for Balkan Studies 280. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 345-356; Giannou, “Theatre and Music.” On Macedonian kings and medicine, in particular: Greenwalt, William. 1986. “Macedonia’s Kings and the Political Usefulness of the Medical Arts.” In *Ancient Macedonia IV. Papers Read at the Fourth International Symposium Held in Thes-*

A at Derveni⁸ and the assemblage, which included a compartment medical case, lately recognized as belonging to medical equipment from tomb B at Derveni,⁹ or the luxurious medical or writing folding compartment case from a lavishly furnished cist grave at Stavroupolis (Thessaloniki), which also yielded an *ἀργυρόποδα δίφρον*,¹⁰ complement literary sources. Such finds tangibly manifest that within the

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- saloniki*, September 21-25, 1983. Institute for Balkan Studies 204. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 213-222; Chrysostomou, Pavlos. 2002. "Συμβολές στην ιστορία της ιατρικής στην αρχαία Μακεδονία." *Ευλιμένη* 3: 103-107; Mavroudis, Aimilios D. 2010. *Μακεδονική ιατρική προσωπογραφία. Μακεδόνες γιατροί στην υπηρεσία Μακεδόνων κατά την αρχαιότητα: μαρτυρίες και αποσπάσματα*. Πραγματεία της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών 62. Athens: Γραφείο Δημοσιευμάτων της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών. On *iatrike techne* as part of ancient Greek *paideia* and, again, the Macedonian kings' relation to its practice and servants: Massar, Natacha. 2005. *Soigner et servir: Histoire sociale et culturelle de la médecine grecque à l'époque hellénistique*. Culture et Cité 2. Paris: De Boccard, esp. 23, 52-55, 150-153, 171-201, 231-248.
8. Themelis, Petros G., and Giannis P. Touratsoglou. 1997. *Οι τάφοι του Δερβενίου*. Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 59. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 30, 146-149; Laks, André, and Glenn W. Most, eds. 1997. *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Betegh, Gábor. 2004. *The Derveni Papyrus. Cosmology, Theology and Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Kouremenos, Theokritos, George M. Parassoglou, and Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou. 2006. *The Derveni Papyrus*. Studi e testi per il *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini* 13. Florence: Leo S. Olschki. The papyri fragments and their impressions on plaster from Tombs II and III of the Great Tumulus at Vergina have now been published by Janko, Richard. 2018. "Papyri from the Great Tumulus at Vergina, Macedonia." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 205: 195-206 (p. 195 n. *: he deems it a preliminary study "in the sense that examination of papyri 1 and 3-5 in wavelengths of light other than the visible might yield further readings"). The content of one of the papyri from tomb III (*P. Vergina* 2) has been recognized as a list of the personal effects of the deceased placed as offerings within the tomb; so already Andronikos, Manolis, Stella Drougou, Panagiotis Faklaris, Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, and Angeliki Kottaridou. 1990. "Ανασκαφή Βεργίνας." *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*: 170. For the time being, it has not been possible to recover the content of the papyrus from tomb II (*P. Vergina* 1). For a number of reasons, which we could not possibly analyze here, we are not entirely convinced of the proposed interpretation of *P. Vergina* 2 (which drags along the tentative interpretation of other items with fragmentary texts from the same tomb [*P. Vergina* 4]). As things stand, however, one cannot be sure to regard it as of content directly relevant to our discussion here.
 9. Ignatiadou, Despina. 2015. "The Warrior Priest in Derveni Grave B Was a Healer Too." *Histoire, médecine et santé* 8: 89-113; Ignatiadou, Despina. 2017. "Bronze Medical and Writing Cases in Classical and Hellenistic Macedonia." In *Artistry in Bronze. The Greeks and Their Legacy. XIXth International Congress on Ancient Bronzes*, edited by Jens M. Daehner, Kenneth Lapatin, and Ambra Spinelli. Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Conservation Institute, 261-263; Katsifas, Christos S., Despina Ignatiadou, Anastasia Zacharopoulou, Nikolaos Kantiranis, Ioannis Karapanagiotis, and George A. Zachariadis. 2018. "Non-Destructive X-Ray Spectrometric and Chromatographic Analysis of Metal Containers and Their Contents from Ancient Macedonia." *Separations* 5, no. 2, 32. <https://doi.org/10.3390/separations5020032>.
 10. Rhomioropoulou, Katerina. 1989. "Κλειστά ταφικά σύνολα υστεροκλασικών χρόνων από τη Θεσσαλονίκη." In *Φίλια Έπη εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν*, τ. Γ'. Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 103. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, 194-218; Ignatiadou, Despina. 2014. "The Stavroupolis Priest-Warrior." In *The Greeks. Agamemnon to Alexander*, edited by Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, and Anastasia Balaska. Athens: Kapon Editions, 388-401; Ignatiadou, "Bronze Medical and Writing Cases," 260-261. Bronze medical and/or writing cases have been also found

upper social registers, certainly those of the Macedonian ruling class, intellectual sophistication, including scientific knowledge, was a highly esteemed and eagerly promoted component of identity – in life and death.

The extraordinary iconographical circle of the “Philosophers’ tomb” at Pella, dated to the late 4th – beginning of the 3rd century BC,¹¹ which includes the figure of a man pointing at a globe with a rod, and thus installs astronomy as a key subject of query of the figures in the main frieze, together with testimony to Philosophy (as *mater studiorum*) palpitating at the heart of the Macedonian kingdom, offers an invaluable *caché* of images of intellectuals, as styled and conceptualized in early Hellenistic Macedonia, and compensates for the concurrent lack of intellectuals’ portraits preserved in stone from the region during the same period.¹²

in a late fourth-century male burial at Archontikon as well as in a Macedonian tomb at Pydna: Chrysostomou, Anastasia, and Pavlos Chrysostomou. 2004. “Ανασκαφή στη δυτική νεκρόπολη του Αρχοντικού κατά το 2004.” *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 18: 568; Ignatiadou, “Bronze Medical and Writing Cases,” 263-265 (with further finds). Other similar/related finds are of more modest form and come from lesser burials; for a later, second-century BC example, a bronze “inkwell” from Edessa: *ibid.*, 265-266; Chrysostomou, Anastasia. 2013. *Αρχαία Έδεσσα. Τα νεκροταφεία*. Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Θεσσαλικών Σπουδών, Μελέτες 5. Volos: Archaeological Institute of Thessalian Studies, 183-189. It should be noted that it is not easy to distinguish between a “writing case” and a “medical case”, unless other indications (such as chemical analysis of residues or the presence of other medical implements) concur and, rather more importantly, that writing implements could have been part of a doctor’s kit as of any given “man of letters”, “intellectual” or “scientist’s” kit. For two doctors’ graves excavated at Pydna (finds from one of them have been illustrated; reign of Alexander III): Chrysostomou “Συμβολές στην ιστορία της ιατρικής,” 105, figs. 4-6; Besios, Matthaïos. 2010. *Περίδων στέφανος: Πύδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της βόρειας Περείας*. Katerini: Εκδόσεις Εταιρίας Ανθρώπων και Φύσεως Έργα (ΑΦΕ Editions), 244-245; Ignatiadou “Warrior Priest,” 91, with n. 3, 109, fig. 12. Metal or bone styli and clay inkpots are reported from several –though not numerous– burials across Macedonia, including women’s and children’s burials, to which detailed reference cannot be provided here; they are not a common grave find, however. In our discussion here, we do not include, *EKM* II 547 (350-325 BC) among funerary monuments for doctors: together with the *EKM* II editors’ commentary, see also the reservations expressed by Massar, Natacha. 2015. “À la vie, à la mort. Les monuments funéraires de médecins de langue grecque, du VIe au Ier siècle avant notre ère.” *Histoire, médecine et santé* 8: 26. Doctors’ tombstones from Upper Macedonia, all dating to the Roman Imperial period, are discussed by Karamitrou-Mendesidi, Georgia, and Kostas Moschakis 2014. “Η ιατρική στην Αιανή και την Άνω Μακεδονία κατά την αρχαιότητα.” In *Medicine and Healing in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by Demetrios Michaelides. Oxford – Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 15-18; the authors (*ibid.*, 19-21) also list grave finds of utensils and tools potentially used in medicine or cosmetics.

11. Lilimbaki-Akamati, Maria. 2007. *Κιβωτιόσχημος τάφος με ζωγραφική διακόσμηση από την Πέλλα*. Πέλλης 1. Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture, 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities; Kalaitzi, Myrina. 2016. *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia, Fifth – First Century BC*. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology. Oxford: Oxford University Press and National Hellenic Research Foundation, 37, 86-87, 110-111.
12. The two contemporary Macedonian Poseidippoï, the epigrammatist from Pella and the comic poet from Kassandreia who thrived in Athens (on the latter’s origin: *Suida*, s.v. Ποσιδίππος), have bequeathed us with echoes of the possible choices for the representation of Macedonian poets of an international standing. The Pellaian Poseidippos asked that he be commemorated with a statue of his

It is significant to stress that this is one of the most prestigious tombs of the east cemetery that should be ascribed to a member of the higher local social strata.

Of the figured composition of the main frieze, only four figures are preserved in a condition that affords description of their main features at this point:¹³ the man with the globe on the west wall, two figures on the south wall, and one figure on the north wall (west section). The man with the globe is beardless, wears a bright red himation and no chiton, which leaves a well-built upper body to show bare, and stands in a commanding position, that of a vivid, didactic demonstration. The other three men are shown seated. The two figures immediately flanking the man with the globe, on the long sides of the tomb, are bearded, dressed in chiton and himation; the man on the south wall supports his chin on his right forearm, in a posture of serene reflection and solemn contemplation, while the man on the north wall delves into the writings of his opened papyrus roll; a pair of papyri, rolled up, are shown close to the man reading. The second man shown on the south wall (east section) appears to have been beardless, dressed in a himation – for the time being, the presence or not of a chiton cannot be ascertained. The figures, wreathed and placed in a rocky scenery, strike poses typical of thinkers, although they do present some points of divergence from the norm, at least as imposed on our visual record by Athens, which would have any true philosopher keep the beard and lose the chiton.

Still, the images in the “Philosophers’ tomb” would not have shown in broad daylight and their viewers would have been significantly fewer than in the case

in the agora of Pella, whereby he wished to be shown with an opened papyrus roll – we do not know if he ever got his wish. Of the Kassandreian Poseidippos we have the well-known statue in the Vatican, whose original would have in all likelihood stood in Athens. The extent to which the images of Macedonians with a prominent career “abroad” would have influenced the taste and choices of their co-patriots back home is a matter worth keeping in mind. For references: Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, 37-38, n. 75; further on Poseidippos the Pellaian’s career and learned take on portraiture: Gow, Andrew S. F., and Denys L. Page. 1965. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 481-484; Gutzwiller, Kathryn J. 1998. *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 150-152; Gutzwiller, Kathryn J. 2005. “Introduction.” In *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book*, edited by Kathryn Gutzwiller. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-16; Stewart, Andrew. 2007. “Alexander, Philitas, and the Skeletos. Poseidippos and the Truth in Early Hellenistic Portraiture.” In *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, edited by Peter Schultz, and Ralf von den Hoff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 123-138; on Poseidippos the Kassandreian’s reconstructed portrait statue: Fittschen, Klaus. 1992. “Zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Dichterstatuen. 2. Teil: Die Statuen des Poseidippos und des Ps.-Menander.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 107: 229-271; Zanker, Paul. 1995. *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*, translated by Alan Shapiro. Berkeley: University of California Press, 136-142.

13. A fresh study of the “Philosophers’ tomb’s” paintings has been undertaken by Haricleia Brekoulaki, Giovanni Verri and Myrina Kalaitzi. Its preliminary findings have been presented at the *Ninth International Round Table on Polychromy in Ancient Sculpture and Architecture, London, British Museum, 9-10 November 2018*.

of (above-ground) tombstones. Owing already to the reading of the scene by Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli and Volkmar von Graeve as that of a man holding an opened bookroll or a *deltos*, a modest stele of one Antigonos from Aigai, dating to the second half of the 4th century BC, until recently appeared as the only known iconographical representation on a fourth-century Macedonian funerary stele of a man indulging in the works of writing and altogether explicitly related to the world of the mind through tangible attributes, and was only coupled by the reader of the “Philosophers’ tomb”.¹⁴

The multi-spectral imaging performed in 2018 on a select group of figured stelai from the “Great Tumulus” of Aigai¹⁵ has confirmed the main iconographical elements of the stele of Antigonos (figs. 1-2) and has furthermore added a second stele with the same theme, falling within the second half of the 4th century BC, which, due to the stele’s much weathered condition, had up to now gone unrecognized (figs. 3-4).¹⁶ The two stelai’s investigation is still under way and we will thus withhold final say on the scenes’ details until this has been completed. In broad terms: two men were shown reading from bookrolls or *deltai* –although one would normally expect the former–, both shown seated, Antigonos on a cushioned *klismos*, feet leaning on footstool, the today anonymous man on the second stele on a cushioned *diphros*. Antigonos is dressed in himation and probably chiton as well, our anonymous reader has his mantle thrown over his *diphros*, thus depicted in partial nudity, and was possibly shown equipped with a chest for the keeping of bookrolls, shown lying on the ground. On neither of the two stelai have secondary figures been hitherto positively identified.

We know of three funerary stelai of the 4th century BC that show men with musical instruments: the stele of a youth shown with his lyre from Poteidaia, a stele with a hoplite and a seated man holding a lyre from Amphipolis, both dating to

14. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Chryssoula. 1984. “Τα επιτάφια μνημεία από τη Μεγάλη Τούμπα της Βεργίνας.” PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, cat. no. 9, pl. 22; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. no. Aigai 45, col. pl. 2a (prior to the new MSI, see the following note); *EKM* II 20. For the reader in the “Philosophers’ tomb”: Lilimbaki-Akamati, *Κιβωτιόσχημος τάφος*, pls. 27, 38-40.

15. By M. Kalaitzi and G. Verri; the new MSI aims to examine further stelai from the “Great Tumulus” and thus complement the investigation begun in 2013 (on which, see Kalaitzi, Myrina, and Giovanni Verri. In press. “The Figured Stelai from the ‘Great Tumulus’ of Aigai Revisited: New Findings on the Distribution of Pigments and Aspects of their Iconography.” In *Fifth International Round Table on Greek and Roman Sculptural and Architectural Polychromy*, Athens, Acropolis Museum, 7th-8th November 2013, organized by the Institute of Historical Research of the NHRF and the Acropolis Museum, edited by Harikleia Brekouliaki. Athens: Μελετήματα, Institute of Historical Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation). Its final results will be published independently.

16. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, “Επιτάφια μνημεία,” cat. no. 25, pl. 49; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. no. Aigai 55, col. pl. 7a (prior to the new MSI): 36 n. 60, already suggesting that the chest might have been for bookrolls.

the first quarter of the 4th century BC,¹⁷ and, last, the small stele of Harpalos from Aigai (third quarter of the 4th century BC).¹⁸ The new study of the latter, aided by multi-spectral imaging,¹⁹ showed that the scene included two figures, namely a man escorted by a boy servant. Harpalos is either placing –which is more likely– or removing what should be identified as a *kithara* on a monument represented on the left part of the scene. While the chelys lyre was “the quintessential instrument of the amateur musician” and a symbol of elite education, thus leaving greater latitude for interpretation as to the potential “professionalism” of the lyre-holders, the *kithara* was the instrument of professional performers²⁰ and thus Harpalos could be recognized as a professional *kitharistes* or *kithar(a)oidos*. Panhellenic contests for *kithar(a)oidoi* are positively attested in Macedonia, commonly associated with the Macedonian festival under the name *Basileia* (“Βασιλεία ἐν Μακεδονίαι” to be distinguished from other Greek festivals by the same name), believed to have been held either in Aigai or Beroia in honour of Zeus Basileus.²¹

Out of a total of about eighty five (85) Macedonian tombstones that preserve representations of the human figure and date to the 4th century BC a harvest of five tombstones that emphasize intellectual or musical pursuits is rather small, even if

17. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. nos. 160 and 176, respectively, with pls., pp. 46-50.

18. *Ibid.*, cat. no. 50, col. pls.

19. Kalaitzi and Verri, “Figured Stelai from the ‘Great Tumulus,’” for the amendments afforded owing to the multi-spectral imaging of the scene.

20. Bundrick, Sheramy D. 2005. *Music and Image in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 14-21, 49-51, 60-74, 80-92, 160-178 (quotation from p. 14).

21. The evidence for *kithar(a)oidoi* and/at the Macedonian *Basileia* comes from, *EKM I 140* (Beroia, 200-150 BC); as it happens, the *kitharoidos* listed as winner possibly came from Aigai; the festival is not named) and *IG II² 3779* (Attica, mid-3rd century BC; Stephanis, Ioannis, E. 1988. *Διονυσιακοί τεχνίται. Συμβολές στην προσωπογραφία του θεάτρου και της μουσικής των αρχαίων Ελλήνων*. Herakleio: Crete University Press, no. 1839), the latter read in conjunction with Paus. 1.37.2; see the commentary of *EKM I* on 140, Gauthier, Philippe, and Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos. 1993. *La loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia*. Μελετήματα 16. Athens: Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 146 n. 3, and Ceccarelli, Paola. 2013. “Circular Choruses and the Dithyramb in the Classical and Hellenistic Period: A Problem of Definition.” In *Dithyramb in Context*, edited by Barbara Kowalzig, and Peter Wilson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 156-157, with further literature. For the cult of Apollo under the epithet Λύκιος, represented as *kithar(a)oidos* on a votive stele from Aigai, see: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Chryssoula. 2000. “Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῳ. Αναθηματικό ανάγλυφο ελληνιστικών χρόνων από τη Βεργίνα.” In *Μύρτος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη Ιουλίας Βοκοποπούλου*, edited by Polyxeni Adam-Veleni. Thessaloniki: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 441-451; *EKM II* no. 7 (2nd century BC). Alexander is said (Plut. *Mor.*, *De Alex. fort.* 2.2f) to have had a bronze statue erected in Delphi in honour of the Olynthian Aristonikos, a famous *kitharoidos* who was close to the royal court and eventually fell fighting for the king: the statue showed him with *kithara* and spear (κιθάραν ἔχοντα καὶ δόρυ προβεβλημένον), a rather unusual pairing for one and the same figure’s attributes and, one would dare say, a typically Macedonian take on music’s virtues, as also Plutarch goes on to explain. See Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοί τεχνίται*, no. 367, with the literary sources on Aristonikos.

one allows for lost or eluding monuments. A man on a stele from Amphipolis of the beginning of the 4th century BC,²² owing to figure characterisation (bearded, mature), outfit (himation, no chiton) and pose (standing in profile to the right, left forearm brought forward, palm facing upwards, as if he addresses another figure), has the credentials of a good and learned conversationalist; one could even supply him with a painted staff on which to lean, and even imagine him to be a *grammatistes*,²³ but we have no concrete attribute/evidence on which to base this. It can nonetheless stand as an attractive idea.

To date, no scene relevant to our topic has been preserved on a Macedonian funerary stele datable to the 3rd century BC and in order for us to come across it once again on Macedonian tombstones we have to wait for the developed iconographic spectrum of the late Hellenistic period.

Demetrias – Thessaly

The painted stelai from Demetrias, the Macedonian city – *basileion* founded at the site of the largest natural harbour of Thessaly,²⁴ step in to partly fill the gap left by the Macedonian series for the 3rd and early 2nd century BC. From 1907 to 1912 Apostolos S. Arvanitopoulos retrieved over 750 tombstones from five towers of the south branch of the city's fortification walls,²⁵ where they had been used as

22. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, 48; cat. no. Amphipolis 170.

23. Compare, for example, the figures of *grammatistai* in Chatzidimitriou, “Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση,” figs. 27 and 29 (none of them identical to our stele's figure).

24. On Demetrias: Stamatopoulou, Maria. 2018a. “Demetrias: The Archaeology of a Cosmopolitan Macedonian Harbour.” In *Βορειοελλαδικά. Tales from the Lands of the Ethne. Essays in Honour of Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Athens (February 2015)*, edited by Myrina Kalaitzi, Paschalis Paschidis, Claudia Antonetti, and Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets. Μελετήματα 78. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Historical Research, 343-376 (with earlier bibliography).

25. For the stelai of Demetrias: Arvanitopoulos, Apostolos S. 1928. *Γραπτάι στήλαι Παγασών – Δημητριάδος*. Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens; Graeve, Volkmar von. 1976. “Die bemalten Grabstelen von Demetrias.” Unpublished Habilitation, University of Freiburg; Helly, Bruno. 1996. “Οι γραπτές στήλες της Δημητριάδας.” In *Αρχαία Δημητριάδα, η διαδρομή της στο χρόνο. Πρακτικά Ημερίδας 9 Νοεμβρίου 1994*, edited by Eleni I. Kontaxi. Volos: Δημοτικό Κέντρο Ιστορίας και Τεκμηρίωσης, 74-90. For the discovery of the stelai: Arvanitopoulos, Apostolos S. 1908. “Η σημασία των γραπτών στηλών Παγασών.” *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*: 2-3; Arvanitopoulos, Apostolos S. 1909. *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία. Περιγραφή των εν τῷ Μουσείῳ Βόλου γραπτῶν στηλῶν Δημητριάδος – Παγασών*. Athens: Ελευθερουδάκης, 80-86; Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπτάι στήλαι Παγασών – Δημητριάδος*. For the history of the research of the monuments: Stamatopoulou, Maria. 2016. “The Banquet Motif on the Funerary Stelai from Demetrias.” In *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the ‘Funerary Banquet’ in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*. Colloquia Antiqua 16, edited by Catherine M. Draycott, and Maria Stamatopoulou. Leuven – Paris – Bristol: Peeters, 406-408; Stamatopoulou, “Demetrias,” 362-365. For their painterly technique: Graeve, Volkmar von. 1979. “Zum Zeugniswert der bemalten Grabstelen von Demetrias für die griechische Malerei.” In *La Thessalie. Actes de la Table-Ronde 21-24 juillet 1975 (Lyon)*. Collection de la Maison de l’Orient Méditerranéen 6. Série Archéologique 5, edited by Bruno Helly. Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux, 111-137;

building material in the beginning of the 1st century BC.²⁶ Of these, about 245 preserve traces of painted decoration; 60 are decorated with a painted red taenia and six with inanimate objects, while over 160 tombstones carry figured scenes.²⁷ The scene or the inscription on about twelve monuments denotes the deceased's occupation with either letters or music. They are all free-standing monuments of average size, mostly pedimented stelai and naiskoi. Among the stelai bearing figured decoration, it is possible to distinguish four basic iconographic *schemata*, on the basis on the composition and details of the scene.

The first *schema* includes two monuments, where men, characterised as *literati*, are depicted in the company of friends or family members, often united in a hand-shake (*dexiosis*), holding a closed papyrus roll or a folded *deltos*. Such is the stele of the Illyrian Stratonike, daughter of Oinantios, dated to the 3rd century BC.²⁸ The young man who stands in three-quarter view opposite her, dressed in a chiton and a himation, the typical civilian dress of the Hellenistic period, holds with his left hand a rectangular oblong object, possibly a closed *deltos*.²⁹ A second monument, the well-known late third-century BC naiskos for Stratonikos son of Straton, whose epigram informs us that he perished at Eidomene, depicts two men holding each other's wrist (fig. 5).³⁰ A beardless man is seated on a cushioned *diphros*

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- Preußner, Frank, Volkmar von Graeve, and Christof Wolters. 1981. "Malerei auf griechischen Grabsteinen." *Maltechnik Restaura* 87: 11-34; Graeve, Volkmar von, and Frank Preusser. 1981. "Zur Technik griechischer Malerei." *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 96: 120-156. The entire corpus of tombstones dating to the Hellenistic period amounts to nearly a thousand monuments (Arvanitopoulos, "Σημασία τῶν γραπτῶν στηλῶν," cls. 2-3; Helly, Bruno. 2012-2013. "Recherches sur les stèles funéraires de Démétrias." *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 136-137, *Études*: 204, n. 66 and Helly pers. communication September 2014).
26. For the date of the reuse of the stelai: Helly, Bruno. 1992. "Stèles funéraires de Démétrias: Recherches sur la chronologie des remparts et des nécropoles meridionales de la ville." In *Διεθνές Συνέδριο για την Αρχαία Θεσσαλία στη Μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ρ. Θεοχάρη*, edited by Eleni Kypraiou. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 349-365.
27. Among the grave monuments are also antae belonging to large naiskoi, which preserve traces of painted figures: Stamatoπούλου, "Banquet Motif," 418-421.
28. Volos Λ121: Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 350-353.
29. Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 353 tentatively identified the object held by the man as a skyphoid red vessel; the shape does not fit such a description. Von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 262-263 no. 61, did not identify the object held by the man.
30. Volos Λ9: Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 122-127; Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπτά στηλι Παγασῶν – Δημητριάδος*, 143-146, pl. I; Peek, Werner. 1955. *Griechische Versinschriften, I. Grabepigramme*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 525 no. 1752; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 159-162 no. 9; von Graeve, "Zum Zeugniswert der bemalten Grabstelen," 115-116 pl. 5.3; Preußner, von Graeve and Wolters, "Malerei auf griechischen Grabsteinen," 23, figs. 47-52; von Graeve and Preußner "Zur Technik griechischer Malerei," 125 fig. 3, 129 figs. 7-8; Cairon, Élodie. 2009. *Les épitaphes métriques hellénistiques du Péloponnèse à la Thessalie*. Budapest: University of Debrecen, Dept. of Ancient History, 228-231 no. 72; Sekunda, Nicholas Victor. 2013. *The Antigonid Army*. Akanthina 8. Gdansk: Foundation for the Development of Gdansk University, 57-66; Lorenz, Bernd. 2019. *Griechische Grabgedichte Thessaliens: Beispiele für poetische Kleinkunst der Antike*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 229-230 G93.

on the right, dressed in a light ochre chiton, a light coloured himation and smart red closed shoes, resting his feet on a footstool, painted in yellow and red colour; he holds a bookroll in his left hand. Through the fashionable clothing and ornate furniture (*diphros*, coloured cushion, footstool) he is evidently characterized as an elegant man. He faces a standing, similarly beardless, man, who is dressed in a red short chiton, a light coloured *chlamys* and high shoes. The standing man, usually identified with the deceased Stratonikos,³¹ holds a closed bookroll in his left hand, painted ochre, while a little servant is shown standing behind him.

The iconographic *schema* of these tombstones follows the tradition of Classical Attic grave reliefs, as for example the stele showing a standing youth in *dexiosis* with a standing female from Salamis,³² the stele of Abdeschmun from the Piraeus³³ or the stele of Chairion,³⁴ where the *deltos* and/or the bookroll served as attributes alluding to the education and cultural sophistication of the commemorated individual(s).³⁵

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31. Von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 66 on the difficulty of identifying the deceased on some of the Demetrias stelai. Sekunda, Nicholas Victor. 2012. *Macedonian Armies after Alexander 323-168 BC*. Oxford: Osprey, 38; Sekunda, *Antigonid Army*, 61-63, identified the standing man as Stratonikos, and proposed that he was a royal page, based on his dress. On the difficulty of using dress as a criterion for such an identification: Stamatopoulou, Maria. 2018b. "An Officer and a Gentleman: The Stele of Aristokydes Son of Xenokles, a Keian in Demetrias." In *Visual Histories of the Classical World: Essays in Honour of R. R. Smith*. Studies in the Classical World 4, edited by Catherine M. Draycott, Rubina Raja, Katherine Welch, and William T. Wootton. Turnhout: Brepols, 396 n. 75.
32. Salamis stele: Salamis Archaeological Museum inv. no. 111: Polojiorghi, Maria. 2003. "Ein lernbegieriger Ephebe auf einer Grabstele aus Salamis." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 118: 337-347; Chatzidimitriou, "Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση," 344 n. 166.
33. Piraeus Archaeological Museum inv. no. 3580; CAT 1.333; Bäbler, Balbina. 1998. *Fleissige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen: Nichtgriechen im klassischen Athen und ihre archäologische Hinterlassenschaft*. Stuttgart – Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 147-151 no. 67, fig. on p. 147 (identifies it as a bookroll and the represented individual as a scribe); Polojiorghi, "Ein Lernbegieriger Ephebe," 345 n. 31.
34. Piraeus Archaeological Museum inv. no. 1170: CAT 3.453; Polojiorghi, "Ein lernbegieriger Ephebe," 346 pl. 79.3; Meyer, Marion. 1989. "Alter Männer auf attischen Grabdenkmälern." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 104: 55; Scholl, Andreas. 1996. *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs.v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu den kleinformatigen Grabreliefs in spätklassischen Athen*. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, Beiheft 17. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 112, 300-301 no. 296.
35. Karusos, Christos. 1961. "Stelenfragment aus Amorgos." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 76: esp. 118-120; Zanker, Paul. 1965. "Ein neugefundetes Grabrelief aus Heraklion." *Archäologischen Anzeiger*: 146-150 (for the stele in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum), Meyer, "Alter Männer auf attischen Grabdenkmälern," 5; Bruns-Özgan, Christine. 1989. "Grabstelen gebildeter Jünglinge." In *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik*, edited by Hans-Ulrich Cain, Hans Gabelmann, and Dieter Saltzmann. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 185-188; Polojiorghi, "Ein lernbegieriger Ephebe," 345-347; Beschi, Luigi, and Angeliki Lembesi. 2003. "Αττική επιτάφια λουτροφόρος." *Επιτύμβιον Gerhard Neumann*, edited by Dimitris Damaskos. Μουσείο Μπενάκη 2ο Παράρτημα. Athens: Benaki Museum, esp. 140-141; Scholl, *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen*, 81. See also Chatzidimitriou, "Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση," 343-347 for the representation of papyrus rolls in vase painting and actual remains.

To a second *schema* belongs the third-century BC stele of Arisstokles son of Theuphanes, where the scene, as is common on the Demetrias series, is rendered as a panel on the shaft of the stele (fig. 6).³⁶ In this *schema*, even if overt attributes such as the bookroll or *deltos* may be absent, the posture of the depicted individual and the overall composition recalls images of intellectuals. Arisstokles is seated in a relaxed posture on a luxurious cushioned *klismos* that has a tall curved back. He is dressed in a light coloured chiton and a richly folded himation. His beardless head is turned in three-quarter view to the left, towards his attendant. He rests his right hand on his lap, holding the folds of his himation, while his left arm is placed behind the back of his chair in a posture that is reminiscent of that of Hermon on the well-known painted stele from the Athenian Kerameikos.³⁷ Arvanitopoulos had proposed that the servant shown at the left edge of the scene possibly held a bookroll or *deltos* in his right hand.³⁸ Multispectral photography recently revealed that the servant probably did not hold anything in his hands, still the central figure, through costume and pose, relates to figures of intellectuals and more particularly to those of poets.³⁹

The third *schema* of representations of *literati* in Demetrias includes at least four monuments where the deceased was depicted seated, actively engaged in reading from an open bookroll, in compositions that recall that of Antigonos' stele from Aigai, discussed above. Such is the stele of Theodoros son of Arisstokles,

36. Volos Λ2: Arvanitopoulos, "Σημασία τῶν γραπτῶν στηλῶν," 23, 41; Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεῖα*, 104-108; *Γραπταὶ στηλαὶ Παγασῶν – Δημητριάδος*, 152-153, figs. 180-182, pl. 4; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 103-105, 145-146; von Graeve, "Zum Zeugniswert der bemalten Grabstelen," 113-114 for the panels formed on the shaft of the stelai. The scene on the stele of Protomachos son of Hebdomaos, Volos Λ317, where a seated man, clad in a chiton and a himation, is represented in a similar position to Arisstokles, may belong to the same *schema*: Arvanitopoulos, "Δώδεκα θεσσαλικά ἐπιγράμματα ἀνεκδοτά," 36-42 no. 4, figs. 10-11; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 332-333 no. 98; Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften I*, 401 no. 1342; Cairon, *Épigraphes métriques hellénistiques*, 226-228 no. 71; Lorenz, *Griechische Grabgedichte Thessaliens*, 225-226 G91.

37. Kerameikos Museum P1535: Walter-Karydi, Elena. 1988. "Der Naiskos des Hermon; Ein spätklassisches Grabgemälde." In *KANON. Festschrift Ernst Berger zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Februar 1988 gewidmet*, edited by Margot Schmidt. Basel: Vereinigung der Freunde antiker Kunst, 331-338; Posamentir, Richard. 2006. *Bemalte attische Grabstelen klassischer Zeit*. Munich: Biering & Brinckmann, no. 97.

38. Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεῖα*, 106.

39. This was already pointed out by Arvanitopoulos, "Σημασία τῶν γραπτῶν στηλῶν," 22-23, who saw the similarity between the posture of Arisstokles and the portraits of the poets in the House of Menander at Pompeii: Baldassare, Ida, and Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, eds. 1990. *Pompeii. Pitture e mosaici*. Volume II. Regio I, parte Seconda. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 366-367, figs. 202, 204; Stefani, Grete. 2003. *Menander. La casa di Menandro di Pompeii*. Rome: Electra, 20, 29-30. Similar is also the stele of a bearded male from Alexandria: Pfuhl, Ernst. 1901. "Alexandrinische Grabreliefs." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 26: 283-284 with fig.; for Menander's statue as reconstructed by K. Fittschen: Fittschen, Klaus. 1991. "Zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Dichterstatuen 1. Teil: Die Statue des Menander." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 106: 243-279. Also Dillon, Sheila. 2006. *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture: Contexts, Subjects, and Styles*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 34, 39-40, and esp. 119-126.

dating to the second half of the 3rd century BC.⁴⁰ The deceased is shown beardless, dressed in a chiton, a richly folded himation and closed (possibly red) shoes. He is seated on an elaborate cushioned *diphros*, resting his feet on a footstool, holding an open bookroll with both hands. In keeping with other known examples bearing similar scenes, the large chest shown beside him, rendered in ochre, may have contained bookrolls.⁴¹ Bruno Helly has suggested that the epitaphs of Arisstokles (Volos Λ2) and of Theodoros (Volos Λ126) may have been carved by the same letter cutter, on the basis of the letter forms and details of the carving, and that the similarities in the typology of the stelai (pediments, the relief rosette on the tympanon) as well as the personal names of the commemorated individuals support the hypothesis that they were members of the same family, for example that Theodoros might have been the son of Arisstokles, son of Theuphanes, whose monument is discussed above.⁴² Should this identification be correct, then two members of the same family in Demetrias were presented on their funerary monuments as “men of letters”.

Two more monuments clearly depict seated men reading. The first, commemorating Machatas son of Melanthios from Thessaloniki, is a very modest monument, whose painting is rendered in a sketchy, rather careless manner.⁴³ Still, it displays the main iconographic components of the scene: a man, dressed in a chiton and a himation, seated on a cushioned *diphros*, resting his feet on a footstool, holding an open bookroll in front of his chest. Of far better quality is the execution of the scene on the stele Volos Λ244 (fig. 7), where a beardless man is presented in

40. Volos Λ126: Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 362-364; von Graeve, “Die bemalten Grabstelen,” 265-266 no. 63.

41. For such chests, see: Brümmer, Ernst. 1985. “Griechische Truhenbehälter.” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 100: esp. 101-104 and fig. 29; Chatzidimitriou, “Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση,” esp. 345-346; Pfuhl, Ernst, and Hans Möbius. 1977. *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 1. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 69 and nos. 132, 341 (on the ledge in the background of the stele), 569. A small box, rendered in perspective and painted ochre, was depicted on the tympanon of the façade of the Macedonian tomb at Phoinikas, near Thessaloniki: Tsimbidou-Auloniti, Maria. 2005. *Μακεδονικοί τάφοι στον Φοίνικα και στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης: Συμβολή στη μελέτη της εικονογραφίας των ταφικών μνημείων της Μακεδονίας*. Δημοσιεύματα Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 91. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 48, pl. 4, 22a.

42. Helly, Bruno. 1979. “Ateliers lapidaires de Thessalie.” In *Actes du VIIe Congrès International d’Épigraphie grecque et latine, Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977*, edited by D. M. Pippidi. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 75 n. 39; the possible familial relation of the two men was already proposed by Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 364.

43. Volos Λ254: Arvanitopoulos, Apostolos S. 1912. “Άνασκαφαί και έρευναι έν Θεσσαλίá και Μακεδονία κατά τό έτος 1912.” *Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*: 186 no. 2; Arvanitopoulos, Apostolos S. 1949-1950. “Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία. Περιγραφή τών έν τῷ Μουσείῳ Βόλου γραπτῶν στηλῶν Δημητριάδος – Παγασῶν.” *Πολέμων* 4: 82-83 no. 254; von Graeve, “Die bemalten Grabstelen,” 318-319 no. 91; Tataki, Argyro B. 1998. *Macedonians Abroad: A Contribution to the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia*. Μελετήματα 26. Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 184 nos. 44-45.

an architecturally defined space, seated in three quarter view to the left.⁴⁴ Wearing a short chiton, *chlamys*, *kausia*, and possibly *krepides*, he similarly reads from an open scroll, in a posture which follows an iconographic type familiar from the Classical period on vase painting as well as from the stele of Grottaferrata.⁴⁵ The combination of chiton and himation, the Hellenistic civic costume *par excellence* also in Demetrias, is here replaced by the *chlamys* and the short chiton, an outfit typical for men of military occupation, particularly for the Macedonians. One should not, however, forget the long tradition of figures of both young and mature men in this particular outfit in Thessalian iconography.⁴⁶ The combination of short chiton, *chlamys*, *kausia* and *krepides* might denote men in the service of the Macedonian kings, in administrative roles,⁴⁷ or, in other cases, young men, possibly *ephebes*, as conceivably on the stele of Demetrios son of Olynpos (discussed below), or that of Ammonios son of Philip.⁴⁸ On the latter, young Ammonios, dressed in a chiton, a long, dark two-colour *chlamys* and *krepides*, might have originally been shown holding an open scroll, as his posture and the positioning of his arms are consistent with and suggest such an understanding of the scene.⁴⁹

44. Arvanitopoulos, Apostolos S. 1949. "Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία. Περιγραφή τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ Βόλου γραπτῶν στηλῶν Δημητριάδος-Παγασῶν." *Πολέμων* 4: 5-6 no. 244; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 306-307 no. 85.

45. For representations of reading from open bookrolls on vases: Chatzidimitriou, "Ἡ γραφή καὶ ἡ ἀνάγνωσις," esp. 322-323, figs. 36-37. For the Grottaferrata stele: Pfuhl and Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 1, 25 no. 56, pl. 14; see also the Hellenistic grave reliefs: *ibid.*, 70, nos. 835-838, 841; Couilloud, Marie-Thérèse. 1974. "Reliefs funéraires des Cyclades de l'époque hellénistique à l'époque impériale." *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 98: 440 no. 35, fig. 38 (from Naxos).

46. Bosnakis, Dimitris. 2013. *ΕΝΘΕΤΑΛΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ. Τεχνοτροπία καὶ ἰδεολογία τῶν θεσσαλικῶν ἐπιτυμβίων ἀναγλύφων τοῦ 5ου καὶ τοῦ 4ου αἰ. π.Χ.* Αρχαιολογικὸ Ἰνστιτούτο Θεσσαλικῶν Σπουδῶν, Μελέτες 2. Volos: Archaeological Institute of Thessalian Studies, esp. 136-137, 140, 150, 195.

47. See, for example, Eumenes, who was *archigrammateus* of Alexander the Great and received great honours by him during the expedition to India: Plut. *Vit. Eum.* 1.2 and 1.3; Anson, Edward. 2014. *Eumenes of Cardia: A Greek Among Macedonians*. Second Edition. Boston: Brill, 46, 255. On the significance of the office: Cornelius Nepos, 18. *Life of Eumenes* 1.4-6. We would like to thank Nikolas Papazarkadas for the very useful discussion on this point.

48. Volos Λ297: Arvanitopoulou, "Δώδεκα θεσσαλικά ἐπιγράμματα ἀνέκδοτα," 28-36 no. 3, figs. 7-9; Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* I, 508 no. 1694; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 328-329 no. 96; Caïron, *Épithaphes métriques hellénistiques*, 283-286 no. 95; Mili, Maria. 2015. *Religion and Society in Ancient Thessaly*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 275; Kravaritou, Sofia, and Maria Stamatoopoulou. 2018. "From Alcestis to Archidike: Thessalian Attitudes to Death and the Afterlife." In *Round Trip to Hades: Visits to the Underworld from Antiquity to Byzantium*, edited by Gunnel Ekroth, and Ingela Nilsson. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 140; Lorenz, *Griechische Grabgedichte Thessaliens*, 235-238 G97. For *ephebes* in Thessaly: Kravaritou, Sofia. 2018. "Cults and Rites of Passage in Ancient Thessaly." In Kalaitzi et al., *Βορειοελλαδικά*, esp. 379-385.

49. A fifth monument with the same theme is possibly the unpublished tombstone of Chrysogonos son of Philotas, discovered in the northern cemetery of Demetrias in 1995/1996. Here, a bearded male, clad in a chiton and a himation, is shown seated on a cushioned *diphros*, in profile view to the left, with his raised arms holding what seems to be an open bookroll. Opposite him is another seated figure, fully enveloped in a dark-coloured dress, most likely female, facing him. The stele has been

The fourth iconographic *schema* representing *literati* survives in one example, the stele of Demetrios son of Olynpos, dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC, and shows a young man actively engaged in writing (fig. 8).⁵⁰ On his small stele, with the exceptionally well-preserved colour palette, Demetrios, dressed in a white chiton, a long, dark two-colour *chlamys* and *krepides*, is shown seated on an elegant cushioned *diphros*, beside a three-legged round table. With his left hand he holds an open papyrus roll, and with his right a *stylus*, probably of metal.⁵¹ A little servant on the left edge of the scene holds a closed papyrus roll, again painted ochre. The chest resting on the ground by the *diphros* at the lower right corner of the scene would have apparently contained scrolls. All the above elements and the herm shown in the background, behind the chest, denote the young man's occupation with letters and potentially identify Demetrios as an *epebe* under training in the *gymnasium*. This is corroborated by his young age, notably his facial features and rosy cheeks, and possibly his outfit.⁵²

Finally, a bookroll was perhaps represented on a fragmentary late Hellenistic relief naiskos from Demetrias that shows a reclining banqueter and a seated female figure, most likely his wife.⁵³ A male servant is depicted to the left of the ubiquitous three-legged round table. He is rendered in profile view to the left, kneeling next to an object that is probably a box. He holds an oblong cylindrical object in his raised

provisionally dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC: see Nikolaou, Elisavet, and Sofia Kravaritou. Forthcoming. "Επιτύμβιες στήλες από το βόρειο νεκροταφείο της αρχαίας Δημητριάδας. Μια πρώτη προσέγγιση." In *6ο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας 2015-2017, από τους Προϊστορικούς στους Νεώτερους χρόνους, Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, κτήριο Παπαστραύτου Βόλος, 1-4/03/2018*, edited by Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian. As its conservation is not complete and it remains unpublished no further analysis is possible at this point. M. Stamatopoulou would like to thank Elsa Nikolaou and Sofia Kravaritou for discussing the monument and for allowing us to consult their manuscript prior to publication.

50. Volos Λ351: Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπτάι στήλαι Παγασῶν – Δημητριάδος*, 162-164, pl. 10; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 355-356.
51. On the top surface of the three-legged table there are some remains of dark colour that may belong to an inkwell. For representations of inkwells on tombstones: *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 26 (1971) *Χρονικά*: 261, pl. 232a (A. Choremis); also Chatzidimitriou, "Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση," 344, n. 167. For *styli*: Chatzidimitriou, "Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση," 336. For the images of people writing and the posture taken when writing: Parassoglou, George M. 1979. "ΔΕΞΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΝΥ. Some Thoughts on the Postures of the Ancient Greeks and Romans when Writing on Papyrus Rolls." *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3: 5-21; Chatzidimitriou, "Η γραφή και η ανάγνωση," 307-309, figs. 2, 4, 329-331.
52. The dark-colour *chlamys* echoes the edict of Philip V from Demetrias, dictating that the *chlamydes* of the *kynegoi* should be of dark colour: *SEG* 65: 625. Also Stamatopoulou, "An Officer and a Gentleman," 396-397, for a discussion of the significance of this dress and a rebuttal of Nick Sekunda's proposal (Sekunda, Nicholas Victor. 2014: "Warriors without Weapons at Demetrias." In *Öffentlichkeit-Monument-Text: XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae* 27. - 31. *Augusti MMXII: Akten*, edited by Werner Eck, and Peter Funke. Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 464-467) that this particular combination denotes members of a light cavalry stationed in the city.
53. Volos E331: Stamatopoulou, "Banquet Motif," 470 no. 32, fig. 3.

right hand, which based on its shape and the proximity to the box could be identified as a bookroll. If true, this would constitute the only banquet scene from the city that includes an attribute related to reading and culture.

Also relevant to our discussion are stelai depicting inanimate objects, in particular musical instruments, possibly suggesting the deceased's occupation with music. Such is perhaps the stele of Herakleides son of Dionysios, owing to the representation of what von Graeve has identified as an *aulos* – although it might as well be a trumpet (σάλπιγγα), similar to that shown on the well-known stele of Antigenes, who was a trumpeter in the Macedonian army stationed in Demetrias.⁵⁴ Another monument, this time commemorating a woman, namely Hymnis daughter of Demophon, showed an inanimate object that was identified as a musical instrument by Gilliéron or a torch crowned by an ivy wreath by von Graeve.⁵⁵ In the absence of multi-spectral imaging of these monuments we cannot yet comment on them further.

A funerary columella, a *unicum* in the Demetrias corpus, commemorates Lykidas son of Thrasymenes from Zakynthos, and is adorned with an ivy wreath.⁵⁶ Bruno Helly has tentatively identified him with the homonymous comic actor, winner at the Delphic Sotereia in the mid-3rd century BC.⁵⁷ Lastly, the intellectual activity of the deceased is commemorated by the epigram of the fragmentary stele for a man from Argos, who died in advanced age (γηραλέος), having been a *Μουσῶν θεράπων*, a literary *topos* in Hellenistic epigrams.⁵⁸

This epigram constitutes the only overt allusion to the deceased's intellectual pursuits in the Demetrias corpus. Otherwise, and as with the majority of the

54. Volos Λ14: Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 141-142 no. 14, 221; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 171 (recognizes the object depicted on the shaft of the stele as an *aulos*); Helly, "Recherches sur les stèles funéraires," 188 n. 22 (dating it to the first half of the 3rd century BC). For the stele of Antigenes: Volos Λ10: Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 128-133; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 163-164; Boehm, Ryan. A. 2015. "Alexander 'Whose Courage Was Great': City, Power and Commemoration in Classical and Hellenistic Thessaly." *Classical Antiquity* 34: 209-251; Stamatopoulou, "An Officer and a Gentleman," 392-393 fig. 31.7; Lorenz, *Griechische Grabgedichte Thessaliens*, 212-216 G87.

55. Volos Λ4: Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 111-112 no. 4, 219-220; von Graeve, "Die bemalten Grabstelen," 149-150 no. 4.

56. Volos Λ328: Arvanitopoulos, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι," 188 no. 182; Arvanitopoulos, Apostolos S. 1952-1953: "Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία. Περιγραφή τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ Βόλου γραπτῶν στηλῶν Δημητριάδος – Παγασῶν." *Πολέμων* 5: 10 no. 328; Helly, "Recherches sur les stèles funéraires," 181-190, figs. 1-2 on 183.

57. Helly, "Recherches sur les stèles funéraires," 185-190.

58. Volos E755: Arvanitopoulou, "Δώδεκα θεσσαλικά ἐπιγράμματα ἀνέκδοτα," 49 no. 8; Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* I, 304 no. 1074; Cairon, *Épithaphes métriques hellénistiques*, 231-232 no. 73; Kravaritou and Stamatopoulou, "From Alcestis to Archidike," 141-142; Lorenz, *Griechische Grabgedichte Thessaliens*, 202-203, G82. For the formula *Μουσῶν θεράπων* see also Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs*, 127-129.

Demetrias stelai, the epitaphs of the tombstones we have examined here include mostly prosopographical information and do not allude to the interest(s) of the commemorated individuals. A significant proportion of the tombstones examined bear foreign ethnics (stela of a woman from Illyria: Λ121; stela of a man from Thessaloniki: Λ254; *columella* of a man from Zakynthos: Λ328; stela of a man from Argos: E755); this should not surprise, since nearly 40% of the Demetrias stelai as a whole commemorate foreigners, proof of the cosmopolitan character of the city.⁵⁹ Perusing the onomastic record from the city, only few personal names are suggestive of a similar capacity or interests.⁶⁰ Arkas son of Hymnos,⁶¹ the aforementioned Hymnis daughter of Demophon,⁶² Artemon son of Pindaros,⁶³ all three dating to the first half of the 3rd century BC, Mousis daughter of Philiarchos from Gomphoi,⁶⁴ and Sophrona daughter of Mousaios.⁶⁵

Compared to representations of banqueters (over 30), the number of figured stelai with images of *literati* from Demetrias is small. Still, it is comparable to the number of monuments on which the deceased are shown as men in arms or as riders.⁶⁶ In other words, tombstones with representations of “men of letters” make up a recognizable group within the city’s series.

As we have seen, a variety of iconographic *schemata* are employed within this Demetrian group of stelai, which stem from Classical funerary representations and images of *literati* dating to the Classical and the early Hellenistic period. Luxurious furniture, plush furnishings, and elegant clothing convey the idea of a life of leisure and provide the ambience in which indulgence in letters is cultivated, elements which chime with the commemorated persons coming from the middle and perhaps also the upper social registers of the city.

Relevant evidence from the cemeteries of Demetrias, in terms of grave finds, is

59. Arvanitopoulou, “Θεσσαλικά μνημεία,” on the prosopography and the ethnics on the Demetrias stelai.

60. On the problems using the onomastic evidence as a criterion for identifying profession or engagement with arts, see below p. 565.

61. Volos E502: Αρχ. Αρβ. 26, no. 246.

62. See above n. 55; if the represented artefact were indeed a musical instrument, which on a preliminary inspection seems doubtful, it would constitute a rare case where the iconography of a tombstone would closely relate to the meaning of the name of the commemorated individual.

63. Volos Λ155: Arvanitopoulos, *Θεσσαλικά μνημεία*, 405-406.

64. Volos Λ270: Arvanitopoulos, “Θεσσαλικά Μνημεία,” 90-91 no. 270; Helly, “Ateliers lapidaires,” 74 no. 38.

65. Paris, Louvre: Ma 3631: Rouveret, Agnes. 2004. *Peintures grecques antiques: La collection hellénistique du musée du Louvre*. Paris: Fayard: Musée du Louvre, 27-28.

66. Von Graeve, “Die bemalten Grabstelen,” 47-84, esp. 64, 74 (riders), 74-75; Stamatopoulou, “Banquet Motif,” 418-421 on the relative popularity of themes on the Demetrias stela. Given that Demetrias stelai have not yet been studied in their entirety, it remains to be proven whether certain types/combinations of dress denoted military costume. Thus, the number of stelai representing members of the military may be much larger than hitherto recognised.

meagre. No funerary assemblages have come to light or have been made known to betray that the deceased were related with the letters and/or music and/or the sciences during their lifetime.⁶⁷

Turning our look to the Thessalian hinterland, iconographic equivalents of the stelai from Demetrias are absent, a fact partly attributable to the state of preservation of the painted Thessalian figured tombstones, whose scenes are effaced, and to the state of research, since, as already said, the remarkably few Hellenistic relief tombstones remain unpublished. With the exception of the occasional finds of musical instruments,⁶⁸ the scarcity of relevant grave finds observed for Demetrias is also valid for the cemeteries of inland Thessaly.

This lack of relevant funerary images and assemblages from inland Thessaly is, however, partly recompensed for by epigraphic finds of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The third-century BC funerary epigram for the poet Eriaios from Kalchedon, found in Larisa, reveals that the poet died while visiting Thessaly, and Larisa probably honoured him with a public burial.⁶⁹ In southern Thessaly, decrees of the city of Lamia bestowed honours upon the poetess Aristodama from Smyrna (late 3rd century BC)⁷⁰ and the epic poet Politas from Hypate (late 3rd/2nd century BC).⁷¹ In the 2nd century BC, a fair number of decrees from Larisa bestow honours upon

67. In the northern cemetery, medical instruments and phials were common among the finds, although no tomb has produced an assemblage that would justify the characterization of the deceased as a physician: <https://www.taxydromos.gr/Topika/75302-iatrika-ergaleia-2-000-xronwn.html>. We would like to thank Elsa Nikolaou for discussing these finds with us.

68. Musical instruments have been found in some Thessalian graves, as for example an *aulos* in grave 175 of the east cemetery of Argitheia of the late 3rd – early 2nd century BC (Hatziaggelakis, Leonidas. 2003. “Aulos.” In *Dons les Muses. Musique et danse dans la Grèce ancienne. Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire – Musée du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles* 26.02-25.05.2003, edited by Eleni Andrikou, Alexandra Goulaki-Voutira, Charikleia Lanara, and Zoi Papadopoulou. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 175; Psaroudakes, Stelios. 2004. “The aulos of Argitheia.” In *Musikarchäologische Quellengruppen: Bodenurkunden, mündliche Überlieferung, Aufzeichnung: Vorträge des 3. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Kloster Michaelstein, 9.-16. Juni 2002*, edited by Ellen Hickmann, and Ricardo Eichmann. Rahden/Westf.: M. Leidorf, 335-366, or the trumpet in grave VIII at E. Deligiannis plot in Lamia: Stamoudi, Aikaterini. 2003. “Trompette.” In Andrikou et al., *Dons les Muses*, 170.

69. Santin, Eleonora. 2018. “Poeti e conferenzieri stranieri in Tessaglia in età ellenistica: l’epigramma funerario per Herillos figlio di Herodotos di Kalchedon.” In *Munus Laetitiae: Studi miscellanei offerti a Maria Letizia Lazzarini*, edited by Francesco Camia, Lavinio del Monaco, and Michela Nocita, 223-249. Rome: Sapienza Università Editrice (who states Larisa as place of origin instead of Evangelismos as was formerly assumed); *SEG* 50: 524; 47: 735.

70. *SEG* 49: 618 (*IG* IX.2 62). On the potential political dimension of conferring citizen rights to Aristodama by the city of Lamia, see Rutherford, Ian. 2009. “Aristodama and the Aetolians: An Itinerant Poetess and Her Agenda.” In *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture*, edited by Richard Hunter, and Ian Rutherford. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 237-248.

71. *IG* IX.2 63: Bouvier, Henri. 1979. “Poètes et prosateurs de Thessalie dans les inscriptions.” In Helly, *La Thessalie*, 258; Santin, Eleonora, and Athanasios Tziafalias. 2013. “Épigrammes signées de Thessalie.” *Topoi* 18: 282 n. 82.

men of letters and science, and reveal the circulation of intellectuals in the region, that is so typical of the Hellenistic world.⁷² Such documents are: the decree in honour of the astronomer Antipatros from Hierapolis in Syria,⁷³ the honorific decree for the orator Bombos from Alexandria Troas (c. 160-150 BC),⁷⁴ or the decrees honouring the Athenian philosophers Satyros son of Philinos⁷⁵ and Alexandros son of Alexandros,⁷⁶ who taught in the city.

Thessalians' and in particular Larisaians' interest in the *gymnasium* and culture is documented both by literary sources and inscriptions that attest to the existence of numerous *gymnasia* in the region and record honours for their officials or benefactors.⁷⁷ Ancient authors sometimes assume a taunting touch, as does Philostratus in the *Life of Critias* (*Vit. Soph.* I 16 501Q): ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ Θετταλοὶ σοφίας ἡμέλων, ἀλλ' ἐγοργιάζον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μικραὶ καὶ μείζους πόλεις [...].⁷⁸ Interest in poetry and the arts is highlighted in the signed poems of Aphthonetos, possibly of Thessalian origin, inscribed on a votive and a honorific statue base of the mid-3rd century BC from Phalanna and Larisa respectively,⁷⁹ both public dedications, as

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72. On the vitality of intellectual life in Larisa: Santin, "Poeti e conferenzieri stranieri," 238-242; Santin and Tziafalias, "Épigrammes signées de Thessalie," 252-253; Bouvier, "Poètes et prosateurs."
73. SEG 31: 576 (mid-2nd century BC). Among men of science, reference should be made here to the epigram for a doctor under the name Dikaios and his wife, from Atrax (Larisa Archaeological Museum 78/59), in which the couple's piety is praised and their afterlife bliss in the "isle of the pious" is anticipated: see Tziafalias et al., *Corpus des inscriptions d'Atrax*, 226-231 no. 165, pl. 34; Cairon, *Épigraphes métriques hellénistiques*, no. 94; Kravaritou and Stamatopoulou, "From Alcestis to Archidike," 144 and figs. 7.6-7.7 on 145-146; Lorenz, *Griechische Grabgedichte Thessaliens*, 142-145 G48. A doctor from Larisa, Athanagoras son of Stachys, is mentioned in a decree from Kos as personal physician of Cnaeus Octavius; he was probably *tagos* in Larisa: Samama, Evelynne. 2003. *Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corps médical*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, no. 139; Helly, Bruno. 2007. "La capitale de la Thessalie face aux dangers de la troisième guerre de Macédoine: l'année 171 av. J.-C. à Larisa." *Topoi* 15, no.1: 236-239; Bouchon, Richard. 2014. "Démophilos de Doliché, Paul-Émile et les conséquences de la troisième guerre de Macédoine à Gonnoi." *Topoi* 19: 499, n. 25. For other doctors from the perioikic regions of Thessaly: Samama, *Les médecins dans le monde grec*, nos. 76-77 from Thermopylai and Hypata respectively.
74. Chaniotis, Angelos. 2009. "Travelling Memories in the Hellenistic World." In Hunter and Rutherford, *Wandering Poets*, 261; SEG 60: 591, 2050.
75. Helly, "La capitale," 224-229; Haake, Matthias. 2009. "Der Philosoph Satyros, Sohn des Philinos aus Athen: Zu zwei neuen hellenistischen Ehrendekreten aus Larisa für einen bislang unbekanntem Philosophen." *Tyche* 24: 49-57; SEG 56: 636 (c. 170-169 BC); 53: 546.
76. Haake, Matthias. 2010. "Der Philosoph Alexander, Sohn des Alexander aus Athen. Zu einem neuen hellenistischen Ehrendekret aus Larisa für einen bislang unbekanntem Philosophen." *Tyche* 25: 39-47; SEG 60: 590; 58: 526 (c. 140-130 BC); 57: 510; Athenaeus 5.212 mentions the Peripatetic Athenion in Larisa.
77. Kravaritou, "Cults and Rites of Passage," 381 n. 34 for a list of inscriptions that attest to the existence of several *gymnasia* in Thessaly, and n. 36 for honorific stelai for gymnasiarchs and various instructors.
78. Bouvier, "Poètes et prosateurs"; for the philosopher Philon from Larisa who became director in the Academy of Athens (109 BC): SEG 57: 510.
79. Bouvier, "Poètes et prosateurs," 258; Heinz, Margarete. 1998. "Thessalische Votivstelen. Epigraphische Auswertung, Typologie der Stelenformen, Ikonographie der Reliefs." PhD diss., Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 398, A30; Santin and Tziafalias, "Épigrammes signées de Thessalie," 253-266.

well as in the signed poem of Herakleides from Tralleis (possibly second half of the 2nd century BC), inscribed on a private dedication of a statue to Apollo Kerdoos in the god's sanctuary in Larisa.⁸⁰ A reused orthostate block, which later served as a base for the sculptural dedication(s) of Alexandros son of Kleitomachos from Larisa and was set up near a shrine of the Muses and the *gymnasion* in Larisa, is particularly interesting: it records Alexandros' achievements in poetic and athletic contests (*stadion*), as it also records the name of the poet, one Apollonios from Larisa, who composed the epigram for Alexandros' dedication (second half of the 1st century BC).⁸¹ We therefore have a double presence and recording of two men of poetry in the public sphere (dedicant; signed epigrammatist) and it is only regrettable that the sculptures have not survived, as it would have been very interesting to see which of the two capacities of the poet/athlete Alexandros would have privileged or whether the two would have been iconographically combined and how. Victors in a dramatic contest are also recorded in a fragmentary inscription from Larisa, dated to the early 1st century BC.⁸²

Late Hellenistic Macedonia

Returning to Macedonia, the life-size statue of an actor in the costume of Papposilenos from Amphipolis, dated by Pingiatoglou to the late 2nd – early 1st century BC,⁸³ is, to the best of our knowledge, the sole preserved representation in large-scale sculpture in the round to explicitly convey the professional occupation of the commemorated person in *the world of the arts* from any of the two regions in the period we are concerned with. The function of the statue remains uncertain, although it is possible that it would have been funerary.⁸⁴

80. Heinz, "Thessalische Votivstelen," 403, A44; Santin and Tziafalias, "Épigrammes signées de Thessalie," 266-273: a marble base bearing a sculptural dedication by Simeas and Eukratidas to Apollo Kerdoos, from Larisa. The sculpture was made by Sosimenes son of Sosimenes and the epigram was composed by Herakleides from Tralleis.

81. Larisa, inv. no. 2003/24; Santin and Tziafalias, "Épigrammes signées de Thessalie," 273-279; SEG 64: 505. A son of a Kleitomachos figures among the victors of the Games at Stena, which included musical, poetic and athletic contests, in a list of victors dated to the second half of the 1st century BC (*IG IX.2 527*, l. 19), and Santin and Tziafalias, "Épigrammes signées de Thessalie," 279 have proposed to identify him with Alexandros son of Kleitomachos of the inscription discussed here. For the Games at Stena: Graninger, Denver. 2011. *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 78 n. 124; Petrovic, Andrej. 2009. "Epigrammatic contests, poeti vaganti and local history." In Hunter and Rutherford, *Wandering Poets*, who discusses them in the context of epigrammatic contests; Helly, "La capitale," for the Battle at Stena.

82. SEG 61: 466.

83. Pingiatoglou, Semeli. 2010. "Άγαλμα Παπποσιληνού με τραγικό προσωπείο." In *Παραχορήγηση: Μελετήματα για το αρχαίο θέατρο προς τιμήν του καθηγητή Γρηγόρη Μ. Σηφάκη*, edited by Stavros Tsitsiridis. Herakleion: Crete University Press, 517-534.

84. According to the information provided by the person who handed it in, the statue was found by the site of one of the Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries of the city (site "Kastri"): *ibid.*, 529; Kalaitzi,

Otherwise, on late Hellenistic Macedonian figured tombstones the general theme of the “man of letters” is iconographically conveyed through a closed papyrus roll or, less frequently, a folded *deltos*, either held by the figure of a man or offered to him by a servant, and/or by a servant holding a *sakkos* or a handled cist (small “valise”), which would have contained bookrolls – elements flexible in their particular pairing and combination, except that a central figure is not to be seen carrying the container himself, a task always delegated to the servants. The tombstones that positively carry any of the above (combination of) attributes amount to twenty (20), while the scenes on another four or five (4-5) figured tombstones with all probability would have also included a similar attribute.⁸⁵ We are concerned, that is, with a group of about twenty-five (25) figured tombstones out of a total of about 160.⁸⁶ Unsurprisingly, Beroia, together with Thessaloniki and Lete, form a

Figured Tombstones from Macedonia, 138 n. 247 (for “Kastri”). Literature on actors, with emphasis on their associations, is, of course, extensive. Here we would only like to refer to Easterling, Pat. 2002. “Actor as Icon.” In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, edited by Pat Easterling, and Edith Hall, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 327-341, as it highlights the fame and recognition that actors enjoyed from the 4th century BC onwards.

85. It must be noted that a fair number of relief tombstones are fragmentary (cf. Allamani-Souri, Victoria. 2014. *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα από τη Βέροια και την περιοχή της*. Δημοσιεύματα Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Μακεδονικών και Θρακικών Σπουδών 17. Thessaloniki: Archaeological Institute of Macedonian and Thracian Studies, cat. no. 15), while epigraphic or preliminary publications of new material are frugal with iconographic information and not generous with the size of the photographs. Thus, the number given here should be taken as indicative, not absolute. The tombstones on which discussion here is based are: **Kalaitzi**, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. nos. Archangelos 10 (Orestis), Aghios Demetrios 14 (Eordaia; see below, this note), Asvestopetra 17 (Eordaia), Moschopotamos 36 (Pieria), Aigai 58, Aigai 60, Beroia 90, 103-104, 108-109, Lachanas 122 (Crestonia), Thessaloniki 132, 134, Lete 142-143, Kalindoia 149, Unknown Provenance 216; **Allamani**, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα*, cat. nos. 15 (see above, this note), 18, 20-21, 23, 31; **IG X.2.1s** 1352 (the inscription, as its position and chronological discrepancy from the relief betrays, should be from the second use of the tombstone). A large relief plaque kept at the Archaeological Museum of Dion (113) preserves the figure of a boy servant carrying a rectangular container, supported on his shoulder: this could be a chest for the keeping of bookrolls. The relief has been illustrated lately by Papagianni, Eleni. 2018. “Ταφικά ανάγλυφα από το Δίον και την ευρύτερη περιοχή του. Η τοπική παραγωγή.” In *Γλυπτική και κοινωνία στη ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα: καλλιτεχνικά προϊόντα, κοινωνικές προβολές. Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Πέθυμο, 26-28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2014*, edited by Pavlina Karanastasi, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Dimitris Damaskos. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, fig. 6; the size of the object alone makes it improbable that it might be a folding tablet as Papagianni (*ibid.*, 185) suggests as an alternative to the chest. Misguided by the rendering of the lower part of the seated figure’s garment on the stele from Aghios Demetrios (Eordaia) [see above, this note], which follows the regular pattern of women’s garments, one of the authors of this article (M.K.) previously misread it as that of a woman, escorted by her female servant; the elements of the scene better work with one another if the figure is reinstated as that of a himation-wearing man, escorted by his boy servant, the latter carrying a small valise (handled cist) for bookrolls in his right hand and holding a bookroll with his left hand, for which the seated man reaches with his right hand.
86. Again, the figure 160 should be taken as an approximation. More pieces are being made known progressively, as regional studies are furthered.

cluster of “concentration” of examples with the theme (cf. figs. 9-10).⁸⁷ The group consists of free-standing stelai, both of average size and quality as well as of greater size and of higher artistic merit, and of built-in reliefs (i.e. reliefs intended for incorporation into a funerary structure), including some of the best and more widely known of the kind.

Figures equipped with such attributes belong to men, of either young or mature age, and once probably to the figure of a little boy from Orestis.⁸⁸ In their majority, the Macedonian “men of letters” wear the typical civilian outfit of the chiton and the himation, less frequently wear the chiton and the *chlamys*, typical of outdoors activity and potentially the military, while in the rare instance where the himation is worn without the chiton, this reveals a sturdy upper body, implying a man of physical vigour at the prime of his age;⁸⁹ the roman *toga*⁹⁰ does not appear to have been fashionable among the Macedonian *literati* of the period. They are commonly shown standing, either as the sole central figure or part of multi-figured compositions, made of more or less arrayed standing figures, allowing for nuancing through postures or through the figure of a seated woman, in compositional *schemata* which are diagnostic and typical of the period in Macedonia in general. Seated himation wearers (with the chiton) make up a small subgroup of the Macedonian late Hellenistic *literati*.⁹¹ Last, it is possible that a closed papyrus roll appears in the hands of a reclining banqueter.⁹² In about half of the tombstones under discussion the figures of the *literati* are not characterized through any further attributes –or none survive. Sometimes, the Macedonian *literati* are accompanied by their/a horse, which can be treated in a way which flirts with symbolism and realism at the same time or is even a straightforward reference to the iconography of heroic votive reliefs, as are the altar, the tree and the snake, which make part of several of the scenes of the group, in different specific combinations – elements, nonetheless, which are not strictly “personal identity attributes”.

On late Hellenistic Macedonian figured tombstones, the world of culture, represented invariably through reading material and their receptacles, does not appear to constitute a distinct, secluded, and clearly circumscribed sphere of activity. On the contrary, the *literati* appear in compositions, outfits and poses employed

87. The area surveyed remains the same as that defined in Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, including newly published pieces. The Beroian group of “men of letters” is also discussed by Allamani, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα*, mainly as part of the typological analysis of the figures (see below, n. 94), and *ibid.*, 272-274.

88. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. no. Archangelos 10.

89. *Ibid.*, cat. no. Beroia 103.

90. Allamani, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα*, cat. no. 20.

91. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. nos. 14 (see above, n. 85: Aghios Demetrios 14, for the correct reading of the scene), 109, 132, 149.

92. *Ibid.*, cat. no. Thessaloniki 134.

equally for men who are not in any explicit way related to the world of mental cultivation –no axiomatic, categorical distinction applies– and might be supplied with such a strong signifier of traditional male Macedonian identity as the horse. They do not choose a particular, special, or marginal mode of appearance and comportment; on the contrary, their upper garments are sometimes supplied with drapery tufts, betraying good quality pieces of clothing, well-kept wardrobes and attention to detail, but again this is brought to no extremes; their bodily features do not succumb to advanced age or physical decadence, nor do their faces or postures manifest strenuous intellectual activity or effort, self-reference, intellectual seclusion or the like. In no way do the human types populating the late Hellenistic Macedonian tombstones confront us with men exclusively devoted to the works of the mind. It is evident that education and culture is regarded as a virtue of the active, accomplished member of the middle and upper strata of the bourgeoisie.⁹³

As is well established, the types employed for the standing figures quote or offer variants of types of honorific statuary.⁹⁴ Some of them indeed hail from types employed for esteemed and renowned thinkers, as is the case with the Aeschines/Sophokles type,⁹⁵ whereas the eponymous lineage of others is less easy to trace.⁹⁶ Within the developed iconological system of the late Hellenistic *koine*, the “Normaltypus” and its variants appear widespread and malleable, both in sculpture in the round and in figured tombstones (two iconographically and semantically communicating vessels, as already repeatedly observed by others) and form iconographic *topoi* of reference for the generic, inclusive category of the “dignified”, “active citizen”, which are then nuanced to fit more closely drawn social profiles; they were not used, that is, exclusively for the image of the “intellectual”.⁹⁷ The strand that saw portrait statues of philosophers conceptualized as alienated from the image of the “mainstream citizen”, or in a tensed relationship with it, which developed

93. On the general model long established by Zanker, Paul. 1993. “The Hellenistic Grave Stelai from Smyrna: Identity and Self-image in the Polis.” In *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, edited by Anthony W. Bulloch, Erich S. Gruen, A.A. Long, and Andrew Stewart. Berkeley: University of California Press, 212-230; Zanker, *Mask of Socrates*, 189-194. On the Beroian group, see also Allamani, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα*, 182-183, 272-274.

94. In general: Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, 66-79; Allamani, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα*, 162-198 – the points of divergence as to typological approach and classification cannot be pursued here.

95. On which more recently, see Biard, Guillaume. 2017. *La représentation honorifique dans les cités grecques aux époques classique et hellénistique*. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 376. Athens: École Française d’Athènes, 131-134, 333-335, with pls. 36a-b.

96. The scholarly debate over the identity of statues such as the so-called “Delphi Philosopher” or the so-called “Hippokrates” from Kos is rather telling itself: *ibid.*, 317-323, with pls. 30a, 32a.

97. The iconic “Eretria Youth” can serve as an example of this malleability: Biard, *Représentation honorifique*, 338-339, with pl. 38a.

in the Hellenistic period,⁹⁸ does not reflect in any way on the late Hellenistic Macedonian tombstones discussed here.

That said, we should, nonetheless, pause on a few tombstones of men who were shown in the type of the early Hellenistic statue of Demosthenes,⁹⁹ which, in R. Smith's formulation, "inject[ed] into the orator-politician image a whole layer of philosopher iconography".¹⁰⁰ Men on the Macedonian tombstones in question are not supplied with any explicit insignia of the *literati*¹⁰¹ – although the type can be said to echo in the figure of the mature man holding a bookroll on the far left of the relief of the family of Eulandros.¹⁰² But, in a familiar twist of figure characterization, the type is "Macedonized" in that the figures are dressed in the chiton and the long *chlamys*, rather than in the himation. Yet, even if time and usage would have helped neutralize the type from its specific ideological overload, it is still succinctly remarkable that the type identified with one of Macedonia's most ferocious adversaries would appear on funerary monuments of the Macedonian heartland in the time of the Roman occupation. It is difficult to decide whether to call an irony on both sides of the game (risking to mistreat the stelai's makers and buyers as ignorant) or recognize a powerful symbolic quote, summoned as a political statement against the new conqueror – the bitter change of fortune. Either through its formidable pedigree or by its idiosyncratic and in that striking, solemn pose, the type would have served to confer upon its carrier some of the allure and *gravitas* of the great orator, and convey the message of dignity and conscious involvement.

Statues of (standing) himation wearers possibly or positively associated with either a book case/bundle of bookrolls by their side or holding a bookroll themselves even if scarcely do appear in our record during the 1st century BC – 1st century AD.¹⁰³ We may not be able to call one of the certain *literati* a funerary

98. von den Hoff, Ralf. 1994. *Philosophenporträts des Früh- und Hochhellenismus*. Munich: Biering & Brinkmann; Zanker, *Mask of Socrates* – with criticism and nuancing of the model by Smith, Roland, R.R. 1999. Review of *Die Maske des Sokrates: Das Bild des Intellektuellen in der antiken Kunst*, by Paul Zanker. *Gnomon* 71: 448-457 and Dillon, *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture*, esp. 113-126; a tension that they see dissolved by the late Hellenistic period.

99. On the statue of Demosthenes, more recently: Biard, *Représentation honorifique*, 323-325, with pl. 31; also Zanker, *Mask of Socrates*, 83-89; Dillon, *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture*, 75-76. A copy of the statue of Demosthenes has been recognized by G. Despinis in an unfinished second-century AD "Einsatzbüste" kept in Thessaloniki: Despinis, Georgios, Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, and Emmanouel Voutiras, eds. 2010. *Κατάλογος γλυπτών του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης III*. Thessaloniki: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, no. 497, with figs.

100. Smith, Roland R. R. 1993. "Kings and Philosophers." In Bulloch et al., *Images and Ideologies*, 206.

101. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. nos. Beroia 89, 93, 95, Neos Marmaras 164, and p. 72. Allamani, *Επιτύμβιες στήλες και ανάγλυφα*, cat. no. 19.

102. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat no. Lete 143.

103. See Despinis, Stefanidou-Tiveriou and Voutiras, *Κατάλογος γλυπτών III*, cat. nos. (with figs.) 364 (G. Despinis; from Kalamoto, of uncertain function), 488 (Em. Gounari; from Akropotamos, of uncertain function), 489 (Em. Gounari; from Sochos, funerary; the support might be a bookcase);

statue, nevertheless we can establish the employment of the type for commemoration (of men) in sculpture in the round and it would be fair to argue that such statues could and would have also functioned as funerary as well – as the evidence coming from the relief tombstones themselves also suggests.

The few seated Macedonian *literati* are quite clearly embedded in current funerary image vocabulary for well-kempt mature men, and nothing would seem to single them out among their peers and contemporaries. They are carved out by the fragmented, vertebrate mainstream funerary narrative of the period, which can tackle them away in one corner, as on the stele from Kalindoia, or make them turn their upper body towards the viewer somewhat clumsily and awkwardly, as if showing their handheld booklet off, and their stelai can hint to their financial ease with an elaborate piece of furniture, as on the stele of Caius Popillius. The gesture of Kassandros (fig. 10),¹⁰⁴ his right forearm raised and extended to the front, as if addressing Philotera, is a gesture of communication of the good old Greek culture of gesticulating while engaged in conversation, as is shown by, for example, several Classical Attic tombstones and vase paintings alike,¹⁰⁵ where women can also take it on, as does a woman on a stele from Aigai.¹⁰⁶ The gesture was indeed included in the visual vocabulary of thinkers, notably that of Socrates, the greatest conversationalist of all time,¹⁰⁷ but it was not particular to the sages of antiquity. What we can at best read into this Beroian stele is a duality of meaning: on the one hand, the bond between the couple; on the other hand, seen as an iconographical unit with his bookroll holding servant, Kassandros takes on an authoritative posture and position, claiming knowledge and the initiative of address to rest with him.

Corroborating to the impression gained from looking at images alone (i.e., that reference is more broadly to educated men rather than to “intellectuals” by profession) is the observation that on none of the tombstones of the group is (further) emphasis placed on the relation of any of the figures to culture through the accom-

discussed also in Gounari, Emmanouela. 2012. “Αγάλματα ιματιοφόρων ανδρών στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης. Ο ‘κανονικός τύπος’ στη Μακεδονία κατά την αυτοκρατορική περίοδο.” In *Κλασική παράδοση και νεότερα στοιχεία στην πλαστική της ρωμαϊκής Ελλάδας. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, Θεσσαλονίκη, 7-9 Μαΐου 2009*, edited by Theodosia Stefanidou-Tiveriou, Pavlina Karanastasi, and Dimitris Damaskos. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 325-335.

104. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. nos. Kalindoia 149, Thessaloniki 132 and Beroia 109, respectively: the three stelai singled out here.

105. For example: CAT 10, 15, 3.386, 3.453a, 3.455; Neumann, Gerhard. 1965. *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 10-11 (for figures also *passim*, under his different sub-headings for gestures).

106. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. no. Aigai 52, with pl.

107. Louvre “Muses sarcophagus”: Richter, Gisela M. A. 1965. *The Portraits of the Greeks*, vol. 1. London: Phaidon Press, 118(k), fig. 563; Baratte, François, and Catherine Metzger. 1985. *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, no. 84, with figs.

panying inscription. The inscriptions preserved on tombstones with the theme are in chime with the mainstream of late Hellenistic Macedonian tombstones, abiding by their general modalities and trends, with no differentiation particular to their specific iconographic flagging as *literati*. In general, the harvest of Macedonian *funerary* inscriptions, in either prose or verse, that even mention –that is, without necessarily making a big deal out of it– a relevant activity or capacity of the deceased is rather poor, with finds chronologically and geographically dispersed. In the world of professionals, such is for example the epigram for Kallimachos, inscribed on a base from Aigai, following the apt identification, proposed by Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, of the Kallimachos of the Aigai epigram with the renowned architect and sculptor by the same name, credited, among other things, with the invention of the Corinthian capital;¹⁰⁸ such is the late Hellenistic epigram for an Athenian mime, named Isidoros son of Nikostratos, on a stele possibly from Amphipolis.¹⁰⁹ In the world of the studious and the fond of learning, such is the late Hellenistic epigram for a little boy named Philotas son of Aristomenes, grandson and namesake of an illustrious and honorable citizen of Kalindoia.¹¹⁰ The number of inscriptions singling out individuals for their devotion to the world and doings of culture remains rather meager even if one includes categories other than funerary, such as honorary decrees: such is a third-century BC decree passed by the city of Amphipolis to honour a historian, who studied and lectured on the city's history.¹¹¹

108. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Chryssoula. 1996. “Ναῶν εὐστύλων. A Fragmentary Inscription of the Classical Period from Vergina.” In *Inscriptions of Macedonia. Third International Symposium on Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 8-12 December 1993*, edited by Emmanuel Voutiras. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 100-122; *EKM* II 54, with commentary and further references.

109. Karadima-Matsa, Chryssa, and Nora Dimitrova. 2003. “Epitaph for an Initiate at Samothrace and Eleusis.” *Chiron* 33: 335-345. On ancient mime, see also: Wiseman, Timothy P. 2008. “‘Mime’ and ‘Pantomime’: Some Problematic Texts.” In *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*, edited by Edith Hall, and Rosie Wyles. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 146-153. The restoration of the text of an epigram from Amphipolis, commemorating a man from Borystheneis, in ll. 5-7: [ἀρε]τήν δὲ μάλιστα | [ζήτεον ἐσθλῶν ἔξα]ρτησάμενος πν | [κνοτάτης σοφίας] in *CEG* 2.723 (*SEG* 39: 568) is not convincing.

110. Hatzopoulos, Miltiades B., and Louisa D. Loukopoulou. 1992. *Recherches sur les marches orientales de Téménides (Anthémonte-Kalindoia)*, vol. I. Μελετήματα 11. Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 98-101 no. K18; Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, 111-112 with further references.

111. Chaniotis, Angelos. 1988. *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften: Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, E6; Chaniotis, “Travelling Memories,” 259; Nigdelis, Pantelis M. 2015. *Επιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια II. Συμβολή στην πολιτική και κοινωνική ιστορία της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*. Μακεδονικά Επιγραφικά 3. Corfu: Ionian University, History Department, 65, with n. 119; the historian's name does not survive in the fragmentary text; *παρεπιδημῶν* (l.1) shows that he would have been a foreigner. See also the second-century BC copy of a decree from Thessaloniki, for which the Amphipolitan decree serves Nigdelis as a parallel: *IG X.2.1s* 1042; Nigdelis, *Επιγραφικά Θεσσαλονίκεια II*, 62-69 no. 15.I: a citizen of Thessaloniki performed successful *ἀκροάσεις* in a city, which voted honours for him; the honorary decree was

The harvest of personal names suggestive of similar interests or qualities is poor. Names cannot of course be taken at face-value in this case, as if in fact attesting to the capacity, talents or inclination of their owner (they are not even, in most cases, a matter of personal choice of the carrier). They may, however, suggest a personal (by the name giver) and communal appreciation of relevant virtues and/or capacities. In contrast to other semantic categories of names, such as those related to the world of war and gallantry,¹¹² names which would proclaim (even if... nominally) their owners' indulgence in the works of the intellect or the arts do not form a substantial group within the Macedonian onomasticon:¹¹³ they are few and each of them corresponds to few carriers: among them Philomousos, commemorated on a funerary stele, today in the United Kingdom, connected to athletics through his strigil-holding servant.¹¹⁴

Concluding Remarks

For the time being, the story of the theme of the "cultured person/citizen" in the two regions under query begins in fourth-century Macedonia; it is not fortuitous that two cities that belong to the realm of south-Greek colonies set up north, namely Amphipolis and Poteidaia, have yielded our earlier examples (music; a *grammatistes* [?]). The two Macedonian capitals, Aigai and Pella, take over the *scytale*, in order to offer only a select few images of men of letters and music, and to then pass it on to Demetrias, a portal city open to the vibes of the east and the south, particularly so to the trends and artistic input of Attica, whose influence on the city's funerary vocabulary remains evident as late as the 2nd century BC.

It is only when we reach the series of Demetrias in the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC that we can speak of a recognizable group of tombstones bearing the subject, as well as later on, within the series of late Hellenistic Macedonian figured tombstones. Overall, the number of monuments hinting at or expounding on the deceased's culture is relatively restricted. Volatile and fragile statistics would make

then copied and set up in his mother city, Thessaloniki; Nigdelis proposes that he might have been a public doctor. For a non-datable funerary epigram for a doctor once found in Beroia and now lost: *EKM I 407* = Mavroudis, *Μακεδονική ιατρική προσωπογραφία*, no. 9.

112. Cf. Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, Anna. 2012. "The Macedonian Onomasticon during the Archaic, Classical and Early Hellenistic Periods." In *Threpteria. Studies on Ancient Macedonia*, edited by Michalis Tiverios, Pantelis Nigdelis, and Polyxeni Adam-Veleni. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Press, esp. 608-614 (although the author moves within a narrower area than the one with which we are concerned here, applying geographical restrictions for reasons of –her selected– methodology: *ibid.*, 604-606).

113. In its broadest possible, geographic and non dialectic-sensitive, definition. We do not include theophoric, mythological names or names derived from the epics.

114. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. no. 214. It is worth commemorating two women by the name Εὐπνύνη/α, the first of royal lineage, sister of Philip II (Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad*, 316 no. 57), and a second one from second-century BC Edessa (*EKM II 174*).

the late Hellenistic Macedonian group appear greater than the Demetrias group in relation to their contemporary correlative funerary figured outputs, but this should be seen in connection to the general trends of the Hellenistic world and the greater diffusion of the theme with time, as the Macedonian group is in the main later than the Demetrias group. Again, one should be cautious not to compare the output of a whole region (Macedonia) to that of one single city (Demetrias), tempted as one might be by the fact that Thessaly as a region, be it due to secondary reasons or not, has otherwise preserved/yielded no figured tombstone with the theme. Demetrias and, later, Beroia emerge as two cities where the theme has relatively greater clustering, although under different conventions and with differentiated emphasis.

Iconographic *schemata* and types used for the theme do not owe their emergence to the original creativity of either Thessaly or Macedonia, although they are adjusted so as to be anchored in their respective repertoires, presenting overarching affinities with other thematic categories current in the two regions. Greater affinity can be observed between the small, incoherent group of late Classical/early Hellenistic Macedonian tombstones with the theme with that from Demetrias, rather than between any of the two with the late Hellenistic Macedonian group, where Classical conventions and norms have been dissolved and patterned repetitiveness, as opposed to greater earlier variety of *schemes* and figural types, is rather pronounced. Nonetheless, there seems to be no genetic connection between the late Classical/early Hellenistic Macedonian group and the Demetrias group, no direct connection of a Macedonian bequest to its foundation, when it comes to the visualisation of the “cultured citizen” (corroborated by the fact that the *ateliers* responsible for the painted monuments were also different). Other than social realities reflected in the tombstones (such as Macedonian dress attested in Demetrias; men in the Macedonian service, etc.) the affinities observed owe their existence to resting on a common pool of external references.

To highlight some points: The *dexiosis* scene involving a man of letters/music as well as the figure of the seated man actively engaged in *reading*, met in fourth-century Macedonia, on present evidence appears to be discontinued in the following centuries in Macedonia itself, but recurs in the Demetrias group. To the image of the seated *reader* Demetrias adds the figure of the seated *writer*, an image that is hitherto unattested in Macedonian funerary relief and painted monuments. late Classical/early Hellenistic Macedonian scenes only include figures of men, which is also generally valid for the Demetrias group, where female company to a *literatus* positively enters the frame of the scene only in one case (Λ 121) in a *dexiosis* scene. It is also in the two Demetrias *dexiosis* scenes (Λ 121, Λ 9) that the rolled-up papyrus held in hand first makes its appearance among the gravestones discussed. It is carried as a customized and casual accessory, while its carrier is involved in other

primary action, a convention that is later to become a familiar trend, in Macedonia as well as in other parts of the Greek world. With images of seated persons appear pieces of household furniture, which would seem to set the scene more firmly within the private sphere, an element which seems more pronounced in the stelai from Demetrias. Both in the scenes with which we are concerned here as well as within other subjects on the Demetrias stelai, leisurely life appears to be highly valued as a defining element by members of a thriving *bourgeoisie* of a city which was at the same time a Macedonian *basileion* and a cosmopolitan Hellenistic harbour. The ambience of the Demetrias stelai, with its colourful *paraphernalia* is not a current trait of Macedonian figured tombstones. This might be seen as partly owed to secondary parameters and the alluring visual effect of the Demetrias painted scenes, which are more and in most cases better preserved. But, in the case of the late Hellenistic Macedonian group it is certainly owed to conscious choices and differentiating nuances of mentality, as Macedonians appear adamantly frugal, with a liking for old traditional values coupled with a soft spot for heroic overtones.

Be it due to choice or state of preservation, we get no combination of both image and text elaborating on the commemorated persons' cultivation, so as to assess their interplay or get a clear idea of how the iconography of the professional vs that of the amateur would have potentially developed. Categories such as statues set up to commemorate victories in contests or public documents naturally represent the class of the professionals as opposed to that of the hobbyists. By looking at public honorific documents (and memorials probably set up with public funds, such as that of the poet Erilaos in Larisa), it would be fair to say that, on present evidence, professionals of the mind and the arts attracted greater public recognition and honours in Hellenistic cities of the Thessalian hinterland than in either Macedonia or Demetrias – the extensive set of honours bestowed upon a foreign poetess, namely Aristodama of Smyrna, by the city of Lamia are hitherto unparalleled in Macedonia. This general picture is corroborated by the signed epigrams recorded on stone, on both public and private dedications set up in public spaces, such as those found in Phalanna and mainly Larisa, which speak of the acclaimed status of local and foreign poets being commissioned by civic bodies and individuals.

In other categories of material evidence, including private funerary monuments, professionals and amateurs are likely to mingle more freely. Relatively greater certainty in recognizing a professional can be claimed for the few cases in which the figure has been “replaced” and is represented by a sole inanimate object, as with the musical instruments shown on two (?) of the Demetrias stelai (Λ4 [?], Λ14). Otherwise, a combination of factors is required for us to tell; no type of scene and/or figural type emerges in the monuments discussed to unmistakably flag out “the professional”, who in the absence of specific attributes/*realia*, such as the agonistic *kithara* or the actor's working costume, would be in the need of an inscription

to speak out for him. The Pellaian “tomb of the philosophers” stands for many reasons apart from mainstream funerary iconography as seen on the tombstones examined. It is connected to them through the figure of the *reader*, but is otherwise distinguished by many elements, including the globe –in no other scene is a piece of equipment particular to a disciplinary field shown– and the didactic position assumed by the central figure, the pose of the thinker assumed by one of the men surrounding him (hand to chin), the rocky scenery or the frieze of the horse race which crowns the figural frieze and points to paid honours to the dead. Otherwise, only a few among the *individuals shown on the tombstones* discussed can be recognized as or suspected for “professionals”, namely Harpalos from Aigai, the lyre holder¹¹⁵ and the *grammatistes* from Amphipolis, as well as the actor in the Papposilenos costume from the same city, should this indeed be a funerary statue. It is worthwhile noting that no funerary *image* of a practicing physician/doctor has been preserved from either Thessaly or Macedonia in the periods under study, a theme that is otherwise known on Greek tombstones even if in the minority.

The majority of figures of men addressing us through their images on the tombstones perused claim the general quality of the *literatorus*, of the cultivated man, of the lover of the works of the mind and art –be it true or false a claim. It is the profile of the male citizen from the middle and upper social strata of the Greek cities we have been visiting, either accomplished or in the making in the case of *ephebes*, which the subject in the main bulk of the tombstones served. On at least one of the stelai from Demetrias, that of Demetrios son of Olynpos, the young age of the figure and mainly the inclusion of the *herm* make explicit reference to the world of the *gymnasium* and educational training. Similar explicit references to the *gymnasium* appear to be absent from the Macedonian group and, in all, a claim that some of the figures/scenes examined refer to the particular educational phase rather than to a *fait accompli* lies on age-specific figural interpretation/epigraphic information.

It is fair to say that the theme was in the main a men’s affair, as women are only marginally represented either pictorially (if one accepts the doubtful case of the stele of Hymnis) or epigraphically – and the same stands true for little children as well.¹¹⁶ Throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods no woman on Macedonian and Thessalian (above-ground) tombstones is ever seen in *actual visual affinity* to any attribute somehow related to the world of culture and education that was meant to single her out and commemorate her as a carrier of the virtue. Turning to Macedonian funerary wall paintings, bookrolls have been recognized to have intruded the file of painted objects adorning the interior of two cist tombs, which housed the burials of women of high social ranking (again, an indirect con-

115. Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, 47.

116. For the stele from Orestis, see above, nn. 85, 88.

nection, avoiding visual affinity between figure and attribute).¹¹⁷ It is relevant to note here that the two women playing the double flute and the *kithara* respectively in the *symposion* frieze of the tomb of Aghios Athanasios¹¹⁸ are not the ones whom

117. At Herakleia (Aghios Athanasios; end of the 4th century BC) and Lete (Derveni; late 4th – early 3rd century BC) respectively: Tsimbidou-Auloniti, Maria. 2000. "...ΛΑΡΝΑΚ' ΕΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΕΗΝ..." (Il. Σ, 413)." In *Μύρτος. Μελέτες στη μνήμη Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου*, edited by Polyxeni Adam-Veleni. Thessaloniki: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 543-567 esp. 552-553, dr. 2, fig. 2; Tzanavari, Katerina. 1996. "Δερβένι. Μια νεκρόπολη της αρχαίας Λητής." *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 10: 467-468, figs. 11-12; Brécoulaki, Hariclia. 2006. *La peinture funéraire de Macédoine. Emplois et fonctions de la couleur, IVe-IIe s. av. J.-C.* Μελετήματα 48. Athens: Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 304-311, 324-326, pl. 103; Tzanavari, Katerina. 2014. "Ο τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος του κιβωτισήχιμου τάφου I του Δερβενίου, στην αρχαία Λητή: πρώτη ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση." *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και στη Θράκη* 28: 489-500; Tzanavari, Katerina. 2017. "Le décor mural de la tombe à ciste I de Dervéni, à l'ancienne Lété. Première approche interprétative." In *Context and Meaning. Proceedings of the Twelfth International Conference of the Association internationale pour la peinture murale antique, Athens, September 16-20, 2013*, edited by Stephan T. A. M. Mols and Eric M. Moormann. Leuven: Peeters, 193-198 (Tzanavari proposes to identify the deceased as a young girl and a priestess of Demeter and Kore).
118. Tsimbidou-Auloniti, *Μακεδονικοί τάφοι*, 123-127, 135-136, pls. 33β, 34α. In the world of terracotta figurines from Macedonia, the connection comes in the guise of female musicians, of girls with writing tablets or of *paidagogoi* escorting little girls alone or along with little boys: in general: Adam-Veleni, Polyxeni, Electra Zografou, Angeliki Koukouvou, Ourania Palli, and Evangelia Stefani, eds. 2017. *Ειδώλιο. Ένας μικρόκοσμος από πηλό. Κατάλογος έκθεσης, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης, 3.4.2017-30.4.2018*. Έκδοση Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης 31. Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, passim, with abundant earlier bibliography. Selectively: for the figurine of a female figure with a writing tablet: Rhomiourlou, Katerina. 2013. "Ελληνιστικό νεκροταφείο Αμφιπόλεως. Βορειοανατολικός τομέας: Ανασκαφή 1956." *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 152: 147 no. 2013E; for figurines of *paidagogoi*: Lilimbaki-Akamati, Maria. 1983. "Πήλινα ειδώλια παιδαγωγών από την Πέλλα." *Μακεδονικά* 23: 221-245; Lilimbaki-Akamati, Maria. 1994. *Λαξευτοί θαλαμωτοί τάφοι της Πέλλας*. Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 53. Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 236. We cannot go into the discussion of the evidence here, especially as a quantitative overall study for Macedonia is missing, but it should be noted in brief that even if we take the figurines at face value, as if corresponding to established real-life practice, learning the essentials of reading and writing on private (family) initiative is quite a different level of literacy than being recognized, let alone commemorated as a cultured (mature) person. A few figurines of girls holding writing tablets are known from Demetrias, they mostly remain unpublished and are currently under study by Stelios Ieremias, whom we would like to thank for discussing them with us. Two were found in the deposits by the Anaktoron (Volos DP R XI S; F 1/33 (ID 56413), and DP 73 R XII 26 95/60, 512: see Hornung-Bertemes, Karin. 2007. *Terrakotten aus Demetrias*. Demetrias 7. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 133 no. 91, pl. 14, and 160 no. 211, pl. 29. At least one was found in the Pasikrata sanctuary, where the cult had kourotrophic elements: Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπτάι στήλαι Παγασών – Δημητριάδος*, 47, fig. 55 right (bottom row, fourth – which may depict a boy – and perhaps sixth from the right). Finally, another one is part of the old collection and its exact provenance is unknown: Volos M2047: Hornung-Bertemes, *Terrakotten aus Demetrias*, 134 no. 93, pl. 14. For figurines of children holding diptychs and their significance, see Benissi, Constantina. 2019. "A Group of Terracotta Ex-Voto Figurines from Amarynthos, Euboea: A Case Study in Sanctuary Deposition Practices." In *Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas*. Monumenta Graeca et Romana 23, edited by Giorgos Papantoniou, Demetrios Michaelides, and Maria Dikomitrou-Eliadou. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 204, 209-211 (from Amarynthos in Euboea).

the painting was intended to commemorate and honour, whichever their social standing might have been. Queen Eurydice herself is said to have taken up lessons in reading and writing only “late in life”,¹¹⁹ and the fact alone that this was merited special, public, commemoration on stone attests to the exceptional character of the endeavour even among women of the Macedonian royal house.

Abbreviations

- CAT* Clairmont, Christoph. 1993-1995. *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 9 vols. Kilchberg, Switzerland: Akanthus.
- EKM I* Gounaropoulou, Loukretia, and Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos. 1998. *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (μεταξὺ τοῦ Βερμίου ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ)*, Τεύχος Α'. *Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας*. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- EKM II* Gounaropoulou, Loukretia, Paschalis Paschidis, and Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos. 2015. *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (μεταξὺ τοῦ Βερμίου ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ)*, Τεύχος Β', Μέρη Α' - Β'. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and National Hellenic Research Foundation.

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119. Plut. *Mor.* 14b-c; see the commentary in *EKM II* on their no. 8.

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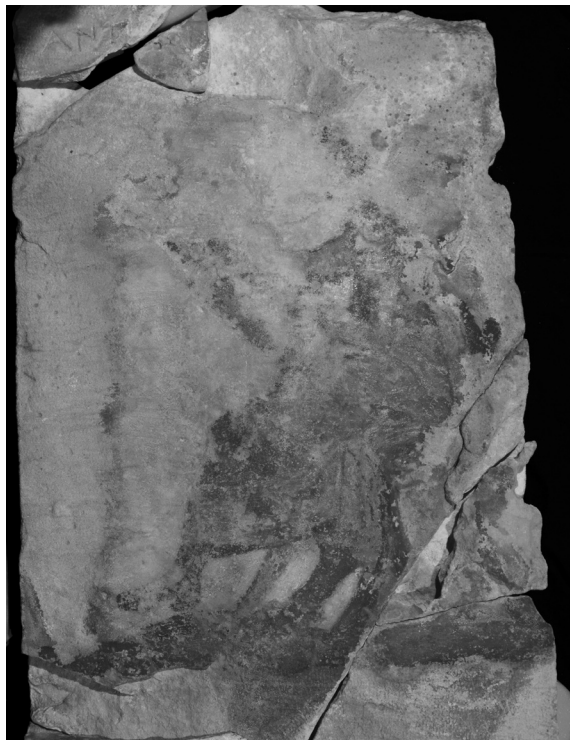


Fig. 1. Stele of Antigonos (the figure scene). Vergina Museum BA 1775. Photograph by Giovanni Verri: visible image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia).



Fig. 2. Stele of Antigonos (the figure scene). Vergina Museum BA 1775. Photograph by Giovanni Verri: infrared-reflected image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia).



Fig. 3. Vergina Museum 99 α - γ , 104 α - β . Photograph by Giovanni Verri: visible image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia).

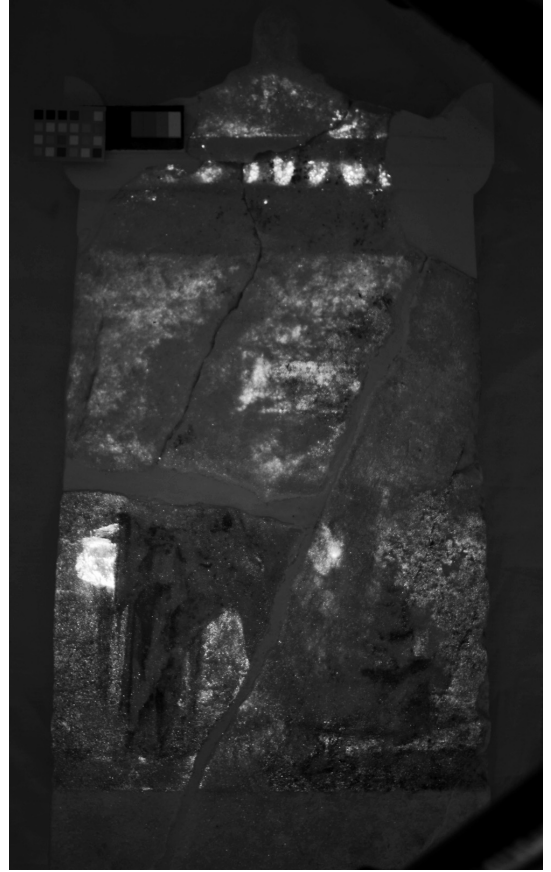


Fig. 4. Vergina Museum 99 α - γ , 104 α - β . Photograph by Giovanni Verri: visible-induced luminescence image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia).



Fig. 5. The naiskos stele of Stratonikos. Volos Λ9. Photograph by Giovanni Verri: visible image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia).



Fig. 6. The stele of Arisstokles. Volos Λ2. Photograph by Giovanni Verri: visible image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia).



Fig. 7. Volos Λ244. Photograph by Giovanni Verri: visible image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia).

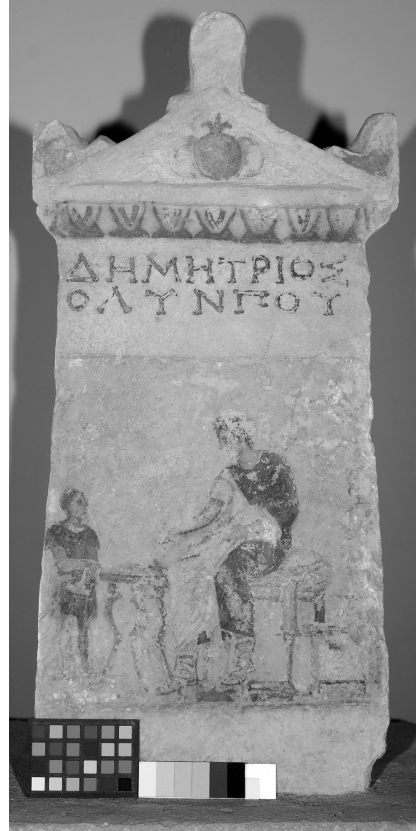


Fig. 8. The stele of Demetrios. Volos Λ351. Photograph by Giovanni Verri: visible image (© Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia).



Fig. 9. Thessaloniki Museum 1067 (Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. no. Beroia 103) [© Photographic Archive of Sculpture in the Museum of Casts in the University of Thessaloniki (AFME) 78 / M. Skiadaresis].



Fig. 10. Stele of Philotera and Kassandros (Kalaitzi, *Figured Tombstones from Macedonia*, cat. no. Beroia 109). Beroia Museum Λ 729 (Photograph by Myrina Kalaitzi. © Ephorate of Antiquities of Emathia).

