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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

Volume I Text

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by
Avgi Maria Proukakis



A b s t r a c t

The marble lekythoi were products exclusively of Attica and Athenian territories and lasted from about the third quarter of the 5th century to the last quarter of the 4th, as some epigraphical and archaeological data and the stylistical comparison with decrees point out.

Although successors of the white ground lekythoi, the marble lekythoi have no symbolic character but are primarily bearers of the figure composition, referring to certain person(s) as the grave stelae do.

Their functions were double, either decorative when used in pairs flanking other grave monuments, or organic when used singly instead of a stele. This potentiality was an advantage over the stelae and enabled the lekythoi to commemorate as joined monuments more than one dead person of a family and to be more independent of the time and the occasions of the deaths. They undergo a certain evolution in shape, relief and decoration and finish up as purely decorative elements without any figure representations.

The study of the lekythoi and the grave reliefs with epigrams in reference to the problem of the identification of the dead on the grave monuments, prove that the usual criteria based on the rendering and the expression of the figures are not applicable

generally and especially to the minor reliefs. The means however which the Athenians might have used to make their dead stand clearly out to the passer-by must have been simple and common for all grave monuments, independently of their artistical value. This might have been the inscription of their names absent over living depicted figures.

The presence of many inscriptions on the same grave relief, the indication of some epigrams and some lekythoi erected for many dead people prove that any grave relief with the usual figure compositions might similarly commemorate many dead persons.

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In this work an attempt has been made to cover most of the major Museum collections of Europe and America. Most of the material is in the Museums of Athens, Piraeus and Attica, but there is not complete coverage of it, because the conditions of study in the store rooms were extremely difficult.

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PART ONE

Evolution of the Marble Lekythoi

I. Introduction

The word 'lekythos' refers primarily to the small black-and-red-figure clay vases which, as the various ancient writers mention and as numerous representations on vases prove, were mainly used to contain ointments and oil for the toilet, especially of the women⁽¹⁾. Because of this particular use the lekythoi played also a special role in the burial rites.

Gradually in the fifth century there emerges another kind of lekythos, the 'white-ground lekythos', which from the second quarter of the century was made especially for dedication at the tomb⁽²⁾. From these funerary lekythoi originated the marble ones, which, being made in a similar shape, were also named after them, by the modern scholars.

No mention of the marble lekythoi with this or any other name may be found in ancient sources.^(2a) It is not known whether their function was originally similar to that of the white ones and to what extent they had the same function as their white predecessors. Archaeological evidence is also scarce. The cemetery of the Kerameikos in Athens is the only place where marble lekythoi were reestablished in their original place, thus serving as the only basis of comparison or proof for any indirect evidence produced by the several scattered finds.

I₁. Origin and function of the marble lekythoi

I_{1a} White lekythoi

The white lekythoi were put into the graves after having served in the burial processes - at home or in the cemetery. However, white lekythoi were used after the burial, being brought, full of ointment, occasionally or at regular intervals by the relatives of the deceased. They were put singly or in pairs on the steps or on the cubic base of the grave or on both sides of the stelae for a longer time⁽³⁾ to perfume or decorate the stele.

These lekythoi should initially have been of the same small size as those put inside the graves..It seems logical, however, to suppose that they would have been the first to be constructed in larger sizes, as their decorative element became of greater importance, and that this would have possibly happened earlier than the time at which the first large preserved white-ground lekythoi were put inside the graves.

The larger the white lekythoi were, the smaller their inner oil-container became. Furthermore, there is a group of lekythoi which were made without any container at all⁽⁴⁾. Thus it is clear that the production of larger vases was unrelated to any demand for the construction of larger containers, but was related to their use as a monumental decorative-symbolic vase. As Buschor wrote, the lekythoi became 'Salbgerät und

zugleich Pinax'⁽⁵⁾.

The more the decorative character of the white lekythoi predominated, the greater was the need of a monumental and permanent vase for the lekythoi used upon the graves. The use of clay material which would last only for a limited time could not provide these features. A change in the material used was needed and the opportunity was given in the time of Pericles, when the last phase of the use of the classic grave stelae began. The clay vases were replaced by marble ones.

When exactly this change took place and whether initially it occurred only occasionally or was widespread is not well known. The only sure fact is that in the early years of the last quarter of the 5th century we find the first approximately dated marble examples with a composition in relief 1pl.I, 2 pl. II. However marble lekythoi may already have existed in the third quarter of the 5th century with only painted figure composition, as the early examples P1, P3 LXXXV and P4 LXXXVI indicate. During the last decade of the 5th century their production seems to have increased and at the beginning of the 4th century the marble lekythoi had fully replaced the clay ones, which had disappeared completely⁽⁶⁾. Just before their disappearance the white lekythoi made their last 'effort' (around the turn of the century) to compete with the marble ones. A group of huge white lekythoi reflects that

tendency⁽⁷⁾. It is clear that their functions were no longer organic but that the lekythoi were simply bearers of the rich composition which resembled that of the following marble ones. Of course there is no evidence that they were the earliest clay lekythoi to be executed in such large sizes and it cannot be suggested that other large lekythoi, none of which have survived, had not been constructed earlier.

The emergence of the white lekythoi coincides with the period when in Attica the erection of the grave stelae was apparently forbidden⁽⁸⁾. Dohrn, believing that the grave stelae reappeared not earlier than around 410, had suggested that the white lekythoi might have been used as a substitute for the forbidden stelae⁽⁹⁾. Although his suggestion is compatible with the spatial distribution of the white lekythoi (mostly in Attica, where the luxury decree was enforced)⁽¹⁰⁾, it is incompatible with the complete lack of large white lekythoi which would have been suitable for such an erection in this time before the reemergence of the grave stelae, that is roughly in the 30s⁽¹¹⁾. It is of course obvious that any large white lekythoi standing on the grave would have been vanished already in the ancient times.

Such an erection of a single lekythos as a grave monument is also not confirmed by similar representations on the

paintings of the white lekythoi. There is in fact only one such depiction on the lekythos in Cornell University⁽¹²⁾, which, in addition to being a unique example, is strongly suspected of being a forgery⁽¹³⁾. On the other hand certain number of later grave stelae with only decoration a small relief lekythos, mostly in the shape of the painted ones, is an indication that such lekythoi might have replaced when needed a grave stele⁽¹⁴⁾.

But even if a single clay lekythos was not used instead of a stele, the combination of such lekythoi with other vases could have served as a substitute for the stele. It is very probable also that one or two lekythoi were erected together with a loutrophoros, at least in those cases where loutrophoroi were needed. Recently a white ground loutrophoros has also been found and it can be suggested that they, too, stood on the graves and not only inside them⁽¹⁵⁾. Such a combination seems to be indicated by the large number of later stelae, on the relief of which groups of lekythoi and loutrophoroi are shown, and which probably have been composed imitating similar previous clay and not contemporary marble prototypes⁽¹⁶⁾. On the other hand, however, it is peculiar that such groups of loutrophoroi and lekythoi have not been preserved on drawings on white lekythoi in contrast to the numerous groups consisting of stele and lekythoi.

I
1b. Translation into marble - . Place of erection

It is not certain whether or to what extent the marble lekythoi took over the functions of the white ones. Of course it is obvious that they generally replaced those white lekythoi which stood in the open air, upon the graves. There is only one preserved marble lekythos, said to have been found inside a grave in Aigina, the lekythos in Athens NM 3585, P4 pl. LXXXVI⁽¹⁷⁾.

If the marble lekythoi had taken over the primary functions of their clay predecessors (of containing oil) they would have been hollow and small. From all the marble lekythoi preserved, there is only one in Athens NM 1044, Pl, which can have been connected with such a use, because it is not absolutely solid but has a hole in the upper part of its mouth. This lekythos is rather small (0,83 m.) and, as is mentioned later on, it has a quite exceptional shape and a painted decoration. All these features point to the conclusion that the lekythos is probably the very earliest one preserved, belonging to the third quarter of the 5th century, and perhaps representing a series of similar lost early vases. It is, however, also possible that it was a later, exceptional example. It is uncertain, too, where this lekythos was originally erected. Considering its size, the possibility cannot be excluded that it was set on the steps of a grave close to the stele, in a place similar to that used for the white ones. Similarly erected are the two marble lekythoi on the high base of a late 4th

century stele in the family grave-plot of the Messenians in Kerameikos⁽¹⁸⁾. In fact, on the front corners of the base there are the remnants of the feet of two marble vases, fastened with lead, which most probably belonged to two lekythoi⁽¹⁹⁾. Similar example might have been also the stele in Athens NM 3612.⁽²⁰⁾

Small lekythoi have been preserved occasionally also in later times - like the lekythos in the Kerameikos Pl. LXXXV still in the 5th century, lekythoi 345, pl. LXX, 365 pl. LVII and 407 pl. LXXI from the 4th century, the unpublished one in the National Museum, 424, etc. - and at least one, the Kerameikos lekythos, had quite certainly originally been erected together with a counterpart, since the foot of the other lekythos was also found.

However, already after the 20s, huge lekythoi were made that could hardly have served a similar purpose. Two lekythoi, the one with the rider, 2 pl. II, and that of Myrrhine 1, pl. I, both dated in the decade 420-410, were very high (preserved 1,58 m. over the base and 1,36 m. respectively). The lekythos 2 pl. II stands on its original round base.

An idea of how these lekythoi were erected within the grave plot and what their function was is shown by a similar example preserved in the Kerameikos, the late huge lekythos of Aristomache, 230 pl. LXV (preserved 1,38 m. over the base). The lekythos, re-established in its original place, stands on a round base to the left front of the family grave-plot and served as a grave monument

instead of a stele⁽²¹⁾. The placing and function of the lekythoi I pl. I and 2 pl. II might have been similar, as all these three lekythoi have very large dimensions. Furthermore, it is perhaps not a coincidence that the preserved bases of the two lekythoi were both round.

Another lekythos 8, pl. II of about 410, with a relief composition and the inscription on the shoulder HOROS MNEMATOS, had dimensions almost as large as the previous three (1,10 m. without restoration). The shoulder inscription, however, (which seems to have been contemporary with the original erection of the vase) indicates strongly that the lekythos was set at the end of the grave-plot, serving as a finial of the grave yard.

A similar inscription OROI MNEMEION is on the lekythos 243 pl. XXVI but it derives from a later second use of the vase.

Another lekythos in the Kerameikos, the lekythos 166 pl. LVI, which is reestablished in its original place in the grave plot of the family from Herakleia, is the only properly attested example of such a use as a finial. The lekythos and its lost counterpart stood on a rectangular base on the two front corners of the high facade wall of the family grave-plot⁽²²⁾.

The custom of putting the marble lekythoi on the two corners of the grave-plot might have been common during the whole period of the production of the marble lekythoi.- Although no other lekythoi can be erected with certainty in such a place,

several have been preserved in pairs, indicating a possible similar function (see Appendix I). However some of them may simply flank a grave naiskos as e.g. the lekythoi-pair 218, 219, pl XXXVII and the pediment of the naiskos stele (C.1473), and possibly the lekythos 270 pl. LXXVI of which only the stele and not the counterpart was found⁽²³⁾, and the pair 26, 43 and the stele for Kallimedon⁽²⁴⁾.

There is an exceptional case in the survival of four lekythoi of the same persons (Menyllos and Astyphilos Alaeus) 271-4 pl. LXXVI, (see Appendix II), a fact which indicates their erection on all four corners of the family grave-plot⁽²⁵⁾. No other example is yet known with four lekythoi placed in this way.

The lekythoi indeed, with their round form, were ideal for such corner positions. They combined the decorative character with the possibility of commemorating the dead.

Whether such lekythoi derived from a similar previous use of their white ground predecessors is not known. An exactly similar use of the latter would have been difficult owing to the fragile material of the clay lekythoi; it seems, however, very probable that white lekythoi were occasionally put on the surrounding wall of the plot⁽²⁶⁾.

The marble lekythoi were thus used in at least three different ways: as symbolic supplementary decorative objects to the stelae, as finials of the whole grave-plot and as grave monuments⁽²⁷⁾. The exact chronological succession, if there was any at all, of those

different kinds of uses cannot be determined. Since the commonest use of the white lekythoi was their placing on the grave steps, it seems logical to suggest that the use of their very first marble imitations was similar. The lekythos Pl, with its rather small size and other peculiar features, seems to support that suggestion. But, as already mentioned, similar small lekythoi continue to appear later as well; thus very probably this early use continued later also.

If we take for granted that the large sizes are indicative of lekythoi erected as grave monuments, then this kind of use had appeared already in the last quarter of the 5th century with the two representative examples 2 pl II and 1 pl. I. On the other hand, it is only certain that such an example existed in the last third of the 4th century since ^{the}Aristomache lekythos, 230 pl. LXV - reestablished in its original place - is dated after 338⁽²⁸⁾.

Similarly, the lekythoi erected as finials appeared not later than the last decade of the 5th century and continued till the last quarter of the 4th century, and their use at that time flourished apparently in the form of lekythoi which had only a floral decoration painted or in relief e.g. lekythos P28, 29, pl XCI, P43 pl. XC.

Apart from these potential uses, there could, however, have been additional ones, as, for example, the use of a lekythos as the finial of a single stele though there is no evidence at all for it, or the placing of a lekythos on a trapeza. On several

grave stelae of the later 4th century there are preserved the remnants of the feet of marble vases (Conze nrs. 1435, 1436, 1483), but they could equally possibly belong to loutrophoroi. Indication of such use is given only by the stele C. 1659/CCCLIII which, instead of an anthemion, bears the relief of a lekythos decorated with taeniae. The shape of the sculptured lekythos resembles a clay one. This combination suggests, however, that marble lekythoi could equally well have been placed on the top of stelae, in spite of the lack of any surviving example. A grave lekythos supported by two heraldic Sphinxes was preserved in Eretria⁽²⁹⁾. It might have served as finial of a stele similar to the one of the grave monument of Dionysios in Kerameikos⁽³⁰⁾:

Few indications are available for the possible erection of marble lekythoi on trapezae. Again the remnants of the foot of a marble vase on each of the three trapezae in the Messenian grave-plot in the Kerameikos⁽³¹⁾ are the only possible examples we have, and belong to the late 4th century. The trapezae are the monuments of a father and his two sons, thus two at least of the vases might have been loutrophoroi. No other use of marble lekythoi can be deduced from the evidence we have got up to now.

It is very difficult to determine what was the function of the lekythoi discovered as isolated objects. As already mentioned, the size of the lekythos could have been a relative criterion, yet not

absolute in the cases in which the dimensions do not reach the extremes. The use of round or square bases might also be a criterion, since round bases seem rather inappropriate for erection on a corner, as finials, square ones however could be used in any place⁽³²⁾.

The reliefs, also, which could be expected to give some indication are of no considerable help. Carefully executed compositions in high relief, as, for example, the lekythos of Aristonike in New York, 6, pl. LV, the lekythos of Pantaleon in Athens NM 426, pl. LV, the lekythos of Aristomache in the Kerameikos, 230, pl. LXV, etc., give of course the impression that they were special grave monuments and not merely supplementary finials, specially because their quality was an exception in that late time in which usually the reliefs were massproduced. However, such lekythoi are few and, as we shall mention also later on, the use of sketchy or high reliefs was generally rather a matter of period and fashion than of function.

Similarly, the way the reliefs are composed does not help towards determining the function of the lekythos. Compare, for example, the relief of the Aristomache lekythos, 230, pl. LXV - used as a grave monument - and either of the pair, 218, 219, pl. XXXVII, which should have served as complementary objects to the stele, or the reliefs of the small lekythos, 345, pl. LXX set almost certainly on the base of a grave monument and the lekythos, 166 pl. LVI, used as the finial of the grave-plot of the family from Herakleia in the Kerameikos. In both these groups the respective reliefs are similar.

The characteristic differences between the Aristomache lekythos 230, pl. LXV, and the pair, 218-219 pl. XXXVII, are the depiction of the relief of the former under a naiskos and the emphatic inscription of the name of the woman on the round base. But neither of these characteristics can be considered a reliable indication of the general use of similar lekythoi as grave monuments. There are other lekythoi as well with their relief in a naiskos (see here II_{2a}) but the smaller size of some of them, as e.g. the lekythos, 176, pl. LXVIII is not indicative for a necessary function as a grave monument.

An ingenious suggestion, helpful for the identification of the lekythoi erected in pairs, was made by Richter⁽³³⁾, who proposed that those lekythoi in which the relief diverges slightly from the central axis of the vase might have been erected in such a way, for example, that of Kallisthenes in New York, 105 pl. III. Unfortunately this feature cannot be observed constantly in all lekythoi preserved in pairs, like the lekythoi 163-164 pl. LVII 329-330, pl. LIII, etc., as well as the only one reestablished in its original place, 166, pl., LVI, whereas on others, e.g. 218-219, pl. XXXVII, this is observed only in the one lekythos of the pair and to a very insignificant degree.

I_{1c}. Special characteristics of the marble lekythoi.

Comparisons with the white lekythoi and the stelae.

The question is whether the marble lekythoi, whatever their function was, had kept any of the symbolism of the white ones, and if so to what extent and for how long.

Nothing in the appearance or the use of the marble lekythoi indicates a strong symbolic character. Between them and the white lekythoi there is a great difference in the subjects represented, which suggests a basic divergence in the conception of the function of the vase. The white lekythoi were made quite impersonally to serve in the burial rites of any deceased person. That was reflected in their painting, which depicted, not the deceased himself but almost always scenes concerning the dead in general, the burial or the underworld. Nothing was linked with the personal life of the particular deceased person. Except on very rare occasions⁽³⁴⁾, no names of the dead were inscribed on the clay vases and the deceased appear almost always young, often holding attributes. The figures are not represented shaking hands⁽³⁵⁾. The only concern of the relatives of the deceased was perhaps to buy lekythoi with representations which could be considered appropriate to the sex and life of the departed. This impersonal character of the vase fitted its symbolic function. The marble lekythoi, on the other hand, except perhaps for the very early ones (concerning which there is no evidence as to the type of their

representations or of the presence or absence of inscriptions), almost always refer to a particular death usually by naming the dead person(s) and their composition often to the life of a particular person(s). In fact many of the lekythoi after 420 - when we have the first approximately dated examples - and roughly before 350 - when mass production of the lekythoi seems to have increased tremendously - might have been executed according to a special order⁽³⁶⁾: The lekythos had in that respect the same function as the stele, that is to preserve the memory of the deceased young or old by depicting him, alone or with his relatives, as he had been in his life. Only very few early lekythoi represented subjects imitating closely those of the white ground ones and these are the lekythos from Aigina P4, pl. LXXXVI the lekythos P16 pl. LXXXVII (both in the 5th century) and the one in Peiraeus, 111, in the first quarter of the 4th. However in contrast to the stelae, the lekythoi, specially of the early years, keep a certain freedom in respect to the subjects and the expression of the depicted figures. (see further on II_{2c}).

Consequently the marble lekythoi could not retain the strong symbolic character of the white ones. Even if their original functions - those of the earliest lekythoi of the third quarter of the 5th century - had been supposedly similar, very soon - one would think already after 420 when the first preserved huge lekythoi were constructed - most of that character would have

been suppressed. What emerged were features taken over from the grave stelae, added to the decorative elements inherited from the white ground lekythoi.

But since the lekythoi had lost their special symbolic character, what was the reason for their flourishing side by side with the stelae? They do not seem to have any other specific properties for indicating a special category of dead, unlike the loutrophoroi, which are supposed to denote only the unmarried. If they had had any special meaning, they would almost surely have survived occasionally on the later grave monuments, the cippi, exactly as the loutrophoroi had⁽³⁷⁾. But the lekythoi disappeared together with the stelae because they did not in fact differ basically from them.

However, compared with the stelae, they had some other functional advantages besides their more marked decorative character. When used as additions to the main grave monument within the plot or on its corners, they could most probably have been erected unrelated to a particular grave and at different times after the occurrence of death; and they could have commemorated many dead persons, already depicted on other monuments in the same or in a different place.

With those particular qualities the lekythoi were most appropriate to accompany a special kind of stele.

the palmette stele, on which the names of more than one dead persons of a family were commemorated, either written all together on the occasion of the last death or at different times, when each death occurred. (See here part two II₂) These stelae, as well as the lekythoi, could have been erected any time after the death of the commemorated persons, as a kind of family record, and they found a supplement in the lekythoi which depicted the persons mentioned on them.

Only one example reestablished in its original place in the Kerameikos, supports with certainty the above suggestion. It consists of the palmette stele of Agathon and Sosikrates, standing in the middle of the front wall of the graveyard of the Herakleiot family, and the remaining one of the two lekythoi-finials on the left corner with the figures of these two dead⁽²²⁾. There are however two more groups of similar stelae and lekythoi a) the stele⁽³⁸⁾ and one lekythos of Mikon and Ada from Sigeion, catal. 332 pl. XLVI and b) the stele of Apolexis Erchieus⁽³⁹⁾ and the lekythos of Euaion and Apolexis Erchieus, 198 pl LXIX, with only the one person mentioned on both monuments.

However, a large number of surviving lekythoi bearing two older male figures, as e.g. the four lekythoi of Menyllos and Astyphilos 271-4 pl. LXXVI, give the strong impression that they had served a similar purpose, especially when one compares the lack of numerous

similar two figure scenes of older male persons on the stelae.

Most clearly serving as a 'depicted record' for many persons of the same family who, almost certainly, did not die simultaneously are the two lekythoi 27 pl. LVIII and 28 pl. LVIII, erected undoubtedly as finials. There is no one prominent figure on the relief and all depicted are equally emphasized. The sequence in time of the deaths did not affect the emphasis given to the figures in the relief. Thus, the two prominent central figures of one lekythos became secondary peripheral ones in the other and vice versa. Although it is the only pair preserved with such characteristics, it could be assumed that the representation on it was not accidental or simply symmetrical for decorative purposes, but rather a calculated composition. Symmetrical, or mirror-image depictions are in fact not necessarily intended in those lekythoi pairs. Very often on preserved pairs the main figures confront each other in such a way that any figure occupies always the same position either on the left or right in the relief (see appendix I).

Another peculiarity in the composition which is not met in the naiskoi is shown in some lekythoi (22 pl. LVI, 50 pl. XXXIV, 53 pl. XLIX, 52 pl. XXIV) and might indicate a similar function. It is a composition with two different groups of figures on each lekythos. Of course these reliefs might indicate two simultaneous deaths but might also possibly depict two different groups of dead joined with their closest relatives respectively.

This suggestion of the practice of erecting usually lekythoi unrelated to a particular grave might be also an explanation why the lekythoi commemorated more often than the stelae a greater number of warriors, some of whom had possibly died in action. The lekythos could have served in this case as a kenotaph or as a supplementary object to a family record stele especially on those cases on which the warriors were depicted as older bearded men (see details II_{2c}).

I₂ Dating Criteria

No basis exists for a very accurate dating of the lekythoi.

The first problem is the exact dating of the beginning of their production.

The earliest lekythoi that can be dated approximately are the lekythoi with a relief decoration, 2 pl. II and I pl. I in the years 420-410 (see II₃). However, the very first production of the marble lekythoi may have started in the third quarter of the 5th century. There is a very strong indication, compatible with an early dating of two lekythoi P1 and P3 pl. LXXXV with painted depiction, that the lekythoi with painted decoration preceded those with relief (see chapter II_{2c}).

The exact determination of the end of their production presents the same problems or even greater than those of the stelae. This increased difficulty is due to the fact that the lekythoi were mass produced (thus their dating was more uncertain) and to the lack of relief composition in many of the latest examples. These late lekythoi, with painted ornaments only, might possibly have been produced occasionally a little after the issue of the decree of Demetrios of Phaleron of the years 317-307⁽⁴⁰⁾. However, the only available indication is that after these years lekythoi came into

use again with the additional inscription of the names of people who died at this later period, as for example, the lekythos of Lysimachides in the Kerameikos P28 pl. XCI, the inscription of which can be dated roughly as belonging to the end of the 4th century. The addition of course of the new inscriptions might have been made while the lekythoi remained in their original positions similarly as ^{with} the ones added on naiskoi and palmette stelae, which do not prove any special later use of them. But the possibility cannot be excluded that the lekythoi might have been reerected over a new grave. Another indication for such a later use is also their erection on trapezae ⁽³¹⁾ which flourished especially after the decree of Demetrios.

Within the life of approximately 100 to 125 years of the lekythoi, examples dated directly on historical - epigraphical evidence are scarce. And even such a dating has a wide margin of error.

The other criteria for the dating of the lekythoi are indirect, based on archaeological indications or on stylistic comparisons with decrees, with other more certainly-dated grave stelae and more certainly-dated lekythoi.

I_{2a} Historical-epigraphical evidence

The following lekythoi can be approximately dated through the identification or relationship of the depicted persons with those mentioned on decrees or in the ancient literature. The lekythoi 165 pl. XXXI of Kephisodotos Kononos Aithalides and the lekythos 59 pl. XL with the names Amphinike Kephisodotos Konon and Peisikrateia might be approximately dated by comparison with a votive relief of the middle of the 4th century⁽⁴¹⁾, on which are also mentioned the names of the two men, Kephisodotos and Konon. If this connection is correct, then the lekythos 59 pl. XL which commemorates the same two men might be dated around the same time but later than the votive relief. The relief of the lekythos fits that date but it could also be dated earlier, in the 50s. The lekythos 165 pl. XXXI commemorates a young Konon II who might have been the son of the other Kephisodotos. The lekythos could be contemporary or later.

The name of Menyllos Alaeus of the four lekythoi 271, 272, 273 pl. LXXVI and 274 is mentioned also on a votive relief, dated approximately 360-50⁽⁴²⁾. Consequently, the lekythoi commemorating him together with his father-must belong to a later date. The relief fits with such a date after the middle of the 4th century.

The lekythos pair of Leon Philagro and Leon Autokratos 403, 404 pl. LXXIII can be approximately dated after Leon, who could have been the same person as the prytanys Leon Philagro Alaeus mentioned on a list of Prytan^{is} (43) before the middle of the 4th century (The lekythos must belong to the second half). The figure on the lekythos 116 pl. XX with the same name but without patronymic, seems to be another person, earlier than the above prytan^{is} but possibly of the same family.

The name Euboulos on the three-figure lekythos 136 is linked by Kirchner with the famous statesman whose zenith was reached around 367 and who had died in 330⁽⁴⁴⁾. The relief of the lekythos seems, however, to belong to the first half of the century - possibly still in the first third - and apparently commemorates a person of the older generation of the same family, because Euboulos appears on it as ^{men} already old.

More indirect indications are given for the following lekythoi: The lekythos 384 depicts two aged men, one of whom bears the name of Demens Glaukonos Acharneus. He might have been the son of the Prytan^{is} Glaukon Acharneus of 360/59. But since the other person on the lekythos is not named, no conclusion can be drawn for the dating of the lekythos, which could be considered as belonging equally to the second or third quarter of the 4th century. The relief

indicates the second half of the century.

Aristaichme of the lekythos 371 and of the loutrophoros IG II² 6100⁽⁴⁵⁾, where she is mentioned by her full name, Aristaichme Lysidos Erchieos, could be the daughter of the trierarch Lysis Erchieus mentioned on an inscription of 342/1⁽⁴⁶⁾. But even in that case the exact date of the lekythos remains unknown.

Certain seems the identification of the figures on the lekythos of Polystratos III and Philopolis, 257 pl. XLVI and of Philopolis' son the warrior Polystratos II, on the two Loutrophoroi IG II² 12658, and 12967⁽⁴⁷⁾. However here again no exact date is gained for the lekythos. The family comes from the ancient demos of Deiradae and is mentioned by Lysias in one of his speeches⁽⁴⁸⁾. According to Blümel, *ibid.* who follows the genealogical tree, the loutrophoroi must have been erected in the 80s, the son being killed in the Corinthian war, and the lekythos slightly later. The two aged figures of the lekythoi could have been two brothers, sons of the Polystratos I, mentioned by Lysias. However, although the dates given for the vases agree with the alleged historic events their reliefs seem to be later. The two loutrophoroi might belong to the 80s, however the lekythos is later, perhaps in the 60s. The lekythos might in fact have been erected any time after the death of Philopolis, as, for example, when his brother Polystratos III (with whom he is shaking hands on the vase) died, or when a family 'record

stele' was erected for which the remaining lekythos might have stood with another as a pair of decorative supplements. Compare the lekythos 166 pl LVI⁽²²⁾.

I_{2b} Other means:

For some of the following lekythoi an indirect date might be reached by the data of the excavations and by the comparison with other reliefs from the same family.grave-plot.

The lekythos of Aristomache 230 pl. LXV in the Kerameikos, was found over a layer of earth which is supposed to have covered most of the graves of the Kerameikos at about 338, when the Athenians prepared for resistance against the Macedonians and demolished even their ancestors' graves to rebuild the town walls. A date after 338 fits with the relief of the lekythos.

On the same criteria is based also the dating of three other lekythoi from grave-plots in the Kerameikos.

The first is the lekythos 166 pl. LVI of the two older men of the grave-plot of the family from Herakleia⁽²²⁾.

According to Brueckner⁽²²⁾, the grave-plot was built in two stages. A "terminus postquem" for the first stage is the year 364 as is indicated by the existing historical evidence, since in that year, because of political reasons, many statesmen had been exiled from Herakleia of Pontos⁽⁴⁹⁾. A "terminus postquem" for

the second stage of the plot is suggested the year 338 for the same reasons as in the previous example⁽⁵⁰⁾. The lekythoi might have been erected either in the first stage of the construction of the grave-plot and, having survived the catastrophe, have been re-erected in the second phase after 338, or it might have been erected in the later stage for the first time. There is no definite conclusion to be reached from the excavations but the relief seems clearly to support the first suggestion (see also part two II₂).

The lekythos 210 pl. LXXII without any inscription, which was found in the grave-plot of Demetria and Pamphile seems to belong to the same family and probably commemorates the same figures as the two stelae⁽⁵¹⁾ with an additional third figure. Although the shape of the lekythos the composition and the relief seem to belong still to the first half of the century, some details however in the rendering of the relief are indicative of a later date, even as late as that of the stele (See also II₃).

Yet no certain traces of a second carving of the relief are apparent. The only possible suggestion (although the indication is really very vague) is that the lekythos was older but the relief was reworked in that later period. This is not incompatible with the evidence from the excavations⁽⁵¹⁾ that the grave-plot was built in more than one stage.

The lekythos thus might belong to the early one and

having survived the catastrophe of 338 might have been reerected in the last one.

The third lekythos P33 pl. XCI presents even more problems. According to Brueckner it was erected in the grave-plot of the Makareus family, which was built in the second half of the 4th century⁽⁵²⁾, thus possibly after 338.

The lekythos of Lysimachides P28 pl. XCI belonged probably to the family-plot of a certain Lysimachides⁽⁵³⁾, which was also late. Although the inscription of the lekythos comes from a second use it is very probable that initially, too, it was erected in the same grave plot, thus it belonged to the period after 338.

The following lekythos of Sostratos and Prokleides, 396 pl. LXII, belongs to the same family as the stele of Prokles and Prokleides⁽⁵⁴⁾ and they all come from a grave yard in Kerameikos. However, neither the date of the great naiskos nor the relation in time between the two monuments is known. The naiskos is generally supposed to be dated in the 30s⁽⁵⁵⁾, whereas the lekythos was dated by Brueckner one generation earlier⁽⁵⁶⁾. Already Himmelmann has pointed out that the lekythos must belong to the second half of the 4th century⁽⁵⁷⁾. Its date seems in fact to be very close to that of the stele. The stylistic and prosopographical resemblance between the two seated figures of the two grave monuments points rather to the same date for both of them and anyway not to an earlier one for

the lekythos.

The lekythos 392 pl. LXVI of Pamphilos and Archippe of the same family cannot be dated accurately, but it seems to belong also to this time.

The other criteria used for the dating of the lekythoi are the comparison of their relief with the decrees and the comparative study of the evolution of their shape, relief and their painted decoration (see II₁, II₂, II₃).

However, the comparison often presents difficulties, particularly in the cases in which lekythoi, being used for a second time, bear a later relief.

There were in fact cases in which a whole new relief was carved on the lekythos, either being the first one, if originally the lekythos had only been painted, as the lekythos in Kerameikos 147 pl. LIX probably is, or a second one after the first had been obliterated, like, probably, the lekythoi 282, pl. LXXXIII 285 pl. LXXXIII, 380 pl. LXXII, 394 pl. LXVI, 399 pl. LXX etc. In both cases the form of the lekythos usually had to be changed slightly as the mason attempted to recreate a low 'boss' on which to carve the relief (clearly seen in the lekythos in the Kerameikos 285 pl. LXXXIII).

The most usual way, however, of re-using the lekythoi was simply to obliterate the older inscription, with or, without adding

a new one. (e.g. lek. 38 pl. XXXIII, lek. 119 pl. XXI or, perhaps, a whole figure as is possibly the case with some lekythoi as e.g. 316 pl. XLVII).

There are some doubtful cases in which an additional relief figure might have been carved later. This could be suggested for the two right-hand figures of the lekythos 52 pl. XXIV, for the old Kleocharos of the lekythos 18 pl. XXVII and Smikros of the lekythos 156 pl. XLIX. However all stylistic indications point out to the suggestion that these figures were added before the lekythos left the mason's workshop, immediately after the carving of the main relief. Similar "amendements" to figures out of the original boss-basis appear on other lekythoi as well, as e.g. 38 pl. XXXIII and 59 pl. XL of which it is definitely certain that they were worked simultaneously with the rest of the relief. A later addition of the two female figures is suggested for the lekythos 2 pl. II⁽⁵⁸⁾. It is true that they are added after the main relief was finished and possibly by another hand, but it seems improbable that this happened after the lekythos had left the workshop. It would have been very exceptional for that early period.

On some other lekythoi painted figures were added to an already finished relief. That, too, could probably have happened before the lekythos left the workshop, after the family had chosen among the ready-made products, as seems to have been the case with the middle figure of the lekythos in Berlin 330b.

II. Stylistic evolution of the lekythoi

II₁. Form of the Vase

The marble lekythoi, having developed from the white ground ones and having taken on some of their functions, were naturally influenced by them as to shape in their initial stages, with some inevitable changes dictated by the difference of the raw materials and the gradual separation of the functions of the two different kinds of vases.

In principle the shape of the white ground lekythoi is a slender 'cylindrical' one, with a softly-curved outline from the shoulder downwards almost to the foot, and an opposite continuous curve from the shoulder to the mouth. The rather low mouth also has a curved outline, like a half-open flower. The foot is usually a flat torus (disk), occasionally divided into two steps. The handle produces a strong curve from the shoulder upwards to the mouth, almost parallel to that of the neck, and then, bending strongly downwards, ends at the lower part of the mouth.

Although the shape described above is fundamentally the same as that of the early marble lekythoi, there are some clearly-defined differences observable even in the very first marble lekythoi. To judge from existing examples, the handle of the marble lekythoi was always solid, starting from the shoulder and ending at the mouth of the vase. The mouth seems also to have had a different character,

being bell-shaped, with a lightly flaring upper rim. The main body of the earliest marble lekythoi went through a rather experimental stage, with each vase having more or less a personal character, but always very close to that of the clay ones. Some marble lekythoi seem to have a tendency towards straighter lines than the contemporary white ground ones.

A characteristic example of the early shape of the marble lekythoi is the lekythos P3 pl. LXXXV, in Athens. The lekythos, cylindrical in form, has kept many of the features of the white ground lekythoi, such as the short neck, the low, wide mouth with slightly flaring rim, an indistinct plastic ring in the joint of neck and mouth, a hardly perceptible stem and a wide torus as a foot. This lekythos, dated probably in the 20s, could be considered as the earliest preserved example having the 'classical' features of subsequent lekythoi.

Yet, in considering the unique lekythos in the National Museum in Athens Pl, which most probably preceded the one discussed above, belonging to the 30s, we find there is some doubt whether its shape was representative of the very first marble lekythoi. The lekythos has a very low, almost squat body; the junction of shoulder and body does not form a distinct angle; the shoulder slopes rather steeply to meet a very short neck; the mouth has an almost square profile; the body emerges almost immediately from the foot, which is a very flat, wide disk, divided into three steps. The lekythos certainly very clearly recalls the archaic 'pre-cylindrical' black figure lekythoi

of the outgoing 6th century⁽⁵⁹⁾. Should that lekythos be considered as a single preserved example of an earlier stage in the whole evolution of the marble lekythoi, the conclusion as to both the original date and shape of these vases should be modified. But since there are no additional elements to support the suggestion that such lekythoi existed before the series of the full cylindrical ones, we will for the time being consider the first described lekythos P3, pl. LXXXV of the 20s, as the characteristic example of the early lekythoi.

The lekythos P3 pl. LXXXV and a group of lekythoi of the last quarter of the 4th century, as lekythoi, P29-33 pl. XCI could be considered as marking the beginning and the end of the ascertained evolution of the lekythos-form. The lekythos P33 pl. XCI is a huge squat lekythos with strong curves. Each part of the lekythos has its independent existence. The mouth is much bigger, heavier and very strongly swollen; the plastic ring at the bottom is thicker; the neck is longer in comparison with the body and rises distinctly in a sharp curve from the horizontal shoulder; similarly, the foot-stem is higher and thinner. The height of the main part of the body is almost identical with that of the neck and mouth and even with the width of the shoulders. The straight lines of the cylindrical body of the early lekythoi gives way to strong curves. Comparing these lekythoi, one can clearly see that from the slender, simple, one might even say 'geometric' form, the lekythoi have now reached a markedly-curved, squat

shape resembling the calyx of a flower.

This roughly indicated evolution of the shape is going to be described in more detail from its experimental stages, through its ripe form to the final decline.

The 'cylindrical' lekythoi, the only representatives of the 5th and early 4th centuries, have generally straight-line profiles, occasionally tapering downwards to the foot and slightly broadening upwards towards the shoulders (e.g. lek. 69, pl. VI), or a slightly and softly-swelling outline (e.g. P4 pl. LXXXVI, 68 pl. III). In an attempt to find their way to the new type of grave monument and to combine the different functions of the new kind of vase - on the one hand as smaller, decorative vases accompanying the main gravestone, and on the other as large principal gravestones - the Attic masons of the early period produced a group of extremely slender lekythoi, occasionally of huge dimensions. These slender lekythoi, too, have either a body which tapers in a straight line towards the foot, e.g. lek. 2 pl. II, P5 pl. LXXXV, and 1 pl. I, or a well-rounded bottom, just before reaching the wide, low stem, e.g. lek. P9, pl. LXXXV. There might be a suspicion that the lekythoi 1, pl. I, 2 pl. II and P5, pl. LXXXV, were the product of the same workshop. The lekythoi P5 pl. LXXXV and I pl. I are very similar in shape, (the lekythos 1 pl. I is reconstructed in pl. I)., and between lekythoi I pl. I and 2 pl. II there is some resemblance in

the execution of the relief, though nothing definitely indicating the same workshop. And, as we shall see later, the shape of the vase is not evidence enough to attribute it to a particular workshop. Yet, the early time at which the above lekythoi were executed, when only a few workshops could have begun to work this new type of grave monument, could allow such a suggestion. (60)

The definition of the exact chronological relationships among the above lekythoi is difficult, since for some of them the only criterion is their form. The two lekythoi 1 pl. I and 2 pl. II seem to belong to the decade 420-410 (see later on II₃). The lekythos P5, pl. LXXXV, judging by its similarity to I pl. I could be very close to it in time. The lekythos in the Kerameikos, P9, pl. LXXXV is very difficult to judge because of lack of similar sculpted parallels. Its rounded bottom has some similarities with some lekythoi from the turn of the century, as for example, the lekythos in Boston. 290 pl. VII but the Kerameikos lekythos is earlier. The difficulties of working elongated bodies were overcome by the masons by occasionally dividing the lekythos into two separate pieces joined at the shoulder, like some of the white predecessors. Such marble examples are the above lekythoi P9 pl. LXXXV and the lek. P10.

Yet the predominant form which was to be produced continuously is a more moderate cylindrical one, with a balance between

the height and the width of the vase. The weight is distributed equally over the whole body of the vase with the bottom of the belly either tapering towards the foot-stem, e.g. lek. 8 pl. II, 30 pl. IV, Pl6 pl. LXXXVII or being well rounded, like, for example the lekythos 68 pl. III, 105 pl. III, Pl5 pl. LXXXV, 290 pl. VII, 106 pl. X etc. As already remarked, in those early lekythoi the curves are very soft, the neck and mouth rather low and wide, and the foot-stem, too, low and wide. Of these, the lekythos 68 pl. III seems to have the earlier shape, being followed by the very similar 105 pl. III. Yet the relief of the latter seems to be earlier. Since comparison of the two reliefs does not support the idea that both came from the same workshop, the earlier form of 68 pl. III could be due to a more conservative workshop and not to an earlier date. Pl5 is also very close.

During the first quarter of the 4th century, there is a gradual movement towards stronger curves, a more elongated neck and foot-stem, and a heavier mouth.

In the following lekythoi of the first quarter of the 4th century, mostly preserved intact, the type of development in form is shown: lekythoi nrs. 72, 14 pl. XXVIII, 187 pl. XVI, 19 pl. XIX, 249, 18 pl. XXVII, 189 pl. XIV, 24.

With the latter lekythoi we reach roughly the end of the first quarter of the 4th century, a time to be referred to later

as the turning point in the evolution of this form. This time limit is of course relative, because exact boundaries cannot exist in reality, where the shapes overlap each other chronologically, either because some workshops are more progressive than others or because occasionally ready-made lekythoi remained for a while in stock until relief was carved on them. See, for example, the lekythoi P36, P37 pl. LXXXVIII etc., which survive with their boss unworked.

Already, in the second quarter, the form gradually shows stronger curves. The body begins again to taper more strongly towards the stem and is contracted also towards the shoulder, which is often more horizontal. The neck and the foot-stem also become higher, the mouth heavier. The lekythoi 261 pl. XII, 320 pl. XLI, 101 pl. LV 6 pl. LV (in the second quarter), 7 pl. LXVII, 360 pl. LIX (round the middle), show the way to the latest cylindrical lekythoi 178 pl. LXVIII, 396 pl. LXII and 230 pl. LXV (of the third quarter). In another parallel group of cylindrical lekythoi of the third quarter, the curves are so strong that the body takes an almost "egg-shape" form: e.g. 150 pl. XXXII, 61 pl. LXVII (around the middle), 172 pl. LXVIII, 177 pl. LXVIII (of the third quarter).

The examples of the cylindrical shape became fewer in the second half of the century, while another, squatter form already created in the previous years, gradually takes the place of the

former.

The 'squat' lekythoi appear early in the first quarter of the 4th century and are represented in a few examples of that time (e.g. 294 pl. XXIII, 36 pl. XXI, 307 pl. XVI and 289 pl. XVI) but they became more common after roughly 360 BC (e.g. 45 pl. LII. 327 pl. XL, 203, 271 pl. LXXVI etc.), until eventually, in the late 4th century, they are the only surviving variety of lekythos.

Their shape is very low and roundish, with rather horizontal shoulders and high neck. The earliest lekythoi are very close to the roundish 'cylindrical' ones (184 pl. XII) but gradually the belly becomes lower so that the height of the upper part of the vase (shoulder neck-mouth) is almost the same or even greater than that of the belly. In still later lekythoi the width of the shoulders increases also in comparison to the height of the belly so that sometimes they are almost the same while the neck becomes very short. The following series of almost intact lekythoi from the early third quarter of the 4th. century and after show this evolution : Lek. 397 pl. LXII, P28, P29, P33, Pl.XCI.

On the later forms in the second half of the 4th century there appears occasionally a peculiarity on the foot-stem, namely, the addition of a plastic ring as on the marble loutrophoroi.

The earliest example is 408 pl LXXXI around the middle of the century. The presence of such a ring in the reconstruction of the early lekythos 1 (pl. I) is totally out of place. The form of the lekythos must have been similar to that of the lekythos P5 pl. LXXXV (See reconstruction pl. I).

Yet there are some other few exceptional lekythoi which do not belong to either of these shapes. Their peculiarity is that they have a high but more "triangular" body, which tapers strongly downwards and has wider shoulders. The difference of this "triangular" exceptional variation from the "cylindrical" shape is more obvious in the first half of the 4th century, whereas later the evolution of the latter towards an "egg-shape" form makes a separate classification impossible. The lekythos 73 pl. X should be regarded as one of the oldest examples around the turn of the 5th to the 4th century. The variation is easily defined when the above lekythos is compared with the cylindrical lekythos 106 pl. X, which could be slightly earlier but probably from the same workshop. The same comparison can be made between the slightly later lekythos 297 and its almost contemporary 296 pl. XXVII. With the lekythoi 93 117 pl. XX, 252 pl. XXXVI, 331 pl. XXXV, 205 pl. LXII and 158 pl. XLIX the middle of the century is reached. As already mentioned, the lekythoi of the third quarter, as e.g. 179 pl. LXVIII, 281 pl. LXXV, and 232 pl. LXXIV, can hardly be clearly classified any more as being

the "triangular" exception or the later "cylindrical" form.

To conclude, one should say that the definition of the shape of a lekythos is sometimes more difficult than expected, because the forms discussed above occasionally overlap each other. Similarly it is not always possible to give an exact dating on the basis of shape, nor an identification of a workshop.

II₂. Figure Compositions - Ornamental Decoration

The several parts of the lekythoi were bound together by decoration which covered almost the whole surface of the vase. The most usual decoration was a combination of ornamental painted motifs and a figure composition in relief. However, though the figure-representation in some lekythoi was not in relief but only in painting and in some others there was no figure-representation at all, the ornamental painting of the rest of the body seems to appear consistently in all the lekythoi from the earliest to the latest ones, except for the very few examples on which it was replaced by a slightly different relief ornament.

The distribution of the figured and ornamental decoration was generally as follows: On the main body of the lekythos there was a large band running all round, framed by two other narrower ones. Apart from some rare exceptions, the upper band-on the upper edge of the body - consisted of an egg and dart pattern; and the other one, on the lower part of the body, of a maeander interrupted by a kind of metope with different motifs, usually checker or starlike ornaments. In the large zone between was carved or painted the figured composition (when there was one). The rest of the lekythos, probably with the exception of the foot, was covered by the painted ornaments consisting usually of floral motifs. It is possible that the handle, too, received painting or

decoration, as it is shown from the early lekythos fragment¹ 17a pl. LXXXV, the exceptional lekythos 111 with the relief of a standing female figure on each side and the several later lekythoi with ornamental motifs in relief (e.g. P45 pl. XC).

Except for some early lekythoi, as will be seen below, the bulk of the vases seem to follow that basic arrangement of decoration. The well-preserved lekythoi 187 pl. XVI and 189 pl. XIV are representative examples.

Both the figure and the ornamental motifs undergo a certain evolution which is related to the shape, but probably also to the function of the vase.

In the early lekythoi, with the more elongated bodies, the figure-decoration was of the greatest importance. The middle main zone of the lekythoi was high and the figure-decoration covered most of its width and height, that is most of the vase belly, whereas the painted ornaments were restricted to its very lowest part, as seen in lekythos 2 pl. II.

In the later years the figure-composition gradually covered a smaller and smaller area, restricted eventually to the middle or upper middle part of the front of the vase, like a small "appliqué" whereas the painted ornaments covered the major part of the vase surface. Typical examples are the lekythoi 281 pl. LXXV⁽⁶¹⁾ and 387 pl. LXXV, of the third quarter of the century. In fact,

this evolution in the setting of the relief is best demonstrated by two multifigure lekythoi, the one of Boston 3 pl. X -- beginning of the 4th century - and the other in Kerameikos , 7 pl. LXVII - of around the middle of the same century. Whereas on the first one the figures cover almost all the middle zone, on the latter the figures cover less than half of the front. But apart from that, the later reliefs are with less figures (usually two) and also generally very low and sketchy, as if they were simply used as a basis for the additional painting.

In the final stage of the lekythoi the figure composition vanished completely, while the wide band in the middle of the vase-body became narrower. This kind of decoration appears only on the squat lekythoi, which are also representatives of this late phase, e.g. lek. P29, pl. XCI, P33, pl. XCI. It seems somehow that the appearance of the lekythos form is now complemented by the purely ornamental decoration. This change in the appearance of the vase could have resulted also from a change in its function. In the late 5th and early 4th century the lekythoi were mainly bearers of the figure composition similar to the stelae, whereas in the later 4th seem to be merely decorative supplements to them.

II_{2a}. Setting and rendering of the figure composition

The figure compositions were usually carved in relief;

painted representations are less frequent.

The early relief-compositions were usually set in a slightly recessed frieze which corresponded to the middle large zone framed by the two ornamental hands; see, for example, the lekythoi 2 pl. II and 8 pl. II. The recessed zone was deep at the front of the vase, less deep at the sides and disappearing gradually towards the back. This kind of relief-rendering, although not unique, is characteristic of the 5th century and continues to appear in the first quarter of the 4th. The latest existing examples seem to belong to the years 380-70, e.g. lek. 249.

Another usual type of relief-rendering is the carving of the relief out of a projecting area, the so-called boss, which is also restricted to the space between the two parallel ornamental bands of the belly of the lekythos. It is wider and higher in the earlier lekythoi, where, as already mentioned, the reliefs covered a very large part of the body, and is a small rectangle in the later ones. The lowest part of this projecting area, a narrow fillet, is usually kept as a base for the relief. This kind of relief appears mainly in the 4th century but it cannot be taken as an absolute chronological criterion because it had already been used occasionally in the last quarter of the 5th century, as the lekythoi 1 pl. I and 105 pl. III show⁽⁶²⁾.

There are also two other ways of setting the relief on the lekythos; neither is very common. One, which is the earlier

of the two, appearing on lekythoi of the first third of the century, is the placing of the relief in a recessed panel. There are very few existing examples of this kind of relief (the lekythoi 32 pl.VI, 12 pl. V, 125 pl. XII, 184 pl. XII, 114 pl. XXVII) and the differences of style indicate that they are products of different workshops. This rather unsuccessful for a vase setting of a relief might be due to the need of a framework for the recessed frieze, when the figures began gradually to be restricted to the front of the lekythos body, the prototype being apparently supplied by the panel stelae and some stelae of the turn of the fifth century, such as the one of Mika and Dion⁽⁶³⁾.

The lekythoi 30 pl. IV and 12 pl. V of the 5th century, which have a very wide and shallow panel, differing very little from the recessed frieze, may be considered as representing the first attempt towards the recessed panel.

The other uncommon way is the setting of the relief within a rectangular naiskos. It appears almost exclusively on lekythoi of the second half of the 4th century, most of which are decorated (perhaps not accidentally) totally or partially, with gadrooning or other ornaments in relief. The lekythoi are six: nrs. 61 pl.LXVII, 176 pl. LXVIII, 180 pl. XIV, P44 pl. XC and 172 pl. LXVIII - lekythos P44 with originally painted figure composition. The sixth lekythos 230 pl. LXV has no gadrooning.

The naiskoi have no pediment but, like the votive reliefs, they have a horizontal architrave with antefixes. They are set either in the middle of the front of the lekythos - like the lekythos 230 pl. LXV or extend upwards round the edge of the shoulder breaking through the upper continuous ornamental band - e.g. lek. 61 pl. LXVII.

On the unique lekythos from Eleusis, 20 pl. XXIX, of the first quarter of the 4th century, we find the forerunner of the later naiskoi. Here, too, the relief is set within a naiskos, but this naiskos is large and high, resembling rather a wide frieze. Its architectural framing can hardly produce the same effect as on the other lekythoi, that of emphasizing and simultaneously separating the relief from the rest of the vase-surface.

The attempt to introduce on the lekythoi this kind of relief framing is of course the result of the influence that the grave naiskoi exercised on them, especially after the middle of the 4th century. Lekythoi like 46 pl. LXVII, which still has its relief in a panel but no longer in a recessed one, seem to represent the connecting link between these two different kinds of framing.

It is worthy of attention that the naiskoi of the lekythoi use, instead of the pediment of the 'grave naiskoi', a horizontal architrave like that of the votive reliefs. This peculiarity does not seem to have a deeper functional meaning, but it results rather from aesthetic causes, as fitting better on the curved surface of the vase.

The appearance of the naiskos on the lekythoi expresses a tendency for the lekythos to be assimilated to the stele. This, however, does not necessarily imply that the function of those lekythoi is the same as that of the grave stelae. On the other hand, this cannot be totally excluded, since the unique example reerected in its original place in Kerameikos, the Aristomache lekythos 230 pl. LXV, had in fact served as a grave stele.

Some of the latest lekythoi, no longer have their figure composition in true relief but barely more than engraved on the lekythos body. Almost all of them derive from a second use of the vase e.g. 380 pl. LXXII, 399 pl. LXX. There are cases, however, in which the very sketchy reliefs of the later lekythoi (e.g. lek. 163, 164 pl. LVII) differ very little from the ones carved on a second use.

The oldest surviving lekythoi with reliefs (1 pl. I and 2, pl. II), coincide with the full re-establishment of the grave stelae. Furthermore, the potentialities of the material of the lekythoi and some at least of their functions place them very close to the stelae. It should therefore be a natural conclusion that both kinds of grave monuments were executed in the same workshops and that both should follow the same rules of grouping and rendering the relief. As far as the execution and the quality

of the relief is concerned, several early lekythoi in fact allow us to assume that they were made in the same workshops as the grave stelae, because their reliefs are comparable (see II₃).

In later years, on the contrary, and especially after the middle of the 4th century, although the reliefs on lekythoi now to a greater degree imitated the grave stelae in the scheme of composition, they differ so much in the relief rendering that the origin in separate workshops is apparent. The striking difference can be shown between the stele of Demetria and Pamphile⁽⁶⁴⁾ and the relief of the lekythos 210 pl. LXXII, from the same family plot in the Kerameikos.

The relief of the 5th and early 4th century lekythoi is generally higher and more carefully executed and the details of the figures - e.g. toes, shoes, hands, eyelids etc. - are meticulously worked. One can even distinguish some expression in the face of the figures. The garments are worked very carefully and plastically, emphasizing the shape and the volume of the body, especially in the first third of the 4th century, when also the figures are depicted mostly in three-quarter view. As a whole, however, the compositions are executed on the surface, without any sense of depth. The figures are all set on the same plane, keeping great distances from each other, being very loosely connected and inseparable from the background.

Gradually, the rendering of the figures becomes shallow and details begin to be omitted. Often the bodies are wrapped under the heavy mass of the himation which in its turn is executed in two-dimensional stylized parallel folds. After the middle of the 4th century the quality of the reliefs generally deteriorates and the vases more often seem to be mass produced. Exceptions appear occasionally, as for example the Aristomache lekythos, in Kerameikos, 230 pl. LXV, and the Sostratos and Prokleides one, 396 pl. LXII.

On the other hand, already in the years before the middle of the 4th century, an attempt is begun to give the impression of the third dimension by imitation of the three-dimensional compositions of the contemporary grave stelae. They introduce the 'semi-circular' compositions by placing one figure in the background. The figures are now more tightly bound together and the movement begins and ends in the same person through the accessory figure in the background, e.g. lekythoi 214 pl. LIV and 230 pl. LXV. However, the masons who carved the lekythoi are generally unsuccessful in giving the impression of depth. This may be due partly to the great difficulty of doing so in a shallow relief on a curved surface such as that of the lekythoi. On the lekythos 214, pl. LIV, for example, one of the earliest examples of three-dimensional compositions, although the middle figure is set in the background, there is no sense of depth at all. Both standing figures, in the background and the foreground,

give the impression of being parallel and on the same plane. The relief of the lekythos 65, pl. XXXVIII of the 40s, has not progressed much in that respect and similarly on the lekythos 60 pl. LVI of the 40s, the figures do not form a connected group. To the same factor is due also the fact that no more than one adult figure is ever set in the background of the three-dimensional compositions on the lekythoi.

In some other cases of course the three-dimensional reliefs are carved more successfully, as, for instance, on the lekythos, 230 pl. LXV, but here the sense of depth is due to the fact that the composition is within a naiskos, which enables the figures, especially the two lateral ones, to be worked in higher relief to counteract the effect of the curvature of the vase on the middle figure.

The rendering of the individual figures continues to be in the usual three-quarter view, but with the lapse of the time there appears again occasionally a tendency for the profile ones. The reliefs are worked generally in a more linear and sketchy way than before. Front statuesque views are avoided except in a few examples only (lek. 173, 280 pl. LXXI) which belong rather to the last third of the century. In that time it is no longer possible to compare the reliefs on the lekythoi with those of the stelae; their closest parallels are the panel and in general the slender-stelae which might have been worked in the same workshops.

II_{2b}. Schemes of the figure composition

At the time when the first relief lekythoi appeared, the Attic masons had already produced the wide stelae, but their archaic tradition restricted the number of figures represented on them. They never tried to depict more than three persons. Multifigure-compositions are seen on the stelae after the first quarter of the 4th century and above all after the middle of it.

In contrast, the evolution of the lekythoi reliefs takes the opposite direction, beginning with multifigure compositions and ending in two-figure ones.

The masons of the early lekythoi had the opportunity of elaborating their scenes on an unframed frieze around the body of the vase. These multifigure representations covering most of the surface of the vase remain the most characteristic feature of the early lekythoi, as the following lekythoi of the 5th century 1 pl. I, 2 pl. II, 8 pl. II, 30 pl. IV, 11 pl. IV, 31 pl. VI, show. It must be stressed that although the lekythoi 1 pl. I and 2 pl. II are influenced in their main subject by contemporary stelae - Orpheus relief⁽⁶⁵⁾ and the relief Albani⁽⁶⁶⁾ respectively - they differ from those by the addition of more figures and by a more narrative character.

Compositions with more than four figures continue to appear occasionally, but apparently not much later than the middle of the

4th century, in contrast to what is to be found on the grave stelae. After the lekythoi 1 pl. I and 2 pl. II, the next lekythoi in time are the one in Boston Museum, 3 pl. X - the first quarter of the 4th century -, the lekythoi of Skambonides, 5 pl. XXIX, 4 pl. XL, the Aristomache lekythos, 6 pl. LV, and the one in the Kerameikos, 7 pl. LXVII, with which we reach roughly the middle of the century. The scenes are also very often enriched by the figures of babies or young children, especially in the 5th century and the first third of the 4th, but since they are rarely the main figures, they are not included here in the enumeration of the relief figures.

Four-figure compositions are preserved chiefly from the 5th and first half of the 4th centuries. The figures of the early lekythoi extended symmetrically over the vase-surface with the main group in the middle. In the early years, too, probably to harmonize with the elongated bodies of the vases, compositions with all the figures standing are more common. Gradually, however, they are replaced by those including a seated figure. Among the latest preserved four-figure reliefs with all figures standing are the lekythos pair 27, 28 pl. LVIII and the lekythos 29 pl. LXV, all around the middle of the 4th century.

The four-figure compositions with a seated figure appear already in the 5th century (30 pl. IV), continue in the first half of the 4th and further into the second half, but in a modified

scheme. The earlier symmetrical compositions, that is those with one of the two middle figures seated, are now replaced by those in which the seated figure was set to one side, with the three other figures facing it and arranged either in single file, as on the votive reliefs, (see lek. 56 pl. XLV) or with one figure set in the background (59 pl. XL, 60 pl. LVI, 61 pl. LXVII, 62 pl. LXXI, 63 pl. LVII, 64 pl. LV, 65 pl. XXXVIII, 67, 67a pl. LXXII and 66 pl. LXXXII).

The three-figure compositions follow a similar course of evolution. In the 5th century and the first third of the 4th we find both schemes, with all the figures standing or with one seated, most usually the middle one. It is worthy of mention that this latter composition, so much used on the lekythoi is not very common on the stelae. In the second half of the 4th century the pattern with all figures standing disappears. One of the latest lekythoi representing all the figures standing is the lekythos 103 pl. LIV, perhaps from the late 50s or early 40s with a motif very unusual for lekythoi, showing the third figure standing in the background. On the contrary, the other scheme, with one figure seated, continues till the end of the evolution of the lekythoi but in a slightly modified way, with the seated figure no longer in the middle but to one side, and the standing figure in the middle set in the background. One of the earliest lekythoi of this composition is 214 pl. LIV, from the 50s. Another variation of the three-figure composition

had appeared already at the beginning of the 4th century (182 pl. XXVI) with a figure distribution similar to that found on the votive reliefs, with the seated persons to one side and the standing ones in single file facing it. It continues till the third quarter of the 4th century, especially in the motif of the warrior followed by his servant (e.g. 212 pl. LXXXII).

Throughout the whole period of the lekythoi the most common composition remains the two-figure one, especially with one figure seated, which is also the most characteristic one found on the latest lekythoi.

The groups of two standing figures are characteristic especially of the first half of the 4th century but are occasionally also found in the second half. The latest lekythos seems to be 286 pl. LXXI possibly of the last quarter of the century.

The earliest composition with one of the figures seated appears first around the turn of the 5th century, on the lekythos 290 pl. VII and is followed by the lekythoi 294 pl. XXIII and 291 pl. VII. The composition was copied from the grave stelae, probably after the masterpiece of Hegeso, by which the lekythos 290 pl. VII is clearly influenced.

One-figure compositions are rare on the grave-vases; that is a natural consequence of the suitability of the vase-surface for multi-figure compositions. A functional reason might also be

considered, since the lekythoi usually commemorate more than one deceased members of a family irrespective of the time of their death.

The preserved one-figure lekythoi belong to the 4th century, and, with the possible exception of the lekythos 420 pl. XLII, seem to belong to a period later than the first quarter. It is peculiar that all these compositions are of male figures. The only lekythoi representing a female figure are the lekythos 421 pl. XLII, 422 but the women are not alone but accompanied by two children.

In all these examples no more than two persons are shown exchanging a handshake, and if there is a seated person depicted and the handshake motif is present, this is always one of the two.

There are, however, three exceptional schemes on the lekythoi which are not met at all on the stelae. The first of these has a three-figure composition in which the seated person is not one of the main figures clasping hands, but is seated to one side, watching the two standing figures greeting each other. The two existing examples of this composition, 186 pl. XXVIII and 184 pl. XII, belong to the first quarter of the 4th century, but not to the same workshop.

The other pattern reproduces a group of four persons in two separate groups, with the figures of each group usually clasping hands - either all standing 22 pl. LVI or with one or two seated 50 pl. XXXIV, 51-52 pl. XXIV, 53 pl. XLIX. The earliest

50 pl. XXXIV belongs to the first quarter of the 4th century and there is no example from the second half. The pattern does not indicate a common origin in a single workshop. Rather it copied common prototypes, possibly from the painting, since similar patterns were used on vases⁽⁶⁷⁾ and furthermore on the huge white lekythos in the Louvre⁽⁶⁸⁾, These lekythoi might have served for special functional purposes (see Part two, III₁).

The third scheme appears only on the unique lekythos 4 pl.XL. In its six figure relief - plus a child - there are two seated figures facing each other. A similar composition is found only on some slender stelae⁽⁶⁹⁾ (see part two III₁).

II_{2c} Themes

As far as their subjects are concerned, the marble lekythoi form a kind of transitional link between the white ones and the grave stelae.

Their main differences from the white lekythoi are that, with some very few exceptions, they do not depict scenes which allude to the underworld or burial rites or any other associated incident. Like the grave stelae, they depict scenes from the everyday life of the deceased whom they commemorate. Their main

motif is the handshake, which is very rare on the white ground lekythoi.

On the white lekythoi depictions of elderly figures are almost totally absent, since the representations are idealised. A similar tendency might have existed in the marble lekythoi of the 5th century and the early 4th as well, as far as the honoured dead were concerned, but very soon it is for the most part older persons that are more prominent on them. It cannot be said whether this difference was due to a change in the function of the marble lekythoi or to a more direct influence on the earlier ones of the white lekythoi.

Another new element of the marble lekythoi is that they very often depict children (the earliest example in the last decade of the 5th century is lekythos 242 pl. III) a feature that is uncommon on the white ones.

On the other hand, although the marble lekythoi are in the main influenced by the grave stelae, they maintain a certain independence, as far as their subjects are concerned, especially in the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th, that is through the period mostly covered by their co-existence with the white lekythoi. But they retain as well throughout their evolution a more free and narrative character than the conventional, monumental one of the grave stelae. The figures adopt occasionally more

expressive poses and gestures; in other words, they appear in a more informal, less statuesque manner. They seem also, to commemorate mostly older people in contrast to the gravestelae.

If the marble lekythoi as a whole group can be regarded as the intermediate link between the white ones and the stelae, the early marble lekythoi with painted figure compositions might be considered as the intermediate link between the white lekythoi and the marble ones with relief figure compositions.

These two kinds of lekythos-scene seem to have differed originally, not only in the method of representation but also more fundamentally, in being influenced by different prototypes. The lekythoi with painted figures are few and there are only two on which the original figure composition was preserved, the lekythos from Aigina P4 pl. LXXXVI and the lekythos Pl6. The estimate of their date is based on their early shape and their painted ornaments⁽⁷⁰⁾. The lekythos from Aigina might belong to the 20s; the other seems a little later. The first lekythos has a representation of a grave stele on which is depicted the figure of the deceased and at each side another female figure, as in the scenes on white lekythoi. The other lekythos most probably represented a seated lyreplayer with another standing figure in front of him (description by Conze 672).

The lekythos next in time, perhaps from the last decade of the 5th century, is the small lekythos in the Kerameikos Pl1 pl. LXXXV. It, too, has early features in the shape and in the painted ornaments (see below II_{2d}). Of the figure-composition one can only vaguely distinguish the legs of a klismos.

Among the other preserved lekythoi which originally had painted figures, the one in Athens National Museum P1 and the other, also in Athens, P3, pl. LXXXV, which, as already mentioned, have also very early features in their shape, might even be dated earlier-in the third quarter of the 5th century.

Thus it is possible that at least three of the above-mentioned lekythoi with painted decoration (that is P1, P3 pl. LXXXV and P4 pl. LXXXVI) preceded the very first ones with relief (that is 1 pl. I and 2 pl. II). This prompts the suggestion that the very early marble lekythoi had only painted, not carved, figure representations, being immediately influenced by their white predecessors. And in fact this suggestion seems to be supported also by the fact that the subjects of the two lekythoi P4 pl. LXXXVI and P16 (of the three from the 5th century preserving their painted depiction) are also related closely to those of the white ones⁽⁷¹⁾, in strong contrast to the numerous lekythoi of the 5th and early 4th centuries, having relief, among which also only two examples present a similar composition, the lekythoi 111 and 253.

It would not be entirely surprising if the early painted lekythoi had also kept more or less the usually impersonal character of the white ground ones and that they had no name inscribed upon them. Of course, if there had originally been an inscription, it would presumably have been painted, not cut, and would consequently have disappeared along with the rest of the composition⁽⁷²⁾.

If the above assumptions are in fact correct, it would also be very probable that the marble lekythoi had continued, at least occasionally, to be painted by the same painters as the white lekythoi. Such an assumption has even been made for a painted Attic stele in Athens National Museum⁽⁷³⁾.

There is a gap in the evidence for dating the lekythoi with painted compositions, because the traces of the paintings have vanished. Although from their shape most of the preserved examples must belong to the 5th century and the early part of the 4th, some few examples may be dated as late as the second half of the century, e.g. Lekythos P23 pl. LXXXIX and P24 pl. LXXXIX (around the middle of the century).

The surviving reliefs of the two early lekythoi 1 pl. I, and 2 pl. II of the decade 420-410, are not influenced by the white lekythoi but although in their main features are similar to the contemporary stelae, they differ from them in some respects. The main group of the lekythos² with two figures exchanging a handshake is enriched by the

riding figure on a galloping horse, in spite of the fact that the whole relief does not represent a battle scene. Representations of riding figures in fighting scenes appear occasionally on lekythoi and grave stelae, but such a combination is unique. It shows a strong influence of the great frieze-sculpture and is completely unorthodox. Even the Villa Albani relief⁽⁷⁴⁾, which the rendering of the horse recalls, seems rather to have come from one of the public monuments which were usually influenced by the frieze. The three-figure main composition of the lekythos is also enriched by two additional female figures, which do not belong directly to the main group but are lightly carved on the back of the vase. Although stylistically they are different, it should not, however, be taken for granted that they were added later, after the lekythos had been erected⁽⁷⁵⁾, because this would be very exceptional.

The early lekythos 1 pl. I produces also a subject which is unique for the marble lekythoi. The main group imitates the original of the Orpheus relief⁽⁷⁶⁾ and is influenced by it, but the addition of the left standing figures, 'the spectators' is a feature seen only on the lekythos. The centralized composition of the Orpheus relief has changed. The relief here is extended into a frieze, with the emphasis on the two main figures of Myrrhine and Hermes.

Both these lekythoi, but especially that of Myrrhine 1 pl. I support the suggestion that the sculptors of the grave stelae were

the first, or among the first, to take the initiative in changing the technique and in producing sculptured lekythoi instead of painted ones. These lekythoi were in fact very radical works, as always happens with the earliest attempts at the expression of a new art and differ from the ones who followed them.

However, although the lekythoi follow more closely the grave stelae prototypes for the next fifty years at least, original reliefs continue to appear on the marble lekythoi. One source of this different influence is their white predecessors.

The lekythos 8, pl. II, of the last decade of the 5th century, presents a unique scene. In the middle of the four-figure composition a diphros stands on the ground. Diphroi were occasionally brought to the tombs as offerings to the dead⁽⁷⁷⁾. From the present evidence, there is no other similar representation either on grave lekythoi or on grave Attic stelae⁽⁷⁸⁾. The other feature of the same lekythos, which recalls also the white lekythoi-scenes, is the hare that the standing young man is clearly holding in his hand. A similar subject, a youth holding a hare, is seen on the stele in Athens (note 71) of the early 4th century, in which as already mentioned, there is also a strong suspicion of the direct influence of the marble lekythoi⁽⁷⁹⁾.

The lekythos directly influenced by the white ones, resembling the early painted one P4 pl.LXXXVI is that in the Peiraeus Museum, 111. It represents a tomb with a stele, on the steps of which sits the

deceased. In front of her stands another woman and behind her a young maid. The lekythos 111 belongs to the first quarter of the 4th century⁽⁸⁰⁾.

An allusion to a tomb scene and the burial rites is found also in the relief on the lekythos 253. Here the grave monument is in the form of a vase, probably loutrophoros, as in similar compositions on the stelae C 873a and 873b. The loutrophoros of the lekythos is being decorated with taeniae by a woman followed by her maid. Although the concept of such a 'tomb adoration' is usual in the white lekythoi, tomb-stones in the form of loutrophoroi instead of stelae do not appear as a rule on them.

Some other lekythoi also offer indirect evidence of influence from the tomb and the 'cult' of the dead by representing female figures with taeniae and maids with large flat baskets (lekythos 30 pl. IV, 77 pl. IX, 183 pl. IX and perhaps 185) or large square pyxides (lekythoi 185, 107 pl. IX, 3 pl. X, 73 pl. X, 111 and 254 pl. XXIII).**

But these direct influences from the white lekythoi do not seem to continue after the first third of the 4th century and no doubt because white lekythoi disappear after, roughly speaking, the first decade of the 4th century.

A characteristic in which the marble lekythoi differ in general from the grave stelae is the very frequent appearance on the lekythoi of warriors, riders and even of hunters. The makers of the lekythoi

** see addenda

seem to have kept the habit of enriching the everyday environment of the deceased with more representative 'attributes' and more 'narrative' elements. The warriors are represented with their full equipment, the riders with their horses and the hunters with their hounds, lagobolon and, occasionally, horses. On rare occasions battle and even hunting scenes are depicted. One might suspect that this custom had been established and survived on the lekythoi just because of the nature of the body of the vase which, with its unframed space, permitted the extension of such compositions, especially the riders with their horses. But, since warriors are much more common on lekythoi than on stelae, though the formation of the stelae could quite well have accommodated them, one should look for a deeper reason for the preference for such subjects, involving the function of the lekythoi. As already mentioned, from the beginning the grave stelae were not necessarily erected upon a particular grave. They could have been placed as a decorative pair or even as finials of the whole grave plot, that is, as joint monuments to more than one dead member of a family, people whose deaths and burials were not simultaneous and whose bodies might not even have been in the same grave-plot. In that respect, too, the lekythoi must have been ideal for commemorating warriors fallen in battle and buried elsewhere. Years ago Wenz⁽⁸¹⁾ suggested that the lekythoi with representations of warriors could have been erected as 'cenotaphs'. They could in fact have been erected

either singly, as cenotaphs, or in pairs as supplements of palmette "record" stelae (see part two, II₂). The latter suggestion seems plausible especially for the late lekythoi on which the warriors and riders appear mostly as bearded old men. And it is a fact that on the record stelae were commemorated usually the older members of a family, the younger having, a special grave stele as for example the grave complex of the Meidoteles' family in Myrrhinous^(2A) in which the young Kallimedon has his personal stele flanked by two lekythoi but his name is not commemorated among those of his older relatives on the record stele (see part two, II₂).

Appendix mr.II shows a grouping of the lekythoi with warrior figures (those already mentioned by Wenz, p. 90f, and additional later finds) in more or less chronological order.

But among the preserved examples (appendix II) there are some lekythoi on which the warriors (lek.90) or the figures leading horses (lekythoi 89 pl.XII, 19 pl. XIX, 35 pl. XIII, 84 pl. XIX, 88 pl. XVII) are not the main ones. In these cases it would be difficult to support the suggestion that the lekythoi were erected specially for them as cenotaphs. They were rather family grave monuments, on which were depicted also those members previously deceased or killed in action. Similar compositions appear also on panel stelae, as for example the one from Salamis⁽⁸²⁾. The question thus remains why these figures were depicted on the lekythoi and the panel stelae as warriors,

whereas on the grave stelae they appeared as^a rule as civilians. It is not probable that the figures on the marble lekythoi were influenced by the white ones, on which occasionally warriors and palaistrites were flanking the dead⁽⁸³⁾. These figures were idealized, whereas the ones on the marble lekythoi corresponded to certain family members.

From the grouping of the preserved lekythoi (appendix II) it is apparent that figures of warriors and figures leading their horses appear during the whole period of the marble lekythoi, although a greater number is found in the first quarter of the 4th century. It is thus impossible to identify the warriors as having been killed in particular wars, as e.g. the Corinthian (394-386) or the Chaeronian (338). Furthermore it cannot be always certain that a depicted warrior had fallen in action (see part two, III_{2b}).

Still more difficult to explain is the occasional appearance on grave lekythoi of figures of hunters, which are rare on Attic grave stelae⁽⁸⁴⁾. It is not only a fact that hunters appear more frequently on lekythoi but also that, when they are depicted, they have an additional characteristic, being usually accompanied by their slave boys and hounds or carrying their lagobolon. The more frequent depiction of hunters on the lekythoi might possibly be due to the more direct influence of painting on the lekythoi and their greater freedom to depict unconventional and narrative compositions. To this suggestion points also the fact that most of those scenes are of the first half

of the century, when the remote influence of the white ground lekythoi was still existing.

The oldest preserved lekythos with that motif is the one in Cambridge, 71 pl. V (end of the 5th century) on which a young hunter appears in short chiton, chlamys and petasos, leading his horse and being followed by his slave boy and hounds. The next lekythoi, 80 pl. VIII and 81 pl. VIII in Athens National Museum, both represent another young hunter with his lagobolon and his hounds, together with two more members of his family. However, the two lekythoi do not seem originally to have formed a pair, because, though their shape is the same, their dimensions are different and the central figure is not represented in exactly the same way on both of them. On the lekythos 81 pl. VIII, which could be the grave monument of the young man, the deceased young man is naked, while on the other, 80 pl. VIII he appears dressed in a short chiton. The latter lekythos could have been the grave monument of his father, with whom he exchanges a handshake on both reliefs. (Date probably in the first decade of the 4th century).

The lekythos 187 pl. XVI (also in the early first quarter) represents a hunter in short chiton and chlamys, with a lagobolon in his hand, followed by his slave boy and two hounds.

On the pair of lekythoi 26 and 43 from Merenda (in the 50s) the young Kallimedon, followed by his servant, appears naked, holding

his lagobolon on the lekythos 43 (on 26 the lagobolon is carried by the servant) and exchanging a handshake with other members of the family.

One should also consider as hunters the figures of the following lekythoi: 12 pl. V, 85 pl. XI, 15 pl. XXIX, 302 pl. XXII and 315 pl. XLVII, all of the first half of the 4th century and mostly in its earlier part.

On the latest lekythos with a figure of a hunter 282 pl. LXXXIII, of the second half of the 4th century, the pattern is quite different. The bearded hunter in a chlamys holds his lagobolon in his left hand while with his right he touches the head of his small servant. On the right side of the hunter, in the background, stands a dog.

Lekythos 289 pl. XVI, has a unique subject. It represents a hunting scene. The hunter, in a short, fluttering chlamys, rushes with his sword against a boar. His small servant, a club in his hand, rushes from the other side against the animal, which is also attacked by three hounds. The scene has a rare realism. The only comparable one on an Attic grave relief is the fragmentary loutrophoros stele in Budapest⁽⁸⁵⁾, on which the hunter is riding. The date of the lekythos is difficult to determine for lack of comparisons. Considering the imaginative relief, which could hardly have been executed in a late period, and the similarity of the head of the hunter to that

of the old man of the lekythos 307 pl. XVI of the first quarter of the 4th century, one should date this lekythos also in the first third of the century. The Budapest stele, too, might belong to the early first quarter of the 4th century, according to the vase shape and the riding hunter.

There are also some other reliefs representing action; the battle scenes, similar to the scenes which appear occasionally on the Attic stelae. The earliest lekythos 287, pl. XXXI-probably from the turn of the 5th century - reproduces a 5th century motif and can be compared with a stele in New York⁽⁸⁶⁾. A fragmentary lekythos in Athens National Museum, 288, has also a similar composition.

The motif of the 'Dexileos' stele does not appear among the preserved contemporary lekythoi, yet it is reproduced once on the much later lekythos, 165 pl. XXXI of the second third of the 4th century (See I₂). Here the scene is enriched by the addition of a servant walking behind the horse and the relief is dry and stylised. The falling warrior has basically the same movement as the one on the lekythos 287, pl. XXXI, but also recalls similar figures on the frieze of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos⁽⁸⁷⁾. The presence of the slave boy recalls also a stele in the British Museum⁽⁸⁸⁾.

The most interesting representation of a battle scene is depicted on an unpublished and unnumbered lekythos fragment, 431, in the National Museum, Athens. There remain only the two legs of a

warrior in a short chiton, stepping to the left over the body of another warrior, fallen on his face to the ground. It would be impossible to conclude how such a dynamic scene looked originally if we did not have a complete comparable representation on a newly-discovered marble loutrophoros in Athens⁽⁸⁹⁾. Although the battle on the loutrophoros relief is between riders, there is here as well a fallen warrior almost in the same position, around whom the battle is taking place. Such scenes, especially the fighting horseman of the loutrophoros, are not usual, on the private grave stelae. They might have been more common on the public grave monuments, as is shown for example by the remains of a slab erected for the men who fell in Corinth⁽⁹⁰⁾.

The date of the lekythos is very difficult to determine. Similarly difficult is the one of the loutrophoros quoted as parallel which judging by its shape cannot be later than the first third of the 4th century⁽⁹¹⁾. On the other hand, both representations very much remind one of those of the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos⁽⁹²⁾.

Another unique relief, though with quite a different subject, is found on the lekythos 425 pl. XXXI; it shows a "tethrippon" with a charioteer. The only scene on grave reliefs of a chariot I know is on a small early fragment, probably belonging to a small grave stele. The scene is probably an "ekphora" scene⁽⁹³⁾, but nothing in the lekythos relief indicates a similar subject. The closest parallels

are offered by the tethrippon scenes of the 5th and early 4th century votive reliefs ⁽⁹⁴⁾. On the lekythos as well is depicted the victor of some races, who died either during the races or most probably at a later date.

The lekythos 428 pl. LXXXIV also has an exceptional relief. Instead of the usual figure decoration there is here a representation of a large ship. One or more figures must have been originally added in painting. An approximate date of the lekythos could have been the first third of the 4th century. Representations of ships are virtually unknown on Attic grave reliefs of the 5th and 4th centuries ⁽⁹⁵⁾. It is remarkable that, when representations of warriors are so numerous, there are hardly any connected with the sea, for if lekythoi were used as cenotaphs for those who died in war, they would surely be appropriate for those lost at sea, whether in war or peace. Representations of ships reappear on Hellenistic reliefs. There must have been a reason for avoiding such scenes in classical Athens, one that was due to function or custom rather than to technical or stylistic problems.

The figures of priests are also more numerous on lekythoi than on stelae ⁽⁹⁶⁾. All lekythoi representations seem to belong to the second third of the 4th century. There are the lekythoi 258, 337, 101 pl. LV and 426 pl. LV. The latter seem to be the latest, around the middle of the 4th century. The

figures of priests on the lekythoi are the main figures; thus the lekythoi might have been erected for them and they could have been cenotaphs, since, like the warriors, the priests, too, might have had a tomb in the public cemetery. There is, however, no confirmation of this suggestion.

The relief on the lekythos 54 pl. LII might represent a priestess. This relief is a four-figure composition: A seated figure of an old man shakes hands with a woman standing in front of him. Behind him are two other standing women. The main female figure carries over her shoulder an object, similar to that held by the figures on the grave stelae C.812/CLV⁽⁹⁷⁾ and C.95/XXXVII⁽⁹⁸⁾; which is probably representing the key of a temple⁽⁹⁹⁾ the woman is thus a priestess.

In the second half of the century there is a group of lekythoi from various workshops with a different scene which appears also more frequent on the lekythoi, in comparison to the contemporary naiskoi. It is the depiction of the woman "dying in labor". (lekythoi 176-179 pl. LXVIII). This more realistic and "narrative" subject was most appropriate on the grave lekythoi and panel stelae⁽¹⁰⁰⁾, and was easily adopted by them even if created in other workshops.

The above-mentioned lekythoi have shown that the reliefs of these vases have occasionally retained (and especially before the middle of the century) a special character in their representations,

different from the stelae, owing partly to their nature, origin and sources of influence, and partly to their function. The influence on the lekythoi, derived partly from the vase painting and their low relief and less monumental character enabled and permitted this influence to be exercised.

The difference from the grave stelae is marked not only in these occasionally different subjects, but also in the way that the figures are treated⁽¹⁰¹⁾. They move more freely and are not bound to statuesque positions. Even gestures that were adopted by the grave stelae, like, for example, the gesture of 'addressing' someone, seem to have been used first on the grave lekythoi⁽¹⁰²⁾. Very often, in fact, lekythoi figures, instead of being totally inactive and expressing their sorrow in the usual restricted ways of inclining the head or chin, movingly stretch their hands and touch the other figures (lekythoi 19 pl. XIX, 32 pl. VI, 34 pl. XIII, 64 pl. XIX etc.). Even on the early lekythos of Myrrhine 1 pl. I one of the spectators, instead of simply watching the departure of the young deceased, extends his right hand to stop Hermes.

Sometimes the more relaxed scene of the family reunion is completed by presenting some figure leaning on the back of the klismos of the seated one (e.g. 128 pl. XIV, 125 pl. XII, 129 pl. XIV, 130 pl. XXXV, 171 pl. LXXII etc.).

Unique is the lekythos 184 pl. XII with the scene of a warm embrace between (probably) a mother and daughter. Except for some very few non Attic classical⁽¹⁰³⁾ and Hellenistic stelae⁽¹⁰⁴⁾, nothing similar has survived from Attic grave sculpture.

All these were features giving the lekythoi reliefs a spontaneity that is generally lacking in the grave stelae, and which disappears gradually as the lekythoi are increasingly influenced by the stelae.

II_{2d}. Ornamental motifs

In addition to the evolution of the relief itself, the painted ornamental decoration of the lekythos-body also undergoes a certain degree of change. Unfortunately there are very few examples on which one can trace with certainty the various phases of that evolution, and any new findings may modify existing views.

The main distribution of the painted decoration in the various parts of the vase has already been roughly outlined. Here again the white lekythoi served as prototypes. Both kinds of vase have the same overall distribution of decoration, but differences exist in the kind of ornaments used and in the way in which they are set on the lekythos.

The white lekythoi have their mouth and lower body painted black and their neck white. The decorative band above the figure

composition does not usually run right round the vase and its ornament is not of the egg and dart motif but simply a maeander. Below the figure composition there is a simple painted taenia. On the whole these features are lacking in the marble lekythoi.

There are, however, a very few marble lekythoi with some similar features indicating a direct influence from the white ones. The two early lekythoi, 2 pl. II and Pl1 pl. LXXXV, have their lower belly partly painted in one colour - for 2 is reported to have been red. The lekythos Pl1 presents also an additional common feature, having below the figure composition one or possibly two narrow taeniae running round instead of a maeander band.

Similarly two other lekythoi, the earliest lekythos, Pl, having only painted figure composition, and one with relief in the Kerameikos, 147, pl. LIX of the first quarter of the 4th century - which originally however was most probably only painted - show the influence of the white lekythoi in their upper running band, which, instead of the usual egg and dart pattern, consists of a maeander⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

Of the lekythos 197, of the second quarter of the 4th century, it is mentioned (see Catalogue) that the upper band, like those of the white lekythoi, extends only over the relief composition.

Most of the above examples belong to a comparatively early period. They are not, of course, numerous enough to permit of

general conclusions. Yet they indicate that the ornamental decoration of the marble lekythoi, like the figured ones, should originally have been influenced more directly by its white predecessors. And, since it is suggested as very probable that the earliest lekythoi may have been the ones with painted figure decorations only, it is logical, too, that they should have also been those most strongly influenced.

On the greater number of the marble lekythoi, however the ornamental decoration follows its more independent character, with slight modifications with the passage of time.

Belly: It has already been mentioned that the decoration on the main body was basically divided into two large parts by two ornamental bands. The upper band, just below the shoulder, was usually framed by painted lines, the lower either by painted or incised lines.

As a rule the eggs of the upper band on the earlier lekythoi are painted close to each other (P4 pl. LXXXVI, P16, pl. LXXXVII, etc.) whereas on the later ones they tend to be set further apart (P29. pl. XCI, P30 pl. XCI etc.).

The eggs of most of the lekythoi were painted with a large monochrome nucleus and one or two differently coloured framing taeniae, e.g. lek. P4, pl. LXXXVI, P16, pl. LXXXVII, 187 pl XVI, 189 pl. XIV etc. In the later lekythoi, with only painted decoration,

this central nucleus of the egg is divided by a smaller ornament in the form of a leaf (lek. P28-30, pl. XCI etc.). The dart between the eggs might originally have been painted in one colour (lek. 197) but very soon it is divided into two differently-coloured vertical halves, as in the lekythos 19, pl XIX and even earlier on the lekythos P16, pl. LXXVII. On the late lekythos 232 pl LXXIV (for the ornaments see Conze) both egg and dart are divided into two differently-painted vertical halves.

The motifs of the lower band is almost always a maeander, interrupted by metopes with other ornaments, usually a checker (e.g. 197, P29 pl XCI) or radiated ornament (e.g. 187 pl. XVI. 320 pl.XLI).

In addition to the few cases already mentioned, there is also another group of late lekythoi which does not comply with the general rules described. These are the lekythoi with gadrooning and relief decoration (the earliest preserved 43 pl. XC in the 50s). On some of them the egg and dart motif is replaced either by large horizontal scales (e.g. P44) or by a 'plait' (e.g. P43, 45), or even by spirals (P50) or spirals and leaves (P51). Sometimes there is also a change in the placing of the bands, and the lower maeander is set immediately under the upper one (e.g. P51), or in other cases totally omitted (e.g. P43). The lekythos 7 pl. LXVII had also a plaited ornament, possibly influenced by them.

On some of the latest lekythoi (those with only painted decoration) the ornamental bands are occasionally doubled, with a

second, narrower one formed either from an egg and dart ornament (lek. P27, pl. XCI), or with a wave pattern (e.g. P32, and P30 pl. XCI). Although these features appear on the late lekythoi, a double band is found also in the very early lekythoi from Aigina P4, pl LXXXVI.

Apart from the ornamental bands, only the lower part of the body below the maeander was covered by decoration. With the exception of the two early lekythoi already mentioned (2 pl. II and P11 pl. LXXXV), the other lekythoi with traces preserved show linear and floral patterns.

The lekythoi P4 pl. LXXXVI, P18, P17 pl. LXXXVII, 295 pl. VII (5th to 4th century) 291 pl. VII (early first quarter), 24 and possibly 75 pl. VI (first third of the 4th century) 361 pl. LIII of the 50s show a pattern of rays. The motif changes occasionally to one of radiating triangles (lek. 119 pl. XXI, with the tops towards the stem).

This ray motif does not disappear in the later years but appears only on the rear half of the vase (lek. 307 pl. XVI) and usually is converted into radiating leaves combined with other ornaments. On the lekythos 232, pl LXXIV and 150 pl, XXXII the radiating leaves cover the back of the lower body of the lekythos. On the lekythoi 385 pl L, 400, and probably, too, P29 pl. XCI, the radiating motif covers a space between the other floral

ornaments and the foot-stem. (On 409 it is mentioned as a 'toothlike' pattern).

The other ornaments used on the lower belly are floral ones. The earliest preserved lekythos on which it appears is the lekythos 19 pl XIX of the first quarter of the 4th century. Only two antithetically-standing spirals are distinguishable, forming a 'heartlike' motif, repeated twice on the side of the lekythos, whereas in between were other unidentified ornaments. It might have run frieze-like round the body, but it is not known whether in the front it has a more emphasized and complicated pattern, as is the case, as we shall see, with the ornament of its shoulder. The distribution of the ornaments of the lekythos 132 pl XXXV must have been similar, consisting instead of large hanging palmettes, as also on the lekythos 320 pl. XLI - of the second quarter of the 4th century.

In the other preserved ornaments the distribution seems no longer to be frieze-like but to emphasize the front middle of the vases by a distinct ornament. This central motif was either a palmette, as on the lekythos 252 pl. XXXVI, 210 pl. LXXII and 151 pl. XXXVII, or a more complicated, unidentified one, like that preserved on the lekythos 323 pl XV.

With the lekythoi 307 pl XVI, 197, and 150 pl. XXXII of the second quarter of the 4th century, a further combination of the decoration is introduced. Instead of being arranged on each side

of a middle ornament at the front of the vase, the ornaments are divided into two halves, front and rear. In the front there are volutes with flowers, in the rear radiated triangles. The following lekythoi show the same arrangement: 150 pl. XXXII - in the front three hanging palmettes in the rear a radiating ornament - lekythos 197 - antithetical spirals forming a "heartlike" motif in the rear two "flame" palmettes - lekythos 232 pl. LXXIV (ornament in Conze 752a) - volutes flanking a palmette, in the rear radiating ornament. A similar decoration might have the lekythoi 332 pl. XLVI and P28 pl. XCI. A naturalistic ornament of acanthus with two open flowers and three rosettes, covering the front half of the body is preserved on the very late lekythos P30 pl. XCI.

The lekythoi 281 pl. LXXV, 323 pl. XV, P27 pl. XCI, P29, pl. XCI, preserve traces of their ornaments consisting mainly of volutes. The lekythos 387 pl. LXXV has in the front a floral decoration with leaves spirals and half palmettes which stop before reaching the foot stem. Possibly there was a radiated decoration in that part.

From the examples mentioned above, it is indicated that the simple radiating ornaments were probably the earliest used for the decoration of the lower part of the belly-and possibly the only one used in the 5th century lekythoi, disappearing gradually after the middle of the 4th century as independent ornaments and appearing modified and combined with floral motifs. The palmettes

are used in the 5th and during the first half of the 4th century, usually enclosed in volutes. In the latter half of the 4th century they appear dissolved into two "flame-leaves". Generally also in that time all the ornaments begin to be more naturalistic. The emphasis is mostly given to the whole front of the lower belly, the near being decorated with simpler ornaments.

Shoulder: A similar evolution is obvious on the shoulder. Already the earliest preserved examples show painted floral patterns. This must have been in fact the original decoration of the marble lekythoi, since their clay prototypes also are similarly decorated. The latter usually have a standard frieze-like, three-palmette ornament, with the middle one standing and the lateral ones lying.

The lekythoi Pl, Pl6, and Pl3a (all three of the 5th century) reproduce a frieze-like rendering of their floral ornaments. The pattern of Pl is very simple, consisting of a chain of lotus flower and fine stylised palmettes, arranged alternately and joined by very thin volutes. On the other two lekythoi the ornament consisted of palmettes or palmettes and lotus chain. On the lekythos 197, of the second quarter of the 4th century, the distribution of the ornaments might still be characterized as frieze-like, yet the impression is quite different, akin to 'horror vacui'. The frieze is very broad towards the neck, the main repeated ornaments are more complicated, consisting of two antithetically standing S-spirals (heart motif) with lotus buds and flowers in the

space between. In addition, the frieze-like distribution is now looser because the middle motif in the front is emphasized by means of a small palmette. The colours of that lekythos were also well preserved when found. Four different colours were used - red, blue, yellow and black - and the background was painted in two different colours. (No more details are given). On the lekythos 119 (pl. XXI) the frieze-like ornament became cross-like and symmetrical with a palmette in the front middle and in the rear - the latter interrupted by the handle - and lotos flower between. The lekythoi 189 pl. XIV, 314 pl. XLIII and 210 pl. LXXII have a palmette in the front middle but on neither of them was it repeated symmetrically in the rear. On the lekythos 189 a smaller palmette was painted on each side of the handle. Similar might have been the distribution on the lekythos 314 pl. XLIII on which in addition to the front one another palmette is painted on each side of the handle; so also that of the lekythoi 150 pl. XXXII (2nd quarter), 307 pl. XVI (1st third), 139 pl. XXXVI (50s) although the middle palmettes are not preserved.

On the lekythos 210 pl. LXXII each side was covered by volutes and leaves beginning from the shoulder and ending in a "flame" half palmette towards the middle. On these lekythoi the decoration became axial the front being emphasized by a distinct ornament.

But this axial distribution had already appeared in the 5th century, as is shown by the lekythos Pl4. Spirals and flowers start

from each side of the handle to meet at the middle of the front in more emphasized antithetically standing volutes and continue up to the neck. The ornament of the lekythos P14a, which might be even slightly earlier than P14, seems to be similar. These ornaments generally will remain the most common ones for at least the first half of the 4th century, the middle motif changing occasionally to a more complicated one. Lekythos 19 pl. XIX, ~~lekythos 187 pl. XXI~~ has a small stylized palmette in the front middle flanked by volutes. Lekythos 147 pl. LIX has preserved towards the neck between the volutes a small four-leaf rosette within a rhomb. The lekythos 332 pl. XLVI has similar volutes and a central ornament. From the following lekythoi 144⁵ pl. LII, 47 and 281 pl. LXXV the situation is more confused. Here too the basic ornaments are volutes, leaves and flowers in a similar distribution.

The lekythos from Aigina P4 pl. LXXXVI is exceptional both in its ornament and the distribution of it. It has an open 'flame' palmette in the middle front and some simple spirals and lotus flowers towards the back. It can be compared with the similar ornament in the shoulder of the sculptured lekythos on the stele in Athens National Museum 4519, which might be dated as belonging to the later quarter of the 5th century ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Another comparison is offered by a painted mouth-and-neck fragment in the Kerameikos, P17a pl. LXXXIV. The palmette on its neck is similar; so also is

the distribution of the ornament on the mouth, although the palmette itself is different there. The fragment might be dated in the late last quarter of the 5th century.

The next stage of evolution of the shoulder motifs is shown by the lekythoi 103 pl LIV, 397 pl LXII, 232 pl. LXXIV,^p 29 pl. XCI and P48. On these lekythoi the emphasis was extended to the whole front part of the shoulder, corresponding more or less over the figure composition. This distribution was compatible with that of the lower body of other preserved lekythoi the near part of which received only simple radiating ornaments.

A feature of these later lekythoi is also the change in the ornaments themselves. Instead of the volutes and spirals there now appear the naturalistic compositions with leaves from dissolved 'flame' palmettes, acanthus leaves and rosettes, as shown, clearly, on the lekythos 397 pl. LXII- around 350- and the lekythos P48, of the third quarter of the century.

Neck: As already mentioned, unlike the white lekythoi, the marble ones have their necks painted with ornaments. At the beginning, however, they keep distinct the separation from the shoulder, as do the white ones, through a narrow painted taenia, as the lekythoi P1 and P4 pl. LXXXVI show, or through a narrow ornamental band like the one on the lekythos P16 pl. LXXXVII with the 'running dog' motif.

The ornament on the neck of lekythos P1 is said by Conze to be a palmette. The upper part of an open palmette is also preserved on the mouth-neck fragment in Kerameikos P17a pl. LXXXIV. Here, on each side of the palmette is a small rosette. The lekythos P16 had instead a 'scale' motif. It seems however probable that the use of the 'scale' motif on the neck became rare or was even discontinued within the first half of the 4th century. It reappears, however, in the second half, on the lekythos 281, pl. LXXV and especially on those lekythoi without figures - e.g. painted P30, P29 pl. XCI, or in relief, P45, pl. XC, P47 pl. LXXXIX. The scales stop before reaching the ring of the mouth, and as is shown by P47 in the space between appear other ornaments fitting better to the "calyx-like" form of the ring; here a tongue pattern.

On the other lekythoi, as far as can be concluded from the surviving evidence, the neck ornament was not separated from that of the shoulder but the frontal ornamental motifs - usually volutes - continued upwards to the ring-moulding just below the mouth. See one of the best preserved examples, the lekythos 187 pl. XVI. Here from the spiral ornament of the shoulder emerges a palmette dominating the upper part of the neck. Similar continuous neck ornament, with or without palmette, can be seen on many other lekythoi like 189 pl. XIV, 332 pl. XLVI, 232 pl. LXXIV. On 409 Conze reports volutes and acanthus leaves.

Mouth: As the earliest shoulder, P1, the early mouth, too, P2, pl. LXXXVI preserves a similar frieze-like palmette chain. By contrast, the fragment in Kerameikos, P17a pl. LXXXIV of the later 5th century - has a framed palmette in front, whereas towards the back are extended volutes with lotus and another long - shaped flower. This fragment is exceptional in preserving in excellent condition all its colours - red, yellow, black and white. The leaves of the palmette were white on a red background, whereas the frame of the palmette was left uncoloured. The long flower had three different colours for its different parts, red, yellow and white, whereas the background was black. The outer surface of the upper rim of the mouth was also painted black. As already mentioned, the distribution as a whole recalls the shoulder of the lekythos from Aigina, P4 pl. LXXXVI. The framed palmette, on the other hand, recalls the one on the mouth of the lekythos 210 pl LXXII - in the second third of the 4th century and that of the lekythos 259 pl LXX of the same time. The preserved mouth of the lekythos 189 pl XIV of the first quarter of the 4th century has also a standing palmette in front. It is not certain whether the palmettes of these three lekythoi were the central ornament flanked by other simpler one or whether they belong to a frieze of palmettes. The later lekythoi P45-47 which have as central ornament a 'flame palmette' have on each side a different ornament, a half palmette.

A later contemporary of the lekythoi 210 and 259 the striated lekythos P43. pl XC has, on the other hand, the older, frieze-like distribution of a tongue pattern.

An exceptional theme - that of the figure of a siren - is found on two examples. On the lekythos 7 pl.LXVII(around the middle of the century) there is reported to be⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ an 'ornament of palmettes and possibly a siren'. On the other example, the mouth fragment in Kerameikos 432 pl.LXXXIV possibly of the last quarter of the 4th cent. a type of weeping siren is executed in low relief and should have been the only ornament of the mouth, covering most of its central part.

These two are the only preserved examples with the representation of a symbolic creature on the lekythoi, which are, unlike the 4th century stelae and marble loutrophoroi, astonishingly deprived of any such subject. It is obvious that the mason abstained on purpose from the use of such scenes and the reason could not have been simply decorative. Perhaps the tradition of the white lekythoi which had not such figures was still observed in that respect.

Handle: The construction of the handles was more careful in the earlier years; both sides and back were carefully finished (e.g. lek. 2 pl. II) the corners being bevelled (lek. 19 pl. XIX).

Later the rear surface is less carefully executed until on the latest lekythoi it is left completely rough (e.g. P29 pl. XCI). The handle ends usually in the middle of the mouth (e.g. lek. 19 pl. XIX) forming a curved profile. However the handle of the late lekythoi with painted decoration only or gadrooning are mostly straight reaching the rim of the mouth.

About the handle decoration there is less evidence. Two early lekythoi, the P4 pl. LXXXVI and the Kerameikos fragment, Pl7a pl. LXXXIV preserve a dark painting with a light, perhaps white, narrow band running parallel to the outer and inner edge of the handle. The example on Pl must have been the same. Similar handles with a defined edge have occasionally been preserved in other lekythoi such as 19 pl. XIX and 197 (black taenia). In the two early lekythoi, P3 pl. LXXXV and Pl6, pl. LXXXVII, this band is slightly projecting. On the striated lekythos P43, pl. XC the band is marked with a relief fillet running parallel to and at some distance from the outer edge of the handle. This characteristic is due to the influence of the white lekythoi and it is interesting that it exists until this time of the 50s. On almost all the other preserved lekythoi there is no evidence of any handle decoration. However the late lekythoi with only ornamental relief decoration have relief ornaments which extend to the surface of the handles. On the examples preserved this decoration consists of acanthus,

different kinds of leaves, volutes and spirals (e.g. P45 pl. XC)

The lekythos 111 - which is also unique for its figure composition - has a unique motif of one standing 'mourning' female figure in relief, on both sides of the handle.

To sum up, one could perhaps suggest that the ornaments used in the earliest lekythoi were mostly linear or very simple floral ones as the lotus flower and the palmettes. In the first quarter of the 4th century, while the palmettes continue, decoration with compositions with spirals also become very common. In the latest lekythoi, probably after the middle of the century, more naturalistic ornaments appear as the palmettes are dissolved into leaves and acanthus rosettes and flowers take the place of the spirals.

The distribution of these ornaments cannot be clearly traced. It seems that the earliest compositions generally have a frieze-like arrangement, whereas the patterns are later orientated on each side of an accentuated central point and built up to emphasize the whole front of the vase. This evolution might be associated with the evolution of the relief compositions, from the more extended frieze-like ones to the restricted ones on the middle of the front.

II_{2e} Colours

There is very little evidence about the colours used, because although traces of their use are often preserved, the colours

themselves have been lost, except for very few cases. Red colour is mentioned for the lekythoi 2 pl II, 187 pl XVI, 119 pl. XXI, red blue and yellow for the lekythos 210 pl. LXXII (red and black still visible). On the lekythos 14 pl. LIX there are still traces of red background for the upper meander zone. Red and green are mentioned for the ornaments of PlO.

On the 5th century mouth fragment 17a pl. LXXXIV as already mentioned the colours are still preserved. The palmette is white on red background framed by a volute in marble's colour. The background around the whole ornament is black as well as around the lotos blossom and the other elongated three-coloured (white-red-yellow) flower.

Of the lekythos 197, it is mentioned that four colours were used - red, blue, yellow and black. No further indications were mentioned. Yet, from the published figure it seems that the ornaments on the front are on a differently coloured background from the rear ones. Similarly, the upper running band was polychrome, with different colours for the egg, dart and background.

More detailed is the description of the lekythos 232 pl. LXXIV. The colours used are red, violet and greenish. On the back of the lower belly, the pattern of 'rays' is painted red on a dark background; the palmettes on the front have their edges, which are darker, on a lighter background, whereas the inner part

of them is on a red ground. Similarly, the motifs of the shoulder are on the front on an unpainted background, whereas those on the back have a red one. The maeander and the egg and dart ornament of the two bands are also on a red background.

It is not certain whether there was a rule according to which the back ground or the ornaments should be painted. Although most of the preserved traces of the ornaments are now corroded indicating that they were possibly originally unpainted on painted background no definite conclusion can be obtained.

Neither is ^{it} possible to conclude whether there has been a change in the colours used. As already mentioned a change might be observed on the use of colours on the egg and dart band. Initially each motif was simpler, egg and dart were monochrome. Gradually however the dart is divided into differently coloured halves and in the egg is added a differently coloured leaf. Similarly richer impression give the two lekythoi 197 and 232, the ornaments of which were painted in differently coloured background.

Such a variation and exchange of colours might strike one as a feature of later lekythoi, when the painting generally plays a more significant role than the relief itself. However, a comparison with the 5th century mouth-neck fragment, Pl7a pl. LXXXIV proves that the change from the early lekythoi was not very marked because here, also, the colours used are four: red, yellow, black and white.

It seems almost certain that the relief figures were also painted. The occasions when colour is mentioned on a figure are very rare.. Conze mentions that red is used for the hair of the man on the lekythos I87. Confirmation of the use of colour additionally on the relief figures is given also by the numerous lekythoi reliefs on which some details are executed only in painting, as, for example, the most usual case, of the sticks carried by the older men or the spears of the warriors. Of course many other details, either on living figures or on objects, were similarly added only in painting, among figures which were executed in relief. Such a case is the lekythos in Berlin, 330b. Similarly, a painted inscription was added to a relief composition, as on the only preserved example, 307, pl. XVI. Those painted 'intrusions' could not have existed if the rest of the relief had been left white; the contrast would have been too great. This application of colours might have been of great importance in giving the reliefs an integrated impression, and could conceivably have added elements helping in the identification of the dead.

In contrast to the painted relief figures, it is nowhere mentioned that a coloured background to the figures has survived.^(107a) It seems very reasonable that the whole middle zone of the lekythoi, between the two ornamental bands, was left unpainted, as was also the ground of the white ground lekythoi, and unlike the background of

the stelae. Through the contrast of the painted figures with the unpainted background the relief composition was emphasized. Another fact that points also to an uncoloured background on the lekythoi reliefs is the way the background around the figures is sometimes executed. In contrast to the very smooth areas on which the ornamental paintings were executed, the surface around the figures was often worked roughly and unevenly (see, for example, the lekythos 128 pl. XIV).

II, Workshops and grouping of the lekythoi

The grouping and date of the lekythoi of the 5th and early 4th centuries is often based on comparison of their reliefs with decrees and other more accurately dated stelae. Later however it is mainly based on comparison of their reliefs with each other.

Lekythoi of the 5th century: One of the earliest preserved lekythoi with relief figures is the lekythos of Myrrhine l pl. I. It has a distinct place among the grave reliefs generally, because of its exceptional subject and the fineness of its execution. The theme of the relief was influenced by the slightly earlier Orpheus relief⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ in Naples. It is difficult to make very close comparisons between them, because the Orpheus relief is a copy. However the corresponding female figures are very similar, despite the change in the pose and rendering of Myrrhine, due possibly to the later date of the lekythos. Myrrhine might be close in time to the female figure of the stele Diep. pl 13/2⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. No other figure is directly comparable to Myrrhine. The figure of Hermes and especially the rendering of his face with its roundish cheek and chin, the strongly executed eyelid and hardly marked hair, makes it possible to compare the lekythos relief with the woman holding a mirror on the stele in Boston (Diep. pl. 10). Diepolder has already suggested that the stele belongs to the same tradition as the Orpheus relief⁽¹¹⁰⁾. The lekythos of Myrrhine might belong to the decade 420-410⁽¹¹¹⁾.

To the same circle belongs also the cavalry relief in the villa Albani - same hand?⁽¹¹²⁾ - The contemporary lekythos, 2 pl II⁽¹¹³⁾ is also very close to it; both have a similar composition. However the two lekythoi 1 and 2 which are comparable to the same stelae do not belong to the same workshop. The similarities that exist between them in the rendering of the relief as e.g. the way the faces of the figures are executed, especially the eye, is not unique at that time and the rest of the relief rendering is different.

The figures of the "spectators" of the Myrrhine lekythos, 1 pl. I, offer the possibility of comparing the relief with the figures of the lekythos 105 pl. III, because of the similar way in which the hair is treated on all of them; further affinities however are not apparent.

The right figure on the lekythos 105 pl. III recalls closely the right standing figure on the stele of a warrior (Diep. 12/1) which is also close to the Orpheus and Albani reliefs⁽¹¹⁴⁾. On both appear the same head-form and the same modelling of the straight hair, yet that might be simply a characteristic of the time and not necessarily an indication that both monuments have a common origin from the same workshop. The lekythos figure is closely related to the corresponding one on 8 pl. II, through the same head rendering but also the same pose. The folds of

the himation of the figures of 8 pl. II are already more plastically rendered and the volume of the body is stronger marked. A "terminus post quem" for the date of the latter lekythos is offered by the decree of 410/9⁽¹¹⁵⁾. The left central figure of the lekythos, can be compared to the corresponding figure of the decree. On the other hand, the right middle figure of 8 is already comparable to the corresponding figure of the lekythos 69 pl. VI, of the turn of the century, which however has no other affinities with lekythos 8 and comes from a different workshop. The lekythos 8 pl. II might be thus dated in the last decade of the 5th century. Lekythos 105 pl. III is earlier than 8 and seems to belong in the decade 420-10⁽¹¹⁶⁾, and still earlier is the stele of the warrior.

The type of the standing figures on the right on both lekythoi 105 pl. III and 8 pl. II can be followed towards the turn of the century on 72⁽¹¹⁷⁾. The two other figures of the latter lekythos, but especially the middle one, relates the lekythos further to 73 pl. X⁽¹¹⁸⁾ and 106 pl. X. They all show the same female type and similarity in the rendering of the himation. The two lekythoi 73 pl. X and 106 pl. X belong to the same workshop. The two female figures have the same movement of the body the same arrangement of the himation with the rich plastically rendered folds. The eyes and mouth are executed in the same way and even the expression is identical. The date of the lekythoi in the turn of the century

is justified by the comparison of these female figures with the Heros of the decree of 398/7⁽¹¹⁹⁾.

The figures however preserve still characteristics of the 5th century group already discussed. The hair treatment, in curls of the male figure on 106 pl. X, recalls that of the youth on 8 pl. II, and the seated female the corresponding figure on 105 pl. III. The man on 105 is depicted in profile, the figure on 106 already in three quarters view. Among the stelae, Tynnias stele⁽¹²⁰⁾ might be very close in time.

The same type of figures can be followed through the first quarter of the 4th century as we shall see further, but a quick glance at one of those lekythoi as e.g. the almost contemporary 85 pl. XI, shows the difference of the tradition of other workshops.

The lekythos 30 pl. IV is roughly contemporary to the lekythos 8 pl. II. For this lekythos too, the decree of 410/9 might be a "terminus post quem" (compare the maid with Athena), and the decree of 398/7⁽¹¹⁹⁾ a "terminus ante quem" (compare the warrior with Athena)⁽¹²¹⁾. The female figure on the right is the same type already seen on 8 pl. II, but the exceptionally rich and heavy himation with many perpendicular folds, has parallels only on the loutrophoros stele C 749/CXLIV and on two much later lekythoi, 115 pl XX and 116 pl XX, in the 70s.

A similar relief composition is depicted on the later

lekythos 32 pl. VI which is stylistically very close to Sosias relief belonging possibly to the 90s^(121a).

Two more lekythoi 11 pl. IV and 241 pl. IV seem to belong to the years 410-405 but to different workshops. The male figure on 11 and the female on 241⁽¹²²⁾ recall Athena of the decree of 410, and the female on 241 Myrrhine on 1 pl. I.

A similar composition, to the one of 241 though some years later, appears on the lekythos in Cambridge, 71 pl. V. The bearded man "Hegemon" can be compared with Athena of the decree of 398/7 and more closely with the loutrophoros stele in Kerameikos which cannot be later than 393⁽¹²³⁾. The lekythos thus might belong to the turn of the century⁽¹²⁴⁾.

The lekythoi 242 pl. III, 69 pl. VI and 293 pl. III form another group of the years around the turn of the century. The warriors of 242 and 69 have the same movement of the body whereas the head of the warrior on the lekythos 242 recalls that of the standing youth on 293. Especially similar is the rendering of the eye and the profile lines of both faces. Lekythos 242 is the earliest of the three with the rendering of the right figure still in profile, whereas 293 is the latest, belonging possibly already in the 90s⁽¹²⁵⁾.

The lekythoi 70 pl. V and 12 pl. V might belong to the latest years of the 5th century as well.

The type of the older man of 242 pl. III facing left and leaning on his stick with his left hand hanging and wrapped in the himation can be followed in later lekythoi. Stylistically and chronologically closer are the lekythoi 68 pl. III and 74 pl. III. The lekythos 68 might belong to the turn of the century, although its shape is earlier, similar to that of 105 pl. III⁽¹²⁶⁾. Characteristic is the way in which the garments are rendered in linear parallel folds recalling similar examples of the turn of the century (e.g. the lekythoi 75 pl. VI and 69 pl. VI) which however belong to different workshops.

The lekythos in Boston, 290 pl. VII might belong to the turn of the 5th to 4th centuries⁽¹²⁷⁾. The relief is immediately influenced by the Hegeso stele⁽¹²⁸⁾, yet it does not come from the same workshop. Especially the rendering of the maid on the lekythos is quite different, and the features on her face and hair can be compared with those of the maid of another stele in Athens NM 1858⁽¹²⁹⁾.

The lekythos 295 pl. VII presents also the theme, a woman holding a mirror, the relief composition however as a whole is quite different. The date of the lekythos is close to that of 290 pl. VII.

1st quarter of the 4th century

The following lekythoi, although they might be still dated around the turn of the century, show already features which link them with the 4th century tradition.

The relief composition of the lekythos 75 pl. VI is repeated on two later lekythoi the 76 pl. X and 78 pl. X. On both latter reliefs the left-hand male figure have similar movement of the body and the same arrangement of the himation. Even their hands are represented in exactly the same position. The hair treatment is slightly different but the profile of their faces is quite comparable. Similarly the heads of the female figures show some affinities, not only in the nose and mouth but also in the way in which the hair is treated. Both lekythoi belong to the same workshop.

Around the turn of the century belongs the lekythos 31 pl. VI⁽¹³⁰⁾. The bodies of the figures are straight and the garments are stylized with bands of linear parallel folds. The hair of the right figure is hardly worked and recalls the similar one of the figures on 75 pl. VI. The maid introduces a type of standing female figure which is going to be repeated on some other lekythoi from different workshops. Characteristic is her heavy garment with many parallel V-shaped folds which covers completely the movement of the body. Closest are the figures of the lekythoi 9 pl. VIII and 10 pl. VIII and the slightly later 80, 81 pl. VIII.

The female figure of the still later lekythos 83 pl. VIII, has the same heavy himation, the folds however here are replaced by large surfaces. Lekythoi 9 and 10 belong to the one workshop⁽¹³¹⁾. Similarly 80 and 81 to another one. The female figure on 83 pl. VIII already mentioned can be compared with the one of 80 pl. VIII because of their resemblance in the rendering of their face. Two further female figures are comparable to the previous ones, having the same small fine round heads. They belong however to two later lekythoi 187 pl. XVI and 308 pl. XVI.

Around the turn of the century, or already in the first years of the 4th, might be dated the lekythos 3 pl. X⁽¹³²⁾. The seated bearded man finds a close parallel in the corresponding figures of the earlier lekythos 105 pl. III and 106 pl. X of the turn of the century. The second female figure from the left reproduces again the type of the lekythos 83 pl. VIII. The main female figure can be compared with the corresponding ones of 106 pl. X and 73 pl. X. The pose of the body is the same. The himation, covering in an S-shape the right arm, crosses the waist obliquely and is fastened in the left bent arm. The rich folds around the waist do not appear any more on the figure of the lekythos 3. This modified type is going to be reproduced very often in the first half of the 4th century. Closest is Kallikleia on the lekythos 298 pl. XI, in the 80s (compare the seated figure with Hippomachos⁽¹³³⁾ and the

decree of 377⁽¹³⁴⁾ and the standing woman on the later lekythos 23 pl XI, probably in the 70s. The comparison can be extended to the figure on 306 pl. XV of around the same time. All three have the same slender bodies and the same pose. Lekythoi 23 however and 306 do not belong to the same workshop as 298. The seated figure on the lekythos 306 is similar to the corresponding one on 37 pl. XV especially in the rendering of the heads. Both have the same round head with the hair high over the forehead, and the soft cheek. Both might belong to the same workshop to which possibly belong also the lekythos 23.

Close to the female figure of 3 pl. X can be placed another group of lekythoi from different workshops but of approximately the same time. One group is formed by the lekythoi 35 pl. XIII, 34 pl. XIII and 89 pl. XIII which might^{be} attributed to the same workshop. To Theodorides of 35 can be compared Epikles of 89. Both figures are leading their horses and both have the same movement of the body. Even the hanging left hand is presented in a similar way. To Lysistrate of 35, can be compared the seated female figure of 34. We find on both the same rendering of the himation folds and the same details on the head - hair, eyes and nose. The attribution to the same group of the lekythos 16 pl. XIII is more doubtful. Comparable are only the two standing female figures on 35 and 16. Three further lekythoi reproduce closely the

above discussed female type. These are the lekythoi 104 pl. XII, 190 pl. XII and 261 pl. XII. The two first ones, 104 and 190 belong to one workshop. Closely in date follow the lekythoi 184 pl. XII and 125 pl. XII which might belong to another workshop. Comparable is not only the way in which the whole relief is set, but also the two female figures. The lekythos 79 pl. XIII must be very close in time with 35 pl. XIII because the main standing female figures of both vases are very similar. Close to 79 is also 82 pl. IX. The left figures of both lekythoi are comparable in the structure of their body and the rendering of the head. The two lekythoi 188 pl. XIV and 189 pl. XIV which belong to another workshop cannot be very far from the lekythos 35 pl. XIII. Especially the one on 189 recalls the seated on 35 and 34 pl. XIII. Lekythos 93⁽¹³⁵⁾ has some affinities with 35 which however might simply indicate that both lekythoi were roughly contemporary.

The link between these two lekythoi is especially the figure of the maids. They have high slender bodies standing on their right foot and bending the left forwards with the folds of the garment falling straight across the right leg. This type cannot be attributed to one workshop but is used for a certain period of time from different ones. Lekythos 94 pl. XV has a very similar relief composition to 93 and affinities exist between the two main figures. Its date must be contemporary.

The male figure on the lekythos 93 represents a very wide spread type in the first half of the century and especially the first third; an older man facing left leaning on his stick. The type has been already discussed with reference to the early lekythoi 242 III, 68 III and 74 pl. III yet in a group contemporary to the lekythos 93 this type seems to have some special common features, as the leaning position and some details in the elongated head and the dense hair and beard. Closest to 93 is the lek. 261 pl. XII, 51 pl. XXIV and 112 pl. XXIV. All these lekythoi might belong to the 70s, yet no other features exist among them to indicate conclusion for a common origin. Even so, the above lekythoi are closely linked when compared with the next group, on which the same type appears but in a distinctly different way. On the lekythos 128 pl. XIV the man is depicted in a 3/4 view from the rear in a way that was already introduced on the early lekythos 68 pl. III: Nikostratos of 307 pl. XVI has the same pose. It is however, highly improbable that the lekythoi 128 and 307 belong to the same workshop, although their date is very close. Roughly contemporary also is the lekythos 252 pl. XXXVI (136), reproducing the same type with the peculiar view from the rear, yet it is definitely worked in the tradition of another workshop. Lekythos 112 pl. XXIV might come from the same workshop as 123 pl. XXIV. Comparable is the pose, the rendering of the garments and the head of the seated female figures. Lekythos 138 pl.

XXX recalls the lekythos 123 as far as the whole composition is concerned as well as the rendering of the two female figures. The two vases might belong to the same workshop with a distance in time.

Nikostratos on 307 pl. XVI has some affinities with the hunter of the lekythos 289 pl. XVI in the way their head is executed, and possibly they were worked in the same shop. The female figure of the 307 pl. XVI resembles the one on 187 pl. XVI which might be earlier (still 80s) and 308 pl. XVI. All must be close to the female figures of the lekythoi 83 pl. VIII and 80 pl. VIII of the beginning of the 4th century. They may perhaps belong in the 70s.

On the lekythos 128 pl. XIV left, is represented a very common type of a male figure facing to the right, which can be followed down to the second half of the century, e.g. lek. 392 pl. LXVI. A closer comparison is offered by the figures on the earlier lekythos 293 pl. III (first decade) or the one on the loutrophoros stele C.1078⁽¹³⁷⁾ CXXVI around 375 B.C. and especially by the lekythos 129 pl. XIV which very probably belonged to the same workshop as 128. Comparable are the standing figures of both lekythoi and mainly the left-hand and the head of the right ones.

The fragment 130 pl. XXXV, is comparable to 129 pl. XIV because of the similar rendering of both their middle and left

figures. The young male figure of the fragment 429 pl. XXXIV is rendered also in a very similar way to the left figures of 128 and 129, although the fragment possibly belongs to the tradition of the Teisarchos' workshop. The group discussed might belong to the 70s.

The Munich lekythos group: The outstanding lekythos of the first quarter of the 4th century, although marking already its end, is the Munich lekythos 251 pl. XXVII. Comparison of its female figure with the decree of 375/4⁽¹³⁸⁾ indicates the same date for the lekythos⁽¹³⁹⁾. Although such an outstanding piece in itself, the relief does not seem to have indisputable followers and the tradition of its workshop can not be identified with certainty.

The male figure facing left, on 251 pl. XXVII is depicted leaning on his stick which is under his bent left arm, while his left foot is set back. This male type is found already in the 5th century but dominates the grave reliefs and especially the grave vase reliefs in the first half of the 4th century. After the middle of the century it seems to become rather unpopular and is almost absent in the last third of the century. It occurs already on earlier lekythoi (e.g. 75 pl. VI; 76 pl. X., 14 pl. XXVIII 245 pl. XIX, 249), but around the time of the Munich lekythos, maybe partly through its influence, it forms a standard type

which continues to be reproduced (e.g. lek. 329 pl. LIII, 312 pl. XXX, 217 pl. LIII). Yet the man of the Munich lekythos is not sufficiently connected with any of the similar figures to allow the suggestion for an origin from a common workshop. On the contrary, the female figure can be closely grouped with some other figures, possibly belonging to the same workshop. To look backward, the Munich "girl" could be compared with the fine executed figure of Xenokrateia on the lekythos in the Theseion 185 pl. XVII, especially as far as the rendering of the head is concerned. The himation is executed differently but that could be explained by the earlier date of the latter lekythos. The way the hands are executed is also completely different. Some similarities on the face again link the Munich "girl" with Helike on the lekythos 296.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Both these female figures have the same form of head with a low wide band of hair around the face the same profile lines. Similar is also the head of the maid of the lekythos 296 but her pose and the rendering of the folds of the himation is quite different. The himation of the seated Helike is also different from that of the Munich "girl". It is more ample and soft. The latter lekythos seems to belong in the earlier part of the first quarter of the century as far as one can conclude from the pose of the maid (compare e.g. the lek. in Boston 290 pl. VII of the turn of the century). A further comparison of the Munich relief might be also made with the relief of the lekythos 18 pl. XXVII.

The face of the young warrior seems again to have affinities with that of the Munich "girl". Similarly the pose and the rendering of the himation of the other main figure on 18 is comparable to that of the Munich "girl". The pose is less flexible and the himation more ample and the folds do not form yet the characteristic band obliquely on the chest. A third lekythos might be connected to this group, the lekythos 114 pl. XXVII. The man on the right can be compared with the corresponding main figure of 18 pl. XXVII. His body is turned to a three quarter view and is more swinging. However the pose generally is the same. The rendering of the himation is also similar, even some details of the folds on the upper thigh. Similarities exist also between the face of both these figures. The circle closes with the comparison of the left standing female figure of 114 with the maid on 296 pl. XXVII, who show some affinities in the execution of the face. From all these lekythoi the Munich one is the latest, the others being dated possibly in the 80s. With some reservation because of the bad conditions in which the relief is preserved one could attribute to the same workshop the lekythos 127 pl. XXVIII which seems to be roughly contemporary to the Munich one. The only point of comparison is the standing female figure with a pose similar to that of the Munich "girl".

Aristomache of the later lekythos 6 pl. LV can be compared

with the Munich "girl". Her pose is similar, the folds however of the himation are more dispersed on the surface of the body. The face rendering is similarly fine and the head is basically comparable, although the hair is dressed higher over the forehead. Considering the quality of both vases it is very probable that they belong to the tradition of the same workshop with a distance in time from 10 to 20 years. An absolute date for 6 is not possible. However its date should be close⁽¹⁴¹⁾ to the decree of 355/4⁽¹⁴²⁾

The lekythos 111 has been also assigned to the same workshop as the Munich one⁽¹⁴³⁾. This lekythos however is without close parallels in both its subject and relief execution. The type of the standing female figure recalls Eukoline of lekythos 5 pl. XXIX but no further comparison is possible between these two vases. The date of the lekythos 5 is difficult⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ The two right female figures recall rather early 4th century reliefs, the left group however indicates a later time with the setting of the middle figure in the background. The lekythoi 4 pl. XL and 6 pl. LV offer parallels for this composition. Lekythos 4 as we shall see later might be dated in the 60s, 5 might equally well be earlier or later.

To some extent related to the lekythoi 251 pl. XXVII and 6 pl. LV, but apparently from another workshop, is the lekythos 24 in Berlin, the date of which seems to belong between the above

two lekythoi⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. The male type is basically the same as that of the Munich man but in a different variation with the legs crossed. This variation as well appears already on the lekythoi of the 5th century but unlike the other one is used also very much in the late 4th century as on the lekythos 285 pl. LXXXIII. Demokrateia, the female figure of 24 can be compared with Aristomache and Axiomache of the lekythos 6 pl. LV. The loutrophoros of Malthake comes from the same workshop as the lekythos 24 and seems to be contemporary with it⁽¹⁴⁶⁾. The female figures of both these vases are depicted in frontal views, are heavy and well wrapped in the garments. Their faces are round, framed by the hair. The fragment 196 pl. LV shows similar rendering of the heads as the figures of the lekythos and the loutrophoros and similar is also the execution of the figures in frontal view. The fragment might belong also to the same time. To that points also the style of the garments which recalls that of the Munich figures and of the decree of 375.

The rendering of the female faces of the lek. 24 recalls also slightly the middle figure of the votif relief from Megara in Berlin⁽¹⁴⁷⁾, which might be dated about the same time as the decree of 375.

The lekythoi 305 pl. XXVIII and 186 pl. XXVIII both from different workshops might belong chronologically to the years after the Munich Lekythos.

The Leon group: The different tradition of another almost contemporary workshop is shown by another series of lekythoi. Lekythoi 116 pl. XX 115 pl. XX, 117 pl. XX, 118 pl. XX ~~and 119 pl. XX~~ form the nucleus of the group. All have a similar three-figure composition with the middle figure seated facing left. Leon of 116 pl. XX is depicted in the familiar type leaning on the stick and his figure is very close to the man on the lekythos 251 pl. XXVII. The rendering, however of his garment and the execution of his head indicate the tradition of another workshop. Similarly different are the female figures of the above two lekythoi. The garments are rendered heavy and rich with many folds in different directions, which cover the movement of the body. Very close to the lekythos 116 is 115 pl. XX. Directly comparable are the two female figures of both vases and especially the ones standing on the right. Although they represent a female type commonly used on lekythoi reliefs of the 5th century and first half of the 4th they have an exceptionally heavy himation which was found only once more in the early lekythos 30 pl. IV.

The rendering of the head of the two female figures on 116 presents many affinities with that of the corresponding figures on 117 pl. XX. The pose of the two men is also similar. The rendering however, of the garments on 117 is different. The folds do not run in straight lines but in smaller curved ones. The rendering of the two female figures of 117 ~~already~~ anticipate the decree of 362⁽¹⁴⁸⁾.

Comparable are especially the folds of the himation which run obliquely across the legs of the seated women. The standing female figure with the straight perpendicular pose, and the himation with the strongly emphasized horizontal folds in the waist, recalls parallels of the 50s e.g. lekythos 101 pl. LV.

Close to the lekythos 117 is the lekythos 118 pl. XX, again by comparison of the two right-hand figures. To the same group might be assigned also the lekythoi 121 pl. XX and 119 pl. XXI, although many differences exist as well.

The common characteristics of the above lekythoi of the group are more emphasized when one compares them with another contemporary lekythos originating from another workshop, lekythos 120 pl. XXI. Comparable to the latter lekythos are the lekythoi 36 pl. XXI and 202 pl. XXI.

Smaller groups and single lekythoi of the 1st quarter of the 4th century. Before the next clearly defined tradition of another workshop, which seems to continue to the second half of the century, is discussed, mention must be made of some lekythoi which can be dated approximately in the first quarter of the 4th century, without however being connected with any of the groups discussed above.

The lekythos 244 pl. XXVI seems to belong in the decade 400-390. Both standing figures are depicted in profile and the way the female figure is standing suggests a date close to the lekythos 72. The symmetrical position of the two children between the adults is interesting.

The relief of the lekythos 33 pl. XXIII appears to belong early in the same decade. The rendering of the seated female figure is rather unusual on lekythoi. The woman is seated on a thronos (apparently the first example on a thronos), with her upper body turned frontally and her bent left arm leaning on the back of the thronos. A similar position is found in a Nike of the Parapet of the Nike temple⁽¹⁴⁹⁾, in other figures of the 1st quarter of the 4th century⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ but occasionally also later as e.g. the decree of 336⁽¹⁵¹⁾. The other features of the seated figure as well as the other figures point to an early date in the very first years of the 4th century. The decree of 398/7⁽¹¹⁹⁾ gives a terminus "post quem". The figures do not find parallels among the other lekythoi reliefs. On the lekythos 293 pl. III, already mentioned, the warrior is depicted in a similar way but with his head in profile. The woman on the lekythos 301 pl. XXIII has also a similar position. This lekythos, too, seems to belong to the 90s or early 80s. The standing female figure looks contemporary to the corresponding one of 76 pl. X.

Demeas of the one-figure lekythos 420 pl. XLII is depicted also in a similar way but his date is still more difficult to determine. The shape of the lekythos would probably not indicate a date before the end of the first quarter of the century. The lekythos 304 pl. XXV with a very worn surface seems to have had a female figure seated in a similar way and could belong to the end of the first quarter of the century. The lekythos has been re-used and the relief could have been partly worked over, because the male figure on the left seems to have been carved from the vase surface and not the boss. He is depicted in the type of the "Munich man" and seems to be contemporary. The corresponding figure of the lekythos 129a pl. XXV seems to be close in time.

The lekythos 292 pl. XXV presents a two figure relief: seated and standing woman. The seated has her upper body turned frontally and her head strongly bent and resting on her right hand. The position of the other hand is no longer visible. The figure must be stylistically and chronologically ranged between the Phrasikleia stele⁽¹⁵²⁾ and the stele from Piraeus⁽¹⁵³⁾ in the early 1st quarter of the 4th century. Comparable especially with the latter stele is the way the legs and the folds of the himation around them are shaped. The left standing figure of the lekythos can not be easily compared with the corresponding figures of the two stelae. The treatment of her hair is peculiar recalling the late 4th century "Melonen Frisur".

Worked over?⁽¹⁵⁴⁾.

The lekythoi 294 pl. XXIII and 49 pl. XXIII are exceptional for this early period of time.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ The figures on them are very small, covering a tiny part of the front vase surface and are rendered in a very sketchy way that does not find any parallels in the first decade of the century, to which period the lekythoi may belong. Both lekythoi seem to be the product of the same workshop. The two figures of 294 are very similar to the corresponding ones of the lekythos 49. They have the same pose and execution of the garments. Even the shape of the lekythos is very close.

The lekythos 243 pl. XXVI, roughly contemporary, has similarly a small relief but it cannot be assigned to the same workshop. The figures are short and heavy, especially the man, wrapped in a similarly heavy himation. The lekythos 10 pl. VIII might be close in time but from a different workshop as well.

The lekythos 183 pl. IX seems to belong to this early time but it, too, has no parallels. The female figure in the middle might be chronologically close to the corresponding one of 76 pl. X.

The type of the maid recalls the corresponding figure of the earlier lekythos 30 pl. IV, her pose however places her in time close to the lekythos 290 pl. VII. The seated man remains without parallels especially in the way in which his himation is rendered around the legs without any folds at all.

The relief of the lekythos 77a pl. IX has a scene similar to the group of the lekythoi 73 pl. X, 76 pl. X and 78 pl. X. The difference of the workshops is however apparent. The maid on the relief of 77a holds a large basket on her left lifted hand. Because of this very rare theme the lekythos recalls strongly 183.

The lekythos 29I pl. VII might be dated also in the 90s. The type and pose of the standing man recalls similar figures from different workshops and time (e.g. lek. 50 pl. XXXIV, 128 pl. XIV). The execution of the garments with few large folds which give the impression that they are almost transparent is not met in other lekythoi-relief. Note the similar rendering of the legs with the characteristic folds of the himation in both the seated figures of 29I pl. VII and 3 pl. X. It is apparent that both vases used a common prototype.

The lekythos 107 pl. IX might be also dated still in the 90s. The seated figure on a "diphros" with slightly bent head recalls the corresponding figure of 297. The standing female on the right, with her swinging pose might be close in time with the lekythos 32 pl. VI. The theme also of figures holding in their hanging hand large square pyxides is common in the early years of the 4th century (e.g. 3 pl. X, 111). The type of the maid however continues to be depicted as late as the end of the first quarter of the 4th century (e.g. 132 pl. XXXV) and it is not characteristic of the tradition of a special workshop.

The lekythos 14 pl. XXVIII can be dated in the 80s. The male figure seems to be a forerunner of the Munich type and later than the decree of 398/7. The right hand figure, wrapped in her himation recalls parallels of the early decades of the 4th century as e.g. lekythoi 3 pl. X and 82 pl. IX.

The lekythos 249 might be ranged between 14 and 251 pl. XXVII. To the same family belongs the lekythos 96 found together with the other^(155a). In the latter lekythos the figures can be compared directly with the Munich lekythos and a contemporary date is apparent. Both lekythoi come very probably from the same workshop because there has been also an attempt to produce on both of them the same portrait features of the figures.

The lekythoi 87 pl. XI, 247-90/1 and 25 pl. XVIII all show warriors. Although there is no workshop connection between them the comparison of the type of the warrior helps to determine the chronological sequence of the lekythoi. The warriors of 87 and 247 wear the pilos which seems to have been popular around the turn of the century and slightly later, they also wear only a short chiton and not their full armament as usually in the later 4th century; they carry their own shields whereas later very often there is a slave boy who does it for them. The lek. 87⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ seems to be the earliest judging by the rendering of the garments and the pose of the figures strictly in profile. It might be dated in the 90s.

Lekythos 247 might follow it closely. On the lekythos 90/1 the pattern changes slightly, the warrior being without the pilos. The pose of the main figures is very similar to that of the figures on the decree of 394/3⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ but the date of the lekythos could be any time from the 90s up to 375.

The lekythos 25 pl. XVIII might still be in the first quarter of the century. The right female figure is the type met on other lekythoi of different periods as e.g. 15 pl. XXIX, possibly in the 80s, 5 pl. XXIX and 97 pl. L, possibly in the 60s. The warrior on the other hand, who has the left arm raised and bent, holding the spear, is a type usually represented on much later lekythoi as e.g. 180, 414, 236a, all pl. LXXXII.

Another group of lekythoi represent riders leading their horses. The lekythos 246 pl. XVII⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ is one of the earliest. Both figures are depicted in profile. The left figure might be dated close to the corresponding one on 71 pl. V (90s). The lekythos 245 pl. XIX seems to belong also in the first decade of the 4th century. The standing bearded man leaning on his stick recalls similar examples of that time. The lekythos 88 pl. XVII also apparently belongs to the first decade of the 4th. The two main figures are similar to the corresponding ones of the lekythos 245 pl. XIX. The rider on the right also strongly recalls the Athena of the decree 394/3⁽¹⁵⁷⁾.

A later example is the lekythos 248 pl. XVIII which is comparable to the Moscow stele⁽¹⁵⁹⁾. Contemporary might be the lekythos 95 pl. XVIII - lekythos form also similar. The female figure can be compared to the corresponding one on 36 pl. XXI and 120 pl. XXI.

Two other lekythoi have a similar figure leading a horse but this time only as a secondary one, the lekythoi 84 pl. XIX and the later one 19 pl. XIX. The figures on 84 are on a small scale and recall these of the lekythoi 294 pl. XXIII, 49 pl. XXIII and 243 pl. XXVI of the early 4th century. The rendering of the ample himation of the female figure recalls also similar ones in figures of the early 4th century's quarter.

The lekythos 19 pl. XIX belongs to the same family as the lekythos 245 pl. XIX but is later and does not form a pair with it⁽¹⁶⁰⁾. The two main figures on 245 reappear on 19 as the subordinate ones. Apart from a slight similarity in the way the chiton is rendered in the warriors of the two lekythoi no other similarity in the relief can be traced between these two lekythoi. The lekythos 19 might belong to the second or even third decade of the 4th century.

With the main figures of the lekythos 19 pl. XIX can be compared those of the lekythos 92 pl. XIX. They seem contemporary and it is very probable that both were worked in the same workshop.

All three right-hand figures of 19 are comparable to the three of 92. The figures are depicted in profile, wrapped in heavy rich garments which in the figures of 92 cover completely the movement of the body. Further comparisons can be made between the heads of the figures, especially the male ones - same rendering of the eye, cheek, nose and forehead. Striking is also the peculiarity of the fillet of the boss which is interrupted under or between the figures.

The lekythos 182 pl. XXVI, apparently belongs to the first decade of the 4th century.

The figures are very slender with small heads. The klismos of the seated figure, is very high, a characteristic of the early 4th century. Both standing figures although not immediately connected with any workshop tradition are rendered in a way already known in the early years of the 4th century. Compare also the face of the figure right, to the woman of 80, pl. VIII.

The huge lekythos 113 pl XXII has no direct parallels and its date is rather uncertain. The figures, especially the middle one are rendered plastically and the volume of the body is emphasized. It recalls the seated figure on the lekythos III. Difficult to be dated is 52 pl. XXIV. "Isokephaly" can be a feature of early lekythoi of the beginning of the 4th century as well as of late ones. The seated figure might be dated in the late 80s -70s (close to 112 pl.

XXIV and 123 pl. XXIV). The man has no immediate parallels. He can be dated also in the first quarter because of the rendering of his himation which is folded under his left arm.

Teisarchos group: The tradition of another workshop is mainly represented by the lekythoi 50 pl XXXIV 38 pl. XXXIII and 192 pl. XXXIV. The earliest is 50. It has a large but rather shallow boss. The figures are well built with rather small heads and wear a heavy himation with wide plastical folds.

The two left figures are known types of the early first quarter of the 4th century. The third one, seated, is one of the earliest figures presenting the "Zeus type" which will continue to be very common till the third quarter of the century (e.g. 377 pl. LXXVII). Lekythos 50 might be dated in the late 90s or early 80s. Compared with the standing figure on 291 pl. VII of the early 90s (from a quite different workshop), Teisarchos, the left-hand figure on 50 seems slightly later: The two standing males on 50 link the vase with the next lekythos of the workshop, 38 pl. XXXIII, found in the Kerameikos. The proportions of the figures and the rendering of the himation are the same but the pose has already changed. The weight of the body is not any more balanced between the two legs but falls on one leg and there is an s-shaped swinging of the body. The rendering of the heads of Teisarchos on 50 and of

the figures on 38 pl. XXXIII are strikingly similar; 38 is later than 50. The two standing figures might be dated in the early 70s but the right figure recalls already later works of the 60s as the Meneas stele⁽¹⁶¹⁾. The same figure on the other hand, links the two lekythoi with the third one of the same workshop which is also from the Kerameikos, 192 pl. XXXIV. The two right figures in fact of both lekythoi are very similar. Even a small detail in the folds around the waist is rendered in the same way. Similar is also the rendering of the head, although the hair of the figures on 192 is less carefully executed. For the date of the lekythos the standing figure in the middle is helpful, for it can be roughly compared in its pose with Athena of the decree of 375. Close to 192 might be 38 because the second from the left figure has a similar balance of the body. It cannot be even totally, excluded that they both belonged to the same grave yard in the Kerameikos.

To the above three lekythoi can be ranged several other lekythoi, less immediately connected, but still very probably worked in the tradition of the same workshop. A central location of the workshop near Kerameikos can explain the great number of lekythoi that can be assigned to it and the length of the period over which they are spread.

Probably to the same tradition belongs also the lekythos 132 pl. XXXV. Although female figures can hardly be compared with

the previous group because they are there totally lacking, Aristagora (right standing on 132) can to some extent be compared with the right man of the lekythos 192 pl. XXXIV, because both have the same pose and the same rendering of the himation.

A small detail in the rendering of the fingers - two stretched and the other bent - appeared also on the lekythos 50. The date of 132 might be similarly the 70s. The lekythos 133 pl. XXXV has a composition similar to that of 132 and the maid, left, is a close parallel of the corresponding figure on 132. The two lekythoi might be close in time but further comparisons are not possible because the relief is very worn.

With much more reservation one should compare the lekythos 109 of around the same time with 38 pl. XXXIII. The left standing figure on 109 Phaidronides, recalls in his body movement and pose the left figure on the lekythos 38 pl. XXXIII whereas the right standing figure on 109 has features from both the figures on 50 and 192. However the way in which the heads of the figures are rendered is totally different from the tradition of the workshop.

The main link between the three lekythoi of Teisarchos group and some later ones which might be assigned to it is the rendering of the head of the male figures.

The male figure of 139 pl. XXXVI recalls very strongly the one on 325 pl. XXXVII. The counterpart of 139, lekythos 140 pl. XXXVI,

which seems to belong to the same workshop, has some affinities with the lekythos of Philesios, 252 pl. XXXVI. This lekythos has been previously dated in the 5th century⁽¹³⁶⁾, but it belongs definitely to this period. The right-hand figure can be compared with the corresponding one on 140. Both right hand figures have the same rendering of the himation folds which is not met among other contemporary lekythoi. The head too, of the same figure on 140 is similar to that of Philesios of 252 especially in the rendering of the hair and the round deep eye.

The left-hand male figure on 142 pl. LII is very similar to the corresponding one on 139. Between these two lekythoi there are similarities also in the composition as a whole as well as between the seated female figures. The lekythos 334 on the other hand seems to belong to the same workshop as 142 pl. LII. There are similarities between the two standing figures as far as the pose and the arrangement of the himation is concerned, and between the head of the two male figures.

With 65 pl. XXXVIII we reach the latest lekythos which can be assigned with certainty to this workshop. The two standing men recall strongly the male figures of the Teisarchos group. The lekythos might be dated in the 40s. The male figure, left, with his standing pose and the arrangement of the himation finds parallels at this time.

To the same date points also the three-dimensional composition, with the figure in the background depicted almost frontally which can hardly be earlier than the middle of the century.

Smaller groups and single lekythoi of the 2nd quarter of the 4th century: The grouping of the lekythoi is based mainly on the study of the evolution of the several figure-types.

The type of the "Munich man" appears still in the second quarter of the century but seems to cease roughly after the middle. The type is in those later years used mostly for the figures set in the background and very often is depicted frontally.

Kallias of the pair 329-330 pl. LIII is very close to the "Munich man". The pose of the body with the himation stretched on it and the straight folds following its movement shows many affinities with that of the "Munich" man. The female figure on the other hand finds parallels in later lekythoi. The rendering of her hair can be compared with that of the figures on 380 pl. LXXII and the arrangement of her himation with that of the corresponding figure on 349 pl. LXIX. Especially close is the way in which the folds are executed around the waist of both figures. The male figure on 349 on the other hand, is comparable to the corresponding ones on 198 pl. LXIX and 389 pl. LXIX. All these three lekythoi might be the work of one workshop, to which 329-330 can hardly be assigned.

Close to the two lekythoi 329 and 330 pl. LIII might be ranged the lekythoi 361 pl. LIII and 217 pl. LIII. The rendering of the folds of the garments in many dense straight folds link the figures of the latter lekythos and the pair 329, 330.

On the lekythos 44⁽¹⁶²⁾ the type of the 'Munich man' appears again. The two right figures on the lekythos bring the date of the relief down to the late 60s or even 50s. Looking backward the standing female figure can be compared with the one on 117 pl. XX. They both show a characteristic horizontal band of folds around the waist which is common especially on lekythoi of the 2nd quarter, hardly reaching the 40s. The figure of 44 is later than the Teisarchos group but probably earlier than 101 pl. LV of the 50s. (The arrangement of the himation around the legs of the seated ^{figure,} for which a "terminus post quem" might be the decree of 362/1⁽¹⁴⁸⁾) makes also a late impression.

A step further from the priest on 101 is Pantaleon of 426 pl. LV which could also be dated later, around the middle of the century. For both priest figures the decree of 355/4 offers a comparison.

From the same family ^{as 44} and most probably worked in the same workshop is the lekythos-pair 26 and 43^(162a). The naked hunter can be compared with the decree of 355/4⁽¹⁶³⁾. The female figures on 26 are depicted in a way recalling a group of similar figures

roughly dated in the 60s. (lekythoi 313 pl. XXXII, 55 pl. XXXII), and another group of around the middle of the century (7 pl. LXVII and 46 pl. LXVII).

Although it would be of great importance for the problem of the depiction of the dead to establish the exact sequence between on one hand the pair 26 and 43 and on the other the lekythos 44 no more can be said than that all three lekythoi are almost contemporary.

Lekythos 98 pl. XLV fits in date between 117 as earlier and 101 and 46 as later.

The figure types of the lekythoi of the 'Teisarchos group' can be followed in later years in lekythoi from quite different workshops. The standing female figure on the lekythos 194 pl. XLVII can be compared with the middle one on 192 pl. XXXIV. The two lekythoi might probably be contemporary. The same type is reproduced on 155 pl. XLVII probably of the second quarter of the century, and on the lekythos 224⁽¹⁶⁴⁾, which seems considerably later and might possibly belong already to the third quarter. The three-dimensional composition and the completely frontal pose of the figure in the background makes a particularly late impression. No other connection exists among the above lecythoi. Still later is the lekythos 240 which might even belong to the late 40s or possibly later.

An apparent variation of this type can be traced in another series of lekythoi. The free left hand of the male figures no longer hangs half covered from the himation, but holds the falling end of it. The lekythos 316 pl XLVII seems to belong to the 60s. From the same family, and most probably from the same workshop is the contemporary lekythos 315 pl. XLVII. Similar is the way in which the hair of the seated man on 315 and the standing one on 316 is executed. Lekythos 341 pl. XLVII might also be close in time to 316 but belongs to the tradition of another workshop. This peculiarity in the arrangement of the himation characterizes mainly a group of lekythoi of just before and around the middle of the century. Lekythoi 372 pl. LXIV and 67a pl. LXXII, however are later, 67a, possibly belonging to the late 40s. The maiden on the right, who in a frontal view can be compared with the late lekythoi 279 pl. LXXI and 280 pl. LXXI makes ^{an} especially late impression.

Some other figures show as well a similar arrangement of the himation around the hanging left arm, Although they have a completely different pose they might be ranged close to the latter group.

Such is Philopolis on 257 pl. XLVI. The lekythos was dated in the 70s ⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ on the basis of historical evidence. But as already mentioned there is a certain latitude of time in the erection of a lekythos which is not necessarily put up immediately after a death and therefore the date cannot be very accurate.

Philopolis in fact can hardly find parallels in the 70s. His upright figure with the distinct horizontal band of folds around the waist fits better to the 60s. Close is the corresponding figure of 21 pl. XLVI and 332 pl. XLVI.

The right hand figure of 38 pl. XXXIII (Teisarchos group) finds also followers in these later years. Such a type is the standing man in the middle - between the two seated - on 4 pl. XL. The seated female on the thronos can be compared with the similar type of a woman leaning on the back of a thronos on 33 pl. XXIII, already mentioned. The later date however of 4 is apparent in the different arrangement of the himation which recalls that of Aristomache on 6 pl. LV. In comparison with grave stelae, 33 is very close to the one Athens NM 728⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ whereas 4 has affinities with the stele Athens NM 764⁽¹⁶⁷⁾, dated roughly after the 60s. A date in the 60s is therefore very probable. To such a date points also the upright pose of almost all the depicted figures and also the three-dimensional group on the left.

Lekythos 59 pl. XL might be close in time to 4. Comparable is the right figure Konon. This lekythos is dated roughly around the middle of the century on prosopographical evidence (see I_{2a}). Kallias the standing man on 327 pl. XL can be stylistically compared with Konon. Their date might be close. Similarly close might be the date of 151 pl. XXXVII

To the 50s must belong the lekythos of Megakles 147 pl. LIX of the known family from Alopeke^(167a), although there is no epigraphical indication of a Megakles from that late date.

On the lekythoi 313 pl. XXXII, 55 pl. XXXII, 26, 197 and 46 pl. LXVII which might be roughly contemporary but from different workshops appears another type of a female figure. Common is the way in which the himation is arranged covering in a characteristic square fold the bent left arm. Similar figures appear also on several stelae which, grouped by Diepolder⁽¹⁶⁸⁾, are dated in the 60s.

Two other lekythoi, 150 pl. XXXII and 153 pl. XXXII, might be compared with 55 and 313 respectively. Common to 150 and 55 is the way in which the face and the hair of the figures are rendered (note the details of the eye) as well as the arrangement of the himation with similar characteristic folds on the hips. The comparison is not so apparent between 313 and 153. The head only of the seated figures is rendered in a similar way.

Lekythos 7 pl. LXVII might be compared to 46 pl. LXVII. Characteristic is on both of them the arrangement of the standing figures in a file with exactly parallel movements of their body. The figures on 26 although they are not set so close to each other are also similarly executed. The three standing figures on 56 pl. XLV

are similarly set in a file, but no one has the same movement and pose as the other. Lekythoi 7 and 46 might belong to the years around the middle of the century⁽¹⁶⁹⁾.

There is a number of other lekythoi which cannot easily be ranged in the larger groups already discussed and remain more isolated, and still more vaguely dated.

Lekythoi 53 pl. XLIX and 328 pl. XLIX might not be very far from 118 pl. XX. Lekythes 309 pl. XLIII might be close to 305 pl. XXVIII for which a date in the 70s, is proposed. Lekythes 314 pl. XLIII might be dated in the late first quarter or in the early second. The man is a type already discussed which is common from the beginning of the 4th century.

A similar type is shown on 135 pl. XLV. This lekythos, too, might belong to the same time as the previous one 309. The right-hand figure of another lekythos, 39 pl. XLV can be compared with the corresponding one on 135. . They both show a similar pose. However further comparison is not possible between the two reliefs.

On the lekythoi 156 pl. XLIX and 22 pl. LVI appears a type of standing figure which is met earlier (e.g. 261 pl. XII) and continues as well in later times. Lekythes 22 might be also close to 60 pl. LVI, On both a male type is depicted who recalls the corresponding figure of the decree of 347/6⁽¹⁷⁰⁾. Characteristic

is the way in which their left hand is bent on the waist and the arrangement of the himation over the arm and around the waist. In a horizontal band of folds. Compared with other lekythoi of the 40s, 60 seems to be earlier and to belong still in the 50s. This arrangement of the himation with the horizontal band of folds which was met already on lekythoi of the late 70s (e.g. 117) appears on several other lekythoi up to the 40s (e.g. 166 pl. LVI and 65 pl. XXXVIII. Close to 60 might be ranged 226 pl. LVI although no comparison of workshop is possible.

Lekythos 227 pl. LXXIX might also be dated around the middle of the century. It is not only the standing figure which is indicative of such a date, but also the rendering of the seated figure which is given so plastically that ^{it} cannot be later than these years. Even the 'diphros' is depicted in three dimensions, the third foot shown under the garments of the woman. The relief is recarved after a previous one has been deleted.

214 pl. LIV might belong also to the 50s. The rendering of the head of the female figure must be common in those years, because it appears on several lekythoi of this time. Close to 214 is the lekythos 103 pl. LIV on which also a similar female head appears. The lekythos might be possibly dated in the 50s. The right-hand figure is a type shown already on the lekythoi 316 and 341 pl. XLVII but might be later than those. His standing pose recalls

the figures of the decree of 355. 214 on the other hand recalls slightly 65 pl. XXXVIII (already discussed as belonging to the Peisarchos group). Comparable are the pose and the arrangement of the himation of both left-hand standing figures. They seem to belong however to different workshops.

One figure on 49 pl. LII which belongs to a completely different tradition has also a very similar rendering of the head. 45 might be dated in the 60s. The upright standing figures point especially to that date.

Lekythoi 48 pl. XXXIX and 204 pl. XXXIX both present a seated figure with the same characteristic arrangement of the himation: a band of folds which run obliquely from the right foot towards the left knee. The same arrangement is found on the decree of 362/1⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ and on other lekythoi which might be dated up to the 40s (e.g. 65 pl. XXXVIII). The two standing figures on 204 date the relief in the 50s. Especially the middle one already anticipates similar figures of the 40s (e.g. 391 pl. LXIV) showing the folds of the himation falling in a triangular shape over the waist. 229 pl. LXIV has a relief with a similar figure. A date in the years around the middle of the century is also possible for it. The lekythos 230 pl. LXV of the early 30s is one of the latest examples on lekythoi of this arrangement of the himation.

On the lekythos pair 163 and 164 pl. LVII the depicted

figures are types indicating a date around the middle of the 4th century. The left-hand figure of 163 has again the characteristic arrangement of the himation falling in a triangular shape over the waist (see e.g. 204 XXXIX). The right hand figure on 164, a man facing left, leaning on his stick, is one of the latest examples of this type, already met in the 5th century. The difference however from the early years is apparent. The figure is wrapped in the himation hidden under linear non plastic folds. 63 pl. LVII is close in time to 164 but from another workshop.

The pair 27, 28 pl. LVIII might be dated also in the 50s but belong to the tradition of a completely different workshop. The figures are short and heavy. 41 pl. LVIII and 335 pl. LVIII have also short figures but belong to different workshops. Skleo the standing middle figure might be later than the right hand figure of 45 pl. LII. Close to 335 might be 385 pl. L.

The two lekythoi 146 and 344 pl. LI which can be dated in the second quarter of the 4th century might possibly belong to the tradition of one workshop. Comparable is the rendering of the himation of the male figures and the head of the female.

Lekythos 210 pl. LXXII⁽¹⁷¹⁾ is difficult to date. The standing figure in the middle has a similar pose and arrangement of the himation as Aristomache on 6 pl. LV. Comparable is also the other standing figure on 210 with the corresponding one

of 6 because both are rendered frontally, although the pose and the distribution of weight are different. The seated figure however on 210 is very long with disproportionally small head and high girded belt recalling parallels of the late 4th century.

The "isokephaly" gives a similarly late impression.

The seated figure might be compared with the corresponding one of 171 pl. LXXII which might be dated in the 3rd quarter of the 4th century. (Compare the frontally depicted figure of the maid with 67a pl. LXXII, and 279 pl. LXXI).. The head of the seated woman on 210 might be also compared with that of the corresponding figure on 380 pl. LXXII, which might similarly belong to the third quarter.

64 pl. LV belongs to the same family as 6 pl. LV, but is later and from another hand. The warrior, in full armament, is depicted in a way usually met on stelae of the third quarter of the century (e.g. stele of Prokleides^(171a)). The date of the lekythos might be around the middle, not much later than that of 217 pl. LIII and 103 pl. LIV.

2nd half of the 4th century: The lekythoi which belong to the second half of the century are mostly massproduced, and their date is still more difficult than that of the earlier ones. Their reliefs are very often executed in a clumsy way.

There are among them a few lekythoi which are roughly datable on epigraphical or archaeological evidence, but unfortunately as far as their reliefs are concerned they do not always have close parallels.

The lekythos 166 pl. LVI reestablished in its original place in the Kerameikos is dated on the basis of the excavations data in the 40s⁽¹⁷²⁾. The relief fits that date. The standing man is a type too commonly used throughout the 4th century to permit an accurate date.

However the horizontal band of folds around the waist, as already mentioned, seems to be common on figures up to the 40s. Closest is the left-hand figure on 65 pl. XXXVIII which must be contemporary. The seated bearded man on the lekythos has the same rendering of head as that of Agathon on the Korrailion stele⁽¹⁷³⁾ (portrait features?), although there is no other apparent similarity between the two reliefs to indicate a common origin from the same workshop. . The chronological sequence between these two grave monuments can not be determined by further stylistical analysis but both monuments seem roughly contemporary. The pose of the naked servant, on

the right, with crossed legs and the hands folded in front of his chest finds again a parallel in the figure of the lekythos 60 pl. LVI of the 50s or early 40s.

The lekythos of Sostratos and Prokleides 396 pl. LXII is later than the Agathon lekythos belonging however probably still in the 40s. The relief can hardly be compared to any other lekythos but seems on the contrary to be exceptionally close to the Prokles Prokleides stele with which it almost certainly stood together in the same grave plot⁽¹⁷⁴⁾. It is obvious that an attempt has been made to render the same type of man (portrait features?). There is again the same question as with the previous group, whether both stele and lekythos were worked in the same workshop and were both contemporary or whether the lekythos was worked separately later and tried to imitate the stele (the reverse order is rather improbable). From stylistical criteria it cannot be decided which one of the two preceded the other.

To the same family as the Prokleides lekythos and stele belongs the lekythos of Archippe and Pamphilos, 392 pl. LXVI.

The date of the lekythos might be around the middle of the century. The male figure recalls slightly the Teisarchos group especially the corresponding figure on 38 pl. XXXIII. The pose and the distribution of weight of Pamphilos on 392 is comparable with that of the standing man on 168 pl. LXVI, the date of which

might be in the third quarter. The seated figure who bends slightly forwards towards the man, is a type that is hardly met before the middle of the century. (Compare the Begrüssungs-stele⁽¹⁷⁵⁾). The figure of the maid is also indicative of such a date. She stands half covered by the seated figure and turns her head away from her 168 belongs to a different workshop. Close to the lekythos 392 pl. LXVI might be ranged the pair 394, 395 pl. LXVI (the relief on 394 from a second use of the lekythos) and close to 168 the lekythos 169 pl. LXVI. The pair 276-277 pl. LXXIII is also contemporary. Melanthios on 276 is comparable with Pamphilos on 392 pl. LXVI, whereas the servant recalls slightly the one, on 60 pl. LVI.

The standing man on 397 pl. LXII recalls slightly Prokleides on 396 pl. LXII in its pose and distribution of the body weight. It is possible that they are contemporary though from different workshops.

Another lekythos, that of Aristomache 230 pl. LXV found in Kerameikos, must have been erected after 338⁽¹⁷⁶⁾. Around this lekythos can be grouped several others. Very similar to its two female figures are the corresponding ones on the earlier lekythos 225 pl. LXV. Particularly like is the depiction of the two seated figures in the same statuesque position, the same rendering of face and folds of the himation. The male figure on 230 can be compared to the one on 29 pl. LXV. Both men have a similar pose and arrangement

of the himation. The rendering of his himation with small dense folds resembles also that of the Aristomache. There is even a similarity in some details of the rendering of the himation between the standing female figures on the two lekythoi. The date of 29 seems to be earlier than that of the Aristomache lekythos, apparently in the 40s; (compare the warrior with the rather earlier decree of 355/4 and the later Prokleides stele⁽¹⁷⁴⁾). One is tempted to attribute all these three lekythoi to the same workshop, although 225 might be simply a contemporary lekythos.

To the figures of the above group can be compared some other ones from different workshops. Comparable to the rendering of the face of the seated on 225 is that of Nikomache of the lekythos 355 pl. LXIII. But there is no other connection whatsoever between these two reliefs. 355 forms a pair with 356 pl. LXIII which is even less similar to 225. The lekythos pair could belong to the years around or immediately after the middle of the century and earlier than Aristomache.

The two female figures on the lekythos 394 pl. LXIV from the Kerameikos might belong to the same years as 230 pl. LXV. Comparable are the two standing figures. The dating of the lekythos is close to that of 230.

To the same family as 391 pl. LXIV belongs also 158 pl. XLIX. There is no similarity in the relief rendering nor in the

workshop tradition between these two lekythoi. The relief on 158 seems earlier than that of 391 and might probably belong around the middle of the century.

It is one of the latest lekythoi with such a three figure composition with the seated figure in the middle (contemporary might be the pair 153-4 pl. LVII). 141 pl. XLIX is possibly slightly earlier. The group of the main figures might be compared with that of 217 pl. LIII with which it seems to be contemporary.

Lekythos 170 pl. LIV might be dated in the 40s apparently contemporary with or slightly later than the "Begrüssungs" stele (175) which the lekythos imitates. Close comparison of the lekythos relief with other lekythoi is hardly possible.

With the four lekythoi of Astyphilos and Menyllos Alaeis 271-274 pl. LXXVI which are dated around the middle of the century on the basis of prosopographical evidence, we are introduced to the massproduced lekythoi of the second half. They have small figures, usually in low⁷sketchy relief. They are not plastically rendered, the garments have linear folds and the movement of the body is hardly indicated. Identification of workshops is extremely difficult and dangerous.

The male figure usually met is the one already known, holding with his free left hand the falling end of the himation irrespective of the place he has within the relief. On most of the late lekythoi

with a two figure composition the standing man is usually set to the right facing left.

One of the earliest figures of this type facing left is Megakles of 147 pl. LIX. 360 pl. LIX is later. The standing man might be dated already in the 40s. 270 pl. LXXVI is close in time to the three lekythoi 271-3 pl. LXXVI but apparently from another workshop. Similarly small and clumsy are the figures of the pair 403, 404 pl. LXXVIII of Leon Philagros and Leon Autokratos. This pair too, is dated roughly after the middle of the century on the basis of the prosopographical evidence⁽¹⁷⁷⁾.

The pair 401, 402 pl. LXXVIII is not very far in time from 403, 404. The standing man is the same type as the corresponding one on 403-404; however the lekythoi do not belong to the same workshop. On lekythoi 381 and 382 pl. LXXXI appears again the same type.

The female figure of the lekythos 382 strangely enough recalls the latest female figures of the 'Teisarchos' group in its later phase (e.g. 65 pl. XXXVIII, 217 pl. LIII) and could be thought as worked in the same workshop tradition at a still later time. A very similar figure to the one on 382 pl. LXXXI is depicted on the lekythos 405a pl. LXXVII (same workshop?).

Lekythos 281 pl. LXXV seems to be close in date with 401 and 402, but from another workshop.

All ten lekythoi, despite the prosopographical evidence can hardly be dated exactly. Their date can vary from 350 till the late 30s.

The lekythoi 232 pl. LXXIV and 399a pl. LXXIV are also very close in time to the group already discussed, but they do not show other affinities with it. Lekythoi 283 pl. LXXXI and 408 pl. LXXXI might be even later. The arrangement of the himation of the figure on 408 recalls the corresponding one on the decree of 323/2 (177³) but the pose is completely different.

The lekythos 387 pl. LXXV has a similarly small relief in comparison to the body. Its date however seems not to be later than 340. Earlier seems to be the corresponding figure on 320 pl. XLI belonging to the second quarter of the century. The seated man with his left hand hanging gives an early impression. Lekythos 321 pl. XLI was found together with 320 and is contemporary; same family?

Lekythos 405a pl. LXXVII introduces another group of lekythoi mostly with figures of warriors. The warrior of 405a shows some similarities with the one on 284 pl. LXXVII, especially in some details of the cuirass and the helmet. If not from the same work-

shop the lekythoi are however contemporary. The same theme of a warrior leaning on his shield set on the ground was also shown on the lekythos 377 pl. LXXVII which however is from another workshop. On the decrees of 340 and 332⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ appears Athena holding the shield in a similar way but her pose is different and further comparison is not possible. From the same workshop as 377 comes also the lekythos 206 pl. LXXVII. Comparable are the two seated figures in all their small details as the rendering of the face the himation and the Klismos. Similar are also the pose of the two warriors and the rendering of their heads.

The relief of 389a, pl. LXXVII might also be roughly dated in the same period of time. The warrior is very slender with small head and proportions which are comparable with those of the warrior on 377. Lekythos 378 pl. LXXVII might belong to the same tradition as 389a. Comparable are the standing and seated figures respectively.

The theme of the lekythos 284 pl. LXXVII of the standing warrior leaning with his left raised hand on his perpendicular spear is repeated on a group of other lekythoi which might belong roughly to the same time.

These are: 201⁽¹⁷⁹⁾, 180 pl. LXXXII 414 pl. LXXXII and its counterpart 415, 213, and 236a. The earliest are 201 and 180 which might be dated around the middle of the century or in the 40s. 414, 415 and 236a are later. This theme has been already met on

lekythoi of the second quarter of the century as for example 25 pl. XVIII. The warrior on 284 is slightly different bringing his right bent arm on his waist. Some other late figures have the same pose as for example the man on 285 pl. LXXXIII. The relief of the latter lekythos seems to belong already to the 20s, if one compares the bearded man with Asklepios on a votive relief of that time⁽¹⁸⁰⁾. 284 might be earlier.

As already mentioned after the middle of the 4th century, although there exist many depictions of warriors, the 'horse-leading figures' are very few. Lekythos 411 pl. LXXXIII must be close in time to 271-3 pl. LXXVI. The composition is interesting because the horseman faces a seated figure instead of a standing one. On lekythos 427 pl. LXXXIII there is only the rider depicted alone on a rather clumsy relief and neither he nor the horse can be closely compared with any other lekythos relief.

Related to the composition of the lekythoi 275 and 285 pl. LXXXIII is the one of the lekythos 282 pl. LXXXIII. Instead of a warrior here a hunter is represented and instead of a simple confrontation of the two figures, the hunter puts his hand on the head of the small servant. The relief is almost certainly a re-use.

The fragment 286 pl. LXXXIII is also re-used. It is an exceptional relief because the one figure, the servant, belonged to the first, deleted relief.

The naked man, an athlete, was carved later in a recessed panel. Such figures depicted frontally are hardly depicted on the lekythoi and closer comparison is not possible. The naked figures of athletes are similarly uncommon.

A female type with 'floating' himation can be followed for several years in a few lekythoi. 160 pl. LXXI might be one of the earliest. The upright pose of the standing figures indicates that the lekythos might belong still to the 60s. 278 might be slightly later. Compare the figure of Silenis⁽¹⁸¹⁾ and that of Aristion⁽¹⁸²⁾, in the decade 360-50. The lekythos 407 pl. LXXI might be probably dated later. There is no other comparison that can be made between these two lekythoi except the similarity of the female type. There are two further lekythoi with a slightly similar type, 279 pl. LXXI and 280 pl. LXXI. They both depict two standing figures which do not clasp hands and in both the female figure in question is frontal except for the head. However they do not seem to belong to the same workshop. Their date might also be slightly different. Nikodrome on 279 resembles in fact the figure on the decree of 323/317⁽¹⁸³⁾ whereas Mnesarete on 280 might be compared with the decree of 295/94⁽¹⁸⁴⁾.

Another series of lekythoi can be followed which depict the motif of the woman "dying in labor". The earliest preserved example seems to be the lekythos 179 pl. LXVIII⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ and

probably the latest the lekythoi 176 pl. LXVIII and 177 pl. LXVIII⁽¹⁸⁶⁾. Between them might be arranged 178 pl. LXVIII⁽¹⁸⁷⁾. The chronological distance however between the earliest and the latest is very difficult to determine. Lekythos 172 pl. LXVIII seems to be influenced by the lekythoi mentioned although it might not depict the same theme. The reclining figure recalls those on 176 and 177.

It is really very difficult to determine the latest chronological limit of the lekythoi with reliefs. Possibly it falls in the 20s since some lekythoi reliefs as already mentioned can be compared with decrees of the later twenties (e.g. 279 pl. LXXI) or other late votif reliefs (e.g. 285 pl. LXXXIII), or even later as 280 pl. LXXI indicates. But for the series of the massproduced lekythoi mostly with two figure compositions the date between 40s and 20s is rather subjective and not based on any obvious comparison with dated decrees or other criteria.

Epilogue

With a few notable exceptions of the early time the quality of the preserved lekythoi was more modest than the one of the contemporary grave stelae. The lekythoi were very often mass produced and apparently cheaper. However although the artistic element was generally lacking a more individual character had been gained by some depictions approaching closer the professional or family life of the dead persons. Instead of the monumental character and the splendor of the appearance of the grave naiskoi the lekythoi had generally a more unconventional and narrative character.

PART TWO

The depiction of the dead
on the grave reliefs

I. Introduction:

The question "Who is the dead?" on the grave reliefs has already been the subject of many controversial discussions and yet no conclusive answer has been given. The questions remain:

a) Are all the persons depicted dead, or are some of the living depicted facing the deceased?

b) In either case, can the deceased, in whose memory the monument was erected, be distinguished from anyone else represented, dead or alive, and, if so, how?

Among the recent literature two monographs studied this problem meticulously. Johansen - The Attic Grave Reliefs, 1951 - summarising and discussing also all the previous literature, believes that on the grave reliefs both dead and living were commemorated, that usually not only the names of the dead but also of those still living persons are written and that it is sometimes very difficult for us to identify the dead, as it was also for the ancient visitor to the cemetery. He believes further that the great number of the grave reliefs do not represent everyday life-scenes⁽¹⁾.

Himmelman - The Ilissos Relief 1956 - believes that the dead could only be depicted facing someone alive, because only in this way can the characteristic features of the dead (in contrast to those of the living) be clearly indicated⁽²⁾. But he believes that the dead and the living could be distinguished by the different manner in which the dead are depicted on the grave reliefs: "In the

early times by their "self-absorption", later by their "remoteness" and lastly by their "glorification"⁽³⁾.

More recently Thimme dealt with the same problem - Die Stele der Hegeso als Zeugnis des attischen Grabkultes, A.Kunst 1964 16 believing that the reliefs depicted a scene on the tomb.

Most of the theories expressed are based on the doubtful assumption that on the grave reliefs more than one dead person is very rarely depicted, and that the cases on which all persons depicted are dead are only exceptions; for otherwise the question is immediately posed whether so many members of a family could have been dead at the time of the erection of the monument. However, the members of the family depicted were not always chosen from among the closest relatives (parents, children, brothers, etc.) but also from among grandparents and more distant relatives. Thus it is easily understood why we can sometimes find so many 'dead' people commemorated on the same grave monument. From a great number of grave monuments also it will be shown (for example here nrs 46-7, 50-1, 73 a,b,c, 75 a,b,c,d) that either the figures of the same people were often depicted on more than one grave monument or simply that their names were repeated, usually on the slender 'family record' stelae with that of another member of their family (e.g. here nrs 69-70, 71a-71c). The depiction thus of a figure or the commemoration of a name does not imply that the person must have died at the time of the erection

of the monument. Besides the death rate was in those days much higher. Especially in wartime, a family could have lost more than one member, so that in grave reliefs with more than one warrior, all of them could already have been killed. This assumption becomes more probable when we consider the representation on a white ground lekythos in Chicago^(3a) of at least three grave stelae standing on the same base, each commemorating a different person. This lekythos was offered at the 'public sema' and must have commemorated members of the same family (brothers, father and sons or even cousins) who might have fallen in the same or even in different battles, though almost contemporaneously.

Moreover any suggestion proposed by the archaeologists is based on study of the big, ostentatious grave stelae and rarely of the small, second-class panel-stelae and grave vases that were usually mass-produced, and to which the criteria used for the identification of the dead on the stelae cannot generally apply. But the dead would have been similarly clearly distinguished on both the big naiskoi as well as on the other grave monuments. The means of identification, still unknown to us, would have been fundamental, if simple, applying equally to all grave monuments. The inscriptions and epigrams could have served such a purpose⁽⁴⁾. Yet the conclusions that can be drawn from them are not now always instructive because the grave monuments are rarely found intact

and the inscriptions or epigrams are often written on the lost architraves or basis of the monuments and secondly because very often some inscriptions are added for a later use. Nevertheless, when the inscriptions and specially epigrams exist, they are of great importance and they almost always modify the conclusion that the reliefs alone would lead to.

To sum up, one could stress that the attempt to explain the problems of the grave monuments that are isolated from their original place and their surrounding monuments in the same family graveplot is difficult and very often hopeless. Therefore we shall first try to set out the limited evidence that some grave monuments can offer us in this problem, that is facts from grave reliefs with epigrams⁽⁵⁾ or helpful inscriptions or grave reliefs which can be associated with other monuments of the same family.

II Direct indications for the identification of the dead

II₁. Grave monuments with epigrams and name inscriptions

Group I All depicted dead.

1 Stele of ΜΝΗΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΧΑΡΗΣ

Athens NM 3845

(C.887/CLXXII; Diep. Pl. 5; Johansen fig. 12: Pfohl, Greek poems on Stones, nr. 117: Clairmont, Gravestone and Epitaph 89 nr. 22 pl. 11).

Relief: standing woman facing right, holding a bird out to a small child kneeling in front of her, who tries to catch it.

Epigram: Μνήμα Μνησαγόρας καὶ Νικοχάρους τόδε κεῖται/....

πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητρὶ λιποντε ἄμφοῖμ μεγά πένθος.....

2 Stele of ΑΜΦΑΡΕΤΗ

(Athens Kerameikos, AM. 59 1934, 25 ff. plate V and Beilage III; Johansen 17, fig. 4; Peek, GG nr. 96; Clairmont, 91 nr. 23 pl. 11).

Relief: seated woman facing right, holding a baby with her left hand and a bird in her right.

Inscription on the horizontal geison: ΑΜΦΑΡΕΤΗ

Epigram on the architrave: Τέκνον ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς τοδ' ἔχω φίλον,
ὄμπερ ὅτε αὐγὰς ὀμμασιν / ἡελίο ζῶντες ἐδερχόμεθα ἔχον ἐμοῖς
γονασιν καὶ νῦν φθίμενον φθιμένη' ἔχω.

3 Stele of KTHEIAEΩ EPYΘPAIO ΘEANOΣ

(Athens NM 3472 . Diep., 28, Pl. 22/a, Johansen, fig. 21).

Relief: standing man facing right, leaning with both hands on his staff. In front of him a seated woman.

The names of both figures, written in the genitive, prove that the stele was erected for both of them.

4 Stele of ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ (6)

(Athens NM 1962, IG II² 8883; Ephim. A. 1903, p. 135, Pl. 8;

Brueckner, AA 1926, p. 274; Clairmont, 111 nr. 35 pl. 18).

Relief on a slender stele: bearded man seated, to the right, clasps the hand of a standing man in front of him.

Each of them holds a double pipe in his free hand.

Epigram : 'Ελλάς μὲν πρωτεῖτα τέχνης αὐλῶν ἀπένειμεν Θηβαίῳ

Ποτάμῳνι τάφος δ' ὅδε δέξατο σῶμα Πατρὸς δέ μνήμαισιν

'Ολυμπίχου αὖξεν ἔπαινος οἷον ἐτέκνωσε μ παῖδα, σοφοῖς

βάσανον.(?)

Although no names are inscribed over the relief figures, it is clear that the seated man is Olympichos and the standing one Potamon, for whom the relief was erected. Olympichos was a well-known Theban who played the double pipe and was also a student of Pindar. Olympichos must appear on it as already dead. That is also clearly implied by the epitaph, since it says that "the glory of Olympichos is growing in the memory" (of the people).

5 Stele of ANAPON

(Piraeus Museum 1161. BCH 1930 p. 222 fig. 3 (Devambez 3); IG
II² 10665; Himmelmann p. 20; AM 66 1941, 51 nr. 3 pl. 36 (Peek);

Clairmont, 113 nr. 36. pl. 18. There also the full, literature.
Peek, GG nr. 62).

Relief: standing man facing right, leaning on his staff, clasps
hands with another standing man wearing a short chiton and chlamys.

Epigram: "Ἀνδρῶν ἐνθάδε κεῖται ὃς αὐτό τόν μὲν ἐπέδεν υἱόν
ἀποφθίμενον τόν δ' ὑπέδεκτο θανών.

Peek (ibid) Devambez (ibid) and recently Clairmont (ibid) believe
that ANDRON must be the left person and that the relief scene refers
to the point of the epitaph - τόν δ' ὑπέδεκτο θανών - therefore
that both men are depicted dead. Himmelmann (ibid) believes that the
scene refers to the point τόν μὲν ἐπέδεν υἱόν ἀποφθίμενον
because Andron, on the left "looks alive while the other figure
looks dead". But, if the epitaph and the relief were contemporaneous
thus erected for Andron, the epitaph refers to the last event and
both persons were depicted as dead.

6 Stele of two brothers and one sister

(Athens NM 4796. C 718a; Καλλιπολίτης in AAA II , 1, 1969,
75-77, fig. 1-2; Clairmont, 138 nr. 60, Pl. 21)

Epigram on the base (mentioned by Clairmont).

(Τρῖσσῶν δὴ στε)ῖχων ἀτραπὸν ξένε φράζεο σῆμα/
 (αὐτοκασ)ιγνήτων οἷ γενεήν ἔλιπον/
 (ὧν ἄρ' ἐγώ)ν(ἔμ)ολ(ον) πύματος βασίλεια Λῖδαο/
 (ἐν γῆρ)α(ι)λιπαρῶι θυμὸν ἀποπρολιπών.

Relief: Seated, bearded old man facing right, clasping hands with standing bearded man in short chiton. Between them in the background standing female figure facing right. From the epigram is stated that all three figures are dead. The last to die might be the seated figure.

7 Slender stele, without relief, of two brothers:

Piraeus Museum; A.Ephem. 1931 103ff., fig. 2 (Peck); IG II² 7195)

ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΑΝΗΣ / ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΑΟΥ / ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΥΣ

vac.

Epigram: Ἐνθάδε γὰρ ἐκάλυψε ἀδελφῶ σώματα δισσώ

.

Resur, and a second inscription:

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ / ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΑΟΥ / ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΥΣ

Here the earth covered the bodies of two brothers.

8. Stele of four persons:

(Pfohl *ibid.*, no. 107; Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca no. 86)

Relief missing.

Name inscription: ΔΙΙΤΡΕΦΗΣ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ

ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ

Epigram: Μνήμα φίλη μήτηρ με Διιτρέφει ἐνθάδε καὶ Περικλεῖ
φθιμένοιιν Μητροίχῃ αἰνόμορος ἔθηκεν Ἀγνηίς τ' ἐνθάδε
οἱ θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀδελφός ἔχουσιν μοῖραν Δημοφῶν τῆς
μετὰ πᾶσι βροτοῖς.

9. Stele of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

(C. 1310; IG II² 6971; AA 1926, 274ff (Brueckner); Johansen⁵⁹, note,
1; Clairmont 144 nr. 67).

Relief missing. Now also epigram lost.

Epigram: Σῆμα τοδ' Οἶνάλου Διονυσίου

τῶν δ' ἔτι πρόσθεν Περίθωνος πατρός οὗ καὶ Φειδίππου
τόδε θείου τούτου τῶν τ' ἄλλων ὧν ὁ τύπος εἰκὼν(α)
ἔχει.

Peculiarly the stele is interpreted quite differently, in fact as
an example of the theory that on the grave stelae living people

were depicted as well as the dead. Brueckner, *ibid.*, believes that the first sentence refers to people already dead τῶν δ' ἔτι πρόθεον Περίωνος Φειδίππου

and the second to those still alive--- τῶν τ' ἄλλων . But the words τῶν τ' ἄλλων do not mean that the "others" are alive. The word πρόθεον means the ones who died before the son, Dionysios; τῶν τ' ἄλλων means the ones who followed him. The epitaph might have been written not immediately after the death of Dionysios, but later on as a common family monument. An idea of how the relief might have looked is given by the relief of a base or "trapeza" in Baltimore with three groups of members of the family of Κηφισόδωρος⁽⁸⁾

Middle group of three figures: standing bearded man facing left clasping hands with seated woman. Behind her another standing bearded man. Over their heads from left to right:

ΙΠΠΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΗ ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ

Group left: two standing bearded men, leaning on their staff, facing each other. Over their heads the inscription ΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΜΗΔΗΣ

The group right: standing bearded man facing right, clasping hands with another seated bearded man. Behind the seated figure and separated by a little distance, a standing woman. Inscriptions over their heads: ΜΟΙΡΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΜΟΙΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΕΓΟΡΑ

10. An example from outside Attica but showing Attic influence is
the stele from Vergina

(Museum of Salonica. BCH, 79, 1955, 90, fig. 1 (Andronikos); SEG XIV
476; Clairmont, 158, no. 83, pl. 33).

Without name inscriptions.

Relief: standing warrior facing right, followed by his servant.

On the right a seated woman facing left. Between them and facing
towards the seated woman, a child.

Epigram: 'Αθάνατα μνημεῖα ἄ(ρετῆς.....)

κεῖσσι ἀγηράτωι τῶιδε (.....)

ἐν ταυτῶι δέ σὺνευνος (.....)

φῦσε πατήρ, θρέψεν δέ ἡδ(ε Μα)κῆδον(ιη)

The stele erected for the husband commemorates also his already
dead wife. The other two figures the servant and girl are most
probably living. Note that the man holds a vase (alabastron?)
and that the child is turned towards the woman.

Group II Reliefs on which, except for the dead, no other per-
son of those mentioned on the epigram as living, is depicted.

11. Stele of ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΗ

(Athens NM 723. IGII² 12495 C.284/LXVI; Diep. 43 pl. 40; Johansen,
24 fig. 10; Kaibel nr. 76. Clairmont 126 nr 50, pl. 23).

Relief: seated woman facing right on whose left side stands a small

girl facing her. Behind the seated woman a maid.

Epigram. Πένθος κουριδίω τε πόσει καὶ μητρὶ λιποῦσα/καὶ πατρὶ
τῷ φύσαντι Πολυξένη ἐνθάδε κεῖται.

12. Stele of APXEETPATH

(NM Athens 722.C.290/LXVIII; IG II² 10864); Clairmont 129 nr. 52
pl. 23).

Relief: seated woman facing left. In front of her a maid with
pyxis and between them young girl facing the seated woman.

Epigram: 'Ενθάδε τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σώφρονα γαῖ ἑκάλυψεν
'Αρχεστράτην ἄνδρὶ ποθεινοτάτην.

The remark that Archestrate was missed by her husband is an
indication that he was still living when she died.

13. Stele of ΗΓΙΑΛΑ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΟ

(Berlin Staatl. Mus. 741.C.450/CV; IG II² 5239; Blümel K.45
pl. 52; Peek GG no 107 Clairmont, 134, nr. 56 pl. 26.

Inscription on the horizontal geison.

ΦΙΛΑΓΡΟΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΗΘΕΝ

ΗΓΙΑΛΑ ΦΙΛΑΓΡΟ

Relief partly preserved standing man facing right, most probably
clasping hands with the seated woman on the right (father and
daughter.). Between them standing woman.

Epigram (on the architrave).

Ἠλικίαν μὲν ἐμήν ταύτην δεῖ πάντας ἀκοῦσαι εἰκοστῶι καὶ πέμπτωι
ἔτι λίπον ἡλίου αὐγὰς/τούς δέ τρόπους καὶ σωφροσύνην ἣν εἴχομεν
ἡμεῖς ἡμέτερος πόσις οἶδεν ἄριστ' εἰπεῖν περὶ τούτων.

The husband is still alive since he can talk about the character and the goodness of the deceased.

14. Stele of ΦΥΡΚΙΑΣ

(Athens, Ephoria of Attika (NM) 2062. Deltion 19, (1964) Chron.

67 pl. 64 b.; BCH 90, 1966, 744-45, fig. 9-10; Deltion 23

(1968) 70 f. (Tsirivakos); Clairmont 102 nr. 29, pl. 14,17).

Relief: Woman seated facing right, and holding a bird in her right hand. In front of her standing young man holding lyre and hare.

Name inscription over their heads: ΝΙΚΟΒΟΛΗ ΦΥΡΚΙΑΣ

Epigram on the base: Κεῖσαι πατρί γόνον δούς, Φυρκία/ εἰ δέ τις
ἔστί / τέρψις ἐν ἡλικίαι τήν δε θανών / ἔλιπες.

The father who is presumed to be alive is not depicted. The mother's name is not included amongst the mourning survivors and therefore she might be considered to be already dead and identified with Nikobole. Nikobole, however might have been also a dead sister of Phyrkias.

14a Stele of ΦΙΑΚΥΔΙ

(Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. Clairmont 169 pl. 37).

Relief: seated woman facing right, clasping hands with bearded man. In between (frontal view) standing young unbearded man.

Epigram on the architrave:

Τιμαγόρας θύγατερ καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους Φιλοκύδι / χαῖρε ποθεῖ
σε Εὐκλεία ἣν ἔλιπες προγόνους.

The daughter, mentioned in the epitaph as definitely living, is not depicted on the relief. Doubts can be raised only for the bearded man who might have been her apparently dead husband but also her father who was possibly still living since in the epigram it is mentioned that the child was left to the grandparents.

15. Stele of ΠΕΙΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

(Piraeus Mus. 1625. IG II² 6693 add.; A.Ephem. 1937, B.555f.
fig. in p. 555 and 558; Clairmont 134 nr. 57 pl. 27)

Name inscription ΠΕΙΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΥ / ΑΜΙΤΤΡΕΙΩΣ
ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ

Relief: in recessed panel seated woman facing right, clasping hands with her standing father Euphronios. Between them another standing bearded man (her husband?).

Epigram: Πεισικράτεια ἥδ' ἔστι Εὐφρονίου θυγάτηρ ἧς ψυχὴν
μὲν ἔχει τό χρεῶν γ' ἢ τοῖς δέ τέκνοισι τὴν ἀρετὴν
ἀσκεῖν σωφροσύνην τε ἔλιπεν.

vac.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΙΚΟΣ

Instead of the living children the apparently dead father is depicted on the relief.

The name of Aristodikos could have been inscribed there at the same time. It might possibly belong to her husband.

16. Stele of MYPTIS

(Leipzig. IG II² 12210. Clairmont 119, nr. 40, pl. 20).

Relief in recessed panel: Woman seated clasping hands with younger woman (from the inscription mother and daughter).

Name inscription over the heads: ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙΑ ΜΥΠΤΙΣ

Epigram between architrave and relief panel):

Μυρτίς 'Ιεροκλείας θυγάτηρ Μόσχου / γυνή ἐνθάδε κεῖται πλεῖστα
τρόποις / ἀρέσασα ἀνδρὶ τε τοῖς τε ἔτεκε.

Her husband, apparently living, is not depicted.

17. Stele of ΠΥΘΟΚΛΗΣ

(Berlin. Kaibel no.71; IG II²8523). Initially painted.

Epigram: 'Ενθάδε Πυθοκλῆς κεῖται πολλοῖσι ποθεινός

παῖς δ' Ἡρακλείδου μητρὸς Ἀριαστίδος ἐστὶ

τῇ τε κασιγνήτῃ πένθε πλεῖστα φίλοισι λιπών.

vac.

Name inscription: ΑΡΙΑΣΤΙΣ ΠΥΘΟΚΛΗΣ

most probably over two painted figures. The living sister is not depicted.

17a Stele of ΜΝΗΕΑΓΟΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΧΑΡΗΣ

here nr. 1.

18. A dubious example is the following stele:

Stele of ΑΙΤΤΙΑΣ

(Piraeus Mus. BCH 92, 1968, Chron. 760; Deltion 20, 1965, Chron. 120f. Clairmont ibid. 133 nr 55).

Relief: 3-figure. Woman seated facing to the right. In front of her standing man facing left, leaning on his staff. Between them, leaning on the lap of the woman, but turning towards the man a girl

On the architrave the names: ΑΥΣΙΕΤΡΑΤΗ ΧΟΙΡΙΝΗ ΑΙΤΤΙΑΣ

Epigrams on the base: Εὐδαίμων ἔθανον, δεκάδας δεκ' ἐτῶν
διαμέλφας ὥραϊον πένθος παίσιν ἐμοῖσι λιπών.

The two female persons cannot be identified with certainty but could represent his wife and granddaughter. One could imagine that, since Littias died when ^a hundred years old, the other depicted persons- that is his wife and one of his grandchildren- might already have been dead.

Here also should be mentioned the following similar stele :

19. Panel stele of ΧΑΙΡΙΩΝ

(Peiraeus Mus. nr. 1170 . Ephim. A.1910, 66, IG II² 5452 Clairmont, 136, nr. 58, pl. 26, 27; Peek, GG no 105).

Below the two rosettes:

ΧΑΙΡΙΩΝ/ΜΙΚΥΑΙΩΝΟΣ: ΑΙΩ(ΝΕΥΣ)/

ΝΑΚΙΟΝ: ΗΓΓΕΙΟ: ΑΙΩ(ΝΕΩΣ)/ΧΑΙΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ/

ΕΥΕΙΘΕΛ/ΧΑΙΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΘΥΓ(ΑΤΗΡ)

Epigram: 'Εννέα ἐτῶν ἐβίων δεκάδας θνείσκω δέ γεραῖός/

σ)ωφροσύνην δέ ἥσκησα ἔλιπον δέ εὐκλειαν ἀμεμφή.

Relief: 3-figure. Old man standing with staff facing right stretches his right hand towards standing woman facing left. With his right hand holds probably a book roll. She does not take his hand but makes a gesture of greeting. On the right a standing young woman facing left (her hair plaited). Probably these two female figures are his wife and daughter who could also have been dead, since he had lived so many years. On the

ground next to his feet a large pyxis probably containing the book rolls one of which ^{he} holds with his right hand.

In the following reliefs the deceased is depicted alone or only with a maid and no other members of the family, although the epitaphs below mention one or more survivors.

20. Stele of ΣΩΣΙΝΟΣ ΓΟΥΤΥΝΙΟΣ ΧΑΛΚΟΠΤΗΣ

(Paris - Louvre 729; C.618/CXIX; Diep 27; IG II²8464; Peek, GG nr. 57; Clairmont 80 nr. 15, pl. 8).

Relief: seated man facing right, holding two round discs which must be connected with his job.

Epigram: Μνημα δικαιοσύνης

Σωσίνου ἔστησαν παῖδες ἀποφθιμένου.

21. Stele of (ΧΑΙΡΕΣΤΡΑΤΗ) (ΜΕΝ)ΕΚΡ(ΑΤΟΥΣ Ι)ΚΑΡΠΙΩΣ

(Athens NM 1030, C.95/XXXVII; IG II²6288; Kaibel nr.44; Clairmont 97 nr. 26 pl. 13).

Relief in recessed panel. Seated woman facing right in front of whom stands a maid holding a tympanon, which must be connected with her position in life.

Two rosettes.

Epigram: Μητρός παντοτέκνου πρόπολος / σεμνή τε γεραίρά

τῶιδε τάφῳ κεῖται / Χαίρεστράτη, ἣν ὁ σύνευνος ἔστεργε /
μέν ζῶσαν ἐπένθησε δέ θανοῦσαν.

22. Stele of MNHΣAPETH ΣΩKPATO(Σ)

(Munich Glyptothek 491; IG II² 12151; Mü.Jb. 1909, 3 pl.1;

Diep.pl.27; Clairmont 104 nr. 30, pl. 15).

Relief: woman seated. In front of her a maid. The maid is considered by Clairmont to be her daughter.

On the horizontal, geison: MNHΣAPETH ΣΩKPATO(Σ)

Epigram: "Ὡς πόσιν ἔλιπεν καὶ ἀδελφὸν μητρὶ τε πένθος καὶ
τέκνον

23. Stele of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ

(Athens NM 2054 C.858/CLXVI; IG II² 11162; Kaibel, 83; Clairmont, p. 87, nr. 20, pl. 10).

Relief: Preserved only a female head in frontal view. From the position of the head the figure must have been depicted alone ⁽⁹⁾

Epigram: ἀντὶ δέ σῃς ἡβης Διονυσία ἡλικίας τε τόνδε τάφον
κοσμεῖ σός ποσις Ἀντίφ(ιλος)

24. Stele of ΠΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΗ

(Athens NM 3964; BCH 73, 1949, 526f, pl. 32,2; Clairmont 77 nr 13, pl. 7).

Relief: Fragment with part of the head of a maiden.

Epigram: Πᾶσι θανεῖν (ε)ῖμαρτα(ι) ὅσοι ζῶσιν σύ δέ πένθος οἱ/
κτρὸν ἔχε(ι)ν ἔλιπες, Παυσιμάχη προχόνους μητρ(ι) τε
Φαινιππη καὶ πατρὶ Παυσανίαι

The following stelae are ambiguous because it is not certain that the persons mentioned in the epigram are not depicted.

25. Stele of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

(Athens, Kerameikos in situ. Brueckner, Friedhof 74 ff figs 45 ff.; Ohly, AA 1965 327; Lattimore 179; Kaibel 35; IG II² III 69.; Clairmont, 151 nr 76 pl 31).

Koumanoudis reports traces of painted inscriptions on the pediment..... ΠΙΑ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ (ΔΑΦΙΝΟ)
and traces of two painted figures.

Epigram on the base:

..... σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδε σόν, Διονύσιε, γὰρ καλύπτει/
σοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ μητρὶ κασιγνήταις τε λέλοιπας/
πένθος ἀειμνηστον σῆς φίλης φθίμενος/....

26. Stele of ΜΕΛΙΤΤΑ

(Piraeus Museum.C.162/LI; IG II² 12067; Kaibel 79; Peek GG nr 101; Clairmont 117, nr. 39, pl. 19).

Relief in recessed panel: seated woman facing right, clasping hands with standing man.

Epigram: Χαῖρε τάφος Μελέτης χρηστῆς γυνὴ ἐνθάδε κεῖται
φιλοῦντα/ ἀντιφιλοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα Ὀνήσιμ/ον.....
τοιγαροῦν ποθεῖ/θανοῦσαν σε
καὶ σὺ χαῖρε φίλτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ/τοὺς ἑμοὺς φίλει.

27. Stele of TITΘH

(British Museum 7909, 2-21.1. C.130; IG II²7873; Kaibel 48; JHS 36, 1916, 76, fig. 9; Clairmont 95, nr. 25 pl.12).

Relief in recessed panel: seated woman facing right, holds something towards a girl standing in front of her, holding a doll

Inscribed on the sunk panel above the girl: MEAITTA

Name inscription over the relief panel:

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ / ΙΣΟΤΕΛΟΥ / ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ

Immediately below the seated figure but outside the panel the inscription: TITΘH

Epigram below: 'Ενθάδε τήν χρηστήν τίτθην κατά γαῖα καλύπτει

Ἰπποστράτης καί νῦν ποθεῖ σε

καί ζῶσαν σ' ἐφίλουν τίτθη καί νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ

οὕσαν καί κατα γῆ(ς) καί τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἄν ζῷ.

.

It is not certain whether the name Melitta is that of the child or of the seated woman. But in either case the name of Hippostrate mentioned in the epitaph as that of the living grateful child is not written on the relief.

28. Loutrophoros stele of ΕΥΘΥΚΡΙΤΟΣ

(Cambridge Trinity College; C.1006/CXCV; IG II²7839a; Kaibel 49; Clairmont 109 nr.33, pl. 17).

Relief on the Loutrophoros : standing, bearded man, clasping hands with standing naked youth.

Name inscription on the horizontal geison : ΕΥΘΥΚΡΙΤΟΣ (...)ΑΙΟΣ

Epigram between epistyle and Loutrophoros :

Εὐθύκριτον πατέρα χθών / ἐκάλυψε τάφῳ / μητρὶ φίλον καὶ
πατρὶ κασι/γνήταις τε

From Group I it becomes clear that a grave monument could commemorate more than one dead persons, the dead being buried in different places (e.g. here nrs.67,70) or in the same place, and that does not imply that the deaths were contemporaneous. We know from other sources that it was possible for one person to be buried in the grave of a member of his family who was already dead.
(e.g. Epigram in IG II² 11998:

Γηραιάν ἄνοσον παῖδας παίδων, ἐπιδοῦσαν Λύσιλλαν κατέχει
κοινοταφῆς θάλαμος^(9α)).

The depiction of the 'dead' people does not imply that the scene takes place in the underworld as a 'reunion' of the family.

It is a symbolical scene to mark the unity of the family beyond any time and place. The commemoration of more than one dead on the Attic classical grave stelae should not be considered as an exception.

Similar examples existed as well already in the archaic period, as e.g. is proved by the base of Philoitios and Ktesias⁽¹⁰⁾ and the pediment of the stele of Kallisto and Phile⁽¹¹⁾.

On the stelae discussed above (nrs 1-5) on which the relief is preserved, the composition does not present any peculiarity in comparison to other similar ones believed to commemorate dead and living. On each of the above stelae both dead persons are represented facing each other or even shaking hands and one could thus state that this scheme should not be considered as necessarily indicating that the one figure is still living⁽¹²⁾.

Group II includes stelae the reliefs of which depict the deceased either alone or with one or two additional figures of relatives. However, no one of these 'subordinate' figures can be identified as a person mentioned on the attached epigram as the survivor who dedicated the epitaph or as the one mourning for the dead. Doubt exists about nrs. 25-28. One can distinguish that the subordinate figures of the relief are differentiated from those mentioned in the epitaphs either by means of the names inscribed in them or by their sex or age. Of course it is not clear whether these depicted figures are also dead or alive, but at least those definitely alive are not depicted. This fact can be interpreted in different ways. Generally it is believed that the depicted persons and the ones named in the epigram are not

connected either because the stelae were bought ready-made and the relief figures do not correspond to the ones the family wanted to commemorate in the epigram or because the depicted persons are purposely differentiated from those mentioned in the epigram, so that relief and epigram complement each other.⁽¹³⁾ But from the above examples it is clear that relief and epigram are in complete correlation but do not commemorate the same persons in the relief because they prefer to depict the **members of the family already dead**, whereas, in the epigram, those still living are mentioned..

It becomes clear also that had the epigrams of many stelae not survived, the interpretation of the relief might have been different, as, for example, the stele of Mnesagora with Nikochares and Ampharete with the baby (here nrs. 1,2). On both one would have interpreted the female figures only as dead and Nikochares and the baby respectively as living, for this interpretation is used generally for other grave ornaments with similar compositions. Compare, for example, the stele of Timarete⁽¹⁴⁾.

Group III

In the following reliefs the epigrams help only to identify the dead for whom the monument was erected, but give no information about the other persons.

29. Stele of XPYZANOH

(Ny Carlsberg Glyp. Poulsen, nr. 199 Billedtavler XV.; IG II² 13071;

Mnemosyne, 1934, 3, nr. 2, (Peek); Clairmont 110 nr. 34, pl. 18).

Relief: seated, bearded man facing right (type of Zeus) clasping hands with a young standing woman.

Epigram: Σῶμα μὲν ἐντός γῆ κατέχει τὴν σωφ/ροσύνην δέ, Χρυσάνθη,
τὴν σὴν/οὐ κατέκρυψε τάφος.

30. Stele of ΑΡΙΣΤΥΛΛΑ

(Athens NM 766; C.115/XXIV. Pfohl ibid. nr.113; Diep. 8f, pl. 1/2;
Johansen 35f.40.62 fig. 18; Clairmont 98 nr. 27 pl. 13).

Relief: seated woman facing right, clasping hands with young girl standing in front of her.

Epigram: 'Ενθάδε 'Αριστύλλα κεῖται
παῖς 'Αρίστωνός τε καὶ Ροδίλλης
σώφρων γ' ὧ θυγάτερ.

31. Stele of ΜΑΚΑΡΕΥΣ ΑΛΚΙΑΔΗΣ

(Athens Kerameikos.Brueckner, Friedhof, 90; IG II²6626; C.1483;
Kaibel 39; Peek GG nr. 91 ;)

Name inscriptions on the epistyle:

ΜΑΚΑΡΕΥΣ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΣ

Epigram: Εἶσε τύχη προὔπεμψε καὶ ἡλικίας ἐπέβησαν
ἐλπίδι γ' ἥσθα μέγας τῶι τε δοκεῖμ Μακαρεῦ
ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς.

32. Stele of ΦΑΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ

(Athens NM 993; C. 340/LXXXIV; IG II²6873; Kaibel 45; Clairmont 130 nr. 53, pl. 25).

On the architrave name inscription: ΦΑΝΟΣ (...) Μ(...)

and again over the right seated: ΦΑΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ⁽¹⁵⁾

Relief: seated woman facing left, clasping hands with standing woman. Between them, left and right, five children.

Epigram under the relief panel: Μαῖα καὶ ἰατρός Φανοστράτη ἐνθάδε
κεῖται..... πᾶσιν δέ θανοῦσα ποθεινῇ.

33. Panel stele of ΔΙΦΙΑΟΣ

(Athens NM 886; C.434/CII; IG II²11200; Kaibel 57; Clairmont 131 nr. 54 pl. 25).

Relief: (missing upper part) seated woman facing left, clasping hands with standing man. Behind her standing bearded man, leaning on his staff.

Epigram: well below the relief:

Σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδε ἔχει σὸν Δίφιλε

34. Loutrophoros stele of a young warrior

(Athens EM 9476 : C. 737/CXXXIX; Kaibel 59; IG II²13087 ; Clairmont 141 nr 63 pl. 28).

Relief: seated man, facing right, clasping hands with armed warrior.

Epigram:

(Σῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης μνημεῖον ἅπασιν/

(λεῖπ)εις οἶκ(τ)ρά παθὼν μόλρας ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐχθροῦ.

35. Stele of ΘΕΟΙΤΗΣ

(Piraeus Museum 1222. C.1106; IG II² 10435; Clairmont 122 nr. 44 pl.21.

Only remains of the relief preserved)

Relief: male figure facing right, opposite standing female figure.

Epigram: Ἐνθάδε κεῖται Θεοίτης παῖς/τελέσωνος Τεγεάτας

Τεγε/ατο καὶ μητρὸς Νικαρέτης/.....

36. Stele of a woman

(Athens 3d Ephoria. Delt. 17, 1961/2, Chron. 26; BCH 1962 pl. XXI;

Clairmont 139, no. 61).

Relief: seated woman facing left, clasping hands with standing man. Between them in the background standing woman, frontally

Epigram: Ἦδε κασιγνήτη ἡ Σμικύθο ἐνθάδε κεῖται/

πένθος τῆς ἀρετῆς πᾶσι φίλοις θεμένη.

(This sister of Smikythos is lying here..... (16)

Most probably the man depicted is her brother, already dead, since there is no special living relative mentioned as mourning for her.

37. Epistyle of naiskos stele of ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ

(Athens EM 9130; IG II² 6857)

On the architrave:

(ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤ)ΡΑΤΟΣ: ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ: ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ: ΚΑΛ(ΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ)

Epigram: 'Ενθάδε κεῖται..... Καλλιστράτου υἱός

Καλλίμαχος.

Group IV includes reliefs with only name inscriptions with the name of one of the depicted mentioned twice.

38. Stele of ΚΑΕΙΤΑΓΟΡΑ

Originally with painted depiction within a panel. The painted composition has disappeared.

(Athens EM 11063; C. 520a. IG II² 11858)

Above the panel name inscription:

ΚΑΕΙΤΑΓΟΡΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΤΙΜΑΙΑ ΕΥΒΟΥΛΗ

Above one figure (probably seated), again: ΚΑΕΙΤΑΓΟΡΑ

39. Panel stele of ΣΩΤΡΑΤΗ

(Athens NM 933; C. 763/CXX; IG II² 6705; Möbius, pl. 11b).

Name inscription between panel and architrave:

ΣΩΤΡΑΤΗ ΣΩΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΛΜΗΤΡΕΩΣ

Just above panel and over the three figures concerned:

ΣΩΤΡΑΤΗ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΣΩΤΡΑΤΟΣ

Upper part of the relief only preserved: Standing woman facing right, probably shaking hands with the seated Sostratos. Between them to the left, standing female figure addressing Sostrate with a "gesture" of her right hand.

40. Panel stele, (with two rosettes) of ΠΑΛΘΑΝΗ

(Athens NM 1985; IG II²12465; Hastings 29).

Above the rosettes, in big, careful letters: ΠΑΛΘΑΝΗ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟ

Below two rosettes:

ΠΑΛΘΑΝΗ ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΧΑΡΗΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ

corresponding to the figures of the relief.

Relief: 4-figure below the rosettes.

Seated woman facing right, three standing men turning towards her, the first clasping hands with her. He is bearded. The other two are unbearded.

The letters of the second row of names are smaller than those of the first but seem to be contemporaneous and by the same hand.

41. Loutrophoros of ΗΓΗΤΩΡ ΚΗΦΙΣΘΑΝΤΡΟΥ

(Athens Kerameikos ; C.208/LVI; Brueckner, Friedhof, 96; IG II²11569).

Relief on the loutrophoros: seated woman facing right, clasping hands with standing man.

Name inscriptions: ΠΑΜΦΙΛΗ ΗΓΗΤΩΡ

On the rectangular base of the loutrophoros:

ΗΓΗΤΩΡ ΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΥ⁽¹⁷⁾

42. Lekythos of: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ

(Athens NM 1100; C.1120/CCXXX; IG II²10631; catal. nr. 83 pl.VIII)

Relief: three standing figures: woman facing right clasping hands with warrior. Behind her another bearded man.

Name inscription (right to left):

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΑΛΕΞΙΣ

Below the relief again ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ⁽¹⁸⁾

43. Lekythos of ΑΝΕΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ

(Attica, Tatol. C.746; IG II²5980).

Relief on the lekythos: standing man facing right, followed by his servant, clasps hands with seated man. (the servant is naked)

Name inscriptions over the persons (left to right):

ΑΝΕΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ

On the base: ΑΝΕΝΚΑΗΤΟΣ/ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΥ/ΔΕΙΚΕΑΙΛΕΥΣ

44. Panel stele, of ΕΥΦΑΝΗΣ

(Piraeus Mus. Delt. 1920/1, 127, nr. 47, fig. 24; IG II²11498;

Möbius 25,26, pl.10a).

On the cyma: ΕΥΦΑΝΗΣ

Relief: three standing man, the two clasping hands.

Above the panel: ΑΡΧΙΝΟΣ ΤΕΛΕΣΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΥΦΑΝΗΣ

Below the panel: ΑΡΧΙΑΑΑ ΑΥΣΙΗΙΟ

45. Stele of ΑΓΝΟΣΤΡΑΘ

(Athens NM 1863. Diep. pl. 52/1: Stais, Marbles 157; IG II²10569).

Relief: standing girl to the left, turning towards a loutrophoros relief. Relief on the loutrophoros: left: the same standing girl shaking hands with standing young man to the left. Over the figures of the loutrophoros:

ΑΓΝΟΣΤΡΑΘ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ

On the architrave: ΑΓΝΟΣΤΡΑΘ ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΥ

This stele is specially interesting because of its composition, namely that the girl appears on the main composition alone and, on the grave loutrophoros, clasping the hand of a young man, Theodoros. Is he dead or alive? One could assume it to be not quite impossible that Theodoros was Hagnostrate's dead brother, who already had another monument to his memory and was depicted once more together with his sister as an expression of the common fate they had met.

Group V Reliefs with Inscriptions written in different occasions

46. Loutrophoros Stele of: (ΔΙ)ΩΝ ΑΥΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΥΣ

(Athens NM 879; C.1115/CCXXV; IG II²6573).

Inscription on the architrave:

(ΔΙ)ΩΝ ΑΥΚΟΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΥΣ

Relief: standing bearded man, followed by his servant who is carrying the shield, clasping hands with standing girl. Close above the head of the girl the name: ΑΥΞΙΕΤΡΑΘ

The letters of the latter are smaller and badly written, possibly by another hand.

To the same family must belong also the

47. Naikos stele of ΔΙΩΝ ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΥΣ ΑΥΞΙΕΤΡΑΘ ΔΕΞΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

(Athens NM 729; IG II²6572; C.454/CVIII)

Relief: standing bearded man to the right, clasping hands with seated woman (Dexikrateia). Between them a standing girl (Lysistrate). She must be the same girl as that of the Loutrophoros stele. But what about Dion? If he is the same person, what can be the relationship between him and the small girl? If the loutrophoros stele is set for him, as seems possible from the position of the inscription and the emphasis on his figure by the depiction of the slave boy, then he cannot be the father of the girl but just another relative. If he is her father, as one would assume, knowing only the Naikos stele, then the loutrophoros stele must have been erected for the young girl,

and not for him.

The chronological succession of the two stelae is also uncertain. The most acceptable suggestion might be that the loutrophoros stele was erected for the man Dion who was not the father of the girl and the name of the girl was added later over her head when she died, and that the Naiskos stele was erected later for all the three dead persons.

48. Panel stele of: ONHEIMOS ANΘHAQN ΓAYKEPA
(C.419/C, IG II²12373).

Relief: standing man to the right, clasping hands with seated woman. Between them and facing the woman a standing child.
Behind the seated woman a maid.

Inscription over the seated woman and just above
the relief panel: ΓAYKEPA

Above the rosettes: ONHEIMOS ANΘHAQN

This differentiation was not due to lack of space.

49. The following naiskos seems to be a similar case:

Naiskos of ΘΕΟΓΕΝΙΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΛΑΟ ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΗ

(Scotland, Broomhall castle. C.356/LXXXVIII; IG II²11630

Michaelis, JHS ⁵ 1884, 150 nr 11).

Relief: woman facing right, clasping hands with seated woman.

Between them standing man.

Inscription on the architrave:

ΘΕΟΓΕΝΙΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΤΑΛΟ

over the standing figures

On the horizontal geison over the seated woman

and with smaller letters: ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΗ

Another peculiarity in the rendering of the inscriptions is shown in the following reliefs by having the inscriptions written in a different size.

50. Lekythos of ΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ

(IG II² 6101; Deltion 1926, Chron. 76, nr.63; catal. nr. 371)

Relief: seated woman to the right clasping hands with standing young man.

Inscriptions over the heads: ΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ/
ΕΡΧΙΕΥΣ

The letters of the female name - 0,012. The letters of the male name - 0,008

51. Loutrophoros of: ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΧΜΗ / ΑΥΣΙΔΟΣ / ΕΡΧΙΕΥΣ

ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ / ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ / ΕΡΧΙΕΥΣ

ΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΗ

(Vravoron Mus.; IG II²6100¹; Deltion 1926, Chron. 76, nr. 64).

Relief: seated woman facing left, clasping hands with standing man. Behind him standing woman (Archestrate). Behind the seated woman another standing woman, without inscription.

Letters of ΑΠΙΕΤΑΙΧΜΗ - ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΕ = 0,006

Letters of ΑΡΧΕΕΤΡΑΘΗ - 0,013

In both these lekythoi the name of Archestrate is written with bigger letters. This is deliberate, but the reason for that is not clear. That Archestrate was the 'honoured' dead for whom the monuments were erected seems improbable because on the loutrophoros relief she is placed as a subordinate figure. Most probably her name was written at a later date because she was still alive at the time of the erection of the monuments.

52. Stele of ΑΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΙΑ

(Athens Kerameikos; IG II²11088; C.109/XL; Brueckner, Friedhof 93,95; Diep. pl. 51, 1) The inscription of Pamphile in bigger letters, but from the same hand.

Relief: seated female figure, Pamphile (right), standing Demetria (left). Pamphile is apparently the honoured dead (see also here nr. 75).

53. Lekythos of ΜΝΗΕΙΑΑΑ ΧΑΡΟΙΑΑΗΕ

(Athens, Ephoria of Attica 2253; catal. nr. 381, pl. LXXXI).

Relief: Two figures clasping hands. The name of the seated Mnesilla with bigger letters.

54. Lekythos of ΘΕΑΓΡΟΣ ΗΔΥΑΛΗ

(Athens, Ephoria of Attica; Catal. nr. 168, pl. LXVI)

The name of Hedyle with bigger letters. She is possibly the honoured dead because she is accompanied by her maid, who holds a pyxis.

In all the reliefs mentioned the dead is never unnamed when the other persons depicted are named. It seems therefore that the presence of a name had a function and was not put simply to make clear who the depicted persons were. It is now generally accepted that a named person among unnamed should be recognised as the dead. Yet it is, on the other hand, believed that this suggestion cannot apply when all the persons depicted in a multi-figure relief are named⁽¹⁹⁾. This differentiation in the function of an inscription is due to the general belief that the dead person is depicted among living and to the hesitation to accept that a monument can commemorate many dead. But that is already proved untrue. The meaning and the role of the name inscriptions seems to be consequently the same, whatever the number of the persons to whom they apply. This will be shown clearly by the next group of monuments also, in which, although most of the figures are named, some are deliberately left un-

named. This cannot be interpreted as showing any reason except a purpose of differentiating the persons in the composition, especially since on several occasions the originally unnamed persons receive a name later, apparently when they died.

The suggestion that these figures remained unnamed because the reliefs were bought ready-made and the figures did not represent exactly the members of the family cannot be proved.

Group VI: Reliefs with persons whose name was purposely omitted or added later.

55. Lekythos of KAEOXAPHE

(Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Gly. IN 4661.C.1063/CCXVII; Poulsen, Cat. nr. 221; IG II² 11875; catal. nr. 18 pl. XXVII).

Relief, 4 persons: standing warrior to the right, followed by his servant, shaking hands with an old bearded man. Behind him, right, another bearded man, possibly added later.

Inscriptions only over the warrior and the man on the right:

KAEOXAPHE KAEOXAPHE

Consequently it seems reasonable to assume that the addition of the name inscription had a special meaning, since the second main person of the relief is not named.

56. Loutrophoros of: ΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΤΗΣΙΒΙΟΥ ΣΦΗΤΤΙΟΣ

(Athens NM 3340. IG II²7504; Athens NM 3340).

Relief: On the left young man Krates followed by his servant, clasps hands with standing bearded man Ktesibios. Behind him young man Ktesikrates and on the right a seated woman without a name.

Above the relief, added later and in bigger letters, the name Antipatros Ktesibiou. We have here again the lack of an inscription over one person of the relief while all others are named. That must have been deliberate. Furthermore the name of another, alive at the time of the erection of the relief (Antipatros) was added later when he himself also died.

57. Naikos stele of ΕΠΙΧΑΡΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ

(Athens NM 736 C.700/CXXXVI; IG II²6972).

Relief: on the left seated, bearded old man in three-quarter view, on the right, standing naked youth. No handshake. Between them in the background standing woman.

Inscriptions on the epistyle over their heads corresponding:

ΕΠΙΧΑΡΗΣ / ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΟΙΝΑ(ΙΟ)Σ

ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ / ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΥ / ΠΕΡΓΑΣΙΕΩΣ / ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΔΕ/

(ΠΑ)ΑΤΩΝΟΣ / ΠΛΑΤΩΝ / ΕΠΙΧΑΡΟΥ / ΟΙΝΑΙΟΣ

The name Epichares is added later (IG ibid). A certain Epichares

son of Platon Oinaios is mentioned as "διδασκῆς" in a catalogue of 325/4. If he is the same person with the one of the stele that would be another proof that Epichares was still living at the time of the erection of the stele, since the relief is earlier than this date. (IG *ibid* 1926₁₄₄).

58. Naikos stele of TIMAPIETH ΕΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ

(Copenhagen Ny Carlsb. Gly. 2558; Poulsen 219a, Billetavl. III; IG II² 5508).

Relief: woman seated to the right, clasping hands with bearded man. In the background a maid (turned towards the man) holding a pyxis.

Inscription on the architrave over the heads

Added later: TIMAPIETH ΠΟΛΕΙΑΩΡΟΥ
ΕΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΒΡΩΝΟΣ ΑΛΛΙΕΥΣ

On the pediment, also added later: ... ΝΑΥΣΙΕΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΛΛΙΕΥΣ

ΕΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΒΡΩΝΟΣ ΑΛΛΙΕΥΣ is mentioned on a decree of 350 as Prytanis).

Nrs. 50, 51, 53, and 54, already mentioned were possibly similar.

59. Panel stele of ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΑΥΣΙΠΠΗ

(Leyden Museum. C.123/XLII; IG II² 5416).

Relief: seated woman on right, clasping hands with standing woman.

Inscription over the relief panel corresponding to the figures:

ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΧΟΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΧΟΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ
ΔΙΕΩΝΕΩΣ ΓΥΝΗ ΑΥΣΙΠΠΗ

The name of ΑΥΣΙΠΠΗ was added later.

60. Slender stele, with relief from a boss, of ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΔΙΩΝ
(Athens NM 760. C.393; IG II²7314).

Relief: woman seated to the right, clasping hands with standing man.

Between them standing woman facing left.

Above the relief: ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ / ΕΥΔΟΡΟΥ / ΠΡΟΣΠΑΤΙΟΥ

and added later: ΔΙΩΝ ΔΕΙΝΟΒΑΤΟΥ / ΚΟΛΛΥΤΕΥΣ

61. Slender stele of ΦΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΗ
(Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. C.1099/CCXXV; IG II²7807).

Relief: man leading a horse to the right, clasps hands with
standing woman.

Inscription: (Φ)ΙΛΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΛΟΥ / ΧΟΛΑΒΕΙΑΗΣ

and added later: ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΗ ΤΙΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΣ / ΦΡΕΑΠΠΙΟΥ

62. Loutrophoros stele

(Louvre 783. C.1136/CCXXX; IG II²5327).

Relief on the loutrophoros: standing young man to the right,
clasping hands with standing bearded man. Behind the first
standing woman.

Inscriptions: On the pediment: ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΡΧΕΔΙΚΟ(Υ)/ΛΟΜΟΝΕΥ(Σ)

On the loutrophoros mouth: ΦΙΛΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΑΚΛΕΟΥ(Σ) ΛΟΜΟΝΕΩΣ

Added later, below the name of Archedemos, the name of the father

ΑΡΧΕΔΙΚΟΣ ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΥ

and that of his uncle, ΧΑΙΠΕΛΣ ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΥ

The name of ΧΑΙΠΕΛΣ does not correspond to any figure but that of ΑΡΧΕΔΙΚΟΣ could very possibly apply to the old man, and that of Philia to the woman. She might be the mother of Archedemos since she is not his sister. Her name might have been written in the same time with that of Archedemos.

63. Stele of ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑ ΘΕΟΦΙΑΗ

(Athens NM 1728. C. 413/XCIX; IG II² 9337).

Relief: seated woman to the right, clasping hands with standing man. Behind the seated Symmachia standing maid with pyxis. Between the main figures standing woman. At a later date another figure was added behind the seated one.

Above the relief panel:

ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ / ΜΕΝΔΙΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ

and added later: ΘΕΟΦΙΑΗ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ

This stele is the only certain example on a stele on which both an inscription and a new figure were added to an already existing relief.

The same also is suspected for the right figure of the lekythos in Copenhagen here nr. 55 and catalogue nr. 18 pl XXVII and the lekythos in Hamburg, catal. nr. 156 pl. XLIX

In the panel stelae generally it is not always certain that the name added later corresponds to people already depicted but in the cases discussed above a correlation between figures and names seems almost certain.

Those panel stelae seem to be also similar; in which a single name over a multi-figure relief is not written symmetrically over the whole width of the relief, as is usually the case, but just over the person to whom it refers, e.g. stele of Protarchos C.1091/CCXIII or Gorgias C.668/CXX.

II₂ Grave complexes

Group VII

On these stelae, usually without relief, were written the names of some members of the family, continuing for generation after generation, commemorating mostly the men. They could be considered as a family record, since sometimes the persons commemorated already had another grave monument of their own. But these records also occasionally present problems. While commemorating two or three generations - that is covering normally a period of more than sixty years - the name inscriptions are written at one time and by one hand. Consequent-

ly one must admit that either the inscriptions were written on the occasion of the last death recorded or that they had been written before the persons (or, at least, some of them) had died.

64. Stele of KOPOIBOS and his family

(Kerameikos IG II² 6008; C.1534/CCCXIX).

It is an example of those stelae on which the names are written after each death, as the inscriptions by different hands prove.

4. ΣΩΣΙΚΑΗΣ / ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ / ΕΙΤΕΛΙΟΣ

1. ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ / ΚΑΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟ / ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ

2. ΚΑΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΗΣ / ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΥ / ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ

3. ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ / ΚΑΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟΥ / ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ

5. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΣ / ΣΩΣΙΚΑΕΟΥ / ΕΙΤΕΛΙΟΣ

Each name is written by a different hand. The numbers against the rows show the sequence in which they were written.

Similar to these seem to be the next stelae.

65. Stele of the family of ΚΥΔΑΝΤΙΑΗΣ

Kerameikos (IG II² 6609).

1. ΦΟΡΜΟΣ / ΠΡΟΚΑΕΙΔΟ/ΚΥΔΑΝΤΙΑΗΣ

4. ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗ/ ΠΡΟΚΑΕΙΔΗΣ/ΦΟΡΜΟΥ/ΚΥΔΑΝΤΙΑΗΣ

8. ΔΕΙΝΙΑΣ / ΦΟΡΜΟΥ / ΚΥΔΑΝΤΙΑΗΣ

11. ΜΝΗΣΙΠΤΟΔΕΜΗ ΘΕΟΞΕΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ

15, ΙΕΡΩ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΙΔΟΥ / ΒΑΤΘΕΝ ΠΡΟΚΑΕΙΔΟΥ / ΚΥΔΑΝΤΙΔΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ

18. ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑ ΕΥΦΗΜΟΥ / ΚΗΤΤΙΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ /
ΦΟΡΜΟΥ ΚΥΔΑΝΤΙΔΟΥ / ΓΥΝΗ

According to Kirchner nrs 1-10 are by one hand, 11-14 by another, 15-17 by a third, 18-21 by a fourth. However the depth of the letters is different between the three first and the fourth row and between the fourth and the next, indicating possibly a different time of carving even for those names.

66. Stele of ΓΗΡΥΣ and family

(Athens NM 856; IG II² 7863).

ΓΗΡΥΣ/ΙΣΟΤΕΛΗΣ

ΝΙΚΩ/ΓΗΡΥΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ

ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΙΣΟΤΕΛΗΣ

Epigram for ΓΗΡΥΣ: . . .

Epigram for ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ : καὶ γὰρ τοῦδ' ἄνδρὸς ἔφυν καὶ πάντα ὅμοια
γῆραι καὶ φροντίδι εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα.

Although the datives "γῆραι" and "φροντίδι" look somewhat disconnected and not so clear, however, ^{they} show that this epigram was written when Theophilos was already old, thus possibly he too, was dead when the epigram was written.

Some doubts that all the persons were dead at the time that their names were written on the stele arise from the next stele.

67. Stele of ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ and family.

(Now lost. IG II² 6551)

ΦΙΛΙΤΙΑ/ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ/ΠΟΛΥΠΑΡΑΤΟΥ/ΚΡΙΩΕΩΣ

(Π)ΟΛΥΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ/ΠΟΛΥΠΑΡΑΤΟΥ/ΚΡΙΩΕΩΣ

two rosettes

(ΝΙΚΟΠ)ΤΟΛΕΜΗ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ Ε(Κ)ΑΛΗΘΕΝ/(ΠΟ)ΛΥ(ΜΝ)ΗΣΤΟΥ

ΚΡ(Ι)ΩΕΩΣ ΓΥΝΗ

Epigram: Σῆς ἀρετῆς Νικοπτολέμη, χρόνος οὔποτε λ(ύ)σει

μνήμην ἀθάνατον σῶι πόσει ἣν ἔλιπες

The stele is lost and it cannot be checked whether the names of Polykrates and Polymnestos are written by the same hand as that of Nikoptoleme. However it is not improbable that they were written later, since the name of Philitia is also added later.

The following record stele nr 70 was erected apparently for one person but commemorated in addition four other members of the same family, who already had their personal monuments. Preserved is the following grave lekythos nr. 69 (cat. nr. 95, pl. XVIII). Furthermore it is striking that the two grave monuments were found in two different places, far distant from each other, in Attica, Athens and Liopesi.

68. vacat.

69. Lekythos of ΚΑΡΙΑΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΕΥΡΥΜΑΙΔΗΣ

(Athens 3d Ephoria. (From Athens); catal. nr. 95, pl. XVII)

Relief: Three standing figures. Charias leading his horse clasps hands with Hippostrata. Behind her, right, Eurymaides.

70. Rosette stele of ΔΗΜΑΡΕΤΗ and family.

(From Liopesi; C 520; IG II² 5658; Holwerda 43)

ΔΗΜΑΡΕΤΗ ΛΕΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΡ

two rosettes

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ / ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΣ

ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ / ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ / ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΥ

ΧΑΡΙΛΑΣ / ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΣ

ΕΥΡΥΜΑΙΔΗΣ / ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΣ

The three persons of the lekythos, apparently already dead, are once more commemorated on the later stele erected on the occasion of the death of ΔΗΜΑΡΕΤΗ in another part of Attica. Consequently one assumes that neither the time nor the place where the death occurred is an obstacle to commemorate a dead person more than once.

71. Grave complex from Merrenta (20)

(Vravron Museum, Attika)

a. Record stele of the family of ΜΕΙΔΩΝ

1. ΜΕΙΔΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΟΣ

ΜΕΙΔΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΜΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

- 3 ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΑ ΜΕΙΔΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ / ΓΥΝΗ
- 5 ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛ(ΗΣ)
ΜΕΙΔΟΤΕΛ(ΟΥ)Σ
- 7 ΜΝΗΣΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ
ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ / ΓΥΝΗ
- 10 ΜΕΙΔΩΝ
ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ
- 12 ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΣΙΟΣ
ΜΝΗΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ
ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ
- 15 ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΣΙΟΥ
ΜΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ
ΜΕΙΔΟΤΕΛΗΣ
- 18 ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ
ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΣΙΟΣ

The letters of the verses. 1-4, 5-6, 7-9, and 10-12 are of different sizes, thus most probably also written in different occasions.

- b. Naikos Stele with relief of a male figure, followed by his dog. (Ibid., note 20, Pl. LXXXII-III).. An architrave and a base are mentioned as belonging to the same stele.

Name inscription on the architrave:

ΚΑΛΛΙΜΕΔΩΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ / ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΣΙΟΣ

Epigram on the base: 'Επί ὑμεναίου (ΒΑΣΙΛ.....

Καλλιμέδων, ἄρι)σ)τε πλεῖστον ἔπαινον ἔχεις
σοι δε πατήρ φθιμένωι(ν)υν ἔπεσπετο τήν
πολύκλαυστον / Καλλιτέλης παγο(ρ)ο μοῖραν
ἰδών θάνατο.

For the same person Kallimedon there are also two lekythoi,
erected most probably on each side of the stele.

c. Lekythos of ΚΑΛΛΙΜΕΔΩΝ ΚΛΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΑ

(Ibid. pl LXXXI, LXXXIII, LXXXV, LXXXVI; catalogue nr. 26).

Standing naked youth facing right, followed by his servant
clasps hands with standing woman Kleoptoleme. Behind her,
right, Phanagora.

d. Lekythos of ΜΕΙΔΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΜΕΔΩΝ

(Ibid. pl. LXXXI, LXXXIII-V, Catalogue nr. 43).

Relief: Standing young man facing left, Kallimedon followed
by his servant clasps hands with seated, bearded old man Kal-
liteles. Behind the latter, bearded man Meidoteles.

e. Lekythos of ΚΑΛΛΙΜΕΔΩΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΗΣ ΜΝΗΣΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ ΚΛΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ

(Ibid. pl. LXXI, LXXXVI-VII; Catalogue nr. 44).

Inscriptions: ΚΑΛΛΙΜΕΔΩΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΗΣ

ΜΝΗΣΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ ΚΛΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ

Relief: from left to right: standing young man in chimation
facing right. Old bearded man to the right clasping hands with
seated woman behind whom standing woman.

From the names written on the lekythoi and the stele of the deceased Kallimedon, Kalliteles is the father and Meidoteles is his grandfather. Phanagora is most probably his dead grandmother although this cannot be proved by the depiction because the age of the female figures are scarcely indicated in the reliefs. Kalliteles according to the epigram on the grave stele of Kallimedon, died shortly after his son. His name was written also on the family stele after those of his father and mother (Meidoteles and Phanagora). Consequently, one assumes that all three people were already dead and depicted as dead on the lekythoi. Kalliteles also most probably died before the lekythoi (c) and (d) were ready.

The lekythos (e) might probably be later, since Kallimedon appears on it holding an aryballos, which as it will be shown characterizes mostly dead persons.

Problems arise from the two female figures Kleoptoleme and Mnesiptoleme. The name of Mnesiptoleme appears also on the record stele as that of Kallimedon's mother and a'most certainly should commemorate the same person in both cases. It is however impossible to say whether she was depicted on the lekythos living or already dead. It is impossible also to say who Kleoptoleme was and whether she was dead or living. She could have been the living wife of Kallimedon but

she could also have been another relative of Kallimedon, as e.g. a dead sister.

Also uncertain is for whom the lekythos e was erected. On this lekythos are depicted the parents of Kallimedon, he himself, apparently as dead, and probably one of his sisters. The lekythos consequently depicted four persons who are close relatives and it was possibly erected after the death of all of them.

In support of this suggestion is the fact that none of the persons living at the time of the erection of the monument is depicted. These are Kallimedon's brothers who, according to the record stele, had lived after the father's death whereas the dead grand-parents appear instead.

The four following complexes of grave monuments, instead of solving any problems, add to them.

72. Grave complex of the family from Herakleia in Kerameikos⁽²¹⁾

a. The grave lekythoi on the two corners of the grave-plot, of which only one is preserved.

(Athens, Kerameikos (reestablished in its original place);

catal. nr. 166 pl. LVI.)

Relief: two older bearded men shaking hands. The one seated is followed by a nude servant. No name inscriptions on either the lekythos or its base.

b. Stele of the slender type without any relief, commemorating

two names: ΑΓΑΘΩΝ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ / ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΗΣ

ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ / ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΗΣ

(Reestablished in its original place, IG II² 8551; C 1535/CCCXIX;

Brueckner, Friedhof 67).

Inscription by one hand.

c. Naiskos stele of ΚΟΡΑΛΛΙΟΝ

IG II² 11891; C. 411/XCVIII: Diep. pl. 42/2.

seated woman to the right clasping hands with standing bearded man. Between them in the background, a female figure and a bearded man.

Name on the epistyle: ΚΟΡΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ

d. Stele once with painted decoration

Kerameikos; IG II² 8550; C. 1443/CCXCVII

Inscription: ΑΓΑΘΩΝ / ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ / ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΗΣ

The problem is what connection in time exists between these monuments. The stele (d) of Agathon is later than the family stele (b). Thus Brueckner's view was that the latter (b) was erected while the persons were still alive⁽²²⁾. But the family grave plot was made in two stages, before and after the general catastrophe of the grave monuments in about 340 B.C.⁽²³⁾ and so it is quite possible that the later stele of Agathon was just a replacement of an already damaged earlier one, after the enlargement of the family grave plot.

The lekythos (a) and the stele (b) seem to have been erected together in the first stage of the grave plot. The man of the stele of Korallion (c) and the seated figure of the lekythos - have similar portrait-like features, which indicate the likelihood of the assumption, that both depict the same person, apparently Agathon.

If one had to judge only from the lekythos, one would rather incline to believe that dead was only the one seated (Agathon) who was followed by his servant. The opposite conclusion would have been reached if one had only the stele of Korallion (c), on which apparently the same man is unnamed in contrast to the woman, thus with the existing criteria, still living.

However it is most probable that on both monuments Agathon is depicted as dead and remains unnamed because he has already been commemorated as dead on the "record stele".

73. Grave complex of the family of ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΔΕΙΡΑΔΙΩΤΗΣ (24)

a. Loutrophoros of ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ II

(Athens NM 2563; AM 51, 1926, p. 57, Abbi; IG II²12967).

Bearded man seated to the right clasping hands with standing warrior followed by a servant.

ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ/ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ

b. Loutrophoros of ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ II

(Athens NM 3473; AM *ibid.* p. 58, Abb.2,3; IG II²12658).

From left to right: standing woman - standing bearded man clasping hands with standing warrior followed by servant.

ΣΤΡΑΤΟΚΛΕΙΑ: ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΣ / ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΙ
ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΤΙ/ ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ

c. Lekythos of ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΙΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΣ

(Athens NM Apoth. 69; IG II²12499; AM ibid. 60,Abb.4; cat.257).

Standing bearded man on right clasping hands with standing bearded man.

On the two loutrophoroi is depicted Philopolis with his son Polystratos (II) On the lekythos which might be little later Philopolis appears again with another Polystratos (II) possibly his brother. The relation in time of the monuments do not imply necessarily (though it cannot be of course excluded) that Philopolis was depicted on the two earlier loutrophoroi as still living. Because it is already shown that a person can be commemorated in more than one grave monuments at any time after his death. The lekythos (c) thus might have been erected later together with a lost "record stele" as in the previous example.

74. Grave complex of the family of ΠΡΟΚΛΕΙΑΗΣ ΔΙΓΓΙΑΙΕΥΣ⁽²⁵⁾

a. Grave lekythos of ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΚΛΕΙΑΗΣ

(Reading Pa; AM 51, 1926 p. 130 ff., Beilage V; IG II²5379; catalogue nr. 396 pl. LXII).

Relief: two standing bearded man clasping hands.

ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΚΑΕΙΔΗΣ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΣΩΛΥΤΙΑΟΥ ΑΙΓΙΑΙΕΥΣ
ΑΙΓΙΑΙΕΥΣ

b. Grave naiskos of ΠΡΟΚΛΗΣ ΠΡΟΚΑΕΙΔΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΠΠΗ

(Athens NM 737.C.718/CXLI; IG II²5376; Diep. pl46 Johansen, fig.25)

Relief: seated bearded man clasping hands with standing warrior.

Between them, in the background, standing woman.

(ΠΡΟΚΑΕΙΔΗΣ / ΣΩΣΤΡΑ)ΤΟΥ / (ΑΙΓΙΑΙΕΥΣ)

ΑΡΧΙΠΠΗ: ΜΕΙΣΙΑΔΟΥ / ΑΙΓΙΑΙΟΘΕΝ

ΠΡΟΚΛΗΣ: ΠΡΟΚΑΕΙΔΟΥ ΑΙΓΙΑΙΕΥΣ

c. Lekythos of ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΠΠΗ

(Brit. Mus. 687; IG II²5374.C.213; Br. Mus. Ancient Marbles; XI, pl. XXX/III

Catalogue nr 392 pl LXVI).

Relief: seated woman to the left clasping hands with standing bearded man.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ ΜΕΙΣΙΑΔΟΥ / ΑΙΓΙΑΙΕΥΣ

ΑΡΧΙΠΠΗ / ΜΕΙΣΙΑΔΟΥ

d. Stele of ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΑΙΓΙΑΙΕΥΣ ΠΡΑΞΑΓΟΡΑ

(Athens Theseio; IG II²5378).

Relief: seated man to the right clasping hands with standing woman.

Nothing can be proved from this grave complex either. Both the lekkythos and the naiskos could be dated in the third quarter of

the fourth century, but it is difficult to say what was their exact relation in time. The naiskos might have been erected for the son Prokles who is indicated as a warrior, or even for both father and son⁽²⁶⁾. The lekythos could have been erected together with a slender stele of the type of the Herakleiot family for the commemoration of the dead Prokleides and his father, and like Agathon, in the stele of Korallion, Prokleides, too, has been depicted in the naiskos of his son Prokles⁽²⁶⁾.

75. Grave Complex of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΗ⁽²⁷⁾

a. Grave Naiskos of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΗ

(see here nr. 52).

b. Grave naiskos of ΠΑΜΦΙΛΗ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ ΝΙΚΙΠΠΟΥ

(Athens NM; C.145/XLIV; Brueckner, *ibid.* 95 fig. 61; IG II² 11797.

Only the pediment C.1477).

From a second use the inscriptions:

Καλλιστομάχη Διοκλέους θυγάτηρ, Σαύσιον Σωάνδρου θυγάτηρ

Relief: (missing upper part): standing woman facing right

(Pamphile) clasps hands with seated Demetria.

c. Loutrophoros of ΗΓΗΤΩΡ

(see here nr. 41)

d. Lekythos of three women without names (catalogue nr. 210, pl.

LXXII Possibly again Demetria and Pamphile.

Brueckner (ibid.) expressed the view that the stele (b) was erected for Demetria, Pamphile being still living, and that the stele(a) was erected later, when Pamphile also died. There is no indication offered by the reliefs to argue the above suggestion strongly. Pamphile however appears on three monuments of the family and Demetria on two and it is very peculiar that from a family which would have had other survivors it was always Pamphile and Demetria who appeared as living with the dead relative. On the contrary their appearance would be more understandable if they were already dead, and as such depicted so many times.

76. Group of two marble vases (28)

a. Lekythos of ΜΑΛΘΑΚΗ - ΔΗΜΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ

(Berlin Staat. Mus. 1870. Blümel² nr. 58, pl. 90-4; Catalogue nr. 24. Curtius Jb. Pr. Ks, 61 1940, 57 Abb. 1-5, 15-18).

Relief: Standing bearded Demoteles on the middle facing right, clasps hands with standing Demokrateia. On the left the standing Malthake Between the main figures standing child facing Demoteles. On the right seated young maid, with an infant on her lap.

b. Loutrophoros of ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ ΔΗΜΟΤΕΑΗΣ ΜΑΛΘΑΚΗ

(Philadelphia University Mus. Ms 5710. Dohan, Mus. Journ. XIX 1928, 259 fig. 256-9).

Relief: In the middle standing and facing right Demoteles clasps hands with the standing young Malthake. On the left standing Demokrateia.

The difference between these two grave vases is that the one main figure of the loutrophoros, Malthake, is subordinate on the lekythos and vice versa.

Many theories have been expressed about the connection of these two monument and a third one, a lost pediment, with the same three names. ΜΑΛΘΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΕΑΗΣ ΘΥΜΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ ΠΡΑΣΙΩΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ ΔΗΜΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ.

There is a suspicion that this pediment belong to the stele in N. York 11.100.2⁽²⁹⁾.

The opinion of Richter (note 28) that first was erected the loutrophoros for Malthake and later the lekythos for Demokrateia is of course very plausible⁽³⁰⁾. Yet another suggestion might also be forwarded. Since both vases were executed in the same workshop and apparently almost in the same time, their relation could be similar to that of the lekythos pair for Kallimedes, here nr. 71 c,d and the one for his parents 71 e. Namely the loutrophoros commemorated

the dead Malthake and the lekythos the other two dead figures Demokrateia and Demoteles (note that both the latter figures are emphasized, the male by the child which is turned towards him and the female by the maid). More difficulties arise if in fact the stele in N. York 11.100.2 belonged to the lost pediment with the same names, because the stele looks earlier than the vases.⁽³¹⁾ If the stele was contemporary it might have been erected depicting all of them as already dead.

77. Group of two lekythoi of the family of ΑΥΤΟΔΙΚΟΣ ΕΡΧΙΕΥΣ⁽³²⁾

a. Lekythos of ΑΥΤΟΔΙΚΟΣ

(Athens NM 1074. Catalogue nr. 245, pl. XVII).

b. Lekythos of ΦΕΙΑΕΕΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΕΡΧΙΕΥΣ ΞΕΝΑΡΕΤΗ ΘΗΡΕΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΔΙΚΟΣ.

(Athens NM 1824. Catalogue nr. 19 pl. XIX).

The main figure Autodikos of the lekythos (a) became subordinate in the lekythos (b). Similarly Thereus, leading his horse as a subordinate figure in the lekythos (b), is probably the other main figure of (a). The lekythos (b) seems slightly later than (a). It is therefore almost certain that the honoured dead figures of the lekythos (a) became subordinate in the later lekythos.

78. Group of two marble lekythoi of the family of

ΦΙΛΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΥΣ⁽³³⁾

- a. Lekythos of ΚΑΛΛΙΠΗ ΦΙΛΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΦΙΛΗ ΑΜΦΙΝΟΥΣ

(Berlin 1466. Catalogue nr. 215). Kallippe and Philourgos are the two main figures.

- b. Lekythos of ΦΙΛΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΡΕΤΗ ΚΑΛΛΙΠΗ

(Copenhagen NM 1927. Catalogue nr. 203).

In this lekythos Philourgos remain one of the two main figures but Kallippe is a subordinate one.

The two lekythoi are chronologically very close and possibly belong to the same workshop (Blümel here note 33). However their exact relation in time is not certain and therefore no conclusion can be drawn.

79. Group of two marble lekythoi of the family of ΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ

from Myrrinous⁽³⁴⁾

- a. Lekythos of ΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΦΙΛΗ

(Vravra Museum BE 25. Catalogue nr. 249).

- b. Lekythos of ΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΗΣ ΦΙΛΗ

Vravra Mus. BE 37. Catalogue nr. 96).

The lekythos seems later than (a) and possibly it belongs to the same workshop. Philte, the one main figure of the lekythos a became a subordinate in the lekythos (b).

30. Group of two marble lekythoi⁽³⁵⁾

- a. Lekythos of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΗ, ΣΤΡΑΤΟΚΑΕΙΑ ΑΙΟΛΟΣ
ΑΕΙΟΜΑΧΗ ΑΕΩΝΙΚΗ.

(New York 49.11.4. Catalogue nr 6, pl. LXVII)

From the arrangement of the relief it seems probable that the honoured dead is Aristomache.

- b. Lekythos of ΑΕΩΝΙΚΗ ΑΙΟΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΦΑΝΗΣ ΑΙΟΛΟΥ

(Louvre 3446. Catalogue nr. 64, pl. LV)

This lekythos is later than the previous one and seems to have been erected for the warrior Kalliphanes. Kalliphanes is not depicted on the lekythos (a), possibly because he was still living at that time.

There is no other evidence, except the presence of the names indicating whether the parents Leonike and Aiolos were living or dead.

31. Group of four marble lekythoi⁽³⁶⁾

- a. Lekythos of ΘΕΟΠΡΟΠΙΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΗ

(Athens NM 1076. Catalogue nr. 391 pl. LXIV)

Seated Aristonike clasps hands with standing Theopropis.

- b. Lekythos of ΘΕΟΠΡΟΠΙΣ ΣΙΜΩΝΙΔΗΣ

(Athens Kerameikos I. 433. Catal. P24 pl. LXXXIX)

Originally with painted composition. Seated Simonides, standing Theopropis, possibly clasping hands.

c. lekythos of ANΘΙΠΠΟΣ ΣΙΜΟΝΙΑΔΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΗ

(Athens NM 1052 Catalogue nr. 158 pl. LIX).

Seated Simonides clasps hands, with standing Anthippos.

Behind the seated man Aristonike. The inscriptions might have been written in a second use of the lekythos.

d. Lekythos of ANΘΙΠΠΟΣ ΘΕΟΠΡΟΠΗΣ ΣΙΜΟΝΙΑΔΗΣ

(Lost.C.432; IG II² 10673).

Possibly standing Anthippos, seated Theopropis, standing Simonides.

Judging by their reliefs only, the lekythos (c) is earlier than the lekythos (a). The lekythos (b) without relief might be dated still earlier or in the time of (c). There is however no other indication for any conclusion, since the inscriptions on (a) might be later than the relief.

Generally the grave complexes discussed above, do not offer strong evidence for any conclusion. From the family record stelae however it is shown that a name was a sufficient indication that a person was dead.

II₃. Concluding Remarks

1. There are stelae, on which more than one person is depicted (or only mentioned) as dead as the epigram below states. The composition of these reliefs is the same as those on which only one person is assumed to be dead. Some of the above reliefs depict the two dead people simply facing each other or shaking hands. Thus, a 'dexiosis' scene is possible between two dead people, as well as between a living and a dead.

2. From the grave monuments so far discussed, no evidence can be derived to prove that a member of a family, who is stated in the epigram of the grave monument to be alive, has had himself depicted on the reliefs, even though the relief depicts the deceased in the company of another figure(s). Some doubts arise from the reliefs nrs. 25-28.

3. In some reliefs all the figures are named; on others all the figures are unnamed and again on others names are inscribed over some of the figures only. In some of these cases an epigram is occasionally added, according to which the dead can easily be recognised on the relief, either by sex or by age or by the name which is written again on the relief next to the corresponding figure. There is no certain case in which a person mentioned in the epigram as living is depicted and named on the relief. Thus it might be concluded that the name indication applied only to the

dead people. If all persons on a grave relief have inscriptions, it is most probable, but not in all cases proved, that all are dead, but it is not clear whether the grave monument was erected for all or for only one of them. In such cases, sometimes the repetition of one name or the addition of an epigram indicates the deceased for whom the monument was erected. On the other hand, a total absence of inscribed names on a grave relief does not indicate that the persons are not dead, since such an indication could have been on a missing part of the monument. But even if the grave monument is intact, and has no inscription, there is still the possibility that the figure was explained by the surrounding monuments of the same grave plot.

4. A further proof that the inscription of a name means that the person to whom it applies is dead can be derived from the fact that on many reliefs we find a deliberate absence of the names of some of the persons depicted. On some reliefs certain names were added later, so they must originally have been omitted on purpose. There are many stelae on which a name, added later, could correspond to a person already depicted, and many others to which a name is simply added without reference to any one figure shown.

5. The subordinate figures depicted belonged not only to the closest relatives of the dead - parents and children - but very often included more distant relatives, e.g. the monuments nrs. 9 and 71. This was not due to lack of closer relatives but to the fact that the latter were still alive and the family preferred to depict the newly dead with the other dead members of the family.

The same person could have been depicted - or only mentioned - more than once, either on two monuments erected for himself or on others erected for relatives.

6. There are some grave monuments on which the names of the persons depicted are written conspicuously in a different way or repeated for a second time. One might assume - although no proof exists - that this was done deliberately to distinguish the depicted people. Some of these inscriptions might have been written on different occasions after the death of the person already depicted as living.

III. Indirect indications for the identification of the dead

In the previous pages, an attempt has been made to point out indications supporting the theory that figures specifically marked with inscribed names referred to persons already dead at the time of the erection of the grave monument, buried at the same or different place.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to compare different relief compositions to see whether the dead person honoured by a particular monument has a special, fixed or outstanding pose in the compositions depicted in the company of a maid or servant or the men, as warriors, hunters, priests etc, or whether people who appear to be emphasized in the group are in fact sometimes subordinate and not the ones in whose honour the monument was erected. Further we may consider whether the objects held by the people depicted or the way in which they express their sorrow or any gesture they make reveal them as being dead.

III₁. Composition

The relief compositions were not always dictated absolutely by the number of the last deaths in the family or by the need to emphasize the dead persons. The way in which such compositions were executed was indeed, within certain limits, influenced by the prevailing 'mode' (certain patterns were frequently repeated in particular periods) or by another contemporary work of good quality; furthermore they might even have been influenced by the type of grave monument on which they appear (flat stele or curved vase). Some mass-produced reliefs

could even have been bought ready-made, the family choosing the most suitable one in stock.

On the naiskoi the composition is generally more conservative, based on established schemes (almost all represent a dexiosis scene) which changed only in respect of the number of persons depicted, perspective, or the rendering of the third dimension, or the way grief or other feelings were shown.

In the multi-figure reliefs there are almost always no more than two main figures confronting each other or most usually clasping hands. If there is a seated figure, this is always one of the two most important. Variations from these two standard designs occur more often in the grave vases, as already mentioned in Part one, II_{2b} but these, too, are not always dictated by the need to commemorate a different occasion of death, but are most probably influenced by different prototypes.

There is nothing in the composition itself that could generally be considered as a basic indicator leading to the identification of the figures representing the dead.

It is often suggested that there must have been some general convention according to which sculptors worked their reliefs, not perhaps governed strictly by existing rules, but simply directed by the human instinct to put the dead, in whose honour the monument was erected, in a special place; but no such pattern can be traced.

It might seem logical, for example, to accept the suggestion that when there is a three- or four-figure relief, the honoured dead must be (in each case) the middle or one of the middle figures. This could apply only to the four-figure compositions - especially on the grave vases - on which the two 'subordinate' figures are set on each side of a central group (e.g. lekythos of Kallippis catal. nr.31 pl. VI) but the same is not true for all the other four-or three-figure compositions.

Another suggestion might be proposed, that on the reliefs on which dead and living are depicted, the living might be placed always opposite the dead as seems to be the case with the lekythos of Kallisthenes catalogue nr. 105 pl. II. But other lekythoi such as the one already mentioned, catal. 31 pl. VI, or that of Kleocharis catal. 18 pl. XXVII, that of Sosigenes catal. 38 pl. XXXIII, show that the dead can be depicted flanked by living or in any place in the relief.

82. Group of two lekythoi.⁽³⁶⁾

a. Lekythos of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΑ ΜΥΣ ΜΕΛΗΣ ΦΙΛΙΑ

(C.1137/CXCVI; catal. nr. 27 pl LVIII)

b. Lekythos of ΜΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΑ ΜΕΛΗΣ

(C.1141/CCXXX; catal. nr. 28 pl. LVIII)

The vases(a)and(b)were completed for the same occasion and de-

pict exactly the same four people. These are shown shaking hands in such a way that no one person is in any way more emphasized than another, when, of course, one has in mind both vases. The two figures on the one lekythos who would have been interpreted as 'the mourning' relatives - if only this one lekythos had been preserved - become the 'emphasized dead' on the other lekythos of the pair. No other change in their attitude is to be remarked. The lekythos must have been erected for all the four persons depicted (see also part one I_{1b}).

One might suggest that the person who is the focal point of the relief must be the dead for whom the monument was erected.⁽³⁷⁾ How misleading, however, an interpretation based only on such criteria could be is shown by the two following examples.

83. Group of a pair of lekythoi and a grave stele which possibly stood between them.

a. Lekythos of

TIMATOPA / TIMOAHMO / AΛQNEKHΘEN

APICTIQN / NEIQIO

KAAAICTOMAXH / AETINOY / AAIMOYEIOY

(C.354/LXXXVIII catl. nr. 218 pl. XXXVII)

Standing woman on the left, clasping hands with a seated one. Between them in the background standing bearded Aristion leaning on his stick and turning towards the seated woman Kallistomache.

b. Lekythos of

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΗ / ΑΣΤΙΝΟΥ / ΛΑΙΜΟΥΣΙΟΥ

ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ / ΠΕΙΘΙΩ

ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΑ / ΤΙΜΟΔΗΜΟ / ΛΩΠΕΚΗΘΕΝ

C.323/LXXVII; catal. nr. 219 pl XXXVII

Seated woman on the left, Kallistomache, clasping hands with standing Timagora. Between them in the background standing, bearded (Aristion) this time facing the standing Timagora.

c. Epistylon of a naiskos of

ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΑ / ΤΙΜΟΔΗΜΟΥ / ΛΩΠΕΚΗΘΕΝ

ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ / ΠΕΙΘΙΟΥ

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΗ / ΑΣΤΙΝΟΥ / ΛΑΙΜΟΥΣΙΟΥ

The inscription ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΧΑΡΟΥΣ ΛΑΙΜΟΥΣΙΟΥ
on the pediment is later.

The relief is missing.

On each of the above lekythoi, Aristion is turning to a different female figure; we do not know which one he was looking at on the stele. Possibly it was Kallistomache as on the lekythos (a), since the preserved inscriptions are placed in the same order. The compositions on the lekythoi can be interpreted in two ways; either that the direction of the middle figure cannot be taken as decisive evidence in identifying the 'honoured' dead, or that both female figures may be considered as dead and that the change

of position was used by the sculptor deliberately to stress this fact. On the other hand, if the stele were the only monument to have been preserved, our conclusions would probably be wrong, because the female figure on whom the whole relief was focussed would be considered to be the only 'honoured' dead.

In fact, however, in most of the reliefs with similar compositions in which the honoured dead is recognisable, the middle figure turns towards the deceased, as, e.g., in the stele of Peisikrateia (here nr.15).

These remarks seem not to be applicable to the still later stelae in which the middle subordinate figure is depicted quite remotely in the background and, without looking specifically towards any figure, is sunk in his own world (e.g. Malthake stele in Berlin⁽³⁸⁾ or Timarista in Copenhagen⁽³⁹⁾). This applies also to those on which there are children instead e.g. Lekythos of Nikostrate (catal. nr. 295 pl. VII), on which the child stretches its hands towards the man, possibly still living, or the lekythos catal. nr. 244 pl. XXVI on which the one child is facing the standing man and the other the standing woman.

Especially for the marble Lekythoi another suggestion might be proposed, namely that the honoured dead could be identified by the place he has within the composition in respect to the handle of the vase. The person who was set exactly in the middle of the front side of the vase, opposite the handle, although

he was not set in the middle of the composition, as for example Kallisthenes on the lekythos catal. nr. 105 pl. II \bar{I} , or the young Kleocharēs of the lekythos catal. nr. 18 pl. XXVII might be considered as the honoured dead. This irregularity however in the composition is not very common. From a survey of a great number of lekythoi it is shown that the usual position of the relief is such that opposite the handle comes the middle of the space between the two main figures facing each other. Sometimes even the subordinate figures are placed opposite the handle as for examples on the lekythos of Myrrine (catal. nr. 1 pl. I), the lekythos of Autophon (catal. nr. 85 pl. XI), the lekythos of Aristonike (catal. nr. 65 pl. XXXVIII) the lekythos of Philonantes (catal. nr. 79 pl. XIII) etc.

It is so far clear that on the whole one cannot deduce from the composition any firm rule by which the dead can be identified.

It is also mentioned (part one I \bar{I}) that such an irregularity might be due simply to the function of the vase.

84. The next group of independent grave monuments presents an original composition in each case of four figures in two different groups.

a. Lekythos of ΣΜΙΚΡΟΣ ΜΝΗΣΙΚΛΕΗΣ ΦΙΛΗ ΜΝΗΣΙΛΑΔΗΣ

I. Two standing bearded men clasping hands.

II. Woman and man standing, clasping hands.

(Athens NM 961 C.1145/CXCVI. Catalogue nr. 22 pl. IVI)

b. Lekythos without inscriptions.

(N. York 12459: Richter, Catalogue nr. 89, pl. LXXIII a-c;
catalogue nr. 51 pl. XXIV).

I. Seated woman facing right, the left hand lifting her veil,
the right holding out a bird to a small standing girl.

II. Standing young woman, clasping hands with standing man,
leaning on his staff.

(Mother, father and two daughters?).

c. Lekythos of ΤΕΙΣΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ

(Peiraeus Museum 2152 Deltion 1963, pl. 55/2; Catalogue nr.
50 pl. XXXIV).

I. Standing bearded man facing right (Teisarchos), clasping
hands with another standing bearded man (Euphronios).

II. Seated bearded man facing right (type of seated Zeus)
clasping hands with a figure whose right hand and
forearm only have survived; the figure was probably
standing.

d. Lekythos of ΘΥΜΟΚΛΕΗΣ ΙΠΠΟΚΛΕΙΑ ΦΙΛΙΑ

(Athens NM. IG II² 6737a; Catalogue nr. 53 pl. XLIX)

I. On the left seated bearded man, clasping hands with
standing young woman.

II. On the right standing woman, clasping hands with a missing
figure, probably seated.

- e. Lekythos without inscription. Catalogue nr. 52.pl. XXIV
(Peiraeus Museum nr. 2408).

I. On the left standing bearded man, clasping hands with
seated woman.

II. On the right standing young woman stretching her hands
towards a standing maid holding a pyxis.

This lekythos also presents another peculiarity. The figures in the group on the right are smaller, with their heads hardly reaching the height of the back of the klismos of the seated figure. Furthermore, although they seem to have been executed at the same time as the left group and from the same projecting plinth, they stand free on the vase body and not on a projecting file, as do the other two figures. Possibly they were added after the other relief has been executed, but before the lekythos had left the workshop. A fact that might indicate the sudden death of the young woman and consequently the commemoration on the lekythos of two honoured dead. Of course the addition of these figures might be due to any other reason as for example the sudden change of the decision of the family concerning the number of persons they wish to commemorate.

- f. Loutrophoros of (...) (...) ΑΥΕΑΝΑΡΟΕ (ΕΥ)ΘΥΑΗΜΟΕ
Piraeus Museum.

I. Standing figure (probably male) facing right, clasping
hands with standing woman.

- II. Standing warrior (?) facing right, in short chiton, leaning on his long spear, clasping hands with seated bearded man. (Over the last two figures the names Lysandros and Euthedemos.

g. Loutrophoros of ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΜΗΤΗΣ Φ(ΕΙΔΙ)ΜΗΟΣ

AM.67 1962, Peek, Nr.242 - IG II²10612

- I. Standing bearded man facing right clasping hands with seated woman.
- II. Standing warrior facing right, in short chiton, chlamys and helmet, holding his shield (Pheidippos), clasping hands with standing young unbearded man.

h. Panel stele without preserved inscriptions

Athens C.782/CXLIII.

- I. Seated figure facing right, clasping hands with standing figure.
- II. Standing figure facing right clasping hands with seated figure.

It is an original grouping that is found only on grave vases and panel stelae, both worked possibly in the same workshops. Such a composition is already known from the r.f. vases. An outsize white ground lekythos of the end of the 5th. century in Louvre also presents exactly the same grouping.⁽⁴⁰⁾ However, as already mentioned, the possibility cannot be excluded that these peculiar

compositions were perhaps due not only to the influence of a common prototype but also to functional causes as, for example, the need of the sculptor to present at once two different but almost simultaneous deaths or to connect four already dead persons of a large family in such a way that each is depicted with his closest relatives. If this grouping is made for such a purpose, then this will be the only relief composition dictated absolutely by the death of a particular person and not by the standard composition designs.

86. Slightly different, but in some respects belonging to this

group, are the Panel stele (inscriptions now illegible) C.471/CXII and the Lekythos in Piraeus Mus. catalogue nr. 4, pl. XL).

a. Panel stele: Relief. Seated woman facing right, clasps hands with standing child turning towards the seated figure. Right of the standing figure another standing woman facing left (that is: also facing the seated one) and on the right another seated woman facing left and holding a baby on her lap.

b. Lekythos of ΚΑΑΑΙΠΗ ΜΝΗΣΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΗ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣ

(Piraeus Mus. cat. nr.4,pl.XL). Seated woman on a klismos

facing to the right, clasps hands with standing Mnesiptolemos. Between them a standing child facing the seated. In the background another standing woman turned towards the man.. Towards this left group are turned another three figures: Neoptoleme seated

on a thronos and the two standing men behind her Apollodoros and Apolliophanes.

On both these grave reliefs there are exceptionally two seated figures. There is, however, no indication whether they are both dead. Very interesting is the composition of the lekythos, in which the focused figure is the seated woman of the left group, yet possibly unnamed, whereas the right one is definitely named and seated on a thronos.

The relief composition is not a usual one and was definitely executed for a special order. The composition therefore might have served a special purpose.

III₂. Single figures emphasized

Apart from the emphasis placed on several figures by means of the composition, there are other groups where the figures are emphasized by being depicted with attendants (maids or servants) or by being presented in their special occupations (warriors, priests, etc.) The problem with these forms of emphasis is whether one could assume that persons appearing so distinctively should always be interpreted as the deceased for whom the monument was erected or whether they were simply other dead relatives, or even people still alive.

III_{2a}. Women followed by a maid.

The presence of a maid could in many cases justify the suggestion

that the person with whom the maid is placed is the deceased in whose honour the relief was erected.

Wherever a maid appears in the Attic reliefs, she is always attached to a woman. Very often the maids hold pyxides or, more rarely, bigger baskets; they hold babies or they appear in "mourning", like any other "mourning" female figure.

If the presence of a maid holding a pyxis could be considered as having a symbolic meaning - linked immediately with the cult of the dead and the decoration of their tombs⁽⁴¹⁾ - the pyxis having a function as a cult object, similar to that of the maids on the white-ground lekythoi (see further) - then her presence would always be connected with a deceased figure for whom the monument was erected. Thus the identification of the dead would be easier. But the mere fact that the maids were linked on the grave reliefs only with the female dead in contrast to the white-ground lekythoi on which women decorated the graves of both men and women, shakes the validity of such an assumption. The maid appears simply as a companion of the female person, as she was while the woman was still alive, without being linked with any particular moment or any particular place or function.

However, the presence of a maid on an Attic grave relief regardless of any symbolic cult function could still mean that the depicted female person whom she accompanies was the honoured dead

or, anyway, a dead and not a living relative. There are examples in which the woman followed by a maid is the only one who has a name inscribed; thus almost certainly she is the only one who is dead or any way the only honoured dead (e.g. stele of Damasistrate ⁽⁴²⁾; stele of Lysistrate in N.York ⁽⁴³⁾; Lekythos in Berlin 1106, catalogue Nr. 47; very probably Korallion stele ⁽⁴⁴⁾; etc.) As far as I know, there is no stele on which a maid is depicted as an attendant of a female person who can be considered with certainty as still living.

But there are reliefs on which the maids stand behind the subordinate and not the main female figures, as, for example, on the Boston Lekythos (catalogue nr. 3, pl. X), or the Aristomache Lekythos in N.York, (catalogue nr.7, pl. LXVII), on which two maids flank symmetrically the five-figure composition.

It becomes clear, therefore, that maids accompanied also female figures other than that of the "honoured dead". These cases however are rather rare and there is the strong possibility that these subordinate females also were dead.

Difficulties arise when, on a composition, one female figure is emphasized by the presence of her maid and the other is also depicted distinctively, as, e.g., a male figure similarly followed by his attendant (lekythos nr. 23 pl. XI) or depicted as a warrior, (lekythos nr. 30 pl. IV (lekythos nr. 143)).

Since it has been proved that in the same monument more than one dead persons can be commemorated, it is possible to suggest that in these cases both emphasized persons are dead.

III_{2b}. Male figures depicted in a distinctive way

Unlike the female figures, the male ones are emphasized in many ways on the Attic grave reliefs, either as warriors or nude athletes, riders or hunters, sometimes also as sailors, etc. With the exception of the nude athletes all the categories are more often found on the grave vases than on the stelae.

The representation of warriors is a very common subject, especially on the grave vases. They appear wearing their short chiton or often, in the late 4th. century, in full armour, sometimes carrying their shield and spear, at others being accompanied by their servant, who carries the big shield. They are not always depicted as young men but especially on the lekythoi often as being older and bearded. Representations of riders occur frequently on the vases. They are not usually represented in action, but are depicted standing leading their horses, especially when they confront another figure.

Figures accompanied by their horses are not necessarily horse-soldiers; they could equally well be plain citizens as, for example, hunters. Compare the lekythos of "Hegemon" in the Fitzwilliam Museum (catalogue nr. 71 pl. V) or the loutrophoros stele in Budapest.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Figures of hunters are mostly depicted without horses, just

with their dogs and usually with their servants holding their lagobolon. As already mentioned before (part one, II_{2c}) the motif of the hunter is quite rare on Attic grave reliefs in comparison with other representations.

Usually when a figure is depicted in such a distinctive way, it is one of the principal figures of the relief; thus figures of this kind are most probably those of the honoured dead. But there are many reliefs on which both the main figures clasping hands are equally emphasized. Consequently one must reject either the theory that one of the main figures clasping hands is alive or that the distinctive figures must always be the honoured dead. The following examples indicate some of these cases: Lekythos in Munich (catalogue nr. 101 pl. LV): both the main figures have names, the one a rider with his horse, the other a priest. Lekythos in Athens NM (catal. nr. 21, pl. XLVI): both with names, both attended by servants, the one holding a strigil. Lekythos in Athens Nat. Mus. 2016, (catalogue nr. 248 pl. XVIII) both figures with inscriptions, the one depicted as a warrior with his shield, the other as a rider with his horse. Lekythos Athens Nat. Mus. 3808 (catal. nr. 247). Two standing warriors. Similar representation of two warriors are very frequent on the lekythoi.

Very often the persons so emphasized are subordinate figures. Compare the following examples:

Lekythos in Athens, NM 1824, (catal. nr. 19, pl. XIX). All the three figures are named. The subordinate figure on the left is followed by his horse. Lekythos in Athens, NM 3499, (catal. nr. 35, pl. XIII). All three figures are named. A woman is seated in the middle clasping hands with another standing one, who is followed by her servant. Behind the seated figure, right, a standing man is followed by his horse. Lekythos Athens NM 4017, (catal. nr. 89, pl. XIII). Again all the figures are named. Two bearded men in short chitons, accompanied by their horses, the one clasping hands with another bearded man standing between them. Stele of Kephisodoros in Berlin⁽⁴⁶⁾. Two warriors clasping hands, on the left a priest. Two names on the epistylion which seem to correspond to the priest and one of the warriors. Lekythos, Athens NM (catal. 69 pl. VI). Warrior as subordinate figure.

⁽⁴⁷⁾
Wenz suggests that figures of warriors could represent still living persons, as he thinks is the case with the ~~amphora~~ in Kephisia,⁽⁴⁸⁾ but not any reason is given for it. In ^{almost} all these examples, however, one could suggest that, although the emphasized persons were not the honoured dead, they could nevertheless have been dead since their names are also inscribed. There is of course no proof at all that people depicted as warriors must all have died in action. But they could have been depicted in such a way because they were

probably doing their military service at the time they died⁽⁴⁹⁾ or because they were officers, or had been war heroes in the past.

Another way of emphasizing the male figures is to present them in the nude. Usually the Attic sculptors of grave reliefs avoid depicting figures in the nude, except those of athletes and children. But there are some few examples in which nude hunters also appear.

Two groups of lekythoi are exceptionally interesting. The first is a lekythos-pair erected for the young Kallimedon together with a grave-stele, and another lekythos of the same family probably erected for Kallimedon's parents (here, *nr.* 71 b,c,d,e ; catalogue *nrs.* 26,43,44). On the stele (partly preserved) the youth was presumably depicted as a "hunter" since his dog is preserved - most probably also naked. On both lekythoi the young man is depicted naked - his himation or cloak hanging on his arm - but on one of them he is wearing shoes and holds a lagobolon with his left hand, while in the other he is not holding anything, his lagobolon most probably being carried by his small attendant. On the third lekythos, which we suppose to be of a slightly later date, the same young man appears as a "spectator" and is depicted wearing a long himation shoes and holding an aryballos in his hand.

The second example is that of two lekythoi in Athens NM - the one slightly bigger than the other but of exactly the same

shape, with their reliefs executed by the same hand - The relief composition at first glance identical. However, basic differences exist between them. On one the young man is depicted naked - his himation hung over his arm - holding a lagobolon and with his two dogs jumping around him (catal. nr. 80 pl. VIII) on the other (catal. nr. 81, pl. VIII) the same young man is depicted dressed in a short chiton with the lagobolon (the lekythos surface in this place is worn), while the one dog jumps towards the old man whose hand the young hunter is clasping. The movement and expression of the two main figures is the same on both lekythoi.

On each of the above-mentioned examples the same person is deliberately depicted naked in one lekythos and dressed in the other. Secondly: this person, when dressed - in the first example - is a subordinate figure, while in the other - the second example - he retains the same position as the main, or one of the main, figures. Thirdly: in the first example the same person, although depicted as a hunter on his own monument, appears on a monument erected for a relative as an athlete, holding an aryballos.

It is not clear what the function of the two similar lekythoi of the second example was. If they were both erected for the same young man, then one cannot understand why he is depicted

naked on the one and not on the other. If, however, the one was his own monument and the other that of his father, then it could be the same as with the lekythoi of the first example (of Kallimedon).

There also seems to be no explanation of the fact that Kallimedon appears as a hunter on his own monument but as an athlete, dressed on that of his father. If this is not due to the simple desire of the family or the sculptor to emphasize the many-sided occupations of the young man - which does not seem at all convincing - then there must have been a deeper reason for it. Himmelmann suggested that the figures of nude hunters were usually avoided by Attic sculptors as having a "Heroenwürde" which was not suitable to the Attic stelae⁽⁵⁰⁾. But if the nude hunter had in fact had such a significance, then it is very difficult to accept that such a theme could have been adopted in Attica in the early 4th. century and furthermore not in the big naiskoi, but mostly on marble grave-vases.

The nudity of a hunter might not be regarded differently from that of any athlete. Because the hunters too, were occasionally nude when hunting⁽⁵¹⁾. And neither the figures of the athletes nor of the hunters should be interpreted differently from those in any other scene indicating another occupation of the dead. It looks as though all these scenes are scenes of everyday life - or at least of events that had happened to the person while alive - and not

scenes that distinguished the deceased as superior ^{βελτίονες καὶ}
⁽⁵²⁾ ^{καρετόνες} and considered as heroes . Similar examples are
the loutrophoros-stele of the naked young athlete balancing the ball
on his knee in the presence of his small servant ⁽⁵⁴⁾ or the stele
of a "pankratiast" ⁽⁵⁵⁾; the hunting scene on a lekythos in Nat. Mus.
nr. 9 352 (catal. nr 289, pl XVI), on which the dead is depicted
at the moment when he is killing a wild animal; or on the
loutrophoros-stele in Budapest ⁽⁵⁶⁾. However from the preserved
reliefs it is clear that the figures which look to be subordinate
are not depicted in the nude.

III_{2c}. Seated figures

One type often considered in the past to be most characteristic
in the depiction of the dead is the seated figure. Various scholars
have opposed this theory that the seated person is always the dead;
Himmelmann, in particular ⁽⁵⁷⁾ pointed out clearly what
usually seems to be the rule which determines whether a figure sits
or stands: that is, his situation in life (Rangordnung des Lebens):
Between female and male the female, between old and young the old ⁽⁵⁸⁾

This view is usually confirmed by the fact that young and
mainly male persons are not depicted seated but standing and by
reliefs on which the epigrams determine the standing figure as the
honoured dead e.g. stele of Phyrkias here nr. 14, and the stele of
Diphilos nr. 33. Furthermore this is shown on those reliefs

which depict more than one dead at the same time, as, for example, the stele of Ktesileos and Theano, nr. 3, Olympichos and Potamon nr. 4, the stele of the two brothers and sister nr. 6. Were the epigrams of these stelae lost, then the compositions would have been wrongly interpreted as depicting one dead and one living person.

However, Himmelmann⁽⁵⁹⁾ put forward the view that for the later reliefs the rule had ceased to be strictly valid and that now only the 'heroised dead' are represented as seated. As representative examples to support his theory he introduced some of the stelae which arise the greatest controversy about who is the dead, such as the Prokleides and Prokles stele⁽⁶⁰⁾ or the so-called 'Greeting' stele (Begrüßungs stele)⁽⁶¹⁾ On the latter it seems almost certain that the seated woman is the dead person for whom the monument was erected, a suggestion that is in agreement with Himmelmann's rule. The same occurs on the lekythos of Polystrate in Athens, (catal. nr. 170, pl. LIV) where also, in a similar composition, a seated figure is known to be the dead person because it is also named. On the other hand on another stele with a very similar variation of this subject⁽⁶²⁾ the existing evidence points to the standing figure as the dead.

As far as the Prokleides stele is concerned, it must be strongly suggested that, if only one is the honoured dead, what is not

at all certain, this is not necessarily the old Prokleides but the young warrior Prokles. However all three might be dead as is the case with the recently reconstructed stele in NM 4796⁽⁶³⁾, verified by the epigram which, according to Clairmont⁽⁶⁴⁾ belongs to it.

We are drawn to the same conclusion by the already-mentioned stele of Platon and Epichares nr. 57, which shows the same figure distribution as the last two stelae and on which the seated Epichares was initially depicted without his name, which was added later, and by the next group including grave reliefs with three figures, on which the 'subordinate' figure is the one seated. It must be stressed here that this peculiarity is not found on big stelae but only on vases or panel stelae.

85. a. Lekythos of MIKA KAAAIETOMAXH

(C. 698/CXXXV: catalogue nr 184 pl. XII)

Standing woman (Mika) very warmly embracing a standing girl (Kallistomache). On the right, seated, bearded man, Zeus-type, without name. The strong expression of any sentiment, as here the embrace, is unusual for Attic grave reliefs. Even in the later 4th. century, when sentiment is more freely expressed by a number of gestures, nothing similar to that ever appears, except for some representations on Hellenistic stelae from the islands, as, for example, a stele from Rhodes⁽⁶⁵⁾.

b. Lekythos without inscriptions

(Athens NM nr. 3587. Catalogue nr. 186 pl. XXVIII)

On the left, group of a standing bearded man and a standing woman clasping hands. On the right and turning towards the group, seated bearded man, Zeus-type. The composition pattern is similar to that of a votive relief in Athens NM⁽⁶⁶⁾.

c. Loutrophoros of ΕΥΘΥΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΤΗΣΙΛΛΑ

(Louvre, Encyclopédie Photographique du Louvre, III, 207).

On the left, standing bearded man, Euthykles, followed by his horse and facing right, clasps hands with standing bearded man (Archippos)

On the right, seated Ktesilla turned towards the standing group.

d. (Panel)_stele (with high relief).

(Athens NM 1170; C701/CXXXII)

No inscription preserved because fragmentary.

Relief: From left to right Bearded man, seated facing right.

Bearded man standing similarly facing right, clasping hands with standing woman. The standing man is partly hidden by the seated one.

Of these subordinate seated figures, the one of lekythos (a) is deliberately left without a name in contrast to the other named persons of the relief, and one is tempted to suggest that he was still alive at the time of the erection of the monument. Thus it is clear that the seated figures were not necessarily the honoured dead.

Even if these representations are to some extent exceptions to the whole grave relief compositions - probably influenced by another non-Attic prototype - still, they cannot have been so exceptional as to break with the hypothetical general Attic custom according to which the "seated persons are always the honoured dead".

Seated woman on thronos: Although the seated figures are generally accepted as not being conclusive for the identification of the dead, a special type of seated figure (a female seated on a thronos) is still puzzling the archaeologists.

The usual types of seat represented on the Attic classical and late classical grave reliefs are the 'klismos' and the 'diphros' ⁽⁶⁷⁾. The thronos appears more rarely, generally on later stelae, and is seldom found on the grave vases and panel stelae ⁽⁶⁸⁾.

All three of them seem to have been used indoors in the everyday life of the Athenians. (Probably the type of stool used depended on the social and financial standard of the family, or perhaps on the fashion of the time).

Some archaeologists, however, following the suggestion of ATHENAIOS, that the thronos is generally thought to be a more dignified stool suitable for a 'free person' only, believe that, when used on the grave reliefs, it should be regarded as suitable only for the 'heroised dead' ⁽⁶⁹⁾. It is true that the thronos, with its richer and more imposing appearance, was used mostly for the depiction of gods, heroes or respected and dignified persons,

and sometimes served among gods to distinguish Zeus from the others (Siphnian treasury - Parthenon frieze) and, further, that is not used in scenes of everyday life on Attic red-figured vases. But on the other hand, the same gods appear on other reliefs sometimes depicted on a 'thronos' and sometimes on a 'klismos' ⁽⁷⁰⁾, sometimes even on a 'diphros' ⁽⁷¹⁾; a fact indicating that these three kinds of seat could not imply such an absolute difference in the importance of the seated person.

Besides, it is not quite clear that the 'thronos' that Athenaios has in mind is exactly the type of seat that is now regarded as such. Athenaios *ibid.* says: "ὁ γὰρ θρόνος αὐτό μόνον ἐλευθέριός ἐστιν καθέδρα σὺν ὑποπόδιω ὅπερ θρῆνον καλοῦντες ἐντεῦθεν αὐτόν ὠνόμασαν θρόνον....". Thus it is clear that the 'thronos', according to Athenaios, was the only seat that had a footstool. But on the grave reliefs all kinds of seats can be combined with a footstool.

On the grave reliefs one must remark that thronoi are rather rare and that only women sit on them. This difference is hardly explained if the theory of 'heroisation' is valid. This fact might rather be due to a belief that such a luxury was more suitable for women than for men. The appearance of the thronos on the other hand on reliefs which are mostly late - very few only in the beginning of the 4th century - could offer support to the theory of 'heroisation' of the dead, since it is also believed that on the Attic stelae the 'heroisation' appears on the late monuments ⁽⁷²⁾. The appearance of

the thronos could, on the other hand, have been due equally to the fact that at that time women were more respected than they had previously been, to the fashion of the period or to the influence of a common prototype, as was very often the case. This latter view seems more probable when one compares the parallel phenomenon with another pattern represented also on a few grave reliefs for a certain time of the 4th century. In that group appear female and also male figures on a dipros⁽⁷³⁾. The reason for this fashion seems to have been the imitation of a common pattern and not a deeper functional one. The fact also that thronoi are depicted usually on rich, big stelae points to the suggestion that these representations were not of the 'heroised' dead (who could be from any social level and on any kind of monument) but of a member of a richer family in the supposedly luxurious environment of her house. On a lekythos, for example in Athens NM 840 (catal. nr. 33, pl. XXIII) the thronos is not rich; it has not even any arms; but it is something between the late klismos and the thronos.

Thronoi were also used in the representation of the preparation for the marriage of Paris and Helen on Kertch vases but continued to be used later for scenes of the everyday life of the gynaekeion⁽⁷⁴⁾.

Yet, even if no 'heroisation' of the dead can be proved by the presence of the thronos, it is nevertheless clear that a person

seated on such an elaborate seat is usually the one most emphasized on the relief and thus, possibly the 'honoured dead'. On the Demetria and Pamphile stele, for instance, the figure emphasized by the use of the thronos is also emphasized by the fact that her name is written in bigger letters. (see here, nr. 52). The seated Damasistrate⁽⁷⁵⁾ is also emphasized by the presence of a maid. There is, however, no proof that she is the only one honoured in that relief; because the man holds a strigil which, as it will be shown, can be associated with dead figures. The absence of an inscribed name for him is not decisive, since the slab in that part is missing. (In fact it is possible that a name up to 8 or 9 letters could originally have been written, as e.g. ΔΙΩΝ).

The newly found lekythos in Peiraicus Museum (catalogue nr. 4, pl. XL) gives the more decisive argument. On its multifigure relief appear two seated female figures facing each other (see here nr. 86b), the one on a klismos the other on a thronos. However the last one is not the person on whom the relief is focused, and indeed does not belong to the main group.

Seated men: type of Zeus: In addition to the enthroned female figures so far discussed, there are occasionally male seated figures which, because of their striking similarity to known god-types, are again supposed to be the 'heroised' dead. Let us take, for example, the so-called "Sostrate" stele in N. York⁽⁷⁶⁾. The seated male figure is

supposed by some archaeologists to be the 'heroised' dead because it recalls the known 'Zeus' type with the sceptre⁽⁷⁷⁾. This explanation is quite probable for this stele. But let us compare the 'Zeus-like' figure on a marble lekythos in Athens NM 3587 here 85b and catalogue nr. 186, pl. XXVIII. The man here is not even one of the main figures but on the contrary he is set apart at the right side of the relief, without participating in the main action of the composition. So it is here certain that the 'Zeus-like' type of the old man is a subordinate figure. Immediately the importance of the figure is reduced and no one would think of interpreting it as the 'heroised dead'. Yet the type of man is exactly the same as that of the man on the N. York stele. The lekythos composition is similar to that of the lekythos of Mika and Kallistomache (here 85a and catal. nr 184 pl XII), in which the 'Zeus-like' seated man is depicted unnamed in contrast to the other two named figures. Hence, very probably, according to the evidence available, he is still alive. (The slight difference between the two seated men of the two lekythoi consisted in the lower position of the hand of the second one). The obvious conclusion from the above comparison is that the impression given by the 'god-like' figure of the stele in N. York, that it is the 'heroised dead', is due simply to the emphasis given to this figure by its position in the relief. The impression is strengthened by the fact that this relief, in contrast to the lekythoi, was executed by a very capable

sculptor who made all the figures of the relief look more or less like gods. (Compare, for example, the standing female figure behind him with the goddess on a votive relief from Patras⁽⁷⁸⁾ or the votive relief from Paeraeus⁽⁷⁹⁾).

The pattern of the seated male 'god-type' is definitely borrowed from major sculpture. The same pattern was used for the representations of seated gods or heroes on votive reliefs or on decrees, with both of which the smaller grave reliefs have many affinities, as far as the relief technique is concerned. But the borrowing of an artistic motif need not always to imply the presence of all the other features which indicate figures of gods and heroes. It is used just as a pattern which the artists used again and again. There is of course a certain dignity in these representations, but this dignity could be attributed to any older respected member of the family who is not necessarily one of the 'heroised dead'.

Features and artistic motifs used in depicting gods and heroes had been transferred to ordinary human beings on the vase representations when scenes from everyday life began more often to replace mythological ones⁽⁸⁰⁾.

Besides the reliefs in which the seated figure holds a staff vertically (in the style of Zeus), there was an earlier type of seated man (at the beginning of the 4th. century) who held the staff obliquely) e.g. Tynnias⁽⁸¹⁾. Their prototype could also be traced

back to a 'god-like type', as, for example, the figure of Asclepios on the relief from Epidauros⁽⁸²⁾ or the gods on other reliefs.⁽⁸³⁾ However, they do not always represent the dead on the grave relief e.g. lekythos of kallikleia, catal nr 298 pl XI. Yet, since such figures are almost always, one of the two main figures, they too, might very often be the dead for whom the relief was erected. Thus the patterns of the seated male figures seem not to have a general value in indicating the 'honoured dead'. That impression is given only when the seated person is also emphasized by other means.

This chapter has discussed whether the composition as a whole or the emphasis of certain figures which appear engaged in their different occupations or with their family or in a particular position, such as standing or sitting could offer any evidence for the identification of the dead. No such evidence drawn from the monuments so far discussed can be generally applied. However, there is a small number of suggestions that should be mentioned.

I. The various compositions as a whole are not influenced always by the number of deaths but by the prevailing fashion of the time.

The only exceptions are the reliefs nr. 84 a - h on which the figures are depicted in two separate groups that might commemorate two simultaneous deaths.

II. The same composition schemes were used for reliefs commemorating one or more dead persons.

III. Usually, but not always, the figure that is the focal point is that of the honoured dead.

IV. As regards the figures that are emphasized by the manner in which they appear, it seems probable that they were already dead, and very often the honoured ones, although the latter is not always proved.

V. The seated position is not in itself an indication that the figure is that of the honoured dead in either 5th, or 4th. century Attic reliefs. The seated female on a thronos is in almost all the cases one of the main figures, and possibly therefore the honoured dead. In one case however, nr 86b, she is rather a subordinate one.

III₃ Gestures: No less weight is given occasionally to the interpretation of various gestures as means for the identification of the figures on the reliefs. Before discussing the different gestures and their probable explanations, it should be mentioned that there is no evidence to prove that a certain gesture always has the same meaning in different compositions. One gesture very commonly used by female figures on the grave reliefs, but also in all different kind of monuments and having generally a great variation of meaning, is that of lifting the veil or himation. It might express a great number of situations or feelings, used, for example, for symbolic representations as the 'Hieros Gamos'

(Hera of the Selinous metope and Parthenon frieze) or on vases in various Dionysiac scenes or scenes of everyday life (departure of a warrior, scenes of the toilet of women, banquet scenes, etc.) The gesture could thus express gaiety, grief, shame, fear or, most frequently, simply female coquetry⁽⁸⁴⁾. Sometimes even, without having any organic function, it is simply a gesture to give symmetry⁽⁸⁵⁾ or a routine repetition. This difference in the meaning is due not to a possible slight dissimilarity in the rendering of the gesture⁽⁸⁶⁾ but to the meaning we give to the whole composition, which dictates also that of each specific gesture. Thus it is clear that a gesture on a frieze or on a votive relief cannot always be interpreted in the same way when used on a grave relief; often the same feelings are expressed by different gestures or the same gesture is expressive of different feelings.

The most frequent gestures on the grave reliefs of the 5th and 4th. centuries are the lifting of the veil or himation and the supporting of the head in the female figures. The supporting of the head is widely used and seems to have been 'established' as a mourning gesture on the reliefs after its repeated use by Polygnotos in the Nekyia scenes, although the gesture has appeared earlier e.g. mourning Achilles. As regards the grave reliefs, from the material available it is usually the subordinate figures that make this gesture, figures which are generally thought to be the "living", mourn-

ing relatives. But it is probable that the dead themselves are represented in the same way, although such examples are very rare; and indeed in the past it was occasionally suggested that the dead were never depicted with an expression of grief⁽⁸⁷⁾.

The dead PROSOSIA⁽⁸⁸⁾ and also the dead woman on the stele in Piraeus⁽⁸⁹⁾ seem to exemplify the same motif of the supported head.

It is moreover disputable whether all the subordinate figures were in fact meant to be alive, since at least some of them seem to have been already dead e.g. the subordinate figures of the Aristomache lekythos in New York here catalogue nr. 6 pl. LV or the old Kleocharis in the lekythos in NY Carlsberg Glyptotek here catalogue nr 18, pl. XXVII etc.

Thus it is clear that the use of this gesture as a means of identifying the 'survivors' is dangerous. Besides, the gesture itself is not exactly the same in the different periods, having sometimes the real organic function of supporting the head or the chin, at others being just a stylized gesture, where the hand reproducing the same movement does not touch either of them. at all⁽⁹⁰⁾. It is in these cases therefore that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether the mason meant to depict the gesture of supporting the head or something slightly different, as for example, the lifting of the himation, especially when accompanied by a strong inclination of the head of the figure. Com-

pare, for example, the two figures of the DAMASISTRATE stele⁽⁹¹⁾; superficially their gestures are very similar but their function is different. Yet on other examples the divergence between these two gestures grows until at last the gap is so striking that it is sometimes hard to explain the two gestures as expressing the same feelings e.g. two stelae in Athens⁽⁹²⁾, the one in NM Inv. 3716⁽⁹³⁾ It is then suggested that the gesture of lifting the himation or the veil (as Hera does, hence the name of the 'Heraion scheme',⁽⁹⁴⁾) is characteristic only of the 'heroised' dead since on those two the dead seem to be the figures making the gesture. However, reliefs showing this gesture in a less emphatic form are numerous and on some of them it seems to be used as well for the living e.g. stele from Eleusis⁽⁹⁶⁾. Consequently it must be assumed that the gesture itself does not incorporate a special meaning. It is of course connected with the so-called hero reliefs from Laconia, the figures of which are usually supposed to represent 'heroised' dead or, by a minority, to represent the chthonic deities or local heroes⁽⁹⁷⁾ and which are linked by some archaeologists with the Attic stelae⁽⁹⁸⁾. But it is, on the other hand, used very widely in representations from everyday life on vases (indoor scenes of the gynaekeion) where the gesture does not have any special meaning.

As a gesture analogous to that of lifting the himation or veil the men bring their free hand to the chest or waist and hold the

hanging end of the himation. Through this obviously unimportant gesture it becomes more clear how stylized and conventional the gestures sometimes are and how risky it is to attribute to them a special meaning, just as with the female figures.

Male figures also express sorrow and grief either by supporting their heads or by touching their bearded chins. Usually the figures of adults or older men making these gestures are represented leaning on a staff held under their free hand or arm. This type of male figure has usually been interpreted as representing a living, mourning figure, but this is shown here not to be true, since not only the subordinate figures, living or dead, are represented in such a way, e.g. the old Kleomenes on the lekythos in Copenhagen (catalogue nr 18 pl. XXVII) but also the honoured dead themselves as on the stelae C. 909/CLXXX; C911/CLXXX; C.1054/CCX; C.1033/CCV - the last two in the same pattern of the Ilissos stele.

Another variation of the above-mentioned pattern, which seems to be used equally for both dead and living figures, is seen in the figure leaning on its staff, held under one arm, but having both hands folded and hanging in front, as is the dead Ktesileos in his stele with Theano, here nr. 3. In the same way, with the exception of the staff, many small living male servants appear - type of the Budapest stele⁽⁹⁹⁾ and even female ones e.g. the maiden of the stele of Mnesarete⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

There is no solution to the problem whether the standing girl of the so-called 'Sostrate' stele in N. York⁽¹⁰¹⁾ is dead or living⁽¹⁰²⁾ and the controversy shows how little help is offered by gestures in the identification of the dead.

The emphatic gesture of lamentation, that of bringing the hand to the head, usual in the prothesis and ekphora scenes of b.f. vases, and the slightly different later scenes on the white ground lekythoi, is almost absent from the grave reliefs. Such a strong expression of lament for the dead did not suit the general frigid austerity of Attic grave reliefs. The gesture was preserved in the 4th. century for the figures of the Sirens in an impersonal and stylised way. On the marble grave vases, on which the feelings seem occasionally to have been more freely expressed, there exist only a few compositions with a motif resembling a little the one discussed above: Lekythos of Kleocharos (catalogue nr. 18 pl. XXVII, lekythos of Hermosthenes (catal. nr. 72) and lekythos of Theophante (catalogue nr 179 pl. LXVIII. However, even this motif is used for both named and unnamed figures (lekythoi 18 and 179) thus it cannot be considered necessarily as indicating only the living.

In conclusion, one could say that even the most characteristic mourning gestures, usually suitable for the living mourners, might, on the grave reliefs, be used equally for the dead. The already-mentioned gestures seem originally to have been an integral part of the movement of the body or the arrangement of the drapery. There

are, however, other gestures as well which serve only to express feelings without having any other organic function.

One such gesture that often appears on the grave reliefs from the beginning of the 4th. century - commonly made by a female standing figure - is a gesture of greeting. The figure stretches usually its free left hand towards the opposite standing figure or occasionally instead of the left the right⁽¹⁰³⁾.

The gesture is usually associated with figures which for some reasons (especially the presence of an inscribed name) are thought to represent dead people, even if not always the honoured ones: e.g. lekythos of Chairestrate (catalogue nr 294 pl. XXIII); lekythos in Piraeus (catalogue nr. 111); lekythos in Boston (catalogue nr. 3 pl. X); lekythos of the family of Skambonides (catalogue nr. 5, pl. XXIX).

Yet it seems that this gesture is also made by persons, assumed, because their names are not inscribed, to be living as e.g. the female figure of the lekythos of Hesychia, (catalogue nr. 197), the female figure of the panel stele C.348/LXXXVII and C.722/CXXX. The gesture of one of the subordinate figures of the Myrrhine lekythos is also similar, (catalogue nr. 1, pl. I). Here, however, it seems to be rather a gesture of farewell, or a spontaneous movement to prevent Hermes from taking away the dead.

What exactly the gesture means is not clear. If it is not quite simply a gesture of greeting, then it could be one of despair, perhaps

mixed with astonishment, at the sad fate of the deceased. Compare, for example, such gestures on the white ground lekythos in Berlin⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ or the maid of the Erato stele⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ or the figure of the stele C145/XLIV which seem to express such feelings and are very similar.

Another gesture is common on rather later grave reliefs. It is that which shows the free hand of the figure stretching towards the arm of the figure facing it, but this time reaching and touching it. It is a gesture of tenderness and affection. One could imagine that this gesture is made only by the living relatives to the dead. However, at least in several cases, the opposite is true. From the most characteristic example is Korallion,⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ and the female figure of the stelae C.337/LXXXV and C398/XCII. On others, on the other hand, any identification is impossible, as for example on the stele in NM Athens 4507,⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

Another stele, the so-called 'greeting' stele⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ represents a more emphasized gesture. The handshake is replaced here by a kind of embrace. The seated figure leans slightly forward, stretching both hands towards the arms of the woman standing in front of her who, on the contrary, as though she were willing to be separated from her, touches her chin with her right hand, while with the left hand she is gently breaking the hold of the seated woman's right hand. It is possibly a scene of separation but it is not clear whether the standing or the seated figure is the dead person.

In that particular stele, as already mentioned, it is possible that the seated figure is the dead because she is also followed by her maid. However, one cannot ignore the fact that on a later replica of the same ~~theme~~, (possibly from the beginning of the 3rd. century, a stele from Santorini⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ it is the standing and not the seated woman for whom the monument was erected.

The same relief theme in a slightly modified way, is found on other stelae⁽¹¹⁰⁾ but without offering any further evidence on the specific problem.

This is the strongest expression ever given by Attic sculptors to the emotions of the figures (living or dead) on grave reliefs, and it seems to have been introduced some time in the second third of the 4th. century. However, there is an earlier relief (unique as far as I know) on the marble lekythos of Mika and Kallistomache (catalogue nr. 184 pl. XII). On this two women - mother and daughter - are embracing, while the third figure (an older man) sits apart on the right of the relief, contemplating them; it could possibly be dated on stylistic grounds as belonging to the first third of the 4th. century. This relief is an exception for its time, because there is no parallel even outside Attica, the closest reliefs being from Rhodes, which are much later⁽¹¹¹⁾. On the lekythos it seems that both women are dead because they are both named whereas the man is not. One of the Rhodian reliefs just mentioned points to the

same conclusion, since the epigram shows that the two embracing figures on it are dead⁽¹¹²⁾.

III₄ Expression: Apart from the interpretation of gestures, many suggestions have been made on how to identify the dead by their expression. Collignon⁽¹¹³⁾ held the view that grief is revealed only by the survivors. Young⁽¹¹⁴⁾ has the same opinion. Recently Himmelmann⁽¹¹⁵⁾ discussing this problem, laid down somewhat epigrammatically the evidence by which the dead can be identified through their expression: in the early times by their self-absorption (*Versunkenheit*), later by their remoteness (*Entrückung*) and lastly by their glorification (*Verklärung*). However, in many reliefs the dead remain unidentified, particularly in all the mass-produced ones on which the mason uses known designs indiscriminately in a stylised way to represent all the figures. On the stele of Ktesileos and Theano,⁽¹¹⁶⁾ as both names are in the genitive it is clear that both are dead and honoured by the stele, so there is no question of the dead confronting the living. However the woman is seated: she lifts her himation with her left hand in a way that seems intended to emphasize the action, and looks straight ahead, without noticing what is happening around her. The man, on the other hand, leaning on his staff, bows his head and looks intently and sorrowfully towards the seated woman. On Himmelmann's theory, this would be a typical representation of a dead woman with a living relative - but this contradicts the facts.

(Both names seem to have been written on the same occasion). The same is true of the stele of Phyrkias and Nikobole⁽¹¹⁷⁾. From the inscription we know that he was dead and that the monument was erected for him; he stands, however looking down at the seated woman, - while she looks straight ahead, apparently unconcerned - possibly also dead. These two obvious examples make it clear that the evidence for interpreting other representations, which are more ambiguous, is not strong: e.g. the stele of Hippomachos and Kallias⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Furthermore on some grave reliefs as e.g. the lekythos of a warrior in Leiden (here catalogue nr. 293 pl. III) the seated dead is looking vividly towards the standing. How misleading it is to attempt to identify the dead through the use of this "expression" characterising one standing and one seated figure is realized when one tries to distinguish this "expression" in two standing figures. It is in fact difficult to trace a development of the "expression" pattern that could be applied to them as a rule. Let us compare, for example, five grave monuments, covering more than fifty years: the stele of Sosias and Kephosodoros⁽¹¹⁹⁾ the lekythos of Kleocharos (here catalogue nr 18 pl. XXVII), the stele of two men⁽¹²⁰⁾, the stele in Moscow⁽¹²¹⁾ the stele of Mnesistrate⁽¹²²⁾. On all of them, both the main figures are depicted with exactly similar expressions.

Occasionally it is found as well among two standing figures as for example the Munich lekythos (catalogue nr 251 pl. XXVII) or

the lekythos in Athens NM 3808 (catal. 247). But while on the first lekythos it characterizes apparently the dead, on the latter there is no conclusive evidence for such a suggestion. The two lekythoi catal. nrs. 80 and 81 pl. VIII offer another example, on which the two main figures are depicted in exactly the same way although very probably on the one it is the young and on the other the old man, who is the honoured dead. Thus, if there really exists a rule for the 'standing-seated' scheme, there is definitely not an invariable one for the 'standing-standing' one; consequently one should perhaps look for the reason for the use of the former scheme not in the sculptor's attempt to distinguish the dead but in other considerations, which could include stylistic ones⁽¹²³⁾. It seems in fact that there was a pattern repeatedly used in Attica, in which the seated figure does not generally look upwards to the standing one. This happens in other reliefs, too, such as decree reliefs.⁽¹²⁴⁾

Other exceptions to Himmelmann's rule are those later reliefs in which the seated dead, instead of being 'absorbed' or 'glorified' are depicted like the living, taking an active part in the whole relief and looking intently at the standing figures confronting them. as for example the seated on the stele in Louvre⁽¹²⁵⁾, Damasistrate⁽¹²⁶⁾ Prokleides⁽¹²⁷⁾, Lysistrate⁽¹²⁸⁾ etc.

Thus, to conclude, one could say that certain patterns of expression exist which are characteristic of a certain type of

composition at certain periods of time, that these patterns are eventually used irrespectively for both dead and living. Thus the "expression" cannot always be taken as an indication in the identification of the dead.

Curtius⁽¹²⁹⁾ sees in the way in which the girl in the Munich lekythos (here catalogue 251 pl. XXVII) clasps hands without closing firmly her fingers, a sign that she is the dead. However similar handshake occurs on other figures as well, which, as far as it is possible to conclude, are still living e.g. the father of the young Kleocharos on the lekythos catalogue nr. 18 pl. XXVII.

III₅ Attributes: The question of the objects held by the depicted people is much more complicated. Although objects of every-day life, they are mostly thought to be 'attributes' of a sepulchral nature rather than simply objects indicating the age or sex of the figure⁽¹³⁰⁾.

Vases, taeniae, pyxides, baskets, mirrors, musical instruments, arms, strigils, children's toys, pets, etc., are represented in both everyday life and sepulchral scenes. The problem is whether these attributes are used on the tombs and in the tomb scenes on the white gr. lekythoi because of their links with the life of the deceased or whether they have a special sepulchral character and, if so, how many of these features they retain when represented as attributes of the figures in the Attic classical grave reliefs.

It is known that the lekythos, the alabastron and the 'plemochoe' - although objects of everyday life, especially for women - were very closely associated with the funeral rites and the cult at the tomb and appear also in such scenes on the white-ground lekythoi, sometimes also held by the dead themselves⁽¹³¹⁾. Musical instruments (lyre and pipe) are also linked with the dead. The lyre, connected with Orpheus and the Muses, is sometimes depicted on the white-ground lekythoi as an offering to the dead⁽¹³²⁾ or played by the dead themselves⁽¹³³⁾. The pipe seems to have been the only instrument used at funeral ceremonies⁽¹³⁴⁾, and both lyre and pipe were already depicted on the geometric vases in the ekphora scenes accompanying the files of mourners. Taeniae are very closely connected with the objects in tomb-scenes which have just been discussed. Taeniae, on the other hand, were used in daily life as, for example, to decorate successful athletes. Very narrow taeniae (filets) decorated the stelae or the offerings brought to the dead, or even the dead themselves⁽¹³⁵⁾. Some animals were similarly thought of as symbols of the underworld, especially the horse⁽¹³⁶⁾ and the dog⁽¹³⁷⁾. Between the sepulchral scenes of the white-ground lekythoi - on which most of these objects appear - and the grave-reliefs there is a great difference. While the same attributes appear repeatedly on the white-ground lekythoi, (namely lekythoi, alabastra, 'plemochoae' taeniae, eggs and wreaths), they are, however, usually absent from the Attic reliefs. The plemochoe never appears, as far as I know; the lekythos appears only once⁽¹³⁸⁾,

alabastra twice⁽¹³⁹⁾. The big baskets were rarely found, and mostly on marble vases⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. Wreaths and eggs are never met, unless they were originally painted.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Taeniae were also very rare on grave reliefs⁽¹⁴²⁾. Even in the cases on which they were found it is not quite clear whether they represent the narrow filets usually used on the tomb stelae, as known from the similar representations on the white ground lekythoi, or some wider bands⁽¹⁴³⁾ - a kind of scarf-used for the toilet of women.

Some further objects that appear as offerings on the tombs appear very rarely on the grave reliefs. The diphros, for example, depicted on white-ground lekythoi⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ appears only once on an early marble lekythos cat.nr. 8 pl. II. The pomegranate is not clearly depicted on any Attic classic relief. On a lekythos in Athens NM(catal. nr. 9 pl. V'II) a woman holds a round object in her left hand. It could be a pomegranate but also an apple⁽¹⁴⁵⁾. It might also be a ball of wool (although somewhat irrelevant to the whole composition) because with her right hand the woman seems to be pulling out a thread. Sometimes the women might play with such balls of wool⁽¹⁴⁶⁾.

The attributes however most usually depicted of figures on the grave reliefs are not those so far discussed. Much more important also is the fact that the attributes are no longer the same for both men and woman, but there are different ones specifically

according to sex. So far as there is evidence, there is no overlapping of the attributes of male and female figures on the reliefs. For men there are strigils and aryballoi and for women mostly pyxides and other objects connected with their indoor everyday life. The strigils and the aryballoi, appear very rarely on the tomb scenes on white-ground lekythoi, and when they appear, they seem to be, as on the grave reliefs, just attributes held by the dead person himself, revealing his occupation, rather than being brought to him as sepulchral offerings⁽¹⁴⁷⁾. Strigils of course are found inside the tombs of men and children⁽¹⁴⁸⁾. Sometimes they are even found in such large numbers that the suggestion has been made that these objects cannot be personal belongings of the dead, but sepulchral offerings. In most cases, however, it seems most probable that they were personal belongings; the strigils found in some very few graves had had a name inscribed in the genitive, probably the name of the dead, although the possibility of the manufacturer having his name inscribed cannot be excluded⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. Similar problems are posed by the astragaloi found in large numbers. They were the most popular playthings of children, possibly even of older ones⁽¹⁵⁰⁾. Their great number might be explained by the possibility that children collected them⁽¹⁵¹⁾.

But even if these objects, found in such great numbers, were not all personal belongings of the dead, they are not necessarily,

however, sepulchral offerings. If in fact there was a custom that the relatives, and possibly the friends, brought a last gift to the dead, the most appropriate thing would have been the kind of object that the deceased used to love or use while still alive, and not necessarily something that had a general sepulchral character.

The other object usually held by men on the reliefs are the aryballoi, which are however, put into the graves in small numbers and in the 5th. and 4th. centuries they are very rare. Consequently their possible sepulchral function seems not to have been very marked at that time. Arms belonging to warriors have been already mentioned in previous chapter.

Among the women's attributes the most puzzling are the pyxides. Pyxides of various sizes were used in daily life in the household probably for containing all kinds of things: jewellery⁽¹⁵²⁾, scrolls⁽¹⁵³⁾ probably also children's toys, as, for example, puppets⁽¹⁵⁴⁾, musical instruments⁽¹⁵⁵⁾. What the pyxides on the relief representations were for is not clear. Thimme⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ suggested that they always contained taeniae which had a symbolical sepulchral function similar to that depicted on the white ground lekythoi, namely, to decorate the grave. The pyxides of the reliefs, however, are usually of a different shape and are smaller than those represented on white ground lekythoi. There is no evidence either that the pyxides depicted on the white ground lekythoi contained taeniae, for on these scenes the taeniae are brought to the grave in big flat baskets and apparently

not in pyxides⁽¹⁵⁷⁾. Similarly there is no evidence that the pyxides on the reliefs contained taeniae as a rule. On very few reliefs it looks certain that the small pyxides contained a piece of material that might be a taenia like the one on the stele in Venice EA 2579⁽¹⁵⁸⁾, stele of Archestrate here nr 12, stele of Silenis in Berlin⁽¹⁵⁹⁾, stele of Pheidylla in Athens⁽¹⁶⁰⁾. But all these taenia-like materials could have been used as well for a different purpose - for the toilet of the women - since, as already mentioned, they differ from the narrow fillets used on the decoration of the stelae shown on the white ground lekythoi. But even if these were taeniae, there is no proof about their use on the reliefs for the cult of the dead, since they were used in everyday life on many different occasions, as did also the wreaths.

On the other hand, it is proved that the pyxides did not always contain taeniae but in several other reliefs contained ornaments - lekythos of Phano and Kallipis (here catal. 31 pl. VI) stele in Piraeus⁽¹⁶¹⁾ the Boeotian stele of Glycylla⁽¹⁶²⁾ - or larger scrolls (e.g. here nr. 19).

Consequently their function was not different from that which they had in the everyday life of the person.

Other objects of women's everyday life-mirrors, fans or spinning accessories - are represented occasionally in sepulchral scenes⁽¹⁶³⁾.

The presence of musical instruments is also something that does not necessarily imply sepulchral quality. Music was essential for the early education of children⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ and music lessons were very

often depicted on vase painting. Indeed, music in general played a very great role in the life of the people and it could accompany any feature of their life, secular, sacred or sepulchral⁽¹⁶⁵⁾. In comparison with the frequency with which musical instruments and musical entertainment are depicted on the r.f. vases, their occurrence in the grave relief representations is so rare that no allusion to a general sepulchral character can really be made.

The most characteristic objects held by the children on grave reliefs were mainly objects without sepulchral quality. There were puppets and imitations of animals in clay - especially birds (doves?) - and balls, as well as other known children's toys including the wheel⁽¹⁶⁶⁾, astragloi, etc. The children are thus represented as occupied in the same activities as in the life they had left behind. Some of these objects had also a symbolic meaning in the life of the children or young people. The hare, for example, seems to have been a love-gift, and thus a symbol of love. These terracotta objects are not very often depicted on the white ground lekythoi; they are found, however, inside the graves as furniture, as already mentioned. Their nature is therefore uncertain. Most of them seem actually to have belonged to the deceased or at all events were the kind of things the deceased used to have in life and probably only for this reason were brought to him by his relatives as a farewell present⁽¹⁶⁷⁾.

In conclusion, it can be noted so far that the objects characteristic of the sepulchral rites, which are almost always present on the white ground lekythoi, rarely appear on the grave reliefs. So, as regards the other objects represented occasionally only on the white ground lekythoi, it is not certain how much of their (possibly) sepulchral character they retained when held by figures depicted on the reliefs. Because there is a difference between the white ground lekythoi and the reliefs. The first as already mentioned seem not to have been commissioned for a special burial or for a particular dead person - except for some very rare examples⁽¹⁶⁸⁾. Most probably one could only choose from the pieces already painted with subjects suitable for a male or female. Their motifs were not chosen from the life of a particular person, but from a wider range connected with the cult of the dead. On the grave stelae, on the contrary, except in some very few cases on marble vases or loutrophoroi stelae⁽¹⁶⁹⁾, nothing is directly connected with the funeral, the grave or the cult of the dead, but the relief is meant to represent a certain person in his everyday environment. On the Attic reliefs the attributes always suit the person who carries them or for whom they are presented, and are characteristic of his sex, age or occupation while alive. Their appearance does not seem to be determined by any sepulchral function but simply by the purpose they were put to in life: strigils for men and boys, pyxides for girls and women, etc.

Another fact that indicates that those objects were meant as objects of the past life of the deceased is that sometimes the depicted person is not merely holding them, but is actually making use of them. There are scenes, for example, of the palaestra with athletes playing or scraping themselves⁽¹⁷⁰⁾. Among women's indoor scenes there are several which find their exact parallel in scenes of everyday life on r.f. vases or even gems. There are scenes with seated women holding small children (Compare for example a stele in Leiden⁽¹⁷¹⁾ and a r.f. hydria⁽¹⁷²⁾) or spinning in the same way as represented in scenes of everyday life, (compare, the stele of Mynno in Berlin⁽¹⁷³⁾ with the r.f. alabastron from Kerameikos 2713⁽¹⁷⁴⁾, the stele of Kypria⁽¹⁷⁵⁾, on which the woman bows towards the wool basket, with a similar figure on a r.f. pyxis in Athens⁽¹⁷⁶⁾, and the panel stele in Berlin⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ with a vase in N. York⁽¹⁷⁸⁾). On another stele in Salonika⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ a woman and her maid reproduce the same composition as on a gem of Mike by Dexamenos⁽¹⁸⁰⁾, etc.).

On other stelae the attributes seem to reveal the occupation of the deceased. The stele of Potamon⁽¹⁸¹⁾ depicts two male figures, father and son, each holding a pipe. According to the usual attributes these pipes should be characterized generally as objects of the underworld, but the epigram below, stating that these two men were famous musicians, indicates that the pipes were attributes of their profession in life. The stele representing a poet holding a mask⁽¹⁸²⁾ and another stele, probably Thespian, with a lyric poet⁽¹⁸³⁾

can be similarly explained. The same is true for the stele of Chairestrate here nr 21 who, being a priestess of Kybele, is represented holding a key while a maid is presenting a tympanon, a lekkythos in Athens NM catal. 54 pl. LII on which a figure holds a key, or the various representations of priests holding a kantharos or a knife⁽¹⁸⁴⁾. The personal links between these objects and the figures depicted are also emphasized by the fact that such attributes are really rare on the Attic classical reliefs. But even more unusual objects that can hardly be linked with any sepulchral function point clearly to the meaning of the previous ones. On his stele SOSINOYS, Χαλκόπτης (the coppersmith) (here nr. 20) is depicted holding a round disc which cannot be anything but an allusion to his occupation. The same thing must apply to the stele of Xanthippos⁽¹⁸⁵⁾, who is holding a shoe or a shoetree. Possibly we can explain in the same way the panel stele in Berlin 1553⁽¹⁸⁶⁾, with the representation of a young man turning towards a small round object believed to be a ball. The relief is followed by the inscription: (κ)οὔρος χρυσοχόος (κ)εῖμαι πολλοῖς (π)οθαινός. Although the word χρυσοχόος is interpreted as being his name⁽¹⁸⁷⁾, I think it simply refers to his occupation as in the previous examples.^(187a)

From the examples so far discussed, one is inclined to conclude that many attributes - from the most common ones to the more rare ones - merely indicate the occupation or interests of the

deceased and do not have any special sepulchral quality. It is true, however, that the occupations of the deceased were not as a rule revealed either by the attributes or by the epigrams, unless they were highly esteemed occupations (those of priest, musician etc.) or some other noble activities of life, such as athletics, or if the depicted were war heroes, etc.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾. On the other hand, one must admit that, from the numerous epigrams throughout the Greek world - and especially from Attica - as well as from the more remote and indirect evidence one has even from Homeric literature, people were always concerned more with praising the life of the dead persons, lamenting their early death or revealing how they had died⁽¹⁸⁹⁾, than with the life after death. Although it can hardly refer to the classic Attic reliefs, one cannot help remembering a similar event mentioned in the "Odyssey", when Elpenor after he met Odysseus in the underworld, asked him to put on his grave the oar which he had used⁽¹⁹⁰⁾. A similar explanation is given exceptionally to the representation of a shield on a geometric vase thought to have stood on the graves as a visible sign⁽¹⁹¹⁾. Sometimes in the Hellenistic period they even go further, simply setting up stelae on which are depicted only objects that the deceased used to love⁽¹⁹²⁾. On another Roman stele with two pipes⁽¹⁹³⁾ the epigram below states that the stele is the tomb of a poet.)

Taking the above conclusions into account, our main point is

to see whether all the figures who hold these attributes on the grave reliefs are dead or could still be alive. There are very few examples in which a person carrying such an object - or to whom the object is presented - could be considered definitely as dead or alive, judging by an epigram or other certain means. The examples however which offer this possibility indicate that the bearers of these objects - except servants - are dead. See for example the reliefs of Sosinos here nr. 20, of Chairestrate here nr. 21, of Mnesagora and Nikocharēs here nr. 1, stele from Vergina here nr 10, etc.

It is more difficult to judge when an attribute is presented by one main figure to another - not in the case when the servant carries it. This happens especially with adolescents and children, who usually appear offering birds to each other. On the stele of Ampharete, here nr. 2 or the stele of Mnesagora and Nikocharēs, here nr. 1, it is the adult who holds the bird, but both figures are of dead persons. Yet it is very dangerous to generalize and interpret all similar scenes in the same way. For instance, one cannot suggest with complete certainty that both figures in the Timarete stele are dead⁽¹⁹⁴⁾. On the stele of Archestrate, here nr. 12 the dead person honoured is the seated woman and yet it is the little girl who is holding the bird out to her. Is the child also dead?

If the bearers of such attributes are in fact dead then it will be once more proved that on the grave reliefs more than one

figures is represented as dead even the subordinate ones. Compare for example the reliefs of the lekythoi catal. 33 pl. XXIII, 54 pl LII, nr. 44, and even those of catal. 69 pl. VI and 19 pl XIX on which the subordinate figures are depicted as warriors with their armature or as riders with their horses.

They probably depicted them in this way to emphasize them or to show them as they were when still alive, alone or in their family environment, and not as dead. The stele of Ampharete tells us this clearly: "I am here now dead, holding this dead baby as I used to hold it when we were both still alive". They are both represented as dead, but acting as they were when alive, with the same behaviour, the same expression, the same gestures of affection. The grave stone is set up, not to recall a momentary scene, but to immortalize the dead persons as they were when alive. Another stele, that of Timokrates, is one more such example⁽¹⁹⁵⁾. "Stele, who put you here? The mother of Timokrates, to remind her of the face of her son for ever".

IV. Summary

Summing up, an attempt has been made to determine whether the figures on the grave reliefs represent dead or both dead and living persons, whether it is possible to distinguish the dead from the living and, if so, by what means.

Two conclusions were drawn; first, that on very many reliefs beyond any doubt not only one, but two or more or even all of the depicted people were dead. The dead were not necessarily confronted by anyone living. Secondly, that the presence of a name inscription seems to indicate that the person is dead, irrespectively of the number of the depicted people. On the contrary other proposed means of identifying the dead cannot be applied generally.

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