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# HESPERIA

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# LAMENT AND DEATH INSTEAD OF MARRIAGE

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF DECEASED MAIDENS ON ATTIC GRAVE RELIEFS OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

### ABSTRACT

This article examines the iconography of Athenian maidens (*parthenoi*) from Classical-period funerary reliefs. By challenging the long-standing *loutrophoros* theory that this vessel is a symbol of untimely death before marriage, it becomes apparent that this meaning applies only when it is used in specific iconographic configurations in scenes on grave stelai or when it appears on top of a stele. The consideration of additional iconography exclusively characteristic of maiden figures on funerary reliefs, in conjunction with the iconography of prepubescent girls and young married women, leads to the conclusion that the Attic peplos and the shoulder-pinned back-mantle prove to be the most useful iconographical features for the identification of maidens.

Sometime during the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., the premature death of a young Athenian maiden was commemorated by a lengthy funerary epigram carved on a slab of Pentelic marble.<sup>1</sup> Lamenting the loss of 12-year-old Kleoptoleme, the epigram emphasized the pain and mourning felt by the members of her family, ending with a sad antithesis: οὐ γόον, οὐ θάλαμον τὸν σὸν προσορῶσι θανούσης, θρηγνόν τε ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ τάφον

1. Brauron Archaeological Museum 13, from Myrrhinous (*peribolos* of Meidon); see *SEG* XXIII 166, XXV 298; Peek 1968, pp. 367–370, no. 3; Humphreys 1980, p. 115; Vivliodetis 2005, pp. 65–66, no. E26; Tsagalis 2008, p. 203.

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ἀντὶ γάμου. Early death for Kleoptoleme meant “wailing (γόον) instead of a wedding chamber (θάλαμον), lament (θρήνόν) instead of a husband (ἄνδρὸς), and a tomb (τάφον) instead of marriage (γάμου).”<sup>2</sup> Lament and death instead of marriage: this is the bitter fate of Kleoptoleme and all Athenian maidens who died before their nuptials. Such girls occupied a special place among the *aoroi* (ἄωροι), the “untimely dead,” whose premature demise was considered particularly deplorable and tragic (Eur. *Supp.* 1120–1122).<sup>3</sup>

It was considered that a woman’s purpose in life was to marry and give birth to legitimate children who would perpetuate the family line and become the future citizens, warriors, and mothers of the polis, the “city” (Eur. *Ion* 472–491).<sup>4</sup> Death before marriage was viewed as a great tragedy because it prevented young maidens from fulfilling a role that was so essential to the survival of the oikos, the household, and, ultimately, the polis.<sup>5</sup> Especially pitiful was the fate of these deceased maidens—girls who had reached marriageable age but were robbed of approaching marriage and motherhood by death.<sup>6</sup> How were these unfortunate maidens commemorated by their families? According to the long-standing theory that argues for the sex-specific use of the two types of loutrophoros—a ritual vessel used for carrying and storing water—as special grave markers, or *semata* (σήματα), for the unmarried dead, we would naturally expect all marble *semata* for maidens to be loutrophoroi-hydriai.<sup>7</sup> This is not the case, as this article will demonstrate. When used in particular iconographic configurations in grave-stelai scenes, the loutrophoros-hydria indicated death before marriage, but it was not the preeminent symbol of maiden death. The aim of this article is, therefore, twofold: to evaluate the validity of the loutrophoros theory and to examine closely the iconography of deceased parthenoi on Attic grave stelai and marble funerary vases of the Classical period. Further objectives are to identify iconographical types and traits of maiden figures, and to compare the iconography of the reliefs studied here with those commemorating prepubescent girls and married women. The most useful criterion for identifying maiden figures on funerary reliefs is the Attic peplos (with or without the shoulder-pinned back-mantle), the special attire of unmarried females. Although limited in number, the iconographical types in these scenes indicate the special status of maidens, and the iconography they share with prepubescent girls and young married women illustrates how they fall within the liminal space between girlhood and adulthood.

## THE ATHENIAN MAIDEN

The Greek word “parthenos” (παρθένος), or maiden, is used exclusively for girls of marriageable age who are not yet married.<sup>8</sup> In ancient Athens, females were considered to be ripe for marriage shortly after entering puberty, often marrying around the age of 14 or 15 years (Xen. *Oec.* 3.13, 7.5; Soph. *Fr.* 583.6–10; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.7.4–6).<sup>9</sup> The Athenian parthenoi were, therefore, teenage girls on the threshold of marriage. Whether or not a young woman beyond her teenage years but still unmarried would have been referred to as a parthenos is not known. Neither the ancient texts nor the iconography provides a clear answer.

2. Trans. author.

3. See also Griessmair 1966, pp. 11–17, 24–28; Garland 2001, p. 78; Tsagalis 2008, p. 198; Sabetai 2009, pp. 296, 301, n. 66.

4. See also Rehm 1994, p. 12; Blundell 1995, p. 124; Brulé 2003, pp. 63, 69, 160–161; Oakley 2009, pp. 207–208.

5. Reilly 1989, p. 431; Roccas 1995, p. 664; 2000, p. 262; Grossman 2007, p. 318.

6. Blundell 1998, p. 25; Ferrari 2002, pp. 191–192; Foley 2003, p. 132.

7. For a full analysis of the loutrophoros theory, according to which the loutrophoros-hydria is exclusively associated with dead unmarried females, while the loutrophoros-amphora is solely used to mark the graves of unmarried males, see pp. 94–98.

8. Dowden 1989, p. 2; Loraux 1994, p. 243; Lawton 2007, pp. 55–56.

9. Lacey 1968, pp. 107, 162; Pomeroy 1975, p. 64; Humphreys 1983, p. 7; Beaumont 1994, pp. 87, 93; 2000, pp. 45, 48; Blundell 1995, p. 119; Brulé 2003, p. 130.

Dictated by the social norms of the time, virginal purity was an essential and desirable characteristic of every future bride.<sup>10</sup> As Sissa has pointed out, the loss of virginity before marriage does not necessarily imply the loss of maiden status, as long as the premarital act remained a secret.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the virginity of Athenian parthenoi was guarded zealously and considered a *sine qua non* in the choice of a bride. The story of Harmodios's sister, as recorded by Thucydides, reveals the great importance assigned to the virginity of parthenoi. When the tyrant Hipparchos proclaimed the maiden sister of Harmodios unworthy of being a *kanephoros* (κνηφόρος), a maiden carrying the sacred basket in religious procession, thus implying that she was not a virgin, the terrible insult to Harmodios's family and the chastity of his sister was avenged through the assassination of Hipparchos (Thuc. 6.54–58).

Maiden status necessitated a combination of age (usually puberty), virginity, and unmarried state.<sup>12</sup> Age should not be understood in the strict sense of the word, since a teenage girl who was married was considered an adult, whereas an unmarried girl of the same age was still a parthenos. Because marriage marked the successful passage into womanhood, parthenoi occupied a transitional period between childhood and adult life.<sup>13</sup> A parthenos is neither a child nor a woman.<sup>14</sup> She is on the threshold of becoming an adult, a wife, and a mother. For the unfortunate maidens who died prematurely, the transition to womanhood was never completed.

## CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFYING GRAVE RELIEFS COMMEMORATING MAIDENS

Various iconographical attributes were taken into consideration when establishing the criteria used to identify the corpus of funerary reliefs studied in this article. The first criterion is, of course, the loutrophoros, in whatever form it may appear: (1) marble loutrophoroi decorated with relief scenes; (2) grave stelai bearing relief or painted loutrophoroi with figural decoration; (3) loutrophoroi carved below the figured scene of a stele or shown on top of a stele; and (4) loutrophoroi depicted in figured scenes of grave stelai. Furthermore, female figures dressed in the Attic peplos, the exclusive costume of unmarried females, or sporting a plait that encircles their head, can be identified as parthenoi with absolute certainty. Funerary reliefs depicting females with youthful attire and hairstyles (e.g., the diagonal himation, the *lampadion* [a bun at the top or back of the head in the form of a small torch], and long hair or a long plait falling down the back), holding birds, dolls, or the edge(s) of their back-mantles, and/or accompanied by large birds or dogs, can be included as well. In two-figured and multfigured scenes, female figures that are smaller in size than adults but larger than children can be identified safely as parthenoi. Any reliefs portraying young females who are likely deceased parthenoi but cannot be identified as such with absolute certainty will be referred to as “uncertain.” Additional criteria for creating this corpus were inscriptions and epigrams. For the most part, the Classical-period Attic grave reliefs were purchased ready-made by the family of the deceased upon visiting a sculptor's workshop. The iconography follows a standard repertoire of themes.<sup>15</sup> After

10. Sissa 1990, pp. 76–134, 150–172; Blundell 1995, p. 45.

11. Sissa 1990, pp. 90–91, 105.

12. Roccas 1995, p. 665.

13. Beaumont 1994, p. 87; 2000, p. 48. A wedding marked the transition to adulthood for all females, but this transition was considered complete only after the birth of a woman's first child; see King 1983, pp. 112, 122; Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 10; Demand 1994, p. 17; Larson 2001, p. 100; Sutton 2004, p. 338; Stears 2008, p. 145.

14. Beaumont 1994, p. 93; 2000, p. 45; Stears 1995, pp. 118–121; Roccas 2000, pp. 235, 259, 261, 262.

15. Ridgway 1987, p. 405; *CAT* intro. vol., pp. 64, 66–72; Hoffmann 1997, p. 19; 2006, p. 61; Pomeroy 1997, p. 130; Foley 2003, p. 131; *Agora* XXXV, p. 18.

the family chose a relief to mark the tomb of their loved one, one or more inscriptions, and sometimes an epigram, were added. The personalization of inscriptions and epigrams transformed a funerary relief into the *sema* of a specific person.<sup>16</sup>

## THE LOUTROPHOROS THEORY

The earliest known reference to the use of the loutrophoros as a grave marker for unmarried dead is provided by Pseudo-Demosthenes (44.18.7–19.1): ἡρώστησεν ὁ Ἀρχιάδης, καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀπόντος τοῦ Μειδυλίδου ἄγαμος ὢν. τί τούτου σημεῖον; λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιάδου τάφῳ (Archiades fell ill and died during the absence of Meidyliades, being unmarried. What is the proof of this? A loutrophoros was set up over the tomb of Archiades).<sup>17</sup> Although the attribution of this speech to Demosthenes has been questioned, there is no doubt that the text is an Attic work dating to the 4th century B.C.<sup>18</sup> The loutrophoros marking Archiades' tomb is cited here as proof that he died unmarried (ἄγαμος ὢν), thus implying that the graves of the unmarried dead were distinguished from other tombs by their loutrophoroi grave markers. Unfortunate as it may be for modern scholars, it is not surprising that the orator does not provide an explanation for the term “loutrophoros,” as this would have been unnecessary for his Athenian audience. Without additional context, the type of grave marker referenced in this text remains unknown.

The pseudo-Demosthenic speech is our only surviving Classical reference to the loutrophoros as a grave marker. Many centuries later, lexicographers and scholiasts disclosed what the Classical text does not reveal: the meaning of the word “loutrophoros.” According to Eustathios (*Il.* 4.702.11–13) and a scholiast on the *Iliad* (23.142a1.3–4), the loutrophoros marking the tombs of unmarried dead was a type of hydria, a *kalpis*.<sup>19</sup> Pollux (*Onom.* 8.66.2–6) does not mention a specific type of vase, but all types of water-carrying vessels: τῶν δ' ἀγάμων λουτροφόρος τῷ μνήματι ἐφίστατο, κόρη ἀγγεῖον ἔχουσα ὑδροφόρον, ὑδρίαν ἢ πρόχουν ἢ κρωσσὸν ἢ κάλπιν (A loutrophoros was set up over the tomb of the unmarried dead, [the figure of] a girl bearing a water-carrying vessel, a hydria, a *prochous*, a pitcher, or a *kalpis*).<sup>20</sup> Hesychios refers to all types of hydriai, but points out that both the water vases and the persons carrying them were called “loutrophoroi.”<sup>21</sup> The latter

16. Keuls 1985, pp. 151–152; Hoffmann 1992, p. 330; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, p. 335; for funerary inscriptions and epigrams, see Lattimore 1942; Clairmont 1970, 1987; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 260–266; Humphreys 1983, pp. 92, 107; Herbert 1984; Hoffmann 1988; *CAT* vol. 5, pp. 7–8; Pomeroy 1997, pp. 126–128; Tsagalis 2008; *Agora* XXXV, pp. 28–29; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 335–343.

17. Trans. author.

18. Bergemann 1996, p. 152.

19. For the Homeric scholion, see

Erbse 1969–1988, vol. 5, p. 392.

20. Trans. author.

21. Hsch., s.v. λουτροφόρα ἄγγη, λουτροφόρος. Like the loutrophoros, the hydria is associated with weddings and funerals; see (1) New York, Metropolitan Museum 1972.118.148: Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 62, figs. 20, 21; (2) Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 1528: *CVA*, Karlsruhe 1 [Germany 7], pp. 36–37, pl. 30:8–9 [328]; (3) Paris, Musée du Petit Palais 337: *CVA*, Paris, Palais des Beaux [France 15], p. 34, pl. 35:2.4–6 [675];

(4) Warsaw National Museum 142290: *CVA*, Goluchow, Musée Czartoryski [Poland 1], pp. 23–24, pl. 32:3A, B [032]. The last is a red-figure hydria decorated with a scene depicting the bath of a bridegroom. Among the uncertain funerary reliefs of parthenoi studied here, there is a marble hydria decorated with a “mistress and maid” scene (89); see also Buschor 1952; Diehl 1964, pp. 139–140; Boardman 1988, pp. 176–177; Bergemann 1996, pp. 165–166. Although a hydria can be used instead of a loutrophoros in

is verified by the etymology of the word (Λουτρό + φόρος: the bearer of water for bathing), as well as by a line of Menander's *Samia* (730): Χρυσί, πέμπε τὰς γυναῖκας, λουτροφόρον, ἀὐλητρίδα (Chrysis, send the women, the bearer of the water [λουτροφόρον], the flute-player).<sup>22</sup> In accordance with this evidence, the majority of lexicographers describe loutrophoroi grave markers as statues of children bearing the ritual vase that contained water for the nuptial bath.<sup>23</sup> We are, therefore, presented with two distinct explanations for the loutrophoros, each based on a different meaning of the word as cited by Hesychios. Since every text considered above is postclassical, they are equally reliable or prone to error, making it ill-advised to elevate any one of them as more valid than the other. Rather than clarifying "loutrophoros" in the pseudo-Demosthenic excerpt, the postclassical evidence prompts a new question regarding the special grave marker: Was the loutrophoros a water vessel or was it the statue of a child bearing a water vessel?

In 1880, Milchhoefer published an article theorizing that the well-known Attic vessel with the elongated neck is the loutrophoros that, according to Pseudo-Demosthenes, marked the tombs of the unmarried dead in ancient Athens.<sup>24</sup> Milchhoefer's loutrophoros is a ritual vase used in Athenian weddings to transport water for the nuptial bath of the bride and groom.<sup>25</sup> Such vessels frequently appear in wedding scenes of Attic vases, and they are decorated with wedding imagery that often includes scenes of the *loutrophoria*, the procession carrying the water for the nuptial bath.<sup>26</sup> After their wedding, brides normally dedicated these loutrophoroi to local deities associated with marriage.<sup>27</sup> A large number of nuptial loutrophoroi dating from the 7th century B.C. to the Hellenistic period have been discovered in the sanctuary of Nympe on the south slope of the Acropolis.<sup>28</sup> Nuptial loutrophoroi have been found also in various Attic caves of the Nymphs, as well as in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>29</sup>

The vessel Milchhoefer identified as the loutrophoros was not exclusively a nuptial vessel but was also associated closely with Athenian

wedding and funeral rites, the loutrophoros is clearly the most popular and frequently used ritual vessel for both occasions; see Bergemann 1996, pp. 163–167.

22. Trans. author. It is clear that the loutrophoros mentioned here refers to the woman (πέμπε τὰς γυναῖκας) carrying the water vessel for the bridal bath and not to the water vessel itself.

23. Poll. *Onom.* 8.66.2–6; Harp., s.v. λουτροφόρος; *Suda*, s.v. λουτροφόρος; *Lexicon Segueriana [Glossae rhetoricae]*, s.v. λουτροφόρος; *Lex. Vind.*, s.v. λουτροφόρος; see also Hannah 2010, p. 270.

24. Milchhoefer 1880.

25. Roberts 1978, pp. 4–5; Mösch 1988; Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 15–16; Sabetai 1993, pp. 129–174; 2009, p. 291, n. 2; Bergemann 1996, pp. 163–166; Mösch-Klinge 2006; Hannah

2010, pp. 268–271. For the nuptial bath, see Ginouvès 1962, pp. 265–282; Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 15–16; Brulé 2003, p. 148; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, p. 219.

26. For depictions of such vessels in wedding scenes, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 62, 64, 92–94, figs. 20, 21, 23, 75–78; Hannah 2010, p. 271. Specific examples include (1) Würzburg, Martin Von Wagner 541: *CVA*, Würzburg 2 [Germany 46], pp. 48–49, fig. 37, pls. 33:4, 34:1–5, 35:1–8 [2234, 2235–2236]; (2) London, British Museum E 774: Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pp. 9, 244, no. 253, figs. 1:E, 84:B, pls. 163:A, 164; (3) Warsaw, National Museum 142290: see n. 21, above.

For wedding scenes on clay loutrophoroi, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 58–59, 90, figs. 14, 15, 72, 73;

(1) Copenhagen, National Museum 9080: *CVA*, Copenhagen 8 [Denmark 8], pp. 264–265, pls. 341:2A–C, 342:1A, B [344, 345]; (2) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 2027: *CVA*, Vienna 3 [Austria 3], p. 42, pls. 148:1–3, 149:2, 3 [148, 149]; (3) Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 69.78: *CVA*, Karlsruhe 3 [Germany 60], pp. 87, 88, 89, 90, figs. 2:1–4, 28, pls. 44:1–4, 45:1–4 [2989, 2990]. See also Hannah 2010, p. 271.

27. Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 42–43; Bergemann 1996, p. 164.

28. Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 42–43; Sabetai 1993, p. 130; Larson 2001, p. 112; Dillon 2002, p. 219; Kopestonsky 2016, p. 715.

29. Larson 2001, pp. 112, 228–229, 242–246, 248; Dillon 2002, p. 219.

funerary rites.<sup>30</sup> Black- and red-figure loutrophoroi decorated with wedding and funeral scenes have been discovered in graves, as well as in offering trenches.<sup>31</sup> Additional information on the funerary use of the loutrophoros is provided by tomb-visit scenes on Attic white lekythoi, in which loutrophoroi are depicted being set up over graves or held by a bereaved relative of the deceased.<sup>32</sup> From the late 5th century B.C., marble loutrophoroi with relief decoration were erected over tombs as grave markers and carved onto grave stelai.<sup>33</sup> The figured scenes on these marble loutrophoroi display the same iconography of the Classical-period Attic grave stelai and marble lekythoi, thus departing from the iconography of their clay counterparts.

It was on these associations with nuptial and funerary rites that Milchhoefer based his loutrophoros theory. Since then, the elegant vessel has been widely known as the “loutrophoros,” the special grave marker of the unmarried dead.<sup>34</sup> In a later study, Kokula concluded that the marble loutrophoros-amphora was used exclusively to mark the tombs of unmarried males, while the loutrophoros-hydria alone indicated the graves of maidens.<sup>35</sup> Boardman and Sabetai subsequently argued that the same distinction applies to the clay loutrophoroi, whether they are marriage or funerary vases.<sup>36</sup> These theories have been accepted by the vast majority of scholars, in contrast to the theory proposed by Mösch, who suggested that during the 5th century B.C. the loutrophoros-amphora was used primarily in funerals and the loutrophoros-hydria in weddings.<sup>37</sup> Although there has been some disagreement about this interpretation, hardly anyone doubted the use of the loutrophoros as a grave marker for the unmarried dead.<sup>38</sup>

In 1996, Bergemann disputed the long-established loutrophoros theory.<sup>39</sup> Based on his study of the marble-loutrophoroi figured scenes, Bergemann argued that the vessel known as the loutrophoros was not the special grave marker of unmarried dead mentioned by Pseudo-Demosthenes. His objection to Milchhoefer’s theory is largely founded on the fact that mothers accompanied by children and elderly men appear among the deceased persons depicted in the marble-loutrophoroi relief scenes.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, certain loutrophoroi were later used to commemorate all of

30. Boardman 1988, p. 176; Mösch 1988; Sabetai 1993, pp. 129–174; 2009; Bergemann 1996, pp. 166–167, 172; Garland 2001, p. 87; Mösch-Klinge 2006; Hannah 2010, p. 271.

31. E.g., (1) Athens, National Archaeological Museum 450: *CVA*, Athens 1 [Greece 1], III.H.EFGH.5, III.H.EFGH.6, pls. 8:1, 2, 9:3 [016, 017]; (2) Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 453: *CVA*, Paris 8 [France 12], III.I.C, pls. 56:1–4, 57:1, 2 [512, 513]; (3) Athens, National Archaeological Museum 12947: *CVA*, Athens 1 [Greece 1], III.H.EFGH.6, pl. 9:1–2 [017]. See also Wolters 1891, p. 382, no. 21; Beazley 1932; Stupperich 1977, pp. 155–162; Clairmont 1983, pp. 76–81; Boardman 1988, p. 177; Mösch

1988, p. 125; Bergemann 1996, pp. 169–173; Sabetai 2009; Hannah 2010.

32. E.g., (1) Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19355: Oakley 2004, p. 155, no. 18, fig. 123; (2) Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: *CVA*, Brussels 3 [Belgium 3], III.J.B.4, pl. 5:7A–C. [134]; (3) London, British Museum D 71: Mösch-Klinge 2006, p. 236, no. 95, fig. 51; (4) Athens, National Archaeological Museum 450: see n. 31, above. See also Hannah 2010, p. 271.

33. Bergemann 1996, p. 150; Kaltsas 2002, p. 23; for examples of marble funerary loutrophoroi, see 3, 11; *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.154; vol. 3, no. 3.382; vol. 4, nos. 4.205, 4.237, 4.368.

34. Milchhoefer 1880; Bergemann

1996, pp. 149–151; Mösch-Klinge 2006; Hannah 2010, pp. 269, 270, 271–272, 274–275.

35. Kokula 1984, pp. 13, 146–148.

36. Boardman 1988, esp. pp. 175–179; Sabetai 1993, pp. 145–146, 157–161, 163.

37. Mösch 1988, esp. pp. 124–130; Mösch-Klinge 2006.

38. Arrington 2015, p. 209, n. 12; see also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 151–152. For criticism of Mösch’s theory, see Sabetai 1993, pp. 145 (n. 573), 165–168; Bergemann 1996, p. 186.

39. Bergemann 1996; see also *Agora* XXXV, p. 25.

40. Bergemann 1996, pp. 159–162.

the family members represented on them, even those who did not die unmarried. This evidence is indicated by the later addition of names to the relief, which are inscribed by different hands.<sup>41</sup> Such reliefs, in time, became a monument for the entire family.

The depiction of elderly men did not go unnoticed by Kokula, who, still accepting Milchhoefer's theory, argued that they were also unmarried. Kokula attributed their frequent occurrence in loutrophoroi figured scenes to the Athenian way of life, which she claimed was not particularly favorable to marriage.<sup>42</sup> Athens may have lacked the laws and unusual social practices that promoted marriage in Sparta, but this does not suggest that Athenian society rejected marriage.<sup>43</sup> Far from it, and contrary to Kokula's belief, the great importance of marriage in ancient Athens is evident in that it is a prerequisite for the birth of legitimate children and therefore is essential to the survival of the *oikos*, the continuation of the family line, the preservation of family property, tradition, and household religion, and the care of elderly parents (*γηροτροφία*) and familial tombs.<sup>44</sup> Ancient texts and funerary epigrams place special emphasis on the tragic fate of those who died before marriage and the creation of a family.<sup>45</sup> I find it difficult to believe that the elderly men of the marble loutrophoroi, who, according to Kokula, died unmarried, were considered members of the *aoroi*. Death in advanced age can hardly be regarded as untimely. Even if these men were unmarried, as Kokula suggests, their unmarried status was a matter of choice; such men did not die prematurely before savoring the joys of life. Why, then, should their tombs be distinguished from others by a loutrophoros?

Bergemann's argument about the depiction of elderly men and women with children challenged Milchhoefer's widely accepted theory and disputed Kokula's interpretation of the sex-specific use of the two types of loutrophoros,<sup>46</sup> as well as Mösch's aforementioned hypothesis.<sup>47</sup> He cites several examples of marble loutrophoroi-amphorai that marked female tombs and marble loutrophoroi-hydriai used as grave markers for male tombs.<sup>48</sup> In addition, Bergemann pointed out that loutrophoroi-amphorai have been found at the sanctuary of Nymphe on the southern slope of the Acropolis in Athens, where, according to the theories presented by Kokula and Mösch, there should be only loutrophoroi-hydriai.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, he argued that any water vessel could be used to transport water for the nuptial bath, and, therefore, all such vessels could be called loutrophoroi, as

41. Bergemann 1996, pp. 159–160.

42. Kokula 1984, pp. 147–149; Bergemann 1996, p. 151.

43. Pomeroy 2002, pp. 39–42.

44. Keuls 1985, p. 150; Rehm 1994, p. 12; Zaidman and Pantel 1997, pp. 71–72; Garland 2001, p. 26; Brulé 2003, pp. 69, 160–161.

45. Soph. *Ant.* 862–871, 876–882, 916–920; Eur. *Or.* 1029–1030; *LA* 1218–1219; *Hec.* 416, 425; *Tro.* 1167–1172; *Alc.* 167–169; *Anth. Pal.* 7.334.11–15,

7.439.1–3, 7.453, 7.468.1–5, 7.483, 7.487, 7.488, 7.490, 7.491, 7.515, 7.527, 7.558.1–2, 7.560.7–8, 7.604, 7.611.3–4, 7.643, 7.649, 7.662.1, 7.671, 13.23.5–6, 13.27; see also Reilly 1989, p. 431; Rehm 1994, p. 32.

46. Bergemann 1996, pp. 185–187; see also Dehl 1981, pp. 177–178.

47. Mösch 1988, esp. pp. 124–130; Bergemann 1996, p. 186; see also Sabetai 1993, pp. 145 (n. 573), 165–168.

48. Bergemann 1996, pp. 185–187.

49. Bergemann 1996, p. 186. Two more examples may be added: (1) an Attic red-figure hydria in Warsaw (National Museum 142290) depicting the nuptial bathing of a groom, for which a loutrophoros-hydria is used (see n. 21, above); and (2) a red-figure battle loutrophoros from a male tomb in the Kerameikos (Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 369–370, no. 410).

stated by Pollux (*Onom.* 8.66.2–6) and Hesychios (s.v. λουτροφόρα ἄγγη, λουτροφόρος).<sup>50</sup>

Bergemann also formulated his own interpretation of the meaning and use of marble funerary loutrophoroi. Because clay loutrophoroi were used in Athenian funerary ritual, he argued that marking graves with their marble counterparts signified the proper observance of funerary rites by the family of the deceased.<sup>51</sup> Bergemann's theory maintains that the loutrophoros was not a symbol of untimely death before marriage, but also a sign of familial unity and piety toward the dead, much like another Athenian funerary vase translated into marble: the lekythos.<sup>52</sup>

There is, however, a problem with Bergemann's argument. By disputing the traditionally accepted theory by Milchhoefer, he favors the explanation of most lexicographers, namely that the loutrophoroi marking tombs of unmarried dead were statues of children bearing the vase that contained water for the nuptial bath. This is a weakness of Bergemann's theory because no such statue has ever been found.<sup>53</sup> His explanation for the lack of evidence, which is not adequately convincing, is that families of the deceased preferred to mark their graves with funerary reliefs commemorating either the personal qualities of the deceased or her/his relationship with the family rather than erecting loutrophoroi statues to stress her/his unmarried status.<sup>54</sup> Even if loutrophoroi statues were not very popular, a lack of common use does not explain why at least one statue of this type has never been discovered. In addition, there still remains the mention of a loutrophoros by Pseudo-Demosthenes. Why would the author have cited the use of such a *sema* as indication that Archiades died unmarried if it was not so widely used and well known?

The complete absence of loutrophoroi statues from the archaeological record may indicate that such statues did not exist, and that the lexicographers have perhaps made a mistake, misled by the twofold associations of the word "loutrophoros." The mere fact that their lexica have been written many centuries after the pseudo-Demosthenic text is enough to allow some room for error. Although a good number of Classical-period Attic funerary statues have been found, no loutrophoroi statues, to my knowledge, have been excavated.<sup>55</sup> If tombs of unmarried dead were indeed marked by such statues, we should expect to find at least a few of them among the many grave reliefs and funerary statues of sirens, animals, and humans that have been unearthed in Attica. On the contrary, as this article will demonstrate, the loutrophoros as a symbol of death before marriage appears on grave stelai that once marked the tombs of unmarried dead. Until evidence for the existence of loutrophoroi statues is provided by future excavations, I believe it is reasonable to consider that these statues may not have existed in the first place.

50. Bergemann 1996, pp. 165–166. This same point is made by Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 152; see also Garland 2001, p. 87.

51. Bergemann 1996, pp. 174–184.

52. Bergemann 1996, pp. 175–181, 183.

53. Bergemann 1996, pp. 153–156, 184; Garland 2001, pp. 87–88; Hannah 2010, p. 270.

54. Bergemann 1996, pp. 155, 184.

55. E.g., Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, no. 26; *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 2a, b, 3a, b, 7; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 167, 181, 186, 195,

196, 203, 205, 207, nos. 330, 358, 366, 387, 390, 407, 411, 412, 420; Banou and Bournias 2014, pp. 218–220; Stam-  
polidis and Oikonomou 2014, p. 109,  
no. 42; see also Collignon 1911; Ver-  
meule 1972.

## THE LOUTROPHOROS AS A GRAVE MARKER

The vast majority of marble loutrophoroi recorded in Clairmont's corpus are loutrophoroi-amphorai marking male tombs (Table 1).<sup>56</sup> Eleven of the remaining 22 loutrophoroi most certainly mark female tombs (Table 1).<sup>57</sup> Nearly all are loutrophoroi-hydriai, but deceased maiden figures can be identified with absolute certainty on only three of them (1–3).<sup>58</sup> There are five more uncertain cases of deceased parthenoi (4–7), including one from a loutrophoros-amphora (8).<sup>59</sup> Special mention must be made of a loutrophoros-hydria on a sculpted base in which the loutrophoros scene depicts an elderly male shaking hands with a young female whose long hair falls over her back.<sup>60</sup> A female figure standing behind the young woman is holding a swaddled infant in one arm, while her other hand is placed against her cheek in sorrow. The presence of the infant escaped Clairmont's notice, but it is clearly visible upon close inspection of the loutrophoros. Because the presence of infants on Classical-period Attic grave reliefs indicates that the deceased women were mothers, the young female honored by this loutrophoros-hydria cannot possibly be a parthenos.<sup>61</sup>

56. There are 65 marble loutrophoroi marking male tombs. Twelve are missing neck and handles, making it impossible to determine their type with absolute certainty. The remaining 53 are loutrophoroi-amphorai.

57. On seven funerary loutrophoroi, a male figure is depicted shaking hands with a female: *CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.236, 2.288, 2.357, 2.371a, 2.386a, 2.913; vol. 4, no. 4.375. All but one (no. 2.371a) are loutrophoroi-amphorai. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether these loutrophoroi honor males or females. It is more probable that the young man of no. 2.357 is the deceased, shaking hands with his dead mother, and the same may also apply to the unbearded male of no. 2.386a. The iconography of no. 2.913 leaves no doubt that the male figure followed by the servant boy is the deceased, yet the inscription names the seated woman as the deceased. Number 4.375 (*CAT* vol. 4, p. 76) is the most confusing, as it portrays a seated woman shaking hands with an elderly man in the presence of an old man and a standing woman holding what looks to be a swaddled infant. The inscription does not name one of the principal figures but instead names the old man standing behind the chair of the woman. Identifying the deceased is even more difficult in three loutrophoroi-amphorai decorated with scenes of four figures divided into two-

figured groups of two males and/or a male and a female shaking hands: *CAT* vol. 4, nos. 4.205, 4.369, 4.377. Nearly half of these loutrophoroi scenes are rather worn (nos. 2.371a, 2.386a, 4.369, 4.375). To the extent that I can tell from what survives, none of the female figures have maiden characteristics (*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.331c is too fragmentary to determine).

58. The only loutrophoros-amphora among the group is 8, while the very fragmentary state of *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.332b makes it impossible to identify the loutrophoros type. The standing female of no. 2.332b seems to be performing the *anakalypsis* gesture, lifting the himation covering her head. If this is true, then she is beyond doubt a married woman shaking hands with a seated and, perhaps, older woman. Caution is required with this interpretation since the surface of the loutrophoros fragment is quite worn.

The maiden status of the deceased females depicted in 1 and 2 is indicated by the fact that they are smaller in size than the adult figures. The parthenos of 3 wears the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle. The hairstyles of the maidens on 1 and 3 (long hair/plait) are typical of their young age. It should be noted that a similar loutrophoros-hydria (*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.878) is known only by a rough sketch, and it is not possible to discern

the age and status of the figures.

59. In most of these cases, although the deceased females are undoubtedly young in age, it is not certain that they are parthenoi: 4 (*lampadion*), 5, 8 (long plait), 6 (long hair/plait, holding himation edge), 7 (holding himation edge). Only a drawing survives of 5. The hairstyle of the young female on 5 is not clearly indicated, but it could be a plait encircling the head, thus representing a maiden's hairstyle. It is not clear that the young females of 5 and 6 are the deceased honored by the loutrophoroi. There is also an uncertain case (89) of a marble funerary hydria portraying a seated young female with a *lampadion* and accompanied by a maidservant holding an object, perhaps a pyxis. It has been suggested that this hydria marked the tomb of a parthenos (see Kokula 1984, p. 105; *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.887). The *lampadion*, however, merely emphasizes the young age of the seated female, and there is no iconographical evidence to indicate whether she is a parthenos or a young married woman.

60. *CAT* vol. 4, no. 4.270. This gesture of shaking hands is commonly referred to as *dexiosis*. For more on the specific meaning of this gesture, see below, pp. 121–122.

61. Margariti 2016, pp. 87–92, 100, n. 31.

TABLE 1. FIGURES OF DECEASED INDIVIDUALS DEPICTED ON MARBLE LOUTROPHOROI

<i>Vessel Type</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<b>MALE</b>	
Loutrophoros-amphora	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, no. 1.837; vol. 2, nos. 2.189, 2.293b, 2.295a, 2.311c, 2.326, 2.328a, 2.352a, 2.362b, 2.391b, 2.417, 2.427, 2.447, 2.496, 2.746, 2.777, 2.793, 2.794, 2.808, 2.812, 2.852, 2.852a, 2.855, 2.879, 2.882a, 2.883, 2.886, 2.896, 2.910; vol. 3, nos. 3.216, 3.235, 3.317, 3.341, 3.349a, 3.363a, 3.364c, 3.380c, 3.382, 3.431a, 3.788, 3.791, 3.823, 3.845, 3.859, 3.868, 3.874, 3.890, 3.920; vol. 4, nos. 4.206, 4.237, 4.352, 4.371, 4.432
Unknown loutrophoros type	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, no. 157; vol. 2, nos. 2.388, 2.835; vol. 3, nos. 3.276, 3.322c, 3.343a, 3.828, 3.844, 3.881, 3.883, 3.887, 3.895a
<b>MALE OR FEMALE</b>	
Loutrophoros-amphora	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, nos. 2.236, 2.288, 2.357, 2.386a, 2.913; vol. 4, no. 4.375
Loutrophoros-hydria	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, no. 2.371a
<b>TWO-FIGURED GROUPS</b>	
Loutrophoros-amphora	<i>CAT</i> vol. 4, nos. 4.205, 4.369, 4.377
<b>UNDETERMINED</b>	
Fragmentary	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, no. 2.331c
<b>FEMALE</b>	
Loutrophoros-hydria	<i>CAT</i> vol. 3, no. 3.878; vol. 4, no. 4.270
Unknown loutrophoros type	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, no. 2.332b
<b>PARTHENOS</b>	
Loutrophoros-hydria	<b>1–3</b>
<b>PARTHENOS (UNCERTAIN)</b>	
Loutrophoros-hydria	<b>4–7</b>
Loutrophoros-amphora	<b>8</b>

Of grave stelai with loutrophoroi in relief and bearing figural decoration, loutrophoroi-amphorai honoring deceased males again comprise most of the examples (Table 2). Six stelai can be identified with absolute certainty as *semata* that marked female tombs (Table 2).<sup>62</sup> Although young, the female figures portrayed on half of these stelai display no maiden features.<sup>63</sup> Of the remaining three reliefs, only one (9, a loutrophoros-hydria)

62. There are also two grave stelai with loutrophoroi in relief on which a male and a female figure are depicted shaking hands: *CAT* vol. 1, no. 220 (unknown loutrophoros type); vol. 3, no. 3.349b (loutrophoros-amphora). In these cases, it is not possible to determine with certainty the identity of the deceased. The same problem occurs with *CAT* vol. 4, no. 4.368 (loutrophoros-amphora), a stele decorated with a scene of four figures divided into two-figured

groups comprised of a male shaking hands with a female (lacking maiden characteristics), and two males also shaking hands. Likewise, the identity of the deceased remains unknown in the case of *CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.361b (loutrophoros-amphora) because the relief is too faded.

63. *CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.207a, 2.291a (loutrophoroi-hydriai); **11** (loutrophoros-amphora). The case of **11** is unique. In the center of the scene, a large loutrophoros-hydria is visible. On both

sides of it stand two similar female figures of young age, as indicated by their long plaits. One of them is about to adorn the loutrophoros with the *taenia* (ribbon) she is holding. Behind the other young female stands a woman. The loutrophoros-hydria is clearly a tomb marker, and the presence of the female about to adorn it indicates that this is a rare case of a grave stele decorated with a tomb-visit scene. The deceased is possibly the other young female standing near the loutrophoros

TABLE 2. FIGURES OF DECEASED INDIVIDUALS DEPICTED ON LOUTROPHOROI IN RELIEF

<i>Vessel Type</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<b>MALE</b>	
Loutrophoros-amphora	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, nos. 211, 225, 1.435, 1.788, 1.851, 1.890, 1.947; vol. 2, nos. 2.154, 2.214a, 2.218, 2.248, 2.278, 2.279, 2.284b, 2.297, 2.336, 2.355a, 2.367d, 2.382c, 2.392b, 2.393, 2.428, 2.461a, 2.710, 2.754, 2.813, 2.848b, 2.882, 2.887; vol. 3, nos. 3.173, 3.190, 3.213, 3.301, 3.348a/3.391c, 3.363b, 3.371, 3.870, 3.886, 3.935
Loutrophoros-hydria	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, no. 2.267a
Unknown loutrophoros type	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, nos. 141, 340, 1.378; vol. 2, nos. 2.363b, 2.443
<b>MALE OR FEMALE?</b>	
Loutrophoros-amphora	<i>CAT</i> vol. 3, no. 3.349b
Unknown loutrophoros type	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, no. 220
<b>TWO-FIGURED GROUPS</b>	
Loutrophoros-amphora	<i>CAT</i> vol. 4, no. 4.368
<b>UNDETERMINED (FAINT RELIEF)</b>	
Loutrophoros-amphora	<i>CAT</i> vol. 3, no. 3.361b
<b>FEMALE</b>	
Loutrophoros-hydria	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, nos. 2.207a, 2.291a
Loutrophoros-amphora	<b>11</b> ; <i>CAT</i> vol. 3, no. 3.703 (deceased mother)
<b>PARTHENOS</b>	
Loutrophoros-hydria	<b>9</b>
<b>PARTHENOS (UNCERTAIN)</b>	
Loutrophoros-hydria with painted decoration	<b>10</b>

is beyond any doubt the grave stele of a parthenos, a status indicated by the Attic peplos she wears. The painted stele of Paramythion (**10**, a loutrophoros-hydria) possibly depicts a parthenos, but it is not certain that the young female died unmarried. The deceased woman of the third stele, which bears a loutrophoros-amphora in relief, is depicted handing an infant to another female.<sup>64</sup> Here it is evident that the deceased was not a parthenos, but a mother who died, leaving behind her baby.

On a number of 4th-century grave stelai, the loutrophoros also appears carved in relief below the figured scene of the stele (Table 3). With the exception of one problematic, as well as unusual, case,<sup>65</sup> all of the stelai under consideration bear loutrophoroi-amphorai and can be identified easily as

in a manner reminiscent of scenes on white lekythoi. The unusual occurrence of both types of loutrophoros on the same stele (a loutrophoros-amphora bearing a scene showing a loutrophoros-hydria as a grave marker) has been noted by Wolters (1891, p. 391, no. 1) and Bergemann (1996, p. 186), who both used this stele to argue against

Kokula's loutrophoros theory.

64. *CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.703.

65. *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.432b. The whereabouts of this stele are unknown, and its imagery can only be studied from a rather rough drawing. It depicts a young female figure shaking hands with a male figure wearing a *petasos*, winged boots, and holding a *kerykeion* (cadu-

ceus, or herald's staff)—all standard attributes of Hermes Psychopompos, whose presence on Classical Attic grave reliefs is rare (see *CAT* vol. 1, no. 11; vol. 4, no. 5.150). Provided the drawing is accurate and the male figure is indeed Hermes, then the young female is the deceased.

TABLE 3. LOUTROPHOROI AS AKROTERIA, CARVED IN PEDIMENT, AND CARVED ABOVE OR BELOW FIGURED SCENE

<i>Vessel Type</i>	<i>Figure</i>	<i>Examples</i>
<b>AKROTERION</b>		
Unknown loutrophoros type Loutrophoros-hydria	Deceased young man Deceased maiden	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, no. 1.460 <b>12</b>
<b>CARVED IN PEDIMENT</b>		
Loutrophoros-amphora Loutrophoros-hydria	Deceased young man Deceased maiden	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, no. 1.277; vol. 3, no. 3.408a <b>13</b>
<b>CARVED ABOVE FIGURED SCENE</b>		
Loutrophoros-amphora Loutrophoros-hydria	Deceased youth Deceased maiden (uncertain)	<i>CAT</i> vol. 1, no. 1.944 <b>14</b>
<b>CARVED BELOW FIGURED SCENE</b>		
Loutrophoros-amphora	Deceased male	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, nos. 2.270a, 2.414a, 2.889; vol. 3, nos. 3.406a, 3.443
Loutrophoros-amphora Unknown loutrophoros type	Deceased young female(?) Deceased male	<i>CAT</i> vol. 2, no. 2.432b <i>CAT</i> vol. 3, no. 3.871

markers of male tombs.<sup>66</sup> On rare occasions the loutrophoros may appear on top of a stele in the form of an akroterion, carved in the center of the pediment, or above the figured scene (see Table 3). A loutrophoros-amphora is carved on the rounded finial of the stele of a naked youth scraping himself with a strigil.<sup>67</sup> On a contemporary stele of a young female (14; Fig. 1), a loutrophoros-hydria is carved directly above a figured scene showing a seated woman and a standing young female with a *lampadion*. Since most of the figured scene is not preserved, especially the body of the young female, it is impossible to determine if she is a parthenos. This is not the case with young Philoumene (13), whose Attic peplos and long hair flowing over her back leave no doubt that she is a maiden. She is depicted with her parents on a stele of the same period, and a small loutrophoros-hydria is clearly visible in the center of the pediment. Similarly, two grave stelai of young males with loutrophoroi-amphorai carved in the center of their pediments can be found in Clairmont's corpus, both dating to the 4th century B.C.<sup>68</sup> Finally, there are two stelai of the same period, each with a loutrophoros akroterion. The first, the grave stele of Silenis, is crowned with a mourning siren flanked by a sphinx and a loutrophoros-hydria (12).<sup>69</sup> The deceased, undoubtedly a maiden, as indicated by her Attic peplos, is here shown in the act of removing an item from the pyxis held by her maidservant. The other stele, the well-known *sema* of the young warrior Aristonantes, was

66. It should be noted that the loutrophoros type of one stele (*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.871) remains unknown, since the vessel's handles were originally painted and have now vanished completely. Given the fact that all the other stelai in this category bear loutrophoroi-amphorai, it is very probable that this

was also the case with no. 3.871, which honored a male.

67. *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.944. The stele dates to 350–320 B.C.

68. *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.277; vol. 3, no. 3.408a. The former depicts a striding warrior in his prime, with a short beard, while the latter portrays the

deceased young man shaking hands with his mother in the presence of his father.

69. She has long hair and wears an Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, holding the mantle edge with her lowered left hand. The stele dates to 375–350 B.C.



**Figure 1. Grave stele of Kleitaichme (14), dating after 330 B.C. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 357. Courtesy Archaeological Museum of Piraeus; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Western Attica, Piraeus, and Islands**

crowned by a loutrophoros resting on a base in the center above the pediment.<sup>70</sup> Since only the foot of the vessel survives, the type of loutrophoros is not discernible. It is clear that when the loutrophoros appears on top of a grave stele in the form of an akroterion, carved in the center of the pediment or above the figured scene, it is a symbol of untimely death before marriage, with loutrophoroi-hydriai used exclusively for maidens, and loutrophoroi-amphorai for young males.

The loutrophoros is depicted also in figured scenes of grave stelai dating to 420–320 B.C., where it is always shown in close proximity to the deceased. The loutrophoros-amphora appears on five grave stelai, all but one marking the tombs of young males, and dating to 375–320 B.C.<sup>71</sup> On three stelai, the deceased young men are portrayed naked and leaning against a loutrophoros-amphora that is visible behind them.<sup>72</sup> They raise one hand to their head, deeply immersed in mourning their premature death. The fourth stele, now lost, was decorated with a scene of two young men shaking hands, a tall loutrophoros-amphora standing behind one figure, and a similar vessel standing next to the other figure.<sup>73</sup> If the surviving description is accurate, the iconography of this stele is unusual, as the relief honors both young males as deceased. The truly remarkable case, however, is that of the fifth stele, which also is the earliest of the group, dating to 420–400 B.C.<sup>74</sup> On this stele, a young woman is shown seated, holding a small infant and an object that resembles a distaff. Three additional objects are clearly visible: a loutrophoros-amphora in the background, a small box hanging above it, and a kalathos beneath the woman's seat. It is without question that this stele marked the tomb of a young female who was married and had given birth to a child, possibly having died during childbirth or shortly afterward.

The loutrophoros-hydria appears on seven grave stelai (15–21) and a marble lekythos, nearly all of which date to the 4th century B.C. (Figs. 2, 3).<sup>75</sup> Most of the stelai bear single-figured scenes (15, 16, 18, 20, 21), and all depict a deceased maiden standing near or even leaning against a loutrophoros-hydria (15, 17[?], 19).<sup>76</sup> Only two of these parthenoi are dressed in the Attic peplos (16, 21). The other five maidens are depicted wearing the chiton (χιτώνας) and himation (ἱμάτιον). By contrast, the marble lekythos is decorated with a much different and rather uncommon scene showing a young female figure who is about to adorn a loutrophoros-hydria with a sash, while a younger female holding a box stands behind her. This is

70. *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.460. This stele, dated to ca. 330 B.C., shows Aristonantes striding in full armor.

71. *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.456, 1.691 (does not mark a male tomb); vol. 2, no. 2.361c; vol. 3, no. 3.455; Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 5318: Steinhauer 2001, p. 361, no. 469.

72. *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.456; vol. 3, no. 3.455; Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 5318. The deceased of no. 1.456 is portrayed alone, whereas the young man of no. 3.455 is depicted

with his parents, who are mourning his premature death. The Piraeus stele is more fragmentary, with only the feet of the servant boy accompanying his young master surviving. All three stelai date to 350–320 B.C.

73. *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.361c; dating to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.

74. *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.691.

75. *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.311b (lekythos). Only 15 (see Fig. 2) is not a 4th-century relief, since it dates to 420–400 B.C. The parthenos of this stele is

also performing the *anakalypsis* gesture, which suggests that she was ripe for marriage or even betrothed when she died (see also Schmaltz 1983, pp. 208, 221, no. 494, fig. 9; *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.182). The same is true of Hagnistrate, the maiden of 21 (see Fig. 3), who is represented twice on the same stele (see *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.431/2.431c; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 79, no. 32).

76. On 17 and 19 the deceased parthenos is portrayed with another female figure, also young in age.

clearly a tomb-visit scene, an unusual theme for grave reliefs but one that is well known from vase-painting.<sup>77</sup> It is not at all certain, however, whether the young female with the sash is the deceased or a mourning relative.

It is apparent that the use of marble loutrophoroi or grave stelai bearing loutrophoroi in relief to mark the tombs of parthenoi was not very popular, since the majority of such *semata* were set up over the graves of deceased males.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, not all females honored by these tomb markers are indicated as parthenoi, and in at least two cases, the iconography suggests that the deceased females are mothers.<sup>79</sup> It should also be noted that for marble loutrophoroi and loutrophoroi in relief, the sex-specific usage for which Kokula argues is not always consistent with practice (e.g., **8**, **11**).<sup>80</sup> This fact casts a shadow of doubt on the traditional loutrophoros theory discussed above: that the marble loutrophoros-hydria or loutrophoros-hydria in relief marked the graves of parthenoi. To this point, there is a noticeably small number of marble loutrophoroi or loutrophoroi in relief among the catalogue of funerary reliefs dedicated to parthenoi in this article. If the loutrophoros was indeed the preeminent grave marker of the unmarried dead, we should expect the majority of the *semata* marking the tombs of maidens to be loutrophoroi. However, only 11 of the 186 funerary reliefs studied for this article are marble loutrophoroi or loutrophoroi in relief.<sup>81</sup>

On the other hand, whenever the loutrophoros appears on top of a stele, or in grave stelai scenes, where it is shown in close proximity or directly next to a standing female or male figure (e.g., **15**, **17**[?], **19**),<sup>82</sup> it undoubtedly symbolizes the untimely death and unmarried state of the deceased maidens and youths.<sup>83</sup> In all such cases, Kokula's theory of sex-specific usage of the two types of loutrophoros remains valid, since the loutrophoroi-hydriai are shown only with female figures, while the loutrophoroi-amphorai only with male ones.<sup>84</sup> There is, however, an important difference between the two uses of the loutrophoros. While the iconography of the stelai depicting a maiden or youth leaning against/standing by a loutrophoros clearly places unique emphasis on these figures as young people who died before marriage, whenever the vessel appears on top of a stele, the unmarried state of the deceased is indicated with more subtlety. In the latter case, the iconography focuses on an entirely different aspect of the deceased's short life, with the loutrophoros on top of the stele providing the additional information:

77. Cf. **11**, mentioned above (see n. 63), which shows a similar scene; for tomb-visit scenes on Attic white lekythoi, see Oakley 2004, pp. 145–214, 223–224, 231.

78. This trend also applies to the small number of grave stelai displaying a loutrophoros carved beneath the figured scene. There is only one such stele (*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.432b) that may have marked a female tomb, although it is impossible to know if she was a maiden.

79. See *CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.703; vol. 4, no. 4.270.

80. This is the case as well with *CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.703; see also *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.691. For a loutrophoros-hydria marking the tomb of deceased

male, see *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.267a.

81. Most are marble loutrophoroi-hydriai (**1–7**), and there is also a single marble loutrophoros-amphora (**8**). The remaining three are grave stelai bearing loutrophoroi in relief (**9**, **10** [loutrophoroi-hydriai], **11** [loutrophoros-amphora]). Only four of the 11 are certain cases of *semata* that once marked the tombs of maidens.

82. As mentioned above (pp. 102–103), the loutrophoros can appear on top of a stele in the form of an akroterion, carved in the center of the pediment, or over the figured scene of the relief. For young male figures in close proximity or directly next to loutrophoroi, often leaning against the vessel, see



Figure 2. Grave stele (**15**), dating to ca. 410 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3891. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.456; vol. 3, no. 3.455; Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 5318.

83. *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.691 is an entirely different case. The stele marks the tomb of a mother, as indicated by the infant she holds. The iconography of the relief is, however, completely different from the ones mentioned above, since the young mother is shown seated, not standing, and the loutrophoros is simply one of the objects surrounding her.

84. Once again, *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.691 is the only exception to this rule, since the vessel depicted is the loutrophoros-amphora.



Figure 3. Grave stele of Hagnostrate (21), dating to ca. 320 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1863. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

that the dead person was young and unmarried (e.g., 12).<sup>85</sup> It should be also noted that the loutrophoros never appears with deceased children, despite their similarly unmarried state. Consequently, the loutrophoros is a symbol of untimely death occurring at an age when females and males are on the threshold of marriage, with death thus preventing them from transitioning into adulthood.

In conclusion, the loutrophoros was not deemed essential for signifying maiden status in Athenian cemeteries. This is clearly proven by the large number of grave stelai marking the tombs of parthenoi on which the loutrophoros does not appear (Table 4). Such stelai form the majority of the funerary reliefs studied here, and on nearly half of them the maidenhood of the deceased is indicated by the Attic peplos she wears. The loutrophoros, therefore, is not the defining symbol of deceased parthenoi, but rather it is merely one of the symbols—and, admittedly, not the most popular one—of maiden status and untimely death on Attic grave reliefs of the Classical period.

### THE ICONOGRAPHY OF DECEASED PARTHENOI ON FUNERARY RELIEFS

Since the loutrophoros-hydria is used to symbolize the death of a maiden on only a limited number of grave stelai (12–21; Figs. 1–3), the question of how parthenoi were commemorated in Classical-period Athens remains open to speculation. Through a comprehensive examination of certain and possible cases of funerary reliefs marking the tombs of Athenian parthenoi, this article answers this question on the basis of the criteria mentioned above.<sup>86</sup>

The number of grave reliefs that can be attributed to maidens with absolute certainty is very limited, comprising a mere 4% of Clairmont's extensive corpus.<sup>87</sup> The vast majority of reliefs under consideration are grave stelai, with only four marble lekythoi (167–170) and three marble loutrophoroi-hydriai (1–3) honoring deceased parthenoi.<sup>88</sup> Most of these funerary reliefs date to the 4th century B.C., and especially to 375–340 B.C. (Tables 4, 5). Single-figured and two-figured scenes are more popular than multfigured ones, but single-figured scenes never appear on marble vases. In the case of multfigured reliefs, the number of figures rarely exceeds three or four. From 375 B.C. onward, there is a gradual increase in the portrayal of deceased maidens accompanied by one or more figures. This trend becomes most apparent during the second half of the 4th century, when the number of single-figured scenes is reduced significantly.

85. See also 12 and *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.944, which promote an idealized image of the deceased by showing the beautiful young maiden adorning herself with the help of her maidservant, and the naked young athlete scraping himself with a strigil while his *pais* (servant boy) holds his master's himation. *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.277 and 1.460 emphasize the heroic death of the Athenian hoplite. Examples 13, 14

(see Fig. 1), and *CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.408a focus on the familial ties of the deceased with her/his family.

86. See pp. 93–94.

87. Only 104 of the 2,659 funerary reliefs studied by Clairmont commemorate maidens (Table 4). To this number should be added the grave relief of a seated maiden in the Archaeological Museum of Marathon (82), and two grave stelai from the Athenian Agora

recently published by Grossman (79, 136). A further 79 reliefs, 11 of which are not included in Clairmont's corpus, but are found in Conze's *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (1893–1922), are uncertain cases (Table 5).

88. Uncertain cases include 17 marble lekythoi (90, 171–186), four loutrophoroi-hydriai (4–7), one loutrophoros-amphora (8), and a marble hydria (89).

TABLE 4. FUNERARY RELIEFS OF PARTHENOI

<i>Date</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
430–420 B.C.	<b>32, 60, 74, 99, 111</b>
420–400 B.C.	<b>15, 33, 55, 56, 100</b>
400–375 B.C.	<b>1, 16, 17, 22, 34, 35, 37–39, 45, 46, 52, 53, 57, 61, 75, 92, 93, 95, 96, 101, 104, 105, 131, 132, 137, 167</b>
375–340 B.C.	<b>2, 3, 9, 12, 18, 19, 23–26, 36, 40, 42, 47–51, 54, 64, 76, 77–80, 94, 97, 98, 102, 106, 107, 133–136, 138–140, 147, 168, 169</b>
350–320 B.C.	<b>13, 14, 20, 21, 27–29, 43, 44, 65, 81, 82–88, 103, 108, 109, 112, 113, 141, 142, 148, 170</b>

TABLE 5. FUNERARY RELIEFS WITH UNCERTAIN DEPICTIONS OF PARTHENOI

<i>Date</i>	<i>Catalogue Numbers</i>
430–420 B.C.	<b>62</b>
420–400 B.C.	<b>58, 114, 143, 150, 180</b>
400–375 B.C.	<b>8, 59, 63, 66–70, 115, 116, 149, 151, 153, 181</b>
375–340 B.C.	<b>4–7, 10, 11, 31, 71–73, 89, 117–126, 144, 145, 154–161, 171–176, 182–186</b>
350–320 B.C.	<b>90, 91, 110, 127–130, 146, 162–166, 177–179</b>
4th century B.C.	<b>30 (lost; known only from drawings)</b>

### AGE AND STANCE

With the exception of children, funerary art does not portray the various ages of females. Instead, it focuses on their social status, which is determined by marriage.<sup>89</sup> A teenage wife is, therefore, always depicted as an adult, while an unmarried female of the same age, or perhaps even older, is portrayed in a way that accentuates her maidenhood. When a maiden is accompanied by one or more figures, her young age is indicated by her size, which is often comparatively smaller than that of the adult figures in the scene (e.g., **1, 2, 112, 126, 130, 143, 146, 148, 149**; Figs. 4, 5).<sup>90</sup> Only children and servants appear smaller in stature than maidens on grave reliefs because of the younger age and/or lower social status (**95, 99–102, 137, 149, 182, 183**; Figs. 6–10).<sup>91</sup> Such difference in size denotes that a parthenos is no longer a child but not yet an adult.<sup>92</sup> Physical development (e.g., a more voluptuous body and fuller bosom) is another factor that distinguishes prepubescent girls from parthenoi, as well as clearly indicating the age difference between younger (e.g., **26, 112, 141, 148**; see Figs. 4, 5) and older (e.g., **15, 48, 54, 57, 100, 103, 105, 113, 137**; Figs. 2, 7, 8–13) parthenoi.<sup>93</sup>

89. Lissarague 1993, pp. 168–169; Stears 1993, pp. 333–337; 1995, pp. 122–123.

90. See also Beaumont 2000, p. 41; Roccas 2000, pp. 257, 260, 262.

91. For the depiction of children, see Beaumont 1994, pp. 84, 88–89;

Roccas 2000, pp. 257, 260, 262; for the smaller size of servants as an indication of social status, see Himmelman-Wildschütz 1971, pp. 40, 650–651; Beaumont 1994, pp. 84, 88; Stears 1995, p. 124; Pomeroy 1997, pp. 128–129; Roccas 2000, p. 259.

92. Stears 1995, pp. 118–121; Beaumont 2000, p. 45; Roccas 2000, p. 259.

93. Beaumont 1994, pp. 89, 93; 2000, p. 41; 2012, pp. 26, 40; Roccas 2000, pp. 260–261; for the age difference of parthenoi, see also Roccas 2000, pp. 260–261.

Deceased maidens are nearly always shown standing, a rule that also applies to children on Classical-period Attic grave reliefs. Married women can be either seated or standing, but those of young age are frequently depicted standing.<sup>94</sup> Parthenoi are commonly portrayed in a frontal pose or in three-quarter view, often in a Polykleitan stance (see Figs. 3, 4, 7–9, 11, 13).<sup>95</sup>

### ATTIRE AND HAIRSTYLE

Attire and hairstyles are often essential in the identification of maiden figures. Nearly half of the parthenoi on Classical-period Attic grave reliefs wear the so-called Attic peplos (e.g., 24, 47, 109, 112, 138, 163, 166; see Fig. 4).<sup>96</sup> Belted over the overfold, this type of garment may be combined with a chiton (under the peplos) (e.g., 22, 40, 48, 60, 103), crossbands worn over the chest (e.g., 12, 22, 94, 106, 148), as well as a shoulder-pinned back-mantle (e.g., 3, 22, 47, 48, 103, 113, 147; Figs. 3–5, 8, 12, 14–16).<sup>97</sup> Although donned also by prepubescent girls, the Attic peplos is above all the most characteristic costume of Athenian parthenoi, both mortal and divine, as it is worn by the virgin goddesses Athena, Artemis, and the Eleusinian Kore.<sup>98</sup> According to Roccas, a young female wearing the Attic peplos

94. Being portrayed seated usually denotes age or social status. A seated female figure, therefore, is most often married and not very young; see Stears 1995, p. 120; Strömberg 2003, pp. 33–34.

95. The contrappostal or chiasmic Polykleitan stance appears on more than half of the grave reliefs under consideration, although an exact number is not known since not all maiden figures survive with their legs intact. The Attic stance, with the free leg placed slightly forward and both feet on the ground, is much less popular than the Polykleitan. For the Polykleitan and Attic stances, see Robinson 1936, pp. 134–137; Richter 1970, pp. 55–57, 247–252; Ridgway 1972, p. 8; 2002, pp. 124, 141, 155, 245; Borbein 1996, pp. 70–76; Davison 2009, p. 597.

96. The Attic peplos is worn by 79 deceased maidens, comprising approximately 43% of the funerary reliefs studied here; for the Attic peplos, see Bieber 1928, pp. 17–18; Harrison 1977; Ridgway 1984; Roccas 1995; 2000, esp. pp. 244–245; Leventi 2003, pp. 53, 56; Grossman 2007, pp. 317–318; Theisen 2009, pp. 55–66; Xagorari-Gleissner 2010, pp. 121–122; *Agora XXXV*, pp. 31, 52.

97. For examples of the Attic peplos worn without a chiton, see 12, 21 (Fig. 3), 43 (Fig. 14), 92. Most of the

parthenoi on funerary reliefs wear the Attic peplos with a chiton, esp. on grave stelai; see also Roccas 1986, p. 2; 2000, pp. 247–248; *CAT* intro. vol., p. 32; Sojc 2005, p. 110. For examples of the Attic peplos worn without crossbands, see 47, 48, 113 (Fig. 12), 147. The Attic peplos is worn equally often with or without the crossbands, although the maiden figures of marble funerary vases usually combine their peplos with crossbands; see also *CAT* intro. vol., p. 32; Roccas 2000, esp. pp. 245–247; Grossman 2007, p. 317. Crossbands are worn only by maidens and prepubescent girls, and never by married women; see *CAT* intro. vol., p. 88; Roccas 2000, p. 246. In Greek art, they are also worn by Artemis, Athena, Nike, and Iris, as well as Andromeda and the Amazons; see Roccas 2000, pp. 246–247. See also *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 651, 664, 667, 685, 687, nos. 361, 560, 614, 882, pls. 475, 490, 494, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); *LIMC* II, 1984, no. 267, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); Louvre N 3163: *CVA*, Paris 5 [France 8], III.HG.6–7, pls. 5:8–14, 6:1 [361, 362]; *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 865, 884, 885, nos. 160, 431, 436, pls. 575, 592, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki, A. Moustaka, and U. Grote); *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 747, no. 60, pl. 489, s.v. Iris (A. Kossatz); *LIMC* I, 1981, pp. 598,

612, 634, nos. 186, 392, 778, pls. 465, 490, 523, s.v. Amazones (P. Devambez); *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 778, no. I 23, pl. 628, s.v. Andromeda I (K. Schauenburg).

The back-mantle is worn by the vast majority of the parthenoi dressed in the Attic peplos; see also Roccas 1986; 1995; *CAT* intro. vol., p. 32; Ridgway 1997, pp. 169–170; Roccas 2000, esp. pp. 237–243; Sojc 2005, p. 110; Grossman 2007, p. 317; Xagorari-Gleissner 2010, pp. 121–122. The shoulder-pinned back-mantle is worn by Artemis, Athena, and Nike; see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 989, 991, 1013, nos. 373, 392, 606, pls. 747, 749, 763, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 640, 653, nos. 181, 182, 397, pls. 459, 460, 478, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); Roccas 2000, pp. 237–241; *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 861, 865, 881, nos. 124, 160, 381, pls. 571, 575, 588, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki, A. Moustaka, and U. Grote); Roccas 1986, pp. 2, 502–503, 505.

98. For prepubescent girls wearing the Attic peplos, see *CAT* vol. 1, no. 0.859; and perhaps see also *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.860a, 0.864, 0.912, 0.931, 0.941, 0.982. Maidens wear the Attic peplos more often than prepubescent girls. The shoulder-pinned back-mantle is not worn by girls. For the Attic peplos as the traditional costume of

represents the ideal parthenos.<sup>99</sup> In the case of Classical funerary reliefs, the garment is most popular in the 4th century B.C., especially during the last three quarters of the century.

Approximately one-third of deceased maidens wear the chiton, usually combined with the himation (e.g., **32, 39, 41, 50, 57, 99, 100, 105, 140**; see Figs. 2, 7, 9, 11).<sup>100</sup> This type of costume is worn by females of all ages, both married and unmarried, including prepubescent girls.<sup>101</sup> Consequently, the chiton, both with or without himation, is not indicative of maiden figures in Greek art. It appears more often on grave reliefs dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C.

Young females with youthful hairstyles may be depicted with their himation draped diagonally over one breast in the style of Kore or the Nymphs.<sup>102</sup> The diagonal himation can be worn by maidens, although not exclusively by unmarried females.<sup>103</sup> Approximately 10% (19 reliefs) of the deceased parthenoi are dressed in the diagonal himation (**2, 35, 36, 38, 51, 52, 54, 66, 70, 93, 95, 98, 101, 123, 124, 137, 143, 149, 185**; see Figs. 6, 10, 13), and it is always combined with chiton.<sup>104</sup> They appear primarily on grave stelai dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C.

Another type of belted peplos, with both *kolpos* (the part of the peplos covering the chest) and overfold forming an arch over the figure's hips, is mostly associated with matronly figures. Known as the Argive peplos, this style is worn by married women and mothers, including the goddesses Hera, Demeter, and Leto.<sup>105</sup> In contrast to the Attic peplos, which is never donned by married females, the Argive peplos can be worn occasionally by

Athenian parthenoi, see Rocco 1995; 2000. For Athena and the Attic peplos, see Bieber 1928, pp. 18, 34–37, figs. 4, 5; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 977–978, nos. 220–230, pls. 729, 730, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); Mansfield 1985; Barber 1992; Rocco 2000, pp. 235–236, 244; Leventi 2003, p. 56; Grossman 2007, p. 318. For Artemis and the Attic peplos, see *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 636, nos. 125–133, pls. 454, 455, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); Rocco 2000, pp. 235–236, 239–240, 244; Leventi 2003, p. 56; Grossman 2007, p. 318. For the Eleusinian Kore and the Attic peplos, see Bieber 1977, pp. 89–90, figs. 386–390; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, nos. 21, 230, s.v. Persephone (G. Güntner); Rocco 2000, p. 244.

99. Rocco 1995; 2000; see also Sojc 2005, p. 110; Lawton 2007, p. 55; Neils 2007, p. 58.

100. The chiton is worn by 63 dead maidens, 61 of which combine it with the himation. This attire is frequently worn by parthenoi of more advanced age; see also Bectarte 2009, pp. 237–238; Theisen 2009, pp. 67–111; Dillon 2010, pp. 64–65.

101. Married women are frequently

shown dressed in chiton and himation, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.695, 1.870; vol. 2, nos. 2.120, 2.150, 2.430, 2.750, 2.780, 2.810, 2.820, 2.850; vol. 3, no. 3.170; vol. 4, nos. 4.430, 4.930. For prepubescent girls wearing the chiton and himation, see e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.690, 0.695, 0.781, 0.783, 0.787, 0.833, 0.840, 0.861, 0.872, 0.881; see also Bectarte 2009, pp. 236, 238–242.

102. For young females wearing the diagonal himation, see *CAT* intro. vol., pp. 28, 32; Filges 1997, pp. 13–31; Leventi 2003, pp. 59–61. For Kore and the diagonal himation, see Filges 1997, pp. 13–31, nos. 1–47; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 958, 960, nos. 16, 70, pls. 641, 644, s.v. Persephone (G. Güntner); Leventi 2003, pp. 59–61. For the Nymphs and the diagonal himation, see (1) Athens, National Museum 1449: Kaltsas 2002, p. 219, no. 454; (2) Athens, National Museum 3874: Kaltsas 2002, pp. 220–221, no. 458; Leventi 2003, pp. 60–61. The diagonal himation is also worn by youthful chthonian deities of fertility (Leventi 2003, p. 61).

103. It is occasionally worn by prepubescent girls, as well: *CAT* vol. 1,

nos. 0.694, 0.858, 0.913.

104. Most of them have either long hair or a long plait falling over their back. The “hanging sleeve” motif occurs on six of these reliefs: **36, 51, 137** (Fig. 10), **143, 149, 185**. It is even more rare for maidens dressed in chiton and himation: **68, 140**, and perhaps also **128, 130**. For the “hanging sleeve” motif, see *Agora* XXXV, p. 31.

105. For the Argive peplos generally, see Leventi 2003, pp. 54–56; Theisen 2009, pp. 41–55; Palagia 2012, pp. 91–92. For the Argive peplos worn by married women and mothers, see Rocco 2000, pp. 241, 245; Leventi 2003, p. 55. For Hera and the Argive peplos, see *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 671–673, 675, nos. 99, 108, 135, pls. 409, 412, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Leventi 2003, p. 55. For Demeter and the Argive peplos, see *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 854, nos. 68–75, pls. 567–569, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi); Leventi 2003, p. 55. For Leto and the Argive peplos, see *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 257, 259, nos. 3, 25, pls. 129, 132, s.v. Leto (L. Kahil and N. Icard-Gianolio); Leventi 2003, p. 55, n. 63.



Figure 4 (*left*). Grave stele (112), dating to 350–330 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 763. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

Figure 5 (*right*). Grave stele of Eukoline (148), dating to 350–338 B.C. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 694/I 281. Photo E. Bardani; courtesy Archaeological Museum of Kerameikos; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens

virginal figures, or youthful fertility deities like the Nymphs, emphasizing their potential for motherhood.<sup>106</sup> Six of the uncertain reliefs (6, 7, 58, 71, 116, 118), which mostly date to the first half of the 4th century B.C., depict young female figures wearing the Argive peplos, usually combined with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. These figures are often shown holding the edge of their mantle with a lowered hand, a gesture which betrays youthfulness.<sup>107</sup> It is, however, uncertain whether they are prematurely lost maidens, or young married women.

Unique are the costumes of the deceased parthenoi Myttion (34) and Chrysis (27), both on 4th-century grave stelai.<sup>108</sup> Myttion is dressed in chiton and *kandys* (κάνδυς), a garment of Persian origin worn by children of both sexes, but also women, often young in age (Xen. *An.* 1.5.8.4; Plut. *Artax.* 24.10.1).<sup>109</sup> Chrysis, on the other hand, is portrayed wrapped in her himation in a manner reminiscent of the Small Herculaneum Woman type, which is usually indicative of youthful female figures.<sup>110</sup>

Long hair or a long plait falling over the back are the most popular maiden hairstyles on funerary reliefs (e.g., 12, 35, 51, 54, 60, 61, 113, 137, 140), especially the ones dating to the 4th century B.C. (see Figs. 3, 4, 6, 10, 12–15).<sup>111</sup> These hairstyles are quite common during the second quarter

106. Kaltsas 2002, pp. 135, 218, nos. 260, 450; Leventi 2003, pp. 55–56; see also *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 979, 980, nos. 237, 242, pl. 732, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).

107. For this gesture, see pp. 112–113.

108. The stele of Myttion is dated to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C.,

and that of Chrysis, daughter of Arcestrate, to the second half of the 4th century B.C.

109. See also Kingsley 1975; Linders 1984; Miller 1997, pp. 165–169; Roccas 2000, pp. 237–238, n. 24.

110. Kaltsas 2002, p. 242, no. 508; Dillon 2010, pp. 65, 82–86; *Agora* XXXV, p. 30.

111. One-third of the parthenoi in this catalogue (62 in number) are depicted with long hair or a long plait falling over their back. The exact number of maidens with long hair or long plaits is not known, since not all have fully preserved heads. See *CAT* intro. vol., pp. 32, 35; Beaumont 2000, p. 41.

of the century, and often they appear on parthenoi of more advanced age. Maidens with long hair or long plaits normally wear either the Attic peplos or the chiton and himation, often diagonal. Younger female figures are frequently depicted with long hair or a long plait falling over their back, much like portrayals of Athena, Artemis, Persephone, Nike, the Nymphs, and the Charites.<sup>112</sup> These hairstyles, therefore, indicate the young age of the parthenoi, but a female figure cannot be identified as a maiden with absolute certainty on the sole basis of her long hair or plait. This point is best demonstrated by female figures wearing the Argive peplos, normally donned by matrons, and styled with long hair or a long plait (e.g., 6, 71, 116).

Twenty-one of the deceased maidens have their hair tied into a bun at the top or back of their head in the form of a *lampadion* (e.g., 33, 36, 100, 105, 131; Figs. 1, 7, 9, 17);<sup>113</sup> most of them are dressed in chiton and himation. The *lampadion* is associated exclusively with young females, married or unmarried.<sup>114</sup> Youthful deities like Artemis, Aphrodite, Nike, the Horai, the Nymphs, and the Charites are often portrayed with this hairstyle as a sign of their fertility.<sup>115</sup>

On 19 grave reliefs (2, 27, 32, 34, 37, 41, 57, 63, 73, 102, 111, 118, 121, 126, 175, 179, 181, 184, 186; see Fig. 11), maidens are shown with short hair or have their hair gathered in a roll encircling the head.<sup>116</sup> It is not always possible to distinguish between these two hairstyles on lower-quality or worn reliefs. The majority of these maidens are depicted wearing a chiton and himation. Both younger and older females may be portrayed with short hair, but caution is required since short-cropped hair is a sign of slavery, as well as mourning (Eur. *Alc.* 215–217, 425–427, 512–513; *El.* 141–150; *Supp.* 971–979).<sup>117</sup> Married and unmarried females of all ages can be shown with their hair gathered into a roll encircling the head, although it should be noted that this hairstyle is more common in depictions of married women.<sup>118</sup>

112. Long hair or a long plait is not a very common hairstyle for prepubescent girls on Classical-period Attic grave reliefs. For Athena, see *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 971, nos. 136–138, pl. 719, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne). For Artemis, see *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 665, nos. 572, 575, 578, pls. 491, 492, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). For Persephone, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 962, 964, nos. 98, 134, 140, pls. 641, 645, 647, s.v. Persephone (G. Günter). For Nike, see *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 856, nos. 45–47, pls. 561, 562, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki). For the Nymphs, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 894–895, 898, nos. 30, 43, 47, pls. 588, 593, s.v. Nymphai (M. Halm). For the Charites, see *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 198–199, nos. 32, 33, 35, pls. 155, 156, s.v. Charites (H. Sichtermann).

113. See also Leventi 2003, p. 62; Dillon 2010, p. 117.

114. Beaumont 2000, p. 41. The *lampadion*, however, rarely is seen with

prepubescent girls. There are only two such examples in Clairmont: *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.711, 0.840. For the *lampadion*, see Gulaki 1981, pp. 95–96; *CAT* intro. vol., p. 35; Bergemann 1997, p. 99; Leventi 2003, p. 62; Dillon 2010, p. 117; Xagorari-Gleissner 2010, p. 124, n. 22.

115. For Artemis, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 672, 675, nos. 673, 708, 709, pls. 499, 502, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). For Aphrodite, see *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 91, nos. 830, 833, 839, pl. 83, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). For Nike, see *LIMC* VI, 1992, pp. 853, 859, 860, 864, 866, 871, 873–877, nos. 14, 99, 110, 114, 148, 149, 170, 237, 272, 277, 290, 301, 304, 310, 322, pls. 559, 568, 570, 574, 577, 580–582, 584, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki, A. Moustaka, and U. Grote); Leventi 2003, p. 62. For the Horai, see *LIMC* V, 1990, pp. 505–507, nos. 9, 22, 32, 34, pls. 346, 347, s.v. Horai (V. Machaira); *LIMC* V, 1990, pp. 511–512, nos. 3, 8, pls. 349, 350,



Figure 6. Grave stele (95), dating to 400–375 b.c. Avignon, Musée Calvet E-31. Courtesy Musée Calvet, André Guerrand, collection Nani di San Trovaso, acquis par la Fondation Calvet en 1841

s.v. Horai (L. Abad Casal); Leventi 2003, p. 62. For the Nymphs, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 895, nos. 50–52, pl. 594, s.v. Nymphai (M. Halm); Leventi 2003, p. 62. For the Charites, see *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 196, no. 24, pl. 153, s.v. Charites (H. Sichtermann); Leventi 2003, p. 62. For the *lampadion* as a sign of fertility, see Leventi 2003, p. 62.

116. Most of these reliefs date to the first half of the 4th century b.c.

117. Girls are frequently depicted with relatively short or shoulder-length hair, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.722, 0.780, 0.845, 0.850, 0.851, 0.869a, 0.873, 0.908, 0.909, 0.910, 0.913, 0.915; see also *Agora* XXXV, p. 34. For short hair indicating slavery or mourning, see *CAT* intro. vol., p. 35; Oakley 2000, p. 246; Stears 2008, p. 141; *Agora* XXXV, pp. 34–35.

118. For examples of prepubescent girls, see *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.780, 0.781, 0.829, 0.837, 0.858a, 0.879; for married



Figure 7 (left). Grave stele of Mnesagora and Nikocharēs (100), dating to 420–400 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3845. Photo K. Eickstedt; courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund



Figure 8 (right). Grave stele (103), dating to 330–320 B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 44.11.2,3. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1944

A plait encircling the head indicates a young unmarried figure of maiden or prepubescent age (see Fig. 5) and is particularly popular with children of both sexes, especially during the 4th century B.C.<sup>119</sup> Apollo, Artemis Brauronia, and Kore are portrayed also with a plait encircling their heads.<sup>120</sup> Only a very small number of maiden figures on funerary reliefs, however, are depicted with this hairstyle (26, 50, 74, 80, 114, 141[?], 148; see Fig. 5).<sup>121</sup> Most of them appear on grave stelai dating to 375–320 B.C. With the exception of prepubescent girls, any female figure bearing this coiffure can be identified as a maiden with absolute certainty.

There are only a few examples of the so-called melon-coiffure (83, 84, 88, 145, 178), when the hair is divided into wedge-shaped sections, finishing in a bun at the back of the head.<sup>122</sup> On the grave reliefs catalogued here, the melon-coiffure is usually combined with a plait encircling the head, as well as the Attic peplos with a shoulder-pinned back-mantle. The hairstyle with or without the plait encircling the head (see Fig. 5) is characteristic of young female figures, both married and unmarried.<sup>123</sup>

women, see, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.176, 1.190, 1.309; vol. 2, nos. 2.221, 2.286, 2.480, 2.780, 2.816, 2.820; vol. 3, nos. 3.302, 3.350, 3.351; vol. 4, nos. 4.671, 4.770, 4.810. See also *CAT* intro. vol., p. 35; Beccart 2009, p. 236; *Agora* XXXV, p. 34.

119. Vorster 1983, pp. 21–22; Despina 1994; Scholl 1996, p. 121; Bergemann 1997, p. 99; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 108, no. 91; Leventi 2003, p. 62. For examples of prepubescent girls depicted with a plait encircling their heads, see *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.690, 0.881.

120. For Apollo, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 195, 257, nos. 47, 599, pls. 186, 228, s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia); Despina 1994, pp. 178, 194; Kaltsas 2002, p. 90, no. 155; for Artemis Brauronia, see Despina 1994, figs. 31–36; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 108, no. 91; Leventi 2003, p. 62; for Kore, see Meyer 1989, p. 298, no. 117, fig. 38:1; Leventi 2003, p. 62.

121. The hairstyle is more popular with younger maidens, like little Eukoline of 148 (Fig. 5).

122. Nearly all examples of the melon-coiffure date to the second half

of the 4th century B.C.; see Vorster 1983, p. 339, no. 24; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 638, no. 161, pl. 456, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); Ridgway 1997, p. 168; Dillon 2010, pp. 114–117; Xagorari-Gleissner 2010, p. 124.

123. This trend is most obvious in the case of a grave stele (84) in the Piraeus Archaeological Museum that originally depicted the deceased as a seated married woman of mature age shaking hands with her husband in the presence of a female relative. The stele was reused at a later date to commemorate the tomb of a maiden. The married

Equally rare is the presence of maidens depicted with a section of hair tied up into a topknot (see Fig. 8). They appear on only four grave stelai, dating to 375–320 B.C. (**94**, **103**, **129**, **147**), and their topknots are combined with either long hair or a long plait falling over their back. All but one (**129**) are dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle.<sup>124</sup> Young, but not necessarily unmarried, figures are often depicted with a topknot.<sup>125</sup> This hairstyle is common for youthful kourotropic (nurturing) deities associated with fertility, namely Artemis, Apollo, Aphrodite, Kore, and the Nymphs.<sup>126</sup>

### GESTURES PERFORMED BY MAIDENS

The most common gesture of maidens on Classical-period Attic funerary reliefs involves the shoulder-pinned back-mantle worn with the Attic or Argive peplos.<sup>127</sup> Fifty-one of the deceased parthenoi hold the edge of their back-mantle with a lowered hand, usually the left one, or—more rarely—hold both mantle edges, one in each lowered hand (e.g., **12**, **22**, **24**, **40**, **43**, **47**, **48**, **58**, **113**, **116**, **138**, **144**, **147**, **148**; see Figs. 4, 5, 12, 14).<sup>128</sup> Most of these reliefs date to the 4th century B.C., and especially to 375–320 B.C.<sup>129</sup> The gesture is particularly popular with maidens dressed in

woman was then transformed into a young unmarried female. The sculptor undertaking the task achieved this by removing the himation that was drawn originally over the back of the deceased's head, a clear indication that she was married (see p. 128, n. 251), and restyling her with the youthful melon-coiffure with a plait encircling the head. For examples of married women with the melon-coiffure, see *CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.457, 2.829, 2.919; vol. 3, no. 3.463. Prepubescent girls can be also depicted with this hairstyle. A well-known example is the statue of the “arktos with dove” from Brauron (Aikaterinides 2001, p. 118).

124. Only the heads of the figures survive, so we have no way to know whether or not this maiden was also wearing an Attic peplos. Despinis (2013, pp. 191–194, figs. 147–149), however, has argued that this stele fragment is the upper part of **138**. If this is true, then the parthenos was dressed in the Attic peplos as well.

125. E.g., *CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.307a, 2.426b; vol. 3, no. 3.361; vol. 4, no. 4.381; see also Harrison 1988, p. 253; Leventi 2003, p. 62; Dillon 2010, pp. 116–118, 120–122.

126. For such kourotropic deities, see Harrison 1988, p. 253; Leventi 2003, p. 62. For Artemis, see *LIMC* II,

1984, pp. 646, 680, 683, nos. 274, 759, 816, pls. 468, 506, 508, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil). For Apollo, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 194, 209, nos. 39:g, 39:i, pl. 184, s.v. Apollon (O. Palagia); Rocco 1986, p. 55; Palagia 1997, p. 187. For Aphrodite, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 51–52, nos. 404, 409, 410, pls. 38, 39, 41, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 60–62, 65, 70–72, 74–76, 86, 90, 97, 101, 102, 107, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); Dillon 2010, p. 121. For Kore, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 960, 961, nos. 45, 74, pls. 643, 644, s.v. Persephone (G. Günter). For the Nymphs, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 893, nos. 10, 14a, 16, pl. 586, s.v. Nymphai (M. Halm); Kaltsas 2002, p. 221, no. 459. 127. See pp. 107–109.

128. These parthenoi comprise approximately 28% of the maiden figures studied here, but since a number of reliefs are fragmentary, the exact number of parthenoi holding the edge of their mantles remains unknown.

129. Rocco (2000, p. 243) believes that the motif of holding the mantle edges with both hands occurred after the mid-4th century. This does not seem to be valid for funerary reliefs. The motif appears on eight reliefs (**22**, **106**, **141**, **145–147**, **154**, **167**), but only two (**141**, **146**) date to the second half of the 4th century B.C. The other six date to the first half of the century.

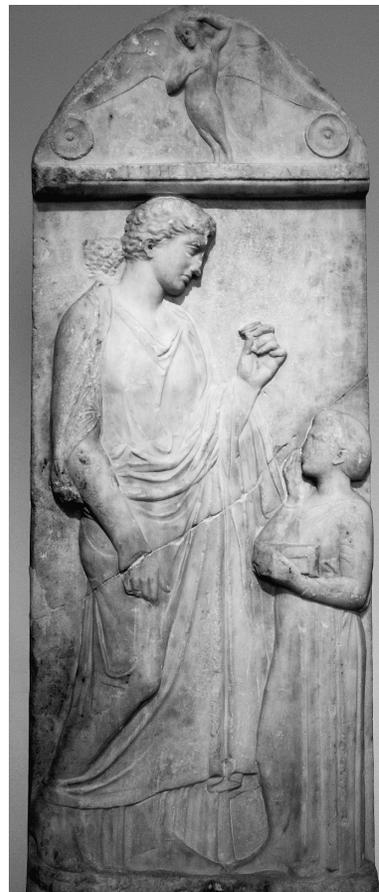


Figure 9. Grave stele of Eukoline (**105**), dating to ca. 380 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4006. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

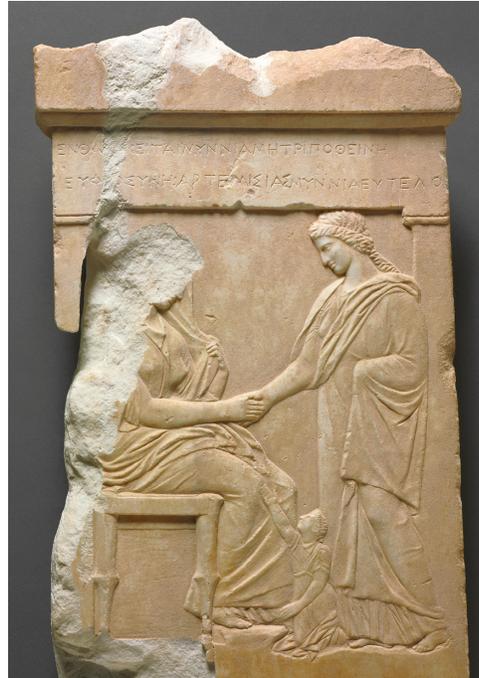


Figure 10. Grave stele of Mynnia (137), dating to 400–375 B.C. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.121. Courtesy Getty Open Content Program

the Attic peplos, and it is always performed by standing figures.<sup>130</sup> The motif does not appear in depictions of prepubescent girls.<sup>131</sup> According to Rocco, the gesture is characteristic of youthful figures and may have been an indication of young age.<sup>132</sup>

The *anakalypsis* (ἀνακάλυψις), or “unveiling,” is an exclusively feminine gesture.<sup>133</sup> A standing or seated female performs this gesture by using one hand to lift the veil/himation covering her head.<sup>134</sup> The gesture is popular in Greek art from the second half of the 7th century B.C. onward.<sup>135</sup> It is closely related to the Athenian wedding ritual of *anakalypteria*, the ceremonial unveiling of the bride, when she lifted her veil for the first time during the wedding ceremony and revealed her face to the groom.<sup>136</sup>

As a sign of marital status, the unveiling gesture is characteristic of married women, matronly figures, and brides, but it is also performed occasionally by maidens.<sup>137</sup> In the latter case, sculptors employ a variation of the *anakalypsis* motif, since unmarried females are not portrayed with their head covered.<sup>138</sup> Such maidens perform the *anakalypsis* by lifting the edge of their clothing, usually a himation, at shoulder height (see Fig. 2). The gesture appears on only 14 funerary reliefs (3, 8, 10, 15, 21, 25, 39,

130. *CAT* intro. vol., p. 32; Ridgway 1997, pp. 169–170. More than half of the maidens wearing the Attic peplos with a shoulder-pinned back-mantle are portrayed holding one or both edges of their mantle.

131. As already mentioned (see n. 98, above), prepubescent girls are not shown wearing the shoulder-pinned back-mantle.

132. Rocco 2000, pp. 242–243.

133. For the *anakalypsis* gesture

and its meaning, see Dentzer 1982, pp. 484–489; Oakley 1982; Meyer 1989, pp. 227–228; Stears 1995, pp. 119–120; Scholl 1996, pp. 169–170; Blundell 2002, pp. 159–161; Leventi 2003, pp. 48, 68–69; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, pp. 98–110, 114; *Agora* XXXV, pp. 31, 38.

134. E.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.213, 1.412, 1.694, 1.695.

135. Leventi 2003, p. 68.

136. For the wedding ritual of

*anakalypteria*, see Oakley 1982; Brulé 1987, pp. 319–321; Avagianou 1991, pp. 130, 135 (n. 374), 137, 139; Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 25–26; Vêrilhac and Vial 1998, pp. 304–312; Ferrari 2002, pp. 186–190; 2003, pp. 32–35; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, pp. 227–248, 317–318.

137. Leventi 2003, p. 68.

138. For this variation, see Dentzer 1982, p. 485; Leventi 2003, pp. 67, 69.

109, 131, 138, 142, 173, 175, 177; see Figs. 2, 3), most of which date to the 4th century, especially to 375–320 B.C., and the majority of these deceased parthenoi wear the Attic peplos.<sup>139</sup> When performed by maidens, the gesture possibly signifies that they were going to be married soon, perhaps even implying that they were engaged but died before their upcoming nuptials.<sup>140</sup>

## ITEMS HELD BY MAIDENS

### BIRDS

Deceased maidens holding pet birds (e.g., 32, 33, 35, 39, 43, 86, 94, 99, 100, 111, 148; see Figs. 3, 5, 7, 14, 16, 17 [small duck]) are depicted on 34 grave stelai, most of which date to the first half of the 4th century B.C., and bear either single-figured or two-figured scenes.<sup>141</sup> Two of these maidens are seated (82, 86; see Fig. 16). In single-figured scenes, parthenoi are often portrayed looking at the bird, sometimes even feeding or tenderly caressing it (32–36; see Fig. 17). During the 4th century B.C., maidens holding birds are frequently accompanied by a small dog (37–44, 148; see Figs. 5, 14). The maiden usually interacts with her lapdog by extending the hand holding her pet bird downward, while the dog jumps up to reach the bird (see Fig. 14).<sup>142</sup> In two-figured scenes dating to 430–350 B.C., parthenoi are mostly shown with a younger sibling, either a boy or a girl, who is eager to catch the bird that is held by the maiden (99–102; see Fig. 7). During the first half of the 4th century B.C., maidens holding birds may be depicted also with an accompanying maidservant (92–94). On Classical Attic funerary reliefs, youthful figures—namely male and female children, maidens, and youths or young men—are often depicted holding pet birds.<sup>143</sup> When older men and women are portrayed in this manner, they are usually displaying or offering the bird to a child.<sup>144</sup>

### DOLLS

Maidens holding dolls appear on 14 grave stelai (45–54, 95–98; see Figs. 6, 13), all of them bearing single-figured or (less often) two-figured scenes, and dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>145</sup> On half of these stelai, the parthenoi are accompanied by either a large pet bird (52–54), such as a heron or goose (see Fig. 13), or a maidservant (95–98; see Fig. 6),

139. Nine wear the Attic peplos, all from reliefs dating to 375–320 B.C. The remaining five maidens are dressed in chiton and himation, all but one are from earlier reliefs dating to 420–375 B.C.

140. See Dentzer 1982, p. 485; Stears 1995, pp. 119–120; Roccas 2000, pp. 242, 260. The gesture is only performed by older maidens and never by very young ones.

141. These stelai comprise approximately 18% of the funerary reliefs under consideration. For birds as pets in ancient Greece, see Gosling 1935, pp. 111–113; Lazenby 1949a, pp. 249–250; 1949b, pp. 300–301; Pollard 1977,

pp. 87–95, 135–140; Lewis 2002, pp. 159–166; for birds on Classical Attic grave reliefs, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 39–52.

142. See pp. 119–120.

143. For children, see, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.690, 0.691, 0.704, 0.710, 0.711, 0.720, 0.721, 0.722, 0.840, 0.845, 0.846, 0.849, 0.860, 0.865, 0.920, 0.921, 0.922, 1.714; vol. 2, nos. 2.820, 2.821; vol. 3, no. 3.905; see also Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 110–124, nos. 65–255; Roccas 2000, p. 259; for youths or young men, see, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.154, 1.227, 1.245, 1.278, 1.317, 1.331, 1.348, 1.360, 1.364,



Figure 11 (above). Grave stele of Pausimache (57), dating to 390–380 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3964. Photo H. Goette; courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

1.365, 1.370, 1.385, 1.550, 1.725, 1.789, 1.850, 1.855, 1.856, 1.866; vol. 2, nos. 2.159, 2.287, 2.332.

144. E.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 182, 1.660, 1.662, 1.688, 1.690, 1.694, 1.715, 1.763, 1.786, 1.829, 1.842, 1.867, 1.868, 1.870, 1.871, 1.950; vol. 2, nos. 2.763, 2.771; vol. 4, no. 4.670.

145. For dolls on Classical Attic grave reliefs, see Dörig 1958; Cavalier 1988; *CAT* vol. 1, pp. 227–228; Reilly 1997; Larson 2001, pp. 101–107; Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 265; Hoffmann 2006, p. 64.

Figure 12 (*left*). Grave stele of Stratyllis (113), dating to 340–330 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3691. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund



Figure 13 (*right*). Grave stele (54), dating to 360–350 B.C. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.135. Courtesy Getty Open Content Program



and they are frequently dressed in chiton and diagonal himation.<sup>146</sup> Single-figured scenes are more popular during the second quarter of the century, and the maidens depicted in these scenes often wear the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Younger parthenoi are not depicted with dolls.

On Classical Attic funerary reliefs, only prepubescent girls and maidens are portrayed holding dolls.<sup>147</sup> For girls, it is reasonable to assume that they are shown holding their favorite childhood toys.<sup>148</sup> Some scholars believe that this is also the case for maidens, while others assign a symbolic meaning to the dolls.<sup>149</sup> The funerary reliefs depict three different types of dolls: (1) a naked, fully limbed doll,<sup>150</sup> (2) a naked, truncated doll with arms missing above the elbows and legs missing below the knees (see Figs. 6, 13); and (3) a fully clothed, seated doll. Dolls held by maidens on grave stelai are usually the naked, fully limbed (48, 52, 53, 96, 97[?]) or truncated types (45, 47, 49, 50, 54, 95).<sup>151</sup> It has been suggested by Nicholls that the

146. On 96, the maidservant is depicted in the act of placing the doll in the open hand of her young mistress.

147. E.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.721, 0.780, 0.851, 0.853a, 0.869a, 0.915, 0.916, 0.918; see also Hoffmann 1997, p. 28; Kousser 2004, p. 103.

148. Besides dolls, girls on funerary reliefs are shown holding rattles (e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.722, 0.845) and balls (e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.859, 0.881, 0.908).

149. For dolls held by maidens as toys, see Elderkin 1930, p. 465; Dörig 1958; Cavalier 1988, pp. 290–291; for dolls held by maiden as symbolic, see

Buschor 1941, p. 26; Dörig 1958, p. 44; *Morgantina* I, pp. 94–97; Reilly 1997, pp. 159–165; *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 49; Dewailly 2007, pp. 150, 152.

150. For naked, fully limbed dolls, see Cavalier 1988, p. 289; for naked, truncated dolls, see Dörig 1958, pp. 46, 52, pls. 22:3, 25:4, 26:1, 2; Schmidt 1977, pp. 114–128; Cavalier 1988, p. 289; Roccas 2000, p. 259; Kousser 2004, p. 103; Dewailly 2007, p. 150; for clothed and seated dolls, see *Morgantina* I, pp. 94–97; Dörig 1958, pp. 51–52.

151. A fully clothed, seated doll appears in 51.

truncated dolls may have been representations of Aphrodite Anadyomene or Persephone, and the seated ones of Hera Nympheuomene.<sup>152</sup>

According to Reilly, the naked dolls, whether truncated or fully limbed, represent votives dedicated to healing deities to ensure the health of the feminine body for childbirth.<sup>153</sup> This interpretation is challenged, however, by the discovery of dolls in sanctuaries of both healing and non-healing deities, as well as in graves.<sup>154</sup> Most scholars believe that the dolls held by parthenoi on funerary reliefs are toys also serving as votives, since Athenian girls were expected to dedicate their childhood toys to Artemis before marriage—a highly symbolic and essential premarital offering to the goddess of virginity (*Anth. Pal.* 6.276, 280).<sup>155</sup> This argument does not address, however, if truncated dolls could have been toys.

Whether toys or votives, dolls held by maidens on grave stelai are symbols of a maiden's premature death and eternal virginity, the deprivation of marriage and motherhood.<sup>156</sup> Such dolls could be dedicated to healing deities with the presumed power to ensure a healthy female body, as well as to non-healing deities like Artemis, who watches over young unmarried females and assists them in their transition to womanhood, or fertility deities like Demeter and Kore.<sup>157</sup> The healing, fertility, kourotropic, and marriage deities receiving these votives were thought to ensure the successful passage into adulthood, marriage, and, ultimately, motherhood. The parthenoi depicted on funerary reliefs hold dolls they will never dedicate to such deities—a further somber reminder of their premature death.

## MIRRORS

Maidens holding mirrors appear on five grave stelai (55–58, 115) dating to 420–375 B.C. (see Fig. 11).<sup>158</sup> All but one of them (115) are decorated with single-figured scenes. With the exception of one uncertain case (58), the parthenoi are dressed in chiton and himation.<sup>159</sup> They are usually shown

152. Nicholls 1995, pp. 436–437, n. 152. For the Aphrodite Anadyomene type, see *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 54–57, nos. 423–455, pl. 40–43, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); for the Persephone type, see Palagia 2000; for the Hera Nympheuomene type, see Dörig 1958, pp. 42–43, 48–50; *Morgantina* I, p. 95; Clark 1998, pp. 20–23; Larson 2001, pp. 113–114. For a different view, see *Morgantina* I, pp. 94–97, where it is suggested that the seated dolls represented the maidens themselves, as brides.

153. Reilly 1997.

154. For dolls in healing sanctuaries, see van Straten 1981, pp. 100–101, 105–143, 150–151, esp. pp. 105–106, 108–110; Aleshire 1989, pp. 40–48; Reilly 1997, pp. 161–163; for dolls in sanctuaries of non-healing deities, such as Demeter, Kore, and Artemis, see *Morgantina* I, pp. 94–97; *Corinth* XVIII.4, pp. 48–49, 94–96, pls. 12, 13, 75; Kousser 2004, p. 103; Dewailly

2007, pp. 148–152; for dolls in graves, see Buschor 1941, pp. 22, 25–26, fig. 16; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 49–50, fig. 40; *Morgantina* I, pp. 94, 96; *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 49.

155. As Larson has pointed out (2001, pp. 101–103), one use does not exclude the other. For toy dolls as votives, see also Buschor 1941, p. 25; Schmidt 1977, pp. 115–128; *Morgantina* I, pp. 94–96; *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 49; Dewailly 2007, pp. 150, 152. For offerings of toys to Artemis, see Rocco 2000, p. 240; Larson 2001, p. 229; Dillon 2002, p. 229.

156. *Morgantina* I, p. 95; Cavalier 1988, pp. 290–291; Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 265; Kousser 2004, p. 103; Hoffmann 2006, p. 64. It is not surprising that dolls are among the grave goods discovered in tombs of maidens; see Buschor 1941, pp. 22, 25–26, fig. 16; Huysecom-Hahxi 2008, pp. 66, 69; Margariti 2010, pp. 291–297, 303–304.

157. For Artemis, see Hadzisteliou



Figure 14. Grave stele (43), dating to 350–330 B.C. Paris, Musée Rodin Co.459. Photo C. Baraja; courtesy Musée Rodin, Paris

Price 1978, pp. 2, 57, 61–62, 81–82, 88–89, 112 (n. 64), 121–122, 133, 138–141, 149, 157–160, 189–190, 204; King 1983; Dillon 2002, p. 67; Cole 2004, pp. 209–213; Dowden 2007, pp. 51, 53; Larson 2007, pp. 106–108; for Demeter, see Blundell 1995, pp. 40–42; Cole 2004, p. 132; Morgan 2007, p. 304; Totelin 2009, p. 210; for Kore, see Lincoln 1979; Dillon 2002, p. 225; Redfield 2003, pp. 364, 368, 375–376.

158. For mirrors on Attic funerary reliefs, see *CAT* vol. 1, pp. 228–230; Leader 1997, pp. 693–694; Bectarte 2006, pp. 178–180. For mirrors in general, see Züchner 1942; Karouzou 1951; Oberländer 1967; Congdon 1981; Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant 1997; Schwarzmaier 1997; see also Hoffmann 1988, p. 78.

159. The young female of 58 is dressed in the Argive peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. It is probable, but not certain, that she is a maiden.



Figure 15. Grave stele (60), dating to 430–420 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 910. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

looking into the mirror.<sup>160</sup> As a feminine object, the mirror is associated with the beautification of women and often appears prominently in wedding iconography.<sup>161</sup> On Classical Attic funerary reliefs, both older maidens and married women are depicted holding mirrors.<sup>162</sup> Neither younger parthenoi nor female figures whose attire or coiffure clearly indicate their maiden status (e.g., Attic peplos, plait encircling the head) are portrayed holding a mirror. Their association with weddings suggests that mirrors on these grave stelai allude to the maiden's possibly upcoming, but missed, wedding day.<sup>163</sup> It should be noted that mirrors can be also interpreted as portents of death, in which case their presence on grave reliefs becomes even more fitting.<sup>164</sup>

### JEWELRY AND PYXIDES

Deceased maidens are infrequently shown holding pyxides or jewelry (see Figs. 9, 15). Two of the deceased parthenoi, both from early single-figured grave stelai (60, 62; Fig. 15) dating to 430–420 B.C., are depicted holding an open pyxis from which each figure is about to remove an object, perhaps jewelry or a *taenia*.<sup>165</sup> Maidens holding jewelry seem to appear on four grave stelai (61, 63, 71, 105; see Fig. 9) dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C. In three of these cases (63, 71, 105), the items held by the deceased females are not clearly identifiable.<sup>166</sup> Younger parthenoi are not depicted holding pyxides or jewelry. On Classical-period Attic funerary reliefs, jewelry appears also with married women, while the pyxis is more often carried by a servant or female relative.<sup>167</sup> As with mirrors, jewelry and pyxides are associated with the adornment and beautification of women and frequently appear in wedding scenes on Attic vases.<sup>168</sup> It is likely, therefore, that depicting these objects in the hands of deceased maidens emphasizes their anticipated marriage, although it is possible that

160. Only the dead female of 115 is holding the mirror in her lowered hand, and thus not looking into it.

161. For mirrors as feminine objects, see Hoffmann 1988, pp. 77–78; Redfield 2003, p. 320; Bectarte 2006, pp. 165, 171. For mirrors in wedding iconography, see, e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 66, figs. 28, 29; see also Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1629; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pp. 347–348, no. 257, figs. 168, 169; London, British Museum E 774: see n. 26, above; Berlin, Pergamon Museum 3373: *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 1 [East Germany 3], pp. 74–76, fig. 8:2, pls. 48:1–2, 49:1–2, 50:1–2 [159, 160, 161]. Mirrors are used by maidens, brides, as well as married women.

162. For examples of married women with mirrors, see *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.305, 1.471, 1.768; vol. 2, nos. 2.187, 2.208, 2.209b, 2.210, 2.255, 2.291a, 2.313, 2.590, 2.670, 2.831; vol. 3, no. 3.345b;

vol. 4, no. 4.378. Prepubescent girls are never depicted holding mirrors.

163. Clairmont 1970, p. 78.

164. Balensiefen 1990, pp. 171–173; Palagia 2008, p. 230, n. 68.

165. In 62, it is not certain that the deceased is a maiden.

166. Kallistrate (61) is holding a necklace, which is carved in relief. For the three uncertain stelai, it is probable that the items depicted are jewelry, but this identification is not certain because the original paint is too faded. If the painted items in the scenes were indeed jewelry, then those of 63 and 71 were probably necklaces. The deceased maiden of 105 (Fig. 9) was more likely holding a ring.

167. For married women with jewelry, see, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.761; vol. 2, nos. 2.150, 2.208, 2.220, 2.223a, 2.319a, 2.343, 2.438b; vol. 4, no. 4.680; see also Stears 1995, p. 120. For jewelry on Classical Attic funerary reliefs, see *CAT* vol. 1, pp. 229–230;

Hoffmann 2006, p. 64. For pyxides carried by servants or female relatives, see, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.661, 1.772, 1.848; vol. 2, nos. 2.150, 2.152, 2.187, 2.255, 2.300, 2.301, 2.431, 2.820, 2.948; vol. 3, nos. 3.280, 3.340, 3.404, 3.703, 3.872, 3.930, 3.934; vol. 4, nos. 4.374, 4.428, 4.910, 4.950, 6.181; for the depiction of pyxides on Classical Attic funerary reliefs, see *CAT* intro. vol., pp. 36, 87–88; for the pyxis in general, see Roberts 1978.

168. Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, p. 332. For jewelry and pyxides in wedding scenes, see, e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 62, 66–67, figs. 20, 21, 28–30; see also London, British Museum E 774: see n. 26, above; Berlin, Pergamon Museum 3373: see n. 161, above. For pyxides decorated with wedding scenes, see Roberts 1978, pp. 178–184 and, e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 92–94, 104–105, figs. 75–78, 96–98.



Figure 16. Grave stele (86), dating after 330 B.C. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3914. Courtesy Archaeological Museum, Piraeus; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Western Attica, Piraeus, and Islands

these stelai are decorated with scenes of everyday life. The jewelry and pyxides in these scenes are undoubtedly symbols of the wealth and status of a deceased maiden's family.<sup>169</sup>

### SEATED MAIDENS

On a limited number of funerary reliefs, mostly grave stelai dating to the second half of the 4th century B.C. and decorated with two- or three-figured scenes, the deceased parthenoi are shown seated (82–88; see Fig. 16).<sup>170</sup> More than half of these maidens are dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle and a chiton worn underneath the peplos (82, 83, 85–88).<sup>171</sup> They appear either surrounded by their parents (83, 86, 90), sometimes also shaking hands with them (83–85), or accompanied by a maidservant holding a pyxis (87–89, 91).<sup>172</sup> In the latter scenes, they are

169. The pyxis was not exclusively used as a jewelry box; it could also contain cosmetics, ointments, or a variety of objects; see *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.204; Clark, Elston, and Hart 2002, p. 134; Lewis 2002, pp. 133–134; Posamentir 2006, no. 2. As symbols of wealth and status, see Leader 1997, pp. 692, 694.

170. There are also three uncertain cases: 89 (marble hydria), 90 (marble lekythos), 91 (grave stele). Both 90 and 91 date to the second half of the 4th century B.C., and 89 is an earlier work from 375–350 B.C. Relief 85 is the only four-figured scene. The seated maiden from Marathon (82) was part

of a naiskos stele that has not survived. It is impossible to discern additional figures on the stele.

171. In most of these cases, the heads of the parthenoi do not survive. The maidens of 83 and 88 have a melon-coiffure combined with a plait encircling their head, while the Marathon parthenos (82) had long hair, traces of which still survive despite the loss of her head.

172. Such scenes place special emphasis on familial unity. Some of the parents are mourning the loss of their daughters: 83 (father), 84 and 86 (mothers). On 85, a maidservant

holding a pyxis is also present. For the special case of relief 84, which was reused at a later date, see n. 123, above. The seated parthenos of 86 (Fig. 16) is caressing a large bird seated on her lap. The maiden of Marathon (82) is holding a bird, as well. As noted above (p. 114), birds are frequently held by deceased parthenoi on Classical Attic grave reliefs, but they are depicted standing. The mother of 83 tenderly caresses her daughter while shaking her hand. On 88, the maiden's father is depicted in the background.



Figure 17. Grave stela of Nikeso (33), dating to 420–410 B.C. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 264. Courtesy Archaeological Museum, Piraeus; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Western Attica, Piraeus, and Islands

173. E.g., *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.975; vol. 2, nos. 2.150, 2.187, 2.206, 2.208, 2.274, 2.300, 2.301, 2.306, 2.339, 2.343, 2.390, 2.426, 2.441, 2.464, 2.590, 2.652, 2.670, 2.759, 2.771, 2.780, 2.786, 2.820, 2.850; vol. 3, nos. 3.284, 3.388, 3.461, 3.466, 3.471; vol. 4, no. 4.930.

174. Some of the reliefs under consideration bear scenes of adornment in which the seated parthenos is shown removing jewelry or a *taenia* from the pyxis held by her maidservant.

175. Possibly also on 38, 39, and 41, where the lower parts of the stelai do not survive but the iconography suggests that a dog was likely to have been depicted. All but 130 are certain cases of stelai with maidens. The dogs appear with both younger and older parthenoi, such as the very young Eukoline of 148 (see Fig. 5) and the older maiden of 39, who performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. For the special case of 37, which originally depicted a young male who was restyled as a maiden when the stela was reused, see Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 82, no. 40, fig. 12:b–d. For dogs in ancient Greece, see Gosling 1935, pp. 109–110; Lazenby 1949a, pp. 245–247; Hull 1964, pp. 20–38; Lonsdale 1979, pp. 149–152; Phillips 2002; for

usually shown removing an item from the open pyxis (87, 88, 91). The iconography of these reliefs shares many similarities with scenes of Classical Attic grave reliefs depicting seated married women surrounded by their family or removing an item of feminine adornment from an open pyxis held by their maidservant.<sup>173</sup> This imagery may indicate, as with mirrors and jewelry, that the seated maidens were engaged or would be married soon.<sup>174</sup> Thus, they are not shown standing, like all young unmarried females, but are instead portrayed seated in a manner resembling married and matronly female figures. The seated parthenoi are, therefore, depicted as the wives they would have become if they had not died so prematurely.

### ANIMALS ACCOMPANYING MAIDENS

On seven grave stelai (37, 40, 42–44, 130, 148) of the 4th century B.C., the deceased parthenoi are accompanied by their small-sized lapdogs (see Figs. 5, 14).<sup>175</sup> Most of these reliefs are decorated with single-figured scenes.<sup>176</sup> The deceased maidens are depicted standing, dressed in chiton and himation (37, 39, 41, 42, 130) or Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle (40, 43, 44, 148).<sup>177</sup> They are usually shown holding a bird in their lowered hand and extending it toward a dog that leaps to reach the bird (38–44; see Fig. 14).<sup>178</sup> On the Attic funerary reliefs of the Classical period, small-sized dogs accompany males and females of all ages,<sup>179</sup> although small-sized dogs are particularly popular in scenes with children.<sup>180</sup>

dogs in ancient Greek art, see Johnson 1919; Richter 1930, pp. 31–33; Gosling 1935, pp. 109–110; Lazenby 1949a, pp. 246–247; Vermeule 1968, pp. 98–99; Reilly 1993; Phillips 2002, pp. 86–87; for dogs on Classical Attic grave reliefs, see Vermeule 1972, p. 57; Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 53–60; Zlotogorska 1997; Beaumont 2012, pp. 80–81, 190. The most popular breed of lapdog in ancient Greece was the Maltese (Μελιταῖα κυνίδια); see Johnson 1919, pp. 209, 211–212; Gosling 1935, p. 110; Lazenby 1949a, p. 246; Hull 1964, pp. 21, 35; Busuttill 1969; Merlen 1971, pp. 44–45; Phillips 2002, pp. 86, 94.

176. This is true for all stelai besides 130 and 148 (see Fig. 5), which are decorated with two- and four-figured scenes, respectively.

177. The maiden of 38 wears chiton and diagonal himation. All date to 375–320 B.C.

178. The maidens of 37 and 148 (see Fig. 5) do not extend the hand holding the bird toward the dog. The young female of 130 is the only maiden not holding a bird. In all three cases, however, small dogs are shown jumping toward the maidens.

179. Hoffmann 1997, p. 28. E.g., for small dogs with young females, see *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.190; vol. 2, no. 2.386; vol. 3, pp. 447–448, no. 3.680; for small dogs with young males, see *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.191, 1.245, 1.278, 1.317, 1.322a, 1.330a, 1.360, 1.370, 1.856; vol. 2, no. 2.892; for small dogs with older women, see *CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.284, 2.350, 2.416, vol. 3, nos. 3.286, 3.383c, 3.420, vol. 4, nos. 4.357, 4.415; for small dogs with older men, see *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.852, vol. 2, nos. 2.947, 2.970.

180. E.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.691, 0.704, 0.726, 0.777, 0.780, 0.787, 0.840, 0.846, 0.849, 0.855, 0.860, 0.864, 0.870, 0.872, 0.874, 0.877, 0.880, 0.912, 0.914, 0.920, 0.922, 0.927, 0.940, 0.942, 1.894. The same small dogs frequently appear with children in painted scenes of Attic choes, e.g., (1) Copenhagen National Museum B 141: *CVA*, Copenhagen 4 [Denmark 4], p. 122, pl. 158.1 [160]; (2) Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 6156: *CVA*, Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 2 [Germany 6], p. 24, pl. 90:9 [286]; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 355–356, no. 389, fig. 389. See also van Hoorn 1951, pp. 46–47; Neils 2003, pp. 146–147; Neils and Oakley, p. 285, no. 95.

Only figures of young age (boys, girls, maidens, and youths), however, are portrayed playing with their lapdog by “teasing” it with a bird.<sup>181</sup>

Other animal companions include large-sized birds, especially herons. They only appear on four grave stelai (22 [partridge], 52 [heron or goose], 53 [heron], 54 [heron or goose; see Fig. 13]) bearing single-figured scenes and dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>182</sup> In contrast to the smaller birds held by maidens on funerary reliefs (see p. 114, above), larger birds are shown near or beside the standing parthenoi. Herons and geese are not frequently depicted on Classical-period Attic grave reliefs, and when they do appear, they always accompany young female figures.<sup>183</sup>

The beloved pets of deceased maidens serve as reminders of playful, carefree moments in a maiden’s life, and as such they further emphasize the tragic nature of their death.<sup>184</sup> There may also be a more symbolic meaning to their presence on funerary reliefs. Aside from the well-known chthonic associations of dogs, many scholars believe that the birds depicted on grave reliefs symbolize the soul of the deceased.<sup>185</sup> Since only young figures are shown holding a bird toward their jumping dog, it has been suggested that the birds in such scenes are symbols of youth. When the bird is held toward the dog, the act may “allude to the tender years of the deceased who is now welcomed to the chthonic sphere symbolized by the dog.”<sup>186</sup>

## FAMILY SCENES

Deceased maidens are accompanied by members of their family on 78 funerary reliefs (1–7, 9–11, 13, 14, 17, 19, 21, 83–86, 88, 90, 99–102, 103[?], 111–131, 137–149, 167, 169, 171–186; Figs. 1, 3–5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 18), most of which date to 375–320 B.C.<sup>187</sup> Such scenes shift focus to the powerful ties of love and kinship connecting the deceased with the members

181. E.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.777, 0.778, 0.780, 0.785, 0.787, 0.788, 0.830, 0.839, 0.840, 0.841, 0.846, 0.849, 0.859, 0.860, 0.864, 0.865, 0.870, 0.871, 0.873, 0.874, 0.877, 0.880, 0.884, 0.913–0.915, 0.920, 0.922, 0.926, 0.940, 0.941, 0.942, 1.245, 1.278, 1.282, 1.317, 1.306, 1.987; vol. 2, no. 2.332. All such scenes date to the 4th century B.C. See also Hoffmann 1997, p. 28.

182. The figures are all dressed in chiton and himation or diagonal himation (52, 54), except for the parthenoi of 22. She is wearing the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands worn over the chest, and a shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with both hands. The maidens of 52–54 are holding dolls.

183. Herons (or cranes) only appear on two other grave stelai within Clairmont’s corpus, both marking the graves of prepubescent girls: *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.783, 0.918. The girl of no. 0.918

is holding a doll. Geese are found on two, possibly four, grave stelai of the 4th century B.C. and accompany young females: 86 (Fig. 16), *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.380b, and perhaps 52 and 54 (Fig. 13). For herons, see Beaumont 2012, pp. 191–192. Partridges are depicted more often than herons and geese on Classical Attic funerary reliefs, and are always shown with female figures, both young and of more advanced age: *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 246, 0.690, 0.722, 0.858; vol. 2, no. 2.185; vol. 3, nos. 3.340, 3.461. For cranes, see Böhr 2002.

184. Cavalier 1988, p. 289; Hoffmann 1992, p. 334; Beaumont 2012, p. 190.

185. For the chthonic associations of dogs, see Beaumont 2012, p. 190. For birds as symbols of the human soul, see Vermeule 1979, p. 18; Bremner 1983, p. 94, n. 61; Harrison 1991, pp. 200–201; *CAT* vol. 1, p. 398;



Ogden 2002, pp. 12–14; Oakley 2004, pp. 211–212; Beaumont 2012, pp. 190–191.

186. Beaumont 2012, p. 191.

187. These reliefs comprise approximately 42% of the funerary reliefs studied here. Deceased maidens and youths, married or older women, and men can be depicted together with members of their family on Attic grave reliefs. Children’s stelai, on the other hand, are usually decorated with single-figured scenes portraying the deceased boy or girl alone. Family scenes on Classical Attic grave reliefs become popular during the 4th century B.C.; see Hoffmann 1997, p. 20; Leader 1997, pp. 694–695; Pomeroy 1997, p. 130; Strömberg 2003, p. 33; Closterman 2007, pp. 635, 648; for family scenes on Athenian funerary reliefs of the Classical period, see Bergemann 1997, pp. 93–94; Hoffmann 1997, p. 38; Closterman 2007, pp. 645–651.

Figure 18 (*opposite*). Grave stele of Ameinokleia (133), dating to 375–350 B.C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 718. Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens; © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

of her family and promote an ideal image of family unity.<sup>188</sup> Maidens are more frequently depicted with female (3, 4, 7, 11, 14, 17, 19, 90, 103[?], 111, 112, 114, 115, 119, 122–130, 137, 138, 141, 142, 145, 167, 175–179) than male members of their family, usually parents, and less often siblings.<sup>189</sup> The prevalence of mothers in such scenes places special emphasis on the loving relationship between mothers and their maiden daughters.<sup>190</sup> This is even more apparent for younger parthenoi, who are never shown with their fathers alone, but are accompanied either by their mothers or both parents (e.g., 112, 126, 130, 141, 146, 148; see Figs. 4, 5).<sup>191</sup> In contrast, the older maidens can be depicted with one or both parents.<sup>192</sup>

## DEXIOSIS

Fifty-one of the deceased parthenoi are shown shaking hands (*dexiosis*) with one of their parents or, more rarely, siblings (1–3, 5–7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 21, 83–85, 111, 113, 115–118, 120, 122–128, 130, 137, 139, 140, 143, 144, 149, 171–179, 181–186; Figs. 3, 10, 12).<sup>193</sup> Most of these reliefs date to 375–320 B.C., especially to the second quarter of the century. On 28 of them the maidens shake hands with female figures,<sup>194</sup> while on the remaining 23 they shake hands with males.<sup>195</sup> Nearly all females shaking hands with the maidens are of more advanced age and are portrayed seated.<sup>196</sup> The seated women are most likely the mothers of the deceased. Male figures shaking hands with parthenoi are more often depicted standing. For the most part, these men are mature or elderly, and it is reasonable to assume that they are the fathers of the maidens.<sup>197</sup>

*Dexiosis* is the gesture most frequently depicted on Classical-period Attic grave reliefs.<sup>198</sup> It appears on more than half (approximately 55%) of the funerary reliefs recorded by Clairmont.<sup>199</sup> The majority of these reliefs date to the 4th century B.C., but it should be noted that the depiction

188. Friis Johansen 1951, pp. 42–48; Humphreys 1980, pp. 112–121; Schmaltz 1983, p. 219; Bergemann 1997, pp. 129–130; Leader 1997, pp. 694–699; Ridgway 1997, pp. 162–163; Strömberg 2003, p. 33; Closterman 2007.

189. On only 18 reliefs dating to the 4th century B.C. are maidens depicted with their father, or more rarely, their brother: 5, 6, 10, 21 (Fig. 2), 88, 113 (Fig. 12), 116–118, 120, 121, 140, 169, 171–174, 181. On the remaining 21 reliefs, the parthenoi are shown with both male and female figures, usually their parents.

190. See also Sojc 2005, pp. 113–117.

191. The mothers of 141, 112 (Fig. 4), and 148 (Fig. 5) are depicted tenderly caressing their young daughters. See also Grossman 2007, p. 318.

192. Grossman 2007, p. 318.

193. These reliefs comprise approximately 28% of the funerary reliefs studied in this article. The maidens of 83–85 are shown seated.

194. Most of these reliefs are decorated with two-figured scenes. On 3, 9, 13, 137 (Fig. 10), 139, 144, 185, and 186, one or more family members (more often their fathers) are depicted in the background. On 3 and 7 the parthenoi are accompanied by their maidservants.

195. On nearly half of the reliefs, one or more family members (and occasionally also a maidservant) are also present: 1, 2, 6, 84, 85, 140, 149, 181–184.

196. On only five grave stelai are the parthenoi shaking hands with standing females: 19, 83, 115, 127, and 143. Young females shaking hands with maidens appear on 19, 115, and perhaps 176. These possibly are the sisters

of the deceased parthenoi.

197. This applies to the funerary reliefs that can be assigned to tombs of maidens with certainty. For the uncertain reliefs, caution is always required. Parthenoi shake hands with young males on only five reliefs: 6, 10, 21 (Fig. 2), 173, 174.

198. For *dexiosis*, see Friis Johansen 1951, pp. 149–151; Schmaltz 1983, pp. 214–215; Davies 1985; Pemberton 1989; Breuer 1995, pp. 15–39; Lawton 1995, pp. 36–38; Stears 1995, p. 126; Scholl 1996, pp. 164–167; Bergemann 1997, pp. 61–62; Hoffmann 2006, pp. 62, 71–72; *Agora XXXV*, p. 38.

199. It appears on 1,451 of the 2,659 grave reliefs in Clairmont's catalogue. It has to be noted, however, that 57 of these are not preserved well enough to determine with absolute certainty that the figures portrayed are shaking hands.

of *dexiosis* becomes especially popular during the second quarter of the century.<sup>200</sup> Although *dexiosis* is depicted on more than half of the grave reliefs with two adult figures studied by Clairmont, it appears much more frequently in multifigured scenes.<sup>201</sup> In the latter examples, the handshake between two figures often identifies the deceased, as the dead person is always one of the *dexiosis* participants. Adult figures of both sexes, as well as maidens and youths, depicted standing or seated, may be shown shaking hands.<sup>202</sup> *Dexiosis* is, however, very rare in scenes with children.<sup>203</sup> Regardless of the age or sex of figures participating in *dexiosis*, both figures invariably use the right hand.<sup>204</sup>

*Dexiosis* also appears on Attic votive and document reliefs, as well as vases of the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>205</sup> It is very rarely depicted on white lekythoi.<sup>206</sup> The meaning of *dexiosis* in grave-relief scenes has been variously interpreted by scholars. Some suggest that the handshake is either a farewell gesture, emphasizing the separation of the deceased from her/his family, or a gesture of reunion, implying that the family members will be reunited some day in the dark realm of Hades.<sup>207</sup> In both interpretations, *dexiosis* indicates unity, since the gesture connects the two figures involved in the handshake.<sup>208</sup> The most widely accepted theory about *dexiosis* has been proposed by Friis Johansen, who concluded that the gesture promotes the powerful ties of love and kinship connecting the members of the same family—ties so strong that even death will not dissolve them.<sup>209</sup> The timeless unity of the family that survives the loss of its members and extends beyond death is the essence of the *dexiosis* scenes on Classical Attic grave reliefs.

200. *Dexiosis* appears on four funerary reliefs dating to 430–420 B.C., and 51 reliefs dating to 420–400 B.C. The gesture's popularity greatly increases during the 4th century B.C., with 215 reliefs dating to 400–375 B.C., 732 reliefs dating to 375–350 B.C. (when *dexiosis* becomes most popular), and 311 reliefs dating to 350–320 B.C. These numbers do not include undated, problematic reliefs in Clairmont's catalogue.

201. Of the 1,185 grave reliefs with two adult figures, 653 show the *dexiosis*. It appears on 594 funerary reliefs showing three figures, and 689 reliefs depicting more than three figures.

202. E.g., *CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.121, 2.149, 2.155, 2.190, 2.196, 2.210, 2.590, 2.620; vol. 3, nos. 3.217, 3.350, 3.408a, 3.416, 3.419, 3.460, 3.462a, 3.905, 3.930; vol. 4, nos. 4.150, 4.384, 4.431, 4.910. When a figure is seated, the other figure with whom she/he shakes hands is always depicted standing. A very rare exception is *CAT* vol. 4,

no. 4.380, where two seated figures facing one another are involved in *dexiosis*.

203. See Pemberton 1989, p. 49; Stears 1995, p. 126; Roccas 2000, p. 260; Beaumont 2012, p. 189. There are only two funerary reliefs depicting scenes of *dexiosis* between children (*CAT* vol. 1, no. 0.910; vol. 2, no. 2.753), and 10 more that portray children shaking hands with adult figures (more often males than females): *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 291, 1.687, 1.689, 1.759, 1.822, 1.843, 1.845; vol. 2, nos. 2.423, 2.791; vol. 3, no. 3.726. Most date to the 4th century B.C. In the majority of the scenes showing a child shaking hands with an adult, no other figures are shown.

204. For the auspicious use of the right hand in antiquity, see Lloyd 1973; Wirth 2010.

205. Davies 1985, pp. 627–630, 639; Pemberton 1989, pp. 46, 48–50; Stears 1995, p. 126.

206. Friis Johansen 1951, p. 60; Davies 1985, p. 629; Pemberton 1989,

p. 49; Oakley 2004, pp. 61, 181, 222.

207. Davies 1985, pp. 629–630, 639; Pemberton 1989, pp. 48, 50; Stears 1995, p. 126.

208. Davies 1985, pp. 628–630. On Classical Attic funerary reliefs, birds handed from one child to another child, an adult to a child, or vice versa, are the equivalent of the *dexiosis* gesture for children, linking them with adults and even with one another; see Pemberton 1989, p. 49. Note, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.630, 1.660, 1.690, 1.694, 1.708, 1.714, 1.721, 1.763, 1.786, 1.842, 1.867, 1.870, 1.950; vol. 2, nos. 2.630, 2.670, 2.763, 2.821, 2.851; vol. 3, no. 3.954; vol. 4, nos. 4.670, 6.850.

209. Friis Johansen 1951, pp. 149–151. See also Davies 1985, esp. pp. 628–630; Pemberton 1989; Lawton 1995, pp. 36–38; Stears 1995, p. 126; Bergemann 1997, pp. 61–62; Roccas 2000, p. 260; Strömberg 2003, pp. 33–34; Hoffmann 2006, p. 62; Closterman 2007, p. 635.

## MOURNING

Family members accompanying the deceased parthenoi are rarely shown in mourning. This is not surprising, since the iconography of the Attic grave reliefs from the Classical period, in general, does not place any special emphasis on mourning. Gestures of grief, mourning, and melancholy are not very common, and mourning that is depicted is always restrained and never intense. This trend departs significantly from the funerary scenes of Attic vases, where mourning is particularly excessive and passionate.<sup>210</sup> On funerary reliefs, the bereaved relatives of the deceased usually express grief by touching her/his face, head, and neck, or supporting her/his head with one hand.<sup>211</sup> Their faces are sorrowful and melancholic and lack the exaggerated anguish of the mourning figures painted on funerary vases. In the painted funerary scenes on vases, women are the most extreme mourners.<sup>212</sup> They are depicted lamenting for their dead by tearing their hair, scratching their cheeks, and beating their heads and breasts.<sup>213</sup> Men are more restrained than women and usually mourn by touching their face or head with one hand.<sup>214</sup> Their faces, however, still betray greater emotion than those of bereaved male figures on grave reliefs.

Family members performing mourning gestures appear on 11 of the funerary reliefs (**2, 83, 84, 86, 115, 138, 142, 147, 148, 180, 186**; see Fig. 5), most of which date to 375–320 B.C. and are decorated with multifigured scenes.<sup>215</sup> Females in mourning are depicted with one hand touching their face or chin, while male figures are shown touching their face, chin, or head. These gestures are performed by eight females (**2, 84, 86, 115, 138, 142, 180, 186**) and four bearded male figures (**83, 147, 148, 180**), the fathers of the parthenoi. All figures in mourning are standing. A few of the female figures are young (**115, 142, 186**), and they may be sisters of the deceased maidens, whereas the older females are clearly their mothers.<sup>216</sup> The mourning figures are often shown in the background or standing behind the deceased (**2, 83, 84, 138, 147, 148, 180, 186**). On three of the four reliefs depicting mourning fathers (**83, 147, 148**), the mothers tenderly caress

210. *CAT* intro. vol., p. 110; Stears 1995, p. 129; Oakley 2004, pp. 76–77, 152–153.

211. *CAT* intro. vol., pp. 110–112, 114; Hoffmann 2006, p. 62.

212. For the special meaning and importance of female mourning, see Aesch. *Cho.* 429–433; see also Vermeule 1979, pp. 15, 105–106; Keuls 1985, pp. 149–150; Garland 2001, p. 30; Alexiou 2002, pp. 4, 6, 10–14; Dillon 2002, pp. 288, 292; Stears 2008, pp. 141, 146, 149–151; Mirto 2012, pp. 72–81.

213. Hom. *Il.* 22.405–406, 24.710–712; Soph. *Aj.* 621–634; *El.* 86–95, 141–150; Eur. *Tro.* 626–627; *Supp.* 49–51, 73–86; *Andr.* 1209–1211; *Phoen.* 1519–1529; *Or.* 960–967; *Hel.* 1087–

1089; Porph., *ad. Il. (Od.)* 22.487.4–5; Luc. *Dial. mort.* 20.12.10–12; *Anth. Pal.* 7.574.7–8. See, e.g., (1) Athens, National Museum 1170: *CVA*, Athens 2 [Greece 2], III.ID.13–15, pls. 21:1–4, 22:1–3, 23:1–3, 24:3–4, 25:1–3, 26:1 [079, 080, 081, 082, 083, 084]; (2) Tübingen S 101481: *CVA*, Tübingen 3 [Germany 47], pp. 19–20, fig. 8, pls. 11:2–8, 12:1–4, 13:1–5 [2256, 2257, 2258]; (3) Louvre CA 453: see n. 31, above; (4) Copenhagen National Museum 9195: *CVA*, Copenhagen 8 [Denmark 8], p. 264, pls. 340:1A–E, 341:1 [343, 344]. See also Vermeule 1979, pp. 14–15; Keuls 1985, pp. 147–150; Rehm 1994, pp. 22, 26; Loraux 1998; Garland 2001, p. 31; Alexiou 2002, p. 6; Dillon 2002, p. 292; Oakley

2004, p. 76 (n. 9); Stears 2008, pp. 141, 147.

214. E.g., see (1) Louvre MNB 905: Shapiro 1991, p. 630, fig. 1; (2) Tübingen S 101481: see n. 213, above; (3) Berlin, Antikenmuseum F 1888: *CVA*, Berlin 7 [Germany 61], pp. 21–23, fig. 2:2, pls. 12:3–4, 13:1–3, 14:1–4 [3005, 3006, 3007]; (4) Louvre CA 453: see n. 31, above.

215. They comprise a mere 6% of the entire corpus of reliefs studied here. Older maidens (**83, 84, 86** [Fig. 16], **147, 180, 186**) are more often shown with mourning relatives than younger ones (**2, 148** [Fig. 5]).

216. The mourning female of **115** is also shaking hands with the dead maiden.

their deceased daughters. Short-cropped hair, a sign of female mourning, appears on figures in four grave reliefs (**127**, **141**, **142**, **180**).<sup>217</sup> On two of these (**142**, **180**), it is combined with mourning gestures.

It may come as a surprise that of all these family members, the two figures most expressive in their mourning are male—both elderly fathers (**83**, **147**). Considering the special bond between mothers and daughters, it seems more likely that mothers of maidens would grieve most passionately. The iconography of Attic funerary vases reflects the common belief of the ancient Greeks that women were by nature more susceptible than men to emotional outbursts. To this point, the social norms of the time dictated that Athenian men be restrained in their expression of pain, mourning, and sorrow.<sup>218</sup> The notion that women mourned more openly than men clearly does not apply to grave reliefs, since the female figures in such scenes lack the strong emotions and excessive mourning so characteristic of funerary vases and descriptions from ancient texts. Such a marked difference must be due to the public display of funerary reliefs, which sought to advertise an ideal image of the Athenian family: decorous wives and mothers restrained in their mourning, and loving fathers grieving the loss of dear children.<sup>219</sup> With legislation targeting excessive female mourning in democratic Athens, it is not surprising that grave-relief scenes reinforced civic community standards.<sup>220</sup> Even the restrained mourning of bereaved relatives on funerary reliefs, however, still conveys the powerful ties of familial love and kinship between the deceased persons and the members of their family.

### GESTURES OF TENDERNESS

Gestures of tenderness are rare, appearing on only seven funerary reliefs, which date to 375–300 B.C. (**83**, **112**, **139**, **141**, **147**, **148**, **186**; see Figs. 4, 5).<sup>221</sup> All such gestures are directed to the parthenoi, signifying that they are the deceased persons. On five reliefs, a woman (presumably the mother of the deceased maiden) is depicted either caressing the face, and especially the chin, of her daughter (**83**, **112**, **147**, **148**), or tenderly embracing her (**141**).<sup>222</sup> Another gesture of tenderness is holding or gently touching the

217. Example **180** is an early marble lekythos from 420–400 B.C., while **127**, **141**, and **142** date to the second half of the 4th century B.C. For short-cropped hair on female mourners, see Eur. *Alc.* 215–217, 425–427, 512–513; *Supp.* 971–979; *El.* 141–150; *Or.* 960–967; *Hel.* 1087–1089; *Scholia vetera Eur. Alc.* 427; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.8; Arist. *fr.* 1.16.101; *Anth. Pal.* 7.241.1–2; Eust. *II.* 4.160.3–8, 4.680.2–4; see also *CAT* intro. vol., p. 35; Rehm 1994, p. 26; Stears 2008, p. 141.

218. Soph. *Trach.* 1070–1075; Eur. *Hel.* 991–992; *IA* 446–453; *HF* 1353–1356, 1412; Pl. *Phd.* 117d8–e1; *Resp.* 387d–388d7, 605c10–e7; Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 12.8.3–9.1; Poll. *Onom.* 6.202.4–5; Porph., *ad. II. (Od.)* 22.487.4–5. See also Havelock 1981, p. 116; Just 1989, pp. 155–157; Segal 1992, pp. 148–151;

Loraux 1998, pp. 10–11, 24; van Wees 1998, pp. 17–18, 43–44; Brulé 2003, p. 51; Stears 2008, p. 147; Suter 2009, pp. 70–71, 78; Mirto 2012, p. 71. It is probable, however, that these social norms did not apply to elderly men mourning the untimely death of their children; see McNiven 2000, pp. 73–74; Stears 2008, p. 147.

219. Bergemann 1997, pp. 69–94; Leader 1997, pp. 688–692; Closterman 2007, pp. 646–647, 651.

220. Soph. *Ant.* 1246–1250; Dem. 43 62.6–65.1; Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 12.8.3–9.1, 21.6.1–2; Cic. *Leg.* 2.59; Ath. 6.46.18–21; Poll. *Onom.* 8.112.1–3. See also Stupperich 1977, pp. 71–86; Garland 1989; Toher 1991, pp. 160–164; Holst-Warhaft 1992, pp. 26–28, 31–32, 34; Morris 1992–1993; Loraux 1998,

pp. 9–28; van Wees 1998, pp. 31, 51 (n. 49); Stears 2000, pp. 42–50, 53, 54; Alexiou 2002, pp. 14–23.

221. All but **186**, a marble lekythos, are grave stelai. With the exception of **112** (Fig. 4), all are decorated with multifigured scenes. For gestures of tenderness on the Attic grave reliefs of the Classical period, see *CAT* intro. vol., pp. 112–113; Meyer 1999; Sojc 2005, pp. 114–117.

222. The mother of **147** is the only one whose hand does not actually touch her daughter's face. The mother of **83** is shaking hands with the parthenos (see Sojc 2005, pp. 114–115). This gesture is also found on funerary reliefs of older/married women, as well as men, where a female relative caresses the face of the deceased: e.g., *CAT* vol. 2,

maiden's forearm. It appears on three reliefs (**139**, **148**, **186**), and on **186** the figure performing the gesture is male, possibly the deceased female's father.<sup>223</sup> It is clear that with the exception of **186**, all gestures of tenderness toward the deceased parthenoi are performed by their mothers. Thus, the special relationship between mother and daughter is once again highlighted. The gestures of motherly tenderness on these reliefs are as moving as the mourning gestures, and they serve as a reminder that such mothers will never again caress their daughters.<sup>224</sup>

### SIBLINGS

On four grave stelai (**99–102**; see Fig. 7), deceased maidens are depicted interacting with a younger sibling, either a boy or a girl, without other family members present.<sup>225</sup> On the earliest reliefs (**99**, **100**), dating to the late 5th century B.C., the maidens are portrayed standing to the right, accompanied by a younger brother. On the remaining two stelai (**101**, **102**), dating to 400–350 B.C., the deceased parthenoi are shown standing to the left, accompanied by a young sister. In all four cases, the maiden holds a bird in her hand, offering or showing it to the younger sibling, who usually extends one or both arms, eager to receive it.<sup>226</sup> One of these stelai, the well-known relief of Mnesagora and Nikochares (**100**), bears an epigram stating that both siblings have died.<sup>227</sup> There is no way to know if this was the case for the other three stelai as well. The offering or display of birds by children to other children or adults (or vice versa) is an equivalent of *dexiosis* and links the children with adults and with one another just as *dexiosis* connects older figures.<sup>228</sup> The iconography of siblings on stelai emphasizes yet another familial bond: that between deceased maidens and their younger siblings.

### SERVANT GIRLS AND MAIDSERVANTS

To distinguish the age of female servants, “servant girl” refers to young, child servants, and “maidservant” refers to older servants. Female servants appear on 34 two-figured or multfigured funerary reliefs dating to the

nos. 2.457, 2.466; vol. 3, nos. 3.321b, 3.354b, 3.360b, 3.447, 3.461, 3.461a, 3.465, 3.892, 3.907; see also *CAT* intro. vol., p. 112.

The mother of **112** (Fig. 4) caresses her daughter's chin with her right hand, while embracing her with her left arm. The woman of **141** has short-cropped hair. Clairmont has suggested that she could be the maiden's nurse, but the figure could also be a mourning mother. For embrace on Classical Attic grave reliefs, see *CAT* intro. vol., p. 113; Sojc 2005, p. 115. Sojc has suggested a possible connection between scenes of funerary reliefs portraying mothers embracing their daughters with depictions of Demeter embracing Kore.

223. The female in **148** (Fig. 5) caresses the maiden's face with one

hand and touches her forearm with the other; see *CAT* intro. vol., p. 113. In **186**, it is not absolutely certain that the young female honored by the marble lekythos was a parthenos. If she was not, then the bearded man touching her arm could be her husband.

224. Roccas 2000, p. 260; Sojc 2005, pp. 114–115.

225. A fifth possible case is **103** (Fig. 8), where the deceased maiden is depicted together with a young girl, possibly her little sister. The two figures do not interact, however, despite the young girl's attention being focused on her maiden sister. Stele **103** dates to 330–320 B.C.

226. Such scenes can be also found on funerary reliefs of children and young males, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1,

nos. 0.720, 0.789, 0.836, 0.837, 0.857, 1.725, 1.789. The young girl of **102** is the only exception here. She does not reach out for the bird held by her older sister because she already holds a bird in her raised left hand.

227. For the similarity of the stele's iconography to scenes of funerary reliefs depicting deceased mothers with their children (such as *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.662, 1.867, 1.870; vol. 4, no. 4.670), see Clairmont 1970, p. 90; Ridgway 1987, p. 405.

228. Pemberton 1989, p. 49. See, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 182, 1.630, 1.660, 1.688, 1.690, 1.708, 1.715, 1.789, 1.868–1.870; vol. 2, nos. 2.630, 2.763, 2.771, 2.821; vol. 4, no. 6.850; see also n. 208, above.

4th century B.C., and especially to 375–350 B.C. (3, 7, 8, 12, 85, 87–89, 91–98, 104–110, 133–135, 138, 145, 147, 168, 170, 181, 184, 186; Figs. 6, 9, 18).<sup>229</sup> Most of these servants are young girls.<sup>230</sup> The youngest maidens are not accompanied by a female servant, but many of the oldest parthenoi are shown with their female servants (3, 8, 12, 91, 95, 105, 109, 133, 147, 181, 186). On Classical Attic grave reliefs, both unmarried and married females may be depicted with maidservants or servant girls.<sup>231</sup> Female servants accompanying prepubescent girls are, however, rare.<sup>232</sup>

On 23 of the reliefs mentioned above, the female servants of the deceased parthenoi are depicted carrying pyxides (3, 8, 12, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 96–98, 104, 105, 107, 109, 138, 145, 147, 170, 181, 184, 186; see Fig. 9).<sup>233</sup> Most of the servants are holding the pyxis with their left hand, occasionally resting their right hand on the lid. Six of the maidens (8, 12, 87, 88, 91, 107) are shown in the act of removing jewelry or an item of feminine adornment from the open pyxis held by their female servants. “Mistress and maid” scenes appear on 13 of these reliefs (12, 87, 89, 91, 92, 96–98, 104, 105, 107, 109, 170), in which the deceased parthenoi are depicted with their pyxis-bearing female servants and no other figures.<sup>234</sup> Most of the maidens are dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, and three of them (87, 88, 91) are portrayed seated. Four of the female servants are holding other items in addition to the pyxis: a doll (96), a fan (3, 92), and a basket or a second pyxis (181).<sup>235</sup> As discussed above, the pyxis is closely associated with the adornment and beautification of women, and frequently appears in wedding iconography. It has been noted already that female servants bearing pyxides never accompany the youngest maidens but are shown only with older ones, some of which (3, 8, 109, 138) are also performing the *anakalypsis* gesture.<sup>236</sup> Since female servants with pyxides often accompany married females on Classical Attic grave

229. These reliefs comprise approximately 18% of the funerary reliefs studied in this article. Relief 103 (Fig. 8) should be also mentioned, albeit tentatively, as it is not certain whether the girl is a sister of the deceased parthenos or her servant. The former is a more likely interpretation; see *CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.971; Roccas 2000, pp. 259–260. Another special case is 87, since the maidservant of this relief was originally a young relative of the dead maiden. When the stele was reused, the figure was restyled as a maidservant. On 8 and 186, two maidservants are present in the same scene.

230. It should be reiterated that on multifigured scenes of Classical Attic grave reliefs servants are always smaller in stature than all other figures, with the exception of children. In the few cases where children are accompanied by servants on funerary reliefs, however, the latter are always smaller than the children (e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, no. 0.912). This is an indication of low social status

and not of age. See Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1971, pp. 40, 650–651; Beaumont 1994, pp. 84, 88; Stears 1995, p. 124; Pomeroy 1997, pp. 128–129; Roccas 2000, p. 259; Wrenhaven 2011, pp. 105–107.

231. For examples of married women accompanied by their female servants, see *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.692, 1.848, 1.934; vol. 2, nos. 2.150, 2.202, 2.364, 2.431, 2.850, 2.933; vol. 3, nos. 3.280, 3.362, 3.421, 3.680, 3.788, 3.893, 3.954; vol. 4, nos. 4.470, 4.680, 4.770, 4.950, 6.590; for servants on Attic funerary reliefs, see *CAT* intro. vol., pp. 36–37.

232. There are only three grave stelai of prepubescent girls accompanied by their servant girls in Clairmont’s corpus: *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.860a, 0.909, 0.912.

233. One of the two maidservants on 8 is actually portrayed holding a pyxis in each hand.

234. During the Classical period, “mistress-and-maid” scenes appear

frequently on funerary reliefs of married females, e.g., *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.774, 1.821, 1.848, 1.857, 1.894, 1.898, 1.931; vol. 2, nos. 2.150, 2.186, 2.249, 2.255, 2.274, 2.276, 2.294a, 2.305, 2.364, 2.424a, 2.431, 2.750. Such scenes are extremely rare on grave stelai of prepubescent girls; only two cases are recorded by Clairmont: *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.860a, 0.912.

235. Female servants bearing items other than a pyxis appear only on three funerary reliefs dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C.: 94, 95 (Fig. 6), 106. The maidservant of 95 and perhaps also the servant girl of the less well-preserved 106 are holding a duck, presumably the pet bird of the deceased maiden. The servant girl of 94 holds the birdcage for the bird clearly visible in the right hand of her young mistress.

236. The maiden of 8 is also removing a piece of jewelry or another item of feminine adornment from the open pyxis held by her maidservant.

reliefs, the presence of female servants on the funerary reliefs of Athenian parthenoi may indicate that they died shortly before their wedding.<sup>237</sup> The *semata* marking their tombs, therefore, portray them as potential brides/married women.<sup>238</sup>

Only three female servants (**8**, **105**, **186**; see Fig. 9) are shown with one hand to their face in mourning, grieving for the premature death of their mistresses.<sup>239</sup> Two female servants are also holding pyxides (**105**, **186**). All three reliefs date to the first half of the 4th century B.C. The depiction of faithful female servants mourning the death of their young mistresses promotes an idealized picture of the Athenian oikos and familial harmony, a most suitable theme for Attic funerary reliefs of the Classical period.<sup>240</sup>

A small group of stelai (**92–98**) depicting a standing maiden holding a bird or doll and accompanied by a young female servant deserves special mention (see Fig. 6).<sup>241</sup> These seven stelai are decorated with two-figured scenes and date to the first half of the 4th century B.C. Nearly all of the female servants hold one or two items (and in **95**, a duck), more often a pyxis.<sup>242</sup> During the 4th century B.C., a standing figure holding a bird and only accompanied by a young servant was a standard iconographical type in Attic funerary reliefs to indicate figures of young age, both males and females (children, maidens, and youths/young men).<sup>243</sup> Even more notable is the iconographical type of a standing maiden holding a doll and accompanied by her female servant, as it is used exclusively for the depiction of maiden figures on Classical-period Attic funerary reliefs.<sup>244</sup> Any female figure holding a doll and accompanied by a female servant may be identified with certainty as a parthenos.

Finally, the rather unusual iconography of female servants serving their mistresses appears on six grave stelai (**108**, **110**, **133–136**). In **108**, a female servant is shown placing a pillow on a *diphros* upon which the standing maiden will sit. Another maidservant (**110**) kneels beside the deceased, perhaps helping her dress.<sup>245</sup> The remaining four stelai share the same iconographical type and date to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. Of these, only the stele of Ameinokleia survives intact (**133**;

237. E.g., *CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.854; vol. 3, nos. 3.284, 3.416, 3.421, 3.423, 3.438; vol. 4, no. 4.930; see also nn. 167, 234, above.

238. See also Roccas 2000, p. 259.

239. On **8** and **186** only one of the two maidservants present is depicted in mourning.

240. Bergemann 1997, pp. 69–94; Leader 1997, pp. 688–692; Closterman 2007, pp. 646–647, 651; *Agora XXXV*, p. 13; see also Oakley 2000, pp. 246–247; for further examples of mourning servants on funerary reliefs, see *CAT* vol. 1, nos. 1.848, 1.894; vol. 2, nos. 2.243, 2.286, 2.850, 2.872, 2.895, 2.912, 2.950, 2.954; vol. 3, nos. 3.284, 3.309, 3.345, 3.374, 3.379, 3.788, 3.905, 3.922; vol. 4, nos. 4.417, 4.431, 4.438, 4.467, 4.850, 4.910.

241. For the significance of birds

and dolls held by deceased parthenoi, see pp. 114–116, above. See also maidens holding birds and accompanied by female servants (**92–94**); maidens holding dolls and accompanied by female servants (**95** [Fig. 6], **96–98**). It should be noted that the parthenos of **96** is not holding a doll but is instead depicted in the act of receiving a doll offered to her by a female servant.

242. See **97**, **98** (pyxis); **96** (pyxis and doll); **92** (pyxis and fan); **94** (bird-cage); **95** (duck).

243. In addition to the three stelai discussed here, this iconographical type is found in five other reliefs recorded by Clairmont: two grave stelai of prepubescent girls dating to 350–300 B.C. (*CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.909, 0.912) and three grave stelai of young males/youths dating to 375–350 B.C. (*CAT* vol. 1,

nos. 1.850, 1.855, 1.866). Deceased figures are always accompanied by servants of the same sex, hence young males are shown with their servant boys, while young females are accompanied by servant girls.

244. As has been mentioned (p. 115 and n. 147, above), dolls are held only by unmarried females, therefore prepubescent girls and maidens. However, none of the prepubescent girls holding dolls in Clairmont's corpus (*CAT* vol. 1, nos. 0.721, 0.780, 0.851, 0.853a, 0.869a, 0.915, 0.916, 0.918) is accompanied by a servant girl.

245. The fragmentary state of the maidservant figure does not allow us to ascertain in which manner she serves her mistress. The position of her hands suggest that she may be helping her to dress.

see Fig. 18). The other three are in a very fragmentary state. Ameinokleia is depicted standing, dressed in chiton and himation, with the latter drawn over the back of her head. Her right hand rests on the head of a servant girl who kneels in front of her and uses both hands to adjust the sandal on the raised left foot of the deceased.<sup>246</sup> Beside the kneeling servant, in the background, stands a woman holding a pyxis. A number of interpretations have been proposed by scholars for this unusual scene. Hoffmann considers it a *gynaeceum* scene, capturing a moment in the everyday life of Athenian women.<sup>247</sup> Wassermann and Picard have suggested that the scene is symbolic of the deceased's journey from the land of the living to the underworld.<sup>248</sup> Stears has argued that Ameinokleia was soon to be married, but her early death prevented her from becoming a wife; hence, she is portrayed as a bride preparing for her wedding by putting on her special bridal shoes, or *nymphides* (νυμφίδες), with the help of her servant girl.<sup>249</sup> Scenes from Attic wedding vases depicting the bride tying on her *nymphides* with the help of a servant girl or winged Eros are reminiscent of the Ameinokleia stele.<sup>250</sup> Married women are frequently shown with their himation drawn over the back of the head, and brides on wedding vases are portrayed also with their himation styled in such a manner.<sup>251</sup> It is, therefore, quite possible that Stears's theory is correct, and Ameinokleia is shown as a bride preparing for her wedding, a scene further emphasizing the tragedy of her premature death. This unconventional scene appears to have been depicted on the three fragmentary stelai (134–136) as well. Together with 133, these stelai may be the work of the same sculptor, or at least may come from the same workshop.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

It is disappointing to note that the archaeological context of all but one of the *semata* studied here is virtually unknown. There are 81 funerary reliefs of unknown provenance (1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 13, 14, 18, 20, 23–25, 27, 33, 35, 36, 40, 41, 43, 48–50, 52–54, 55, 61, 65, 70, 74, 76, 86–89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 107, 114, 115, 117–120, 122–124, 127, 128, 135, 137–144, 146, 147, 151, 152, 158–163, 165, 168, 169, 171, 176, 179, 181–185). For 77 of the 186 reliefs, only the broader area of discovery is known, and for 28 of them a more specific discovery area has been recorded.<sup>252</sup> Of the latter 28 reliefs, only one can be assigned with certainty to a tomb (148), and two more (149,

246. This scene, of a servant girl fitting the sandal of a standing female figure, defines what is referred to here as the Ameinokleia-type.

247. Hoffmann 2006, p. 70.

248. Wassermann 1969, p. 199. Picard (1946–1947) connects the iconography of the stele to the Eleusinian Mysteries.

249. Stears 1995, p. 125. For the *nymphides*, see Hsch., s.v. Νυμφίδες; Vêrilhac and Vial 1998, p. 298.

250. E.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993, p. 67, figs. 30, 31; see also London,

British Museum E 774: see n. 26, above (as on the Ameinokleia stele, a standing woman holding a pyxis is also present); Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.259: *CVA*, Malibu 7 [USA 32], pp. 54–56, fig. 27, pls. 377:1–4, 378:1–3 [1654–1655].

251. Dentzer 1982, p. 489; Dillon 2010, pp. 111, 113; Palagia 2012, p. 93. See, e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 90, 92–94, 104–105, figs. 72, 73, 75–78, 96–98; Copenhagen, National Museum 9080: see n. 26, above; Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 2530: *CVA*, Berlin 3

[Germany 22], p. 7, pls. 101:1–4, 106:5, 6, 131:2.6 [1030, 1035, 1060].

252. Broader areas of discovery are known for 3, 7, 9–12, 15–17, 19, 21, 22, 26, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37–39, 45–47, 51, 56, 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 77, 78, 80–85, 92, 94, 98–106, 108, 109, 111, 116, 121, 125, 126, 129–132, 134, 145, 150, 153, 155, 166, 170, 172, 173, 175, 177, 178, 180, 186. More specific discovery area is known for 4, 28, 31, 42, 44, 58, 60, 63, 64, 67, 73, 75, 79, 90, 96, 110, 112, 113, 133, 136, 148, 149, 154, 156, 157, 164, 167, 174.

154) have been identified as belonging to family *periboloi* in Rhamnous, although it has not been possible to assign them to specific tombs.<sup>253</sup> The single relief associated with a tomb is the grave stele of young Eukoline (148) from the Kerameikos cemetery (see Fig. 5).<sup>254</sup> The tomb contained a larnax with the skeleton of a young female (hS 198) and 10 alabastra made of alabaster (KER 8791). When the tomb was published, the skeleton was identified as “belonging to a big child.”<sup>255</sup> The iconography of the stele, and especially the shoulder-pinned back-mantle, leaves no doubt that Eukoline was a parthenos.<sup>256</sup> She was likely at the onset of puberty when she died, and her age is accurately reflected in the iconography of the stele, as the maiden depicted is indeed one of the youngest parthenoi of the funerary reliefs studied in this article.

## CATALOGUE

The following catalogue presents the funerary reliefs by type, iconography, and date. When possible, the original provenance and present museum or collection location are noted. If it is unclear whether the female on the relief represents a deceased parthenos, this is indicated by the designation “uncertain.” A description and discussion of the scene portrayed on the monument follow. If extant, inscriptions and epigrams are included next. For funerary reliefs recorded by Clairmont (here referred to by its abbreviation, *CAT*), only the bibliographical references that appeared after his 1993 publication are cited. For a full list of references published prior to 1993, see the individual *CAT* entries.

### MARBLE LOUTROPHOROI

#### 1 Marble loutrophoros-hydria

Unknown provenance. Paris, Musée Rodin 45.

A parthenos with long hair or plait stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a standing male. A female figure with a pyxis stands behind her. The parthenos is smaller in size than the adult figures.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.219.

400–375 B.C.

#### 2 Marble loutrophoros-hydria

Unknown provenance (perhaps Markopoulo). Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology MS 5710.

A parthenos stands to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She shakes hands with a standing male leaning on a staff. A mourning female figure stands behind the man. The parthenos is smaller in size than the adult figures. The inscription identifies the deceased as Malthake.

Inscription: Δημοκράτεια Δημοτέλης Μαλθάκη.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.319.

375–350 B.C.

#### 3 Marble loutrophoros-hydria

Found near Eleusis. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 5098.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She shakes hands with a seated female and performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand. A servant girl

253. It is probable that 149 belonged to the *periboloi* of Mnesikrateia, which was destroyed in ancient times and largely reused as building material for other *periboloi*; see Catling 1988–1989, p. 19, fig. 15; Petrakos 1988, p. 3, figs. 3, 4; 1999, vol. 1, pp. 372–374, figs. 268, 269; vol. 2, p. 195, no. 305. Stele 154 belongs to the *periboloi* of Hieroteles, which was unfortunately looted; see Petrakos 1977, p. 18, fig. 5; 1980, p. 406, no. 10; 1982, p. 157, fig. 98; 1999, vol. 1, pp. 387–399, fig. 295; Garland 1982, p. 165, no. N5, fragment g; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 661.

254. For the tomb of Eukoline, see Brueckner 1909, p. 117; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 83–84, no. 141, figs. 54:1, 2, 55:1, 63; Knigge 1988, p. 137, fig. 133; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 271.

255. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 83.

256. For the shoulder-pinned back-mantle worn by parthenoi, see pp. 107–109 and n. 97, above.

holding a pyxis and a fan stands behind the maiden. A standing female is faintly visible behind the seated figure. The inscription identifies the deceased as Plangon.

Inscription: Πλανγών.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.860; Rocco 2000, pp. 242, 255, 257, 259, 260, no. 46, fig. 5; Papageli 2002, p. 337.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 4 Marble loutrophoros-hydria

Found in Athens, near the Peloponnese Railway Station. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1697.

Uncertain.

A female with a *lampadion* stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her left hand is placed on the shoulder of a seated woman. Each female extends her right arm toward the other. The inscription identifies the deceased as Euklea.

Inscription: Εὐκλεα.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.310.

375–350 B.C.

#### 5 Marble loutrophoros-hydria

Unknown whereabouts and provenance.

Uncertain.

A female stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. A plait may be encircling her head. She shakes hands with a seated male holding a staff.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.310c.

375–350 B.C.

#### 6 Marble loutrophoros-hydria

Unknown provenance. Paris, Musée Rodin 44.

Uncertain.

A female with long hair or plait stands to the left dressed in the Argive peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a standing male. A second male figure with a staff stands behind her.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.315.

375–350 B.C.

#### 7 Marble loutrophoros-hydria

From Piraeus. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2614.

Uncertain.

A female stands to the left shaking hands with a seated woman. The standing female is dressed in the Argive peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head does not survive. A servant girl, perhaps holding a pyxis, stands behind her. The inscription identifies her as Archestrata.

Inscription: Θρασίππη Ἀρχεστράτη.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.833.

375–350 B.C.

#### 8 Marble loutrophoros-amphora

Unknown provenance. Bensheim, Glatzel private collection.

Uncertain.

A female with a long plait stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand and extends her right hand toward the open pyxis held by a servant girl standing before her. With her lowered hand, the servant girl holds an object suspended by a string, possibly a

box. A maidservant in mourning stands behind the female figure. The inscription identifies her as Hediste.

Inscription: Ἡδίστη.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.705; Bergemann 1996, p. 185, fig. 32:1.  
400–375 B.C.

## GRAVE STELAI

### DEPICTING LOUTROPHOROI

#### PAINTED OR IN RELIEF

#### 9 Grave stele with loutrophoros-hydria in relief

From Athens(?). Mariemont, Royal Museum B 18.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and a shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a seated woman. A male figure stands behind her chair.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.337; Roccas 2000, pp. 255, 260, no. 47.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 10 Grave stele with painted loutrophoros-hydria

Found in the Sacred Way (Daphne vicinity). Munich, Glyptothek 483.  
Uncertain.

A female stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a standing male figure and possibly performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand. Details are no longer visible. The loutrophoros is flanked by painted rolled-up *taeniai* and a pair of alabastra. The inscription identifies her as Paramythion.

Inscription: Παραμύθιον Φειδιάδης.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.356b; Posamentir 2006, pp. 76–77, no. 53.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 11 Grave stele with loutrophoros-amphora in relief

From Attica, west of Kalyvia. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 896.  
Uncertain.

A female with a long plait stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. In front of her stands a large loutrophoros-hydria. Behind her stands another female figure. On the other side of the loutrophoros-hydria, a female with a long plait stands to the left wearing chiton and himation. She prepares to adorn the loutrophoros with the *taenia* she holds. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.320; Bergemann 1996, pp. 186–187; Kaltsas 2002, p. 181, no. 359; Mösch-Klinge 2006, p. 226, no. 1, fig. 1.

Ca. 370 B.C.

#### LOUTROPHOROS ON TOP OF A STELE

#### 12 Grave stele with loutrophoros-hydria akroterion

From Attica(?). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung (Pergamon Museum) 1492.

A parthenos with long hair or plait stands in frontal/three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. With her right hand, the parthenos is about to remove an object from the open pyxis held by a servant girl. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief, flanked by two akroteria, one a loutrophoros-hydria and the other a seated sphinx. The inscription identifies her as Silenis, daughter of Myiskos from Boiotia.

Inscription: Σιληνὶς Μυίσκου Βοιωτία.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.862; Roccas 1995, pp. 663–664, n. 150; 2000, pp. 253, 258–259, no. 10; Bergemann 1996, p. 178, fig. 31:1–2; 1997, p. 169, no. 431; Posamentir 2006, no. 58; Xagorari-Gleissner 2010, pp. 120–123, 127, fig. 2.  
375–350 B.C.

### 13 Grave stele with relief loutrophoros-hydria on pediment

Unknown provenance. London, British Museum 1915.4-16.1.

A parthenos with long hair stands in frontal/three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She shakes hands with a seated female. A frontal male figure stands between the two females in the background. A small loutrophoros-hydria is carved in relief onto the pediment of the stele. Only the upper portion of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Philoumene, daughter of Telokles from the deme of Kydathenaion.

Inscription: Μεταγένης Ἐπιγένους Κυδαθηναίεϋς | Φιλουμένη Τηλοκλέους Κυδαθηναίεως.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.414a; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 500; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1999, p. 50, fig. 18; Roccas 2000, p. 237, n. 23.  
350–330 B.C.

### 14 Grave stele with loutrophoros-hydria incised above figured scene Fig. 1

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 357.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands to the left. Only her head and neck survive. It is possible that she shakes hands with a seated female, of whom only part of the head survives. Only the upper portion of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Kleitaichme, daughter of Polyarktos from Piraeus.

Inscription: Ἐλεφαντίς Κλειταίχημη Πολυάρκτους Πειραιέως.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.488; Bergemann 1996, p. 179; Scholl 1996, p. 299, no. 291.  
After 330 B.C.

## PARTHENOI STANDING NEAR OR LEANING AGAINST LOUTROPHOROI

### 15 Grave stele Fig. 2

From Athens or Attica(?). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3891.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in chiton and himation. She leans against a loutrophoros-hydria and performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her right hand. Her head and lower legs do not survive. Copied from the statuary type of “Aphrodite in the Gardens” by Alkamenēs.<sup>257</sup>

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.182; Bergemann 1997, p. 159, no. 37; Kaltsas 2002, p. 154, no. 301; 2007, p. 330; Neer 2010, pp. 191–192, 211, fig. 122; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 254–256, fig. 145.

Ca. 410 B.C.

### 16 Grave stele

From Liopesi. Brauron, Archaeological Museum 84.

A parthenos with long hair or plait stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. At her left there is a partially preserved loutrophoros. The stele is damaged.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.267; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 644; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 25; Despinis 2003, pp. 158–159, no. 4, figs. 4, 5.  
400–375 B.C.

257. For this famous statue, see Plin. *HN* 36.16; Paus. 1.19.2; Luc. *Im.* 4.12–16, 6.9–14; see also Langlotz 1954; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 30–31, nos. 193–196, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).

**17** Grave stele

From Eretria. Eretria, Archaeological Museum 629.

Only the legs of two standing parthenoi survive. The smaller of the two figures stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton. The other figure is dressed in chiton and himation and stands to the left in close proximity to a loutrophoros-hydria. Only the lower part of the stele survives.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.769.  
400–375 B.C.

**18** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6942.

Only the legs of a parthenos dressed in chiton and himation survive. She stands beside a loutrophoros-hydria.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.357; Scholl 1996, p. 288, no. 248.  
375–350 B.C.

**19** Grave stele

From Kallithea(?). Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Theseion 173.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She leans on a loutrophoros-hydria with her left elbow and shakes hands with another standing female figure. The inscription identifies her as Archestrata.

Inscription: Ἀρχεστράτη.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.390.  
375–350 B.C.

**20** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 9798.

A parthenos stands beside a loutrophoros-hydria. She is dressed in chiton and himation. Only part of her drapery survives.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.414.  
350–330 B.C.

**21** Grave stele

Fig. 3

From Kallithea. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1863.

A parthenos with long hair or plait stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest. She holds a bird in her raised right hand. Beside her stands a loutrophoros-hydria bearing a relief scene that depicts the parthenos shaking hands with a young male and performing the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand. Both figures are named: Ἄγνοστράτη and Θεόδωρος. The young man is possibly the brother of the parthenos, who may have died after his sister.<sup>258</sup> The inscription identifies her as Hagnostrate, daughter of Theodotos.

Inscription: Ἄγνο[στράτη] Θεοδότου θυγάτηρ.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.431/2.431c; Bergemann 1997, pp. 66, 174, no. 619, fig. 117:4; Rocco 2000, pp. 237 (n. 23), 257; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 206–207, no. 417; Petrocheilos 2003, pp. 99–100; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 79, no. 32; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 292–293, 294, fig. 180.

Ca. 320 B.C.

**SCENES WITH ONE FIGURE****STANDING PARTHENOI****22** Grave stele

From Crete(?). Istanbul, Archaeological Museum E 99.

258. See Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 79, no. 32.

A parthenos stands in frontal/three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with lowered hands. Her hairstyle is not clearly visible, but it is probable that she has long hair or a long plait. There is a partridge on the ground beside her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.280; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 466; Roccas 2000, pp. 253, 259, no. 12.

400–375 B.C.

### 23 Grave stele fragments

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 408 + 1801 + 1815.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head, right arm, lower legs, and part of her torso do not survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.306; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 747.

375–350 B.C.

### 24 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Bignor Park, Sussex, Hawkins private collection.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head and right arm are not preserved.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.359; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 436; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 24.

375–350 B.C.

### 25 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Unknown private collection.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her right hand. Only the upper half of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Medea.

Inscription: [M]ήδεια.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.310; Bergemann 1997, p. 173, no. 574; Roccas 2000, pp. 237 (n. 23), 255, no. 40; Bectarte 2009, p. 245, fig. 1.

375–350 B.C.

### 26 Grave stele

From the Hiera Hodos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1987.

A parthenos with a plait encircling her head stands to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Only her head, chest, and the upper portion of her arms survive. The stele is crowned with a fragmentary siren in relief, flanked by two pigeons. Only the upper part of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Stryphele.

Inscription: Στρυφήλη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.386; Bergemann 1997, p. 166, no. 313, fig. 57:4.

360–350 B.C.

### 27 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Tatoi, former royal collection.

A parthenos stands to the left dressed in himation. The lower part of her body does not survive. The manner in which her himation is wrapped resembles the Small Herculaneum Woman type. An unknown object was depicted to her left. The inscription identifies her as Chrysis, daughter of Archestrata.

Inscription: [X]ρυσίς χρηστή Ἀρχεστράτης θυγάτηρ.  
*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.416; Scholl 1996, p. 355, no. 493.  
 Second half of 4th century B.C.

**28** Fragmentary grave stele

From Dipylon cemetery. Kerameikos, Archaeological Museum P 667.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head and right arm do not survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.433; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 268; Rocco 2000, p. 253, no. 2.  
 350–330 B.C.

**29** Figure from naiskos stele

From Brauron area(?). Brauron, Archaeological Museum BE 11.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered right hand. Her head and upper body do not survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.459; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 646; Despina 1998, pp. 145–146, pl. 35:1, 2; 2002, p. 211, figs. 3–5; Rocco 2000, p. 254, no. 27.  
 Ca. 320 B.C.

**30** Grave stele

From Karela(?). Present whereabouts unknown.

A parthenos with long hair stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over her chest. Her arms are not preserved.

*CAT* suppl. vol., pp. 87–88, no. 390.  
 4th century B.C.

**31** Grave stele fragment

From the Athenian Agora (South Stoa). Athens, Agora Museum I 3174.  
 Uncertain.

A female figure stands to the left dressed in himation and possibly also chiton. She appears to sport a *lampadion*. Only the upper part of her body survives. The inscription identifies her as Demetria from Kyzikos.

Inscription: Δημητρία Κυζικην[ή].

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.399; Scholl 1996, p. 228, no. 8; *Agora* XXXV, p. 94, no. 50.  
 375–350 B.C.

PARTHENOI HOLDING BIRDS

**32** Grave stele

From Athens or Attica. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 194 (IN 448).

A parthenos stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her hair is short, but it is not clear whether her head is encircled by a plait or a fillet. A bird rests on the open palm of her left hand, and she caresses it with her right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.082; Scholl 1996, p. 334, no. 414.  
 430–420 B.C.

**33** Grave stele

Fig. 17

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 264.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands to the right dressed in chiton with shoulder straps. She holds a small duck in her left hand and caresses it with her right hand. The inscription identifies her as Nikeso.

Inscription: Νίκησώ.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.187; Bergemann 1997, p. 159, no. 51, fig. 60:1; Pologiorgi 1999, p. 208, n. 208; Steinhauer 2001, p. 337.  
420–410 B.C.

### 34 Grave stele

From Athens or Attica. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.57.

A parthenos stands to the right dressed in chiton and *kandys*. She has short hair encircled by a fillet. She looks at the bird she holds in her left hand. The inscription identifies her as Myttion.

Inscription: Μύττιον.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.224; Scholl 1996, p. 341, no. 444; Grossman 2001a, pp. 12–14, no. 3 (with further bibliography).  
400–375 B.C.

### 35 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Vandoeuvres, Ortiz Collection.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She extends her right hand toward a bird seated on the open palm of her left hand. The inscription identifies her as Philokleia.

Inscription: Φιλόκλεια.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.254; Scholl 1996, p. 358, no. 509.  
400–375 B.C.

### 36 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 254.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Her gaze is fixed on the bird she holds in her raised right hand. The inscription identifies her as Pausimache.

Inscription: Πανσιμάχη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.327; Scholl 1996, p. 296, no. 279.  
375–350 B.C.

## PARTHENOI HOLDING BIRDS AND ACCOMPANIED BY DOGS

### 37 Grave stele

Found in Monomati (in a drain). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2545.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton (perhaps with shoulder straps) and himation. Her hair is short. She holds a bird in her left hand. Her raised right hand may have held a second bird or some other object now missing. A small dog jumps up at her leg. The stele is crowned by a mourning siren. The inscription identifies her as Philto.

Inscription: Φιλτώ.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.210a; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 82, no. 40, fig. 12:b–d.  
400–375 B.C.

### 38 Grave stele

From Monomati. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2071.

A parthenos with long hair stands to the right dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. In her lowered right hand, now missing, she probably held a bird. A small dog or a young child trying to reach the bird might have been portrayed in the missing portion of the stele. Only the upper half survives.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.244; Scholl 1996, p. 287, no. 247.  
400–375 B.C.

**39** Grave stele

Found near Phaleron. Brussels, Musée du Cinquanteaire A 1933.

A parthenos with long hair stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She holds a bird in her lowered right hand and performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand. Her gaze is directed at the missing lower-left corner of the stele. It is possible that a small dog trying to reach the bird was depicted in this missing portion.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.276; Scholl 1996, p. 323, no. 375.  
400–375 B.C.

**40** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15343.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head does not survive. She holds a bird, at which a small dog jumps, in her lowered right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.321a (with incorrect museum inv. no.); Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 795; Roccas 2000, pp. 254, 259, no. 21; Salta 2008, p. 45.  
375–350 B.C.

**41** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1973.169.

A parthenos stands in slight three-quarter view to the left, her head in profile. She is dressed in chiton and himation, and her hair is gathered in a roll around her head. She holds a bird in her lowered right hand. The stele is crowned by a mourning siren. A small dog or a young child trying to reach the bird might have been portrayed in the missing portion of the stele.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.356; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 442.  
375–350 B.C.

**42** Grave stele

From Athens. Athens, Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica M 184.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left, her head not preserved. She is dressed in a belted chiton and himation. She holds a bird, at which a small dog jumps, in her lowered right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.332; Scholl 1996, p. 230, no. 18.  
375–350 B.C.

**43** Grave stele

Fig. 14

Unknown provenance. Paris, Musée Rodin Co.459.

A maiden with long hair stands in slight three-quarter view to the left. She is dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She holds a bird, at which a small dog jumps, in her lowered right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.428 (with incorrect museum inv. no.); Scholl 1996, p. 351, no. 482, fig. 35:3; Roccas 2000, pp. 255, 259, no. 38.  
350–330 B.C.

**44** Grave stele

From Athens. Athens, Ephorate of Antiquities of East Attica.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left. Only her legs survive. She is dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She holds a bird, at which a small dog jumps, in her lowered right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.427; Scholl 1996, p. 315, no. 344.  
After 330 B.C.

## PARTHENOI HOLDING DOLLS

## 45 Grave stele

From Piraeus. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2103.

A parthenos stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her head is not preserved. She holds a doll with both hands.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.296; Scholl 1996, p. 277, no. 202.

400–375 B.C.

## 46 Fragmentary grave stele

From Liopesi(?). Brauron, Archaeological Museum BE 847.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her head is not preserved. She holds an object, possibly a doll, with both hands.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.268; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 815; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 26.

400–375 B.C.

## 47 Grave stele

From Kallithea. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2771.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head is not preserved. She holds a doll in her raised right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.312 (with incorrect museum inv. no.); Bergemann 1997, p. 174, no. 626; Roccas 2000, pp. 253, 259, no. 8.

375–350 B.C.

## 48 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Paris, Louvre Ma 4556.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered right hand. Her head does not survive. She holds a doll in her raised left hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.329; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 231; Roccas 2000, pp. 253, 259, no. 13.

375–350 B.C.

## 49 Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1778.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and possibly shoulder-pinned back-mantle. The lower half of her body and left arm do not survive. She holds a doll in her raised right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.307; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 751; Roccas 2000, p. 237, n. 23.

375–350 B.C.

## 50 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 66.971.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. A plait most likely encircled her head. She holds a doll in her raised left hand. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief, flanked by a pair of sphinxes. The inscription identifies her as Aristomache, daughter of Euphranor.

Inscription: Ἀριστομάχη Εὐφράνο[ρος].

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.328; Bergemann 1997, p. 176, no. 670.

375–350 B.C.

**51** Grave stele

From Vouliagmeni. Edinburgh, Royal Museum of Scotland L 402.1.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in profile view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Her gaze is focused on the doll she holds in her raised right hand. The inscription identifies her as Aristomache.

Inscription: Ἀριστομάχη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.367; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 454, fig. 63:1.

360–350 B.C.

## PARTHENOI HOLDING DOLLS AND ACCOMPANIED BY LARGE BIRDS

**52** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1703.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Her head and legs do not survive. She holds a doll with both hands. The raised head of a large bird, a heron or goose, looks up at her. Only the head of the bird survives.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.247; Bergemann 1997, p. 168, no. 407; Steinhauer 2001, p. 329.

400–375 B.C.

**53** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7527.

A parthenos stands in frontal/three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She holds a doll in her raised right hand. Her head, legs, and the entire left side of her body are not preserved. Only the head and neck of a heron looking up at her survives.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.263; Bergemann 1997, p. 161, no. 128.

400–375 B.C.

**54** Grave stele

Fig. 13

Unknown provenance. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AA.135.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Her gaze is fixed on the doll she holds with both hands. A large bird, possibly a goose or heron, faces her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.311; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 509, fig. 63:2; Grossman 2001a, pp. 27–28, no. 8; Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 265, no. 68; Oakley 2003, p. 169 (with fig.); Despina 2006, p. 222.

360–350 B.C.

## PARTHENOI HOLDING MIRRORS

**55** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 04.16.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her head is covered partially with a veil that is incised, not rendered in relief as the rest of the figure. The parthenos looks into the mirror held by her raised left hand. The lower part of her body and right hand do not survive. Only the upper half of the stele is preserved. Schmaltz and Salta (2003, p. 101, no. 92) have suggested that the veil was a later addition, indicating that the stele was reused at a subsequent date.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.170; Bergemann 1997, p. 160, no. 61; Bectarte 2006, p. 172, no. 2.

420–400 B.C.

## 56 Grave stele

From Piraeus. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 28.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. Her left elbow is placed on an object, possibly a pillar, which supports her body. She looks into the mirror held by her raised right hand. Her legs do not survive. Only the upper half of the stele is preserved.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.188; Bergemann 1997, p. 159, no. 48, fig. 60:2; Steinhauer 2001, pp. 303, 336, fig. 443; Bectarte 2006, p. 172, no. 3.

Ca. 410 B.C.

## 57 Grave stele

Fig. 11

From Paiania. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3964.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her hair is gathered in a roll encircling her head. She looks into the mirror held by her raised left hand. The inscription identifies her as Pausimache.

Inscription: *πάσι θανεῖν [ε]ίμαρτα[ι] ὄσοι ζῶσιν, σὺ δὲ πένθος οἰκτρὸν [ἔ]χε[ι]ν ἔλπεες Πausimάχη προγόνους μητρ[ί] τ[ε] Φ]αινί[π]πῆ καὶ πατρὶ Πausανία· σῆ[ς] δ' ἀρετῆ[ς] μ[υ]νημ[ε]ῖον ὄρᾶν τό[δ]ε τοῖς παρίοσιν σωφροσύνη[ς] τ[ε].*

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.283; Fantham 1994, pp. 82–83, fig. 3:2; Scholl 1996, p. 284, no. 231; Bergemann 1997, p. 161, no. 124; Leader 1997, pp. 693–694, fig. 6; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 160–161, no. 317; Bectarte 2006, p. 173, no. 13; Hoffmann 2006, pp. 63–64; Tsagalis 2008, pp. 155–158; Neer 2010, pp. 198–200, fig. 128; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 257–258, fig. 147.

390–380 B.C.

## 58 Grave stele

From the Kerameikos. Kerameikos, Archaeological Museum P 685.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in the Argive peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered right hand. She looks into the mirror held by her raised left hand. Her hair is covered by a *sphendone* (σφενδόνη), a headband. Schmaltz and Salta (2003, p. 100, no. 82) have suggested that the edge of her himation was also drawn over her head.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.152; Bergemann 1997, p. 158, no. 6, fig. 14:4; Schmaltz 2001, pp. 50–51; Bectarte 2006, p. 172, no. 1; Neer 2010, pp. 198–200, fig. 127; Banou and Bournias 2014, p. 234.

410–400 B.C.

## 59 Grave stele fragment

From Piraeus. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She probably wears a *sakkos* (σάκκος), a snood, on her head. Her lowered right hand holds folds of her drapery. She probably held an object, possibly a mirror, in the raised left hand that does not survive. Her legs and the front part of her head are also not preserved.

*CAT* suppl. vol., pp. 50–51, no. 1.259; Bergemann 1997, p. 159, no. 56; Steinhauer 2001, p. 336, fig. 444.

400–375 B.C.

## PARTHENOI HOLDING PYXIDES OR JEWELRY

## 60 Grave stele

Fig. 15

From Athens (Botanical Garden). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 910.

A parthenos with long hair or plait stands to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton. She holds an open pyxis in her left hand and removes an object from it with her right hand. Only the upper portion of the stele survives. This portrait of an Athenian parthenos recalls figures from the Parthenon frieze (Kaltsas 2002, p. 147, no. 282).

Inscription: [. . .]αρετης [. . .]ιστινιο [.]τον.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.050; Bergemann 1997, p. 158, no. 21, fig. 62:1; Stears 2000, pp. 40–41; Schmaltz 2001, p. 44; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 101, no. 88; Posamentir 2006, pp. 27–28, no. 1.

430–420 B.C.

#### 61 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. St. Louis, Saint Louis Art Museum 19-4.33.

A parthenos with long hair stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She holds a necklace with both hands. Only the upper half of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Kallistrate.

Inscription: Καλλισθένης Παιανιεύς Καλλιστράτη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.284; Reeder 1995, pp. 138–139; Bergemann 1997, p. 160, no. 86, fig. 62:2; Hoffmann 2006, p. 64, fig. 1.

400–375 B.C.

#### 62 Grave stele

From Sinope. Sinope Museum 5.1.77.

Uncertain.

A female with a *lampadion* stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She holds an open pyxis in her left hand and removes an object from it with her right hand. Only the upper half of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Nana.

Inscription: Νάνα Ἐκαταῖο.

*CAT* suppl. vol., pp. 48–49, no. 1.040.

430–420 B.C.

#### 63 Grave stele

From the Kerameikos. Kerameikos, Archaeological Museum P 1136/I 422.

Uncertain.

A female with short hair stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She holds an object, perhaps a necklace, with both hands. The inscription identifies her as Eukoline, daughter of Antiphanes.

Inscription: Εὐκολίνη Αντιφάνος. εὐκολίας ὄνομα εἶχεν ἐπόνυμον ἦδε, βίῳ δὲ κεῖται ἔχουσ' ὑπὸ γῆς μοῖραν ἐφ' ἥϊπερ ἔφου.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.281; Bergemann 1997, p. 160, no. 98, fig. 18:1; Hoffmann 1997, pp. 23–24, fig. 1; Banou and Bournias 2014, p. 233; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 257–258, fig. 148.

Ca. 380 B.C.

### PARTHENOI HOLDING UNCERTAIN OBJECTS

#### 64 Grave stele

From the west slope of the Acropolis. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6568.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She looks at an object, or possibly a bird, held in her raised right hand. Her left arm and lower body are not preserved. Only the upper half of the stele survives.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.301.

375–350 B.C.

**65** Fragmentary grave stele

Unknown provenance. Tatoi, former royal collection.

A parthenos stands in frontal view possibly dressed in chiton and a peplos. Only her head and upper body survive, and it is difficult to identify her hairstyle. It may be long hair or a long plait. Her gaze is focused on her raised right hand, which possibly holds an object. The inscription identifies her as Mnesistrate.

Inscription: Μνησιστράτη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.413; Scholl 1996, p. 355, no. 494.  
350–330 B.C.

**66** Grave stele

From Athens(?). Present whereabouts unknown. Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Her head is not preserved. She holds an object in her right hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.292; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 765.  
400–375 B.C.

**67** Painted grave stele

From the Dipylon cemetery. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum I 341.

Uncertain.

A female with a *lampadion* stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. Her feet do not survive. She looks at an object held in her raised right hand. The inscription identifies her as Myrtale.

Inscription: Μυρτάλη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.253; Posamentir 2006, pp. 72–73, no. 34.  
400–375 B.C.

**68** Grave stele

From Athens. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 972.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. Her hair is tied up with a broad fillet, unless the sculptor meant to depict a *sphendone*. She looks at an object, or possibly a bird, held in her raised right hand. The inscription identifies her as [L]ysisistrate.

Inscription: [Λ]υσιστράτη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.210; Scholl 1996, p. 259, no. 124, fig. 9:2.  
400–375 B.C.

**69** Grave stele

Found in the Ilissos riverbed. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3283.

Uncertain.

A female with long hair stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She holds an object, or possibly a bird, in her raised left hand. The inscription identifies her as Ameinodora.

Inscription: Αμεινοδόρα.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.291; Bergemann 1997, p. 161, no. 118; Kaltsas 2002, p. 166, no. 327; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 84, no. 46, fig. 15:a–c.  
400–375 B.C.

**70** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Paris, Musée Rodin 13.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Her head is not preserved. She likely held one object in each hand.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.295; Bergemann 1997, p. 172, no. 545.  
400–375 B.C.

**71** Grave stele

From Old Epidauros. Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 16869.  
Uncertain.

A female with a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in the Argive peplos, possibly with chiton. She held an object, perhaps a necklace or wreath, with both hands.

Inscription, probably later: Εὐαμέρι Χαίρε.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.370a.  
375–350 B.C.

**72** Grave stele

From Piraeus. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 355.  
Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her head does not survive. She holds an object, possibly a pyxis or bird, in her left hand. Her right hand is cupped over the object.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.372; Scholl 1996, p. 299, no. 289.  
375–350 B.C.

**73** Grave stele

From the Kerameikos. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 1131.  
Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her hair is gathered in a roll around her head. She holds a hydria in her lowered right hand. She raises her left hand with the palm open.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.334; Bergemann 1997, p. 165, no. 273, fig. 21:3, 4; Dillon 2010, p. 108; Banou and Bournias 2014, pp. 248–249.  
Ca. 350 B.C.

HEADS OF PARTHENOI

**74** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

Head of a parthenos standing to the left, a plait encircling her head. The inscription identifies her as Theophile.

Inscription: Θεοφίλη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.083; Bergemann 1997, p. 159, no. 42.  
430–420 B.C.

**75** Grave stele fragment

From Athens. Present whereabouts unknown.

Head of a parthenos with long hair standing in frontal/three-quarter view to the left. The inscription identifies her as Chairippe.

Inscription: Χαίριππη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.231; Bergemann 1997, p. 162, no. 142.  
400–375 B.C.

**76** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. London, British Museum 1910.4-14.1.

Head of a parthenos with a long plait standing to the left. The stele is crowned with a small mourning siren in relief. The inscription identifies her as Klearete.

Inscription: Κλεαρέτη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.326; Bergemann 1997, p. 163, no. 208.  
375–350 B.C.

**77** Grave stele fragment

From Athens/Attica. Broomhall, Elgin Collection.

Head of a parthenos with long hair or a long plait standing in three-quarter view to the left.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.369; Bergemann 1997, p. 162, no. 181.  
375–350 B.C.

**78** Grave stele fragment

From Piraeus. London, British Museum 1907.10-25.3.

Head of a parthenos with long hair or a long plait standing in three-quarter view to the right. The inscription identifies her as Hierokleia, daughter of Nausinikos from the deme of Kerameis.

Inscription: Ἱερόκλεια Ναυσινίκου ἐκ Κεραμείων.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.366; Bergemann 1997, p. 170, no. 495.  
375–350 B.C.

**79** Grave stele fragment

From the Agora. Athens, Agora Museum I 5853.

Head of a parthenos with long hair standing in three-quarter view to the right. The inscription identifies her as Eukoline.

Inscription: [Εὐ]κολίνη Ἀναξι[. . .].

*Agora XXXV*, pp. 34, 93–94, no. 47.  
375–350 B.C.

**80** Grave stele fragment

From Athens. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 205 (IN 1527).

Head of a parthenos standing to the left. A plait encircles her head. On top of the stele a mourning siren in relief is flanked by two kneeling, mourning women. The inscription identifies her as Kallistomache, daughter of Chairephon.

Inscription: Καλλιστομάχη Χαίρεφῶντος.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.393; Bergemann 1997, p. 170, no. 476; Walter-Karydi 2015, p. 352, fig. 221.

Ca. 360 B.C.

**81** Grave stele fragment

From Eleusis(?). Present whereabouts unknown.

Head of a parthenos with long hair standing to the left. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief. The inscription identifies her as Aristarete from the deme of Myrrhinous.

Inscription: Ἀριστάρετη Μυρρ[ινουντόθεν].

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.440; Bergemann 1997, p. 167, no. 381; Vivliodetis 2005, p. 80, no. E53.

350–330 B.C.

## FUNERARY RELIEFS WITH SEATED PARTHENOI

**82** Figure from naiskos stele

From Marathon(?). Marathon Archaeological Museum.

A seated parthenos with long hair is dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her head does not survive. She holds a bird in her left hand.

Steinhauer 2009, p. 260.

Middle of the 4th century B.C.

**83** Grave stele

From Athens. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 9311.

A seated parthenos is dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. A melon-coiffure combined with a plait encircles her head. She shakes hands with a standing female who caresses the face of the parthenos with her left hand. An elderly man stands in the background and places his hand on his face in a gesture of mourning. The inscription identifies her as Glykera, daughter of Prokles from the deme of Alopeke.

Inscription: Προκλῆς Πυθοδώρου Γλυκέρα Προκλέος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.433; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 458.

350–330 B.C.

**84** Grave stele

From Piraeus. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 221 + 1190.

A seated parthenos dressed in chiton and himation shakes hands with a standing male. A melon-coiffure combined with a plait encircles her head. She tenderly holds the male figure's right forearm with her left hand. A female stands in frontal view in the background, and her right hand touches her face in mourning.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.454; Bergemann 1997, p. 168, no. 394, figs. 45:1, 58:3, 4, 83:3, 4; Pologiorgi 1999, pp. 185–186, figs. 50–52.

350–330 B.C.

**85** Grave stele

From Spata. Spata, immured in a house.

A seated parthenos is dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She shakes hands with a standing male. Her head does not survive. A female figure stands in the background, and a maidservant holding a pyxis stands behind the seated parthenos.

*CAT* vol. 4, no. 4.424; Bergemann 1997, p. 168, naiskos no. 421.

350–330 B.C.

**86** Grave stele

Fig. 16

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3914.

A seated parthenos dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, shoulder straps, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle rests her right hand on the body of a bird (likely a small goose) perched on her lap. Her head does not survive. A now-headless female figure stands near the parthenos. The female figure touches her face with her right hand (now missing) in a gesture of mourning. A sorrowful elderly man with a staff stands in the background.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.467; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, naiskos no. 656; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1999, pp. 51–52, fig. 19.

After 330 B.C.

**87** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Karapanos 965.

A seated parthenos dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle uses her right hand to remove an object from the open pyxis held by a maidservant. The head of the parthenos does not survive.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.424; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 635, fig. 61:3, 4; Schmalz and Salta 2003, p. 93, no. 65.

325–320 B.C.

**88** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1979.510.

A seated parthenos dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle reaches with her right hand to remove an object from the open pyxis held by a maidservant. A melon-coiffure combined with a plait encircles her head. A standing male figure is preserved fragmentarily in the background.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.446; Bergemann 1997, p. 176, no. 671, fig. 59:1.  
325–320 B.C.

**89** Marble hydria

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum or Piraeus 1142.  
Uncertain.

A seated female with a *lampadion* is dressed in chiton and himation. A servant girl holding an object, perhaps pyxis, accompanies her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.887.  
375–350 B.C.

**90** Marble lekythos fragment

From the Agora. Athens, Agora Museum I 6603.  
Uncertain.

A seated female with a long plait is dressed in chiton and himation. Another female stands beside her, and her right arm passes behind the seated figure. Her left arm crosses over the front of the seated female's body. The inscription identifies her as Sikelia.

Inscription: Σικελία.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.493; *Agora XXXV*, pp. 141–142, no. 170.  
350–330 B.C.

**91** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Asada (Japan), Okuma private collection.  
Uncertain.

A seated female with a *lampadion* dressed in chiton and himation reaches with her right hand to remove an object from the open pyxis held by a maidservant. The inscription identifies her as Kleokratis.

Inscription: Κλεοκρατίς.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.487; Scholl 1996, p. 359, no. 511.  
After 330 B.C.

## GRAVE STELAI WITH MULTIPLE FIGURES

### SCENES WITH TWO FIGURES

#### PARTHENOI HOLDING BIRDS AND ACCOMPANIED BY MAIDSERVANTS

**92** Grave stele

From Athens. Princeton, Princeton University Art Museum y204.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered right hand. She holds a bird or some other object in her raised left hand. Her head does not survive. A servant girl stands near her holding a fan and a pyxis.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.775; Scholl 1996, p. 352, no. 484, fig. 35:4; Roccas 2000, pp. 255, 259, no. 39.  
400–375 B.C.

**93** Fragmentary grave stele

Unknown provenance. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Her head does not survive. She holds a bird in her lowered right hand. Her left arm does not survive complete, but her left hand was probably held above the head of the servant girl standing next to her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.784.  
400–375 B.C.

**94** Grave stele

From Sinope(?). Istanbul, Archaeological Museum E 692.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. A portion of her hair is gathered at the top of her head. She holds a bird in her raised right hand. A servant girl holding a birdcage accompanies her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.883; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 468; Rocco 2000, p. 255, 259, no. 34.  
375–350 B.C.

PARTHENOI HOLDING DOLLS AND ACCOMPANIED BY  
MAIDSERVANTS

**95** Grave stele

Fig. 6

Unknown provenance. Avignon, Musée Calvet E-31.

A parthenos with long hair stands in slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She holds a doll with both hands. Her legs do not survive. A servant girl holding a duck faces her. Only the upper half of the stele survives.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.757; Bergemann 1997, p. 162, no. 172; Reilly 1997, p. 160, fig. 33; Hoffmann 2006, p. 64; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 292, 293, fig. 179.  
400–375 B.C.

**96** Grave stele fragment

From Athens. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1993.

The open-palmed hand of a standing parthenos extends to receive a doll held by a maidservant. The maidservant stands to the left holding a pyxis in her left hand. In her raised right hand, she holds a doll by a string and places it into the extended hand of the parthenos. Only the hand of the parthenos survives.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.204; Bergemann 1997, p. 161, no. 114; Reilly 1997, p. 155, fig. 32; Kaltsas 2002, p. 167, no. 331; Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, pp. 304–305, no. 134.  
400–375 B.C.

**97** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her head does not survive. She holds an object, most likely a doll, with both hands. A servant girl holding a pyxis accompanies her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.840; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 650; Rocco 2000, pp. 255, 259, no. 32.  
375–350 B.C.

**98** Grave stele

From Attica. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 201a (IN 2012).

A parthenos with a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She held an object, most likely a doll, in her raised right hand. A servant girl holding a pyxis accompanies her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.876; Bergemann 1997, p. 170, no. 475.  
360–350 B.C.

#### PARTHENOI WITH SIBLINGS

##### 99 Grave stele

From Athens. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 713.

A parthenos stands to the right dressed in chiton with shoulder straps and himation. Her hair is wrapped in a bun behind her neck. A smaller bun is visible above her forehead. She holds a bird by its wings with her right hand and offers it to a standing boy, who extends his hand to receive it. The inscription identifies her as Chairestrate.

Inscription: Χαίρεστράτη Λύσανδρος.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.575 (with incorrect museum inv. no.); Bergemann 1997, p. 158, no. 10; Stears 2000, pp. 39, 40, 50; Kaltsas 2002, p. 148, no. 286; 2006, p. 296, no. 178; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 67, no. 2, fig. 1:c, d; Posamentir 2006, pp. 28–30, no. 3.

430–420 B.C.

##### 100 Grave stele

Fig. 7

From Anagyrous (Vari). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3845.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She holds a bird by its wings with her left hand and offers it to a small, naked boy kneeling on the ground before her. The boy extends both hands, eager to receive the bird. The inscription identifies the deceased as Mnesagora and Nikochares.

Inscription: μνήμα Μνησαγόρας καὶ Νικοχάρος τόδε κεῖται. | αὐτὸ δὲ οὐ πάρα δεῖξαι· ἀφέλετο δαίμονος αἴσα, | πατρὶ φίλοι καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμοφοῖμ μέγα πένθος, | ὄνεκα ἀποφθιμένω βήτην δόμον Ἄιδος ἔσω.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.610; Bergemann 1997, p. 159, no. 36, fig. 61:1; Beaumont 2000, p. 40; Stears 2000, p. 39; Garland 2001, p. 84, fig. 19; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 146–147, no. 281; Oakley 2003, p. 182, fig. 22; 2009, pp. 219–221, fig. 60; Francis 2004, p. 87; Brown 2005; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 286–287.

420–400 B.C.

##### 101 Grave stele

From Piraeus. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 11.

A parthenos with long hair stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She holds a bird in her lowered right hand. A small girl standing near her raises both hands to reach the bird.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.744; Bergemann 1997, p. 162, no. 150.

400–375 B.C.

##### 102 Grave stele

From Piraeus. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1017.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She may be holding a bird or some other object in her lowered right hand. A small girl stands near her, possibly holding a bird in her raised left hand. The inscription identifies her as Glykera.

Inscription: Γλυκέρα.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.827; *PAA*, no. 277550; Scholl 1996, p. 264, no. 145; Rocco 2000, pp. 253, 259, no. 7.

375–350 B.C.

##### 103 Figures from naiskos stele

Fig. 8

From Athens(?). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 44.11.2,3.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She has long hair, part of which is gathered in a knot on top of her head. Her hands do not survive. A girl of smaller stature stands in frontal view next to the parthenos and looks at her. She possibly held an object, perhaps a pyxis. The smaller figure is more likely a younger sister than a maidservant.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.971; Roccas 1995, p. 663, fig. 23; 2000, p. 238, n. 30, fig. 1; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 703, figs. 59:3, 64:2–4; Despina 2002, pp. 209–211; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 261, 266, fig. 153.

330–320 B.C.

#### STANDING PARTHENOI WITH FEMALE SERVANTS

##### 104 Fragmentary grave stele

From Laurion(?). Brauron, Archaeological Museum.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head, raised right hand, and lower legs do not survive. A servant girl holding a pyxis stands beside her.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.783; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 816; Roccas 2000, pp. 254, 259, no. 28.

400–375 B.C.

##### 105 Grave stele

Fig. 9

From Attica. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4006.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands in slight three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She holds an object, perhaps a ring or a flower, in her raised right hand. A servant girl holding a pyxis accompanies her. With her right hand, the servant girl touches her cheek in mourning. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief. The inscription identifies her as Eukoline, daughter of Demokles.

Inscription: [Εὐκολί]νη Δημοκλέος.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.797; Bergemann 1997, p. 161, no. 125, fig. 60:4; Kaltsas 2002, p. 161, no. 318; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 258, 259, fig. 149.

Ca. 380 B.C.

##### 106 Grave stele

From Goudi. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1305.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with her lowered hands. Her frontal pose does not allow for identification of her hairstyle. A servant girl holding a duck or a cylindrical object accompanies her. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief. The inscription identifies her as Theophile.

Inscription: Θεοφίλη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.814; Roccas 1995, p. 661, n. 133; 2000, pp. 241, 251, 252, 254, 259, 261, fig. 4, no. 20; Bergemann 1997, p. 173, no. 618.

375–350 B.C.

##### 107 Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum E 265.

A parthenos stands in frontal(?) view dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She reaches with her right hand to remove an object from the open pyxis held by a servant girl, who stands to the right. Of the parthenos, only the right forearm, right hand, and part of her Attic peplos and back-mantle survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.839; Rocco 2000, pp. 255, 259, no. 33.  
375–350 B.C.

### 108 Grave stele

From Chalandri area. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6833.

A parthenos stands in frontal/three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she probably held with her lowered left hand, now missing. Her head does not survive. A maidservant behind her places a pillow on a stool. The iconography of the stele is very unusual.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.470; Bergemann 1997, p. 167, no. 380; Rocco 2000, pp. 254–255, 259, no. 31; Despina 2002, pp. 221, 223, fig. 23.  
340–330 B.C.

### 109 Grave stele

From Salamis (Koulouri). Kerameikos, Archaeological Museum P 279/I 168.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her frontal pose does not allow for identification of her hairstyle. She performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her right hand. A servant girl holding a pyxis accompanies her. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief, flanked by a pair of doves. The inscription identifies her as Kleariste, daughter of Epainetos.

Inscription: Κλεαρίστη Ἐπαινέτου.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.932; Bergemann 1997, p. 174, no. 596; Rocco 2000, pp. 251, 252, 254, 258, 259, no. 18.  
330–320 B.C.

### 110 Fragmentary grave stele

From Palaiopolis (Andros). Andros, Archaeological Museum 175.

Uncertain.

A female stands in frontal view dressed in a belted chiton and himation. Her head and arms do not survive. A fragmentary figure, a maidservant, kneels beside her. The maidservant touches the standing female with both hands. The scene is reminiscent of the Ameinokleia stele (133, below), suggesting that the maidservant is helping her mistress dress. This theory explains the position of the maidservant's hands.

*CAT* suppl. vol., pp. 63–64, no. 2.498; Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2001, pp. 85–86.  
After 340 B.C.

## FAMILY SCENES

### 111 Grave stele

Found north of Piraeus. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 766.

A parthenos with short hair stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She holds a bird in her lowered left hand and shakes hands with a seated woman. The inscription identifies her as Aristylla, daughter of Ariston and Rodilla.

Inscription: Ἐνθάδε Ἀρίστυλλα κείται, παῖς Ἀρίστωνος τε καὶ Ῥοδίλλης, σώφρων γ' ὃ θυγατέρ.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.051; Fantham 1994, pp. 81–82, fig. 3:1; Bergemann 1997, p. 158, no. 16; Pomeroy 1997, p. 134; Pologiorgi 1999, p. 179, fig. 43:α; Stears 2000, pp. 39–40; Kaltsas 2002, p. 147, no. 283; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 100, no. 87.  
430–420 B.C.

### 112 Grave stele

Fig. 4

Found near the royal stables. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 763.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of

which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her right arm is partially preserved. A woman stands facing the parthenos and embraces her with her left arm, while at the same time caressing the face of the parthenos with her right hand. The inscription identifies her as Mynnion, daughter of Chairestratos from the deme of Hagnous.

Inscription: Μύννιον Χαιρεστράτο Ἄγνο<υ>σίο.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.421; Bergemann 1997, p. 165, no. 293; Rocco 2000, pp. 247, 249, 253, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, no. 6, fig. 10; Hoffmann 2006, p. 72.  
350–330 B.C.

### 113 Grave stele

Fig. 12

From Athens. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3691.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a seated man holding a staff. The inscription identifies her as Stratyllis, daughter of Kephisokritos.

Inscription: Κηφισόκριτος Γλαύκωνος Κυδαθηναίου Στρατυλλίς Κηφισοκρίτο.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.436; Rocco 1995, p. 664, n. 151; 2000, pp. 250, 251, 253, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, no. 9, fig. 11; Bergemann 1997, p. 166, no. 333; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, pp. 87–88, no. 53, fig. 19:a, b; Posamentir 2006, pp. 91–92, no. 87.  
340–330 B.C.

### 114 Fragmentary grave stele

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2094.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands to the left dressed in a chiton and himation. She holds a bird in her raised right hand. A plait encircles her head. A smaller female figure stands facing her, also dressed in chiton and himation. The head of the smaller female does not survive. She possibly held an object in her raised left hand. Due to the fragmentary state of the stele it is not easy to discern which of the two figures is the deceased or if the smaller figure is a parthenos or prepubescent girl.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.160 (with incorrect museum inv. no. given); Bergemann 1997, p. 158, no. 27, fig. 57:3.

420–400 B.C.

### 115 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left holding a mirror in her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a standing female whose left hand is raised to her chin in mourning. Both female figures are dressed in chiton and himation.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.266a; Bectarte 2006, p. 173, no. 19.

400–375 B.C.

### 116 Grave stele

From Athens. Minneapolis, Minneapolis Institute of Art 31.4.

Uncertain.

A female with a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Argive peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a male figure who extends his left hand toward her. The inscription identifies her as Plathane.

Inscription: Φιλόμηλος Πλαθήνη.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.207; Scholl 1996, p. 343, no. 452, fig. 12:2; Grossman 2001b, pp. 116, 117, fig. 2.

400–375 B.C.

**117** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 982.

Uncertain.

A female with long hair stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a male figure leaning on a staff. The inscription identifies her as Tim[arete].

Inscription: [- -]ιος Ἀναγυράσιος Τιμ[αρέτη].

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.378; Bergemann 1997, p. 166, no. 306; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, pp. 76–77, no. 26, fig. 7:a–c.

375–350 B.C.

**118** Grave stele

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Argive peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her hair is gathered in a roll encircling her head. She shakes hands with a male figure leaning on a staff. The inscription identifies her as Patrokle.

Inscription: Πατρόκλη Ἔρατος.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.304b.

375–350 B.C.

**119** Fragmentary grave stele

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head, right arm, and feet do not survive. A seated female figure faces the standing female, but little of her survives. Due to the fragmentary state of the stele the identity of the deceased is not clear. It is quite probable, but not certain, that the relief honored the standing parthenos as the deceased.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.334b.

375–350 B.C.

**120** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 270.

Uncertain.

A female with a *lampadion* stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a seated male. The inscription identifies her as [. . .]antha, daughter of Melikrates from Thebes.

Inscription: [. . .]ανθα [Με]λικράτεος Θηβαία.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.315a.

375–350 B.C.

**121** Grave stele

From Marathon area(?). Present whereabouts unknown.

Uncertain.

A female stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her hair is gathered in a roll that encircles her head and a small bun on her neck. She holds a small vase, the type of which is not identifiable, in her raised left hand. A standing male figure facing her raises his right hand toward her. The inscription identifies her as Archippe, daughter of Kalles from Rhamnous.

Inscription: Ἀρχίπη Καλλέως Ῥαμνουσίου.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.361a; Scholl 1996, p. 289, no. 254.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 122 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.  
Uncertain.

A parthenos stands to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Only her lower body from the waist down survives. She shakes hands with a female figure seated to the right. Due to the fragmentary state of the stele the deceased is not identifiable with certainty, but it is likely the parthenos. Only the lower part of the stele survives.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.334; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 29.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 123 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Paris, Musée Rodin 98.  
Uncertain.

A female with long hair stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She shakes hands with a seated woman who performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief. The inscription identifies her as Soteria.

Inscription: Πλαθάνη Σοτηρία.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.335d.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 124 Grave stele

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.  
Uncertain.

A female stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She shakes hands with a seated female.

Inscription: [- -] Ἡγήσ<ι>δος.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.357b; Scholl 1996, p. 307, no. 318.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 125 Grave stele

From Athens/Attica. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek IN 1409 (upper part) + Broomhall, Elgin Collection (lower part).

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head is damaged. She shakes hands with a seated woman who performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. It is likely that the stele honored the parthenos as the deceased. The inscription identifies her as Pythilla, daughter of Kalligenes from the deme of Phyle.

Inscription: Καλλίππη Ἰερώνυμο Ἐυπεταίου Πύθιλλα Καλλιγένος Φυλασίου.  
*CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.357c + 2.363c; Stupperich 1994, pp. 56–57, fig. 3; Scholl 1996, pp. 321, 334, nos. 368, 416; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 30.  
Ca. 360 B.C.

#### 126 Fragmentary grave stele

From Kaisariani(?). Present whereabouts unknown.  
Uncertain.

A parthenos dressed in the Attic peplos stands to the left shaking hands with a seated female.

Inscription: [- -]ος [θυγάτ]ηρ [- -]αλις(?) Ξενοφίλ[ου] ἐξ Οἴου θυγάτηρ.  
*CAT* vol. 1, no. 188.  
 Middle of the 4th century B.C.

### 127 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Athens, French School at Athens S.5.  
 Uncertain.

A female with a long plait stands to the right dressed in chiton. She shakes hands with a standing female figure. Only the upper part of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Hieroklea, daughter of Manos.

Inscription: Ἱερόκλεα Μάνου.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.489; Scholl 1996, p. 236, no. 39.  
 350–330 B.C.

### 128 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 40636 + 72519.  
 Uncertain.

A female with a *lampadion* stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a seated female figure. The inscription identifies her as Myrrine, daughter of Komides from the deme of Diomeia.

Inscription: Μυρρίνη Κομίδου Διομεέως.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.476.  
 350–330 B.C.

### 129 Grave stele

From Athens. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1141.  
 Uncertain.

Only the head of young female in frontal/slight three-quarter to the left, with long hair, part of which is gathered on top of her head, survives. The head of another female figure is present in profile. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief, flanked by a pair of kneeling mourning women. Only the upper part of the stele survives. The inscription identifies her as Plathane, daughter of Charias.

Inscription: Ἡδίστη Πλαθάνη Χαρίου.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.429b; Bergemann 1997, p. 166, no. 310, fig. 64:1; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 78, no. 30, fig. 9:a.  
 Ca. 340 B.C.

### 130 Grave stele

From Piraeus. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1116.  
 Uncertain.

A young female stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. Her hairstyle resembles a *lampadion*. A small dog jumps at her as she shakes hands with a seated woman. The dog's attention to the young standing female indicates that she is the deceased. The standing female is smaller in stature than the seated female, likely indicating that she is a parthenos. Some reservation is needed, however, because the stele is of low artistic quality, and the details of the scene are not possible to determine with accuracy.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.441a; Scholl 1996, p. 268, no. 163, fig. 24:3.  
 After 340 B.C.

## PARTHENOI ACCOMPANIED BY FRAGMENTARY FIGURES

### 131 Fragmentary grave stele

From Sounion. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1120.

A parthenos with a *lampadion* stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She probably performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand. The fragmentary figure of a young child stands near her. It is impossible to identify the child's sex. If a female, she may be a younger sister or a servant girl.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.743; Bergemann 1997, p. 161, no. 113.  
400–375 B.C.

### 132 Grave stele fragment

From Piraeus(?). Present whereabouts unknown.

Only the head of a parthenos with long hair and a pyxis held by another female figure survive. The second female may have been a relative or a maidservant. The inscription identifies her as Bitis.

Inscription: Βτίς.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.278a; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 244.  
400–375 B.C.

## SCENES WITH THREE FIGURES

### AMEINOKLEIA TYPE

#### 133 Grave stele

Fig. 18

From Piraeus (North cemetery area). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 718.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. The edge of her himation is drawn over the back of her head. Her right hand is placed on the servant girl's head, probably to support herself as she raises her left foot to be fitted for her sandal. The kneeling servant girl uses both hands to adjust the sandal on the left foot of Ameinokleia. A female figure with a pyxis stands in the background. Ameinokleia's portrayal is suggestive of a bride preparing for the wedding day she will never see. The inscription identifies the deceased as Ameinokleia, daughter of Andromenes.

Inscription: Ἀμεινόκλεια Ἀνδρομένους θυγάτηρ Α[- -].

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.370; Stears 1995, p. 125; Bergemann 1997, p. 165, no. 278, figs. 33:3, 4, 124:2, 125:1, 2; Despini 2002, p. 213; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 187–188, no. 369; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 68, no. 5; Hoffmann 2006, pp. 69–70, fig. 3; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 261, 264, fig. 152.

375–350 B.C.

#### 134 Grave stele fragment

From Athens. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2042.

Only the foot of a female figure and the body of a kneeling servant girl survive. The servant girl uses both hands to adjust the sandal on the foot of the female.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.372c; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 792.

375–350 B.C.

#### 135 Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

Of the three figures depicted very little survives: the lowered right hand of a female figure holding the edge her mantle, the head and part of the body of a kneeling servant girl looking up at her mistress, and folds from the himation of a second female figure standing in the background.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.373c.

375–350 B.C.

**136** Grave stele fragment

From the Agora. Athens, Agora Museum S 2480.

Only the body of a kneeling maidservant survives.

*Agora XXXV*, pp. 35, 101–103, no. 69.<sup>259</sup>

375–350 B.C.

## FAMILY SCENES

**137** Grave stele

Fig. 10

Unknown provenance. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.121.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She shakes hands with a seated woman whose head is inclined downward and covered by her himation. The seated female performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. A small girl kneels in front of her footstool and extends her right hand to the seated woman. The inscription identifies the deceased as Mynnias, daughter of Euteles.

Inscription: Ἐνθάδε κεῖται Μυννία μητρί ποθεινῇ | Εὐφοροσύνη Ἀρτεμισίας Μυννία Εὐτέλο.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.718; Reeder 1995, pp. 336–337, fig. 104; Stears 1995, p. 119; Scholl 1996, p. 341, no. 445, fig. 9:1; Grossman 2001a, pp. 24–26, no. 7 (with further bibliography); Foley 2003, p. 132, fig. 23; Sojc 2005, pp. 110, 114, fig. 17; Beaumont 2012, p. 100; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 293, 295, fig. 181.

400–375 B.C.

**138** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal 37.1193.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her right hand. Her head does not survive. A servant girl holding a pyxis stands near her. A female figure stands in the background and raises one hand, possibly her right hand, to her face in a gesture of mourning.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.825; Bergemann 1997, p. 179, no. 839; Roccas 2000, pp. 255, 259, no. 35.

375–350 B.C.

**139** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7809.

A parthenos stands to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head and legs do not survive. She probably shook hands with a seated female figure, of whom only one hand, possibly the right hand, survives. The seated female tenderly holds the right forearm of the parthenos. Traces of a standing male with a staff are visible in the background.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.340a; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 805; Roccas 2000, p. 253, no. 4.

375–350 B.C.

**140** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum ZV 2440.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a seated male. A young male stands beside the seated man with his right hand placed on the seated man's shoulder. The inscription identifies her as Eteoklea.

Inscription: Ἀρκεσί[λα]ς Βρέτων Ἐ[τ]εόκλεα.

259. Here, Grossman identifies two likely additions to the Ameinokleia-type group of stele: two surviving maidservant heads, one in the Cincinnati Art Museum (inv. no. 1962.389) the other in the British Museum (inv. no. 1816.0610.250).

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.374c; Bergemann 1997, p. 169, no. 452, figs. 62:4, 92:1, 96:3; Schmaltz 1998, p. 180; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1999, pp. 67–68, fig. 31; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, p. 101, no. 96; Hoffmann 2006, p. 71.  
365–350 B.C.

#### 141 Grave stele

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with her lowered hands. Her hairstyle is not clearly visible. A woman stands beside her with her right hand placed on the chest of the parthenos, while her left arm extends behind her back, probably embracing the parthenos. A small girl stands to the right and looks at the parthenos. The lower part of the stele is missing. Only one name inscription survives (Sotiris), and it is not at all certain whether it is the name of the deceased parthenos or the small girl.

Inscription: Σωτηρίς.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.943; Bergemann 1997, p. 166, no. 368; Roccas 2000, pp. 254, 259, no. 14.  
350–330 B.C.

#### 142 Grave stele

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She holds a dove in her left hand and probably performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her right hand. A female with short-cropped hair stands to the right. Her hand rests at the chin of her slightly inclined head. A fragmentary female figure is seated to the left, possibly performing the *anakalypsis* gesture. The inscription identifies her as Glykera.

Inscription: Γλυκέρα Διονυσία Ἡρακλ[εος].

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.413a; *PAA*, no. 277595; Roccas 2000, p. 255, no. 42.  
Second half of the 4th century B.C.

#### 143 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AA.206.

Uncertain.

A female with long hair stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She shakes hands with another standing female who performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. A male figure is seated close to the standing female who performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. He probably holds a staff.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.172; Scholl 1996, p. 342, no. 448, fig. 30:1; Grossman 2001a, pp. 8–9, no. 1.

420–400 B.C.

#### 144 Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale 6679.

Uncertain.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in frontal/three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a seated female who performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. A male figure stands in the background. Although the identification of the deceased is not possible with absolute certainty, it is likely the parthenos.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.394b; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 512; Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1999, p. 50, fig. 17; Roccas 2000, pp. 247, 252, 255, 257, no. 36.

375–350 B.C.

**145** Grave stele

From Dionysos. Marathon, Archaeological Museum.

Uncertain.

A parthenos with a melon-coiffure stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with her lowered hands. A female figure is seated to the right. A maidservant stands in the background holding a pyxis. The deceased is probably the parthenos.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.387a; Roccas 2000, p. 255, no. 37.  
375–350 B.C.

**146** Grave stele

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2885 + 7930 + 7931.

Uncertain.

A young parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with her lowered hands. Her head is damaged. A fragmentary male figure stands to the right, and an object, possibly an animal, is depicted by his feet. A woman in profile stands in the background to the right. It is not certain if the man or the young parthenos is the deceased.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.453; Bergemann 1997, p. 174, no. 628, fig. 56:3; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 22.

Ca. 320 B.C.

**OTHER SCENES WITH MULTIPLE FIGURES****147** Grave stele

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with her lowered hands. She has long hair, part of which is gathered in a knot on top of her head. A female stands to the right and extends her right hand toward the face of the parthenos. A servant girl holding a pyxis stands beside the female extending her hand. A male figure stands in the background, and his left hand is placed against his cheek in mourning. The stele is crowned with a mourning siren in relief, flanked by a pair of doves.

Inscription: [- -] Πλατέων.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.880; Bergemann 1997, p. 173, no. 580; Roccas 2000, pp. 255, 259, 260, no. 41.

375–350 B.C.

**148** Grave stele

Fig. 5

From Dipylon cemetery. Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum P 694/I 281.

A young parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. A plait encircles her head. Her size is considerably smaller than that of the other figures. She holds a bird in her raised right hand, and a small dog jumps at her. A female stands near her, caressing the face of the parthenos with her left hand and tenderly touching her right forearm with her right hand. A female figure performing the *anakalypsis* gesture and a man with his right hand raised to his beard and cheek stand in the background. The inscription identifies the deceased as Eukoline.

Inscription: Ὀνήσιμος Ὀνήτορος Λ<έ>σβιος | Πρωτονόη Νικοστράτη Εὐκολίνη.  
*CAT* vol. 4, no. 4.420 (with incorrect museum inv. no.); *PAJ*, no. 437180;  
 Rocco 1995, p. 664, n. 152, fig. 24; 2000, pp. 247, 248, 253, 257, 258–259, 260,  
 261, no. 1, fig. 9; Bergemann 1997, p. 164, no. 271; Sojc 2005, pp. 113–114,  
 fig. 18; Grossman 2007, p. 318; Xagorari-Gleissner 2010, pp. 120–124, 126–127,  
 fig. 1; Banou and Bournias 2014, p. 222; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 296–298, fig. 183.  
 350–338 B.C.

#### 149 Grave stele

From Rhamnous (Mnesikrateia *peribolos* vicinity). Rhamnous, Apotheke.  
 Uncertain.

A female with a long plait stands to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She shakes hands with a seated male figure. A young girl stands behind her and raises her right hand. A female figure stands behind the man's chair and performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. A semi-naked baby boy squats under the chair, his right arm raised. The inscription identifies her as Nausikrate.

Inscription: Ναυσικράτη Ἀρξίας Ναυσικράτη Πραξιμένης Ναυσίππη.  
*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.710; Scholl 1996, p. 353, no. 487; Petrakos 1999, vol. 1,  
 pp. 372–374, figs. 268, 269; vol. 2, p. 195, no. 305; Foley 2003, pp. 132–133,  
 fig. 24; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 295–296, fig. 182.  
 400–375 B.C.

### FRAGMENTARY GRAVE STELAI

The fragmentary state of these stelai does not allow for the identification of the deceased with absolute certainty.

#### 150 Grave stele fragment

From Aspropyrgos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2670.  
 Uncertain.

A female with a *lampadion* stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in chiton and himation. Her legs and left arm do not survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.148/2.148; Bergemann 1997, p. 159, no. 28, fig. 60:3;  
 Schmaltz and Salta 2003, pp. 82–83, no. 42, fig. 13:b, c.  
 420–400 B.C.

#### 151 Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.  
 Uncertain.

A parthenos with long hair stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and possibly shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she might have held with her lowered left hand. Her right arm does not survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.294; Bergemann 1997, p. 177, no. 725; Rocco 2000, p. 255,  
 no. 43.  
 400–375 B.C.

#### 152 Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3729.  
 Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view, probably dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered right hand. Her head, torso, and left arm do not survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.273; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 755.  
 400–375 B.C.

**153** Grave stele fragment

From Eretria. Eretria, Archaeological Museum 630.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with her lowered hands. Her head, legs, and right arm do not survive.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.256; Roccas 2000, p. 253, no. 11.

400–375 B.C.

**154** Grave stele fragments

From Rhamnous (Hieroteles *peribolos*). Rhamnous, 319, 340, 374 + Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4900.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. It is possible that she also held the other edge of her back-mantle with her right hand. Her head and right arm do not survive. On top of the stele is a mourning siren in relief, flanked by two kneeling mourning women. The stele was likely single-figured, but its fragmentary state does not allow for certain identification. The inscription identifies her as Demostrate.

Inscription: Δ[η]μοστράτη.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.382; Bergemann 1997, p. 175, no. 661; Petrakos 1999, vol. 1, p. 395, fig. 295; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 23.

375–350 B.C.

**155** Grave stele fragment

From Piraeus. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 930.

Uncertain.

Only the head of a female with a long plait standing to the right, folds of her himation, and a pyxis survive. There is no way to know whether the female or another figure held the pyxis.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.808.

375–350 B.C.

**156** Grave stele fragment

From Athens. Athens, private collection.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her head, legs, right arm, and left hand do not survive.

Conze 1893–1922, vol. 3, p. 271, no. 1227; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 15.

370–340 B.C.

**157** Grave stele fragment

From Kerameikos (Hagia Triada). Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her head and the entire right side of her body do not survive.

Conze 1893–1922, vol. 3, p. 272, no. 1235; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 16.

370–340 B.C.

**158** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 7708.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Her head and right forearm do not survive.

Conze 1893–1922, vol. 3, p. 272, no. 1236; Roccas 2000, p. 253, no. 3.  
370–340 B.C.

**159** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.  
Uncertain.

A maiden stands frontally wearing the Attic peplos with chiton and a shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Only the left side of her body survives. Her head does not survive.

Conze 1893–1922, vol. 3, p. 272, no. 1237.  
370–340 B.C.

**160** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, Acropolis Museum(?).  
Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she probably holds with her lowered left hand. Only the upper part of her body survives. Her head and right arm do not survive.

Conze 1893–1922, vol. 3, p. 272–273, no. 1242; Roccas 2000, p. 254, no. 17.  
370–340 B.C.

**161** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, Acropolis Museum(?).  
Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Only her knees and lower legs survive.

Conze 1893–1922, vol. 3, p. 272–273, no. 1241.  
370–340 B.C.

**162** Grave stele fragment

Unknown provenance. Athens, Acropolis Museum(?).  
Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Only the lower part of her body (not including her feet) and her left forearm survive.

Conze 1893–1922, vol. 3, p. 272–273, no. 1243; Bergemann 1997, p. 178, no. 773; Roccas 2000, p. 255, no. 44.  
340–320 B.C.

**163** Figure from naiskos stele

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 291.  
Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her arms and head do not survive.

Despinis 1965, pp. 134–135, fig. 62; 2002, p. 212, figs. 6–8; Roccas 1995, p. 663, n. 149; Steinhauer 2001, p. 362.  
After 325 B.C.

**164** Figure from naiskos stele

From Athens. Present whereabouts unknown.  
Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her arms and head do not survive.

Alexandri 1969, pp. 259–262, fig. 2; Fraser 1970–1971, pp. 4–5, fig. 3; Roccas 2000, p. 258, n. 128; Despini 2002, pp. 209–211.

After 325 B.C.

**165** Figure from naiskos stele

Unknown provenance. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 4505.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her arms and head do not survive.

*CAT* intro. vol., p. 32, fig. 11 (with incorrect museum inv. no.); Roccas 1995, p. 663, n. 148; Despini 2002, p. 212.

Ca. 320 B.C.

**166** Figure from naiskos stele

From Athens(?). Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3076.

Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton. Her arms and head do not survive.

*CAT* intro. vol., p. 33, fig. 12.

Ca. 320 B.C.

## MARBLE LEKYTHOI

### SCENES WITH TWO FIGURES

**167** Marble lekythos

From Athens. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3496.

A parthenos with long hair or a long plait stands in frontal view dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edges of which she holds with her lowered hands. A female figure stands to the left and extends her right arm toward the parthenos. The inscription identifies her as Mnesarete.

Inscription: Μνησαρέτη.

*CAT* vol. 2, nos. 2.282a, 2.292a (the same piece, mistakenly recorded twice); Roccas 2000, p. 256, no. 54.

400–375 B.C.

**168** Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.

A parthenos stands in frontal/slight three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered right hand. She probably had long hair. A girl stands near her, possibly holding an object.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.884.

375–350 B.C.

**169** Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Γ 6237.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. Due to the worn state of the lekythos it is not clear if she also wears crossbands over the chest. She holds an object, possibly a doll or a bird,

in her raised right hand. A standing young male figure faces her. The same figures appear on a pair of marble lekythoi (173, 174). The inscription identifies her as Nikodrome.

Inscription: Διόγνητος Νικοδρόμη.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.395c; Rocco 2000, p. 256, no. 49.  
375–350 B.C.

#### 170 Marble lekythos

From Piraeus. Milan, private collection.

A parthenos with a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered right hand. A servant girl holding a pyxis stands to the left.

*CAT* vol. 1, no. 1.938; Rocco 2000, p. 256, no. 53.

Second half of the 4th century B.C.

#### 171 Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance. Athens, National Archaeological Museum.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a seated male.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.353b.

375–350 B.C.

#### 172 Marble lekythos

From Piraeus. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1098.

Uncertain.

A parthenos with long hair or a long plait stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with crossbands over the chest and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a standing male. It is not clear which of the two figures is the deceased, although it seems more likely to be the parthenos.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.362c; Rocco 2000, pp. 256, 260, no. 48.

375–350 B.C.

#### 173 Marble lekythos

From Nea Smyrni. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3365.

Uncertain.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She performs the *anakalypsis* gesture with her left hand. She shakes hands with a standing young male. It is not clear which of the two figures is the deceased. This lekythos is a pair with 174. The same two figures also appear on 169. The inscription identifies her as Nikodrome.

Inscription: Νικοδρόμη Διόγνητος.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.344a; Rocco 2000, pp. 256, 257, 260, no. 56.

375–350 B.C.

#### 174 Marble lekythos

From Nea Smyrni. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3367.

Uncertain.

A parthenos with a long plait stands to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. It is not clear if she also wears crossbands over the chest.

She shakes hands with a standing young male. The lekythos was found together with its pair, **173**. In contrast with **173**, it does not bear any inscriptions. The same two figures also appear on **169**.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.345a; Roccas 2000, p. 256, no. 57.  
375–350 B.C.

**175** Marble lekythos

From Laurion(?). Brauron, Archaeological Museum.  
Uncertain.

A parthenos stands in three-quarter view to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. Her hair is gathered in a roll that encircles her head. She performs the *anakalypsis* gesture and shakes hands with a seated female. It is not clear which of the two figures is the deceased, although it seems more likely to be the parthenos.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.383b; Roccas 2000, pp. 256, 260, no. 51.  
375–350 B.C.

**176** Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.  
Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left holding a *taenia* in her left hand. She shakes hands with a seated female. They are both dressed in chiton and himation, and possibly sport the *lampadion* coiffure. The inscription identifies her as Chairippe.

Inscription: Ὀλβία Χαίριππη.  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.381d.  
375–350 B.C.

**177** Marble lekythos

From Laurion. Brauron, Archaeological Museum.  
Uncertain.

A parthenos with long hair stands to the right dressed in the Attic peplos with chiton, crossbands over the chest, and shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She performs the *anakalypsis* gesture and shakes hands with a seated female. It is not clear which of the two figures is the deceased, although it seems more likely to be the parthenos.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.434b; Roccas 2000, pp. 256, 260, no. 52.  
Second half of the 4th century B.C.

**178** Marble lekythos

From Laurion. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 3027.  
Uncertain.

A parthenos with a melon-coiffure and a plait encircling her head stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in the Attic peplos with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She shakes hands with a seated female. It is not clear which of the two figures is the deceased, although it seems more likely to be the parthenos. The inscription identifies her as Phile.

Inscription: Φίλη Ἰατρο[- -].  
*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.417a; Pologiorgi 1999, pp. 185–186, fig. 53; Roccas 2000, pp. 256, 260, no. 55.  
Second half of the 4th century B.C.

**179** Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance. Porto Rafti, Goulandris private collection.

Uncertain.

A female stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a seated female figure.

Inscription: [- -]σιστράτη Σιδ[- -].

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.443b.

Second half of the 4th century B.C.

### SCENES WITH MULTIPLE FIGURES

#### 180 Marble lekythos

Found on the left bank of the Ilissos river. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2584.

Uncertain.

A female figure with a *lampadion* and *opisthosphendone* stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. A standing young male faces her and holds a small hare with both hands. A *diphros* is visible on the ground between these two figures. An elderly man with a staff stands behind the young male. His left hand touches his beard in mourning. A woman with short-cropped hair stands behind the female figure. She holds her right hand close to her chin.

*CAT* vol. 4, no. 4.191; Kaltsas 2002, p. 158, no. 311; Bectarte 2006, p. 172, no. 7. 420–410 B.C.

#### 181 Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance and whereabouts.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a male figure leaning on a staff. A servant girl holding a pyxis and flat rectangular object, possibly a basket or second pyxis, stands behind the female.

*CAT* vol. 2, no. 2.775.

400–375 B.C.

#### 182 Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.159.

Uncertain.

A seated female performs the *anakalypsis* gesture and extends her right hand holding a bird to a small girl. The small girl extends her hand toward the bird. A female with long hair stands to the right dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a standing male leaning on a staff.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.810.

375–350 B.C.

#### 183 Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AA.132.1.

Uncertain.

A young female with long hair stands to the left dressed in chiton and himation. She shakes hands with a seated male holding a staff. A female figure stands behind him and supports her head with both hands, while her elbows rest against the back of the chair. A boy stands behind the young female, perhaps holding a bird in his lowered right hand. A small hound interested in the object or bird held by the boy is visible beside the boy.

*CAT* vol. 3, no. 3.876; Grossman 2001a, pp. 74–76, no. 26.

375–350 B.C.

**184** Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance. Milan, private collection.

Uncertain.

A female stands to the left dressed in belted chiton and himation, the edge of which she holds in her lowered left hand. Her hair is gathered in a thick roll that encircles her head and forms a bun above her neck. She shakes hands with a seated male. A servant girl holding a pyxis stands behind her. A female figure with an inclined head stands in the background and performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. The inscription identifies her as Kleito.

Inscription: Ἀμόντης Σωστράτη Κλειτώ Οἰήθεν.

*CAT* vol. 3, nos. 3.862, 3.895 (the same piece, mistakenly recorded twice).  
375–350 B.C.

**185** Marble lekythos

Unknown provenance. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 1536.

Uncertain.

A female with a *lampadion* stands to the left dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. She shakes hands with a seated woman who extends her left hand toward the standing female. Two male figures stand behind the seated woman. The inscription identifies her as Euphrosyne.

Inscription: Δήλιος Κηφίστιος Ἀρχεστράτη Εὐφροσύνη.

*CAT* vol. 4, no. 4.331.  
375–350 B.C.

**186** Marble lekythos

Found near the Kerameikos(?). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 49.11.4.

Uncertain.

A female stands in three-quarter view to the left dressed in chiton and himation. Her hair is gathered in a roll that encircles her head. She shakes hands with a seated woman. A male figure stands next to the seated woman and tenderly holds the right forearm of the standing female. Behind her stands a female figure in frontal view who raises one hand to her face in mourning. A servant girl holding a pyxis follows her and performs a similar gesture of mourning. Another female stands behind the seated woman's chair, and she is followed by a second servant girl holding a pyxis. Funerary reliefs rarely depict such a large number of figures. The inscription identifies her as Aristomache.

Inscription: Στρατόκλεια Αἴολος Ἀριστομάχη Ἀξιομάχη Λεωνίκη.

*CAT* vol. 4, no. 7.330.  
375–350 B.C.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Given the emphasis placed on the premature death of parthenoi in ancient Greek literature, and especially in tragedy, the limited number of funerary reliefs honoring deceased parthenoi is notable.<sup>260</sup> We may wonder if this reflected a fact of life: that maidens suffered lower mortality rates than children and married women.<sup>261</sup>

The majority of the funerary reliefs marking the tombs of parthenoi are grave stelai. The small group of marble funerary vases with the same function consists primarily of lekythoi. Thus, the limited number of marble

260. See p. 105, above.

261. Sallares 1991, p. 111: "The probability of death at age 15 is lower than the probability of death at age 10." For high infant and child mortality rates, see Garland 1990, pp. 108–111; 2009, pp. 76, 95, 99, 160; Gallant 1991, pp. 20–21; Sallares 1991, pp. 116–117; Oakley 2003, p. 163; Beaumont 2012, pp. 87–88; Tarlow and Stutz 2013, p. 544; for the frequent deaths of women in childbirth, see Eur. *Med.* 248–251. See also Keuls 1985, pp. 138–139; Garland 1990, p. 65; 2009, p. 77; Gallant 1991, p. 20; Demand 1994, pp. 71–86.

loutrophoroi—or even stelai bearing loutrophoroi that are painted or in relief—commemorating the deceased parthenoi of Classical-period Athens “speaks” against the long-standing theory, at least where it concerns parthenoi, that the loutrophoros alone marked the graves of unmarried dead. Only when a loutrophoros-hydria is depicted on the pediments/finials of grave stelai, or in close proximity to the deceased females in grave stelai figured scenes, does it acquire unique significance as a symbol of the untimely death and maidenhood of deceased parthenoi. In the former case, the maidenhood of the deceased is indicated in a subtle way, while in the latter, it receives special emphasis; nearly all of these stelai date to the 4th century B.C. In such scenes, the loutrophoros-hydria symbolizes untimely death before marriage, but the small number of reliefs on which the vessel appears reveals that it was only one of the symbols for deceased females and not the symbol par excellence of maiden death.

Single-figured and two-figured scenes enjoy greater popularity than multfigured scenes, although single-figured scenes never appear on marble vases. Single-figured scenes are most popular during 430–375 B.C., but from 375 B.C. onward, and especially during the second half of the century, there is a gradual increase in the portrayal of deceased parthenoi with one or more figures.<sup>262</sup>

When accompanied by other figures, a maiden’s age is often indicated by her size, which is usually smaller than that of adults, yet larger than children and figures of low social status (e.g., female servants). These parthenoi are nearly always standing, and frequently in the Polykleitan stance, especially during 400–340 B.C. The rare iconographical type of the seated maiden only appears on a limited number of funerary reliefs dating to the second half of the 4th century. Depicted in a manner more suitable for married females, seated parthenoi are commemorated as the wives they could have become.

One of the primary criteria for identifying maiden figures on grave reliefs is the Attic peplos, the exclusive attire of unmarried females. Nearly half of the parthenoi studied in this article are dressed in the Attic peplos, usually with chiton and shoulder-pinned back-mantle, and on several occasions also with crossbands worn over the chest. Another popular garment for maidens—especially during the first half of the 4th century—is the chiton, most often combined with the himation (at times draped diagonally), a type of clothing worn by females of all ages, both married and unmarried. In addition, a plait encircling the head helps with the identification of maidens, since only young, unmarried persons are depicted this way. This particular hairstyle, however, is not very common, as it appears on a limited number of 4th-century grave stelai. Most parthenoi on funerary reliefs are portrayed either with long hair or a long plait falling over their back, especially during the second quarter of the 4th century. These hairstyles are characteristic of young females.

When wearing a back-mantle, deceased maidens frequently hold its edge with their lowered, usually left, hand. More rarely, they hold both edges of the mantle, one in each lowered hand. This gesture is likely indicative of their youthfulness. The parthenoi of funerary reliefs also occasionally perform a variation of the *anakalypsis*, or unveiling, gesture, which possibly reveals that they were betrothed.

262. Single-figured scenes reach the height of their popularity during 430–400 B.C., but they are still preferred over two-figured scenes during the first quarter of the 4th century.

Almost one-third of the maiden figures studied here hold a pet bird or an object. Birds and dolls are more popular, while mirrors, jewelry, and pyxides are far less common. Parthenoi holding birds never appear on marble vases, but they are popular on grave stelai dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C. This same trend is true for dolls, although they are less common than birds. Although it has been suggested that birds represent the human soul, the meaning of their presence may be more simplistic and playful: they are being shown as the beloved pets of the deceased maidens. Dolls are more tragic symbols, emphasizing eternal virginity and the loss of marriage and motherhood. Maidens holding mirrors mostly appear on single-figured stelai from 420–375 B.C., while those with jewelry are to be found on grave stelai from 400–350 B.C., and especially the first quarter of the century. Deceased females rarely hold pyxides, and both such scenes included in this catalogue are on single-figured grave stelai from 430–420 B.C. Mirrors, jewelry, and pyxides occupy a prominent place in wedding iconography as objects associated with the adornment and beautification of women.<sup>263</sup> Their presence in the hands of deceased parthenoi may indicate, like the *anakalypsis* gesture, betrothal. Jewelry and pyxides, moreover, signify the wealth and high social status of the family of the deceased. These objects, as well as birds, are not associated exclusively with maidens on funerary reliefs. Dolls held by young, pubescent females, however, clearly identify such figures as parthenoi.

On most two-figured and multfigured grave reliefs, deceased maidens are depicted with members of their family, usually one or both parents. Mothers appear more often, and their presence reinforces the loving relationship between a mother and daughter. Male relatives are portrayed exclusively on reliefs dating to the 4th century, and especially to 375–350 B.C. Parthenoi frequently shake hands (*dexiosis*) with a family member, a gesture that reaches the height of its popularity during the second quarter of the 4th century. Mourning gestures are rare, and this same trend is true for gestures of tenderness toward the deceased, more often performed by mothers of deceased parthenoi on funerary reliefs dating to 350–300 B.C. The presence and gestures of tenderness of family members, including *dexiosis*, on grave reliefs emphasizes family unity and the strong ties of love between parthenoi and members of their family. On a limited number of grave stelai dating to 430–350 B.C., maidens hold birds and offer or show them to a younger brother or sister, often with arms outstretched toward the bird.<sup>264</sup>

Female servants appear on nearly one-third of the two-figured and multfigured reliefs. These reliefs date to the 4th century, and especially to 375–350 B.C. Female servants always accompany the oldest maidens, and never the youngest ones. They are usually young and frequently carry a pyxis. Occasionally, they hold other items—in one case (95), even a pet bird—or perform mourning gestures. The depiction of faithful female servants mourning for the death of their mistresses, in particular, presents an idealized picture of the Athenian oikos. On a small number of grave stelai, female servants serve their young mistresses. Four of these stelai belong to the Ameinokleia type, dating to the second quarter of the 4th century B.C. They are decorated with scenes of a kneeling servant girl adjusting the sandal on the raised foot of the deceased. It is probable that Ameinokleia (133) died shortly before her marriage, and this scene alludes to a bride putting on her *nymphides* in preparation for her wedding ceremony. The

263. Mirrors can be interpreted also as portents of death; see p. 117, above.

264. See p. 125, above.

iconography of the stelai emphasizes the unmarried status and, on some occasions, the possible betrothal of the deceased females and the tragedy of their premature death. Since both unmarried and married females may be shown with their female servants, it is only when a pubescent female figure is depicted holding a bird or doll and accompanied by a female servant that she is identifiable as a parthenos with certainty.<sup>265</sup> Both iconographical types can be found on grave stelai dating to the first half of the 4th century B.C.

Small-sized dogs appear on a limited number of 4th-century grave stelai. Most of the maidens on these stelai hold a bird in their lowered hand and extend it teasingly toward the dog that jumps toward it. Although lapdogs accompany males and females of all ages on Classical Attic funerary reliefs, only figures of young age tease or play with their lapdog in this manner. On a small group of stelai dating to the first half of the 4th century, medium- to large-sized birds (e.g., herons, geese, partridges) are shown near or beside standing parthenoi, who usually hold a doll. Herons and geese, in particular, always accompany young, though not necessarily unmarried, female figures. Pet dogs and birds possibly serve as reminders of joyful moments from everyday life, although we cannot exclude the possibility that they also may have had a special symbolic meaning.

The funerary reliefs of Athenian parthenoi can be divided into three categories: (1) reliefs that focus on the deceased maiden, emphasizing her premature death and unmarried status, primarily single-figured reliefs or two-figured reliefs with a female servant; (2) reliefs that emphasize family unity through imagery of loving relationships between the parthenos and members of her family, primarily two-figured and multfigured reliefs showing the parthenos with parents or siblings; and (3) reliefs combining several iconographical elements, often emphasizing both the premature death of the maiden and the bonds of love and kinship uniting her with her family. The first category is most popular among the earlier reliefs of 430–375 B.C., but during the second quarter of the 4th century, family scenes become equally common, and their popularity increases from the middle of the century onward. Reliefs of this first category employ specific iconographical elements, namely the loutrophoros-hydria, the *anakalypsis* gesture, the doll, items of feminine toiletry (e.g., mirror, jewelry, pyxis), as well as the rare Ameinokleia-type scene (133–136).

The identification of deceased parthenoi on Attic funerary reliefs of the Classical period is sometimes difficult, as the young age of a female figure does not provide enough evidence for the assignment of maiden status given that Athenian women were usually married at a very young age. The exclusive characteristics of prematurely deceased parthenoi on grave reliefs that enable their identification with absolute certainty are: a non-prepubescent female wearing the Attic peplos; a pubescent female with a plait encircling her head; the shoulder-pinned back-mantle; the loutrophoros-hydria shown in close proximity to a standing female figure or on top of a grave stele; and the iconographical types of a standing young female holding a bird or doll and accompanied by her female servant, the seated female figure dressed in the Attic peplos, and the rare Ameinokleia type. The Attic peplos, with or without the back-mantle, proves to be the most reliable criterion in the identification of maiden figures. On the other hand, parthenoi share iconographical characteristics with prepubescent girls and young married females.<sup>266</sup>

265. During the 4th century B.C., both male and female figures of a young age may be shown holding a bird and accompanied by a young servant. Only maiden figures are depicted holding a doll while accompanied by a female servant. For a detailed account of the two iconographical types, see pp. 114–116, 127, above.

266. For the funerary reliefs of prepubescent girls, see Grossman 2007, pp. 309–310, 314–316, 321–322.

On funerary reliefs, girls and parthenoi are nearly always standing. As the special attire of unmarried females, the Attic peplos is worn exclusively by both groups of females, although the parthenoi wear it much more frequently than girls. The shoulder-pinned back-mantle so popular with maidens wearing the Attic peplos, however, is not worn by girls. Young females of all ages, including young married women, are dressed in chiton and diagonal himation. Parthenoi and prepubescent girls share the hairstyle of plait encircling the head, but when combined with the so-called melon-coiffure, it can be worn also by young married females. The *lampadion* hairstyle appears in depictions of both maidens and young married female figures. The *anakalypsis* gesture performed by some of the older parthenoi is the standard gesture of married women, regardless of their age. Girls and maidens are accompanied by their pets, holding birds or dolls, and playing with their lapdog. Items of feminine adornment (e.g., mirrors, jewelry, pyxides) appear on grave reliefs of parthenoi and married women. Standing maidens and married female figures are also depicted offering or showing birds to children, in the former case to a younger sibling, in the latter to a son or daughter. Both the parthenoi and married females are accompanied often by family members (on many occasions shaking hands with them) and by female servants frequently carrying the pyxides of their mistresses. The iconographical characteristics shared with maidens, prepubescent girls, and young married women are indicative of the transitional period that parthenoi inhabit between girlhood and adulthood. They are no longer girls, but they still share the virginal characteristics of prepubescent females. They have not yet crossed the threshold into adult life, which for Athenian females coincided with marriage, but they have abandoned girlhood. They are no longer children, but parthenoi ripe for marriage. Above all, their liminal status is reflected in the unique combination of iconographical types and elements exclusively used for their depiction on funerary reliefs, emphasizing the tragic aspect of their premature death and that they, like the famous Phrasikleia Kore, will be forever called “parthenoi.”<sup>267</sup>

267. Athens National Archaeological Museum 4889. The epigram on the funerary statue of Phrasikleia states that she will be called maiden, a kore (κόρη), forever, having received this name, instead of marriage, from the gods; see Svenbro 1993, pp. 9–25; Kaltsas 2002, pp. 48–49, no. 45; Stieber 2004, pp. 141–178; Karakasi 2004, pp. 121–126; Walter-Karydi 2015, pp. 94–96.

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