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EPITAPHS AND CITIZENSHIP IN CLASSICAL ATHENS*

'Death is bad for those who die, but good for the undertakers and the grave-diggers'. (*Dissoi Logoi* i 3)

AND for archaeologists and for epigraphers as well, even though epitaphs, and especially simple or formulaic ones, are probably the most understudied and unloved area of ancient epigraphy. Yet the mere fact of an inscribed epitaph indicates deliberate and intentionally enduring commemoration, and therefore embodies a social attitude; epitaphs thus constitute a matter of historical importance that can be studied for the very reason that so many—in Athens over 10,000—survive. Most Athenian epitaphs which have been found have been dated, and for approximately two-thirds of them a general find-spot has been recorded (very few are actually found *in situ* with a body or grave-goods). Temporal and spatial variations within the distribution of Athenian epitaphs (Part I) prompt not only the question of why aspects of this habit should change over time, but why the habit of epitaphs should exist at all; the answer suggested here links the function and distribution of Athenian epitaphs to changing concepts of (and importance attached to) Athenian citizenship. For epitaphs function as more than testimonials to grief: they represent what survivors saw as defining the deceased (Part II), and the significantly greater number of epitaphs in fourth-century Athens derives from Athenians' emphatic definition of themselves as citizens at that time (Part III). Finally, the Athenians' use of tombstones has no parallel in the classical Greek world (Part IV), for the Athenians' developing perceptions of their own city and of their own special relationship, as citizens, to it, were also unparalleled.

I. PATTERNS AND PROBLEMS IN ATHENIAN EPITAPHS

The vast majority of Athenian epitaphs are very brief, usually just the statement of a name (or more than one name) in the nominative case. Although descriptive adjectives, phrases, and epigrams can be added, these more elaborate epitaphs were not the choice of most of the population and will therefore not receive their customary special treatment here.[1] Five aspects of Athenian epitaphs as a group reveal patterns and pose problems. FIG. 1 charts the distribution of epitaphs (distributed in twenty-five-year blocks) over 1000 years (for dating and other methodological questions, see Appendix). From this it is clear that the number of epitaphs rose significantly in the first half of the fourth century BC, only to fall off again in the second half and to fluctuate thereafter. In the third century AD, these inscriptions finally peter out.[2] Thus: why a rise and why a fall in the production of epitaphs? This graph focusses attention not only on the fact of variation, but also on the fourth century BC as a period deserving a much more careful scrutiny.

* Special thanks to the many people who have read and commented on this paper (Ian Morris, Ramsay MacMullen, Gordon Williams, J. J. Pollitt, Richard Garner, Carla Antonaccio, J. E. Lendon, and the two anonymous readers for *JHS*) and those who shared unpublished material with me (Ian Morris, Robin Osborne, Richard Seaford, and James Whitley). Any remaining errors are of course my own.

[1] R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs* (Urbana 1962) 14; G. Klaffenbach, *Griechische Epigraphik*[2] (Göttingen 1966) 56-60; A. G. Woodhead, *The study of Greek inscriptions*[2] (Cambridge 1981) 43-46. See also below n. 22.

[2] For the fourth-century-BC decline, M. H. Hansen et al., *ARID* xix (1990) 28, suggest that the 'Athenians grew out of their habit of having everything recorded on stone'. For the third-century-AD decline, see E. Meyer, *JRS* cx (1990) 74-96.

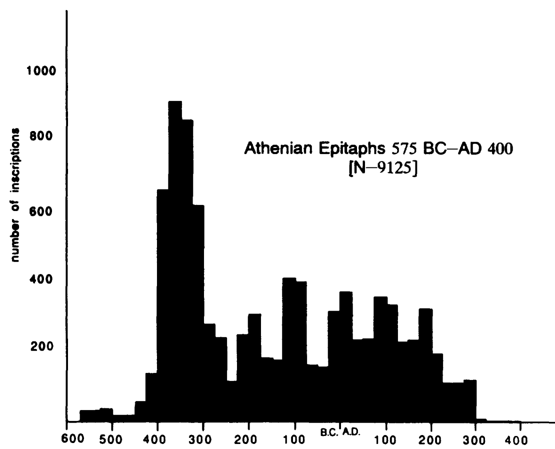

FIG. 1

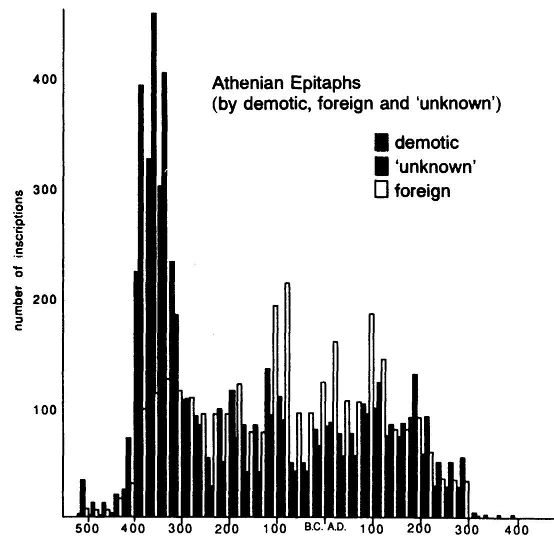

FIG. 2

FIG. 1, however, masks some important distinctions. As FIG. 2 makes clear, not all who were commemorated in Athens were Athenian citizens. Foreigners ('Tymnes son of Skylax, the Carian') exist on tombstones in Athens (and elsewhere) from virtually the earliest period of tombstones' existence (*SEG* xiii 36, dated *c.* 525; see also, e.g., *IG* ix 867 [Corcyra, before 600] and *SIG*^{3} 2 [Sigeum, before 550]), and the number of these foreigners' epitaphs also varied over time—but not always in the way that the general chronological curve does (FIG. 1), a lack of congruence particularly marked in the fourth century BC. The total distribution in that particular century is instead strongly affected by the frequency of the epitaphs where the city-affiliation of the deceased is unknown (simple names, sometimes with patronymic, or fragments with pieces of names) and where they have name and demotic or name, patronymic, and demotic, a type that appeared only toward the end of the fifth century. Indeed, these latter two types, called hereafter 'unknowns' and 'demotics', rise and fall together in this century, as they do not in preceding or subsequent centuries. This is probably not coincidental, for there is a very good chance that the two types have a common chronological distribution in the fourth century because many of them come from the same (well-known) type of monument, one with two (or more) inscriptions, some serving as labels for artistic representations (whether painting or relief) and usually taking the form of simple inscribed names, combined with a name with patronymic and demotic, often in larger letters elsewhere on the monument.[3] Both 'unknowns' and 'demotics' wane in number and importance subsequently, and from the end of the second

[3] An extreme example is provided by the eleven-name stele of Meidon of Myrrhinous (*SEG* xxiii [1968] nos.161, 137-8, 155-60, 166). Single-name labels and fuller demotic names can frequently be seen together on the same monument: the type is discussed by H. R. Hastings, *BullUnivWisc* cccclxxxv 5.2 (1912) 99-148 at 119-129, 126. This habit of multiple names on one stele is also far more characteristic of the fourth century than any other time: S. C. Humphreys, *The family, women and death* (London 1983) 79-130 at 111, using a limited sample, gave an approximate proportion of 228/600 (38%), while I count 1147/3163 (36.3%) – as opposed to only 410 examples from all subsequent centuries, of which 105 are undated. Finally, 51.4% (766/1491) of the fourth-century 'unknowns' are associated with relief sculpture, where these inscriptions often function as labels, and relief sculpture appears on demotic tombstones four times as often as on those for foreigners.

TABLE 1a

	Number of inscriptions: Athens & Piraeus	Attica	Attica's % of total
sixth	47	32	40.5%
fifth/early fourth	271	51	15.8%
fourth	1331	636	32.3%
fourth/first	1928	212	9.9%
Roman	2119	181	7.9%

TABLE 1b

	Number of inscriptions: Athens	Piraeus & Attica	Piraeus & Attica % of total
sixth	47	32	40.5%
fifth/early fourth	176	146	45.3%
fourth	850	1117	56.8%
fourth/first	1817	323	15.1%
Roman	1988	312	13.6%

century BC to the second century AD they are outnumbered by foreigners' epitaphs. Thus status-distinctions interact in a complex way with the general chronological distribution: if one wishes to explain the extraordinary enthusiasm in the fourth century for erecting tombstones, for example, one must first explain the changes in the use of the demotic shown in FIG. 2.

FIGS. 3-7 plot the geographic distribution of Attic epitaphs over time (based, necessarily, on a smaller number—6808, not 9125—than graphed in FIGS. 1-2, since the number for which provenance *and* date are even approximately known is smaller). It is immediately noteworthy that the scatter of find-spots was much wider in the fourth century BC than at any other time, even though the two subsequent maps each have a time span approximately four times as long. Moreover, a little more than half of the epitaphs (53.5%, 340/636) found in these Attic demes outside the city gave the name of the deceased with a demotic, a statistic that remains true for the next three centuries as well (53.8%, 114/212). One aspect of the new interest in commemorating a person by using a name with a demotic, therefore, is that this interest is present to a healthy degree in fourth-century Attica and contributes to the unprecedented density of tombstone-findspots there. FIGS. 3-7 thus suggest a breadth of popularity for this type of tombstone by demonstrating that more people throughout Attica used it in a relatively short span of time than ever before or after.

The anomalous spatial distribution of fourth-century tombstones is also shown by Table 1(a), where scatter throughout Attica stands in stark contrast to a narrowing trend that this table also reveals: that of all epitaphs clustering more and more, over time, around the city of Athens (and, in the fifth and fourth centuries, around Piraeus as well), so much so that Attica's (rather than Athens') contribution to the total drops from 40.5% (32/79) in the sixth century to 7.9% (181/2300) in the Roman period.

△ demotic
○ foreign
□ 'unknown'

numbers within symbols indicate number of that type of inscription found at that location

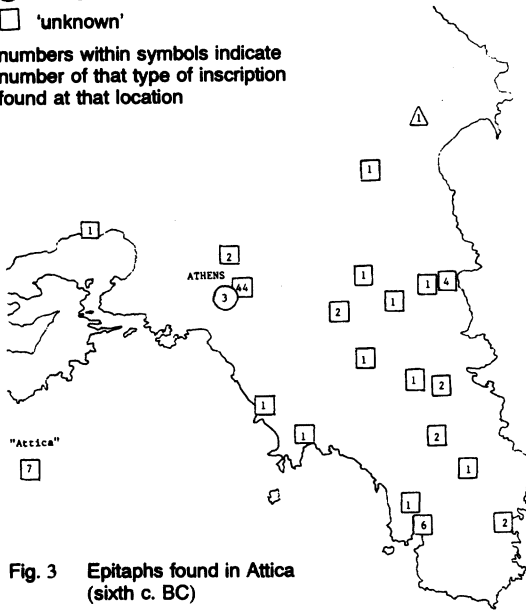

Fig. 3 Epitaphs found in Attica (sixth c. BC)

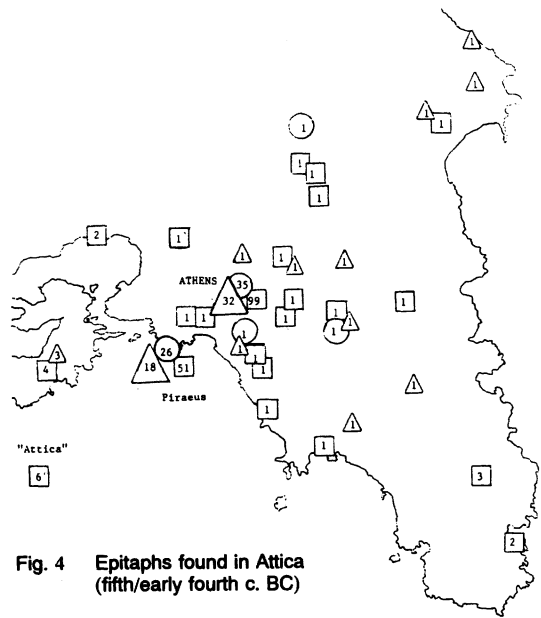

Fig. 4 Epitaphs found in Attica (fifth/early fourth c. BC)

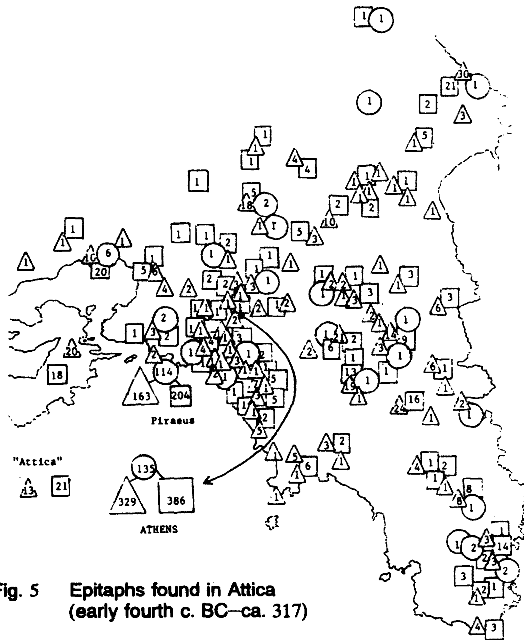

Fig. 5 Epitaphs found in Attica (early fourth c. BC–ca. 317)

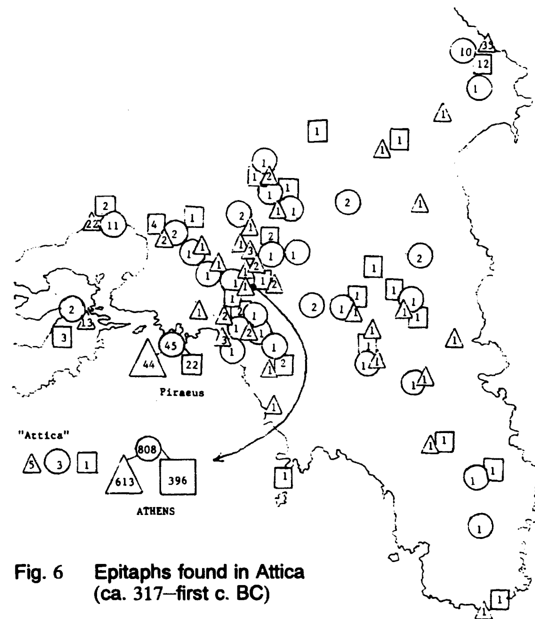

Fig. 6 Epitaphs found in Attica (ca. 317–first c. BC)

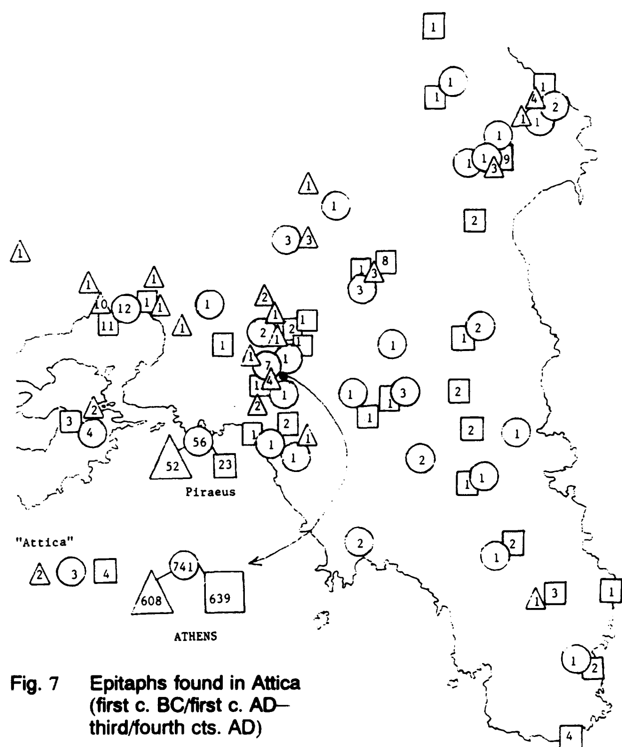

Fig. 7 Epitaphs found in Attica (first c. BC/first c. AD–third/fourth cts. AD)

An alternative way of constructing this table (1b) sharpens this contrast, but poses the question: in which category do epitaphs from the Piraeus belong? In Table 1(a) they are grouped with Athens, in Table 1(b) with the non-city demes. Shifting the category to which inscriptions from the Piraeus belong matters little before 500 or after 300 but much between those dates, and this, along with the fact of large numbers of epitaphs from Piraeus in the fifth and fourth centuries (95 and 481), highlights Piraeus's significance, among all the Attic demes, for understanding the fourth-century geographic distribution of tombstones. I will argue below that Piraeus should be grouped with Athens, and that Table 1a is the appropriate way of displaying the proportions of city-to-country commemoration.

Finally, the tables also point to the importance of the city of Athens itself, the distribution of whose tombstones is mapped in FIGS. 8-12. Athens has been more thoroughly excavated, and the location of its finds more meticulously documented, than most other areas of Attica, and especially in contrast to the Piraeus, but even so, find-spots can pose major problems.[4] Of the 4879 epitaphs found in Athens, 1322 have no specific provenance and are attributed only to 'Athens' or to one of the Athens museums; thus only the findspots of the other 3557 are presented in FIGS. 8-12. Moreover, although many tombstones were concentrated in and around the Kerameikos cemetery (34%, 16/47, in the sixth century; 46.6%, 54/116, in the fifth through the beginning fourth centuries; 37.4%, 228/609, in the fourth; 35.5%, 473/1334, from the end fourth to the first centuries; and 23.7%, 344/1451, in the Roman period), this could well be a consequence of the longevity and grandeur of the Kerameikos excavations. Third, many tombstones were 'found' in the Athenian Agora and on the Acropolis, but must have been redeposited there, since the Athenians were said to have buried within their city walls only rarely (Cicero, *de Leg.* ii 58 and *ad Fam.* iv 12.3), and in fact every single one of the 1034 Agora epitaphs was found reused in a later context.[5] Other epitaphs within the city walls whose disposition at time of discovery is now no longer known should therefore be assumed to have migrated, and then to have been redeposited, as well. Where did they come from? Even if an *economy* of migration is hypothesized, epitaphs from central Athens–the Acropolis and central Athens directly north of it (the area of the Roman Agora, the Tower of the Winds, and the

[4] J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen 1988) 340-363; R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the fifth to the first century* BC (London 1987) 139-170.

[5] R. S. Young, *AJA* lii (1948) 377-8; F. E. Winter, *Hesperia Suppl.* xix (Princeton 1982) 199-204; D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek burial customs* (London 1971) 70, 92.

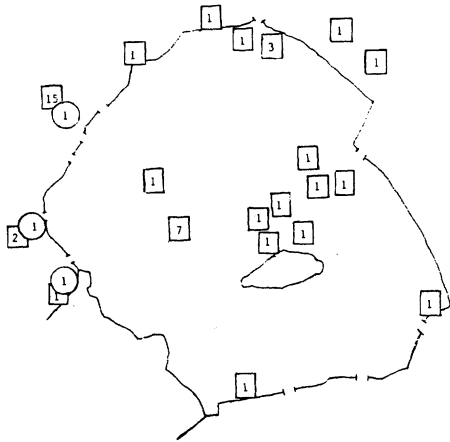

Fig. 8 Epitaphs found in Athens (sixth c. BC)

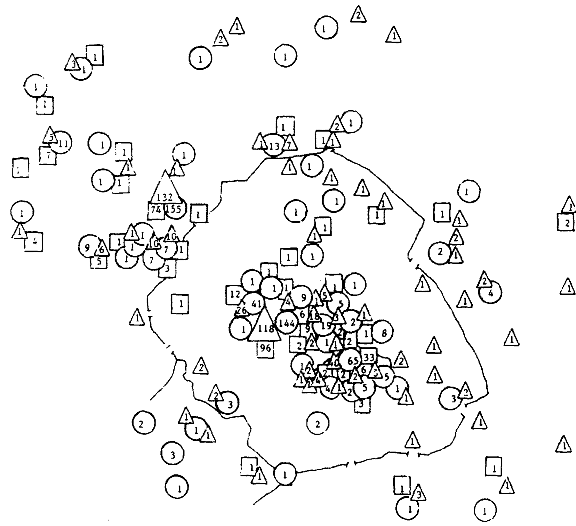

Fig. 11 Epitaphs found in Athens (ca. 317–first c. BC)

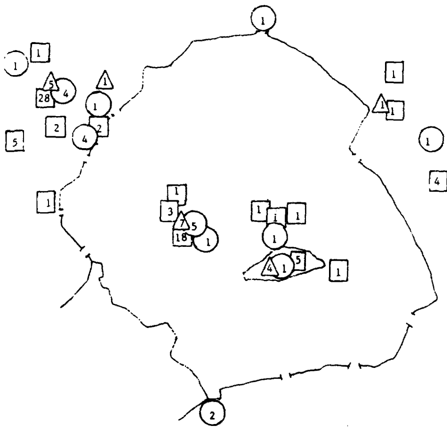

Fig. 9 Epitaphs found in Athens (fifth/early fourth c. BC)

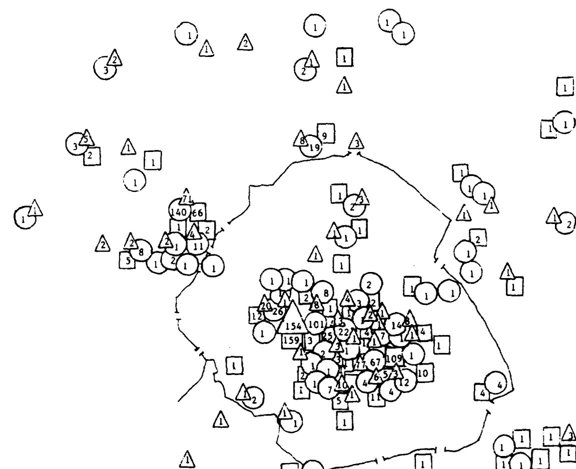

Fig. 12 Epitaphs found in Athens (first c. BC/first c. AD–third/fourth Cts. AD)

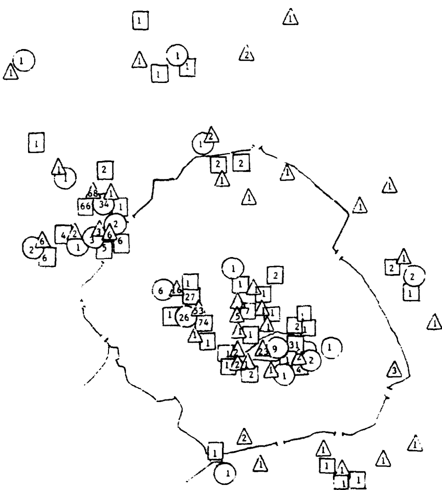

Fig. 10 Epitaphs found in Athens (early fourth c. BC–ca. 317)

Library of Hadrian)—cannot be confidently attributed to a specific area outside the walls, and will not be here. These epitaphs are an increasing proportion of the whole over time: 6.4% (sixth century), 12.9% (fifth-early fourth), 17.7% (fourth century), 20.3% (end fourth-first), and 32.2% (Roman).

On the other hand, it is more likely that the tombstones found in the Agora migrated in from the Kerameikos, since two fourth-century epitaphs known from literary sources to have stood in the Kerameikos have been found there.[6] If this is the case, then the Kerameikos area has contributed greatly to the tombstones of the city of Athens as a whole (expressed as a percentage of epitaphs of known provenance): as much as 52.2% in the sixth century (24/46), 76.7% in the fifth-beginning fourth centuries (89/116), 71.1% in the fourth (433/609), 70% in the Hellenistic period (934/1334), and 58.1% (844/1451) in the Roman period (although stones may have migrated further in this period).[7] Thus although an absolute preference for commemoration in the Kerameikos cannot be conclusively demonstrated, it remains a distinct possibility, and an explanation will therefore be suggested for it in what follows.

An interpretation that can satisfactorily explain all five of these major patterns is necessary, but the obvious ones fail. It is unlikely, for example, that the large number of fourth-century epitaphs can be explained by a higher death rate or a larger Athenian population, for there is no reason to suppose the former, and M. H. Hansen has shown that in the fourth century 'the number of Athenians living in [Athens and] Attica must have been almost stationary and sometimes even declining' due to slow natural growth combined with the emigration of citizens. He estimates a decline from a high of perhaps 60,000 in the mid-fifth century to a minimum of 25,000 by the end of that century, with a 'recovery' to 30,000 or so by 330 BC. Even the most extreme counter-suggestion of 2 per cent growth *per year* in the fourth century, which results in doubled population by 349, cannot explain FIG. 1, which indicates an eight-fold increase in epitaphs.[8] A direct economic explanation, that more extensive commemoration is simply a consequence of more extensive resources, is also unlikely. For although private wealth may have survived even as the fourth-century Athenian state scrounged for revenue, it is implausible—given that the economic picture is so unclear (and apparently bleak)—that economic factors *alone* could have encouraged the Athenians, in the century between 430 and 330, to adopt a new and more expensive form of commemoration.[9] Finally,

[6] Two epitaphs: D. Bradeen, *The Athenian agora xvii. Inscriptions: the funerary monuments* (Princeton 1974) no. 71 (Timotheos, 353 BC; *cf.* Paus. i 29.15) and no. 375 (Melanopos and Makartatos, *c.* 410 BC; misdated by Paus. i 29.6). L. H. Jeffery, *ABSA* lix (1962) 115-153, suggested that Agora stones could have come from the burials outside the (somewhat closer) Piraeus Gate, yet only five epitaphs from *any* time period have been published as deriving from that gate or the tombs around it.

[7] Destruction or movement of tombs is known for the period right after the Persian Wars (Thuc. i 90.3, Nepos *Them.* 6), 338 (Aeschin. iii 236; Lycurg. i 44), Philip V's attack in 200 (Livy xxxi 24.18; xxxi 30.5; D.S. xxviii 7), and Sulla in 86 (Plut. *Sulla* 14, App. *Mith.* 35); yet many of the famous fifth- and fourth-century tombs were still intact when Pausanias visited the Kerameikos in the second century AD. Later destructions (e.g. 267 AD) may have scattered more recent monuments and their epitaphs a greater distance (see J. Travlos, *Pictorial dictionary of ancient Athens* [London 1971] 301).

[8] Death-rate: note that in the fifth century the plague created fewer, not more, commemorated burials (Thuc. ii 52.4). Population: M. H. Hansen, *Demography and democracy: the number of Athenian citizens in the fourth century BC* (Herning, Denmark 1986) 9, 11, 43, 65 (quoted), compared to M. H. Hansen, *Three studies in Attic demography* (Copenhagen 1988) 14-28 for fifth-century figures; emigrants, M. H. Hansen, *AJAH* vii (1982) 187-8 n.4; counter-suggestion, E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* liv (1984) 253-267 at 265, interpreted by Hansen (ibid. 1986) 13, 92 nn. 30-31.

[9] Economic: *cf.* G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *C&M* xiv (1953) 30-70, P. Millett, *Opus* i.2 (1982) 219-249, and B. Strauss, *Athens after the Peloponnesian war: class, faction and policy 403-386 BC* (London 1988) 42-54 for contrasting interpretations (and the difficulties of interpreting idealising sources like Dem. xxiii 206-209 and Ar. *Eccl.* 590-593). Although fourth-century epitaphs were available to most (T. H. Nielsen et al., *GRBS* xxx [1989] 411-420), they were also not cheap (J. K. Davies, *Athenian propertied families* [Oxford 1971] xix n.3). For the role of wealth

any attempt to place epitaphs into an autonomous artistic sphere, immune to any but the most general historical pressures, is equally unsatisfying. For although such an approach rightly directs attention away from personal affection and religious beliefs—also not convincing explanations for the number and variety of fourth-century grave monuments[10]—toward the function of commemorative monuments as status symbols, such a view posits (in the words of one of its chief proponents) circumstances of 'social flux and status uncertainty' that 'engender a need for symbols to express status and status aspirations' and thereby begin the internal cycle of numerical rise and fall and artistic elaboration and restraint.[11] Yet while social flux may have been characteristic of late fifth- and fourth-century Athens, status uncertainty (as opposed to anxiety or even paranoia) was not. The fit between theory and circumstances here is, in short, inadequate. People, death, financial resources, and display are all a part of commemoration, but only necessary, not sufficient, explanations of it: places to start, not places to end. Athenian attitudes toward citizenship, rather than any other possible combination of factors, will provide the best explanation of the chronological anomaly of the fourth century, the unexpected variation in the chronological distribution of status-attributions, and the unusual geographical distributions of scatter (like Attica) or concentration (like Piraeus, Athens, and—putatively—the Kerameikos area).

II. The Context and Function of an Epitaph

Athenian tombstones were part of a complex ritual—funeral, burial, commemoration—and the changing restrictions on all funerary practice and the changing forms of tombstones and epitaphs show that the primary function of an Attic epitaph is best understood as asserting not just that the deceased should be remembered, but that the deceased should be remembered as an individual member of a larger community, the definition of which can change.

Cicero (*de Leg.* ii 59-66) tells us that on three occasions the Athenians restricted behavior at funerals and limited grave-monuments, deeming them potentially dangerous to the community of the *polis*.[12] The first was in 594, when (he says) Solon restricted women's behavior at funerals and protected tombs and monuments from desecration, although making no other rules (e.g. cost) about *sepulchra*. 'Somewhat later', he continues, 'on account of the enormous size of the *sepulchra* which we see in the Kerameikos, it was provided by law that no one should build one which required more than three days' work for ten men', nor were decorative stucco-work and herms allowed, nor speeches at any but public funerals. Most historians date this law between 510 and 480, and S. C. Humphreys has suggested that although apparently about monuments it was chiefly intended to limit attendance at funerals.[13] The third action was

in burials, see I. Morris, *Death-ritual and social structure in classical antiquity* (Cambridge 1992) 103-127.

[10] Kurtz and Boardman (n. 5) 139-141; K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic grave-reliefs* (Copenhagen 1951) 53-64, 152-165; G. Davies, *AJA* lxxxix (1985) 627-640.

[11] Quoted: A. Cannon, *Current Anthropology* xxx.4 (1989) 437-458 at 438 (chiefly on Victorian grave-monuments). There is not even agreement on elaboration and restraint in fourth-century grave-art: did a great increase (340-317 BC) 'in the number and elaborateness of style of grave-monuments ... call forth Demetrius's sumptuary legislation of 317' (J. K. Davies, *Wealth and the power of wealth in classical Athens* [New York 1981] 5), or was there 'exhaustion and dissolution' in the grave-stelai before 317, making Demetrius 'the executor of an unavoidable fate' (H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen*[2] [Munich 1968] 44-45)? See R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* ii (diss. Münster 1977) 89 n. 4.

[12] On the political significance of funerals, see now R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and ritual. Homer and tragedy in the developing city-state* (Oxford, forthcoming 1994) chs. 3-4, which supersedes all previous discussions.

[13] Historians even debate whether the two earlier restrictive actions took place. Most believe that they did; *contra*, Raubitschek (cited in C. W. Clairmont, *Patrios nomos: public burial in Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries BC, BAR* clxi ii [Oxford 1983] 278 n. 4). On Solon, see also Plut. *Sol.* 21, [Dem.] xliii 62, and Humphreys

Demetrius of Phaleron's law of *c.* 317, which decreed that burials had to take place at night and 'placed a limit upon newly erected *sepulchra*, providing that nothing should be built above the mound of earth except a small column no more than three cubits in height, or else a table or a small basin'. An important trend is thus clear in Cicero's account: change from restricting display at funerals and protecting *sepulchra* to a limitation of 'extravagance at funerals and in *sepulchra*'. Between (probably) the beginning of the fifth century and the end of the fourth century the size and type of monument has become an issue between individuals or families within the *polis* and the *polis* itself.

Monuments themselves confirm this general trend from funeral to funeral and physical object, and suggest other shifts in emphasis as well. Archaic monuments like *kouroi* or figured grave-*stelai* are thought to attempt a generic representation of the deceased–not a specific representation of a specific person but a representation of what type of person the deceased was, generally by giving him the attributes of the eternal and universal aristocracy of 'the best men'.[14] When these monuments also have epigrams, the epigrams stress these aristocratic virtues. J. W. Day has concluded that these 'verse inscriptions and grave markers not only communicate the same message of praise, but do so in a formally parallel manner', a parallelism that he attributes to their common function of memorializing and reenacting funerary ritual.[15] Thus the early importance of the funeral is again emphasised. The monument focussed attention on how the deceased had been honoured by (preferably large numbers of) people, and encouraged those who did not know him or her, who learned about his or her funeral and aristocratic virtues through the tomb and marker, to honour the deceased as well. When the scale of funerals was restricted around 500 BC, markers virtually disappeared and tombs themselves (whether with or without markers) diminish dramatically in size and opulence.[16]

When individual stone grave-monuments returned around 430, their message to the passer-by had changed. Such sculpture as they used was of inferior quality and unsigned (unlike the monuments of the archaic period); Humphreys claimed that 'the atmosphere of the reliefs is private and non-heroic, and the same is true of classical epitaphs'; and the monuments rarely depict the funeral monument itself or any aspect of the funeral (as terracotta plaques and fifth-century *lekythoi* could). Instead, they often seem to depict individuals as they might have been in life. Humphreys argued that the dead are now depicted 'very often as a member of a united family group' and that 'the achievements and virtues commemorated in epitaphs are now, in the great majority of cases, those of family life'.[17] Although I challenge below the extent to which family depiction should be considered the defining quality of late fifth- and

(n. 3) 85-87. On the date of the second action, see (e.g.) Friis Johansen (n. 10) 120-121; F. Eckstein, *JDAI* lxxiii (1958) 18-29; V. Zinserling, *WZJena* xiv.1 (1965) 29-34; C. W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and epigram: Greek memorials from the archaic and classical period* [Mainz 1970] 11-12; Stupperich i (n. 11) 77-86, 219-221. Plaster-decoration: J. Boardman, *ABSA* l (1955) 51-66 interprets as terracotta votive plaques hung on the grave-mound; see also J. P. Brooklyn, *Attic black-figure funerary plaques* [diss. Iowa 1981]; herms are probably to be understood as sculptural ornamentation in general, Stupperich ii (n. 11) 52-53 n. 3 (to p. 72). Limiting attendance: Humphreys (n. 3) 90.

[14] A. Stewart, *Greek sculpture: an exploration* (New Haven 1990) 109-110; see A. M. d'Onofrio, *AION(archeol)* iv (1982) 135-170 and x (1988 [1990]) 83-96; parallels in encomia of dead, R. Thomas, *Oral tradition and written record in classical Athens* (Cambridge 1989) 103-4.

[15] J. W. Day, *JHS* cix (1989) 16; *cf.* J. Svenbro, *AION(archeol)* x (1988 [1990]) 63-71 on oral *kleos*.

[16] Humphreys (n. 3) 89-90; Stupperich i (n. 11) 77-85; Morris (n. 9) 128-155.

[17] Grave-reliefs after 430: Friis Johansen (n. 10) 109 (lack of signature); M. Robertson, *A history of Greek art* (Cambridge 1975) 365 (stereotypical compositions and humdrum execution); U. Vedder, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhr. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt 1985) 155, the changes in sculpture reflect the fact that a wider citizen-group has access to grave-art; interpretive quotation from Humphreys (n. 3) 105 (and see also 127 n. 34, at end). Family: Humphreys (n. 3) 106-7.

fourth-century commemoration, the overall sense is clearly of a shift to commemorating individuals rather than commemorating universal qualities embodied by these individuals. After 430, therefore, individuals and monuments both became more independent–individuals from the web of aristocratic values, monuments from their implied relationship to the funeral.

Of crucial importance in bringing about this transition were the public funerals and public monuments favored by the Athenians in the fifth century. For at some time early in the fifth century Athens not only limited what individuals or families could do but instituted state funerals with public orations for the war dead, and as a result largely monopolized public and monumental commemoration on stone between *c.* 490 and 430.[18] The grave-*stelai* that survive from these public burials list Athens' war-dead by tribe, battle, and individual name, were sometimes accompanied by an epigram, and were erected in the *demosion sema* in the Kerameikos. Humphreys suggested that these changes 'first brought the honours of heroic burial within the range of every Athenian citizen', and thus generated the more private memorials of the fourth century, presumably because individuals were honoured by name, and because civic and not aristocratic *arete* was being honoured. Public commemoration in the fifth century was a major event, as descriptions of it, especially of the funeral oration and its consequences for individual habits of commemoration, make clear.[19]

Additionally, the relationship between representation and writing in the surviving monuments changed dramatically between the sixth and fourth centuries. Of 80 late seventh- and sixth-century Attic gravestones with pictorial decoration, for example, 17 (21.3%) were inscribed, and only fourteen of the 69 (20.3%) sixth-century Attic epitaphs published by L. H. Jeffery were on plain *stelai* or *diskoi* (rather than, e.g., statue-bases) and were therefore not subordinate to or coequal with an artistic representation of some sort. In A. Conze's collection of 2225 grave-reliefs from the fifth century BC through the Roman period, however, 1368 (61.5%) have writing associated with them, and of the 10263 epitaphs studied here, only 1869 (18.2%) are associated with relief. Even epigrams become longer and longer over time.[20] The fifth and fourth centuries are already well-advanced in this trend, with 54.2% (970/1789) of Conze's reliefs inscribed, and only 37.4% (1182/3163) of its epitaphs (of all types) associated with reliefs. Writing more than art was clearly becoming the vehicle chosen to convey

[18] Personal commemoration during this time is chiefly attested by *lekythoi*, and here Humphreys (n. 3) sees some of the same trends: e.g. an unfulfilled desire for impressive monuments. One *loutrophoros* (Amsterdam 2455) actually seems to depict a casualty-list (F. Lissarrague, *AION(archeol)* x [1988 (1990)] 100), and the individual *stelai* depicted on *lekythoi* would seem to carry words, even though the writing is only unreadable squiggles. Whether this means that *stelai* were erected out of perishable materials like wood or that Athenians merely wished to erect *stelai* (or even larger monuments, which are depicted but which certainly do not survive) but did not feel they should, is unclear and debated: see Clairmont ii (n. 13: 1983) 277-8 n. 4 and now H. A. Shapiro, *AJA* xcv (1991) 629-656 at 646-656. Few epitaphs belong to this period (see Appendix). Disputes over them, and over fifth-century grave-reliefs, are intense but of small import here given the numbers: see C. W. Clairmont, *Boreas* ix (1986) 27-50, with a list (48-49) of fifteen reliefs dated (incorrectly, he argues) by other scholars to 450-430. On when Athens started commemorating war-dead in the Kerameikos (as opposed to when sumptuary restrictions were imposed), see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek state at war* iv (Berkeley 1985) 117-124 and N. Loraux, *The invention of Athens: the funeral oration in the classical city* (Cambridge, MA 1986) 28-37.

[19] Grave-*stelai* described by Clairmont i (n. 13: 1983) 46-54; D. W. Bradeen, *Hesperia* xxxiii (1964) 16-62 and *CQ* n.s. xix (1969) 145-159; Loraux (n. 18) 22-23. Public commemoration: J. Ziolkowski, *Thucydides and the tradition of funeral speeches at Athens* (New York 1981), Loraux (n. 18). Effects on private commemoration: Clairmont (n. 13: 1970) 41-46; *cf.* Dem. lvii 37.

[20] Gravestones: numbers from G. M. A. Richter, *The archaic gravestones of Attica* (London 1961) and Jeffery (n. 6). Grave-reliefs: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin 1893-1922); the total adjusts for intercalated and omitted numbers, and leaves out 35 entries from before the Persian Wars. Conze also includes miscellaneous material like stele-palmettes and unattached sculpture-heads, all of which have been included in the count but which probably drive the percentage of inscribed pieces down further than it should be. On writing *cf.* B. Schmaltz, *Griechische Grabreliefs* (Darmstadt 1983) 101-106. Epigram-length: Clairmont (n. 13: 1970) 50; Friis Johansen (n. 10) 63.

something about the deceased.

A closer look at epitaphs will point to a possible explanation for these changes of emphasis within commemoration from funeral to funeral and monument, away from the individual as a member of an idealized community of aristocrats, from representation to writing. Since epitaphs functioned in a public context, Humphreys' identification of family as the key fourth-century factor is problematic, as she herself realized: 'There is ... 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'.[21] But what epitaphs most clearly did in the sixth as well as the fourth century was signal the fact of belonging; what changed was the community to which the deceased was ascribed. For although the dead were no longer commemorated as aristocratic types, they also had not come to be commemorated fully as individuals: late fifth- and fourth-century epitaphs do not, as a rule, convey truly personal characteristics. Even adjectives characterizing the dead are relatively infrequent, and accompanying epigrams even rarer;[22] what there is, in so many cases, is only a name. The trend toward 'individualism' was thus limited. Instead, as the fact of occasional family grouping suggests, individuals were still commemorated as members of larger units; but the degree to which only family is being memorialized is limited also. For the virtues described are not particularly familial, and grave-reliefs depict much more than just family groupings.[23] The shift is not from type to individual, from an emphasis on aristocratic virtues to an emphasis on 'private' or 'family' virtues, but from members of the group of 'best men' to members of the civic group, the *polis*, as a whole. Some dead were occasionally commemorated as members of families, some simply as themselves, but to identify either as the characteristic trend in the fourth century is to identify the community to which each was ascribed too narrowly.

Names indicated this fact of belonging. For names, to which the focus of an epitaph has so clearly narrowed, are not just names: by the fourth century, the way chosen to state a name signalled an individual's membership in the communities of family and the *polis*. Names had been consistently present in sixth-century epitaphs, where they communicated what little individualisation there was,[24] and on fifth-century casualty-lists the Athenian dead were listed as single names by tribe, under the general heading of *Athenaioi*; separate from them but also listed were others (foreigners, *isoteleis*, or metics) who had fought on behalf of Athens. Thus before the end of the fifth century, the deceased was marked as an individual by his or her name, but the name was then consistently placed within a wider context, in the group of those who embodied the same aristocratic values (signalled by the artistic or adjectival attribution of timeless virtues), or in the group of the *polis* itself (signalled by the arrangement of names in categories—tribes—specifically created as a way of placing individuals in a relationship with the *polis*). When after 403/2 a different way of expressing a name appears on stone grave-markers—

[21] Humphreys (n. 3) 119.

[22] See, e.g., G. Pfohl, *Untersuchungen über die attischen Grabinschriften* (diss. Erlangen 1953) 13-56 – rich, but few in number when compared to the total of fifth- and fourth-century inscriptions. M. N. Tod, *ABSA* xlvi (1951) 182-3 claimed that metrical epitaphs and laudatory epithets were common, but he was thinking in absolute and not proportional terms, was contemplating epitaphs from all Greek cities, and was working with any epitaph between the sixth century BC and the third century AD. W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin 1955) presents 2101 epigrams (not counting 37 for polyandria) from all over the Greek world and from all centuries of antiquity – a mere one-fifth of the Athenian epitaphs studied here; for Athens, P. A. Hansen, *CEG* (Berlin 1983) nos. 73-105 and (1989) nos. 475-623 gives a total of 181 epigrams from fifth- and fourth-century Attica, which is 5.7% (181/3163).

[23] Friis Johansen (n. 10) 16; Robertson (n. 17) 366; G. Hoffmann, *AION(archeol)* x (1988 [1990]) 81; *cf.* R. Osborne, *JHS* cvii (1987) 105 on relationship of subject-matter to Parthenon sculptors.

[24] *Contra* J.W. Day (n. 15) 17, even patronymics are relatively *uncommon* in sixth-century Attic epitaphs (either 6/56, 10.7%, or 16/56, 28.6% – ten noted that the father put up the monument), ethnics very uncommon (3/56, 5.4%), using Jeffery's (n. 6) collection of 69 (13 had no name preserved).

the name with the demotic, or with patronymic and demotic–the epitaph not only continues to function in the same way its predecessors had, but even asserts membership in the same larger entity as in the fifth century.[25] But where the fifth-century polis had arranged its citizens on official casualty-lists and in its own categories–from the top down, as it were–in the fourth century individuals themselves and their families announced the deceased's relationship to the *polis as they saw it*–from the bottom up: not through tribal affiliation, but through demes. They were citizens of Athens, and said so by giving their demotic. It is the perspective on community that has changed.

That demotics were a way of marking Athenian citizenship, and not just deme-affiliation or even deme-loyalty, had been true from the beginning of the fifth century. Cleisthenes supposedly had encouraged the use of the demotic over that of the patronymic so that new citizens would not be exposed as such; 'and hence Athenians do call each other after demes', claimed the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (21.4). But there is little evidence for the use of the demotic before the end of the fifth century, and D. Whitehead concluded that 'the habit of using demotics took root very slowly, even in official documents which one might have expected to give a lead in the matter'. The move to the demotic must therefore have been a voluntary rather than an imposed one.[26] Moreover, on a practical level the demotic also signalled citizenship, for by the fourth century the citizenship of an eighteen-year-old male was publicly affirmed by the deme, and his acceptance there and registration in the deme-lists constituted the only proofs of citizenship he had. For this reason, virtually all Athenians commemorated by name and demotic are probably also adults.[27] A voluntary switch to a name that included a demotic was therefore more than just an indication that a name-component advocated by Cleisthenes a century earlier had finally been accepted and had 'become standard'. It was a new way of seeing one's self and of asserting an affiliation with the *polis*: it was a change that was embraced because from practical experience it was felt to mean something.

Moreover, Athenians were sensitive to the implications of names. M. Golden has suggested that at the beginning and end of the fifth century the frequency with which a child was named after other family members significantly increased, perhaps in response to political events. More generally, in fourth-century speeches the patronymic serves to emphasise aristocratic lineage, the demotic a man's attachment to the democracy and hence his worthiness and believability.[28]

[25] The earliest use of the demotic on a tombstone seems to be Jeffery (n. 6) 134 no.36 (Marathon, dated *c.* 500). The next (the earliest known to D. Whitehead, *The demes of Attica 508/7-ca. 250 BC: a social and political study* [Princeton 1986] 70 n. 14) is *IG* i² 1003 (Athens, first half of fifth century?). After Osborne's and Clairmont's redating of the *IG* i² epitaphs (see Appendix), only one epitaph with a demotic (*IG* i² 1041, from Myrrhine) remains attributed to the fifth century (*contra* Nielsen et al. [n. 9] 413 n. 6, who claim 'a dozen private funerary monuments recording Athenians with demotics'–they mean six monuments with eleven names, of which three [*IG* i² 1065, 1077, 1083] have been moved by *IG* i³ to after 403/2 and another [*IG* i² 1063] moved by C. W. Clairmont, *Boreas* ii [1979] 45 to the early fourth century, on stylistic grounds).

[26] Whitehead (n. 25) 71 (quoted), and *ibid.* 71 n.18: first used by the *grammateus* in the tribute-lists in 451/0 (*IG* i³ 262); but as R. Osborne, *Demos: the discovery of classical Attika* (Cambridge 1985) 66 points out, in decrees of the Assembly, the use of the demotic in the proposer's name did not become standard until 352/1. Whitehead (n. 25) 71-72 attributes the demotic on tombstones after 403/2 to a stipulation of the re-enacted Periclean citizenship laws, but (a) 'demotic' is entirely within brackets in *IG* i³ 59, lines 6 and 37; and (b) no enforcement mechanism has been suggested for it. Thus the change in name has been misinterpreted by M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca II* (Rome 1969) 7 and *Epigrafia Greca III* (Rome 1974) 149, and by Klaffenbach (n. 1) 58, both of whom think that after 403/2 all citizens *had* to give their name with a demotic; Klaffenbach goes on to say that therefore all the 'unknowns' had to be foreigners.

[27] P. J. Rhodes, *A commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 497-8; R. Sealey, *The Athenian republic: democracy or the rule of law?* (University Park, PA 1987) 154 n. 27. Adults: Nielsen et al. (n. 9) 416-17 n. 18, announcing a further study.

[28] M. Golden, *EMC* xxx (1986) 245-269, esp. 257-269. Oratory: J. B. Edwards, *The demesman in Attic life* (Menasha, WI 1916) 31-47, 60.

Theophrastus (*Char.* 21.5) can lampoon the *mikrophilotimos* man, the man 'striving for petty distinction', as one who would put up a 'little tiny stele' (*stelidion*) to his precious Maltese lap-dog, suitably memorialized with the epitaph 'Branch, of Malta': in the hands of this kind of man, even a dog is now commemorated, and as if a foreigner (since distant origin in this case also signals value). These various sensitivities to names and to the standing that names reveal further emphasise that the demotic, even if it was on its way to *becoming* a standard component of the Athenian citizen name, *was* a highly charged and significant element in the fourth century, when its use in inscriptions for the first time spread. The multi-part name alone, as opposed to a single name embedded within a web of aristocratic values or ordered within a casualty-list, was consciously used to indicate the fact that an individual saw himself as belonging to the larger group of Athens itself.

Two related problems can be solved by the identification of this function of an epitaph. It was observed in Part I that all fourth-century tombstones were not put up for Athenian citizens signalled by the demotic, even though quite a number of the 'unknowns' should probably be associated with 'demotic' tombstones. Yet the existence of the 'unknown' type of epitaph (without patronymic or demotic), rather than being problematic, merely underlines the fact that not everyone chose to commemorate the dead with a demotic, just as in the fifth century some had preferred to bury in ways not in keeping with 'democratic' norms.[29] New ways of doing things should be expected to exist side by side with older or simpler ways. Even foreigners could exercise a choice, for in their epitaphs they usually identified their dead not as *xenoi* in, or metics of, Athens but as members of their *polis* of origin.[30] Foreigners as well as citizens thus used epitaphs to indicate that they belonged; it was the cities to which they claimed a relationship that differed.

Second, the 'name-with-a-demotic', while more common in the fourth century than in any other century, was much less common than a name with patronymic *and* demotic.[31] Here, however, the patronymic complements and strengthens the message of the demotic (in a way that the demotic cannot be seen to strengthen any 'family-message' of the patronymic), for the two—patronymic and demotic, family and deme—go hand in hand in an assertion of Athenian citizenship. At that meeting of the deme-assembly at which a youth's status was determined, he had to meet three criteria: he had to be eighteen, had to be free (not slave), and had to 'be born in accordance with the laws' (*gegone kata tous nomous*, [Arist.] *AthPol.* 42.1). This means, after the enactment of Pericles's citizenship law in 451/0 and its re-enactment in 403/2, that a youth had to be born of two citizen parents in order to qualify as a citizen himself.[32] The demotic announced that he had passed these tests, through proof which in one (if not every) case his family had supplied. Thus Humphreys is right to see *some* emphasis on family in fourth-century monuments and epitaphs, and to find *more* examples of family burial-plots and

[29] Morris (n. 9) 132-134.

[30] D. Whitehead, *The ideology of the Athenian metic* (Cambridge 1977) 33-34.

[31] W. Peek, *AthMitt* lxvii (1942) 102-103 noted that the name with only the demotic (and no patronymic) was comparatively rare, and counted a little over 100 examples (out of more than 2700 names), 'the preponderance of which were from the fourth century'; I count 223 from the late fifth and fourth centuries (out of 4519 names, using totals from Nielsen et al. [n. 9] 411), 127 from all subsequent time-periods (including 22 that were not dated).

[32] It might also mean 'born from a lawful marriage', but this is disputed (see Rhodes [n. 27] 496-7, 499-500). Republication 403/2: Ath. xiii 577b; C. Patterson, *Pericles' citizenship law of 451-450* BC (Salem, NH 1981) 140-147; M. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens iii and iv* (Brussels 1983) 152 n. 69. This seems to have been accompanied by a stipulation that its requirements not be made retroactive for children born before 403/2 (Dem. lvii 30); and another proposal was passed at the same time that decreed children of a male citizen and a female alien *nothoi* (Sealey [n. 27] 23).

groupings then,[33] but this emphasis existed not only for its own sake but to reinforce the assertions of citizenship, of belonging, that many individuals wished to make.

III. Citizenship and Epitaphs

A major function of the Attic epitaph or tomb-monument of the archaic and classical periods, therefore, was to direct a passer-by's attention to the deceased's membership in a larger group, above all (as time went by) the group of Athenian citizens. The alignment of the patterns and points outlined in Parts I and II with the historical development of Athenian concepts of citizenship, and of Athenian attitudes about that citizenship, confirms this function.

P. B. Manville has argued that the concept of citizenship, and with it the concept of the Athenian *polis*, was created in the sixth century by 'political reformers, working together with a community of Athenians who increasingly defined themselves as just that', and that by 500 'citizenship had become a fully formed institution and self-conscious ethos'.[34] However, at this time the main forms of commemoration linked the dead to an entirely different, aristocratic group. Thereafter a thorough-going suppression of display (from *c.* 500 to 430) involving dress and behaviour as well as burial[35] prevented the development of citizen-centered epitaphs. In the middle of this period, in 451/0, Pericles sponsored a law redefining citizenship, decreeing that 'anyone not born from two citizen parents would not have a share in the city' ([Arist.] *AthPol.* 26.4). At least as understood more than one hundred years later, the city—Athens—became in 451/0 an entity of which it was now *legally* deemed a privilege to be a member.[36] Moreover, as Thucydides would have Pericles express it, it was a privilege to belong to a community that was so much more than the sum of its parts, to be actively subordinate to the greater good of Athens (Thuc. ii 42.1). By praising Athens, Pericles says, he *has* praised the men who died; in public commemoration, the individual exists only insofar as he has contributed to the city. Until the last third of the fifth century, then, citizenship was a self-conscious and legally defined state, with its centrality as an institution of the *polis* affirmed in a variety of public rituals, but linked to high-profile commemoration only through official acts irregularly performed.[37]

Around 430, the state's monopoly on such commemoration began to break down. Some scholars have suggested that the availability of the Acropolis sculptors and the strains of war and plague played important roles;[38] to these factors a fourth can be added. In 431, the Athenians moved themselves behind the protection of the city's walls, in from the Attic

[33] Humphreys (n. 3) 103 (multiple fifth-century burials in the same grave, although interpretation of this as family, without epigraphic evidence, is problematic); 111-117 (17 sets of inscriptions found together that belong to people probably related to each other).

[34] P. B. Manville, *The origins of citizenship in ancient Athens* (Princeton 1990) 210, *contra* R. Sealey, *AJAH* viii (1983) 116-7.

[35] Dress: Thuc. i 6.3-4; *cf.* also [Xen.] *AthPol.* 10 and A. G. Geddes, *CQ* xxxvii (1987) 307-331. The wealthy were in fact very circumspect about displaying their wealth in ways that did not benefit the community (Thuc. ii 40.1), because the community's opinion could bring exclusive activities or display into disrepute: see [Xen.] *AthPol.* 13 on physical exercise and the pursuit of culture, or Dem. xxi 159 on the disgraceful luxuries of Meidias; in general K.J. Dover, *Greek popular morality in the time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford 1974) 175-180 and J. Ober, *Mass and elite in democratic Athens: rhetoric, ideology, and the power of the people* (Princeton 1989) 205-247. Burial: Morris (n. 9) 103-155; *cf.* parallels in dedications in hero-cult and *Opferrinne* in J. Whitley, 'The monuments that stood before Marathon: tomb cult and hero cult in archaic Attica' (unpublished ms).

[36] Patterson (n. 32) 82-139; R. K. Sinclair, *Democracy and participation in Athens* (Cambridge 1988) 24.

[37] Ziolkowski (n. 19) 22-24; Pritchett (n. 18) 106-117; Loraux (n. 18) 37-39.

[38] Friis Johansen (n. 10) 146-7; Clairmont (n. 13: 1970) 43; M. Robertson (n. 17) 364; Stupperich i (n. 11) 243-245.

countryside where 'most of them had been accustomed to live', a move that felt, to each of them, like forsaking his own *polis* (Thuc. ii 16). Being truly Athenian thus received physical reinforcement but also thereby acquired some new and terrifying aspects, especially when plague followed. Uprooted and irrevocably committed to being inhabitants of a beleaguered city, Athenians started to consider seriously the nature of their *politeia* and their own role in it. Meanwhile, many perished in the war.[39] For at least some of them relatives or friends could claim the privilege of burial in the Kerameikos, an impulse Aristophanes was mocking, by 414, in *Birds*. There, Peisthetairos introduces himself and his sidekick, Euelpides, to the audience as citizens among citizens, who nonetheless were fleeing Athens, 'the opposite of Sakas, a non-citizen trying to force his way in!' (32-45). Despite this flight Peisthetairos reassures Euelpides that if they fall prey to menacing talons and beaks, 'the Kerameikos will welcome us. In order to be buried publicly, we'll tell the generals that we died fighting at ... Orneae!' (395-6). Peisthetairos is smoothly confident that the claim of a minor skirmish—and a bad joke—will win them a public burial. Athens' agreed-upon prize for service was burial, a public, commemorated burial in the Kerameikos, and such an honour was sufficiently valued, and sufficiently bestowed, to be parodied.[40] All this, then—new pressure on unity and citizenship caused by war, disruption of ancestral patterns of living (and probably burying), disastrous disease, available means in the form of sculptors, and repeated emphasis on public burial in the Kerameikos as the reward for a citizen's service—contributed to the reappearance of individual commemoration on stone, a small but visible phenomenon in Athens before the end of the Peloponnesian War.

In the sixth and fifth centuries, therefore, the public function of an epitaph was established and an epitaph's link to citizenship was first asserted, but in the fifth century its assertion and context were rigorously controlled by the citizens of the *polis*. Only when that self-control began to relax, toward the end of the fifth century, is it possible to see attitudes about citizenship influencing the production of epitaphs, because only then were such attitudes and acts of commemoration allowed free interaction.

Opinions on citizenship were strongly held in fourth-century Athens, especially in the first half of the century. In the reorganization of law in 403/2, Pericles's citizenship decree was reaffirmed, and the Athenians subsequently took several steps to emphasise the boundaries between citizens and non-citizens. In the 380's it became increasingly difficult to grant citizenship to outsiders, and there were no block grants of citizenship between 401 and 338; sometimes honours less generous than full citizenship were granted; and *atimia*, which had once been outlawry but had gradually evolved into a loss of component parts of citizenship, was imposed as a penalty for more and more offences.[41] Other actions reinforced the fact of privilege: the raising of assembly-pay to three obols by 394/3, for example, or the limitation of

[39] Hansen (n. 8: 1988) 22 cols. a+b calculates 41,710.

[40] *Contra* Loraux (n. 18) 20, 309-310, who finds this passage 'ambiguous'.

[41] Difficulty of granting citizenship: M. Osborne (n. 32) 158-159, 161-163 (a second vote of ratification at the next Assembly meeting added to the original decree). For the date of 385/4, see *ibid.* 152; in 385/4 *metroxenoi* were no longer permitted to qualify as citizens although between 403/2 and 385/4 they had been, and to this date Osborne attaches other undated but early-fourth-century changes in citizenship-requirements. Block grants: M. Osborne (n. 32) 202-204. Less than full citizenship: *enktesis*, *ateleia*, and *isoteleia* could all be granted to metics and foreigners, and it is clear both that a hierarchy of honours existed, with full citizenship at the top, and that foreigners in the fourth century struggled up this ladder (M. Osborne [n. 32] 145-6, 148, 195, 197). *Atimia*: on its historical development into revocation of some of the privileges of citizenship, see Sealey (n. 34) 97-129, esp. 98-111 (with reservations); there is much debate over when and how *atimia* changed, but all agree that by the fourth century it has changed from simple outlawry to a penalty that functions in a specifically civic context. *Atimia* and more transgressions: a deduction from the list in M. H. Hansen, *Apagoge, endeixis and ephegesis against kakourgoi, atimoi, and pheugontes* (Odense 1976) 72-74 (and see his general discussion 54-90).

orphan-benefits to children of deceased citizens in 403.[42] Legal speeches (which admittedly survive in quantity only from the fourth century) lauded the grant of citizenship as a precious gift, dreaded citizenship's loss (and with it the right to be buried on Attic soil), and attacked, in highly colourful language, those believed to have acquired Athenian citizenship through skulduggery or bribery.[43] A major oratorical strategy in the fourth-century courtroom or assembly was to isolate the opponent from the citizen-jurors or citizen-assemblymen being addressed—to emphasise that he did not share in the values of all citizens and was therefore certainly in the wrong, and probably guilty in fact of un-Athenian activities.[44] Citizenship was the individual's perception of community, and in the fourth century became a jealously guarded privilege, one which the Athenian *demos* had made its business to grant or withhold.

Athenians in the fourth century apparently came to this attitude about citizenship from a wider and more tolerant view in the fifth. For although the requirements for citizenship were tightened with Pericles's law, and although only four grants of citizenship to outsiders are known before the Peloponnesian War, only one action during this time was taken to scrutinize the citizen-body, sometime around 445/4.[45] After the defeat by Sparta, debate over the boundaries of citizenship—should it be given to those who had assisted the democracy, or restricted to those who qualified by descent?—was intense. Only with the decisions in favor of limitations, exclusivity, and privilege was descent rather than service firmly established as the single criterion for being an Athenian, and stress on the importance of being a member of the in-group followed.[46] And only by the later third century (229) had attitudes softened sufficiently to allow a more open policy on the subject of naturalization; by the first century citizenship was, as a practical matter, being sold to any man who wanted it.[47] Restrictive legislation presupposes restrictive attitudes. Relaxed legislation presupposes a different perception of the community of citizens, but provides only a *terminus ante quem* for when that change in perception must have occurred, and even so the distinction between foreigner and Athenian never disappeared.[48]

[42] Assembly-pay: [Arist.] *AthPol.* 41.3, dated by references in Aristophanes's *Eccl.* 205-7, 303-310 (see E. David, *Aristophanes and Athenian society of the early fourth century BC* [Leiden 1984] 29-32). Orphans: R. Stroud, *Hesperia* xl (1971) 280-301 and Loraux (n. 18) 26-7. There were other economic privileges in existence before the fourth century: owning property, inheriting property from Athenian citizens, purchasing silver-mine leases, sharing in distributions, performing in public festivals (J. K. Davies, *CJ* lxxiii.2 [1977/8] 106; Sinclair [n. 36] 31-32).

[43] Gift: e.g. Dem. xlv 78; [Dem.] lix 13 and 88-89; xxiii 199-201; a sentiment also expressed in the inscribed decrees (cf. M. Osborne [n. 32] 147-9). Loss of citizenship: e.g. Hyp. iii 28; [Lys.] xx 35, xxi 25. Citizenship and burial: Hyp. iv 18, Hyp. i 20. Skulduggery and bribery: Din. fr.A7 Burtt; Dem. xxiii *passim*; [Dem.] lix *passim*. Lying about citizenship: Lys. xiii 70.

[44] Ober (n. 35) 268-70 and *passim*; Dover (n. 35) 32; *cf.* Dem. xlv 78, [Dem.] l *passim*.

[45] Grants of citizenship: M. Osborne (n. 32) 211-212. 445/4: D. Whitehead (n. 25) 99-100, 106-109.

[46] Debate, *cf.* the proposal of Phormisius in 401/0, which proposed restricting citizenship to landholders only (Lys. xxxiv, quoted in D. H. *de Lysia* 32); Davies (n. 42) 118 dates this proposal to 403, M. Ostwald, *From popular sovereignty to the sovereignty of law* (Berkeley 1986) 504 n. 24 to before 401. On the 'heroes' of Phyle see M. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (Brussels 1981) 37-41, *Naturalization in Athens ii* (Brussels 1982) 26-43, and Stroud (n. 42) 300. For varying assessments of the atmosphere, see G. Mathieu, *REG* xl (1927) 65-116, E. Lévy, *Athènes devant la défaite de 404: histoire d'une crise idéologique* (Paris 1976) 209-257, Ostwald (*ibid.*) 500-509, and Davies (n. 42) 106-114 and 118, who believes in 'a sense of siege, of barricades being manned' (110), in 'obsessions, anxieties, and insecurities'(111). For attitudes toward citizenship in the early fourth century, see Sinclair (n. 36) 24-27; for an alternative interpretation of Davies's thesis, see Patterson (n. 32) 129-139.

[47] 229: M. Osborne, *AncSoc* vii (1976) 107-125, especially 108-114, 118-120, 123. Selling citizenship: M. Osborne (n. 32) 141 (based on Cassius Dio liv 7.2 and Cic. *pro Balbo* 30), by the first century citizenship-grants were no longer being inscribed, which also confirms that they were no longer an honour and a gift, and in fact suggests that they were no longer even being closely overseen by the Assembly. For the same pattern observed from the angle of intermarriage with foreigners and the openness of the ephebate, see Davies (n. 42) 111.

[48] Whitehead (n. 30) 33-34, 163-5.

When citizenship was valued and honoured, especially as attested by a new attitude of exclusivity manifested in the laws, the number of demotic tombstones, and with them the number of total tombstones, rose. Conversely, when citizenship was no longer as valued and as exclusive—a change attributable to Athens' loss of independence at the hands of the Macedonians and thus to the dilution of all, or most, of what had made Athenian citizenship a special privilege, a change eventually reflected in the later third-century relaxation of legal exclusivity—the number of tombstones began to decline. Athenians still marked themselves off from others through the use of the demotic, but in smaller numbers, and by the third century its use probably no longer signalled a special emphasis on citizenship. The general and the status-specific chronological patterns (FIGS. 1 and 2) can therefore both be explained if epitaphs in the fourth century in particular are seen as assertions of citizenship, as the concrete consequences of a desire to announce an individual's privileged possession of a share in the *polis* once Athenian attitudes about commemoration had relaxed sufficiently to allow such announcement.

The spatial patterns of FIGS. 3-7 can also be explained as assertions of citizenship. The fourth century has been called the heyday of the demes, with much political activity—the exercise of citizenship at the local level—being carried on there, the demes' own proceedings publicly inscribed, and service to the deme epigraphically honoured. Political activity in, and feeling for, the deme may well have been equally high in the fifth century, but had not been memorialized epigraphically; in the third century deme inscriptions fall off sharply despite the fact that the habit of deme inscriptions had been widely established in the fourth. Only in Piraeus, Eleusis, and Rhamnous (the latter two, 'garrison-demes') do deme inscriptions exist in any number through the third century, and this pattern is mirrored in the distribution of epitaphs (FIG. 5).[49] It is unclear what political activity took place in the demes after the third century, but there was probably very little. By the age of Augustus, for example, the Acharnians preferred to refer to themselves in an inscription (*IG* ii^{2} 2953) as a *koinon* rather than a deme, a term 'appropriate to a wider, less exclusive group than the collective demotic alone would have embraced'.[50] What deme-commemoration there was in the Roman period is probably due more to attitudes like those expressed by Herodes Atticus's supernatural interlocutor Agathion, who claimed that the country (and its Greek) were pure, the city tainted (Phil. *VS* 553). Attachments like Herodes's were sentimental or, indeed, even philological, but not political. Thus commemoration with a demotic in a deme—which at first seems somewhat unnecessary, for would not the deme of all places know you as a citizen?—is not at all paradoxical if demesmen are not necessarily knowledgeable and honest (*cf.* Dem. lvii) and if such commemoration is seen as a result of an exclusive attitude toward citizenship-status associated with pride in the local political unit, both of which are strongly attested in the fourth century and linked then as in no other century.[51]

[49] 'Blütezeit': Whitehead (n. 25) 359; deme inscriptions, *ibid.* 361 n. 49, 401-497.

[50] Whitehead (n. 25) 362-3.

[51] Herodes wished his freedmen to bury him in Marathon: Phil. *VS* 566. The number of epitaphs with demotics in other demes (i.e. found in a different deme from the demotic) will be one focus of the studies now underway under the sponsorship of M. H. Hansen; see A. Damsgaard-Madsen, *Studies in ancient history and numismatics presented to Rudi Thomsen* (Aarhus 1988) 55-68 (on migration into Athens). Since it is clear from small samples (e.g. the epitaphs of Rhamnous) that a high percentage of those commemorated with a demotic in a deme could in fact be from that deme (i.e. Rhamnusians), the use of the demotic must function as more than just a geographic indicator of a family's original deme for an individual who had moved. Damsgaard-Madsen's work (following up on preliminary research done by A. W. Gomme, *The population of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC* [Chicago 1957, repr. of 1933] 44-48) also prompts a fundamental question of approach (60): are people actually buried or commemorated where they lived, i.e. is an epitaph a good indicator of residence? The importance of the Kerameikos as a place for commemoration might have inflated the number of people who apparently, but may not actually, have moved to Athens. For this reason I stress that this article presents *commemorative* rather than

Yet the more marked spatial trend is toward commemoration in Athens and Piraeus rather than in the more rural demes. If commemoration and citizen-status are related, this too makes sense, for in the late fifth and fourth centuries debates over Athenian citizenship took place in Athens itself, since the synoecism that Athenians attributed to Theseus had established Athens' political supremacy over Attica and had forced the inhabitants of Attica 'to use it as the only *polis*' (Thuc. ii 15.2). Although local loyalties continued strong until 431, when each was forced to abandon what he considered 'his own *polis*' (i.e. the deme, Thuc. ii 16), and indeed revived in the fourth century, the political center had shifted to Athens and all important decisions made by Athenian citizens were made there. It was also where the war-dead were buried. It would therefore be the place where the lasting public commemoration of individual citizens would be most likely to reappear, and most likely to last.

When the 'sturdily independent' population came in from the countryside in 431, however, some went to friends, many to the uninhabited places and the sanctuaries of the city, and many to the towers of the city walls; 'but later they distributed into lots and occupied the space between the Long Walls and the greater part of the Piraeus' (Thuc. ii 17). The Piraeus had already grown beyond the size of a normal deme, was linked to Athens by the long walls, and was more like a busy part of Athens than an independent deme; walls and war helped to weld Athens and the Piraeus into a single, if diverse, entity.[52] In one important way, however, the Piraeus was perceived as different from Athens: its population, according to Aristotle, was 'more democratic' than that of the city of Athens itself (*Pol.* 1303b10-12). He did not say why, although this characterization has been attributed in part to the 'naval mob' (Thuc. viii 72.2) that embarked and disembarked there.[53] On two occasions the 'more democratic' Athenians of the Piraeus significantly influenced the course of Athenian history: in 411, democratic resistance to oligarchy in the city was launched from Piraeus (Thuc. viii 93), and in 404, Piraeus was not only placed under the special supervision of a board of ten by the Thirty ([Arist.] *AthPol.* 35.1), which suggests that they feared some dangerous tendency in the area, but was also the place to which Athenians expelled from Athens by the Thirty first fled, which suggests that the opportunities to avoid oligarchic unpleasantness were perceived to be greater there. Concerted resistance to the Thirty thereafter began at Thebes, then moved via Phyle back to Piraeus. As a result of this success, and joined by many light-armed troops who lived in the area (Xen. *Hell.* ii 4.12), the democrats now in Piraeus established themselves as a second political entity ('the men of the Piraeus') and claimed to speak for Athenians as a whole. Only six months later was a preliminary reconciliation effected, and only two years after that (in 401/0) did the Piraeus democrats officially—and symbolically, through a procession—return to the city of Athens.[54] The use of the demotic on tombstones first appeared significantly in Athens and Piraeus (32+18=50 from the late fifth/early fourth century, compared to 13 scattered throughout the various demes), and the greatest tests of the Athenian democracy, between 411 and 401/0, were faced and triumphantly overcome there; if any population would put a high value on city,

migratory patterns: the former may indeed signal the latter, but this has not yet been proved to my satisfaction. Two sides of the discussion are set out by M. H. Hansen, *GRBS* xxiv (1983) 227-238 and Whitehead (n. 25) 352-358.

[52] 'Sturdily independent': Whitehead (n. 25) 327-338; Edwards (n. 28) 28-30. Piraeus: Whitehead (n. 25) 394-6; Garland (n. 4) 4-5, 60, 69-72.

[53] Garland (n. 4) 69, 72; corrected by M. Jameson, *Phoenix* xliv.1 (1990) 102. Note also that the fourth-century habit of burying Athenian dead with dikastic *pinakia* is more heavily concentrated in the cemetery near the Piraeus—where those 'who had the greatest stake in the democracy and would have treasured their *pinakia* most highly' were buried (J. Kroll, *Athenian bronze allotment plates* [Cambridge, MA 1972] 9 n. 1).

[54] [Arist.] *AthPol.* 34-40 (with Rhodes [n. 27] 415-482); Xen. *Hell.* ii 3-4; P. Krentz, *The thirty at Athens* (Ithaca 1982); Ostwald (n. 46) 460-509; T.C. Loening, *The reconciliation agreement of 403/402 BC in Athens* (Stuttgart 1987).

citizenship, and on what they as citizens could accomplish, the population of these two areas would.

Moreover, these struggles with oligarchs focussed attention on the problems of defining the citizen group in a very direct way. In addition to limiting the numbers of citizens, in both 411 and 404 oligarchs tried to create a distinction between those who actually ruled, the 400 or the 30, and those who were supposed to be the sovereign citizen group, the 5000 or the 3000, and this distinction caused fear, resentment, and eventually resistance.[55] Thus any limitation of the citizen body according to any reasonable principle, although debated, was soon deemed a narrow oligarchic plot and was unwelcome in Athens after 403, as was any toleration of exceptions—like the oligarchs at Eleusis (Xen. *Hell.* ii 4.43)—or any attempt to dilute the distinction between the citizen-body and others, even worthy foreigners. Limitations, exceptions, and dilutions would all destroy the political power of the *demos*, and therewith the political power, privilege, and security of being a citizen. A speech (*c.* 410) in the Lysianic corpus argued that 'the democracy is not upset by those who increase the number of citizens, but by those who reduce it' (xx 13); after 403, however, proponents of this position (like the metic Lysias) lost their case, for in fact the democracy was threatened by all types of change including expansion. The oligarchic revolutions at the end of the century thus drew attention, in a very terrifying way, to why definitions of citizenship were important, and the way in which a traditionally wide but firmly exclusive definition of citizenship was particularly important in a democratic *polis* like Athens.

Thus the definition of citizenship was not only important in the fourth century, but had become so at the end of the fifth century in Piraeus and Athens. Furthermore, the evil activities of the Thirty also drew attention to the links between citizenship, burial, and commemoration. Lysias said that 'they sent many of the citizens into exile with the enemy; they unjustly put many of them to death, and then left them unburied; many who had full civic rights they made *atimoi*; the daughters of many they debarred from being wed' (xii 21, *cf.* xii 96). It was dangerous even to conduct funerals (xii 88). Lysias was appealing to his audience's belief that citizens had a right not to be treated this way, and that citizens had a right to be buried. Meddling with the recently dead was rare in Athens,[56] and generally was imagined, with horror, only in tragedy or legend; it took men like the Thirty to make this horror a reality. The

[55] 411: see Thuc. viii 53.3, 65.3, 66.1, 67.3-69.1, [Arist.] *AthPol.* 29.5; 403/2: see Xen. Hell. ii 3.2, 3.18, [Arist.] *AthPol.* 36.2; and [Arist.] *AthPol.* 37 (death of Theramenes). In 403/2 it was not clear that those outside the *politeia* were no longer *politai*, but very clear that citizenship *per se* offered no protection (*cf.* Patterson [n. 32] 144). *Cf.* also [Xen.] *AthPol.* 3.12-13 on the dangers posed to a state by those deprived of their citizenship (written before 411).

[56] This action is initially a response to threatened pollution; for the Alkmeonidai, see [Arist.] *AthPol.* 1; Delos had been purified in this way twice (543/2, Hdt. i 64.2 and Thuc. iii 104; 425: Thuc. i 8, iii 104, Plut. *Nic.* 3, D.S. xii 58.6-7). In the fifth and fourth centuries denial of burial and posthumous disinterment were both more punishments for a civic offense, treason, than responses to feared pollution (although there is undoubtedly a link between the two). See, e.g., Thuc. i 138 (Themistocles buried in Attica secretly); Xen. *Hell.* i 7.22 (Phrynichus); [Plut.] *Vit. X Or.* (= *Mor.*) 833a and 834a (oligarchs Antiphon and Archeptolemus); Lycurg. i 113-115 (Phrynichus); Din. i 77 (suggested for Demosthenes); Isoc. xiv 55; Plut. *Phoc.* 37 and Val. Max. 5.3.ext.3 (Phocion); [Plut.] *Vit. X Or.* (= *Mor.*) 849b-c (Hypereides). Non-burial and disinterment are not the same action, but both deny a citizen Attic soil in which to be buried. It is perhaps from a solidification of this idea (that non-Attic burial implies expulsion from the community of citizens) that its reverse could have developed (that Attic burial was one good proof of membership in the community of citizens), assisted by a strong association of commemoration with citizenship-status. Hence perhaps the requirement that would-be magistrates at their *dokimasia* be able to point to the tombs (*eria*) of their ancestors ([Arist.] *AthPol.* 55.3, Dem. lvii 67, 70; Pollux viii 85), a requirement of otherwise unclear and disputed relevance (*cf.* R. Garland, *The Greek way of death* [Ithaca 1985] 104). Hence also emphasis in the later fourth-century orators (Lycurg. i 8, Dem. lvii 67, Aeschin. ii 74 and 152, iii 259, Din. i 110) on ancestral tombs when patriotic themes were sounded and when the speakers reminded the Athenians of the ways in which they differed from others (*cf.* Ober [n. 35] 264), especially when such 'ancestral' tombs seem not to have been more than several generations old (Humphreys [n. 3]).

Thirty therefore were represented as depriving Athenians of what was, perhaps because of this, depicted as a fundamental Athenian right. Burial and commemoration became rhetorical tropes of great power. When members of the Thirty were on trial, Lysias asked members of the jury to remember the dead, as a jury had remembered, and given satisfaction to, the valour of the dead at the trial of the Arginousai generals (xii 36). He reminded them of his own energy on behalf of the temples, the city, the arsenals, and 'the dead, whom you were unable to protect in life, and must therefore vindicate in death' (xii 99). And Xenophon has Thrasybulus not only address his democratic forces at Munychia as fellow-citizens (*andres politai*), but promise the dead a beautiful memorial: 'Happy also is he who is slain; for no one, however rich he may be, will gain a monument so glorious' (*mnemeiou gar oudeis ... kalou teuxetai*, Xen. *Hell.* ii 4.17).

Disruption of life, liberty, citizenship rights and definitions, and burial all characterised the ruinous reign of the Thirty. After their fall, there were major changes to efface their memory. Even the physical lay-out of the Kerameikos changed. To the south, the construction of the massive 'Terrassenanlage' for private tombs had begun as early as the 420's, but changes accelerated after 400; to the north, the road to the Academy was widened; and *horos*-markers for the entire area were set up.[57] The most prominent new features of the north side of the Kerameikos were the polyandrion of the Lacedaemonians who fell fighting in 403, perhaps a polyandrion of the Piraeus democrats, and the tomb of their leader Thrasybulus, which attracted Pausanias's attention in the second century AD (i 29.3):[58]

> There are very many sacred things here, first of all the tomb of Thrasybulus son of Lycus, who was altogether best of all the famous men of Athens before and after him ... starting in the beginning from Thebes with sixty men he abolished the dictatorship of the Thirty; when the Athenians were in *stasis* he persuaded them to be reconciled, and when they agreed together he persuaded them to abide by their agreements. His tomb is the first, and beside it the tombs of Pericles, Chabrias, and Phormio.

Pericles is not often reduced to an also-ran; Pausanias's description implies that this arrangement directed a traveller's attention to the savior, rather than to one of the original exponents, of the Athenian democracy. It was also an arrangement designed more to impress Athenians as they left their city than foreigners as they entered, giving prominence to those involved in the troubles of 403 and to the re-established democracy. And defenders of democracy have been

[57] The dating is unclear, probably between 410 and 394 (the latter date shakily based on a putative attribution of Lys. ii to 394). Laying-out of streets: see Kurtz and Boardman (n. 5) 93; G. Karo, *An Attic cemetery* (Philadelphia 1943) 30 ('a few years after 400 BC'); W. K. Kovacsovics, *Die Eckterrasse an der Gräberstrasse des Kerameikos* (*Kerameikos* xiv Berlin 1990) 6 (terracing for tombs associated with pottery sherds that provide a terminus post quem of 3rd-4th quarter of the fifth century); U. Knigge, *Der Kerameikos von Athen: Führung durch Ausgrabungen und Geschichte* (Athens 1988) 111-129 (south side of Street of the Tombs, all after 394). Road to Academy widened: Kurtz and Boardman (n. 5) 110, based on D. Ohly, *AA* lxxx (1965) cols. 301-303 (end fifth century; and see Clairmont ii [n. 13: 1983] 263 n. 39, for various widths reported). *Horoi*: *IG* ii^2 2617-19, Agora i 5770, and one found in 1956, not *in situ*, the first four in place by the mid-fourth century (Travlos [n. 7] 300, who therefore dates the end of the reorganization to this time).

[58] Polyandrion of the Lacedaemonians: *IG* ii-iii^2 11678 and F. Willemsen, *AthMitt* xcii (1977) 117-157; Clairmont i (n. 13: 1983) 203-4. Their inclusion in the *demosion sema* has occasioned some apology (see Loraux [n. 18] 22 and M.N. Tod, *G&R* ii [1932] 111), but they played an important role in the restoration of the democracy despite fighting against the men of the Piraeus, and so they too could be seen, in a sense, as fighting for Athens; Xen. *Hell.* ii 4.29-38. Lysias (ii 63) calls the tombs of these dead Lacedaemonians 'witnesses to the *arete*' of the democrats. Polyandrion of the Athenians: Clairmont i (n. 13: 1983) 205 lists uninscribed tombs next to the Lacedaemonians as a polyandrion of the Athenians, basing this on a muddled reference in Lys. ii 63 ('they erected a *tropaion* over their enemies, and closer by (*de*) find—nearby to this *mnema*—witnesses to their *arete* in the tombs of the Lacedaemonians').

equated with the war-dead, as Thrasybulus had promised they would be.[59]

At the same time, plots for group-burial were laid out in and around the public burials of the *demosion sema*, and private burials—which a scattering of epitaphs had suggested but the evidence of burials could not entirely confirm even for the later fifth century—thereafter became quite common in this area celebrated for its monopoly on public commemoration of the war dead.[60] The Kerameikos was 'the loveliest suburb of the city' in Thucydides's day (ii 34.5), a favourite spot for burial in the archaic period, and several sixth- and fifth-century luminaries—Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Cleisthenes, Pericles—had already been buried there, which led C. Clairmont to conclude that private burial here was not just understandable but an attempt to participate in the aura of 'heroic sacrality' created by these earlier interments.[61] But it also follows that since the *demosion sema* in particular, and the Kerameikos in general, was an area conspicuously devoted to the public commemoration of those who had served the *polis* of Athens, Athenians who erected individual monuments in and among the larger public monuments could be asserting a similarly close relationship to Athens even if unable to claim the same service as those in the public tombs. This concentration of individual monuments, interspersed among public memorials, may in fact help to explain an unusually gross error on Pausanias' part, for he thought he saw on the graves (*epi tois taphois*) of the Athenian war-dead '*stelai* bearing the names and deme of each' (i 29.4).[62] Casualty-lists never carry patronymics or demotics, but individual monuments of course frequently do in the fourth century and after, and may have crowded the public monuments enough to cause confusion. So a special emphasis on the Kerameikos may not be simply a coincidence or an accident of excavation, but just as much a result of an emphasis on belonging to the city, on citizenship, as the other patterns had been. The Kerameikos within Athens, Piraeus and Athens within Attica, the demotic and the deme in the fourth century, the fourth century within the general sweep of Athenian epitaphs: all were marked in special ways, and in ways that can be traced to general concepts of, and attitudes about, citizenship in Athens and their specific development over time. The patterns of naming and commemoration that were established over the course of the fourth century would last for much longer than that, but the emotions that went into their creation were the product of a whole series of uniquely Athenian circumstances, and found their own specific and characteristically Athenian expression.

IV. FURTHER THOUGHTS

Athens was in many ways an unusual *polis*. The fifth century was a period of restraint in burial and commemoration in most Greek city-states, the fourth century one of lavishness, but Athens followed this general pattern for its own unique reasons, and in its own unique way.[63] 'The magnificent family burial plots of the Athenian cemeteries have no rivals in Greece', for example, nor does any other *polis* have as many epitaphs as classical Athens.[64] Corinth has

[59] Clairmont i (n. 13: 1983) 31 concluded that the predominant position of the polyandrion of the Lacedaemonians meant that foreigners were excluded from the *demosion sema*, but this draws too fine a distinction. Foreigners were regularly honoured by burial there, as the casualty-lists attest and indeed as Lysias (ii 66) states had happened in the past. *Cf.* also Pritchett (n. 18) 149-151.

[60] Clairmont i (n. 13: 1983) 39-40, 44-45; R. Garland, *ABSA* lxxvii (1982) 150-151; Knigge (n. 57) 37-38, 109-110.

[61] Clairmont i (n. 13: 1983) 45; see Thomas (n. 14) 107-8 for a parallel shift in speeches.

[62] On his reliability, see C. Habicht, *Pausanias' guide to ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1985) 63. Monuments of individual war-dead: e.g. Bradeen (n. 6) no. 375 (Melanopos and Makartatos), *IG* ii-iii^2 6217 (Dexileos).

[63] Morris (n. 9) 145-155.

[64] Quotation: Kurtz and Boardman (n. 5) 244.

tombs but virtually no classical epitaphs and Argos only few, and Sparta, where communal values were emphasised even more strongly than at Athens, allowed only its kings, fallen warriors, and women who had died in childbirth to have epitaphs.[65] Athenian concepts of, and attitudes toward, citizenship may explain this contrast too. Nowhere else was a large citizen-body so well-defined and so careful of its privileges, so insistent on its group-values, so protective of its role, and so conscious of its status. Athens, moreover, never experimented in the fourth century with the new forms of inter-state combination, whereas at one point or another (and under varying political circumstances) Argos, Corinth, and a host of other cities all tried *isopoliteia*, which implies that the attitudes taken toward citizenship outside Athens were in general more flexible and less exclusive.[66] Thus it may be that in other Greek *poleis*, as well as in Athens, epitaphs and commemoration vary not because of traditions of burial or degree of communal feeling, but rather because of the number of politically active citizens in a *polis* and the degree to which they valued their status, this expressed in a greater or lesser degree of exclusivity. Therefore Athenian attitudes about the value of citizenship might also, finally, be a reflection of their unique type of democracy and of their belief that citizenship embodied the individual's right to be politically active. For Aristotle's citizen 'in the unqualified sense' was the one who was especially defined by sharing in decision and office (*Pol.* 1275a6), and therefore the citizen must also, he declared, vary according to regime. 'Accordingly, the citizen that was spoken of is a citizen above all in a democracy; he may, but will not necessarily, be a citizen in the others' (1275b4-5). It is, in the end, this distinction that classical Athenian epitaphs in their various patterns and indeed by their very existence probably stress, for only in Athens did events bring about an awareness of how valuable citizenship was at a time when interlocking and intermittent traditions of public and individual commemoration offered a way for Athenians to express publicly a high valuation of their position as individuals of the *polis* of Athens.

ELIZABETH A. MEYER

University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903

[65] Corinth: tombs, see Paus. ii 2.4; and in excavation (e.g.) to the north, C. Blegen et al., *Corinth xiii: the north cemetery* (Princeton 1964) 65-300, 235 burials 500-300 BC (p. 66: 'so little has survived of later types of [grave-] monuments that the practice of setting up grave stones must have been limited at best'); near Lechaion, C. W. J. and M. Eliot, *Hesperia* xxxvii (1968) 345-367; west of Corinth, H. S. Robinson, *Hesperia* xxxvii (1969) 1-35. Classical epitaphs: there is one published (and dated) in *IG* (*IG* iv 394), none in B. D. Meritt, *Corinth viii.1: Greek inscriptions 1896-1927* (Cambridge, MA 1931), none in J. H. Kent, *Corinth viii.3: the inscriptions 1926-1950* (Princeton 1966) (although no. 24, published as a votive, has a mourning relief and might therefore be an epitaph), one in *SEG* xi (1950) no. 157 (actually a painted *pinax*, fifth century); *cf.* also in brief Hansen (n. 8: 1982) 181 and 188 n. 43. Indeed, Corinth conspicuously lacks much classical epigraphical material, a phenomenon now thought to be genuine and not the result of the vagaries of excavation (see Kent *ibid.* 1-2). Argos: tombs, Paus. ii 21, 22.8-9 and see R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid* (Ithaca 1972) 24; epitaphs (on preliminary count) only 10: *IG* iv 629 (fourth); *SEG* xi (1950) no. 347 (fourth/third; a Mantinean); *SEG* xiv (1957) no. 320 (400-350); *SEG* xvii (1960) no. 155 (fourth); *SEG* xxviii (1978) no. 398 (500-450); *SEG* xxix (1979) nos. 362 (fifth), 363 (350-300), 364 (late classical); *SEG* xxxi (1981) no. 313 (fourth); *SEG* xxxii (1982) no. 374 (fourth). Sparta: Plut. *Lyc.* 27, *Mor.* 238; Paus. iii 12.8, 14.1, 16.6, and vi 1.9 (a memorial to Archidamus at Olympia, 'certainly the only king of Sparta who missed burial [*hamarton taphou*]'); *IG* v 1.701-710, 918, 921, 1124-5, 1320; women, Plut. *Lyc.* 27.3; and in general Pritchett (n. 18) 241-246.

[66] For Corinth and Argos, see J. B. Salmon, *Wealthy Corinth: a history of the city to 338 BC* (Oxford 1984) 354-362. Others in the fourth century: Locrians and Epizephyrean Lokrians; Keos and Eretria; Keos and Histiaia; Cyrene and Thera; Miletus and Olbia; Miletus and Cyzicus; Miletus and Phygela; see W. Gawantka, *Isopolitie: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen in der griechischen Antike* (Munich 1975) 207-220. This is not to say that the Athenians never considered *isopoliteia*; rather, two of the group-grants of citizenship during the Peloponnesian War (Plataians and Samians) resembled it, although experts do not see either case as true *isopoliteia* (see M. Osborne [n. 46: 1981] 28, 33-37 and [n. 46: 1982] 11-16, 25-26; Gawantka *ibid.* 174-197).

APPENDIX

The sample and FIG. *1*: this graph appeared, in a different version, as Meyer (n. 2) fig.6. There it was based only on the 7480 (8135 total minus 655 undated) epitaphs–stones, not names–published and dated in *IG* ii-iii^2 by J. Kirchner in 1940. Here, the data are derived from Jeffery (n. 6); Hansen (n. 22: 1983) nos. 25, 65, 78, and 85; *IG* i^2 992, 998, 1000, 1003-6, 1011, 1013, 1020, 1028; *IG* i^2 1029-1085 (as corrected by Clairmont [n. 25] 43-52 and M. Osborne, *AncSoc* xix [1988] 48-49 [no. 340] when both authors indicate a shift in date from fifth to fourth century); *IG* ii-iii^2 5228-13247 (of which a recount reveals 7480 total [8144 minus 664 undated]; this includes grave-related material for which no names are preserved); G. A. Stamiris, *AthMitt* lxvii (1942) 218-229; W. Peek (n. 31) and *Abh.DAkWB* 1956.3 1-67; Bradeen (n. 6), not duplicating what was already in *IG* ii-iii^2; *SEG* xi (1950-54)-*SEG* xxxv (1985); M. Osborne (*ibid.*, above); and adjusted according to the 185 changes in date, the 56 duplications, and the 18 shifts in category (e.g. from demotic to foreigner) suggested for *IG* ii-iii^2 by the subsequent authors and by W. Peek, *Abh.DAkWB* 1953.4, 1-34. This graph does not include Christian epitaphs from Athens, which are undated. Kirchner's datings are holding up very well: 185 changes represent an alteration in the date of only 2.3% of the total number of epitaphs. *IG* i^2 originally provided no dates for its epitaphs, and their dating has been a source of considerable controversy since (see D. W. Bradeen in D. W. Bradeen and M. F. McGregor, (eds.) *Phoros: tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* [Locust Valley, NY 1974] 29-35 and Clairmont [n. 25] 43-52). Osborne (*ibid.*, above) and Clairmont (n. 25) report that the editors of *IG* i^3 have moved eleven epitaphs from *IG* i^2 1029-1085 to after 403/2 BC. Of the remaining 46, five have already been published in *IG* ii-iii^2 with later dates (*IG* i^2 1047 = *IG* ii^2 10476, 1048=9039, 1054=10505, 1059=12300, 1081=10389) and Clairmont would drop the dates of *IG* i^2 1038-40, 1053, 1058, 1063, and 1079 after 430 based on the style of the reliefs, and the dates of 1055, 1057, and 1060 based on the content. Although I accept his arguments, agnosticism has been indicated here by averaging the undated *IG* i^2 inscriptions listed above across the entire fifth century. The new total for the graph is 9125 (10263 minus 1137 [undated] and minus 1 [dated 2nd BC/1st AD, too broad a category to be useful]). In FIGS. 1 and 2 numbers of epitaphs rise over the end of one century and the beginning of the next, but this may be because I have chosen to divide epitaphs dated (e.g.) 'first-second AD' over the last twenty-five years of the first century and the first twenty-five of the second, given that 'first or second AD,' another way used to express a date, more clearly indicates when a longer time span is envisaged. This does not, however, matter in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, where this formula is not used; Kirchner here is much more specific, and uses as his dates 'early fourth', 'before mid-fourth', 'mid-fourth', 'after mid-fourth', 'after 317', and 'end fourth'. These data are but a sample of what must have existed once, and are the products of selective excavation and random finds, but the sample is internally consistent, and therefore probably representative: a graph of the chronological distribution of the inscriptions published post-1940 is extremely similar to the graph of those in *IG* ii-iii^2, with the fourth century producing more than twice as many as any subsequent century.

FIG. 2: all the publications that serve as sources for the figures divide epitaphs into demotic, foreign, and 'unknown'; I have followed their classifications. More 'unknowns' were undated than in the other two categories (432/3635, as compared to 382/3409 for demotics and 323/3219 for foreigners), but as percentages they are all very close (11.9%, 11.2%, and 10% respectively).

FIGS. 3-12: the limits for the chronological periods in FIGS. 3-12 had to be drawn rather differently, and more inclusively, than in the first two figures, where numbers could be distributed over twenty-five periods. Thus FIGS. 3 and 8 are all inscriptions dated to (and placeable in) the sixth century, from Jeffery (n. 6), Hansen (n. 22: 1983) nos. 25 and 65, and *SEG*; 4 and 9 all inscriptions from the fifth and 'early fourth' centuries (either dated as such by Kirchner, or with a given date of 390 or earlier; this includes Hansen (n. 22: 1983) nos. 78 and 85, and those from *IG* i^2 whose fifth-century date has not been challenged); 5 and 10 all other inscriptions from the fourth century except those labelled 'end fourth' (and including those whose fifth-century date has been challenged by Osborne *and* Clairmont); 6 and 11 all those from the end of the fourth century through the first century BC; 7 and 12 all inscriptions dated '1st BC/1st AD' or later. Smaller groupings for 6 and 11, 7 and 12 would have been unwise, given the widespread tendency among epigraphers to date inscriptions as 'Hellenistic' or 'Roman'. About the process of mapping and counting: (a) every effort has been made to identify locations listed as find-spots. In the few cases when this was not possible, such inscriptions were counted in the 'Attica' or 'Athens' category (two 'locations' regularly used, without further specificity, in early epigraphical publications); (b) the objection of Damsgaard-Madsen (n. 51) 61, that many of the stones in the museums of Athens could have been brought in from Attica, is valid but insurmountable and therefore uninteresting–whenever original provenance is noted in *IG*, along with the fact that a stone is now in an Athens museum, the stone is charted by original provenance. Inscriptions whose only provenance is an Athenian museum have therefore been grouped with those from 'Athens'; (c) the Kerameikos, technically the name for the road that led to the Academy through the deme Kerameis (Travlos [n. 7] 300), came to be used as a name for the entire area, and could later include even the Agora itself. The four known *horoi* mark the edge of the road. Tombs of famous Athenians and allies are found on either side of this road, a fact which gives to the area the name of *demosion sema* also (on the identification of which see Clairmont [n. 13: 1983] i.30 and ii.260 n. 8, for an alternative view proposed by J. Binder). There was little topographical distinction between the *demosion sema* and other 'cemeteries', for more and more connecting roads with tombs have been found. The entire northwest suburban area was heavily used for burial, and I have therefore counted anything between the Sacred Way, od. Lenormant, and od. Virginia Benaki as part of the 'Kerameikos' area.