

WOMEN IN RELIEF

“Double Consciousness” in Classical Attic Tombstones*

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INTRODUCTION

In much recent scholarship on the lives of women in Athens of the Classical period (broadly, fifth and fourth centuries BCE), there is a recurring insistence that women were objects in a patriarchal system, the property of men, and the objects of male sexual desire and an all-encompassing male gaze. Were women ever subjects? Could women feel their own personhood even within the confines of a patriarchal system? And if so, under what circumstances?

Lauren Petersen argues that “it was possible for a woman of ancient Greece to liberate herself from the oppression of patriarchal constructs by actively reading her subjectivity”;¹ she cites several vase paintings that could serve to facilitate such feelings.

Circumstances in which women could feel liberated “from the oppression of patriarchal constructs” could logically include occasions when and locations where women were physically beyond the reach of men. The home, once the men went to the *agora* (the marketplace) or the assembly, became a female homosocial environment; so did house rooftops during the Adonia and the Pnyx hill during the Thesmophoria (see Rabinowitz’s essay in this volume).²

This study looks at another place that, on occasion, became primarily a woman’s space, the Kerameikos cemetery located outside the fortification walls in northwest Athens; in that space, I concentrate on its sculpted tombstones (*stélai*: *στῆλαι*) of the later Classical period (fourth century BCE).

Like all cemeteries, the Kerameikos was a heterotopia, a space other than that which humans usually inhabit,³ and its gardenlike appearance and calm contrasted greatly with the traffic that clustered at the entrance to the city at the Dipylon and Sacred Gates. For women, going to the Kerameikos cemetery to perform occasional funerary rites at the tombs of their relatives may have provided some relief from the everyday pressures of a patriarchal world. I suggest that in that space, women visitors could also be subjects, the active viewers of the deceased women depicted on the stelai.



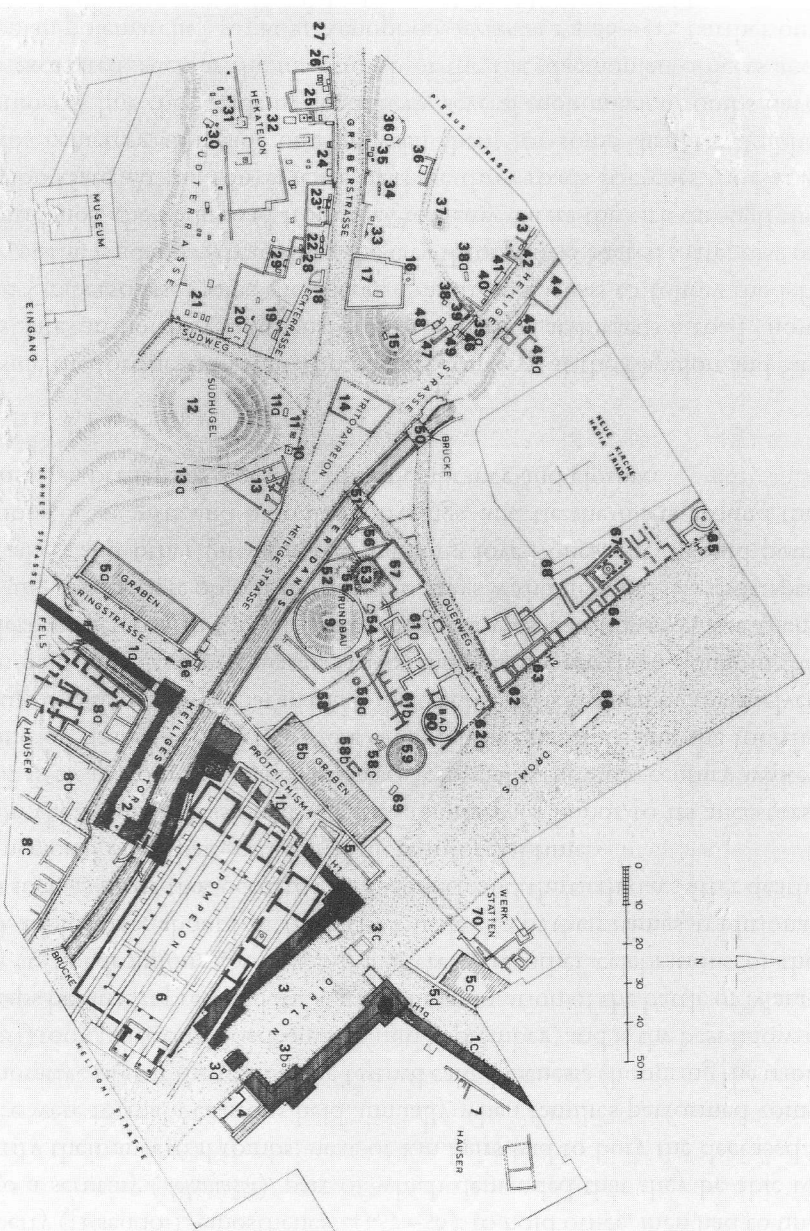
6.1. View of Plot 34 in Kerameikos cemetery. Left to right, cast of stele of Hegeso daughter of Proxenos (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3624; Clairmont no. 2.150), stele of Koroibos and family, and stele of Kleidimos and family (Kerameikos P 1072; Clairmont no. 2.115a). Photograph: Author.

PAYING HONORS TO THE DEAD

Classical Greek cemeteries usually lay outside the city, with the tombs lining the roads leading into it. Both men and women visited the tombs on formal occasions, but otherwise these areas were more the preserve of women. Women attended those who lay dying, women provided formal mourning for the deceased when they were taken for burial, and women paid continuous honor to the dead on informal occasions thereafter. In Athens the excesses of mourning were limited by successive laws, but women remained central to honoring the dead.⁴

Paying honors to the dead was a prerequisite for men holding office (Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 55.3; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.2.13) and for inheriting

6.2. Plan of Kerameikos cemetery. From Knigge, *Kerameikos von Athen* fig. 165. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.



property ([Pseudo-Demosthenes] 43.57–58): to hold office, men had to undergo a scrutiny (*dokimasia*), part of which demanded that they be able to identify their ancestral tombs; next-of-kin heirs had to bury the deceased.⁵ There were formal occasions held annually when families performed commemorative rites at the tombs; the festival called *Genesia* (honoring the tribe [*genos*]) took place on 5 Boedromion (mid September) and is the best known, perhaps because it preceded the state commemoration of the battle of Marathon (6 Boedromion, 490 BCE). But there were other celebrations of the dead, annual ones about which we know little except their names, traditional ones such as those that occurred on the ninth and thirtieth days after death, and personal ones that occurred at more informal times.

On the formal occasions the entire family paid honor to its ancestors, but it is clear from the scenes on vases, especially the fifth-century white-ground oil flasks (*lekythoi*) that were often left at the tombs and the fourth-century red-figure vases that marked the tombs,⁶ that women by themselves often paid other and more casual visits, much as we see them doing in the modern cemeteries in Greece today. In these vase paintings, we see them bringing appropriate objects to the tomb, trays with fillets and *lekythoi*, special cakes, and other gifts for remembering loved ones; they would pour libations, leave gifts and bloodless offerings, and tie the fillets around the tombstone, perhaps as a gesture of remembrance and closure.

THE CEMETERY⁷

Outside the fortification wall, three roads converge at the Dipylon and Sacred Gates in northwest Athens: from the harbor at Piraeus a road (now called *Gräberstrasse*) joins the Sacred Way from Eleusis to follow the left bank of the Eridanos stream into the city through the Sacred Gate; east of the Eridanos, the wide road from the Academy enters the city through the Dipylon Gate. At the convergence of these three roads stretches the *Kerameikos* cemetery alongside and between them for some distance. Public monuments line the Academy road; here, several monumental tombs have been excavated, such as the mass tomb of the Lacedaemonian officers and Athenian polemarchs (403 BCE; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 2.4.28–33). Farther out must have been more tombs of the honored dead buried at public expense, the *Demosion Sema*, where Pausanias saw the stele of Pericles who gave the famous funeral oration there (Thucydides 2.34–46; Pausanias 1.29.3). The extraordinary width of the Academy road (more than 35 m in front of the Dipylon Gate) would have accommodated the funeral games that accompanied these state occasions.⁸

Most of the private cemetery plots flank Piraeus Street and the Sacred Way, filling the triangular area between them. At the convergence of the two roads was the Tritopatreion (plot 14), probably a heroon; across the Sacred Way to the south is a sanctuary to an unknown divinity (plot 20); and farther up the hill to the west is a sanctuary to Hekate (plot 32). Aside from such sacred areas, the cemetery contains hundreds, if not thousands of burials. Most of the tombs consist of unmarked sarcophagi, simple inhumations, some cremations, all stacked in several layers in the earth, grouped in plots tended by families, and marked by the tomb stelai.

Women visitors to the Kerameikos cemetery in the later Classical period would have entered it through one of the two gates, and, unless they were to pay honors to an illustrious family member buried in one of the public monuments along the Academy road, they would have turned toward the private plots along the Sacred Way and Piraeus Street.

Although in use from the twelfth century BCE to the early Roman period, the cemetery saw its principal use from the mid fifth century into the third century (early Hellenistic period). In 338 BCE, after Athens' defeat at the battle of Chaironeia, many of the cemetery's tomb markers and building blocks were hastily removed to repair the city walls. After a sumptuary law in 317/316 under Demetrios of Phaleron, tomb markers became drastically simplified; no longer the ornately sculpted stelai of the earlier period, large rectangular blocks or short columns bore only the name of the deceased (cognomen), father's name (patronymic), and the community from which they came (demotic).

In the late fifth and fourth centuries, tomb markers varied in shape, but many of all types were inscribed. Some markers took the shape in marble of the *lekythoi* whose oil was poured in honor of the dead and the taller *loutrophoroi*, which often marked the tombs of the unmarried; many of these also received relief sculpture. Most markers, however, consisted of simple, upright slabs often (though by no means always) decorated with relief sculpture. There are two major types of sculpted stelai, the tall pediment stele whose area above the relief takes the form of a temple pediment and the shorter, squarer *naiskos* (little temple or shrine) stele that looks like a temple façade with flanking jambs enclosing the relief with pediment above. The deeper the relief and broader the stele, the more people it can accommodate and the later it usually is dated; in the latest *naiskos* stelai, the relief can be a separate slab inserted between separate jambs and crowned with a separate pediment.

The excavated area of the Kerameikos contains at least 35 identifiable

family plots, each containing numerous burials but only a few tomb stelai; Christoph Clairmont's massive update of Conze catalogues 125 Classical stelai that can be assigned to the Kerameikos cemetery, and, of these, 54 can be attributed to the family plots they once marked. Several inscribed tomb markers identify the specific members of the family, and from these it is sometimes possible to reconstruct an extended family tree.⁹ Obvious age and sex differences in the relief scenes allow for similar reconstructions of generic family groups.¹⁰

In many cases, the people depicted on the stelai seem to correspond to the names inscribed, and in these instances we can assume that, at least when a stele was first set up, it marked the graves of the people named on it.¹¹ Many other stelai, however, were reused; some were put into new bases, and others were reinscribed with new names.¹² We can imagine that modifications to a family's plot and the later burial of additional family members might have warranted such reuse; more drastically, some stelai might even have been taken from one plot to mark another, especially in the late fourth century, after the disturbances to the cemetery in 338, or perhaps when a family had died out or moved away and there was no longer any male relative to maintain the plot. It is therefore often impossible to tell whether the people named (in either the original or later inscriptions) were related to each other,¹³ if the names inscribed had any relation to the people depicted in the reliefs,¹⁴ or if the names inscribed and the people depicted were even related to the deceased buried in the plot itself.¹⁵ Our women visitors coming to a family plot to honor their ancestral dead may have had to regard the markers with a "willing suspension of disbelief": it is possible that such a visitor, when pouring her libations and setting her offerings, had in mind deceased relatives and friends who were not the persons inscribed on the stelai or engraved in the scenes or even buried below.¹⁶

Though the connection between the inscribed names, the sculpted figures, and the deceased might not always have been straightforward, we may nonetheless assume that our women visitors saw some sort of generic relationship operating between names and figures on the stelai and the people whom she came to honor. Though some of the scenes on the stelai were specially commissioned, most are conventional, with several versions appearing on different stelai, and these must have been carved in a type of mass production ready to be bought, inscribed, and set up.¹⁷ Most of these scenes depict people singly or in groups of two or three, occasionally four, rarely more. It is obvious that these people correspond to social realities and were

meant to be seen as comprising ideal families, often accompanied by their servants. The inscriptions and the apparent ages of the individuals can therefore be helpful in identifying the idealized relationships among the participants in some of these scenes.¹⁸

Here are two examples from the Kerameikos, one straightforward, the other surprising: stele Kerameikos MG 23, I 433, depicts a standing woman clasping hands with a seated man and gives their names, Theopropis and Simonides; because she appears much younger than he, they are presumably wife and husband rather than sister and brother.¹⁹ Stele Kerameikos P 695, I 221, depicts a woman holding an infant, as if mother and child, but the inscription tells us that the woman Amphareté is the grandmother, and all females, child, mother, and grandmother, are now deceased.²⁰

I give these examples and the various factors at work in the Kerameikos of the later Classical period, because, in trying to imagine the interaction between our women visitors and the monuments, we need to keep in mind that almost every apparent "fact" about the stelai could have been a fiction. We can hypothesize that stelai were set up soon after the burial of the primary deceased whom they commemorated. At that time, the figures engraved in the reliefs probably portrayed idealized social families; inscriptions would be necessary to specify special relationships (e.g., mother and child) but not necessarily specific families (e.g., grandmother and granddaughter). Additional names could be added later, but these might not correspond to the figures sculpted in the reliefs. A family may die out or move, or a family plot might change hands, and stelai could then be appropriated to mark the tombs of other people. Such discrepancies and alterations might thus have freed our women visitors to the cemetery from the necessity of interpreting the conventional figures in the reliefs as specific individuals, allowing them therefore to be able to gaze upon them with the freedom to construct their own narratives and interpretations.

WOMEN ON THE TOMBSTONES

What is indisputable about the stelai, however, is the preponderance of women in the inscriptions and in the figured scenes. Tombstones from Athens depict and mention the cognomina of more women than men;²¹ and when women and men are depicted together, it is common for the woman to be named but the man not.²² More specifically, of the 125 catalogued stelai from the Kerameikos, inscriptions record at least 80 female cognomina and at least 66 male cognomina.²³ Of the freeborn people depicted in the

reliefs (servants not being counted), there are 5 infants, 1 child, 111 males, and 131 females, with roughly twice the number of females than males in the range of young adult to adult.²⁴

Depictions of women also seem more personalized. Men on the tombstones possess a number of attributes that identify them as soldiers, hunters, citizens, athletes, and devoted sons.²⁵ Women, too, are depicted and named in the conventional family roles of wife, mother, sister, and daughter, but they are also depicted in other roles such as priestess, dancer, midwife, and physician.²⁶

The tomb markers were presumably set up to commemorate the death of a specific individual, conventionally termed the "primary deceased."²⁷ When the stele depicts a seated and a standing figure, Clairmont usually identifies the standing figure as the primary deceased, taking leave of the one who is remaining. This seems sensible, but other indications may elicit a different identification. Among the well-preserved Attic stelai depicting only two adult persons (Clairmont nos. 2.051–2.499) I briefly surveyed those that name just one of the figures, assuming that the named person was the primary deceased. There are 82 examples of such stelai: 61 women and 21 men are named. Of the scenes where it was clear to which of the two sculpted figures the name applied, there was a slight preference for seated figures to be named (42 seated to 34 standing) but a marked preference for figures on the left to be named (49 at left to 27 at right). In the reliefs, therefore, women on the left, especially when seated, stand a good chance of being the primary deceased; at the end of this study we shall return to this preference.

The most common composition involves two figures on stelai, one seated, the other standing, often clasping hands (*dexiôsis*: δεξιόσις).²⁸ Men can have masculine attributes such as staff, shield, or hunting hound (to connote citizen, warrior, or hunter), while women have a box, a wool basket (*kalathos*), or a child (fig. 6.3, 6.4).²⁹ When a man and woman are depicted together, they may be husband and wife or brother and sister; inscriptions sometimes state these relationships, and noticeable age differences or similarities (respectively) may imply them. In other instances, two men clasp hands, and occasionally inscriptions specify father and son or perhaps brothers.³⁰

While the majority of two-figure stelai depict a man and a woman, of the ones that depict same-sex pairs, more stelai depict both women than both men.³¹ Sometimes the familial relationship between these women is clear: inscriptions may specify it, or obvious age differences may imply mothers and daughters.³² In three reliefs, the second woman assists the other who is



6.3. Stele for seated woman, in front of whom a second woman stands and holds a box. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 726; Clairmont no. 2.300. Photograph: Author.



6.4. Stele for woman who died in childbirth; woman stands and looks at seated woman; between, woman (servant?) holds infant; in back of chair, another woman. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 819; Clairmont no. 4.930. Photograph: Author.

dying; for convenience, Clairmont prefers to identify this second woman as the deceased's mother, but without an inscription that specifies her role, she equally well could be a midwife, if the woman died in childbirth, or some other professional, friend, or relative assisting.³³

In the majority of these two-women scenes, however, the relationship between them is unclear, even if, for convenience, one may prefer to identify the women as related or as close friends.³⁴ As is common, almost all the scenes involving only two women have one standing and one seated, and they may or may not clasp hands.

In the following section, I concentrate on two aspects of these stelai depicting two women: whether they clasp hands or not, and whether they are named or not (assuming that naming the figures indicates they belong to the family whose plot the stele marked and that clasping hands indicates that the two figures are related). To anticipate my conclusions: when both women are named, they almost invariably clasp hands and are probably therefore close family members. But when neither woman or only one woman is named, the standing woman usually contemplates the seated woman, and they do not clasp hands; I suggest that these two women are not close family members.³⁵

Of the stelai that depict the two women clasping hands, only six do not name either figure (fig. 6.5): four scenes depict one woman standing and one sitting, thereby indicating a domestic location but otherwise no specific relationship between them;³⁶ the fifth, however, includes a small household dog, akin to the modern Spitz, that leaps upon the figure at the right, probably to indicate the primary deceased;³⁷ the sixth stele includes a maid who holds a baby.³⁸ Of the ten stelai that depict the two women touching, five name just one of them: four depict them clasping hands,³⁹ and the fifth depicts an embrace (see below).⁴⁰

When both women are named, however, they almost invariably clasp hands,⁴¹ whether they both stand⁴² or, as is otherwise the rule, one stands and one sits. Most of these scenes are simple with no object to convey the social construction of either woman;⁴³ occasionally, however, one of the women holds something to indicate a social role: the standing woman holds a box,⁴⁴ the sitting woman holds a *kithara* (a type of lyre),⁴⁵ a maid holds a child.⁴⁶

The rest of the stelai, both those naming neither woman and those naming only one woman, depict no handclasping; instead, one woman stands and regards the second woman seated. For instance, a standing woman regards the seated "Arkhestrate daughter of Alexos from Sounion" fingering her veil.⁴⁷ On two stelai, the standing woman holds or offers a baby to a seated



6.5. Stele for seated woman who clasps hands with second woman who stands and looks at her; in back of chair, girl. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 870; Clairmont 3.461. Photograph: Author.

woman.⁴⁸ But most commonly (seven stelai), a young unnamed woman holds a box and regards the seated woman, who is named (the primary deceased): “Ameinokleia daughter of Andromenes from Lamptraia” with her sandal being adjusted by a maid;⁴⁹ “Pausimakhe” opening a box;⁵⁰ “Kalliarista daughter of Phileratos wife of Damokles” touching her mantle;⁵¹ “Arkhestrate” taking a fillet from the box and regarding her daughter, who leans against her knees holding a bird;⁵² “Kallistomakhe daughter of Thorykon from Trikorinthos” receiving a large bracelet; and “Glykylla” removing (or perhaps putting on) a bracelet.⁵³

Even when the stele is reused, the seated figure is the one named (and thus the primary deceased even in the period of reuse); for instance, seated

“Niki]ppe daughter of Nikippos” holds some wool (a kalathos stands beneath her chair) while a young woman, against whose thigh a nude boy leans, stands and regards her.⁵⁴

The gesture of clasping hands (dexiosis) has received much scholarly discussion.⁵⁵ It joins two people physically and in harmony; it was used in life both upon meeting and upon parting, and for closing the agreement between father and prospective groom for the daughter’s hand in marriage. As a gesture in funerary art, it therefore signified that the deceased and survivor were closely joined both before and after death: “The two parties together make up a whole, the family, which the intervention of death has failed to sunder.”⁵⁶

Most of the relationships depicted on stelai showing two people were probably considered real yet conventional; having them of different sexes, naming both, and having them clasp hands was probably the surest way to imply a close family relationship (a loving husband and wife, for instance). Omitting any of these criteria throws that relationship in doubt; omitting all (having the two figures both women, naming neither woman or just one of them, and omitting the handclasp) must be seen therefore as deliberately implying that the two women were not close family members. That this relationship was depicted on so many stelai as to be conventional ought to imply that it was socially real, if not socially legitimated. I suggest, therefore, that these two women, not clasping hands, at most only one who is named, represent women who were “close friends,” one woman regarding her deceased friend.

THE HOME AND TOMB

Who is this unnamed woman, the secondary deceased, if she is not a close relative? She usually stands to regard the named other woman who is most often seated—they should at least therefore be friends. Since the small range of attributes, the box, a kalathos and ball of wool, an infant or child, the small dog, and the omnipresent chair are all emblems of the home (*oikos*: οἶκος),⁵⁷ I take the secondary nonrelative woman to represent all members of the primary deceased’s circle of intimate friends.

It is of course an ideal home, one envisioned on the stelai as an encapsulation of the one envisioned by proper society. In vase paintings, we see the same home environments where women of the household, women relatives, and women friends gathered. We see them lounging against each other, bathing, dressing one another, arranging each other’s hair; producing cloth

and washing clothes; playing lyres and auloi (a musical instrument like a double clarinet) for one another; and looking after their children and their women servants. Such domestic spaces were probably the realm of women once their husbands and fathers left for the agora, and it is these homosocial spaces at those times that may have been called the “gynaikonitis” (γυναικωνίτις) or “women’s quarters.”⁵⁸ I prefer to think of the gynaikonitis as the space and the women in it, a type of “woman’s world.”

The well-known terracotta kneeguard (*epinetron*) for working wool, the namepiece of the Eretria Painter (late fifth century), may serve to illustrate this “woman’s world” (fig. 6.6). Its two main scenes depict women preparing brides, one labeled the goddess Harmonia, the other, the heroine Alkestis.⁵⁹ On the back end, the end at the thigh, there is a band decorated with palmettes. On the front, knee end, the utensil has an applied woman’s head and a painted band depicting Peleus seizing Thetis in front of her father Nereus and five sisters, Altis, Melite, Eulimene, Aura, and Nao. A frieze runs along each side that hugged the thigh, and each depicts the mythological scene of women preparing a bride for marriage. On side A, we see divinities, left to right: in front of a column a seated Aphrodite selects jewelry, Eros holds a chest, Peitho and Kore flank a seated Harmonia (Aphrodite’s daughter, the bride), and Hebe adjusts her hair before a seated winged male Himeros (Desire), who holds a chest of cloth and offers her a small jar, probably of perfumed oil (fig. 6.7); and on side B, we see heroines, left to right: Theo bends over two black-figure basins on stands (*lebetes gamikoi*), Kharis stands facing her and lifts her mantle, Theano arranges branches in a loutrophoros as if it were a flower vase, Asterope leans on a seated Hippolyte talking to her pet bird perched on her left hand, and inside a columned porch Alkestis (the bride) leans against a bed in front of an open door (a room is visible beyond), and on the wall hang two wreaths and a mirror (fig. 6.8).

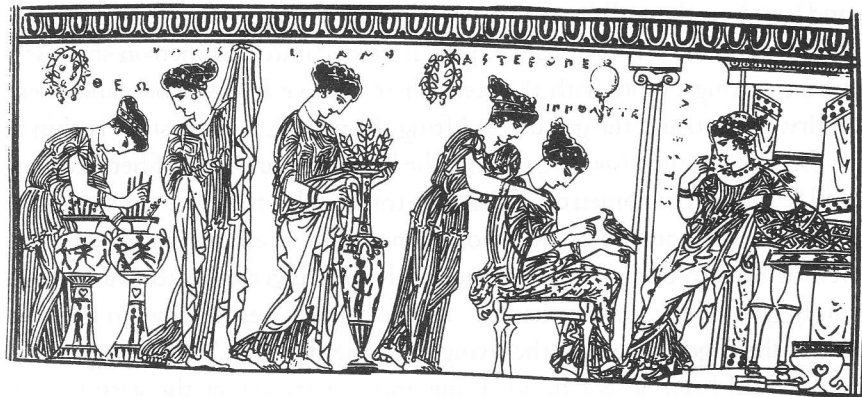
The domestic environments on the Eretria Painter’s *epinetron* share several interesting points with the *stelai*; here too we find the box and chest, jewelry, the pet, and the gesture of lifting the mantle. This gesture is akin to the formal unveiling (*anakalypsis*) that the bride does in front of her new husband.⁶⁰ But on the *epinetron* and on the tomb *stelai*, the gesture seems more casual.⁶¹ Clairmont notes that women normally drew the cloak (*bimation*) over the head to cover themselves modestly, and fingering or touching it was simply giving “the inactive hand . . . some activity,” especially “in the context of the togetherness of the living with the deceased.” The gesture may have indeed been absent-minded, but most *stelai* depict the gesture as if



6.6. Red-figure epinetron by the Eretria Painter. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1629. Photograph from negative from the Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.



6.7. Red-figure epinetron by the Eretria Painter. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1629. Side A: preparations for the marriage of Harmonia. Drawing after Hartwig, "Ἐπίνητρον ἐξ Ἐρετρίας," pl. 10.1.



6.8. Red-figure epinetron by the Eretria Painter. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1629. Side B: preparations for the marriage of Alkestis. Drawing after Hartwig, "Ἐπίνητρον ἐξ Ἐρετρίας," pl. 10.2.

frozen halfway between veiling and unveiling, as if ambivalent; viewers could therefore interpret it according to their own inclination: either unveiling or about to veil the face, welcoming or refusing the spectator's attention.⁶²

Even more striking is the Eretria Painter's depiction of Alkestis leaning against her bed, presumably the marriage bed that she addresses in Euripides' play, *Alkestis* (177–182); since Alkestis' death heroizes her, her marriage bed is much like the couch that women in the stelai lean against or lie on having died in childbirth (see above, and n33).

Perhaps marrying, giving birth, and dying were closely linked;⁶³ the tomb stelai often show deceased women and their infants, and the inscriptions mention their death soon after marriage. For the daughter of Ampharete (above, and n20) and for Myrtis (above, and n32), giving birth brought on their death. In addition, on a damaged stele we read how Pamphile died early into her marriage and apparently before giving birth:

Marriage gave her once a home in which Pamphile
was eager to dwell most blessedly;
she left behind her life now finished before twenty
and the marriage home of her youth died with her.⁶⁴

From such examples and from the large number of women named and depicted on the tomb stelai, marriage, giving birth, and death seem to have been a recurrent sequence. The cemetery may have been an extension of the *gynaikonitis*: both were women's spaces, with the *gynaikonitis* being the locus where women supported women through the dangers of marriage and childbirth, and the cemetery being the locus where women tended the tombs of those who had succumbed. Since these marriages and childbirths are subjects that focus on women's sexuality, womb, and genitals, the homosocial environments of both *gynaikonitis* and cemetery may also have been the loci for homoerotic feelings.

HOMOSOCIAL AND HOMOEROTIC STELAI

What might a woman think and feel when she paid honors to the dead and looked upon the women in the stelai? If we turn to the accompanying inscriptions, many seem too repetitive to be helpful, often employing a standardized vocabulary that restricts empathy: a woman's qualities are usually limited to the formulaic "virtuous and restrained (or moderate)" (*agathê kai sôphrôn*: ἀγαθὴ καὶ σώφρων), the female counterpart to the "good and upright man" (*kalos k'agathos*: καλὸς κ'ἀγαθός); her worth is conveyed by the sorrow (*penthos*: πένθος) she leaves behind and the longing/desire (*pothos*:

πόθος) her family feels at her loss. The inscriptions also sketch out conventional narratives: death cut short her marriage; now dead, she cannot enjoy the child she bore; the earth envelops her body but her memory lives on.

One remarkable stele, however, should caution us against dismissing these conventional narratives, qualities, and emotions. A painted stele once depicted two women, probably standing and facing each other and therefore not clasping hands and therefore probably not close family members; both their names, however, are inscribed, “Herophile” and “Anthemis.” The accompanying elegiac couplet is remarkable for its content, sentiment, and graceful meter:

Her companions crown this tomb of Anthemis with a wreath
in their remembrance of her virtue and friendship.⁶⁵

In few words this sincere memorial assures us that women, like Anthemis’ companions, did tend the tombs of their friends with genuine care; the memorial also allows us to assume that Herophile was indeed one of Anthemis’ companions, the secondary woman, and therefore a member of her *gynaikonitis*.

We therefore need to pay more attention to the reliefs and the epigrams of stelai than their conventional words and scenes might otherwise elicit:

A young woman stands holding an open box, from which the young seated Arkhestrate takes out a fillet while she looks at a small girl holding a bird:

The earth has covered over the virtuous and restrained
Arkhestrate most desired by her husband.⁶⁶

Khrysanthe stands, clasping hands with a seated elderly man:

The earth has her body within but your moderation,
Khrysanthe, that the tomb cannot hide.⁶⁷

Pausimakhe stands somewhat limply, holding a mirror (fig. 6.9):

All who live are fated to die, but you Pausimakhe
leave behind bitter sorrow for your grandparents
and your mother Phainippe and father Pausanias;
those standing here see this memorial of your virtue
and moderation.⁶⁸

As seated Melite clasps hands with her beloved Onesimos, he addresses her in the inscription and twice praises her as worthy (*kbrêstê*: χρηστή)—she was probably a slave; in the last line she replies:

—Hail! tomb of Melite, a worthy woman lies here;
 You constantly returned the love Onesimos had for you;
 how he misses you now dead, for you were a worthy woman.
 —And hail! beloved of men, do take care of my loved ones!⁶⁹

And one fragmentary stele preserves only the head of “Dionysia,” a woman past her prime, and an idealizing inscription:

Neither clothing nor gold did she enjoy in life
 but she loved her husband and self-restraint;
 instead of your youthful beauty, Dionysia,
 your husband Antiphilos adorns your tomb.⁷⁰

The conventional persons depicted in the reliefs and the conventional narratives conveyed in the inscriptions do not have to limit the women viewers/readers of them from interpreting them as they wish. Several stelai appeal to their imagination and address them directly, inviting them to contribute to the construction of a continuing narrative. The stele of Khrysanthe, for instance, implies that the spectator can envision her “moderation”; the stele of Pausimakhe asks the spectator to imagine her “virtue and moderation”; the stele of Melite invites the spectator to wonder if her “loved ones” are indeed being taken care of; and the stele of Dionysia demands that the spectator observe if her tomb is indeed being adorned. Such appeals involve us in the process of continuing these women’s lives.

PAUSIMAKHE’S MIRROR

The stelai employ several other devices that cause the spectator to identify with the women in the reliefs. The most obvious is Pausimakhe’s mirror. Several stelai depict women holding mirrors. Clairmont lists twenty-four, but several are fragmentary and unclear, and three depict the woman (all facing left) not looking into the mirror she holds.⁷¹ The other twenty-one women, however, do look into their mirror; most stand to the right, hold the mirror up, and look directly into it. One even has a dowel hole in her upraised hand; a real mirror may have been inserted there. Since an interest in depicting reflections in mirrors begins to develop contemporaneously in other fourth-century media, including South Italian vases and mural paint-



6.9. Stele for Pausimakhe. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3964; Clairmont no. 1.283. Photograph from negative, National Archaeological Museum, Athens, © photographer H. R. Goette. Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen.

ing, it is possible that Pausimakhe's mirror had her reflection painted on it for us to gaze at.⁷² Since she holds the mirror up so that we see its almost full disk, the reflection we would see, or imagine, there would have been ours as well as hers; Pausimakhe, then, is our alter ego.⁷³ The *memento mori* in her inscription, "All who live are fated to die," reminds us all of the passing of time and the nearness of death; the reflection, therefore, is also that of our immanent soul.⁷⁴

A full study of ancient mirrors is beyond the scope of this paper, but a few additional comments are appropriate.⁷⁵ One of the primary purposes of mirrors is to allow us to see ourselves as we appear physically to others; thus we use them to perfect our appearance and to check our health. The image that mirrors convey, however, is an illusion that occupies no real space in this world (therefore an "outopia" [or "utopia"]).⁷⁶ This illusion would have

been more obvious in antiquity, since ancient mirrors were of polished metal, usually bronze, and the reflection they gave back was dark. Within the heterotopia of the cemetery, the sculpted figure of Pausimakhe gazes at her reflection in the mirror; and as a real woman spectator envisioned that dark reflection (a stand-in for her own), the two women would have triangulated that reflection, locating it at the juncture of their two worlds.⁷⁷ As the two women, the lifeless Pausimakhe in her outopia and the living woman in the heterotopia of the cemetery, both gaze upon the mirror, like a hinge it folds the one onto the other and melds them.

ARKHESTRATE'S FRIEND

Although several stelai depict women holding mirrors precisely as Pausimakhe does, many other stelai use another device for triangulating the spectator into the scene: the secondary woman who gazes at the primary deceased, at whom all spectators of the stele also gaze. The stele of Arkhestrate, for instance (above, and nn52 and 66), depicts a young woman holding a box and gazing at Arkhestrate as she removes a fillet and, in turn, gazes at her daughter, who leans against her knees and holds a bird. Arkhestrate, the primary deceased, thus functions like Pausimakhe's mirror, to triangulate the spectator to the secondary woman and meld them. Whereas the mirror causes the deceased and the spectator to be paired, the parallel gazes of the secondary woman and of the spectator demand that they also be paired.⁷⁸ When the spectator thus assumes the role of the secondary woman, in gazing and reflecting upon the primary deceased, she is also being asked to imagine and feel the emotions that were felt by the women whom the secondary woman represents.

If our woman spectator gazes at the young woman, who in turn gazes at Arkhestrate, who in turn gazes at her daughter who gazes back, there is ample opportunity for her to imagine a narrative of love, loss, grief, and yearning, and for her to appropriate for herself, along the circle of gazes, the desire that Arkhestrate's husband felt at her passing. Our woman spectator thus builds on her perception of the relief and epigram and on her identification with the young woman holding the box to create her own metaresponse: to imagine what her own relationship to Arkhestrate would have been and to regenerate the desire that had once been felt for her.⁷⁹

Through such devices as the mirror and the secondary woman, our woman visitor learned to identify herself as a member of the primary deceased's circle of friends and to read herself actively into the construction of a narrative that concerns her and her relationship with another woman,⁸⁰

the primary deceased. She should be able to place herself intimately in that relationship, to gaze upon the primary woman with feelings, yearnings, and regrets similar to those depicted in the relief and specified in the epigrams, even to the point of imagining the woman's life cut short, her virtue and moderation, and even the desire felt for her.⁸¹

GIRL-FRIENDS ON STELAI

Several stelai lead us more specifically toward this last possibility, that of homoerotic feelings being depicted in the stelai or generated by their depictions.⁸² I start with three deep naiskos stelai dated to the mid fourth century; while there is nothing distinctly homoerotic about them, several aspects seem unusual: the stelai form a coherent stylistic group, only pairs of women are depicted and named on them, and no family relationship is specified (they are not mothers and daughters, sisters, or cousins). In other words, there is no mention or indication of any of the usual, socially legitimated relationships between these women.

Each of the three stelai depicts one woman standing on the left with her left hand raised in a speaking gesture, and the other woman seated on the right. One stele, provenience unknown, names its two women "Hedeia daughter of Lysikles from Athmonon" and "Phanylla daughter of Aristoleides from Athmonon"; for convenience, Clairmont identifies them as cousins, but they may simply be friends from the same community.⁸³ Two similar stelai, both from plot 20 in the Kerameikos, both name the women "Demetria" and "Pamphile" (fig. 6.10) and the original architrave to one of these two stelai carries additional names secondarily inscribed, "Kallistomakhe daughter of Diokles" and "Nausion daughter of Sosandros."⁸⁴ The three stelai are so similar, stylistically and compositionally, that they should all come from the same workshop, possibly destined for the same clientele or the same cemetery plot (if so, Kerameikos plot 20).

From the inscriptions, it is clear that these women, Hedeia, Phanylla, Demetria, Pamphile, Kallistomakhe, and Nausion, are not sisters. Since all their cognomina are different, they probably are not first cousins.⁸⁵ It seems unlikely that all six women would have been second cousins commemorated by stelai from a single workshop—and two of them even twice. If these six women did not belong to a nuclear family, one wonders what their relationship was. Whoever they were, they were important; perhaps they had formed some kind of an association or had been in business together, or perhaps they were just very close friends whom not even death could separate.



6.10. Cast of the stele for Demetria and Pamphile, from Kerameikos plot 20. Kerameikos inv. no. unknown; Clairmont no. 2.464. Photograph: Author.

Two stelai depict one woman embracing the other. On one (see above, and n40), a young woman embraces and touches the chin of a maiden, and the inscription above names one of them, “Mynnion daughter of Khairestratos from Hagnous.” Since the gesture is directed at the maiden, she is probably Mynnion, but there is not enough of an age difference between them to identify the young woman as her mother; it is more likely that she is another relative or a slightly older close friend.

The second stele is unusual:⁸⁶ a woman embraces and touches the breast of a girl. Clairmont identifies the girl as about ten years old, and the woman as a nurse by her “garment and possibly also her physiognomy”; at the left stands a smaller girl. The top frame of the stele bears an inscription over the woman, “Soteris,” and letters of a name, now illegible, over the girl. Although the gesture is unusual, a contemporary Apulian winejar depicts a similar scene with two adult women.⁸⁷ The girl may not be so young as ten, but she is certainly no older than twenty. If Soteris were a nurse, she would probably have been named as such (*tithbê*: τίτθη; see above, n26); her “physi-

ogony” does seem crude, but that need not imply a difference in class or status. Given these peculiarities, it is possible that the stele does depict something unusual.

Even more interesting is the scene on a half-preserved, early fifth-century relief from Phalanna, Thessaly: two women stand and face each other; the woman at the left lifts up the left shoulder of her chiton and holds out a ball, probably of wool, in her right hand; the woman at the right touches the left edge of her chiton’s shoulder and reaches out as if to take the ball.⁸⁸ The two gestures answer each other and seem purposeful rather than casual, as if gestures in greeting or in mutual understanding. The same gesture, also in connection with wool working, occurs in the tondo of a kylix by Douris (see Rabinowitz’s essay in this volume, fig. 5.1).⁸⁹ The ball of wool that is being offered may function as a gift; and since it connotes weaving and therefore invokes that homosocial work environment, the ball of wool as a gift may have been a love gift. The gesture of lifting the shoulder of one’s chiton while a ball of wool is offered may convey the women’s good intentions, willingness, receptivity, or even desire.⁹⁰

Another ball of wool occurs on Nikippe’s stele from Skala Oropou mentioned above (n54), and a kalathos under her chair completes the reference to the industriousness of the deceased.⁹¹ But Clairmont and others have also pointed out that the pose of Nikippe’s right arm, raised high against the back of her chair, is reminiscent of the pose of Alkamenes’ “Aphrodite of the Gardens” and this may lend some support for an erotic connotation for the ball of wool.

Finally, another early fifth-century, half-preserved relief from Pharsalus, Thessaly, shows a similar scene (fig. 6.1); it has been much discussed.⁹² Two women face each other, and while the woman on the left stands, the woman on the right was probably seated; both women wear scarves to bind their hair. The woman on the left holds up a flower in her left hand and, with her right, offers a leather bag (*phormiskos*: φόρμισκος) to the woman on the right, who holds two flowers, one up in her raised right hand and another down in her lowered left hand.

The iconography here seems homoerotic in three details, the flowers, the raised and lowered hands, and the *phormiskos*, but most scholars seem to have shied deliberately away from such an interpretation. John Boardman (above, n92) notes vaguely that “Thessaly will present novel compositions with women, presaged in [the Pharsalus relief] with its mysterious pair,” as if such mysteries are appropriate to the outskirts of civilization. Brunilde Ridgway (above, n92) assumes the relief is a tombstone and describes it as



6.11. Relief from Pharsalus, Thessaly. Louvre 701. Photograph: Author.

presenting a “moment of intimacy and companionship,” but she dismisses the intimacy as something servile: “The presence of the companion [on the left] in the Pharsalus relief carries approximately the same emotional implication as the pet of other tombstones, or the small servant boy” attending athletes and youths. Since the two women seem approximately equal in stature and status, Ridgway’s characterization is unfair.

Both women assume a version of the “hands up and down gesture,” a gesture that is seen primarily, but not originally, in male homoerotic courting scenes.⁹³ The flowers may support this association. In many erotic scenes, people hold flowers, whether the scene takes place in a brothel or whether it involves men courting youths.⁹⁴ The meaning of flower holding should imply a good disposition or warm feelings; in the hands of a person offering a flower, it may also demonstrate one’s good intentions or even desire,⁹⁵ and in the hands of a person being made an offer, as with youths being courted and women prostitutes being approached by men, it may signify one’s willingness to accept.⁹⁶ With these possibilities in mind, Gundel Koch-Harnack found it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the two women on

the Pharsalus relief are lovers: the woman on the right is older (she has a fuller bosom and heavier jaw), and "she tilts her head so as to look lovingly into the eyes of her partner."⁹⁷

Though the contents of the leather bag are open to discussion, it is generally assumed that such bags contained either coins or knucklebones (*astragaloi*: ἀστράγαλοι). In a couple of vase paintings, people in a shop hold a phormiskos, apparently purchasing something with the coins in the bag.⁹⁸ The majority of scenes with phormiskoi, however, depict men and youths offering or showing them to women or youths; and in these cases, the phormiskoi should either contain coins for sex⁹⁹ or astragaloi as a love gift.¹⁰⁰

A relief from Aigina, but undoubtedly of Attic workmanship, also features two women and a phormiskos: a seated young woman clasps hands with a standing woman, who draws her veil back with a dramatic gesture.¹⁰¹ The seated woman's left hand tightly holds the phormiskos slightly above her lap and just below the handclasp. Both Athena Kalogeropoulou, who first published the stele, and Clairmont assume that the bag's contents are astragaloi. Kalogeropoulou comments (above, n100) that astragaloi are found by the hundreds in tombs, attesting their use in foretelling the future and the deceased's role in mediating between this world and the next. She also comments on the apparent similarity of the two young women's ages, which leads Clairmont to identify them as "intimate girl friends."

Since astragaloi are common as tomb offerings,¹⁰² it is possible they are the contents of the bags on the Pharsalus and Aigina reliefs; if so, they should be gifts from one woman to the other. If the Aigina relief is a tomb stele, its composition may conform to the standards outlined above: the seated woman on the left is the primary deceased to whom the standing secondary woman on the right has given the phormiskos with its astragaloi. The Pharsalus relief reverses the conventional Attic position of the two women: the standing secondary woman on the left gives her phormiskos of astragaloi to the seated deceased woman on the right; their flowers symbolize the intimate friendship they had and their warm feelings for each other.

"SPLIT," "DOUBLE," "MULTIPLE,"
AND "SELF" CONSCIOUSNESS

Cemeteries are indeed heterotopias, "other" places, where we think thoughts and feel emotions that are often different from those we have in "normal" places. In cemeteries we feel the presence of the dead, and we know we shall eventually join them in that "innumerable caravan" (W. C. Bryant, "Thana-

topsis"). With these feelings and knowledge, we construct a different sense of ourselves than that which we usually feel.

The Kerameikos cemetery in the Classical period was no different. It constituted a heterotopia outside the city gates, one that in the later fourth century had also lost even an internal fixity—plots had changed hands, stelai had been moved, and other people's names had been engraved over the sculpted figures.

In such situations, our woman visitor, coming to the cemetery to honor specific individuals, might realize at some level the futility of specificity; instead, she would have to rely on her thoughts and emotions induced by the conventional figures in the reliefs and the conventional sentiments in the epigrams. Both relief and epigram, however, contributed at least one agenda: to induce an identity of visitor and deceased. The sentiments in the epigrams call for the woman visitor to imagine the deceased individual's character and qualities, to feel for her the emotions that her loved ones once felt for her, and finally to remember that she will join her.

Through such a device as Pausimakhe's mirror, our woman spectator becomes one with Pausimakhe herself, and through the device of the secondary woman, our woman spectator becomes fixed in a cycle of gazes. The primary deceased on the stelai is her future self, while the secondary woman who regards her is her alter self. Her own self thus regards the deceased whom her alter self also regards. The gaze comes full circle, locking our woman visitor into a loop of gazes as tight as the two gazes into Pausimakhe's mirror.

But these gazes are not like the gaze that men turn on our woman visitor inside the city on the other side of the gates; there she is object and object alone. Instead, in this homosocial nexus of viewer and viewed, it is her own gaze that travels from her through the two women figures on the stelai and back, continuously shifting from her to secondary woman to primary deceased, from her as subject to an object that is also a subject to another object that is also a subject to another object that is again her, making all both gazer and gazed in a continuous loop or *vision en abîme*.¹⁰³ Somewhere in that cycle of women viewing should be desire, the desire that begins and ends in the homosocial worlds of gynaikonitis and cemetery where marriage, birth, and death demanded that women care for each other while living, fulfill each other's lives when surviving, and tend each other's tomb. And within that desire should be a homoerotic desire between women, a woman's desire for a woman while alive and for the other woman on the other side of the gaze when she has passed on—and since visitor and deceased are inextric-

cable, she is finally left with a homoioerotic (of someone similar) desire for her own self.

NOTES

*I am grateful to Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz for the invitation to give a paper for the panel "Retrieving Female Homoeroticism" at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association, December 29, 1996, in New York City; eventually that paper turned into this very different one. I am also grateful to Paul Rehak and Lawrence Richardson Jr. for their help, suggestions and comments, and to my many students, especially Suzanne Fisher and Christina Pongig. The translations here are the author's own.

1. Lauren Petersen, "Divided Consciousness and Female Companionship: Reconstructing Female Subjectivity on Greek Vases," *Arethusa* 30 (1997): 35–74, esp. 51.

2. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 387–396; Menander, *Samia* 38–46; Plato, *Phaedrus* 276B; and other sources. The Adonia: Ronda R. Simms, "Mourning and Community at the Athenian Adonia," *Classical Journal* 93.2 (December–January 1998): 121–141, esp. 132 and 149; Jane Rowlandson, *Adonis Festival: Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998); Nicole Weill, "Adoniazusai ou les femmes sur le toit," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 90 (1966): 664–698; and John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York: Routledge, 1990) 188–209 ("The Laughter of the Oppressed: Demeter and the Gardens of Adonis"). The Thesmophoria: N. J. Lowe, "Thesmophoria and Haloa: Myth, Physics and Mysteries," in *Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, ed. S. Blundell and M. Williamson (New York: Routledge, 1998) 149–186.

3. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Rethinking Architecture*, ed. N. Leach (London: Routledge, 1997) 350–356.

4. For general information about Athenian funeral rites, see Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1974); R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985); Gail Holst-Warhaft, *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (London: Routledge, 1992); S. C. Humphreys, *The Family, Women and Death: Comparative Studies*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1993) esp. 82–88, 94–118; Eva C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (Berkeley: U. of California P, 1985) 149–152; Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1971); Ian Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1987); Thomas H. Nielsen et al., "Athenian Grave Monuments and Social Class," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 30 (1989): 411–420; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977) 53–54; and H. Alan Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991): 629–656. Solon's antisumptuary laws of 594 apparently included restrictions against ostentatious funerals; sometime later, perhaps in the early democracy before the Persian Wars, more restrictions were said to be added. The Solonian restrictions, as they have come down to us, are elaborate concerning the presence and conduct of women: women could not lacerate themselves or wail or lament anyone else than the deceased, and no women under the age of sixty could attend the funeral unless closely related to the deceased (up to first or perhaps second cousins). The early democracy further restricted funer-

ary speeches to those made only by a public magistrate; compare Pericles' funeral oration (Thucydides 2.34–46), in which he refers to the tradition of having such speeches and to the decorous silence of women. For a detailed account, see Humphreys, *Family, Women and Death* 85–89 (incorporating the ancient sources, especially Plutarch, *Solon*, and Cicero, *de Legibus* 2.64). For an interpretative account, see Nicole Loraux, *L'Invention d'Athènes: Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la "cité classique."* 2nd ed. (Paris: Éditions Payot & Rivages, 1993) *passim*, esp. 39–64. For a cautious reassessment, see Ian Morris, "Law, Culture and Funerary Art in Athens: 600–300 B.C.," *Hephaistos* 11–12 (1992–1993): 35–50.

5. The dokimasia could be conducted twice, upon being enrolled into the tribe and upon being elected to office. Men were questioned about their ancestry, about their maintenance of family cults and tombs, parents, and property, and about fulfilling their duties to the state (military service and taxes): Winkler, *Constraints of Desire* 45–70 ("Laying down the Law: The Oversight of Men's Sexual Behavior in Classical Athens") esp. 54–56.

6. See, for example, the two mid-fifth-century white-ground lekythoi by the Achilles Painter, NMA 1963 (ARV² 995.122; *Paralipomena*² 438; Beazley *Addenda*² 312; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 105), and Ashmolean Museum 1896.41 (ARV² 998.165; Beazley *Addenda*² 313; Ellen D. Reeder, ed., *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995] 146–148); and the fourth-century Apulian hydria associated with the Ilioupersis Painter in the New York Metropolitan Museum 56.171.65 (A. D. Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, Vol. 1 [Oxford: Clarendon P, 1978] 205.114, pl. 65.2). Also see Garland, *Greek Way of Death* 104–105; and Elaine Fantham, Helene Peet Foley, Natalie Boymel Kampen, Sarah B. Pomeroy, and H. A. Shapiro, eds., *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994) 96–97.

7. For a guidebook: Ursula Knigge, *Der Kerameikos von Athen. Führung durch Ausgrabungen und Geschichte* (Athens: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen, 1988).

8. Loraux, *Invention d'Athènes* 45.

9. Alexander Conze, Adolf Michaelis, Achilleus Postolakas, Emanuel Loewy, Alfred Brüchner, Paul Heinrich, August Wolters, and Robert von Schneider, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*. 4 vols. (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1893–1922). See, for example, Clairmont's reconstructed lineage for the family of Eubios, whose plot was on the north side of Piraeus Street in the Kerameikos (Clairmont vol. III 336), and Humphreys, *Family, Women and Death* 109, 113, 118 for other lineages.

10. R. E. Leader, "In Death Not Divided: Gender, Family, and State on Classical Athenian Stelai," *American Journal of Archaeology* 101 (1997): 683–699. For example, Clairmont no. 3.350 (vol. III 184; NMA 717) from Kerameikos plot 19 belonging to Makareus and Archebios of Lakiadai depicts (beginning with this description, I describe the stelai, proceeding from left to right as I face them) a woman ("mother") seated on a stool clasping hands with a standing young woman ("daughter"), while an elderly man ("father") between them contemplates the "daughter," probably the primary deceased for whom the stele was erected.

11. Harold R. Hastings, "On the Relation between Inscriptions and Sculptured Representations on Attic Tombstones," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin* 485 (1912): 1–16, esp. 8, proposes that in most cases the deceased is depicted in the reliefs. For example: Clairmont nos. 2.210 (vol. II 147–148; NMA 765), a pediment stele, possibly from Kerameikos plot 21, shows a woman "Mika" and man "Dion" standing and clasping hands; 2.214 (vol. II 152–

153; Kerameikos I 342), a painted relief stele from Kerameikos tomb 106, depicts two women "Eukoline" and "Timulla" clasping hands; and 2.383 (vol. II 441–442; NMA 920), an anthemion stele (stela with floral top) from the Kerameikos, depicts an elderly man "Paios" seated on a throne, clasping hands with a beardless young man "Diphilos."

12. Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* 136–137. For example, Clairmont no. 2.441 (vol. II 562–563; NMA 764), a deep naiskos stele, depicts a standing young woman holding an opened box and facing an older woman seated; the top frame carries a fragmentary inscription dated to the fourth century, (Ἰάλω), probably a woman's name; and the pediment carries third-century inscriptions, "Demonstrate daughter of Aiscron from Halai," "Mikion son of Mantodoros from Anagyrus," and "Ameinikhe daughter of Mikon from Thria."

13. Plot 56 across the Eridanos from the Tritopatreion contained two markers, a marble lekythos and a stele. The marble lekythos, Clairmont no. 2.755 (vol. II 671–672A; Kerameikos P 1388), depicts an elderly man seated on a chair, clasping hands with a standing youth (a nude servant boy stands at right), and it carries their names, "Kleomedes" and "Amoibikhos," presumably father and son. The stele, Clairmont no. 2.710 (vol. II 652–653; NMA 884; Knigge, *Kerameikos von Athen* fig. 151b), carries in relief a loutrophoros flanked by two lekythoi and two aryballoi (globular perfume flasks); on the relief lekythos at left, a nude youth plays with a hoop, and on the loutrophoros, a youth with a traveling cap, spear, and horse clasps hands with a man leaning on a staff (a servant boy stands at right), with a man's name and demotic, "Panaitios Amaxante[us]," written above. Who is Panaitios? the youth or the man?, and is it the same youth as on the lekythos at left? And what is Panaitios's relation to Kleomedes and Amoibikhos?

14. In plot 37, a hillock between Piraeus Street and the Sacred Way, stele Kerameikos P 388 (Clairmont no. 4.420; vol. IV 95–96) carries a relief depicting a maiden (12–18 years old), two women, and a man; the original names inscribed on the architrave are of three females, Protonoe, Nikostrate, and Eukoline; there is no male name. But there are two names later inscribed in the pediment of the stele, a male name, Onesimos, and another female name, which was later erased.

15. E. A. Meyer, "Epitaphs and Citizenship in Classical Athens," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993): 99–121. Clairmont no. 1.081 (vol. I 235–237; Kerameikos P 1169, I 417), a pediment stele from Kerameikos plot 38a, depicts the youth "Eupheros" holding a strigil (a metal implement for scraping off sweat and grime from exercising in the gymnasium); the skeleton in the plot, however, was too short (1.35 m = 4.43 ft.) to be as old as a youth, implying a discrepancy between the stele and deceased.

16. Cf. Leader, "In Death Not Divided" 697.

17. Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* 136–141.

18. Clairmont prefers to identify the figures in the stelai as members of a nuclear family. He sees "fathers," "mothers," "sons," and "daughters" and identifies them according to their gender and ages for which he devises a precise terminology: infant (1 year), baby (2–3 years old), boy and girl (4–12), youth and maiden (12–18), young man and young woman (18–25), man (bearded) and woman in their prime (25–45), elderly (45–60), and old (60+). In the descriptions of the stelai below, I include Clairmont's identifications of family members.

19. Clairmont no. 2.346 (vol. II 333–334).

20. Clairmont no. 1.660 (vol. I 404–406); the elegiac inscription lacks a completing fourth line:

τέχνον ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς τόδ' ἔχω φίλον, ὄμπερ ὅτε αὐγὰς
 ὄμμασιν ἠέλιο ζῶντες ἐδερχόμεθα
 ἔχον ἐμοῖς γόνασιν καὶ νῦν φθιμένον φθιμένη ἕχω.

I hold of my daughter her dear child, whom we saw
 live in the light of the sun;
 I hold it now dead on my knees, having myself perished.

Also see C. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Memorials from the Archaic and Classical Period* (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1970) 91–92.

21. In life, naming a woman in public seems to have implied that she had a reputation; it is on tombstones that we usually learn their given names: David Schaps, “The Woman Least Mentioned: Etiquette and Women’s Names,” *Classical Quarterly* 27 (1997): 323–330, esp. 328–329. For the inscriptional preponderance of women’s names, see Karen Stears, “Dead Women’s Society: Constructing Female Gender in Classical Athenian Funeral Sculpture,” in *Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology*, ed. Nigel Spencer (New York: Routledge, 1995) 109–131; and T. Vestergaard et al., “A Typology of Women Recorded on Gravestones from Attica (400 BC–200 AD),” *American Journal of Ancient History* 10 (1985): 178–190. Nielsen et al., “Athenian Grave Monuments” 411, reports 4,519 Athenian names between 400 BCE and 250 CE, of which 1,472 are women; we are not told if the 4,519 names include both the cognomen and patronymic or count the two as one. Since both men and women have male patronymics, we would expect three times as many male names than female if everyone’s name was complete and if both cognomen and patronymic were counted separately (Humphreys, *Family, Women and Death* 111). Of 4,519 names, therefore, we should expect three-fourths to be male (3,389) and one-fourth (1,130) to be female. Since not all the names that Nielsen et al. recorded could have been complete, the correspondence between the ideal number (1,130) and the actual (1,472) is striking. Stears, “Dead Women’s Society” 113–114, cites the catalogue by Conze, *Attischen Grabreliefs*, as including 176 tombstones for women alone and 168 for men alone; in Clairmont, I count 178 tombstones depicting one adult person whose sex is recognizable, 96 women and 82 men.

22. See, for example, two stelai depicting an unnamed man and a named woman: Clairmont nos. 2.211 (vol. II 149; NMA 851) “Chairestrate,” and 2.344 (vol. II 329; Kerameikos I 181) “Anthis,” both from the Kerameikos.

23. Eleven men and five women carry patronymics, and on one stele (Clairmont no. 1.154; vol. I 242–243; Chalkis Museum 2181), only the patronymic is partially preserved.

24. Within the age grades that Clairmont observes, the ratios change markedly (here: m = male, f = female): child: 5 m, 6 f; adolescent: 12 m, 8 f; young adult: 19 m, 33 f; adult: 41 m, 81 f; and elderly: 34 m, 3 f. Using just these data, one is tempted to suggest that males more often died in childhood and old age, while females more often died in the ages between 20 and 45.

25. Leader, “In Death Not Divided” 690, draws our attention to the conventional attributes for “the variety of roles by which the identity of male citizens was defined,” military

garb, nudity, and athletic gear, and the staff that gave men the right to speak (cf. Homer, *Iliad* 1.10, 20, 230; 10.325; and 23.565; and *Odyssey* 2.35).

26. On the well-known stele of Dexileos (dated 394), the name of his sister Melitta was later inscribed and presented as a wife and daughter (Clairmont no. 2.209; vol. II 143–145; Kerameikos P 1130): “Melitta daughter of Lysanias from Thorikia, wife of Nausistrates from Sphektios” (for the change from Dexileos herōon to family tomb plot, see Wendy E. Closterman, “The Form and Function of the Dexileos Precinct,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 [1999] 299). Mothers are often shown with their children, while a mother and daughter who are both adults can be named (e.g., Clairmont no. 2.434a; vol. II 551–552; Leipzig S39; “Myrtis daughter of Hierokleia”). Priestesses: e.g., Clairmont nos. 13 (vol. I 17–18; NMA 3287), a priestess of Cybele (she holds a tympanon [a kind of flat drum]); 1.248 (vol. I 277–278; Kerameikos I 430) from the Kerameikos depicting “Polystrate” carrying a temple key; 1.316 (vol. I 310–311; NMA 2309); 1.334 (vol. I 319–320; Kerameikos P 1131) from Kerameikos plot 31, a priestess carrying a hydria; 1.350a (vol. 329–330; Geneva, Private Collection), “Khoirine”; and 1.934 (vol. I 495–496; Piraeus Museum 3627 = ex NMA 1030) an old woman with tympanon. Clairmont no. 1.721 (vol. I 423; NMA 1896) depicts a dancer whom he terms a *hetaira* (ἑταῖρα: prostitute). Nurses are named as such (*tittḗ*: τῖτῆ) in the inscriptions that accompany Clairmont nos. 1.376 (vol. I 347; NMA 3935), “Pyraikhme worthy nurse”; 1.969 (vol. I 510–512; British Museum 1909.2–21.1), perhaps “Melitta”; 1.980 (vol. I 516; Athens Epigraphical Museum 10506), “Phanion Corinthian nurse”; and the following stelai record just the word, “tittḗ”: 1.350 (vol. I 328–329; Athens Epigraphical Museum 8844) from Piraeus, 1.949 (vol. I 503; Agora Museum I 6508), and 2.337d (vol. II 316; NMA 2076). Clairmont no. 1.249 (I 278; NMA 978) is inscribed “paideusis worthy nurse” (*paideusis tittḗ kbrestē*: παιδεύσις τῖτῆ χρεστή)—*paideusis*, meaning “education,” may have been her name or nickname or another of her duties; the adjective “worthy” indicates she was a slave (see below, n69). Clairmont no. 2.890 (vol. II 780–782; NMA 993) from Menidi names “Phanostrate midwife (or nurse) and doctor” (*μαῖα καὶ ἰατρός*); 1.969 may title Melitta as the “nurse.” Stears, “Dead Women’s Society” 123–124, thinks there were “only a limited number of occupations. These were centered on the domestic and were chiefly child-raising, woolworking and interacting with family members and slaves,” but she also lists tombstones that depict priestesses and a nurse, and adds a prostitute. Vestergaard et al., “A Typology of Women,” mention all these and add a vendor of salt.

27. Of course, whatever actual persons were represented by the figures on the stelai are now all dead. As Clairmont says of Nikomeneia, the secondary woman (not the primary deceased) on no. 3.442 (vol. III 371–372; Kerameikos P 290, I 174) from the Kerameikos, “To be sure, Nikomeneia will have died some day.”

28. There appears to be only one stele depicting two standing women, and these do not clasp hands: Clairmont no. 3.703 (vol. III 450; Kerameikos P 663), a stele from the Kerameikos, carries a loutrophoros-hydria in relief on which appear a standing maiden (to Clairmont, “close friend”) with a box, and two young women facing each other and holding an infant.

29. For example: Clairmont nos. 3.427 (vol. III 347; NMA 2729), a lekythos from the Kerameikos, probably plot 20, depicts a simple scene: a seated woman clasps hands with a standing young woman, while, at right, a maiden stands frontally; 2.390 (vol. II 465–466;

NMA 820), a pediment stele, depicts a seated woman turned almost frontally and a standing young woman; 2.300 (vol. II 245–246; NMA 726), a naiskos stele, depicts a standing young woman with a box and a seated woman (to Clairmont, the latter is an “older sister or friend”); 2.871 (vol. II 752–753; present whereabouts unknown), a pediment stele from Oreoi, Euboea, depicts a standing young woman with short hair and carrying a large kalathos (to Clairmont, a “close relative”; for kalathoi, see below, 191), and a girl leaning against the knees of a seated woman; 2.652 (vol. II 647–648; Leiden I 1903/2.1), a pediment stele, carries a standing young woman (to Clairmont, a “close relative . . . just past maiden age”) holding a baby (boy?) out to a seated young woman in a chair; and 4.930 (vol. IV 152–153; NMA 819), a naiskos stele from Piraeus, depicts a young woman, a younger woman holding a swaddled baby with a bonnet, a seated woman, and a maid behind the chair who touches the baby (to Clairmont, the seated woman died in childbirth, and the other figures are her maid and “very close relatives”).

30. Husband and wife, e.g., from the Kerameikos, Clairmont nos. 182 (vol. I 63; NMA 242) records “Sostratos” and “Praxagora” from Aigilia, and 2.154 (vol. II 102–103; Kerameikos P 280, I 192), a loutrophoros, depicts a standing young woman clasping hands with a standing adult man (“-os from Skambonidai”). Brother and sister, e.g., Clairmont no. 3.420 (vol. III 334–336; Kerameikos I 277) records, among others, “Euphronsyne” and “Eubios” the daughter and son of “Phanippos of Potamos.” Father and son, e.g., from the Kerameikos, Clairmont no. 2.418 (vol. II 513–514; Reading, PA), a lekythos from the Kerameikos, records “Sostratos son of Sonautides” and his son “Prokleides son of Sostratos,” both from Aigilia. Brothers?: Clairmont no. 2.425b (vol. II 531; Athens Epigraphical Museum 8892), a stele from the Kerameikos, depicts a seated old man clasping hands with a standing old man and records “Adeistos Mi..k[.]”

31. From Clairmont’s two-figure stelai (nos. 2.051–2.499) whose figures are recognizably men or women, I count 224 with a woman and a man, 75 with both men, and 110 with both women.

32. Clairmont no. 2.434a (vol. II 551–552; Leipzig S39) depicts seated Hierokleia clasping hands with standing Myrtis, the names engraved above their heads; Myrtis is named a second time on the frame and then described by an elegiac couplet: ●

Μύρτις—Ἱεροκλείας θυγατὲρ Μόσχου γυνὴ ἐνθάδε κείται
πλείστα τρόποις ἀρέσασα ἀνδρὶ τε τοῖς τε ἔτεκε. ●

Myrtis—daughter of Hierokleia and wife of Moskhos lies here;
she pleased her husband in many ways, including giving birth.

Clairmont no. 2.376d (vol. II 421–422; Leiden 1859; KAG) depicts a similar scene and names the two women as “Demonstrate wife of Khorokles from Aixone” and “Lysippe daughter of Khorokles,” mother and daughter or step-mother and step-daughter; Lysippe’s name is a secondary inscription, and it may have been added to the stele erected first for Demonstrate.

33. Clairmont no. 3.375 (vol. III 244–245; Louvre 3115), a marble lekythos said to be from Athens, depicts a woman (to Clairmont, the mother) helping another woman lie down on a couch with a maid in back; the deceased is named “Killaron daughter of Pythodoros from Agryle”; no. 4.470 (vol. IV 120; NMA 749), a pediment stele from Oropos, depicts

"Tolmides of Plataia" grieving, a woman assistant (to Clairmont, his wife) holding out both hands toward his daughter, "Plangon of Plataia daughter of Tolmides," leaning against a couch (or perhaps a birthing stool), while a maid in back helps; and no. 3.442 (vol. III 371–372; Kerameikos P 290, I 174), a pedimental stele from the Kerameikos, depicts the young woman "Nikomeneia" holding what may be a sponge in her right hand and extending her left towards a woman, "Stephane," who leans on a stool, while a maid in back helps (to Clairmont, Nikomeneia was important enough to the family of the deceased Stephane to be named, but he is unsure of their relationship, "mother and daughter" or "close relative" — or she may have been a respected midwife [see above, n26]).

34. In Clairmont, I find 46 stelai with 2 women and an additional 11 with 3 whose relationship is unclear. As is his practice, Clairmont narrates relationships for these women; if he detects an age difference, he identifies a "mother" and "daughter"; if he sees no such distinction, he often will identify the secondary woman as a "close friend or relative."

35. Close family members would obviously include members of the nuclear family (parents and children), plus grandparents and grandchildren; since women were forbidden to attend the funerals of relatives more distantly removed than first (or possibly second) cousin (see above, n4), we may consider first cousins at least also as close family members.

36. Clairmont nos. 2.291b (vol. II 233; NMA 922), a naiskos stele, depicts a seated woman clasping hands with standing younger woman (to Clairmont, the standing deceased daughter of the seated mother); 2.466 (vol. II 596; NMA 968; Athens), a naiskos plaque, depicts a woman seated on a stool leaning forward to clasp hands with a standing woman who raises her right hand in a speaking gesture (to Clairmont, this is "seated mother with her standing daughter, . . . the deceased"). Two stelai include a third woman: Clairmont nos. 3.461 (vol. III 397–398; NMA 870), and 3.466 (vol. III 407–408; Piraeus 429) are duplicates, each a separate slab for a naiskos stele, depicting a woman seated on a stool, clasping hands with a standing woman, the primary deceased, who leans toward her; a girl in a long-sleeved chiton, and therefore probably a maid, stands behind the stool (3.461 adds a speaking gesture to the standing woman and a partridge under the stool).

37. Clairmont no. 2.284 (vol. II 219; Piraeus 23), a stele, depicts a standing woman clasping hands with a standing woman, on whom a small fuzzy dog (a Spitz) jumps. To Clairmont, these are the deceased daughter and mother, although the attention the Spitz shows the "mother" might rather imply she is the primary deceased; cf. no. 2.386, which depicts a standing maiden and a seated "Habrosyne" (named and therefore the primary deceased) at whom the Spitz jumps.

38. Clairmont no. 3.842 (vol. III 472; NMA inv. no. unknown), a lekythos, depicts a maid in a long-sleeved chiton holding a baby, while a seated woman clasps hands with a standing young woman (to Clairmont, the seated "mother" and standing daughter who "died in childbirth").

39. On one stele from the Kerameikos, Clairmont no. 2.891 (vol. II 782–783; Kerameikos P 666, I 211), "Timagora daughter of Euthykleos from Xypete" lifts her veil with her left hand and clasps hands with a seated woman, while a young maid stands at left with a box (to Clairmont, Timagora is the daughter of the seated woman)—the scene is similar to ones involving youths (cf. Clairmont nos. 2.890a, 2.892, 2.892b); 2.362 (vol. II 377; Piraeus 217) carries the inscription "Nikomakhe wife of Eukleies" above a seated woman with a large tympanon who clasps hands with a standing young woman (to Clairmont, the nar-

rative is complex: Nikomakhe, dead not long after her marriage to Eukleies, as priestess of Cybele gave her mother her tympanon); 3.319a (vol. III 140; NMA 3341), a lekythos from the Kerameikos, depicts seated "Hesykhia" clasping hands with a standing young woman, while a second standing young woman gestures at right; and 3.858 (vol. III 478–479; NMA 1026), a pediment stele from Athens, depicts a seated woman clasping hands with a standing "Kotion," while a girl with a bird and a young woman stand at right (Clairmont observes that "the respective ages are hardly distinguished").

40. Clairmont no. 2.421 (vol. II 520–521; NMA 763; "near Royal Stables, 1858") presents a standing young woman embracing and touching the chin of a standing maiden, "Mynnion daughter of Khairestratos from Hagnous" (to Clairmont, Mynnion is the maiden, and the young woman is her mother, but she does not appear to be old enough).

41. Clairmont no. 3.388 (vol. III 276–278; Karlsruhe 66/64), a moderately deep naiskos stele, depicts two women standing, "Plathane" and "Khoiros," contemplating the seated "Myrrhine"; the top frame gives the names, while "Kallisto" (not depicted) was inscribed later in the pediment (to Clairmont, Plathane, Khoiros, and Myrrhine are all "close relatives/friends"). Clairmont no. 2.441 (vol. II 562–563; NMA 764), a deep naiskos stele from the Kerameikos, depicts a standing young woman holding an open box and contemplating the seated older woman (to Clairmont, the two women are relatives). On the top frame, a few letters remain of the original fourth-century inscription; third-century inscriptions in the pediment attest a reuse of the stele for "Demonstrate daughter of Aiscron from Halai," "Mikion son of Mantodoros from Anagyrous," and "Ameinikhe daughter of Mikon of Thria." Regardless of the reuse, Clairmont identifies the standing and seated woman by the later names, and he makes no mention of Mikion.

42. Clairmont nos. 2.214 (vol. II 152–153; Kerameikos I 342), a painted stele with relief from the Kerameikos, depicts a standing "Eukoline" clasping hands with a standing and headless "Timylla" (to Clairmont, Eukoline is the primary deceased, daughter of Timylla); and 3.407a (vol. III 309; NMA 1019), a pediment stele from the Kerameikos, depicts a seated "Malthake" clasping hands with a standing "Nikippe," with a woman frontal ("close relative") between. On the top frame, after the name "Nikippe" is the word "khrêstê" (χρηστή), which Clairmont translates literally to describe Nikippe as "worthy," but the word is commonly used to modify a slave (see below, n69); "khrêstê" should therefore describe the frontal woman between Malthake and Nikippe.

43. Clairmont nos. 2.311d (vol. II 265; NMA 1034), a pediment stele from the Kerameikos, depicts a standing "Phileia," fingering her veil, and clasping hands with the seated "Nikeso" (to Clairmont, Phileia is the "principal deceased"); 2.347 (vol. II 336; NMA 1075), a lekythos from the Kerameikos, depicts a standing "Theopropis" clasping hands with the seated "Aristonike" (to Clairmont, the two women are probably "sisters," but there is no direct evidence for this; see nos. 2.346, 3.348, and 3.349, which mention, by cognomen only, Simonides and Theopropis; Simonides, Anthippos, and Aristonike; and Theopropis, Anthippos, and Simonides respectively). Clairmont nos. 2.377a (vol. II 423; British School of Archaeology, Athens S.87), an anthemion stele, depicts a standing young "Myttope" clasping hands with seated "Myrrhine" (to Clairmont, Myttope is the "principal deceased," and Myrrhine is her "mother"); 2.428a (vol. II 538; NMA 1032), a pediment stele, depicts a standing young "Ariste" fingering her veil and clasping hands with seated "Mika" (to Clairmont, the two women may be "mother and daughter"); 2.272 (vol. II 195–196; Piraeus 234), a fragmen-

tary stele, depicts seated "Meliboia" probably clasping hands with standing "Nikarete" (to Clairmont, Nikarete is the primary deceased, and Meliboia her "older sister or close friend"); 2.328 (vol. II 291; NMA 3923), a lekythos from Sepolia, depicts a seated "Mika" clasping hands with standing young "Philtate" (to Clairmont, Philtate is the primary deceased and Mika is her "mother"); and 2.396a (vol. II 482; NMA 1108), a lekythos from the Kerameikos, perhaps plot 55, depicts a seated "Dionysia" clasping hands with standing young "Myrte" (to Clairmont, Myrte is the primary deceased, and Dionysia is perhaps her "mother").

44. Clairmont nos. 3.423 (vol. III 341; NMA 830), a naiskos stele found between Kouvara and Keratea, depicts a standing young "Kleostrate" clasping hands with seated "Menestrade," while, between them, an unnamed young woman stands and holds a box (to Clairmont, Menestrade is the primary deceased and mother to Kleostrade, while the second woman is a "close relative, perhaps younger sister"); and 3.404 (vol. III 303–304; New York Metropolitan Museum 06.287), a moderately deep naiskos stele, said to be from Salamis, depicts a seated woman clasping hands with a standing figure, while a young woman with a box stands between and faces towards, but does not look at, the standing figure. The standing figure at right was originally conceived as a young man with a himation but was turned into a young woman wearing a sleeveless chiton. Names are on the top frame, "Lysis[τ]rate" over the seated woman and, over the standing figure, "Panathenais" over an erasure (the young man's name?); the woman with the box is unnamed.

45. Clairmont no. 3.411 (vol. III 317–318; Kerameikos P 1139), a naiskos stele from the Kerameikos, Piraeus Street, depicts a seated woman "-s" holding a kithara and clasping hands with the standing "Doris," while a young woman stands mourning between them (to Clairmont, the seated woman is Doris' mother who holds Doris's kithara [see nos. 2.161 and 2.183, with youths holding lyres]); for the narrative, cf. no. 2.362 (above, n39).

46. Clairmont no. 2.894 (vol. II 788; Kerameikos P 233, I 167), a painted anthemion stele from the Kerameikos, depicts a standing young maid holding an infant, and a young standing "Medontis" fingering her veil and clasping hands with the seated "Nikandra." The composition is the same as that on no. 2.891, where the maid holds a box (see above, n39). Clairmont no. 4.910 (vol. IV 149–150; Louvre Ma 3113), a naiskos stele said to be from Athens, depicts a woman "Bako" fingering her veil and clasping hands with the seated "Aristonike"; at left, a boy looks and gestures at Bako; between the two women stands a frontal maid holding a box, and at right, a younger maid holds an infant. The top frame carries the names Bako, Socrates, and Aristonike. Clairmont identifies the boy Sokrates and states that Bako "died soon after having given birth to her second child," and he identifies Aristonike as the grandmother. Aristonike, however, is not visually much older than Bako.

47. Clairmont no. 3.471 (vol. III 413–414; Leiden 1821), a naiskos plaque from Glyphada (ancient Aixone) (to Clairmont, the standing woman is Arkhestrate's "daughter" [see more of the family on Clairmont no. 4.471, vol. IV 121–122, NMA 2574 + 2584]).

48. Clairmont no. 2.780 (vol. II 686–687; NMA 3790), a pediment stele from Psychiko, depicts a standing maiden or young woman (to Clairmont, a "close relative") holding out a child, which stretches out its left arm towards the seated "Philonoe daughter of [. . .]" and the mother of the child; a conventional elegiac couplet once gave her patronymic:

ἔνθαδε Φιλονόη κείται θυγατήρ [] ο
σάφρων εὐσύνετος πᾶσαν ἔχ [σσ' ἀρετή] ν

Here lies Philonoe daughter of [. . .]o
 praiseworthy for her modesty, having every virtue.

Clairmont no. 2.806 (vol. II 699–700; Chalkis 104), a shallow naiskos stele, depicts a young woman (maid or “rather close relative”) holding the infant “Aristion” (recarved from a box?) in front of a seated “Paranome,” who lifts her left hand (to Clairmont, another complex narrative: “When first used, the relief depicted a woman whose name was probably inscribed and who died soon after having given birth to a child. The close relative to the [left] may originally have held a box the [left] corner of which still subsists but was then given an infant to indicate the reason for the death of the seated woman”).

49. Clairmont no. 3.370 (vol. III 229–230; NMA 718), a shallow naiskos stele from Piraeus, the north polyandreion (a mass tomb), names the slightly older young woman (to Clairmont, the younger woman is a “younger sister or a friend”); the box has generated some discussion (see Clairmont), although it looks conventional. The kneeling maid is unusual, but she would be the perfect parallel for what Eva Stehle and Amy Day have in mind when they discuss the chitonized kneeling figure O in the east pediment of the Temple to Zeus at Olympia and identify “her” as adjusting the sandal of figure F, “Sterope” (“Women Looking at Women: Women’s Ritual and Temple Sculpture,” in *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie Kampen [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996]: 101–116).

50. Clairmont no. 2.306 (vol. II 253–254; Marathon 3599, BE 103), a naiskos stele from Marathon (to Clairmont, the standing woman is a “close relative, perhaps younger sister” of Pausimakhe).

51. Clairmont no. 2.235b (vol. II 310–311; Rhodes), a pediment stele from Rhodes (to Clairmont, the standing woman looks like a servant maid but may instead be a clumsy Rhodian rendering of a “younger sister or relative” of Kalliarista). The epigram (two elegiac couplets and a closing pentameter) lavishly gives her generic virtues:

ὅστις ἄριστος ἔπαινος ἐν ἀνθρώποισι γυναικός
 Καλλιάριστα Φιληράτο τοῦτο ἔχουσα ἔθανεν
 σωφροσύνας ἀρετᾶς τε ἀλόχῳ πόσις ὄν<ε>κα τόνδε
 Δαμοκλῆς στήσεν μνημόσυνον φιλίας
 ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ δαίμων ἐσθλὸς ἔπειτο βίῳ.

Whatever great praise exists for women amongst men
 Kalliarista daughter of Phileratos has it, now dead,
 for her moderation and virtue; for his wife, her husband
 Damokles has set up this memorial because of his regard
 for which her noble spirit might attend his life.

52. Clairmont no. 2.820 (NMA 722, Markopoulo), a shallow naiskos stele from Markopoulo (to Clairmont, the standing woman is a “close relative or friend” of Arkhesstrate). The clumsy elegiac records her generic virtues and her husband’s grief (for the translation, see below, in the text):

ἐθάδε τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σώφρονα γαί' ἐκάλυψεν
 Ἀρχεστράτην ἀνδρὶ ποθεινοτάτῃ.

Kallistomakhe was not married at the time of her death); and on no. 2.223a (vol. II 165–166; British Museum 1893.6–27.1), a deep pediment stele said to be from Thebes, the seated “Glykylla” is wearing the bracelet that she had taken from the box held by the “close relative” (?) standing in front of her.

54. Clairmont no. 2.650 (vol. II 644–646; Piraeus, inv. no. unknown), a late fifth-century pediment stele from Skala Oropou with a first-century inscription. Clairmont cites Despinis for thinking that the seated woman is the primary deceased but identifies the standing woman as the mother of the boy. The boy, however, must have been included to show that his mother had died and left him bereft, which implies the standing figure is the primary deceased. Which of the two women was meant to represent the first-century “Nikippe” is an open question. Clairmont and other scholars notice the resemblance of the standing woman with boy to Alkamenes’ Prokne and Itys, and the pose of the seated woman’s upper body to his “Aphrodite of the Gardens” (see the Aigina stele, discussed below).

55. E. G. Pemberton, “The Dexiosis on Attic Gravestones,” *Mediterranean Archaeology* 2 (1989): 45–50; and Glenys Davies, “The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985): 627–640. Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* 140, suggest that naming both figures clasping hands implied both were the primary deceased (e.g., Demetria and Pamphile, here Figure 6.10).

56. Clairmont, Introductory Volume 115, quotes K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave-reliefs of the Classical Period* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard 1951) 151; compare Leader, “In Death Not Divided” 698: “Death becomes an occasion to stress the oikos as unbroken.”

57. Leader, “In Death Not Divided” 688, comments on how “the medium, context, and style of stelae associate them with civic art, [but] their iconography and its prescriptive force in presenting visually ideal gender roles in domestic contexts associate them with the visual sphere of the oikos.” She then sees stelai as occupying “a liminal position that complicated and confused the divisions between” “civic and domestic, public and private” “polarities.”

58. See Rabinowitz’s essay in this volume. S. Isager, “Gynaikonitis,” *Museum Tusulanum* 32–33 (1978): 39–42. Neither archaeology nor textual studies have provided an exact location for a specific room or area for women called the “gynaikonitis.”

59. NMA 1629 published in *ARV*² 1250.34; *Paralipomena*² 469; *Beazley Addenda*² 354; P. Hartwig, “Ἐπίνητρον ἐξ Ἐρετρίας,” *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* 1897: cols. 129–42, pls. 9–10; Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler: Werke und Weggefährten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1988) vol. I cat. no. 257, pp. 253–262 and 347–348, vol. II pls. 168–169; Paolo E. Arias and Max Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechische Vasenkunst* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1960) 95, pl. 203; John Boardman, *Athenian Red-Figure Vases: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989) fig. 235; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 234; and Carola Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetärenum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1989) fig. 24.

60. John H. Oakley, “Nuptial Nuances,” in *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, ed. Ellen D. Reeder (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995) 63–73, esp. 67, fig. 12; John H. Oakley, “The Anakalypteria,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1982): 113–118; and D. L. Cairns, “Veiling, Αἰδώς, and a Red-Figure Amphora by Phintias,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 116 (1996): 152–158.

61. In the short descriptions of the stelai in this study, I have tried to convey the casualness of the gesture and its different character from the marriage gesture of “anakalypsis” by using a conventional and short phrase, “fingering the veil” or “touching the mantle.”

Both gestures may indicate a woman's erotic submission, "anakalypsis" to her husband, the casual variant (Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* 253) to someone not her husband: Amymone makes the gesture as Poseidon pursues her on a red-figure lekythos by the Phiale Painter (New York Metropolitan Museum 17.230.35; *ARV*² 1020.100; Beazley *Addenda*² 316; John H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* [Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1990] 82 no. 100, pl. 79; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* 240, fig. 216); among the pairs of women and men at a party, one of the women makes the gesture on a red-figure skyphos by the Brygos Painter (Louvre G156; *ARV*² 380.172; *Paralipomena*² 366; Beazley *Addenda*² 227; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 154); and Iphigeneia makes it, thinking Agamemnon is leading her to Achilles, on a white-ground lekythos by Douris (Palermo NI 1886; *ARV*² 446.266; *Paralipomena*² 375; Beazley *Addenda*² 241; Ellen D. Reeder, "Catalogue," in *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995] 330–332, fig. 101, both sides).

62. Clairmont, Introductory Volume 86. Leader, "In Death Not Divided," 695, interprets the gesture "as a formal gesture of welcome."

63. Barbara McManus, "Multicentering: The Case of the Athenian Bride," *Helios* 7 (1990): 225–235, esp. 230–231. Sara I. Johnston, *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California P, 1999) 184–199.

64. Clairmont no. 2.365d (vol. II 386–387; present whereabouts unknown), a pediment stele from the Laurion area, depicts a fragmentary figure standing, probably a woman, regarding a seated woman, probably Pamphile, since most stelai that name only one woman name the seated one (Clairmont, however, thinks it possible that "Pamphile" regards her "mother"):

[οἶκον ἔδοχ' ὕ]μέναιος ἐν ᾧ πότε Παμφίλη ἦδε
ζῆλον ἔχουσ' ὠϊκει τὸμ μακαριστότατον
ἢ πρὶν ἔτ]η τελέσαι β[ίον] εἴκοσι[ν] ὀρφανίσασα
νυμφίδιος οἶκος ἡλικίας ἔθανεν.

65. Clairmont no. 146 (vol. I 47–48; present whereabouts unknown), a stele probably from Piraeus:

Ἀνθέμιδος τόδε σῆμα κύκλωι στεφαινοῦσ<ι>ν ἑτάιροι
μνημείων ἀρετῆς οὐνεκα καὶ φιλίας.

The meter demands the iota adscript not be pronounced (cf. *κουριδίωι* in Clairmont no. 2.850) and that only the –οῦ– in *στεφαινοῦσ<ι>ν* be long.

66. Clairmont no. 2.820 (above, n52).

67. Clairmont no. 2.282b (vol. II 216–217; Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg 199 [IN 1595]):

σῶμα μὲν ἐντὸς γῆ κατέχει τὴν σωφροσύνην δὲ
Χρυσάνθη τὴν σὴν ο<ὐ> κατέκρυψε τάφος.

68. Clairmont no. 1.283 (vol. I 293–294; NMA 3964), a pediment stele from Paiania; the inscription is elegiac, although verses three and four should be reversed if a standard elegiac is to be maintained (and the last line is an addition although it completes the dactylic verse begun by the last *written* line of the inscription):

πᾶσι θανεῖν [ε]ἴμαρτα[ι], ὅσοι ζῶσιν σὺ δὲ πένθος
οἶ | κτρὸν [ε]ἴχε[ι]ν ἔλιπες Πausimáχῃ προγόνους

μητρ[ί] τ[ε Φ]αυιά[π]πηι καὶ πατρὶ Πausανίαι
 σῆ[ς] δ' ἀρετῆ[ς μ]νη ἰ μ[ε]τον ὄραν τό[δ]ε τοῖς παριῶσιν
 σωφροσύνη[ς] τ[ε].

69. Clairmont no. 2.406 (vol. II 489–491; Piraeus Museum 20), anthemion stele probably from Piraeus; the meter of the inscription is unusual, two lines of awkward dactyls and two lines of trochaic tetrameters:

—χαῖρε τάφος Μελίτης χρηστῆ γυνῆ ἐνθάδε κείται
 φιλοῦντα ἀντιφιλοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα Ὀνήσιμον ἦσθα κρατίστη
 τοιγαροῦν ποθεῖ θανοῦσαν σε ἦσθα γὰρ χρηστῆ γυνῆ
 —καὶ σὺ χαῖρε φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλει.

Nielsen et al., “Athenian Grave Monuments” 419, state that the epithet “worthy” (*khrēstos*: χρηστός) and the greeting “hail!” (*khairē*: χαῖρε) are never used for citizens and only very rarely for metics; “the occurrence of either term is a strong indication that the inscription commemorates a slave,” perhaps a concubine in this case, since Melite seems to refer to her children. Other tomb stelai that name slaves include Clairmont nos. 1.249 (above, n26), 3.407a (above, n42) and perhaps 2.399d (vol. III 488; NMA Theseion 151), which names the seated woman “Syra” as if from Syria (cf. no. 1.220, below, n91).

70. Clairmont no. 1.417 (vol. I 362–363; NMA 2054), a fragmentary stele from Piraeus (I have restored her husband’s name for convenience):

οὐχι πέπλους οὐ χρυσὸν ἐθαύμασεν ἐμ βίῳ ἦδε
 ἀλλὰ πόσιν τε αὐτῆς σωφροσύ[νην τ' ἐφίλει]
 ἀντὶ δὲ σῆς ἡβης Διονυσία ἡλικίας τε
 τόνδε τάφον κοσμεῖ σὸς πόσις Ἀντίφ[ιλος].

71. Clairmont, vol. VI Indexes 129 (omitting no. 1.967, woman with mirror case): the woman looks into the mirror—she stands to right: nos. 1.148/2.148 (fragmentary), 1.152, 1.170, 1.283 (Pausimakhe), 1.291 (mirror doveled into the hand), 1.305 (fragmentary), 1.471 (Hellenistic girl with melon coiffure), 2.209b, 2.291a, 2.831 (mirror held up by serving maid), 4.378 (unclear; the mirror might be lowered), or she stands to left: 1.188, 1.768 (fragmentary), 3.345b (held up by serving maid), 4.190, 4.386 (unclear); woman sits to right: 2.208, 2.210; woman sits to left: 2.187; and the woman does not look into the mirror—she stands to left: 2.266a, or she sits to left: 2.255, 2.313.

72. Winfried Herrmann, “Spiegelbild im Spiegel: Zur Darstellung auf frühlukianischen Vasen,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 17 (1968): 667–671, discusses vase paintings that depict reflections in mirrors and attributes the interest in them to Orphism; and Hélène Cassimatis, “Le miroir dans les représentations funéraires apuliennes,” *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité* 110.1 (1998): 297–350, esp. 306 and n17, gives a recent bibliography even while noting that mirror reflections do not appear in Apulian funerary vases. Add: a Lucanian pelike in the Primato Group, Louvre K545 (A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1967] 184, no. 1119); a Lucanian hydria in Boston Res. 41.56 (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, *Vase-painting in Italy: Red-figure and Related Works in the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1993] 51, no. 3); a skyphos by the Palermo Painter (ca. 400) in Palermo 961 (Trendall, *Lucania* 53.275, pl. 23.2); and two Apulian bell kraters in the Boston Museum of

Fine Arts, one by the Torpoley Painter (1970.237), and the other the name piece of the Painter of Boston 00.348 (Trendall and Cambitoglou, *Apulia I*, 48.16 and 267.48 respectively; and A. D. Trendall and Alexander Cambitoglou, *Second Supplement to the Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Part I [Chapters 1–20]* [London: Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Supplement 60, 1991] 12 and 62 respectively). Two other vases show Athena holding up a shield with Medusa's reflection on it: a pelike in a Taranto Private Collection and another vase in Boston 1970.237 (Trendall and Cambitoglou, *Apulia I*, 51.44; and Boston Museum of Fine Arts, *Vase-painting in Italy* pl. IV). If the mural prototype of the Alexander Mosaic was indeed painted by Philoxenos of Eretria (end of the fourth century), we may add the image of the trampled Persian soldier whose face we see only as reflected in his shield (Bernard Andreae, *Das Alexandermosaik* [Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1967] 27, fig. 11). In the Hellenistic period, we see reflections used, for example, in the Campanian paintings showing Narcissus at the Spring (Brigitte Rafn, "Narkissos," in *LIMC* vol. VI.1, 703–711, nos. 1–24; VI.2, 415–416, figs. 1–17).

73. Leader, "In Death Not Divided" 693, specifies the woman viewer's double consciousness when looking at reliefs depicting women looking into mirrors: "The image on the relief—a woman looking at herself—suggests the action of the viewer in the cemetery looking at the woman on Pausimakhe's memorial."

74. Cassimatis, "Le miroir" 311–312, and n 91 on 350, where she cites a discussion of an idea first proposed by L. Dreger ("Das Bild im Spiegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Malerei" [privately printed PhD Dissertation, U of Heidelberg, 1940]: 169–170), that, in a funerary context, the mirror can be taken to reflect the soul; in support of this idea, Cassimatis cites the Lucanian *nestoris* (a wine-mixing bowl), Naples 82124, in the Brooklyn Group that depicts the Furies menacing Orestes with a mirror in which he sees the face of his mother Clytemnestra (Trendall, *Lucania* 113, 588; D. Knoepfler, *Les imagiers de l'Oreste. Mille ans d'art antique autour d'un mythe grec* [Zurich: Akanthus, 1993] no. 78, pl. xx).

75. Maria Wyke, "Woman in the Mirror: The Rhetoric of Adornment in the Roman World," in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, ed. Léonie J. Archer, Susan Fischler, and Maria Wyke (New York: Routledge, 1994) 134–151. Gay Robins, "Dress, Undress, and the Representation of Fertility and Potency in New Kingdom Egyptian Art," in Natalie Kampen, ed., *Sexuality in Ancient Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 27–40, esp. 32–33, writes about the mirror in pharaonic Egypt: how mirrors symbolized health and fertility and helped "the deceased to achieve rebirth into the afterlife." For mirrors as a site for erotic depictions, see Andrew Stewart, "Reflections," in Natalie Kampen, ed., *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 136–154.

76. "Between these two [utopias and heterotopias], I would then set that sort of mixed experience which partakes of the qualities of both types of location, the mirror. It is, after all, a utopia, in that it is a place without a place. In it, I see myself where I am not. . . ." (Foucault, "Of Other Spaces" 352).

77. Leslie Kurke, "Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece," *Classical Antiquity* 16 (1997): 106–150, esp. 136, uses the verb "triangulate" to describe the way male viewers of a psykter by Euphronios depicting an all-female symposion (Hermitage B644; *ARV*² 16.15; *Paralipomena*² 509; *Beazley Addenda*² 153) would have been drawn to experience a homoerotic desire for "Leagros" invoked in an accompanying inscription. The verb "triangulate" is used primarily in geometry and surveying: from two

points, two lines are drawn to intersect at and locate a third point. Another, and perhaps more apposite use, is in hunting: two dogs stand staring at a prey, establishing viewpoints at whose intersection stands the object of their regard.

78. Leader's separation of stelai into an early group of stelai "commemorating men or women with representations of members of the deceased's sex alone" and a later group "commemorating both sexes" ("In Death Not Divided" 698–699) implies, correctly I think, that the secondary woman represents the primary deceased's homosocial circle of women friends and family.

79. James C. Anderson, "Aesthetic Concept of Art," in *Theories of Art Today*, ed. Noël Carroll (Madison: U of Wisconsin P 2000) 65–92, esp. 71: "Both aesthetic pleasure and aesthetic appreciation are metaresponses (pleasure) to base responses (admiration or positive judgment) to some object or event."

80. Cf. Winkler, *Constraints of Desire* 162–187 ("Double Consciousness in Sappho's Lyrics") and esp. 178–180.

81. Both Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs* 5.4 (Summer 1980): 631–660 (revised edition in *Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin [New York: Routledge, 1993] 227–254), and Martha Vicinus, "Lesbian History: All Theory and No Facts or All Facts and No Theory?" *Radical History Review* 60 (1994): 57–75, argue that woman-woman relationships are often so intimate that they assume a homoerotic aspect.

82. Similarly, three stelai may depict pairs of soldier lovers: Clairmont no. 2.156 (vol. II 104–106; Piraeus 385), a stele, depicts the nude young man "Chairedemos" standing close to and overlapping the bearded adult "Lykeas," who is wearing a knee-length chiton; both are soldiers with shields and lances (to Clairmont, the two are brothers or close friends); no. 2.354 (vol. II 355–356; Moscow Pushkin Museum F-1601), a naiskos plaque, depicts a bearded soldier and a youthful soldier facing each other; and no. 2.910 (vol. II 795; NMA 1069), a lekythos, depicts the adult soldier "Leophoreides son of Eunomos from Melite" clasping hands with a youth in chitoniskos with incised shield crest and holding a painted lance; two squires carrying shields flank the two men. In this last scene, Clairmont identifies the youth as Leophoreides' "nephew," perhaps referring to the role that maternal uncles often played in socializing their sister's sons in adolescence; see Aristophanes, *Clouds* 124; and Jan Bremmer, "The Importance of the Maternal Uncle and Grandfather in Archaic and Classical Greece and Early Byzantium," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 50 (1983): 173–186. In many cultures the relationship between adolescent and maternal uncle is often homoerotic; see David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988) 26–40.

83. Clairmont no. 2.426b (vol. II 533–534; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 219 [IN 514]); "Phanylla" may be a later inscription, referring either to the second woman or to the seated woman in a reuse.

84. Clairmont no. 2.426 (vol. II 532–533; NMA 2708), a deep naiskos stele, depicts standing "Pamphile" clasping hands with the seated "Demetria daughter of Nikippos"; and no. 2.464 (vol. II 593–595; Kerameikos inv. no. unknown) has "Demetria" standing and "Pamphile" sitting, both looking out to the spectator and fingering their veils. A secondary inscription (*Inscriptiones Graecae* II² 11797) on the original architrave to 2.426 adds two names in reuse, "Kallistomakhe daughter of Diokles" and "Nausion daughter of Sosan-

dros. Clairmont cites Brückner for thinking that when Kallistomakhe and Nausion reused stele 2.426, 2.464 was commissioned to continue commemorating Demetria and Pamphile, and they date this second stele twenty years later than the first—but if Demetria and Pamphile could commission a second stele for themselves stylistically very similar to their first one, so could Kallistomakhe and Nausion have commissioned their own. Even so, Clairmont thinks that all these women belonged to a single household. On Clairmont no. 2.427 (vol. II 535–536; Kerameikos I 260), a marble lekythos from the same precinct, Pamphile is also depicted seated next to a standing “Hegetor son of Kephisodoros,” and Clairmont thinks they may be brother and sister.

85. First cousins tended to have similar cognomina and to be distinguishable through their different patronymics. Clairmont no. 4.416 (vol. IV 93–94; Louvre Ma 767), a naiskos stele from Attica, depicts a standing man, named “Phanippos,” clasping hands with “Mnesarete daughter of [...]ost[...],” seated on a stool; between them stands “Mnesarete daughter of Sokrates” looking at Phanippos; in back of the stool is a maid. Because the two women’s cognomina are identical but their patronymics are different, it can be assumed that they are first cousins and that their mothers or fathers were siblings.

86. Clairmont no. 1.943 (vol. I 500; provenience and whereabouts unknown).

87. Red-figure Apulian vase by the Truro Painter (Taranto no. unknown; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 81).

88. John Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Classical Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991) fig. 55.

89. Berlin 2289 (*ARV*² 435.95; *Paralipomena*² 375; Beazley *Addenda*² 238; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 232): one woman sits, baring her leg; a woman stands in front of her, pulling up the right shoulder of her chiton; a wool basket sits on the floor nearby. A similar scene occurs in the tondo of a kylix by the Stieglitz Painter (Florence 3918; *ARV*² 827.7; Beazley *Addenda*² 294; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 233); here, the standing woman holds a mirror, and on the wall hangs an alabastron. A similar woman sits baring her leg on a skyphos by the Phiale Painter (Palermo, Fondazione Mormino 788; Oakley, *Phiale Painter* 90, no. 154bis, pl. 132C; John Oakley, “Images in Non-wedding Scenes of Myth,” in *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, ed. Ellen D. Reeder [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995] 71, fig. 20); she wears a veil—perhaps the gesture is imminent (see Stears, “Dead Women’s Society,” 119–120).

90. McManus, “Multicentering” 231, calls the gesture of anakalypsis, which these more casual gestures resemble, “the bride’s consent.”

91. Kalathoi appear in several stelai, usually placed discretely under the chair on which the primary deceased sits (Clairmont nos. 120, 1.176, 1.184, 1.246, 1.691, 2.650 [the Nikippe stele; above, n54], 2.829, 2.948, 3.384b) or beside the chair (Clairmont nos. 1.894, 1.986); on two stelai, a woman holds a large kalathos in front of the seated woman (Clairmont nos. 2.335 and 2.871), but on three stelai, the kalathos plays a more prominent role, sitting on the floor in front of the seated woman who works wool above it (Clairmont nos. 247, 1.220, 1.309). Two of these last stelai deserve special comment: no. 1.220 (vol. I 268; Leiden 1821) depicts a kalathos on the floor in front of “Kypria,” passing yarn and perhaps holding a distaff (Clairmont calls her “a metic rather than a slave” [but see no. 2.399d, above, n69], and takes the kalathos to connote her “active involvement in household work”); and no. 1.691 (vol. I 391 and 413; NMA 792) depicts a seated woman holding an infant; under the chair is the kalathos, an oddly shaped loutrophoros sits on the floor in front of the woman,

and on the wall above hangs a box (to Clairmont, the odd shape of the loutrophoros indicates that the artist may not have been an Athenian; in any case, the assortment of objects indicates "the realm of the *gynaikonitis*").

92. Louvre 701: Hägen Biesantz, *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1965) 22 no. K36, pl. 17; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture* 68, fig. 54; Brunilde S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1970) 46–47, 55, fig. 68; Gundel Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole: Lotosblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1989) 180–181, fig. 48.

93. John D. Beazley, "Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 33 (1947): 195–244, esp. 198–223, catalogues three classes of homosexual courting scenes: a) the young beloved (*erómenos*: ἐρώμενος) stands usually nude, at the right facing left, his left hand down often holding a wreath, his right hand up often holding a spear, and the older lover (*erastés*: ἐραστής) beseeches from the left, his hands in the "up and down" position, left hand "up" towards the face of the *erómenos*, the right hand "down" towards his genitals; b) the presentation or acquisition of animals as love tokens; and c) embraces or actual depictions of intercrural copulation. Kenneth Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1978) 94, presents these three groups more narratively; and Martin F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1993) passim, discusses and illustrates them in detail. Beazley further describes his group a: most scenes occur in black figure, where the *erastes* is a bearded man and the *erómenos* a youth, but in early red figure, the two are younger, the *erastes* a youth and the *erómenos* a boy. Some Attic red-figure vases, however, do present bearded men with youths (cf. Dover's vases R520, R684, R934, etc.). The earliest depiction of the "hands up and down position" occurs between a man and a woman on an Orientalizing jug from Arkades in Crete, now in the Herakleion Museum (Doro Levi, "Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete," *Hesperia* 14 [1945]: 1–32, esp. 14–15, pl. 16; Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetärenentum und Knabenliebe* fig. 108; Günter Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1965] fig. 32).

94. In brothel scenes, for example, both the male customer (man or youth) and the woman prostitute can hold a flower; see the red-figure pelike in the manner of the Pig Painter (Adolphseck 41; *ARV*² 566.6; Beazley *Addenda*² 261; *Paralipomena*² 389; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 206; Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole* fig. 63b), a kylix by Makron in Toledo (1972.55; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* figs. 141, 142; Reeder, *Pandora*, 183–187), and the red-figure alabastron (Berlin 2254) by the Pan Painter (Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* figs. 141, 205, 206, and 238 respectively). In male homoerotic courting scenes, both man and youth may hold flowers (Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* 92–93); see, for instance, the red-figure kylix by Douris (Vatican 16545; *ARV*² 437.116; *Paralipomena*² 375; Beazley *Addenda*² 239; Françoise Frontisi-Ducroux, "Eros, Desire, and the Gaze," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie Kampen [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996] 81–100, fig. 34: the youths "caress their own face with a flower, emphasizing their beauty"). Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole* 179, fig. 46, discusses a fragmentary kylix by Douris in Leipzig (T 550; *ARV*² 438.139; *Paralipomena*² 375) depicting two women facing each other below a phallic lotos flower (above, fig. 5.2a,b).

95. See, for instance, a red-figure alabastron by Paseas (NMA 1740; *ARV*² 163.13, 1630; *Paralipomena*² 337; Jane Sweeny, Tam Curry, and Yannis Tzedakis, *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art*, Athens [Athens: Greek Ministry of Culture, 1988] 170–171, no. 60): a woman offers a flower to another who dances with castanets (*krotala*).

96. Gundel Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Studio-Reihe, 1983) 161–172.

97. Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole* 181 (my translation).

98. A red-figure lekythos in the Fogg Museum of Art (1977.216.2236, cited in Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* 419) depicts a woman purchasing an eel and sponge; the tondo of a red-figure kylix by Phintias (Johns Hopkins U; *ARV*² 24.14; *Paralipomena*² 323; Beazley *Addenda*² 155; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 240) depicts a youth purchasing pottery.

99. Many vase paintings on all sorts of red-figure pots depict men or youths offering phormiskoi to women, as if negotiating for sex. See, for example, an amphora in Leningrad (B1555; Reinsberg, *Ebe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe* fig. 71); a pelike by the Hephaistos Painter in Rhodes (12887; *ARV*² 1116.40; Beazley *Addenda*² 331; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 241); a column krater by the Harrow Painter in the Villa Giulia (*ARV*² 275.50; Beazley *Addenda*² 207; Reinsberg, *Ebe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe* fig. 68); an oinochoe by the Berlin Painter in San Antonio (*Paralipomena*² 345.184ter; H. Alan Shapiro, *Art, Myth, and Culture: Greek Vases from Southern Collections* [New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1981] no. 63); a lekythos by the Painter of London E342 in the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville (57–27–42; *ARV*² 669.45; Beazley *Addenda*² 278; Shapiro, *Art, Myth, and Culture* no. 65); an alabastron by the Pan Painter in Berlin (2254; *ARV*² 557.123; *Paralipomena*² 387; Beazley *Addenda*² 259; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 238; Reinsberg, *Ebe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe* fig. 65); an epinetron by the Painter of Berlin 2624 (NMA 2180; *ARV*² 1225.2); a skyphos by the Amphitrite Painter in Altenburg (271; *ARV*² 83231; Beazley *Addenda*² 295; Reinsberg, *Ebe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe* fig. 74; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 242); and a kylix by Makron in Toledo (1972.55; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* figs. 141, 142; Reeder, *Pandora* 183–187). Men also offer leather bags to youths: see the tondo of a red-figure kylix by Makron (Bochum S507; *ARV*² 472.206bis; Beazley *Addenda*² 246; Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* fig. 82), the tondo of a kylix by Douris (New York Metropolitan Museum 52.11.4; *ARV*² 437.114; Beazley *Addenda*² 239; Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus* fig. 266; and Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* fig. 83), another kylix by Douris, once in Dresden (Reinsberg, *Ebe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe* fig. 103), and an amphora by the Tyskiewicz Painter (Copenhagen 3634; *ARV*² 293.51; Beazley *Addenda*² 211; Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* figs. 84 and 85). On the exterior of a kylix by the Briseis Painter, a youth holds out his leather bag, while in the tondo, a youth stands in front of a seated youth, the leather bag hanging on the wall above (Tarquinia Museum 703; *ARV*² 408.32); and a white-ground mug from Selinus perhaps by the Hegisiboulos Painter shows three youths, two of whom hold leather bags (Palermo 2139; I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik: Maltechniken, Werkstätten, Formen, Verwendung* [Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983] 99–100, pl. 33.1–2).

100. Gloria Ferrari Pinney, “Money Bags?” *American Journal of Archaeology* 90 (1986): 218. For a general discussion of astragaloi and a citation of the ancient sources, see Athena Kalogeropoulou, “Drei attische Grabreliefs,” *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik: Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 22.–25. April 1985 in Athen*, II, *Klassische griechische Plastik*, ed. Helmut Kyrieleis (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1986) 119–133, esp. 124–125.

101. Clairmont no. 2.196 (vol. II 130–131; Aigina 2222); and Kalogeropoulou, “Drei attische Grabreliefs” 122–126, pls. 123–124, publishes the relief and discusses its iconography. Clairmont identifies the relief as a tomb stele, while Kalogeropoulou identifies it as a dedication because of its small, square size (0.96 m), and the presence of a large tang at the bot-

tom for insertion into a base (cf. the dedicatory relief NMA 1601, square and tanged, from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni; Semni Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum. Collection of Sculpture: A Catalogue* [Athens: General Direction of Antiquities and Restoration, 1968] 96). Though Clairmont is unsure about the identity of the primary deceased (he finally opts for the standing woman), Kalogeropoulou is sure that the seated woman is the primary deceased.

102. Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* 208–209.

103. See Winkler, *Constraints of Desire* 162–187 (“Double Consciousness in Sappho’s Lyrics”); and Petersen, “Divided Consciousness” 58–60.



6.10. Cast of the stele for Demetria and Pamphile, from Kerameikos plot 20. Kerameikos inv. no. unknown; Clairmont no. 2.464. Photograph: Author.

Two stelai depict one woman embracing the other. On one (see above, and n40), a young woman embraces and touches the chin of a maiden, and the inscription above names one of them, "Mynnion daughter of Khairestratos from Hagnous." Since the gesture is directed at the maiden, she is probably Mynnion, but there is not enough of an age difference between them to identify the young woman as her mother; it is more likely that she is another relative or a slightly older close friend.

The second stele is unusual:⁸⁶ a woman embraces and touches the breast of a girl. Clairmont identifies the girl as about ten years old, and the woman as a nurse by her "garment and possibly also her physiognomy"; at the left stands a smaller girl. The top frame of the stele bears an inscription over the woman, "Soteris," and letters of a name, now illegible, over the girl. Although the gesture is unusual, a contemporary Apulian winejar depicts a similar scene with two adult women.⁸⁷ The girl may not be so young as ten,

tion of *Sculpture: A Catalogue* [Athens: General Direction of Antiquities and Restoration, 1968] 96). Though Clairmont is unsure about the identity of the primary deceased (he finally opts for the standing woman), Kalogeropoulou is sure that the seated woman is the primary deceased.

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