GENDER AND DEATH

Women on Greek Funerary Monuments During the Peloponnesian War

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Contents

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Candidate Signature: Date: 28/02/19

Abstract

Thucydides claims that normal burial practices were in disarray in c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. due to the plague. However, this does not appear to be the case regarding the erection of gravestones. This raises a question about the validity of aspects of Thucydides' account and the impact of the plague on Athenian society. Furthermore, rather than decreasing, the commemoration of women appears to have flourished in 430-427 B.C. This raises a question about the place women occupied in Athens during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath. This thesis documents the surviving funerary inscriptions and their accompanying monuments set up for deceased women and by living women for deceased relatives during this period, in order to comment on the place of women in Athenian society between c. 430-400 B.C. based on how they were depicted on gravestones. This approach also allows for an assessment of the impact left by the plague in c. 430 and c. 427 in regard to gravestones commemorating women.

Chapter One reviews the more authoritative studies on women and gravestones in order to determine how the current study fits in with the previous scholarship. Chapter Two provides an overview of classical Athenian mortuary practices, in particular the impact left by Solonian funerary legislation and the plagues of c. 430 and c. 427 B.C., women's roles in funeral rites, and the financial considerations of erecting gravestones. Chapter Three focuses on analysing grave inscriptions so as to determine how women are named and described in the texts. Chapter Four concentrates on analysing funerary reliefs in order to determine how deceased and living women are portrayed in the image. Chapter Five looks at the correlation between the inscriptions and the reliefs on gravestones to determine whether there is a relationship between text and image.

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Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.*
AAA	*Athens Annals of Archaeology.*
ABSA	*The Annual of the British School at Athens.*
AD	*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον (Α = Μελέται; Β = Χρονικά).*
AE	*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς (Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογικὴ).*
AGA	G.M.A. Richter. 1961. *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*, London: Phaidon Press.
Agora XVII	D.W. Bradeen. 1974. *The Athenian Agora: Volume XVII: Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History.*
AntK.	*Antike Kunst.*
AO	*Archäologie Online.*
APF	J. Davies. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
ARV²	J. Beazley. 1963. *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd edn., Oxford: Clarendon Press.

BA	*Beazley Archive.*
BABESCH	*BABESCH – Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology.*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
BMI I	E.L. Hicks (ed.). 1874. *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Vol. 1, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
BMI IV.II	C.T. Newton (ed.). 1874. *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, part II, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
BSA	*The British School at Athens. Supplementary Volume.*
Bull MMA	*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin.*
CEG I	P.A. Hansen (ed.). 1983. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca· saeculorum VIII-V a.Chr.n.*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
CEG II	P.A. Hansen (ed.). 1983. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca· saeculorum VIII-V a.Chr.n.*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
CEPS	Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies.
CIG	A. Boeckhius (ed.). 1828-1877. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Vol. 1 and 2, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.

CAT	C.W. Clairmont. 1993. *Classical Attic Tombstones*, Switzerland: Akanthvs, introductory volume, vols 1-4, plates.
Conze	A. Conze. 1893. *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Vols. I-IV, Berlin: Verlag von W. Spemann.
CQ	*The Classical Quarterly.*
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (1924-).
Eirene	*Eirene: Studia Graeca et Latina.*
Evolution	A.M. Prukakis. 1971. *The Evolution of the Attic Marble Lekythoi and their Relation to the Problem of Identifying the Dead Among the Figures Shown on the Funerary Reliefs* 1-3. Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, University of London.
Gaz. Arch.	*Gazette Archélogique: Revue des Musées Nationaux.*
GE	C.W. Clairmont. 1970. *Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Mainz on Rhine: Zabern.
GettyMusH	J. Paul Getty Museum. 1991. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Collections*, California: J. Paul Getty Museum.
GettyMusJ	*The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal.*

GG	W. Peek. 1960. *Griechische Grabgedichte: Griechisch und Deutsch*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
G&R	*Greece & Rome.*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies.*
GV	W. Peek. 1955. *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I: Grab-Epigramme*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
Hansen	P.A. Hansen. 1975. *A List of Greek Verse Inscriptions Down to 400 B.C.: An Analytical Survey,* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
HSCPL	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.*
Hellenica	*Hellenica: Recueil d'epigraphie de Numismatique et d'antiquités Grecques.*
Hermes	*Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.*
Hesperia	*Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.*
Hoffman	E. Hoffman. 1893. *Sylloge epigrammatum Graecorum quae ante medium saeculum a.Chr.n. tertium incisa ad nos pervenerunt*, Halis Saxonum: Apud Kaemmereros.
HOROS	*HOROS: ενα αρχαιογνωστικο περιοδικο.*

IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.* 2001-. Berlin-Brandenburgische: Akademie der Wissenschaften. Digital Edition.
IGAA	L.H. Jeffery. 1962. 'The Inscribed Gravestones of Archaic Attica', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 57: 115-153.
Inschriftenkunde	A. Wilhelm. 1909. *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
ISSR	*International Social Science Review.*
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
Kaibel	G. Kaibel. 1878. *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berolini: APVD G. Reimer.
Kernos	*Kernos: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique.*
La femme	*La femme dans le monde Mediterranéen.*
MA	*Mediterranean Archaeology.*
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.*
Pandora	E.D. Reeder. (ed.) 1995. *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Papers of the ASCSA	*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.*

Pfohl
G. Pfohl. 1967. *Greek Poems on Stone: Vol. 1: Epitaphs: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries B.C.*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Priestess
J.B. Connelly. 2007. *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

RBH
Revista Brasileira de História.

REG
Revue des Études Grecques.

SAMAQ
San Antonio Museum Association Quarterly.

SAMuseum
San Antonio Museum of Art. Collection of Art of the Ancient Mediterranean World.

Scholl
A. Scholl. 1996. *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs. V. Chr.: Untersuchungen zu den kleinformatigen Grabreliefs im spätklassischen Athen*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.

SEG
Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology
C.W. Clairmont. 1979. 'The Lekythos of Myrrhine', in Kopcke, G. and Moore, M.B. *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blankhenhagen*, New York: J.J. Augustin: 103-110.

WLGR
M.R. Lefkowitz and M.B. Fant. 2016. *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in*

Translation, 4th edn., Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

ZPE   *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

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Introduction*

In 430 B.C. Athens was overrun by a plague, the character of which, according to Thucydides, was κρεῖσσον λόγου … τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα ἄλλο τι ὂν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι (beyond description … in each case too hard for human nature to bear and in this specific way it showed that it was different from any others).[1] The suffering of the Athenians was compounded owing to ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ … οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς ὥρᾳ ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ (the crowding of the people out of the fields into the city…since no houses were available, they were living in huts that were stifling at that time of year; death happened in no sort of order).[2] Thucydides then states that the burial customs of the time were not being followed,

> ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἁπάσας ἡμιθνῆτες τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. τά τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνησκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως. νόμοι τε πάντες ξυνεταράχθησαν οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς, ἔθαπτον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο. καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ καιομένου ἄλλου ἐπιβαλόντες ἄνωθεν ὃν φέροιεν ἀπῇσαν.[3]

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* Note for the reader:
Figures in bold type refer to the individual monuments 1-46.
Letters are transcribed from the funerary monuments as they are inscribed. Thus, if a monument has η and ω instead of ε and ο, they will be transcribed as such and vice versa.
[1] Thuc. 2.50.1. For commentary see Hornblower 1991: 323.
[2] Thuc. 2.52.1-2. For commentary see Hornblower 1991: 325.
[3] Thuc. 2.52.2-4. For commentary see Hornblower 1991: 325-326.

(Bodies of dying men lay one upon another and half dead people wallowed in the streets near all the fountains longing for water. The temples in which they squatted were full of the corpses of those who died in them; for the people were pressed by the calamity, not knowing what was coming, they became contemptuous of sacred and profane things. The customs which they had formerly observed regarding burials were all thrown into confusion, and they buried their dead each one as he could. And many turned to shameless modes of burial because so many of their families had already they lacked the necessary funeral materials; for they came to other people's pyres and some, anticipating those who had raised them, would put on their own dead and start the fire, while others would throw the body they were carrying upon one which was already burning and leave).

The plague continued its violent attack on the Athenians for two years. However, after a period of respite, it re-emerged in the winter of 427 B.C. and παρέμεινε δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕστερον οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐνιαυτοῦ … ὥστε Ἀθηναίους γε μὴ εἶναι ὅτι μᾶλλον τούτου ἐπίεσε καὶ ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν (the latter lasted it lasted not less than a year…so that nothing was more distressing or ruinous to the power of the Athenians).[4]

The commemoration of women, both in text and image, flourished during this period which challenges Thucydides' claim that Athenian burial customs were in disarray as a result of the plague. The commemoration of women also raises a question about the public place women occupied in Athens during the Peloponnesian War period. I aim to answer both questions by using figured gravestones as an alternative type of primary evidence.[5] I document the surviving sepulchral inscriptions and their accompanying monuments which were set up for deceased women and by living women for deceased relatives between c. 430 and c. 400 B.C. in Athens.

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[4] Thuc. 3.87.1-2. For commentary see Hornblower 1991: 494.
[5] See Gould 1980: 38-59; Ridgway 197: 399-409; and Walcot 1984: 37-47 for the different and often mutually exclusive types of evidence that have been used to study women in antiquity.

In doing so, I can comment on the place of women in Athenian society during the Peloponnesian War based on how they were depicted on tombstones and determine the validity of Thucydides' account of the impact left by the plague.

I follow Palagia in adopting a narrow chronological scope, namely the Peloponnesian War. However, I go beyond the thirty-year war by continuing down to c. 400 B.C. This is not the only way my approach is different from that found Palagia and other previous scholarship. By analysing the extant gravestones from the fifth century, I am able to determine how women were represented in text and relief, both in isolation from each other and together. This then allows me to comment on the recognition of women during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath (404-400 B.C.), and to test whether Thucydides' account of the plagues and subsequent lawlessness in regard to burial practices is valid. In doing so, I am also able to compare women's representation on fifth century gravestones to women's representation on fourth century gravestones so as to determine whether fourth century gravestones can be used as blanket evidence for the fifth century.

My research demonstrates that fourth-century evidence cannot be used as blanket evidence for the representation of women during the fifth century. This is particularly so in regard to women's identification in funerary texts which challenges previous scholarship based on fourth-century evidence. It also shows that normal Athenian funeral practices did not fall into disarry in the aftermath of the plagues. These findings, however, do not challenge the consensus view of women, rather they confirm them and provide a more nuanced view of women's place in Athens during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath.

Terms and Transliterations

I use a mixture of synonymous terms to refer to the textual and non-textual features of each monument under discussion. For the texts: funerary inscriptions, sepulchral inscriptions and grave inscriptions. For the non-textual: grave monuments, funerary monuments, sepulchral monuments, gravestones and tombstones.

I follow the style adopted by the British School at Athens in their publications for the spelling of Greek words and names.[6] I use the conventional English spelling (i.e. Athens, Corinth) for place names. Regarding words and names which have been naturalised into English, I use the Roman alphabet (i.e. polis). In the remaining cases of names or nouns which have a Latinised version, I will transliterate using their Greek form.

A History of the Scholarship on Women in Antiquity

Early twentieth-century scholarly opinion on women in antiquity is divided between ignoring women's presence,[7] and a broadly accepted view that women occupied a low place in Athenian society confined to the home where they dutifully tended to domestic chores and child-rearing.[8] This view was challenged in 1925 by Gomme who argued that there was a great variety of evidence, such as tombstones, vase paintings and imaginative literature, being ignored by scholars and that the evidence used to establish the common view was misapplied.[9] In arguing this, his goal was to show that the view was unjustified, that the relevant evidence was ignored and that other evidence was misunderstood and misapplied.[10] This line of thinking was taken

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[6] See http://www.bsa.ac.uk/doc_store/Administration/BSA%20Guidelines%20rev%2016062016.pdf.
[7] 'Women' and 'wives' are not even cited in the indexes of earlier texts such as Bury and Meigg's (1877) *A History of Greece* and Hammond's (1959) *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.* See Chrystal 2017: 13.
[8] I.e. Becker 1874: 463-464; Grote 1879: 100; Gardner and Jevons 1895: 340; Jones 1906: 87-88; Langdon-Davies 1927: 153, 158; Mahaffy 1874: 136-137; Savage 1907: 25, 27-28.
[9] Gomme 1925: 8.
[10] Gomme 1925: 2.

up by Hadas in 1936 and further reinforced by both Kitto in 1951 and Seltman in 1955.[11] However, the traditional view of women persisted.[12]

It was during the women's movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s that the arguments presented by Gomme, Hadas, Kitto and Seltman were renewed. In 1971 D. Richter wrote that the while the surviving literature "certainly suggests that Athenian husbands wished their women were more docile and subservient, even secluded, it is apparent that in real life the Athenian wife was as free and independent as in any period of Greek history."[13] He concluded that further study was required before definite conclusions could be reached concerning the lives of Athenian women.[14] This new challenge was taken up by the editors of the American journal *Arethusa* 6 who, in 1973, published a special edition on women in antiquity from a feminist perspective. This publication, according to Pomeroy, "inaugurated the serious study of women in antiquity in our time."[15] The volume contains articles on early Greek history, Greek sexual morality, Platonic philosophy, Roman literature, Etruscan women, an article reviewing abortion in antiquity, and a bibliography of women in antiquity.[16] Several articles explicitly aimed "to discover the place of women in the ancient world with the larger history of women and to create a rigorous scholarship around these ideas."[17] This aim is very clear in Arthur's opening question:

> Can we seek to discover in classical antiquity an understanding of our present
>
> historical moment and a perspective on our own values, and yet remain both free
>
> from ideological compulsion and unburdened by the tyranny of raw data? The

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[11] See Hadas 1936: 91-100, Kitto 1957: 219-236 (this is a revised edition of his 1951 publication) and Seltman 1955: 119-124; 1956: particularly chapter 9: The New Woman.
[12] I.e. Burns 1962: 192; Ehrenberg 1951: 192-107; Lacey 1968: 168; Page 1955: 141; Robinson 1948; 128-131; Zimmern 1931: 334. See Richter 1971: 2-3 for more examples.
[13] Richter 1971: 8.
[14] Richter 1971: 8.
[15] Pomeroy 1991: 263. See also Foxhall 2013: 6-7.
[16] *Arethusa* 6.1 Index. See also Foxhall 2013: 7.
[17] Foxhall 2013: 7.

impulse given to the study of women's position throughout history by the recent women's liberation movement, invites us to do just that.[18]

Shortly after the publication of the special edition of *Arethusa*, Pomeroy published her: *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (1975). Adopting a feminist perspective, Pomeroy aimed to construct a social history of women in antiquity.[19] In her work, Pomeroy surveyed the public and private lives of both and upper- and lower-class women, courtesans, concubines, prostitutes and royal women, and examined their role and status in the societies in which they lived. In doing so, she deals with subjects such as sexuality and the body, children, education, marriage, legislation, dress, religion, work and women's portrayal in literature.

Since the publication of Pomeroy's ground-breaking work in 1975, many excellent monographs, anthologies and sourcebooks on the general treatment of women have followed. These include Cantarella's *Pandora's Daughters: The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (1987), Just's *Women in Athenian Law and Life* (1989), Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy and Shapiro's *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (1994), Reeder's (ed.) *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (1995), Blundell's *Women in Ancient Greece* (1995) and *Women in Classical Athens* (1998), Brulé's *Women of Ancient Greece* (2003), Rotroff and Lamberton's *Women in the Athenian Agora* (2005), Vivante's *Daughter of Gaia: Women in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (2008), Neils' *Women in the Ancient World* (2011), MacLachlan's *Women in Ancient Greece: A Sourcebook* (2012), Tulloch's (ed.) *A Cultural History of Women in Antiquity* (2013), Laurin's *The Life of Women in Ancient Athens* (2013), Budin and Turfa's (eds.) *Women in Antiquity: Real Women Across the Ancient World*

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[18] Arthur 1973: 7. See also Foxhall 2013: 7.
[19] Foxhall 2013: 7; Pomeroy 1995: xv.

(2016), Lefkowitz and Fant's *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook in Translation* (2016),[20] and Chrystal's *Women in Ancient Greece: Seclusion, Exclusion, or Illusion?* (2017). Several exceptional articles on the general treatment of women have also been published. These include Gould's 'Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens' (*JHS* 100, 1980), Cohen's 'Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens' (*G&R* 36.1, 1989), O'Neal's 'The Status of Women in Ancient Athens' (*ISSR* 68.3, 1993), Pritchard's 'The Position of Attic Women in Democratic Athens' (*G&R* 61.2, 2014).[21]

These publications suggest that the Athenian woman's reality was much more complex than the previous view suggests. An Attic woman's duty in life was to marry and give birth to legitimate children, thus perpetuating the family line and providing future soldiers and mothers to the city.[22] It was normal for women to have no place in the political or secular spheres of Athenian society.[23] Her place was in the home where she was responsible for the day-to-day running of the household.[24] This included food preparation and storage, cooking, cleaning, wool-working, financial management, child-rearing, and supervising the work of the slaves or, in the absence of slaves, performing such duties herself.[25] However, despite being tasked with the management of the *oikos*, women are still thought to have been treated as minors in perpetuity and subordinate to men.[26] In fact, women are considered to have been a part of the

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[20] This work was originally published in 1977, however, all references to this work in this thesis use the updated 2016 edition.

[21] This is an updated version of his 2004 article 'A Woman's Place in Classical Athens: An Overview', published in *Ancient History* 34.2.

[22] Blundell 1995: 100, 106, 122, 124; Blundell 1998: 41; Brulé 2003: 63, 69, 160-161; Chrystal 2017: 78; Cohen 2016: 716; Cohen 2016: 716; Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy and Shapiro 1994: 73; Just 1989: 40; Keuls 1993: 100; Laurin 2013: 120; Margariti 2017: ii, xxx; Margariti 2018: 92; Mustakallio 2013: 25; Oakley 2009: 207-208; Pomeroy 1995: 62; Pritchard 2014: 180.

[23] I.e. Ar. *Lys.* 507-515, 519-520. See also Blundell 1995: 128; Burton 2003: 24; Cantarella 1987: 51; Chrystal 2017: 93; Just 1989: 13, 25, 39; Keuls 1993: 124-125; Laurin 2013: 158; Pomeroy 1995: 58; Pritchard 2014: 177, 178; Strömberg 2003: 28.

[24] Blundell 1995: 140-145; Blundell 1998: 60-61; Brulé 2003: 165-172; Burton 2003: 23; Cantarella 1987: 56; Chrystal 2017: 79, 81; Fantham, *et al.* 1994: 102; Just 1989: 116-117; Laurin 2013: 156, 158, 161-163; Milnor 2013: 110-111; Neils 2011: 92; Pomeroy 1995: 71-73; Pritchard 2014: 178, 182; Vivante 2008: 57.

[25] Ar. *Lys.* 495-496; Xen. *Oec.* 7.32-37, 41. See also n. 27.

[26] Cantarella 1987: 51; Foxhall 2013: 94; Just 1989: 26; Laurin 2013: 33; Pritchard 2014: 178; Vivante 2008: 59.

household, rather than an independent individual, and were controlled by their *kurioi* or male guardians.[27]

The seclusion debate began in 1923 when Wright argued that Attic wives were kept in an oriental-style seclusion and treated very badly by their husbands.[28] This view was attacked by Gomme in 1925, as previously mentioned, but his view was ultimately rejected by scholars.[29] This was because extant Athenian literature agreed that women should ideally be segregated from unrelated men.[30] This ideal required women to remain inside their homes and to avoid being seen by those walking past the house.[31] If outside, women were to avoid standing near unrelated men as it was considered to be shameful.[32] Men also had to live up to this ideal. They were not to enter another man's home if he was not in, and they were supposed to be too ashamed to speak to unrelated women in public.[33]

In spite of this ideal, however, women were not kept prisoner in their homes.[34] They visited other women to borrow commodities, to go to the market, to assist with childbirth and celebrate its subsequent arrival.[35] Women could also leave the home for funerals of family members and religious festivals, such as the Thesmophoria.[36] The ideal of seclusion was far from a reality

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[27] Blundell 1995: 114; Chrystal 2017: 70; Foxhall 2013: 94; Just 1989: 26; Laurin 2013: 32; Pritchard 2014: 178; Vivante 2008: 59.

[28] Wright 1923: 16, 59, 111. See also Pomeroy 1995: 58 -59 and Pritchard 2014: 183-187 for an overview of the seclusion debate.

[29] Gomme 1925: 2, 8.

[30] I.e. Ar. *Thesm.* 789-799. See also Blundell 1995: 134-148; Chrystal 2017: 83; Pritchard 2014: 185.

[31] I.e. Eur. *Tro.* 648-652; Lycurg. 1.40. See also Blundell 1998: 73; Fantham *et al.* 1994: 79; Pritchard 2014: 185.

[32] I.e. Eur. *El.* 343-344. See also Pritchard 2014: 185

[33] I.e. Dem. 47.35-38; Eur. *IA.* 821-834; Lys. 1.23, 3.6-7. See also Blundell 1995: 135-136; Blundell 1998: 73; Laurin 2013: 165; Pritchard 2014: 185

[34] Blundell 1995: 137, 243; Glazebrook and Mellor 2013: 38; Just 1989: 106-111, 124; Pomeroy 1995: 79-80; Pritchard 2014: 186.

[35] I.e. Ar. *Eccl.* 348-349, 526-534; *Lys.* 700-702; *Thesm.* 407-408, 795-796; Lys. 1.14. See also Blundell 1995: 137; Blundell 1998: 73; Burton 2003: 24; Chrystal 2017: 86; Houby-Nielsen 1996: 235; Just 1989: 106-111; Pomeroy 1995: 80; Pritchard 2014: 186.

[36] I.e. Lys. 1.8, 1.20. See also Blundell 1995: 137; Blundell 1998: 73; Burton 2003: 24; Cantarella 1987: 46; Chrsytal 2017: 86; Fantham *et al.* 1994: 79; Glazebrook and Mellor 2013: 38; Houby-Nielsen 1996: 235; Just 1989: 110-111; Pomeroy 1995: 80; Pritchard 2014: 186; Strömberg 2003: 28. For scholarship on women and

for women belonging to poorer families who often lacked sufficient, or any, slaves and therefore relied on the labour of children and wives.[37] This meant that some poor women journeyed outside to fetch water and assist with the farming, while others took paid work such as grape-picking, wet nursing, washing women, garland and food sellers.[38] While not able to conform to the ideal of seclusion, poor Athenians did endorse it.[39] Moreover, as Llewellyn-Jones has shown, women of all social classes wore a veil covering their heads and faces which was considered to be an extension of the home.[40] Thus, as long as women had a proper sense of shame in regard to interacting with unrelated men, veiling allowed them to respect the ideal of seclusion while journeying outside the home in classical Athens.[41]

Chronological and Geographical Scope

I adopt a narrow geographical scope. According to Thucydides, the plague only had an effect on Athenian burial customs, therefore I focus only on Athenian gravestones. The chronological scope is also narrow, with my catalogue spanning from c. 430 to c. 400 B.C. This timeframe is adopted for two reasons. One, there are virtually no extant gravestones before c. 430 B.C. as there was a cessation on the production of tombstones from about 480 to 430 B.C.[42] Two, it allows me to examine how women were portrayed on gravestones during the Peloponnesian War and thereby determine the impact left by the plague outbreaks of c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. My timeframe exceeds that of the Peloponnesian War and, by continuing down to c. 400 B.C., allows me to not just comment on the representation of women on gravestones during the war,

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religion see Connelly 2007; Dillon 2016: 683-702; Dillon 2002; Neils 2011: 169-177; Parker 2005: 270-289; Tulloch 2013: 64-66.

[37] I.e. Arist. *Pol.* 1323a5-7. See also Blundell 1995: 136; Blundell 1998: 73; Chrystal 2017: 86; Harris 2014: 200-201; Laurin 2013: 158, 183; Pritchard 2014: 186.

[38] I.e. Ar. *Lys.* 327-331; *Ran.* 840; *Vesp.* 497, 1390-1391; *Thesm.* 387, 443-458; Dem. 57.31, 34, 35, 45; Eur. *El.* 102-103; Men. *Dys.* 329-334. See also Blundell 1995: 136-137, 145; Blundell 1998: 73; Chrystal 2017: 86, 93-96; Cohen 2016: 716-722; Fantham *et al.* 1994: 106-109; Glazebrook and Mellor 2013: 38; Houby-Nielsen 1996: 235; Laurin 2013: 183; Pomeroy 1995: 73; Pritchard 2014: 186.

[39] I.e. Dem. 57.31. See also Pritchard 2014: 186.

[40] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 194-195. See also Milnor 2013: 109; Pritchard 2014: 187.

[41] Blundell 1998: 36; Burton 2003: 24; Glazebrook and Mellor 2013: 38-39; Pritchard 2014: 187.

[42] Clairmont *CAT* Introduction: 2; Clairmont *GE*: 11, 41-43; Foxhall 2013: 64; Humphreys 1983: 89, 153; Leader 1997: 684 and n. 6 for bibliography; Morris 1992: 38-44; Oakley 2009: 217; Oakley 2008: 339; Oakley 2004: 216, 219; Oakley 2003: 180-181; Osborne 1997: 14; Shapiro 1991: 646; Stears 1995: 113; Stears 2000a: 207; Stears 2000b: 29, 41, 43.

but also in the immediate post war period. This is by no means the first time such a narrow chronological scope has been adopted. In 2009 Palagia gathers together a team of historians and art historians to examine the effect the Peloponnesian War had on Athenian art and the historical and artistic contexts in which it was produced. Her work is the first to focus on the new types of art introduced in Athens "as a result of the thirty-year war."[43]

Selection and Dating of Gravestones

The gravestones included in this study are sourced from Clairmont's *CAT* as well as several modern catalogues of gravestones including Conze (1893-1922), McClees (1920), Clairmont (1970), Bradeen's *Agora* XVII, Hansen's *CEG* and Kosmopoulou (2001). I selected the tombstones for my catalogue on the basis that at least one female is positively identified in the text. Female identification is made in one of three ways: 1) by being named as the deceased; 2) by being named as the dedicator; or 3) by her relationship to the deceased or dedicator. In translating the sepulchral texts, I follow the *editio princeps* unless someone has established a generally accepted improvement. Other interpretations can be found in the *apparatus criticus*. Gravestones with just an image, no text or text which does not identify any females are not included in my catalogue; however, a list of these gravestones can be found in Appendix A (336-340). In dating the funerary texts, I follow the generally accepted dates outlined in Clairmont's *CAT* and Hansen's *CEG*.[44]

Typology and Research Questions

This thesis constructs a typology of funerary monuments (see Appendix B) which highlights whether women, either as deceased or dedicators, were named, their profession, if any, the nouns and/or adjectives used to describe the female/s in the text, the date of each gravestone,

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[43] Palagia 2009: i.
[44] For a detailed analysis on the dating of funerary texts see Bodel 2001: 49-52, Papazarkadas 2012: 68 and Woodhead 1967: 54-56, 60-62.

and the completeness of both the text and the relief, if any. This typology allows me to focus on the following questions:

1. What do funerary inscriptions reveal about how women are named and described during c. 430-400 B.C.?

2. What can be deduced from funerary reliefs about how women were represented during c. 430-400 B.C.?

3. Do the representations of women in the sepulchral texts and the images in relief indicate that there is a relationship between texts and images?

4. What do the gravestones reveal about the place women occupied in Athens during the Peloponnesian War?

Catalogue Layout

For the catalogue, each entry has been assigned a number and given a title which consists of the name, if known, of the deceased, followed by a *CAT*, *CEG* or *IG* reference in brackets. A code for the depiction of women on gravestones appears under the title. The description of individual gravestones is organised as follows:

1) The Gravestone – provides the gravestone type, marble type, date, find spot and current location, if known.

2) The Inscription – gives dialect and the direction of the text.

3) Physical Details – gives the metric dimensions of the gravestone.

4) Scholarship on the Text – provides a list of publications which mention the gravestone under consideration.

5) Greek Text.

6) My translation.

7) *Apparatus criticus*.

Finally, an image of the monument and/or text is included where available. In using this layout, I have adopted the layout developed by Conze, as amended by Clairmont.

Synopsis

In this thesis, I aim to add to the picture of women in Athens during the Peloponnesian War based on how they were represented in death and to determine whether Thucydides' account of confusion in regard to burial practices in Athens following the plague is valid. My thesis develops as follows. Chapter One reviews the literature on Attic women and gravestones. Chapter Two provides an overview of mortuary practices, looking specifically at the impact of the Solonian funerary legislation and the plagues of c. 430 and c. 427 B.C., funeral rites, and the cost of tombstones. Chapter Three focuses on analysing funerary texts, looking specifically at the names in text, the nouns and/or adjectives used to describe women and, words or phrases that denote emotion felt by the dedicator/s. I end this chapter by commenting on what grave inscriptions can tell scholars about the deceased and living women of fifth century Athens. Chapter Four focuses on analysing the grave reliefs. This chapter looks at whether the deceased is accompanied by other figures and what poses, gestures, dress, hairstyles, and attributes and accoutrements are used to portray both deceased and living women. As with Chapter Three, I finish this chapter by commenting on what the reliefs show about fifth-century Athenian women. Chapter Five looks at the relationship between the texts and reliefs of the tombstones.

Chapter One: The History of the Scholarship on Women on Gravestones in Antiquity

Scholarship on women in antiquity focuses on the place women occupied within society. The early twentieth century saw scholars either ignoring the presence of women in Athenian society or finding them in the home tending to domestic chores and child-rearing. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw an increased interest in the general treatment of women in Athens and Greece. This led to a new, complex, view of women's reality where they were seen as integral to the running and continuation of their households and society at large through their maternal and religious roles. This raises a question about the scholarship on women on gravestones in antiquity. Thus, this chapter focuses on two questions: 1) On what have scholars writing on women and gravestones focused their studies? And 2) how does the current study fit in with the previous scholarship? Here I provide a detailed review of the more authoritative studies concerning women and gravestones.[1]

Scholarship on Women in Funerary Inscriptions

The study of women in funerary inscriptions goes back to 1920 when McClees published her: *A Study of Women in Attic Inscriptions*. Her work does not focus entirely on gravestones, but remains important as she is the first to both collect a comprehensive corpus of the published Attic inscriptions concerning women *and* to use them as evidence for women's lives.[2] McClees' catalogue spans more than 1,000 years, she offers a limited chronological review of her inscriptions, but does not divide her evidence by specific period which gives the impression that Attic society was a static one in regard to the representation of women. By analysing her

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[1] For the historiography of Attic gravestones of the classical period see Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 191-225. His account begins with the earliest reference to a classical Attic gravestone found in a report of the 15th century traveller, Cyriacus of Ancona, and continues to review most of the literature on classical Attic tombstones from 1893 to 1991.

[2] In addition to grave inscriptions, McClees also collected dedications, public honours and religious associations, curse tablets, and mortgage and boundary inscriptions.

collected sepulchral inscriptions, McClees observes that Attic women are identified by their relationships to men and are named according to their familial role (ie. daughter, wife, sister) or according to their occupation outside the home.[3] Specifically, she finds that an unmarried citizen woman is "commonly inscribed with her father's name and demotic", while a married woman's inscription is inscribed with "her husband's or with those of both father and husband."[4] In rare instances, a mother's name on its own is used to identify a woman.[5] McClees also finds that inscriptions show an "appreciation of the character of women" and provide a list of their contributions to the societies in which they lived.[6]

There are no studies on women in funerary inscriptions published in the 65 years following McClees' own study. This changed in 1985 when Vestergaard, Bjertrup, Hansen, Nielsen and Rubinstein published their: 'A Typology of the Women Recorded on Gravestones from Attica' (*AJAH* 10). Unlike McClees, Vestergaard *et al.* are not interested in how gravestones can add to the picture of Attic women. Rather, they are concerned with how women are named in the grave texts between c. 400 B.C. and c. A.D. 250. They, like McClees, do not provide dates for individual gravestones. Their analysis of the funerary texts published in *IG* II² finds that women can be identified in one of two ways.[7] *One, by their relationship to men*. This relationship can be stated either explicitly or implicitly. In explicit inscriptions, words denoting a woman's roles within the family, such as θυγάτηρ, γυνή, μήτηρ and ἀδελφή, are used to identify her,[8] or words denoting a woman's professional role within the family, such as τήθη, are used.[9] In implicit inscriptions, the woman's name is recorded in the nominative followed by the man's name in

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[3] McClees 1920: 34-36. I.e. *IG* I³ 1136, 1194; *IG* II² 6873, 10734, 11392.
[4] McClees 1920: 34.
[5] McClees 1920: 35. I.e. *IG* II² 10734.
[6] McClees 1920: 2.
[7] For a detailed description of the authors' typology see Vestergaard, Bjertrup, Hansen, Nielsen and Rubinstein 1985: 179-182.
[8] *IG* II² 6976, 9161, 11092, 12228, 12417.
[9] *IG* II² 5343.

the genitive.[10] In these inscriptions the authors regard the man as the woman's father.[11] *Two, by the lack of a stated relationship*. This includes inscriptions which identify the deceased woman by just her personal name,[12] inscriptions which record multiple names in the nominative case,[13] and inscriptions which give a woman's profession.[14] These findings agree with McClees' conclusions from 1920, suggesting that the identification of women on gravestones does not change from the late seventh century B.C. down to, at least, c. A.D. 250.[15] Through their creation of a typology of names, Vestergaard *et al.* are able to go beyond identifying women by name and find that women can also be referred to by status. They are able to divide women into four groups: 1) status unknown; 2) citizen; 3) metic/foreigner; and 4) slave.[16]

Vestergaard *et al.* observations concerning the identification of women on gravestones leads them to conclude that their third identification type (filial relationship implied) is the same relationship as their second identification type (filial relationship explicitly stated). They come to this conclusion for three reasons:[17] 1) the standard way of designating men in inscriptions is to add a name in the genitive to a name in the nominative; 2) the father-daughter relationship is permanent while husband-wife is often temporary due to divorce or, more likely, the death of the husband; and 3) in their fifth identification type (filial and uxorial relationships combined), the father's name is frequently listed before the husband's, while the reverse is rarely attested.[18] In addition to this, Vestergaard *et al.* observe that most of their type five inscriptions place θυγάτηρ after the first male name in the genitive and γυνή after the second. They also note that

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[10] *IG* II² 10957, 12261.
[11] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 184-185.
[12] I.e. *IG* II² 12931.
[13] I.e. *IG* II² 12635.
[14] I.e. *IG* II² 11647.
[15] I base this timeframe on the earliest gravestone cited by McClees and the latest date given by Vestergaard, *et al.* McClees also includes Christian and Jewish gravestones in her study, thus I use the phrase 'at least' as Christianity began in the 1st century AD and McClees does not provide exact dates for her gravestones making it difficult to determine the date of her latest grave text.
[16] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the criteria used by Vestergaard *et al.* in the creation of these statuses.
[17] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 184-185.
[18] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 185 only see the husband's name listed before the father's in four of the 280 examples of type V.

in 59 cases θυγάτηρ is omitted while γυνή is only excluded twice. The authors believe that women, even when married, are considered as their father's daughters rather than their husband's wives.[19] This strengthens Vestergaard *et al.* contention that the choice between the inclusion of a father's name and a husband's name on a woman's gravestone can be explained by the idea that the father-daughter relationship is a primary relationship, while the husband-wife relationship is only secondary.[20] The authors do not make any larger conclusions about what their evidence says about kin relationships or women's lives.

Two years later, in 1987, Cantarella provides a ringing endorsement for the use of funerary inscriptions as evidence for women's lives stating that:

> Recent studies of women's lives in antiquity have identified funerary inscriptions
> as a research area of particular interest. New work in this area opened up avenues
> that allow better integration and evaluation of literary sources. Most important,
> they allow us to peer into the daily lives of unknown women, those women whom
> the other sources have stricken from the record.[21]

While Cantarella does not use sepulchral inscriptions as evidence for the lives of ancient Greek women, she does use them as evidence for ancient Roman women. She finds that funerary inscriptions memorialise Roman women for their exemplary qualities.[22] This reflects McClees' findings on Attic woman who, she says, were appreciated for their character.[23]

After Cantarella's endorsement of grave inscriptions, there is an increase in commentary on the presence of women in funerary inscriptions by scholars specifically researching the topic and

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[19] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 185.
[20] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 183-184.
[21] Cantarella 1987: 6.
[22] Cantarella 1987: 129.
[23] McClees 1920: 2.

those publishing general works on women. These can be roughly divided into studies commenting on the identification of women and on the description of women in grave texts.

Identification of Women in Funerary Inscriptions

Scholars agree with McClees' and Vestergaard *et al.* conclusions, namely that women are identified by their relationships to men.[24] They also agree with McClees' assessment of name formulas. Unmarried citizen women are thought to be identified by their father's name and a demotic, while married women are identified by their father's and/or husband's name.[25] Byers and Stears add that a demotic can be included in a married woman's name.[26] Stears also observes that, in the case of metics, the demotic is exchanged for an ethnic.[27] Scholars also assert, in agreement with McClees and Vestergaard *et al.*, that women are referred to by conventional family roles, such as wife, mother, sister and daughter.[28] Contrary to popular scholarly opinion, however, Chrystal contends that a woman would never be referred to as mother "as this would imply that she had authority over any sons in the family."[29] This contention is disproved by the inscriptional evidence.[30] Andrade, Oakley and Younger, also agreeing with McClees and Vestergaard *et al.*, maintain that women can also be identified by their occupations.[31]

Description of Women in Funerary Inscriptions

Strömberg remarks that sepulchral inscriptions can include epigrams praising the virtues of the deceased and/or expressing the loss felt by the family.[32] She does not expand on this comment,

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[24] Andrade 2011: 192; Burton 2003: 24; Byers 1998: 106-107; Chrystal 2017: 149; Stears 2000a: 213; Younger 2002: 174.

[25] Andrade 2011: 192; Burton 2003: 24; Byers 1998: 146; Chrystal 2017: 149; Stears 2000a: 213; Strömberg 2003: 32.

[26] Byers 1998: 107; Stears 2000a: 213. See also Strömberg 2003: 32.

[27] Stears 2000a: 213.

[28] Andrade 2011: 192; Byers 1998: 112; Chrystal 2017: 149; Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy, and Shapiro 1994: 81; Laurin 2013: 423; Oakley 2008: 341; Stears 2000a: 213; Younger 2002: 174. I.e. Clairmont *CAT* II 2.209, 2.434a.

[29] Chrystal 2017: 149.

[30] See, for example, **33**, **37**, **42**.

[31] Andrade 2011: 192; Oakley 2008: 340; Younger 2002: 174. I.e. Clairmont *CAT* I 1.248, 1.249, 1.350, 1.350a, 1.376, 1.969, 1.980; II 2.337d, 2.890.

[32] Strömberg 2003: 32.

but her assertion is confirmed by earlier publications. In 1997, Leader published an article focusing on how Attic grave stelai of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. could be used to understand how gender was constructed in Athenian society. The article primarily looks at iconographical features (see below), but she does make several observations in regard to the sepulchral inscriptions. She observes that some texts express uncertainty about how women should be praised and commemorated,[33] while the majority of texts contradict Perikles' statement, as recorded by Thucydides, that μεγάλη ἡ δόξα καὶ ἧς ἂν ἐπ᾽ ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος.[34] Leader contends that there is highly defined, restricted, language of praise for women which tends to memorialise women's good qualities, such as their ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη.[35]

A year later, Byers confirms that deceased women were praised for their good character, chastity and beauty.[36] Byers argues that the lengthening of poetic forms allowed male commemorators to expand on the character of their deceased female relatives. Byers then goes beyond Leader's comments by discussing what this praise meant. An analysis of her corpus, consisting of 23 gravestones dating to c. 600-500 B.C. and one dating to c. 500-475 B.C., shows that the praise bestowed on women, in addition to the expressions of grief, suggest that loving relationships existed between men and women and that women were considered to be worthy companions.[37] She observes that the grief, gratitude and love felt by male commemorators for their deceased female relatives is also indicated by the erection of a sepulchral monument or statue over the grave of the deceased woman, which is implied in inscriptions by references to a *sema* or a *mnema*.[38] Byers concludes that gravestones serve as a way to prolong the memories

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[33] I.e. *IG* II² 5239, 13040.

[34] Thuc. 2.45.2. Note that Leader's view of this passage as being an exhortion to silence women's voices is challenged by Tyrrell and Bennett (1999) who argue that Pericles was not seeking to silence women, rather he was seeking their cooperation in maintaining peace in Athens.

[35] Leader 1997: 694.

[36] Byers 1998: 113, 115, 132, 147. I.e. Friedländer and Hoffleit nos. 24, 32, 61b, 68, 138, 139.

[37] Byers 1998: 132.

[38] Byers 1998: 116, 132.

of the deceased women. Furthermore, she determines that the content of the inscriptions reveal traditional family values and act as a means of judging and/or instructing others to excellence in their social roles by exemplifying the ideal person.[39]

Byers, in a move unprecedented by scholars studying women in inscriptions, also focuses her attention on women in the role of dedicator. She finds that female dedicators, like deceased females, are defined and valued for their familial roles.[40] Many inscriptions by women express grief at the loss of their male relatives by describing the relative as their beloved and/or describing themselves as a loving relative.[41] Byers, again, adds that the building and erection of a gravestone is an expression of grief at the loss of a loved one.[42] She observes that when women are commemorators, there is an emphasis in the inscriptions on who erected the monument.[43] This emphasis suggests that under normal circumstances women would not have erected gravestones *or* that women felt a certain amount of pride in erecting a monument. The erection of a tombstone would have required a woman to have the financial means to buy a gravestone, communication skills both to transact the purchase and to arrange for a proper burial, and the ability to compose and/or approve of an inscription. Byers rejects the argument that a woman's *kyrios* would have been responsible for these tasks on the basis that the father's and/or spouse's name are not included in the inscriptions and that there is an emphasis on who erected the gravestone. She concludes that women were able and willing to erect tombstones to loved ones.[44]

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[39] Byers 1998: 147, 148.
[40] Byers 1998: 112. I.e. Friedländer and Hoffleit nos. 3d, 30, 32, 63, 69A, 74, 137, 140, 157, 161.
[41] Byers 1998: 138-193. I.e. Friedländer and Hoffleit nos. 30, 74.
[42] Byers 1998: 139.
[43] I.e. Friedländer and Hoffleit nos. 63, 74, 136.
[44] Byers 1998: 141-143.

Five years after Byers submitted her thesis, Burton looks at the display of private virtues on public memorials. Following an analysis of fifth- and fourth-century B.C. tombstones,[45] she argues that the values reflected in tombstones suggest a broader, *polis*-orientated, ideology than that of the private sphere which are shown in the images.[46] Burton observes that women's virtues in text and image focus on the *oikos* and that the gravestones celebrated private lives, childbearing, the beauty of the deceased and domestic activities. Yet, through various themes, such as adornment, wider associations can be made. For example, the adornment theme is thought to reflect a woman's dowry and so is an indicator of her ability to contribute economically to her new home. As marriage is an important way for men to link with each other, both within and outside of the *polis*, this theme, while an intimate female action, carries wider associations of the role of women as crucial to the functioning of the city. Burton concludes that the funerary reliefs of deceased women do not merely represent the activities they participated in while still alive, but also depicted their status in a broader social setting. Thus, through the display of private virtues, gravestones reflect public ideology as both a determinant of proper female behaviour, which confirms Byers' conclusions, and a descriptor of how women conforming to this behaviour fulfilled a role in articulating the social structures of the *polis*.[47]

Burton also argues that public and private ideologies found in gravestones "need not have been seen as asserting familial or *oikos*-based ideology *in opposition to* the state."[48] She contends that a combination of families wanting to celebrate their female relatives, Perikles' citizenship law and an increase in the perceived social status of women as whole, brought on by the citizenship law and/or a general attitude shift, contributed to the sudden need to publicly

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[45] Burton gets her evidence from two surveys of gravestones, that of Humphreys (1993) and Clairmont's *CAT* (1993).
[46] Burton 2003: 21.
[47] Burton 2003: 28.
[48] Burton 2003: 22.

memorialise women. At the same time, there is an uncomfortable juxtaposition between the requirement to represent virtues common to all and the desire to portray individual characteristics. This leads to the portrayals of women forming projections of a socially acceptable ideal rather than true portraits. This ideal, Burton contends, reflects women's importance to the maintenance of the household and to the continuation and maintenance of the city. She concludes that gravestones do not just commemorate the memory of an individual, as Byers argues, nor do they memorialise the strength and status of the *oikos*. Rather, they commemorate the family's ability to continue as a useful part of the *polis* as a whole. The virtues of the deceased and the expense of the gravestone itself demonstrate the wealth and importance of the family which in turn implicitly demonstrates support for *polis* ideology.[49]

Andrade, in 2011, also expressed an interest in the relationship between the city and women. She is interested in whether funerary epigrams highlighted a positive relationship between the city and its women by means of valorisation (ie. *philia* relationships) and recurring epic traditional eulogies which formerly applied to men.[50] Andrade's evidence consists of 27 inscriptions, 23 of which date to the fourth century B.C., while the remaining four belong to the fifth century. Through a careful analysis of her inscriptions, Andrade determines that during the classical period women began to be praised for qualities such as nobility, prudence and virtue. These terms frequently reoccur in the extant inscriptions for women along with the formula, ἀρετῆς τῆς σωφροσύνης, which was extended to include women with the highest reoccurrence appearing between c. 430-360 B.C.[51] She also finds that in the latter part of the classical period, these qualities were joined by other types of praise, such as admiration for women having a public activity (ie. priestess, nurse, etc.).[52] Some of the inscriptions also

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[49] Burton 2003: 29-30.
[50] Andrade 2011: 185.
[51] Andrade cites 17 inscriptions as her evidence: *IG* I³ 1311, *IG* II² 12151, *IG* II² 13032, *CEG* II 518, *IG* II² 13040, *IG* II² 5450, *IG* II² 13071, *CEG* II 517, *CEG* II 611, *IG* II² 12963, *IG* II² 10672, Peek, *GV* 893, *IG* II² 10864, *IG* II² 11016, *IG* II² 11162, *IG* II² 11659, *IG* II² 6693a.
[52] Andrade cites three inscriptions as examples of this: *IG* II² 9112, *IG* II² 7873, *IG* II² 6288.

praised women for their domestic roles.[53] Andrade argues that funerary spaces expose complex social relations concerning the recognition of women. She contends that there was a change in focus on female epigrams between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C., daughters were no longer shown in a pre-marital state but were instead shown to occupy a space between *oikoi* and to have external ties. Thus, it is not the paternal *oikos* being represented, but the relationships between the *oikoi*. Furthermore, if the professional activities, and not just kin relationships, are included, Andrade believes that the scope of social networks would expand further. At the same time, it is not a contract between two homes which is found in the epitaphs, rather they record the love between husband and wife, love for children, and friendship between women.[54] Andrade concludes that during the classical period women were valorised as daughters, mothers and wives, with a particular focus on family relations. This conferred legitimacy and value on women, while not making their citizenship a common part of the memorial. Rather, the common element in inscriptions, both for citizens and metics, was the praise and *philia* expressions.[55] The emulation of these phrases meant women occupied politically important public places as "valorous, noble and to a certain extent heroic, individuals."[56]

In 2017, Margariti confirms that deceased maidens were also praised for their *sophrosyne*, purity, virtue and good character. However, inscriptions for deceased maidens differ from those of adults as they highlight the pain and mourning the families felt at the premature death of their daughters. Most of the inscriptions mention grief-stricken mothers which emphasises that a loving relationship between mothers and daughter existed. Grieving fathers are rarely mentioned and, when they are, it is always in inscriptions which reference both parents.[57]

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[53] Andrade cites two inscriptions as her evidence: *IG* II² 7873, *IG* II² 6288.
[54] Andrade cites seven inscriptions as examples of this: *IG* I³ 1315, *IG* I³ 1329, *IG* II² 8593, *IG* II² 12067, *IG* II² 7227, *IG* II² 12210a.
[55] Andrade 2011: 194-195, 197, 204-205.
[56] Andrade 2011: 205.
[57] Margariti 2017: xvi. I.e. *CEG* II 575, 587, 591.

Scholarship on Women on Funerary Reliefs

The study of women on funerary reliefs also goes back to 1920. McClees comments that funerary reliefs "produced the same impression" as grave inscriptions, namely that they appreciated women's character.[58] Interest in women on funerary reliefs, however, does not take off until after 1988 when Osborne calls out scholars treating death and burial in Greece on their use, or lack thereof, of visual images, such as grave sculpture and decorated pots. He writes that the visual images were either ignored completely or employed as "purely illustrative material to back up generalisations and observations drawn from literary sources."[59] In spite of Osborne's recriminations, it takes another seven years before scholars begin to research women on funerary reliefs.

In 1995, Stears argues that "death was at the very centre of Athenian life."[60] Her analysis of sculpted gravestones of the classical period reveals that reliefs served to display and construct Athenian concepts concerning status, wealth, age categories and gender roles (see below). This is emphasised by their placement in highly visible topographical positions. Stears believes the repetitive iconography is a way to reiterate and emphasise continuous dominant ideologies regarding acceptable and desirable modes of behaviour, lifestyle and ways of dying.[61] Thus, she concludes that grave reliefs portray an idealised version of the deceased rather than their actual character in an attempt to portray these accepted cultural values. Although, she notes, that it is possible that these idealised portraits might have received a degree of verisimilitude from painted details.[62] A year later, Osborne comes to a similar conclusion. In researching the prominence on women in funerary iconography (see below), he determines that women's prominence was a consequence of their role in producing children for the city and their place

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[58] McClees 1920: 2.
[59] Osborne 1988: 1.
[60] Stears 1995: 128.
[61] Stears 1995: 128. See also Stears 2000a: 213.
[62] See Stears 1995: 117-118.

in the home and, by showing women in these roles, the reliefs reinforced gender stereotyping and showed an idealised portrait of women.[63]

Leader's analysis of Attic grave stelai from the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. as a source for understanding gender construction in classical Athens finds that gender plays a different role in single-sex and multi-sex grave reliefs. In the latter, gender roles were not interchangeable, but operated for both sexes to ensure the smooth running of the household and so united the differences found in the former. Yet, there are links between the two types. Multi-sex reliefs, particularly the 'family group' type, depicts the ideal family and uses the same formal stylistic and compositional elements as the single-sex type. The single-sex type seemingly denies the gender structures of the home which are preserved in multi-sex reliefs, but in this case the denial is more apparent than real as they can be read covertly in the images. As with Stears and Osborne, Leader concludes that the visual images on both single-sex and multi-sex reliefs are not representations of reality, but constructions of an ideal.[64]

Younger takes a different approach to the representation of women on grave reliefs. Instead of looking at how gender and other cultural concerns are displayed and constructed, he looks at the relationship between women in relief compositions showing two female figures. He seeks to determine whether women were ever subjects and, if they were, did they experience this subjectivity primarily in relation to women. Younger concludes that the female visitor to the grave and the female deceased are inseparable and, upon viewing reliefs with two women, is left with a "hom*oio*erotic (of someone similar) desire for her own self."[65] Thus, he sees women as subjects to other women rather than an idealistic portrait.

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[63] Osborne 1996: 241.
[64] Leader 1997: 699.
[65] Younger 2002: 192.

Strömberg, too, takes a different approach to women on funerary reliefs. She focuses on the presence of women on Attic grave monuments and how this fits in with the traditional view of citizen women.[66] She determines that deceased women were never depicted as corpses, rather they were placed as they were in life, namely in a domestic setting.[67] She also believes that the iconography found on the reliefs was a deliberate choice made to demonstrate the social and political affiliation of the home to the city.[68] Thus, the iconography, in a very repetitive way, emphasises the legitimacy of men and women, succession, propriety and *sophrosyne*, restrained conduct and balance through various gestures such as the *dexiosis* and the seated lady (see below). This agrees with Stears' conclusions; however, Strömberg goes a step further. She determines that women are depicted in a public setting, but within the frame of the social unit of the home, which, in this context, is a respectable way to show women in public. Women, then, are needed and used to serve men and create a solid public image of harmony, unity, success and continuity in the household. Strömberg concludes that the role of women "as a necessary component in marriage and in the relationship *oikos/polis* gives them a status in death that they did not openly have in life."[69] Oakley agrees with that assessment, stating that images on gravestones demonstrate that "in certain areas of life in ancient Athens women were empowered".[70]

Grossman, as part of a larger work on funerary sculpture, discusses the sepulchral iconography of women on gravestones.[71] By analysing 143 funerary sculptures from the Athenian agora, dating from the classical period to the Roman period, which have women as their primary

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[66] For Strömberg's account of the traditional view of women see Strömberg 2003: 28.
[67] Strömberg 2003: 31
[68] Strömberg 2003: 34.
[69] Strömberg 2003: 35.
[70] Oakley 2008: 341.
[71] Grossman, J.B. 2013. *The Athenian Agora: Volume XXXV: Funerary Sculpture*; this is an updated and expanded version of her thesis, *The Sculpted Funerary Monuments of the Classical Period in the Athenian Agora*, submitted in 1995.

subject, Grossman determines that gravestones for women tend to focus on their domestic roles within society.[72] Additionally, she finds that women are frequently depicted in the company of an attendant or within a family group. This agrees with the previous scholarship. Grossman also finds that by analysing certain iconographical features, such as costume, hairstyle, pose and gesture, the social status of women on gravestones is able to be determined. This leads her to identify mothers, wives, relatives, attendants and servants/slaves in her collected gravestones.[73] Grossman, agreeing with Strömberg and Oakley, concludes that the sheer number of tombstones commemorating Athenian women, particularly during the fourth century B.C., indicates that women are given greater recognition and held in a higher esteem than is normally suggested by scholars primarily studying literary sources.[74] And, as the century progressed, this recognition only increased as women are shown in more prestigious and prominent poses.[75]

Scholars studying sub-groups of Attic women also view the images on the reliefs as idealistic. In 2001, Kosmopoulou examines women workers on classical gravestones. She determines that the depictions of women's occupations on these reliefs do not portray "a true self-representation of the 'working class'", but instead offer an idealistic portrait of professional women.[76] In 2017 and 2018, Margariti studies the depiction of maidens on grave stelai and pots dating to c. 430-300 B.C. (see below). She finds that the iconography found on gravestones for dead maidens were idealised images. These images were based on the representation of *parthenoi* in inscriptions, tragedy and mythology. Furthermore, gravestones of dead maidens also portrayed their untimely death and their loving relationships with their families.[77]

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[72] Grossman 2013: 30, 32 Table 1, 70.
[73] See Grossman 2013: 30-38 and Tables 1-6.
[74] Grossman 2013: 29. Grossman cites Pomeroy 1975; Gould 1980; Humphreys 1983 (rev. 1993); Keuls 1985; Clark 1989; Fantam *et al.* 1994; and Osborne 1996 as examples of the scholarly pursuit of women through literary sources.
[75] Grossman 2013: 29. I.e. the stele of Demetria and Pamphile (Athens, Kerameikos P 687).
[76] Kosmopoulou 2001: 305.
[77] Margariti 2017: xxxi.

Margariti, in 2016, analyses the depiction of mothers and children on grave reliefs dating to c. 430-330 B.C. (see below). In these reliefs, particularly those showing mothers and children interacting, the emphasis is on the premature death of the mothers and the orphaned state of their children. The grief felt at the loss of the young mother is enhanced by the inclusion of her orphaned children, "by presenting its negative impact on those children's lives."[78] These images, Margariti concludes, are designed to evoke pity and compassion for premature death of Athenian mothers. In reliefs with no interaction between mothers and children, she sees an emphasis on the early death of the mothers while the children serve as an indicator of the women's status as wives and mothers.[79] Thus, rather than showing an ideal, these reliefs are portraying real-life events.

In their discussions of women's representation on funerary reliefs, scholars also comment on other topics concerning women's presence on gravestones. These are outlined below.

The Prominence of Women in Grave Iconography

Women were infrequently depicted on Attic gravestones prior to c. 500 B.C., but frequently appear on both gravestones and white-ground *lekythoi* from the mid-fifth century B.C. onwards.[80] Stears, in 1995, and Osborne, in 1996, both believe that the new prominence of women in sepulchral iconography may have been influenced by the enactment of the Periklean citizenship law in c. 451 B.C. The introduction of this law led to Athenians publicly advertising the status and marriage of both father *and* mother to demonstrate or counter refutations of their legitimacy and citizen status.[81] Both scholars also attribute other factors to the increasing presence of women on gravestones. Stears argues that women "only feature on…monuments

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[78] Margariti 2016: 97.
[79] Margariti 2016: 97.
[80] Oakley 2008: 340; Osborne 1996: 229; Stears 1995: 115.
[81] Osborne 1996: 239-240; Stears 1995: 115.

for specific reasons."[82] She cites three such reasons. First, women could have had an especial influence as a result of the status of their male relatives. Second, they could have come to play a matriarchal role within their family group, especially if they had lived particularly long lives or had held a priestly office in their own right. Third, they were important to the construction and cohesion of the cognate family group, through which ran the line of inheritance.[83] Osborne, on the other hand, argues that the increased prominence of women resulted from a change in attitude to death, a change in attitude to women, *or* a combination of the two.

If the prominence of women was brought about by a change in attitude to death, Osborne believes that it would involve some kind of move from viewing death as an end to an individual's achievements, as seen in archaic stele, to viewing death as a disruptor of a specific small group, as seen in classical stelai. Changes in attitude to death could have been a consequence of a change in attitude towards women. Osborne believes that the previous reticence to commemorate deceased women during the archaic period was not part of a more general reluctance to include women in works of art. Rather, it was the death of women which archaic Athenians rarely regarded as worthy of prominent commemoration. Osborne explains that individual achievement was considered important in archaic Athens; therefore, men were given more attention. When the family group became more important, as it did during the classical period, women received more attention.[84]

These changes could have occurred independently, one may have been as a result from the other, or one or the other could have been the result of some other change. Osborne believes that these attitude changes could have been a result of a combination of Perikles' citizenship

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[82] Stears 1995: 114.
[83] Stears 1995: 114.
[84] Osborne 1996: 234-236.

law and the new grave stelai which were both less hostile to the new democracy and, perhaps, promoted the democracy by stressing the disruption caused to society by the loss of one person. Osborne also acknowledges two other influences on women's prominence on gravestones. First, he believes that the choice of a particular image must have, in part, been established by social considerations and "the desire to make a particular statement."[85] Second, that the Athenians were, possibly, influenced by how other cities depicted women and commemorated death, but that this influence was on modes of thought and not simply on modes of sculpting.[86]

Single-Sex Grave Reliefs and their Iconography

Leader finds that stelai with female images form a parallel to the idealised images of men. Through her analysis of the stele of Hegeso, she determines that the visual representation of women places them within the ideology of a secluded, passive, free Athenian woman. Thus, stereotypical qualities, namely woman, slave and box, which appear in the Hegeso stele, are also found in many other extant stele.[87] The similarity and repetition of these qualities lacks the individual identity asserted to in the accompanying inscriptions. Thus, identity, in the case of Hegeso, is defined through that of her father. Leader concludes that stelai depicting one woman commemorates their identity as defined by men, but lived, ideologically, apart from them and that their identity as an individual is irrelevant as it only matters that she be definable within the recognised social framework for women.[88]

Five years later, Younger expands on Leader's work by examining the sculpted gravestones of the fourth century B.C., taking an especial interest in the reliefs composed of two women only. His analysis is concentrated on two aspects of these stelai: whether they perform the *dexiosis* or not and whether they are named or not. This assumes that "naming the figures indicates they

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[85] Osborne 1996: 234.
[86] Osborne 1996: 234, 237-239.
[87] I.e. Clairmont *CAT* II 2.300.
[88] Leader 1997: 689-690, 692.

belong to the family whose plot the stele marked and that clasping hands indicates that the two figures are related."[89] Younger determines that when both women are named, they almost always shake hands and therefore are very likely to be close family members. When neither women or only one is named, the standing woman often contemplates the seated woman, and they do not shake hands; Younger contends that the two are not close family members, rather they were close friends.[90]

Younger then extends the intimacy shown between the close friends on reliefs with two women to the hypothetical female visitor of the graves. He believes that by reading the inscriptions and viewing the relief scenes, the female visitor "learned to identify herself as a member of the primary deceased's circle of friends".[91] Younger contends that she

> should be able to place herself intimately in that relationship, to gaze upon the
> primary woman with feelings, yearnings, and regrets similar to those depicted in
> the relief and specified in the epigrams, even to the point of imagining the woman's
> life cut short, her virtue and moderation, and even the desire felt for her.[92]

He adds that several stelai "lead us more specifically toward this last possibility, that of homoerotic feelings being depicted in the stelai or generated by their depictions."[93] He finds several gravestones whose inscriptions suggest that the listed women are not related due to their different cognomina and whose reliefs suggest that the women were participants in a loving, homoerotic, relationship.[94] Younger argues that somewhere in the cycle of women viewing the primary deceased and/or secondary woman there should be desire. He adds that within that

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[89] Younger 2002: 176.
[90] Younger 2002: 176, 178. For a detailed account of Younger's argument see pages 176-178.
[91] Younger 2002: 185.
[92] Younger 2002: 186.
[93] Younger 2002: 186.
[94] Younger 2002: 186-190. Younger cites the following as examples: Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.943; II 2.421, 2.426, 2.426b, 2.650; and Louvre 701, shown on page 189 (fig. 6.11).

desire there "should be homoerotic desire between women, a woman's desire for a woman while alive and for the other woman on the other side of the gaze when she has passed on."[95]

Younger bases his conclusions on the fact that the named women in his examples have different cognomina which suggests that they are not related to each other.[96] He also cites their performance of certain gestures, such as hugging, and their possession of particular attributes, such as flowers, for their designation as lovers. Younger refers to painted pots depicting homosexual courting scenes between two males and brothel scenes showing a male customer and a female prostitute to support his interpretation.[97] He does not mention painted pots with these scenes occurring between two women nor does he refer to gravestones with two unrelated men depicted in similar ways as the unrelated females in his examples. The lack of a mention of these suggests that scenes showing lovers are confined to either pots, if the relationship is between two men or a man and a female prostitute, or gravestones, if the relationship is between two women. This raises the question of why two female lovers are only shown on gravestones and why two male lovers are only shown on pots. The absence of two female lovers in other material genres suggests that this was not a relationship that was publicly advertised. Moreover, the fact that, according to Younger, it only appears on gravestones, a medium which scholars believe is designed to highlight women's virtues, their relationships to men and the family's status, suggests that further research into the relationship between two women on gravestones and other mediums is required.

Multi-Sex Grave Reliefs and their Iconography

Leader's analysis of gravestones dating to the fourth century B.C., specifically the 'family group' type, shows that the overlap between gender ideals of the household and community in the context of death can be resolved by viewing multi-figure reliefs as an attempt at portraying

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[95] Younger 2002: 191.
[96] Younger 2002: 207 n. 85.
[97] Younger 2002: 208 n. 93-94, 209 n. 99.

the ideal image of the family in a funeral context where the unity of the family is threatened by the loss of a family members and the gender-divisive ideology of the city.[98] Thus, the deceased was made intentionally indistinguishable from their relatives so the focus would remain on the links between a group of people on the occasion of the death of one individual.[99] In regard to the ideal gender relations within the group, Leader determines that all figures are portrayed as inhabiting and interacting in the same domestic space. This highlights the importance of domestic ties and women's integration into the home.

Strömberg, in 2003, discusses two aspects of family group scenes which she describes as "rather striking".[100] One, the seated lady image. Strömberg determines that of the approximately 2,000 sepulchral reliefs in Clairmont's *CAT*, more than 25% have reliefs containing a seated person, either alone or accompanied by one or more standing figures. She adds that only one out of six persons shown seated on a chair/stool is a man, indicating that it was more common for women to be shown seated. However, she notes that girls and/or young women are always shown standing and that the seated woman "is a married lady in her prime and mother, a *gyne*."[101] Strömberg contends that the seated woman's position is an indicator of her status within the family, in life and death.[102]

Two, the *dexiosis*. Strömberg maintains that the *dexiosis*, when used on tombstones, shows "the unity, agreement and strength within the family in life rather than separation or even union in the underworld."[103] Stears agrees with Strömberg's assessment, but adds that the *dexiosis* is

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[98] Leader analyses the stelai of Ktesileos and Theano, of "Sostrate", of Damasistrate, and of Prokleides, Arkhippe and Prokles.
[99] Leader 1997: 694-698.
[100] Strömberg 2003: 33.
[101] Strömberg 2003: 33.
[102] Strömberg 2003: 33-34.
[103] Strömberg 2003: 34. She cites the following studies as evidence for her interpretation: Bergemann, J. 1997. *Demos und Thanatos. Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrjunderts v.Chr. und zur Funktion der Gleichzeitigen Grabbauten*, pages 61-62; Davies, G. 1985. 'The

also a sign of equality between those involved. Thus, its use by women signifies that they have equal status as members of the household with men. She adds that this notion of equality is integral to the form, quality and size of Attic tombstones as social emulation plays a part in the evolution of classical tombstones and accounts for the use of similar iconography being used on all gravestones. Stears explains that the imitation of iconography, such as the *dexiosis*, from the poorer social classes led some wealthy families to increase the size and ornamentation of their gravestones, making it impossible for the less wealthy families to imitate. Since the wealthy families only embellished or enlarged the iconography rather than creating their own, Stears concludes that certain dominant ideologies regarding acceptable social roles and honourable death permeated all levels of Athenian society.[104]

Age Categories

During the fourth century B.C., Stears finds that the portrayal of individuals tends to the ideal and/or generic which leads to the appearance of roughly definable age-groupings. These can be indicated by attributes, hairstyles, clothes and, to some extent, bodily posture. By using these indicators, Stears is able to identify five age-groupings: 1) baby; 2) little girl; 3) young, unmarried, teenager; 4) mature, perhaps married, woman; and 5) older, wrinkled, and hunched woman. This last age-group does not occur prior to the fourth century B.C. and the women who appear as this are not usually the deceased, but are secondary figures exhibiting grief. Stears contends that these age-groupings may be indicative of social attitudes regarding age and status. She explains that women's advancement from childhood to adulthood was synonymous with marriage with childbearing being the "final seal" to their acceptance as a full adult female.[105] She concludes that the lack of detailed age information in inscriptions can be

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Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art', *AJA* 89.4: 627-640; Lawton, C.L. 1995. *Attic Document Reliefs: Art and Politics in Ancient Athens*, pages 36-38.
[104] See Stears 1995: 126-128.
[105] Stears 1995: 122.

understood in light of this background and that the sculpted image may have provided more practical information about her life than would her actual age.[106]

Desirable Death

Stears finds that there a small number of gravestones which show women accompanied by swaddled babies and/or women reclining on couches, surrounded by onlookers, and clearly in labour as indicated by the pose of the legs and lower torso.[107] Stears, along with Grossman, Margariti and Oakley, maintains that the presence of babies may act as a sign that the mother died in or around childbirth, but it is unclear whether the child died with her.[108] Equally likely, these scenes may just highlight the fact that the dead woman was a mother and not refer to her death in childbirth. Stears argues that scenes with labouring women and babies equate with reliefs showing men in the midst of war, both of which show the deceased achieved the *kalos thanatos* by performing one of their essential duties for their city.[109]

Women's Occupations

Stears and Strömberg assert that there are infrequent references to occupations and, when there are references, there is a limited number of occupations for adult women portrayed on classical Athenian gravestones.[110] These occupations tend to centre on the domestic, primarily child raising, wool-working and interacting with family members and slaves. Stears suggests that this restricted iconographical repertoire of these reliefs reflects culturally ingrained notions of the ideal and proper concerns of women within the home and city rather than the variety of life experiences available to women. She maintains that these concepts are reflected in the accompanying inscriptions which emphasise the deceased's virtues. There is, Stears notes, a small number of gravestones for women where there an attempt is made to show further details

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[106] See Stears 1995: 119-120.

[107] In regard to women portrayed as labouring, Stears refers to Vedder's 1988 'Frauentod-Kriegertod im Spiegel der attischen Grabkunst des 4. Jhs. V. Chr.' (*AM* 103: 161-191) and 1989 'Ethnic Concepts in German Prehistory: A Case Study on the Relationship between Cultural Identity and Archaeological Objectivity', in S. Shennan *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*.

[108] Grossman 2013: 311, 312; Margariti 2016: 91; Oakley 2009: 226; Stears 1995: 125.

[109] See Stears 1995: 125-126.

[110] Stears 1995: 123, 124, 125; Strömberg 2003: 35.

concerning women's occupations. This is limited to priestesses and nurses. Stears contends

that other female occupations which take place outside the household are scarce. She concludes

that there was only a small number of female occupations that were considered suitable to

appear on a funerary monument. This suggests that only those roles and occupations seen as

status-enhancing or as illustrative of desirable personal qualities are adopted into sepulchral

iconography.[111]

Six years later, Kosmopoulou examines classical Attic gravestones with the aim to identify

categories of female professionals who are commemorated with figured gravestones. To this

end, she gathers together 28 figured gravestones, the majority of which date to the fourth

century B.C., which securely represent working women by means of an appropriate image or a

combination of textual and visual elements.[112] By analysing these gravestones, Kosmopoulou

finds that there are four categories of female workers who received figured gravestones: nurses,

priestesses, midwives and woolworkers.[113] This expands on Stears' list of occupations outside

the home. Kosmopoulou concludes that the tombstones spanned different professional

categories and social strata, and could have acted as alternative models for non-professional

women to follow which extended beyond the private sphere.[114]

The Erection of Gravestones for Female Workers

Kosmopoulou and Stears contend that the motive behind the erection of gravestones for female

workers is dependent on the profession and status of the deceased. Both scholars believe that

tombstones for nurses and servants are erected by the family for whom they worked. The

erection of gravestones for priestesses, on the other hand, are believed to be an extension of the

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[111] Stears 1995: 123-125.

[112] There are only three gravestones which do not date to the fourth century B.C. Two date to c. 410-400 B.C. and one dates to the third century B.C.

[113] For Kosmopoulou's discussion on nurses see pages 285-292, 306-311 (N1-N12); on priestesses, see pages 292-299, 311-316 (P1-P10); on midwives, see pages 299-300, 316-317 (M1); and on woolworkers, see pages 300-302, 317-319 (W1-W5).

[114] Kosmopoulou 2001: 303.

honours bestowed on them through their office and brought a social prestige worth commemorating.[115]

Status of Female Workers

Kosmopoulou determines that most of the nurses who received figured gravestones belong to the slave class based on certain epigraphic elements, such as the use of the term χρηστή and the use of an ethnic or names which "imposed and reflect the roles or qualities of nurses", such as Paideusis, Choirine or Synete.[116] Priestesses and midwives, on the other hand, belong to the citizen class while wool working was favoured by women of all classes. However, the status of woolworkers can be determined in inscriptions when the names are foreign, indicating that the woman was a metic, slave or freedwoman. Their status in reliefs can be determined by the presence of additional female figures as they identify the woolworker as a woman of high social status, who is lauded through an occupation which indicates that she was a worthy wife and manager of an *oikos*. Kosmopoulou also finds that deceased women, regardless of their occupation, are never shown in action, are dressed as befitting ordinary ἀσταί and, in some cases, completely lacking the typical attributes of their profession. Thus, she concludes that nurses, despite their slave status, and lower-class woolworkers are respected and honoured within classical Athenian society.[117]

Representation of Deceased Maidens

Margariti identifies several features which can be used to identify maidens on grave scenes. A key feature is the presence of a *loutrophoros*, "in whatever form it may appear".[118] According to Margariti, this vase can appear in four different ways: "(1) marble *loutrophoroi* decorated with relief scenes; (2) grave stelai bearing relief or painted loutrophoroi with figural decoration; (3) *loutrophoroi* carved below the figured scene of a stele or shown on top of a stele; and (4)

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[115] Kosmopoulou 2001: 292, 303-304; Stears 1995: 124.
[116] Kosmopoulou 2001: 290, 291. See also Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 179.
[117] Kosmopoulou 2001: 287, 293, 300-302, 305.
[118] Margariti 2018: 93.

loutrophoroi depicted in figured scenes of grave stelai."[119] However, the *loutrophoros* is not a "symbol of maiden death par excellence".[120] Rather, it is a sign of premature death "occurring at an age when females and males are on the threshold of marriage, with death thus preventing them from transitioning into adulthood."[121]

Other important features include specific attire, such as the Attic *peplos*, and hairstyles, such as the *lampadion*, or a combination of the two. In multi-figured scenes, non-servant female figures portrayed smaller in size than other adult figures can be an indication of maiden status. The inclusion of certain attributes, such as young girls holding dolls or teasing a small dog with a bird, are essential in identifying maidens, as are elements of wedding iconography, such as the *planis* (diadem), the *cheiragogia* (the leading of the bride by the hand), or the *nymphides* (bridal shoes). Deceased maidens can also be identified by pose. Maidens are nearly always depicted as standing, particularly during c. 400-340 B.C., and only rarely are they portrayed as seated.[122]

The iconography of sepulchral reliefs concentrated on the idealised image of the dead maiden in addition to "the powerful bonds of love and kinship that unite her with the members of her family."[123] While the iconography of funerary vases emphasises "the premature death of the *parthenos*, the pain of loss and mourning of her family, and the observance of the indispensable funerary rites concerning her burial and 'tomb cult'."[124] There are several problems associated with studying the iconography of maiden scenes. She determines that the main issue is with multi-figured scenes as the grave monuments are usually bought ready-made by the deceased's family after the visiting the workshops of sculptors and painters. Margariti believes that this

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[119] Margariti 2018: 93.
[120] Margariti 2017: xi.
[121] Margariti 2018: 105. See Margariti 2018: 94-105 for a detailed discussion on the validity of the *loutrophoros* theory.
[122] Margariti 2017: v; 2018: 93, 167, 168, 169, 170.
[123] Margariti 2017: xii.
[124] Margariti 2017: xii.

was intentional "so as to appeal to a wide audience."[125] Similarly, the lack of inscriptions makes it difficult, sometimes even impossible, to identify the deceased with absolute certainty. Other problems are caused by "the bad state of preservation of certain reliefs and vases that have not survived intact."[126]

Representation of Maidens in Other Media

Margariti also examines maiden death in tragic plays, Attic myths and maiden burials. An analysis of the sacrifices made by various maidens[127] in Greek tragedy leads Margariti to conclude that tragic poets "praise the remarkable bravery and willingness of their maiden heroines to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their city or family, but never fail to stress the particularly tragic aspect of their early death that deprives them of marriage and motherhood."[128] The myths[129], on the other hand, present the mythical models for real-life Athenian maidens, "who have to die symbolically during their wedding ceremony in order to be re-born as wives, adult women, and future mothers."[130]

There is one grave relief which can be associated with an excavated tomb: the stele of Eukoline, found in the Kerameikos cemetery.[131] Margariti, however, finds that skeletal remains are largely ignored and rarely studied systematically in previous studies, thus she is only able to compare this burial to three others located within Athens: the Kerameikos cemetery, the West Eleusis cemetery, and the classical cemetery located near modern Syntagma Square. In her examination of these burials, Margariti detects a clear pattern: fifth-century burials yielded a richer array of grave goods as compared to those from the fourth century, with the most popular

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[125] Margariti 2017: v.
[126] Margariti 2017: vi.
[127] Margariti analyses Euripides' *Iphigenia* plays, *Hecuba* and *Heraclidae* and Sophocles' *Antigone*.
[128] Margariti 2017: xxiv.
[129] Margariti analyses the myth of Erigone, the hanged maiden, and the myth of the daughters of Leos.
[130] Margariti 2017: xxvii. For Erigone, see Margariti 2017: xxiv-xxvi. For the daughters of Leos, see Margariti 2017: xxvi-xxvii.
[131] For the stelae of Eukoline, see Margariti's (2017) catalogue no. E 68 on pages 398-399.

grave goods being vases and female terracotta dolls. This indicates that dead maidens were buried and commemorated as children who did not reach adulthood. Margariti concludes that it is impossible to distinguish maiden burials from those of children based on grave goods alone. She then attempts to compare and contrast the burials of Athenian maidens with those from other Greek cemeteries using the published results of excavations conducted in cemeteries of Corinth, Boeotia, Samothrace, Metapontum and Epizephyrian Locri. The Lucifero cemetery in Epizephyrian Locri is the only cemetery which yields evidence to facilitate her comparison of maiden burials. Margariti finds that the Locrian maidens are buried as the married women they would have become if they had not died prematurely.[132]

Representation of Mothers and Children

Margariti, in 2016, takes an interest in identifying the iconographical differences in reliefs which solely emphasise the death of young women, with the inclusion of children merely an indicator to their maternal status, and reliefs which do not focus on the death of women alone, but also emphasise the orphaned state of the children.[133] In the former type, the infants are shown inert and swaddled, cradled in the arms of the female figures holding them, with no attempt at interaction with their mothers.[134] Margariti, along with Grossman, Oakley and Stears, believe that the infants indicate that the deceased was a wife and mother who died in childbirth or shortly afterwards.[135] The infant as attribute theme is more apparent in multi-figure scenes which focus on the relationship between the deceased woman and the adult members of her family and emphasise family unity. In these scenes the woman holding the infant is often placed in the background or behind a main figure and is sometimes shown looking at the baby in her arms.[136]

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[132] Margariti 2017: xii-xiii, xvi, xxxi.
[133] Margariti 2016: 87.
[134] I.e. Margariti's catalogue nos. 4, 6-11, 13-17, 19-20, 23-25, 27-40.
[135] Grossman 2013: 311, 312; Margariti 2016: 90, 91; Oakley 2009: 226; Stears 1995: 125.
[136] Margariti 2016: 89-90.

In reliefs emphasising both mother and child, the infants are shown gesturing to their mothers and trying to capture their attention.[137] The infants are often shown extending their arms to their mothers, a gesture, according to Margariti, which is the children's equivalent of the mourning gesture performed by adults. The mothers are often shown engaged in a task, normally shaking hands with another adult.[138] The focus is on the unhappy fate of the mother while also bringing attention to the baby she left behind and their separation by death.[139] Margariti concludes that these reliefs "give prominence to the powerful ties of love and affection between mother and child, emphasizing the tragic fate that has separated them forever.[140]

During her analysis, Margariti makes note of three other relief types involving mothers and children. In the first type, infants are shown being held by their deceased mothers.[141] The mothers are usually shown seated with their babies cradled in their arms. The infants are always shown swaddled and inert as in the reliefs which show them being held by a female figure who is not their mother.[142] This type is found in reliefs dating to c. 420-350 B.C. Margariti believes that it is possible that some of these reliefs could suggest that the infant is also dead, as in the stele of Ampharete.[143] The second type shows children trying to gain their dead mother's attention.[144] The majority of these scenes show the dead women as seated, sometimes performing the *anakalypsis*, and usually accompanied by another adult with whom they shake hands. The child(ren) are positioned as close as possible to their mother, often leaning against her legs, with their hand/s extended to their mother, sometimes holding a bird. Margariti explains that the gesture of animals being shown or handed over from a child to a child, an adult

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[137] I.e. Margariti's catalogue nos. 1-3, 57 and London, British Museum 1905.7-10.10.
[138] Margariti 2016: 97. See also Brown 2013: 175.
[139] Margariti 2016: 87.
[140] Margariti 2016: 90-91.
[141] See, for example, Margariti's catalogue nos. 5, 12, 41-43, 45-49, 51.
[142] See, for example, Margariti's catalogue nos. 5, 43, 45, 47-49, 51.
[143] Margariti 2016: 91.
[144] See, for example, Margariti's catalogue nos. 26, 38, 43, 52-54, 56, 58-65, 67-73.

to a child, or vice versa, are the equivalent of the *dexiosis* for children. The children, ultimately, fail to catch their mother's attention as she is either engaged by other adult figures or portrayed as "melancholic, fully detached and isolated from the world of the living."[145]

The third type shows the dead mother reacting to her children.[146] This reaction on behalf of the mother can vary from very discreet, such as a hand gesture,[147] to very obvious, such as an embrace.[148] Deceased mothers can also be shown interacting with their children by showing or handing them a bird which they hold in their right hands.[149] Most of the women in these reliefs are depicted as seated with their left hands performing the *anakalypsis*. The children, regardless of age or gender, are usually shown using their right hands to receive the bird. Margariti concludes that reliefs showing deceased mothers interacting with their children "enhance the tragic aspects of maternal death by portraying together for one last time those whom death has forever separated."[150]

Scholarship on Women in Funerary Inscriptions and Reliefs

There are no studies that focus entirely on women in funerary inscriptions and reliefs, but several scholars do comment on this topic. Strömberg, in 2003, merely states that relief images are often accompanied by inscriptions detailing the names and place of origin of the individuals carved in the relief, and epigrams praising the virtues of the deceased and/or expressing the loss felt by the family.[151] McClees and Stears go a step further. Both agree that the inscriptions emphasise women's virtuous characters while the reliefs attempt to portray those good values.[152] Margariti makes a similar comment in regard to gravestones dedicated to deceased

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[145] Margariti 2016: 93.
[146] See, for example, Margariti's catalogue nos. 18, 75-76, 79, 81, 83-86, 89, 90, 91.
[147] I.e. Margariti's catalogue no. 85.
[148] I.e. Margariti's catalogue no. 81.
[149] See, for example, Margariti's catalogue nos. 18, 75-76, 83, 82(?), 84, 86, 88(?), 89, 91.
[150] Margariti 2016: 96. See also Margariti 2016: 93, 95.
[151] Strömberg 2003: 32.
[152] McClees 1920: 2; Stears 1995: 117-118.

maidens. She writes that the relief iconography associated with dead maidens was "in accordance with the 'image' of the deceased *parthenoi*' found in inscriptions, Greek tragedy and myth.[153]

Leader, however, does not agree with her compatriots' conclusions. Through her examination of the stelai of Pauismakhe and of Dionysia, Leader determines that there is a problematic relation between text and image, namely that the inscriptions proclaim that they are public memorials to women's private virtues. She observes that the texts concentrate on women as examples of ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη, while the images present women as recipients of adornment rather than showing these qualities in action. Leader suggests that a value was placed on the public visibility of elite women with their jewellery during late fifth and fourth century Athens, while the virtues which made them valued members of the family are inscribed on the tombstone.[154]

Conclusion

A review of the scholarship on women and gravestones reinforces the view of women found in works giving a general treatment of women. Some grave reliefs show women in domestic settings as mothers, wives, daughters, etc. while others depict women as workers who took on jobs outside the home. The inscriptions further reinforce women's domestic roles as they are defined by their relationships to the male members of their family. However, the study of women and gravestones also gives a more nuanced view. The importance of family is emphasised by multi-sex reliefs and by women's identification through their male family members. Funerary inscriptions and reliefs highlight emotional relationships between parents and children and between spouses, and praise women for the abilities and characteristics not

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[153] Margariti 2017: xxxi.
[154] Leader 1997: 694.

related to their duties as child-bearers and household managers. This suggests that women were valued by their family and occupied a higher place in society than previously thought.

A review of the scholarship on women and gravestones also reveals three issues. Firstly, previous studies tend to focus on either funerary texts or sepulchral reliefs. This isolation from each other means that a full understanding of gravestones cannot be achieved.[155] Secondly, in the few instances that text and image are examined together, there is disagreement amongst scholars as to whether they displayed the same details. Furthermore, they do not consider how the texts and reliefs relate to one another. Thirdly, previous studies tend to rely primarily on evidence from the fourth century B.C. even when the focus of the studies is on the classical period as a whole. In these studies, evidence from the fifth century B.C. always totals a substantially lower number than evidence from the fourth century. In addition to this, several studies do not provide specific dates for their evidence. This suggests that evidence from the fourth century can be used as blanket evidence for women's representation on gravestones during the fifth century B.C.

My approach to the study of women on gravestones differs from that used in previous scholarship in two ways. First, I document the surviving gravestones dedicated both to deceased women and by living women and look specifically at the representation of women in text *and* image both in isolation from each other and together. In doing so, I confirm the consensus view of women, provide a more nuanced view of women's place in fifth century Athens, and challenge the preconceived ideas regarding the motivations behind the erection of gravestones for women. Second, I document only those surviving gravestones belonging to the fifth century, specifically those dating to the Peloponnesian War and the immediate post war

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[155] Oliver 2000: 3.

period (c. 430–c. 400 B.C.). I do this for two reasons: 1) the place of women in Athens during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath has not been addressed by previous scholarship; and 2) my research demonstrates that fourth century gravestones cannot be used as blanket evidence for the representation of women during the fifth century. This is not the first time that a study focuses on the Peloponnesian War; Palagia studies the effect the thirty-years war had on Athenian art. My approach also allows me to determine whether Thucydides' statement, that Athenian burial customs were disorganised in c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. because of the plague, is at all true and assess the impact, if any, left by these outbreaks. Thus, I am able to contribute not only to uncovering the complexity of the situations experienced by women, but also the greater complexity of Athenian society in the fifth century B.C.

Chapter Two: Mortuary Practices in Classical Athens

Gravestones were a part of a larger ritual for the dead which included the funeral, burial and rites of commemoration. This raises a question about the role women played in the larger rituals associated with death. Thus, this chapter focuses on what roles women played in the mortuary practices of classical Athens. To this end, I examine the mortuary practices found in classical Athens; specifically, I look at the impact the Solonian funerary legislation and the plague outbreaks of c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. had on funerals, the funerary rituals of classical Athens, the cost of a gravestone and whether women could afford to bury their loved ones.

Solonian Funerary Legislation

According to Demosthenes and Plutarch, Solon issued special legislation regarding funerals. This legislation stated how funerals were to be conducted, including details on women's participation, and prohibited several grave-side activities, such as the sacrifice of an ox. This section determines whether the laws attributed to Solon, particularly those detailing women's participation, are authentic and the extent to which these laws were followed by the Athenians.

Demosthenes, writing in the fourth century B.C., records the law as follows:

> τὸν ἀποθανόντα προτίθεσθαι ἔνδον, ὅπως ἂν βούληται. ἐκφέρειν δὲ τὸν ἀποθανόντα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ᾗ ἂν προθῶνται, πρὶν ἥλιον ἐξέχειν. βαδίζειν δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας πρόσθεν, ὅταν ἐκφέρωνται, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ὄπισθεν. γυναῖκα δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος μηδ' ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποθανόντι, ὅταν εἰς τὰ σήματα ἀποθανόντος μηδ' ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποθανόντι, ὅταν εἰς τὰ σήματα ἄγηται, ἐντὸς ἑξήκοντ' ἐτῶν γεγονυῖαν, πλὴν ὅσαι ἐντὸς ἀνεψιαδῶν εἰσι· μηδ' εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος εἰσιέναι, ἐπειδὰν ἐξενεχθῇ ὁ νέκυς, γυναῖκα μηδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι ἐντὸς ἀνεψιαδῶν εἰσίν. Οὐκ ἐᾷ εἰσιέναι οὗ ἂν ᾖ ὁ τετελευτηκώς, οὐδεμίαν γυναῖκα

ἄλλην ἢ τὰς προσηκούσας μέχρι ἀνεψιότητος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα ἀκολουθεῖν τὰς αὐτὰς ταύτας.[1]

(The deceased shall be laid out at home in whatever way he wishes. They shall carry out the deceased the day after that on which they lay him out, before the sun rises. And the men shall march in front, when they carry out the deceased, and the women behind. And no woman less than sixty years shall be allowed to come into the home of the deceased or to follow the deceased when he is carried to the grave, save those who are within the degree of children of cousins; nor shall any woman come into the deceased's home when the body is carried out, except those within the degree of children of cousins.)

Plutarch, writing in the first century A.D., adds several other restrictions which are as follows:

ἐξιέναι μὲν ἱματίων τριῶν μὴ πλέον ἔχουσαν κελεύσας, μηδὲ βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν πλείονος ἢ ὀβολοῦ φερομένην, μηδὲ κάνητα πηχυαίου μείζονα, μηδὲ νύκτωρ πορεύεσθαι πλὴν ἀμάξῃ κομιζομένην λύχνου προφαίνοντος. ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ τὸ θρηνεῖν πεποιημένα καὶ τὸ κωκύειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς ἑτέρων ἀφεῖλεν.[2]

(…when they went out, they have no more than three garments, they were not to carry more than an obol's worth of food or drink, nor a mat greater than a cubit long, nor travel by night unless carried in a wagon with a lamp to light the way. Laceration of flesh, the use lamentations, and the lamenting of anyone at the burial place of another, he forbade).

Plutarch's account also restricts graveside activities:

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[1] Dem. 43.62.7-14. See also Blok 2006: 200; Dillon 2002: 271, 364 n. 16; Oakley 2008: 335.
[2] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 21.5-6. See also Cic. *De leg.* 2.59 (in Blok 2006: 202-203).

ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ τὸ θρηνεῖν πεποιημένα καὶ τὸ κωκύειν ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς

ἑτέρων ἀφεῖλεν. ἐναγίζειν δὲ βοῦν οὐκ εἴασεν, οὐδὲ συντιθέναι πλέον ἱματίων

τριῶν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀλλότρια μνήματα βαδίζειν χωρὶς ἐκκομιδῆς.[3]

(He did not permit the sacrifice of an ox, or the burial of the deceased with more
than three garments, or visiting other memorials than their own family, except at
burial.)

Plutarch's additions to Solon's legislation find little to no support. Evidence from painted pots
and the works of Aeschylus, Euripides and Sophocles show that female mourners were
lacerating flesh and singing lamentations, both of which, according to Plutarch, were prohibited
under Solonian law. Blok states that the prohibition on nighttime travel "makes no sense in
connection with funerals," since Solon decreed that the *ekphora* should take place before
sunrise and wagons with lamps do not appear in depictions of the *ekphora*.[4] Lamps are seen in
a burial scene on a black-figure bail *amphora*, but it is not clear as to whether they were attached
to a wagon and/or whether the female mourners in the scene walked or rode in the wagon.[5] A
black-figure funerary plaque dating to c. 540 B.C. suggests that female mourners did not ride
in the wagon. The plaque shows several women performing mourning gestures standing beside
a stationary wagon and horses.[6] Blok also questions Plutarch's restrictions on women's
clothing to three garments; she writes: "one wonders if Plutarch or his source copied this rule
erroneously from the rules for the decking out of the corpse or that the restriction in fact
occurred in both decrees and led Plutarch to discuss all these regulations in one single
paragraph."[7] There is also an issue with Plutarch's inclusion of a rule regarding basket height.

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[3] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 21.6. See also Blok 2006: 205-206; Dillon 2002: 271.
[4] Blok 2006: 215.
[5] Attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 361401, Lausanne, Private Collection, in Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 149, pls. 37-38.
[6] Attributed to Exekias, black-figure, Berlin, Antikensammlung 1819, in Dillon 2002: 277, fig. 9.3.
[7] Blok 2006: 215-216.

Dillon points out that *lekythoi* depicting visits to the grave include baskets which appear to greatly exceed one cubit in length. Dillon offers three explanations for this: 1) the rule regarding basket height was not being observed; 2) the rule did not apply when graves were visited by women; or 3) the large baskets found on *lekythoi* are an artistic convention.[8] The rule concerning the sacrifice of an ox is also problematic as bull sacrifices occurred on special occasions.[9] The remaining laws cannot be challenged or confirmed from the archaeological and literary evidence for funerals in the fifth century.

The evidence for Plutarch's restrictions is problematic. Literary and archaeological evidence show that women were still lacerating themselves and lamenting at funerals. Archaeological evidence suggests that women did not travel by night in wagons with a lamps, that ox sacrifices were still taking place at the grave side and, possibly, that the restriction on basket height was not observed. The regulation on women's clothing can be questioned, but cannot be confirmed or challenged based on available evidence. The restrictions on food and drink, the visiting of other tombs and lamenting of people other than the deceased also cannot be confirmed or challenged. Thus, I am inclined to believe that Plutarch's additions, particularly those restricting women's mourning, were either not observed during the fifth century and/or were not part of Solon's legislation.

Demosthenes' account, on the other hand, finds some support in the evidence from the fifth century. Aristophanes, Sophocles and numerous painted pots (see below) attest to the participation of women in the *prothesis*. The evidence does not, however, specify the age of the female participants nor does it indicate the women's relationship to the deceased. Several

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[8] Dillon 2002: 271.
[9] Alexiou 1974: 8. The archaeological evidence for animal sacrifices is summarised by Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 215-216.

black-figure pots show female mourners following male mourners during the *ekphora* (see below). Additionally, Blok's analysis of the written evidence for Solon's laws shows that Demosthenes' account has similarities to the funerary regulations of the Labyadai-*phratry* from Delphi, the funerary laws of Ioulis on Keos, and parts of the Gortyn code.[10]

Blok finds that both Demosthenes' account and the Delphi-text include the laying out of rules for the *prothesis* and *ekphora* which include the closest kin affected by the death, although women are not mentioned in the Delphi-text, and the regulation of offerings.[11] Parts of the Gortyn code regulate the *ekphora*, but do not include regulations for women.[12] The Ioulis text lays out regulations for the funeral rites and includes a list of the women allowed to enter the home of the deceased: the mother, wife, sisters and daughters of the deceased and five more women who can be drawn from the children of the deceased's daughters and the second-degree cousins, but no one else.[13] This text, then, sought to limit the number of women participating in the funeral, just as Solon's law as quoted by Demosthenes, although this restriction on the number of women does not extend to the grave site.[14] Blok adds that the Ioulis text also closely resembles phrasing found in Demosthenes' account, connecting the two texts "even more strongly."[15]

The evidence for Demosthenes' account is less problematic than the evidence for Plutarch's restrictions. Literary and archaeological evidence show that women actively participated in the *prothesis* and that female mourners followed male mourners in the *ekphora*. There are also similarities between Demosthenes' account and other funerary laws. I am inclined to agree

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[10] For these decrees see Blok 2006: 206-207 n. 7 (funeral regulation of the Labyadai in Delphi), 208-209 n. 8 (funeral regulation from Ioulis on Keos), 209 n. 9a (Gortyn's regulation on the *ekphora*).
[11] Blok 2006: 212. See also Dillon 2002: 273-274.
[12] *ICret* IV 46b, 76 (in Blok 2006: 209-210).
[13] *IG* XII 5, 593 (in Blok 2006: 208-209); Blok 2006: 213; Dillon 2002: 272.
[14] Dillon 2002: 272-273.
[15] Blok 2006: 213.

with Blok's conclusions: that "both the content and the words" of Demosthenes' account "point to a date before the fourth century and probably even earlier" and that "a Solonian kernel" in Demosthenes "seems highly probable."[16] Thus, the Athenians were actively observing the laws of Solon as quoted by Demosthenes.

The Plague of Athens

Scholars publishing on the plague outbreaks in Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War tend to focus on determining the causes for the outbreaks and identifying the disease. They also take Thucydides' account at face value and do not question whether the plague left a lasting impact on Athens.[17] This section challenges Thucydides' claim that normal burial practices were disorganised due to the plague and determines whether aspects of his account of the plague are accurate.

Burials and, presumably, funerary rituals would have been affected by the outbreak of the plague in c. 430 and c. 427 B.C.[18] Thucydides writes that many of those who died from the plague were left where they had died, piled one on top of the other.[19] Dead loved ones were tossed onto pyres of other people as the few surviving family members lacked the required materials for a proper burial.[20] Thus, based on Thucydides' account, traditional funerary rituals were likely not performed between c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. Modern construction and archaeology have confirmed Thucydides' account. A mass grave in the Kerameikos was found to contain 150 skeletons. The grave consisted of a simple, irregular-shaped, pit measuring 6.50m long and 1.60m deep. The bodies were laid in a disordered fashion, consisting of more than five successive layers, with no soil between any of the layers. This appear to have been a

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[16] Blok 2006: 213. For a full discussion of Demosthenes' account and its authenticity see Blok 2006: 210-213.
[17] I.e. Kallet 2013: 355-382; Morens and Littman 1992: 271-304; Page 1953: 97-119; Papagrigorakis, Yapijakis, Synodinos, and Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2006: 206-214; Poole and Holladay 1979: 282-300; Poole and Holladay 1984: 483-485; Salway and Dell 1955: 62-70; Wylie and Stubbs 1983: 6-11.
[18] Flower 2009: 17.
[19] Thuc. 2.52.2. See also Tritle 2010: 48-49.
[20] Thuc. 2.52.4.

hurried burial; many bodies were placed in outstretched positions, lying on top of one another. The exception to this was the eight pot burials of infants found in the upper layer of skeletons. These appear to have been placed with especial care. The grave offerings consisted of 30 small pots of extremely poor quality.[21] These vases were dated to around 430 B.C., some to c. 420 B.C. and a few from the last quarter of the fifth century. This, in combination with the hasty and impious manner of the burial, have led Baziotopoulou-Valavani and Tritle to believe that the dead were victims of the plague.[22] Another mass grave dating to the late fifth century was discovered during the construction of the Athens metro; Tritle believes that these individuals were victims of the plague.[23]

The aftermath of the plague saw an increase in cult activity at Athens. Cults to new gods, such as Asklepius and Bendis, appeared in the Piraeus.[24] The cult of Asklepius was introduced to Athens from Epidauros in 420/19 B.C. and was enthusiastically attended by its devotees.[25] Lawton believes that the Athenians' new devotion to Asklepius "may have been as much prophylactic as thanks for cures."[26] The appearance of a new healing god in the Piraeus suggests to Tritle that the area was "hit especially hard" by the plague.[27] The appearance of Bendis, on the other hand, does not appear to be related to the plague as she was not a healing goddess.[28] It is possible that Bendis' appearance following the plague was a coincidence.[29] There was also an increase in votive and building activity at the sanctuary of Artemis at

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[21] For a description and discussion of the pots see Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002: 192-198 who chronicles the better preserved pots.

[22] Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002: 190, 192, 198; Flower 2009: 17; Papagrigorakis, *et al.* 2006: 207; Papagrigorakis, Synodinos, and Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2008: 153; Papagrigorakis, Synodinos, Antoniadis, Maravelakis, Toulas, Nilsson, and Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2011: 170; Tritle 2010: 49.

[23] Tritle 2010: 49. See also Flower 2009: 17.

[24] Flower 2009: 18; Tritle 2010: 49-50.

[25] Lawton 2009: 75-76. For further discussion on the plague and the cult of Asklepius see Lawton 2009: 74-79. See also Flower 2009: 5, 18 and Kallet 2009: 99.

[26] Lawton 2009: 76.

[27] Tritle 2010: 49-50.

[28] Parker 1996: 173.

[29] For Bendis' introduction to Athens see Parker 1996: 170-175.

Brauron.[30] Artemis and her brother Apollo have long been associated with plague, with some sources believing it to be the reason for the *arkteia* performed by young girls.[31] Lawton believes that this increase may have been in response to the plague, "and particularly its effect upon children, of whom Brauronian Artemis was regarded as a powerful protector."[32] However, a resurgence in cult activity does not mean that funeral practices were affected by the plague, rather it suggests that the the Athenians were distressed and were confronting the scourges of the disease with renewed devotion to their gods.

There is ample evidence from the fifth century which indicates that funerals were being performed during the plague outbreaks and in their immediate aftermath. The literary and archaeological evidence cited below show that the traditional funerary rituals were being conducted in Athens throughout the fifth century. Furthermore, 46 gravestones from the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath which positively identify a woman in the funerary inscription are documented in the catalogue. Another 67 gravestones, listed in Appendix A, with no surviving text from the same period depict, at least, one female figure in their relief scene. That gives a total of 113 gravestones portraying women. Nine of these date to between c. 430-420 B.C.[33] This means that nine families had the ability to erect gravestones for their loved ones during the plague outbreaks. The remaining 104 gravestones date to between c. 420-400 B.C.[34] This indicates that the plague did not have a lasting impact on Athens as 104 families were able to provide a gravestone for their dead family members. The number of the gravestones depicting women between c. 430 and c. 400 B.C., the literary and archaeological evidence for funerary rituals, and the appearance of new gods suggests two

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[30] For further discussion of the votive and building activity see Lawton 2009: 79-82.
[31] See Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645 and *Suda*, Ἄρκτος ἡ Βραυρωνίος.
[32] Lawton 2009: 80.
[33] See **1-6** and Appendix A nos. 1-3.
[34] See **7-46** and Appendix A nos. 4-67.

possibilities: 1) Thucydides was exaggerating about the plague's impact on Athens; or 2) not everyone or every district was affected by the plague.

The Funeral in Classical Athens

Funerary rituals were one of the chief domains of women. They played leading roles in several customary rituals for the dead including the *prothesis*, or the laying out of the corpse, and the *ekphora*, or the carrying out of the corpse, and were in charge of attending to the grave after the funeral was over.

The *Prothesis*

The Homeric version of the *prothesis* appears to have been a protracted event. Homer writes that it lasted 17 days for Achilles and nine for Hector.[35] This was likely not the case for fifth century funerals for two reason: 1) decomposition would not have allowed for such a protracted ritual;[36] and 2) Solonian legislation suggests that the ritual lasted a single day; Demosthenes writes that the *ekphora* took place the day after that on which they laid the deceased out.[37] Plato believes that the corpse should only be laid out for such as time as is required to confirm that the individual is dead.[38] The *prothesis* likely took place the day after death and, as per Solon's law, at the home of the deceased.[39] Isaeus 6 also suggests that the ritual took place at the deceased's home; the speaker states that Καὶ οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ ἑτέρων πυθόμεναι ἦλθον αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνή, οὐδὲ τότε εἴων εἰσιέναι, ἀλλ' ἀπέκλεισαν τῇ θύρᾳ, φάσκοντες οὐ προσήκειν αὐταῖς θάπτειν Εὐκτήμονα (When the daughters and wife [of Euktemon] arrived, having learnt

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[35] For Achilles see Hom. *Od.* 24.63-64: ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ δέκα μέν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ κλαίομεν ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι (For seventeen days alike by night and day we lamented you, both immortal gods and men). For Hector see Hom. *Il.* 24.664: ἐννῆμαρ μέν κ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροις γοάοιμεν (we will lament him for nine days in the palace).

[36] Donnison 2009: 24 n. 65.

[37] Dem. 43.62. See also Donnison 2009: 24, 51; Garland 1985: 26; Shapiro 1991: 634; Stears 1998: 115.

[38] Pl. *Leg.* 959a: τὰς δὲ προθέσεις πρῶτον μὲν μὴ μακρότερον χρόνον ἔνδον γίγνεσθαι τοῦ δηλοῦντος τόν τε ἐκτεθνεῶτα καὶ τὸν ὄντως τεθνηκότα (And as for the *prothesis*, first, the corpse shall remain in the house for a long enough time to prove that the man is not faint, but really dead).

[39] Dem. 43.62. See also Hom. *Il.* 6.500: αἳ μὲν ἔτι ζωὸν γόον Ἕκτορα ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (So the women lamented Hector in his house while he yet lived). See also Erasmo 2012: 14; Havelock 1982: 54; Oakley 2004: 81-82; Oakley 2003: 164; Stears 1998: 114, 115.

the news from others, even then they were not allowed to enter, but shut the door, saying that it was not proper for them to bury Euktemon).[40] The location inside the house is uncertain. Stears believes that the location of the viewing was dependent "on the size and form of the house, the weather and the number of guests expected;" she mentions the courtyard or *andrôn* as possible locations.[41]

The deceased, regardless of sex, appears to have been prepared for burial in the same way.[42] First, the next of kin closed the eyes and mouth of the deceased, the corpse was then ritually washed, anointed, dressed and shrouded by the deceased's female relatives.[43] The closing of the eyes and mouth appears to have been a perpetual part of the ritual; both Homer, writing in the eighth century B.C., and Plato, writing in the fourth century B.C., attest to it.[44] The ritual washing and dressing of the corpse also appears to have been continued from the eighth century down to the fourth century. Homer describes how Patroclus' body was prepared: it was washed in warm water, anointed with ritual oil, laid on his bed, and covered with a cloth and a white robe.[45] The laying out of Patroclus' body was performed by his comrades. Later, Homer describes how Hector's body is prepared for burial. In this description, some handmaids are tasked with the washing, anointing and dressing of the body.[46] This duty had apparently completely transferred to the female relatives of the deceased by the fifth century; Sophocles'

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[40] Isae. 6.40. See also Isae. 8.22: καὶ τούτῳ προσελθὼν μαρτύρων ἐναντίον εἶπον ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσομαι τὴν ταφήν (I told my opponent, appearing before witnesses, that I would conduct the funeral there [the deceased's house]).

[41] Stears 1998: 115. See also Alexiou 1974: 5; Garland 1985: 27-28; Oakley 2004: 82; Oakley 2003: 164.

[42] Stears 1998: 114.

[43] Alexiou 1974: 5; Erasmo 2012: 14; Garland 1985: 24; Hame 2008: 3-4; Houby-Nielsen 1996: 239; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 143-144; Neils 2011: 82; Oakley 2003: 164; Oakley 2008: 335; Shapiro 1991: 634; Stears 1998: 114, 115.

[44] Hom. *Od.* 11.424-426: ἡ δὲ κυνῶπις νοσφίσατ' οὐδέ μοι ἔτλη, ἰόντι περ εἰς Ἀΐδαο, χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑλέειν σύν τε στόμ' ἐρεῖσαι (but she, the shameless one, turned against me, though I was going to Hades, dared neither to close my eyes with her hands or close my mouth.); Hom. *Od.* 24.296: ὀφθαλμοὺς καθελοῦσα· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων (having closed his eyes; for that is the reward of the dead); Pl. *Phd.* 118a.13-14: καὶ ὃς τὰ ὄμματα ἔστησεν· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Κρίτων συνέλαβε τὸ στόμα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς (and his eyes were set; Krito, having seen this, closed his mouth and eyes).

[45] Hom. *Il.* 18.343-355.

[46] Hom. *Il.* 24.580.

Electra bemoans κοὔτ᾽ ἐν φίλαισι χερσὶν ἡ τάλαιν᾽ ἐγὼ λουτροῖς σ᾽ ἐκόσμησ᾽ … ὡς εἰκός

(Wretched me! These loving hands have not washed or prepared [your corpse] … as is right).[47]

The Messenger in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* tells the Chorus that Oedipus κἄπειτ᾽ ἀύσας

παῖδας ἠνώγει ῥυτῶν ὑδάτων ἐνεγκεῖν λουτρὰ καὶ χοάς ποθεν … λουτροῖς τέ νιν ἐσθῆτί τ᾽

ἐξήσκησαν ᾗ νομίζεται (then ordered his daughters to bring water from some flowing place so

he might bathe and make a drink-offering … then they [the daughters] washed him and adorned

him in garments as is the custom).[48] Isaeus also mentions the role of women in the preparation

of the body for burial; the speakers of Isaeus 6 and 8 both have the female relatives of the

deceased laying out and decking the corpse.[49] Demosthenes' account of Solon's funerary

legislation also makes it clear that women of a certain age and relationship to the deceased

participated in the *prothesis*. Later, in the same speech, the speaker explains that ὡς ἄρα δεῖ

ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἡμετέρας τοῦ μὲν σώματος τοῦ Ἁγνίου, ὅτε ἐτετελευτήκει,

κληρονόμους εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν ἅπαντα τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὡς προσήκοντας καὶ γένει ὄντας ἐγγυτάτω

(so we and our women inheriting the body of Hagnias, at the time he was dead, to perform all

the customary rights, being his relatives and closest kin).[50]

After the ritual preparation of the corpse, it was placed on a bier with its feet pointing towards

the door and a pillow/s under the head.[51] Homer is the only source who attests to the position

of the feet.[52] The positioning of the corpse in this way does not appear to have been continued

down to the fifth century; Solonian legislation states that the deceased is to be laid out in any

way one chooses.[53] There is, however, ample evidence for the deceased's placement on a bier

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[47] Soph. *El.* 1138-1140.
[48] Soph. *OC.* 1598-1599, 1602-1603.
[49] Isae. 6.41: Αἱ μὲν οὖν γυναῖκες, οἷον εἰκός, περὶ τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἦσαν (So the women, as was right, were attending to the deceased); Isae. 8.22: καὶ λεγούσης ὅτι βούλοιτ᾽ ἂν αὐτὴ τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐκείνου συμμεταχειρίζεσθαι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ κοσμῆσαι (and said that she would like to lay out and adorn the body herself along with us).
[50] Dem. 43.62, 65.
[51] Alexiou 1974: 5; Garland 1985: 24; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 144; Oakley 2003: 164.
[52] Hom. *Il.* 19.212: κεῖται ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραμμένος (he lies turned to the door).
[53] Dem. 43.62.

dating from the eighth century down to the fifth century. For instance, a *krater* (c. 740-730 B.C.), a black-figure plaque (c. 500-490 B.C.), and a white-ground *lekythos* (c. 460-450 B.C.) all show the deceased laid out on a bier.[54] Herbs, garlands and, occasionally, jewellery were also used to decorate the corpse.[55] There is evidence for this taking place in the fifth century. Aristophanes, in his *Ecclesiazusae*, mentions celery and vines being used to decorate the corpse, while in his *Lysistrata* he comments that garlands are also an option.[56] A black-figure *loutrophoros*, dating to c. 460 B.C., also shows a woman placing a crown on the dead of a deceased woman in a *prothesis* scene.[57] A *lekythos*, dating to c. 430 B.C., shows the head of a deceased boy wearing a headdress.[58] Another *lekythos*, dating to c. 430-420 B.C., shows the deceased woman adorned with a necklace and earring.[59] The custom of decorating the corpse with herbs and garlands continued into the fourth century B.C. and down to the first century A.D. Aristotle, Pliny and Plutarch write that there it was customary to garland the deceased with herbs, such as parsley, or olive leaves.[60]

Once the *prothesis* was complete, friends and family were able to visit with the deceased. During the visitation with the deceased, female mourners would perform vocal laments while standing over the corpse either with both hands raised over their heads or lacerating themselves (ie. tearing their hair, beating their breasts or heads, and/or scratching their cheeks). The chief

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[54] The *krater* is attributed to the Hirschfeld Workshop, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4.130.14, in Oakley 2003: 164, fig. 2. The plaque is attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 463, Paris, Louvre MNB905, in Oakley 2003: fig. 3. The *lekythos* is attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, white-ground, *BA* 212421, London, British Museum D62, in Oakley 2003: fig. 4.

[55] Alexiou 1974: 5; Byers 1998: 67; Donnison 2009: 24; Garland 1985: 25, 26; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 144; Stears 1998: 114.

[56] Ar. *Eccl.* 1030-1031: ὑποστόρεσαί νυν πρῶτα τῆς ὀριγάνου καὶ κλήμαθ' ὑπόθου συγκλάσασα τέτταρα καὶ ταινίωσαι (Now first you lay out origanum, place it under the vine branches, breaking off four, and bind with a headband); Ar. *Lys.* 602: λαβὲ ταυτὶ καὶ στεφάνωσαι (Take this and you have been wreathed).

[57] Attributed to the Painter of Bologna, red-figure, *BA* 205750, Athens, National Archaeological Museum n. 1170, in Garland 1985: 27 fig. 7 and in Havelock 1982: 55, 55 fig. 11.

[58] Attributed to the Quadrate Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 2323, Tübingen University, Antikensammlungen n. S./10 1720, in Oakley 2004: 81, fig. 49.

[59] Attributed to the Woman Painter, red-figure, *BA* 217615, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3748, in Oakley 2004: 82, fig. 50.

[60] Arist. *Hist. an.* 4.8.534b.22 (cited by Alexiou, 1974: 206 fn. 13); Plin. *HN.* 10.195 (cited by Alexiou 1974: 206 n. 13); Plut. *Lyc.* 27.1; Plut. *Tim.* 26.1.

mourner stood near the head and held either the deceased's face or shoulder, or plumped the pillow/s the deceased's head rested on.[61] Descriptions of these mourning gestures in literature go back to Homer who dedicated 35 lines of his *Iliad* to describing the laments and mourning gestures performed by Andromache over Hector's corpse.[62] In these lines, Andromache is described as wailing and tearing her hair as she flings herself at the wagon bearing his body. She is also described as holding his head in her arms while she laments her fate. According to Plutarch, writing in the first century A.D., the lacerating of flesh and singing set lamentations were prohibited by Solon in the sixth century B.C.[63] However, descriptions of wailing women who are lacerating themselves due to their grief at the death of a loved one continue to appear in fifth-century literature.

Sophocles' Electra, in response to her father's death, proclaims πολλὰς δ' ἀντήρεις ἤσθου στέρνων πλαγὰς αἱμασσομένων, ὁπόταν δνοφερὰ νὺξ ὑπολειφθῇ (how many times have you heard the strikes against my bloodied breast, whensoever the dark night comes to an end).[64] The Chorus in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* describe how they beat themselves: πρέπει παρὴις φοίνισσ' ἀμυγμοῖς ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμωι (my cheek is marked with crimson scratches where my nails have cut fresh furrows);[65] λινοφθόροι δ' ὑφασμάτων λακίδες ἔφλαδον ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν (rips are torn by my grief through the linen web of my robe);[66] ἔκοψα κομμὸν Ἄριον ἔν τε Κισσίας νόμοις ἰηλεμιστρίας (I beat an Arrian dirge on my breast in the same fashion as a Kissian wailing woman).[67] In the *Persians*, the Chorus, with encouragement from Xerxes, also beat themselves. Xerxes tells the Chorus to καὶ ψάλλ' ἔθειραν καὶ κατοίκτισαι στρατόν (Pull

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[61] Alexiou 1974: 6; Byers 1998: 69; Dillon 2002: 269; Donnison 2009: 25; Erasmo 2012: 17; Garland 1985: 28, 29-30; Havelock 1982: 51; Houby-Nielsen 1996: 237, 238; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 144; Neils 2011: 82; Oakley 2004: 76; Oakley 2003: 164; Shapiro 1991: 634; Stears 1998: 115.

[62] Hom. *Il.* 24.710-745. See also Hom. *Il.* 10.78, 10.406, 18.317.

[63] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 21.5-6.

[64] Soph. *El.* 89-91.

[65] Aesch. *Choe.* 24-25.

[66] Aesch. *Choe.* 28-29.

[67] Aesch. *Choe.* 423-424. See also 425-428.

out your hair and lament the host), to which they reply ἄπριγδ' ἄπριγδα μάλα γοεδνά (with clenched nails, with clenched nails, with wailing).[68] Similar sentiments are expressed in several plays by Euripides which have various female mourners striking their breasts with their hands, groaning, crying, and cutting their hair while they mourn their deceased loved ones.[69]

Women's laments and lacerations are also evidenced in painted pots dating from the eighth century down to the fifth century B.C. Incidentally, these images also provide evidence for women's participation in the *prothesis*, the placement of the corpse on the bier and the visitation by family and friends. On the earliest pots, dating to c. 770-700 B.C., the female mourners are shown surrounding the corpse with their hands raised over their heads in mourning.[70] Funerary plaques also show women performing mourning gestures, specifically tearing their hair and hitting their foreheads, and singing lamentations and/or wailing.[71] These images, interspersed with those showing women lacerating themselves, are repeated on pots dating to the fifth century B.C.[72] For example, a black-figure *loutrophoros amphora* shows a several female mourners standing around a deceased male with their hair left down and performing mourning gestures.[73] A *lekythos*, dating to c. 460-450 B.C., has its two female mourners in contact with the deceased boy resting on the bier. One female touches his foot and raises her hand to her head, while the other has one arm upraised and the other cradling the youth's head.[74] Another

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[68] Aesch. *Pers.* 1062-1063. See also 1054-1061, 1064-1065.

[69] Eur. *Alc.* 86-92, 98-104; *Andr.* 825-835; *Phoen.* 1485-1492; *Supp.* 71, 826-827, 977-979, 1160.

[70] See the *krater* is attributed to the Hirschfeld Workshop, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4.130.14 (c. 740-730 B.C.), in Oakley 2003: 164, fig. 2; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 34.11.2 (c. 770-760 B.C.); the Dipylon *Amphora*, attributed to the Workshop of Athens 894, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art 1927.6 (c. 750-700 B.C.), in Oakley 2008: 335, fig. 1. See also plaque attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 463, Paris, Louvre MNB905, in Oakley 2003: fig. 3., showing women at a *prothesis*. See also Dillon 2002: 275-276; Erasmo 2012: 16, fig. 2; Garland 1985: 29; Oakley 2004: 76; Oakley 2003: 164.

[71] See two terracotta funerary plaques, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.146.3a (c. 630-620 B.C.) and 54.11.15; see a funeray plaque, black-figure, *BA* 3748, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 27.146 (c. 600 B.C.). See also Dillon 2002: 275-276.

[72] In addition to the following examples, see Oakley 2004: List 7 (p. 78-80) which provides a list of white-ground *lekythoi* with *prothesis* scenes. Most of Oakley's descriptions (p. 77-85) of these *lekythoi* mention, at least, one female mourner in attendance at the *prothesis*.

[73] Attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 480, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 450, in Oakley 2008: 344-345 n. 153.

[74] Attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, red-figure, *BA* 212421, London, British Museum D62, in Oakley 2003: 165, fig. 4.

lekythos, dating to c. 430-450 B.C., is associated with the ritual preparation of the corpse; it shows a woman carrying the shrouded corpse of a young boy in her arms.[75]

The *Ekphora*

The *ekphora*, as per Solon's law, took place at sunrise on the third day after death.[76] Thucydides, Plato and the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* attest to the procession's commencement on the third day after death.[77] That the procession took place before dawn is attested to by a black-figure bail *amphora* which shows a burial scene lit by lamps.[78] During the procession, the bier carrying the deceased was carried by a wagon or cart to the burial site accompanied by family and friends. The procession was led by the male relatives of the deceased, as prescribed by Solonian law, with the female relatives following behind, openly lamenting.[79] Thucydides writes καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεισιν αἱ προσήκουσαι ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι (and the women of their kindred are also present at the burial lamenting).[80] A black-figure cup from the early fifth century B.C. shows four men carrying the bier on which the deceased lies followed by lamenting women.[81]

The *ekphora* is rarely found in art, but, when it does appear, it does indicate that the deceased was carried to the burial site by a horse-drawn wagon/cart and that the female mourners both lamented and performed the mourning gestures as outlined above.[82] Several pots, dating to the

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[75] Attributed to the Inscription Painter, red-figure, *BA* 1006342, Berlin, Antikensammlung F2447, in Oakley 2003: 164, fig. 1.

[76] Dem. 43.62. See also Alexiou 1974: 6-7, 15; Byers 1998: 68, 72; Donnison 2009: 51; Erasmo 2012: 17; Garland 1985: 33; Havelock 1982: 50; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 144; Oakley 2003: 166; Stears 1998: 116.

[77] Thuc. 2.34.2: τὰ μὲν ὀστᾶ προτίθενται τῶν ἀπογενομένων πρότριτα σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες (Having put up a tent, they put into it the bones of the dead three days before the funeral); Pl. *Leg.* 959a: τριταία πρὸς τὸ μνῆμα ἐκφορά (the third day for the carrying out of the corpse to the tomb); Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 612 (cited in Alexiou 1974: 207 fn. 30).

[78] Attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 361401, Lausanne, Private Collection, in Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 149, pls. 37-38.

[79] Dem. 43.62. See also Alexiou 1974: 7; Byers 1998: 68; Donnison 2009: 24, 51; Erasmo 2012: 17; Garland 1985: 33; Havelock 1982: 50; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 145; Stears 1998: 116.

[80] Thuc. 2.34.4.

[81] Class of one-handled *kantharoi*, black-figure, *BA* 301934, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 353, in Havelock 1982: 56, fig. 14.

[82] Garland 1985: 31; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 145; Oakley 2008: 335-336; Shapiro 1991: 633.

eighth century B.C., show a procession with a wagon bearing the deceased to the burial site and surrounded by mourners.[83] Two black-figure *kantharoi*, dating to the late sixth to early fifth centuries B.C., show the deceased surrounded by female mourners lamenting and lacerating themselves.[84] A terracotta group from Vari, dating to the seventh century, shows the deceased being carried atop a four-wheeled wagon to the grave site. Four women are shown standing around the bier, three of whom are mourning the deceased as indicated by their raised arms; the upper body and arms of the fourth women have not survived.[85] The black-figure cup, mentioned earlier, shows several mourning women following the funeral bier.[86] A black-figure funerary plaque shows shows several women standing beside a wagon and horses tearing their hair as the procession to the grave site is about to begin.[87] Finally, a black-figure *loutrophoros amphora*, dating to c. 500 B.C., shows the burial of the deceased, behind which the women follow, lamenting.[88]

Interring the Deceased

The burial or cremation is thought to have been dealt with by the deceased's male relatives as "they would have to manhandle the body, sacrifice the animals and perhaps dig or oversee the grave-digging and/or tomb construction."[89] This is evidenced by a black-figure *loutrophoros amphora* (see above) which shows four men manoeuvring the coffin of the deceased into the ground.[90] A black-figure *bail-amphora* also shows a scene at the grave. Lamps are lit,

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[83] See a belly-handled *amphora*, silhouette, *BA* 1010447, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 803; a *krater*, silhouette, *BA* 9018578, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 806; and a *krater*, *BA* 9018158, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 990.

[84] See a class of one-handled *kantharoi*, black-figure, *BA* 301934, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 353, in Havelock 1982: 56, fig. 14; and a class of one handled *kantharoi*, black-figure, *BA* 301935, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 355. See also Garland 1985: 32-33; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 145, pls. 34-35.

[85] Athens, National Archaeological Museum n. 26747. See also Oakley 2008: 335-336, fig. 2.

[86] See a class of one-handled *kantharoi*, black-figure, *BA* 301934, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 353, in Havelock 1982: 56, fig. 14

[87] Attributed to Exekias, black-figure, Berlin, Antikensammlung 1819, in Dillon 2002: 277, fig. 9.3.

[88] Attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 480, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 450, in Oakley 2008: 344-345 n. 153. See also Alexiou 1974: 7; Garland 1985: 35-36; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 145, 149, pl. 36.

[89] Stears 1998: 116. See also Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 145.

[90] Attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 480, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 450, in Oakley 2008: 344-345 n. 153. See also Alexiou 1974: 7; Garland 1985: 35-36; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 145, 149, pl. 36.

indicating that the burial takes place before dawn, while the deceased is being lowered into a coffin which was just completed by a carpenter who is shown stepping to the side with his ax resting on his shoulder.[91]

The *Perideipnon*

Homer indicates that the *perideipnon*, or funerary meal, took place outside; however, this could be because the Greeks were in Troy at the time of Patroclus' funeral feast. He writes that a countless host of Greeks gathered beside the ship of Achilles and slaughtered many bulls, sheep, goats and fat pigs.[92] Later, Demosthenes, Hegesippos and Menander state that the *perideipnon* took place at the home of the deceased.[93] Aeschylus' Orestes states that the meal was customary and that it helped to establish honour.[94] Little else known about the *perideipnon* except that "it was an occasion for relatives to gather, wreathe themselves and speak of the dead."[95]

Further Rituals

Further rituals involving periodic visits to the grave after the funeral were performed by the female relatives of the deceased. These visits occurred at various intervals including three days, nine days, thirty days and one year.[96] Oakley adds that monthly visits were also made.[97] Visits

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[91] Attributed to the Sappho Painter, black-figure, *BA* 361401, Lausanne, Private Collection in Kurtz and Boardman, 1971: 149, pls. 37-38.

[92] Hom. *Il.* 23.28-33: κὰδ δ᾽ ἷζον παρὰ νηῒ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο μυρίοι· αὐτὰρ ὃ τοῖσι τάφον μενοεικέα δαίνυ. πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἀργοὶ ὀρέχθεον ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ σφαζόμενοι, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ὄϊες καὶ μηκάδες αἶγες· πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀργιόδοντες ὕες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ εὑόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστοιο· (and they sat down beside the ship of the swiftfooted son of Aeacus, a countless host; and he made them a funeral feast to satisfy them. Many glistening bulls struggled about the knife as they were slaughtered, many sheep and bleating goats, and many white-tusked swine, rich with fat, were stretched to singe over the fire of Hephaestus).

[93] Hegesippos. *Adelphoi*. 11-16 (cited in Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 146); Dem. 18.288: ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ὡς παρ᾽ οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων (but, as is customary, the funeral feast is to be held in the home of the nearest relative of the dead); Men. *Aspis*. 232-233: ὁ δὲ τραπεζοποιὸς καταμενεῖ εἰς τὸ περίδειπνον τυχὸν ἴσως (perhaps the waiter will stay at the funeral feast). See also Alexiou 1974: 10; Donnison 2009: 25; Havelock 1982: 56; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 146; Stears 1998: 116.

[94] Aesch. *Choe.* 483-485: οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σοι δαῖτες ἔννομοι βροτῶν κτιζοίατ᾽ (for the customary funeral feasts of men would establish your honour).

[95] Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 146.

[96] Alexiou 1974: 7; Byers 1998: 69, 70; Dillon 2002: 282; Donnison 2009: 25; Erasmo 2012: 118-119; Garland 1985: 104-105; Neils 2011: 84; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 145, 147-148; Oakley 2003: 167; Oakley 2008: 338; Stears 1998: 116; Younger 2002: 168, 170.

[97] Oakley 2008: 338.

to the grave also took place during certain festivals, such as the *Genesia*, and commemorative days, such as birthdays.[98] These visits to the grave are attested by several fifth- and fourth-century authors including Aristophanes, Plato and Isaeus.[99] Irregular visits could also be made to the deceased on certain days special to the deceased's living relatives. Aeschylus' Electra promises to pour libations for her father on her wedding day.[100] Women's visits to the tomb are frequently depicted on white-ground *lekythoi* between c. 470 and c. 400 B.C. Many *lekythoi* show multiple family members, of whom at least one is always a woman, visiting the tomb and performing mourning gestures and/or acts of devotion.[101]

At the beginning of these visits, the mourner dedicated a lock of hair, poured libations of milk, honey, wine, water, oils and/or perfume, and lamented the deceased.[102] The mourner then left offerings of food, pots, toys, clothing and wreaths at the grave.[103] Little is known about the types of food left at the graveside, but honey-cakes and fruit are attested to.[104] The depositing

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[98] Alexiou 1974: 7; Dillon 2002: 282; Erasmo 2012: 119; Garland 1985: 105; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 147-148.

[99] Ar. *Lys.* 611-613: μῶν ἐγκαλεῖς ὅτι οὐχὶ προυθέμεσθά σε; ἀλλ' εἰς τρίτην γοῦν ἡμέραν σοι πρὼ πάνυ ἥξει παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ τρίτ' ἐπεσκευασμένα (You will not complain that we gave you a funeral? You come to your grave the day after tomorrow, early in the morning, and we will perform the third day offerings); Pl. *Leg.* 717d-717e: τελευτησάντων δὲ γονέων ταφὴ μὲν ἡ σωφρονεστάτη καλλίστη, μήτε ὑπεραίροντα τῶν εἰθισμένων ὄγκων μήτ' ἐλλείποντα ὧν οἱ προπάτορες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γεννητὰς ἐτίθεσαν (When parents have died, modest funeral rites are best, neither exceeding the accustomed plomp nor falling short of what his forefathers paid to their parents, and in like manner give the yearly attentions ensuring honour on the completed rites); Isae. 1.10: καὶ ποιεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ νομιζόμενα τοῦτον (and to perform the customary rites over him). See also Isae. 2.36, 2.46, 6.51, 6.65, 7.30, 9.7, 9.36.

[100] Aesch. *Choe.* 486-487: κἀγὼ χοάς σοι τῆς ἐμῆς παγκληρίας οἴσω πατρῴων ἐκ δόμων γαμηλίους (I, for my part, will offer you libations at my wedding out of the inheritance from my father's house).

[101] See a *lekythos* attributed to the Painter of Athens, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 216465, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1934 (c. 450-425 B.C.); a *lekythos* in the manner of the Timokrates Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 1433, Madison, Elvehjem Museum of Art 70.2 (c. 460 B.C.); a *lekythos* attributed to the Painter of Athens, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 216468, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.139.10 (c. 425 B.C.); Oakley 2004: List 14 (p. 154-158) provides a list of white *lekythoi* with women visiting the tomb. See also Alexiou 1974: 8; Dillon 2002: 282-288; Garland 1985: 107-108; Havelock 1982: 56; Oakley 2004: 145-153; Shapiro 1991: 651.

[102] For dedications of a lock of hair, see Aesch. *Choe.* 6-7, 168; Eur. *El.* 91; Eur. *Or.* 113-115; Soph. *El.* 51-53; 448-458. For libations, see Aesch. *Choe.* 129-131, 149-151, 164, 486-488; Aesch. *Pers.* 610-615; Eur. *IT.* 158-169; Eur. *Or.* 115; Hom. *Od.* 25-27; Isae. 6.51, 6.56; Soph. *El.* 51-53; a *lekythos* attributed to the Woman Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 217616, in Karlsruhe, Badisches Ladesmuseum B1528 (c. 420 B.C.), in Oakley 2008: 339, fig. 5. For the lamentations, see *CVA* 43, 46, 86, 96.8, 97.

[103] Alexiou 1974: 7-8; Erasmo 2012: 118, 119, 120; Garland 1985: 108, 115-118; Havelock 1982: 56; Houby-Nielsen 1996: 239; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 100-105, 145; Neils 2011: 84; Oakley 2004: 203, 208; Oakley 2003: 167; Oakley 2008: 338, 339; Younger 2002: 170.

[104] For honey-cakes, see Aesch. *Pers.* 612; Ar. *Lys.* 601; Hom. *Il.* 23.170; Hom. *Od.* 11.27. For fruit, see Ar. *Plut.* 678; Thuc. 3.58.4 (also mentions clothing); a *lekythos* attributed to the Inscription Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 209239, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1958 (c. 460-450 B.C.), in Oakley 2004: 149 fig.

of pots are amply attested to by archaeology. *Lekythoi* and *lebetes gamikoi* have been found in

Athenian graves from about 420 B.C.[105] The scenes found on pots, especially *lekythoi*, also

attest to their burial in the grave with the deceased.[106] For example, a *lekythos* by the

Timokrates Painter shows two women taking ribbons and a *lekythos* out of their basket to

decorate a tomb, while another *lekythos* by the Inscription Painter shows a gravestone decorated

with ribbons and *lekythoi* hanging from either side.[107] Incidentally, these *lekythoi* also support

the idea that women decorated the tombs of the deceased during their visits.[108]

The choice of grave offerings, according to Houby-Nielsen and Shapiro, was up to the female

relatives undertaking the role of attending to the grave.[109] This is attested to by a white-ground

lekythos showing two women preparing for their visit to the grave by choosing their offerings

at home.[110] Sacrifices were also made at the graveside, despite Solon's prohibition on bull

sacrifice. According to Alexiou, sheep, lambs, kids, birds and fowl were still sacrificed at the

grave while bull sacrifice was allowed on special occasions.[111] Euripides' Orestes mentions

sacrificing a sheep at his father's tomb,[112] while Isaeus refers to sacrifices being made at the

grave, but does not specify what was being sacrificed.[113]

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111) shows pomegranates; a *lekythos* attributed to the Quadrate Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 216713, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1936 (c. 430 B.C.), in Oakley 2004: 171 fig. 130) shows grapes. See also Erasmo 2012: 119; Oakley 2004: 203.

[105] Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 100-101, pls. 21-22.

[106] See Oakley 2004: 205-206 for a full discussion of pots being used as offerings in addition to other examples.

[107] *Lekythos* attributed to the Timokrates Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 209186, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1929; *Lekythos* attributed to the Inscription Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 209239, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1958. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 103, pls. 26-27.

[108] See also a *lekythos* attributed to the Painter of Athens, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 216465, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1934 (c. 430 B.C.), in Oakley 2008: 348-349 n. 155; a *lekythos* attributed to the Timokrates Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 1433, Madison, Elvehjem Museum of Art 70.2 (c. 460 B.C.), in Oakley 2008: 338, fig. 4; a *lekythos* attributed to the Phiale Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 214319, Munich, Antikensammlungen 6248 (c. 435-430 B.C.), in Oakley 2008: 339-340, fig. 6. See also Dillon 2002: 283; Oakley 2004: 203, 204-205.

[109] Houby-Nielsen 1996: 240; Shapiro 1991: 651.

[110] Attributed to the Timokrates Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 209186, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1929. See also Houby-Nielsen 1996: 239; Shapiro 1991: 651, 652, fig. 24.

[111] Alexiou 1974: 8. The archaeological evidence is summarised by Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 215-216.

[112] Eur. *El.* 92: πυρᾶι τ' ἐπέσφαξ' αἷμα μηλείου φόνου (and sacrificed over the pyre the blood of a slaughtered sheep).

[113] Isae. 6.51: καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα ἰέναι χεόμενον καὶ ἐναγιοῦντα (and to go to the tombs and offer libations and sacrifices). See also 6.56, 7.30.

Financial Considerations of Commemoration

Fourth Century B.C.

Athenians from all social classes felt the urge to perpetuate the memory of their loved ones after death. Some scholars believe that it was only the wealthy who had the means to afford a gravestone.[114] However, Nielsen, Bjertrup, Hansen, Rubinstein and Vestergaard demonstrate that the majority of classical Athenian gravestones did not come from elite graves. They argue that:

> even poor citizens could easily afford a grave monument inscribed with their name, that many of the preserved sepulchral inscriptions must in fact commemorate ordinary citizens of little distinction and slender means, and that wealthy citizens – though perhaps represented in more than their due proportion – probably count for a fairly small fraction of the funeral monuments we have.[115]

Their study is restricted to the fourth century B.C., however, their conclusions can also be applied to the fifth century B.C.

There is no direct information about the price of a gravestone mainly because the cost of a stone cannot be closely assessed due to the variation in attested figures.[116] Lysias mentions that Philon's mother planned for her own burial which included a gift of three *minae*.[117] In another speech by Lysias, the speaker claims that his father's tomb cost 50 *minae*, half of which he paid

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[114] I.e. Davies 1984: 267; Garland 1987: 66; Meyer 1993: 105; Morris 1992: 135; Oliver 2000: 78; Osborne 1985: 130; Whitehead 1986: 354.

[115] Nielsen, Bjertrup, Hansen, Rubinstein and Vestergaard 1989: 412.

[116] Davies 1971: xix; Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414.

[117] Lys. 31.21: ἐκείνη γὰρ τούτῳ μὲν ἠπίστησεν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψαι, Ἀντιφάνει δὲ οὐδὲν προσήκουσα πιστεύσασα ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ταφὴν τρεῖς μνᾶς ἀργυρίου (For she demurred to committing herself to him upon her death, but as she trusted Antiphanes, who was no relation, she gave him three *minae* of silver for her burial).

himself.[118] Demosthenes recounts that a sum of 1,000 *drakhmai* was borrowed from Lysistratus

of Thoricus so the speaker could bury his father.[119] Another speech by Demosthenes has the

speaker stating that all of Komon's bank balance was used to pay for his burial and other

funerary rites, and the building of his tomb.[120] The speaker in another speech by Demosthenes

claims that Phormio paid over two *talents* to have a tomb built for a mistress.[121] This number

is suspect as Apollodoros was likely exaggerating the cost in order to arouse prejudice against

Phormio.[122] Finally, in a *poletai* record for 367/6 B.C., Isarchos son of Philon of Xypete argued

that he was owed 30 *drakhmai* from a house in Alopeke as he had buried the owner, Theophilos,

and Theophilos' wife.[123]

The literary sources state the cost of burial to emphasize how expensive funerals were.[124] The

sole epigraphical source cited gives a much lower price: 30 *drakhmas* for two burials which

would equal 15 *drakhmai* for one.[125] Nielsen *et al.* believe that the inscription is "undoubtedly

a much better source" than literature for the cost of an ordinary burial.[126] They also note that

"only a fraction of the expense of a funeral was spent on the grave monument itself."[127] The

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[118] Lys. 32.21: εἰς δὲ τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀναλώσας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐκ πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ αὐτῷ τίθησι (For the tomb of the father, he did not the spend twenty-five *minae* from the five thousand *drakhmas*, he charges half to himself).

[119] Dem. 40.52: ἑτέρας δὲ χιλίας εἰς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ταφὴν παρὰ Λυσιστράτου Θορικίου δανεισάμενος (and I borrowed another thousand *drakhmas* for my father's funeral from Lysistratus of Thorikus).

[120] Dem. 48.12: ἀργύριον δὲ εἴ τι κατέλιπεν ὁ Κόμων φανερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ τῇ Ἡρακλείδου, τοῦθ' ἅπαν σχεδόν τι ἀνηλώθη εἴς τε τὴν ταφὴν καὶ τἄλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ μνήματος (Whatever sum of money Komon left in the bank of Herakleides had been nearly all spent on his burial and the other funerary rites and on building of his tomb).

[121] Dem. 45.79: ἣ τὸ μνῆμ' ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς οὗτος πλησίον τοῦ τῆς δεσποίνης, ἀνηλωκὼς πλέον ἢ τάλαντα δύο (to her this god-detested fellow built the memorial near that of his mistress at a cost more than two *talents*).

[122] Davies 1971: xix. See also Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414.

[123] *SEG* 12-100.25-30: Ἴσαρχος Φίλωνος Ξυπε{:}ται: ἀμφισβητεῖ ἐνοφείλεσθαι ἑαυτῶι ἐν τῆι οἰκίαι τῆι Ἀλωπεκῆσι ἣν ἀπέγραψεν Θεόμνηστος Δεισιθέο Ἰωνίδης, θάψαντος ἐμσΤ Θεόφιλον ὅ ἦν ἡ οἰκία καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Θεοφίλο ΔΔΔ: δραχμάς (Isarkhos son of Philon of Xypete argues that 30 *drakhmas* were owed to him on the house in Alopeke which Theomnestos son of Deisitheos of Ionidai registered, for I buried Theophilos, whose house this was, and the wife of Theophilos). This inscription can also be found in Crosby and Young's 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia* 10.1: 14 n. 1 (1941).

[124] Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414.
[125] Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414.
[126] Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414.
[127] Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414.

price of a stone was a few obols,[128] while the cost of having one or two names inscribed on the stone likely did not amount to more than a *drakhma*.[129] Most Attic decrees include a formula which records the price of the stele. In the fourth century B.C., the normal price was 20 or 30 *drakhmai*; this price appears to include a relief in the cases of decorated stele.[130] Thus, even a standard slab with a poor quality relief or no relief whatsoever with a short funerary inscription would have cost less than 20 *drakhmai*.[131] This leads Nielsen *et al.* to conclude that ordinary citizens, even those who drew a disablement pension, could afford a simple gravestone during the fourth century B.C.[132] Furthermore, the authors also find that a prosopographical study of fourth century citizens memorialised in the funerary inscriptions "indicates that there is no clear connection between the wealth of a citizen and the magnificence of his gravestone."[133]

Aside from Lysias 31, the above evidence, and Nielsen *et al.* argument, ignores the legal and financial situation of women. Isaeus writes ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κωλύει παιδὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι συμβάλλειν μηδὲ γυναικὶ πέρα μεδίμνου κριθῶν (for the law explicitly forbids children and women to contract for the disposal of a *medimnus* of barley).[134] Byers adds that the consent of a woman's *kurios* would be required if she wished to contract a larger amount.[135] Plutarch states that in Solon's time εἰς μέν γε τὰ τιμήματα τῶν θυσιῶν λογίζεται πρόβατον καὶ δραχμὴν ἀντὶ μεδίμνου (In sacrificial matters a sheep and a *medimnus* are calculated at a *drakhma*).[136] This is corroborated by Davis who estimates that "one drachma on average purchased approximately 1.37 medimnoi (or one medimnos cost 0.73 drachma)."[137] The price of one

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[128] I.e. *IG* II² 1672.52, 1673.2, 5f. See also Burford 1969: 173; Nielsen, *et al.* 1989: 414.
[129] Burford 1969: 196; Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414.
[130] For inscriptions with reliefs which attest to the cost of the stele see *IG* II² 31.12-16, 133.14-20, 212, 226.17-26; *SEG* 12-87.28-29. See also Lawton 1984: 16 and catalogue numbers 26, 40, 45, 47 and 50; Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414, 414 n. 12.
[131] Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414. See also Byers 1998: 76-77, Oliver 2000: 61, 75-76 and Pritchard 2018: 26.
[132] Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 414-415. See also Byers 1998: 77 and Oliver 2000: 61.
[133] Nielsen *et al.* 1989: 415. See also Byers 1998: 76.
[134] Isae. 10.10. See also Byers 1998: 77 and Schaps 1979: 52.
[135] Byers 1998: 55.
[136] Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 23.3. See also Davis 2012: 158.
[137] Davis 2012: 158.

medimnus likely fluctuated over time, although there is no evidence for this during the sixth century. There is, however, evidence from the fourth century which attests to short term price fluctuations.[138] For example, a fourth century inscription, *IG* II² 1672, priced a *medimnus* at three *drakhmai*.[139] Demosthenes writes that this price could increase to six *drakhmas* and, in times of scarcity, go as high as 18 *drakhmai*.[140] As the estimated cost of a single burial was 15 *drakhmas*, the act of engaging a stonemason to create a gravestone and organising the entire funeral would have required a contract over the value of one *medimnus*.

Several orations include examples of women dealing with large amounts of money.[141] For example, in a speech by Demosthenes, the speaker tells his audience that a woman gave her children 2,000 *drakhmas*.[142] In another speech by Demosthenes, a woman lent her son-in-law 1,800 *drakhmas*.[143] In a speech by Lysias, as mentioned previously, a woman planned for her own burial which included a gift of three *minae*.[144] Other surviving literature from the fourth century also suggests that women had access to money and were well-informed regarding domestic finances and family fortunes.[145] In his *Oikonomikos*, Xenophon argues that winning and maintaining a wife's co-operation in managing the household resources can increase the fortune of the estate.[146] Several law-court speeches mention a wife's working knowledge of her husband's property, including its value and disposition, and her ability to successfully manage the estate.[147]

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[138] Davis 2012: 158 n. 171.
[139] *IG* II² 1672.282-283. See also Davis 2012: 158 fn. 17; Kuenen-Janssens 1941: 210-211; Schaps 1979: 61.
[140] Dem. 42.20, 31. See also Davis 2012: 158 n. 17; Kuenen-Janssens 1941: 210-211; Schaps 1979: 61.
[141] Harris 2014: 199-200; Schaps 1979: 14, 52.
[142] Dem. 36.14: ὡς δ' ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκείνη, τρισχιλίας ἐγκαλέσας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πρὸς αἷς ἔδωκεν ἐκείνη δισχιλίαις τοῖς τούτου παιδίοις (but after her death he called in a debt of three thousand *drakhmas* of money, ub addition to two thousand *drakhmas* which she had given to his [Phormio's] children.).
[143] Dem. 41.8-9: ὀκτακοσίας δὲ καὶ χιλίας … ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀργύριον παρὰ τῆς Πολυεύκτου δεδανεισμένος γυναικός (eighteen hundred *drakhmas* … he had borrowed the money from the wife of Polyeuktus).
[144] Lys. 31.21.
[145] Byers 1998: 58-59; Harris 2014: 200.
[146] Xen. *Oec.* 3.10, 12, 15. See also 7.33, 35-36.
[147] Aeschin. 1.170; Dem. 41.17-19, 45.27, 47.57.

The epigraphical evidence tells the same story. A woman sold 70 *drakhmas* worth of reeds for a construction project in a single transaction.[148] A female cloak-seller, who is memorialised by a tombstone, "was doing poor business if she sold her cloaks for less than the value of a medimnus of barley".[149] A *medimnus* of barley was worth between one and six *drachmas* (see above). *IG* II² 1673 values *exomides* (a type of tunic), at seven *drakhmas* and some change.[150] While Aristophanes prices a *himation*, probably of good quality, at 20 *drakhmas*.[151] Finally, a woman appears to have been the collector for an *eranos*-loan which "must have solicitated contributions of more than six drachmas apiece."[152]

Fifth Century B.C.

The surviving fifth-century literature show that women did have access to money. Aristophanes' Lysistrata states that women took charge of the household finances.[153] Praxagora, in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*, expresses similar sentiments; she believes that all affairs pertaining to the running of the *polis* should be handed over to the women as they already take charge of and look after their homes.[154] A woman in Euripides' *The Captive Melanippe* also refers to women's management of households. She states that women order the household, keep safe the things brought in by sea and make the home tidy and prosperous.[155] However, there is no record of the amount women were spending during this period. There is also no record for the cost of gravestones during the fifth-century. It is possible that Nielsen *et al.*

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[148] *IG* II² 1672.64.
[149] Schaps 1979: 52. For the inscription, see *IG* II² 11254.
[150] *IG* II² 1673.45-46. See also Schaps 1989: 137 n. 32.
[151] Ar. *Plut.* 982-983. See also Schaps 1989: 137 n. 32.
[152] Schaps 1989: 52-53. For the inscription, see Roussel 1932: 3-5.
[153] Ar. *Lys.* 495: οὐ καὶ τἄνδον χρήματα πάντως ἡμεῖς ταμιεύομεν ὑμῖν; (Don't we manage the household finances for you already?).
[154] Ar. *Eccl.* 210-213: ταῖς γὰρ γυναιξὶ φημὶ χρῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἡμᾶς παραδοῦναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ταύταις ἐπιτρόποις καὶ ταμίαισι χρώμεθα (I propose that we need to hand over the city to the women. For we employ them stewards and treasurers in our own households).
[155] Eur. *Melannipp. Capt.* Fr. 494.

estimate of 15 *drakhmai* for a single burial could also be correct for the fifth century B.C., but there is no substantiating evidence for this.[156]

The Problem with Women's Spending

Women living in the fourth century were clearly spending over one *medimnus* of barley, so how does this spending reconcile with the law quoted by Isaeus? Two solutions to this problem have been proposed. One, the law lapsed.[157] Schaps disagrees with this solution on chronological grounds. He explains that Isaeus cites the law as evidence in the 370s B.C.; but an old woman in Aristophanes' *Wealth* complains about the waste of gifts, among them four *medimni* of wheat,[158] which is likely worth more than a single *medimnus* of barley.[159] Even if Aristophanes' work is rejected as evidence, adds Schaps, the arrangements made by Philon's mother for her burial, outlined by Lysias,[160] including a gift of three *minae*, dates to the start of the fourth century B.C., if not earlier, "and cannot be explained by a hypothetical lapse or repeal of the law which Isaeus quoted decades later."[161] Two, that the law did not forbid all transactions above a *medimnus* of barley, but just transactions made without the consent of a woman's *kurios*. Thus, it can be presumed that the transactions mentioned above were made with the consent of the women's *kurioi*, but that the consent was not recorded. This solution is not without its problems, the primary one being that there is no evidence to support the hypothesis.[162]

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[156] For discussion of changes in pay and costs generally between the fifth and fourth centuries see Loomis 1999 and Markle 1985.

[157] Desjardins 1865: 616-618. See also Kuenen-Janssens 1941: 201-202; Schaps 1979: 53.

[158] Ar. *Plut.* 982-986: ἀλλ' ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἂν ᾔτησ᾽ εἴκοσιν εἰς ἱμάτιον, ὀκτὼ δ᾽ ἂν εἰς ὑποδήματα· καὶ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ἀγοράσαι χιτώνιον ἐκέλευσεν ἂν τῇ μητρί θ᾽ ἱματίδιον· πυρῶν τ᾽ ἂν ἐδεήθη μεδίμνων τεττάρων (But he would request twenty *drakhmas* of silver for a coat, and eight for a pair of shoes; and he would want me to buy little dresses for his sisters and a little coat for his mother; and he wold need four *medimnoi* of grain).

[159] Schaps 1979: 53. See also Davis 2012: 151.

[160] Lys. 31.21.

[161] Schaps 1979: 53.

[162] Schaps 1979: 53. See Schaps 1979: 53-58 for a detailed discussion.

There are two issues with solutions proposed above. One, Schaps' argument against Desjardins' proposal, that the law lapsed after the 370s, assumes that the law quoted by Isaeus was enacted sometime in the fifth century B.C. The old woman in Aristophanes' *Wealth* complains about how gifts, including four *medmni* of wheat, are wasted.[163] Schaps uses this passage as evidence of women spending over a *medimnus* of barley while at the same time implicitly stating that the law prohibiting women from spending over this amount was in use during the fifth century. However, this passage could just as easily be evidence for the lack of a law on women's spending during the fifth century. Two, assuming Schaps' hypothesis, that the law did not forbid transactions made with the consent of a *kurios*, is correct, and assuming that the law was also in effect during the fifth century, it does not explain why the *kurioi* are not mentioned as providing their consent. Three possibilities spring to mind to explain the absence of the *kurioi* in the evidence for women's spending. One, the *kurioi*'s consent was communal knowledge and did not need to be publicly acknowledged. Two, the *kurioi* were not mentioned in regard to grave inscriptions as this would detract from the focus on the deceased and the donor. Three, women could exercise financial agency. Additionally, if Schaps' hypothesis is incorrect and still assuming the law was in effect between the fifth and fourth centuries, it is possible that the law was not being followed for reasons unknown.

Conclusion

Funerary legislation introduced by Solon in the sixth century B.C. effected both how funerals were performed and women's participation in them during the fifth century. The restriction of the number of women allowed to participate in the funerary rituals to those who were of a certain age and relation to the deceased, as recited by Demosthenes, finds support in the literary and archaeological evidence from the fifth century. This suggest that the Athenians did observe these particular restrictions. However, Plutarch's additions, specifically those referring both to the laceration of flesh and singing of lamentations, are refuted by the fifth-century evidence,

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[163] Ar. *Plut.* 986.

suggesting that the law was either ignored or these restrictions were not part of Solon's original legislation.

The discovery of mass graves dating to the late fifth century do support Thucydides' claim that the plague outbreaks of c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. did affect normal burial practices. However, literary and archaeological evidence from the fifth century clearly show that the *prothesis*, *ekphora* and periodic visits to the grave were being performed. Additionally, the selection of gravestones documented in the catalogue and Appendix A show that gravestones were being erected for deceased individuals both during the plague outbreaks and their immediate aftermaths. This suggests that the plague left no lasting impact and that Thucydides' account of confusion over burial practices following the outbreaks was exaggerated and/or that not everyone was equally affected by the plague.

During the fifth century, women played several roles in the mortuary practices of Athens. It was their duty to prepare the body of the deceased for burial and perform lamentations over the body while lacerating themselves. Women also performed lamentations during the procession from the home of the deceased to the burial site. They did not take part in the burial or cremation of the body as this appears to have been a task for the male relatives of the deceased. Women were also responsible for the periodic visits to the grave after the funeral. They would decorate the grave, leave various types of offerings and pour libations for the deceased. During these visits, the women would, again, perform lamentations and mourning gestures (ie. laceration).

The funerary rituals were part of a larger ritual which included the erection of a gravestone over at the burial site. The estimated cost of a standard marble slab with a short funerary inscription and either a poor quality relief or no relief at all during the fourth century was less than 20

drakhmas. Thus, citizens from all social strata would have been able to afford a simple gravestone. There is no evidence from the fifth century regarding the cost of a gravestones. It is possible that a simple gravestone cost the same in the fifth century as it did in the fourth, but there is no evidence to substantiate this.

A law quoted by Isaeus restricted the amount of money women living in the fourth century could spend in one transaction which meant that they would not be able to afford a gravestone. However, evidence from inscriptions and literature show that they could, and did, deal with large amounts of money with no repercussions. Literary evidence also shows that women living in the fifth century had access to money, although there is no record of how much they spent. Both solutions for this anomaly have issues. The first solution, that the law lapsed after the 370s, was rejected by Schaps using evidence from the fifth century which assumes that the law was enacted during this period. However, Schaps' evidence could just as easily be used as evidence for the lack of any such law on women's spending during the fifth century. The second solution, that the law only forbade transactions made without the consent of a woman's *kurios*, which also assumes that the law was enacted in the fifth century, does not explain the lack of a mention of women's guardians. This can be explained by the possibility that the guardian's consent did not need to be publicly acknowledged, the mention of the guardian in regard to grave inscrpitions would detract from the deceased and the donor, *or* that women could exercise financial agency.

Chapter Three: Women in Funerary Inscriptions

The conventional view about sepulchral inscriptions is that women are identified by their relationship to men. Furthermore, this view also states that women are described by the role they played within their family and praised for their good character. I test this view by focusing on one question, how were women identified and described during c. 430-400 B.C.? To answer this question, I focus on several topics. First, I identify the ways in which women can be named in sepulchral texts. Second, I discuss the terms used to describe women in the extant texts and tease out links between these terms and name formulas. Third, I determine whether emotion played a part in the dedication of gravestones by looking at expressions of grief in the extant sepulchral inscriptions. I also look into which individuals are given these expressions and who makes them. Fourth, I expand on my discussion of who dedicated gravestones by determining how individuals listed in funerary texts can be identified as either the deceased or the dedicator of the tombstone. Fifth, I determine whether age indicators are used to describe listed individuals. Sixth, I determine whether the named women listed in the extant inscriptions are referred to with a status. Seventh, I test whether Vestergaard *et al.*'s typology can be applied to c. 430-400 B.C. which allows me to comment on whether kin relationships are included in grave inscriptions listing women.

Name Formulas

Of the 46 gravestones, 34 identify women by their personal names only, thus providing the names of 43 women.[1] A further three (**1**, **33**, **35**) list multiple women in the text and, in each case, one woman is identified by just her personal name. This brings the total number of women identified by just their personal names up to 46. This strongly suggests that the use of personal names only to identify women in funerary texts is the preferred method of identifying women

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[1] Three women are named in **36** using just their personal name. However, one of these names has only partially survived. Thus, while the name formula is clearly personal name only, it is not clear as to what the woman's name was.

on gravestones. Vestergaard *et al.* finds that this name formula was continued down to c. A.D. 250.[2] However, this seemingly normal practice goes against current scholarly opinion which states that women are identified by their relationships to men. It is thought that an unmarried citizen woman is normally identified on her gravestone by her name, patronymic and demotic, while a married woman is referred to by her andronymic or both her patronymic and andronymic, with the occasional addition of a demotic. Stears adds that the demotic is exchanged for an ethnic when metics are named in grave texts.[3] However, the last formula does not appear with any regularity, being found only in two gravestones.

Two formulas, name and patronymic, and name, patronymic and demotic, are not as common as previous scholarship suggests, being used in six and two inscriptions respectively. The fact that these formulas appear does support the idea that women could be identified by their relationships to men. However, in this sample married women are not explicitly identified as such. Rather the husband-wife relationship is implied through the inclusion of a patronymic and/or demotic which signifies that the individuals in question do *not* have the same father and/or do *not* come from the same area.[4]

There are also two other name formulas that are not mentioned in the previous scholarship: 1) name, patronymic and matronymic; and 2) nameless. These are rare name formulas, the first appearing once, and the second three times. Two inscriptions (**2**, **15**) are missing text which makes it impossible to determine how the women were identified or if they were named at all.

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[2] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 178-182.
[3] Andrade 2011: 192; Burton 2003: 24; Byers 1998: 106-107, 146; Chrystal 2017: 149; McClees 1920: 34; Stears 200a: 213; Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 178-182.
[4] See **5**, **16**, **19**, **23**, **25**, **36**, **40**, **46**.

Personal Name Only

Identification by just personal names is regularly found on gravestones listing one female, accounting for 14 of the 34 inscriptions.[5] Women are also normally listed by their personal name in inscriptions listing two females only, accounting for five inscriptions, and inscriptions listing one female and one male, accounting for four inscriptions.[6] As the number of people listed in the grave inscriptions increases, the number of extant examples decreases. This is evident in the following categories: one female and two males with three examples; two females and one male with three examples; two females and two males with one example; two females and three males with one example; three females with one example; and three females and two males with one example.[7] This pattern of increase in listed persons and decrease in examples is also found when children are added to the sepulchral inscription. There is one example (**35**) of at least one woman being identified by her personal name only when a child is also listed. This pattern is clarified by Graph 3.1.

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[5] See **3**, **7**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **14**, **20**, **21**, **24**, **31**, **38**, **39**, **43**, **45.**

[6] For inscriptions listing two females see **8**, **17**, **28**, **30**, **34**. For inscriptions listing one female and one male see **12**, **13**, **22**, **44**.

[7] For inscriptions listing one female and two males see **18**, **26**, **29**. For inscriptions listing two females and one male see **1**, **6**, **27**. For inscriptions listing two females and two males see **33**. For inscriptions listing two females and three males see **37**. For inscriptions listing three females only see **4**. For inscriptions listing three females and two males see **32**.

Graph 3.1: Listed Individuals vs. Extant Examples
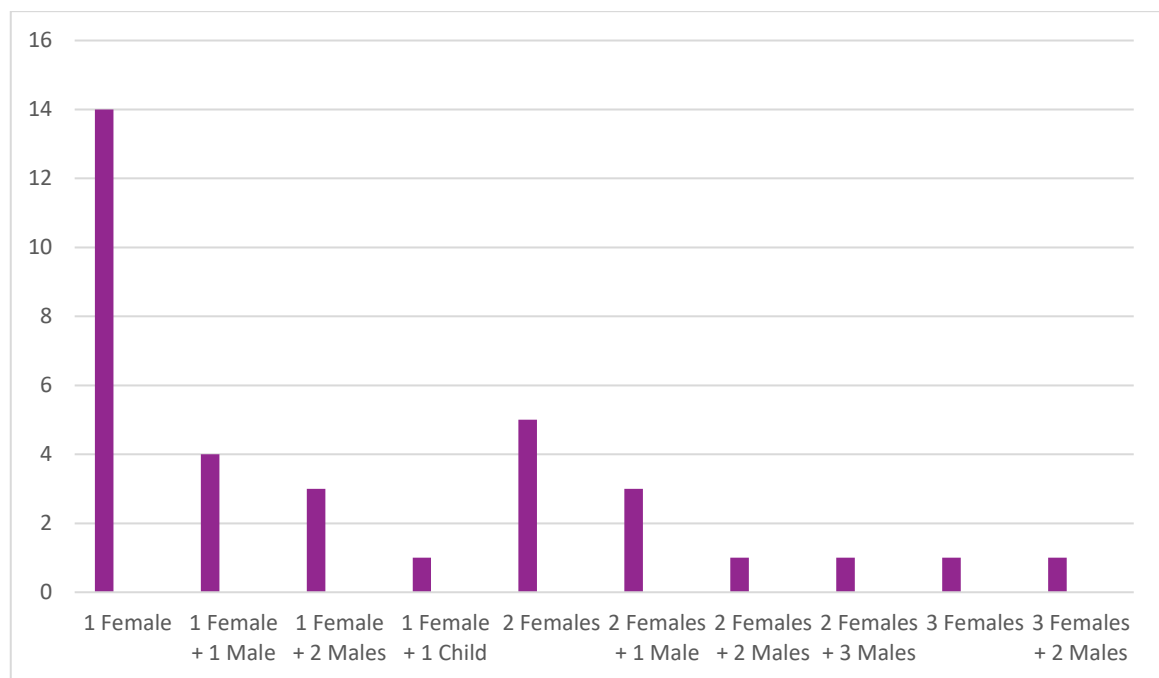
Personal names can be combined with other name formulas which are seen in three inscriptions (**1**, **33**, **35**), all of which list at least one named woman. In inscription **1** identification by personal name is combined with identification by name, patronymic and matronymic. In this case, it is the mother of the deceased who is referred to by her personal name only. In direct contrast to **1**, inscription **33** identifies the deceased individuals by their personal names only while the names of their parents are not inscribed. Inscription **35** is, once again, different from the previous two in that Ampharete is referred to by a personal name while the name of her daughter is excluded. Ampharete, according to the inscription, is not buried alone, but with τέκνον ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς…φίλον (my daughter's beloved child).[8] It is likely that the child died before the Amphidromia, on the fifth or seventh day after its birth, and so it is not named.[9]

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[8] *IG* I³ 1290. II.1.

[9] A child is named during the Amphidromia which takes place five to seven days after birth. See Golden 2003: 15.

Name + Patronymic

Identification by name and patronymic never reached the popularity that personal names only did as it appears in six grave inscriptions as against 34. This name formula is seen in two categories: inscriptions listing one female and inscriptions listing one female and two males. The former is the most usual category with four examples (**16**, **23**, **36**, **40**) while there are two examples of the latter (**25**, **46**). Inscriptions **25** and **46** list one woman each which could suggest that this type is not generally used to identify women on gravestones if there was more than one woman listed. The patronymics of both women do not match any of the male names listed which suggests that they had married into a family. This suggests that McClees' theory that this name formula is used primarily for unmarried women is not substantiated for the period under consideration.[10] The fact that the women are given patronymics rather than andronymics also suggests that the father-daughter relationship was still important.

Name + Patronymic + Demotic

Inscriptions **5** and **19** are examples of women being identified by name, patronymic and demotic. Both inscriptions list one female each with either three men (**5**) or one man (**19**) and the women's demotics do not match that of the men listed with them. This suggests, as with the previous formula, that these are family burials where the women had married into a family. This goes against McClees' theory that this name type is usually used to identify unmarried women.[11] Again, the use of the patronymic would suggest that the father-daughter relationship is still important to the women's new families. In this formula, as with the previous, the presence of the patronymic is likely used to indicate her status as a wife and citizen which, in these inscriptions, would have been further emphasised through the presence of the demotic.

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[10] McClees 1920: 34.
[11] McClees 1920: 34.

Name + Demotic/Ethnic

Identification by name and demotic/ethnic appears in two grave inscriptions (**41**, **42**). Inscription **41** lists a single female from Corcyra, while **42** explains that Aristokrateia of Corinth left behind an unnamed husband and mother. This name formula is special in that it can determine the status of the women they list. Both women are listed as coming from a place other than Athens, strongly suggesting that they held metic/foreigner status. Incidentally, **43** can also be included in the category of metic/foreigner as the text states that Herseis τηλõ πατρίδος ὄσ᾽ ἔθανον κλειναῖς ἐν Ἀθήν<α>ις (died far from my fatherland in renowned Athens).[12]

Name + Patronymic + Matronymic

There is one instance where a female is identified by her name, patronymic and matronymic which has been briefly touched on regarding identification by personal names only (see above). Inscription **1** lists two females and one male with the deceased being referred to by her name, patronymic and matronymic, while her parents are referred to by just their personal names. As the only extant example of this name formula it does appear to be unusual by comparison to the other name formulas.

No Name

Three inscriptions (**33**, **35**, **42**), which have already been briefly mentioned, do not name several persons listed on them. Inscription **33** does not name the parents of the deceased Mnesagora and Nikokhares, **35** does not name the daughter of the deceased Ampharete or the deceased child, and **42** does not name the mother or husband of the deceased Aristokrateia. The death of the child in **35** before the Amphidromia would explain its nameless state (see above). The remaining nameless individuals appear to have been the erectors of the gravestones and are, therefore, alive. This could suggest that it is not common practice to name the living relatives

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[12] *IG* II² 11345.2.

of the deceased when they acted as erectors of gravestones to their female relatives. It could also explain why this formula is not mentioned in the previous scholarship on women's names on gravestones as those studies focused on deceased women.

The Uncertain Inscriptions

There are two inscriptions (**2**, **15**) with insufficient text to determine a name formula for the female figures carved on them. That they are named is reasonably likely as the other 44 gravestones set a clear precedent which would suggest that at least one name is inscribed on these tombstones. Inscription **2** shows the last six letters of a name, […]αρετης, followed by two(?) words which could be a patronymic and/or demotic/ethnic, or, possibly, a description of the deceased. [13] Without more letters, it is not possible to hypothesise a reasonable reconstruction of the text.

In inscription **15** the first line has about six letters missing, with the first word ending in "ος," followed by a demotic. This is thought to be the name of the man in the relief. A woman is also present on the relief and, due to the missing right corner, it is uncertain whether this woman is named. The fact that in other funerary reliefs with two people both are referred to by name, suggests that she is named.[14] If this is the case, then it is likely that she was identified by her name, patronymic and demotic. This is based on the fact that this inscription has more similarities to inscription **19** than it does with the other reliefs portraying two people who are referred to by name. The inscriptions of **15** and **19** both list a man identified by a combination of name and demotic, while both reliefs show a woman, standing to the right, using her left hand to perform the *anakalypsis* gesture and her right to shake hands with the man standing

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[13] Margariti 2018: 140-141 no. 60.
[14] I.e. **12**, **13**, **17**, **18**, **19**, **20**, **33**, **44**, **46**.

opposite her. Thus, as inscription **19** identifies its female figure by name, patronymic and demotic, it is reasonably likely that inscription **15** does as well.

Use of γυνή

A woman's name is not explicitly combined with her husband's name in the grave inscriptions. In fact, the only inscription that even uses the word γυνή is **24** which informs the reader that Nikosstrate is an excellent wife but does not name her husband. This, of course, does not mean that husbands and wives are not inscribed on gravestones. The combinations of name and patronymic, and name, patronymic and demotic likely represented family burials where the husband and wife are identified by the fact that the women did not share a patronymic and/or demotic with the men listed with them (see above).[15] There are five inscriptions (**12**, **13**, **22**, **42**, **44**) listing one man and one woman which do not use the aforementioned name formulas that could represent husband and wife. However, inscriptions **12** and **44** can be ruled out as husband and wife as the presence of an animal being handed over from female figure to male figure in both reliefs would suggest that the figures were siblings rather than a married couple.[16] Inscription **42** can also be ruled out as the husband is one of the dedicators of the tombstone and is not named when mentioned with the deceased's mother.

Words to Describe Women

Nouns to Describe Women's Roles

Current scholarly opinion states that women on gravestones can be explicitly referred to as wife, daughter, sister and, sometimes, mother.[17] McClees writes that the mother's name on its own is rarely used to identify a woman, as in *IG* II² 10734, which identifies the deceased as Ἀρβούσκλα Εἰρήνης θυγάτηρ (Arbouskla, daughter of Eirene).[18] Chrystal believes that a

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[15] See **5**, **19**, **25**, **46**.
[16] See Chapter Four.
[17] Andrade 2011: 192; Byers 1998: 112; Chrystal 2017: 149; Fantham, *et al.* 1994: 81; Laurin 2013: 423; McClees 1920: 34-35; Oakley 2008: 341; Stears 2000a: 213; Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 178-185; Younger 2002: 174.
[18] *IG* II² 10734; McClees 1920: 35.

woman would never be referred to as a mother "as this would imply that she had authority over any sons in the family."[19] In addition to these roles, McClees and Younger believe that women could also be referred to according to their occupations.[20]

There are six nouns used to describe women in this catalogue: θυγάτηρ, παῖς, γυνή, μήτηρ, ἑταίρα and μύρεψος. These nouns can be found on nine extant inscriptions (**1**, **24**, **33**, **34**, **35**, **36**, **37**, **42**, **45**). Scholars contend that θυγάτηρ and γυνή are the most common nouns to describe women.[21] Θυγάτηρ is the most often repeated noun in this catalogue, being used to describe four women (**1**, **35**, **36**, **37**), γυνή, however, is one of the rarely used nouns, being used once (**24**). Μήτηρ, thought to be a rarely used noun by scholars, is also found in this selection of grave inscriptions three times (**33**, **37**, **42**). Interestingly, Vestergaard *et al.* find that there is an increase in the use of θυγάτηρ and γυνή from c. 400 B.C. down to c. A.D. 250, but that the use of μήτηρ decreases after the Peloponnesian War as it only appears once in Vestergaard *et al.* catalogue.[22] The remaining nouns are all used once each.[23] The exception to this is **1**; the deceased Aristylla is referred to as both θυγάτηρ and παῖς, perhaps to emphasise her role in the family and her age. She is also the only female to be referred to by two nouns; inscription **37** has two women being described by one noun each.

Nouns are not necessarily used the same way in every inscription. For instance, in inscriptions **1**, **36** and **37** the word θυγάτηρ is used to emphasise the deceased's relationship to her parent/s. Inscription **1** also uses θυγάτηρ to emphasise the dead girl's age, while inscription **35** uses θυγάτηρ to state that the deceased are grandmother and grandchild. The use of μήτηρ, on the

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[19] Chrystal 2017: 149.
[20] McClees 1920: 35-36; Younger 2002: 174. See also Andrade 2011: 192.
[21] Andrade 2011: 192; Laurin 2013: 423; Oakley 2008: 341; Younger 2002: 174.
[22] See Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 186-188.
[23] For παῖς, see **1**. For ἑταίρα, see **34** line 2. For μύρεψος, see **45**.

other hand, is used to describe a woman's relationship to the deceased and, aside from **37**, it is used in the place of a name. Two of the remaining nouns, παῖς and γυνή, are used to state the individual's role in the family and, in the case of **1**, to emphasise age.

The last two nouns, ἑταίρα and μύρεψος, are used in two different ways. The former is used to indicate the relationship between the deceased Biote and the dedicator of her gravestone, Euthylla, while the latter is used to tell passers-by what Thraitta did for a living. Incidentally, nouns do not have to be used to indicate the deceased's employment, as in **45**, this knowledge can be implied through a description of the individual's job. For instance, **36** does not use the word ἱέρεια to name the deceased Myrrhine as a priestess, rather it describes her as a priestess in the following lines:

> *IG* I³ 1330.3-5: ἣ πρώτη Νίκης ἀμφεπόλευσε νεών. (…who was the first to care for the temple of Nike.)

> *IG* I³ 1330.11-13: πρώτε Ἀθηναίας Νίκες ἕδος ἀμφεπόλευσεν… (She was the first to care for the seat of Athena Nike…)

This supports McClees and Younger's theory that women could be referred to by the roles they occupied outside the home. However, the fact there is just one extant reference explicitly referring to a woman by her occupation suggests that this was not a common occurrence during c. 430-400 B.C.

There does not appear to be any correlation between noun usage and name formula. The women in **24**, **34**, **37** and **45** are referred to by their personal names; the women in **33**, **35** and **42** are not named while **1** is identified by her name, patronymic and matronymic and **36** by her name and patronymic. This suggests, at most, that it is slightly more common for women to be described with a noun when they are either referred to by their personal name or not named at

all. Finally, it does not look as if there is a relationship between noun usage and the number and gender of person/s listed in the text. The funerary texts have different numbers of both females and males and, in one case, a baby which is given no name or male/female gender. The exceptions are **24**, **36** and **45**, which list a single female. These inscriptions support the idea that it is more usual for women who are referred to by just their personal name to be described with a noun. This is the case for both **24** and **45**, while **36** is referred to by her name and patronymic.

Adjectives + Nouns to Describe Women

Previous scholarship on how women are portrayed in grave texts finds that women could be described as noble, prudent, virtuous, industrious, faithful, pious, excellent, wise, good and praised for their self-control, temperance, goodness, mothering and wifely skills.[24] However, Younger believes that sepulchral texts are repetitive and often utilise standardised language that restricts empathy. He cites the use of the phrase ἀγαθὴ καὶ σώφρων, the female version of καλὸς κ'ἀγαθός, and terms which convey sorrow (πένθος) and the longing/desire her family feels at her death (πόθος) as examples of this. He also finds that funerary inscriptions tend to use conventional narratives such as "death cut short her marriage; now dead, she cannot enjoy the child she bore; the earth envelops her body but her memory lives on."[25] The repetitiveness of formulae and terms concerning the praise and description of women has also been pointed out by Andrade and Sourvinou-Inwood who believe that this could be due to the formulae and terms for men being extended to include women.[26]

Eight extant inscriptions (**1**, **7**, **8**, **24**, **33**, **34**, **37**, **42**) use words to describe women. These inscriptions confirm previous scholarship on how women are described in sepulchral

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[24] Andrade 2011: 192; Brulé 2003: 176; Burton 2003: 26, 27; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 117-118; Vivante 2008: 67.
[25] Younger 2002: 181-182.
[26] Andrade 2011: 194; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 117. See Andrade 2011: 192-194 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 120, n. 58 for a full list of examples.

inscriptions. Describing words are used once, except for φίλη, which is used in two grave texts, and multiple adjectives can be found in one text.[27] Inscription **34** is an excellent example of multiple words being used to describe one person as the dedicator, Euthylla, uses four to describe her departed friend, Biote.

As with nouns, it does not look as if there is a correlation between the use of describing words and name formula. Apart from one woman in both **1** and **33**, all of the women who are described are referred to by just their personal names. This could suggest that it is more common for women to be described when they are identified by their personal names. There does appear to be more commonalities between the use of describing words and the number and gender of person/s listed in sepulchral texts than there is between nouns and person/s listed. Both **7** and **24** list single females identified by name only, while **8** and **34** list two females identified by personal name only. The remaining three texts have a mixture of females and males, but have at least one female identified by personal name only. Of these **37** has a descriptive word connected to a woman referred to by her personal name. The second woman in **37** and the women in **1** and **33** who are identified by their personal names do not have describing words attached to them. This could suggest that it is normal practice for women identified by their personal names to be described, particularly if they are listed alone or with another woman.

Multiple Describing Words on Single Gravestones

There are six funerary texts which use a combination of nouns and adjectives (**1**, **24**, **33**, **34**, **37**, **42**). There does not seem to be any correlation between nouns and adjectives when they are inscribed on the same tombstone. Interestingly, there are two texts (**33**, **37**) which use the same noun-adjective combination, μήτηρ and φίλη, which could, perhaps, have been a normal combination. However, there does not appear to be any correlations between the two texts.

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[27] For σώφρων see **1**. For εὐσέβεια see **7**. For ἀρετή see **8**. For φιλία see **8**. For ἀρίστη see **24**. For φιλότης see **34**. For πιστός see **34**. For ἡδύς see **34**. For χάρις see **34**. For φίλος see **33**, **37**. For σεμνός see **42**.

Inscription **33** does not name the mother of the deceased while **37** does name her and **33** lists two females and two males while **37** lists two females and three males.

Expressions of Grief

There are four extant inscriptions that suggest that the dedicator/s of the gravestones felt grief at the loss of their relatives. A full list of expressions of grief runs as follows:

18: …πατρὶ γόον δούς… (…having brought grief to your father…)[28]

33: …πατρὶ φίλωι καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμ μέγα πένθος… (…leaving behind their beloved father and mother both great grief…)[29]

34: μνήμηγ γὰρ ἀεὶ δακρυτὸν ἔχοσα ἡλικίας τῆς σῆς κλαίει ἀποφθιμένης. (For always in tearful memory she laments your death so young.)[30]

43: …γνωτοῖσιν πᾶσι λιπõσα πόθον. (…leaving grief for all of my kinsmen.)[31]

It is clear from the above list that expressions of grief tend to appear when the deceased is a child (**18**, **33**), not married (**18**, **33**, **34**), or a foreigner (**43**) and when the relatives are identified. Apart from **34**, these inscriptions suggest that the death of an individual is emotionally painful on their family members, particularly on parents. This confirms Golden's conclusions concerning whether the ancients cared when their child(ren) died. He believes that it should be assumed ancient peoples cared when their child(ren) died 'unless there is a compelling reason to doubt it.'[32] Inscription **34**, which is unique amongst the surviving grave texts, suggests that it was not just family members who suffered from the loss of an individual, but also their friends. What makes this tombstone unique is that no parents, siblings or any other family members are listed in the text, rather it is a friend of the deceased who took on the task of

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[28] *IG* I³ 1321.2.
[29] *IG* I³ 1315.3.
[30] *IG* I³ 1295bis. 5-8.
[31] *IG* II² 11345.3.
[32] Golden 1988: 160.

burying the deceased and erecting her memorial. This could suggest that the dead Biote did not have any living family members and that in cases such as this the familial obligation to bury the dead could be transferred to close friends, including a woman's female friend.

Incidentally, these expressions of grief could also be considered as expressions of affection, which are commonly found in sepulchral inscriptions, and friendships.[33] The inscriptions listed above record the grief of individuals, particularly parents, at the death of a family member/friend which would suggest that they felt affection and love for the deceased when they lived, otherwise they would not mourn their loss. The inclusion of terms such as φίλη to describe certain individuals, such as the child in **35** or the parents in **33**, serve to emphasise this love.[34] Expressions of friendship appear twice in this selection of inscriptions and are more explicit than expressions of affection. Inscription **34** states that it is Biote's ἑταίρα, Euthylla, who erected the stele over her grave. Inscription **8** also expresses similar sentiments. Lines two to three state that it is Anthemis' male friends who placed wreaths at her tomb μνημείων ἀρετῆς οὕνεκα καὶ φιλίας (in memory of her virtue and friendship).[35]

Expressions of grief could also be considered as praise. Sourvinou-Inwood writes that praise formulations for women in the classical period tend to involve terms and formulas comparable to those used for men. She writes that women could be referred to as χρηστή, σώφρων, ἀγαθή, or a combination of these three terms, and considered to have ἀρετή and/or σωφροσύνη.[36] Inscriptions **1** and **8** are good examples of this. In **1**, Arisston and Rhodilla refer to their dead daughter as σώφρων while **8** refers to the deceased Anthemis with the word ἀρετή.[37]

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[33] Andrade 2011: 195; McClees 1920: 35.
[34] See Andrade 2011: 195-196.
[35] *IG* I³ 1329.2-3.
[36] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 117. See also Brulé 2003: 110.
[37] *IG* I³ 1311.3; *IG* I³ 1329.

Additionally, phrases indicating a feeling of longing for the deceased also constitute praise.[38] Following Sourvinou-Inwood's line of thought, the use of other terms, such as ἀρίστη (**24**), could also be considered praise. Adjectives are also an important indicator of what society and/or family valued in women. Thus, during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath, women were valued for their virtue, chastity, piety, modesty and overall goodness.

Identification of the Deceased and Dedicator/s in Funerary Texts

Many funerary inscriptions in this study use only personal names to identify the deceased, dedicator/s and/or other living relatives which can make it difficult, if not impossible, to identify who is dead and who is living. There are, of course, exceptions to this which are as follows:

Gravestones which list one person by name: **3**, **7**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **14**, **16**, **23**, **24**, **38**, **39**, **40**, **41**, **45**;

Gravestones which use phrases, such as ἐνθάδε κεῖται, τόδε σῆμα and μνῆμα τόδε κεῖται, indicating the burial of, or the erection of a memorial to, a specific person at that place: **1**, **8**, **18**, **33**, **34**, **35**, **36**, **37**, **42**, **43.**

In tombstones belonging to the first category where one person is listed, it is clear that this individual is the deceased. Tombstones of the second category can list several names in addition to that of the deceased. However, with the inclusion of the phrases listed above, the identity of the deceased and dedicator/s is revealed. In some cases, the relationship between the deceased and dedicator/s are also inscribed.[39] There are three funerary inscriptions (**8**, **18**, **42**) from the second category which do pose a problem as they all include an extra name which is not mentioned in the deceased's epitaph. This make it impossible to determine what their relationship was to the deceased and/or dedicator/s or whether they were dead or alive.

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[38] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 117.
[39] See **1**, **18**, **33**, **34**, **35**, **37**, **42**.

Byers and Brulé comment on dedicators of gravestones for women. According to Byers, most gravestones were erected by parents for children who died young and, in the case of girls, unmarried. In the cases where the parents were the dedicators, they could either act on their own or together. In her own study, Byers also found that children could dedicate to parents, siblings to siblings and spouse to spouse.[40] Brulé, on the other hand, writes that the virtues received by girls and wives in death are bestowed on them by fathers and husbands, suggesting that it was only their male relatives who could act as dedicators.[41]

There are eight extant sepulchral texts which identify the deceased and dedicators/s (**1**, **8**, **18**, **33**, **34**, **35**, **37**, **42**), many have parents, either on their own or together, acting as dedicators. This accords with Byers' findings that parents frequently acted as dedicators. Taking this a step further, this study determines that one parent acting as sole dedicator is slightly more usual than parents acting as co-dedicators. There are two instances of the latter (**1**, **33**), while the former is found three times (**18**, **35**, **37**). In addition to commemorating their children, one parent dedicators also appear to dedicate memorials to other deceased family members at the same time, suggesting that they are fulfilling more than just a parental role. The unnamed father in **18** commemorates both his son, Phyrkias, and a woman, Nikoboule, who is thought to have been Phyrkias' mother.[42] Inscription **35** mentions an unnamed woman who likely had a hand in commemorating her mother, Ampharete, and her unnamed child. This inscription is particularly interesting as it suggests that the daughter had frequent contact with her family, so much so that her child is buried with his maternal grandmother rather than by itself or with a paternal relative. Inscription **37** states that a mother, Metrikhe, set up a tombstone for two sons, Dieitrephes and Perikles, a daughter, Hagnis, and a brother, Demophon. In addition to **1** and **33**, which have both mother and father acting as co-dedicators, these examples, particularly **35**

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[40] Byers 1998: 111-112.
[41] Brulé 2003: 176.
[42] Clairmont *CAT* II 2.183.

and **37**, show that it is not just the male relatives of deceased females who could erect tombstones to their female family members, as Brulé suggested earlier.

There are two grave texts which have the spouse as the dedicator: **24** and **42**. Inscription **24** does not give a dedicator, however, the text reads: Νικοσστράτη γυνὴ ἀρίστη (Nikosstrate, an excellent wife). The fact that Nikosstrate is referred to as a wife when she died suggests that she is married and that her husband outlived her. It is reasonable to assume that it is her spouse who erected her gravestone. Inscription **42** states that Aristokrateia left behind a husband and a mother, both unnamed. The fact that both are mentioned suggests that they outlived Aristokrateia *and* acted as co-dedicators in erecting her memorial, thus reinforcing the idea that it is not just male relatives erecting gravestones for deceased women. The combination of mother and spouse as dedicators is not mentioned in Byers' study. Furthermore, it suggests, like **35**, that there is still frequent contact between a married woman and her maternal line which indicates that the relationship between daughter and mother was important.

Parents and spouses are not always mentioned in epitaphs and, in fact, there are two extant grave inscriptions that show that it is not just family members who could dedicate memorials to the dead. Inscription **34** states that it is Euthylla, a friend, who commemorated Biote upon her death. In fact, no member of Biote's family is mentioned in inscription **34** which could suggest that she had no living relatives. The same is true of **8**, which states that Anthemis' friends placed wreaths around her tomb. The option of a non-relative as a dedicator of a gravestone is not mentioned by either Byers or Brulé.

This catalogue does not have any sepulchral inscriptions suggesting that a child erected a tombstone for a parent or a sibling for a sibling. Thus, this study cannot substantiate Byers' findings in that regard.

Age

There are four sepulchral texts which indicate the age of the women listed in them (**1**, **33**, **34**, **35**). Inscription **1**, as discussed previously, uses two nouns to describe the deceased, θυγάτηρ and παῖς, which serve to emphasise her age and role in her family. Inscription **33** also commemorates children, in this case, a brother and sister who may have died together. The fact that only the parents are mentioned in the epitaph suggests that neither child had an extended, marital, family. This could mean that both Mnesagora and Nikokhares died relatively young. The text of **34** explicitly states that Biote died young but does not give an exact age, probably before she was married as it was a friend who buried her rather than a husband. The text does not explain why Biote's parents are absent, possibly she outlived her family and so burial duty fell to a close friend. Finally, **35** is a combined burial of a grandmother and grandchild. The child is not named, suggesting that it died before it was named, so it was likely less than seven days old.[43] It is buried with its grandmother, but there is no indication as to how old Ampharete was when she died. The grave relief helps here as it shows Ampharete as a mature age woman (see Chapter Four and Table 4.6).

Status

Vestergaard *et al.* used the status of women as a criterion to determine name types. They note that a woman's status is either left unmentioned or indicated by a demotic or an ethnic. This allows them to establish three categories: 1) unknown; 2) citizen; and 3) metic/foreigner. They then note that it is impossible to identify slaves with any degree of certainty, although there is good reason to believe that, sometimes, a slave's name is inscribed on a stone. Thus,

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[43] Golden 2003: 15.

Vestergaard *et al.* create a fourth category: slaves. Inscriptions which just contain a woman's name fell into the first category as there are no indications of a status. The authors assign women to the second category when a demotic is included in her name while women with ethnics are assigned to the third category. Women could also be included in these categories if her personal name only is inscribed alongside a man's name which included a demotic or ethnic. The authors base this on the idea that if a woman is inscribed with a man on a tombstone then she is related to him in some capacity which would suggest that she has the same status as him.[44]

The fourth category, slaves, is comprised of named women who did not have demotics/ethnics and have one or more of the following terms applied to them: χρηστή, χαῖρε, and/or indications of occupation, such as nurse or dancer.[45] Vestergaard *et al.* note that these terms can occur in gravestones commemorating metics, but that it is very rare for this to happen.[46] Thus, their slave category partly includes names of metics lacking ethnics and partly names of slaves, the latter of which are identified by typical names, such as Thraitta or Syra. However, even the presence of these names does not mean a solid identification as a slave as the authors note that these women may have held the status of freedwomen. The only way to a certain identification of a woman's status as a slave is the inclusion of the term δούλη (slave) which is exceptionally rare.[47]

By following Vestergaard *et al.*, it is possible to assign the women in this catalogue a status, showing that their findings can be applied to the period c. 430-400 B.C. As Table 3.1 shows, the majority of named women in this catalogue fall into Vestergaard *et al.* first category:

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[44] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 178-180.
[45] See also Vlassopoulos 2010: 114.
[46] See also Vlassopoulos 2010: 114.
[47] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 179. See also Byers 1998: 107; Kosmopoulou 2001: 290; Stears 2000a: 213.

unknown. These women consist of those identified by just their personal name and those identified by their name and patronymic. There are two exceptions to this: **37** and **43**. In the former, the demotics of two of the named women's male relatives are included and identifies them as citizens which, according to Vestergaard *et al.*'s study, would give their female relatives the same status. Thus, the women of **37** would fall into the second category: citizen. The latter, states that Herseis died in Athens, far away from her fatherland which suggests that she was either a metic/foreigner or a slave. However, the lack of any of the terms outlined above or the use of typical slave names suggests that Herseis fell into the third category: metic/foreigner.

Vestergaard *et al.* do not state whether they include women who are identified through their name and patronymic in their first category. However, their catalogue lists women referred to by name and patronymic in this category.[48] Thus, the women who are identified by this name formula here are included in the first category. Inscription **1**, which identifies the deceased Aristylla by name, patronymic and matronymic, is also included in the first category as no demotics or ethnics are included. The one exception to this is inscription **36**. While this inscription identifies Myrrhine by her name and patronymic, it also refers to her as the first priestess of Athena Nike, a position which is only open to citizen women.[49] Thus, Myrrhine would fall into the second category: citizen. In addition to **36** and **37**, there are four other grave inscriptions which fall into the category of citizen: **5**, **15**, **19** and **25**. These inscriptions either have the woman or the man referred to by name, patronymic and demotic. Inscriptions **5** and **19** are the only examples of both woman and man having a demotic.

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[48] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 186.
[49] *IG* I³ 35; Connelly 2007: 49, 49 n. 128; Dillon 2002: 85; Ostwald 1986: 139, 139 n. 8; Parker 1996: 125-126.

Those women that fall into the third category, metic/foreigner, number even less than citizens with just three examples (**41**, **42**, **43**). Inscriptions **41** and **42** give their deceased women an ethnic which announced their metic/foreigner status, while **43**, as discussed previously, states that Herseis died away from her homeland. There are fewer examples, again, when looking for women of slave status. Inscription **45** is the sole extant example for c. 430-400 B.C. Vlassopoulos found that Θρᾶιττα was used as a name for four real slaves, two possible[50] real slaves and five fictional slaves.[51] He also finds the name being used to name three individuals of unknown status and one freedwoman.[52] Thus, Vlassopoulos found that Θρᾶιττα was a popular slave name which could suggest that the Θρᾶιττα of **45** is, in fact, a slave. However, as Vestergaard *et al.* point out, slave women could also be identified as freedwomen and, in this case, Vlassopoulos found evidence that this name was used by a freedwoman.[53] Thus, inscription **45** should not necessarily be thought of as a slave grave.

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[50] Vlassopoulos 2010: 114 describes possible slaves (or freedman) as individuals who were likely to have been slaves "but whose status cannot be established with certainty."

[51] Vlassopoulos 2010: 117 Table 2; 136 Appendix: A List of Athenian Slave Names.

[52] Vlassopoulos 2010: 117 Table 2; 136 Appendix: A List of Athenian Slave Names.

[53] Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 179; Vlassopoulos 2010: 117 Table 2; 136 Appendix: A List of Athenian Slave Names.

Table 3.1: Statuses for Named Women for c. 430-400 B.C.

Status	Catalogue Number	Total Number of Named Women
Unknown	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 44, 46	48
Citizen	5, 15[54], 19, 25, 36, 37	7
Metic/Foreigner	41, 42, 43	3
Slave/Freedwoman	45	1

The Application of the Study by Vestergaard *et al.* for c. 430-400 B.C.

Vestergaard *et al.* created a typology through the analysis of sepulchral texts dating from c. 400 B.C to c. A.D. 250.[55] From the previous section on status (see above), it is known that Vestergaard *et al.* findings regarding status can be applied to the period c. 430-400 B.C. This section aims to determine whether their typology as a whole can be applied to this period. To begin, a brief recap of Vestergaard *et al.* typology is required. The authors found that women on gravestones could be placed into six types: **Type I** – no relationship stated; **Type II** – filial relationship explicitly stated; **Type III** – filial relationship implied; **Type IV** – uxorial relationship explicitly stated; **Type V**; filial and uxorial relationships combined; and **Type VI** – other forms of relationship stated. Each type had four subdivisions: **a** – status unknown; **b** –

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[54] **15** is included here based on the hypothesis that the female figure in the relief was named using the formula name, patronymic and demotic. See discussion on the uncertain inscriptions for more detail.
[55] See Chapter One.

citizen; **c** – metic/foreigner; and **d** – slave. Where there is more than one name in the nominative a plus (+) was added. In these cases, several types could be combined under one overall type.

Table 3.1 shows that types IV to VI do not appear in sepulchral inscriptions for women during c. 430-400 B.C. Types Ia-d, IIa-b and IIIa do appear with type Ia and Ia+ being the most commonly occurring in the extant inscriptions. This suggests that it is not usual for a woman's status or her relationship to other individuals listed with her, man or woman, to be inscribed on her gravestone. Thus, only part of Vestergaard *et al.* typology can be applied to the Peloponnesian War period.

Table 3.2: Vestergaard *et al.* Typology for c. 430-400 B.C.

Typology	Catalogue Numbers	Typology	Catalogue Numbers
Type Ia	2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 24, 31, 35, 38, 39	**Type Ia+**	4, 6, 8, 12, 13, 17, 18, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 44
Type Ic	41, 43	**Type Ib+**	5, 15, 19, 25
Type Id	45	**Type Ic+**	42
Type IIa	1	**Type IIb+**	36, 37
Type IIIa	16, 23, 40	**Type IIIa+**	46

Conclusion

The extant funerary inscriptions show that women can be identified using one of six formulas: 1) personal name only; 2) name and patronymic; 3) name, patronymic and demotic; 4) name and demotic/ethnic; 5) name, patronymic and matronymic; or 6) no name. Of these, formula one is the most popular, being used on 34 of the 46 gravestones. Formulas two to six occur rarely, all being used less than 10 times, suggesting that they were not in high use. Formula six

is used to refer to the gravestone's dedicator/s; these individuals are referred to by a noun denoting their relationship with the deceased.

Eleven of the 46 gravestones provide a description of the women inscribed on them. There are two ways that they could be described. One, a noun could be used to describe the deceased's role within the family, their occupation or their relationship with the dedicator/s. There are six nouns used in this way, all of which are used once except for θυγάτηρ and μήτηρ; these are used four and three times respectively. The word γυνή is never used to explicitly describe a woman's relationship with a man. Two, nouns, adjectives or a combination of the two could be used to describe and praise a woman's character. There are 11 words used in this way, all of which are used once except for φίλη; this is used twice. The small percentage of texts with a description suggests that describing women in sepulchral texts was not a common practice.

Descriptions of women can also be conveyed through expressions of grief. Through the use of specific terms (ie. χρηστή, σώφρων, ἀγαθή, ἀρετή, σώφροσύνη) or a combination of these terms, and phrases denoting a feeling of longing for the deceased, the dedicator/s praised their deceased family members by showing passers-by the qualities their loved ones possessed and thereby showing the affection, love and friendship they felt for the deceased. Expressions of grief appear in four of the 46 sepulchral inscriptions. They occur when the deceased is a child, not married or a foreigner and, for the most part, are voiced by the parent/s of child(ren). The small number of texts with these expressions suggest that their inclusion was not the norm.

The inclusion of descriptive words and expressions of grief make it possible to identify the deceased in funerary texts. The deceased can be identified in two ways: 1) by being the only individual listed by name and/or 2) by the inclusion of phrases denoting the burial of, or the

erection of a memorial to, a specific person. In most cases where the latter is used, the identity of the dedicator/s is also revealed. Most gravestones are erected by one parent for children who died young and/or unmarried. In these cases, the parent also dedicates the gravestone to other deceased family members. Four other scenarios are found in regard to dedicators: 1) parents acting as co-dedicators; 2) a parent and a spouse acting as co-dedicators; 3) a spouse acting as sole dedicator; and 4) a close friend/s acting as dedicator/s.

A careful analysis of funerary inscriptions can also illuminate other aspects of the lives of ancient Athenian women, such as status, age and personal relationships. Concerning age, there are four inscriptions which indicate the age of the women listed in them. Of these, three indicate that the deceased died young while the fourth indicates the deceased was a grandmother, but gives no indication of her age at death. This suggests that when age indicators are used, deaths at a young age are more likely to be included in the text. However, the small number of texts with age indicators suggests that their inclusion was not the norm. In regard to status, women could be assigned one of four: 1) unknown; 2) citizen; 3) metic/foreigner; and 4) slave. Of the 59 women named on the gravestones, 48 are not identified through their status. Furthermore, while male relatives are mentioned in some inscriptions, they are not always named which makes determining a woman's status from her relationship to a man impossible. This suggests that identification of any status is not an integral part of the identification of women on gravestones. Concerning personal relationships, 39 of the 46 funerary inscriptions do not state a relationship between the listed individuals. The remaining seven inscriptions show both implied and explicitly stated filial relationships. The explicitly stated relationships account for three inscriptions while implied relationships account for four. This suggests that the inclusion of a woman's personal relationship to other listed individuals was not common.

The sepulchral inscriptions, contrary to previous scholarship, show that women were regularly identified by just their personal name and that it was not common for other details, such as descriptions, age, status and/or personal relationships, to be included. When these details are included, there is no link between them or the name formulas to explain their inclusion. Nor does there appear to be a reason behind the use of one name formula over another. This suggests that there is no set formula for when women are inscribed in funerary inscriptions. Thus, the majority of women are commemorated with no reference to their good character, status, age or personal relationships, and no evidence as to who dedicated their gravestones. Instead, they are memorialised with just their personal names. This suggests that the commemoration of women was not a political act as most funerary inscriptions dedicated to women do *not* emphasise their citizenship status, their family ties or their *deme* affiliation. Rather, the commemoration of women appears to have been about the personal recognition of the deceased. That women are being recognised in their own right on gravestones suggests women were viewed as more than just someone's wife or daughter which challenges the conventional view of women. Additionally, that some women acted as sole or co-dedicators of gravestones suggests that during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath women had some agency in their lives. Archaeological evidence in the form of mass graves show that burial practices did change during the plague outbreaks.[56] However, the fact that, at least, 24 families commemorated gravestones for their female relatives and that some women were able to afford to erect gravestones suggests that normal burial practices were still in use during the outbreaks. This suggest that both Thucydides' account of the plagues' impact was exaggerated and that not every district and/or every person was affected equally by the plague outbreaks.

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[56] See Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2006: 207; Tritle 2010: 49.

Chapter Four: Women on Funerary Reliefs

A thorough review of the more authoritative studies concerning women on grave reliefs reveals that the understanding of the portrayal of women is based primarily on evidence dating to the fourth century B.C.[1] I test whether fourth-century evidence can be used to understand the portrayal of women on gravestones during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath by focusing on one question, how were women portrayed on the funerary reliefs of c. 430-400 B.C.? To answer this question, I focus on several topics. First, I look at the number of female figures in relief scenes and the compositions that they are a part of. Second, I determine the orientation of the female figures within the relief scenes. Third, I identify the poses that female figures are placed in. This section also looks at the poses in relation to orientation. Fourth, I identify the gestures performed by female figures. Fifth, I look at the dress and hairstyles of the female figures. Sixth, I identify the attributes included in relief scenes. Seventh, I determine whether the female figures can be assigned an age. Eighth, I determine whether female figures are portrayed as having a specific status. Ninth, I determine how individuals can be identified as the deceased in grave reliefs.

The typology of funerary monuments (see Appendix B) shows that three tombstones (**8**, **42**, **43**) do not have an image due to either their fragmentary nature and/or lack of a painted scene. Plausible reconstructions of these scenes are impossible to provide based solely on evidence from other extant sepulchral reliefs as there are too many variables. The scholarship on a further two tombstones (**34**, **45**) lack a description and photo of the actual monument. Thus, it is uncertain as to whether an image was included with the text. An additional three tombstones

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[1] See Chapter One.

(**36**, **37**, **41**), according to the typology of funerary monuments (see Appendix B), do not have reliefs and are not included in the following discussions.

Number of Figures

During the second half of the fifth century B.C., women, men, and children of both genders are depicted on gravestones in a variety of compositions. However, according to Osborne, the representation of women during this period begins to increase and eventually surpasses the appearance of men on grave monuments.[2] His analysis of Clairmont's massive corpus of tombstones finds that women outnumber men in reliefs, with 628 reliefs figuring women and 468 figuring men. Furthermore, Osborne notes that women outnumbered men "in all the various compositional formations" (see Table 4.1).[3] The only time males outnumber females in funerary reliefs is when the relief shows children on their own. It is estimated that about 40% of all tombstones dating from the Peloponnesian War period in Clairmont's *CAT* show children and just over a fifth of these show one child; in 80 reliefs that child is a boy while 49 depict girls.[4] However, single figure scenes with children were not very popular, rather scenes showing one or two children with an adult or older sibling were more popular, contributing to about 43% of gravestones depicting children. The remaining c. 35% of tombstones with children show one or more children with two to five adults with the most commonplace scene showing two adults performing the *dexiosis* while a child or children take a subsidiary role.[5]

The focus of this study is women on gravestones dating to c. 430-400 B.C., so a comparison cannot be made between gravestones depicting only women and gravestones depicting only men to determine whether the above statistics are relevant. However, the use and popularity of certain figure compositions involving sepulchral reliefs with at least one woman can be

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[2] Osborne 1997: 12. See also Oakley 2008: 340; Strömberg 2003: 33.
[3] Osborne 1997: 14. For a full statistical breakdown see Osborne 1997: 14 n. 33.
[4] Osborne 1997: 14; Oakley 2003: 181; Oakley 2009: 218.
[5] Oakley 2009: 218, 223.

compared to the data gathered by Osborne to determine their relevance for the period under study. Osborne found 29 relief compositions involving women in Clairmont's *CAT* and, as Table 4.1 shows, the most popular composition is one female and one male with 428 examples. One interesting point to note is that as the number of adult figures in a relief goes up and, in some cases, when child(ren) are added, the number of extant examples decrease. This pattern is repeated in the relief compositions for c. 430-400 B.C. (see Table 4.2) and, interestingly, is also seen with the sepulchral inscriptions when the listed individuals are identified by just their personal names (see Chapter Three).

Table 4.1: Reliefs Compositions in Clairmont's *CAT*[6]

Relief Composition	Examples in Clairmont's *CAT*	Relief Composition	Examples in Clairmont's *CAT*
Single Female	131	**Four Females**	2
One Female + One Child	96	**Two Males + Two Females + Child(ren)**	6
Two Females	241	**Three Females + One Male + Child(ren)**	9
One Female + One Male	428	**Four Females + Child(ren)**	2
Two Females + Child(ren)	78	**Three Males + Two Females**	1
One Female + One Male + Child(ren)	120	**Three Females + Two Males**	4
Two Males + One Female	157	**Five Females**	1
Two Females + One Male	231	**Three Males + Two Females + Child(ren)**	1
Three Females	66	**Four Males + One Female + Child(ren)**	1
Two Males + One Female + Child(ren)	21	**Four Females + Two Males**	1
Two Females + One Male + Child(ren)	45	**Three Females + Three Males**	1
Three Females + Child(ren)	11	**Five Females + One Male + Child(ren)**	1
Three Males + One Female	21	**Three Females + Three Males + Child(ren)**	1
Two Males and Two Females	47	**Six Females + One Male**	1
Three Females + One Male	29		

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[6] All data in this table is taken from Osborne 1997: 14 fn. 33.

Table 4.2: Relief Compositions for c. 430-400 B.C.

Relief Composition	Examples from the Catalogue	Relief Composition	Examples from the Catalogue
Single Female	8	Two Females + One Male	2
One Female + One Child	1	Four Females	1
Two Females	5	Two Males + Two Females + Child(ren)	1
One Female + One Male	10	Three Females + One Male + Child(ren)	1
Two Females + Child(ren)	1	Four Females + Two Males	1
One Female + One Male + Child(ren)	3	Five Females + One Male + Child(ren)	1
Two Males + One Female	2	Two Females + Two Males + One God	1

During c. 430-400 B.C. 14 relief compositions are used for women. Thirteen of these are also identified by Osborne in his analysis of Clairmont's *CAT*. According to Table 4.2, the most preferred relief composition is one female and one male which agrees with Osborne and Younger's findings.[7] Reliefs with single females are the next most common composition, which agrees with Stears' assertion that women are often portrayed by themselves in tomb reliefs, followed by reliefs with two females.[8] This order does not reflect Osborne's findings which lists reliefs with two females and reliefs with two females and one male as the next most common compositions after one female and one male. This disparity could be attributed to the differences in data sets; Osborne's analysis focuses on the entirety of Clairmont's *CAT* while my analysis focuses on a smaller subset. Furthermore, it disagrees with Oakley's statement that women on gravestones of the classical period are commonly shown as part of family gatherings.[9] Table 4.2 shows that it is less common for women to be depicted in large groups,

[7] Osborne 1997: 14; Younger 2002: 174
[8] Stears 1995: 117.
[9] Oakley 2008: 341.

a finding which is also reflected in Osborne's data. The compositions found in this catalogue also accord with Osborne and Oakley's findings concerning women's domination over men in grave reliefs. Of the 46 gravestones in this catalogue 38 have reliefs and these show a total of 61 female figures as against 29 male figures, although this is a female focused subset of the whole.

Regarding children on gravestones, there are eight reliefs that include children in this catalogue. This low number can be attributed to this study's criteria for choosing gravestones which demands that at least one female be positively identified in the sepulchral inscriptions. Of the ten children, five can be assigned a gender; three are male and two are female. This suggests that children could be shown genderless or with a gender on gravestones where at least one woman is positively identified in the text. There is insufficient data to determine whether Osborne and Oakley's findings of boy children outnumbering girl children can be applied to this period.

Orientation

Women can be positioned to the right, left or centre of a funerary relief. Most of the female figures in the extant reliefs are placed to the left of the scene. Two-figure compositions often position women to the left. This is slightly more common with one female and one male, although two females only are also usual. Women can be found placed to the left of the relief in single figure compositions. The same goes for multi-figure reliefs with one female and one male plus (child)ren when the child is female, and four females plus child(ren). At least one woman is placed to the left in other multi-figure reliefs which are as follows: two males and one female; two females plus child(ren); two females and one male; two females, two males and one god; two female and two males plus child(ren) when the child is male; three females

and two males; four females; and five females and one male plus child(ren) when the child is male. However, women positioned to the left in these reliefs are rare.

Two-figure compositions also frequently have women placed to the right of the relief. However, unlike with placement to the left, it is more common with reliefs showing two females only rather than one female and one male. Relief compositions with two females plus child(ren) when the child is female or five females and one male plus child(ren) when the child is male also tend to position women on the right, however, this is not as common as with two-figure reliefs. Women placed to the right can also be found in other multi-figure reliefs, with or without child(ren), which are as follows: two females plus child(ren) where the child is male; two females, two males and one god; two females and two males plus child(ren) when the child is male; four females; four females plus child(ren); and four females and two males. Women being placed to the right are rare in these compositions.

Single figure compositions frequently have women positioned in the centre of the relief. There are three examples of multi-figure compositions having at least one woman in the centre. Reliefs **26** and **27** are both three-figure scenes, with **26** showing one woman and two men and **27** portraying two women and one man. In both reliefs, the woman performing the *dexiosis* with the man opposite her is placed in the centre of the relief with the third figure positioned behind her. Relief **35** is composed of a single woman holding a child. As with the single, childless, figure compositions, the deceased Ampharete is positioned in the centre of the relief.

Relief **25** is listed as uncertain, likely right; the text names one woman and two men, while the relief shows an adult man and a child, possibly a boy based on the text. The two male names

likely belong to the two surviving figures while the female name likely belonged to a woman who was shown on the missing right side of the relief.

The two female children found in this catalogue are evenly divided between right and left. The girl in **24** is placed on the left of the relief beside her mother while the girl in **4** is held by the woman positioned to the right. Table 4.3. is a summary of my results.

Table 4.3: Orientation of Women on Funerary Reliefs for c. 430-400 B.C.

Orientation	Catalogue Numbers	Total Number of Female Figures
Right	1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 40	20
Left	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 40, 44, 46	32
Centre	3, 7, 9, 14, 26, 27, 35, 38, 39	9
Uncertain, likely right	25	1

Poses

Female figures on gravestones in the Agora tend to assume one of five poses: sitting, standing, walking, kneeling and, occasionally, reclining. However, only two poses, sitting and standing, were in use on Agora tombstones during c. 430-400 B.C., the remaining three were used from c. 400 B.C. onwards. Grossman adds that the walking women are led by Hermes Psychopompos. She finds that most women on sepulchral reliefs dating to the classical period

were depicted as sitting.[10] This accords with Strömberg's findings. She finds that more than 25% of Clairmont's *CAT* show reliefs with either a seated individual or a seated figure accompanied by several standing figures. She also finds that one out six individuals who are depicted as seated are men. This led Strömberg to conclude that depicting women as seated was a common occurrence. However, she does note that seated women tend to represent mature-aged, married, women who are mothers, while standing female figures show young, unmarried, women or girls.[11] Margariti adds that the standing pose is frequently used for young women, while adult women can be shown as either seated or standing.[12]

An analysis of the poses using a different data set shows that it was common practice for the women of c. 430-400 B.C. to be shown as standing. A total of 39 women are portrayed as standing as against 16 who are seated. Two other poses, walking and being held, are also found in the grave reliefs, however, they are used very rarely with the former being used twice and the latter appearing once. Table 4.4 is a summary of my results.

Table 4.4: Women's Poses on Grave Reliefs for c. 430-400 B.C.

Poses	Catalogue Numbers	Total Number of Female Figures
Standing	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 40, 44	39
Seated	1, 4, 6, 10, 11, 17, 18, 22, 23, 29, 30, 35, 38, 39, 40, 46	16

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[10] Grossman 2013: 36, 37 Table 4.
[11] Strömberg 2003: 33-34. See also Stears 1995: 120.
[12] Margariti 2018: 107.

Being Held	4	1
Walking	7, 31	2
Uncertain	3, 14, 21, 25	4

Relief **4**, showing two females plus a female child, is the sole example of a female figure being held. This pose is combined with the seated and standing poses, with the woman standing to the right holding the young girl in her left arm. This pose does not appear on any other gravestones.

The walking pose is apparent in relief **31** which is unique amongst the extant tombstones as it depicts the god Hermes along with two females and two males. Hermes, in his role as Psychopompos, stands in the centre of the relief holding Myrrhine's right hand in his left. They are both in poses indicative of movement: Hermes' right hand is lowered, with wrist and hand in profile view, while Myrrhine's right foot is firmly on the ground and the toes of her left foot touch the ground in a stepping motion.[13] Incidentally, this relief also confirms Grossman's findings that walking women tend to be led by Hermes Psychopompos. The walking pose is combined with a standing pose, no seated figures appear on this relief. The walking pose in **7** is not as obvious, but Aristomakhe's legs do appear in a similar position as those of Myrrhine. The walking pose is, again, combined with a standing pose.

When used on its own, the seated pose is not as popular as Table 4.4 makes it appear, being used six times (**18**, **22**, **35**, **38**, **39** and **46**). It is most popular with both single figure reliefs and two-figure reliefs showing one female and one male, but it can also be found the reliefs with one female and an infant, and one female and one male plus child(ren). The standing pose, on

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[13] Clairmont *CAT* IV 5.150.

the other hand, is used 17 times (**2**, **5**, **7**, **9**, **12**, **13**, **15**, **16**, **19**, **20**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **31**, **32**, **33** and **44**). It is the preferred pose of women in two-figure reliefs showing one female and one male, but it is also popular with single figure reliefs. It can also be found in the following relief compositions: one female and two males; two females and one male; two females, two males and one god; four females; and four females and two males. Incidentally, a discrepancy in numbers can be seen in one figure reliefs which show either a seated woman or a standing woman that reflects Osborne's findings. He found that there were 101 examples of single standing female figures in Clairmont's *CAT* as against 30 single seated female figures.[14] This catalogue has four examples of single standing female figures and two single seated female figures. While the discrepancy is not as great as that found by Osborne, it still agrees with his findings that standing was the preferred pose in single figure reliefs for women.

Seated and standing is the most common pose combination and it is most often used in two-figure compositions. Younger writes that many of these reliefs show a man and a woman and, of those that show same-sex pairs, two women are more common than two men.[15] While sepulchral reliefs with one female and one male are the most numerous of the two-figure compositions, three (**18**, **20** and **46**) of the ten examples in this catalogue use the seated-standing combination. The remaining seven (**12**, **13**, **15**, **16**, **19**, **33**, and **44**) have both figures standing. An additional point to note is that **22** and **24**, both of which show one female and one male plus child(ren), portray the woman as seated and the man as standing. This suggests that it was more likely for compositions with one female and one male to have the seated-standing combination when a child was also added to the scene. Thus, it appears that Younger's findings concerning the seated-standing pose combination for reliefs with one female and one male do not apply for the Peloponnesian War period.

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[14] Osborne 1997: 14 n 33.
[15] Younger 2002: 174.

The next most common two-figure composition, according to Younger, is two females only, a finding which is confirmed by this catalogue.[16] There are five examples of this composition in this study's catalogue (**1**, **10**, **11**, **17** and **40**) and all show one seated female figure and one standing female figure. This is also the case when children, regardless of gender, are added to the scene as in reliefs **4** (discussed above) and **23**.

As the total number of figures in a funerary relief increase, the less likely it is that the seated-standing combination will be evenly distributed between figures or even used. Most of the reliefs with more than two adults tend to show all figures standing except for one figure who will be seated. In most cases the seated figure is female.[17] There are three compositions that do not use the seated-standing pose combinations: two females and one male (**27**); two females, two males and one god (**31**); and four females (**28**).

The two female children are portrayed in two different poses. The little girl in **4** is shown as being held, while the girl in **24** is shown standing beside her seated mother. The three male children, on the other hand, are all shown as standing. The remaining four children appear to be swaddled in blankets and cradled against the chest of the figures holding them.

The seated position has more significance than the other poses. Margariti writes that the seated position usually symbolises age and status and, therefore, often shows a married woman of mature age.[18] Stears and Strömberg also adhere to this view.[19] Grossman does not mention the

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[16] Younger 2002: 174.
[17] See **6**, **29**, **30**, **32**.
[18] Margariti 2018: 107 n. 94.
[19] Stears 1995: 120; Strömberg 2003: 33-34.

seated position in relation to age but does agree that it suggests a woman's status, and is an indication of her having possessed a position of honour in life.[20] Oakley also agrees that a seated position shows a woman's status, however, he believes that it is indicative of their place in the domestic sphere.[21] I agree that the seated position is indicative of a domestic setting as there is no evidence to suggest an outdoor setting in the selected reliefs. The hypothesis that mature-aged, married, women are often shown in the seated position is challenged by this selection of reliefs; just 16 of the 37 mature-aged women are seated.[22] Of these, 12 include attributes, such as infants and dogs, which could suggest that they were married (see below). This suggests that married women were more likely shown to be seated, but not mature-aged women. There are two statuses identified in reliefs: slave or non-slave (see below). The 16 seated women are all identified as non-slaves. Thus, I do not agree that the seated position is indicative of citizenship status. It is, however, indicative of death; 16 of the 29 women positively identified as deceased are shown as seated (see Chapter Five).

It is clear from the above discussion that the portrayal of women as standing was popular. Female figures are also shown evenly distributed to either the right or left. As Table 4.5 shows, the preferred orientation and pose of women is standing to the left, with 22 women portrayed in this way, although standing to the right, with 13 women shown in this way, is also a common occurrence. The discrepancy between female figures seated to the right and to the left is greater than that between the standing pose with nine women depicted as seated to the left and five seated to the right. The same gap is seen again between women portrayed as seated in the centre of the relief, with three women shown in this way, and standing in the centre, with four women shown in this way.

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[20] Grossman 2013: 37.
[21] Oakley 2009: 223.
[22] See **1**, **4**, **6**, **10**, **11**, **17**, **18**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **29**, **30**, **35**, **38**, **39**, **46**.

Table 4.5: Orientation and Poses of Female Figures for c. 430-400 B.C.

Poses	Catalogue Numbers	Total Number of Female Figures
Standing to the Right	1, 4, 6, 11, 13, 20, 23, 28, 29, 30, 32	13
Seated to the Right	6, 10, 17, 22, 40	5
Standing to the Left	2, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 24, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 40, 44	22
Seated to the Left	1, 4, 11, 18, 23, 24, 29, 30, 46	9
Standing in the Centre	9, 26, 27	4
Seated in the Centre	35, 38, 39	3
Being Held to the Right	4	1
Walking on the Right	31	1
Walking in the Centre	7	1
Uncertain to the Left	21	1
Uncertain, likely Right	25	1
Uncertain in the Centre	3, 14	2

Gestures

Grossman finds that females figures on the gravestones of the Agora can be seen performing eight gestures: *dexiosis* (greeting), *anakalypsis* (unveiling), speaking, listening, mourning, contemplation, camaraderie and protection. However, she finds that only the *anakalypsis* gesture was performed during c. 430-400 B.C. on the Agora tombstones while the other seven

were shown from c. 400 B.C. onwards.[23] Grossman's findings concerning the use of two gestures, camaraderie and protection, appear to be correct as these gestures are not used by women in this catalogue and so cannot be applied to gravestones found outside of the Agora. The other gestures, however, are found in this catalogue, suggesting that Grossman's findings can be applied to gravestones found outside of the Agora during the period c. 430-400 B.C. There are seven other gestures which are performed during this period which have been found on sepulchral relief with women: pointing, reaching, petting, touching, working wool, hugging and holding. However, apart from holding, these gestures appear less than three times each.

Before discussing the 12 gestures performed by women on gravestones, another action needs to be pointed out. A gesture is a movement of a body part, particularly the head or hands, to express an idea so, while looking cannot be considered a gesture in the strictest sense, the act of looking is still an important action to consider. Looking is the most common action on grave reliefs and it is often shown in conjunction with one or more gestures. The act of looking is characterised by one figure directing their gaze at either another figure (**1**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **10**, **12**, **13**, **15**, **16**, **17**, **18**, **19**, **20**, **22**, **23**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **29**, **30**, **31**, **32**, **33**, **35** and **44**), an object, such as a box or mirror (**2**, **4**, **24**, **39** and **40**) or an animal (**9** and **11**). The interesting point to note about the act of looking at another figure is that all figures, regardless of gender, perform this action. Whereas the act of looking at an object or animal is performed by female figures.

Dexiosis

Dexiosis is the most commonly depicted gesture on Attic grave reliefs of the classical period, appearing on about 55% of the reliefs collected by Clairmont, with the majority dating to the fourth century B.C. Margariti finds that it was not very popular during c. 430-400 B.C., appearing on 55 reliefs in Clairmont's *CAT*, and that its popularity increased during the fourth

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[23] Grossman 2013: 39 Table 5.

century, appearing on 215 reliefs dating to c. 400-375 B.C., 732 in c. 375-350 B.C., and 311 in c. 350-320 B.C.[24] This does appear to be the case with the *dexiosis* gesture on grave reliefs for women during c. 430-400 B.C. The *dexiosis* gesture is used 16 times, making it the second most popular gesture after the holding gesture (see below), which was used 21 times.

The gesture is often used in reliefs with two adults; Margariti finds that out of the 1,185 reliefs with two adult figures in Clairmont's *CAT*, 653 show them performing the *dexiosis*. However, she also finds that the *dexiosis* is used much more frequently on multi-figured scenes of three or more figures, with 594 reliefs showing scenes with three figures and the *dexiosis* and 689 reliefs portraying the gesture in scenes with more than three figures. In these cases, the *dexiosis* identifies the deceased as he/she is always one of the participants in the gesture.[25] Seated or standing adults and children who have reached maturity of both sexes may be shown acting out this gesture, but the handshake is rare in reliefs with children.[26] However, it is possible for a child to join a *dexiosis* scene; a stele, dating to c. 421-410 B.C., from the Piraeus shows two men shaking hands with a little female figure standing between them.[27] The female figure's position between the two men makes her a part of the *dexiosis*. Margariti notes that when a figure is seated, the other figure with whom they are performing the gesture with is always depicted standing.[28] The figures performing this gesture, regardless of age or sex, always use their right hands.[29]

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[24] Margariti 2018: 121, 121 n. 199, 122, 122 n. 200. For the *dexiosis* gesture, see Davies 1985: 627-640; Grossman 2013: 38; Johansen 1951: 149-151; Pemberton 1989: 45-50; Schmaltz 1983: 214-215; Scholl 1996: 164-167; Stears 1995: 126.

[25] Margariti 2018: 122, 122 n. 201.

[26] Davies 1985: 628; Margariti 2018: 122; Pemberton 1989: 49; Roccos 2000: 260; Stears 1995: 126; Younger 2002: 174.

[27] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 880.

[28] Margariti 2018: 122 n. 202. Margariti also adds that Clairmont *CAT* IV 4.380 is a rare exception as it shows two seated figures performing the *dexiosis* together. See also Davies 1985: 628.

[29] Margariti 2018: 122; Strömberg 2003: 34. For the use of the right hand in antiquity, see Lloyd,1973 and Wirth 2010.

The *dexiosis* gesture has been variously interpreted by scholars. Davies, Pemberton and Stears suggest that it is either a farewell gesture, which emphasises the departing of the deceased from their family, or a reunion gesture, which suggests that the family will be reunited in Hades. In both interpretations, the handshake connects two figures which would indicate that there was a unity between them.[30] Stears also argues that the *dexiosis* could also be a sign of equality between figures and so, in the case of women, 'their equal status with men as members of the household.'[31] She adds that this would then explain why children do not perform the gesture.[32] Johansen, whose theory is widely accepted, concludes that the *dexiosis* promoted a connection between members of the same family through ties of love and kinship that were so strong that death's intervention could not break them.[33] To borrow Margariti's words, 'The timeless unity of the family that survives the loss of its members and extends beyond death is the essence of the *dexiosis* scenes on Classical Attic grave reliefs.'[34]

The *dexiosis* gesture appears on 16 funerary reliefs (**1**, **4**, **6**, **13**, **15**, **16**, **19**, **20**, **22**, **24**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **29**, **32**, **46**). This gesture, as stated earlier, occurs in multi-figure scenes, with reliefs with one female and one male being the most common composition with the *dexiosis* gesture being used six times (**13**, **15**, **16**, **19**, **20**, **46**). The use of this gesture in other multi-figure scenes is less common, such as one female, one male plus child(ren) which shows the gesture twice (**22**, **24**) while the remaining 10 compositions have one example each, they are as follows: one female and two males (**26**); two females only (**1**); two females plus child(ren) where the child is female (**4**); two females and one male (**27**); two females and two males plus child(ren) where one child is male (**29**); four females only (**28**); four females and two males (**32**); and five females

[30] Davies 1985: 628-630; Pemberton 1989: 48-50; Stears 1995: 126. See also Margariti 2018: 122.
[31] Stears 1995: 126. See also Closterman 2007: 635.
[32] Stears 1995: 126.
[33] Johansen 1951: 149-151. See also Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 115; Closterman 2007: 635; Davies 1985: 628-630; Margariti 2018: 122; Pemberton 1989: 45-50; Roccos 2000: 260; Stears 1995: 126; Strömberg 2003: 33-34; Younger 2002: 178.
[34] Margariti 2018: 122.

and one male plus child(ren) where the child is male (**6**). This does not agree with Margariti's findings that the handshake was more popular on reliefs with three or more figures. This could be explained by the fact that this study is focused on gravestones which positively identify women in the text. This could then suggest that the *dexiosis* gesture was not as popular on sepulchral reliefs belonging to gravestones which identify, at least, one woman during the Peloponnesian War.

Most of reliefs show the *dexiosis* being performed between one female and one male, however, four reliefs (**1**, **4**, **6**, **28**) show the gesture being performed between two women. In reliefs where the *dexiosis* is performed between a woman and a man, the woman is more likely to be positioned to the left of the relief, which is seen in seven scenes, while the right side of the relief and the centre are less likely, women being placed their three times and twice respectively. The position of women in scenes where two women are performing the *dexiosis*, on the other hand, are quite different. In these scenes women are evenly divided between the right and left side of the relief and are never shown in the centre of the relief.

This study confirms previous scholarship on the poses of the figures performing the *dexiosis*. However, while both seated and standing figures can perform this gesture, the standing pose appears to have been the preferred pose both for women clasping hands with men and women shaking hands with other women. In the former, women are shown standing eight times as against four seated. In the latter, women are portrayed as standing five times as against three seated. Children, as stated earlier, do not perform the *dexiosis* with other figures. The use of the right hand to perform the *dexiosis* is also consistent across all reliefs showing this gesture regardless of gender. This agrees with Strömberg and Margariti's findings on the use of the right hand. The left hand is then either left to rest against the woman's side or lap, clasping the

edge of their clothing or used to perform another gesture, such as holding, *anakalypsis* or speaking.

Anakalypsis

The *anakalypsis* gesture is an exclusively female gesture which is popular in Greek art from the second half of the seventh century B.C. onwards. The gesture involves a woman, either seated or standing, using one hand to lift the edge of the veil/himation covering her head away from her body.[35] It is closely related to weddings, specifically the *anakalypteria*, when the new bride would lift her veil to reveal her face to her husband for the first time. It is also often associated with brides and married women to denote their marital status, but can also be performed by unmarried maidens.[36] In the latter case, according to Margariti, a variation of the gesture is performed as unmarried girls are not shown with a head covering. This variation has the maidens lifting the edge of a piece of clothing, typically a himation, at shoulder height. Margariti and Stears believe that the use of this gesture by maidens could suggest that they would soon be married and, possibly, that they were engaged but died before the wedding.[37] Stears adds that the gesture is also the "iconographic equivalent of an epigraphic reference to *sophrosyne*."[38] She writes that the *anakalypsis* involves both the covering and revealing of the woman's face and thus could suggest a restrained and modest character.[39] According to Grossman, the *anakalypsis* gesture can also indicate communication or conversation.[40]

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[35] Margariti 2018: 113. For the *anakalypsis* gesture and its meaning, see Blundell 2002: 159-161; Blundell 1998: 38; Grossman 2013: 31, 38; Keuls 1993: 106-107; Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 98-110, 114; Scholl 1996: 169-170; Stears 1995: 119-120; Oakley 1982: 113-118.
[36] Grossman 2013: 31, 38; Margariti 2018: 113. For the *anakalypteria*, see Blundell 1998: 32, 38; Brulé 2003: 149; Ferrari 2002: 186-190; Ferrari 2003: 32-35; Keuls 1993: 106-107; Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 227-248, 317-318; Oakley 1982: 113-118; Oakley and Sinos 1993: 25-26.
[37] Margariti 2018: 113-114; Roccos 2000: 242, 260; Stears 1995: 120.
[38] Stears 1995: 120.
[39] Stears 1995: 120. See also Blundell 1998: 38.
[40] Grossman 2013: 38.

The *anakalypsis* gesture appears on 11 funerary reliefs (**11**, **12**, **15**, **17**, **19**, **21**, **27**, **28**, **32**, **38**, **46**). Four of these reliefs are composed of one female and one male (**12**, **15**, **19**, **46**), two show one female only (**21**, **38**), another two show two females (**11**, **17**), and the remaining four reliefs have one example each which are as follows: two females and one male (**27**); four females (**28**); and four females and two males (**32**). Apart from **21** and **38**, which place the women in the centre of the relief, and **17**, which places the woman performing the *anakalypsis* to the right, all the sepulchral reliefs position the women performing the *anakalypsis* to the left. Standing appears to be the preferred pose to use with this gesture as seven reliefs show the women using the gesture as standing, only **11**, **17**, **38** and **46** show women seated. Many of the reliefs also show the women performing the unveiling gesture and another gesture, in most cases this gesture is the *dexiosis* (**12**, **15**, **19**, **27**, **28**, **32**, **46**) although the pointing (**11**), holding (**12**) and touching (**38**) gestures are used to a lesser degree. Relief **21** is extremely fragmentary, so it is impossible to tell if the woman was performing any other gesture. Interestingly, the *anakalypsis* is always performed with the left hand, while the right hand is used to perform the other gestures. The exception to this is **17**, which shows Kephisia performing the *anakalypsis* with her right hand while her left rests in her lap.

This study confirms previous scholarship on the poses of the figures performing the *anakalypsis*. Of the 11 women performing this gesture, ten are mature-aged women, while the age of the last woman is uncertain. Thus, there is insufficient evidence to either confirm or challenge previous conclusions regarding the use of the *anakalypsis* by maidens. There is some evidence to suggest that the *anakalypsis* is indicative of marital status; five of the 11 reliefs show the woman performing the gesture interacting with a man by also performing the *dexiosis* gesture.[41] However, the marital status of the remaining women cannot be suggested as they are either interacting with a child (**12**), with other women (**11**, **17**, **28**), or are shown by themselves

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[41] See **15**, **19**, **27**, **32**, **46**.

(**38**).[42] The fact that most of the women performing the *anakalypsis* are shown interacting with another figure suggests that they could be communicating with the other figure. Thus, I agree with Grossman's hypothesis that the *anakalypsis* could be indicative of communication. Previous scholarship does not mention which hand is used to perform the gesture or whether other gestures can be performed at the same time. However, this study finds that the left hand is always used when performing the *anakalypsis* during c. 430-400 B.C., while the right hand can be used to perform other gestures.

Speaking

The speaking gesture appears on two sepulchral reliefs (**26**, **32**). This gesture is characterised by a slightly upraised hand held out with the palm up.[43] The composition of each relief is different with **26** showing two males and one female and **32** portraying four females and two males. The women's placement in the reliefs also differ, with **26** having the speaking woman placed in the centre and the woman in **32** to the left. The hand each woman uses to perform the speaking gesture is also different with **26** showing the woman using her left hand while **32** has its speaker using her right. This can be explained by the fact that the woman in **26** is also performing the *dexiosis* which is always performed with the right hand (see above). The women in **32** performs no other gestures so she uses her right hand. There are two commonalities between the two reliefs, apart from the use of the speaking gesture, and these are that both speakers are shown as standing and that both are shown speaking to the men opposite them.

Mourning

Mourning is not especially common on classical Attic funerary reliefs and, when it is shown, it is always restrained and never extreme. This is a significant departure from funerary scenes on vases where the mourners are show an extreme response to the death of their loved one.[44] This

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[42] I do not include **21** in this list as the stone is missing large portions which makes it impossible to determine whether the female figure is accompanied by another figure.

[43] Clairmont *CAT* III 3.190; Clairmont *CAT* IV 6.181; Grossman 2013: 38.

[44] See Chapter 2. See also Alexiou 1974: 6; Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 110; Dillon 2002: 292; Margariti 2018: 123; Oakley 2004: 76-77, 152-153; Stears 1995: 129.

is particularly so with female mourners on vases and in drama who are frequently depicted as tearing their hair, scratching their cheeks and beating their heads and breasts. [45] Women performing mourning gestures on grave reliefs are depicted with their right arm bent and held across the waist, supporting the elbow of the left arm, with the left hand held against the cheek.[46] Margariti adds that the mourning women could also touch their chins.[47] The mourning gesture appears on one grave relief in this catalogue (**28**). The sole female mourner is part of a multi-figure relief showing four standing women and she is positioned to the far left. She does not perform any other gestures herself, but the other three women perform the *dexiosis* (see above) and a gesture of contemplation (see below).

Contemplation

Women performing gestures of contemplation on grave reliefs are shown with their right arm bent and held across the waist, supporting the elbow of the left arm, with the left hand, or just a finger, held to the chin.[48] The contemplation gesture appears on two reliefs (**5**, **28**). The women belong to reliefs which have different compositions with **5** showing two males and one female while **28** shows four women. They are orientated to different sections of their reliefs, with the contemplator of **5** placed to the left and the woman in **28** placed to the far right. There are two commonalitities between the women, namely that they are both standing and neither performs any other gestures.

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[45] For example, a *lekythos* attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 212338, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.40; a *lekythos* attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 212421, London, British Museum D62; a *lekythos* attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, red-figure, white ground, *BA* 14151, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 567. For examples from literature, see Eur. *Andr.* 1209-1211; *Hel.* 1087-1089; *Tro.* 626-627; *Or.* 960-967; *Phoen.* 1519-1529; *Supp.* 49-51, 73-86; Hom. *Il.* 22.405-406, 24.710-712; Soph. *Aj.* 621-634; *El.* 86-95, 141-150. See also Chapter 2; Keuls 1993: 147-150; Margariti 2018: 123; Oakley 2004: 76 no. 9; Stears 1998: 121, 125.

[46] Clairmont *CAT* IV 4.120.

[47] Margariti 2018: 123. Margariti cites the following as examples of this: Clairmont *CAT* II 2.266a, 2.825; III 3.413a, 3.454, 3.467; IV 4.191, 7.330.

[48] Clairmont *CAT* IV 4.120; Grossman 2013: 38.

Pointing

Women using the pointing gesture occurs on two sepulchral reliefs (**11**, **31**). This gesture is characterised by three fingers being slightly curled, reminiscent of a fist, with the index finger either pointed straight out (**31**) or slightly raised (**11**).[49] As with several of the previous gestures, the women performing the gesture are part of reliefs with different compositions and poses. The pointing woman in **11** is shown seated with a female figure standing opposite her, while the pointer in **31** is portrayed as standing with two men, facing another standing woman and Hermes. The pointer in **11** is also shown performing the *anakalypsis* (see above) while the woman in **31** just performs the pointing gesture. However, there is one commonality aside from the pointing gesture and that is their orientation; both pointing women are placed to the left of their respective reliefs.

Reaching

There is one relief in which a woman reaches for an object (**10**). This gesture is portrayed by the seated woman who stretches out her right arm and placing her hand on the top of on object, possibly a box, held by the girl standing opposite her. The reaching woman does not appear to be performing any other gestures.

Petting

There is one grave relief in which a female figure uses the stroking gesture (**9**). This gesture is shown by the girl standing in the centre of the relief who cradles a duck in her left hand and places her right hand on top of its head. In performing this gesture, she also uses another, the holding gesture.

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[49] Clairmont *CAT* I 1.692; Clairmont *CAT* IV 5.150.

Touching

There is one woman in this catalogue that uses the touching gesture (**38**). The woman, Artemisia, portrays this gesture by reaching down to the *kalathos* carved beneath/beside her seat with her right hand and lays the tips of her fingers on the lid. Artemisia does not appear to be performing any other gestures.

Hugging

There is one funerary relief which shows a woman hugging another figure (**23**). The woman standing to the right portrays this gesture by draping her right arm over the back of the little boy who is leaning against her and resting it on his right shoulder. The boy returns the embrace with his slightly upraised right arm resting against her left thigh. Neither figure performs any other gestures.

Working Wool

Two reliefs show women working wool (**23**, **39**). These reliefs show two different ways a wool working gesture can be used.[50] In **23**, a relief showing two women and a male child, the woman seated to the left holds a ball of wool in her left hand and twists it against her thigh to make a crepe band with her right.[51] This is the only extant grave relief from this period where a ball of wool appears. Therefore, it could be hypothesised that this was not an item commonly found on gravestones with women during this period. Relief **39** shows a single figure scene with a woman seated in the centre of the relief. The fingers of her upraised left hand are curled as if she once held something while her right hand holds a spindle against her right thigh. This is the only extant funerary relief from this period in which a spindle appears. Thus, it could be assumed that spindles were not common items shown on reliefs of this period. Due to the presence of a spindle, Clairmont and Kosmopoulou believe that the woman, Mynno, once held

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[50] See Kosmopoulou 2001: 302 for other examples of the wool-working gesture.
[51] Clairmont *CAT* II 2.650.

a painted distaff in her left hand.[52] The presence of a *kalathos* carved beneath/beside each seated woman emphasises their wool-working gestures as *kalathoi*, along with other wool-working implements, allude to an Athenian woman's job of spinning wool and the domestic sphere.[53] Both wool-workers use the holding gesture which is used to perform the wool-working gestures as the implements required to work wool needed to be held.

Holding

There are 21 sepulchral reliefs which show women holding objects (**1**, **2**, **4**, **6**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **17**, **18**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **27**, **29**, **30**, **32**, **33**, **35**, **39**, **40**, **44**). Women could be shown holding a variety of things including animals (**1**, **9**, **11**, **12**, **18**, **24**, **33**, **35**, **44**), infants (**4**, **22**, **29**, **30**, **35**), boxes (**2**, **6**, **10**, **11**, **17**, **30**, **32**, **40**), mirrors (**4**, **24**), wool (**23**) or items that were originally painted on but no longer survive (**17**, **27**, **39**, **40**). Relief composition with one female and one male, and two females only are the most popular scenes to have the holding gesture with both compositions using this gesture five times. Scenes with one female used this gesture three times, reliefs with two females plus children used it twice, while six other compositions used it once each which are as follows: one female plus child(ren); one female and one male plus child(ren); two males and two females plus child(ren); two females and one male; three females and two males plus child(ren); four females and two males; and five females and one male plus child(ren). Of the 27 women performing the holding gesture, 16 of them are placed to the left of the relief, seven to the right, and three in the centre. A total of 17 women are shown standing as against 10 seated, of these 12 of the standing woman are placed to the left, four to the right and one in the centre, and five women are shown seated to the left, three to the right and two in the centre. This suggests that the preferred position for women holding objects was standing to the left.

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[52] Clairmont *CAT* I 1.716; Kosmopoulou 2001: 318 no. W2.
[53] Kosmopoulou 2001: 301.

Most of the reliefs show one woman in the scene holding one object with either one hand or both hands. In this scenario, the use of both hands to perform the holding gesture is rare and it is used three times, once to hold a box (**10**), once to hold an uncertain object (**27**) and once for an infant (**29**). The left hand appears to be the preferred hand to hold an object, it is used six times as against four times where the right hand is used. Animals and boxes can be held in either the left or right hand, but infants and wool appear to be held with a woman's left hand. When the left hand is used to perform the holding gesture, the right hand is often used to perform another gesture, often *dexiosis*, or rests against the figure's side. In relief **6**, a woman uses her left hand to hold a box while her right rests on the lid, possibly about to open it.[54] This is seen in reverse in **2** which has the woman's right hand holding the box and her left resting on the lid. In cases where the right is the hand used to hold something, the left is either used to perform another gesture, often the *anakalypsis*, or rests on the woman's lap.

Reliefs can also show two women in the same scene holding one object each (**4**, **24**, **30**, **40**) or one woman holding two objects (**11**, **32**, **35**, **39**), although both scenarios are not as common as one woman and one object. In the former, it was more common for women to use their left hands to perform the holding gesture which is seen six times as against once with a right hand. The use of both hands to hold an object is preferred over the right hand as it is used a total of three times. It is common for the left hand to hold objects (**4**, **24**, **30**), such as mirrors or boxes, and infants (**4**), while the right either performed another gesture, frequently *dexiosis*, or was left to rest against the woman's side or lap. The right hand appears to have been used to hold animals in this scenario (**24**), while both hands could be used to hold boxes (**40**) or painted objects of an indeterminate nature (**40**).

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[54] Clairmont *CAT* IV 6.590.

In the latter scenario, showing one woman holding two objects, boxes, animals, infants and wool-working implements were the most commonly held objects. Boxes are shown as being held in the left hand three times, however, infants and wool-working implements could also be held in this hand. The right hand could be used to hold animals, boxes and, again, wool-working implements. There does not appear to be a commonly reoccurring combination of objects, the combinations that do appear are as follows: box and bird (**11**); box and box (**32**); bird and infant (**35**); and spindle and distaff (**39**). Incidentally, **30** can also be included in this scenario as one woman is shown holding a box in her left hand and an undetermined object in right.

Dress and Hairstyles

Of the 61 female figures depicted on the funerary reliefs, 46 are shown wearing a combination of *chiton* and *himation*.[55] This combination is worn by women of all ages regardless of their marital or social status.[56] Therefore this costume is not indicative of any age group. The *chiton* on its own is found on five women.[57] However, this costume is mainly associated with women, slave and free, children and foreigners.[58] Thus, it too is not indicative of a specific age group or status. Of the remaining ten women, three wear the *peplos* and *himation*, two wear a *chiton*, *peplos* and *himation*, while another five wear clothing that cannot be identified due to either missing pieces of the relief or their position in the scene.[59]

Shoes can be a part of a woman's attire; however, they are only seen on 14 of the 61 women depicted on the sepulchral reliefs in this catalogue.[60] Twelve of the women who are shown wearing shoes also wear a *chiton* and *himation*, suggesting that this was a common

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[55] See **1**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **7**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **13**, **15**, **16**, **17**, **18**, **19**, **20**, **21**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **29**, **30**, **31**, **32**, **33**, **35**, **39**, **40**, **44**, **46**.
[56] Margariti 2018: 108.
[57] See **9**, **11**, **30**, **32**, **40**.
[58] Wrenhaven 2012: 95-96.
[59] For women wearing a *peplos* and *himation*, see **1**, **4**, **38**. For women wearing a *chiton*, *peplos* and *himation*, see **2**, **6**. For women wearing unidentifiable clothing, see **3**, **6**, **14**, **31**.
[60] See **1**, **6**, **7**, **13**, **16**, **22**, **23**, **30**, **31**, **33**, **35**, **40**, **44**. For the commonality of shoes in Greek literature and art see Blundell 2002: 146-152.

combination.[61] This could indicate either the artist's choice or what was expected by women. The last two women are shown in different costumes: one wears a *peplos* and *himation*, while the other wears a *chiton*.[62] Of the remaining 47 women, 16 do not wear shoes while in 31 reliefs it is uncertain as to whether women are wearing shoes or not due to the state of preservation of the gravestones.[63] The lack of shoes on 16 women could be explained by the idea that they were originally painted on.

Earrings appear to have been the jewellery of choice on grave reliefs with ten women shown wearing them.[64] Relief **31** also has Myrrhine wearing a bracelet, but this is the sole example of another piece of jewellery being added *and* of multiple pieces being worn by one woman. Women wearing jewellery are commonly shown wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, with seven jewellery-wearing women portrayed in this combination. The woman shown in **2** is dressed in a *chiton*, *peplos* and *himation*, but this relief is the sole extant example of this dress type worn in combination with jewellery. Both female figures in **11** are depicted with earrings, however, the seated woman wears a *chiton* and *himation*. The standing girl is dressed in a *chiton* and, like **2**, this is the lone extant example of this dress type worn with jewellery. Relief **14** falls into the category of unidentifiable clothing as only Nikost[rate]'s head survives, but as she is wearing an earring and most women wearing earrings are dressed in a *chiton* and *himation*, it is conceivable that she, too, is dressed in this costume. One explanation for the lack of jewellery on the remaining 51 women could be that they were originally painted on.

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[61] See **6**, **7**, **13**, **16**, **22**, **23**, **30**, **31**, **33**, **35**, **40**, **44**.

[62] For shoes with *chiton*, see **30**. For shoes with *peplos* and *himation*, see **1**.

[63] For women not wearing shoes, see **1**, **4**, **10**, **11**, **15**, **18**, **19**, **26**, **27**, **29**, **32**, **38**. For reliefs where it is uncertain as to whether women are wearing shoes, see **2**, **3**, **5**, **4**, **6**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **14**, **17**, **20**, **21**, **23**, **24**, **28**, **27**, **29**, **30**, **31**, **39**, **40**, **46**.

[64] See **2**, **5**, **11**, **14**, **16**, **21**, **31**, **32**, **35**.

Veils and various types of head coverings can also be found on depictions of ancient women. The ideology behind the use of these head coverings was to make women invisible and so protect them from male aggression and interference which then helped to secure a woman's virginity and, by extension, the honour of their male family members. Head coverings also served to separate women from the public society of men, acting as a safeguard against female pollution and women's potent sexuality while, at the same time, allowing women the freedom to move about safely in public. The consensus view on the veiling of women is that it was routine in Greek culture and that women likely adhered to it as a matter of daily practice.[65] Head coverings appear to have been a popular clothing item as they are seen on 36 of the 61 women portrayed in the collected grave reliefs.[66] However, 24 women do not wear any head coverings; 11 are shown with uncovered heads while 13 cannot be determined (see below). This goes against the consensus view on head coverings, suggesting that the wearing of these coverings was not a daily practice for women. Many of the women wearing a head covering wear a *chiton* and *himation*.

The most popular head covering was the *himation* which is found in Greek iconography as early as c. 520 B.C. According to Llewellyn-Jones, the himation remained popular "throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, into the Hellenistic period and beyond".[67] Its popularity can certainly be attested to in this study as ten women in total use a himation to cover their heads, eight of these (**1**, **6**, **10**, **15**, **19**, **22**, **28**, **35**) use the *himation* while the other two (**4**, **12**) use fillets to hold the *himation* in place. Fillets on their own were also popular with seven women wearing them in their hair.[68] Fillets could be combined with other items such as *opisthosphendones*, veils or

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[65] Cairns 2002: 75; Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 315-318. For a detailed discussion of veiling see Cairns' 2002 publication 'The Meaning of the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture' and Llewellyn-Jones' 2003 publication, *Aphrodite's Tortoise: The Veiled Women of Ancient Greece*.
[66] See **1**, **2**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **13**, **14**, **15**, **16**, **17**, **19**, **20**, **21**, **22**, **23**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **30**, **31**, **32**, **35**, **40**.
[67] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 54.
[68] See **2**, **6**, **17**, **26**, **27**, **32**.

cloth.[69] However, apart from a fillet combined with an *opisthosphendone* which is worn by four women, these combinations appear once each. *Opisthosphendones* and veils can be used on their own although these are also rare.[70] Kerchiefs were also used during this period as a head covering with four women depicted wearing one on the extant gravestones.[71] The last type of head covering to appear on the reliefs of this period was the *sakkos* which is found on three women (**28**, **32**, **40**). The *sakkos* is often associated with slaves, especially when it is combined with a chiton. Free women are occasionally shown wearing the *sakkos*, but it is the preferred head covering of slaves.[72]

Head coverings can be used in conjunction with a specific hairstyle, however, this does not appear to have been that common a practice as there are three examples of this. Relief **13** shows Philom[e]ne wearing an *opisthosphendone*, held in place by a fillet, and her hair pulled back into a bun. In **18**, Nikoboule is portrayed with a fillet encircling her head and her hair pulled into a bun at the back of her head. Finally, the standing woman in **23** is shown with a braid encircling her head and held in place with a fillet. These women are all shown wearing a *chiton* and *himation*.

Women with uncovered heads were not as common as women with head coverings, accounting for 11 of the 61 women in the extant reliefs, however, like those with head coverings, many were shown wearing a *chiton* and *himation*. Hair pulled into a bun at the back of the head appear to have been the most popular with three female figures (**9**, **33**, **44**) portrayed with this style. This number increases to five if **13** and **18** are included in this category as both women

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[69] For fillets with an opisthosphendone, see **16**, **21**, **32**, **40**. For fillets with an opisthosphendone and a veil, see **14**. For fillets with a cloth, see **31**.
[70] For the opisthosphendone see, **20**, **27**. For the veil, see **11**.
[71] See **5**, **11**, **30**.
[72] Kosmopoulou 2001: 289; Stears 1995: 124; Wrenhaven 2012: 102.

also have their hair pulled back into buns. This hairstyle is often associated with married and

unmarried women and is regularly found on women wearing a *chiton* and *himation*.[73] A braid

encircling the head was also popular with two women (**3**, **38**) using this style. This number can

also be increased to three if the standing woman of **23** is added as she also has a braid encircling

her head. This style is more commonly associated with unmarried females, both maiden and

prepubescent age, particularly during the fourth century B.C. Margariti notes that, apart from

the prepubescent girls, any female figure with this hairstyle "can be identified as a maiden with

absolute certainty."[74]

Long hair left loose to fall down the back (**17**, **24**) and short/cropped hair (**4**, **39**) are slightly

less popular styles with both styles appearing twice each. The former style is popular among

deceased maidens, particularly during the fourth century B.C. While the latter could be

associated with young and old women, married or unmarried. Margariti writes that caution is

required in this case as short hair is both a sign of slavery and a sign of mourning.[75] However,

Wrenhaven points out that deceased women and/or their family members are not typically

depicted with short/cropped hair as it is a sign of slave status and, due to its association with

Skythians, might have been an indication of barbarianism. Thus, this style would have been an

unbecoming hairstyle for free women.[76] The last hair style, long hair hanging in a plait down

the back (**32**), appears once. This is a popular style among deceased maidens of the fourth

century B.C. Margariti notes that this style and the loose long hair were often worn with either

the Attic *peplos* or the *chiton* and *himation* combination. The Attic peplos does not appear in

the extant reliefs gathered in this catalogue, suggesting that this costume was not popular among

maidens during the Peloponnesian War period. While this style is popular among maidens,

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[73] Margariti 2018: 110.
[74] Margariti 2018: 111.
[75] Margariti 2018: 109-110; Stears 1995: 124.
[76] Wrenhaven 2012: 102.

Margariti cautions that it can only indicate the female's young age, her maiden status cannot be completely confirmed based on hairstyle alone.[77]

The hairstyles of the last 14 women cannot be determined due to weathering, missing fragments and/or their position on the relief.[78] For example, the female figure shown carved on the anta in **6** is looking straight out of the relief with her head facing forwards which makes it difficult to determine a specific hairstyle or if she was wearing a head covering.

Items Found in Funerary Reliefs with Women

Women with items are depicted on 22 funerary reliefs. There are seven items that appear on these reliefs with women: infants, animals, boxes, mirrors, wool, spindles and *kalathoi*.[79] An additional ten reliefs show scenes where women could be holding items but due to weathering, lack of painting or missing fragments it is difficult to determine what the women were holding or if they held anything at all.

Infants

Infants on classical Attic grave reliefs serve as attributes of motherhood, indicating that the deceased female figure was a mother.[80] They could also serve as attributes of slavery. Stears and Wrenhaven both write that slaves were sometimes depicted holding infants.[81] Infants are depicted on five funerary reliefs (**4**, **22**, **29**, **30**, **35**). All the infants, apart from the little girl in **4**, are genderless and shown as swaddled which is an indication of very young age. [82] Interestingly, **4** is also the only relief out of these five which has an accompanying inscription naming the child. This could be because the mothers of the infants in **22**, **29** and **30** died before

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[77] Margariti 2018: 109-110.
[78] See **1**, **4**, **6**, **7**, **10**, **23**, **24**, **28**, **29**, **30**, **31**, **46**.
[79] For wool and spindles as attributes, see the Working Wool discussion in the Gestures section.
[80] Margariti 2016: 87-92, 100 n. 31; Margariti 2018: 99.
[81] Stears 1995: 124; Wrenhaven 2012: 103-104. For example, a stele in Paris, Louvre 78178 and Clairmont *CAT* I 1.780a.
[82] Stears 1995: 120.

the children could be named, possibly in childbirth. Alternatively, the lack of a naming inscription for the infant could suggest that both mother *and* child are deceased. However, as Margariti notes, infants are not named on sepulchral reliefs and so the absence of naming inscriptions does not necessarily indicate that the infant is dead.[83] Relief **35** is not included in this number as the accompanying inscription clearly states that the seated woman is *not* the infant's mother, but its grandmother who is deceased. This text also states that the infant is dead whereas the accompanying texts for the other reliefs give no such indication.

Two reliefs (**22**, **35**) show the infant being held by female family members. The infant in **22** is held by its mother while the infant in **35** is held by its grandmother. Both adult women are shown as seated holding the child in their left arms while they perform either the *dexiosis* (**22**) or the holding gesture (**35**) with their right. This matches with Margariti's findings concerning infants being held by the deceased.[84] The remaining three reliefs (**4**, **29**, **30**) show the infants being held by a female figure within a multi-figure scene. Relief **22** also falls into this category as a male figure is also present in the sepulchral relief. However, unlike **22**, the other three reliefs show multiple female and/or male figures. Reliefs **29** and **30** have the infants being held by women positioned behind the main figures who appear to be looking down at the children in their arms. This appears to have been a common pose in multi-figure scenes with infants as Margariti finds several such reliefs in her 2016 study.[85] Relief **4**, as in Margariti's study, and relief **35** stand out in this catalogue due to the depiction of the infants.[86] In the other three reliefs in this catalogue, the infants are portrayed as swaddled and motionless in the arms of the

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[83] Margariti 2016: 91. See also Grossman 2013: 311, 312; Oakley 2009: 226; Stears 1995: 125.
[84] Margariti 2016: 91, 100 n. 36-39. See also Clairmont *CAT* I 1.691, 1.714, 1.819, 1.844; II 2.640, 2.725, 2.727, 2.770, 2.810, 2.815; III 3.703.
[85] Margariti 2016: 90, 100 n. 26-29. See also Clairmont *CAT* II 2.761, 2.868a, 2.894; III 3.745, 3.751, 3.822, 3.842, 3.866, 3.875, 3.885, 3.889, 3.919, 3.932, 3.933; IV 4.270, 4.670, 4.680, 4.770, 4.850, 4.910, 4.920, 4.930.
[86] Margariti 2016: 90.

women holding them.[87] It is just in **4** and **35** that the infants are shown reaching out with their right hands extended to their mother (**4**) and grandmother (**35**). Margariti contends that gestures such as these are the children's equivalent of the mourning gestures performed by adults, "both revealing the pain and sorrow felt by the bereaved family members for the loss of their loved ones."[88]

Animals

Animals in figured scenes are usually identified as pets. The main sources for pets are vases and grave reliefs, and the animals kept as pets included cats, dogs, hares, monkeys, tortoises, mice and birds.[89] Birds were a popular choice of pet, particularly for females, and are often found in tomb reliefs being held and petted by young children or held out to children by their mothers.[90] Margariti's 2018 study on the iconography of deceased maidens found that 38 of the 186 grave reliefs showed deceased maidens with birds as against seven reliefs showing small lapdogs.[91] These are the only animals found in Margariti's study. The present study also confirms the popularity of birds as pets, being found on eight of 46 reliefs (**1**, **9**, **11**, **18**, **24**, **33**, **35**, **44**), as compared to two reliefs (**12**, **18**) showing a hare and one relief (**11**) showing a dog.[92] Apart from **12**, reliefs **11** and **18** show a combination of bird and dog, and bird and hare, suggesting that multiple animals could be displayed on one relief, although this does not appear to have been common. Relief **18** is also the only extant example from this period showing two figures each holding animals on the same relief.

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[87] See Grossman 2007: 310; Margariti 2016: 90, 100 n. 30. See also Clairmont *CAT* II 2.719, 2.759, 2.761, 2.778, 2.780a, 2.786, 2.789, 2.806, 2.849, 2.880b, 2.893a, 2.894, 2.909, 2.919; III 3.751, 3.822, 3.842, 3.866, 3.875, 3.885, 3.889, 3.919, 3.932, 3.933; IV 4.270, 4.680, 4.770, 4.850, 4.910, 4.920, 4.930.
[88] Margariti 2016: 97.
[89] Gosling 1935: 109; Lewis 2002: 159; Margariti 2018: 114.
[90] Lewis 2002: 159, 161; Richter 1930: 38.
[91] Margariti 2018: 114, 119, 120.
[92] For birds as pets, see Gosling 1935: 111-113; Lamberton and Rotroff 1985: 10-11; Lazenby 1949a: 249-250; Lazenby 1949b: 299-301; Lewis 2002: 159-166; Pollard 1977: 87-95, 135-140; Richter 1930: 38. For birds on classical Attic grave reliefs, see Woysch-Méautis 1982: 39-52. For dogs as pets, see Gosling 1935: 109-111; Lazenby 1949a: 245-247; Lazenby 1949b: 299; Lewis 2002: 161; Margariti 2018: 119-120; Richter 1930: 31. For hares as pets, see Gosling 1935: 113; Lazenby 1949b: 301; Lewis 2002: 161; Richter 1930: 30.

Seven of the sepulchral reliefs depicting animals consist of two figures (**1**, **11**, **12**, **18**, **33**, **35**, **44**), while one shows one figure (**9**) and another shows three figures (**24**). The figure holding the animal is nearly always female, the male figure in **18** is giving an animal to the seated female. Except for **12**, which shows Megisto holding a hare, all the female figures hold a bird while the lone male figure is shown holding an animal also holds a hare. Seven of the animal holders, both male and female, are shown as standing, three to the right (**1**, **11**, **18**), three to the left (**12**, **33**, **44**), and one in the centre (**9**) of the relief. The last two animal holders are shown seated, one in the centre of the relief (**35**) and the other to the left of the relief (**18**). The right hand appears to have been the preferred hand to hold animals in both male and female figures; it is used six times as against two times where the left hand is used. This is the opposite of what was found in the discussion on the holding gesture which discovered that the left was the preferred hand to hold objects (see above). However, as found in the holding gesture section, the hand not used to hold an animal is used to either perform another gesture, as in **1**, **11**, **12**, **18**, **35** and **44**, or rests against the figure's side, as in **18** and **33**.

In the lone single figure scene (**9**), Nikeso is shown looking at the bird in her hand and petting it gently. Margariti's study also found that this was the case in reliefs with deceased maidens.[93] Five of the multi-figure reliefs (**11**, **12**, **24**, **33**, **44**) show the figure holding the animal offering it to another figure, a finding which is reflected in Margariti's study.[94] The remaining three multi-figure reliefs (**1**, **18**, **35**) depict the person holding the animal as doing just that. There is no offering of the animal to another figure. An interesting point to note about these multi-figure reliefs is that, apart from **18** and **35**, the younger figure is always either giving or receiving the animal, or just holding it. Reliefs **18** and **35** are different from the others in that **18** shows both figures holding animals out while **35** has the older figure holding the animal, perhaps because

[93] Margariti 2018: 114.
[94] Margariti 2018: 114.

the younger figure is a swaddled baby which suggests extreme youth.[95] This act of giving and/or receiving animals has been linked to the *dexiosis* which is rare in reliefs with children.[96] Pemberton and Margariti argue that the giving and receiving of animals between two children or an adult and a child is the equivalent of the *dexiosis* gesture for children.[97]

Of the nine female figures shown holding an animal, three are girls (**9**, **11**, **24**), three are teenagers (**1**, **33**, **44**), and three are mature women (**12**, **18**, **35**). The girls and teenagers always appear with birds and are shown as either offering their bird to another figure (**11**, **24**, **33**, **44**) or holding their birds (**1**, **9**). The presence of a bird in connection with unmarried female figures could indicate their unmarried, virginal, state. This is reinforced by those figures offering birds to another figure as this act is believed to be the child's equivalent of the *dexiosis* which would further suggest the female figures' unmarried state. However, two of the mature-aged women are also shown with birds (**18**, **35**). This challenges the idea of the bird as a symbol of virginity and innocence. It is possible that birds could be a female-specific symbol. However, as this study focuses on a female subset of gravestones, it cannot be determined whether male figures appear on gravestones with birds. Thus, there is insufficient data to determine whether the birds were anything other than pets. The third mature-aged woman is shown giving a hare to a male figure which suggests that the male figure is a young boy (**12**). This is not the only hare found in this selection of reliefs; the male figure in **18** is also shown holding a hare. Hares, then, could be a male-specific symbol. However, there is insufficient data to determine whether the hare had a specific meaning or was just a representation of a beloved pet.

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[95] Stears 1995: 120.
[96] Davies 1985: 628; Margariti 2018: 122; Pemberton 1989: 49; Roccos 2000: 260; Stears 1995: 126; Younger 2002: 174. For the *dexiosis* gesture see above.
[97] Margariti 2016: 93; Pemberton 1989: 49.

The dog in **11** has been purposely excluded from the discussion until now as its depiction on the relief is different from that of the other animals found in the extant reliefs. In **11**, the dog is not found in the relief scene, rather it is carved between the scene and the name Eutamia. This could suggest that the dog was not a pet since there is no interaction between it and the female figures in the relief. The dog, identified as female by Clairmont, is portrayed in the centre of the gravestone facing the left towards the adult woman, thought to be Eutamia.[98] Conze writes that the dog was used as symbol of the faithfulness and vigilance of a housewife which emphasises the qualities inherent in the deceased invoked by the use of her name, Eutamia, which means good housewife/housekeeper.[99] Franco, in her 2014 study on dogs and the feminine in Greece, agrees that dogs on tombstones "served to render the figure of the dead more complete, by acting as a mirror that reflected their identity."[100]

Boxes

Boxes are shown on eight grave reliefs (**2**, **6**, **10**, **11**, **17**, **30**, **32**, **40**). Wrenhaven writes that boxes were possibly meant to signify jewellery boxes, which, like mirrors, would then express the beautification and wealth of women. This meant that they, like mirrors, tended to appear in wedding scenes with some frequency. Margariti believes that when boxes were held in the hands of deceased maidens, they emphasised their much-anticipated marriage, although she also notes that they could have just been a part of scenes depicting everyday life. However, deceased maidens holding boxes were not a common occurrence, boxes were most often held by servants/slaves or female relatives.[101]

There are two instances (**11**, **32**) where the object's identification as a box is called into question. In **11**, the girl standing to the right holds a rectangular object by a string in her left

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[98] Clairmont *CAT* I 1.692.
[99] Conze no. 66. See also Morris 2007: 195-196.
[100] Franco 2014: 73.
[101] Margariti 2018: 117-118; Stears 1995: 124; Wrenhaven 2012: 103.

hand while her right holds a bird out to the woman seated opposite her. When compared to the other boxes found in this catalogue it does not appear to be the usual box and, when combined with the presence of a bird, led Clairmont to suggest that it was a bird cage.[102] The woman standing to the far left in **32** holds two rectangular objects: 1) an opened box in her left hand; and 2) a box, which Clairmont describes as gabled, in her right hand. As in **11**, the woman appear to be holding the box in her right hand by a handle which lead to Clairmont proposing that this box was also a bird cage.[103] The lack of a bird in this relief does call into question Clairmont's proposition, but its similarity to the box-like object in **11** does suggest that there is some truth behind Clairmont's hypothesis.

Mirrors

Mirrors are considered a feminine object and are often associated with beautification and wealth of women. In her study, Margariti found that both older maidens and married women could be shown holding a mirror, but younger maidens or female figures, identified by their clothes and hairstyle as maidens (i.e. head encircled by a plait or the Attic *peplos*), are never shown with a mirror. Mirrors feature prominently in wedding iconography, which has led Margariti to suggest that mirrors on funerary reliefs could allude to a maiden's upcoming, but missed, wedding.[104] However, the presence of children in the two extant examples of women holding mirrors could contradict this interpretation (see below).

Women holding mirrors appear on two grave reliefs (**4** and **24**). Both reliefs show multiple figures with **4** depicting two adult women and one female child and **24** portraying one adult woman, one female child and one adult man. This suggests that mirrors were more likely to be held by women in multi-figure scenes. Both mirror-holders are shown seated to the left, with

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[102] Clairmont *CAT* I 1.692.

[103] Clairmont *CAT* IV 6.181.

[104] Margariti 2018: 117; Wrenhaven 2012: 103. See also Clairmont *GE*: 78; Fantham, *et al.* 1994: 83. For mirrors in wedding iconography, see Oakley and Sinos 1993: 66, figs. 28-29. For mirrors as feminine objects, see Redfield 2003: 320.

the mirror in their left hand and performing the *dexiosis* with their right. In both reliefs the women are shown looking straight at the figure standing opposite them. This contradicts Margariti's findings which were that of the five female figures holding mirrors in her catalogue, four were gazing at their reflections and one was looking in the mirror.[105] This contradiction could be explained by the fact that Margariti's study focuses on maidens while **4** and **24** suggest that the women were mothers through the presence of children on their sepulchral reliefs. This would also support Margariti's earlier finding that married women could be shown with mirrors. However, Nikosstrate's hair is left to fall down her back, a style which, according to Margariti, was popular with maidens. This contradicts her earlier finding that female figures with a hairstyle indicating a maiden status did not hold mirrors.

Kalathoi

Kalathoi (baskets) are depicted in three sepulchral reliefs (**23**, **38**, **39**). Two of these reliefs (**38**, **39**) show one seated female figure while the third (**23**) shows two female figures, one seated and one standing, and one standing male child. In all these reliefs, the *kalathos* can be found carved beneath/beside the seated woman. The presence of the *kalathos* suggests that the women near them are woolworkers as it is an attribute that can be used on gravestones to indicate wool-working. The fact that the *kalathos* is used in conjunction with other wool-working implements in **23** and **39** further serves to emphasise their wool-working activity.[106]

Uncertain Items

Half of the reliefs with uncertain items are too fragmentary to determine whether the women portrayed in them held any items.[107] The other half are either weathered or have no surviving paintings.[108] However, hypotheses can be made concerning the item/s by scholars using the traces of sculpture remaining on the relief. Relief **17** shows the standing female figure, Myrtia,

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[105] Margariti 2018: 116-117. See Clairmont *CAT* I 1.170, 1.188, 1.283, 1.152; II 2.266a.
[106] Kosmopoulou 2001: 301-302.
[107] See **3**, **7**, **14**, **21**, **25**.
[108] See **17**, **27**, **30**, **39**, **40**.

with her left arm raised in front of her body with her palm facing upwards. Her fingers are bent suggesting that once held an object in the palm of her hand. This object, based on the outline left on the stone, was a box with an open lid.[109] The woman, Kleophante, standing to the left in **27** is also shown in a position suggesting that she was once holding something. Both of her arms are bent with her forearms positioned in front of her body while her hands are pressed together as if cradling an object. There are no traces of this item remaining on the stone, however, based on Kleophantes' hand size, the item would not have been very big.[110] It is possible that the item might have been a small box as in **17**.

The seated woman, Phano, in **30** is shown holding a rectangular box in the palm of her left hand while she removes an object from it with her right. Several suggestions have been made concerning the unidentifiable object in Phano's right hand. Conze and Wrenhaven have suggested a necklace, Thimme a sash and Vierneisel a cloth.[111] Wrenhaven believes that the boxes might have represented jewellery boxes (see above), in which case Conze and Wrenhaven's suggestion of a necklace may be correct. However, without any remaining traces of the object surviving, the item cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. In **39**, Mynno is believed to have been holding a distaff, once rendered in paint, in her upraised left hand.[112] This object identification likely came about from the presence of a carved spindle in Mynno's right hand and a kalathos located under/beside her seat, all of which point to a profession as a wool-worker.[113]

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[109] Clairmont *CAT* II 2.182.
[110] Clairmont *CAT* III 3.191.
[111] Clairmont *CAT* IV 4.680; Wrenhaven 2012: 103.
[112] Cassimatis 1985: 211; Clairmont *CAT* I 1.176; Kosmopoulou 2001: 318 no. W2; Wiegand 1913: 17.
[113] Kosmopoulou 2001: 301.

In **40**, Hegeso's hands are positioned in such a way as to suggest that she once held an object once rendered in paint. Her left-hand rests in her lap with her thumb and middle finger pressed together as if holding, or lifting, something from the box held by the female figure standing opposite her. Hegeso's right hand is curled towards her with her thumb and index finger pressed together. Clairmont believes that Hegeso once held the ends of a necklace in her hands, however, Kurtz-Boardman believes that the object in Hegeso's right hand was a ring.[114] This study favours Clairmont's suggestion of a necklace. To put on, or remove, a necklace a person would have to hold the ends in both hands and, as Hegeso is clearly using both hands to hold something, it makes more sense for this object to be a necklace.

Age

Except for children, the exact ages of women are not portrayed in grave reliefs. Instead, they focus on the individual's social status and approximate developmental stage that they had reached when they died. Social attitudes about age and status would have also played a part in women's portrayal on grave reliefs which generally lead to women being shown as generalised or idealised. However, the tendency towards depicting women as either generalised or idealised led to the appearance of more or less definable age groups which may be indicated by four devices: 1) attributes; 2) hairstyles; 3) clothing; 4) bodily posture.[115] By using these simple devices, Stears is able to determine that there are four age-groupings shown on fifth-century B.C. funerary reliefs. The first age-grouping is indicated by a swaddled baby, often wearing a pointed cap to cover their heads, which represents extreme youth.[116] The second grouping is indicated by a little girl who is characterised by a small head to body ratio and an expanded stomach, and is often shown dressed in girdled clothing or with cross-bands over her chest; mantles are not usually included in their attire. Girls tend to have their hair either loose, in top-knots or ponytails, and could wear diadems. They are often shown standing playing with dolls

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[114] Clairmont *CAT* II 2.150.
[115] Margariti 2018: 106; Oakley 2003: 182; Stears 1995: 118-119, 121, 123. See also Grossman 2007: 310.
[116] I.e. Clairmont *CAT* III 3.822.

or pets, such as dogs or birds. The third age is indicated by a young, unmarried, teenager; these figures are often portrayed by single figure reliefs. Like the little girl, these figures are frequently shown as standing and may hold mirrors or wear jewellery. Their hair can be styled into a top-knot or left loose, and their clothing is generally that of an adult woman but worn looser and often left open down the side. The last group is indicated by a mature, perhaps married, woman. These figures are usually shown seated, although they could also be shown standing, wearing jewellery with their hair up and sometimes decorated with ornaments. Mature women also tend to wear *chitons* with mantles and are often depicted clasping the edge of their mantles or, if they are wearing them, veils. Stears adds that other attributes, which are indicative of her marital status and household duties rather than age, are also signs of a mature aged woman.[117] Margariti notes that figure size can also be an indication of age, particularly in younger girls. She argues that unmarried girls are often smaller in size than adult figures and the children and servants are smaller again due to either their younger age and/or lower social status. She adds that physical development, such as a fuller bosom or a voluptuous body, is also a good indication of a female's age.[118]

By following Stears and Margariti it is possible to assign the women in this catalogue an age category. As Table 4.6 shows, the majority of female figures in this catalogue appear to be mature-aged women. Young, unmarried teenagers are also found in large numbers, but little girls and babies are not as common. Thirteen female figures have been listed as uncertain due to weathering and/or missing fragments of the relief which makes it difficult, if not impossible, to determine what age grouping they would fall in. The inclusion of the little girl in **4** does need to be explained as she is the only infant not swaddled. As noted in the discussion on infants (see above), this particular tombstone is different from the other gravestones depicting

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[117] Grossman 2007: 310; Stears 1995: 119, 120. See also Margariti 2018: 107.
[118] Margariti 2018: 106.

infants because the child is not swaddled or passively lying in her caregiver's arms. However, she is still being held, unlike the other children, both male and female, in this catalogue. This suggests that the child has not learnt to walk and so is likely to still be extremely young. Old women do not appear in this catalogue. According to Stears, older women, indicated by their wrinkled and hunched forms, appear at the start of the fourth century B.C.[119] Their absence from grave reliefs which list at least one woman in the accompanying text does suggest that Stears' assertion does have a basis in fact. Furthermore, as these age-groupings are based on attributes, dress, hairstyle and pose, it does appear as if the age of the female figures are dependent on the status and developmental stage of the individual, as Stears suggests, rather than their actual age.[120] This indicates that the female figures on grave reliefs are idealised images.

Table 4.6: Ages for Female Figures for c. 430-400 B.C.

Age Grouping	Catalogue Number	Total Number of Female Figures
Swaddled baby	4, 22, 29, 30, 35	5
Little girl	9, 10, 11, 24	4
Young, unmarried, adolescent	1, 2, 3, 6, 14, 16, 17, 29, 32, 33, 40, 44	13
Mature woman	1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39, 46	37
Uncertain	6, 7, 21, 25, 28, 30, 31	7

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[119] Stears 1995: 120.
[120] See Stears 1995: 121, 123. See also Margariti 2018: 106; Oakley 2003: 182.

Status

The most commonly identified status on grave reliefs is that of slave. This identification can be made through symbols such as attire, activity, gesture and the position and/or height of one figure in relation to others. As Wrenhaven points out, however, none of these things on their own can conclusively identify a figure as a slave, it is only through a combination of two or more that an argument for slave status can be made. One way of identifying slaves on gravestones is attire. Female slaves are shown wearing a *chiton*, a plain *sakkos* and, sometimes, shoes, but never sandals. The *sakkos*, more than any other dress items, is an indication of slave status as it is not typically worn by the woman being commemorated by the gravestone or family members, i.e. those performing the *dexiosis*. Wrenhaven does acknowledge that freed women have on occasion been shown as wearing a *sakkos*; she observes that it was significantly more common to see slaves wearing them. Alternatively, when figures are not shown wearing a head covering, servile status can be indicated by a female figure with short/cropped hair. Although, as noted in a previous section, this hairstyle could also indicate mourning, so caution should be applied when using the style as an indicator of slavery.[121]

Diminutive stature can also indicate slave status. While some of the small figures shown on tombstones are clearly children, such as those clinging or reaching out to the deceased, there is a great number shown assisting the deceased. These small figures can also be seen on tombstones for children where they are shown even smaller than the deceased child. Another way to differentiate between children and small slaves is body shape. Many small servants are portrayed with mature bodies which appear incompatible with their height.[122] Wrenhaven notes that the diminutive stature of the slave could have also made it easier to identify the person

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[121] Margariti 2018: 110; Stears 1995: 124; Wrenhaven 2012: 95-96, 101-102.
[122] I.e. Wrenhaven 2012: 81 fig. 3; Athens, National Museum 934 (reproduced in Clairmont *CAT* I 930); Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63.

being memorialised more easily. She writes that if there are two figures on a gravestone, the viewer's eyes are drawn to the bigger, taller figure. Wrenhaven also notes that this does not appear to be the case when the deceased is portrayed standing beside an adult figure who is not assisting the deceased. In this case, there is no difference between the height of the figures who are often depicted as similarly clothed with the same facial expressions.[123]

Other ways of indicating a figure's servile status are by the gestures they are performing and their relationship to the other figures in the scene. Slaves are often shown holding infants or boxes, both of which could act as attributes to slavery, on stelai and *lekythoi* in this selection of grave reliefs. Slave status can also be indicated through the general assistance of a figure to the deceased. While performing these tasks, there is a lack of direct contact between the deceased and the slave. Wrenhaven finds that servants are shown looking expectantly at their masters or mistresses, but their gaze is never returned.[124] In addition to the lack of eye contact, there is also a distinct lack of physical contact between the deceased and the slave and, while they are shown holding objects out to the deceased, slaves are never shown reaching out to the deceased. However, as with stature, when the deceased is accompanied by figures who are not assisting them, the figures are often shown physically connecting to each other through the *dexiosis* or otherwise touching or leaning against each other while making eye contact.[125]

By following Stears and Wrenhaven it is possible to assign slave status to some of the female figures in the catalogue. There are 10 reliefs which show a combination of two or more symbols of slavery in reference to one female figure. Four of these reliefs combine two symbols, three (**17**, **27**, **29**) of which combine gestures and lack of contact, while one (**4**) combines gestures

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[123] Stears 1995: 124; Wrenhaven 2012: 101-102, 173 n. 51.
[124] I.e. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 75.AA.63.
[125] Stears 1995: 124; Wrenhaven 2012: 101-104, 173 n. 60. See, for example, Athens, Piraeus Museum 433 (reproduced in Clairmont *CAT* III 3.416).

and short/cropped hair. Another four reliefs combine three symbols, three of which always have the combination gestures and lack of contact. To this combination, **6** adds diminutive stature while **11** and **30** have the female figures in question wearing a *chiton*. The fourth relief with three symbols, relief **28**, combines lack of contact with diminutive stature and has the female figure in question wearing a *sakkos*. The last two reliefs (**32**, **40**) combine four symbols: lack of contact, gestures, wearing a *chiton* and wearing a *sakkos*.

Slave iconography can also be used to signify the relative status of the other figures found in the sepulchral relief. The slave acted as an attribute to the deceased which then suggested his or her high status.[126] In the words of Wrenhaven,

> Tombstones were public monuments, typically situated in open view along roadsides, and so the images on them were quite simply advertisements of the elite status of the individual and, by extension, the family to which he or she belonged.[127]

Thus, it can be hypothesised that those grave reliefs which include slaves commemorated a wealthy individual of high status and, by extension, represented the elite status held by the deceased's family. This also suggests that Stears is not entirely correct in stating that the most commonly identified status on tombstones is that of slave, as the very presence of a slave in multi-figure reliefs allows for the identification of non-slaves.

Identification of the Deceased in Funerary Reliefs

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the identity of the deceased based solely on the funerary reliefs as many in this study are composed of multiple figures. There are three exceptions to this which are as follows:

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[126] Kosmopoulou 2001: 301-302; Stears 1995: 124; Wrenhaven 2012: 107.
[127] Wrenhaven 2012: 107.

Funerary reliefs which are composed of just one figure: **3**, **7**, **9**, **14**, **21**, **38**, **39**;

Funerary reliefs which are composed of two figures where one figure can be identified iconographically as a slave: **11**, **17**, **40**.

Funerary reliefs which include Hermes Psychopompos: **31**.

In reliefs belonging to the first category where only one person is portrayed, it is clear that this individual is the deceased. Reliefs of the second category show a slave assisting/accompanying her mistress and so an individual's identity as the deceased is obvious. The presence of the slave, as mentioned previously, also indicates the deceased was a wealthy individual or came from an elite family. Reliefs in the third category show Hermes leading the deceased to the Hades, making the deceased's identity clear.

Clairmont usually identifies the standing figure, regardless of gender, as the primary deceased, while Younger identifies the female deceased as the seated to the left.[128] When the 11 women positively identified as the deceased in the relief images are analysed, it becomes clear that both Clairmont's and Younger's theories are partially unsubstantiated. Graph 4.1 shows several iconographical features of the 11 deceased women by age. According to this graph, deceased women of a mature age were more likely to be shown seated to the right or centre of the relief. Teenagers are more likely to be positioned in the centre of the relief, although it is not clear which pose is the most common as two of the three gravestones with deceased teenagers are damaged, so their poses are uncertain. While the sole deceased little girl is shown standing in the centre of the relief. There is insufficient data to determine whether all standing female figures identified as little girls can be positively identified as deceased. Regardless of age, deceased females are more likely to be shown wearing a *chiton* and *himation* with a covered head. The analysis of the iconographical features of deceased women in relief images shows

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[128] Younger 2002: 174.

that mature aged women who are seated are deceased. Thus, the seated women in **1**, **4**, **6**, **10**, **18**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **29**, **30**, **35** and **46** could also be identified as deceased. Additionally, the identification of the seated women in **11** and **17** is further reinforced.

Graph 4.1: Iconographic Features of Female Figures Positively Identified as Deceased[129]
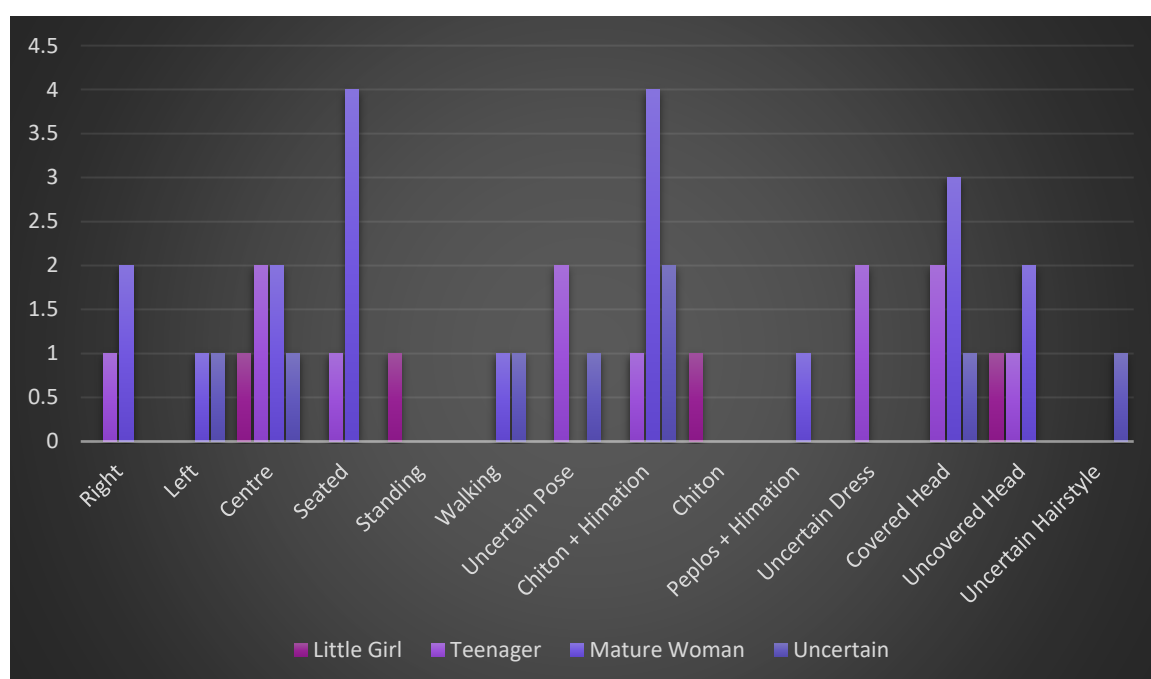
Conclusion

The extant funerary reliefs show that female figures can be portrayed in one of 14 relief compositions: 1) single female; 2) one female + one child; 3) two females; 4) one female + one male; 5) two females + child(ren); 6) one female + one male + child(ren); 7) two males + one female; 8) two females + one male; 9) four females; 10) two males + two females + child(ren); 11) three females + one male + child(ren); 12) four females + two males; 13) five females +

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[129] Gestures refer to the use of those gestures denoting that the individual is the deceased, namely the *dexiosis*, the children's equivalent involving animals and the mourning gesture. Attributes are not included here as there are no attributes that specifically indicate an individual as the deceased.

one male + child(ren); and 14) two females + two males + one god. Of these, compositions one and four are the most popular, occurring eight and ten times respectively. Women in large groups, with or without children, appear less than five times each. This strongly suggests that the depiction of family groups and children were not the primary motivation behind the erection of gravestones, rather it was the woman herself who was the main focus.

Female figures can be orientated to either the right, left or centre of the scene. Thirty-two of the 61 female figures in the grave reliefs are positioned to the left of the scene, while 20 are orientated to the right. Nine women appear in the centre of the scene. This suggests that there was a slight preference for women to be placed to the right. In these scenes, female figures can be portrayed in one of four poses: 1) standing; 2) seated; 3) being held; and 4) walking. Thirty-nine women are shown standing while 16 are depicted as seated. Walking appears twice while being held appears once. This suggests that sculptors preferred to show women in a standing position. Standing and seated poses are often used in combination with each other, particularly in two-figure relief compositions. The use of this combination and its even distribution between figures decreases as the total number of figures in the scene increases. A close analysis of the data on orientation and pose shows that 22 women are portrayed as standing to the left while 13 are depicted as standing to the right. Other combinations of orientation and pose occur less than 10 times each. This suggests that women standing to the left was the preferred orientation and pose. A standing pose could be indicative of activity; this is further reinforced by the fact that walking takes place while standing and the little girl being held is done so by a standing woman. A sitting pose, on the other hand, could indicate passivity; the seated women are accepting of the individual/s well wishes into the afterlife.

Twelve gestures can be found in grave reliefs: 1) *dexiosis*; 2) *anakalypsis*; 3) speaking; 4) mourning; 5) contemplation; 6) pointing; 7) reaching; 8) petting; 9) touching; 10) hugging; 11)

working wool; and 12) holding. Of these, the holding gesture is the most popular, being found

in 21 sepulchral reliefs. *Dexiosis* and *anakalypsis* are also popular, being used in 16 and 11

reliefs respectively. The other nine gestures are rare, being found in less than three reliefs each.

The holding gesture can be performed with either the right or left hand and, in some cases, both

hands. The left is the preferred to hold objects (ie. boxes and mirrors), infants and wool. When

the left is used to hold something, the right is used to perform other gestures, often the *dexiosis*,

or rests against the individual's body. All figures, regardless of gender, use their right hand to

perform the *dexiosis*, while the left hands of female figures are shown either resting against

their bodies or performing another gesture. The majority of women performing these gestures

are shown standing to the left of the scene. All figures, regardless of gender, are also shown

looking at another figure. Female figures are portrayed as looking at another figure, an object

or an animal.

Forty-six of the 61 women in the grave reliefs are depicted as wearing a combination of *chiton*

and *himation*. Women can also be shown wearing just a *chiton*, a combination of *peplos* and

himation, or a combination of *chiton*, *peplos* and *himation*. These costumes are shown on less

than six women each. This suggests that the *chiton* and *himation* combination was the preferred

costume of women. Women's attire, especially the combination of *chiton* and *himation*, can

also include shoes, jewellery and various types of head coverings (i.e. veils, fillets). Shoes and

jewellery, mainly earrings, are shown on less than 20% of the women in the reliefs. Two

explanations for the low number of women wearing shoes and/or jewellery could be that they

were originally painted on or that shoes and jewellery were not a typical part of women's attire.

Head coverings occur on 60% of the women with the most popular covering being the *himation*

which appears on 10 women. Head coverings can also be used in conjunction with a hairstyle,

such as a bun or braid. This is seen on three women, suggesting that this was not a common

practice. The veil, as previous scholarship states, was used to safeguard women's virginity and

protect men from their pollution and potent sexuality. Thus, it could also be an indication of female modesty. Less than 20% of women, however, do not wear any head coverings. Rather, they tended to wear their hair pulled back into a bun and/or in a braid encircling their head. This suggests that the veiling of women was not a daily practice. It also suggests that a veil alone was not an indication of modesty. Instead, it was likely to be a combination of clothing items which suggest modesty, such as clothing which completely covered a woman's body and a small amount or no jewellery.

Female figures can be depicted with several items including infants, animals, boxes, mirrors, and wool-working implements. Of these, animals are the most common, appearing on 11 reliefs. Birds are a popular choice of pet, being found on eight reliefs, while hares and dogs are rare, appearing on less than three reliefs each. The majority of animals in relief scenes are held by female figures and, in many multi-figure reliefs, female figures are shown offering the animal to another, younger figure. Women are also often shown with boxes and infants, appearing eight and five times respectively. Boxes are thought to represent jewellery boxes and are most often held by servants/slaves or female relatives of the deceased. In two instances, the box-like object is thought to be a birdcage. Infants are attributes to motherhood and indicate that one female figure is both married and a mother. Their presence indicates that the deceased woman has achieved her life's goal of providing future citizens and mothers for her city. Their presence on sepulchral reliefs could also indicate that they are deceased. However, there is no way to determine an infant's status as dead or alive without an accompanying inscription. The remaining items occur rarely, being found on less than four reliefs each. Mirrors are associated with the beautification and wealth of women. While wool-working implements could be indications that a woman has achieved an appropriate occupation.

As with funerary inscriptions, an analysis of grave reliefs can also inform on other aspects of the lives of Athenian women, such as age and status. Concerning age, sculptors focused on portraying women's social status and the approximate developmental stage they had reached when they died rather than women's exact ages. However, due to the inclusion of certain attributes, such as clothing, hairstyles and posture, it is possible to place female figures into one of four age-groupings: 1) swaddled baby; 2) little girl; 3) young, unmarried, teenager; and 4) mature woman. Thirty-seven women fall into the fourth age-group, while 13 can be viewed as teenagers. Little girls and swaddled babies do not appear in large numbers, accounting for four and five female figures respectively. This suggests that mature-aged women and, to a lesser extent, young teenagers were more likely to be portrayed on grave reliefs.

Regarding status, it is possible to identify female figures as either slaves or non-slaves. Slaves can be identified thought a combination of two or more of the following: 1) attire; 2) activity; 3) gesture; 4) position in relation to other figures; and 5) height in relation to other figures. There are 10 female figures who are portrayed as such. Slaves acted as attributes for the deceased as their presence would imply that the deceased and, by extension, their family were wealthy and of high status. However, the small number of slaves suggests that it was not that common to depict slaves on gravestones. The presence of a slave assists in identifying the deceased. Funerary reliefs composed of two figures where one figure can be identified as a slave makes it evident that the non-slave is the deceased. Alternatively, the identity of the deceased can be determined when the funerary relief is composed of just one figure and/or, in the case of mature-aged women, when the woman is seated.

The funerary reliefs show that women were normally portrayed by themselves or with one man. In these scenes, they are more likely to be shown standing to the left, looking at another person, and performing either one or two gestures, often holding something, or performing the *dexiosis*

and/or *anakalypsis* gestures. Women are frequently shown wearing a combination of *chiton* and *himation* and, in a small number of cases, shoes and jewellery. They are also often shown wearing a head covering. Women can also be portrayed with various items which can indicate their wealth, status as a mother, and daily activities or occupations. Age tends to be idealised, with the majority of women being shown as mature-aged. Many women are not portrayed with a particular status. The few that are assigned a status can only be identified as non-slaves due to the presence of slave on their funerary reliefs. Deceased women, particularly those portrayed as mature-aged, can be identified by their seated position. There is no other clear pattern to definitely identify deceased women. Additionally, there do not appear to be any links between orientation, pose, gestures, dress and/or attributes to suggest that there was no set formula for how women are portrayed on funerary reliefs.

The lack of emphasise on a woman's citizenship status suggests that the reliefs erected for deceased women were not politically motivated. However, as the most popular relief composition is one woman and one man, it looks as if familial or marital ties are being emphasised in some relief images. Marriage was a key marker of women's status in the community. This is further evidenced in multi-figure grave reliefs. Although the number of single figure reliefs suggest that an emphasis on family ties is not a requirement. This does challenge the conventional view of women. Thus, as with funerary inscriptions, the commemoration of some women appears to have been motivated by a need to recognise the deceased as their own person. Furthermore, the inclusion of women in the relief scenes of 105 gravestones suggests that, at least, 105 families were able to erect gravestones for their loved ones.[130] Thus, it looks as if the plagues had no lasting impact during their outbreaks or in their immediate aftermath.

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[130] See **1**-**7**, **9**-**33**, **35**, **38**-**40**, **44**, **46** and Appendix A.

Chapter Five: Women in Funerary Inscriptions *and* on Funerary Reliefs

A careful review of the more authoritative studies concerning women on gravestones finds that there are just a few instances where the text *and* the image carved into the gravestones are examined in the same study (see Chapter One). Furthermore, these studies do not consider how text and image relate to one another.[1] Therefore, this chapter focuses on one question, is there a relationship between the sepulchral texts and the images in the relief? To answer this question, I focus on several topics. First, I look at the correlation between those individuals who are listed in the funerary inscriptions, with and without epitaphs, and figures who are carved in the accompanying reliefs. I also look at the correlation between text and image in regard to age and status. Second, I determine how individuals can be identified as the deceased in gravestones with texts and images.

Correlation between Funerary Texts and Funerary Reliefs

Individuals Listed in Funerary Texts and Individuals Portrayed in Funerary Reliefs

The simplest relationship between funerary texts and images is found when a gravestone references the personal name of the deceased in the inscription. The inclusion of the deceased's personal name means that they are represented in the accompanying relief regardless of its composition.[2] Clairmont notes that there are some cases where the deceased is not named in the inscription, but adds that text and image can still be correlated in some way.[3] He uses *GE* no. 25 as an example.[4] Clairmont believes that there is a "considerable degree of correlation" because of the reference to the profession of the deceased, namely τίτθη.[5] In addition to this,

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[1] I.e. Leader 1997; Kosmopoulou 2001; Younger 2002; Margariti 2017.
[2] Clairmont *GE*: 56. See also Johansen 1951: 16, 53.
[3] Clairmont *GE*: 56. See, for example, Clairmont *GE* nos. **25**, **63**, **72**, **89**.
[4] *IG* II² 7873; London, British Museum 1909.2-21.1.
[5] Clairmont *GE*: 56.

many gravestones also mention the relatives and/or friends of the deceased. Thus, in reliefs comprised of two or more figures, it may be possible to identify the deceased with the additional individuals listed in the text.[6] However, the additional individuals listed in the inscriptions and the figures portrayed in the reliefs rarely fully correspond to each other. For instance, the text may list a husband, siblings, parents, and children, but the relief only shows the deceased with a sister.[7] Clairmont believes that when more figures are added to the scene, the degree of correlation of text and image is greater and that it is easier to identify the extra figures as relatives of the deceased.[8]

As Table 5.1 shows, 16 of the 38 gravestones with both text *and* image fully correspond to each other, meaning that the number and gender of the individuals listed in the text matches those individuals carved into the relief. This makes it fairly easy to identify each figure in the relief.

Table 5.1: Number + Gender of Listed Individuals by Number + Gender of Figures I[9]

Listed Individuals	Figures	Catalogue Numbers
1F	IF	2, 3, 7, 9, 14, 21, 38, 39
1F + 1M	1F + 1M	12, 13, 19, 44
1F + 2M	1F + 2M	26
2F	2F	17
2F + 1M	2F + 1M	27
3F	2F + 1FChild	4

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[6] Clairmont *GE*: 56.
[7] Clairmont *GE*: 56. See, for example, Clairmont *GE* no. **30**.
[8] Clairmont *GE*: 56.
[9] **8**, **34**, **36**, **37**, **41**, **42**, **43**, **45** are not included here as they do not have any relief images.

The remaining 22 gravestones with text and image do *not* fully correspond to each other. As Table 5.2 shows, these tombstones either have more individuals listed in the inscription than carved on the relief or more in the relief than in the inscription. This does make it more difficult to identify each figure in the relief as some are either not represented or not named. However, this is not true of reliefs which list one female and portray one female with one or more males.[10] If one woman is named in the inscription and one woman appears in the relief, regardless of her companions, her identity is implied.

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[10] I.e. **5**, **16**, **18**, **20**, **22**, **24**, **46**.

Table 5.2: Number + Gender of Listed Individuals by Number + Gender of Figures II[11]

Listed Individuals	Figures	Catalogue Numbers
1F	1F + 2M	16
1F	1F + 1M + 1FChild	24
1F	2F	10, 11, 40
1F	2F + 1M	23
1F	2F + 2M + 1MGod	31
1F + 1M	1F + 1M + 1Child	22
1F + 2M	1F + 1M	18
1F + 2M	Uncertain, likely 1F + 1M + 1Child	25
1F + 2M	2F + 2M + 1MChild + 1Child	29
1F + 3M	1F + 1M	46
1F + 3M	1F + 2M	5
1F + Uncertain	1F + 1M	20
2F	3F + 1M + 1Child	30
2F	4F	28
2F + 1M	2F	1
2F + 1M	5F + 1M + 1MChild	6
2F + 2M	1F + 1M	33
2F + 1Child	1F + 1Child	35
3F + 2M	4F + 2M	32

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[11] **8**, **34**, **36**, **37**, **41**, **42**, **43**, **45** are not included here as they do not have any relief images.

| Uncertain | 1F + 1M | 15 |

The discrepancy between text and image on seven gravestones (**6**, **11**, **28**, **29**, **30**, **32**, **40**) can be explained by the fact that each grave relief contains one female who, in Chapter Four, is identified as a slave based on a combination of two or more iconographic features which, according to Wrenhaven, is needed to indicate slave status.[12] The identification of a female figure as a slave is based on a combination of two iconographic features is called into question on three gravestones (**4**, **17**, **27**). Reliefs **17** and **27** combine lack of contact with the holding gesture, while relief **4** combines the holding gesture with short/cropped hair. As Table 5.1 shows, however, all carved figures are listed in the text and, looking back at Chapter Three, are identified by just their personal names. The names given to these women, Niko (**4**), Myrtia (**17**) and Kleophante (**27**), are also not typical slave names. Furthermore, the texts do not include terms identified by scholars as indicating slave status, such as an occupation or the adjective χρηστή.[13] This suggests that these three women are not slaves, rather, as Clairmont suggests, they are likely to be family members or friends of the deceased.[14] This calls into question the identity of the other seven women as slaves, particularly since their names, assuming one name belongs to them, are not typical slave names and the lack of specific terms in the inscriptions denoting slave status. A close look at Clairmont's descriptions of the seven women show that three (**11**, **30**, **40**) are described as servants, two (**6**, **32**) are said to be both servants and, perhaps, part of the family, while the last two (**28**, **29**) are labelled as close relatives or friends.[15] Thus, it is possible that, when the epigraphical evidence is considered, the interpretation of the relief image may change.

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[12] Wrenhaven 2012: 101. See also Stears 1995: 124.

[13] See Byers 1998: 107; Kosmopoulou 2001: 290; Stears 2000a: 213; Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 179.

[14] Clairmont *CAT* II 2.182, 2.590; III 3.191.

[15] See Clairmont *CAT* I 1.692; II 2.150; IV 4.120, 4.671, 4.680, 6.181, 6.590.

The discrepancy between text and image in the remaining 15 gravestones could be the result of various modifications made to the monument. These modifications include the stelai being put into new bases, the addition of new names as additional family members died, the removal of the gravestone from one burial plot to another, and/or the re-inscription of new names associated with another family entirely.[16] Gravestone **20** is an example of this. The relief image shows an elderly bearded man sitting to the left of the scene shaking hands with a young woman standing opposite. The text names the young woman as Mnesikrite, but the man's name has been erased. Clairmont believes that the stele was re-used by a member of another family who had a female relative named Mnesikrite, but which then made the man's name unsuitable for the gravestone, so it was erased.[17] That the man's name was included in the original inscription before its reuse is further supported by **12**, **13**, **18**, **19**, **33** and **44**, all of which show one man and one woman who are both named in the inscription.[18]

The above tables clearly show that there is a discrepancy between text and image, however, there is also a disparity between men and women. In the 38 reliefs documented in the catalogue, women are shown 61 times as against 30 times for men. Stears believes that this prominence of women in funerary iconography may have been influenced by the enactment of the Periklean citizenship law.[19] In the 46 inscriptions collected in the catalogue, women are recorded 49 times as against 26 times for men. This disparity is not new, although it is different; Humphreys' count of c. 600 funerary inscriptions from the fourth century found that 88 tombstones recorded a husband and wife together, whereas in inscriptions for single individuals 234 were dedicated to men and 102 to women.[20] Stears considers the social implications of

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[16] Clairmont *GE*: 60; Younger 2002: 172.
[17] Clairmont *CAT* II 2.193.
[18] **22** also shows one man and one woman who are both named in the inscription, however, this gravestone also depicts an unnamed infant. So, while this gravestone is similar to those listed in text, I do not include it as supporting evidence for the argument that the man in **20** was once named.
[19] Stears 1995: 115.
[20] Humphreys 1993: 111.

Humphreys' observations.[21] She explains that the cemetery was where the patrilineal line was publicly displayed and that women played a secondary role which emphasised their diachronic and agnatic affiliations to the *oikos* and, perhaps, the *genos*. Women then, according to Stears, may be commemorated on gravestones for three specific reasons: 1) by having an especial influence due to the status of their male relatives; 2) by playing a matriarchal role within their family group, particularly if they were long-lived or held a priestly office in their own right; and/or 3) by being important to the construction and cohesion of the cognate family group through which the line of inheritance ran. Stears concludes that women may have warranted a permanent tombstone as members of the cognate family group, but that "this did not warrant their inclusion in the explicit record of the agnatic and more *political* kin-groups."[22] Stears' conclusions make sense in light of Humphreys' fourth century data which shows men outnumbering women in sepulchral inscriptions. However, there are two issues with Stears' conclusions. First, the formulas name and patronymic and/or demotic are only used to identify eight women while 46 women are identified by just their personal name.[23] This means that the majority of women during c. 430-400 B.C. were being commemorated in their own right. Women living in this period would not be able to add to the status of their male relatives as Stears suggests. Therefore, this cannot be a reason behind women's inclusion on funerary inscriptions during the fifth century. Second, her explanation does not explain why women outnumber men in the 38 reliefs documented in the catalogue. Two explanations for women outnumbering men spring to mind. *One*, the criteria used to select the gravestones, namely that at least one female be positively identified in the text, means that inscriptions belonging to the period under consideration which contained no positive reference to at least one female are not included here. *Two*, the inscriptions selected here do not always name a male relative.

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[21] Stears 1995: 114.
[22] Stears 1995: 114.
[23] See Chapter Three.

Individuals Listed with Epitaphs in Funerary Texts and Individuals Portrayed in Funerary Reliefs[24]

Gravestones with epitaphs enhance the correlation between text and image through the inclusion of specific details concerning the figures or other relief details without which the image could never be interpreted correctly.[25] Most of the gravestones with epitaphs perform this function *in addition to* identifying the deceased and the additional figures depicted with them. The gravestone of Aristylla (**1**) depicts two women; the older, seated woman is shown shaking hands with a younger, standing girl. If the relief alone were used to identify the figures and their relationship to one another, it would be difficult to interpret correctly the scene.[26] The epitaph provides the name of the deceased and the dedicators of the memorial, namely Aristylla's parents, and, by describing Aristylla as παῖς, indicates that the deceased was young at the time of her death. Thus, the younger figure can be safely identified as the deceased Aristylla and the older figure can be identified as her mother, Rhodilla. Aristylla's father is named in the inscription but he does not appear in the relief with his wife and daughter. This suggests that the relationship between Aristylla and Rhodilla was important and considered worthy of memorial.

The gravestone of Aristomakhe (**7**) is very fragmentary; half the text has been reconstructed and Aristomakhe's legs and feet (except the toes on her right foot) are all that survive. This makes it difficult to determine whether there is a correlation between text and image. The most that can be said with certainty is that the epitaph identifies the female figure as the dead Aristomakhe. Clairmont, however, observes that there is a parallel between this gravestone and the lekythos of Myrrhine (**31**), namely that both Myrrhine and Aristomakhe appear to be

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[24] While **8**, **34**, **36**, **37**, **41**, **42**, **43**, **45** do have epitaphs, they are not included here as they do not have any relief images.

[25] Clairmont *GE*: 56.

[26] See Clairmont *GE*: no. 27; Clairmont *CAT* II 2.051; Davies 1972: 536; Johansen 1951: 37.

walking, which leads him to suggest that Hermes may have also been depicted in the relief.[27] If this is the case, and Clairmont is correct in suggesting that Hermes may have once been represented on the relief, then not only would there be a stronger parallel between this stone and gravestone **31**, but there would also be a strong correlation between text and image.

The gravestone of Nikobole and Phyrkias (**18**) portrays a young man standing across from a seated, mature-aged, woman. The identity of the figures is clear from the names themselves and their location, namely directly above each figure. The relationship between the two figures, however, is unclear without the help of the epitaph. According to the epitaph, Phyrkias died, leaving behind a grieving father. However, his mother is not mentioned and, if she were alive, it is likely that she would be mentioned as, based on **1** and **33**, when a child dies both parents are mentioned. Thus, the epitaph is implying that she is deceased and, therefore, she can be identified as Nikobole.[28]

The epitaph on the gravestone of Nikosstrate (**24**) also implies the relationship between the figures in addition to identifying the deceased. The relief image on this gravestone shows a standing man shaking hands with a seated woman, both appear to be of a mature age, while a little girl stands beside the seated woman holding a bird in her outstretched hand. The epitaph identifies the deceased as a γυνὴ ἀρίστη (good wife), indicating that the deceased is the older, seated, woman. This, in addition to the *dexiosis* which serves as a link between Nikosstrate and the man, suggests that the couple are husband and wife. The little girl can be identified as their daughter which, incidentally, could be the reason Nikosstrate is referred to as a good wife; she

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[27] See Clairmont *GE*: no. 11; Clairmont *CAT* I 1.180; Kaltsas 2002: no. 295.
[28] See *SEG* 23-164, 60-123; Clairmont *GE*: no. 29; Clairmont *CAT* II 2.183; Kallipolitis 1964: 67; Pologiorgi 2010: 213, 216; Tsirivakos 1968: 70-77.

produced a daughter before her death, thereby continuing the family line and providing a future mother for the family.[29]

The gravestone of Mnesagora and Nikokhares (**33**) shows a young maiden holding a bird and standing in front of a small, toddler-age, boy. The identification of each individual, as with the previous gravestone, is obvious from the names provided in the epitaph, but, if the relief is the only part of the gravestone considered, the relationship between Mnesagora and Nikokhares would be unclear. The considerable age difference, estimated by Clairmont to be about 10 to 12 years, means that the figures could easily be mistaken for a young mother and her son.[30] The inclusion of an epitaph, however, provides the correct interpretation: Mnesagora and Nikokhares are sister and brother, both of whom predeceased their parents. The gravestone of Ampharete (**35**) depicts a seated woman holding a baby. This portrayal would have been very suitable for a young mother, however; the inscription states that Ampharete is the grandmother and that she has died along with her grandchild.[31]

Gravestones with epitaphs also represent a problematic relationship between text and image. Leader contends that the grave inscriptions tend to focus on women's virtues, such as ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη, while the grave reliefs depict women as recipients of adornment.[32] She suggests that a value was placed on the public visibility of Athenian women with their jewellery, specifically those from elite families, while the qualities which gave them value in the eyes of their family are inscribed on the gravestone.[33] Of the six gravestones with text *and* image which include an epitaph, two (**1**, **24**) speak of the virtues of the deceased. Gravestone **1** states that

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[29] See Clairmont *CAT* II 2.670; Oakley 2009: 223-224. See Chapter One for women's duties.
[30] See Clairmont *GE*: 56, 89 no. 22; Clairmont *CAT* I 1.610.
[31] See Clairmont *GE*: 60, 70, 91 no. 23; Demand 1994: 126; Grossman 2007: 311; Margariti 2016: 91, 101 n. 51; Oakley 2003: 183-184; Pomeroy 1997: 132; Stears 1995: 111-112; Stears 2000a: 214; Younger 2002: 173.
[32] Leader 1997: 694.
[33] Leader 1997: 694.

Aristylla was chaste, while **24** declares that Nikosstrate was an excellent wife. For gravestone **1**, the argument could be made that Aristylla is shown as chaste because she is dressed appropriately, is shown performing the *dexiosis* with her mother, and is not in the company of a man.[34] Gravestone **24**, as previously stated, shows Nikosstrate's daughter which indicates that, before she died, Nikosstrate fulfilled her primary duty, namely, to provide a future mother who will continue to produce soldiers and citizens for Athens.[35] Thus, both gravestones make public the private virtues of the deceased in both text *and* image. Furthermore, neither Aristylla nor Nikosstrate are shown as recipients of adornment. This could suggest that Leader's conclusions are not relevant for reliefs with two or more figures. However, there is insufficient data to support this conclusion.

Age

Chapter Four demonstrates that, through the use of certain iconographic features, the majority of female figures depicted in grave reliefs can be positively identified as belonging to a particular broad age group (see Table 4.6). Chapter Three, on the other hand, shows that four females listed in the grave texts can be assigned an age group (**1**, **33**, **34**, **35**). Of these four, three (**1**, **33**, **35**) have an accompanying relief which can be used to determine whether there is a correlation between text and image in regard to age indicators. Gravestone **1**, as previously mentioned, describes the dead Aristylla as παῖς, child, indicating that she died before reaching maturity. This description allows for a positive identification of the younger female figure as Aristylla. Aristylla's epitaph also mentions her parents, Arisston and Rhodilla, and, due to Aristylla's identification, the second, older, female figure can be identified as Rhodilla. Rhodilla is depicted as a mature age woman, but the epitaph does not indicate her age at Aristylla's time of death. However, to have a teenage daughter, it is possible that she was a mature age woman when Aristylla died.

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[34] For an ideal of behaviour see, for example, Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 21.5.
[35] See Chapter One for women's duties.

Gravestone **33** portrays the deceased Mnesagora as a young, unmarried, teenager while the epitaph mentions that she and her brother left behind their parents. The lack of references to a marital family implies that neither Mnesagora nor Nikokhares were married at their time of death, suggesting that they died at a young age. The text states that "themselves one cannot show".[36] This is interesting in light of the images on the relief; it suggests that the living figures cannot be seen as they are dead. Thus, it is likely that the figures carved on the relief are not true representations of Mnesagora or Nikokhares. Gravestone **35** depicts Ampharete as a mature age woman, but the epitaph, as with gravestone **1** and Rhodilla, does not indicate her age at death. However, the epitaph does say that Ampharete was a grandmother which implies that she was of a mature age or older when she died. This gravestone also includes Ampharete's grandchild, shown in the relief as a swaddled baby. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the swaddled baby is indicative of a very young age and the epitaph supports this; the child is not named, which indicates that it was likely less than a week old.[37] Thus, there appears to be a clear correlation between text and image in regard to age when the deceased is still a child. When the female figure, regardless of their status as living or dead, is older there seems to be less of a correlation as the text does not indicate an age.

Status

Chapter Three demonstrates that many of the named women in the gravestones cannot be identified through their status (see Table 3.1), while a small handful of named woman can be identified as either citizens, metic/foreigners, and/or slaves/freedwomen. Chapter Four, on the other hand, shows that slaves can be identified from various iconographic features and, through their presence in funerary reliefs, signify the relative status of the other figures. As Table 5.3

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[36] *IG* II² 12147.1-2.
[37] See Golden 2003: 15; Grossman 2007: 310; Stears 1995: 120.

shows, the majority of figures in both text and image cannot be identified by status, thus, in that respect, there is a correlation between text and image.

Table 5.3: Status of Females in Text and Image[38]

Status (Text)	Catalogue Number	Status (Image)	Catalogue Number
Unknown	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 44, 46	**Unknown**	1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33, 35, 38, 39, 44, 46
Citizen	5, 15, 19, 25, 36, 37	**Citizen**	4, 6, 11, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 40
Metic	41, 42, 43	**Slave**	4, 6, 11, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 40
Slave/Freedwoman	45		

A problem occurs when slave status in reliefs are considered. Three women (**4**, **17**, **27**), as previously mentioned, while having have a combination of iconographic features which indicate slave status, are referred to by names which are not typical slave names and are not referred to by terms indicating slave status.[39] Clairmont suggests that these woman are family members or friends of the deceased rather than slaves.[40] Thus, the number of individuals identified as slaves decreases, which then further reinforces the idea that status is not correlated between text and image.

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[38] **8**, **34**, **36**, **37**, **41**, **42**, **43**, **45** are not included in the Status (Image) column as they do not have any relief images.

[39] See Byers 1998: 107; Kosmopoulou 2001: 290; Stears 2000a: 213; Vestergaard *et al.* 1985: 179.

[40] Clairmont *CAT* II 2.182, 2.590; III 3.191.

Identifying the Deceased

In previous chapters, 24 gravestones have yielded the identity of the individual/s they commemorated based on inscriptional evidence only, while the use of relief imagery only produces the identity of the deceased on 23 gravestones. As Table 5.4 shows, there is some crossover between the two types of evidence, with 14 gravestones giving the identity of the deceased from both inscriptions and relief imagery. However, from the previous discussions on the correlation between text and image, it is clear that the identity of some women as deceased, specifically those identified as such in Chapter Four based on their depiction as a seated, mature-aged, woman, can be challenged.

Table 5.4: Identification of Deceased by Type of Evidence

Evidence Type	Catalogue Numbers
Inscription Only	1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18, 23, 24, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45
Relief Image Only	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 30, 31, 35, 38, 39, 40, 46
Inscriptions + Relief Image	1, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 18, 23, 24, 35, 38, 39, 40

Chapter Four identified the seated women in **1**, **4**, **6**, **10**, **17**, **18**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **29**, **30**, **35** and **46** as deceased because the analysis of several iconographical features of 11 women positively identified as dead in relief images showed that mature aged women who were seated are deceased (see Graph 4.1). From the discussion on the correlation between individuals listed with epitaphs in funerary texts and individuals portrayed in funerary reliefs, the identification of the seated women in **1**, **18**, and **35** as deceased needs to be amended. The deceased individual in **1** is *not* the mature-aged, seated, woman, rather the epitaphs makes it clear that the deceased

is the teenaged, standing, girl. The epitaphs on gravestones **18** and **35** *do* state that the seated, mature-aged, women are deceased, but they also state that the figures accompanying the women are also deceased. Thus, a multi-figure relief image showing a seated, mature-aged, woman does *not* necessarily mean that she is the sole deceased as it does with **24**.

The simplest way to identify the deceased is when the grave relief consists of a single figure with an accompanying inscription which provides the name of the deceased as in **3**, **7**, **9**, **14**, **21**, **38** and **39**. To identify the deceased in multi-figure reliefs, an accompanying inscription naming the deceased and providing additional information, such as age or information on the dedicator, is required as in **1**, **18**, **24**, **33** and **35**. There are four exceptions to this. One, in two-figure reliefs where one figure can be positively identified as a slave and the accompanying inscription provides the name of just one figure, otherwise known as mistress and maid scenes, as in **11** and **40**.[41] The addition of more than one maid, a child and/or other, adult, family members make "no fundamental difference" to the identification of the deceased "provided their relation to the principal figure is clearly subordinate and attributive."[42] Two, in two-figure reliefs which are composed of one male and one female and the accompanying inscription just provides the name of the female figure, as in **16**. Three, in multi-figure reliefs which name most or all figures and show a mature-aged, seated, woman, as in **4**, **6**, **10**, **17**, **22**, **23**, **29**, **30** and **46**. Four, in multi-figure reliefs which show Hermes Psychopompos escorting a named figure, as in **31**. Thus, by considering text *and* image together, rather than in isolation from each other and then cross-referencing the data, it is possible to identify positively the deceased in 25 of the 46 gravestones.

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[41] Clairmont *GE*: 61; Johansen 1951: 17, 20. See also the stele of Kalliarista (Clairmont *GE*: no. 32).

[42] Clairmont *GE*: 61; Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 120; Johansen 1951: 17, 22-24. I.e. the stelai of Ameinokleia (Johansen 1951: 20-21, 21 fig. 7), of Polyxena (Clairmont *GE*: no. 50), of Arkhestrate (Clairmont *GE*: no. 52) and Conze no. 1055, pl. 211 (See Johansen 1951: 22, 23 fig. 9).

Eight of the remaining 21 gravestones, as mentioned in Chapter Four, do not have relief images. Three of these (**8**, **42**, **43**) do not have a surviving image due to their fragmentary nature and/or lack of painted scene. The scholarship on two (**34**, **45**) does not include a description and/or photo of the actual gravestone. The last three (**36**, **37**, **41**) do not have relief images accompanying their texts. The remaining 13 gravestones present some difficulties in positively identifying the deceased as the number of names listed in the texts do not always match the number of figures in the reliefs.[43] The problem of positive identification is also compounded by the texts themselves which just list names and do not include any other information that would assist in identifying the deceased or the accompanying figures.

In addition to relief compositions, such as the mistress and maid scene, other factors, such as age, attributes and gestures, should be considered when determining the identity of the deceased in gravestones with multi-figure relief scenes.[44] In regard to age, Clairmont contends that in multi-figured gravestones, with or without inscriptions naming multiple individuals, in which maidens, youths, young women or young men are portrayed, "the primary deceased belongs to these age groups."[45] Evidence from attributes "is not always conclusive," however, it can still assist in identifying the deceased. Clairmont uses a stele naming multiple individuals from Rhamnous (*CAT* IV 5.290) as an example. The second figure from the left of the relief scene, a partly naked young man, is viewed as a hunter due to the *lagobolon* he holds in his right hand.[46] According to Clairmont, the *lagobolon* is used in several other multi-figure gravestones to identify the deceased.[47] From this, it could be assumed that "this very figure is meant to be the primary deceased who is depicted together with his mother, two sisters and a younger brother."[48] Clairmont does not see any other clues as to the identity of the deceased, but points

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[43] See **2**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **10**, **12**, **13**, **15**, **19**, **20**, **22**, **23**, **25**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **29**, **30**, **32**, **44**, **46**.
[44] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 120.
[45] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 120.
[46] Clairmont *CAT* IV 5.290.
[47] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 121.
[48] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 121.

out that either the seated mother or the second male figure accompanied by a dog could also be primary deceased.[49] The evidence from gestures is more conclusive. Many gestures are unambiguous in regard to who they are meant to be directed at with respect to identifying the deceased.[50] For instance, mourning gestures are performed primarily by the surviving figures and, as such, can be used to determine the identity of the deceased.[51] The *dexiosis*, too, can be considered in ascertaining the deceased's identity as the deceased is always one of the participants in the gesture.[52] This includes the children's equivalent gesture which consists of the giving and receiving of animals between two children or an adult and a child.[53]

Before using the above methods to determine the identification of the deceased on the 13 problematic gravestones, I am going to assess their efficacy by testing them against the 25 gravestones which positively identify the deceased. The single figure reliefs (**3**, **7**, **9**, **14**, **21**, **31**, **38**, **39**), by virtue of their composition, make it easy to identify the deceased regardless of an accompanying inscription. Age, attributes and gestures are not needed to determine the deceased's identity as there is just one figure.

Of the 17 multi-figure reliefs (**1**, **4**, **6**, **10**, **11**, **16**, **17**, **18**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **29**, **30**, **33**, **35**, **40**, **46**) which positively identify the deceased, three, by virtue of their composition, make identifying the deceased straightforward, namely the stelai of Philostrate (**10**), of Eutamia (**11**), of Myrtia and Kephisia (**17**) and of Hegeso (**40**). The presence of a maid in **11** and **40** act as attributes to emphasise the deceased's social position, while the girl in **10** and Myrtia in **17** occupy a subordinate and attributive positions to the seated women.[54] Clairmont's contention that the

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[49] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 121; *CAT* IV 5.290.
[50] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 121.
[51] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 110-111.
[52] Margariti 2018: 122.
[53] Davies 1985: 628; Margariti 2016: 93; Margariti 2018: 122; Pemberton 1989: 49; Roccos 2000: 260; Stears 1995: 126; Younger 2002: 174.
[54] Clairmont *GE*: 61; Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 120; Johansen 1951: 17, 20, 22-24.

younger individuals are the deceased in multi-figure reliefs apply to four gravestones (**1**, **16**, **33**, **40**). In each of these reliefs, the deceased is a maiden, but she is accompanied by an older figure in **1** and **16**; caution would need to be applied in **33** and **40**. In **33**, the deceased maiden is accompanied by her deceased, younger, brother, while in **40**, both Hegeso and her maid appear to be the same age. If these reliefs did not have inscriptions, factors other than age would be required to positively identify the deceased.

The remaining 13 multi-figure reliefs (**4**, **6**, **10**, **11**, **17**, **18**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **29**, **30**, **35**, **46**) portray the deceased women as mature-aged. Special mention of **18** in regard to age consideration is required here. In **18**, both Nikobole and Phyrkias are deceased; Phyrkias appears as a young man and, according to the text, the gravestone was set up for him making him the primary deceased. Thus, Clairmont's contention that the younger individuals on multi-figure reliefs are the primary deceased appears to hold true for the period under consideration.

The evidence from the attributes in the multi-figure reliefs show that four out of 17 times the deceased is shown with a bird and that infants and mirrors each appear in two out of 17 gravestones. There is little conclusive evidence that a specific attribute belongs with the deceased. This idea is further supported when the attributes found in single figure reliefs are added for comparison (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: Attributes of Female Figures Positively Identified as Deceased in Single and Multi-Figure Compositions

Attributes	Single Figure	Multi-Figure
Infant		22, 35
Bird	9	1, 18, 33, 35
Kalathos	38, 39	
Wool-working Implements	39	
Dog		11
Mirror		4, 24
Ball of Wool		23
None	31	6, 10, 16, 17, 29
Uncertain	3, 7, 14, 21	30, 40, 46

The evidence from attributes associated with maids in multi-figure relief scenes, however, do assist in reinforcing the identity of the deceased. Maids are included in reliefs **29** and **30**, both of whom are shown holding infants which serve as an attribute of motherhood.[55] The inclusion of the infant suggests that the deceased was a mother. Thus, in **29**, the infant reinforces the identity of the seated Eukoline as the deceased because she is the only other female figure in the relief. The infant in **30**, on the other hand, merely gives additional information concerning the deceased as, in theory, its mother could be either the standing or seated figure. However, as Graph 4.1 shows, it is the mature-aged seated woman who is the deceased and, perhaps, the infant's mother.

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[55] Margariti 2016: 87-92, 100 n. 31; Margariti 2018: 99.

Infants are also found in **4** and **22**. In **4**, Selino's seated position identifies her as the deceased, while the inclusion of the infant, Mynnake, identifies Selino as a mother. Mynnake is shown reaching out her right hand to Selino, a gesture which is thought to be the children's equivalent of the mourning gestures performed by adults, further reinforcing Selino's identity as the deceased.[56] This relief has another attribute, a mirror held by Selino which, as Table 5.5 shows, is an attribute for the deceased Nikosstrate (**24**); this further reinforces Selino's identification as the deceased. In **22**, Hagnostrate is seated, identifying as her the deceased, and holds an infant in her arms. However, in this relief, the infant merely serves as an attribute of motherhood. It is unclear as to whether the infant is also deceased. Children also serve as attributes to motherhood. The little boy in **6** suggests that the deceased was a mother and his position, facing the seated Kleo, reinforces Kleo's identity as the deceased as children are often portrayed interacting with their mothers.[57]

The evidence from the gestures performed by the deceased in multi-figure reliefs show that 10 out of 17 times the deceased are depicted as holding an object or animal. The holding gesture is shown in 21 reliefs (**1**, **2**, **4**, **6**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **17**, **18**, **22**, **23**, **24**, **27**, **29**, **30**, **32**, **33**, **35**, **39**, **40**, **44**) and can be performed by both the deceased and/or their living companions. Thus, the holding gesture cannot be used as conclusive evidence that an individual is deceased. Table 5.6 also shows that the *dexiosis* is performed by the deceased nine out of 17 times, suggesting that the *dexiosis* can be used to indicate the deceased. However, as with attributes, there is little evidence to suggest that there is a gesture which can conclusively indicate an individual is the deceased. This is further supported when gestures from single figure relief compositions are added for comparison.

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[56] Margariti 2016: 97.
[57] Grossman 2007: 318; Margariti 2016: 93; Oakley 2009: 224. I.e. Margariti's catalogue nos. 26, 38, 43, 52-54, 56, 58-65, 67-73.

Table 5.6: Gestures of Female Figures Positively Identified as Deceased in Single and Multi-Figure Compositions

Gestures	Single Figure	Multi-Figure
Petting	9	
Anakalypsis	21, 38	11, 17, 46
Dexiosis[58]		1, 4, 6, 16, 22, 24, 29, 33, 46
Working Wool	39	23
Touching	38	
Holding	9, 39	1, 4, 18, 22, 23, 24, 30, 33, 35, 40
Pointing		11
Reaching		10
None	31	
Uncertain	3, 7, 14	

The methods outlined above do have merit in regard to identifying the deceased and are able to back-up the identification of the deceased from the accompanying texts. I now turn to using these methods to assist in determining the identity of the deceased in the 13 problematic gravestones.[59] The deceased in two of these gravestones (**2**, **13**) can be designated based on their relief compositions. Gravestone **13** depicts a soldier, Philoxenos, shaking hands with Philom[e]ne, presumably his wife.[60] According to Clairmont, scenes with soldiers should identify the soldier as the deceased.[61] Thus, the deceased individual in **13** is the warrior

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[58] For the purposes of this table, the term *dexiosis* includes the shaking of hands as performed by two adults and the children's equivalent of the giving and receiving of animals performed by an adult and a child or two children.
[59] See **2**, **5**, **12**, **13**, **15**, **19**, **20**, **25**, **26**, **27**, **28**, **32**, **44**.
[60] Johansen 1951: 37-38 contends that relief compositions with one man and woman, as a rule, show a husband and wife.
[61] Clairmont *GE*: 61.

Philoxenos. Gravestone **2**, while incomplete, is reminiscent of the stele of Hegeso, with the surviving figure taking on a similar pose to the maid in **40**, suggesting that the figure is a maid. There is room for a second figure who, like Hegeso, may have been seated and shown removing an object from the box held by the maid. If this interpretation is correct, then the deceased is the second, missing, female figure. However, without the remaining portion of the gravestone, the identity of the deceased cannot be confirmed.

There are another three gravestones (**27**, **28**, **32**) which include one maid in their relief scenes, however, the inclusion of the maid does not assist in identifying the deceased. These three reliefs are comprised of three or more individuals, including the maids, leaving too many options for the deceased to be able to determine their identity based on the composition. Additionally, the woman who appears to be a maid in **27** is named, which suggests that she is likely to be a relative of the deceased.

The deceased in **44** is determined through age. The relief shows a maiden, Khairestrate, handing a bird to a young boy, Lysandros; the pair are often interpreted as brother and sister.[62] Based on Clairmont's contention that maidens and youths are the primary deceased in multi-figure reliefs, it is clear that Khairestrate is the deceased. This makes further sense in light of the fact that the deceased is always one of the participants in the *dexiosis* which, for children, is performed by giving and/or receiving animals.[63] The bird is being given to Lysandros, strongly suggesting that it is Khairestrate who is dead. Lysandros' status as dead or alive is unclear. On the one hand, he is receiving a bird from his sister, suggesting he is alive. On the other hand, there is no evidence to suggest that both participants in the *dexiosis* cannot be

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[62] See, for example, Clairmont *CAT* I 1.575 and Margariti 2018: no. 99.
[63] Davies 1985: 628; Margariti 2016: 93; Margariti 2018: 122; Pemberton 1989: 49; Roccos 2000: 260; Stears 1995: 126; Younger 2002: 174.

deceased. There is not enough evidence to determine with any certainty that Lysandros is dead or alive.

Attributes, as evidenced by **29** and **30**, can be useful in identifying the deceased. Gravestone **13** uses warrior garb (ie. shield and helmet) to show that the deceased was a warrior. Gravestone **44** shows the deceased Khairestrate handing a bird to her brother. As Table 5.5 shows, birds were found in the possession of the deceased in five out of 17 gravestones where the deceased is positively identified. This serves to reinforce the designation of Khairestrate as the deceased. The hare found in **12** is also an attribute and, according to Margariti, serves the same function as birds when they are shown as being given and/or received in the children's equivalent of the *dexiosis*. Furthermore, as in **44**, it appears to be the female figure, Megisto, who is giving the hare away, suggesting that she is the primary deceased.

Gestures can also be useful in identifying the deceased. The *dexiosis* gesture, including the children's equivalent involving the giving and/or receiving of animals, is particularly useful in narrowing down the options for the deceased in multi-figure reliefs. Eleven of the 13 problematic gravestones show two figures engaged in the *dexiosis*. Two of these (**12**, **44**), as previously mentioned, show the children's equivalent performed with a hare. The direction of the animal in both gravestones goes from female figure to male figure, suggesting that it is the female figures who are the primary deceased. The remaining nine show the *dexiosis* being performed by two adults. However, directionality cannot be used to determine the identity of the deceased; the most that can be said is that the deceased is one of the participants in the *dexiosis*. Seven of the remaining nine reliefs (**13**, **15**, **19**, **20**, **26**, **27**, **32**) show the *dexiosis* being performed by one man and one woman. In three of these reliefs, the deceased has either been positively identified or narrowed down to one or two individuals on the basis of

composition, age and/or attributes. In **13**, the deceased is positively identified as Philoxenos on account of the composition and attributes which characterise him as a warrior.

The compositions of **27** and **32** both show a female figure standing to the left performing the duties of a maid. As both women take on a subservient position, it is likely that they are not the primary deceased in their reliefs. This suggests that one of the other figures is the primary deceased. In **27**, the man and woman depicted with the maid/relative of the deceased are shown performing the *dexiosis* which confirms that one of them is the primary deceased. In **32**, two men and two women are depicted in addition to the maid. Based on the composition, the maid can be ruled out as the primary deceased which leaves four other figures who could be the deceased. The *dexiosis* is performed by the seated man and the woman standing opposite him, suggesting that one of these figures is the primary deceased. Chapter Four shows that the deceased is more likely to be shown in a seated position, however, this only applies to mature-aged women. It is unclear as to whether the seated position as an indicator of death also applies to men. Thus, it is impossible to determine which of the two figures performing the *dexiosis* in **27** and **32** is the primary deceased without more information. The identity of the primary deceased is not clear in **15**, **19**, **20** and **26**.

One gravestone (**28**) shows the *dexiosis* gesture being performed by two women. The identity of the deceased in this gravestone is unclear as there are three other female figures in addition to the maid. By virtue of the *dexiosis* gesture, however, the identity of the deceased can be narrowed down to one of the two female figures standing in the centre of the image. The mourning gesture performed by the maid standing to the far left suggests that the deceased is Demostrate who is standing to the left of the centre of the relief. However, the maid standing to the far right performs a gesture of contemplation directed at Kallistrat[e] who stands to the right of the centre of the relief. I suggest that Demostrate is the primary deceased as the

mourning gesture is directed at her while the maid to the right contemplates Kallistrat[e]'s fate at being left behind. The last gravestone (**5**) depicts two men shaking hands, suggesting that one of these men is the primary deceased while the female figure, according to the accompanying inscription, is the wife of one of the brothers.

The identity of the deceased on five of the 13 problematic gravestones is found using the methods outlined at the beginning of this section.[64] The deceased on the other eight gravestones (**5**, **15**, **19**, **20**, **25**, **26**, **27**, **32**) remains uncertain.[65] Johansen contends that "in many cases we cannot with certainty identify the dead person" as there is no fundamental distinction between the dead and the living.[66] He believes that the emphasis in these gravestones is on the deceased's close union "with one or more survivors from the circle of their immediate relations."[67] I agree with Johansen's conclusion concerning the lack of distinct, definitive, characteristics between the living and the dead. This is supported by Graph 5.1 which charts several iconographical features of those female figures positively identified as the deceased by age. These female figures have been positively identified through their accompanying inscriptions and/or iconographic details. The data shows that no constant pattern by which the deceased could be identified emerges, although it does reinforce the findings of Chapter Four in regard to the seated position: mature-aged women who are dead are shown seated. Thus, in regard to the plurality of names and lack of distinguishing features between the dead and the living, I believe that Johansen is correct in stating that it is the "manifestation of the fundamental thought that the parties together make up the whole, the family, which the intervention of death

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[64] See **2**, **12**, **13**, **28**, **44**.

[65] **25** is not included in the previous discussions on identifying the deceased as the portion of the relief which likely contained the female figure does not survive and, therefore, the data required to determine the identity of the deceased is also missing.

[66] Johansen 1951: 54.

[67] Johansen 1951: 54.

has failed to sunder.[68] The "whole", explains Clairmont, "is like a common denominator which embraces all the possibilities for designating the deceased."[69]

Graph 5.1: Iconographic Features of Women Positively Identified as Deceased[70][71]
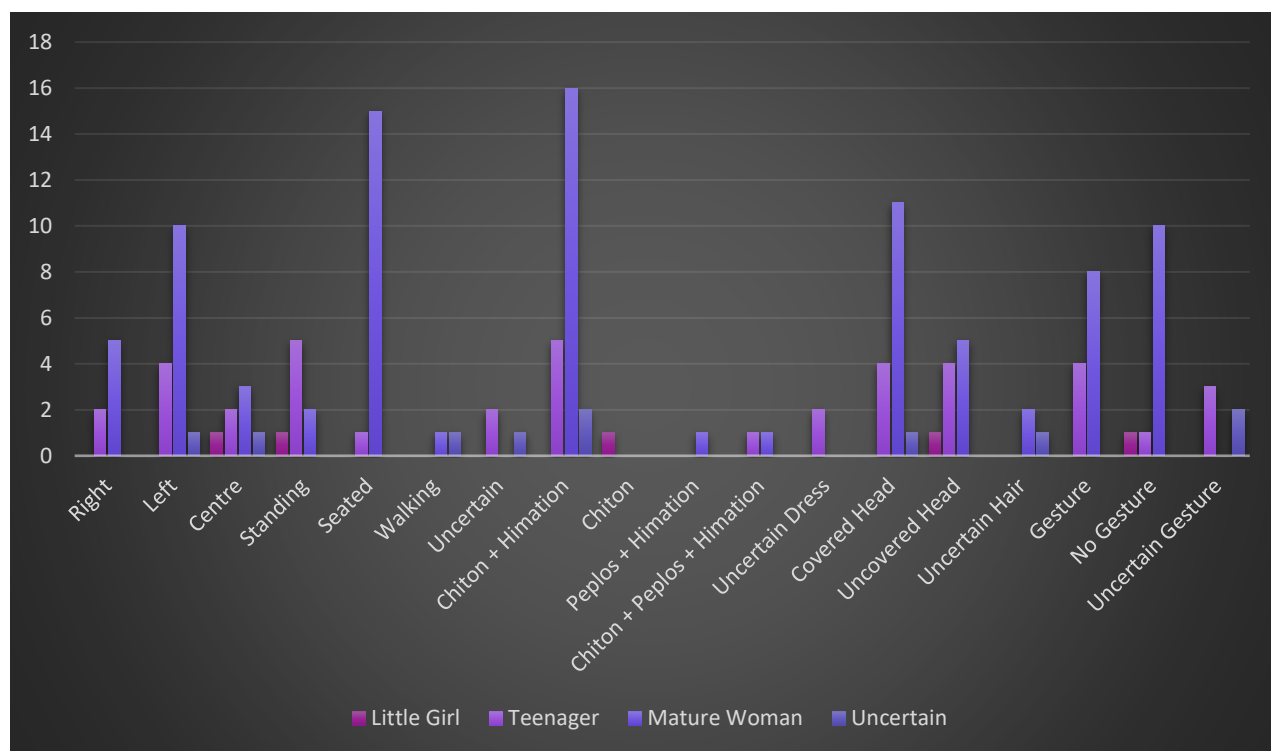
Excursus: The Memorial to Myrrhine, the First Priestess of Athena Nike

The stele of Myrrhine (**36**), found in Zographou in the 1940s, furthers scholars' knowledge of the priesthood of Athena Nike. It provides the name of the first priestess, Myrrhine, and the name of her father, Kallimakhos, both of whom have been identified in other sources.[72] The stele dates close to c. 400 B.C. which leads Papadimitriou to hypothesise that in 411, when Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* was performed, the priestess of Athena Nike was called Myrrhine and,

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[68] Johansen 1951: 151.

[69] Clairmont *CAT* Introductory Volume: 121.

[70] Gesture refers to the use of those gestures denoting that the individual is the deceased, namely the *dexiosis*, the children's equivalent involving animals and the mourning gesture. Attributes are not included here as there are no attributes that specifically indicate an individual as the deceased.

[71] The primary deceased in **5** and **13** are identified as men and so are not included here. There is insufficient data as to the identity of the deceased in **25** and so it is not included here.

[72] *IG* I³ 1330.1, 8-9, 15; Clairmont 1979: 103; Mark 1993: 112; Rahn 1986: 202.

therefore, that Aristophanes' Myrrhine is identical to the Myrrhine mentioned in the stele.[73] This identification is further reinforced by Lewis' conclusion that Aristophanes' Lysistrate was a parody of Lysimakhe, the priestess of Athena Polias. [74] While Myrrhine's father, Kallimakhos, could be identical with Kallimakhos, the archon of 446/445 B.C., mentioned in Diodoros Siculus 12.7.[75] The stele also provides the manner in which Myrrhine was selected, namely by sortition from among all of the physically qualified Athenian women.[76] Its date also gives some idea of Myrrhine's age and the length of time she spent in office.[77] If Myrrhine was appointed to the priesthood as a maiden, Mark estimates that she would have been about 40 or 45 years old at the earliest likely date of her stele in c. 425 B.C. However, due to Lewis' arguments concerning Aristophanes' Lysistrata and Myrrhine being portraits of actual priestesses, the latter date of c. 400 B.C. appears to be correct, making Myrrhine about 60 or 65 years of age. This means that, at the very least, Myrrhine was in office for about 25 years.[78] However, there is a problem with the inscription commemorating Myrrhine. The text describes the stele as a τηλαυγὲς μνῆμα (far-shining memorial) which suggests something spectacular.[79] This description, according to Clairmont, "certainly cannot be said of the pillar on which the epitaph is inscribed."[80]

The solution to this problem comes in the form a *lekythos* (**31**) found in Syntagma Square in 1873. This *lekythos* is an example of the new theme of descent to and return from the Underworld which is introduced to Attic sculpture during the Peloponnesian War.[81] It has a unique figure composition consisting of five figures, one of whom is the god Hermes acting in

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[73] Papadimitriou 1948-1949: 146. See also Clairmont 1979: 104; Clairmont *CAT* IV 5.150; Dillon 2002: 76; Lougovaya-Ast 2006: 219-220; Mark 1993: 112; Rahn 1986: 202.
[74] See Lewis 1955: 2-12. See also Clairmont 1979: 104; Lougovaya-Ast 2006: 219-220; Mark 1993: 113.
[75] Papadimitriou 1948-1949: 148. See also Clairmont 1979: 103; Mark 1993: 112 n. 77; Rahn 1986: 202.
[76] *IG* I³ 1330.11-16; Clairmont 1979: 103; Mark 1993: 112.
[77] Mark 1993: 112.
[78] Mark 1993: 112. See also Dillon 2002: 76.
[79] Rahn 1986: 205. See Rahn 1986: 203 for the meaning of τηλαυγὲς.
[80] Clairmont 1979: 109.
[81] Palagia 2009: 39. For a full discussion of this theme see Palagia 2009: 35-43.

his role as Psychopompos. Hermes is shown moving to the left, leading a female figure by the hand, and looking over his shoulder at her bowed head. The female figure, identified as Myrrhine by the text inscribed above her head, follows Hermes willingly. Three figures, two men and one woman, face Hermes and Myrrhine; they are depicted as half a head shorter than Hermes and Myrrhine. Clairmont observes that these three figures "behave totally differently from the "surviving relatives" on the classical Attic gravestones."[82] There is no *dexiosis*; the two groups of figures are separated rather than together and lack the intimate familiarity of family members; the gestures performed by the three-figured group, a farewell gesture and a pointing gesture, and the relaxed stance of the younger male figure indicate that they are onlookers instead of a family group. Thus, Clairmont interprets these figures as bystanders, more specifically, he believes them to be Athenian citizens.[83]

Clairmont believes that the juxtaposition of Hermes and Myrrhine to the three bystanders *and* the difference in size between the two groups means that Myrrhine is heroised. This leads him to question "who is Myrrhine who was so privileged to be taken to Hades by Hermes Psychopompos?"[84] Clairmont hypothesises that the Myrrhine of the *lekythos* is identical with the Myrrhine of the stele. This would explain why *lekythos* Myrrhine is heroised *and* why the stele of Myrrhine is referred to as a τηλαυγὲς μνῆμα. The *lekythos*, according to Clairmont, fits the idea of a far-shining memorial; it would have sat next to the stele on an adjacent base. He also theorises that the inscription "may have been centrally posited with a lekythos symmetrically placed on either side of the pillar."[85] The second *lekythos* could have been decorated with a family group scene.[86]

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[82] Clairmont 1979: 109.
[83] Clairmont 1979: 107-109; Clairmont *CAT* IV 5.150.
[84] Clairmont *CAT* IV 5.150 p. 163.
[85] Clairmont 1979: 109. See, for example, Karusos 1961: 68, C4, fig. 2.
[86] Clairmont 1979: 109-110; Clairmont *CAT* IV 5.150.

There is some disagreement among scholars as to the relationship between stele and *lekythos*. Rahn, while agreeing that both monuments commemorate the same person, contends that the stele and *lekythos* are two different funeral monuments based on imprecisions in the stonework that would preclude its inclusion in a larger monument.[87] He believes that the stele likely served as a tombstone to mark the spot where Myrrhine was buried while the *lekythos* was placed elsewhere, possibly close to the city gates so the family could easily view it on their way into Athens.[88] Lougovaya-Ast, on the other hand, does not address whether the stele and the *lekythos* are part of one large memorial. Instead, she concerns herself with the evidence for the stele Myrrhine and *lekythos* Myrrhine being the same person. She believes that their identification as the same person "cannot be regarded as certain" as the monuments were found a fair distance from each other and the name Myrrhine was common in Attica.[89] However, she also observes that the identification of the two Myrrhines as the same person "cannot be completely disproved" as the monuments are close in date and multiple memorials commemorating the same person are attested during late fifth and fourth century Athens.[90] Ferrario acknowledges the points made by Lougovaya-Ast and recognises that Clairmont's hypothesis is a possibility.[91]

Lougovaya-Ast raises several good points and I believe that caution should be used in positively identifying the stele Myrrhine and the *lekythos* Myrrhine as the same person. Having said that,

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[87] Rahn 1986: 204-205.
[88] Rahn 1986: 205, 206.
[89] Lougovaya-Ast 2006: 222 n. 32.
[90] Lougovaya-Ast 2006: 222 n. 32. For example, Dexileos is commemorated by a funeral monument in his family's burial plot (*IG* II² 6217), by a memorial to the cavalrymen (*IG* II² 5222) and, according to Lougovaya-Ast (2006: 222 fn. 32), his name can also probably be found in the casualty list on the public memorial for the casualties of the year (*IG* II² 5221). Another example from Merenda shows that Kleoptoleme, daughter of Meideteles is honoured on a fragment of a *naiskos* stele (*SEG* 23-159) and a marble plaque with an epitaph (*CEG* 591). Her name, in addition to the names of three other family members, also appear on a marble *lekythos* (*SEG* 23-157).
[91] Ferrario 2014: 162-165, 176.

I do believe that Clairmont's hypothesis does have merit. If he is correct then the correlation between text and image for this memorial is significant. Firstly, the emphasis in both text and image is Myrrhine; the majority of the text is used to describe her, and she is the largest and most intricately sculpted figure in the relief.[92] This emphasis is reinforced in the text which devotes several lines to Myrrhine's name while the relief just includes an eye-catching inscription of her name.[93] Secondly, Myrrhine's father, Kallimakhos, and the elderly man shown at the front of the group of bystanders are given prominence which directs attention to Myrrhine. In the text, Kallimakhos' name is positioned at the beginning of the epitaph, giving "it pride of place" and emphasising that "the portrayal of his daughter to follow has his approval."[94] Furthermore, if Papadimitriou is correct in identifying Kallimakhos with the archon of 446/445 B.C., his inclusion might have contributed to the praise about to be bestowed onto Myrrhine.[95] In the relief, the elderly man is shown performing a heroising gesture (an uplifted hand with the palm turned outwards) which emphasises Myrrhine's heroic status.[96] Thirdly, Hermes' benign facial expression "correlates beautifully with the repeated affirmation of the epitaph that Myrrhine enjoyed divine favour and good fortune."[97] Finally, the bracelet on her right arm and a headband, half-hidden by Myrrhine's *himation*, both lacking decoration suggesting they were made of a precious metal, are, according to Rahn, symbols of religious office.[98] Their inclusion in the image "reflect a pride in ritual activity that is also present in the epitaph."[99]

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[92] Rahn 1986: 204.
[93] Rahn 1986: 197, 204.
[94] Rahn 1986: 202.
[95] Rahn 1986: 202.
[96] Rahn 1986: 197-198. For other examples of the heroizing hand gesture see Athens, National Archaeological Museum 449, 803, 1452 and 2791.
[97] Rahn 1986: 202.
[98] Rahn 1986: 200.
[99] Rahn 1986: 202.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to determine whether there is a relationship between the sepulchral texts and the images in relief. The answer to this question is yes, there is a relationship between text and image. Of the 38 gravestones with both text and image, 16 fully correspond to each other. This means that the number and gender of the individuals listed in the text matches those individuals depicted in the relief. The remaining 22 gravestones do not fully correspond to each other. In seven of these, the discrepancy can be explained by the inclusion of a slave, who is not named, in the relief. The discrepancy in the remaining 15 can be attributed to modifications made to the gravestone. These discrepancies make it difficult to link a specific figure to a name listed in the accompanying text. The one exception to this is gravestones which list one female and portray one female with one or more males. In these cases, the name of the female figure is obvious. In addition to the discrepancy between text and image, there is also a disparity between men and women. Women are shown in the reliefs 61 times as opposed to the 30 times that men are depicted. This prominence may have been influenced by the Periklean citizenship law. There is also a disparity in the inscriptions; women are recorded 49 times as opposed to 26 times for men. This is attributed to the selection criteria used in this study, namely that at least one female be positively identified in the text.

There is a greater correlation between text and image in gravestones with epitaphs. In the five gravestones with epitaphs it is possible to identify all carved figures with a name in the text and to determine their relationship to one another. From these examples, it is known that the deceased can be depicted with living relatives, such as a parent, husband or child, or with a second deceased relative. Two gravestones with epitaphs are also found to show the private virtues of the deceased in text and image. These same two gravestones also lack the adornment theme. This goes against Leader's findings that sepulchral inscriptions focus on virtues while

sepulchral reliefs portray women as recipients of adornment.[100] The discrepancy can be attributed to the relief compositions. Leader's examples consist of two single figure reliefs, while the two examples in the gravestones are multi-figure reliefs.

There is a correlation between text and image in regard to age. However, this is only the case when the deceased is a child. When the female figure is older there is less of a correlation as the text does not indicate an age. The figure's status as deceased or living does not alter the lack of correlation. There is no correlation between text and image in regard to status. However, due to the Periklean citizenship law of 451 B.C., it is likely that those women of unknown status in both text and image are citizens. This suggestion is further reinforced by those female figures in either text or image who are identified as citizens since they are depicted in the same way as those of unknown status.

The positive identification of the deceased in gravestones can be achieved by viewing either the inscription or the relief in isolation. If one then wanted to determine a relationship between text and image, it is possible to cross-reference the data to positively identify the deceased in text and image. However, analysing the texts and images in isolation and then cross-referencing the data can lead to a problem in identification if the deceased is identified as a different individual in the relief and in the text as in **1**. Additional identification problems can also occur when the text identifies multiple deceased individuals while the relief only identifies one based on iconography. Thus, it is safer to analyse text and image together so as to make positive, and correct, identifications of all deceased individuals.

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[100] See Leader 1997: 694.

Thirteen of the 46 gravestones are problematic as the texts just list names and the number of names does not match the number of figures in the reliefs. In these cases, other factors, such as composition, age, attributes and gestures, need to be considered. An analysis of these factors yielded the identity of the deceased on five of the problematic gravestones. There are no fundamental distinctions between the living and the dead on the remaining eight gravestones. This, in addition to there being no constant pattern by which the deceased could be identified, leads me to agree with Johansen's hypothesis: that the emphasis is on the whole, the family, rather than an individual person.[101] This supports the findings from Chapters Three and Four which both find that the commemoration of women was not politically motivated. However, this also contradicts the conclusions from Chapter Three, which finds that women are memorialised in their own right, and Chapter Four, which finds that some women are commemorated in their own right while others are memorialised as part of a family group thereby emphasising family ties.

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[101] See Johansen 1951: 54, 151.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed to fill the gap concerning women's representation on gravestones and their place in society during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath. To this end, I documented the surviving funerary inscriptions and their accompanying monuments set up for deceased women and by living women for deceased relatives between c. 430 and c. 400 B.C. in Athens. This documentation allowed me to comment on the place of women during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath based on how they were depicted on gravestones. Furthermore, by documenting the extant gravestones, I was able to comment on the impact left by the plagues of c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. My approach also differed from the previous scholarship in that I looked at the representation of women in inscriptions and reliefs both in isolation from each other and together. Moreover, I also acknowledged the larger ritual of death, of which gravestones were a small part, by determining the roles played by women in the mortuary practices of fifth-century Athens. In doing so, I have made several contributions of our knowledge-base of classical Athens including how women were represented in grave inscriptions and funerary reliefs of the fifth century, their place in Athens during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath, and the understanding of Thucydides.

The current view on the place of women in Athenian society shows that they lived complex lives. It was their duty to marry and give birth to children so as to perpetuate the family line and provide future soldiers and mothers to Athens. They had no part in the political or secular spheres of Athenian society, rather their place was in the home where they were responsible for the running of the household. Women were, however, not confined to the home. They were able to leave the house to visit friends and/or family, go to the market, attend funerals and religious festivals and, in the case of women from poor families, perform outdoor tasks normally relegated to slaves and/or take paid work outside the home. Previous scholarship on

women and gravestones, as Chapter One demonstrates, support this view while also adding to it. This scholarship shows that women in funerary inscriptions and reliefs were identified by their relationships to men and praised for characteristics not associated with their familial duties.

There are, however, issues associated with the previous scholarship. As Chapter One reveals, previous studies focus on either grave inscriptions *or* grave reliefs. Scholars writing on these topics tend to agree on how women were represented in either texts or reliefs. In the few studies that concentrated on text and image together, scholars tend to disagree as to whether the inscriptions and reliefs displayed the same details. However, there is a common thread across the studies concerning women and gravestones: the use of fourth century B.C. gravestones. Most of the scholarship is found to have primarily used gravestones dating to the fourth century as blanket evidence for women's representations on gravestones for the entirety of the classical period. In the instances where the gravestones belonging to the fifth century are used as evidence, the total number included in the study were always markedly lower than the total number of gravestones dating to the fourth century. This means that there would have been insufficient data to determine how women were represented on gravestones during the fifth century B.C. It also calls into question the place women occupied during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath and whether this confirms, or challenges, the general view of women.

An analysis of the mortuary practices of fifth century Athens and the impact left by Solon's laws and the plagues of c. 430 B.C. and c. 427 B.C. add to the picture presented by gravestones. Women played an active role in the funerary rites for the deceased. They were responsible for preparing the body for burial, performing lamentations and mourning gestures, and visiting the grave after the funeral. These visits to the grave included more lamentations as well as leaving

various types of offerings, including food, drink, toys and vases. They performed these duties in obedience with the Solonian laws as quoted by Demosthenes. This indicates that women were respective of the laws pertaining to funerals. Women were also able to participate in the larger rituals of death which included the erection of a gravestone. They had access to the amount of money required for a simple gravestone, assuming the cost did not differ from the fourth century, through their position as financial managers of their husband's estates. Assuming the law restricting women's spending was in use during the fifth century, in their bid to commemorate their loved ones, women were either bypassing their guardians' consent, albeit publicly unacknowledged, or were expressing financial agency in their affairs. However, the evidence is unclear as to whether there was a law restricting women's spending during the fifth century. Thus, it is also possible that no such law existed and that the women living in the fifth century did not require their guardians' consent in financial matters.

And what of the validity of Thucydides' account of the plague? Chapter Two shows that Thucydides' account of the plague leading the Athenians to create mass grave sites is backed up by archaeological evidence. That the plague impacted life in Athens is also indicated by the introduction of new healing gods into the Piraeus, suggesting that the district was greatly affected, and the erection of statues dedicated to Apollo and Herakles *Alexikakos* in the Agora. This would imply that the plagues of c. 430 and c. 427 B.C. had a lasting impact on Athens. However, Chapter Two also shows ample evidence for traditional funerary practices being performed during the outbreaks and their immediate aftermath. The 113 extant gravestones, with and without text, dating to c. 430-400 B.C. also suggest that funerals were being performed for dead and that they were being buried properly. Furthermore, both the funerary texts and reliefs do not refer to the plague or even the Peloponnesian War. This suggests that Thucydides' description of normal burial practices being in disarray was exaggerated and that the plague did not have any lasting impact on the commemoration of women. So, how can the evidence for

and against Thucydides' account be reconciled? One explanation springs to mind: that the plague did not affect everyone and/or every district equally and that, for whatever reason, Thucydides exaggerated the events in such a way that suggested the entirety of Athens was affected.

Chapter Three's analysis of the extant funerary inscriptions confirms previous scholarship on how women are described on gravestones. Descriptions of women either referred to them by their roles within the family (ie. mother, daughter, etc.) and/or praised their character. This character praise could appear in two different forms: 1) as a statement of fact, as in σώφρων γ' ὦ θύγατερ (chaste indeed, oh daughter!);[1] or 2) as an expression of grief, as in πατρὶ φίλωι καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμ μέγα πένθος (leaving behind their beloved father and mother both great grief).[2] The latter only appears when the deceased is a child, not married or a foreigner, a fact that is not discussed in previous scholarship, and suggests that a strong, emotional, relationship existed between deceased and dedicator. Descriptions can also shed light on other aspects of the lives of Athenian women, such as age, status and kin relationships which are indicated by the identity of the dedicator/s. In this selection of gravestones, the dedicator/s consist of a mixture of parent/s, spouses and close friends. However, the inclusion of a parent or parents outnumber references to spouses and close friends. These references are either implied or explicitly stated. References to age mainly occurred when the deceased died young while many of the inscriptions provided no indications as to the status of the listed women.

The analysis of funerary inscriptions in Chapter Three also challenges previous scholarship. The consensus view on women's identification states that women were identified by their relationships to men. However, the majority of named women in this selection of gravestones

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[1] *IG* I³ 1311.3 (**1**).
[2] *IG* I³ 1315.3 (**33**).

were referred to by just their personal name. The inclusion of a patronymic, andronymic and/or a demotic/ethnic only appear in 12 of the 46 inscriptions. Furthermore, epitaphs containing information on age, status, personal relationships and/or praise only appear in six of the 46 inscriptions. When this extra information does appear, there are no links between them and the name formula used to identify the listed women. This suggests that there was no set formula for when women are inscribed in grave inscriptions. The lack of emphasis on status and personal relationships indicates that women's commemoration was not about family ties or *deme* affiliation as the previous scholarship suggests. Rather, women appear to have been commemorated out of a desire by their family to recognise them in their own right. This, in addition to some women acting as sole or co-dedicators of gravestones, suggests that women did have some control over their own lives. Also, as with reliefs, the lack of emphasis on women's citizenship status makes it difficult to differentiate citizen women, metics/foreigners, slaves/freedowmen. This could suggest that, again, that in death women were equal.

An analysis of the extant grave reliefs shows that fifth century depictions of women are the same as those in the fourth century. There are, however, some minor differences. For instance, Chapter Four shows that women could be depicted performing specific gestures, such as *dexiosis* and *anakalypsis*. While this confirms previous scholarship on women's gestures on gravestones, it also adds to the scholarship by identifying 10 other gestures used during the fifth century. It also determines that women could be shown performing more than one gesture and that the holding gesture was the most popular, followed by the *dexiosis* and *anakalypsis*. These gestures, however, paled in comparison to the act of looking which was performed by all figures, regardless of gender. Chapter Four also confirms that women wore the *chiton*, *himation* and *peplos* in various combinations and, in some cases, jewellery, shoes and/or head coverings. However, it challenges the consensus view that women were always veiled. Chapter Four finds

that 24 of the 61 women depicted on the selected reliefs are *not* veiled. This suggests that women were not required to be veiled.

The attributes and accoutrements found with women in reliefs tended to indicate the wealth of the individual, her status as a wife and mother, her daily activities or occupations, and her achievements as a woman. However, Chapter Four demonstrates that many women were depicted with no attributes or accoutrements. This fact is overlooked in the previous scholarship. Two other overlooked facts are the orientation and age of women. Chapter Four shows that the majority of women were positioned to the left of the relief scene and that most were depicted as mature-aged. Teenagers were also found in high numbers while little girls and female infants were rare. There are no links between orientation, pose, gestures, dress and/or attributes in general or in relation to age which suggests that there was no set formula for how women were portrayed on funerary reliefs.

The relief compositions show that women tend to be portrayed with one man in large numbers. This suggests that women were, as previous scholarships states, being identified by their familial ties to men and that these ties were an important part of their identity. This is further evidenced in multi-figure relief compositions which show larger family groups. However, single figure relief compositions are also found in large numbers. This indicates that depicting family ties in reliefs were not a requirement of commemoration and that women could be memorialised in their own right. There are also no indications of *deme* affiliations or citizenship status which further supports the idea that gravestones were erected to commemorate individual women rather than the political and/or social connections that they could bring to a family. This then suggests that loving relationships existed between women and their male relatives as a number of gravestones appear to have been erected solely out of a desire to recognise the deceased as their own person. The lack of emphasis on women's citizenship status also means

that there is no way to differentiate between citizens, metics/foreigners, and slaves/freedwomen in the reliefs. This suggests two possibilities: 1) that the reliefs were ready-made; and 2) that women of all statuses were viewed as equal in death.

Chapter Five's analysis of funerary texts and images shows that there is a relationship between text and image. Just under half of the gravestones with both text and image fully correspond to each other. The lack of correlation in the remaining gravestones can be explained by the inclusion of a slave in the relief and/or various modifications made to the gravestones. The correlation between text and image was greater in gravestones with epitaphs. In addition to identifying all the individuals carved into the relief, epitaphs also explained the relationship/s between the carved figures and reflected the virtues of the deceased which were listed in the text. Gravestones with epitaphs which provided information on age also show a correlation. However, this correlation only occurs when the deceased was a child. There was no correlation in regard to status as the women identified as citizens in either text or image were portrayed in the same way as those of unknown status. The correlation between text and image allowed for the positive identification of the deceased in many gravesotnes. However, the identification of the deceased in some gravestones was problematic due to the lack of correlation. An analysis of additional factors, including composition, age, attributes and gestures, yielded the identity of the deceased on half of the problematic gravestones. The remaining gravestones did not show any fundamental distinctions between the living and the dead and, as there was no constant pattern through which the deceased could be identified, it was believed that the deceased was not meant to be identified. Rather, the emphasis was on the whole family.

The analysis of the relationship between funerary texts and images does not change the conclusions of the previous chapters on reliefs and inscriptions. Rather, Chapter Five provides additional support of the conclusions regarding reliefs and inscriptions. The was no emphasis

on *deme* affliations or family ties in the majority of gravestones which suggests that commemoration was not politically motivated. Although, those gravestones where the deceased cannot be differentiated from the living do indicate that family ties were important, they do not appear to have been a necessary component of commemoration. Citizenship was also not emphasised. Thus, women appear to have been equal in death across all levels of society. Women were also found in single figure reliefs with text listing one individual using just their personal name in large numbers. This further suggests that women were being commemorated in their own right.

So, what do gravestones reveal about the place women occupied in Athens during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath? Women, as attested by the funeral inscriptions, were valued for their good character and/or their role in the family. However, because the majority of women were identified by just their personal name, regardless of their citizenship status, their commemoration was not politically motivated. Rather, they were being memorialised in their own right. Funerary reliefs support this idea through the number of single figure reliefs dedicated to women. This suggests that the erection of a gravestone was a personal and emotional act on behalf of the dedicator/s. The act of erecting gravestones also indicates that the deceased was valued by her family. That fact that some women also acted as dedicators, either alone or in cooperation with another family member, indicates that women had financial independence. Furthermore, women of all statuses were commemorated in the same way. This suggests that women, regardless of status, were not just equal in death but were also valued by their male family members in the same way. Thus, women appear to have have occupied a special place in Athens during the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath. They were loved and valued in their own right by their living family members and had financial agency.

Catalogue Abbreviations

General Abbreviations

Fig.	Figure
N.	Footnote/Note
No.	Number

Code for the Depiction of Women on Gravestones

The addition of a number before an abbreviation indicates the number of that thing, ie. 2N means two people are named. Some abbreviations can also be added together to provide information, ie. 2FN means two females named.

?	Uncertain
A	Animal/s included in relief
Ad.	Adult
C	Complete
Ch.	Child/Children
F	Female
FA	Female Accoutrements (i.e. jewellery box, mirror)
IC	Incomplete
M	Male
N	Named
R	Relief

Se.	Seated
St.	Standing
T	Text

Catalogue of Women on Greek Funerary Monuments

1. Arisstylla (*CAT* II 2.051)

T = C; 2FN; 1MN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 1FSe.; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 430 B.C. It was found on the 24th of June 1850 in an area north of the Piraeus and is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 766.

The Inscription

Attic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.78m   Width = 0.42m-0.44m from top to base

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Pittakis, *AE* 1855: 1299 no. 2611; Koehler, *MDAI(A)* 10: 371, 376, pl. 10; Conze no. 115, pl. 24; McClees, 1920: 40; Rodenwalt, 1923: 61, 64, pl. 71; Kjellberg, 1926: 138; Johansen, 1951: 37, 40, 62, 145, fig. 18; Pfohl, 1953: 50, 150; Peek, *GV* no. 327; Himmelmann-Wildschutz, 1956: 13 n. 13; Dohrn, 1957: 38, 4285 no. 10, 91, 94, 125; Schuchhardt, *Gnomon* 30: 491; *IG* I² 1058; Diepolder, 1965: 8, pl. 1.2; Pfohl no. 113; Karouzou, 1968: 47 no. 766; Clairmont, *GE* no. 27, pl. 13.27; Frel, *AAA* 5: 77 no. 6, figs. 7-8; Daux, *BCH* 96.1: 536, 554; Hansen no. 91; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 155 no. 22; Gallavotti, 1979: 9; Woysch-Méautis, 1982: 110 no. 67, pl. 13; Humphreys, 1983: 108; *SEG* 29-67, 33-57; Cassimatis, *La femme* 10: 21; *SEG* 39-40; Pemberton, *MA* 2: 47, 49, fig. 1; Vedder, 1989: 171-175, figs. 1-3; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.051; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.051; Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy & Shapiro, 1994: 81-82, fig.

3.1; Pomeroy, 1997: 129 n. 102, 134; Stears, 2000: 39-40; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 283; Andrade, *RBH* 31.61: 192; *IG* I³ 1311; Margariti, *Hesperia* 87: no. 111.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1311

> ἐνθάδε Ἀρίσστυλλα κεῖται
>
> παῖς Ἀρίσστωνος τε καὶ Ῥοδίλλης.
>
> σώφρων γ᾽ ὦ θύγατερ.

Translation

Here lies Arisstylla, child of Arisston and Rhodilla; chaste indeed, oh daughter.

Apparatus Criticus

1   Ἀρισστάμα Pittakis

1   Ἀρίστυλλα Gallavotti and Clairmont

2   Ῥοδίμης Pittakis

2   Ἀρίστωνός Gallavotti and Clairmont

3   σωφρονεω θυγατηρ Pittakis

3   γ᾽, ὦ Peek and Clairmont

3   γ᾽, ὦ Gallavotti

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 1: Stele of Arisstylla. Photo from Koehler, *MDAI(A)* 10: pl. 14.

2. […]arete (*CAT* I 1.050)

T = IC; 1FN?

R = IC; 1FSt.; FA.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 430-420 B.C. It was found in 1883 in the Botanical Garden and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 910.

The Inscription

Uncertain, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.50m   Width = 0.33m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Conze no. 1178, pl. 260; Bieber, 1928: 48 no. 1, pl. 16.1; Dohrn, 1957: 84 no. 6; Diepolder, 1965: 9, fig. 1; Frel, 1969: 14 no. 27; Schmaltz, 1983: 102, 199; Vorster, 1983: 11 no. GR 7; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.050; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.050; Stears, 2000: 40-41; Margariti, *Hesperia* 87: no. 60, fig. 15.

Greek Text

Margariti, *Hesperia* 87: n. 60:

[…]αρετης […]ιστνιο [.]τον.

Translation

[…]arete […]istnio [.]ton.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 2: Stele of a Deceased Woman. Photo from Conze pl. 260.

3. Theophile (*CAT* I 1.083)

T = C; 1FN.

R = IC; 1FSt.?

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 430-420 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.26m   Width = 0.285m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 11656; Brueckner, 1886: 69 n. 2; Conze no. 865; Frel, 1969: 15 no. 31; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.083; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.083; Margariti, *Hesperia* 87: no. 74.

Greek Text

IG II² 11656

Θεοφίλη.

Translation

Theophile.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 3: Stele of Theophile. Photo from Conze n. 865.

4. Selino, Niko and Mynnake (*CAT* II 2.590)

T = C; 3FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1FSt.; 1FCh.; FA.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 430-420 B.C. It was found in 1879 in Athens and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 901.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.75m   Width = 0.295m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 12593; Mylonas, *BCH* 3: 356 no. 8; Conze no. 310, pl. 76; Plassart, *BCH* 82: 111 no. 28; Neumann, *MDAI(A)* 79: 139 no. 7; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.590; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.590; Margariti, *BABESCH* 91: 88, 90, 92, 93, 97, 97 no. 1, fig. 3.

Greek Text

IG II² 12593

Σελινώ. Νικώ.

Μυννακή.

Translation

Selino. Niko. Mynnake.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 4: Stele of Sileno, Niko and Mynnake. Photo from Conze pl. 76.

5. Aristeas, Timariste, Aristonymos and Aristomakhos (*CAT* III 3.075)

T = C; 1FN; 3MN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 2MSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 430-420 B.C. It was found in 1853 in Pinakota Street in Neapolis. However, Clairmont notes that this street is not known in the street Index of the ELPA guide. He believes that, of the two settlements in Athens named Neapolis, the one in Nikea is more likely to have been the find spot of this monument. It is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 712.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.23m   Width = 0.55m

Editions of the Text

IG I² 1063; Koehler, *MDAI(A)* 10: 372 no. 37; Brueckner, 1886: 33 and n. 1; Conze no. 1132, pl. 239; Dohrn, 1957: 144 no. 59; Diepolder, 1965: 13, pl. 3.2; Threatte, 1980: 707; Woysch-Méautis, 1982: 133 no. 355, pl. 59.355; Vedder, 1985: 36, 235 F5; Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.075; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 3.075; *IG* I³ 1283bis; *SEG* 51-17; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 280.

Greek Text

IG I² 1063

I.1   Ἀριστέας ⋮Ἱφιστιάδης.

II.1   Τιμαρίστην : Θεοφῶντος Λαμπτρείως.

Ἀριστώνυμος : Ἀρισταίου : Ἰφιστιάδης.

Ἀριστόμαχος :Ἀριστέου : Ἰφιστιάδης.

Translation

Aristeas of Iphistiadai.

Timariste (daughter) of Theopontos of Lamptrai.

Aristonymos (son) of Aristaios of Iphistiadai.

Aristomakhos (son) of Aristeos of Iphistiadai.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 5: Stele of Aristeas, Timariste, Aristonymos and Aristomakhos. Photo from Conze pl.

239.

6. Phainippe, Smikythion and Kleo (*CAT* IV 6.590)

T = C; 2FN; 1MN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 4FSt.; 1MSt.; 1MCh.St.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 430-420 B.C. It was found before

1831 in Salamis and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 719.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.08m   Width = 0.69m

Editions of the Text

IG II² 12849/50; Conze no. 359, pl. 89; Frel, 1969: 36 no. 233, pl. 25; Stewart, *AntK.* 23.1: 30, pl. 11.1; Clairmont, *CAT* IV 6.590; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 6.590; Cargill, 1995: 125 n. 26.

Greek Text

IG II² 12849/50

Φαινίππη. Σμικυθίων. Κλεώ.

Translation

Phainippe. Smikythion. Kleo.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 6: Stele of Phainippe, Smikythion and Kleo. Photo from Conze pl. 89.

7. Aristomakhe (*CAT* I 1.180)

T = Cre; 1FN.

R = IC; 1FSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420 B.C. It was found in 1891 near the Acharnian Gate in Athens and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1680.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.7m   Width = 0.47m   Thick = 0.105m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Kabbadia, *AD* 7: 90 no. 29; Conze no. 1226, pl. 262; *IG* II² 10781; Peek, *GV* no. 79; Himmelmann-Wildschutz, 1956: 15; Dohrn, 1957: 36, 84 no. 4, 87, 91, 118, 183; Brommer, 1963: 46; Schlörb, 1964: 42-43; Diepolder, 1965: 15-16, pl. 8.2; Pfohl no. 102; Karouzou, 1968: 47-48 no. 1680; Frel, 1969: 9 no. 2; Clairmont, *GE* no. 11, pl. 6.11; Hansen no. 93; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 159 no. 102; *CEG* I 86; Clairmont, *HOROS* 4: 155-156; *SEG* 36-49; Wilhelm, *Inschriftenkunde* no. 23; Salta, 1991: 23 n. 175; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.180; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.180; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 295; Kaltsas, 2006: no. 177; *SEG* 56-6; *IG* I³ 1287.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1287

[σῆμα τόδ᾽ εὐσεβί]ας ἐπ᾽ Ἀριστομάχης τάφωι hἐμ̃[αι].

[εἴθ᾽ Ἑρμῆς ἀπάγ]οι τὸς ἀγαθος φθιμένος.

Translation

[I stand here as a monument of her piety] on Aristomakhe's tomb. [May Hermes lead] the good who are dead back.

Apparatus Criticus

2   […ἀνάγ]οι Wilhelm

2   […παράκο]ιτος ἀγαθὸς φθίμενος Köhler (Conze n. 1226) and Wilhelm

2   […]οι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φθιμένους Conze

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 7: Stele of Aristomakhe. Photo from Clairmont, *GE* pl. 6.11

8. Anthemis (*CAT* I 146)

T = C; 2FN.

R = PDNS

The Gravestone

This monument is a painted stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown, but Clairmont (*CAT* I 146) and Oakley (2007: 254 fn. 58) believe that it was likely from the Piraeus. It is now lost.

The Inscription

Ionic, L. to R.

Physical Details

Details unknown.

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Kaibel no. 73; Koehler, *MDAI(A)* 10: 363; Hoffman no. 33; Hastings, 1912: 22 [120] no. 4; McClees, 1920: 40; *IG* I² 1037; Pfohl, 1953: 104; Peek, *GV* no. 78; Lattimore, 1962: 129; Pfohl no. 112; Clairmont, *GE* no. 69; Hansen no. 110; *CEG* I 92; Clairmont, *CAT* I 146; Younger, 2002: 182; Bowie, 2010: 366 n. 116; Andrade, *RBH* 31.61: 195; *IG* I³ 1329.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1329

      Ἀνθεμίδος τόδε σῆμα· κύκλωι στεφα-

      νοῦσ<ι>ν ἑταῖροι μνημείων ἀρετῆς

      οὕνεκα καὶ φιλίας.

      Ἀνθεμίς.

5   Ἡροφίλε.

Translation

This is the tomb of Anthemis; all around it her friends place wreaths in memory of her virtue and friendship.

Anthemis.

Herophile.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 8: Sketch of Anthemis inscription. Photo from Koehler, *MDAI(A)* 10: 363.

9. Nikeso (*CAT* I 1.187)

T = C; 1FN.

R = IC; 1FSt.; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Piraeus, Museum 264.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.49m   Width = 0.33m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 12269; Brueckner, 1886: 17 n. 10; Conze no. 824, pl. 154; Dohrn, 1957: 94; Diepolder, 1965: 18; Möbius, 1968: 20, 106, pl. 1.7a; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 170 no. 31; Threatte, 1980: 265; Woysch-Méautis, 1982: no. 73, pl. 14; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.187; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.187; Margariti, *Hesperia* 87: no. 33, fig. 17.

Greek Text

IG I³ 12269

    Νικησώ.

Translation

Nikeso.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 9: Stele of Nikeso. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.187.

10.   Philostrate (*CAT* I 1.670)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1FSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in the St. Petersburg Hermitage 214.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.41m   Width = 0.40m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG I³ 1318; *IG* II² 12970; Conze no. 72, pl. 33; Dohrn, 1957: no. 17; Diepolder, 1965: 19, pl. 13.2; Frel, 1969: 15 no. 36; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.670; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.670.

Greek Text

IG II² 12970

    Φιλοστράτη.

Translation

Philostrate.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 10: Stele of Philostrate. Photo from Conze pl. 33.

11.   Eutamia (*CAT* I 1.692)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1FSt.; FA; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 911.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.81m   Width = 0.29m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 11470; Conze no. 66, pl. 28; Kjellburg, 1926: 91, 144; Frel, 1969: 26 no. 111; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 157 no. 61; Woysch-Méautis, 1982: no. 145, pl. 47; Vedder, 1985: 28, no. T15; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.692; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.692; *SEG* 53-231.

Greek Text

IG II² 11470

          Εὐταμία.

Translation

Eutamia.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 11: Stele of Eutamia. Photo from Conze pl. 28.

12.   Megisto and Eratox[e]nos (*CAT* I 1.695)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 1MSt.; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Houston, Du Menil Foundation 70-32-DJ.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.178m   Width = 0.524m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Frel and Kingsley, *GRBS* 11.3: 205 no. 24; Hoffman, 1970: 18, figs. 5a-b; Rühfel, 1984: 160, 162, 335 n. 247, fig. 67; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.695; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.695; Brulé, 2003: 222; Margariti, *BABESCH* 91: 96, 99 no. 77.

Greek Text

CAT I 1.695

        Μεγιστω Ερατοξ[ε]νος.

Translation

Megisto (and) Eratox[e]nos.

IMAGE REMOVED

13.   Philoxenos and Philom[e]ne (*CAT* II 2.121)

T = C; 1MN; 1FN.

R = C; 1MSt.; 1FSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum 83.AA.378.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.025m   Width = 0.432m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

SEG 34-234; Walsh, *GettyMusJ* 12: 234 no. 7; *GettyMusH* p. 22; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.121; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.121; Laurin, 2013: 423, 424, book cover.

Greek Text

SEG 34-234

     Φιλόξενος Φιλομ[έ]νη.

Translation

Philoxenos (and) Philom[e]ne.

Apparatus Criticus

1   Φιλόξενοσι Walsh

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 13: Stele of Philoxenos and Philom[e]ne. Photo from *GettyMusH* p. 22.

14.   Nikost[rate] (*CAT* II 2.153)

T = CRe.; 1FN.

R = IC; 1F; St.?; Se.?

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Karapanos 1053.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.33m   Width = 0.28m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 12295; Conze no. 1198, pl. 265; Dohrn, 1957: 137 no. 42, pl. 22a; Schlörb, 1964: 51; Frel, 1969: 11 no. 12; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.153; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.153.

Greek Text

IG II² 12295

Νικοστ[ράτη].

Translation

Nikost[rate].

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 14: Stele of Nikost[rate]. Photo from Conze pl. 265.

15.   Deceased Couple(?) (*CAT* II 2.154)

T = IC; 1MN?; 1FN?

R = C; 1MSt.; 1FSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of yellowish-white marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It was found in the south wall of the Eridanos and it is now in the Kerameikos Museum P 280, I 192.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.61m   Width = 0.755m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG I³ 1286bis; *IG* II² 7411; Riemann, 1940: 13-16 no. 17, pl. 3; Dohrn, 1957: 120 no. 20; Frel, 1969: 28 no. 137; Schmaltz, 1970: 34, 80; Woysch-Méautis, 1982: no. 362, pl. 61.362; *SEG* 35-244; Vedder, 1985: 43, L3; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 91 n. 8; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.154; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.154; Grossman, 1995: 207-208.

Greek Text

IG II² 7411

   - - c. 6 - - ος ⋮Σκαμβωνίδης.

Translation

- - c. 6 - - os (of) Skambonidai.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 15: Stele of Deceased Couple. Photo from Riemann, 1940: pl. 3.

16.   Kallistrate (*CAT* II 2.175)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 1MSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Texas, San Antonio Museum as part of the Denman Collection 86.134.8.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.85m   Width = 0.34m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Picón, *SAMAQ* 18: 16, 18; SAMuseum (86.134.8); Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.175; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.175.

Greek Text

CAT II 2.175

    Καλλιστρατη Αντιφωντος.

Translation

Kallistrate (daughter) of Antiphon.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 16: Stele of Kallistrate. Photo from SAMuseum (86.134.8).

17.   Myrtia and Kephisia (*CAT* II 2.182)

T = C; 2FN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 1FSe.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It is from Athens and it is now in Paris, Louvre 806.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.99m   Width = 0.73m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 12208; Froehner, 1865: 289-290 no. 228; Conze no. 67, pl. 29; Dohrn, 1957: 115 no. 18; Schefold, *AntK.* 13: 109; Daux, *BCH* 102.2: 602-605, figs. 8-9; *SEG* 28-343; Papaoikonomos, *AAA* 14: 95-104, figs. 1-2; *SEG* 31-245; Matthaiou, *HOROS* 1: 60-61; *SEG* 33-232; Clarimont, *HOROS* 5: 50-53; *SEG* 37-188; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.182; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.182.

Greek Text

IG II² 12208

       Μυρτία ⋮ Κηφισία.

Translation

Myrtia. Kephisia.

Apparatus Criticus

1   Κηφισίας Daux and Papaoikonomos

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 17: Stele of Myrtia and Kephisia. Photo from Conze pl. 29.

18.   Nikobole and Phyrkias (*CAT* II 2.183)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN; 1M.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1MSt.; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. According to Clairmont (*CAT* II 2.183) it was found in the early 1960s in Kallithea at the intersection of Ilissos and Kalypso streets. However, he notes that the actual place of discovery is unclear as Kalypso and Ilissos streets do not intersect, rather Kalypso runs near to the Ilissos river. It is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2062.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.65m   Width = 0.295m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Kallipolitis, *AD* 19 B1: 67, pl. 64b-c; Daux, *BCH* 90.2: 744, figs. 9-10; Robert and Robert, *REG* 80: 478-479 no. 201; *SEG* 23-164; Tsirivakos, *AD* 23 A: 70-77, pl. 35; Berger, 1970: 190 no. 384; Clairmont, *GE* no. 29, pls. 14.29 and 17.29; Schefold, *AntK.* 13: 111; Daux, *BCH* 96.1: 540; Threatte, 1980: 89, 541, 327; *SEG* 32-288; Woysch-Méautis, 1982: no. 117, pl. 53.117; *CEG* I 95; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 24 n. 15; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.183; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.183; *IG* I³ 1321; Tsagalis, 2008: 33 n. 82, 111, 321; Pologiorgi, *AE* 149: 213, 216, fig. 2; *SEG* 60-123.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1321

1   Νικοβόλη. Φυρκίας.

     κεῖσαι πατρὶ γόον δούς, Φυρκία·

     εἰ δέ τίς ἐστι

     τέρψις ἐν ἡλικίαι, τήνδε θανὼν ἔλιπες.

Translation

Nikobole (and) Phyrkias.

You lie buried, Phyrkias, having brought grief to your father, and, if there is any enjoyment in the prime of life, you lost this having died.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 18: Stele of Nikoboule and Phyrkias. Photo from Clairmont, *GE* pl. 14.29.

19.   Patroklea and Demonikos (*CAT* II 2.188)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 1MSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Piraeus, Museum 259.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.69m   Width = 0.34m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG I² 1083; Conze no. 1082, pl. 217; Kjellberg, 1926: 128, fig. 33; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.188; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.188; *SEG* 51-296. Pologiorgi, *AD* 54 A: 176-180, pl. 41b. *SEG* 54-14; Grossman, 1995: 206-207.

Greek Text

IG I² 1083

I   Πατρόκλεα Φιλομηλίδο

       Ἀχαρνέως.

II   Δημόνικος

       Ἀναγυράσιος.

Translation

Patroklea (daughter) of Philomelides of Arkharnai.

Demonikos of Anagyrous.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 19: Stele of Patroklea and Demonikos. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.188.

20.   [M]nesikrite (*CAT* II 2.193)

T = IC; 1FN; 1MN?

R = C; 1FSt; 1MSe.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Havana, Palacio de Belles Artes, coll. El Conde de Lagunillas.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.78m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Bothmer, *Bull MMA* 11.7: 186, 188; *SEG* 14-274; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.193; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.193.

Greek Text

SEG 14-274

       [- - ο - - - - - - Μ]νησικρίτη.

Translation

[- - ο - - - - - - M]nesikrite.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 20: Stele of [M]nesikrite. Photo from Bothmer, *Bull MMA* 11.7: 186 fig. in text.

21.   [S]tesik[lea] (*CAT* II 2.195)

T = ICRe.; 1FN.

R = IC; 1F; St.?; Se.?

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It was found in 1895/6 in Kynosarges and it is now in the British School of Archaeology in Athens.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Width = 0.48m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Edgar, *JHS* 17: 174-175, pl. 4.1; Dohrn, 1957: 137 no. 43; Frel, 1969: 19 no. 60; Hoffman, 1970: figs. 5a-b; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.195.

Greek Text

CAT II 2.195

[Σ]τεσικ[λεα] [- -]ς.

Translation

[S]tesik[lea]. [- -]s.

Apparatus Criticus

1   [Κ]τεσικ[λεα] Clairmont

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 21: Stele of [S]tesik[lea]. Photo from Hoffman, 1970: figs 5a-b.

22.   Philinos and Hagnostrate (*CAT* II 2.640)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1MSt.; 1Ch.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1895.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.78m   Width = 0.40m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 12929; Kjellberg, 1926: 136, fig. 38; Frel, 1969: 38 no. 258; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.640; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.640; Margariti, *BABESCH* 91: 98 no. 42.

Greek Text

IG II² 12929

     Φιλῖνος. Ἁγνοστράτη.

Translation

Philinos (and) Hagnostrate.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 22: Stele of Philinos and Hagnostrate. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.640.

23.   [Niki]ppe (*CAT* II 2.650)

T = ICRe.; 1FN.

R = IC; 1FSt.; 1FSe.; 1MCh.St.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It was found in 1978 in the area of Nea Palatia, Skala Oropou and it is now in Piraeus, Museum.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.71m   Width = 0.60m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Clairmont, *AA* 1992: 259, fig. 1; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.650; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.650;

Younger, 2002: 177-178, 188.

Greek Text

CAT II 2.650

　　　　[Νικι]ππη Νικιππου.

Translation

[Niki]ppe (daughter) of Nikippos.

<div align="center">**IMAGE REMOVED**</div>

Figure 23: Stele of [Niki]ppe. Photo from Clairmont, *AA* 1992: fig. 1.

24.   Nikosstrate (*CAT* II 2.670)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1MSt.; 1FCh.St.; FA; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a *lekythos* made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance

is unknown and it is now in Piraeus, Museum 34.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.78m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 12300; Koehler, *MDAI(A)* 10: 371 no. 33; Conze no. 360, pl. 90; Dohrn, 1957: 137 no. 46; Schmaltz, 1970: A16, pl. 10; Prukakis, *MDAI(A)* 85: 71, pl. 29.2; Prukakis, *Evolution* no. 295, pl. 7; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.670; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.670; *SEG* 51-19; Oakley, 2009: 223-224, fig. 63; *SEG* 59-7.

Greek Text

IG II² 12300

Νικοσστράτη γυνὴ ἀρίστη.

Translation

Nikosstrate, a good wife.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 24: Lekythos of Nikosstrate. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.670.

25. Eunomos and Khairelea (*CAT* II 2.690)

T = CRe.; 1FN; 2MN.

R = IC; 1F?; 1MSt.; 1Ch.St.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is thought to be Kato Souli and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.70m   Width = 0.46m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 7551; Conze no. 1270; Diepolder, 1965: 10; Thompson, *Hesperia* 34.2: 153; *SEG* 22-82; Frel, 1969: 26 no. 108; Reinmuth, 1971: 95; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.690; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.690.

Greek Text

IG II² 7551

> Εὔνομος Ἀδειμάντου Τρικ[ορύσιος].
>
> Χαιρελέα Ἀπημαντοκλῆς. Ἀδ[είμαντος].

Translation

Eunomos (son) of Adeimantos of Trik[orysios]. Khairelea (daughter) of Apemantokles. Ad[eimantos].

Apparatus Criticus

2   Ἀδ[είμαντου] Clairmont

<center>**IMAGE REMOVED**</center>

Figure 25: Stele of Eunomos and Khairelea. Photo from Conze n. 1270.

26.   [He]rmodoros, Mika and Kallistratos (*CAT* III 3.190)

T = C; 1FN; 2MN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 2MSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It is from the Kerameikos and it is now in the Piraeus Museum (n. P 287). This monument is a part of a larger monument, known from before 1881, which is in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 885.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.74m   Width = 0.54m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 11336a; Conze no. 1119, pl. 230; Dehl, *MDAI(A)* 96: 64 no. 2, pls. 49.1-2; *SEG* 33-229; Kokula, 1984: 167 no. G7, pls. 10.2-3; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 91 n. 3 and 8, 92 n. 11; Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.190; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 3.190.

Greek Text

IG II² 11336a

[Ἑ]ρμόδωρος. Μίκα. Καλλίστρατος.

Translation

[He]rmodoros. Mika. Kallistratos.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 26: Stele of [He]rmodoros, Mika and Kallistratos. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 3.190.

27.   Kleophante, Philippe and Philonaute (*CAT* III 3.191)

T = C; 1MN; 2FN.

R = C; 1MSt.; 2FSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a *lekythos* made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in Munich, Glyptothek DV 33.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.24m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 12935; Schmaltz, 1970: no. A38, pl. 17; Prukakis, *Evolution* no. 79, pl. 13; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 180 no. 487; *SEG* 38-256; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 116-120 no. 18, pl. 40f; Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.191; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 3.191.

Greek Text

IG II² 12935

     Κλεοφάντη. Φιλίππη. Φιλοναύτης.

Translation

Kleophante. Philippe. Philonautes.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 27a: Lekythos of Kleophante, Philippe and Philonautes. Schmaltz, 1970: pl. 17.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 27b: Close-up of Relief. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 3.191.

28. Demostrate and Kallistr[ate] (*CAT* IV 4.120)

T = C; 2FN.

R = C; 4FSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a *lekythos* made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown but it most likely came from Athens/Attica and it is now in London, British Museum 1816.6-10.275.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.48m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Ellis, 1833: 166 no. 275, fig. 275; *BMI* I 114; Smith, 1892: 326-327 no. 489; Conze no. 905; *IG* I³ 1286; *IG* II² 11129; Frel, 1969: 29 no. 145; Schmaltz, 1970: no. A2, pl. 1; Prukakis, *Evolution* no. 10, pl. 8; Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.120; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 4.120.

Greek Text

IG II² 11129

    Δημοστράτη. Καλλιστρ[άτη].

Translation

Demostrate. Kallistr[ate].

Apparatus Criticus

1   Καλλιστρ[ατος] *BMI* I 114

1   Καλλιστώ Ellis and Frel

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 28: Lekythos of Demostrate and Kallistr[ate]. Photo from Schmaltz, 1970: pl. 1.

29.   Khaireas, Eukoline and Onesimos (*CAT* IV 4.671)

T = C; 2MN; 1FN.

R = C; 2MSt.; 1FSe.; 1FSt.; 1MCh.St.; 1Ch.

The Gravestone

This monument is a *lekythos* made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It was found in 1811 to the north-east of hodoi Saphokleous and Aiolon in the excavations conducted by Haller von Hallerstein. It is now in Munich, Glyptothek 209.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.958m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Conze no. 308, pl. 92; *IG* I³ 1292; *IG* II² 13026; Kjellberg, 1926: 146; Dohrn, 1957: 128 no. 36, pls. 14b, 135; Frel, 1969: 14 no. 21; Schmaltz, 1970: no. A15, pl. 9; Prukakis, *Evolution* no. 32, pl. 6; *SEG* 38-256; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 99 n. 16, pls. 36-38; Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.671; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 4.671.

Greek Text

IG II² 13026

        Χαιρέας. Εὐκολίνη. Ὀνήσιμος.

Translation

Khaireas. Eukoline. Onesimos.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 29: Lekythos of Khaireas, Eukoline and Onesimos. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 4.671.

30.   Phano and Kallippis (*CAT* IV 4.680)

T = C; 2FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 2FSt.; 1MSt.; 1Ch.; FA.

The Gravestone

This monument is a *lekythos* made of white marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It was found in Ambelaki on the island of Salamis and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 814.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.10m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Conze no. 294, pl. 70; *IG* II² 12876; Kjellberg, 1926: 87, figs. 42-43; Thimme, *AntK*. 7: 18 n. 16; Frel, 1969: 29 no. 148; Schmaltz, 1970: no. A23, pls. 13-14; Prukakis, *Evolution* no. 31, pl. 6; Threatte, 1980: 265; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 16; Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.680; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 4.680; *SEG* 51-17; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 291; Margariti, *BABESCH* 91: 98 no. 19.

Greek Text

IG II² 12876

Φανώ. Καλλιππίς.

Translation

Phano. Kallippis.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 30: Lekythos of Phano and Kallippis. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 4.680.

31.   Myrrhine (*CAT* IV 5.150)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 2FSt.; 1MGSt.; 2MSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a *lekythos* made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. It was found

in 1873 in Syntagma Square and is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4485.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 2m (restored)   Height = 1.38m (preserved)

Length = 1.23m (shoulder to base)   Circumference at shoulder = 1.570m

Relief = 0.70m²

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Ravaisson, *Gaz. Arch.* 1: 21-25, 41-61, pl. 7; Benndorf, *MDAI(A)* 4: 183-186; Conze no. 1146,

pls. 242-243; *IG* I³ 1285; *IG* II² 12196; Kjellberg, 1926: 132-133; Johansen, 1951: 161, fig. 82;

Dohrn, 1957: 137 no. 45, 139; *SEG* 16-30; Daux, *BCH* 85: 605, fig. 5, pl. 18; Karusu, *MDAI(A)* 76: 92-93, figs. 59-62; *SEG* 19-45; Diepolder, 1965: 19, pl. 13.1; Frel, *Eirene* 5-6: 80-83; Frel, 1969: 15 no. 33; Schmaltz, 1970: 11 n. 5, 13, 39, 57, 66, 79, 86, 90, 95, 118 no. A4; Prukakis, *Evolution* no. 1, pl. 1; Clairmont, *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology,* 105-110, pls. 31.2-3; *SEG* 29-262; Mattingly, *AJA* 86.3: 385; Schmaltz, 1983: 14, 32; Garland, *ABSA* 79: 91; Rahn, *ABSA* 81: 195-201, 206-207, pls. 11a-d; *SEG* 36-50; Salta, 1991: 26 and n. 198, 244; Clairmont, *CAT* IV 5.150; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 5.150; Boardman, 1995: 184-185, fig. 154; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 289; Oakley, 2004: 139, 222; Connelly, *Priestess,* 228-229; Palagia, 2009: 39, 44 fig. 16; Ferrario, 2014: 162-165.

Greek Text

IG II² 12196

      Μυρρίνη.

Translation

Myrrhine.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 31: Lekythos of Myrrhine. Photo from Rahn, *ABSA* 81: pl. 11a-d.

32.   Kallistarete, …ito, Kallias, Demainete and Eubios (*CAT* IV 6.181)

T = C; 3FN; 2MN.

R = C; 4FSt.; 1MSe.; 1MSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a *lekythos* made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown, and it is now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 96.700.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.10m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 11790; Caskey, 1925: no. 24; Dohrn, 1957: 153 no. 70; Schmaltz, 1970: no. A31; Prukakis, *Evolution* no. 3, pl. 10; *SEG* 28-331; Clairmont, *CAT* IV 6.181; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 6.181.

Greek Text

IG II² 11790

     Καλλισταρέτη. …ιτο. Καλλίας. Δημαινέτη. Εὔβιος.

Translation

Kallistarete. …ito. Kallias. Demainete. Eubios.

<div align="center">

IMAGE REMOVED

</div>

Figure 32: Lekythos of Kallistarete, Kallias, Demainete and Eubios. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 6.181.

33.   Mnesagora and Nikokhares (*CAT* I 1.610)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN; 1F; 1M.

R = C; 1FSt.; 1MSt.; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-410 B.C. It was found in Vari and is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3845.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.19m   Width = 0.74m

Paint traces = red paint in the letters

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG I³ 1315; Kaibel no. 87; Conze no. 887, pl. 175; Van Leeuwen, *Mnemosyne* 22: 396; Norton, *HSCPL* 8: 95; Hastings, 1912: 13-14 [111-112]; Möbius, 1929: 9; Klein, 1932: 39-40, pl. 9c; Robertson, *JHS* 67: 134; Robert and Robert, *REG* 63: 153 no. 86; Johansen, 1951: 27, fig. 12; *IG* II² 12147; Peek, *GV* no. 95; Himmelmann-Wildschutz, 1956: 20 n. 59; Dohrn, 1957: 42, 94, 123 no. 24, 124, 196; Vierneisel-Schlörb, *MDAI(A)* 79: 102-104, fig. 50; Diepolder, 1965: 12, pl. 5; Pfohl no. 117; Karouzou, 1968: 49 no. 3845; Susserott, 1968: 105-106, pl. 15.4; Frel, 1969: 14 no. 28; *SEG* 23-45; Clairmont, *GE* no. 22, pl. 11.22; Daux, *BCH* 96.1: 528-530; Hansen no. 92; Woysch-Méautis, 1982: no. 114, pl. 19.114; *CEG* I 84; Cassimatis, *La femme* 10: 22; Ridgway, *AJA* 91.3: 405; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 23 n. 15; Pemberton, *MA* 2: 47; Salta, 1991: 43 and n. 355-356; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.610; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.610; Boardman, 1995: 184, fig. 149; Gutscher, 1996: 14; Stears, 2000: 39; *SEG* 51-17; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 281; Oakley, 2003: 182, fig. 22; Brown, *ZPE* 152: 1-5; *SEG* 56-73; Kassel, *ZPE* 158: 28; Tsagalis, 2008: 290; Oakley, 2009: 219, fig. 60; Bruss, 2010: 393; Andrade, *RBH* 31.61: 195; Livingstone, 2011: 40 n. 23; Ferrario, 2014: 158; Margariti, *Hesperia* 87: no. 100, fig. 7.

Greek Text

IG II² 12147

μνῆμα Μνησαγόρας καὶ Νικοχάρος τόδε κεῖται,

αὐτὼ δὲ οὐ πάρα δεῖξαι· ἀφέλετο δαίμονος αἶσα,

πατρὶ φίλωι καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμ μέγα πένθος,

ὃνεκα ἀποφθιμένω βήτην δόμον Ἄιδος ἒσω.

Translation

A memorial to Mnesagora and Nikokhares lies here, and themselves one cannot show; the decree of a god carried them away, leaving behind to their beloved father and mother both great grief, because they died and passed into Hades' abode.

Apparatus Criticus

1	κεῖται· Conze

1	κεῖται. Van Leeuwen and Robertson

2	παραδεῖξαι ἀφείλετο δαίμονος αἶσα Conze and Van Leeuwen

3	πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητρί, λιπόντε Conze

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 33: Stele of Mnesagora and Nikokhares. Photo from Clairmont, *GE* pl. 11.22.

34.   Biote (*CEG* I 97)

T = C; 2FN.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele base made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 420-410 B.C. It was found in the Kerameikos and is now in Athens, Epigraphical Museum 8852.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.15m   Width = 0.242m-0.246m from top to base

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Poland, *Papers of the ASCSA* 6: 357-363; *IG* II² 10954; Peek, *GV* no. 1415; Peek, *GG* no. 79; Skiadas, 1967: 89-91; Pfohl no. 100; Hansen no. 98; *CEG* I 97; Lefkowitz, *Greece & Rome* 30: 47 n. 17; *SEG* 45-23; Bowie, 2010: 374-375; Vestrheim, 2010: 66; Budin, 2013: 108; Lefkowitz, *WLGR* no. 267; *IG* I³ 1295bis.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1295bis

πιστῆς ἡδείας τε χάρι-

ν φιλότητος ἑταίρα

Εὔθυλλα στήλην τήνδ ἐ-

πέθηκε τάφωι

5   σῶι, Βιότη· μνήμηγ γὰρ

ἀεὶ δακρυτὸν ἔχοσα

ἡλικίας τῆς σῆς κλαί-

ει ἀποφθιμένης.

Translation

(Because of your) loyalty, sweetness, grace and friendship, your friend Euthylla has laid this stele on your grave, Biote. For always in tearful memory she laments your death so young.

Apparatus Criticus

8   ἀποφθιμένην Bossi (*SEG* 45-23)

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 34: Copy of the epitaph for Biote. Photo from Poland, *Papers of the ASCSA* 6: 357.

35.   Ampharete (*CAT* I 1.660)

T = 1FN; 1F; 1Ch.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1Ch.; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 410 B.C. It was found in 1932 in the Kerameikos and is now in the Kerameikos Museum P 695, I 221.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.20m   Width = 0.58m-0.63m from top to base

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG I³ 1290; Kübler, *MDAI(A)* 59: 25-32; Peek, *MDAI(A)* 59: 33-34, pl. 5; Gerke, 1938: 251 no. 202; Flacelière, Robert, and Robert, *REG* 51.241: 429 no. 99; *SEG* 10-448; Johansen, 1951: 17, 27, 63, 159, fig. 4; Pfohl, 1953: 36, 137, 169; *IG* II² 10650; Robert and Robert, *REG* 68.319: 190 no. 16; Peek, *GV* no. 1600; Himmelmann-Wildschutz, 1956: 20 n. 59; Dohrn, 1957: 138 no. 49, 143, 152, 197; Peek, *GG* no. 96; Picard, 1963: 1414, 1432; Schlörb, 1964: 43; Schlörb-Vierneisel, *MDAI(A)* 79: 89 n. 3; Schefold, 1965: 152, 169, 171, pl. 37; Pfohl, 1964: 17; *SEG* 21-208; Griessmair, 1966: 20; Pfohl, 1966: no. 10; Frel, *AA* 1967: 30 n. 6; Skiadas, 1967: 21; Pfohl no. 104; Vierneisel-Schlörb, *MDAI(A)* 83: 90-92; Richter, 1970: 10, 20, 54, 113, fig. 46; Schefold, *AntK.* 13: 110; Clairmont, *GE* no. 23, pl. 11.23; Hansen no. 94; Pfohl, 1980: no. 10; *CEG* I 89; Humphreys, 1983: 103, 107, 113; Cassimatis, *La femme* 10: 22; Ridgway, *AJA* 91.3: 405; Garland, 1990: 212, fig. 30; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.660; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.660;

Demand, 1994: 126; Blundell, 1995: 190, fig. 26; Boardman, 1995: 184, fig. 150; Stears, 1995: 111-112, 122, fig. 7.1; Pomeroy, 1997: 118, 126, 131-132, 134; Oliver, 2000: 14; Stears, 2000a: 214, fig. 11.6; Steiner, 2001: 156; Younger, 2002: 173, 181; Foley, 2003: 135; Llewellyn-Jones, 2003: 54, fig. 40; Neils and Oakley, 2003: 3, fig. 1; Oakley, 2003: 183-184; Strömberg, 2003: 33, pl. 8; Fantuzzi and Hunter, 2004: 295; Grossman, *Hesperia Supplements* 41: 311; Tsagalis, 2008: 245; Donnison, 2009: 46, Appendix 2 fig. 12; Oakley, 2009: 222, fig. 61; Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic, 2010: 12, 12 n. 66; Andrade, *RBH* 31.61: 195; Livingstone, 2011: 32; Mirto, 2012: 102, fig. 6; Laurin, 2013: 424-425; Ferrario, 2014: 158; Margariti, *BABESCH* 91: 91, 96, fig. 7; Tueller, 2016: 220.

Greek Text

IG II² 10650

I   Ἀμφαρέτη.

II   τέκνον ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς τόδ᾽ ἔχω φίλον,

        ὅμπερ ὅτε αὐγάς : ὅμμασιν ἠ-

        ελίο ζῶντες ἐδερκόμεθα, ῖεχον ἐμοῖς

        γόνασιν καὶ νῦν φθίμενον φθιμένη ᾽χω.

Translation

Ampharete.

I hold my daughter's beloved child here, the one who I held on my knees while we looked on the light of the sun with our eyes alive, and now hold in death as I am dead.

Apparatus Criticus

3   ὅνπερ, ὅτ᾽ Peek (*GG*) and Griessmair

4   εἶχον Peek (*GG*)

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 35: Stele of Ampharete. Photo from Clairmont, *GE* pl. 11.23.

36.   Myrrhine (*CAT* IV 5.150)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele, dated to c. 410-400 B.C. It was found in the 1940s in the suburb of Zographou and is now in Athens, Epigraphical Museum 13132.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Papadimitriou, *AE* 1948-49: 146-153; Robert and Robert, *REG* 66.309: 132-133 no. 49; Peek, *GV* no. 1961; Lewis, *ABSA* 50: 1, fig. 1; *SEG* 12-80, 14-25, 16-31; Robert and Robert, *REG* 72.339: 184 no. 141; Robert, *Hellenica* 11/12: 543; Robert and Robert, *REG* 74.349: 164 no. 292; Pfohl no. 109; Hansen no. 106; Clairmont, *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology*, 103-110, pls. 30-31; *SEG* 29-262; Mattingly, *AJA* 86.3: 385; *SEG* 32-26; *CEG* I 93; Garland, *ABSA* 79: 91; McGregor, 1987: 79, pl. 3; Rahn, *ABSA* 81: 201-207; *SEG* 36-50; Salta, 1991: 244; Mark, *Hesperia Supplements* 26: 111-13; Clairmont, *CAT* IV 5.150; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 5.150; *SEG* 44-22; Sourvinou-Inwood, *Pandora*: 120 n. 54; Mattingly, 1996: 30 n. 99, 462; Price, 1999: 69, 176; *SEG* 49-2469; Cohen, 2000: 47; Lougavaya-Ast, *Phoenix* 60.3/4: 211-225; *SEG* 56-74; Connelly, *Priestess,* 227-228, fig. 8.1; Lougovaya, *GRBS* 48.1: 31 n. 6; Tsagalis, 2008: 238 n. 48; Bowie, 2010: 373-374; Garland, 2013: 147; Blok, *Kernos* 27: 101 n.

6, 106; Ferrario, 2014: 162-165, 176; *IG* I³ 1330; Dillon, 2016: 686, 691, 694; Tracy, 2016: 115-116, fig. 12.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1330

Καλλιμάχο θυγ-

ατρὸς τηλαυγὲ-

ς μνῆμα, ἣ πρώτη

Νίκης ἀμφεπόλ-

5   ευσε νεών. εὐλο-

γίαι δ᾽ ὄνομ᾽ ἔσχ-

ε συνέμπορον, ὠ-

ς ἀπὸ θείας Μυρ-

ρίν<η ἐ>κλήθη συ-

10   ντυχίας ἐτύμω-

ς : πρώτε Ἀθηναί-

ας Νίκες ἕδος ἀ-

μφεπόλευσεν ἐ-

κ πάντων κλήρω-

15   ι Μυρρίνη εὐτυ-

χίαι.

Translation

(This is) the far-shining memorial of Kallimakhos' daughter, who was the first to care for the temple of Nike. Her name accompanied her glory, as by divine happening she was rightly called Myrrhine. She was the first to care for the seat of Athena Nike, (chosen) from all (Athenians) by fortunate lot, Myrrhine.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 36: Stele of Myrrhine. Photo from Connelly, *Priestess* p. 228 fig. 8.1.

37.   Dieitrephes and Demophon (*CEG* I 94)

T = C; 2FN; 3MN.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of white marble, dated to c. 410-400 B.C. Its provenance is unknown and it is now in London, British Museum 1107.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1m   Width = 0.508m-0.482m from top to base

Area for painted relief = 0.863m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Ellis, 1833: 154 no. 372; *BMI* IV.II 1107; Kaibel no. 86; Hoffman no. 174; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes* 65: 253-254; Peek, *GV* no. 218; Pfohl no. 107; Skiadas, 1967: 20 n. 3; Hansen no. 96; *CIG* II 3648; Merkelbach, *ZPE* 45: 40; Robert and Robert, *REG* 95.452: 334-335 n. 124; *SEG* 32-28; *CEG* I 94; *LSAG* 367, 372 no. 49; Bowie, 2010: 374.

Greek Text

CEG I 94

Διετρέφης *(sic)* : Ζωίλο : Παριηνὸς : στρατιώτης. :

Δημοφῶν : Μητροδώρο | Παριηνὸς : στρατιώτης. :

μνῆμα φίλη μήτηρ με Διειτρέφει ἐνθάδ᾽ ἔθ|ηκεν

καὶ Περικλεῖ φθιμένοιν Μητρίχη αἰνόμορος·

Ἁγνηίς τ᾽ ἐνθά|*νννν*δε οἱ θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀδελφὸς ἔχοσιν

μοῖραν Δημοφών *(sic)*, | *ννννν* τῆς μέτα πᾶσι βροτοῖς.

Translation

Dieitrephes (son of) Zoilos of Parion, soldier.

Demophon (son of) Metrodoros of Parion, soldier.

Our beloved mother, Metrikhe, doomed to a sad end, set me up here as a memorial to Dieitrephes and Perikles who are both dead. Here too Hagnis, her daughter, and her brother Demophon share their fate with that of all other mortals.

Apparatus Criticus

1   Διε[ι]τρέφης *CIG* II 3648 and *BMI* IV.II 1107

3   Διε[ι]τρέφης *CIG* II 3648 and *BMI* IV.II 1107

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 37: Stele of Metrikhe's family. Photo from *BMI* IV.II 1107.

38.   Artemisia (*CAT* I 1.246)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; FA.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 410-400 B.C. It was found in 1882 north-west of the Piraeus. It was in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 875, but is now in Piraeus, Museum 3581.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.97m   Width = 0.28m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Conze no. 40, pl. 19; Norton, *HSCPL* 8: 81; *IG* II² 10840; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 172 no. 342; Lohmann, 1979: 165 n. 1446; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.246; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.246; Cargill, 1995: 123 n. 17; Scholl no. 307, pl. 2.2; Kosmopolou, *ABSA* 96: 302, 317-318 no. W1, fig. 6; Polinskaya, *Hesperia* 71: 403 n. 10; *SEG* 52-15; Kennedy, 2014: fig. 5.2.

Greek Text

IG II² 10840

1   Ἀρτεμισία.

Translation

Artemisia.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 38: Stele of Artemisia. Photo from Scholl pl. 2.2.

39.   [M]ynno (*CAT* I 1.176)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; FA.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 410-400 B.C. It was found between Athens and the Piraeus and is now in Berlin, Staatliche Museen (Pergamon Museum) 737.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.59m   Width = 0.29m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Gardner, 1846: 157, fig. 62; Brueckner, 1886: 38 no. 4, 64; Conze no. 38, pl. 17; Noack, *MDAI(A)* 19: 330; Norton, *HSCPL* 8: 83; *IG* II² 12193; Welsh, *JHS* 26: 230; Reinach, 1912: 40 no. 2; Wiegand, 1913: 17; Caskey, 1925: 56; Kjellberg, 1926: 135, 138; Kübler, *MDAI(A)* 59: 29; Gerke, 1938: 251 no. 200; Blümel, 1940: 7, fig. 1; Lippold, 1950: 196 n. 8; Johansen, 1951: 14, 81, 143, fig. 2; Richter, *MDAI(A)* 71: 143; Chamoux, *BCH* 81: 144 n. 3; Blümel, 1957: 16, fig. 19; Dohrn, 1957: 137 no. 48, 140, 143, 196, 197; Simon, 1959: 109 no. 40; Picard, 1963: 1410; Blümel, 1966: 24 no. 16, fig. 24; Bieber, 1967: 10; Frel, 1969: 33 no. 94; Schefold, *AntK.* 13: 110; Frel and Kingsley, *GRBS* 11.3: 216-218; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1976: 74 n. 46; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 173 no. 372; Lohmann, 1979: 165 n. 1446; Threatte, 1980: 264; Cassimatis, *La femme* 10: 21, pl. 1; Vérilhac, *La femme* 10: 94, pl. 1; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.176; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.176; Scholl no. 348, pl. 2.1; Cavalier, 1996: 61, fig. 16; Kosmopolou, *ABSA* 96: 302, 318 no. W2; *SEG* 52-15.

Greek Text

IG II² 12193

1   [M]υννώ

Translation

[M]ynno.

Apparatus Criticus

1   [K]υννώ Wiegand

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 39: Stele of Mynno. Photo from Scholl pl. 2.1.

40.   Hegeso (*CAT* II 2.150)

T = C; 1FN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1FSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 410-400 B.C. It was found in March 1870 in the Dipylon Cemetery and it is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3624.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.58m   Width = 1.00m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Gardner, 1846: 172-173, pl. 25; Conze no. 68, pl. 30; Rodenwalt, 1923: pl. 73; Bieber, 1928: 46 no. 14.2, pl. 14.2; *IG* I² 1079; Johansen, 1951: 18, fig. 5; Dorhn, 1957: 96, pls. 6, 8a, 22b; Thimme, *AntK.* 7: 16; Diepolder, 1965: 27, pl. 20; Adam, *BSA* 3: 59; Braun, 1966: 18; Süsserott,

1968: 96; Frel, 1969: 12 no. 17, pl. 1.1; Fuchs, 1969: 490, fig. 574; *APF* 477-479 no. 12285 VI; Robertson, 1975a: 363, 367, pl. 121d; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1976: 74 no. 45; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 162 no. 146; Garland, *ABSA* 77: 142 no. A20; Schmaltz 1983: 7-23, 71, 105, 126, 142, 145, figs. 1-2; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 95 n. 28; Garland, 1990: fig. 34; Salta, 1991: 15; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.150; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.150; Boardman, 1995: 184, fig. 151; Osborne, *Past & Present* 155: pl. 3; Leader, *AJA* 101.4: 689-690, 691, 692, 693, fig. 2; Osborne, 1998: 195, 196, 197, fig. 119; *IG* I³ 1289; *SEG* 51-17; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 309; Llewellyn-Jones, 2003: 54, 96, fig. 99; *SEG* 61-81.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1289

Ἡγησὼ Προξένο.

Translation

Hegeso (daughter) of Proxenos.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 40: Stele of Hegeso. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.150.

41.　　Μετοπα (*IG* II² 9011)

T = C; 1FN.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made from Pentelic marble, dated to the fifth/fourth centuries B.C. It was found in late 1932 in the wall of a house located over the west end of the Middle Stoa.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.34m   Width = 0.34m   Thickness = 0.056m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 9011; Meritt, *Hesperia* 3.1: no. 116; CEPS *IG* II² 9011; *Agora* XVII 517, pl. 42.517; *IG* IX 1², 4, 1061; Rosell, 2006: 62 no. 2; Gauthier, Rousset, Dubois, Sève, Follet, Minon, Knoepfler, Lhôte, Decourt, Helly, Hatzopoulos, Avram, Brixhe, Feissel, Gatier, Kayser, and Dobias-Lalou, *REG* 120.2: 687 no. 388.

Greek Text

IG II² 9011

      Μετώπα | Κερκυραία.

Translation

Metopa of Kerkyra.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 41: Stele of Metopa. Photo from *Agora* XVII pl. 42.517.

42.   Aristokrateia and(?) Theoph[ilos] (*CEG* II 486)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN; 1F; 1M.

R = IC.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele, dated to c. 400 B.C. It was found in the Piraeus and is now in Athens, Epigraphical Museum 9262.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Details unknown.

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Hoffman, no. 86; *IG* II² 9057; Peek, *GV*, no. 822; Pircher, 1979: 22-24; *CEG* II 486; McKechnie, 2014: 169 n. 129; Gutscher, 1996: 28; Tsagalis, 2008: 111, 111 n. 156, 158, 275; Oliver, 2010: 162; Pologiorgi, *AE* 149: 216, fig. 4; *SEG* 60-239; Stroud, 2013: 56.

Greek Text

IG II² 9057

[ἣ]δ ἔθανεν προλιπõσα πόσιν καὶ μητ[έρα σεμνήν]

[κ]αὶ κλέος ἀθάνατον σωφροσύνης [ἔλαβεν].

Ἀριστοκράτεια Κορινθία. Θεόφ[ιλος].

Translation

She died, leaving behind her husband and [revered] mother, and [acquired] immortal glory in her modesty. Aristokrateia of Korinth. Theoph[ilos].

Apparatus Criticus

1   [κεδνὴν] *CEG* II 486 and Tsagalis

2   [μεγάλης] Hoffman and Tsagalis

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 42: Stele of Aristokrateia and(?) Theophilos. Photo from Pologiorgi, *AE* 149: fig. 4.

43.   Herseis (*CAT* I 356)

T = C; 1FN.

R = PDNS.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made from white (Pentelic?) marble, dated to c. 400 B.C. It was found in the Piraeus and is now in Athens, Epigraphical Museum 9361.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 0.49m   Width = 0.21m-0.23m from top to bottom

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Pittakis, *AE* 1840: no. 359; Kaibel no. 91; Hoffman no. 91; Conze no. 1317d; Hastings, 1912: 23 [121] no. 8; Pfohl, 1953: 41, 55; *IG* II² 1134; Peek, *GV* no. 927; Pfohl no. 114; Clairmont, *GE* no. 71, pl. 29.71; *SEG* 32-316; Hansen no. 107; Merkelbach, *ZPE* 45: 39; Robert and Robert, *REG* 95.452: 334-335 no. 124; *CEG* I 104; Merkelbach, *ZPE* 59: 42; Clairmont, *CAT* I 356; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 356; Gutscher, 1996: 42; Hunter, 2010: 280; Sommerstein, 2010: 196; Tueller, 2016: 223 n. 15.

Greek Text

IG II² 11345

1   Ἑρσηίς.

1a   vac. 0.27

2   τηλõ πατρίδος ὅσ᾽ ἔθανον κλειναῖς ἐν Ἀθήν<α>ις

          Ἑ<ρ>σηὶς γνωτοῖσιν πᾶσι λιπõσα πόθον.

Translation

Herseis.

I, Herseis, died far from my fatherland in renowned Athens, leaving grief for all of my kinsmen.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 43: Stele of Herseis. Photo from Clairmont, *GE* pl. 29.71.

44.   Khairestrate and Lysandros (*CAT* I 1.575)

T = C; 1FN; 1MN.

R = C; 1FSt.; 1MSt.; A.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 400 B.C. It was found in Athens and is now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 713.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.05m   Width = 0.43m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

Gardner, 1846: pl. 20; Conze no. 893, pl. 174; *IG* II² 13037; Dohrn, 1957: 123 no. 25; Süsserott, 1968: 106 no. 72; Frel, 1969: 14 no. 29; Stupperich, 1977: Part II 154 no. 4; Vierneisel-Schlörb, 1988: 23 n. 15; Salta, 1991: 26 n. 203; Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.575 (with incorrect museum inv. no.); Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 1.575; Kaltsas, 2002: no. 286; Kaltsas, 2006: no. 178; Margariti, *Hesperia* 87: no. 99.

Greek Text

IG I³ 1284

      Χαιρεστράτη ⫶Λύσανδρος.

Translation

Khairestrate (and) Lysandros.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 44: Stele of Khairestrate and Lysandros. Photo from Kaltsas, 2006: 296.

45.   Thraitta (*IG* II² 11688)

T = C; 1FN.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele, dated to c. 400 B.C.

The Inscription

Ionic.

Physical Details

Details unknown.

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 11688; Wilhelm, *ZPE* 29: 78; *SEG* 28-327; Brock, *CQ* 44.2: 340 n. 27; Wijma, *AO*: 2; MacLachlan, 2012: 76; Acton, 2014: 243 and n. 60; Kennedy, 2014: 154 n. 20; Lefkowitz, *WLGR* no. 416.

Greek Text

IG II² 11688

1   Θρᾶιττα

     μύρεψος.

Translation

Thraitta, (a) perfumer.

46.　　　[- - -]strate (*CAT* II 2.177)

T = IC; 1FN; 3MN.

R = C; 1FSe.; 1MSt.

The Gravestone

This monument is a stele made of Pentelic marble, dated to c. 400 B.C. It was found on the 16th of October 1811 near the Dipylon and it is now in Paris, Louvre 768.

The Inscription

Ionic, left to right.

Physical Details

Height = 1.40m　　　Width = 0.78m

Scholarship on the Gravestone

IG II² 11786a; Conze no. 193, pl. 54; Dorhn, 1957: 143 no. 57; Schmaltz, 1983: 105; Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.177; Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.177.

Greek Text

IG II² 11786a

1　　　[- - -]στράτη Ἀριστοτέλης.

　　　Κάλιππος Φιλοκύδης.

Translation

[- - -]strate (daughter of) Aristoteles.

Kalippos. Philokydes.

IMAGE REMOVED

Figure 46: Stele of [- - -]strate. Photo from Clairmont, *CAT* Plates 2.177.

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Appendix A: Greek Gravestones with Women in Relief

1. White marble stele, 430-420 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3254. Clairmont, CAT I 1.080/2.080.

2. Pentelic marble stele, 430-420 B.C. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 194 (IN 448). Clairmont, CAT I 1.082.

3. Pentelic marble stele, 430-420 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17551. Clairmont, CAT II 2.053.

4. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 711. Clairmont, CAT I 0.690.

5. Pentelic(?) marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Skulpturensammlung, ZV 2596. Clairmont, CAT I 0.694.

6. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2670. Clairmont, CAT I 1.148/2.148.

7. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P 685. Clairmont, CAT I 1.152.

8. Marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Present whereabouts unknown. Clairmont, CAT I 1.155.

9. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 04.16. Clairmont, CAT I 1.170.

10. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum 08.258.42. Clairmont, CAT I 1.181.

11. Pentelic(?) marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3891. Clairmont, CAT I 1.182.

12. Grey-white marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum. Clairmont, CAT I 1.184.

13. Marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Piraeus, Museum 28. Clairmont, CAT I 1.188.

14. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Malibu, The J.P. Getty Museum 80.AA.157. Clairmont, *CAT* I 1.189.

15. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 882. Clairmont, CAT I 1.190.

16. Marble relief, 420-400 B.C. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 200 (IN 1195). Clairmont, CAT I 1.620.

17. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. London, British Museum 1805.7-3.183. Clairmont, CAT I 1.630. IG II² 12332: Ξάνθιππος.

18. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Eleusis, Museum inv. 44 (and 5094). Clairmont, CAT I 1.661.

19. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2579. Clairmont, CAT I 1.662.

20. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 777. Clairmont, CAT I 1.689.

21. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 778. Clairmont, CAT I 1.690. IG II² 11379: Εὐέμπολος.

22. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 792. Clairmont, CAT I 1.691.

23. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Paris, Louvre Ma 814 (MNC 1383). Clairmont, CAT I 1.694.

24. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Clairmont, CAT I 1.696.

25. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Piraeus, Museum 3638 (formerly Athens, National Archaeological Museum 753). Clairmont, CAT II 2.120.

26. Pentelic(?) marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1822 + 4552. Clairmont, CAT II 2.151.

27. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1858. Clairmont, CAT II 2.152.

28. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, Roman Agora 257. Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.157.

29. Marble relief, 420-400 B.C. Leiden, Rijksmuseum Inv. 1818 (1745): Pb 74. Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.158.

30. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2839. Clairmont, CAT II 2.160.

31. Marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Present whereabouts unknown. Clairmont, CAT II 2.174.

32. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Oropos, Museum inv. no. 213 (in the storeroom). Clairmont, CAT II 2.176.

33. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Present whereabouts unknown. Clairmont, CAT II 2.184.

34. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum E 239. Clairmont, CAT II 2.185.

35. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Malibu, The J.P. Getty Museum 73.AA.115. Clairmont, CAT II 2.186.

36. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 38.1615. Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.187.

37. Hymettian marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Mariemont, Musée Royal B 15. Clairmont, CAT II 2.194.

38. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Aegina, Museum 2222. Clairmont, CAT II 2.196.

39. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Present whereabouts unknown. Clairmont, CAT II 2.198. Inscription:]ιθόκοπος.

40. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 880. Clairmont, CAT II 2.620. IG I² 1038: [Κλε]ομήνης Σ[

41. White marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Present whereabouts unknown. Clairmont, *CAT* II 2.651.

42. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Leiden, Rijksmuseum inv. I 1903/2.1. Clairmont, CAT II 2.652.

43. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Feodosia, Museum. Clairmont, CAT II 2.671.

44. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 716. Clairmont, CAT III 3.130.

45. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum 47.11.2. Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.131. *SEG* 14-24: Καλλισθένης.

46. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, Epigraphical Museum no inv. number. Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.140.

47. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3474. Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.141.

48. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 714. Clairmont, CAT III 3.170.

49. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3379. Clairmont, CAT III 3.171.

50. Pentelic marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Malibu, The J.P. Getty Museum 83.AA.206. Clairmont, CAT III 3.172.

51. White marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, the collection of Ch. Potamianos. Clairmont, CAT III 3.173.

52. Pentelic(?) marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Salamis, Museum 86. Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.186.

53. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1053. Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.672.

54. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 816. Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.680.

55. White marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Paris, Louvre Ma 3403 (MND 785). Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.681.

56. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina, Ackland Art Museum 76.24.1. Clairmont, *CAT* III 3.694.

57. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Kansas City, The Nelson Atkins Museum of Art 31.86. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.150.

58. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. London, The British Museum 1925.4-22.5. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.170.

59. Pentelic(?) marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Piraeus, Museum 2235. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.179.

60. Hymettian marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 815. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.180.

61. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Piraeus, Museum 1934. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.181.

62. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2584. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.190. *IG* I³ 1132: ὅροσ μνήματος.

63. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Brauron, Museum. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.191.

64. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 835. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.650.

65. White marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Brauron, Museum. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.670.

66. Pentelic marble *lekythos*, 420-400 B.C. Basle, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS 247/S 145. Clairmont, *CAT* IV 4.690.

67. Thespian marble stele, 420-400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1861. Clairmont, CAT IV 5.650.

Appendix B: Typology Table

ID	Date	Status of Inscription	Status of Relief	Women Named	Language used to describe Women	Points of Interest
1	c. 430 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	pais; sophron; thugater	Patronymic + Matronymic
2	c. 430-420 B.C.	Incomplete – text missing	Incomplete	Uncertain	-	-
3	c. 430-420 B.C.	Complete	Incomplete	Yes	-	Personal name only
4	c. 430-420 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
5	c. 430-420 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Patronymic + Demotic
6	c. 430-420 B.C.	Complete	Mostly Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
7	c. 420 B.C.	Complete – text reconstructed	Incomplete	Yes	eusebias	Personal name only
8	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	No Relief	Yes	aretes; philias	Personal name only. Erected by a group of friends
9	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Incomplete	Yes	-	Personal name only
10	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
11	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
12	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
13	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
14	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete – text reconstructed	Incomplete	Yes	-	Personal name only
15	c. 420-400 B.C.	Incomplete – text missing	Mostly Complete	Uncertain	-	-
16	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Mostly Complete	Yes	-	Patronymic
17	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Mostly Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
18	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only

						Nikoboule's name added to her son's epitaph
19	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Patronymic + Demotic
20	c. 420-400 B.C.	Partially Complete – text missing	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only Male name thought to have been erased so stone could be re-used for another Mnesikrite
21	c. 420-400 B.C.	Partially Complete – text missing	Incomplete	Yes	-	Personal name only
22	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	-	Yes	-	Personal name only
23	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete – text reconstructed	Mostly Complete	Yes	-	Patronymic
24	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	gune ariste	Personal name only Spelling variation 'Nikosstrate' on a common name
25	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete – text reconstructed	Incomplete	Yes	-	Patronymic
26	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Mostly Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
27	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
28	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
29	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
30	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
31	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only Thought to be part of **36**
32	c. 420-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	2 Yes; 2 No	-	Personal name only

33	c. 420-410 B.C.	Complete	Complete	1 Yes; 1No	philoi	Personal name only
34	c. 420-410 B.C.	Complete	No Relief	Yes	pistes; hedeias; kharin; philotetos; helikias	Personal name only Gravestone erected by a female friend
35	c. 410 B.C.	Complete	Complete	1 Yes; 1No	thugater	Personal name only Baby buried with its maternal grandmother
36	c. 410-400 B.C.	Complete	No Relief	Yes	thugater	Patronymic Deceased was the first priestess of Athena Nike Thought to be part of **31**
37	c. 410-400 B.C.	Complete	No Relief – Painted?	Yes	phile; thugater	Personal name only
38	c. 410-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only Thought to be a woolworker due to the inscribed *kalathos*
39	c. 410-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only Thought to be a woolworker due to the inscribed *kalathos*
40	c. 410-400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Patronymic
41	5th to 4th centuries B.C.	Complete	No Relief	Yes	-	Demotic/Ethnic
42	c. 400 B.C.	Complete – text reconstructed	Relief does not survive	Yes	sophrosunes; [semnen]	Demotic/Ethnic
43	c. 400 B.C.	Complete	No Relief – Painted	Yes	-	Personal name only Epitaph states deceased died in Athens away

						from her homeland
44	c. 400 B.C.	Complete	Complete	Yes	-	Personal name only
45	c. 400 B.C.	Complete	-	Yes	-	Personal name only Epitaph states deceased was a perfumer
46	c. 400 B.C.	Incomplete – text missing	Complete	Yes	-	Patronymic