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The drawing reproduced as cover illustration represents Kristian Jeppesen's proposal for the restoration of the Maussoleion, in particular of the colonnade (PTERON) in which portrait statues of members of the Hecatomnid dynasty said to have been carved by the famous artists Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheos, and Leochares were exhibited.  
Drawing by the author, see p. 173, Abb. 5, C.

# Revival of Archaic Funerary Practices in the Hellenistic and Roman Kerameikos

Sanne  
Houby-Nielsen

## Introduction

Several thousand Classical grave reliefs from Athens and Attica are preserved today. In their own time, in the last quarter of the 5th cent. and the 4th cent.,<sup>1</sup> these tomb stones must have formed one of the most conspicuous features along the approach roads to Athens or larger deme-towns in Attica. The well-preserved grave enclosures with grave reliefs and grave sculpture along the Street of the Tombs in the Kerameikos and along the Sacred Road leading to Rhamnous exemplify the power with which these funerary monuments with their elaborate iconography and epitaphs communicated the community's civic ideology and values to the passers by.

Shortly before 300 this production comes to an apparently abrupt end. Instead, a production of rather unimpressive, funerary monuments begins. The monuments in question consist of small, plain columns and stelai or a cubic, box-like monument which carry a name inscription and eventually ethnikon and demotikon. The production of columns is by far the most conspicuous. More than 4000 such columns have been found in Athens in excavations, or built into ancient and modern monuments and buildings (Fig. 1). Letterform and prosopography proves the production to have lasted well into the Roman period.<sup>2</sup> The distribution of the columns is strictly confined to Attica where they functioned as tombstones for both less well-to-do as well as richer people.<sup>3</sup>

This transition from grave monuments with an elaborate iconography often accompanied by epitaphs to the erection of smallish, mostly non-iconographical mo-

numents accompanied only by name inscriptions belongs to one of the profoundest transformations not only in the art history but also in the social history of Athens. Within a few decades these plain funerary monuments had appeared all over the Attic cemeteries in between the traditional repertoire of Classical grave reliefs, marble loutrophoroi or lekythoi, loutrophoroi stelai, and other funerary sculpture. Challenging and thrilling as this transformation of the "funeral landscape" in Attica may seem, it actually represents a very neglected field of research. A general lack of interest during the 19th cent. for the Hellenistic period in Athens caused excavators to neglect the documentation of Hellenistic finds. The unimpressive, small funerary monuments suffered especially from this attitude.<sup>4</sup> We therefore possess very little evidence for their original contexts. In sharp contrast to the vast amount of literature on Attic Archaic and Classical grave reliefs and funerary sculpture,<sup>5</sup> no archaeological monograph or larger study dealing explicitly with this group of monuments has appeared since Conze's work.<sup>6</sup> When archaeologists turn their interest towards Hellenistic grave stones it is the few examples of Attic grave reliefs (and non-Attic reliefs) and not the thousands of Attic funerary columns, which are studied.<sup>7</sup>

As I will summarize below, two main traditions can be isolated among the studies which deal with the disappearance of Attic Classical grave sculpture. The first one is the oldest and is constituted by scholars who have tried to explain the disappearance of Attic Classical grave stones solely by referring to a law restricting funerary luxury issued by Demetrios of Pha-

### NOTE 1

From now on all dates are B.C. unless stated otherwise.

### NOTE 2

Twele 1975, 95 n. 45.

### NOTE 3

The funerary column found on Hydra appears to have been transferred from Attica at some time in ancient or modern history, since letterforms point to Attic origin, Koumanoudis 1983, 25.

### NOTE 4

Stichel 1990b, 40 with references.

### NOTE 5

Compare the bibliography collected by Clairmont 1993.

### NOTE 6

Conze 1893-1922, vol. IV.

### NOTE 7

See recently Lymperopoulos 1985, Schmidt 1991 and Breuer 1994.



Fig. 1 Group of Hellenistic-Roman funerary columns in the Kerameikos (from Conze 1893-1922, vol. IV, 5).

leron at some time during his ten years of powers (317-307 BC). The second is mainly in opposition to the first one emphasising the difficulties in a purely legalistic approach to changes in mortuary behaviour and also in using archaeological data as pure supplement to interpretations made from ancient written sources.

In an earlier study on late Classical and Hellenistic grave gifts in Athens,<sup>8</sup> I have argued that the disappearance of Classical grave reliefs is due among other things to a failure of the traditional Classical Attic grave sculpture to express new gender roles which developed in the course of the 4th cent. and which resulted in a declining interest in traditional funerary grave reliefs in the second half of that century. Conversely, I pointed out that the Hellenistic funerary columns were much more in line with this new gender ideology which came to dominate most of the Hellenistic period. In the present paper, I attempt to elucidate the associations and context of the plain Hellenistic funerary columns and thus their immense popularity over a time span of almost 500 years. I argue that a characteristic feature of late Classical and Hellenistic burial customs is a nostalgic element which resulted in a high degree of eclecticism. In the first half of the 4th cent. there is thus a clear revival of Iron Age and Early Archaic funerary rites. Subsequently in the Early Hellenistic period, after half a century with lessened demand for Classical grave sculpture, and after Demetrios' law against elaborate grave markers, burial

customs not only look once again for inspiration to the Iron Age and Archaic period, but also reuse still standing Classical grave sculpture as a romantic background scenery for the plain Hellenistic monuments. The popularity of the funerary column, often standing on a small tumulus is thus explained as a result of a returning nostalgic tendency to look backward in time in burial customs, but also part of a general romantic concept of the past in Hellenistic Athens. The direct source of inspiration for the formal appearance of Early Hellenistic archaizing burial customs is the continued preservation of Geometric and Archaic graves in Late Classical times.

### The law of Demetrios of Phaleron prohibiting elaborate grave stones

Since C. Cavedoni in 1857 suggested that Cicero's *columellae* were to be identified with the small Hellenistic-Roman funerary columns in Attica,<sup>9</sup> the explanation for the appearance of these columns, as well as box-like marble tables has centred solely on a famous sumptuary law issued by Demetrios of Phaleron and quoted by Cicero which runs as follows: *nam super terrae tumulum noluit quicquam nisi columellam tribus cubitis ne altiore aut mensam aut labellum*.<sup>10</sup> This passage is normally taken to mean that Demetrios permitted the three mentioned types of monuments: "...nothing should be built above the mound of

NOTE 8  
Houby-Nielsen 1997.

NOTE 9  
For a survey of the earlier research, see  
Twelwe 1975 and Stichel 1992.

NOTE 10  
*De Legibus* II 66.

earth except a small column no more than three cubits in height, or else a table or a basin".<sup>11</sup> Brueckner, in 1891, likewise identified *columellae* with the the small funerary columns and further the *labella* with those columns which broaden downwards and have a tenon-hole at top, interpreted as being for the insertion of a basin on analogy with perirrhantaria and the basins on high feet shown in funerary scenes on 4th cent. South-Italian vase painting. Cicero's *mensa* was identified with the marble cubic and box-like grave markers. In 1899 Wolters elaborated on the theory of the *labellum* by interpreting the many fragments of large, sometimes spouted, bowls on a high foot, of Geometric to Archaic date, found in the Menidhi tholos tomb as predecessors for the Hellenistic *labella*,<sup>12</sup> and in 1935 H. Kenner published a 4th cent. Attic red figure spout carrying a representation of a highfooted basin with an image of a man seated in front of a tombstone, and therefore suggested that the spout represented a 4th cent. funerary *labellum*.

In 1975 J.R.A. Twele published a short article in which he set out the results of his study of the *columellae* and *labella* from the Kerameikos.<sup>13</sup> Twele found that none of those monuments termed *labella* (by Brueckner and Conze) were in fact such, but rather up-side down, re-used and originally fluted stands from older washbasins made into funerary columns. The tenon-hole was on the bottom of several of these funerary columns, so that the inscription would have been invisible, if a basin had been placed on the column. Also the identification of the box-shaped monuments as *mensae* was shown to be highly problematic. Out of 32 so-called *mensae* investigated, 27 proved to date from the 4th cent. (360–320 B.C) mainly by lettering and eventually by prosopographical evidence. Only one was dated to the 1st cent. and three from the 3rd cent., two of which Twele thought had served as bases for *columellae*. This discovery caused Twele to re-interpret the Cicero passage in the following way: "Nothing should be built above the mound of earth except a small

column no more than three cubits in height, either (supported by) a *mensa* or (re-using) a *labellum*".

R.H.W. Stichel rejected this translation in a 1992 article pointing out that there is no evidence for *mensae* being used as base for *columellae*, and that the number of funerary columns made from re-used washbasins is very small.<sup>14</sup> Instead he argued that from a grammatical point of view the Cicero passage ought to be understood not as a list of *permitted* monuments, but as a list of *prohibited* monuments. The task was therefore not to identify the class of *columella* and *labellum* and *mensa* among the existing Hellenistic monuments, but among the Classical ones. And oddities such as the fact that it is not until the Early Roman period that some funerary columns utilize the permitted height of three cubits, were hereby eliminated.<sup>15</sup> Arguing that Cicero very often did not understand technical terms in the sources he consulted, Stichel further argued that he translated *columella* from the word *stèle*, since both terms were often used in written sources as a very general designation for monuments of widely varying types.<sup>16</sup> *Mensa* was interpreted as perhaps referring to grave buildings (walled enclosures filled in with earth), which also seem to disappear after the 4th cent., but the suggestion made much earlier by C. Cavedoni and Loeschke that *mensa* referred to the huge grave relief in the sense of "Bildtafel" was preferred. Finally *labellum* was thought to be a translation of the diminutive form of *louter*, a word which is related to *loutrophoros*. In this way the monuments listed by Cicero were interpreted as corresponding to the three major types of Classical grave monuments, and Stichel gives the following re-interpretation of the Cicero passage: "...Er wollte nämlich nicht, dass etwas über die Erdaufschüttung aufgestellt werde, sei es eine Stele – ausser wenn sie nicht höher als 3 Ellen war – oder eine Relief- (oder Bild-)platte oder ein Steingefäß".<sup>17</sup>

Most recently, A. Scholl has suggested that the law in question was not occasioned at all by the vast number of Classical

NOTE 11  
Cicero, *De Re Publica, De Legibus* translated by C.W. Keyes, 1970 (Loeb), 453, 455.

NOTE 12  
Wolters 1899, 128-135, esp. 134.

NOTE 13  
Twele 1975.

NOTE 14  
Stichel 1992.

NOTE 15  
Stichel 1992, 435.

NOTE 16  
Stichel 1992, 436-438.

NOTE 17  
Stichel 1992, 440.

grave reliefs but by a much more “threatening” kind of funerary luxury, which became fashionable in the last quarter of the 4th cent.,<sup>18</sup> namely the extraordinary luxurious and monumental memorials for people like Isokrates, Lykourgos, Theodektes and Pythionikes described in written sources and traced archaeologically. Apart from e.g. 10 m. tall columns, huge marble vessels with protomes, these memorials also involved enormous cubic monuments decorated by many figured reliefs and sometimes statue groups and could even take the shape of funerary temples, all of which served to create an atmosphere of heroization. In other words, if we accept Scholl’s argument, no one was the least interested in preventing the Athenians from continuing the large-scale production of traditional tombstones.

It is tempting to view this consistent attempt to equate the law against funerary luxury with existing Hellenistic monuments as a welcome explanation not only as to why the Athenians stopped the production of the grave reliefs and sculpture – so admired and loved in our modern history – but more importantly as to why they turned over to the production of very plain and art historically speaking uninteresting monuments. By referring to the law of Demetrios this transition turns into a forced rescue-solution and thus “saves” the Greeks from carrying the seed of “decline” themselves. In a way the Athenians become dissociated with the plain monuments they produced. But the fact remains, that even if scholars succeed in identifying the monuments listed by Cicero, this still does not provide us with an explanation for why monuments which were permitted look as they do. Moreover, there are several difficulties in referring to Demetrios’ sumptuary legislation as the sole explanatory factor for the disappearance of Classical grave monuments. As M. Meyer has already stated, many other groups of monuments do not continue much after the 4th cent.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Meyer points to the disappearance of decree reliefs and red figure pottery, groups of artefacts which have no

possible direct connection with Demetrios’ law against funerary luxury. Also the replacement in the Kerameikos of the palmette lekythos – so common as a grave gift in the 4th cent. – by the grey unguentarium, characteristic of Hellenistic burials, should be taken into consideration.<sup>20</sup>

It is also difficult to understand why the production of Attic Classical grave reliefs is not initiated again immediately after Demetrios of Phaleron was thrown out. Especially so, since several of the hateful controlling bodies which Demetrios created, such as the *nomophylakes* and the *gynaikonomoi* were discontinued immediately after his expulsion.<sup>21</sup> The production of grave reliefs actually does return in Attica, but apparently not until the 2nd century and only on an extremely small scale.<sup>22</sup> In Delos, the production does not really begin until after the island has become an Athenian colony in 166.<sup>23</sup> Reference to Demetrios’ prohibition against funerary luxury also fails to explain the profoundly changed attitude to gender which the plain Hellenistic monuments exhibit. For it is noteworthy that identical types of columns were raised above male as well as above female burials, hereby breaking a tradition which had existed ever since the early Iron Age for sex-determined grave

NOTE 18  
Scholl 1994, esp. 239.

NOTE 19  
Meyer 1989, 258–262.

NOTE 20  
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, 75–79, esp. 77, 79: a huge “Schottereinfüllung” is connected with the historic date 338 and in several graves which are younger than this fill, but earlier than a “Marmorsplitt” dated to 325, a blackish forerunner of the grey unguentarium was found, while the palmette lekythos was only met with in two instances. Regarding a connection between the grey unguentarium and the law of Demetrios, see Stichel 1990a–b: the grey (fully developed)

unguentarium does apparently not occur until after the “Marmorsplitt”, and the date of the “Marmorsplitt” to 325 apparently owes to the fact that graves immediately post-dating it contained vases the shapes of which were very close to those found before the “Schottereinfüllung”. And these burials were connected with periboloi walls with plain stele-bases – and stelais should be before 317/07.

NOTE 21  
Meyer 1989, 258.

NOTE 22  
Lymperopoulos 1985.

NOTE 23  
Schmidt 1991, 65.

markers. In fact double-columns occur commemorating husband and wife.<sup>24</sup>

The problems which surround a correlation between changes in mortuary practices around 300 and Demetrios' sumptuary regulations referred to by Cicero are very similar to the difficulties surrounding Solon's funerary law and the so-called "post aliquando" law. The former is solely known from Demosthenes and Plutarch, and the latter from Cicero.<sup>25</sup> And as I. Morris has stated, around the time of Solon we have no change in burial customs while around 500 we do have profound funerary changes in burial customs but no sumptuary law to explain them, the "post aliquando law" being too elusive. And Morris has shown that the changes in burial customs which restrain funerary luxury are part of a general phenomenon in Greece and in particular in Athenian life style and also affected state burials. Likewise, when funerary luxury again returns around 430 we have no law at all to refer to, and again this change in burial customs appears to be part of a general Greek development, whereby the usual reference to plague, war or the end of the Acropolis building projects fails to convince. Even if we persist in relating changes in burial customs to sumptuary regulations, we would have to agree with I. Morris that it is not a law in itself which is interesting, but the way people interpreted it and reacted to it.<sup>26</sup> In other words, if there is a connection between the funerary changes attested around 300 and Demetrios' law, the former shows us the reaction and not the law. And indeed this may seem to be the case. D. B. Small has very recently drawn attention to the fact that elaborate Classical grave sculpture continued to be used in the Kerameikos by burying groups to express high status even after 300. On this basis he argued that the result of Demetrios' sumptuary law was the creation of a clear advantage for those who already possessed grave enclosures with elaborate Classical funerary art in the Kerameikos and could continue to use it in expressions of status while those who did not possess such burial plots were severely disadvanta-

ged. Thus, archaeology, according to Small, shows that Demetrios' law did not simply curb elite excess, as historians tend to think, but on the contrary resulted in a new type of status distinction in the cemeteries. Small uses this argument to exemplify and criticise a general assumption that archaeological data can merely illustrate textual history.<sup>27</sup>

In the remaining part of my paper I will leave aside Demetrios' law for the reasons just stated and instead look more closely at burial customs in the centuries preceding the crucial year 300. By doing so, I hope to be able to show that the roots of inspiration for the plain Hellenistic funerary columns and stelai and for the cessation of the production of Classical grave sculpture can be found in the funerary history of the Kerameikos long before Demetrios ever thought of making a law.

## The staging of a worthy ancestry in the Classical and Hellenistic Kerameikos

The majority of the Hellenistic-Roman funerary columns are indeed very plain, as far as can be judged from a swift survey of the masses of them displayed in the yard of the National Museum in Athens and in the Kerameikos. Apart from differences in decoration among those few which are decorated, variation mostly concerns height and diameter, the tallest measuring up to 2 m. and the smallest around 0, 35 m. Most are around 1 m. tall.<sup>28</sup> The columns were, however, not originally as plain as they appear today. On several columns a torus encircles the upper part of the column and seems originally to have been painted in bold colours, to judge from examples with preserved painted decoration.<sup>29</sup> On others, finely painted wreaths of ivy-berry sprays or olive leaves are preserved above the torus, or similar decoration is rendered in relief. Probably the torus helped to keep ribbons or real wreaths in place. A small number of columns carry a relief decoration most commonly showing a loutrophoros.<sup>30</sup> The well-known funerary column commemo-

### NOTE 24

For a new gender ideology which is expressed by Late Classical and Hellenistic Athenian grave gifts and which correspond well to the Hellenistic plain grave monuments, see Houby-Nielsen 1997.

### NOTE 25

Demosthenes *Against Makartatos* (62); Plutarch, *Solon*, XXI 4-5; Cicero, *De Legibus* (II 26.64).

### NOTE 26

Morris 1992/93.

### NOTE 27

Small 1995.

### NOTE 28

Judged by Conze 1893-1922, vol. IV.

### NOTE 29

Brueckner 1909, 83 fig. 51.

### NOTE 30

Conze 1893-1922, vol. IV, 5-25; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 166-168.

rating Hieronimos which must date to around 250 is very exceptional.<sup>31</sup> Hieronimos was a successful actor who had won four times at the Lenaia festival in Athens in the years between 295 and 268, and his funerary column is especially noteworthy since it testifies to an extraordinary sense of refinement within the limits which the funerary column as a genre allows.<sup>32</sup> It is decorated solely with the inscribed name “Hieronimos” and an ivy-berry wreath carved in relief above a torus, but the carving has been done with the most exquisite carefulness. Not only is the spacing of the letters in the name arranged in such a way that they follow the rhythm of the leaves in the ivy-wreath above, but also the depth of the carved letters varies with the pronunciation of the name Hieronimos with the result that “the inscription literally seems to breathe in the middle”.<sup>33</sup>

Of particular interest for this paper is the probability that the Hieronimos-column stood on a small tumulus in the so-called Cornerterrace of the Kerameikos. The tumulus measured approximately 2 m. in diam. and was covered by a layer of hard greyish plaster. Finds date the tumulus to 275-250.<sup>34</sup> Another column nearby, very plain, commemorating a certain Dorkas and dating to around 250, was found *in situ* resting on a small well-preserved tumulus. This grave mound, which had been renewed in antiquity, was disc-shaped, flat on top measuring 1,48 m. in diam. and 0,24 m. tall. Like the tumulus of Hieronimos, this grave-mound was covered by a thick layer of plaster (Fig. 2).<sup>35</sup> Brueckner also noted that a Late Hellenistic or Early Roman column stood on a small grave mound.<sup>36</sup> On the South mound two plain Hellenistic name stelai each stood on a small tumulus.<sup>37</sup> In view of the fact that normally we do not know the setting of Hellenistic funerary columns and stelai, it is certainly interesting to note that when their setting is known, they stand on a small grave mound. In this connection the observation made by A. Milchhoefer in 1883 is very important. In his descriptive text accompanying the maps made by E. Curtius and J.A. Kaupert of the Athens-



Fig. 2. Grave precinct XII with a funerary column commemorating Dorkas placed on a small, disc-shaped grave mound (Kerameikos XIV, pl. 5:2). (With courtesy the German Archaeological Institute at Athens).



Fig. 3. Part of map showing the distribution of ancient ruins and monuments in 1875 in the area of the roads leading from Athens to Piraeus and Eleusis. Grave mounds are marked as “Grabh.” (“Grabhügel”). (From Curtius & Kaupert 1881-1903, pl. III). (With courtesy the Royal Library in Copenhagen).

Piraeus district, Milchhoefer mentioned masses of small tumuli marking single graves. Since he had noted some cases where funerary columns still stood on top of a small mound, Milchhoefer suggested that the many tumuli may once have been marked by the small funerary columns.<sup>38</sup> Milchhoefer was very well aware of the



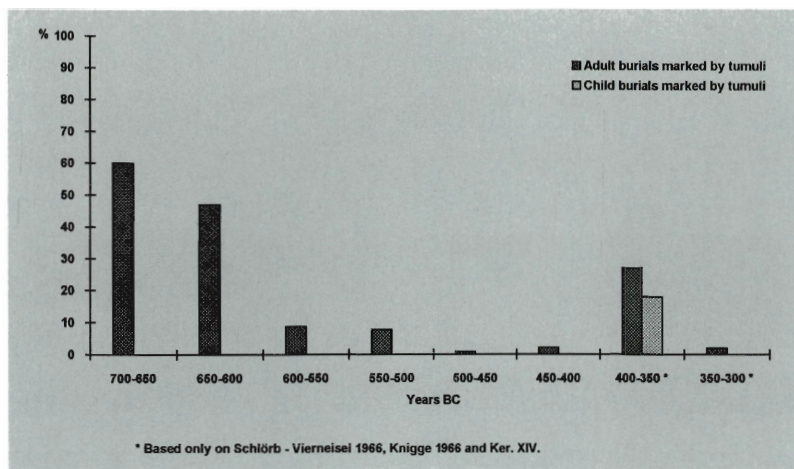


Fig. 4. The frequency of offering-trenches and offering-places in the Kerameikos 700-300 B.C.

danger of mistaking modern heaps of stone made by peasants, for which reason we may trust Milchhoefer's observation and thus the maps marked with "Grabhügel" (Fig. 3). In the following argument, therefore, I will take into account the whole setting, that is a plain monument on top of a small tumulus, rather than look for

predecessors to the column alone. With regard to the particular shape of the column, its source of inspiration is possibly to be sought for among honorific monuments, but this is in need of further investigation. Here I focus on the popularity of the setting,<sup>39</sup> and I will argue that this setting is the result of a general revival of Iron Age and 7th cent. burial customs which characterizes the first half of the 4th cent. and returns again in the Early Hellenistic period. The customs in question which characterize the first wave of archaizing funerary rites are the construction of offering-trenches and -places, the use of the ash-urn burial, the erection of a small grave mound, and the placing of an unworked stone or plain stele as a monument on top of the tumulus.

Offering-trench and offering-place rituals were very characteristic in the late 8th cent. and the 7th cent. The trenches could be up to 12 m. long, were about 20 cm. deep and their walls lined by sundried mudbricks. Elaborate vases symbolizing a banquet service were burned in these trenches or eventually in an offering-place. The stratigraphic evidence from the Kerameikos tells us that this dramatic ritual took place before the grave was filled in and before a tumulus was erected above the grave.<sup>40</sup> These offering-rituals were still popular in the first quarter of the 6th cent., but declined hereafter and are only sporadically met with in the 5th cent. On the other hand, those which are known from the Classical Kerameikos attest to the fact that the ritual was far from being forgotten. Thus, there are as examples one very elaborate bridal service and one less complete bridal service and a couple of lanses destroyed in offering-trenches and -places.<sup>41</sup> After these very sporadic occurrences of funeral offering rituals in special trenches and places, the offering-place returns in quite significant numbers in the 4th cent. constituting 30% of the total number of burials in the excavated area north of the Street of the Tombs and in the Corner-terrace, while the number of offering-places and -trenches at the most constituted 3,5% in the 5th cent. (though

NOTE 31  
Ker. XIV, 56 no. 1 (Hieronymos);  
Conze 1893-1922 vol. IV, no. 1790.

NOTE 32  
IG 2, 11710; Buck 1990-91, 67-74.

NOTE 33  
Buck 1990-91, 71.

NOTE 34  
Brueckner 1909, 89; Ker. XIV, 51 fig.  
35, 54 fig. 38, 55, pl. 10.2.

NOTE 35  
Brueckner 1909, 32, 33 fig. 15, plan of  
Kerameikos no. 21; Conze 1893-1922,  
vol. IV, no. 1750; Ker. XIV, 82 no.  
99/DP 16 (Dorkas).

NOTE 36  
Brueckner 1909, 33.

NOTE 37  
Ker. IX nos. 358 and 362.

NOTE 38  
Curtius & Kaupert 1881 - 1903, 7.

NOTE 39  
The numerous Hellenistic-Roman cy-  
lindrical funerary monuments natu-

rally come to mind as a parallel for the  
thousands of Attic funerary Hellenis-  
tic-Roman columns. However, they  
did not come into use as funerary mo-  
numents until Late Hellenistic times,  
and their distribution is mainly re-  
stricted to Asia Minor and Rhodes.  
One example has, though, been found  
in Kerameikos. More interesting is an  
honorific monument from Kamiros  
which consists of a low cylindrical part  
with an olive wreath carved in relief  
and stands on a squarish base which  
carries the honorary inscription (Fraser  
1977, pl. 49d).

NOTE 40  
Ker. V.1, 30-42; Ker. VI.1, 87-88; Ker.  
VII.1, 187-188; for the interpretation  
of the finds as symbolizing a banquet  
service, see Houby-Nielsen 1992 pls.  
I-IV, table 8; Houby-Nielsen 1995  
table 5 and Houby-Nielsen 1996; see  
also D'Onofrio 1993.

NOTE 41  
Note especially Vierneisel 1964, 435  
fig. 24, 449; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966,  
72 no. 138; Knigge 1975, nos. 13-16.  
For further references to examples  
from Kerameikos, see Appendix 1.

that is of the whole Kerameikos) (Fig. 4).<sup>42</sup> The frequency of offering-places is especially high in the Corner-terrace. Comparing the number of offering-places to the total number of graves in this area, the offering-places constitute 80%. Like the late Classical tumuli, most of these Late Classical offering-places date to 375-350. Not only are we faced with a dramatic increase in the number of offering-places, but also the amount of pottery dedicated is strikingly high now, since in some cases hundreds of vases had been crushed in these offering-places.<sup>43</sup> It is true that in the Archaic period offering-trenches outnumber offering-places (made before the closing of the grave), while, in the 4th cent. the situation is reversed. However, this proportion does not necessarily speak against an Archaic origin of the ritual. At least the physical appearance of both the Late Classical offering-trench and offering-place is very similar to the Archaic constructions. Thus, the only known Late Classical offering-trench which was excavated to the north of Street of the Tombs had walls lined by sundried mudbricks, and it was connected with a grave enclosure, both features which are characteristic of the Archaic constructions.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, some of the many Late Classical offering-places were lined with mudbricks set upright in the fashion of the Archaic offering-trenches.<sup>45</sup> A final striking similarity between the Archaic and late Classical offering-trenches and -places concerns their function. Thus, even though it is often difficult to relate the offering-place to a single grave, there is some evidence from the Kerameikos that in the Late Classical period the ritual of the offering-places took place at some time shortly after the closing of the grave, but before the erection of a grave monument above.<sup>46</sup>

The appearance in the Late Classical period of large offering-places, made before the erection of a grave marker, is not a unique feature of the Kerameikos. This impression is gained from a survey of recent Greek excavations. For instance, Late Classical and Hellenistic graves have been excavated near the Sacred Road in Aigaleo



Fig. 5. Early Geometric krater (lower part preserved) and uncut rockstone used as grave markers in the Kerameikos (Kerameikos V/1, grave I, pl. 1). (With courtesy the German Archaeological Institute at Athens).

where offerings consisting of crushed “tear-bottles”, lekythoi, kantharoi, jugs, along with pottery-types which are typical of the Kerameikos offering-places, such as phialai and plates, were found on top of the filling soil of the burials, but beneath the tiles which covered the burials.<sup>47</sup>

Therefore, these offering-places are not strictly post-funerary rituals, but rituals connected with the actual burial-ritual exactly like the Archaic offering-trenches. In Rhamnous true Late Classical offering-places very similar to the Kerameikos ones and containing similar vases have recently been found.<sup>48</sup>

Only two major contrasts between Archaic and Late Classical offering-places and -trenches can be singled out. The first difference is constituted by their content. In the Late Classical period, the dedicated vases (plates, cups, phialai) appear to stem from an actual service and not a symbolic one. The frequent report of goat or sheep bones found in the offering-places point in the same direction. By contrast, the number of vases found in the Archaic offering-trenches and -places is much too small to stem from an actual funeral meal. Instead, the shapes represented (jugs, large plates, craters, highstemmed cups, mugs and highstemmed plates) appear to symbolize a banquet service.<sup>49</sup> A second difference between Archaic and Late Classical offering-places is that the latter may be connected with child burials, just as child

NOTE 42  
Compare Appendix 1.

NOTE 43  
Ker. XIV, 95-96 no. 195/Me 20; Knigge et al. 1978, 56-57; Stichel 1984, 58-60, esp. 58 fig.50.

NOTE 44  
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966 no. 112/hS 37.

NOTE 45  
Knigge 1978, 56, fig. 22; Stichel 1984, 58-59.

NOTE 46  
Stichel 1984, 58-59.

NOTE 47  
AD 34, B, 1979 (1987), 33-37 (Aigaleo, Sacred Road) esp. 35 T.2 and T.3.

NOTE 48  
Petraou 1989, 6-8, pl. 8.

NOTE 49  
See n. 40.

burials were seen to receive tumuli, which was never the case in the Archaic period. These two differences seem, however, rather to be a natural result of adaptation to 4th cent. taste and values rather than evidence against their origin in the Archaic period.

The second case of a renewed Archaic funerary practice in the Late Classical period is more a case of *survival* than revival of archaism in burial customs. I refer here to the ritual of placing cremation ashes in an ash urn, which in the later periods was often buried beneath a tumulus. In the Iron Age of Kerameikos (especially in the Early and Middle Geometric period), it was the most common practice for adults. In the 7th cent. primary cremation took over, whereby the body was placed in a shaft grave and burned there. This practice is still common in the early part of the 6th cent., while inhumation takes over thereafter. In the 5th cent., apart from a couple of coarse-ware ash urns, which are probably child burials,<sup>50</sup> only one ash urn burial is known in the Kerameikos. On the other hand, this ash urn burial is outstandingly

elaborate. It comprises a bronze vessel with finely chased decoration and the ashes of the deceased wrapped in fine silk. The vessel was placed in fine wooden chest which in turn was put in a poros sarcophagus. All was buried beneath a huge tumulus situated on top of a whole series of Iron-Age and Archaic grave mounds.<sup>51</sup>

In the 4th cent. and the Hellenistic period a cremation burial contained in an urn of bronze or lead and inserted in a marble container, or contained in a marble or poros urn is – if not common – then a recurrent feature. Again it is often connected with the erection of a tumulus. Generally, grave precincts in the Kerameikos contain one or two such burials along with a number of inhumation burials.<sup>52</sup> Since all members of the grave enclosure most likely belong to the same family, the ash urn ritual and inhumation ritual are hardly tied to differences of economic status. Rather the choice of the ash urn ritual depended on cause of death (e.g. death in war), age (e.g. old) or gender role (e.g. head of family), since from the Iron Age on these criteria are the most determinant for burial customs.<sup>53</sup> Whatever status was linked to the ash urn ritual, it seems that in the 4th cent. women could receive this type of burial as well as men. At least, a marble chest containing a bronze hydria used as ash urn points in this direction. It was buried in the fill of a huge enclosure (“f”) and constituted a successor to the finely chased bronze ash cauldron mentioned above which has been connected with a prominent male member of the Alcmaeonid family.<sup>54</sup> It even appears that deceased children could be cremated and buried in fine ash urns, since a gilded stucco bowl appears to contain the ashes of a child, a grave which also was covered by a tumulus.<sup>55</sup>

Judging from reports in the *Archaeologikon Deltion* we find a similar pattern outside the Kerameikos further towards Eleusis along the Sacred Road. Here items of gold foliage often accompany ash urn burials indicating again a special status of the dead.<sup>56</sup> In Piraeus, a huge tumulus known as the “Tomb of Aspasia” was exca-

NOTE 50

The urns were covered by a fragment of an amphora, and small children were mostly inhumed in amphorae or beneath amphora halves.

NOTE 51

Ker.VII.1, no. 264.

NOTE 52

Of 24 Late Classical and Early Hellenistic burials excavated in enclosure VIII, 3 burials were cremations contained in marble and poros urns. Similarly, out of 14 Late Classical to Early Hellenistic burials excavated in enclosure X, were cremations contained in marble urns. And of 6 contemporary burials excavated west of enclosure XII, 1 was an ash urn. See Ker. XIV for these data.

NOTE 53

Houby-Nielsen 1995.

NOTE 54

Kübler 1935, 274.

NOTE 55

Ker. XIV, 65/Eck 34.

NOTE 56

The following list does not maintain to be complete: AD 30, B, 1975 (1983), 21 (Odos Kalogirou Samouel and Peiraios): of 5 Classical burials, 1 was a cremation contained in a bronze kalpis; AD 32, B, 1977 (1984), 21 (Odos Kassandras and Beroias, near the Sacred Road): of 5 burials, 1 was a cremation contained in a bronze kalpis; AD 30, B, 1975 (1983), 23 (Odos Kerameikos Giatarakou): marble kalpis with Roman (?) gravegoods; AD 34, B, 1979 (1987), 33-37 (Sacred Road): of 23 Hellenistic-Roman burials, 17 were cremations and of these 3 were kalpis-burials contained in enclosures where among other things items of goldplate were found; AD 39, B, 1984 (1989), 11-14 (Sacred Road): of 67 burials most of which date to the 5th and 4th cent. and to the early 3rd cent., one was a 4th cent. kalpis burial.

vated in the last century. From it came a bronze lebes with an inscription showing that originally it served as a prize in the Games at Argos. Furthermore, a marble container similar to those frequently used to hold cinerary bronze urns and marble alabaster and gold foliage, which are frequent grave gifts in 4th cent. and later burials were found.<sup>57</sup> In Draphi, a 5th–4th cent. cemetery was found which among other burials contained a cremation in a bronze kalpis which was inserted in a marble container.<sup>58</sup> Conversely, ash-urn burials are seldom in those cemeteries which have a decidedly poor and popular character. Burials here consist of tile-burials, some of which contain several persons inhumed in one grave, and which are only occasionally equipped with poor grave gifts in the shape of gray unguentaria, and only rarely strigils or mirrors.<sup>59</sup>

Regarding the tumulus and the roughly hewn marker stone, there is a tradition in Kerameikos from Submycenaean times for marking the burial with a small grave mound consisting of the gravefill.<sup>60</sup> In the Protogeometric period an irregularly shaped rock stood on top of a few graves in association with a marker vase. The majority of roughly hewn rocks used as grave markers belong, however, to the Early to Late Geometric period, and several were excavated *in situ* (Fig. 5).<sup>61</sup> They are approximately 1m. tall but was planted deep in the fill of the grave together with a markervase.

In the 7th cent. the tumulus became bigger with diameters ranging from 4,50 m. to 10 m. and heights ranging from 0,50 m. to 1,40 m. Additional soil had to be taken from the Eridanos river bed in order to fulfill the demands for a larger grave mound. Also, it was a very characteristic feature of the Archaic tumuli in the Kerameikos that they were covered by a hard layer of plaster in order to preserve their shape and perhaps to receive paint. On a couple of these tumuli, thin squarish grave stones of slate, approximately 0,60 m. tall, were noticed.<sup>62</sup> In the 6th cent., a most remarkable stele-mound combination was constituted by the enormous Mound G,



Fig. 6. Roughly worked limestone used as grave marker on a 4th cent. grave mound in the Kerameikos (Schlörb-Viermeisel 1966, 69, grave 130/hS 93, grave mound III, pl. 6:2). (With courtesy the German Archaeological Institute at Athens).

the diameter of which reached 36 m. and which was marked by the earliest known Attic figure decorated stele.<sup>63</sup> Then in the 5th cent. when the production of elaborate grave stones has ceased, we suddenly again meet the roughly hewn rock as marker stone, more than 200 years after the period in which it was most common. Thus two Classical graves were marked by roughly hewn stones placed on top of the grave fill, one a slab of Hymettan marble, the other a coarse stone.<sup>64</sup>

Also in the first half of the 4th cent. we meet the unworked stone used as grave marker. Two such stone markers were

NOTE 57  
Smith 1926.

NOTE 58  
BCH 81, 1957, 516–518.

NOTE 59  
See for instance AD 37, B, 1982 (1989), 25 (Sacred Road) and AD 40, B, 1985 (1990), 29 (Sacred Road) no. 16. Even the Hellenistic-Roman cemetery situated at the Sacred Road and Street of the Tombs in the Kerameikos, excavated by K. Kübler, belong to this group of rather poor grave plots. Thus Kübler reported 94 inhumations and only 4 cremations, all with very plain gravegifts and no items of gold plate (Kübler 1932, 191).

NOTE 60  
Ker. I, 6, 181; Ker. IV.1, 3 and pl. 2 above; Ker. VI.1, 88–90.

NOTE 61  
Ker. VI.1, 7–8, esp. pl. I (here Fig. 5); Ker. VI.1, 88–90.

NOTE 62  
Ker. VI.1, 88–90.

NOTE 63  
Ker. VII.1, 5–16, no. 1.

NOTE 64  
Ker. VII.1, no. 438, no. 615.

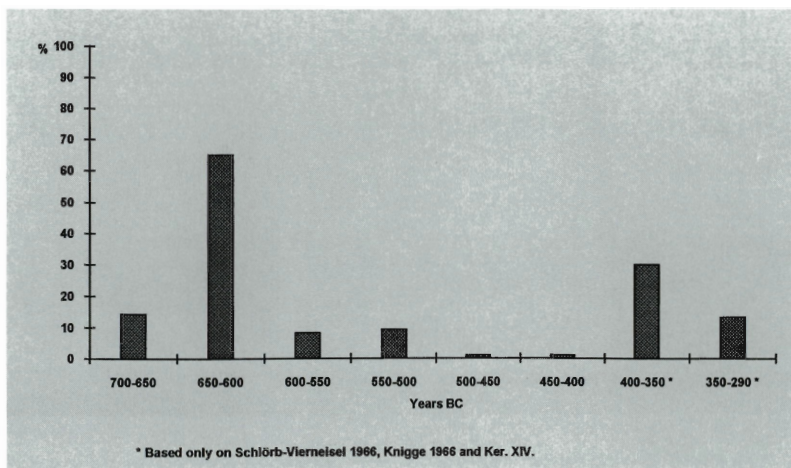


Fig. 7 The frequency of tumuli in the Kerameikos 700-300 B.C.

found *in situ* in the area excavated to the north of the Street of the Tombs, each placed on top of a small tumulus dating to the late Classical period (Fig. 6).<sup>65</sup> The similarity of both the 5th cent. and the 4th cent. coarse grave stones marking tumuli to the roughly hewn grave stones marking tumuli in the Kerameikos in the Iron Age and in the Archaic period is indisputable. Significantly, this interest in the primitive grave stone of the Iron Age was accompanied by a remarkable rise in the number of tumuli in the first half of the 4th cent. As seen in Fig. 7, a tumulus had marked more than half of the adult burials in 7th cent. Kerameikos while child burials never received a tumulus. In the 6th. cent. the number had dropped markedly to 9% with tumuli exclusively marking adult burials while in the 5th cent. only between 1 and 2% of the adult burials received a tumulus. In the first half of the 4th cent. (more precisely 375-350), however, the number of adult burials marked by a tumulus rose to 27% in the area excavated to the north of the Street of the Tombs,<sup>66</sup> and 13% if also counting the burials in the much less completely excavated area called the Corner-terrace. Even children may now be buried beneath tumuli. In the area just mentioned to the north of the Street of the Tombs, child burials marked by a tumulus amounted to 18% of all child burials. Unfortunately, not enough burials are published from the 3rd and later centuries to continue the statistics, but as already mentioned we have some evidence that small tumuli were

quite common in the Hellenistic period.

In view of the renewed interest in Iron Age grave stones and the evident return of the grave mound in Kerameikos in the 4th cent. and possibly Hellenistic period, it is certainly interesting that the two best preserved early Hellenistic grave mounds in Kerameikos were covered with plaster in the fashion of Archaic tumuli (Fig. 2).<sup>67</sup>

I. Morris has recently offered an elaborate interpretation of the series of very large grave mounds dating to the second half of the 5th cent. which are situated immediately to the Southwest of the enormous mound G in the Kerameikos and which clearly break the general 5th cent. pattern of restraint in funerary display.<sup>68</sup> According to I. Morris these lavish burials, “with their mounds and stelai” represent a continuation of burial customs of the 6th cent. and like them recalled funerals of the Heroic age. Moreover, the bronze ash urn with chased decoration and cremation ash wrapped in silk described above, which was marked by the huge grave mound O, is termed “the most self-consciously Homeric burial”.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, I. Morris also regards what he calls the “heroic mound-and-stele” to be an expression of an elite’s resistance to egalitarianism after 500.<sup>70</sup> He regards the tumuli and fine cremation burial southwest of mound G to be the last examples of 5th cent. “Homeric” burial tradition. Because of the frequent imagery of tumuli depicted on white ground lekythoi, Morris presumes that more and more wealthy Greeks regarded the “mound-stele” as vulgar and therefore preferred elaborate grave reliefs.<sup>71</sup>

Though no stelai were in fact found on the tumuli Southwest of grave mound G mentioned by Morris, I agree with him in his view of a nostalgic element in the choice of a tumulus and ash urn burial in 5th cent. Athens.<sup>72</sup> However, in view of the development in the 4th cent. Kerameikos, which I have just described, I find it hard to follow I. Morris’ other arguments. Thus, there is no sign that the tumulus came to be regarded as vulgar by the more wealthy burying groups who therefore gave it up and turned to elaborate grave

NOTE 65  
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, 130/hS 93, 129/hS 100, enclosures 6-7.

NOTE 66  
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966; Knigge 1966.

NOTE 67  
Hieronymos mound, see n. 31.

NOTE 68  
Ker. VII.1, mounds K, L, M, N, and O.

NOTE 69  
Morris 1994, 77.

NOTE 70  
Morris 1992, 145-146; Morris 1994, 78.

NOTE 71  
Morris 1994, 80-81.

NOTE 72  
For a distinction between tomb cult and hero cult and a thorough criticism of the term “heroic burial” in the Iron Age and Early Archaic period, see Antonaccio 1995.

reliefs at the end of the 5th cent. On the contrary, as just shown, the small tumulus experienced a true revival in the first half of the 4th cent., a revival which is contemporary with a peak in the production of elaborate grave reliefs according to Clairmont's dating system.<sup>73</sup> In fact many of these reliefs were probably originally placed on small tumuli, as is suggested by the Eukoline relief, which marked a small tumulus.<sup>74</sup> Also, the two 4th cent. graves marked by tumuli and boulders were found in a high prestige area of Kerameikos close to many well-furnished graves. Moreover, as I mentioned above, very large 4th cent. tumuli clearly marking wealthy burials are known outside the Kerameikos. I would also be very careful not to describe the mound-stele combination and ash urn ritual as "heroic" and associated with a Homeric past, as I. Morris has done, for, as stated earlier on, female burials and child burials also received tumuli in the 4th cent., and apparently both women and children could be cremated and buried in elaborate ash urns.

Rather than speaking in terms of elite burials and non-elite burials or attempting to link burial customs with movements of anti- and pro-egalitarianism, it seems to me that burial customs in the 4th cent. are better understood in terms of a growing nostalgic attitude towards the past among a broad group of more or less well to do people who buried their relatives in the Kerameikos cemetery. This attitude resulted in highly eclectic burial customs which imitated Iron Age and Archaic funerary rites and sometimes mixed them with contemporary rites. This remarkable interest in much older burial practices should no doubt be seen in relation to the preservation of Geometric and Archaic graves in late Archaic and Classical times. For around the middle of the 6th cent. Geometric monuments still stood fully visible in the Kerameikos on the Western side of the Ay. Triadha hill.<sup>75</sup> Even much later, in the 5th and 4th cent., graves were continuously dug down into Geometric burials.<sup>76</sup> Some Late Classical tumuli not only rested on

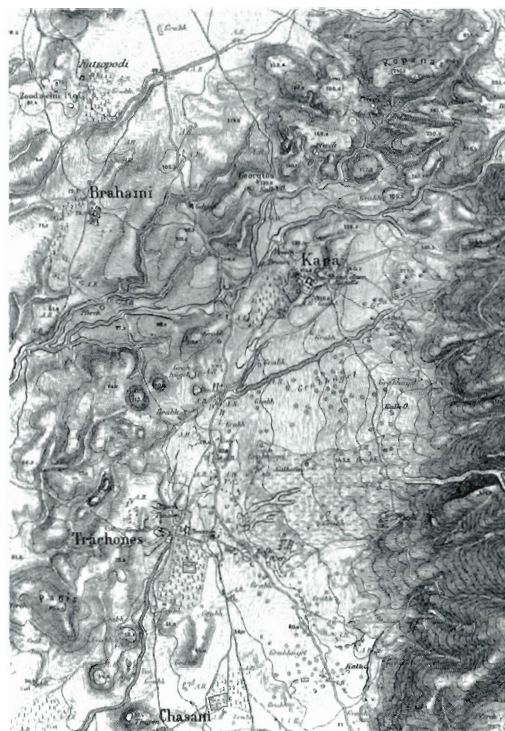


Fig. 8 Part of map showing the distribution of ancient ruins and monuments in 1875 in the area of Trachones west of Mt Hymettos in Attica. Grave mounds ("Grabhügel") are indicated with "stars". (From Curtius & Kaupert 1881-1903, pl. IV). (With courtesy the Royal Library in Copenhagen).

top of Geometric grave mounds, but even lay at the same level as Archaic grave mounds.<sup>77</sup> However, the second half of the 4th cent. and the early 3rd cent. were marked by extensive levellings in the Kerameikos whereby remaining Geometric monuments, the many Archaic and archaizing grave buildings and tumuli were covered over. I will return more fully to this aspect below. It is soon after the disappearance of this genuine Archaic and archaizing funerary landscape that we find the appearance of small Hellenistic tomb columns which, as seen above, seem to have stood on a small tumulus eventually covered with plaster exactly as in Archaic times. If we now recall Milchhoefer's statement, mentioned above, regarding the many burial mounds in Attica which he presumed to have been crowned by a funerary column, we have to take into consideration that Hellenistic-Roman funerary landscapes of this kind must have existed side by side with still existing Geometric-Archaic fields of tumuli, for at Milchhoefer's time huge such grave fields were still visible in the vicinity of Trachones and Vari, where modern excavations have revealed important Geometric and Archaic cemeteries (Fig. 8).

NOTE 73  
According to Clairmont 1993, 531 grave reliefs date to 400-375, 1245 date to 375-350 and 629 date to 350-300.

NOTE 74  
Willemsen 1970, 41-42.

NOTE 75  
Ker.VII.1, 91.

NOTE 76  
This is evident from catalogue and enclosure 3 in Ker.V.1.

NOTE 77  
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, 57, enclosure 5.1.

NOTE 78  
Travlos 1988, 446.

Such large tumuli fields could still be seen near Vari until very recently.<sup>78</sup> It therefore seems to me that the appearance of unimpressive, small grave monuments in the first half of the 3rd cent. sometimes standing on small tumuli should be seen as yet another wave of archaizing burial customs arising from the disappearance of true Archaic funerary landscapes and no doubt helped into existence by Demetrios' sumptuary legislation.

The cases summarized above of archaizing funerary practices in the Kerameikos in the Late Classical period should probably also be seen in the light of a tendency towards archaizing features in other funerary monuments. As an example U. Vedder has shown that the ornamentation of Attic funerary enclosures and grave markers often makes use of Archaic funerary motives, such as fighting goats, lions, bulls, and fantastic animals such as lion-griffins.<sup>79</sup> Other striking examples are the marble urns with griffin-protomes which imitate very narrowly the famous 8th and 7th cent. orientaling bronze cauldrons with lion- and griffin protomes. Imitations in clay of these cauldrons were crushed and burned in the offering-trench ritual in the 7th cent. Kerameikos. One of the 4th cent. marble urns with protomes was found in a precinct at Ikaria, and seems to have formed part of a most luxurious funerary structure of the kind which is described in written sources, since drums from a 10 m. high column was found. Perhaps it served as a heroon since there was no trace of graves.<sup>80</sup>

However, Hellenistic burial customs are not only characterized by a wave of archaism, but also by a nostalgic reuse of old-fashioned Classical grave sculpture as seen from the following section.

### Kerameikos in the 3rd to 1st century: a "museum" of Classical funerary art

After about 350 only few grave mounds were raised in the Kerameikos, while the ritual of the offering-places persisted to be a relatively characteristic feature (Figs. 4 and 7). In fact some of the richest offer-

ing-places were seen to date to the beginning of the 3rd cent.<sup>81</sup> On the whole the funerary landscape of the Ay. Triadha hill and south of the Street of the Tombs changes dramatically in the last quarter of the 4th cent. and the beginning of the 3rd cent. Formerly the passers by on the Street of the Tombs and Sacred Road were met by an almost eclectic, enormously crowded funerary landscape, consisting of overlapping old and recent grave mounds, varying in size from tiny to gigantic ones and lying side by side with old grave buildings, while the roads themselves were lined with pompous 4th cent. grave precincts filled with reliefs and sculpture. However, by the beginning of the 3rd cent. and probably occasioned by political events much of this landscape had been levelled into a more even landscape. In this section I intend to describe this process in more detail.

In the third quarter of the 4th cent. the grave precincts of the late 5th and the 4th cent. of Kerameikos were exposed to a thorough robbing of stones and monuments from their facades. Probably this pillage was due to a sudden need for repair of the defense works after the defeat at Chae- roneia in 338 with the resulting threat of a Macedonian attack on Athens.<sup>82</sup> The grave precinct for the family from Thorikos, whose son was the famous Dexileos, seems to be the only one that escaped plundering. When these robberies took place, the Ay. Triadha hill was still to some extent dominated by the huge mid 6th cent. mound G in its eastern part. The most conspicuous monument, however, was an enormous grave building "f" which was built of mudbricks and dated to the end of the 5th cent.<sup>83</sup> The length of its facade measured about 14,50 m. and was about 3.50 m. tall. This huge structure had an extensive fill, which originally formed a mound ("O") and came from the fill of an earlier somewhat smaller grave building ("e"). "f" adjoined the mound G in the east and northeast.<sup>84</sup> Interestingly this grave building was built on top of big Classical tumuli and grave buildings which again covered a whole series of overlap-

NOTE 79  
Vedder 1985, 155.

NOTE 80  
Vedder 1985, 155; Scholl 1994, 242.

NOTE 81  
see n. 43.

NOTE 82  
Ohly 1965, 342, who refers to Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 43.

NOTE 83  
Ker. VII.1, 86-90.

NOTE 84  
Ker. VII.1, 86-90.

ping 7th and 6th cent. tumuli and grave buildings. This concentration of high status burials in this particular area certainly suggests an important family's burial plot.<sup>85</sup> By around 338, in the course of the almost hundred years since its erection, the mass of earth in "f"'s interior had collapsed towards the north and the area north and west of it is filled in. The same is true of the road which ran across the Ay. Triadha hill close by "f"' and grave mound G.<sup>86</sup> Also the western part of the Ay. Triadha hill, that is the area behind the Classical and Hellenistic grave buildings, was covered by these levellings.<sup>87</sup> On top of the levelling fill above "f"' came another filling in connection with the burial of Hipparete, and Hipparete's *trapeza* was placed on top of it.<sup>88</sup> At the beginning of the 3rd cent. the filling-in policy was continued, now in the area south of the Street of the Tombs. Here the precincts of the so-called Corner-terrace, which faced towards the South road, were filled in, as was the South road itself.<sup>89</sup>

The result of these extensive fillings is a levelling of the Ay. Triadha hill whereby not only the Archaic grave mound G and the Late Classical grave building "f"' disappear, but also many other older and more recent mounds and grave buildings, including a fairly large Early Classical mound on the south western part of the Ay. Triadha hill,<sup>90</sup> and the many small archaizing tumuli and grave buildings from the first half of the 4th cent.<sup>91</sup> The level of the Street of the Tombs is at some places heightened by 1 1/2 m., and on its southern side the former dominant appearance of the large Archaic South mound ceases. Instead the area of the South mound, South road and the so-called Corner-terrace turns into a single and fairly level grave field.

In spite of this extensive levelling-policy it is most important to note that the Classical necropolis had not disappeared completely. In fact, it continued to form part of Athen's funerary "facade" throughout the Hellenistic and Early Roman period. Thus, the upper part of several 4th cent. precinct walls remained visible, and those grave monuments which had either escaped

plunderings or had been reinstated after 338 could still be seen in the 2nd and even in the 1st cent. The difference was that they did not rise high above the street, but were level with the street. For instance the Eukoline relief, the Aristion stele and a relief on a high basis no longer preserved were fully visible and faced the Sacred Road.<sup>92</sup> The whole enclosure wall with the Hegeso relief, Kleidemos' loutrophoros-stele and Koroibos' palmette-stele facing the Street of the Tombs and the upper part of the precincts on the western part of the Ay. Triadha hill remained visible.<sup>93</sup> On the southern side of the Street of the Tombs the Dexileos relief, various palmette-stelai, and Koroibos' bull on its tall podium and Koroibos' grave relief likewise dominated the view until the 2nd or 1st cent. (Fig. 9).<sup>94</sup> On the Corner-terrace the Demetria relief, the Demetria and Pamphile relief and the relief depicting a sitting woman remained visible.<sup>95</sup>

Thus, Classical funerary art was still fully visible in the Hellenistic period and Early Roman times. There is even evidence for a demonstrative reuse of Classical monuments in these later periods, as is seen from the following cases.

After the repair of the grave precincts shortly after 338 the Eukoline-relief was reused as grave stone on top of a small tumulus erected above a burial of a girl. The relief was no doubt reused, for its inscription mentioning the family of Eukoline was written on top of an older inscription.<sup>96</sup> In the grave precinct for Koroibos' family from Melite the grave relief of Hegeso, now around 100 years old, was reused and placed to the left of the palmette-stele which commemorated the family's male leader, Koroibos, and his sons,<sup>97</sup> to this palmette-stele was added a more recent and more elaborate palmette ornamentation, likewise reused from another grave monument.<sup>98</sup> To the right of this the loutrophoros-stele, which commemorated a nephew of Koroibos, remained standing, but it received a new basis. It is very interesting that these three monuments were reused, when the precincts pass-

NOTE 85  
For the discussion of an Alcmaeonid burial plot, see Knigge 1988, 109-110.

NOTE 86  
Ker.VII.1, enclosure 46:1-2, 48:1-1, 49:1-3, 50:2.

NOTE 87  
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, 59-60, 76; Ker.VII.1, 148:XXVIII.

NOTE 88  
Kübler 1935, 274-275; Ker.VII.1, 90.

NOTE 89  
Brueckner 1909, 30-42; Ker. XIV, 94.

NOTE 90  
Ker.VII.1, 148:XXVIII.

NOTE 91  
Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, 59-60, 76.

NOTE 92  
Kübler 1932, 186, Fig.1; Knigge 1988, 136 with references.

NOTE 93  
Brueckner 1909, fig. 11.

NOTE 94  
Brueckner 1909, figs. 9-10; Ohly 1965, figs. 36-37 layer ita and zeta.

NOTE 95  
Brueckner 1909, fig. 15; Ker. XIV, 94.

NOTE 96  
Willemsen 1970, 41-42.

NOTE 97  
Ohly 1965, 340-341; Stichel 1990a, 546 also points out a reuse of the Eukoline and Hegeso reliefs.

NOTE 98  
Knigge 1984, 225.



ed over to another family at the end of the 4th cent. Thus the male leader of the new family and his son were commemorated on what was earlier Koroibos' stele. Moreover, this stele remained standing between Hegeso' relief and Kleidemos' stele. In this way the Hegeso-relief – now reused for the second time – and Kleidemos' loutrophoros stele turn into purely decorative monuments flanking the new owner's stele.<sup>99</sup>

On the opposite side of the Street of the Tombs the impressive heroon for Dexileos immediately caught the viewer's eye being the only precinct which had completely survived the pillage around 338. The family certainly knew how to utilize Dexileos' heroic death in war against Korinth in 394/93 (Dexileos himself lies buried in Demosion Sema at the Dromos). Thus Dexileos' monument depicting the finest of all deaths in the city-state of Athens turned into a sort of scenery in front of which of Dexileos' family was commemorated on simpler grave monuments. Dexileos' sisters and brothers were commemorated on a plain palmette-stele facing the Street of the Tombs and raised in front of but at a lower level than Dexileos' monument. And their children were commemorated on cubic marble boxes and funerary columns placed behind and next to the Dexileos monument, but still fully visible from the street.<sup>100</sup> Likewise, in the neighbouring precinct (II) belonging to Agathon and Sosikrates from Herakleia a Hellenistic funerary column was placed behind the tall 4th cent. palmette-stele commemorating Agathon.<sup>101</sup> And in the next precinct (III) the new owners – after the childless Dionysios from Kollytos – use Dionysios' naiskos and his tall pillar crowned by a marble bull as another kind of scenery behind which their own funerary cubic, marble boxes and columns were placed. In fact one of the cubic boxes was placed in such a way that it was in line with Dionysios' huge naiskos.<sup>102</sup>

In the Corner-terrace the Demetria relief and the Demetria and Pamphile naiskos were placed on different bases after the repair of their precinct around 338 so that they loose contact with the associated bu-

rials and thus obtain a more ornamental than funerary function.<sup>103</sup> More important, a small tumulus was raised immediately next to the Demetria and Pamphile naiskos on which stood a funerary column commemorating Dorkas.<sup>104</sup>

All these examples illustrate vividly how in the late 4th cent. and Hellenistic times plainer funerary monuments deliberately exploited elaborate Classical funerary art by being placed next to them whereby the deceased commemorated on the plainer monuments was placed in a romantic setting of Classical virtues and values. The popularity of creating a Classical background scenery is no doubt also the motive behind the following gesture. In the Corner-terrace a Classical relief dated to around 350 depicting a seated woman was originally inserted on a basis turned towards the South road. But when this road was filled in, in the early 3rd cent., the relief, by now around 60 year old, was turned to face the Street of the Tombs. In the same period several funerary columns were placed close to it,<sup>105</sup> while to the east a whole row of funerary columns were erected turned – like the relief – towards the Street of the Tombs, as was a row of funerary columns behind the Classical "scenery" of the precincts III-IV.<sup>106</sup> In late Hellenistic times Classical reliefs were still being reused. Thus a relief stylistically dated to the second half of the 4th cent. carried a late Hellenistic inscription, and a Classical votive relief was reused as a grave relief.<sup>107</sup> Similar cases of reuse of Classical grave reliefs in Hellenistic time are frequent outside Attica.<sup>108</sup> No doubt it is also in the light of this desire to be associated with Classical morals and virtues that the re-appearance of grave reliefs in Attica in the 2nd century should be seen. At this time a very small production of grave monuments begins which clearly revive a Classic, Attic tradition, even though the style is Hellenistic. Palmette-stelai, relief-stelai, hydriai and loutrophoroi were now produced again and as in Classical times used to indicate gender and age.<sup>109</sup> Good parallels for this can be found outside Attica, for instance a Hellenistic relief found

NOTE 99  
Ohly 1965, 340–341.

NOTE 100  
Brueckner 1909, 63, plan of Kerameikos "d" and "e" and near "e".

NOTE 101  
Brueckner 1909, 74.

NOTE 102  
Brueckner 1909, 81–82.

NOTE 103  
Ker. XIV, 75–76.

NOTE 104  
Ker. XIV, fig. 39.

NOTE 105  
Brueckner 1909, 34 and plan of Kerameikos: at the numbers 6, 15 and 6, 85 and 6, 74.

NOTE 106  
Brueckner 1909, 42, 47, plan of Kerameikos nos. 15–18 and along the wall my-ksi.

NOTE 107  
Lymperopoulos 1985, 18, A8 and A16.

NOTE 108  
Schmaltz 1983, 101–123, esp. 112; Schmidt 1991, 117.

NOTE 109  
Lymperopoulos 1985, 15–17.

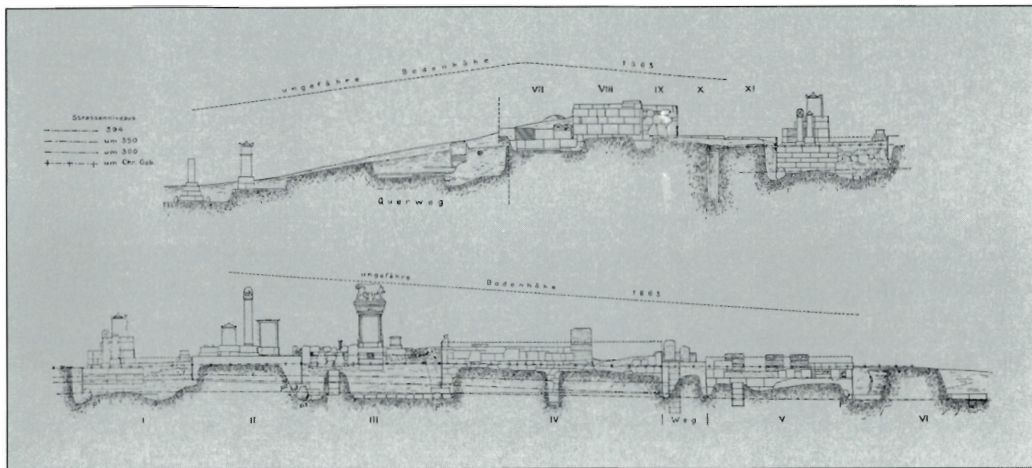


Fig. 9. Section drawing showing the various street levels of the Street of the Tombs in the Kerameikos from Classical to Roman times. (From Brueckner 1909, figs. 9-10).

at Koula in Northern Greece with a “Hegesos” motif and an epitaph which mourns the death of a 16 year old, newly wedded girl who died during labour.<sup>110</sup> In Smyrna, Classicizing grave stones were produced on a large scale from the 2nd century and played a significant role in providing the dead with a good and “classical” appearance.<sup>111</sup>

The emphasis on classicizing grave monuments and the use of Classical tombstones has been interpreted as a descriptive setting for those persons who were commemorated on the plain Hellenistic monuments. The Classical scenery was thought to exhibit the “good and worthy” background of the persons buried there in Hellenistic times. This assimilating technique may also be seen as a comparatively cheap imitation of the contemporary upper-upper elite grave monuments. Thus, we are faced with much the same assimilating technique on for instance, Isokrates’ and Theodektes’ memorials of the late 4th cent. and in Hellenistic heroa. Isokrates and Theodektes were shown as belonging to the circle of influential and world famous poets and philosophers of Athens’ and Greece’s glorious past by portraying them next to famous personalities such as the poet Homer and the retorician Gorgias.<sup>112</sup> Similarly, deceased family members in Hellenistic times are portrayed next to the Muses, and receive offerings immediately after they have been given to the Muses, so that the deceased appear to belong to the sphere of supernatural, mythical beings.<sup>113</sup>

## Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that burial customs in the Kerameikos took on a more and more nostalgic character throughout the 4th cent. and resulted in explicit waves of archaizing burial practice. The appearance and popularity of small Hellenistic funerary columns is seen among other things to be the result of yet another such wave in the Kerameikos (and probably in other Attic cemeteries as well). No doubt Demetrios’ law against funerary luxury promoted this development, but it was the long visibility which Geometric and Archaic grave markers enjoyed in the Kerameikos and in the Attic countryside that provided the direct source of inspiration and gave the Hellenistic grave monuments their particular nature. The archaism noted in funerary customs of the Hellenistic Kerameikos is probably also to be understood as forming part of a general romantic attitude to the past, which characterizes many aspects of Hellenistic culture. Moreover it happens at a time when ordinary people elsewhere in Greece (especially Messenia) show a renewed interest in the past by paying visits to Bronze Age tombs in much the same way as was the case in the latter half of the 8th cent.<sup>114</sup>

NOTE 110  
Καραμπέρη 1990.

NOTE 111  
Zanker 1994, 212.

NOTE 112  
Scholl 1994, 249.

NOTE 113  
See Berges 1986, 23–24 for further references.

NOTE 114  
Alcock 1991.

# Appendix 1

(Compare Figs. 4 and 7)

The following tumuli have been published from the Kerameikos 700-300 B.C.:

*7th cent.*: Ker.VI.1: II.2, III.3, IV.4, V.5, VI.6, VII.7, VIII.8, IX.9, XI.11, XIV.13, XV.14, XIX.18, XXI.20, XXIX.28, XLVI.46; AM 1975: p. 54; Ker. XII, Rundbau, 57-95.

*6th cent.*: Ker.VI.1: XXX/29, XXXIV/33, L/50; Ker.VII.1: I, 229, 465, 475; Ker. IX: 3/HW 87; AM 1966:I: 32/hS 96.

*5th cent.*: Ker.VII.1: 242, 246, 255, 264, 496, AM 1966:I: 93/hS 94, AA 1975, p. 456; Ker. XII, 66-68.

*4th cent.*: AM 1966:I: 113/hS 42, 122/hS 103, 126/hS 50, 137/hS 177, 123/hS 122, 129/hS 129, 130/hS 93; Ker. XIV: 64/Eck 35, 68/Eck 37.

The following burials in Kerameikos dated between 700-300 B.C. were connected with (an) arrangement(s) for offerings. (The number of arrangements are given in brackets):

*7th cent.*: Ker.VI.1: IV.4 (1), IX.9 (1), XI.11 (2), XII.12 (1), XIV.13 (3), XV.14 (1), XIX.18 (1), XX.19 (1), XXI.20 (2), XXIV.23 (1), XXV.24 (3); AM 1966:I:

27/hS 59 (1); AA 1964: p.434, fig. 29 (1).

*6th cent.*: Ker.VI.1: XXVIII.27 (2), XXXIV.33 (1), XLVII.47 (1), LI.51 (1); Ker.VII.1: I (1), 4 (1), 450 (1), 466 (1), 486 (1), 613 (1); AM 1966:I: 32/hS 96 (1); AA 1964: p. 443 (1), p. 445 (1), p. 462, fig. 52 (1).

*5th cent.*: Ker.VII.1: 242 (1), 264 (1); AM 1966:I: 40/hS 204 (1), 65/hS 175 (1), 89/hS 65 (1), 90/hS 95 (1), 93/hS 94 (1), 112/hS 37 (1); AA 1964: p. 432, figs. 21-22, fig. 24 (1), p. 449, figs. 21, 44 (1), AA 1974, p. 191, fig. 15; Ker. XII, 16/Rb 2 (1).

*4th cent.*: Offering-trenches or -places (the appurtenant burial is not always known): AM 1966:I: 105/hS 146, 108/hS 166, 109/hS 84, 112/hS 37, 114/hS 52, 115/hS 47, 116/hS 48, 136/hS 182, 138/hS 374, 153/hS 29, 160/hS 83, 167/hS 134, 168/hS 135, 188/hS 17; AA 1978, p. 57; AA 1984, pp.56-61; Ker. XIV: 4/Eck 88, 9/Eck 71, 12/Eck 62, 14/Eck77, 17/Eck 56, 18/Eck 82, 21/Eck 83, 25/Eck 85, 28/Eck 19, 29/Eck 68, 33/Eck 54, 34/Eck 60, 35/Eck 84, 36/Eck 16, 37/Eck 12, 38/Eck 65, 39/Eck 15, 41/Eck 76, 42/Eck 28, 54/Eck 43, 57/Eck 49, 60/Eck 39, 62/Eck 42, 119/Me 36.

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