FAMILY TOMBS AND TOMB CULT IN ANCIENT ATHENS: TRADITION OR TRADITIONALISM?*

I. Modern Perceptions of Ancient Practices

Fustel de Coulanges' thesis that ancient society was founded upon the cult of ancestral tombs has had, for a thoroughly self-contradictory argument, a remarkably successful career. Neither Fustel himself nor the many subsequent scholars who have quoted his views with approval faced clearly the difficulty of deriving a social structure dominated by corporate descent groups from the veneration of tombs placed in individually owned landed property. On the whole, historians have tended to play down Fustel's insistence on the relation between ancestor-cult and property and to exaggerate the role of the corporate kin group. This tendency, which assimilates Fustel to Sir Henry Maine and other lawyers interested in the reconstruction of Indo-European institutions (e.g. Bonfante) has in my view considerably impeded understanding of the role of kinship in early Greek society; it also obscures one of the most individual aspects of Fustel's work which, thanks to the researches of Philippe Ariès (II) on the development of the modern tomb-cult in the nineteenth century, can now be placed in its historical context.

Research on the treatment of the dead in Greco-Roman antiquity had been proceeding vigorously for some 300 years before Fustel arrived on the scene: Fabricius' *Bibliographia antiquaria* has an entry of 20 pages on the subject (1019 ff.). These antiquarians have nothing to say about tombs on private property and are not much concerned with the cult of the dead after burial. They are much more interested in the conduct of the funeral itself, particularly the elaborate funerals of important persons. They were well aware that—as Pauline Schmitt has recently reminded us—non-kin as well as kin took part in these funerals and in the annual commemorative feasts which sometimes followed. Mourning involves the participation of professional dirge-singers; for a great man, a whole city may suspend its customary activities. Mourning is not necessarily a purely domestic affair. They also knew, from reading Roman legal texts, of the practice of manumitting slaves by will under the condition that they should tend the tomb of their deceased owner. They note that ancient tombs not infrequently ask the passer-by to pray for the occupant, and this interest in the prayers of strangers seems quite natural to them, since they themselves prayed in church for the surrounding dead in the building itself and the churchyard; they also saw the roadside tombs of the Greeks and Romans, like the church burials of their own day, as a salutary *memento mori*. From the beginning of the eighteenth century the ancient norm of burying the dead outside the city walls is cited with particular approval as a wise measure of hygiene: this is the period when medical concern over burial in city churchyards and churches begins to break forth, especially among Protestants who in any case were liable to be excluded from Catholic burial grounds.[1] Probably in relation to the same concerns, they note that multiple burials were rare in the ancient world: three or four to a grave at Megara, but single burials at Athens. John Potter, later archbishop of Canterbury, in his *Archaeologia Graeca* (1697–9), adds 'only those that were joined by near relation or affection were usually buried together, it being thought inhuman to part those in death whom no accidents of life could separate'; he also tells us that 'each family had its own burying place', and mentions the role of kin in funerals rather more than most authors of his period—perhaps an example of the early development of new attitudes to family relationships in England (*cf.* Stone). But we are still dealing here with interest in the handling of the corpse (receiving the dying breath from the dead man's mouth, the final kiss, closing the eyes, etc.) or in reunion in the grave—both phenomena attested by Ariès for the eighteenth century—not with the cult of the tomb by surviving members of the family. It is

* *Abbreviations*: Modern works are referred to by author's surname: for details see bibliography printed at end of article. In denoting relations of kinship, kin terms are abbreviated to their initial letter: F(ather), M(other), S(on), D(aughter), with the exception of 'sister' which is denoted by Z. Pa denotes a parent whose sex is uncertain.

[1] Ariès II ch. 11. Discussions of this problem in Germany were already current in 1730, *cf.* Graeven, Saurmann. Luther himself had expressed a preference for burial outside the city; the differences between Protestant and Catholic views (not unrelated to conflicts over the sharing of cemeteries, *cf.* Ariès 310 ff.) need further study.

worth noting also in this connection the interest shown in cremation in the seventeenth–eighteenth century writers linked with the question 'How did they distinguish the ashes of the corpse from the ashes of the pyre, or the bones of the corpse from those of animals or slaves burned with him?'

Thus, as one would expect, dissertations on ancient burial customs reflect the practices, practical concerns and fantasies of the period in which they were written. Even the wilder fringes of this literature are clearly related to the social practices of their day: the pertinacious belief that the Romans had invented a miraculous liquid which would keep lamps burning in tombs for hundreds of years, supported by assertions of men who claimed to have seen such lamps excavated, still burning, from ancient tombs (see the sarcastic account of Octavius Ferrarius, *De Veterum Lucernis sepulcralibus*, 1699) is clearly related to the contemporary custom of lighting candles for the dead.

The same relation between contemporary concerns and interpretation of ancient sources can of course be seen in Fustel de Coulanges. Ariès (II) cites at some length the project for the reorganisation of burial and the care of tombs submitted to the Institut in 1801 by one J. Girard, who was convinced that the best solution of all would be for each man to be buried on his own property: this would help to create a deeper sense of property and attachment to the land, which would have a stabilising effect on society. Girard's proposal is particularly striking in its resemblance to Fustel's ideas, but the idea was common at the time. The prize-winning essay of Amaury Duval in the same competition of 1801 also mentioned burial on private property with approval, while Chateaubriand (I) attributes the custom of burying one's ancestors in private gardens to the Chinese, again in a clearly favourable tone. Chateaubriand's lament for the desecration of the royal tombs of St Denis during the Revolution (*ibid.*), and the fate of his own father's remains (II 140), indicate the background to this idea. Although, according to Ariès, the emptying of the cemetery of Les Invalides in the years immediately before the Revolution had not aroused much public reaction, the desecration of other cemeteries and funerary monuments during the Revolution, together with the disorder and lack of control in the newly created suburban cemeteries round Paris during the same period, had created considerable anxiety and concern. Projects for further removals of bones and bodies from churches and churchyards gave rise to concern for the rights of property of the dead, and a feeling that these could only be safeguarded if protected by the rights of property of their living heirs in privately owned land (*cf.* Chateaubriand's negotiations over his own tomb, II App. iii). The Swiss pastor Edouard Hornstein (director of the seminary of Soleure), who published in 1868 a book on *Les Sépultures* which deals with ancient customs as well as modern issues, exclaims (130): 'Si l'on s'obstine à rejeter les saintes prescriptions de l'épouse de Jésus-Christ, au moins qu'on respecte ses droits de propriété!' The question of the relation of civic and religious authorities in the supervision of cemeteries is one which concerns him deeply. It is axiomatic for him that all the peoples of the earth have a tomb cult and that this cult is carried on by the dead's descendants and associated with belief in immortality. He cites as 'well-known' the response of an American Indian tribe when asked to cede some apparently unused land to the whites, 'Dirons-nous aux ossements de nos pères: levez-vous et suivez-nous sur une terre nouvelle?'

Thus, in a very short space of time, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the family cult of the tomb grew from being almost unknown in the modern world and largely disregarded in books on antiquity to become a massive phenomenon of contemporary life and a self-evident fact of history and ethnography. It is time now to examine this self-evident fact and see whether, in the case of the ancient Athenians, it will continue to remain solid after the custom which first drew interest to it has been largely abandoned by modern society.

II. Athenian Family Tombs: The Evidence

It must be admitted from the outset that the evidence is difficult to interpret. A tomb inscription bearing more than one name is at least a strong indication that kin were buried together, but it is impossible to prove the opposite from tomb stelai bearing single names, if not found *in situ*; family burial plots in the fourth century certainly included cases in which a number

of individual monuments to members of the same family were placed in such a way that the visitor saw them as a family group. For example, *IG* ii^2 6390 and 6391, commemorating two brothers and their wives, may have been set up together, but since the provenance of 6390 is unrecorded, certainty is impossible. For a full picture of Attic burial customs we need to combine evidence from cemetery excavations with evidence from inscriptions. Unfortunately, only one major cemetery has been excavated by modern methods and published in detail, and this is the Kerameikos, where the crowding of burials and mounds makes interpretation particularly difficult. A number of important sites which should have produced valuable evidence have been found in the Attic countryside, but so far none of them has been adequately published. The archaic mounds of Velanideza and Vourva were excavated by Stais in 1890, when techniques of excavation and dating were still crude. For an important group of archaic graves excavated at Vari in 1935–8 (FIG. 2) we have detailed publications of some of the vase finds (Karouzou III) but only the briefest preliminary reports on the excavation. For the fourth century, a major family enclosure containing at least 18 burials stretching over five generations of the same family was excavated by Papadimitriou at Merenda (Myrrhinous): the stelai have been published by Mastrokostas (I), but he could find no information on the excavation. The current exploration of fourth-century family enclosures at Rhamnous is so far only known from brief reports (*Ergon* 1975, 1976, 1977; Petrakos I, II).

III. The Role of Kin in Death and Burial at Athens

Death, as it affects the members of a kin group, is a long and complex process which begins with will-making or other preparations for death, and only ceases when the dead and his tomb are completely forgotten and neglected. An enquiry into family tombs and tomb cult must therefore examine the role played by kin in the whole sequence of events. As we shall see, the grouping of the tombs of the same family in a single place over a long period of time has a crucial bearing on the duration of the process, and on the range of kin participating in it. We can however take it for granted from the outset that the obligations and interests of kin in relation to death extended bilaterally, as did rights of inheritance. We are not concerned here with the corporate, named agnatic *genos* as a group holding hereditary rights to priestly office.

Obligation to perform burial rites was closely associated in Attica with inheritance. By a law cited in [Dem.] xliii 57–8 (post-Cleisthenic in form, possibly passed as a result of the experiences of the plague in 430?), the heirs or next-of-kin had a statutory obligation to bury the dead and could be called upon to pay the costs of burial by deme officials if they did not carry out this obligation with sufficient promptness. How this law worked in practice in the case of the poor we cannot tell; the consequence among the well-to-do was that a man who intended to put in a claim to an estate tried also to take charge of the deceased owner's funeral.

In Isaeus iv, a speech concerning the two-talent estate of one Nicostratus who had died abroad, the speaker's side claims to have buried Nicostratus' remains (26), whereas the opposing claimant Chariades, although serving as a soldier with Nicostratus when he died, neither cremated him nor took charge of his bones (19). The speaker also alleges that because the value of the estate was high and because, Nicostratus having been abroad for some time, there was some difficulty in establishing who his kin were, 'everyone in Athens' was cutting their hair and putting on mourning in the hope of being able to put in a successful claim (7). In Isaeus vi, Euctemon of Kephisia had died as an old man in the house of a mistress whose sons tried to claim his estate; the speaker, Euctemon's daughter's son and adopted son of Euctemon's deceased son Philoctemon, asserts that his opponents had tried to prevent Euctemon's wife and daughter from entering the house where he had died to prepare his body (40 f.). In [Dem.] xliv, concerning the estate of one Leocrates of Otryne who had been adopted out of his family of origin, the speaker's family tried to take possession of Leocrates' corpse as well as his estate, but were prevented by his natural father Leostratus. In Isaeus viii (21–7, 38–9) the speaker explains that he went with a patrilateral cousin (as witness) to fetch the corpse of his maternal grandfather Ciron to his own house for burial, but was persuaded by the widow (Ciron had remarried after the death of the speaker's grandmother) to conduct the funeral from Ciron's house. The widow's brother, Diocles (acting as her *kyrios*) allowed this but claimed reimbursement for his

own expenditure on burial preparations; later however he refused to accept this repayment, on the grounds that he had already been repaid by a rival claimant to the estate, Ciron's brother's son. The speaker, 'in order that they might gain no advantage over me by alleging to you [the jury] that I bore no part of the funeral expenses, consulted the interpreter of sacred law and by his advice paid for at my own expense and offered the ninth-day offerings in the most sumptuous manner possible'.

In order to prevent undignified squabbles over his corpse, the prudent Athenian would try to make firm arrangements for the disposal of his property before his death, either in a written will or by oral expression of his wishes. In either case, he would be wise to see that all potentially interested parties were present, plus one or two disinterested witnesses in addition. The content of a written will was read out to witnesses before the will was sealed and deposited (preferably in more than one copy) with trustworthy friends.

Wills, of course, might be made at any time and were quite often made by young and healthy men about to go to war (Isae. vi 3, 8; xi 8). The most usual form of will was the conditional testamentary adoption of an heir by a childless man (Gernet). There were many details which wills did not regulate. A dying man would summon his friends and kin, would give instructions about burial (Pl. *Phaedo* 115b–c), and would solemnly conjure his heirs or trustees to pay any outstanding debts; Socrates' last words, 'Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius, please pay the debt for me', express an unconventional attitude to death in an entirely conventional manner (*Phaedo* 118, *cf.* [Dem.] xli 6–9, 16–17). It is, of course, characteristic of philosophers that friends take the place of kin in this scene of death; compare the role of friends as trustees in the philosophers' wills transmitted by Diogenes Laertius.

So far, the evidence considered has all come from the fourth century. For an idea of death in the archaic period we have to turn to Solon's legislation forbidding ostentatious funerals.[2] The body was to be laid out for the last greetings from family and friends (*prothesis*) within the house ([Dem.] xliii 62). Burial must take place before sunrise on the day following the *prothesis*, the third day from the death. Women under the age of sixty were not allowed to attend *prothesis* or funeral, or enter the house of the dead after the funeral, unless related to the deceased as *anepsiadai* or more closely (first cousins once removed or second cousins: Thompson II); women were not allowed to lacerate themselves or wail (*kōkeuein*: Cic. *de Leg.* ii 59 ff., Plut. *Sol.* 21). No one was to lament for persons other than the man or woman being buried; no ox was to be sacrificed at the graveside; no corpse was to be buried with more than three garments (*himatia*); no one was to visit the tombs of non-kin except for a funeral (Plut. *Sol.* 21).

Similar controls were imposed by the phratry of the Labyadai at Delphi in *c.* 400 B.C. (Hainsworth no. 3; Buck no. 52; *SGDI* 2561; Sokolowski II no. 77; *SEG* xxv 574) and by the city of Iulis in Keos, probably under Attic influence, in the late fifth century (*SIG*³ 1218). The regulations of the Labyadai say that after the lid (? *thigana*) is put on the tomb there is to be no mourning and wailing for those previously buried in the same place, but each man is to go home except for members of the deceased's household (*homestioi*), patrikin (*patradelphoi*), wife's kin (*pentheroi*), descendants (*esgonoi*) and affines married to women of his own family (*gambroi*). The amount of property to be buried with the corpse is restricted, the funeral procession is to go in silence, without stopping in the streets. At Iulis the procession is also to be silent, the bier is to be covered; the amount of wine, oil and cloth used in the funeral is limited, and the bier, bedding and vessels used in the funeral are to be returned to the house afterwards. A passage of uncertain interpretation says either that women must, or that they must not, leave the tomb before men.[3] After the burial no woman is to enter the house of the dead except those polluted—mother, wife, sisters, daughters and not more than five other women and two girls, 'children of daughters and of cousins'.[4]

These provisions give us, in intaglio, a picture of the type of funeral the legislators wished to prevent. A noble family wishing to make the maximum display in honour of a dead member would, in the first place, prolong the *prothesis* for as long as possible before decomposition set in. (In the *Iliad*, where the gods lend miraculous help in preserving corpses, Hector is mourned for nine days, xxiv 785–9; in the *Odyssey*, xxiv 63–5, it is stated that Achilles' *prothesis* lasted 17 days).

[2] Iconographic evidence is discussed by Kurtz–Boardman, Ahlberg, Boardman I, Zschietzschmann.

[3] The text is one letter too long with the negative, one letter too short without it. Roux 172 n. 26 defends the latter reading; but in the archaic period, the men might have stayed behind to make the mound?

[4] The text is not certain.

Boardman (I) suggested that in the *prothesis* scenes shown on pre-Solonian Attic vases the *prothesis* should be thought of as set in a public place rather than the courtyard of an *oikos* (Ahlberg 297–9, is more doubtful). The funeral procession would take place in daylight, when everyone was about to see it. The bier would be covered with rich and elaborately woven cloth (Kurtz–Boardman 144; Euripides, *Tro.* 1207 ff. The modest expense on cloth permitted by the Iulis law is 100 drachmai). It would be followed by numerous friends and supporters of the family, both male and female, with musicians and professional female mourners; the men riding in chariots (three or four four-horse chariots were shown in Exekias' sequence of plaques representing a funeral in the mid-sixth century: Technau pls. 14–19), or dressed in their hoplite armour; the women lamenting and tearing their faces and hair (*cf.* Hdt. vi 39).[5] Convention required that men should maintain self-control in mourning, whereas women were encouraged to display wild grief: therefore, to restrict female participation in *prothesis* and funeral procession (*ekphora*) to kin and women over sixty markedly reduced both the aural and the visual impact of the procession. In the fourth century and later legal theorists see these limitations on the participation of women as designed to control an unruly element in society: women should not be encouraged to give their emotions free rein (Plut. *Mor.* 608a ff.), nor given the opportunities for meeting strange men that funerals provided (Lys. i 8; Ter. *Phorm.* 91–116). The law of Gambreion controlling funerals, of the third century B.C. (*SIG*³ 1219) is to be enforced by the *gynaikonomoi*, who had general responsibility for keeping women in order (*cf.* Wehrli II). But Solon was probably more concerned with the use of women as a *medium* of display than with the effect on the women themselves. The cortège would stop frequently at street corners for outbreaks of lamentation (Alexiou). If the dead is cremated, which seems on the whole to be the most honourable kind of funeral (and was more expensive), speeches in honour of the dead are made at the pyre; the mourners file round it, valuable cloth and other possessions are laid on it with the corpse. Animals may be sacrificed. The mourners remain round the pyre until it has burnt through, then quench it with wine. In both inhumations and cremations, speeches and sacrifices would be made at the graveside,[6] and friends and kin would heap up the earth over the grave and burn offerings over the 'offering trenches' (*Opferrinnen*)[7] which are found in association with the richest archaic tombs, or (more frequently, later in the sixth century) at 'offering places' nearby. The funeral party would then circle other graves of the same family in the same area, lamenting, celebrating the fame and virtues of the dead and perhaps making further offerings. The size of the mound heaped up over the tomb by the male kin and friends of the dead was intended to be a sign of his power and honour to all future generations: a further symbol might be added on top of it to show what kind of man he was. The funeral would end with a feast in the house of the heir[8] or, in the most elaborate ceremonies, with funerary games and perhaps even musical competitions.

Further commemorative rites were carried out on the ninth and thirtieth days after death.[9] Thereafter, some families may have made further commemorative offerings: this is suggested by the practice attributed to Clytemnestra in Sophocles' *Electra* (277–81) of celebrating a monthly festival of thanksgiving on the anniversary of the death of Agamemnon, and by the provision in Epicurus' will for commemoration of himself and his pupil Metrodorus on the 20th of every month (D.L. x 18). But such monthly rites may not have been strongly institutionalised in early times. There is better evidence for annual commemorations at the festival of the Genesia, 'known to all the Greeks' according to Herodotus (iv 26) and celebrated in Attica on 5 Boedromion

[5] Both men and women mourners cut their hair and wear black; in Eur. *Alc.* 422–31 even the horses are to have their manes cut as a sign of mourning!

[6] [Pl.] *Minos* 315c reports that the Athenians in olden times used to sacrifice before the *ekphora*, and perhaps regards this as being the normal Greek practice. The law of Iulis permits *prosphagia*, but these according to Eur. *Alc.* 845 took place at the tomb (LSJ s.v. '*prosphagma*'). Robert Garland of UCL is currently preparing a study of rituals concerned with death in ancient Athens.

[7] Kübler (II 87) suggests that all present lined up along the offering trench for this rite, since the length of the trenches seems to co-vary with the richness of the burial. Offering trenches were used only once and then covered over (*ibid.* 88); they did not serve repeatedly for periodic commemorative rites. Note that in the archaic peribolos at Vari (FIG. 2) most of the offering trenches run alongside the peribolos walls.

[8] There seems to be some variation in the timing of the feast. In *Il.* xxiii 29–34 it is held before Patroclus' cremation, in xxiv 801–3 *after* the cremation of Hector.

[9] At some time the right to participate in the 30th-day ceremony may have been restricted to members of the jurally recognised kindred: Harp. s.v. '*triakas*', Poll. i 66, Hsch. s.v. '*atriakastos*', '*exō triakados*'. The exact dates of celebration varied from city to city; the Labyadai celebrated on the 10th rather than the 9th day.

(September). Jacoby I, following Mommsen (174), suggested that the date of the Genesia was fixed by Solon, families having previously chosen their own anniversary dates; but Herodotus' words do not necessarily imply that individual choice of date was the practice in his day outside Attica, and Genesion is known as the name of a month at Magnesia on the Maeander (*Inscr. Magn.* 116), which should imply a fixed festival for the Genesia in that city. However, Jacoby in any case made an important point in stressing that a fixed date for the festival implied that each individual could only attend commemorative rites in a single cemetery. The scope for gratifying powerful relatives or friends by attending their family rituals was limited by duties to one's own immediate ancestors,[10] and only those ancestors who were buried together would be commemorated. The effect would be that those who felt strongly about the duty to honour all their ancestors would take pains to ensure that all members of the family were buried together, and that those who carried out Genesia at the same group of tombs would take on in their own eyes some of the characteristics of a descent group (as is the case of the Bouselidai in [Dem.] xliii). But we shall see that the evidence for large-scale and long lasting groupings of this kind is rare.

The Athenians had another festival of the dead in the Spring, the Anthesteria; but this was an *oikos* festival in which the dead were supposed to visit the households of the living. It did not involve visits to tombs, and the dead, the *kēres*, do not seem to have been individualised; they appear to be anonymous like the 'souls' of All Souls' night. Some individuals, however, clearly celebrated private anniversaries as well as the Genesia.

Monthly commemorations have already been mentioned. According to Diogenes Laertius (ii 14), Anaxagoras was commemorated by an annual school holiday at Lampsacus in the month in which he died (*cf.* Arist. *Rhet.* 1398b18). Epicurus specified that the annual celebration of his birthday which had begun during his lifetime was to be continued after his death by his friends who were also to commemorate the birthdays of Metrodorus and of Polyaenus of Lampsacus (D.L. x 18). The association founded by Antiochus of Commagene to honour himself and his family was to meet monthly on the dates of birth of Antiochus and his father (Waldmann 203–4, Wagner–Petzl, Clarysse; *cf.* the similar provision in Dunant–Pouilloux 93–9, no. 192). The confusion in late sources of *genethlia* (birthday) with *genesia* (commemoration of the dead) seems, *pace* Jacoby I 67, to have had an institutional as well as an etymological basis.

Other occasions on which kin would in any case gather together might also be used for mourning demonstrations, as happened after the battle of Arginoussai at the phratry festival of the Apatouria (Xen. *Hell.* i 7.7). Electra in Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (470 ff.) speaks of bringing offerings to her father's tomb on her wedding day (*choas gamelious*).

IV. Public Commemoration of the Dead: Speeches and Monuments

Solon's restrictions on funerary ostentation refer only to burial, but 'some time later' (*post aliquanto*, Cic. *de Leg.* ii 64) a further law was passed that no grave monument was to be more elaborate than the work of ten men could accomplish in three days, that tombs were not to be adorned with *opus tectorium* or have 'herms' erected on them, and that the dead were not to be praised except in public funerals by the orator officially appointed for the task. *Opus tectorium*, in the view of Boardman (I), would refer to the painted plaques hung round built tombs in the sixth century which provided a permanent representation of the funeral ceremony in its various stages:

[10] According to Dem. xxiv 107 one could be sued for *kakōsis goneōn* if one failed to pay the customary honours to parents, grandparents and great-grandparents (perhaps only on the father's side). *Cf.* Xen. *Mem.* ii 2.13 on *kosmēsis taphōn*. Plato *Laws* 717e prescribes annual commemoration. But I find it hard to believe that those Athenians whose ancestors' tombs were scattered (almost certainly the majority: see below) would visit all of them. (Neglected tombs whose 'owners' were unknown: [Dem.] lv 14–15.) In Eur. *Tro.* 1180–4 Hecuba says that Astyanax used to promise to bring all his friends to honour her tomb with prayers and gifts; such visits from non-kin were forbidden by Solon's law.—Harvey (169; *cf.* Nilsson 633) suggests that some of Simonides' and Pindar's dirges (*thrēnoi*) may have been written for commemorative rites. (Pindar *fr.* 137B Schröder, Σ Pi. *P.* vii 17, comes from a *thrēnos* for the Alcmaeonid Hippokrates: Davies no. 9688, III). Plut. *Cim.* 4 tells us that Archelaos wrote a consolatory elegy for Kimon after the death of his wife Isodike. The fragments of such poetry which survive are philosophical in character, and this may have influenced the suggestion that the poems were sung at commemorative gatherings rather than at funerals. But the character of the fragments is largely determined by the philosophical interests of the later writers who quote them, and may be somewhat misleading.

'herms' seems to be a general term for any standing stone grave marker. Archaeologists agree that there is a change in Attic burial practice corresponding to this law, although they disagree on the exact date within the period *c.* 510–480 B.C. to which the change should be assigned (*cf.* Stupperich). Stone stelai are not clearly attested archaeologically after this period, until the time of the Peloponnesian war. White-ground lekythoi of the middle years of the fifth century show small grave mounds with stelai on them, but they may represent monuments made of wood. (See below p. 112).

The reference in Cicero's text to public funerals does not necessarily refer to the recurrent ceremony of burial and commemoration of war dead immortalised by Thucydides' version of Pericles' funeral oration in 431 B.C. Evidence for 'public' funerals goes back to the origins of the *polis.* In the seventh century the Corcyreans buried a *proxenos* from Oiantheia in the Corinthian gulf at public expense (*IG* xi.1 867, ML no. 4). The Athenians gave a public funeral to Pythagoras of Selymbria in the middle of the fifth century, and may have done the same earlier for other benefactors (*IG* i² 1034=i³ 1154; Peek II (*GVI*) no. 45).[11] Military commanders had presumably made funerary speeches before cremating war dead on the battlefield from early times: it would be from this custom that the polemarch, the original commander-in-chief of the Athenian army (see Hammond I) derived his responsibility for the annual ceremony for war dead in the Kerameikos. Thus even if Jacoby (II) was right in claiming that the ceremony in the Kerameikos described by Thucydides (ii 34) was instituted only in 465 B.C.,[12] the concept of the public funeral as a tribute paid by the *polis* to those deserving special honour had developed much earlier. The aim of the celebration of public funerals, *and* of the legislation restricting ostentation in private celebrations, was to reserve the right of conferring 'heroic' honours on the dead to the *polis* (the same of course is true of legislation or norms prohibiting burial within the city, except in cases where the city gave special permission). Control over the honours permitted at burial to citizens of different status (kings, soldiers dying in battle, etc.) was still more detailed at Sparta (*cf.* Hdt. vi 58; Wallace; Chrestos; Hartog). But Athens too seems to have succeeded in imposing this discrimination with remarkable uniformity in the fifth century, and its effects remain visible even when private monuments again become elaborate in the fourth century: this is one case among others where we can trace the gradual demarcation of a threshold between public and private life (Humphreys I).

The provision in the law recorded by Cicero that tombs should not involve more than three days' work for ten men must refer to grave-mounds; sculptured monuments are covered by the prohibition of 'herms', and it is scarcely credible that their ostentation could have been thought of in terms of the labour-time involved in making them. The epitaph of the Corcyrean *proxenos* mentioned above, stating that his *kasignētos* Praximenes came from his homeland and laboured with the *demos* to make his monument (*sāma ponēthē*), refers to a mound enclosed by a stone wall.[13] In a sixth-century epitaph from Troezen (*IG* iv 800, Pfohl no. 160), Praxiteles' *hetairoi* make his *sāma* and finish it in a single day: the point of the record here is evidently that the size of the mound shows how many *hetairoi* must have taken part in the work.

The use of tomb mounds as 'signs' of the graves of men of honour and renown is already established in the Homeric poems. In the *Odyssey* (xi 75–6) Elpenor, lost at sea, asks Odysseus to bury him by the seashore and heap up a *sēma* 'for future men to know' (*kai essomenoisi pythesthai*), and to fix his oar in the top of the mound (*tymbos*). The *sēma* consists of mound plus oar—the former denoting Elpenor's status, the latter his role at the time of death. In the *Iliad* (xxiii 245–8) the Greeks build a modest *tymbos* for Patroclus, which they are to increase in size when Achilles too has died and has been buried beneath it.

Archaeologically, mounds are difficult to detect unless they are of considerable size or are made with earth brought to the cemetery from outside. Earth was being brought in to the Kerameikos for the construction of large mounds by the second quarter of the seventh century

[11] *Cf.* also IG ii² 5224 (Tod 178; *GVI* 47), public burial of two Corycyrean envoys, *c.* 375. I am not entirely convinced that *IG* ii² 5220, commemorating Silenos son of Phokos of Rhegion (dated to 433 by Meiggs–Lewis *ad* no. 63) comes from a public burial.

[12] See however Gomme ii 94–101, Bradeen I. The question of the commemoration of war dead buried overseas is likely to have presented itself at least from the time of the battle of Mycale (479), if not already raised by Miltiades' unfortunate expedition to Paros in 489.

[13] *Kasignētos* is the epic term for brother; the normal Oiantheian term was *adelphos* (Buck no. 93).

(Kübler II, mound Θ), and the largest mounds in the Kerameikos on the whole belong to this century, with the exception of two huge mounds of about the middle of the sixth century (Hügel G, Kübler III; Südhügel, Knigge).

Homeric mounds were heaped up to honour and perpetuate the memory of individuals or, as in the case of Achilles and Patroclus, a pair of *hetairoi*. The Greeks, of course, die far from home in the Homeric poems: but Hector too has an individual mound, with no mention of burying him by the tombs of his ancestors (*Il.* xxiv 797–801).[14] Likewise, when simple signs of the form of Elpenor's oar are replaced by paintings, inscriptions and sculpture, the monuments commemorate individuals. As is the case with Homer's mounds, piled in foreign lands to give information to strangers of future generations, some of these archaic inscriptions are clearly directed at those who did not know the dead man.

[῞Ο]στις μὴ παρ[ε|τ]ύνχαν', ὅτ' ἐ[χσ]|έφερόν με θ[αν]|όντα,
νῦν μ' ὀ[λο]|φυράσθω. Μν̣[ῆμ]α δὲ Τηλεφ[άνε]|ος.
Whoever was not present when they buried me,
Let him mourn me now. *Mnema* of Telephanes.
(*IG* xii 8. 396, Thasos, *c.* 500 B.C.; Pfohl no. 18)

[Εἴτ' ἀστό]ς τ̣ις ἀνὲρ ε̣ἴ̣τ̣ε χ̣σ̣ένο̣ς ἄλοθεν ἐλθὸν⁝
Τέτιχο̣ν οἰκτίρα|ς ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν παρίτο̄⁝
ἐν πολέμο̄ι | φθίμενον, νεαρὰν hέβε̄ν ὀλέσαν|τα⁝ .
Ταῦτ' ἀποδυράμενοι νέσθε ἐπ|ὶ πρᾶγμ' ἀγαθόν.
Whether you are a citizen or a stranger from abroad,
Pity Tettichos, a good man, as you go by;
He lost his fresh youth by death in war.
Mourn for him, and go on your way with good fortune.
(*IG* i^2 976=i^3 1194 bis, Attica, *c.* 560–50 B.C.; Pfohl no. 55)

[Πάσα]ς α̣ἰχμέτο, Χσενόκλεες, ἀνδρὸ̣[ς | ἐπισ]τὰς⁝
σ̣ε̣̂μ̣α̣ τ̣ὸ̣ σ̣ὸ̣ν̣ π̣ρ̣ο̣σ̣ι̣δὸν γν[ό|σετ]α̣ι ἐν[ορέας].
Anyone who has any understanding, will know
when he looks at your *sēma*, Xenocles,
that it belongs to a spearman.
(*IG* i^2 984=i^3 1200, Athens, *c.* 550–30 B.C.; Pfohl no. 30)

῎Ανθρο̄π̣ε hὸς <σ>τείχ̣ε̣ι̣ς : καθ' ὁ̣δ̣ὸ̣|ν : φρασὶν : ἄλ<λ>α μενοινο̂ν :
στε̂θι | καὶ οἴκτιρον : σε̂μα Θράσο̄νος : ἰδόν.
Man, as you go on your way with your mind on other things,
Stand and feel pity, as you look at the monument of Thrason.
(*IG* i^2 971=i^3 1204, Athens, *c.* 540 B.C.; Pfohl no. 32)

Several epitaphs mention explicitly that the grave is by the roadside, as graves normally were (e.g. *IG* i^2 974=i^3 1197, *c.* 550 B.C., Pfohl no. 27); and the more frequented the road, the better the site. The Kerameikos cemetery lay just outside the main entrance to the *agora*, through which passed the sacred way leading to Eleusis. But even at Velanideza near the east coast of Attica, which is not on a main route (it lies on the road from Spata, Erchia, to Loutsa, Halai Araphenides), the tomb of Philodemos and Anthemion is proudly said to be by the roadside (*IG* i^2 1026 a=i^3 1255, *SEG* x 458; Pfohl no. 64).

Nevertheless, the use of sculptures representing the dead as tomb-markers—even though by our standards the figures are not 'portraits'—gave the tomb-monument a new sense for those who had known the dead. It could be thought of not only as a *sēma*, a sign bearing information for those who needed it, but also as a *mnēma*,[15] a record or memorial which would preserve for all time the physical appearance of the dead—most commonly as a *kouros*, a young warrior—just as the words inscribed on its base would preserve his name, his virtues and (very often) the names of those responsible for making and setting up the monument. Kleoitos' epitaph says,

[14] On the *sēma* of Hector's ancestor Ilos, eponym of the city, see Price.

[15] On the uses of *sēma* and *mnēma* see Eichler.

Παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο Κλεοίτο τô Μενεσαίχμο·
μνêμ' ἐσορôν οἴκτιρ', ὃς καλὸς ὂν ἔθανε.
Look on the *mnēma* of Kleoitos, the son of Menesaichmos,
and pity him for dying, with such beauty.
(*IG* i² 982=i³ 1277, Athens, *c.* 500 B.C.; Pfohl no. 81)

The thought still seems to be directed to the stranger who would not know, without the statue, what Kleoitos had been like; but the basis for treating the statue as a focus for the mourning memories of his family clearly exists (*cf.* Ducat, Vernant I, II, III). In the epitaph of Learete of Thasos (*IG* xii 8. 398; Pfohl no. 20, *c.* 500–490 B.C.) the process has developed a little further:

Ἡ καλὼν τὼ μνῆμα [πα]|τὴρ ἔστησε θανώσ[ηι]|
Λεαρέτηι. Ωὺ γὰρ [ἔτ]|ι ζôσαν ἐσωφσώμ[εθα].
Beautiful is the *mnēma* which her father set up to the dead
Learete; for we shall see her alive no longer.

(*Cf.* later still, *c.* 430–20 B.C., the tombstone of Mnesagora and Nikochares, *IG* ii² 12147; Pfohl no. 117).[16]

Taken by itself, the archaic funeral monument detaches the individual commemorated from his background to present him as an archetypal figure of timeless human significance. This is not to say that the family of the dead are entirely unrepresented. They naturally played a prominent part in the funeral, as discussed above; they may be mentioned in the inscribed epitaph; finally, the individualising memorial may have formed part of a family group, as will be discussed further below. But archaic funerary monuments do not stress family unity[17] in the same way as those of the fourth century which will be considered later in this paper; and we must make an effort to understand this difference.

The majority of archaic funerary monuments in Attica were set up by parents in commemoration of their children, usually children who died as young adults: young men who died in war, adolescent girls who died before marriage (*IG* i² 1014=i³ 1261, Pfohl no. 61 Phrasikleia). Of 20 inscriptions which record the relationship of the commemorator to the dead, 13 are set up by parents to children, two by parent and spouse in association, three by siblings and only two by children to fathers, one specifying that it was 'at the command of our mother'.[18] These monuments are *not*, therefore, the product of a belief that it was a sacred

[16] *Μνῆμα Μνησαγόρας καὶ Νικοχάρος τόδε κεῖται·*
αὐτὼ δὲ οὐ πάρα δεῖξαι · ἀφέλετο δαίμονος αἶσα,
πατρὶ φίλωι καὶ μητρὶ λιπόντε ἀμφοῖμ μέγα πένθος,
ὄνεκα ἀποφθιμένω βήτην δόμον Ἄιδος ἔσω.
'Here lies the *mnēma* of Mnesagora and Nikochares,
but *them* it is impossible to see. Fate took them away,
both leaving great grief to their dear father and mother,
because they died and went to the house of Hades.'
Cf. also, from the beginning of the 4th century (Amandry 526–7), a relief of a young girl looking at herself in a mirror:
Πᾶσι θανεῖν ‹ε›ἵμαρτα‹ι›, ὅσοι ζῶσιν· σὺ δὲ πένθος
οἰ|κτρὸν ἔχε‹ι›ν ἔλιπες, Παυσιμάχη, προγόνοις
μητρ‹ί› | τε Φαινίππηι καὶ πατρὶ Παυσανίαι.
σῆ‹ς› δ' ἀρετῆ‹ς› μνη|μεῖον ὁρᾶν τόδε τοῖς παριôσιν
σωφροσύνη‹ς› τε.
'Death must come to all, but you, Pausimache,
have left pitiable grief to your parents,
your mother Phainippe and your father Pausanias,
and (have left) this *mnēmeion* of your virtue and *sophrosynē*
for passers-by to see.'

[17] Boardman II no. 229, a three-sided relief on a capital of *c.* 550 B.C. from Lamptrai, is unique in showing the horseman for whom it was set up flanked by mourners, a man on one side and two women on the other.

[18] Father to son: *IG* i² 983 (*IG* i³ 1214, Pfohl no. 42); *IG* i² 985 (i³ 1220, Pfohl 44); *IG* i² 986 (i³ 1211, Pfohl 37); *IG* i² 987 (i³ 1215, Pfohl 80); *IG* i² 1016 (i³ 1266, Pfohl 58, two children); *IG* i² 1025 (i³ 1257, Pfohl 65); *SEG* xv 69 (Pfohl 25); *SEG* xxii 74 (*IG* i³ 1218, Pfohl 46); *SEG* xxv 60 (*IG* i³ 1263). Total: 9.
Father (and mother?) to son and daughter: *IG* i² 981 (i³ 1241, Pfohl 33; *cf.* Daux).
Mother to son: *SEG* x 439 (*IG* i³ 1206, Pfohl 34).
Father or mother to daughter: *IG* i² 1012 (i³ 1251, Pfohl 59).
Wife/mother to husband and son: *SEG* xxii 68 (*IG* i³ 1213, Pfohl 29).
Husband and mother to wife/daughter: *SEG* xxv 59 (*IG* i³ 1229).
Brother to brother: *SEG* xxi 192 (Pfohl 78), set up to Philoitios and Ktesias by the brother of one of them (Peek III 66 no. 218). ? *IG* i² 1023 (i³ 1271, Pfohl 74; possibly set up by two brothers to a third person).
Sister to brother: *SEG* i² 975 (i³ 1210, Pfohl 40).
Children to father: *SEG* xv 66 ('at our mother's orders'; Pfohl 52). *SEG* xxii 77 (*IG* i³ 1225, Pfohl 45).
Joint tombs:
Father and son: *IG* i² 983? (i³ 1214; *SEG* x 435, Pfohl 42, Friedländer no. 69). *SEG* xxii 68 (*IG* i³ 1213, Pfohl 29). ? *IG* i² 1001 (i³ 1221; possibly two brothers, or the same man on both sides of the stele).

duty for a son to see that his father received proper honours after death. This conclusion is reinforced by analysis of sculptured representations of the dead (Jeffery II); very few represent men or women of middle age.

A few monuments seem to have been set up not by kin but by *hetairoi*. *IG* i^2 920=i^3 1399 (Pfohl no. 75, *c.* 500) was apparently set up by an *erōmenos* to his *erastēs*;[19] *SEG* xiv 23, xv 75 (*IG* i^3 1231, Pfohl no. 78, Peek III 66 n. 218; Athens, *c.* 500 or later) was set up by Dexandrides to two men, Philoitios and Ktesias, one of whom was his brother and the other apparently unrelated.

There are only six monuments which certainly commemorate more than one person. The monument of Philoitios and Ktesias is one, and *IG* i^2 1026a=i^3 1255 (Pfohl no. 64) also commemorates two young men, whose relationship to each other is unknown. It may have been set up over the double house-tomb found under the mound excavated by Stais at Velanideza (see below). Two monuments commemorated a brother and sister: *SEG* x 452a/xvi 26 (*IG* i^3 1265, Pfohl no. 62) for Archias and Phile; *IG* i^2 981 =i^3 1241 (Pfohl no. 33) for an adolescent boy and his younger sister. In addition, the statues of Phrasikleia and of a *kouros* of similar date, which were recently found where they had been buried together in antiquity (Mastrokostas II) presumably belonged to members of the same family; but the monuments were distinct. *IG* i^2 1001 =i^3 1221 was probably set up to two brothers or a father and son, and *IG* i^2 1016=i^3 1266 (Pfohl no. 58) to 'the children' of Kylon. The relief stele NM 3892 shows two youths: Jeffery (II no. 60) suggests that it might belong to *IG* i^2 1023 =i^3 1271 and represent two brothers. There are only two extremely doubtful cases of stelai listing more than two names which *might* be tombstones, but probably are not: Jeffery II nos 20 (8 names) and 55 (Pfohl no. 71).

One final inscription will serve to introduce the discussion of evidence for the grouping together of graves belonging to the same family:

> *Οἴμοι Πεδιάρχο | τ̣ô 'Ενπεδίōνος.*
> *Πεδίαρχος ἄρχει τô<ν> σ|ēμάτōν.*
> Woe for Pediarchos, son of Empedion!
> Pediarchos begins the *sēmata*.
> (*SEG* iii 56, Liopesi, *c.* 540 B.C.; *IG* i^3 1267, Pfohl no. 57)

Once again we have an individual singled out for special honour: his monument states a relation to his family but at the same time distinguishes him from them. He is not placed among the tombs of his ancestors; on the contrary, he apparently begins a new set of tombs in which his own will serve as the focus round which that of other family members (especially, in all likelihood, his parents) will be grouped.

V. The Grouping of Tombs Belonging to the Same Family

Evidence for tomb grouping begins, for the purpose of the present research, in the Geometric period.[20] A grave enclosure of the 740s–30s was found in the Kerameikos containing perhaps as many as 13 graves (Kübler I 17 ff., graves 51–63) enclosed by parallel rectangular borders of stone, with some child burials, not much later than the original inhumations, dug into the low mounds covering these. This orderly planning of the placing of burials did not, however, continue for more than a short time.

Another enclosure of the Geometric period was found in the Agora, adjoining an ancient road (Young I) containing 18 tombs, two other deposits (nos XII, XV) and two child burials which

Brother and sister: *IG* i^2 981 (i^3 1241, Pfohl 33); ? *IG* i^2 1014 (i^3 1261, Pfohl 61, Phrasikleia); *SEG* x 452a, xvi 26 (*IG* i^3 1265, Pfohl 62).
Siblings: *IG* i^2 1016 (i^3 1266, Pfohl 58).
Mother and child?: Boardman II no. 237, NM 4472, *c.* 530, from Anavyssos).
Two males, relation unknown: *SEG* xxi 192 (Pfohl 78); *IG* i^2 1026a (i^3 1255, Pfohl 64).
The number of inscriptions recording relationships is less than 1/3 of the total. The proportion of males to females commemorated, both in inscriptions and in sculptures, is *c.* 6.5:1.

[19] Friedländer no. 59; this however is not the interpretation of Dover 124. *IG* i^2 1022 (Pfohl no. 73) was set up by Peisianax (Davies no. 9688, VIII) to Damasistratos son of Epikles, who was probably not his father or brother. *SEG* xv 74 (*IG* i^3 1205, Pfohl 38) was set up by Terpo for Melissa; if the restoration is right, the expression *sēma tod' e[cheuen]* is rather surprising for a woman.

[20] For a possible tomb-enclosure of Proto-geometric date at Nea Ionia see Smithson I; for Geometric enclosures similar to the Kerameikos 'Plattenbau', Walter 182.

belong to a later period (late seventh–early sixth century) and may not be deliberately associated with the Geometric group, which extends over a period of about 60 years.[21] Six adult skeletons were studied: two adolescent females, one probably young male, and one female of 50–55 from single burials; in graves XIX–XX an individual of indeterminate sex aged 40–45 was buried first and later a male of 30–35 was buried above. Grave IX was a simultaneous burial of two children in a pithos. Dr Lawrence Angel, who studied the skeletons, suggested that there were grounds for thinking this was a family group; the measurements would have to be seen in relation to those of a larger population in order to assess the weight of his arguments, but the conclusion seems *a priori* probable. Another Geometric 'family lot' (Smithson II) contained nine burials.

It was in the Geometric period also that an enclosure was built round nine Middle Helladic tombs in the West cemetery at Eleusis, six of which had been opened in antiquity and, Mylonas suggests (ii 153–4, 262–3), may have been identified as the graves of the six warriors killed in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. Possibly the enclosure of these tombs may have stimulated a few eighth-century Athenian families to honour their own dead in the same way.[22] But the fashion did not spread widely at first. It recurs, as will be seen below, in the classical period.

The essential problem in trying to understand the spatial organisation of archaic cemeteries is the grouping of monuments and mounds; and unfortunately it is extremely difficult to get any clear answer from the evidence so far available. In the Kerameikos, the use of earth brought in from outside to make mounds larger than the small raised area created by the earth removed from the tomb itself begins in the 660s–40s (mound *Θ*). After *c.* 640 shortage of space begins to be noticeable and mounds become smaller and steeper; about 610–600 the use of mounds began to be replaced by the construction of built 'house-tombs' of mud brick. But about 580 a new mound (*Π*) was built *over* those of the seventh century, inaugurating a new series of mounds, mostly smallish, which culminated in the huge Südhügel (*c.* 540) and Mound G (*c.* 555–50), the latter conjecturally identified by the excavator as the tomb of Solon (Kübler III: its huge size and disregard of earlier burials, many of which were shovelled into the fill, suggest that it was a monument set up by the State; the date, *c.* 550, is too early for Pisistratus).[23] Mound G (and the other archaic monuments to be discussed here) lay south-west of the Sacred Way, between it and the 'Weststrasse'; the Südhügel lay south-east of the Weststrasse, behind a pair of public monuments set up (later) to foreign ambassadors who had died at Athens.

Mound G was originally built to cover a single tomb, but twelve or more further shaft graves of comparable richness were dug into its sides not long after the original burial; it seems, therefore, that the kin of the man for whom this heroic monument was erected used it as a family burying ground after his death. The Südhügel covered two shaft graves of which one (Knigge no. 2, HW 52) had been destroyed before the excavation. The other (3, HW 87) contained exceptionally rich finds of mainly East Greek origin, of *c.* 540 B.C. No further related burials were dug into this mound. Knigge suggests that it was a monument set up by Pisistratus to an honoured foreign guest. (She thinks that the mound covered grave 2, HW 52, only accidentally).

Like Mound G, the earlier mounds and built tombs in the area between the Sacred Way and the Weststrasse were erected in the first place to cover single burials and to honour single individuals. Nevertheless, it is possible that monuments belonging to the same family were grouped together.

This is certain in the case of some of the built tombs: q, r and s (graves 42, 43, 45) are adjacent and must have been deliberately placed as a group (*c.* 600–580; tomb 44, next to r, may also belong). The same is true of built tombs t, u and v (early 590s–70s), built on the site of an earlier mound (*P*, 630 or slightly later) and next to mound *Σ* (*c.* 580). Tomb 49, adjacent to this group, had a stele leaning against built tomb u.

Mounds *Ξ* (28, 610–600) and *O* (29, 590s), with the child burial 30 (590s) and the built tombs o (38) with its extension (39) and (?) p (41, 570s–60s), and tomb 40 (570s) also seem to constitute a group. It is much

[21] Coldstream (I) assigns the finds from grave XVI to MG II (*c.* 800–760) and those from grave V to a class of Sub-geometric ware contemporary with early Proto-Attic (*c.* 700).

[22] On the relation between epic, hero-cult and contemporary burials see Andronikos, Bérard, Price, Coldstream II. Snodgrass puts forward a new version of Fustel de Coulanges' views on the relation between tomb-cult—this time in the form of hero-worship—and landed property. I remain sceptical.

[23] Knigge (10–11, n. 26) attributes G to the Alcmaeonidae.

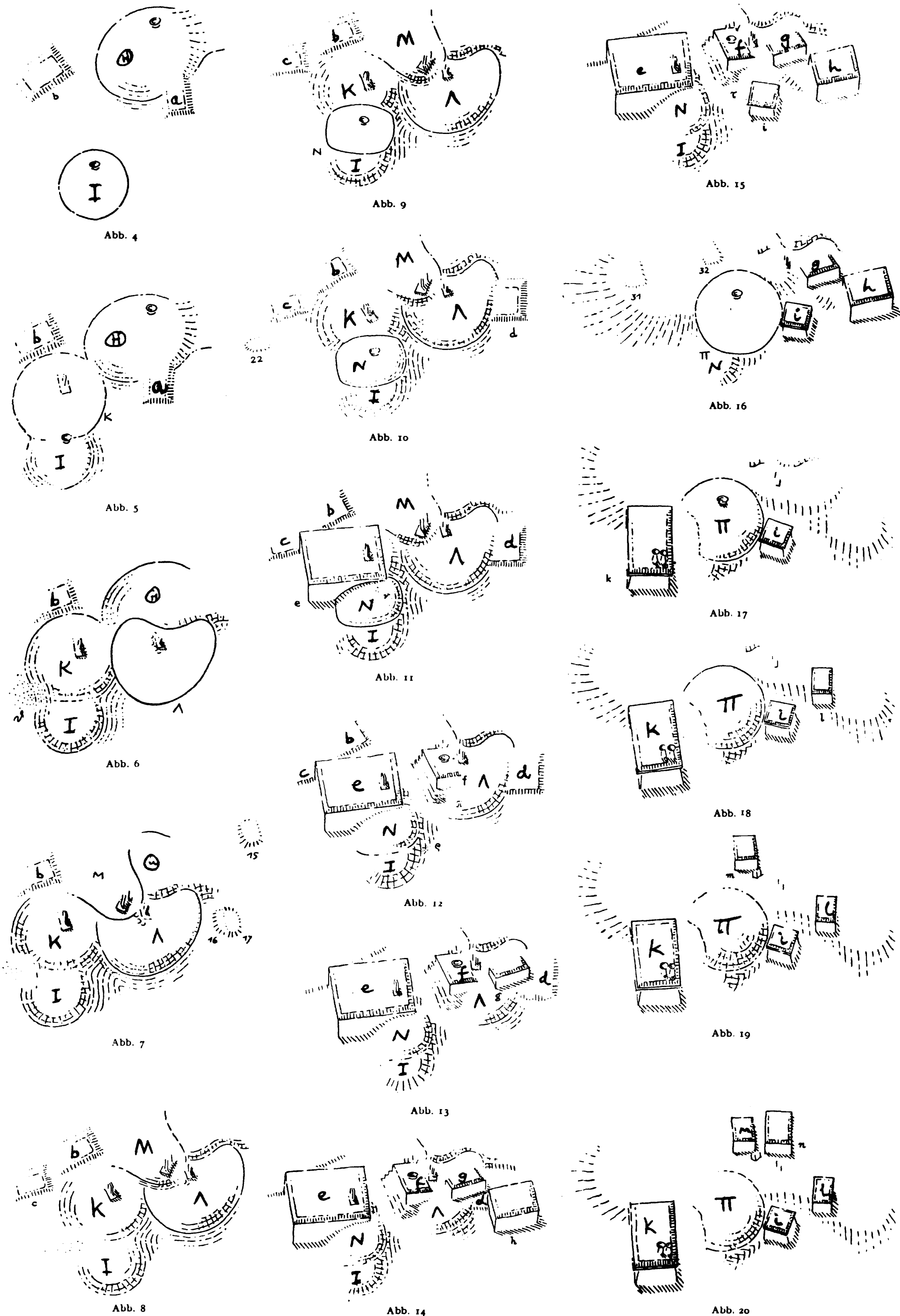


FIG. 1 Kerameikos vi. 1 Abb. 4–20: development of mounds and built tombs on a single site, c. 650–570 B.C. (Courtesy, De Gruyter, Berlin).

more doubtful whether they have any connection with the earlier mounds *E–Z* (tombs 6–7, *c.* 660) which they partially covered.

Kübler (II 16) suggested that mounds *Γ* (690 or soon after), *E* and *Z* (*c.* 660) belonged to a single family and might also be linked to *A* (*c.* 710) and *Δ* (*c.* 680), since the whole group was covered by the large mound *H* in the 660s or 650s.

Adjacent to *H*—perhaps in rivalry?—another large mound, *Θ* (665–60; covering *B*, of *c.* 710) began a new series of monuments (FIG. 1). Two smaller mounds, *Λ* (635–30) and *M* (630s–20s) were built on to the side of it; built tombs b (*c.* 650) and d (*c.* 610) may be associated with *Θ* and *Λ*, respectively; built tomb f (*c.* 600), was built on to the side of the *Θ/Λ/M* complex, and built tombs g–h (*c.* 590) seem to be associated with each other and with d. Built tomb i (early 580s) may also belong with mound *Λ*, although the lapse of time makes this less certain.

A further group consists of mound *I* (650s), the contemporary and adjacent mound *K*, built tomb e on the side of *K* (*c.* 600), mound *N* over mound *I* (*c.* 610), and perhaps built tomb c, adjacent to *K*, of the same date as *N*. The remains of *I/K/N* (together with the ruins of built tomb f of *c.* 610, in the preceding group) were covered *c.* 580 by mound *Π*, and built tomb k was erected beside it *c.* 575–70.

In the crowded conditions of the Kerameikos, it is impossible to say, except in the case of built tombs erected side by side, that these juxtapositions *must* have been the result of the deliberate grouping of family tombs. A sixth-century wall surrounding 48 Geometric and Archaic burials within the city (Young II) gives us little more information. It ought to have been possible to learn more from the archaic mounds and tomb enclosures excavated in the Attic countryside; but unfortunately the excavations of the Greek archaeological service here have produced extremely little published evidence on the point under examination.[24]

The most important site is at Vari. Here Oikonomos and Stavropoulos in 1935–8[25] examined five mounds and two walled tomb enclosures, containing at least six built tombs, with finds running from the late seventh to the middle of the fifth century. One walled enclosure, completely excavated, contained 25 tombs of which 5 were built tombs of stone, one double (21/22, *A*). The largest of these built tombs (24/*B*) was placed in the middle of the enclosure and was a cenotaph.[26] Two of the other burials were pot burials of children. Several sculptured monuments were found in the area (none inscribed), and it was thought that at least some of these may have stood on the periphery wall surrounding the grave-group—which would of course markedly have increased the impression of group unity which the visitor would receive. Mound I contained a (single?) burial of *c.* 620, and later offerings were also thought to be associated with it: the excavators suggested that it might have held the tomb of an official, perhaps a *genarchos*, but no evidence for this assertion was ever supplied (*AA* 1940).[27] Mound III held seven graves, of which two were undisturbed and belonged to the end of the sixth century. Mound V contained burials ranging in date from *c.* 550–450. This excavation does indeed seem to have hit on the remains of the tombs of a part at least of the elite of the deme Anagyrous, but without more precise information on the extent of the cemetery and the dating of the tombs, it is impossible to draw any substantial conclusions from it.

Further excavations in a different area in Vari in 1961–4 (Andreiomenou 37–9; Kallipolitis I, II 112–17) uncovered a wall of the late 6th century which appeared to be part of an enclosure surrounding tombs of the 6th–5th centuries. (There were also late Geometric tombs in the area, but no proof that the builders of the wall were aware of this). Some of these graves were grouped (Kallipolitis I, *taphika ktismata* A, graves 4–8, late 7th century; B, graves 11–12, same date; C, graves 22–25, late 5th century) but none of the groups was large or marked by an impressive monument.[28]

Two large mounds were examined at Anavyssos in 1911 (Kastriotis–Philadelpheus). The excavation of the northern one was rapidly abandoned, but the southern contained more than 25 graves, some of which

[24] It would also be desirable to make a comparative study of the grouping of tumuli on other Greek sites. *Cf.* esp. Boehlau–Schefold; and Hammond II for the geographical distribution and possible origins of tumulus burial.

[25] FIG. 2; *AA* 1936 124–5 (Karo), 1937 121–4 (Riemann), 1940 175–8 (Walter); *BCH* 1937 450–1 (Lemerle). *Cf.* also Stais III.

[26] If this is the meaning of the report that the tomb was empty.

[27] Bourriot examines possible evidence for *genos* tombs in Attica, with negative results.

[28] Kallipolitis refers to a 'low mound' covering the whole site, but it is not clear whether he regards this as intentional and monumental.

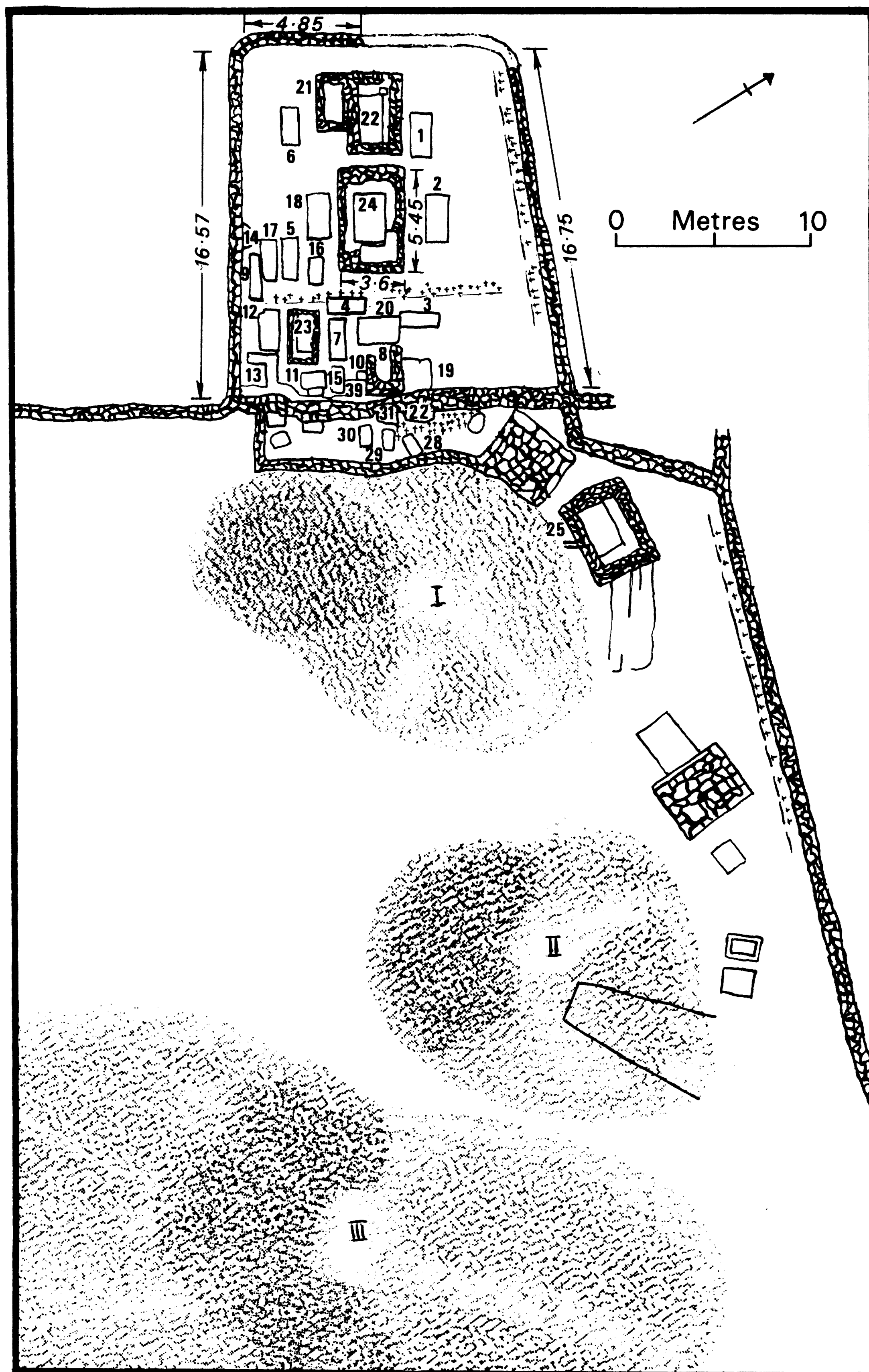


Fig. 2 Archaic cemetery at Vari (drawn by Richard Davidson of the Cartographic Unit, U.C.L., from the plans published in *BCH* lxi [1937] 450 and *AA* 1940 cols 177–8, fig. 34).

were Late Geometric in date (Coldstream I: LG Ib–IIb), while others were 6th-century. No full report or plan was ever published.

In 1890, V. Stais excavated mounds at Petreza, Velanideza and Vourva (Stais I, II; Helbig). The Petreza mound (middle sixth century: *ABV* 347, Athens 1055) covered only a single tomb, with further burials dug into the mound later. At Vourva the mound covered two built tombs (*A–B*) and a small stone mound (*Γ*), all three of which had previously been free-standing, plus a fourth tomb, *Δ*, with which the mound must have been contemporary. It is dated *c.* 580 by Kübler (II 95 ff.), and tombs *A–Γ* were not very much earlier. Still within a short span of time, three more burials were made in the side of the mound. If this was a family burial ground, it belonged to a limited group and was not in use for long. The mound at Velanideza was erected over a double built tomb, *E/Z*, and an inhumation, *H*, assigned by tomb type to approximately the same period as the Vourva graves, but supplying no definite dating evidence. Later burials were made in the sides of the mound and in the adjacent peribolos in the late sixth century and later—some apparently even in Roman times.

The archaeological evidence on burial in archaic Attica is thus unsatisfactory and difficult to interpret. It seems that there was a gradual escalation in the size of the mounds heaped up over those given 'heroic' burial (although for a time built mud brick tombs, some hung with painted plaques—a fashion perhaps started because of shortage of room in the Kerameikos—were a popular alternative); and that the large size of some of these mounds encouraged their re-use by members of the same family content with reflected glory instead of an individual monument. Except in the case of the Vourva mound and Mound G in the Kerameikos, where the numbers involved were small and the period limited, the evidence does not allow us to judge how long such secondary burials continued without break.

Few literary references give historical data on burials of the archaic period, but Herodotus (vi 103) records that Kimon Koalemos, who won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia in three successive festivals and was allegedly assassinated by the sons of the tyrant Pisistratus in 527, shortly after his third victory, was buried 'in front of the city, beyond the road leading through Koilē' (SW of the city, probably beside the Piraeus road) with his horses 'opposite him' (on the other side of the road?).[29] This must have been a sensational funeral, and may indeed have helped to provide motivation for the undated law restricting funerary extravagance quoted by Cicero. The monument was a well-known landmark, and other members of the family were later buried in the same area: possibly Kimon son of Miltiades in *c.* 449 (Plut. *Cim.* 19.5; but this may be an erroneous inference from the fact that the area was known as *ta Kimoneia mnēmata*), certainly his sister Elpinike (Plut. *Cim.* 4), and perhaps the historian Thucydides (Davies 233; Marcellin. *Vita Thuc.* 17, 55). Davies 310 suggests that Kimon Koalemos may have lived in this area; but all we can say for certain is that his brother Miltiades held land in Lakiadai to the north-west, and that the family's attachment to the *genos* Philaidai *prima facie* connects them with the Brauron area. In any case, there is no reason to suppose that Kimon I and his horses were placed in a burial ground already appropriated by the family. It was no doubt the ostentation of his monuments which attracted other burials later.

According to Demetrius of Phaleron (*ap.* Plut. *Arist.* 1, 27; *FGrH* 228 F 43, 45; Wehrli I, F 95–6) Aristides was given a state funeral and buried at Phaleron, where his tomb was pointed out to later visitors, on his own land. But this information may not be reliable; a state burial in a family burying-ground on private land seems strange, and Phaleron was not Aristides' deme.

After the Persian wars, archaeological evidence for funerary monuments in Attica almost entirely disappears for about 50 years, with the exception of the representations of tombs on vases. Pictures of visits to the tomb on white-ground lekythoi, from the second quarter of the fifth century onwards, show that small, steep individual mounds, often crowned with stelai, continued to be erected. One lekythos (New York, Met. Mus. 35.11.5, Vouni painter: Kurtz pl. 26.2) shows a double mound; two others show a woman sitting between two mounds and touching both (Athens 2026, *ARV*[2] 761/9, Tymbos painter; Athens 19354, *ARV*[2] 1168/131 bis, painter of Munich 2335). Three of these classical mounds have been excavated, two outside the Erian Gates

[29] *Cf.* burial of two horses in the Kerameikos, *c.* 400 B.C., Freytag 33 no. 15 (VEck 9); further references in Andronikos.

(Bruckner–Pernice 95–100; Grace) one in the 'Tauros' cemetery south of the city (Schilardis II, III). One of those outside the Erian Gates (Grace) covered three burials of the second quarter of the fifth century (A, E–F), and a further burial (B) was dug into the mound about 450 or later. The others covered single burials.

For the fifth century there is a fair amount of scattered evidence for multiple burials in the same grave (a systematic search would no doubt add to this list):

Soteriades 38: in the classical cemetery at Marathon, grave 12 contained teeth of both an adult and a child.

Schilardis III: in the Tauros cemetery, grave 2 (*c.* 425–10 B.C.) contained two adults of undetermined sex.

Hondius: double tomb of the late 5th century near Hagios Kosmas, containing an adult (?) below and a child above.

Alexandres III 32–5, cemetery at Achilleás and Iasonos 52, on the Kolonos road: of 29 classical tombs reported, four contained two burials (XV, XXII, XXIV, end of the 5th century; I, early 4th century) and one contained three bodies (XXVI, last third of the 5th century).

ibid. 144–6, graves at Psaromelingou 6 and Kalogerou Samouel: of 20 5th-century tombs reported, two (XIV, XVI) contained double burials.

Mylonas: in the west cemetery at Eleusis tomb *Z* 17, a sarcophagus, contained a man buried about 465–55 B.C. and a child buried about 430; tomb *E* 25 contained a woman and child buried simultaneously, about 475–50.

Freytag 35–6, 3 siblings (?) buried successively in graves 11–13, *c.* 430. *Cf.* Bingen II 52 nos 65–7, 3 cremation pyres on the same spot in rapid succession, in the 5th century.

Some of these cases might belong to the period of the plague (on which see Thuc. ii 52), but not all; and many of those who died in the plague will have been cremated, making detection of multiple burials unlikely.

There may conceivably be an allusion to joint burial on the stele of Ampharete, which shows her holding a baby: her epitaph says, 'I hold the son of my daughter, whom I used to hold on my knees when we both saw the light of the sun: now, dead, I hold him, dead too'.[30] But the reference may well be to the sculptured representation alone.

From a later period (the end of the fourth century) we have the instructions in Aristotle's will that his wife Pythias, 'according to her own wish', is to be exhumed and reburied with him (D.L. v. 16)—a valuable warning that the circumstances underlying multiple burials may be more complex than we might otherwise imagine. (*Cf.* Eur. *Alc.* 365–8.)

Towards the latter part of the fifth century we also find the beginning of the practice of surrounding groups of graves with a stone peribolos, which was to lead to the monumental family tomb-enclosures of the fourth century.[31]

The cemetery at Thorikos seems to have been already laid out in 'terraces' at this period:[32] terrace 18 contained two tombs of *c.* 450 B.C., one of a newborn child (Bingen I, III). The series of monumental periboloi along the sacred way from the settlement at Rhamnous to the temple of Nemesis, currently being excavated, is thought to begin in the middle of the 5th century with a circular monument which held bases for three stone vases, probably a loutrophoros and two lekythoi. (Pottery dated 475–50 was found nearby, but there is no firm dating evidence from within the peribolos.) It is to be hoped that these tombs, when thoroughly studied and published, will provide valuable information about the development of family tomb precincts in the 5th–4th centuries. At present only brief reports are available (*Ergon* 1975 7–11; 1976 3–8; 1977 7–12; Petrakos I, II). Various curved walls in the West cemetery at Eleusis were interpreted as

[30] *IG* ii² 10650, Pfohl no. 104, Clairmont no. 23, *c.* 410 B.C. Clairmont thinks that the stele was bought ready-made, on the grounds that the woman looks too young to be a grandmother; but an Athenian woman could be a grandmother by 30.

[31] R. Garland is compiling a catalogue of classical periboloi in Attica. The connection between periboloi fronting on roads and larger enclosures such as that at Vari, and also the relation between the development of private periboloi and the architectural history of state graves, remain to be clarified. The practice of marking graves with stone *horoi* also begins in the 5th century (Karouzou I); a collection of these would be useful.

[32] Thorikos terrace 3 has burials from the late 6th century, but all 7 burials were of children. The use of terraces continued into the 4th century, but most contained only a few graves.

peribolos walls, but few of them were sufficiently preserved to give a clear indication which graves they had enclosed. The best preserved was in section *I*, enclosing 16 5th-century graves, of which only two belonged to adults (Mylonas ii nos *I*. 9–15, 17–22, 27–9). This does not look like a family group.

In the area round the city itself, Vierneisel has published a peribolos of *c.* 420 B.C. on the north side of the Sacred Way; it seems to be possible to trace a continuous evolution from mud-brick structures to stone periboloi on this site. The imposing peribolos and complex of monuments commemorating Dexileos and his family, discussed further below, was probably laid out in 394. There were periboloi in the mainly 5th-century cemetery on the site of the Royal Stables excavated in the 1920s, but the excavation was never published (Kyparisses 70; Karouzou I). In a cemetery area containing burials of *c.* 425–390 excavated by Charitonides I several single graves were enclosed by peribolos walls, and one such wall enclosed a group of five burials, identified by the associated finds as one adult female, one adult of uncertain sex, one young male and an infant. The final burial was unidentifiable.

VI. Commemorative Monuments of the Classical Period: Stress on Family Unity

Sculptured monuments begin again at about the time of the beginning of the Peloponnesian war; it has been suggested that this renewal may reflect an upsurge of piety towards the dead after the plague of 429/8, in reaction against the disregard of normal burial practices forced on the city during the emergency (Fuchs 241–2; Stupperich). However, the representations of elaborate tomb-markers on vases shows that the wish to set up such monuments existed well before the plague, even if the practice was rare.[33] The representations on these reliefs of the late fifth century onwards are from the beginning markedly domestic in character. Even when the dead is portrayed as a warrior, very often he is shown taking leave of a family group containing women and small children. The atmosphere of the reliefs is private and non-heroic, and the same is true of classical epitaphs.[34]

In order to understand this change it is necessary to look at the painted vases which (to some extent at least) took the place of sculptured monuments during the Pentecontaetia. (Some were placed inside the tomb, but others, to judge from the representations of tombs on the vases themselves, stood over it on a plinth or stepped mound which was often represented as crowned by a stele.)

It is difficult to be sure how far these vases, in their depiction of tombs, adhere to actual usage, and how far they represent wishful thinking. It seems plausible that one of the reasons for the popularity of representations of tombs, and of the visits of survivors to tend them, was that families which hankered after impressive grave monuments of the types forbidden by law could at least flank the tomb with vases which showed what they would have liked to do. This seems particularly likely in the cases where the vases represent statues on or beside the tomb: the life-size equestrian statue of the huge red-figure loutrophoros, Athens (ex Schliemann)–Berlin 3209 (PLATE III*a*, *c.* 440–30; Bakalakis), and the two miniature Praxitelean athlete figures on the white-ground lekythos, Boston Mus. of Fine Arts 01. 8080 (Kurtz pl. 31.1, shortly after 450; *cf.* pl. 36.3, Athens 1938). The tall, narrow shape of the vases used for this purpose, lekythoi and loutrophoroi, would encourage painters to exaggerate the height of mounds and stelai. Nevertheless, a painted representation of a monument was not the same thing as the monument itself. It did not draw the attention of the passer-by in the same way; it would scarcely be noticed except by those who already belonged to the circle of the dead's kin and friends—and it is, I believe, with

[33] We really do not know what was meant by the prohibition of 'herms' in the law on funerary monuments quoted by Cicero, nor whether the Athenians regarded this law as still in force after the Persian wars.

[34] Contrast the public or semi-public monument erected to Pythion, probably in 446 B.C., *IG* i² 1085+ (*IG* i³ 1353, ML no. 51, Pfohl no. 91; erected by the three tribes whose names appear at the end of the inscription?). In the 6th century, the family is represented in pictures of *prothesis* and *ekphora*, which often include children (*cf.* especially the Louvre plaque MNB 905, Sappho Painter, *c.* 500, in which each member of the family is labelled with a kin term); some of these, painted on plaques or vases intended to stand over the tomb, were intended as permanent monuments. But they are statements about the performance of funeral rites rather than statements about the identity of the dead. There are in fact two different cultural changes taking place during the period under study: a shift of emphasis from funeral rites to commemorative monuments, and a change in the conceptions of identity embodied in the latter.

the substitution of painted vases for monumental sculpture that the radius of those whose attention is claimed by the tomb narrows to this circle.

To some extent, therefore, the tomb-vases are already much closer in spirit to the sculptured monuments of the late fifth and fourth centuries than to those of the period before the Persian wars. This is confirmed by some coincidence in themes: for instance, the white-ground lekythos Berlin (W.) Staat. Mus. 2443 (PLATE II *b*, *c*. 450) shows a seated woman and a nurse holding a child. The latter theme occurs again in the third quarter of the century on B.M. 1007.7–10.10; and a small child is commemorated, embarking in Charon's boat with his go-cart, on New York, Met. Mus. 09. 221. 44, a little later. Very similar scenes and figures can be found on relief stelai.[35]

There are, however, differences between the painted funerary vases and the later sculptured monuments. The vases give a much more central position to the dead, and very often (though not invariably) recognise the fact of death much more openly than the reliefs (Thimme). They show *prothesis* themes (but not funeral processions); they occasionally show (sometimes in mythical dress) the moment of burial.[36] They convey the sense of a personal relationship between the dead and the mourner (or mourners: but often there is only one) who comes to care for the tomb. One may be reminded of the recurrent theme of offerings to Agamemnon's tomb in the Electra tragedies, and of Antigone's insistence on burying Polynices. At the same time, however, the vases clearly *separate* the dead from the living. In the pictures showing visits to the tomb, there is very seldom any ambiguity about the identity of the dead, when he or she is represented. To some extent at least the lekythos is conceived as a communication addressed *to* the dead rather than a statement *about* him or her: a statement about the grief which this death has caused, a reassurance to the dead that he is not forgotten. It is in keeping with the double function of these vase-paintings, as statements both about the continuing communication between the living and the dead and about the care shown by the living to commemorate the dead, that in some of them it is not clear whether the painter is representing a sculptured monument or a memory-image of the dead (PLATES II*a*, *c*, III*a*).

Relief sculptures, on the contrary, rarely include funerary monuments in their figured scenes. The dead is shown as if still alive, and very often as a member of a united family group. (Such representations are rare on vases: Athens 1762, Riezler pl. 66, ARV^2 1241, shows the dead boy standing in front of his tomb with his father and mother on either side of it.) It is difficult in many cases to decide which of the persons represented is the one who has died (*cf.* Clairmont 55–71). This ambiguity is partly due to the fact that many relief monuments would stand on the façade of a peribolos intended eventually to contain the tombs of all those depicted in the relief. The tombstone of Dionysios of Oenoe was set up to commemorate 'of those before', his father and uncle (*theios*, FB?), *and* 'those portrayed in the picture'—Dionysios and other living members of his family (*IG* ii² 6971; Clairmont no. 67, beginning of the fourth century). Kirchner thought that many of the stelai which list several members of the same family in a single hand were set up when the first member of the group died (*ad IG* ii² 5235).[37]

However, this concern to provide for future burials (or in some cases to commemorate those of the past) is not the only reason for the stress on family unity in the tomb reliefs of the late fifth and fourth centuries. These representations and inscriptions, and the peribolos frame which surrounded them—which rapidly took on more elaborate architectural forms—gave monumental expression to the images of domestic life which had developed earlier in the more intimate art of vase-painting.[38] (In the fourth century, similarly, New Comedy made a major dramatic genre out of the family intrigues previously presented to the Athenian public in the sketchy narratives of courtroom speeches). The achievements and virtues commemorated in epitaphs are now, in the great majority of cases, those of family life.

[35] See Karouzou I, Zapheiropoulos.

[36] Toledo Mus. Art 69.369, Akrisios, Perseus and Danae (Kurtz pl. 37.2, shortly before 450); B.M. D.58, Thanatos Painter, Hypnos and Thanatos burying a warrior (Kurtz pl. 32.4, 450–25). One lekythos shows the dead man inside the tomb (B.M. D.35, Kurtz pl. 23.1, 475/50). A BF loutrophoros-amphora (NM 450, Kurtz–Boardman pl. 36) and a BF bail-amphora (Lausanne, coll. Gillet; Kurtz–Boardman pls. 37–8), both by the Sappho Painter, show actual burials.

[37] This being so, it is of some importance, when stelai of this kind are found, that the excavators of the associated periboloi should check whether the number and sex of the burials corresponds to the names on the stone, if this is possible.

[38] *Cf.* Metzger on domestic themes in the vase-painting of the second half of the 5th century.

A new phenomenon in the inscriptions of this period, in complete contrast to those of the sixth century, is the celebration of longevity.

The well-known relief of Ampharete and her grandson, *c.* 410 (*IG* ii^2 10650), has already been mentioned. *IG* ii^2 6288 (Clairmont no. 26) and 11998 (Peek, *GVI* 499) both commemorate grandmothers also, as does *IG* ii^2 5673 (set up by the woman's sister, who intends to be buried with her in due course). Lysimache, priestess of Athena Polias for 64 years in the late 5th–early 4th century, died when over 80 (or over 90) and had lived to see four generations (*genē*) of descendants (*IG* ii^2 3453; Davies no. 4549). A tomb enclosure at Rhamnous held the remains of Euphranor son of Euphron of Rhamnous, who lived to the age of 105, with his two sons, daughter, grandson (SS), a female relative[39] and another woman, probably wife of a son (*Ergon* 1975 7–9; Petrakos I 6–11 with pl. 3). Another 4th-century monument commemorates a man who lived to be 100 (Davaras; Clairmont no. 55 bis; *SEG* xxiv 256); *IG* ii^2 5452, a man of 90 (Clairmont no. 58); Pantos publishes the epitaph of a 90-year-old woman, buried by her daughter; *IG* ii^2 p. 879, 5421a (Clairmont no. 65) commemorates a grandfather; *IG* ii^2 13098 (Clairmont no. 72) a man of 70.

Sophrosynē is already a virtue commemorated by stelai of the second half of the sixth century, but a civic virtue, of men; by the late fifth century it extends also to women and children, and has begun to take on some of the tone of the modern Greek *phronimos* (North 13–14, 252–3). The late fifth-century epitaph of Aristylla, daughter of Ariston and Rhodille (*IG* i^2 1058=i^{3}1311, *c.* 430; Clairmont no. 27, Pfohl no. 113) ends with a direct address to her, *σωφρών γ' ὦ θύγατερ*—'what a good girl you were!' Dionysia is praised by her husband Antiphilos for loving him and *sophrosyne* more than clothes and jewellery (*IG* ii^2 11162, *GVI* 1810; after 350). Another wife is praised as hard-working and thrifty (*ergatis kai pheidolos*; Nikarete, *IG* ii^2 12254, *GVI* 328, before 350).[40]

Sixth-century grave monuments set up to children by their mourning parents represent those of their qualities that even a stranger could admire: beauty, courage, the flowering of youth. Fourth-century memorials are more intimate. The tombstone of the young boy Philostratos son of Philoxenos tells us that he was named after his father's father and that his parents nicknamed him 'chatterbox' (Neollarion; *IG* ii^2 12974, Clairmont no. 17, *GVI* 1499, after 350). As in relief sculptures such as that of Mnesagora and Nikochares, *c.* 420 (*IG* ii^2 12147, Pfohl no. 117, Conze no. 887, Stupperich no. 158) and in the funerary lekythoi of the later fifth century (e.g. Athens 1936, Riezler pl. 77, *ARV*^{2} 1239; Athens 12771, Riezler pl. 3, *ARV*^{2} 743), so too in inscriptions there is a new attempt to present toddlers with the characteristics of their age, instead of portraying them as miniature adults.[41] Neollarion was a 'comfort and delight' (*paramythion*) to his parents. The reality of the loss brought to the family by death is made vivid by detailed information. The epitaph of Xenokleia (*IG* ii^2 12335, *GVI* 1985, *c.* 360) tells us not only that she died of grief for the death of her eight-year-old son at sea, but also that she left two daughters not yet married. Kratista, daughter of Damainetas and wife of Archemachos, died in childbirth and left her husband with an orphan child (*IG* ii^2 11907, *GVI* 548, after 350).[42] Telemachos, son of Spoudokrates, of Phlya, is remembered by all his fellow-citizens for his virtue and sadly missed by his children and wife; he lies buried beside his mother, maintaining his devotion to her even in death (*IG* ii^2 7711, *GVI* 1386, 390–60). A husband addresses his buried wife and is answered by her, 'Greetings, and kiss my family for me' (*IG* ii^2 12067, Clairmont no. 39, *GVI* 1387).

With the exception of the monuments to the very old, verse epitaphs and reliefs do not emphasize the continuity of a lineage over time; they portray the intimate relationships of the nuclear family in an idealised, timeless present. Piety to dead ancestors is not their theme. Only a few inscriptions and periboloi contradict this impression. A stele of the first half of the fourth century from near Markopoulo (Etienne) lists in a single hand the names of a father, son and

[39] Presumably Habrylla was the wife of Euphron, after whom she is listed, and Phainarete daughter of Kleophon the wife of Euthyphron. She was probably also a relative of the family, to judge from her name.

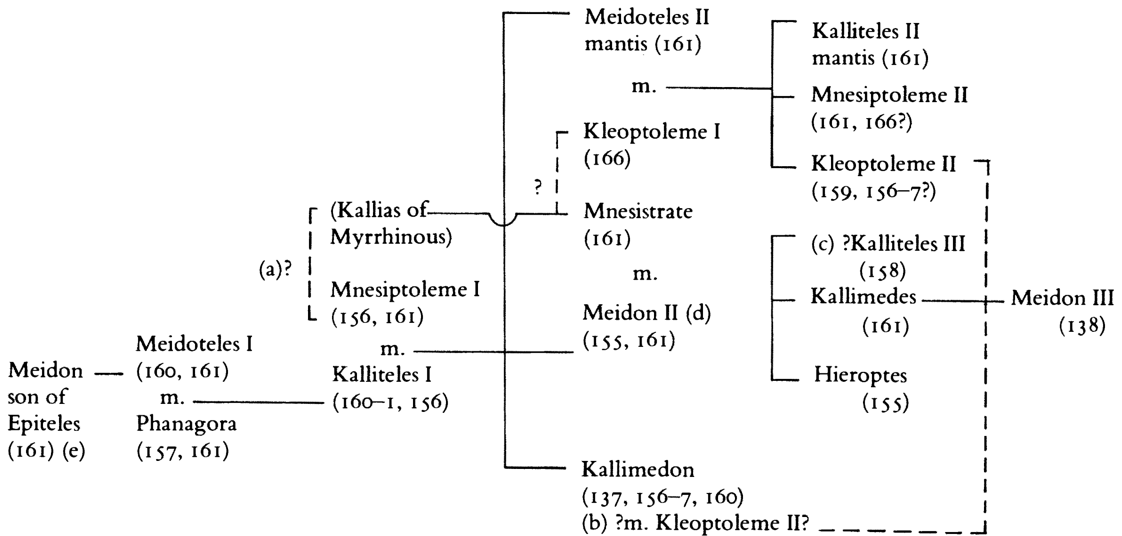
[40] *Cf.* the more general praise of a wife in *IG* ii^2 6551, and the stones set up to nurses: *SEG* xxi 1075; Möbius 156–7; Karouzou II; Alexandres III 68.

[41] *Cf.* Ariès I, Stone. The change in the visual representation of children in the 5th century is illustrated in PLATES II*b*, III *b*.

[42] On representations of childbirth set up over the tombs of women who died in this way see Möbius 155, Asgari–Fıratlı no. 1.

TABLE I

Peribolos of Meidon of Myrrhinous (*SEG* xxiii 161 + 137–8, 155–8, 160, 166; on 137 see further *SEG* xxv 258)



(a) The linked names Mnesiptoleme, Kleoptoleme, Mnesistrate, suggest that all three women came from the same family. The simplest assumption is that Kallias, father of Mnesistrate (and of Kleoptoleme I?) was the brother of Mnesiptoleme, with two *epikleroi* daughters claimed by their cousins (FZS) as next-of-kin.

(b) Kallimedon is represented on 137 as a youth, but his epitaph mentions *hymenaia* and he was not commemorated by a loutrophoros, so it appears that he died soon after marrying. He appears on relief lekythoi with
(i) Kalliteles (F) and Meidoteles (FF or B): *SEG* xxiii 160
(ii) Phanagora (FM) and Kleoptoleme: 157
(iii) Kalliteles (F), Mnesiptoleme (M) and Kleoptoleme: 156
It seems quite possible that he married his niece (BD) Kleoptoleme II, and that it is she rather than her mother who figures on these lekythoi. (If so, the 12-year-old daughter of Meidoteles II and Kleoptoleme I commemorated on no. 166 cannot be she, but may be Mnesiptoleme II). On the other hand, since Kleoptoleme I is not named on no. 161, she presumably outlived all those listed there, and may have played a very active part in organising the peribolos monuments.

(c) No. 158 represents a small boy with bird and ball, called Kalliteles. I have suggested that he may be a first son of Meidon II (named according to convention after his father's father) who died in childhood; but obviously no certainty on this point is possible.

(d) Probably the councillor Meidon of Myrrhinous of ? 336/5 B.C. Charitonides, line 174.

(e) A funerary stele of Meidon son of Epiteles of Myrrhinous was published by N. Kotzias in *Ethnos* July 20, 1948 (quoted by Charitonides II), but dated 'fourth to third centuries B.C.'; it is not clear whether this can belong to Meidon I or must be attributed to a later descendant not recorded elsewhere.

grandson from the deme of Oē and of four women, presumably the wives of these three and of a fourth male member of the family, who has set up this monument to commemorate his ancestors and his wife, and intends that his own name shall be added to it when he dies. *IG* ii² 6218 lists members of three generations of a single family in the same hand, and may have been set up by the daughter in the third generation.

An even more remarkable stele was found in a peribolos at Myrrhinous (Merenda), listing 11 members of the same family, spanning six generations.[43] The peribolos contained monuments to 18 members of the family in all (see further below, p. 120 f. and TABLE I). It must be noted that this was a family of religious specialists.

The only other group of comparable size is attested, less precisely, in a literary source. The speaker of [Dem.] xliii, who takes great pains to present himself as a member of an *oikos* of impeccable solidarity and piety towards the dead (Thompson III) claims that the descendants of

[43] See TABLE I; my reconstruction differs slightly from that of Mastrokostas I. Robert Garland, who kindly examined the stone for me, thinks that there are 5 or 6 different hands: Hand I, lines 1–4 (Meidon I, Meidoteles I, Phanagora); Hand II, 5–9 (Kalliteles I and Mnesiptoleme); Hand III, 10–19 (Meidon II, Mnesistrate, Meidoteles II); Hand IV, 20–5 (Kalliteles II and Kallimedes); Hand V, Mnesiptoleme II; Hand VI?, the epigram for Kalliteles II. The stone might well have been erected initially, therefore, by Kalliteles I.

Bouselos, his great-great-grandfather (MFFF, also MMPaFF) shared a common burial ground ([Dem.] xliii 79). According to the information given in Isaeus xi and [Dem.] xliii, this burial place might have contained at the time of the latter speech up to 22 members of the family (not counting those who died before producing offspring) spanning four generations. Probably the number was smaller, but the speaker's boasts of family solidarity are to some extent supported by the range of kin who agreed to come and act as his witnesses on genealogical matters (*cf.* Davies Table I, no. 2921).[44] This solidarity, and the genealogical knowledge which went with it, had no doubt been encouraged by the lawsuits over the estate of Hagnias with which the two speeches are connected: the estate was large and all those who considered they might have a claim to it kept a close and watchful eye on each other. It was also fostered by intermarriage (five cases of cousin marriage in the group, Thompson I) as was also the case, I have suggested, in the family of Meidon of Myrrhinous. There is also, however, some sign of interest in traditional religion among the descendants of Bouselos. One of his grandsons (SS) had held the office of *basileus*, making him for a year the head of the Athenian state in all religious matters, and the fact was remembered with pride ([Dem.] xliii 42–3).

But both archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggest that groups of this size were unusual. Many periboloi enclosed only two or three graves, or at most half a dozen.[45] The fourth-century mound of Eukoline in the Kerameikos held only four or five (Schlorb-Vierneisel 77–8). Inscriptions tell the same story. A count of the family relationships attested on *c.* 600 fourth-century tombstones shows that only a small proportion commemorated more than one to four individuals. It is true that some memorials to individuals or small groups may have stood originally in family enclosures holding the graves of a wider family circle;[46] few were found *in situ*, so there is no means of telling how many. But the classical cemeteries so far excavated show that large monumental periboloi were the exception rather than the rule.

A count of *c.* 600 fourth-century funerary inscriptions of Athenian citizens, giving deme affiliations, from *IG* ii^2, gave the following results. The majority of tombstones were set up to single individuals,[47] 234 to men and 102 to women. 88 tombstones commemorate a husband and wife together (contrast the complete absence of memorials of this category in sixth-century Attica). Husband and wife with a child or children account for 50 definite cases, and 15 more stones are probably to be so interpreted. 34 stones commemorate a father with a child or children (plus 15 doubtful cases); 7 stones (plus 5 doubtful cases) a mother with a child or children. Twelve stones (plus four doubtful cases) commemorate pairs of siblings.[48]

[44] If we assume that Oinanthe was the daughter of Habron and not of Kleokritos, the witnesses Stratonides II and his brother (§§ 36, 44) were the claimant's third cousins once removed through his father's mother (FMMFZSSS). Archemachos, whose grandson (DS) and adoptive son witnessed in §§ 37 and 45, may have been Oinanthe's brother, and his grandson the brother of the claimant's paternal grandmother. Sosias, witness in §§ 37 and 46, was the claimant's paternal grandfather.

[45] In the 4th c. peribolos at St John Rente south of the city (Kallipolitis–Petrakos 46–50) there were 7 marble sarcophagi, 1 clay larnax, 2 child burials in larnakes, and a third in an additional compartment attached to the side of the peribolos (the skeletons were 'excellently preserved', but do not seem to have been studied). All finds were 4th c. except 6 coins of types usually attributed to the early 3rd c. A peribolos at Glyphada (Liakouras 159–60) held 7 sarcophagi and one pit burial. A round funerary monument of *c.* 380 (Amandry 525–6) had two burials, a father and son. A 'burial terrace' of the 2nd/3rd quarter of the 4th c. (Alexandres I) had 6 graves, one a child's, statues of 3 women and a girl, and a lekythos with a relief of 2 men. Thorikos terrace 4 held 3 graves (Bingen III 74–7). See further below on inscriptions.

[46] Of the 10 tomb-monuments found in the peribolos of Meidon's descendants (TABLE I), 5 commemorated (and represented) single individuals.

[47] The count was made on 4th c. tombstones in *IG* ii^2 which included demotics. If stones without demotics had been included, the proportion of monuments to single individuals would have been still higher; the proportion of women would probably also have risen. Tombstones of women, in all but 17 cases, find a place among those with demotics through the identification of the woman by reference to a male guardian. Husband and father are both named in 12 cases, father alone in 16 cases, husband alone in 8 cases. On 49 stones the relationship is expressed solely by the genitive case; I am not sure whether this could be used for the husband as well as for the father. Where not identified by reference to a male, women's stones have the demotic with a *-then* ending: e.g. *IG* ii^2 6285, 6897; *cf.* Linders 7–8 n. 5, Bradeen II no. 117.

[48]

Husband and wife with son(s) and daughter(s)	11+ ?2
Husband and wife with son(s) alone	24+ ?5
Husband and wife with daughter(s) alone	15+ ?8
Father and son(s)	30+?13
Mother and son	2+ ?1
Father and daughter	4+ ?2
Mother and daughter?	5+ ?4
Brother and brother	7+ ?3
Brother and sister	5+ ?1

37 inscriptions record larger groups which will be analysed further below; these include stones found too recently to have been included in the *IG* sample. These inscriptions, the only ones which group together persons who were not at some stage in their lives members of the same nuclear family, thus represent well under 5% of the total of fourth-century Attic grave monuments.

Apart from the joint burials of siblings already recorded, six inscriptions commemorate a set of siblings together with one or more spouses: two brothers and the wife of one on *IG* ii^2 5970 (different hands) and 6551 (in the latter case with an epigram for the wife, and the name of a second woman, perhaps daughter of the married couple, added later); a brother and sister with the brother's wife on *IG* ii^2 6476 (one hand); a brother and sister with (presumably) the spouses of both on *IG* ii^2 6216 (one hand); probably a brother and sister with the sister's husband on *IG* ii^2 5479 and 5712 (Agora 81, different hands). Further relatives of the sibling pair commemorated on ii^2 5479 (found at Sepolia near the Academy) were buried on Salamis, as was the brother's son (Davies no. 4719). *IG* ii^2 5753 commemorates two brothers and a sister with (probably) the spouses of one brother and the sister; the names of two other women were added later (Peek I no. 365). These cases are interesting because they show one partner in a marriage being separated in burial from his or her family of origin in order that the other partner can maintain both the close bond of siblingship and the marriage tie. Of course it is more common for a woman to be buried with the family of her husband than for a man to be buried with the kin of his wife, but the latter situation does occur.[49]

Other stones group together the offspring of siblings: cousins, or uncles and aunts with nephews and nieces. *IG* ii^2 5768[50] commemorates Stratonides son of Eudoros of Aphidna with Eudemos son of Euphanes of Aphidna, who died as a child—perhaps a brother's son who died while under his uncle's guardianship. *IG* ii^2 5676–8, found in a group in the Kerameikos, commemorated Olympiodorus son of Olympichos of Anaphlystos with his wife and son (Olympichos II) and his brother's son (Olympichos III, son of Nautes). Olympiodoros had two brothers, apparently buried elsewhere, and probably a second son (Davies no. 13905). *IG* ii^2 6006 commemorates Kallistratos son of Kallistratides of Rhamnous with his wife and son and Kallistrate daughter of Menedemos of Rhamnous—probably Kallistratos' brother's daughter. *IG* ii^2 6346 (one hand) was set up for the brothers Antisthenes and Androkles II, sons of Androkles I of Kephale, with Phanostrate, wife of either Androkles I or Androkles II, and Antisthenes son of Alkisthenes of Kephale who must have been a first cousin (FBS) of his homonym. *IG* ii^2 5533, with 5541 and 5579, all found at Trachones, were set up for Aristion son of Peithias of Halimous, his wife and (probably) his mother; on ii^2 5533 the name of his cousin Aristion son of Perichares of Halimous was added later. *IG* ii^2 5954 again commemorates two homonymous cousins (FBS), Philonides son of Aischylides and Philonides son of Philokrates, both of Gargettos, plus a third man,]on son of Architekton of Thorikos. *IG* ii^2 7319 commemorates Sotairos son of Sokrates of Prospalta and Sotairos son of Deinon of Piraeus: one is probably mother's brother's son to the other, named after his maternal grandfather.[51] *IG* ii^2 5501–4, all found at Brauron, commemorate Mnesarchos son of Mnesippos I of Halai Araphenides (5502) with his two sons, Mnesippos II (5504) and Mnesarchides (5501), plus Mnesippos III son of Mnesagoras (the latter presumably a brother of Mnesarchos) with his wife (5503), and Mnesippos IV son of Charitaios of Halai, who is commemorated together with Mnesarchides (5501) and was perhaps his father's sister's son.[52] *IG* ii^2 6097, from Liopesi, commemorates Apolexis son of Euaion of Erchia (also named on *IG* ii^2 6109), with his son Eualkides and with Eualkos son of Eualkos of Erchia, who was probably the nephew (BS) of either Euaion or Apolexis. Delias daughter of Nikias of Kydathenaion (Davies no. 10807), also named, was presumably the wife of one of these men. Eualkides' son Phrasisthenes was buried with (presumably) his wife, Aristokrateia, at Spata (*IG* ii^2 6135).[53]

[49] Further cases of men and women buried with the kin of their spouses will be found in the larger groups analysed below.

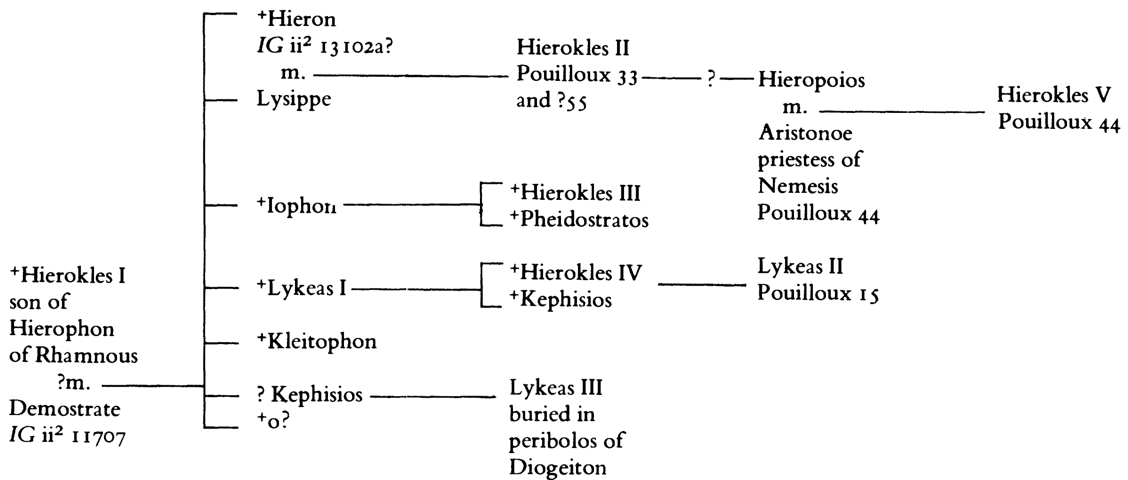
[50] The stele is re-used, which is unusual.

[51] The relief shows a woman with the two men: did one marry the sister of the other? Note also the stele republished by Liakouras (153) of two men from different demes; they too may have been linked by marriage (or matrilateral ties).

[52] See Davies no. 10242. A homonymous grandson of Mnesippos IV is commemorated on *IG* ii^2 5505 (3rd c.), but its provenance is not known. Kirchner makes Mnesippos V a patrilateral parallel cousin (FBS) of Mnesarchides, but in view of the striking consistency of the names of the rest of the family, it is perhaps more likely that Charitaios was a fellow-demesman who married into the family.

[53] Another inscription which perhaps belongs to this category is *IG* ii^2 5752, commemorating Thoutimos III son of Aristogeiton II of Aphidna (Davies no. 12267) with his wife Theosebeia and with Thoutimos IV and Androkles II sons of Androkles I of Poros, who must have married a sister of Aristogeiton II or Thoutimos III, or a daughter of the latter. A metic tombstone belonging to this category may also be cited: B.M. 1107, *c.* 410 B.C. (Pfohl no. 107, *GVI* 218; see Wilamowitz) was set up by a

TABLE 2
Peribolos of Hierokles of Rhamnous



Those marked + were buried in the peribolos.

Of the 17 three-generation groupings I have been able to find,[54] three record a single line of descent with only one person or one married couple in each generation: *IG* ii^2 10650, Ampharete and her grandson (DS), with a gap in the intervening generation; *Ergon* 1975 9–11 (*cf.* also 1976 3; Petrakos I 15–25), Diogeiton and his wife (?) Habro, their son Lysimachos with his wife (?) Choronike, and the latter's son Lysistratos. A number of other persons, including Lykias son of Kephisios, of the family set out above in TABLE 2, were later buried in the same peribolos; their relation to the foregoing group is unknown. *IG* ii^2 6929, from Piraeus, has the names (in a single hand) of Epigenes son of Diaitos of Xypete, his son Nikippos, and Nikippos' daughter Praxo. *IG* ii^2 5943, 10607 and 12865, all found at Tatoi, and dated in the first half of the 4th century, commemorate Phanias of Dekeleia with his wife Philoumene I (12865), their son Nikodemos with his son Phanodemos and (in a later hand) his wife, daughter of Aeschines of ? Phegous (5983), a second son, Anenkletos, who died unmarried (5980) and a daughter, Philoumene II, who may have died in childbirth since she is represented with her mother and an infant (10607).

Four stones, or groups of stones, record a sibling group with their parents and spouses and the children of one sibling. *IG* ii^2 7717–18 (Piraeus, before 360) commemorate a brother and sister, Antimachos and Pausilla, with their father Antibios of Phrearrhioi, Glyke daughter of Aischines of Erchia (presumably wife of Antibios),[55] Antimachos' son Theodoros, and Philoumene daughter of Batrachos of Kolonos. All the names were cut by the same hand except that of Philoumene, which was added later; possibly she was Theodoros' wife and the stone had originally been set up, perhaps at the time of Antibios' death, when Theodoros was still unmarried.

IG ii^2 6417 (*c.* 390–65) commemorates Philiskos and Myrto, son and daughter of Hippokrates I of Kephisia, with their mother Eupaleia, Heragoras of Samos probably Myrto's husband, his two sons Hippokrates II and Thrasyllos, and another woman, perhaps Heragoras' second wife.[56] *IG* ii^2 6100–1 and

woman from Parion in the Sea of Marmora to her two sons, her brother and her daughter. Wilamowitz suggested that the two latter names might have been added later, but Susan Walker of the B.M. kindly informs me that the stone does not support this view.

[54] One of these, Agora 519, belongs to a metic family. The stele commemorates Adrastos son of Aristion of Kios, Theano and Poa daughters of Euaristos of Kios (one of them probably Adrastos' wife; the names of the fathers suggest that this might have been a marriage between previously related families), Adrastos' children Philothea, Kallis and Hermogenes, Damon of Mylasa with his sister Aristonike, Nanous and Boidas sons of Dios of Heraklea, and Plangon daughter of Lakleides of Aegina. It is possible that Damon and either Nanous or Boidas were the husbands of Philothea and Kallis, and Plangon the wife of Hermogenes—but no certainty is possible, and the study of groupings on metic tombstones would be a task in itself.

[55] She is named after Antibios and before his children.

[56] The name of Hippokrates II, son of Heragoras, shows that his mother was a daughter of Hippokrates I. Either Heragoras first married Myrto, or the second woman (whose name is lost), identified as Heragoras' wife, was Myrto's sister. Heragoras will have acquired Athenian citizenship when it was granted to the Samians in 405 B.C., and became a member of his (future?) father-in-law's deme. His second son, Thrasyllos, was presumably named after the general, no doubt a popular figure among the Samians.

6120–1, all found near Liopesi (ancient Paiania), together perhaps with 6122–3, the findspot of which is not recorded, commemorate the brothers Kalliphanes (6123) and Kallistratos (6122), sons of Kallikrates I of Erchia, their nephew (BS) Kallikrates II son of Antikrates I (6120) with his son Theophilos (6120); Kallikrates' elder son Antikrates II (6100–1), his mother Archestrate (6100–1) and Aristaichme daughter of Lysis of Erchia (6100). Davies (no. 9576) suggests that since Antikrates II died unmarried, Aristaichme may have been his fiancée. Several members of the family otherwise attested were not buried here, unless their monuments have been lost: Antikrates I and Kallisthenes, fathers of Kallikrates II and Kallikrates III; Kallikrates II's brother Aristaios; Kallistratos I's son (?) Polykleides.

IG ii[2] 6218 (after 350) commemorates Demochares, Hedyle and Nikostrate, children of Attabos of Thorikos, with Charmides and Sosigenes, sons of Euthippos of Thorikos, Paramythos son of Stephanos of Aphidna, and Paramythos' daughter Myrte. Since the relatively uncommon name Paramythos is attested later on in Thorikos, Kirchner suggests that Myrte was Demochares' wife. Probably one of the sons of Euthippos was married to one of Demochares' sisters. All names were incised by a single hand: Kirchner comments, 'Ex ratione, qua nomina recensentur, *sc.* eo ordine, quo singuli huius familiae cognati et agnati e vita abierunt, colligitur hoc monumentum post maiorum discessum ab uno ex posteris animo pio dicatum esse.'

IG ii[2] 5374, 5376, 5378 and 5378 commemorate Pamphilos and Archippe children of Meixiades of Aigilia (5374), Archippe with her husband Prokleides son of Sostratos of Aigilia and their son Prokles (5376; the name of Prokleides son of Pamphilos, apparently named after his mother's brother, was added later), Prokleides' parents Sostratos and Praxagora (5378) and Sostratos again, with Prokleides (5379). Pamphilos and his son have been drawn into the circle of Archippe's affines: the earlier age of marriage of women made this probably a not uncommon occurrence.[57]

Three groups of monuments record a set of siblings with the descendants of one of them. *IG* ii[2] 6212 (*c.* 350) commemorates Demetria and Demophilos, children of Demetrios of Thorai, with Demophilos' son Demetrios II, Demetrios II's daughter Boulis, and Protonoe, probably her mother. The names of Boulis and Protonoe are later additions, i.e. the stone was presumably set up originally by Demophilos for himself, his sister and his son.

IG ii[2] 6217, 6226–7 and 6230, found together in the Kerameikos in the tomb enclosure dominated by the monument of the cavalryman Dexileos of Thorikos (d. 394) commemorate Dexileos (6217), his brother Lysias (6227), his sister Melitta with her husband (6230) and Lysias' son Lysanias II with his wife and son (6226). Another brother, Lysistratos, with a son Lysanias III, are known to have existed but were apparently buried elsewhere. Presumably it was Lysias who was responsible for the funerary enclosure—which did not contain the remains of Dexileos, interred in the public grave of those who fell at Corinth (*IG* ii[2] 5222; Tod 104, *cf.* 105; Vermeule I). ii[2] 7257 and 7263, found together in the Kerameikos, commemorate Euphrosyne and Eubios children of Phainippos of Potamos, with Eubios' sons Bion and Archias, Archias' wife Dexikleia daughter of Philon of Oion, and their son Archikles. 7263 has the names of Euphrosyne, Eubios and Bion in one hand, with those of Archias and Dexikleia added later; 7257 commemorates Bion, who died unmarried, with his nephew Archikles (BS). Archias (I) son of Eubios (II) (*IG* ii[2] 488.5), crowned in 304/3, was presumably the son of a brother of Archikles named Eubios after his paternal grandfather but not commemorated in this group.

Four more three-generation groupings remain to be considered. The centenarian Euphranor of Rhamnous, mentioned above, was buried with two sons and a daughter, a grandson (SS), a female relative and another woman whose relation to the group is unclear (*Ergon* 1975 7–9; Petrakos I 6–11; above, n. 39). In the largest peribolos so far excavated at Rhamnous Hierokles I, son of Hierophon of Rhamnous was buried with his sons Hieron, Iophon, Lykeas I and Kleitophon, another son or daughter,[58] Iophon's two sons Hierokles III and Pheidostratos, and Lykeas' two sons Hierokles IV and Kephisios. Lykeas III, either the nephew (sister's son) or the grandson of Lykeas I, was buried not in his own family's peribolos but in that of Diogeiton. Lysippe wife of Hieron was buried with her husband (*IG* ii[2] 13102a), and so probably was Demostra[te], wife of Hierokles (*IG* ii[2] 11707) (see TABLE 2).

A stele from Koropi (Kotzias no. 2) commemorates Philokedes I son of Amoibichos I; his sons Amoibichos II and Aresias; Amoibichos III son of Gorgythos, probably a cousin (FBS) of Amoibichos II;

[57] *IG* ii[2] 5376 and 5379 were found together in the Kerameikos; 5378 came from the 'Theseion', and 5374 has only the provenance 'Athens', so it is not certain that all 4 monuments originally stood together.

[58] The report states that Hieron had 4 siblings and that Lykeas III, son of Kephisios, was the nephew of Lykeas I, but the evidence is not presented.

Philokedes II son of Amoibichos II; Diopeithes, son of Amoibichos II or III; and two women, probably spouses.

IG ii^2 7528 and 7501 were set up at Ambelokipi, inscribed by the same hand, to commemorate Timotheos son of Agasikles of Sphettos and his father (or son?) Agasikles son of Timotheos. At a later date the names of Timesios son of Timotheos, Archedike daughter of Chairileos of Aithalidai (Timotheos' wife?), and Lykiskos son of Diodotos of Epikephisia (son of a sister or daughter of Timotheos?) were added to Timotheos' stele (7528).

IG ii^2 6008, from the Kerameikos, commemorates Koroibos I son of Kleidemides I of Melite, his son Kleidemides II, Kleidemides II's son Koroibos II, and Euthydemos, son of Sosikles I of Eitea, with his son Sosikles II. Each name is inscribed in a different hand. If Euthydemos and Sosikles II are related to the descendants of Kleidemides I, Euthydemos probably married a sister of Kleidemides II. The wife of Koroibos I was Hegeso daughter of Proxenos, also commemorated in the Kerameikos, by a very well-known relief of the late 5th century (*IG* ii^2 1079, N.M.A. 3624, Conze no. 68; *cf.* Davies no. 12267, VIc). Kleidemos, son of Kleidemides (probably Kleidemides II) died unmarried and was commemorated by a loutrophoros also found in the Kerameikos and presumably originally sited in the same family plot (*IG* ii^2 6859). But Aristomache, daughter of a Kleidemides of Melite, very likely either Kleidemides I or Kleidemides II, who married Philochoros son of Demonikos of Melite, was buried with her husband at Liopesi (*IG* ii^2 6832).

In four cases four-generation groupings are recorded. One comes from a literary source: Plutarch (*Mor.* 838b–c; *cf.* Davies no. 7716) tells us that Isocrates was buried in Kynosarges with his father and mother, his mother's sister Nako and her son Sokrates, his brother Theodoros, his wife Plathane, his adopted son Aphareus, and Aphareus' two sons (see Tuplin). This was of course an exceptional case; Isocrates was a famous man, his monument (a pillar 30 cubits high with a 7-cubit siren on top, according to Plutarch) was conspicuous; there were good reasons for his kin to wish to share in his lustre. However, it should be noted that Isocrates had two further brothers and a sister, who were evidently buried elsewhere.

A stele found recently near Markopoulo (Etienne) commemorates the son, grandson (SS) and great grandson (SSS) of Themyllos of Oe (Themyllos II, Antiphanes and Themon), with their wives and Archestrate daughter of Meletos of Angele. All the names are inscribed by the same hand, and it seems likely that the stone was set up by a son (or brother?) of Themon to mark the graves of his ancestors and his wife (Archestrate).

IG ii^2 5432–3, 5408 and 5450 were found together in Piraeus (see TABLE 3 and Davies no. 8065). 5450 commemorates Philon I son of Kallippos I of Aixone with his wife Phanagora, with Alkimache daughter of Kallimachos of Anagyrous, whose relationship to them is unclear, and with Philon's daughter Philostrate. 5433 commemorates Philon I's sons Kallippos II and Philostratos, with Kallippos II's sons Philon II and Proxenos. (Kallippos II was also commemorated alone on 5432.) 5408 names Hedyline, daughter of Philon (I or II), with Aristagora, perhaps her mother. Philon I was probably also the father of the Philokrates son of Philon of Aixone who was buried at Vari (*IG* ii^2 5448).

IG ii^2 6746, 6719, 6722–3, 7400 and (?) 5434, all from the Kerameikos, marked the graves of a family into which Hipparete, granddaughter (SD) of the notorious Alcibiades, married (TABLE 4; Davies no. 600, p. 21). 7400 names Hipparete with her husband Phanokles of Leukonoe and Kritolea daughter of Phanokles of Kettos, probably his mother. 6746 names Phanokles alone. 6719 and 6723 commemorate the sons of Phanokles and Hipparete, Alkibiades and Aristion; 6722 commemorates a son of Aristion, probably the Phanokles commemorated on 5434 with his wife Kleo daughter of Kleon of Aixone.

Finally, a very impressive group of monuments, already mentioned (*cf.* TABLE 1), commemorated Meidon I son of Epiteles of Myrrhinous and five generations of descendants: his son Meidoteles I with his wife Phanagora, their son Kalliteles I and his wife Mnesiptoleme I; three sons of Kalliteles I, Meidoteles II, Meidon II with his wife Mnesistrate, and Kallimedon; three children of Meidoteles II, Kalliteles II who followed his father in the profession of *mantis* (seer), and his sisters Mnesiptoleme II and Kleoptoleme II; two sons of Meidon II, Kallimedes and Hieroptes; and finally, in the last generation, Kallimedes' son Meidon III (who died unmarried). A single stele lists the names of Meidon I, Meidoteles I, Phanagora, Kalliteles I, Mnesiptoleme I, Meidon II, Mnesistrate, Meidoteles II, Kalliteles II (with a commemorative epigram), Kallimedes and Mnesiptoleme II. It may have been set up by Kalliteles I.[59]

[59] See n. 43, and TABLE 1, with nn. Note that with the addition of the epigram and loutrophoros honouring Kalliteles II the stele took on more of the look of a monument to a single individual.

TABLE 3
Peribolos of Philon of Aixone (*IG* ii² 5408, 5432–3, 5450)

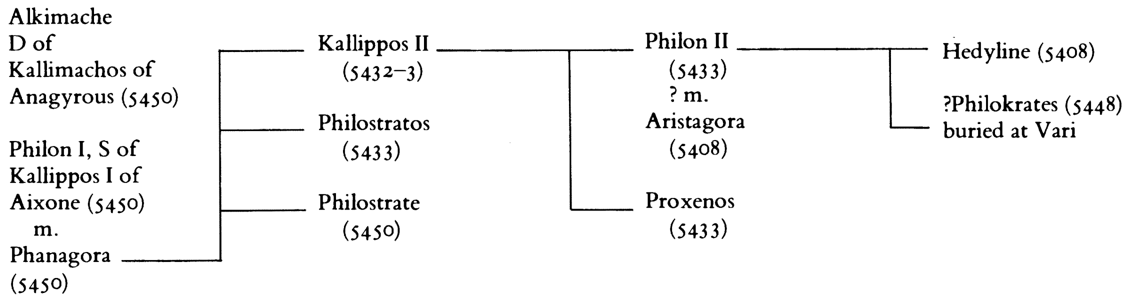
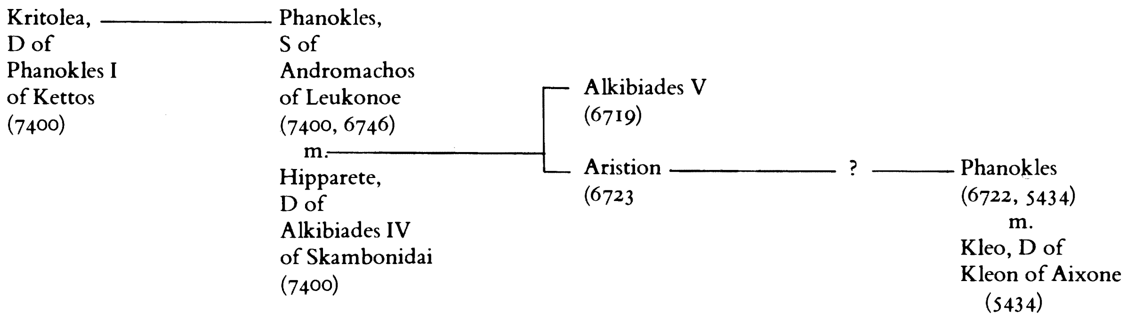


TABLE 4
Peribolos of Phanokles and Hipparete (*IG* ii² 6719, 6722–3, 6746, 7400 and ? 5434)



The monuments in the peribolos of Meidon certainly constitute a remarkable testimony of family piety and continuity. But it is clear that the family was an unusual one. Two of its members were religious specialists, while a third bore the rare name Hieroptes (Sacrificer). There was probably a good deal of intermarriage within the group. They represent very well the ideal pattern which Athenian speakers had in mind when trying to present themselves to a jury as models of familial piety—but they do not represent the typical Athenian family. Still less do they testify to an unbroken tradition of patrilineal tomb groupings stretching back into the mists of time. They represent, instead, fourth-century traditionalism—a very different phenomenon, which was neither widespread nor long-lived.[60]

VII. Post-classical Commemoration

Only a very brief indication can be given here of the forms taken by familial piety in the post-classical age. But it is important to note a few key points. In the first place, the commissioning of elaborate sculptured tomb-monuments came to an abrupt end not long after the erection of the latest monument in the peribolos of Meidon; this type of ostentation was forbidden by the sumptuary legislation of Demetrius of Phaleron.

Demetrius was a philosopher and his legislation on tomb-monuments, besides following in the footsteps of Solon, followed a philosophical tradition of lack of concern with the practical aspects of burial which went back at least to Socrates (*cf.* also Plat. *Leg.* 958c–960b). Nevertheless, the philosophers were by no means opposed to all forms of commemoration. Much of our evidence for regular commemorative meetings by the family and friends of the deceased comes from Diogenes Laertius' collection of philosophers' wills, as has been indicated above.

[60] It may have helped to generate the antiquarian interest in famous graves attested by the early 3rd c. monograph of Diodorus the periegete on Attic graves (*FGrH* 372).

This brings me to my second point: the ideal of perpetual commemoration elaborated in the fourth-century ideology of the pious *oikos* could well be felt to demand something more than the artistic representation of family solidarity. There is, indeed, an implicit contradiction in the use of a tomb monument, which communicates its message to the world at large, to make statements about the unity of the domestic family group and its continuing concern for the dead.

The deceased might well no longer feel content with a monument which by recording his deeds and virtues assured him of a place in the memory of the community; he might want to continue to have a place in the smaller society of his own family and friends, which was coming to mean more to most Greeks than the *polis* as a whole. Hence the commemorative meetings of philosophers—and hence the practice which grows up from the late fourth century onwards of leaving capital to endow a fund which would pay for periodic commemorations in perpetuity. Like the familial monuments of fourth-century Athens, these foundations are a new development and not a continuation of traditional practices. The founders of such institutions, as Kamps pointed out, were not concerned with ensuring the continuity of a family line, 'perpetuating the *oikos*', but with securing perpetual ritual attention for themselves personally. No religious beliefs of the kind postulated by Fustel restricted participation in such rites to agnates.

Poseidonios of Halicarnassos (*SIG*^{3} 1044, Sokolowski I 72, 3rd century B.C.), endowing an association for the worship of Apollo, the Mother of the Gods, Zeus Patrōios, the Fates, the Agathos Daimon of himself and his wife and the Agathē Tychē of his father and mother, specifically states that the husbands of female descendants may be eligible to hold office. Epikteta of Thera (*IG* xii 3.330, Dareste–Haussoullier–Reinach ii 1. 77ff., *c.* 200 B.C.) endows a perpetual cult to herself, her husband Phoenix and their two sons; the association responsible includes not only their descendants, male and female, but also her *kyrios* Hyperides son of Thrasyleon with his two sisters, her father Grinnos, his adopted son Antisthenes, and Antisthenes' family of origin (who were probably kin to Grinnos and Epikteta).[61] It is only a small step further—a natural step for the philosophers, for whom friends to a considerable extent took the place of kin—when Epicurus in 270 B.C. (D.L. x 16 ff.) makes his heirs Amynomachos of Bate and Timocrates of Potamos responsible for commemorative sacrifices to Epicurus' parents and brothers and rites in memory of Epicurus himself, Metrodorus and Polyaenus.[62]

It might seem, so far, that the history of the commemoration of the dead in Athens is one of a progressive narrowing of the circle involved, from the outward-looking monuments of the archaic age, addressed to the community as a whole and to the passing stranger, to the intimate groups of kin and friends provided for by the foundations of the Hellenistic period. But the foundation technique was soon used also to provide funds for larger groups.[63] Even among the philosophers, Lykon (third century B.C.: D.L. v 69 ff.) left an olive grove in Aegina to be used to supply oil annually for anointing the *neoi* in his memory. Such bequests became common practice among the class who liked to be hailed as 'benefactors' of their *polis*, the scope of participation in the commemorative distributions limited only by the funds available to pay for it. The very rich were never content for long with purely private forms of commemoration.

VIII. Conclusion

There are certainly many more fourth-century family tomb plots to be discovered in Athens and the Attic countryside—like those currently being excavated at Rhamnous—but it is unlikely that new discoveries will radically change the picture which emerges from the evidence available now. Really large, extensive groupings were unusual. Several tomb enclosures were designed to hold no more than two or three graves. Groupings of 6–10 are not uncommon in excavated

[61] Hypereides' relationship to Epikteta is unclear. The inscription names about 25 initial members; the association is to be maintained in future by the agnatic descendants of all those named, plus the descendants of *epikleroi* (brotherless daughters) and of a number of specially named women among the current members. The foundation of Pythion of Cos, 2nd c. B.C. (Fraser I, Sokolowski II no. 171) is patrilineal.

[62] Epicurus was childless, but Polyaenus had a son and Metrodorus a son and a daughter, both apparently minors at the time when the will was made. There seems to be no concern to transfer responsibility for the cult to them and their eventual descendants.

[63] See Laum, Fraser I, II 62–8, Schmitt.

enclosures or on inscriptions; larger groups are unusual. In some cases we can see special circumstances which may have encouraged a family to keep together: litigation in the case of the Bouselidai, the religious interests of the 'Meidonidai' (to coin a name), pride in descent from the famous Alcibiades, perhaps, in the case of Hipparete's family, the longevity of Euphranor of Rhamnous. More excavation in the Attic countryside may reveal further cases of continuity over several generations among the local squirearchy. But limits to this continuity were set by the disruption of life in the country during the Peloponnesian war, the gap in tomb markers between the sumptuary laws of *c.* 510–480 and the revival of stone monuments during the last third of the fifth century—which not only deprives the historian of evidence for continuity but also made it more difficult for the Athenians themselves to keep track of their family tombs—and the mobility, both spatial and social, of Athenian society. The very concept of a 'squirearchy' can only be used with the greatest caution. A family wealthy enough to put up an elaborate series of grave monuments in the local deme was very likely also to have some of its male or female members living in the city, who might also be buried there. Every Athenian was asked before taking office (Kahrstedt 59; *Ath. Pol.* 55. 2–3) where 'his tombs' (*ēria*) were, but it is by no means certain that he had to locate the tombs of all the ancestors whose names he had to state (father and grandfathers); the location of the tomb of a single lineal ancestor (F or FF) may have been enough. It is conceivable that in the period of Cleisthenes' reforms landowning aristocrats who had been registered in city demes took a pride in making public their ancestral links with a particular rural area in this way; but by the fourth century everyone had ancestral tombs just as everyone had an altar of Zeus Herkeios.

This is one of the most significant factors in the history of the commemoration of the dead in Attica. Commemoration in the archaic period was sharply stratified: mounds and sculptured monuments, like ostentatious funerals, loudly proclaimed that the dead belonged to the elite. Paying visits to the tombs of famous ancestors was not a pious duty, but a way of reminding contemporaries of the glory of one's own family. It was the state funerals for war dead which first brought the honours of heroic burial within the range of every Athenian citizen, and I would suggest that it was this significant change which stimulated the development in the late fifth and fourth centuries of monuments commemorating the domestic virtues of the ordinary citizen. Far from being gradually destroyed by the growth of the state, as Fustel thought, the idea of a visible tomb for every man and the 'continuity' of all *oikoi* may have been generated by it.

Fustel's idea of a traditional practice of commemorative cult at family tombs, as the basis of a group solidarity which was gradually sapped by the growth of the state, bears little relation to the complex picture which is now beginning to emerge. At all periods there is a dialectical interaction between the expression of the feelings of the bereaved, the socially accepted channels and the material resources available for this expression, the standards of ostentation felt appropriate by different classes, and the other functions which such ostentation accumulated. Emphasis shifts, from period to period and from one class or occupational group to another, between the funeral ceremony, the monument and the commemorative feast,[64] and between the opposing poles of intimate remembrance and permanent commemoration—the private and public faces of death.

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[64] For a discussion of the relations between funeral ceremony, monument and commemoration in the period when the modern tomb-cult began, see Humphreys II. The tension between the demands of private mourning and public commemoration is clearly shown in the reform proposals of Duval (1801), who proposes a double *prothesis* ritual, the first to be held at home and restricted to the family, the second to take place in one of the communal 'temples' to be set up for this purpose. It is further noteworthy that no distinction of rank or status is to be made among the biers laid out in the 'temple' (*cf.* Athenian funerals of war dead); but the rich may use their wealth later, in providing music for the funeral cortège and elaborate commemorative monuments.

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(*a*) Berlin 3372, Woman Painter (Courtesy, Antikenmuseum StMPK, Berlin).

(*b*) Berlin F 2443, Achilles painter (Courtesy, Antikenmuseum StMPK, Berlin).

(*c*) Athens 1815, Sabouroff Painter (Courtesy, National Museum, Athens).

(*a*) Berlin 3209, giant loutrophoros (Courtesy, Antikenmuseum StMPK, Berlin).

(*b*) Cabinet des Médailles 373, Achilles Painter: Euphorbos and Oedipus (Courtesy, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

FAMILY TOMBS