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Between Victory and Defeat:
Framing the Fallen Warrior in Fifth-Century Athenian Art

By

Nathan Todd Arrington

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Classical Archaeology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Andrew F. Stewart, Chair

Professor Christopher Hallett

Professor Tonio Hölscher

Professor Emily Mackil

Spring 2010

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the visual reception of military casualties in fifth-century Athens: the place of the war dead in the city's physical, artistic, and cognitive landscapes; the construction of a public visual rhetoric of struggle and sacrifice; and the refraction of this ideal in private art. To put it simply: Where were the fallen, how were they presented, and how were they viewed? To answer these questions, I examine the public cemetery (*demosion sema*), the monuments therein, the images of death and defeat on the Akropolis, and the relationship of this imagery to that found on private symposium vessels.

I use the concept of “framing” to analyze and explicate the material culture surrounding the war dead in ancient Athens. By “frames” I refer to the physical settings of both objects (including ashes or bodies) and of images related to the fallen, together with other aspects of material culture that inhabit those settings and surround the objects and images under study. At the same time, I am interested in how these physical frames create referential frames: the mental structures that we use to understand the activity around us. Physical frame, referential frame, form, and content work together to produce meaning. In different places at different times, the fallen warrior could be viewed as belonging to a victory, to a defeat, or to the conceptual space between the two: the moments of intense struggle and effort when individuals strove to secure victory and avoid defeat.

Following an introductory chapter, the second chapter presents the first comprehensive archaeological study of the *demosion sema*, the public cemetery. Compiling and analyzing the findings from over three hundred urban rescue excavations, I demonstrate that the cemetery was established ca. 500 BC along the so-called Academy Road, and spread a short distance eastward. I trace the use of this space through time and show that the cemetery was not a delimited, organized, or controlled area. The war dead were removed from the center of the city into a setting with few visitors and interspersed among private graves, shrines, and workshops. By integrating the war dead into the landscape, the polis mitigated their potentially disruptive presence. I juxtapose the spatial arrangement at Athens with the layout of the Yasukuni shrine for Japanese war dead and suggest a model for understanding the organization of the *demosion sema*.

The third chapter addresses the artwork within the *demosion sema*. The cemetery was not a place of lavish display in the early fifth century, and often the state burials dissociated themselves from the aristocratic monuments of the past. Moreover, they did not provide models for late fifth-century private funerary sculpture. The casualty lists, the defining visual aspect of the state burials, were potential monuments to defeat. The format and appearance of the lists, together with their epigrams and crowning figural reliefs, show how the Athenians mourned their losses while simultaneously creating defiant monuments of power and collective resilience. They historicized more than heroized the war dead, locating them in an extended narrative that blurred distinctions between victory and defeat. The casualty lists, particularly their friezes, did not passively honor the dead but created a viewer-oriented rhetoric focused on *agon*.

The fourth chapter turns to intra-mural sacred space. The Akropolis was not a stage for victory dedications alone but a place in which the Athenians repeatedly confronted the fallen warrior. Victory monuments and references to the fallen shared a concern to articulate, explain, and strengthen the relationship between mortals and immortals. Elaborating on C. Marconi's work on *kosmos* and T. Hölscher's study of *decor*, and drawing on A. Gell's analysis of agency in art, I show that the representations of the fallen belonged to an imagery that actively invoked the gods through pleasing and appropriate depictions and that simultaneously confronted viewers and compelled them to contemplate the dead. They internalized death and the civic ideology of sacrifice for the city.

Chapter five discusses the framing of the fallen on symposium vessels through a close study of the mythical Kaineus. This defeated Lapith could be framed to display heroic resistance, a victory in the face of death. However, a complete study of the images that accompany Kaineus on black-figure and red-figure pottery shows that in the fifth century artists sometimes framed Kaineus' defeat with scenes designed to elicit connotations to his earlier female gender. In the setting of the symposium, pervaded by sporting and play, the defeated Greek was not sacred. No sooner were martial ideals presented than they were subverted. The potential for Kaineus to be comic, either because of his posture or because of the surprise elicited through the framing devices, facilitated the viewer's gaze on death and defeat.

This dissertation reaches the following five conclusions: 1) at Athens the war dead often were forgotten; 2) public intra-mural spaces could be used to portray the leadership and sacrifice of prominent individuals; 3) expanding the referential frame minimized the impact of defeat; 4) death on public monuments was not presented in the guise of victory, but embedded in a narrative of *agon*; and 5) images of the fallen on the Akropolis and in the symposium worked upon the viewer to internalize and accept death.

In Memoriam
Victor L. Arrington, Sr.

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This dissertation would not have been possible without the assistance and advice of my indefatigable committee members. Andrew Stewart read drafts of chapters in a flash, with a keen sense of language and a deep knowledge of ancient art. During my first year as a graduate student, he chided me, “Art *never* reflects.” Since then, he has continually encouraged me to think about the many ways in which art works. To Chris Hallett I owe a debt of gratitude for the countless hours I spent in his office talking about this dissertation. He helped me shape the theoretical and methodological premises of this work, and much of the title bears his mark. Tonio Hölscher graciously agreed to be on this committee and serve from afar. His early work on historical art as well as his more recent analysis of *decor* informs much of this dissertation. His comments on my chapters always touched not only on the most minute details, but on the broad issues concerning the project and Greek art in general. Emily Mackil has redefined what it means to be an “outside” committee member. Not only did she read everything with great care, but her feedback pushed me in new directions, and she inevitably raised important points that I had never even considered.

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1. Introduction

“In the end they did not notice that they had filled the public graves with their citizens.” Isokrates 8.88, 355 BC

“The idea that [the war dead] are essentially snuck back into the country under the cover of night so no one can see that their casket has arrived, I just think is wrong.” Senator Biden, 2004

Late in the night of April 5, 2009, the body of U.S. Air Force Staff Sgt. Phillip Myers arrived from Afghanistan at Dover Air Force Base, where, for the first time in 18 years, the remains of an American casualty were received not just by family members, military personnel, and a white van used to transport the casket to the morgue, but by cameras.¹ The long-standing media ban had been enacted by President George H. W. Bush in 1991, during the Gulf War, only a few years after television networks broadcast split-screen pictures of the President joking while caskets containing the remains of war dead returned to American soil. The ban was lifted on February 26, 2009, not without controversy. Some military families feared the cameras would disrupt the solemnity of the occasion, disturb mourners, and enable peace activists to use the dead as political pawns. Others thought that showing the return of the casualties honored the dead and their sacrifice. For these families, the war was not visible enough. Memorial Day had degenerated into an occasion for consuming hot dogs rather than for remembering the fallen. War opponents found themselves agreeing with some of these families: they opposed the ban on photographing caskets because it sanitized brutal conflicts and cloaked the high cost of war.

The emotional debate exposed the power of images of the fallen. In democratic societies, citizens (ostensibly) decide to wage war. We willingly send family members and neighbors into harm’s way, and images of the war dead compel us to reflect on the costs of our decisions. The caskets on American soil render vividly present a war fought in distant countries that few Americans will ever visit and that many cannot even locate on a map.

The pictures of the dead have the power to move, provoke, and disturb. They can divide as much as they unite. Much depends on their form – a casket draped with a flag incites different emotions than a mutilated corpse – but much of their impact also depends upon their setting: their frame, broadly construed. A photograph reverently hanging above a family’s mantelpiece carries different force than accompanying a newspaper article. The article’s heading, whether it mentions a new benchmark in casualties or the bestowal of a Purple Heart, further influences the picture’s reception. Many military families opposed lifting the media ban at Dover ultimately

¹ For the event, the reactions, and the historical background, see “Curtains Ordered for Media Coverage of Returning Coffins,” *Washington Post*, Oct. 21, 2003; “Gates Orders Review of Policy on Soldiers’ Coffins,” *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 2009; “Debating Policy on Soldiers’ Coffins,” *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 2009; “Coffins’ Arrival from War Becomes an Issue Again,” *New York Times*, Feb. 22, 2009; “Defense Chief Lifts Ban on Pictures of Coffins,” *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 2009; “USAF Bomb Technician’s Dedication Recalled,” *Washington Post*, Apr. 28, 2009; and “Without Bush, Media Lose Interest in War Caskets,” *Washington Examiner*, Sep. 29, 2009.

because the frame was out of their control and so the effects of the pictures of the caskets were unpredictable. Images of the dead, they realized, even sanitized images festooned with patriotic regalia, do not by default glorify the dead.

The war dead are a potentially powerful and uncontrollable force that is embedded in and surrounded by a rich variety of material culture, from cemeteries to monuments to knick-knacks. These landscapes, images, and objects 1) control the (disturbing) physical presence of the dead, 2) respond to the mourning, sorrow, and dissent caused by the dead, and 3) project multiple ideals. As countries receive the caskets, society also receives the dead *visually*. Politics and individuals, in different ways at different times, use material culture to remember the dead, to forget disasters and dissent, to comfort and mourn, and to convince others to die.

This dissertation examines the material culture that surrounds the war dead in fifth-century Athens. I am interested in the visual reception of military casualties: the place of the war dead in the city's physical, artistic, and cognitive landscapes; the construction of a public visual rhetoric of struggle and sacrifice; and the refraction of this ideal in private art. To put it simply: Where are the fallen, how are they presented, and how are they viewed? To answer these questions, I examine the public cemetery (Chapter 2), the monuments therein (Chapter 3), the images of death and defeat on the Akropolis (Chapter 4), and the relationship of this imagery to that found on private symposia vessels (Chapter 5).

The remainder of this introduction first will set the geographical and chronological parameters of the dissertation and explain my preference of the term “frame” over “context.” It will then address the importance of the war dead in the social and political fabric of fifth-century Athens. Next, it underlines the close connection between death and defeat in this culture, and sketches some of the responses to defeat and to casualties that can be gleaned from literary sources. This exercise sets the scene for the fuller treatment of material evidence in the following chapters. Finally, I briefly discuss the limitations of the concepts of commemoration, heroization, glorification, and the “beautiful death,” which have frequently been the subject of scholarship.

1a. Approach and Methodology

The decision to focus on Athens requires little justification. The literary and archaeological materials from this city provide an unparalleled arsenal for a multi-faceted approach to a complex topic. Moreover, it is important not to assume that the visual reception of the fallen was the same throughout all of Greece. Nor was it the same in every period. In this dissertation I focus loosely on the fifth century. I write “loosely” because Kleisthenes' democratic reforms of 508 BC seem to have inaugurated a series of important changes in military organization. Use of the *demosion sema* began *around* 500 BC (see Chapter 2). At the other end of the chronological spectrum, some of the images that I will discuss date to the early fourth century.

I focus on fifth-century Athens because I am interested in how a democratic community handled the problem of the return of its war dead, and because in that century the visual treatment of the fallen differed from both the preceding and following centuries. Such popular Archaic images as the battle over the corpse or Ajax carrying the body of Achilles disappeared from Athenian art in

the early fifth century.² The shift was echoed in literature, where Herodotos and Thucydides treat the war dead with less attention to the conspicuous deaths of individuals than Homer and other Archaic poets.³ Burial customs had changed, too. The public cemetery began to be used ca. 500, and following the Persian Wars it was the preferred place to bury the war dead. Many casualty lists appear in the fifth-century cemetery, but they are almost entirely absent from our fourth-century archaeological record. The process of conscripting soldiers also changed in the fourth century, the military became more professionalized, the use of mercenaries became more rampant, and the institution of the Ephebeia became more prominent.⁴ The heroization of the dead – such as the cult at Plataia or the widespread use of Totenmahl reliefs – belongs to the fourth century rather than the fifth.⁵

Limiting our study to the fifth century also partly avoids the long shadow cast by the funeral oration, which was an addition to the *nomos* for the burial of the war dead.⁶ Only one full specimen survives from the fifth century: Perikles' funeral oration.⁷ This speech also happens to contrast sharply with the other surviving, fourth-century funerary speeches. Must we attribute all the differences to Thucydides' style?⁸ I prefer not to assume that our fourth-century funeral orations preserve a rigid form that also existed in the fifth. This frees us to look at the material evidence on its own terms. We can study society's treatment of the war dead while aware of the goals and methods shared by art and oration, but can also avoid the temptation to search for any illustrations of the ideals presented in the speeches. In sum, there is ample reason to focus our discussion on fifth-century Athens in order to more accurately understand the place of the war dead at one particular time, in one particular place.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I prefer to use the term “frame” to “context” because it emphasizes the constructed and artificial nature of the settings in which the fallen warrior appears. These are not haphazard assemblages or sites, but responses to the presence of the dead, the problem of defeat, and the power of the fallen. The term “frame” underscores the force of military casualties: they demand a frame to control and direct their reception. “Frame,” of

² Recke 2002, esp. the diagrams following page 322.

³ Hoffmann 2000, Boedeker 2003, and Bosworth 2009. The Homeric models available in literature, however, still informed the Greek perception of conflict: see 1c, below.

⁴ On conscription, see Christ 2001. See Lendon 2005, 91-114 for some of the fourth-century changes, and also Pritchett 1974, 59-125, with reservations about how dramatic the shifts may have been. For a concise summary of military developments in the Classical period, see Delavaud-Roux 2000, 74-80. For a more detailed treatment of the fourth century, see Burckhardt 1996.

⁵ Étienne and Piérart 1975, esp. 63-68, Thönges-Stringaris 1965, and Welwei 1991. On the heroization of the dead, see further 1d, below.

⁶ Thuc. 2.35.1 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.17.4.

⁷ Thuc. 2.35-46. Perikles also delivered an oration over the dead from Samos in 439/40 (Plut. *Per.* 8.6). The other preserved funeral orations (although not all of them were actually delivered over the dead) are: Gorg. fr. 5-6, Lys. 2, Pl. *Menex.* 236d-249c, Dem. 60, and Hyp. 6.

⁸ Bosworth 2000 argues that Thucydides was on the whole faithful to Perikles' original text: “...what he has given us is a potent distillation of the speech Pericles actually delivered” (16).

course, does not entirely replace “context,” but provides needed nuance and allows a comparative analysis of formal differences across several frames.

By “frames” I refer to the physical settings of both objects (including ashes or bodies) and of images related to the fallen, together with other aspects of material culture that inhabit those settings and surround the objects and images under study.⁹ At the same time, I am interested in how these physical frames create referential frames: the “mental structures that shape the way we see the world” or that we use to understand the activity that surrounds us.¹⁰ Depending upon form and frame, the fallen warrior can be viewed as belonging to a victory, to a defeat, or to the conceptual space between the two: the moments of intense struggle and effort when individuals strive to secure victory and avoid defeat. Images of the fallen are polyvalent. On symposium vessels (Chapter 5), they even could be framed for comic effect.

The term “context” has serious shortcomings. Often used to describe the social, historical, or cultural milieu in which an object was produced, to archaeologists context also suggests the matrix in which an object was found. Searching for context, as important as the process is for some studies, only partly aids our understanding of an object, for context itself is limitless and in need of its own explication.¹¹ We cannot treat context as a given backdrop onto which our object can be placed and by which that object receives its full value. Using “context,” in fact, can distract from the challenges of dealing with an object, and can delude us into believing that once we understand a background or matrix, we can effortlessly grasp the object’s purpose and meaning.

These comments on the importance of the frame do not imply that we should ignore an image’s form and content. Indeed, a detailed study of the images of and related to the war dead lies at the heart of this dissertation. It is essential, however, to include the surrounding sites and signs within our analysis of any specific iconography of the war dead, and to relate our formal observations of the images of the fallen to the particular spaces in which these images occur. The dead are framed in different ways and perceived differently in public extra-mural space (Chapters 2 and 3), in sacred intra-mural space (Chapter 4), and in private dining space (Chapter 5). Form, content, spatial frame, referential frame work together to produce an object’s meaning.

Analyzing these four aspects – form, content, spatial frame, and referential frame – demands knowledge of an object’s purpose and setting. Accordingly, this dissertation does not provide an exhaustive study of the iconography of the warrior or even of casualties. In too many cases the circumstances of production and consumption of such artifacts remain unknown. For instance, the warrior appears on many fifth-century white-ground lekythoi and (later) grave stelai, but

⁹ Hurwit 1977 and 1992 explicitly discuss the physical frame in Greek art; cf. Osborne 1994. Neer 2001 also applies the concept of frame, but in a manner less strictly linear than Hurwit. For the frames of paintings and how they relate to the phenomenology of art, see Crowther 2009, 35-59.

¹⁰ For the concept of the referential frame, see Goffman 1974 and Lakoff 2004. The quotation is taken from Lakoff 2004, xv.

¹¹ Culler 1988, ix and Bal and Bryson 1991, 174-180 critique the use of the term context.

these were not necessarily buried with or erected for men who died in war, and so are not discussed in this dissertation.

1b. The Significance of the War Dead

The visual reception of military casualties in fifth-century Athens mattered because this community suffered a staggering number of losses in the Persian War and especially in the Peloponnesian War. Krentz calculates that the winning side of a hoplite battle usually lost 5% of their forces on the field, while the defeated lost 14%.¹² To put some flesh on these numbers, let us consider one military disaster, the battle of Delion. Here, in 424/3 BC, the Athenians lost around 1000 hoplites, which amounted to 15 to 20% of those on the field or about 3% of their total hoplite force.¹³ This latter number would be the modern equivalent of losing 43,000 U.S. soldiers (based upon the total number of U.S. active military personnel) in a single battle.¹⁴ If we estimate that there were 200,000 people living in Athens, then losing 1000 Athenians is also equivalent to losing about 1.5 million Americans. Such large casualties were not mere statistics for the Athenians. These numbers would shake any community, but especially a relatively small one where nearly everyone knew one of the dead or a relative of the dead. Moreover, a democratic community with a high level of citizen participation in political deliberation, where the citizens themselves had decided to wage war, must have felt a keen responsibility for the loss of life.

Following a battle between Greek armies, when the din and tumult of the onslaught yielded to the faint cries of the wounded and dying, one side erected a trophy, while the other sent a herald to request their dead. Despite the brutality of hoplite warfare and the vicious hatred opponents might have felt toward one another, Greek armies nearly always allowed the recovery of the dead, and paused to collect their own.¹⁵ The Athenians were no exception to the pan-Hellenic norm. They went to great lengths to recover their fallen for burial in the public cemetery, where monuments were erected at public expense, celebrated orators eulogized the dead, and funeral games were held.¹⁶ An oath which the Athenians and their allies may have sworn before the

¹² Krentz 1985, 19; cf. the discussion of Athenian casualties and demographics in Brulé 1999. For modern casualties, see Leland and Oboroceanu 2010.

¹³ On the battle: Thuc. 4.101. Brulé 1999, 59, Table 1 lists the casualties from Athenian battles as a percentage of the fighting force. My calculation producing 3% does not account for the number of hoplites who may have served on triremes and might not be included in Perikles' summary of Athenian military resources (Thuc. 2.13.6-8). It should be noted that Perikles' count of hoplites includes metics.

¹⁴ For the recovery of American soldiers, see Sledge 2004 and Sheeler 2008. For the "work" of death in the American Civil War, see the profound treatment by Faust 2008. For the dead from the world wars, see Mosse 1990 and Winter 1995. I do not intend to imply, either here or in the opening paragraphs of this introductory chapter, that the ancient and modern societies or their perceptions of the dead are equivalent.

¹⁵ On the recovery of the war dead, see Pritchett 1985, Vaughn 1991, and Strauss 2000. For non-Athenian burial practices, see Low 2003 and 2006.

¹⁶ Paus. 9.4.1-2 and 9.5.11.

battle at Plataia included a clause that they would leave no one on the battlefield.¹⁷ At Stolygia in 425 BC, the Athenians, although they had already set up a trophy, sent a herald to the Corinthians to recover two men they had left behind on the field, thus ceding symbolic control of the battlefield to the Corinthians, and yielding the victory.¹⁸ When the Athenian generals did not recover the shipwrecked and the dead following a naval victory at Arginousai in 406 BC, they were put on trial (with the exception of Konon). Two wisely did not return home; six were condemned to death and their property confiscated.¹⁹

Several fifth-century tragedies deal with the issue recovery of the dead, especially through the saga of the seven against Thebes, when Kreon denied burial to the fallen. Aischylos staged episodes of the myth in his dramas *Nemea*, *Argives*, *Eleusinians*, and *Epigoni*, and again in his *Seven against Thebes*; Sophokles in *Antigone*; and Euripides in *Suppliant Women* and *Phoenician Women*.²⁰ In Euripides' *Suppliant Women* – performed shortly after the disaster at Delion, when the Boiotians refused the Athenians burial for 17 days – the Athenians are the defenders of the pan-Hellenic *nomos* of burial.²¹ The myth, possibly including the dead, was painted in the temple of Athena Areia at Plataia, built from the spoils of Marathon.²²

The war dead mattered to the living. But where in the city were they? How were these bodies (re)imagined or transformed when their ashes returned home? What types of stories were woven around the war dead by means of material culture? This study hopes to answer some of these questions and thereby to shed light on the way that the Athenians treated and viewed their military casualties.

1c. The Other Side of Victory: The War Dead and Defeat

The Athenian treatment of military casualties can inform our understanding of how they responded to the problem of defeat, a subject which has not received the same attention as its

¹⁷ Lykourg. *Leok.* 81; Diod. Sic. 11.29.3; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 440-449, no. 88, ll. 30-31; and Siewert 1972. Whether or not the oath is authentic, it preserves an accurate fifth-century attitude toward the fallen.

¹⁸ Thuc. 4.44; Plut. *Nik.* 6.5-7; and Pritchett 1985, 190-191 and 236.

¹⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 1.7; Diod. Sic. 13.100-102; Pritchett 1974, 13-14; and Pritchett 1985, 204-206 and 236. It must be admitted that only Diodoros mentions the corpses and that Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.35 implies that the generals were criticized for not having recovered the wounded: see the discussion in Pritchett 1985.

²⁰ *LIMC* 7 s.v. Septem and Griffith 1999, 4-12. Euripides' interest in the myth of the seven against Thebes may have originated in the Athenian treaty with Argos (and Mantinea and Elis) in 420 (Thuc. 5.47).

²¹ On the burial of the dead as a divinely sanctioned law, see Eur. *Supp.* 16-19, 304-313, 522-527, 537-541, 561-563, and 670-673. The unburied were thought to wander the earth: Eur. *Tro.* 1084-1085 and Hom. *Il.* 23.71-74. For the dead at Delion, see Thuc. 4.97-99 and 4.101.1. For the rites and attitudes toward the dead, see Garland [1985] 2001.

²² Paus. 9.4.1-2 and 9.5.11.

counterpart, victory.²³ Those who died in war often could be perceived qua defeated. This status was particularly pronounced when the dead belonged to the losing side. The family of a hoplite who fell at Delion could find no consolation in the overall outcome. Moreover, the war dead were intimately linked to the notion of defeat, for it was the request for recovery of the dead that signaled capitulation.²⁴ Corpses were the variable in the equation between winning and losing. The vanquished side in a hoplite battle usually lost three times the number as the winning side.²⁵ Casualties were never a good sign.

The Athenian dead could be considered defeated even in the case of a victorious outcome, for it was possible to conceive of each dead soldier as one who had lost his own particular fight. Our literary sources suggest that the Greeks applied such a referential framework to combat. The *Iliad*, the quintessential manual of military valor, distills battles of assembled armies into competitions between individuals, in which one sought to win glory from the other.²⁶ It was a zero-sum encounter. Sarpedon says to Glaukos, as they approach battle, “Let us go and either extend glory to someone or he will grant it to us.”²⁷ Elsewhere the bard describes how Ares and Terror rage through battle and “give glory to one side.”²⁸ When Hektor decides to encounter Achilles in combat, he concludes, “We will see to which man the Olympian will grant the triumph.”²⁹ With this mindset, triumph, glory, and victory belonged to one alone, and did not depend upon the overall outcome of the war. Archaic and Classical art also depicted warfare as a series of zero-sum battles between single opponents. The hallmark of Greek warfare was the hoplite phalanx, where soldiers were tightly packed, with each man’s shields protecting his neighbor’s flanks. Yet it has often been noted that, with a few exceptions, this defining aspect of military tactics was not depicted. Rather, artists focused on the individual experience of warfare: the victory or defeat of one person.

The possibility of viewing a dead Greek soldier as a defeated Greek, as one who had lost his own particular contest, was also encouraged by the close association between warfare and athletics. Athletic training was widely held to be military training. The few sources that criticize the applicability of the one for the other reveal how accepted the connection must have been.³⁰ Many

²³ E.g. Thöne 1999 and Hölscher 2006. Ducrey 1987 treats the defeated in Greek art, particularly from the Trojan War saga, arguing that such images illustrate the excesses of war and warn about the dangers of impiety and the horrors of conflict. Hannestad 2001 discusses how the treatment of war in Greek art shows that war was an event to be feared.

²⁴ Alexander on one occasion even thought it a shameful (*aschemon*) request (Diod. Sic. 17.68.4). The Spartan king Pausanias in 395 BC was condemned to death for, among other charges, having recovered the bodies of the dead by truce rather than battle (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.25).

²⁵ Brulé 1999, 60.

²⁶ Lendon 2005 discusses how attitudes toward war in the Classical period continued to be informed by epic: “... the Greeks of the fifth century simply saw no decisive difference between their fighting and epic fighting” (66).

²⁷ Hom. *Il.* 12.328: ἴομεν ἢ ἐ τῷ εὖχος ὀρέζομεν ἢ ἐ τις ἡμῖν.

²⁸ Hom. *Il.* 13.303: ... ἐτέροισι δὲ κῦδος ἔδωκαν.

²⁹ Hom. *Il.* 22.130: εἶδομεν ὀπποτέρῳ κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξη.

³⁰ Eur. fr. 282 (Nauck), 16-23: τίς γὰρ παλαίσας εὖ, τίς ὠκύπους ἀνήρ/ ἢ δίσκον ἄρας ἢ γνάθον παίσας καλῶς/ πόλει πατρώα στέφανον ἤρκεσεν λαβῶν;/ πότερα μαχοῦνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν

a Greek hoplite is depicted naked, in the guise of athletic competitors. Terminology and vocabulary for warfare and athletics were often interchangeable.³¹ One telling example is Thucydides' word of choice for battle: *agon*, the term also used for an athletic match and for a struggle. In a military contest, the bodies are the prize, the *athlon*, for which one contends.³²

The athletic framework that was applied to warfare created problems when the Athenians turned to thinking about the war dead. The victory of individuals in athletic contests was clear-cut and defined, but so, too, was defeat. In the most celebrated athletic games, there was not even a second place: the crown belonged to the victor alone. The application of an athletic paradigm to warfare bestowed the garland of victory only on the living; it rendered defeat vivid. This problem – the possibility of viewing a dead soldier as a defeated soldier – rendered the images and objects related to the war dead even more provocative, disruptive, and disturbing for Athenian society.

Literary sources offer some clues on the possible Athenian responses to and mentalities about death and defeat.³³ The words ancient Greeks used to write about defeat are often meaningfully ambiguous, as if the signified cannot, or should not, be distinguished too clearly. Verbal forms tend to appear in the passive voice with their agency unexpressed, as on a late sixth-century epigram for a polyandron for Euboian or Athenian war dead, where the dead say, “We were subdued” (ἐδμήθημεν).³⁴ The formulation of the epigram is so vague that there is no consensus in scholarship on which side won this engagement. Other verbs that authors employ are the passive form of “to win,” νικᾶσθαι, or the ethically-loaded ἡττᾶσθαι, “to be worsted.”³⁵ Thucydides seems to prefer the former, Herodotos the latter. The noun συμφορά sometimes occurs in war narratives and often is translated as “misfortune” or “calamity,” but it can also signify merely an event, without any negative connotations, and can even refer to a fortuitous event.³⁶ The nouns σφάλμα or πταῖσμα (and the related verb πίπτω) meaning literally a “stumble” or “slip,” suggest a minor mishap, but can occur in discussions of disasters.³⁷ These ambiguous, passive, and euphemistic descriptions of defeat recall the modern English use of the word “fallen” to describe war casualties. The soldier shredded by an improvised explosive device becomes, in our imagination, one who has slipped. No named entity can be responsible for his condition: the fallen cannot be pushed, let alone shot. “Fallen” signals a common, natural occurrence (everyone falls), and also suggests a temporary condition (our fallen might just get

χεροῖν/ δίσκους ἔχοντες ἢ δι' ἀσπίδων χερὶ/ θείνοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίους πάτρας;/ οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας/ στάς. Cf. Reed 1998.

³¹ Scanlon 1988. See also the discussion of the victors from Phyle, 1d, below.

³² Lys. 2.10 describes the corpses of the Argives recovered by the Athenians and buried at Eleusis as *athla*.

³³ I am not discussing here tactical or political responses to defeat, such as when a general alters his strategy or a city capitulates in response to a battlefield loss.

³⁴ Peek 1955, no. 1; Page 1975, no. 2; and Page 1981, 189-191.

³⁵ E.g. Thuc. 1.50.5, 2.39.3, 3.115.6, and 4.25.2; Hdt. 1.66.4, 1.169.1, 1.176.1, 1.190.1, 1.207.3, 5.46.1, 5.66.2, 5.102.2, 5.119.1, Thuc. 2.39.3, Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.15, 3.5.23, 4.2.23, and 4.3.10.

³⁶ E.g. Hdt. 5.111.3, Thuc. 3.39.3, and 7.29.5.

³⁷ E.g. Hdt. 7.6.4, 9.9.2, and Thuc. 5.14.2; Hdt. 1.65.1, 5.62.2, 5.113.2, and 6.117.1.

up). The words τραῦμα and πάθος, though not particularly common in war narratives, emphasize the suffering the defeat causes.³⁸

When it came time to assign responsibility, Athenians attributed defeats to non-soldiers: to fate, to a deity, to a general, or (particularly in the late fifth and early fourth centuries) to civil stasis.³⁹ When Lysias discusses the naval loss at Aigospotamoi, for instance, he specifies that “ships were lost in the Hellespont either because of the cowardice of the *hegemon* or the ill-will of the gods.”⁴⁰ Such excuses avoided any condemnation of the fighting men (and the concomitant shame for their relatives) or praise of the prowess of the enemy. The defeated also could pretend that they had won. When the Spartan commander Eteonikos learned of the Lakedaimonian defeat at Arginousai, he told the messenger boat to sail off quietly, return festooned with garlands, and announce a victory.⁴¹ Agesilaos adopted a similar ruse when he told his troops that Peisandros had won the battle at Knidos and offered a celebratory sacrifice, although in fact he had lost.⁴² On other occasions, military loss was subject to amnesia. When Phrynichos staged a tragedy about the disaster at Miletos in the early fifth century, the Athenians were so distraught “on the grounds that he had reminded them of their own woes” that they fined him and ordered that the play never be staged again.⁴³ Thus at different times defeat provoked denial, concealment, selective memory, and muted explication.

Hölscher has pointed out that Athenian vase-paintings never represent the triumphal return of victorious soldiers, but the dreaded departure of hoplites.⁴⁴ These tense images evoke the fear of the danger of war, and many occur on funerary vessels. Fifth-century Athenians lived at a time of nearly endless warfare. In the first half of the century, they battled the imperial giant Persia in a conflict that carried them across the sea against unknown peoples. A few years later, they faced a shifting array of Hellenic forces in a war marked by a new level of brutality and slaughter. Death, defeat, and even absence itself were ever-present sources of fear and anxiety.

³⁸ E.g. Hdt. 1.18.1; Hdt. 5.87.2 and 6.18 (cf. 6.21.1). There are, of course, many more ways to refer to death and defeat, but they do not seem to merit much comment. The vanquished, for instance, can turn and flee (τρέπομαι), or they can simply die (ἀποθνήσκω, διαφθείρω).

³⁹ Lévy 1976, 16-43 and Roisman 2005, 67-71. For the Athenian memory of and response to the civil war, see esp. Wolpert 2002.

⁴⁰ Lys. 58: ἀπολομένων γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακίᾳ εἴτε θεῶν διανοίᾳ... See also Thuc. 2.65.11, Dem. 60.21, and Pl. *Menex.* 243d.

⁴¹ Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.36.

⁴² Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.13-14.

⁴³ Hdt. 6.21.2: Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσει τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῆ καὶ δὴ καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίκῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆια κακὰ χιλήσι δραχμῆσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δρᾶματι.

⁴⁴ T. Hölscher, unpublished lecture: “Penelope in Persepolis. Oder: Wie kann man einen Krieg gegen den Erzfeind beenden?” This paper argues that the Penelope in Persepolis was brought to the Persians by an Athenian delegation, and that a copy was also erected on the Athenian Akropolis. Odysseus’ wife, shown with her woolen basket, evoked the Athenian women’s longing for their husbands and sons at this time when more people were involved in war than before and at a greater distance from home.

The defeat of individual soldiers – their death – was greeted in Athens by sorrow and grief.⁴⁵ Mourning can entail praise: only those receive lamentations who are valued and whose loss is strongly felt.⁴⁶ Scholars, though, too often relegate grief to a secondary position. For instance, Day writes: “Although pity and lamentation rather than praise seem to be all that are required, in funerary contexts such expressions of emotion are closely associated with, even subordinated to, praising the deceased.”⁴⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood alleges that there was no public grief expressed over the war dead.⁴⁸ Yet mourning pervades the epigrams on the casualty lists (Chapter 3). Women on white-ground lekythoi tear their hair in sorrow in the presence of the young dead.⁴⁹ Dexileos’ relief was flanked by mourning sirens. Even the funeral orations, carefully crafted to celebrate the dead, conclude with invocations to listeners to mourn.⁵⁰ Friends and families publicly voiced a wish that death had never occurred, while the community lamented its vulnerability and its loss of resources. The war dead in Athens were greeted not with the joy accompanying an athletic victory, but with the sorrow appropriate in the face of defeat.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Mourning may not have been the response at Sparta, where Xenophon says the parents of the dead rejoice (*Xen. Hell.* 4.5.10 and 6.4.16). I have trouble believing this was always the case. Why the efforts to recover the men taken prisoner on Sphakteria (*Thuc.* 4.108.7)? The Spartans should have been happy to let them die. Apparently they did not receive the loss of their family members and companions with the ease, let alone relish, that Xenophon describes, especially in the late fifth and fourth centuries, when they faced manpower shortages.

⁴⁶ Aisch. *Ag.* 475: στένουσι δ’ εὖ λέγοντες. Cf. Kowerski 2005, 145, on the New Simonides: “Like elegiac poetry, he reworked his Homeric model and provided renown for the dead through praise and commemoration that are the natural results of lamentation.”

⁴⁷ Day 1989, 19. Cf. Loraux [1981] 2006, 76-86 and Delavaud-Roux 2000, 844.

⁴⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 191-195. She draws a contrast with the grief expressed in private epigrams, both Archaic and Classical. This alleged contrast entails downplaying the evidence from several public Classical inscriptions (Chapter 3d), most notably *IG I³* 1163d-f. She accepts Bowra 1938’s reading of *tlemones* in this epigram as “stout-hearted” rather than “wretched,” and does not address the rest of the epigram’s content, such as the description of the lot of the dead as *kakos* (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 193 n. 335).

⁴⁹ For the prothesis scenes, see Oakley 2004, 76-87, who notes that the emotions are more muted after ca. 430 BC. Those who are mourned did not necessarily die in war.

⁵⁰ *Thuc.* 2.46: νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὄν προσήκει ἐκάστῳ ἅπιτε. *Lys.* 2.81: ὅμως δ’ ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὸν πάτριον νόμον ὀλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς θαπτομένους. *Pl. Menex.* 249c: νῦν δὲ ἤδη ὑμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες κοινῇ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀπολοφυράμενοι ἅπιτε. *Dem.* 60.37: ὑμεῖς δ’ ἀποδουράμενοι καὶ τὰ προσήκονθ’ ὡς χρὴ καὶ νόμιμα ποιήσαντες ἅπιτε.

⁵¹ Cf. the weeping of King Adrastus and the mothers of the seven heroes who attacked Thebes, described as the natural response to the loss of one’s children: *Eur. Supp.* 83-85, 792-793, and 1120-1122. Weeping for one’s misfortunes bestows praise on one’s opponents: πανταχῇ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ τὰ αὐτῶν πενθοῦντες κακὰ τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς ὑμνοῦσι (*Lys.* 2.2). Here Lysias attempts to shift the focus from the Athenian dead to the woe that they caused their enemies.

Of course, the Athenians did not commemorate or celebrate military setbacks and military casualties as defeats per se. The question, then, is how they responded to this potential problem. This dissertation aims to show some of the ways in which they transformed the dead, through material culture, to signify more than a defeat. They did not change the defeat into a victory, but they expanded the physical and referential frames to place the fallen in the conceptual space between victory and defeat. They fabricated landscapes and stories through images, objects, and spaces that spoke to the living about sacrifice and struggle, and that helped them to forget as much as to remember.

The material culture surrounding the fallen constitutes the foundations of an archaeology of defeat – the study of the response, through landscapes and images and objects, to setback and loss – since the war dead in fifth-century Athens were intimately linked to the concept of defeat. Their status qua defeated rendered their presence and their images all the more powerful and problematic, all the more subject to manipulation and distortion, and all the more in need of controlling frameworks. Before discussing the visual treatment of military casualties in more detail, it is necessary to address the concepts of commemoration and glorification (together with heroization and the “beautiful death”), which so often appear in any treatment of the military dead, but have limited value for the questions broached by this dissertation. The major limitations to these conceptual categories is that they suggest that the war dead were elevated to an exalted level and simply admired from below.

1d. The Limits of Commemoration and Glorification

When the Athenians carved a dead soldier’s name onto a solid slab of Pentelic marble, they did not simply commemorate the fallen: they transformed him. They replaced a living body with cuttings among a list of names, under a rubric, on a stele, with other monuments, in a certain space that was home to particular activities. The notion of commemoration is too static to encompass the processes working on the dead. It also shortchanges the impact the images of and monuments to the fallen could have upon the living. Material culture does not passively absorb a society’s values, but actively shapes society. To put it differently: people, not monuments, remember.⁵² Landscapes, images, and objects constitute the cultural fabric in which and by which people form memories and articulate values.

To emphasize the commemoration of the dead is to shortchange the efforts that the Athenians made to forget them. Isokrates, when speaking of fifth-century Athenians, claims: “In the end they did not notice that they had filled the public graves with their citizens.”⁵³ According to Thucydides, Perikles told mourning parents to have another child to help them forget the dead.⁵⁴ The visual reception of the dead, particularly the way that they were framed in the public cemetery (Chapter 2), facilitated such efforts at amnesia.

⁵² For a similar view, see Young 1993, e.g. xii-xiii and Jones 2007, esp. 5-12 and 24-25.

⁵³ Isok. 8.88: τελευτῶντες δ’ ἔλαθον σφᾶς αὐτοῦς τοὺς μὲν τάφους τοὺς δημοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμπλήσαντες.

⁵⁴ Thuc. 2.44.3: ...τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ ἐπιγιγνώμενοί τισιν ἔσονται...

The search for commemorative monuments seeks references to specific persons or events. Eschewing the strict framework of commemoration frees us to look at how Athenians represented casualties in different guises, especially through mythology (Chapters 4 and 5). This enables a more thorough and accurate understanding of the ways in which the Athenians responded to their dead with material culture.

One reason, I suspect, that scholars tend to think in terms of commemoration when discussing the material culture surrounding the ancient war dead⁵⁵ is because of the prominent role the Classical (i.e., Greco-Roman) tradition has played in the development of modern war memorials. As early as the 19th century, Classical forms were used to bestow timeless prestige upon the dead. Leo von Klenze's Walhalla (near Regensburg) for illustrious German dead was modeled on the Parthenon. The Befreiungshalle at Kelheim, which he completed in 1863 in honor of a victory against Napoleon, is also strongly neoclassical. While most architecture in the early 20th century left such forms behind, war memorials continued to draw from the Classical past, such as E. Lutyen's cenotaph in London (1919-1920), P. Cret's memorials at Varennes-en-Argonne (1927) and Château-Thierry (1926-1932), or J. R. Pope's monument at Montfaucon (1926-1934).⁵⁶ Even H. Bouchard's modernist monument at Mondement gestures to the Greek past with its inscription in an Archaic epigraphic script, studiously including a three-barred sigma, dotted theta, and koppa.⁵⁷ The neoclassical style lent these monuments a conservative mien of nobility and prestige.

Studniczka's 1915 lecture on Greek art and war graves, published as a small monograph whose proceeds were given to the survivors of war, reveals the deliberate attempt to gather inspiration from the Classical past for commemorative monuments. His heart is "full of our holy war" as he traces the development of Greek martial art.⁵⁸ He advocates that the Greek forms not be slavishly copied, but used to enhance German monuments "with their simple majesty" (mit ihrer schlichten Größe):⁵⁹

I am thinking here above all about the ideal character and civic passivity by which those gravestones downplay the individuality of single warriors so as to give the notion of the public and generic so much the greater effect, and of the radiant optimism, which seeks to immortalize the dear dead almost only in the light of life and of love or in the brilliance of the victorious fight for the fatherland.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ E.g. Shapiro 1991; Vaughn 1991, 39; and Rice 1993.

⁵⁶ Borg 1991, 74-75 (on the cenotaph) and Texier 2007, 50-63. Fehl 1972 eloquently attempts to revive interest in the moral value of Classical art.

⁵⁷ Texier 2007, 30-33.

⁵⁸ Studniczka 1915, with "holy war" on 285.

⁵⁹ Studniczka 1915, 311.

⁶⁰ Studniczka 1915, 311: "Ich denke hier vor allem an den idealen Sinn und die bürgerliche Anspruchslosigkeit, womit jene Grabsteine einzelner Krieger das Individuelle gern zurückstellen, um das Allgemeine, das Typische zu desto stärkerer Wirkung zu bringen, und an den hellen Optimismus, der die teuren Gefallenen fast nur im Lichte des Lebens und der Liebe oder im Glanze des sieghaften Kampfes fürs Vaterland verewigen mochte." For German monuments of World War II, see Herwig 2009.

Despite this desire to draw on the Classical repertoire and the concomitant visibility of Greco-Roman forms in many surviving monuments (especially from World War I), ancient and modern war monuments are not equivalent. Classical and neoclassical material culture surrounding the war dead existed in different frameworks and had to respond to different demands. World War I monuments referred to events where men were senselessly slaughtered on a scale that had never been seen before. Governments were saddled with a guilt that few ancient communities could ever have known. World War II monuments were erected following a conflict marked by unique traumatic events, the Holocaust and the advent of nuclear weapons, whose ethical ramifications were alien to fifth-century Athens.

Two other modern concepts, closely related to each other, should be applied with care (if at all) to ancient material culture surrounding military casualties: “glorification” and “heroization.” It seems to be assumed that any monument related to the war dead glorifies them, but how exactly does an object glorify?⁶¹ Through size and grandeur? Through the illustration of a narrative? Formal analyses of the properties that might convey glory are usually absent from the scholarly literature. Furthermore, for the modern reader the word “glory” carries religious connotations inapplicable to the ancient view of the war dead. For the Athenians, a monument would not bestow *doxa* on the dead, a word which implies the elevation of the fallen to super-human status. A monument could grant *kleos*, the spread of one’s fame. *Kleos*, however, has only limited applicability to the questions addressed in this dissertation, because it requires a close relationship between material culture and specific named individuals, while I include mythological representations of the dead in my discussion of how the Athenians treated and viewed military casualties.⁶²

Many scholars have noted a reduced emphasis in the fifth century on individual dead warriors, and advocated that the war dead as a collective were used in this period to glorify the city itself.⁶³ This marks a useful shift from thinking about glory in individualistic terms. Yet praise of the polis, however perceptible in the funerary orations, is not immediately visible in objects. Again I ask, how does material culture grant glory? I share these scholars’ view that the public monuments to and images of the dead are not focused exclusively on the dead, that they are designed with the living in mind, but suggest in Chapters 3 and 4 more specific discourses to which they belonged than the broad category of glory of the polis.

⁶¹ E.g. Rice 1993; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 192; Delavaud-Roux 2000, 847; and Low 2003. Hanson 1989, on the other hand, when discussing hoplite warfare, concludes: “If it spelled certain death for hundreds involved, at least the intent was to limit, rather than glorify, war, and thereby save rather than destroy lives” (223).

⁶² Cf. Pindar’s contrast of odes, which can diffuse geographically, to motionless statues (*Nem.* 5, 1-3).

⁶³ Loraux [1981] 2006, 26-27. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995 states the view clearly: “Thus, death in battle is a glorious event which elevates the war dead as a collectivity to a higher status, for it happens in the service of the city which validates the lives of the individuals; it does not invite grief and lament, but praise and glorification of the dead, and through them of death in the service of the polis, which contributes to the glorification of the polis itself” (193).

The term “heroization” is even more fraught with difficulties than “glorification,” for a *heros* was not just an unusually competent mortal, but one who wielded powers on earth after his death.⁶⁴ The word never appears on Athenian epigrams for the war dead. The fifth-century fallen received the grave offerings customary for all Greek dead,⁶⁵ but no regular sacrifices. The casualties interred on the battlefield at Plataia are usually held up as an example of Greek war heroes, but evidence for their cult is late.⁶⁶ Diodoros mentions the festival but says nothing about sacrifice.⁶⁷ In Thucydides, when the Plataians try to win the goodwill of the Spartans, they describe the cult to Zeus established in the agora, mention honors given to the tombs of the dead, and invoke gods of the country, but do not describe any sacrifice or otherwise allude to the dead as heroes.⁶⁸ Even Boedeker, when arguing that the dead from Plataia were heroized, must in the end speak only of their “(implicit) heroization” and “hero-like cult status.”⁶⁹

In fifth-century Athens, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, but not the war dead, receive annual *enasgimata* sacrifices from the hands of the polemarch.⁷⁰ Perikles, according to Plutarch, said that the dead of the Samian Wars had become immortal *like* the gods because they were unseen but their honors were visible; there is no indication that the fallen actually were worshipped.⁷¹ The heroization of the Athenian war dead belongs in the fourth century.⁷² Demosthenes in his

⁶⁴ Jacoby 1944 sums up the common opinion: “For one has hardly ever failed to recognise that this public cult means the heroising of the war dead...” (60). Clairmont 1983 repeatedly refers to the Athenian war dead as heroes. Sourvinou Inwood 1995, 194 and Printz 1997, 22-25 believe the war dead were heroized. Welwei 1991; Hoffmann 2000; Ekroth 2002, 83-5 and 124; and Jones 2010, 27-30 argue that such worship did not occur in the Classical period. Parker 1996 writes: “The classical Athenians, we might say, heroized their benefactors as best they could” (137). Loraux [1981] 2006, 71-75 offers a thoughtful discussion of the issue. For hero cult in general, see most recently Bravo 2009.

⁶⁵ For the tomb visits to the ordinary dead, see Garland [1985] 2001, 104-120.

⁶⁶ Plut. *Arist.* 21.2: κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέξαντο τοῖς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν δρῶσι τόνδε τὸν τρόπον...

⁶⁷ Diod. Sic. 11.29.1.

⁶⁸ Thuc. 2.71 and 3.58.4, cf. Isok. 14.61. On the argument for the fourth-century date for the cult of the war dead, see Étienne and Piérart 1975.

⁶⁹ Boedeker 2001, 153 and 163.

⁷⁰ [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 58.1: ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος θύει μὲν θυσίας τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀγροτέρᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ, διατίθησι δ’ ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐναγίσματα ποιεῖ. Confusion has arisen because many editors supply a καὶ following ἐπιτάφιον. Pausanias 1.32.4 says that the Marathonians worship the Marathanomachoi and call them heroes, but he does not indicate when the custom began.

⁷¹ Plut. *Per.* 8.6: ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτος φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὀρώμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν, ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα· ταῦτ’ οὖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

⁷² The reverence of the Amphipolitans for the Spartan general Brasidas is the notable exception. This example, of course, is not Athenian, and the worship is directed toward one individual, not all the war dead. He is treated like the founder of their colony (Thuc. 5.12.1). Simonides 26

funeral oration, for instance, says that the dead are worthy of *thysiai*, and a Thasian inscription uses the verb *entemnein* to describe the city's sacrifice to the fallen.⁷³ Of course, the modern use of the word "heroization" does not have the ancient religious connotations. Nevertheless, for the most part the term should be avoided so as to prevent confusion over the fifth-century view of the dead. The concepts of glorification and heroization both place too much emphasis on the dead, rather than on how material culture used the dead to speak to the living.

Athenian fifth-century rhetoric that bordered on heroization and glorification of the war dead was just that: rhetoric. Often such language belonged to the funeral oration, which was, among other things, a public *consolatio*, an effort to soothe the bereaved and shift their focus from death and defeat to the city and its living inhabitants. Spoken by one individual and crafted according to a standard model, it did not transmit all of the desires, emotions, and opinions of the ancient community. It cloaked the fact that death in battle was not a blessing, but a one-way ticket to gloomy Hades.⁷⁴ It eulogized the fallen's willingness to die, casting their sacrifice in terms of a beautiful death.⁷⁵ This concept of the *belle mort* (καλὸς θάνατος) has received considerable scrutiny, especially by Loraux, who has explored how Classical Athens adopted and transformed the Archaic notion of the *beau mort* (beautiful dead).⁷⁶ Loraux herself stressed that the rhetoric of the *belle mort* belonged to an ideology of the ideal city, and I would emphasize the fictive aspects of the rhetoric: the Athenians did not rush to die.⁷⁷ The polis did not field a volunteer

(Page), for the dead from Thermopylai, speaks in terms of heroization, such as when the poet says that their grave has become an altar (l. 3). Here again the Spartans appear to have a different conception of military honors than the Athenians.

⁷³ Dem. 60.36: σεμνὸν δὲ γ' ἀγήρωσ τιμὰς καὶ μνήμην ἀρετῆς δημοσίᾳ κτησαμένους ἐπιδεῖν, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἀγώνων ἠξιωμένους ἀθανάτων. At 60.9, however, Demosthenes also writes that the events of recent history (beginning with the Persian War) have not yet reached τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν τάξιν. Isok. 4.84 compares the Persian war dead to *hemitheoi*. On the inscription for honors to the Thasian war dead, see Pouilloux 1954, no. 141 (for ἐντέμνει, ll. 10-11) and Fournier and Hamon 2007. Pl. Menex. 244a, seems to call for prayers and sacrifices for the reconciliation in the afterlife of those who fell during civil strife of 404, not sacrifices to them: χρῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μνειάν ἔχειν καὶ διαλλάττειν αὐτοὺς ᾧ δυνάμεθα, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις, ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε, τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτῶν εὐχομένους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς διηλλάγμεθα.

⁷⁴ Thrasyboulos says, before the battle in the Piraeus, that those who die will be *eudaimones* because of the monument that they receive, but in the same breath he says that those who survive will be *makarioi* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.17).

⁷⁵ Loraux [1981] 2006. For the funeral oration, see also Printz 1997; Derderian 2001; Herrman 2004; and Herrman 2009, 14-26.

⁷⁶ Loraux [1981] 2006, 145-171 and Loraux 1982. See also Milani 1990; Vernant 1991, on how the disfigured dead in Homer render even more emphatic the discourse of the beautiful death (with further bibliography on the beautiful death on 50 n.1); Halm-Tisserant 1993, on black-figure portrayals of corpses as negative; and Saunders 2008a, countering Halm-Tisserant 1993. For the depiction of wounds on the body, see most recently Saunders 2008b (on black-figure).

⁷⁷ Some scholarship seems to overemphasize the celebration or willing acceptance of death in Athens, e.g. Müller 1989: "Man übersieht allzu leicht ... daß der Tod fürs Vaterland nie enthusiastischer gefeiert worden ist als in den griechischen Stadtstaaten der archaischen und

army, but one where soldiers were conscripted, and perhaps 5 to 20% of those summoned sought and received exemptions.⁷⁸ Legislation for prosecuting draft-dodgers indicates that evasion existed.

The city did not honor and value the dead more than the living.⁷⁹ *Aristeia* prizes for military valor were bestowed on the living.⁸⁰ Those who survived the battle at Phyle were rewarded with garlands and money, and the resolution was inscribed and visible to all.⁸¹ The community of citizens desired that its soldiers fight well and succeed, not that they die on their behalf. Soldier bodies were resources for the state that were not to be spent in vain.

This dissertation seeks a rigorous analysis of the place of the war dead in Athens by studying the landscape and images of military casualties, mythical and historical, across four frames. Elements of commemoration, glorification, heroization, and the beautiful death may be present, but other forces also affect the reception and presentation of the fallen, and the fallen in turn work in multiple ways upon the Athenian society. The dead were not elevated to an exalted position and contentedly admired but, at different times and in different places, mourned, controlled, used, and forgotten.

In Chapter 2, I present an archaeological study of the *demosion sema*, showing when and where it was established, and the place of the dead in the topography of Athens. The cemetery was not an exclusive or closed place: the fallen were integrated into a wider landscape which mitigated the disruptive power of their presence. Chapter 3 discusses the artwork in the *demosion sema*, especially the casualty lists. These formed a rhetoric of collective resilience and *agon* (struggle) aimed at the living viewer. Chapter 4 turns to intra-mural sacred space, looking at images of the dead and defeated on the Akropolis, both mythical and historical. These monuments did not celebrate victory, as so often has been argued, but presented a constellation of images that encouraged citizens to die on behalf of the city. Some of this martial discourse also appears on symposium vessels, the subject of Chapter 5. However, these images also subvert the hoplite ideal, creating the possibility for comic release and facilitating the symposiast's gaze on death and defeat. The fallen warrior was framed in fifth-century Athenian art in ways that sought to restrain, redirect, stimulate, and exploit the emotions, values, and beliefs of the viewer rather than simply glorify the dead.

klassischen Zeit" (323). and cf. Meier 1990: "... der Tod damals leichter genommen wurde als etwa heute bei uns. Nicht im Moment des Sterbens, aber in der Auffassung davon" (598).

⁷⁸ Hansen 1985, 17-20 and Christ 2001.

⁷⁹ Loraux [1981] 2006, 146-148 and 153 and Loraux 1982, 32-33 argues that the Athenians became *agathoi* only upon their death. This misperception is related to the erroneous, though widely-held view (e.g. Boedeker 2003, 28 and Pache 2009) that a hero's death grants him hero status. What, then, are we to make of Odysseus or Theseus?

⁸⁰ Pritchett 1974, 276-290.

⁸¹ Aischin. 3.187.

2. The Landscape of the War Dead: The Topography of the *Demosion Sema*

Each winter following a season of military campaigns, the Athenians carted home the ashes of their war dead and buried them in an extra-mural cemetery to the northwest of Athens: the *demosion sema* or “public cemetery,” as it is often translated.¹ The final resting place of the war dead can significantly illuminate our understanding of the Athenian treatment of military casualties, its use of space, and the discourse woven around the dead. In this chapter I provide a thorough analysis of literary and archaeological sources relating to the *demosion sema* in order to investigate the ways in which that particular place affected the reception and perception of the warriors’ death, and how their presence in turn affected that space. Starting from a study of the physical landscape, this chapter assesses and evaluates the cognitive landscape of the war dead. Where was the cemetery? To what extent was it open or closed, both physically and conceptually? Where and how did public and private, secular and religious spheres intersect? How was the cemetery experienced? Answering such questions requires not only evaluating the remains of the cemetery itself but addressing its topographical setting and its chronological development.

After an overview of the scholarship on the topography of the *demosion sema* (2a) I locate the cemetery, which has not been excavated completely yet, by relying on textual (2b) and material evidence (2c), stressing the latter because it has so often been overlooked. The heart of the cemetery was along the road from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy. This is not a new idea, but it has not been universally accepted.² The evidence gathered here is conclusive. Moreover, it radically redefines the boundaries of the cemetery: the space was open and the borders rather fluid. Next, I present a history of the cemetery, making a case for its origins in the Late Archaic period and describing some of the extensive development and re-use of the space down to the Late Roman period (2d). I then turn to some of the more peculiar aspects of the *demosion sema*, which have been ignored, such as the heterogeneity of the burials described in the literary sources or the material remains (either immediately within the cemetery or closely adjoining) that seem inappropriate for a public funerary setting (2e). I conclude by suggesting a model for understanding the use of this space and the warrior’s role within it, fully integrating the *demosion sema* into a dynamic, interactive landscape wherein the warrior underlies much of the meaning but paradoxically is not integral to it. Finally, I suggest some reasons for this peripheral treatment of the war dead.³

¹ Translations of and commentaries on Thucydides’ description of the state burial at 2.34, where the term *demosion sema* makes its only appearance, interpret it now as a single monument (e.g. T. Hobbes 1629 (Schlatter 1975), 30; Jowett 1881, 115; Dale 1891, 110; Rhodes 1988, 77; Hornblower 1991, 294; Lattimore 1998, 90; and Patterson 2006, 53-56), now as a cemetery (e.g. Krüger 1860, 192; Livingstone 1943, 110; Steup 1966, 81; and Rusten 1989, 137). The discussion in 2b and 2c below will make it clear that more than one structure belonged to the *demosion sema*.

² Patterson 2006, 53-36 questions whether the public cemetery even existed.

³ Arrington (forthcoming) discusses the location of the cemetery and explores, in greater detail than this chapter, why that particular place was chosen. It also treats the start date of the cemetery in more detail.

2a. Earlier Scholarship on the Topography of the *Demosion Sema*

Few scholars have discussed in detail the location, arrangement, or reception of the *demosion sema*. One of the earliest attempts to recreate the appearance of the *demosion sema* was in an article by Brueckner, “Kerameikos-Studien.”⁴ The author, director of the German Kerameikos excavations, argued that the Academy Road consisted of two parallel roads that formed a sort of elongated racetrack. Graves were thematically placed, with polyandria in the middle island, individuals along the outside edges, cavalry and Kleisthenes at one outer end, and Harmodios and Aristogeiton at the other (**fig. 1**). A few years later Wenz countered Brueckner: the cemetery was on both sides of the street. He explored but rejected the possibility of chronological arrangement.⁵ Yet Domaszewski subsequently elaborated on Brueckner’s model of graves on a central “island.”⁶ These, he claimed, were arranged by archon year, with the oldest near the Dipylon Gate and the youngest at the Academy. A pre-Persian war cemetery was to the east and perpendicular to the main cemetery. Foreigners were also buried in a separate cemetery to the east, and slaves lay apart from the Athenian citizens. Domaszewski illustrated the layout of the cemetery and plotted Pausanias’ course (**fig. 2**).⁷ Once excavations uncovered the full width of the road, sans island, such views became impossible to maintain.

The pioneering works on the *demosion sema*, Stupperich’s dissertation *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* (1977) and Clairmont’s *Patrios nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC The archaeological, epigraphic-literary, and historical evidence* (1983),⁸ return to a conception of public graves lining one road.⁹ The first is mostly a descriptive history concerned with funerary mores, the development of various aspects of the burial of the war dead, and the relationship between private and state burials, particularly in regard to the beginning of the state graves and their (largely hypothetical) iconography. In a brief discussion of topography Stupperich relies mostly on material from the German archaeological excavations.¹⁰ Stupperich distances himself from the positions of Brueckner and Domaszewski, saying that the graves fronted the street but that strict planning was not necessarily at work.¹¹ Clairmont also devotes much space to the *patrios nomos* and burial practices, but studies the casualty lists, evidence for polyandria, and modern excavations in considerable detail. In particular, Clairmont criticizes Stupperich for not having paid enough attention to work done by the Greek Archaeological Service, but his study remains limited in its usefulness.¹² Guided primarily by Pausanias, Clairmont plots the rescue excavation sites on a

⁴ Brueckner 1910, 185-200.

⁵ Wenz 1913, 21-30. “... ein Prinzip in der Gräberanlage nicht befolgt wurde, oder vielmehr nur ein künstlerischrepräsentatives befolgt wurde” (Wenz 1913, 29).

⁶ Domaszewski 1917, 3-12.

⁷ On these early models, see Stupperich 1977, 27-28.

⁸ See Stupperich 1984 for an important review of Clairmont 1983.

⁹ Clairmont 1981, 132 and Clairmont 1983, 29-45, esp. 32-33.

¹⁰ Stupperich 1977, 26-31.

¹¹ Stupperich 1977, 22 and 237.

¹² Clairmont 1983, 264 n. 46. Stupperich 1984, in turn, countered that the material evidence presented in Clairmont accomplished little: “... aus dem C. alle Grabungen aus der Umgebung

map with neither scale nor modern street names, separates material immediately along the road from that found nearby, and, believing that the cemetery was a thematically-organized space, tries to identify and locate specific graves mentioned by Pausanias.¹³ Despite its shortcomings, Clairmont's work remains the only attempt to compile and analyze the modern Greek excavation reports. One of the most recent discussions of the topography of the *demosion sema*, in an article by Czech-Schneider, again makes reference to the German Kerameikos excavations alone.¹⁴

All of the studies so far discussed concur that the *demosion sema* lay between the Dipylon Gate and the Academy, along a road I will designate the Academy Road.¹⁵ Dissent appeared in Ritchie's dissertation on Athenian boundary stones (1984), which discusses the *demosion sema* and draws together much of the literary evidence.¹⁶ He suggests that the cemetery lay in front of the gate at modern Leokoriou (hereafter called the Leokoriou Gate), whence a road went to Hippios Kolonos and forked left to the Academy.¹⁷ Sometimes this is called the Old Academy Road, a designation which I will maintain for the sake of convenience. Papageorgiou-Venetas thought the cemetery might lie between the two roads.¹⁸

The renowned topographer Pritchett belongs for the most part with the Ritchie camp. He deals in passing with the public cemetery in the fourth volume of his monumental series on Greek warfare. Although he helpfully presents much testimonia in its original language, he is mostly concerned with the funerary speech and the *epitaphia*.¹⁹ He revisits the *demosion sema* in Volume 1 of *Pausanias Periegetes*.²⁰ Here he amends his views on the start date of the cemetery and also argues that it was still standing in Pausanias' time, hence visible to the traveler. (The point of this argument for Pritchett is to defend Pausanias as a reliable source who did visit the

der Akademiestraße zusammenfaßt – eine nützliche Arbeit, die allerdings für das Demosion Sema selbst kaum etwas ergibt" (641; cf. 638).

¹³ The maps in Garland 1982, 150 fig. 6 and 151 fig. 7 are less comprehensive than Clairmont and not very accurate. For example, D3 is marked as a plot but it actually was a drain excavation. Cf. the map in Parlama 1990-1991, 245.

¹⁴ Czech-Schneider 1994, 7-9.

¹⁵ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, for an unknown reason, place the first public graves parallel to the Themistoklean wall, on the far side of the ring road (109 and 338 map 5). Goette 2009 suggests that the cemetery was at several different locations, but he does not elaborate (188).

¹⁶ Ritchie 1984, 771-786.

¹⁷ Ritchie 1984, 774-786. The gate is sometimes called the *Eriai Pylai*, for which term we have a possible reference in the *Etym. Magn. s.v. Ἡρία*: αἱ πύλαι Ἀθήνησι διὰ τὸ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκφέρεισθαι ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ ἡρία, ὅ ἐστι τοὺς τάφους. Matthaiou 1983 argues that the *Etymologicum Magnum* cannot be restored "ἡρία" nor does it read "ἡρία," but that the lexicographer provides here in "ἡρία" a descriptive term for all the gates of Athens, through which the dead were carried. On the weak textual evidence for applying the term to the Leokoriou Gate, see Pritchett 1998, 22-23 n. 15 and Pritchett 1999, 60.

¹⁸ Papageorgiou-Venetas 1994, 143.

¹⁹ Pritchett 1985, 94-259, esp. 106-124. Also concerned with aspects of the public funeral apart from the topography of the *demosion sema* per se, Loraux [1981] 2006 conceives of the public cemetery as a rather singular entity, a stage for the delivery of funerary orations.

²⁰ Pritchett 1998, 1-60.

areas he describes.) He also follows a suggestion conveyed by Binder *per epistulam* that the cemetery lay in front of the Leokoriou Gate, not the Dipylon Gate.²¹ Pritchett slightly adjusts her view because he must acknowledge the important discovery of the polyandria at Salaminos 35 (28), and cites Papageoriou-Venetas.²² Accordingly he thinks that the cemetery was not strictly along the Old Academy Road but stretched at least some way over to the Academy Road.²³

In summary, most of the scholarship specifically on the *demosion sema* has not fully addressed topographical issues or the appearance and reception of the cemetery, and when it has done so, it has relied overwhelmingly on literary evidence. However, since the appearance of Stupperich's and Clairmont's publications many more rescue excavations have occurred, such as the polyandria discussed in Pritchett's latest work. This dissertation will show that a comprehensive study of the excavation evidence can provide a meaningful picture of the cemetery.

Apart from these scholarly studies that deal exclusively with the *demosion sema*, other works concerned with the archaeological remains in the area more generally to the northwest of Athens have a bearing on the topography of the public cemetery. Excavations in the region of the Leokoriou Gate and along the roads leading thence are gathered by Schilardi.²⁴ This article is an invaluable resource for understanding this area of the city and for recovering information from some of the earliest excavation work in Athens, which was not published in a systematic fashion. The German Kerameikos team has thoroughly (though not exhaustively) explored the area immediately in front of the Dipylon Gate.²⁵ Apart from the road itself, the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and the so-called Monument at the Third Horos (once mislabeled the Tomb of Chabrias) belong to the public cemetery and have an impact on our understanding of the use of space along the Academy Road.²⁶ Threatte, in an epigraphic study, helpfully summarizes some of the disparate information on the Academy excavations.²⁷ Finally, I would like to draw particular attention to two recent dissertations: Costaki's *The "intra muros" Road System of Ancient Athens* (2007) and Theocharaki's *Ο αρχαίος αθηναϊκός οχυρωματικός περίβολος: Ζητήματα μορφολογίας, τοπογραφίας και διαχείρισης* (2007). Both of these studies help us reconstruct and imagine the macro-form of Athens – its roads and walls – and provide a useful framework for more detailed studies. Even more importantly, though, they demonstrate the rich results that can be achieved by gathering information on the excavations that have been conducted over the decades in the modern city of Athens. However, these dissertations, like most

²¹ Pritchett 1998, 5-6 and 22. Neither he nor Binder mentions Ritchie 1984. Given the latter's connections with the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, perhaps his argument, too, was prompted by Binder, a frequent visitor to the School's halls.

²² Throughout this chapter, bold numbers refer to locations on the accompanying map, described in the Catalogue.

²³ Note that the entry *SEG* 48.38 misses this nuance.

²⁴ Schilardi 1968.

²⁵ E.g. Gebauer 1938 and 1942; Ohly 1965; and Stroszeck 1999a, 1999b, and 2000.

²⁶ On the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians: esp. Brueckner 1915a, 118-119; Karo 1930, 90-91; Willemsen 1977; Kienlin 2003; and Stroszeck 2006. On the Monument at the Third Horos: esp. Stichel 1998 and Valavanis 1999. For more on these monuments, see 2c, below.

²⁷ Threatte 2007, 23-39. Travlos 1971, 42-51 and Ritchie 1984, 686-711 and 895-896 are also useful. For a history of Aristophron's period of involvement with the site, see Murray 2006.

of the work related to the location of the public cemetery, are primarily positivist topographic studies. This chapter in contrast seeks not just to locate the *demosion sema* but also to understand its appearance and use, and the role of the warrior therein.

2b. Literary Evidence for the Location of the *Demosion Sema*

Ancient sources concur that the *demosion sema* lay along the road to the Academy. The question is, which road or roads? Cicero provides the clearest statement about the location of the burials when he describes walking with three friends from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy, past the state graves.²⁸ When Philostratos concludes describing the life of the Thessalian rhetorician Phoenix, he specifies that the speaker was buried “in a prominent way, for he rests by those from the wars, on the right side of the road to the Academy.”²⁹ Pausanias, too, describes the state graves as he travels from the city to the Academy. Ironically, although he is more informative about the actual graves and their environs, his narrative has caused considerable scholarly debate. He only begins describing burials after mentioning a shrine to Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, which lay several hundred meters from the Dipylon Gate.³⁰ Some scholars, as described above, have explained his silence before reaching the shrine by postulating that the traveler began at the Leokoriou Gate and took the so-called Old Academy Road, along the lines of Lenorman and Aimonos, entering the Academy at its southeastern corner (see the maps accompanying this dissertation).³¹ Others have suggested that the graves in front of the Dipylon Gate were covered in the last quarter of the fourth century BC, and thus not visible to Pausanias.³² I will address the archaeological material in more detail below, which supports the view that the *heart* of the cemetery lay along the Academy Road (beginning at the Dipylon Gate). Here I focus on the literary evidence, which emphasizes that the cemetery lay in the Kerameikos. Although the exact boundaries and meaning of the topographic term “Kerameikos” are debated, there is no doubt that it was located in front of the Dipylon Gate and not the Leokoriou Gate.

Scholia to Thucydides gloss the προάστειον in which the *demosion sema* lay as τὸ καλούμενον Κεραμεικόν, “the place called Kerameikos.”³³ Peisthetairos in Aristophanes’ *Birds*, in response to Euelpides’ query about where their bodies shall be buried, answers: “The Kerameikos will welcome them. So that we will be buried at public expense (*demosiai*), we will tell the generals

²⁸ Cic. *Fin.* 5.1. At 5.5. Lucius indicates that they were walking by the *demosion sema* when he says that he saw the tomb of Perikles: “Modo etiam paulum ad dextram de via declinavi ut ad Pericli sepulcrum accederem.”

²⁹ Philostr. *V S* 2.22.604: ἐβδομηκοντούτης δὲ ἀποθανῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐτάφη οὐκ ἀφανῶς, κεῖται γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἀκαδημίανδε καθόδου. On the qualification “right side,” see 2d, below.

³⁰ Paus. 1.29, 3 and 10.

³¹ Particularly J. Binder, as cited and defended in Pritchett 1998, 6.

³² On this issue, see 2d, below.

³³ Schol. Thuc. 2.34.5.

that we died fighting the enemy at Orneai.”³⁴ A scholiast on this passage elaborates that “those who die in war are buried in the Kerameikos.”³⁵ Another scholiast repeats this point, and cites Menekles and Kallikrates’ *Concerning the Athenians*: “This whole area (*topos*) is called ‘Kerameikos.’ You see, it is the same deme. One walking can see here and there stelai for those buried at public expense. The stelai have inscriptions where each died.”³⁶ The *Suda* cites the same work, albeit with a slightly different wording.³⁷ Another entry in the *Suda* says that in the Kerameikos outside the city “they both bury at public expense those who died in war and they make funeral orations”³⁸ According to Hesychius, with reference to Melesagoras, the funeral games, *epitaphia*, took place in the Kerameikos.³⁹ All these references associate burial at public expense (δημοσία) with a prestigious public burial, often but not always for military casualties, in the cemetery located in the Kerameikos.

The exact boundaries and meaning of the term “Kerameikos” are debated. There are three principal points that require explanation: 1) Pausanias refers to the Classical Agora as the Kerameikos;⁴⁰ 2) boundary stones along the Academy Road and on its intramural extension, the Panathenaic Way, are labeled “of the Kerameikos”;⁴¹ and 3) there is a deme “Kerameus” and one reference to a deme “Kerameikos.” Crucial to understanding the term is to appreciate the etymology of the word. “Kerameikos” is an adjective related to the noun “potter,” κεραμευ-, a third-declension υ stem.⁴² As might be expected, then, sources connect the Kerameikos with potters’ activities. Following a short description of works by Damophilos and Gorgosos, active

³⁴ Ar. *Av.* 396-400: ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῶ. / δημοσίᾳ γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν, / φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς / μαχομένω τοῖς πολεμίοισιν / ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς.

³⁵ Schol. Ar. *Av.* 394: κατορυχθησόμεθα: ἔπαιξεν εἰς τὴν χύτραν. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ὀρυχθήσομαι, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀναιρούμενοι ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἐθάπτοντο.

³⁶ Schol. Ar. *Av.* 395: οἱ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀναιρούμενοι ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἐθάπτοντο, ὡς Μενεκλῆς καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἀθηνῶν συγγράμμασί φασιν οὕτω καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἅπας Κεραμεικός. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς δῆμος. βαδίζουσι δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν εἰςὶ στήλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ τεθαμμένοις. (εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πεμφθέντες, οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τετελευτήκασιν.) ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ στήλαι ἐπιγραφὰς ποῦ ἕκαστος ἀπέθανεν.

³⁷ *Suda s.v.* Κεραμεικός: τόπος Ἀθήνησιν, ἔνθα οἱ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀναιρούμενοι ἐθάπτοντο, ὡς Μενεκλῆς καὶ Καλλιστράτης περὶ Ἀθηναίων συγγράμμασί φασιν οὕτως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δῆμος Κεραμεικός. εἰσὶ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν στήλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ τεθαμμένοις, ἔχουσαι ἐπιγραφὰς, ποῦ ἕκαστος ἀπέθανεν.

³⁸ *Suda s.v.* Κεραμεικοί: δύο ἦσαν Κεραμεικοί, ὁ μὲν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ ἔξω ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας ἔθαπτον δημοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἔλεγον.

³⁹ Hsch. *s.v.* ἐπ’ Εὐρυγύη ἀγών: Μελησαγόρας τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων Εὐρυγύην εἰρήσθαί φησι τὸν Μίνωος, ἐφ’ ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τίθεσθαι ἐπιτάφιον Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ. Cf. schol. Ar. *Eq.* 772c.

⁴⁰ Paus. 1.14.6: “Above the Kerameikos there is also the stoa called ‘Royal’ and the temple of Hephaistos.” (ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοὰν τὴν καλουμένην Βασίλειον ναὸς ἔστιν Ἡφαίστου.) Cf. Paus. 1.2.4-5 and 1.3.1.

⁴¹ On the *horos* markers, see 2e, below.

⁴² Cf. *Etym. Magn. s.v.* Κεραμεικός: ἀπὸ τοῦ κεραμεὺς κεραμέως, κεραμεῖκός καὶ συναίρεσει, κεραμεικός.

in the fifth century BC, Pliny informs us that “Chalkosthenes, too, made rough works at Athens – at a place which is called Kerameikos because of his workshop.”⁴³ The silty and alluvial layers that have been found at many locations near the Academy Road suggest that there were abundant sources of clay in the area, and the Eridanos river would have provided a plentiful supply of water.⁴⁴ Perhaps some potters also explored deposits along the banks of the Kephissos. Remains of kilns and workshops have been found outside of the walls.⁴⁵ Within the walls, potters’ workshops preceded the establishment of the Classical Agora, so when Pausanias calls this spot the Kerameikos, he refers to the original siting of potters’ works.⁴⁶ Moreover, he thus avoids the label “agora” which may have misled his reader, because in his day the agora lay to the east.⁴⁷ The Kerameikos *horoi* indicate that describing the agora or the area along the Panathenaic Way as “potterly” or “the potter’s area” was not just an archaism on the part of the periegete. The “Kerameikos” or “potter’s spot,” then, was a reference to an area associated with pottery production that had once been located at the site of the Classical agora and later moved toward the northwest in the area of the Academy Road. Hence the location of Kerameikos *horoi* near both the Agora and the Academy. The Classical wall split the large area, explaining textual references to both an outer and inner Kerameikos.⁴⁸

The adjective “Kerameikos” could be used to describe and modify the deme “Kerameus,” meaning literally “the potters.”⁴⁹ This becomes clear if we look at a passage in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* depicting the treatment of a slow runner in the Panathenaic torch race. When he reached the Dipylon Gate, “the people of the Kerames at those gates hit his paunch, sides, love handles, and butt.”⁵⁰ The scholiast explains that the people of the Kerames are “those who live in the

⁴³ Plin. *HN* 35.45: fecit et Chalkosthenes cruda opera Athenis, qui locus ab officina eius Ceramicos appellatur.

⁴⁴ Excavators describe silty soil at **28, 135, 156, 265**. For evidence for other rivers or streams in the area, see 2e, below.

⁴⁵ For more on industrial activity in the Kerameikos, see 2e, below.

⁴⁶ Papadopoulos 1996 and 2003.

⁴⁷ Vanderpool 1974 and Siewert 1999, 4.

⁴⁸ Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 772: Κεραμεικόν· δύο τόποι ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν οἷς ἴσταντο ἀγάλματα θεῶν καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐτελοῦντο οὕτω καλούμενοι; Harp. s.v. Κεραμεικός: Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα περὶ ὄρων. ὅτι δύο εἰσὶ Κεραμεικοί, ὡς καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ φησὶν, ὁ μὲν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος ἔξω; Hsch. s.v. Κεραμεικός: τόπος Ἀθήνησιν, ἔνθα οἱ πόρνοι προεστήκεσαν. εἰσὶ δὲ δύο Κεραμεικοί, ὁ μὲν ἔξω τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἐντός; schol. Lucian *Iupp. trag.* 15: δύο ἦσαν Κεραμεικοὶ παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὁ δὲ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως; schol. Paus. 1.2.4: εἰσὶ δὲ δύο κεραμεικοί, ὁ μὲν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἐντός. See further references in Ruggeri 2005, who demonstrates that Antiphon’s testimony shows that the area was conceived of as two places already in the fifth century BC.

⁴⁹ For the deme Kerameus, see Ar. *Ran.* 1093, Suda s.v. Κεραμίς, Harp. s.v. Κεραμεῖς citing Hypereides, Diodoros, and Philochoros, *IG I²* 2362, l. 58, the base at **111**, the funerary stele at **251**, and the funerary column at **291**.

⁵⁰ Ar. *Ran.* 1093-1095: ... κᾶθ’ οἱ Κεραμῆς / ἐν ταῖσι πύλαις παίουσ’ αὐτοῦ / γαστέρα, πλευράς, λαγόνας, πυγὴν.

Kerameikos. A deme of Athens.”⁵¹ Here “the potters,” i.e. “Kerames” are referred to as those who live in the “potters’ area.” It is not very surprising that perhaps here and on one other occasion the Kerameikos was misinterpreted as a deme itself.⁵² As Judeich noted long ago, topographical designations must have existed before Kleisthenes, and the general designation “Kerameikos” probably predates the division of Attica into demes.⁵³ The scholiasts are correct in describing the “Kerameikos” vaguely as a *topos*, and this *topos* lay in the area of the Classical agora, the Panathenaic Way, and the Academy Road.⁵⁴ The public cemetery belonged to the *topos* of the Kerameikos, which predated the war graves. Indeed, the Athenians would not have elected to designate the region of the prestigious public cemetery with a term tied to pottery, a banausic activity whose product was valued but whose makers were held in contempt. A scholiast to Aischines glosses λογογράφος as “A speech writer: an advocate, writing ‘Keramik’ speeches. Certainly they considered writing speeches shameful.”⁵⁵ The *Suda* says that the expression “the riches of a potter” refers to wealth that is “perishable and not secure.”⁵⁶ Already we see how this area wherein lay the *demosion sema* could have conflicting meanings and interpretations. On the one hand, it was associated with prestigious public burials, on the other, with a base trade frequently tied to metics rather than citizens.

Recently, J. Stroszeck, on the basis of the *horoi* inscribed KERAMEIKOY, has tried to narrow the contours of the Kerameikos and has argued strongly for identifying the road itself as *the* Kerameikos.⁵⁷ Some ancient testimony can be mustered in defense of her designation. For instance, Plutarch says that following Sulla’s sack blood flowed through the Kerameikos, and the river-like imagery would fit well with a red stream pouring through a road.⁵⁸ In another literary passage, a woman is awaited in the Kerameikos as she comes from the Academy to the Stoa Poikile.⁵⁹ Certainly the road belonged to the *topos* of the Kerameikos, but to read Kerameikos exclusively as “street” quickly creates some interpretive difficulties. For instance, Plato refers to someone living outside of the city walls ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, which Stroszeck understands to mean

⁵¹ Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 1093: οἱ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν οἰκοῦντες. δῆμος δὲ Ἀθηναίων.

⁵² Schol. Ar. *Av.* 395, citing Menekles and Kallikrates: καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἄπας Κεραμεικός. ἔστι γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς δῆμος.

⁵³ Judeich 1931, 163; cf. Whitehead 1986, 24-25.

⁵⁴ Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 131, 135a, 1087, schol. *Av.* 395, schol. *Eq.* 772c, 772e, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Κεραμεικός, Hsch. s.v. Κεραμεικός, schol. Pl. *Prm.* 127c, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐκαδήμεια ἢ Ἀκαδήμεια, *Suda* s.v. Κεραμεικός and Κεραμεικοί, and schol. Lucian *Iupp. trag.* 15. See also Wycherley 1957, 221-224; Travlos 1971, 300; and Siewert 1999, 7 for a broad view of the Kerameikos.

⁵⁵ Schol. Aischin. 3.173: λογογράφος· δικολόγος, γράφων λόγους Κεραμεικούς· τὸ μέντοι γράφειν λόγους ἐνόμιζον αἰσχρόν. διὸ οὔτε Περικλῆς οὔτ’ ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἔγραψαν.

⁵⁶ *Suda* s.v. κεραμέως πλοῦτος: ὁ σαθρὸς καὶ μὴ βέβαιος.

⁵⁷ Stroszeck 2003, esp. 54 and 69-71. She cites the earlier interpretations of Brueckner (*AA* 1914, 91, *AM* 56 (1931), 2) and Gruben (*AA* 1964, 389) who concur with her view that “Kerameikos” refers to the street. For more on the *horoi*, see 2e, below.

⁵⁸ Plut. *De garr.* 505b: ...ὥστε τὸν Κεραμεικὸν αἵματι ῥυῆναι.

⁵⁹ Lucian *Pisc.* 13: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ὑπομενοῦμεν αὐτήν.

“bordering” the road called “Kerameikos.”⁶⁰ She would have to adopt a similar view for the Leokorion and a theatre, also said to be ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ.⁶¹ However, the Leokorion is sometimes specifically “in the middle” (ἐν μέσῳ) of the Kerameikos. The construction ἐν with a road in the dative case usually means literally “in” the road, as when Xenophon asks, “Isn’t it more pleasant to take a horse in the road than to walk with your own feet?”⁶² The only occasion I could find for ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ meaning “bordering the road” is twice in Strabo, but once he instead uses ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, and this seems to be the more standard way to describe a location along a road.⁶³ For example, Plato describes a herm ἐπὶ τῇ Στειριακῇ ὁδῷ and Theokritos mentions a monument ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ.⁶⁴ Xenophon does speak of a house’s side door, one not located (κειμένην) ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, but this passage only implies that a door can be conceived of as located in the street, and there is no need for the whole house to follow. The door would be ἐν the road; the house would be ἐπί. Moreover, the Kerameikos can be walked about (περίειμι),⁶⁵ and philosophers come to the Kerameikos to escape the crowds and noise of the streets.⁶⁶ It is best, then, to envisage the Kerameikos as an elongated *topos* that included the Classical Agora, the Dipylon Gate, and the region bordering the Academy Road, where the *demosion sema* was also located.

To return to Pausanias’ contested route, I would argue that since he entered the city via the Dipylon Gate he probably left from a different one, the Leokorion Gate, as Binder et al. have advocated. However, he soon took the cross road found at 4 which would take him to the shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste on the Academy Road, precisely where his description begins. Nevertheless, as the archaeological evidence in the next section will show, that route implies neither that the graves only began at the shrine nor that they were confined to the Academy Road.

⁶⁰ Pl. *Prm.* 127b-c: “He said he stayed at Pythodoros’ outside of the walls in the Kerameikos” (καταλύειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔφη παρὰ τῷ Πυθοδώρῳ ἐκτὸς τείχους ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.) Stroszeck 2003, 71-72.

⁶¹ Schol. Dem. 54.3, Harp. s.v. Λεωκόρειον (citing Phanodemos), Hsch. s.v. Λεωκόριον, Suda s.v. Λεωκόριον. On the theatre, Philostr. *V S* 2.5.571: “They [the Athenians] were gathered together in the theatre in the Kerameikos, which has been termed the Agrippaion.” (ξυνελέγοντο μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ θέατρον, ὃ δὴ ἐπωνόμασται Ἀγριππεῖον...)

⁶² Xen. *Cyr.* 4.3.13: ἵππικὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐν ὁδῷ μὲν ἡδίῳν ἢ αὐτοῖν τοῖν ποδοῖν πορεύεσθαι; cf. Hdt. 1.114 and Lys. 12.30.

⁶³ Strabo 5.3.6, 9.5.18, and 8.6.19. See also the comments on the *horoi* in Ritchie 1984, 764-765 and Lalonde 1991, 12.

⁶⁴ Pl. [*Hipparch.*] 229a and Theok. *Epigr.* 20.

⁶⁵ Plut. *de vitioso pudore* 531f: Διογένης μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἤπει περιῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.

⁶⁶ Prokl. *In Pl. Prm.* 127b-c: “The men who came to Athens avoided the crowd, so they took up lodging outside the walls. Don’t be surprised. For they weren’t there to be with many people, but to take part in the festival.” (οἱ δὲ ἦκοντες ἄνδρες εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκτρέπονται τὸ πλῆθος, διὸ καὶ καταλύουσιν ἔξω τείχους οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ πολλοῖς συνεσόμενοι πάρεισιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς μεθέξοντες.)

2c. Archaeological Evidence for the Location of the *Demosion Sema*

The archaeological evidence for the *demosion sema* has rarely been considered in detail, yet organized excavations and haphazard discoveries in the area to the northwest of Athens have occurred for centuries. Here I present the most salient finds: polyandria, casualty lists and other war monuments, tombs with literary attestation, and possible post holes related to the public burials.⁶⁷ All the locations are summarized in the catalogue and plotted on the maps that accompany this dissertation. Find spots of particular importance for identifying the *demosion sema* are highlighted on the final two maps. This material and its layout begin to provide a picture of the appearance of the cemetery and demonstrate its large contours. It shows that the area along the Academy Road was the heart of the *demosion sema*, but not the only place for public burials or where war dead could be commemorated. In a later section (2e) I will discuss these findings in greater depth and integrate these monuments into their wider landscape.

I begin with the clearest evidence for the *demosion sema*, a group of polyandria excavated in 1997 at Salaminos 35 (28, figs. 3-7).⁶⁸ Once we understand the appearance of these structures, we can look for traces of other potential polyandria. The site lies to the east of the Academy Road. The excavator, Ch. Stoupa, reports the remains of five subterranean polyandria dug into the *kimilia*. The first two are the easiest to detect in the photograph. Their heights range from 1.10 to 1.25 m., and their widths from 0.90 to 1.10 m. The first one is a long, narrow structure on the far eastern edge of the plot (excavated length 9.85 m.), carefully constructed of poros ashlar in isodomic masonry and originally two courses high, still in part covered with stone slabs (fig. 5). Evidence for cross-walls secures the identification of a polyandrion, and the cremated remains of at least three male skeletons were found inside. West and nearly parallel to it is a similar structure (excavated length 10.30 m., fig. 6). It was built at a slightly lower elevation (0.20-0.30 m.) than the first. Anathyrosis visible in the photograph reveals that this second structure once continued northward. From a destroyed section (by which Stoupa presumably means the south of the structure), was revealed a shallow cut covered with silty soil, containing funeral vessels and sherds from the first to the second quarter of the fifth century BC. This cut must pre-date the construction of the second structure. Although this second polyandrion was more damaged than the first, caved-in covering slabs sealed a large collection of cremated bones and seven vessels that date to the third quarter of the fifth century BC. A third structure (excavated length 1.75 m.) is discussed in the report and presumably lies to the north of the first polyandrion, whence it would have proceeded perpendicularly to the east.⁶⁹ It is plastered on the inside with lime. Bones of at least one skeleton were found inside and fragments of a bronze kalpis. Stoupa hypothesizes that it belonged to a general. Traces of a fourth polyandrion are said to be visible in the north-center of the lot upon the remains of paving (to the west of the north end of the second polyandrion, fig. 7). This statement cannot be confirmed by the photographs, but if the structure's breadth extended across the whole visible width of the paving, then it would

⁶⁷ This material also appears in Arrington (forthcoming).

⁶⁸ The best photographs are located on Archaeology Magazine's website: <http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/athens/4.html>. Note that in this image and in the one published in *ArchDelt*, north is down.

⁶⁹ It cannot be as long as the shape traced by the super-imposed red lines on the photograph on the *Archaeology* website because of the already-mentioned anathyrosis on the second polyandrion.

be significantly wider than the first two polyandria. It is of course possible that the structure did not cover the whole width of the paving and completely fill the cutting. Where the fourth polyandria ends, a fifth begins, in the northwest, although even less of this one remains (excavated length 3.10 m.). Burnt bones belonging to at least two men were found inside. All of these polyandria were cut into the *kimilia* and presumably this is why the excavator says that they were subterranean.

Two important structures uncovered at this plot remain to be discussed (**figs.** 3-4). The first is a poros wall three courses wide (1.70 m.), oriented east-west and preserved one course high. It is to the north of the fifth polyandria and at a higher elevation. In continuous length only 2.85 m. survives, but the wall may belong with a corner stone found 10.10 m. away. The second is a structure pre-dating the polyandria, in the southwest of the plot at a higher elevation, composed of two walls of rough stone slabs and traces of a third (preserved length 4.60, width 0.50, height 2.15 m.). These remains must have been removed and no longer visible in the excavation photograph (**fig.** 4), unless they are to be seen in the ashlar in the southwest that do not look fully exposed.⁷⁰ Stoupa suggests that this structure is also a polyandria, which sherds date to the first quarter of the fifth century BC. A cylindrical ash urn was placed in the structure, apparently into a stone slab in a cutting in the *kimilia*. Stoupa says that the structure was surrounded by a circular enclosure, a portion of which is visible near the lower left hand corner of the aerial photograph accompanying the *ArchDelt* report. Finally, there are four isolated graves in the northwest of the plot, dating from the second half of the sixth until the early fourth century BC. Judging from their position, they seem unrelated to the rest of the activity in the plot.

These polyandria provide strong confirmation for the location of the *demosion sema* in the region of the Academy Road but not strictly along it. The east retaining wall of the road was found in a plot to the west, at **27**. There may be a cross street at Sfaktirias with which the polyandria were oriented, for portions of one were found to the east at **243**. The long, wide wall to the north of the fifth polyandria and perpendicular to the Academy road probably held the remains of a base or pedestal on which the casualty lists were set, while the polyandria formed spaces to which one would move from the road.⁷¹ The excavation also reveals some of the identifying features of polyandria: long walls placed about a meter apart, slab flooring, and a possible perpendicular arrangement to the road.

The report raises many questions about the way this space was conceived and experienced. The polyandria lay below the *kimilia*, but are constructed in such a way – both carefully crafted and located on a stone pavement – as to suggest that the builders had the viewer in mind. The stone pavement is at two different levels: the first and third polyandria are slightly higher than the others and maybe they were not contemporary. It is also not clear where the stone paving begins and ends. As for chronology, Stoupa's arguments that the sherds gathered from several locations

⁷⁰ The rectangular, two-roomed structure cutting the fourth polyandria and prominent in the photographs is probably Roman or later.

⁷¹ The only alternative I see is that Stoupa is mistaken in associating the end block with the wall, which would mean that we have the short side wall of a pi-shaped peribolos that enclosed the funerary monuments. The long side of the peribolos would be on the west, facing in the direction of the Academy street but not bordering it.

dating 430-420 indicate the same date of construction and same date of covering for all the monuments is not convincing because, as she also writes, the area was plundered and the remains seriously disturbed; a more careful stratigraphic analysis is necessary before all relative chronologies can be established. Certainly the structure near the middle predates the five subterranean polyandria and may belong with the deposit underneath the second polyandria. But the nature of the relationship between the polyandria and the older structure in the center remains uncertain (whether they surround it or cut it), as does the identity of the latter. The excavator thought it was a polyandria, but it could just as well be a prominent burial for one or two individuals, as the kalpis would seem to indicate.

There are a few other locations along the Academy Road with remains that could be polyandria. At **17**, there are two parallel walls of conglomerate ashlar in alternating header and stretcher construction (**fig. 8**). They may be related to other walls at **21**, part of an industrial complex, or possibly polyandria. At **39**, there are Late Classical walls (admittedly not very securely dated) that are oriented without regard to the ancient road and so neither retaining walls nor the usual funerary periboloi. One of the walls is of unworked stones, the other of poros. A stone pavement lay above a silty layer with Classical sherds at **156**, although here there are no surviving accompanying walls. The length of the floor, 11.50 m., is close to the dimension of the paving at Salaminos. Moreover, a modern kiln or furnace was once used at the house plot, perhaps located here because of the abundance of masonry available from a state grave. More securely identified as the remains of a polyandria are two walls of hard poros stones, preserved two to three courses high, at **166** (**fig. 9**). They are parallel to each other and 1.10 m. apart. The excavator postulates that these are two funerary periboloi, but no reason exists for two periboloi to be parallel at such a close distance to each other. I mention much more tentatively a cluster of five walls at **68**, not all from the same phase, dated Classical to Hellenistic. It is not clear what these walls are doing here. All the plots so far mentioned are near the Academy Road, with **39** the furthest to the east. Between the Academy Road and the road from the Leokoriou Gate, there are two possible polyandria candidates. One, at **229**, is the south wall of a structure in isodomic masonry preserved two courses high with a floor of marble slabs. The report for the adjacent houseplot, **230**, also mentions a trench in the bedrock, reminiscent of the Salaminos style of construction. The second candidate is much more tentative because there is no mention of parallel walls or slab flooring: the southwest corner of a late Classical poros structure at **244**. Also possibly indicative of state polyandria, but on the basis of ceramic deposits rather than structural remains, are graves with two mid- to second-half fifth-century Boiotian kantharoi at **190.5**. No other Boiotian items were reported for the excavations in my Catalogue, and it is quite probable that these belonged to a state grave for foreigners, which are well attested for the *demosion sema*. Admittedly none of these finds resembles the “silver bullet” of **28**. However, we have to bear in mind the extensive robbing and reuse of material in this area, the small size of many of the excavations, and the limited information provided in the reports. I think it very likely that some of the finds described briefly here are the remains of polyandria, particularly from **156**, **166**, **190.5**, and **229** with **230**.

It is frequently noted that none of the casualty lists associated with the state monuments to the war dead has been found *in situ*.⁷² Many fragments were uncovered in the Agora excavations,

⁷² On the casualty lists, see also Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

others discovered as far away as Mesogea.⁷³ But not all war monuments were transported great distances, and there is more material found in the area to the northwest of Athens – that is, close to its original position – than has been acknowledged. From **19** comes one fragment of a fifth-century casualty list; this plot is across the (modern) street from an excavation with ten pits or trenches possibly related to the public burial that will be discussed below.⁷⁴ Found in the same excavation was a fourth-century relief with a Dexileos motif.⁷⁵ The anthemion relief from the Corinthian War (394/3) for the cavalry casualties (currently in the National Museum) was found in ca. 1870 at the tile kiln Levendis, at Plataion and perhaps near Kerameikou, so in the same area as **19**. On my map I locate it very approximately at **12.5**.⁷⁶ Also from Plataion but without any details of a cross street comes the complete casualty list relating to wars in the Cherronesos (447).⁷⁷ Within the same block as the Salaminos polyandria, at **26**, was found part of the commemorative base for a monument for the Marathon dead.⁷⁸ Again in the same block, at **27**, there is a fourth-century fragmentary inscription [- - -] ἰδος Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ *vacat* σώιζοντε, probably the heading of or commemorative base for a casualty list or other war monument.⁷⁹ Moving further up the road, we know that Lord Elgin removed the Poteidaia base from the area of the Academy.⁸⁰ Turning to the area near the Leokoriou Gate, scholars have long debated a large inscribed base from **179** in three parts with an inscription, on which five stelai stood. It has been connected with Koroneia, Delion, or Sicily.⁸¹ Nearby, at **177**, recent excavations have uncovered fragments of casualty lists built into the Valerian Wall.⁸² The list for the dead from the Corinthian War with a relief, on display in the National Museum, was found in 1907 on the property of Mr. Zervas, at Vasileos Irakleiou (today Kalogirou Samouil) and Psaromiligkou (perhaps near **187**).⁸³ Finally, on Diligianni Thod. and Palaiologou K., southeast of Hippios Kolonos and east of the Larissa train station (off the map accompanying this dissertation; east of

⁷³ *IG I*³ 1144 b, c, d.

⁷⁴ *SEG* 51.52. Matthaïou 2003 reports having seen it in the storeroom of the Ephoreia (199). The list may have been reused in the Roman and Late Roman graves or in the Late Roman building that are mentioned in the archaeological report.

⁷⁵ Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986.

⁷⁶ *IG II*² 5222, NM 754. On the find spot, see Matthaïou 2003: “[a]t Plataion, and possibly near its junction with Kerameikos street...” (198); also Stichel 1998, 150-151 (with map) and 157, with further bibliography. Lewis 2000-2003 says that it was found “somewhere near” my **27** (10-11). Cf. *IIAE* 1870, 10 and Stoupa’s comments in *ArchDelt* 52 (1997), B1, *Chronika*, 54.

⁷⁷ *IG I*³ 1162; location as reported in Matthaïou 2003, 198.

⁷⁸ Lapis C of *IG I*³ 503/4; Matthaïou 2003.

⁷⁹ *SEG* 28.240; *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 94-95; and Clairmont 1983, 41.

⁸⁰ *IG I*³ 1179a, BM 1816.6-10.348. See Lewis 2000-2003, 10-11. It is sometimes associated with a frieze described by Fauvel: see Clairmont 1983, 174-175. Stupperich 1978, 92-93 believes a fragment of this frieze may be in Oxford.

⁸¹ *IG I*³ 1163d-f, on display at the Epigraphy Museum. Koroneia: Kyparissis and Peek 1932; Peek 1933; Peek 1934; Bowra 1938; Bradeen 1964, 25-29; and Clairmont 1983, 159-164. Delion: Mattingly [1963] 1966, 92-93. Sicily: Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1939, 101-102 and Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 104-109. See Clairmont 1983 for additional bibliography.

⁸² *SEG* 52.60, Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000.

⁸³ *IG II*² 5221, NM 2744. The find spot is not specified in any more detail: Brueckner 1910, 219.

267), a casualty list for cavalry was found, probably in re-use as the cover for a marble sarcophagus.⁸⁴

The burial plot of Lykourgos son of Lykophron of the deme Boutadai, which Pausanias mentions at the very end of his description of state burials and describes as within the state burial ground, was found at 166, where the Academy road narrows considerably and where I have argued there was a polyandrion (fig. 9).⁸⁵ In the fill above a rectangular pyre that contained burned wood, some bones, and some fifth-century sherds were two marble kalpides, an inscribed lekythos, and two inscribed stelai that secure the identification of the family plot. The inscriptions include the names of women. Built behind a poros wall was a funerary base of alternating headers and stretchers angled to face the viewer coming from the Academy and dating to the late fourth to early third century BC. This is a family burial, where members of multiple generations were buried at public expense together with other normal family burials. That more than one family member received public burial is attested in the literary record. A decree of 307/6 calling for an honorific statue for Lykourgos, the public display of his decrees, and a Prytaneum allowance for his eldest son, Lykophron, says: "... and the ancestors of Lykourgos, Lykomedes and Lykourgos, when living were honored by the *demos* and the *demos* gave them, when they died, burials at public expense (*demosiai taphai*) in the Kerameikos because of their bravery...."⁸⁶ Plutarch also says that Lykourgos was descended "from Lykomedes and Lykourgos, whom the *demos* honored with graves at public expense (*demosiai*)."⁸⁷ Finally, Plutarch adds that some of his descendants were buried δημοσίᾳ and that the graves survive to his day.⁸⁸

We are told that family members were buried in the Kerameikos at public expense, which is tantamount saying that they were buried in the *demosion sema*, as the literary evidence gathered in 2b showed. In every way this burial plot matches the ancient sources: it begins with Lykourgos' ancestors and contains generations of the family who were buried at public expense.⁸⁹ They were found precisely where Pausanias describes them: right before the entrance to the Academy. The only thing lacking are the "τράπεζαι πεποιημένοι" that Plutarch mentions, but given the fragmentary nature of finds in this region, absence of some evidence should not be

⁸⁴ SEG 48.83; Parlama 1992-1998, 536; BCH 122 (1998) 726; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, no. 452; Moreno 2007, 100-101, n. 114; Matthaiou 2009, 203-204; and Papazarkadas 2009, 69-70.

⁸⁵ Siewert 1999 maintains that the public burial that Pausanias mentions was not located here but nearby (1). On whether or not there were two graves for Lykourgos, one private and one public, see the discussion in Matthaiou 1987, 41-42.

⁸⁶ [Plut.] *X orat.* 852a: καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Λυκούργου, Λυκομήδης τε καὶ Λυκοῦργος, καὶ ζῶντες ἐτιμῶντο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τελευτήσασιν αὐτοῖς δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος δημοσίας ταφὰς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. Cf. IG II² 457.

⁸⁷ [Plut.] *X orat.* 843e: κατήγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπρωτάτω μὲν ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαίστου· τὰ δ' ἐγγυτάτω ἀπὸ Λυκομήδους καὶ Λυκούργου, οὓς ὁ δῆμος ταφὰς ἐτίμησε δημοσίᾳ.

⁸⁸ [Plut.] *X orat.* 842e: ἐτάφη δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων τινὲς δημοσίᾳ· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶν τὰ μνήματα ἄντικρυς τῆς Παιωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῷ Μελανθίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου κήπῳ. τράπεζαι πεποιημένοι, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένοι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι σωζόμενοι.

⁸⁹ Stupperich 1977 speculates that his descendants instead only inherited the burial plot (25 n. 4).

surprising. The (potentially striking) addition is the quantity of individual burials and the female names, which indicate that at least some of the graves are private. It is, of course, quite possible that Plutarch made a mistake in assigning public burials to so many of Lykourgos' family members, but this would only strengthen the case for including the burial plot under discussion within the *demosion sema*. It is because of its location that confusion may have occurred. The traveler saw one public burial and assumed that the others were as well. This would not change the fact that here we have the public burial described by Pausanias (whether in actuality it was one or multiple public burials) combined with private graves. We can only deny that these are the graves described in the sources and within the *demosion sema* by creating a stumbling block out of the presence of non-public graves, holding on to a view of an exclusive, closed burial ground. This view does not match the evidence but does create problems as soon as one encounters the non-public burials that are in this family plot.

Another spot where physical remains and literary testimony may match is at **54.5**. In the passage discussed above from Cicero, when the writer and his friends walk through the cemetery and arrive at the Academy, Pomponius says that they “just passed” the gardens of Epikouros.⁹⁰ Few details are recorded from a 19th-century excavation at **54.5**, but we know that a Roman courtyard and stoa-like building were discovered. Dontas has associated one statue from **71** and four from **72** with this complex, which he identifies as part of Epikouros' gardens.⁹¹ The statues, all of philosophers, date to the second century AD, and Dontas identifies two copies of a well-known Epikouros type. Four of the statues were built into a late Roman wall, but Dontas points out that their good state of preservation suggests they were once displayed in a covered setting.⁹² The large size and the fact that they were all found in close proximity indicates that they were not transported very far.

There are two well-studied graves, close to the Dipylon Gate, that I would argue belong to the public cemetery. The first is the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians. Here Spartan allies who fought on the side of the tyrants were buried in 403.⁹³ The building is narrow and long, constructed in several phases.⁹⁴ 23 of the 24 dead were bound in fabric and laid with their heads, resting on stones, at the edge of the road.⁹⁵ An inscription once built into the structure and facing the road

⁹⁰ Cic. *Fin.* 5.1.3: at ego, quem vos ut deditum Epicuro insectari soletis, sum multum equidem cum Phaedro, quem unice diligo, ut scitis, in Epicuri hostis, quos modo praeteribamus.

⁹¹ Dontas 1971. The only difficulty for putting the garden outside the city walls is Plin. *HN* 19.19.51: iam quidem hortorum nomine in ipsa urbe delicias agros villasque possident. primus hoc instituit Athenis Epicurus otii magister, usque ad eum moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura. Dontas argues that with “urbs” Pliny does not mean only the space within the city walls.

⁹² Dontas 1971, 19.

⁹³ Stroszeck 2006, with earlier bibliography; Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33: ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.

⁹⁴ See Stroszeck 2006, 103 and 102 fig. 1, where the structures associated with burials 1-9 and 15 are the earliest, with 10-14 and 16 are later, and with 17-24 are the last.

⁹⁵ Scholars assign different parts of the multiple-phase structure to the actual Lakedaimonian tomb. I follow Stroszeck 2006's division, which is based on the way the soldiers were buried. Others (e.g. Willemsen 1977) would only consider 14 burials to belong to the tomb proper.

secures the identification (*IG* II² 11678), and there are arrowheads still in some of the skeletons (including the last to be buried, who lay parallel to the road), so they are all war casualties.⁹⁶ With one exception, they were buried without grave gifts. The orator of Lysias' Funeral Oration, delivered over the dead in the Corinthian War, refers to the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians as "close ... to this monument" (ἔγγυς ... τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος).⁹⁷

Here *mnema* does not refer to the *demosion sema* but to the grave of the dead whose virtues the orator extols. On only one other occasion does Lysias use the word *mnema*, and there it refers also to an individual grave, not to a cemetery.⁹⁸ So when he says that the Lakedaimonians are near the *mnema*, he does not exclude them from the *demosion sema*. They were not buried in a dishonorable fashion, and there is no reason to believe that they were laid in any area other than one that was considered appropriate for the war dead. There is plenty of testimony for other non-Athenians in the *demosion sema*: Thessalians, Cretans, Kleonians, and Argives.⁹⁹ Although we need to be wary about drawing conclusions on the appearance of the public cemetery as a whole based on the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, the presence of war casualties here should be considered testimony for the location of a cemetery in part dedicated to the war dead.¹⁰⁰

Continuing from the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians toward the Academy, one encounters a large tomb on the left side of the road and behind a third *horos* stone, partially concealed under modern Peiraios Street. The so-called Monument at the Third Horos once was mistakenly equated with the Tomb of Chabrias mentioned by Pausanias. Since the traveler describes the *demosion sema* after the shrine of Artimes Ariste and Kalliste, this tomb could not have been on his itinerary. The date of the structure is debated: the late fifth century, mid-fourth century, and third quarter of the fourth century have been suggested, with possible occupants Chabrias, Lakrates, Kritias, or Molossos.¹⁰¹ It must be later than the three successive fifth-century kilns underneath it, and the monument's use level corresponds to the street surface that was laid down in the fifth century when the road was widened. It pre-dates the mid-fourth century *horos* in front of it.¹⁰² The ground plan combines the rectangular and tumulus grave forms: two (presumably the monument was symmetrical; only half has been excavated) L-shaped wings flank a round structure with a conical stone roof. A sarcophagus within the precinct area contained a red-figure palmette lekythos, four glass beads, a strigil, and iron and bronze nails, and has been dated to ca.

⁹⁶ *IG* II²11678; Willemsen 1977, 130; Kienlin 2003 (disputing the association); and Stroszeck 2006, 101-103.

⁹⁷ Lys. 2.63.

⁹⁸ Lys. 32.21.

⁹⁹ Paus. 1.29.6-8.

¹⁰⁰ Stupperich 1977, seems to entertain the possibility that the Tomb belongs to the *demosion sema*, but he also draws parallels between this grave and other (undiscovered) state monuments (23, 25).

¹⁰¹ Chabrias: Brueckner, overviewed in Willemsen 1977, 1; Lakrates: Willemsen 1977; Kritias: Stichel 1998; Molossos: Valavanis 1999. See in general Stichel 1998, 137, 141-143; Valavanis 1999; and Kienlin 2003. On the history of the excavations, see Willemsen 1977, 120. The graves found around the tomb are most clearly described in Stichel 1998, 138-141.

¹⁰² Ohly 1965, 325.

400.¹⁰³ Marble griffin protomes and sculptural fragments of a Molossian hound were found, perhaps once on the monument's wings, and a loutrophoros or Panathenaic amphora, painted and with added bronze, crowned the roof.¹⁰⁴ This unusual tomb bears little relationship to a family monument and can be best understood as belonging with the monuments of the public cemetery for individuals, which must have reached new heights of elaboration during the fourth century.

I conclude this section with a piece of evidence that Clairmont used in his discussion of the location of the *demosion sema* but that appears more problematic to me.¹⁰⁵ Ten regular pits were dug into the Academy Road near the intersection of Kerameikos and Plataion (**18**, **figs.** 10-11), with a length 1.10 to 1.35, width 0.35 to 0.65, and depth 0.80 to 1.05 m.¹⁰⁶ They seem to cut four of the five road surfaces, and in turn are cut by a Hellenistic drain. Clairmont postulates that these would have held the larnakes for the ashes of the deceased, with the bases for casualty stelai set above them. However, several conditions speak against this view. The cuttings are completely empty – there is no trace of ash or wood. They are not consistently of the same shape, as we would expect for the bases of the casualty lists. They are cut into the street itself, and no Classical monument, let alone one so sacrosanct, would be placed within a road that doubled as a racecourse. Once one walked around these obstructions to traffic and viewed them from the front, one would not be rewarded with a complete view, because two of the stelai would be concealing two set immediately behind them. The edges of the outermost pits were not uncovered in the course of the excavation, and the plan of the series gives the impression that it once continued. Indeed, the shape of these cuttings when viewed together forms a slight curve. Given their find spot – across the modern street from a site with fragments both of a casualty list and of a decorative relief (**19**) and two modern blocks away from the Salaminos polyandria (**28**) – it seems difficult to believe that these unusual cuttings were not related in some way to the public burials.¹⁰⁷ But is much more likely that they held the supports for platforms for judges of the races or spectators than that they contained larnakes.¹⁰⁸

All the testimony points away from the Old Academy Road advocated by Ritchie, Binder, and Pritchett for the location of the *demosion sema*. One more item can be added to the list: the

¹⁰³ Stichel 1998, 140-141. He suggests that the glass objects were originally on a *kline* (144). Some scholars think the sarcophagus does not belong with the building: see Stichel 1998, 140 n. 26 for bibliography.

¹⁰⁴ Stichel 1998 points out that the marble decoration need not necessarily belong with the building. The pieces were found in fill associated with the structure, but could be from a more recent lime oven whose existence Brueckner recorded (137-138).

¹⁰⁵ Clairmont 1981 and Clairmont 1983, 41-42 and 265 n. 60.

¹⁰⁶ Clairmont 1983, 38, 41-42, 265 n. 60 and Costaki 2006, 484-485, no. VI.4.

¹⁰⁷ These holes are different from the ones in front of the Dipylon Gate (**fig.** 12), which are on every road surface except the lowest, of various shapes including circles, and of varying widths, from ca. 0.30 to nearly 2 m.

¹⁰⁸ It is possible that the holes were for the tents for the public viewing of the larnakes that Thucydides describes (2.34.2), but then it becomes difficult to explain the use of the word ἐκφορά (2.34.4), which implies that after the viewing the larnakes were transported out of the city to the *demosion sema*. The structure seems to have too many supports simply to be a speaking platform.

history of the roads themselves. The Old Academy Road, at least at one point, was destroyed in the second century BC (256) and appears not to have been reused. The road also fell into neglect further to the northwest (268), where the west retaining collapsed together with part of the street in the Hellenistic period. In the first century BC at the latest a new road surface was laid over the destruction. The fact that repairs were made at this location and not at 256 suggests that private families or local shrines took responsibility for fixing a neglected portion of the road in an area that was important to them. It was not a road through the public cemetery with significance and meaning for the polis and many families.

The physical evidence, like the literary testimonia, indicates that the public cemetery lay along the road from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy. I have pointed to some possible new identifications of the remains of polyandria along this road. Monuments were not confined to the borders of the road: Cicero describes Perikles' grave as off the road, the Salaminos polyandria were off the main street, and a scholiast to Aristophanes' *Birds* says that they are "here and there." The possible state burials at 190.5, 229, and 244 are also not immediately along the Academy Road. If one includes some of the remains of war monuments, such as the casualty list from the Palaiologou Shaft or especially (given its size) the long base attributed to the battle at Koroneia, Delion, or the Sicilian expedition, assuming that they were found near their original siting, then the edges of the cemetery are more fluid than has been envisaged, or at the very least the appropriate space for commemoration of the war dead was less exclusive. Note also the fifth-century public burial of the *proxenos* Pythagoras and the envoys Thersander and Simylos to the southwest of the road in the German Kerameikos excavations. That a *proxenos* also could belong to the *demosion sema* "proper" is evident from a third-century BC *proxenos* stele found at 30.¹⁰⁹ Some of the ramifications of these observations will be discussed in more detail in 2e, following a history of the use and development of the *demosion sema*.

2d. The Origin and Development of the *Demosion Sema*

Interpretations of the date of the establishment of the *demosion sema* range widely. Usually the cemetery is discussed in tandem with the institution of the *patrios nomos*. Only a brief overview of this large literature follows. Jacoby argues that the *patrios nomos* was introduced in 465/4 following the disaster at Drabeskos, and he is followed by Pritchett.¹¹⁰ Gomme looks to a date as early as Solon.¹¹¹ Stupperich puts it around 510 and associates it with Kleisthenes' reforms.¹¹² Clairmont attributes the institution to Kimon and points to the significance of the retrieval of Theseus' bones.¹¹³ Czech-Schneider puts it shortly after Marathon, Matthaïou some time after the battle at Marathon.¹¹⁴ Tsirigoti-Drakotou states that the cemetery was established shortly

¹⁰⁹ A fifth-century *proxenos* stele was also found at 251.5.

¹¹⁰ Jacoby 1944, 46 and Pritchett 1985, 122-123. Jacquemin 2000, 71 advocates the 460s.

¹¹¹ Gomme 1956, 94-103.

¹¹² Stupperich 1977, 206-224, reiterated in Stupperich 1994, 93, with bibliography 100 n. 2 for those who first proposed this view.

¹¹³ Clairmont 1983, 2.

¹¹⁴ Czech-Schneider 1994, 22-37 and Matthaïou 2003, 199-200.

before the mid-fifth century.¹¹⁵ Most of these interpreters assume that the beginning of the cemetery coincides with a known and ascertainable legislative action, political decision, or battle. When we link one date to the establishment of the *demosion sema*, we create the impression that at one particular moment the space assumed an appearance that would not change, or at least we imply that all subsequent use of the cemetery can only be understood in light of the circumstances of its establishment. In what follows I will advocate an approximate start date for the *demosion sema*, trying to rely as much as possible on the (often neglected) material evidence. I also highlight some of the ways that this space changed and developed. Naturally this discussion moves beyond the fifth-century chronological focus of this dissertation.

In determining the beginning of the cemetery's use, the following five testimonia must be taken into consideration.

- 1) Thucydides uses the expression *patrios nomos* to describe the burial of the war dead (2.34.1).
 - 2) He also specifies that the casualties were buried in the *demosion sema* except (πλήν γε) those from Marathon (2.34.5). Pausanias, too, mentions an exception for the Marathon dead.¹¹⁶
 - 3) Diodoros, following a description of the inscriptions set up for the Lakedaimonian dead at Thermopylai, writes: "Similarly the *demos* of the Athenians also adorned the graves of those who died in the Persian War," and it added the *epitaphia* and funeral oration at that time (11.33.3).¹¹⁷
 - 4) Pausanias, when describing the cemetery, mentions that the Drabeskos casualties (ca. 465) were πρώτοι (1.29.4).
 - 5) The earliest tomb he mentions is that of the Athenians who fought against the Aiginetans before the Persian invasion, probably 491/90 or 487/6 BC (1.29.7).
- Apart from these literary testimonia, we must also consider:
- 6) The structure of the ritual, and
 - 7) The material evidence.

Pausanias' statement in (4), which must be a topographical rather than chronological designation, can be safely set aside.¹¹⁸ This comment has had undue weight on the discussion, for Pausanias

¹¹⁵ Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 93-94. For further bibliography on various views, see Stupperich 1994, 100 n. 3.

¹¹⁶ Paus. 1.29.4: "There is also a cemetery for all the Athenians whom it befell to die in naval or land battles, except for those who fought at Marathon." (ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνήμα Ἀθηναίοις ὁπόσοις ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἔν τε ναυμαχίαις καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς πλὴν ὅσοι Μαραθῶνι αὐτῶν ἠγωνίσαντο.) There is a manuscript variant of μνήματα.

¹¹⁷ ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἐκόσμησε τοὺς τάφους τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπιτάφιον τότε πρῶτον ἐποίησε, καὶ νόμον ἔθηκε λέγειν ἐγκώμια τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις τοὺς προαιρεθέντας τῶν ῥητόρων.

¹¹⁸ Pritchett 1998, 38-40 discusses a possible manuscript error here; see also Stupperich 1977, 235-236 and Pritchett 1985, 112-113. There is one more possibly confusing passage using πρώτοι, Pl. *Menex.* 242b: οὗτοι δὴ πρώτοι μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον, Ἕλλησιν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας βοηθοῦντες πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ ἐλευθερώσαντες οἷς ἐβόηθουν, ἐν τῷδε τῷ μνήματι τιμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πρώτοι ἐτέθησαν. Jacoby 1944 explains that here "first" means "first among those who had died fighting with Greeks for the liberty of the Greeks" (54 n. 77). It could also be "first after the Persian War," not the first ever.

himself mentions in (5) an earlier tomb.¹¹⁹ Diodoros' statement in (3) and Thucydides' and Pausanias' mention of Marathon as an exception (2) all point to the existence of public burials in the period of the Persian Wars. Note, though, that the Diodoros passage is more relevant for pinpointing dates for the *epitaphia* and the *epitaphios logos* than for the cemetery – he only says that the Athenians adorned the graves of their war dead like the Lakedaimonians at Thermopylai, and in context presumably he refers to inscriptions set up near the battlefield, not in the *demosion sema*.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, he describes the *epitaphia* and *epitaphios logos* as additions to a process that must have already consisted of a public burial.¹²¹

How long before the Persian Wars did the cemetery begin to be used? Nothing about the term *patrios nomos* forces us to look back as far as Solon, and indeed the structure of the ritual (6), so closely tied to tribal organization, fits best with the period of Athenian democracy. So, too, do those aspects that limit individual glorification and highlight service to the polis.¹²² Bronze prize vessels awarded to winners of the *epitaphia* have been dated on their letter forms as early as 480.¹²³ Furthermore, material remains indicate little funerary activity along the Academy Road in the pre-Classical period (see the graph in Appendix A, and compare to Appendix B). Particularly important is the possible polyandrion at **28** that dates to the first quarter of the fifth century. Also found in this excavation were isolated graves that date as far back as the second half of the sixth century. The only other Archaic graves found along the road were at **106** and possibly **121**, and further from the main road at **114**, **152**, and **174**. In total, there are Archaic graves at only 3% of the excavated locations in the area of the Academy Road. Archaic material in general, not just graves, was found at only 7% of the locations in the same area. This picture contrasts with the amount of Classical material that could be associated with graves, with 50 locations (28%) either with Classical graves themselves or with clear Classical funerary indicators, such as stelai. Thus all the earliest material evidence for the beginning of the use of the *demosion sema* fits well in the Late Archaic period.¹²⁴

Matthaiou has recently argued, on the basis of an unpublished ephebic decree describing a funeral contest both at Marathon and in front of the city polyandrion ([πρὸ τοῦ] πρὸς τῷ ἄστει

¹¹⁹ E.g. the influential Jacoby 1944. For attempts to explain away (5), see e.g. Clairmont 1983, who argues that political tensions and the location of Aigina were reasons why the deceased from this conflict were taken back home (3, 12, and 101-102).

¹²⁰ Pritchett 1985 and others simply reject the historicity of Diodoros' report (116 n. 67).

¹²¹ Thuc. 2.35.1 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* also say that the funeral speech was an addition to the *nomos*.

¹²² Stupperich 1977 makes a convincing case for the post-Kleisthenes period (esp. 206-224). See also Clairmont 1983, 12.

¹²³ *IG I³* 523-525; Charlier et al. 2009.

¹²⁴ Clairmont 1983 gathers the testimonia for polyandria, with pre-Persian Wars and Persian Wars on 87-123. If an epigram from Euboeia belongs to an Athenian polyandrion, it would indicate that the public cemetery was not yet established in 507/6 (Peek 1955, 1, no.1; Page 1975, 9, no. 2; Stupperich 1977, 206; and Clairmont 1983, 88-89, no. 2), but it does not seem possible to me to attribute the epigram without doubt to either of the parties in the conflict. Similarly, the historical context of a now lost fragment from Lemnos (*IG XII Supp.* 337; Clairmont 1983, 89-90) is too disputed to contribute to this discussion.

πολυανδρείου) and another similar ephebic inscription mentioning a race ἀπὸ τοῦ πολυανδρείου, that there was a cenotaph for the Marathon dead in the *demosion sema*.¹²⁵ *IG I*³ 503/4, a portion of which was found at **26**, belongs with this cenotaph. The presence of the cenotaph elucidates (2): the empty tomb provoked Thucydides and Pausanias to explain where the Marathon dead were actually buried. Perhaps the first “burial” in the *demosion sema*, the cenotaph unlocks some of the peculiarities of the cemetery, discussed in 2e, such as the fluid and open nature of the space.¹²⁶ War monuments accrued near the cenotaph because of the fame of the Marathonomachoi. The cemetery was not laid out at any point but the space around the cenotaph became an appropriate place for burial of the war dead. At the other end of the road, polyandria clustered around the tomb of the Tyrannicides.

The road itself was used in the Archaic period, with the *kimilia*, the soft bedrock, acting as a road surface, sometimes with wheel ruts.¹²⁷ There are two Archaic drains associated with the road at **34**. The earliest attested surface is Late Archaic / Early Classical at **88**. There is a large Classical cemetery near this part of the road, so perhaps private individuals or families who owned plots were responsible for this early paving. With the exception of this location, use of the road surfaces only begins in the Classical period, presumably after the construction of the Themistoklean walls.¹²⁸ It was probably only at this point that the Athenians could spare the time and resources to pave their extra-mural roads.

In conclusion, on the basis of the literary and material testimonia, I would advocate that the cemetery was established ca. 500 BC, possibly along with Kleisthenes’ reforms, possibly following the Athenian victory over Boiotia and Chalkis, possibly after the Ionian Revolt, possibly only after Marathon. In any case, the construction of the cenotaph for the Marathonomachoi rendered the space the most appropriate place for the burial for the burial of the war dead: it solidified the *nomos*. The precedence of the tomb of the Tyrannicides at the other end of the road, near the Academy, further encouraged this identification and provided another monument near which the public tombs could cluster.¹²⁹ This period roughly coincides with the general movement of private tombs from within the city to outside of the walls.¹³⁰ It was a time when people were discussing and re-thinking burial in the context of profound political and cultural shifts. The first tombs were laid at some distance from the city proper, around **28**. A casualty list from ca. 500 was found on the Sikelia hill to the southwest of Athens, and it may

¹²⁵ Ag. I 7529 (edited by T. L. Shear, Jr. for publication in the third edition of *IG II*) and *IG II*² 1006, l. 22; Matthaiou 2003, 197-199; and Parker 2005, 470.

¹²⁶ Arrington (forthcoming) discusses in more detail the start date of the *demosion sema*.

¹²⁷ See **12** and **18**.

¹²⁸ Other possible exceptions are **30** and **50**, where the first road surfaces date to the first half of the fifth century and the early fifth century, respectively. Obviously these date descriptions are not narrow enough to be able to place them in the Archaic period. Locations where multiple road surfaces are dated in the excavation reports: **12**, **23**, **48**, and **50**. In the Kerameikos, eight road surfaces have been identified: 1) end of the fifth century BC; 2) fourth century BC; 3) third century BC; 4) mid-third century BC; 5) Hellenistic; 6) second – first century BC; 7) Augustan; and 8) also Augustan (Costaki 2006, 456; on the Academy Road in general, 455-459).

¹²⁹ On how the young democracy used the *demosion sema* to express its values and ideology, see Arrington (forthcoming).

¹³⁰ On burials within the city walls, see Young 1948 and Schörner 2007.

indicate that the exact siting of the cemetery was not yet fixed, but it is difficult to draw firm conclusions considering the extensive movement and re-use of these funeral monuments.¹³¹ Later in the fifth century, the first road surfaces were laid, and in the mid-fourth century, *horoi* were added.¹³² Classical polyandria and private graves spread and kilns and other industry operated.¹³³ The material gathered in 2c, above, suggests that the heart of the cemetery was located between Sfaktirias in the north (where an ancient cross street was located), shortly beyond the western edge of Plataion in the west, Thermopylon and Agion Asomaton in the east, and with a southern boundary running from the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians to approximately the corner of Dipylou and Agion Asomaton. At the same time as the number of graves increased and the use of space morphed, the funerary practice itself changed through the addition of the *epitaphia* and *epitaphios logos*, which themselves developed over time.

In the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period, the left side of the road outside the Dipylon Gate was covered over with fill and the width of the road halved. Ohly described the fill as sand, gravel, rock pieces, marl, and earth, mixed with pockets of ceramic waste from workshops, accumulating quickly and creating a scree slope.¹³⁴ Most scholars interpret the material as the remains of precautions taken after the battle at Chaironeia, when the Athenians constructed a moat and palisades. Aischines provides good evidence for this when he tells Ktesiphon that he should not have proposed awarding Demosthenes with a crown: “For if you dare say (from where you first started your proposal), that he did a good job making the moats about the walls, I am astonished at you... You should not demand rewards for having governed properly for one having fortified the walls or destroyed the public tombs, but because he was responsible for something good that happened to the city.”¹³⁵ Binder has proposed instead that the width of the road was halved in 303 to guard against the approach of siege machines.¹³⁶ Recently Stroszeck has argued against seeing the deposit as the remains of depositional activity of any sort, claiming that the street levels rose gradually.¹³⁷ Costaki seems to go further and question the veracity of the halving itself.¹³⁸ But there is not much room for doubt. Hellenistic columns *in situ* to the west (behind) the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians are 1.78 m. higher than the base of the *horos* in front

¹³¹ SEG 21.95 and Clairmont 1983, 87-88.

¹³² On the *horoi*, see 2e, below.

¹³³ I will return to the private graves and the kilns below, in 2e.

¹³⁴ Ohly 1965, 302-303.

¹³⁵ Ohly 1965, 305. Aischin. 3.236: εἰ μὲν γὰρ λέξεις, ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐποιήσω, ὅτι τὰς τάφρους τὰς περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καλῶς ἐτάφρευσε, θαυμάζω σου. . . οὐ γὰρ περιχαρακώσαντα χρὴ τὰ τεῖχη, οὐδὲ τάφους δημοσίους ἀνελόντα τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπολιτευμένον δωρέας αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιον γεγενημένον τῇ πόλει. Cf. Lykourg. *Leokr.* 44, when Leokrates is persecuted for having fled Athens after Chaironeia: “And indeed in those times there was no age group that did not offer itself for the salvation of the city, when the land contributed trees, the dead their graves, the young weapons.” (καίτοι κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν ἦτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχεν (*em.* Blass, παρέσχετο *codd.*) ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν, ὅθ’ ἡ μὲν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας, οἱ δὲ νέοι τὰ ὄπλα.)

¹³⁶ As cited in Pritchett 1998, 3.

¹³⁷ Stroszeck 2003, 76 n. 116. Note, though, that she does say that the Lakedaimonian tomb was buried (69).

¹³⁸ Costaki 2006, 458.

of the monument.¹³⁹ A first-century AD drain goes through the tomb itself, and a third-century BC tile-covered grave also cuts the structure. In front of the tomb, there are two Hellenistic drain covers that are 1.30 to 1.48 m. above the base of the *horos*.¹⁴⁰ Just outside the precinct of the Monument at the Third Horos, at the level of the highest course, there are tile-covered graves of the second to first century BC.¹⁴¹ Finally, a first-century BC building occupies the middle of the road. A cross section of this monument shows two layers of unusual thickness to the west of the monument but not to its east (**fig. 12**) – these do not look like the gradually rising street levels that Stroszeck proposes, particularly since they do not cover the whole width of the road. The foundation trench for the west side of the building cut through these two layers and the next road surfaces.¹⁴² It seems clear, then, that the western half of the road was covered. However, this does not mean that prior to this activity the public cemetery could not have been located here.¹⁴³ Aischines indicates rather that it was precisely the public monuments that were concealed. The earth probably was not dumped to prevent the approach of siege machines but simply placed there as a result of the construction of the moat, for the same covering activity was also identified by the graves near the Leokorion Gate.¹⁴⁴ This depositional activity may then have created an area appropriate for later discarding other debris, which would explain the presence of two thick layers next to the first century BC building in the middle of the road.

The Hellenistic period witnessed increased use of the Academy Road area. The dimensions of the road itself did not stay constant, but widened at **48** and narrowed at **130**.¹⁴⁵ The Wagon Road, too, was widened at **9**. 33 locations (19% of the excavated sites) had Hellenistic funerary material. Graves were found at e.g. **22**, **23**, **64**, **67**, and **103**. Tomb markers could be large and pronounced, as at **11**, **15**, and possibly **49**.¹⁴⁶ One, at **18**, encroaches on the road (**fig. 10**) at the very center of the *demosion sema*. At **90** there is a Hellenistic house whose identification is secured by a mosaic floor. The function of other structures, such as the rectangular building of rubble masonry at **31**, remains unclear.

In the Roman period and later, the wide surface of the Academy Road itself became an ideal location for graves or industrial establishments.¹⁴⁷ It was level and open, and there was plenty of building material at hand. Close to the city walls, at **2** and **5**, Late Roman cists took up the street (**fig. 13**). Many of the Roman dead were richly buried, e.g. at **74** and **75**. The Wagon Road at **8** was completely destroyed. 21 Byzantine graves are on the Academy road at **26**. **41** is home to one of many cisterns, with a Late Roman structure over it. A first-century BC “house” and

¹³⁹ Gebauer 1942, 224.

¹⁴⁰ Willemsen 1977, 133-134.

¹⁴¹ Willemsen 1977, 118-120. Only one of the tile-covered burials is securely dated; the others are at the same elevation and dated by association.

¹⁴² Ohly 1965, fig. 16.

¹⁴³ Knigge 1991, 13 and 157. Such views assume that Pausanias described the *demosion sema* in its entirety, or that the polis would never have covered up their cemetery.

¹⁴⁴ Brueckner and Pernice 1893, 82. The fact that the graves on the left side (as one proceed away from the Dipylon Gates) were concealed explains why Philostratos specifies that the state graves were on the right side of the road (n. 29, above).

¹⁴⁵ The precise date of the narrowing is not clear.

¹⁴⁶ See the comments in Garland 1982, 127.

¹⁴⁷ On the destruction of the monuments in the *demosion sema*, see Aliferi 1992-1998.

cistern were built at **50** using one of the road's retaining walls. Despite the frequent destruction of parts of the roads, in the Hellenistic and Roman period, new road surfaces continued to be laid.¹⁴⁸

To sum up: in the early fifth century BC, the polis paved the road, establishing its enormous width, and over the years maintained and repaired it. Multiple surfaces attest to the frequent public involvement in the upkeep of this space.¹⁴⁹ Private burials and non-funerary activity continued in the area (as described below), but some kilns were destroyed and the space then used for burial grounds. Some public burials were placed closer to the walls, others closer to the Academy; they seem to have clustered around the cenotaph of the Marathonomachoi (which, based on Pausanias' order of description, may also have been near the tomb of Kleisthenes) and the tombs of the Tyrannicides. Graves and structures at times encroached on the road, and soon *horoi* were added to the edges in an attempt by the polis to fix limits and to assert its legitimate ownership and control of the space. Yet when circumstances demanded, the grave monuments in front of the Dipylon Gate were covered – the identity of the occupants, some and perhaps all of them associated with the Athenian oligarchs of the late fifth century, may have played no small part in this strategic move.¹⁵⁰ More road surfaces were laid, retaining walls added and repaired, and periboloi erected (sometimes over the road itself). Non-funerary structures continued to appear in the area. In the Roman period and certainly in the Late Roman period we witness more cisterns and evidence for industrial activity in the area, while large sections of the road itself, exploited for its open, flat space, were converted into cemeteries or building plots.

2e. The Nature, Appearance, and Experience of the *Demosion Sema*

This chapter so far has shown that the public cemetery was located mainly along the Academy Road from the Dipylon Gate but not strictly along the road, and has argued that it began ca. 500. Repeatedly I have emphasized the material record, coupled with relatively conservative readings of the literary sources. In this concluding section first I will describe in more detail what was in this space, for, as has already been noted in this chapter, the war dead and their monuments were far from the only presence in the landscape. Then I will propose a model that helps to clarify the nature of the space of the *demosion sema*. It accounts for the many different types of monuments, structures, and activities therein, and improves our understanding of the warrior's place in the cemetery and in Athenian life.

In discussing the family plot of the orator Lykourgos above (2c), I emphasized the need to acknowledge the presence of private burials within the *demosion sema*. Clairmont presented evidence for simple, individual graves from the Archaic and Classical periods in the area of the

¹⁴⁸ At e.g. **12**, **23**, and **48**.

¹⁴⁹ On public officials involved in the upkeep of roads, see Aisch. 3.25 and the accompanying schol. glossing ὁδοποιοί; Dem. 3.29 and 13.30; *Ath. Pol.* 54.1-2; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 54-57; and Costaki 2006, 178-187.

¹⁵⁰ Willemsen 1977, 153 and Stichel 1998, 143 advocate a thematic connection between the occupants of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and those of the other funerary structures to the northwest that were also covered, within the Kerameikos excavations.

Academy Road, and since then even more have been found.¹⁵¹ Private graves were excavated in the immediate vicinity of the road at **16, 18, 28, 37, 87, 88, 92, 95, 106, 121, 126, 139, 140**, and the already mentioned **166**, and further afield at **45, 63, 72, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 123, 133, 150, 152, and 174**.¹⁵² There are also Classical funerary stelai, not *in situ*, at **64, 78, 84, 89, 119, and 146**, and further from the road at **70**. Some of these graves may have been public burials for illustrious individuals such as Kleisthenes, Perikles, or the painter Nikias (recorded in Pausanias), but many of them seem to be too plain for such important figures. More significantly, many of these burials and accompanying funerary sculpture belong to women and children, who could not have received public burials. Apart from the plot already discussed at **166**, relevant material includes a grave stele with a woman holding a jewelry box and another with a woman and a young girl (at **64** and **89**), and funeral offerings that indicate that the deceased was female (e.g. a pit with a bronze mirror at **88** or the pyre at **95** with a red-figure pyxis with a domestic scene, a monochrome pyxis, and a bronze mirror). Children were buried in small terracotta larnakes at, e.g. **87, 88, and 95**.

Clairmont tries to confine the private graves to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and vaguely suggests that there was “perhaps some mutual relationship between state and private burials.” Elsewhere he interprets proximity to the *demosion sema* as indicative of a desire to be buried near war heroes.¹⁵³ Other scholars, such as Wenz, Stupperich, and Matthaïou, resist the notion that any private burials happened within the *demosion sema*.¹⁵⁴ But the evidence cannot be denied. The space for the *demosion sema*, although certainly unique, was not exclusive and closed. Had such exclusivity been desired, the space was simply too large an area for the polis firmly to control. Unfortunately the mechanisms by which the polis acquired land for burials remains unknown. The concept of “clustering” helps to explain the diverse nature of the graves. Some monuments clustered around the Marathon cenotaph, others around the tomb of the Tyrannicides near the Academy.

The Academy Road was the defining feature of the landscape, and in many ways it dictated the experience of the cemetery. The Academy Road’s enormous width dwarfed other roads. We should question the validity of even designating it simply as a road.¹⁵⁵ Outside the Dipylon Gate, a *horos* and *horos* base, both *in situ*, are 40.65 m. apart.¹⁵⁶ No excavation outside of the Kerameikos found two retaining walls, but nevertheless it seems that all or nearly all of its width

¹⁵¹ On private graves in the *demosion sema*, see also Meyer 1993, 119.

¹⁵² In the German Kerameikos excavations, there are late fifth- to early fourth-century BC sarcophagi behind the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and two later Classical children burials. Another fifth-century sarcophagus is underneath the structure to the north of the tomb, known as Building V (Gebauer 1942, 250 and Willemsen 1977, 137-138). These graves probably pre-date the period when the area in front of the Dipylon Gate was included conceptually in the *demosion sema*.

¹⁵³ Clairmont 1983, 3-4, 38, and 40-41.

¹⁵⁴ Wenz 1913, 29; Stupperich 1984, 641; and Matthaïou 1987, 42 n. 15. Most scholars do not even address the issue of private graves. It is assumed that none would exist in a space for public burials.

¹⁵⁵ “Dromos,” though, is not a good substitution: see Miller 1995, 213-214 and 216-218.

¹⁵⁶ On the Academy Road, see Costaki 2006, 455-459.

was revealed in the drain excavation at **127**, which uncovered 40 m. of it (**fig. 14**).¹⁵⁷ The next widest road in Athens was the Panathenaic Way, the *intra muros* continuation of the Academy Road, measuring 29 m. wide in the Hellenistic period.¹⁵⁸ The roads from the Leokoriou Gate were around 5 to 6 m. wide, with a minimum of 3 m. at **236** and a maximum of over 11 m. at **268**. The average city road was 3.50 to 4.50 m. wide.¹⁵⁹ The Classical Academy Road, then, was about 10 times the width of a normal intracity road. The usual explanation given is that the races that took place on it necessitated such an enormous width, but that is not true, for three reasons. First, as we have seen, it narrowed to 29 m. at the Dipylon Gate, but the races did not stop there, so the 11 m. addition to its extramural portion was quite unnecessary. Second, in the Hellenistic period, this extramural portion was halved in width, but the races continued nevertheless. Third, lanes on ancient tracks were between 0.88 and 0.92 m. wide,¹⁶⁰ and modern tracks devote about 1.25 m. to each runner's lane, which provides plenty of room. The races along the Academy Road were organized by tribe and we can envision ten runners at a time, so a width of 12.5 m. would have been adequate.

Clearly, then, the builders' intention was not primarily to create a race track but an open, public space. Moreover, the road was open not just in terms of its size – an open invitation to pedestrians, travelers, and visitors – but also because it was easily accessible. Excavations uncover more and more cross streets (at **4**, **243**, **251.5**, **253** with **254**, **256** possibly with **66**, and **170**). Compared to Travlos' often-copied map, which depicts three nearly parallel roads proceeding northwest from the city, the addition of cross roads makes the area around the *demosion sema* seem less like a place that people traveled through than one which people traveled to and within.¹⁶¹ We should conceive of the space less as an empty area bifurcated by boulevards, and more as a honeycomb full of activity.

As an open space, the road was public and civic in nature, an aspect that was only more pronounced when *horoi* were placed along the edges of the road.¹⁶² One found *in situ* in the northwest corner of the Agora is inscribed HOΠΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟ and dated on letter forms to ca. 400.¹⁶³ A series consisting of five *horoi* inscribed ΟΠΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΥ and one base is usually dated on the basis of letter forms to the second half of the fourth century BC and is comprised of: one *in situ* in front of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians,¹⁶⁴ one *in situ* in front of Monument at the Third Horos,¹⁶⁵ one *in situ* abutting the exterior of the city wall, to the southwest of the Dipylon Gate,¹⁶⁶ a fourth found in Alexandreias street between Hippios

¹⁵⁷ Note that it narrows at **166**, very close to what must have been the Academy entrance.

¹⁵⁸ Costaki 2006, 88.

¹⁵⁹ Costaki 2006, 87.

¹⁶⁰ Miller 2004, 37.

¹⁶¹ Travlos 1971, 318.

¹⁶² On the *horoi*: Ritchie 1984, 199-232 and 756-766; Lalonde 1991, 11-13; Siewert 1999, 5-7; Stroszeck 2003, 55-67; and Costaki 2006, 97-99 (on street *horoi* more generally).

¹⁶³ Ag. I 5770; Ritchie 1984, TA 41, 199-203, 761-762, and 766; Lalonde 1991, 28, H30; and Stroszeck 2003, 55. For the excavation, see Costaki 2006, 476-477, V.34.

¹⁶⁴ Kerameikos I 240; *IG II*² 2618; and Ritchie 1984, TA 43, 210-214 and 757-758.

¹⁶⁵ Kerameikos I 239; *IG II*² 2619; *SEG* 12, 143; and Ritchie 1984, TA 44, 215-220 and 758-759.

¹⁶⁶ Kerameikos I 238; *IG II*² 2617; and Ritchie 1984, TA 42, 204-209 and 756-757. Stroszeck 2003 following Köhler (*IG II* 1101) dates the *horos* to the second century BC based on letter

Kolonos and the Academy,¹⁶⁷ a fifth (fragmentary) from the Agora,¹⁶⁸ and a base *in situ* to the northeast of the Dipylon Gate which, judging from its location vis-à-vis the *horos* on the other side of the gate, would itself have held a *horos*.¹⁶⁹ Other than the first Agora *horos*, three others pre-date this mid-fourth century series. The lowest course of the east wall of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians is built over the *horos* base, so this base must be earlier than 403 (and earlier than the *horos* upon it).¹⁷⁰ A base was found near the southwest tower of the Dipylon Gate that dates to the period of the construction of the gate, 478 BC, judging from its position in the foundations and relationship to the surrounding street levels.¹⁷¹ Finally, the base to the southwest of the gate varies in dimensions from the other bases, suggesting that it belongs to an earlier series.

The meaning of these *horoi* has been debated, but all commentators agree that they are not like normal road boundary markers, because they lack the word ὄδος. This is because the Academy Road was not a normal road, but first and foremost a public space. The archaeological evidence has revealed how frequently it was the victim of encroachment (see 2d, above). The polis used the markers to fix and preserve this space, but concomitantly the *horoi* contributed significantly to the public and civic appearance of the street.

This is not to say that all the activity on the road was civic, strictly organized, and tightly connected to the war dead. Take, for instance, the evidence for Classical industry in this area, which has long been overlooked by scholars.¹⁷² On the west side of the Academy Road, not far from the plot with the trenches (18), is a cistern that is probably Classical based upon its relationship to a Hellenistic monument (15). The lime plaster floor bound by Late Classical walls at nearby 21 is probably associated with this industrial activity (as is the case with so many of the hastily reported material remains from ancient industry, a more precise description of the activity is not possible). Along the eastern edge of the road, at 120, is a deposit with 262 black-glaze pointed-toe amphoriskoi, all from one workshop, dating from 440 to the early fourth century BC. A little closer to the Academy, at 126, is a large ceramics workshop of the fifth and fourth century BC, ideally situated – between the Academy and Wagon Roads – for maximum visibility. Probably also between the roads, at 133, is a tile kiln. Further from the road, there is evidence for an Archaic to Early Classical ceramics kiln at 62 and a later fifth-century one at 152.

forms (67). The stretch of wall which it abuts is considered a third-century repair to a wall constructed in 394. Built into the repaired wall is a stone with a cutting for the horizontal insertion of a *horos*, so it seems that in the fourth-century phase it was positioned so as to receive the lateral side of the *horos* (Stroszeck 2003, 57, fig. 2).

¹⁶⁷ SEG 41.122.

¹⁶⁸ Ag. I 6835; Ritchie 1984, TA 46, 226-229; and Lalonde 1991, 28, H31. Found east of the Stoa of Attalos.

¹⁶⁹ Ritchie 1984, TA 47, 230-232 and 759-760.

¹⁷⁰ Ohly 1965, fig. 15.

¹⁷¹ Stroszeck 2003, 55.

¹⁷² It is interesting to note that the modern road Platonos used to be called Ελαιοτριβείων because of the abundance of olive presses along it (Dontas 1971, 22 and IIAE 1871-1872, 7).

Along the roads from the Leokoriou Gate, there is a deposit with a test piece at **227** and a ceramics workshop at the intersection at **256**. As at **126**, the workshop occupied a position of maximum visibility that we may have assumed would instead have been devoted to an important grave.

Wells, too, attest to non-funerary activity, and are sometimes specifically associated with industry, as at **256**. Classical wells were found along the Academy Road at **36** (only one modern block from the Salaminos polyandria) and at **80**. On the roads from the Leokoriou Gate, wells appeared at **184**, **214**, and **256**.¹⁷³ There is also evidence for industry directly in front of the Dipylon Gate, in the region of the German Kerameikos excavations.¹⁷⁴ A bath lay outside the gate on the west side of the road, with two buildings possibly associated with it and used from the fifth to fourth century BC.¹⁷⁵ Multiple phases have been identified for these structures.¹⁷⁶ There is also evidence for industry throughout the area behind the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and the adjoining funeral structure, and between these and the Monument at the Third *Horos*. A roofed “house” associated with this activity, south of the Monument at the Third *Horos*, faced the street.¹⁷⁷ Beneath the monument itself were three successive fifth-century kilns.¹⁷⁸ Although most of the material here predates this particular area’s use for state burials (it dates before the Lakedaimonian and related tombs), judging from its proximity to the cemetery it certainly would have contributed to the experience of an individual headed from the city to the state graves. Also, some of this activity did still take place in the early fourth century.¹⁷⁹

Not far from the humble artisans were the revered gods. One scholiast glosses the Kerameikos as a *topos* where the statues of the gods are dedicated.¹⁸⁰ More specifically, Pausanias mentions a shrine to Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, which has been approximately located (at **3** and **10**).¹⁸¹ Hesychius adds that some called this goddess Hekate.¹⁸² A divinity with multiple responsibilities, often she was worshipped in connection with fertility and childbirth. Votives of female genitalia

¹⁷³ Some other wells are probably to be assigned to the Classical period, but the excavation reports are not detailed enough to date them. Certainly there are more Roman and later wells.

¹⁷⁴ The most recent excavations along the road by the Dipylon Gate have focused on the Roman material: Stroszeck 1999b and 2000.

¹⁷⁵ Knigge 1991, 159-160.

¹⁷⁶ Gebauer 1938, 609-610.

¹⁷⁷ Gebauer 1942, 217.

¹⁷⁸ Knigge 1991, 16.

¹⁷⁹ Gebauer 1942, 211-217 and Knigge 1991, 163.

¹⁸⁰ Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 772c: τόπος Ἀθηνῶν οἱ Κεραμεικοί· θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐκεῖσε ἰδρυμένα. Since the Kerameikos was such a large *topos*, it is unfortunately impossible to know if he refers specifically to that part of the Kerameikos with the public graves.

¹⁸¹ Paus. 1.29.2. The shrine is discussed in greater detail in Arrington (forthcoming).

¹⁸² Hsch. s.v. Καλλίστη: ἡ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἰδρυμένη Ἐκάτη ἦν ἔνιοι Ἄρτεμιν λέγουσιν. Aischylos’ chorus invokes an Artemis Hekate (*Supp.* 676-677). Artemis as Soteira was worshipped elsewhere in Athens (*IG II²* 4631 and 4685).

and reliefs with the goddess holding a torch (10) allude to such aspects of her cult.¹⁸³ From 25 there is a marble votive relief possibly associated with this goddess, and at 46 a red-figure votive plaque (the deity in question is not identified in the report). After the shrine to Artemis, Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus.¹⁸⁴ Here the Athenians gathered before the festival of the Great Dionysia.¹⁸⁵ Philostratos describes the merriment and convivium associated with this god: “Whenever the Dionysia came and he [Herodes Atticus] went down toward the Academy to the temple of Dionysos, in the Kerameikos he gave wine to resident and foreigner alike to drink as they reclined on beds of ivy.”¹⁸⁶ Such worship of the gods filled the area of the Academy Road with non-funerary activity which involved the whole community. On the occasion of the Panathenaia, Hephaisteia, and Prometheia runners raced torches from altars in the Academy (either of Eros or Prometheus) to the Akropolis or the altar of Hephaistos. In the Academy the Athenians honored Hekademos, a hero who helped the Dioskouroi find Helen when Theseus took her from Sparta.¹⁸⁷ There were altars to Eros, Prometheus, the Muses, Athena, and Herakles, and a sacred olive tree in the precinct.¹⁸⁸

All of this – polyandria and individual public graves, private graves, industry, wells, shrines, worship, races – in “the most beautiful” spot outside the walls. So Thucydides describes it, and he was not normally one for effusive aesthetic statements (Thuc. 2.34.5);¹⁸⁹ obviously this place made an impression. Other sources speak of the Kerameikos as a quiet place of solitude, or an ideal spot for a walk.¹⁹⁰ The wide road created an appealing, open space, with many paths leading off to the sides. The public graves did not dominate the edges of the road in a strict line but, like family plots, created smaller, inviting precincts. Note for instance the structure to the north of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, where visitors gained access from the rear to small rooms, which seem to have served some type of cultic purpose. Even here, where the graves are right along the road, the visitor walks around the space, not through it. Further up the road, the L-shaped wings of the Monument at the Third *Horos* created a space set apart from the road. A Classical peribolos is preserved at 23 that also has walls perpendicular to the Academy Road, forming a precinct. Several of the Salaminos polyandria were set at right angles to each other,

¹⁸³ Forsén 1996, 135-136. In Arkadia there was also a shrine to Artemis Kalliste, above a tomb (Paus. 8.35.8). Presumably the occupant of the tomb, said to be named Kalliste, died in childbirth.

¹⁸⁴ Paus. 1.29.2. The sanctuary is discussed in greater detail in Arrington (forthcoming).

¹⁸⁵ *IG II²* 1006, 1008, and 1011.

¹⁸⁶ Philostr. *V S* 2.549: ὁπότε δὲ ἤκοι Διονύσια καὶ κατίοι ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἔδος, ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ποτίζων ἄστοὺς ὁμοίως καὶ ξένους κατακειμένους ἐπὶ στιβάδων κιττοῦ.

¹⁸⁷ Hekademos: Plut. *Thes.* 32.305 and Hsch. s.v. Ἀκαδήμια.

¹⁸⁸ Paus. 1.30.1-2. One altar has been discovered, at 298.

¹⁸⁹ Stupperich 1977, 4 and Jacquemin 2000, 70 refuse to give the word aesthetic weight, thinking it must mean the most important or significant spot. Hornblower 1991 notes, “The comment on the physical beauty of the site is almost unique in Th[ucydides], who seems to have had little aesthetic sense or interest” (294).

¹⁹⁰ Schol. Ar. *Av.* 395, Cic. *Fin.* 5.1, Lucian *Iupp. trag.* 15, Philostr. *V S* 2.7.578, and Plut. *de vitioso pudore*. Cf. Prokl. *In Pl. Prm.* 127b-c. Admittedly some of these passages (Lucian and Philostratos) might refer to the Classical Agora rather than the extra-mural Kerameikos, or may otherwise refer to parts of the Kerameikos unrelated to the *demosion sema*.

and although not enough has been excavated to reconstruct the exact layout, they were some distance from the street, and some may have formed an enclosure around an earlier tumulus. Such layouts of the monuments encouraged the pedestrian not to stroll by or between memorials, but to pause, experience, explore.

The beauty of the area was enhanced by its fertility. It was certainly well-watered. Roman and later activity, including many cisterns, attests to a plentiful supply of water. A river, probably the Skiron, ran along the lines of modern Konstantinoupoleos, though the course must have varied over the centuries.¹⁹¹ At **69** there is a layer with sand and gravel from a riverbed, at **94** a fifth-century river deposit, and a retaining wall pierced for the flow of a river at **258**. Step-like cuttings at **265** have been interpreted as the remains of irrigation. There are also alluvial layers from the gymnasium in the Academy (at **293**). The cool sound of a gurgling stream in spring or a rushing torrent in winter (the season of the public burials), or the sight of a dry bed in summer would have reminded the visitor of the cyclical nature of life.

Two conclusions are beginning to emerge. The first is that the *demosion sema* was a heterogenous, somewhat amorphous cemetery. Scholars have frequently tried to twist Pausanias' testimony to create an image of an organized, self-contained civic burial ground that never in fact existed.¹⁹² There was no fixed beginning or end to the graves δημοσίᾳ. Public burials defined the *demosion sema*, not vice versa, and the boundaries of the cemetery would have moved as more monuments were added. The early democracy cannot have predicted just how much space the city would need to bury centuries of war dead, and then proceeded to acquire the land and fix its limits. Moreover, the *demosion sema* did not have a monopoly on burials at public expense, for individuals such as Tellos, Kimon, Miltiades, Aristeides, and Themistokles were buried δημοσίᾳ elsewhere both before and after the cemetery's start.¹⁹³ We may imagine that before the erection of any public monument or the burial of any individual δημοσίᾳ there was debate and discussion over an appropriate location within the setting, broadly conceived, of the other dead. The surrounding individual graves and polyandria would have influenced the reception of any one burial, but rarely would have dictated its placement.¹⁹⁴ Cavalry lay next to infantry, Athenians next to allies, civilians next to soldiers, and individuals next to military units.

The second conclusion follows in part from the first: this place was but part of a larger space. Once we accept that the state grave remains from **28**, **166**, **190.5**, **229**, and **230** indicate a more fluid boundary to the space, and we appreciate the length and breadth of the Academy Road, then in order to understand the experience of a visitor to the public graves, we must consider the topography of the whole area. The material evidence discussed above begins to help create a more accurate picture of this region.

¹⁹¹ On the Skiron, see Judeich 1931, 48 and *ArchDelt* 55 (2000), B1, *Chronika*, 73-74 n. 7. Perhaps Xenophon refers to this river when he describes the grave of Thrasyboulos. He says that the democratic leader was buried at the crossing of the Kephissos (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.19), but his is the very first grave Pausanias describes in the *demosion sema* (Paus. 1.29.3). Xenophon or a copyist may have mistaken the Kephissos for the Skiron.

¹⁹² See 2a, above.

¹⁹³ Stupperich 1977, 25. On Tellos, Hdt. 1.30.5.

¹⁹⁴ For the thematic placement of the polyandria for Thessalian cavalry (Paus. 1.29.6), see 3c.

Before considering how everything interacted and what the implications were for the burial of any given warrior – putting all of the pieces together, as it were – I would like to briefly describe another cemetery for military casualties, from a very different time and place: the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, Japan (**fig. 15**). This cemetery exhibits some striking similarities to and important differences from the *demosion sema*, which can deepen our understanding of the soldier's place in ancient Athens.

The Yasukuni shrine in Tokyo, whose name means “Protect the Peace of the Nation,” was created in 1869 to enshrine the war dead who fought on the emperor's side during the Imperial Restoration.¹⁹⁵ Since 1869, all known war dead have been continuously added to the shrine, where they are made into gods (*kami*) who in their new guise continue their former service of defending country and emperor. In truth, it is not a cemetery per se: there are no bodies, only spirits. The names of all these *kami* are contained in the *reijibo hoanden* (**fig. 15**, no. 2.). The first apotheosis rites of 1869 were announced with cannon and fireworks, and concluded with a sumo match. In 1871, a space outside the gates was made into a racetrack and a lighthouse was added. The main shrine, or *honden*, was constructed in 1872; the main hall, or *haiden*, only in 1901. In 1881, a museum was built to house spoils of war, renovated in 2002.

Today the site continues to change, but is still sharply defined from the surrounding city by its massive gates, the *torii*. The setting is emphatically religious, dominated by Shintō architecture. The faithful attend services and offer food and prayers to the *kami*. However, the space has multiple uses and is filled with a variety of activity, little of it related to mourning.¹⁹⁶ Apart from the sumo ring and museum mentioned, there is a Nō theatre, a garden, and archives. The blossoms from hundreds of cherry trees create colorful confetti in spring. The resident white doves fly through the air. Flea markets within the grounds are not uncommon, and the bi-annual festivals are periods of gay rejoicing, when vendors set up food stalls and friends and family gather to eat and drink (**fig. 16**).

The space is organized along a strictly axial plan (**fig. 15**). A visitor enters at the east side, through the massive, 25 m. high Great Gate. From here, there is a straight path to the inner shrine. He passes on the right a monument to the dead of the Hitachi-maru boat, sunk by the Russians in 1904, followed by a spring dedicated to those who died of thirst in battle. He walks around a statue to Ōmura Masujirō, the creator of the modern Japanese army, and proceeds under a second *torii* gate. He purifies himself at a font on the left, and then through another gate and through a third *torii* (**fig. 17**) to the *haiden* or main hall, where he worships the war dead.¹⁹⁷ Afterwards he may visit the museum or the archives, wander through the garden (**fig. 18**), or contemplate the statues commemorating war widows, horses, carrier pigeons, and dogs that died in war, or the memorial plaque for a judge who argued at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (1946-1948) that the alleged Japanese war criminals were innocent.

¹⁹⁵ The original name, until 1879, was the Tokyo Shōkonsha (Shrine for Summoning the Spirits). On Yasukuni, see Hardacre 1989, Breen 2007a and 2007b, Nitta 2007, and Takahashi 2007.

¹⁹⁶ On the lack of mourning, see Breen 2007b, 161-162.

¹⁹⁷ Most visitors cannot proceed beyond the *haiden*.

There are some striking similarities between Yasukuni and the *demosion sema*: the importance of the war dead, the multiple uses of the space, the role of athletics, the religious atmosphere, the festivals, and the development and change over the decades. In this fiercely conservative setting, the multiple uses of the space do not detract in any way from the worship of the dead. In terms of salient differences (of which, of course, there are many) I would like to stress two. First, the closed nature of the space at Yasukuni. Walls clearly separate the sanctuary from the surrounding city, and the multiple *torii* gates direct the worshipper through a wide boulevard lined by lamps and trees. The pedestrian knows immediately when he has left the hustle and bustle of central Tokyo, and as he passes under each gate, the urban environment grows increasingly distant. Closer to the *haiden*, the fountains of water for purifying rituals emphasize that one is entering a sacred precinct, a space set apart within the space. Finally, as the worshipper prays before the *haiden*, he gazes at the *honden*, which most are not permitted to enter. The need for such clear spatial divisions is essential for a shrine that was placed in the heart of a large, sprawling city, but it also puts the emphasis and focus on the war dead. They are set apart, revered, sacrosanct. This space was created specifically for the deification of the military casualties.

This brings me to the second difference between Yasukuni and the *demosion sema*: everything at the shrine is carefully designed to honor, celebrate, remember, and (literally) worship the war dead. The archives and museum commemorate and justify their deeds. The sumo wrestling, which is actually a religious event where the referee is a Shintō priest, glorifies their combat. The Nō plays are performed in honor of the deceased. Even the cherry trees have a special significance here, for in Japan the transient cherry blossom is used to symbolize the military dead, those youths who fell at the peak of their beauty.

In contrast, the *demosion sema* had none of these fixed boundaries and rigid spatial organization. The Yasukuni Shrine is important as a comparative example because it shows just how alien such strict planning was to the Athenian cemetery. In addition, at the *demosion sema* not all of the monuments and structures, together with their concomitant activities, relate directly to the war dead. Non-funerary activity pre-dated the placement of the cemetery, and continued throughout its existence. The various structures and activities all contributed to the appearance and experience of the area, and influenced the reception of each other. The model I propose is illustrated in **fig. 19**. In place of a diagram of a road lined with graves or an attempt to reconstruct Pausanias' route (**figs. 1-2**), I have tried to capture the many different types of monuments which, together with the activity around them, would have interacted and reacted with and against one other. Take, for example, the shrines. Some aspects or qualities of these divinities neatly fit into the setting of a cemetery, others do not, but the shrines would have influenced the reception of the public graves, and vice versa. That is, they both affected one's view of the military casualties and were in turn affected by the presence of the graves. The cemetery's location near the sanctuary of Artemis was appropriate considering the sanctuary's emphasis on child-bearing, i.e., the survival and continuity of the community. The presence of the neighboring dead would have brought into sharp relief Artemis' qualities as a goddess of new life and fertility. Also, perhaps some visitors to the state graves would have recalled the dedications made to Artemis following the sea battle at Artemisium, sometime after 479.¹⁹⁸ The epithet Hekate probably accrued later, because of the cemetery's proximity.

¹⁹⁸ Plut. *Them.* 8.2-3.

Like the sanctuary of Artemis, Dionysos Eleuthereus' cult was at the center of events that revolved around the community. In addition, perhaps the fact that the cult statue here was appropriated from Boiotia rendered the area fitting for the commemoration of conquest and conflict.¹⁹⁹ Once the cemetery was founded, the merriment and joy of Dionysos' festivities may have helped mourners approach the dead. The dead soldiers are not essential prerequisites for the worship of Dionysos at this shrine, but impacted the rituals. The festival accrued military connotations: *strategoï* were involved, making libations and serving as judges; allies brought their tribute onto the theatrical stage; and war orphans who had come of age were publicly presented.²⁰⁰ By the Hellenistic period, the military nature of the surroundings had profoundly influenced cult practice: the ephebes, men in military training, processed from the sanctuary before the Great Dionysia.

The Academy Road itself significantly affected the experience of the cemetery by creating an open, inviting, civic space, yet traffic of any sort along the road was not determined by the existence of the graves. Though people surely traveled the road to see the graves, many did so with quite other purposes. Moreover, the races along the road, which would have acquired a particular meaning for participants and spectators as the runners competed alongside illustrious graves, could and did exist without the war dead. They would, though, have been particularly moving in a year when many soldiers died. In conclusion, unlike the Yasukuni shrine, which was planned for and around the dead warrior, at the *demosion sema* the presence of the dead soldier was checked, confined, and restrained as much as it was deliberately celebrated.

A drawback to creating a graphic depiction of my model is that it makes the cemetery appear to be part of an unchanging, static cultural system. It was not. We must imagine that at different times, varying weight and importance would have been attributed to each element of **fig. 19**. Also, their relative proportions would have changed over time, as more public and private graves were added (at an unknown ratio), and perhaps as industry decreased in the Late Classical period. Religious beliefs and attitudes would have evolved, and non-Athenians buried in the cemetery would have been viewed now in a friendly, now in a hostile manner. Seasons changed, rivers cut new channels. The area of the *demosion sema*, peaceful and beautiful as it was, was a dynamic, shifting, active place. The dead Athenian soldier was only one part of this landscape. Outside of the walls, he was integrated within a spatial, ritual, and cultural fabric. On the periphery of daily life, certainly he was honored, but he could also be forgotten.

Why this treatment of war casualties? The Athenian policy in the fifth century of burying all their dead outside the walls does not answer the question: there could always be exceptions for important individuals, such as the prominent burial of Theseus' bones by Kimon or the shrine for Kodros, Neleus, and Basile. In other cities, the war dead were more centrally located than at Athens: at Megara near the bouleterion, at Sparta within the city, and at Samos in the agora.²⁰¹ The Athenians established a place to honor the dead and celebrate the values of the young democracy, particularly by creating the enormous Academy Road and by placing the cemetery

¹⁹⁹ Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 243.

²⁰⁰ Plut. *Kim.* 8.7-9; schol. Ar. *Ach.* 504, citing Eupolis; *Isok.* 8.82; and *Aischin.* 3.154.

²⁰¹ *SEG* 39.411, Hdt. 6.14.3, Paus. 1.43.3, Paus. 3.14.1, Plut. *Lyk.* 27.1-3, Plut. *Mor.* 238d, Brulé and Piolot 2004, and Low 2006. Cf. the graves of Adrastus and Melanippos at Sikyon, Hdt. 5.67.

near sanctuaries that were closely tied to the community.²⁰² But the peripheral location of the casualties suggests that the Athenians recognized the potentially disruptive presence of the war dead. First, honoring individuals over the collective would have been a dangerous practice for the young democracy. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the dead were centrally located often in cities run by oligarchs.²⁰³ Second, families could claim moral credit for the exploits of their slain relatives: the Marathon painting in the Stoa Poikile, for instance, may have been designed to strengthen Kimon's position by lauding his father's accomplishments.²⁰⁴ The peripheral location of the *demosion sema* diminished the potency of such divisive political claims. In addition, it minimized the powerful emotions and opinions that the graves of the war dead could provoke. The disruptive force of these monuments will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter, when I discuss the casualty lists.

The *demosion sema* was established ca. 500 BC, when the Athenian democracy was young. Military graves clustered around the tombs of the Tyrannicides and the cenotaph for the Marathonomachoi. The core of the cemetery appears to have been located between Sfaktirias in the north, shortly beyond the western edge of Plataion in the west, Thermopylon and Agion Asomaton in the east, and with a southern boundary running from the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians to approximately the corner of Dipylou and Agion Asomaton. The Academy Road, in truth an enormous civic area, was a defining aspect of the cemetery. However, the *demosion sema* did not strictly line the road, nor was it a fixed and delimited space. The study of centuries of excavations has revealed hitherto unacknowledged polyandria and also uncovered private graves, shrines, and industry near and among the war dead in a space of natural beauty crossed my multiple roads. I have traced the extensive development and reuse of this space through the Late Roman period. The treatment of war casualties and the appearance of the *demosion sema* differ significantly from modern practice and expectations. I have suggested, in place of a diagram (based on Pausanias) that reconstructs the layout of the graves, a model that accounts for the diverse range of activities within the *demosion sema* and underscores that the war dead were integrated into the landscape but not integral to it. This peripheral treatment of the dead was intended in part to compensate for their potentially disruptive and divisive presence.

²⁰² Arrington (forthcoming) argues that the location of the cemetery also set up a contrast with the more elite and divisive values celebrated to the east, near the Leokoriou Gate and along the roads to Hippios Kolonos.

²⁰³ Nagy [1979] 1999 discusses how Achilles brings grief to the *laos* (69-83).

²⁰⁴ Hölscher 1973, 74-78.

3. The Imagery in the *Demosion Sema*: Power, Defeat, and the Collective Struggle

The previous chapter located the Athenian public cemetery, the *demosion sema*, and investigated its relationship to the wider landscape. This chapter delves further into the public cemetery itself, exploring in greater detail the appearance, development, and function of the state graves. Some of the questions I seek to answer are: What type of an environment did the Athenians construct for their war dead? What was the relationship of the state monuments to prior aristocratic modes of representation and to contemporary forms of private commemoration? To what extent did the monuments construct their viewer? Finally, how, through monuments and imagery, did the polis manage the problem of defeat? To answer these questions, I reconstruct the form of polyandria (3a), public-sponsored artwork (3b), and casualty lists (3c), revealing a flexible and variegated memorial system governed by a spirit of restraint, with a tendency toward increasing monumentalization and elaboration in the last third of the fifth century. A study of the casualty lists and their epigrams shows how the Athenians mourned their losses while creating defiant monuments of power and resistance (3d). In many ways the casualty lists were structurally opposed, in terms of form and content, with *tropaia*. Nevertheless, the casualty lists resist categorization as monuments of defeat by avoiding clear imagery of victory and defeat and instead, particularly through their figural reliefs, creating a viewer-oriented rhetoric that encouraged struggle and sacrifice (3e). The aggregation of the casualty lists and their integration into the landscape reinforced this message while minimizing the visual impact of Athenian defeats (3f).

3a. The Form and Development of the Polyandria

In the Archaic period, the war dead were cremated on the battlefield and covered with a tumulus. With the establishment of the *demosion sema*, usually the ashes were transported back to Athens, publicly displayed for three days, and then interred in a common monument. How did the new space change the way the war dead were presented and remembered? Was the ancient form of the tumulus, together with its aristocratic connotations, *de rigueur*?

Stupperich thought the public polyandria strictly lined the Academy Road and thus the Athenians would have had to modify the tumulus form to a rectilinear plan so that the epigrams and stelai would front the road.¹ He notes that multiple forms of polyandria may have been possible – the different number of dead per year would have required more or less space for burial and a varying number of stelai – but in his view the surviving private precincts of the fourth century are analogous to the lost public ones. Clairmont suggests perhaps a half-dozen types of polyandria.² For instance, the larnakes may have been placed in a precinct five to six meters in length, with the casualty lists forming one side of an enclosure.³ A tymbos could have been included in the precinct and crowned with a statue, statue group, or stele. Sculpture may have

¹ Stupperich 1977, 22-23.

² Clairmont 1983, 60-67.

³ Brueckner 1910 also envisaged tumuli fronted by casualty lists and side walls (211).

been on top of the stelai themselves. Alternatively, there might have been a single casualty list on a stepped podium within a precinct, accompanied by a low stele or altar.

Clairmont drew most of his reconstructions from the images of grave-markers on lekythoi, which he believed represented the state graves.⁴ Since private stone gravestones do not appear in Athens until around 430, the images on lekythoi do require an explanation. Usually they are interpreted as wooden tombstones, older tombstones, foreign tombstones, or figments of the artists' imaginations.⁵ In support of Clairmont's view, one could adduce the simple, flat-topped stelai on the lekythoi that resemble surviving casualty lists and that were humble enough to conform to the spirit of any sumptuary law.⁶ Yet many of the tombstones (not just those with flat tops) are bound with *tainiai*; if these monuments were casualty lists, then the bands would have concealed the names of the dead, which seems an unlikely commemorative practice. Moreover, *tymboi* shaped like an egg are impossibly pointed for mounds of dirt, while other grave markers are improbably extravagant.⁷ It seems that there was an element of personal creativity at work in these depictions. Elsewhere the lekythoi painters did not hesitate to create imaginary scenes by combining several actual objects or events into an unrealistic whole, as in the lyre suspended in the air next to a tomb monument or altar by an artist "Near the Thanatos Painter," or a hare hunt taking place in front of a stele by the Thanatos Painter.⁸ Moreover, some artists preferred to depict certain types of graves. For example, the *Tymbos Painter* tended (as his name suggests) to portray mounds.⁹ He overlaps chronologically with the *Sabouroff*, *Achilles*, and *Thanatos Painters*, who prefer tall, slim stelai.¹⁰ Wider, low monuments, with pediments or acanthus leaves frequently appear on works by the *Reed Painter*, but are rare in the oeuvre of his contemporary the *Woman Painter*.¹¹ Finally, there was no relationship between the tomb marker on a lekythos and the actual tomb marker of the grave wherein the vessel was deposited: multiple lekythoi from one grave have different types of tombstones represented on them.¹² In conclusion, the

⁴ Clairmont 1983, 74-85. The images of grave-markers on lekythoi are gathered and analyzed in Nakayama 1982.

⁵ Paspaspyridi-Karusu 1956, 125 n. 3 and Humphreys [1980] 1993, 89. Scholl 1996, 202 and Stears 2000, 33 express skepticism that the representations are real. On the sumptuary legislation that may have caused the disappearance of private gravestones, see Cic. *Leg.* 2.26.64-65; Clairmont 1970, 11-12; Stupperich 1977, 71-86; Clairmont 1983, 249-250 n. 13; Morris 1992-1993, 35-38; Humphreys [1980] 1993, 88-89; Morris 1994, 76 and 89 n. 43; Stears 2000, 42-54; and Hildebrandt 2006, 77-84. Oakley 2004, in the most recent study of lekythoi, concludes that some of the depicted grave markers are real, others fictitious (198-199).

⁶ E.g. New York Met. 23.160.38 and 23.160.39; Kurtz 1975, pls. 30.1-2. On the appearance of the casualty lists, see section 3c, below.

⁷ Oakley 2004, 191; Copenhagen 2793, Oakley 2004, 194 fig. 155; and Kerameikos 136, Oakley 2004, 199 fig. 161. Kunze-Götte 1984 attempts to demonstrate a factual basis for the iconography of the latter lekythos.

⁸ Boston MFA 01.8080, Oakley 2004, 195 figs. 156-157; London BM D 60, Oakley 2004, 178-179 figs. 136-137. On the conflation of scenes on lekythoi, see Oakley 2004, 173-191.

⁹ Kurtz 1975, 83 n. 4. Later products of the workshop reveal greater variety in monument types.

¹⁰ Kurtz 1975, 40 and 47. On the chronology of the painters, see Oakley 2004, 13-18.

¹¹ Kurtz 1975, 61-62.

¹² E.g. the lekythoi from Graves 311 and 324 in the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos* VII.2, pls. 60-61).

lekythoi cannot be treated as reliable testimonia for the appearance of graves in Athens, whether private or public.

In contrast, a public grave does appear on two fragments from the neck of a loutrophoros or amphora in Amsterdam (**fig. 20**). Four stelai are visible with geographical rubrics, which secures their identification as casualty lists.¹³ In terms of date, the script – high nu, three-barred sigma, and upright cross for chi – and the fact that the stelai are separated have been used to date the monument to the first half of the fifth century.¹⁴ Wolters proposed that the white background behind the stelai represented the stucco on a tymbos, which would continue the Archaic aristocratic tradition of using mounds as grave markers.¹⁵ The public stelai in this image thus were erected in front of the tymbos and not on top of it, as Clairmont had suggested. This placement was probably common, for although it is possible that on some public tymboi one stele stood on top of the mound, in years with many dead there would not have been room for multiple casualty lists. One consequence of this frontal positioning was that the lists became more legible.

The attested presence of the tymbos invites comparison with four fifth-century tumuli outside of Athens possibly associated with public burials: at Marathon, Vrana, Salamis, and Thespiai. Perhaps these examples can provide information for the appearance of the graves in the *demosion sema*. The tumulus at Marathon (termed the *soros*) is 9 m. high (originally at least 15 m. high¹⁶) and ca. 50 m. across.¹⁷ Ever since Schliemann dug into the mound, finding neither human bones nor ashes, the identification of the mound as the tomb for the 192 Athenian dead from the Battle at Marathon has been disputed. After Schliemann, Stais found a layer of ash 2-16 cm. thick, with carbon, bones from humans and animals, egg shells, and sherds from about thirty lekythoi without traces of burning.¹⁸ One krater served as an ash urn.¹⁹ Near the ash layer and within the tumulus was an offering trench (Γ) with ashes and sherds. Outside of the tumulus, in the southwest, was another offering trench (E), 5 or 9 m. long (reports vary) and 1 m. wide, with animal bones, egg shells, and broken vessels, all probably the remains of a funeral meal.²⁰ There were grave stelai around the tumulus (unfortunately subject to little discussion in the

¹³ Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2455; Wolters 1913; Brueckner 1915b; Wolters 1915; Bradeen 1967, 324-325 and pl. 70d; Kurtz 1975, 86 n. 10; Stupperich 1977, 2.98, no.1a; Clairmont 1983, 62 and pl. 3c; Immerwahr 1990, 100, no. 674. Cf. *IG I³* 1162.

¹⁴ Immerwahr 1990, 100 n. 8 does not find the dating by script convincing. For nu, see Immerwahr 1990, 151-152; for sigma, 157-160; and for chi, 164-165.

¹⁵ Admittedly the fragmentary nature of the fragments renders the proposal tentative; the white might instead indicate a wall.

¹⁶ Hammond 1968, 16.

¹⁷ On the Marathon tumulus, see Thuc. 2.34.5; Paus. 1.29.4 and 1.32.3; Clairmont 1983, 95-98; Pritchett 1985, 126-127; Travlos 1988, 216, 220 (with excavation bibliography) and 222-223, figs. 269-271; Whitley 1994; Mersch 1995, 56-59; Petrakos 1996, 18-24; Jacquemin 2000, 67; Goette and Weber 2004, 78-82; and Steinhauer 2009, 120.

¹⁸ For the lekythoi, see *CVA Athens* 1, 6-8, pls. 10-14; *ABL* 89-94 and 221-225; *ABV* 487-488; *Para* 222; *BAdd²* 122; and Clairmont 1983, 98-99; see also n. 20, below.

¹⁹ *CVA Athens* 1, pl. 11.7.

²⁰ Several of the vases from the tumulus are beautifully illustrated in Steinhauer 2009, 124-139.

archaeological reports) and to the north of the tumulus Late Roman graves, about one meter above the levels associated with the tumulus. The presence of sixth-century BC vessels and pyxides, usually associated with women rather than warriors, has suggested to some scholars that the mound belonged to an aristocratic *genos*.²¹ However, the tumulus' size and the use of one workshop for all the lekythoi point toward an identification of the *soros* as the resting place of the Marathon dead.

Subject to even more controversy is the tumulus 2.5 km away at Vranas, possibly for Plataians, Athenian slaves, or both.²² There were two cremations and nine inhumations, of which two had head injuries and one was a child of around ten buried in a pithos. Grave goods were Attic. Stone slabs were set above the inhumations, one of them inscribed in Attic script Ἀνχίας or Ἀρχία. A pyre above the burials contained carbon, animal bones, and sherds, and the whole was covered with a tumulus made of river stones, rising to a height of over 3 m. and a diameter of around 30 m. The mixed type of burial, small number of deceased, Attic script and grave goods, and location have rendered interpretation of the mound difficult, and I do not think it is possible to reach a secure conclusion on the identify of its dead.

The dead from the battle of Salamis were buried on the island, possibly under the tumulus on the hill Magoura.²³ Late fifth-century graves encircle the tumulus, and possibly there is an altar. Unfortunately the mound still has not been subject to thorough excavation, and its identity remains unconfirmed. If it were a tumulus for war dead, it need not necessarily have belonged to Athenians.

More information is available for a (certainly non-Athenian) tumulus that covered war casualties at Thespiai in Boiotia.²⁴ Based on the ceramics and the number of (envisaged) casualties, the deceased probably fell in the battle at Delion in 424/3. The enclosure, 32 by 23 m., open in the back, lay on the south side of a road 1,100 m. east of the town. Other tombs were nearby. Eight casualty lists and fragments of a ninth have been found, most of them in front of the north wall of the enclosure.²⁵ A simple molding decorates the top of the lists, and a tenon once fastened them to the (presumably) north wall. Unlike the Athenian casualty lists, they all appear to have been carved by one hand, in an elaborate script, without maximizing the use of space. Often only half of the block was inscribed. If Schilardi is correct in reconstructing a total of 300 dead listed on

²¹ E.g. Mersch 1995, 59.

²² Clairmont 1983, 99-100; Pritchett 1985, 127-129; Travlos 1988, 217, 221 (with excavation bibliography), and 237, fig. 289; Mersch 1995, 59-61; Petrakos 1998, 65-67; Jacquemin 2000, 67; Goette and Weber 2004, 83-85; and Steinhauer 2009, 120.

²³ *IG* II² 1035; *ArchDelt* 22 (1967) B1, *Chronika*, 146; Stupperich 1977, 212; Clairmont 1983, 102-103; Pritchett 1985, 129-131; and Jacquemin 2000, 67-68. Cf. *IG* I³ 1143.

²⁴ Schilardi 1977, esp. 22-40; Pritchett 1985, 132-133; and Low 2003, 104-109. For the excavations by Stamatakis and Keramopoulos in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Schilardi 1977, 1-5, with bibliography.

²⁵ *IG* VII 1888. Unlike these, a later fourth-century casualty list from the area has a heading: *SEG* 2.186, 19.351, and 24.363; cf. *SEG* 22.390, with the heading Θεσπιέες, possibly also a casualty list. A casualty list from Tanagra may have been for locals who also fell in the battle at Delion: *IG* VII 585; *SEG* 19.337; and Pritchett 1985, 192-194.

thirty stelai,²⁶ then there were enough stelai to extend along the full length of the front wall. They flanked either side of a statue of a reclining lion, which once stood on a podium at the south-center of the north wall. A deviation from Athenian practice are the seven inhumations under the eastern wall, which pre-date the construction of the enclosure but not necessarily of the tumulus.²⁷ Although the pottery found with them does not differ noticeably in date from that found with the ashes in the tumulus, I suggest that there were two periods of burial in the precinct, and that the construction of the precinct dates to a few months after the battle itself.

The battle took place in the winter of 424/3. The Thespians took the ashes of their dead home, a ca. 50 km. trip, where a tumulus was erected over them and commemorative offerings made. However, there was not sufficient time between the end of this winter battle and the funeral ceremony to build the precinct, sculpt the lion, and elaborately engrave the multiple lists. These casualty lists demonstrate care.²⁸ They lack the hasty additions squeezed onto the bottom or edges of Athenian lists.²⁹ By the time they were inscribed, all casualties must have been identified. The seven separate inhumed dead, who did not receive particularly elaborate or spectacular burials, must not have been generals (as some have suggested) but the wounded who died upon their return home and thus were not included in the general cremation ceremony. But since one lies under the eastern wall, clearly they were buried before the precinct was completed.

What conclusions can we draw from these extra-polis tumuli? The Thespian polyandria demonstrates how a mass burial with tumulus form could function within a rectangular enclosure and how the polyandria might be oriented toward the road. Particularly striking was the desire to create an entire “wall” of stelai rather than putting more names on fewer stones. Yet this polyandria deviated in many ways from attested Athenian practice. The dead from only one engagement were buried together; the enclosure was carefully designed and constructed over an extended period of time; and inhumations were included. In addition, the Athenian casualty lists did not necessarily form one wall of an enclosure. At the Salaminos polyandria, for instance, the long structures appear to be grouped near an earlier tumulus but do not enclose it on three sides (figs. 3-4).³⁰ Structures 1 and 2 are perpendicular to structures 3-5, forming a T rather than a II. Similarly, the base for casualty lists IG I³ 1163d-f did not include perpendicular side walls.³¹ Thus the Thespian tumulus should be used as comparandum with caution.

Although their identities are not certain, the Marathon mound seems to be correctly associated with the *soros* for the war dead of 490, and the tumulus at Vrana is, at the very least, a burial for military casualties from the early fifth century. These two polyandria, when taken together with the Thespian example, suggest considerable variety in the appearance of tumuli in terms of size,

²⁶ Schilardi 1977, 29.

²⁷ A suggestion by Pritchett is worth quoting in full: “... one might suggest that, if the ancient Greek was as independent as the modern, individual families may not have been in agreement and may have insisted on inhumation in accord with their religious beliefs” (Pritchett 1985, 132).

²⁸ Jeffery 1990: “... a good example of the fine, sophisticated work that could be produced for a public monument by a mason with an individual style...” (94).

²⁹ On these additions, see Bradeen 1969, 146-147.

³⁰ On the Salaminos polyandria, see Chapter 2c and Catalogue 28.

³¹ The phases of the base are discussed in greater detail below at 3f.

construction technique, and use of offering trenches. And surely these forms were modified in various ways when they were applied to the *demosion sema*. A tumulus 50 meters in diameter may have been appropriate for a battlefield, particularly on the plain at Marathon where it competed for visibility with other more ancient mounds, but it would have been problematic in the Athenian cemetery. The construction of such a *soros* would have destroyed a large number of graves (the soil had to come from somewhere), and after several years of fighting there would have been a veritable mountain range outside of the city walls.

The krater in the Marathon tumulus and the headstone at Vrana indicate that it was possible within a communal commemorative practice to make status distinctions. A similar process seems to be evident at the polyandria on Salaminos street, where one of the structures was plastered on the inside with lime and contained a bronze kalpis.

Finally – and to return to the fragments from the Amsterdam vessel – there is the issue of the tymbos itself. The use of mounds, which were present in wealthy Archaic burials but absent from most private Classical burials, in the *demosion sema* has suggested to many scholars that the democracy continued or usurped modes of elite representation.³² But if the democracy actively sought to mimic the aristocratic or heroic past through the use of tymboi for the state burials, it was an emulation that did not persist throughout the fifth century. The Amsterdam fragment with a tymbos dates to the first half of the fifth century, and the extra-polis tumuli described above, with the exception of the Thespian one, are early fifth century. But the five polyandria from Salaminos street (28), from the third quarter of the fifth century BC, were not tymboi but long, rectilinear structures, subdivided within. They did not face the main road, and although carefully constructed, were dug into the bedrock and would not have been visible for long. The Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, a communal burial for war dead, was also rectilinear, but unlike the Salaminos polyandria it faced the main road and was visible.

It is now clear that the public graves took multiple forms. Although many of the reconstructions envisaged by Clairmont are unlikely, the *patrios nomos* allowed considerable flexibility in the design of polyandria. Unlike most modern states, the Athenians did not seek uniformity of appearance in their public cemetery. Monuments were created to fit the tastes of the time or the demands of a particular setting. It follows that, if there was not a consistent appearance to the public graves, they did not necessarily uniformly influence the development of the later private graves: there was no standard model from which the private graves could draw. But the assumption that the late fifth-century private graves oriented themselves toward the public ones has had a direct bearing on modern perceptions of the artwork in the *demosion sema*. Such perceptions are the subject of the following section.

³² E.g. Brueckner 1910, 231 and 234; Stupperich 1977, 3 and 56-57, 62, 137-138, 199, and 247; Meyer 1993, 108 and 113; Whitley 1994; Schäfer 1997, 8; Schäfer 2002, 219-220 and 224; Hildebrandt 2006, 212; and Goette 2009, 192-193 and 196. Against this view, Stears 2000, 50, unfortunately without elaboration. Morris 1994, esp. 74 and 81, believes private representations tried to outdo or usurp the public rhetoric, not simply to copy it.

3b. Hypothetical Artwork in the *Demosion Sema*

Two decorated casualty lists from the Corinthian War – a figural relief (*IG II² 5221*) and an anthemion relief (*IG II² 5222*) – both of high artistic quality and securely dated, have been reproduced in multiple textbooks. They have penetrated the scholarly consciousness and become synonymous with the state graves of the Classical period as a whole.³³ Simultaneously, scholars have tended to believe that the state graves adopted aristocratic modes of funeral representation: owing to sumptuary laws, the war dead were the new *agathoi*, deserving rich recognition.³⁴ Add to this mix of preconceptions the rich variety of images on lekythoi and (when it restarts) private funerary sculpture, and one has an ideal formula for reconstructing elaborate imagery in the *demosion sema*. In this section I will outline some of these views and (hopefully) indicate their flimsy foundations.

Karusu argued that the original of the Ludovisi Hermes appears on Classical Greek vases, particularly lekythoi, and that it would have stood on top of the tumulus for the dead from Koroneia, voicing, as it were, the epitaph.³⁵ Clairmont suggested that public sculpture near, flanking, or even crowning stelai, altars, and tymboi would have included lions, one or more free-standing warriors (not necessarily fighting), and even images of *Hypnos* and *Thanatos*. Bronze armor may have been placed on top of the stelai and architectural terracottas may have decorated the stelai and the lateral sides of the precinct.³⁶ For Stupperich, symbolic animals, warriors standing calmly, mourning relatives, *Hypnos* and *Thanatos*, and dexiosis scenes would have been appropriate for the *demosion sema*.³⁷ Stähler and Goette envision free-standing equestrian statues.³⁸

Clairmont based his reconstructions on his belief that the lekythoi were inspired by the state grave monuments. I have already raised several objections to this methodology. Here I would add that much of the imagery on the lekythoi was inappropriate for the public cemetery. For instance, although the group of *Hypnos* and *Thanatos* carrying a soldier might seem fitting for

³³ E.g. Brueckner 1910, 193 (but cf. his comments on the sober appearance of the graves on 211); Clairmont 1972, 54-55; Pritchett 1985, 157; Schäfer 2002, 224; and Loraux [1981] 2006, 51. Stupperich 1977, 14-22 suspects decoration of the graves began in the mid-fifth century or earlier.

³⁴ See nn. 5 and 32, above.

³⁵ Karusu 1961 and Karusu 1969, 157, with reference to *IG I³ 1163d-f*. Ridgway 1997 disagrees, noting that funerary sculpture was exclusively in stone (166).

³⁶ See Clairmont 1972, 57-58 and Clairmont 1983, 62-72.

³⁷ Stupperich 1994. Scholl 1996, 165-166 follows Stupperich in believing that the dexiosis motif began on the state graves.

³⁸ Stähler 1976 (on a rider sculpture in Boston, often interpreted as an Amazon) and Goette 2009, 197. Two fragments from horse monuments, bronze and marble, are often cited in support of free standing public Classical equine sculpture (here catalogue 1 and *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), *Chronika*, B1, 24), but they may be fourth century or later and may belong to private monuments.

graves of war dead who died abroad, on the lekythoi the two figures also carry women.³⁹ Statuettes on top of the painted stelai are not only martial in nature, but include a baby, a woman on a klismos, and a woman offering grapes to a youth.⁴⁰ Elsewhere a seated woman is painted on a monument.⁴¹ Clairmont's methodology, then, would lead to an absurd reconstruction of military burials.

Stupperich believes that the lost public motifs were copied or adapted on surviving private funerary sculpture and vases. To some extent this assumption is correct, for any public imagery must in part have entered the common visual repertoire. But we cannot find these public themes or reconstruct the public imagery by searching for those motifs on private art that seem to us, the modern viewers, appropriate for a public cemetery. Stupperich does not identify any tell-tale repetition of a unique or particular feature on multiple pieces, which could point to a prominent original, and we are left with a Kopienkritik that contains neither Kopien nor Kritik. Take, for example, the theme of the mourning of relatives. Stupperich writes that such figures "are shown on the back side of an early warrior lekythos that might derive from a state burial."⁴² Yet his endnote counters that this claim is actually "improbable" because the vessel was found in Syntagma square, once a private cemetery.⁴³ Nevertheless, the main text continues that "we cannot exclude ... the idea that relatives may well have played a role in the iconography of the state burial." Apart from the Syntagma lekythos, scenes on one more lekythos, two red-figure loutrophoroi, a metope found near Hadrian's library, and a sarcophagus from Sidon are mustered in support of the argument.⁴⁴ Admittedly, Stupperich almost always hedges his iconographic proposals and acknowledges that firm facts are lacking,⁴⁵ but the accumulation of his many suggestions entices the reader to believe that at least some are valid. The public cemetery soon resembles an arena of opulent display made by the state for the dead. Most recently, Goette has reiterated Stupperich's idea that the image of the calm warrior belongs in the *demosion sema*, because of the size and workmanship of some of the surviving (private) pieces with this motif, and because some of the recipients of these private works were military casualties.⁴⁶

Anathyrosis along the right edge of the Corinthian War figural relief (*IG II² 5221*) does indicate that something was attached to this casualty list, but to envisage large pieces of sculpture makes the cemetery grander than it actually was.⁴⁷ Perhaps at this period the state monuments were

³⁹ E.g. Athens NM 12738 (Oakley 2004, 132 fig. 91), Athens NM 16421 (Oakley 2004, 133 figs. 92-94), Athens NM 1830 (Oakley 2004, 134 fig. 95), and, as a statue group on top of a stele, Berlin Staatliche Museen V.I.3325 (Oakley 2004, 134 fig. 96).

⁴⁰ Oakley 2004, 200 and 202.

⁴¹ Paris MNB 3059; Kurtz 1975, pl. 22.1.

⁴² Stupperich 1994, 96.

⁴³ Stupperich 1994, 102 n. 55.

⁴⁴ Stupperich 1994, 96-97 and 102 nn. 56-58.

⁴⁵ E.g. Stupperich 1994, 100: "To what extent other motifs of warriors [than scenes of fighting] on grave reliefs belong to the repertory of public tombs is debatable."

⁴⁶ Goette 2009, 198-202.

⁴⁷ See Brueckner 1910, 215-219; Wenz 1913, 56; and Raubitschek 1943, 27 on the idea that the lists were framed. Note, though, that on 215-216 Brueckner misinterprets the sunken channels on the lists (see 3c, below) as slots for supporting side decoration, comparing it to the joining of

adopting the framing pilasters often seen on private art. It should be noted that Pausanias mentions only one piece of artwork in the public cemetery, which I will discuss below, when I also address the appearance of the casualty lists and the origins of their friezes (3c). For now I hope to have shown that the methodologies employed in reconstructing rich imagery in the *demosion sema* are largely flawed. These views have implied that the material culture in the cemetery focused on the war dead, glorifying them through splendor.

Discussion of public imagery has centered around an important but unvoiced assumption, that when we discuss any art in the *demosion sema*, we mean public, state-sponsored art, closely associated with the act of erecting the casualty lists themselves. Yet a distinction should be made between artwork in the *demosion sema* that was privately purchased rather than state-sponsored. The works of Karusu, Clairmont, Stupperich, and Goette refer to the latter without acknowledging the impact of the former, which must have been significant. From the quantity of vases found at the polyandria on Salaminos street (28) and from Thucydides' description of the burial ceremony, we know that in fact private individuals were the agents of imagery in the public cemetery. In the polis, friends and relatives brought offerings to the dead when the ashes or larnakes were on public display for three days (Thuc. 2.34.2), and subsequently all the material was buried together in the polyandria. In addition, individuals deposited vessels along the steps of the casualty lists.⁴⁸ Such dedicated objects carried the bulk of the iconography of the cemetery, whether the vessels were only fleetingly visible before they were interred or permanently set forth on the steps. Unfortunately the vessels from 28 have yet to be published, so they cannot be analyzed here. For the public imagery in the *demosion sema*, though, we can turn to the casualty lists and any possible accompanying ornamentation. Together with the graves themselves, these monuments were the sole source of state-sponsored imagery in the cemetery and merit further consideration.

3c. The Form and Function of the Casualty Lists

Key to understanding the appearance and purpose of the *demosion sema* are the annual casualty lists that bore the names of the war dead, organized by tribe.⁴⁹ Unlike the fantastic statue groups envisaged in the scholarship described above, these lists in fact exist. In this section, I will reconstruct the lists from base to crowning ornamentation with as much chronological precision

metopes with triglyphs, followed by Raubitschek. Stupperich 1977 also discusses the possibility of an architectural frame for *IG II² 5221* (17-18).

⁴⁸ E.g. New York, Met. 23.160.39, **fig. 21**. Although I do not believe the grave-markers on the lekythoi are all real, that does not imply that they do not correctly transmit funereal customs, such as the visit to the grave.

⁴⁹ On the Athenian casualty lists, see *IG I³ 503/4* and *1142-1193 bis*; *IG II² 5221-5222*; *SEG* 48.83, 49.370, 52.60; Bradeen 1969; Bradeen 1974a, 3-34; Stupperich 1977, 4-12; Bradeen and Lewis 1979; Brulé 1999, 56-58; and Lewis 2000-2003.

as possible.⁵⁰ I will conclude with some remarks on their function, looking beyond the lists as mere texts and focusing on their physical importance.⁵¹

Casualty lists usually had flat undersides that were set onto the base itself or into long slots cut into the base.⁵² Vertical dowels could be used to secure them in place: *SEG* 52.60 and *IG I*³ 1186 preserve dowel holes on their undersides,⁵³ and on the long base *IG I*³ 1163d-f there are four cuttings for vertical dowels, still containing some metal (**figs.** 22-23).⁵⁴ The numerous cuttings on this base demonstrate one way a casualty list display was constructed.⁵⁵ The base once supported five contiguous stelai. Their dividing lines are still faintly visible on the base. The first stele was erected at the far right of the base and fixed in place via vertical dowel I. The next block was slid into place via a pry mark and secured with a vertical dowel, both cuttings now missing from the damaged right end of the second base block. Pry mark F and vertical dowel G were used for the third stele, B and C for the fourth. The fifth stele was held in place by a vertical dowel removed before the construction of the mortise at the very left of the monument and by vertical dowel A, which projects beyond the visible rear edge of the stele and into which lead was poured once the stele was set in place.⁵⁶ T-clamps D, E, and H secured the three blocks of the base to each other.

The Palaiologou stele (*SEG* 48.83), dated to around 420, is the first surviving list with a tenon. The only other is on *IG I*³ 1191, of the late fifth century. When long base *IG I*³ 1163 was altered in a second phase, a mortise was created. It appears that the use of the mortise and tenon system for casualty list display was rare and only a development of the late fifth century.

⁵⁰ Unfortunately, dating the lists remains problematic. The sequence in *IG* is based mostly on letter forms, which no longer are considered reliable chronological indicators: Papazarkadas 2009.

⁵¹ Some scholars have mentioned the need to study inscriptions not just as manuscripts (Meritt 1940, 3-47 and Oliver 2000a), but few have done so; cf. the comments on the symbolic aspects of epigraphic documents in Thomas 1992, 84-88 and Bodel 2001, 19-24.

⁵² *IG I*³ 1147, 1150, 1156, 1184, 1186, 1190, and *SEG* 52.60; bases with slot cuttings: *IG I*³ 503/4 and 1178; base without slot cuttings: *IG I*³ 1163d-f. On the typology of grave stelai, see the bibliography in Scholl 1996, 201 n. 1324.

⁵³ The holes for *IG I*³ 1186 are not listed in *IG I*³ but described in Mastrokostas 1955; see esp. Mastrokostas 1955, 182-183, figs. 1-2.

⁵⁴ On vertical fastening systems, see Orlandos 1959-1960, 189-202.

⁵⁵ I discuss the phases of the base below, section 3f. All of the published drawings of the blocks are incomplete, omitting cutting A, which indicates that the stele placed there was the leftmost stele: Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1939, 99 fig. 12; Karusu 1961, pl. 3; and Bradeen 1964, 26 fig. 1 and 28 fig. 2. Another aspect that is often neglected is that the traces of the stelai, still visible in the discoloration on the top of the base, do not form a straight line, nor are they all of a uniform thickness. Ignoring the dimensions leads to the impossible reconstruction of the monument by Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 110 fig. 14.

⁵⁶ Dowel A probably belongs to the monument's second phase since there are no chip marks around the cutting that would indicate that the lead was removed and then replaced, which would have been required to remove the leftmost stele and make the second-phase mortise.

The three surviving bases preserve epigrams.⁵⁷ In rare cases the epigrams could also be on the bottom (*IG I³ 1162*) or top (the Marathon (*SEG 49.370*) and Palaiologou lists) of the stelai themselves.⁵⁸

Few lists are preserved in their full dimensions. The shortest complete list is 1.54 m. (*SEG 52.60*), the tallest 2.10 m. with a frieze (*SEG 48.83*) or 1.68 m. without a frieze (*IG I³ 1162*). Widths vary from 0.45 m. (*IG I³ 1162*) to 1.034 m. (*IG I³ 1186*). The lists are usually around 0.16 m. thick, with a maximum of 0.25 m. (*IG I³ 1168*).⁵⁹ The stele erected at public expense for the proxenos Pythagoras (*IG I³ 1154*) appears to be somewhat representative of the casualty lists in its dimensions, with height 1.85, width 0.498, and thickness 0.241 m.⁶⁰ The stele rises above a stepped base: a krepidoma projects slightly above the earth, then three “steps,” and finally the base block with the inscription. The total height of the monument was a little over 3 m.⁶¹ The epigrams on marble bases *IG I³ 503/4*, 1163d-f, and 1179 would be much more legible if raised, and we should envisage a similar stepped podium of poros for them.⁶² There were two consequences to this positioning. First, elevating the stelai monumentalized the lists, which rose above the spectator. Second, the tiered podium allowed mourners to participate in the public ceremony by leaving vessels or other items on the steps. In terms of widths of the monuments, the Marathon base *IG I³ 503/4* was over 5 m. long and the long base *IG I³ 1163* approximately 6 m. long.

Bradeen traced a development from free-standing casualty lists to contiguous lists.⁶³ Yet the casualty list from the Marathon tumulus, found at the villa of Herodes Atticus at Loukou, may show evidence of anathyrosis already for the early fifth century.⁶⁴ The cuttings on the stone are perplexing and from the photographs alone I can only make a few observations. The stone appears to be the leftmost stele in the series. Accordingly, the molding wraps around the left

⁵⁷ *IG I³ 503/4*, 1163d-f, and 1179; so, too, the public bases 1154b and 1178. *IG I³ 1142*, 1143, 1167, 1170, 1173, and 1181 have epigrams and may also be bases for casualty lists. *IG I³ 1148* bears an epigram but is too mutilated to identify as a base rather than a stele.

⁵⁸ For more on the epigrams, see 3d, below.

⁵⁹ *IG I³ 1149*, the list for the Argive dead from the battle at Tanagra, is an anomaly with a thickness of 0.29 m., perhaps even more (fragment m: “a sinistra et, ut videtur, a tergo integrum”).

⁶⁰ Brueckner 1910, 211 and Clairmont 1983, 61 also discuss the proxenos’ monument as representative.

⁶¹ Hoepfner 1973, 151 fig. 5.

⁶² Kyparissis and Peek 1932, 146 and Clairmont 1983, 163 also postulate a poros podium for *IG I³ 1163d-f*.

⁶³ Bradeen 1969: “It can now be shown that the large monuments developed from ten individual stelai, one to a tribe, into a wall of connected stelai that at times had sunken channels cut in the face between tribes in order to simulate individual stelai” (146).

⁶⁴ For the Marathon stele, found in June 2000 built into a fifth-century A.D. wall at the villa, see *SEG 49.370*, 51.425, 53.354, 55.413; *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες*, Oct. 1, 2009 (<http://www.arxaiologia.gr/site/content.php?artid=5424>); Spyropoulos 2009; and Steinhauer 2009, 122-123. It is also to be treated in the latter’s forthcoming book on the villa. Other fragments of the list or similar lists were found at the villa.

lateral side. Surprisingly, there is also anathyrosis on this side. The molding does not continue around the right lateral side, on which there is one deep, flat, vertical track, which does not resemble anathyrosis. It also appears on the bottom of the stone. These must be cuttings for the stele's display in the villa. If the absence of molding on the right lateral side belongs with the original phase of the monument, then it is still possible that the Marathon stelai were joined to one another through anathyrosis to make a contiguous display. Evidence for this anathyrosis may have been destroyed when the deep tracks were made in a second phase, when the stone was displayed in the villa. Aside from this example, the earliest casualty list with anathyrosis is *IG I³ 1150*, dated based on letter forms to the first half of the fifth century. A little later, other early groups of lists, such as *IG I³ 1144* and *1147*, both from ca. 460, were erected as separate stelai. The stelai painted on the Amsterdam lekythos and the cuttings on the base for the Marathon casualty lists erected in Athens (*IG I³ 503/4*) further confirm that in the first half of the fifth century, lists could be separated. Thus it seems possible, though not certain, that both systems for casualty list display – joined and separated stelai – functioned simultaneously in the first half of the fifth century.

Bradeen also believed the recessed bands or sunken channels on some contiguous lists imitated separate stelai.⁶⁵ It is true that all the lists with this feature bear anathyrosis, and so were contiguous.⁶⁶ However, on three earlier lists, vertical lines (admittedly not deep sunken channels) are engraved, and none of these lists has anathyrosis while two were certainly free-standing.⁶⁷ Also, there are some large monuments consisting of multiple lists without any vertical markings between the individual stelai.⁶⁸

In conclusion, Bradeen's observations cannot form the basis of axiomatic dating guidelines. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a greater number of monuments composed of joined stelai from the Peloponnesian War than from the Persian War (*IG I³ 1186*, *1189-1192*, and *SEG 52.60*). This style of contiguous display served to further monumentalize the names of the dead by creating a single imposing structure of stone in place of several smaller ones and by replacing the slightly tapered form of individual stelai with sharp right angles. The unified monument visually emphasized the community of the dead. Tribe "stood" next to tribe, and moldings running along the top would have unified the whole.

The moldings that survive from casualty lists are not elaborate.⁶⁹ *IG I³ 1164* has no molding, only a flat top.⁷⁰ The Marathon stele appears to have a cavetto and narrow taenia, *IG I³ 1163a-b*

⁶⁵ Bradeen 1969, 146.

⁶⁶ *IG I³ 1163*, *1175*, *1177*, *1180*, and *1189*.

⁶⁷ *IG I³ 1147* and *1147 bis* (certainly free standing), and *1157*. A horizontal line appears on *IG I³ 1155* and *SEG 52.60*.

⁶⁸ *IG I³ 1186*, *1190*, *1191*, and *1192*.

⁶⁹ For moldings on grave stelai, see Scholl 1996, 201-218 and Hildebrandt 2006, 67-68 and 389, who expresses skepticism on the reliability of dating by profile types. For moldings on document reliefs, see Meyer 1989, 26-27 and Lawton 1995, 11-12. Meritt 1952, 352 fig. 1 provides a profile drawing of the elaborate molding on the list for the Argive dead in the Athenian cemetery (*IG I³ 1149*).

⁷⁰ Nor does the stele for the proxenos Pythagoras, *IG I³ 1154*.

perhaps a small cavetto and larger taenia. A cyma reversa and taenia appear on *IG I*³ 1162, *SEG* 48.83, perhaps 1193 *bis*,⁷¹ and *IG II*² 5221. *IG II*² 5222 only has a taenia below the anthemion. The molding was chiseled off from *IG I*³ 1147, 1161, 1183, and 1186.

Moving up the stelai, we finally reach the elusive crowning decoration. It should be noted from the outset that the most common decoration for private funerary stelai in the fifth century were palmettes,⁷² but these were best suited for individual stelai and only could have crowned contiguous stelai with significant distortion in the appearance of the palmette. The only casualty list preserving an anthemion is from the Corinthian War (*IG II*² 5222), and it lacks any iconographic parallel on private stelai. As for reliefs, the first testimony for any figural decoration in the *demosion sema* is textual: Pausanias describes a stele with two fighting horsemen, Melanopos and Makartatos, who died when confronting the Lakedaimonians and Boiotians at the border of Eleonia and Tanagra, usually identified as the battle of 457 (Paus. 1.29.6).⁷³ Below I will argue that this is in fact a private relief. Böckh in *CIG* describes a drawing he saw by Fauvel in Koehler's papers, depicting three warriors fighting above the base for the Poteidaia dead of 432 (*IG I*³ 1179).⁷⁴ Conze could not find a copy of this drawing in Fauvel's papers, though he did find the transcription of the epigram itself, and it is quite possible that the relief belonged with another monument in Fauvel's notes. If the Poteidaia list were decorated with a relief, it would be the earliest evidence for public friezes in the *demosion sema*. Next in date comes the Albani relief, from ca. 430, which has been imagined in the *demosion sema* because of its scale and subject matter.⁷⁵ I argue below that, like the stele for Melanopos and Makartatos, it was erected at private expense. The relief on the Palaiologou stele dates to ca. 420, though it was only for the cavalry dead and was not set up in the *demosion sema* proper.⁷⁶ Not

⁷¹ *non vidi*, and without seeing the stones, it can be difficult accurately to identify the molds. Such is the case with *SEG* 52.60. But based on the published photograph, the excavator's elaborate reconstruction for the molding seems inaccurate: Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 95 fig. 7 (photograph) and 110 fig. 14 (reconstruction).

⁷² Hildebrandt 2006, 37.

⁷³ Base *IG I*³ 1288 has been connected with the relief (Schäfer 2002, 303, V 14). However, the order of the names is reversed on the base, and Makartatos is completely restored. The lettering is Ionic, and it probably dates to the late fifth century. See also Bugh 1988, 43-44. For more on this base, see 3f, below.

⁷⁴ *Ceterum super inscriptione est anaglyphum in hoc exemplo delineatum: repraesentantur tres bellatores nudi, clypeis rotundis, galeisque et hastis armati, in his duo chlamyde ex humero dependente; qui in sinistra adspectanti est, iacet humi hasta medii ictus; dexter ab his aversus hastam vibrat ut pugnans* (*CIG I*, p. 906 (supplement to no. 170)). Hölscher 1973, 104-105 and 263 n. 540; Stupperich 1977, 16-17; and Clairmont 1983, 174-175. Stupperich 1978 speculates that it might be associated with a relief in Oxford (92-93).

⁷⁵ On the relief (Villa Albani 985): Friis-Johansen 1951, 49; Clairmont 1970, 43 and 101; Clairmont 1972, 56; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974, 10-11, no. 10; Stupperich 1977, 18-19; Clairmont 1983, 68 and 273-274 n. 45; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986, 31; Harrison 1988, 99-105; Bol 1989, 246-251; Ridgway 1997, 21 n. 9; Schäfer 1997, 162, no. 1; Hölscher 1973, 109-110, 264 n. 567; Hurwit 2007, 44; and Goette 2009, 196.

⁷⁶ The list has two inscriptions, chronologically separated. The first refers to the dead horsemen from battles at Tanagra and Spartolos. The event in Tanagra could be from 426 or 424/3 BC (the

until the list of 394/3 (*IG II² 5221*) do we have clear evidence for figural reliefs on the annual casualty lists.⁷⁷

Can the surviving cuttings on the casualty lists provide more detailed information on crowning ornamentation? There are T-clamps on the upper surfaces of *IG I³ 1163a-b, 1186, and 1191*, but the purpose of these was to make horizontal joins, not vertical ones. The only dowel holes for vertical attachments are on the late-fifth century list *IG I³ 1186*⁷⁸ and the Palaiologou stele itself, on the latter probably for an anthemion above the figural relief.⁷⁹ On the Palaiologou stele, relief and inscription were carved from the same stone. This was the common practice for document reliefs,⁸⁰ and so we should not presume that those casualty lists with headings preserved but the upper surfaces chipped away once preserved evidence for vertical dowels.

The Palaiologou stele, as noted above, used a mortise and tenon system. This was necessary because of the elaborate crowning ornamentation, and it may be possible to extrapolate that the absence of tenons on the casualty lists until the late fifth century indicates a lack of crowning ornaments. Following this line of reasoning, the mortise created in a second phase on long base *IG I³ 1163d-f* indicates that the stelai belonging with the base bore crowning decoration.⁸¹ Thus the date of this base is important for our understanding of the development of the form of the casualty lists. The base has been attributed to the dead from the battles at Koroneia (447), Delion (424/3), or Sicily (413).⁸² The monument does not appear to be large enough to accommodate

battle at Delion). The engagement at Spartolos probably was contemporaneous with Tanagra but not mentioned in Thucydides. Badian *apud* Moreno 2007 believes this second conflict at Spartolos is alluded to in the treaty described at Thuc. 5.18.5 (100-101 n. 114). Papazarkadas 2009 comments that either the list is “an oddity” or the two battles were fought in the same year (69-70). Pritchett 1998 emphasizes that there are more battles in the Peloponnesian War than Thucydides narrates (27-29). A second inscription was added over a decade later, in the Ionic script, above the first inscription, and refers to a conflict at Megara. Matthaïou 2009, 203-204 believes the inscriptions were contemporary and that the upper one does not refer to Megara. He adduces a reference in Isai. 5.42, where the speaker says his grandfather Menexenos Dikaiogenous died as phylarch at Spartolos; this name appears in the inscription in the Ionic script.

⁷⁷ Bradeen 1974 states that there is no evidence of sculpture on the fifth-century casualty lists (30 n. 10).

⁷⁸ This hole is not noted in the *IG I³* publication. *IG I³ 1161* has a roundish hole in the center of the upper surface also not noted in the *IG I³* publication; perhaps it is modern.

⁷⁹ For vertical attachments to stelai, see *IG I³ 35 and 40*; *SEG 28.46*; Lawton 1992; Hildebrandt 2006, 106-107, 355-356, and 369-370, nos. 292 (*IG II² 6007*) and 328 (*IG II² 6609*).

⁸⁰ Lawton 1995, 11.

⁸¹ Perhaps the mortise was only added in the second phase because the first system was judged not secure enough. Alternatively, the displacement of the stelai on the right of the monument necessitated a more firm attachment on the left end.

⁸² Koroneia: Kyparissis and Peek 1932; Peek 1933; Peek 1934; Bowra 1938; Bradeen 1964, 25-29; and Clairmont 1983, 159-164. Delion: Mattingly [1963] 1966, 92-93. Sicily: Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1939, 101-102 and Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 104-109. See Clairmont 1983 for additional bibliography.

the names of all the dead from Sicily. An argument for Koroneia based upon the number of dead, which Bradeen has forcefully advocated, cannot stand examination. Bradeen first associated *IG I³ 1163a-c* with the base *IG I³ 1163d-f*. This may be correct, for the thickness of *IG I³ 1163a-c* matches the weathering lines on the base, but the full width of the stele is not preserved, so one cannot be sure that the stele fit the base. Concluding that the stele matched the base, Bradeen proceeded to date the base by calculating the number of dead on all the stelai and finding an appropriate conflict for that number. Now the stele is not preserved to its full height, but it does have a sunken channel which gradually tapers toward the bottom. Bradeen reconstructed the number of dead by assuming that the sunken channel would have tapered out at the very bottom of the stele, yielding a height of 1.30 m. This provided him with a maximum number of total casualties (across the five stelai on the base) of 850, which he terms “decisive” against Mattingly’s suggestion of Delion.⁸³ But his reconstruction is incorrect. Not only would a height of 1.30 m. be the shortest casualty list, but the stele certainly did not end when the sunken channel tapered out, as proved by the recent discovery of the casualty list *SEG 52.60*.⁸⁴ Thus the stele must have been *taller* than 1.30 m. and easily could have fit the dead of Delion. Mattingly’s explanation of the elegy on base *IG I³ 1163d-f* convinces: before the battle the Athenians consulted the oracle of Amphiaraos at Oropos, but the god remained on the side of the Thebans.⁸⁵ Thus, to return to the issue of mortise and tenon, we have a date of 424/3 for possible crowning decoration on the lists.

To summarize: the casualty lists were for the most part austere in appearance. From the very beginning, some had moldings, but these were always of a simple nature. The Poteidaia relief (432), possibly preserved in Koehler’s copy of Fauvel’s drawing, would be the first figural sculpture associated with a casualty list. The long base *IG I³ 1163d-f* belongs to the dead from the battle at Delion in 424/3 and probably bore some type of crowning ornamentation, maybe anthemion. The Palaiologou stele of ca. 420 had a relief and an additional crowning anthemion. In the Peloponnesian War, more of the monuments were composed of contiguous stelai than previously. In the fourth century, we have the elaborate decoration of *IG II² 5221* and *5222*.

⁸³ Bradeen 1964, 23, 27 n. 19, and 29 and Bradeen 1969, 151-154.

⁸⁴ *SEG 52.60* provides crucial comparanda for the appearance of *IG I³ 1163a-c*, but I do not agree with Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000 that they belong to the same monument. Two of her major arguments are erroneous. First, she claims the thicknesses are the same, but they are not (Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 102). Second, she says both stelai have a horizontal dividing line, and that the script below the line includes a three-barred sigma (102). This is true on *SEG 52.60*, but the comparison piece is only glued onto the museum reconstruction of *IG I³ 1163a-c* (EM 13356). It does not belong with *IG I³ 1163a-c* and, contrary to Tsirigoti-Drakotou, was never so attributed by Bradeen. The glued-on piece is in fact *IG I³ 1155*, which Bradeen in *IG* describes as “[n]unc conglutinatum est sine ulla coniunctione cum n. 1163,” and adds in the 1163 entry, “Cum stelis etiam hic supra n. 1155 composuit Clairmont, qua de causa nescimus...” *SEG 52.60* also does not belong with the base *IG I³ 1163d-f*. The thickness does not match the weathering marks, and Tsirigoti-Drakotou’s reconstruction (110 fig. 14) does not put the stele for the Erechtheis tribe at the very left of the base, where the weathering marks and cuttings show the stele for the first tribe must belong

⁸⁵ Mattingly [1963] 1966, 92-93.

The chronological anomaly of the sculpted stele of 457 that Pausanias describes merits further scrutiny. It can only be understood in its historical context and reveals the private impetus behind much artwork in the public cemetery and the significant role of the monuments' setting.⁸⁶ Thucydides reports that in 457 the Lakedaimonians delayed their return home following a battle at Doris because there were rumors that oligarchs in Athens were going to overturn the democracy and tear down the walls.⁸⁷ According to Plutarch, the Athenians would not allow Kimon to meet the Lakedaimonians in battle because they questioned his loyalty.⁸⁸ Disheartened he sent his comrades, "those charged with lakonizing," to fight valiantly to disprove the populace's opinion of them.⁸⁹ In the battle, "one hundred fell, and they left the Athenians great longing for them and a change of heart toward those they had unjustly accused."⁹⁰ With this spirit of thanksgiving and remorse, the polis must have allowed individuals, probably family members, to erect a stele for two of those who died.⁹¹ The polis itself could not have commissioned the piece because only two names are recorded on it, yet many perished; there is no evidence that two distinguished themselves in valor. Using the aristocratic equine mode of representation, the family or families of the dead created a forceful message about their contributions to the polis. The stele asserted the claims of the elite to the public cemetery.⁹²

The historical circumstances surrounding this relief also elucidate the placement of the grave of the Thessalian horsemen next to it, in 431.⁹³ They, too, were subversives who had been redeemed. At the same battle where Melanopos and Makartatos fell, the Thessalian cavalry switched sides and attacked unsuspecting Athenians (at night, no less). Decades later, in 431, Thessalians proved themselves true allies and received a grave in the *demosion sema*, meaningfully placed near the stele of Melanopos and Makartatos. Like the relief for the pair of elite Athenian horsemen, the grave for the Thessalian cavalry asserted the contributions of persons whose loyalty might be questioned.

The polyandria and casualty lists participate in a commemorative system that exhibits considerable variety and flexibility over the course of the fifth century. Like the *demosion sema* itself, the polyandria and the engraved stelai demonstrate an absence of codified planning, despite the fact that they are indeed public. The flexibility in the system implies that they were able to respond quickly to changes in mood and taste, and I have questioned the extent to which

⁸⁶ Because of *IG I³ 1288* (see n. 68, above), some scholars have wanted to associate the monument with a battle at Tanagra at this late date, but Pausania's description is not that vague; see the commentary in *IG*.

⁸⁷ Thuc. 1.107.4-6, cf. Diod. Sic. 11.80.

⁸⁸ Plut. *Kim.* 17.4 and Plut. *Per.* 10.1-2.

⁸⁹ Plut. *Kim.* 17.4: κάκεινος μὲν ὄχετο δεηθεὶς Εὐθίππου τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων, ὅσοι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ λακωνίζεῖν αἰτίαν ἔσχον, ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀπολύσασθαι τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας.

⁹⁰ Plut. *Kim.* 17.5: ἑκατὸν ὄντες ἔπεσον, πολὺν αὐτῶν πόθον καὶ μεταμέλειαν ἐφ' οἷς ἠτιάθησαν ἀδίκως ἀπολιπόντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

⁹¹ *IG I³ 1181* may belong to a public monument to the cavalry from this engagement.

⁹² For elite reactions to the monuments in the public cemetery, esp. as seen on the imagery of *lekylthoi*, see Giudice 2000.

⁹³ Paus. 1.29.6.

the polyandria strictly replicated aristocratic funerary forms. Similarly, the casualty lists, especially until ca. 430, were austere in appearance.

Despite their variety, consistent and defining elements of the form of casualty lists certainly did exist, such as their organization by tribe and use of rubrics. Here I would also emphasize their shared physical material and large size. In the context of the many more humble, private gravestones of the fifth century, the glistening, hard marble of the lists testified to the endurance and longevity of the polis. The monuments literally rose above the ashes of the dead and loomed over the viewer. In the course of the fifth century, they became increasingly elaborate: more frequently contiguous and more decorated. It almost appears as though they were striving towards a more monumental form. The rubrics, particularly the geographical references, heightened the rhetoric of power. Consider, for instance, *IG I³ 1147*, a nearly complete list for the tribe of Erechtheis (it lacks only the molding). The sides are smooth, so we must envision nine more free-standing stelai.⁹⁴ Each, like *IG I³ 1147*, would have borne the tribal heading followed by the matter-of-fact “these died in the war” and a list of the locations of action: Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, Halieis, Aigina, and Megara. The brutally brief assertion, “these died in the war in the same year,” creates poignancy, while the list of regions of war, repeated on all ten stelai, revealed to the onlooker – citizen and foreigner alike – the extent of Athenian power. Here is a city whose reach extends to foreign lands across the seas and here are the dead to prove it. This enumeration of Athenian power compensates for the transcribed loss of life, transforming the dead into agents of empire and articulating a message of continued resistance. In other words, the form of the lists directly responds to the presence of the dead or, to put it more accurately, to the problem of the presence of citizen dead.

3d. Casualty Lists as Monuments of Defeat

The monuments needed to express power and resistance because in three ways they were in fact monuments of defeat. First, many lists commemorated battles in which the Athenians lost, sometimes severely.⁹⁵ According to Pausanias’ description of the *demosion sema*, there were lists for multiple disasters from the period under study in this dissertation.

- Drabeskos (464, Paus. 1.29.4, Thuc. 1.100.3 and 4.102.2): 10,000 Athenian and allied settlers are slaughtered unexpectedly.
- Tanagra (457, Paus. 1.29.6, Thuc. 1.107): the Athenians lose to the Lakedaimonians and their allies, with heavy casualties on both sides; in the course of the battle, the Thessalian cavalry switch to the Spartan side.

⁹⁴ Names were added at the bottom of the stele in a different hand, so it is unlikely that this was a list erected by the tribe long after the event when all the dead were known. *IG I³ 1147 bis* has similar lettering and format and probably belongs to one of the other nine stelai. See Lewis 2000-2003, 13 and Matthaïou 2003, 195.

⁹⁵ On casualties, see Krentz 1985 and 1b, above. In the case of the Thespian polyandrion, the overall battle may have been a victory, but according to Thucydides they suffered such losses that their fighting power was destroyed (ἄνθος ἀπολώλει), and the next summer their walls were razed by the Thebans (Thuc. 4.133.1).

- Koroneia (447, Paus. 1.29.14, Thuc. 1.113.2-4): the Boiotians and their allies defeat the Athenians; the Athenians evacuate Boiotia, whose cities regain their independence.
- Delion (424, Paus. 1.29.13, Thuc. 4.89-101.2): after the Boiotians fail to betray cities to them, the Athenians are defeated near the sanctuary of Apollo at Delion, then again at the sanctuary itself; some Athenian dead are only gathered after 17 days; almost 1000 Athenian hoplites fall including the general, compared with 500 Boiotians.
- Amphipolis (422, Paus.1.29.13, Thuc. 5.6-10): about 600 Athenians, including Kleon, fall and only seven Lakedaimonians; a peace movement develops (Thuc. 5.14).
- Mantinea (418, Paus. 1.29.13, Thuc. 5.65-74): 700 Argives and their allies, 200 Mantineans, and 200 Aiginetans and Athenians, including both generals, perish in a loss where no Spartan allies and perhaps 300 Spartans fall; following the defeat, the Argives conclude an alliance with Sparta, now dominant in the Peloponnesos (Thuc. 5.76).
- Sicily (413, Paus. 1.29.11, Thuc. 7.21-25, 36-87): Thucydides sums up the calamity, “They were completely conquered, suffered (it is said) utter destruction in all their affairs, and lost infantry, ships – everything. Few of many returned home.”⁹⁶
- Corinth and Koronea (394/3, Paus. 1.29.11, *IG II² 5221-5222*, Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.13-23 and 4.3.15-23): Athenians and allies succumb to the Spartans at Corinth and flee the scene at Koronea.

This constitutes a veritable litany of defeat. The casualty lists were, at least to some degree, memorials of calamity. A telling passage in Isokrates makes it evident that this view of the lists is not a modern misperception. After enumerating several Athenian fifth-century disasters, he writes, “This was a common occurrence, to dig graves every year which many of our neighbors and other Greeks visited, not to join in mourning the dead but to rejoice in our disasters”⁹⁷ The use of φοιτάω in the imperfect implies repeated trips to the graves to gloat over Athenian loss.

Pritchett wondered whether conquerors of Athens, such as Sulla’s soldiers, spared those monuments that recorded reverses.⁹⁸ I find it hard to believe that pillaging soldiers would take the time to read ancient inscriptions and be so selective in their destruction. Rather, fifth-century Athenian military history was marked by numerous defeats, which inevitably were recorded on the casualty lists.

The second way in which the casualty lists were monuments to defeat is that the lists commemorated prolonged ventures, such as sieges, that were not yet successful. For instance, the base *IG I³ 1179* belongs with a list for the dead from the first year of the siege of Potidaia (432),

⁹⁶ Thuc. 7.87.5-6: κατὰ πάντα γὰρ πάντως νικηθέντες καὶ οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐς οὐδὲν κακοπαθήσαντες πανωλεθρία δὴ (τὸ λεγόμενον) καὶ πεζὸς καὶ νῆες καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώλετο, καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀπενόστησαν.

⁹⁷ Isok. 8.87: πλήν ἔν ἣν τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ταφὰς ποιεῖν καθ’ ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, εἰς ἃς πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐφοίτων, οὐ συμπενήθοντες τοὺς τεθνεῶτας ἀλλὰ συνηθησόμενοι ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς. Cf. Poll. 3.101: Ἐπιχαίρειν, ἐφήδεσθαι, καταχαίρειν. Ἴσοκράτης δ’ ἔφη καὶ συνηδόμενοι ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφηδόμενοι.

⁹⁸ Pritchett 1998, 24.

which lasted until 430. Annually the Athenians would be reminded that the battle was not yet won, the town not yet taken, the enemy not yet subdued.

Third, the Greeks frequently conceived of warfare with athletic terms.⁹⁹ In the *agon* of battle, individuals sought *arete* in one-on-one combat. Death was equated with defeat. A passage from Lysias' funeral oration proves that viewing the casualty lists as potential monuments to defeat is not an artificial scholarly construct. While praising the Athenians, the orator points to the nearby polyandria of the Lakedaimonians as witness of the Athenians' *arete*.¹⁰⁰ Yet if the tomb of the Lakedaimonians can testify to Athenian valor, then many Athenian tombs could in turn be seen to testify to the *arete* of their enemies.

These casualty lists, then, were potentially disruptive to the cohesion of the Athenian community. Frequently they recalled failures of political policy or the high cost of military success. The ostracism of leaders such as Perikles, discussion over the Corecyrans affair (Thuc. 1.44.1), reactions to Spartan plundering of the Attic countryside (Thuc. 2.21), opinions on the treatment of Mytilene (Thuc. 3.36-49), and dissent over attacking the Spartans at Pylos and the question of invading Sicily (Thuc. 4.27-28 and 6.8-26), are just a few of the instances when Thucydides' narrative reveals the multiple voices participating in the democratic process at Athens.¹⁰¹ The war dead could play into these debates. For instance, serious setbacks strengthened desires for peace. Thucydides reports that in the winter of 422/1 neither Athenians nor Spartans wanted to engage in war but favored peace, "the Athenians struck both at Delion and a little before at Amphipolis, and not having confidence in their strength."¹⁰² The casualty lists qua potential monuments of defeat focalized various voices of dissent.

A careful reading of the epigrams on the casualty lists reveals how they expressed Athenian defeat and responded to the loss of life. Verses that praise the dead are interspersed with explicit and implicit references to the dead as defeated, descriptions of difficult and painful struggles, and lamentations.¹⁰³ One of the earliest epigrams for a polyandria (textually transmitted), for either Euboian or Athenian dead, vividly describes the deceased as "subdued/overwhelmed/conquered" (*ἐδμήθημεν*).¹⁰⁴ They deserve their grave at public expense, the dead say, because "we lost our

⁹⁹ See 1c, above.

¹⁰⁰ Lys. 2.63: μάρτυρας δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἔγγυς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται.

¹⁰¹ Kallett 2009.

¹⁰² Thuc. 5.14.1: οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι πληγέντες ἐπὶ τε τῷ Δηλίῳ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου αὖθις ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης πιστὴν ἔτι...

¹⁰³ Wenz 1913 sees the epigrams as lauding the *arete* of the fallen (50). Stupperich 1977: "Niederlagen, die zum Ruhm nicht beitragen, werden verschwiegen oder umschrieben, besonders gern mit dem Hinweis auf die Fügung der Götter entschuldigt. Aber auch Trauer hat in den Staatsgrabepigrammen keinen Platz" (14). For Stecher 1981, the epigrams are almost exclusively about praise (28-36). On lamentation and praise, see also 1c, above.

Meier 1990 downplays mourning or dissenting voices and argues that the Athenians were very willing to die (590-592 and 598).

¹⁰⁴ Peek 1955, no. 1; Page 1975, no. 2; and Page 1981, 189-191. Pritchett 1985, citing Lloyd-Jones, favors a "neutral meaning" for the word (164-165). Usually the epigram is dated 507/6, cf.

lovely youth when we accepted the savage cloud of war.”¹⁰⁵ Similarly, an epigram on a casualty list for Athenians who died in northern Greece says “they lost their glorious youth” (ἀπόλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἠέβεν).¹⁰⁶ Here ἀπόλλυμι, often used to describe killing one’s foe, refers instead to Athenian loss of life. The reader hoped in vain for an opponent as direct object of the verb. The use of ἀπόλεσαν forced him to acknowledge the impotent status of the dead: they had not destroyed their enemy but lost their lives. Similarly the base *IG I³ 1163d-f* says that the dead “lost [their] souls in war” (φουχᾶς ... ὀλέσατ’ ἐμ πολέμοι).¹⁰⁷ This verb (ἄλλυμι) elsewhere expresses victory over an opponent;¹⁰⁸ here the outcome instead was a κακόν. In the epigram’s opening words the men are addressed as wretched (τλήμονες), whom the divinity physically harmed (ἔβλαψεν).¹⁰⁹ They are reduced to the inglorious status of prey or booty (ἄγραν).

Other epigrams are less explicit about the defeat. *IG I³ 1179* describes the commemorated as withered away (φθ[ίμενοι]). Reading expressive force in the word φθ[ίμενοι] – that it was not an empty synonym for death but referred to the dead as withered like plants – is supported by the reference later in the epigram to the earth receiving the bodies of the dead. These men were lost (ἐλ[ύθεν]) by the gates of Poteidaia.¹¹⁰ Such use of the passive form deftly avoids any question of human agency. Indeed, the casualty list in the *demosion sema* for Argives is unique in its reference to death specifically “at the hands of the Lakedaimonians.”¹¹¹ The Athenians were more careful not to attribute their defeat to a specific enemy. The base *IG I³ 1163d-f* puts the blame instead on a *daimon* who acts unexpectedly.¹¹² The frequent designation in the lists of such officials as *stratēgoi* or *taxiarchoi*, even on one occasion a seer, potentially enabled citizens to blame specific individuals rather than groups of soldiers for the disastrous outcome of a battle.¹¹³

Hdt. 5.77, and attributed to Simonides. The verb in the active refers elsewhere to an Athenian victory over the Persians in a dedication to Artemis (Page 1981, 236-238).

¹⁰⁵ δίφρουος ἐδμήθημεν ὑπὸ πτυχί, σῆμα δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν / ἐγγύθεν Εὐρίπου δημοσίαι κέχυται / οὐκ ἀδίκως, / ἔρατὴν γὰρ ἀπωλέσαμεν νεότητα / τρηχεῖαν πολέμου δεξάμενοι νεφέλην.

¹⁰⁶ *IG I³ 1162*.

¹⁰⁷ On this epigram, see Peek 1933; Peek 1934; Bowra 1938; Mattingly [1963] 1996; and Clairmont 1983, 163-164.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. a dedication at Delphi referring to Greek victory over the Persians (Page 1981, 216-217) and an epitaph for Athenian victory over Medes (Page 1981, 217-218).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. an epigram for a Thessalian polyandron, which refers to gloomy fate (κυανή μοῖρα) that destroyed (ῶλεσεν) the men, who are wretched (τλήμονες) and clothed in dust (κόνιν) (Peek 1955, no. 10).

¹¹⁰ On this epigram, see Clairmont 1983, 174-177.

¹¹¹ *IG I³ 1149*.

¹¹² Cf. the epigram for Nikias: οἶδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτῶ νίκας ἐκράτησαν / ἄνδρες, ὅτ’ ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις (Plut. *Nik.* 17.4; Peek 1955, no. 21; and Page 1981, 155-156). Attributing responsibility to a supernatural force, however, does not mean that the defeat is hidden or circumscribed (contra Stupperich 1977, 14). Rather blame can only be assigned when the defeat is acknowledged.

¹¹³ *IG I³ 1147, 1162, 1186, 1191, and 1192*. For generals put on trial, see Pritchett 1974, 4-33.

The epigrams at Athens commemorating the battle of Marathon, *IG I³ 503/4*, once were thought to have herms or statues erected above them, but the find location of Lapis C (26) and Matthaiou's careful reconstruction of the monument demonstrate that in fact the epigrams belonged to a base for casualty lists fronting a cenotaph of the Marathon dead; this monument was referred to in some inscriptions simply as *the polyandrion*.¹¹⁴ Even for this famed victory we can find specific references to loss. Matthaiou notes that the phrase τοῖσιμ πανθαλὲς ὄλβος ἐπιστρέ[φεται] implies that the men had lost their ὄλβος in the fight.¹¹⁵ He also explicates πυλὸν ἀνχιάλομ in Lapis A, Π and ἡέρκος ... προπάροιθεν in Lapis C as topographic references to the sanctuary of Herakles, where the Athenians made their camp.¹¹⁶ Matthaiou concludes that the epigrams specify the location where most of the Athenians fell, when the Persians won the center and pursued the Athenians inland, before the tide of battle turned.¹¹⁷ In other words, the epigram for the monument of this victory so celebrated in Athenian lore carefully focuses, at least momentarily, on the Athenian loss. Matthaiou also shows that the suggested readings of the first line are erroneous (scholars have missed a sigma), and restores a poignant ἀνδρὸν τὸνδ' ἀρετῆ[ς] φθιμένον λάμπει κλέο]ς αἰεί.¹¹⁸

The rhetoricians in the epitaphioi praise the dead with rich mythical parallels. Verses in the epigrams extol their *kleos*. But the living weep. The epigrams on the war monuments at times poignantly voice the community's woe. The polis, with the affection of a lover, "longs for ... the men ... the children of Athens who died in the front ranks" (ἄνδρας μὲμ πόλις ἠέδε ποθεῖ ... / ... ἠοὶ θάνον ἐμ προ[ο]μάχοις / παῖδες Ἀθηναίων).¹¹⁹ In the epigram from Euboeia, the dead had lost a youth that was "beloved" (ἐρατὴν). Casualty lists repeatedly mention lost youth, ἡβέν; one even calls the dead "lads" (*kouroi*).¹²⁰ These word choices, bordering on the erotic, render the city's longing emphatic and emotional. The dead, at the prime of their life, *were* beautiful. When Perikles concludes his funeral oration, he tells his listeners to leave after having bewailed the dead loudly.¹²¹ The Athenians publicly and openly acknowledged their loss. After Perikles' praise of the dead, they mourn rather than celebrate.

Structurally and thematically the casualty lists were counterparts to the *tropaia*, the victory monuments erected on the battlefield on the spot where the enemy took flight.¹²² The differences between the monuments can be seen by directly comparing particular features related to their form and setting:

¹¹⁴ Matthaiou 1988; Matthaiou 2003, 194-201; and Matthaiou 2000-2003, 148-150.

¹¹⁵ Matthaiou 2003, 196.

¹¹⁶ Matthaiou 2003, 200-201.

¹¹⁷ Matthaiou 2003, 201-202.

¹¹⁸ Matthaiou 2003, 197 and Matthaiou 2000-2003, 146.

¹¹⁹ *IG I³ 1179*. Cf. the epigram for the Lokrians who fell at Thermopylai: τούσδε ποθεῖ φθιμένους ... μητρόπολις ... (Page 1981, 235-236).

¹²⁰ *IG I³ 1162* and *1181*, which does not necessarily belong with a casualty list.

¹²¹ Thuc. 2.46.2: νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει ἐκάστῳ ἄπιτε. Cf. Lys. 2.81, Pl. *Menex.* 249c, and Dem. 60.37.

¹²² On *tropaia*, see West 1969; Pritchett 1974, 246-275; Meyer 2005, 279; and Rabe 2008. Connor 1988 briefly contrasts the impermanence of the trophy, representative of fading interstate conflict, with the permanence of casualty lists, symbolic of the community (18).

<i>Tropaia</i>	Casualty Lists
Temporary	Permanent
Assembled	Built/crafted
Multiple per year possible	Only one set per year
One on the landscape	Many on the landscape
Presence of foe (armor)	Absence of foe
Absence of Athenian dead	Presence of Athenian dead
Away	Home
Sacred	Secular
Mute	Written/Spoken

Tropaia were temporary monuments of enemy armor assembled on tree trunks, while the casualty lists were permanent, built stone structures, increasingly elaborated.¹²³ The lists were erected yearly, the *tropaia* whenever a battle was won. The Athenians often set up more than one *tropaion* per year, but usually only one per battlefield, while the *demosion sema* contained casualty lists accumulated over many years. The armor used in creating the *tropaion* represented or at the very least alluded to the dead and vanquished enemy warrior. Conversely, opponents were rarely mentioned on the Athenian casualty lists. On the lists, though, appear the Athenian dead, buried nearby and absent from the battlefield. Erected near the polis walls, the lists stood in a decidedly secular atmosphere, whereas the *tropaia* were dedicated to Zeus and located at the specific point on the battlefield where the tide of the conflict turned. Finally, the *tropaia* lack the epigrams, rubrics, and names written on the casualty lists.

These structural contrasts between *tropaia* and casualty lists stem from the fact that the monuments relate to different aspects of military engagements. As I have argued, in many ways the casualty lists were monuments to defeat: they referred to disasters, setbacks, and, even in the case of victorious battles, to the loss of human resources. The casualty lists in no way attempt to adopt the imagery or form of the victory monuments. Rather than express loss with the language of victory or ignore potential negative interpretations, the lists acknowledge the defeat of Athenian youths and voice the sorrowful presence of the dead.

The oppositional differences throw into relief how the lists responded to their ontological status as monuments of defeat. It is not just that the lists are structurally opposed to *tropaia* that is significant, but the way in which those oppositions manifest themselves in the construction, form, and appearance of the lists. Compared to the *tropaia*, that is, the lists are imposing, permanent, solid, and increasingly elaborated. So, too, compared to the other funeral monuments of the fifth century. Until the emergence of private funerary sculpture ca. 430, the casualty lists would have been surrounded by much more humble, impermanent markers. Thus the lists incorporate and acknowledge defeat not for the sake of remembering a disaster but in order to

¹²³ Here I only discuss the *tropaia* erected on the battlefield immediately following an engagement, not the permanent monuments, such as the column on the Marathon plain, or structures in cities or sanctuaries, also designated *tropaia*: see West 1969 and Pritchett 1974, 257.

transform them into a different discourse. The dead and defeated are subsumed under powerful monuments that, through their very form – their hard marble, grand scale, and glistening appearance – testify to the resilience of the community. This process can be further explored through a study of representations of the warrior.

3e. Images of the Warrior

The figural reliefs in the *demosion sema* depict battle scenes and frequently have been interpreted as glorifying the dead.¹²⁴ Glorification entails an exultation of the deceased with a selfless praise that borders on worship. In the Greek religious setting, it would be related to “heroization,” honoring a quasi-divine *heros*.¹²⁵ Some scholars more accurately argue that the reliefs celebrate certain *attributes* of the dead, such as courage, excellence/virtue (*arete*), or sacrifice.¹²⁶ But rarely do observers distinguish precisely which iconographic features or stylistic devices express praise or particular praiseworthy features. The size of the relief and quality of the carving are sometimes adduced, but it seems generally to be assumed that an image of a warrior associated with a state burial commemorate the dead and glorify him. I will argue that in many ways this overly simplistic view is at odds with the nature and function of Classical Athenian funerary art, and that it does not sufficiently account for what is truly distinctive about the reliefs.

At the outset it is necessary to be clear about which reliefs I consider to belong to the public war monuments. Although usually all the reliefs with a fighting man or men are grouped together, as though every such scene belonged to or copied a public funerary monument,¹²⁷ I suggest that the archaeological and literary records preserve two distinct commemorative practices for the war dead: (1) monuments to the war dead in or near the public cemetery erected at private expense; and (2) images on the casualty lists, created at public expense. To the first category belong the relief for Melanopos and Makartatos (discussed above), the Albani relief (**fig. 24**),¹²⁸ the Dexileos relief (**fig. 25**),¹²⁹ a relief in the Ephoreia (**fig. 26**, here discussed as the “Ephoreia relief”),¹³⁰ a relief in Berlin from Chalandri (**fig. 27**),¹³¹ and the Academy base (**fig. 28**).¹³² When

¹²⁴ Brueckner 1910, 230; Peek 1933, 355; Clairmont 1983, 77 (at 209-212 he does, though, deny the Corinthian War relief any heroizing character); Schäfer 1997, 21; Hölscher 2003, 14; and Goette 2009, 193-196.

¹²⁵ Further reservations about the use of the terms heroization and glorification are presented in the introduction to this dissertation.

¹²⁶ Hölscher 1973, 103 and 215 and Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986, 33.

¹²⁷ E.g. Goette 2009, 193.

¹²⁸ For bibliography, see n. 75, above.

¹²⁹ Kerameikos P 1130; Wenz 1913, 78-81; Hölscher 1973, 102 and 262 n. 527; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974, 11-12, no. 14; Clairmont 1983, 68 and 213; Ridgway 1997, 3-7; Schäfer 2002, 268-269, GR 9; and Hurwit 2007.

¹³⁰ Γ Ephoreia M 2347; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986; Schäfer 1997, 163, no. 5; Schäfer 2002, 271, GR 13; and, for the excavation, *ArchDelt* 34 (1979), *Chronika*, B1, 22-23.

¹³¹ Berlin, Antikensammlung 742; *IG II²* 7716; Hölscher 1973, 102 and 262, n. 529; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974, 100, no. 12; Clairmont 1983, 68 and 213; Schäfer 1997, 165, no. 17; Hurwit 2007, 44; and Goette 2009, 193-194.

preserved, these images are remarkable in size and craftsmanship. Pausanias' description of the findspot of the Melanopos and Makartatos relief, the findspot of the Ephoreia relief, the reported findspot for the Academy base, and even the location of Dexileos' family precinct show how intimately these private monuments were associated with the space for public burials. However, they focus on the feats of individuals, particularly members of the cavalry, and are at odds with the communal emphasis of the casualty lists. In contrast to my second category, these private reliefs tend to emphasize the total destruction of an enemy. They cast the defeat of the individual warrior in the guise of victory.

On the Albani relief (**fig. 24**), stylistically the earliest (preserved) of the group, the Athenian horseman has dismounted. He is in complete command of the situation. With his left hand, the Athenian controls his rearing horse, whose mouth is open in exertion, and with his right he controls the fate of the creature on the ground, whose mouth is open in dismay. The composition of the scene creates a sharply descending curve running from the peak of the horse's head, over the Athenian's head, downward to the defeated's head. The vanquished curls in upon himself, drawing up his leg and folding a soft belly. His right arm buckles beneath him. He weakly raises his chlamys (note the drooping angle of his wrist) in surrender or in a vain attempt to ward off the death blow. The gesture foreshadows the shrouding of his corpse. The Athenian, solid and firm, mouth closed, originally anchored his left leg on a rock.¹³³ His left arm is unnaturally straight and taught, deftly checking the upward motion of the horse, whose force would have been emphasized through the addition of the bridle and reins. The diagonal created by his arms, crossing the sharply descending curve described above, places the Athenian at the center of the composition. This position was emphasized through the pinwheel pattern of his chlamys, centered around his navel.¹³⁴

Dexileos, too, unquestionably conquers his foe (**fig. 25**). The image does not represent an exact historical moment, but it does correspond to a particular time in battles: the rout, when the cavalry chases down the fleeing foe, dispatching them with spears.¹³⁵ The ancient viewer would have understood this particular compositional scheme as a reference to Athenian victory in battle. Unlike the horseman on the Albani relief, Dexileos remains mounted on his steed, whose hooves unnaturally encompass the foe: right rear leg, at a sharp angle, over the foe's slightly bent right; right front leg concealing the foe's elbow and compressing his head, visually pulling it in (note the opponent's straining neck muscles) and preventing any defensive use of the sword. The front hoof together with the foe's shield create a constraining frame, making the opponent appear trapped. The foe's left arm is cramped, a sense heightened through the bunched, limp garment draped over his left forearm. His left leg is foreshortened and the knee emerges from the composition. Lines on the abdomen indicate that he folds down to his left, forced to offer his right flank to Dexileos' spear. The enemy's fate is clear. Already his hand slips out of the shield grip (note in particular the lifted left pinky), force ebbs out of his right leg which would appear

¹³² Athens NM 3708; Hölscher 1973, 262 n. 530; Schäfer 1997, 166, no. 19; Kaltsas 2002, 171, no. 337; Hurwit 2007, 52; and Goette 2009, 193 and 195.

¹³³ That there was once a rock is evident from the angles of the two figures' left legs.

¹³⁴ Ridgway 1981 writes of the "somewhat confused system of folds over the stomach of the rider, which seem to conform neither to motion nor to modeling principles" (145).

¹³⁵ Spence 1993, 157-162.

pressed down by Dexileos' right foot, and Dexileos' scabbard runs behind, seemingly through, his body, an impression heightened by the placement of the lower chest muscle and upper abdominal fold. The positioning of the relief would have increased the sense of Dexileos' power and superiority. Set on a high terrace, Dexileos would have loomed over the viewer, and the opponent would have appeared to be falling out of the scene. The deep carving would have highlighted Dexileos against the relief background and the horse would have cast long shadows over the more shallow sculpted foe.

A later fragmentary relief found within the area of the *demosion sema*, whose reconstructed dimensions are more than 2.30 m. in height and 2.40 m. in width, has a somewhat similar iconography (**fig. 26**). Stylistically the piece has been dated to the second half of the fourth century BC and associated with the battle at Chaironeia. A foot soldier retreats toward the right, bending slightly backward, while defending against the onslaught from a horseman to his left. The horse's front leg crosses the front of the foot soldier, constraining his movement.

These three reliefs – the Albani, Dexileos, and Ephoreia – all include the theme of a knight decisively defeating a foe on foot, but are not similar enough to point to a prototype.¹³⁶ With exaggerated iconography they represent the conceptual or imaginary victory of an Athenian. Yet these reliefs adorned graves, and while the Athenian appeared in the guise of a victor, in fact he was dead. As a result, regardless of authorial intent or the desires of commissioners, in practice the reliefs were open to multiple, conflicting interpretations.¹³⁷ If few ancient observers went so far as to see Dexileos in the defeated Greek, many saw Dexileos' fate. That such (mis)interpretations did occur is evident from the efforts some images take to secure the identification of the victor as the commemorated. An inscription on a relief in Berlin (**fig. 27**), with the foot soldier supine underneath the horse's hooves and holding a short sword or knife, specifies in the first person that the Athenian killed many enemies (πολλὸς ὤλεσα δυσμεν[έων]) and how many trophies he erected because of his *arete* (ὅσσ' ἀρετῆς <σ>τῆσα τρόπαια μά[χης]). The dagger portrays the defeated as non-Athenian and further serves to prevent slippage. Iconography and epigram thus unite to secure the identity of the victor on this private grave monument. The same effort to enforce a reading can be found visually on the Academy base (**fig. 28**). Here the cavalryman, repeatedly distinguished by a chlamys and petasos, on three sides and in three positions defeats three different enemies: on the front, sporting an exomis and wearing a helmet; on the left side, in an exomis and without helmet; and on the right side, naked with his pilos behind him. The emphatic repetition of the imagery attempts to minimize the slippage between victor and vanquished and to make the victor's identity clear. On these private monuments, the threat of imagining the dead Athenian as defeated is cancelled by the hyperbolic representation of victory.

The imagery of outright power and conquest was reserved for private monuments: the Dexileos and Berlin reliefs preserve inscriptions securing their identity, and the Academy Base once held a stele too narrow to be a casualty list. Their iconography refers emphatically to individuals and

¹³⁶ Bradeen 1974b, says the Melanopos and Makartatos relief was the prototype of the Albani relief, Dexileos relief, and "others of that type" (30 n. 10).

¹³⁷ On the variety of possible interpretations of a commemorative monument, see Alcock 2002, 28-30.

individual accomplishment. These monuments stand in the tradition of the relief to Melanopos and Makartatos of 457, which, as argued above, most probably was a private monument within the *demosion sema*. The view that a single, anonymous figure such as the solitary knight on the Albani relief could represent the collective is a nineteenth- and twentieth-century creation.¹³⁸ Many war memorials, particularly in western Europe, consist of a single figure – the everyman hero – who represents all who fought and died. Usually the figure is quite realistic, from the details of his equipment to the modeling of his face, but simultaneously he is an abstraction, a statue intended to focus the viewer on the idea of Everyone. This is a visual language foreign to Classical Greek art. The individual on the Albani relief may not be depicted with portrait-like characteristics, but nevertheless he signifies the accomplishments of one man.

Only three of the figural reliefs created at public expense can be identified: the Palaiologou relief (**fig. 29**),¹³⁹ a fragmentary relief in Oxford (**fig. 30**),¹⁴⁰ and the relief from the Corinthian War (**fig. 31**).¹⁴¹ All of these involve multiple figures and, as opposed to the monuments for individuals, emphasize struggle rather than victory.¹⁴² On the Palaiologou relief, two horsemen,

¹³⁸ Borg 1991, 50 and 104.

¹³⁹ Third Ephoreia M 4551; *SEG* 48.83; Parlama 1992-1998, 536; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 396-399, no. 452; Moreno 2007, 100-101 n. 114; Matthaiou 2009, 203-204; and Papazarkadas 2009, 69-70. I discuss this relief for cavalry as representative of artwork erected at public expense, but it is possible, especially considering its find spot near Hippios Kolonos, that a group of cavalry members erected it at private expense for their fallen comrades. Nevertheless, the form of the casualty list, which closely mimics the appearance of “normal” state monuments, suggests that the relief, too, borrowed formal features from the public monument repertoire.

¹⁴⁰ Ashmolean Museum, Michaelis no. 85; Stupperich 1978; Clairmont 1983, 202-203; Stupperich 1994, 94; Schäfer 1997, 162, no. 3; and Goette 2009, 189-190.

¹⁴¹ Athens NM 2744; *IG* II² 5221; Brueckner 1910, 219-234; Wenz 1913, 58-61; Stupperich 1977, 17-18; Clairmont 1983, 209-212; Stupperich 1994, 94; Hölscher 1973, 105-107 and 263, n. 543; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974, 11, no. 13; Schäfer 1997, 162-163, no. 4; Schäfer 2002, 268, no. GR 8; Hurwit 2007, 36-37; and Goette 2009, 191-192. I do not discuss here the anthemion relief for cavalry from the Corinthian War (Athens NM 754; *IG* II² 5222) because it is not figural.

¹⁴² Cf. Hölscher 1973: “Zwar ist der historische Anlaß durchaus von Bedeutung, aber die charakteristischen Einzelheiten des Verlaufs, sogar Sieg und Niederlage werden in diesem Zusammenhang belanglos...” (215). Votive reliefs attempt to depict more specific scenes of a battle since they commemorate particular events: the relief for Pythodoros (Eleusis Museum 5101, Hölscher 1973, 99-100; Langenfaß-Vuduroglu 1974, 34, no. 57; Bugh 1988, 91-93; Goette 2009, 198-199; and Lawton 2009, 70) and the New York relief, which I consider a votive (New York Met. 29.47; Clairmont 1983, 214-215; Hölscher 1973, 107-108 and 263, n. 556; Stupperich 1977, 19; Ridgway 1997, 199-200 and 224-225, n. 24-25; Schäfer 1997, 162, no. 2; and Goette 2009, 190-191). The unusual garb of the warriors and the representation of a decisive victory point to the commemoration of a specific event rather than the decoration of a casualty list for the dead from multiple engagements. Foreign garb also appears on a fragment of a relief published by Goette 2009, 202-204, with fig. 51: a thin stele fragment, found in secondary use in Aigina, shows a foot soldier with trousers moving toward the right and a horse behind him moving toward the left.

moving toward the left, combat two foot soldiers (**fig. 29**). The terrain is visibly rocky, which would make the footing very difficult for the horses – the rock underneath the rightmost horse is particularly hefty. One opponent has fallen, but the victory is not won. From behind strides a second foot soldier, his presence highlighted by his long, wide chlamys that would have been brightly painted. With his front foot braced on a rock (cf. the *Athenian* on the Albani relief), rear leg straight and strong, he lunges toward the Athenian horseman. His hand meets the horse's hoof and checks its advance. The cape, dragging on the ground, contributes to the sense of his solidity. The fallen man is not trapped by hooves and the horseman's foot passes *behind* his arm. Although the complete width of the stele is preserved, the composition cuts off the second horse before its rider appears on the scene, an unusual artistic device for Classical Athenian art, addressed in more detail in the next section.

Although the Oxford relief, from the second half of the fifth century, is fragmentary, a similar emphasis is evident (**fig. 30**). A foot soldier, presumably Athenian, lunges from the right toward a naked soldier on the ground, but is countered by the shield of an opponent who must have stood over the naked soldier, defending him.¹⁴³

More rich in narrative content is the relief from the Corinthian war (**fig. 31**). The Athenian horseman rears, his horse clubbing a fallen soldier in the chin, but he lowers his spear: the point does not drive into or toward the enemy, but descends, impotent, to the other side of the horse. The Athenian foot soldier forces his knee into the enemy's rear and pulls him backward. They appear to be taking him prisoner.¹⁴⁴ A horse tail just visible at the left of the fragmentary relief shows that the scene once continued on this side.

All these images of warriors in the public cemetery, privately and publicly financed, stand out from contemporary Athenian funerary art in their vivid depiction of motion.¹⁴⁵ This aspect of the warrior reliefs, in my opinion, is essential for understanding not only the function of the images but some of their iconographic peculiarities.¹⁴⁶ It has often been noted that these images are not depictions of reality. In particular, scholars point to the nakedness of the defeated and the light clothing of the Athenians, for in practice soldiers on both sides wore metal armor.¹⁴⁷ This "heroic" nudity of the defeated has created interpretive difficulties.¹⁴⁸ We would expect the Greek conqueror to be naked, not his opponent.

¹⁴³ Stupperich 1978, 89.

¹⁴⁴ Hölscher 1973, 105.

¹⁴⁵ The other "action" scene on Classical Greek funerary art is death in childbirth, but this only emerges around the mid-fourth century: Scholl 1996, 159-164 and Bergemann 1997, 64-65.

¹⁴⁶ Hölscher 2003, 11-12, discusses the energy and motion of warriors, but mostly with regard to vase-paintings. He describes Archaic victors as *kouroi* in action. In the Classical period, there are more postures for victory, which show "forceful agility." The defeated dies more violently than in the Archaic period, and his "potential mobility," one of the primary interests of Classical art, thus abruptly ends.

¹⁴⁷ Esp. Schäfer 1997. On nudity in Greek art, see most recently Hurwit 2007; Schäfer 1997, 12 n. 49 provides an extensive bibliography.

¹⁴⁸ See the discussion in Hurwit 2007.

This artistic device enabled the sculptors to emphasize the motion, vigor, and energy of the Athenians through the deliberate patterning of their folds, crafting an illusion that would have been impossible to convey on figures wearing heavy armor, or on naked figures. The Athenians, framed by swirling drapery, participate in actions of high intensity. In contrast, the naked warrior is a mass of flesh that folds in upon itself. Repeatedly a crease appears across his abdomen. The garments the naked opponents hold are bunched ineffectively or droop lifelessly. On the Albani relief, the deep folds of the Athenian's chiton form a whirling vortex on his abdomen and swirl down his thigh. His torso faces the viewer, he turns and looks down at his foe, his arm is cocked. In contrast, the enemy folds in upon himself. He limply raises his chlamys, creating straight, lifeless folds. Both Dexileos and his opponent's torsos face the viewer, but Dexileos presents us with undulating, bulging garment folds, while his foe displays a compressed, tightened belly. Dexileos' chlamys billows behind him; we can almost hear it snap in the wind. The naked Greek maintains his garment bunched over his arm. Dexileos' arm is cocked in an open, aggressive pose, while his opponent's is flexed in a protective defensive gesture.

On the Palaiologou relief, the Athenians' drapery unfortunately has been poorly preserved. However, the standing foe's chlamys was painted: rather than flowing behind him in sinuous drilled patterns, it was a solid painted mass rooted to the ground. The sense of Athenian energy is enhanced through the presence of the two rearing horses, one of them continuing outside of the frame, suggesting continued movement. Little is preserved of the Oxford relief, but here again clothed Athenian is juxtaposed with naked foe, allowing a contrast between flowing garments and a solid mass of flesh. The foe's legs are sprawled and both arms hang downward. He is folded in upon himself, as the line across the abdomen indicates. The Athenian lunges toward the left, a movement emphasized through the deep folds of his garments. On the Corinthian war relief, one Athenian is on a rearing horse. The folds of his chiton create strong lines that lead the eye up toward his cocked arm. The other Athenian's chiton curves downward and out, neatly echoing the flowing movement of the chlamys that flutters behind him. Rather than just take the defeated foe prisoner, he aggressively drives a knee into his back and tears back his head.

The energy on these warrior reliefs is echoed on some other private funerary stelai with warriors.¹⁴⁹ However, all other fifth-century grave reliefs present calm scenes: figures seated and standing, individually or in groups, often clasping hands.¹⁵⁰ Even athletes are still. Likewise the figures on votive and document reliefs.¹⁵¹ The distinct verve and spirit of the warrior reliefs, both public and private, echoes many of the virtues the Athenians praise in the speeches and orations transmitted by Thucydides. Particularly Perikles, in his funeral oration, praises the Athenians for displaying daring, courage, and zeal. Although the Athenians do not submit themselves to painful training at a young age, Perikles says, "no less do we advance toward equal dangers."¹⁵² They and their fathers eagerly and zealously (προθύμως) warded off foreigners and Greeks.¹⁵³ They are willing to risk danger (κινδυνεύειν) with a manliness (ἀνδρεία) bred not from laws

¹⁴⁹ The individuals commemorated with such reliefs, though, did not necessarily die in war.

¹⁵⁰ On the exception of women dying in childbirth, see n. 145, above.

¹⁵¹ Lawton 1995, 29-63 and Ridgway 1997, 194-204 and 215-217.

¹⁵² Thuc. 2.39.1: οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐπὶ τοῦς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν. Cf. Stewart 1985 for a reading of *prothymia* and *tolma* on the Temple of Athena, Nike.

¹⁵³ Thuc. 2.36.4.

(νόμοι) but habits (τρόποι), and they face painful matters (ἀλγεινά) with daring (μὴ ἀτολμότεροι).¹⁵⁴ They love knowledge without being soft (μαλακία).¹⁵⁵ While for others, deliberation and reasoning lead to hesitation, the Athenians are both thoughtful and daring. Perikles says, “Rightly those should be judged strongest in spirit who most clearly recognize terrible and pleasant things and still do not shy from dangers.”¹⁵⁶ The ἀνδραγαθίαν of the dead warriors compensates for any flaws in their lives, and mitigates any potential shame of defeat.¹⁵⁷

Perikles is not the only speaker in Thucydides to voice such sentiments. Athenian envoys at Sparta recount their service to the Greeks, and tell how they “ran risks” ἐκινδυνεύετο in the Persian Wars and were “in the forefront of danger” προκινδυνεύσαι at Marathon.¹⁵⁸ Phormio, who encourages his outnumbered men to fight confidently, describes how the enemy will fear their recklessness.¹⁵⁹ The ἀνδραγαθία, τολμή, and προθυμία of the Athenians contrasts with the stillness or inactivity of their opponents. The Corinthians criticize the Lakedaimonians, saying “Only you of the Greeks, Lakedaimonians, are at rest, defending yourselves not with any force, but with delay.”¹⁶⁰ Hermokrates delivers a similar reproach to his fellow Syracusans, accusing them of habitual quiet (τὸ ξύνηθες ἤσυχον).¹⁶¹

The energetic, active, and daring Athenian warrior in funerary art follows the thematic and stylistic precedent established by the famous Tyrannicides statues of Kritios and Nesiotes, erected in the Athenian Agora in 477/6, i.e., within the same generation as the establishment of the *demosion sema*.¹⁶² Unlike the *kouroi* of the former period, Harmodios and Aristogeiton are in motion. More than commemorating a specific event, they elide the historical narrative and emphatically embody a patriotic attitude. Their act in fact did not change the political regime. Their deed was driven more by jealousy than political circumstances, and after Hippias’ death, the tyrant Hippias continued to reign, but now more brutally. In terms of iconography and composition, the group does not emphasize the death of the tyrant – it does not even include him – but the attitude of the attackers. They stride forward, heels lifted off the ground, weapons at the ready. This attitude of courage, resistance, and action was particularly appropriate for a statue group designed to replace one plundered by the Persians, and is the same spirit expressed in the warrior reliefs.

¹⁵⁴ Thuc. 2.39.4.

¹⁵⁵ Thuc. 2.40.1.

¹⁵⁶ Thuc. 2.40.3: διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κρᾶτιστοι δ’ ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γιννώσκοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων.

¹⁵⁷ Thuc. 2.42.3.

¹⁵⁸ Thuc. 1.73.2 and 1.73.4.

¹⁵⁹ Thuc. 2.89.6: ἄ λογιζόμενοι οὗτοι τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι πλέον πεφόβηται ἡμᾶς ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ.

¹⁶⁰ Thuc. 1.69.4: ἡσυχάζετε γὰρ μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινά, ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι.

¹⁶¹ Thuc. 6.34.4.

¹⁶² Stewart 2008, arguing for the Tyrannicides’ catalytic role for the inception of the Severe Style, discusses the civic and militaristic ideals they embody (599-610).

This sculpted spirit had a civic resonance; it represented an ideal for the living.¹⁶³ Elderly and young, rich and poor, soldier and craftsman, are to compete with the dead by adopting the attitude expressed in the ovation and presented by the Tyrannicides and the warrior reliefs, by striving to *outdo* the deceased in virtue. This praise of the dead implies a certain degree, let us admit it, of glorification and heroization.¹⁶⁴ But the images immediately shift the focus from the dead to the living. The warrior reliefs do not selflessly praise a *heros* removed from the human realm, but present an exemplum for the living.

In the fifth century, this exemplum was necessary for the citizenry, because non-soldiers increasingly were effected by war. No longer were conflicts waged outside of the city: war had come to Athens itself. Sacked and burned by the Persians, the city was a refuge in the Peloponnesian War for inhabitants who watched in sorrow as the Spartans repeatedly plundered the countryside.¹⁶⁵

The interpretation of the public reliefs proposed here accords better with the function of much private Classical Athenian funerary art. As Bergemann's study has decisively shown, the images on private grave monuments did not commemorate individuals but the *oikos*.¹⁶⁶ Scholars have had difficulty distinguishing the dead on multi-figured funeral reliefs for good reason: the dead were not the focus. Inscriptions prove that frequently the living appear on the reliefs. Set within the family enclosure but not over any specific graves, physically oriented toward the passing stranger and not toward those family members who actually visited the grave, the reliefs portrayed to the city the unity of the family, generational connections, and the civic roles of family members. The images were used by the living to attest to their citizenship status and to their care for their family graves. The implications of this study for the warrior reliefs have not been sufficiently appreciated. All these pieces of funerary art, private and public, for soldier or spouse, were created by the living in part to honor the dead but more to work in and upon the living community.

3f. Expanding the Frame

The reliefs that crowned the austere and powerful casualty lists depicted not specific events but an attitude to be adopted; not a particular victory or defeat but a struggle, an *agon*. And this

¹⁶³ Meyer 2005 makes a somewhat similar point when arguing that the soldier and not the marine was represented in Athenian art because the former allowed the expression of individual action and desire. It was not the goal of the narrative images, she argues, to present one scene, "sondern die allgemeinen Bedingungen und Voraussetzungen für Erfolge zu propagieren, als Handlungsanweisungen für die Nachkommenden" (310).

¹⁶⁴ For reservations on the use of these terms, see Chapter 1d.

¹⁶⁵ Thuc. 2.15-17 and 21.

¹⁶⁶ Bergemann 1997, esp. 7-33, 56-62, 67, 87-88, 93-94, and 129-130. Similarly Scholl 1996, 85-86, 91, 172-173, and 221. Meyer 1993 examines how the spike in the number of fourth-century inscriptions relates to the changing value placed on citizenship. For criticism of Bergemann, see esp. Himmelmann 1999, 95-128.

struggle was ongoing. The schematic nature of the reliefs – the use of “types” for the images of the soldiers and the absence of specifying details – created a sense of timelessness. On the Palaiologou relief, the continuous aspect of the conflict was vividly enhanced through the framing of the image. The rightmost horse continued out of the stele, encouraging the viewer to mentally reconstruct an ongoing event. A continuous aspect also was created by placing the casualty lists near one another in a common space. Here, lists for defeats and lists for victories blurred together: all were lists to Athenian dead and to an Athenian spirit. As Demosthenes says,

It is not possible, it is not possible that you erred, Athenians, when you assumed danger on behalf of the freedom and safety of all – I swear it by those of our ancestors who first ran risks at Marathon, and those stationed at Plataia, and those who fought at the naval battles at Salamis and Artemision, and the many other brave men resting in the public monuments, all of whom the city judged worthy of the same honor and buried equally, Aichines, not just those of them who were successful, nor the victorious alone. Justly. For a deed characteristic of brave men has been accomplished by all, and they have possessed the fate which the *daimon* allotted to each.¹⁶⁷

The specific events commemorated faded into the background. In the common space of the public cemetery the defeated lay next to the victorious; the Athenians celebrated, and sought to mimic, the soldier’s attitude of bravery in the face of danger. Past and present meld: note, for instance, Demosthenes’ use of the pluperfect in the final sentence. The Athenian dead were historicized, inserted into an ongoing story of collective survival.

The base for casualty lists in the best state of preservation, *IG I*³ 1163d-f (**figs.** 22-23), demonstrates the effort made on occasion to insert one particular event into a larger narrative through physical manipulation of the monuments. At some point, this monument, which probably commemorated the crushing Athenian defeat at Delion,¹⁶⁸ was reworked to accommodate monuments added to its sides. The right end was shortened: the anathyrosis there is very different from the anathyrosis elsewhere on the monument belonging to the first phase.¹⁶⁹ The anathyrosis must have been required for closely fitting the base to a second monument, newly added to the cemetery, or the base itself may have been moved to another location and inserted next to a second monument. The shortening of the base required shifting the rightmost

¹⁶⁷ Dem. 18.208: ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετ’, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασιν κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον ἅπασι πέπρακται, τῇ τύχῃ δ’, ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται.

¹⁶⁸ See the discussion in 3c, above.

¹⁶⁹ The first phase anathyrosis between the blocks has a smooth band 4.5-5 cm. wide; the second phase anathyrosis on the rightmost block has a smooth band 2.5 cm. wide.

stele so as to fit on the block.¹⁷⁰ Also in the second phase, a mortise hole was cut into the leftmost block. This action must belong to the second phase because gauge marks around the hole indicate that first a metal dowel, used in the first phase to help anchor the leftmost stele, was removed before the mortise hole was created (fig. 23).¹⁷¹ Since the edge of the mortise hole lines up so precisely with the line of the stelai, this cutting action cannot belong to a third phase for the monument unrelated to the list display. The epigram was also modified in the second phase. Currently the middle of line 37 reads *ἡμιθέον, θείαν εἴσοδον ἀντιάσας*, but the *εἴσοδο* was added in a later hand and does not fit the stoichedon pattern.¹⁷² Although unfortunately it is impossible to know what monuments were added to either side of *IG I³ 1163d-f*, given its location in the *demosion sema*, they probably were casualty lists. By placing this terrible defeat between other monuments, the dead were historicized. The frame of reference was widened. They were not participants in a disaster, but actors in a larger narrative.

The Poteidaia base also illustrates this process. It, too, bore anathyrosis on one end, and so was joined to another monument.¹⁷³ Moreover, the fourth line of the epigram expands the referential frame by mentioning the “strength of your ancestors.” Koumanoudes restores the line as, “having the noble strength of your ancestors in your heart” (*προγόνο(ν) σθέν(ο)ς [ἔσθλὸν ἐνὶ στέθεσσιν ἔχοντες]*).

Finally, as described in the first chapter, the casualty lists were situated among private monuments, industry, and shrines. The individual dead were integrated not only into a context of other public war monuments but also into the wider physical and cultural landscape. Thus the referential frame for their narrative extended beyond military engagements and included elements of the country and community, reminders of what they died to defend.

The *demosion sema* was not a lavish arena for public-sponsored art that adhered to aristocratic forms of commemoration but a rather austere environment in which individuals – the collective – sponsored much of the imagery. Particularly prominent were the casualty lists, which stood as defiant monuments of power collective resilience. Mostly simple in form, they were increasingly elaborated. Because of the outcome of the historical events they preserve, the lists were open to interpretation as monuments to defeat, and indeed there were many opportunities for the *demosion sema* to focalize dissent, whether through commemorating disasters, recording the loss of lives, or displaying images open to misreading. But through the lists, we can perceive some of the Athenian strategy for handling defeats and the visual response to the potential problems posed by military casualties. These were openly acknowledged in order to create a rhetoric of resistance and struggle. This discourse also can be found on the public reliefs, which juxtapose vigorous Athenians with their stolid foes. These reliefs sought less to glorify the dead and more

¹⁷⁰ Clairmont 1983, who argues that there was only one phase to the monument, thinks the rightmost stele was wrenched askew when something was placed on top of it or when the back of the monument was completed (161 and 163).

¹⁷¹ Often it is interpreted as part of the first phase, e.g. Bradeen 1964, 27.

¹⁷² Several restorations of the original have been suggested. Most likely, the second carver changed a damaged *εἴσοδον* into current orthography.

¹⁷³ *IG I³ 1179*; Oliver 1936, 234; and Raubitschek 1943, 23.

to create exempla for the living. In fact, the setting of the lists, rather than heroize the dead historicized them, placing them into a wider narrative that minimized individual moments of defeat and stressed the ongoing collective act of struggle.

4. Death, Defeat, and Destruction on the Akropolis: Sacred Space and the Fallen Warrior

The first two chapters of this dissertation have focused on the material culture related to the fallen warrior in the extra-urban *demosion sema*. I have located the dead in the Athenian physical landscape, discussed the monuments and imagery associated with them, and attempted to locate the war dead in the Athenian cognitive landscape. Usually interpretations of the material culture surrounding military casualties have focused on the processes of glorification of the dead, but I have stressed the difficulty the cremated ashes of the soldiers presented to the democracy and emphasized the variety of strong emotions and reactions the presence of the dead could provoke. Certainly the Athenians bestowed honor and glory upon their war dead, but the material culture related to military casualties could also express different aspects or goals of the Athenian commemorative system, different responses to the problem of the return of the dead and defeated. In many ways, this commemorative system focused more on the living than the dead. To summarize the argument developed in the first two chapters: in the public cemetery the Athenians mourned their losses while creating public monuments of power that attested to the strength and resilience of the community, and they developed a visual rhetoric focused around *ἀγών* – struggle. They vividly evoked the real dangers of war while simultaneously attempting to mitigate the impact of military setbacks, particularly through the peripheral placement of the cemetery and the physical integration of the casualty lists into a wider frame of reference.

This chapter leaves behind the extra-urban public cemetery and investigates the attitudes towards the fallen warrior in the very heart of the city, in the sacred space of the Akropolis. In approaching the archaeology of the fallen warrior within the city walls, we must consider different types of evidence than were available for the first two chapters. There, we could look at the graves of the war dead and the associated monuments and images. But no tomb for an unknown soldier existed within the ancient city walls, no place of commemoration such as the monument that currently fronts the modern Greek parliament building (**fig. 32**). Many of the same motives lie behind the artwork of the Athenians both in the *demosion sema* and on the Akropolis, but the different settings demanded different treatments of the problems of death and defeat. Obviously what sets the Akropolis apart from the cemetery is the religious nature of all its structures, artwork, and events. It was Athena's rock. In this *frame* different attitudes and ideals could be displayed than those we found in the public cemetery.

The fallen non-mythical Athenian warrior makes only a few explicit appearances on the Akropolis: in some statues and on the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike. Yet death and defeat were not altogether absent from the repertoire, and in mythical representations, especially on the Parthenon, the defeated Greek stood out. This chapter explores the place and meaning of the fallen warrior – both mythical and actual – on the Akropolis by focusing on the religious nature of the space and by training a wide lens on the visual manifestations of death and destruction. The first sections of this chapter focus on the Parthenon, and the last section treats in more detail the changes in representations and conceptions of the fallen warrior as visible on the temple of Athena Nike. The rest of this introductory section will set the scene by addressing views of the Parthenon as a victory monument and the need for a new interpretation, and by adding some preliminary remarks on methodology.

The impetus for this chapter is the perplexing and rarely acknowledged presence of death, defeat, and destruction on the Akropolis. Usually discussions of the imagery or monuments on the Akropolis focus on the theme of victory.¹ The Akropolis, so the view goes, was the place to commemorate Athenian victory, and the imagery, especially on the Parthenon, emphatically refers to and celebrates victory, whether to victory specifically over the Persians, or to victory over uncivilized forces, over “The Other.” The Parthenon itself, the crown jewel of the fifth-century building program, repeatedly has been called a victory monument.² But the metopes of the Parthenon are littered with Greek corpses, and the polarity of the fighting figures (Greek and Amazon, Greek and Centaur), encouraged the Athenians to identify closely with the Greek side and hence with the Greek dead. For years the Akropolis itself was a spectacle of ruin. The Parthenon rose among the charred remains of the Persian destruction, traces of which were still visible in Pausanias’ time.³ Moreover, within this setting there were representations of non-mythical defeated individuals, such as a statue group of Tolmides and his seer, who perished in a crushing Athenian defeat at Koroneia.

Yet interpretations of the Parthenon as a victory monument are prevalent. Some scholars suggest that the mythical battles on the Parthenon metopes (Amazonomachy, Centauromachy, and Trojan War) refer not just to a vague concept of victory but to actual events.⁴ There are indeed examples in Athenian art of the mythical enemy quite clearly referring to an actual opponent. On the Eion herms erected in the Agora, the inscription draws a parallel between Menestheus’ campaign to Troy and Kimon’s to the river Strymon.⁵ In the Stoa Poikile’s painting program, also located in the Agora, the juxtaposition of an Amazonomachy with the Battle of Marathon made the connection between Amazons and Persians quite clear.⁶ This pairing enabled the Athenians to compare their recent exploits to those of their remote ancestors and to emphasize

¹ There are three notable exceptions. Korres 1994a: “... the temple is a monument to the idea of the *Agôn*, the struggle” (58). It will become clear that I am sympathetic with this view, but Korres does not elaborate upon it. Hurwit 2004: “In fact, it may be the struggle rather than the conquest that is at the core of the Acropolis’s imagery and ideology” (243); but: “... it is a truism that the mythological battles depicted in the metopes ... are analogues or allegories for the historical victory over the evil Eastern empire” (243-244). Kousser 2009 draws attention to defeat in the Parthenon imagery, but interprets these representations as strategies for dealing with the trauma of the sack of the Akropolis. For Kousser, the images of the dead Greek refer to the price of victory. I am uncomfortable with her equation of all mythic events with recent historical events, such as the sack of Troy on the northern metopes with the sack of Athens (274).

² Castriota 1992, 134-138; Barringer 2005, 172; Parker 2005, 399; Barringer 2008, 221 n. 41, with further bibliography; Kousser 2009, 275 and 281 n. 114, with further bibliography; and Leventi 2009, 129. Schwab 2005, despite the title of her chapter, is not particularly clear about the building’s references: “these struggles ... perhaps allude to the Persian Wars earlier in the fifth century B.C., or more generally to the triumph of civilization over barbarism” (167). Ridgway 1981 is skeptical of such readings (18-19).

³ Paus. 1.27.6. On the destruction, see Stewart 2008. For an extreme view on the quantity of destruction visible, see Ferrari 2002a.

⁴ E.g. Hall 1993, 108; Cartledge 1998, 57; and Kousser 2009.

⁵ Thuc. 1.98.1; Aischin. 3.184-185; Plut. *Kim.* 7.4-6; Castriota 1992, 6; and Di Cesare 2001.

⁶ See most recently Castriota 2005 and Stansbury-O’Donnell 2005.

the feminine qualities of the Persians.⁷ Finally, one Amazon on a vase that may have been based on a painting in the Theseion was inscribed Dolope, which has plausibly been interpreted as a reference to Kimon's victory of 476/5 at Skyros, when the Dolopians were enslaved.⁸ But these examples may be unique, and all point to one figure, or at least one political faction: the Eion herms were commemorations of Kimon's exploits; the Stoa Poikile strengthened Kimon's position by alluding to his father's successes; and the Theseion was a temple dedicated to a hero whose bones had been imported by Kimon. When we turn to the Akropolis, we cannot assume that the myths were deployed in the same ways, by the same personalities, for the same effects.⁹

Indeed, the interpretation of the Parthenon metopes as allusions to specific Greek victories quickly encounters obstacles and creates inconsistencies. If the Amazons on the metopes, who reappear on Athena Parthenos' shield, refer to the Athenian victory in the Persian Wars, then why are so many Amazons spearing their Athenian counterparts? What type of victory is this? And then what are we to make of the Centauromachy on the southern metopes and on Athena Parthenos' sandals? These are mythical beasts from northern Greece, not from Persia, and the scene is a disrupted wedding feast, not an attack on Athens. Moreover, among these southern metopes are many that do not seem clearly to belong with the Centauromachy itself.¹⁰ More importantly, how does our interpretation of these mythic battle scenes relate to the rest of the imagery on the Parthenon, or even on the rest of the Akropolis: the Gigantomachy on the eastern metopes, the procession on the frieze, the statue base with Pandora, the akroterion of Bellerephon, or the statue of Tolmides, to name only a few examples?¹¹ Finally, how does the semantic weight of these battles compare to the significance of battle scenes on other temples? The Parthenon is hardly the first or the only temple with an Amazonomachy. Do all of these pan-Hellenic images refer to victories over Persians?

The view that the representations of conflict on the Parthenon refer to victory over "The Other" rather than over a specific foe is more compelling but still problematic.¹² Certainly the Athenians used their myths to explore ethical issues and to express their own *sophrosyne* while underlining the *hybris* of their opponents. Indeed, some of these moral underpinnings of mythical representations will play an important role in this chapter. But there are too many defeats among the battle scenes, too much death and destruction on the Akropolis to form a coherent iconographic program referring to victory over "The Other." This programmatic view, like the search for specific historical parallels for mythical encounters, also cannot comfortably account for many of the other images on the Akropolis. Moreover, structuralism, for good reasons, is no

⁷ Hall 1993.

⁸ Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina, T 411; *ARV*² 1029.21; Thuc. 1.98.2; Paus. 1.17.2-6; Hölscher 1973, 71 (somewhat skeptical of the historical interpretation); and Castriota 1992, 44.

⁹ Barringer 2008 discusses the impact of context on the interpretation of various myths.

¹⁰ For a recent, succinct summary of views on the subject matter of these metopes, see Barringer 2008, 78-79. Berger 1986, 92-93 provides a helpful table of the multiple interpretations of these metopes.

¹¹ Schultz 2001 argues that Bellerephon was not the subject of the temple of Athena Nike's akroteria (18-38). The inscription in question is *IG* I³ 482. Even if Schultz is correct, the subject did appear on Athena Parthenos' helmet

¹² E.g. Castriota 1992; Buxton 1994, 62; and Rice 1993, 226.

longer the scholarly approach of choice, and recent studies have shown that the Athenians did not always think in terms of clear binaries, that they did not relentlessly shape their identity by creating oppositions.¹³

Of course, victory appeared on the Akropolis from the earliest years of the democracy, through the fifth century, and beyond. To commemorate their victory over the Boiotians and Chalkidians in 506, the Athenians dedicated on the Akropolis chains used to bind prisoners and a four-horse bronze chariot, and other dedications from successful encounters followed.¹⁴ Nikai akroteria probably adorned the Parthenon's roof, and inside the temple the goddess Athena held a Nike in her outstretched hand.¹⁵ Athena Nike received her own cult on the southwestern edge of the Akropolis, and though her sanctuary could not be reached from within the Akropolis precinct proper, its reconstruction and lavish decoration in the 420s show that it was hardly an object of neglect. Demosthenes says that the Athenians decorated sacred sites "from the [spoils of the] Barbarians."¹⁶ But references to victory do not simply turn religious buildings into victory monuments, or religious spaces into parade grounds. The images of death and defeat still demand an explanation, and this explanation, in my view, must account for the religious setting.¹⁷

On the large canvas of the Akropolis, multiple issues were subject to the artist's craft. Images partook of the city's discourses on such varied issues as the leadership of Athens, the place of the cavalry in Athens, the role of women, or the nature of citizenship.¹⁸ Efforts to delimit and define any single unifying visual program in this broad space run the danger of short-changing the richness and complexity of Athenian art and of Greek mythology. But that explanation of the imagery on the Akropolis, including allusions to the fallen warrior, will be the most convincing which accounts for the unique setting of the Akropolis, is as comprehensive as possible, responds to diachronic shifts, and does not neglect the imagery's relationship to the iconography in other sanctuaries. While acknowledging the many diverse and legitimate readings of the Akropolis imagery that are possible, in this chapter I will argue that within the rich fabric of images on the Akropolis runs a unifying thread: a concern to explore and articulate the relationship between mortals and immortals. Furthermore, I hope to show that the fallen warrior is an integral

¹³ Hölscher 2000a and Calame [2000] 2009.

¹⁴ Hdt. 5.77.

¹⁵ Akroteria: Hurwit 2004, 123; cult statue: Paus. 1.24.7.

¹⁶ Note that he does not say that the Athenians built the Propylaia and the Parthenon with the revenue from spoils. There are two participles in the passage, "building" and "decorating." The first refers exclusively to the Propylaia and Parthenon, and does not mention spoils. The second refers to *other* sanctuaries, and only this participle includes the reference to the Barbarians as a resource: οἱ τὰ προπύλαια καὶ τὸν παρθενῶν' οἰκοδομήσαντες ἐκεῖνοι καὶ τὰλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱερὰ κοσμήσαντες ... (Dem. 22.13). Cf. Plut. *Per.* 12.1-4.

¹⁷ I am not entering the debate on the specific religious function of the Parthenon temple, for which see Preißhofen 1984, who argues that the Athena Parthenos was not a cult statue, and Nick 2002, who shows that it was.

¹⁸ E.g. Raubitschek 1984; Knell 1990, 95-126; Stewart 1995; Giuliani 2000; Hölscher 2000b; Barringer 2005; and Barringer 2008.

component of this religious discourse, and that his representation carried profound civic implications.¹⁹

To explain the imagery of the fallen warrior on the Akropolis, I borrow from Marconi's writing on *kosmos* and Hölscher's work on *decor*.²⁰ Marconi, in a discussion of Archaic temple sculpture, notes how the word *kosmos* refers both to the order of the world, to splendor, and to architectural decoration. He shows how the temple's *kosmos* creates a visual spectacle that captivates the viewer and provides paradigms of human behavior. Hölscher notes that the frequent search for "programs" of architectural sculpture encounters serious difficulties when one considers that the images as a whole never were designed for maximum visibility and comprehension. He advocates instead looking at how decorative schemes increase the aesthetic visibility and semantic weight of public buildings. Building on these two authors' work, and influenced by Gell's discussion of the possible agency of objects themselves,²¹ I suggest that the imagery of the fallen warrior on the Akropolis, and especially on the Parthenon, must be understood as an element within religious discourse, as part of a larger iconographic system that invoked the gods while representing a world view appropriate to the gods and formative for the Athenians.

In the space of the Akropolis, home to a variety of divinities including Athena, the city's patroness, all artworks were intended to be *agalмата*, objects pleasing to the gods.²² Political and social matters certainly were of concern to the sponsoring city or individual patrons, but they should not overshadow the sacred and ritual aspect of the objects.²³ The Athenians adorned the space of the gods, and by extension the gods themselves, with imagery appropriate and pleasing.²⁴ The ritual surrounding the peplos during the Panathenaic festival provides a model for understanding the relationship among humans, gods, and art (**fig. 33**). At the annual festival, the very goal of the celebration was to clothe Athena's statue with a richly embroidered peplos. Here the Athenians enacted with cloth the same devotion and piety repeatedly expressed on the Akropolis in stone, bronze, and clay: they adorned the gods with images. The question thus

¹⁹ For the religious nature of Parthenon sculpture, see Lagerlöf 2000, 133, 141-142, and 164-165, and, specifically addressing the frieze, Himmelmann 1997.

²⁰ Marconi 2004 and Hölscher 2009, esp. 61-63. See, too, Stewart 1990's discussion of genre, building on Baxandall (43).

²¹ Gell 1998.

²² On *agalma*, including the temple as an *agalma*, see Stewart 1990, 44-46.

²³ The religious function of the images has long been acknowledged – e.g. Ridgway 1999: "It seems obvious to us that narrative sculpture on a temple was meant to make a religious statement" (165) – but rarely explored in detail. Ridgway, for example, does not spell out what this "statement" is. See also Ridgway 1999, 12 and 143-183. I should emphasize that I do not suggest that political motives had nothing to do with the dedication of objects in sanctuaries, or that political and religious functions can neatly be separated. I find, however, that focusing on the religious aspect of the works related to the fallen offers a fruitful approach to understanding these images.

²⁴ Marconi 2004, when discussing Aischylos' satyr-play *Isthmiastai* (*TrGF* F 78a), concludes, "embellishing the temple was regarded as equivalent to embellishing the divinity itself" (212).

arises (section 4b, below), how were the images on the Akropolis particularly pleasing to the gods? How were they *agalmata*?

At the same time as the *kosmos* aimed to adorn and please the gods and the spaces sacred to them, it was created by people who held a particular theology and world view, and thus carries traces of their beliefs (section 4c, below). An analogy can be drawn between the dual audiences of sacred images and the dual recipients of sacrifice. The aroma of a burnt offering was pleasing to the gods and drew their attention to the city, and at the same time the food gathered the human participants into a sacred act and nourished them. Sacred images, too, were created with an eye to mortal and immortal alike. They had to appeal to the gods while representing in some form beliefs that were shared by the majority of the viewers. These images were all the more powerful because of the implicit divine sanction bestowed upon them by the divine setting. Viewers abducted (to use Gell's term) divine agency through the medium of the decoration.²⁵ Even when the images as a whole were not intended for comprehensive viewing and did not belong to any type of propagandistic program, their origins in a shared (even if not uniform) belief system imply that it is possible to explore, through the images, how the Athenians worked out and expressed their worldview and theology to themselves.

This chapter argues that, in the religious setting of the Akropolis, the Athenians expressed, through a broad spectrum of images, ubiquitous and unavoidable human mortality and the superiority and justice of the gods. References to *agon*, destruction, and the fallen warrior belonged to a visual repertoire that piously asserted the order of the world and sought to honor, please, and invoke the gods, in whose hands lay victory and defeat. This visual constellation, coupled with the rituals and beliefs celebrated on the Akropolis, urged citizen sacrifice, death for the sake of the city.

4a. Setting the Scene: Warfare, Gods, and Sanctuaries

Representations of battle were confined neither to the Parthenon nor to the Akropolis, but appear on a late-eighth century temple at Chania (Crete), the temple of Artemis at Corfu, the Siphnian treasury, the temple of Aphaia at Aigina, the temple of Zeus at Olympia, the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, the Hephaisteion, the Tholos at Delphi, and the temple of Apollo at Bassai, to name only a few examples.²⁶ Even when these scenes were excerpts from the Gigantomachy (the conflict most often portrayed on Archaic temples), the human form of the giants and their use of hoplite armor bridged much of the mythical distance. The battle scenes carried different semantic weight depending on such variable factors as their location, time of creation, and associated deities. Some structures, such as the temple at Aigina, focused on exploits that honored local heroes. But clearly there was something about a temple that made it seem to the Greeks to be a fitting place to depict conflict, war, and *agon*. In section 4c, I will discuss how the Parthenon battle scenes compositionally were quite different from any prior Greek examples, but here I

²⁵ The divinely-sanctioned *kosmos* to some degree becomes the prototype which acquires primary agency over the recipient, the viewer. He infers from the index the divine order that serves as a model to the images. For this type of agency relationship, see Gell 1998, 35.

²⁶ Ridgway 1999, 143-183.

would like to first set the scene by investigating what it was about sacred spaces that made them so appropriate for the pan-Hellenic depiction of conflict, and what made the Akropolis particularly appropriate.

One explanation for the common appearance of battle lies in the active role that the Greeks believed their deities took in war.²⁷ The *Iliad* provided the quintessential model for this worldview. The gods watched the mortals fight before Troy, took sides, actively supported their favorites, and on many occasions descended into the fray of battle itself. Fifth-century Greeks continued to believe that the divine played a role in war. The gods were reported to have been directly involved in the Athenian success at Marathon. A certain Epizelos went blind when he saw a spirit on that battlefield.²⁸ In the Stoa Poikile, the painting of the battle included Herakles, Athena, the *daimon* Echetlos, and the local hero Marathon, and Theseus rose out of the earth.²⁹ The cult of Pan was brought to the north slope of the Akropolis during the Persian Wars, and he, too, seems to have played a role at Marathon. On a statue base of the god dedicated by Miltiades, the inscription claims that Pan was “against the Persians and with the Athenians.”³⁰ Other examples of divine involvement need not be described in detail here, such as when the Aiakidai were summoned before the battle of Salamis.³¹ Many Athenians shared Themistokles’ opinion following a successful battle, when he said, “Not we but the gods and heroes accomplished these things.”³² Seers were crucial members of a campaign, subject to death for poor performance.³³ A seer is even included on a casualty list, where he receives an identifying label among otherwise anonymous names.³⁴

Prayers and sacrifices were made to the gods before battle. Sometimes the Athenians promised certain favors to the divinities if they granted them victory,³⁵ and there was always an understanding that, at the very least, victors would dedicate a tenth of their booty in a sanctuary. This tithe could take the form of donated plunder, like the shields on the Athena Nike bastion and balustrade, but ornate buildings or grand sculptural dedications were also possible.³⁶ Although such items testified to human success, converting momentary battlefield events into social and political capital,³⁷ that does not exclude a real religious motivation behind the dedicatory act. The Greeks believed that victory belonged to the gods. Thus the victory

²⁷ On the gods in war, see Pritchett 1979 and Parker 2005, 103-4 and 397-403.

²⁸ Hdt. 6.117.

²⁹ Paus. 1.15.3. On military epiphanies, see the thorough treatment in Pritchett 1979, 11-46 and also Jacquemin 2000, 38-39.

³⁰ For Simonides’ epigram: *Anth. Pal.* 232. For the cult: Hdt. 6.105 and Eur. *Ion* 492-508. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 298-304.

³¹ Hdt. 8.64.

³² Hdt. 8.109.3: τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες.

³³ E.g. the seers at the Battle of Plataia: Hdt. 9.33-37. On the *mantis*, see Pritchett 1979, 47-90; Jacquemin 2000, 100-117; and Flower 2008.

³⁴ *IG I³* 1147, ll. 128-129.

³⁵ E.g. Xen. *An.* 3.2.12.

³⁶ On military vows, see Pritchett 1979, 230-237, and on dedications, Idem, 240-276 and Ioakimidou 1997.

³⁷ Hölscher 2006.

monuments did not just refer to a group's power, success, and military expertise as compared to the weakness and failure of other humans, but also attested to their group's close connection to the gods. The victory monuments signified divine benefaction. The point was not so much, "We won," as much as, "The gods chose (and choose) us."

If victory was attributed to the gods, so, too, was defeat. Usually individual gods were not held responsible for military setbacks, only an unspecified *theos*, a *daimon/daimonion*, or fortune. For instance, the epigram on a base for casualty lists IG I³ 1163d-f says that the dead lost their lives δαίμονίως, by divine intervention, struck by one of the demi-gods (ἡμιθέων).³⁸ In the Late Archaic period, following a confrontation with Aigina over the recovery of cult statues made from Athenian wood, the Athenians attributed their defeat to a *daimonion*.³⁹ After setbacks in Sicily, Nikias sought to reassure his men that the tide would turn, saying: "Soon we will have a rest from disasters, for our enemies have enjoyed enough good fortune, and if we campaigned under the jealous eye of one of the gods, we have been sufficiently chastised now."⁴⁰ Similarly, the Euripidean couplet for the defeated from Syracuse says that, as long as the divine powers (τὰ θεῶν) were impartial, the Athenians repeatedly bested the Syracusans.⁴¹ The fact that a precise god is rarely named in civic discourses about such disasters does not imply, as some scholars have claimed, that specific gods did not have a hand in Athenian defeats, or that the Athenians believed their gods could do them no harm.⁴² There may have been a superstition that responsible entities should not be named. Clearly the power to deliver defeat lay within the realm of divine sovereignty, when it was often intertwined with notions of justice and due punishment.⁴³

In some of the artwork on the Akropolis, as in many of their tragedies, the Athenians revealed that they were all too aware of the power of the gods to work good and ill alike.⁴⁴ Scenes such as the creation of Pandora on Athena Parthenos' statue base were selected because of their ambiguous and shifting meaning. They suggested the power of the gods to create and to destroy, to help and to harm.⁴⁵ According to Hesiod, Pandora was the origin of mankind's woes, disguised

³⁸ Cf. the epigram allegedly for the dead from Chaironeia, which states: θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις (Dem. 18.289). See Page 1981, 432-435 for the arguments against its authenticity.

³⁹ Hdt. 5.87.1-2: λέγεται μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινήτων τάδε, ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἓνα μῦθον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι, πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἓνα τοῦτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαίμονίου.

⁴⁰ Thuc. 7.77.3: τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ λωφήσειαν, ἱκανὰ γὰρ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις ἡτύχηται, καὶ εἴ τω θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι ἐστρατεύσαμεν, ἀποχρώντως ἤδη τετιμωρήμεθα.

⁴¹ Plut. *Nik.* 17.4: οἶδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτῶ νίκας ἐκράτησαν/ ἄνδρες, ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις.

⁴² Parker 1997 and Mikalson 1983, 50 and 53-62.

⁴³ On defeat and divine punishment, see Mikalson 1983, 58. On the role of chance, see Lévy 1976, 44-45.

⁴⁴ Greek material culture is notably absent from Parker 1997.

⁴⁵ Cf. the fifth-century pediments taken to Rome from Greece that show the slaughter of the Niobids: Ridgway 1981, 54-59. Cf. also the wounded Greek taking refuge at an altar at the top of the shield of Athena Parthenos. Harrison 1981 comments "... the combination of this pose with

as a divine gift from the gods.⁴⁶ The question is, when the Athenians looked at the statue base, would they – or could they – *completely* forget Hesiod’s version? ⁴⁷ There do not seem to have been many other versions of the story circulating. The scene was not popular in Athenian art either before or after the creation of the famed statue, a significant point in and of itself.⁴⁸ This was not an image, apparently, that the Athenians relished looking upon as they drank from symposia vessels. One volute krater shows Pandora coming out of the earth, and there may have been a tradition relating her to autochthony or fertility.⁴⁹ The other surviving vases show her frontally, as she also appeared on the statue base, in the pose of divine epiphany, flanked by gods implicated in her creation.⁵⁰ One of these vases, a red-figure kalyx krater, includes satyrs and an auletes, which must indicate a reference to Sophokles’ satyr-play about Pandora.⁵¹ Now it seems more likely that a satyr-play focused on Pandora qua the origins of man’s ills than Pandora qua autochthonous figure. In the fifth century, so it seems, Hesiod’s version of the myth probably was circulating in one form or another. Cloaked in a silvery veil, a wonder to behold, a beautiful evil, Pandora on Athena Parthenos’ statue base conjured thoughts of the creations, gifts, and punishments of the gods.⁵²

Owing to the intense interaction of the gods in war and their responsibility for its outcomes, both good and ill, religious settings were appropriate public spaces for referring, through a diverse range of images and objects, to battle. Among Greek religious structures, though, the Akropolis had a pronounced martial nature that made it particularly appropriate. During the Panathenaia – and only at the Panathenaia – celebrants marched from the region of the *demosion sema* to the citadel wearing armor. The Akropolis was sacked by the Persians, and some remnants of the destruction were framed with care and visible throughout the city below, such as the architectural

the motif of refuge at an altar must have been sufficient to imply a wounding inflicted with the consent of the gods” (301, her italics). I discuss the shield in section 4b, below.

⁴⁶ Hes. *Op.* 54-105 and *Theog.* 558-616. Hurwit 1995 argues that here the myth of Pandora refers to the dangers of women and serves to justify male dominance and exclusivity. Kosmopoulou 2002, 115-117 discusses interpretations of Pandora as a symbol of fertility, craftsmanship, and autochthony, concluding that her many aspects could co-exist, including her references to the difficulty of mortal life. See also Idem, 112-115 and 236-240. Robertson 2004 argues that the myth is an *aition* for girding Athena’s cult statue with a peplos. Lapatin 2005, 268-269, accepts the interpretation of fertility/autochthony.

⁴⁷ Stewart 1990, in a different context: “...only in a myth could a shared heritage, present striving, and divine sanction meet and cohere. And much of the power of myth is precisely that it resists reductive interpretations in the particular case” (44).

⁴⁸ *LIMC* 7 s.v. Pandora.

⁴⁹ Ashmolean 525, *LIMC* 7 s.v. Pandora, no. 4; *ARV*² 1562.4; *Para* 506; *Add*² 388. The motif also appears on a late fourth-century amphora: London BM F147, *LIMC* 7 s.v. Pandora, no. 5.

⁵⁰ A white-ground cup inscribed “Anesidora” (London BM D4, *LIMC* 7 s.v. Pandora, no. 1; *ARV*² 869.55; *Add*² 299), a red-figure kalyx krater inscribed “Anesidora” (London BM E467, *LIMC* 7 s.v. Pandora, no. 2; *ARV*² 601.23; *Add*² 266), and red-figure rhyton (London BM E789, *LIMC* 7 s.v. Pandora, no. 3; *ARV*² 764.9).

⁵¹ *TrGF* 4, 482-486.

⁵² Hes. *Theog.*: ἀργυφῆ ἔσθητι (573-574); θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι (575 and 581, cf. 584 and 588); καλὸν κακόν (585).

members built into the north fortification wall. Finally, because of its topographic position, the citadel inevitably was the locale of final resistance, protected by Athena Parthenos, she who would not be penetrated; its walls were her *kredemnon*, reconstructed by Kimon. It is in this setting – with its pronounced martial associations, its interlacing of gods, mortals, and warfare – that the fallen warrior took his place. But before addressing his presence in greater detail, I would like to discuss the *function* of images in this religious setting, to stress their sacred and ritual purpose.

4b. Sacred Spaces: Invoking the Gods

Since the gods were intimately involved in warfare and controlled victory and defeat, it was natural that the Athenians sought to invoke their aid.⁵³ Pre-battle sacrifices, for instance, aimed to secure divine aid in human conflict. Such momentary actions, however, were only small components of pervasive and systematic efforts to forge positive and fruitful relationships with the divinity through prayer, sacrifice, and – perhaps most importantly – objects. As Hesiod wrote, “Gifts persuade the gods.”⁵⁴ Whether dedicating a humble loomweight or erecting a monumental temple, the Athenians individually and as a collective attempted to bridge the silent gulf between mortals and immortals and to catch the attention of those who dwelt on Olympos. When Chyrses invokes Apollo in the opening book of the *Iliad*, he asks him to remember not just his sacrifices, but his construction project. He prays, “If ever I roofed a temple pleasing/delightful to you...”⁵⁵ The Trojan women attempt to win Athena’s pity, but before praying to her, they first lay a peplos, the largest and most pleasing/delightful in the house, on her statue’s knees.⁵⁶ In the *Odyssey*, Telemachos gazes on his father’s form rejuvenated by Athena and, fearing he may in fact be a god, asks Odysseus to spare him so that he can offer pleasing/delightful sacrifices (or offerings) and gifts made of gold.⁵⁷ Inscriptions on votive objects voice this desire to invoke the god by means of a pleasing or delightful gift.⁵⁸

Parker has demonstrated that the relationship between mortals and immortals was not, despite the important role of objects therein, governed by a spirit of mercantile exchange. Humans did not simply offer gifts or services in return for favors. Rather, the mortal-immortal relationship forged through exchange resembled ritual friendship. Mortal supplicant and immortal deity contributed

⁵³ Pl. *Leg.* 7.803e: παίζοντά ἐστιν διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδίας, θύοντα καὶ ἄδοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἴλεως αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν δυνατὸν εἶναι, τοὺς δ’ ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον.

⁵⁴ Hes. fr. 361 (West and Merkelbach): δῶρα θεοὺς πείθει...

⁵⁵ Hom. *Il.* 1.39: ... εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ’ ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα ...

⁵⁶ Hom. *Il.* 6.301-311. The peplos is described at 6.271-272: ... πέπλον δ’, ὅς τις τοι χαρίεστατος ἦδὲ μέγιστος/ ἔστιν ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ τοι πολὺ φίλτατος αὐτῇ ... On the issue of unreciprocated *charis*, see Parker 1998, 114-118.

⁵⁷ Hom. *Od.* 16.184-185: ἀλλ’ ἴληθ’, ἵνα τοι κεχαρισμένα δώομεν ἱρὰ/ ἠδὲ χρύσεια δῶρα, τετυγμένα· φείδεο δ’ ἡμέων.

⁵⁸ *IG I³* 711, 728, 776, 791, 872, 887, and cf. 722.

to a flow of benefactions whose underlying character was *charis* itself.⁵⁹ The gifts were *charienta* or *kecharismena*, the favor *chariessa*.⁶⁰ In such a relationship, objects were much more effective in securing divine attention than mere sacrifices because of the objects' permanency. Like gifts exchanged between friends, they were reminders to both sides of their existing relationship. But unlike these personal gifts, votive dedications were public. Thus, as mentioned above, sacred gifts did not just appeal to the gods, but demonstrated to sanctuary visitors that a special relationship existed between the dedicator (individual or city) and the deity.

Artwork in a religious context, whether a dedicated statue or the adornment of a temple, invoked the immortals. Here Gell's work on the anthropology of art can be adduced, for he has forcefully discussed how agency can reside in material objects.⁶¹ Although his analysis focuses on the agency of art within human social relationships, aspects of his method are readily applicable to votive objects, which seek to appeal to the gods.⁶² Gell's approach helpfully distances us from attempts to decode messages within artwork, and recovers the intention of the Athenians to create objects capable of *doing*.⁶³ Images on the Akropolis, including those of the fallen warrior, had a particular religious function. This then raises the question, How does their form relate to this function? How exactly did this invocation work, and what are the consequences for our understanding of the fallen warrior?

The images on the Akropolis appealed to the gods in two ways. First, they were beautiful, sumptuous, and lavish. The entire architectural and sculptural program was of the highest artistic caliber – fit for the gods. Despite our chronological remove from the period, we can infer ancient intentions: the Athenians clearly aimed to design a sacred space more resplendent than any the Greek world had ever seen. From the ornate Ionic order (on several buildings) to the size of the Parthenon to the widespread use of marble, this was a place the divinities could not fail to notice. Whether images were easily visible or not was beside the point, or rather, that is precisely the point: the attention to detail indicates that the goal of the program was not mortal eyes alone. All

⁵⁹ Parker 1998: "... the fundamental conception at all periods is that of an unceasing interchange of delightful gifts and services, a kind of charm war" (109). Also: "... it is an exchange of favours, a voluntary, if socially prescribed, expression of a relationship of friendship" (118-119).

⁶⁰ Parker 1998, 108-109. But cf. Pl. *Euthphr.* 15a, where gifts are also described as a *τιμή* and *γέρας* to the gods.

⁶¹ Gell 1998.

⁶² Cf. Elsner 1996, who discusses the need to emphasize the religious aspect of sacred objects.

⁶³ Frequently Gell's analysis focuses on how the agency is abducted, or inferred, from the index; that is, the index points to a primary agent, and itself remains a secondary agent. This view of abduction serves his anthropological purposes of studying how objects are used within social relationships. For instance, one might be captivated by the splendor of an object, which demoralizes one in face of the owner of that object. However, Gell also speaks in terms of the personhood of objects (18-19). Indeed, according to Gell there is an extensive amount, and types, of agencies which an object (index) mediates (68), and his art nexus includes a relationship between index as agent and recipient or viewer as "patient" (29). Below (4c) I will explicitly use Gell's notion of abduction, but for most of this chapter I am interested more in the agency of the objects and images themselves, not in how they mediate an artist's agency, and thus take Gell's ideas in a slightly different direction.

aspects of the decoration required care and precision, for the artists were involved in a sacred task.

The images of the fallen Greek take their place within this resplendent atmosphere. The best-preserved scenes are on the southern metopes, where Lapiths and Centaurs battle. Among these, five Lapiths are certainly dead or defeated (metopes 1, 4, 9, 28, and 30; **Figs.** 34-38), one possibly defeated (metope 8). The use of myth on these metopes inserted the trope of human struggle and defeat into a cosmological narrative, into the timeless world of the gods and heroes. More importantly, perhaps, the deployment of centaurs allowed the artists to sculpt spectacular creations. The ferocious, wild, strong creatures are arrayed in a variety of compositional schemas, their limbs wrapping around human limbs (metope 1), rearing over Lapiths (metopes 4 and 28), one even throwing his human opponent (metope 9). The centaur's horse body provided the sculptor with unique challenges, but also afforded the opportunity to create truly striking images, wonders to behold.

The flip side of invoking the gods through glorious human creations was invoking the gods by showcasing destruction. The treatment of the Persian sack of the Akropolis, I think, must be understood in this light. Following the Persian attack, the Athenians left their sacred structures in ruins.⁶⁴ Whether or not this inaction can be connected to an oath the Athenians and their allies swore before the Battle of Plataia remains unclear, but it is significant that both the oath and the archaeological remains point to the “preservation” of the destruction specifically of sanctuaries.⁶⁵ To be sure, these scarred remains reminded the Athenians of their ongoing struggle with the Persians and linked the war with broader concerns of justice and vengeance.⁶⁶ But why avoid rebuilding specifically sanctuaries? Perhaps these remains were left standing in order to appeal to the gods, to remind *them* of the Persian destruction of their sacred spaces, and to invoke them in the Athenian quest to deliver divine retribution.

Apart from the attempt to appeal to the gods through splendid imagery or the display of notable destruction, the Athenians sought to fill their artwork with *charis* by portraying an appropriate theology: the *kosmos* (decoration) of the sacred space articulated their view of world *kosmos* (order). Specifically, the images honored and pleased the gods by underlining the power and superiority of the immortals. Such a theology was a frequent theme of temple imagery. For instance, on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, Apollo dominates the strife of the west pediment. So, too, Athena on the temple of Aphaia on Aigina: in the very center of both pediments, larger than all other figures, facing the viewer, she makes her epiphany amidst the chaos and turmoil of battle. Gigantomachies were particularly well-suited to represent the triumph of the gods, and from the very beginning of architectural sculpture, they frequently appeared on temples.⁶⁷ Heroes

⁶⁴ See n. 3, above.

⁶⁵ On this aspect of the oath, which is only attested in literary sources, not the inscription, see Siewert 1972, 102-106.

⁶⁶ Ferrari 2002a, 14 and 27-31 and Kousser 2009, 269-272. On vengeance as a cause of Greek war, see Lendon 2000.

⁶⁷ E.g. on the Temple of Artemis at Corfu, the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, and on Archaic pediments from the Akropolis. See Ridgway 1999, 162-166.

like Herakles indexed the human reliance on the gods for success, as on the metope at Olympia where Athena helps Herakles hold up the heavens (fig. 40).

The fallen warrior on the Parthenon fits into this theology: he vividly displays human mortality and contrasts the human susceptibility to defeat with the strength and victory of the gods. For although on the western and southern metopes many a Greek dies, on the eastern metopes, the gods never lose. The visitor to the Parthenon was confronted on the western metopes by human death, on the eastern metopes by divine triumph. Nike crowns Athena on the eastern metopes, and within the cella, the statue held Nike in her outstretched hand. Her divine power contrasted with the mortals on her shield (Fig. 41). Here, in an Amazonomachy with unusually specific topographic referents, Athenians fought Amazons before the walls of the city and the Akropolis itself.⁶⁸ At the bottom of the shield, closest to the viewer, lay a dead Athenian, splayed over some rocks.⁶⁹ On the middle of the right side, one Athenian helped another off the field. Finally, on the right side and near the top, an Athenian took refuge at an altar and reached behind him to pull an arrow out of his back.⁷⁰ The shield – and the depiction of Pandora on the statue base – show that struggle and death were the lot of mortals, victory was in the hand of Athena.

To summarize the argument to this point: the fallen warrior can best be understood within the unique religious and martial context of the Athenian Akropolis. He belonged to a system of imagery that sought to invoke the gods by creating resplendent, skillful, artistically daring representations that were thematically appropriate to the sacred space. However, this splendor was not intended for the gods' eyes alone. The following section examines how these virtuoso images of death appealed to and constructed the mortal viewer.

4c. Meditations on Mortality

The representations of the fallen warrior on the Parthenon are truly striking, and not just to the modern eye: compared with contemporary vase paintings, the Parthenon images are unusually violent and explicit. In her comprehensive treatment of violence on Attic vases, Muth has shown how the level of depicted violence fluctuated from one period to another. Surprisingly, the graphic representations on the Parthenon stand out sharply from mid-fifth century vase-paintings,

⁶⁸ Harrison 1981, esp. 295-296 and Leipen 1984, 180.

⁶⁹ In Harrison 1981's (297 fig. 4) and Strocka 1984's (192 fig. 4) reconstructions, the dead Greek lies next to a dead Amazon. The two are only attested together on a sarcophagus from Aphrodisias (Inv. nos. 75-78 and 75-104, Harrison 1981, pl. 46, fig. 1 and pl. 47, fig. 6). The dead Greek alone appears on the Lenormant, Patras, and Agora copies of the shield. The dead Amazon alone appears on the Strangford copy. Is it possible that the original shield only had a dead Greek? The Lenormant and Patras shield, though miniatures, have plenty of room to include a dead Amazon. The Strangford shield may have transformed the sex of the corpse for thematic reasons, for it also eliminated the group of a Greek helping a wounded Greek. On the Piraeus reliefs, the feet of only one figure are preserved. Because its legs are crossed, Harrison believes it was the Greek (284).

⁷⁰ See Leipen 1984 for the argument that the figure is not wounded but preparing to deliver a blow with his sword (180-181).

which usually show undecided conflict.⁷¹ Moreover, the metopes with the most dead Greeks and those Greeks that, thematically, could most readily be identified as Athenians were in the most prominent position: on the western side of the Parthenon, facing the Propylaia. Here, at least five of the six mounted Amazons destroy their Greek opponents, who are often identified as Athenians defending the Akropolis from the Amazon invasion.⁷² On the third metope, a fallen Athenian tries to crawl away as the horse pummels him; he is fully engulfed by the horse's hooves (**fig. 42**). On metope five, the Athenian is unnaturally deformed: his legs extend straight behind him on the ground line, turned downward, but his torso rises up at an oblique angle and twists to confront the viewer (**fig. 43**). On metope nine, the defeated Greek raises his left knee and braces himself against a small rock, of little help for him in the face of the powerful rider, whose horse fills the metope (**fig. 44**). On metope 11, the Athenian lies on the groundline, nothing more than a corpse, and the Amazon rides over him (**fig. 45**). The Athenian on the thirteenth metope adopts a pose similar to the Athenian on metope nine, here twisting to show the viewer his back, and again the horse fills the metope (**fig. 46**).

The direction of the movement on the western metopes guides viewers to the south, where the thematization of violence and the emphatic portrayal of Greek defeat continues. On the first southern metope, a centaur holds a Greek in a headlock, the Greek's head facing downward, the centaur's powerful arm raised to deliver the final blow (**fig. 34**). On metope four, the Greek opens his shield outwards as a centaur wielding a hydria prepares to crush him (**fig. 35**). The Greek's right arm, supporting him on the ground, is useless for defense. The open shield focuses our gaze on the center of the encounter and the centaur's hoof, poised before the fallen Greek's face. The centaur on metope nine like a wrestler actually lifts his opponent off the ground with his left arm, his right hand again preparing to deliver death (**fig. 36**). The Greek, out of control, rolls over a vase. The subject matter of the scene on metope 16 is unknown, but at the right an older man gestures in exclamation at the young man before him, whose fallen (or falling) position, contorted neck, and upturned face indicate his demise (**fig. 39**). On metope 28 a centaur rears over a Greek corpse, whose lifeless head lolls backward (**fig. 37**). Finally, a centaur grabs the Greek on metope 30 by the hair, while the Greek's left hand uselessly grabs a rock, his face contorted in effort, perhaps also in fear (**fig. 38**).

Such vivid displays of defeat, imminent death, and death itself captured the viewer's attention. They drew him in to contemplate the figures and their demise. Gazing at the metopes, the viewer confronted mortality and internalized the concept of death. Death was normalized and celebrated. Moreover, because the dead were inserted into a sacred space, a *kosmos* pleasing to the gods, the viewer would abduct not just an artist's agency, but the agency of the gods. The images mediated a civic value that was also divinely sanctioned.

This focalization of the fallen warrior was not created merely through a high level of artistic accomplishment. The metope form itself, as compared to the frame of a pediment or frieze, encouraged the viewer to stop and gaze on the dénouement of the single scene.⁷³ The metopes, separated by the strong vertical lines of triglyphs, arrest the movement of the broader narrative,

⁷¹ Muth 2008, 403-405.

⁷² On the metopes, see Brommer 1967.

⁷³ Osborne 2000, 230 and 235-242 and Osborne 2009, esp. 3 and 6.

and in so doing they seize our eye. The observer cannot seamlessly scan the scenes on the metopes like those on a frieze, but must stop and gaze upon each one. Within the distinctive form of the metopes, compositional schemata, too, drew attention to the defeated. On metope 28, for instance, the leering pelt draped over the centaur's arm – a dead animal disturbingly enlivened – draws our attention to the figure and status of the supine vanquished (**fig. 37**). The defeated Greek on metope 30 crouches on a groundline resembling a pedestal (**fig. 38**). The Greek is put on display like a statue on a base. The folds of the chlamys behind him further highlight his presence. He turns his head away from the centaur to fully face the viewer.⁷⁴

Such marking of the fallen – drawing the viewer's eye to them – is in fact a feature of architectural sculpture with a long history, but the fallen are usually not humans. The presence of the dead and defeated was frequently underlined in these sacred buildings, but never to the degree that is found on the Parthenon metopes, and never with such a focus on humans. In earlier architectural sculpture, the defeated often were marked by their raised knees, such as the giant on the north frieze of the Siphnian treasury (**fig. 47**), or Antilochos on the building's east frieze (**fig. 48**), or most of the giants on the pediment of the Megarian treasury at Olympia (**fig. 49**). This position gives the corpse a sharp form and draws the inert body more fully into the figural composition. When the fighter was not yet dead, the raised knee motif endowed him with energy. Another method of marking the corpses was to raise them, usually by lifting the pelvic region of the body. Already on the pediment of the temple of Artemis at Corfu we can see this effect: the dead giant's or titan's head in the corner of the composition rested on a small rock (**fig. 50**). On the north frieze of the Siphnian treasury, a giant's corpse lies over a small rise or rock in the groundline, raising his quadriceps and lower torso (**fig. 47**). So, too, the fragmentary giant in the corner of the pediment of the Megarian treasury (Figure L, **fig. 49**). On Parthenon metope 28, the Lapith's bunched chlamys performs the same function as these rocks, marking the corpse by raising it more clearly into the compositional scheme and by bending the body into a more notable form (**fig. 37**).⁷⁵

Prior to the Parthenon, the fallen on architectural sculpture were nearly always giants. Both Amazonomachies and Centauromachies in the Archaic period focused not on the struggle of normal mortals but on the exploits of Herakles. The first identifiable defeated Greek on architectural sculpture, to my knowledge, occurs on metope 11 of the Athenian treasury at Delphi, where an Amazon defeats a Greek. The fallen warrior appears on the pediments of the temple of Aphaia at Aigina, but the lack of mythical opponent in the scene makes it more difficult to determine to which side the defeated belong. The Parthenon's treatment of the fallen Greek was unique. Heroes are absent from the Amazonomachy and Centauromachy (or at least impossible to identify securely), and the metopes are replete with the non-heroic fallen. In effect, the Athenians have appropriated for Greeks the iconography mostly used in Archaic architectural sculpture for Gigantomachies or the Iliouperis. One can compare the Greek on west metope 3 with the giant labeled [ΦΟΡΦΥ]PION on the Siphnian treasury (**fig. 51**), or the Greek on west metope 9 with the giant defeated by Athena on an Archaic pedimental group from the Akropolis

⁷⁴ But cf. the groundlines also used in south metopes 9 and 32.

⁷⁵ I do not agree with Ridgway 1981, 21 that this schema is just an optical effect designed to compensate for the high position of metopes. Some corpses are raised higher on the temple of Athena Nike, but the temple is lower than the Parthenon.

(fig. 52). This appropriation becomes all the more evident when we look to the northern and eastern metopes. Here the scenes of the Trojan War do not include any fallen warriors, and scenes of the Gigantomachy, although full of defeated giants, show no dead. Precisely where we expect to find corpses, there are none. Furthermore, defeated Amazons and centaurs appear on the Parthenon, but none is dead. So not only is there an unprecedented quantity of fallen Greeks portrayed on the Parthenon, but the iconography of the corpse is here reserved exclusively for Greeks.

The fallen warrior on the Parthenon commanded attention and demanded contemplation. Of course he appears among other scenes of struggle (undecided conflict) and victory, but the way in which he was framed in metopes, marked through compositional schemata, and represented in distinct positions (i.e., the corpse), indicates that he was to be noticed. At the same time, the use of myth for these scenes made the fallen both more distant and more approachable. They were not specific individuals, whose representations could have triggered grief. But they were not tightly connected to the heroic world, either. As I mentioned, no figure on eastern or southern metope can be identified as Theseus or Herakles. Kaineus, too, an easily recognizable figure who appears on the Hephaisteion and the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, is missing from the Parthenon. The absence of clear heroes coupled with the mythical guise of the representations both created distance and lent the images a generic, paradigmatic quality. This strategy facilitated the viewer identifying with the struggling, victorious, defeated, and dead warriors on the Parthenon metopes. Nor did this viewer have to be male: women could see, in the idealized faces of the Lapiths, their husbands or sons, or neighbors. Joining this mythological frame is a frame of victory that surrounded the representations of death and defeat. Victory dedications were erected across the Akropolis, and any ancient viewer knew that, in the end, the Greek forces were successful against both Centaurs and Amazons.

The artwork on the Parthenon drove citizens to accept death on behalf of the city. The quantity of these images of death and defeat; their splendor; the marking of the dead and defeated; the use of the metope form to arrest the gaze; the mythological frame; the frame of overall victory and success; and the cosmological frame (i.e., the abduction of divine sanctioning and even divine agency) made death seem inevitable and, in some cases, necessary. The impact of the images must have been considerably powerful when the Athenians gathered *en masse* for sacrifices, praying for the protection and health of the city as they slaughtered animals and gazed upon the sculpted images of the fallen. The martial images also must have been evocative during the Panathenaia, when many participants marched in armor.

Although the Parthenon emphasized to an unusual extent the fallen warrior, it was not the only place on the Akropolis where, amongst victory dedications and portrayals of *agôn*, death and defeat appeared. The tomb of Kekrops lay between the Erechtheum and the Parthenon, and the noble karyatids appear to be pouring libations on his tomb. According to legend, Theseus' father Aigeos threw himself off the southwest edge of the Akropolis, the location of the later temple of Athena Nike, when he mistakenly thought Theseus had perished.⁷⁶ Among such images were others that focused on sacrifice. Alkamenes' group of Prokne and Itys stood between the

⁷⁶ Paus. 1.22.5.

Parthenon and the Erechtheum (**fig. 53**).⁷⁷ The mother presses her child into the deep folds of her peplos, and his body twists and turns away from the knife she once held in her hand as she prepared to sacrifice him. In the Pinakothek in the Propylaion, which may have existed in the fifth century, Agamemnon sacrificed Polyxena on a wall painting.⁷⁸ Pausanias also reports a story about a bronze lioness on the Akropolis, supposedly erected as a *mneme* to one Leaina, whom Hippias killed because of her association with the Tyrannicides. The Athenians dedicated at the same time a statue of Aphrodite, made by Kallias, which dates the lost ensemble to the early fifth century.⁷⁹ To these mythical stories of sacrifice must be added the portrayals of historical figures either known for their participation in disasters or who were represented on the point of death. Statues of the general Tolmides and his seer Theainetos stood on the Akropolis. Although we do not know how they were represented, viewers must have been aware that Tolmides oversaw the crushing defeat at Koroneia, when Athens lost its hold over Boiotia.⁸⁰ Pausanias and Pliny both discuss a statue by Kresilas of the late-fifth century military leader Diitrephes, who was shown dying, pierced with arrows.⁸¹ The families or comrades of these individuals represented the dead as figures who embodied the ideals of self-sacrifice shown on the Parthenon. They died not necessarily while achieving a victory, but while fighting for the survival of the city.⁸²

The theme of death for the city appeared in artwork elsewhere in Athens. In the Stoa Poikile, for instance, in the painting of the Battle at Marathon, three notable figures were shown partaking of

⁷⁷ Akropolis 1358; Paus. 1.24.3; Barringer 2005; and Barringer 2008, 96-101. For recent bibliography, see Barringer 2005, 173 nn. 1-6.

⁷⁸ Paus. 1.22.6.

⁷⁹ Paus. 1.23.2.

⁸⁰ Paus. 1.27.5; Thuc. 1.113; Ioakimidou 1997, 99-100 and 262-273 (with further bibliography); and Krumeich 1997, 110-111 and 244, A58. The latter thinks that the group was dedicated during Tolmides' lifetime, following a success, rather than after his death, following a defeat. Ioakimidou 1997 argues that the group (including Erechtheus and Eumolpos) was a state monument for the fallen (267-278). According to Nouhaud 1986's reading of a passage in Aischines, the group was visible in the fourth century. I am not convinced that Korres 1994b correctly attributes three blocks of a base to this statue group (86-87 and 124). The blocks are too fragmentary to make any joins among them. Moreover, Korres believes that Pausanias refers to statues of Erechtheus, Eumolpos, Tolmides, and Theainetos all on the same base, which is not necessarily what the text implies (Paus. 1.27.4-5). See the comments in Krumeich 1997, 110-111 n. 492.

⁸¹ Paus. 1.23.3; Plin. *HN* 34.74-75; and Krumeich 1997, 140-144 and 229-230, A15. The statue is often associated with base *IG* I³ 883, but Krumeich 1997 is skeptical. On possible copies of the statue, see Krumeich 1997, 141-142 n. 745.

⁸² One red-figure cup was dedicated on the Akropolis with an image related to the fallen. On the single preserved fragment, perhaps by the Stieglitz Painter, a man bends over and lifts a body that is horizontal (Athens NM, Acropolis 2.350; *ARV*² 829.2, Beazley Archive 210302). Although no other figures are preserved, the pose recalls the position of Hypnos and Thanatos lifting a corpse. Another red-figure cup fragment may also preserve a scene of someone lifting a body (Athens NM, Acropolis B54; Graef and Langlotz, 2, pl. 23.335; Beazley Archive 46662).

the glorious victory but at great personal cost.⁸³ Epizelos was blinded by a divine vision, but continued fighting.⁸⁴ Kynegiros pursued the Persians to their ships and clung to their boat until his hand was severed.⁸⁵ Kallimachos was shown wounded and dying.⁸⁶ Yet on the Akropolis the connection between the representations of the fallen soldier and the notion of sacrifice was more pronounced. The fallen warrior frequently appeared, and he was surrounded by art that explicitly referred to sacrifice, in a divine setting that sanctioned it. In addition, he was on the fortified citadel, the place of last resistance, which the Persians sacked when the Athenians had abandoned the city.⁸⁷ Finally, myths and rituals specific to the Akropolis connoted the concept of sacrifice. Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops, threw herself off the citadel (according to one tradition) in order to save the city.⁸⁸ The Athenians built her a shrine, located on the eastern slope of the Akropolis, and eventually she became the patroness of the epebes.⁸⁹ She may appear on the Parthenon's west pediment.⁹⁰ The Akropolis was the setting for another human sacrifice: the Erechtheids.⁹¹ Although the myth itself, as far as we know, was not illustrated on the Akropolis, the Erechtheum honored the sacrificing father, who also appeared in a statue group with Eumolpos and perhaps again on the western pediment of the Parthenon.⁹² The mother of the Erechtheids, Praxithea, was the first priestess of Athena Polias. These myths of sacrifice must have made a profound impact on viewers of the Akropolis imagery. In this sacred setting, death for the city became civic belief.⁹³

⁸³ Krumeich 1997, 217 briefly discusses how the statue of Diitrephes reflects the notion of sacrifice, and also reads the theme in the Marathon painting.

⁸⁴ Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 3, Diog. Laert. 1.2.56, and Ael. *NA* 7.38.

⁸⁵ Lucian *Iupp. trag.* 32 and Paus. 1.15.3.

⁸⁶ Paus. 1.15.3 and Himer. *Or.* 2.70. If portions of a Roman sarcophagus in Brescia faithfully copy the painting (Vanderpool 1966, pl. 35), then we can conclude that the painting of the Battle at Marathon and the shield of Athena Parthenos both included a Greek taking a wounded comrade off the field. Hölscher 1973 doubts the reliability of the copy (51). On the theme of sacrifice in the painting, see Hölscher 1973, 57-58.

⁸⁷ Perhaps one reason the emphatic portrayal of death for the city appeared in the early stages of the sculptural program (i.e., on the Parthenon) was to encourage a myth that the Athenians had actually died *en masse* fighting the Persians on the Akropolis, to counteract any charges of cowardice.

⁸⁸ Philochoros *FGrH* IIIB 328 F 105. On heroines saving the city, see Kearns 1990, 336-342.

⁸⁹ Dontas 1983 (*SEG* 33.115); Merkelbach 1972; and Parker 2005, 434. Larson 1995 disassociates her from Pandrosos and the Arrephoria (39-41). It is possible, of course, that the myth of Aglauros' sacrifice only developed in the fourth century.

⁹⁰ Palagia 1993, 61 provides a useful chart of the identification of the figures from the western pediment that have appeared in scholarship since 1963.

⁹¹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.4; Hyg. *Fab.* 46; and Aristid. *Or.* 1.87. See the discussion in Collard and Cropp 2008, 363-367 and the bibliography in Idem, 361-362. The testimonia and fragments of Euripides' *Erechtheus* are gathered in Idem, 369-401. The Erechtheids appear to subsume the Hyacinthids, daughters of a Spartan (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.8).

⁹² Connelly 1996's argument that the myth appears on the Parthenon frieze has found few followers. For further possibilities, see *LIMC* s.v. Erechtheis, nos. 64-67.

⁹³ The theme can also be found in Athenian tragedy. In Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, for instance, Menoikeus dies for the Thebans (889-1018 and 1090-1092). In Euripides' *Children of*

4d. The Hephaisteion and the Temple of Athena Nike

Most of the art discussed in this chapter belonged to the Parthenon or was created around the middle of the fifth century, with the exception of the group of Prokne and Itys and the statue of Diitrephes. Because of its size, date, and splendor, the Parthenon is an appropriate building on which to focus. The imagery there significantly contributed to the appearance and meaning of the whole Akropolis. But how did the Athenian portrayal of the fallen warrior change over the course of the fifth century, if at all?

The metopes of the Hephaisteion return to the representation of heroic deeds. Yet on the frieze, the dead are even more emphatically marked than on the Parthenon. On the east, two warriors lie bent over large rocks (**figs.** 54-55). Unfortunately the subject matter of the scene is not readily identifiable, nor is it possible to ascertain to which side the dead belong.⁹⁴ But the dead are not accessories. They are in the frontmost plane (note how the other figures fight *behind* them), bent into a form that demands notice. One of the dead is enormous (**fig.** 55); were he to stand up, he would extend out of the frieze's limits.⁹⁵ The corpses are lifted by the terrain and even by the architectural members of the building, for the corpses are carefully placed directly above a column *in antis* and a pilaster. Above the corresponding other column and pilaster are the groups of gods (**fig.** 56). This careful juxtaposing was not a mere coincidence, but shows the concern to use the corpse to explore the relationship between mortals and immortals.

On the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, probably a little later in date than the frieze of the Hephaisteion, the treatment of the dead is not the same as on the Parthenon or the Hephaisteion, but nor is the setting.⁹⁶ The fifth-century temple was constructed during the Peloponnesian War, probably in a period when the Athenians were experiencing great success. Shields captured from the Spartans at the Battle of Sphakteria, a turning point in the conflict, decorated the temple's bastion.⁹⁷ On the parapet Nikes erected trophies, making relentless references to victory. The battles on the friezes were of a more historical nature than those on the Parthenon. On the south frieze, Greeks fight Persians, on the north, Athenians repel Eurystheus' attack, and on the west,

Herakles, one of Herakles' daughters welcomes sacrifice (389-596). The Athenian king Kodros voluntarily perished to save the city from invading Peloponnesians. According to the oracle at Delphi, the Dorians would be successful so long as the king lived. His shrine (shared with Neleus and Basile) was located south of the Akropolis, within the city walls, and existed in the fifth century: *IG I³ 84* (418/17), *IG II² 4258* (Roman), Pherekydes fr. 110 (Müller), Lykourg. *Leok.* 84-87, and Paus. 1.19.5. Kodros appears as a hoplite warrior in the tondo of a cup of ca. 435-430 by the Kodros Painter: Bologna 273; *ARV² 1268*; *LIMC 6 s.v.* Kodros, no. 3. He was also included, among the statues dedicated by the Athenians at Delphi following Marathon (Paus. 10.10.1).

⁹⁴ Dörig 1985 believes that both of the dead are Athenians who were killed by the boulders thrown by their opponents (40). Reber 1998 does not (40). For various interpretations of the subject matter, see e.g. Dörig 1985, 67-73; Reber 1998; and Barringer 2008, 138-142.

⁹⁵ Dörig 1985, 26-27.

⁹⁶ For bibliography on the temple of Athena Nike, see Stewart 1985, 70-71 n.1; Hölscher 1997, 164-165; Borchhardt 2002, 101; and Schultz 2009, esp. 161 nn. 1, 3, 9, and 11.

⁹⁷ Lippman, Scahill, and Schultz 2006.

Greeks confront Greeks (**figs. 57-60**).⁹⁸ A current of energy and motion runs through the frieze: bodies twist and turn, horses rear, garments flutter. The format of the frieze, as opposed to that of a metope, heightens the sense of continuous movement. Some scenes are dramatically violent: on the south, a Greek pulls a Persian by the hair; on the north, an Athenian steps on a fallen man's decapitated (?) head.⁹⁹

One would expect more death here among these violent images, but that is not the case. Corpses are less marked than on the Akropolis. On the south, where Greek and Persian can readily be distinguished, there is only one defeated Greek (on block F) and no Greek corpses, while there are four Persian dead, only one of whose bodies is lifted off the groundline. It is impossible on the west to distinguish sides, and perhaps such ambiguity was intended. Here, death is cloaked, concealed, or transformed. The only corpse on this side is on block H, but he is in the rearmost plane (**fig. 59**). Blocks on the groundline in front of him hide rather than lift him, and a warrior fights in front of him, further concealing the corpse. On block I lies a defeated warrior, supporting himself on his left arm, his left leg bent, knee raised (**fig. 59**). But to mitigate this pose of defeat, the artists placed him in front of a *tropaion*. Finally, on the next block, block K, one fighter rescues a wounded man from the fray of battle (**fig. 60**).

The representation of the fallen warrior on the temple of Athena Nike is thus very different from what we saw on the Parthenon and among some of the sculptural groups on the Akropolis. The change cannot be explained simply as a result of style, because Greek corpses are marked on the Hephaisteion frieze, which is only a little earlier in date than the frieze on the temple of Athena Nike. There are, perhaps, four explanations for the change. One is that death and defeat could only be confronted through mythical distance. Thus the historical nature of the scenes on the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike precluded the intense visual rhetoric used on the Parthenon.¹⁰⁰ Personalities may account for some of the differences in representation: the Parthenon can be associated with Perikles, the temple of Athena Nike with Kimon's nephew and Kleon.¹⁰¹ In addition, the designers of the frieze (i.e., not just Kleon but the community more widely) may have reacted against the overly morbid representations on the Parthenon, seeking on the temple of Athena Nike to give victory to the mortals and to elide the themes of death and sacrifice. The temple was constructed shortly after the battle of Sphakteria, and embodies the Athenian self-confidence at this period. Finally, the frieze's frame – a temple to a victory goddess – compelled the Athenians to make images pleasing to her: this entailed showing the conquests of her people. In this frame, the withdrawal of wounded from combat was more appropriate than scenes contrasting human mortality with the superiority of the gods.

This chapter has drawn attention to the numerous references to death, defeat, and destruction on Athena's rock, which too often have been neglected in scholarship. The Parthenon was not a victory monument, and the Akropolis was not a stage for victory dedications alone. I have tried to formulate an approach to understanding the imagery in this space that accounts for its

⁹⁸ For this interpretation of the north frieze, see Schultz 2009.

⁹⁹ For the decapitated head, see Schultz 2009, 134.

¹⁰⁰ Buxton 1994: "Myths rework, pare down, clarify and exaggerate experience..." (96).

¹⁰¹ Gruben 2001, 204-205.

religious setting, and that asks why the Akropolis in particular was a place in which the Athenians repeatedly confronted the fallen warrior. The victory monuments and the references to the fallen share a concern to articulate, explain, and strengthen the relationship between mortals and immortals. The images of the fallen were not empty “reflections” of Athenian sentiment or static, timeless memorials, but actively invoked the gods through pleasing and appropriate depictions. At the same time, the images boldly confronted the viewer and drew him or her into a contemplation of the dead. These viewers internalized death and the civic ideology of sacrifice for the city. The effect was particularly strong on the Parthenon metopes and the Athena Parthenos statue’s shield, but also expressed in statue groups, some of which showed an individual’s attainment of the civic ideal. However, the representations of the fallen on the Akropolis were not uniform. On the temple of Athena Nike, sponsored by a different group than the one behind the Parthenon, the fallen Athenian warrior recedes into the background.

The quantity of images of death and defeat on the Akropolis contrasts with the austerity of the representations in the *demosion sema*. The landscape of destruction – the remnants of momentary defeats – created a background of *agon* onto which the importance of death and sacrifice were mapped. The frame of victory, formed through the mythological narratives and victory monuments, and the cosmological frame enabled the images vividly to present death as acceptable and necessary. These frames, as well as the distance created through myth, also mitigated the disturbing power of the images of the fallen.

The assumption, of course, behind this entire discussion is that the Akropolis images were open to the public gaze. This begs the question on the relationship between this imagery and the representations of the fallen warrior on private artwork, a topic which forms the subject of the next chapter.

5. Kaineus: The Defeat of the Woman-Warrior

In Chapter 4, we looked at the fallen warrior in the public and sacred space of the fifth-century Athenian Akropolis. I attempted to show that this religious place made particular demands on the imagery. The representations of the fallen warrior, which were more common than has been acknowledged in scholarship, belonged to a decorative system pleasing to the gods and participated in a civic discourse encouraging the sacrifice of the citizen on behalf of the city.

In this final chapter, we turn to the image of the fallen warrior on private symposium vessels. How do the private and public iconographies relate to one another? To what extent did the pictorial frames and the social frame – the symposium – affect the viewing of the images? Is it possible to measure some of the semantic impact of the representation of the fallen in private art?

The material available for answering these questions is less explicit than one might expect. There are fewer scenes on symposium vessels directly related to the fallen warrior in the Classical period than there were in the Archaic. The subjects of the battle over the corpse or the retrieval of a body, stock scenes in the Archaic period, lose their appeal on Classical drinking vessels. Lekythoi become the preferred vehicle for illustrating images related to the dead.¹ These changes are part of a broader shift away from military representations in art. Scenes of war between human opponents are in general less popular on Classical symposium vessels than before; Amazonomachies and Centauromachies are now the primary settings for armed conflict.

These mythological settings, however, hardly preclude the depiction of the fallen Greek, who indeed appears. Consider, for instance, a krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, from the middle of the fifth century (**fig. 61**).² At the (horizontal) center of the scene he crouches, naked and vulnerable, pierced by an Amazon on horseback. His face is concealed, shed blood visible. Another krater, by the near-contemporary Painter of Bologna 279, also places a fallen Greek at the (horizontal) center of an Amazonomachy (**fig. 62**).³ This figure, however, is not an actor in a larger narrative scene, as was the defeated Greek on the Painter of the Woolly Satyr's krater, but a corpse oddly removed from the rest of the action. No one fights over the body.⁴ The dead hoplite, separated from the energetic activity that rises in multiple fields above it, floats unnaturally above the ground line, seeming to leave his helmet behind.

¹ Perhaps the Archaic symposium vessels with the scenes related to corpses were used at the *perideipnon*, the feast following the burial, or in another funerary-related context. The *perideipnon*, though, does exist in the Classical period (Dem. 18.288). It is also possible that many of the Archaic violent war scenes were designed for foreign clientele (one thinks in particular of the Tyrrhenian amphorae), and that the change in imagery in the Classical period resulted from an increased local use of the vessels.

² NY Met. 07.286.84; *ARV*² 613.1; *Para* 397; *BAdd*² 268; Beazley Archive 207099.

³ Basel, Ludwig BS486; *ARV*² 612.2; *BAdd*² 268; Beazley Archive 207096.

⁴ Unless we are to imagine that the hoplite and Amazon behind the corpse fight for possession of it.

One cannot conclude that these symposium vessels are simply concerned with representing the “beautiful death.”⁵ Not all red-figure artists painted the fallen with the same reverence as the Painter of Bologna 279. Around 470, the Pan Painter decorated a krater with an Amazonomachy on both sides (figs. 63-64).⁶ On the obverse, a beautiful *Amazon* corpse faces the viewer. Her peaceful look deceives us into believing she merely sweetly sleeps. This docile depiction of death contrasts with the experience of the Greek near her feet, whose eyes widen in terror as an Amazon ruthlessly spears him through the heart. His fearful expression, heightened through his frontal facial posture, confronts the viewer. On the reverse, the Greeks fare no better. One is surrounded by three Amazons, and the position of his feet and the inclination of his head indicate that the battle has taken a turn for the worse. At his feet lies a dead Greek splayed on the groundline, his back toward us. Only the Amazon on this krater possesses a beautiful death.

Sometimes these depictions of the fallen Greek warrior, such as the defeated and dying Greeks on the kraters by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs and the Pan Painter, work with other figures on the vessel to create vivid scenes of war. They are signs within a larger system of signification. But they also call attention to the presence of death and defeat itself, and occasionally they even seem to question the notion of a beautiful death.

In this chapter I would like to focus the discussion on particular defeated Greek on symposium vessels: Kaineus. A Greek warrior – more precisely, a mythological Lapith king – Kaineus is readily recognizable, and the defining characteristic of his portrayals is his defeat. Indeed, Kaineus is the fallen Greek *par excellence*: he nearly always loses, and loses dramatically. This visual identity renders him a figure deserving scrutiny, yet he has rarely been studied. He seems to occupy the margins of the Greek artistic repertoire, both numerically and thematically, and often it is at such edges of a culture’s artistic production that one can find the most compelling evidence for the ways in which systems of representation function and produce meaning. As T. Crow notes when summarizing M. Schapiro’s work on the sculptures of Souillac, “the most productive cases in art-historical inquiry will involve objects that already exist as disruptive exceptions against a field of related works of art that surround them.”⁷

This chapter focuses on Kaineus not only because of his unique status as a defeated mythological hero, but also because he is notably absent from the Parthenon. We might have expected to see him sculpted there, given the frequent representation of death and defeat on this building, especially among scenes from the Thessalian Centauromachy. He does appear on contemporary vases and on the later friezes of the Hephaisteion, the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, and the temple of Apollo at Bassai. Here, then, is a clear example of a disjunction between public and private art. What was it about Kaineus that made him an inappropriate figure for the Parthenon?

⁵ For the concept of the beautiful death, see 1d.

⁶ Basel, Ludwig BS1453; Muth 2008, 376 figs. 267a-b; Beazley Archive 31853.

⁷ Crow 1999, 11. Cf. Crow 1999, 35: “If Schapiro’s attention to Souillac offers a guide in this, one should look away from the obvious center of any highly developed artistic complex and instead concentrate on more marginal, seemingly incomplete examples, where stable orders seem to come unstuck. There the processes of artistic thought are more likely to attain a certain visibility.”

Why was this hoplite, so intimately associated with the rhetoric of defeat, not deployed on a building that to an unprecedented extent depicted the fallen warrior?

The first section of this chapter overviews the most important literary testimonia for Kaineus, uncovering the variety of narratives to which Kaineus could belong, and the many allusions and connotations he could elicit (5a). The repetitiveness of the basic iconographical schemata for Kaineus in the visual arts at first appears to conflict with these multiple possible significations (5b). Accordingly, previous scholarship on Kaineus has focused only on the iconography of the scene of his defeat, but I argue that the ancient viewing experience was informed by an awareness of the full narrative of this coherent myth. Before addressing in more detail the question of how the other elements of the Kaineus myth were alluded to in the artwork and affect our interpretation of his defeat, I consider the referential frame of the symposium (5c). I discuss the place of military rhetoric at the symposium and the importance of remembering and forgetting during the ritual. Despite – or rather, because of – the sometimes serious rhetoric at the feast, a mood of play permeated the activities of the drinking party enabling participants to address difficult issues and avoid the threat of violence. Section 5d returns to the iconography of Kaineus, examining the martial elements of the imagery: the representation of victory in the face of death and the thematization of defeat itself. Yet this martial discourse was not the only interest the painters had in depicting Kaineus; they also framed the hoplite with scenes carefully designed to draw attention to his earlier history (5e). These pictorial pairings and shifting references, together with the incongruity of the Kaineus scene itself, opened up the possibility for humor and comic relief, and were designed to facilitate the symposiast’s gaze on death and defeat.

5a. Literary Testimonia for Kaineus

Several literary sources tell how Poseidon raped Kaine, the daughter of King Elatos, and in compensation transformed her into an invulnerable – but not immortal – man. Now become Kaineus, he fought the centaurs in Thessaly and was killed only when they drove him into the ground with trees and/or boulders.⁸

Kaineus appears in literature as early as Homer. Often authors focus on particular aspects of the story. Some describe Kaineus’ superhuman strength. In the *Iliad*, Nestor mentions Kaineus when praising the Lapiths as a group: “They were the strongest and they battled the strongest – wild centaurs – and destroyed them ruthlessly.”⁹ Nestor’s point is that these remarkable men listened to him (“I never beheld such men nor shall I”), and so, too, should Agamemnon and Achilles.¹⁰ In pseudo-Hesiod’s *Shield*, the Lapith’s fight is embedded among descriptions of the allegories Murder and Slaughter, herds of boars, and prides of lions; in other words, he is a wonder among

⁸ For the literary testimonia, see *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, 884. Berthold 1911 believes that he was a chthonic hero (17-21).

⁹ Hom. *Il.* 1.267-268: κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο,/ φηρσὶν ὄρεσκῶοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσαν.

¹⁰ Hom. *Il.* 1.262: οὐ γὰρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι.

wonders, a fighter among fighters, fierce and ungovernable.¹¹ Akousilaos of Argos, who provides a full narrative of the myth, emphasizes that Poseidon not only made Kaineus invulnerable, but endowed him with uniquely great strength.¹² Apollonios Rhodos also underlines Kaineus' power when he says that his heroic son was no less a strongman than he, and Ovid enumerates the many centaurs that Kaineus kills.¹³ It is important to note that invulnerability does not imply power. One is a passive trait, the other active. That Kaineus could not be wounded did not necessarily imply that Kaineus would proceed to attack the centaurs and decimate them. In such renderings of the story, Kaineus' invulnerability plays a somewhat subsidiary role, becoming only one token among many of this warrior's unmatched prowess and force.

Several sources, beginning with Pindar, relate how the centaurs drove Kaineus into the ground.¹⁴ While this episode is the defining aspect of the visual representations (see 5b, below), not all authors mention it.¹⁵ Those that do narrate this moment of the myth specify that Kaineus is buried upright. One early version of the myth, by Akousilaos, lays the blame for the burial of Kaineus with Zeus, who instigates the centaurs' attack in order to punish the Lapith king for erecting a spear in the agora and commanding the Lapiths to honor it like a god.¹⁶ The upright, aniconic spear defied the divine order. It also prefigures the fate of the invulnerable king, who was driven into the ground like a spear and entombed under a pile of rocks, literally reduced to size because of his arrogance.¹⁷

Some authors describe Poseidon's rape and Kaine's request for a sex change.¹⁸ Ovid dwells the most on her gender, first by specifying that she had refused many a suitor, and secondly by showing that the centaurs were aware of her sex change. They goad and taunt Kaineus by crying, "You'll always be a woman to me!" and "Leave war to men!"¹⁹ The sex change, though, informs all aspects of the story, even when authors do not focus on it. It explains Kaineus' strength and invulnerability. The gifts of Poseidon compensated for the rape and ensured that sexual violation

¹¹ Hes. [Sc.] 178-190.

¹² Akous. *FGrH* 2 F 22: ... ποιεῖ αὐτὸν Ποσειδ[ε]ῶν ἄνδρα ἄτρωτον, ἰσχὺν ἔχοντα [με]γί[σ]τ[η]ν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τότε ...

¹³ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.57-64 and Ov. *Met.* 12.459-510.

¹⁴ Pind. fr. 128f, Akous. *FGrH* 2 F 22, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.57-64, and Ov. *Met.* 12.459-510.

¹⁵ Most notably Hom. *Il.* 1.264-268, Hes. fr. 87 (Merkelbach/West), Phlegon *Mir.* 5, Dikaiarchos fr. 37 (Wehrli), Kleitarchos *FGrH* 137 F 37, and Kallim. fr. 577 (Pfeiffer) do not mention the episode.

¹⁶ Akous. *FGrH* 2 F 22: καὶ γίγνεται βασιλεὺς οὗτος Λαπιθέων καὶ τοῖς Κενταύροις πολεμέεσκε. ἔπειτα στήσας ἀκόν[τιον ἐν ἀγορᾷ θεὸν ἐκέλευεν ἀριθμεῖν. θεοῖ]σι δ' οὐκ ἦεν [ἀρεστόν, καὶ] Ζεὺς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἀπειλεῖ καὶ ἐφορμαῖ τοὺς Κενταύρους, κάκεῖνοι αὐτὸν κατακόπτουσιν ὄρθιον κατὰ γῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν πέτρην ἐπιτιθεῖσιν σῆμα, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει.

¹⁷ Amphiaraios and Antigone, too, were buried alive either by divine agency or in response to a perceived violation of divine law.

¹⁸ Hes. fr. 87 (Merkelbach/West), Akous. *FGrH* 2 F 22, Phlegon *Mir.* 5, Dikaiarchos fr. 37 (Wehrli), Kleitarchos *FGrH* 137 F 37, Kallim. fr. 577 (Pfeiffer), Verg. *Aen.* 6.448-449 (which describes her as a woman in the underworld), and Ov. *Met.* 12.189-205.

¹⁹ Ov. *Met.* 12.470-471 and 475-476: nam tu mihi femina semper,/ tu mihi Caenis eris ... i, cape cum calathis et stamina pollice torque;/ bella relinque viris.

– namely, penetration – would never occur to Kaineus again. She was doubly invulnerable, both from men’s phalluses and from their spears. The weak woman had become a strong man.

The literary testimonia for the myth, beginning with the very earliest witnesses, mention different episodes of the Kaineus story and focus on distinct aspects of his character. Some stress his strength, some recount his remarkable defeat, some narrate Poseidon’s gifts. Authors chose different aspects of the story to suit their narrative needs. Homer’s Nestor, for instance, has no reason to discuss Kaineus’ sex change. But the entire myth, even the mention of Kaineus’ *hybris*, which only appears in Akousilaos, neatly coheres. All episodes inform one another, and together they help explain this unusual character and his even more unusual death. No one, that is, could speak of Kaineus’ defeat without knowing the *aition* of his strength. This internal coherence of the myth, I hope to show, is crucial for understanding how the images were viewed.

5b. Kaineus in Art: The Iconography of Sinking, or the Sinking of Iconography?

The oldest representation of Kaineus occurs on a bronze sheet from Olympia dating to the mid-seventh century, where Kaineus is armed with two swords but no shield and flanked by two centaurs (**fig. 65**).²⁰ He appears on black-figure vases beginning in the early sixth century and is particularly popular on late black-figure. The figure of Kaineus also decorates red-figure vases, but becomes notably less frequent in the last third of the fifth century. At around this same time, however, he appears on architectural sculpture: on the friezes of the Hephaisteion and the temple of Poseidon at Sounion, and a few decades later on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassai.

The most common compositional schema is for Kaineus to appear between two or more centaurs in a position of defeat, usually partly sunk into the ground. The Kaineus on the bronze sheet from Olympia adopts this motif, as does the Lapith on the François Vase, where the identification is secured for the first time by an inscription.²¹ The depth to which Kaineus sinks and the positioning of his legs varies from one pot to another. On some vases, he does not sink into the ground at all; the inscriptions on a Tyrrhenian amphora and a cup by Oltos identify the figure.²² A “Knielauf” motif first appears in the work of the Swing Painter.²³ The centaurs attack Kaineus with tree branches, large boulders, or small stones. On a column krater dating to ca. 470, a Lapith comes to Kaineus’ assistance for the first time.²⁴

²⁰ Olympia BE 11a; Laufer 1985, M1; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 61. Hampe and Simon 1981 point out that the band on Kaineus’ arm indicates that the artist originally planned to provide the Lapith with a shield (114).

²¹ Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *BAdd*² 21; Laufer 1985, K6; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 67; Beazley Archive 300000.

²² Timiades Painter; Capitoline 39 (69); *ABV* 98.44; *Para* 37; *BAdd*² 26; Laufer 1985, K3; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 2; Beazley Archive 310043; and Copenhagen 13.407; *ARV*² 59.57; *Para* 326; *BAdd*² 164; Laufer 1985, K37; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 33; Beazley Archive 200447.

²³ Lost black-figure amphora; Laufer 1985, K10; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 14; Beazley Archive 16475.

²⁴ Once Uriage, Saint-Ferriol 190, now lost; Laufer 1985, K50; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 76; Beazley Archive 16459.

The few discussions of Kaineus in art have focused nearly exclusively on his iconography. Scholars have discussed the composition's indebtedness to Ionia or to Mycenae.²⁵ The schema of the Lapith flanked by centaurs also has provided a springboard for discussing symmetry in Greek art.²⁶ To this end, the entries in the *LIMC* are organized according to the number of centaurs Kaineus fights. Other studies have explored how the vase paintings might be connected to the lost painting of the Centauromachy in the Theseion.²⁷

Muth, in a comprehensive account of violence on vase-paintings, provides the most thorough interpretation of Kaineus in art.²⁸ She traces chronological shifts in his portrayal: he fights courageously on the Archaic pots, weakly dies in the Late Archaic period, again aggressively fights in the 470s and 460s, and becomes stronger vis-à-vis the centaurs in the 450s to 430s. She argues that the appeal of the myth lay in its ability to express the close relationship between glorious battle and courageous death. The challenge for artists was to show simultaneously the threat of death and the hoplite's bold resistance, and usually they had to focus more on one of these aspects than the other (hence the chronological variations in levels of violence). For Muth, the artists used violent narratives not to question violence itself but in order to create and exploit expectation and tension in the beholder. The suspenseful excerpt from the known mythological story – the moment of impending death – forced the viewers mentally to reconstruct Kaineus' dénouement themselves.²⁹

Despite the full story of Kaineus accessible to artists in ancient lore and literature, they focused on only one scene – a hoplite fighting a centaur – and scholars, including Muth, have only interpreted visual representations of Kaineus in light of that immediately perceptible scene. Our Lapith may assume different positions and fight a varying number of opponents, but all iconographic taxonomies ultimately assign the vase-paintings to the category “Kaineus and the Centauromachy.” According to this strict iconographic analysis, the other episodes from the myth are nowhere to be found.

This would not be the first time that ancient artists favored one episode from a myth over another; they usually isolate scenes from the mythological repertoire. Some scholars, therefore, might argue that we are justified in reading these scenes of Kaineus' defeat in isolation. Yet this is not how Greeks looked at images. A more complete mythological narrative was always known to viewers and often informed their perception and understanding of the image.³⁰ It is possible that a viewer looking on the labors of Herakles might “forget” that he had killed his wife and children. But in the case of Kaineus, unusual elements in his portrayal – namely, Kaineus'

²⁵ Marinatos 1971.

²⁶ Esp. Laufer 1985.

²⁷ Cohen 1983, esp. 175-176 and 189 nn. 53 and 61, with further bibliography; Boardman 1984; and Mannack 2001, 85-86.

²⁸ Muth 2007, 427-457. Cf. Muth 2005.

²⁹ This aspect of Muth's interpretation borrows heavily from Giuliani 2003.

³⁰ Antiphanes, fr. 191 (Knock) strongly supports this view. The speaker explains that the audience of Greek tragedies knew the complete story; actors needed to say only one name, such as “Oidipous,” and the audience would remember the whole tale.

position in the ground – demanded further knowledge in order to make any sense. The different episodes of Kaineus’ myth neatly cohere and explain each other; the narrative is not so long and complex as the stories involving a hero like Herakles. Kaineus’ invulnerability does not so much point forward to his heroic death, as Muth would have it, but back to the *aition* of his power. Kaineus’ defeat could not be viewed in isolation from his rape; his invulnerability could not be divorced from his erstwhile vulnerability.

Iconographic studies of Kaineus not only have examined the Lapith’s defeat in isolation from the rest of the myth, but they have had little regard for the image’s referential and physical frames: the symposium setting and the surrounding images on the vessel. Neither *LIMC*, Laufer 1985, nor Muth 2008 mentions the subject matter of the scenes that accompany depictions of Kaineus or how they fit into the symposium context. The following section attempts to recover some of the impact of the symposium setting on the experience of viewing Kaineus. How might martial imagery have fit into a symposium? After addressing this question, I will return to the iconography of Kaineus and to the types of images paired with him.

5c. Caution: Men at Play

The images of Kaineus on red-figure pottery were nearly always painted on drinking vessels, mostly kraters, and so were viewed during the symposium (see Appendix F). Where did Kaineus belong in this setting? How can the rituals and attitudes expressed at the symposium, as gleaned from literary texts, help us understand the fifth-century Athenian perception of Kaineus? In this section I argue that military rhetoric belonged in the symposium but participants sought to counter the memory and threat of violence through drink, selective forgetfulness, and an attitude of play that pervaded all aspects of the ritual. This sets the scene for understanding how the ancients both viewed and used Kaineus.

War and drink have a long relationship in the Greek world. Homer repeatedly mentions elite warriors feasting, and martial elegies, such as Tyrtaios’ poems, were performed at symposia.³¹ The ritual of the symposium recalled, in some ways, life in the army.³² In the *andron* a symposiarch (in lieu of a polemarch) led the men in a spirit of camaraderie.³³ Panyassis explicitly compares drinking and fighting skills: “The man at a feast and the swift man in war equally manage toilsome battles, where few brave men arise or abide rushing Ares.”³⁴

³¹ On martial elegies at the symposium, see Bowie 1990.

³² On war and the symposium, see esp. Murray 1991. Lissarrague [1987] 1990 puts it succinctly: “The community of men ... reasserts itself again and again by means of two collective actions, the symposium and warfare, which have certain similarities, are to some degree interdependent, and refer to one another through the play of the reflections in the wine” (116). See also Lissarrague 1987.

³³ Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 1.4.620a-622b.

³⁴ Panyas. fr. 16 (Bernabé), 4-6: ἴσον δ’ ὅς τ’ ἐν δαιτὶ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ θοὸς ἀνὴρ/ ὑσμίνας διέπων ταλαπενθέας, ἔνθα δὲ παῦροι/ θαρσαλέοι τελέθουσι μένουσί τε θοῦρον Ἴαρηα. West (*Greek Epic Fragments*, Loeb 497, fr. 19) translates: “It’s just as good to be sharp in the feast as in

Martial overtones coursed through the symposium, but they did not dictate the drinking experience. Symposia were not war councils. The rhetoric of warfare had to adapt to a refined and relaxed atmosphere and, conversely, the symposium mitigated the negative aspects of the military rhetoric. The convivial setting drew attention to camaraderie and unity rather than the threat of death. Xenophanes, in a classic passage on the symposium setting, repeatedly mentions the good cheer to be found there: the krater is full of *euphrosyne*; the men are *euphrones*.³⁵ The atmosphere effectively diffused the strain, violence, and rivalry that accompanied war. As they drank from the communal krater, sported and played, participants were freed from their cares.³⁶ Theognis writes, “Let us drink, tossing about pleasant words, not at all afraid of the war with the Persians.”³⁷ Xenophanes even advocates that no mention be made of mythical battles.³⁸ Yet there was also the risk that, while drink induced one to forget the threat of war, it also could lead to disagreement, strife, and violence. Although Panyassis urges his listeners to imbibe heartily, he also warns, “But if someone drives to the limit of the third portion of drinks, downing them, then comes the grievous lot of *Hybris* and *Ate*, and disasters follow men.”³⁹ The centaurs, rampaging wedding guests, are a frequent illustrated example of unbridled drunken behavior.

In response to the threat of violence and the memories of conflict, singers and poets not only stressed the virtues of control and moderation, but suggested that participants in the drinking ritually forget *stasis* along with their other woes. As Alkaios urges, “Let us loosen the heart-eating factions and the kindred conflicts.”⁴⁰ Accordingly, a tension emerged between remembering and forgetting, both essential to a successful symposium. On the one hand, conversation depended upon one’s memory skills, and poetry and song served to assure the everlasting memory of figures and events.⁴¹ On the other hand, the cohesion and peacefulness of the group required that the participants forget past wrongs and disagreements, and their pleasure in the ritual was linked to the extent that they could create an environment set apart from their worldly cares.⁴²

battle, busy amid the grievous slaughter, where few men are brave and withstand the furious fight.”

³⁵ Xenoph. fr. 1 (West), 5 and 13.

³⁶ Thgn. 883-884: τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελεδῶνας,/ θωρηχθεῖς δ’ ἔσειαι πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος. Cf. Xen. *Hier.* 6.2.

³⁷ Thgn. 763-764: πίνωμεν χαρίεντα μετ’ ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες/ μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δευδιότες πόλεμον.

³⁸ Xenoph. fr. 1 (West), 21-23.

³⁹ Panyas. fr. 17 (Bernabé), 7-9: ἀλλ’ ὅτε τις μοίρης τριτάτης πρὸς μέτρον ἐλαύνοι/ πίνων ἀβλεμέως, τότε δ’ ὕβριος αἴσα καὶ Ἄτης/ γίνεται ἀργαλή, κακὰ δ’ ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπάζει.

⁴⁰ Alk. fr. 70, 10-11: χαλάσσομεν δὲ τὰς θυμοβόρω λύας/ ἐμφύλω τε μάχας ...

⁴¹ E.g. Thgn. 239-240, on the object of his poetry: θοίνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃσι παρέσση/ ἐν πάσαις...

⁴² Contrast Kritias’ (fr. 6) lament of the loss of memory at Lydian (and implicitly Athenian) symposia with the statement in *Lyr. Alex. Adesp.* 1002, μισέω μνάμονα συμπόταν. See Halliwell 2008, 118.

The threat of violence at the symposium was also ritually avoided by the pervading principle of play that informed all of the activity at the feast. Drinkers played kottabos and sported, sang and danced.⁴³ Satyrs on vases pushed the limits of play, parodying heroic behavior, constantly foiled in their attempt to capture maenads. Even the shape of the vessels participated in the game: a drinker might grab a cup's stem, only to be surprised to find himself holding male genitalia.⁴⁴ As Neer has shown, the pervading sense of play in the symposium was not without importance or consequence, but allowed artists and participants to explore, via imagery, their political identity in the polis.⁴⁵ It also facilitated the participants' ability to confront such difficult subjects as warfare and defeat. Martial elegies could be followed by games or heard while one gazed at a picture of a satyr miming a hoplite. Occasionally the talk turned to recent historical events, including defeats. Pseudo-Aristotle tells us that the Athenians sung of their terrible loss (συμφορά) to Hippias near Mt. Parnes between 514 and 510.⁴⁶

We run the risk of taking military imagery in this setting too literally, of missing the play, nuance, and ambiguity woven into the best of the paintings. Some of these symposium images, in fact, make light of martial life. On a cup by the Scheurleer painter, a young man rides a wine-skin and parodies the call to battle.⁴⁷ Poets, too, subverted the heroic models, using the metaphor of battle to refer not to hoplite skills but to seduction. Theognis compares his beloved to Atalanta, who attempted to escape men, and says that he will wound him though he flees.⁴⁸ The erotic overtones are evident. In another passage, he compares his misfortune in love to being a lion who has captured a doe but not killed it, to scaling a city's walls but not sacking it, to yoking a team but not climbing on the chariot.⁴⁹ This merging of martial and erotic imagery should influence how we treat Kaineus, and I will return to it below (5e).

Military rhetoric had a place at symposia, but was not necessarily presented in a straightforward manner: heroic values could be turned and subverted. Panyassis, whom I quoted at the beginning of this section, continues his excursus on the relationship between fighting and drink by comparing the *kleos* of the man who leads troops with that of the man who enjoys a good feast.⁵⁰ Surely this was spoken tongue-in-cheek, for it reduces glorious heroes to men with a hearty appetite. The symposium, evidently, was a place where identities, values, and expectations were not fixed. The play and ambiguity of the setting allowed participants to approach and discuss difficult issues, to remember and to forget. This play also informed the way that images were regarded, and suggests that we should be sensitive to signifiers that point in a variety of

⁴³ Lissarrague [1987] 1990, 68-86. On the competitive aspects of the recited poetry, see Collins 2004, 61-163.

⁴⁴ Lissarrague [1987] 1990, 47-67.

⁴⁵ Neer 2002; see also Rösler 1990, 233.

⁴⁶ [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 19.3: ... εἰς ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν ἦδον ἐν τοῖς σκολίοις· αἰαῖ Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον,/ οἴους ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι/ ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατρίδας,/ οἱ τότε ἔδειξαν οἴων πατέρων ἔσαν.

⁴⁷ Louvre G73; *ARV*² 49.186; Lissarrague [1987] 1990, 71 fig. 51; Beazley Archive 200396.

⁴⁸ Thgn. 1287: ἀλλὰ σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με. The Atalanta simile follows (ll. 1287-1294).

⁴⁹ Thgn. 949-954.

⁵⁰ Panyas. fr. 16 (Bernabé), 7-8: τοῦ κεν ἐγὼ θείμην ἴσον κλέος, ὅς τ' ἐνὶ δαιτί/ τέρπηται παρεὼν ἅμα τ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώγη.

directions. The following two sections of this chapter attempt such a reading of the imagery of Kaineus, unpacking the military ethos (5d), erotic connotations, and humor (5e) that this defeated Greek elicits.

5d. Victory in Defeat

As discussed above (5b), Kaineus most often is represented in the guise of defeat. Many of these illustrations index his martial valor and strength, and represent victory in the face of death. Such scenes are particularly visible in Kaineus' earliest manifestations. On some black-figure vases, Kaineus does not even sink into the ground. On a Tyrrhenian amphora, a fully upright Kaineus boldly confronts a centaur. An inscription secures the Lapith's identification, but there is no sign of his imminent demise (**fig. 66**).⁵¹

The clearest way to indicate the Lapith's strength and invulnerability was to do away with the shield and replace it with a second sword. This is the schema adopted on the earliest representation of Kaineus, a bronze plaque from Olympia (**fig. 65**).⁵² Kaineus is similarly armed on a black-figure Etruscan stamnos, where he frontally faces the viewer.⁵³ This iconography was ideal for representing Kaineus as a powerful warrior, and we might expect it to have been more popular, had that theme been the artists' only concern.

Victory in death is also on display on a red-figure psykter by Onesimos (**fig. 67-68**).⁵⁴ The pot unfortunately is fragmentary, but Kaineus, albeit sunk into the ground, is rigidly upright. His mouth is closed: he is the model of poise and control. The centaurs on the other hand are notably shaggy, with animal skins tied around their necks, which point to their wild state. They have enormous, inhuman eyebrows. The left centaur's mouth is wide open and he even bares his teeth. Kaineus' super-human resistance, his poised fight to the death in the face of insurmountable barbarity, is thrown into relief by the scene on the other side of the pot, where two centaurs crush a Lapith (**fig. 69**). They grab the hoplite's shield and press down upon him, and his feet are turned as though about to flee. He offers no resistance and may already be dead. The spear in his right hand hovers over the ground, blood flows from a wound in his left side, and his helmet is cracked. Most strikingly, his back is turned completely toward us. Clearly these two soldiers – Kaineus and the dying Lapith – are meant to be read in tandem. The naked, dead, helpless warrior on the reverse helps us understand that Kaineus represents the heroic fighter who continues to hold his ground and slaughter the enemy even in the face of overwhelming force. One is reminded of Tyrtaios' exhortations to warriors: “Let each man, adopting a wide stance, keep riveted to the ground with both feet, biting his lips with his teeth.”⁵⁵ Similarly Kallinos:

⁵¹ Timiades Painter; Capitoline 39 (69); *ABV* 98.44; *Para* 37; *BAdd*² 26; Laufer 1985, K3; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 2; Beazley Archive 310043.

⁵² See n. 20, above.

⁵³ Vienna IV 1477; Laufer 1985, K35; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 63.

⁵⁴ Villa Giulia 3577; Cohen 1983; Boardman 1984; Laufer 1985, K43; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 39; Beazley Archive 2352.

⁵⁵ Tyrt. fr. 10 (West), 31-32: ἀλλά τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι/ στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὀδοῦσι δακῶν. Cf. Tyrt. fr. 11 (West), 21-22.

“Let each one, with his last breath, hurl his spear.”⁵⁶ So Kaineus, who stands firm to the point of being driven into place.

We might expect these themes of victory in death and of struggle to the end to pervade all martial paintings of Kaineus, but that is not the case. Rather, the focus of most of these images appears to be upon Kaineus’ defeat qua loss itself. This becomes evident by closely analyzing several images and by viewing them in light of their accompanying scenes. On a stamnos by the Kleophrades Painter, Kaineus again sinks into the ground between two centaurs (**fig. 70**).⁵⁷ Yet he does not deliver a blow, as he did on the Onesimos vase. The gesture he makes with his arm partly conceals his head; he begins to adopt the veiled position so characteristic in portrayals of death and defeat.⁵⁸ A thrown boulder hovers over his head, pointing toward his imminent demise. Like the painting by Onesimos, Kleophrades’ Kaineus is best understood when we look at the other side. Who could have avoided turning the pot, when the battle wrapped around it, guiding the gaze around the vessel? Here a hoplite is not defeated, as he was on the Onesimos vase, but destroys the opposing centaur (**fig. 71**). The Lapith bounds off the ground with energy, preparing to deliver the final blow to the centaur huddled on the ground. Blood flows from a wound in the centaur’s back. The Greek’s leap on the reverse contrasts with Kaineus’ failed attempt on the obverse to step out of the ground. When juxtaposed with this victorious Lapith, the figure of Kaineus becomes an emblem not of victory but of defeat.

The Leningrad Painter cannot make use of such contrasting scenes on a hydria, where usually only one side is decorated, but the iconography of Kaineus himself similarly shuns any signs of heroic resistance (**fig. 72**).⁵⁹ Kaineus bends back from the centaur that faces him and drops his sword. He holds his shield uselessly behind him. There are no echoes of Tyrtaios here, and this Lapith king is no model for an Athenian hoplite.

The Niobid Painter uses Kaineus within a complex composition that moves beyond death and defeat alone to also explore issues of sacrilege, *hybris*, and justice.⁶⁰ The reverse of his krater in Bologna is dominated and divided by a frontal-facing cult statue of Athena (**fig. 73**). Ajax and Cassandra rush toward it from the right. On the left of the statue is a much more quiet scene of Akamas rescuing the aged Aithra. The composition on the vessel’s neck parallels the layout on the body. Here a pithos sunk into the ground divides the scene. Again two figures rush from the right while on the left three figures, including Herakles, peacefully approach the pithos. The Niobid Painter creates a semantic contrast between sacrilegious and righteous behavior. Ajax’s violence is juxtaposed with Akamas’ rescue, the wild centaurs with Herakles.

On the obverse of the krater, we find a scene from the Trojan War again juxtaposed with a Centauromachy on the neck, this one including Kaineus (**fig. 74**). On the body, Neoptolemos prepares to kill Priam, a refugee at an altar, by beating him with the young Astyanax. Two

⁵⁶ Kallin. fr. 1 (West), 5: καί τις ἀποθνήσκων ὕστατ’ ἀκοντισιάτω.

⁵⁷ Louvre G55; Laufer 1985, K38; *LIMC V s.v. Kaineus*, no. 35; Beazley Archive 201756.

⁵⁸ On the concealing or cloaking of the dead in Attic vase-painting, see Chazalon 2001.

⁵⁹ London BM 1920.3-15.3; Laufer 1985, K52; *LIMC V s.v. Kaineus*, no. 43; Beazley Archive 206571.

⁶⁰ Bologna 268; Laufer 1985, K53; *LIMC V s.v. Kaineus*, no. 7; Beazley Archive 206929.

Trojans level their spears at Neoptolemos, and a woman looks on in horror. Yet the parallel schema on the neck foils any attempt to read this painting as encoding a straightforward negative “message” about sacrilege. Neoptolemos is juxtaposed on the neck with the righteous hero Theseus, who is immediately above Neoptolemos and adopts the same stance with his legs. As for the figure of Kaineus on the neck, he possesses a clear counterpart in the woman below him on the body, who stands quite low to the ground, “sunken” in relation to the surrounding figures. Our eye is drawn to Kaineus and the woman, and then notices the figure hovering between them: Astyanax. These three persons are the only ones on the krater’s obverse who precisely line up along a vertical axis. The naked, helpless, vulnerable child contrasts with the invulnerable armed warrior. Yet both share an unnatural fate: one about to be buried alive, one about to be thrown from the walls. The Niobid Painter’s careful composition compels us to view these two figures in tandem. He does not use Kaineus to illustrate victory in defeat, but to thematize defeat itself. With Priam and Astyanax, Kaineus appears not as a paradigm of hoplite ideals, but as an index of the horror, threat, and ubiquity of death.

The connections between the body and the neck of the Niobid Painter’s krater, however, also focus attention on Kaineus’ gender shift. The pronounced vertical axis draws not only Astyanax, but the woman below him, into our gaze of Kaineus. He becomes the object of our view not just as a hoplite, but as a hoplite who was once a woman. Such veiled allusions to Kaineus’ earlier history – to his female origins – are more evident than often acknowledged, and are the focus of the next section. They allowed the artist to explore different issues from purely martial concerns, and provided the humor, openness, and ambiguity necessary for viewing vivid portrayals of defeat.

5e. Gender, Pursuit, and Comedy

The literary record preserves the story of how Kaineus was born a woman, raped by Poseidon, and transformed into an invulnerable hoplite warrior (5a). Although all of the vase-paintings show Kaineus exclusively as a male hoplite, often the painter exploited his ambiguously gendered history to create images with connotations that reached beyond the confines of the immediately visible iconography. The full myth of Kaineus, not just the story of his defeat, frequently informed the viewing experience.

The symposium setting enabled and facilitated plural readings of the figure of Kaineus. In this sexually charged atmosphere of sporting and play, conviviality and good cheer, issues of gender, allure, pursuit, vulnerability, and hybris would have been prominent in the minds of many a drinker. I am interested in identifying those moments that the vase-painters used the figure of Kaineus not to refer to a military ethos, but to explore issues of sexuality and gender, such as the proper role of women, the ethics of pursuit, or the course of *eros*. It is the depth and variety of the visual semantic references that I aim to recover in this section. This investigation entails looking beyond the figure of Kaineus as an icon to the ways in which he participated in a larger visual system of signification.

To ascertain the painter’s subtle allusions to and manipulations of Kaineus’ charged story, we must look beyond the limited iconography of the hoplite himself, analyzing the relationship of all

the figures on the vessel to each other. For instance, the Niobid Painter's krater demonstrated that we should consider how the painters might form paradigmatic constructions to draw allusions to Kaineus' female past. We also must thoroughly analyze the type of scenes paired with Kaineus on the other sides of the vessels. It is time to turn the pot.⁶¹ I will begin with a statistical approach to the question of the types of imagery that accompanied Kaineus, and then analyze some examples in greater detail.

Sometimes, admittedly, the scenes on the reverse of a vessel are generic and bear little significance for how we can read Kaineus. Other times it is clear that both sides of the vessel have a bearing on the interpretation of each other. In Appendices E and F I have listed all of the black-figure and red-figure vases with depictions of Kaineus. They include a few additions to the *LIMC* entry for Kaineus. Most importantly, they describe the scenes that accompany the Lapith king. When it seems possible to read the multiple scenes in tandem with one another, I have indicated which aspect of Kaineus would be thrown into relief based upon the character of the accompanying scene: his martial character (indicated by an "M" on the tables) or his rape and gender change ("G"). For instance, the Kleophrades Painter's stamnos, discussed above (5d), paired Kaineus with a victorious Lapith to highlight Kaineus' defeated status. I mark this vase in Appendix F with an "M." A few vessels are marked with a "D" (Dionysiac), because the painter's chief concern appears to have been to contrast a proper symposium with unbridled behavior. Of course this labeling process is a gross simplification of how ancient images work, but I believe this simple exercise draws out some important aspects in the chronological development of this defeated Greek's representation.

The table in Appendix E lists the 43 known black-figure representations of Kaineus. Of these 43 vessels, only 25 have more than one part of the vessel decorated, and of these, 14 (56%) pair Kaineus with martial imagery of one type or another, such as warriors arming, the heroic Kalydonian boar hunt, or a continuation of the Centauromachy. For six vessels it is difficult to identify how the two sides relate, such as an amphora with Kaineus on the obverse and Artemis, Apollo, and Leto on the reverse, and it is best not to force these into only one of two categories.⁶² The remaining five vessels (20%) pair Kaineus with scenes that might encourage one to think about Kaineus' original gender and rape when one gazed on the warrior. For example, the pairing of Kaineus with Herakles fighting to save Deianeira from Nessos⁶³ or with the recovery of Helen⁶⁴ draws attention to woman's vulnerability and, perhaps, fickleness.

In red-figure, Kaineus is paired with many more scenes that would encourage one to view him not as a symbol of a martial ethos, but in terms of his gendered history. The table in Appendix F

⁶¹ Ferrari 2002b, in an otherwise thorough treatment of the iconography of women, does not consider the representations on the other side of the vessel (9). Bron and Lissarrague 1984, 17; Fellmann 1992; Osborne 1996; and Steiner 2007, on the other hand, do look at both sides of the pot.

⁶² Manner of Group of Toronto 305; Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden PC40; Laufer 1985, K17; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 23; Beazley Archive 620.

⁶³ Amphora; NY Met. 56.171.23; Beazley Archive 3765.

⁶⁴ Amphora, Antimenes Painter; NY Met. 69.233.1; *ABV* 271.75; *BAdd*² 71; Laufer 1985, K19; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 24; Beazley Archive 320086.

lists all of the known appearances of Kaineus on red-figure vessels. Of the 28 red-figure paintings of Kaineus, 24 are accompanied by one or more other scenes. Some of these, such as the generic draped youths on a krater by the Hephaistos Painter, carry little significance for how we are to understand Kaineus.⁶⁵ Ten of the multi-image vessels (42%) combine Kaineus with a martial scene, such as the fight on the tondo of a cup by the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy.⁶⁶ This is a decrease compared to the black-figure repertoire. This decrease is countered by a noted increase in scenes that would evoke Kaineus' gendered past – ten (42%) – such as an image of Poseidon, of marriage, or of pursuit. At the same time, the type of vessel on which Kaineus appears has changed. In the Archaic period, he is painted mostly on amphoras and lekythoi. The former might appear at a symposium, the latter certainly not. In contrast, most of the Classical paintings of Kaineus occur on kraters, which occupied the center of the communal feasting space. To summarize: on red-figure vases Kaineus appears more closely associated with symposia than on black-figure, and he was paired with more images that would have encouraged the viewer to think about Kaineus' early history, about how he was once a she.

Some of the developments in Kaineus' depiction are symptomatic of broader shifts in Greek art and culture. But if the pattern that I have outlined for Kaineus on fifth-century vases is random, if the depiction of those scenes that I claim evoke Kaineus' gendered past have nothing to do with Kaineus appearing on one side of the vessel, then the same types of images should be paired with red-figure Centauromachies *without* Kaineus. These are listed in Appendix G. Of the 54 vessels with such Centauromachies and joined by other images, 25 (46%) are martial in nature, while only 13 (24%) are related to marriage, sexual pursuit, or women. This preference for martial imagery does not match the pattern we found for red-figure Centauromachies with Kaineus, where martial and gendered scenes were evenly distributed, and thus the development of Kaineus' frame cannot simply be dismissed as part of a broader artistic trend.

The analysis I have presented here is admittedly crude. Applying labels of “martial” or “gendered” to Attic vase-painting deprives Greek imagery of much of its expressive richness. Yet through the cold application of numbers and percentages I have tried to demonstrate that in the fifth century Kaineus can index issues of non-military concern. While we might expect a defeated hoplite always to be deployed to explore issues of bravery, heroics, and resistance, the images paired with Kaineus – especially when compared to those paired with other red-figure Centauromachies – indicate that different issues were the focus of the artists' attentions, such as females, marriage, or sexual pursuit. These were all issues that revolved around Kaineus' identity as a woman, transformed into a man, and ultimately beaten into the ground.

Now that we have established the broad development of Kaineus' frame and opened up the possibility for reading outside of the strict bounds of iconicity, we can turn to some specific examples that shed light on how artists played with the figure of Kaineus and exploited his referential possibilities.

⁶⁵ Ferrara 2792 and T77; *ARV*² 1114.14; *Para* 452; *BAdd*² 331; Laufer 1985, K58; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 48; Beazley Archive 214740.

⁶⁶ Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Faino 44; *ARV*² 417.2; *BAdd*² 234; Laufer 1985, K42; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 38; Beazley Archive 204547.

A Late Archaic cup by Oltos makes the clearest allusions to Kaine's rape, for Poseidon, the violator himself, appears in the tondo (**figs. 75-77**).⁶⁷ On this cup we can also see how the two sides of the vessel are designed to inform one another. On the obverse two centaurs attack Kaineus, identified by an inscription, who does not yet sink into the ground. He does not pull his sword, nor does he raise his shield to protect himself. His hand rests on the sword hilt; perhaps he was taken by surprise. The hoplite appears remarkably weak and vulnerable. He wraps his right leg around his body, seeming to protect his genitalia, while the centaur across from him, and only this centaur, exposes his private members. There is an element of sexual threat at work here. On the reverse, two ithyphallic satyrs flank a maenad, just as the centaurs flanked Kaineus. Moreover, the physiognomy of the satyrs and centaurs is nearly identical. The maenad fights back, pulling a satyr by the beard. This second scene, in conjunction with the tondo, clearly indicates that we must look at the figure of Kaineus as more than an icon of a hoplite. The attempted rape of the maenad and the figure of Poseidon evoke Kaine. The pairing of Kaineus with a maenad opens up a wide variety of possible readings: defeated men are like women; women are always vulnerable; or sexual pursuit is like war. As Theognis wrote in reference to his beloved, "I will wound you, though you flee me."⁶⁸

Kaineus is again juxtaposed with a scene of satyrs attempting to rape a maenad on a krater by the Cleveland Painter (**figs. 78-79**).⁶⁹ Both satyrs extend their arms to grab the woman, her back facing outward, and the satyr on the right turns to expose himself frontally to the viewer. The image is replete with threat and tension. On the other side of the vessel, three centaurs attack Kaineus. The hoplite's shield device – a centaur wielding a branch – does not turn away his foes. The centaur on the right twists to give us the opposite view from the satyr on the reverse: rather than expose himself frontally, he turns to show us his anus. The pairing of these two compositions is too unusual to be the result of chance, and the foreshortening of the centaur demanded considerable artistic skill. The Cleveland Painter here proves that he was a master of his craft. The opposing satyr and centaur draw attention to the idea of the body and sexuality, and remind the viewer of the shifting nature of Kaineus' gender. To further this end, Kaineus and the maenad offer opposing views of the body: one painted from the front, the other from the rear. The strings of the hoplite's shoulder pads are tied at the center of his chest in a phallic knot.⁷⁰ Note, too, how the centaurs' genitalia gradually disappear from view in the painting (**figs. 79-80**). The leftmost centaur's penis is carefully and deliberately placed at the very edge of the picture's frame, prominently marked; the second centaur's penis is just barely concealed by the first centaur's leg; and the third centaur's member is completely absent from view. The centaurs' gender disappears from the painting, as did Kaine's when Poseidon transformed her.

⁶⁷ See n. 22, above. The cup, signed *Chachrylion epoiei*, was reconstructed from 17 fragments. The upper portion of Poseidon's arm is restored, along with small portions of his trident, his garment, and the fish.

⁶⁸ Thgn. 1287: ἀλλά σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με.

⁶⁹ Harrow, School Museum T50GW26 and 50; *ARV*² 516.5; *Para* 382; *BAdd*² 253; Laufer 1985, K47; *LIMC* V s.v. Kaineus, no. 74; Beazley Archive 205793.

⁷⁰ The shape of this knot is admittedly difficult to see in the figures that accompany this dissertation, but it is clear in the original publications.

Painters paired Kaineus with other similar scenes – such as youths pursuing a woman, men surrounding a boy, or mythical marriages (see Appendix F) – to exploit the viewer’s knowledge of the full myth of Kaineus in order to create images that explored issues of gender rather than address victory and defeat in war. To repeat: Kaineus was not always an icon of a defeated hoplite or a symbol of heroics, but an index that participated in a complex signifying system. The shifting nature of the sign – that is, the possibility of juxtaposing Kaineus with scenes that either drew out martial aspects of the narrative, alluded to his gender-shifting past, or both – suggests that his appearances on symposium vessels not infrequently were comic. These pictures played with viewers’ expectations. If a drinker gazed at one side of a krater and saw two satyrs attacking a maenad, one of them frontally exposed, and then turned the pot and saw the centaur’s anus and Kaineus receiving a beating, he would get the joke. Even the image of Kaineus alone, without any other pairings, opened up the possibility for comic interpretations. The picture of a hoplite sinking into the ground was incongruous and bordered on the burlesque. Divinities might be born from the earth, heroes might roam the land and perform great deeds; only Kaineus is shown being pounded into it.

This would not be the first time that symposium vessels made light of serious issues.⁷¹ Artists manipulated the clay to create surprise, painting images that were appropriate to the sympotic atmosphere of play. Comic images, moreover, were much more popular in red-figure than in black-figure, and we have seen that allusions to Kaineus’ past are more prevalent in this medium than on black-figure (Appendices E and F).⁷²

The possibility of finding humor in representations of Kaineus is not without significance, for Kaineus’ images were not purely comic. The subject matter always had a deeply serious side. He was a military casualty in the making, a hoplite on the verge of death, a king taking his last stand. He was always pictured in the guise of defeat and took part in the discourse of bravery and martial ideals (5d). The incongruous scene – a man being beaten into the earth – and the possibility for humor do not deflect attention from his fate, but rather serve the important purpose of facilitating the viewer’s gaze upon death and defeat. The symposiast’s chuckle made it easier to look upon the hoplite’s end, to remember his fallen comrades no longer present at the symposium, and even to face the threat of death in battle itself.⁷³ His laugh trivialized death. An anecdote about Theramenes’ death, recorded by Xenophon, reveals how a courageous Athenian could face his end armed with an attitude forged in the symposium:

And then, compelled to die, Theramenes drank hemlock, and they reported that he flung out the dregs, playing kottabos, and said, “Let this one be for Kritias the beautiful.” And although I know that these utterances are not worth mentioning,

⁷¹ Mitchell 2009, 95-149 and 173-181 and Walsh 2009, 165-242.

⁷² Satyrs pretend to be warriors on only one black-figure vase but on 17 red-figure, and impersonate heroes on no black-figure vessels but on 12 red-figure (Mitchell 2009, 307-309).

⁷³ Cf. Halliwell 2008 on how humor relates to superiority, incongruity, and release, and on the affirmation of life when mocking the dead (11 and 27-30).

yet I judge that the most admirable characteristic of a man: to leave off neither good sense nor playfulness from the soul when death is at hand.⁷⁴

Kaine's story, well-known in literary sources, at first glance does not seem to appear in Greek art. Painters focused instead on Kaineus' defeat, and scholarship has pursued the iconography of that scene alone. However, the full mythological narrative informed the viewing experience, and it is possible to show that sometimes artists framed Kaineus' defeat with scenes designed to elicit connotations to Kaine. This framing was particularly popular on fifth-century drinking vessels. In the setting of the symposium, which was pervaded by sporting and play, the defeated Greek was not sacred. No sooner were martial ideals presented than they were subverted. The potential for Kaineus to be comic, either because of his posture or because of the surprise elicited through the framing devices, facilitated the viewer's gaze on death and defeat. It also explains why he does not appear on the Centauromachy on the southern metopes of the Parthenon. This was not the place for the ambiguous, potentially comic Lapith king who could trivialize defeat.

⁷⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.56: καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν: Κριτὶα τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἄγνωῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

6. Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the visual reception of the fallen warrior in three different spaces in fifth-century Athens: the *demosion sema*, the Akropolis, and the symposium. The first constituted extra-mural public space; the second, intra-mural public sacred space; and the third, intra-mural private space. Conceiving of these spaces as physical frames draws attention to how they controlled both the unstable image of the fallen and the disturbing presence of the dead, defeated, or dying soldier. Physical frames and referential frames worked together with form and content to produce meaning.

There are three major differences among the physical frames which affected the way that they responded to and presented the fallen.

1) The physical presence of the casualties.

The war dead were buried only in the extra-mural *demosion sema*. Even cenotaphs rendered the dead, in some way, present. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this placement contrasts with the central burial of war heroes in other ancient communities, or even with the Athenian burial of Theseus or Kodros. Because of the sheer number of deceased, the many defeats commemorated, and the strong emotions that accompanied death, in the public cemetery the fallen had the greatest potential to disturb and disrupt the community. Monuments and images here had to respond to the mourning and sorrow that the presence of the ashes provoked. They also had to counter the possibility that the loss of vital human resources become a sign of the city's weakness. In this space, more emphatically than elsewhere, material culture shifted the focus from the dead to the living community: the austere casualty lists articulated power and collective resilience, and their imagery focused on the notion of *agon*.

2) The use of myth.

Although mythological references appear in the funeral orations (apart from Perikles' speech), current evidence indicates that they are conspicuously absent from the images and monuments in the *demosion sema*. Here the material culture did not heroize or mythologize the dead, but historicized them. The dead were placed into a long narrative of relatively recent Athenian struggles and successes.

Mythological representations, in contrast, were deployed on the Akropolis to represent Greek death and defeat, especially on the Parthenon. The choice of opponents on the Parthenon – Amazons and Centaurs – suggests that the Athenians would have identified with the fallen Greeks. The distancing guise of myth enabled vivid and emphatic depictions. In non-mythological portrayals, most strikingly on the friezes of the temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis, the dead were more cloaked and concealed. On the Parthenon, the Athenians gazed not on the known or recent fallen, but contemplated the idea of death and sacrifice, knowing that the outcome of the mythological narrative was a Greek success.

Myth was also used to great effect on the symposium vessels. Here artists exploited the ambiguity of the figure of Kaineus to represent the martial ideals of victory in the face of death

and heroic resistance. They also created humorous images which facilitated the symposiast's gaze on, and acceptance of, death and defeat.

3) The rituals and ceremonies within the spaces.

The events that took place within the different settings influenced the way that the fallen were both presented and viewed. In the cemetery, visitors mourned individually, but more importantly, they gathered as a community to bury the dead, to hear the funeral oration, and to watch or participate in the *epitaphia*. The collective emphasis of these events supports the notion that the monuments and images in the public cemetery focused on collective power and survival.

On the Akropolis, the Athenians, naturally, turned their attention to the gods. Representations of the fallen belonged to an imagery that pleased the divinities. The sculpture displayed the proper order of the world and the viewer inferred that the gods sanctioned this *kosmos*; the Athenians abducted the agency of the gods behind the action represented on the metopes. These images often would have been viewed when the Athenians were participating as a collective in festivals: gazing through the smoke of sacrifice, and hearing the prayers for the safety of the city, they internalized the concept of death on behalf of the polis. The proximity of the cult of Aglauros and other ritual references to sacrifice further enforced this belief.

At the symposium, the gathering of males echoed the camaraderie of military service. Yet play and sport ruled. Heroic ideals were depicted and subverted, celebrated and mocked.

Usually when we discuss memory and the war dead we think in terms of commemoration, but in fifth-century Athens, *the war dead often were forgotten*. Isokrates makes this point to a fourth-century audience when, in reference to fifth-century practices, he says that “they did not notice (ἔλαθον) that they had filled the public graves with their citizens.”¹ Perikles (according to Thucydides) told parents of the dead to have children precisely so that they would forget the fallen.² Material culture partook of these efforts. The original siting of the *demosion sema* was several hundred meters from the city wall, and along a road that did not lead to a major destination. Moreover, the cemetery was not a closed or exclusive space, but was integrated into the wider landscape. Industry, private graves, and shrines appeared among the public monuments. The war dead faded into the landscape. The individual dead, too, receded into a list of names inscribed on the monuments. Patronymics of the dead were not noted, and so the same name could be repeated on the same list. The wife looking for her husband Glaukon on *IG I³ 1147* could not have known which of the three Glaukons on the list belonged to her.

At the same time, *public intra-mural spaces could be used to portray the leadership and sacrifice of prominent individuals*. Although within the polis center stood neither cenotaph nor tomb for an unknown soldier, and although myths more than historical references were deployed to represent the fallen, depictions of individuals did occur. Statues of Tolmides and Diitrephes were placed on the Akropolis, the latter shown dying. Kimon's party or family seems to have been particularly adept at using public space to assert claims to leadership. The Theseion paintings, Eion herms, and paintings in the Stoa Poikile alluded to the exploits of Kimon and his ancestors. In the Stoa Poikile, the wounded and dying Greeks that decorated the walls drew

¹ Isok. 8.88.

² Thuc. 2.44.3.

attention to the bravery and sacrifice of certain individuals.³ These claims to leadership and testimonials of sacrifice were less pronounced in the *demosion sema*. Individual exploits were not stressed on the public monuments, and private reliefs like the Dexileos monument did not show the death and self-sacrifice of the tomb's occupant, but portrayed the dead Athenian as a victorious conqueror.

Across all three physical frames studied in this dissertation we have seen how *expanding the referential frame minimized the impact of defeat*. In the *demosion sema*, monuments to spectacular defeats were surrounded by monuments to noteworthy victories. The dead were placed in a space that historicized them. They were encompassed by objects and events that spoke of the survival of the community rather than the outcome of particular events. On the Akropolis, the referential frame included the divine *kosmos*. The fallen belonged to a timeless, natural world order. Victory and defeat lay in the hands of the gods. Images of the fallen were enmeshed into a ritual landscape of sacrifice punctuated by victory monuments that drew attention to the divine favor bestowed upon Athenians. The referential frame was also expanded on red-figure depictions of Kaineus, in order to draw attention to his earlier history as Kaine. Such constructions changed Kaineus from an icon of a defeated hoplite to a polyvalent figure who could participate in discourses of gender and sexuality.

Death on public monuments was not presented in the guise of victory, but embedded in a narrative of agon. In the public cemetery, this narrative was most visible on the friezes that accompanied the casualty lists. The rhetoric of these public monuments contrasts with the iconography of the private funerary reliefs, such as the Albani and Dexileos reliefs, which did show the dead as victorious. On the Akropolis, the visible ruins and perceptible traces of destruction together with many representations of battles enmeshed the fallen into a field of conflict. Often, particularly on the temple of Athena Nike, the virtuoso carving lent the contest a sense of vibrancy and urgency. The discourse on the public monuments was not just about victory, nor was it just about defeat: it encompassed the two poles and exposed the turmoil within the conceptual space that separated them. Although victory and defeat belonged to the gods, humans did everything in their power to achieve a successful outcome.

All of the material culture surrounding the fallen served the living community. I have already discussed the impact of the public cemetery upon the community in some detail. Turning to the other spaces, we can conclude that *images of the fallen on the Akropolis and in the symposium worked upon the viewer to internalize and accept death*. The formal aspects of the representations arrested the gaze: the splendor of the carving and painting; the metope as an excerpted scene; the "marking" of the dead; the repeated allusion to death; and (on vases) the ambiguity that demanded deciphering. In the religious setting, the viewer inferred that death belonged to the world order and was necessary for the defense of the city. In the symposium, humor, play, and the polyvalence of Kaineus facilitated the drinker's acceptance of inevitable death.

³ We also know of two cases where the shields of fallen Athenians were inscribed and dedicated in the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora: Paus. 1.26.2 and 10.21.5. Both belong to the third-century BC; neither the age nor the frequency of the custom is clear.

The arguments presented here could benefit from widening the scope of analysis and looking further into the Greek cultural mentalities concerning war and death – expanding the frame further, as it were. Future work will need to address in greater detail the warrior on lekythoi and private grave stelai, and consider how Kaineus relates to other martial representations on symposium vessels. It should also analyze the changes that took place in the fourth century. One expects that rescue excavations will continue to contribute to our understanding of the public cemetery, and one hopes that the vases from the polyandria at Salaminos street will be published before too long.

The passage from Isokrates discussed above, which alludes to the forgetfulness of the dead, belongs to a fourth-century speech advocating peace. The orator reminded the Athenians of their bellicose fifth-century *arche*, and pointed out that those fifth-century Athenians did not learn from their defeats.⁴ Year after year, with few peaceful interludes, they returned to the fields of war and reaped a harvest of death. Material culture did not passively reflect the Athenian attitudes that led them into these battles but actively shaped their approach to war and their response to casualties. Through art they honored, remembered, transformed, and forgot the fallen. When fifth-century Athenian art celebrated martial ideals, inspired sacrifice, and sidelined the impact of defeat, one could even claim that this art, full of quiet grandeur and elegant beauty, wrought destruction.

⁴ Isok. 8.85-86: τοσοῦτον δὲ διήνεγκαν ἀνοίᾳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰ συμφοραὶ συστέλλουσι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐμφρονεστέρους, ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὐδ' ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπαιδεύθησαν. καίτοι πλείοσιν καὶ μείζοσιν περιέπεσον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τῶν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένων.

Catalogue of Excavations
Associated with the Academy Road and the Roads from the Leokoriou Gate

This catalogue, together with the accompanying maps, presents those locations to the northwest of ancient Athens, apart from the Kerameikos archaeological park, for which I have been able to find evidence of excavations.¹ Appendix C lists these locations by year of publication in *Archaiologikon Deltion* (*ArchDelt*). Appendix D correlates the catalogue numbers with Clairmont 1983's locations. The study is confined to the area around the Academy Road and the roads leading from the city toward Hippios Kolonos. Most of the material has been published in *ArchDelt*. I do not provide exhaustive information on the Academy, which lies on the border of my study area. If there are inadvertent omissions in this catalogue – and given the scope of the project, I am afraid that inevitably, despite my best efforts, such omissions will exist – they probably relate to excavations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Each location is named, usually with the heading employed in the excavation reports in order to make these reports easier to find. Sometimes I have subdivided material published in one report into two catalogue entries so as to indicate more precisely where the discoveries were made (e.g. **32** and **33**). The heading indicates whether the location concerned was a plot or a drain excavation, and I note when the location is unsure. Because of the confusion inherent in using early excavation reports (often unaccompanied by maps), for these I have included the name of the property owners when known (e.g. **203**). The last item in the heading refers to the maps accompanying this dissertation, where the excavation location is plotted.

A brief description of the finds follows, which aims to help scholars identify those reports that might be particularly relevant to their interests, while highlighting particular aspects that are important for this dissertation, such as the width and thickness of the roads, the chronology (especially of graves), industrial and other non-funerary activity, and any reuse of the space. Often I go into more detail for the sites with fewer remains. In terms of the chronology for finds and features, I usually repeat the dates that appear in the archaeological reports. The information conveyed in the reports is rarely sufficient to allow a reader confidently to make independent decisions about dates. There are, of course, exceptions: e.g., I will use the presence of white-ground lekythoi to assign a grave to the Classical period. Images referenced in the catalogue description, unless otherwise specified, refer to the cited *ArchDelt* publications.

Following the description, I provide the date and name of excavator or ephor in charge, when known. *IG* and *SEG* numbers always appear at the beginning of my bibliography. The map number following an *ArchDelt* entry refers to a number that appears on the map in that publication, usually either at the beginning of the section on the Third Ephoreia or at the very end of the journal. The bibliography concludes with a list of any published plans (including any drawings, such as cross-sections) and images.²

¹ An abbreviated version of this catalogue, only including those plots with a direct bearing on the location of the *demosion sema*, is presented in Arrington (forthcoming).

² Costaki 2006's catalogue of sites with roads includes copies of any available plans from the *ArchDelt* reports of sites. In these cases my bibliography only includes the original *ArchDelt*

The modern street layout on the accompanying maps is based on a map of Athens, Piraeus, and the suburbs produced by Orama Editions. The size of the red circular plot markers bears no relationship to the size of the plot, but when an excavated plot is particularly large, the dot is not located at the edge of the modern road. In other words, the marker should be thought of as being located near the center of the plot. Compare, for example, the markers for **70** and **72**; the placement of the latter indicates that it was a much larger excavation. The length of the marker of a drain excavation (rectangles as opposed to circles) represents where (to the best of my knowledge) the excavation began and ended; the width has no bearing on the width of the excavation; usually they were narrow drain excavations that did not encompass the full width of the street.

For reconstructing the layout of the city walls, I used the plans from excavation reports and Theocharaki 2007. For the Academy peribolos, I used the plans and information from excavation reports, Travlos 1971, and the layout of the modern roads. The drawn boundaries of Hippios Kolonos simply follow the contours of the modern park. To indicate the presence of ancient roads, I chose to use a rectangle of uniform size (with brown for the Wagon road, light green for all others). These rectangles are oriented in the proper direction of the actual road. I believe that these symbols make the direction and layout of the road system quite clear while avoiding the inevitable errors involved in reconstructing and drawing the complete roads.

plan, not the copy in Costaki. However, I would like to draw attention to the fact that she sometimes labels the plans in a helpful manner.

Abbreviations

<i>APMA</i>	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Μνημείων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
b.f.	black-figure
b.g.	black-glaze
CdF	“Chronique des Fouilles”
Costaki	Costaki 2006
E	east
est.	estimated
exc.	excavated
h.	height
HK	Hippios Kolonos
l.	length
leky.	lekythos
lekys.	lekythoi
N	north
<i>PN</i>	Clairmont 1983
pres.	preserved
r.f.	red-figure
S	south
t.c.	terracotta
th.	thickness
W	west
w.	width
w.g.	white-ground

1 Plataion – Peiraos (drain), Map 1

Mouth of a marble leky. Sculptural fragments of a horse, probably 4th cen. BC, and two human feet, Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 63-64; map no. 4
PN 41

2 Peiraios 86 (plot), Map 1

Seven surfaces of the Academy road: exc. w. 13.40, th. 1.80.
Late Roman cist graves, all destroyed, on the street.
Marble head of a girl.

Alexandri, O. 1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 134-135; map B no. 23
PN 39

Costaki 491-492, VI.13

Plan: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 136 fig. 26

3 Peiraios (?) between Plataion and Salaminos (plot, est. location), Map 1

Excavations took place ca. 200 NW of the Dipylon gate. The plot on Costaki's map is on the whole east side of the block. Academy road: exc. w. ca. 11. Drain under the road.

A paved surface 11 m. long, with a wall of poros ashlars on one side.

Two stelai covered the drain, one with an inscription mentioning Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, 235/4 BC (*IG II²* 788), and the structure has been associated with the shrine. The report in *AM* is skeptical.

For other evidence for the shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, see **10**.

Oikonomou, A. 1896

IG II² 788

Prakt. 1896, 20-22

AM 21 (1896), 463

Philadelphus 1927, 161-162

Judeich 1931, 412

Travlos 1971, 301-302

Mikalson 1998, 148-149

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2006, 291

Costaki 490-491, VI.12

4 Peiraios 82 and Salaminos (plot), Map 1

Road connecting the Academy Road and the road from the Leokoriou Gate: th. 0.55. Classical – Early Roman.

Stone cist, 2nd cen. BC.

Ten walls on the road, with signs of repair and reuse, belonging to two phases without a large chronological gap between them.

Mycenaean sherds found in one layer.

Chatzipouliou, E. 1988

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 34-36; map no. 11

Costaki 447-448, V.7

Plan: *ArchDelt* 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 35 fig. 4

Image: *ArchDelt* 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 34β

4.5 Red Cross, Map 1

Wall 8 m. long, approximately parallel to the Academy Road. Two marble lekys. built into the wall, which Brueckner interpreted as the back wall of a funerary plot. To the W of the wall, two Late Classical sarcophagi at different elevations, one of them with a woman's body (but Stichel is skeptical of Brueckner's ability to read the bones). A pyre probably from a sacrifice in the vicinity. E of the wall, another sarcophagus, probably also Late Classical. A Roman grave from unspecified location.

Brueckner, A. 1914-1915

Stichel 1998, 150-151 (map), 154-156

Plan: Idem, 155 fig. 4

Images: Idem, pl. 22.1-3

5 Plataion 4 and Agisilaou (plot), Map 1

17 layers of surfaces and repairs of the Academy Road: exc. w. 8.00, thickness 1.90. 5th cen. BC – 4th cen. AD.

A drain associated with the road, Late Hellenistic, replaced by a conduit in the 2nd cen. AD. It went out of use in the 4th cen. AD.

Fourteen cist graves on the road, 5th – 6th cen. AD.

An inscribed funerary stele built into one of the graves.

Two marble votives of tragic masks.

Dakoura, O. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 19-20; map no. 26

Costaki 489-490, VI.11

Plan: *ArchDelt* 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 20 fig. 4

6 Agisilaou and Plataion (drain), Map 1

Two walls forming a corner, of unworked stones and dressed poros blocks.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 25

7 Agisilaou 96 and Plataion (plot), Map 1

Seven to 14 layers of the Wagon Road, with wheel ruts 1.60 m. apart in section Γ, layer 8 (pl. 42α). Signs of cutting by what was probably a drain. Excavators believe they have the E edge of the road.

Many walls over the road, generally made of unworked and a few worked stones, tile pieces, and mud binding, with many different orientations and mostly laid at different depths (pl. 41γ).

A *horos* (A.E.M. 1566), placed into the side of one of the walls, with text facing away from the street.

A b.f. kylix with chase scene (pl. 42 β).

Liagouras, A. 1972-1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 31

Costaki 288-289, VI.10

Plan: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 32 fig. 1

Images: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, pls. 41γ and 42α-β

8 Dameou 4-6 (plot), Map 1

Five surfaces of the Wagon Road: th. 1.50; founded at depth 1.80 on fill 1.10 thick. In the Roman period the road was destroyed all the way through its lowest course.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 29

Costaki 487, VI.8

9 Dameou 5 (plot), Map 1

Wagon Road: exc. w. 4.40, th. 2.10. 5th cen. BC – Hellenistic.

Two drains.

E retaining wall of the Classical road, of poros ashlar. At least four Hellenistic surfaces run over it. A later E retaining wall built of unworked stones may date to the Hellenistic period.

A third wall, of dressed conglomerate blocks in isodomic masonry and so probably Classical or Hellenistic, was laid on road surfaces.

Cistern, walls coated with hydraulic plaster.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 99-100; map no. 14

PN 265 n. 52 (erroneously referred to as his location 60 rather than location 2)

Costaki 488, VI.9

Images: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 66β-γ

10 Plataion (plot), Map 1

A wall of large well-worked poros stones forming an angle, possibly part of the sanctuary enclosure for the shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste.

A marble base with cuttings on the top dedicated from [Τ]ιμα[σ]ίθεος Πλωθε[ύς] to Kalliste. 4th/3rd cen. BC based on lettering (*IG II² 4665*).

A marble relief with two worshippers before an altar and a goddess with a torch on the other side. Behind her, two pithoi. Inscribed Ἰπποκλεία. 4th/3rd cen. BC based on lettering (*IG II² 4666*).

A marble slab with two female breasts in relief, above inscribed [Ἰπ]ποστράτη / [Κα]λλίστει. 3rd cen. BC based on lettering (*IG II² 4667*).

A marble base with cuttings for a statue or relief, dedicated by Εὐκολίνη to Kalliste. 3rd cen. BC based on lettering (*IG II² 4668*).

Two marble votive reliefs of female genitalia (Athens NM 5199 and 5200).

A small marble relief with two female breasts.

Marble slab in two pieces, which seems to have been reused to create a *sekoma* (measure).

A marble life-size foot of a man.

A kalpis containing the bones of a child and five lamps. Roman?

Philadelphus, A. 1922

IG II² 4665-4668

Philadelphus 1927, 157-163

Judeich 1931, 412

Travlos 1971, 301-302

Forsén 1996, 58 nos. 5.1 and 5.2, and 136

Mikalson 1998, 148-149

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2006, 291

Images: Philadelphus 1927, 158-160 figs. 2-4 and pl. 8.

11 Plataion, Granikou, and Salaminos (plot), Map 1

Seven surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 21.80, th. 2.30. Hellenistic.

Drain.

E retaining wall of Piraic poros in isodomic ashlar masonry.

A foundation for a funeral monument attached to the E retaining wall, also of Piraic poros in isodomic ashlar masonry, three to four courses high (w. 4.50, h. 1.50). Sherds date it to the Hellenistic period.

Well.

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 21; map no. 27

Costaki 486, VI.6

Methodiou, E. 1978?

12 Plataion and Granikou (plot), Map 1

Nine surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 14.00, th. 2.10. First surface is Classical, second Late Classical, third through sixth until the end of the Hellenistic period, seventh Roman, eighth and ninth Late Roman. Two wheel ruts on the *kimilia* underneath the road surfaces, possibly indicating use in the Archaic period, 1.40 apart.

A wall between the first and third road surfaces, of rubble. Costaki speculates whether it might be encroachment or a hidden retaining wall.

Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 27-28
Costaki 485-486, VI.5

12.5 Tile kiln Levendis, at Plataion possibly near intersection with Kerameikou (plot, est. location), Map 1

Anthemion relief with casualty list for cavalry dead in Corinthian War, 394/3 (Athens NM 754).

IG II² 5222

Wenz 1913, 61-66

Tod 1948, 18-20 no. 104

Clairmont 1983, 212-214

Bugh 1988, 136-140

Lawton 1992, 242

APMA 2, 67 no. 77

Németh 1994

Stichel 1998, 150-151 (with map) and 157

Lewis 2000-2003, 10-11

Matthaiou 2003, 198

Kaltsas 2003, 158 no. 312

Rhodes and Osborne 2003, 40-43, no. 7A

Hildebrandt 2006, 96-98

13 Prodikou 7 and 9 (drain)

Two walls of conglomerate blocks, two courses preserved, probably funeral periboloi.

Drain underneath the walls.

Vessel fragments from various periods and three bones worked for tools.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1998

ArchDelt 53 (1998), B1, *Chronika*, 71-72; map no. 11

14 Mikalis 17 (drain), Map 1

A wall of conglomerate ashlar, three courses high, probably part of a funerary peribolos. Classical?

Kokkoliou, T. 1999

ArchDelt 54 (1999), B1, *Chronika*, 74; map no. 6

15 Kerameikou 101 (drain), Map 1

Four-sided base for a funerary monument, of unworked stones with an upper course of limestone ashlar in secondary use. Hellenistic.

Under the funerary monument, a marble kalpis with lid, placed in a trench in the natural soil.

Inside: some bones.

To the SE of the monument and touching it, a cistern with two phases, one of them pre-dating the funerary monument. In the first phase, the floor is at depth 3.70 and a drain meets another drain running underneath the kalpis. In the second phase, the floor is at depth 3.10, partly over the funerary monument. From inside the drain, a bronze Athenian coin of the 3rd cen. BC.

Clairmont 1983 thinks the monument may have belonged to Kleisthenes, but he misinterprets the date given in the excavation report.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 115; map no. 30

Garland 1982, D3

PN 36-37, 44, and 264 n. 49 (with *Praktika* 1896, 22 and *Polemon* 8 (1965-66), 73)

Plans: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 116-117 figs. 20-21

Images: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 74

16 Kerameikou 99 (plot), Map 1

A Late Classical sarcophagus of shelly limestone, with a squat leky. with r.f. floral decoration.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 115; map no. 29

PN 38-39

17 Kerameikou 97 (drain), Map 1

Three walls of conglomerate blocks in alternating headers and stretchers, preserved three to four courses high. Two may have once joined, while the third is parallel to these. Related to walls at **21**?

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 40-41

Images: Idem, pl. 50γ-δ

18 Kerameikou and Plataion (plot), Map 1

Four to five surfaces of the Academy Road: th. 2.20. Archaic (*kimilia* use) – Hellenistic.
Drain, Hellenistic.

10 pits/trenches in the area of the road: l. 1.10 – 1.35, w. 0.35 – 0.65, depth 0.80 – 1.05. It appears that they are cut by the drain and that they cut four road surfaces.

A wall N of the road and partially on it, with a foundation of small stones and superstructure of conglomerate slabs: pres. l. 4.00, w. 0.50, pres. h. 1.00. It was probably a peribolos wall for a tomb area. Hellenistic.

Grave 2. Larnax, poros. Inside: two lekys. (pl. 82β). Classical.

Grave 3. Cist, of stones. Hellenistic.

Grave 4. Cist, of stones. Inside: two unguentaria, a bronze phiale, a bronze mirror, two bronze brooches, and an iron nail. Hellenistic.

Grave 5. Pit: dug into the natural soil. Inside: two unguentaria and a bronze phiale. Hellenistic.

Graves 6-7: Tile-covered. Roman.

Grave 8. Pyre: found at depth 3.00. Inside: three w.g. lekys., burned, with representation of the cult of the dead and a cylindrical pyxis. Third quarter 5th cen. BC.

No Grave 1 mentioned in the report.

Lazaridis, D. and Alexandri, O. 1965-1966?

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 86-88; map no. 40

Clairmont 1981

PN 36, 38-39, 41-42, 66-67, 265 n. 60.

Costaki 484-485, VI.4

Plans: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 86 fig. 39, 87 fig. 40; *PN* 265, n. 60, fig. 6, location 3, and fig. 8

Images: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, pls. 82β and 84α

19 Kerameikou 93 and Plataion (plot), Map 1

Eight surfaces of the Academy Road, the oldest dating to the 4th cen. BC. Cut by later buildings and graves.

Two parallel drains.

Walls, in W of plot, of unworked stone, tile, and binding clay. 3rd – 4th cen. AD.

Seven cists in W of plot, 6th cen. AD.

Rectangular building, in the E of plot, Late Roman.

13 fragments of stelai, funerary columns, and loutrophoroi built into the rectangular building and from the general area. 4th cen. BC – Hellenistic.

Casualty list seen by Matthaïou in the storeroom of the ephoria, 5th cen. BC.

Fragment of relief from a monument to the war dead (M 2347, Kaempf-Dimitriadou, fig. 1)

Vasilopoulou, P. 1979

SEG 51.52

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 22-23; map no. 23

Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986

Costaki 484, VI.3

Matthaïou 2003, 199 n. 4.

Images: Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986, fig. 1 and pls. 2-3

20 Kerameïkou 91 (plot), Map 1

Funerary peribolos on the SE of the Academy Road (pl. 38γ), of dressed poros blocks in isodomic masonry, two courses high. Dated to Late Classical by excavator based on construction technique. A Late Roman wall was built on top of it, of unworked stones and plaster.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 35

Image: Idem, pl. 38γ

21 Kerameïkou 94 (plot), Map 1

Drain.

Six walls forming two structures, one with a floor of lime plaster. Late Classical with three phases.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 114-115; map no. 28

Plan: Idem, 114 fig. 19

Image: Idem, pl. 75α

22 Kerameikou 90 (plot and street), Map 1

Three tombs or tomb markers in a row, from the courtyard of plot. They consist of poros foundations with a superstructure of carefully cut marble blocks surrounding a poros core. In the middle tomb a cutting that would have contained a stele, although the stele's short side would have been aligned with the cumulative long side of the tombs.

An inscribed funerary stele not earlier than the 2nd cen. BC and an inscribed funerary column.

A marble slab, apparently *in situ*, inscribed Ὁρος / μνήμα / τος.

Pottery from various periods and a dark green Neolithic ax.

A fourth "tomb marker" was found in the street, of equal dimensions and along the same line as the others. Inside: two graves, covered with big slabs, with bones inside and tubular vases, as well as a marble kalpis with lid. The 1922 report mentions carbon and ash, an alabastron and lamps, and specifies that the pottery is Hellenistic. However, the 1927 report dates the tombs to the 5th cen. BC based on their careful craftsmanship. The Hellenistic date for these structures seems more probable given the kalpis, unguentaria, and funerary column, although it cannot be ruled out that the graves were reused. Compare to the Hellenistic graves at **25**.

1922

BCH 46 (1922), 489-490

Philadelphus 1927, 154-157

Image: Philadelphus 1927, 156 fig. 1

23 Plataion 21 (plot), Map 1

Six surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 11.00, th. 1.45. Lowest two surfaces Classical and Late Classical, next three Hellenistic, and the sixth Roman.

Four drains.

W retaining wall, of small and large unworked stones with mud, founded on third road surface. Hellenistic.

S of the retaining wall, two walls of poros isodomic ashlar five courses high meeting at a right angle to form a funerary peribolos. Late Classical. Costaki notes that it looks like the peribolos continues the retaining wall.

One Hellenistic cist and one undated tile-covered grave.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 39

Costaki 482-483, VI.2

Plan: *ArchDelt* 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 40 fig. 5

Image: Idem, pl. 39δ

24 Plataion 37 (plot), Map 2

Traces of the Academy Road, which makes a slight turn SE, in the S of the plot.

SW retaining wall, cut by one of the graves.

Two drains, one of them perpendicular to the axis of the street and Classical in date. It either marks the presence of an intersecting road or served to further help drain the Academy Road.

Three cists and one pit, with funerary stelai in reuse (at least one of them Classical). One of the cists, based on the presence of a glass unguentarium, is probably Roman.

Pachygianni-Kaloudi, Ph. 1982

ArchDelt 37 (1982), B1, *Chronika*, 29-30; map no. 14
Costaki 543, VIII.30

25 Plataion 39 (plot), Map 2

Four surfaces of the Academy Road: w. 10.60, th. 1.00; over a layer of dirt on the *kimilia*.

Lowest two surfaces contained r.f. and b.f. sherds, while the two upper surfaces had sherds from mainly the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Drain.

SW retaining wall, of unworked stones and mud.

Eight graves, SW of the retaining wall or on the third road surface: a marble larnax, poros cists, and tile-covered burials. Some date to the Hellenistic period. Dressed poros blocks on top of one tomb are the remains of a base.

Fragments of a marble lion's head.

Fragments of a marble votive relief with a standing goddess holding a phiale in her right hand and a torch in her left, approached by six worshippers.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 25-26
Costaki 542-543, VIII.29

26 Plataion 30-32 (plot), Map 2

Seven surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 20.00, th. 1.20. Wheel ruts on two lowest surfaces.

E retaining wall, of dressed stones, with Lapis C of *IG I³ 503/4* in reuse (Matthaiou 2003).

Drain.

21 Late Roman cists on the fourth road surface, close to the retaining wall and spreading ca. 9 m. across the street.

A b.g. pyxis and a squat leky., near one of the graves.

Alexandri, O. 1973

IG I³ 503/4

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 91-92; map A no. 22

PN 39

Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 54-57 no. 26

Hansen 1999

Tracy 2000-2003

Matthaiou 2000-2003

Matthaiou 2003, 198

Costaki 544, VIII.31

Steinhauer 2009, 123

Plan: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 93 fig. 6

Images: Idem, pl. 76α-γ

27 Sfaktirias 23 (plot), Map 2

Traces of the Academy Road in W, elsewhere destroyed by the building of graves.

Two drains cut into the bedrock, said to be from two different periods.

Thirteen Late Roman cists.

Classical sherds.

A funerary column and an inscribed herm stele with a female portrait head.

Marble fragment (pl. 53α) built into the NE side of one of the graves and inscribed [- - -] ἰδοῦς Ἑλλάδι πάσηι *vacat* σώιζοντες (*SEG* 28.240). Excavator thinks it belonged to a Persian War monument, but it is more likely 4th-cen. BC because of the letter forms and use of the Ionic alphabet (Stupperich 1977, with restoration *περὶ πατρί*).

Alexandri, O. 1967

SEG 28.240

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 94-95; no. 81, map no. 84

PN 38-39 and 41

Stupperich 1977, 1.213 and 2.119-120

Plan: *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 96 fig. 42

Images: Idem, pl. 53α-γ

28 Salaminos 35 (plot), Map 2

In the NW, four isolated graves, from the second half of the 6th until the early 4th cen. BC.

An early 5th-cen. structure at a higher elevation, perhaps a polyandria. A cylindrical ash urn was placed in the structure, apparently into a stone slab in a cutting in the *kimilia*. The excavator says that the structure was surrounded by a circular enclosure, which is visible near the lower right hand corner of the photograph. Sherds date the structure to the first quarter 5th cen. BC.

Two nearly parallel polyandria. One carefully constructed of poros ashlar in isodomic masonry originally two courses high, still covered in part with slabs. The cremated remains of at least three male skeletons were found. In the second structure, of similar construction but at a slightly

lower elevation, a large collection of cremated bones and seven vessels were buried underneath some of the caved-in slabs and date to the third quarter of the 5th cen. BC. From a destroyed section, presumably meaning from the north, was revealed a shallow deposit underneath the structure and covered with silty soil, with funeral vessels and sherds from the first to the second quarter of the 5th cen. BC.

A third structure lies to the north of the first polyandron. It is plastered on the inside with lime. Bones of at least one skeleton were found inside and fragments of a bronze kalpis. Traces of a fourth structure are said to be visible in the north-center upon the remains of the slab paving. Where the fourth structure ends, a fifth begins. Burnt bones belonging to at least two men were found inside.

Outside of it and higher, to the N, is a poros wall 1.70 m wide (three courses), preserved one course high. It is only preserved for l. 2.85 m., but may belong with a corner stone found 10.10 m. away.

In winter 2009, I observed that the location has been prepared for permanent display. The trenches are covered with Plexiglas and shrubbery has been planted in the soil at higher elevations.

Stoupa, Ch. 1997

ArchDelt 52 (1997), B1, *Chronika*, 52-56; map no. 9

AR 1997-1998, 8-11

Stoupa, 'Αθηναῖοι τῶ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο,' Ομιλία στη Β' Επιστημονική Ημερίδα της Γ' ΕΠΚΑ, 6-2-1999

Το ἔργο του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμοῦ στον Τομέα της Πολιτιστικῆς Κληρονομίας, 1 (1997), 68

BCH 122 (1998), CdF, 722

Rose 2000

BCH 127 (2003), CdF, 709

Images: *ArchDelt* 52 (1997), B1, pl. 27a; *Το ἔργο του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμοῦ στον Τομέα της Πολιτιστικῆς Κληρονομίας*, 1 (1997), 69 fig. 2;

<http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/athens/4.html>

29 Sfaktirias 24 (plot), Map 2

Drain.

Five graves in E and close to the Academy Road. One of these is a pit cut into the *kimilia*, undated. The others are cists of stone, brick, and plaster, and so Roman or later.

Alexandri, O. 1972

ArchDelt 28 (1973), B1, *Chronika*, 45; map no. 30

Plan: Idem, 44 fig. 14

30 Plataion 41(plot), Map 2

Six surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 10.80, th. 0.90. Oldest surface is first half 5th cen. BC.

W retaining wall cum funerary peribolos, forming a corner, of dressed poros blocks and small unworked stones. Founded on oldest road surface. Two cists are in the peribolos tomb area but do not belong to the same phase: 5th – 6th cen. AD. Another wall perpendicular to the retaining wall may form a small funerary area – it is also possible, although the report does not provide any details, that it is a later addition.

Drain.

Six pits and two cists over the street, with Classical and Roman stelai in reuse, together with the base of a funerary sculpture with a boy sleeping on the ground (pl. 104β). One of the stelai is for a proxenos, from the 3rd cen. BC (ΣΙΜΙΑΣ / ΔΟΝΑΚΟΣ / ΠΙΡΟΞΕΝΟΣ). The graves seem to be Roman and some certainly Late Roman.

A Roman marble head with Julio-Claudian characteristics (pl. 104γ), near one of the pits. 1st cen. AD.

Alexandri, O. 1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 135-138; map B no. 24
PN 39-40

Garland 1982, D4

Costaki 541-542, VIII.28

Plan: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 137 fig. 27

Images: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 104 α-γ

31 Plataion 43 and Megalou Alexandrou 95 (plot), Map 2

Three to four surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 12.00, th. 1.15.

W retaining wall, carefully built of smaller and larger unworked stones (pl. 29γ). On its exterior face, a Hellenistic buttress.

Drain.

Rectangular structure, 3.75 m. from the retaining wall, of rubble masonry. Hellenistic. Four terracotta slabs found near it.

A second wall, in the W, of ashlar masonry preserved two courses high.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 28

Costaki 539-540, VIII.26

Image: *ArchDelt* 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 26γ

32 Megalou Alexandrou and Mykinon (drain), Map 2

Wall of small limestones with mud as a binder, with a big block at its base. The construction technique of the wall may be Archaic or Early Classical.

Drain 1.

Marble funerary leky. (M 3679).

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1992

ArchDelt 47 (1992), B1, *Chronika*, 30-31; map no. 11 (with **33**)

33 Megalou Alexandrou 95 (drain), Map 2

Five surfaces of the Academy Road: th. 1.30. Earliest surface is Classical.

A wall of small limestones, tile fragments and mud mortar. It descends to the lowest level of the road preserved to its east. W retaining wall?

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1992

ArchDelt 47 (1992), B1, *Chronika*, 30-31; map no. 11 (with **32**)
Costaki 539, VIII.25

34 Megalou Alexandrou 91 and Plataion 42 (plot), Map 2

Four surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 1.70.

Two drains, one of them Archaic.

Geometric sherds from the road and one of the drains.

Philippaki, B. 1965

ArchDelt 21 (1966), B1, *Chronika*, 58-59; map no. 2

PN 36 and 38

Costaki 540-541, VIII.27

Plan: *ArchDelt* 21 (1966), B1, *Chronika*, 58 fig. 3

35 Megalou Alexandrou 89 (plot), Map 2

Two built grave structures with three graves in each. A third structure visible continuing to the W.

Sherds Classical – Late Roman.

A fragment of a t.c. bird figurine.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 71-72; map no. 33
PN 38-39
Plan: Idem, 73 fig. 26

36 Megalou Alexandrou and Salaminos 47 (plot), Map 2

25 cists, tile-covered graves, and pits, nearly all with the same orientation, Hellenistic – Roman. A well of clay rings contained sherds Classical – Roman. It must predate the area's use as a cemetery and therefore is probably Classical in date.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 75; no. 57, map no. 60
PN 39
Plans: Idem, 76 fig. 30 and 77 fig. 31
Images: Idem, pl. 44 α-γ

37 Megalou Alexandrou and Salaminos 54 (plot), Map 2

Five pits and two amphora burials, 5th cen. BC, one more specifically the second quarter of the 5th cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 122-123; map no. 37
Tzachou-Alexandri 2002
Plan: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 123 fig. 26
Images: Idem, pl. 78α-ε; Tzachou-Alexandri 2002, pls. 6-10

38 Megalou Alexandrou 75 (plot), Map 2

Seven vaulted graves, Early Christian.

Philippaki, B. 1965

ArchDelt 21 (1966), B1, *Chronika*, 59-60; map no. 3
Plan: Idem, 59 fig. 4
Image: Idem, 60 fig. 5

39 Megalou Alexandrou and Salaminos (plot), Map 2

Wall near NE scarp, of unworked stone. 4th cen. BC.

Drain, SE of the Wall.

Wall near building line of Salaminos, of poros. 4th cen. BC. Excavator does not specify why she dates the walls to the 4th cen. BC.

Late Classical and Hellenistic sherds.

The walls are not oriented parallel to the road, so perhaps they are from polyandria.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 75-76; no. 58, map no. 61
PN 39

40 Megalou Alexandrou and Salaminos (plot), Map 2

Wall in NE, of conglomerate ashlars. Possibly belonged to a funerary monument.

Wall near middle of the N scarp, of dressed conglomerate with the spaces filled with small stones. Possibly related to a funerary monument.

Marble leky. carved on one side.

Inscribed funerary column (pl. 54α).

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 68; map no. 45
Images: Idem, pl. 54α-β

41 Megalou Alexandrou 92-94 (plot), Map 2

Wall of stones, bricks and plaster.

W corner of a cistern with walls of dressed poros and a floor of small stones covered with hydraulic cement.

Late Roman structure partly over the N of the cistern, with two floors and three walls.

N of the structure, two pit graves with traces of burning.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 122; map no. 36

42 Megalou Alexandrou 102 (plot), Map 2

Five surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 7.50, th. 1.10. The Academy Road must make a sharp bend if the retaining wall was indeed found at **33**. See the comments in Costaki.

Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 16
Costaki 538-539, VIII.24

43 Megalou Alexandrou 104-106 (plot), Map 2

Five surfaces of the Wagon Road, near the NW scarp: w. (actual) 3.50 – 4.50, th. 1.70.
E retaining wall of unworked stones and mud, founded on an earlier road surface. Late Classical – Hellenistic.

W retaining wall of unworked stones and mud, in two phases. First phase: w. 0.65; founded on fill at a depth of 4.00. Second phase: w. 1.00 m; founded at depth of 3.70.

Drain.

Pit grave.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 35
Costaki 538, VIII.23

44 Mikalis 43-45 (plot), Map 2

Walls, bounding an area l. 7.10, w. 4.40, with smaller walls around them, forming some type of Late Hellenistic structure.

A fragmentary funerary stele with a naked youth leaning on the trunk of a tree. First half 4th cen. BC.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1980

ArchDelt 35 (1980), B1, *Chronika*, 36; map no. 18

45 Paramythias 41 and Artemisiou (drain), Map 2

Marble cist. Inside: plundered. Outside: two lekys. and sherds from the late 5th – early 4th cen. BC.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1994

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 42; map no. 12

46 Plataion and Paramythias (plot), Map 2

The following were found without clear context because of earlier construction work: nine funerary columns, an inscribed funerary stele, two marble loutrophoroi, a marble female Roman statue (pl. 56 α), a marble over life-size head of a dog (pl. 56 β), sherds from many periods, a marble funerary kalpis, and three marble sarcophagi with skeletons and some bronze including a mirror.

13 graves, mostly in the W, in small groups and isolated: marble sarcophagi, cists, a larnax, and a pit. Since the pit contained the remains of four skeletons, it was probably reused. The unguentaria inside (pl. 57 α) as well as gold leaves point to the Hellenistic or Roman period.

Walls, in W, of various materials, possibly funerary periboloi. Sherds from near the walls date to the second half 6th cen. BC and especially the end of the 6th and first half 5th cen. BC, from: the necks of loutrophoroi, ca. 530 BC; r.f. skyphoi with men and ephebes, probably from the circle of Epiktetos, ca. 510 BC; r.f. sherds with Herakles (pl. 57 γ) and Athena (pl. 57 δ), ca. 480; fragments of a r.f. votive plaque; and two halves of r.f. pinakia of the second quarter 5th cen. BC. Drain, near center of plot. Hellenistic.

ArchDelt 19 (1964), B1, *Chronika*, 60-61; map no. 14

PN 37, 39, 42, and 44

Images: *ArchDelt* 19 (1964), B1, *Chronika*, pls. 56 α - β and 57 α - δ

47 Plataion 50 (plot), Map 2

Eight surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 11.30, th. 1.20. The bedrock may have been the Archaic surface, then a Classical surface (th. 0.15-0.20), five Late Classical – Hellenistic surfaces (th. 0.85), and the Roman surfaces not clearly defined. In the Late Classical – Hellenistic period, the road's E edge moved 0.70 E of the Classical edge.

Two drains.

Alexandri, O. 1971.

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 134, 136; map no. 48

PN 36-37 and 39

Costaki 536-537, VIII.21

Images: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, pls. 82 β and 83 α

48 Paramythias and Plataion 52 (plot), Map 2

Ten surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 12.00, th. 0.15 (Classical), 0.85 (Late Classical – Hellenistic), total 1.50. The bedrock may have been the Archaic surface, then there is one Classical, five Late Classical-Hellenistic, and four Roman surfaces. The Late Classical – Hellenistic road extends 0.70 further E than the Classical road, while the Roman surfaces extend beyond the E boundary of the excavation plot.

Wheel ruts on the second layer of the Hellenistic road.

Two drains.

Grave 1. Not excavated. Possibly Classical because of its relationship to the Classical street layers.

Costaki notes a block in the trench for the drain labeled “horos” that is on the plan but not in the report. The Ephoreia informs me *per epistulam* (Nov. 7, 2008) that it is a portion of a funeral stele with traces of inscription.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 75-77; map no. 52

PN 36-39

Costaki 535-536, VIII.20

Plans: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 76 figs. 40-41

Image: Idem, pl. 58β

49 Thermopylon and Aisonos (plot, est. location), Map 2

Wall, of dressed conglomerate, perhaps belonging to a funeral peribolos of the Hellenistic period. Near it, 41 unguentaria, 2nd cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 20-21

50 Plataion 54 and Zografou (plot), Map 2

Six surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 11.00. The first surface has 8th cen. – early 5th cen. BC sherds, the second dates before the end of the 5th cen. BC, the third dates to the mid-4th cen. BC, the fourth dates to the last quarter of the 4th cen. BC with three repairs until the end of the 4th cen. BC, the fifth and sixth are from the 3rd cen. BC. (The excavator and Costaki report five surfaces but it adds up to six.)

Two drains.

Retaining wall of limestone in trapezoidal masonry, E of the E limit of the earlier street surfaces, thus widening the road. Last quarter of the 4th cen. BC. The road and retaining wall were destroyed in the 2nd cen. BC, the area filled in and leveled.

A rectangular water cistern, in the S of this newly formed area, plastered on the inside and with a conduit at its E corner, 1st cen. BC.

The retaining wall was repaired and used as the exterior W wall of a spacious house (with at least four rooms), 1st cen. BC.

House and cistern destroyed before the end of 1st cen. BC.

Grave, late 4th – early 5th cen. AD.

Habitations, period of Turkish occupation.

Chatzioti, M. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 21-22; map no. 29
Costaki 534-535, VIII.19
Image: *ArchDelt* 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 12δ

51 Plataion 55 and Profitou Daniil (plot), Map 2

Surfaces of the Academy Road, at least one with wheel-ruts.
Four-sided structure, near Profitou Daniil, perhaps a base, of irregular conglomerate blocks and lime plaster or mortar.
Drain, Hellenistic.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1981

ArchDelt 36 (1981), B1, *Chronika*, 23; map no. 15
Costaki 532-533, VIII.17

52 Mikalis 64 (plot), Map 2

Four surfaces of the Wagon Road: w. (actual) 6.50. Classical – Hellenistic. It was in use later than the Hellenistic period but recent construction destroyed the latest layers. From the plan it appears that the road widens as one proceeds NW.
W retaining wall, of dressed conglomerate in isodomic masonry. Only a few traces remain of the E retaining wall.
Rectangular base, W of the road and meeting the W retaining wall, of dressed conglomerate in isodomic masonry, two courses preserved. From the plan it appears that there are two other bases in the W.
Two marble sarcophagi, W of the road and both probably associated with the base. Late Classical.
Two Roman cists and two undated pits.
Fragments of w.g. lekys., with one scene of a visit to the tomb by Group R (*AAA* fig. 1).

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 73-74; map no. 35
AAA 3 (1970), 371-377
PN 39
Costaki 533-534, VIII.18
Plan: *ArchDelt* 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 74 fig. 27,
Images: Idem, pl. 63 α-β; *AAA* 3 (1970), 372 fig. 1

53 Plataion 59 (plot), Map 2

Thirteen surfaces of the Academy Road: th. 0.65. 4th cen. BC.
A clay antefix, inscribed ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ.

Chatzipouliou, E. 1988.

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 36; map no. 12
Costaki 532, VIII.16

54 Plataion and Zografou (plot), Map 2

A deep excavation was taking place at the time of writing at the intersection of Plataion and Zografou, at the plot adjacent to Plataion 58. According to a workman, no road surfaces or graves had been found, but there was a large drain. Many walls were visible.

2009

54.5 Zografou (plot, est. location), Map 2

Graves, mostly Roman, and kioniskoi.

A courtyard and a long building like a stoa, Roman.

Dontas 1971 links this plot with the statues from **71** and **72** and identifies it as the location of Epikouros' garden.

Koumanoudis, S. A. 1871

Plin. *HN* 19.19.51

Cic. *Fin.* 5.1.3

Prakt. 1871-1872, 6-7

Dontas 1971, 22

55 Salaminos and Zografou (plot, est. location), Map 2

Five stone cists with grave goods including strigils, unguentaria, and fragments of gold diadems.
Hellenistic and/or Roman?

Two pieces of an uninscribed funerary column.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 43

Images: Idem, pl. 41α-γ

56 Plataion 65 (plot), Map 2

Five surfaces of the Academy Road found throughout the entire plot.
Marble sculptural fragment(s?) including a leg with himation folds (A.E.M. 1567, pl. 54γ).

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 47
PN 39

Costaki 531-532, VIII.15

Images: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 54γ

57 Achilleos and Plataion (plot), Map 2

Late Classical deposit, rectangular: l. 3.25, w. 2.75. Inside: sherds and vessels including nine r.f. Kerch kraters (pl. 73β with an Amazonomachy), four b.g. kraters, two Panathenaic amphoras (pl. 73α), 11 b.g. pinakes, three b.g. kantharoi, another 11 vessels, figurine fragments, and four stamped handles.

Alexandri, O. 1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 58; map no. 16
Images: Idem, pl. 73α-β

58 Achilleos and Salaminos (plot), Map 2

Graves found in the NW corner of the plot: two marble kalpides in one cutting, a cist, and two pits. Grave goods included unguentaria and strigils. The excavator dates all of them to the Roman period.

The earliest sherds found were Classical.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 43; map no. 7
Plans: Idem, 44 fig. 3
Images: Idem, pl. 48 α-β

59 Salaminos 80 (plot), Map 2

Rectangular base with two cists on top, Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 43
Image: Idem, pl. 40γ

60 Achilleos 67 (plot), Map 2

Eight cists of marble or bricks and plaster and one kalpis. Roman.
Some remains of a bath, at a similar elevation to the graves.
Pottery primarily from the Hellenistic period.

Methodiou, E. 1978

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 22; map no. 30

61 Chalkidikis 18 and Tsotiliou (plot), Map 2

Drain, Classical based on sherds.

Tsirogoti-Drakotou, I. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 46; map no. 14

62 Profitou Daniil 18 (plot), Map 2

Area shows use from the late 8th to early 5th cen. BC and from the Hellenistic to Late Roman periods based on ceramics.

A marble cist, Hellenistic.

Four deposits of abundant high quality ceramics, especially fragments from small, open, b.f. vessels such as skyphoi and kylixes (pl. 12β). 6th – first half 5th cen. BC. They are probably from a workshop rather than graves, for in the plot were also found supports for a kiln, pieces of burnt brick, and molds for architectural ornamentation.

Wall of small and medium unworked stones, pebbles, and clay. 1st cen. BC.

An inscribed marble funerary column, Hellenistic.

Female head from a statue (pl. 12γ), Flavian period.

Methodiou, E. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 21; map no. 28
Images: Idem, pl. 12β-γ

63 Profitou Daniil, between Konstantinoupoleos and Chalkidiki (drain), Map 2

Conglomerate wall, 4th cen. BC, possibly a funerary peribolos.

Marble sarcophagus, 5th cen. BC, but the excavator does not mention discovering any ceramics inside. Near it, a marble plaque with an inscribed carved leky. and another (pl. 58α) with two men in a dexiosis scene.

Pit with traces of a pyre. Inside: vessels of the first half 5th cen. BC. Above the grave: two pyres.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 68-69; map no. 50

Garland 1982, D7

Plan: *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 69 fig. 29

Images: Idem, pls. 58α and pl. 59γ

64 Konstantinoupoleos and Kavalas (for pedestrian passage), Map 2

Three parallel cists covered with slabs of marble, Hellenistic. Grave goods included glass vessels, gold leaves, and a Late Hellenistic gold ring with a cornelian gemstone depicting a protome of Pan.

N of the graves, a cutting containing fragments of a bronze vessel, one whole bronze strigil and fragments of another strigil, Late Hellenistic in date.

S of the graves a conglomerate roughly-worked block linked by the excavator to a peribolos.

Two more cists E and SE of the Hellenistic cists.

Well in the SE of the plot with 4th-cen. BC sherds, but it was not excavated to the bottom.

A Late Hellenistic gold ring with a semi-precious stone showing two frontal “psyches.”

Fragments of an inscribed funerary stele (M 3611) crowned with an anthemion and carved in low relief with a seated woman and a servant offering her a jewelry box.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 43-44; map no. 12

65 Konstantinoupoleos (est. location), Maps 2 and 7

Two inscribed funerary columns, one including “ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟΥ.”

Kyparissis, N.

ArchDelt 11.2 (1927-1928), 47, 50

66 Konstantinoupoleos, between Achilleos and Elefsinion (drain), Maps 2 and 7

Three roads, probably the Academy Road, a cross street, and road from the Leokoriou Gate, but not specified. The roads reconstructed at this plot on my map are hypothetical.

28 graves, Archaic – Hellenistic, of which recorded are two pits, Late Archaic; two pits, first half 5th cen. BC; three pits, Hellenistic; and nine tile-covered burials, five pits, and five cists. A Late Geometric amphora was reused in a grave of the first half 5th cen. BC. Few grave goods are described apart from unguentaria.

Lazaridis, D. 1965

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 97-98; map no. 46
Costaki 525, VIII.6
Plans: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, fig. 46
Images: Idem, pl. 90 δ-σ'

67 72 Achilleos (plot), Map 2

Three cists, one of them 3rd cen. BC with a bronze mirror, two unguentaria, small fragments of gold cloth, a round object made of bone, and round nails. The others are at around the same depth so may be of the same date.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 43; map no. 11 (under Achilleos and Konstantinoupoleos)

68 Antilochoi 21 (plot), Map 2

Five walls, dated apparently by sherds found in the general area to Classical – Hellenistic. Some of the walls cut each other, so they are not all from one phase. One of the earlier walls, of conglomerate blocks and unworked marble, is curved and so probably a funerary peribolos. A plaster floor meets one of the walls.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 33
Image: Idem, pl. 42γ

69 Antilochoi 18 and Thermopylon (plot), Map 2

Nothing found, but one of the layers had sand and gravel from a river bed.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 32-33

70 Thermopylon 84-86 and Thespieon (plot), Map 2

Three walls: one of dressed conglomerate, one of dressed conglomerate and small irregular stones, and one of unworked stones.

Tile-covered burial S of the first wall, containing glass unguentaria. Hellenistic or Roman?
The upper portion of an inscribed pedimental marble stele, a fragmentary marble loutrophoros with two males shaking hands, an inscribed marble funerary column of the Hellenistic period, and an inscribed marble stele of the Early Roman period with two women under an arch (pl. 68α).

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 108-109; map no. 24
Image: Idem, pl. 68α

71 Achilleos 52-54 (plot), Map 2

In the NE of the plot: three funerary columns, a funerary stele with a seated woman holding a child, a funerary stele with a sacrificial knife and inscribed ΕΦΕΣΙΟΣ (pl. 61α), and a marble seated figure without head, probably a philosopher (pl. 61β), Roman.

N of these items: A poros grave and a well. A skeleton was found near the bottom of the well. Dontas 1971 links the statue from this plot and the four from 72 with the building at 54.5, where he locates Epikouros' garden.

Threpsiadis, I. 1963

ArchDelt 19 (1964), B1, *Chronika*, 64
Dontas 1971, 18-19

Images: *ArchDelt* 19 (1964), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 61α-β; Dontas 1971, pl. 2-3

72 Marathonos 61 (plot), Map 2

In the south, a Late Roman wall of conglomerate probably in secondary use. Built into this wall are three seated philosopher statues and fragments of a fourth, second century A.D. North of this wall are five tile-covered graves and one child's burial in a larnax, with few grave goods mentioned but dated fifth to fourth century BC. North of these are five statues of Pentelic marble dating to the second and third quarter of the fourth century BC. that may have fallen off a wall near them: four female statues and a lion compared to one from Olympia. Near them, a marble leky. with a standing bearded man shaking the hand of a seated bearded man. The wall is the southern wall of a structure of dressed conglomerate in isodomic masonry, preserved three courses high. Mid-fourth century BC.

Vessels found in the area of the graves are Classical, including r.f. depictions related to women (such as a wedding scene) and w.g. lekys. with grave visits and tomb depictions.

Dontas 1971 links the statues from this plot and the one from 71 with the building at 54.5, where he locates Epikouros' garden.

Alexandri, O. 1968

AAA 2 (1969) 257-266

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 56, 59-60; map no. 31

Dontas 1971

Garland 1982, 152, E1

PN 40

Plan: *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 58 fig. 24

Images: *AAA* 2 (1969), 259-261 figs. 1-7; *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, pls. 51 α-γ, 52 α-γ, and 53 α-β; Dontas 1971 pls. 1-8; Schilardi 1968, fig. 2

73 Achilleos 44 (plot), Map 2

Six cists, seven pits, and three kalpides, Classical – Roman. Few grave goods are described.

One wall, Roman.

Six funerary columns.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 30-32; map no. 11

Plan: Idem, 31 fig. 7

Images: Idem, pl. 35β-δ

74 Konstantinoupoleos 155 and Platonos (plot), Map 2

Funerary peribolos to the E of the road, of worked and unworked stones, among them remains of older funerary monuments. Fill around it dates it to the Classical period.

Five cists, five pits, four tile-covered graves, Roman. Some of the graves were richly endowed.

Monuments in secondary use were built into the graves, including an inscribed pedimental funerary stele dating to the 2nd cen. AD.

Probably part of the same cemetery as at **75**.

Methodiou, E. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 22-23; map no. 31

Image: Idem, pl. 13

75 Platonos 6-8 (plot), Map 3

10 cists, four tile-covered graves, and three pits, Roman. Some of the graves richly arrayed, with jewelry and up to 40 unguentaria. Occasional presence of more than one skeleton in a grave.

Three inscribed funerary columns.

Probably part of the same cemetery as at 74.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 84 and 88; no. 68, map no. 71

Plans: Idem, 87 figs. 37-38

Images: Idem, 88 fig. 39, pl. 48α-β

76 Serron 2 (drain), Map 2

Possible surface of the Academy Road: th. 0.30. Sherds mostly 4th cen. BC.

Two cists, one of them on a street layer with sherds primarily of 4th-cen. BC lekys.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 44-46; map no. 13 (under Serron 1-17)

Costaki 530-531, VIII.13

77 Serron 1 (drain), Map 2

Layer with 4th-cen. BC sherds, ash, bones, and shells.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 44-46; map no. 13 (under Serron 1-17)

Costaki 530-531, VIII.13

78 Serron 6 (drain), Map 2

Drain, with mouth of a marble funerary leky. inside, and as a cover part of an inscribed funerary stele (M 3585) in the shape of a naiskos, 4th cen. BC.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 44-46; map no. 13 (under Serron 1-17)

79 Serron and Doxatou (plot, est. loc.), Map 2

Deposit: l. 2.06, w. 1.10, depth 0.70. Contained a great quantity of b.g. Hellenistic vessels, especially pinakia.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 55; no. 24, not on map

80 Monastiriou and Serron 3 (plot), Map 2

Well with inner fill dating 5th – 4th cen. BC.

Parts of the foundations of a structure, 3rd – 4th cen. AD, cut by later trenches.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 22; map no. 22

81 Serron 3-5 (drain), Map 2

Sarcophagus of pentelic marble with the bones of five skeletons (two children, a very young girl, and two men, one of them very old) and glass, bronze, and bone items. 4th cen. AD. From the northern cutting for the sarcophagus, marble fragments and fragments of an Ionic capital.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 44-46; map no. 13 (Serron 1-17)

Image: Idem, pl. 22α

82 Serron and Chalkidikis (drain), Map 3

A layer found with sherds and vessels dating to the 4th cen. BC, esp. 350-325 BC.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 44-46; map no. 13 (Serron 1-17)

Costaki 530-531, VIII.13

83 Serron 11 (drain), Map 3

Poros sarcophagus.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 44-46; map no. 13 (Serron 1-17)

84 Serron 15-17 (drain), Map 3

Drain.

E retaining wall for the Wagon Road at the same bottom elevation as the drain and parallel to it, of poros blocks and small stones with mud as a binder. Continues at **85**.

Portion of an inscribed marble funerary stele (M 3582), with three figures carved in a rectangular area. At the left, a seated woman gives her hand to a standing man. Behind them, an old man standing. 4th cen. BC.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 44-46; map no. 13 (Serron 1-17)
Costaki 530-531, VIII.13

85 Serron 20 (drain), Map 3

Small section of Wagon Road.

E retaining wall, of large and small stones. Continues at **84**.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 93-94; no. 77, map no. 80 (under Serron)
PN 39
Costaki 526, VIII.8

86 Siatistis and Monastiriou (drain), Map 3

Surfaces of the Academy Road, W of graves from **87**: exc. w. 7.80, th. 0.60. Classical sherds gathered.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1985

ArchDelt 40 (1985), *Chronika*, 31; map no. 17 (with **87**)
Costaki 527-528, VIII.10

87 Siatistis 16-18 and Monastiriou (drain), Map 3

A pyre with sherds primarily from 5th-cen. BC lekys. Above it and cutting Classical fills, a marble sarcophagus on a pedestal of rectangular blocks, undecorated and with a pedimental cover. Two skeletons inside and pieces of a bronze strigil. An inscribed fallen stele (B.E. 816), near the NE edge of the pedestal.

Another pyre from the excavation had a similar makeup, containing fragments of w.g. lekys. of the late 5th cen. BC, fragments of a leky. of 450 BC, and a b.g. oinochoe of 480 BC. Cutting it

was a child's burial made up of two larnakes, one acting as the cover. Inside: a child's skull and a b.g. leky. 430 BC. On top of the pyre was a 1st cen. AD marble cist, outside of which were fragments of a female statue.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1985

ArchDelt 40 (1985), *Chronika*, 31; map no. 17 (with **86**)
Costaki 527-528, VIII.10

88 Monastiriou 12 and Siatistis (plot), Map 3

Two surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 14.50, th. 0.50. The two surfaces are Late Archaic and Classical. E retaining wall on plan but not in report.

Fourteen graves (pits, cists, children's larnakes, and a poros sarcophagus) found to the E of the road, 5th cen. BC. Grave goods described.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 127-130; map no. 41
PN 36-37, 39, and 44

Costaki 527, VIII.9

Plans: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 128-129, figs. 30 and 31

Images: Idem, pls. 79-81

89 Platonos 13, Siatistis, and Pythodorou (plot), Map 3

Four pits and two larnakes, one of them Hellenistic.

Curved funerary peribolos, of large unworked stones. Some of it founded directly on the *kimilia*.
Classical?

Vessels, mostly Classical and Late Classical, with some Hellenistic.

An inscribed mid-4th cen. marble grave stele (pl. 27β) with painted anthemion and a seated woman carved in relief giving an object to a girl.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 28-29

Images: Idem, pl. 27α-β

90 Platonos 14 and Aristonos (drain), Map 3

Two sarcophagi (of conglomerate and stone), three tile-covered burials, and one larnax. All the graves except one were undisturbed and used for inhumations, but only the poros sarcophagus contained any offerings, and these were Hellenistic.

Alexandri, O. 1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 95-96; map A no. 24
PN 39

91 Siatistis 7 (plot), Map 3

Two cists and one inscribed funerary column, Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 114; map no. 72

92 Platonos 18 and Siatistis (plot), Map 3

Marble cist with some bones, a small chytra (pl. 54ε.2) and fragments of a strigil. Classical.
Poros cist.

Marble cist with a skeleton, a squat leky. (pl. 54ε.3) with floral decoration, and an alabaster
alabastron (pl. 54ε.1). Late Classical.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 50
PN 40

Images: Idem, pl. 54ε.1-3

93 Pythodorou 19 and Pierias (plot), Map 3

Pithos plastered on the inside, Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 90; map no. 48

94 Pythodorou 26 (plot), Map 3

A deposit, only partially excavated, cutting a 5th-cen. BC deposit left by the river Kephissos.
Inside: Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sherds. Extends into Platonos 22 and Pythodorou.
River deposit itself oriented NW-SE.

Three cists in the SW of the plot, with poros and marble in secondary use and sharing walls, all plundered and partly destroyed, probably Roman. The graves were covered in the 4th cen. AD. There is also a tile-covered grave later than these cists.
Pediment of a funerary relief (M 4692, pl. 28α) .

Stoupa, Ch. 1996-1997

ArchDelt 52 (1997), B1, *Chronika*, 57-58; map no. 12
BCH 127 (2003), 709
Image: *ArchDelt* 52 (1997), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 28α

95 Platonos 20 and Pythodorou 29 (plot), Map 3

Larnax, in NE corner of the plot. Inside: a child's skeleton and a small b.g. leky. 4th cen. BC.
Pyre, close to NW corner of the plot. Inside: a broken r.f. pyxis with a female scene on the lid, 370-360 BC, a b.g. pyxis, 4th cen. BC, and a bronze mirror.
Sarcophagus, by N scarp and partly in Pythodorou, monolithic of shelly limestone. Inside: skeleton, one bronze and one iron strigil.
Two blocks, in E and SE of plot and proceeding out of the plot.
A trench W of the blocks and perpendicular to them: w. 0.60.
An inscribed marble funerary column in S. 1st cen. BC.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1989

ArchDelt 44 (1989), B1, *Chronika*, 24-25; map no. 3

96 Platonos 15 and 17 and Keratsiniou (drain), Map 3

Two inscribed funerary columns, one of them Late Hellenistic.
Two four-sided structures, probably once bases for funeral monuments, close to each other and parallel. One is of limestone with mud binder, the other similarly built except that its NE corner was made of two successive blocks in secondary use. This second structure cuts a layer containing tiles, Hellenistic sherds, and one of the Late Hellenistic funerary columns.
Two cists between the structures, Roman.
One tile-covered burial and one other grave.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1989

ArchDelt 44 (1989), B1, *Chronika*, 23-24; map no. 2

97 Platonos 15 and Pythodorou (plot), Map 3

A layer of smooth stones, along NW scarp. Founded upon them, a conglomerate wall. Two more walls on the W and E side of this conglomerate wall.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 50

Image: Idem, pl. 54δ

98 Keratsiniou, between Platonos and Monastiriou (drain), Map 3

Academy Road in the W: exc. w. 30.00.

E of the road, two walls forming a corner of a Hellenistic house, with a portion of a mosaic floor within them.

A later construction, consisting of three walls of various unworked stones and plastered on the inside, on area of the Hellenistic house.

Tile-covered grave.

Inscribed funerary column from near the grave (pl. 84γ).

Lazaridis, D. and Alexandri, O. 1965-1966?

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 88, 91, 92; map no. 41 (under Keratsiniou)

PN 37 and 39

Costaki 525-526, VIII.7

Plans: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 89 fig. 41

Image: Idem, pl. 84γ

99 Keratsiniou, between Monastiriou and Pronoias (drain), Map 3

Three surfaces of the Wagon Road: w. 7.00. Oldest use is Classical.

E retaining wall.

Tile-covered grave with glass unguentaria, so Hellenistic or Roman, E of the road.

A cist grave (pl. 83α) with two skeletons and Roman grave offerings, on the road.

Lazaridis, D. and Alexandri, O. 1965-1966?

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 88, 91, 92; map no. 41 (under Keratsiniou)

PN 37 and 39

Costaki 525-526, VIII.7

Plan: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 90 fig. 42

Image: Idem, pl. 83α

100 Keratsiniou 60-64 (plot), Map 3

Six surfaces of the Wagon Road: w. 4.80, th. 1.20.
E retaining wall, of dressed conglomerate blocks.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 35
Costaki 549, IX.2

101 Monastiriou 15 and Keratsiniou 39 (plot), Map 3

Six cists and four tile-covered burials, Roman, found in two successive layers. There is at least one grave with two skeletons, and offerings include glass vessels and gold leaves.

Drain.

Well amongst the graves so presumably pre-dates them.

Alexandri, O. 1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 92; map no. 42
PN 38-39
Plan: Idem, 91 fig. 43
Image: Idem, pl. 83β

102 Keratsiniou 54 and Platonos (plot), Map 3

Fourteen pit graves, Roman, all with the same orientation, in NE of the plot. On top of two of the graves, a thin layer of stones that include part of a broken column, and above that layer, a stone with a cutting for a stele and another with a cutting for a column (pl. 75β), in secondary use. Clairmont 1983 thinks that the stones are, if not Archaic, at the latest Classical.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 115, 117-118; map no. 31
PN 39
Plans: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 118-119, figs. 22-23
Images: Idem, pls. 75β and 76

103 Platonos 23 (plot), Map 3

Three poros cists, three pits, two larnakes, Hellenistic. Two of the cists share a side and on top of them is a base or pedestal in four courses. On top of the third cist are cut poros stones which were once part of a base/pedestal.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 39 and 41

Image: Idem, pl. 40α

104 Alikarnassou 82, 84, 86 (drain), Map 3

Sarcophagus. Inside: bones and head gathered in the NE.

A rectangular structure of unworked small stones with lime plaster, possibly a funerary base.

The excavator thinks that the funerary stele BE 854 found at **105** may be related because of its close proximity, but that stele was found on top of another cist, with which it is probably related.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1991

ArchDelt 46 (1991), B1, *Chronika*, 33; map no. 7.

105 Alikarnassou 82 (drain), Map 3

Cist.

Inscribed marble stele (B.E. 854) fallen on top of the grave, naiskos shape with a pediment, with a representation of a young man with a dove or pigeon in his left hand. Roman. See **104**.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1985

ArchDelt 40 (1985), *Chronika*, 31-32; map no. 18 (with **106**)

106 Alikarnassou 88 (drain), Map 3

Amphora burial, obliquely laid into the natural soil, with a child's bones inside. Outside the mouth: four one-handled small cups stacked one inside the other, late 8th – early 7th cen. BC, one one-handled conical cup, 7th cen. BC, two small trefoil oinochoai, late 8th – 7th cen. BC, and one jug with a lid, 7th cen. BC. The amphora itself dates to the third quarter 7th cen. BC.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1985

ArchDelt 40 (1985), *Chronika*, 31-32; map no. 18 (with **105**)

107 Monastiriou and Alikarnassou (plot, est. location), Map 3

Two stone cists sharing a wall, with bones of three skeletons in each. Hellenistic.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 23

108 Alikarnassou 94 (plot), Map 3

Surfaces of the Wagon Road.

Wall of four irregular blocks, probably once forming the road's retaining wall.

Portion of a semi-circular structure: diam. 4.60, w. 0.50 (funerary peribolos?), on a layer with Geometric and Classical sherds.

Two cists, Roman.

Two sarcophagi (poros and marble), Late Classical, with no grave goods mentioned.

Larnax that partly cuts the foundation trench of one of the sarcophagi, with a 4th-cen. BC leky. inside. A funeral trench above this burial.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1980?

ArchDelt 35 (1980), B1, *Chronika*, 36-37; map no. 20

Costaki 549, IX.1

Image: *ArchDelt* 35 (1980), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 18β

109 Alikarnassou, between Monastiriou and Serron (drain), Map 3

Larnax and a cist, Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 38; no. 9, map no. 10

Plan: Idem, 38 fig. 5

110 Kastorias and Athinon (drain), Map 3

Tile-covered burial. Inside: some parts of a skeleton, a w.g. leky. with a well-preserved scene, second half of the 5th cen. BC, a one-handed b.g. phiale, 450-425 BC, and a b.g. kylix of 450-425 BC.

Larnax burial touching the tile-covered grave.

W of these, two parallel poros cists, one dated 350-325 BC based on grave goods.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 46-47; map no. 15 (under Kastorias)

111 Profitou Daniil, church, Map 2

Marble grave monument (EM 161), cylindrical top on a rectangular base, found in an olive press in the area where today the church is located, for the craftsman [Βάκ]χ[ιός / Ἄ]μφι[σ ---] / ἐκ Κεραμείων, with a long inscription. Second half 4th cen. BC.

1901

A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), no. 26

P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* II (1989), no. 567, with further bibliography and discussion of the identification of the deceased

Siewert 1999, 2

Image: A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909), 40 fig. 18

112 Athinon 54-56 (plot), Map 3

Three poros sarcophagi from the 5th cen. BC with some b.g. lekys. and r.f. pyxides. A bronze mirror and ring in one point to a female grave.

Inscribed marble pedimental stele, with a representation of a male and female dexiosis.

Orfanou, V. 1994

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 41; map no. 10 (under Kavalas)

Images: Idem, pl. 23α-δ

113 Serron 47 (plot), Map 3

Cist with grave goods including a b.f. leky. with a quadriga, a b.f. alabastron (pl. 14α) with a chariot race, a r.f. leky. with an ephebe in a himation facing right. Second quarter 5th cen. BC.

Methodiou, E. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 25; map no. 37

Image: Idem, pl. 14α

114 Serron (near 54) and Sp. Patsi (drain), Map 3

Late Archaic pit. Inside: 10 lekys., two of them with anthemia and ivy, a r.f. alabastron, two b.g. phialai, and two b.g. pyxides.

Two Classical pits, with grave goods including lekys., one with a Dionysiac scene.

Alexandri, O. 1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 114; map no. 71
PN 40

115 Serron 54 (plot), Map 3

Marble sarcophagus with a pedimental lid.

Alexandri, O. 1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 97; map A no. 28

116 Spyrou Patsi and Serron (drain), Map 3

Marble kalpis with a bronze ash urn inside.

ArchDelt 19 (1964), B1, *Chronika*, 61-62
Images: Idem, pl. 58 α-β

117 Palamidiou 75-81 (plot), Map 3

Four surfaces of the Wagon Road: w. 3.90, th. 0.90.

E retaining wall, of dressed conglomerate blocks.

Two pits, one Hellenistic the other probably also; one cist, Hellenistic; five cists, Early Roman.

Grave goods.

Funerary column and stele remains.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 25
Costaki 573, X.30

118 Platonos 31 (plot), Map 3

Two inscribed funerary columns (BE 182, 183), Hellenistic.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 22; map no. 21

119 Platonos 33 (plot), Map 3

Marble inscribed loutrophoros carved with four figures in a dexiosis scene, mid-4th cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 89; map no. 44
PN 39

Image: *ArchDelt* 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 72α

120 Palamidiou (drain), Map 3

A rectangular cutting in the natural soil. Inside: 262 b.g. pointed-toe amphoriskoi with stamped decoration, all from one workshop based on design. 440 – early 4th cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 132; map no. 44
AAA 6 (1973) 150-157

Plan: AAA 6 (1973) 150 fig. 1

Images: AAA 6 (1973) 151-156 figs. 1-15

121 Platonos 48 (drain), Map 3

Sarcophagus of shelly limestone. Inside: a few bones and ten lekys. of which four were complete. The description is not accurate enough to determine whether the lekys. are Archaic or Classical.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 47
PN 40

122 Plateia Ag. Giorgios, Map 3

Academy Road.

Aristophron, P. 1933

ΠΑΑ 8 (1933) 245
Costaki 572-573, X.29

123 Palamidiou, near Ag. Giorgios, Map 3

Wagon Road: w. ca. 5. Showed signs of much use.
Retaining walls.
Graves 5th cen. – Roman, un plundered.
Very few details available for this excavation.

Aristophron, P. and K. Kouniotis, 1930-1933

ΠΑΑ 5 (1930) 420-424

AJA 34 (1930) 390

ΠΑΑ 8 (1933) 245

Costaki 572, X.28, with further bibliography

Images: *ΠΑΑ* 8 (1933), pl. A1; Travlos 1971, 299-300 fig. 417

124 Pylou, between Monastiriou and Timaiou (drain), Map 3

Three surfaces, not clearly defined, of the Wagon Road: w. 3.60, th. 0.70. Wheel ruts.
Poros sarcophagi.
In same drain excavation, the Academy Road was found to the E at **127**.

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 80; map no. 56 (under Pylou)

PN 39

Costaki 571-572, X.27

Plan: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 79 fig. 3

125 Vicinity of Ag. Giorgios, Map 3

Wagon road: w. 4.80.
Graves and pyres along both sides of the road.
Section of retaining walls or periboloi on plans.
Very few details available for this excavation.

Stavropoulos, Ph. 1962

Costaki 569-570, X.25, with further bibliography (under Monastiriou and Pylou)

Prakt. 1962, 11

Plans: *Prakt.* 1962, 10 fig. 3; Travlos 1971, 320 fig. 419

Image: *Prakt.* 1962, pl. 7

126 Monastiriou 42 and Faiakon (plot), Map 3

Rectangular foundations of a ceramics workshop, over length of N side of plot. 5th and 4th cen. BC. A destruction horizon, with vessels of the 4th cen. BC, across the area. A large rectangular receptacle for clay in SE of the plot with 5th-cen. BC sherds must be associated with the workshop. Other workshop remains, in SW of plot, are trenches in the rock for channeling water, pits with burnt lumps of clay, kiln remains with burnt clay slabs, supports for firing pots, burnt pieces of vessels, and ten pits of the late 5th to third quarter 4th cen. BC.

After the ceramics workshop was destroyed, the area was used as a cemetery. The earliest such evidence is a pyre, late 4th cen. BC – 3rd cen. BC.

25 pits, nine cists, two unspecified graves, most of them facing the same direction, Late Hellenistic and Early Roman.

A Byzantine deposit (11th to 12th cen. AD), and more recently a well and four pits have disturbed the area.

Chatzioti, M. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 20-22; map no. 20

Plan: Idem, 21 fig. 5

127 Pylou, between Platonos and Faiakon (drain), Map 3

Five surfaces of the Academy Road: w. 40.00, th. 0.72; laid on natural soil at depth 3.20.

Although no retaining walls were found, the length of this drain excavation suggests that the full extent of the road may have been revealed.

Drain.

In the same drain excavation, the Wagon Road was found to the W at **124**.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 80; map no. 56 (under Pylou)

PN 39

Costaki 570-571, X.26

Plans: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 79 figs. 43-44

128 Faiakon 4 (plot), Map 3

Three surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 12.00, th. 0.80.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 141-142; map no. 58

Costaki 569, X.23

129 Platonos 45-47 (plot), Map 3

Five surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 14.00, th. 0.70. Partly destroyed.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 77 and 80; map no. 55

PN 39

Costaki 569, X.24

130 Platonos 51-53 (plot), Map 4

Four to seven surfaces of the Academy Road (pl. 54 α - β).

Three drains, one under the first road surface and two cutting at least the first four road surfaces.

W retaining wall, not associated with the lowest road surface.

Excavators argue that the varying numbers of the road surfaces, with more in the E than the W, points to an enlargement of the road toward the E. However, it seems rather that the road was narrowed and the W portion went out of use.

Sherds from area were 5th cen. BC – Roman.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 47

Costaki 568, X.22

Plans: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 48-49 figs. 10-13

Images: Idem, pl. 54 α - β

131 Nafpliou 75 and Monastiriou (drain), Map 4

Seven surfaces of the Wagon Road: w. 6.00, th. 1.40.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 130-132; map no. 43 (under heading Nafpliou 75 and Platonos)

Costaki 567-568, X.21

Plan: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 131 fig. 32

132 Nafpliou 75 and Platonos, between Platonos and Monastiriou (drain), Map 4

Ten surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 24.00, th. 1.95.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 130-132; map no. 43 (under heading Nafpliou 75 and Platonos)

PN 38-39

Costaki 566-567, X.19

Plan: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 131 fig. 32

133 Monastiriou 51 and Nafpliou (plot), Map 4

Surfaces of the Wagon Road, in S of plot.

Tile kiln, circular in shape. Inside: burned plinths, carbon, small stones, and sherds of the 5th cen. BC.

Marble cylindrical container with a lid, near NE corner of plot. Inside: a handless container with lid, with a white coating, containing the cremated bones of a baby. Excavator compares to burials in perfume containers of the late 4th cen. BC.

Tile-covered burial in the N of the plot. Cuts the tile furnace, so later than the 5th cen. BC.

Monolithic sarcophagus in N of plot of shelly limestone and covered with two slabs. Cuts the tile furnace. Inside: skeletal remains (skull once in E), a bronze mirror and a b.g. leky. of the second half 4th cen. BC.

Deposit, in E of plot, covered with layers of tiles. Not excavated.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1987?

ArchDelt 42 (1987), B1, *Chronika*, 19-20; map no. 8 (mistakenly called Monastiriou 31 and Nafpliou)

Costaki 567, X.20

134 Monastiriou 53 (plot), Map 4

Three surfaces of the Wagon Road: pres. w. 3.50, th. 0.90. SW portion of the road destroyed.

E retaining wall of unworked stones.

Funerary peribolos, 0.25 NE of the retaining wall, also of unworked stones.

Three poros cists with offerings from the Late Classical period.

Three pyramidal loomweights.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 23

Costaki 564, X.15

135 Nafpliou 80 (plot), Map 4

Six surfaces of the Academy Road: th. 1.60. The oldest surface is on a layer of red soil with 5th-cen. BC sherds. Three layers from the Classical period follow, of a hard gray soil, then two from the Hellenistic period, of a yellowish silty soil, then the upper surfaces, of brown soil, ill-defined. Upper surfaces and Classical surfaces show erosion from torrents, which Costaki suggests could account for the silty consistency of some road surfaces.

Dakoura, O. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 23; map no. 32

Costaki 564-565, X.16

136 Nafpliou 78 (plot), Map 4

Six surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 10.40, th. 0.94.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 130; map no. 42

PN 39

Costaki 565, X.17

137 Nafpliou and Platonos 59 (plot), Map 4

Five surfaces of the Academy Road: th. 0.90. Destroyed in places.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 70-71; map no. 47

PN 39

Costaki 565-566, X.18

138 Platonos 65 and Charmidou (plot), Map 4

Six surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 21.60, th. 1.15.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 136; map no. 52

PN 38-39

Costaki 563-564, X.4

Image: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 83γ

139 Platonos 80 (plot), Map 4

One sarcophagus, 5th cen. BC; one sarcophagus, Late Classical; two cremations in two pits, one of which Late Classical; two cists, Hellenistic; one sarcophagus, Roman; an additional sarcophagus and two unspecified graves, undated. Some grave goods described.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 29

140 Mantineias 19B (plot), Map 4

Two cists, one sarcophagus, one tile-covered grave, and one pyre, late 5th – early 4th cen. BC. The graves were disturbed. Inside and outside were skeletal remains, clay and glass vessels, stone alabastra, and bronze objects.

Chatzipouliou, E. 1987?

ArchDelt 42 (1987), B1, *Chronika*, 16-17; map no. 6

141 Platonos, between Argous and Charmidou (drain), Map 4

Four surfaces of the Academy Road: th. 0.55.

Alexandri, O. 1971.

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 136; map no. 51

PN 39

Costaki 563, X.12

142 Platonos 67 (plot), Map 4

Seven surfaces of the Academy Road (pl. 72β): exc. w. 6.00, th. 1.45.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 89; map no. 45

PN 38-39

Costaki 563, X.13

Image: *ArchDelt* 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 89, pl. 72β

143 Argous and Platonos (drain), Map 4

Marble funerary column, uninscribed.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 18

144 Korinthou and Platonos 96 (plot), Map 4

Three surfaces of the Academy Road (possibly four – see Costaki 561): exc. w. 12.00, th. 3.50. Classical – Hellenistic. This might be the Academy Road's NE edge, because the road was not found throughout the plot.

Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 68; map no. 43

PN 39

Costaki 561-562, X.10

Plans: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 69 figs. 33-34

145 Platonos 75 and Tritaias (plot), Map 4

Five surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 16.50, th. 1.40.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 136; map no. 50

PN 39

Costaki 562, X.11

Image: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 83β

146 Platonos and Argous 92 (plot), Map 4

One cist and two pits, one of these with traces of burning, without any grave goods specified. Stele, near the middle of the plot, carved with a young man and his servant, last third 4th cen. BC. Clairmont thinks the cist may be a cenotaph.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 89-90; map no. 46

PN 40

Image: *ArchDelt* 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 73α

147 Argous and Monastiriou (plot), Map 4

Structure with two Hellenistic phases and one Roman phase. Walls were of varying construction techniques, from conglomerate ashlar to unworked stone with plaster. Part of the structure includes a cistern and a well.

B.g. vessels, one coin of Constantine II, and one coin 1071-1078.

Built into the structures: two inscribed marble stelai with rosettes, a marble female head (pl. 71α), 2nd cen. AD, and in W of the Hellenistic wall was built in a *horos* of Pentelic marble, probably from a shrine.

Alexandri, O. 1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 56; map no. 13

Plan: Idem, 55 fig. 15

Images: Idem, pls. 71α and 72α

148 Argous 106 (plot), Map 4

Two phases of walls, Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 42-43; map no. 5

149 Argous 107 (plot), Map 4

Foundations of an Early Roman building with two phases. The soil on which it was founded contained Archaic, Classical (mostly), and Hellenistic sherds.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 20; map no. 19

150 Argous 148 and Athinon (plot), Map 3

Tile-covered grave, with vessels dating to the late 5th cen. BC.

Vasilopoulou, V. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 18; map no. 14

151 Athinon 88 and Mitrodorou (plot), Map 4

Two Late Geometric trench graves with vessels, one with evidence of burning. The report calls them graves but it seems that these are offering trenches rather than graves per se.

Vasilopoulou, V. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 18; map no. 15

152 Mitrodorou and Geminou (plot), Map 4

One pithos burial and one cremation in a krater serving as an ash urn, Late Geometric.
Ten Archaic pits with cremations, only one with a funeral offering that was early 7th – mid-6th cen. BC. One mudbrick Archaic cist with offerings.
Two pit cremations, 450 – 425 BC; two sarcophagi, second half 5th cen. BC; three larnakes, two of them last quarter 5th cen. BC. Grave offerings included w.g. lekys. and r.f. vessels. One poros sarcophagus contained a female.
Two deposits, one with soil rich in sherds from the last quarter of the 8th cen. – 460 BC, another with material from a workshop, mainly skyphoi and kyathoi of the third quarter of the 5th cen. BC, kiln supports, and burnt clay lumps.

Chatzioti, M. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 24-25; map no. 36
Image: Idem, pl. 14δ

153 Alexandreias 107 (plot), Map 4

Floor made of stones, Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 16

154 Marathonomachon 52-54 (drain), Map 4

One marble cist with a bronze mirror inside.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1980?

ArchDelt 35 (1980), B1, *Chronika*, 36; map no. 19

155 Epidaurou and Platonos (drain), Map 4

Three surfaces of the Academy Road: exc. w. 14.00, th. 0.80.
A grave is on the plan but not in the report.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 56; map no. 29
PN 39
Costaki 561, X.9
Plan: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 56 fig. 25

156 Platonos 85 and Mylon (plot), Map 4

On E side of plot up to the SE corner, a stone paved surface, l. 11.50 m., founded on a silty layer with Classical sherds. Possibly the remains of a polyandrion?
Below it and on a silty layer, a wall of limestone blocks in courses, oriented NE – SW (exc. l. ca. 2 m., w. 0.70 m.). The relationship of the wall to the stone paved surface is not clear.
Disturbance by a modern kiln in the area.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1994?

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 42-43; map no. 14

157 Mylon and Monastiriou (drain), Map 4

W wall of a Roman structure and a floor of stone slabs.

Lazaridis, D. and Alexandri, O. 1965-1966?

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 102; map no. 53
PN 39

158 Alexandreias and Marathonomachon (plot), Map 4

Conglomerate walls forming the foundation of the SE corner of a structure. Sherds 1st cen. BC – 1st cen. AD. Abandoned in the Late Roman period and covered with fill containing sherds from the 4th – 6th cen. AD.

Chatzioti, M. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 23; map no. 35

159 Monastiriou 90 (plot), Map 5

The plot was 14 by 9.50 m., but only contained a bronze coin, 2nd cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 61; map no. 39

160 Alexandreias 90 (plot), Map 5

Wall of irregular masonry. Excavator dates it Late Classical and thinks it was the retaining wall for a road to the Gymnasium.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 27, 29; map no. 7
Image: Idem, pl. 35γ

161 Vasilikon 71 (plot), Map 5

Marble funerary loutrophoros (M3396) with engraved decoration.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1988?

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 39

162 Meropis 6 (plot), Map 5

Poros wall, probably part of the Roman building found at **163**.

Chatzipouliou, E. 1988?

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 34; map no. 10

163 Meropis 8 (plot), Map 5

Walls of small unworked stone and clay founded on fill with Classical sherds and forming two rectangular areas. 4th cen. AD. May continue in **162**.

Dakoura, O. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 23; map no. 33

164 Monastiriou 106, Vasilikon and Vlachorraftou (plot), Map 5

Wagon road between two nearly parallel walls, but the road has eroded at the edges so it is not possible to tell if the walls definitely were retaining walls. The first wall is of soft yellowish poros, founded in pebbly and sandy soil containing some Late Geometric sherds. The second wall bends slightly E and is of whitish, hard unworked blocks, founded on a layer with Classical sherds. Both walls are dated Hellenistic.

Drain, 4th cen. BC.

An Early Roman cist cuts the NE portion of the second wall, with two skulls inside and, among other grave goods, Late Classical sherds with lead bonds.

In the upper surface of the road, an inscribed Early Roman marble funerary column (M 3974).

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1992

ArchDelt 47 (1992), B1, *Chronika*, 31; map no. 12

165 Vasilikon 58 (plot), Map 5

Walls of three structures, one of them circular, with material in reuse, and one cist grave, Roman.

Lazaridis, D. 1965

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 64, 65; map no. 19

Plan: Idem, 63 fig. 21

166 Vasilikon 56 and Kratylou (plot), Map 5

One possible surface of the Academy Road, w. 7-8 m. Two poros walls to the NE of the road are 1. 2.50 m. and 1.10 m. apart, founded on a hard red soil. S wall three courses high, N wall two courses. Late 4th to early 3rd cen. BC. Possibly the remains of a polyandron.

The bedrock slopes down to the SW.

On the SW of the ancient road, a poros wall with a funerary base at an angle to it, the space between filled with small stones. It would have belonged to the burial plot of the orator Lykourgos son of Lykophon of the deme Boutadai.

In the fill in and around a rectangular pyre (2.40 by 1.20 m.) cut into the bedrock and containing burnt wood and some bones were 5th-cen. BC sherds; two marble kalpides; a marble leky. (late 4th to early 3rd cen. BC) inscribed with the name of one of Lykourgos' sons, Lykophon; a stele inscribed with the names of Lykophon the father of the orator, his wife, and his mother-in-law (4th cen. BC); and another stele inscribed with the names Lykophon, Lykomedes, and Lykeias, and dated ca. 350 to 300. Also associated with the orator's plot are four amphora burials, two marble sarcophagi (inside one: a red-figure leky. and an alabaster alabastron; inside the second: a red-figure leky. and an iron strigil), two t.c. cists for children, a tile-covered grave, and a poros cist. The excavator dates all eleven graves to the second half 5th cen. BC, although most were not described as having grave goods.

Other burials are S of the road: a tile-covered grave (4th cen. BC) a pyre (3rd cen. BC), a marble cist with three skeletons (4th cen. BC – 1st cen. AD), and a marble cist (Roman).

Vasilopoulou, V. 1979.

SEG 37.160-162

Paus. 1.29.15

[Plut.] *X orat.* 842e, 843e, 852a

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 18-20; map no. 16 (mislabeled as Vasilikon and Kratylou 56)

Matthaiou 1987

Vasilopoulou 1987

AR 34 (1987-1988), 9

Costaki 557-558, X.4

Siewert 1999, 1

plan: *ArchDelt* 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 19 fig. 4

Images: Vasilopoulou 1987, pls. 36-37.

167 Kratylou 1-3 (drain), Map 5

One wall of limestones and tile fragments with mud binding.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1994?

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 41-42; map no. 11 (with **168** and **169**)

168 Kratylou and Vlachorraftou 1 (drain), Map 5

Floor, of small limestones and tile fragments, and a poros wall below the floor.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1994?

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 41-42; map no. 11 (with **167** and **169**)

169 Kratylou 6 (drain), Map 5

One wall, of poros blocks plastered on both sides, and fragments of a marble leky.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1994?

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 41-42; map no. 11 (with **168** and **168**)

170 Platonos 103, Vasilikon, and Kratylou (plot), Map 5

Five surfaces of the Academy Road, Classical – Roman.

Four surfaces of a road intersecting with the Academy Road and headed NE, Archaic – Classical, Early Roman. E retaining wall of rubble and mud, Classical.

Three drains, late 4th cen. BC, Hellenistic, and Roman.

Early Roman structure with two walls that include conglomerate blocks in secondary use, possibly from the 4th-cen. BC Academy peribolos.

Seven tile-covered graves and one amphora burial with no finds mentioned, Late Roman and earlier than at least some of the structure.

Stoupa, Ch. 1996

ArchDelt 51 (1996), B1, *Chronika*, 53-56; map no. 17

Costaki 554-556, X.1 and X.2

Plan: *ArchDelt* 51 (1996), B1, *Chronika*, 54 fig. 4

171 Astryfou 5 (plot), Map 5

Child's grave, Hellenistic, without grave goods.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 20; map no. 17

172 Vasilikon 46 (drain), Map 5

Cist, covered with large slabs of grey marble, disturbed.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1985?

ArchDelt 40 (1985), *Chronika*, 33; map no. 20

173 Dimosthenous 82 (plot), Map 5

Structure, Late Roman, with one of its walls curved. Another wall and a pithos, both later than the structure.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 29

Image: Idem, pl. 34γ

174 Alamanas 117 and Efthydimou (plot), Map 5

Tile-covered grave, ca. 500 BC, with two b.g. skyphoi, a jug, and a leky.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 20; map no. 18

175 Agion Asomaton (drain), Map 1

City wall, 5th cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 45

Theocharaki 2007, 175-176, X2.2

Plan: *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 48 fig. 17 (with **180**)

176 Psaromiligkou 21 and Agion Asomaton 33 (plot), Map 1

Two walls that might be the proteichisma.

A square brick structure, one well, and an associated drain, Roman. A conglomerate and limestone wall cuts the well.

Drain, 1st cen. AD. One other undated drain.

A report in *AM* 19 (1894) 529 mentions the discovery of a portion of the city wall during the construction of a house at the corner of Psaromiligkou and Agion Asomaton, which might be on the same spot as this later excavation.

Kokkoliou, T. and I. Tsirigoti-Drakotou. 1999

ArchDelt 54 (1999), B1, *Chronika*, 74; map no. 5

Theocharaki 2007, 174-175, X2.1

177 Agion Asomaton 22 and Dipylou 12-14 (plot), Map 1

Proteichisma, 4th cen. BC. Buttresses added probably 307 – 304 BC. Justinian tower at its E end. Moat, 4th cen. BC. Filled with remains of the proteichisma following the sack of Sulla in 86 BC and a very thick layer of debris from the city (wood, ash, stones, tiles, animal bones, pottery), 1st cen. AD. Boundary wall for moat.

Seven graves, mostly tile-covered, placed on the fill of the moat. 1st – 2nd cen. AD.

Five surfaces of the ring road, cut by a later wall and in the late 4th cen. BC by the buttresses of the proteichisma.

Valerian Wall built on top of the proteichisma and the above-mentioned wall, the core filled with stones, tiles, large architectural marble fragments, inscribed funerary altars/tables of the 3rd cen. BC, and a casualty list, with lime plaster binding everything together.

Brueckner 1910 (198-199) discusses a base found earlier at Dipylou 12, 4th cen. BC, inscribed: -- - ἀρ]ετῆς ἔνεκα ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι Τηλεφάνης [Μεγαρεύς --- (*IG II²* 12778), and he attributes it to the musician ([Plut.] *De mus.* 21).

Tsirogoti-Drakotou, I. 1999-2000

SEG 52.60

Το ἔργο του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμοῦ στον Τομέα της Πολιτιστικῆς Κληρονομίας, 2 (1998), 75

Το ἔργο του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμοῦ στον Τομέα της Πολιτιστικῆς Κληρονομίας, 3 (1999), 84

BCH 124.2 (2000), CdF, 765

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000

Costaki 450-451, V.11

Theocharaki 2007, 176-178, X2.3

Papazarkadas 2009, 76

Plans: Tsirogoti-Drakotou 2000, 88 fig. 2, 91 fig. 4, and 93 fig. 5

Images: Idem, 90 fig. 3 and 95 figs. 6-7

178 Dipylou 8 (plot), Map 1

Seven surfaces of the road from the Leokoriou Gate.

W retaining wall, of large and small stones bound with mud. Construction technique suggests 4th cen. BC.

Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 41; map no. 16

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 92

Costaki 451-452, V.12

Plans: *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 40 fig. 11; Tsirogoti-Drakotou 2000, 93 fig. 5

Image: *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 43α

179 Dipylou and Leokoriou (in street), Map 1

Wall, with sculptures built in dating 500 BC – Imperial Roman. Excavator suggests Valerian.

From the area (all from the wall's matrix?): five inscribed marble tables, two inscribed funerary stelai, and a base in three pieces with epigram inscribed, not listed in the report (EM 12745, 12746, 12747, *IG I³* 1163d-f), attributed to the battle of Koroneia or Delion, or the Sicilian expedition.

See also **180**.

Kyparissis, N. 1927

*IG I*³ 1163d-f

ArchDelt 11.2 (1927-1928), 56-58

Kyparissis and Peek 1932

Mattingly [1963] 1966, 92-93

Peek 1955, pp. 7-8, no. 17

Schilardi 1968, 36

Clairmont 1983, 159-164

Ritchie 1984, 774-775

Schachter 1986, 5 n. 3

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 92-93 and 104-111

Theocharaki 2007, 181, X2.5

Plan: Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 93 fig. 5

Images: Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 93 fig. 5, 107 figs. 12-13, and 110 fig. 14

180 Dipyrou and Leokoriou (drain), Map 1

City wall and its W. tower, 4th cen. BC – Late Roman.

N of the tower, a structure of dressed poros blocks, 4th cen. BC. N of it, a Late Roman structure.

In 1927/28 these two structures were inaccurately identified as the gate tower (**179**).

Moat, at the intersection of Dipyrou and Kalogirou Samouil.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 41 and 45; map no. 18

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 92

Theocharaki 2007, 179-180, X2.4

Plans: *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 46-48, figs. 15-17; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 93 fig. 5

Image: *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 44α

181 Dipyrou 11 (plot), Map 1

City wall, 5th cen. BC with late 4th cen. BC repairs.

Proteichisma.

Two drains.

Ring road.

Alexandri, O. 1968

AAA 1 (1968) 102-107

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 41; map no. 17

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 92

Costaki 452-453, V.13

Theocharaki 2007, 182-184, X2.7

Plans: *AAA* 1 (1968), 105-106 plans 2-3; *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 42-44 figs. 12-14; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 93 fig. 5

Images: *AAA* 1 (1968), 104 figs. 2-3; *ArchDelt* 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 43β

182 Dipyliou 5-7-9 (plot), Map 1

City wall with four main phases: 5th cen. BC, 393 BC, repairs in 297 BC, and mostly destroyed in the 1st cen. BC.

Moats, one 5th cen. BC and two 4th cen. BC.

Inner and outer ring roads followed the wall. The outer ring road had 6 surfaces, 5th – 3rd cen. BC. It was extended in the 4th cen. BC out to the proteichisma that replaced a moat. Drains are associated with the roads.

A Roman building cuts the wall and the inner road.

Funeral stele found in 5th-cen. BC portion of wall, with a man in relief striding right, above an incised floral pattern (pl. 18α).

Spathari, E. 1980

ArchDelt 35 (1980), B1, *Chronika*, 34-36; map no. 16

Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 92

Costaki 453-455, V.14-15

Theocharaki 2007, 184-185, X2.8

Plans: *ArchDelt* 35 (1980), B1, *Chronika*, 35 fig. 3; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, 93 fig. 5

Images: *ArchDelt* 35 (1980), B1, *Chronika*, pls. 17δ and 18α

183 Dipyliou 3 (plot), Map 1

Moat, 4th cen. BC.

Wall, of small unworked stones and mud, on 3rd-cen. BC fill.

Spathari, E. 1982

ArchDelt 37 (1982), B1, *Chronika*, 25; map no. 11

Theocharaki 2007, 186, X2.9

184 Kalogirou Samouil 2 (plot), Map 1

Well with ceramics of the third quarter 5th – first half 4th cen. BC.

Two walls of a structure, third quarter 3rd cen. BC.

Cistern, W of the walls, with waterproof coating.

Kokkoliou, T. 1999

ArchDelt 54 (1999), B1, *Chronika*, 73-74; map no. 4
Image: Idem, 74 fig. 4

185 Psaromiligkou 1 and Kriezi (plot), Map 1

A small Late Archaic / Early Classical and Classical cemetery with three larnakes, three tile-covered graves, and two pyres.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 54-55
Images: Idem, pl. 58α-ε

186 Psaromiligkou 3 (plot), Map 1

Two conglomerate walls in SW making a corner, perhaps belonging to a funerary peribolos. 4th cen. BC.

Drain.

Graves in the N and continuing out of the excavation area.
5th-cen. BC vessels.

Threpsiadis, I. 1956

Schilardi 1968, 42

187 Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromiligkou 5 and 7 (plot), Map 1

A rectangular platform, possibly for a tumulus.

Classical graves, including four skeletons in a pit with three burned layers above them. Above these, more Classical burials.

T.c. larnakes for children, 4th cen. BC.

Funerary stele of Hymettan marble with a 5th-cen. BC inscription.

Child burials in amphoras.

Mudbrick structure of unknown form and function. Found with it, a lead sheet with Doric dialect, 4th cen. BC, and a stele of Sosibios, in a himation, with paint still visible, 5th cen. BC (4th cen. according to *AM*).

Geometric vessels.

In a separate excavation but somewhere in the vicinity of Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromiligkou, in 1907, the casualty list for Corinth and Koroneia with a relief (Athens, NM 2744; *IG* II² 5221) was found on the property of a certain Mr. Zervas.

Filiou, D. 1900

AM 25 (1900), 308-310
Schilardi 1968, 41-42

188 Psaromiligkou and Kalogirou Samouil (plot), Map 1

The excavation is described in great detail in Schilardi 1968.

A foundation of two rows of poros blocks, preserving on the W side part of the superstructure of dressed stone. On the lowest level of the superstructure, a threshold juts out. 5th cen. BC (see **193**). Another structure, to the E of the first, is a marble pi-shaped grave monument on a conglomerate foundation. 4th cen. BC.

Horos (Schilardi pl. Θ.α-β), of schist, probably *in situ*, Inscribed ΗΟΡΟΣ / ΜΕΛΑΙΝΙΣ / ΣΗ. Possibly of an unknown sanctuary, although here attached to the funeral monument. 400-350 BC.

Five drains, four of them 5th – 3rd cen. BC.

E of the monuments, four earlier graves: a Classical larnax (470-460); a tile-covered male grave cut by the funeral monument, but it seems that a layer was placed over it beforehand, possibly out of respect (mid-5th cen. BC); and two other tile-covered graves (430-420 BC and 400-375 BC, the latter certainly a woman's burial).

Cistern.

Geometric vessels.

Costaki argues that roads once existed between the structure and the monument, to the N of the two buildings, and to the S.

Threpsiadis, I. 1961-1962

ArchDelt 17 (1961-1962), *Chronika*, 23, 25; map no. 2

Schilardi 1968, 7-34

Costaki 448-450, V.9

Plan: Schilardi 1968, 9 fig. 1

Images: *ArchDelt* 17 (1961-1962), *Chronika*, pl. 28β; Schilardi 1968, 27 fig. 2, pls. A-II

189 Psaromiligkou and Kalogirou Samouil (drain), Map 1

One poros cist grave, plundered. Outside: an alabastron.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 76; map no. 64

190 Agion Asomaton 43 (plot), Map 1

One drain and the small remains of a structure.

Threpsiadis, I.

ArchDelt 18 (1963), B1, *Chronika*, 31

190.5 Psaromiligkou (plot), Map 1

A “significant group of tombs” with an Athenian miniature kylix (second quarter 5th cen. BC) and two Boiotian kantharoi of the mid-5th cen. BC, one inscribed ΠΟΛΥΡΕΤΙΟΣ, as funeral offerings.

1900

Schilardi 1980, 576-579.

Stichel 1998, 150-151 (map), 154

191 Agion Asomaton 32 (plot), Map 1

Two parallel walls of a structure, of poros with small stones and mud binding, 3rd cen. BC.

Drain, Hellenistic-Roman.

Poros kalpis with some bones.

Threpsiadis, I.

ArchDelt 18 (1963), B1, *Chronika*, 31; map no. 1

192 Agion Asomaton, Psaromiligkou and Kalogirou Samouil (plot), Map 1

23 surfaces of the road from the Leokoriou Gate, Classical – Roman.

Το έργο του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού στον Τομέα της Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομιάς, 3 (1999), 84

BCH 124.2 (2000), CdF, 765

Costaki 448, V.8

193 Psaromiligkou and Kalogirou Samouil (plot), Map 1

Structure (see **188** for the earlier excavation) with two rectangular rooms. 5th cen. based on plaster use and the sherds in matrix, with another phase in the 4th cen. Partly destroyed by a Late Roman cistern.

Cist with vessels with female imagery. Second half 4th cen. BC.

Two marble funerary lekys.

Hydraulic establishment of some sort.

Threpsiadis, I.

ArchDelt 18 (1963), B1, *Chronika*, 31-32; map no. 2

Image: Idem, pl. 30α

194 Psaromiligkou 4 (plot), Map 1

Large Archaic – Late Classical cemetery.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 142-144; map no. 59

Images: Idem, pls. 85-86

195 Psaromiligkou 6 and Kalogirou Samouil (plot), Map 1

Late Archaic – Late Classical cemetery, mostly in E of the plot, with twenty graves described.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 144-146; map no. 60

Plan: Idem, 145 fig. 40

Image: Idem, pl. 87

196 Kriezi 22 and Psaromiligkou (plot), Map 1

Fragments of Submycenaean pottery.

A jug burial, unpainted with engraved decoration. Outside: near the mouth, a small b.g. oinochoe and small b.g. skyphos. Late 8th cen. BC.

Destruction layer everywhere, mainly with 5th-cen. BC sherds.

81 other graves, Late Archaic – early 4th cen. BC. Successive burials damaged earlier ones.

Drain.

Lazaridi, K. 1978-1979

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 23-25; map no. 28

plan: Idem, 25 fig. 6

197 Kriezi 18, 20, 22 (drain), Map 1

Amphora burial with lekys., 5th cen. BC.

Wall of unworked stone with mud binding.

Wall of yellowish poros on a foundation of small limestones and mud binding, early 5th cen. BC?

Five incomplete lekys., one b.g. kantharos, and one clay figurine, W of the second wall and in the same fill, early 5th cen.

Inscribed funerary stele in front of Krieze 20.

Walls, in front of Krieze 18, of small limestones with mud binder. Unexcavated.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1994?

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 41; map no. 9

197.5 Sarri or Kranaou and Plateia Eleftherias (Karatzas property, est. location), Map 1

One and possibly two inscriptions referring to Aphrodite, mid-4th cen. BC, and one to Ares and Aphrodite.

Funerary stelai and kioniskoi, mid-4th cen. BC to Roman.

APMA 3, 112 n. 92, reports finds recorded by Pittakes from two properties belonging to Karatzas: one on Sarri, the other on Kranaou and Plateia Eleftherias. It is not possible to distinguish which were found in what plot. Since most of them are tomb monuments, I have placed the plot on my map outside of the city walls, at Kranaou and Plateia Eleftherias. For another Karatzas property, see **205**.

IG II² 4574, 4574 a?, 5266, 5985, 6267, 6551, 7367, 9590

Pittakys 1835, 508-509

APMA 3, 112-113, nos. 534-541/2.

198 Kriezi 23-24 (plot), Map 1

Large cemetery (111 graves), of which 11 Submycenaean, 13 Geometric, three Archaic, and 31 Classical described in the report.

Lazaridis, D. and Alexandri, O. 1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 92-96; map no. 44

Gauß and Ruppenstein 2001, 166; 160 fig. 2, map no. 4

Plans: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 93 fig. 44, 94 fig. 45

Images: Idem, pls. 85a-γ and 87-90

199 Kriezi 23-27 (drain), Map 1

16 graves reported, of which one Submycenaean, eight Geometric, two Archaic, and four Classical. Gold and weapons with the Geometric burials.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 67; no. 46 (under heading Kriezi; not on map)

AAA 1 (1968) 20-30

Gauß and Ruppenstein 2001, 166; 160 fig. 2, map no. 6

Plans: Idem, 24-25 (giving the parameters of Kriezi 23-27)

Images: *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, pls. 35 α - δ , 36 α - β , and 37 α - γ

AAA 1 (1968) cover, 21-23 figs. 1-5; 28-30 figs. 6-15

200 Kriezi, S and across from Chatzi Kostou orphanage (plot, est. location), Map 1

Geometric vessels.

1873

Schilardi 1968, 40

201 Peiraios and Kriezi (plot), Map 1

Graves, vessels and other funerary offerings. At least some of the vessels were Geometric, including one with an inscription possibly referring to a musical contest (Athens NM 192).

Palaiologou, I. 1871

Aθηναίων 9 (1880), 1

IG I² 919 (not included in I³ because inscribed on pottery)

Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1939, 56-58

Schilardi 1968, 40

Jeffery 1990, 76, no. 1

APMA 1, 33, nos. 21 and 21.1

Image: *AM* 1881, pl. 3

202 Peiraios 57 (plot), Map 1

Cemetery with 40 graves, Geometric – late 5th cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 79 and 82-84; no. 65, map no. 68

Plan: Idem, 81 fig. 34

Images: Idem, pls. 45, 46 α - γ , and 47 α - ϵ

203 Peiraios and Kalogirou Samouil, Sarakomenou property (plot), Map 1

Nettos amphora; vessels, Archaic and Classical with many b.f. and w.g. lekys.; Archaic and Classical graves.

I think that this is the excavation referred to in *AM*, excavated by I. Palaiologou, where Dipylon vases and ivory figurines were found: *ArchDelt* 1891, 67; *BCH* 15 (1891), 441; *ArchDelt* 1892, 6-14, heurm. 1-58; *AM* 18 (1893), 74-75; *BCH* 19 (1895), 273-295; *ΠΑΕ* 1910, 99.

ArchDelt 1890, 30-36, nos. 1-45
Schilardi 1968, 41

204 Kalogirou Samouil, Sapoudzaki property (plot), Map 1

This plot was excavated together with **205** and they are discussed by Brueckner and Pernice 1893, who were invited to observe the Greek excavations. Theirs is one of the most complete and thorough reports that exists for any of the excavations in the area under study, apart from the Kerameikou excavations themselves. They were mostly interested, though, in the Dipylon vessels, and given the early date of their publication, some of their chronology is inaccurate. Between **204** and **205** there were over 231 graves, of which 19 were Late Geometric (Dipylon period), with the rest 6th – late 4th cen. BC and mostly 5th – 4th. Of the younger graves, there were 45 primary cremations, over eight vessel burials, 43 pits, 60 tile graves, over 17 child burials, ten stone cists, and three stone sarcophagi. There were two tumuli, one Archaic and one Classical. The first one probably was associated with a grave with cremated remains in a bronze urn in a poros receptacle within a shaft. A sacrificial layer at the bottom of the tumulus included seeds and bird bones. The other tumulus contained white lekys. and lay over a primary cremation that contained frags. of b.g. vessels and alabaster alabastra.

Gold diadems, iron swords, horse figurines, vases (sometimes all from one workshop), bone objects, three reclining lions in Egyptian faience with hieroglyphs, bones from bull sacrifices, and nude ivory female figurines accompanied the Geometric burials, with monumental vases often marking the tombs. One burial was a cremation in a bronze urn. Burials of all periods were both female and male. Some of the Classical women's graves were accompanied by makeup. Other finds with the Archaic and Classical burials were lekys. in large number, bowls, plates, cups, figurines, mirrors, and strigils.

V. Stais, 1891

ArchDelt 1891, 19-21

BCH 1891, 441

ArchDelt 1892, 6

Brueckner and Pernice 1893

Schilardi 1968, 41

Gauß and Ruppenstein 2001, 163 and 166

Plans: Brueckner and Pernice 1893, pl. 6-7

Images: Brueckner and Pernice 1893, figs. 1-35, pl. 8-9

205 Kalogirou Samouil, Karatzas property (plot, est. location), Map 1

Classical graves. No Dipylon graves found. See discussion under **204**.

The location for the Karatzas property is based on the map in Brueckner and Pernice 1893, pl. 6.1. The map on Schilardi 1968, 35 fig. 4 no. 6 places the plot a little further to the south, in the area of **194** and **195**.

For other properties belonging to Karatzas, see **197.5**

ArchDelt 1891, 67.2 and 86.2

ArchDelt 1892, 3.1

Brueckner and Pernice 1893

Schilardi 1968, 41

Plan and Images: see **204**.

206 Kalogirou Samouil and Peiraios (drain), Map 1

Three pits, one cist with a bronze kalpis, and one larnax, Classical.
Funerary peribolos.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 21, 23

207 Kalogirou Samouil and Peiraios 59 (plot), Map 1

Thirteen layers of the road from the Leokoriou Gate: th. 0.80. Early 3rd – late 2nd cen. BC.

Five graves, in S, W of ancient road, probably all Late Hellenistic. Inscribed funerary stele and column, Hellenistic.

In W, amphora burial, late 8th cen.

Lazaridi, K. 1978

ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 23; map no. 27

Costaki 444, V.3

208 Peiraios, between Plateia Eleftherias and Lachanagoras (drain), Map 1

Clusters of Geometric – Roman graves: cists, sarcophagi, pits, and vessel burials. Not many were Geometric, and these were mainly near the orphanage (Plateia Eleftherias). Images of many of the vessels, relatively few of them r.f. vessels. Hellenistic-Roman, engraved columns, and marble lekys.

Schilardi 1968 mentions a child's burial in a pithos, probably Archaic, at Kalogirou Samouil and Peiraios.

Threpsiadis, I. 1961

ArchDelt 17 (1961-1962), *Chronika*, 22-23; map no. 1

Schilardi 1968, 42

Images: *ArchDelt* 17 (1961-1962), *Chronika*, 22-23, pl. 22-27α

209 Peiraios (exact location unknown), Map 1

Funerary leky., late 5th cen. BC, with three men, two of them greeting each other, and two horses.

Kyparissis, N.

ArchDelt 11.2 (1927-1928), 50

Images: Idem, 49 figs. 7-8.

210 Peiraios – Agisilaou and Myllerou (street excavation), Map 1

A pyre and the section of a wall.

ArchDelt 19 (1964), B1, *Chronika*, 64 (following description of Achilleos 52-54); map no. 19

211 Thermopylon and Peiraios (drain), Map 1

Cistern, Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 61; no. 38, map no. 40

212 Agisilaou 49 (probably plot), Map 1

Wall of conglomerate blocks and unworked stones.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 31

213 Agisilaou 47 and Thermopylon (plot), Map 1

Four walls, the oldest two of unworked medium-sized stones and mud. One built above them, of mudbrick with tiles, burned. A fourth, above these, circular, of small and large worked and unworked stones.

Scarp shows two periods of fire destruction.

Liagouras, A. 1972-73

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 31

Images: Idem, pl. 41α-β

214 Peiraios 68 (plot), Map 1

Bronze Age deposit.

Road from the Leokoriou Gate with scant traces of retaining walls, and funeral periboloi. For the most part these are not visible on the plan.

Some graves Geometric – late Antiquity but mostly Classical. They are in two groups: one in SW over the road, and one in S over 20 m. E of the road.

Eight wells with sherds Geometric – Roman, none of them in the same area as the graves so some may be contemporary with the graves.

Brueckner and Pernice 1893 (75) mention the discovery of sixth-century BC “Thonpinakes” behind an orphanage that was once on this block.

Philippaki, B. 1964-1965

ArchDelt 20 (1965), B1, *Chronika*, 98; map no. 33

ArchDelt 21 (1966), B1, *Chronika*, 61, 63; map no. 6

Gauß and Ruppenstein 2001, 160 fig. 2, map no. 5

PN 40

Costaki 443-444, V.2.

Plan: *ArchDelt* 21 (1966), B1, *Chronika*, 62 fig. 7

215 Peiraios, Agisilaou, and Myllerou, Chatzi Kosta property (plot), Map 1

Road from the Leokoriou Gate.

Geometric and Archaic graves.

Funerary clay pinax.

Upper half of a headless kouros (Athens NM 71), perhaps from near this area (see discussion in Schilardi 1968).

See **214**.

Schilardi 1968, 43

216 Plateia Eleftherias, W of orphanage, Map 1

Mycenaean grave in the area (LH IIIC).

Sherds and pyres, 5th cen. BC.

13 tile-covered graves, 4th cen. BC, in area of earlier 5th cen. graves.

A cist grave with a b.g. leky.

A *horos*.

Brueckner and Pernice 1893 (75) mention a grave relief found *in situ* near this area (Conze Nr. 419) and a Mycenaean grave excavated by Stais somewhere in Plateia Eleftherias (77-78). Gauß and Ruppenstein 2001 associate an LH IIIC vessel with this grave.

Threpsiadis, I. 1952

Schilardi 1968, 43

Gauß and Ruppenstein 2001

217 Plateia Eleftherias 7 (plot), Map 1

12 graves, Hellenistic – Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 64; map no. 44

218 Korinnis 11 and Plateia Eleftherias (plot), Map 1

Cist, Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 22

219 Epikourou and Korinnis (plot), Map 1

Seven graves, mostly destroyed, without finds.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 107; map no. 20

220 Plateia Eleftherias 2 (plot), Map 1

Part of a cistern, Late Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 84; no. 66, map no. 69

221 Peiraios, IKA property (plot), Map 1

Sherds, 5th cen. BC.

48 graves, 4th cen. BC, reusing area of 5th cen. burial.

Threpsiadis, I. 1951-1952

Schilardi 1968, 43

222 Agisilaou 48 and Myllerou (plot), Map 6

Two pyres, one last quarter 5th cen. BC and one Hellenistic.

Two walls, Hellenistic.

Kiln remains, probably Late Roman.

Methodiou, E. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 25; map no. 39

223 Agisilaou, Myllerou, Kerameikou, and Marathonos (plot), Map 1

Road from the Leokoriou Gate: est. w. 7.00. Classical – Hellenistic.

E retaining wall.

Five graves, undated, but at least some of them appear to be Roman.

Cistern, Early Roman.

Siren (pl. 65α), marble, the back half preserved.

Inscribed funerary column (pl. 65γ).

Alexandri, O. 1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 37 and 39; map no. 1

Costaki 548, VIII.37

Plan: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 38 fig. 2

Images: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 65 α-γ

224 Agisilaou, Myllerou, Kerameikou, Marathonos (plot), Map 6

Nine surfaces of the road from the Leokoriou Gate: w. 6-7. Two retaining walls, of unworked stones and mud. Used during the Classical, Hellenistic, and probably also Roman periods.

Alexandri, O. 1971-1972

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 85-86; map no. 1
Costaki 547, VIII.36

225 Agisilaou, Kerameikou, Marathonos, Myllerou (plot), Map 6

Well.

Tile-covered grave with gold leaves and b.g. phiale, probably Hellenistic. Cut by the well.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 25-26; map no. 1

226 Agisilaou, Myllerou, Kerameikou and Marathonos, Map 6

Nine surfaces of the road from Leokoriou Gate (pl. 88β): w. 6.50 (w. 5 in the Classical period), th. 1. Classical – Roman.

Three retaining walls, one of them Classical. Evidence for repairs.

74 graves to the W of the road, of which six had been found in the past: Classical (one of them possibly Archaic), many Late Classical and Hellenistic, and some Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1973-1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 112-115 (said to be no. 1 on map B, but does not appear)

Costaki 546-547, VIII.35

Plan: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 114 fig. 16

Images: Idem, pls. 88α-β and 89α-γ

227 Marathonos 2 (plot), Map 1

Deposit of r.f. sherds from vessels including kylikes and skyphoi, mostly from the second quarter 5th cen. BC but also until the end of the 5th (pl. 43α-δ). Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994, 53 n. 13 adds that there was a test piece and consequently argues that this deposit represents the remains from a workshop. Note also the large number of wells at nearby **214**.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 75; no. 55, map no. 58
Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994
Images: *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 43α-δ

228 Agisilaou and Marathonos (plot), Map 1

Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 33-34; map no. 2

229 Agisilaou and Thermopylon (drain), Map 1

South wall of a structure, of isodomic masonry, preserved two courses high, with a floor of marble slabs. Possibly a polyandron. Late Classical.
Drain 4 m. N of the structure.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 33; map no. 1 (under Agisilaou – Thermopylon)
Clairmont 1983, fig. 7, location 55

230 Agisilaou and Thermopylon (plot), Map 1

Five Late Roman graves in N corner.
Inscribed marble stele with rosettes and three figures in a panel, in south corner within a trench in the *kimilia* (pl. 21α). Second half 4th cen. BC.
Inscribed funerary column, early 4th cen. BC.
Sherds, Late Classical.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 33; map no. 1 (under Agisilaou – Thermopylon)
Image: Idem, pl. 21α

231 Marathonos 10-12 (drain), Map 6

Five marble cists, Hellenistic, all destroyed.

Alexandri, O. 1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 133; map B no. 21

232 Kerameikou 54 and Marathonos 14 (drain), Map 6

Cistern coated with plaster and connected to a drain.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 23

233 Kerameikou 55 and Myllerou (drain), Map 6

Two pits and two larnakes, last quarter 5th cen. BC, mostly destroyed.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 34-35

234 Myllerou and Kerameikou, close to Peiraios 68 (drain), Map 6

Nine tile-covered graves, one pit, and one larnax, Classical.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 79; no. 62, map no. 64

235 Myllerou 16-18 (plot), Map 6

Late Roman ceramic workshop.

Four graves, Hellenistic, and one grave, Late Roman. The graves were stone sarcophagi and cists.

Vessels from the area were Late Geometric, Classical, and Hellenistic.

Alexandri, O. 1969

ArchDelt 25 (1970), B1, *Chronika*, 74-76; map no. 36

Plans: Idem, 75 fig. 28, 76 figs. 29-30

236 Kerameikou and Myllerou, near the firestation (drain?, est. location), Map 6

Road from the Leokoriou Gate: w. 3.00.

Large cemetery with ca. 140 graves (marble and poros sarcophagi, cists, and pits).

Funerary columns.

Vessels and finds, Archaic – Roman.

The map in Schilardi 1968 (45) places the excavation on a plot but the text says it is in the street.

Stan, V. 1888

ArchDelt 1888, 13-14, 33

Schilardi 1968, 44

Costaki 546, VIII.34

237 Kerameikou and Giatrakou (drain), Map 6

One sarcophagus and one larnax, second half 5th cen. BC, with many grave offerings.

Two funerary columns.

A marble kalpis, Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 23 (under “Kerameikou”)

Images: Idem, pl. 23β-γ, 24α-ε

238 Kerameikou 44 and Giatrakou (plot), Map 6

Fifteen graves, mostly from the first half 5th cen. BC. Few grave goods are described. A larnax contained seven t.c. female figurines and two t.c. doves in pieces. Not all of the area was used because of the varying hardness of the *kimilia*. Burials probably continued outside of the excavation area.

One wall and one well, later than the 5th cen. BC.

Two inscribed funerary stelai (one with a dexiosis scene) and two inscribed funerary columns

Tsirigoti-Drakotou, I. 1988?

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 33-34; map no. 9

239 Leonidou 25 (plot), Map 6

Remains of a Roman villa, with painted wall plaster and marble revetment.

Alexandri, O. 1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 133; map B no. 20
Plan: Idem, 134 fig. 24 and 135 fig. 25.

240 Myllerou 24 (drain), Map 6

Four graves, all apparently Classical, but there were also Hellenistic vessels in the area.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 37
Image: Idem, pl. 39α

241 Myllerou 17 (plot), Map 6

Seven layers of the road from the Leokoriou Gate, in the SE: w. 6.00, th. 1.00.
One marble cist with on one side a funerary stele in secondary use (pl. 26β) inscribed:
[Φ]ΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ / ΞΕΝΥΛΛΟΥ / ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ. Hellenistic? Said to be from after when the street went out of use.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 27
Costaki 545-546, VIII.33
Image: *ArchDelt* 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 26β

242 Leonidou and Marathonos (plot), Map 6

Two marble sarcophagi. No grave goods mentioned.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 73; no. 52, map no. 55

243 Germanikou and Thermopylon 42 (plot), Map 2

Lowest surface of a road connecting the Academy Road and the road from the Leokoriou Gate:
w. 3.70, th. 0.14.
Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 128; map B no. 13
Costaki 537, VIII.22
Image: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 101γ

244 Megalou Alexandrou and Marathonos (plot), Map 2

SW corner of a Late Classical structure of dressed poros blocks.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 75; no. 56, map no. 59

245 Giatrikou and Megalou Alexandrou (plot), Map 6

Structure of at least two rooms, with walls of unworked stone, Hellenistic.
Three marble cists, of which one is a woman's grave of the late 5th cen. BC.
One marble leky.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 47-48; map no. 21
Plan: Idem, 49 fig. 18
Images: Idem, pls. 46γ and 47α-β

246 Kolokyntous 67-69 (plot), Map 6

Six surfaces of the road from the Leokoriou Gate: w. (total) 4.90, th. 0.90.
Two retaining walls.
Hellenistic funerary peribolos perpendicular to the E retaining wall, of carved polygonal blocks with unworked stones. In the area of this wall, a Hellenistic poros cist.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 22
Costaki 531, VIII.14

247 Achilleos and Iasonos 52 (plot), Map 6

Large cemetery with 96 graves: 47 rectangular pits, 35 tile-covered graves, two poros cists, seven vessel burials, five larnakes, and five pyres, mainly Classical and Late Classical but also Hellenistic and Roman.
Three stelai, mid-4th cen. BC.
Vessels and figurine fragments.

Graves are well-described and the report has many illustrations.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 32-35; map no. 12
PN 40-41

Plan: Idem, 33 fig. 8

Images: Idem, pls. 36α-β, δ, 37α-β, 38 α-δ, 39 α-δ, 40 α-στ, and 41 α-β

248 Achilleos and Kolonou (plot), Map 6

In the S, two sarcophagi, Late Classical.

One tile-covered grave in the same area but without grave goods.

Some other features appear on the plan that look like ashlar or small sections of walls, but they are not discussed in the report.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 35-36; map no. 13

Plan: Idem, 36 fig. 9

249 Achilleos 4 and Kolonou (plot), Map 7

Amphora burial, second half 7th cen. BC.

A curved wall of dressed conglomerate blocks and another wall of unworked small and large stones disturbing the amphora burial.

Three inscribed funerary columns from the fill of the area.

Sherds and vessels, 5th – 3rd cen. BC.

There is a problem with the location as presented in *ArchDelt*. It is described as Achilleos 4, Megalou Alexandrou, and Kolonou, and the map in *ArchDelt* puts it on the corner where **248** is located. I have placed it on my map where Achilleos 4 is actually located, where the Crystal City Hotel now stands.

Alexandri, O. 1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 123-124; map B no. 7 (under Achilleos 4, Megalou Alexandrou, and Kolonou)

Image: Idem, pl. 97

250 Virginias Benaki 8-10 (plot), Map 7

Two marble cists, Hellenistic.

Alexandri, O. 1974

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 127; map B no. 9

251 Virginias Benaki 8-10 (plot), Map 7

Three inscribed funerary stelai, first half 4th cen. BC, one of them twice reading “EK KEPAMEΩN.”

Alexandri, O. 1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 85-86; map A no. 9
Images: Idem, pl. 74α-β

251.5 Virginias Benaki 11 (drain), Map 7

Road connecting the Academy and Old Academy roads, 4th cen. BC – Roman.

Wall probably belonging to a peribolos, 2 courses high. Immediately to the N and behind it, the SW corner of a cist grave, unexcavated.

A stele of hymettan marble in the foundations of the wall (Λ 4891), perhaps once decorated, for the proxenos Polykles of Akanthos. Third quarter 5th cen. BC.

Two walls of a Roman building, E of the wall and on top of the road, 2nd-4th cen. AD.

Five kioniksoi built into the wall (Λ 4892-4896), for deceased from Smyrna, Antioch, and possibly Phrygia. 1st cen. BC – 1st cen. AD.

River stones throughout the area from the Skiron River.

Kavvadias, G. and V. Ntaïaki 2000

ArchDelt 55 (2000), B1, *Chronika*, 73-76; map no. 2

Images: *ArchDelt* 55 (2000), B1, *Chronika*, 74 fig. 4 and 75 fig. 7

Plan: Idem, 74 figs. 3 (with **253**) and 5, and 75 fig. 6

252 Virginias Benaki 13 (drain), Map 7

One grave, Late Roman, with four skeletons inside.

Alexandri, O. 1968

ArchDelt 24 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 27; map no. 7

253 Virginias Benaki 13 (plot), Map 7

Two walls and the mosaic floor of a Classical house. Floor in the shape of an andron.
Street connecting the Academy Road and the Leokoriou Gate road, Late Classical – Roman, with retaining walls, one of them with steps (Costaki suggests part of a peribolos tomb).
24 graves to the SE of the road, Classical, Late Classical, and Hellenistic. One grave NW.
Roman structure built over the road, with eight inscribed funerary columns built into it.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 43, 45-48; no. 17, map no. 19

AAA 2 (1969), 257-264.

Costaki 529-530, VIII.12

Plans: *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 45 fig. 9 and 47 fig. 10; *ArchDelt* 55 (2000), B1, *Chronika*, 74 fig. 3 (with **251.5**)

Images: Idem, pls. 26α-δ and 27α-ε

254 Virginias Benaki 15-17 (plot), Map 7

Four surfaces of the street connecting the Academy Road and the Leokoriou Gate road: th. 0.90.
W retaining wall of unworked stones and mud.
SW portion of a funerary peribolos.
Poros sarcophagus.
Sherds Late Geometric – Roman.

Alexandri, O. 1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 86; map A no. 10

Costaki 528-529, VIII.11

Plans: *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 87 fig. 1; *AAA* 2 (1969) 258 (reconstructed map)

255 V. Ougko 65A (plot), Map 7

Drain, Classical.

Chatzioti, M. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 26; map no. 43

256 Lenorman and Konstantinoupoleos (in street), Map 7

Three roads: one from the Leokoriou Gate to HK, one that would have connected with it to the S (here called the western road), and a cross street. Late Archaic / Early Classical; road to HK

continues in use in the 2nd cen. BC – 2nd cen. AD while the others stop. Three surfaces of the west road laid on a fourth subsurface. Three surfaces of the main road. Three surfaces of the cross street, continuing the surfaces of the main road. In secondary use, a marble leky. with wheel ruts.

E retaining wall of western road.

Drain associated with the western road.

N retaining wall of the cross street.

Three kilns close to the western road, disturbed by later Hellenistic graves. Deposits with material related to pottery production: equipment, moulds, figurines, and vessels, second half 6th – 5th cen. BC.

Two rooms of a workshop, one of them subterranean and using the retaining walls of the roads for its S and W walls. It was built in the late 6th / early 5th cen. BC. In the late 5th cen. a second wall was added to its S wall and (shortly?) thereafter it served as a deposit which extended between the two roads (A1).

The Classical cemetery was in the N and stretched between the two roads, with 69 graves in different orientations. Funeral offerings: mostly w.g. and b.g. lekys., fewer r.f., kylikes, pyxides, skyphoi, aryballoi, figurines, mirrors, strigils, pins, and a few stone alabastra.

S and W of the Classical cemetery, some other Classical burials.

There were only four 4th-cen. and three 3rd-cen. BC graves.

S section used as a cemetery 2nd cen. BC – 2nd cen. AD, with 187 graves, most oriented E-W.

Some graves from this period extended into the Classical cemetery area. Grave offerings consisted of the usual mix of vessels and metal and gold items.

Many inscribed funerary columns and sculptural fragments.

Architectural members found in the N of the excavation.

Zachariadou, O., D. Kyriakou, and E. Baziotopoulou. 1984-1985

AAA 18 (1985), 39-50

Zachariadou, Kyriakou, and Baziotopoulou 1992

Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994

Costaki 521-524, VIII.2-4

Plans: *AAA* 18 (1985), 40-41 fig. 1; Zachariadou, Kyriakou, and Baziotopoulou 1992, 54-55 fig. 1, Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994, 48 fig. 2 and 49 fig. 3

Images: *AAA* 18 (1985) 42-43, figs. 2-5, 45 fig. 6, 47 figs. 7-10, and 49 figs. 11-12; Zachariadou, Kyriakou, and Baziotopoulou 1992, 54-56 figs. 2-4; and Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994, 51 fig. 5 and 52 fig. 6

257 Lenorman, Konstantinoupoleos, and Elefsinion (drain), Map 7

Three Classical pits, all probably 5th cen. BC, and four other graves, of which two were Roman.

Lazaridis, D. and Alexandri, O. 1965-1966?

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 98; map no. 47

Plan: Idem, 97 fig. 46

Image: Idem, pl. 90ζ

258 Lenorman 28 (plot), Map 7

All finds from this site have been published in great detail.

Five periods (not necessarily surfaces) of the road to HK: w. ca. 4.50. 5th cen. – 1st cen. BC.

W and E retaining walls.

Cist or sarcophagus, 480-470 BC; two pits, mid-5th cen. BC; one pit, late 5th cen. BC; two pyres, late 5th cen. BC; three pits (one of them tile-covered) late 4th – 3rd cen. BC; one pit, 2nd cen. BC; one marble urn, mid-2nd cen. BC; eight graves, late 1st cen. BC – 1st cen. AD; and one marble urn.

Four of the graves (480 – third quarter 5th cen. BC) were underneath a mound with a hard layer around it.

Retaining wall E of mound, pierced allegedly for the flow of the Kephissos.

Head and relief in terracotta, Archaic.

Grace, V. 1963

JHS 56 (1963), 138

Hesperia 32 (1963), 113-137

V. Grace, *AE* 1968, *Chron.* 44-48

Costaki 524-525, VIII.5

Plan: *AE* 1968, 47 fig. 8

Images: *Hesperia* 32 (1963), pls. 26-53; *AE* 1968, pls. IIα, IΔ, and IE

259 Lenorman 36 and Elefsinion (plot), Map 7

14 inhumations and two cremations, Classical and Hellenistic. Few grave goods described in detail.

Alexandri, O. 1977

ArchDelt 32 (1977), B1, *Chronika*, 22-23

260 Elefsinion and Lenorman (plot, est. location), Map 7

Two inscribed funerary columns.

Alexandri, O. 1976

ArchDelt 31 (1976), B1, *Chronika*, 30

261 Konstantinoupoleos 181 (drain), Map 7

Marble bull missing its feet, first half 4th cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1972

ArchDelt 28 (1973), B1, *Chronika*, 33-34; said to be map no. 15 but not placed on map Costaki 521, VIII.1

262 Lenorman 40-44 (plot), Map 7

Three poros sarcophagi, one of them 425-400 BC, and one cist. Roman and especially Hellenistic ceramics from the fill of the area suggest dating some of the undated graves to those periods.

Methodiou, E. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 25; map no. 40

263 Alikarnassou and Lenorman (plot, est. location), Map 7

Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1975

ArchDelt 30 (1975), B1, *Chronika*, 17

264 Alikarnassou and Lenorman (plot), Map 7

Three poros sarcophagi and one marble kalpis, all plundered.

Alexandri, O. 1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 83; map A no. 1

265 Alikarnassou 6 (plot), Map 8

Step-like cuttings in silty soil, probably for irrigation (pl. 32a).

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1989

ArchDelt 44 (1989), B1, *Chronika*, 23; map no. 1

Image: Idem, pl. 32α

266 3 Palamidiou (drain), Map 8

Larnax, 5th cen. BC, with the bones of a child and two white lekys.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 132; map no. 45 (under heading Palamidiou)

267 Palamidiou and Petras (drain), Map 8

Tile-covered pit, second half 5th cen. BC. Grave goods described.

Alexandri, O. 1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 91; map A no. 20

Image: Idem, pl. 75δ

268 Lenorman 84 (plot), Map 8

Four surfaces of the road headed W of HK: w. 5.90 (first phase) – at least 11 m. (second phase).
Early 5th cen. BC start date.

W retaining wall of roughly cut limestone blocks and smaller Piraic poros stones within.

E retaining wall of smaller unworked stones.

In the Hellenistic period, the W retaining wall and the W part of the street collapsed. A new road surface was laid over the destruction, 1st cen. BC at the latest: w. at least 11. This destroyed the E retaining wall. A new W retaining wall was built, of dressed limestone blocks.

Chatzioti, M. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 25-26; map no. 41

Costaki 574, XI.1

269 Madytou 11 (drain), Map 9

Marble cist. Inside: a skeleton with its head in the S, a bronze helmet at its feet (pl. 52α-β), an alabastron near the left shin, an iron sword on the chest, an iron strigil in pieces, and an alabastron in the SE. From near the chest: four bronze discs, one large bronze disc, three small bronze wheels, four bronze cube-shaped objects, and one bone with two holes, possibly decoration of personal clothing or for a horse. Late Classical.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 68, 70; map no. 46

AE 1973, 93-105

Plan: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 70 fig. 35

Images: *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 70 fig. 36 and pl. 52α-β

270 Mylon 6 and Ioanninon (plot), Map 9

Marble stele with a representation of two women, found near its stone base.

1922

Schilardi 1968, 48-49

271 Adrianoupoleos and Voreiou Ipeirou, Map 10

Late Roman / Early Christian grave, its sides made of a stele (broken at edges) with a representation of a horse and an African groom (Athens NM 4464).

Kotzias, M. Ch. 1948

Πολέμων 4 (1949), “Σύμμεικτα,” ε-στ

Schilardi 1968, 49

Schuchhardt 1978

Ridgway 1990, 350-351

Stewart 1990, 221

272 Kapaneos, E of Voreiou Ipeirou, Map 10

One sarcophagus, Classical and one tile burial, 3rd cen. BC.

1955

BCH 79 (1955), CdF, 216

Schilardi 1968, 48

273 2 Kapaneos and Voreiou Ipeirou, Map 10

Road to HK: w. 6.50.

BCH 79 (1955), CdF, 216

Schilardi 1968, 48
Costaki 575-576, XII.2

274 Voreiou Ipeirou 49, Map 10

Two surfaces of the road to HK: th. 0.55.
W retaining wall of small irregular stones and mud binding.

Alexandri, O. 1968

Schilardi 1968, 49-50
ArchDelt 29 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 27-28; map. no. 8
Costaki 575, XII.1
Plan: *ArchDelt* 29 (1969), B1, *Chronika*, 28 fig. 3

275 Aimonos 1 (drain), Map 9

Marble relief with winged Hermes bearing a ram, Late Archaic.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 88; map no. 3

276 Aimonos and Vasilikon (plot), Map 5

Two drains and one Late Roman brick cist.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 27; map no. 4

277 Aimonos 27 (plot), Map 5

Well near SE corner of the plot.
Drain.

Alexandri, O. 1971

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 88-89; map no. 4
Plan: Idem, 89 fig. 4

278 Aimonos and Tripoleos (drain), Map 5

Road branching off from the road to the W of HK and leading to the Academy: th. 0.60. Use begins in the Archaic period.

S retaining wall, of poros (pl. 69γ).

Academy *horos* (IG I³ 1091; pl. 69α-β; AAA cover and 103 fig. 1) *in situ*, of pentelic marble on a poros base. Ca. 500 BC.

Cistern, Hellenistic.

Late Roman grave cut into the cistern.

Alexandri, O. 1966

IG I³ 1091

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 46, 49; map no. 8

AAA 1 (1968), 101-102, 107

G. Daux, *BCH* 92 (1968), 733

Costaki 577-578, XIII.2

Plans: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 48 fig. 9; AAA 1 (1968), 102 plan 1

Images: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 69α-γ; AAA 1 (1968), cover, 103 fig. 1

279 Aimonos 26 and Tripoleos (plot), Map 5

Two walls of conglomerate ashlar meet at a right angle to form a Late Classical structure, possibly a funerary peribolos.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 27; map no. 5

Plan: Idem, 28 fig. 5

Image: Idem, pl. 34β

280 Aimonos and Tripoleos (plot), Map 5

Drain.

Vasilopoulou, P. 1981

ArchDelt 36 (1981), B1, *Chronika*, 23 and 25; map no. 16

281 Lenorman 129 (plot), Map 10

Sarcophagus of shelly limestone with two unpainted coarse vessels and two iron strigils.

Tsirogoti-Drakotou, I. 1988?

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 36; map no. 13

282 Tripoleos 14 (plot), Map 10

Three surfaces of road W of HK: w. 3.30.
Retaining walls.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 95; no. 82, map no. 85
Costaki 577, XIII.1
Plan: *ArchDelt* 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 97 fig. 43

283 Levidiou, 20m SW of intersection with Lenorman (drain), Map 10

One conglomerate ashlar.

Alexandri, O. 1970

ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 68; map no. 44

284 Efkleidou 7 (plot), Map 10

Early Classical wall, in SW. To its E, two walls forming part of a Hellenistic structure.
Three Early Roman walls.
Kiln in the E, founded on a layer with prehistoric sherds and obsidian blades. Inside: burnt tile and stones as well as layers with clear signs of burning and carbon.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1994?

ArchDelt 49 (1994), B1, *Chronika*, 42; map no. 13
Plan: Idem, 43 fig. 6

285 Lenorman and Viantos (plot, est. location), Map 10

Seven graves, one of them a kalpis and one with more than 60 unguentaria.
Inscribed funerary columns.
Two walls later than the graves.

Stavropoulos, Ph. 1962

Πρακτικά 1962, 8

286 Lenorman 200 (plot), Map 10

Nine graves in the NW: five pyres, two sarcophagi, and two tile-covered tombs, 4th cen. BC.
Some of the tiles probably once lined a well.

Two walls of river stones with mud as binder cut some of the graves.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1989

ArchDelt 44 (1989), B1, *Chronika*, 26-27; map no. 5

287 Aimonos, “chomateri Lempese,” near intersection with Tilephanous (plot, est. loc.), Map 5

Four marble cists and three pits, first half 5th cen. BC.

Alexandri, O. 1967

ArchDelt 23 (1968), B1, *Chronika*, 34; no. 4, not on map

Plan: Idem, 35 fig. 2

Images: Idem, pl. 22 α, γ

288 Ag. Tryphonas, Map 5

Ashlar foundation with polygonal superstructure. Probably Archaic and associated by excavator with the Hipparchan wall.

Aristophron, P. 1932

PraktAkAth 8 (1933), 70-71, 243-248

Threatte 2007, 28-31

289 Academy, Map 5

Cataloguing finds from Aristophron’s 1933 excavations: six funerary columns and one philosopher’s bust (Roman): M3390-3397, *IG II²* 5995/6, *IG II²* 6514, and *IG II²* 6889.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1988?

IG II² 5995/6, 6514, 6889

ArchDelt (43) 1988, B1, *Chronika*, 39

290 Vasilikon 77 (plot), Map 5

Three small inscribed funerary columns of Hymettan marble were found built into the W courtyard wall at the above plot. A marble base from Hymettan marble (M 3970) was found as well. The base of a marble column (M 3973) was built into a modern threshold.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1991

ArchDelt 46 (1991), B1, 33-34; map no. 8 (Plato's Academy)

291 Vasilikon and Monastiriou, between Monastiriou and Faonos (drain), Map 5

20 walls of a gymnasium, dated here Late Roman but 2nd cen. BC in 1987 (see **292** and **293**).

Road, 46.2 from Timaiou and Vasilikon: w. 10.50, th. 1.10.

Road, on Monastiriou: w. 4.00, th. 1.00. Wall near NE of road, possibly its retaining wall but only a few stones found.

Two other walls on Monastiriou.

Funerary column inscribed thrice ΕΚ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΝ.

At Timaiou and Vasilikon, a *horos in situ* inscribed ΟΡΟΣ / ΜΝΗΜ / ΑΤΟΣ.

Four marble cists, Hellenistic or Roman, one tile-covered grave, and a conglomerate sarcophagus that might be Classical.

Lazaridis, D. 1965-1966

ArchDelt 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 59 and 62; map no. 18

Costaki 558-560, X.5 and X.6

Plans: *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 60 fig. 19 and 61 fig. 20

292 Academy (Gymnasium region), Map 5

Gymnasium and bath (see **291** and **293**). Foundations of both are mainly conglomerate, with some reused poros limestone blocks. The bath was across the modern street Eteoklous (which has been converted into a park).

Graves near the entrance to the gymnasium, with gold leaves and other funeral offerings. The mention of gold leaves would indicate a Hellenistic or Roman date.

From the courtyard of the gymnasium, a larger-than-lifesize poros head of a bearded man, maybe Dionysos. Archaic.

Aristophron, P. 1932

PraktAkAth 8 (1933), 70-71, 243-246

BCH (1936), CdF, 458-459

E. P. Blegen, *AJA* 41 (1937), 139-140

Travlos 1971, 42-43

Ritchie 1984, 695-699
Threatte 2007, 28-31

Images: Travlos 1971, 49 figs. 60-61
Plans: Travlos 1971, 48 fig. 59 and 50 fig. 62

293 Academy park (Gymnasium region), Map 5

Excavation to explore the stratigraphy around the gymnasium wall.
Some sherds from the Late Geometric period, a few from the 4th cen. BC, and most from the second half of the 2nd cen. BC associated with the construction of the wall.
River bed layers, under the foundations, contained Final Neolithic, EH I, and EH II sherds, and obsidian.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1987?

ArchDelt 42 (1987), B1, *Chronika*, 20-21; map no. 10
Ritchie 1984, 695-699

294 Academy, near railing of Sina (est. location), Map 5

Drain coated with hydraulic cement.

Liagouras, A. 1972-1973

ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1, *Chronika*, 31-32

295 Vasilikon 73 and Timaiou (plot), Map 5

Prehistoric, Late Geometric, and Early Archaic sherds from two deep excavation trenches.
Foundations of a Roman building, in the W, identified as a workshop or part of a hypocaust system for a bath. One funerary column was built into its E wall. Inscribed funerary column (BE 1036) in fill above it.

E peribolos of the Academy. Drain in a lower course.

Structure E of the peribolos and continuing into the area excavated in the SE by Aristophron.

Earlier than the peribolos.

Late Roman road between the Roman building and the peribolos.

Polygonal wall in area of road. W of it, a drain.

A marble tub from the area of the road.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1987
Costaki 560, X.7

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 38-39; map no. 15

296 Platonos 105 (plot), Map 5

Academy peribolos, of reddish conglomerate (closest in construction technique to the proteichisma), four courses preserved. 4th cen. BC. See also **297**.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1988

ArchDelt 43 (1988), B1, *Chronika*, 36-38; map no. 14

Plan: Idem, 37 fig. 5

297 Platonos 107 (plot), Map 5

Academy peribolos of reddish blocks, four courses in isodomic construction. The wall foundations cut through layers with bronze age, Late Geometric, Archaic, 5th and 4th-cen. BC pottery and obsidian blades. From the foundation trench, 5th – 4th-cen. BC sherds. See also **296**. Tile-covered grave to the W of the peribolos, second half of the 3rd cen. AD. In the second half of the 3rd cen. AD the wall and grave were covered. An improvised circular structure, of stones and tile fragments, built above the grave.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1990

ArchDelt 45 (1990), B1, *Chronika*, 47-48; map no. 16

Image: Idem, pl. 22β

Plan: Idem, 47 fig. 7

298 Eteokleous 9 and Platonos (plot), Map 5

Base of a Classical tau-shaped altar, of natural unworked stones and river stones.

Chatzioti, M. 1978?

ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 23; map no. 34

299 Tripoleos 62 (plot, est. location), Map 5

Excavators made a trench S of the formerly uncovered square peristyle building, along the NE edge of the plot and perpendicular to Tripoleos. Stratigraphy described, Neolithic – Byzantine. Wall of small river stones and tile fragments.

Lygkouri-Tolias, E. 1985

ArchDelt 40 (1985), *Chronika*, 33-34; map no. 21

300 Efkleidou, Monastiriou, Tripoleos, and Platonos, Map 5

Metopes, 6th cen. BC. Anthemia mentioned in *PraktAkAth* are probably also from this location, as well as an honorary decree for Demetrios Poliorketes.

About 70 honorific inscriptions, 4th cen. BC – Roman.

Structure with a row of column bases (the “peripatos”), now dated Hellenistic.

Aristophron, P. 1933

PraktAkAth 8 (1933) 70-71, 243-248

Travlos 1971, 43

Ritchie 1984, 700-706

Threatte 2007, 28-31

Images: Travlos 1971, 46 figs. 54-55

Plan: Travlos 1971, 50 fig. 62

301 Academy (Sacred House region), Map 5

Neolithic, EH, and MH sherds, and obsidian blades.

Wells, some with sherds Archaic – Hellenistic.

Geometric and Archaic burials.

EH apsidal house.

Sacred House, with signs of sacrifice inside and out, Geometric, possibly used throughout the 7th cen. Other Geometric structures.

Polygonal wall said to be Hipparchan. For a Roman date, see Threatte 2007, 34.

Geometric and Archaic graves.

Inscribed schist stones.

An alluvial layer separates the Classical and Archaic periods.

Stavropoulos, Ph. 1955-1962

Prakt. 1955, 53-61; 1956, 45-54; 1958, 5-13; 1959, 8-11; 1960, 318-323; 1961, 5-13; and 1962, 5-11

BCH (1957), CdF, 507-509

BCH (1959), CdF, 576-582

ArchDelt 16 (1960), *Chronika*, 33-35

ArchDelt 17 (1961-1962), *Chronika*, 20-22

Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 140-143, with further bibliography in 140 n. 944

Threatte 2007

Plan and Images: *ArchDelt* 16 (1960), *Chronika*, pl. 32; *Εργον Αρχ. Εταιρείας* 1961, 6; *ArchDelt* 17 (1961-1962), *Chronika*, 20-22, pl. 21; Travlos 1971, 44 fig. 52 and 50 fig. 62; Mazarkis Ainian 1997, figs. 130-132; and many plans and illustrations accompany the *Prakt.* entries

Locations Not Plotted on Maps

Diligianni Thod. and Palaiologou K. (traffic island)

List for cavalry casualties from engagements at Spartolos, Tanagra, and probably Megara, inscribed in two different scripts. A frieze with horsemen crowns the stele. Late 5th century BC. The excavator reports that the list was probably used as a cover for a marble sarcophagus. Destroyed tombs.

An inscribed funerary column. Late Hellenistic.

Parlama, L. M. 1995

SEG XLVIII 83

Parlama 1992-1998, 536

BCH 122 (1998), CdF, 726

Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 396-399, no. 452

Moreno 2007, 100-101 n. 114

Matthaiou 2009, 203-204

Papazarkadas 2009, 69-70 and 76-77

Plataion

A casualty list relating to wars in the Cherronesos, 447 BC.

IG I³ 1162

ARMA 1, 67, no. 326

Tod 1933, 100-102, no. 48

Peek 1955, 8, no. 18

Clairmont 1983, 165-169

Meiggs and Lewis 1988, 125-128, no. 48

Pritchett 1998, 27-29

Matthaiou 2003, 198

Near the Academy

Lord Elgin removed the Poteidaia base in the British Museum (BM 1816.6-10.348) from near the Academy. Sometimes it is associated with a frieze described by Fauvel (see the discussion in Stupperich and Clairmont).

*IG I*³ 1179a

Stupperich 1978, 92-93

Clairmont 1983, 174-175

Tod 1933, 127-128, no. 59

Lewis 2000-2003, 10-11

Length of S. side of Kerameikou

A 7th-cen. BC vessel.

Sherds, Classical.

One grace, Hellenistic-Roman.

Schilardi 1968, 43-44

Pl. Eleftherias

An Archaic funerary base for Thrason (ca. 540-530?), built into the Themistoklean wall,

*IG I*³ 1204

Schilardi 1968, 36

Elaiotriveion

This 19th-cen. designation refers to the area of Platonos, see Dontas 1971-1972 and *SEG* 51.51, but cf. *APMA* 2, 139.

A kioniskos, 3rd cen. BC, *IG II*² 6638.

A kioniskos, 2nd/1st cen. BC, *IG II*² 10196.

APMA 2, 22, no. 65 and 27, no. 114.

Konstantinoupoleos

A poros tomb with 5 vases, 5th cen. BC.

BCH 1953, 202

“Rema Profitou Daniil,” E of Academy (drain)

Two 7th-cen. BC amphora burials with bones and vessels inside and outside, including some miniature vessels. Report describes and illustrates some of the pots.

ArchDelt 19 (1964), B1, *Chronika*, 62-64

Images: Idem, pls. 59α-β and 60α-β

Near Hippios Kolonos

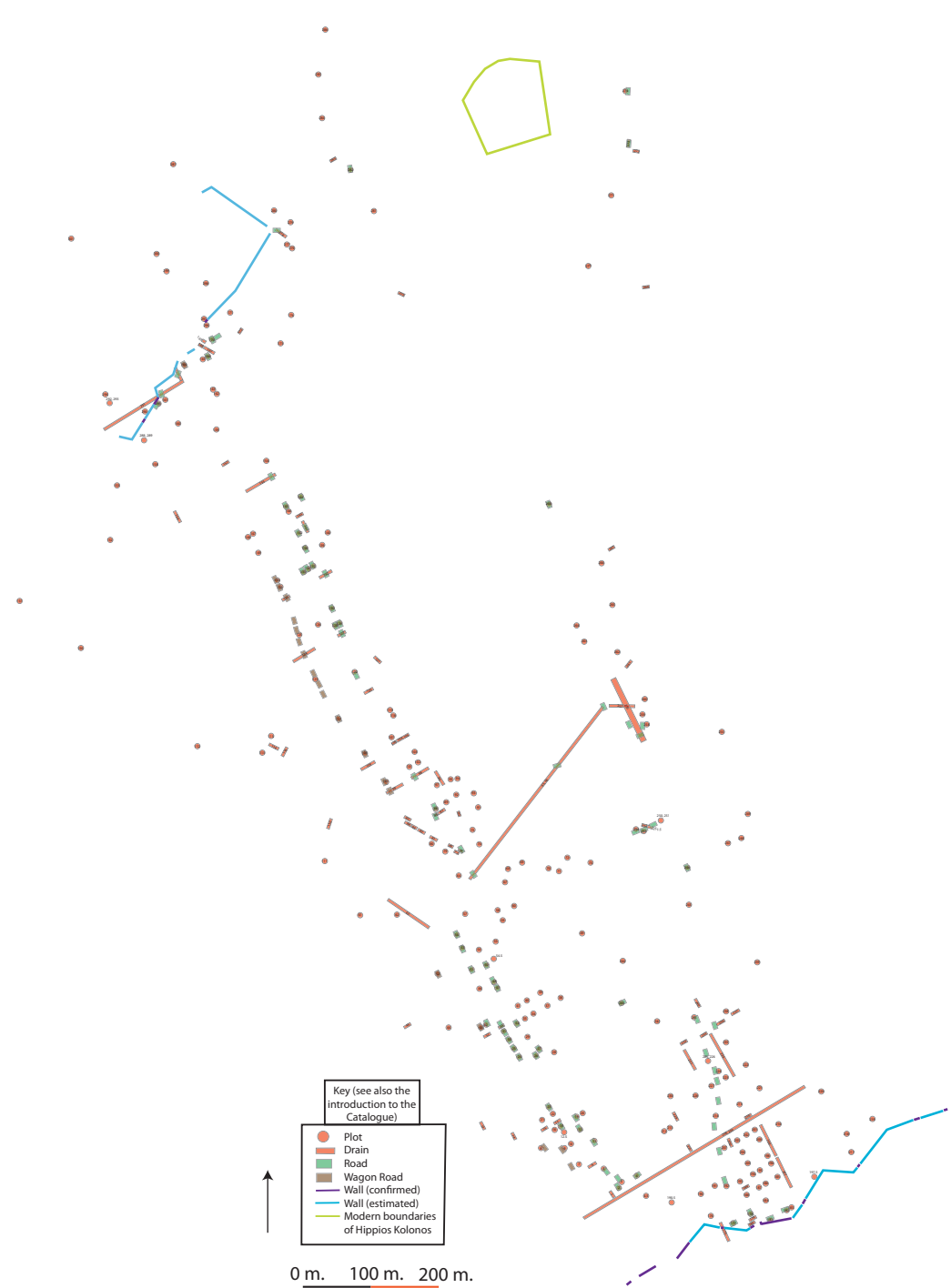
About 50 graves with 6th- and 5th-cen. BC offerings.

Kourouniotis, K. 1899

AE 1968, 49

IAA 1899, 33-34



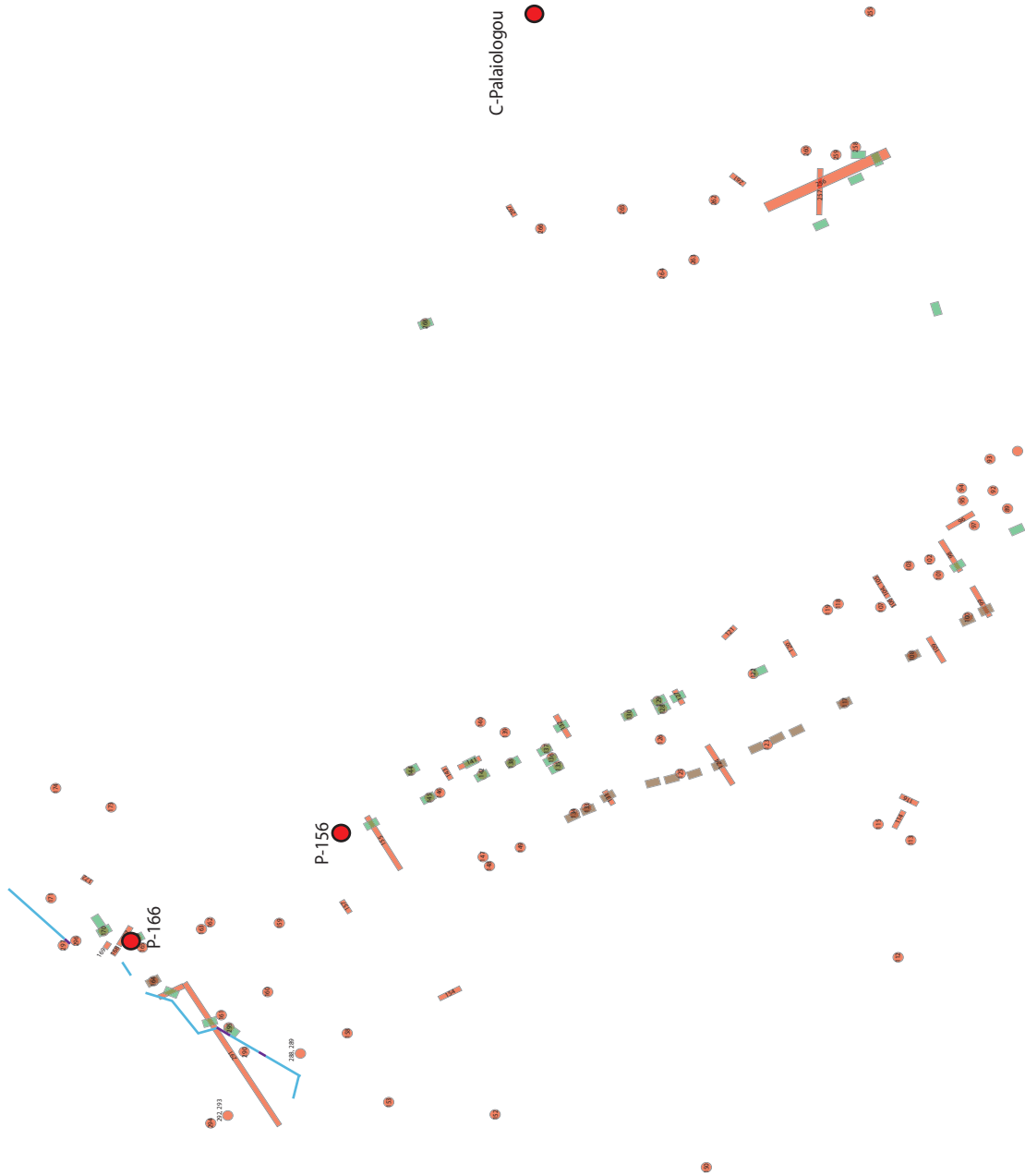


Key (see also the introduction to the Catalogue)

- Plot
- Drain
- - - Road
- Wagon Road
- Wall (confirmed)
- Wall (estimated)
- Modern boundaries of Hippios Kolonos



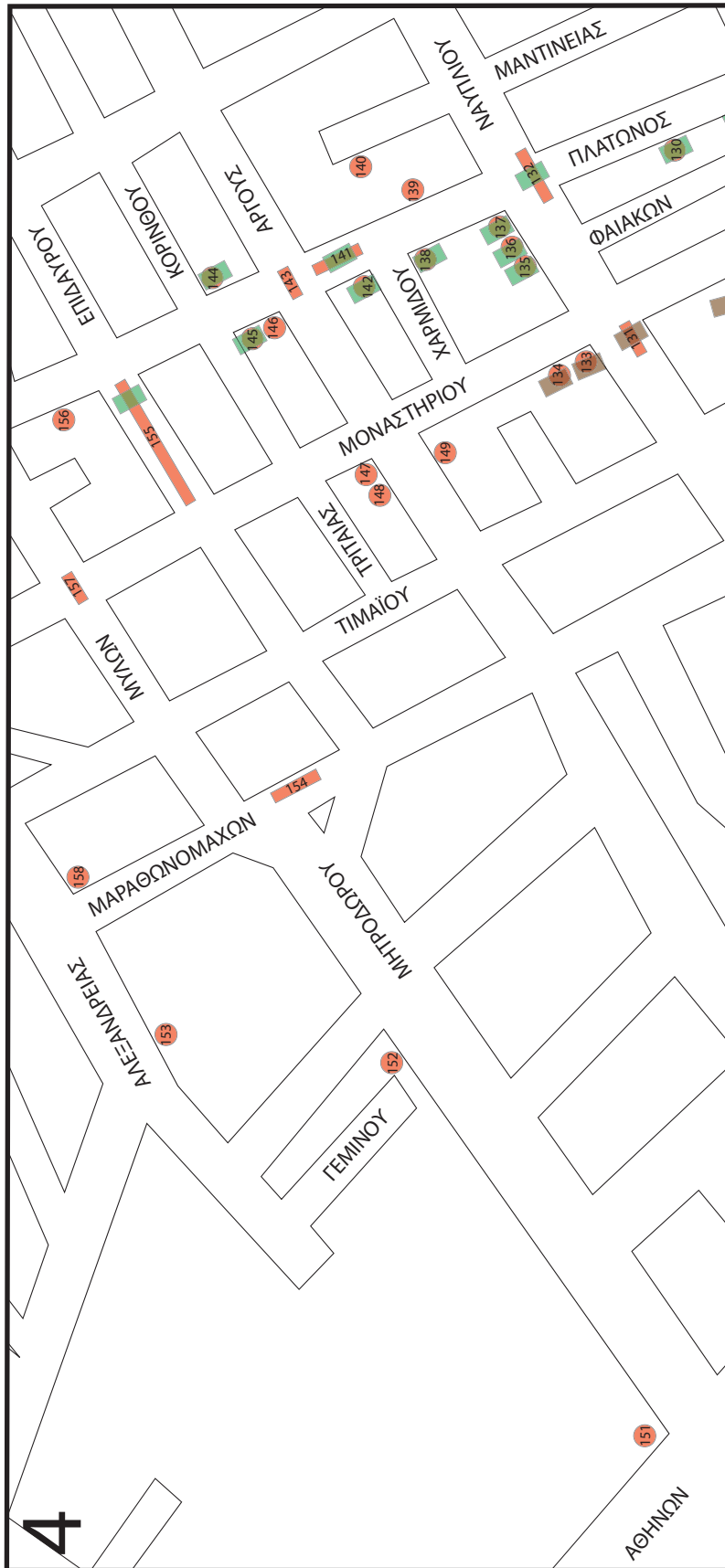
0 m. 100 m. 200 m.

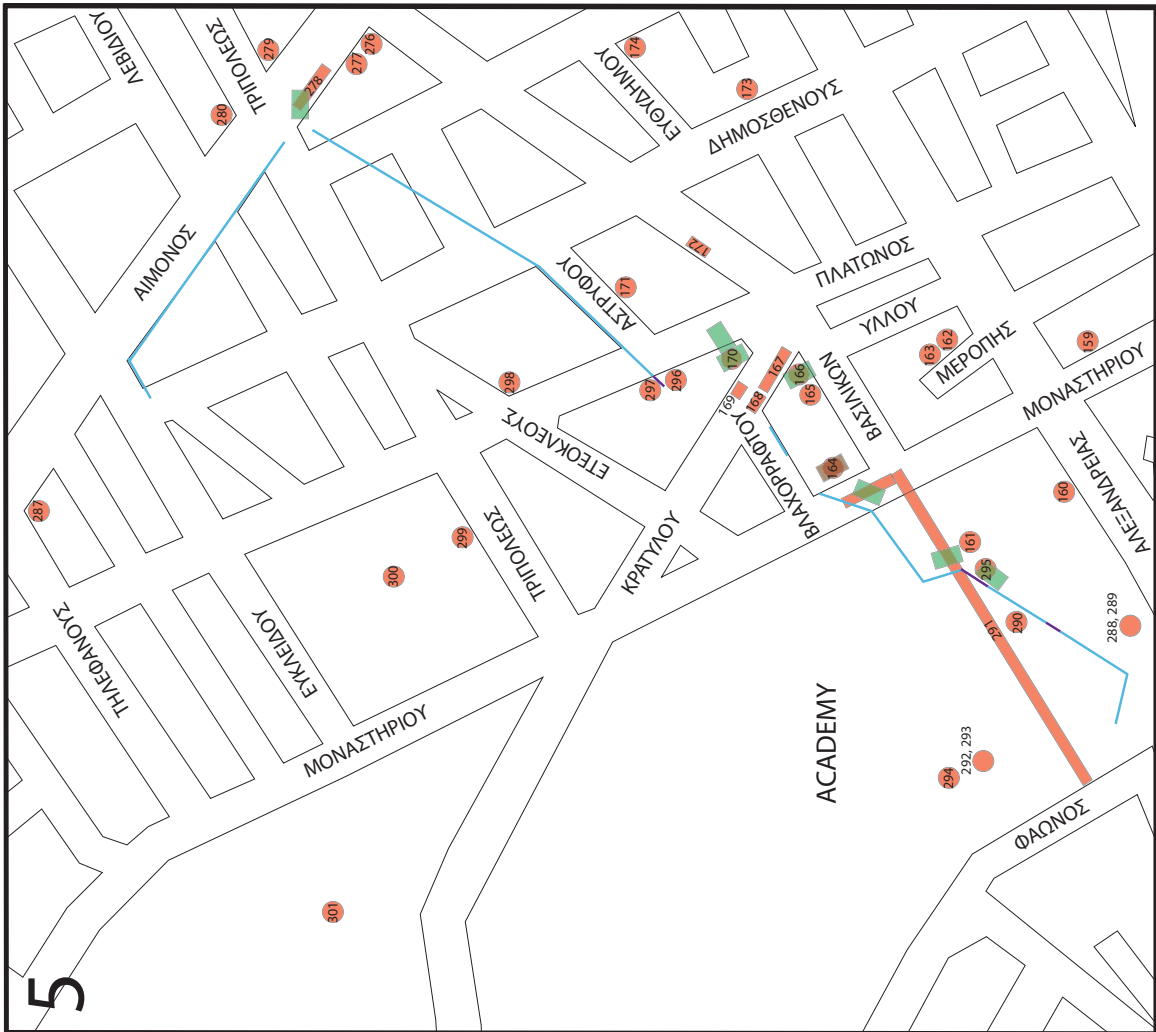


Detail (2 of 2), Highlighting Locations Related to the demosion sema







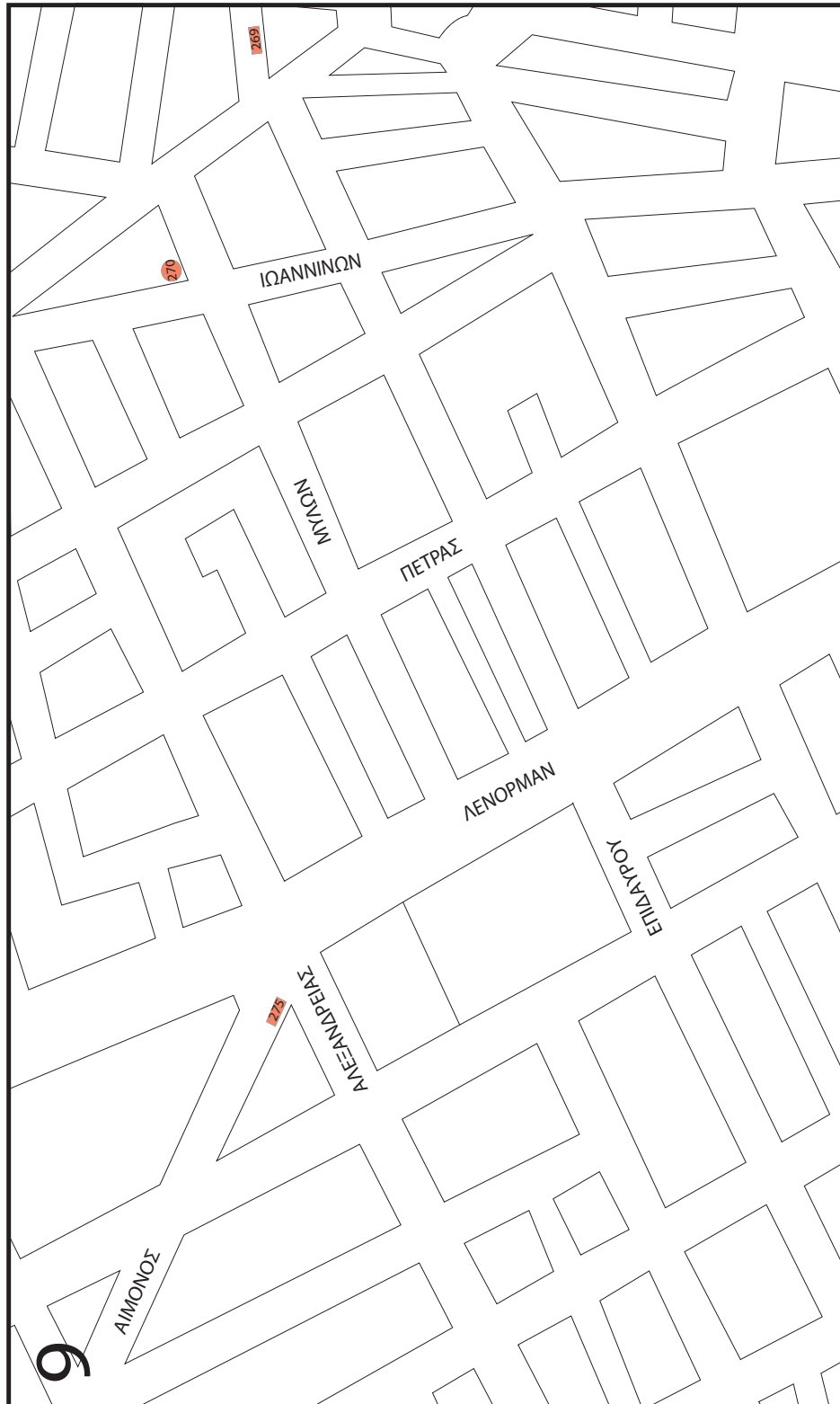


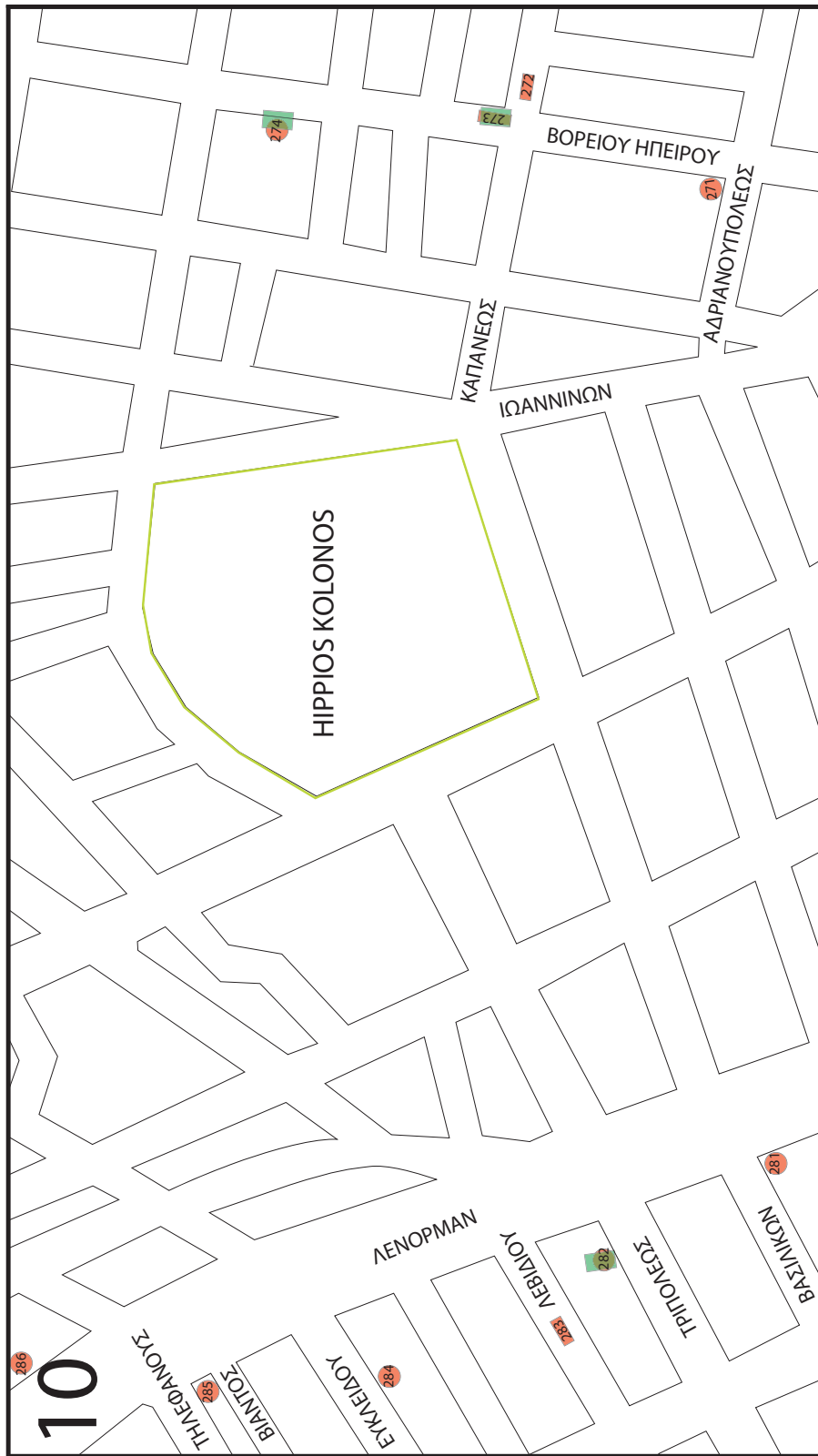






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Schematische Übersicht des Staatsfriedhofes

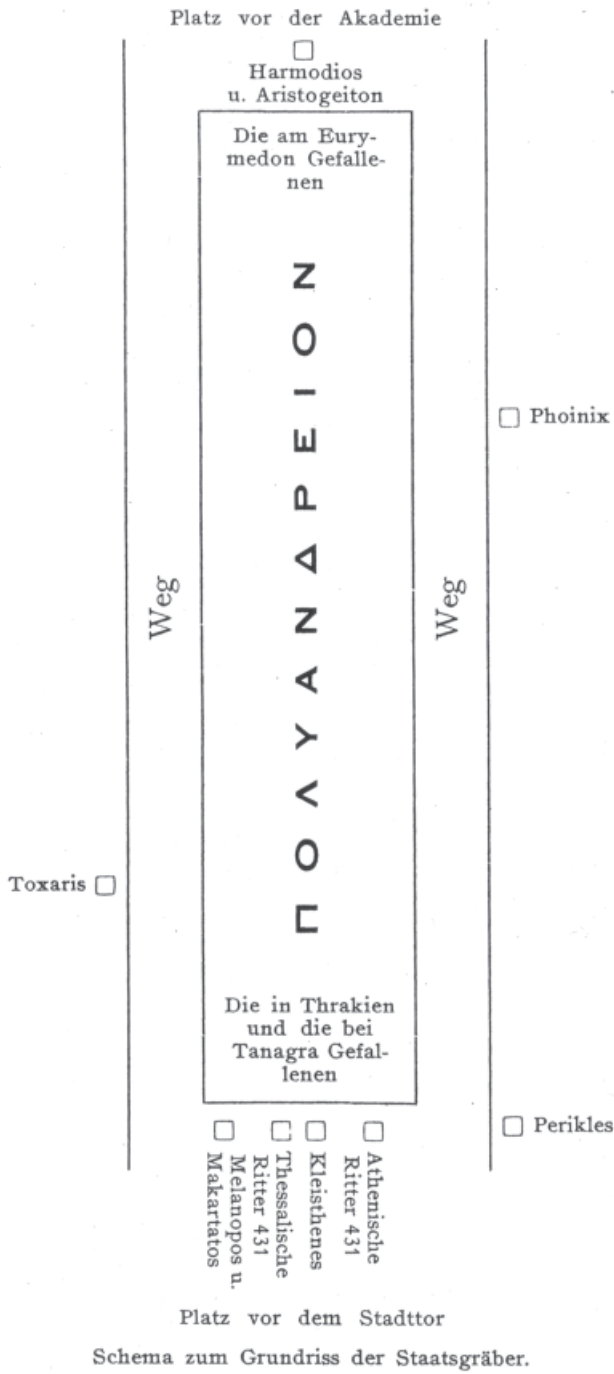


Fig. 1. Diagram of the *demosion sema* according to Brueckner 1910, 188.

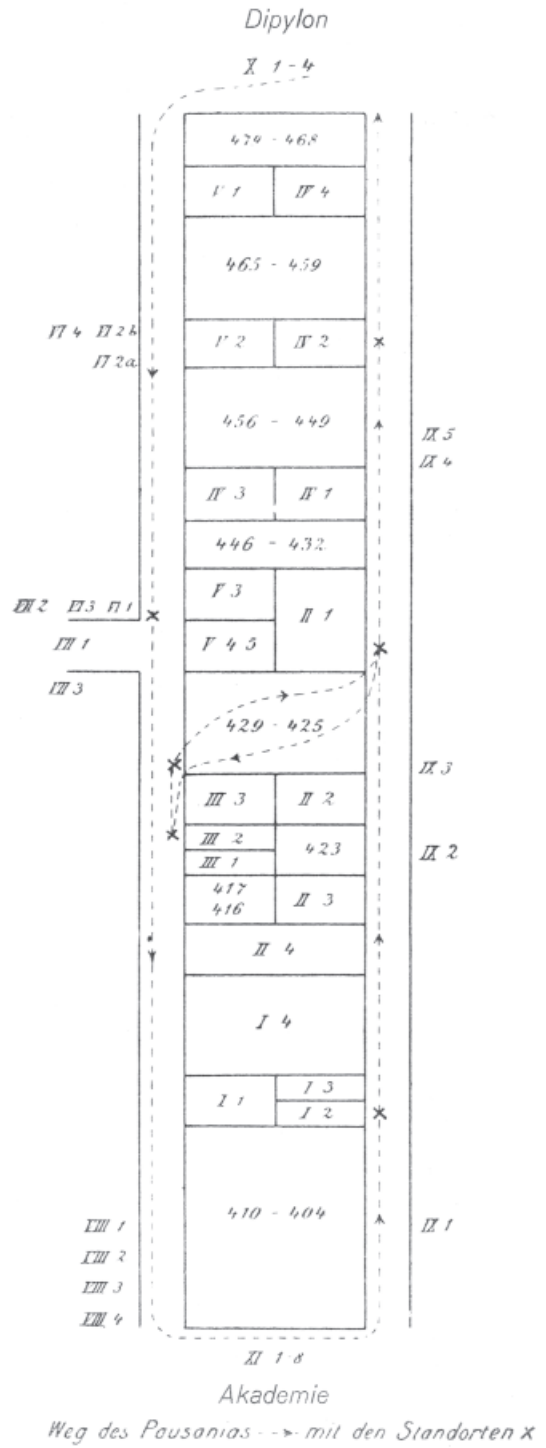


Fig. 2. Diagram of the *demosion sema* according to Domaszewski 1917.

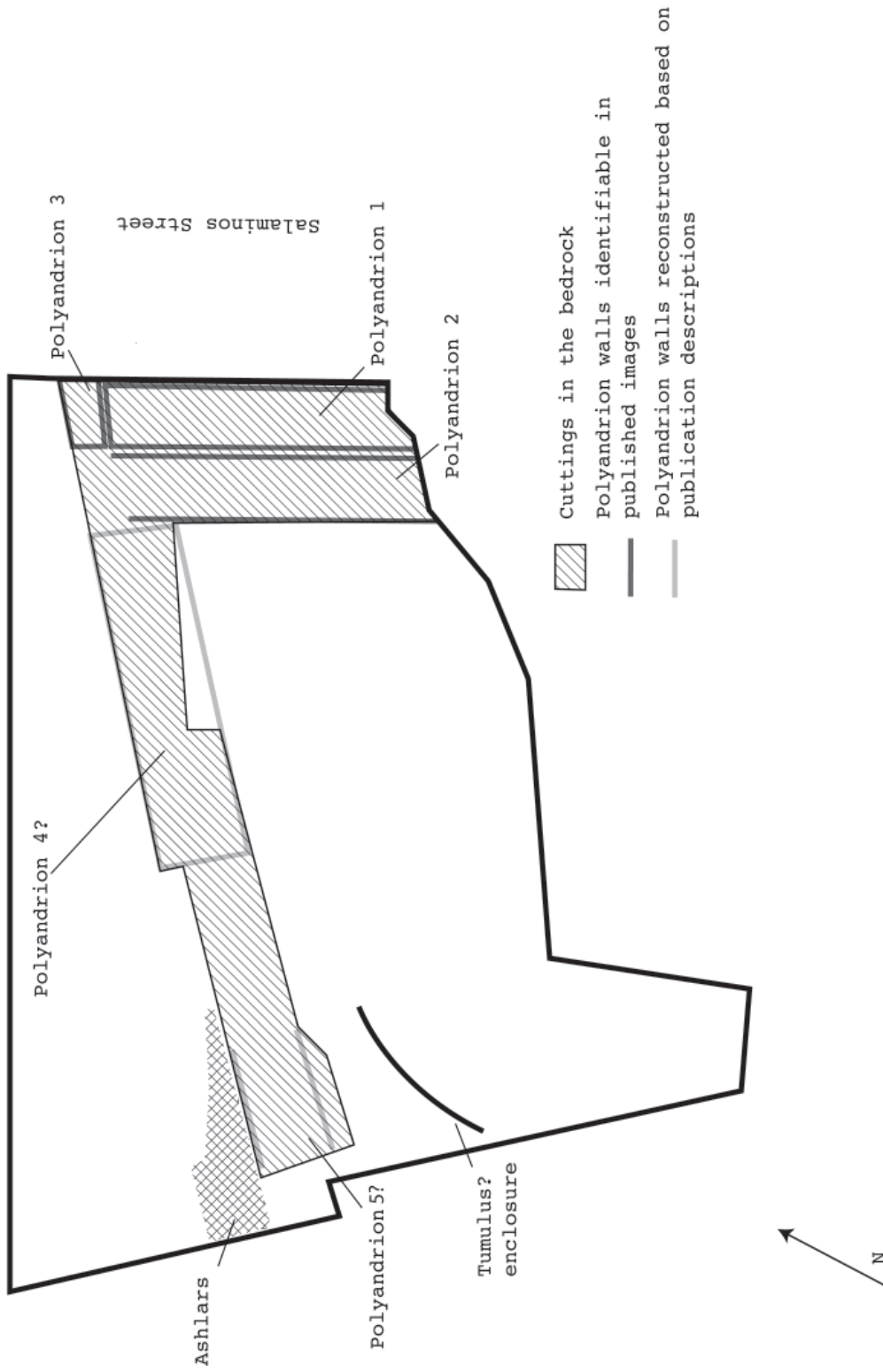


Fig. 3. Polyandria found at Salaminos 35 (28). Based on *ArchDelt* 52 (1997), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 27a.



Fig. 4. Salaminos Polyandria, 28. *ArchDelt* 52 (1997), B1, *Chronika*, pl. 27a.



Fig. 5. Polyandrion 1, in east of Salaminos plot (28).
<http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/athens/4.html>.



Fig. 6. Polyandrion 2, west of the one in Fig. 5.
(<http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/athens/4.html>).



Fig. 7. Slab flooring, said to have traces of polyandron 4.
(<http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/athens/4.html>).



Fig. 8. Wall from 17.
ArchDelt 29 (1973-1974), B1,
Chronika, pl. 50δ.

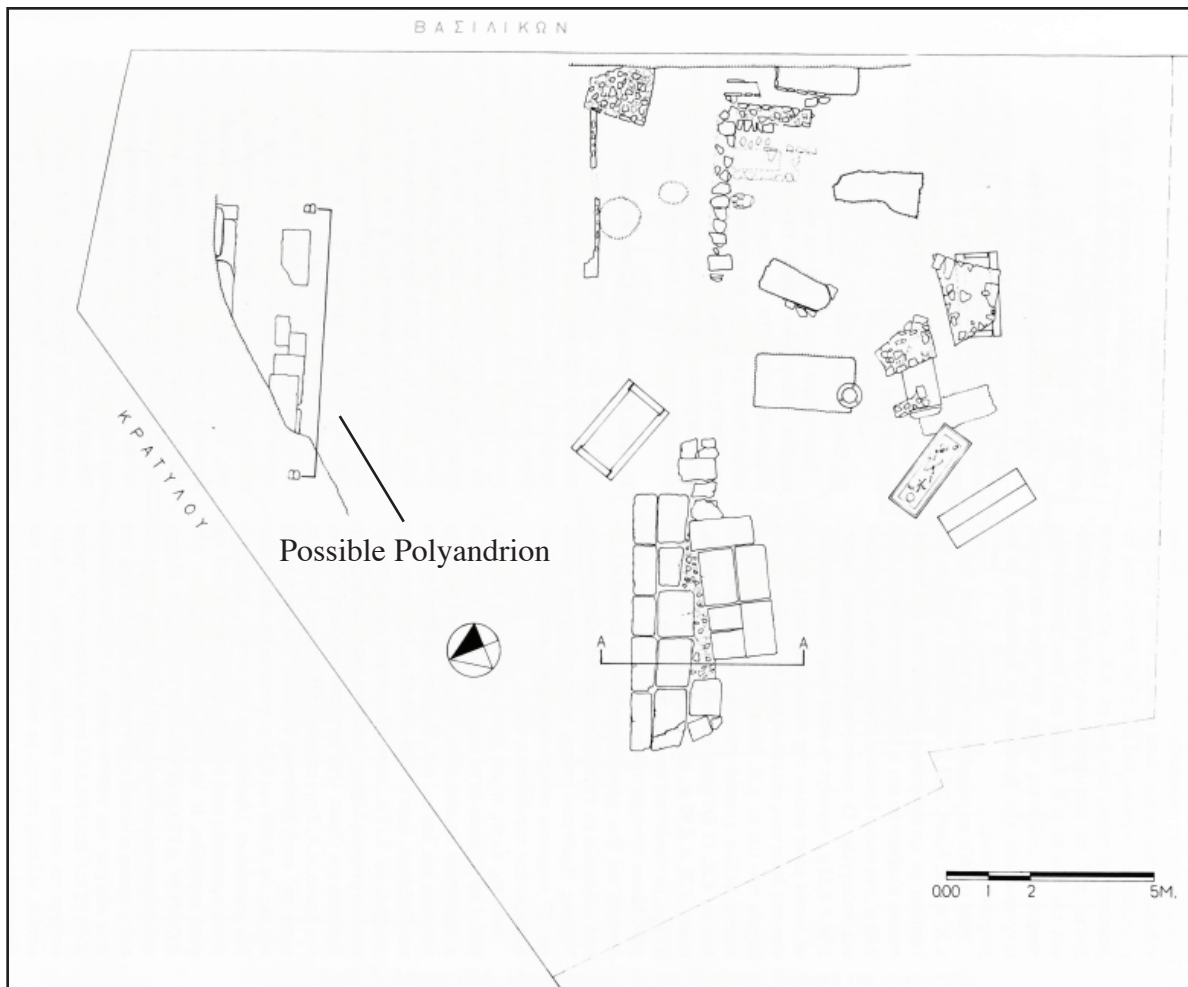


Fig. 9. Burial plot of Lykourgos son of Lykophron of the deme Boutadai, 166.
 Possible polyandron across the street from the family plot.
ArchDelt 34 (1979), B1, *Chronika*, 19 fig. 4.

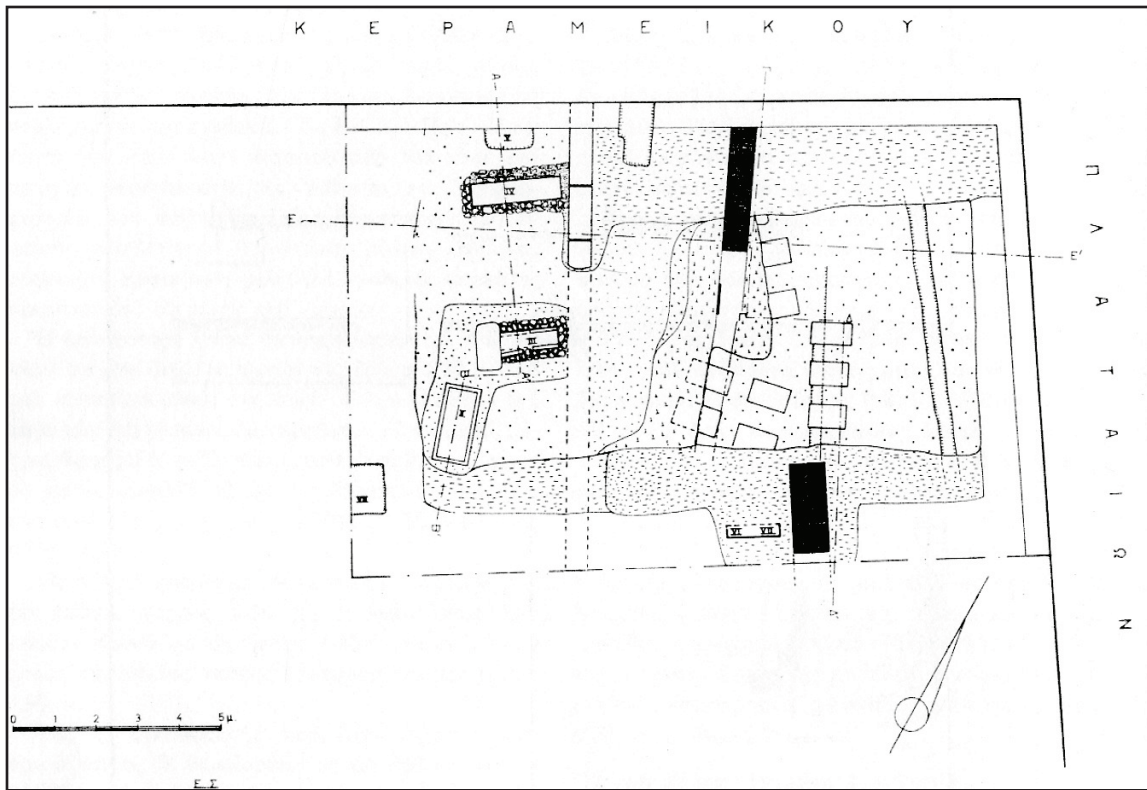


Fig. 10. Ten “trenches” in the Academy Road (18). *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 86 fig. 39.

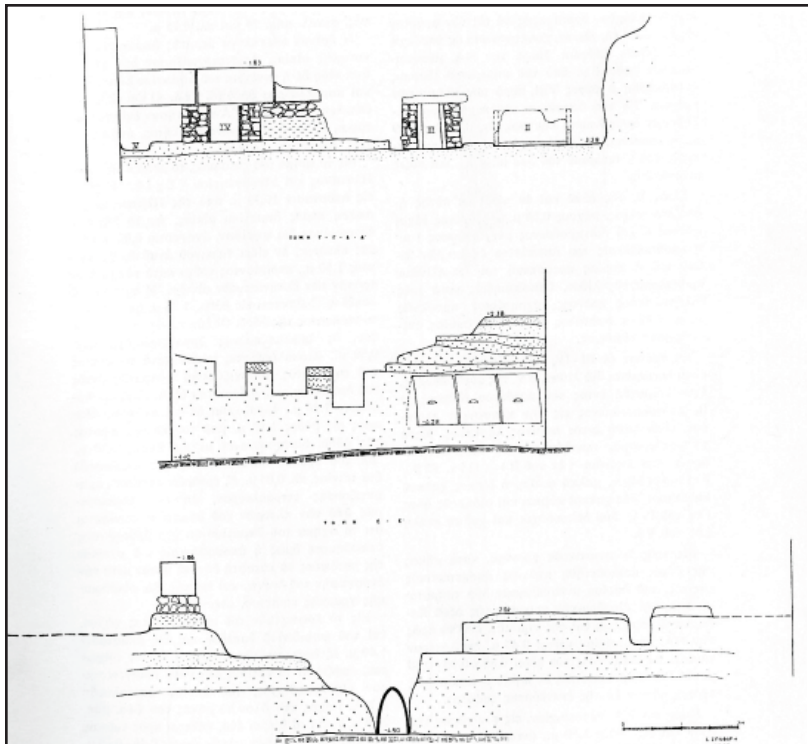


Fig. 11. Cross section of the ten “trenches” in the Academy Road (18). *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), B1, *Chronika*, 87 fig. 40

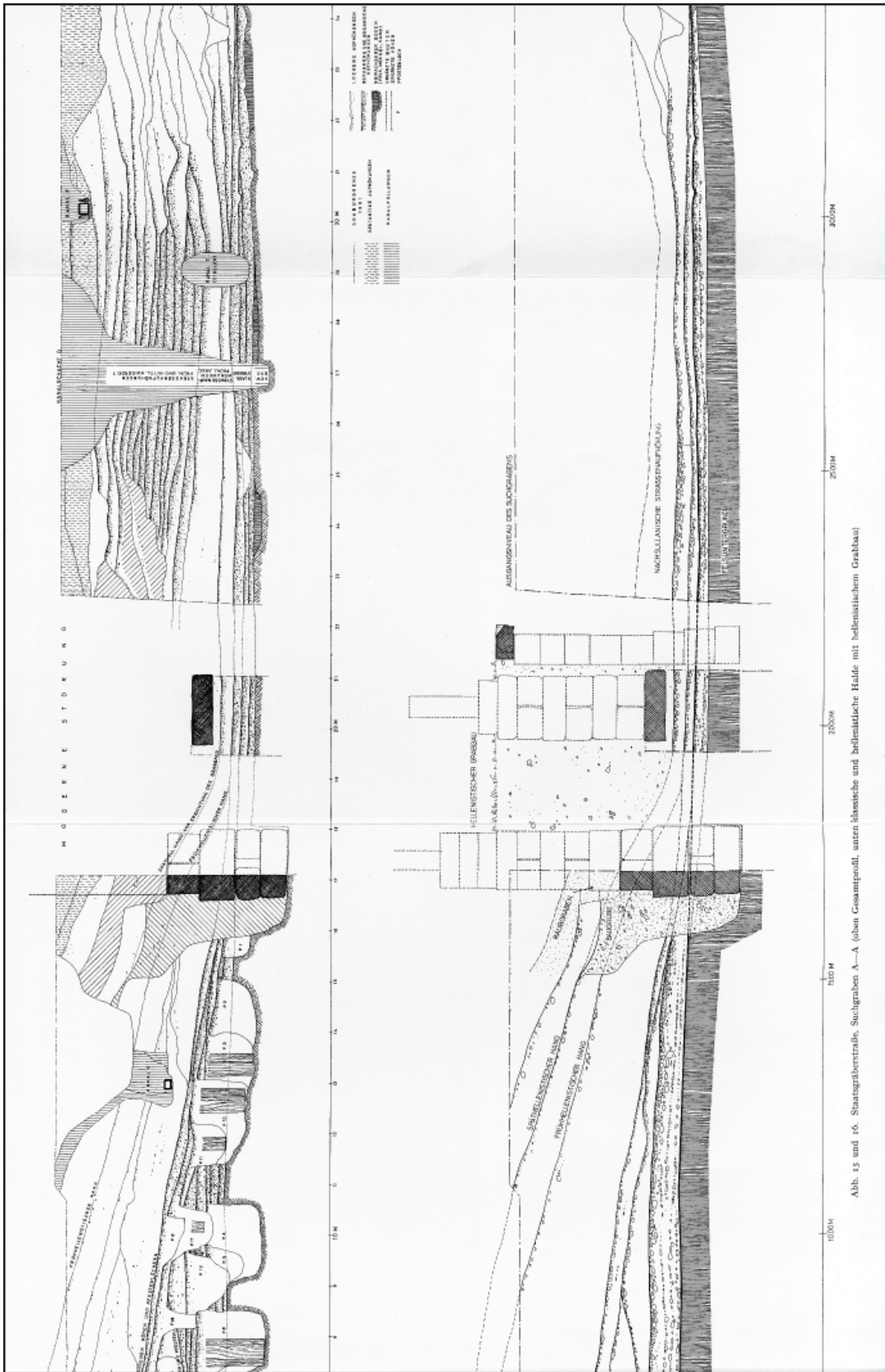


Fig. 12. Cross section of the Academy Road near the Dipylon Gate.
Ohly 1965, figs. 15-16.

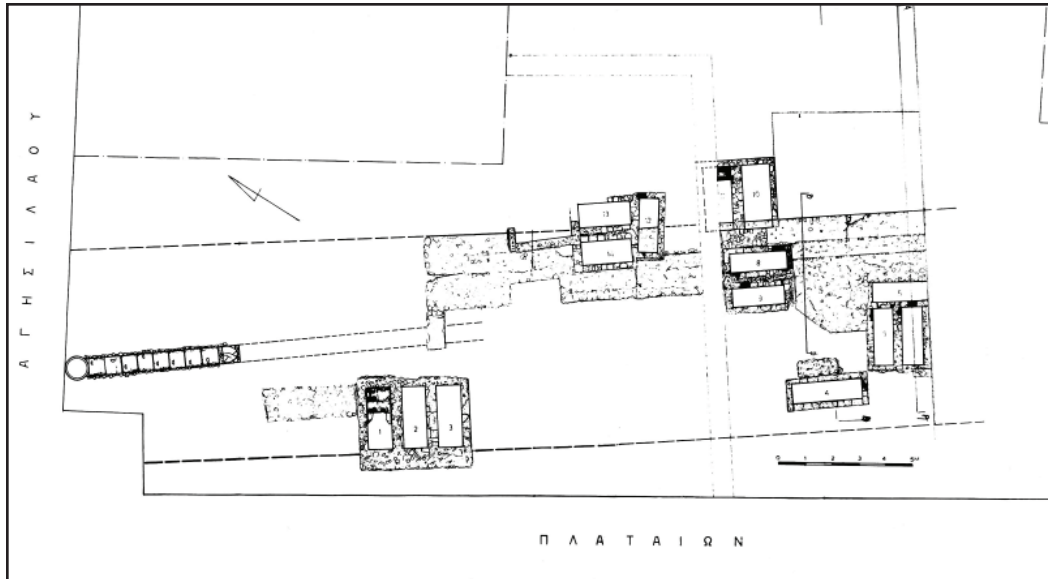


Fig. 13. Late Roman graves on the Academy Road at 5.
ArchDelt 33 (1978), B1, *Chronika*, 20 fig. 4.

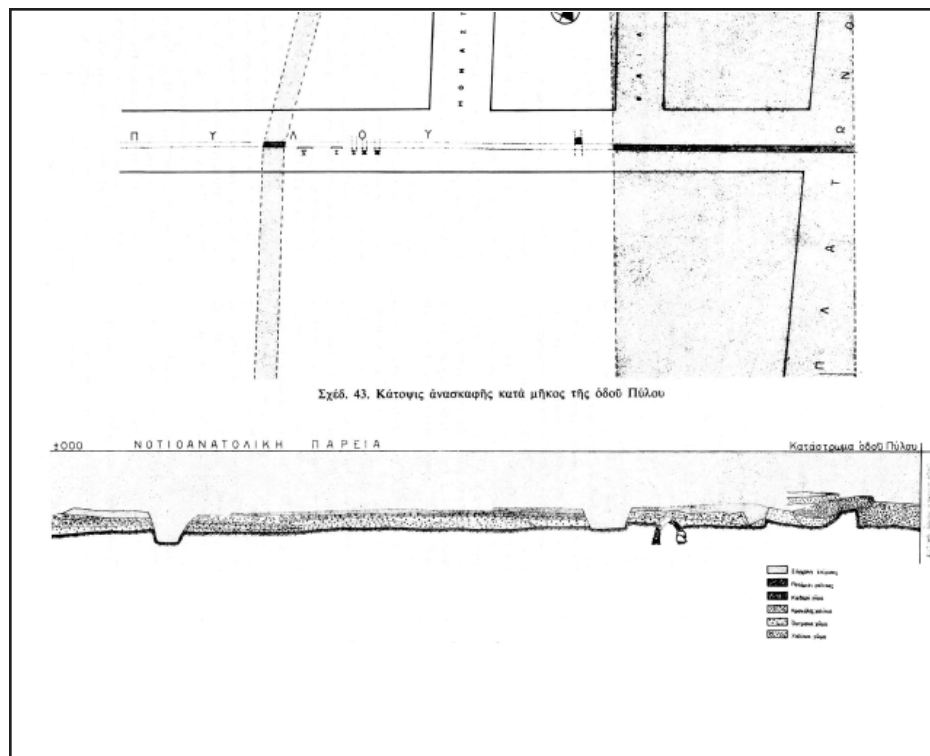


Fig. 14. The Wagon Road and the Academy Road, at 127.
ArchDelt 27 (1972), B1, *Chronika*, 79 fig. 43.

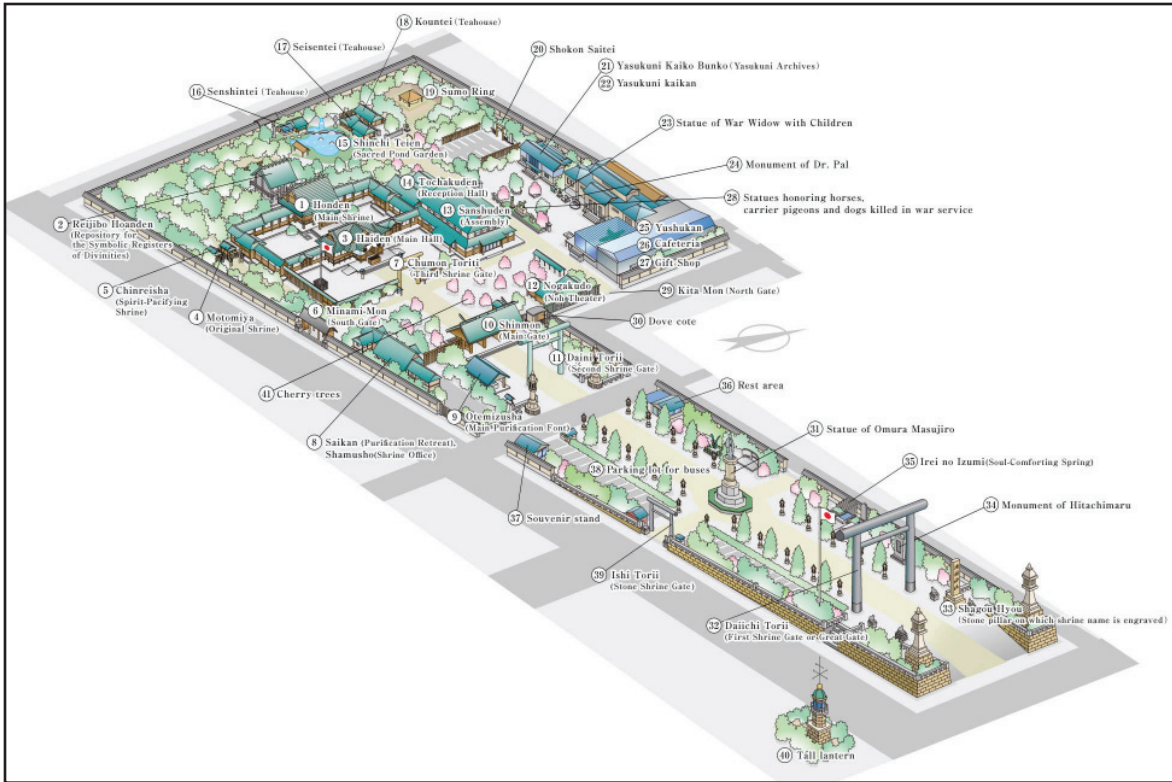


Fig. 15. Plan of the Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo. (<http://www.yasukuni.or.jp/english/precinct/index.html>).



Fig. 16. Eating, drinking, and celebrating in the Yasukuni Shrine during the cherry-blossom festival. Photo N. T. Arrington.



Fig. 17. Third *torii* gate, leading to the *haiden* (main hall), at the Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo.
Photo N. T. Arrington.



Fig. 18. Sacred Pond Garden at the Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo. Photo N. T. Arrington.

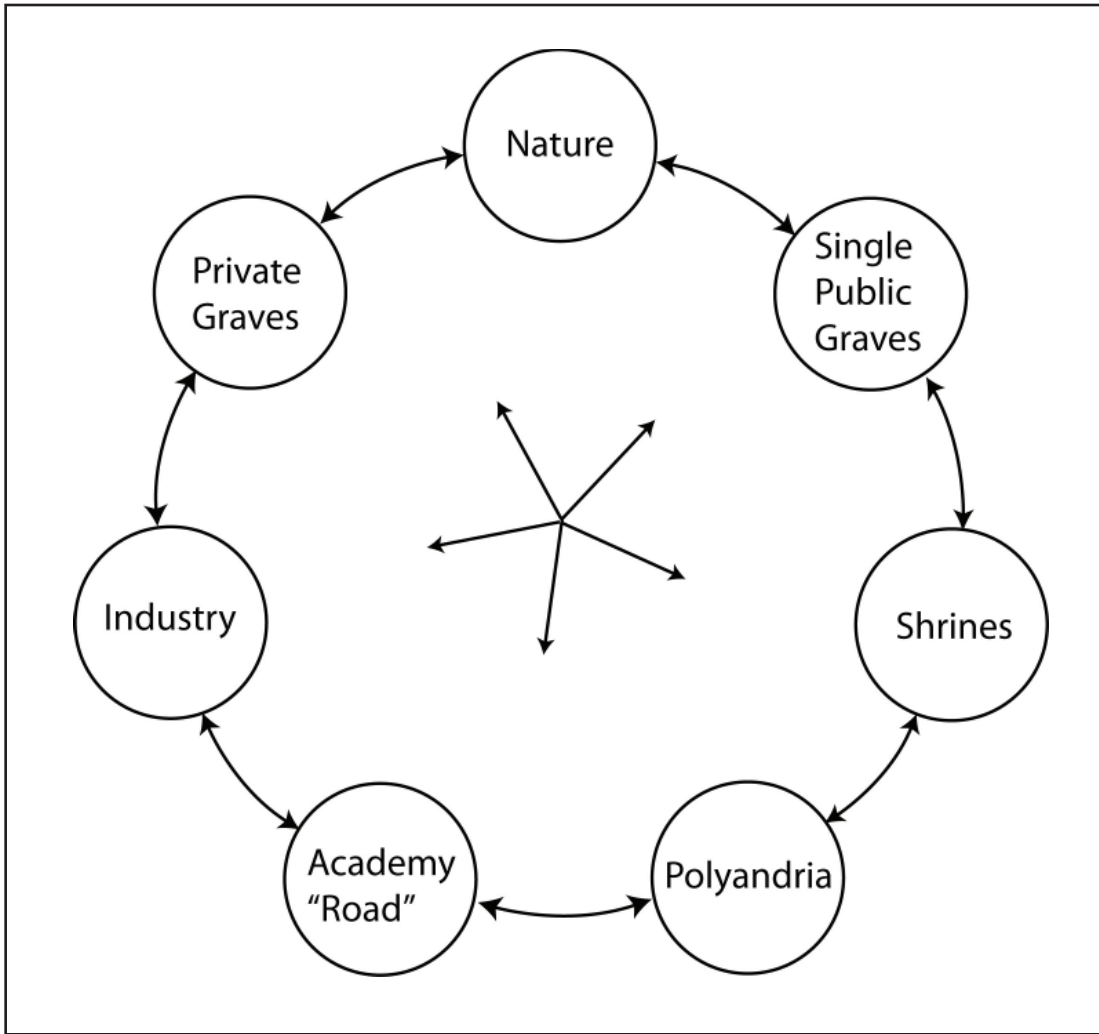


Fig. 19. Conceptual diagram of the *demosion sema*.

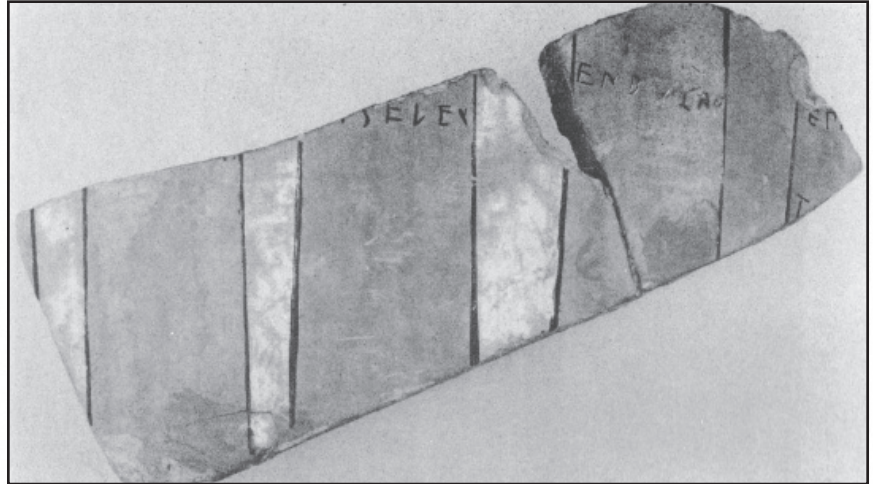


Fig. 20. Representation of the *demosion sema*.
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2455.
Clairmont 1983, pl. 3c.

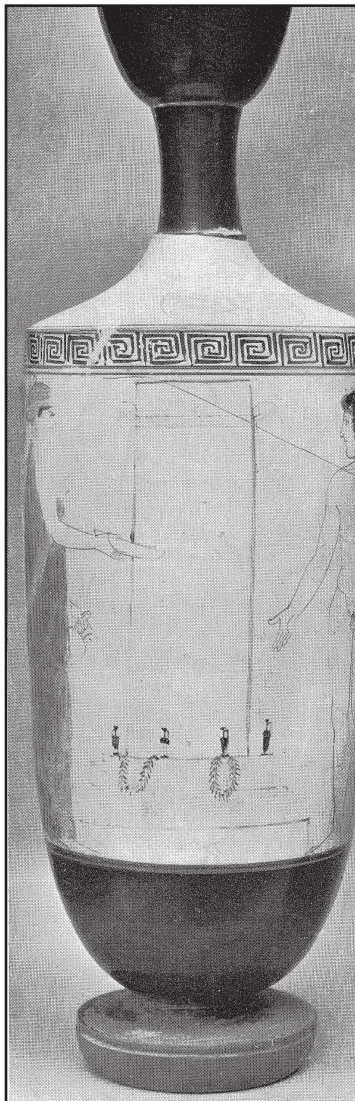


Fig. 21. Vessels deposited on the steps of a funerary monument, on a lekythos by the Bosanquet Painter.
NY Met. 23.160.39. Kurtz 1975, pl. 30.2.

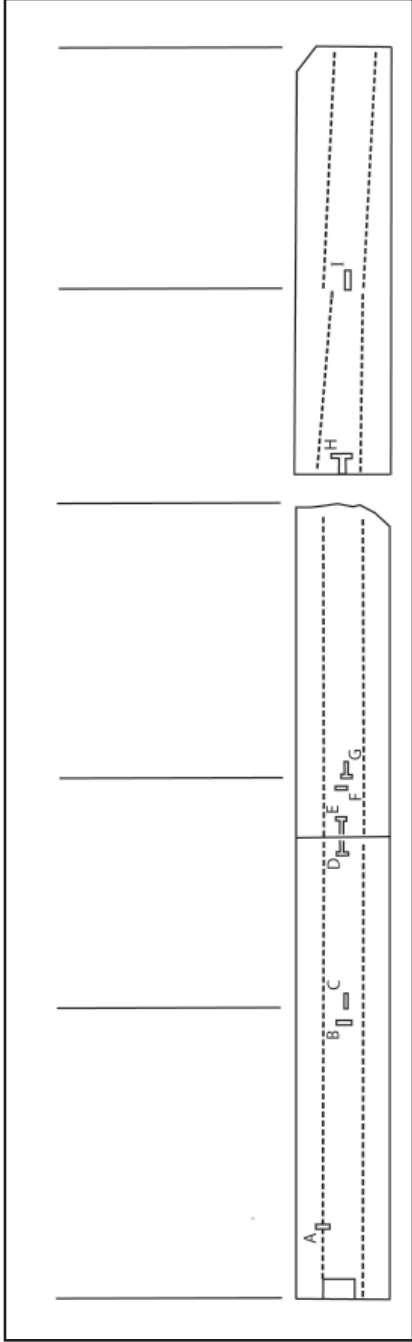


Fig. 22. Drawing of the top side of IG I3 1163d-f. Based on Karusu 1961, pl. 3.



Fig. 23. IG I3 1163d-f, on display in the Epigraphy Museum, Athens. Photo N. T. Arrington.

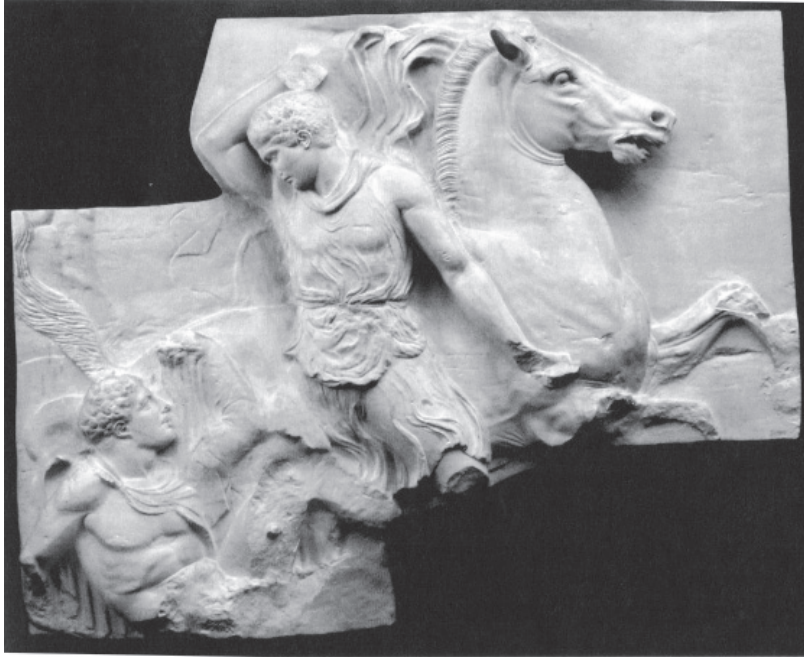


Fig. 24. Albani relief. Villa Albani 985 (plaster cast in Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum).
Goette 2009, 197 fig. 48.



Fig. 25. Dexileos relief.
Kerameikos P 1130.
Goette 2009, 194 fig. 44.



Fig. 26. Relief from **19** (discussed in the text as the “Ephoreia relief”). Third Ephoreia M 2347. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986, pl. 2.

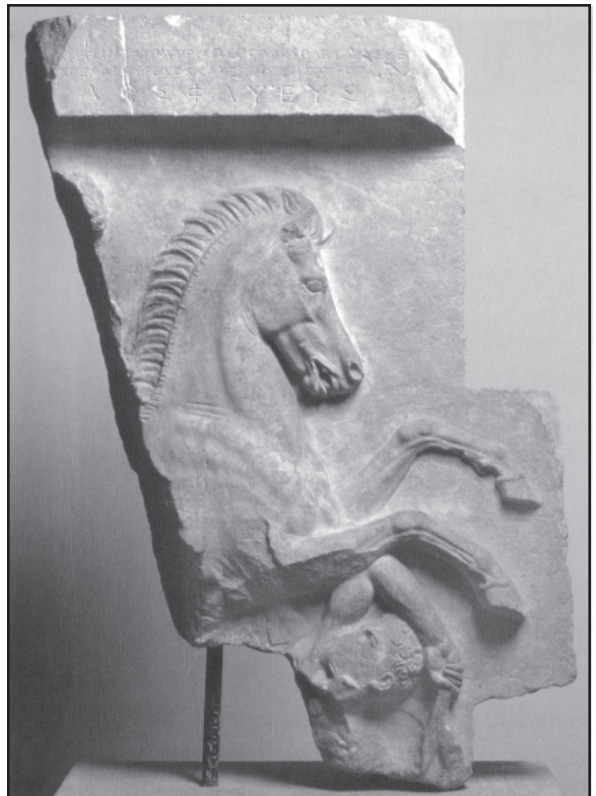


Fig. 27. Berlin relief, from Chalandri. Berlin, Antikensammlung 742. Goette 2009, 195 fig. 45.



Fig. 28. Academy base. Athens NM 3708. Goette 2009, 195 fig. 46.



Fig. 29. Relief crowning a casualty list for the dead from Spartolos, Tanagra, and Megara; from Diligianni Thod. and Palaiologou K. streets. Third Ephoreia M 4551. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 397.



Fig. 30. Relief crowning a casualty list.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Michaelis no. 85. Goette 2009, 190 fig. 39.



Fig. 31. Relief crowning a casualty list for the dead from the Corinthian War, 394/3 BC.
Athens NM 2744. Photo N. T. Arrington.



Fig. 32. Monument of the Unknown Soldier in Syntagma Square, Athens.
www.eveanderson.com

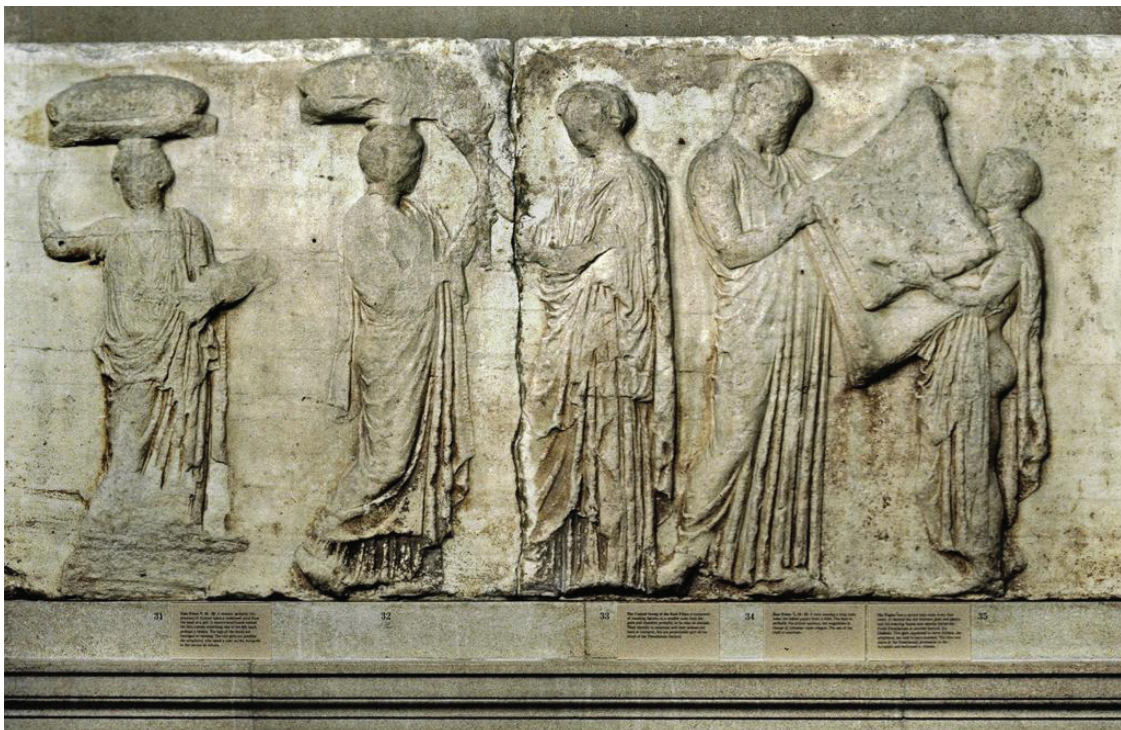


Fig. 33. The peplos for the cult statue on the east frieze of the Parthenon. ARTstor.



Fig. 34. Parthenon, south metope 1.
Brommer 1967, pl. 155.



Fig. 35. Parthenon, south metope 4.
ARTstor.



Fig. 36. Parthenon, south metope 9.
Brommer 1967, pl. 193.



Fig. 37. Parthenon, south metope 28.
ARTstor.



Fig. 38. Parthenon, south metope 30.
ARTstor.



Fig. 39. Parthenon, south metope 16.
Brommer 1967, pl. 202.



Fig. 40. Athena, Heracles, and Atlas on a metope from
the temple of Zeus at Olympia. ARTstor.



Fig. 41. Reconstruction of the shield of Athena Parthenos.
Harrison 1981, 297 fig. 4.



Fig. 42. Parthenon, west metope 3. Brommer 1967, pl. 9.



Fig. 43. Parthenon, west metope 5.
Brommer 1967, pl. 13.



Fig. 44. Parthenon, west metope 9.
Brommer 1967, pl. 20.



Fig. 45. Parthenon, west metope 11.
Brommer 1967, pl. 25.

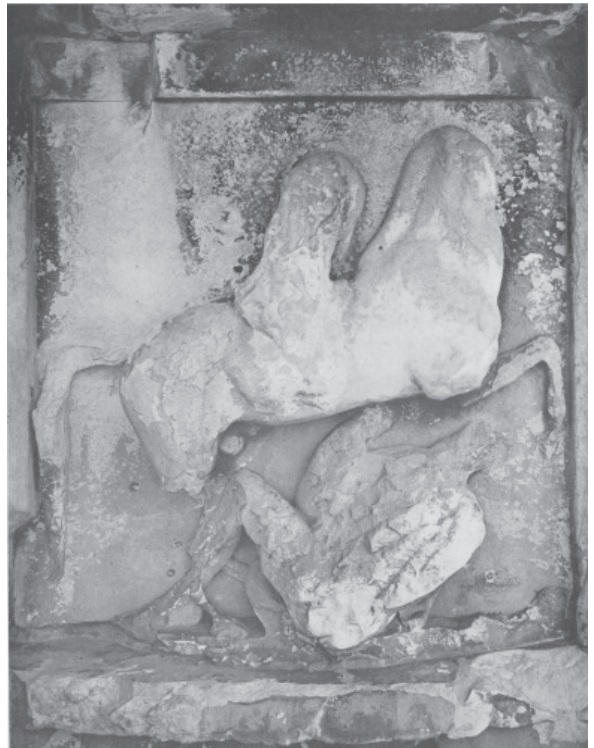


Fig. 46. Parthenon, west metope 13.
Brommer 1967, pl. 31.



Fig. 47. Dead Giant on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, north frieze. ARTstor.



Fig. 48. Battle over Antilochos on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, east frieze. ARTstor.

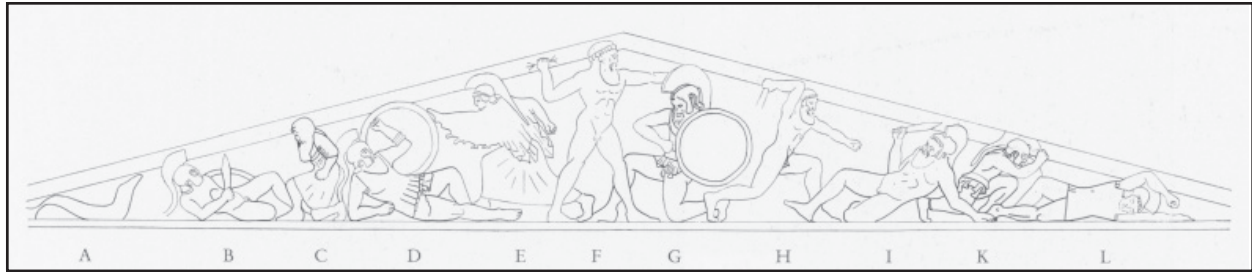


Fig. 49. Pediment of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia.
AM 1974, pl. 31.



Fig. 50. Titan from the west pediment of the temple of Artemis, Corfu.
 Boardman 1978, fig. 187.5.



Fig. 51. Athena dispatching a giant on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, north frieze.
LIMC s.v. Gigantes, no. 2.



Fig. 52. Athena and giant from the Akropolis.
Akropolis 631. www.vroma.org.



Fig. 53. Prokne and Itys by Alkamenes. Akropolis 1358. ARTstor.



Fig. 54. Hephaisteion, east frieze, figure 12.
Dörig 1985, fig. 131.



Fig. 55. Hephaisteion, east frieze, figure 18.
Dörig 1985, fig. 132.

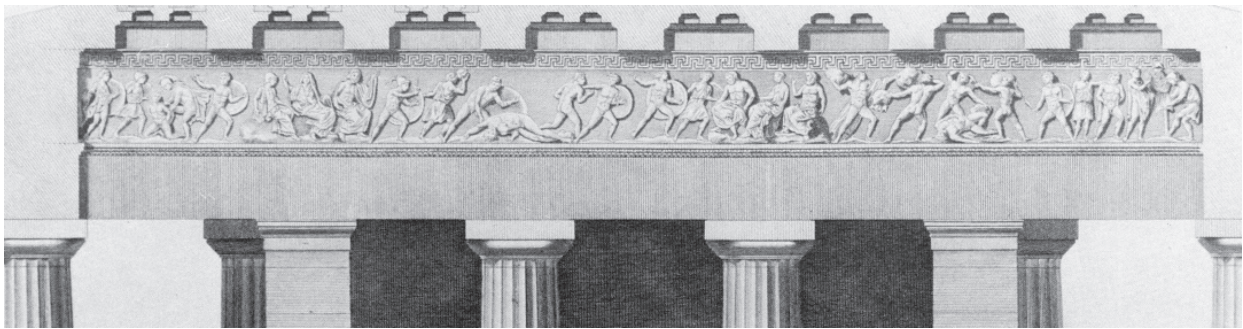


Fig. 56. Hephaisteion, east frieze. Dörig 1985, xii fig. 4, after Stuart 1751.



Fig. 57. Temple of Athena Nike, south frieze.



Fig. 58. Temple of Athena Nike, north frieze.
Akropolis 18140. Schultz 2009, fig. 28.



h

Fig. 59. Temple of Athena Nike, west frieze, blocks H and I.
Boardman 1985, fig. 127.4.



Fig. 60. Temple of Athena Nike, west frieze, block K.

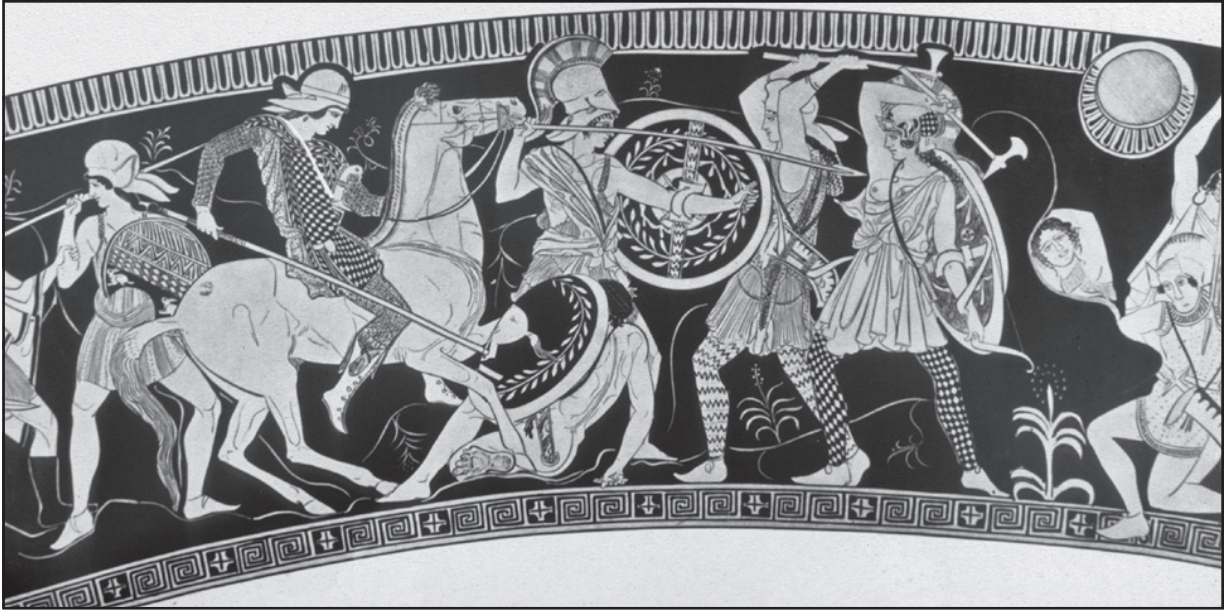


Fig. 61. Krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs. NY Met. 07.286.84. ARTstor.



Fig. 62. Krater by the Painter of Bologna 279. Basel, Ludwig BS486.
Castriota 2005, 95 fig. 8.5



Fig. 63. Krater by the Pan Painter. Basel, Ludwig BS1453. Muth 2008, 376 fig. 267a.



Fig. 64. Reverse of fig. 63. Muth 2008, 376 fig. 267b.



Fig. 65. Bronze sheet from Olympia. Olympia BE 11a. Laufer 1985, pl. 1, fig. 1.



Fig. 66. Tyrrenian amphora by the Timiades Painter. Capitoline 39 (69).
Laufer 1985, pl. 3, fig. 5.1.



Fig. 67. Psykter by Onesimos. Villa Giulia 3577. *CVA Villa Giulia 1*, pl. 4.2



Fig. 68. Psykter by Onesimos. Villa Giulia 3577. *CVA Villa Giulia 1*, pl. 4.1.



Fig. 69. Reverse of fig. 68. *CVA Villa Giulia 1*, pl. 3.2.



Fig. 70. Stamnos by the Kleophrades Painter. Louvre G55. Laufer 1985, pl. 10, fig. 28.



Fig. 71. Reverse of fig. 70. Beazley Archive 201756.



Fig. 72. Hydria by the Leningrad Painter. London BM 1920.3-15.3. Laufer 1985, pl. 14, fig. 46.



Fig. 73. Ilioupersis and Herakles with Pholos on a krater by the Niobid Painter.
Bologna 268. CVA Bologna 5, pl. 97.1.



Fig. 74. Reverse of fig. 73: Ilioupersis and Centauromachy. CVA Bologna 5, pl. 97.2.



Fig. 75. Poseidon in the tondo of a cup by Oltos. Copenhagen 13.407.
CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 334.1b.



Fig. 76. Obverse of fig. 75. CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 335.1b.



Fig. 77. Reverse of fig. 75. CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 335.1a.



Fig. 78. Krater by the Cleveland Painter. Harrow, School Museum T50GW26 and 50.
CVA Harrow, pl. 15.2.

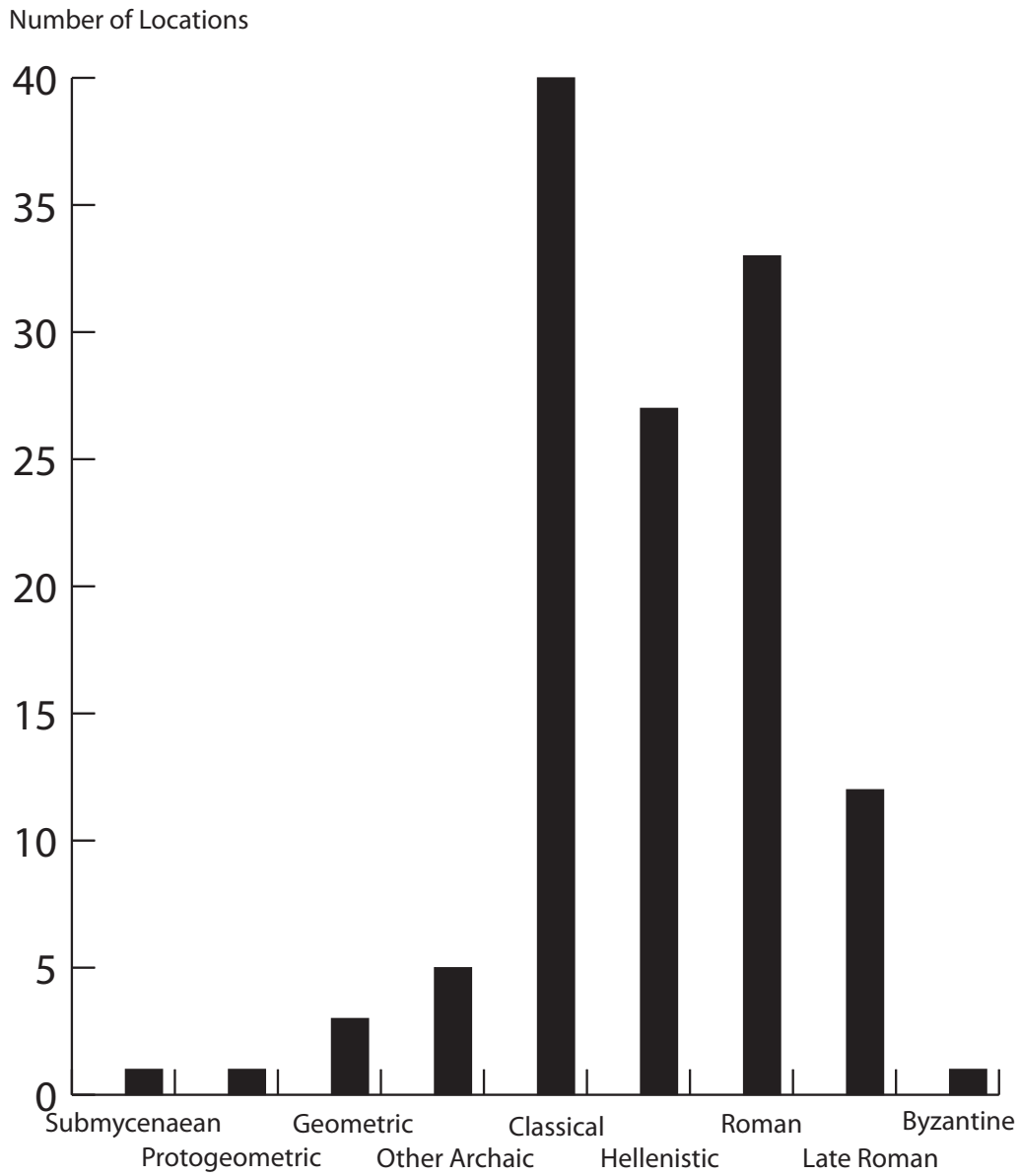


Fig. 79. Obverse of fig. 78.
Laufer 1985, pl. 10, fig. 37.



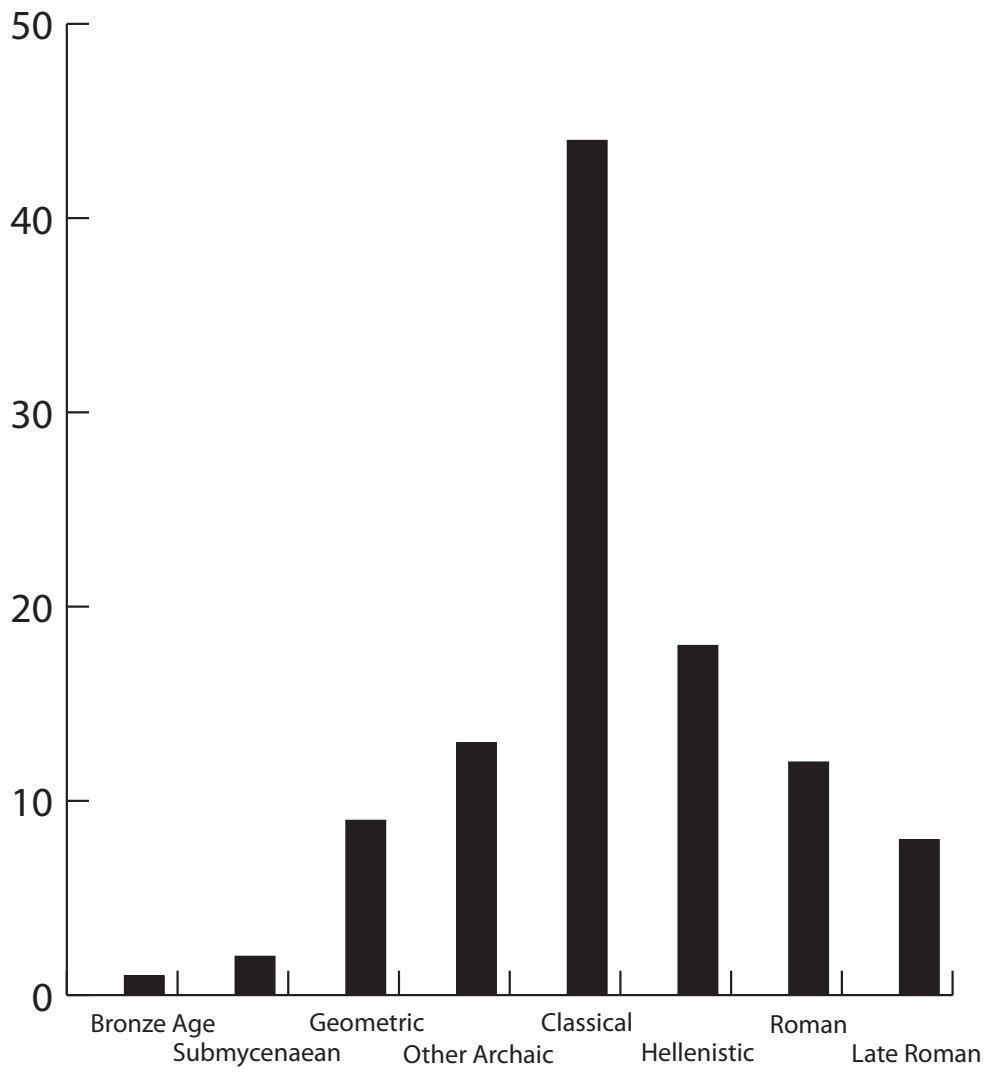
Fig. 80. Obverse of fig. 78.
CVA Harrow, pl. 16.1.

Appendix A: Chronological Distribution of Locations with Graves in the
Region of the Academy Road
(Including the Kerameikos, Excluding the Academy)



Appendix B: Chronological Distribution of Locations with Graves in the Region of the Old Academy Road

Number of Locations



Appendix C: Correlation of Locations with Year of Publication in *ArchDelt*

<u>1888</u>	<u>1966</u>	253	88	56
		282	102	68
236	34	287	120	69
	38		124	90
<u>1891</u>	214	<u>1969</u>	127	92
			128	97
204	<u>1967</u>	1	129	115
		63	131	121
<u>1892</u>	18	72	132	130
	36	159	136	185
204	57	178	137	212
	66	180	138	213
<u>1927-1928</u>	91	181	141	226
	98	189	144	231
65	99	217	145	239
179	101	225	155	243
209	114	252	160	249
	147	274	194	250
<u>1960</u>	157		195	251
	165	<u>1970</u>	219	254
301	198		224	264
	223	35	245	267
<u>1961-1962</u>	257	52	247	294
	278	58	248	
188	291	93	266	<u>1975</u>
208		119	269	
301	<u>1968</u>	142	275	12
		146	276	31
<u>1963</u>	27	148	277	89
	39	235	279	139
190	75		283	206
191	79	<u>1972</u>		232
193	85		<u>1973</u>	237
	109	9		241
<u>1964</u>	199	15	29	263
	202	16	261	
46	211	21		<u>1976</u>
71	227	37	<u>1973-1974</u>	
116	228	40		6
210	229	41	2	8
	230	47	7	20
<u>1965</u>	234	48	17	23
	242	70	26	43
214	244	73	30	55

59	118	161	168
100	126	162	169
103	149	289	197
173	150	295	284
233	151	296	
240	166		<u>1996</u>
260	171	<u>1989</u>	
	174		170
<u>1977</u>	196	95	
	207	96	<u>1997</u>
25		265	
42	<u>1980</u>	286	28
49			94
107	44	<u>1990</u>	
117	108		<u>1998</u>
134	154	61	
143	182	64	13
153		67	238
218	<u>1981</u>	76	281
246		77	
259	51	78	<u>1999</u>
	280	81	
<u>1978</u>		82	14
	<u>1982</u>	83	176
5		84	184
11	183	110	
50	24	297	<u>2000</u>
60			
62	<u>1985</u>	<u>1991</u>	251.5
74			
113	86	104	
135	105	290	
152	106		
158	299	<u>1992</u>	
163			
222	<u>1987</u>	32	
255		33	
262	133	164	
268	140		
298	293	<u>1994</u>	
<u>1979</u>	<u>1988</u>	45	
		112	
19	4	156	
80	53	167	

Appendix D: Concordance of Clairmont 1983's Locations with Catalogue Locations

1	1	27	138	67	73
2	9	28	146	68	70
3	18	29	142	69	72
4	16	30	141	70	247
5	15	31	144	71	75
6	27	32	145	72	91
7	35	33	155	73	93
8	34	34	157	74	109
9	47	49	159	75	114
10	48	50	291	76	147
11	46	51	165	77	278
12	52	52	21	78	264
13	57	53	211	79	251
14	88	54	214	80	26
15	102	55	229, 230	81	90
16	101	56	228	82	115
17	85	57	29	83	250
18	98, 99	58	41	84	249
19	119	59	36	85	2
20	120	60	37	86	30
21	47	61	40	87	56
22	124, 127	62	38	88	121
23	129	63	39	89	130
24	137	64	63	90	92
25	136	65	58		
26	132	66	245		

Appendix E: Kaineus on Attic Black-Figure Pottery

Collection	Type	Side A	Side B	Other	Decoration	Artist	Date	LIMC	Beazley Archive
Florence 4209	krater	Kalydonian boar; games for Patroklos; and other	Theseus' victory dance; Kaineus; and other	various	?	Kleitias	600-550	67	300000
NY Met L68.142.4 (once Getty)	cup	Kaineus	Kalydonian boar		M	P of Boston Ca	575-525	10	10149
Villa Giulia 69	hydria	chariot		S: Kaineus	M		575-525	11	17064
Izmir 9920	cup frag	Kaineus		T. sphinx	?		575-525		18039
Rome, Capitoline 39	amphora	Kaineus; animal frieze	youths dancing; animal frieze		G	Timiades P	575-525	2	310043
Gotha 12	amphora	Kaineus	cocks, sphinxes	animal frieze	M	Goltyr P	575-525	1	310042
Taranto 52158	amphora	Kaineus	sphinxes		M		550	3	n/a
Basel Market	amphora	Kaineus?	Centauromachy	N: symposium, dionysos	M/D	Class of Cab. des Médailles 218	550-500		10
Leiden Rijksmuseum PC40	amphora	Kaineus	Apollo, Artemis, Leto		?	Manner of Group of Toronto 305	550-500	23	620
London BM B176	amphora	warrior departing, chariot	Kaineus		M	Bareiss P	550-500	80	1742
NY Met 56.171.23	amphora	Herakles and Nessos	Kaineus		G		550-500		3765
Bonn V2674	hydria			S: Kaineus			550-500	70	16457
Lost	amphora	Kaineus?	fight		M	Swing P	550-500	14	16475
London Market	amphora	Kaineus	warrior arming, draped men		M	Swing P	550-500	13	9520
Paris, Institut d'Art 340565	amphora	warriors departing	Kaineus?		M	Swing P	550-500	69	340565
Christchurch, Univ. of Canterbury 41/57	hydria	Kaineus	men on stilts		?	Swing P	540/30	68	n/a
Munich J1258 and 1755	oinochoe frags	Kaineus				P of Munich 1755	550-500	12	19433
Kiel B594	amphora	Kaineus	warriors departing?, chariot		M		550-500		28001
Halle, Robertinum 141	lekythos	Kaineus?					550-500	19	41678
Basel, Helene Kambli 303207	oinochoe	Kaineus?				Class of Vatican 440	550-500	16	303207
Munich J86 and 1619	amphora	youths riding Hippalektryon	Kaineus		?	Dot-band Class	550-500	4	303461
Würzburg L217	amphora	Dionysos, maenads, satyrs	Kaineus		G	Group of Munich 1501	550-500	32	306615
Vatican 16588 and 388	amphora	Kaineus?	Herakles and Pholos		?	Group of Toronto 305	550-500	18	320254
Petersburg Π1913.1 and P19B1	amphora	Centauromachy	Kaineus		M	Near Group of Toronto 305	550-500	22	320264
Jena 175	oinochoe	Kaineus				P of the Jena Kaineus	550-500	25	320470
Harvard, Sackler 60.329	lekythos	Kaineus				Near Pholos P	550-500	29	330981
NY Met 69.233.1	amphora	Kaineus	recovery of Helen		G	Antimenes P	550-500	24	320086
London Market	amphora	Herakles and boar	cocks, sphinxes		M	Antimenes P	550-500	17	340476
Munich J527 and 1657	amphora	Kaineus	women standing		G		525-500	15	n/a
London Market	amphora	Kaineus	Centauromachy		M		525-475		18

Basel Market	lekythos	Kaineus?						525-475	13338
Univ. of Il., Krannert 72.13.1	lekythos	Kaineus?						525-475	17717
Rome, Capitoline 1531	pyxis	Kaineus						525-475 26	20234
Taranto 4417	lekythos frags	Kaineus						525-475	25031
Montauban, Musée Ingres 87.4.28	amphora	two centaurs	Kaineus			M		525-475 21	201805
Naples 126006	lekythos	Kaineus						525-475 6	306795
Palazzo Acreid, Iudica 2628	lekythos	Kaineus?						525-475 20	330747
Frankfurt, Mus. Vor- und Frühgeschichte B307	oinochoe	Kaineus						525-475 5	330835
Athens NM no number	lekythos	Kaineus						525-475 30	390507
Athens Ker. 1838	lekythos	Kaineus?						525-475	9022644
Athens NM 610	lekythos	Kaineus						525-475 27	16555
Zurich Univ. 2493	lekythos	Kaineus						500-450 28	1520
Palermo, Mus. Reg. ?	lekythos	Kaineus						early 5th 31	n/a

Appendix F: Kaineus on Attic Red-Figure Pottery

Collection	Type	Side A	Side B	Other	Decoration	Artist	Date	LIMC	Beazley Archive
Sotheby	cup	Centauromachy	Centauromachy	?	M	Delos P	late 6th	34	9037
Copenhagen 13407	cup	Kaineus	satyrs and maenad	T: Poseidon	G	Olto	500	33	200447
Geneva Market	cup	Kaineus	Centauromachy	T: youth	M	Olto	500		819
Louvre G55	stamnos	Kaineus	Centauromachy		M	Kleophrades P	500-475	35	201756
Naples 81399 (H2410)	krater	Ariadne and Dionysos	Kaineus?		G	Myson	500-475	36	202367
Brussels R303	amphora	Kaineus	Centauromachy	N: Theseus and bull; gigantomachy	M	Syleus P	500-475	71	202485
Villa Giulia 3577	psykter	Kaineus	Kaineus		M	Onesimos	475	39	2352
Orvieto 44	cup	Kaineus	Centauromachy	T: fight	M	P of Paris	475	38	204547
Palermo V786	krater	Kaineus	three youths		?	Gigantomachy	475	72	205729
London BM E473	krater	Centauromachy	Kaineus		M	Pan P	475	37	206288
Bellinzona, priv. coll.	krater	Kaineus	men and youth		G	Pig P	475	40	206432
Agora P7243	krater frags.	Kaineus	centaur		M	Manner of Pig P	475	73	206477
NY Met SL1990.1.21	amphora	wedding of Peleus and Thetis and Thetis	wedding of Peleus and Thetis	S: Kaineus	G	Copenhagen P	470		
Harrow T50GW26	krater	Kaineus	satyrs and maenad		G	Cleveland P	470	74	43937
Ferrara 2793	krater	Kaineus	youths pursuing woman		G	Cleveland P	470	41	205794
Mariemont G130	krater	Kaineus	draped youths and woman	R: lions and boars	G	Orchard P	470	75	205882
lost	krater	Kaineus					470	76	16459
Louvre C 10955	cup	Kaineus	Centauromachy	T: centaur	M	Hermonax	470/60	42	
London BM 1920.3-15.3	hydria	Kaineus				Leningrad P	460	43	206571
Bologna 268	krater	Ilioupersis	Ajax and Cassandra	N: Kaineus; Herakles and Pholos	M	Niobid P	460	7	
Palermo Market	krater	Kaineus	draped youths		?	perhaps P of Louvre	440?		206929
Brussels A134	stamnos	Kaineus	satyrs and maenad		G	Symposium	440	44	275450
Bologna 275	krater	Kaineus	men pursuing women		G	Polygnotos	440	45	213382
Pushkin M641	krater frag.	Kaineus				Polygnotos	440/30	47	213400
Chicago 1967.115.390	krater	Kaineus	departure?		M	M of Polygnotos	440/30	47	17063
Wurzburg 4919	krater	Kaineus	youths		?	Group of Polygnotos	440/30	46	213737
Ferrara 2792	krater	Kaineus				Komarís P or Group of Polygnotos	440/30	49	213818
Potenza 54622	krater frags.	altar, sacrifice	wedding of Helen and Theseus	N: Kaineus	G	Hephalistos P	440/30	48	214740
						Talos P	400		43429

Appendix G: Centauremachies without Kaineus on Attic Red-Figure Pottery

Collection	Type	Side A	Side B	Other	Decoration	Artist	Date	Beazley Archive
Basel Market	cup	Centauremachy	maenads	T: warrior (Oriental?)	M	Epiktetos	525-475	17089
Gravisca, Excavation 73.11806 and 73.11809	cup frag	Centauremachy					525-475	23889
Madrid, Varez Fisa (private) 1999.99.82	cup	Centauremachy	Menelaos pursuing Helen?	T: symposium	G/D	Epiktetos	525-475	7465
BM 1929.11-11.1	cup	Centauremachy	fight	T: youth with spear	M	Epiktetos	525-475	200479
AST585	cup	komos	Centauremachy	T: komos	D	compare Epiktetos	525-475	275038
London Market	cup	Centauremachy	Centauremachy	T: youth running	M	Delos P	525-475	9037
LA 50.8.15 and A5933.50.21	cup	Centauremachy	Athena and Herakles, chariot	T: youth preparing kline; UH: grasshopper	D	Pamphaios P (sign.), Nikosthenes P (Beaz.)	525-475	201039
Tarquinia 699	cup	Peleus and Thetis	Centauremachy	T: warrior	M/G	Euergetes P	525-475	200699
Getty S80.AE.313 and 86.AE.311	cup frags	Centauremachy		T: warrior	M	Euphronios	525-475	16551
Copenhagen 14268	cup	Centauremachy	chariot?	T: youth with hare	M	Euphronios Potter	525-475	275907
Leiden XVIII.H20 and PC83	hydria	Centauremachy	centaur			Kleophrades P	500-450	201719
Manchester III.1.40 and 41458	amphora	Centauremachy				Berlin P	525-475	201873
Agora P4245	krater	Centauremachy				?	525-475	9016570
St. Petersburg B1984	cup frag	Centauremachy?					500-450	24037
Acropolis G123 and 2.911	frag	Centauremachy					500-450	46845
Acropolis 2.792 and 2.795	krater frags	Centauremachy				Chairippos P	500-450	202265
Acropolis 2.784	frag	Centauremachy?				Tyszkiewicz P	500-450	203042
Cabinet des Medailles 538BIS and 527 and and 534	cup frag	Centauremachy		T: Centauremachy	M	M of Onesimos	500-450	203395
Vatican 0.3631	cup	Centauremachy	Centauremachy	T: man with staff	M	M of Antiphon P	500-450	203631
Bonn 1644	cup	Centauremachy	Centauremachy	T: archer	M	Bonn P	500-450	203666
Taranto 4594	cup frag	Centauremachy		T: athlete, acontist	M	Bonn P	500-450	203667
Riehen (private) 0.3668	cup frag	Centauremachy	Centauremachy	T: satyr	M	Bonn P	500-450	203668
Vatican 505	cup	Theseus and bull	hoplite fight	T: centaur	M	Bonn P	500-450	203669
Univ of Penn 31.19.2	cup	Centauremachy	hoplite fight	T: youth with cup	M	Foundry P	500-450	204361
Munich 2641	cup	Centauremachy	Centauremachy	T: warrior arming	M	Foundry P	500-450	204362
Munich 2640 and J368	cup	Centauremachy	Centauremachy	T: Centauremachy	M	Foundry P	500-450	204363
Vatican H586	cup	Centauremachy	Centauremachy	T: Centauremachy	M	P of the Paris Gigantomachy	500-450	204548
Ashmolean 1966.492	cup frag			T: Centauremachy?		Gigantomachy	500-450	203737
Villa Giulia 0.3803	krater	Centauremachy				Gigantomachy	500-450	203803
Bologna 237	krater	Centauremachy	komos		D	Triptolemos P	500-450	203803
Ferrara T179AVP	krater	Centauremachy	youths		?	Alkimachos P	500-450	206022
Villa Giulia 50328	frag	Centauremachy				P of London E 489	500-450	206225
Basel (Ludwig) BS489	cup	Herakles and Pholos	Centauremachy	T: youth and auletes	D	Manner of Sotades P	500-450	209508
Zurich Univ. L5	amphora	Achilles and Thetis	Achilles and Thetis	N: Centauremachy	M	H.P.	500-450	217401
Essen, Folkwang Museum RE51	krater	Centauremachy				Oreithya P	500-450	275252
							475-425	10385

Berlin Antikens. 3289	cup	Centaureomachy	Centaureomachy	T: Phrixos and ram	M	475-425	12576
Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universitat: 387	krater	Centaureomachy				475-425	12919
Bologna DL15 and 192	krater	Centaureomachy	Centaureomachy		M	475-425	13026
Kiel B52	cup	Centaureomachy	Centaureomachy		M	475-425	30082
Palermo G1283	krater	Amazonomachy	Amazonomachy	N: Centaureomachy; Herakles and Pholos	G	475-425	206930
Berlin, Antinkensammlung F2403	krater frags.	Centaureomachy				475-425	206937
NY Met 07.286.84	krater	Amazonomachy	Amazonomachy	N: Centaureomachy; draped youths and women	G	475-425	207099
Paris, Louvre CP10749 (once Tubingen)	krater	women	Centaureomachy		G	475-425	207100
Univ. Leipzig T667	hydria frags	Achilles and Troilos	Centaureomachy		M	475-425	213445
Agora P12641	loutro-phoros frags	Herakles and bull	Centaureomachy	UH: draped figures	M	475-425	213542
Reggio Calabria, Mus. Naz., no number	stamnos frag	Centaureomachy?				475-425	9021828
Marzabotto, no number	krater	Centaureomachy				475-425	5482
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Mus 1026	krater	Centaureomachy; Poseidon pursuing menads and satyr	Centaureomachy;		G	475-425	214586
Florence 3997 and 81268	krater	Centaureomachy	men pursuing a woman	R: lions and boars	G	475-425	206128
Tarquina RC1960	krater	Centaureomachy	youths		?	475-425	214588
Vatican, Mus. Gregoriano, no number	krater	Centaureomachy	youths		?	475-425	216059
Naples H3351, M1111, 81300	krater	Centaureomachy	youths		?	475-425	216063
Bologna 199	krater	Centaureomachy	youths		?	475-425	216064
Vienna 871	krater	Centaureomachy	draped youth, woman, Nike		G	475-425	216065
Vienna 774	krater	Centaureomachy	youths		?	475-425	216066
NY Market, once Forman Coll.	krater	Centaureomachy	youths		?	475-425	216067
Naples H3080, 81298, M1109	krater	Centaureomachy	youth		?	475-425	216068
Berlin Market	pelike	Centaureomachy	youth		?	475-425	216122
NY Market	krater	Centaureomachy				450-400	29014
Agora P24052	krater	Centaureomachy				450-400	29615
Dijon 1200	krater	Centaureomachy?	youth and women		G	450-400	215532
Naples H3082, 81409, M1220	krater	Centaureomachy	draped man and women		G	450-400	216193
Ashmolean 1966.709	skyphos frags	Centaureomachy	fight		M	450-400	216267
Athens, NM no number	cup	Centaureomachy	Centaureomachy		M	450-400	217310
Paris, Louvre G621	cup	Centaureomachy	Centaureomachy	T: Centaureomachy	M	450-400	217375
Boston MFA 00.344	cup	Centaureomachy	Centaureomachy	T: Herakles and Nessos	G	450-400	220534

Boston MFA 1900.345	cup	Centaureomachy	Centaureomachy	T: Herakles and Nessos	G	Aristophanes	450-400	220535
Ampurias 1494 (once Barcelona)	pelike	theatrical?	Centaureomachy		?		425-375	9332
Potenza 54622, 51532, 54623, and 51534	krater frags.	wedding of Helen and Theseus		N: Centaureomachy	G	Talos P	425-375	43429
Ferrara T136AVP and 5081	krater	Iliupersis	Centaureomachy	N: Dionysos; Kalydonian boar	M	Attic Query	400-300	5042
San Antonio 85.120.1	krater	Centaureomachy	youths		?	P of London F 64	400-300	7470
NY Met 06.1021.140	krater frags.	Centaureomachy				P of NY Centaureomachy	400-300	217910
Lost, once Berlin 4529	krater	Centaureomachy	Dionysos and Ariadne		G	LC Group	400-300	218281
Athens, Acr. 2.682 and G235	hydra	Centaureomachy					?	46762

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