

*'KALOS THANATOS': THE IDEOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY OF THE DEMOSION*

*SEMA AT ATHENS IN THE 5TH AND 4TH*

*CENTURIES BCE*

by

BROOKE HEATHER MASEK

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Student: Brooke Heather Masek

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This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Art History by:

Jeffrey M. Hurwit	Chairperson
James Harper	Member
Christopher Eckerman	Member

and

Richard Linton	Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies/Dean of the Graduate School
----------------	--

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

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## THESIS ABSTRACT

Brooke Heather Masek

Master of Arts

Department of Art History

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Title: ‘*Kalos Thanatos*’: The Ideology and Iconography of the *Demosion Sema* at Athens in the 5th and 4th Centuries BCE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Jeffrey M. Hurwit, Chair

The *Demosion Sema* [“Public Tomb”] was an area of the Kerameikos in Athens that in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE functioned as the state burial ground--the repository of mass graves for those who had lost their lives in war. In an annual ritual known as the *patrios nomos* [“the ancestral custom”], the war-dead were eulogized and publicly mourned. Their mass graves [*polyandria*] were regularly marked by marble monuments with reliefs of soldiers in combat, under which the names of the dead were listed according to their tribe, but without demotic or patronymic information. This thesis explores the various aspects of the *patrios nomos* and the iconography of the funerary monuments of the state burial ground. By analyzing features of the ritual, such as the attendant funeral orations (*epitaphios logos*), and aspects of the imagery found in the *polyandria*, we are able to learn not only about the function of the *Demosion Sema* within the Athenian *polis* but also how Athenians mourned and remembered their war-dead within the context of a democratic ideology.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Brooke Heather Masek

### GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene  
University of Nebraska, Lincoln  
Creighton University, Omaha

### DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Art History, 2011, University of Oregon  
Bachelor of Arts, Art History and Classics, 2006, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

### AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Ancient Greek Art  
Caravaggio  
Dutch Golden Age

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Teaching assistant, Department of Art History, University of Oregon,  
2008-2010

Accreditation Intern, Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, University of Oregon,  
2009-2011

Soreng Intern, Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, University of Oregon, 2011

### GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Graduate Student Representative, Leadership Council, Jordan Schnitzer Museum  
of Art, University of Oregon, 2010-2011

Marion Dean Ross Award in Architectural History, 'In Pursuit of the Ideal: The

Restoration of the Sainte-Chapelle', University of Oregon, 2010

Symposium Co-Chair, Art History Association, University of Oregon, 2009-2010

Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Department of Art History, University of Oregon,  
2008-2010

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To the memory of my grandfather, Joseph Masek Jr.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The *demosion sema* was the state cemetery of Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE.<sup>1</sup> Located along a road 1500 meters in length, it began at the Dipylon Gate (at the northwest corner of the walled city) and continued until it reached the Akademy (Fig. 1). This road was located in an area of Athens known as the Kerameikos, was the sacred cemetery of Athens, and so the *demosion sema* was, in effect, a sacred place within a sacred place. However, the *demosion sema* was different from the rest of the Kerameikos. The *demosion sema* was used specifically for state funded, public burials and monuments for the war dead and those deemed heroes of the democracy of Athens. Lined with large stelai listing those who fell in battle, along with the tombs of the dead themselves, the road must have been both ominous and awesome.

The commemoration of the war dead was carried out through a several day-long ritual called by Thucydides, in his history of the Persian wars, a *patrios nomos*, or ancestral custom.<sup>2</sup> Thucydides tells us about the site and the ritual. This account forms the basis for our understanding of the *patrios nomos* and the function of the *demosion sema* within Athenian society and will be discussed in Chapter II it. According to Pausanias, who toured the site in the 2nd century CE, the *demosion sema* was lined with the ‘graves of heroes and men’ known as *polyandria* (from *poly-* meaning ‘many’ and –

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this thesis, all years are BCE unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that there were many ancestral customs, or *patrioi nomoi*, however, for the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to the ancestral custom as referred to by Thucydides in the context of the *demosion sema* as *the patrios nomos*.

*andros*, meaning ‘men’).<sup>3</sup> Polyandria were communal tombs, mass graves, each marked with a monument that included an inscribed list of the casualties and, in some cases, a marble relief. There was a list for each year, although the polyandria were not arranged along the road in chronological order. The earliest example of a polyandria dates to 465/4 B.C. for those killed at Drabeskos, Thasos, and in the Chersonese.<sup>4</sup> While Pausanias lists only thirteen polyandria, there is epigraphic and archaeological evidence for at least forty-five.<sup>5</sup> Polyandria were erected whether the dead were victorious or not.

This thesis is about the ideology and the iconography of the *demosion sema*. It investigates the origins of the *patrios nomos*, the funeral orations known as *epitaphioi logoi* and how the speeches were used to project value onto the site, the imagery of the *polyandria*, and finally, the importance and effect of the site upon Athenian society and psychology. Chapter II addresses the *patrios nomos*, its emergence and its structure. It will address the different extant literary sources for the ritual, such as the Thucydides passage mentioned above, and the different laws and customs that affected the way people mourned. From this investigation, it becomes clear that the *demosion sema* and the *patrios nomos* attempted to align the Athenian war-dead with the heroes of Homeric epic in an effort to bolster patriotism, elevate the dead, and promote democracy.

Chapter III discusses the *epitaphioi logoi*, or the funeral orations, which would have been delivered to the citizens during the *patrios nomos* in the *demosion sema* at the

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<sup>3</sup> Paus. 1.29.2.

<sup>4</sup> See Bradeen ,1967.

<sup>5</sup> Clairmont 1983, 33. Clairmont believes that many polyandria had disappeared by Pausanias' time.

tomb.<sup>6</sup> Though there are only six extant (out of possible scores), a study of the speeches can illuminate the particular temperament of the *polis* during the periods in which they were delivered. The conventional, static form of the *epitaphios logos* is analyzed, including its relationship to the images of the *demosion sema* and its effect upon the audience. It seems that the *epitaphioi logoi* acted propagandistically, urging citizens to maintain the civic contract between themselves and the *polis*.

Chapter IV discusses the archaeology of the *demosion sema* and the imagery of the reliefs that often adorned the casualty-lists at length. Not surprisingly, the images are of warfare and there is a specific typology that emerges upon closer study. In addition to the imagery, this chapter discusses the ways in which the *demosion sema* was utilized for private mourning, providing prototypes for private funerary monuments and a location for the expression of individual grief. Because much of the area is still not yet excavated, we rely on grave goods, such as white-ground lekythoi and loutrophoroi, to make educated guesses about what the tombs and casualty lists looked like *and* how family members mourned their dead fathers, sons, and brothers.

Chapter V looks at the *demosion sema* and the *patrios nomos* as whole and its effect on Athenian ideas about commemorating war and death. Scholars today look back at the site through a modern, particularly western, lens. By comparing the monuments in the *demosion sema* to other ancient Athenian victory monuments, it becomes apparent

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<sup>6</sup> While Thucydides does not explicitly state that the oration was delivered at the tomb it is implied (Thuc. 2. 34.7): the orator ‘delivers over them (the war-dead) an *epitaphios logos*. After this the people depart.’ Trans. Forster Smith, Loeb Classical Library, 1928, 318-9. In addition, the width of the road through the *demosion sema*, which will be discussed in Chapter II, suggests the orations were delivered at the tombs.

that, while the *demosion sema* certainly served an important purpose within Athenian society, its significance may have been overestimated.

## CHAPTER II

### THE *PATRIOS NOMOS* AND THE ORIGINS OF THE *DEMOSION SEMA*

The *demosion sema* would not have existed without the so-called *patrios nomos*. The *patrios nomos* was the funerary custom associated with the state-funded, public, mass funerals that line the *demosion sema*. We are told of this custom by Thucydides (2.34.1-8)<sup>7</sup>:

In the course of the same winter the Athenians, following the custom of their fathers [*patrios nomos*], celebrated at the public expense the funeral rites of the first who had fallen in this war. The ceremony is as follows. The bones of the departed lie in state for the space of three days in a tent erected for that purpose, and each one brings to his own dead any offering he desires. On the day of the funeral, coffins of cypress wood are borne on wagons, one for each tribe. One empty bier, covered with a pall, is carried in the procession for the missing whose bodies could not be found for burial. Any one who wishes, whether citizen or stranger, may take part in the funeral procession, and the women who are related to the deceased are present at the burial and make lamentation. The coffins are laid in the public sepulcher, which is situated in the most beautiful suburb of the city; there they always bury those fallen in war, except indeed those who fell at Marathon; for their valor the Athenians judged to be preeminent and they buried them on the spot where they fell. But when the remains have been laid away in the earth, a man chosen by the state, who is regarded as the

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<sup>7</sup> All translations are taken from the Loeb edition, unless otherwise stated.

best, endowed with wisdom and is foremost in public esteem, delivers over them an *epitaphios logos*. After this the people depart. In this manner they bury; and throughout the war, whenever occasion arose, they observed this custom.<sup>8</sup>

This passage is important for our study of the *demosion sema*, but it is also problematic. One problem lies in Thucydides' assertion not only that the custom is ancestral, but also that it was the standard practice, with the exception of the Marathonomachoi (the 192 Athenians who gave their life fighting the Persians at Marathon).

It is apparent from ancient battle sites all over Greece that Marathon was not the only exception to Thucydides' "rule" that Athenian war-dead were only buried in the *demosion sema*. In fact, burial on the battlefield was normal practice, not only for Athenian armies but also for Greek armies in general.<sup>9</sup> For example, according to Herodotus, we know that the Athenians buried Tellos, the 'happiest' Athenian of the 6th century, who died in battle at Eleusis and was granted a publically funded burial on the spot where he fell.<sup>10</sup> A monument commemorating the fallen in a battle near the Euripus in Euboea, dating to 507/06, was possibly erected by Athenian troops.<sup>11</sup> There is also a casualty list set up on Lemnos, c. 500-495, by Athenians, probably to commemorate both Athenian and allied dead.<sup>12</sup> These instances of battlefield burial occurred prior to the

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<sup>8</sup> Trans. Foster Smith.

<sup>9</sup> Pritchett, 1985, 125-235, 249-251.

<sup>10</sup> Toher, 1999, 497; Pritchett, 161; Herodotus 1.30.

<sup>11</sup> Toher, 1999, 497.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 497.

battle of Marathon, but battlefield burials also occurred after Marathon as well. From Herodotus we learn that the Greeks were able to recover their comrades' bodies after the battle at Artemision (Hdt. 8.18) and Plutarch relates that the Athenians burned the bodies of the dead and erected slabs in their honor:

On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed:

Nations of all sorts of men from Asia's boundaries coming,  
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of the sea,  
Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the Medes  
Was destroyed;

These are the tokens thereof; built for the Maid Artemis.

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.<sup>13</sup>

At Salamis, there is an inscription dating to the late first century BC that mentions a *polyandrion* and a *tropaion* of Themistocles, although no such polyandrion and no evidence of the burial of Athenian war-dead have been found. And finally, the Athenian war-dead were buried in a tumulus at Plataea.<sup>14</sup> It is not difficult to believe that Thucydides was familiar with these practices, since he was a general himself and mentions the burial of the Spartans at Plataea (3.58.3-4).<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, Themistocles, 8.3: Trans. Perrin.

<sup>14</sup> Toher, 1999, 497-8, Herodotus, 9.85.

<sup>15</sup> Toher, 1999, 497-8.

Several scholars have attempted to put the Thucydidean account in perspective, trying to pinpoint a date for the origin of the state-funded burial custom and explain what Thucydides meant by '*patrios nomos*'. According to Mark Toher, the passages in the second book of this history that cover the description of the *patrios nomos*, the *epitaphios logos*, the plague, Pericles' last speech, and Thucydides' own ideas on Pericles, have the same tone and voice. Toher believes that this section was either composed or revised at the end of the war, sometime around or after 404. If so, Marathon would have seemed 'ancient history', and so in the mind of Thucydides the ritual would, in fact, have seemed an ancestral custom.<sup>16</sup> But, in fact, the date of institution for the *patrios nomos* is much more complicated than simply explaining away 'Thucydides' Blunder'.

In a 1944 article, Felix Jacoby argued that the ceremony was instituted in or around 465 BC.<sup>17</sup> Both Ian Morris and Nicole Loraux essentially agree with Jacoby's argument, although they place the inception of the custom somewhat earlier, around 500 BC.<sup>18</sup> Clairmont believes that the institution started during the era of Kimon, sometime in the late 470s.<sup>19</sup> Rosalind Thomas thinks that the *patrios nomos* originally did not include the *epitaphios logos* and originated during the Kleisthenic democracy, a bit before the Persian War, and that the *patrios nomos*, as we think of it today, was a replacement for the ostentatious aristocratic burials that Kleisthenes was trying to restrict. She believes

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<sup>16</sup> Toher, 1999, 499.

<sup>17</sup> Jacoby, 1944, 37-66. The earliest fragment found from the demotion sema dates to 465/4 BC from the Drabescus campaign, although there may be earlier fragments. Pausanias (1.29.24) calls this tomb the first, but it is unclear as to whether he means chronologically or topographically.

<sup>18</sup> Morris, 1992, 131n3; Loraux, 1986, 28-30.

<sup>19</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 60-73.

that the *epitaphios logos* was added after the Persian War, as “an expression of *polis* confidence and cohesion after the victory against the Persians and in the early days of Athenian expansion and power.”<sup>20</sup> Pausanias mentions a polyandrion dedicated to those who fell fighting the Aiginetans in 491/0 or 487/6.<sup>21</sup> It is probable that the *demosion sema* originated organically, that is, not by official decree, but rather through the natural process of installing one monument, probably one that was particularly famous, and then installing similar monuments after. It is possible that the first of these monuments was a cenotaph dedicated to the Marathon dead (Fig. 2), known simply as ‘the polyandrion’ in ephibic decrees.<sup>22</sup> Judging from this, the gradual institution of the *demosion sema* began right after the reforms of Kleisthenes, ca. 500.<sup>23</sup> The *patrios nomos*, however, as an official function of the state, seems to have developed around the second part of the 5th century, once the *demosion sema* was already established as a site for the commemoration of war-dead.

More significant, however, is *why* and *how* the state-funded, public funeral developed, and in this regard, it is important to understand the changing tides of private funerary commemoration. In the sixth century, grave markers for Athenians could be quite impressive. They appeared in many different (but usually large and ornate) shapes and forms, from *kouroi*, such as the Anavysos Kouros or the Aristodikos Kouros (Figs. 3

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<sup>20</sup> Thomas, 1989, 207.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. 1.29.4; Arrington, 2010, 503.

<sup>22</sup> Arrington, 2010, 504-5: The first ephibic decree Arrington mentions dates to 176/5 mentions a regular funeral contest that took place at Marathon and also ‘in front of the polyandrion next to the city’ (Agora I 7529, lines 15-17; Trans. Arrington). The second simply refers to a race ‘from the polyandrion’ without any other qualifications (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1006, line 22, Trans. Arrington). Arrington argues that the dead from Marathon were famous enough that their Athenian memorial need only be referred to as ‘the polyandrion’.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 503-4.

and 4) to *stelai*, such as the Stele of Aristion (Fig. 5), to tumuli or mounds. Regardless of their appearance, their purpose was to display the wealth and status of the deceased or the deceased's family. Around 500 BC, however, individual Athenian monumental tombs went out of use and would not be seen again until the last quarter of the 5th century.<sup>24</sup> Several factors contributed to the change in funerary customs, including legislation, demographics, and the onset of democracy after the Persian Wars.

The so-called 'sumptuary laws' of Solon date to 594/3, the traditional year of his archonship, and can help illuminate changing ideologies. Shapiro points out that the term 'sumptuary' is in fact a misnomer: the laws only limited the cost of the funeral, not the size and cost of the monuments themselves. The laws were more concerned with 'conduct'. Displays of lament were now to be subdued and dignified, and only close relatives of the deceased could mourn.<sup>25</sup> Shapiro points out that depictions of the *prothesis*, or the laying out of the dead on a bier, on geometric vases would often show a large gathering of mourners, and the scenes of *ekphora*, the processional to the cemetery after the *prothesis*, would be as equally grand, with several chariots and many mourners on foot. However, after the supposed Solonian legislation, the *prothesis* shows fewer mourners, presumably because now only family members were allowed at funerals, and the *ekphora* was rarely represented. Certain rituals, such as lacerating one's flesh and

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<sup>24</sup> Morris, 1992, 129.

<sup>25</sup> Shapiro, 1991, 630. These laws seemed to be aimed at women, who would often times hire themselves out to mourn at funerals of other families, and whose displays of lament were violent and with gusto.

singing the *threnos* (dirge), which prior to the sixth century could occur during the *ekphora* or at the grave, were now limited to the privacy of the home.<sup>26</sup>

Cicero (*Leg.* 2.26.64-65), quoting Demetrius of Phalerum (who also passed sumptuary legislation in the late fourth century) records additional funerary regulations that occurred ‘some time later’ than Solon’s:

Some time later [after Solon] on account of the size of the tombs which we see in the Kerameikos, it was decreed that no one should make a tomb which required the work of more than ten men in three days, and that no tomb should be decorated with plaster or have the so-called ‘herms’ set on it. And it was not allowed that the praise of the dead was spoken of except at public burials and by no one else but those who had been officially appointed for this purpose. The gathering of large numbers of men and women was also forbidden, in order to limit the mourning, for a crowd increases grief.<sup>27</sup>

The date of this legislation is much discussed, but it probably took effect sometime between 530 and 500 BC, toward the end of the Peisistratid tyranny or in the early years of the Kleisthenic democracy. It would be reasonable to assume that Peisistratus would adopt such policies in an attempt to rein in rival aristocratic families, while at the same time displaying his own modesty in upholding the laws of Solon. It is true that the quality and quantity of Archaic funerary art declines toward the last quarter of the 6th century. However, there remain a few very late 6th century monuments, like

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<sup>26</sup> Shapiro, 1991, 630-31.

<sup>27</sup> Trans. Walker Keyes.

the Aristodikos Kouros (510-500; Fig. 4) that are impressive and large and would presumably have taken much longer than three days to create. Monuments such as this one argue for a later date for the Ciceronian '*post-aliquanto*' legislation, a date after Kleisthenes and his new democracy (508/7).<sup>28</sup>

The course of Athenian legislation alone does not explain the decrease in private funerary display and the subsequent growth of public funerals. Demographic factors may well have contributed to the changes. According to Aubrey Cannon, it may be that the elite of Athens, perhaps because of funerary legislation or changing styles in funerary monuments, ceased spending their wealth on elaborate funerary displays and spent it on other goods instead, and that the lower classes soon followed.<sup>29</sup> Morris does not believe it is as simple as that. In 1.6.3, Thucydides tells us:

The Athenians were among the very first to lay aside their arms and, adopting an easier mode of life, to change to more luxurious ways. And indeed, owing to this fastidiousness, it was only recently that their older men of wealthier class gave up wearing tunics of linen and fastening their hair in a knot held by a golden grasshopper as a brooch; and this same dress obtained for a long time among the elderly men of the Ionians also, owing to their kinship with the Athenians.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Boardman, 1955, 53; Shapiro, 1991, 631; Humphreys, 1983, 88-9.

<sup>29</sup> Cannon, *et al.*, 1989, 445.

<sup>30</sup> Trans. Foster Smith.

So, since the wealthy were not spending their money on their funerary monuments, they must have spent it on other goods. This trend seems to have originated, according to Thucydides (1.6.4), with the wealthiest of Lacedaemonians, and Aristophanes (*Knights* 1321-34; *Clouds* 961-99) associates the ostentatious displays with the Marathonomachoi.<sup>31</sup> Morris believes, contrary to Cannon, that the change was more emblematic of a Pan-Hellenic trend toward a ‘communal ideal’.<sup>32</sup> Despite the lack of elaborate funerary displays from this period, it is evident from archaeological remains that the rate of burial did not decrease, but in fact increased exponentially during the first half of the fifth century; yet less and less was spent on private funeral monuments.<sup>33</sup> It may be that changing ideology forced the aristocracy to accept the collective ethos of a new democracy.

The tumulus at Marathon presents us the first example of evolving ideas toward the burial of war-dead. The Athenians buried their dead en masse at the site where they were killed under a large mound of dirt; the Soros, as it is known, can still be seen today. The 192 men who died fighting the Persians were cremated and black-figure lekythoi were placed in a clay-lined trench next to the tumulus. Cremation and burial in this manner were a direct allusion to the heroic burials in the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, such as that of Achilles (Od. 24.43-94, Appendix A), who was laid out on a bier, his flesh cleansed with water and ointment and clothed. The mourners cut their hair and the

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<sup>31</sup> Morris, 1992, 151-2.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 152-3. Morris acknowledges that a ‘communal ideal’ would mean different things to each community, but that ‘in all cases we are dealing with rituals creating social structures which were more egalitarian and solidary [sic] than those of the sixth and probably the fourth centuries.’

<sup>33</sup> Whitley, 2001, 366.

women wailed ‘piteously.’ The lament continued for 17 days, and on the 18th, his body was burned and sacrifices of sheep were made. His ashes and bones were gathered, mixed with unguents and undiluted wine, and placed in a golden urn. The urn was placed under a funeral mound so large that ‘men that now are and that shall be born hereafter’ might see it from afar. After this, funeral games were conducted.

Hector was also honored with a hero’s burial (*Il.* 24.589-805; Appendix B). His body was cleansed and clothed and set upon a bier. His lament lasted nine days: he was conveyed on a wagon, the women wailing and flinging their bodies wildly. On the tenth, he was cremated. On the 11th day, the pyre flames were extinguished with wine, and his bones were collected, placed in a golden urn, and buried under a mound. After this, the Trojans feasted. Finally, Patroclus received a similar burial (*Il.* Book 23, See Appendix C), although a bit different than the others mentioned. There were animal sacrifices and a feast in his honor, first. Then his body was cleansed and clothed and burned on a pyre ‘100 feet tall’ (along with the hair of Achilles and other mourners). Again, there was weeping and wailing and the Achaeans gathered the bones after having put out the fire of the pyre with wine. After he was buried under a mound, they conducted funeral games.

By burying the Marathon dead the way they did, the Athenian state ‘hijacked’ the ancient heroic associations with such a burial and appropriated them for the new democracy.<sup>34</sup> Burial mounds, however, were not frequently used in the *demosion sema*. As we will see in Chapter IV, the most common burial structure in the *demosion sema* is an ashlar *peribolos*, such as that of the Lacedaemonians of 404/3 (Fig. 6). For smaller

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<sup>34</sup> Whitley, 2001, 364-5; See also Whitley, 1994, 213-30 for a discussion about the relationship between hero cult, archaic aristocratic tumulus, and the marathon tumulus.

burials, a simple rectangular monument with *thekai* (or boxes cut out of the walls for a container with the ashes of the deceased) or a simple *larnax* (a small, covered box to contain the ashes) would suffice.<sup>35</sup>

The location of the *demosion sema* was juxtaposed with another funerary space that was dedicated mainly to the aristocracy, along the Leokoriou Roads. The Leokoriou Roads had a long history, from the Geometric period to the Archaic, with elite and noble associations frequently being displayed through impressive displays that usually involved references to horses; the area was very near the Hippios Kolonos, an area with a shrine dedicated to Poseidon Hippios.<sup>36</sup> The casualty-list from Tanagra and Spartolos (Figs. 7 and 8), which will be discussed at length in Chapter IV, was found along this road, far away from the other lists that have been excavated (Fig. 9; indicated as CL8). It was found in the context of its secondary use, after having been moved from its original location; it was missing its anthemion and was reused for private burial. The list may not have traveled far from its original location and if this is the case, the Spartolos and Tanagra casualty-list may not be a private list, erected by the surviving cavalry. If so, it may never have stood in the *demosion sema* proper; more research will have to be done, however, to determine if this is the case.<sup>37</sup> Regardless, the new, democratic values of the

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<sup>35</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 61; Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 110-1.

<sup>36</sup> Arrington, 2010, 529-30; Poseidon was also the protector of horses.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 530.

public cemetery were contrasted with the old, aristocratic values of the Leokoriou Roads.<sup>38</sup>

The Athenian aristocracy frequently utilized funeral mounds in the years prior to the sumptuary legislation, emulating Homeric heroic burials. Morris points out that despite sumptuary legislation, there were a few monumental tombs, dating 500-425, belonging to several families that consistently disregarded the legal necessity for restraint. He points out the ‘enormous’ mound G in the Kerameikos, which originally dates to the 560s but over the course of 50 years was used over and over again and had two smaller mounds added on its west edge. Furthermore, there are examples in the Kerameikos of mounds created in the 490s, the 460s, the 440s, the 420s, and culminating with the large tomb F, dating shortly before 400. Of these, Grave C264, dating to the 420s, found in mound G, was a “self-consciously ‘Homeric’ cremation”: the cremated remains of an adult male were contained within an elaborate bronze urn, wrapped in purple cloth and placed inside a wooden box which was itself inside a giant sarcophagus.<sup>39</sup> The aristocratic connotations of tumuli continued into the fifth century, and this may have contributed to the lack of mounds in the *demosion sema*.<sup>40</sup>

Despite the occasional lack of adherence to funerary legislation, it may be that the Athenians state attempted to associate the *patrios nomos* with the grand funerals of the

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<sup>38</sup> Arrington, 2010; this article was published as I was in the final stages of my thesis and solidly locates the *demosion sema* along the road between the Dipylon Gate and the Akademy, with the occasional polyandria somewhat eastward of the Akademy road.

<sup>39</sup> Morris, 1992, 132-4.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 132-4.

heroes of Homeric epic, as mentioned above. The Athenians, through the *patrios nomos*, simulated these heroic burials: it is likely that the bodies of the war-dead were conveyed through the Agora prior to being laid out in state in the *demosion sema*.<sup>41</sup> There would have been women lamenting wildly, weeping and wailing as the women do in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* for Achilles, Hector, and Patroclus. Then, they were burned and their ashes were collected, placed in an urn, and buried in a tomb like that of the Lacedaemonians or Horos 3 (Figs. 6 and 10). Then the *epitaphios logos* would have occurred and finally the *epitaphia agones*, or funeral games.

Under the new democracy, those who died in battle were considered heroes of the democracy and were to be honored as such. What better way than with pomp and circumstance similar to what was bestowed upon the heroes of Homeric epic? In the new democracy, aristocratic graves could no longer outshine those of ‘democratic heroes.’<sup>42</sup> Despite audacious displays by some members, the aristocracy had to adhere to the new inconspicuous modes of funerary display, and it seems that the majority did so. In addition, the public funerals would have contrasted with the newly regulated inconspicuous private funerals in a way that would likely increase the significance of the public funerals in Athenian society.

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<sup>41</sup> While Thucydides does not explicitly make reference to a procession through the Agora, he does state that after the bones have been laid out in state for three days, they are transferred to cypress coffins and are carried by means of a public, funeral procession to the *demosion sema*. The Agora would have been a likely place to lay the bones out, due to the heavy traffic the Agora received on any given day. Nicole Loraux agrees: “Although none of our sources informs us of the precise location of the prothesis, it is very likely that the remains of the dead were exposed in the Agora, perhaps in front of the monument of the Eponyms...”, 1986, 20.

<sup>42</sup> Shapiro, 1991, 647.

The *patrios nomos* represents a societal change from thinking about the good of the individual to thinking about the good of the whole. Especially after the battle at Marathon, the Athenians were aware of how important it was to honor those who at the cost of their own lives protected their city-state and its identity. It would seem that the Athenians modeled the honors for their war-dead after those epics that were so engrained in their lives and imaginations. And as the hold of democracy grew ever stronger, so, too, did the desire to revere those who gave their lives for the *polis*. For the elite, it was important to show civic solidarity in the *patrios nomos* to avoid the oligarchic associations of the past; for those who had lost loved ones, the *patrios nomos* must have been a democratic consolation.

Humphreys believes that “It was the state funerals for war dead which first brought the honors of heroic burial within the range of every Athenian citizen...”<sup>43</sup> Morris sees the state funerals as something different: “...the state funerals took away the right of heroic burial, even from its richest citizens.”<sup>44</sup> Perhaps both views are correct. There can be no right or wrong answer when dealing with issues of personal loss. For some, the *demosion sema* and the public funerals may have been a comfort because of the associations with the aristocratic and Homeric past, elevating their loved one to the status of a Hero. For others, it may have been a purely democratic and patriotic display of the grief of a nation, with no aristocratic or class connotations included, the *polis* was the hero.

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<sup>43</sup> Humphreys, 1980, 123; Whitley, 2001 holds similar ideas.

<sup>44</sup> Morris, 1992, 144.

## CHAPTER III

### THE *EPITAPHIOS LOGOS*

The *epitaphios logos*, or funeral oration, is still a much-discussed feature of the *patrios nomos* and perhaps one of the most integral aspects of the ritual. On the surface, the funeral oration was meant to eulogize the dead and provide comfort for the families in mourning. It was the funeral oration that added meaning to the images seen on the monuments of the *demosion sema* and furnished everlasting glory, not only for the war-dead, but for Athens as well. There are only six (out of possible scores) extant: those of Pericles (quoted in Thucydides. 2.35-46) c. 430 BC; Lysias 2, c. 392 BC; Plato's satirical speech, ascribed to Aspasia<sup>45</sup>, quoted by Socrates in Plato's *Menexenus*, c. 386 BC; Demosthenes 60, c. 338 BC; Hyperides 6, c. 322 BC; and a fragmentary speech by Gorgias, composed during the Peloponnesian War and was probably not for actual delivery but for teaching purposes.<sup>46</sup> These speeches span the years between 465 and 322 BC, coinciding with the advent of Athenian democracy and the rise and decline of the Athenian power.

Four of the surviving funeral orations are problematic in that they are not either the actual texts that were delivered, or were not delivered at all. Perhaps the most famous, Pericles' funeral oration comes to us only through Thucydides. Lysias, whose oration we fully have, and Gorgias, of which only fragments survive, were foreigners and, thus,

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<sup>45</sup> Aspasia was the mistress of Pericles.

<sup>46</sup> Hermann, 2004, 5.

would possibly not have been able to deliver the oration.<sup>47</sup> Plato's *Menexenus* is a fictive account and was not delivered. There is a debate as to the authenticity of Demosthenes' funeral oration. The only funeral oration that is both authentic and was actually presented to the demos of Athens is that of Hyperides ca. 322 BC.<sup>48</sup> In any case, the *epitaphios logos* offers unique insight and access to the issues and concerns of the Athenian city-state.

Those who delivered the speeches were elected by the city council, or *boule*, and were chosen, not on the basis of their intelligence or their oratory abilities, but rather their political respectability, because they were 'the best endowed with wisdom and is foremost in public esteem'.<sup>49</sup> Each of the speeches is structured similarly, containing the following elements: an introduction (*prooimion*), a section of praise (*epainos*), the consolation (*paramythia*), and the conclusion (*epilogos*), and each speech can be analyzed as follows in Table 1 below.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 23, 27: While Thucydides never explicitly states that foreigners were not allowed to deliver the funeral oration, it is likely that only Athenian citizens were chosen for this task. Considering the content of the *epainos* (section of praise), the speaker often refers to those Athenians who fought against the Persians as 'our ancestors'. This may not have been received well by true Athenian citizens, especially after Pericles' citizenship law, which made it necessary for both parents to be citizens in order for their children to be citizens of Athens. In addition, both Lysias and Gorgias were teachers of rhetoric and Lysias opened up a school of oratory in Athens and wrote speeches for clients to use in their court cases. Lysias' funeral oration may be a model, used as a teaching tool in his school of oratory.

<sup>48</sup> Ochs, 1993, 67-8; Hermann, 2004, 5.

<sup>49</sup> Jacoby, 1983, 57n.92; Walter, 1980, 2; Thuc. 2.34.6, trans. Forster Smith.

Table 1. Structure of *epitaphioi logoi*; numbers refer to lines.<sup>50</sup>

	Prooimion	Epainos	Paramythia	Epilogos
Thuc. 2	35	36-42	43-45	46
Gorgias		5a-6		
Lysias	1-2	3-76	77-80	81
Plato	236d-237a	237b-246a	246b-249c	249c
Dem.	1-3	3-31	32-37	37
Hyp.	1-2	3-40	41-43	

The orations, while permitting some originality, thus followed a strict, formulaic pattern. The *epainos* of each speech usually began with praise of the ancestors and asserted the autochthony of the Athenians. For example:

“I will begin with the origin of their families. All mankind has acknowledged the noble birth of these men for a very long time. These men and each of their ancestors, one and all, can trace their origin back to a father, but they also have this entire fatherland as a parent, since they are acknowledged to be born of it.

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<sup>50</sup> Table is from Hermann, 2004, 6.

They are the only people who live in the land from which they were born and they hand it down to the next generation,” [Dem. 60.4].<sup>51</sup>

Or in Lysias (2.3-4):

“To begin with, I will go through the ancient exploits of their ancestors, taking my cue from legend. We all should remember those men too, by celebrating them in songs, by making speeches at memorials for brave men, by honoring them at these sorts of occasions, and by teaching the living the deeds of the dead.”<sup>52</sup>

And also Pericles, in Thucydides (2.36):

“I will begin with their ancestors first. It is just and fitting at the same time on an occasion like this to give the honor of that memory to them. The same people have always settled this region and through a succession of generations up until this time they handed it on to us as a free land because of their virtue. Not only these men [the war-dead], but also our fathers deserve praise.”<sup>53</sup>

Through the *epainos*, it is clear that Athenians viewed themselves as being an unusually unified people, more so than other populations. After this, the orator would point out honorable deeds of the ancestors, often including mythological events in addition to recent actions. For example, the Athenians fought the Persians and saved other Greeks just as they had done with the Amazons long ago (Lys. 4-8; Plato, 239b,

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<sup>51</sup> Trans. Hermann, 2004, 65.

<sup>52</sup> Trans. Hermann, 2004, 28-9.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 2004, 13.

Demosthenes 8).<sup>54</sup> The orator might also mention the aid the Athenians had given to those in need, such as the children of Heracles (Lys. 11-17, Plato 239b, and Dem. 8).<sup>55</sup> This narrative of myth and history would be selective, often leaving out important details, and thus creating new, Athenocentric versions of history.

The orator then typically moves from the section of praise for the ancestors to the *paramythia*, or the consolation. This section is significant for our discussion because it instructs, in a way, the living on how they should mourn. This section also reviews the rewards granted to those who died in battle. In his funeral oration, for example, Pericles asserts that the war-dead will be remembered in two ways, through stone and through memory (Thuc. 2.43.2-4):

“For they gave their lives for the common wealth, and in so doing won for themselves the praise which does not grow old and the most distinguished of all sepulchers—not that in which they lie buried, but that in which their glory survives in everlasting remembrance, celebrated on every occasion which gives rise to word of eulogy or deed of emulation. For the whole world is the sepulcher of famous men, and it is not the epitaph upon monuments set up in their own land that alone commemorates them, but also in lands not their own there abides in

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>55</sup> Hermann, 2004, 6.

each breast an unwritten memorial of them, planted in the heart rather than graven [sic] on stone.”<sup>56</sup>

Lysias questions why we should lament the war-dead (“We are all mortals once and for all,” 2.77), but continues in the same vein as Pericles (2.79-81):

“So we should consider these men most blessed, since they risked everything for the greatest and most noble causes and ended their lives in this pursuit. They did not entrust themselves to chance or wait for a natural death, but instead they chose the most noble one. The memorials for them are ageless, and their honors are the envy of all mankind...I for my part admire and envy them for their death, and I suppose that the only men for whom life is worthwhile are those who, after they receive mortal bodies, leave behind an immortal memory of their virtue.”<sup>57</sup>

‘Immortal memory’ is far and away the greatest reward for the sacrifice of the war-dead. Each funeral oration exalts this way of death as ideal, and impresses upon the citizens that each should strive for the same greatness achieved by those buried in the *demosion sema*.

In her monumental work on the *epitaphioi logoi*, N. Loraux notes that the funeral oration functioned as a didactic speech, meant more to explain and exalt rather than

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<sup>56</sup> Trans. Forster Smith; In comparing the types of monuments to the war-dead, those of stone and those made of memory, the value of intangible memories over the stone monuments is evident. The significance of the stone memorials in the *demosion sema*, especially in the context of their ability to aid in the recall of memory, will be discussed in Chapter V.

<sup>57</sup> Hermann, 2004, 42-3.

console, ‘inventing’ Athens by promoting fidelity to the *polis* through militaristic virtue.<sup>58</sup> The funeral orations also have a reflexive quality about them in that they praise the Athenians as a whole, both the living and the dead.<sup>59</sup> This is a key point in the interpretation of the polyandrion reliefs (e.g., Figs. 8, 21, and 22). The men represented attacking their foe were to be seen at once as the dead who were listed below and the survivors, those who returned from battle. Loraux points out that the *epitaphioi* were meant to place Athens ‘beyond the reach of time,’ acting as an apotropaic device against not only death, but also decay.<sup>60</sup> This is emphasized in the *demosion sema*, whose mass graves demonstrated to the citizens of Athens that if they made the virtuous ‘civic choice’, the *polis* would in fact memorialize their ‘*kalos thanatos*’, or beautiful death, with ‘ageless memorials’ (Lys. 2.79; Thuc. 2.43.2; Dem. 60.32; Hyp. 6.42), ‘because those who die in war deserve to be honored in the same way as the immortal gods.’ (Lysias 2.80).

For the Athenians, it was key to sublimate death by absorbing it into the body of the *polis*. The *polis* associated death on the battlefield with heroic sacrifice and promised immortal life through memory, and that promise is fulfilled in the funeral oration:<sup>61</sup> ‘It is a ‘beautiful death’ because the order thus given to a dying or mortal addressee...signifies to him that his death has meaning because it is *preferable*, and since it is preferable, it is,

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<sup>58</sup> Loraux, 1986, 48.

<sup>59</sup> Starling, 2002, 116.

<sup>60</sup> Loraux, 1986, 3.

<sup>61</sup> Starling, 2002,, 116.

in sum, as if it did not take place and can do without mourning.’<sup>62</sup> Therefore, in order to perpetuate the *polis*, the orators were bound to the memory of the dead. Derrida puts it this way:

“As long as they remain faithful to the memory of their dead—that is, to the spectres of their fathers of noble birth—they are bound by this testamentary tie which, in truth is nothing other than their originary [sic] patrimony. A monumental memory begins by instituting them in telling them who they really are. The memory of their dead—the fathers of noble birth—recalls nothing less than their truth, their truth *qua* political truth...The obligatory necessity of this bond of memory forms the condition of their political freedom...for them, the only imaginable freedom.”<sup>63</sup>

The *demosion sema* and the rituals of the *patrios nomos* can be viewed as the fulfillment of the obligation of which Derrida speaks.

The funeral orations understandably never go into the gory details of the harsh reality of war; if they had, they possibly would have intensified the grief of mourners and intimidated future generations of warriors. In the same way that the orations idealized of combat, the battle reliefs decorating the casualty-lists are also idealized versions of reality—Athenians never die—but it is interesting that the Athenians chose even to display scenes of fighting and death (a fact which will be discussed in Chapter V). Naturally, fighting and dying in battle today is nothing like fighting and dying as a

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<sup>62</sup> Derrida, 1994, 235.

<sup>63</sup> Derrida, 1997, 100.

hoplite in ancient Greece, so it may be hard for us to understand the effect hoplite combat had on possible new recruits. There are contemporary accounts of hoplite battle, but no first person account with ‘blow-by-blow’ commentary exists; regardless, scholars are able to paste together a relatively complete picture of battle based on many sources, including dramatists, such as Aristophanes (*Wasps* 1081-85: “*At once we ran up, armed with lance and buckler, and, drunk with the bitter wine of anger, we gave them battle, man standing to man and rage distorting our lips. A hail of arrows hid the sky.*”<sup>64</sup>) and poets (Hom. *Il.*7; 16.135-540, for example).<sup>65</sup>

The terrain of a battlefield was usually flat and open to accommodate large numbers of men. Since battles were fought in the summer, it would more often than not be sunny and hot.<sup>66</sup> The hoplites, dressed in armor, would line up in their phalanx of eight files deep or more, the youngest and least experienced in front.<sup>67</sup> The phalanx, shields to the front, would advance; the pace would be quick in the hope of shocking one’s enemy so that they would break their formation. If, after the initial attack, neither phalanx was broken, hand-to-hand fighting would commence, first with spears and then with swords. Commenting about the battle of Koroneia of 394 (*Hell.* 4.3.19), Xenophon tells us “thrusting shield against shield, they shoved and fought and killed and fell. There was no

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<sup>64</sup> Trans. O’Neill.

<sup>65</sup> Lazenby, 1993, 87.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-8; Pritchett, 1985, 92; See both Lazenby, 1993, Pritchett, 1985, and Krentz, 1985 for expansive discussions of hoplite warfare.

<sup>67</sup> The greatest depth recorded was that of the Thebans at Leuktra at fifty files deep. Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.12; Lazenby, 1993, 89.

shouting, nor was there silence, but the strange noise that wrath and battle together will produce.”<sup>68</sup>

The funeral orations, when they do refer to actual fighting, are vague about the toils of war and instead refer to mortal combats as achievements. For example, Lysias states (2.54-55):

“It is not easy for one man to recount each and every risk undertaken by so many men, or to describe all their achievements during that entire period of time. What speech, or length of time, or orator would be able to relate the virtue of the men lying here? With great toil and famous struggles and brave risk-taking they made Greece free.”<sup>69</sup>

Or Pericles, in Thucydides (2.42.4-2.43):

“Because they thought that fighting and suffering were more appropriate than surrendering and surviving, they avoided any shameful talk with their act of physical resistance. And through the chance of the briefest moment, at the height of glory, not fear, they departed.”<sup>70</sup>

Demosthenes admits that, in war, there are the victors and the defeated, but he turns this on its head, claiming that even the fallen are still victors (60.19):

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<sup>68</sup> Pritchard, 2009, 92-3.

<sup>69</sup> Trans. Hermann, 2004, 38.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 37.

“Whenever a battle occurs, there must be winners and losers. I would not hesitate to say that I think those who die in battle, whatever side they are on, have no share in defeat. No, the dead of both sides share equally in victory. God decides how to apportion victory among the living, but everyone who remains at his post has done his part toward this end. If a mortal succumbs to fate, he has suffered this circumstance because of change, and in his soul he is not defeated by his opponents.”<sup>71</sup>

Here Demosthenes assumes that those who died must have died bravely, and therefore, have their fair share of victory. Of course, not everyone who died necessarily died bravely. Still, individual combat, victories, and losses are all blended together in the orations. It is in the imagery of the reliefs on the casualty-lists that the mourners were to see their individual loved ones; even the foe are depicted gloriously, such as on the Villa Albani relief (Fig. 13), where the enemy is still fighting for his life as he falls to the ground, about to be killed. By depicting the enemy in this way, the Athenians win *or* loss at battle is intensified. In any case, the association of the dead loved one with that of the fallen soldier depicted could not be avoided: the adversary is depicted in the act of killing and the Athenian soldier would be read as being killed. It would be necessary to depict both the victor and the vanquished as noble and glorious.

The actual state of hoplite warfare contrasts sharply with the reliefs in the *demosion sema*. There, the hoplites and horsemen are nude or merely dressed in a chiton (e.g., Figs. 8, 21, and 22). However, on grave goods such as loutrophoroi or lekythoi, the

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<sup>71</sup> Trans. Hermann, 2004, 68.

hoplites are often seen fully armed or handing their armor over to relatives. Hoplite armor ranged from light to heavy and consisted of items such as a *linothorax* (laminated linens reinforced with animal skins and bronze ‘scales’)<sup>72</sup> to very expensive (and weighty) bronze breastplates, greaves, and helmets. The amount of armor one wore was decided, first, by how wealthy one was and, second, by personal preference.<sup>73</sup> It may thus be that the hoplites and cavalry represented on the lists of the *demosion sema*, in addition to being idealized heroes of the *polis*, may also be representative of those who could not afford expensive armor. Of course, the funeral orations never mention the varying socioeconomic statuses of the war-dead; if they had, they would have been undermining the democracy. But the lack of armor displayed on the casualty-lists, with their depiction of scantily armed soldiers, support the idea of ‘*kalos thanatos*’. The funeral orations explain that the quality of the death of the warriors was great and beautiful, reinforcing the concept of ‘*kalos thanatos*’. The orations emphasize the conscious, altruistic choice of the dead (fathers, brothers, and sons) to fight to preserve justice and the democracy. In this there was at least some consolation.

Nevertheless, the whole of the genre is wrought with half-truths and contradictions. Foreign allies are rarely mentioned in the funeral orations, yet as Loraux points out, despite the desire of the orators to laud Athenian supremacy, foreigners were at least occasionally buried alongside Athenians in the *demosion sema* and were listed on

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<sup>72</sup> First referenced in Hom. *Il.* 2.529; 2.830, also referenced in Paus. 1.21.9; 6.19.7; Hanson, 1989, 58; the university of Wisconsin-green bay has attempted, rather successfully, to recreate the hoplite *linothorax*; more information can be found here: <http://www.uwgb.edu/aldreteg/Linothorax.html>.

<sup>73</sup> Hanson, 1989, 58

the accompanying polyandrion.<sup>74</sup> It could be that the Athenians viewed the foreigners as honorary Athenians because their ‘glorious death’ was in the service of Athens; as they did with the lives of Athenians soldiers, the Athenians appropriated the valor of their allies for themselves. If this is the case, then the message of the funeral oration was not subverted, as Morris claims,<sup>75</sup> but rather reinforced and expanded to include all virtuous and brave deaths, as long as they died fighting with and for the Athenians, not against them.

The funeral orations functioned almost as a liturgy in Athenian society. In the Greek mind, the well-to-do had liturgical duties to perform (liturgy is derived from the Greek, *leitourgia*, referring to an act or work performed by or for the people), and while the *polis* did not designate the state funeral oration as an official liturgy, it met most of the requirements of one: it was corporate in character in that it was public and open to all, it was cyclical, occurring once a year; it elaborated on various experiences; and it legitimized the authority of the state. The orator, metaphorically, functioned as the ordained official. Liturgies followed a formula, and the state funeral orations were no different.<sup>76</sup> By repeating the various myths and histories of the Athenians, the orator created a ‘rhetorical constellation’ of deeds that expressed the glory and heroism of the

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<sup>74</sup> Loraux, 1986, 35-7; there are at least four lists with such *toxotai barbaroi*: IG I<sup>2</sup>, nos. 944, 950, 951, 952 and Agora XVII, no. 14; Also missing from the *epitaphioi logoi*, as in the lists of the war-dead, were the rowers of the Athenian fleet, who would have been among the poorest of the citizenry of Athens, Morris, 1992, 132.

<sup>75</sup> Morris, 1992, 132-3.

<sup>76</sup> Ochs, 1993, 76.

past and guided future actions of the citizenry.<sup>77</sup> By functioning as a quasi-religious figure, the orator led the mourners away from focusing on their loss and directed their attention to the ‘everlasting life’ of both their war-dead and the *polis*.

As K.R. Walters states, “while the funeral oration’s ostensible purpose was to eulogize the dead, in fact it was an encomium on the city itself. The *epitaphioi* reveal how the Athenians pictured to themselves their city’s merits and achievements, its present policy and past actions...the orations were designed not to inform or innovate, but to articulate in ritual fashion shared community ideals, values, and attitudes.”<sup>78</sup> In addition, the funeral orations reinforced the idea that Athens must always be on her guard, that events like those that happened in the past can and will happen again. The funeral orations would have aided the listener in their interpretation of the figures seen around them on the polyandria reliefs: the men depicted were deserving of immortality because of their choice to die a beautiful death. This was the Athenians *phusis*, innate nature, and would continue to be so, but only if the civic contract between *demos* and *polis* was maintained.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>78</sup> Walters, 1980, 1-2.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ART AND ICONOGRAPHY OF THE *DEMOSION SEMA*

Death in battle, while the ultimate sacrifice, was in a sense the ultimate victory for an Athenian soldier. In the *demotion sema* dead soldiers, while not heroes per se, were depicted as such. Using the Archaic and Early Classical iconography of the nobility and inventing some new ways to depict valorous actions, the state not only paid its respects to the deceased and their families but also visually reinforced its newly adopted democratic ideals. As mentioned before, the tombs of the *demotion sema* had lists of the men who had died in the battle, listed separately by tribe, placed in front of the mass grave. The lists were often decorated with reliefs of battle scenes. Essentially casualty lists, they were meant to be the democratic way of remembering the dead; by suppressing any notion of individuality, such as rank or class, any possible connection to the pre-democratic times of the sixth century was removed as well.

The archaeological remains of the *demotion sema* are sparse. Only about 1/4th of the length of the road (Fig. 1) has been excavated. There is scant evidence *in situ* that would allow one to ascertain for certain what the tombs themselves looked like. Circular tumuli would no doubt have been associated with the tumulus at Marathon, while rectangular confines would have been associated with the aristocracy and heroes.<sup>79</sup> In years with great numbers of casualties, there would have been ten rectangular precincts, one for each of the ten tribes, but in the years with fewer casualties, when all the names could have been placed on one stele, only one rectangular enclosure would have been

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<sup>79</sup> Stupperich. 1994, 94; Whitley, 1994, 213-230.

needed.<sup>80</sup> Thus, we can suppose that the majority of tombs themselves were rectangular, similar to family precincts south of the Eridanos, with stelai identifying the interred (Figs. 6 and 10).<sup>81</sup>

The earliest extant tomb dates to 404/3, the tomb of the Lacedaemonians (Fig. 6), while the earliest stele listing the names of the dead dates to 464 (Fig. 11).<sup>82</sup> The tombs would have flanked both sides of the road, which was at least 20 m wide and at its widest, 40 m (Fig. 1).<sup>83</sup> This would have facilitated the crowds for the ceremony, the *epitaphios logos*, and the *epitaphios agones*, the funeral games that would have concluded the *patrios nomos*.<sup>84</sup> The front of the typical tomb may have been decorated with low relief. What the iconographic themes of the relief work were is, again, a complicated issue that is shrouded in mere possibilities, but it is probable that they were adorned with *anthemia*, or crowning ornaments, with scrolls or flowers or palmettes.<sup>85</sup>

The three types of iconography seen on monuments in the *demosion sema* are those dedicated exclusively to (a) the cavalry, (b) to foot soldiers, and (c) both cavalry and foot soldiers, and all follow a canonical form. On the surface, the whole ideology of the *demosion sema* seems to promote egalitarianism. The men on the lists were stripped of their patronymics and demotics.<sup>86</sup> Certain headings on the monuments emphasized

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<sup>80</sup> Bradeen, 1967, 324, pl 70d; Clairmont, 1983, 62, pl. 3; Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 112.

<sup>81</sup> Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 108-112.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 112; Clairmont, 1983, 127, 203.

<sup>83</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 32; Arrington, 2010, 522.

<sup>84</sup> Stupperich, 1994, 94.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>86</sup> Loraux, 1986, 23.

this—such as ‘*Athenaion hoide apethanon*’ (Of the Athenians, these died)<sup>87</sup>—as did the function of the lists themselves, both commemorative and archival, asserting no other information than “these were Athenians”.<sup>88</sup> However, if we take into consideration the fact that the horsemen (*hippeis*) were usually members of the elite,<sup>89</sup> it can be assumed that, despite the attempts to blur class distinctions in death, there were still ways the Athenian elite could display their wealth and power. At the same time, all of the dead were elevated to a higher, even heroic, class, as a reward for giving their life for the *demos*.

By far the most common motif that would have been seen in the *demosion sema* is that of a warrior, often on horseback, engaged in a battle with a foe. We can see this now standard paradigm on an unpublished stele found in 1995 during the construction of the Athenian underground (Figs. 7 and 8). The stele is 2.10 m high and contains the lists of cavalry casualties at the battles of Tanagra and Spartolos during the Peloponnesian War<sup>90</sup> and was added to later to include a list of those who died during a battle in the Megara

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<sup>87</sup> Mackay, 2008, 157.

<sup>88</sup> Bradeen, 1969, 153; Loraux, 1986, 23.

<sup>89</sup> Sidnell, 2006, 24-5. The average price for a cavalry horse in mid-fourth century Athens was about five hundred drachmas; the average price for a house during the same time was about four hundred drachmas. Even after Pericles’ cavalry reforms, the expenses required to outfit and maintain your horse and yourself (the state did not pay for gear) led to only the elite being able to afford to be a cavalry member. In this way, images of cavalry were connected at their roots to the aristocracy.

<sup>90</sup> There is some debate as to which battle of Tanagra and which battle of Spartolos is being referred to on this casualty-list. The Tanagra reference could be the battle of 426 or 424/3. The Spartolos reference could be that of 429/8, which is mentioned by Thucydides (2.79.2-7) or another battle of Spartolos that we have no record of. Arrington believes that this stele was probably never part of the *demosion sema*, rather that it was erected by cavalry members. He explains, “although it was found in a secondary context, the fact that it was largely intact (lacking only the crowning anthemion) and reused for a private burial suggests that it was not transported far,” 2010, 530. In any case, the casualty-list is only an anomaly if the two battles if first commemorated did not take place in the same year.

region, probably in 409/08.<sup>91</sup> The principle drama of the scene is a knight on horseback attacking two foot soldiers. One of the foot soldiers, dressed in a chiton, has already fallen to the ground, wounded; the other, who is nude, braces himself by placing his foot upon a rock (thus indicating the rocking terrain) and wields his weapon (either a bronze sword or spear, now missing) with his right hand and holds his shield in his on his left arm. The knight's horse is rearing upon the fallen foot soldier while the knight, wearing a wide-brimmed hat called a petasos, is raising his arm back, aiming what was likely his spear (added either in bronze or paint) at his foe, about to strike. Behind the knight and very badly damaged, another soldier on horseback is riding into the scene, his horse rearing over the rocky terrain.

Below this image, the accompanying inscription—“These Athenian cavalry men died at Tanagra and Spartolos”<sup>92</sup>— leaves no doubt that the men who were listed below the image were Athenian cavalry. The first 21 lines refer to the battles of Tanagra and Spartolos: listed in two columns, divided up according to their tribe, are the names of 19 Athenian cavalry, and that of one mounted archer (*hippotoxotes*). There is a second inscription (Fig. 12), consisting of 11 lines, that was added later and not as carefully as the first inscription (due to the inscription being added after the stone was erected, while the stone was upright). This inscription contains the names of 12 more fallen horsemen. Eight names are listed below their tribal heading, in this case the Oineid tribe (the eight

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<sup>91</sup> Parlama *et al.*, 2001, 342; Goette, 2009, 189.

<sup>92</sup> Parlama *et. al.*, 2000, 398.

names are broken up in two columns of five and three). Four more men are listed under their tribal affiliation (the Erectheids, the Aigeid, the Pandionid, and the Kekropid).<sup>93</sup>

This second inscription was added between the molding below the image and above the original inscription and so seems cramped. According to Parlama, the 12 later names are grouped with an epigram that refers to the walls of Alkathoös, the Megarian king who built walls around his city that the Athenian cavalry stormed when confronting the god, Ares.<sup>94</sup> Though the couplet has not been published, Parlama mentions two parts of the epigram: [*‘storming the walls of Alkathoös’*]<sup>95</sup> and [*‘...and they willingly held the outstanding reputation for excellence...’*].<sup>96</sup> This addition to the stele may commemorate the battle that commenced when Athens attempted to retake, with a force of 1000 hoplites and 400 cavalry, Nisaia from the Megarians in 409/8.<sup>97</sup> The text associated with both lists of names, in conjunction with the image and the rhetoric of the funeral orations, outline a clear picture of what the Athenians were meant to take away from the *demosion sema* and its monuments. The monuments were ‘all purpose’ and could be reused or added to, regardless of outcome of the battle (the battles at Tanagra and Nisaia were both victorious while the battle of Spartolos was not). The casualty-lists and their images communicated to the viewer the message of civic choice and fulfilled the promised rewards by the state.

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 396-9.

<sup>94</sup> Parlama *et. al.*, 2000, 399; Arrington, 2010, 530n170.

<sup>95</sup> Author’s translation; Ibid., 397.

<sup>96</sup> Parlama *et. al.*, 2000, 399; Thanks to Prof. C. Eckerman for this translation.

<sup>97</sup> Parlama *et. al.*, 2000, 399; Arrington, 2010, 530n170; Matthaïou (2009, pp. 203-4) notes that the name Menexenos Dikaiogenous is referenced by Isaeus in *Dicaeogenes* (5.42) as having died at Spartolos as phylarch. This name is listed in the second inscription, added later, thought to be dedicated to those who died in the conflict in the Megarian region. He goes on to argue that at least four other names on this later inscription were casualties of the conflict at Spartolos.

A magnificent if fragmentary relief currently located in the Villa Albani in Rome but almost certainly from the *demosion sema* (Fig. 13) depicts a fallen man, nude except for a cape, trying to protect himself from an attacking horseman. The attacker has dismounted his horse, which rears behind him. The pose of the attacker is a variation of the pose of Harmodios from the Tyrannicides group (Fig. 14): in a wide lunge, with his right arm raised, poised to strike the fatal blow. The pose of the knight was clearly meant to draw a visual connection with the Tyrannicides group and establishes the knight as a defender of the democracy.<sup>98</sup> Stupperich suggests the effect upon the spectator: “Like the Tyrannicides, therefore, the victorious fighters of the Athenian state burials appeal to the spectator to follow the example they provide.”<sup>99</sup>

Hans Goette also believes that the Albani relief should be associated with the *demosion sema* because of its size. What is more, the style of the relief—the drapery, the figural details of the men, the horse—is so similar to the style of the Parthenon frieze (Fig. 15) that it could have been produced around the time as the frieze, or not long after, perhaps by a sculptor who had worked on the Parthenon.<sup>100</sup> If this is the case, the Villa Albani relief could well have established a canon—an iconographic formula—for later sculpture of the *demosion sema* and in the sculpture of private monuments as well.

The Albani relief is one of the earliest images of a cavalryman on a marble funerary monument—its date is usually placed at 420-400—and the formula becomes popular in the last fifteen years or so of the 5th century. The cavalry was involved in

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<sup>98</sup> Hurwit, 2007, 44; Clairmont, 1983, 213.

<sup>99</sup> Stupperich, 1994, 99.

<sup>100</sup> Goette, 196; The Villa Albani relief is also very similar to South Metope 4 on the Parthenon as well.

heavy fighting in the Sicilian campaign in 415 and was successful—so successful that, we are told by Thucydides, a ‘*tropaion hippomachias*’, or a trophy to the cavalrymen, was erected.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps the success of the *hippeis* can explain the popularity of this motif in public and private sculpture, such as the grave stele from Khalandri (Fig. 16) and the Dexileos stele (Fig. 17), both of which will be discussed later.<sup>102</sup>

If we accept that Villa Albani relief is one of the earliest monument from the *demosion sema* dedicated strictly to the cavalry, then we can see the composition change gradually in the following decades. Three reliefs on the base of an Attic grave stele dating between 400 and 390 depict scenes of men on rearing horses attacking their foes, one of whom is nude (Fig. 18).<sup>103</sup> On two sides, horsemen face left in almost identical positions: the horse rears, each man grips the mane of his horse with his left hand, and each raises his right hand with the intention to strike with the spears that would have been painted. The third relief shows essentially the same scene as the other two, except now the horse

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<sup>101</sup> Clairmont, 1970, 102. Thuc. 6.98-103: “Not long afterwards three hundred cavalry came to them from Egesta, and about a hundred from the Sicels, Naxians, and others; and thus, with the two hundred and fifty from Athens, for whom they had got horses from the Egestaeans and Catanians, besides others that they bought, they now mustered six hundred and fifty cavalry in all. After posting a garrison in Labdalum, they advanced to Syca, where they sat down and quickly built the Circle or centre of their wall of circumvallation. The Syracusans, appalled at the rapidity with which the work advanced, determined to go out against them and give battle and interrupt it; and the two armies were already in battle array, when the Syracusan generals observed that their troops found such difficulty in getting into line, and were in such disorder, that they led them back into the town, except part of the cavalry. These remained and hindered the Athenians from carrying stones or dispersing to any great distance, until a tribe of the Athenian heavy infantry, with all the cavalry, charged and routed the Syracusan horse with some loss; after which they set up a trophy for the cavalry action.” (Trans. Forster Smith)

<sup>102</sup> Clairmont believes that the Dexileos monument was based on a polyandron (mass tomb) connected with the Sicilian campaign—in other words, that there was one specific scene that the Dexileos monument copies instead of an amalgam of imagery from the *demosion sema*. If this is true, Clairmont’s prototype for the Dexileos monument would have its iconographic roots in of the *demosion sema*. It is perhaps too speculative to say that the ‘*tropaion hippomachias*’ Thucydides mentions may have looked something like the Dexileos monument or the Villa Albani relief, but it is a possibility.

<sup>103</sup> Kosmopoulou, 2002, 218-219.

has turned to face the right. This pose of a man on his rearing horse about to strike his fallen foe is commonly known as ‘the Dexileos Motif’, even though it is not clear that the Dexileos relief is in fact earlier. Either way, the dramatic motif of horseman rearing over his fallen foe was surely common throughout the *demosion sema*.

Eventually, this stock public image was appropriated by the wealthy for use on their own private funerary monuments. On a fragment of an Attic grave stele from Khalandri, dating around 420 or 410 (Fig. 16), one is able to make out a horse rearing atop a foe who has fallen to the ground. The epitaph reads: ‘*and my country [knows] how many enemies I have destroyed [---] witnesses to how many trophies of my excellence [arete] I have set up. [---] [---]YLOS of PHLYA.*’<sup>104</sup> This monument takes the ideas behind the images seen in the *demosion sema* and applies them to personal *arete*. That is, the monuments in the *demosion sema* are to be seen as trophies to the glory of the dead and Athens; the patron of this stele was trying to align his deceased family member with the ‘heroes’ in the *demosion sema*, both through the iconography and the epitaph. Though he is dead, this man’s trophies (including this funerary monument) will bear witness to his excellence in life.

And the trend intensifies on the Dexileos Monument, installed in 394/3 in the Kerameikos (Fig. 17).<sup>105</sup> The Dexileos relief depicts an image similar to those in Figures 8 and 18, however, the Dexileos Monument is much more refined. Dexileos is mounted on his horse, which is rearing in a diagonal parallel to the diagonal of his foe’s outstretched body. Dexileos faces right, while his drapery blows to the left behind him,

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<sup>104</sup> Hurwit, 2007, 44; Clairmont, 1970, 100.

<sup>105</sup> Hurwit, 2007, 35.

creating a sense of dynamic movement. His left arm is tight at his side, grasping onto the reins of the horse added in bronze; his right arm is raised (it once held a bronze spear), visually creating a diagonal to counter the rest of the scene.

Dexileos' enemy is nude; traditionally, nudity in Greek art has been associated with heroes and the heroic, but it is with the Dexileos Monument and the others such as the Albani Relief in the *demosion sema* that we are able to see a distinction between heroic and pathetic nudity.<sup>106</sup> Whether the scene on the Dexileos monument derives from a lost prototype similar to the relief on the casualty list of Spartolos and Tanagra (Figs. 8), or was a new creation using an amalgam of iconography from the *demosion sema* is unknown. However, due to the similarity of the iconography of the Dexileos monument to the reliefs from the *demosion sema* (e.g., Fig. 8), it could be that the family of Dexileos was trying to align their monument with ideologies projected by the monuments in the *demosion sema*. Dexileos is also listed on a monument to the cavalry who died at the battle of Corinth and Koroneia in 394 (Figs. 19 and 20). There was also a separate polyandrion with a relief that contains a figure on a rearing horse that is apparently trampling a falling, naked soldier, and with another soldier on the left lunging to attack (Fig. 21). This monument was most likely dedicated to *all* soldiers, cavalry and infantry, who died in the battles of 394/3.<sup>107</sup>

The similarity of the image located on the casualty-list dedicated to all soldiers who died at Corinth and Koroneia (Fig. 21) to that image located on the casualty-list dedicated to the dead of Spartolos and Tanagra (Fig. 8) or even to an image from a

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<sup>106</sup> See Hurwit, 2007, 45-58 for further discussion.

<sup>107</sup> Goette, 2009, 192-31 Hurwit, 2007, 336-37, Figs 2 and 3; Clairmont, 1983, 213-214.

casualty-list probably dedicated to a battle in the Peloponnesian war (Fig. 22),<sup>108</sup> is significant. The repetitive quality of the images on the casualty-lists reinforces the message of the *demosion sema*: those who had died had become a part of the democratic ethos of Athens. The ambiguity of the images reflects the ambiguity of the names listed below and the repetitive nature of the *demosion sema* and the *epitaphioi logoi*, one can begin to see that this site existed not only to pay homage to the sacrifice of its citizens, but also to reinforce the message of civic duty; without individual sacrifice, the *polis* would cease to exist.<sup>109</sup>

The generic imagery that develops from the Spartolos and Tanagra and Albani reliefs to the Dexileos monument is eventually utilized by artists depicting hunting scenes, and the motif persists into the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. On a fragment in the Getty (ca. 290) of a horseman and his canine companion, for example, we can see subtle references to the imagery of the *demosion sema* (Fig. 23). The horse is similar to those we have already seen. The youth is nude and lunges like the hoplite in the Spartolos and Tanagra relief (Fig. 8) or the cavalryman in the Villa Albani relief (Fig. 13).<sup>110</sup> Similarly, the Lycian Sarcophagus from Sidon directly quotes the Dexileos monument with the horseman on the left of the hunting scene, though with less skill and precision; the sarcophagus is usually dated after 394/3 BC, c. 380 (Fig. 24).<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Goette, 2009, 190-1.

<sup>109</sup> In this way, the *demosion sema* can be viewed as being similar to Arlington National Cemetery Arlington County, Virginia.

<sup>110</sup> Grossman, 2001, 144.

<sup>111</sup> It is worth noting that these two examples are both funerary in their function (the hunting youth is part of a frieze of a small funerary building). Whether these depictions and their functions are isolated instances

The boilerplate quality of the imagery from the *demosion sema* is important. There are no visual clues that point to a specific battle or person. This enhances the message the images were meant to convey: namely, that these men are almost abstractions—‘*andres agathoi*,’ or ‘good men’—because of the deeds they completed and the sacrifices they made in the name of Athens. If any one person were glorified, the democratic ethos of the *demosion sema* would be subverted. In the same way, the *epitaphioi logoi* were generic in the sense that no single person was praised above another; the whole of the fighting force was given equal elegiac glory. It is this generic quality that would have allowed living Athenian soldiers to see themselves reflected in the sculpture as victorious warriors.

Some images on casualty-lists in the *demosion sema* commemorated foot soldiers or infantry. A fragment preserved in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, for example, depicts a man dressed in a chiton, attacking a fallen soldier (Fig. 25).<sup>112</sup> The fallen man was shielded by another figure, now missing, at the break of the stone. The partial inscription, along with the size and shape of the fragment, suggests that the stele was a large one, set up to honor those who, at some point, fell during the Peloponnesian War.<sup>113</sup>

Trierarchs, commanders of a warships called triremes, may also have been depicted in the *demosion sema*, although, oddly, not as trierarchs. In two Attic grave steles we in fact see trierarchs dressed as hoplites. Figure 26 (ca. 400), shows three men:

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requires further research; it would seem that the Dexileos motif, once it becomes closely associated with funerary imagery, retains its connotations with funerary monuments.

<sup>112</sup> Goette, 2009, 189-90; See also, Stupperich, 1978; It is possible that there was a knight included in this relief, but we cannot be certain unless further evidence comes to light.

<sup>113</sup> Stupperich, 1978, 87-9; Goette, 2009, 190.

a central nude youth who is the deceased, a man wearing a chiton, and an older, bearded man in full hoplite regalia. This older man is of some importance, since he is identified as Menon. There is a Menon listed as a trierarch who died during the Peloponnesian war and perhaps this he.<sup>114</sup> The brothers Lykeas and Chairedemos (Fig. 27) are both listed as casualties of the Peloponnesian war, and Lykeas, the bearded man dressed as a hoplite, is named as a trierarch.<sup>115</sup> It is interesting to note that the Athenian navy is not represented in the iconography of the *demosion sema* or in Classical Athenian art in general. It may be that the traditional iconography was thought sufficient, or perhaps trierarchs and thetes, the poorer men who served as rowers of the triremes, desired to be depicted as more imposing members of the infantry rather than as ‘lowly’ oarsmen. In any case, if trierarchs buried in the *demosion sema* were depicted as hoplites in private funerary reliefs, as seems to be the case, then perhaps there were monuments dedicated to trierarchs and seamen in the *demosion sema* that we are unaware of or have not been associated with the trierarchs previously.<sup>116</sup>

Lions are a common, virtually universal symbol of heroism and are commonly found on funerary monuments throughout the ancient world. The beast is a symbol of physical strength and cunning and is an obvious choice for monuments dedicated to the military prowess and courage of war-dead. Lions also had chthonic associations and were connected with the cult of the dead.<sup>117</sup> There are many examples of funerary lion

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<sup>114</sup> Goette, 2009, 199.

<sup>115</sup> Davies, 1971, 344-5; Goette, 2009, 199.

<sup>116</sup> Goette, 2009, 199-202; Stupperich, 1994, 97.

<sup>117</sup> Broneer, 1941, 45; Rice, 1993, 248.

monuments from the Classical world.<sup>118</sup> Examples include the tomb of Leonidas at Thermopylai, over which a colossal lion was set up (Hdt. 7.225), and a *polyandrion* at Thespiiai, perhaps built to commemorate the battle of Delion in 424 BC.<sup>119</sup> Pausanias mentions a lion that was set up over the tomb of the Thebans who fell at Chaeronea in 338 (9.40.10, Fig. 28) and it is still there.<sup>120</sup> Stupperich also mentions lions represented on some unpublished red-figure sherds from tombs east of the Academy Road.<sup>121</sup> Lion monuments continued to be used as tomb sculpture into the Hellenistic period; the lion monument at Amphipolis and the lion tomb at Knidos are two examples (Figs. 29, 30 and 31).<sup>122</sup> A double-sided lion stele dating to the middle of the fifth century was, in fact, found in the area of the *demosion sema* (Fig. 32).<sup>123</sup> There is also a fragmentary neck of a red-figure loutrophoros that shows a lion atop a grave stele (Fig. 33).<sup>124</sup> Therefore, it is probable that lions were sometimes used in the sculptural programs of the *demosion sema*.

In Athens, there is a gradual resurgence of private funerary monuments in the third quarter of the fifth century (ca. 450-425 BC), though no repeal of funerary

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<sup>118</sup> Rice, 1993, 248-251.

<sup>119</sup> Rice, 1993, 248; Pritchett, 1974, 132.

<sup>120</sup> Rice, 1993, 248; Broneer, 1941, 35-41, Figs. 34-5.

<sup>121</sup> Stupperich, 1994, 94.

<sup>122</sup> Rice, 1993, 248-50; Broneer, 1941, 50-1.

<sup>123</sup> Stupperich, 1994, 94.

<sup>124</sup> Clairmont, 1983, pl. 6., ARV<sup>2</sup> 1059, 124.

legislation is extant.<sup>125</sup> Several reasons for this change have been suggested, including a relaxation of the funerary laws,<sup>126</sup> Pericles' new Citizenship law (especially with regard to the prevalence of depictions of women),<sup>127</sup> the plague of 429/8,<sup>128</sup> and the abundance of skilled artisans who, having worked on Pericles' building projects, now turned to creating grave markers once their work on the *Acropolis* was complete.<sup>129</sup> Whatever the reason for this surge, the private funerary monuments from this period contain something that the scenes from the *demosion sema* lack. Their iconography emphasizes the family group, the epitaphs on such stelai commemorate the achievements and virtues of family life, and the images depict the deceased as they might have been in life.<sup>130</sup> Stupperich believes it possible that mourning family members may have appeared on some of the public reliefs in the *demosion sema*. He points to an early warrior lekythos that also depicts mourning family members of the deceased (Figs. 34 and 35).<sup>131</sup> However this is unlikely. The lekythos is a private monument, not a public one, and images of mourning family members would remind them of their loss rather than incite pride in their loved one's death. However, depictions of the family, while not explicit in the reliefs from the area,

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<sup>125</sup> Leader, 1997, 101.

<sup>126</sup> Stears, 2000, 49.

<sup>127</sup> See Whitley, 2001 for a discussion of the citizenship laws and their effect on private funerary monuments; both parents had to be citizens in order for their offspring to be considered an Athenian citizen, thus elevating the status of women within Athenian society and having an impact on the way they were buried.

<sup>128</sup> Humphreys, 1980, 104-5; Fuchs, 1961, 241-2.

<sup>129</sup> Boardman and Kurtz, 1971, 122.

<sup>130</sup> Humphreys, 1980, 107.

<sup>131</sup> Conze, 1900, no. 1073; Stupperich, 1994, 96.

are found in association with the *demosion sema* by way of the objects used for ritualistic purposes.

Scenes on some red-figure battle-loutrophori may be situated in the *demosion sema*, as is the case with some white-figure lekythoi. Unfortunately, most of the vessels are fragmentary, since they were smashed at the tomb of the deceased by their relatives in accordance with funereal rites. A loutrophoros by the Talos Painter (425-375 BC) exemplifies the type (Fig. 36).<sup>132</sup> There are warriors on foot and horseback and the soldiers are fully armed. Some are naked and others wear chitons and chlamys. The central knight, on his white horse, is a mirror image to the knight of the Dexileos stele.<sup>133</sup> Additionally, though the costumes differ, the composition is very close to that of the image seen on the casualty list for the battles of Tanagra and Spartolos (Figs. 8) and Corinth and Koroneia (Fig. 21), again, reinforcing the generic, ambiguous quality of the images so that the meaning may be used by the state to promote their message of civic duty. Whether the gravestone in the background occupied the exact center of the composition is uncertain, but it seems likely that it did, since the combatants come from opposite sides and engage in front of the stele.<sup>134</sup> We are, however, not meant to take the scene literally: “Sometimes a tomb is drawn in the background: this does not mean that the fight is thought of as taking place at a tomb: it only says ‘one is buried, or commemorated, here’; and the rest of the picture adds ‘who fell in battle for his

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<sup>132</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, 1927, III.ID.6-7; ARV<sup>2</sup> 1339,4.

<sup>133</sup> Thanks to Professor J. Hurwit, who brought the resemblance between the scene on the Talos Painter loutrophoros and the Dexileos stele to my attention.

<sup>134</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 77.

country.”<sup>135</sup> Although there is no known representation of a complete polyandron, it is possible that vase-painters intended the stelai on battle-loutrophoroi to signify polyandria.<sup>136</sup>

Another, even more convincing example, can be found on a fragmentary loutrophoros dating to the end of the fifth century in Berlin (Figs. 37 and 38). There are two main figures: the first, a youth on horseback with a petasos, hanging behind his back, a sword at his left side and lance held in his right hand (Fig. 37); the other, a standing young warrior with two lances propped up against his left shoulder, a sword slung over his left hip, and a hanging petasos (Fig. 37). A white stele is located behind them. Both wear similar, highly ornamented chitons and both of their heads are crowned with laurel wreaths. Behind the youth on the horse another young man progresses, wearing a petasos and carrying a dead hare on a pole over his shoulder (Fig. 37). Right of the standing warrior are three female figures (Figs. 37 and 38); the middle female is carrying a basket. Next, there is a white-haired, bearded man leaning on a staff; he faces yet another nude warrior and gestures expressively (Fig. 38). There is also a youth with chlamys and a lance and another female figure in three-quarter view to the left.

The group of horse and rider is undoubtedly a marble statue: it stands upon a base and the horse is painted white like the base and stele.<sup>137</sup> The laurel wreaths, usually reserved for victors, here symbolize victory over death and mark the two men wearing them as the most important figures on the vase. The central position of the rider and the

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<sup>135</sup> Beazley, 1932-3, 4-22; Clairmont, 1983, 78.

<sup>136</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 78.

<sup>137</sup> Humphreys, 1980, 112, pl. IIIA; Bakalakis, 1971, 74-83; Clairmont, 1983, 78-9.

ornately dressed warrior before the stele, indicate that both soldiers are deceased.

Clairmont places this scene in the *demosion sema*:

“Not in a real but in a purely conceptual sense are they placed in front of the polyandrion. Their close relatives and a younger companion have come to the *demosion sema* to perform the rites at the grave, as is indicated by the broken white-ground lekythoi which lie on the steps upon which the public memorial has been erected. The theme of departure of a warrior, which is common enough, is evoked by the remaining figures... While this scene relates more to the private realm of a family gathering, with a son who is leaving for a military campaign, the main figures relate to the practice of public burial. The casualties in warfare are personified by the two military categories, cavalrist [sic] and hoplite, in front of the polyandrion.”<sup>138</sup>

The ‘theme of departure’ that Clairmont mentions is, as he says, quite common, especially on white-ground lekythoi. When soldier and stele are present, these scenes of departure are almost always to be read as an allusion to the death of the soldier and his final journey to the land of the dead.

White-ground lekythoi have usually been associated with private funerary practices, though recent finds suggest this may not always be the case. In 1997, during excavations for the Kerameikos metro station, several red-figure battle-loutrophoroi were found in addition to many polychrome white lekythoi. It is not inconceivable that these were left as votive offerings during the laying-in-state of the war-dead. Clairmont believes that the *demosion sema* provided a major source of inspiration for vase-painters

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<sup>138</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 79.

between the years of 490 and 430, as no marble stelai were placed on private tombs of Athenian citizens during these years. The warrior typology of white-ground lekythoi is especially dominant for three decades, from 460 to 430. Clairmont further states, “ If one accepts the contention that public memorials influenced the vase-painters, then there is in these earliest white-ground lekythoi down to 430 a public connotation which is enmeshed with the otherwise purely private realm.”<sup>139</sup>

John Oakley gruesomely posits that white-ground vases would have made appropriate and impressive offerings because ‘white goes especially well with marble and bones’.<sup>140</sup> More than this, the white background offered the ability to create standardized scenes that could be easily and quickly personalized with a few strokes of a brush, often containing scenes of parting soldiers saying their goodbyes to their loved ones in front of what may be the lists and graves of the dead. For example, Athens NM 1816 (Figs. 39 and 40) depicts a scene with a deceased soldier, his shield resting at his side and his arm holding up his spear, sitting at his own tomb. His relatives have come to mourn his loss.<sup>141</sup> We are to read this as the relatives experiencing a ‘kind of epiphany’ of their loved one.<sup>142</sup> If one accepts Clairmont’s view, it may be that this young soldier is seated at the particular tomb in which his bones are buried in the *demosion sema*.

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<sup>139</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 74-5, 277n.4, 278n.5.

<sup>140</sup> Oakley, 2004, 216.

<sup>141</sup> Kurtz, 1975, 222, pl. 49.1; ARV<sup>2</sup> 1383.12.

<sup>142</sup> Kurtz, 1975, 60-1, 242, pl.49.1; Shapiro, 1991, 95.

The so-called ‘Inscription Painter’ offers a strong case for the depiction of the *demosion sema* on white-ground lekythoi (Fig. 41).<sup>143</sup> He receives his moniker from the rows of short strokes he paints on stelai, indicating an inscription; there are never more than five lines depicted. After 430, several lines of inscriptions on burial markers become common for private citizens, but rarely consist of as many as five lines.<sup>144</sup> These ‘mock inscriptions’ could be imitating the casualty lists of the *demosion sema*, a fact supported by the artist’s lack of actual words on the stelai. The Inscription Painter could be illustrating the repetition of the monuments in the *demosion sema* and its effect on the viewer for us on his vases: he feels no need to print actual words identifying whose grave the mourners are at. To the Athenian, it may have been simply understood that the casualty-lists of the *demosion sema*, with their repetitive epitaphs and lists, were being represented.

The private images on white-ground lekythoi, such as Athens NM 1816 (Figs. 39 and 40), contrast sharply with the images of the state on the casualty lists and perhaps would comfort the mourners. Often, we see the youthful dead, heroically nude, with a family member in mourning, as in Figure 42. Here we see an old bearded man, with some white still visible on his hair and beard. Clothed and holding a walking stick, he brings his hand up to his head in grief, his open mouth suggesting audible mourning. Next to him is a thin, white stele. Finally, there is an adult male soldier nude but for his helmet, shield, baldric with knife, and spear. Finely rendered by the Achilles Painter, his muscles

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<sup>143</sup> Kurtz, 1975, 202-3, pl. 19.1 and 2; ARV<sup>2</sup> 748.1-2.

<sup>144</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 75-6.

are created with a thin black line, thickening where the shadows of his muscular stomach are greatest.<sup>145</sup>

The images on such lekythoi should be read symbolically. Death is present in the tombs, but the warriors, represented as if alive, represent the victory over death one can achieve by dying for the *polis*.<sup>146</sup> Images of familial mourning on private white-ground lekythoi, as seen above, seem to record the personal grief allowed to the citizen mourner, while the public monuments in the *demosion sema* do not allow for any scenes of familial, mournful narrative. More than this, images like these (Figs. 37-41) help us to visualize the polyandria *in situ*: placed on a low base so that they were easily legible, decorated with wreaths and garlands, and at their top a palmette or scroll. In one fragmentary and important example in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (Fig. 43), there are at least five tombstones represented against the white background, and on two of them are the inscriptions ‘in Byzantium’ and ‘in Eleutherai’.<sup>147</sup> Though fragmentary, we get the sense of what the *demosion sema* would have looked like, if only a glimpse. If we are to believe Thucydides, it is fortunate that the *demosion sema* was located in the most beautiful area of the city: for the Athenian citizen, viewing list after list, tomb after tomb of war dead must have had a somber and sobering effect, at the very least.

The force of the imagery of the *demosion sema* was compounded by the funeral orations delivered during the *patrios nomos*. As we have seen, only six orations are

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<sup>145</sup> Oakley, 2004, 160.

<sup>146</sup> Stupperich, 1994, 97.

<sup>147</sup> Kurtz, 1975, 86n10; Clairmont, 1983, pl. 3, 69c; Bradeen, 1967, 324, pl 70d.

extant, but they all generally follow the same pattern: an introduction, a praise section, the consolation, and a conclusion. Importantly, they were necessary to project the narrative of Athens onto the images seen in the stones.<sup>148</sup> The oration would link the city of Athens to its ancestors and praise the Athenian way of life. The actual praise of the dead was often short and concise and near the end of the speech. In his famous funeral oration, for example, Pericles describes the soldiers as willing citizens of Athens who ‘achieved glory by consenting to die’, which would have made those represented on the monument behind him all the more glorious.<sup>149</sup> The reliefs of the *demosion sema* immortalized the spirit of the orations: words and images went hand-in-hand.

As excavations and research continue, the significance of the iconography of the *demosion sema* will be increasingly understood. There can be no denying, however, that the images associated with the *demosion sema* were so influential that their scenes of victorious foot soldiers or cavalymen were reflected in private funerary monuments throughout the Greek world. The *patrios nomos* and the *demosion sema* affected the private mourning practices of individuals. The *epitaphios logos* was the central if ephemeral element, bringing the act of personal mourning and the place of the *demosion sema* together, “reminding the citizens that their patriotism must serve the superiority, past and future, of the hegemonic city.”<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Herrmann, 2004, 6

<sup>149</sup> Herrmann, 2004, 19.

<sup>150</sup> Loraux, 1986, 98.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE *DEMOSION SEMA*

The *demosion sema* is usually considered an instrument and expression of Classical Athenian democracy; certainly, its ideology, architecture, and art leveled class distinctions. However, it may be that this is over-simplifying or elevating the function of the *demosion sema* within the Athenian *polis*. Scholars today usually view the *demosion sema* from a modern perspective, even though a modern, western view of war and its memorials is, upon further investigation, contrary to the Athenian outlook. This chapter will investigate the Athenian attitude toward the commemoration of war by placing the monuments and rituals associated with the *demosion sema* in the context of other ancient Athenian victory monuments.

The commemoration of the war-dead in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries consisted of different elements, as the previous chapters have suggested. The laying-in-state of the dead soldiers, the processions, the *epitaphios logos*, the funeral games, and the lists of the names of the dead soldiers, with their accompanying images of fighting warriors are the building blocks of commemoration. However, our records for these events are not always consistent or complete. We have a relative abundance of casualty lists, but almost no material remains for the funeral games associated with the *patrios nomos*.<sup>151</sup> Though there would have been scores of funeral orations delivered, there are only six extant, and not all of those were actually delivered. In addition, we do not know the exact location or boundaries of the burial ground.

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<sup>151</sup> For example, there are a few fifth-century *hydriai* (water jars) and *lebetes*, (a deep bowl), that were used as prizes for the funeral games as part of the *epitaphia agones* (funeral games) and labeled as such: ‘prizes at [the games] for those [killed] in the war’, Low, 2011, 348. See also, Vanderpool, 1969.

The fragmentary and incomplete information available to us presents problems. The attention we pay to the *demosion sema* may be a function of modern interest in war memorials. A comparison of the *demosion sema* to modern monuments, such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington DC, may be fruitful; however, the comparison illustrates more difference than similarities.

Created about 2500 years after the *demosion sema*, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was built in 1982 (Fig. 44) under the auspices of the National Parks Service of the Federal Government of the United States, although the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund secured the funding.<sup>152</sup> The monument is located between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument and consists of two, black granite walls set in the earth at an angle of 125 degrees. Extending in a V pattern, the walls are about 500 ft in total length and taper from their maximum height of 10 feet at the center of the V. There are some 58,000 names inscribed on the wall, chronologically listed according to the day they died (although the specific dates are not listed), each one the name of an American man or woman who died in the Vietnam War. The only dates listed are the framing dates of 1959 and 1975.<sup>153</sup> The Wall is the apparent antithesis of all of the other marble monuments on the Washington Mall, with its black stone and virtual invisibility due to the “burial” of the monument in the ground.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a site where visitors read the names, see their own reflections in the *polished* stone, and sense that these were not only human beings

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<sup>152</sup> For greater discourse on the political and social controversy of the monument, see Wagner-Pacifici and Schwartz, 1991.

<sup>153</sup> Sturken, 1991, 119.

but also fellow citizens with families.<sup>154</sup> The names themselves are stripped of anything that would suggest social or military status or origin. Those who were killed earliest in the war are listed at the center, at the ‘hinge’, and then move along the right wall. The list then jumps to the left edge of the left wall and works its way in, towards the hinge, ending at the center of the V. The monument refuses chronological linearity by listing the names in this way, as it does when one realizes the names themselves are not listed alphabetically. Maya Lin’s original intention was that the wall would read ‘like an epic Greek poem’, returning the deceased to their place in time. If the names were listed alphabetically, this effect would not have been achieved.<sup>155</sup> The focus then remains on the individual rather than on one specific battle or the war as a whole. Unlike the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the tombs in the *demosion sema* were not placed chronologically along the road. Again, the names of the war-dead in the *demosion sema* would have been listed according to their tribe and without their patronymic and demotic connotations.<sup>156</sup> This way of listing the dead would promote egalitarianism; like the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which omitted rank, one would not be able to recognize the status of the deceased (at least in theory).

We can perhaps imagine walking down the road that was lined with the lists and tombs because of sites like the Vietnam Veterans Memorial or Arlington Cemetery in Arlington, Virginia (Fig. 45). *Because* the dead were listed without personal details, such

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<sup>154</sup> Sturken, 1991, 120.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 127. Rather, the names would have been grouped, often times unintentionally, according to their ethnic backgrounds. As it is, there are names where one can make an educated guess as to the deceased ethnicity: Names such as Fredes Mendez-Ortiz, Stephen Boryszewski, Bobby Joe Yewell, Leroy Wright, etc.

<sup>156</sup> Loraux, 1986, 23.

as the name of their father (*patronymics*) or age, we can also imagine that these lists would eventually blend into each other and appear merely as lists of dead men. As the years wore on, memories of the individual surely faded. When viewed within the context of the *epitaphios logos*, the lists of war-dead in Athens would function more as exemplary rather than laudatory; that is, the individual and his individual sacrifice were not praised, but rather the lists of men were meant to encourage a group—the Athenian citizenry—to willingly sacrifice their lives for the *polis*.<sup>157</sup>

Often missing from modern monuments to war-dead are images of actual battle; modern monuments do not acknowledge the actual act of waging war or record the moment of death of the soldier, and this is understandable. However, the Athenians chose to include scenes of fighting, killing, and dying on the *polyandrion*, and this choice ought to be examined. There were many other ways in which the Athenians could have chosen to commemorate their war-dead in the *demosion sema*. What can be said about the battle reliefs (e.g., Figs. 8, 21, and 22) is that they aim to focus on those ‘killing rather than being killed’.<sup>158</sup> Is it not possible, then, that the focus of the viewer, especially one who had lost a son or brother in battle, would have been upon the soldier being defeated? Thus, some emphasis would have been placed on the pathos of death on the battlefield, rather than the glory of the victorious soldier. In that case, the monuments of the *demosion sema* would convey a very different idea of war and death, emphasizing the

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<sup>157</sup> Low, 2011, 345.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 346.

misery and the pain rather than the glory.<sup>159</sup> It may be that the images in the *demotion sema* had two purposes: to inspire individual *arete*, or excellence, *and* to acknowledge the *pathos*, or suffering, of war.

Epigrams are often found on *polyandria* of the *demotion sema*, although they do not have to accompany the lists, as a rule. We see them on some of the earliest monuments in the *demotion sema*, like that dated to 458 and dedicated to the Argive allies lost in the battle at Tanagra in Boeotia [*These died at Tanagra by the hands of the Lacedaemonians; They perished while fighting for their country.*]<sup>160</sup> and some of the latest monuments of the *demotion sema*, like that dedicated in 338 to those lost at Chaeronea [*Time, whose overseeing eye records all human actions, Bear word to mankind what fate was suffered, how striving to safeguard the holy soil of Hellas, upon Boeotia's plain we died*].<sup>161</sup> There is an overarching theme in the epigraphy of the *polyandria* of the *demotion sema* that could be classified as at once elegiac *and* encomiastic. An epigram from a *polyandria* dating to 432 BC for those who fell in the battle at Potidaea, a crucial battle before the start of the Peloponnesian war, is an example of what one might read on the casualty-lists if more than a generic inscription was included (e.g., ‘Of these Athenians, these died’, or ‘These Athenian cavalry men died at Tanagra and Spartolos’):

“Of these Athenians, these died at Poteidaia

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<sup>159</sup> Low, 2011, 345; Possible ambiguities, with special reference to heroic nudity and the Dexileos monument, are addressed by Hurwit, 2007.

<sup>160</sup> Metitt and Frantz, 1966, 7, Trans. Metitt; Clairmont, 1983, 136-8; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1149.

<sup>161</sup> Trans. Shea, 1997, 37; Page, 1981, 432 Clairmont, 1983, 216-7, Pl. 84, IG II<sup>2</sup> 5226; Low, 2011, 346.

Deathless memorial of the dead I stand  
To show our children these men's courage and  
High-father'd heart: who left their fame behind  
In the fair memory of that fight enshrined.<sup>162</sup>

The epigram apparently contains standard sentiments that are echoed in the *epitaphioi logoi*: memory of the dead will endure and the future of Athens is in the hands of the children of the men who died. However, unlike most other epitaphs, the next lines take almost a spiritual turn: [*“The air received the spirits and the earth the bodies of these men, and they were undone around the gates of Potidaea; of their enemies some attained the destiny of the grave, other fled and made the wall their surest hope of life.”*]<sup>163</sup> The epigram then returns to the voice of the *epitaphios logos*, emphasizing the glory gained by the city through the actions of the dead: [*“This polis and the people of Erechtheus feel the loss of the men, sons of the Athenians, who fell in the front ranks before Potidaea. Having placed their lives in the balance, they won excellence and a famous homeland.”*]<sup>164</sup> The duality of mood, the lament for the loss but praise for the honor gained in the manner of death, is similar to the funeral orations, which downplay the human loss and emphasize the glory gained by the *polis*. This contrasts sharply with modern monuments like the Vietnam War Memorial, which try to avoid confronting the realities of war and loss and rarely, if ever, appropriate the death of the soldier for the glory of the homeland.

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<sup>162</sup> Trans. Wade-Gery, 1933, 77-8: The first three lines of the epigram have been mostly lost; Wade-Gery discusses the reconstruction.

<sup>163</sup> Trans. Cook, 1987, 33-34.

<sup>164</sup> Trans. Low, 2011, 347; Cook, 33-4; Clairmont, 1983, 174-77, pl. 55; IG I<sup>3</sup> 1179.10-13

It may be also the case that the *demosion sema* played a more important role in private mourning than originally thought. As discussed in Chapter IV, white-ground lekythoi often depict family members at the tombs of loved ones, perhaps even in the *demosion sema* at *polyandria*. It is uncertain how often visits to tombs would have occurred and of what exactly these visits would have consisted, but the vase paintings suggest that the family members of the deceased probably decorated the grave with flowers, garlands, and ribbons.<sup>165</sup> This might help us to understand the lack of consistent evidence for the importance of the public funeral rites: the *demosion sema* would have functioned in Athenian society more as a site for private mourning than for public, state mandated funeral.<sup>166</sup> Of course, grief is a natural process, no matter how patriotic the Athenians and they may have been eager to mourn privately, within their homes, and at the individual *polyandria*, where their loved one lay in perpetuity, either during the appropriate festivals or on their own accord.<sup>167</sup>

The *demosion sema* and its monuments were not always looked upon with patriotic good-feeling, as the *epitaphios logos* would have us believe. The Athenian orator Isocrates (436-338), for example, viewed the public burial ground as a testament to Athens' losses, both of pride and of citizens, and says so in *On the Peace*, ca. 355 BC, (Isoc. 8.87-89)<sup>168</sup>:

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<sup>165</sup> Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 147-8.

<sup>166</sup> Oakley, 2004, 224; Low, 2011, 351.

<sup>167</sup> This also can explain why the Athenians began to bring home their war-dead instead of burying them at the site of the battles: family members could not travel to battle sites to mourn at the graves of their dead family members, so the bodies were brought back to Athens.

<sup>168</sup> Low, 2011, 353; Papillon, 2004, 17.

In a word, it was at that time a matter of regular routine to hold public funerals every year, which many of our neighbors and other Hellenes used to attend, not to grieve with us for the dead, but to rejoice together at our misfortunes. And at last, before they knew it, they had filled the public burial-grounds with the bodies of their fellow citizens and the registers of the phratries<sup>169</sup> and of the state with the names of those who had no claim upon the city.<sup>170</sup> And you may judge of the multitude of the slain from this fact: The families of the most illustrious Athenians and our greatest houses, which survived the civil conflicts under the tyrants and the Persian Wars as well, have been, you will find, entirely wiped out under this empire upon which we set our hearts. So that if one desired to go into the question of what befell the rest of our citizens, judging by this instance, it would be seen that we have been changed, one might almost say, into a new people.<sup>171</sup>

Isocrates here laments the number of Athenian dead in the *demosion sema*. His words may reflect changing attitudes toward war and public commemoration.

The statue group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (c. 500; replaced after the Persian sack of Athens in 477/6; Fig. 14), also known as the Tyrannicides, was the first state-funded monument to Athenian citizens without religious or mythological overtones,

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<sup>169</sup> A smaller division of a tribe, a kin group; see Lambert, 1993.

<sup>170</sup> Here, Isocrates criticizes the practice of burying non-Athenians in the *demosion sema*.

<sup>171</sup> Trans. Papillon, 2004, 17.

and it celebrated the two men as tyrant killers.<sup>172</sup> After the Tyrannicides group, there are no examples of state-funded statues of individual heroes of the *polis* until the fourth century. There were, however, stelai, epigrams, and herms set up to commemorate military victories, such as three herms erected in 476/5 after the battle of Eion, which were set up north and west of the Agora. In the 460s and 450s, in the Stoa Poikile, or Painted Stoa, in the Agora, a large painting cycle commemorating the Athenian victory against the Persians at Marathon was commissioned.

These monuments (the herms and paintings in the Stoa Poikile) are mentioned by Aeschines (389-314), in his speech *Against Ctesiphon* (330). Aeschines uses these monuments as examples of rewards for upholding the laws and staying true to democracy (3.183-186):

There were certain men in those days, fellow citizens, who endured much toil and underwent great dangers at the river Strymon, and conquered the Medes in battle. When they came home they asked the people for a reward, and the democracy gave them great honor, as it was then esteemed—permission to set up three stone Hermae in the Stoa of the Hermae, but on condition that they should not inscribe their own names upon them, in order that the inscription might not seem to be in honor of the generals, but of the people. That this is true, you shall learn from the verses themselves; for on the first of the Hermae stands written:

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<sup>172</sup> In reality, Harmodios and Aristogeiton assassinated Hipparchos, the brother of the tyrant, Hippias, the result of a homosexual love triangle that had escalated into a poorly executed plot to overthrow the tyranny; Hurwit, 1985, 273-277.

“Brave men and daring were they who once by the city of Eion,  
Far off by Strymon's flood, fought with the sons of the Medes.  
Fiery famine they made their ally, and Ares on-rushing;  
So they found helpless a foe stranger till then to defeat.”

and on the second:

“This, the reward of their labor, has Athens bestowed on her leaders;  
Token of duty well done, honor to valor supreme.  
Whoso in years yet to be shall read these Ls in the marble,  
Gladly will toil in his turn, giving his life for the state.”

And on the third of the Hermae stands written:

“Once from this city Menestheus, summoned to join the Atreidae,  
Led forth an army to Troy, plain beloved of the gods.  
Homer has sung of his fame, and has said that of all the mailed chieftains  
None could so shrewdly as he marshal the ranks for the fight.  
Fittingly then shall the people of Athens be honored, and called  
Marshals and leaders of war, heroes in combat of arms.”

Is the name of the generals anywhere here? Nowhere; only the name of the people. And now pass on in imagination to the Stoa Poikile; for the memorials of all our noble deeds stand dedicated in the Agora. What is it then, fellow citizens, to which I refer? The battle of Marathon is pictured there. Who then was the general? If you were asked this question you would all answer, “Miltiades.” But his name is not written there. Why? Did he not ask for this reward? He did ask,

but the people refused it; and instead of his name they permitted that he should be painted in the front rank, urging on his men.<sup>173</sup>

Aeschines' speech, although a response to Ctesiphon's suggestion that Demosthenes be rewarded for his services to the *polis* with a golden crown, emphasizes that no one individual, general or otherwise, was singled out; rather the achievements of the Athenian demos as a 'corporate group' were remembered.<sup>174</sup> Why did Aeschines not mention the *demosion sema*? The *demosion sema*, as Isocrates suggests, may have been looked upon as more of a record of Athens' trials and tribulations rather than its victories. It may have also functioned more as a historical record of battles and wars than a monument to the sacrifice of the dead buried there.<sup>175</sup> In addition, the monuments mentioned by Aeschines had a prime location within the Agora and would have been seen daily by many. They would have been familiar sights and the meanings of the monuments would not have been ambiguous: these monuments were solidly glorifying Athens' great men and their actions with no reference to death or battles loss and so they took pride of place within Athenian society.

Also mentioned by Aeschines in *Against Ctesiphon* was the rewards given to those in exile who battled the Thirty Tyrants and their Spartan allies at Phyle (3.187). In 403/2, the Athenians erected two stelai in the Agora in their honor. The men who survived the battle were given enough money to fund dedications and sacrifices, along with olive crowns; the dead were honored in the *demosion sema* and their sons were

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<sup>173</sup> Trans. Carey, 200, 227-8.

<sup>174</sup> Shear, 2007, 105.

<sup>175</sup> Low, 2011, 356.

adopted by the state as war orphans (and thus integrated as the next generation of Athenian warriors).<sup>176</sup> There were two decrees responsible for this commemoration, those of Theozotides and Demophantus.

Theozotides' decree, ca. 403/2 and set up in front of the Stoa Basileios in the Agora, honors the legitimate sons of those Athenians who were killed at Phyle by describing their fathers as "Athenians", thus effectively solidifying the status of their sons as citizens themselves. The other decree, that of Demophantus, stipulates that 'it is every good citizen's duty as a male democrat to kill tyrants and oligarchs...[and] if he dies in the process, he will receive the Tyrannicides' benefits: for himself, a bronze statue in the Agora and a hero cult as a 'founder' of democracy....'<sup>177</sup> However, the dead of Phyle received no bronze statues, perhaps because of the sheer number that would have been required: they did receive the traditional burial in the *demosion sema*, and thus, a sort of hero worship (though the casualty-list has not been located). On the stele (Fig. 46) that was erected for the returning citizens, outside of the Metrôn (and thus easily seen by many Athenians), the names of the survivors are listed in the official tribal order with patronymics and demotics.<sup>178</sup> The heading on the stele reads: "[*The following occupied Phyl]e [and restored the democracy]*."<sup>179</sup> Following this, about 58 names are listed, followed by the epigram:

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<sup>176</sup> Shear, 2007, 106.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 100

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., 100; Low, 2011, 343: The interpretation of the evidence of polyandria after 394 is difficult as there may be evidence for a change in format to include the demotics and/or patronymics.

<sup>179</sup> Aesch. 3.190; Trans. Harding, 1985, 7.

“These [men for their courage have been honored with crowns by the indigenous] people [of Athens. For once, when men with unjust] ordinances [were ruling the city, they were the first for their deposition] to take the initiative, [even though it meant risking their lives].”<sup>180</sup>

The men who survived Phyle are honored in a way that the dead were not: as living heroes, with a monument set up in the central part of Athens, singling them out as Athenians whose actions restored the democracy. This change indicates a growing interest in the individual role (rather than the collective role) one plays in sustaining democracy, and so makes way for individual commemoration.

The commemoration of military victories changed in 394/3, with the erection in the Agora of bronze statues honoring living men: Conon, the champion of the Knidian naval battle who ‘freed the allies of Athens’, and Euagoras, the king of Cypriot Salamis, who had acted ‘as a Hellene on behalf of Hellas’. They were both commemorated as champions of democracy and liberators of Athens who had emulated, in the minds of the Athenians, the actions of the Tyrannicides.<sup>181</sup> By placing their statues in the Agora, more specifically in front of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios not far from the statues of the Tyrannicides, the Athenians honored Conon and Euagoras as tyrant slayers, emphasizing their direct contribution to sustaining the democracy.

The custom of the *epitaphios logos* and the creation of *polyandria* in the *demosion sema* continued until at least 322 BC, after the first season of the Lamian War

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<sup>180</sup> Trans. Harding, 1985, 7.

<sup>181</sup> Shear, 2007, 107-8.

against the Macedonians, when the oration was given by Hyperides.<sup>182</sup> It should be noted that Hyperides' funeral oration spends an unusual amount of time focusing on the general Leosthenes, again demonstrating a trend away from the collective and toward the individual. The military optimism of earlier *epitaphios logoi* now fades away, along with Athenian power; shortly after the spring of 322, the Greeks lost the war and subsequently their independence.<sup>183</sup> The more battles that Athens lost, the less forceful the ideology of the *demosion sema* and its rituals.

The *demosion sema* was an important institution in Athens and functioned in many different ways. It was used as a place to remember the dead, to celebrate victories, to impress upon young and old the importance of civic duty, to recall the past and honor the present. However, around 400 it appears military and victory memorials, which were easy to understand, more frequently seen, and allude to the individual, became an integral part of Athenian culture and history and signaled changing feelings toward the *demosion sema*. By 400, the *demosion sema* would have been lined with many monuments (Fig. 47), which may have aided in a shift in ideology that commemorated the successful actions of the living over the sacrifices of the dead. Private commemoration at the public tombs of the war-dead surely occurred, but how frequently, and to what degree, is uncertain. Still, public commemoration of the war-dead, while important, may have been less important in Athenians eyes than previously thought, especially after 400; the tombs

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<sup>182</sup> Herrman, 2004, 77. It is possible that there is an example of an inscription from this battle: IG II<sup>2</sup> 5225: 'There is nothing better than liberty for noble men, for which these men lying here died in the contest of a sea-battle; the grave with the *demos* gave informs the *patris* and surrounds them with gratitude,' from Liddel, 2007, 19-20; it is worth noting that the language used in this late epigram is much weaker than that of earlier examples.

<sup>183</sup> Herman, 2004, 77.

in the *demosion sema* would have commemorated not Athens' victories, but her military and citizen losses. The monuments that mattered more would have been the monuments that celebrated her victories, such as the monuments dedicated to Conan, Euagoras, the survivors of Phyle, or the '*tropaion hippomachias*' erected ca. 415 the Agora in honor of the cavalry who fought during the Sicilian campaign (ref. p. 39). Monuments such as these provided examples of excellence with an outcome other than the death of its all-important citizens.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> The loss of Athenian citizens would have been even more significant after Pericles enacted his citizenship law in 451/0. The reasons for this law, which dictates that both parents, not only the father, had to be citizens in order for their children to be considered citizens, are much debated (see Gomme, 1933; Patterson, 1981; Hignett, 1951; and Humphreys, 1974). In any case, after the law, Athenian citizenship was even more exclusive than before; the implications of including the patronymics and demotics of citizens on monuments would have more importance after the citizenship law.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

It is apparent, as indicated by Chapter II, that *demosion sema* represented for Athenians a change from the old, aristocratic ways of life to new, democratic values. The change in the laws to limit extravagant private funerary monuments and private mourning in public for individuals went hand in hand with the rise of mass state funerals, which demanded large monuments and urged the citizens to mourn wildly as a group. By burying the war-dead with such pomp, the Athenians forged a collective identity, one that valued individual citizens as members of the *demos*, a 'corporate group'.

This is reflected in the rhetoric of the funerals, the *epitaphioi logoi* discussed in Chapter III. Although similar in form and prose, these speeches highlight the Athenians' heroic, mythological past and praise the unselfish deeds of the dead. By giving their lives for the *demos*, they contributed to the perpetuation of the freedom of the Athenians. The speeches were meant to console the living, reasoning with them that the '*kalos thanatos*' of the war-dead was the ideal way to die and that because of their actions, they will live on through memory.

The images seen in the *demosion sema* on the casualty-list reliefs, as discussed in Chapter IV, reinforce the generic words of the funeral orations, presenting to the mourners a heroic version of fighting and dying. The images of valorous soldiers on the casualty-lists attempt to reconcile the living to their loved ones' fate, one that was probably not as 'beautiful' as the images carved in stone. These images, especially those of man on horseback, were, however, often appropriated for private, so that the individual would be aligned with the democratic heroism of the images seen in the state cemetery.

The repetitive quality of the images in the *demosion sema* was important; as more reliefs from casualty-lists are unearthed, we will be able to see the full extent of the repetitive nature of the monuments. Judging from the material remains we have to date, it is safe to say that the state used images similar in composition, sometimes almost exact copies of other casualty-list reliefs, to reinforce their message of civic obligation.

But the feelings of Athenians toward the *demosion sema* may have changed as the years wore on and new lists were added to the road, as discussed in Chapter V. The Athenians began to commemorate the individual and individual acts that contributed to the democracy. The commemoration of the living in time almost took precedence over the commemoration of the dead: the monument to Phyle commemorates the survivors of the battle, not the dead. Those who lost their lives at Phyle were commemorated, following the *patrios nomos* in the *demosion sema*, but the glory gained by those who died was nothing compared to the glory granted to the surviving warriors. More research will have to be done to understand the changing attitudes toward war and commemoration in the 4th century and what effect this had on the evolving nature of the *demosion sema*.

The use of the *demosion sema* waned in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>185</sup> The latest casualty-list known to us, in fact, is now lost, but commemorated the sea battles near Abydos and Amorgos in 322, where the Athenian navy lost to the Macedonians.<sup>186</sup> More excavations and research will have to be done to ascertain the exact date and reason

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<sup>185</sup> Clairmont, 1983, 45.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.; Paus. 1.29.13: "Here were buried also...the men Leosthenes led into Thessaly." Trans. Jones, Ormerod, and Wycherley.

for the cessation of burials in the *demosion sema*. At all events, the *demosion sema* was the forge where Athens cast a collective identity when its citizens most needed it. The Athenians expressed this collective identity through the *patrios nomos*, its funeral orations, and the imagery of the casualty-lists, utilizing the ‘beautiful deaths’ of its citizens as examples of how to live and die for the state.

## APPENDIX A

### HOMER, *THE ODYSSEY*, BOOK 23, LINES 43-94

But after we had borne thee to the ships from out the fight, we laid thee on a bier, and cleansed thy fair flesh [45] with warm water and with ointment, and many hot tears did the Danaans shed around thee, and they shore their hair. And thy mother came forth from the sea with the immortal sea-nymphs, when she heard the tidings, and a wondrous cry arose over the deep, and thereat trembling laid hold of all the Achaeans. [50]... Then around thee stood the daughters of the old man of the sea wailing piteously, and they clothed thee about with immortal raiment. [60] And the Muses, nine in all, replying to one another with sweet voices, led the dirge. There couldst thou not have seen an Argive but was in tears, so deeply did the clear-toned Muse move their hearts. Thus for seventeen days alike by night and day did we bewail thee, immortal gods and mortal men, [65] and on the eighteenth we gave thee to the fire, and many well-fatted sheep we slew around thee and sleek kine. So thou wast burned in the raiment of the gods and in abundance of unguents and sweet honey; and many Achaean warriors moved in their armour about the pyre, when thou wast burning, [70] both footmen and charioteers, and a great din arose. But when the flame of Hephaestus had made an end of thee, in the morning we gathered thy white bones, Achilles, and laid them in unmixed wine and unguents. Thy mother had given a two-handled, golden urn, and [75] said that it was the gift of Dionysus, and the handiwork of famed Hephaestus. In this lie thy white bones, glorious Achilles, and mingled with them the bones of the dead Patroclus, son of Menoetius, but apart lie those of Antilochus, whom thou didst honor above all the rest of thy comrades after the dead Patroclus. [80] And over them we heaped up a great and goodly tomb, we the mighty host of Argive spearmen, on a projecting headland by the broad Hellespont, that it might be seen from far over the sea both by men that now are and that shall be born hereafter. [85] But thy mother asked of the gods beautiful prizes, and set them in the midst of the list for the chiefs of the Achaeans. Ere now hast thou been present at the funeral games of many men that were warriors, when at the death of a king the young men gird themselves and make ready the contests, [90] but hadst thou seen that sight thou wouldst most have marvelled at heart, such beautiful prizes did the

goddess, silver-footed Thetis, set there in thy honor; for very dear wast thou to the gods. Thus not even in death didst thou lose thy name, but ever shalt thou have fair renown among all men, Achilles. [95]<sup>187</sup>

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σ' ἐπὶ νῆας ἐνεΐκαμεν ἐκ πολέμοιο, κάτθεμεν ἐν λεχέεσσι, καθήραντες  
χρόα καλὸν [45] ὕδατί τε λιαρῷ καὶ ἀλείφατι: πολλὰ δέ σ' ἀμφὶ δάκρυα θερμὰ  
χέον Δαναοὶ κείροντό τε χαίτας... ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἔστησαν κούραι ἀλίοιο  
γέροντοςοἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμεναι, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἶματα ἔσσαν. [60] Μοῦσαι δ'  
ἐννέα πάσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ θρήνεον: ἔνθα κεν οὐ τιν' ἀδάκρυτόν γ'  
ἐνόησας Ἀργείων: τοῖον γὰρ ὑπώρορε Μοῦσα λίγεια. ἑπτὰ δὲ καὶ δέκα μὲν σε  
ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμᾶρ κλαίομεν ἀθάνατοὶ τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι: [65]  
ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη δ' ἔδομεν πυρὶ, πολλὰ δέ σ' ἀμφὶ μῆλα κατεκτάνομεν μάλα πίονα  
καὶ ἔλικας βούς. καίεο δ' ἐν τ' ἐσθήτη θεῶν καὶ ἀλείφατι πολλῷ καὶ μέλιτι  
γλυκερῷ: πολλοὶ δ' ἦρωες Ἀχαιοὶ τεύχεσιν ἐρρώσαντο πυρὴν πέρι καιομένοιο,  
[70] πεζοὶ θ' ἱππῆές τε: πολὺς δ' ὄρουμαγδὸς ὀρώρει αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σε φλόξ ἤνυσεν  
Ἥφαιστοιο, ἠῶθεν δὴ τοι λέγομεν λεύκ' ὅστέ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, οἴνω ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ  
ἀλείφατι: δῶκε δὲ μήτηρ χρύσειον ἀμφιφορῆα: Διωνύσιοιο δὲ δῶρον [75] φάσκ'  
ἔμεναι, ἔργον δὲ περικλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο. ἐν τῷ τοι κείται λεύκ' ὀστέα, φαίδιμ'  
Ἀχιλλεῦ, μίγδα δὲ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο θανόντος, χωρὶς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸν  
ἔξοχα τίεις ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρων, μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θανόντα. [80] ἀμφ'  
αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς  
αἰχμητῶν ἀκτῆ ἔπι προὔχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεὶ Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ὥς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ  
ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη τοῖς οἱ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται. [85] μήτηρ  
δ' αἰτήσασα θεοὺς περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα θῆκε μέσῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.  
ἤδη μὲν πολέων τάφῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀντεβόλησας ἠρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ' ἀποφθιμένου  
βασιλῆος ζώννυνται τε νέοι καὶ ἐπεντύνονται ἄεθλα: [90] ἀλλά κε κείνα μάλιστα  
ιδὼν θηήσαιο θυμῷ, οἷ' ἐπὶ σοὶ κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα, ἀργυρόπεζα  
Θέτις: μάλα γὰρ φίλος ἦσθα θεοῖσιν. ὥς σὺ μὲν οὐδὲ θανῶν ὄνομ' ὤλεσας, ἀλλά  
τοὶ αἰεὶ πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους κλέος ἔσσεται ἐσθλόν, Ἀχιλλεῦ.

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<sup>187</sup> Trans. Murray and Dimock

## APPENDIX B

### HOMER, *THE ILIAD*, BOOK 24, LINES 589-805

So when the handmaids had washed the body and anointed it with oil, and had cast about it a fair cloak and a tunic, then Achilles himself lifted it and set it upon a bier, [590] and his comrades with him lifted it upon the *polished* wagon... [665] [Priam spoke:] “For nine days' space will we wail for him in our halls, and on the tenth will we make his funeral, and the folk shall feast, and on the eleventh will we heap a barrow over him, and on the twelfth will we do battle, if so be we must.”...[696] So they with moaning and wailing drove the horses to the city, and the mules bare the dead... [707] nor was any man left there within the city, neither any woman, for upon all had come grief that might not be borne; and hard by the gates they met Priam, as he bare home the dead. [710] First Hector's dear wife and queenly mother flung themselves upon the light-running wagon, and clasping his head the while, wailed and tore their hair; and the folk thronged about and wept. And now the whole day long until set of sun had they made lament for Hector with shedding of tears there without the gates, [715] had not the old man spoken amid the folk from out the car: “Make me way for the mules to pass through; thereafter shall ye take your fill of wailing, when I have brought him to the house.” So spake he, and they stood apart and made way for the wagon. But the others, when they had brought him to the glorious house, [720] laid him on a corded bedstead, and by his side set singers, leaders of the dirge, who led the song of lamentation—they chanted the dirge, and thereat the women made lament...[782] they yoked oxen and mules to wagons, and speedily thereafter gathered together before the city. For nine days' space they brought in measureless store of wood, [785] but when the tenth Dawn arose, giving light unto mortals, then bare they forth bold Hector, shedding tears the while, and on the topmost pyre they laid the dead man, and cast fire thereon. But soon as early Dawn appeared, the rosy-fingered, then gathered the folk about the pyre of glorious Hector. [790] And when they were assembled and met together, first they quenched with flaming wine all the pyre, so far as the fire's might had come upon it, and thereafter his brethren and his comrades gathered the white bones, mourning, and big tears flowed ever down their cheeks. [795] The bones they took and placed in a golden urn, covering them over with

soft purple robes, and quickly laid the urn in a hollow grave, and covered it over with great close-set stones. Then with speed heaped they the mound, and round about were watchers set on every side, [800] lest the well-greaved Achaeans should set upon them before the time. And when they had piled the barrow they went back, and gathering together duly feasted a glorious feast in the palace of Priam, the king fostered of Zeus. On this wise held they funeral for horse-taming Hector. [805]<sup>188</sup>

τὸν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δμῳαὶ λούσαν καὶ χρίσαν ἐλαίῳ, ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φάρος καλὸν βάλον  
ἠδὲ χιτῶνα, αὐτὸς τὸν γ' Ἀχιλεὺς λεχέων ἐπέθηκεν αἰείρας, [590] σὺν δ' ἔταροι  
ἦειραν ἐϋξέστην ἐπ' ἀπήνην. ὤμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα, φίλον δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον: μὴ  
μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμαινέμεν, αἶ κε πύθθαιεῖν Ἄϊδός περ ἐὼν ὅτι Ἔκτορα δῖον  
ἔλυσσα πατρὶ φίλῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι αἰεκέα δῶκεν ἄποινα. [595] σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ καὶ τῶνδ'  
ἀποδάσσομαι ὅσσ' ἐπέοικεν... ἐννήμαρ μὲν κ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροις γοάοιμεν,  
[665] τῇ δεκάτῃ δέ κε θάπτοιμεν δαινυτό τε λαός, ἐνδεκάτῃ δέ κε τύμβον ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
ποιήσοιμεν, τῇ δὲ δυωδεκάτῃ πολεμίζομεν εἴ περ ἀνάγκη... [696] οἱ δ' εἰς ἄστῳ  
ἔλῳν οἰμωγῇ τε στοναχῇ τε ἵππους, ἡμίονοι δὲ νέκυν φέρον... [707] οὐδέ τις  
αὐτόθ' ἐνὶ πόλει λίπετ' ἀνήρ οὐδὲ γυνή: πάντας γὰρ ἀάσχετον ἵκετο πένθος:  
ἀγχοῦ δὲ ξύμβληντο πυλάων νεκρὸν ἄγοντι. [710] πρῶται τὸν γ' ἄλοχός τε φίλη  
καὶ πότνια μήτηρ τιλλέσθην ἐπ' ἄμαξαν εὐτρόχον αἶξασαι ἀπτόμεναι κεφαλῆς:  
κλαίων δ' ἀμφίσταθ' ὄμιλος. καὶ νῦ κε δὴ πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα  
Ἔκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες ὀδύροντο πρὸ πυλάων, [715] εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἐκ δίφροιο γέρον  
λαοῖσι μετηύδα: εἷξατέ μοι οὐρεῦσι διελθέμεν: αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα ἄσσεσθε κλαυθμοῖο,  
ἐπὴν ἀγάγωμι δόμον δέ. ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ διέστησαν καὶ εἷξαν ἀπήνη. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ  
εἰσάγαγον κλυτὰ δῶματα, τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα [720] τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσι θέσαν, παρὰ δ'  
εἶσαν ἀοιδοῦς θρήνων ἐξάρχους, οἳ τε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον,  
ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες... [782] ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀμάξησιν βόας ἡμόνους τε  
ζεύγνυσαν, αἶψα δ' ἔπειτα πρὸ ἄστεος ἠγερέθοντο. ἐννήμαρ μὲν τοί γε ἀγίνεον  
ἄσπετον ὕλην: [785] ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη φασσίμβροτος ἠώς, καὶ τότε ἄρ'  
ἐξέφερον θρασὺν Ἔκτορα δάκρυ χέοντες, ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν, ἐν δ'

<sup>188</sup> Trans. Murray and Wyatt.

ἔβαλον πῦρ. ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως, τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κλυτοῦ Ἴκτορος ἔγρετο λαός. [790] αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἤγερθεν ὀμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊῆν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνω πᾶσαν, ὅπόσσον ἐπέσχε πυρὸς μένος: αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα ὀστέα λευκὰ λέγοντο κασίγνητοὶ θ' ἔταροί τε μυρόμενοι, θαλερὸν δὲ κατεΐβετο δάκρυ παρειῶν. [795] καὶ τὰ γε χρυσεῖην ἐς λάρνακα θήκαν ἐλόντες πορφυρέοις πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν. αἶψα δ' ἄρ' ἐς κοίλην κάπετον θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε πυκνοῖσιν λάεσσι κατεστόρεσαν μεγάλοισι: ῥίμφα δὲ σῆμ' ἔχεαν, περὶ δὲ σκοποὶ ἦατο πάντη, [800] μὴ πρὶν ἐφορμηθεῖεν ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί. χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα πάλιν κίον: αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα εὖ συναγειρόμενοι δαίνυντ' ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα δώμασιν ἐν Πριάμοιο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος. ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἴκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο.

## APPENDIX C

### HOMER, *THE ILIAD*, BOOK 23, LINES 26-270

And they put off, each man of them, their shining harnesses of bronze, and loosed their loud-neighing horses, and themselves sat down beside the ship of the swift-footed son of Aeacus, a countless host; and he made them a funeral feast to satisfy their hearts. [30] Many sleek bulls bellowed about the knife, as they were slaughtered, many sheep and bleating goats, and many white-tusked swine, rich with fat, were stretched to singe over the flame of Hephaestus; and everywhere about the corpse the blood ran so that one might dip cups therein...[108] in them all aroused the desire of lament, and rosy-fingered Dawn shone forth upon them [110] while yet they wailed around the piteous corpse. But the lord Agamemnon sent forth mules and men from all sides from out the huts to fetch wood and a man of valour watched thereover, even Meriones, squire of kindly Idomeneus. And they went forth bearing in their hands axes for the cutting of wood [115]... [125] Then down upon the shore they cast these, man after man, where Achilles planned a great barrow for Patroclus and for himself. But when on all sides they had cast down the measureless wood, they sate them down there and abode, all in one throng. And Achilles straightway bade the war-loving Myrmidons [130] gird them about with bronze, and yoke each man his horses to his car. And they arose and did on their armour and mounted their chariots, warriors and charioteers alike. In front fared the men in chariots, and thereafter followed a cloud of footmen, a host past counting and in the midst his comrades bare Patroclus. [135] And as with a garment they wholly covered the corpse with their hair that they shore off and cast thereon; and behind them goodly Achilles clasped the head, sorrowing the while; for peerless was the comrade whom he was speeding to the house of Hades. [138] But when they were come to the place that Achilles had appointed unto them, they set down the dead, and swiftly heaped up for him abundant store of wood. [140] Then again swift-footed goodly Achilles took other counsel; he took his stand apart from the fire and shore off a golden lock...[153] and set the lock in the hands of his dear comrade, and in them all aroused the desire of lament... [163] they that were nearest and dearest to the dead abode there, and heaped up the wood, and made a pyre of an hundred feet this way and that, [165] and on the topmost part

thereof they set the dead man, their hearts sorrow-laden. And many goodly sheep and many sleek kine of shambling gait they flayed and dressed before the pyre; and from them all great-souled Achilles gathered the fat, and enfolded the dead therein from head to foot, and about him heaped the flayed bodies. [170] And thereon he set two-handled jars of honey and oil, leaning them against the bier; and four horses with high arched necks he cast swiftly upon the pyre, groaning aloud the while. Nine dogs had the prince, that fed beneath his table, and of these did Achilles cut the throats of twain, and cast them upon the pyre. [175] And twelve valiant sons of the great-souled Trojans slew he with the bronze—and grim was the work he purposed in his heart and thereto he set the iron might of fire, to range at large...[188] And over him Phoebus Apollo drew a dark cloud from heaven to the plain, and covered all the place [190] whereon the dead man lay, lest ere the time the might of the sun should shrivel his flesh round about on his sinews and limbs. Howbeit the pyre of dead Patroclus kindled not...[217] So the whole night long as with one blast they [winds] beat upon the flame of the pyre, blowing shrill; and the whole night long swift Achilles, taking a two-handled cup in hand, [220] drew wine from a golden howl and poured it upon the earth, and wetted the ground, calling ever upon the spirit of hapless Patroclus. As a father waileth for his son, as he burneth his bones, a son newly wed whose death has brought woe to his hapless parents, even so wailed Achilles for his comrade as he burned his bones, [225] going heavily about the pyre with ceaseless groaning... [250] First they quenched with flaming wine the pyre, so far as the flame had come upon it, and the ash had settled deep; and with weeping they gathered up the white bones of their gentle comrade into a golden urn, and wrapped them in a double layer of fat, and placing the urn in the hut they covered it with a soft linen cloth. [255] Then they traced the compass of the barrow and set forth the foundations thereof round about the pyre, and forthwith they piled the up-piled earth. And when they had piled the barrow, they set them to go back again. But Achilles stayed the folk even where they were, and made them to sit in a wide gathering; and from his ships brought forth prizes; cauldrons and tripods [260] and horses and mules and strong oxen and fair-girdled women and grey iron. For swift charioteers first he set forth goodly prizes, a woman to lead away, one skilled in goodly handiwork, and an eared tripod of two and twenty measures [265] for him that should be first; and for the second he appointed a mare of six years, unbroken,

with a mule foal in her womb; and for the third he set forth a cauldron untouched of fire, a fair cauldron that held four measures, white even as the first; and for the fourth he appointed two talents of gold; [270] and for the fifth a two-handled urn, yet untouched of fire.<sup>189</sup>

οἱ δ' ἔντε' ἀφωπλίζοντο ἕκαστος χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα, λύον δ' ὑψηχέας ἵππους,  
καδ δ' ἶζον παρὰ νηὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο μυρίοι: αὐτὰρ ὃ τοῖσι τάφον μενοεικέα  
δαίνυ. [30] πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἀργοὶ ὀρέχθεον ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ σφαζόμενοι, πολλοὶ δ'  
ᾄεις καὶ μηκάδες αἴγες: πολλοὶ δ' ἀργιόδοντες ὕες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ εὐόμενοι  
τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἥφαιστοιο: πάντη δ' ἀμφὶ νέκυν κοτυλήρυτον ἔρρεεν αἷμα.  
[35] αὐτὰρ τὸν γε ἄνακτα ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα εἰς Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον ἄγον  
βασιλῆς Ἀχαιῶν σπουδῇ παρπεπιθόντες ἐταίρου χωόμενον κῆρ. οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ  
κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος ἶζον ἰόντες, αὐτίκα κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγγοισι κέλευσαν [40]  
ἀμφὶ πυρὶ στήσαι τρίποδα μέγαν, εἰ πεπίθοιεν Πηλεΐδην λούσασθαι ἄπο βρότον  
αἱματόεντα. [108] ὡς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἕμερον ὦρσε γόοιο: μυρομένοισι δὲ  
τοῖσι φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως [110] ἀμφὶ νέκυν ἐλεεινόν. ἀτὰρ κρείων  
Ἀγαμέμνων οὐρῆας τ' ὄτρυνε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀξέμεν ὕλην πάντοθεν ἐκ κλισιῶν: ἐπὶ δ'  
ἀνῆρ ἐσθλὸς ὀρώρει Μηριόνης θεράπων ἀγαπήνορος Ἴδομενῆος. οἱ δ' ἴσαν  
ὑλοτόμους πελέκεας ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες [115] σειράς τ' εὐπλέκτους: πρὸ δ' ἄρ'  
οὐρῆες κίον αὐτῶν.... [125] καδ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀκτῆς βάλλον ἐπισχερῶ, ἔνθ' ἄρ'  
Ἀχιλλεὺς φράσσατο Πατρόκλῳ μέγα ἠρίον ἠδὲ οἱ αὐτῷ. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πάντη  
παρακάββαλον ἄσπετον ὕλην ἦατ' ἄρ' αὐθι μένοντες ἀολλέες. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
αὐτίκα Μυρμιδόνεσσι φιλοπολέμοισι κέλευσε [130] χαλκὸν ζώννυσθαι, ζευξαι δ'  
ὑπ' ὄχεσφιν ἕκαστον ἵππους: οἱ δ' ὄρνυντο καὶ ἐν τεύχεσσι ἐδυνον, ἂν δ' ἔβαν ἐν  
δίφροισι παραιβάται ἠνίοχοί τε, πρόσθε μὲν ἱππῆες, μετὰ δὲ νέφος εἶπετο πεζῶν  
μυρίοι: ἐν δὲ μέσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον ἐταῖροι. [135] θριξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν  
καταείνυσαν, ἃς ἐπέβαλλον κειρόμενοι: ὄπιθεν δὲ κάρη ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς  
ἀχνύμενος: ἔταρον γὰρ ἀμύμονα πέμπ' Ἄϊδος δέ. οἱ δ' ὅτε χώρον ἴκανον ὄθι σφισι

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<sup>189</sup> Trans. Murray and Wyatt.

πέφραδ' Ἀχιλλεὺς κάτθεσαν, αἶψα δέ οἱ μενοεικέα νήεον ὕλην. [140] ἔνθ' αὐτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δίος Ἀχιλλεύς: στάς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρατο χαίτην, τὴν ῥα Σπερχειῷ ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεθόωσαν... [153] ὡς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ κόμην ἐτάροιο φίλοιο θήκεν, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἕμερον ὤρσε γόοιο... [164] κηδεμόνες δὲ παρ' αὐθι μένον καὶ νήεον ὕλην, ποίησαν δὲ πυρὴν ἐκατόμπεδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, [165] ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ. πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βούς πρόσθε πυρῆς ἔδερόν τε καὶ ἄμφεπον: ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντων δημὸν ἐλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυν μεγάθυμος Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, περὶ δὲ δροτὰ σώματα νήει. [170] ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτος καὶ ἀλείφατος ἀμφιφορῆας πρὸς λέχεα κλίνων: πύσσυρας δ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους ἐσσυμένως ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ μεγάλα στεναχίζων. ἐννέα τῷ γε ἄνακτι τραπεζῆες κύνες ἦσαν, καὶ μὲν τῶν ἐνέβαλλε πυρῇ δύο δειροτομήσας, [175] δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων υἱέας ἐσθλοὺς χαλκῷ δηϊῶων: κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μῆδετο ἔργα: ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἦκε σιδήρεον ὄφρα νέμοιτο... [188] τῷ δ' ἐπὶ κυάνεον νέφος ἤγαγε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων οὐρανόθεν πεδίον δέ, κάλυψε δὲ χώρον ἅπαντα [190] ὅσσον ἐπέιχε νέκυς, μὴ πρὶν μένος ἠελίοιο σκῆλει' ἀμφὶ περὶ χροά ἵνεσιν ἠδὲ μέλεσσιν. οὐδὲ πυρῇ Πατρόκλου ἐκαίετο τεθνηῶτος... [217] παννύχιοι δ' ἄρα τοί γε πυρῆς ἄμυδις φλόγ' ἔβαλλον φυσῶντες λιγέως: ὁ δὲ πάννουχος ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεὺς χρυσέου ἐκ κρητῆρος ἐλὼν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον [220] οἶνον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις χέε, δεῦε δὲ γαίαν ψυχὴν κικλήσκων Πατροκλήος δειλοῖο. ὡς δὲ πατήρ οὐ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα καίων νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανῶν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας, ὡς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐτάροιο ὀδύρετο ὅστέα καίων, [225] ἐρπύζων παρὰ πυρκαϊῆν ἀδινὰ στεναχίζων... [250] πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊῆν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνω ὅσσον ἐπὶ φλόξ ἦλθε, βαθεῖα δὲ κάππεσε τέφρη: κλαίοντες δ' ἐτάροιο ἐνηέος ὅστέα λευκὰ ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν, ἐν κλισίῃσι δὲ θέντες ἐάνῳ λιτὶ κάλυψαν: [255] τορνῶσαντο δὲ σῆμα θεμειλία τε προβάλοντο ἀμφὶ πυρῆν: εἶθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἔχευαν, χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα πάλιν κίον. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς αὐτοῦ λαὸν ἔρυκε καὶ ἴζανεν εὐρὺν ἀγῶνα, νηῶν δ' ἔκφερ' ἄεθλα λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε [260] ἵππους θ' ἡμόνους τε βοῶν τ' ἴφθιμα κάρηνα, ἠδὲ γυναῖκας ἐϋζώνους πολιόν τε σίδηρον. ἰππεῦσιν μὲν πρῶτα ποδώκεσιν ἀγλά' ἄεθλα θῆκε γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυῖαν καὶ τρίποδ' ὠπώεντα δυωκαιεκοσίμετρον

[265] τῷ πρώτῳ: ἀτὰρ αὖ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἵππον ἔθηκεν ἕξετε' ἀδμήτην βρέφος  
ἡμίονον κύνουσαν: αὐτὰρ τῷ τρίτῳ ἄπυρον κατέθηκε λέβητα καλὸν τέσσαρα  
μέτρα κεχανδότα λευκὸν ἔτ' αὐτῶς: τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ θῆκε δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,  
[270] πέμπτῳ δ' ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκε.

APPENDIX D

FIGURES

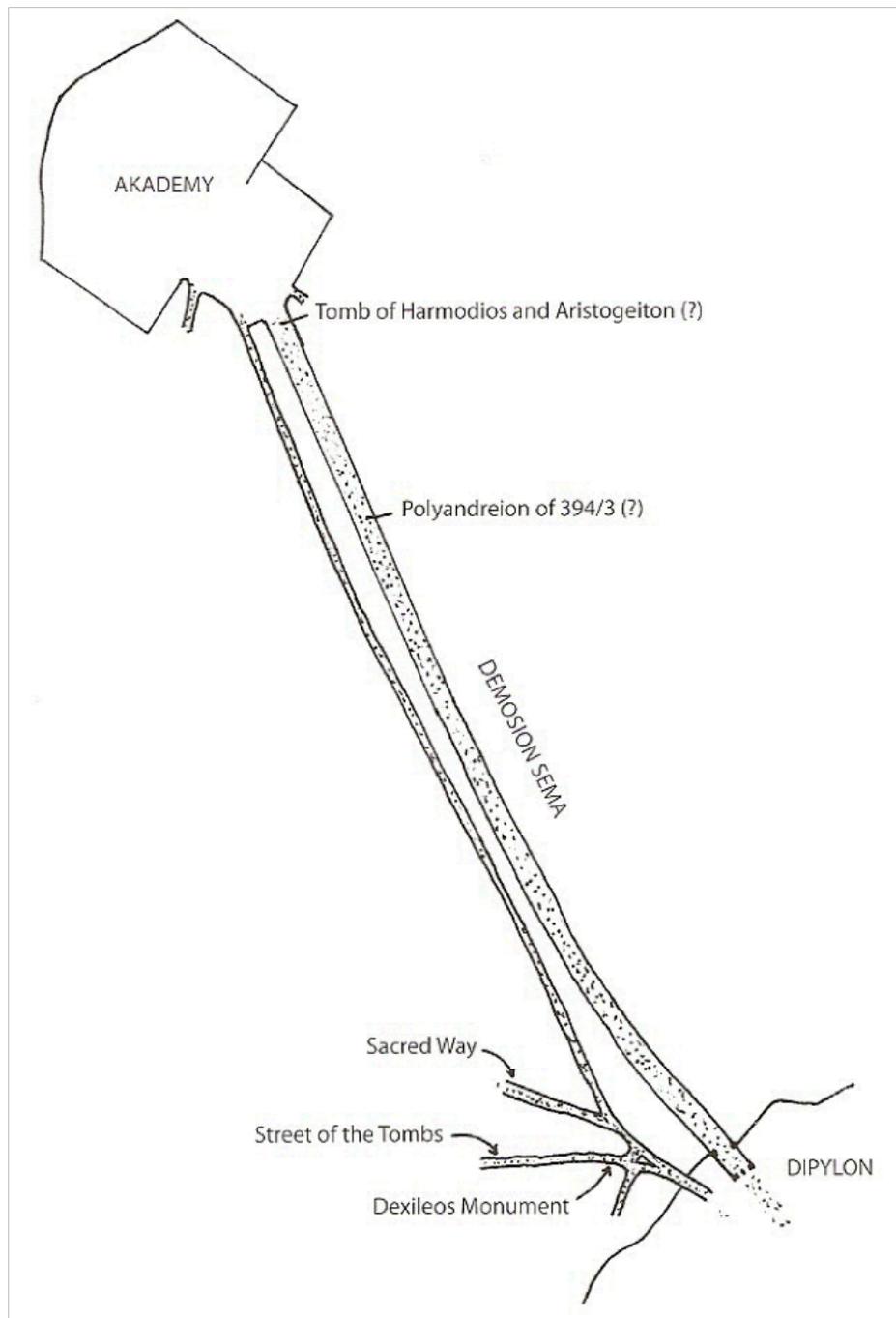


Figure 1. Plan of the *demosion sema*, Athens. From Hurwit, 2007, Fig. 1; after Clairmont, 1983, Fig. 5.

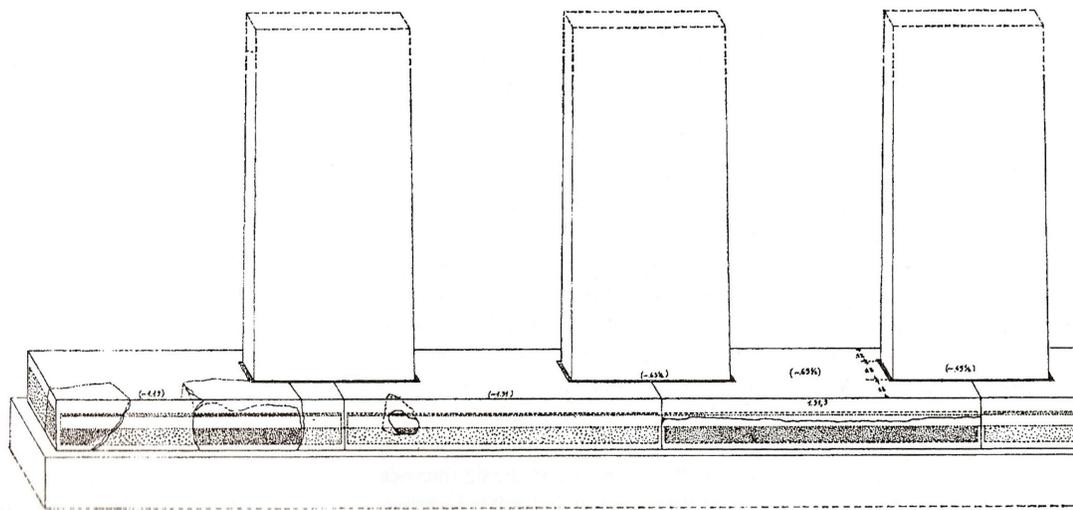


Figure 2. Reconstruction of the cenotaph for the Marathonomachoi. Arrington, 2010, 505.

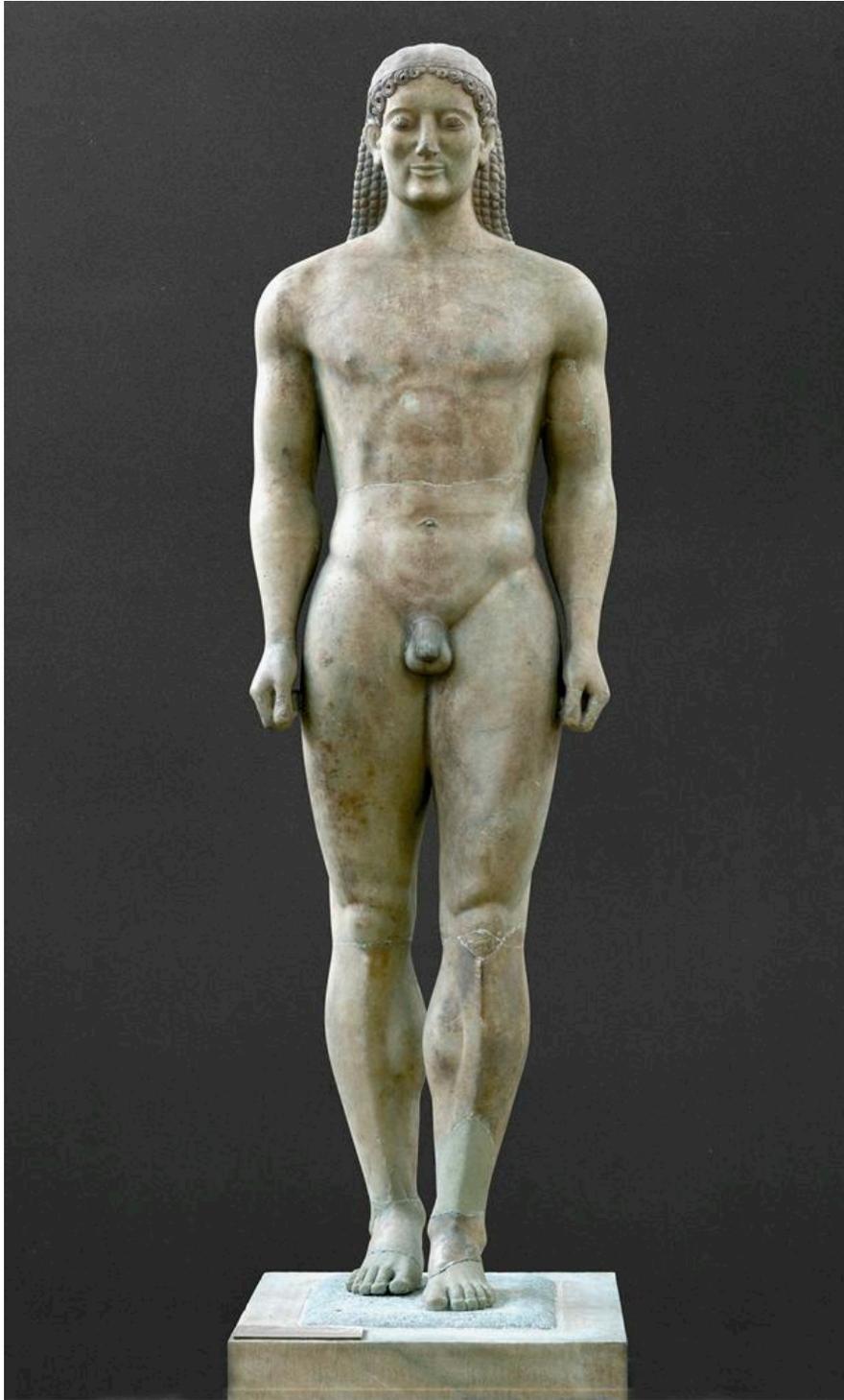


Figure 3. Anavysos Kouros, from Anavysos Attica, ca. 530 BCE, Marble. Height 6ft. 4 1/2 ins. (1.94 m). National Museum, Athens. Photo: Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y



Figure 4. Aristodikos Kouros, from Attica, ca. 510-500 BCE, Marble. Height 6 ft 5 ins. (1.95 m). National Museum, Athens. Artstor.org ID: ARTSTOR\_103\_41822000163673, downloaded on 2.03.11.

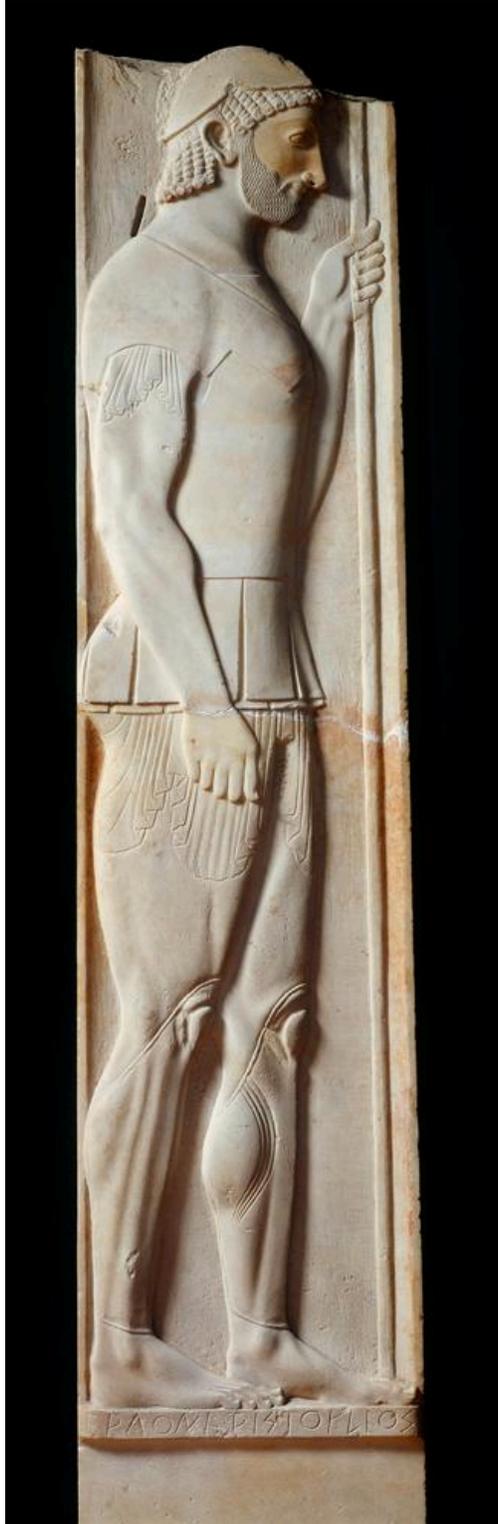


Figure 5. Stele of Aristion, from Attica, ca. 510 BCE, Marble. Height 7 ft. 7/8 in. (2.40 m). National Museum, Athens. Image: (c) 2006, SCALA, Florence / ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

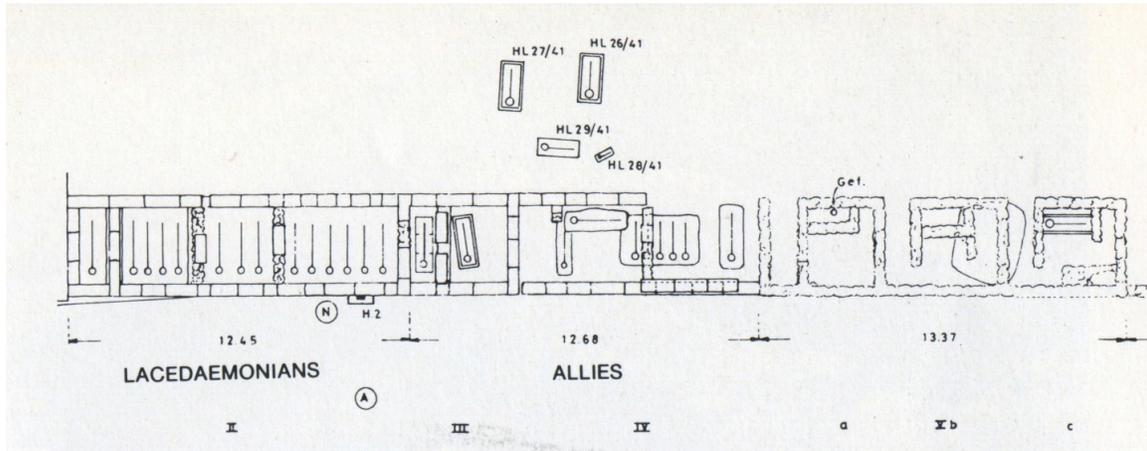
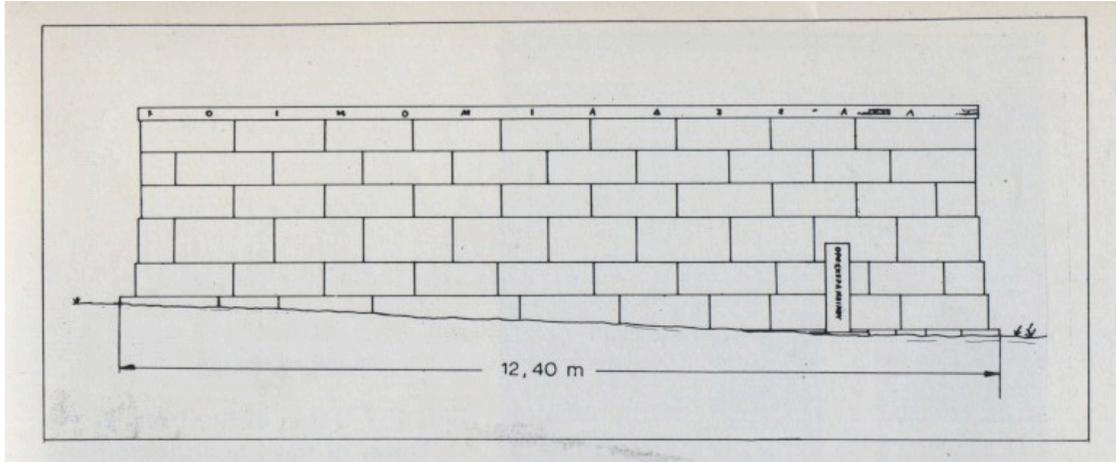


Figure 6. Restoration and plan of the Tomb of the Lacedaemonians, 403 BC. From Knigge, 1991, 161, Fig. 156, and 163, Fig. 158.

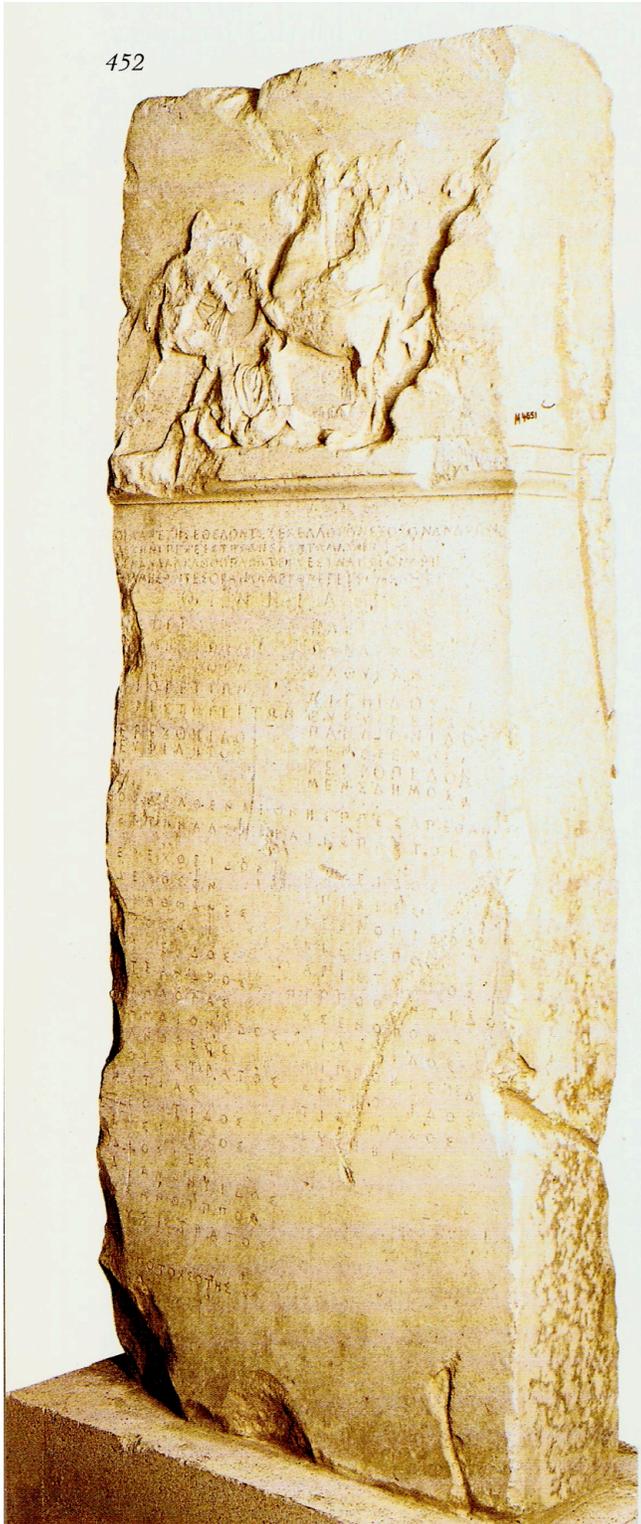


Figure 7. Casualty list for the cavalymen who fell in the battle of Spartolos in 429 and Tanagra in 426 Athens, National Museum, M 5226. Parlama *et.al.*, 2000, 369-9, fig. 452.

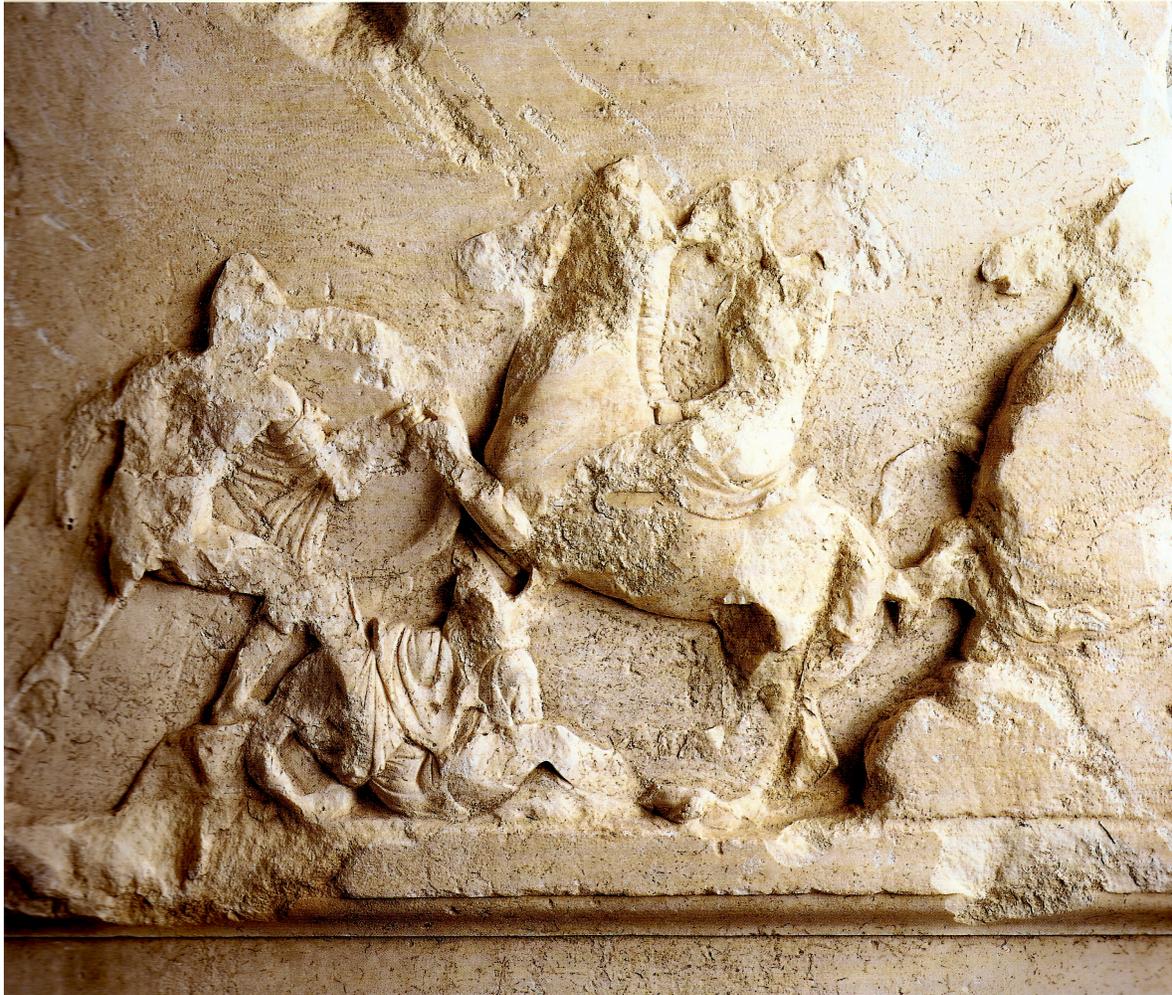


Figure 8. Relief from the casualty list for the cavalrymen who fell in the battle of Spartolos in 429 and Tanagra in 426 Athens, National Museum, M 5226. Parlama *et.al.*, 2000, 369-9, Fig. 453.

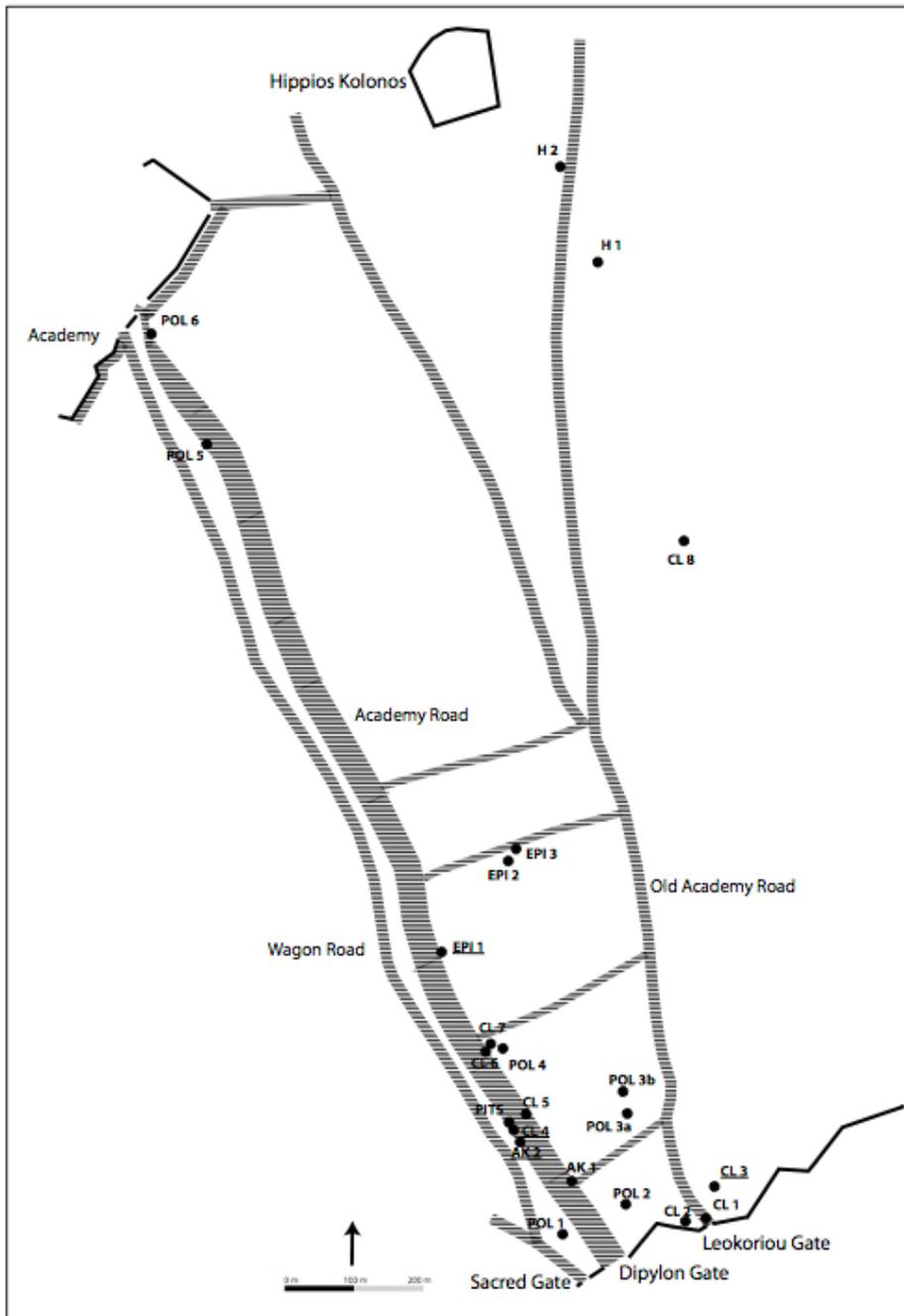


Figure 9. Map of the *demiosion sema* and environs with the courses of ancient roads reconstructed; the casualty-list of Spartolos and Tanagra is indicated as CL8. Arrington, 2010, 523.

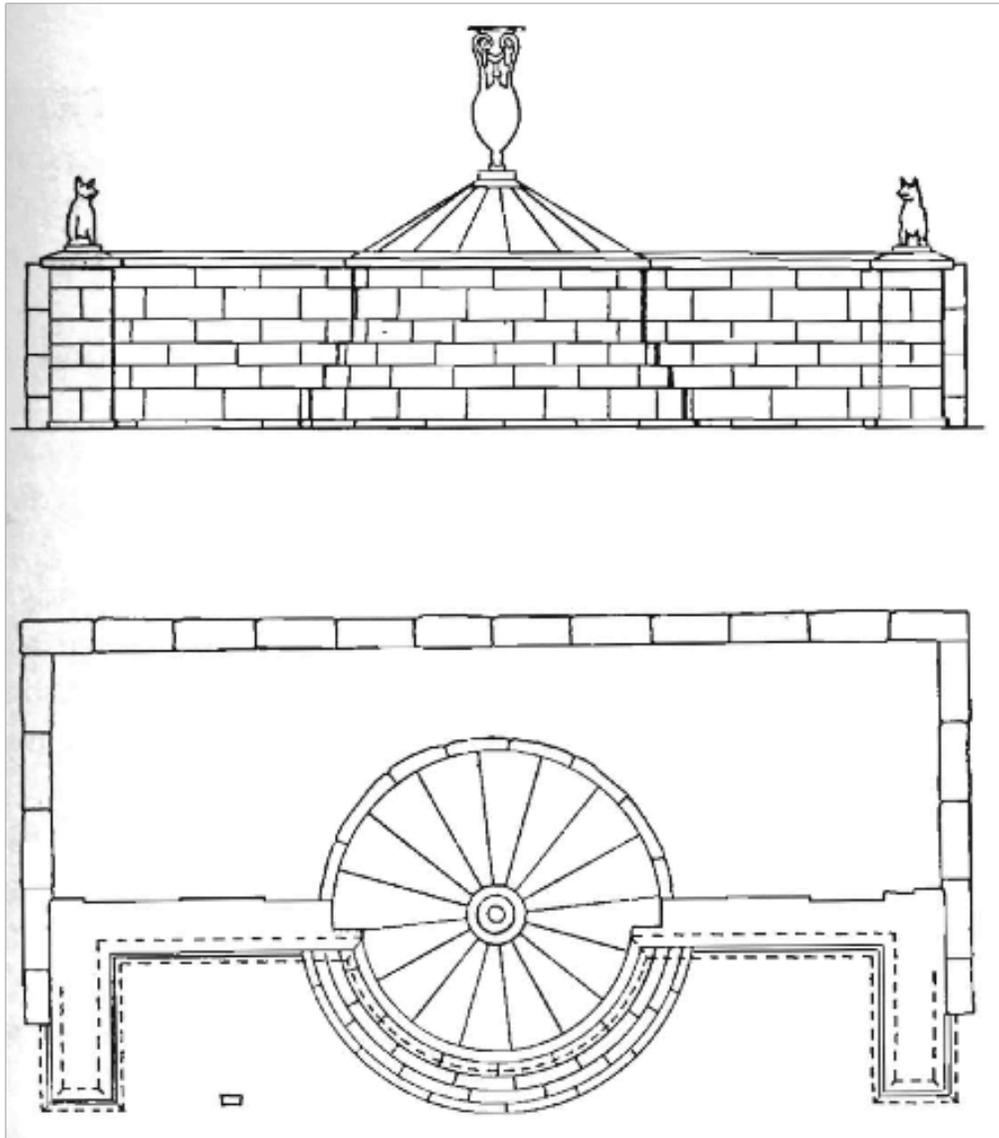


Figure 10. The 'Tomb at Horos 3', in the Kerameikos, 15m. wide. State grave, mid-4th century BC. Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 111, Fig. 21.

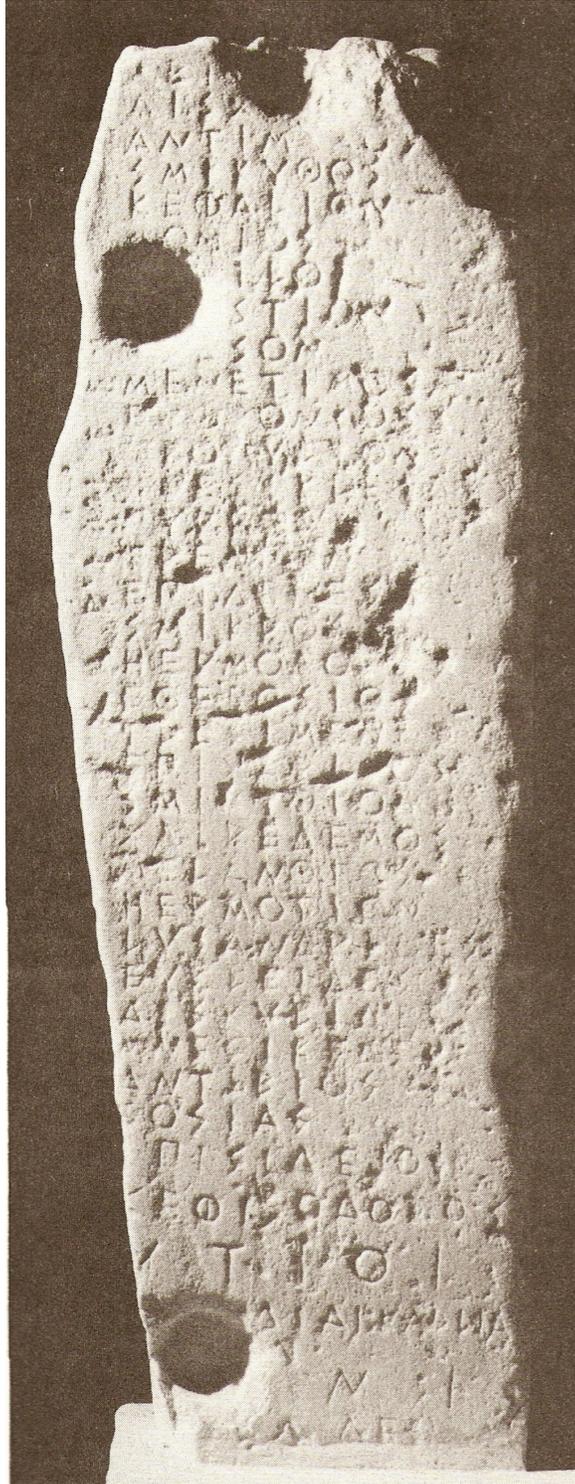
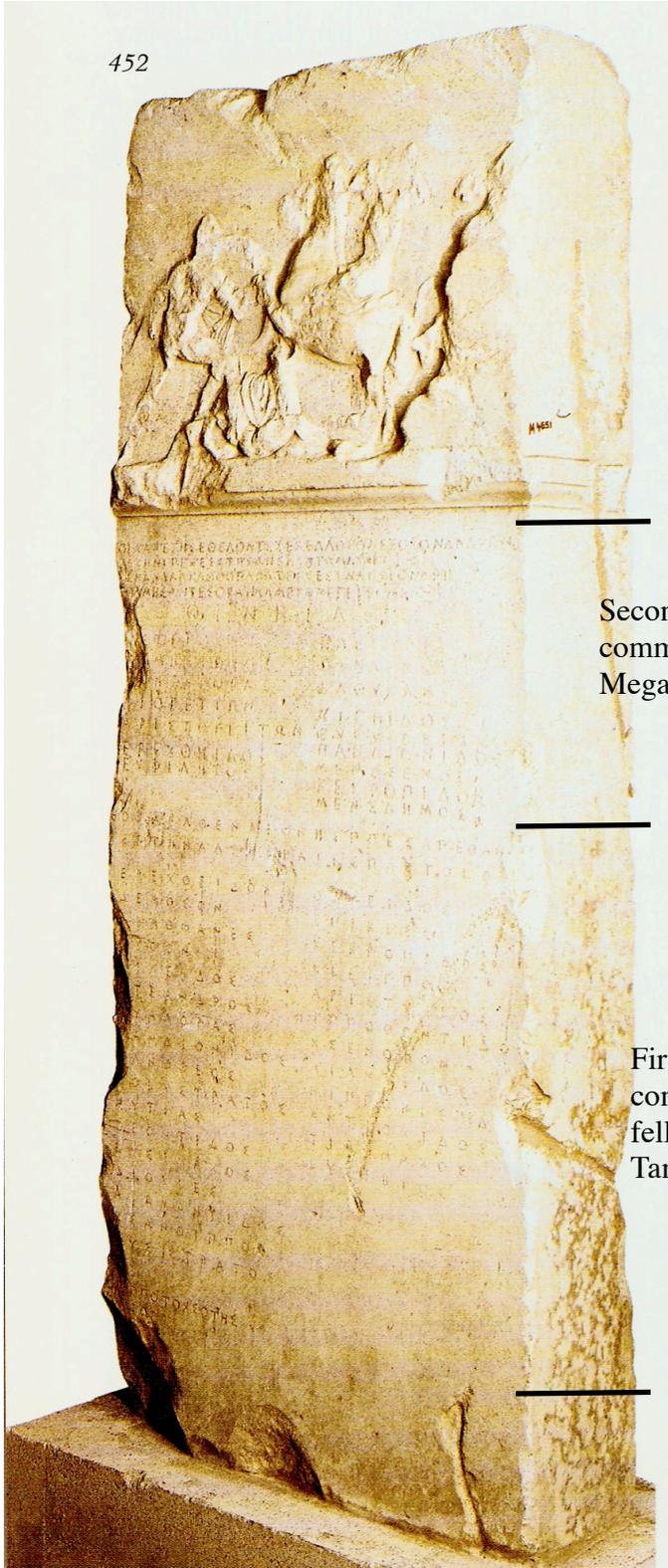


Figure 11. Polyandrian casualty-list, 464/3 BCE, location unknown. Clairmont, 1983, Pl. 15, Fig. 18a.



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Second, later inscription  
commemorating a battle in the  
Megara region

First inscription  
commemorating those who  
fell in Spartolos and  
Tanagra

Figure 12. Casualty list for the cavalymen who fell in the battle of Spartolos in 429 and Tanagra in 426. Two phases of inscriptions indicated. Athens, National Museum, M 5226. Parlama et.al., 2000, 369-9, Fig. 452.



Figure 13. Villa Albani Relief, (Ajademisches Kuntsmuseum, Bonn). Hurwit, 2007, 45, Fig. 10.



Figure 14. Statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Roman copies, Museo Nazionale, Naples, G-4103. Image: (c) 2006, SCALA, Florence / ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



Figure 15. Slab 3F from the Parthenon west frieze, ca. 420 BCE, London, British Museum. Image: (c) 2006, SCALA, Florence / ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



Figure 16. Attic grave stele from Khalandri. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Goette, 2009, 195, Fig. 45.



Figure 17. Dexileos stele and inscription, 394/3 BCE Athens, Kerameikos Museum, no. P 1130. (c) 2006, SCALA, Florence / ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



Figure 18. Base of Attic grave stele, ca. 400-390 BCE Athens, National Museum, no. 3708. Goette, 2009, 195, Fig. 46.



Figure 19. Anthemion from hippeis monument, 394/3 BCE (National Museum, Athens, inv. No. 754). From Hurwit, 2007, 37, Fig. 2.



Figure 20. Detail of anthemion from hippeis monument, with name of Dexielos inscribed (National Museum, Athens, inv. No. 754). From Hurwit, 2007, 37, Fig. 3.



Figure 21. Fragment of a casualty list from the battles of Corinth and Koroneia, 394/3 BCE From the Athenian *demotion sema*. Athens, National Museum, no. 2744. Goette, 2009, 192, Fig. 41.



Figure 22. Fragment of a stele from the *demosion sema*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 29.47. Goette, 2009, 191, Fig. 40.



Figure 23. Fragment of a relief of a horseman and companion from a funerary building, ca.290-250 B.C. Los Angeles, Getty Villa. Image: (c) 2011 The J. Paul Getty Trust. All rights reserved.



Figure 24. Lycian Sarcophagus, Xanthos, early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Image: (c) 2006 Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



Figure 25. Fragment of a stele from the Athenian *demosion sema*. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Michaelis no. 85. Goette, 2009, 190, Fig. 39.



Figure 26. Attic grave stele of the trierach, Menon. ca. 400 BCE. Brauron, Archaeological Museum BE6. Goette, 2009, 200, Fig. 49.



Figure 27. Attic grave stele of Chairedemos and the trierarch Lykeas, 412/11 BCE. Pireaus, Archaeological Museum, no. 385. Goette, 2009, 201, Fig. 50.



Figure 28. Monument to the Thebans who fell at Chaironeia, 338 BCE. Athens. Image: (c) 2007 Chris Karagounis.

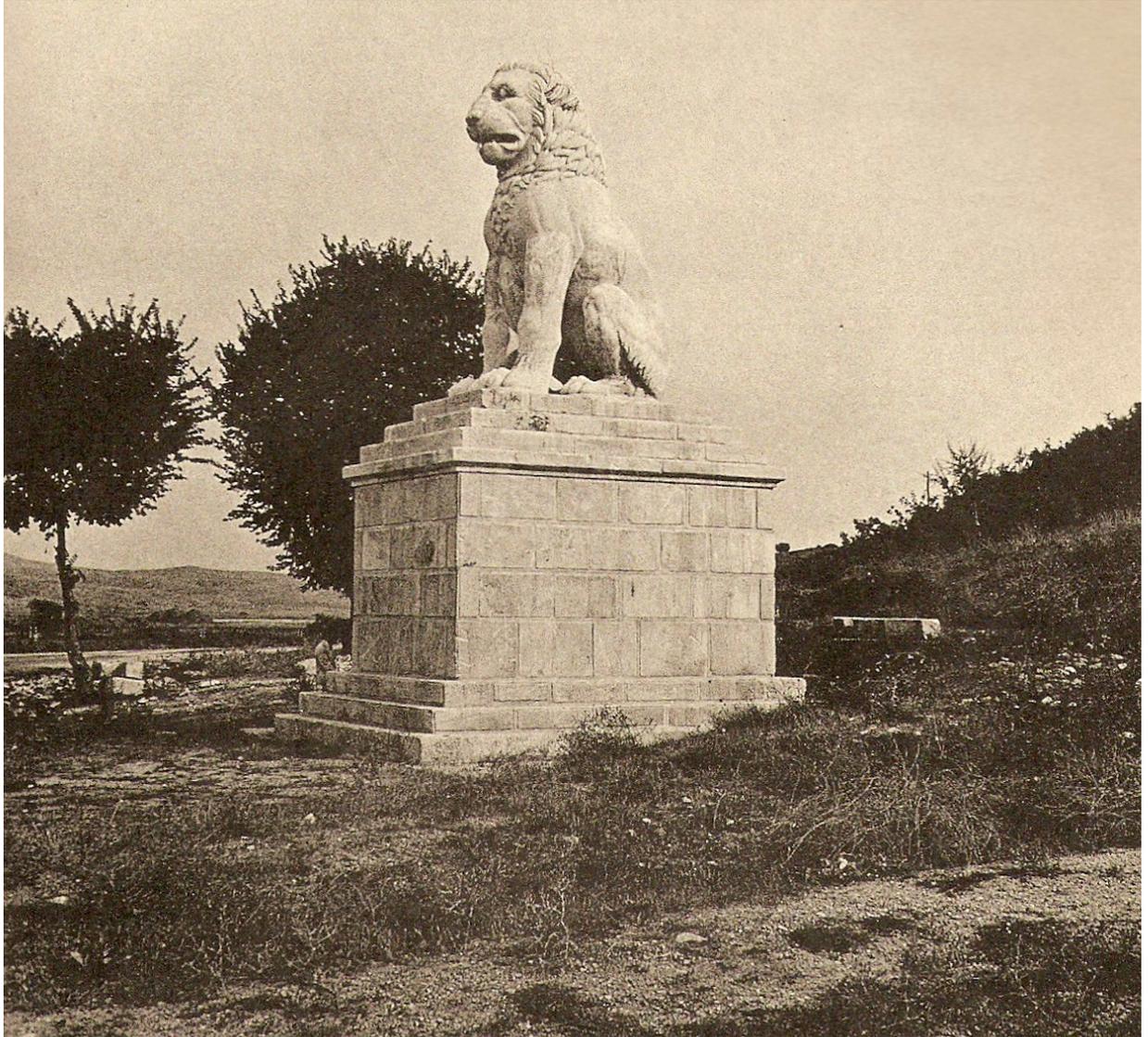


Figure 29. Lion Monument at Amphipolis, 3rd Century BCE. Broneer, 1941, pl. VIII.

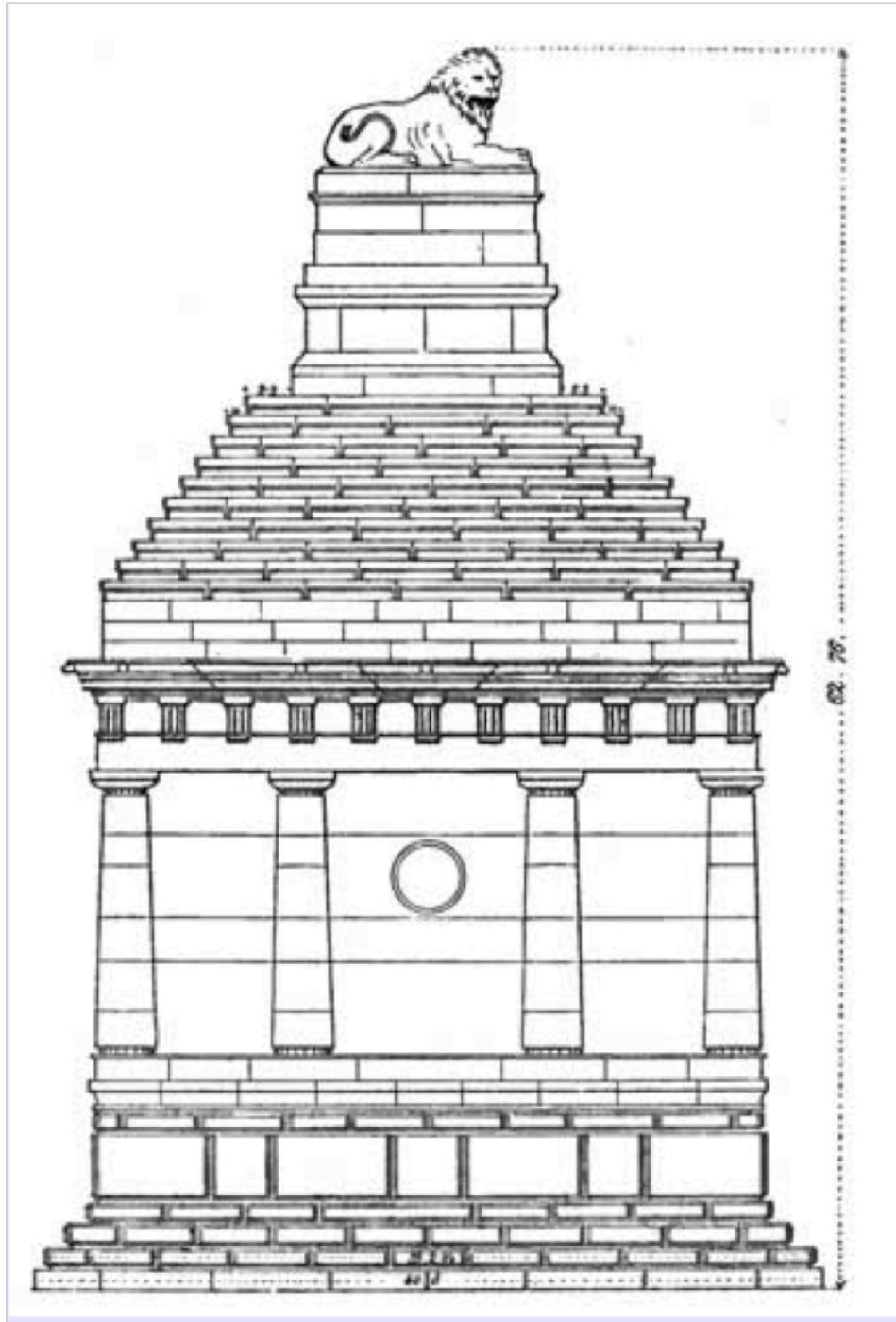


Figure 30. Lion Tomb at Knidos, hypothetical reconstruction after R.P. Pullan, 1865, late fourth or early third centuries BCE. Rice, 1993, 250, Fig. 7.



Figure 31. Lion from Lion tomb at Knidos, late fourth or early third centuries BCE. London, British Museum. Image: (c) 2011 Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 32. Athens NM 3709, Athens, National Museum. Kubler, 1930, Pl. 65.

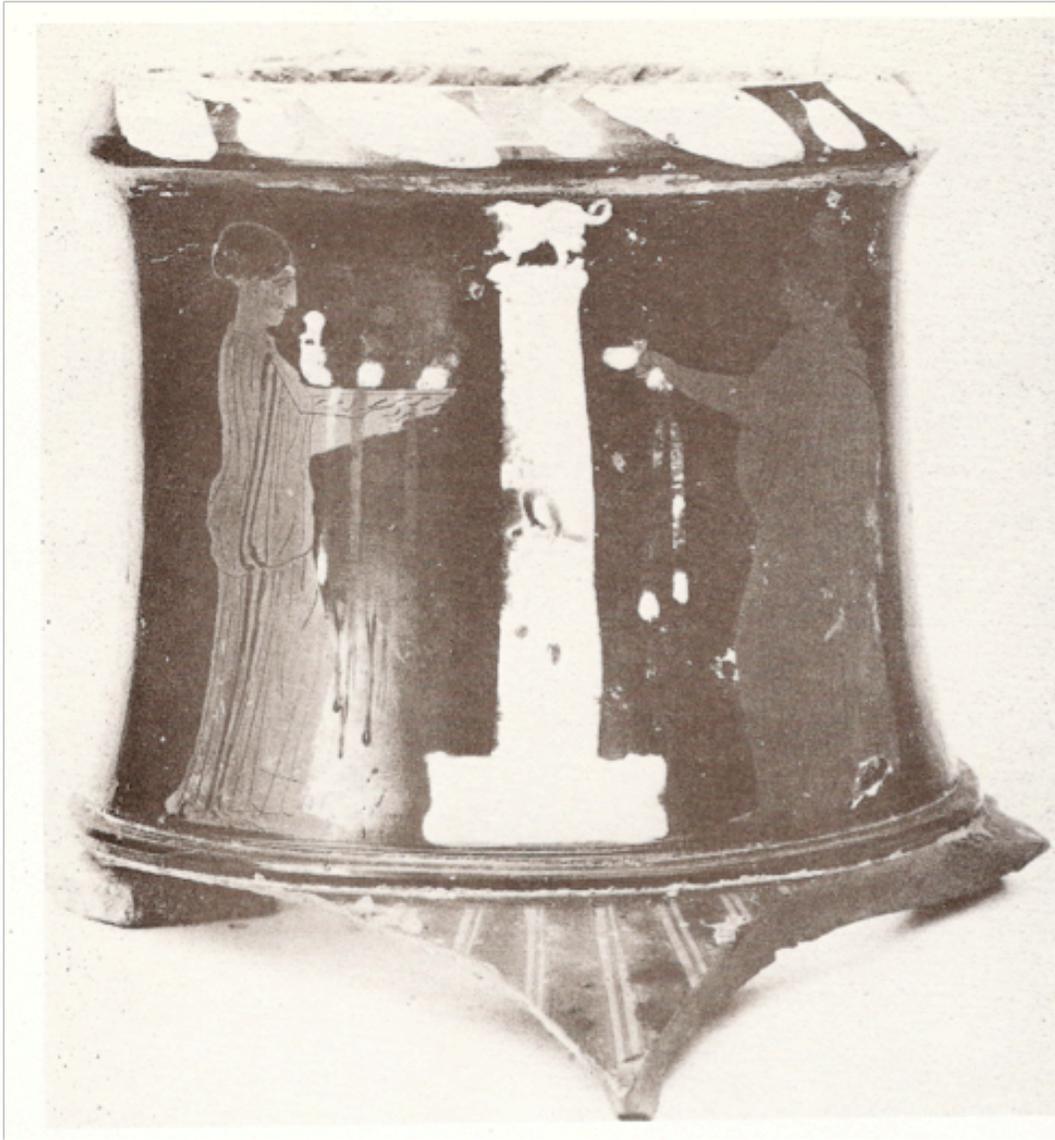


Figure 33. Neck of a red-figure loutrophoros, nd. Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 666-7. Clairmont, 1983, pl. 6.



Figure 34. Stone Warrior Lekythos, ca.410 BCE. Athens, National Museum, 835. Conze, 231, 1073; pl. ccxix.

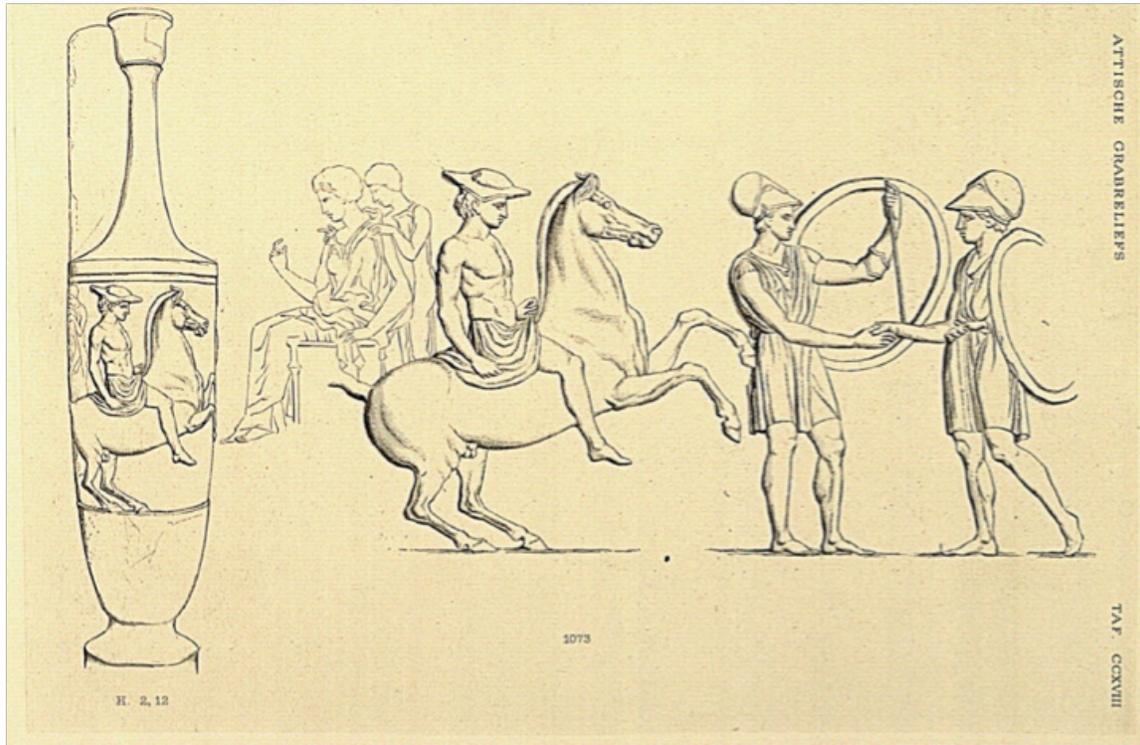


Figure 35. Detail of relief of Stone Warrior Lekythos, ca. 410 BCE. Athens, National Museum, 835. Conze, 231, 1073; pl. ccxviii.



Figure 36. Fragments of a loutrophoros with hoplites and cavalry fighting in front of a grave, ca. 410 BC. By the Talos Painter. Scheurleer, *CVA*, III.ID.6-III.ID.7, PL.(083) 4.1-3.



Figure 37. Sides 1 and 2 of red-figure loutrophoros Berlin 3209, ca. 410 BCE. Bakalakis, 1971, pl. 27-8.



Figure 38. Sides 3 and 4 of red-figure loutrophoros Berlin 3209, ca. 410 BCE. Bakalakis, 1971, pl. 27-8.



Figure 39. Athens NM 1816, last quarter of the fifth century. Found in Eretria, Athens, National Museum. Image: by Allison Frantz (c) 2011 American School of Classical Studies.



Figure 40. Detail, Athens NM 1816, last quarter of the fifth century. Found in Eretria, Athens, National Museum. Image: by Allison Frantz (c) 2011 American School of Classical Studies.



Figure 41. A (left): Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional, 19497. Second quarter of the fifth century. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, 202, pl 19.1; B (right): Athens, National Museum, 1958. Second quarter of the fifth century. From Eretria. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, 202, pl 19.3.



Figure 42. Old man and a warrior at a grave. Attic white lekythos by the Achilles Painter, ca. 450-445 B.C. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Oakley, 2004, 160-1, Figs. 120-1.

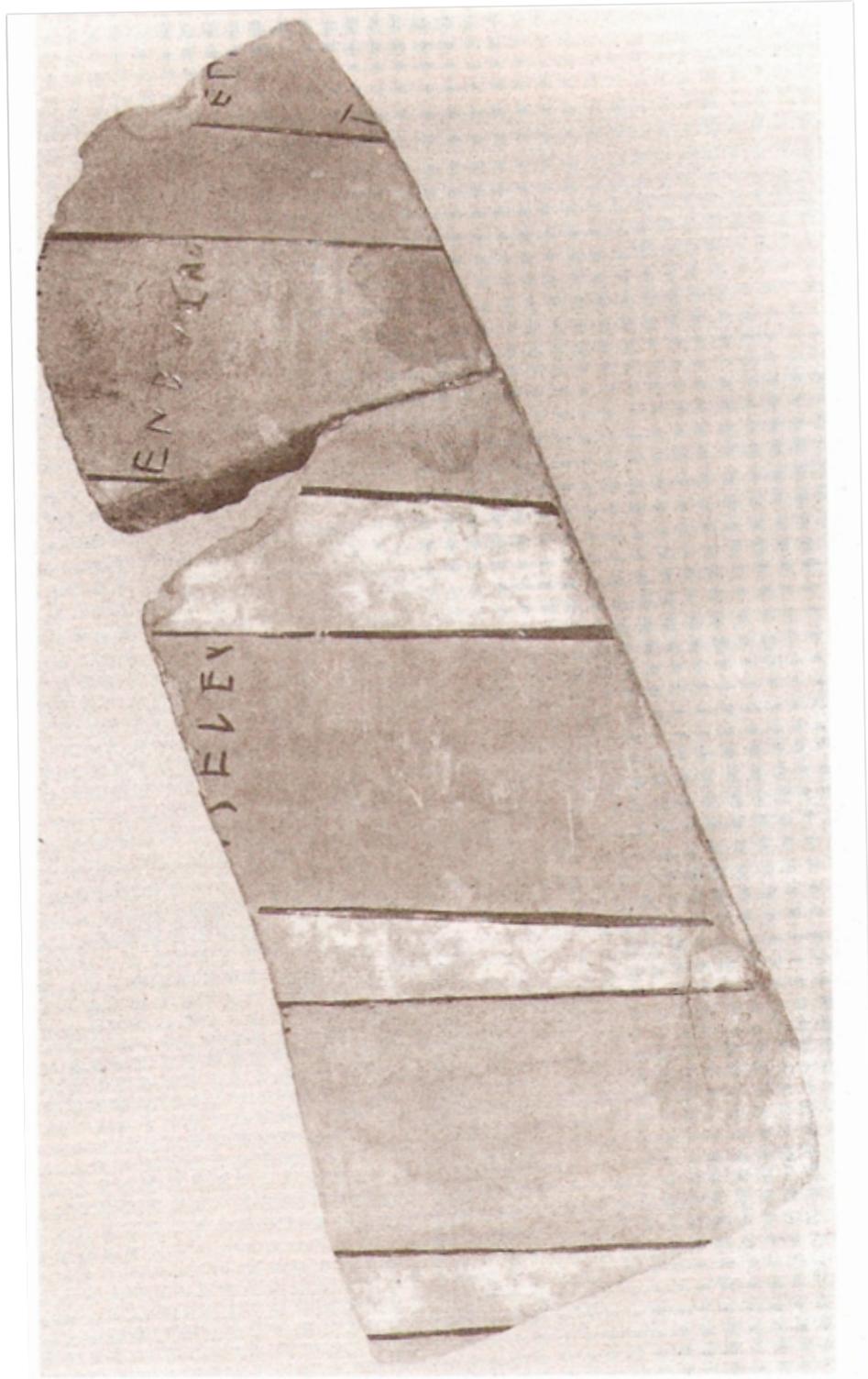


Figure 43. Fragment of a red-ground loutrophoros with multiple casualty lists. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, no 2455. Clairmont, 1983, pl. 3c.



Figure 44. Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington D.C., USA, completed in 1982. Architect: Maya Lin. Image: (c) 1997 Scott Gilchrist, Archivision, Inc.



Figure 45. Arlington National Cemetery, 1864-present, Arlington, Virginia, USA. Image:(c) Scott Gilchrist, Archivision, Inc.

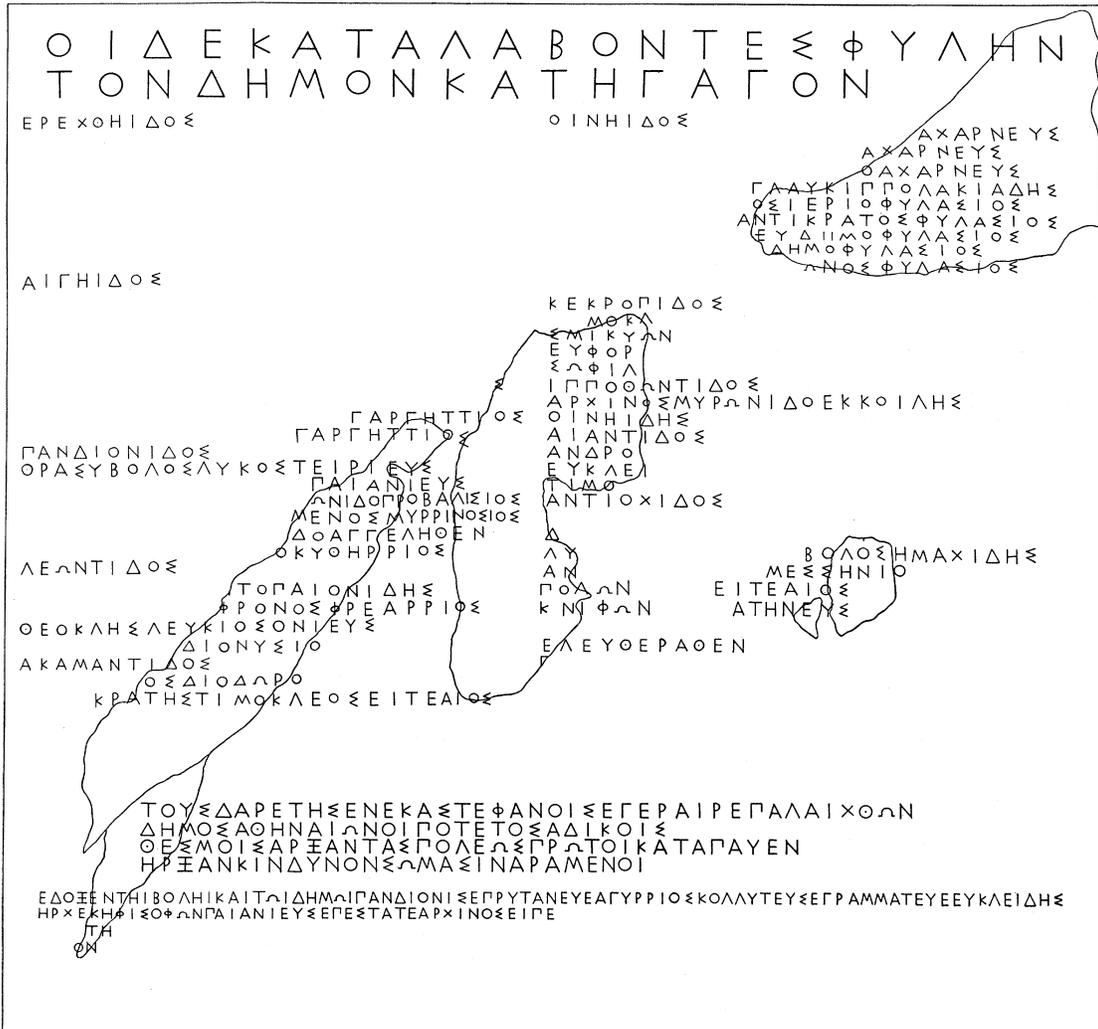


Figure 46. The inscription honoring the heroes of Phyle, 403/2 BCE, Athens. Raubitschek, 1941, 289, Fig. 1.

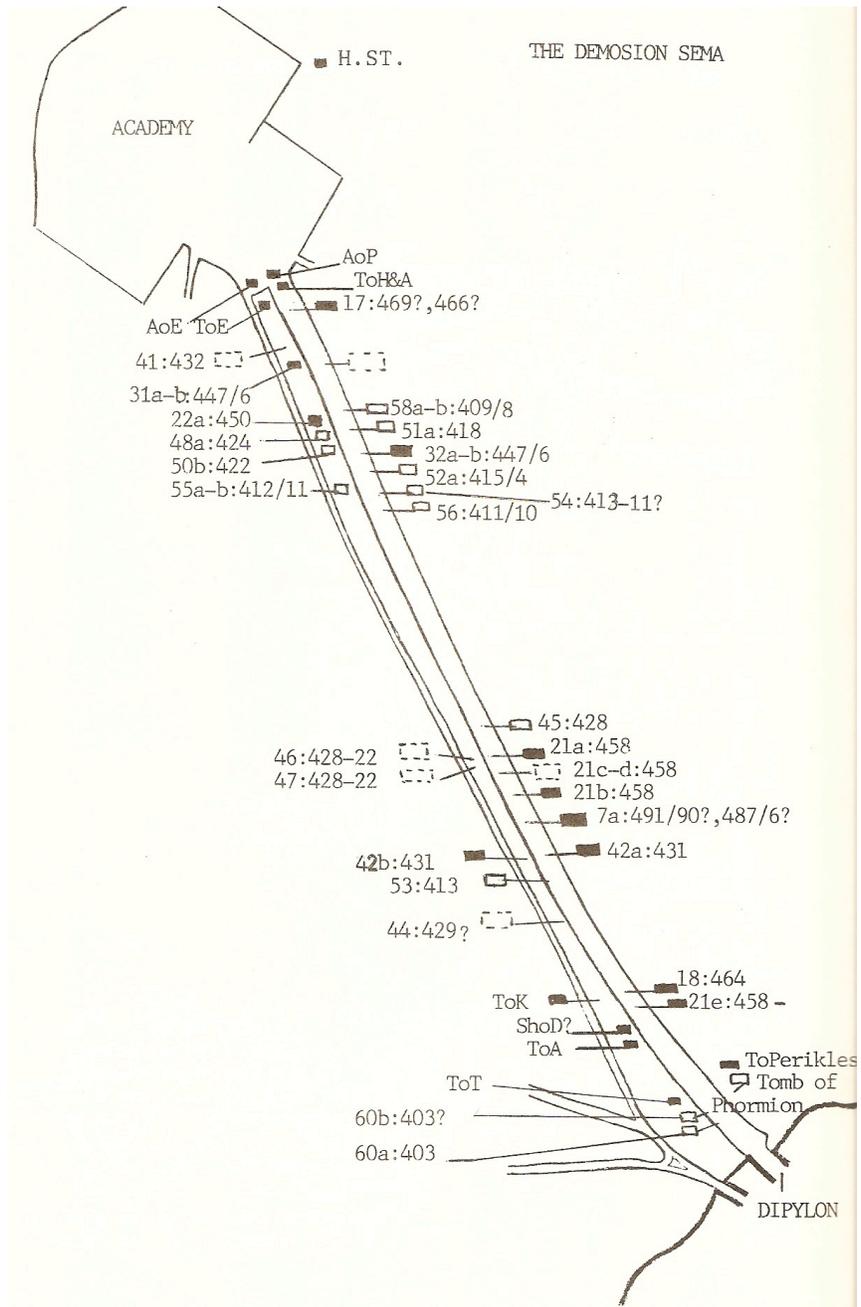


Figure 47. Polyandria within the *demosion sema* by 400 BCE. Clairmont, 1983, Fig. 4.

## APPENDIX E

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