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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

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Constructions of Childhood on the Funerary Monuments of Roman Athens

by

Grizelda D. McClelland

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abbreviations

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,</i>
<i>Athenische</i>	<i>Abteilung</i>
<i>Agora</i>	<i>The Athenian Agora</i>
<i>BAR IS</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i>
<i>BClevMus</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>ClMed</i>	<i>Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et</i>
	<i>d'histoire</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes: Zeitschrift für Klassische Philologie</i>
<i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JWalt</i>	<i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological</i>
<i>Society ProcDanInstAth</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens</i>
<i>ProcPhilAs</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Philological</i>
<i>Association ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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καλός Κρίστοφερ,
my companion in Athens

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Constructions of Childhood on the Funerary Monuments of Roman Athens

by

Grizelda Dunn McClelland

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Art History and Archaeology

Washington University in St. Louis, 2013

Professor Susan I. Rotroff, Chair

The object of this study is to examine the iconography of childhood preserved on Attic funerary monuments of the Imperial age. During the Classical period, the Greeks became the first ancient culture to depict children realistically and, over the course of several centuries, they maintained an ability to render the gestures and bearing of the child naturally. The Imperial grave monuments of Roman Athens continue this tradition of naturalistic portrayal, frequently quoting the style and iconography from standing examples of the city's celebrated sculptural past. Of the 577 extant Imperial reliefs, roughly 84 depict infants, children and youths. This series, dating from the late 1st century BCE through the 3rd century CE, provides the material basis for my dissertation. Through an examination of iconography, I will explore the place of children in that provincial Attic culture and the aspirations of adults articulated through their children. In this, my dissertation will fit into the larger debate over childhood in the West.

Introduction

During the Classical period, the Greeks became the first ancient culture to represent children realistically. From the 5th century BCE onward, Greek artists captured the natural gestures, actions and postures of childhood.¹ Vase painters depicted round toddlers turning wheeled sticks on small vessels known as *choes*. Attic sculptors carved corpulent babies and young girls holding doves on funerary reliefs. And, it is a child who presents the *peplos* at the forefront of the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon frieze. In Greek literature, children appeared at times in seminal roles, defining morality in their innocence or eliciting divine justice in their untimely demise. In such instances, their presence often illuminated the flaws of the adults around them. In Herodotus (5.51), it is the clever daughter of Kleomenes, Gorgo, who keeps her father from the corruption of a Milesian bribe. In the tragic tradition of Aeschylus, the sacrifice of Iphigenia determines Agamemnon's ultimate fate. Sophocles' virgin, Antigone, exposes the hubris of Creon and in her death, the king loses his own son (and wife.) This practice of representing the child as a gauge of adult morality is also apparent in the varied constructions of childhood on the Classical funerary stelai of Athens. The iconography of these monuments celebrates a range of civic and parental values while at once eulogizing the deceased child who will not attain such excellence in maturity.

At the close of the 4th century BCE, the tradition of erecting funerary relief stelai came to an abrupt halt in Attica as a result of umptuary laws enacted by Demetrios of Phaleron.² This prohibition remained in force until the first century BCE, just as Athens

¹ Neils and Oakley 2003, 3-4.

² Demetrios of Phaleron was a Macedonian imposed dictator who came to power in Athens ca. 317 BCE. He was but one of a series of post-Alexander overlords who in succession revealed Athenian political

was fully subsumed by the expanding Roman empire. As these monuments reappear on the Roman Attic landscape, much of the conservative iconography of the Classical funerary reliefs remains intact. In the context of hellenized Imperial rule, Rome's cultural annexation of the Greek past,³ particularly during the 2nd century CE, made "Greekness" a feature of elite identity and thereby colored the meaning and reception of those works whose iconography originated centuries earlier out of the democratic *polis*. What is of greatest interest here is the iconographic representation of children as a snapshot of this acculturative process through time.⁴ Symbols that once had straightforward civic meanings assume secondary significance in a society transformed by Hellenistic kings and later Roman emperors. A simple element, such as a scroll, for instance, might be read as a sign of education; to another viewer initiated in the cult of Isis, the same scroll might acquire sacral significance.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine this iconography of Attic childhood through the lens of this cultural annexation. The iconography itself does not reflect a diachronic development or transformation. Rather, one can discern periods of greater Classicizing tendencies that ebb and flow beneath the constant influence of Hellenistic paradigms and the prototypes of Roman Imperial statuary. While the roles of children have been closely examined in the context of Classical Athens,⁵ particularly with regard to their extensive representation in funerary sculptural, the funerary stelai of Roman Attic children have not yet been studied as a distinct class. With children as the mirror of

impotence in the new, Hellenistic world order. For an excellent synopsis of Demetrios and his rule see Green 1990, 37-46.

³ On the Roman annexation of the Greek language in particular, see Swain 2006, 3-40.

⁴ On the larger process of "Romanization" or the acculturation of Greece under Rome, see; Alcock 1993; Henig 1995; Hoff and Rotroff 1997; Goldhill 2001; Scott and Webster 2003; Vlizos 2008.

⁵ See Neils and Oakley 2003; Oakley 2003; Cohen and Rutter 2007. On the broader topic of the infant and death in antiquity, see Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot 2010.

parental self-identity and the receptacle of eulogy, the study of these markers offers unique insight into Imperial Attic society.

Scholarship, Provenance and Number

The stelai of Roman Athens were first published in 1922 in the fourth volume of Alexander Conze's *Die Attischen Grabsreliefs*.⁶ Conze, a German archaeologist most renowned for his excavation of Pergamon, was the first scholar to attempt a compilation of all Attic grave markers according to historical periods. The first three volumes of the work were published between 1893 and 1906. The first of these covers Archaic grave markers from the Persian destruction and continues into the Classical period. The ensuing two volumes continue with the Classical monuments until the time of Demetrios of Phaleron. The final volume, with which the present work is chiefly concerned, includes the few extant Hellenistic works and all the Imperial grave markers. Conze, however, did not live long enough to see this fourth volume published, and it was left to Alfred Brückner, the excavator of the Kerameikos, to complete his last work.

Conze worked to shift classical archaeology from its aesthetic obsession with monumental statuary toward a comprehensive inquiry into context; his meticulous publication of Roman period grave reliefs reflects this scientific commitment. Conze provided photographs of every monument when possible or supplied drawings. The description of each work, including figures, architectural form, and dimensions, is quite thorough, although very rarely does Conze offer any interpretation of iconography. He classified markers according to the position of figures, such as "Standing Man" or "Seated Woman," etc. And, whenever possible, he cited the provenance of a given object,

⁶ Conze 1911-1922 IV.

i.e. Piraeus or Kerameikos, but most of these are quite generalized references and reflect the reality of 19th century CE archaeology. Despite such shortcomings, Conze's volumes are an extraordinary monument of scholarship in their own right and his final volume still serves as the basis for research into grave monuments of the Imperial era.

Building on the work of Conze, Alice Müsham undertook the first art historical study of the corpus.⁷ She defended her dissertation, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs in Römischer Zeit*, at the University of Berlin in 1936, but, as a Jew in Hitler's Germany, was unable to pursue an academic career. For this reason, another German, Hans Riemann, ultimately preceded Müsham in publication with his 1940 work: *Die Skulpturen vom 5. Jahrhundert bis in römische Zeit, Kerameikos II*, the second volume in a series dedicated to the results of the Kerameikos excavations. This work catalogs 222 sculptural monuments from the Kerameikos excavations, and an additional series of 43 Roman grave reliefs supplemented 1922 Conze's original publication. Riemann's work, particularly as it covers less ground than that of Conze, is more thorough. The descriptions are not only lengthy but they also provide a series of comparanda to support Riemann's dating of each monument. Chronology is notably absent as a major feature of Conze's earlier catalog entries.

After Riemann, Müsham's art historical research was finally published in 1952, 16 years after her emigration to the United States. The results of her dissertation appeared as a lengthy article in the periodical *Berytus* "Attic Grave Reliefs in the Roman Period." Her principal interest was in the development of a chronology based on different stylistic features of the work. The relationship of the Imperial reliefs to Classical art was central to

⁷ Müsham 1952.

her analysis. This study and the work of Riemann were the last examinations of Roman era reliefs until the late 20th century.

In 1983, Stamatios Lymperopoulos undertook the first of the renewed studies. In a dissertation entitled, *Untersuchungen zu den nachklassischen attischen Grabreliefs unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kaiserzeit*, he proposed a typology of grave markers based chiefly upon their architectural frames.⁸ As a result of this approach, one that admitted only those reliefs with fully recovered or fully restorable frames, Lymperopoulos narrowed the number of monuments in his catalog to 229, roughly 100 less than the number included in Conze's fourth volume.⁹ Despite this reduced number, his research showed that the typology of monuments could be limited to just a few basic architectural forms.

Derk W. von Moock produced the next major catalog of the Roman corpus, which unlike that of Lymperopoulos, expanded the number of monuments on the basis of new, post-Conze finds, including those in Riemann's *Kerameikos* volume. Moock's book, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit*,¹⁰ offers a comprehensive examination of the distribution of grave markers throughout Attica and defines a relative chronology based upon specific criteria such as hairstyle and architectural form. As with the work of Lymperopoulos, Moock's study breaks down these forms into three basic categories: shaft stelai, naiskos stelai and frame stelai. These categories are supplemented by *kioniskoi*, or funerary columns, and pyramidal forms. In my own description of the present corpus, I maintain Moock's categorization.¹¹ The final section of Moock's book

⁸ Lymperopoulos 1985; for a synopsis of Lymperopoulos' dissertation see Moock 1998, 1.

⁹ Moock 1998, 1; 47.

¹⁰ Moock 1998.

¹¹ For a discussion of the material corpus and architectural forms, see Chapter Two.

offers a general overview of the iconography that appears across the whole corpus. Given the breadth of his catalog, this commentary is not exhaustive but nonetheless provides a solid basis for interpreting the imagery. In his closing remarks prior to the catalog, Moock defines the clients for the reliefs as generally upper middle class Athenians and wealthy foreign residents, although, he also notes that inscriptions limited to a single name, i.e. that of an historical figure or a divinity, may in fact refer to freed slaves. In this feature, some of the most rudimentary of the reliefs might be compared to those funerary altars so prevalent among the freedman of Rome. The comparative quality and scale of the reliefs during the 2nd century CE in particular reflects, in Moock's opinion, a general economic upturn in Attica during this time. Moock's suggestion certainly correlates with my own findings, as the more lavish monuments, with some exceptions, belong to the Trajanic through Antonine period. The catalog that follows Moock's analyses often served as an invaluable resource for those monuments that I was unable to see in person.

While the respective catalogs of Conze and Moock have been indispensable to my research, the work of Elisabeth Walters, and Celina Leigh Gray has offered a more useful model for approaching a specific class of monument within the larger Roman Attic corpus. Walters' *Hesperia* Supplement, *Attic Grave Reliefs that represent Women in the Dress of Isis*,¹² provides a thorough examination of the 106 Roman funerary Attic reliefs that depict figures (mostly women, although a few men) in the dress of Isis. Walters explores the origins of this dress as well as other Isiaic attributes and traces their representation on monuments from the late 1st century BCE to the early 4th century CE. Much like Müsham's study, Walters' work is valuable as a chronological guide to stylistic changes in funerary sculpture of this period. Her general interpretation of Isiaic

¹² Walters 1988.

motifs as status markers, however, does not acknowledge the multivalence of such imagery in a funerary context.¹³

In her 2002 Berkeley dissertation, “Self-representation of the Milesioi on the Sculpted Gravestones of Roman Attica,” Celina Gray examines another discrete group of monuments. Gray is perhaps less concerned with constructing another stylistic chronology and is interested in illuminating the position of Milesians in Athens. She provides a comprehensive account of the history of Roman Athens and then offers a detailed examination of Milesian immigration to Attica. Gray’s catalog of 155 Milesian monuments reveals just how large this population in fact was in Athens and its environs. Moreover, her interpretation of the iconography of these monuments demonstrates a conscientious appropriation of Athenian civic imagery in the construction of Milesian self-identity. While references to Milesian origins are retained by inscriptions, the iconography reveals the broader process of annexing Attic culture, much like Attic Greek itself, a readily discerned marker of status within the Greek world and the broader Empire. Through such studies, both Walters and Gray draw conclusions about the importance of their respective class of monuments to the society, family, and individual for whom and by whom they were erected. My work expands our understanding of the cultural and social life of Roman Athens by examining the role —aspirational, idealized or otherwise— of children in this context. This work is important, as children, in particular elite children, played an increasingly central part in defining family status within the Imperial city.

At some point almost all of the monuments considered in this paper stood in the public cemeteries of Athens. The Kerameikos, just beyond the northwestern walls of the

¹³ Palagia 1990, 517.

city, remained a central location for Athenian burials during the Roman period. The monuments erected here lined two major thoroughfares into the city and thus were specifically designed for public view. It is still somewhat unclear how some of the monuments were installed and displayed. While iron pins and dowel holes on the facades of reliefs have been interpreted as supports for grave decorations, similar pins and dowels on the sides of stelai suggest that at least some of the monuments may have not have been placed on bases but rather may have been built into walls or into the sides other tombs. More elaborate monuments, such as sarcophagi, begin to appear in the Kerameikos during the 2nd century CE, although these are comparatively limited in number.¹⁴

Beginning with the intramural burial of Philopappos in the early 2nd century CE,¹⁵ Roman burials appear occasionally within the walls, including the sarcophagus of Herodes Atticus near the Panathenaic stadium, although these are admittedly limited to the highest elite of Attica.¹⁶ The monuments considered here are unlikely to have been set up in such prominent locations but would have been placed, as with most Attic burials, outside the city proper. A separate cemetery beyond the city's northeastern gates expanded during the Imperial period out along present day Amalias avenue.¹⁷ Many Roman burials have also been excavated in the outlying districts of Attica, including in the western cemetery of Oropos and the cemeteries at Eleusis, Rhamnous, Marathon, and the port city, Piraeus.¹⁸ An elaborate marble sarcophagus in the Eleusis museum and

¹⁴ Gray cites only one sarcophagus in the Kerameikos proper 2002, 58. For an example of a marker built into a stucco-tomb, see Brückner 1909, 52. For the cemeteries in general, see Moock 1998, 11-21 and Gray 2002, 57-59.

¹⁵ On this mausoleum, see Kleiner 1983.

¹⁶ On the Herodes sarcophagus see Tobin 1993 and Rife 2008.

¹⁷ Parlama, Stampolidis and Leatham 2001, 156-157; Gray 2002, 58.

¹⁸ Moock 1998, 17-20.

dated to ca 200 CE, provides evidence for opulent burials some distance from the city proper.¹⁹

As Derk von Moock notes, Imperial grave stelai are known from almost every part of Attica, but most have been uncovered only accidentally rather than in structured excavations.²⁰ Some, for example, have been discovered in the walls and floors of churches. In other instances, the stelai were reused as grave markers, drain covers or building material. As a result, the original context of the monuments has rarely been preserved. Given the mobility of marble and such loss of context, it is possible only to postulate their primary setting, though markers uncovered in a clear cemetery context, such as the Kerameikos, likely once stood there. Beyond such logical inferences, however, one can be certain only that the stelai were set up for public display and that the images they presented were surely meant to resonate with the viewers who encountered them.

Among the 577 Roman-period stelai known to me, I have identified 84 monuments that present a child (or children) as the primary figure.²¹ Due to time and budgetary constraints, I was able to visit only those monuments in Athens and its vicinity, and, in some instances, I could not attain the required permissions to visit a marker in person. Nonetheless, I was able to examine 48 of the 84 works in person. This number, representing over one half of the corpus and supplemented by the catalogs of Conze, Rieman and Moock, constitutes the basis for the research presented here. Each of these catalogs provided valuable photographs or drawings, descriptions and dimensions that allowed me to make reasonable interpretations about the material I did analyze myself.

¹⁹ Kleiner 2010, 222, fig. 8.

²⁰ Moock 1998, 17.

²¹ My definition of childhood and its stages is laid out explicitly in the Chapter 2.

Every monument that I was unable to visit in person is so annotated in the Catalog and in the tables that appear in Chapter Two.

Summary of Chapters

The first chapter of the dissertation provides an overview of Roman Athens in order to situate the markers within their historical setting. This section focuses on three central themes: the material redevelopment of the city under Rome, aspects of its political transformation, and a review of Roman Athens' increasingly oligarchic character. This review will help to elucidate the interpretations offered in the third and fourth chapters. The second chapter provides a straightforward overview of the corpus. To begin, the basic categories of childhood are outlined according to both the apparent age of the child depicted and to associated ritual markers. This information is followed by a detailed description of the markers themselves, including the predominating architectural forms employed, the general size and subject of the markers. Recurrent iconographic attributes are likewise briefly outlined.

The third and fourth chapters are organized by gender. I have divided the material this way because of the obvious gendering of the iconography itself but also in order to preclude the trivialization of the female reliefs which are far smaller in number. Each of these chapters offers a close iconographic study of the monuments. This analysis provides an historical review of enduring Classical and Hellenistic motifs, analysis of distinctly Imperial motifs and an exploration of the cultural ideas embedded in these motifs respectively. This approach, adhering to an iconological methodology that originates with Panofsky,²² includes thorough descriptions, identifies primary or original

²² Hatt and Klonk 2006, 106-119.

meanings inherent in the images, and finally interprets this imagery in the context of Empire as evidence of acculturation. Selections from Imperial literature are cited whenever parallel constructions of childhood identity mirror themes apparent on the reliefs.

The fifth and final chapter provides a summation of my findings and in closing will, I hope, illuminate some elements of cultural resistance in the Classicizing renaissance of the stele form.

Chapter One

Roman Athens: A Summary

After the Roman subjugation of Achaëa and the fall of Corinth in 146 BCE, Athens retained its status as a free and allied state, *civitas libera et foederata*. In the century that followed, however, the city entered a series of unlucky or ill-advised alliances that resulted in direct Roman intervention. While Athens eventually regained its free and federated status, Roman rule ineluctably impacted and transformed the city. The renewed production of Attic funerary stelai roughly coincides with direct Roman intervention in the city and the following summary outlines the context for that renewal along three lines: the city's material redevelopment; its political transformation; and the increasingly oligarchic nature of the Athenian state. Many of these changes originated in the Hellenistic period but they intensified and accelerated under Rome. An overview of this context will clarify the iconographic interpretations offered in the ensuing chapters.

Throughout the 1st century BCE, Athens endured a series of self-wrought and chance reversals. In its interactions with Rome, the city repeatedly threw its support behind losing factions. Having sided with King Mithridates of Pontus, Athens was captured by Sulla in 86 BCE and its port of Piræus was burned to the ground. Sulla's men looted the city's temples and stoas of statuary; even the massive columns of the Olympeion were shipped off to Rome.²³ Pausanias (1.20.7) writes that Athens took two hundred years to recover from Sulla's brutality.²⁴ While such literary testimonia paint a dire portrait of the Roman devastation, archaeological evidence challenges the

²³ Appian, *Mithridates* 39; Pausanias, 10.21.6; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.6.45; Plutarch, *Sulla* 26.

²⁴ 1.20.7: Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακωθεῖσαι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἥνθησαν.

suggestions of utter destruction in Athens.²⁵ Later in the century, much of the Roman civil-war played out on Greek soil and once more Athens consistently favored an unsuccessful ally: Pompey; Brutus; and finally Antony. Other material setbacks compounded these poor political choices.

Slaves working the mines at Larium had rebelled at the turn of the 1st century BCE, disrupting an already limited output and ravaging Attica at the same time.²⁶ By the close of the century, the mines had been exhausted.²⁷ Furthermore, Delos, an Athenian possession granted by Rome in 166 BCE, no longer returned a profitable stream of income. In the span of roughly twenty years, the island was first attacked by the Mithridatic general, Archelaus, in 88 BCE and was later sacked in 69 BCE by pirates. The Roman establishment of Corinth as a trading colony in 44 BCE exacerbated the economic effect of the loss of Delos.²⁸ Despite these many setbacks, Athens was gradually able to reestablish itself due in great part to its cultural heritage. At the end of the Republican and through the early Imperial period, numerous aristocrats, leading figures and Emperors themselves visited the city. Given its influential cultural role, Athens enjoyed the continued benefactions once bequeathed by Hellenistic kings and now subsidized by Roman and private benefactors. Many of these endowments are of course reflected in the material redevelopment of Athens and reflect the city's cultural position as the intellectual epicenter of the empire. Newly constructed buildings included odeia, libraries and gymnasia, all fitting spaces for the training of the Empire's elite.²⁹ In the context of private lives, the reappearance of Attic grave stelai mirrors the city's return

²⁵ Camp 2001, 184-185.

²⁶ Poseidonius in Athenaeus VI.272 E-F = FGrH 87 F 35.

²⁷ Strabo IX.1.23; X.1.9.

²⁸ Walters 1988, 61.

²⁹ Camp 2001, 184.

to prosperity.³⁰

Rebuilding Athens under Rome

The archaeological footprint of Roman rule in Athens is impressive. During the first century BCE, colonnaded streets first appear; a small, ionic temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus rises to the east of the Parthenon, and a Roman *therma* upgrades an antiquated Greek bath.³¹ Perhaps the most conspicuous example of Rome's material influence on Athens during this period is the metamorphosis of the ancient Agora, for centuries the center of the city's socio-political life. The transformation of this space fundamentally altered the experience of daily life for Athenian residents.³²

Under Augustus, who ultimately took a personal interest in the revitalization of Athens, the open space of the Agora was filled. Some of the city's commercial activity, once conducted in the environs of the Agora, was consolidated and transferred to the newly dedicated Roman Agora,³³ the market of Caesar and Augustus. While the construction of this new market does not represent Roman interference per se — it was requested, after all, by the Athenians— it does reflect an economic instability, precipitated by the loss of Delian revenues, which could only be redressed by Roman benefaction. In this, the new market place was a physical reminder of the city's dependence. According to Camp, the construction of the new marketplace may have contributed to if not precipitated the filling-up of the old open square.³⁴

³⁰ Gray 2002, 45.

³¹ Geagan 1979, 379-381.

³² Raja 2012, 108.

³³ Thompson dates the completion of this project, initiated by Julius Caesar around 47 BCE and completed by grants from Augustus, to 10 B.C. See Thompson 1950, 98. According to Michael Hoff, the space may have been used predominately as a whole-sale market in order to replace the lost business with the decline of Delos. Hoff also posits the presence of merchants with Delian connections at this time. See Hoff 1989, 7.

³⁴ Camp 1986, 183-184.

Two major buildings occupied most of the former empty space of the Agora. The most imposing of these was a new concert hall, the Odeion, likely the gift of the general Agrippa. The hall, constructed sometime between 16 and 12 BCE, rose several stories high and stretched some 25 meters across the center of the square along the north side of the Middle Stoa.³⁵ While the function of the building, a site for musical and eventually rhetorical performances, highlighted Athens' role as an intellectual and cultural destination, it simultaneously subverted the political character of the Agora by its massive presence.³⁶

Such repurposing of the civic center was likewise expressed in the second major building in the Agora: a relocated classical temple of Athena from Pallene.³⁷ Identified by Pausanias (1.8.4) as a temple of Ares, it represents one of several such transpositions of classical Attic temples (or architectural elements thereof) into the open space of the square. Despite a canonically classical restoration, the transplanted building was re-consecrated to the god Ares, perhaps the least celebrated deity of the Athenian pantheon. In this bi-cultural reconstruction, a canonical temple of the Attic classical past was appropriated for the elevation of a god central to Roman Imperial ideology. In the Agora setting, the temple was exploited as an eastern mirror of the newly dedicated temple of Mars Ultor in the Roman forum of Augustus. This instance of Romanization, that is the specific process by which Roman rule impresses Roman culture upon non-Roman subjects,³⁸ is made explicit by the suggestion that this temple, and perhaps others

³⁵ Camp 1986, 184.

³⁶ Raja 2012, 108.

³⁷ Korres 1992, 83–104.

³⁸ Spawforth 2012, 28.

transplanted to the Agora, were re-consecrated in service to the Imperial cult.³⁹ Local elites were not necessarily ill-disposed to these developments and, in ingratiating themselves with Augustus, they themselves made benefactions that helped integrate the Imperial cult and its gods into the city.⁴⁰

Through most of the next century, the personal interest Augustus took in the renovation of Athens was not kindled among his Julio-Claudian successors. Caligula and Nero pursued a policy of plundering, and, while Claudius dutifully restored some of this looted art,⁴¹ he nonetheless sought to import the mysteries wholesale from Eleusis. Minor construction did, however, go on. The most notable of these projects was the monumental staircase leading up to the Propylaea perhaps underwritten by Claudius.⁴² Despite this tepid Imperial interest, the city retained its allure among other foreign benefactors. One of the most remarkable monuments of Athens in the years between Augustus and Hadrian is the tomb of one such benefactor, C. Julius Antiochos Philopappos, a Commagenian king in exile. The city's own willingness to bury the monarch within its walls, a privilege not granted to anyone since the 6th century BCE, surely suggests that Philappos was a remarkable private benefactor. Epigraphic evidence from the late Augustan and Julio-claudian period, including many statue bases that record dedications to Athenians notable for their extensive public and religious roles, reveals that the city was the beneficiary of significant euergetism by Attic elites as well as the patronage of client kings, queens and the Imperial family.⁴³ This collective beneficence perhaps illuminates less about the

³⁹ Camp 2001, 191.

⁴⁰ Spawforth 2012, 83 and n. 113.

⁴¹ Dio Cassius 60.6.8.

⁴² See Geagan 1979, 384.

⁴³ For the most recent survey of prosopographical and epigraphic evidence for this period, see Schmalz 2009. For dedications in honor of Athenian men see, 164-172; Attic women see, 172-176. For dedications

generosity of pan-Mediterranean elites than its does about the desirability of Athens as the beneficiary of such munificence. To be sure, Philopappos must have lavished money on the city in order to obtain his burial site; on the flip-side, the selection of this site confirms the city's unique cultural stature and Philopappos's implicit desire that his memorial would be admired by many well-heeled visitors beyond Athenian residents alone.

The accession of Hadrian marked the next major phase of Imperial redevelopment in Athens. In assessing Hadrian's impact on the institutions of Athens, Antony Spawforth has argued that the emperor sought to make the city the very "capital of Hellenism."⁴⁴ This idea clarifies Hadrian's self-proclaimed role as the new founder of Athens whose legitimacy originated in the ancient exemplum of the Attic hero, Theseus.⁴⁵ Cassius Dio (69.16.1) expresses Hadrian's enthusiasm for this role writing, "[h]e...presided at the Dionysia, first assuming the highest office among the Athenians, and arrayed in the local costume, carried it through brilliantly."⁴⁶ The most conspicuous feature of Hadrian's enthusiastic policy toward Athens was his building program.⁴⁷

The emperor's impressive reconstruction of Athens sought to emphasize physically his vision of the city at the spiritual center of the Greek East.⁴⁸ The catalogue

to foreign kings and queens see, 126-127. For dedications to the emperor and the Imperial family see, 92-125.

⁴⁴ See Spawforth 1989, 194.

⁴⁵ The inscriptions on the arch of Hadrian, linking the "new" and "old" cities of Athens, make the parallel explicit. The side facing the Acropolis reads, "This is Athens the old city of Theseus," while the Olympeion facing facade bears the following line, "This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus." See also Arafat 1996, 166-167.

⁴⁶ Cassius Dio 69.16.1: τὰ τε Διονύσια, τὴν μεγίστην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴν ἄρξας, ἐν τῇ ἐσθῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ λαμπρῶς ἐπετέλεσε.

⁴⁷ To be sure, Athens also flourished in general under strictly financial impulses of Hadrian's philhellenism. For a time, the emperor appears to have sustained the city's political life through grants to *prytaneis*. See Benjamin 1963, 73-74 and Geagan 1979, 393. Hadrian also pulled Athens' financial house into order by establishing a civic treasury and reorganizing the sacred treasury. See Oliver 1965, 123-133.

⁴⁸ Spawforth 1989, 194.

of new or completed projects associated with his reign is substantial: a basilica in the northeastern Agora, the Library, the Pantheon, a gymnasium, an aqueduct leading into a reservoir on the slopes of Mount Lykabettos, the Temple of Hera and Zeus (the Panhellenion), the monumental temple of Olympian Zeus, and the “New City” of Hadrian, set off by its famous gate and encompassing baths, villas, gymnasiums and parks.⁴⁹ Given the summarizing purposes of this chapter, there is hardly room to address each of these works. Thus, among all these monuments, I would like to focus on Hadrian’s library as particularly expressive of Roman Athens in the 2nd century CE.

The library was an integral part of a civic complex linking the historical center of Athens with the new Roman metropolis.⁵⁰ Shear interprets this complex as an imperial forum, based on the design and architecture of Imperial fora at Rome, but one that notably omits the essential dominating architectural element of such fora: the podium temple. The library thus emerges as the spiritual core of the forum, built as it was in the accustomed space of a sacred temple.⁵¹ Pausanias (1.18.9) describes the library’s famous colonnade —100 columns of Phrygian marble — with walls of the same Phrygian stone and rooms filled with statuary and books. The space featured a gilt roof and alabaster ornament.⁵² Aristides (*Panathenaicus* 1.354) called the complex a *kosmos*, a term encapsulating the library’s function of both order and ornament.⁵³ As with many Imperial fora in Rome, a high wall enclosed the library complex. Three roofed niches were set into each long wall corresponding closely to the exedrae in the Flavian temple of Pax. The

⁴⁹ For this series of monuments and the features of the “New City,” I rely on the synopsis of Geagan 1979, 397.

⁵⁰ Boatwright 1983, 173-176.

⁵¹ Shear 1981, 376.

⁵² Pausanias 1.18.9: τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου: πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι. καὶ οἰκήματα ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν ὀρόφω τε ἐπιχρῦσθαι καὶ ἀλαβάστρῳ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς: κατάκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία.

⁵³ Too 2010, 213.

front or western wall of the complex continues this correspondence. Seven freestanding columns rise on either side of the tetrastyle propylon; they are engaged with the wall at the entablature and cornice. This façade parallels the internal façade of the Forum Transitorium.⁵⁴

The complex enclosed an oblong reflecting pool surrounded by Pausanias' Phrygian columns. At the eastern end, three rooms adjoined the courtyard. The central room featured a tetrastyle façade and was flanked by two smaller rooms. These lateral rooms served as auditoria, while the main room functioned as the library.⁵⁵ In this new construction, Hadrian purposefully returns the culture of libraries to its very seat of origin in Athens, where the tyrant Peisistratus was reputed to have founded the first public collection of books, thus becoming the "father" of the public library.⁵⁶ The library was an internal shrine to Hellenic humanism the external *temenos* of which took the form of the Imperial Roman forum. This architectural idea mirrored an Athenian cultural supremacy sacralized and sustained by the reality of the *pax romana*.

In the years after Hadrian, major building programs did not follow. Yet, Antoninus Pius maintained Hadrian's philhellenic tradition, paying particular attention to the organization of the philosophical schools. In 174, Marcus Aurelius initiated a policy in support of the schools by endowing four chairs for the respective schools. In 176, he established a second, larger endowment in rhetoric. In these actions and in the restoration of the Odeion for use as a lecture hall, the Antonines emulated their predecessor.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ward-Perkins 1994, 269; Boatwright 1988, 154.

⁵⁵ For the description of Hadrian's library complex, see Raja 2012, 123; Travlos 1971, 246.

⁵⁶ It is unclear whether this story is merely fiction. Tradition, however, accorded Peisistratus such status. See Aulus Gellius 7.17.1; Tertullian suggests that the Peisistratid interest in the library was the model for the Alexandrian library, *Apologeticus* 18.5. Regarding Hadrian's intentions in the establishment of the library see, Too 2010, 47.

⁵⁷ Geagan 1979, 399-401.

Indeed, Athens remained a central training ground for oratorical displays and men of letters and students continued to make their pilgrimages to the city. The increased role of such foreigners in Attic civic life, as will be discussed below, reveals something of the economic and political change experienced in Athens under Rome.

Economic and Political Realities of Roman Rule

The transformation of Athenian governance under Imperial rule reflects the traditional Roman reliance upon the local elite for the administration of government. As Cicero advised his brother in Asia: provincial cities were best administered by the counsels of the *optimates*.⁵⁸ In Greece, elites had long emphasized military glory as a prime feature of their status. Yet since the defeat of Corinth and the dissolution of Achaean military resistance in 146 BCE, such status was long extinguished. It was money not valor that afforded recourse and access to Roman administrative power through civic magistracies.⁵⁹ Thus, while old polis forms of government did not disappear, they were transformed to reflect the explicit promotion of wealth in the exercise of local governance.⁶⁰ According to James Oliver, from 21 BCE through the end of extant documentation for Roman Athens (ca. 268 CE), “propertied families” ruled Athens and the chief political struggle, as it had been among the oligarchs the 6th century BCE, was the prevention of tyranny by a single family.⁶¹ Perhaps the most succinct evidence for the

⁵⁸ Cicero *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.8.25: ...provideri abs te, ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrantur.

⁵⁹ It was self-evident that Greece herself could no longer practice the areté that defined the fallen of Marathon, Thermopylae or Chaeronea. Yet, as Oliver writes, it was those fallen who embodied “the true Hellas” in which Rome’s culture partook. See Oliver 1981, 413.

⁶⁰ Daniel Geagan has produced the most comprehensive survey of the Athenian government after Sulla in his study *The Athenian Constitution after Sulla*. His evidence is derived from the examination of every epigraphic text dated after Sulla’s constitutional reforms that refers to civic offices and institutions. My own summary of the Athenian constitution of the Imperial period rests entirely upon the conclusions of Geagan and James H. Oliver. See Oliver 1983 and Geagan 1967.

⁶¹ Oliver 1983, 19-20.

return to an Archaic order within the framework of the extant administrative bodies is the hierarchal ordering of Rome's official address to the government of Imperial Athens:

“the Boule of the Areopagus, the Boule of the five (or six) hundred, and the Demos.”

This new formulation is recorded on numerous dedications to benefactors of the city.⁶² In the 4th century BCE, Aristotle (*Ath Pol.* 23.1) perceived the Areopagus as an aristocratic body; this notion was revitalized in the ascendancy of that body under Roman rule.⁶³

The official title of the government of the Athenian polis also mirrored the constitutional changes imposed by Sulla in 84 BCE.⁶⁴ The roles of the city's chief administrative organs were transformed. Archons ceded most of their political and administrative functions to the council of the Areopagus.⁶⁵ Archonships were no longer allotted but were elected offices limited to single terms.⁶⁶ These changes and an attendant increase in liturgies necessitated that the archons, and more specifically the eponymous archon, would be drawn from among the affluent citizens.⁶⁷ Likewise, the prime function of the hoplite generalship, an office considered by the Athenians themselves to be one of the most important of the Roman period,⁶⁸ was to secure the city's grain supply. Thus an office that was created in the 4th century BCE for a specific

⁶² Geagan 1967, 62; for the epigraphic examples see pp.140-145 in Appendix I.

⁶³ Geagan 1967, 41-62.

⁶⁴ Christian Habicht, citing Badian, is reluctant to ascribe constitutional changes to Sulla himself but suggests, contra Geagan, that such a constitution was likely in place before Athens' alliance with Mithridates and that the rise of oligarchic rule was merely a return of power to the elite who were loyal to Rome prior to the city's defection under Athenion. See Habicht 1997, 315-321.

⁶⁵ It should be noted that the administrative functions of the Areopagus were subject to the political tides at Rome. Thus the general trend toward oligarchic rule was punctuated by brief interludes of democratic rule. These constitutional changes appear to have occurred in conjunction with the Pompeian cause and Attic support for the imperial tyrannicides Brutus and Cassius. When Antony was victorious at Philippi an aristocratic or oligarchic constitution was reinstated at Athens. See Geagan 1979, 375-376.

⁶⁶ Geagan 1979, 374.

⁶⁷ Geagan 1967, 17.

⁶⁸ Philostratus *Vitae Sophistarum*, 2. 20: ...διαπρεπής δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ γενόμενος ἔν τε πρεσβείαις ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπρέσβευσεν ἔν τε λειτουργίαις, ὥς μεγίστας Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσι, τήν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων...

military competency no longer served an expressly military purpose⁶⁹ and, perhaps more importantly, reflected a chronic problem for Athens: grain shortage.

While Attica was able to maintain the export of some of its traditional agricultural products, especially its olive oil,⁷⁰ such exports were limited and the region did not produce enough grain to satisfy its burgeoning urban population. These shortages in grain resulted in periodic civic instability. To alleviate this problem, Hadrian instituted an annual grain benefaction⁷¹ and other private benefactors offered one-time grants of grain to the city through the 3rd century CE.⁷² These doles highlight not only agricultural shortfalls but also the increasing disparity between those who could afford to make large-scale benefactions of grain and those who could not cover their basic household requirements. Such disparity became entrenched politically.

This trend is highlighted in the functioning of the imperial *boule* and the *ekklesia*. After the Sullan constitutional reforms of 84 BCE, the *boule* could enact legislation (i.e. pass decrees) without the approval of the assembly. Moreover, prytany lists from the 2nd and 3rd century CE reveal an increased rate of men serving second terms in the *boule*, suggesting by necessity a corresponding decrease among those who *could* serve.⁷³ Part of this decrease may be related to ephebic service as a requirement for political service. Since the 3rd century BCE, the ephebeia was no longer requisite for citizenship and, as poor citizens ceased to send their sons, it came increasingly under the purview of the male progeny of wealthy Attic families. By the Roman era, the ephebeia served a purely

⁶⁹ In the mid fourth century BCE, the hoplite general was in charge of hoplite forces when outside of Attica, see Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 61.1.

⁷⁰ Hadrian imposed an Oil Decree on the city in order to ensure that Athens itself was able to maintain its own supplies of oil and likewise to control profiteering by its oil vendors. See Boatwright 1988, 91.

⁷¹ Dio 16.69.2; Boatwright 1988, 92.

⁷² Oliver 1983, 131.

⁷³ Geagan 1967, 75; and 1979, 374.

preparatory⁷⁴ function, training the politically ambitious among the city's elite in "mock" assembly sessions. Geagan's conjectural connection between ephebic service and access to the boule is attested by the number of *bouleutai* ascribed as ephebes or ephebic magistrates in the prytany lists. The *ekklesia* itself reflected this narrowing of civic power as a citizen's rights to address the assembly or to seek a seat in that body were curtailed. The former foundations for such prerogatives, namely two Athenian parents, ephebic training and a demotic, were no longer sufficient.⁷⁵

While some political change was gradually effected in the century between Augustus's and Hadrian's rule, the next major re-codification of the Athenian constitution did not take place until roughly 121 CE. The Athenians may have exploited Hadrian's philhellenism in seeking his guidance over the project, especially as Hadrian appears to have undertaken this task in philhellenic mode.⁷⁶ The resultant reforms included a decrease of the boule from 600 to the Cleisthenic 500, the establishment of a new tribe, Hadrianis, and a reduction of local tax burdens.⁷⁷ Such burdens, and the expanded liturgies of the Imperial period, must have had serious implications for the conduct of the city's cultural life, bound as it was to civic prosperity. Over the centuries, the gifts and endowments of an emperor or private individual would by necessity stimulate and sustain that cultural life.

⁷⁴ These youths were no longer in active military service nor exposed to the threat of death in battle as their precursors certainly had been.

⁷⁵ Geagan 1967, 76 and 86.

⁷⁶ Both Geagan and Oliver cite research into the Solonic and Draconic codes: Geagan 1979, 377 and 392; Oliver 1970, 54.

⁷⁷ Instances of Hadrian's intervention in local financial issues include: the "Fish Tax," exempting Eleusinian fisherman from Athens' two-obol tax while at the same time authorizing the Areopagus to rein in profiteering by vendors; "Hadrian's Oil Decree" regulating the sale of local oil to reduce merchant profiteering. See Boatwright 1988, 90-91.

The civic religious life of Athens offers an example of this change as both Rome and Athenian elites took an active interest in the preservation of Attic religious forms. While epigraphy reveals an essential conservatism in the practice of civic religion, the context for that practice was transformed by the presence of Rome and its policy of provincial administration. To be sure, elites had long managed religious affairs in Athens but, from the Hellenistic period forward, this management resulted in increasingly direct control. Fragments of a Roman marble statue of Athena, uncovered in the Pnyx and the Agora and dated to the 1st century CE, suggest revitalized interest in the Panathean festival on the part of elite Athenians who sought to augment their own status by promoting their city's religious traditions.⁷⁸ Moreover, the patronage of newer cults, like that of Isis, offered other vehicles for the exhibition of elite munificence, much of which was also displayed by foreign benefactors. The diminution of communal religious authority was further augmented by the changes in the ephebeia itself. According to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42.2-5), part of the 4th century BCE ephebic regimen was religious training. Ephebes were required to be familiar with and know the meaning of every sacral space throughout the city.⁷⁹ As the corps itself became the purview of the wealthy, so too did the religious knowledge of the city. The duties of priesthoods fell increasingly to a smaller handful of high-standing citizens and the expansion of offices held by the *children* of elites is especially notable in this regard.⁸⁰

To be sure, Roman Athens sustained a strong connection with its past; the meaning of this continuity was, however, transformed by context. The agora remained a significant public space dominated by a new Roman architectural order. The Hadrianic

⁷⁸ See Aijootian 2009, 481-499.

⁷⁹ Grijalvo 2005, 255; 268-269.

⁸⁰ Grijalvo 2005, 275.

establishment of the *Panhellion* asserted and assured Athens' cultural centrality to the Greek world. The library enshrined Greek learning in the architectural vernacular of a Roman forum. Likewise, many of the stelai of the present study participate in this continuity through highly-classicizing forms and enduring iconographic motifs whose meanings are colored by the transformed context of Roman rule. In this, the iconographic construction of self-identity is no longer merely Attic or Athenian. Rather, Athenian identity stands out as an Imperial brand communicated to an audience, as Philopappos knew, far broader than the *polis* itself.

Chapter Two

The Corpus

This chapter provides a comprehensive survey of the monuments. First, I will document the size of the corpus, its architectural forms, chronological range, method of construction and finally, the sculptural subjects themselves. The section on chronology will outline the difficulties inherent in the narrow dating of Attic funerary monuments from the Imperial period.

Size of corpus

Of the 577 published Imperial reliefs, 84 depict infants, children and youths as the deceased.⁸¹ Children are thus represented on about one seventh of all markers preserved from the period. This number is approximate because in some instances — particularly where a published catalog text is unclear and I have been unable to see the monument in person — I have had to rely on century-old sketches and photographs preserved in Alexander Conze's *Die Attischen Grabsreliefs* in order to determine whether a subject is indeed a child or youth. In those instances where the available image is illegible, I can only rely on the ascriptions of Moock and Conze and I recapitulate their data only in my catalog. At other times, monuments are too fragmentary to be certain of any age

⁸¹ The fourth volume of Alexander Conze's *Die Attischen Grabsreliefs* offers the first presentation of 323 Imperial Attic funerary monuments. See Conze 1911-1922 IV. Riemann published a separate forty in *Kerameikos 2, Die Skulpturen*. See Riemann 1940. Moock's *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* is the most current and comprehensive catalog and includes 577 entries. 526 of these reliefs are currently held by museums and private collections. The whereabouts of the remaining 51 are unknown. See Moock 1998.

When damage truly obscures the depictions, I have eliminated those pieces from my consideration. Also, I have attempted to exclude representations of slaves. Slaves were routinely shown a great deal smaller than were the deceased and can thus cause some confusion in identification. I have tried to rely on the iconography of the slave in my exclusions, e.g. small female figures that offer jewelry boxes or chests.

categorization. For example, **Cat. 80** is a stele with solely the feet of the central figure and the socle zone preserved. Only the accompanying inscription, which Derk Moock posits may come from a secondary use, identifies the figure as a child. While the present catalog includes this total number, much of my iconographic analysis is based on the 48 monuments that I was able to study in person. Works external to that review are adduced as supporting evidence or comparanda wherever possible.

Architectural Forms and Construction

There are three basic forms of Imperial funerary stelai: shaft stelai, frame stelai and naiskos stelai.⁸² The simple shaft stele is either flat-topped or capped with a gable and akroteria. In its more elaborate form, the shaft stele often features an inscription zone reserved just beneath the gable, a rectangular sculptural niche and a socle zone (Fig. 1). The niche itself can take the form of a naiskos with flat top, a simple archway, or an archway with spandrels. Unlike the shaft stele, the frame stele has a rectangular niche that occupies most of the marble slab and a gable with akroteria (Fig. 2). Its frame is a simple border of regular width without any columns or pilasters. The majority of imperial monuments dedicated to children are variations on the naiskos type (Fig. 3).⁸³ The Imperial naiskos stele is composed of the same architectural framing elements as its Classical forerunner: a pair of flanking Ionic or Corinthian columns, or pilasters, on either side of the sculptural niche and a gable or flat top crowned by akroteria. Although a small number of this type are flat-topped, either unadorned or embellished with antefixes, the majority support a gable with akroteria. Gables of all stele types often

⁸² Moock 1998, Supplement 6-7.

⁸³ According to Bradeen, this preference for the Naiskos type monument applies to the whole Imperial corpus. Bradeen 1974, 1.

display a shield in the center of the tympanum, while rosette pairs frequently appear in the spandrels of arched niches. The repeated use of an arch to enclose the naiskos from above is the prime exception to the stelai's generally classicizing architectural forms.

Like many of the earliest or simplest Classical funerary reliefs, Imperial reliefs are carved from a single block of marble (often Pentelic).⁸⁴ The low base of many Imperial stelai also follows Classical convention, although the later markers are distinguished by the trimming of the stele's lower corners to form a tenon to be fitted into a plinth.⁸⁵ The stelai that I measured ranged in height from ca. 0.31 m to 1.79 m, with widths ranging between ca. 0.23 to 0.89 meters. The median thickness or depth of the reliefs is ca. 0.11 m and is, on average, only slightly thicker than the typical depth of Classical reliefs at 0.10 m.⁸⁶ This comparative thinness differentiates children's stelai from the standard Imperial monuments which are typically deeper than their Classical precursors.

Fourteen of the children's monuments diverge from the preceding types. Seven markers are pyramidal forms with preserved heights that range from 0.30 to 0.78 meters.⁸⁷ In these instances, an infant or child appears on a small ledge on the forward face of the marker. Six more monuments, while displaying some classicizing, architectural elements, all appear on the ubiquitous grave marker of Hellenistic Attica: the *kioniskos* or columella.⁸⁸ And in one unusual case, a form has been refashioned from a marble *lekythos*, **Cat.7**. Still, other monuments are fragmentary and it is difficult to

⁸⁴ Classical stelai, typically of a later date, are later comprised of three or four slabs. See Grossman 2001, 5; Walters 1988.

⁸⁵ Walters 1988, 42.

⁸⁶ Walters 1988, 41, n.70.

⁸⁷ Cat. nos. 2, 11, 15-19.

⁸⁸ Cat. nos. 5, 9, 29, 41, 51, and 65.

know what their original form may have been.

A final feature distinctive to stelai of the Imperial period is the presence of iron pins. While Classical Athenians commemorated their forbears by decorating their stelai, only Imperial monuments appear to have been provided with iron pins, generally set in pairs at equal height on either side of the stele or within the relief field itself, probably to hold commemorative wreaths.⁸⁹ Among the reliefs I examined in person, 13 of the 48 display evidence of iron pins. Of these, only two were dedicated to girls. One set appears on the family portrait from the Amphiareion (**Cat. 3**). The remainder is present on monuments dedicated to youths and boys, a finding in keeping with the proportionally higher representation of boys over girls in the corpus as a whole.

Chronological Range and Problems

After the Demetrian sumptuary legislation was enacted between 317 and 307 BCE, carved funerary stelai did not reappear in Athens until the turn of the second century BCE.⁹⁰ It is the consensus among scholars, however, that the custom was not widely readopted until the 1st century CE. This revival continued until its gradual abatement during the 3rd century CE, a terminus coincident with the end of Attic funerary epigraphy.⁹¹ The absence of any absolute dates on Attic funerary inscriptions likewise contributes to a general rather than a narrower chronological frame.

⁸⁹ Riemann and Walters consider the pins to have served solely a decorative purpose. See Riemann 1940, 58, 60; and Walters 1988, 42. Dow and Vermeule have suggested that those pins set into the sides of the stelai may have served a structural purpose for positioning the reliefs into a wall. Walters, however, finds this proposition implausible given the proximity of the pins to the edge of the stelai's facade. See Dow et al. 1965, 277.

⁹⁰ Classical funerary reliefs were being re-used in the late Hellenistic period in Athens and this classicizing impulse is mirrored in the actual reproduction of grave reliefs, though in very small numbers, during the 2nd century BCE. See Lympieropoulos 1985, 15-17 and Houby-Nielsen 1988, 141-142.

⁹¹ Conze 1922; Riemann 1940; Mühsam 1952; Lympieropoulos 1985; Walters 1988; Moock 1998; Gray 2002. On the epigraphic terminus, see T. Vestergaard 2000, 81. Only four monuments in the present corpus clearly employ Roman names, **Cat. nos. 28, 39 bis, 50, and 63**.

There are a handful of basic difficulties in the narrower dating of works from the Imperial era. Inscriptions that typically supply solid chronological evidence are generally inadequate given the eclecticism of Imperial letter forms. Such variation in lettering is not generally helpful in dating, particularly as these changes are episodic and not strictly chronological.⁹² The placement of the inscription on arched naiskos stelai is, however, of general use. Until the end of the 2nd century CE, all Attic funerary inscriptions occurred in the epistyle or pediment above the relief field. After this time, a few inscriptions were incised under the relief field and, among some of the latest monuments, several inscriptions appear beside the head of the honorand.⁹³

While the lack of stratigraphy (or even certain provenance) leaves us without any archaeological basis for dating, prosopography at times actually obscures chronology. For example, some names inscribed on the stelai also appear in ephebic catalogs, but the generation-skipping tradition of naming among Athenians conceals which generation is indicated, i.e. the grandfather or his grandson.⁹⁴ To be sure, general technical trends are discernible: figures over time move from tall, elongated bodies to shorter, stockier forms;⁹⁵ irises with drill-holes do not appear until the middle of Hadrian's reign; the heavy use of the drill is typically post-Hadrianic. Beyond such technical markers, scholars have had to rely for the most part on stylistic analysis in order to develop a method of dating the monuments.⁹⁶ As with all stylistic studies, however, dating is subjective and thus one must accept published chronologies as tentative. The basic hooks

⁹² Mühsam 1952, 55. Further study of these letter forms might be possible but it would not likely be very helpful. See in particular the comments of Bradeen 1974, 2.

⁹³ Mühsam 1952, 57-58, 93.

⁹⁴ Mühsam 1952, 66.

⁹⁵ Mühsam 1952.

⁹⁶ See Riemann 1940; Mühsam 1952; Walters 1988; and Mook 1998.

for stylistic chronologies are broad and most often include: beard styles, hairstyles, the architectural form of the stele, and composition within the frame. As my chief concern is iconography, I will follow such functional guidelines in my own chronology.

Beards are not generally represented until the time of Hadrian. When present on adult male subjects accompanying a child, beards can provide a useful chronological context. Shorter groomed beards tend to be Hadrianic, while the longer, curled versions belong to the Antonine period.⁹⁷ Short beards accompanied by the closely-cropped hairstyle of the soldier are typical of Imperial portraits of the early 3rd century CE.⁹⁸ The lack of facial hair in the earlier Imperial periods does at times complicate the reading of funerary reliefs, as it is not always possible to distinguish between an idealized youthful portrait of an adult male and the depiction of a genuine youth. Bearing such possible exceptions in mind, one can generally assume that beardless adult males are pre-Hadrianic.

Male hairstyles also can provide dating clues. Closely-cropped, forward brushed bangs sans facial hair suggest the Julio-Claudian period. Sparing use of the drill and Hadrianic curls are routinely taken together as an indication of pre-Antonine date. Hair sculpted as a mass in short chisel strokes rather than rendered in individual strands is a Roman technique not seen in Attica until the second quarter through the end of the 3rd century.⁹⁹ When accompanied by clearly datable female hairstyles, such dates are further secured.

Greek women retained a certain conservatism in their hair styling throughout the Imperial period. The simple Greek style of hair parted in waves and gathered back above

⁹⁷ Mühsam 1952, 75; Zanker 1995, 217-220.

⁹⁸ Kleiner 1992, 361-376; Moock 1998, 45.

⁹⁹ Mühsam 1952, 77.

the ears is continually present particularly among representations of married women or maternal figures.¹⁰⁰ It is interesting to note, as an aside, that among the maiden monuments considered here, these styles reflect a general adherence to imperial trends. Depictions of bereaved women, however, tend to be more conservative. Among the earliest 1st century BCE reliefs with female subjects, hairstyles display this essential simplicity, featuring central parts and hair drawn in waves into a small bun above the neck. Augustan period hairstyles often imitate Livia's nodus-style, with a central braid running from the front of the brow to a knot bound at the base of the neck, while the Claudian era portraits feature a long bun bound deep or low on the neck and central parted waves, a style associated with the later portraits of Livia and those of Messalina and the two Agrippinas. In general, this style is retained through the Flavian period despite the honeycomb crown so prevalent among the Flavian portraits of Roman ladies. In these instances, dating depends on other stylistic features outlined below, such as composition and architectural form. Hair massed in a coil or braided coil at the very crown of the head is Hadrianic in date. This style, with a smaller, coiled braid moving slowly toward the back of the head, remains popular through the Antonine period.

The essential conservatism apparent in hairstyling is also seen in the prevalence of the particularly Attic naiskos stele throughout the Imperial period. The earliest production of stelai in Roman Attica begins with the simple shaft stele. This form disappears in the second half of the 1st century CE only to crop up again in the second half of the 2nd century.¹⁰¹ The frame stele, on the other hand, occurs in smaller numbers and is not at all in evidence during the early Imperial period. This form is dated for the

¹⁰⁰ Müsham 1952, 73; For the complete discussion of female hairstyles upon which I draw, see Müsham 1952, 71-73. See also Moock's very nuanced reading of female hairstyles: Moock 1998, 34-38.

¹⁰¹ Moock 1998, 52.

most part in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. The most prevalent form, the naiskos stele, is a direct revival of the Classical monuments with its earliest examples appearing in the 5th century BCE. The naiskos form is represented throughout the Imperial period. Many of the earliest naiskos stelai display an arch — a non-classicizing ornament likely imported from funerary stelai of Rhenia¹⁰² — that can be a helpful chronological marker. Among earlier monuments, there is a clear preference for higher arches.¹⁰³

Further, naiskos stelai of the 1st century CE also preserve a clear space between the arch and relief frame (e.g. **Cat. 36** or **Cat. 43**), while in later works, such space is omitted (e.g. **Cat 28** or **Cat. 37**). This latter variation is somewhat inconstant, however, reflecting periodic classicizing impulses (preferring clearly separated space) rather than a linear chronological development. Pediment shapes also provide some chronological clues, although these clues are again subject to the same dating difficulties. Steep gables are frequently Claudian, (e.g. **Cat. 31**) while the earliest stelai and highly classicizing Hadrianic monuments tend to feature flat tops (e.g. **Cat. 57**.) Yet, once more, such stylistic choices recur equally through the post-Hadrianic course of the 2nd century.¹⁰⁴ These features must be taken together with other indicators to arrive at a date.

The composition of subjects within these three forms is another such indicator. A general linear chronology can be discerned in the shift of figures from a profile to frontal stance. During the 2nd century CE, stelai depict pairs facing each other at increasingly wider angles; while the latest works display paired subjects in strict frontality.¹⁰⁵ Other compositional choices provide chronological markers. In the 1st century CE, most figures

¹⁰² Müsham 1952, 93, n.1.

¹⁰³ Müsham 1952, 93 -94; Moock 1998, 51.

¹⁰⁴ Müsham 1952, 94; Moock 1998, 51.

¹⁰⁵ Müsham 1952, 91.

are seated and in the 2nd century CE most stand. Earlier reliefs feature more broadly-spaced compositions, while later works of the Trajanic and Hadrianic era are increasingly compact, paralleling the snug arrangement of figures within panels of the Philopappos monument erected late in Trajan's reign.¹⁰⁶ Narrow and vertical compositions are characteristic of the Antonine period.¹⁰⁷

Finally, contemporary comparanda, like the Philopappos monument, supply a supplemental framework for securing the dates of a monument — though, at times, inferior artistry can make such comparisons difficult. Imperial portraiture is an important source for comparanda, particularly the Imperial sculpture of the Roman Peloponnese, most of which appears to have been produced by Attic sculptors.¹⁰⁸ For example, a hip-mantle motif¹⁰⁹ on a youth from the Piraeus Museum (**Cat. 57**) may perhaps represent a Hadrianic revival of the classicizing Jupiter portrait of Claudius at Olympia signed by the Athenian sculptors Hegias and Philathenaios.¹¹⁰ Likewise, a funerary statue of a Messenian youth in the guise of Diomedes, dated by an inscription to the 1st century CE, finds several parallels among the beardless ephebic honorands of the Attic funerary corpus, e.g. **Cat. 69**. Still, one must be aware that this motif — idealized nudity, accentuated by the artfully draped shoulder — is a long-lasting one. In such instances, other chronological markers can be adduced to support dates suggested by the comparanda.

¹⁰⁶ Walters 1988, 74, 75, 96.

¹⁰⁷ Walters 1988, 81.

¹⁰⁸ The Roman Peloponnese offers many direct comparanda as most of the signed sculptures are the work of Athenians. See Palagia 2010, 440-441.

¹⁰⁹ I will simply refer to the term Hüftmantel, standard coinage among Classical Art historians, as the hip-mantle type.

¹¹⁰ For another comparison see Riemann 1940, 57.

Sculptural Subjects

Of the extant stelai depicting children, 89.3% present boys or youths, while roughly 10.7% of the corpus includes girls. Although this record does attest to the elevated status of boys versus girls, this lopsided representation may, in part, be linked to my own elastic definition of childhood derived from the ritual phases of Attic childhood. It is important to note, at the outset, that our sources for most of these rituals are from Classical period. Thus, we can only conjecture that these rituals persisted in some form during the Imperial period. This hypothesis is supported by some epigraphic evidence citing specific coming of age rites. The Anthesterian festival, specifically the Choes of the second day, is referenced in the epitaph in **Cat. 12**.

Boys and girls followed different ritual curricula in ancient Athens.¹¹¹ Yet, regardless of gender, all formally accepted babies were welcomed into their household on the fifth or seventh day after birth with the *amphidromia*, a private ritual that entailed circling the family hearth. The *dekatē*, a naming rite that fell on the tenth day after birth, was a public celebration of the child's paternal acceptance. For those few children born into families of Roman citizenship, one must imagine that some variation of a naming rite highlighted their unique status with a bestowal of a Roman nomen.¹¹² First-born Athenian boys most likely received the name of their paternal grandfather, while the names of girls were most frequently feminine variations of the masculine.¹¹³ From these early days forward, the stages of Athenian childhood followed a path closely associated with the

¹¹¹ Jennifer Neils provides a synopsis of the many children's rituals. Rather than represent all of these here, I have offered a review of those rituals that appear to resonate with the funerary iconography of this study. See Neils 2003, 143-156. See also Golden's 1990 book on Classical Attic childhood, particularly Chapters One and Two..

¹¹² Names in the ephebic list from the time of Herodes Atticus reveal just how few Athenians possessed Roman citizenship, Day 1942, 246, n. 390.

¹¹³ Golden 1993, 24.

city's festal calendar. If a child failed to reach one of these phases, a parent would frequently incorporate features of that ritual in verse epitaphs or iconography, supplying in stone what the child had failed to gain in life. One example — a long, single lock of hair — appears recurrently on the stelai of the present study and has plausible links to initiation rites of Athenian male childhood.¹¹⁴ I will discuss such features at length in the ensuing chapters but will limit myself for now to a survey of the rituals demarcating the stages of Attic childhood.

For boys in the Classical period, there were two festal introductions into their phratries: the *meion* (at a very young age, between one and three) and the *koureion*, around the age of fourteen or fifteen. Despite some ambiguity about the etymology and meaning of these terms, the latter induction, the *koureion*, refers to the ritual offering of a lock of hair, and perhaps signified a transition from child to youth.¹¹⁵ By the Imperial period, however, it is not clear that these kin groups continued; the epigraphic record of the phratries ceases around 250 BCE.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, it is clear that the *genos*, a sub category of the phratry, did persist in Roman Athens.¹¹⁷ And one must conjecture particularly among the elites — who may have anachronistically construed the *genē* as aristocratic kin groups¹¹⁸ and for whom public prestige was central to the construction of their aristocratic identity— that rituals of induction likewise were maintained. Moreover, there is no doubt that Athens, like many other poleis of the Greek East, maintained its traditional local festivals under Rome and that these festal traditions reaffirmed civic

¹¹⁴ For my interpretation of this specific iconographic detail, see below, 87-88.

¹¹⁵ Lambert 1998, 161-164. Apparently, girls could on rare occasions be enrolled in the phratries. For a discussion of possible readings of *meion* in particular see, Lambert. 1998, 163-164 and Golden 1993, 27.

¹¹⁶ Lambert 1998, 274.

¹¹⁷ For several examples of inscriptions citing the *genē* in Augustan and Julio-Claudian Athens see Schmalz 2009.

¹¹⁸ Lambert argues that during the Classical era the *genos* did not remain aristocratic in character. See Lambert 1998, 59-74.

identity.¹¹⁹ It is likely that it was in such settings that Attic boys preserved a traditional, ritual procession through childhood.

By eighteen, the Athenian boy was formally registered in his family's deme, acquiring in that process full citizenship. In the Imperial era, if the youth's family was of means, he was in a position to join the ephebeia and his enrollment ensured his right to participate in the Athenian boule. Unlike its Classical precursor, the ephebeia of post-Sullan Athens did not require a period of military service along the frontiers. It was rather a "political" finishing school, a training ground for future politicians, or would-be politicians, of the elite.¹²⁰ Thus, the Imperial ephebeia was distinctly preparatory to manhood; while the Classical ephebeia — in which service a youth might die — was de facto the first phase of manhood.

Athenian girls followed a different ritual path to adulthood and their immaculate status as virgins opened up a greater range of cultic offices. These duties are summed up in the lines of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 641-647:

"I bore the holy vessels
At seven, then
I pounded barley
At the age of ten,
And clad in yellow robes,
Soon after this,
I was Little Bear to
Brauronian Artemis;
Then neckletted with figs,
Grown tall and pretty,
I was a Basket-bearer."¹²¹
(trans. Jack Lindsay)

¹¹⁹ On the role of festivals in the Greek East under Rome see Nijf 2001, 306-334.

¹²⁰ Geagan 1967, 80.

¹²¹ ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἡρρηφόρουν:/εἴτ' ἀλετρις ἢ δεκέτις οὔσα τὰρχηγέτι:/ κατ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίους:/κάκανηφόρουν ποτ' οὔσα παῖς καλὴ 'χουσ/'ισχάδων ὄρμαθόν.

Notably this list of ritual roles does not mirror a boy's recurrent public affiliation with his family through the initial *meion* induction, the secondary *koureion* and his final registration in the deme.¹²² And none of these ceremonies, seems to have functioned as a transition from one childhood stage to another. Instead, these rites appear solely preparatory for the work of managing a household.¹²³ Service to the gods thus primed young Attic girls for their singular ritual transition from childhood: marriage. In a farewell to the things of childhood, *epithalamia* were sung by virgin companions at the doors of the bridal chamber. In Theocritus' marriage song to Helen, these lyrics are melancholy and register the maiden's new status as a woman:¹²⁴

O bright, O beautiful, for thee
Are matron-cares begun.
We to green paths and blossomed
meads. With dawn of morn must run,
And cull a breathing chaplet;
And still our dream shall be,
Helen, of thee, as weanling lambs
Yearn in the pasture for the dams
That nursed their infancy.
(Trans. Calverley)

Milesians and other foreign residents of Athens

Several of the monuments within the Roman Attic corpus are dedicated to the children of Milesian immigrants. Celina Gray has already treated the broader topic of Milesian gravestones of the Imperial era and this is not the place to recapitulate her findings. It is perhaps sufficient to note that the markers of Milesian children, and likewise other ethnic groups, wholly appropriate the Athenian iconography and that the sole indication of non-

¹²² Pomeroy 1995, 119.

¹²³ See Golden 1993, 48 and Demand 1994, 111-112.

¹²⁴ ὦ καλὰ ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρα, τὸ μὲν οἰκέτις ἦδη./ ἄμμες δ' ἐς δρόμον ἦρι καὶ ἐς λειμώνια φύλλα/ ἐρπυῖδες στεφάνως δρεπόμεναι ἀδὺ πνέοντας./ οὐλὰ τεοῦς Ἑλένα μεμναμέναι ὡς γαλαθηναί/ ἄρνες γευναμέναις ὄϊος μαστὸν ποθέοισαι.

Attic origin is typically the simple epigraphic reference: Milesian.¹²⁵ The appearance of Milesians, the most numerous non-native residents of Athens, among other foreign residents underscores the cosmopolitanism of the Roman period in the Greek East.¹²⁶ And the success of these transplants is mirrored in the monuments themselves. Among the maiden markers within this corpus, for example, one of the Milesian girls was honored with the largest monument. The fact that Milesian girls account for one-half of the female funerary markers may simply be the accident of preservation or it may instead suggest something about the important role these girls played in integrating their own families into Attic society. Through intermarriage, foreigners gained access to Athenian family groups. The iconographic assimilation of these girls to their Athenian peers is perhaps a barometer of the status assigned to Athenian identity in the larger Empire.

Defining the Iconographic Sequence of Childhood

The following tables lay out the ritual sequence for male and female childhood and accompanying iconography that defines associated ages.¹²⁷ As the iconography of the deceased is often aspirational — mourning the loss of what might have been — there is naturally some slippage between the actual age of the deceased and iconographic markers of each stage. In these instances, the rendering of the body (venus rings at the neck, nudity, dimpled elbows and horus locks) may help to clarify the general age of the honorand. Still, many markers were pre-fabricated and at times parents must have selected a monument on the basis of its appeal to their own value system rather than on the basis of strict age-accuracy. Bearing this in mind, it is important to acknowledge that

¹²⁵ Milesian monuments: Cat nos. 2, 4, 5, 9, 27, 30, 36, 39, 40, 42-44, 47, 59, 60, 66, 79.

¹²⁶ Vestergaard 2000, 81-110.

¹²⁷ For an overview of the varied ancient literary descriptions of childhood and its stages, see Golden 1993, 1-22. On the iconographic stages of Classical Athenian childhood see, Beaumont 1994, 81-96.

the actual age of the deceased, unless stated in the epitaph, cannot be asserted with absolute certainty.

Male	Ritual/Social Marker	Age Range	Types of Attributes
Infancy	Amphidromia; Dekatē	0-2	Nudity; Ball; Bird; Long or Braided hair.
Toddler	Apatouria; Meion	2-4	Nudity; Ball; Bird; Basket; Fruit; Long or Braided hair.
Preadolescent	Educations begins outside the home	6-14	Long himation; Scroll; Horus or Ritual Hair Lock; Dog; Ball; Incipient Musculature.
Youth and Ephebe	Koreion; Enrollment in deme.	14-21	Musculature; Ephebic Chlamys; Long himation; Hip-mantle drapery; Nude athlete; Short hair.

Female	Ritual/Social Marker	Age Range	Types of Attributes
Infancy	Amphidromia; Dekatē	0-2	NA
Toddler	Apatouria	2-4	NA
Preadolescent	Arrephoroi Aletrides Arktoi	7 10 10-14	Nuptial attire; Undeveloped body; Bird and/or Ball.

Maiden	Kanephoroi Epithalamion marks the end of virginity.	13-14	Nuptial attire; Developed body; Fertility motifs; Bird; Grapes.
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The basic categories of subject are broken down as follows: deceased boys versus deceased girls and adolescent versus infant or child. In the instance of family groups, where it is difficult to distinguish deceased from bereaved, the reliefs will simply be hypothetically annotated as a “family group: deceased.” The categorization of the child as the deceased within such compositions will be supported by attendant iconographic features. As the girls are a smaller group, I will begin with a tabular outline of their depictions, lest they be construed as merely an addendum to the more numerous male representations.

The following table includes my catalog number for each monument. All references to bibliography can be found in each catalog listing. The second item is the age-category of the deceased. Among the girls, there are two categories: prepubescent and maiden. A third category, status, simply describes the functional role of the child within a given relief. With the exception of the family groups, all the representations are of the deceased. Finally, the form and height fields offer the reader a finger-tip guide to the type and scale of the monuments.

Catalog #	Age	Status	Form	Height
Cat. 1	Prepubescent	Deceased	Naiskos with pediment and acroteria	H: 0.96 m

Cat. 2	Prepubescent	Deceased	Pyramidal column; Broken at top.	pH: 0.64 m
Cat. 3	Prepubescent	Family group:deceased	Variant of naiskos with semi- circle architrave	H: 1.37 m
Cat. 4	Maiden	Deceased	Shaft with pediment, arched niche and spandrels.	H: 1.43 m
Cat. 5	Maiden	Deceased	Kioniskos with arched niche and spandrels.	H: 0.86 m
Cat. 6	Maiden	Deceased	Naiskos, upper half broken.	pH: 0.57m
Cat. 7	Maiden	Deceased	Naiskos built from a marble lekythos	H: 0.51 m
Cat. 8	Maiden	Deceased	Fragment	pH: 0.19 m
*Cat. 9	Maiden	Deceased	Kioniskos with arched niche and spandrels. Broken at top.	pH: 0.88 m

* This monument I was unable to visit in person and so I rely on the catalogs of Conze and Moock for descriptions and measurements.

Not one of the monuments dedicated to girls depicts an infant, the gender of whom is made clear by nudity. To be sure, this number is small among the boys but the total absence of baby girls neatly underscores a well-established gender preference. This preference is also perhaps underlined by the singular depiction of a family group wherein the girl is the memorialized deceased (**Cat. 3**). While these monuments themselves display a range of architectural types, much of their accompanying iconography is

uniform and highlights the status of these young women as eligible brides. The meanings of such iconographic choices will be explored further in the chapter that follows.

The depictions of boys among the Imperial stelai are more varied and, unsurprisingly, several of these are truly monumental, e.g. **Cat. 54** and **Cat. 57**. The majority of the male corpus depict the counterpart of the maiden: the idealized youth or ephebe. Only two of these subjects are represented fully nude (**Cat. nos. 54** and **55**) and almost all the others wear a low-slung mantle about the hips or the shoulder-draped chlamys. The low-slung or hip-mantle type, while often considered a Roman creation, actually originates in Greek art and can be seen on vases of the 4th century CE. This draping was most typically associated with older bearded deities such as Poseidon but there are some Hellenistic depictions of un-bearded heroes of the hip-mantle type¹²⁸ Variations of this hip-mantle type, featuring drapery only about the hips, may suggest a younger person, while the fuller version draped over the back and shoulder might represent an older male.¹²⁹ Again, this possible age distinction will be explored further in the following iconographic analysis. The other distinctively ephebic garment, the chlamys, is most often depicted as a pouch draped over the proper left shoulder and was considered a distinctly military garment from the Classical era onward.¹³⁰ Thus, though military service was no longer a function of the Imperial ephebeia, the mantle perpetuated a Classical association and at once conveyed the uniquely elite status of the memorialized Imperial ephebe who had the leisure to participate in a society no longer requisite for citizenship.

¹²⁸ Hallet 2005, 123.

¹²⁹ Ridgway 2006, review of Hallet 2005.

¹³⁰ On the military associations of the chlamys and in particular its associations with Classical portraits of Athenian generals, see Dillon 2006, 109.

In six other reliefs, distinctly younger boys also appear in the chlamys. Often they hold a ball or bird (or both) — perhaps to distinguish them from the true ephebes — and to signify that they are still younger children. This group is complemented by 13 other depictions of fully nude boys. Most of these subjects are represented simultaneously with many attributes of childhood and the incipient musculature of maturity. It is these boys on the cusp of pubescence that in many ways offer the clearest aspirational — if not physical — parallels for the maiden monuments. Unlike these liminal figures, ten¹³¹ other nudes are dedicated to toddlers or infants, who appear on the pyramidal column, kioniskos, or in a few instances, a gabled naiskos stele. The physique of their round bodies clearly conveys a very young age.

Another major category among male representations is the long-mantle type, featuring a himation that encases the body and a right arm bound in a sling-like fold of drapery. This type originates in the 4th century BCE and persists in a Hellenized form into late Antique and Christian art. One of the most common attributes of these figures is the book scroll which, together with the mantle, is clearly deployed to assert a cultivated status, an iconographic assessment that will be explored in the fourth chapter. Most of these youths and boys appear on gabled naiskos stelai and in slightly smaller numbers on shaft stelai. Only one is represented on a kioniskos. The following table outlines the essential categories of the male corpus. The same data that was included for the girls' monuments have been applied.

Catalog #	Age	Status	Form	Height
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¹³¹ **Cat. 21** is identified as a 15 month old despite the older age of the figure described by Moock 1998, 113, no. 157.

*Cat. 10	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	H: 0.70m
Cat. 11	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Pyramid form.	pH: 0.23m
Cat. 12	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	pH: 0.31m
Cat. 13	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	H: 0.64m
Cat. 14	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Kioniskos	pH: 0.35m
Cat. 15	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Pyramid form	H: 0.78m
*Cat. 16	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Pyramid form	pH: 0.30m
*Cat. 17	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Pyramid form	pH: 0.32m
*Cat. 18	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	Pyramid	H: 0.52m
*Cat. 19	Infant/Toddler	Deceased	NA	H:0.97
*Cat.20	Infant	Family Group: Deceased	Fragment	pH: 0.55m
*Cat. 21	Prepubescent	Deceased	NA	p.H.: 0.31m
*Cat. 22	Infant or prepubescent	Family Group: Deceased	Naiskos fragment	pH: 0.49m
Cat. 23	Prepubescent	Deceased	Naiskos	pH: 0.79m
*Cat. 24	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	H: 0.68m
*Cat. 25	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	H: 1.13m

*Cat. 26	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	H: 1.41 m
*Cat. 27	Prepubescent scan	Deceased	Shaft stele	H: 1.0 m
Cat. 28	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. spandrel w. arched niche and free akroteria	H: 0.88m
Cat. 29	Prepubescent	Deceased	Kioniskos	pH:0.52m
*Cat. 30	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled naiskos with akroteria	H: 1.09 m
Cat. 31	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled naiskos with akroteria	H:1.7m
Cat. 32	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled frame stele w. akroteria	H: 1.28m
*Cat. 33	Prepubescent	Family Group: Deceased	Gabled naiskos with akroteria	H: 1.05m
Cat. 34	Youth	Deceased		H: 1.24m
*Cat. 35	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. arched niche and relief akroteria	H: 0.61m
*Cat. 36	Prepubescent/Youth	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. arched niche and free akroteria	H: 0.97m
*Cat. 37	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. arched niche w. spandrels and free akroteria	H: 1.02m
*Cat. 38	Prepubescent	Family Group: Deceased	Naiskos	H: 1.04m
Cat. 39	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. niche and free akroteria	H: 1.23
*Cat. 39 bis	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. niche and free akroteria	H: 1.06m

Cat. 40	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft stele with relief akroteria.	p.H: 0.46m.
Cat. 41	Prepubescent	Deceased	Kioniskos	H: 0.76m
Cat. 42	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w relief akroteria	H:1.03m
*Cat. 43	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. arched niche and akroteria	H: 0.72m
Cat. 44	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. niche and relief akroteria	H: 0.86m
*Cat. 45	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. w. arched niche and free akroteria	H: 0.98m
Cat. 46	Youth	Deceased	Shaft w. niche and relief akroteria	H: 0.59m
*Cat. 47	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. niche and free akroteria	H: 0.70m
*Cat. 48	Prepubescent/Youth	Deceased	Naiskos	pH:1.0 m
*Cat. 49	Youth	Deceased	Naiskos with free akroteria	pH: 0.80m
Cat. 50	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	pH: 0.88m
Cat. 51	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. niche and free akroteria	H: 0.71m
Cat. 52	Youth	Deceased	Gabled shaft w akroteria	H: 0.69m
Cat. 53	Youth	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	H: 1.43m
Cat. 54	Youth	Deceased	Worked out of a kioniskos	pH: 1.38m
*Cat. 55	Youth	Deceased	Unknown form	pH: 0.88m

*Cat. 56	Youth	Deceased	Naiskos stele	pH: 0.95m
Cat. 57	Youth	Deceased	Naiskos with five antefixes	H: 1.28m
Cat. 58	Youth	Family Group: Deceased	Naiskos	H: 1.30m
Cat. 59	Youth	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. arched niche and spandrels	pH: 1.79m
Cat. 60	Youth	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. naiskos and relief field	H: 0.76m
*Cat. 61	Youth/Ephebe	Deceased	Naiskos	pH: 0.62m
Cat. 62	Youth?	Deceased	Naiskos	pH: 0.66m
Cat. 63	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. niche and free akroteria	H: 0.99m
*Cat. 64	Youth/Ephebe	Deceased	Gabled shaft	H: 1.15m
*Cat 65	Youth	Deceased	Kioniskos with arch niche	H: 1.07m
*Cat. 66	Prepubescent/Youth	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. akroteria, arched niche and spandrels	H: 1.28 m
*Cat. 67	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. arched niche and spandrels	pH: 0.53m
Cat. 68	Ephebe	Deceased	Naiskos	pH: 0.69m
*Cat. 69	Ephebe	Deceased	Naiskos	H:1.79
Cat. 70	Prepubescent	Family Group: Deceased	Gabled naiskos	H: 0.89m

*Cat. 71	Ephebe	Deceased	Gabled niche w. free akroteria	H: 1.07m
*Cat. 72	Ephebe (?)	Deceased	Naiskos Fragmentary	pH:0.49m
*Cat. 73	Youth/Ephebe	Deceased	Naiskos	pH: 0.60m
Cat. 74	Youth	Family Group: Deceased	Naiskos fragmentary	pH: 0.51m
*Cat. 75	Prepubescent	Deceased	Shaft	H: 0.97m
*Cat. 76	Prepubescent or youth	Deceased	Shaft	pH: 0.58 m
*Cat. 77	Prepubescent or youth?	Deceased	Naiskos	pH: 0.19m
Cat. 78	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled shaft w. arched niche and free akroteria	pH: 0.48m
Cat. 79	Youth?	Deceased	Fragment	pH: 0..22m
Cat. 80	Prepubescent/Youth?	Deceased	Shaft	pH: 0.49m
Cat. 81	Prepubescent/Youth?	Deceased	Shaft w. niche	pH: 0.24m
Cat 82	Youth	Deceased	Naiskos	H: 0.45m
Cat. 83	Prepubescent	Deceased	Gabled naiskos w. akroteria	pH: 0.54m

* As I did not see these monuments in person, I rely once more on the catalogs of Conze 1911-1922 IV and Moock 1998.

Chapter Three

The Iconography of the Deceased Female Child: Maiden Monuments

This and the ensuing chapter offer an iconographic study of representations of child honorands on the gravestones of Imperial Attica. My analysis is organized around an historical review of symbolic motifs and an exploration of the cultural ideas embedded in those motifs. This approach, adhering to an iconological methodology, presents a detailed empirical description of the reliefs, identifies the basic meanings inherent in the images and finally interprets the symbolism of these images in the context of Imperial Athens as cultural capital of the Roman East.

I begin with an analysis of the maiden honorands, only nine of whom have been preserved from the Imperial Period: **catalog nos. 1-9**.¹³² I will examine how these monuments simultaneously celebrate and mourn the loss of future brides with reproductive potential and, among non-citizens, the loss of a living social currency by which foreign families could forge alliances with the ruling Athenian elite. I will argue that the characterization of this bridal iconography is mirrored in several contemporary literary sources including Plutarch and the ancient Greek novelists, Achilles Tatius and Chariton. These sources represent and/or advocate eroticized marriage in which the bride is idealized as at once innocent and sexually charged. This new ideal is reflected among the maiden monuments that mourn the loss of the potential bride particularly, *inter alia*, through iconographic allusions to Aphrodite.

¹³² **Catalog 9** is in a private collection and, given its fragmentary status and lack of illustration, it is confined to the catalog.

Literary Background

Writing at the turn of the second century, Plutarch produced a dialogue, the *Erōtikos*, that proposed the possibility of mutual erotic love in the context of a monogamous marriage. While his narrative specifically treats adult female desire, Plutarch also offers a general redefinition of heterosexual marriage in which the nuptial iconography of the maiden honorands of the present study participates. Thus, Plutarch's literary construction of marriage between adults remains relevant to our corpus of would-be brides. In his praise of a reciprocal sexual love, Plutarch argued that the consummation of erotic pleasure within marriage produced a partnership that preserved a man's ability to remain virtuous and sexual. In Plutarch's view, this containment of erotic sexuality explicitly upheld social order.¹³³ The wife charmed and the husband, in turn, would teach his bride. From the outset, this paradigm necessarily devolved on the sexual persuasiveness of the bride.

Plutarch's emphasis on the positive influence of desire is mirrored materially in the prevalence of Aphrodite statuettes at this time. She was perhaps the most popular figurine-type of the Imperial period, produced in clay, bronze and stone throughout the Imperial world.¹³⁴ Aphrodite's currency is further attested by the heroines of contemporary romantic novels, who were at times constructed in the explicit image of the goddess. In exploring the representation of the maiden heroines of the ancient Greek novel, Simon Goldhill argues that the *Erōtikos* provides a philosophical theory "put into practice" in the ancient novel and defines the erotic portraits of the virgin heroine.¹³⁵

¹³³ Cooper 1996, 5-7.

¹³⁴ Grangdjouan 1961, 7.

¹³⁵ Goldhill 1995, 144.

An excellent example of this portraiture can be found at the very opening of Chariton's novel *Chaerea and Callirhoe*, tentatively dated to the mid 1st century CE.¹³⁶ In his narrative, which begins (appropriately) at a public festival for Aphrodite, Chariton compares his heroine's beauty to that of the Aphrodite παρθένος,¹³⁷ an analogy meant to underscore the girl's contradicting qualities of chastity and erotic appeal. This analogy is carried throughout the narrative and reaches its apogee in a passage that consciously evokes the marble Knidia (*De Chaerea et Callirhoe* 2.2):

They went in, rubbed her with oil and wiped it off carefully; when she undressed they were even more awestruck — indeed, although when she was clothed they admired her face as divinely beautiful, when they saw what her clothes covered, her face went quite out of their thoughts. Her skin gleamed white, sparkling just like some shining substance.
(trans. B.P. Reardon)¹³⁸

Despite such a complete exposure, the impression of Callirhoe's chastity is never tarnished: no iteration of Aphrodite, a divinity, can be deemed vulgar and the titillating bath scene is, in fact, preparatory to marriage. To be sure, the reader of this passage participates in a species of voyeurism, yet this "peeping" transpires and is recorded through the eyes of the attendant maids, who are themselves women.¹³⁹ Through such a device, Callirhoe is at once able to seduce and retain her innocence.

As Kate Cooper argues, fictional maidens of the ancient novel are routinely evoked in erotically loaded terms and it is their sexual persuasion that serves to locate the novels socially. The erotic depiction of young heroines is intended to ensnare the male

¹³⁶ Reardon 2008, 5.

¹³⁷ Chariton, *De Chaerea et Callirhoe* 1.1.7.

¹³⁸ Εἰσελθοῦσαν δὲ ἡλειψάν τε καὶ ἀπέσμηξαν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἀποδυσσαμένης κατεπλάγησαν: ὥστε ἐνδεδυμένης αὐτῆς θαυμάζουσαι τὸ πρόσωπον θεῖον πρόσωπον ἔδοξαν ἰδοῦσαι: ὁ χρῶς γὰρ λευκὸς ἔστιλβεν εὐθὺς μαρμαρυγῇ τινι ὅμοιον ἀπολάμπων.

¹³⁹ Egger 1994, 38.

reader and just as the active desire/objectified allure of the girl is resolved in marriage, so too the reader himself is implicated in the “renewal of...social order” through marriage.¹⁴⁰ Achilles Tatius offers an example of such erotic postponement in the fourth book of his novel *Leucippe and Clitophon* when the young hero seeks to consummate his desires prior to marriage.¹⁴¹ In line with the Plutarchan nuptial ideal, the writer gives his protagonist heroine, Leucippe, many reasons to demur — all in the interest of narrative postponement and the promotion of erotic resolution in marriage. Bearing such literary constructions of virginity in mind, and its articulation along opposing poles of innocence and desire, I turn to examine the Imperial period stelai dedicated to Attic girls. It is this positive promotion of female and, ultimately conjugal, sexuality that underpins my own iconographic analysis of the monuments and colors the conflation of marriage and death in the funerary iconography of Imperial Attic maidens.

Before turning to this examination, it may be worthwhile to offer a brief account of the marriage-rite-in-death motif, in which iconography, I will argue, these maiden reliefs participate. Allusions to Aphrodite and more explicit erotic motifs will be seen to grant to these girls a sexual maturity, despite their status as *parthenoi*, that is justified by nuptial iconography. This construction engages an enduring association of marriage and death in the Greek artistic imagination. In the sculptural realm, Mary Stieber has interpreted the Archaic statue of the maiden, Phrasikleia, not in light of her famous epigraph, “forever kore,” but rather as an eternal bride in death.¹⁴² Ancient plays have

¹⁴⁰ Cooper 1996, 31.

¹⁴¹ *Leucippe and Clitophon* 4.1.2-3. “‘How are we to be deprived of Aphrodite’s rites?’... ‘Do you take no account of all our mishaps and adventures, shipwrecks, bandits, sacrifices and murders! While we are now in Fortune’s calm, let us make good use of our opportunity, before some other cruel fate impedes us.’ ” Trans. S. Gaselee 1917, Achilles Tatius.

¹⁴² Stieber 2004, 167.

also presented this analogy, perhaps most famously in Sophocles' *Antigone*. In the play, the girl bewails her tomb as her marriage,¹⁴³ while a despotic Kreon orders her locked up forever in the embrace of her tomb.¹⁴⁴ This theme is likewise represented on many white ground lekythoi with scenes of Hermes guiding the deceased into Hades.¹⁴⁵ Most often the god is depicted leading the maiden by her wrist, the very mode by which a bridegroom is represented leading his bride into her new home. It is this enduring tradition that the Imperial period monuments considered here evoke. Yet, as I will argue, the reception of this theme and the meanings attached to the loss of a potential bride are shaded by the distinct context of Imperial period Athens.

Maiden Honorands: On Shoulders, Birds and Cosmopolitan Brides

An Attic naiskos stele (**Cat. 1**) dedicated to Ολυμπίας χρηστή — worthy Olympias — stands among the many sculptural monuments in the Roman galleries of the National Museum. Its generally fine condition, depth of relief and highly polished surface perhaps preserved it from exile among the many other Roman period stelai consigned to the magazines below, for it is not, in truth, a work of remarkable sculptural technique. Calling to mind the iconography of the 5th century Parian girl with doves (Fig. 4)¹⁴⁶, the Olympias stele falls well short of the technical skill and emotional tenor expressed by its Classical predecessor. Still, the later relief is arresting in its own right. It serves as a useful introduction to a programmatic imagery used to memorialize the deceased daughters of elite Athenians and the city's wealthy residents.

¹⁴³ *Antigone* 891

¹⁴⁴ *Antigone* 885.

¹⁴⁵ Such a scene can be seen, for instance, on an Attic white-ground lekythos, dated to ca. 450 BC, from Munich in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2797. See Oakley 2004, 142, figs.104-105.

¹⁴⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum, accession number 27.45. See Neer 2010, 202, fig. 132.

The Olympias monument, set out along the cemetery-lined entries to Athens,¹⁴⁷ not only commemorated a private loss but also a public one. Members of the city's elite, who regularly undertook major civic benefactions, helped to perpetuate the cultural glory of Greek cities in the Roman East through festivals and athletic competitions. As Athens stood at the heart of this culture, the loss of an elite girl, whose fertility and future progeny would have produced a new generation of *euergetai*, had larger implications for the polis itself. Details of Olympias' dress and hair augment this calculated evocation of social status and invite reconsideration of Roman-Attic feminine identity, projected as sculptural eulogy onto a girl who would never reach adulthood.

Olympias is depicted as a plump, chubby-fingered child. Standing in a snug vertical composition at the center of a naiskos stele, she wears bracelets on both wrists and her hair, bound up in a high-coiled bun, is drawn back in a melon-coiffure typical of the early to mid-second century CE.¹⁴⁸ She holds in her arms a pet dove, among the most common attributes of childhood in funerary iconography. And the long overfold of her garment, hanging almost to mid-thigh, highlights her childish stature. She has many years to grow until this fold falls just beneath her waist. Her head too seems proportionally large for her body. Despite such clear markers of childish stature, the right strap of Olympias' chiton slips down to reveal a bare, rounded shoulder. The exposure is striking — and to the modern eye, even jarring — as it seemingly invites an erotic gaze.

The sexualization of male minority is not unusual in Greek art. Many sympotic vases depict young boys in erotic contexts and at least from the Archaic period forward,

¹⁴⁷ For discussion of Attic cemeteries of the Imperial period please see the first chapter.

¹⁴⁸ Grandjouan 1961, 15. Grandjouan's study of Roman-period terracottas supplements Müsham's chronology of hairstyles and provides one set of Attic comparanda for the dating of female subjects based particularly upon hairstyles.

the abduction of Ganymede was a standard motif. Still, the public exhibition of an eroticized, prepubescent female child is striking. In ancient Greek society, as female chastity functioned as a barometer of male honor, the public exposure of a woman — much less a child — to a sexual gaze seems hardly the stuff of sculptural encomium.

Given this attitude, it is important to explore Olympias' erotic exposure and to ask what this motif may have signified to the viewer. Several iconographic precedents may clarify our reading of this monument and its conflicting themes of innocence and sexuality. Likewise, idealization of erotic love in marriage provides a cultural backdrop for our interpretation and clarifies the elite, educated reception of this imagery.¹⁴⁹ The Olympias stele, capturing a tension between innocence and sexuality that recurs on works dedicated to Attic girls of the Imperial period, opens my analysis of this category.

Iconographic Antecedents

An exposed mortal breast is the traditional indicator of female vulnerability in Greek art.¹⁵⁰ In many cases, such divestment — where garments have been torn off — is simply shorthand for rape.¹⁵¹ The slipping drapery of the Olympias monument, however, while it surely suggests eroticism and invites a kind of voyeurism, does not suggest anything of rape. Rather, it conveys prospective sexual maturity. The drapery, sliding down a childish shoulder, eulogizes potential and the partial exposure is rendered decent by

¹⁴⁹ A great deal has been written concerning the readership of the ancient Greek novel. For proponents of an educated audience, see Bowie 1994, 1996; Stephens, 1994. While this dissertation is not the place for an excursus into the “popular” contra “elite” readership debate, it will suffice to say that in making my arguments, I accept Reardon's contention that the novels had an educated elite readership on whom sophisticated, canonical references would not be lost. See Reardon 2008, xiii.

¹⁵⁰ On interpretations of the exposed female breast, Cohen 2010, 236; Cohen 1997, 72 and on female nudity more generally see, Havelock 1995, 32-37

¹⁵¹ This metaphor first appears in sculpture in the centauremachy on the western pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia: a virgin is seized by a centaur and her peplos, unfastened at the shoulder, falls to reveal her breast. This iconography, repeated on the Parthenon South metope XXIX and the frieze of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae, is perpetuated well into the Imperial period by many copies of these Classical precedents. Notable examples appear on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius.

accompanying, nuptial iconography: Olympias, the child, surely would have been an object of desire and this desire would have inspired a man to the marriage intimated by her braceleted arms, smooth, booted feet and high-coiled hair. Through this iconography, Olympias is granted a status that clarifies the tension between mature eroticism and childish simplicity.

The artistic provenance for this visual message, specifically as it is applied to a child, is difficult to identify neatly. Among depictions of young girls, an open-sided peplos, as seen on the Paros stele, might be construed as an erotic marker (Fig. 4). And, certainly, shared features of the lowered head and the affectionate embrace of a bird invite comparison between Olympias and her Classical precursor. Still, the open-sided peplos has often been interpreted as a simple marker of child status, much like a long overfold, to which modern conceptions of modesty cannot be anachronistically applied.¹⁵² And, further, several scholars have argued that another well-known depiction of a child with an open peplos, the *peplophoros* of the Parthenon's East frieze, is a boy.¹⁵³ The uncertainty concerning the gender of the Parthenon *peplophoros* simply clarifies the un-pinned peplos as a gender-neutral sign of age.

A few Roman copies of Hellenistic sculptures of young girls offer more direct comparison with the slipped-drapery motif of Olympias. The first of these, a Roman copy of an original dated to ca. 220-240 BCE, represents a young girl clutching a dove to her breast as she twists to keep a snake from her pet (Fig. 5).¹⁵⁴ The threatening snake, according to Hilde Rühfel, was a later Roman addition that dramatizes the scene and

¹⁵² On the use of open-sided peploi for girls, see Harrison 1984, 298; See also Boardman 1991, 119-21.

¹⁵³ Dillon argues that the child is a boy, see Dillon 2000, 476.

¹⁵⁴ Jones 1912, pl. 87, no. 9; Rühfel 1984, 252.

justifies the twisting composition.¹⁵⁵ Contrary to this Roman invention, it is more likely that the torsion of the young girl's body and the backward turn of her head are drawn from the paradigm of lost statues of dancers created in the Hellenistic workshops of Asia minor. Rühfel reads the exposure of the girl's shoulder as a distinct marker of the careless, twisting motion of the child¹⁵⁶ and this same interpretation may be applied to the second work considered here: the young girl playing knuckle-bones (Fig. 6). This sculpture, also a Roman copy of a Greek original dated to the 3rd century BCE,¹⁵⁷ is certainly less animated than the former, but the Hellenistic composition still captures movement. This feature —the impression of an interrupted action — illustrates the most immediate difference between these and the statue of little Olympias. While the Hellenistic compositions convey motion, Olympias is static and frontal. This contextual distinction has direct bearing on the symbolic value of the slipping drapery as it appears in the respective works. In the Hellenistic iterations, the disturbance of the garment, and indeed even the upturned hem of the earlier Paros girl embracing her bird,¹⁵⁸ all express play as an intrinsic feature of childhood, while in the case of Olympias, the fixed composition suggests that the slipped-drapery signals something quite different.

Among representations of mature females, two Classical Greek precedents (and their successors) plausibly inform the use of the slipping-drapery motif as it appears on the Olympias stele: the Artemis of the Parthenon's East frieze and the Parthenon's pedimental Aphrodite. The slipping chiton of Artemis (Fig. 7)¹⁵⁹ reveals a lovely left shoulder and, as in the Olympias stele, this exposure highlights a tension between the

¹⁵⁵ Rühfel 1984, 249-252.

¹⁵⁶ Rühfel 1984, 254.

¹⁵⁷ Stradonitz 1906, 295, no. 494; Rühfel 1984, 249.

¹⁵⁸ Richter 1927, 102.

¹⁵⁹ Boardman 1985, 108, no.96.17.

goddess's perpetual virginity and her sexual potential. Beyond the apparent corollary of the drapery motif, Artemis was also uniquely associated with young Attic girls through the Arkteia, initiation rites held in her honour at Brauron and Mounychia. According to the Suda, no παρθένος could marry without playing the sacrificial bear for Artemis.¹⁶⁰ Whether or not playing this role was in fact prerequisite to marriage, the ritual was seen as a central transition from girlhood to puberty and those girls on the verge of menarche apparently performed in the nude. In the context of a prenuptial rite, nudity allowed for the display of developing sexuality and revealed young bodies as legitimate objects of desire.¹⁶¹ This ritually sanctioned nudity and the explicit precedent of Artemis herself may clarify the slipped-chiton motif as it appears on the Olympias stele. Still, among the many artistic depictions of Artemis and among later assimilations of young girls to the goddess, the most prevalent iconographic theme is that of the huntress. The goddess is most often depicted in a short chiton with an exposed shoulder and breast and this significant material record weakens the iconographic association of Olympias with Artemis.

A more likely precursor, and one that appears more in line with other iconographic features of the Olympias relief, is the Parthenon Aphrodite. Once again, the Classical sculpture clearly conveys erotic possibility. A slipping chiton reveals a voluptuous shoulder, while clinging drapery swirls and gathers artfully at the groin (Fig. 9).¹⁶² Just as Artemis the huntress recurs with her quiver, the slipping drapery of Aphrodite occurs on clothed representations of the goddess throughout the Classical,

¹⁶⁰ Suda (a 3958 = i. 361. 4 Adler) s.v. "Arktos he Brauroniois;" Dillon contends that initiatory rites in honor of Artemis likely took place closer to home as indicated by the *krateriskoi* uncovered at other Artemis sanctuaries. Dillon 1997, 202.,

¹⁶¹ Goff 2004, 109.

¹⁶² Boardman 1985, 102-103, no. 80.3.

Hellenistic and Imperial periods.¹⁶³ Indeed, the pitiless (almost brutal) effect of the famous Hellenistic statue, the Drunken Old Woman, hinges upon the shocking perversion of a well-established iconographic formula so widely associated with Aphrodite and her sexual charms (Fig. 10).¹⁶⁴ With the slipping of the drapery from her small right shoulder, Olympias also quotes the Parthenon Aphrodite's androcentric iconography of potential sex. And while this quotation is hardly as alarming as that of the drunken hag, the work produces a correspondingly striking effect through its unusual use of a traditional motif: the Classical shorthand for sexy ascribed to a small girl. Among private monuments dedicated to girls, antecedents for this explicit quotation are decidedly hard to find.

Classical funerary iconography of female child honorands does not directly assimilate child mortals to Aphrodite or other goddesses. And, while there is idealization of physiognomy, these girls most often appear in the simple context of daily life. Moreover, after the Phalerian sumptuary prohibitions of 317-307 BCE¹⁶⁵ until the 1st century CE, there were no funerary reliefs erected to provide new inspiration for funerary iconography. Instead, in the intervening centuries, most female portraits likely appeared in votive contexts. And it is here that one might look for a continuation of the Parthenon motif. Even among adult women, however, this iconography is elusive. Most Hellenistic portrait statues represent women completely draped and only rarely do some Hellenistic portraits deploy divinizing attributes. The adoption of a divine costume, whether in hairstyle or in features of dress, is typically tied to Roman portraiture.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Perry 2005, 127; Romano 2006, 49. See *LIMC* II, Aphrodite: nos. 157, 159, 177, 196, 204, 255, 344.

¹⁶⁴ Munich Glyptothek, accession number 437. Zanker 1989, 41-42. Ridgway 1990, 337, pl. 174.

¹⁶⁵ See Introduction, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Dillon 2010, 5.

Assimilations to divine iconography had of course been a feature of propagandizing Hellenistic ruler cults from the time of Alexander. Countless Hellenistic queens, who were themselves the recipients of cult worship, had assumed Aphrodite's guise in their portrait statuary.¹⁶⁷ Yet, as Sheila Dillon writes, outside of Ptolemaic Egypt, it is unclear how many such portraits were set up much less used as models by local elites.¹⁶⁸ Later, when Rome appropriated these provincial ruler cults, the prototypes for honorific cult statuary originated in Rome and these models were sent out for local reproductions. As with the divinized Roman emperor, an array of female goddesses was deployed throughout the Roman world to celebrate the status of the empress as a "new Aphrodite, Hera or Hestia."¹⁶⁹ It is at this time that the adoption of divine costumes in the portraiture of a mortal women regularly begin to occur.¹⁷⁰

The Empress Livia, Ovid's *femina princeps*, was the first Roman woman to be celebrated explicitly as Venus Genetrix.¹⁷¹ The perpetuation of imperial bloodlines was an empress's essential function and, from Livia onward, women of the imperial household were frequently assimilated to Venus, a befitting divine proponent of procreation. Drapery slippage at the shoulder was an essential feature of this iconography. Margaret Bieber argues that, in sculpture, when drapery slips from the shoulder of an empress, whether the breast is bared or covered, Venus Genetrix is indicated. Statues of Sabina, roughly contemporary with the Olympias relief, make

¹⁶⁷ They were so successful in this adaptation that at times it was unclear to the viewer just whom the statue represented a mortal queen or the goddess herself. As evidenced in the Hellenistic epigram by Asclepiades or Posidippus, *AP* 16.68: "This is the portrait of the Cypris — Come on: let's make sure it isn't Berenike's: I am of two minds as to which of the two one should say it is more like." See Dillon 2010, 122.

¹⁶⁸ Dillon 2010, 4.

¹⁶⁹ Zanker 1990, 299-300.

¹⁷⁰ Dillon 2010, 82.

¹⁷¹ E.g. Ovid *Fasti* 1.649-650 : hanc tua constituit genetrix et rebus et ara, sola toro magni digna reperta Iovis. This your genetrix did by deeds and by an altar, she alone found worthy of the bed of illustrious Jove (i.e. Augustus).

reference to Venus with a simple slipping of the drapery and no exposure of the breast.¹⁷² Such imperial assimilations inaugurated a general sculptural type quoted in the portraits, and funerary portraits, of many fashionable Roman women. In its revived form, the visual message of that iconography, the slipping strap, is multivalent. On one level, as the marker of the Genetrix, it signals sexuality and fertility.¹⁷³ But on a secondary level, the device was popularized, particularly in Italy, as a mode of laying claim to the prestige and the *pudicitia* (here, a productive sexuality contained by marriage) of the empress herself.

Given the prevalence of the motif in clothed representations of the goddess, it not unlikely that the Attic sculptor of the Olympias relief had influential local prototypes. That being said, I have been unable to uncover a comparable composition of a small child quoting the bared shoulder. Indeed, the most compelling comparandum is a Julio-Claudian family portrait group from the Punta Epitaffio Nymphaeum at Baia. The Baia group offers not only a quotation of Aphrodite's slipping drapery, but it provides sculptural precedent for the subtle evocation of the erotic in a female child. A small statue, recovered with four other portraits from the submerged nymphaeum,¹⁷⁴ reproduces this imperial iconography of ideal femininity; yet, as with the later stele of Olympias, it is applied to a preadolescent child (Fig. 11).¹⁷⁵ Claudia Octavia, the youngest daughter of Claudius and his third wife Messalina, is presented as a young girl of six or seven. As appropriate to her age, her hair is unbound; carefully drilled curls fall on either side of her

¹⁷² Bieber 1977, 46-47. This view of the iconographic significance of the slipped strap is echoed by Kleiner 1987, 85;175.; Wood 2000, 93;283 and Alexandridis 2010, 216.

¹⁷³ Kleiner 1987, 85;175; Wood 2000, 283.

¹⁷⁴ On the sculpture from the Baia nymphaeum see, Andreae 1983, 46-66, figs. 77-109. See also, Wood 2000, 167; 283 figs. 69-71.

¹⁷⁵ Wood 2000, 283 figs. 69-71.

face. She does not yet wear the elaborate, high-coiled bun of Olympias, a marker of maturity. Despite clear childishness, Octavia's shoulder strap slips from the right shoulder and once more the uncovering intimates an incipient sexuality. Through such exposure, the child Claudia Octavia participates in a cross-generational aspiration intended for mature women of imperial blood: the perpetuation of the Julio-Claudian line.¹⁷⁶ The Imperial appropriation of Aphrodite/Venus iconography was an apt vehicle for delivering a range of such ideological messages. The assimilation of Julio-Claudian females with the goddess emphasized the mythical maternal origin of the Roman people, underscoring all at once maternity, beauty and the divine lineage of the Julio-Claudians and the Roman people themselves. The slipped drapery motif was a recurring feature of this iconographic assimilation.¹⁷⁷ The erotic quotation on the present stele was surely not intended to sexualize the present child but rather to underscore her expected role and to assimilate her to an Imperial brand of ideal femininity. Future fertility inhered in the motif of the slipping drapery.

In Italy, this visual theme persisted throughout the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods, and while it was more common on the funerary portraits of mature Roman matrons, at times the memorials to young Roman girls also depict the motif. An excellent example is the funerary altar that depicts a young girl, Iunia Pia, and is dated by Diana Kleiner between 95 and 110 CE. Although no age is recorded in the epitaph, she is clearly a child, and is represented with the slipping drapery of a Venus (Fig. 12).¹⁷⁸ Such tension between erotic iconography and childish form neatly eulogizes potential: the peak of beauty intimated but never attained. And in these comparanda, one can perhaps discern

¹⁷⁶ Wood 2000, 283.

¹⁷⁷ See Alexandridis 2010, 216-217.

¹⁷⁸ Rome, Capitoline Museum 2886. Kleiner 1987, 85;175; Rawson 1995, 7, pl.1.3

the impression of Roman rule upon the provincial identity of Olympias. Closer to home, the Hadrianic Nymphaeum in the Athenian Agora likely included a statue of Venus Genetrix with an exposed shoulder and breast, an image that did not allude the Greek goddess but rather, in the context of the Hadrianic nymphaeum, underscored divine Imperial heritage.¹⁷⁹ Just as the parents of Roman Italian girls sought to align their families with the visual construction of imperial power, emanating from the imperial family itself, so too Olympias' parents perhaps reproduced a Classical form in the interest of aligning themselves with the Imperial prestige of a hellenizing Rome.

On Birds

The allusion to Venus/Aphrodite inherent in the Olympias relief opens up a broader consideration of the iconography employed in several other Imperial period stelai dedicated to girls. Several of these monuments, including that of Olympias, depict doves and/or other birds that may be associated with the goddess. The bird is a near universal element in the iconography of children's funerary monuments from the Classical period forward, and in the case of Imperial period markers, most frequently appears on the monuments of girls. This recurrent motif has been interpreted variously by a number of scholars.

Some scholars have suggested that birds, given their ability to fly like the human soul, were thought to serve as appropriate playful companions to the deceased child in the underworld. This interpretation is perhaps strengthened by the appearance of bird bones in many children's burials.¹⁸⁰ Hilde Rühfel, however, is reluctant to ascribe any chthonic

¹⁷⁹ See Longfellow 2011, 130.

¹⁸⁰ On birds as companions for the deceased or as eidola see Oakley 2003, 180. On Burials of birds with children see, Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 215; Rühfel 1984, 120.

attributes to the birds on Greek grave reliefs of either the Classical or Hellenistic periods. Instead, she suggests that a favorite pet, whether bird or dog, is meant to characterize the happy days of a child's life. In this way, the stelai scenes always lead the viewer away from the death and back into the joyful environment in which a child once thrived.¹⁸¹ Grossman essentially concurs in this assessment, citing pets as a marker of a privileged daily life.¹⁸² Other readings ascribe an timeless anonymity to the bird — and therefore an immortality — that through juxtaposition heightens the pathos of an individual child's death.¹⁸³

I consider these birds not as isolated symbols but as part of a larger iconographic narrative.¹⁸⁴ If we take the very literal definition of the Greek *symbolos*, to mean one half of a token — then the bird and the girl together may provide a unified reading with overt allusions to Aphrodite. The sum iconographic context should guide the interpretation and thus the use of birds, as I will argue later, may likewise clarify ancient attitudes towards small or infant boys as effeminate.¹⁸⁵

As with the previous section, I will introduce the discussion of birds with the description of another stele. The piece, commemorating a Milesian child, Epagathos (**Cat. 2**), is unusual as it is one of only a small handful of pyramidal Attic monuments dating to the Imperial period. In fact, all of the pyramidal markers in Conze's study, with one

¹⁸¹ Rühfel 1984, 134;166.

¹⁸² Grossman 2007, 321.

¹⁸³ See Cohen 2007, 15-20.

¹⁸⁴ I do not mean to suggest that birds are not often employed as generalized markers of childhood. My point here is that, in a narrower iconographic context, birds are multivalent symbols. In this approach, I take up the structuralist notion of Greek culture as a "culture of images" in which the images themselves shed some refractory light back onto that culture and enhance our understanding of said culture. See Bérard 1989.

In pursuing the iconography of birds more narrowly, I am leaning on Michael Turner's interpretation of the birds represented on Southern Italian lekythoi of the late 4th century BCE. See M. Turner 2005.

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter Two, 86.

exception, were dedicated to children and all, regardless of gender, held a bird (typically a dove) to the breast. The boys in these depictions, it should be noted, are all nude and truly young — a factor that may strengthen my interpretation of the bird as a motif with allusions to Aphrodite, an idea which will be explored further.

The provenance of the Epagathos stele is unknown, and it is therefore impossible to assign a date based on context. Nonetheless, on the basis of the superficial treatment of the drapery and the snugness of the composition on the face of the stele, it is reasonable to assign the relief a Trajanic date. The stele itself is a small work among the other monuments dedicated to girls, measuring only 0.64m in extant height and 0.13m across the top to roughly 0.18m across the base in width. The relief is low and the surface of what appears to be Pentelic marble is rough due to its state of preservation. The child's face is missing from just above the proper right ear and across the cheek to the bridge of the nose. Her young age is made clear by the roundness of her forearms and the two Venus-rings carved about the neck. The child turns her head slightly to the left, revealing a jeweled right ear. She wears a belted chiton, the sleeves of which fall loosely about her elbows; small feet emerge beneath the folds of her skirt in smooth boots. There are no traces of hair about the girl's remaining ear or cheeks, suggesting that it was bound up high on the head, a feature which also suggests a post-1st century CE date. The child clutches a large bird to her chest between fat clenched fingers. The bird stretches its head up toward the girl's mouth. Its beak is long and slightly open as it meets the child's lips (**Cat. 2 detail**). Once more, despite the childish subject, the composition is sexually charged.

If one pauses to recall the Classical Paros Stele (Fig. 4), it is immediately apparent that the embrace of a bird is a profoundly traditional motif. In the earlier image, the child bends her head and appears to kiss the beak of her pet. Nonetheless, the image does not express a comparable eroticism. This is in part confirmed because of the differing depiction of the birds. While the Classical bird remains still in the child's arms, the bird in the later work is larger and animated; its wings are spread. The animal exerts an awkward effort to turn its head up toward the girl with a broad and open beak— as if, once freed, it would alight upon her frontally. Of course, such difference may simply be ascribed to better artistry on the part of the 5th century BCE sculptor. Yet, in conjunction with other features of the stele, I read an eroticism into the composition.

As mentioned above, the bird held by Epagathos is larger than the doves of the Paros stele. Celina Grey is inclined to view the bird as a duck, while Roux calls it a dove.¹⁸⁶ Roux is most likely correct in this attribution and the bird may best be accepted as a poor rendering of a dove. Its form and beak, however, appear much closer to that of a crow.¹⁸⁷ While it is hard to imagine Epagathos kissing such a creature, the crow was apparently celebrated for its monogamy, affection and constancy and thus was regularly invoked at ancient Greek weddings.¹⁸⁸ Aspects of Epagathos's dress, which I will review shortly, may strengthen this nuptial association. If one accepts the animal as a dove, an erotic rather than strictly nuptial allusion is plausible. Doves are present on the coinage of those Greek sites closely associated with Aphrodite: Sicyon, Corinth, Cythera, Cassiope, Eryx and Paphos.¹⁸⁹ Although in the earliest Greek writings the dove does not appear in

¹⁸⁶ Gray 2002, describes the bird as a duck in her dissertation, 118. Roux 1954, identifies it as a dove, 96.

¹⁸⁷ Thank you to Professor Robert Lamberton for this suggestion.

¹⁸⁸ Thompson 1895, 99-98.

¹⁸⁹ Breitenberger 2007, 15.

connection with Aphrodite, references in later works are many, particularly with regard to the bird's prolific breeding habits. It is likely because of such associations that the Greek word for dove, *περιστερά*, was a common epithet used of a wife or mistress, just as *columba* was a recurrent term of endearment in Latin.¹⁹⁰ All such factors contribute to the interpretation of the dove as an attribute of Aphrodite, and to the notion that it is she, a goddess of sexual love, who is evoked by the iconography.

Two other birds appear on the stele of Epagathos. These birds are placed towards the top of each side of the tapering monument (**Cat. 2 detail**). Given the mediocre artistry of these depictions, any ornithological identification of these birds is necessarily tentative. But this problem, as argued both by Erik Böhr and Michael Turner in regard to the appearance of birds in Greek art more generally, ought not to preclude an attempt at identifying certain “characteristic details” and by extension symbolic significance.¹⁹¹ Their plump bodies do not suggest the readily identifiable dove or pigeon silhouette so typical of children's funerary reliefs. A quail could be indicated by the roundness of the body and the tapering disappearance of the tail. Roman wall paintings from the Villa of Poppaea supports this proposition (Fig. 13).¹⁹² Beyond, however, an occasional ancient reference to the bird as a lover's gift and its apparent abundance, it does not further the associations with Aphrodite. One other possible bird may be suggested by the round, upright body: the common partridge which, like the quail, is a small bird in the pheasant family. The partridge was very frequently characterized by its salacious breeding habits

¹⁹⁰ Thompson 1895, 142.

¹⁹¹ Böhr 1997, 109; Turner 2010, 62.

¹⁹² Arnott 2007, 256; For a number of references to partridge illustrations including the Poppaea Villa depiction see Watson 2002, 362-363, Cat. no. 5.

and fecundity and was as a result viewed as sacred to Aphrodite.¹⁹³ The partridge would thus underscore the loss of reproductive potential, the forfeited regeneration of a family line, once expected in the marriage of a daughter.

To remain with our Milesian just a bit longer, I want to point out other details that lend weight to the erotic cum nuptial reading of the stele. As with the Olympias monument, the jewelry, booted feet and the possibility of bound-up hair all carry bridal connotations.¹⁹⁴ In these details, the suggested sexuality — i.e. the well-annotated, erotic appetite of the partridge — is set securely within the marriage context. Such nuptial details are strengthened by the large knot cinching the waist of the child's chiton. Though depicted in a cursory and rough manner, the knot appears to be a Herakles knot, an amuletic motif,¹⁹⁵ long associated in the Greek world with an enduring marriage and the promise of progeny. Mirrors, a traditional wedding gift, often alluded to these themes by incorporating the Herakles knot into their decorative design work.¹⁹⁶ In the second century CE, Festus recommended the Herakles knot for binding the tunic of the virgin-bride. On the wedding night, the husband unbound the knot, aspiring to the productive (indeed heroic!) sexuality of a Herakles.

Epigraphic and literary evidence traces the motif of the marriage-rite in death from the Archaic into the Imperial period. Meleager, a poet writing under Augustus and whose works are preserved in the Palatine Anthology, composed a poem describing the

¹⁹³ Thompson 1895, 124; 138.

¹⁹⁴ The fusion of the nuptial and the sepulchral is a well-established characteristic of Attic funerary art, stretching back to the Archaic funerary kore, Phrasikleia. See Lattimore 1962, 192-194; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 248-52 and 265. See also, Seaford 1987, 106-30. Steiber 2004, 136-138.

¹⁹⁵ Pliny and Macrobius suggests the knot helped to cure wounds see Pliny NH 28.17.64; Macrobius Sat. i. 19. 16. Other ancient references describe the strength of the knot and thus underscore its perceived value in ensuring an enduring marriage see, Seneca Epist. 87.38 and Apostolios 64a. On its procreative powers see, Festus 55.20 L.

¹⁹⁶ Lerner 1996, 12.

death of a bride on her wedding night.¹⁹⁷ And a late inscription, tentatively ascribed an Athenian provenance by Richmond Lattimore, reads: ἀκμὴν δ' οὐ γενετηρὲς ἐμήν, οὐκ ἐσθλὸς ὄμαιμος, οὐ πόσις, ἀλλ' Ἀίδης ἐκαρπίστο.¹⁹⁸ In the visual and epigraphic construction of status, memorializing this private loss implicated the public viewer. Both epitaph and sculptural iconography sought to underscore the value of a daughter in perpetuating elite power through marriage and binding magisterial families not only within the polis itself but within the broader empire.¹⁹⁹ This message restores a certain power to the beautiful kore and is echoed in the contemporary writings of Plutarch on marriage, described above. In short, the social ideology of oligarchy, be it that of the Archaic gennetai or of elite Imperial provincials, required a certain symmetrical power for women in marriage. Thus, just as Herodotus (1.61.1-2) once made clear the political implications of the improper, private consummation of marriage in his analysis of Peisistratos' relations with the daughter of Megacles in Archaic period, so too Plutarch asserts that civic virtue inheres in a sexually vital marriage inspired by the charms of the bride.²⁰⁰ While centuries apart, these parallel narratives illuminate the degree to which Roman Athens had revived an archaic society and the degree to which woman of the elite may have enjoyed a reinvigorated social role.

The notion of a sexually vital marriage, and further a programmatic iconography of such a marriage, is preserved on a stele at the sanctuary of Amphiareios at Oropos (Cat. 3). Based on what remains of the mother's hairstyle, which compares closely to that

¹⁹⁷ Meleager AP 7.182. This theme was not all together uncommon and appears in the poetry of Antiphon if Sidon AP 7.711; Callimachos AP 7.517 and Erinna AP 7.712.

¹⁹⁸ EG 151, 7-8: "my parents did not enjoy my young beauty, nor my fine brother, nor my husband, but gloomy Hades." Trans. Lattimore 1942, 193-194.

¹⁹⁹ On this Archaic notion of aristocratic women as "commodities" binding supra-local elites, see Hall 2007, 347.

²⁰⁰ Through the lens of Plutarch's moral, if inconsistent, universe, Antony's downfall was guaranteed by his inability to maintain a marriage with the perfect wife, Octavia. Plutarch *Ant.* 31.4.

worn by Faustina the elder wife of Antoninus Pius, the work likely dates to the mid 2nd century CE.²⁰¹ Defaced in late antiquity, the stele depicts a daughter standing on a pedestal between her two parents in a strictly frontal composition that evokes Roman funerary reliefs. The position of the girl clearly underscores her value to the family and it is her loss that is mourned. Yet here, rather than the daughter, standing at center, it is the mother whose form is clearly visible through the drapery across her belly and v-neck folds that emphasize her breasts, where her chiton is cinched with the herakles-knot. In this rendering, the mother is not the classical maternal figure of the Imperial period, enveloped modestly from head to toe in her himation; she is the post-script to the prospective bride and represents the actualization of the virgin's aspirational iconography. She thus is a prototype for her own daughter within the stele and for all brides to be without.

A handful of other stelai commemorating young girls participate in this same iconographic program. The first of these (**Cat. 4**) is most remarkable for its scale, according to my own measurements, 1.49 m. tall with a breadth of 0.61m. This shaft stele of pentelic marble is capped with a pediment and three akroteria. A teenage Milesian girl, Tychike, stands in high relief at the center of the field set in antis beneath a large arch. Two florets are carved in each of the spandrels and a poppy with broad, waving leaves fills the pediment. On the architrave, an inscription identifies the girl as the Milesian daughter of Theopompos. Her hairstyle, a melon coiffure bound in the back, her drapery curving across the right thigh to reveal the form beneath and the v-shaped folds

²⁰¹ For a portrait of Faustina the Elder see Ramage 2005, 242, fig. 8.4.

at the neck all suggest a late Trajanic or Hadrianic date.²⁰² The latter period is perhaps more plausible as there is ample room about the subject and the relief does not mirror the tight, snug compositions typical of Attic reliefs of Trajanic date.²⁰³ Tychike, like Epagathos, holds a bird in her right arm. And, as in Epagathos's depiction, the bird opens its wings and raises its head upward. In this instance, however, the composition does not depict an apparent embrace. Any erotic implications instead inhere in the bird itself, unambiguously a goose with webbed-feet and a goose's beak, the winged-vehicle of choice in countless artistic representations of the Greek goddess of love, Aphrodite. The large poppy in the pediment refers to Persephone and Demeter and the Eleusinian themes of death and rebirth, but the symbol also fits naturally with Aphrodite's imagery. In terms of common visual symbols, Aphrodite shared the pomegranate with Persephone as an identifying attribute, as is evidenced, for example, by the Louvre Genetrix. Moreover, the goddess also appears holding the poppy, an attribute so closely associated with Kore/Persephone. According to Pausanias (2. 10. 5), the sculptor Kanachos produced for the Sicyonians a chryselephantine Aphrodite with a poppy in one hand and an apple in the other. And a Classical group of Meidian vases often represent the goddess in the setting of a lush garden holding a poppy in hand.²⁰⁴ While this flower, because of its many seeds, had clear associations with fertility, it was a symbol of death. And this latter association, as David Kinsley suggests, may clarify Aphrodite's epithet: "she who lulls

²⁰² A good comparandum for her hair is the Attikos Stele, an Isis relief dated by Walters to the Hadrianic period. See E. Walters 1988, 51. The treatment of the drapery however, which is denser and simplified, does not mirror the subtle handling of different fabrics on the Attikos stele; and, the deep drill-work in the carving of the grapes and the *kolpos* folds leave open the possibility of a later Antonine date, as seen on an Isis relief dated by Walters to the Antonine period. See Walters 1988, Plate 35, c19.

²⁰³ On "snugness" of compositions from Trajanic date see Walters 1988, 74.

²⁰⁴ MacDonald 1922, 4.

the senses and gives sweet sleep.”²⁰⁵ Thus, the visual iconography of Aphrodite participated in the same programmatic imagery so closely associated with Persephone and was particularly suited to those monuments that at once celebrated and mourned the beautiful maiden daughter.

Further archaeological evidence supports these iconographic links between the queen of the underworld and the goddess of love. In Greece, throughout the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, Aphrodite figured especially prominently among the terracotta votive-types uncovered at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth. Her material prominence at the Corinthian sanctuary may partially be linked to her status as the city’s patron deity but, apart from this, she played a very clear role in accentuating the erotic aspect of marriage, the institution with which Demeter and Persephone were particularly concerned. As a complementary deity, Aphrodite supported the cult’s social role in its divine patronage of both marriage and fertility.²⁰⁶

At Athens, the Corinthian cultic conflation of the erotic and nuptial was mirrored in the situation of Aphrodite’s temple in Daphni along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. Votive offerings of female genitalia, marble doves and a small relief depicting Ἐρως make clear that both Aphrodite and her son were jointly worshipped at the site.²⁰⁷ In the procession from Athens to Eleusis, initiates could conceive of Aphrodite’s temple with its attendant deity, Ἐρως, as a ritual step toward the *telos* of Eleusis and its cult of sacred marriage and rebirth. This shrine Of Aphrodite was erected nearby the Eleusinian processional route, some ten miles outside Attica, and stood between Athens and the plain of

²⁰⁵ Kinsley 1989, 209.

²⁰⁶ On the worship of Aphrodite at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth from Corinth through Imperial periods, see evidence of terra cotta figurines in G. Merker 2000, 125-126; 129-130; 169-174; 330-331.

²⁰⁷ Rosenzweig 2004, 41.

Eleusis.²⁰⁸ During the Imperial period, the Sacred Way was traversed by the emperors themselves, thus elevating the status of the mysteries and, in the physical procession out of Athens to Eleusis, Aphrodite's cult as a catalyst to an immortal end or, in more mundane terms, progeny.

Returning to the stele itself, the fecund aspect of the poppy's multivalent iconography is supplemented by another image of fertility. Tychike holds in her left hand a large bunch of grapes. Apart from the obvious Dionysiac associations, grapes were a long-standing feature in artistic depictions of wedding scenes, as shown on many Greek vases and in such settings were direct allusions to fertility.²⁰⁹ Thus, while the goose signifies Tychike's erotic potential, already manifest in the fullness of her thigh beneath curving drapery, the grapes evoke a nuptial context and the legitimate pleasures and progeny proffered by marriage. It is precisely such iconography that Achilles Tatius evokes in the ekphrasis of Andromeda in *Leukippe and Kleitophon*: "Her hands hung loose at the wrist like clusters of grapes...She was chained up waiting for death, wearing a wedding garment."²¹⁰ Tychike's own identity, sans Andromeda's fear, resides in this iconography, and it is this identity that her parents chose to memorialize: an eternal bride in death.

This message recurs once more on the funerary stele of a Milesian girl, dated by Walters to the Trajanic period (**Cat. 5**).²¹¹ As with the some of the previously reviewed markers, the monument is notable in its variation from the architectural norm. In this

²⁰⁸ Camp 2001, 130

²⁰⁹ Among the earliest representations of grapes in a wedding scene is the well-known black-figure *dinos* (footed bowl) by the Sophilos painter in which Dionysos proceeds to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis carrying a vine branch heavy with grapes. British Museum 1971.11-1.1.

For grapes as a symbol of fertility see Oakley 1993, 40.

²¹⁰ Reardon 2008, 212.

²¹¹ Walters 1988, 42 n.80.

instance, it is the form — a columnar stele with an arched relief set in its facade — that differentiates the work from most reliefs of the period. Unlike Tychike, the Milesian is a true child and still has round limbs. She too holds a bird, although this is clearly a dove. Any erotic interpretation of this bird, held low at her side and so clearly a pet, once more resides in its general association with Aphrodite. The child wears a bracelet; her hair is bound up in an elaborate plaited bun; her short-sleeved chiton is cinched at the waist with a Herakles-knot, and her face is beautiful. If the ball in the girl's small hand does not appear distinctly nuptial, it need not preclude any allusion to Aphrodite. A Classical period hydria in Tübingen shows the goddess, identified by inscription, watching young girls play ball.²¹² And in the third book of the *Argonautica*, Aphrodite bribes her son with a golden ball.²¹³ Moreover, soon-to-be brides are known to have dedicated their toys to goddesses of marriage some time prior to the wedding itself, setting aside childish things.²¹⁴

The transitional status captured on the Milesian maiden's stele likewise appears on a fractured marker dedicated to an unnamed daughter who holds what I identify as a goose (**Cat. 6**) and the monument of another girl depicted with a bird at her breast and what appears to be a ball in her lowered right hand (**Cat. 7**).²¹⁵ Such liminality is driven home by the absence of the bridal veil in all of these depictions. This absence may simply reflect a change in contemporary styles,²¹⁶ or, as I am inclined to believe, eulogize the present child and future bride at once. Thus, the pathos of child's death is preserved in the

²¹² Simon 1983, 42.

²¹³ Apollonius' *Argonautica* 3, 132-41

²¹⁴ Among many, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, 14; Foley 1994, 127; and Goff 2004, 30;

²¹⁵ One other stele in the Kerameikos Museum is fragmentary and consists only of a portion of a young girl's head. (**Cat. 8**) The frontality and the hairstyle align it with the type described thus far but given the condition of the piece it is impossible to offer any conclusive comments.

²¹⁶ On the modification of the use of the veil to signify the married woman as result of style, see Davies 2002, 227-242.

physical depiction, while the iconography bestows a wedding and finally, in this, maturity.

Conclusion: Cosmopolitan Beauties

In conclusion, it is worth asking how such iconography may reflect Roman Attic society in the early 2nd century CE. Part of the answer lies in the varied backgrounds of the girls represented. Of the monuments reviewed in this chapter, some of the grandest markers do not depict Athenian citizen girls but rather the daughters of (presumably) wealthy or well-connected, long time Milesian residents, the “most numerous” foreigners in Attica from 100 BCE through the 2nd century CE.²¹⁷ The epigraphical practice of these immigrants varied from those of Attic citizens in many ways. For instance, proportionally, more women appear among Milesian funerary markers than on Athenian citizen markers. Moreover, these Milesian epitaphs typically present the female ethnics in the nominative feminine, ergo subject, case, while the sepulchral inscriptions of all Athenians included paternal demotics in the masculine genitive form.²¹⁸ It may be stretching things to read too much into this differentiation, but it seems this diction grants these girls an independent — perhaps even protagonist — status. They represent a distinct form of social currency who, like virgin heroines of the ancient novels, use their beauty as a passport and an entrée into Athenian society.

As early as the 2nd century BCE, Attic funerary inscriptions reveal that there was no longer a ban on intermarriage between Athenian and non-Athenians. This

²¹⁷ Vestergaard 2000, 87. Examining Milesian epitaphs in Roman Attica, Torben Vestergaard explores the reasons for the dominant presence of Milesians among the foreign residents of Athens and extrapolates from their presence that Roman Attica had a changed, indeed more open, attitude toward foreigners. Celina Leigh Gray also wrote her Berkeley dissertation on the subject of Milesians on Roman Attic funerary monuments. See Gray 2002.

²¹⁸ Vestergaard 2000, 105.

modification and the gradual implementation of Roman practices of *amicitia* and *clientela* fostered new types of social connections in Athens.²¹⁹ As the well-spring of hellenizing Imperial culture and the capital of the Hadrianic Panhellenion, Athens was a uniquely prestigious city in which an elite family might establish itself and, through connections with notable Attic families, broadcast a “supra-local” cosmopolitan status.²²⁰ A beautiful daughter was integral to such claims and connections; her untimely loss diminished a family’s opportunities for display and perpetuation of a new trans-imperial standing. Their iconography, mirroring the eroticized, itinerant heroine of the ancient romance, is thus intimately connected to the emergence of a new cosmopolitanism.²²¹

²¹⁹ Vestergaard 2000, 102, 105.

²²⁰ On this general trend of cosmopolitan outlook among aristocratic Greek families, see Alcock 1993, 155.

²²¹ On the link between the “cultural autonomy” of the novel and the cosmopolitanism of the empire, see Perkins 2009, 11.

Chapter Four

The Iconography of Deceased Male Children

The classification of the male monuments within the corpus is based on age. From the outset, it is worth outlining the difficulties inherent in this system of organization and to summarize the criteria by which I assign a given age class to a monument. The most salient problem is the apparent fluidity of childhood stages as presented by the sculptors themselves. From a market perspective, a certain blurring or generalizing makes sense, as it allowed bereaved (and perhaps less affluent) parents to choose from among a range of pre-fabricated monuments that most closely expressed their values, if not the precise age of the deceased child. In two instances, an obvious discrepancy between the epitaphic age and the sculptural age supports this contention. For example, the stele of the youth Blastos (**Cat. 49**) although commemorating a child of 16, includes two attributes (ball and bird) that otherwise appear *solely* on the monuments of the youngest children within the corpus.²²² Despite such disparities, however, it is still possible to outline the basic iconographic features of the phases of male childhood.

I divide the children depicted on these monuments into three categories: infant and toddler; prepubescent; youth and ephebe. The Hippocratic corpus delineates seven distinct life stages and the first three of these supply the framework for my own categorization: *paidion*: birth-6; *pais*: 6-13; *meirakion*: 13-20. *Neaniskos* is, in this same corpus, defined as 20-27, a category that proceeds the specific term *aner*, man. Thus, the inclusion of youths of ephebic age within the framework finds ancient support in Hippocratic writings that designate the ages of 13 to 20, and even the ensuing seven years

²²² Such discrepancy is likewise apparent between the epitaphic and sculptural age found in **Cat. 21**.

thereafter, as prior to manhood.²²³ Moreover, the fact that the ephebes no longer served in an active military capacity and instead participated in festal re-enactments of past military victories as well as trained for athletic contests suggests that their role did not carry the same risks nor require the same maturity as that of their Classical precursors. For these reasons, the ephebic class appears among the figures represented within the corpus.

Throughout my analysis, I adhere to this basic, tri-partite age schema and I apply my classifications on the basis of a series of iconographic age markers. For example, a handful of the children appear nude, a feature that is often linked to the youngest of age categories. To be sure, there is occasional overlap among these features. Those that are usually associated with one age group can occasionally appear on stelai with features normally associated with another age. Such stelai must be understood as straddling categories. This may not seem entirely satisfactory but it mirrors the very nuance of the ancient Greek terminology for childhood. The treatise *Peri Onomasias Hēlikion* by the Hellenistic scholar, Aristophanes of Byzantium, presents a detailed list of stages that precede majority. A *paidion* is a baby who still nurses. A *paidarion* is a toddler or a child who has just begun to walk, while *paidiskos* is the term applied to the child after he has learned to walk. *Pais* applies to the child of six or seven who heads off to school.²²⁴ Such distinctions, tied so clearly to physical and psychological development, cannot be made explicit in stone and thus one cannot expect pin-point accuracy of classification. The following chart supplies a basic, iconographic frame-work for reading male age and for interpreting motifs that exert either an upward or downward pressure on my

²²³ Pollux *Onomasticon* 2.4.

²²⁴ Slater, ed. 1986. Aristophanis Byzantii fr. 37-90.

classifications. Finally, the fluidity of age assignments often allowed parents to express a dual grief: the present loss of the tender child and the forfeit of his future prime status.

Age Group	Dress	Hair	Common Attributes	Attributes of a younger category	Attributes of an older category
Infant and Toddler	Nude.	Long hair; Central braid.	Ball; House pet; Bird.	Dionysian and Erotic elements; Obelisk form.	
Prepubescent	Ephebic chlamys; Long himation; Hip-mantle; Short chiton.	Short hair with Horus lock or ritual tresses.	Dog; Scroll.	House pet. Ball. Amuletic jewelry.	Ephebic chlamys.
Youth and Ephebe	Short-chiton; Nude/semi nude; Long himation; Ephebic chlamys.	Short Hair; Beardless.	Dog; Scroll; Beardless herm.	Raised Hands Motif.	Palm; The Hunt; Tritons.

Monuments of Infants and Toddlers

The thirteen monuments commemorating toddlers or infants among the male honorands include **Cat. 10-22**. Some fragmentary or damaged monuments are included in this category, although any thorough analysis is precluded by their state of preservation (**Cat. 19- Cat. 22**). Like the stelai crafted in honor of deceased girls, these markers deploy a multivalent iconography at once elegizing lost potential and at the same time bequeathing maturity to the child in death. In what follows, I argue that this visual contradiction is particularly pronounced in the reliefs commemorating the youngest male honorands, whose liminal status — between prospective and full humanity — is expressed through an androgyny intended to draw attention to lost male potential. Even as these monuments

mourn this loss, however, I argue that the attribute of nudity transforms the monuments into figural rites of passage granting the mortal child an eternal manhood.

Once more, the characterization of this iconography is paralleled in several Imperial literary sources, including the works of Pausanias, Statius and Ovid. These sources present episodes of maturation in which youths shed feminine attributes to reveal the capacity/purpose of the male body and formally enter adulthood. Through the stelai's iconography, this sequential literary process is condensed into and mirrored in a single relief frame.

Literary Background

Plutarch, as noted in the preceding chapter, advocated a new conjugal role for women in response to increasing female influence in the Imperial public sphere.²²⁵ The marriage construct advanced by Plutarch, however, was not predicated on gender equality. Rather, the virtue of the good Plutarchan wife flourished under the thoughtful guidance of a male.²²⁶ Thus, moral excellence remained an essential characteristic of adult male identity, while the feminine and the juvenile retained a shared quality of dependence. During the Classical period, this common status made both women and boys acceptable objects of adult male love and the *pueri delicati* of Statian poetry (*Silvae* 2.1 and 5.5), inter alia, suggest that this tradition was not merely a custom relegated to the Classical past.

In the elite Greco-Roman world, young boys were long admired for their epicene qualities: soft skin, long curls and girlish glances. Such qualities were age markers and the eventual transition into manhood required the shedding of these traits as precedent to

²²⁵ McNamara 1999, 151-153.

²²⁶ McNamara 1999, 157.

maturity. The epic *Achilleid* of Statius (1.325-34) captures this transition in the destabilized gender of the young Achilles. Gender is exploited by opposing interests in his ultimate adult identity.²²⁷ On the one hand, Thetis hopes to avert fate and actively perpetuates Achilles' youth by dressing him in women's clothes, training him to soften his body, speech and gait:

His mother sees him in doubt and willing to be
compelled, and casts the raiment o'er him; then she
softens his stalwart neck and bows his strong
shoulders, and relaxes the muscles of his arms, and
tames and orders duly his uncombed tresses, and
sets her own necklace about the neck she loves;
then keeping his step within the embroidered skirt
she teaches him gait and motion and modesty of
speech. Even as the waxen images that the artist's
thumb will make to live take form and follow the
fire and the hand that carves them, such was the
picture of the goddess as she transformed her son.
Nor did she struggle long; for plenteous charm
remains to him though his manhood brook it not,
and he baffles beholders by the puzzle of his sex
that by a narrow margin hides its secret. (trans.
Mozley)

On the other hand, maternal precaution is challenged by Odysseus and his seductive call to war. It is ultimately Odysseus who lures Achilles out of his feminine guise and into adulthood with the bait of weaponry. The youth grasps the weapons and his dress falls away. Entirely exposed, he is a man — fired by war, heroic among the tittering daughters of Lycomedes (Statius *Achill.* 1.874-884)²²⁸

Already was he stripping his body of the
robes...from his breast the raiment fell without his
touching, already the shield and puny spear are lost
in the grasp of his hand – marvellous to believe! –

²²⁷ Trimble 2002, 237.

²²⁸ For the full narrative of this transformation, see Statius *Achill.* 1.697-910; Hyginus *Fabulae* 96 offers a similar account.

and he seemed to surpass by head and shoulders the
Ithacan and the Aetolian chief: with a sheen so
awful does the sudden blaze of arms and the martial
fire dazzle the palace-hall. Mighty of limb, as
though forthwith summoning Hector to the fray, he
stands in the midst of the panic-stricken house...
(Trans. Mozley)

Pausanias' account (1.19.1) of Theseus in Athens participates in this same process of transition from effeminate youth to mature adult hero. Like the Statian Achilles, the youth of Pausanias' narrative has attained a physical maturity belied by long plaited hair and a dress that falls to his ankles. Theseus' girlish appearance attracts the notice of some temple workmen who taunt the youth as "a maiden ripe for marriage." Angered, Theseus reveals a disguised strength by hurling a pair of oxen above the temple roof. The action shatters the androgyny of his dress; the performance of his body is heroically male:

The story has it that when the temple was finished with the exception of the roof Theseus arrived in the city, a stranger as yet to everybody. When he came to the temple of the Delphinian, wearing a tunic that reached to his feet and with his hair neatly plaited, those who were building the roof mockingly inquired what a marriageable virgin was doing wandering about by herself. The only answer that Theseus made was to loose, it is said, the oxen from the cart hard by, and to throw them higher than the roof of the temple they were building. (Trans. James)

While such mortal heroes represent a common connection between age and gender in Greco-Roman literature, Dionysos is the perennial divine representative of gender instability. Countless artistic and literary representations depict the young Dionysos as a curly-haired eastern effete. In Ovid's particular retelling (*Metamorphoses*. 3.605) of the story of Bacchus and the pirates, the brigands seize the god, who is in the mortal guise of a tipsy lad of virginal beauty, *virginea puerum...forma*. When the sailors

exploit the boy's trust and sail away from their promised destination, he sheds his boyish mortal charms and stands crowned in grape-leaves, an angered male god, shaking his ivy-twined lance as the pirates are transformed into dolphins about him.²²⁹

A god not merely of fertility but explicitly of resurrection, Dionysos is an ideal symbol for the iconography of the funerary marker of very young boys. By quoting Dionysian attributes, some of these markers capture the relationship of age with gender²³⁰ — the unfulfilled course out of feminine childhood and the brighter prospect of rebirth as a man. The dual nature of Dionysos himself — a god twice borne, at once young and old, feminine and masculine — is clear in the iconography of Roman sarcophagi of the second and third centuries CE. A sarcophagus in the Walters Museum in Baltimore, dated to ca 150 CE, depicts the infant Dionysos nursing, while to the far right an effete, intoxicated old man may also represent an aged version of the god.²³¹ This coffin, moreover, is small and was clearly designed for a child. The lid of a second sarcophagus in the Walters Museum represents the god's dual birth, first his deliverance from a dying Semele and, second, his birth from Zeus' thigh.²³² Writing on the god in the first century CE, Diodoros Siculus states that Dionysos seemed bimorphic because there were, in fact, two of him: "the ancient bearded man, since they all grew beards long ago, and the new,

²²⁹ Ovid *Metamorphoses*, 3.664-668 : Ipse racemiferis frontem circumdatus uvis pampineis agit velatam frondibus hastam. Quem circa tigres simulacraque inania lyncum pictarumque iacent fera corpora pantherarum.

²³⁰ On the relationship of cross-gendering and age on Roman sarcophagi see Birk 2010, 252-255.

²³¹ Huskinson 1996, p. 31. For a photograph from the Walters Art Museum see:

<http://art.thewalters.org/detail/16574/sarcophagus-depicting-the-birth-of-dionysus/>

²³² Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Accession number: 23.31. See Lehman and Olsen 1942, 12, figs. 3-4.

delicate boy in the bloom of youth.”²³³ It is precisely this Dionysian eschatology of renewal in death that the review of following the stelai explores.

Finally, before I turn to this review, one other deity must be considered as a symbolic analogue to the baby boys on the tombstones: Eros, who, as another irrational actor, is often linked in the mythological Greek tradition with Dionysos.²³⁴ An explicit evocation of androgynous infancy, Eros is routinely depicted in art with long curls and braided locks. In many Hellenistic and Roman representations, Eros shares several attributes with the boys on the reliefs and is likewise resplendent in his baby nudity. As a kourotrophic deity, concerned to protect the early lives of children, he is invoked in Longus’ *Daphnis and Chloe*, not merely as an advocate of passionate love, but more narrowly as a protector until such love should be possible. To this end, both the youth and the girl are consecrated to Eros (*Daphnis and Chloe*, 2.6.). The iconography of the present stelai plausibly represents participation in such votive rituals and thus grants to the child immemorial in stone what was denied in his brief life.

Reading the Infant and Toddler Monuments

An analysis of the Stele of Ephesios will provide a useful introduction to this category of monuments. The marker is of Pentelic marble and the surface of the relief is damaged (**Cat. 10**).²³⁵ Tapering toward the top, it stands 0.70 m high and 0.45 m wide. A gable rises steeply over a simply framed relief field and is capped by only two acroteria. In the

²³³ Kerenyi 1976, 383; Diodorus Siculus IV.5.2: διμορφονδ’ αὐτὸν δοκεῖν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ δύο Διονύσους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν καταπώγωνα διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πάντας πωγωνοτροφεῖν, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον ὠραῖον καὶ τρυφερὸν καὶ νεόν καθότι προεῖρηται.

²³⁴ Eros and Dionysos represent in Greek tradition the mythical expression of the irrational or uncontrollable aspect of human life and in this are perfectly suited divine avatars of early childhood — itself defined in Greek thinking by the absence of reason. See McCail 2002, xxv.

²³⁵ Here I rely in part on the description and measurements of Conze, as I was unable to study this stele in person. See Conze 1911-1922 IV, 61-62, no. 1976.

center of the typanum is a round shield. A small boy with the plump cheeks and round arms of a toddler stands at the center of the field. With his right hand he clutches a small bird of indefinite genus to his breast. In his lowered left hand, he holds a cluster of grapes. His hair lies close to his head and is drawn into a central braid at the crown. His left knee bends slightly, while his right leg bears his weight in a coarse, classicizing quotation of contrapposto.

The monument's vertical composition, the length and location of its inscription — carved onto the gable's shield and continued in its tympanum and onto the architrave below — suggest a mid to late 2nd century CE date, possibly Antonine or Early Severan, for the relief.²³⁶ The steepness of the stele's gable is notable and, according to Riemann, a steep gable without the central acroterion is quite rare. He dates a monument of comparable gable-type, the stele of Neikon, which we will examine in the following pages, to the Trajanic period or more narrowly around 100 CE.²³⁷ As I have not seen this stele in person and the details of Conze's image are blurry, I am inclined to follow a later date based on Müsham's chronology for inscriptions. The text of the epitaph, as usual, does not clarify the date. Preserved only partially, it speaks to the passer-by: "I was called Ephesios ...and I lie here..."²³⁸ While the inscription is straightforward, the iconographic message is less direct and requires closer scrutiny.

The bird invites initial examination as this attribute is so prevalent and has already been explored in the context of the iconography of the maiden monuments. In fact, the recurrent motif of birds (generally doves) with not only young girls, but also older

²³⁶ On the placement of the inscription in the tympanum and the relief field as an indication of later date, see Müsham 1952, 55; 57-58.

²³⁷ Riemann 1940, 59.

²³⁸ For text of the inscription, see **Cat 10**.

maidens, suggests perhaps that these pets were particularly perceived as feminizing and, as such, were rather specific social markers of age-status: i.e., children, like women, were not men. If such is the case, then the bird enfolded in the toddler's arms might be taken as the first of several specifically feminizing attributes deployed to underscore the androgyny and, to borrow from Diodoros, the delicate (τρυφερόν) nature of childhood. In the case of this admittedly narrow study, this possibility is strengthened for Imperial iconography by the rarity of doves on the stelai of older boys, who are closer to maturity on the spectrum of manhood and who have, perhaps, begun to set aside childish things.²³⁹

While my interpretation of the bird may be conjectural, the braided hair of Ephesios offers a more straightforward reference to the perceived androgyny of early male childhood. From the 4th century BCE through the Roman period, a braid crowning the head appears on myriad depictions of small children and on representations of the infant god Eros. In general, long locks were age-markers that highlighted the liminality of childhood, while the plait itself served a more specific, functional purpose by conserving a portion of hair for votive offering to kourotrophic deities: e.g. Isis, Asklepios, Aphrodite, Demeter and Artemis.²⁴⁰ It is, in fact, the braid in conjunction with longer hair that identifies the figure on a Kerameikos Museum fragment as a small child (**Cat. 11**). The braid might even have marked out a child votary who had himself been dedicated in service to a god through childhood.²⁴¹ Particularly in the sanctuaries of

²³⁹ Birds are seen in Greek art being exchanged between countless pairings of age and gender, see Cohen 2007, 19. However, in this particular corpus, the stele of only one ephebe displays a bird; birds appear otherwise only in depictions of toddlers, preadolescent youths and, as mentioned, girls. Hans Riemann also remarks on the dove as an attribute specific to children and young maidens. See Riemann 1940, 63.

²⁴⁰ Thompson 1982, 157; Harrison 1988, 253.

²⁴¹ Thompson 1982, 157.

virgin goddesses, this pre-male status, signified by the plaited hair, was central to eligibility for service.

Ritual hair cutting was a prominent feature of maturation rites for both sexes — girls cut their hair just prior to marriage. However, rites defined by a deliberate period of ritual growing and cutting of hair were predominately boys' rituals. The growth and cutting rite likely originated in a private parental vow to a kourotrophic deity, an offering to be made in exchange for the healthy passage of the male child through phases of childhood and into adulthood. Boys who were themselves votaries cut off their braids upon puberty and departure from temple service. Epigraphic evidence offered by David Leitaο also suggests that, while these rites tended to be practiced at different ages, the cutting of a male toddlers' hair may represent a shift out of the feminine maternal sphere.²⁴² Such details underscore the continued practice and perceived value of traditional rituals once closely tied to Athenian civic identity. Equally expressive of private grief, the braided hairstyle likewise highlights an unfulfilled promise, a *τροφερός* never to pass beyond the feminine.

Boys to Men

Two separate iconographic elements counterbalance the expression of grief and inject aspiration into the imagery: the cluster of grapes and the child's nudity. On the surface, the grapes can be read as a straightforward symbol of fertility and, in a funerary context, of rebirth. They are metaphoric shorthand for the agricultural cycle. Grapes also immediately imply Dionysos and call to mind the Anthesteria festival in which the grape may have functioned as a symbolic reference to children as the aged wine served as a

²⁴² Leitaο 2003, 113-115.

metaphor for adults. However, the combination of the plaited hair and the grapes may also indicate Eros. Votive offerings of grapes were frequently made to Aphrodite, among other deities connected with the site, at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.²⁴³ And it is her infant son, Eros, who offers the most direct artistic parallels for our monument.

There are many representations of Eros offering or clasping grapes on vase-paintings of the 4th century BCE. More direct comparanda, however, are to be found among Hellenistic and Roman terracotta statuettes in which the Erotes are generally represented as babies and small children rather than the youths more typical of figurines of the Classical period. Several figurines depict small boys offering grapes, most likely as votive offerings, and an Attic figurine represents Eros holding grapes.²⁴⁴ Later terracotta works of the Roman period provide still more parallels, as for example, an Attic terracotta-lamp from the Agora.²⁴⁵ Here, as in countless other representations of Eros, the infant god's hair is pulled back and plaited from the forehead and he clutches grapes to his chest (Fig. 14).²⁴⁶

Still, the assimilation of the mortal children on our stelai to these Eros types need not preclude all Dionysiac associations. Eros and Dionysos were conjoined in the Greek artistic tradition as irrational deities, and in earlier Greek vase painting, the flying Eros with grapes appears frequently in Dionysiac settings.²⁴⁷ These painted erotes supply grapes for the bacchanalian celebration much in the same way that mortal children carried grapes and baskets of fruit to religious festivals and sanctuaries. In the context of

²⁴³ Merker 2000, 194. On the symbolism of grapes in the Anthesteria, see Hamilton 1992, 113-117.

²⁴⁴ Merker 2000, 181 and 194.

²⁴⁵ Perlzweig 1961, pl.17, fig. 747.

²⁴⁶ Grandjouan 1961, 194, pl. 980.

²⁴⁷ For example a bell krater from the Hope collection of Greek vases depicts such a scene. See Hope 1923, 100-101, no. 168.

our funerary stelai, grapes may simply represent cult offerings to kourotrophic deities from whom bereaved parents sought an eternal nurturing for their child. Yet, allusions to gods identified with Dionysian rebirth complicate a simple reading and suggest the grapes may also have functioned as an implicit symbol of salvation, a universal referent to an afterlife among the blessed. This iconography, echoed in Attic Dionysian sarcophagi and their many scenes of the *komos* of erotes, may likewise reveal a strong preference for local, classicizing themes and are thus firmly rooted in and expressive of an enduring Athenian cultural tradition.²⁴⁸

The prospective happiness implied by the cluster of grapes is further confirmed in the nudity of the child. No monuments in the corpus depict feminine nudity at any stage of development. Obviously, this can easily be explained away by cultural propriety. Indeed, as I argue earlier, the most striking aspect of the Olympia stele is the girl's exposed shoulder (**Cat. 1**). But as with Olympia's exposure, the meaning of the boys' nudity is multivalent. At the most superficial level, Greek boys exercised and competed in the nude, whence their routine nudity in literature and art. In this regard, the stele might be taken simply to reflect daily practice. I argue, however, that there is more at work in the universal nudity of our youngest male subjects.

To show an infant boy nude was not simply to capture a child at play — the stiff frontal compositions are hardly evocative of natural play. Rather the display serves as a parental advertisement: “I did not merely lose a child, I lost my son.” Nudity points out the exceptional status of boy versus girl, an exceptionalism long propagated by Greek

²⁴⁸ Zanker et al 2012, 249.

philosophy.²⁴⁹ Sculpted nudity serves a ritual function. Just as the literary shedding of a feminine guise was precedent to Achilles' manhood in Statius' poem, so too nudity bestows an aspirational maturity on the deceased child of the reliefs. This ritual performance was likely most important for those youngest of deceased boys, who were still so thoroughly immersed in the feminine sphere and least advanced along the spectrum of Greek manhood. In this way, the infant stelai deploy "costume," much like the bridal imagery of the maiden stelai, and realize in stone a social apex denied in life.

The remaining stelai in this group engage in these same iconographic themes. The first of these is of white, likely Pentelic, marble (**Cat. 12**). It stands 0.31m tall with a width of 0.26m. The monument has been broken diagonally across the middle and the bottom half is missing. A simple frame surmounted by a gable surrounds the relief field. The pediment is capped laterally with two acroteria and a round shield is placed in the center of the gable. A third akroterion appears to have broken off the top of the gable. The steepness of the pediment and the inscription, carved into the relief field itself on either side of the head, suggest the stele belongs among the later works of this corpus;²⁵⁰ mid to late 2nd century CE may be the narrowest stylistic date possible for a relief of this modest quality.

A small boy stands frontally at the center of the field. His face is quite round and the fullness of his cheeks is accentuated by the drill holes at the corners of his mouth. The young boy's hair is bound back in a central braid from the forehead and his curls, falling longer than those of Ephesios, reach down to the tops of his shoulders. At a glance, the viewer takes in the pathos of death at a tender feminine age, while this emotion is

²⁴⁹ i.e. Plato's *Republic* wherein females are weaker guardians than males: 455e; 456a; 457a ; or Aristotle wherein deformation is the odd natural state of women: *Generation of Animals*: iv.6.775a15.

²⁵⁰ Müsham 1952, pediment: 91; inscription: 55; 57-58.

simultaneously attenuated by masculine nudity and the implicit prospect of maturity in death explored above. Two remaining attributes strengthen this dualistic reading. The child holds an object to his chest that is difficult to identify. The position and nature of the embrace immediately call up the dove motif. However, the shape of the object cannot reasonably represent a bird. A cluster of grapes seems possible, particularly given the rounded form just beneath the boy's left hand (**Cat. 12 detail**). If such is the case, then the reading applied to Ephesios might likewise be discerned here.

Conze, on the other hand, suggests that the object might be a syrinx, or, pan pipes.²⁵¹ A close examination of the object reveals that all of the curved forms terminate at the same point beneath the hand rather than forming the triangular point of a grape cluster. Moreover, it would be unusual to clutch grapes against the chest; in most artistic formulae grapes are held out in offering or are clasped in a lowered hand. While this interpretation of the syrinx cannot be accepted without reservation, it would be a striking attribute in a funerary context. In light of the iconographic allusions to Eros discussed above, several artistic parallels and precedents can be found. An excellent example is a fragmentary Hellenistic terracotta from the Agora depicting an infant Eros with plaited hair and the pan-pipes held to his chest (Fig. 15).²⁵² Furthermore, some 250 terracotta lamps decorated with Eros playing the syrinx have been uncovered in Athens, and similar representations of the Eros-syrinx motif appear on Attic erotes sarcophagi dated to 270 - 310 CE.²⁵³ Given such examples, particularly those in the funerary context, Conze's interpretation of the syrinx should not be altogether dismissed.

²⁵¹ Conze 1911-1922 IV IV, 62, no. 77.

²⁵² Grandjouan 1961, 194, plate 981.

²⁵³ Perlzweig 1961, 114, 116; Zanker et al 2012, 149.

Of course, the pan-pipes are most immediately associated with their eponymous player, Pan, and shepherds. A secondary, chthonic association with Sirens, however, underlines the funerary context. In a fragment of Sophocles, the Sirens are called the “daughters of Phorcys, the two that sing the ways of Hades.”²⁵⁴ In Euripides’ *Helen* (167-72), Helen invites the Sirens, companions of Persephone, to join her in lamentation over her own sorrows. She calls upon them to bring their instruments of mourning, including σύριγγας.²⁵⁵ Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 5.554-560) imagines the Sirens to have been the mortal companions of Persephone to whom the gods granted their yellow wings to search for the abducted girl.²⁵⁶ Beyond these literary references, the sculptural exempla of Sirens, singing over the dead in eternal lamentation, are a recurrent motif on Greek funerary monuments from the Classical period forward. Still, the representation of a Siren with a pan-pipe is quite rare in Greek art.²⁵⁷ The Getty collection features one such example dated to the early Classical period: a bronze askos shaped like a siren who holds a syrinx and pomegranate.²⁵⁸

Despite the relative rarity of the Siren with syrinx motif in the artistic record, Despoina Tsiafakis suggests a plausible connection between Pan and the Sirens: a shared erotic quality and the mournful, seductive sound of the pipes themselves.²⁵⁹ If the relief does represent a syrinx (once wrought out of erotic frustration from a fistful of virginal

²⁵⁴ Radt, ed. 1977. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* 4: F. 861.

²⁵⁵ πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες, παρθένοι Χθονὸς κόραι Σειρήνες, εἴθ’ ἐμοῖς γόοις μόλοιτ’ ἔχουσαι Λίβυν λωτὸν ἢ σύριγγας ἢ φόρμιγγας...

²⁵⁶ an quia, cum legeret vernos Proserpina flores, in comitum numero, doctae Sirenes, eratis? Quam postquam toto frustra quaesistis in orbe, protinus, ut vestram sentirent aequora curam, posse super fluctus alarum insistere remis optastis, facilesque deos habuistis et artus vidistis vestros subitis flavescere pennis.

²⁵⁷ Other non-Greek examples with syrinx are 6th century BCE limestone Siren from Cyprus and a group of 30 Etruscan cinerary urns that display one of three Sirens playing a syrinx as Odysseus sails past, mast-bound. See Tsiafakis 2001, 19.

²⁵⁸ Tsiafakis 2001, 7-21.

²⁵⁹ Tsiafakis 2001, 19. In myth, Pan is said to have invented the Pan-pipes when, the nymph Syrinx spurning his advances was swallowed up by Ge, and reeds sprouted up where she had been. Pan took these reeds and blew a mournful sound through their hollows, whence his Pipe.

reeds), the attribute serves as an instrument of eternal lament for the androgynous child. Once more, this lamentation is resolved only in the boy's nudity and the attendant prospect of maturity in the afterlife.

The remaining attribute is a small basket filled with fruit. Periodic food offerings, many of which are captured on white-ground funerary lekythoi of the 5th century CE, were considered central to the happy maintenance of the dead in ancient Greek mortuary practice. Thus the basket, much like the dirge of the syrinx, might be taken as an eternal provisioning for the child. Another interpretation is of a votive offering to a particular fertility deity, e.g. Demeter or Dionysos — either of whom would naturally lend my interpretation a chthonic cast.²⁶⁰ Dionysos, like Demeter, was revered as a regenerative god. He was at once a deity of death and a god who triumphed over death. So too was Demeter, who sought to immortalize the infant Demophon by burning away his mortal body (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 239-261). If such deities are implied, the child's parents perhaps took consolation in an iconography alluding to a blessed after life.

Here, I turn to the stele's epitaph, as its text may perhaps shed more light on the question of divine associations as well as the indeterminate object held by the child. The inscription reads: "Although being the age for the festival of the jugs, fate denied me the choes."²⁶¹ The choes festival occurred on the second day of the Anthesteria, a three-day Spring celebration. Only once a year, a small sanctuary dedicated to Dionysos in the Marshes was opened up specifically for this festival. On the day of the jugs, referred to in the inscription, the opening of the new wine was celebrated in a polis-wide drinking contest. Even small children of three years old took part in the celebration with their own

²⁶⁰ In ca. 420, the cult at Eleusis proclaimed that all Greeks must give their first-fruit offerings to the two goddesses, Persephone and Demeter. See Burkert 1987, 67-68.

²⁶¹ See Conze 1911-1922 IV IV, 62, no. 1977: ἡλικίης Χοϊκῶν|, ὁ δὲ δαί[μων] ἔφθ|σε τοὺς Χοῦς.

little choes, though it is unclear that these young participants were actually consuming wine.²⁶² Whatever their role, it is clear that participation in this festival marked a child's very first accession into the world of adulthood. As evidence of the cultural import of this rite during the fifth century BCE, miniature choes were often buried with those children who did not reach the age of three. Fruit, set out on tables and small stools or carried in baskets, appears on numerous chous decorations,²⁶³ and it is tempting to imagine the young boy on our stele carrying a basket of provisions to an Anthesterion celebration. If such is the case, then the epitaph undermines Conze's syrinx interpretation and suggests that the child may hold grapes, particularly as this fruit was so essential to the celebration of the Anthesterion. Moreover, such iconography would clarify a conservatism in the practice, if not the context, of Attic religion. In conjunction with the epitaph, this iconography reasonably alludes to one of Athens' most ancient religious rites and illustrates that, despite Roman conquest and its attendant Imperial cult, ancestral cults remained at the core of Attic religious life.²⁶⁴

An epitaph on the naiskos stele of Solon, in the collection of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, also dates to the mid to late 2nd century CE (**Cat. 13**). As with the two preceding monuments, the inscription on this stele begins on the frame beneath the gable and continues onto the relief field itself beside the head of a small boy. The sole monument of this category with a preserved archaeological context, the relief was found along with two others built into the walls of a reservoir of the Roman period.

²⁶² Burkert 1987, 237; Beaumont 1994, 83. Three years was also the age at which a toddler was publicly introduced into the phratry during the Apatourian festival in the Fall.

²⁶³ A cursory review of the choes catalog in van Hoorn 1951, reveals that fruit is among the most common images represented on these vessels. See for example Catalog nos. 76, 218, 224, 291, 412, 589, 646, 647, 696, 716, 842, 1004, 1011.

²⁶⁴ Beard 1998, 342-344.

They were originally given a pre-Hadrianic date²⁶⁵ but the inscription and style, including its tight vertical composition, seem to place the monument at in the later Antonine period.²⁶⁶

This stele, once more carved out of Pentelic marble, stands 0.64m high and with a width that ranges from 0.37 to 0.39m. It has been broken horizontally at four separate places. A gable with acroteria surmounts the relief field where a coarsely carved child stands. The boy places his weight on his left leg and his frontal position is stiff. The sculptor does not achieve the sinuous stance of finer late Antonine works. The relief itself is of shallow depth. The boy holds to his breast a small bird and has a ball in his lowered left hand.²⁶⁷ The significance of the bird and ball have been explored in both this and the preceding chapter²⁶⁸ and can be accepted as age-markers with feminizing overtones, particularly in the case of infant boys. Of greater interest here, however, is the age discrepancy between the child depicted and the inscription. The text of the inscription reads: “Hades, why did you hasten to seize our sweet child Solon? Without pity you took away a baby of six months, a good baby. Oh fate what sharp pain you have brought to wretched parents.”²⁶⁹ The child depicted on the stele, however, is not a six-month old. Such disjunction, addressed earlier in my introduction, is a clear example of the

²⁶⁵ Goodell and Heermance 1895, 474.

²⁶⁶ For dating based on the location of the inscription see, Müsham. On the relation between find-spot and actual date see Harrison 1953, 3; 6: Harrison notes just how little chronological association can exist between find spots and the date of a Roman period work, i.e. in Late Roman archaeological contexts, finds range from the 1st century BCE to the second half of the third century CE; Antonine sculptures are found in the context of the Herulian invasion, over a century after their creation.

²⁶⁷ Conze suggests it may be either a ball or an apple but I cannot discern anything in the carving that might indicate an apple rather than the more typical attribute of a ball. See Conze 1911-1922 IV IV, 62.

²⁶⁸ See above Chapter 3 above, pp. Pending final arrangement of document.

²⁶⁹ For the Greek text of the inscription see Moock 1998, 100, no. 81: Τί σπεύσας, Ἀΐδη, τὸ νήπιον ἥρπασας ἡμῶν, | τὸν γλυκέρων τε Σόλωνα κατήγαγες οὐκ ἐλεήσας, | τὸ βρέφος ἔξ ἐ μνῶν, τὸ καλὸν βρέφος; ὥς πικρὸν ἄλγος | δειλοῖσι | γονέεσσι, | Πεπρωμένη, ἐξετέλεσσας.

divergence between a child's actual age and the sculptural representation.²⁷⁰ Clearly, this marker was selected among a series of ready-made monuments and the desire to commemorate preceded any consideration of authentic portraiture. Indeed as Moock suggests, the simple historical name, Solon, may attest to slave origins.²⁷¹ Given this possibility and given the poor quality of its workmanship, it is likely that this stele was not the marker of a wealthy child. Yet, through a striking epitaph that elevates the generalized iconography, the stele lays equal claim to the vernacular of grief and reveals that the lives of all Attic children of the Empire, as is natural, were duly mourned and celebrated.

Two final monuments in this group appear on truncated pyramid forms (**Cat. 14** and **Cat. 15**); four other monuments of this type (**Cat. 16-19**) are included in the corpus with this distinctive form and, given the similarity with **Cat. nos. 14** and **15**, can simply be reviewed in the catalog. A precedent for this monument form is preserved in the Kerameikos today in the gravestone of Sosibios of Sounion that is dated to the late Hellenistic or early Roman period.²⁷² The compositional similarity with the Epagathos relief (**Cat. 2**) and the use of the same monumental form recommend a 2nd-century CE date for both works. The first of these, **Cat.14**, measures 0.35 m in preserved height with a tapering width from bottom to top of 0.15m to 0.13m. However, the top half of the monument is broken off and it was likely almost equal in size to **Cat. 15** prior to this breakage. **Cat. 15** measures 0.79 meters in height with a tapering width again from bottom to top of 0.23m to 0.12m. While a major section of the monument remains intact,

²⁷⁰ This is the same discrepancy that appears in Cat.21, a stele that I myself did not see. The image is of an older child with an ephebic chlamys; yet, the inscription mourns the death of 16 month old infant.

²⁷¹ Moock 1998, 84, n.1001.

²⁷² Luce et al. 1939, 480.

the surface is quite damaged and no facial or bodily details are legible. Each marker depicts a boy standing on a small ledge, much like the marker of Epagathos. Only **Cat. 14** bears an inscription, which preserves only part of a name: [---] λεῖνος | ἐξ Οἴου. Both children hold a bird to their breast, although the surface of stele (**Cat. 15**) has been so damaged that the bird is conjectured based on comparanda and the residual shape. Among the markers of this age class, these two are the least ornate and represent the most basic presentation of the themes explored thus far.

Before turning to the explicit iconography of these monuments, I will analyze their form. I suggested in the preceding chapter that the iconography of maidenhood indicated a new privileging of feminine social power and a social cosmopolitanism binding elite families across empire.²⁷³ This cosmopolitanism is likewise discernible in the form itself of these monuments, a form that originates in Egyptian architecture and was manipulated by Ptolemaic rulers to assert continuity between the deified pharaohs of the Egyptian past and the Ptolemaic present. Just as the Ptolemies before them had done, Rome appropriated such objects and monuments as a calculated, political expression of imperial power. The importation of Egyptian obelisks alluded to not only to the subjugation of Egypt but also to the all-encompassing nature of Rome's pan-Mediterranean rule; ancient gods themselves were subsumed. Once incorporated into the architectural vernacular of Rome, obelisks became part of the public landscape across the Greco-Roman empire, while Egyptian cults associated with these objects, particularly of Isis and Serapis, flourished.²⁷⁴ At Athens, the Imperial grave stelai of priestesses of Isis are among the most monumental markers of the era and assert the status of such

²⁷³ See 76-77.

²⁷⁴ Thank you to Susan I. Rotroff for pointing out this possible connection between the obelisk and Egyptian cults.

women.²⁷⁵ Through these small, simple obelisks, even the less prominent of Attic citizens or residents could lay claim to the prestige of empire. It is also plausible, given the numerous funerary stelai depicting female citizens in the guise of Isiac priestesses and given the Harpocratic allusions in the funerary iconography of boys to be discussed below, that the monument form established someone of the family, if not the deceased, as an initiate of the Isis cult.

An exploration of the iconography *upon* these forms reveals, however, that the Imperial motif of the pyramid is integrated into an exhibition of enduring local cult and thus reveals the bilateral process of acculturation. In the chapter on maidens and girls, I suggested that doves carried nuptial overtones through their well-established association with the goddess Aphrodite. In connection with infant boys, one must again construe the symbol contextually. A striking iconographic precedent, in a small Hellenistic statuette from Dodonna, suggests that these birds may represent votive offerings to *kourotrophoi* (nursing deities) or the protective, nurturing aspects of certain deities. The Dodonna statuette was uncovered at the site of an Epeirote shrine dedicated to the wife of Zeus and his consort Dione. According to local tradition, Dione was the mother of Aphrodite and her priestesses were called doves, again indicating the strong symbolic association between the *kourotrophic* goddess and doves.

The bronze figure from Dodonna depicts a small, round faced boy with a small bird perched on his left hand (Fig. 16).²⁷⁶ His balanced pose and slight sway of the body set the bronze within the 4th century, Lysippian tradition.²⁷⁷ His head bends down toward his pet and his hair is bound tightly into a plait from his forehead down the crown of his

²⁷⁵ For a complete study of these monuments, see Walters 1988.

²⁷⁶ Thompson 1982, 215, pl. 23 a-c.

²⁷⁷ Thompson 1982, 158.

head to his neck. This gaze suggested to Dorothy Thompson a certain wistfulness quite unlike the happy play of boys and birds on Attic choes. The tenor of the statuette and the inclination of the child's head recall the evocative Paros girl (Fig.4). This tone intimates that the boy may be about to offer the bird as a votive to Dione or perhaps Aphrodite herself. His own plaited hair may indicate that he will one day offer a ritual lock to the goddess upon puberty or that he himself has been offered in service at the sanctuary through his own childhood. The bird and braid underscore his liminal status, a gender neutrality that made young boys ideal servers in the sanctuaries of kourotrophic deities, such as Artemis and Aphrodite. Given the mournful aspect of the figure, Thompson speculated that the statuette was perhaps offered in honor of a child who died in service at the sanctuary.²⁷⁸ If Thompson's speculation is correct, the sculpture offers an even more fitting precedent for the stele. Epirus is, of course, a great distance from Athens, in the far northwest reaches of Greece, and this distance begs the question of its relationship to Athenian figurines. Thompson argues persuasively, however, on the basis of clay molds excavated in the Agora at Athens with identical dimensions to those of the bronze, that the bronze figurine originated as the work of an Athenian sculptor.²⁷⁹ A small marble statue from the sanctuary at Brauron depicting a young boy supports Thompson's supposition (Fig. 17).²⁸⁰ As with the infants of our markers, this small boy is nude. He holds a round fruit in his right lowered hand and a small bird in his left. His hair, much like that of the boy from the Epirote sanctuary, appears to be ritually dressed and perhaps is centrally braided. He is one of a number of such boy statuettes uncovered in the Great Stoa of the sanctuary that date to the fourth century BCE. Each child holds (most

²⁷⁸ Thompson 1982, 157.

²⁷⁹ Thompson 1982, 161.

²⁸⁰ Ioanina Museum 1371. Themelis 1971, Pl 71:c.

frequently) a bird and a small piece of fruit or ball.²⁸¹ In this, the marble boys perform a perpetual offering: as votive objects themselves, they depict the *act* of offering. Thus, as long as the votive remained at the temple site, it continued its performative function initiated by the votary. This constant act in the context of Artemisian Brauron makes vivid parental hopes for their living child. In quoting the iconography and composition of such precedents, the later Roman monuments transpose a consonant desire — an aspirational appeal for maturity — into a funerary context. Thus, our Imperial infants with birds and braids are uniquely expressive of an enduring classical Athenian tradition. Just as the infants with grapes or fruit baskets may be interpreted in the context of Dionysian ritual or cult performance, so too, these markers may represent ritual actions associated with kourotrophic deities; here, the iconography is imported into a funerary context for the explicit protection of children who died in early childhood. Such transposition of ritual iconography into funerary art appears on the stelai of young children from the 4th century BCE that share the same visual vocabulary as choes, including dogs and, for boys, the wheeled stick.²⁸² It is not unlikely, given the Classical votive reliefs and funerary inscriptions discovered among the remains of the Mahdia ship-wreck, that such works were viewed by Athenians during the Imperial period. This hypothesis is further confirmed by the large number of Greek votive and funerary reliefs uncovered in the context of finer homes in Rome and its environs.²⁸³ Thus, the apparent

²⁸¹ Themelis 1971, 20-24, esp.24. Unfortunately, the Brauron statuettes appear to be woefully under-published. Only one boy statuette is pictured in Themelis' catalog and so I rely on his synopsis of the collection. Interestingly, despite Artemis' preference for girls, small boys outnumber the girls represented by far, an imbalance also noted in the funerary stelai. This greater proportion is significant not because it highlights the obvious preference for male children, but rather because it highlights, in material form, the construction of small boys as quasi-feminine and therefore eligible for access to Artemis and her kourotrophic aspect.

²⁸² Beaumont 2012, 80.

²⁸³ Hölscher 2006, 254.

visual consonance between the Brauron votive offerings and later Imperial stelai need not be dismissed on the grounds of intervening centuries. Rather, they point out an essential conservatism of Attic religious practice, as discussed in Chapter One, and an established pattern of re-purposing ritual or religious iconography for a funerary context.

Monuments of Prepubescent Boys

I have included 30 monuments in the prepubescent category (**Cat nos. 23-51**). Some of these are fragmentary and/or I have not examined them in person. This group exhibits some slippage between its bracketing categories of the infant and the youth, and I have relied on several recurring attributes rather than strict body type to make my age distinctions. The most prevalent attribute is the dog, which does not appear as a feature of the preserved infant markers. Another regular attribute is the so-called “Horus-lock” or ritual lock.²⁸⁴ Finally, there is the recurrent representation of a childish motif, e.g. a ball, or perhaps even more infantilizing, a pet bird, in conjunction with an explicitly older attribute, e.g. the ephebic, shoulder-draped chlamys. Indeed, as the following analysis suggests, adult dress need not be routinely accepted as a reliable indicator of age.

This particular series is notable for its sheer iconographic variety. The boys are presented in a wide range of “social uniforms” that convey status in distinctive ways, ranging from the athletic ephebe to the *pepaidoumenos* (literally, one who has been educated, whence learned) with scroll in hand. Thus, as a general organizing principle, I explore the monuments according to the attire of the child: nude with chlamys; long himation; hip-mantle and nude type; and finally, short chiton or hunting dress.

²⁸⁴ The Horus-lock or the single ringlet, growing from the side of the head, appears to be particularly associated with children of a young age, see Goette 1989, 210-17. Yet, long tresses demarcated distinct phases of maturation during the complete span of Attic (male) coming of age. Thus, I interpret long locks as preadolescent *only* as they are accompanied by other iconographic markers of prepubescent childhood.

Contemporary literary parallels will be cited on a case-by-case basis, rather than as a framing context, given the diversity of this category. Despite such variability, however, the function of the iconography remains constant: to eulogize the victims of untimely death and to bestow manhood through visual allusions to maturation rites. These varied expressions of prospective maturity illuminate the broad scope of civic self-construction under Roman rule.

Nude with Chlamys

There are eight markers that belong to the nude with chlamys category. In each case, a boy is depicted with shoulder-draped mantle (**Cat. 23 -30**.) Usually the chlamys is drawn across the chest and is secured at the proper right shoulder with a decorative pin, e.g. (**Cat. 29**), henceforward a scheme I will refer to as a pinned chlamys. In three instances, however, the chlamys is gathered over the left arm and a small bunch is draped (often rather unconvincingly) over the shoulder, henceforward referred to as a shoulder pouch chlamys (**Cat. 23**). Only one of the earliest of these monuments (**Cat. 29**) is a kioniskos; all the rest are naiskos or frame stelai.

The iconography of four monuments of this type is particularly elaborate, and it is these works that I examine most closely. The first and earliest is a fragmentary naiskos stele of Pentelic marble with a preserved height of 0.70m and a preserved width of 0.47m (**Cat. 23**). Only a portion of the right-hand pilaster and a large diagonal section of the relief panel remain. A young boy stands frontally at the center of the relief. Much of his upper body is preserved, although the monument breaks off just beneath the child's right shoulder. Despite the extensive damage to the original work, several attributes remain, some only partially preserved. A sphinx is seated upon a diptych (with its panels oriented

horizontally) to the left of the boy's head. A single, long lock of hair falls behind his ear and the bunched drapery of the chlamys hangs over his shoulder and across his left wrist. Three points of a star or starburst appear faintly just above the head. Finally, the remains of what seems to be a spindle appear just at head height to the boy's proper left. An unidentifiable, curved object is cut off to the right and just below the "spindle." A siren, sketched in a three-quarter stance on the proper left pilaster, faces the child. The comparatively good quality and size of the sculpture²⁸⁵ and the child's distinctive sickle-shaped locks²⁸⁶ suggest a 1st century CE date. This date can be narrowed to the Tiberian or Claudian period by comparison with the bust of a small boy from the Kerameikos (Fig. 18), dated by Riemann to the mid-1st century CE.²⁸⁷ The Kerameikos head offers an excellent parallel for the hairstyle and idealized face of the anonymous child on our stele.

The iconography of this stele is particularly rich and one can conjecture what other attributes might have appeared on the work as a whole. As we shall see in the following review of the other monuments, it is quite likely that the child held a ball in his right hand. A bird is unlikely, as neither hand is placed upon the child's chest, the most typical arrangement of such bird compositions. While these are merely conjectural attributes, there can be no doubt that the monument derives explicitly from Classical precedents. The most immediate forebear both in tone and iconography is the Cat Stele from Aegina or Salamis, a work now housed in the National Museum at Athens (Fig. 19).²⁸⁸ The pathos evoked in both works inheres in the composition. These youths, on the cusp and at the pinnacle of physical perfection respectively, are placed within the setting

²⁸⁵ Walters 1988, 67.

²⁸⁶ Moock 1998 144, no. 309.

²⁸⁷ Kerameikos 4161; Riemann 1940, 89, pl. 28, no.118.

²⁸⁸ Athens, National Museum 715. Clairmont 1993, 1.396-98, cat. 1.550.

of the cemetery: the cat²⁸⁹ of the Classical marker sits atop a funerary stele, while the sphinx and siren of the Imperial work clearly evoke the funerary landscape. Each of the latter creatures has enduring association with Attic grave sites and functions on the one hand as an apotropaic device and on the other as a perpetual mourner. The major difference between the subjects is age. The boy of the later stele has not yet reached puberty.

The diptych set beneath the seated sphinx is perplexing and I know of no precedent in either a ritual or funerary contexts. Perhaps the artist misunderstood the original formula of the sphinx as the finial of Archaic grave monuments. Whatever the case, the diptych itself suggests that the boy was a student. School typically commenced when a child was seven and continued until adolescence; if the child's emerging musculature may be taken at face value, this figure stands at the earlier end of this spectrum. A separate attribute that underlines the child's young age is the Horus-lock, a ringlet that appears on the right side of a youth's head. This particular placement of the lock originates as a demarcation of child status in Egyptian depictions of Harpocrates and was likely imported into Greek iconography with the growth of Isis cults throughout the Mediterranean.²⁹⁰ The lock on the right side of the head suggests an affiliation with Isiaic cult either through a family member or through the consecration of the child himself to the goddess. A second symbol, the starburst above the boy's head, strengthens this Isiaic association. In her cosmic aspect, the goddess was associated with the Dog Star and, in

²⁸⁹This cat is only "so-called" as its head has not been preserved. It is possible that the cat may in fact be a sphinx.

²⁹⁰For the possibility that the prevalent "Horus-Lock" emanates out of an Egyptian tradition, see Walters 1988, 25, n. 145.

Egypt, with the star of Isis, Sothis.²⁹¹ Apuleius refers to Isis as *matrem siderum*, the mother of the stars.²⁹² Although the precise Isiaic affiliation remains unclear, the Horus-lock, which finds parallels with other Greek ritual tresses, indubitably designates our figure as a *pais*.

The delicacy implied by the long lock and the μαθητής (student) status alluded to by the diptych are counterbalanced by the chlamys. The boy is attired in the prototypical military garment of the ephebe²⁹³ and his nudity with its incipient musculature aspires toward manhood. From the 4th century BCE onward, the chlamys was considered the distinctive uniform of the ephebe who, historically, had been required to complete a two-year term of military service prior to his enrollment as a citizen. When these requirements lapsed, the chlamys remained visual shorthand for the martial hero. In fact, the general schema of the mantle on the present stele loosely imitates the drapery conventions first known from the 5th century BCE sculpture of the Homeric hero Diomedes, a work closely related in pose to the Doryphoros.²⁹⁴ Only four copies of the Diomedes survive, of which one in the Louvre provides a good example (Fig. 20).²⁹⁵ In the narrower realm of funerary sculpture, the stele of Chairedemos and Lykeas, dated to circa 410 BCE (Fig. 21),²⁹⁶ may also illustrate a variation of the shoulder-draped chlamys type. While earlier vase paintings, for instance Polygnotan representations of Zeus, lend the garment a theomorphic quality, the Chairedemos and Lykeas relief underscores the military

²⁹¹ Witt 1997, 19.

²⁹² Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.7.

²⁹³ Philostratus V.S. 11.1.550.

²⁹⁴ On pose see Stewart 1995, 251.

²⁹⁵ Paris, Louvre MR 265. See online collection database:
http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=837&langue=en.

²⁹⁶ Piraeus, Piraeus Museum 385. Boardman 1985, 184, no. 152.

connotations of the chlamys.²⁹⁷ It is the fusion of the divinizing and military aspect that appealed to Alexander and likewise later to the Romans.

The remarkable continuity of this iconography is reflected in its appearance in Roman heroic portraiture. Rome appropriated this tradition from sculptures dedicated by citizens of the Greek East (who themselves had created Ephebeia on the Attic model²⁹⁸) to prominent Roman patrons and benefactors.²⁹⁹ Pompey the Great, in borrowing not only Alexander's epithet but also Alexander's chlamys (rather than the *toga picta*) for his triumph, revealed a long-standing Roman fascination with the Hellenistic articulation of power.³⁰⁰ The chlamys draped about the nude emperor became a staple of imperial portraiture as exemplified by Vespasian's Divus portrait from the Collegium of the Augustales at Misenum (Fig. 22).³⁰¹ In the context of recently revived Attic funerary sculpture, the garment at once alluded to the glorified Athenian past and underlined the present status of Imperial elites who aligned themselves with Rome. This affiliation is strengthened by the sphinx, who apart from her enduring apotropaic function, had been appropriated by Octavian for his official seal. After Actium, the creature also appeared on coinage throughout the East and then in countless iterations among the minor arts: table legs, gems and candelabra.³⁰² The motif was perhaps then a very conscious borrowing of Imperial imagery. Most importantly for our anonymous mortal boy, however, is the

²⁹⁷ Of course the divine or heroic associations of the shoulder-draped chlamys are myriad. See a vase by Polignotus of Zeus pursuing a woman; he wears only the chlamys draped over one arm: Brussels P70; and a similar depiction by a follower of Polygnotos on a vase in the Louvre PGU 2. See Mattheson 1995, 206. The Fitzwilliam museum offers one such. See Beazley, 1963. *Attic red-figure vase-painters*. p. 409, no. 51..

²⁹⁸ Marrou 1956, 108-109.

²⁹⁹ Hallett 2005, 137-141.

³⁰⁰ Zanker 1990, 10.

³⁰¹ Hallett 2005, 180, pl. 102.

³⁰² Zanker 1990, 271-272; Moock 1998, 72.

chlamys which granted a maturity he would not achieve in life. The spindle hanging near the child's head (if that is what it is), perhaps underscores the motif of untimely death and alludes to a brief life as allotted by the fates.

The stele of Herakleides (**Cat. 24**) in the Louvre participates in a similar prospective iconography. This imagery includes a child standing frontally in a shoulder-pinned chlamys. His hair is bound back in a central braid.³⁰³ He holds both a ball and a bird. A dog is seated beside his left leg, while his right foot rests upon a tortoise. The monument stands 0.68m high with a tapering width from base to pediment of 0.37 m - 0.34 m. A shield is set in the center of the tympanum and the child's name, Herakleides of Peir(ai)eus, is inscribed on the architrave above the relief field. The composition of the relief is quite tight vertically, much like the Olympias stele (**Cat. 1**), which would suggest a Hadrianic date. However, as I have not studied the monument in person, I will rely tentatively on Moock's date of the middle 2nd century CE.³⁰⁴

The work offers a striking parallel to the Hadrianic iconography of Olympias in its simultaneous emphasis on the young age of the child and a prospective maturity. The plump body, braided hair and pet bird highlight an androgyny associated with early male childhood, while two key attributes, the dog and the chlamys, force the age categorization upward. Dogs do not appear on any Roman era stele as an attribute of infants nor, for that matter, of girls. This is a striking difference from the Classical funerary precedents on which dogs regularly appear as attributes of both genders. It is likewise a departure from the Classical representations of toddlers, who are so frequently pictured with dogs on the

³⁰³ I have not seen this stele in person so I rely on Conze and Moock. See Moock 1998, 174, no.469; Conze 1911-1922 IV IV, 64, no. 1986.

³⁰⁴ Moock 1998, 174, no. 469.

Anthesteria choes.³⁰⁵ Maltese dogs, a small variety of canine which became synonymous with the lap dog in the ancient world, make frequent appearances in Classical and Imperial art and literature. They were the favored type of pet among both wealthy women and men. And according to Athenaeus (*Deip.* 12.518), Sybarites went to the gymnasium in the company of their little Maltese dogs.³⁰⁶ Among artistic representations, the type is readily defined by its shaggy coat and diminutive size. As toy dogs, and despite their appeal to both genders, the Maltese might easily be construed as a femininizing attribute. Among the Imperial stelai, whether as an accident of preservation or by purposeful practice, it is the hunting dog that appears as the particular marker of non-infant boys. These dogs are defined by their lean build and longer noses. Ready parallels can be found among Classical monuments, including for example, an Attic stele of a hunter in the Munich Glyptotek, dated ca 350 BCE (Fig 23).³⁰⁷

The dogs on the present stelai may simply represent a beloved pet and the well-documented companionship between dogs and their owners in the Greek cultural tradition. It is the faithful dog, Argus, among the throngs at the house of Odysseus, who alone recognizes his master, and Telemachus rarely sets out without his two swift dogs at his side (*Odyssey* 17.300-310; 17.61-63.) And, as noted, the Classical sculptural representations are myriad; the relief stele of Moschion from Rhamnos³⁰⁸ provides one such example. Beyond the obvious interpretation of the dog as the loving, loyal pet — which is the most common scholarly interpretation³⁰⁹ — dogs had very specific coming-

³⁰⁵ Clairmont, Vol. 1, 129; Thank you to Professor Susan Rotroff for drawing my attention to the dogs on choes depicting toddlers. See for example von Hoorn 1951, 111, no. 367. This Athenian *chous*, dated ca. 425 BCE, is presently in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, no. 95.52.

³⁰⁶ Busuttil 1969, 205.

³⁰⁷ See Ohly 1974, 59. Munich, Glyptotek GL 492. See Vierendeis-Schlörb 1988, 34-39, no. 7, pls. 15-17.

³⁰⁸ Grossman 2001, 18, no. 5.

³⁰⁹ Neils and Oakley 2003, 307-308; Grossman 2007, 315.

of-age associations, particularly in the Hellenized Imperial world. As I argue, it is these associations that at times underlie the dog's presence on the reliefs of the Roman period and perhaps too on earlier works.

For centuries in Greece and the eastern reaches of the Roman Empire, hounds had been central to the hunt and, in this regard, dogs ideally represented a transitory stage of youth: the hunting of boys was long conceived as preparatory to the warfare of men. Throughout the Hellenistic period, as captured by the mural at Vergina, hunting was represented as the seminal rite of passage for elite youths clustered around the royal Macedonian court.³¹⁰ This conception of the hunt, attested as early as the Protocorinthian Chigi vase,³¹¹ endured well into the Imperial period. Despite a recorded Roman Republican aversion to the hunt as a servile or essentially Greek activity,³¹² the letters of Pliny,³¹³ Hadrian's boar hunting roundels³¹⁴ (reused later on the Arch of Constantine), and Marcus Aurelius' youthful passion for the boar hunt³¹⁵ all suggest that the sport was deemed essential to the formation of manly character. In a funerary context, this notion is attested by the representations of Meleager's hunt with dogs on the sarcophagi of boys in Rome.³¹⁶ The failed initiation of Meleager, mirrored in the brief life of the entombed, is certainly the tragic theme of these depictions. And comparable scenes of the hunt, ennobled by mythological exempla, are likewise reiterated in countless mosaics throughout the Roman Empire.³¹⁷

Although stripped of any mythological content, the straightforward

³¹⁰ Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011, 284.

³¹¹ Hurwit 2002, pp. 1–22.

³¹² Servile see *Sallust, Cat* 4.1: *Polybius* 31.29.5–7.

³¹³ i.e. Pliny 1.9 5.18. *Letter to Calpernius Macer*.

³¹⁴ See Ramage and Ramage 2005, 328, fig. 21.5

³¹⁵ i.e. *Historia Augusta, Verus* 2.10: *amavit venatus palaestras et omnia exercitia iuventutis*; 3.4–7.

³¹⁶ Huskinson 1996, 28.

³¹⁷ Elsner 1998, 99–101.

representations of dogs on Attic Imperial stelai of boys allude not only to the Classical sculptural precedent but, in those instances when the dog represented is *not* of the small Maltese variety, they also partake in an Imperial elite vernacular. This vernacular – promulgated by centuries of Hellenistic kings and later Roman emperors – celebrated hunting as a marker of mature male courage. Thus, through an enduring symbolism and in conjunction with myriad contemporaneous depictions, the dog alluded to the hunt and functioned as an age marker associated with the transition towards manhood. The forfeiture of this rite of passage to death is perhaps underscored by the dog’s chthonic significance as an attribute of Hecate³¹⁸ and the psychopomp Hermes. Indeed, the comparanda I will explore below suggest that the dog may likewise allude to Hermanubis, a Greco-Egyptian syncretic guide between life and death.³¹⁹

The second attribute, the chlamys, represents another tradition that endured as a symbol if not in actual practice. I have explored the many precedents and readings of this attribute above and I suggest the same interpretation may apply here. In this regard, Herakleides’ cloak is the striking masculine equivalent of Olympias’ bared shoulder and its association with Aphrodite. Typically draped over an idealized nude youth, here the chlamys, incongruent with the pudgy body it is intended to valorize, is purely anticipatory. Much like the Aphrodite motif of the slipping drapery, Herakleides’ chlamys at once aligns the child with the Athenian civic past and the present prestige of imperial elites who themselves emulated the (chlamys-clad) emperors and served as major benefactors to the city. Greek examples of the shoulder-pinned chlamys can be

³¹⁸ For example, Hecate herself appears with dog limbs, devouring a deceased man on a black-figure lekythos of the fifth century BCE, see Vermeule 109, fig. 25; In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Zeus assigns the dog to Hermes protection, *Hymni Homerici*, 4.586-571.

³¹⁹ See Lunsingh Scheurleer 1996, 159.

found among the many red-figure depictions of Hermes, as can be seen on a lekythos by the Tithonos painter dated to ca. 480 (Fig. 24).³²⁰ Moreover, this iteration of the chlamys was the precise garb of the hunting *paides* on the Vergina painting and identified the youth corps of the Macedonian kings. Several Roman portrait busts also present the chlamys in this same mode; the portrait bust of Caracalla from the British Museum offers a fine example (Fig. 25).³²¹ In appropriating this drapery motif, the stele reflects a parental provisioning, a bestowal of maturity through the chlamys, and a signature of a elite status that underscores the civic loss of a future *euergetes*.

Such ephebic iconography and the formulaic dog appear often among the Roman Attic stelai. Perhaps of greater interest, then, are the more unusual iconographic features that remain to be explored on Herakleides' stele. To begin, the boy wears a bracelet and an anklet. Only one other Imperial stele of a boy shares this feature. A survey of the extant Classical funerary monuments in Clairmont's catalog confirms that jewelry is not a feature on the earlier works commemorating boys.³²² The only contemporaneous sculptural comparanda are small statuettes depicting either Harpocrates or Harpocrates-Eros and none is of Attic origin. A good example is a small, early Imperial terracotta from Myrina in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 26).³²³ The figurine shows a small winged boy, seemingly of the same age-group as Herakleides, who wears both anklets and bracelets. This child is crowned with the symbol of Isis and carries the cornucopia that is a recurrent attribute in Isiaic iconography. Another Myrina terracotta at the Louvre

³²⁰ Richter and Hall 1936, nos. 29, 30.

³²¹ London, British Museum 1918. See Pryce and Smith 1892, no. 1918.

³²² Clairmont 1993, 130-216.

³²³ Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Accession number 00.322. See Burr 1934, Cat. no. 018.

shares similar features (Fig. 27).³²⁴ This statuette depicts a winged boy with the same Isiac headdress and jewelry. The finger held to his mouth is the signature gesture of Harpocrates and helps to establish both statuettes as syncretic, Greco-Egyptian depictions of the child-god. As these terracottas demonstrate, such jewelry is typical of Harpocratic depictions and perhaps Herakleides and his family can be associated with the increased interest in the cult of Isis indicated by the series of high-quality Isis grave monuments contemporary with Roman rule.³²⁵

To be sure, as Elena Grijalvo argues, the expansion of cult offices held by elite children of Roman Athens offered another avenue for advertising social status.³²⁶ This proposition is strengthened by the construction of a Hadrianic naiskos to the goddess on the south slope of the Acropolis and by elite emulation of Hadrian's heightened interest in the Egyptian cult.³²⁷ The evidence for children's roles in the Isiac cult is suggested by the centrality of children in the Hellenistic and later Roman cults of Dionysos, in which Dionysos himself served perhaps as the original prototype of the "child-initiate." Further, among the murals preserved at Herculaneum, children are depicted as actual participants in Isiac service.³²⁸ The evidence from Imperial Athens, while less explicit, is certainly of interest. An inscription on a dedication offered by a female guardian of the Iseion on the South Slope includes the names of the woman's children. On the basis of this inclusion, Susan Walker hypothesizes that these children were perhaps consecrated into the service of Isis.³²⁹ The present stele, depicting a boy bejeweled in the mode of Harpocrates,

³²⁴ For the Louvre terracotta Myrina 805, see Besques 1963, 56, no. 805.

³²⁵ Walters 1988, 17.

³²⁶ Grijalvo 2005, 275.

³²⁷ Walker 1979, 257.

³²⁸ On child participation in Isiac and Dionysian cult see Griffiths' 1975 commentary, 186-187.

³²⁹ Walker 1979, 256

bolsters the evidence for expanded children's roles. The presence of the center braid rather than the Horus-lock, a feature most often seen on less childish figures, may designate Herakleides young age and need not preclude all iconographic references to the child god.

One might argue, contrary to my suggestion above, that the jewelry is simply amuletic, and in fact, several classical Attic *choes* do represent small infants wearing long necklace amulets. Yet among these vases, anklets and bracelets are quite rare.³³⁰ I therefore argue that, in the later Imperial context, Herakleides' jewelry may not reflect any indigenous custom but rather the ever-expanding practice of prophylactic magic in the Imperial world. This possibility need not, however, undermine Harpocratic associations. The origins for this type of amuletic jewelry – including some Harpocrates pendants to be discussed below – lie in Egypt, where women and children had worn anklets and bracelets for centuries as protective devices.³³¹

Another detail that clinches the identification of Herakleides with Harpocrates is the small tortoise under the child's foot. While at first glance, the meaning of this attribute – particularly in conjunction with a mortal child – is unclear, I suggest that this tortoise also alludes to Harpocrates or Harpocrates-Eros. To be sure, there are several artistic precedents for the tortoise as an attribute of mature deities. In Megalopolis, Pausanias describes the ruins of a temple of Hermes Akakesios with nothing preserved but a tortoise of stone; he also mentions an Argive statue of a mature Hermes with a tortoise.³³² Among several examples extant today, the Antalya Museum houses a Roman

³³⁰ Another example of such jewelry on a *chous* is Hamilton 1992, 88, no. 218, fig. 5.

³³¹ Pinch 1995, 105-106.

³³² Pausanias 8.36.10; 2.19.6.

copy of the Hermes with his foot resting on a tortoise.³³³ Still, Hermes is never depicted as a baby or a child with a tortoise and, in only one instance, according to Paul Zanker, is he represented as a boy with the lyre, the instrument he invented from a tortoise shell.³³⁴

Among the other Olympians, Aphrodite (decidedly *not* a child) is also represented with the tortoise. Pausanias (6.25.1) described a chryselephantine statue of Aphrodite Ourania at Elis that depicted the goddess resting her foot on a tortoise. This foot-rest motif reappears in four later Aphrodite sculptures, among which the Aphrodite from Doura-Europos is perhaps the most famous.³³⁵ While various commentators from Plutarch onward have interpreted the attribute as a symbol of virtuous silence or as a pantheistic votive offering,³³⁶ Harrison suggests that the tortoise, emerging from the foamy sea of Aphrodite's birth, likely had phallic associations appropriate to a goddess of erotic love.³³⁷ Harrison's interpretation is strengthened by the only Imperial comparanda for a small boy with a tortoise at his feet, and again they lead us to Harpocrates: a handful of pendants and statuettes depicting Harpocrates, the Hellenized son of Isis.

Given the phallic cult surrounding the Egyptian child-god and the myriad ithyphallic representations of the god himself and terracotta boys assimilated to him,³³⁸ it is plausible that the tortoise is simply a Greek, or more precisely, Ouranian variant on the same phallic theme. Just as Isis was assimilated to Aphrodite, so too Harpocrates was

³³³ Edwards 1996, 140. See Ridgway 2001 81, pl. 40. Another Hermes with a foot resting on a turtle is from the Hadrianic baths at Leptis Magna, see Bandinelli 1966, 99-100, fig. 155.

³³⁴ Zanker 1965, notes only a single red-figure vase of the Dinos painter that represents the boy Hermes with the lyre (not a tortoise), 83. On the adult/grown representations of Hermes in Greek art see Hägg, 322-323.

³³⁵ Redfield, 2003 322. For an illustration of this Aphrodite type, Louvre AO 20126, see Cumont, 1926, pls. 80 and 81.

³³⁶ Lapatin, 2001 90.

³³⁷ Harrison 1984, 383, n.21; 385, 385, n.38.

³³⁸ Harpocrates was the most popular figure of all Roman terracotta statuettes in Roman Egypt. See Auth 1998, 18.

identified with Eros. This visual acculturation is echoed in the wings that appear on numerous depictions of Harpocrates, including several in which a small tortoise sits near or between his feet. The type is known most commonly in bronze, silver or gold pendants or statuettes set upon a small plinth. A beautiful silver statuette uncovered in Roman Britain offers one of the finest comparanda for the Herakleides stele (Fig. 28), including both the attentive dog and the tortoise.³³⁹ Another gold pendant in Baltimore (Fig. 29) also reflects a consistent iconography.³⁴⁰ My interpretation of this iconography mirrors Elisabeth Walter's findings³⁴¹ and offers further evidence for an elite Attic participation in the Imperial cult of Isis and more narrowly for parents who perhaps sought solace in the possibility of Harpocratic immortality for their own child. Interestingly, and very much like our stelai of Roman Attic boys, many of these pendants also include a small dog seated at the child-god's feet. The Isiaic context suggests an identification of the dog with Anubis or Hermanubis, as guide and messenger between life and death. Such a reading underscores the variability of reception among ancient viewers of recurrent and enduring motifs. In this context, it is impossible to sort out the traditional Greek hunting dog from the Egyptian Anubis, though the latter allusion may have been evident to the Isiaic viewer.

The Herakleides monument is thus a consummate expression of Roman art and an intricate construction of Attic Imperial identity. On the one hand in its naiskos form and the ephebic chlamys, the stele lays claim to a proud Classical past that underscores

³³⁹ No set date is offered for this statuette, solely the term Imperial see, Potter and Johns 1992, 182. For the image see Potter and Johns 1992, 144, pl. 11.

³⁴⁰ For the Walters Museum pendant, accession number 57.1434, which is unpublished, see the collection database: <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/1987/pendant-harpocrates-with-anubis-and-horus-falcom/>. On Harpocratic pendants in general, see Calinescu 1996, 153-154.

³⁴¹ Walters study of Isiaica on Roman funerary stelai of Athens confirms that many wealthy Athenians sought and advertised the prestige of participation in the cult of Isis. See Walters 1988.

Athens' status as the cultural epicenter of a Hellenized empire. On the other, the "Imperialized" chlamys and allusions to Harpocrates all root the relief in a pan-elite vernacular of the imperial present, reflecting motifs reinterpreted through the lens of Roman rule. This symbolism of status works on two distinct levels. On the one hand, the chlamys and the hound function as a formulaic grant of manhood; while, on the other hand, the tortoise, amulets and Anubis imply an Isiaic continuity of life after death. These distinctly mortal versus immortal preoccupations, perhaps reflecting the ambiguity of the ancient Greek notions of death, are unified solely by parental aspiration.

A second stele presenting similar iconography commemorates Musonios son of Demetrius (**Cat. 25**).³⁴² Once more, I was unable to examine this stele in person and as the only available image of the work is a sketch in the catalog of Conze and a photograph in Guarducci's *Epigrafia Greca*, I once more rely on the work of previous scholars, who ascribe a Hadrianic to late Hadrianic date to the monument.³⁴³ This date is supported once again by the tight verticality of the composition. The monument, a naiskos stele, features a pediment with three akroteria and a rosette in the tympanum. The inscription, Musonios son of Demetrius of Lamptrai, is inscribed on the architrave. The stele is, according to the measurements of Conze, 1.13m high by 0.39m wide.³⁴⁴ In the center of the relief field, Musonios stands frontally in classicizing contrapposto. His hair is bound at the crown in a braid and he wears an ephebic shoulder-draped chlamys. Musonios holds a bird to his chest and a ball in his down-stretched right hand. A shaggy dog, likely a Maltese type due to its coat, sits at his right foot with an upward gaze. As with our first anonymous stele, Musonios is represented in an ephebic guise, with the chlamys draped

³⁴² This monument is in the Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire in Brussels.

³⁴³ Moock 1998, 163; Walters 1988, 40.

³⁴⁴ Conze 1911-1922 IV, 64.

in a pouch over his left shoulder. I have already examined the possible meanings of this attribute above, and the same reading applies here.

Musonios shares other features with the Hadrianic Herakleides. He too wears an anklet around his left ankle. As argued above, this feature may simply be amuletic and it may also allude to Harpocrates and the cult of Isis. The bird, ball, and dog are all standard attributes of early childhood. These features and his long hair, plaited back along the crown of his head, are counterbalanced by the child's shoulder-draped chlamys and the incipient athleticism of his body. The detailed rendering of the dog is rare among the stelai and such attention to detail is mirrored in the sculptor's treatment of the bird at the child's chest and even in the face of the child, whose broad nose, rounded chin and frowning lips suggest portraiture. In these ways, and even in the depth of the relief itself, the stele of Musonios does not appear to be a work of mass-production.

Although I have but the roughest of sketches to support my impression, this same attention to detail might also be identified the stele of Zosimos, son of Demosthenes (**Cat. 26**).³⁴⁵ The work is among the taller monuments, standing at 1.41 meters with a varying width of 0.63m to 0.74m. It is also unique in its elaborate, fluted Corinthian columns. The status implied by the ornate architectural frame is highlighted by the presence of holes for iron pins in either corner of the relief field. It is likely that Zosimos was honored with fresh garlands strung out across these pins. As with almost all Roman monuments after the 1st century CE, the child stands frontally. And again we see a loose The chlamys is pinned at the child's right shoulder crossing his nude torso, a recurrent iconography expressive of an aspirational maturity just like that described on the Herakleides and Musonios stelai. Unfortunately, the Conze sketch is so cursory it seems

³⁴⁵ This monument is in the Museo Civico in Venice.

inadvisable to comment in detail on any of the attributes. One feature, however, merits attention as it is one of only a handful of such representations among the whole corpus: Zosimos stands beneath a tree. Another monument of the present corpus, the stele of Epiktetos (**Cat. 27**), shares this feature and also depicts the nude child with shoulder-pinned chlamys. These are rare instances of landscape, or better intimations of landscape, among the Imperial Attic stelai that are, almost without exception, highly Classical in their avoidance of natural settings. While the tree may reveal the influence of Roman sculptural taste,³⁴⁶ and many Roman sarcophagi among other sculptural works depict landscapes, the choice of tree is perhaps of greatest import. According to Conze, it is a plane tree.³⁴⁷ If Conze is correct, the symbolism of the plane tree offers a perfect segue into our next category of preadolescents, the intellectual boys with book scrolls.

The plane tree enjoys a handful of illustrious literary references that the students of Hellenistic curricula would surely have known. It is under the shade of a tall plane tree along the Ilissos that the dialog between Phaedrus and Socrates unfolds (*Phaedrus* 229a). Pliny (*Natural History*, XII.9) placed the Academy of Plato within a grove of plane trees while Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum* 1.7.1.), among all the trees growing about the Lyceum, especially notes a plane tree and its vast root system. According to Russell Meiggs, the tree often appeared as a backdrop for philosophical discussion,³⁴⁸ and this literary tradition was maintained among the Romans (Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.7.28). In this, the plane tree of the relief is a succinct reference to the status of Athens as the university of empire and to Zosimos as a would-be student of that great city. Beneath the leafy

³⁴⁶ Classical Greek sculpture does not feature landscape although Greek painting likely did as evidenced by the Niobid crater. See G. Richter 1970. 29. It is therefore hard to say for certain that the tree was a symptom of "Romanization."

³⁴⁷ Conze 1911-1922 IV, 65.

³⁴⁸ Meiggs 1982, 272.

branches of the tree, the chlamys is the garment of the imperial μαθητής, granted to the child who would never reach the Ephebeia. These allusions to learning and intellectual life are made more explicit in the category that follows.

Before turning to this next category, however, it is worth briefly noting a separate stele in this category, **Cat. 28**, which highlights once again the prospective grants of maturity through ephebic iconography. This work was likely a mass-produced product that the bereaved family selected not according to their child's age but rather according to its subject. The stele's inscription laments the loss of a five year old, Julius Paramonion, yet the figure represented is a mature ephebe. In this composition, the visual shorthand of the chlamys alone is augmented by the ephebic body. The monument at once reveals the hazards of assigning absolute ages to the deceased *and* a readiness to disregard realism in the interest of memorializing the aspirational apogee of Athenian male life.³⁴⁹

Long Himation

Seventeen Attic monuments depict children in various iterations of the long himation (**Cat. 31-47**) These are among the most formulaic of compositions within the broader category. Most children stand frontally in a naiskos or simple pediment-capped frame and, often, a small dog sits at their side. A consistent pose is likewise employed with little variation. Typically dressed in an all-encompassing himation, the child raises the right hand across his chest, in the "arm-sling" format,³⁵⁰ while the left arm hangs down along the left side. The contrapposto stance is only loosely quoted. Usually, the right leg is slightly bent and the heel is often raised from the ground. The left leg is weight bearing.

³⁴⁹ This same disconnection between represented age and inscribed age is apparent on the monument commemorating a 15-month-old boy, Anthos (**Cat. 21**) As I was unable to see the stele in person and as none of the catalogs provide an illustration, I rely on Moock 1998, 113, no. 157.

³⁵⁰ Dillon 2010, 91: The right arm is bent up across the chest and held tightly against the body by taut drapery.

At times there is a slight inclination or turning of the head that lends the figures a tone of modesty. In many depictions, the child holds a book scroll in his lowered left hand.

As with the chlamys, the himation, covering the whole frame of the body except the head, originates as a typifying costume in the late Classical period and is propagated throughout the Hellenistic and into the Roman period. According to Margarete Bieber, a fourth century BCE statue of the orator Aischines provided the prototype for the reworkings that appear well into Late Antiquity. A statue from Naples offers a good example of the Aischines type (Fig. 30)³⁵¹ proposed by Bieber. This Classical paradigm was modified early on in the Hellenistic period and it is the transformed type that carries forward into the Roman period. Again according to Bieber,³⁵² the statue of the youth from Eretria is the best illustration of the reshaping of the Classical original (Fig. 31).³⁵³ The right arm remains wrapped in a sling, in the Classical fashion, while the left arm does not rest on the hip but instead hangs loosely to the side. At times, the left hand may grasp the fold of fabric along the hip. Further, the taut wrapping of the drapery imbues the later works with a quality of modesty that is not at all in evidence in the Classical originals, with their emphasis on the human body beneath the drapery rather than the drapery itself.³⁵⁴ This reworked formula, at times with reversed positioning of the arms, is likewise represented by Attic terracotta depictions of youths during the Roman period (Fig. 32)³⁵⁵ and, as the following review will show, it is this formula, *sans* the arm reversal, that is most often depicted on the Roman era funerary reliefs.

³⁵¹ For the Aischines type, see Ridgway 2001, 226, pl. 109. See also Zanker 45-49, fig. 26. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, accession number 6018.

³⁵² Bieber 1959, 379.

³⁵³ For a discussion of the Eretria youth see Ridgway 2001, 226. For photographs of the Eretria Youth see Bieber 1959, 378, fig. 4.

³⁵⁴ Bieber 1959, 377-380.

³⁵⁵ Grandjouan 1961, 54, pl.8, no. 391.

The question remains, however, what the imperial iconography of the himation implied, particularly for children. Zanker has argued that the long himation, in general, is the prototypical Hellenistic garment of the philosopher and of professional intellectuals. Still, portraits of Demosthenes, an intellectual to be sure but not a philosopher, employ many of the same attributes that are central to Zanker's philosopher genre.³⁵⁶ Certainly, the boys on our stelai are not intended to be viewed as professional intellectuals! The most obvious interpretation is that the garment signifies their status as students, an interpretation that perhaps suggests a certain pride in Athens' position as the intellectual epicenter of empire. Clairève Grandjouan describes contemporary terracotta figurines of youths in long mantles as students. And indeed one such terracotta, depicting a seated boy with book in hand, offers a literal affirmation of her hypothesis (Fig. 33).³⁵⁷ While this reading certainly applies, I am also inclined to view the himation, as with so many attributes already described in this context, as prospective. The himation signifies intellectual achievement but the ritual lock that appears on several heads (e.g. **Cat. nos. 39, 39 bis. 43, 45**) in this series suggests that the completion of education, and ultimately the formation of mature intellect, is still a ways off. Here again the stelai capture the recurrent tension between pathos and prospect.

The himation must also be considered within the broader landscape of the empire. While the mantle functions as the formal attribute of the educated man, it also celebrates the *tradition* of that education, which is itself ineluctably Greek. Among the portrait statues of aristocrats that filled eastern Greek cities of empire, it is the himation, not the

³⁵⁶ Zanker 1995, 83-89. Dillon 2006, 126.

³⁵⁷ Grandjouan 1961 54, pl.8, no. 390.

Roman toga, that is “overwhelmingly” preferred.³⁵⁸ In this, the Attic stelai of the present study reflect an enduring adherence to Greek cultural identity, an identity that emanated outwards from Athens.³⁵⁹ The preference for this identity is underscored by the occasional appearance of a Roman epitaphic name, such as Gaius, and the Greek himation as seen in **Cat. 39** bis. In this particular instance, the Roman practice of including biographic details of the deceased’s professional life is captured by the theatrical masks above the child’s head. A feature that, in combination with the cognomen Bathyllos, in Conze’s estimation, may indicate that the Father on the stele may have been a mime.³⁶⁰

The tone of the figures on stelai of this type is frequently modest and may represent a subtle shift from Classical paradigms of Athenian identity. Corporal modesty is at distinct odds with the Attic gymnasium tradition and might even, in the case of young boys, be construed as feminizing. At Rome, restraining drapery became the prototype for the dress of both men and women in funerary contexts, expressing the most central Augustan virtues of modesty and piety.³⁶¹ The moral idealism of these Roman portraits, evoked by the concealing drapery and simple hairstyles, was purposefully opposed to the elaborate Hellenistic style.³⁶² Scenes on 5th-century BCE vases depicting the mission to Achilles, as for example on a vase by Kleophrades Painter (Fig. 34), present the hero fully swathed in his mantle as an expression of grief.³⁶³ In these instances, however, Achilles head is bowed and covered. In other instances, boys and

³⁵⁸ Smith 1998, 64.

³⁵⁹ Zanker 2008, 176.

³⁶⁰ Conze 1911-1922 IV, 98.

³⁶¹ Bieber 1959, 413.

³⁶² Stirling 2008, 78.

³⁶³ For details on the vase in Munich, Antikensammlungen accession number 8770, see the Boardman, 2001, 181, fig. 201 (S).

women may be covered in order to illustrate their refusal of unwanted, amorous advances.³⁶⁴ In Classical funerary sculpture, boys and men are also often represented in the himation, but, rather than being entirely covered, one arm and the upper body are frequently fully exposed. This interest in the male form was not merely aesthetic. It reflected a philosophical integration of the physical *and* the moral ideal, a literal representation of the *kalos kāgathos*.³⁶⁵ The modestly cloaked Attic boys of the early Imperial period might represent a departure from this particular Classical paradigm. The emotional restraint suggested by the guise was in keeping with a long tradition represented on the vases, however, and, if anything, the change may simply reflect a preferred style, a proposition that is substantiated by the evidence of Roman terracottas.

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The restraint of our Attic figures also finds echoes in the tone of East Greek reliefs representing male children. These eastern depictions suggest that humble demeanor was required of the youngest students in the Greek gymnasium and modest drapery may be taken as reflection of a socially-prescribed code of conduct.³⁶⁷ The Kerameikos museum holds two of the most monumental examples of this subject-type. The first is a naiskos stele topped by a pediment with three akroteria (**Cat. 31**). A shield is carved into the tympanum and the architrave is engraved with the name: Φίλετος | Αἰξωνεύς . Among the larger works commemorating children, this stele stands 1.17 m tall and 0.51 m wide. The status signaled by its size is echoed in the comparatively high

³⁶⁴ Michelakis 2002, 32-33.

³⁶⁵ On the meaning of the expression according to Classical sources, see Dover 1974, 42-45.

³⁶⁶ According to Grandjouan, the pose and encasing drapery, although already employed by Attic terracottas during the Hellenistic period, was more commonly used in the Roman period. See Grandjouan 1961, 17.

³⁶⁷ Hallet 1998, 82, n.54. For an example of the modestly cloaked boy see 81, fig.20.

quality and depth of the sculpting. The remains of iron pins – from which garlands or wreaths were likely strung – are present at roughly head height on either side of the figure. The stele was found covering a conduit along the Sacred Way³⁶⁸ and, although marble moves, it is tempting to place the stele originally along this prominent route.

Philetos stands at the center of the field. His stance is not exaggerated by any wide sway of the left hip and the only intimation of contrapposto is his raised right heel and the tauter drapery across the right knee and thigh. The comparative steepness of the gable may indicate a Claudian date for the work.³⁶⁹ Moock advances a Neronian date for the stele based on hairstyle, and a Roman charioteer portrait in the Museo Nazionale Romano dated to that period strongly supports this proposition (Fig. 35).³⁷⁰ A Louvre bust of Nero himself may likewise be cited. Philetos wears a himation that completely encases his body. The only indications of his young age are the two Venus rings on his neck and the fullness of his face. This latter feature, the full face, might also be taken as a stylistic trait of Neronian portraiture.³⁷¹ In his lowered right hand, he holds what appears to be a partially damaged scroll.

The next major monument of the long himation type, also in the Kerameikos Museum, mirrors the preceding monument quite closely. In this composition, however, the boy appears on a high, unadorned step alongside his mother (**Cat. 32**). The monument stands 1.28m tall with a width of 0.56m. There is ample space above the two figures and the naiskos frame is capped by a pediment with three akroteria. A shield is carved into the tympanum and the inscription is engraved on the architrave. It reads:

³⁶⁸ Moock 1998, 112, no. 151.

³⁶⁹ Müsham 1952, 95

³⁷⁰ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 310. Pollini dates this charioteer bust to the Neronian period. See Pollini 2001, 144, fig. 22.

³⁷¹ Romano 2006, 144.

Ζώσιμος Φαληρεύς. Βλάστη Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐκ Φαληρέων. Moock offers a late Trajanic to Hadrianic date for the stele on the basis of the woman's hairstyle.³⁷² Despite the fact that relief does not adhere to the tight composition of most Hadrianic stelai, the mother's hairstyle resembles the conservative coiffure of Sabina (Fig. 36).³⁷³ I am inclined, on this basis, to accept Moock's dating.

Zosimos stands beside his mother, Blaste, on a small raised step to the left of the field. His mother is depicted in the classicizing pose of the mourning woman, a motif prevalent on Classical Attic funerary reliefs and the precursor to the "Pudicitia" format of the 2nd century CE onward.³⁷⁴ The placement of the mother's hand beneath her chin distinguishes the Classical type from later Hellenistic iterations that more frequently depict the woman's hand holding the veil.³⁷⁵ The boy, Zosimos, is perhaps the predeceased because he stands apart in contemplation and on a raised platform, a feature that, to my mind, functions much like the chair or stool of the deceased on Classical precedents by setting the mourned figure distinctly apart within the composition. Moreover, the mother is oriented toward her son in a stance of mourning, the traditional female funerary role that also originates in Classical funerary compositions. Certainly such compositions were preserved and visible in the funerary landscape of Athens.

Despite such plausible Classical influences, the pedestal may in fact be a feature of a distinctly Romanized composition, comparable to the frontal family triad groups found in this corpus with the child at the center (**Cat. 38** and **70**).³⁷⁶ Pedestal

³⁷² Moock 1998, 111.

³⁷³ Ostia, Museo Ostiense 25; Kleiner et al. 2000, 68, fig.4.8.

³⁷⁴ See Dillon 2010, 91. Epitaphic evidence for this maternal mourning role can be found in the present corpus as well. See epitaph of the 15 month old baby Anthos, **Cat 21**: *ἰαχήσατε, αἱ δὲ τεκοῦσαι...*

³⁷⁵ Dillon 2010, 91.

³⁷⁶ On the "Romaness" of triad funerary portraits commemorating children see, Rawson 2003, 2.

compositions are employed on many Roman funerary reliefs. Elsner argues, as I hypothesize above, that in the Roman context these raised columns or pilasters serve as an indication of the predeceased.³⁷⁷ For his part, Henig posits that such bases may have functioned purely compositionally, allowing two figures to stand at equal height.³⁷⁸ Recalling the omni-presence of freestanding portraits of the Imperial family set individually upon pedestals in architectural niches throughout the empire, it may be that the pedestal serves to indicate a celebrated status. If this is the case, the child Zosimos, has been literally “placed upon a pedestal” in accordance with our understanding of the idiom. He is thus celebrated in death as he was cherished in life.

Zosimos’ mantle, wrapped in the traditional arm-sling formula, is not as finely executed as that on the stele of Philetos explore above, and the sculpting in general suffers by comparison. The figure is blockier and the drapery is cursory. Nonetheless, this is among the larger stelai of the period and two pairs of iron pins appear at knee height and shoulder height on the sides of the monument, highlighting the fact that the child’s monument was decorated with greenery and thus was maintained. Beyond the himation, the iconography of the work is spare. The boy wears a pair of sandals, again a status marker, and like Philetos, he holds in his lowered left hand the damaged remnants of a scroll.

The scroll is typically interpreted as a symbol of education and by extension to the elite background of the deceased for whom leisure, *scholē* – whence school – allowed for the pursuit of *paideia*. Examples of this iconographic usage are myriad. A teacher holds up a scroll for a young student to correct in a school room scene on a red-figure kylix by

³⁷⁷ Elsner 1998, 36-37.

³⁷⁸ Henig 2004, 13.

the 5th-century BCE painter Douris (Fig. 37).³⁷⁹ On a Hellenistic Alexandrian relief by Archelaos of Priene, a god-like Homer holds a scroll as he receives sacrifice from personified literary forms (Comedy, Tragedy, History, etc.) and personified virtues, the latter virtues no doubt proceeding from the study of the former (Fig. 38).³⁸⁰ And representations of illustrious Greek philosophers, e.g. Epicurus or Metadoros with a scroll in hand are numerous.³⁸¹ As concerns the present monument, the combination of philosophic/intellectual garb (i.e., the himation), the book scroll and the child's serious expression all strengthen the conventional reading.

Still, it is important to acknowledge a possible secondary, sacral significance. Olga Palagia has hypothesized that scrolls in a funerary context may not be generic referents to intellectual status but may pertain to sacred texts of the Mysteries³⁸² and thus allude to the prospect of immortality. On a Roman mummy portrait depicting the deceased as especially favored by Osiris, Susan Walker suggests that the scroll may have contained magical formulas ensuring the immortality of the deceased's soul.³⁸³ Imperial literary sources and archaeological evidence highlight the use of sacred texts particularly in the cult of Isis. In his treatise on Isis and Osiris, Plutarch describes the knowledge of sacred texts as a benefit of initiation, while the final book of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the Golden Ass, describes a priest consulting a sacred scroll for those readings most useful to Isiac initiation.³⁸⁴ Finally, the scroll appears among a triad of Isiac icons

³⁷⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F2285. Sider 2010, 541-554; Beaumont 2012, 65-66. See West 1992, pl. 11 A.

³⁸⁰ See Ridgway 2000, 207; Price and Smith 1892, no. 2191.

³⁸¹ See for example, Zanker 1995, 115, fig.62; 116, fig.63.

³⁸² Palagia 2011, 483.

³⁸³ Walker 2000, 116.

³⁸⁴ Thank you to Susan Rotroff for directing me to these contemporary literary references. See: Plutarch, *Is. et Os* 351F-352C; Apuleius, *Met.* 11.22: de opertis adyti profert quosdam libros litteris ignorabilibus prae notatos, partim figuris cuiuscemodi animalium concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes,

(including the sistula and Isis knot) on ceramic *lekanis*³⁸⁵ lids dated to the second half of the 1st century CE.³⁸⁶ In one instance, (**Cat. 42**) the combination of theophoric name of child and father (Ἰσίδοτος | Ἰσιδώρου) together with book roll supports the argument for the scroll as a reference to sacred books of Isis cult.³⁸⁷

If such exempla supply a plausible sacred symbolism for the scroll, the paidagogical need not be at the same time dismissed, and, once more, an enduring iconographic motif operates on many levels dictated by reception. For some, the scroll may have simply represented the traditional Greek intellectual, while for the Isiaic devotee, the scroll may have represented a fusion of both the sacred and intellectual themes. This may be a fair interpretation, for example, of the Isiaca and her young companion who holds a scroll on a naiskos stele in the National Museum (**Cat. 33**).³⁸⁸ The symbolic synthesis of *paideia* and cult may find its source as early as the fourth century BCE when one considers that the religion of the mysteries and *not* the Olympian deities appealed most to the educated elites.³⁸⁹ According to Werner Jaeger, philosophers often likened their teaching to religious wisdom and cited the mysteries as a loftier religious form that offered a message for humanity.³⁹⁰ Given this tradition and the expanding influence of mystery religions throughout the Imperial period (the cult of Isis,

partim nodosis et in modum rotae tortuosis capreolatimque condensas apicibus a curiosa profanorum lectione munita: indidem mihi praedicat quae forent ad usum teletae necessario praeparanda. (Emphasis mine.)

³⁸⁵ The *lekanis* is a shallow, low-footed vessel with a lid. The container appears commonly in wedding scenes on late red-figure vases and may be interpreted as a wedding gift. See Clark et al. 2002, 112.

³⁸⁶ Rotroff 1997, 194.

³⁸⁷ Thank you to Susan Rotroff for noting this detail.

³⁸⁸ As the inscription presents two distinct names, Cat. 33 features a pair that may well be married. However, the woman is taller and the boy at her side has decidedly younger features including a beardless round face. Dated to the 2nd-half of the 1st century, a period when beards were the fashion among Imperial men, this stele appears to represent a young person rather than a man. This identification must remain tentative.

³⁸⁹ Jaeger 1961, 55.

³⁹⁰ Jaeger 1961, 55-56.

for instance, though long resisted by the republican Senate and permitted solely outside the *pomerium* by Augustus, was formally recognized in Rome by Caligula on his accession to power³⁹¹), the scroll perhaps best signifies *sacred* knowledge as a path to personal salvation. If the sacred is evoked in this imagery, then one might discern a parental bequest of salvation in whatever form that might take: the nihilism of Epicurus or Isiaic immortality.

In the context of the present reliefs, an Isiaic interpretation may be most reasonably limited to only those monuments that depict the the true Horus-lock.³⁹² This lock, as distinct from the central braided locks or long tresses at the back of the head, was worn on the right side of the head with a very short haircut. It is the specific hairstyle that may signify a youth's consecration to Isis and her cult.³⁹³ There are, however, boys in this group who do not wear the single lock in the same explicit manner as Horus/Harpocrates. Some may wear the lock on the left rather than the right side of the head or even on both sides of the head, as in **Cat. 34**, among the most monumental and skillful works of the corpus.³⁹⁴ In such instances, it is not clear to whom a boy may have been dedicated. Evidence for the association and assimilation of Isis to Demeter³⁹⁵ during the Imperial period suggests that Eleusinian child initiates may have appropriated the

³⁹¹ Heyob 1975, 24; Walters 1988, 70.

³⁹² For example, in **Cat. 43**. The first study of boys with the Horus-lock was produced by Gozenbach, 1957; more recent is Goette 1989

³⁹³ Witt 1997, 221.

³⁹⁴ Given the rarity of such life-size portraiture within the general corpus of this period, it is possible that this stele could be categorized in the ensuing group of youths. Its present placement must therefore be somewhat tentative. I include this monument on the basis of the hair-locks and the fullness of the boy's face, a feature for which I find ready comparisons among my ten year old son's companions. This relief, measuring 1.24m, would be one of the rare depictions in roughly life-size, 4 feet or so, for a boy.

³⁹⁵ This process began as early as the 5th century BCE as illustrated in Herodotus II.123. Imperial sources include Plutarch who associated Isis with Persephone, *de Is. et Os.* 361E; while Diodorus writes that Egyptians deemed the goddesses to be the same deity. *Hist.* 69.1. Child portraits with various forms of the lock were found at Eleusis and suggest that some children were dedicated to Demeter. See Harrison 1953, 53-54.

side-lock as an obvious marker of prestige. Indeed, as Christopher Hallet argues, there was likely significant “borrowing” among mystery cults and it is difficult to be certain of a child’s cultic association on the basis of a side-lock alone. In sum, the single lock without other clarifying iconography functions most narrowly as good indicator of age, i.e. prepubescence,³⁹⁶ and as a social class.³⁹⁷

The remaining long-himation types vary from the preceding “arm-sling” format. In two instances (**Cat. 35** and **Cat. 36**), a young boy wears a chiton with mid-length sleeves and, draped above this, a long himation. In the first, a boy stands frontally in a field framed by two simple pilasters supporting an arch (**Cat. 35**). The inscription, *Epaphroditos, son of Ariston of Thespiiai*, appears on the shaft of the stele below the pediment and its final line is divided in half by the relief field. The boy’s short hair, with two long locks over the left shoulder, and the small dog identify the child as prepubescent. He also holds a basket or bag in his left hand, a feature which may suggest a votive offering, but it is impossible to say with any certainty on the basis of Conze’s sketch alone.³⁹⁸ What is perhaps of greatest interest here is the fact that the parents of Epaphroditos, although clearly not of Athenian origin, embraced the standardized iconography of Attic identity and the values such iconography expressed. This work and a handful of other stelai attest to the considerable migration between Greek cities during the Roman period and reveal that, in many instances, such migration was driven by cultural affinities. At Athens, successful foreigners sought and gained access to traditionally Athenian roles, such as enrollment in the Ephebeia. Inter-marriage among citizen and non-citizens, particularly the Milesians, increased and thereby afforded non-

³⁹⁶ Goette 2009 209-210.

³⁹⁷ Hallet 1998, 83-84.

³⁹⁸ See p. 94 above and the discussion of the basket in that relief.

Athenians greater access to private family groups.³⁹⁹ And, perhaps most importantly, Attic identity itself was desired as a consummate “brand” of elite, educated status.

The second monument of this type, also (and unfortunately) documented here only by a Conze sketch, offers another example of immigrant appropriation of Attic imagery. The monument depicts a boy in a naiskos stele enclosed above by an arch (**Cat. 36**). As with the preceding stele, the inscription, Zosimos the son of Zoilos of Miletos, appears in the shaft beneath the pediment, and beneath the inscription are two rosettes placed at equal height above the relief field. In this instance, the boy stands in profile and his cropped hair features a few long locks falling down his back, perhaps signifying his dedication to a deity. Only one short sleeve of his chiton is exposed, while the proper left arm remains fully enveloped by the drapery. As the chiton is the prototypical dress of Aphrodite and other feminine deities, this costume may perhaps (with some exceptions) be construed as feminizing. For example, Janet Grossman writes that the archetypal costume of active young girls depicted on Classical funerary stele featured the short-sleeve chiton.⁴⁰⁰ As Sheila Dillon notes, however, one of two major changes in Greek portraiture between the Classical and Hellenistic period was the preference for the short-sleeved chiton in representations of the civic costume.⁴⁰¹ If the work draws instead from such Hellenistic paradigms, the short-sleeved iteration of the chiton cannot function as a particularly feminizing feature and may simply represent a style preference. The coming of age process is instead captured rather directly by the composition itself, as the older boy bestows a ball upon the smaller child.

³⁹⁹ On Milesian immigration to Hellenistic and Roman Athens, see Vestergaard 2000, 81-110.

⁴⁰⁰ Grossman 2007, 315.

⁴⁰¹ Dillon 2006, 74.

A final, singular monument (**Cat. 37**) of the long-himation category, unlike the preceding work, hews closer to Classical funerary depictions of boys and men in the himation. There is some disagreement among scholars about the dating of this work. Moock describes the hairstyle as Trajanic;⁴⁰² Walters advances an early Antonine date on the basis of stylistic comparanda;⁴⁰³ while, Müsham, citing the unusual placement of the inscription, recommends a late date i.e., 3rd century CE.⁴⁰⁴ Given the distinct forms of the alpha and the omega in the inscription on the pediment and the lower inscription on the arch and relief field, it seems most likely that the monument was reused.⁴⁰⁵ This fact certainly clarifies the range of dates offered in the scholarship. As a result, and given the fact that I have not seen the monument myself, I am disinclined to offer any precise dating. The fact that the top of the arch touches the frame border suggests a later 2nd century date. The monument, a gabled naiskos stele, stands 1.02 m high with a width of 0.49m. The remains of iron pins appear on either side of the figure's head and in three places on each side of the monument – again an indication of status and regular memorialization with greenery. The figure stands frontally in a himation that encircles his lower body and runs in an oblique fold from his left shoulder to his right waist. His left arm is entirely covered by the garment, while most of his chest and his right arm are entirely free. This arrangement of the mantle clearly originates in Classical grave reliefs and some approximate parallels can be found once more in the Cat stele (Fig. 19)⁴⁰⁶ and the stele of Ktesileos (Fig. 39).⁴⁰⁷ According to Conze and to Moock,⁴⁰⁸ the mature body

⁴⁰² Moock 1998, 136.

⁴⁰³ Walters 1988, 49.

⁴⁰⁴ Müsham 1952, 58, n.1.

⁴⁰⁵ Thanks to Professor William Bubelis for pointing out the variation in letter forms.

⁴⁰⁶ Athens, National Museum 715. Clairmont 1993, 1.396-98, cat. 1.550.

⁴⁰⁷ Athens, National Museum 3472. See Kaltsas 2002, 158, fig. 310.

⁴⁰⁸ Conze 1911-1922 IV, 68; 1998 year, 136.

of the figure does not represent a child. Rather, it is the attendant attributes — the dog, ball, and dove that identify the figure as yet a boy. The iconographic indications are confirmed by the inscription that reads: *I, Theophilos son of Dionysios of Marathon, died in my fifth year, and his father set me up, as a hero of the household.*⁴⁰⁹ The juxtaposition of this text and the childish attributes with a mature physique illuminates the function of so many of these memorials: to grant a child the ideal Greek death at their aspirational prime.

Apart from the notable divergence between epitaphic age and representation, the inscription itself merits further examination. The term ἥρωα is suggestive of the Hellenistic practice of heroizing youths who died before their prime. According to Robert Smith, the funerary depictions of heroized youths featured a highly standardized iconography with little variation, including: nudity; the horse; the chthonic snake; and the tree.⁴¹⁰ Absent any of the aforementioned features, it is hard to press the case for heroization of Theophilos on the basis of iconography alone. Moreover, the fact that many epitaphs of the late Hellenistic and Roman period employed the term “hero” as generic equivalent for “late beloved” further complicates our understanding of the usage.⁴¹¹ Given this, and the non-heroic imagery, it is most likely that the deceased child was simply commemorated as a beloved of the family. The Theophilos stele, in its relief and epitaph, thus offers a tidy synthesis of Hellenistic and Classical influences.

⁴⁰⁹ Translation mine. The term ἥρωα in the LSJ 1968 is suggested as the Greek expression for the Latin *lar familiaris*. See ἥρωας 3. also, =Lares, D.H. 4.14; ὁ κατ'οικίαν ἥ., = *Lar familiaris*, *ib.* 2.

⁴¹⁰ Smith 1991, 189.

⁴¹¹ Again see Smith 1991, 190.

Hip-mantle and nude

Death at an aspirational prime is the clear iconographic intention of the monuments in the hip-mantle and nude category. Of these works, only two fragmentary monument depicts a preadolescent boy of the hip-mantle type (**Cat. 48** and **Cat. 49**). The stele itself is a naiskos monument. Although the monument is broken in a diagonal across the top, the lower two-thirds are largely undamaged. A large portion of a fluted column remains on the left side and a small section of column is still present on the right. The monument's preserved height is 1.0m and, at its widest, it spans 0.7m. The work, according to Conze,⁴¹² is of high relief and the catalog photograph suggests skilled treatment of the drapery as well as significant undercutting, particularly about the left hand. A classicizing attention to the body is highlighted by thin, catenary folds accentuating the boy's rounded thigh. This feature may well indicate a Julio-Claudian date, although without the head much less the top of the stele, this is necessarily conjectural. The extant attributes, given their uniform presence regardless of era, do little to clarify chronology. These include a ball and a collared dog. The ball underlies my designation of the figure as a preadolescent, although without the upper portion of the monument such categorization must be understood as tentative. Both the dog and the physique of the boy may well place the figure between a ready designation of prepubescent or youth. In the case of **Cat. 49**, it is the bird and the ball that underscore the boy's recent transition from child to youth.

Of main iconographical interest here is the hip-mantle drapery. In the rendering of the himation in **Cat. 49**, the mantle is draped down the child's back, wound loosely around the torso, and cascades over the left arm, ending in a small drapery weight. The curvature of the mantle about the waist slides quite low. Such exposure intimates the

⁴¹² Conze 1911-1922 IV, 66.

gymnasium and training that will culminate in prime male form. In a review of Christopher Hallet's *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC-AD 300*, Brunilde Ridgway seconds Hallet's opinion that this semi-nude drapery motif was not a Roman invention but rather an enduring Classical motif. She then proceeds to draw a plausible, Classical distinction between an adult and youth version of the costume.⁴¹³ According to her hypothesis, only mature adult males wear the mantle without any coverage of the back. Youths or boys, on the other hand, drape the himation down around the back and about the waist to the rich, cascade of fabric over the left arm. This idea is certainly bolstered by the juxtaposition of the older Poseidon and youthful Apollo on the East frieze of the Parthenon.⁴¹⁴ Given the clear attributes of childhood and this particular arrangement of the mantle on the present stele, it is tempting to apply the hypothesis. Ridgway, however, does not make any claims for the Roman adherence to this distinction. And, among the many semi-nude portraits of Antinoos (the lover of that ultimate philhellenic emperor, Hadrian), the youth wears both iterations of the hip-mantle drapery, suggesting that such nuanced reading may not in fact apply along age lines in the Roman period.

A single nude monument of a boy in the National Museum in Athens (**Cat. 50**) evades neat age categorization and is a good example of those stelai that fall between my age classes. The complete nudity of the figure is distinctive among the preadolescent age class, but its iconographic pointers/clues (bird, ball) are not unlike those of the semi-nude types explored previously, as well as the infant Solon in the American School (**Cat. 13**). It is clear that the child is not an infant given his cropped haircut sans braid; while his

⁴¹³ Ridgway 2006.

⁴¹⁴ See Neils 1996, 22, fig.1.8.

attributes, the ball and bird define the boy as quite young. The figure stands frontally in a field framed by simple pilasters. Three free-standing akroteria have broken off the pediment. The remains of iron pins are fixed into the pilasters at equal height just beneath the capitals on either side of the relief field. Müsham suggests a date in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century CE date for this relief on the basis of its pediment, the corners of which begin within the width of the pilasters rather than at the outside edge and the incline of which is steeper than that of other classicizing gables.⁴¹⁵ The forward-brushed hairstyle, which clearly evokes Trajanic portraits, reflects the conscious retrospection and revivals of Gallienic portraiture in the mid-3rd century CE. The child's nudity and stance likewise exemplify Gallienic emulation of 5th-century, high Classical art.⁴¹⁶ Thus, such nudity, when conjoined with Müsham's architectural evidence, indicates a mid-3rd century date. The inscription runs across the base of the tympanum and continues across the architrave. It reads: Εὐτυχίδης | Κλαυδίου Γερμανοῦ. Germanus, a hellenized form of Germanicus, was among the most common Roman cognomens throughout the empire, especially among veterans.⁴¹⁷ Still, this need not indicate Roman citizenship nor for that matter, former slave status, as Roman dominance resulted in the adoption of Roman names by Greeks throughout the empire.⁴¹⁸

The Short Chiton

The final monument of the preadolescent group (**Cat. 51**) is an excellent coda to this category as an iconographic bridge between preadolescence and youth. This stele, erected in honor of Kalliphanes, is among the earliest of the corpus and can be dated stylistically

⁴¹⁵ Müsham 1952 95.

⁴¹⁶ Wood 2000, 15; 108-109.

⁴¹⁷ Tudor 1976, 72.

⁴¹⁸ McLean 2002, 113-114.

to the early part of the first century CE. The surface carving and shallow rendering of the drapery are typical of stelai from this period.⁴¹⁹ It is a smaller work and it is tempting to discern a lingering sumptuary, Demetrian influence in its simplicity of scale and execution. The monument stands only 0.71 meters high and 0.35 m wide; while the figure is far less than life size at only 0.24m in height. The architectural form, unlike the more elaborate naiskos stele, is a simple shaft with relief field and free-standing akroteria. Beyond Kalliphanes' frontal stance, the composition is clearly Classical. The dog (of itself a classicizing convention) is seated at the boy's proper right. His lower body overlaps the frame in a cursory imitation of a Classical device to suggest depth.⁴²⁰

Unlike many of the preceding images of children and "youths on the cusp," the boy's figure is physically mature. He wears the *chitoniskos*, the recurrent garment of the Panathenaic (and consummately mature male) calvary on the Parthenon frieze and the standard hunting cum military attire of the Macedonians since the 4th century CE.⁴²¹ On the Alexander sarcophagus, it is the battle garment worn by Alexander himself (Fig. 40).⁴²² The larger dog that appears alongside the boy, like the short chiton, is a marker of an aspirational status: this boy, in death, now qualifies for the hunt. The only remaining intimation of boyhood is the ball that he holds in his left hand.

Monuments of Youths and Ephebes

This final section examines the funerary representation of youths and ephebes (**Cat. 52-73.**) Once more, given the iconographic variety among the monuments, I will refer to literary parallels as they mirror themes represented by each type. Youths are represented

⁴¹⁹ An excellent comparandum for the shallow relief is **Cat. 42** which Müsham dates to the first century CE. Müsham 1952, 58.

⁴²⁰ See for example the grave stele of Mnesarete in Neils and Oakley 2003, 135, fig. 29.

⁴²¹ Stewart 1993, 338.

⁴²² For the Alexander sarcophagus, see Stewart 1993, 274-75, 294-306, 422-23, 453-55, figs. 101-3, 105-6.

in the short chiton, nude/semi-nude and long himation types. I have limited my definition of the ephebe quite strictly to a semi-nude figure with the shoulder-draped chlamys. The chlamys has long been interpreted as the standard ephebic attire and appears at least as early as the 4th century BCE as a specifying attribute of the ephebe in Greek art. Much like such Classical precursors, glorifying the prime of male life, Imperial ephebic markers participate in a conservative and specific iconography.

If the ephebic guise is constant over the centuries, its context and, therefore, its meaning is, by the Roman period, remarkably changed. As noted in the preceding pages, according to the customs of classical Athens, some of these figures (both of youths and ephebes) would have fallen more strictly into the category of adulthood. In contrast, a central social feature, if not benefit, of the *pax Romana* and the shift of battle to the very edges of empire, was the prolongation of Attic adolescence. In this new reality, depictions of youths approaching ephebic age, and of epheboi themselves, capture the social ambitions of an increasingly wealthy class defined by civic euergetism and athletic prowess, *not* military valor.

This first of these monuments (**Cat. 52**), inscribed simply Ἀχιλλεύς, segues neatly from the stele of Kalliphanes that concluded the previous section. As with the Kalliphanes marker, this shaft stele can be dated stylistically to the first half of the first century CE on the basis of its low relief and the surface treatment of the drapery. The monument likewise adheres to comparatively smaller proportions (H: 0.69m; W: 0.42m) and features a small relief field of only 0.21m high. The Achilleus stele also participates in a similar iconographic program, including both the dog and the short chiton or *chitoniskos*. The chlamys, draped over the left shoulder in the typical ephebic shoulder-

pouch, alludes to his prospective position among the city's foremost residents. Yet unlike Kalliphanes, Axilleus holds no attribute of early childhood — no bird, nor ball. And his long youth locks, *without* such accompanying attributes, take on a meaning different from that of the monuments commemorating prepubescent boys. Achilleus' locks may represent the ritual growth of hair just prior to manhood. He is evocative of the Archaic *kouros* (Fig. 41)⁴²³, already physically mature, who with his own tresses stands on the brink of formal entry into political and social roles. Indeed, the relief with its shallow depth, oblong eyes and striding, profile composition might even be construed as conscientiously archaizing. And, while it is impossible to know whether any Archaic monuments remained to serve as prototypes after the Persian destruction of 480 BCE, perhaps the evocation of much earlier funerary markers of Archaic oligarchy is in fact intended.

This notion is strengthened by a second iconographic feature on the relief: the cluster of grapes. The precedent for the motif of the grapes has already been explored above⁴²⁴ and as before it most likely refers to Dionysos, a natural and consolatory allusion in a funerary context. As an attribute associated more narrowly with youths, the following comparanda can be adduced. Once more one may cite the well-known copy of a Classical statue depicting Hermes and Dionysos statue. In this representation, a youthful Hermes dangles a (now missing) bunch of grapes before the tantalized infant Dionysos.⁴²⁵ An ivory knife handle dating to the 4th century CE supplies Imperial iconographic support for the grapes. In this relief, a youth stands frontally resting his

⁴²³ The Archaic Kouros from the New York Metropolitan Museum accession number 32.11.1. See collection database: <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130013862>. See also Montebello 1994, 304, fig. 2.

⁴²⁴ See above, 88-89.

⁴²⁵ Richter 1970a, 128, 139, 198, 199, fig. 711.

right arm on a trunk. As with Axilleus, this youth wears a chlamys pinned at the shoulder and draped about his chest and, in his left hand, he holds a bunch of grapes.⁴²⁶ Another Imperial comparandum is provided by a wall painting in the House of Jupiter and Ganymede at Ostia. This painting dated to the late Antonine, represents Dionysos himself as a youth. The young god wears long curly hair and holds a filet in his left hand; a cluster of grapes hangs from his left hand. As with the other figures, Dionysos wears a chlamys.⁴²⁷ Apart from this last example, it may be that the figures in the preceding depictions and in the Axilleus relief intentionally evoke the youthful god Dionysos.

The depiction of the offering act seen on the Axilleus relief also finds ready parallels in Hellenistic clay votaries from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth (where Dionysos also received worship) that represent young boys or youths holding offeratory grapes. Employing similar motifs, the present Axilleus marker functions as a perpetual offering, perhaps seeking to ensure a Dionysian afterlife for the deceased. Beyond such obvious readings, however, the offering of grapes may have signified a more narrow and elevated social status. While it is not clear that the Bacchic mysteries were performed in Roman Athens, the Iobacchi, a secret society, which, to borrow Martin Nilsson's phrase, "came very near to a Bacchic mystery association" was certainly active in the city.⁴²⁸ Jane Fejfer writes that the society, called the Bachkeion according to one inscription, dates back to the Hellenistic period and that it drew from the ranks of wealthy Athenians as its entrance fees were high.⁴²⁹ By the latter half of the 2nd century CE, the priesthood of this group would eventually be held by the billionaire Herodes Atticus, friend and one

⁴²⁶ See Weitzmann 1972, 16-17, no. 7, pl. VI.

⁴²⁷ Clarke 1991, 327-328, fig. 204.

⁴²⁸ Nilsson 1953, 188.

⁴²⁹ Fejfer 2008, 99.

time tutor of the emperor himself.⁴³⁰ In this context, Dionysian symbolism need not have represented the possibility of a happy afterlife alone. It may well have advertised a specific social status that highlighted the prestige of the bereaved family.

A second monument also depicts a youth in a short chiton (**Cat. 53**). Unlike the subtle iconography of the former work, however, the imagery of this monument is overt in its status claims. Not only is the stele the most elaborate of the corpus, it depicts a scene of the hunt – the most quintessential of elite pursuits. Commemorating one Artemidoros of Bessa with an inscription that appears on the epistyle, this naiskos stele stands 0.72m high and is 0.69m wide. Two other names with different letter forms appear on the horizontal cornice (Ἀρριστοστέλης Βησαιεύς) and the tympanum of the pediment (Ἀρτεμίδωρος Εἰσιγένο <υ>) suggesting that later family members were inscribed on the same monument, a practice that was common during the Classical period.⁴³¹ This continued usage highlights its perceived value, among at least the family by whom it was originally erected, as a statement of status.⁴³² The central akroterion has broken off, while the two lateral akroteria remain. Large dowel holes for iron pins and, by extension, commemorative garlands appear at the upper corners of the relief frame, well above the head of the subject. Despite the roughness of its execution, the immediacy of the action and the bold three-quarter pose are consistent with works of the middle Antonine period in Athens. On the left, Artemidoros is poised with a spear in a short chiton. He has roused a wild boar from its lair. A tree rises above the confronted pair and a sack, holding a pair of rabbits, hangs from one of its branches. A stag stands in a rocky outcropping beyond

⁴³⁰ Evidence for the Iobacchi and Herodes priesthood is preserved in an Attic inscription dated to 175/6 CE that records new statutes of the society. See *IG II²*, 1368.

⁴³¹ Closterman 2007, 633-652.

⁴³² Moock 1998, 121. For Greek see Conze 1911-1922 IV, 80, no.2054.

the tree's branches, while a pair of wild goats graze on plants at the very base of the relief. A third goat is barely visible above the pair. Seated on a rocky outcropping, overlooking the bucolic grazing scene at the base of the stele, is a guard dog

The use of space, particularly the area conserved for Artemidoros' imaginary stride and spear thrust from left to right across the relief stage, is prevalent among Isis compositions of the 160s CE.⁴³³ The stele is unique, however, in that it is the only extant stele from this period that depicts an elaborate landscape. Müsham observes that the composition of this landscape, tiered rather than made up of overlapping of elements, is found on many Hellenistic reliefs.⁴³⁴ While this may be the case, one cannot help but discern parallels with an even earlier art form: the tiered staging in late Classical red-figure vases, such as that of the Niobid painter (Fig. 42).⁴³⁵ Many Roman mosaics likewise retain this representational scheme, as found in this 3rd century CE mosaic from Roman Africa in El Djem (Fig. 43).⁴³⁶

The hunting scene of the Artemidoros stele, while unique within this corpus, is an enduring motif of Greco-Roman art. Its precedents are myriad.⁴³⁷ The Nemean lion is among the most represented myths on Archaic black-figure vases. This theme lent itself readily to the artistic articulation of power across several centuries; it is this lion-slayer whom Alexander appropriates for his own artistic propaganda. As with other features of Hellenistic royal iconography, the hunt motif was repackaged and widely distributed by

⁴³³ Walters 1988, 79-80.

⁴³⁴ Müsham 1952, 99.

⁴³⁵ See Clark et al. 2002, 53, fig. 44-45

⁴³⁶ Tunis, Bardo Museum A 288. See Cohen 2010, 278, fig. 12.

⁴³⁷ Whole books have been dedicated to this subject, so I will refrain from expanding here. See, for example, Barringer 2001.

the art of imperial Rome. The Artemidoros stele lays claim to this general tradition while representing a distinguished Greek form of the sport: the boar hunt.

Homer's narrative (*Il.* 9.529-99) of the Meleager myth is the earliest record of the boar hunt and the story was perhaps the most famous hunting narrative in all of Greek literary and artistic tradition.⁴³⁸ The 6th century CE François Krater, now in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, depicts the Calydonian boar hunt in its highest register.⁴³⁹ An Archaic metope from the Sikyonian Treasury at Delphi also preserves a scene of the myth.⁴⁴⁰ In the Classical period, Euripides wrote a tragedy wholly dedicated to the hero.⁴⁴¹ Fascination with the myth persisted well into the Imperial period and the Roman predilection for the Meleager narrative is captured on numerous sarcophagi of the 2nd century CE.⁴⁴² Ovid included the tale of the hunt in his eighth book of the *Metamorphoses*. Against this rich backdrop, even non-mythological depictions of boar-hunting acquire a heroic quality.

The myth's prevalence in Roman funerary art, not to mention Marcus Aurelius' youthful fondness for the boar hunt, may have influenced the subject of the Artemidoros relief. An Attic sarcophagus in the National Museum at Athens and dated to the mid second century CE provides a contemporaneous example (Fig. 44)⁴⁴³ and preserves the arrangement of the ultimately successful hunters on the left with the boar attacking from the right. Much like Artemidoros, all the male hunters have short cropped hair, are nude or in the short chiton, and wear no shoes. The sarcophagus scene, however, features no

⁴³⁸ See Barringer 2001, 147.

⁴³⁹ For the François vase see Beazley 1951/1986, 24-34, pl.23.

⁴⁴⁰ On the Sikyonian treasury relief in the Delphi Museum, accession number 1345, see Daltrop 1966, pl. 3.

⁴⁴¹ Cohen 2010, 274.

⁴⁴² See for example Kleiner 2010, 222, figs. 15.7; 15.8.

⁴⁴³ Athens National Museum 1186. Kaltsas 2002, 350, no.740.

landscape. Certainly, the stele's detailed landscape is evidence of a Roman aesthetic influence. A polychrome mosaic from Monte Venere, dated to the first or second century CE offers a striking parallel for the Attic composition (Fig. 45).⁴⁴⁴ The work encompasses a detailed narrative in the confines of a single frame. Simple trees establish a forested landscape. A stag pursuit is staged on the upper left; while, the main scene depicts the confrontation of the primary hunter and a wild boar. The stag hunt is rendered secondary to the boar hunt through staging and this prioritization is paralleled on the Artemidoros stele. Moreover, the vernacular of pursuit, rooted in a long artistic history, is consonant.⁴⁴⁵ As with so many of the Meleager depictions on sarcophagi, the hunter strides in the direction of victory, from the viewer's left to right, and in this movement, the boar is destined to die. Yet the hunter of the Attic stele, unlike the main figure of the Monte Venere mosaic, has entered the wilderness alone. And, as with our young Artemidoros, it is the solitary hunter of Greek myth who is often doomed.⁴⁴⁶

Other conventions are pressed into service on the relief. On the right side of the field, a pouch hangs from the bough of a tree. The purse net is a regular implement of the hare hunt and appears as an identifying attribute in other reliefs, as for instance on a 4th century BCE stele of a Macedonian or Thessalian youth (Fig. 46).⁴⁴⁷ On the Artemidoros stele, the heads of two small rabbits emerge from a similar pouch. In this single reference, the youth is established as an already accomplished hare hunter who has literally set aside childish quarry in pursuit of a more aggressive beast, the quarry of men. This implied hierarchy is borne out both by the literary and artistic evidence. There is only a *single*

⁴⁴⁴ Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale P. 886. See Cohen 2010, 281, fig. 127.

⁴⁴⁵ Cursory survey of such scenes on Attic vases reveals a precedent at least as early as the Archaic period. A complete survey of the hunt and images of pursuit is offered in Barringer 2001.

⁴⁴⁶ Cohen 2010, 274. e.g. Actaeon, Orion.

⁴⁴⁷ Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Accession number 96.AA.48. Grossman 2000, 104, no. 31.

mention of hare hunting in the *Iliad* (10.360-362.), suggesting that the pursuit did not befit the mature Homeric hero. The lowest frieze of the 7th BCE Chigi vase, at furthest remove from the panel representing the Homeric sport of heroes, war, depicts boys pursuing long-eared rabbits through the marshes.⁴⁴⁸ Nor is it mere coincidence that the captured hare of Attic vase painting is often interpreted as a symbolic parallel for the beardless *eromenos* to whom it has been gifted.⁴⁴⁹ In the Classical period, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (785-792) most famously represents hare hunting as a symbol of perpetual youth:

...there once was a youth called Melainon,
 who
 was so appalled at the prospect of women he
 flew to the mountains rather than marry.
 And he *hunted hares*
 And set his snares
 With his dog there
 And never came back for anyone.
 (Trans. Dickinson; emphasis mine.)⁴⁵⁰

Some scholars have suggested that the mosaic from El Djem (Fig. 43), cited above and roughly contemporary to the present relief, even depicts a *woman* (in the upper right corner) participating in the hare hunt, while others argue for an elegant youth.⁴⁵¹

Whatever the case may be, the androgynous or feminine hunter clarifies the hare hunt as particularly juvenile.

This hierarchical notion of hunting is made explicit in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (1.4.7). Cyrus as a youth accompanies his uncle on a hunt and learns "that bears and

⁴⁴⁸ See Hurwitt 2002, 8-9, fig. 6.

⁴⁴⁹ Barringer 2001, 86, 106-109.

⁴⁵⁰ Aristophanes *Lysistrata*, 785-792: οὕτως ἦν νεανίσκος Μελανίων τις, ὃς φεύγων γάμον ἀφίκετ' ἐς ἐρημίαν, κὰν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ᾧκει: κᾷτ' ἐλαγοθήρει πλεξάμενος ἄρκυς, καὶ κύνα τιν' εἶχεν, κοῦκέτι κατῆλθε πάλιν οἴκαδ'...

⁴⁵¹ Hunter as female see, Cohen 2010, 278 and Anderson 1985; 136-138; Hunter as elegant youth see Dunbabin 2003 238, n. 23.

boars and lions and leopards had killed many who came close to them, but that deer and gazelles and wild sheep and wild asses were harmless” (trans. Miller).⁴⁵² In this vein, Artemidoros does not pursue the stag that appears on the fringe of the relief scene. The boar, Artemidoros’ prey, has its own semantic value. Several major Greek heroes hunt a boar: Herakles, Theseus, Meleager, and of course, Odysseus, who is uniquely identifiable by the scar of a boar hunt on his thigh. Thus, Artemidoros’ quarry is the quarry of heroes, the boar stirred up from his den. As in the Meleager tragedy, the impending demise of the boar portends the fate of the hero. The boar is at once a symbol of valor and of death. The scene is thus ideally suited to the funerary context of a youth on the cusp of manhood: an elite initiation proffered in stone.

One final element to explore is the bucolic imagery in the socle zone. Of course, such pastoral scenes are common to Roman wall painting. And among Roman “Endymion” sarcophagi, rock outcroppings, goats and sheep are recurrent elements.⁴⁵³ Nonetheless, this particular pastoral, and its imagery of two goats nibbling from a single tree, is unique. The goat pair does not call to mind the more traditional, heraldic motif of confronted animals and one wonders whether they might not have instead Dionysiac associations. The satyrs, Dionysos’ ribald followers, are all of course half goat. And the Garden of the Gods, the mythological locus of the fruit of immortality, was at times described by the ancient Greeks as vineyard with Dionysiac goats.⁴⁵⁴ In the funerary context, such associations and the Dionysian promise of immortality are fitting. Another funerary monument that shares this same imagery, the pair of goats and the single tree, is

⁴⁵² Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 1.4.7: οἱ δ’ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄρκτοι τε πολλοὺς ἤδη πλησιάσαντας διέφθειραν καὶ κάπροι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις, αἱ δὲ ἔλαφοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι οἶες καὶ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ ἄγριοι ἀσινεῖς εἰσιν.

⁴⁵³ Lawrence 1965, 217.

⁴⁵⁴ Vermeule 1979, 191.

the Velletri sarcophagus, dated to the x century CE.⁴⁵⁵ While the iconography of this latter monument is far more complex than that of **Cat. 53**, the parallel motif is striking and, to my mind, perhaps intimated a common opinion regarding the locus of and access to immortality.

Nude/Semi Nude Youths

While allusions to heroism are often implied by nudity or semi-nudity, the following reliefs, stripped of any mythological context, are almost too generalized to assign any specific heroization. Five monuments fall into this category (**Cat. nos. 54-57**) and almost all are most notable for their Classicizing emphasis on the human body.

The first monument, **Cat. 54**, is an unfinished, sculpted kioniskos. The relief depicts a nude athlete crowing himself with his right hand and holding a palm in his left.⁴⁵⁶ Standing at 1.39 meters high, with the figure roughly life-size, the work is among the most monumental of our markers — a scale mirrored in its exalted imagery. The highly Classical theme of this composition alone, the victor at the games, would suggest a Hadrianic date; A colossal statue from Luku of Hadrian's lover, Antinous, depicts the youth seated as a file-binding (self-crowning) athletic victor.⁴⁵⁷ At the very least, a mid-second century CE date might be assigned. Though the monument is unfinished, the round rendering of the youth's face and the heavy, prominence of his curls, find ready parallels with the Antinous from the Delphi archaeological museum (Fig. 47).⁴⁵⁸ To be sure, Antinous portraits continued to be produced and his cult, established throughout the

⁴⁵⁵ Lawrence 1965, 217, pl. 54, fig. 36.

⁴⁵⁶ The only other monument in the corpus that also includes a palm is Cat. 59 which also commemorates a youth.

⁴⁵⁷ See Oppen 2008, 189, fig. 172.

⁴⁵⁸ Delphi, Archaeological Museum 1718. See Kleiner 2010 174, fig. 12-6.

empire persisted through the 4th century CE, well beyond the death of Hadrian.⁴⁵⁹ Bearing this in mind, a more general date in the mid 2nd century CE seems most reasonable.

As with the hunt, general representations of the athlete stretch back to the Archaic period and, in sculpture specifically, to funerary reliefs uncovered among the Persian debris.⁴⁶⁰ The self-crowning athlete, the *autostephanoumenos*, is found on an early Classical votive relief from Sounion dated to around 470 BCE (Fig. 48).⁴⁶¹ Another life-size portrait of a self-crowning athlete is the bronze victor in the Getty Museum and dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century BCE.⁴⁶² The longevity of this motif is demonstrated by Roman sculptural copies and the self-crowning athlete also appears in Roman wall frescoes. One, in the same manner as our unfinished figure, depicts an *autostephanoumenos* with the palm branch in his hand.⁴⁶³ According to Pausanias (8.48.2), woven palm leaves served as an athletic crown for many Greek games, and victors were often known to hold a palm branch in their hand. In the *Natural History* (35.75), Pliny describes a painting by Eupompus in which an athletic victor also holds a palm. Indeed, some scholars restore a palm branch to the much debated bronze athlete of the Getty collection.⁴⁶⁴

On a funerary relief, the motif of the self-exalting victor continues the convention of the archaic Kouroi, suggesting a happy life defined by the ideal death. Yet what response did such conventions prompt in Attic viewers of the *Roman* world? By the end of Hellenistic period, war was no longer part of daily Greek life, and aristocrats, like

⁴⁵⁹ Jones 2010, 82.

⁴⁶⁰ See, for example, Archaic Attic statue bases depicting athletes in Kosmopolou 2002 48, nos. 10 and 11, figs. 20 and 22.

⁴⁶¹ Athens, National Museum accession number 3344. See Pedley 2007, 238, fig. 7.35.

⁴⁶² Mattusch 1997, 81, fig. 57.

⁴⁶³ Mattusch 1997, 84-86, fig. 42.

⁴⁶⁴ Mattusch 1997, 81, fig. 57.

Herodes Atticus who, for example, could claim Marathon's Miltiades as his forebear, could no longer garner glory for themselves on the battlefield. While democratic *agones* may well have incorporated a broader swath of Attic (male) society, the games under the Roman Empire provided a conspicuous venue for a specifically elite exposition of valor through athletic skill. Competitive sport was the analogue for warfare, greatly augmenting the heroic status of the athlete that had existed, if secondarily, since the age of Pindar. Pausanias' description (6.1-18) of Olympia includes some 250 statues dedicated to victors; the sheer number reveals much about the status of the victorious Olympic athlete in the Imperial or Panhellenic imagination. In the catalog of Heroes in Philostratos' *Heroicus*, the immortalized Protesileos routinely praises the heroes of the Trojan War in terms of their athletic prowess. In describing the strength of Telamonian Ajax (*Her.* 35.8), Protesileos asserts that "if the Cyclops had existed and the story concerning them were true. Odysseus would have wrestled with Polyphemos rather than with Ajax."⁴⁶⁵ Such comparisons were purposefully allusive and allowed Imperial elite audiences to equate their own agonistic victories with the martial valor of Homeric heroes.⁴⁶⁶

The iconography of yet another monument of the nude youth category (**Cat. 55**) does not, at first glance, represent such themes explicitly. The figure preserved in the relief field of a fragmentary stele exudes an air of leisure and appears therefore to be a simple statement of class. The main field is all that remains of the work and its lack of framing elements suggests that it may be a quotation of large, Classical Attic reliefs

⁴⁶⁵ Trans. Maclean and Aitken 2002, 58.

⁴⁶⁶ König 2005, 338-339.

designed without frames.⁴⁶⁷ The off-balance stance of the youth and the sinuous curve of his body certainly originate in Praxitelean sculpture and likewise suggest that the work was created during a Classicizing period. Walters identifies the work as Flavian on the basis of comparison with the Titus of Olympia.⁴⁶⁸ As I have not seen this work in person, I rely on Walter's judgement. The pose of the figure, the male body at ease, and the intimation of *scholē* implied by the lean form (time for sport) and relaxed posture may offer general comment upon the function of Greek art in the Imperial world as a symbol of wealth, leisure and learning.⁴⁶⁹

A comparison with the Farnese Herakles may, however, introduce the possibility of a plausible Lysippan precedent and consequentially a different reading. Apart from the general similarities in stance, it is the parallel gesture of the left hand of our youth and the hand of Herakles, grasping the golden apples beyond his back, that is most striking (Fig. 49).⁴⁷⁰ The curvature of the fingers is almost identical. If the Farnese sculpture is in fact quoted, and, if one accepts the traditional interpretation of the Farnese Herakles as a depiction of the tired hero who has completed labors and will soon be apotheosized, then the stele's quotation has particular value in the funerary context. Not only is an allusion to the hero implied but, more importantly, an aspiration to the immortality Herakles ultimately attained.

The next monument within this category, **Cat. 56**, has been damaged across the top with breakage running at a diagonal from the left relief frame up to the youth's right shoulder. This breakage continues horizontally across the top of the whole relief. Given

⁴⁶⁷ Walters 1988, 41, n.72.

⁴⁶⁸ Daltrop et al. 1966, pl. 22:d.

⁴⁶⁹ Crawford 2007, 22.

⁴⁷⁰ Thank you to Professor Susan Rotroff for pointing out this striking similarity. Naples, Archaeological Museum 6001. See Pollitt 1986, 50, fig.41.

that the preserved height is 0.95 m, it is possible that the original stele may have been quite monumental. The youth stands frontally in contrapposto with his weight on his right leg. The himation is low-slung about his hips but the drawing does not reveal anything of the genitalia. He rests his right hand lightly upon a beardless herm and it is possible that he held a scroll in his left hand but, as I rely on Conze, the object remains unidentifiable. The appearance of a scroll would certainly be appropriate in the gymnasium context intimated by the herm.

Another stele worthy of closer attention is **Cat. 57**. The monument measures 1.22 meters high and roughly 0.64 meters across. A youth stands frontally at the center of the field. Dowel holes for iron pins appear at equal height on either side of the figure's head, which has been defaced. Leafy branches emerge from a tree to the right of the youth and a small dog sits at its base. The figure is depicted in the traditional contrapposto stance with his left hand resting lightly upon a herm. According to Harrison, the depiction of figures leaning upon a symbolic object (e.g. a loutrophoros) first appears on funerary reliefs of the 5th century BCE, and the earliest extant example in free-standing sculpture is the Praxitelean Eros of Parion. In this tradition, herms are used as symbolic attributes and denote certain settings. Among the Imperial funerary exempla,⁴⁷¹ the leaning motif, that is the actual use of the herm for support, is less prevalent than the light resting of a hand on top the herm as seen on the present stelai.⁴⁷² Walters argues that the Piraeus stele can be dated stylistically to the late Hellenistic period and that the dowel holes, a strictly Roman occurrence, suggest the monument was re-used later, in the 1st century CE.⁴⁷³ On the basis of these same dowel holes, however, and the particular composition of the hand

⁴⁷¹ Conze 1911-1922 IV, IV, nos. 2015 and 2017.

⁴⁷² Harrison 1965 135-136.

⁴⁷³ Walters 1988, 44.

merely resting upon the herm, I question the hypothesis of re-use and posit that the work was simply a product of the 1st century CE.

The function of the herm and other iconographic features is less problematic than the dating. The youth can be associated with the gymnasium given the herm at his proper right. The herm format, in general, was long used to represent the dual gymnasium gods, Hermes and Herakles (apotheosized) and herms had also long been erected as protectors of the youths who trained in Greek gymnasia. In the Roman period, herms were often set up in honor of the magistrates of Athenian gymnasia.⁴⁷⁴ The association of the herm with athletic training and competition is confirmed by the double-headed beardless Apollo/bearded Hermes herm uncovered at the 2nd century CE Panathenaic stadium in Athens.⁴⁷⁵ This particular herm was placed at the starting line of the *dromos* (race course).⁴⁷⁶ A reference to a *beardless* herm besides the ὕσπληγξ, the starting gate at races, is attested in a poem by Philipos (Pal. Anth. 6.259) and offers some literary evidence for the beardless association: Who set you up, *beardless* Hermes, by the hysplex?⁴⁷⁷ Given the representation of *solely* beardless Herms as an attribute of youths within the present corpus, by the Roman period at least, there appears to have been a strong, if not conclusive, correlation between the beardless herm format and those settings dedicated to the athletic training and education of youths.

Like the gymnasium iconography, other features on the stele may be understood as markers of leisure. The tree in the background may allude to the suburban gymnasium setting. The low-draped mantle, revealing the well-muscled torso, highlights the fitness

⁴⁷⁴ Dillon 2006, 31.

⁴⁷⁵ Spawforth and Walker 1985, pl. III, i.

⁴⁷⁶ Valavanēs 1999, 53.

⁴⁷⁷ For Greek and translation see Valavanis 1999, 53, n.165: Τίς τόν ἄχνοον Ἑρμῆν σε παρ'ὕσπληγεςσιν ἔθηκεν. My emphasis.

required of both athletics and the hunt. These latter elements, the mantle and muscled torso, are likewise present on the stele of Paramonos and his son Alexander (**Cat. 58**). Here too the youth appears in the low-slung mantle with a dog at his side. Such drapery underscores these athletic associations but it also represents a departure from the nudity typical of Classical funerary representations of Attic youth. Evidence from statues of the Hellenistic East suggest that the hip-mantle motif, as it appears here, was a preferred mode over full nudity for representing energetic youth. Seven fragmentary Hellenistic statues from Kos present youths in this drapery mode.⁴⁷⁸ According to Hallet, the absence of any weaponry with a figure of this drapery type may simply signify an athlete and youth. A victorious athlete also from Kos, who holds a palm bough rather than a weapon, appears in this drapery guise and supports Hallet's proposition.⁴⁷⁹ Such is the iconographic program of the present monument and several parallel themes can be found in the handful of monuments that follow.

Long himation type

Two of the monuments in this category present a figure draped in a long himation with an exposed chest (**Cat. 59** and **Cat. 61** fragmentary.) Several others represent the youth fully wrapped in his mantle (**Cat. 60, 62-67**). Again, the long himation is generally evocative of philosopher portraits but, as discussed above, the garment might also be taken simply as the costume of an educated person. While the preceding monuments, as befits their partial nudity, celebrated status through athletic glory, these monuments emphasize learning. The scroll that some of the figures hold also underscores the fact that the gymnasium setting was not dedicated solely to athletic training. In conjunction with

⁴⁷⁸ Hallet 1998 79, esp. n.46; On this drapery mode see, no. 4, fig. 40.

⁴⁷⁹ Hallet 1998 80, n. 50. Hallet, however, does not provide a figure for this reference

the philosophical costume, the herm alludes to the other sorts of learning that took place in Greek gymnasia: philosophy, music, rhetoric, and literature.⁴⁸⁰ Two monuments in this group, **Cat. 59** and **Cat. 60**, merit closer scrutiny given their iconographic features.

The first of these, in the Piraeus museum, also depicts a young man of ephebic age in a himation that exposes the chest (**Cat. 59**). The monument, a shaft stele with an arched naiskos relief field, originally stood over 1.79 meters high and 0.67 meters wide. Walters dates it to the early Imperial period on the basis of the youth's proportions and stance, features that are paralleled by the statuette of Megiste in the National Museum which is dated by inscription to ca. 27 BCE.⁴⁸¹ Müsham argues further that the extremely shallow relief beneath the main field supports this early Imperial date, which Conze also recommends. She suggests that the stele may have been reworked at a later period, given the disparity between the shallow relief beneath the field and the depth of the relief within the main field.⁴⁸² I am inclined to assign a 2nd century CE date, given the architectural configuration of the arch and frame. This configuration supports a later date, as defined by Müsham herself. Again, according to her chronology, the earliest reliefs tend to have no frame at all, while the arch and frame merge on stelai dated to a later period.⁴⁸³ Secondly, there is some suggestive evidence that the Triton motif, albeit sketchily rendered, was beginning to appear on Attic funerary works during the 2nd century CE,⁴⁸⁴ further strengthening the proposed date for the complete work.

⁴⁸⁰ Veyne 1997, 21.

⁴⁸¹ For the dating see Walters 1988, 44, n.89.

⁴⁸² Müsham 1952, 82.

⁴⁸³ Müsham 1952, 93-94.

⁴⁸⁴ A rough and shallow rendering of tritons appears on the back of what is thought to be a sarcophagus of the family of Herodes Atticus. I will discuss this further in my examination of iconography. See Perry 2001, 467, fig.1. Also, one other stele within the present corpus carries the motif, **Cat. 83**, as well as the apotropaic gorgon head.

Having established a reasonable chronological context, I turn now to the iconography itself. Conze, writing prior to the restoration of the upper part of the stele, described the deceased as a man.⁴⁸⁵ However, as the stele dates to or around the Antonine period and the young figure is beardless (not to mention positively round of face,) I am confident in the classification of the figure as a youth. The deceased stands in the left side of the framed field, draped in the himation with an exposed upper torso. The only associated attribute is a siren, upon which the youth rests his left hand. From the waist up, the siren is nude. Her legs are roughly feathered to the knee and terminate in taloned feet; small wings are visible behind her back. She holds a plectrum in her right hand and a kithara in her left. Sirens, although temptress monsters in the Homeric tradition, were also widely recognized as the companions of Persephone. In varying accounts, they are turned into girl-faced birds for failing to prevent Hades' rape of the maiden or they are transformed so that they can fly about in search of Demeter's daughter.⁴⁸⁶ In consequence, they had clear chthonic associations. By the Classical period, particularly in funerary art, much of the monstrous association had given way to the mournful. They were quite frequently represented in sepulchral art as virtual muses performing a melancholy, eternal lament over the deceased. The siren is thus a functional equivalent to the boar: she portends the fate of the youth while exalting his memory as worthy of a perpetual Siren song, the song heard by Odysseus himself.

Unlike the Sirens, tritons do not appear as enduring characters in Attic funerary art. During the later Imperial era, sepulchral scenes of marine *thiasoi*, including tritons

⁴⁸⁵ Conze 1911-1922 IV, 80.

⁴⁸⁶ Hyginus, *Fabulae* 141; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4. 896–8, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5. 552–63.

and nereids, were far more common in Rome than in Athens.⁴⁸⁷ This favored subject status at Rome may, perhaps, explain the sketch of tritons that appears on the back of the sarcophagus associated with the family of Herodes Atticus, as noted briefly above.⁴⁸⁸ Herodes, the consummate conflator of elite Roman and Greek culture, may simply have been quoting prevalent Roman tastes. In Athens, however, in the rare instance of their appearance, marine motifs were relegated to the periphery (e.g. in the patterns decorating lids of kline sarcophagi⁴⁸⁹ or the tympanum of **Cat. 83**), while Roman sarcophagi make marine thiasoi the subject of their primary fields. Perhaps then, Herodes (or his family) and the patron of the present stele were conforming to local practice with the marginal placement of the motif. The present stele depicts a pair of facing tritons blowing the conch horns and resting an oar on their shoulders. While this imagery is not elaborate, it alludes to marine processions and fulfills a consonant iconographic function. As Judith Barringer argues, such scenes had long lost their marine specificity and instead served as analogies for progress through crucial transitions in life. Nereids served as “divine escorts” through life’s thresholds.⁴⁹⁰ Given their status as the particular companions of Nereids, the Tritons here assume an apposite role, trumpeting a male soul through that most final transition.

The final stele of real iconographic interest in this group is the monument of the Milesian Charixenos, the son of Charixenos (**Cat. 60**). Müsham places the stele among the earliest reliefs on the basis of its very shallow spatial depth and its rigid, flat

⁴⁸⁷ Borg 2004, 249; Zanker et al 2012, 252; 341-347, nos. 22-24.

⁴⁸⁸ See Perry 2001, 467, fig.1.

⁴⁸⁹ Borg 2004, 249.

⁴⁹⁰ Barringer 1995, 10-12.

drapery.⁴⁹¹ The work is of moderate scale, standing 0.76m high and 0.34 - 0.36 m. wide, and, as with many of the earliest works, it is of modest quality. The deceased stands frontally with face in profile. His form is entirely enwrapped by the himation. On his proper right sits a dog. Above the head of the dog appears a pair of open hands. Despite the modesty of its context, this raised-hand motif merits examination as it clarifies our figure as young and also calls into question the date offered by Müsham.

Epigraphic evidence does a great deal to illuminate the iconography of the raised hands. The motif appears recurrently on the epitaphs of young children and young persons throughout the late Hellenistic period and well into late antiquity.⁴⁹² A Delian funerary stele dated to ca. 100 BCE depicts a pair of raised hands and an epitaphic prayer to Helios and *Agne Thea* invoking retribution.⁴⁹³ Another example is offered by a 2nd - century CE inscription from a grave uncovered on Salamis. The epitaph also invokes the sun god Helios to avenge the deceased against one who plotted against (ἐπίβουλος) the deceased, and the prayer is accompanied by the pair of raised hands. Two other epitaphs, erected by parents of deceased sons, cite murder as the cause of death, and once more enjoin Helios or Sol (one inscription is in Latin) to seek vengeance. In each case, the raised-hand motif appears with the epitaphic prayer/curse.⁴⁹⁴ According to Graf, part of the association between presumed murder and a young person's or child's death may stem from the very fact of the deceased person's youth. Death appeared unnatural during a vigorous period of life, well beyond the perilous phase of infancy, and parents or family members may have been inclined to assume foul play without any empirical evidence.

⁴⁹¹ Müsham 1952, 82, n 1.

⁴⁹² See Graf's catalog of epitaphs 2007, 139-150.

⁴⁹³ Palagia 2011a, 64.

⁴⁹⁴ Graf 2007, see the above examples of the vengeance epitaph and the motif in 16, 21, 22, on pp. 142-143.

The hands were deployed as “sympathetic” and retributive iconography, strengthening in image the inscribed invocation for revenge. While the tradition of this visual vernacular suggests that murder was perceived as the cause of Charixenos’ death, the lack of any associated inscribed curse opens up the possibility that, in this instance, the motif may simply have functioned as an apotropaic device. Helios could also be invoked as the protector of a grave and the violation of a tomb might activate the curse implied by the visual motif alone.⁴⁹⁵ Whatever the intention may have been, the deceased child or youth was prized and mourned enough to elicit a strong parental desire for retribution.

In the case of Charixenos, without any accompanying retributive inscription, the motif supplied the visual shorthand for an established epitaph form. Plausibly, this shorthand extended to *Helios* or *Sol Invictus*, among the most important deities of the late Roman Empire, who was routinely invoked epigraphically in conjunction with the raised hands. Nonetheless, stylistically, the stele is much closer to those monuments of the 1st century CE, particularly given its shallow relief and it may best be assigned such a date accordingly.

Ephebic Chlamydes

Given my strict parameters, this final section includes only six monuments (**Cat. nos. 68-73**).⁴⁹⁶ To be sure, other youths among the preceding category might justifiably be construed as ephebic. The first of these works (**Cat. 68**) no longer preserves the top of the relief or the head of the figure. Despite this lack of information, it is most likely that an ephebe is represented: a shoulder-draped chlamys falls down the left arm and spills over

⁴⁹⁵ Graf 2007, 149 and n.49.

⁴⁹⁶ Cat. nos. 72 and 73 are included only in the catalog as I did not view them in person and no illustrations were available to analyze.

the head of a beardless herm, an attribute of the gymnasium. In light of the youthful body and the gymnasium herm, it seems likely, although not conclusive, that the missing head of this figure was beardless. According to Conze, the youth holds flowers, perhaps poppies in his left hand and, once again according to Conze, a large hammer and two chisels appear beneath his right hand. Though incomplete, the frame of the stele features pilasters on bases and one can assume it must have had a naiskos form, standing taller than its preserved height of 0.69 meters. The relief is fairly high and the figure's right hand is almost entirely freed from the background. Despite the fine rendering of the torso's musculature, the proportions, i.e. a torso rather long for its legs, suggest a later date within the corpus. The lack of the head, as well as the missing entablature, make it much more difficult to assert a time-frame with any authority.

The monument's ephebic iconography has been explored in myriad preceding contexts above and does not require further elaboration here.⁴⁹⁷ Two other features, however, the flowers in the figure's left hand and the chisels and hammer, sketched in relief by the figure's right leg, merit consideration. Flowers of course played a role in the cult practices surrounding Greek graves; the iron pins on many of our Roman stelai suggest that wreaths of flowers and greens often decorated the monuments. While the blossoms on the present monument do function as a perpetual ornament, much in the way of the highly-stylized and ubiquitous floret, they also make direct allusion to the mythological death and rebirth of beautiful youths: the blood of Adonis transforms into red blooms, Narcissus gives rise to white narcissi, and Hyacinth was immortalized in flowers. Thus, not only do the flowers align the ephebe with divinely admired male beauty, they allude to the comforting prospect of rebirth.

⁴⁹⁷ See above 137-138

The superficial sketch of the chisels and hammer are, unlike the flowers, more unusual in the Attic funerary context. Having examined this monument in person, I am not certain that Conze's identifications are correct, although I cannot offer any conclusive alternatives. These items and the stele's find spot in the Asklepeion, led early scholars to conjecture that the monument was a votive relief dedicated to Sphyros, the patron of surgery, and that the instruments represented the tools of his trade.⁴⁹⁸ There are Greek vases that famously depict the occupations of artisans but I am aware of only three other monuments in the larger corpus of imperial Attic stelai depicting such instruments, **Cat. 80**, Conze 2055 and British Museum 629.⁴⁹⁹ The latter represents a physician with a patient and an instrument for bleeding; while the former depicts a large knife under the fragment of the relief field. The appearance of tools and daily work was far more common on the funerary altars of Rome and Italy than in the commemorative art of Athens.⁵⁰⁰ The appearance of such instruments, whatever they are, perhaps suggest Roman influence and the figure depicted may not have been an ephebe *literally*, for such youths presumably did not work with hammers and chisels. Perhaps a prosperous middle-class family had incorporated such iconography to display financial success in conjunction with an established iconographic idiom of prestige.

Contrary to this middle-class portrait is the exceptional stele of Tryphon (**Cat. 69**). This work is remarkable among the stelai of the corpus for its comparatively high quality of execution and for its size. This highly-classicizing monument stands 1.79m

⁴⁹⁸ Svoronos 1903, 272-74, pl. 46.3.

⁴⁹⁹ Conze 1911-1992 IV, 81, no.2055. Pryce and Smith 1892, no. 692. **Cat. 80** is only a fragmentary stele preserving the lower part of the relief and chiefly the figure's feet. Therefore, its addition to the corpus is tentative and based chiefly upon the fact that both Conze and Mook identify the figure as that of a youth. Beyond these designations, however, one feature affirming the categorization is the fact that the feet are bare. Almost all the youths and male children in this corpus appear with unshod feet.

⁵⁰⁰ On such representations, see Clarke 2003. 95-129.

high and 0.92m wide. Its architectural frame is unique within the series as it is the only naiskos stele with a flat sima crowned by five tiles. The figure can be dated to the mid 1st century CE, given the tall elegance of the figure, the pronounced three-quarters pose, and the smooth contours of his nude body.⁵⁰¹ Despite the fact of the “beardlessness” of Julio-Claudian males, the figure of Tryphon is clearly meant to convey youthful prime. The figure, after all, holds a strigil, the implement of the gymnasium par excellence. Moreover, the Hippocratic age span applied the term *neaniskos* up to the age of 27. To be sure, there is always the possibility that an older man may well have chosen to exalt/commemorate his past by selecting such a figure. If such is the case, a possibility which can never be clarified for certain, then it would reveal much about the cultural glorification and status of male youth.

The figure, Tryphon, stands at the center of the field; his chiastic pose clearly quotes the Doryphoros. He holds in his hand the athlete’s strigil and his chlamys is draped in the standard ephebic pouch over his left shoulder. This iconography requires no subtle analysis as it merely (and artfully) recapitulates the standard tropes of the idealized youth and untimely death. Set out in the context of Roman Athens, one might ascribe only this difference: in its size and quality, it displayed an even greater prestige, reflecting the gradual polarization of wealth among the imperial provinces, and a status available to increasingly few.

While the next stele does not share in the sculptural quality or the idealization of Tryphon’s marker, its inscription makes an explicit claim to the heroic status. The stele, uncovered in a cistern in Marathon, depicts a youth called Paramonos (**Cat. 70**). He

⁵⁰¹ Müsham 1952, 80, 83. Walters compares this work to a statue of Nero from Gabii and suggest given its close parallels that the work may be dated to the Neronian period more narrowly. See Walters 1988, 70, n.35.

stands on a small pedestal at the center of a naiskos stele. His father stands to the left of his son, wrapped in a long himation. His mother stands to the right and drapes her arm over the boy's shoulder. Moock suggests that a sword belt hangs diagonally across the boy's breast and that he clasps its hilt with his left hand.⁵⁰² Whatever object the boy holds remains unclear to me. It is certain, however, that he holds a ball in his right hand. Two holes for iron pins appear at equal height on either side of the boy's head and another two on the sides of the monument. The latter may have served an installation purpose, while the former were clearly used for decorative greenery. The father's beard, the maternal hairstyle and the snug composition within the frame once more suggest an early to mid 2nd century CE date.

In his catalog, Moock refers to the child as an ephebe,⁵⁰³ a conclusion supported by the inscription itself which reads: *I, Paramonos of Piraeus, son of Euodos, Ephebe of Athens, having been mostly happy with many for a few years, lie here struck by a deep sleep with Castor and Pollux having a place among the stars, I am the new Theseus.* (trans. mine). In the final two lines, the youth lays claim to the constellation of Castor and Pollux and to the founding hero of Athens. This latter claim appears so responsive to Hadrian's gateway,⁵⁰⁴ dividing the new and old cities of Athens, that one cannot help but hypothesize a reactionary civic, and even more broadly, Greek pride in the assertion. The youth is not merely an ephebe but one explicitly of Athens. Unlike the case of the stele of Theophilos (**Cat. 37**), there can be no ambiguity about heroization: *I am the new Theseus.*

⁵⁰² Moock 1998, 171, no.456.

⁵⁰³ Moock 1998, 171, no.456.

⁵⁰⁴ Hadrian erected a gateway near the Olympeion with well-known inscriptions on two sides: "This is Athens, once Theseus' city," reads the one. While the opposite reads "This is Hadrian's city, not Theseus'." Text see IG^{II}, 5185. See Spawforth et al, 1985, 93; Travlos 1980, 253

What is most striking about this monument, however is the apparent tension between age claims within both the epitaph and the iconography. I have argued that iconography of children is so often prospective and one wonders to what extent an inscription might likewise participate in this same futurity. The youth still holds a child's toy: a ball. And the inscription, despite its ephebic claims, employs the phrase, ὀλίγοις | ἔτεσιν: a *few* years. These elements, and the boy's own figure, seem to belie his status as an ephebe and tend to push him into a more youthful category. While it seems unlikely that one could erect a public monument with wholly false, inscribed claims to ephebic status, the secondary assertion of being an *oikist*, a new founding father, appears even more extravagant. The parental inscription may thus underscore what Athens might have enjoyed had Paramonos survived into maturity, while the iconography eulogizes aspects of his boyhood. Such discrepancies underscore the difficulty of tidy categorizations in the examination of childhood.

The final monument of this chapter (**Cat. 71**), the stele of Bacchios, is a gabled niche stele, measuring 1.07m high and 0.51 wide. A well-preserved gravestone, the stele is dated by Moock to the first half of the second century CE. Its akroteria still preserve traces of painted palmettes.⁵⁰⁵ In the center of the relief field stands an ephebe. His chlamys is draped about his shoulders and gathered in a pouch above his left shoulder; he is nude from the waist down. The young man places his hand upon a beardless herm that stands to his left. Immediately, we set him in the context of the gymnasium or palaistra.⁵⁰⁶ His face appears small (perhaps it has been recut) and idealized. He holds in

⁵⁰⁵ Again as with any stele outside Athens or in its near environs, I was unable to visit this monument in person. I rely on Conze 1911-1922 IV, 72 no. 2017; Moock 1998, 178, no. 494.

⁵⁰⁶ See discussion of herms above, 150-151.

his left hand a butterfly, an allusion to Psyche, the winged manifestation of the human soul departing its body.

The artistic exempla of Pysche as a butterfly are myriad. The goddess appears with wings on innumerable gems, as for example on a gem from the British Museum, dated between the first and the third century CE (Fig. 50).⁵⁰⁷ She is also captured as the victim of many “erotic” torments, as in a Roman terracotta statuette from Myrina, depicting Eros casually burning a butterfly over a flame (Fig. 51).⁵⁰⁸ A Roman sarcophagus of the third century CE, also from the British Museum, depicts the myth of Cupid and a butterfly-winged Psyche (Fig. 52).⁵⁰⁹ Strictly Athenian exempla from the Roman era, however, are more difficult to locate. Notably, these few works represent a butterfly alone and the symbol may thus be construed more closely as the *psyche*, i.e. the human soul itself, rather than the deity. An antefix from a fragment of a late Imperial Attic grave stele preserves a relief of a butterfly on a bunch of grapes (Fig. 53).⁵¹⁰ Likewise, one of two male figures on a gabled-shaft stele of the 2nd century CE, holds a butterfly with a broken wing.⁵¹¹ The present stele clearly participates in this same iconographic schema and resolves grief in the butterfly and the implied, hopeful ascent of the soul.

⁵⁰⁷ London British Museum Gem 2829. Walters 1926, no. 2829.

⁵⁰⁸ On the prevalence of this motif in Greco-Roman art see Platt 2007, 89. See Hutton 1895, 132, pl.4, fig.1. London, British Museum 2292. See Burn et al. 1903, no. 2292.

⁵⁰⁹ London, British Museum 2320. See Walker 1990, no. 2320.

⁵¹⁰ London, British Museum 2278. Pryce and Smith 1892, no.2278.

⁵¹¹ Conze 1911-1922 IV, 122 no. 213.

Conclusion

Thus far, I have not addressed the very real practice of infanticide throughout antiquity. And it is important, in concluding, to mention briefly this practice here as no discussion of ancient Greek childhood would be complete without acknowledging this custom.

According to Plutarch, Spartans examined a child at birth and determined whether it was fit to live in its rigorous society or was to be cast aside to the site of rejection, the *Apothetae*.⁵¹² As a 1st- century CE Oxyrynchus papyrus attests, girls were often rejected outright at birth, regardless of physical fitness, over boys.⁵¹³ Still, exposure rather than out and out murder was the preferred method of dealing with unwanted children. Oedipus was of course exposed and famously *not* killed. In exposure, therefore, there is a glint of ethical deliberation: the child retains the possibility of life. This may seem like a slim differentiation among means when death was so frequently the end. Nonetheless, other peoples at this time continued the practice of child-sacrifice with regularity, including ancient Celts. Thus, in the consideration of infanticide in antiquity, it is important to note a distinction in the ancient psychology between the passive, possible versus the active, absolute destruction of young human life. Finally, and as I argue my own monuments reveal, it is likewise important to remember that the ancients loved the children they chose *to keep* – even the daughters.⁵¹⁴ Plutarch lovingly describes his own deceased child, Timoxena, a girl of two, in a famous consolation to his wife:

Our affection for children so young has, furthermore, a poignancy all its own: the delight it gives is quite pure and free from all anger or reproach. She had herself, moreover, a surprising gift of mildness and good temper,

⁵¹² Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 16.

⁵¹³ Oxyrynchus papyrus 744. G. See also Golden 1988, 158.

⁵¹⁴ Golden 1988, 152-163.

and her way of responding to friendship and of bestowing favors gave us pleasure while it afforded an insight into her kindness. For she would invite the nurse to offer the breast and feed with it not only other infants, but even the inanimate objects and playthings she took pleasure in, as though serving them at her own table, dispensing in her kindness what bounty she had and sharing her greatest pleasures with whatever gave her delight.⁵¹⁵ (Trans. P.H. Delacy)

Such expression clarifies that indeed the ancients loved even their very young children.

Such love is captured in its imagined, divine aspect by the Hellenistic poet Callimachus. In his *Hymn to Artemis*⁵¹⁶, the child goddess climbs upon her father Zeus's lap and, while playfully grasping at his beard, tells him all that she *will* be:⁵¹⁷

...a girl still,
she climbed her father's knees, and said to him
"Daddy let me stay a virgin forever
and let me be very famous...
and give me a bow and arrows..."
...Her father
smiled and nodded, and stroked her, saying
"...Have all that you want so badly, my girl,
and other presents bigger still your father
will give you."⁵¹⁸

Many of the iconographic constructions of childhood on the reliefs of Roman Attica likewise allude to future roles, at times even depicting physical maturity itself, and once more it is the parent, the mortal equivalent of Zeus, who confers this ideal future. Just as Artemis is portrayed as the playful child, so too many of our children are round-limbed

⁵¹⁵ Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Uxorem* 608 C-D.

⁵¹⁶ Callimachus, *Hymn* 3.1-8, 26-32.

⁵¹⁷ According to Annemarie Ambühl, Callimachus employs the motif of the divine child in order to explain whom the goddess becomes in her adulthood. See Ambühl 2007, 383; 381-383.

⁵¹⁸ Trans. F. Nisetich, Oxford 2001:

ὥς ὅτε πατὴρ ἐφεζομένη γονάτεσσι
παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα τάδε προσέειπε γονῆα
ῥόδος μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἅπα, φυλάσσειν,
καὶ πολυωνυμίην, ...
δὸς δ' ἰοῦς καὶ τόξα...
πατὴρ δ' ἐπένευσε γέλασσαν,
φῆ δὲ καταρρέζων...
φέρειν, τέκος, ὅσσ' ἐθελήμους
αἰτίζεις, καὶ δ' ἄλλα πατὴρ ἔτι μείζονα δώσει.

with balls and birds in hand. In other instances, they may stand on the brink of adulthood. But stones, unlike poems, do not speak and so it is the sculpted imagery that endows each child with the attributes of their full potential: the chlamys of the ephebe, the Herakles knot of the maiden bride. The child in the guise of Harpocrates looks forward to an Isiaic immortality. At times, it is enough to confer the simple material joys of childhood. The parents of little Solon (**Cat. 13**) endow their infant with the toys of childhood and a toddler's mobility, just as, in Callimachus' poem, Zeus grants Artemis her bow. In each instance, the child participates in a projected future.

Among the stelai, this iconography conveys very specific cultural concerns. On the one hand, many of the images attest to the conservative nature of commemoration in Athens. Dionysiac imagery often alludes to the enduring rituals of the *Anthesteria*. The glorious athlete persists as an expression of ideal masculinity. A maiden achieves her fullest potential in marriage and the attendant prospect of maternity. Despite the origin of so many of these images in the Classical Greek or Hellenistic past, they are invariably transformed by their reception in the Roman present, and they thereby represent new traditions and new cultural realities.

The most basic example of this phenomenon is captured by the ephebic iconography. The ephebe's social role, once of physical military import, is annexed as an aspect of elite status, a status that is itself dictated by Roman Imperial rule. This once seminal Greek role becomes thereby a mere attribute of Imperial identity whose former association with citizen service to the polis state is diluted by the increased presence of foreign youths intent on burnishing their family's position by enrollment in a consummately prestigious club.

This acculturation need not be taken as unambiguous, however, and perhaps the tidiest evidence for cultural resistance appears in the form of the monuments themselves. While much of the classicizing imagery can be reinterpreted through the lens of Roman rule, the stelai revert quite strictly to the architecture of the Classical past. To be sure, there are differences: arches, iron pins, markers carved from more than a single block of stone. Nonetheless, it is a purely Classical form that commemorates deceased children of the Roman Imperial present. If one concedes that the monuments presented here are a reflection of parental values articulated through their children, then this choice is perhaps more striking. The standardized imagery of elites across empire is returned to its original context. In this framing, Athenian originality reasserts itself not as a *feature* of an identity but as the identity itself. The frame, after all, is the immediate context and the child within is defined as Athenian.

Catalog

The following catalog is organized according to the order of the monument's appearance in the text. The final Catalog items (73-84) are included at the very end as they appear to represent children but are simply too fragmentary to categorize with any certainty. For instance, bare feet without sandals or long drapery, and in a pose found recurrently among complete figures, evoke but do not confirm youth.

I include all museum accession numbers and provenance unless otherwise noted. Monuments that I have not examined personally are marked *non vidi*. The basic dimensions of the monument are followed by a brief description including: state of preservation; the location of the inscription; the text of the inscription. Bibliographic references include *IG* citations when applicable and the five published catalogs of Roman Attic grave monuments: Conze 1911-1922 IV; Riemann 1940; Müsham 1952; Walters 1988 and von Moock, 1998. This bibliography provides the proposed dates of these authors in parentheses and, on the next line I give my own estimate of the date, based on the suggestions of earlier authors and my own observations. The date is omitted when, in my view, there are no sound grounds for dating. In general, I have preferred a more approximate date, rather than assignment to an Imperial reign particularly because of the subjective nature of stylistic chronologies.

1. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3955

Provenance: Athens, south of the Olympieion.

H: 0.96 m

W: 0.46-0.51 m

D: 0.10 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and akroteria.
Maiden stands frontally with bird to breast.
Carved pupils.

Inscription in architrave.

Ὀλυμπιάς χρηστὴ χαῖρε

IG II2 12358; Conze 1911-1922, IV, no. 1921;
Müsham 1952, 61, 72, 84, 94
(Hadrianic); Walters 1988, 46; Moock
1998, no. 343 (Hadrianic).

Date: First half of 2nd century CE.



2.Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4463

Provenance: Reused in First Cemetery of Athens.

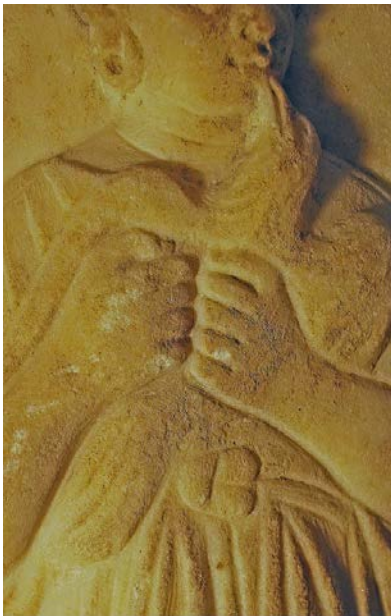
pH: 0.64 m

W: 0.13-0.18 m

Pyramidal form. Broken at top. Evidence of iron pins beneath the inscription and on both sides. Maiden stands frontally on a small ledge. She holds a bird to her breast.

Inscription under the relief field. Ἐπαγαθὴ | Ἀθηναῖδος | Μελισσία Moock 1998, no. 345.

Date: Trajanic.



2. Athens National Museum 4463 detail



3. Amphiareion. (No accession number.) Provenance: Chalkutsi near Oropos, cover of a later grave.

H: 1.37m

W: 0.89-.90m

D: 0.15m-.17m

Naikos stele with arch and no pediment. Half columns with Doric capitals. Evidence of iron pins above columns. Family trio standing Frontally with daughter in the middle on a pedestal.

Inscription located centrally on the arch:

Καλῶ Κόσμου

Moock 1998, no. 3 (Antonine).

Date: Mid-2nd century CE.

**4. Athens, National Archaeological
Museum 1240**

Provenance: Piraeus.

H: 0.143 m

W: 0.605 m

D: .08-.09 m

Gabled shaft stele; arched niche with
spandrels. Large hole in back of relief field
on the left. Evidence of iron pins within
each spandrel corner. Poppy in the
pediment. Maiden stands frontally with
goose (?) and grapes.

Inscription on architrave.

Τυχική Θεοπόμπου | Μειλησία.

IG II² 9904a; Conze 1911-1922 iv, no.
1923; Müsham 1952, 56, 91, pl. 13, no 2;
Moock 1998, no. 235 (2nd half of 2nd
century CE).

Date: Mid-2nd century CE.



**5. Athens, National Archaeological
Museum 3724**

Provenance: unknown

H: 0.86 m

W: 0.37 m

Kioniskos with arched relief field.
Some breakage to left hand pilaster.
Maiden stands centrally with ball and bird.

Inscription above the torus.

Μιλήσια

Walters 1988, 42, 123 (Trajanic); Moock
1998, no. 338 (Hadrianic).

Date: 1st half of 2nd century CE.



**6. Athens, National Archaeological
Museum 3219**

Provenance: unknown

pH: 0.57 m

W: 0.30-0.32 m

D: 0.12 m

Naiskos stele. Breakage across top from
Upper left pilaster to neckline of figure
at right. Maiden stands frontally
with bird (goose). An unidentifiable object
in her left hand.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1922; Moock
1998, no. 322.



7. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1277

Provenance: Athens art market,
said to have been found in Athens.

pH: 0.51 m
W: 0.20-0.25 m
D: 0.10 m

Marble lekythos reworked as naiskos relief
stele with two akroteria. Dowel hole on top
of the pediment. Maiden stands frontally
with bird and ball.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1924; Moock
1998, no. 255 (Antonine).

Date: Mid-2nd century CE.





8.Athens, Kerameikos Museum P296.

Provenance: Kerameikos.

pH: 0.19m pW: 0.12m D: 0.09m

Fragment of the head of a maiden.

Riemann 1940, no. 67; Müsham 1952, 111; Moock 1998, no. 138 (Antonine). Date: Mid-2nd century CE.

9.Athens, Private Collection

Provenance: Athens. *Non vidi*.

H: 0.88 m

Kioniskos. Damaged at the top. Arched relief field with two columns. A rosette on either side of each column. Maiden wears a bracelet on right arm. Holds a ball and bird.

Inscription above torus. Only final line remains:

Μιλησία

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no.1819; Moock 1998, no. 396.



10. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum (no accession number).

Provenance: Eleusis, built into church of Hagia Ioannis Kukunaris.. *Non vidi*.

H: 0.7 m

W: 0.45 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and corner acroteria. Nude toddler with central braid in hair. Bird in left hand before the chest. Grapes in right hand.

Inscription over the pediment and architrave.

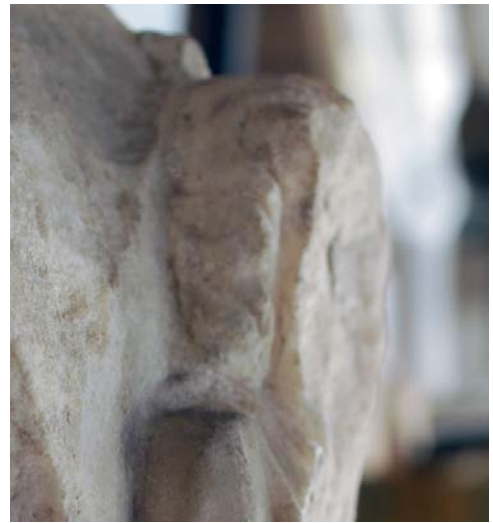
Εφέσιος ἐκαλούμην | τὸ ὄνομα, κεῖμαι δὲ ἔνθα. | ἐπ[ιτυ]νβαία εἴσοδο[ς] α[ὕ]τη.

IG II2 11518; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1976;

Müsham 1952, 63 (Early Severan); Moock 1998, no. 433.

Date: Mid to late 2nd century CE.

Photograph: Conze 1911-1922 IV, pl. 429, no.1976.



11. Kerameikos P275
Detail of side braid.

11. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P275

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos..

PH: 0.23 m

PW: 0.12 m

Pyramid form stele (?). Broken in half across figure's torso; defaced (?). Top and base lost.
Small child in center with arms raised to chest. Side braid preserved on the right of figure's head.

Riemann 1940, no. 146; Mook 1998, no.131.



12. National Archaeological Museum 3088 detail. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3088

Provenance: Athens.

P.H: 0.31 m

W: 0.26 m

D: 0.04-0.06 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and acroteria. Bottom half of stele is broken. Nude child stands centrally. Basket with fruit in right hand. Uncertain object held to chest with left hand.

Inscription in the relief field on either side of the head.

Ἡλικίης Χοϊκῶν|, ὁ δὲ δαί[μων] ἔφθα|σε τοὺς Χοῦς

IG II2 13 139 / 42; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1977; Müsham 1952, 58, 95; Moock 1998, no. 320.

Date: Mid to late 2nd century CE.



13. Athens, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Provenance: Athens. Corner of Basilissas Sophias and Akadamias Streets.

H: 0.64 m

W: 0.37-0.39 m

D: 0.07 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and akroteria. Broken horizontally into four parts. Nude boy stands frontally with bird and ball.

Inscription lines 1-3 on architrave; lines 4-8 in relief field.

Τί σπεύσας, Αἴδη, τὸ νήπιον ἥρπασας ἡμῶν, | τὸν γλυκέρον τε Σόλωνα κατήγαγες οὐκ ἐλεήσας, |
τὸ βρέφος ἔξ ἐμνῶν, τὸ καλὸν βρέφος; ὥς πικρὸν ἄλγος | δειλαίοις | γονέεσσι, | Πεπρωμ|ένη,
ἔξε|τέλεσσας.

IG II2 12629; Conze 1911-1922, IV no. 1978; Moock 1998, no. 81 (2nd half of the 2nd century CE.) Date: Late 2nd century CE.

14. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3318

Provenance: unknown.

P.H: 0.35m W: 0.13 m

Pyramid form broken at top half.

Nude child holding a bird to his breast with both hands.

Inscription under the relief [---]λεῖνος | ἐξ Οἴου
IG II2 7011; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1979;
Müsham 1952, 57, 62, 65; Moock 1998, no. 328
(2nd half of 2nd century CE).

Date: 2nd century CE



15. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2124.

Provenance: Athens, near the Hephaisteion.

P.H: 0.79 m

Pyramid. Top broken off. Infant or toddler stands frontally on small ledge. He holds a small bird to his breast.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1980; Moock 1998, no.299



16.Athens, National Archaeological Museum. (No accession number). Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi.*

P.H: 0.30m

Pyramid form fragment. Upper half broken off at shoulders of central figure. Nude male child with bird in left hand and indecipherable object on right.

Conze 1922-1922, IV, no.1982;
Moock 1998, no. 162.

18. Paris, Louvre 2438.
Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi.*

H: 0.7 m
W: 0.47 m

Pyramid form. Nude child stands on a ledge.
Dowel hole at base.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1983; Moock 1998,
no. 471.

Photograph Conze 1911-1922 IV, pl. 431.

Date: 2nd century CE

17. Athens, National Archaeological Museum . Storeroom, no. 212.

Provenance: Unknown. *Non vidi.*

P.H: 0.32m

Pyramid form. Broken beneath; otherwise intact. Naked infant/toddler boy stands with bird to breast.

Conze 1911-1922, IV, no.1981; Moock 1998, no. 356.

.



19. Athens, 3rd Ephoria, storeroom BE 854 (?)

Provenance: Athens..*Non vidi*.

H: 0.97 m

W: 0.45 m

D: 0.08.

Boy with a dove.

Inscription on the architrave:

Γαλάτης | Μιλήσιος

Moock 1998, no. 13. (Julio-Claudian).

20. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Storeroom no. 355

Provenance: unknown; formerly in the Varvakion.

Non vidi.

Lower left corner of a stele. Older male figure in short chiton (?)
with small nude child on pedestal. .

Conze 1911-1922, IV, no. 2115; Moock 1998, no.
375.

Illustration Conze 1911-1922, IV, 98.



21 Athens, National Archaeological Museum (No accession number).

Provenance: Athens, Kallirhoe Street, near the church of Hagia Pantaleimon.

Non vidi.

P.H: 0.31m

W: 0.34m

D 0:11m

Form unknown. Preserved to lower legs of a nude boy with shoulder-draped chlamys. Stele possibly re-used.

IG II2 10699a; Moock 1998, no. 157.

Inscription under the relief field and also on the left edge of the stele.

θρηνοτόκον μολπήν
ἰαχήσατε, αἱ δὲ τεκοῦσαι {ο} |
θρήνων καὶ κομμῶν κοινῶν συνλή-
πτορες ἔστε. | Ἄνθος ἐγὼ προκέ-
κλημαι, πατὴρ συνομαίμονος ὄνομ' ἔ-
σχον. | πεντεκαιδεκάμηνον ἔχων
ὕπὸ δαίμονος ἤρθην, | ἐν βροτοῖς κῆνθησα· μὴ λυποῦ, πάτερ, ἐν φθ[ι]-
μένοις | τάχα ποτὲ ἀνθήσω.
— καμόντες
— νηπιαχῶ
— ἐπὶ τύμβον
— οἱ — —

22. Current whereabouts unknown

Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi*.

Fragment of a naiskos stele broken from upper left down to middle of the lower right. Nude boy stands on a rectangular base. Mother stands to his left.

PH: 0.49 m

W: 0.53 m

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2117; Moock 1988, no. 545.

Photograph Conze 1911-1922, IV, 99.



23. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2724

Provenance: Piraeus

P.H: 0.70 m

P.W: 0.47 m

D: 0.10 m

Naiskos stele, fragmentary. Right column missing. Only the head, left arm and upper body of the youth are preserved. Youth in shoulder-draped chlamys. Above and to the left a sphinx sits on a diptych. The lower three points of a starburst appear just above the boy's head. A spindle (?) hangs above and to the right of the head. A siren is carved into the column on the lower right. Unidentified curved object on right side.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2054; Moock 1998, no. 309 (Augustan). Date: Mid 1st century CE.

Image on following page.



Cat. 23 National Archaeological Museum 2724

Cat. 23 cont. National Arcaeological Museum 2724 Siren detail.



24. Paris Louvre .,

Provenance: Athens. *Non vidi.*

H: 0.67 m

W: 0.37 m

Naiskos stele with acroteria in relief. Nude child in shoulder-draped chlamys. Child wears bracelets and anklets. In the left hand he holds a ball; in the right is a bird. The right foot rests on a turtle. Dog at lower right.

Inscription is on the architrave.

Ἡρακλείδης (Ἡρακλείδου) Παιρεύς.

IG II2 7164; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1986;
Müsham 1952, 61; Moock 1998, no. 469
(Mid-2nd century CE).

Date: Mid 2nd century CE

Photograph Conze 1911-1922 IV, pl. 431.



25. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art de Histoire **(No accession number).**

Provenance: Piraeus. *Non vidi.*

H: 1.13 m

W: 0.39 m

Naiskos Stele with pediment and acroteria. Nude child in shoulder-draped chlamys. Ball in right hand; bird in left hand. Ankle bracelet on right ankle. Maltese dog in left corner.

Inscription on architrave.

Μουσώνι(ο)ς Δημητρίου | Λαμπρεύς.

IG II2 6687; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no.
1985; Walters 1988, 40 (Late Hadrianic);
Moock 1998, no. 416 (Hadrianic).

Photograph: Guarducci, Epigrafia Greca 1987 III, 167.



26. Venice, Museo Civico 19.

Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi*

H: 1.41 m

W: 0.73 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and acroteria.
Pin holes on either upper corner of the relief field.
Corinthian pillars with bases. Nude boy in chlamys.
Unidentified object in his hand. Maltese dog in lower left corner.

Inscription on architrave:

Ζώσιμος Δημοσθένους | Εύωνυμέυς.

IG II2 6171; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1988;
Müsham 1952, 95, 96; Moock 1998, no.514
(Hadrianic).

Illustration Conze 1911-1922 IV, 65, no.
1988.



27. Whereabouts unknown.

Provenance: Markopoulo. Built into church of
Hagia Dimitrios in Dagla, not seen since
1992. *Non vidi*.

H: 1.00 m

Shaft stele with arch relief field. Child in ephebic
chlamys. Unknown attribute in his right hand. Tree in
left background Inscription over the arch:

Ἐπίκτητος | Ἐπιτυγχάνοντος | Μειλήσιος

IG II2 9572; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1996;
Moock 1998, no.565 (2nd half of 1st –
early 2nd century CE).

Photograph: Moock 1998, pl. 69 a.



28. National Archaeological Museum 1196

Provenance: Athens, Athena Street.

P.H: 0.88 m

W: 0.44 m

D: 0.09 m

Shaft stele with pediment, acroteria and arched relief field. Youth in shoulder-draped chlamys at center. Inscription indicates a five year old honorand.

Inscription above arch.

Ἰούλιος Παραμονίων ἐτῶν ε΄.

IG II2 12409; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2002;
Müsham 1952, 63, 94, 107, pl. 19, no.2
(Antonine); Moock 1998, no. 208 (Antonine).

Date: Mid 2nd century CE.



29. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P648

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos.

P.H: 0.52 m

W: 0.38 m

Kioniskos with arched relief frame.
Broken horizontally from the hips of the
central figure down. Boy in chlamys at
center of field with ball.

Inscription on curved field above the relief.

Ἀμεινίας Ἑρμίου | Φλυεύς.

IG II2 7657a; Riemann 1940, no. 44, pl. 15
(Trajanic); Moock 1998, no. 140
(2nd half of the 1st century CE);.

Date: Late 1st - early 2nd century CE



30. Rome, Villa Borghese.

Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi*

H: 1.09 m

W: 0.70 m

D: 0.2 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and acroteria. Left acroterion is missing. Nude boy with long
chlamys holds a ball in the left hand. Dog in lower right corner.

Inscription on architrave:

Υἱὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου Μειλήσιος.

IG II2 9905; Moock 1998, no. 509 (1st half of the 2nd century CE).



31. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P1557

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos.

Reused as a sewer cover.

H: 1.7 m

W: 0.51 m

D: 0.09 m

Naikos stele with pediment and three akroteria.. Remains of iron pins at equal height on both upper corners of the frame. Dowel holes at the middle and at the top of both sides. Boy stands frontally in long himation at center of field.

Inscription on architrave: Φίλητος (Φιλέτου) | Αἰξωνεύς. Moock 1998, no. 151 (Neronian). Date: Claudian-Neronian

32. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P1389

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos.

Late antique reuse as sewer cover.

H: 1.28 m

W: 0.56 m

D: 0.11-0.12m

Naiskos stele with pediment. Two iron pins on either side of the stele; one set is at the height of the column capital, the second is roughly knee high. Boy stands in long himation on the left upon a raised step. Mother stand at right in chiton and himation.

Inscription on architrave and horizontal geison.

Ζώσιμος (Ζωσίμου) Φαληρύς. Βλάστη
Ἀγαθοκλέο | υς ἐκ Φαληρέων.

Moock 1998, no. 147, pl. 21c.
(Late Trajanic to Hadrianic).

Date: 1st half of 2nd century CE.



32. Kerameikos Museum P1389 Detail





33. National Museum 1214

Provenance: Athens, near the Hephaisteion.

Non vidi.

H: 1.05 m

W: 0.51 m

Naikos stele with pediment and acroteria. Metal pins above capitals. Isiaca on left with situla and sistrum. Son on right in long himation. Boy holds a scroll.

Inscription on the architrave:

Σοφία Ἀγαπητοῦ | ἐκ Κηραῖδων. ||
Εὐκαρπος Εὐπόρου Μειλήσιος.

IG II2 6311; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1958;
Müsham 1952, 55, 60, 65, 70, 89 (Neronian-
Flavian); Walters 1988, 7, 38, 49 (Late Severan) Moock 1998, no.221 (2nd half of the 1st
century CE).

Photograph Moock 1998, pl. 29, 221a.



34. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 0243.

Provenance: Athens, Apollo Street

P.H: 1.34 m

W: 0.58 m

D: 0.25 m

Moock 1998, no. 390 (Julio-Claudian).

Date: 1st half of 1st century CE.

35. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1867

Provenance: Attica. *Non vidi*.

P.H: 0.61m W: 0.32 m

Shaft stele with pediment and arch relief frame with acroteria in relief. Youth in chiton and himation. Horus lock over left shoulder. Object in left hand. Hound in lower left corner.

Inscription over the arched relief field.
3rd line on either side of arch.

Ἐπαφρόδιτος | Ἀρίστωνος Θεσ|πιεύς

IG II2 8837; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1987; Walters 1988, 25 (2nd quarter of 1st century CE); Moock 1998, no. 280 (Julio-Claudian).

Illustration: Conze 1911-1922 IV, 64, no.1987.



36. Venice, Palazzo Giustiniani Recanati (No accession number.)

Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi*

H: 0.97 m
W: 0.38 m

Shaft stele with pediment, arch relief field, and acroteria. Child in short sleeved chiton with long himation. Three quarter profile stance. Scroll in left hand. Gives a ball to smaller child.

Inscription under pediment:

Ζώσιμος | Ζωΐλου | Μιλήσιος.

IG II2 9648; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2058; Moock 1998, no.516, pl. 65c (1st half of the 1st century CE). Illustration Conze 1911-1922 IV, 82, no. 2058.



37. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1309

Provenance: Athens, West of the Ardettos hill.

Non vidi.

P.H: 1.02 m

W: 0.49 m

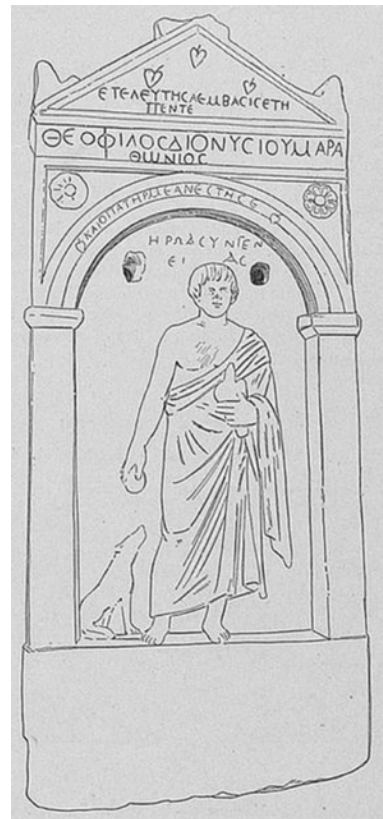
Shaft stele with arch relief field and acroteria.
Middle and right acroteria broken. Evidence of iron
pins on both sides of head. Child in center with ball in
left hand and bird at breast. Hound at left.

Inscription lines 1-2 in tympanum; lines 3-4 over the arch;
line 5 on the arch: lines 6-7 in the relief field.

Ἐτελεύτησα ἐμβὰς ἰς ἔτη | πέντε || Θεόφιλος
Διονυσίου Μαρα|θώνιος, || καὶ ὁ πατήρ με
ἀνέστησε, || ἥρωα συγγεν|είας.

IG II2 6797; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2003;
Müsham 1952, 57, 58 (late 2nd CE); Walters
1988, 49 (Early Antonine); Moock 1998, no.
267 (Trajanic).

Date: Late 2nd – Early 3rd century CE.



38. Athens, Private Collection

Provenance: Athens, Ch. Lada Street. *Non vidi.*

H: 1.04 m

W: 0.69 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and akroteria.
Middle akroterion is damaged. Boy in long
himation stands on a base between his father
on the left and his mother on the right.

Conze 1911-1922, IV, no. 2114 (2nd century CE);
Müsham 1952, 73, 96, pl. 21 (late Antonine- early
Severan); Moock 1998, no. 179 (Severan).

Photograph Conze 1911-1922, IV, pl. 464.



39. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P194

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos. *Non vidi*.

H: 1.23 m

W: 0.53 m

D: 0.11-0.12m

Shaft stele with pediment, akroteria and relief field.

Two rosettes on either side above the relief field.

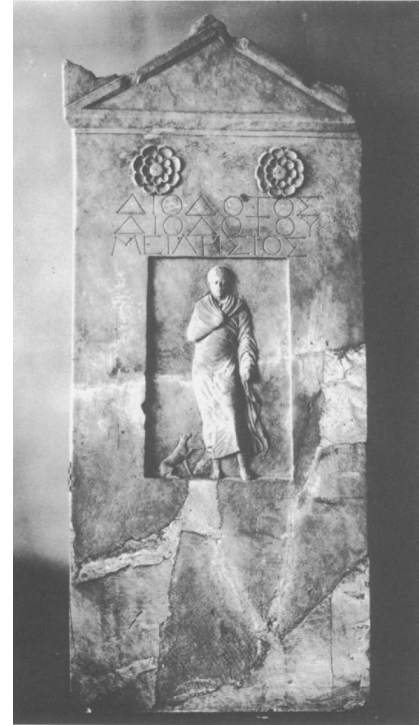
Boy stands frontally in long himation with Horus lock and dog.

Inscription over the relief field:

Διόδοτος | Διοδότου | Μειλήσιος.

IG II2 9495; Riemann 1940, no. 52 (1st quarter of 1st century CE); Walters 1988, 83, pl. 7a (Augustan-Tiberian); Moock 1998, no. 122, pls. 13b-d (Julio-Claudian).

Date: Mid 1st century CE. Photograph Walters 1988, Plate 7a.



39 bis. Museum Verona Lapidario

Provenance: Athens

H: 1.04 m W: 0.66 m

Naiskos stele with three antefixes in relief.. Child at center with parents on either side and a hand looking up at him. Above his head is a small column topped with a small box containing two comic masks in relief

Inscription in architrave.

Γάιος Σίλιος | Βάθυλλος | Ἀζηνεύς ||
Διονυσᾶς | Σωτιμᾶς || Σειλία Ἐρῶτιν |
Σείλιος

IG III 1488; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2113; Walters 1988, 47, 64, 71, pl. 8 c. (Claudian)

Date: 1st century CE





40. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P70

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos.

P.H: 0.46m W: 0.32m D: 0.06m

Shaft stele with pediment and akroteria in relief. Upper left akroterion broken off and horizontal breakage at figure's feet. Boy stands centrally in long himation. Dog at left leaps up at boy's knees.

Inscription located just beneath pediment on shaft.

Θεόφιλος | Διονυσίου | Μιλήσιος

IG II2 9672a; Riemann 1940, no. 50 (1st quarter of 1st century CE); Walters 1988, 25 (Claudian); Moock 1998, no.114 (2nd quarter of 1st century CE).

Date: 1st century CE.

41.National Museum, Storeroom, no. 212.

Provenance: Athens. V. Benaki Street. *Non vidi*.

H: 0.76m

Kioniskos. Different depths of relief suggest reuse. In the first use is a loutrophoros. Secondary use includes doves at neck and mouth of loutrophoros. Above the dove on the right hangs a quiver. Under the loutrophoros is a hound. To right of these stands a youth in relief niche with a Horus lock.

Inscription appears to belong to original design.

Σελευκείων | Σελεύκου | Ἀντιοχεύς

Moock 1998, no. 192 (possibly Hellenistic or 1st half of 1st century CE).

Photograph: Michaud, *BCH* 94, 1970, 907, fig. 45.



42.Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1024

Provenance: Piraeus.

H: 1.03m W: 0.39m D: 0.07m

Shaft stele with pediment and acroteria in relief. Figure stands in center, wearing long himation; book roll in left hand.

Inscription over relief

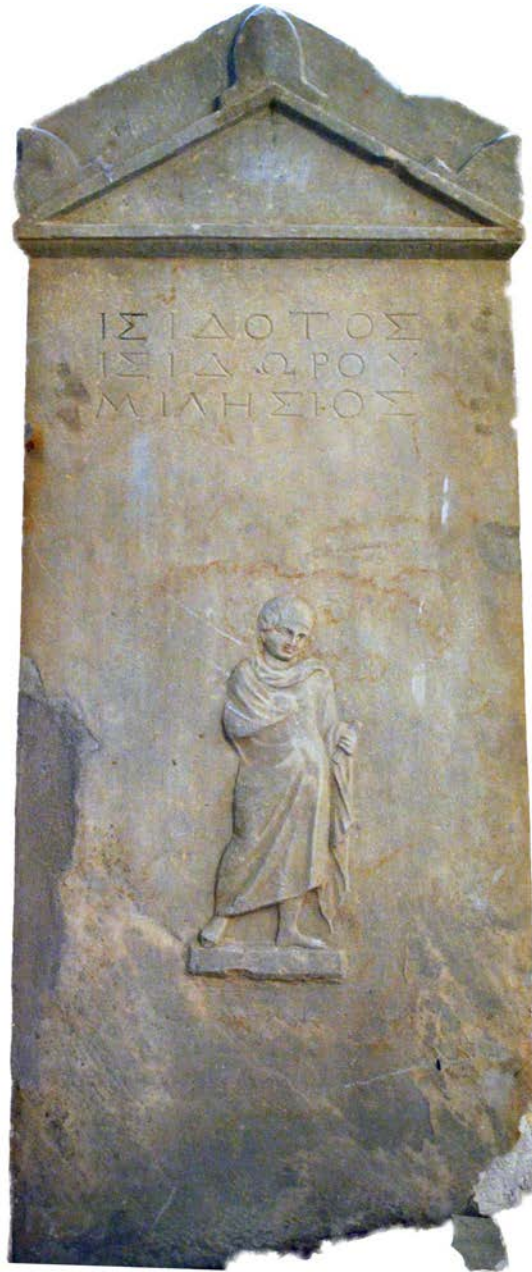
Ἰσίδωτος | Ἰσιδώρου | Μιλήσιος.

IG II2 9704; Conze 1911-1922, IV, no. 1973; Müsham 1952, 56, 58, 74, 82, 94, 100, 107, pl. 8 no. 1 (1st century BCE); Walters 1988, 68; Moock 1998, no. 194, pl. 24a-b. (2nd quarter of 1st century CE).

Date: 1st century BCE.

Image on next page.

Cat. 42 cont.



43. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1160

Provenance: Athens, Kerameikos near church of Hagia Triada.

H: 0.72 W: 0.33m

Shaft stele with pediment, arched relief field and acroteria. Figure stands in center. Long himation, Horus lock.

Inscription over the arch.

Ζώσιμος Ἑρμαῖσκου | Μειλήσιος.

IG II2 9647; Conze 1911-1922, IV, no. 2001; Moock 1998, no. 198, pl. 24c. (Julio-Claudian).

Date: 1st century CE.

Photograph: Conze 1911-1922, IV, 67, no. 2001.



44 Athens, National Archaeology Museum 3053

Provenance: Athens in the vicinity of Persephone Street.

H: 0.86 m

W: 0.38-0.41 m

D: 0.10 m

Shaft stele with arched relief field and relief acroteria. Boy stands centrally in long himation. Small dog at right corner.

Inscription above the arch.

Ἰσιγένης | Ἐπιτυν<η> χ' ἄνοντος | Μειλήσιος. IG II2 9698; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1991; Moock 1998, no. 313 (Julio-Claudian).

Date: 1st century CE.





45. Paris, Louvre MA816.

Provenance: Athens. *Non vidi.*

H: 0.98 m

W: 0.5 m

Shaft stele with pediment, arched relief field, and acroteria. Boy in long himation with Horus lock. Small figure at left is likely a servant and offers a ball.

Inscription over the arch.

Δημήτριος | Δημητρίου | Σφήττιος.

IG II2 7512; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2060;

Müsham 1952, 56; Moock 1998, no. 470, pl. 60 d (Mid-2nd century CE).

Photograph: Moock 1998, no. 470, pl. 60 d.

46. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 233.

Provenance: Piraeus, near the Phaleron gate.

H: 0.59 m

W: 0.23 m

D: 0.09 m

Shaft stele with pediment and relief acroteria.

Boy in long himation and ritual lock.

Dog in lower right corner.

Inscription over the relief field.

Ἀμφικλῆς | Πολυνίκου | Σαλαμίνιος.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no 1989; Müsham 1952, 55, 58, 92, 94, pl. 7, no 3 (Hellenistic); Walters 1988, 44; Moock 1998, no. 497, pl. 64a (Julio- Claudian);

Date: 1st century CE.



47. Munich, Glyptothek 511.

Provenance: unknown..*Non vidi*.

H: 0.7 m

W: 0.47 m

Shaft stele with pediment, niche relief field, and acroteria.

Missing acroteria. Boy in long himation. Ritual locks on both sides of head. Dog in lower left corner.

Inscription over relief field.

Νικόλαος | Εὐόδου | Μειλήσιος.

IG II2 9812; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1990; Moock 1998, no. 461 (Julio-Claudian).

Photograph Conze 1911-1922 IV, pl. 431, no.1976.



48. Piraeus, Private Collection.

Provenance: Piraeus near Plateia Othonos. *Non vidi*

P.H: 1.0 m

W: 0.70 m

Naikos stele broken at a diagonal from upper left column to middle of right column. Pediment lost. Columns fluted. Figure in hip mantle holding ball. Dog sits in lower left corner

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1992; Moock 1998, no. 503.

Photograph Conze 1911-1922 IV, 65, no.1992.



49. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum
(no accession number.)

Provenance: Piareus. *Non vidi*.

P.H: 0.80 m

W: 0.56 m

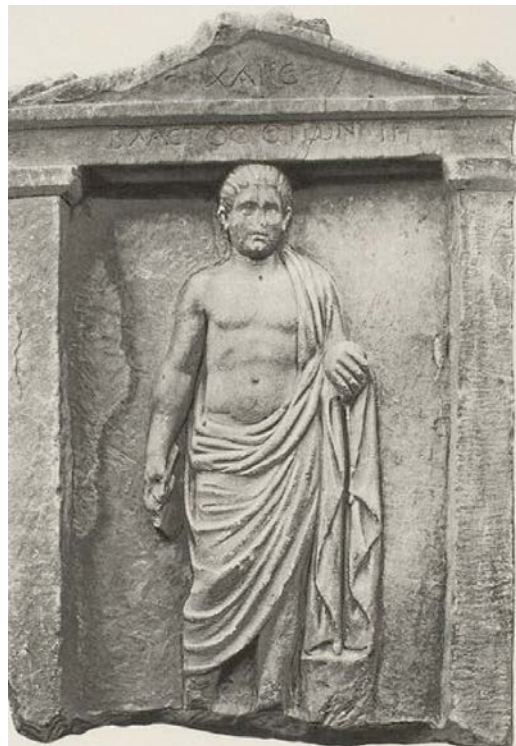
Naikos stele with acroteria. Acroteria are missing, and part of the left geison has been damaged. Youth in hip-mantle drapery. Ball in left hand and bird in lower right hand.

Inscription 1st line in pediment; 2nd line in architrave.

Χαῖρε | Βλάστος ἐτῶν ις'..

IG II2 10964; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1975; Müsham 1952, 62, 84, 94, 107 (Hadrianic); Walters 1988, 82 (Late Severan); Moock 1998, no. 487 (Mid-2nd century CE).

Photograph Conze 1911-1922 IV, pl. 428, no.197.5





50. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1225

Provenance: Athens, Kerameikos, near the church of Hagia Triada.

P.H: 0.88 m

W: 0.44 m

D: 0.08 m

Naikos stele with pediment and acroteria. All acroteria damaged or broken. Iron pins at head height on either pilaster. Boy stands centrally holding bird to chest and a ball.

Inscription: line 1 on tympanum; line 2 on architrave

Ευτιχίδης | Κλαυδίου Γερμανοῦ.

IG II2 11481; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1974; Müsham 57, 63, 95, 109, pl. 19, no. 1 (3rd quarter of 3rd century CE), Mooock 1998, no. 227.

Date: Mid 3rd century CE.



51. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3659

Provenance: unknown

Shaft stele with pediment. niche relief field and acroteria. Child at center. Ball in left hand. Dog in right corner.

Inscription over the relief field.

Καλλιφάνης | Κτησάρχου | Φλυεύς, | γόνῳ δὲ |
Σελεύκου ἐξ Οἴου.

IG II2 7688; Moock 1998, no. 335 (1st half of 1st century CE)

Date: Early 1st century CE



52. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3285

Provenance: Athens.

P.H: 0.69 m

W: 0.39 m

D: 0.09 m

Shaft stele with pediment, relief field and acroteria. Youth in three-quarters profile with short chiton. Grapes in left hand and long ritual locks. Dog in lower left corner

Inscription above the relief field.

Ἀχιλλεύς.

IG II2 10938; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2010; Müsham 1952, 59, 69, 99, 107, pl. 10, no.3 (2nd century CE); Moock 1998, no. 325 (1st half 1st century CE).

Date: 1st century CE.



53. Athens, National Museum 1192

Provenance: Athens, South of the Olympeion.

H: 1.43 m

W: 0.73 m

D: 0.14 m

Naiskos stele with pediment and acroteria. Central acroterion broken. Dowel holes in corners of relief field. Bracket hole at bottom of socle. Relief fills entire field. Upper left is a stag or deer. Upper right a tree with a bag hanging from branch. Two rabbits in bag. Figure in short chiton with spear attacks a boar. Dog accompanies hunt. Another dog overlooks scene in the socle zone. Socle zone depicts three goats and small tree or shrub.

Inscription line 1 on the architrave; line 2 on the horizontal geison and line 3 on the tympanum

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Βησαιεύς Ἀριστοστέλης Βησαιεύς || Ἀρτεμίδωρος Εἰσιγένο <υ>.

IG II2 5895; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2052; Walters 1988,42,50,81 (Middle Antonine); Moock 1998, no. 205 (Antonine).

Date: Antonine.

54. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1662

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos, near church of Hagia Triada..

pH: 1.40 m

W: 0.41 m

D: 0.10 m

Unfinished naiskos stele reworked from kioniskos.
Nude youth with palm frond in left hand.
Self-crowning with laurel wreath with right hand.
Unfinished lower legs.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2023; Müsham
1952, 74, 99; Moock 1998, no. 276
(Hadrianic- Antonine).

Date: 2nd century CE.



55. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2725

Provenance: Athens, found in the neighborhood of Kallithea. *Non vidi.*

P.H: 0.88 m

W: 0.57

Fragmentary stele. Nude youth. Chlamys draped over column on which he rests his right arm.

Conze 1911-1922. IV, no. 2008; Walters 1988, 41, n.72.

Photograph Conze 1911-1922, IV, 437.

Date: Flavian.



56. Whereabouts unknown

Provenance: Athens, Panepistemiou Street. *Non vidi.*

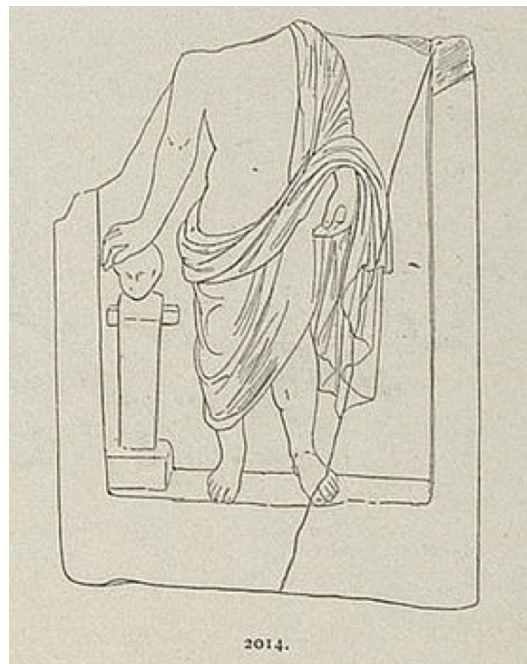
P.H: .95 m

W: 0.71 m

Naiskos. Upper half broken off. Youth in himantle. Beardless herm at left.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2014; Moock 1998, no.550 .

Illustration Conze 1911-1922 IV, 71, no.2014.





57. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 388.

Provenance: Salamis.

H: 1.22 m

W: 0.64 m

D: 0.14 m

Naiskos stele with five antefixes in relief. Defaced and broken across upper portion of stele. Two holes for iron pins on either side of the heads. Rounded columns with Corinthian capitals. Youth in hip-mantle drapery rests hand on beardless herm. Dog at lower right. Tree branches in upper right corner

Walters 1988,44 (late Hellenistic); Moock 1998, no. 499 (1st half of the 2nd century CE).

Date: Hellenistic; reused in the 1st century C.E.



58. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 222

Provenance: Athens, Psiri

H: 1.3 m

W: 0.66 m

T: 0.19 m

Naikos stele with pediment and acroteria. Bearded man stands at left in long himation. Youth stands at right in hip-mantle drapery. A collared dog appears in the lower right corner.

Inscription in small letters on the left of the architrave:

Παράμονος (Παραμόνου)| Λανπρεύς ||

Inscription on the right of the architrave over the figure of the son, the final word is in the pediment.

Ἀλέξανδρος Παραμόνου| Λαμπρεύς

IG II2 6692; Conze, 1911-1922, IV, no. 2067; Müsham 1952, , 57, 85, 90, 96, 107, pl. 17, no.4 (Late Antonine); Walters 1988, 47, 50, 64, pl 21 (Trajanic); Moock 1998, no. 495 (Late Hadrianic-Antonine).

Date: Mid-2nd century CE.



59. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum 223.

Provenance: unknown..

P.H: 1.22 m

W: 0.66 m

D: 0.12 m

Shaft stele with pediment and arch relief frame. Metal pins on both sides at the height of the capitals. Breakage through the upper half of the inscription at a diagonal across top of stele. Youth in hip-mantle drapery rests his head on a siren with kithara. Tritons under the relief field.

Inscription over the arch.. [---] Δ[---] | Μειλή[σιος].

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no 2053 (Early Imperial); Müsham 1952, 82, n.7 (Early Imperial period); Walters 1988,44, pls.3 a and b; Moock 1998, no. 496 (Mid 1st century CE);.

Date: 2nd century CE.



60. Athens, National Museum 1236

Provenance: Athens, Kerameikos near the church of Hagia Triada.

H: 0.76 m

W: 0.34 - 0.36 m

D: 0.07- 0.08 m

Shaft stele with pediment and naiskos relief field with pediment. Youth in long himation at center. Dog at left. Two raised hands with extended fingers at head height on the left.

Inscription over the relief

Χαρίζενος Χαριζένου | Μιλήσιος.

IG II2 9930; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1995; Müsham 1952, pl. 13, no. 4 (1st century BCE); Moock 1998, no. 234 (Julio-Claudian).

Date: 1st century CE.

**61.Athens, National Archaeological Museum,
storeroom, no. 354.**

Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi.*

H: 0.62 m

W: 0.27 m

Naiskos stele. Only the upper body, legs and right arm of figure remain. Beardless herm to left of figure upon which the figure rests his hand.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2015; Moock 1998, no. 374.



62. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2045

Provenance: Athens, in the vicinity of the Olympieion.

P.H: 0.66 m

W: 0.52 m

D: 0.07 m

Frame stele. Upper half lost. Figure stands at center holding scroll. A dog with raised paw in lower left corner.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1994; Mooock 1998, no. 292.





63 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2067 Provenance: unknown

P.H: 0.99 m

W: 0.64 m

D: 0.08 m

Shaft stele with pediment, acroteria and relief field. All acroteria are broken. Figure in long himation. Dog in lower right corner.

Inscription over the relief field:

Λεύκιος Κορνήλιος | Λευκίου Ῥωμαῖος.

IG II2 10153; Moock 1998, no. 293 (Julio-Claudian).

Date: 1st century CE..

64. Athens, Private Collection.

Provenance: Piraeus (?). *Non vidi.*

P.H: 1.15 m

Shaft stele with pediment and relief niche. Only one acroterion remains. Youth in himation. Next to him in the right corner is a loutrophoros and palm frond.

Inscription on the architrave:

Εἰσίδοτος Διονυσίου | Μειλήσιος

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2024; Moock 1998, no. 395.

65. Cambridge, Fitzwillian Museum 19.1865.

Provenance: Athens. *Non vidi.*

H: 1.07 m

W: 0.92 m

Kioniskos with arch relief field. Youth in long himation. Dog in socle with raised paw.

Inscription over the arch.

Εὐκλίδας Εὐκλίδου | Ἑρμιονεύς

IG II2 8499; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 1820; Moock 1998, no. 417.

Photograph: Fitzwilliam Museum online collection database:
<http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/65773>



66. Rhamnous. Storeroom (no accession number.) Provenance: Rhamous eastern cemetery, reused as a cover of a later grave. *Non vidi*

H: 1.28 m
W: 0.71 m
D: 0.9 m

Shaft stele with pediment, arch relief frame and acroteria. Lower left corner is missing. Stele is in two pieces. Middle acroterion is missing. Youth in long himation. Dog at right hand side.

Inscription over the arch:

Νικοκράτης | Ἡρακλείτου | Μειλήσιος

Moock 1998, no. 506 (Julio-Claudian).

67. Athens, Private collection of Giogrios Tsolozidis Inv. 114.

Provenance: Unknown. *Non vidi*.

H: 0.53 m
W: 0.47 m

Shaft stele with arched niche. Upper half of stele is missing. Figure preserved from head down. Evidence of iron pins on either side of head. Youth stands centrally in long himation.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2027; Moock 1998, no. 402 (1st half of the 1st century CE).

Photograph: Moock 1998 no. 402, pl. 56b.





68. National Archaeological Museum 1353

Provenance: Athens, South slope of the Acropolis near the Asklepieion.

P.H: 0.69 m

W: 0.41 m

D: 0.1 m

Naikos stele. Fragmentary. Upper portion of stele missing. Head and right shoulder of figure missing. Youth/Ephebe in shoulder-draped chlamys. Flowers (?) in right hand. Herm on right. Unidentified implements on relief background at left.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2021; Moock 1998, no. 273.

69. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. (No accession number.)

Provenance: unknown. Art market. *Non vidi*.

H: 1.79 m

W: 0.92 m

Naiskos stele with flat top and five antefixes.
Pin holes on left column capital. Ephebe in
shoulder-draped chlamys. Strigil in right hand.

Inscription on architrave.

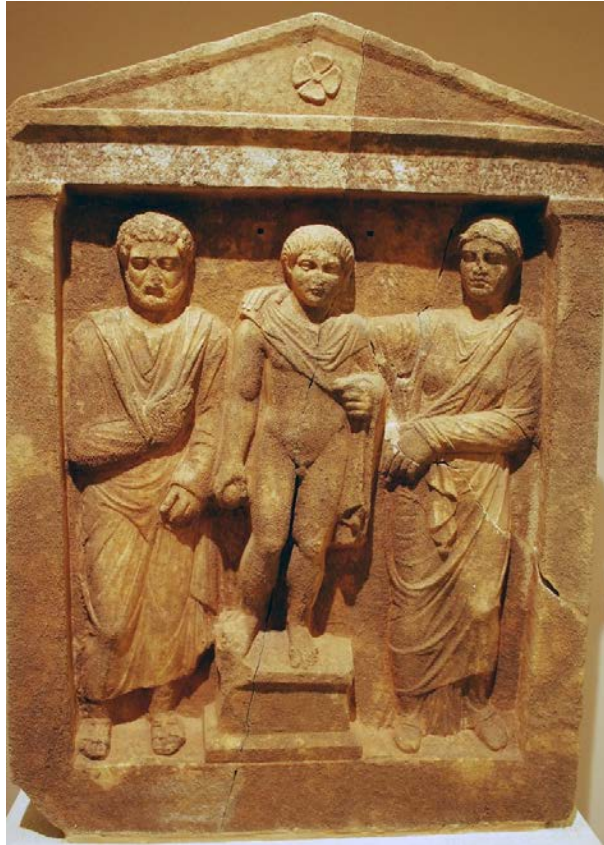
Τρύφων Εὐτύχου {---}

IG II² 12832; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2005;
Müsham 56, 59, 74, 80, 83, 107, Plate 9 no. 2
(After Augustus); Walters 1988, 43, 72, 93
(Neronian); Moock 1998, no. 419; (Claudian-
Neronian).

Illustration Walters 1988, pl. 11c.

Date: Mid 1st century CE.





70. Marathon Museum 212

Provenance: Marathon, Skorpio Potami. In cistern fill.

H: 0.89 m

W: 0.63-0.65 m

D: 0.09-0.10 m

Naiskos stele with pediment. Dowel holes on either side of youth's head. Dowel holes on and at equal height on upper and lower sides of monument. A youth stands frontally on a small pedestal. A woman on the right places her arm on the youth's shoulder. The father stands at the left.

Inscription on the architrave:

Παράμονος Εὐόδου Πειρεύς, ἔφεβος Ἀθηναῖος, πλειστάκις εὐφρανθεὶς ὀλίγοις | ἔτεσιν μετὰ
πολλῶν, ὧδε κάτω κεῖμαι βαθεῖ βεβλημένος ὑπνῳ | σὺν
Κάστορι καὶ Πολυδεύκῃ ἄστρον χῶρον ἔχων, Θεσεὺς εἰμὶ νέος.

Moock 1998, no. 456 (Hadrianic-Antonine).

Date: Mid -2nd century CE.

71. Piraeus, Archaeological Museum

(no accession number.)

Provenance: Piraeus, Lefka in the vicinity of Retsina, Palamedion, and Thebes Streets. *Non vidi*.

H: 1.07 m

W: 0.51 m

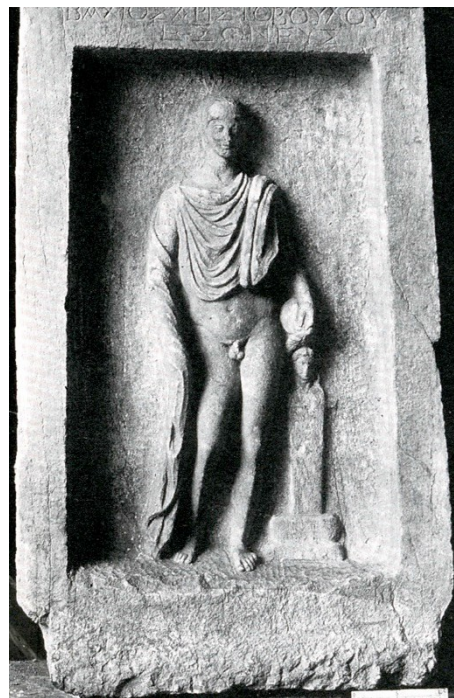
Frame stele with pediment and acroteria.
Ephebe in chlamys. Butterfly in left hand.
Herm beside Ephebe.

Inscription under the pediment.

Βάχιος Ἀριστοβούλου Ἐξωνεύς.

IG II2 5411; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no 2017;
Müsham 1952, 98; Moock 1998, no. 494
(1st half of the 2nd century CE).

Photograph Conze 1911-1922 IV, pl. 439.



72. Athens, 3rd Ephoria, storeroom

Provenance: Athens. *Non vidi*.

PH: 0.49 m

PW: 0.64 m

Two fragments of a naiskos stele. Part of the left column and the figure's head is preserved in the relief field. Ephebe with shoulder-draped chlamys (?).

Moock 1998, no. 5. (Julio-Claudian).

73. Athens, National Archaeological Museum

no accession number. Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi*.

P.H: 0.60 m

Naiskos stele. Only a small part of the right column and part of the relief remain. Youth/Ephebe stands frontally in shoulder-draped chlamys. Unidentified object in right hand.

Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2004; Moock 1998, no. 353.



74. Athens, Agora Excavations S 341

Provenance: Athens, Agora

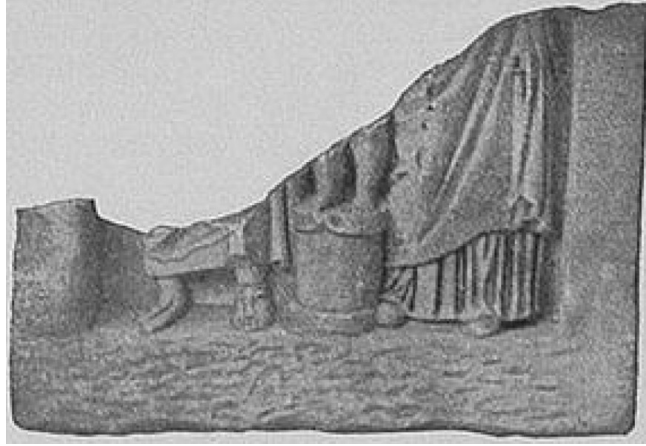
PH: 0.51 m

PW: 0.72 m

PD: 0.16 m

Naikos stele. Unfluted columns with bases. Broken horizontally above the knees of two figures. On the left is a figure tentatively ascribed as a youth based upon the heroic contrapposto stance of the bare feet. A woman, standing to the right and holding a situla, is an Isiaca..

Walters 1988, 110, no. 32, pl. 49 (Gallienic); Moock 1998, no. 29.



75. Athens, National Museum, Storeroom (no accession number)

Provenance: unknown; formerly in private collection in the Piraeus. *Non vidi.*

Lower part of a naiskos stele. Family group. Father on left. Child on a round base (nude?) in center. Mother on right.

PH: 0.40 m

W: 0.60 m. looks like the full width is preserved?

Conze 1911-1922, IV, no. 2116; Moock 1998, no. 351 (2nd century CE).

Photograph Conze 1911-1922, IV, 98.

76. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 3383.

Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi.*

P.H: 0.58 m

W: 0.22 m

D: 0.19 m

Large rectangular stele with small margins on the sides only. The left half of the relief field is broken in a diagonal across the face and body of the figure to the knees. Youth in long himation.

Moock 1998, no. 68. (Julio-Claudian).

77. Athens, Agora Excavations. I 2601.

Provenance: unknown. *Non vidi.*

H: 0.19 m

W: 0.26 m

D: 0.06 m

Naiskos stele. Part of the pediment preserved on the upper left. Head of a boy preserved in relief field to right.

Inscription on architrave:

Ἀμάραντος | Μι [---]. Moock 1998, no. 16.

Photograph from www.agathe.gr.

Image: 2008.16.0745.





78. Athens, Epigraphical Museum EM 6186

Provenance: Kephissia

P.H: 0.48 m

W: 0.43 m

D: 0.08-0.09 m

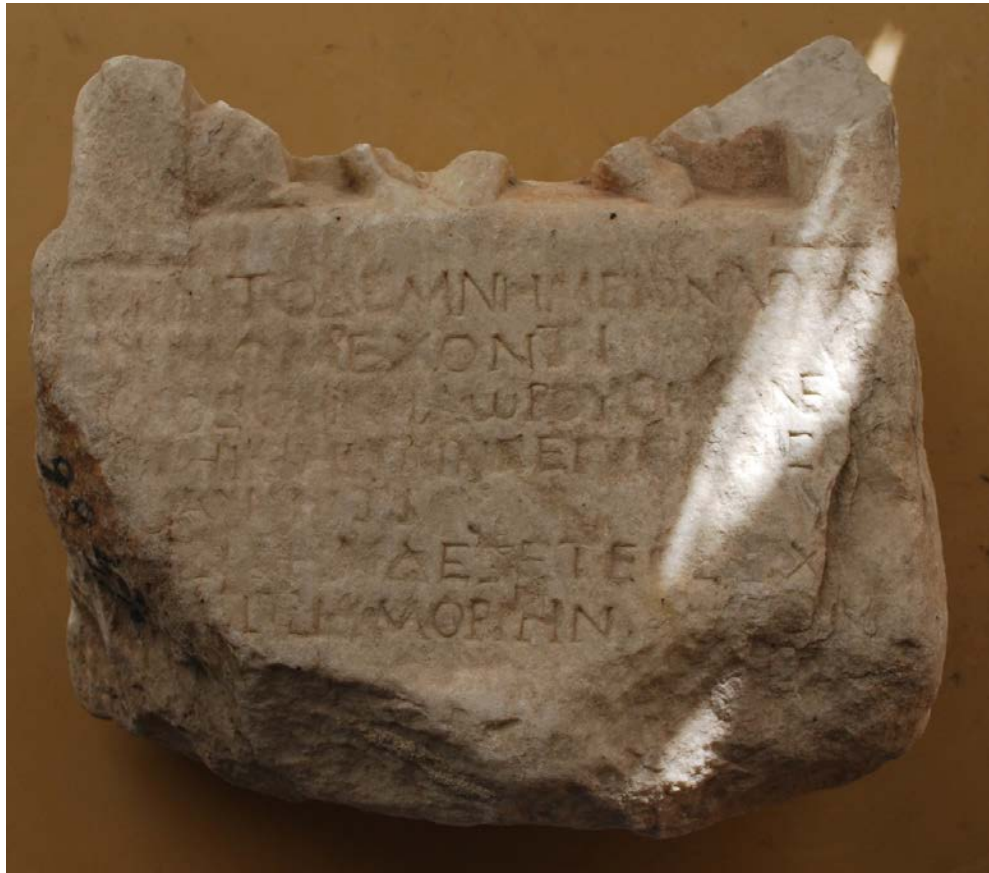
Shaft stele with pediment. Arch framed relief field. Broken horizontally across the middle. Boy stands frontally, preserved from the waist up. Long himation with true Horus lock on right side of head.

Inscription in the area above the arched field:

Ἀφροδίσιος | Ἐπαφροδίτου Με^ν λι^ν τεύς.

IG II2 6836; Conze 1911-1922, VI no. 2000; Müsham 1952, 94; Moock 1998, no. 96 (Julio-Claudian).

Date: 1st century CE.



79. Athens, Epigraphical Museum EM 9835

Provenance: Athens. Acropolis.

P.H: 0.22-0.28 m

P.W: 0. 27 m

D: 0.13 m

Stele with only bottom preserved. Feet in center of field Dog seated at left of field.

Inscription appears just beneath the field. Because of the line breakage Moock posits inscription is subsequent to relief.

Παιδὶ τόδε μνημεῖον Ἀθήν[ης] | οὔνομ' ἔχοντι | [πρ]οσθήκη δώρου θῆκα Νεο[-] | [---] γαίης ἐπὶ
π[-ρ]ης [---] | θανόντι | ζῶν δ' ἔξετες ἔσχ' [ἀλλι] τρίη μορίην.

IG II2 10578a; Moock 1998, no. 100.



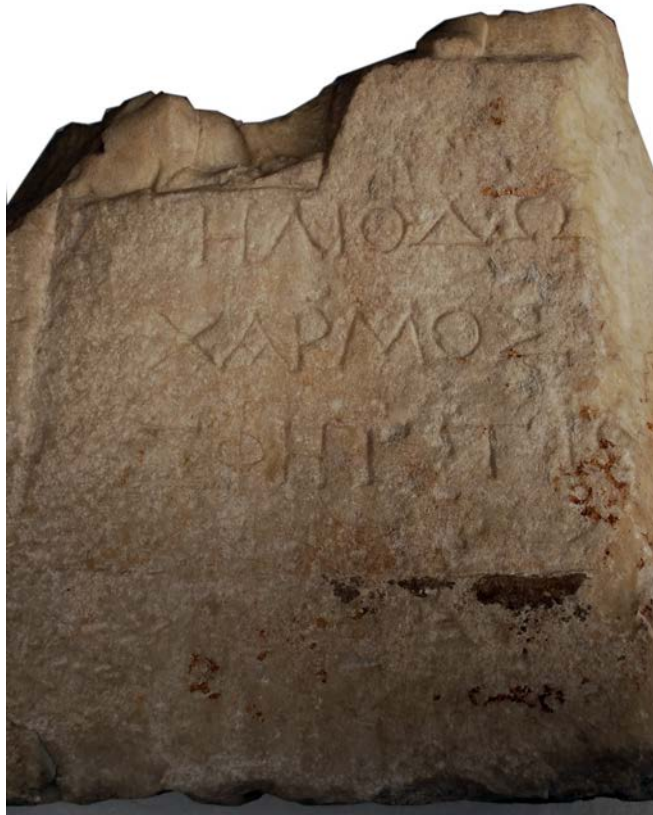
80. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P288

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos. In the vicinity of the Messenian graves.

PH: 0.49m W: 0.25m D: 0.09m

Shaft stele only socle and bottom of relief preserved. Bare feet of a figure tentatively identified as a youth. Knife under the relief field on the shaft. Unidentified round object to left.

Conze 1911-1922, IV, no. 2056; Riemann 1940, 68, no. 75; Moock 1998, no.136.



81. Athens, Kerameikos Museum P283

Provenance: Athens. Kerameikos..

PH: 0.24 m W: 0.8m D: 0.075m

Shaft stele. Only bottom left corner remains. Feet on a raised pedestal at right. Hindquarters and front legs of a dog lying at left.

Inscription under relief field.

Ἡλιόδω[ρος] | Χαροστρ[άτου] | Σφήττιο[ς].

IG II2 7518a; Riemann 1940, no. 51 (3rd quarter of the 1st century CE); Walters 1988, 40; Moock 1998, no.135.



82. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1968

Provenance: Athens, Plaka.

P.H: 0.45 m

W: 0.71 m

D: 0.11 m

Naikos stele with flat top and antefixes in relief. Dowel holes in corners of relief frame. Really? I don't see any. Another under the left column capital. Only upper half looks like much less than half of relief preserved. Man at left. Youth at right.

First line of inscription on geison. you call it geison elsewhere. Lines 2-4 on the architrave.

Ἐλπίδια τὸ[---] Ἀγαθίαν ἐποίηι. || Γ (άιος) Μέμ<μ>ιος Ἀγαθᾶς Λαμ[πρε]ύς. || Ἰλαρος
Μειλήσιος | ἐτῶν δεκοκτώ.

IG II2 6636; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2070; Moock 1998, no. 282 (Antonine).



83. Paris, Louvre 4281.

Provenance: Athens. *Non vidi.*

H: 0.54 m

Naiskos stele with pediment leaf or vegetable acroteria. Only the pediment and head of boy are preserved. Two tritons appear on either side of a shield with gorgon device in the tympanum.

Inscription is on the architrave.

Ἐπέραστος Ἐπεράστου Μειλήσιος.

IG II2 9555; Conze 1911-1922 IV, no. 2137a;

Moock 1998, no. 466 (Julio-Claudian).

Photograph Conze 1911-1922 IV, pl. 472, no. 2137a.

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Figures

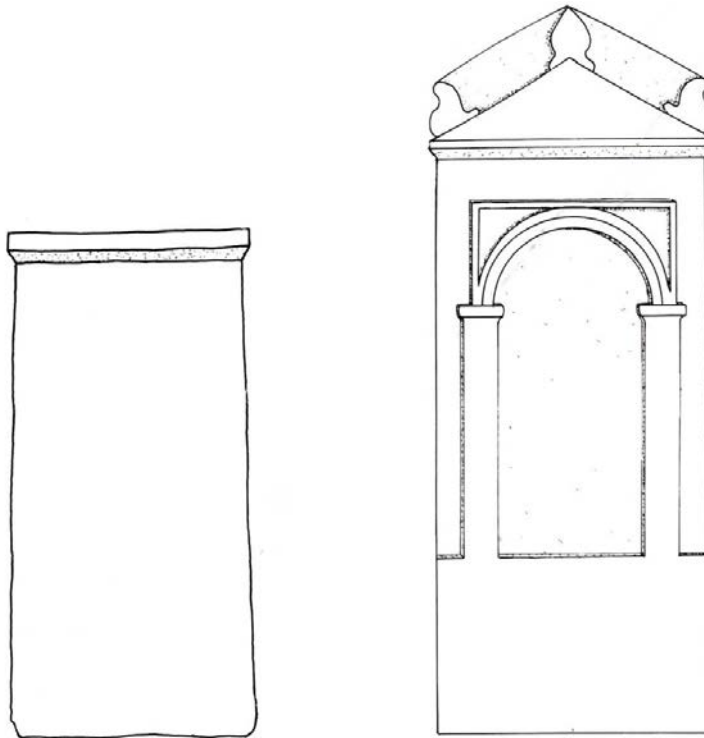


fig. 1
Simple shaft stele and shaft stele with pediment and
acroteria in relief. Illustration: Mook 1998
Supplement 6, 7.

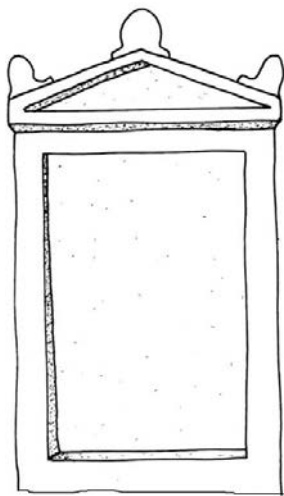


fig. 2
Frame stele with gable and acroteria.
Illustration: Mook 1998 Supplement 6.

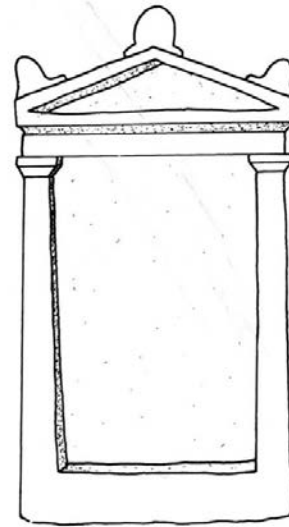


fig. 3
Naikos stele with gable and acroteria.
Illustration: Mook 1998 Supplement 6.

Figures

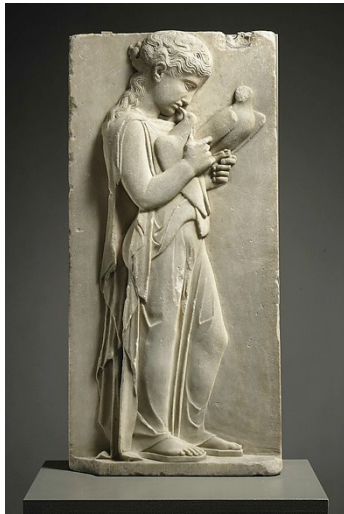


fig. 4
Parian girl with doves.



fig. 5
Girl with pet bird.



fig. 6. Girl playing knuckle
bones



fig. 7
Artemis from Parthenon
frieze.



fig. 8
Aphrodite Parthenon East
Pediment.

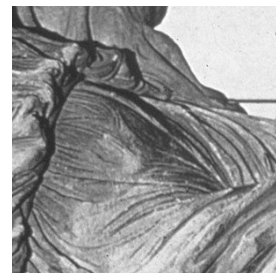


fig. 9
Detail: Aphrodite Parthenon
East Pediment.



fig. 10
Drunken old woman.



fig. 12
Iunia Pia from the funerary
altar of Iunia Venusta.

fig. 11
Claudia Octavia from the
Baia Nymphaeum.



fig. 13
Detail of Roman Wall
Painting from Villa of
Poppaea.



fig. 14
Figurine of Eros with grapes.



fig. 15
Figurine of Eros with syrinx.



fig. 16
Bronze Boy with Dove



fig. 17
Votive statue from
Brauron.

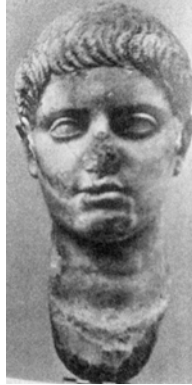


fig. 18
Kerameikos Bust.

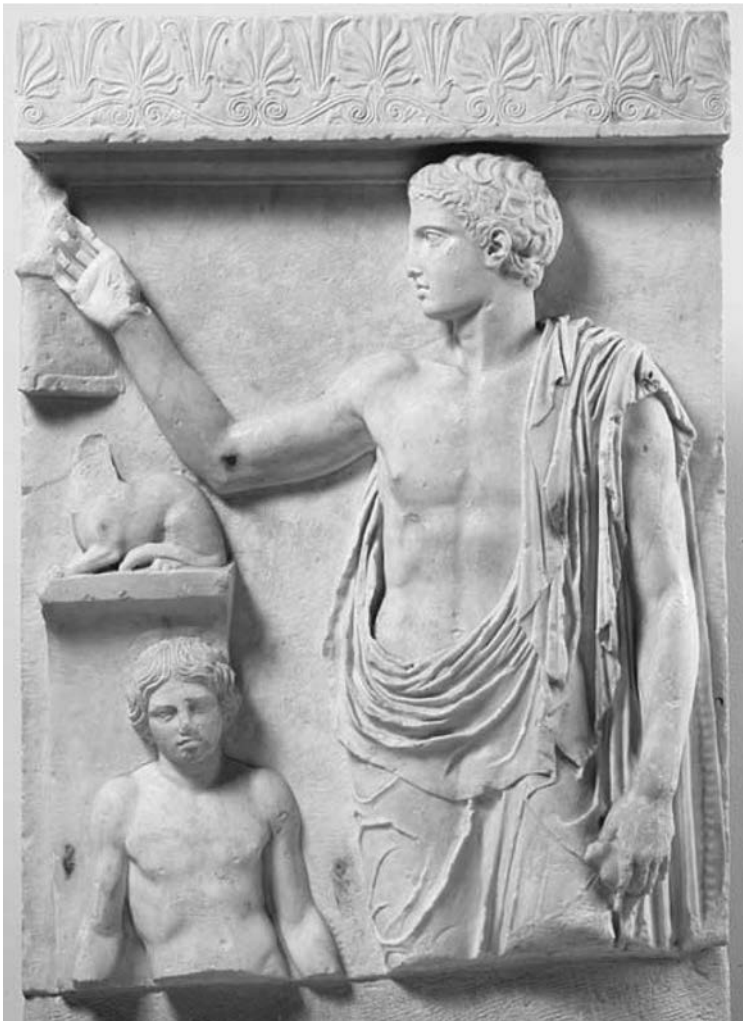


fig. 19
Cat Stele



fig. 20
Diomedes in the Louvre



fig. 21
Chairedemos and
Lykeas.



fig. 22
Divus Vespasian portrait



fig. 23
Attic funerary stele of a hunter.



fig. 24
Tithonos painter vase.



fig. 25
Portrait of Caracalla.



fig. 26
Myrina Terracotta depicting Harpocrates.



fig. 27
Myrina Terra-cotta of
Harpocrates.



fig. 28
Silver Harpocrates



fig. 29
Gold Harpocrates pendant



fig. 31
Eretria Youth



fig. 30
Aischines.



fig. 32
Terracotta from Roman Agora.



fig. 33
Terracotta from Roman Agora.

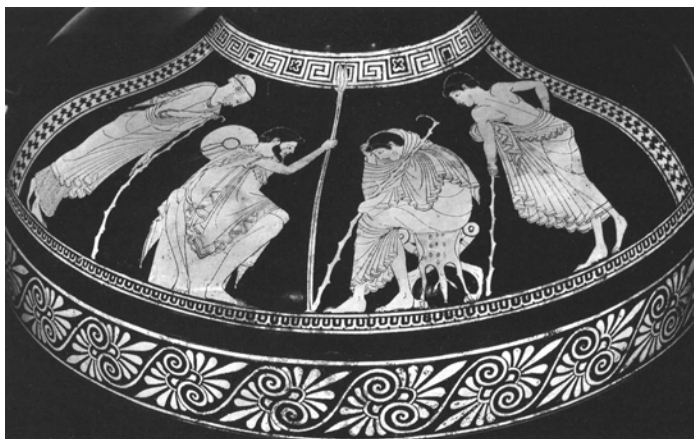


fig. 34
Red figure hydria
Mission to Achilles.



fig. 35
Neronian Bust of a charioteer
from the sanctuary of Hercules
Cubans.

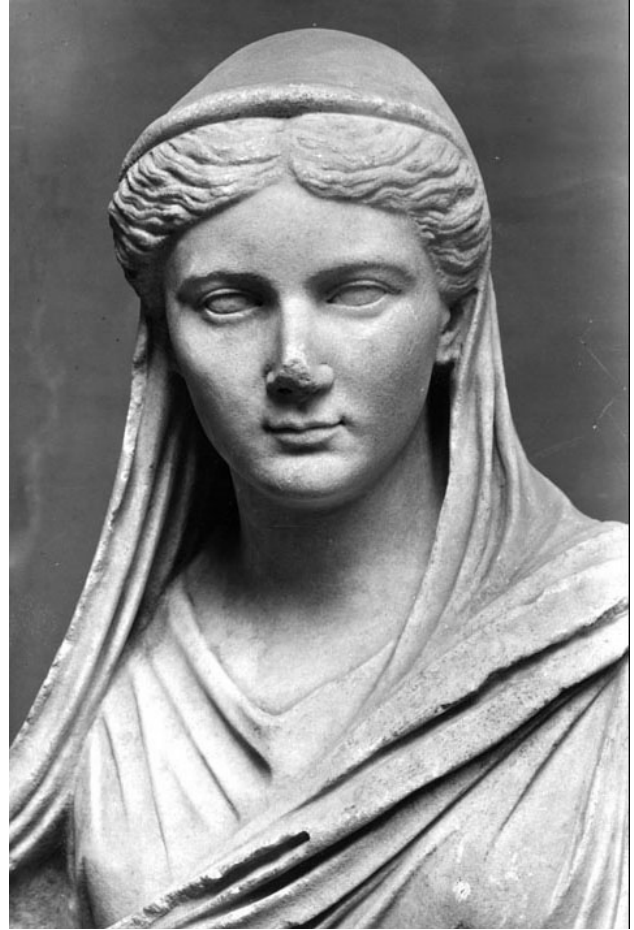


fig. 36
Statue of Sabina as Ceres from Baths of
Neptune.



fig. 37
Douris vase.



fig. 38
"Apotheosis of Homer" Relief.

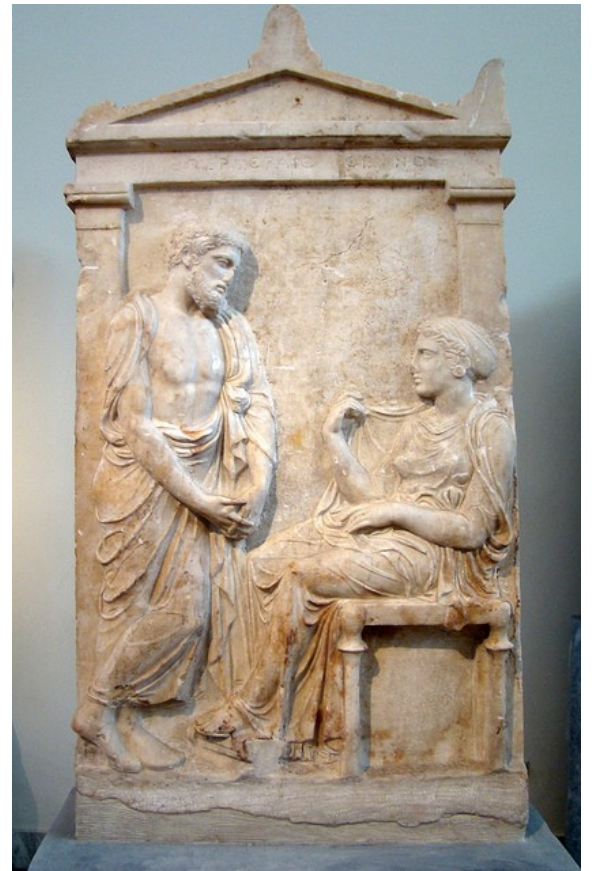


fig. 39
Stele of Ktesileos and Theano



fig. 40
Alexander Sarcophagus.

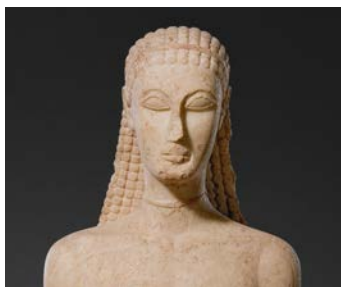


fig. 41
Attic Kouros.



fig. 42
Niobid Painter Calyx
Krater.



fig. 43 Hare hunt mosaic



fig. 44 Meleager Sarcophagus.



fig. 45 Boar Hunt mosaic.



fig. 46 Hare hunter stele.

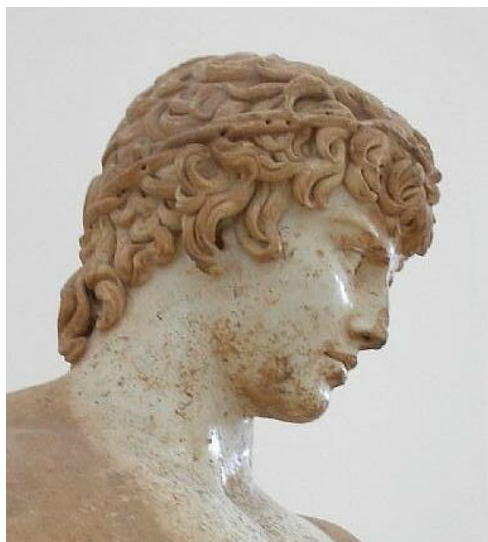


fig. 47 Antinoos with filet.

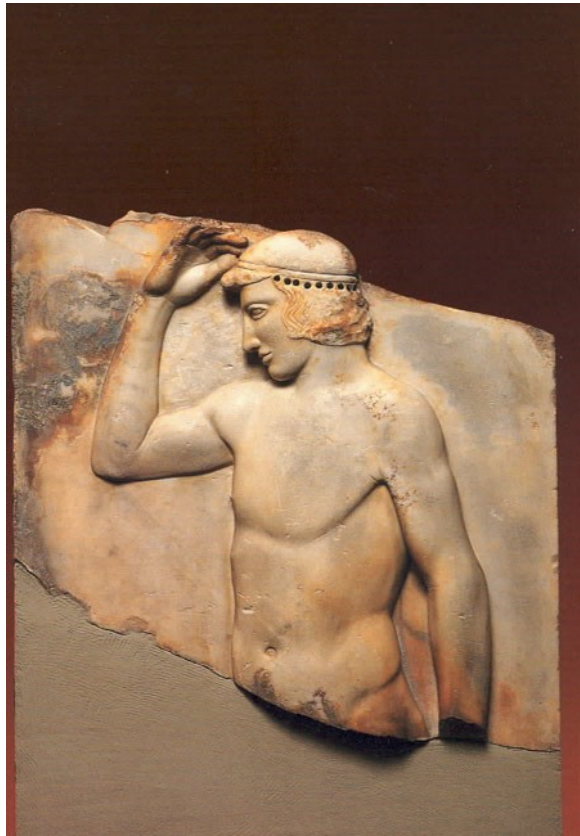


fig. 48 *Autostephanoumenos* relief.



fig. 49
Heracles Farnese.



49 con't.
Farnese detail



fig. 50
Detail of Psyche gem.



fig. 51
Eros and butterfly/Psyche Terracotta.



fig. 52
Eros and Psyche sarcophagus



fig. 53 Butterfly antefix.