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The Iconography of Athenian State Burials in the Classical Period

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In the ancient Greek *polis* as in modern states, public burials, especially war burials, could be abused by being made to serve as a means to an end. Thucydides in his famous ἐπιτάφιος λόγος of Perikles, as well as in his introduction to it, however, implies that the Athenian state burial was a purely democratic custom.[1] Probably after the reforms of Kleisthenes,[2] the demos of Athens began to honor certain select individuals with public burials situated along the road running from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy. Single burials were made possible by means of a special decree. Communal burials of the war dead took place annually following a certain ritual.

Though scholars disagree about the origin of this custom, there is sufficient evidence in favor of the Kleisthenic date; the arguments against such a date are weak.[3] Certainly burials at public expense were known earlier in Athens and elsewhere. It is equally true that not all public burials were confined to the road leading to the Academy. Location seems to have been of secondary importance; nevertheless, the Academy Road was soon embellished with monuments that became typical of Athenian democracy. The separate burials in ten larnakes and the casualty lists on ten stelai, one for each tribe, speak clearly in favor of this custom originating with the Kleisthenic tribal reforms. State burials would have been an adjunct to the main reforms, such as, for example, ostracism.[4] The earliest attested public burials on the Academy Road belong to the period of the Tyrannicides and Kleisthenes himself;[5] the earliest known war monument is associated with the war against Chalkis and other neighbors immediately after the reforms of Kleisthenes in 506 B.C.;[6] whether those war dead were buried on the battlefield like the Marathon dead in 490 B.C., or whether they were brought back to the Kerameikos is another question. In favor of a Kleisthenic date can also be cited the almost simultaneous appearance of the state burial with the Athenian sumptuary law, both being mentioned together by Cicero.[7] This decree can be dated around 500 B.C., since this date marks the last appearance of private grave monuments in Attica. We need only compare "the last grave kouros" of Aristodikos[8] with pedimental sculptures from the last decade of the sixth century, for example, the gigantomachy from the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis or the Theseus-Amazon group from the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria.[9]

The parallel origins of public burial and sumptuary decree as complementary institutions can serve to highlight the significance of state burials. All large mounds and grave buildings, stelai and statues, which used to evoke the continuous hero-like existence of the aristocratic dead and which supported the political influence of their families by visual suggestion, suddenly come to an end.[10] The large grave mounds in the Kerameikos are given over to all people.[11] Private funerary sculptures of great magnificence would soon be used as readily available building material and embedded into the new city walls.[12] The large mounds — tumulus and stele as γέρας θανόντων in the Homeric sense[13] — would be reserved for the casualties of war and the dead especially honored by the demos. Thus the demos of Athens replaces the Attic gentry: an interpretation supported by the *topoi* of the *laudes Atticae*.[14]

The iconography of Athenian state burials at Athens is not well documented, although the topography of the *demosion sema* is known from literary sources.[15] Apart from Thucydides' account, our main source is Pausanias, whose description of tombs in a roughly topographical order has been tentatively chartered in a series of maps by Clairmont.[16] As for the forms of state funerary monuments, the sources give no indication except for a few enigmatic hints, such as, for example, Pausanias' mention of the otherwise unknown horsemen Melanoppos and Makartatos.[17] Archaeological finds are scanty and the area is now more or less inaccessible to archaeologists being largely built over in modern times. No discussion of the iconography of these tombs and its meaning is possible without knowledge of their sculptured decoration and its position on the tomb; here the evidence is rather fragmentary, since there are no complete tombs of this sort.

The few public burials which survive directly in front of the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos are probably not quite representative. The demos honored certain proxenoi with public burials; their stelai, set on stepped bases,[18] are reminiscent of earlier representations of tombs on

white-ground lekythoi about the middle of the fifth century. One must also mention the tombs of the victims of political unrest immediately after the end of the Peloponnesian War.[19] As they were killed on the spot in the Kerameikos, they did not require cremation as was the custom for war casualties transported to Athens to wait for the annual ceremony; instead, they were inhumed. As for the tomb of the Lacedaemonians who tried in vain to help the Thirty Tyrants, the retrograde inscription is preserved on an upper row of blocks of the funerary building.

Even less representative in comparison to the tombs of the war dead may be the few examples of individual public burials; their types were less set by custom and could be determined by individual taste as other private tombs. A possible example of a single public burial may be a circular tomb with rectangular wings projecting on each side.[20] The circular mound was crowned by a marble Panathenaic amphora and the two wings by a pair of Molossian dogs (a marble cauldron with griffin *protomai* also belongs here). In this case, along with the archaic type of round tumulus, heroic or aristocratic connotations have been integrated into the rectangular type of funerary building. The question arises whether circular tumuli, as at Marathon, or rectangular enclosures were usual in the beginning. The simple rows of ten stelai for the ten democratic tribes of Attica require rectangular precincts.[21] But in years with fewer casualties all names could be fitted into a single stele. Thus we may suppose that most of the annual burials were rectangular precincts with stelai and reliefs on top of the front walls similar to later family precincts on the south side of the Eridanos River; and that they flanked both sides of the Academy Road, with an open space of thirty meters in between to accommodate the crowds for the ceremony and the funeral oration and especially the ἐπιτάφιος ἀγών.

There are few additional finds from the ancient Academy Road that tell us much. Some elements do certainly come from the area of the *demosion sema*; others have been found elsewhere having been carried away in ancient or modern times for building material; still others were even transported farther away, obviously on account of their historical value. Some elements can only be ascribed to the *demosion sema* on the basis of probability. Whereas fragments of the stelai with casualty lists, many of which have been found in other places, can easily be recognized and ascribed,[23] it is rather more difficult to identify iconographic material from the *demosion sema*, since we are not even certain of the themes that were represented. In cases where just the epigrams are preserved, it is impossible to draw conclusions from any of the names mentioned. But from key words in the epigrams and epitaphs, which are related to one another, we do know of some categories of iconographic material. We can also draw more or less convincing conclusions for people buried in public tombs from additional burial monuments (i.e. *kenotaphia*) sometimes prepared for them in private family tombs.

The representation of a lion on the tomb of a hero represents a long tradition.[24] Lions, therefore, are used not only on private burials, but also on the tombs of those who fell in war, as was the case, for instance, at Chaironeia and Amphipolis. In the Kerameikos a double-sided lion stele from the middle of the fifth century B.C. was found in the area of the *demosion sema*.[25] On the fragmentary neck of a red-figure loutrophoros of the third quarter of the fifth century, also from the Kerameikos, is represented a grave stele topped by the figure of a lion.[26] On some unpublished red-figure sherds that were found at the beginning of this century in tombs of the east side of the Academy Road just outside the Dipylon, felines are also represented. We may conclude, therefore, that lions formed part of the sculptural equipment of public tombs, just as they were used in some private monuments of the fourth century B.C., in the same way as the Molossians were used on the circular tomb with projecting wings.

There are no indications as yet for actual statues in state burials, as had been usual before on aristocratic tombs in the form of *kouroi* and *korai*. We know of only stelai and reliefs. Two pieces come from the year 394 B.C.; earlier ones cannot be dated with certainty. A question that arises is whether the reliefs were set on public tombs right from the beginning or whether they stem from a later date and perhaps belong to the reintroduction of private grave reliefs at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Sometime at least in the late fifth century B.C. they must have been adorned by rich *anthemia* with motifs of scrolls with flowers or palmettes of the kind normal at that time, as is attested by two examples, one from the year 394 B.C.[27]

The theme best documented in state burials is the battle scene, usually of a warrior, often on horseback, in the decisive moment of his fight. Such a scene is representative of both aristocratic ideals and the *andragathia*. *Andres agathoi*, not heroes, was the usual denomination in Athens for those fallen in war. Variations of this motif of fighting were used on reliefs of different kinds. Similar to the public tomb reliefs are, for example, the votive relief of the *hipparch* Pythodoros in Eleusis[28] and some of the smaller temple friezes.

A fragment of a late archaic stele in Copenhagen with two warriors fighting to the left[29] might point to the existence of a predecessor, since the scene is oriented contrary to the normal direction; but without certain provenance it is too difficult to tell. The most important relief is the so-called Albani relief,[30] which had been brought to Rome in antiquity; stylistically it can be dated to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Other such reliefs include the fragment of a frieze with fighting scenes in Oxford,[31] which preserves the heading of a casualty list in large letters, and the relief with the casualty list of 394 B.C. already mentioned. A fighting relief documented by Fauvel has been lost and therefore cannot be considered in this study.[32]

There are also a number of private reliefs with horsemen and foot soldiers fighting. One of them is that

of Dexileos, who fell in 394 B.C., and whose name is written on the stele of the state burial of that year (Fig. 1).[33] The inscription on the base of the relief provides more detailed information about his dates than any other classical Greek tomb inscription. The situation of the family tomb may illustrate how such reliefs may have been placed in a state burial. To the Dexileos relief several other private monuments can be added.[34] Their iconography helps to reconstruct and identify a fragment found a few years ago in secondary use in Roman foundations on the corner of Plataion and Kerameikos Streets, exactly in the area of the *demosion sema*. The scene is of a man being overrun by a horse and is similar to that of the Dexileos relief. Since it can be dated to the later fourth century B.C., it has been suggested that it could belong to the monument of the year of the battle of Chaironeia.[35] To the same category belong representations of warriors storming forwards, but without an enemy shown, as have been found in Attica and Boeotia on stelai from the time of the Peloponnesian War.[36] The Boeotian flat stelai with faint patterns to be filled in with colors follow a scheme that had obviously been developed in Attica.

Fig. 1. Grave relief of Dexileos. Kerameikos Museum. Photo German Archaeological Institute (Athens) Ker. 5976.

A fragmentary relief of Pentelic marble, dating from the end of the fifth century B.C., in Rome in the nineteenth century, but now in New York, shows fighting between Greeks and barbarians.[37] Since no inscription is preserved, it cannot be stated with certainty that the relief belonged to a state burial. The fact that it was brought, perhaps in antiquity, to Rome may point to a situation analogous to that of the Albani relief. What is left of the figures in the fragment are the opponents, in flight, just at the moment of being struck by the victor, and a foot soldier who is not preserved except for his knee. The barbarian he kills is reminiscent of an amazon. The oblong format of the frieze and the number of enemies allow one to postulate that there was at least a second victor involved. It is thus probable that it belonged to a state burial, although a solitary warrior can deal with a number of enemies, as occurs on the private marble loutrophoros of Philon in Athens.[38]

A sculptured base with the bedding for a stele on top comes from the Academy Road; it may have carried a casualty list.[39] The Dexileos motif on the front of the base is repeated on both sides in such a way as if it was being regarded from both sides, just as a piece of sculpture in the round. The Tyrannicides are represented in the same way on a contemporary red-figure cup with Theseus' exploits by the Kodros Painter in London.[40] The reliefs on the base suggest that there were also statues of men on horseback at the top. Red-figure loutrophoroi with such battle scenes, some of which were reported to have been found in the area in the nineteenth century, seem to have been used as part of the burial cult in the *demosion sema*.[41] A red-figure loutrophoros, formerly in the possession of Schliemann, shows the dead warrior as a horseman standing calmly in the midst of his relatives.[42]

Representations of warriors standing calmly might have been borrowed from the iconography of state burials, as seems to be the case with scenes of fighting. The horse which accompanies a soldier is an indication of his social status or rank, just as it is in votive reliefs for heroes. The great relief of a horse guided by a small black boy (Fig. 2), which was found near the Larissa Railway Station in Athens, is likely to be a supplementary relief of a big sepulchral monument. It is probably better dated to the late fourth century B.C., rather than to the Hellenistic period as has been proposed several times.[43] The fragmentary relief from the area of the *demosion sema* which repeats the motif of the Dexileos relief is stylistically similar to it.[44] Just like the latter, this horse relief might have originally belonged to a late fourth century public tomb and have been removed at some time in antiquity.

Judging from the accompanying epigram, the stele of Athenokles, found in the Agora excavations and showing the warrior standing quietly, comes from a state burial.[45] We may thus imagine a big stele with a warrior, like that which was said to have been found on the street from Athens to Megara,[46] to have formed part of the *demosion*

Fig. 2. Grave relief with horse and groom. Athens National Museum 4464. Photo German Archaeological Institute (Athens) NM 69/40.

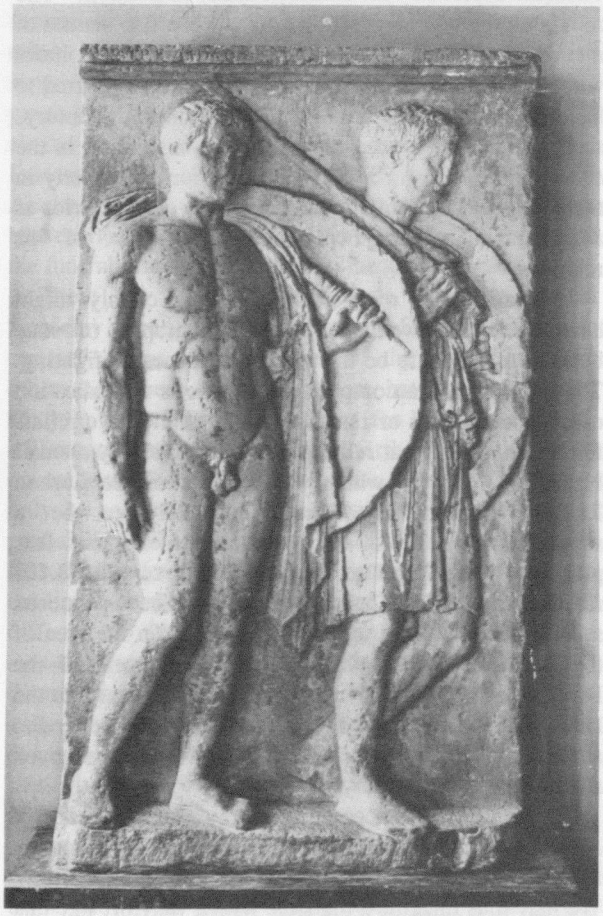

Fig. 3. Grave relief of Chairedemos and Lykeas. Piraeus Museum. Photo German Archaeological Institute (Athens) Pir. 204.

sema. The same scheme of a warrior standing quietly is used for one of the brothers on the relief of Chairedemos and Lykeas (Fig. 3), which is dated to 412/11 B.C. by mention of Lykeas in a casualty list.[47] Warriors standing side by side give the impression that they are part of a phalanx.

Two warriors on an extraordinary grave relief from the Taman peninsula on the Black Sea wear Corinthian helmets (Figs. 4–5).[48] Normally soldiers depicted on the earlier classical Attic grave reliefs wear a pilos and light weapons; later on the pilos is replaced by the Attic helmet or even by the Macedonian type. The Corinthian helmet is rarely worn and may indicate a hero. Single helmets represented on grave stelai as a symbolic crowning motif are of the Corinthian type.[49] Since the Taman relief is influenced by Attic art, its prototype may well have belonged to a state burial.

Often two soldiers are united with one another by a hand clasp. Some of the earliest examples of this famous standard motif occur in classical Attic grave stelai, the oldest example with Corinthian helmets;[50] this scene later becomes popular in family group reliefs. Few reliefs with *dexiosis* are earlier than the reintroduction of grave reliefs in Attica, and these have been found outside Attica. This suggests that the theme of warriors in *dexiosis* may have been selected as a symbol of *homonoia* in order to visualize the unanimity of the democrats with regard to state burials.[51] The *dexiosis* of soldiers with their relatives, who are regularly mentioned in the *epitaphios logos*, also represents this *homonoia*.

It has been suggested that sepulchral rites may have been represented on Attic tombs and thus might also have been depicted in state burials.[52] A fragmentary relief, for example, from the Kerameikos showing two old men on a cart has been suggested to represent the *ekphora* of the phylai larnakes.[53] The evidence for this interpretation, however, is quite slender. An athlete with a torch running past a stele on a white-ground lekythos has been interpreted as one of the participants in the torch race on the Academy Road which took place every year as part of the ἐπιτάφιος ἀγὼν in honor of the dead warriors.[54] The vase, thus, should have been intended for use at the *demosion sema*. The running athlete, however, can be more easily understood as the figure of a dead sportsman who may have won a torch race.

The case is completely different with the relatives who are left behind mourning and who are addressed and consoled by the speaker of the *epitaphios logos*. They are shown on the back side of an early warrior lekythos that might derive from a state burial.[55] These mourning figures are symbols of the grief and sorrow felt by the relatives and by all Athenians for their casualties. We cannot exclude, therefore, the idea that the relatives may well have played a role in the iconography of the state burial. They are to be found standing in sorrow between several different grave stelai on a red-figure loutrophoros from Athens;[56] three women sitting in sorrow are depicted on a metope found in the area of Hadrian's

Fig. 4. Relief from the Taman Peninsula. Moscow, Pushkin Museum. Photo author.

Fig. 5. Relief from the Taman Peninsula (detail). Moscow, Pushkin Museum. Photo author.

Library.[57] The inspiration for the sarcophagus of mourning women from Sidon may even be Attic.[58]

Grief caused by the casualties of war can also be shown by the figure of the soldier himself, as can be seen on a number of grave reliefs and white-ground lekythoi.[59] One of these is the small grave relief of Demokleides who is sitting on the bow of a ship (Fig. 6).[60] It is interesting to note that the navy, despite its importance for Athenian democracy, does not play a role in the iconography of the state burial. Rowers and marines were closely linked to the new democracy; yet, there was no tradition of their representation in funerary art. The traditional formulae inherited by the early democracy may well have been felt to be sufficient. Both trierarchs and thetes may well have thought it much more imposing and desirable to have a victorious aristocratic or heroic horseman as the symbol on their tombs rather than a ship on which they had been continuously rowing.

A great number of vases for sepulchral rites, especially loutrophoroi, will have been needed for those fallen in war, since many of the young soldiers were unmarried. That these vases were prepared specifically for the state burials can be seen from their iconography, especially in the fighting scenes which sometimes take place in front of the tombs. The fighting does not take place over the tombs by ghosts at midnight, as Langlotz once implied.[61] Rather, the individual pictorial elements must be read as symbols: death is indicated by the tombs themselves, and the fighting warriors despite their death, symbolize victory and glory for the defenders of Athens and the right cause. It may well be that the monumentalizing of these vases in marble was inspired by the public tombs, since some of the earliest examples of marble loutrophoroi and loutrophoros stelai show warriors shaking hands.[62]

The representation of myths seems to have played only a small part in the iconography of state monuments in comparison with that played in the *epitaphioi*. In the annual burial speech, the praise of Attica and of its constitution was followed regularly by a recounting of the mythical fights of the Athenians for the right of the weak and against the *hybris* of the strong, a theme which the Athenians also loved to quote in their political speeches.[63] Based on later historical events, they are divided typologically into fights against barbarian invaders, such as the Persians, symbolized by amazons, centaurs, Thracians, and the Greeks' enemies *par excellence*, the Trojans, and by fights against other rival Greek states who in the eyes of the Athenians were tyrannizing over their less strong neighbors. These themes are well known from vase painting and temple friezes. Yet, only the amazonomachy occurs on late classical sepulchral

Fig. 6. Grave relief of Demokleides. Athens National Museum 752. Photo German Archaeological Institute (Athens) N.M. 404.

monuments and heroa.[64] As such, it may also have been depicted on the friezes of the monuments of the state burials. There is, however, no certain evidence for this. The analogy of the fighting scenes on the Nereid Monument at Xanthos[65] to amazonomachies does not help any more than the fighting Scythians on a monumental relief from the Taman peninsula.[66] But there are amazons fighting on the red-figure loutrophoros already mentioned, once in the possession of Schliemann, as well as on the main frieze of three others, one said to have been found in the Kerameikos.[67]

One theme, however, does irresistibly evoke the idea of the Athenian state burial, that of a dead warrior being brought home by Thanatos and Hypnos. This story, used in the epic cycle of the Trojan War in connection with the deaths of both Memnon and Sarpedon,[68] occurs in early Attic red-figure vase painting at the end of the sixth century B.C., about the time of the Kleisthenic reforms.[69] It may perhaps reflect the Athenians' discussion about the idea of transporting war casualties back to Attica. The warriors represented on the vases are given names as though they were Athenian citizens. The same scheme was also used for the scene of the return of Patroklos' body,[70] which evokes even more the impression of Athenian citizens collecting their dead after the battle. The scene with Thanatos and Hypnos reappears in Athenian vase painting in the late fifth century on the sepulchral genre of white-ground lekythoi; this motif may have been adopted from its use in state burials.[71] By bringing the dead home, Athens gives the same honors to her *andres agathoi* as are given to the heroes in the *Iliad*. In *epitaphios* speeches of the late fourth century, the fallen warriors are addressed as ones who have departed to the islands of the blessed.[72] In some versions of the Thanatos-Hypnos story, both in literature and in painting, Hermes Psychopompos is involved. He also appears on occasion in Attic sepulchral iconography together with the deceased, a motif which may indicate heroic

immortality. Compared to his appearance on ceramic lekythoi Hermes does not occur on many tomb reliefs; examples of the latter consist of the marble lekythos of Myrrhine (Fig. 7) and a small pediment from a sepulchral naiskos of uncertain provenience in Zurich.[73]

Fig. 7. Grave lekythos of Myrrhine. Athens National Museum 4485. Photo German Archaeological Institute (Athens) N.M. 5251.

On the base of a marble grave vase in Athens are depicted a young couple picking apples on the front, Hermes (or a light armed soldier) on the left, and an old priest with a knife on the right.[74] This scene recalls the Hesperides relief from the so-called three-figure reliefs.[75] They depict stories concerning victory over death, a theme that seems to be more suited to a sepulchral context than to religious or votive contexts.[76] The original reliefs may have formed the four sides of a freestanding base, perhaps belonging to a state burial.

A sepulchral epigram of two hexameters for Kritias and those fallen with him in the fight for the regime of the Thirty Tyrants suggests that personifications were also represented on the monuments of the Athenian state burials.[77] In the epigram, Oligarchia is described as setting fire to Demokratia. It seems impossible, however, to imagine this as belonging to a relief erected in the Kerameikos; rather, it may have been a caricature from after the time of the Thirty Tyrants or even a mere literary invention. It seems satiric in nature and fits better the style of the fourth century, when Demokratia occurs more often. Though such personifications do occasionally appear in the fifth century B.C., such as the representation of Dike and Adikia fighting with one another on a late Attic black-figure vase in Vienna.[78]

On a small jug found as a sepulchral offering for Dexileos, the famous statues of the Tyrannicides are represented (p. 79, Fig. 9),[79] obviously used as a paradigm of democratic attitude and civil courage. They had in fact been used few years earlier as the shield emblem of Athena Promachos on a Panathenaic prize amphora of 402 for the festival following the democratic victory over the Thirty Tyrants.[80] But this motif did not belong to the standard iconography of the public tombs. The Tyrannicides themselves were buried in the *demosion sema* not far from the Academy and received their cult in this place;[81] their famous statues, however, were not located there, but in the Agora.[82] Yet, the victor in the Albani relief and the victorious Stratokles on a grave stele in Boston,[83] who are both shown contrary to the usual direction of the victor as moving from right to left, adopt the stance of Harmodios. Like the Tyrannicides, therefore, the victorious fighters of the Athenian state burials appeal to the spectator to follow the example they provide.

Whereas Philip II of Macedon obviously acknowledged the custom of the Athenian state burial after the battle of Chaironeia in 338/7 B.C.,[84] some of the democrats may not have held it in so high esteem on account of the imperialism of Athenian naval politics. The state burial is never mentioned in connection with the reforms and building policies, despite the military and patriotic bias of these reforms. They had instead a strong emphasis on democratic buildings, especially on localities for law courts.

At the beginning of the fifth century, it would have been impossible to create new "democratic" ideals or even pictorial formulae and symbols and to allow the spectator to realize their meaning immediately. Those fallen in war, although not called heroes, were treated like heroes. One of the ways in which this was accomplished was the creation and adornment of the state burial. The iconography for these burials was taken, at least partly, from that used by the archaic nobility; this was done on purpose, since sumptuary legislation forbade the aristocracy from such elaborate grave monuments as they had in the past. But not all the aristocratic conventions were adopted. Sculpture in the round, which emphasizes the bodily presence of the deceased in much the same way as the cult images of the gods, seems not to have been used. Karouzou has suggested that the Hermes Ludovisi originally stood on top of the burial

mound of 446 B.C., but this idea has generally not found favor.[85] The sculptures found during the course of the excavations in the Kerameikos do not necessarily have to be associated with state burials.[86] All the evidence, therefore, points to the fact that state burials, until the time when private grave stelai were reintroduced, were left as simple as the private burial precincts.

In summary, we can say the following about the iconography of Athenian state burials. Symbolic animals, such as lions, do occur but they are supplemental and do not constitute a major element of the iconography. Scenes of fighting, especially with horsemen, are restricted to the tombs of fallen warriors (in public as well as private monuments). To what extent other motifs of warriors on grave reliefs belong to the repertory of public tombs is debatable. The theme of the warrior carried home by Death and Sleep would be especially suitable for a public burial. Soldiers united by a hand clasp, or with relatives left behind, would represent in pictorial form a motif often repeated in funeral orations. This may in fact have been a theme created by the new democracy for the state burial.

The state burial was essentially a democratic event. Nobody was admitted for burial except according to public vote, as, for example, was Lycurgus' grandfather who had been murdered by the Thirty Tyrants. The custom of the state burial for those fallen in war on behalf of their city was in correspondence with the *isonomia* of the new democracy. The demos took over the part played by the father of the family; the tomb of the soldier who had died far from home became available to his relatives; although it was not part of the family plot, it was adorned with hero-like glamor. All fallen soldiers were honored in the same way; they were listed on the stelai with their simple names in accordance with their phylai; sometimes the names of foreigners, metics, and even in a few cases of slaves, were added. This form of listing was copied in other cities, as for instance, in Boeotia or at Tegea. The relatives were consoled and the widows and orphans taken care of by the demos. After the reappearance of rich tombs, cenotaphs began to be added to family precincts as a means of symbolizing the heroism of the deceased warrior. All fallen soldiers were brought home for state burial and treated like heroes. Even though their heroization was never explicit, it underlined the iconography of public grave monuments.

Abbreviations

The following will be cited by author's name:

Ch.W. Clairmont, *Patrios Nomos*, *BAR-IS* 161 (Oxford 1983)

H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin 1931)

R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* (diss. Münster 1977)

Notes

1. Thuc. 2.34.
2. A Kleisthenic date for the custom of the state burial was first suggested by G. Hirschfeld, "Athenische Pinakes im Berliner Museum," *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* (Leipzig 1893) 12f. Cf. also Diepolder 7; H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*[2] (Munich 1968) 9; 101f.; K. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom* (Bern 1949) 104; id., "Die Thronende, Euthesion und Antigenes," *AntK* 13 (1970) 107; J. Kleine, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der attischen Kunst von Peisistratos bis Themistokles*, *IstMitt-BH* 8 (Tübingen 1973) 64; Stupperich 206–224. J. Neils in this volume, p. 151.
3. An earlier date is suggested by the interpretation of certain sources, sometimes in favour of Solon (to whom is attributed the origin of the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, cf. e.g. Schol. Thuc. 2.35.1; Plut. *Solon* 31.3). Cic. *de leg.* 2.26.64 is erroneously attributed here by L. Weber, *Solon und die Schöpfung der attischen Leichenrede* (Frankfurt 1935) 58f.; 66f.; P. Schmidt, *Staatliche Gefallenenehrung im klassischen Zeitalter Athens* (diss. Tübingen 1944) 52f.; 64; 66f.; Nilsson, *GGR* I[2] 191f.; I. Th. Hill, *The Ancient City of Athens* (London 1953) 217. Others ascribe the custom on very slight evidence to Peisistratos: cf. K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* VII 1, *Die Nekropole der Mitte des 6. bis Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1976) 201 (around 560 B.C.); G.M.A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (London 1961) 38f. (around 530), followed by M. Bieber, *AJA* 49 (1945) 385; H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (München 1967) 551; J. Boardman, "Painted Funerary Plaques and Some Remarks on Prothesis," *BSA* 50 (1955) 53; D.C. Kurtz — J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London 1971) 89f.; 121f. Some scholars have opted for Themistokles or a later statesman as the founder: e.g. F. Jacoby, "Patrios Nomos," *JHS* 64 (1944) 38f.; 47f.; 51, voting for 465 B.C., assuming an error by Thucydides; V. Zinserling, *Wiss. Zeitschr. Jena* 14 (1965) 29–34, which E. Kluwe, *Die Tyrannis der Peisistratiden und ihr Niederschlag in der Kunst* (diss. Jena 1966) 234–239 tried to corroborate with lists of monuments dated too low; followed also by Clairmont, 12f.; id., *Gravestone and Epigram* (Mainz 1970) 12 n. 45; D. Metzler, *Porträt und Gesellschaft* (Münster 1971) 361; 362 n. 4.
4. Cf. the contemporary origin of ostracism, which has been pointed out by both followers of a Kleisthenic and a later date, the latter dating the origin of ostracism accordingly, cf. Ch. Karusos, *Aristodikos* (Stuttgart 1961) 43; Metzler (supra n. 3) 362 n. 4; Kleine (supra n. 2) 64. Being in accordance with his system of downdating most sculptures on the subjective evidence of style, this provided a welcome opportunity for a late dating to T. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik vom Tode des Phidias bis zum Wirken der grossen Meister des 4. Jahrunderts v. Chr.* (Krefeld 1957) 85f. For the downdating of ostracism, see A.E. Raubitschek, "The Origin of Ostracism," *AJA* 55 (1951) 221; cf. D.W. Knight, *Some Studies in Athenian Politics in the Fifth Century B.C.*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 13 (Wiesbaden 1970) 21–23; 29–30; R. Thomsen, *The Origin of Ostracism. A Synthesis* (Copenhagen 1972). See also S. Brenne in this volume, pp. 13–24.
5. Paus. 1.29.6 and 15. See map of the early tombs prepared by Clairmont fig. 1.
6. Epigram on the fallen against Chalkis in 506 B.C.: *Anth. Pal.* 16.26; E. Diehl (ed.), *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* 2, 92, Simonides no. 87; W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I: *Griechische Grab-Epigramme* (Berlin 1955) no. 1; Clairmont 9; 88f., no. 2.
7. Cic. *de leg.* 2. 26.4-65.
8. Athens NM 3938, Karusos (supra n. 4); cf. the so-called Poulopoulos bases, A. Philadelpheus, "Reliefs von attischen Statuenbasen," *AA* (1922) 56f; id., "Bases archaïques d' Athènes," *BCH* 46 (1922) 1–35, figs. 2–3, 6–7, pls. 1–6; id., "Archaische Grabmalbasen aus der Athener Stadtmauer," *AM* 78 (1963) 105f., Beil. 64–66; J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Athen* (Tübingen 1971) 311, figs. 404f.
9. For the gigantomachy pediment of the Old Temple of Athena, see K. Stähler, "Der Zeus aus dem Gigantomachiegiebel der Akropolis ?" *Boreas* 1 (1978) 28–31 and W.A. P. Childs in this volume, pp. 1–6; for the Theseus-Antiope group from the pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria see R.

Lullies — M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Plastik*[4] (Munich 1975) figs. 66–68; E. Touloupa, "Die Giebelskulpturen des Apollon Daphnephorostempels in Eretria," in H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* 1 (Mainz 1986) 144–145, pl. 59, 1–2.

10. Cf. Karusos (supra n. 4) 59–71; L.H. Jeffery, "The Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica," *BSA* 57 (1963) 115f.; Stupperich 77f. A dating of about 20 to 30 years later, as suggested by Kluwe (supra n. 3), is too low.
11. See Kübler (supra n. 4) 22; U. Knigge, *Kerameikos* IX, *Der Südhügel* (Berlin 1976) 14. For plain tomb markers, cf. Kübler 188; 193; Knigge 32f.
12. Their destruction may be due not to the "democrats", as is still claimed by R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (London 1985) 122, but to the Persian occupation army and could have been decisive for their secondary use. Cf. now M. Salta, *Attische Grabstelen mit Inschrift* (diss. Tübingen 1991) 8f.
13. Hom. *Il.* 7.86–91; 16.457; *Od.* 11.76; 24. 80f. M. Andronikos, *Archaeologia Homerica* III, *Totenkult* (Göttingen 1968) 32–34; 107–121; A. Schnaufer, *Frühgriechischer Totenglaube*, *Spudasmata* 20 (Hildesheim 1970) 175–176 nn. 494–496.
14. Stupperich 226f.; N. Loreaux, *L' invention d' Athènes. Histoire de l' oraison funèbre dans la "cité classique", Civilisations et Sociétés* 65 (Paris — Le Haye — New York 1981) especially 150f.
15. Clairmont 46f.; S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, "Ein attisches Staatsgrabmal des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *AntK* 29 (1986) 31–34; S. Ensoli, *L' Heroon di Dexileos nel Ceramico di Atene*, *MemLinc* Ser. 8, 29.2 (Rome 1987) 246f.
16. Paus. 1.29. 3–16. Clairmont 42f., maps figs. 1–5. Cf. S. Wenz, *Studien zu attischen Kriegergräbern* (diss. Münster 1913) 26–32; Jacoby (supra n. 3) 47–55; 66; Stupperich 26–29.
17. Paus. 1.29.6. An inscription mentioning Melanopos was dated to c. 410 B.C. by B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 147f., pl. 23, whereas L.H. Jeffery, *JHS* 78 (1958) 145; ead., "The *Battle of Oinoe* in the Stoa Poikile," *BSA* 60 (1965) 52f. n. 58 dated it to the middle of the fifth century, more in accordance with the usual dating. Clairmont 31; 140f., no. 21e considers a later replacement as possible. 457 B.C. is suggested in the commentaries on Pausanias by Hitzig-Blümner I, 320 and Frazer II, 381; cf. *SEG* X, no. 426; D.W. Bradeen, *Agora* XVII, *Inscriptions, The Funerary Monuments* (Princeton 1974) no. 1029a.
18. A. Brückner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos* (Berlin 1910) 6f.; U. Knigge, "Untersuchungen bei den Grabstelen im Kerameikos," *AA* (1972) 584–629; W. Höpfner, "Das Grabmonument des Pythagoras aus Selymbria," *AM* 88 (1973) 146f.; Clairmont 61f.
19. K. Gebauer, "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *AA* (1938) 612f. and "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *AA* (1940) 355 takes them to be tombs of the allies of 403 B.C., a suggestion repeated by F. Willemsen, "Zu den Lakedaimoniergräbern im Kerameikos," *AM* 92 (1977) pl. 53, Beil. 4. Tomb of the Lacedaemonians: A. Brückner, "Bericht über die Kerameikosgrabung 1914–1915," *AA* (1915) 118f.; G. Karo, "Attika," *AA* (1930) 90f.; K. Gebauer — H. Johannes, "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *AA* (1937) 200–203 (pottery: figs. 13–15); D. Ohly, "Kerameikos-Grabung. Tätigskeitbericht 1956–1961," *AA* (1965) 314–322; La Rue Van Hook, "On the Lacedaemonians Buried in the Kerameikos," *AJA* 36 (1932) 290–292. Following series of tombs: K. Gebauer — H. Johannes, "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos,"*AA* (1936) 212; Gebauer — Johannes, *AA* (1937) 196f.; Gebauer, *AA* (1938) 612–616; Gebauer, *AA* (1940) 345–357 (355f. some structures not funerary); K. Gebauer, "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *AA* (1942) 206–220 (some structures again not funerary), 220–224, 250–251.
20. "Neue Funde am Kerameikos," *AA* (1914) 94; Brückner, *AA* (1915) 119; Gebauer, *AA* (1940) 358–362; Gebauer, *AA* (1942) 204–206; Ohly (supra n. 19) 322–327; Willemsen (supra n. 19) pls. 6f. (identification of Panathenaic amphorae); A. Mallwitz, in *Kerameikos* XII, *Die Rundbauten* (Berlin 1980) fig. 9, pls. 30f., Beil. 29f.
21. See P. Wolters, *Eine Darstellung des athenischen Staatsfriedhofs*, *SBMünchen* (1913) no. 5; D.W. Bradeen, "The Athenian Casualty List of 464 B.C.," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 324f., pl. 70d; Clairmont 62, pl. 3c.
22. Another theory was proposed by A. Brückner, "Kerameikos-Studien," *AM* 35 (1910) 183f.; 189 with drawing on p. 188. It was supported by Schmidt (supra n. 3) 21; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*[2] (Munich 1931) 405 and K. Kübler, "Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos," *AA* (1943) 339f., who excavated another trial trench in this area and indicated no finds, but in *Kerameikos* VI 1 Tafeln, *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1959) Beil. 44 he drew a hatched area on the spot of the subsequent discovery of a Hellenistic tomb in the middle of the road. Brückner's theory that the public tombs formed an enormous spina in an imaginary circus for the ἐπιτάφιος ἀγὼν and were thus surrounded by the contestants, is incorrect. Perhaps the suggestion was due to an unreported glimpse (during the pre-World War I excavations of Brückner) into the Hellenistic tomb in the middle of the road. This tomb was found in 1961 in a test trench by Ohly (supra n. 19) 277f.; 301–332. A.v. Domaszewski, *Der Staatsfriedhof der Athener*, *SBHeid* (1917) no. 7, with drawing on p. 21, developed Brückner's hypothesis further with a fanciful reconstruction which has no support in the ancient literature. Cf. *contra*, Wenz (supra n. 16) 17f.; Stupperich 27f.; 30; Clairmont 32.
23. Bradeen (supra n. 17) 3–34 nos. 1–25; *IG* II[2], 928–969; *IG* II[2], 5221–5222; Clairmont 20f.; 46f.
24. For lions on polyandria, see O. Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 42–47; Clairmont 65 n. 23.
25. Athens, National Museum 3709: K. Kübler, "Eine attische Löwenstele des 5.Jahrhunderts," *AM* 55 (1930) Beil. 65f., pl. 13; U. Knigge, *Der Kerameikos von Athen* (Athens 1988) 40, fig. 38.
26. G. Karo, "Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1915," *AA* (1916) 160 (found in 1916 in front of the *proteichisma* in the Kerameikos excavations); *ARV*[2] 1059, 124; Stupperich 156 n. 3, no. 9; Clairmont pl. 6.
27. NM 754: A. Brückner, "Ein Reiterdenkmal aus dem Peloponnesischen Kriege," *AM* 14 (1889) 405–408; A. Conze (ed.), *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin 1893–1900) no. 1157, pl. 317; Möbius (supra n. 2) 24, pl. 9d; Clairmont no. 68b, pl. 3. — Piraeus Museum inv. no. 1452. For a piece of sculpture in the round suggested for the public tombs cf. the Hermes Psychopompos, see infra nn. 29 and 86.
28. T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Würzburg 1973) 99f., pl. 8.2; S. Wegener, *Funktion und Bedeutung landschaftlicher Elemente in der griechischen Reliefkunst archaischer bis hellenistischer Zeit* (Frankfurt — Bern — New York 1985) 88–90; 284, no. 56, pl. 15.1; K. Stähler, *Griechische Geschichtsbilder klassischer Zeit*, *Eikon* 1 (Münster 1992) 96f., pl. 9.2.
29. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2787, Cat. no. 13a (said to be from Athens): F. Poulsen, "Fragment eines attischen Grabreliefs mit zwei Kriegern," *JdI* 44 (1929) 139f.; K.F. Johansen, *The Attic Grave Reliefs* (Copenhagen 1951) 102, fig. 54; Clairmont 68, takes it to be private because there are no reliefs on state burials at this time. This is surprising since he accepts (p. 73) the relief of the "Mourning Athena" in the Acropolis Museum and (p. 63f.) the statue of Hermes Ludovisi (as suggested by S. Karousou, "ΕΡΜΗΣ ΨΥΧΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ," *AM* 76 [1961] 91f., Beil. 64f.) as possibly part of state burials.
30. Rome, Villa Albani 985: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1153; W. Fuchs, in Helbig[4] IV 231–233, no. 3257; Lullies — Hirmer (supra n. 9) figs. 172–174; Hölscher (supra n. 28) 109f.; Stähler (supra n. 28) 94f., pl. 8.1.
31. R. Stupperich, "Staatsgrabfragment in Oxford," *Boreas* 1 (1978) 87f., pl. 14.
32. *IG* I[3], 1179; cf. Stupperich 16 n. 5.
33. Athens, Kerameikos Museum: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1158, pl. 248; Brückner (supra n. 18) 57f., figs. 29–33; Johansen (supra n. 29) 48–50; Lullies — Hirmer (supra n. 9) fig. 188; Ensoli (supra

n. 15) 155f., dealing with the iconography 246f.; G. R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton 1988) 137f., fig. 12.

34. E.g. Berlin, Staatl. Mus. K 30 (from Chalandri): Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1160; C. Weickert, *Kunstwerke aus den Berliner Sammlungen* 3 (Berlin 1946) 31, pl. 29; Clairmont (supra n. 3) 43; 100f., no. 28, pl. 14. Of the same class may be the stele in Budapest, Mus. of Fine Arts 4744: A. Hekler, *Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* (Wien 1929) 28–31, no. 20; Stupperich 176, no. 412. This is usually regarded as representing a hunt, a rare theme on Attic grave reliefs as opposed to battles.
35. Kaempf-Dimitriadou (supra n. 15) 23–26, pl. 2f.; reconstruction drawing on p. 26, fig. 1.
36. Stele of Lisas from Tegea: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1148, pl. 244; F. Studniczka, *Die griechische Kunst an attischen Kriegergräbern* (Leipzig — Berlin 1915, also in *NeueJahrb* 35 [1915] 285–311) pl. 17, 30; stele of Silanion: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1155, pl. 244; lekythos of Timonax: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1147, pl. 244; fragmentary stele in New York: G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* (Oxford 1954) no. 81, pl. 66; fragmentary loutrophoros stele Athens, Agora: G. Kokula, *Marmorlutrophoren*, *AM-BH* 10 (1984) pl. 3,2; stele of Ktesikrates, Paris, Louvre 3382: Diepolder pl. 28,1; fragment of stele, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 206: Studniczka pl. 17, 26; stele of Aristonautes: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1151, pl. 245; A.v. Salis, *Das Grabmal des Aristonautes*, *BWPr* 1926; Diepolder 52f., pl. 50; B.S. Ridgway, "Aristonautes' Stele, Athens Nat. Nus. 738," in *Kotinos, Festschrift für E. Simon* (Mainz 1992) 270–275. Boeotian stelai: Studniczka pl. 16; A. Keramopoulos, "Ἱολεμωτοὶ τῆς ἐν Δηλίωι μάχης," *ArchEph* (1920) 9–36; A. Kalogeropoulou, "Nuovo aspetto della stele di Saugenes," *AAA* 1 (1968) 92–96; K. Demakopoulou — D. Konsola, *Museum Theben, Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Athens 1981) 73–75, nos. 43. 54–56; 240, pl. 39; P. Moreno, *Pittura Greca* (Milan 1987) 8, fig. 1. Turned in the opposite direction and with a dead adversary, see stele of the Phokian Alkias from Corinth: Athens NM, Studniczka pl. 17, 28. Cf. also the white-ground lekythos by the Painter of Munich 2335: F. Felten, "Weissgrundige Lekythen aus dem Athener Kerameikos," *AM* 91 (1976) pl. 29, 2.
37. Richter (supra n. 36) no. 81, pl. 66a; Hölscher (supra n. 28) 91–98, pl. 9,2.
38. Athens NM: Y. Nikopoulou, "Ἐπιτύμβια μνημεῖα παρὰ τὰς πύλας τοῦ Διοχάρους," *AAA* 2 (1969) 331–333, fig. 3; E. Papastavrou, "Η επιτύμβια στήλη 5280 του Μουσείου του Πειραιά," *ArchEph* (1988) 65f.
39. G. Karo, "Archäologische Funde 1930–1931," *AA* (1931) 217f., figs. 1–3; G.M.A. Richter, "Calenian Pottery and Classical Greek Metalware," *AJA* 63 (1959) 242, pl. 52; J. Frel and B.M. Kingsley, "The Attic Sculptural Workshops of the Early Fourth Century B.C.," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 200, pl. 11, 1.
40. London BM: W. Real, *Studien zur Entwicklung der Vasenmalerei im ausgehenden 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Münster 1973) 19f., pl. 3f.; cf. J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (Mainz 1990) 31f.; 93, no. 7bis, pls. 138f.
41. J.D. Beazley, "Battle-Loutrophoroi," *MusJ* 23 (1932) 4–22; B. Van den Driessche, "Fragments d' une loutrophore à figures rouges illustrant une amazonomachie," *Revue des archéologues et historiens d' art de Louvain* 6 (1973) 19–37; Stupperich 156 n. 3 with a list; Clairmont 76f., pl. 8b; see e.g. the loutrophoros by the Talos painter in Amsterdam: *CVA* Musée Scheurleer, Le Hague 2 III Id, pl. 4, 1–3, *ARV*^{2} 1339, 4; but cf. E. Böhr-Olshausen, *CVA* Tübingen 4 (1984).
42. G. Bakalakis, "Die Lutrophoros Athen (ex Schliemann)-Berlin 3209," *AntK* 14 (1971) 74–83, pl. 25–29.
43. Athens, NM 4464: U. Hausmann, "Hellenistische Neger," *AM* 77 (1962) 274f. no. 70 (as a late Hellenistic memorial to Mithradates VI); W.H. Schuchhardt, "Relief mit Pferd und Negerknaben im Nationalmuseum in Athen N.M. 4464," *AntP* 17 (Berlin 1976) 75–99, pl. 41f. (as a monument to a horse, second half of second century B.C.); G. Despinis ap. E. Voutiras, "Ηφαιστίων ήρως," *Egnatia* 2 (1990) 145–147 (c. 320 B.C.).
44. Kaempf-Dimitriadou (supra n. 15) 23f., pls. 2f.
45. Athens, Agora I 3845: Bradeen (supra n. 17) 133f., no. 697, pl. 3.
46. Worcester, Mass., formerly in Cairness House: J.D. Beazley, "Stele of a Warrior," *JHS* 49 (1929) 1f., figs. 1–2; Diepolder 21f., fig. 3; R. Vasić, "Das Grabrelief des Chairedemos," *AntK* 19 (1976) 27 n. 10, pl. 6, 3; Clairmont 71f.; C.C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1981) 94, no. 63.
47. P.A. Fourikis, "Ἀρχαῖοι τάφοι ἐν Σαλαμίνι," *ArchEph* (1916) 1, pl. 2; Karo (supra n. 26) 141 with fig.; Diepolder 21, pl. 16; Lullies — Hirmer (supra n. 9) fig. 184; Vasić (supra n. 46) 24–29, pl. 6, 1–2. For the family, see J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 344f.
48. E. Savostina, "Reliefs attiques du Bosphore cimmérien," *RA* (1987) 22f., figs. 11–16; E.R. Knauer, "Mitra and Kerykeion," *AA* (1992) 392–395, fig. 11.
49. E.g. a triangular stele in the Piraeus Museum and three Attic examples: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1658; Möbius (supra n. 2) 31 nn. 19 and 25; 110. Cf. on the Black Sea coast: G. Sokolov, *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast* (Leningrad 1974) 37 with bibl., pl. 15. Helmet on top of stele on white-ground lekythos with Thanatos and Hypnos, British Museum D 58: *ARV*^{2} 1228, 12; D.C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (Oxford 1975) pl. 32, 4. For Corinthian helmets worn by warriors on Attic grave reliefs, see e.g. lekythos Athens NM 835: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1073, pl. 218f.; Clairmont 84 n. 60; id., "The Grave Lekythos Athens NM 835," *Meded* 48 (1980) 71–75; fragment Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 437; cf. stele of Alkias from Corinth (supra n. 36).
50. E.g. Erasippos and Meixias, Paris, Louvre 3063: Diepolder 10, pl. 2, 2; Johansen (supra n. 29) fig. 16. Sosias and Kephisodoros, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. K 29: Johansen (supra n. 29) fig. 17; C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen* (Berlin 1966) 25f., no. 17, pl. 25.
51. Stupperich 183f.
52. E.g. J. Thimme, "Die Stele der Hegeso als Zeugnis des attischen Grabkults," *AntK* 7 (1964) 16–29.
53. Gebauer, *AA* (1942) 255 n. 28, fig. 28; cf. B.S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1981) 153, no. 4; Clairmont 29.
54. Brückner (supra n. 22) 202f.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 230, pl. 26, 1–2; Clairmont 25 with n. 37; *contra* Wenz (supra n. 16); Kurtz (supra n. 49) 137f., pl. 45, 2; Stupperich 54 n. 5.
55. This is improbable, as the lekythos Athens NM 835 was found in Syntagma Square: Conze (supra n. 27) 1073; Clairmont 60f., id. (supra n. 49) 71f.
56. *ARV*^{2} 1146, 50; R. Weisshaeupl, "Ἐρυθρόμορφα ἀγγεῖα ἀττικῶν τάφων," *ArchEph* (1893) pl. 2. Compare the Schliemann loutrophoros (supra n. 42). It is reminiscent of the two women on a white-ground lekythos sherd from Athens: B. Philippaki, "Ἀττικαὶ λευκαὶ λήκυθοι," *AAA* 2 (1969) 304, fig. 10; Kurtz (supra n. 49) pl. 50.3.
57. Athens NM 1688: P. Wolters, "Sepulkrales Relief aus Athen," *AM* 18 (1893) 1f., pl. 1; Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1486, pl. 306; J.N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (Athens 1903–1937) 628f., no. 324, pl. 128; Wegener (supra n. 28) 67 n. 278; 277, no. 30, pl. 11.1; R. Fleischer, *Der Klagefrauensarkophag aus Sidon*, *IstForsch* 34 (Tübingen 1983) 54, pl. 48, 1.
58. Lullies — Hirmer (supra n. 9) figs. 211–213; Fleischer (supra n. 57) *passim*.
59. Marble lekythos Leiden RO1A5: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 627, pl. 147; Frel — Kingsley (supra n. 39) 206, no. 32, pl. 14, 2; Clairmont, "Gravestone with Warriors in Boston," *GRBS* 13 (1972) 49f., pl. 2, 3. Cf. the fragment of a stele, inscribed "Theokles" in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.12.1885: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 912; L. Budde — R. Nicholls, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* (Cambridge 1964) 13f., no. 30, pl. 7. Hoplites in sorrow are to be found on many white-ground

lekythoi of the late fifth century, e.g. among those of group R, see Kurtz (supra n. 49) pls. 48.4–49.3; cf. pls. 51–53.

60. Athens NM 752: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 623, pl. 122; Wenz (supra n. 16) 83–86, fig. 7; Studniczka (supra n. 36) pl. 9.
61. E. Langlotz, *Wiss. Zeitschrift Rostock* 16 (1967) 475.
62. Cf. Kokula (supra n. 36) pl. 2.14.
63. Cf. Stupperich 39f., different topical themes 42–53; Loreaux (supra n. 14) 147f.; cf. 245f.
64. Athens NM 3614, found in 1926: E. Tsirivakos, "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung," *AAA* 4 (1971) 110; Piraeus Mus.: Tsirivakos, "*Εἰδήσεις ἐκ Καλλιθέας*," *AAA* 1 (1968) 108f.; id., *AAA* 4 (1971) 108–110, figs. 1–2; id., *AntK* 15 (1972) 147. Cf. the blocks in Svoronos (supra n. 57) 639, no. 2378, pl. 146; 649, no. 1691, pl. 165; 650, no. 1007 (and cf. 2636), pl. 169. Cf. the fragments of a battle, perhaps an amazonomachy, from a private tomb in the Kerameikos: U. Knigge, "Marmorakroter und Fries von einem attischen Grabbau?" *AM* 99 (1984) 231–234, pl. 39. For amazons on Athenian lekythoi, see D. v. Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford 1957) 204, no. 171, pl. 84, 2; 202, no. 153, pl. 84, 1; 229, no. 85 bis; 92, no. 18; 195f., no. 113; 191, no. 143; 199, no. 145; 182, no. 69; 193, no. 107, pl. 81, 8; for amazons fighting on loutrophoros Athens NM 13032: G.M.A. Richter, "Distribution of Attic Vases," *BSA* 11 (1904–5) 238–241, figs. 1–3; *ARV*^{2} 1099, 47. Louvain University: Van den Driessche (supra n. 41); *ARV*^{2} 230, 49. New York, MMA 09.286.53/55/58: Beazley (supra n. 41); *ARV*^{2} 1059, 128; v. Bothmer 162, no. X 14.
65. London, British Museum: W.H. Schuchhardt, "Die Friese des Nereidenmonuments," *AM* 52 (1927) 94–161; W.A.P. Childs — P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos* VIII, *Le Monument des Néréides, le décor sculpté* (Paris 1989).
66. Moscow, Pushkin Museum: Savostina (supra n. 48) 18f., figs. 6–10.
67. Cf. Bakalakis (supra n. 42) pl. 29, 4.6; Van den Driessche (supra n. 41) 19f., esp. 31f., figs. 1–4 and 6; Stupperich 158f.; 156 n. 3, nos. 3–4, 13, 17.
68. *Roscher* II 2, 2653 f., especially 2676–79, s.v. Memnon; 411, s.v. Sarpedon; V, 498–515, s.v. Thanatos.
69. D. v. Bothmer, "Der Euphronioskrater in New York," *AA* (1976) 485–512; id., *Greek Vase Painting, An Introduction* (New York n.d.) no. 15 and cover illustration; K. Schefold, *Götter und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst* (Munich 1978) 224f., fig. 303 (Sarpedon); red-figure cup by the Nikosthenes Painter: 244, fig. 329 (Memnon); cf. Stupperich 152 n. 2.
70. Krater of the Pezzino group in Agrigento, around 500 B.C.: Schefold (supra n. 69) 229f., fig. 309.
71. Cf. e.g. the lekythoi *CVA* Athens Jc, pl. 20, 1; III Jd, pls. 11, 8 and 14, 1; pls. 16, 7 and 18; A.S. Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* (London 1896) pls. 9 and 11; Studniczka (supra n. 36) pl. 8; Kurtz (supra n. 49) pl. 32, 4; C.M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva 1959) 150f.; E. Simon — M. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen*^{2} (Munich 1981) fig. 204; and elsewhere, cf. Stupperich 152 n. 2. For the group crowning a stele on a white-ground lekythos, see E. Curtius, "Fragmente einer polychromen Lekythos im Berliner Museum," *JdI* 10 (1895) pl. 2.
72. Demosthenes 60.34; cf. Hypereides 6.35–39.
73. Myrrhine, Athens NM 4485: Conze (supra n. 27) no. 1146, pls. 242f.; Diepolder (supra n. 2) 19, pl. 13, 1; Johansen (supra n. 29) 160, fig. 82; Karousou (supra n. 29) 92f., Beil. 59–62, pl. 3. Zurich University 2135: H. Blümner, *Aus der archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Zürich* (Zurich 1916) pl. 12; Fleischer (supra n. 57) 54f., pl. 47.
74. Athens NM 4502: A. Mantis, *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερέων στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη* (Athens 1990) 85, no. 4; 89, pl. 37.
75. H. Götze, "Die attischen Dreifigurenreliefs," *RM* 53 (1938) 189–280, pls. 32–38; W.H. Schuchhardt, *Das Orpheus-Relief*^{2} (Stuttgart 1964) 22f. (as the tomb of Sophokles); Stupperich 115f.
76. H.A. Thompson, "The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 47f.; E.B. Harrison, "Hesperides and Heroes: a Note on the Three-Figure Reliefs," *Hesperia* 23 (1964) 76; H. Möbius, *Die Reliefs der Portlandvase und die griechischen Dreifigurenreliefs, Abhandlungen Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.* NF 61 (Munich 1965) 15–25, esp. 18.
77. Th. Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* (Leipzig 1891) 217, no. 270 (from *Schol.* Aischines 1.39, ed. Dindorf); cf. Stupperich 252; O. Palagia, *Euphranor* (Leiden 1980) 60f. A real epigram should have had a pentameter as a second line instead of another hexameter. See also O. Tzachou-Alexandri in this volume, pp. 55–56.
78. *CVA* Vienna 2, pl. 51.1; H.A. Shapiro, "The Origins of Allegory in Greek Art," *Boreas* 9 (1986) 6f., pl. 1.1.
79. E. Vermeule, "Five Vases from the Grave Precinct of Dexileos," *JdI* 85 (1970) 94f.; S. Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*^{2} (Stockholm 1971) 105f., no. 7, pl. 24.1; B. Fehr, *Die Tyrannentöter oder: Kann man der Demokratie ein Denkmal setzen?* (Frankfurt 1984) fig. 1.
80. Brunnsåker (supra n. 79) 104f., no. 6, pl. 23. 6; Simon — Hirmer (supra n. 71) 157, color pl. LI.
81. Cf. Stupperich 222f. with n. 3; the sacrifices on their tombs were the responsibility of the *polemarchos*, commander-in-chief of the Athenian army in the first years after the Kleisthenic reforms. We may infer that this duty stemmed from these early times and that it was a military affair; similar rites must have been performed for the army casualties, an additional indication that this custom originated in the same time, i.e. the end of the sixth century.
82. Brunnsåker (supra n. 79); Hölscher (supra n. 28) 85f.; Fehr (supra n. 79).
83. For the Albani relief, supra n. 30; Stratokles, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Clairmont (supra n. 59) 49f., pl. 1.
84. Plut. *vit. decem orat.* 9.10; Polyb. 5.10.1–5; Justin 9.4.4.6.
85. Karousou (supra n. 29) 91f., Beil. 64f.; Clairmont 63f.
86. Different sculptures have been suggested, some from the Kerameikos excavations; for example, the head Kerameikos Museum inv. P. 313: H. Riemann, *Kerameikos* II, *Die Skulpturen vom 5. Jahrhundert bis in römische Zeit* (Berlin 1940) 87f., no. 116 pl. 26; a Severe Style male head: U. Knigge, "Ein Jünglingskopf vom Heiligen Tor in Athen," *AM* 98 (1983) 45f.; 53f.; ead. (supra n. 25) 87f.; a fighting group in Boston: K. Stähler, "Zur Reiterkampfgruppe in Boston," *AA* 91 (1976) 58–72; cf. in general Clairmont 63f.; M. Salta, *Attische Grabstelen mit Inschrift* (diss. Tübingen 1991) 9 n. 42; but these may well come from other sites, see e.g. convincingly A. Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des fünften Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1974) 118f.: 154f., pls. 36–38; 164f., pls. 56b-57.