

EMOTIONS CARVED IN STONE?

**THE SOCIAL HANDLING OF DEATH
AS EXPRESSED ON HELLENISTIC
GRAVE STELAI FROM SMYRNA &
KYZIKOS**

by

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ABSTRACT

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This study deals with expressions of emotions in Hellenistic funerary art. The material for this study consists of 245 grave reliefs from the Greek cities of Smyrna and Kyzikos in Western Asia Minor; mostly dated to the second century BCE. The aim of this thesis is to examine emotional responses as expressed in Hellenistic funerary art and epigraphy. More specifically it is my purpose to extract emotional responses and study them as a means of social and cultural communication. I argue that we cannot understand subjective emotional experiences of people in past societies, but that we might be able to look at the social and cultural expectations that dictated how people were to behave in emotional terms and how this manifested itself in material expressions.

The results of this study suggest that it is possible to detect personal expressions of grief, affection, and longing in the source material. Combined images and epitaphs of individuals named and portrayed determined the emotional content they possessed. By examining the whole context of the tombstones, its setting and the experience of the intended viewer(s) it is possible to determine its consoling function. The social handling of death, especially untimely deaths, together with the mere confrontation of death and our own mortality in general, is a recurrent theme. All this is expressed within the confines of acceptable societal behaviour. The emotional semiotics that confronts us ranges in content from solemn expressions of introspective mourning in the case of Smyrna to more explicit outpourings of grief in the case of Kyzikos.

Keywords: Study of emotions, funerary reliefs, Hellenistic age, funerary epitaphs, Smyrna, Kyzikos, iconography, semiotics, epigraphical studies, social conventions, visual therapy, emotional communities

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1. INTRODUCTION

*Nikopolis, daughter of Sarapion, farewell. You did amuse your parents with gentle babbling and the endearing whisper that came from your little mouth. But already at the age of two did the unyielding Hades take you away from your mother's lap, gentle Nikopolis. Farewell, my new-born child! Gently will the dust enfold your body, once a great child of Sarapion.*¹

This second century BCE epigram inscribed on a tombstone from Smyrna was erected by the parents of Nikopolis (**S31**, Pl. 5.2).² Feelings of pain and remorse experienced by Nikopolis' parents are pronounced in the cited epitaph: the relief, however, that shows the dead child together with a servant, gives an aloof and neutral image. What strikes the eye is the tension created between text and image. Nikopolis died at the tender age of two. Why is she depicted as a young girl and not an infant? Her parents might have chosen a ready-made tombstone found in stock, or, less prosaically, it might reflect a desire to emphasise ideas of what the girl was expected to achieve but missed out on, rather than to represent her at the actual age of death. The grave stele of Nikopolis is an important reminder of the contradictory nature of grave memorials, and the difficulties faced when trying to discern details about a commemorated individual in his/her life-time by means of his/her tombstone. It is important to recall that such monuments served to create an idealized or stock representation – a “re-presenting” of the individual by others rather than a presentation by the person him-/herself. Therefore, the ambiguity of sepulchral imagery illustrates the fact that “in death people often become what they have not been in life”.³ Funerary reliefs tell us as much about the living as about the dead whom they commemorated. The *tympanon* held by the servant girl of Nikopolis, for example, alludes to the grief

1 English translation by the author. For the Greek version of the epigram see entry number **S31** in the catalogue (Chap. 3).

2 The catalogue consists of 245 grave stelai from Smyrna and Kyzikos. Grave reliefs from Smyrna are referred to as **S1** etc., reliefs from Kyzikos as **K1** etc. Funerary reliefs from other East Greek cities that will be mentioned in the text are referred to as P-M 1 etc. (after their number in Pfuhl-Möbius 1977-79).

3 Cf. Hodder 1982, 146. See also Morris 1987, 38f.; Parker Pearson 1999, 3.

and loss of her parents (it was the instrument of ritual lament in Anatolia). The sepulchral imagery might meet the needs of the dead, but never as forcefully as the needs of the survivors coping with the loss of a loved one. The social expressions of emotions, the accepted renderings of grief and longing – within the context of Hellenistic funerary art from Smyrna and Kyzikos – will be the focal point of this study.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this thesis is to investigate whether it is possible, based on these tomb monuments, to deduce various responses to death,⁴ emotional outpourings of grief, affection, and longing. The memorials I intend to investigate are confined in time (second century BCE) and space (Kyzikos and Smyrna), which, as I will demonstrate, increases the possibilities of investigating shifting modes of expressions related to emotion since deviations of the culturally fixed “tombstone fashion” can reveal individual biases and particularities chosen by the bereaved. It is important to consider the entire context of the memorials. Therefore I will look at both imagery and epitaphs and consider the function of the monuments in terms of memorialisation and bereavement. This thesis deals with Hellenistic gravestones that have been recovered from the Greek cities of Smyrna and Kyzikos in Western Asia Minor (Fig. 1). Several hundred free-standing funerary reliefs of Hellenistic date from these two cities have survived. They are mostly dated to the second century BCE. The grave stelai



Fig. 1 Map of Western Asia Minor.

4 Responses to death can be divided into two categories: “grief represents the psychological and physiological reaction rooted in human biology, while mourning is a culturally defined behavior which represents and reinforces the structure of the group”. Derderian 2001, 3f.

from Smyrna and Kyzikos have been published in one great corpus and other publications, in greater or lesser detail, but as yet no comprehensive study of the entire assemblage of tombstones from each city exists.⁵ Most often individual motifs, such as the *Totenmahl* (death feast), have been treated as isolated phenomena existing in a cultural context of their own. Considerations as to relations between any individual motif with other types of representations or the original location of the tomb memorials have not been exhaustively explored. Furthermore, the grave stelai have never been treated as a specific medium that deals with the social handling of death, or how the means of production or setting of the tombstones might have enhanced or prevented the display of sentiments. Sometimes the motifs are simplified or giving a fixed set of pictorial elements. Is it at all possible to identify any emotions in such standardised modes of display?

When working with emotions in a historical context one initial question needs to be addressed: what is an authentic emotion and what is merely the performance of a socially expected response.⁶ It is difficult to identify and discover personal sentiments in the material of a historical society. Therefore I will examine emotions expressed because of cultural standards rather than personal experience. The principal aim here is *not* to understand the feelings of any individual or group, but to grasp the social and cultural parameters deemed valid for the representation, display, and manifestation of emotions on the stelai. At the heart of this study lies the assumption that the perception of and responses to emotions are to a great extent socially and culturally determined. How emotions are defined and how individual emotions and their causes are perceived differ from culture to culture. They are neither natural nor pre-cultural: the desire for physical manifestations of internal and metaphysical ideas appears to be universal to mankind, and yet the results are extremely varied because of the differing social and cultural contexts which governed their means

⁵ For the most important studies on East Greek funerary art see Previous research.

⁶ Tarlow (2000, 727f.) explains our anxiety of determining real emotions with the romantic distinction between the inner self “as the locus of unmediated, spontaneous feelings” and the outer (social) self, “in which performance of affect may or may not accurately represent the primary core of sentiment”. For the romantic conception of the self as an internal and private locus of feeling (or the perception of emotion), see also Konstan 2006, 28f.

of expression.⁷ In classical Antiquity there were strict conventions for grieving for the dead, based on the belief that death is not an evil and hence not a reason for sorrow. For instance, Anaxagoras famously replied to the news that his son had died, “I knew he was mortal when I fathered him,” since death is a natural phenomenon it should be accepted with self-control.⁸ That it was improper to mourn under special circumstances is attested in ancient Roman practice which forbade parents to formally mourn children who died under the age of three. Criticism of parents is expressed in Roman sources if they mourned the death of their very young children.⁹ Accordingly, I will mainly consider the social and communicative functions of emotional display – to determine, if possible, how sentiment may be portrayed in interpersonal relations on the grave stelai, in contrast to expected “collective feelings” in a potential stock repertoire. The main challenge of this study is to interpret social interactions, or more specifically, how expressions of emotions are used to define social categories and social status. In most cultures expressions of sorrow directed towards the specific deceased individual are not a private matter isolated from society at large. We have a large body of funerary legislation which was passed in various places throughout Greek history. Such regulations sought to curb ostentatious displays of wealth. They prescribed, for example, that the *ekphora* (funeral cortege) should take place before dawn and that only a limited number of mourners were allowed to attend.¹⁰

7 Masségliia 2013a, 131f.

8 Diogenes Laertius 2.31; Konstan 2006, 253. Also consider Tarlow’s (2000, 727) example of how different views on death result in different perceptions of the practice of child sacrifice, which of course is perceived of as repulsive or inhumane in modern Western society due to our assumption that life is always to be preferred over death, but where death has a different meaning, the attendant understanding of child sacrifice will themselves be different.

9 As pointed out by Carroll (2006, 169 & 198-202), Roman tombstones, however, indicate that, in reality, it was not uncommon for very young children (also infants) to be mourned and commemorated.

10 E.g., the funerary legislations in Athens, as initiated by Solon (6th century BCE), and Demetrios of Phaleron (4th century BCE), see Garland 1989. Another example is a Roman law that stipulates that “parents and children over six years of age can be mourned for a year, children under six for a month. A husband can be mourned for ten months, close blood relations for eight months. Whoever acts contrary to these restrictions is placed in public disgrace”. Shelton 1998, 94.

Changing perceptions of the nature and significance of certain emotions, and their rendering in the visual arts, are affected by changing economic, social, and political circumstances. In the Hellenistic age, for instance, the locus of political power shifted from independent city-states to large kingdoms. Much artistic creativity of this period was prompted by craftsmen connected to the royal courts and it is even possible to detect certain “court styles”, such as the Pergamene baroque. It was also a period imbued by a novel spirit of individualism. The painting and plastic art produced exhibits a tendency towards increased realism and naturalism. Due to these circumstances artists enjoyed representing intense or exaggerated expressions of pain, pleasure, and emotional states.¹¹ To reconstruct the emotional reactions of an ancient viewer prompted by an image, one should try to reconstruct his/her cultural standards. These values were formed by experiences, stories, education, rituals, and law, which worked together in order to evoke subconscious and conscious response. In trying to determine the viewer’s emotional reaction to the grave stelai, I will, if possible, look for such common memories and values in the visual and epigraphic sources. For instance, to express hope for a blessed afterlife for a departed on a tombstone obviously had an emotional dimension for the bereaved.¹² Although, I will not go so far as to postulate that Hellenistic grave art presents itself as a coherent block or gives a consistent allusion to the other world, certain features in the imagery might indeed reveal some beliefs related to an expected afterlife.¹³ It is of special interest to

11 As examples of emotionality in Hellenistic sculpture in the round, Konstan (2006, 29) mentions the famous statues of Laokoon and the so-called Dying Gaul. However, these statues have survived only in Roman copies, and the expression of emotions in Hellenistic art can better be deduced from original sculpture of that period (such as grave and votive reliefs).

12 Since the mid-20th century, scholarship on Greek and Roman funerary art has neglected the significance of religious connotations (see Platt 2011, Chap. 8). One reason is, of course, that it is notoriously difficult to relate iconographic choices on ancient tombstones to the religious beliefs and practices of those who viewed and commissioned them.

13 Several scholars have rejected the attempt to establish what ancient people believe, since they agree that belief is not a useful analytical concept, at least not in a non-Christian context (e.g., Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 355; for a summary of the debate on the concept of belief in studies of Greek religion, see Versnel 2012, 339-359). I will not abandon “belief” as an analytical tool; I intend to treat belief(s) as synonymous with accumulated social knowledge. E.g., one might ask why the Greeks believed in the contradictory existence of the dead in both Hades and the vicinity of their tombs. The preferable answer is that

try to evaluate how the sculptors worked in order to ensure the beholder's understanding of a scene and how emotions might be aroused by the imagery. Viewed through the experience of the mourner, the images must have had a soothing and consoling effect since they preserved and enhanced the memory of the deceased as a form of visual therapy, or *Trauerhilfe*.¹⁴ I will look in depth both at the emotional content (describing and expressing sentiment) and the emotive function (arousing sentiment) of the imagery and epitaphs. What feelings were the funerary stelai expected to evoke in the living community and why was this set of emotions acceptable at a certain place at a given time? Similarly, I will examine whether any significant differences are obvious on tomb monuments from Smyrna compared to those from Kyzikos, and explain similarities and differences in expressions of emotions as rendered on memorials from these two cities. In a study on grave stelai from Smyrna, Zanker stressed the importance of provenance and geographical peculiarities in studies of Hellenistic funerary art and he has emphasised the diversity of pictorial semiotics from city to city.¹⁵ Perhaps each region in Asia Minor had its own way of expressing responses to death, and if so, why?

people mix and match their religious beliefs and worry about logical/theological inconsistencies only if they have to. Veyne 1983. In terms of heroism and the question whether the title *heros* (ἥρως) in Hellenistic epitaphs represents a “true” “belief” in the dead having achieved heroic status, an ancient Greek might be skeptical to the notion of ordinary men becoming heroes when dead on a rational level, but at the same time, might receive comfort at the death of a loved one, and hence, in that context it satisfies irrational personal needs.

14 *Trauerhilfe* is a term coined by Zanker & Ewald (2012, 103-9) regarding Roman sarcophagi, but I think it is applicable on East Greek grave stelai as well.

15 Zanker 1993, 213.

PRESENTING THE MATERIAL

East Greek grave stelai

The East Greek grave reliefs of the Hellenistic age are impressive in their quantity, sculptural quality, and adherence to well-defined types. They conform to established conventions and give us insight into the values, ideals, and enterprises of the local societies that produced them. Many reliefs lack an original context, but with the aid of epigraphic and stylistic criteria it is possible to date them from about 200 BCE and a few centuries onwards. It has been argued that the sudden increase in the number of tombstones during the second century BCE in a variety of locations is a by-product of the Classicizing trends visible also in contemporary sculpture in the round.¹⁶ On the other hand, the increase in production may well be due to economic prosperity and more stable conditions in the Eastern Aegean. The intense building activity in the second century BCE attests an increased prosperity and political stability. In fact, these building projects (e.g., the Pergamon Altar or the altar of the Artemision in Magnesia) have been explained as the impetus behind the increase in production of grave reliefs. The heightened activity of the sculptors on certain extensive projects contributed to a surplus labour force who migrated to other areas to find work in the funerary field.¹⁷ The majority of East Greek grave reliefs are either rectangular stelai crowned by a plain gable or have architectural frameworks resembling *naiskoi*, with pilasters, attics, and pediments. The deceased might stand like a statue within this architectural space, usually attended by servants, often a pair of boys for men and two serving girls for women.¹⁸ The epitaphs are standardised and usually include the name of the deceased person and his/her patronymic. In the

16 Schmidt 1991, 41.

17 Linfert 1976, 138; Carroll-Spilecke (1985, 113f.). The number of funerary reliefs was especially numerous in the second half of the second century BCE. A similar explanation has been offered for the heightened production of Attic grave reliefs during the aftermath of the rebuilding of the Akropolis.

18 Information that unfortunately is often lost to us is details rendered in paint (the inscriptions were also painted at times). Details that clearly had been painted are sandals and decorative details on garments. Also metal objects fastened on the reliefs are now lost. Of these objects only clamps and holes for the fastening of weapons on the background of the relief and for the attachment of garlands above the relief now remain.

case of women, their marital status might be mentioned (*gyne*). Sometimes all persons represented by a relief image are named in the epitaph, but sometimes only the deceased is presented. Thus, a standard inscription gives us information about the identity of the deceased and his/her family ties. Occasionally we can deduce that two separate epitaphs cannot have been carved by the same hand – and this fact indicates that the deaths and burials of the represented individuals had occurred at separate occasions. This either attests a continued use of a grave marker within the same family or the reuse of a stele at a later occasion. Epigrams in verse are sometimes inscribed on the sepulchral stelai and they usually give us detailed information about the deceased, such as cause of death and the person commissioning the relief.

Smyrna and Kyzikos

The Ionian city of Smyrna (modern Izmir) occupies a strategic place in the middle of the eastern coast of the Aegean Sea. Greeks settled here as early as the beginning of the 11th century BCE. From its founding until the Hellenistic age the city is usually referred to nowadays as Old Smyrna. It was located on a small peninsula connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus at the north-eastern corner of the inner Gulf of Izmir, at the edge of a fertile plain and at the foot of Mount Yamanlar.¹⁹ New Smyrna refers nowadays to the post-Classical city that developed simultaneously on the slopes of Mount Pagos (Kadifekale today) (Fig. 2) and alongside the coastal strait immediately below where a small bay existed until the 18th century. The Hellenistic town of Smyrna was officially relocated by Alexander the Great to Mount Pagos in 334 BCE and refounded by King Lysimachos in 318.²⁰ During the Hellenistic age Smyrna experienced a dramatic

19 From the 580s onwards Old Smyrna consisted of a number of villages: the village located on the site of the modern Baïrakli have been the subject of archaeological excavations. The most well-known ancient structure from this village is the Temple of Athena (one of the oldest stone buildings in Ionia), see Akurgal 1983; Cook & Nicholls 1998.

20 According to Pausanias it was said that Alexander went hunting on Mount Pagos, and when the hunt was over, went to the Temple of Nemesis there, and lay down to sleep under a plane tree in front of the Temple: Nemesis appeared in his dream and bade him found a city there, and transfer into it the Smyrneans of the former city.

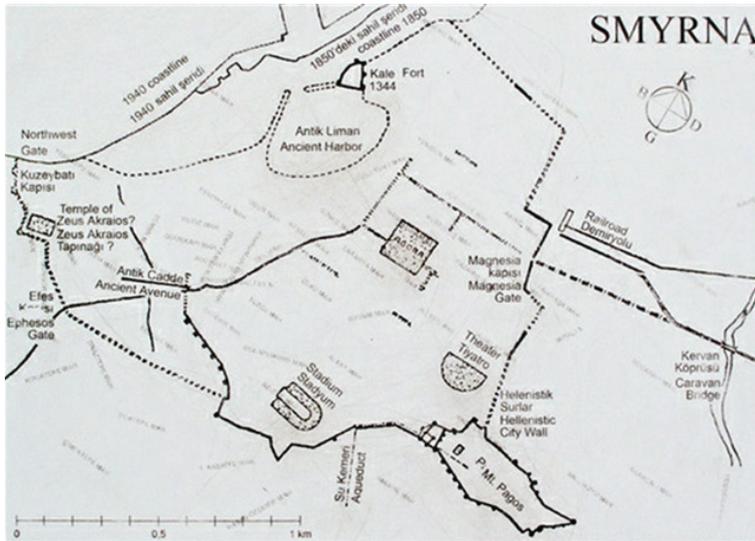


Fig. 2 Map of ancient Smyrna.

economic revival,²¹ and was an important seaport that enjoyed royal protection and support from the neighbouring Greco-Macedonian kingdoms. Smyrna also made sure to profit from the political stability that was a consequence of the growth of Roman hegemony in the Greek East. In fact, Smyrna was soon to realise the importance of the growing superpower in the West, and did not hesitate to establish friendly ties with the city of Rome: in 195 BCE Smyrna was the first city in Asia Minor to build a *templum urbis Romae*. Of the Hellenistic city, not much remains today, but fortunately we have a detailed description of the city by Strabo, who calls Smyrna one of the most beautiful cities in the world.²² The Roman *agora* in the centre of modern Izmir is one of few sites within ancient Smyrna, as yet, has been excavated. Parts of the subterranean structure of a covered marketplace beneath the eastern Basilica on the *agora* have been dated to the Hellenistic period (Fig. 3).²³ The Hellenistic

21 The most extensive historical and geographical account of Smyrna is still the monograph by Cadoux (1938). For a recent study, see also Akurgal et al. 2009 – a catalogue from the Smyrna exhibition at the Louvre in 2009.

22 Strabo (XIV.i.37) says of it, “And now it is the most beautiful of all the (cities).” Antipatros of Sidon (*Anthol. Palat.* xvi. 296) also mentions “beautiful Smyrna”.

23 The remains of the ancient theatre and the fortification walls also predate the Roman city.



Fig. 3 Roman agora in Izmir.

nekropolis was located at the northern slope of Mount Pagos. Unfortunately no archaeological fieldwork has been conducted there,²⁴ but a great number of funerary reliefs have been discovered as stray finds in this area.

Smyranean grave stelai of the Hellenistic age can be counted in hundreds and have mainly been dated to the

second century BCE. They constitute one of the most extensive groups of Hellenistic funerary reliefs, they have a homogeneous nature, and they are often of high technical quality. Stelai from Smyrna are relatively easy to recognize, even when the provenance is unknown or questionable. In addition to general conditions of style and iconographic peculiarities, the best criteria are the unique architecture of the stelai and a remarkable external characteristic – an honorific wreath carved above the figures on many stelai. These wreaths contain the inscription *ὁ δῆμος* followed by a name and patronymic in the genitive.²⁵ Since, however, by no means all the figures represented are so designated and the naming of the *demos* in many cases is omitted in the case of children and of persons whose names are not yet given on the stele as they were still alive, it appears that this is a form of public honour for the dead unique to Smyrna, one awarded to many, though not all, citizens. The Smyranean funerary reliefs also have a somewhat vertical compositional design, since the figures often stand beside each other like statues, looking out at the viewer. It is the pose of the body, the position of arms and head, which are the key elements of the pictorial language in which these figures are expressed. Added to these is a rich assortment of attributes which are to be read as symbols of the praiseworthy qualities of the deceased. Often the attributes are placed on ledges or pillars behind the figures. The

24 Archaeological excavations have been conducted only in one of the nekropoleis of Old Smyrna (Baıraklı). This burial site was located between the two lines of fortification walls and was in use during the first half of the sixth century BCE.

25 This is probably an abbreviation of *ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν* (the people honour), see Känel 1989, 55.

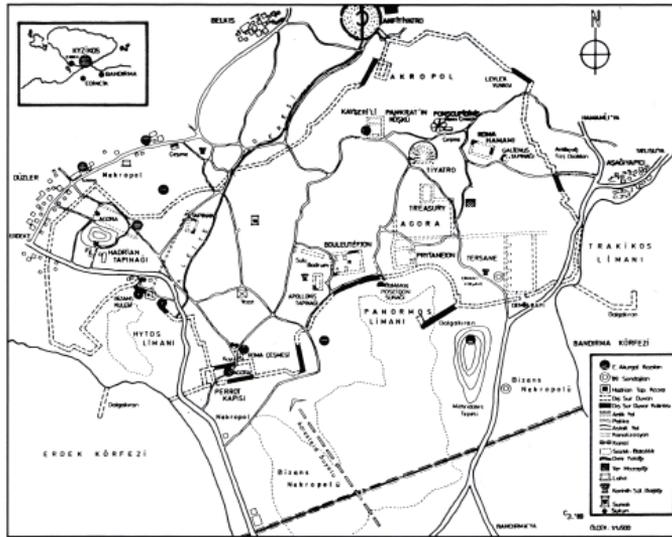


Fig. 4 Map of ancient Kyzikos.

funerary epigrams tend to be relatively long, often compromised of eight to ten verses.

The Mysian city of Kyzikos (modern Balkiz) in North-western Asia Minor (Fig. 1) is located on the shoreward side of the present Kapıdağ Peninsula (the Classical Arktonnesos), a tombolo²⁶ which is said to have originally been an island in the Sea of Marmara (ancient Propontis) first connected to the mainland in historic times either by artificial means or an earthquake.²⁷ The Greek city was probably founded by the Ionian city of Miletos in 756 BCE,²⁸ and owing to its advantageous position, it speedily acquired commercial importance (Fig. 4). Kyzikos experienced its most flourishing period in the Hellenistic age, when the city was a commercial and

26 A deposition landform in which an island is attached to the mainland by a narrow piece of land.

27 The most extensive historical and geographical account of Kyzikos and its vicinity is still the monograph by Hasluck (1910). Recent studies are published in *Asia Minor Studien, Band 1, Mysische Studien* (1990), with various articles ranging in subject from detailed accounts of the Temple of Hadrian to art historical studies of mostly Kyzikanean sculpture in the round. See also Marquardt 1836; Cremer 1991, 9f.

28 The first mythical account of the city is attested in the legend of the Argonautic expedition, where the Argonauts were guests of the eponymous King Kyzikos on their journey to Kolchis; on their return they slayed the King by mistake.

naval power.²⁹ Unlike many other Greek cities, Kyzikos maintained control over its internal affairs and played only a passive role in foreign policy,³⁰ though it was allied with the neighbouring kingdom of Pergamon. The alliance of Kyzikos and the rulers of Pergamon began already in the early years of Philhetairos (the



Fig. 5 Temple of Hadrian in Kyzikos.

founder of the dynasty), and ended only with the last of the line (Attalos III). King Attalos I cemented the friendship between the two cities by marrying Apollonis, the beautiful and exemplary daughter of a Kyzikanean citizen.³¹ Like Smyrna, Kyzikos maintained good relations with Rome from the second century BCE onwards: well into the Imperial age the city was rich in trade and sea-power. It was in this latter period that the most famous building of Kyzikos was constructed (Fig. 5), the Temple of Hadrian, known in ancient times as the eighth wonder of the world. This temple is one of few ancient structures (together with slight documentary work on the Temple of Apollonis) that have been excavated in Kyzikos.³² The Hellenistic nekropolis was located at the western outskirts of the city (Fig. 4). We also have epigraphic accounts of prominent citizens receiving the exceptional honour of intramural burial.³³ There has been no

29 Also in pre-Hellenistic times Kyzikos was a prominent seaport. The gold *staters* of Kyzikos were a staple currency in the ancient world until they were superseded by those of Philip II; its unique and characteristic coin, the *kyzikenos*, was worth 28 *drachmai*.

30 Strabo compared the autonomous government of Kyzikos with that of Rhodes (Hasluck 1910, 170).

31 Strabo, 625; Plut. *Frat. Amor.* 3.

32 For a detailed account of the Temple of Hadrian, see Schulz & Winter 1990. For the Temple of Apollonis, see Stupperich 1990. Today a small village can be found in the ruins of the ancient city.

33 A well-known inscribed decree from Kyzikos dated to the early first century CE records provisions for the funeral of a woman by the name of Apollonis, priestess of Artemis of the Pythaists at Kyzikos. She was laid to rest in the monumental family tomb of her husband, located within the city walls of Kyzikos along the Great Harbour, which opened onto to the Sea of Marmara. For this inscription, see SEG 28:953; Bremen 1996, 1-3 & 159f.; Connelly 2007, 223f.

systematic investigation of the Hellenistic nekropolis as yet, besides a few test-trenches excavated by Akurgal in the 1950s (for their exact spot see Fig. 4). During these excavations one grave relief of Hellenistic date (**K101**, Pl. 45.1) was discovered.³⁴

The most abundant visual remains from Hellenistic Kyzikos are its numerous sepulchral monuments that can be counted in the hundreds. They have been dated mostly to the last two centuries BCE and the production of reliefs in this area continued well into the Imperial age. The *Totenmahl* is by far the most common motif, and it is probably represented on about two thirds of the grave stelai from this city.³⁵ Its popularity might be due to its so fittingly expressed ideals and popular currents of Hellenistic society, such as the emphasis on a luxurious lifestyle. These reliefs also convey new religious needs and ideas in the Hellenistic world, such as heroisation and the popularity of mystery cults.³⁶ On tombstones from Kyzikos, heroisation is not only attested in the occurrence of the title *heros*, but also in the abundance of heroic attributes, mostly horses and snakes. The status of the deceased is sometimes further enhanced by the addition of the honorary title *heros philopatris* (**K48**, Pl. 35.1). There is one specific type of funerary relief from Kyzikos that is unattested outside north-western Asia Minor. Möbius gave these “Stelen mit in Zonen übereinandergesetzten Reliefs” the name of *Stockwerkstelen* in a publication from 1971, and this is now the standard name for this type of memorial. These stelai appear in

34 Due to the lack of contextual information we can make only rather imprecise assumptions about the original location of the monuments themselves, such as Fabricius' (1999a, Abb. 42) drawing of a street of tombs in Kyzikos: her drawing is similar to the tomb streets in the Kerameikos in Athens.

35 According to Fabricius (1999a, 277f.), 150 of the Kyzikanean funerary reliefs are decorated with *Totenmahl* scenes and of these around 110 almost certainly come from Kyzikos or its vicinity. Additional reliefs lack an original context, but can be referred to this city on stylistic grounds. In my opinion the number of reliefs should be slightly smaller, since in her estimation of Hellenistic reliefs, she includes material of Imperial date (see the dating of Pfuhl-Möbius 1977-79 and Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV) or which presumably come from Miletopolis (see the attributions of Mysian reliefs to this city by Cremer 1991 and Sahin 1997). I do not always follow the chronological leads by Pfuhl-Möbius and Schmidt and I am sometimes in disagreement with Cremer and Sahin on the attributions of what I consider to be Kyzikanean reliefs to Miletopolis -- to a lesser degree, however than Fabricius is. Therefore my catalogue does not contain 150 *Totenmahl* from Kyzikos but 72.

36 For instance, the representation of a *bakchos* (e.g., **K56**, see Cremer 1991, 33-35) indicates that the deceased had been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries.

Mysia and sometimes in Bithynia, where they were in use in the Imperial age also.³⁷ They are known in great numbers from Kyzikos and their most distinguishing feature is the appearance of two or even more reliefs on the same stele. A typical *Stockwerkstele* is decorated with two picture fields of the same size, and thus, this type needs to be differentiated from stelai that have an upper relief, and below it, a flatter, smaller relief (this latter type is sparsely attested in other regions of western Asia Minor as well, such as Ionia). On a *Stockwerkstele* the upper relief field is usually the main composition, especially in terms of size and depth, whereas the lower one seems to have been supplementary, narrating something about a figure in the main composition. The *Totenmahl* and the image of the rider is the most common combination of motifs on the *Stockwerkstelai*, with the *Totenmahl* above the horseman.

Selection of primary material

Relief sculpture (funerary, votive, and architectonic) is our single most extensive group of original sculpture from the Hellenistic age. Despite this advantage, working with Hellenistic relief sculpture implies certain obstacles, not least the problems in determining date and provenance for a great number of grave stelai. Many do not come from any archaeologically excavated contexts, but have been found walled into modern buildings or have been hauled from local fields into museums and depots. As pointed out by Salowey,

*Despite the heft and solidity of stelai, ranging in height from one to three meters and reaching weights of 75-225 kilograms, they are surprisingly transportable.*³⁸

Their utilitarian shape means that they can be reused in a variety of building projects, and this is often how the archaeologist encounters them (reused in other tombs, used as a door, threshold,

³⁷ Cremer 1991, 17-19. In Asia Minor funerary stelai with multiple relief fields were already in use in the beginning of the 5th century BCE. They belong to the so-called Perso-Anatolian stelai that began with the Achaemenid rule in Asia Minor and ceased to exist with the conquest by Alexander the Great. The style is Greek, while the themes are influenced by the royal art of the Achaemenids.

³⁸ Salowey 2012, 250.

etc.).³⁹ A great number of stelai lack any information about their original location, and in these cases we can decide only on an assumed provenance through establishing stylistic peculiarities for each region, and at best we might have some knowledge where an individual stele was found. Working exclusively with chance finds is, of course, problematic. The luck of the finds affects statistics. For instance, the relative lack of information on the various nekropoleis (or the lack of publications about their excavation) obfuscates the general picture -- the provenance of some early finds, now scattered through different collections, is often in doubt, and the absence of significant epigraphic evidence usually prevents determination of the correct status of the individuals depicted. Chronology is another obstacle. Very few fixed external points can be brought to bear on the reliefs. Even letter forms and prosopography is of little help. Typology is undermined by the clear recourse to traditional types that originate in the pre-Hellenistic period, and by certain motifs continuing to be popular well into the Imperial age. Traditional typology and Classicizing trends make it especially difficult to clearly separate some third- or first-century works from those of the second. Some of the grave reliefs may also have been reused in antiquity with added inscriptions, thus increasing the uncertainty. From epitaphs we learn of the continued use and re-use of grave reliefs as funerary monuments. Not only could members of the same family add their names to the stele but the stele could also be reused, inscribed to unrelated persons and used as their grave monument.⁴⁰

The Hellenistic (and Roman Imperial) tomb reliefs from western Asia Minor and the adjoining islands can be counted in the thousands, with Smyrna, Kyzikos, Samos and Rhodes as the four greatest producers of funerary sculpture.⁴¹ As pointed out

39 Many grave reliefs have permanent marks from their secondary use, e.g., **K100**, which once decorated a well in a bath in Bandırma. Consequently the stele now has an octagonal base, its upper right corner diagonally cut off, its back side polished, a large hole after a plug and cramp on its lower left, and patches of lime on its front side.

40 Although adding inscriptions is an easy and economical way to provide a funerary monument, the reused stelai of Imperial date appear to have been chosen for their iconography or quality.

41 Carroll-Spillecke (1985, 113f.) has listed the ten major production centres of Hellenistic funerary reliefs as Smyrna, Samos, Rhodos, Kyzikos, Pergamon, Ephesos, Chios, Kos, Eresos, and Byzantion. An investigation of the relief sculpture of these centres reveals that certain cities specialised in the manufacture of particular relief types, and that the workshops of the ten cities flourished at different periods within the second century BCE.

by Zanker, if one tries to arrange the vast body of material by city or region of origin,

*...it is immediately evident that individual cities and areas preferred certain iconographic models and figure types, or even used them exclusively.*⁴²

In order to secure a firm basis for interpretation, one must consider the most important of these local groups in isolation and then make comparisons between them. I will attempt this for the material from Smyrna and Kyzikos, since the funerary art from these two cities constitutes two of the most extensive groups,⁴³ has a homogeneous nature, and is rich in iconographic details. But maybe even more important, the grave reliefs from these two cities have the advantage of being relatively easy to attribute to a specific region due to stylistic peculiarities and there are relatively few obstacles when establishing reliable, though rough, chronological sequences.⁴⁴ However, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between place of manufacture and place of use due to extensive workshop production.⁴⁵ Kyzikos and Smyrna were both sculpture centres of some repute and funerary reliefs from these two cities were quite unique in their design: they even gained popularity in other areas. Consequently, many Smyranean and Kyzikanean reliefs might have been produced in these cities but erected elsewhere, or sculptors working in other cities were greatly influenced by the workshops in Smyrna and Kyzikos (or sculptors from these cities migrated to find work elsewhere).⁴⁶ This inevitably complicates the establishing of provenance, for instance the *Totenmahl* scene on **K72** (Pl. 37.2) has typical Kyzikanean stylistic features, but is claimed to have been found in Smyrna. Was the stele made in Kyzikos but used

42 Zanker 1993, 213.

43 Smyrna was by far the leading producer of funerary reliefs and was putting out a quantity of them already in the second quarter of the second century BCE, but the real peak of production was reached in the second half of the century. At Kyzikos the extensive relief production peaked in the last quarter of the second century BCE.

44 None of the stelai in this study has been found together with an undisturbed burial.

45 For workshop production in the eastern Aegean in the Hellenistic age, see esp. Schmidt 1991, but also Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 113-115 & Tables 1-3.

46 One needs only to consider a Hellenistic funerary relief on display at the Egyptian School in Rome (Inv. no. CG 9259): its nominal provenance is Alexandria, although in stylistic terms it is almost identical to a stele from Prusa ad Olympum in north-western Asia Minor (P-M 947).

as a grave marker in Smyrna? Or had a craftsman from Kyzikos settled in Smyrna and continued working in the artistic traditions of Mysia he was trained in?⁴⁷

Only with great hesitation have I included funerary stelai whose provenance I am uncertain of. With the aid of detailed iconographic studies, together with epigraphic considerations,⁴⁸ I have more or less securely identified all of the material as from either Smyrna or Kyzikos,⁴⁹ mostly in agreement with other scholars, but sometimes in disagreement. In my opinion, a number of grave reliefs only attested as having an unknown provenance by Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-79) can be attributed with certainty to either Smyrna or Kyzikos due to stylistic characteristics that are peculiar for these two areas (e.g., **K24**). All Hellenistic funerary reliefs known to me from these two cities are included in the present study. To work with this vast body of material has mostly advantages, especially since its great number makes it easy to trace generalising patterns undetectable in a smaller study. Its quantity is also motivated by the intention of this study to trace patterns of emotional response and context. In order to identify these patterns and recurring themes in motivation and communication, we first need a meaningful corpus of individual case studies. In isolation, or when using only a small number of objects, these studies are of only limited use. But collated in large numbers, patterns of emotional behaviour can be seen to emerge, as well as similarities in context which can help us to identify the social and cultural parameters at work. Such an endeavour can reveal whether certain kinds of evidence lend themselves to particular emotional

47 Several reliefs found in Kyzikos seem to stem from workshops in Miletropolis, and *vice versa*, a great number of grave reliefs found in the vicinity of Miletropolis probably come from a Kyzikanean workshop. For workshop production in Mysia and the attribution of specific pieces to individual cities, see Cremer 1991. Similarly, a group of grave reliefs claimed to have been found in the Ionian city of Ephesos are Smyranean in style and composition. They were probably made by a workshop in Smyrna and then exported to Ephesos.

48 Specific names are only attested in certain regions. Another example is **K18** discovered in the vicinity of Nikaia, but its epigram states that the commemorated woman had migrated to Kyzikos and died there.

49 This has been achieved through a comprehensive study of the entire bulk of East Greek stelai found in Pfuhl-Möbius 1977-79 and then identifying and isolating stylistic features and phenomena specific for Kyzikos and Smyrna. For instance, the wreath indicates a Smyrna attribution. The wreath is not exclusive for this city, but it can be used as one of several indications. Epigraphy has also been taken into consideration, such as the title *heros philopatris* being specific to Kyzikos.

expressions. In any case, excluding a number of stelai due to motif, shape of the stele, number of figures on the relief, etc., would mean forcing the material into a set of parameters that obscure its full potential. For instance, the *Totenmahl* cannot be interpreted out of context from the rider scene or other sets of motifs.

The material under study in this thesis consists of 112 reliefs from Kyzikos and 133 from Smyrna. The majority have been securely dated to the second century BCE, the period of greatest production of funerary reliefs in western Asia Minor. Sometimes the reliefs have been dated to about 200 or 100 BCE, with only a relatively small number of reliefs prior to 200 BCE: this latter group of reliefs is the most difficult to date, and should probably be dated to around 200. Also reliefs assumed to stem from after 100 BCE are notoriously difficult to date, and Pfuhl-Möbius often place them as first century BCE, maybe Early Imperial or Late Hellenistic (in stylistic terms, reliefs produced from about 150 BCE onwards). In general, I will follow Schmidt's chronological leads, though his dates are mostly based on style and iconography, with not so much concern given to prosopography. I mostly agree with his dating of the grave stelai from Smyrna, but sometimes in my opinion he tends to date the reliefs from Kyzikos slightly too late.⁵⁰ I am also very sceptical to his ranging of the tombstones date-wise within relatively short spans of time (only a decade), thus assigning the memorials too precise a date. As stated by Stewart to,

*... extract minute differences in chronology from the tiniest divergences in details..." is "...a method that both runs counter to all we know about the process of artistic creation in general and makes no allowance for the variety and many centered nature of Greek sculpture in general.*⁵¹

Thus I rather adhere to the dating of Pfuhl-Möbius. For many

50 For instance, I would prefer to date **K68** to the first part of the first century BCE instead of ca. 20, **K74** to about 100 BCE instead of ca. 40-50, **K 86** to the second half of the second century BCE instead of ca. 70, **K100** to the second half of the second century BCE instead of ca. 80-70, **K105** to the second or early first century BCE instead of ca. 50.

51 Stewart 1982, 283. That artistic creation not always follows general stylistic currents is attested by **S48**. Pfuhl has claimed that this particular stele can be dated to the first half of the second century BCE, but it was probably made by an elderly craftsman trained in the third century.

reliefs, opinions vary sharply, and even intrinsic evidence may be read in different ways. I will cite only the instance of **K82** (Pl. 40.1), where the scene of a blacksmith suggests an Imperial date, since profession is unattested on reliefs prior this period,⁵² but the stylistic rendering of the *Totenmahl* is typical of the last quarter of the second century BCE. Despite these difficulties, the majority of material in this study can confidently be placed within the second century.

In studies of Hellenistic funerary art one always needs to consider the reuse, destruction, and dispersal of the reliefs. The stelai from Smyrna and Kyzikos have been subject of both deliberate and non-deliberate destruction in modern times and earlier. Examples are the mutilation of the figures in the Imperial age, and the Great Fire of Smyrna in September 1922 (Fig. 6) when a large number of reliefs were severely burned.⁵³ On many Hellenistic tomb reliefs, especially those from north-western Asia Minor, the heads or faces of the figures have been deliberately broken off. This practice was, possibly, a consequence of the widespread idea in ancient times that the figures on the grave stelai were animated, and thus, people tried to kill their ghostly spirit by destroying their faces.⁵⁴ Another kind of destruction that the material suffered in antiquity was the reuse of the monuments, especially during Imperial times. When people reused a grave stele they not only revised the monument itself, but also sometimes erased the original inscription while



Fig. 6 Great fire of Smyrna 1922.

52 At least in terms of manual labour; from Smyrna we have a group of stelai that represents Demeter priestesses.

53 We are in much debt to Pfuhl who in the early years of compiling material for his corpus documented and photographed a great number of funerary reliefs in Izmir, most notably the material in the collection of antiquities at the Protestant School.

54 Jacobs 2010. Literary and epigraphic sources on the subject of mutilation of statues in Asia Minor suggest that Christians were given the opportunity physically to harm statues believed to have been inhabited by a deity or a threatening demon. This destruction became significant in the fourth and fifth centuries. However, Känel (1989, 50) has placed this iconoclasm in an Islamic context.

creating a new one.⁵⁵ Names were simply added, or the original inscription was erased first. When it comes to the dispersal of the material in modern times, the trade in antiquities is much to blame. The lure of ancient sculpture has deprived us of contextual information. There is a great need for caution when we deal with grave stelai attributed to Smyrna. For a long time this city was a centre for the trade in antiquities and a simple Smyrna provenance is always deceptive. In this concern, Petzl's corpus of sepulchral epitaphs from Smyrna is invaluable.⁵⁶ It provides comments on the reliable history of the epitaphs and whether the individual epitaphs are of Smyranean origin or not. Petzl's first task was to sift this bulky material, to exclude the non-Smyranean inscriptions and to trace the history of those which he felt could be assigned with some, but not in all cases absolute, certainty to the city itself.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

General overview

Since the nineteenth century Greek funerary monuments have attracted a great deal of attention, not only for their (often high) aesthetic value but also for the information they can provide about historical circumstances, civic identity, and prosopography. In more recent years the Athenocentric focus has somewhat receded and studies now include other areas of the Greek mainland (Lakonia, Achaia, Boiotia, Thessalia, Makedonia) and especially the Greek islands and the cities of Western Asia Minor. For these last, the comprehensive corpus *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* compiled by German scholars Pfuhl and Möbius (1977-79) has provided an indispensable research tool for studies concerning material dating from Archaic to Roman Imperial times.⁵⁷ First

55 Reuse of stelai also occurred in post-ancient times, as attested by inscriptions written in Hebraic and Armenian. There are also some few examples of stelai being reworked in modern times.

56 Petzl 1982.

57 From the early years of the 1980s onwards other publications have supplemented this extensive corpus. For Kyzikos: Schwertheim 1980; Cremer 1991; Känel 1992. For Smyrna: Petzl 1982; Atalay & Malay 1984; Senff 1985; Känel 1989.

Pfuhl, then Möbius was responsible for this daunting undertaking. They were both prevented from putting the final touches on their efforts by their deaths.⁵⁸ It covers not only the cities of the eastern Aegean coast up to the Black Sea, but also the islands closest to it: Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Kos and Rhodes.⁵⁹ The task of extracting specific information from the corpus has been attempted by several other scholars, in terms of both formal analysis (with a view to a chronological ordering) and semantic messages. Most general studies on Hellenistic funerary art concern issues such as typology, chronology, and stylistic peculiarities. For instance, in *Hellenistische Grabreliefs* from 1991, Schmidt provides typological analysis by provenance/place of manufacture, formal development, and investigation of meaning. In this study Schmidt also thoroughly examines chronology and workshops: he has, for instance, identified a number of sculpture workshops from Kyzikos.⁶⁰

In the same year, 1991, Cremer published two books on the Hellenistic and Imperial funerary reliefs from Mysia (vol. 1) and the neighbouring area of Bithynia (vol. 2). The Mysian volume deals mainly with funerary reliefs from Kyzikos, Miletropolis, and their vicinities. Cremer has made a typological survey of the reliefs, and treats different dominant themes such as the ritual funerary feast (*Totenmahl*) and the hunt scene. The Oriental elements and motifs (e.g., the hunt) on the *Stockwerkstelai*, and their Anatolian fore-runners are emphasized. In her overview and explanation of the scenes on the lower fields, she further discusses the pronounced Anatolian influences on Mysian sepulchral imagery.⁶¹ In her section on *Totenmahl* scenes (pp. 81-91) Cremer is mainly concerned with their typological origin and

58 It was initiated by Pfuhl in 1904. After his sudden death in 1940, the work was continued by Möbius, and finally, after Möbius' death in 1977, the final touches on the work were made by Krämer. The important contribution of Schefold in the 1940s needs to be mentioned also.

59 Hellenistic funerary reliefs from the Eastern Aegean have been the subject of detailed studies by Horn 1972 (Samos); Couilloud 1974a & 1974b (Delos and the Cycladic Islands); Fraser 1977 (Rhodes); Hannestad 1997 (Delos), Palagia 1997 (Rhodes); Fabricius 1999b (Rhodes); Salowey 2012 (Delos).

60 Schmidt 1991, 5 and n. 17. For Kyzikanean workshops: Schmidt 1991, 26-29, 110-116, Tab. IV-V. For workshops in the neighbouring city of Miletropolis: Şahin 1997, 194-197.

61 Cremer 1991, 17-26 and 32-54. The hunt was also a popular motif in the funerary imagery of late Classical and Hellenistic Makedonia, see Cohen 2010; Franks 2013.

the range of (seated) female body positions. The sociological and semiotic aspects of the East Greek funerary reliefs of Hellenistic date are especially brought to the fore by Zanker 1993 and 1995. Zanker has mainly concentrated on the meaning behind the typology, with essays exploring the self-representation of the Eastern Greek citizens on their memorials. In the article from 1993 he chooses to limit his inquiry to the pictorial vocabulary of tombstones in Hellenistic Smyrna.⁶² Zanker points out that despite contacts and trade throughout the Hellenistic world, one cannot speak of an international style, although some iconographic elements, and some specific types, have a wide distribution. In his own words,

*... each Asia Minor city of the second century seems to be a relatively closed cultural entity, strongly relying on local traditions and standards.*⁶³

Fabricius, as Zanker's student, has followed in the same direction, and the topic of her interpretative study *Die Hellenistische Totenmahlreliefs* from 1999 is the analysis of the so-called funerary banquet reliefs from four different Hellenistic cities: Samos, Rhodes, Byzantion, and Kyzikos.⁶⁴ In this study Fabricius stresses that each city had a different civic administration, ethnic composition, territorial range, and burial tradition, yet, to a greater or lesser degree, each city used this specific iconographic type (in various formats) as one of its grave markers. She therefore assumes that the differences within the standard formula should be understood in terms of the image the users from each site meant to project of themselves and/or their families. In order to be fully meaningful, however, these

62 See also Ridgway 1993 for a response to Zanker's study on the grave stelai from Smyrna.

63 Zanker 1993, 229. For the so-called Demeter reliefs from Smyrna, see Karlsson 2014 (forthcoming).

64 Fabricius (1999b) also investigates the social significance of the Hellenistic *Totenmahl* reliefs in an article on the representation of reclining women on Rhodian memorials. Two other major examinations of the banquet reliefs are the studies by Thönges-Stringaris (1965) and Dentzer (1982). See also Mitropoulou (1976) for the meaning of the horses' heads and snakes in banquet reliefs, Jones (2010, 53-61) for heroisation on banquet reliefs, Karlsson (2010) for marital connotations on the *Totenmahl* scenes from Kyzikos, and Stamatopoulou (2010) for the relation between *Totenmahl* reliefs and the archaeology of feasting in a funerary context.

specific images had to be seen within the context of whatever other forms of funerary reliefs were adopted by each city and, because of their own heroising overtones, in relation to the civic awarding of heroic status to deceased or still living inhabitants. In addition to semiotic meaning, Fabricius also visualises the possible forms of installation for the *Totenmahl*: as a panel above a doorway, as decoration for a round or rectangular altar, as an independent stele set into a base or in the earth and, according to the number of its figures, either in isolation, as a family “portrait”, or surrounded by tombstones for each additional member.⁶⁵ The possible setting of the tombstones is also the topic of an early article by Pfuhl (1905),⁶⁶ where he compiles East Greek funerary reliefs and tries to identify their physical location with the aid of the repertoire of landscape motifs (*Beiwerk*) on them. He presented the idea that East Greek reliefs show a remarkable display of diverse elements of landscapes and sanctuaries, such as stelai, herms, statues, trees, and curtains. Furthermore, he remarked that such reliefs from Western and Southern Asia Minor as well as adjacent islands (Lesbos, Samos, and Kos) present a vivid picture of actual Hellenistic cemeteries, with their gates, funerary monuments, and temple-tombs.⁶⁷ Some of his intriguing ideas have stood the test of time, while others have been challenged by the growth of archaeological excavations of domestic and funerary remains throughout the Hellenistic world (most notably Delos and Makedonia).

The sepulchral inscriptions from Kyzikos have mainly been published in a corpus compiled by Schwertheim (1980), while epitaphs from Smyrna have been published in a corpus by Petzl (1982).⁶⁸ Both corpora are published in the extensive

65 The placement or physical setting of Hellenistic funerary reliefs has also been discussed briefly by Pfanner (1989, 186-189) in his study of a peculiar East Greek grave stele in the Glyptothek in Munich.

66 See also the studies by Pfuhl on the book scroll in Greek art (1907) and Ionic sculpture (1935).

67 Similar ideas, a bit modified however, have been put forward by Carroll-Spillecke (1985, 118) who claims that “the localities represented on grave and “Totenmahl” reliefs are the necropoleis and heroa which are attested around the Greek world. These relief types portray trees, walls, columns, stelai, statues and portalled structures, and these elements correspond to actual structures and furnishings of heroa and cemeteries.”

68 A few epitaphs from Kyzikos have been published in Corsten 1991 and one in Şahin 1979. A great number of Hellenistic funerary epigrams have been published in Peek 1955, 1960, 1980.

series *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, and are chronologically limited to the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods. Schwertheim's book on inscriptions from Kyzikos and its vicinity consists entirely of material from tombstones found over most of northern Mysia. Petzl's book contains all the tombstones, posthumous honorific texts, and funerary epigrams of Smyrna, and in addition plenty of remarks on personal names, professions, and funerary formulae. In one of the few interpretative studies that deal in length with Hellenistic funerary epitaphs, Breuer (*Reliefs and Epigramme*, 1995) addresses a matter that has long resisted effective interpretation, that is, the relationship between images and texts on funerary monuments.⁶⁹ Avoiding simplistic comparisons on the level of literal representation, she correlates the ways people articulated their relationship to their *polis* in the two media and takes these representations as reflections of their self-conception as citizens.⁷⁰ The most extensive study on the sepulchral imagery in Hellenistic epigrams is still Lattimore's impressive monograph *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs* from 1942. In this study, Lattimore examines the interpretation of death in various forms, such as metaphors for the description of death, and as exemplified by a great number of Greek and Latin inscriptions extending in time from the Archaic age to the early Christian period. Wypustek's recent study (2013) dwells on similar subjects but has a greater focus on the Hellenistic age. His main theme is the presentation of the deceased as eternally young heroes, impervious to old age and death, and in extension it touches upon phenomena such as astral immortality and marriages with the gods.⁷¹

69 Also Schmidt (1991, 117-148), and to a lesser extent Fabricius (1999a, 303f.), examine the relation between images and epitaphs on Hellenistic grave reliefs.

70 Recent years have also witnessed a growing interest in studying the relation between the inscribed epigrammatic tradition and the Hellenistic epigram. The question of continuity and rupture between epigrams inscribed on stones and "book epigrams" lies at the heart of a study on Hellenistic sepulchral epigrams by Bruss (2005). See also Meyer (2007) for the reader-oriented aspect of Hellenistic grave inscriptions, for example, when an epitaph urges the passer-by to speak its essential information aloud.

71 In the introductory chapter of his study, Wypustek (2013, 14-16) also has a discussion on the eschatological themes in grave epigrams. For the eschatological dimension of Greek funerary epitaphs, see also Chaniotis

Emotions, as expressed in Hellenistic funerary art

Research conducted on emotions in Hellenistic funerary art and epitaphs is limited. In his 1942 monograph Lattimore examines emotional expressions in funerary inscriptions. He stresses that in Greek and Latin epigrams, the circumstance of untimely death was the chief ground for lamentation, but other things also intensified the bitterness of the survivors, such as death by violence, or abroad, or in such a way as to preclude the possibility of the proper ceremonies.⁷² However, his study is of limited value for the present study, since it makes little use of Hellenistic examples and the inscriptions are treated in isolation, rather than combined with the reliefs.⁷³ A more useful study on emotions and Greek epigraphy was recently offered by Chaniotis (2013b). His study consists of a methodological survey which highlights the obstacles, but also the many possibilities, of studying this source material within the history of emotions.⁷⁴ In the same volume, *Unveiling emotions. Sources and methods for the study of emotions in the Greek world*, Masségliia (2013a) offers a similar methodological survey on archaeological artefacts. Here she addresses the very complex and difficult subject of whether we can recognise and reconstruct the emotive and emotional background of material evidence. Masségliia has made several studies on emotions in Hellenistic sculpture in the round, for instance a case study on the statue type known as the “Drunk old woman” (2013b). In this article she presents a very instructive example of the difficulties in interpreting emotions in ancient iconography. Masségliia also reminds us that in art historical studies, one must consider our ability to put aside our own socially-constructed emotions, and reconstruct those of an ancient civilisation. She

2000, who presents a very sceptical outlook on our possibilities of extracting information on afterlife beliefs in this source material.

72 Lattimore 1942, 178.

73 Both Chaniotis and Masségliia have participated in the research project *The social and cultural construction of emotions: the Greek paradigm*, University of Oxford (2009-2013). Their contributions in the anthology *Unveiling emotions* have greatly influenced the present study, not least in terms of methodological considerations. I have not been able to consult the second volume of *Unveiling emotions* that is due to be released in 2014.

74 Chaniotis has explored the topic of emotions and Greek epigraphy in several studies (e.g., Chaniotis 2006, 2010, 2011, 2012), mostly within the field of ancient Greek religion.

makes this point by providing a very illuminating overview of various emotional responses by modern scholars to the “Drunk old woman” ranging from enthusiastic appreciation to keen embarrassment.

The research conducted on emotions in Hellenistic funerary art is, to say the very least, sparse. As a telling example, one can think only of Cremer, who in her 1992 study briefly discusses an emotional motif without caring too much about emotions – it is a Bithynian motif that appears for the first time in the late Hellenistic period and depicts the *lit de parade* of the dead in his/her house, where the lamentation for the deceased took place (Fig. 7).⁷⁵ These scenes are considerably dramatized, with the survivors tearing their hair, beating their chests and wringing their hands – a repertoire of gestures known to be associated with vivid expressions of grief and lament in ancient art. The most unprejudiced discussion of emotions in Hellenistic funerary art has been provided by Fabricius (1999a) on *Totenmahl* reliefs from Kyzikos. In this study she briefly considers the posture of being seated on the ground or on a small rock and its emotional connotations.⁷⁶ She mentions that reliefs with female figures seated in this position are often accompanied by sorrowful epigrams that give a negative characterisation of Hades. Fabricius also makes the observation that the emotional scenes may indicate that in remote areas south of Propontis, with its large amount of indigenous people, Greek patterns of behaviour commonly played a less important role than they did in more integrated regions.

Fabricius’ statement that it is in fact possible to detect an emotional dimension in the imagery might not seem controversial, but is quite contrary to the standard opinion in scholarship on Hellenistic tomb art. According to several recent studies, we cannot detect emotions in this source material. Zanker, for example, has persistently argued that figures never display any expressions or signs of mourning, particularly in the case of grave stelai from Smyrna. He claims that everyone in the reliefs, both the deceased and their survivors, displays the exemplary behaviour expected, without a sign of grief or pain. It reflects a general trend in East

75 Cremer 1992, 8-10. E.g., P-M 686, 835, Cremer 1992, Nr. NSA 4.

76 Fabricius 1999a, 310-312. E.g., **K37**, **K38**, **K74**, **K81**, **K95**.

Greek funerary art during the second century BCE, in which only subsidiary figures, usually servants and children, might convey expressions of grief, whereas the dead look unconcerned and detached.⁷⁷ Zanker states that mourning poses, if at all rendered, seem to be solely the prerogative of the accompanying servant figures: this has been supported by Ridgway and Känel.⁷⁸ Känel explains this predominant feature of Hellenistic funerary art by saying that the explicit meaning of the mourning gestures of the small servant figures is to display the pain of the survivors. In addition to commenting on the absence of signs of grief, several scholars have also taken up the lack of intimacy between the represented figures. For instance, Smith claims that for the most, Hellenistic grave reliefs abandon the intimate family setting of the Classical stelai (i.e., the seated women, the children in their laps, the handshakes, the narrative interaction of the figures, and their longing looks). Instead, the figures tend to stand in the frontal posture like public statues, without interconnection. Zanker has also compared the affectionate expressions of Attic stelai with the lack thereof on Hellenistic reliefs, and has particularly emphasised that women in the latter case rarely pay attention to their children, or even notice them. He thinks that compared with the images of intimacy between mother and child on Classical grave reliefs, the different iconographic conventions of Hellenistic stelai are especially striking.⁷⁹



Fig. 7 Funerary relief from Bithynia.

⁷⁷ Zanker 1993, 223f.

⁷⁸ Känel 1992, 54-56; Ridgway 1993, 233 & 2000, 191.

⁷⁹ Zanker 1993, 223. It is noticeable, however, that Bergemann (1997, esp. 55-62, 88-91) has questioned the degree of emotional expressions on Attic

Which explanations have been offered for the acclaimed lack of grief and affection? Zanker focuses mainly on the statuesque qualities of the Hellenistic reliefs: he emphasises that especially the stelai from Smyrna usually present each figure like an individual statue (i.e., almost all look directly out of the frame at the viewer, and the scene of *dexiosis* is rarely encountered), and that the image of statuesque dignity was clearly more highly prized than the expression of emotion. Thus, it is the statuary type that precludes the possibility of depicting the family bond, and multi-figure scenes cannot be interpreted as depicting the grieving family.⁸⁰ His observation suggests a general characteristic of the iconography of the Smyrna stelai, something that is in fact also true of most other Hellenistic stelai: that is, the grave reliefs are never concerned with private or personal matters, only with a public presentation embodying universally accepted norms of behaviour.⁸¹ The suppositions presented here have gone mostly unchallenged and the lack of emotional expressions has been treated more or less as an accurate, general fact valid for the diverse bulk of material that constitutes Hellenistic funerary art. Heterogeneity has been much denied and I think it is possible to detect a “Smyrnocentric” approach in studies on Hellenistic funerary art:⁸² features that are specific for Smyrnan stelai (including the acclaimed lack of emotionality) have been treated as though they are applicable to all areas of the Hellenistic world, despite the pictorial semiotics of Smyrna

reliefs, and if one considers his description of the lack of emotions on these stelai, the difference no longer seems so striking. The most extensive studies on mourning in Classical Attic funerary art are Hanfmann 1955 (with specific reference to the Illissos relief) and Sojc 2005 (on grief).

⁸⁰ According to Zanker (1993, 227), this is especially clear in those rare reliefs that represent three adults, since each of these figures as they stand side by side is to be read as an individual unit. Smith (1991, 189) claims also that the frontal posture and essentially public expression exclude any of the sepulchral sentiments explicit in Classical stelai.

⁸¹ Zanker 1993, 223f. Känel (1989, 54-56) has proposed a similar explanation. He stresses the existence of commonly shared civic values, “Anzeichen von Trauer kommen jedoch nicht vor, da dies offenbar mit der bürgerlichen Würde unvereinbar war.” Ridgway (1993, 234f.), however, is of a slightly different opinion and claims that the dead are often represented in epiphanic poses that confront the viewers like contemporary renderings of divinities on votive reliefs: this might explain the lack of emotionality in funerary art.

⁸² E.g., Känel 1989; Smith 1991; Ridgway 1993, 2000; Breuer 1995.

being very different from the emotionally loaded imagery on Hellenistic grave memorials from Mysia and Bithynia. Another disturbing prerequisite that lies at the heart of discussions on emotions in Hellenistic tomb art is the apparent need to contrast it with Attic grave stelai of the Classical period, a forceful expression of the Athenocentric preoccupation in the research on Greek tombstones.⁸³ In my opinion many East Greek grave reliefs do not necessarily lack sentiments – their expressions are only slightly different from those on Attic stelai, and sometimes their pictorial sentiments are influenced by the stylistic traditions of Western Anatolia.

Related to the regularly encountered opinion that Hellenistic grave art is deprived of emotional expressions is the (yet again unattested) assumption that there is a noticeable difference between the messages conveyed by the epitaphs and by the reliefs.⁸⁴ Zanker has claimed that Hellenistic epigrams invariably speak of personal misfortune: the loss of both children at once, the early and tragic death of a family member, most of all the grief and suffering of the survivors. The imagery of the epigrams is sometimes quite pathetic and moving. Yet everyone in the grave reliefs, both the deceased and his/her survivors, display expected, exemplary behaviour, without a sign of grief or pain. Amongst the Smyrna stelai, Zanker thinks that **S122** (Pl. 23.1) is a characteristic example,

*...a mother has lost both sons, her husband, and her brother,
yet her image does not betray the slightest trace of grief.*⁸⁵

Ridgway is of a similar opinion and she claims that epitaphs express more grief than the images themselves.⁸⁶ The sorrow and the bereavement occasionally expressed by the epitaphs are seldom apparent in the expressions of the individuals portrayed

83 E.g., Smith 1991, 188-190; Zanker 1993, 215f. & 1995, 251-253.

84 E.g., Fabricius (1999a, 53 n. 11) claims that it seems as though image and text each acknowledges different areas of responsibility. Whereas the image strongly emphasises the common societal norms while never permitting an individual statement, the epigram often aims at describing the fate of an individual and the personal feeling of grief. Breuer (1995, 62) is also of the opinion that there is a difference between text and image, since only the epitaphs have an emotional dimension.

85 Zanker 1993, 224.

86 Ridgway 1993, 234 & 2000, 191. See also Smith 1991, 189.

(be they the living left behind, or the dead), and mourning poses, if rendered at all, seem to be solely the prerogative of the servant figures, as discussed above. This situation she thinks may be attributed to sculptural mass production, only the epitaph having been specifically commissioned for a given situation or individual. However, one needs to consider that the epitaphs often have an utterly standardised format as well, and thus, might not have been made to order. Admittedly, we cannot exclude the possibility that inscriptions were mainly borrowed from “pattern books” – though perhaps different for each workshop specialized in funerary sculpture – and that some epigrams may already have been carved before the inscriptions were commissioned.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ See Wypustek (2013, 10-14) for a discussion on the modes and means of production in Hellenistic and Greco-Roman funerary epigraphy. For the assumed use of “pattern books” in the workshops of Smyrna and Kyzikos, see Chapter 6.

2. THEORIES AND METHODS

This thesis deals with expressions of emotions in sepulchral art and inscriptions. In order to detect emotions in this source material I will use several theories and methods and each of them will be presented in this chapter. The study of emotions was originally a branch of psychology but, lately, historians also have become interested in the conventions and customs ruling past utterances of sentiments such as grief.¹ To study emotions in the past requires first overcoming linguistic difficulties in translating or understanding emotional terms from one language to another or from an earlier phase of a language to a later one. The ancient Greek word that mostly resembles the English word emotion is *pathos* (pl. *pathe*). Among the *pathe*, the Greeks included a set of terms that are usually rendered in English by standard equivalents such as “fear”, “anger”, “pity”, “love”, and “indignation”. The *pathe* thus appear to correspond broadly to the kinds of sentiments that an English-speaking person typically would classify among the range of emotions. However, there is not always a perfect overlap between the Greek and English emotional vocabularies.² For instance, Konstan has argued that the Greeks of the Classical age had no term signifying romantic jealousy as it is understood today.³ Furthermore, the interpretation of emotions in commemorative art from antiquity is tricky business and presents a real challenge. The importance of social conformism in practises and rituals connected to death and burial has been touched upon above as well as grieving in an accustomed and sanctioned manner. How an individual was contextualized after death is not necessarily related to the affection that others felt for him/her while still alive. Devoted survivors might have lacked the financial resources to commission their ideal (or indeed, any) grave monument. Social and cultural conventions might also have existed which sanctioned that certain individuals

1 Reddy 2009; Scheer 2012.

2 For obstacles in determining emotions through ancient Greek texts, see Cairns 2008. For the most extensive study on emotions in ancient Greece, see Konstan 2006, who specifically examines most of the emotions that Aristotle analyses in his treatise the *Rhetoric*. See also Harris’ examination on the ideology of anger control in Classical antiquity (2001).

3 Konstan 2006, 244.

would be the recipients of a more pronounced grief than others.⁴ For instance, a man who passed away in old age might be dearly missed but it was against the conventions of the time to express these feelings on his tombstone as it was felt that this person had fully lived out his life and did not have to be mourned. Moreover some might have chosen to highlight aspects of the person's life which were important for the family's position or wealth but which tell us little about the emotional bonds between the deceased and their survivors.

However complicated an issue this might be, Tarlow has argued for greater engagement with emotion in archaeological studies irrespective of the complexity of the processes involved and the lack of helpful evidence.⁵ Searching for affection and emotion in antiquity is justified as being part of the society the archaeologists are studying. Similarly, Masségliá has stated that avoiding art historical sources in studies on emotions due to the risk of multiple interpretations is a far greater loss than the potential harm in misinterpreting.⁶ I agree with this point of view. Since emotions are fundamental in our motivations for making decisions and interacting with each other, a study of tombstones neglecting this aspect would be pointless. To cite Gosden:

...in understanding how people were constituted both as individuals and groups in the past, we need to make the consideration of emotions central [and] the movement from the material to the emotional is not easy, but it is vital if we are to grasp the true complexity of our involvement with the material and social worlds.⁷

No matter how significant, one still needs to ask how it is possible to examine a vast material that lends itself to various interpretations without the risk of superimposing anachronistic

4 Mander 2013, 13.

5 Tarlow 1999, 2000. Tarlow (2000) has presented an important review of the place of emotions in archaeology, raising concerns about the empathetic approach to understanding the past and highlighting the paramount importance of contextual knowledge in any inferences we make.

6 Masségliá 2013a, 138: "A disinclination to engage with the ancient mind because it cannot be completely reconstructed is defeatism bordering on the solipsistic."

7 Gosden 2004, 39.

conclusions on ancient artefacts?⁸ The interpreter must make a full account of his/her own prejudices, and understand that emotions should be discussed with constant reference to the socio-cultural expectations which governed their design. I am convinced that it is possible to detect emotional behaviour and patterns in the material under study, however, only on a societal and cultural level, not in terms of subjective feelings or “genuine” sentiments. To achieve this I will employ a clearly defined theoretical framework and methodology that will ensure that epigraphic and art historical material are not studied in isolation. I will also consider the relation of images to the more explicit, textual evidence, so that the one may illuminate the other. Textual evidence must, of course, be used as a complement to the imagery and not to fill in gaps in our understanding of the visual source material. Fortunately Hellenistic grave reliefs combine texts and images. I will strive to identify the intended viewers, producers, and users of the objects, as well as an assessment of the meaning of various iconographic symbols in East Greek funerary art. In the catalogue (Chapter 3) I will present all the 245 items in the study. The various iconographic details will be elaborated on in the discursive Chapters 4 to 6, starting on physical features like tomb architecture and consoling metaphors such as sirens in Chapter 4. In that chapter I will also consider landscape elements and the liminal qualities of the chosen scenery. Chapter 5 will examine the representation of the figures, mostly in terms of body language and interaction, or the lack thereof, between the represented figures. Chapter 6 will investigate emotional expressions in the epitaphs and also the important question of the relation between images and texts. This chapter also addresses the vital question of how the tombs were viewed and by whom, and how they were approached and used by the living.

8 Tarlow 2000, 714-720.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present chapter is organized so that I initially will offer a general theoretical overview on emotions in antiquity and how to identify and understand them. This overview will be followed by methodological considerations where I will explain how I intend to extract emotional reactions of the living towards the dead on the tombstones. At the heart of our social lives lie emotions. Our reactions to others are primarily emotional – we loathe them, long for them, grieve at their loss, love them. I do not argue that we can understand the subjective emotional experiences of people in past societies, but that we might be able to look at the social and cultural expectations that determined how people were to behave in emotional terms. Objects of material culture are related to emotions in various ways -- for instance, by stimulating affective reactions. A child wanting to give his/her dear mother a present might knit his or her feelings of love into a badly made shawl, thereby creating something of great emotional value to the mother. The meaning of architecture, artefacts or landscapes in the past is animated by their emotional understandings and reactions. A landscape may be a place of dread or of joy; an artefact may be a token of love or a reminder of oppression.⁹ The reason why people respond emotionally to things is that they embody significant past events for the individual or the group, or they make tangible links between people, events and places.¹⁰ We react emotionally to certain things, while others leave us indifferent. How do we detect these responses in the objects of a past society? In the following I will consider: the performative dimension of tomb cult and memorials (“emotives”), the performance of internal emotions in the images (“emotional practices”), external emotions intended to be evoked in viewers (“emotional communities”).

Grave monuments combine verbal phrases with visual performance and are therefore an ideal material to study in order to investigate any staging of emotive character. In the ancient Greek world rituals connected to burials were often combined with the erecting of a tomb memorial. It is not possible to state whether this practice was a repeated rule or if various settings were once offered. It is also difficult to grasp individual actions

9 Tarlow 2000, 720; Chaniotis 2013a, 12f.

10 Gosden 2004, 34.

and decisions behind the erection of a certain memorial. However complicated an issue this might be, the motivation behind the act of commissioning a tombstone and its subsequent use will be addressed in Chapter 6. A tombstone cannot be interpreted out of context and without consideration to the actions that took place next to them. Mortuary rituals *per se* were emotionally loaded activities – they were, amongst other, performed in order to generate and intensify emotions. The expression of an emotion can give the ritual shape and indeed existence. Therefore, as expressed by Kapferer, “Performance [of ritual] both expresses and creates what it represents”.¹¹ We can probably allow ourselves to assume that in the ancient world, the death of close relatives and attendance at a funeral provoked intense emotions, just like they do today, but to what degree genuine emotional expressions are detectable in sepulchral imagery and epitaphs is a challenging question, as discussed above. In the mission to identify expressions of emotions in antiquity, we must look at externalised, material expressions and how these were created and shaped by currents in society at large.¹² For instance, a society may overplay or underplay the externalisation of mourning. The range of acceptable emotions as displayed on grave markers varies widely from society to society, and also within a specific society, depending on its circumstances and value systems and on the shared collective attitudes to death.¹³ Emotions, however, are not only socially and culturally defined, since they reversibly also influence social relations and the expected behaviour of individuals and groups. On East Greek tombstones it is possible to detect the strong link that exists between emotions and social action or the performative aspect of emotions. A theoretical perspective that I find useful in understanding this dimension of emotion is “emotives”, a concept coined by Reddy. Emotives refer to the process by which emotions are managed and shaped, not only by society and its expectations but also by individuals themselves as they seek to express the inexpressible, namely how they “feel”.¹⁴ On the grave stelai in this study, emotives are

11 Kapferer 1979, 154. See also Scheff (1977) on the psychological functions of ritual.

12 Dietler & Herbich 1998, 233; Gouk & Hills 2005, 21-26.

13 Tarlow 1999, 48.

14 Reddy 2001, esp. 122-130.

detectable in the ample use of consoling metaphors and attributes that perform and channel ideas of grief and loss. Humans are differently equipped regarding their degree of empathy or *pathos* in general, a condition in antiquity as well as today. Therefore societal constructions and regulation of emotion offered/offers a framework, a controlled function in which any individual could safely perform accordingly to established manners. This means that emotions in antiquity were constructed and staged primarily in a socially relevant context, aiming at fulfilling requested social functions, regardless of individual shortcomings, etc., that would reflect negatively on the family. The controlled “emotives” worked as assurances against indecency and status losses of individuals who could afford to erect tombstones. Ancient expressions of emotions are central to shared human experience and the way society worked/s to control public display of certain personal emotive responses to, for example, grief.¹⁵ As such, material manifestations of grief were, and still are, subject to change.

We cannot directly study ancient neurobiological processes, but we do have access to the material stimuli that were once intended to generate emotions. Information concerning the various factors that determine linguistic expressions of emotions in epitaphs is also present. The study of emotions in East Greek tomb art presents, as it were, a foreign vocabulary of pictorial and emotional expressions. As pointed out by Chaniotis, the starting point for the study of emotions in history,

*...is the study of those parameters that influence the manifestations of emotions in texts and images. Knowledge of these parameters can establish a reliable basis for a departure to more complex and fascinating endeavours, such as the exploration of how emotions and their perception develop over time.*¹⁶

Thus, material and linguistic expression of sentiments is what is left for a scholar to examine. East Greek grave stelai and epitaphs allow us to study how emotions and feelings were described, displayed, and exploited in relations of status and power, and they

15 As stated by Tringham (1991, 121) depersonalised accounts of the human past cannot capture the “richness and complexity” of social life. See also Tarlow 1999, 31 & 2000, 718.

16 Chaniotis 2013a, 16-18.

allow us to see how the manifestation, display, and representation of emotions changed depending on media of communication (reliefs, inscriptions).

My analysis of the relief figures will mostly concern emotions that are internal to an image (those being expressed by depicted figures). To achieve this I am influenced by Scheer's discussion on "emotional practices". These are similar to the Bourdieuan habitus. According to Scheer, corporeal practices generate emotions and involve the self (as body and mind), language, material artefacts, the environment, and other people. The figures on the reliefs express themselves through corporeal dispositions and interaction governed by social norms. Conceiving of emotions as practices means understanding them as emerging from bodily dispositions conditioned by a social context, which always has cultural and historical specificity.¹⁷ Redundant details, extra information, perceived in each grave stele may provide means by which to determine what was the standard, the socially expected norm, and what was "personal" in this respect. To employ an unusual gesture evoking a certain emotion unattested elsewhere might be an example of such a redundant detail or deviation. In the context of viewing emotion as a kind of practice as applied in this study, I will recognize that emotion was always embodied, that an emotion without a medium for experience cannot be identified. Besides internal emotions, I will also examine emotions which are external to an image (those intended to be roused in the viewer). This I will achieve by studying "emotional communities". This is a concept created by Rosenwein and its explicit aim is to recognise the complexity of emotional life. Different segments of a society can promote different perceptions and norms about emotional behaviour. Rosenwein proposes that people lived – and live – in what she calls "emotional communities" or

*...groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions.*¹⁸

These correspond to social communities and the researcher should be "looking at them ... to uncover systems of feeling"

17 Scheer 2012, esp. 209-217.

18 Rosenwein 2006, 2.

generalised in them.¹⁹ The same object or space may have an entirely different emotional significance according to the identity of the person(s) interacting with it. This “emotional community” consists of groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value. Such a group may consist of those who crafted, bought, viewed, or used a tombstone. This means, that in terms of emotional communities, I will follow Rosenwein and both consider the figures on the reliefs (that can themselves be shown engaged in emotional display and expression, and engage with the viewer) and the viewers of the memorials.²⁰ Emotional communities share not only a common perception of the role of emotions in the life of certain people and closed societies, but also clear ideas on how to express them and to whom. In that sense, emotional communities resemble what Foucault called a “discourse”; that is, shared vocabularies and ways of thinking that have a disciplinary function.²¹ These two concepts are similar to Bourdieu’s notion of “habitus”; internalised norms that determine how we think and act and that may be different to different societal groups.²²

To conclude, I will consider the social and cultural constructions of emotions as rendered on the tombstones. I do not presuppose that the appearance of grief and mourning in tomb imagery indicates that the survivors necessarily were grief-stricken. It is fully possible that tokens of affection and expressions of despair were only routine or that survivors just chose a stele that was in stock. More often than not, funerary imagery and epitaphs were utterly conventional and standardised. Social pressure also tends to delimit and override purely personal factors in funerary ritual and art. Masking of “real” sentiments is, for example, at stake when unloved parents are buried with as much ceremony as loved ones. Detecting “genuine” feelings, however, is not the purpose of this study; instead I will evaluate the social and cultural communication of emotions. In the remaining part of theoretical considerations I will demonstrate how liminal space and metaphors were intentionally furnished with emotional expressions of various kinds. The theoretical overview on the

19 Rosenwein 2002, 842.

20 Rosenwein 2006, 2.

21 Foucault 1972 & 1977.

22 Bourdieu 1984.

study of emotions will be followed by methodological discussions of specific concern for each discursive chapter.

Liminal space and metaphors

The ideas of liminal space will be introduced in Chapter 4. van Gennep was one of the first to treat death as a social as well as a biological transformation. He thought of the funeral as a tripartite structure: the separation of the body and soul (*rite of separation*), a liminal stage where the soul is very much betwixt and between (*rite de marge*), and a post-liminal stage where it is incorporated into the society of the dead (*rite of aggregation*).²³ Turner elaborated on van Gennep's theories, most importantly by coining the term "liminality". Turner used this concept in reference to van Gennep's "liminal state" that Turner found to be typical of the intermediate phase between the ritual separation and aggregation from and to proper social roles: this is "a realm [...] *betwixt and between* [...] any type of stable or recurrent condition that is culturally recognized".²⁴ Turner spoke of a general sense of confusion and ambiguity which he found typical of this intermediate state. All the usual states of gender, age, hierarchy, together with more basic opposites such as dead or alive exist in the liminal stage.²⁵ Neither van Gennep nor Turner offered an elaborated definition of liminal space. However, Leach presented a useful characterisation of this particular space. Leach differentiates between what he calls This World (inhabited by mortal people) and the Other World (inhabited by immortal beings). These worlds are conceived of as separate topographical spaces separated by a liminal zone. The purpose of religious performance is to provide a channel of communication between them. It is the liminal zone (e.g. a nekropolis) which is the focus of ritual activity. The metaphysical persons to whom the ritual activity is addressed are associated with these sacred places and are typically regarded as ordinary men who have now become immortal beings.²⁶ By

23 van Gennep 1960, for the tripartite structure of mortuary rituals see esp. 146-165.

24 Turner 1967, 93f.

25 Turner 1967, 97.

26 Leach 1976, 81f.

'liminality' I mean the presence of the deceased in a borderland (or boundary zone) between the realms of the living and the dead. Such a space, I will argue, is alluded to in the choice of setting or scenery on the reliefs since these employ elements of sepulchral space. The tombstones were, of course, also themselves displayed in such a liminal environment. Here I am influenced by Endsjø's discussion on *eschatia* ("a land at the limits"). This was a confused place located betwixt and between the land of the dead as the realm of absolute non-being and the *polis* as the place of ideal being. As can be seen in the ritual carried out on behalf of the deceased, the *eschatia* was the place where the dead and the living could come together in a way not only impossible in the city, but also in the Underworld.²⁷

The interpretation of grave reliefs offered here differs significantly from most others in that it considers these monuments primarily in terms of their involvement in the expression and creation of emotional relationships. These relationships were manifested during rituals conducted on behalf of the dead. They are also inherent in the perception of the tomb site as a place of communication between the living and the dead. Because of the inherent disruption and crisis upon death, funerary rites are a place where important social and cultural understandings, including understanding of emotions, may be produced and reproduced. As Tarlow explains,

*Death is an emotional experience – both bereavement and the anticipation of our own inevitable mortality – and archaeological approaches to this area are problematic.*²⁸

Inspired by Tarlow, I will approach the understanding of emotional experience and response through a study of metaphors of death. Metaphors not only fulfil an emotional need for expression, but also help to shape and direct our emotional understandings of, for example, our own mortality and bereavement.²⁹ I use metaphor as

27 Endsjø 2000, 364. Only heroes like Herakles and Orpheus could successfully return from the land of the dead, while the more human Odysseus never actually entered Hades but stayed on its borders.

28 Tarlow 1999, 35. However, Tarlow (p. 183) also recognises that even if death is an emotional experience, the nature of the emotions associated with it, and responses to those emotions are culturally constructed.

29 Tarlow 1999, esp. 36 and 182. Our understanding of the world structures the way we relate to it. This relationship is necessarily emotional.

an inclusive term which incorporates a notion like metonymy. For instance, tomb monuments with their images and epitaphs strove to equate the gravestone in to what Sourvinou-Inwood has aptly called a “metonymic sign of the deceased” (*sema*). An image together with an epitaph naming the deceased contained the necessary information to identify, and thus give a “metonymic” presence to, the dead.³⁰ The *sema* itself marked the presence of the dead among the living, but also served as an activator of memory, and in extension, of emotions.³¹ It functions as a media through which communication between the realms of the living and of the dead may occur. The way people understand death is full of inconsistencies. A characteristic trait of ancient Greek eschatology is the idea that the deceased were present both in the tomb and in the Underworld. We would therefore be wrong if we tried to make sense of the way people in the past understand death in terms of an entirely coherent and internally consistent eschatology. Metaphorical expression is often employed to structure and understand the human encounter with death. Death can be understood in terms of a journey. For instance, so-called door stelai from Western Anatolia have been described as a metaphorical representation of the passage from life to death. The use of metaphor is central both to how experience is perceived as well as to how meanings are created on a societal level. Because human experience is understood analogically, we use metaphors to create meaning by bringing different contexts into association. For example, by employing and deploying the metaphor of sleep in a tomb context, an understanding of death as analogous to sleep is established.³² A Hellenistic funerary altar from Rhodes (P-M 421; Fig. 8) displays a dead man lying sprawled on his couch, one arm behind his head, the other, dangling an empty drinking cup.



Fig. 8 Funerary altar from Rhodes.

30 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 140-180.

31 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 140; Bruss 2005, 11.

32 Tarlow 1999, 181.

The position of the man indicates that he is no longer a participant in the banquet, nor is he shown in the decorous attitude of sleep: his position resembles that used on Greek vases for drunken symposiasts. Is he dead? Is he drunk? And in the latter case, why would it be pictured on an altar? It seems like the metaphor of the drunken symposiast is consciously ambiguous: it incorporates emblematic ideas of benign existence in the Underworld, while simultaneously offering a consoling metaphor for the bereaved.

Similar metaphorical understandings of death are outlined in Chapter 4. Their particular appeal for the bereaved of their time is evident in the rendering of liminal space and consoling metaphors on the tomb markers. The placement of the dead in a sepulchral context is not strange *per se*, however, it is conspicuous to represent the deceased as standing, alive, within sepulchral space. The deceased is represented neither as a ghost nor an *eidolon*,³³ but as a living person standing or sitting in the vicinity of his tomb.³⁴ Numerous ambiguities characterise representations of sepulchral figures that include features of specific individuals. Deceased persons might be depicted with the attributes of public office, yet displayed within the private context of their own tombs. The memorial both “*is and is not the deceased*”: it served to commemorate character, events and deeds, yet also reminds the viewer of the absence of what once was.³⁵ What one sees on these grave memorials is the representation of deceased individuals who appear to be very much alive. Their eyes are open, observing their surroundings, but through their placement in an environment imbued with metaphors of death,

33 For the representation of “ghosts” (a shadow-like image of the deceased figure) and *eidola* (small, stick-like, winged silhouetted creatures) on 4th century BCE white-ground *lekythoi* from Attica, see Oakley 2004, 145-214.

34 In this matter they are not comparable to Attic funerary reliefs of the Classical period: instead, they have more elements in common with the imagery on Classical Attic *lekythoi* and Apulian funerary vases of the fourth century BCE. The presence of the dead person next to his/her tombstone is a common motif on the *lekythoi*, whereas the deceased is often framed within a *naiskos* on the Apulian vases. The deceased on Attic stelai are also placed within *naiskoi*: however, unlike the Hellenistic equivalents, they never display any references to tomb cult or the veneration of the dead.

35 Aristotle made it clear that a corpse “...is no more a human being than a statue or a painting is: both lack the characteristics of a functioning human living organism which are essential to the concept of man ... The memorial statue, like the corpse, both is and is not the deceased.”

they are also “ultimately tragic”.³⁶ It is highly likely that this ambiguous rendering of the figures was an intentional attempt to prompt mixed emotions. Freedberg emphasised the role of figurative images in providing material sub-situations for mental images about which or with whom we are “compassionate”.³⁷ Indeed, one needs only to think of the terms *sema* (sign), *mnema* (memorial), and *eidolon* (image or reflection), all of which are used in regard to Greek grave markers and reveal a Greek conception of the art object in relation to (even standing in for) some absent thing. Such vocabulary suggests that for the Greeks, images were conceived of as cues for recollecting and responding to this prototype; in essence generating emotional relationships through their imitation of the real³⁸ Liminal space also held the function of structuring ritual performance and channelling communication between the living and the dead.

ICONOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

The section above discussed aspects of liminal space and metaphors in sepulchral art and epigraphy. In the following section I will give some consideration to theory and method of image interpretation together with nonverbal communication. The visual imagery of the grave stelai will be studied with the aid of iconography and semiotic theory. According to Morgan, iconography is a discipline concerned with meaning (semantics) rather than solely with form (aesthetics).³⁹ Any given image may contain intertwined complexities of meaning. In the process of iconographic interpretation, the levels of meaning that can be extracted from the image depend on the knowledge available

36 For the “tragic” aspect of figurative representations in ancient Greek art, see Stewart 1997, 43; and for specific references to “tragic images” in Roman funerary art of Asia Minor, see Cormack 2004, 63-73.

37 Freedberg 1989, 191. Masséglià (2013b, 415) has stressed that the ancient viewer of an art object would also have engaged in the emotional process of “art appreciation”, in admiring (or criticising) the artist’s technical skill, and responding to the composition as an aesthetically pleasing artefact.

38 Gell 1998, 25.

39 Morgan 1988, 10.

to the interpreter. One may, for instance, deal with literary and historical documents in order to comprehend the cultural traditions implicit in the visual imagery.⁴⁰ One of the pioneers in the study of iconography and iconology is Panofsky, who explains his aims and principles in the introduction to *Studies in Iconology*.⁴¹ Iconography as a method has been criticised by, among others, Baxandell. I agree with Baxandell in his scepticism to what he refers to as “high iconography” or the tendency to over-interpret the material. The scholar risks ascribing symbolic meaning to imagery without considering more practical matters such as aesthetic preferences or generic expressions. Instead, Baxandell proposes what he calls a *minimalist iconography*, where a firm line should be drawn between any and all presumed, immediately active elements in the artist’s intention and what contemporary people, including the artist, could have grasped while looking at the picture.⁴² The ultimate aim of the iconographer is to comprehend all levels of meanings, including even the artist’s, contained within the pictorial image. The degree to which this can be achieved with any claim of credibility varies according to the amount of surviving information. An important aspect recently identified is the loss of paint on sculpture. Occasionally there are traces of (mostly red) paint on the tombstones. Both the images and epitaphs were originally painted. Paint where mostly used to enhance details difficult to carve in stone. This lack of information effects the overall iconographic interpretation of the grave reliefs.

Several proposals based on semiotic theory have been made for the definition of the smallest but still meaningful pictorial “unit”, most notably by Bérard. His suggestion relies on the

40 Morgan 1988, 10. Here one should also recognize stylistic currents. E.g. Kyzikos and many other areas of Eastern Greece were influenced by indigenous Anatolian artistic traditions. For the important influences of Anatolian art on the construction of the Pergamon altar and its friezes, see Hanfmann (1975, 32) who claims that “the elaborate mythological biography of the Telephos frieze may have owed something to the biographic-historic traditions developed on Anatolian dynastic monuments, such as the Nereid monument in Xanthos and the Heroa of Trysa and Limyra.”

41 Panofsky 1939. As defined by Panofsky, iconography is the study of subject matter and iconology is the study of meaning.

42 Baxandall 1985, 105-137. Also Gell (1992, 43) has criticised iconographic approaches to art, mostly for their exclusively cultural focus on meaning and social communication, an approach derived from Panofsky.

concept of the *minimal formal units*, that is, the elements of a picture that cannot be broken down further without loss of meaning. In terms of a figurative depiction, this would mean attributes and anatomical features.⁴³ Similarly, Morgan has defined the irreducible elements of a picture as the equivalent of a morpheme in language. A figure, for instance, is composed of *minimal formal units*, each having in itself certain meaning, and the sense of an image would be the result of the association of units.⁴⁴ In both cases, these units are granted only *reference* function. Signification occurs first when they are combined to yield a complex figure, a *minimal syntagm*, whose meaning becomes clear when that figure is viewed in the context of the imagery. Or as Bérard & Durand explain:

*An isolated image will most likely remain mute; a network of images, on the other hand, begins to give up its meanings through the similarities and differences shown by the combinations.*⁴⁵

What Bérard & Durand call *minimal syntagmata*, Ferrari has termed *sign-components*. Ferrari stresses that the ways in which these signs are juxtaposed, combined, and even omitted can be read like a language.⁴⁶ The fragmentation of the parts, such as the ample use of attributes and landscape elements in East Greek funerary art, allows each part to work more effectively on a symbolic level, especially since they convey coded messages and reveal the identity of the figures distilled down to their most important components. In other words, the images are built on numerous individual elements, some redundant, other symbolic, that can be “read” either as separate elements (tree, snake) or as an entity, where the images are “read” as one or multiple themes (a heroic setting). This fragmentation is most vividly expressed on late Hellenistic grave stelai, where the relief scene consists only of a scattered repertoire of attributes (P-M 2269-2272). The minimal formal units of these images may consist of armour and related attributes randomly scattered throughout the relief.

43 Bérard 1983, 7-12.

44 Morgan 1988, 10-16.

45 Bérard & Durand 1989, 25.

46 Ferrari 2002, 23-25.

When these units are read together as a *minimal syntagm* or *sign-component* they gain meaning by forming a combined image of a commemorated warrior.

Images may include codes that we simply do not understand or recognise. In addition to searching for patterns among schemata known to us on the gravestones, I will be open to signifiers that have been unrecognised. While in theory there is no limit to the number of possible combinations of images, not all possible combinations occur. For instance, on stelai from Smyrna and Kyzikos we never see the combination of a young girl standing next to a herm, despite that these components are reoccurring elements on the images. Although many of the individual features are paralleled elsewhere, the image as a totality is often unique. In that respect it illustrates the creativity with which a sculptor recombined standard images in order to repeatedly transmit and reinterpret their intended messages and meanings. In order to identify the intended meanings of the imagery a distinction articulated by Barthes provides a background against which to explore the emotional dimension of the grave stelai. In his analysis of the photographic medium, Barthes set up a contrast between what he called the *studium* and what he called the *punctum*.⁴⁷ The former revolves around the obvious: the historical and cultural information one seeks to extract from the photographic, or any other image from the past. The *punctum*, by contrast, is emotional and “stings” the person who experiences it. This is achieved by denoting a personal detail which establishes a direct relationship with the object or person within it. *Studium* and *punctum* can be combined, as Barthes explains:

*Henceforth I would have to consent to combine two voices:
the voice of banality (to say what everyone sees and knows)
and the voice of singularity (to replenish such banality with
all the élan of an emotion which belonged only to myself).*⁴⁸

This is perhaps how the funerary reliefs operated. Banal, repetitive, and deemed potentially decipherable in the eyes of those outside the family (ancient passers-by in the nekropolis or modern researchers), they could become overlaid with the

47 Barthes 1981, 26-28 & 94-96.

48 Barthes 1981, 76.

emotions of the few who had reason to project specificity on the generic and the idealized. How do we deduce *punctum* in the stock repertoire of Hellenistic tomb art? It might seem evident to modern beholders that personal expressions and genuine sentiments can be looked for in funerary epitaphs. The East Greek ones are, however, also closely tied to standardised formulations. Therefore, I intend to search for so-called redundant deviations in the source material in order to detect possible personal expressions of grief, affection, and longing. These deviations might be illuminating in a quest for original sentiments. Any image or message sends out a signal. In order to ensure that this signal reached the receiver as un-fragmented as possible, informational theorists, like Shannon & Weaver, invented a mathematical theory of communication.⁴⁹ They noted that by adding “redundant” extras, superfluous information, the message was less likely to become distorted. The scholar can use this method by the carefully analysis of a series of commonly shaped artefacts, like the East Greek tombstones, for example. Elements endlessly repeated might be conceived of as basic elements while deviations of details inserted or rarely appearing as pictorial elements, may be studied as an individual comment to the image, redundant information, highly enlightening to the modern scholar.⁵⁰ For instance, on East Greek grave stelai certain assortments of attributes or physical features related to death and lament appear in various constellations, while sometimes being omitted altogether.

Considering non-verbal communication

The perception of the figures on the tomb reliefs rely on the viewer’s familiarity with the “language of images”, including body language, iconography, and art conventions – without this knowledge, one cannot successfully decode the intended meaning. In Chapter 5 the social relations of the figures and emotions expressed by them will be considered, mainly in terms of body language. Reading emotion in faces, gestures, bodily

49 Shannon & Weaver 1949, passim.

50 An applied study of this method can be found in Wiman 1990.

postures, or manifestations such as tears is a complex process that functions on a multisensory level and involves different modes of knowledge. It includes judgments about the situational context, the actors involved, and social expectations.⁵¹ The communicative potential of the body, and above all the face, has been observed by practitioners of different academic disciplines to be of great importance. In particular, neurological studies which reveal the importance of “reading” the eyes in processing facial expressions have stressed biological bases for the widespread use of eye and gaze-related verbal and visual motifs in social interaction. So too in images, the eyes are used as signifiers of emotion. Indeed, Gell considered eyes as the minimal concession to facial features required to “animate” an object.⁵² The emotionally expressive potential of the eyes in ancient funerary art escapes us, however, since the paint of the eyeballs is no longer discernible.⁵³ Fortunately, the memorials offer a wide range of other corporeal expressions (including the gaze, which is detectable despite the loss of painted eyeballs) that reveal much about emotions and social relations, and not least, how they relate to one another. However, in the case of deliberate mutilation of the heads of the figures, as often is the case on the tomb reliefs from Kyzikos, we cannot detect even this information.

In most societies body language plays an important part in social differentiation and just like any other language, it can separate as well as unite. Throughout history aspiring groups or classes have often used distinctive modes of bodily display as a means of setting themselves apart from their inferiors. In the context of East Greek funerary art one should also consider the narrative function of body language, not least in the use of gestures.⁵⁴ On these reliefs gestures can convey expressions of emotions, such as a hand touching the chin, and they often play an important part in the organisation of narratives, such as the handclasp. In this study the communicative function of body language will be considered mostly in terms of the emotional

51 Scheer 2012, 214.

52 Gell 1998, 135.

53 For the use of paint and painting techniques on Greek marble sculpture, see von Graeve & Preusser 1981.

54 Gestures include all kinds of bodily movements and postures that transmit a message to the observer (Thomas 1991, 7).

content of the imagery. Body language is transformed onto the images by a limited repertoire of gestures, direction of gaze, and bodily postures which are repeated endlessly and are usually related to specific categories of figures. In addition, I will look at how the contemporary viewer might have responded emotionally to the images according to his or her reading of visual renderings of body language. The real work of an interpreter is to understand the cultural importance and meanings of different bodily signs that express emotions. These may greatly differ from ours, and may define a culture in a very different way. The complex combination of biologically-founded universals and culturally-specific conventions makes the retrospective interpretation of body language in ancient images a challenge. We cannot, for example, superimpose our own body language “rules” wholesale onto ancient art objects because the cultural context in which they were created could very well have imbued them with quite different meanings.⁵⁵ It is possible, however, to make useful inroads towards understanding the original significance of a figurative image if we draw together contemporary ancient evidence, both image and text, that sheds light on the original significance of individual elements of body language. By breaking down a figure’s body language into its constituent parts, and considering these in turn, I will be able to reconstruct with greater security the internal emotions being communicated by that figure. Visual renderings of body responses are sometimes subject to conventions of representation.⁵⁶ Therefore, I will also consider their pictorial and aesthetic conventions and their social and cultural context(s).

When analysing the corporeal dimension of emotions on the reliefs, it is important to examine how body language can be used to express and enhance social (and emotional) ideology. Societies and groups create emotional norms: as a result, their members regard the display of certain feelings as acceptable, rejecting others (display of grief and affection in the imagery, or the lack thereof). In a visual image, body language can tell us a great deal about the power relationships between the represented figures. In keeping with this, I will look not only

55 Thus, I do not consider it useful to apply modern handbooks on body language as manuals in studies of ancient social structures, e.g., Davies 1997 & 2005.

56 Chaniotis 2013a, 14.

at the figures in isolation, but also at the narrative interaction between the represented figures. In East Greek tomb art the various schemata of standing and sitting and the arrangement of the figures according to their status are all signs that have specific meanings.⁵⁷ Emotional ideologies play key roles in the reproductions and transformations of relationships of power as illustrated on the grave stelai. For instance, both male and female servants/slaves and others of lower standing are more likely to express grief than high status individuals on the reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos. Obviously they served as an outlet for feelings otherwise deemed inappropriate by individuals of higher social status. Whereas gestures are significant in a great variety of social situations, the physical position tends to matter, especially in situations where social hierarchies are being delineated and displayed.⁵⁸ Thus, in terms of displaying these hierarchies, I will examine how ancient Greeks were seated, reclined, and stood, and the cultural values they attached to these body positions. Also the size of the represented figures is of relevance here, as seen most clearly in the smaller stature of slaves.

57 Zanker 1993, 215.

58 Roller 2006, 10. Anthropological and psychological studies have found that the physical position of the individuals along with how bodies are placed in relation to one another and to other significant objects (“proxemics”), are the principal nonverbal signifiers of social dominance in a number of different cultures.

EPIGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This final section on methodology will consider the epitaphs, which by themselves or together with the relief images, aimed at awakening and communicating emotions to the viewer. Tomb inscriptions are by their very nature often emotional. For instance, a second-century BCE epitaph on a tombstone from Sardis reads (Fig. 9),



The people honours, Menophila, daughter of Hermagenes. This gracious stone shows a fine woman. Who is she? The letters of the muses inform us: Menophila. Why then is this white lily and the “one” [alpha] carved on the stele? Why the book, the wool basket, and the wreath above? The book is for her intelligence. The wreath tells of her public office. The “one” tells she is an only child. The basket is the sign of her well-ordered virtue. The flower is for the bloom that a daimon stole away. Lightly do I the dust lie upon you. Many are they to whom you have left tears – dead without husband or parents.⁵⁹

This exceptional stele offers a moving farewell to Menophila. She is claimed to have left many people in tears and sadness and her untimely death was caused by a *daimon*. Rarely has a tomb marker spelled

Fig. 9 Funerary relief from Sardis

59 ὁ δῆμος Μηνοφίλαν Ἑρμαγένου. κομψὴν καὶ χαρίεσσα πέτρος δείκνυσιν· τίς ἐντι μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα, Μηνοφίλαν. τεῦ δ' ἔνεκ' ἐν στάλα γλυπτὸν κρίνον ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλφα βύβλος καὶ τάλαρος τοῖς δ' ἔ<π>ι καὶ στέφανος; — ἡ σοφία μὲν βίβλος, ὁ δ' αὖ περὶ κρατὶ φορηθεὶς ἀρχὰν μανύει, μουνογόναν δὲ τὸ ἔν, εὐτάκτου δ' ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ' ἄνθος τὰν ἀκμὰν δαίμων ἄντιν, ἐλήϊσατο. — κού[φ]α τοὶ κόνις εἰμί· πολλοὶ τοιῆδε θανούσῃ, ἧ γὰ[μ]οὶ οὐδὲ γονεῖς, τοῖς ἔλιπες δάκρυα. English translation by Smith 1991, 189. See also SARDIS 7.1 111 (Buckler & Robinson 1932); P-M 418.

out so explicitly the meaning of the signs and symbols it employs to communicate meaning, with the epigram more or less guiding us through the intended meaning behind the emblematic imagery.⁶⁰ The texts of the monuments will be the primary source material in Chapter 6. Themes related to emotions as conveyed in the epitaphs will be treated together with the relation between image and text. Meanings communicated through the setting of the scenes and the groups this information was intended for will be examined as well. Knowledge about this is detectable to a great extent through the aid of epigraphic evidence.

In many modern publications on Hellenistic tomb epitaphs, the text of the inscription is often separated from the accompanying images. In sculptural or art volumes, by contrast, the epitaph often plays a secondary role to the sculpture, providing little more than a caption. But just as in the case of the memorial of Menophila, text often helped personalise the image, and indeed, as proposed by Newby, when we make,

*...a separation between “art” and “epitaph” we may be guilty of making a false distinction which makes little sense when applied to the monuments themselves.*⁶¹

Text and image were both methods of communication, neither of which existed in isolation – the message transmitted frequently involved these two elements working together, by verbally describing and visually representing the deceased. The artificial separation between these two media of communication has led to a failure to provide a comprehensive account of texts and images.⁶² Although no other inscription is as informative as that of Menophila, epitaphs often do supplement the information provided by the visual characteristics of the reliefs by telling the viewer the names of those who have died, thus ensuring that the

60 The epigram of this funerary relief is indeed exceptional -- no other Hellenistic epigram carved on a tombstone has given us such a detailed account of the iconographic sign posts of the adjoining relief; however, the imagery is in no way exceptional: it closely resembles the Smyrna reliefs and it is categorised as “Smyrnäische” by Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

61 Newby 2008, 6.

62 The stele of Menophila being the obvious exception, often referred to in general overviews of Hellenistic funerary art, e.g., Onians 1979, 112f.; Smith 1991, 189; Ridgway 2000, 215f. n. 7; Connelly 2007, 251f.

identity of those commemorated is not lost. That the deceased is named and tied into other relationships gave the onlooker an enhanced emotional experience. Sometimes the information in the one medium does not agree with that of the other, perhaps as a result of buying ready-made stelai and then personalising them. Despite this, the parallel yet separate ways in which word and image communicate always need to be addressed.⁶³ Words and images were displayed alongside one another, challenging their viewers to make sense of the composite message that they presented. In a discussion on the Greek tendency to combine images with directive text, whether in the form of funerary reliefs with an inscription, or an honorific monument set up with an accompanying *enkomion*, Steiner proposes that this synthesis of text and image is a way to provoke response; in that case, these techniques and responses are of great interest to the scholar of ancient emotions.⁶⁴ In East Greek funerary art the pairing of text and image often combines a pictorial scene with an epigram mourning the deceased and celebrating his/her qualities. However, I will not only consider the representation and perception of emotions in the epigrams, but also as expressed in shorter epitaphs that only identify the deceased by his/her name and patronymic, since they reveal that emotions could be reflected in naming practices (such as the use of affectionate pet names). I would say that there is hardly an epitaph that does not directly or indirectly start from emotions or reveal emotions: every single tombstone, if only laconically stating the name of the deceased person, originates in an emotion, even though in many cases we cannot identify it. Is it affection? Or is it the fear that neglect of this obligation will invite the anger of the dead individual or the criticism of the community?

Chaniotis has made the observation that,

*...all inscriptions are emotional, but some inscriptions are more emotional (describing and expressing emotion) and emotive (arousing emotion) than others.*⁶⁵

Funerary epitaphs are often derived from the experience of a

63 Newby 2008, 8f.

64 Steiner 2001, esp. 255, 265, & 293f. See also Masségli 2013a, 133-136.

65 Chaniotis 2013b, 95f.

strong emotional event. But the way a feeling is shared with others is to a great extent determined by social, cultural, and literary conventions. Tomb inscriptions deal with pain and sorrow, but cover the whole range of emotions: envy,⁶⁶ love, friendship, and affection, anger for a violent or undeserving death, hope for a good afterlife. Sometimes they also offer consolation.⁶⁷ In the examination of the epigrams from Smyrna and Kyzikos, a full range of emotional expressions can be found. By exploring the theme of untimely death I will consider how, and why, the deaths of certain individuals or groups provoked more pronounced grief than the deaths of others. The purpose here, of course, is not to detect 'clear expressions of emotions' in the epitaphs, since these are undetectable due to the use of formulas or standardised phrases.⁶⁸ The character of the specific genre determines whether and how emotions will be represented. For instance, standard formulas in these epitaphs might contribute in masking real emotions. By considering formulaic language, or divergences from it, it is possible to determine the communication of emotion. At times they conceal feelings and at times they enhance their display.

Sepulchral reliefs are imbedded in several layers of meaning. It is necessary to distinguish between the intended meaning applied by the sculptor or engraver, the meaning extracted by contemporary viewers, and meaning detectable to modern researchers. Ancient viewers of the stelai were a heterogeneous group who did not share a common pool of knowledge and therefore related differently to images.⁶⁹ In order to track down the set of emotions communicated to the viewer of the memorials

66 Death as a result of the envy of Hades is a commonplace, see Lattimore 1942, 147-149.

67 Chaniotis 2013b, 97.

68 Chaniotis 2013b, 109f. Inscriptions produced in large numbers, such as epitaphs, oscillate between the use of stereotypical formulations and the need to express the individuality of emotion. While gnomic phrases might ease the pain of death by transforming the individual loss into an unavoidable universal experience, stelai set up in the same nekropolis may also compete with one another in expressing the uniqueness of the loss and the magnitude of the pain.

69 Unfortunately we seldom have comments on images and only limited information on emotions aroused by them. One of very few Hellenistic examples is the fourth mime of Herondas (third century BCE), in which two ladies discuss and respond to the art objects on display in the Asklepieion on Kos.

(which, of course, is easier to detect than the personal anguish that some viewers brought to the tomb), the intended viewer must be identified, and this will be accomplished mostly with the aid of epigrams which often address the beholder. In this regard I will gather as much information as possible in order to contextualise the tombstones and the emotions which relate to them. Such a collated quantity of information can enable us to identify patterns of emotional behaviour within a particular community.⁷⁰ When we engage with the viewers as a social whole, rather than as individuals, as Tarlow advocates,⁷¹ we find ourselves with quite a rich seam of supporting material – the cultural backdrop of the ancient viewing experience. However, when addressing questions of how the tombstones were viewed and by whom, one also encounters the seemingly arbitrariness of determining where a piece of evidence ends. One should not only avoid “dissecting” the imagery on the tomb memorials at the expense of the overall effect, but also bear in mind that this same memorial was part of a larger complex, this complex of a nekropolis, and so on. A grave relief might elicit certain emotions when viewed in a burial context, but when displayed inside a heroon it might bring out very different ones (and also addressing different viewers).

Unfortunately about a fifth of the memorials in the present study are damaged, with a subsequent loss of inscription, thus denying us full knowledge of who was commemorated. These difficulties impede our understanding of how a tombstone operated and communicated. However, as pointed out by Hope,

*...the method of communications was multidimensional and although all these dimensions frequently do not survive it is possible and essential to investigate all these that do.*⁷²

The interpretation of epitaphs means placing them in their social, cultural and physical contexts: I will consider the intended audience, the relation between text and memorial and the place in which the inscription was set up, for example.⁷³ It is important to remember that just like literary texts, epigraphic texts have authors

70 Masségli 2013a, 139-141.

71 Tarlow 2000, 728.

72 Hope 1997, 150f.

73 Chaniotis 2013a, 26f.

and audiences. In the case of grave memorials, the “authors” used non-perishable material and erected their inscriptions in public spaces (however, sometimes they were displayed within an enclosed burial space or tomb building). They thus aimed to reach a large audience permanently. To understand this dialogue, and its emotional and emotive aspects, we certainly need to look not only at the words, but also to carefully study the contexts: the setting in a funerary space, the form of the monument, the images that decorate it, and the reading of an inscription. Many contemporary onlookers might have been illiterate. Amongst the visitors to a tomb there were individuals that could read the text themselves, while others needed someone else to read it aloud for them. A third category might consist of people with “limited literacy”.⁷⁴ These individuals could recognize the meaning of certain standard phrases and might even be able to distinguish combinations of letters that formed a specific word, for example the name of the deceased. The experience of the epitaph must, of course, have varied depending on the degree of literacy. It is quite a difference between reading a text yourself and hearing someone else read it for you. Sometimes there was no one to aid the illiterate tomb visitor with reading the text aloud. These visitors were deprived of the combined media of text and image: to them the text was merely a decoration too. That the physical contexts cannot be reconstructed thus present the greatest obstacle in the evaluation of inscriptions for the study of emotions, together with the use of stereotypical or gnomic phrases that makes it difficult to distinguish between genuine expression of sentiment and conventions.⁷⁵ Only through the analysis of a large corpus of inscriptions, not the limited number of epigrams (only 17 altogether) in the present study, can one evaluate the use of stereotypes and the divergence from standard formulas in order to express individual feelings.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, due to the detailed renderings of emotional responses in the epigrams from Smyrna and Kyzikos, I am still able to draw some general conclusions on these matters.

74 For “limited literacy” in the Roman world, see Carroll 2006, 55-58. See also Harris (1989, 3-24) for different levels of literacy in the Greco-Roman world.

75 Chaniotis 2013b, 120f.

76 As conducted in the study by Lattimore (1942): however, his approach to emotions in epitaphs is a bit too vast in time and place.

3. CATALOGUE

In this chapter I will present the catalogue and I will begin with a short introduction to its structure. My study makes extensive use of the available corpora of Hellenistic funerary reliefs and epitaphs from Smyrna and Kyzikos. I have studied most of the material first-hand in several museums in Turkey and Europe.¹ A complete discussion of individual tomb memorials will not appear in the text; the reader is directed to the catalogue for treatment of the individual funerary reliefs. The grave monuments will be cited throughout the text on numerous occasions, however, as illustrations of the various, more general, themes treated. The catalogue is structured on geographical criteria and consists of two parts: (1) the tombstones from Smyrna, and (2) the tombstones from Kyzikos. The Smyranean and Kyzikanean grave reliefs are further categorised by motif: (1) standing figures, (2) seated and standing figures, (3) rider scenes, and (4) *Totenmahl* scenes. *Stockwerstelai* from Kyzikos are grouped based on the motif on the upper relief, which always is a *Totenmahl* scene. The specific motifs are divided into several subgroups depending on the number of primary figures represented on them. This categorisation has more or less the same structure as the corpus by Pfuhl-Möbius except that they have listed the reliefs typologically rather than in approximate chronological order or by provenance. For my purpose their corpus is difficult to use, since the authors' arrangement makes the pictorial semiotics of the grave reliefs hard to decipher. Only when grouped by provenance or in roughly chronological sequences the funerary stelai begin to speak more clearly.

The catalogue has 245 entries, 133 from Smyrna, and a little less, 112 from Kyzikos. It is important to note that tomb monuments

¹ Turkey: the archaeological museums in Istanbul, Bursa, Izmit, Bandırma, Izmir, Çanakkale; the Museum of Anatolian civilizations in Ankara; Tarih ve Sanat (Kültürpark) in Izmir. Europe: the Louvre in Paris; British Museum in London; Ashmolean museum in Oxford; National Archaeological Museum in Athens; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden; Altes Museum in Berlin; Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, National Museum in Copenhagen; Museo Archaeologico in Venice.

of all conditions are included – the best-preserved thus are listed alongside those in a fragmentary state. Most of the reliefs have been published elsewhere, and when not, this will be stated. The individual entries give information on provenance, present location, and type of tomb monument (including measurements and the material from which it is carved), description of the relief(s), inscription, date, provenance, and bibliography. Opinions on provenance and date of the individual tombstones sometimes differ. Regarding chronology I will adhere mostly to the dating of Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-79) and Schmidt (1991). In every entry I will give my own estimated date and these are divided in 25- or 50-year spans: late third century (225-200), early second century (200-175), first half of the second century (200-150), middle second century (175-125), second half of the second century (150-100), late second century (125-100), and early first century (100-75). When it comes to uncertainties about the provenance of a grave relief, I will also make my own estimations. These are based mostly on stylistic criteria, but also on epigraphy, when accounted for in Schwertheim (1980) and Petzl (1982). Chemical analysis has been conducted on only nine grave reliefs from Smyrna now at the Louvre.² In a few other entries the (assumed) provenance of the marble will be mentioned, otherwise only its texture and colour will be described. Since most of the tomb memorials have been published elsewhere, in lesser or greater detail, the description of them will be short and concentrated on aspects of relevance for the present study. It will amongst other highlight body language and setting elements. All descriptions are made from the viewer's perspective. For more information on a specific grave relief, the reader is encouraged to consult the literature given in the select bibliography.

² Of these, eight were of Proconnesian marble (**S9**, **S41**, **S64**, **S90**, **S103**, **S118**, **S120**, **S124**), and one was of Ephesian marble (**S92**) (for details on the chemical analysis, see Akurgal et al. 2009, 68-77).

FUNERARY RELIEFS FROM SMYRNA

Standing figures

- S 1 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found in a secondary context.
- Pl. 1.1** **Present location:** Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).
- Description:** Rectangular funerary plaque. White medium-fine marble. 149: 62: 30.
- Relief:** In the centre a bearded man is standing *en face*, his head is lowered to the left. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. A servant boy is standing on either side of him. The left boy is holding a lidded chest. The right boy has his right hand to his chin. To the left of the man is a pillar, on which is carved a wreath, topped by a funerary urn.
- Inscription:** Below the wreath: ὁ δῆμος / [—]ν / Ἀρτέμωνα / Ἀρτεμιδώρου / τοῦ Ἴκεσίου.
- Date:** Middle of the second century BCE.
- Select bibliography:** Pfuhl 1905, 28, Abb. 10; P-M 109, Taf. 26; ISmyrna 19; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 2 **Provenance:** Allegedly Smyrna – Bahribaba (Eşrefpaşa).
- Present location:** Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 163.
- Description:** Fragment from the right part of a Korinthian stele. Light grey marble. 136: 77: 23.
- Relief:** On the left a bearded man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms. On the right is a servant boy with his head lowered to the right. In the background is a ledge, and on it two chests.
- Inscription:** Above the relief: [—]ους τοῦ Ἀττάλου Κυνδαλᾶ.
- Date:** Second half of the second century BCE.
- Select bibliography:** P-M 112, Taf. 26; ISmyrna 187; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 3 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
- Pl.1.2** **Present location:** Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. I. 91/8.3.
- Description:** Tapering stele with two olive branches below the gable. White coarse-grained marble. 57: 44: 8.
- Relief:** A youth is standing *en face* left of centre. He is wearing a voluminous cloak that enfolds his arms. A small Maltese dog is jumping up towards him from the left. Behind the dog is a tree entwined by a

snake. On the right is a servant boy. Behind the servant is a broad pillar that supports a bearded archaistic herm as well as an unrolled scroll and an inkpot.

Inscription: Above the olive branches: ὁ δῆμος, below: [---]έαν Μηνᾶ τοῦ Μελιτιῶνος.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 114, Taf. 27; ISmyrna 71; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 148, Pl. 40; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 220, Fig 14.

S 4 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).

Description: Fragment from the right part of a relief field. White coarse-grained marble. 42: 34: 11.

Relief: On the left a youth is standing *en face*, his head slightly to the right. He is wearing a *chlamys*. On the right is a servant boy gazing up at the youth. He is holding a strigil and a purse in his left hand.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 130, Taf. 30.

S 5 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 771.

Description: Tall stele with akroteria and a large wreath below the gable. White coarse-grained marble. 102: 41: 10.

Relief: On the right a youth is standing *en face*, his head in profile left. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak over it. With his right hand he is holding out a *diptychon* on a string towards a youthful herm placed on a tall, broad base. The herm is set next to the left picture frame; in front of its base is a servant boy with his right hand on his chin. To the right of the youth is a small Maltese dog with his left forepaw stretched out towards the youth.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below to the right: [---]λειδου.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 131, Taf. 30.

S 6 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb. 77.

Description: Fragment from the left part of a relief field. White coarse-grained marble. 55: 32: 10.

Relief: In the centre a youth is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak over it. His right forearm is resting on the head of a youthful herm, while his lowered gaze falls on a boy to the right. The childlike servant is facing the youth and holding a scroll in his raised right hand. In front of the herm is a tall lidded box with twelve book scrolls. A second boy is holding the lid of the box with his left hand and grabs one of the scrolls with his right hand.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 77, Nr. 7; P-M 132, Taf. 30; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 167, Pl. 45; Schmidt 1991, 131 n. 581; Zanker 1993, 220 Fig. 15.

S 7 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 785.

Description: Funerary plaque with ledge. White coarse-grained marble. 60: 27: 14.

Relief: On the right a rotund man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a cloak that covers his left arm and lower body. He is holding two ribbons in his right hand. His right forearm is resting on a base pillar that supports a bearded archaistic herm, ithyphallic. In front of the pillar is a servant boy holding a large palm leaf in both hands. Between the man's feet and above his left shoulder are the ends of two javelins.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 140, Taf. 32.

S 8 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Pl. 2.1 Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Inv. No. 1947, 271.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria, an architrave with dentils, and a wreath below the gable. Yellowish-white crystalline marble. 154: 62.

Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face*, his head lowered to the right. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. With his raised right hand he is touching the wreath on his head. On either side of him a servant boy is leaning on the picture frame. The left boy has his left hand to his chin and the right one is holding two ears of wheat in his left hand. Behind the latter boy is a pillar with a curved capital, atop a lidded tureen-shaped urn.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, above the relief: Ἀρχιπυτον Δίωνος.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 638, No. 67; Pfuhl 1905, 29, Abb. 10a; Strong 1915, 158, Pl. 17,2; P-M 149, Taf. 33; ISmyrna 67; Pfanner 1989, 180, n. 21, Abb. 6; Schmidt 1991, 138, n. 615; Zanker 1993, 221, Fig. 16.

- S 9 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 3577.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and an olive wreath below the gable. Proconnesian marble. 91: 44: 9.
Relief: In the centre an elderly, partly bald man is standing *en face*, his lowered head slightly to the right. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and over it a cloak. A servant boy is standing on either side of him, the right boy with his hand on his chin. Behind the right boy is a pillar, atop a *cornucopia* full of round fruits and a bunch of grapes.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below: Μένανδρον Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀνδρουνίκου.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 55f., Nr. 33; P-M 156, Taf. 34; ISmyrna 60; Känel 1989, 55, Taf. 13,2; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II, Abb. 24; Hamiaux 1998, 152; Akurgal et al 2009, 23.
- S 10 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 1241.
Description: Korinthian gable-stele with a separate naiskos frame and an Attic base. Greyish-white fine-grained marble. 126,5: 7: 16,5.
Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face* on a low “plinth”, his lowered head to the right. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. There is a pillar on either side of him. A servant boy is standing in front of each pillar, the left boy with his hand on his chin. Atop the left pillar is a *cornucopia* full of a bunch of grapes, and on top of the right one are two scrolls. An olive wreath is carved in the upper right corner of the relief field.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, on the architrave: Ποτάμωνα Ποσειδωνίου.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 158, Taf. 35; ISmyrna 27; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II, Abb. 22.

- S 11 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. I. 92/7. 1.
Description: Tapering stele with an olive wreath below the gable. Light grey coarse-grained marble. 84: 42: 7.
Relief: In the centre a curly-haired youth is standing *en face*, his lowered head slithly to the right. He is wearing a chiton with a cloak that enfolds his arms. On the left is a servant boy. To the right and slightly behind the youth is a flat pillar topped by a *kithara*. The pillar is entwined by a bearded snake with its head towards the youth's left shoulder.
Inscription: To the left of the wreath: Ἐρξης, to the right: Πύρρου.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 160, Taf. 35; ISmyrna 166; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 147, Pl. 40; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 12 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Liverpool, World Museum.
Description: Relief field from a stele. White coarse-grained marble. 90: 56: ca.14.
Relief: In the centre an elderly man with a wrinkled face is standing *en face*. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. A servant boy is standing on either side of him. The left boy has his right hand on his chin. The right boy is leaning on the picture frame and his hands are folded over his stomach. Behind the latter boy is a pillar topped by a bearded "hip-herm" covered in a lion-skin.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Late second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 79, Nr. 23; P-M 161, Taf. 35; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 217, Fig. 5.
- S 13 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).
Description: Fragment from the left part of a relief field. Light grey marble. 52: 23: 11.
Relief: A man is standing *en face*, his head slightly turned to the right. He is covered in a cloak.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 162, Taf. 36; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

- S 14 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).
Description: Tapering stele. White marble. 75: 48: 10.
Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. He is holding a scroll in his left hand. A small servant boy is leaning on the right picture frame, holding the two ends of an unrolled scroll. On the left is a pillar topped by a chest. To the right of the man's head are two flat (probably painted) rectangles (?) of different sizes. Inside the rectangles are a box and a bundle of scrolls.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1907, 121, Abb. 7; P-M 168, Taf. 36; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 15 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 768.
Description: Fragment from a *naiskos* stele with fluted Ionic columns. Greyish-white coarse-grained marble. 75: 50: 14.
Relief: In the centre a curly-haired youth is standing *en face*, his head slightly to the right. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. He is holding a scroll in his left hand. A servant boy is standing on either side of him, the right boy with his left hand on his head. In the background is a ledge, and on it a chest, a scroll, and a *polyptychon*.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 169, Taf. 37; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 16 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Pl. 2.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb 27.
Description: *Naiskos* with an olive wreath below the gable and a frieze with metopes and triglyphs. White coarse-grained marble. 124: 54: 18.
Relief: In the centre a bald, elderly man with a band around his head is standing *en face*. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. He is holding a scroll in his left hand. A servant boy is standing on either side of him. The left boy with his hands folded over his stomach and the right boy with his right hand on his chin. Behind the latter boy is a pillar topped by a *cornucopia* full of round fruits and bunches

of grapes.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, above: [Στρατοκ]λειδὴν Στρατο[κλειδίου].

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 170, Taf. 37; ISmyrna 51; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 146, Pl. 40; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 217 Fig. 6.

- S 17 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 164.
Description: Tapering stele with an olive wreath below the gable. Light grey marble. 98: 40,6: 9.
Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. A servant boy is standing on either side of him. The right boy with his left hand on his chin and the left boy with his hands folded over his stomach. A pillar stands behind each servant, the left one topped by a chest and a double *cornucopia* full of fruits, and the right one, by a polyptychon and a scroll.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, on either side of the wreath: Παράμο --- νον Μενε / κλήους ---- τοῦ Παρ / ρασίου.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 250, Taf. 48; ISmyrna 28; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 18 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 888.
Description: Fragment from the left part of a relief field. Grey medium-sized marble. 54: 31: 9.
Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. On the left is a pillar topped by three thick scrolls. In front of the pillar is a servant boy with a scroll in his left hand.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 251, Taf. 48; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 19 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at Mount Pagos.
Present location: Unknown, formerly in Izmir.
Description: Tapering stele with tenon. White marble. 83: 30.
Relief: In the centre a youth is standing *en face*, his lowered head slightly to the left. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak

and is holding a ball in his left hand. A naked servant boy is leaning on the left picture frame. He has the cord from a pointed tube-*alabastron* tied around his right wrist.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably early second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 253, Taf. 49.

S 20 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Pl. 3.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. SNNs 1.

Description: Tapering stele with an olive wreath below the gable. Yellowish coarse-grained marble, similar to Pentelic marble. 113: 52: 9.

Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. A servant boy is standing on either side of him. The right boy with his hands folded over his stomach and the left one with his left hand on his chin. Behind the left boy is an oak tree entwined by a bearded snake. Behind the right one is a pillar topped by a Herakles herm.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below: Ἀριστόδικον Ζεῦξιδος.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 256, Taf. 48; ISmyrna 70; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 144, Pl. 39; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 217 Fig. 4.

S 21 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 857.

Description: Fragment from the right part of a relief field. Light grey marble. 57: 28: 9.

Relief: On the right a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. A servant boy is leaning on the right picture frame. He is holding a curved box in his left hand. Behind the boy is a pillar topped by a *polyptychon* and two scrolls.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 258, Taf. 49; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 22 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Laon, Musée, Inv. No. 37. 1206.

Description: Fragment from the right part of a relief field. White marble. 48: 28: 5,5.

Relief: A youth is standing *en face* next to the right picture frame, his lowered head to the left. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a

cloak over it. A servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach is leaning on the frame. On the left is a pillar topped by a round object (?).

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 259, Taf. 49; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 23 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.

Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 772.

Description: Upper part of a tapering stele with akroteria. There is an olive wreath and two cartouches below the gable. White marble. 41,5: 42: 8,5.

Relief: In the upper right corner is the head of a youth with curly hair.

Inscription: In the left cartouche: $\chi\alpha\iota\pi\epsilon$, in the right cartouche: $\text{Κ}\rho\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon$.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 320, Taf. 56; ISmyrna 133.

S 24 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Present location: Basel, Antikenmuseum, Inv. No. 260.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. Greyish-white large-crystallined marble. 78,5: 44: 9,8.

Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. On the left is a pillar topped by a writing tablet and an ink-pot or a scroll, on the right, a pillar with a lidded *cista* on top. In front of the right pillar is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: In the wreath: $\acute{o} \delta\eta\grave{\iota}/\mu\omicron\varsigma$, to the left: $\text{Α}\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota/\delta\omega\rho\omicron\nu$, to the right: $\text{Α}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\nu\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$.

Date: Middle or second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Känel 1989, 50, Taf. 13,1; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 25 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. No. 96.AA.50.

Description: Tapering stele with a flat top. White medium-grained marble. 125: 53: 21,5.

Relief: A curly-haired youth is standing *en face*, his head turned slightly to the right. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with an *epaphtis* and a sword is stuck into a drapery roll. His right hand is reaching out to rest on a square-shaped object, probably a herm. A servant boy is standing in front of the herm. Above the man is a ledge topped by

wax writing tablets (?), a chest, and a framed tablet on a plinth (*tabula ansata*) upon which is carved a wreath. To the left of the youth's head is a second wreath.

Inscription: On the plinth: Φανοκρατη[ς] / Φανοκρατου.

Date: First half of the first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Burnett Grossman 2001, 41.

S 26 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 3.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb 25.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and two olive wreaths below the gable. Light grey coarse-grained marble. 107: 57: 12.

Relief: On the left an elderly man with sunken cheeks is standing *en face*, while on the right is a youth in the Aischines pose, his lowered head to the left. The man on the left is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak, the youth, a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. A servant boy is standing between them, and a second boy is leaning on the left picture frame. A servant girl is standing next to the right picture frame. Behind the men is a ledge, and on it a lidded box, scrolls, and a *polyptychon*.

Inscription: In the left wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below: Διόδοτον Διοδότου τὸν νεώτερον.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 26; P-M 341, Taf. 57; ISmyrna 64; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 160, Pl. 43; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 214-217, Fig. 2.

S 27 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 4491.

Description: Fragment from a relief field. White marble. 43: 39, 5: 9.

Relief: On the left a man is standing *en face*, while on the right is a youth. Both are wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds their arms. The youth is one head shorter than the man. A servant boy is standing on either side of them. The left boy has his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 343, Taf. 57; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Hamiaux 1998, 157.

S 28 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 4.1 Present location: London, British Museum.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and an olive wreath below the gable. White fine-grained marble. 108: 59: 10.

Relief: In the centre a woman with long curly hair is standing *en face*. She is holding a *situla* in her left hand and is shaking a *sistrum* with her right one. Her unusual clothing resembles the typical Isis dress, consisting of a sleeved undergarment and over it a fringed mantle with its two ends drawn over the shoulders and caught in a knot at the chest. To her left is a laurel tree.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below: Ἰσιάδα Μητροδόρου Λαοδικίδα.

Date: Early second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 376, Taf. 61; ISmyrna 10; Connelly 2007, 250f., Fig. 8.22.

S 29 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Pl. 4.2 Present location: Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional.

Description: Tall, slightly tapering stele. Light bluish marble. 63: 40: 9.

Relief: On the left a woman is standing *en face*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. With a finger of her left hand she is touching the right shoulder of a young servant girl. The girl is carrying a baby girl on her left arm. Behind her is a pillar topped by a box with its lid open, with a pigeon seemingly peeping out of the box. A servant girl is standing next to the left picture frame. She is holding an open, folding mirror in both hands. Behind her are traces of colour – maybe a girl was painted between the woman and the left picture frame.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 382, Taf. 62; Zanker 1993, 223, Fig. 23.

S 30 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 5.1 Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark).

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria. Marble.

Relief: On the right an adolescent girl is standing *en face*. She is wreathed and is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. A small dog is jumping up towards her from the right. On the left is a veiled woman in three-quarter view. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak over it. She is holding a baby in her arms and is facing the toddler, who is reaching out for her. A boy is standing *en face* in the

centre. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms and is looking out at the viewer. In the background is a ledge, and on it two *cistae* and a wool basket.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Unpublished.

S 31 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found near the ancient theatre.

Pl. 5.2 Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).

Description: Two pieces from a tapering gable stele: (A), fragment from a gable with an inscription below, found in a vineyard on Mount Pagos; (B), lower part of a stele, an epigram below the relief. Light grey coarse-grained marble.

Relief: In the centre a small girl is standing *en face*. She is wearing a thick, layered *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. A Maltese dog is jumping up on her from the left. Her lowerd gaze falls on the dog while holding a bouquet in her left hand. A servant girl is standing next to the right picture frame, holding a *tympanon* that she seems to be beating.

Inscription: On fragment (A): Νικόπολι Σαραπίωνος, χαῖρε. On fragment (B): αἰμύλα ωτίλλουσα τεοὺς γενέτας ἀτίταλλες / ἰεῖσα τραυλὴν γῆρυν ἀπὸ στόματος· / ἀλλά σε τὴν διειτὴ κόλπων ἀπὸ μητέρος εἶλεν / ἄστεμφῆς Αἴδης, μείλιξε Νικόπολι· / χαῖρε, βρέφος, κούφη δὲ σέθεν περὶ σῶμα καλύπτοι / κόνις, Σαραπίωνος ὄβριμον θάλος.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955 I 1512; Peek 1960, 228; P-M 392, Taf. 64; ISmyrna 520; Schmidt 1991, 135f.; Zanker 1993, 221, Fig. 17.

S 32 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1158.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a laurel wreath below the gable. Grey marble. 57: 32: 7.

Relief: In the centre a curly-haired girl is standing *en face*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. A small Maltese dog is jumping up on her from the left. Behind the dog is a laurel tree entwined by a snake. On the right is a servant girl holding a small box. Behind the servant is a pillar topped by a rattle and a circular container (basket?).

Inscription: To the left of the wreath: Φύλα, to the right: χαῖρε.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 57, Nr. 37; P-M 395, Taf. 64.

S 33 **Provenance:** Smyrna, supposedly from Mount Pagos.

Pl. 6.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. S. 711.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and an olive wreath below the gable. White fine-grained marble with yellow-stained patina. 58: 32: 7.

Relief: In the centre a curly-haired girl is standing *en face*. She is wearing an undergarment and an overgarment, the latter slipping off her left shoulder. She has placed a bunch of grapes and a pomegranate in the fold of her overgarment. A small dog is jumping up on her from the left. On the right is a servant girl holding a box.

Inscription: To the left of the wreath: Τρουπέ / ρα, to the right: Δημητρί / ου χαῖρε.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 397, Taf. 65; ISmyrna 142; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 150, Pl. 41.

S 34 **Provenance:** Acquired in Smyrna, from an ancient nekropolis.

Pl. 6.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. S. Ns. 129.

Description: Gable stele with akroteria and traces of a painted red ribbon above the relief. The inscription was probably painted as well. White coarse-grained marble. 55: 28: 27.

Relief: In the centre a curly-haired girl is standing *en face*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a voluminous cloak that enfolds her arms. On the right is a servant girl with a heart-shaped fan in her right hand.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 398, Taf. 65; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 149, Pl. 41.

S 35 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at Caravan Bridge.

Pl. 7.1 Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 767.

Description: Korinthian naiskos stele with akroteria, an architrave with dentils, and an olive wreath below the gable. White coarse-grained marble with grey patches.

Relief: In the centre a matronly, elder Demeter priestess is standing *en face*, her lowered head slightly to the right. She is draped in a

diaphanous cloak that crisscrosses her *chiton*, winding around in a broad roll that stretches from hip to hip. Her right arm is lifted with the palm of her hand facing the viewer and she is holding a poppy in her lowered left hand. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The left girl is supporting a huge, burning torch with both hands and the right one is carrying a little jug. Behind the latter girl is a tall pillar topped by a *cornucopia* full of round fruits and bunches of grapes.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 405, Taf. 66; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 226, Fig. 25; Connelly 2007, 248f., Fig. 8.19.

- S 36 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at Mount Pagos.
Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).
Description: Tapering stele. White coarse-grained marble. 86: 56: 11.
Relief: In the centre a woman in the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*. Her right arm is raised with the palm of her hand facing the viewer and she is holding a poppy in her lowered left hand. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The left girl is supporting a huge, burning torch and the right one is carrying a tall jug. Behind the latter girl is a pillar topped by a wool basket.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 406, Taf. 66; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 37 **Provenance:** Found 1966 in Halka Pinar; Smyranean.
Pl. 7.2 Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5843.
Description: Tapering gable stele with large akroteria (once painted), rosette (also painted), and laurel wreath. Yellow marble. 88: 45-35: 10.
Relief: In the centre a woman in the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*. Her right arm is raised with the palm of her hand facing the viewer and she is holding a poppy in her lowered left hand. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The left girl is supporting a huge, burning torch and the right one is carrying a tall jug. Behind the latter girl is a pillar topped by a tall *modius* or a *cista mystica*.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆ/μος, above the relief: Φύλαν Μενεκράτου.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 407, Taf. 66; ISmyrna 29; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

- S 38 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. Light grey marble. 93: 51: 11-14.
Relief: In the centre a round-faced woman wearing the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*. She is holding a bunch of ears of corn and a poppy in her lowered left hand. She raises her right hand to touch the top of a long, burning torch held up by a servant girl. On the right is a second girl holding an alabastron.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below: Ἀπολλωνίαν Κηφισοφῶντος.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 578, No. 149; P-M 409, Taf. 67; ISmyrna 9; Connelly 2007, 249, Fig. 8.20.
- S 39 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Verona, Museo Maffeiiano.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. White fine-grained marble. 99: 45.
Relief: In the centre a woman in the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*. She is holding a poppy and a bunch of ears of corn in her lowered left hand and raises her right hand to touch a large torch held by a servant girl. On the right is a second girl holding a tall, slender jug.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below and next to the wreath: Δημοῦν Διονυσίου / Εὐξένου δὲ γυναῖκα.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 410, Taf. 67; ISmyrna 8.
- S 40 **Provenance:** Smyranean stele from Görece village of Camaovasi.
Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 9506.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. White marble. 110: 41: 6,5.
Relief: In the centre a woman in the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*. Her right arm is raised with the palm of her hand facing the viewer and she is holding a poppy in her lowered left hand. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The left girl is supporting a huge, burning torch and the right one is holding a tall jug.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆ/μος, below: Διοσκουρίδα Μητροδώρου / Κλινίου δὲ γυναῖκα.
Date: Probably second century BCE.
Select bibliography: ISmyrna 888; Atalay-Malay 1984, 59f., Taf. 4a.

S 41 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 8.1 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 3296.

Description: Doric *naiskos* stele with akroteria, a frieze with triglyphs and metopes, and an olive wreath below the gable. Proconnesian marble. 114: 49: 9,5.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her head tilted to the left. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The right girl is holding a cylindrical box and the other one has her left hand on her head.

Inscription: On the attic: Θάλα Αθηναγόρου / Ὅροαννίς χαίρει.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 413, Taf. 68; ISmyrna 128; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Hamiaux 1998, 149; Akurgal et al. 2009, 24.

S 42 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Verona, Museo Maffeiano.

Description: Ionic *naiskos* stele with akroteria and an olive wreath below the gable. Relief and epitaph are reworked in modern times, e.g., the siren's cloak is a later addition. White rather fine-grained marble. 114: 52.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a fringed cloak over it. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The left girl is holding a heart-shaped fan in her left hand, while the right one is holding a chest in both hands. There is a pillar behind each girl: on the left pillar are a wool basket and a chest, while the right one is topped by a siren playing a flute. The siren has been reworked to resemble Eros *Uranios*. To the left of the siren is a tree entwined by a snake.

Inscription: Modern, except ὁ δῆμος in the wreath.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 414, Taf. 68; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 222-224, Fig. 22.

S 43 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 8.2 Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Armenian school).

Description: Ionic *naiskos* stele with a wreath below the gable. White marble. 115: 45.

Relief: In the centre a woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a fringed cloak. Behind her

is a door that is partly covered by a fringed drapery. To the right of the woman is a servant girl holding an open folding mirror in both hands. Behind her is a pillar topped by a *kithara*. To the left of the woman are two servant girls. The girl closer on her left is holding a round box while the other girl, standing behind the girl with the box, is taking out a necklace from the box. Behind them is a second pillar topped by a half-open chest with a girdle string.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, on the epistyle: Μοιροῦν Διονυσίου, Δημητρίου δὲ γυναικα.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 415, Taf. 68; ISmyrna 119; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 222-224 Fig. 21.

S 4 4 **Provenance:** Smyrna, from a secondary context.

Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and three wreaths below the gable. White medium-sized marble. 102: 55: 12.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her lowered head slightly to the right. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a fringed cloak. On the right a boy is standing *en face*. He is wearing a *chiton* with a voluminous cloak that enfolds his arms. Between the woman and the boy is a servant girl holding a chest in both hands. Behind the boy and girl is a pillar topped by a box and a parasol or hat. On the left is a covered chair, with a small dog jumping up on its right side. A curly-haired boy is sitting on the chair. He is dressed in a loose *chiton* and is holding a bunch of grapes in his right hand. Behind him is a pillar topped by a *cista* and a wool basket. A servant girl is standing to the right of the pillar.

Inscription: In the three wreaths: ὁ δῆ / μος. Below the wreaths, to the left: Ἡρακλείδην / Θεομνήστου, to the right: [Ἐπίχ?]αρμος / Θεομνήστου. Traces of an inscription between the left and middle wreath: [—] / [—] ου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 53f., Nr. 17, Abb. 8; P-M 419, Taf. 69; ISmyrna 114; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 4 5 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Turkish school).

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and an olive wreath below

the gable. White medium-grained marble. 71: 31: 10.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a thick layered chiton with a cloak over it. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The right girl is holding a cylindrical box in both hands. The left girl has her raised right hand to the head. In the background is a ledge, and on it a lidded *cista* and a lidded chest.

Inscription: To the right of the wreath: χαῖρε / Τυραννίς.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 434, Taf. 72; ISmyrna 130; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 4 6 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Description: Ionic *naiskos* with Corinthian pillars, akroteria, and a laurel wreath below the gable. Yellowish large-grained marble. 179: 80: ca. 15.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her lowered head to the left. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a fringed cloak over it. A small Maltese dog is jumping up on her from the left. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The left girl is opening the lid of a small box and the right one is holding a closed box. There is a pillar behind each girl: on the left pillar is a wool basket, while on the right pillar, a lidded chest.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, on either side of the wreath: Φιλίσταν Μέμνονος.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 587f., No. 204; P-M 435, Taf. 72; ISmyrna 54; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 214, Fig. 1.

S 4 7 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.

Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Description: Tapering stele with shafts. White large-grained marble. 80: 46: ca. 10.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her head tilted to the left. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The right girl is holding an open, folded mirror with both hands. The left girl is holding a leaf-shaped fan in her right hand and has the string of an *alabastron* tied around her left wrist. There is a pillar behind each girl: on the right pillar is a round lidded *cista*, on the left one, a lidded chest.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 562, No. 90; Pfuhl 1905, 52, Nr. 8 Abb. 5; Pfuhl 1907, 114; P-M 436, Taf. 73; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 48 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb. 26A.

Description: Tapering stele with shafts. White large-grained marble. 95: 57: 11.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her lowered head to the left. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant girl is standing on either side of her. The right girl is holding a box and the left one, a wool basket. In the background is a ledge, and on it a chest and a parasol.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Μελίτιον Ξένωνος.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 129, Nr. 20 Abb. 23; P-M 437, Taf. 73; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 145, Pl. 40; ISmyrna 167; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 222, Fig. 20.

S 49 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 9.1 Present location: Venice, Museo Archeologico, Inv. No. 67.

Description: Tall, tapering stele with an olive wreath below the gable. White marble with grey nuances (dirty). 56: 39: 8.

Relief: On the right a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her lowered head slightly to the left. In the lower right corner is a servant girl holding a round box in both hands. On the left is a veiled nurse with a *chiton* slipping off her right shoulder. She is carrying a baby on her left arm. A girl is standing in front of her: the nurse is holding the girl by her right wrist. The girl is in full motion and her cloak has fallen down over her left elbow and right leg. Her right foot is touching the head of a turtle. In her right hand she is holding a bird upside-down by its legs and in her left hand she has a rattle. Behind this group is a broad pillar topped by a case, a parasol, and a *cista*.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆ / μος, on either side of the wreath: Λύσανδραν Ἀρτεμιδῶ / Φανείου δὲ γυναῖκα.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 53, Nr. 18 Taf. 4; P-M 443, Taf. 74; ISmyrna 61; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

- S 50 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.
Pl. 9.2 Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark).
Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. White marble.
Relief: A veiled woman is standing *en face* slightly left of centre. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm. To her left there is a small, lively, curly-haired girl. She is stretching out her right hand to the woman and is touching her. She is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and a cloak is hanging loosely over her left arm. She is holding a rattle in her left hand and her head is somewhat bowed as she gazes down at a turtle in front of her feet. Behind the girl is a pillar topped by a lidded *cista*, a sun-hat, and a fan. To the left of the woman is a servant girl holding a round box. Behind the servant is a pillar topped by a wool basket.
Inscription: To the left of the wreath: Καλλιππε, to the right: χαίρε.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Unpublished.
- S 51 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. No. Pb. 85.
Description: Fragment from the right part of a relief field. White large-grained marble. 40: 22: 9.
Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her lowered head to the left. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a transparent cloak over it. Her head is rendered in the Pergamene style. Next to the right picture frame the upper body of a servant girl is seen, with her hands folded over her stomach.
Inscription: On the right frame is an inscription in Roman letters: R.ARE.C.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 444, Taf. 74; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 168, Pl. 46; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 52 **Provenance:** Vicinity of Smyrna (Şeitan-Tepe near Sevdiköy).
Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 768 a.
Description: Upper part of a tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. Grey large-grained marble. 45: 34: 7.
Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her head tilted to the left. In the background is a ledge, and on it are two symmetrical sirens with Eros heads. The right siren is playing

on a *syrix*, the left siren on a transverse flute.

Inscription: To the left of the wreath: Σεραπίας Θουατηρηνή, to the right: Διονυσίο[υ].

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 448, Taf. 75; ISmyrna 175.

- S 53 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.
Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. White marble. 66: 37: 9.
Relief: In the centre a woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. On the left is a pillar topped by a wool basket, on the right, a pillar topped by a lidded *cista*. In front of the right pillar is a servant girl holding a round box in her left hand. She is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* slipping off her right shoulder.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆ / μος, below: Ὀλυμπιάδα Πλουτογένου.
Date: Late second or early first century BCE.
Select bibliography: ISmyrna 23, Taf. 1; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 54 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at Mount Pagos.
Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2870.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and two wreaths below the gable. White large-grained marble with grey stripes. 60: 58: 10.
Relief: In the centre two women are standing *en face*, the right woman with her head to the left. Both are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. The right woman has a pointed nose and gentle signs of aging in her face. The left woman is standing in the *pudicitia* pose. There is a servant girl on either side of this group. The left girl is holding a fan in her left hand, while the other has her right hand on her chin and is holding an *alabastron* (?) in her left hand. Behind the women is a ledge, and on it a case.
Inscription: In the left wreath: χαῖ / ρε, below: [Σ]τρατηγία Ζωπύρου.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 505, Taf. 79 & Abb. 41; ISmyrna 140.
- S 55 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Ketteringham Hall.
Description: Tapering stele with two large laurel wreaths below the gable. Marble. 58: 39.
Relief: Two women are standing *en face*. The right woman is wearing

the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**). Her right arm is raised with the palm of her hand facing the viewer and she is holding a poppy and a bunch of corn ears in her lowered left hand. To her left is a servant girl who is supporting a burning torch with both hands. Left of her is a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. To her left is a servant girl with her hand on her chin.

Inscription: In the left wreath: ὁ δῆ/μος, below: Μηνοφίλαν Αιταλου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Senff 1985, 1, Taf. 6,2; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 56 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 10.1 Present location: Vienna, Grinzing cemetery, family tomb.

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria. White marble.

Relief: To the left is a youth standing *en face*, to the right, a woman. Their lowered heads are turned to the centre. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms and is holding a scroll in his left hand. Her dress resembles the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**). She is holding a bouquet in her left hand and is supporting a torch with her right one. She is touching the youth's upper arm lightly with the finger tips of her right hand. There is a servant girl to the right of the woman and she is holding a box in both hands.

Inscription: Above the relief is a long inscription from the Imperial reuse of the stele: Μηνώφιλος Ἀπολλο [σ] / νίδου κὲ Ἀιφιάς / Ἀπολλωνίου / Τρυφαίηη τῆ θυγατρὶ / καὶ Μηνωφίλῳ τῷ υἱῷ / χεῖρε.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 524, Taf. 80; ISmyrna 376; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 226 Fig. 26; Masséglia 2013, p. 120.

S 57 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 10.2 Present location: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. No. 71AA288.

Description: Tall, tapering stele with akroteria and two large laurel wreaths below the gable. Large-grained blue-grey streaky marble. 151,5: 57: 11,5.

Relief: On the left a youthful man is standing *en face* in the Demosthenes pose, on the right, a veiled woman. Their lowered heads are turned to the centre. He is wearing a *chiton* and over it a cloak that enfolds his arms. His squarish face with narrow eyes is rendered with some individuality. She is wearing the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**), her right arm around a large torch. A servant girl

is standing to the left of the torch, supporting it with both hands. Her *chiton* is slipping off her right shoulder. In the lower left corner is a servant boy with a jug in his right hand.

Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆμος, below the relief to the left: Ποσιδέων / Δημοκλείους, to the right: Ἡροφάνταν / Τίμωνος.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 495, No. 52; Vermeule, 29; P-M 529, Taf. 82; ISmyrna 103; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Burnett Grossman 2001, 43.

S 58 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Armenian Cemetery).

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a Doric frieze on the lower epistyle and a profiled base. Faces of the man and woman are reworked in modern times. White marble. 153: 74: 16.

Relief: On the right a man is standing *en face*, on the left, a veiled woman. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. Her priestly garb resembles the dress worn by the woman on **S56** and her headpiece is similar to the one worn by the woman on **S39**. In her left hand she is holding a bunch of ears of corn and her right hand is raised with the palm of her hand facing the viewer. A servant is standing on either side of the couple. On the left a girl is supporting a torch, on the right a boy with folded hands is leaning on the picture frame.

Inscription: Faint traces of a Greek inscription on the epistyle.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 530, Taf. 82; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 59 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at the “Diana bath”.

Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 513.

Description: Fragment from a large *naiskos* stele with Ionic or Corinthian columns. Light grey, darkly striped marble. 110: 48: 27.

Relief: On the right a woman is standing *en face*. She is wearing the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**). To her left a servant girl is supporting a huge, burning torch with both hands. Her long belted dress is slipping off her right shoulder.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 531, Taf. 82; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

- S 60 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Hannover, Kestner Museum, Inv. No. I 45.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and two olive wreaths below the gable. White medium-sized marble. 105: 50: 10.
Relief: On the left a man is standing *en face*, on the right there is a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms, she, a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant is standing on either side of them: on the left a curly-haired girl with a round lidded *cista*, on the right, a boy. Between the couple is a pillar topped by a lidded case and two scrolls.
Inscription: In the wreaths: καὶ / ρε, to the left: Εὐταξία / Ἐρμῶνος, to the right: Ἀρτεμίσιε / Μενεκράτου.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 532, Taf. 82; ISmyrna 152; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 61 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.
Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi.
Description: Tapering stele; damaged by fire. White marble. 79: 57: 11.
Relief: On the right, a man is standing *en face*, on the left, a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. Both are wearing a *chiton* with a cloak over it. Between them is a broad pillar, in front of it two servants. The left girl is leaning on the boy to the right. Her hands are on his right shoulder and her head is close to his. The pillar is topped by a chest, a hat, a *polyptychon*, and a scroll.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Late second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 536, Taf. 81.
- S 62 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Pl. 11.1 Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean museum.
Description: Korinthian *naiskos* with a tall base and two laurel wreaths below the gable. White medium-sized marble. 122: 64.
Relief: On the left, a youth is standing *en face*, on the right is a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. Their lowered heads are turned to the centre. He is wearing a long *chlamys* and is carrying a quiver and a straight bow on his back. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant girl is standing between them. In the lower left corner are two servants on a low ledge: the girl is embracing the boy from behind. There is a ledge on the lower part of the base topped by a scroll, a case,

a *polyptychon*, a cylindrical *cista*, a hat, and a wool basket.

Inscription: The inscriptions on the frieze and architrave are damaged, only *χαῖ* / *ρε* in the right wreath is still readable.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 588, No. 205; P-M 539, Taf. 83; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 222 & 226, Fig. 19.

S 63 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 11.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. I 92/7. 2.

Description: Gable stele with akroteria. Light grey large-grained marble with yellow patina. 61: 35: 8.

Relief: On the left, a large figure of a boy is standing *en face* but turning ever so slightly to the right, towards a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a chiton with a voluminous cloak that enfolds his arms while she is wearing a thick layered chiton with a cloak. His head is turned to the right, her head to the left. The boy is proportionally much larger than the woman, most notably his head. To his left is an olive tree entwined by a snake with its head towards the boy. In front of the tree there is a small dog that is jumping up towards the trunk.

Inscription: Above the relief: Μητρόδωρος /καὶ Στρατονίκη Ζωίλου.

Date: End of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 540, Taf. 84; ISmyrna 165; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 162, Pl. 44; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 64 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 3297.

Description: Korinthian *naiskos* with akroteria and two wreaths below the gable. Proconnesian marble. Three separate pieces. The lower part: 88: 63,5: 9,5, the upper part: 47:59:8.

Relief: On the right, an elderly man is standing *en face*, on the left is a veiled woman. He has a short beard and a furrowed forehead. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. She is wearing a short-sleeved undergarment, a sleeveless overgarment, and a cloak. Her left arm is resting on a pillar. To the left of the woman are the legs of a servant girl. Between the couple a second girl is holding an open folding-mirror in both hands. To her right are the remains of a servant boy.

Inscription: On the architrave, above the band: (a) ὁ δῆμος, a similar inscription by the same hand on the lower band: Μηνόφ<ι>λον Διονυσίου, an inscription by another hand on the lower band: (b) Εἰρήνην Διονυσίου.

On the upper part of the relief field in later, larger letters: (c) Ξένωνα Πυθέου τοῦ Ξέ[νωνος?].

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 543, Taf. 84; ISmyrna 48; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; 1998, 150-151; Akurgal et al 2009, 26.

S 65 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and three olive wreaths below the gable. Yellowish marble. 100: 46: 8.

Relief: On the left a man is standing *en face*, in the centre there is a veiled woman. Their lowered heads are turned to the centre. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms and is holding a scroll in his left hand. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. Above her head is a parasol: the lower part of its long handle is held by a curly-haired boy standing to the right. A large figure of a girl is standing behind him. She is wearing a sleeveless *chiton* and is holding the upper part of the handle in her right hand. In the lower left corner is a servant boy with his right hand on his chin.

Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆ / μος, below to the left: Δημήτριον / Νικοφῶντος, in the middle: Στρατονίκην / Ἀθηνοδώρου, to the right: Ἀρίσσαν / Μηνοδότου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 545, Taf. 85; ISmyrna 113; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 66 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. No. 71AA281.

Description: Tapering stele. Large-grained blue-grey streaky marble. 51: 44,3: 9,7.

Relief: On the left a curly-haired man is standing *en face*, on the right, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant is standing on either side of the couple: the figure on the left is a boy with his hands folded over his stomach, the one on the right, a curly-haired girl. In the background is a ledge, and on it is a chest and perhaps scrolls or a *cista*.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 554, Taf. 87; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Burnett Grossman 2001, 44.

- S 67 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.
Present location: Münster, Universitätsammlung.
Description: Plain, tapering stele with two wreaths below the gable. Large-grained marble. 102: 52.
Relief: On the left a man is standing *en face*, on the right, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. Their heads are slightly turned towards the centre. A servant is standing on either side of the couple: the one on the left is a boy with his right hand on his chin, the one on the right, a girl holding a large box. Between the couple a second girl is standing with her left hand on her chin. In the background is a ledge, and on it are painted items: a lidded box and an open *triptychon* with a wreath.
Inscription: Below the wreaths, to the left: (a) Ἀπολλώνιος / Μηνοφίλου, to the right: Ἀρτεμοῦς Ἀπολλωνίου. Above and between the wreaths a later inscription from the reuse of the stele in Imperial times: (b) Πονηρία Χρυσάρι / ον ζῶσα τὸ μνη / μῆον ἐπόησεν.
Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 496, No. 54; P-M 555, Taf. 87; ISmyrna 162; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 68 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
Description: Tapering stele. Large-grained marble. 61: 61.
Relief: On the left a man is standing *en face*, on the right, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. His head is turned to the right. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms and is holding a scroll in his left hand. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. A servant is standing on either side of the couple: on the left, a boy, on the right a girl with a box. A second girl is standing between the couple. In the background is a pillar topped by a lidded *cista*, a box or *polyptychon*, and a bundle of scrolls.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 562, No. 89; P-M 558, Taf. 88; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 69 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.
Present location: Unknown, formerly in Mailand, Raccolta Belloni.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and two wreaths below the gable. Marble.

Relief: On the left a man is standing *en face*, on the right, a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. Their lowered heads are turned to the centre. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant is standing on either side of the couple: on the left, a boy, on the right, a girl with her right hand on her chin. In the background is a ledge, on it a chest and a wool basket.

Inscription: Between the wreaths: Ἀπολλώνι[ος?].

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 559, Taf. 88; ISmyrna 173; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 70 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.

Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and two olive wreaths below the gable. Light grey marble. 73: 46: 6.

Relief: On the right an elderly man with thin hair is standing *en face*, on the left, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. His head slightly to the right, her head tilted to the left. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant is standing on either side of the couple: on the left a boy, his hands folded over his stomach, on the right, a girl with her left hand on her chin. A second girl is standing between the couple, her right hand on her chin. In the background is a pillar topped by a lidded *cista*, a box or *polyptychon*, and a bundle of scrolls.

Inscription: In the left wreath: χαῖ / ρε, above, between the two wreaths: Εενομήδηα / Ἀπολλοφάνου.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 564, Taf. 89; ISmyrna 138; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 71 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. I 1052.

Description: Tapering plaque with mouldings as upper and lower borders; a framed wreath below the upper border. White marble. 124: 104: 27.

Relief: On the left a curly-haired man is standing *en face*, on the right, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. Their lowered heads are turned to the centre. They are represented in three-quarter natural size. He

is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak over it. She is wearing a *chiton* and over it, a cloak. The lower part of the cloak falls on the shoulder of a servant girl standing to the right. To the left of the man there is a servant boy. Between the couple is a second girl holding a cylindrical case in her left hand, with her right hand on its lid.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆ / μος, on the upper border: Διονύσιος Ἐπιγόνου τοῦ Χάρητος. Μελιτίνη Ἀττάλου Τρύφαινα.

Date: Probably end of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 567, Taf. 89. ISmyrna 53, Taf. 3; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 225f. Fig. 24.

S 72 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Pl. 12.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. I. 93/2. 1.

Description: Rectangular funerary plaque. Large-grained white marble with yellow patina (similar to Pentelic marble). 92: 69: 15.

Relief: On the right a man is standing *en face* on a plinth, on the left, a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms and is holding a scroll in his left hand. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a fringed cloak. Servants are standing on either side of the couple: on the right a boy with his hands folded over his stomach, on the left, two girls. The larger girl to the left is holding a flat case in her left hand, on it, a cylindrical box. She is embracing a small curly-haired girl from behind. The small girl is opening a case and the large girl is looking down at it. Between the couple is a second boy with his left hand on his chin. In the background is a ledge: on it a *tabula ansata* with an erased inscription, above it a large frame with two wreaths. On either side of the *tabula ansata* is a chest, the left one with a pigeon sitting on its lid, the right one with three scrolls lying on its lid.

Inscription: In the left wreath: καῖρε. On the back of the stele are two more wreaths, in them: ὁ δῆ / μος, below is an epigram in elegiacs: ὁ<ς> τὸ πρὶν ἐν ζωῇ Διονύσιος ἦν πανάρεστος / υἱὸς Ἀπολλωνίου, παῖς τοι ἡλικίῃ, / τὸν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃς κώρης ατὴρ ὑπεδέξατο κόλποις / χρηστομαθῆ, χαρίεντα, φίλν καὶ τίμιον ἀστυροῖς {²⁶ἀστοῖς}26, / ἔνδεκ' ἔτη διήνυσσε Μοιρῶν ἐνιαυτοῦς· / ἐν δένδρου προπεσῶν σφόνδυλον ἐξεράγη / καὶ κεφαλῆν ἤαξε, πατρὸς κόλπους ἐνιδεύσας / αἵματος οἰκτροφόνου ψυχολιπ<ή>ς νοτίσιν· / ὅς παιδῶν πάντων ἠγήσατο, νῦν δ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ / κεῖται ὑπὸ σποδιῇ γονοὶ λιπῶν δάκρυα. / ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ βαρὺ, καῖρε, Διονύσιε εἶπον, ὀδῖτα.

Date: Middle or second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955 I 874; P-M 569, Taf. 89; ISmyrna 522; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 161, Pl. 44; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

- S 73 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Berlin, Pergamon-Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 773.
Description: Two fragments from a relief field with narrow borders. White marble. 45: 56.
Relief: On the right the lower body of a standing man *en face*, on the left, a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and a cloak. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. Two large children are standing *en face*, one on either side of the couple: on the right, a curly-haired boy, on the left, a girl with a conical object tied in a string around her left wrist. Both children are wearing cloaks that enfold their arms.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Probably late second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 570, Taf. 90; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 74 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 774.
Description: Two fragments from a relief field. White marble. 39: 48.
Relief: On the right a man is standing *en face*, on the left, a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. The man is draped in a cloak. The woman is wearing a *chiton* with a fringed cloak. A curly-haired servant girl is standing on either side of her: the left girl in the *pudicitia* pose, the right one holding an open folding mirror with both hands.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 573, Taf. 90; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.
- S 75 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. LKA. 1179.
Description: The upper part of a tapering stele with akroteria and two olive wreaths below the gable. White large-grained marble. 33: 34: 6.
Relief: On the right is the head of a veiled woman, on the left, the curly head of a man.
Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆ/μος, to the left of the wreaths: Ἡρώ/δην / Διοσ/σκου/ρίδου, between them: Ματαγ / Ἐρμιογέ/νου, Διοσ/σκουρίδου / δε γυναι---κα (to the right, below the right wreath).
Date: Probably second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 604, Taf. 95; ISmyrna 107; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 179 Pl. 48.

S 76 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Pl. 12.2 Present location: Basel, Antikenmuseum, Inv. No. BS 243.

Description: Tapering stele. White large-grained marble. 85: 53: 11.

Relief: On the right a curly-haired man is standing *en face*, on the left, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. Their heads are turned towards the centre. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms and an ivy wreath on his head. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it an elegant fringed cloak. On the front of the veil there are three holes, probably for attaching bronze jewellery. Servants are standing on either side of the couple: on the right, a boy with his left hand on his chin, on the left, a larger girl behind a smaller girl. Behind the woman is a pillar, with a box, a hat, a fan, a chest, and a parasol on it.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Känel 1989, 51ff., Taf. 14.1; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 77 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 373 & 376.

Description: Tapering stele with a shortened frieze. A thin moulding runs along the upper edge of the frieze. Above the frieze are *clipetae* with female busts whom are facing each other. Between the busts a lion is crouching to the right, its left forepaw on an oxhead. White large-grained marble. Two pieces. Damaged by fire. 105: 50: 10.

Relief: On the right a man is standing *en face*, on the left, a veiled woman with her left hand to her chest. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. A servant is standing on either side of the couple: on the left, a girl is holding a *pyxis* with both hands, on the right, a boy who is holding the reins of a horse. Between the couple are two children: on the right, a larger child, a girl, and on the left, a curly-haired boy. Both are wearing *chitons* with cloaks that enfold their arms. Behind the boy is a larger boy. He is wearing a Phrygian cap and is holding a large parasol above the girl. In the background there is a drapery with the curly-haired heads of two girls peeking out from behind its upper fold.

Inscription: On the upper part: [...c.19.....]ON[.]EINK[.] ΦΙΛΩ[—?] / [—]ΦΟΣ. Below the relief: [.]ΔΙΚΩΚΙΜΟΙΛΑ[—] / τύμβον ΕΠΙΣΤΩ[—] / παρθενικήν θνη[τ—] / [..]ΤΡΑΠΙΕΝ[—] / [.]ΝΟΥΥΠΩΚ[—] / ψυχαι ΑΩ[.]ΟΘΑ[—] / [.]ΑΙΠΕΛ[—] / [.]ΜΙ[—] / [.]Ε[.]ΣΙΝ[.]ΤΚ[.] ΠΕ[—] / [.]ΡΙΑΣΑΤΕΚΟΛΠ[—]/ [.4..]γὰρ τάφον[—] / [.]ΗΘΕΣΙΚΑΙ[.]

ΛΟΣΩΚ[—] / [...5...]ΡΟΥΣΘΕ τέκνον [—] / [...7...]ΤΕ σήλην τήνδ[ε —]
/ [...7...]ΟΙΣ πενθοῦντε[ς —] / [...8...]ΟΣΠΙΕΡΑΝΕΙΑΕ[—] / [...]
ΚΕΙΣΘΑΛ[.]Μ[—] / [.4.]ΑΠΙΟΘ[—]

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 632, Taf. 96; Peek 1980, 4; ISmyrna 533.

578 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 13.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. L.K.A. 984.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and three wreaths below the gable. Light grey, large-grained marble. 62: 35: 10.

Relief: On the left a curly-haired man is standing, on the right, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. She is wearing a *chiton* with a fringed cloak. Their heads are turned towards the centre, where a youth is standing *en face*. The youth is one head shorter than the man and has a long cirrus lock hanging down his forehead. He is wearing a voluminous cloak that enfolds his arms. In the background is a ledge, on which there are two scrolls, a *polyptychon* or chest, and probably an ink-pot.

Inscription: Below the wreaths, to the left: Δαίδαλος / Ἀπολλωνίου, in the middle: Νικίας χαιρε. / Δαιδάλου, to the right: Λαυδίκη χαιρε. / Σαραπίωνος.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 634, Taf. 97; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 163, Pl. 44; ISmyrna 154; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

579 **Provenance:** Vicinity of Izmir (Armutlu).

Pl. 13.2 Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 165.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and three olive wreaths below the gable. Light grey marble. 96: 45: 11.

Relief: On the left a man is standing, he is turning slightly towards the left, on the right, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms and is holding a scroll in his left hand. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. An ephebe is standing *en face* in the centre. He is almost a head shorter than the man. He is barefoot and is wearing the customary dress of the archer, a long *chlamys* together with a bow and a quiver. In the background is a ledge, and on it scrolls, two cylindrical *cistae*, a case, and a hat on it.

Inscription: Above the relief: Διονύσιον Διονυσίου. In the wreaths are

faint traces of inscriptions, maybe ὁ δῆμος. Below the relief is a long epigram: Τύμβος ὅδε κρύπτει Διονύσιον, ὃ παροδίτα / αἰακτὸν γονέων ἄχθος ἐνεγκάμενον, / ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν ἐ[ώ]ν στέρνοισι λελόγχει / μουσοπόλου σοφίης σύμβολα κεδνότατα, / ἄρτι καθαυρόσσοντ' ὤμοις φαρετρήφορον ἰόν, / θεσιμὸς ἐφηβείης ὡς κατέδειξε βροτοῖς, / ὀκτωκαιδεχέτη, χαλεπὸν τροφέεσσι λιπὸν[τα] / ἄλγος, ἰσουρανίων δ' ἀψάμενο[ν] γενεθλῶν· / [θ]νητὸν γὰρ προλιπῶν ζωῆς μέρος ἀθανάτοισι / ἔσθ' ἴσος ἦρωσιν, τα(ὶ)τὸν ἔχων τέμενος.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 640, Taf. 98; Schmidt 1991, 142f., Tab. II; Jones 2010, 59f.

S 80 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 14.1 Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 519.

Description: A rectangular plaque with ledge. Light grey large-grained crystalline marble. 114: 88: 25.

Relief: On the left a man is standing in the Sophokles pose, turning slightly towards the left, on the right, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a thin cloak. A man is standing *en face* in the centre. He is wearing a cloak that covers his left shoulder and lower body. His right hand is resting on a profiled pillar and he might have held a sceptre in it. A servant boy is standing in front of the pillar. He is holding a palm branch in his right hand and a wreath in his left. Behind the profiled pillar is a taller pillar topped by a Herakles herm. To the left of the men is a boy cupping his chin with his left hand. A servant girl with a flat box is standing to the right of the woman. Above the figures there is a ledge, and on it the bust of a girl looking down towards the centre. She is wearing a *chiton* that is slipping off her left shoulder. On either side of her is a framed wreath. Between the girl and the left wreath are traces of contour painting.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 646, Taf. 98; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 227, Fig. 27.

S 81 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 4322.

Description: Rectangular plate. Grey large-grained marble. 65: 83: 14.

Relief: On the left a youthful rider is standing *en face* in the Polybios pose, on the right, a woman in the *pudicitia* pose. To his left is a horse that he is leading by the reins. The horse is held by a squire. A man is standing *en face* in the centre. Both men are wearing short-sleeved *chitons* with cloaks. The woman is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a cloak. Between the men is a servant boy with a jug in his right hand and a plate in his left. Between the man and woman is a boy with his right hand on his chin. A slightly larger girl is embracing him from behind. In the centre, between the rider and man, is a tree with a large snake.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 647, Taf. 98; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 82 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found in Tepecik.

Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 6259.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. White marble. 79: 43-37: 15.

Relief: On the right a curly-haired man is standing *en face*, on the left, a veiled woman in the *pudicitia* pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. His hands are folded over his stomach. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a thin cloak. Their heads are tilted to the centre where a curly-haired youth is standing *en face*. The youth is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. Between the youth and woman there is a servant boy, while a second boy is standing next to the right picture frame. Behind the youth is a broad pillar topped by a box, a case, and two scrolls.

Inscription: To the left of the wreath: ὁ δῆμος / Διομήδην / Μητροβίου / τοῦ Διομήδου.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: ISmyrna 24, Taf. 2; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 83 **Provenance:** Acquired in Smyrna, from an ancient nekropolis.

Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. SNs 128.

Description: Fragment from a tapering stele. White large-grained marble. 78: 82: 26.

Relief: On the left is the lower part of a man standing *en face*, in the centre, the lower part of a woman. On the right a woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. Both women are wearing thick layered *chi-*

tons with fringed cloaks. In the lower corners are two servants: on the left, a boy, on the right, a girl with her left hand on her chin. Between the man and the woman in the middle there is a servant girl with a leaf-shaped fan in her right hand.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 662, Taf. 100; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 166, Pl. 45; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 84 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 14.2 Present location: Wilton House (England).

Description: A tall tapering stele with akroteria and a large laurel wreath below the gable. Marble. 113: 54.

Relief: On the right a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. His lowered gaze falls on a youth who is standing to the left. The youth is one head shorter than the man. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak that hangs from his left shoulder over his back. He is standing as if he were walking, with his back to the viewer. He is looking down to the right, out of the picture. The men are joined in a hand-clasp. Between them is a servant boy with a scroll in his right hand. Behind the boy is a tall pillar topped by a siren playing a *kithara*. Next to the right picture frame is a second boy with his right hand to his chin. In the upper right corner is a horse protome in left profile view.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below: Διονύσιον Διονυσίου τοῦ Μητροδώρου.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 691f., No. 109; Pfuhl 1905, 51 Nr. 2; P-M 693, Taf. 104; ISmyrna 63.

S 85 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenberg. Sammlungen.

Description: Narrow, slightly tapering stele with two olive wreaths below the gable. White large-grained marble. 106: 39.

Relief: On the left a man is standing in right profile, on the right, a woman in three-quarter view. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and over it, a cloak. She is unveiled and is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. They are joined in a handclasp and are facing each other. To the right of the woman is a servant girl holding a *diptychon* in both hands.

Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆμος, below to the left: Ἀθήναιον / Ἴκεσίου, to the right: Νάννιον / Ἀθηναίου.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 704, Taf. 105; ISmyrna 106.

S 86 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb. 63.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. White large-grained marble. 48: 33,5: 7.

Relief: In the centre a curly-haired boy is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short *chlamys* and has placed a bunch of grapes in the fold of the garment. He is looking down at the grapes. He is holding another bunch of grapes above a Maltese dog that is jumping up from the left. Behind the dog is a servant boy with his left hand on his chin. On the right there is an olive tree entwined by a snake with its head towards the boy.

Inscription: Below the wreath: Ἀπολλώνιος / Ἡροδότου.

Date: About the middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 729, Taf. 109; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 152, Taf. 41; ISmyrna 169.

S 87 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 15.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb. 18.

Description: Tapering stele with two wreaths below the gable. White large-grained marble. 50: 42: 8.

Relief: A curly-haired boy is standing *en face* slightly right of centre. His head is tilted to the left. He is wearing a *chlamys*. He is holding a bunch of grapes in his right hand above a small dog that is jumping up to get them from the left. On the left a small boy is sitting on a *trapeza*, his head slightly to the right. He is wearing an ungirdled chiton that is slipping off his left shoulder and is holding a rattle in his right hand. Behind him is a leafed tree entwined by a snake. On the right is a pillar topped by a Herakles herm. In front of the pillar is a servant boy with his right hand on his chin.

Inscription: Below the wreaths to the left: Διονύσιος / Διοδότου, to the right: Ἀπολλώνιος Διοδότου.

Date: About the middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 78, Nr. 22 Abb. 15; P-M 730, Taf. 110; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 153, Pl. 42; ISmyrna 170.

- S 88 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.
Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. No. I 1901/7. 3.
Description: Tall stele with akroteria and a laurel-wreath below the gable. Light grey fine-grained marble. 82: 27: 9.
Relief: On the right a girl is standing *en face*, her head lowered to the left. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. Her lowered gaze falls down on a bunch of grapes that she is holding in her extended right hand. There was probably a small dog painted on the empty space below the grapes.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below the wreath: Μήτρειν Ποσειδωνίου.
Date: First half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 749, Taf. 111; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 151, Pl. 41; ISmyrna 82.
- S 89 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenberg. Sammlungen.
Description: Tapering stele with a wreath below the gable. The upper part of the stele (including epitaph) is now lost. White marble. Now 58: 39.
Relief: In the centre a curly-haired girl is standing *en face*. She is wearing a short-sleeved, girdled *chiton* and over it, a cloak. Her head is slightly tilted to the left. In her extended right hand she is holding a bunch of grapes above a Maltese dog that is jumping up from the left. In the lower right corner is a servant girl with a heart-shaped fan in her right hand.
Inscription: Below the wreath: Ἀμφίπολι χαῖρε.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 753, Taf. 112; ISmyrna 149.
- S 90 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at the northern slope of Mount Pagos.
Pl. 15.2 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. MA 3300.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and two wreaths below the gable. Proconnesian marble. 58: 33,5: 6.
Relief: In the centre a curly-haired boy is standing *en face*, his lowered head to the left. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak. He is holding a ball in his left hand and a bunch of grapes in the right, which he is holding above a small boy sitting on the ground. The seated boy is looking up

at the grapes and is touching them with his left hand. He is wearing an ungirdled *chiton* and his right hand is resting on his knee. In the lower right corner there is a naked servant boy.

Inscription: In the wreaths, probably: ὁ δῆμος. Below the left wreath Μητρόδωρος / Δημητρίου, below the right wreath: Ματρέας / Δημητρίου. Below the relief an epigram: ἄ λάλος ἐν ζωοῖσι τὰ μὴ ζῶοντα παρ' ἄστοις / Φάμα καρύσσω μουσοσεπεῖ στόματι / Ζμύρνα πάτρα, γενέτας Δημήτριος ἠδὲ τεκοῦσα / Νάννιον ἔκλαυσαν δισοῶ κόρων πάθεα, / ὧν ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐτέλεσεν ἐνὶ ζωοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ / πλείω, μοῖρα δὲ σὴ, Ματρέα, ἦν τριετής. / Αἰ[δε]ω πυλαουρέ, σὺ δ' εὐαγέων ἐπὶ θώκους / Αἰακέ, [ση]μήναις ἦι θέμις ἀτραπιτόν.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, I 1179; Peek 1960, 216; P-M 766, Taf. 113; ISmyrna 513; Hamiaux 1998, 156; Akurgal et al 2009, 30.

Seated and standing figures

S 91 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 16.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. LKA 1119.

Description: Tapering stele with a tenon, akroteria, and a wreath below the gable. Light grey fine-grained marble. 52: 30: 6.

Relief: In the centre a curly-haired boy is sitting *en face* in a covered chair. He is wearing a thin, unbelted *chiton* and his legs and feet are covered by a cloak. He is holding a bunch of grapes in his raised right hand. His lowered gaze falls down on a small dog that is jumping up from the right. A servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach is leaning on the left picture frame. In the background is a ledge and on it, a jug, a small wagon, probably a can, and a rattle.

Inscription: Below the wreath: Σώπατρος Διονυσίου. From the Imperial reuse of the stele: Μηνόφιλος Ἀπολλωνί- / δου Ἀφφία τῆ γυναικί. / χαῖρε.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 798, Taf. 116; ISmyrna 377a & 377b; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 154, Pl. 42.

S 92 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 16.2 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 3302.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with akroteria and pillars with capitals made out of an Ionic kyma. On the architrave is a frieze with triglyphs

and metopes. The base consists of a high plinth with Lesbian kyma. Ephesian marble (Belevi). 55: 33: 18.

Relief: In the centre a curly-haired boy is sitting on the ground. He is leaning to the right and his unbelted *chiton* is slipping off his right shoulder. His hands, full of fruits, are held to the right above a basket full of figs, while his head is turned to the left, towards a rooster standing on the plinth of a bearded, archaistic herm. The rooster reaches out for the fruits. Above the boy is a framed wreath. In front of the plinth are a rattle, three astragals, and a ball.

Inscription: On the plinth: Ἀμόντην Ἀπολλωνίου, maybe ὁ δῆμος in the wreath.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 78, 81f., Taf. 5; P-M 804, Taf. 117; ISmyrna 122; Schmidt 1991, 9, n. 52; Zanker 1993, 221, Fig. 18; Hamiaux 1998, 148; Akurgal et al 2009, 31.

S93 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.

Pl. 17.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. SNNs 2.

Description: Tapering stele with a massive gable, akroteria, and a wreath below the gable. Light grey large-grained marble with a dark yellow patina. 70: 34: 8.

Relief: On the left an elderly man is sitting in right profile view in a covered chair. He is wearing a cloak and has his left hand on his chin. His sandaled feet are on a foot-stool. On the right a servant boy with his left hand on his ear is leaning on the picture frame. His tunic is sliding off his right shoulder.

Inscription: Below the wreath: Διονύσιος Ἀπολωνίου.

Date: Probably middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 830, Taf. 121; ISmyrna 164; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 157, Pl. 43; Zanker 1993, 219, Fig. 11.

S94 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 17.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. No. Pb. 75.

Description: Fragment from a stele. White marble. 67: 54: 9.

Relief: All three figures are placed on a low plinth. On the left, an elderly man is sitting in a covered chair, touching his temple with his left hand. He has thin hair, is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak, and has his sandaled feet on a foot-stool. A servant boy is standing on either side of him: the right boy touching his head with his right hand, the left one

with his arms folded over his stomach.

Inscription: On the plinth:την/....[χαῖρ]ε.

Date: Probably first half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 831, Taf. 121; ISmyrna 125; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 156, Pl. 42; Zanker 1993, 218f., Fig. 8.

S 95 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.

Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Turkish school).

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and three wreaths below the gable. White medium-grained marble. 71: 36: 8.

Relief: On the right a man is sitting in left profile in a covered chair, his right hand on his chin. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his right arm and has his sandaled feet on a foot-stool. On the left is a slightly taller man standing *en face*. His cloak is covering both arms and he is holding a scroll in his left hand. A servant boy with a slightly bowed head is leaning on the left picture frame. Between the men is a thin pillar topped by a *cornucopia* full of fruits.

Inscription: Between and inside two of the wreaths: ὁ δῆ / μος, below to the left: Ἀπολλώνιον / [Κ]αλλιστράτου, to the right: Καλλίστρατον / Ἀπολλωνίου / τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 55, Nr. 32; P-M 852, Taf. 124; ISmyrna 100; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 96 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenberg. Sammlungen.

Description: Tapering stele. Large chrySTALLINE marble. 63: 48.

Relief: On the left an elderly man with a flabby chest is sitting *en face* on a stone throne with lion-legs. He is draped in a cloak that covers his right shoulder and lower body. He is sitting in a relaxed pose with his right arm in his lap and his left arm on a small pillar or the back rest of the throne. His sandaled feet are on a foot-stool. On the right a woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a cloak. A girl is standing between the couple, hidden behind the throne. A naked servant boy is leaning on the left side of the throne, his left hand to his forehead.

Inscription: Below the relief is an epigram from the reuse of the stele in the second century CE: [Π]όπλιος Δειδῖος Πολύβιος κατεσκεύασεν / τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ Δειδίᾳ Λαυδίῃ τῇ / γυναικὶ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Πολυβιανῷ

τῷ τέκνῳ / [κα]ι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις σὺν τῇ κειμένη σορῶ ἔσω μυλίνῃ, / [ἐ]ν ἧ
 ἔνεσί μου ἢ γυνή· μηδενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσί- / αν ἐξωτικὸν πτῶμα <βαλεῖν.
 ἐὰν δέ τις ἐξωτικὸν πτῶμα> βάλῃ, ἀποτεισάτω τῇ Ζμυρναίων / [β]ουλιῇ *
 ,αφ'. ἐκούσης Νείκης καὶ τῶν Νίκης ἰδίων / [εῖσ]οδον καὶ ἐξοδον πρὸς τὸ
 ἴδιον ἐνσώριον / ἀνεπικωλύτως.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 854, Taf. 125; ISmyrna 219; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S97 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Winchester (Hampshire), College.

Description: Tapering stele with a large relief field and two laurel wreaths below the gable. Marble. 90: 40.

Relief: An elderly man with a bald head and furrowed forehead is sitting in a three-quarter view in a covered seat, his right hand on his forehead. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak that is enfolding his left arm. He has his feet on a foot-stool. On the left is a woman standing *en face*. She is wearing the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**). She has a peculiar (Egyptian?) veil and is holding a large poppy in her left hand. She probably held a torch in her right hand at one time. In front of the man's chair is a servant boy with his left hand on his chin. Between the couple is a pillar topped by a round box.

Inscription: In the wreaths: [ὁ] δῆ / μος, below to the left: [—]νηΐδαν / [—]ανδος, to the right: Νικάδρον / Ἡρώδου.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 855, Taf. 125; ISmyrna 86; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 219, Fig. 12.

S98 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at Mount Pagos.

Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. LKA 1121.

Description: Fragment from the lower part of a tapering stele. Large-grained white marble with blue veins. 27: 45: 7.

Relief: A man is sitting in right profile on a column lying on the ground. He is wearing a cloak. His right arm is resting in his lap. Behind his right foot is the right foot of a standing female figure. To the right of the woman are faint traces of a small figure wearing a long *chiton* (probably a servant girl).

Inscription: Below the relief is an epigram in elegiacs, hexameters, and pantameters (*distycha*): οὐ γήρα δμαθεῖσα πανύστατον ἐμ μεγάροισι /

κάλλιπες αιακτὸν σοῖσι τοκεῦσι γόνον, / Ἑρμιόνη· λυγρὸν δ' οἱ μὲν λίβουσι
κατ' ὄσσων / δάκρυ σὸν ὄρφανίης πότμιον ὄδυρόμενοι. / χῆρα δ' ἔρημαῖον
στενάχει λέκος. ἀλλ' ἔρατεινὴ / Πετροτίου θύγατερ, καῖρε καὶ ἐν φθιμένοις.

Date: About the middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, I 1540; P-M 858, Taf. 126; ISmyrna 519; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 181, Pl. 49.

S 99 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 18.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. LKA 1170.

Description: The relief field from a tapering stele. Light grey large-grained marble. 46: 53,5: 8.

Relief: On the right an elderly man with sunken cheeks is sitting in left profile in a covered chair. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his left arm. He has two fingers touching his forehead. A woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose behind the seated man. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. Her head is bent forward and she is touching the left side of her face with two fingers. To her left is a servant girl with a round box. To the left of the girl is a pillar topped by a box, with a round fruit and a fig on its lid. On the left a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. To his left is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach. His tunic is slipping off his left shoulder.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: About the middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 861, Taf. 126; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 165, Pl. 45; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II; Zanker 1993, 227, Fig. 28.

S 100 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Appeared on the New York art market in June 2000.

Description: Fragment from a relief field. Marble.

Relief: An elderly man with a flabby chest is sitting in a three-quarter view in a cylindrical throne decorated with a griffin. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his left shoulder and lower body. On the left a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak over it. He is touching the upper right arm of the seated man with his left hand. Between the men is a youthful herm.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Sotheby auction New York, 14 June 2000, Sale 7486, Lot 47.

S 101 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Pl. 18.2 Present location: London, British Museum, Inv. No. 703.

Description: Stele with akroteria and two large wreaths below the gable. Light grey fine-grained marble. 135: 52: 12.

Relief: On the right an elderly man with a short beard is sitting in left profile in a covered *diphros*. He has his sandaled feet on a foot-stool with panther feet. On the left a man with a protruding nose is standing in right profile. Both men are wearing short-sleeved *chitons* with cloaks enfolding their right arms. They are joined in a handclasp. In the lower corners are two servant boys: the left boy is holding an *alabastron* by its string, the right one has his right hand on his chin.

Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆμος, below the wreaths to the left: Δημοκλῆν / Δημοκλήους, to the right: Δημοκλῆν / Ἀμφιλόχου. An epigram in elegiacs below the relief: τὸν πινυτὸν κατὰ πάντα καὶ ἔξοχον ἐν πολίταις / ἀνέρα, γηραλίου τέρματ' ἔχοντα βίου, / Αἶδεω νυχίοιο μέλας ὑπεδέξατο κόλπος, / εὐσεβέων θ' ὀσίην εὔνασεν ἐς κλισίην. / μνήμα δ' ἀποφθιμένοιο παρὰ τρηκίαν ἀταρπὸν / τοῦτο πάϊς κεδνῆι τεῦξε σὺν ἐνέντιδι. / ξεῖνε, σὺ δ' αἰσίας Δημοκλέος υἷα χαίρειν / Δημοκλέα στείκους ἀβλαβὲς ἴκνος ἔκων.

Date: Probably second century BCE.

Select bibliography Peek 1955, I 760; P-M 863, Taf. 126; ISmyrna 521; Cook 1987, 25f., Fig. 17.

S 102 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Verona, Museo Maffeiiano.

Description: Tapering stele, reworked in modern times. White medium-fine marble. 96: 65.

Relief: On the left a curly-haired man is sitting in right profile in a covered seat. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a seam on its sleeve and over it, a cloak. He has his sandaled feet on a foot-stool. On the right a man is standing *en face*, his head in left profile. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. The men are joined in a handclasp. In the lower corners are two servant boys: the left boy has his right hand on his chin.

Inscription: Below the relief is a modern inscription.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 867, Taf. 127; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 103 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at Mount Pagos.

Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. MA 3298.

Description: Tapering stele with long shafts, akroteria, and two

wreaths below the gable. Proconnesian marble. 85,7: 32,5: 7.

Relief: On the left an elderly man with beard is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. He has a protruding nose, thin hair, and thick wrinkles on the forehead. He has his sandaled feet on a foot-stool. On the right a curly-haired youth is standing *en face*, his head slightly turned to the left. Both men are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and over it, a cloak. They are joined in a handclasp.

Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆ / μος, below the wreaths to the left: Ἀπολλόδοτον / Ἡρακλείδου, to the right: Μητρόδοτον / Ἀπολλοδότου.

Date: Probably second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 868, Taf. 128; ISmyrna 98; Schmidt 1991, 21 n. 130; Hamiaux 1998, 155; Akurgal et al 2009, 27.

S104 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Pl. 19.1 Present location: London, British Museum, Inv. No. 704.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and two wreaths below the gable. White marble. 77: 42: 8.

Relief: On the left a curly-haired man is sitting in right profile in a covered *diphros*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and over it, a cloak. On the right a woman wearing the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*, her head turned to the left. She is holding a poppy in her lowered left hand. The couple are joined in a handclasp and are facing each other. Between them is a pillar topped by a double *cornucopia* full of grapes and round fruits. A thin torch is leaning on the background behind the woman. A servant girl with a box in both hands is standing in front of the torch. In the lower left corner is a servant boy with his left hand on his chin.

Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆ / μος, below to the left: Ἐξακέστην / Ἀνδροβούλου, to the right: Μῆτρειν Ἐρμίππου, / Ἐξακέστου δὲ γυναῖκα.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 56, Nr. 36, Abb. 12; P-M 872, Taf. 129; ISmyrna 81; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S105 **Provenance:** Found in Savanda köyü at Kemalpaşa-Nymphaion.

Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat Müzesi, Inv. No. 15138.

Description: Tall, Korinthian stele with akroteria, two wreaths below the gable, an architrave with dentils, frieze with triglyphs, and akantus-volutes below the relief field. White marble. 172: 56: 20.

Relief: On the right a veiled woman in the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*. She is touching a burning torch with her extended right hand and has a poppy in her lowered

left hand. A servant girl is supporting the torch with her arms around it. On the left a man is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and has his feet on a foot-stool. He has his left hand on his chin. In front of the chair is a servant boy with his left hand on his chin.

Inscription: In the wreaths: ὁ δῆμος, below to the left: [Ἀ]πολλώνιον / Ἐρμογένου / τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, to the right: [τὴν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος], / [Ἀπολλωνίου ? δε γυ]ναῖκα.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: ISmyrna 24,2, 339, Taf. 30; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 106 **Provenance:** Smyrna or vicinity.

Pl. 19.2 Present location: Basel, Antikenmuseum, Inv. No. BS 244.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and three wreaths below the gable. White, slightly greyish, large-crystalline marble. 91: 51: 9,5.

Relief: On the right a veiled woman in the customary dress of a Demeter priestess (see **S35**) is standing *en face*, her head slightly turned to the left. She is touching a large burning torch with her raised right hand and is holding a poppy in her left hand. A servant girl is standing on either side of her: the left girl is supporting the torch with both arms around it and the right one is holding an *alabastron*. On the left a curly-haired man is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. To the right of the chair is a boy with his hands folded over his stomach. Behind the man is a pillar topped by a chest and a writing tablet, behind the woman is a pillar topped by a wool-basket and a box.

Inscription: In the left and middle wreaths: ὁ δῆμος, below the left wreath: Διονισιον / Διονισιου, below the middle wreath: Ἀμφιλοχον / Διονισιου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Känel 1989, 51ff., Taf. 15.1; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 107 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Description: Lower part of a stele. White large-grained marble. 34: 34,5: 6.

Relief: On the left a man is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. He is wearing a cloak and seems to be joined in a handclasp with a woman standing in the centre. Her dress identifies her as an Isis servant. She seems to hold something in her lowered left hand, maybe a small sit-

ula. On the right a woman is standing. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a cloak. In front of the chair a small curly-haired boy is standing in right profile. He seems to hold a small, round object in his raised left hand. His tunic was probably rendered in paint.

Inscription: On the base is a short epigram in iambs: ὀδίτα, ἐπιστράφητι καὶ γνώσε[ι τάχα,] / τίνων χάριν σ' ὁ τύμβος ἀθρήσαι λέγ[ω? —.] / Δημήτριον κέκευθα καὶ ξυνάορον / Σαραπιάδα· τὸ δ' εἶπον ἀπταιστω [τέκνω·] / Περίτα, χαίροις εἰς γονεῖς τοῖος γ[εγώς.]

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, I 1315; P-M 878, Taf. 131; ISmyrna 514; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 108 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

Description: Tapering stele with a large relief field and akroteria. Yellowish fine-grained marble. 44: 27: 7.

Relief: In the centre a woman, probably a Kybele servant, is sitting *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose in a chair. She has her shoed feet on a low foot-stool with panther-feet. A servant girl is standing on either side of her: the left girl is holding a box, probably for jewellery, in her left hand and the other is holding a fan or spindle in her right hand. Above the latter girl is a bearded snake with its head towards the woman. In the upper right corner hangs a kettledrum, and at left, two cymbals or bells can be seen.

Inscription: Below the relief: Ἀκεστειμῆ Δημαγόρου, / γυνὴ δὲ Ἀρτεμιδώρου, χαῖρε.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 578f, No. 150; P-M 898, Taf. 134; ISmyrna 127; Connelly 2007, 250, Fig. 8.21.

S 109 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna or vicinity.

Pl. 20.1 Present location: London, British Museum, Inv. No. 1947, 0714.2.

Description: Tall, tapering *naiskos* stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. Traces of holes and lead castings suggest ornamental decorations in metal at one time. Yellow-grey marble. 147: 63.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in a covered chair. Her upper body is *en face*, her lower body in right profile. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her sandaled feet on a foot-stool. A servant girl is standing in front of the chair. She is holding a spindle in her right hand. Next to the right picture frame is a second girl holding an open jewellery box. In the background is a

ledge, and on it an open *triptychon*.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆ / μος, below: Φίλαν Ἀπολλᾶδος.

Date: First half or the middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 639, No. 68; Pfuhl 1905, 129, Nr. 25; P-M 906, Taf. 135; ISmyrna 55.

- S 110 **Provenance:** Vicinity of Smyrna (Değirmen Tepe near Melantia).
Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 160.
Description: Tall, tapering stele with akroteria and an olive-wreath below the gable. Two pieces. White medium-fine marble. 162: 54: 10.
Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is sitting in a *diphros*. Her upper body is *en face*, her lower body in right profile. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and clutches the veil with her raised right hand. She has her feet on a foot-stool. A servant girl is standing on either side of her: the left girl with a leaf-shaped fan, the right one with an open jewellery box.
Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, above: Μητρει<ι>ν Ἀθηναίου θυγα / Ἐρμοδώρου δὲ γυναῖκα. χα-/ρε?.
Date: Late second or early first century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 907, Taf. 136; ISmyrna 83.
- S 111 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.
Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 4489.
Description: Fragment from a relief field. Marble with high mica content. 35: 30: 8.
Relief: On the right a veiled woman is sitting in left profile in a covered chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak over it and clutches the veil with her right hand. In front of the seat a servant girl is standing in the pudicitia pose. To the left of the woman a second girl is standing. She is covered in a cloak and has her left hand to the chest. Between the second girl and the woman there is a pillar.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 918, Taf. 136; Hamiaux 1998, 160.
- S 112 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.
Pl. 20.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb 36.
Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable; a Turkish niche below the relief. Light grey large-grained marble. 87: 50: 10.
Relief: On the right a veiled woman is sitting in a covered *diphros*. Her

lower body and head is represented in left profile, her torso in frontal view. She is wearing a sleeveless *chiton* that is slipping off her right shoulder and over it, a transparent cloak. She is clutching the veil with her right hand and has her left hand on the seat. On the left is a servant girl holding a large chest. Behind the girl is a broad pillar topped by a chest, a fan, and a wool-basket.

Inscription: On the middle akroteria: XA, in the wreath: χαῖ-/ρε, below the wreath: Εἰσιῶς Διονυσίου Περιθία.

Date: Probably first half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 52f., Nr. 13, Abb. 6; Hanfmann 1960, 51f.; P-M 925, Taf. 138; ISmyrna 145; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 155, Pl. 42.

S 113 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Pl. 21.1 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb. 28.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with akroteria, two wreaths below the gable, and an architrave with dentils. White large-grained marble. 112: 54: 12.

Relief: On the right a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a *diphros*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her shod feet on a tall foot-stool. On the left a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a thin cloak and under it, a *chiton*. Both women have wreaths on their heads. A servant girl is standing on either side of this group: the left girl with a fan in her left hand, the right girl with an open jewellery box. Between the women is a pillar topped by a wool-basket and a *tympanon*. In the background is a ledge, and on it a thin jug or large *unguentaria*, a lyre, a hat or parasol, and a fan.

Inscription: To the left on the architrave in Imperial writing: Πῶλλα Περιλία Ἰσιδότη, / χρηστή χαῖρε.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 54, Taf. 6,1; P-M 989, Taf. 149; ISmyrna 493; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 159, Pl. 43; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 114 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Present location: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 1268.

Description: Tapering stele. Marble. 79: 46,3.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair. She is holding a bouquet in her right hand and has her

shoed feet on a foot-stool. On the right a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose, her head tilted to the left. Both women are wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a cloak. A servant girl is standing on either side of the group: the left girl with a fan, the right one with a conical, lidded box. Behind the latter girl is a pillar topped by a siren playing a flute. Behind the seated woman is another pillar topped by a wool-basket.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably end of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 51, Nr. 4; P-M 990, Taf. 149; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 115 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Armenian church)

Description: Fragment from the upper part of a relief field from a stele. White large-grained marble. 35: 36.

Relief: On the right a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. On the left a veiled woman is sitting in right profile. Both women are wearing a cloak. Behind the seated woman is a large wreathed girl standing *en face*. She is holding a leaf-shaped fan in her raised left hand. Next to the right picture frame there is a pillar topped by a siren playing a kithara. Next to the left picture frame is a leafed tree entwined by a large snake. A ribbon (or garland) is hanging down from one of its branches.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 991, Taf. 149.

S 116 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 888.

Description: Fragment from the lower part of a *naiskos* stele with profiled base. Light grey marble. 52: 48: 9.

Relief: On the right a woman is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the chair is a child sitting in right profile on the ground. His thick legs are wrapped in a cloak, his upper body slightly bent forward. Next to the right picture frame are the legs of a standing female figure. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a cloak. Between the women a large girl covered in a cloak is standing *en face*.

Inscription: Reused, on its back is a later inscription cut with a chisel.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 993, Taf. 149; ISmyrna 284, Taf. 20; Schmidt 1991, Tab. II.

S 117 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 21.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. LKA 985.

Description: Tapering stele. Light grey marble. 37: 34: 8.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her shod feet on a foot-stool. She is looking at a large girl with lowered head who is standing in the centre. The girl is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a fan in her left hand. Between the woman and large girl are two servant girls: the left girl is embracing the other from behind. She has placed her hand on the right girl's shoulder and has her curly-haired head close to hers. The right girl is holding an open mirror in both hands. Behind the servants and the large girl is a pillar topped by a wool-basket and a box, between the objects is a snake with its head towards the large girl.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably beginning of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 994, Taf. 150; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 158, Pl. 43.

S 118 **Provenance:** Certainly Smyrna.

Pl. 22.1 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 821.

Description: Tapering stele with two wreaths and two olive branches below the gable. Proconnesian marble. 65: 42: ca. 9,5.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in right profile in a chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and clutches the veil with her raised right hand. A small boy is standing *en face* on her foot-stool. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms. To the left of the chair is a servant girl holding a cylindrical box. On the right a curly-haired man is standing *en face*, his head slightly turned to the left. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. Behind the woman is a broad pillar topped by a profiled *cista* and a hat. To the right of the pillar is a barren tree entwined by a snake.

Inscription: To the left of the wreaths: Μηνο- / δώρα / χαῖρε, to the right: Ἀντίο- / γε χαῖρε.

Date: Probably first half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 53, Nr. 19; P-M 1030, Taf. 154; ISmyrna 158; Hamiaux 1998, 154; Akurgal et al 2009, 28.

S 119 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Leipzig, Museum des Kunsthandwerks (Grassi-Museum).

Description: Tapering stele with long shafts. Light grey, partly yellowish, large-crystallized marble with high mica content. 77: 48: 9,5.

Relief: On the right a woman is standing *en face*, her right hand to the chest. She is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. She is joined in a handclasp with a woman who is seated in right profile in a covered chair. The seated woman is veiled, wears a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak, and has her feet on a large foot-stool. In front of the chair there is a servant girl holding a leaf-shaped fan in her right hand.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably early second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1052, Taf. 157.

S 120 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 22.2 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 3425.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and three olive wreaths below the gable. Two relief fields. Proconnesian marble 107: 50: ca. 9,5.

Relief: Upper relief: on the left a bearded man is standing in right profile. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is joined in a handclasp with two veiled women. One of the women is sitting in left profile in a chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. The other woman is standing behind the chair, her head in right profile. She is grasping the inside of the man's wrist. Below the joined hands there is a curly-haired servant boy. A servant girl is standing to the left of the chair. Both servants have their left hand on the chin. Behind the figures is a broad pillar topped by a lidded box, a hat, and a *kithara*-playing siren. Lower relief: on the right a woman is standing, her head in left profile. She is wearing two *chitons*, just as the standing woman on the upper relief, and is holding a bowl in her right hand. On the left a snake, coiled around the trunk of a bumpy olive-tree, is drinking from the bowl.

Inscription: In the right wreath $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}$ - / $\rho\epsilon$, below: Ἰερόκληα . Traces of red paint in the letters.

Date: Early second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1096, Taf. 164; ISmyrna 139; Hamiaux 1998, 153; Akurgal et al 2009, 29.

- S 121 **Provenance:** Smyrna, found at Mount Pagos.
Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).
Description: Fragment from a tapering stele. White marble. 68: 51: 12.
Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in right profile in a chair. She is wearing a thick layered chiton with a cloak and has her shod feet on a foot-stool. She is joined in a handclasp with a man who is standing *en face* to the right. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. Between them is a second man standing. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. A servant boy is leaning on the right picture frame. A girl is standing in front of the chair. She is covered in a cloak and is holding a fan in her lowered right hand.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Probably early first century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1097, Taf. 165.
- S 122 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Pl. 23.1 Present location: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
Description: Lower part of a tapering stele. White marble. 93: 58: 13.
Relief: In the centre an elderly woman with a wrinkled face is sitting in right profile in a *diphros*. She is veiled, wears a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak, and grasps the veil with her left hand. She has her feet on a foot-stool. She is looking at a youth who is standing *en face* to the right. They are joined in a handclasp. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. On the left a slightly larger youth is standing. His hands are folded over his stomach. He is wearing a cloak that covers his left shoulder and lower body. Two servant boys are leaning on the picture frames, the right one with his hand on his chin.
Inscription: Below the relief is an epigram in elegiacs: οἱ δισσοὶ συνόμαμοι, ἰὼ ξένε, τῶιδ' ὑπὸ τύμβῳ / ἄψαυστοὶ τέκνων κείμεθα κουριδίων / Ἰκέσιος κἀγὼ νεαρὰν πληρούμενος ἦβαν / Ἑρμιππος κρυερὸν τόνδε ἔχομεν θάλαμον / Ἄιδαν ἐγκύρσαντες ἀλάμπειτον· εὐγενέτη<ς> δέ / Θεῦδοτος οὐ συγγερὸν πένθος ἐφεΐδε πατῆρ. / μήτηρ δὲ ἡ δύστηνος οὐδύρεται, οἷά τις ἀκταῖς / ἀλκυονὶς γοεροῖς δάκρυσι μυρομένα, / μητρὶς ἢ λιπάδελφος <ἐ>ρημωθεῖσα δὲ τέκνων / γηραιὸν βιοτῆς τέρμα ἐνέπλησε κακόν.
Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 577, No. 147; Peek 1955, I 701; P-M 1102, Taf. 165; ISmyrna 523.

Rider scenes

- S 123 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).
Description: Funerary plaque with ledge. White fine-grained marble. 12: 15: 5,5.
Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a *chiton* and over it, an *ephaptis*. He is holding the reins of a stamping horse in his right hand. On the right a squire is standing. He is wearing a *chiton* and over it, a *chlamys*. He is holding a large round shield with both hands. Behind the squire is a tree entwined by a snake.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1430, Taf. 208.
- S 124 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 4322.
Description: Fragment from a small plate. Proconnesian marble. 39,5: 25: ca. 6,5.
Relief: In the centre a man is standing *en face* in the Polybios pose. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and over it, a *chlamys*. His right hand is placed on the head of a stamping horse. In front of the horse's right foreleg are traces from the lower part of a figure. On the right a squire is standing. He is wearing a *chiton* and over it, a *chlamys*. He is holding a large round shield with both hands and is looking up at the man. Behind the squire is a tree entwined by a large snake.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1432, Taf. 208; Hamiaux 1998, 159; Akurgal et al 2009, 32.
- S 125 **Provenance:** Smyrna.
Present location: Probably destroyed in the fire of 1922 (Protestant school).
Description: Plaque with thin borders. Light grey marble. 52: 35: 19.
Relief: On the left a large squire in *chlamys* is standing *en face*. He is holding the reins of a stamping horse with his left hand and two javelins in his right hand. The horse resembles the Pergamene type.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Probably first half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1436, Taf. 209.

S 126 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 23.2 Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 809.

Description: Profiled *naiskos* stele. White slightly large-grained marble. 88: 80: 21.

Relief: A naked youth is standing *en face* right of centre; a *chlamys* hangs loosely over his left arm. His extended right arm is placed on the back of a stamping horse. He might have held a spear in his lowered left hand. Next to the left picture frame a squire is standing. He is holding the horse in its reins and a whip in his right hand. He is wearing a *chlamys*, a girdled tunic, and the youth's brim-helmet. In the lower right corner is a second boy. He is carrying a shield on his left arm and is looking down at a small dog. Behind the boy is a fruit tree (quince?) entwined by a large bearded snake with its head towards the youth. A dead hare is hanging from one of its branches.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1439, Taf. 210; Zanker 1993, 228, Fig. 29.

S 127 **Provenance:** Found in Smyrna.

Pl. 24.1 Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 3277.

Description: Broad funerary plaque with a ledge. On the upper narrow side are two doweling holes (for garlands?). Yellowish marble. 63: 82: 11.

Relief: A naked youth is standing *en face* right of centre; a long *chlamys* hangs loosely over his left shoulder and arm. He has his extended right arm around the neck of a horse. To the left of the horse a squire is standing. He is wearing a *chiton* with a long, belted *chlamys* and is holding the horse in its reins with his left hand. To the left of the squire is a second boy who is carrying a large shield on his right arm. To the right of the man is a pillar topped by a terrine-shaped urn. Next to the right picture frame is a leafless tree entwined by a snake. In front of the tree is a round altar decorated with garlands and *boucornia*.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1440, Taf, 210.

S 128 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 856.

Description: Funerary plaque with a ledge. Light grey marble. 33: 43: 15.

Relief: On the right are the draped legs of a man standing *en face*, on the left, a horse. In the centre is a statue base topped by an archaistic draped female statue. The statue is holding a theatre mask in her right hand. In the lower right corner is a tall tree trunk (plane tree?).

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1450, Taf. 211.

Totenmahl scenes

S 129 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Pl. 24.2 Present location: London, British Museum.

Description: Tapering stele with akroteria and a wreath below the gable. Light grey fine-grained marble. 124: 49: 11.

Relief: A curly-haired man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is placing a wreath on his head. He is holding a *skyphos* in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a bunch of grapes, figs, and pomegranates.

Inscription: In the wreath: ὁ δῆμος, below: Λήγαιον Ἀρτεμιδώρου. Below the relief field an epigram in elegiacs: καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἐν πολέμοις τηρῶν πύργον, παροδίτα, / καὶ νῦν τηρήσω, ὡς δύναμαι, νέκυς ὄν.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 143; Peek 1955, I 1710; P-M 1488, Taf. 216; ISmyrna 516; Burn 2004, p. 122, Fig. 68.

S 130 **Provenance:** Found in the village of Tahtalı Köy, east of Izmir.

Pl. 25.1 Present location: Izmir, Tarih ve Sanat (Kültürpark), Inv. No. 1026.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with slender pillars and a Doric entablature with Ionic sima. Marble. 72: 80: ca. 22.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. He is holding a *rhyton* in his raised right hand and a drinking bowl in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with two round fruits and a flat cake. To the left of the table is a servant boy with a jug in his hands. Behind him is a goblet *krater*. To the right of the table is a squire holding a shield and a helmet. On the right a man is standing *en face* in the Polybios pose. He is wearing a *chiton* with a *chlamys*. He is standing next to a pillar that is entwined by a snake and topped by a tureen-shaped urn. In the upper right corner is a horse protome facing left.

Inscription: From the reuse of the stele: τωρ / πρεσβύ- / ἱ<ε>ρος / ζῶν.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1535, Taf. 221; ISmyrna 446; Akurgal et al 2009, 34.

S 131 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. No. 71AA376.

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria. Large-grained bluish-greyish marble with dark grey veins. 55: 30: 6.

Relief: An elderly man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and his short, curly hair is wreathed. He is holding a *phiale* in his left hand. His right hand is stretched out so that he shakes hand with a youthful figure standing at the foot of the *kline*. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with flat and round cakes. At the head of the *kline* is the upper part of a female figure with her raised right hand on the forehead.

Inscription: Below the relief: Μενεκράτης Βίαντρος / Βίας Μενεκράτου.

Date: Middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 496, No. 55; Vermeule, 28; P-M 1538; ISmyrna 185; Burnett Grossman 2001, 42.

S 132 **Provenance:** Smyrna.

Pl. 25.2 Present location: Copenhagen, National Museum, Inv. No. 2224.

Description: Rectangular funerary plaque with ledge. The head of the man reworked in modern times. Large-crystalline marble. 40: 42: 6,1.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a cloak that covers his left arm and lower body. He is holding a *rhyton* in his raised right hand and an *omphalos* bowl in his left hand. A snake, coiled around the trunk of a barren tree at the head of the *kline*, is drinking from the bowl. A veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose on the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with three round fruits and a flat cake. A servant boy is leaning on the left picture frame.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1568, Taf. 228.

S 133 **Provenance:** Probably Smyrna.

Present location: London, British Museum, Inv. No. 734.

Description: Tapering stele. Marble. 52: 45,5.

Relief: A bearded man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and his curly-haired head is tied with a ribbon. He is holding a *skyphos* in his left hand. A drinking bowl and a *rhyton* stand at the head of the *kline*. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a thin cloak and has her shoed feet on a foot-stool. In front of the chair a servant girl is sitting in a crouching position on the ground. She is wearing a *chiton* slipping off her left shoulder. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with round fruits, flat cake, and *pyramides*. A small dog is lying under the table. To the right of the table is a servant boy. In the background are the folds of a drapery.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: British Museum Database, 734.

FUNERARY RELIEFS FROM KYZIKOS

Standing figures

- K1 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Present location: Çanakkale, Arkeoloji Müzesi.
Description: Fragment from the upper part of a small tapering stele with akroteria in low relief. White-greyish marble. 28: 30: 5.
Relief: Two veiled women facing each other are joined in a handclasp.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Early second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 703, Taf. 106; Cremer 1991, UMis 13.
- K2 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: İstanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 582.
Description: Tapering plaque. White coarse-grained marble with grey patches. 29: 29: 5.
Relief: On the right a large boy is standing, his head in left profile. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. He is joined in a hand-clasp with a curly-haired girl standing in right profile, left of centre.

She is covered in a cloak and faces the boy. To the left of the girl is a crouching dog.

Inscription: Below the relief: Ἀπολλώνιε Τρόφιμε καὶ / [Φι]λοθέα Τροφίμη χαίρετε.

Date: Late Hellenistic, about 100 BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III No. 900; P-M 712, Taf. 106; IKyzikos 58, Taf. 4.

K3 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Present location: Formerly in the Calvert Collection.

Description: Tapering plaque with a small relief field. White marble. 45: 22; 8,5.

Relief: On the right a boy is standing, his head in left profile. With his right hand he is holding a bunch of grapes above a small dog. On the left is a rooster facing right.

Inscription: Below the relief are faint traces of an inscription.

Date: Probably second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 761, Taf. 113.

K4 **Provenance:** Supposedly from Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2759.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele. White marble. 35: 23: 6,5.

Relief: A girl is standing left of centre. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. In her lowered right hand she is holding a bunch of grapes above a rooster. To the right of her is a dog facing left.

Inscription: Below the relief: ΙΡΕ / χαίρε / [κ]αὶ σὺ γε ὃ παρο[δῖ]τα.

Date: Late second century BCE

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 884; P-M 762, Taf. 113; IKyzikos 588.

K5 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi.

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria in low relief. Marble.

Relief: On the left a girl is standing in right profile. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* and over it, a cloak. In her lowered right hand she is holding a bunch of grapes above a crouching dog.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Şahin 1997, STA 29, Taf. 20.1.

K6 **Provenance:** Found in Kyzikos.

Pl. 26.1 Present location: Bandırma, Arkeoloji Müzesi (Garden).

Description: Large rectangular block with a small relief field. Above the relief are three holes for garlands. Blue-greyish marble. 55: 62: 19.
Relief: On the right a large boy is standing, his head in left profile. He is wearing a cloak and is holding a writing tablet in his lowered right hand. He approaches a herm that is standing next to the left picture frame. In front of the herm is a crouching dog.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Late third century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 770, Taf. 114.

Seated and standing figures

- K7 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2198.
Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria and an Ionic kyma (traces of paint). Light grey large-crystalline marble. 70:45: 17.
Relief: A curly-haired youth is sitting bent forward, his head erect and in left profile. He is wearing a cloak that covers the lower part of his body. His left hand is resting in his lap, his left index finger on his chin.
Inscription: Above the relief: Λύσανδρος / Ἀριστομένου.
Date: Third century BCE.
Select bibliography: Mendel III, 925; Pfuhl 1935, 14f., Abb. 3; P-M 829, Taf. 121; IKyzikos 280, Taf. 20; Cremer 1991, K 1.
- K8 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Pl. 26.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3860.
Description: Tapering block. White marble. 70: 48: 22.
Relief: A man is sitting in a covered chair right of centre, his head in left profile. He is wearing a cloak and has his feet on a foot-stool. His left hand is resting in his lap, his right hand on his chin. Next to the left picture frame is a pillar-like block, on it a large Korinthian capital. A servant boy is leaning on the pillar.
Inscription: Below the relief: Εὐμένους τοῦ Ὀλύμπου.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 832, Taf. 176; IKyzikos 203, Taf. 16; Cremer 1991, KN 9.

- K9 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 571.
Description: Small stele. White large-grained marble. 30: 29: 7.
Relief: On the left a man is sitting in right profile in a plain chair. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and has his feet on a foot-stool. He is holding a scroll in his right hand and has his left hand on his chin. In the lower right corner is a small dog.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Hellenistic.
Select bibliography: Mendel III, 924; P-M 839, Taf. 122.
- K10 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 945.
Description: Left lower corner of a large stele. White crystalline marble. 57,5: 42,5: 14.
Relief: On the left a man is sitting in three-quarter view in a throne with lion-legs. He is wearing a cloak that covers his left shoulder and lower body. He is leaning slightly forward and is holding a scroll in his left hand. A servant boy is standing in front of the seat. On the right there is the right foot of a standing male figure.
Inscription: Below the relief: Δημή[τριος] / Μηνο[δώρου καίρε].
Date: First half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 853, Taf. 124; IKyzikos 152; Hamiaux 1998, 185.
- K11 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5139.
Description: Fragment from the lower right corner of a relief field. Marble. 39: 28: 7.
Relief: A man is sitting in left profile in a *diphros*. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. He has his right hand on his chin. To the left of his feet there are traces from the feet of a standing female figure.
Inscription: Below the relief field: [Μη]νόδωρε Αλεξά- / υδρου καίρε.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: IKyzikos 328, Taf. 26.

K12 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Pl. 27.1 Present location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Inv. No. 2835.

Description: Tapering stele. Yellowish fine-grained marble. 44: 31: 6.

Relief: In the centre a boy is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. On the left a man is sitting in right profile view on a covered chair. He is wearing a cloak and has his right hand on his chin. On the right a veiled woman is sitting in a crouching position on a small rock, her arms wrapped around her legs. She is wearing a *chiton* and over it, a cloak.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second or first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 862, Taf. 126; Cremer 1991, KN 22; Nielsen - Stubbe Østergaard 1997, 42, No. 15.

K13 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 27.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3858.

Description: Slightly tapering stele with akroteria, a low gable, and a small relief field. Light grey crystalline marble. 58: 31: 6.

Relief: On the left a man is sitting in right profile in a large chair. He is wearing a cloak and has his feet on a foot-stool. On the left a large boy is standing in left profile. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* and over it, a cloak. They face each other and are joined in a handclasp.

Inscription: Below the relief: Μηνοδώρου τοῦ Μειδίου.

Date: Second half of second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 871, Taf. 128; IKyzikos 330, Taf. 26; Cremer 1991, UMiM 5.

K14 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 28.1 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 296.

Description: A *naiskos* stele with Doric half-colons and a frieze with triglyphs that is carried around the corners from the front. Above to the left is a bronze pin for the fastening of a floral decoration. Large-grained, white marble with gray streaking. 104: 75: 28.

Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is sitting *en face* in a covered seat. Her arms are enfolded by a cloak, her right arm held to the chest. She is holding a leaf-shaped fan in her left hand and has her feet on a foot-stool. A thin pillar on either side of her is topped by a siren playing the flute. Next to the left picture frame is a servant girl holding an open chest with both hands. Two vessels, an *alabastron* and a *lekkythos* without handles (“tear-bottle”), are depicted in low relief on the short sides of the stele.

Inscription: Below the relief are traces from six scriptlines: [— — —]
ης τῆς Ἀσκληπιοδώ[ρου — —] / [— — — — —]ς Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ΕΥΤ[]
/ [— — — — — — — — —] νυμφιδίην ἄ[λοχον / [— — — — — — — — —]
— — — — — — — — —]ΟΥΣ / [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]
ΤΕΚ / [— — —].

Date: About 200 BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 51, Abb. 3; Mendel III, 928; P-M 882, Taf. 130; IKyzikos 98; Cremer 1991, KF 1; Ridgway 2000, 218, n. 15.

- K15 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5299.
Description: Stele with akroteria and fluted columns. Marble. 95: 52: 11.
Relief: In the centre a woman is sitting *en face* in a large, covered seat. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. She has her feet on a large foot-stool. Next to the left picture frame is a servant girl holding a wool-basket in both hands.
Inscription: Below the relief: Ἀθηναίς / Ἀρτεμιδώρου / χαῖρε.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: IKyzikos 6, Taf. 1.

- K16 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5353.
Description: Gable stele with akroteria and antae. Marble. 67: 47: 18.
Relief: In the centre a woman is sitting *en face* in a large, covered seat. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms, her left hand to the chest. She has her feet on a foot-stool. A servant girl is standing on either side of her: the left girl with a wool-basket, the right girl with an open box.
Inscription: Below the relief: Ἀρτεμιδώρα / Μενεκλήους / χαῖρε.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: IKyzikos 75, Taf. 6.

- K17 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.
Present location: Gönen, Müzesi, Inv. No. 27.
Description: Fragment from the lower part of a stele. Marble. 41: 62: 12.
Relief: In the centre a woman is sitting *en face* in a tall, covered seat. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. She has her feet on a foot-stool. A servant girl is standing on either side of her: the right girl is holding an open box.
Inscription: Below the relief: Θεοδότη Μεγακλήους / χαῖρε.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: IKyzikos 235, Taf. 17.

- K18 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (according to the epigram).
Pl. 28.2 Present location: Iznik, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2786.
Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature and antae. Marble. 47: 37: 7.
Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is sitting *en face* in a large block-seat. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and grasps a fold of the cloak with her left hand. She is looking out at the viewer and her left foot is placed on a turtle. On the left a veiled woman is sitting in right profile in a squatting position. She has her left hand on her chin and seems to be sitting on a low rock. She is wearing a *chiton* and over it, a cloak. On the right is a servant girl holding a lidded *cista* in both hands.
Inscription: Below the relief is a long epigram in elegiacs: Καλλιτανὴ
 χθὼν ἐμέθεν πατρ[ίς· ἐς δ’] ἔρα[τ]ει[νὴν] / Κύζικον ἐγ μοίρας ἤλυθον αἰφνιδίω[ς]·
 / Νύμφη δ’ ὠδίνεσσι λίπον φάος Ἡδέ[α τε]ργιν[όν], / παῖς Γλυκέας, ἐτέων ἐν
 δυσὶν ἐνν[εά]σιν· / οὐ γὰρ ἔφθυ πάτρας ἰκανὸς πό[θ]ος, ἀλλ’ ἔτ[ι] δα[ί]μων /
 μητρὶ γόους ἐπ’ ἔμοῖς πῆμασιν [ἡ]γάγετ[ο].
Date: Probably early second century BCE.
Select bibliography: IKyzikos 510; Şahin 1978, 59f., 11, Taf. 11; Şahin 1979, 633.
- K19 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3850.
Description: Plain *naiskos* with a low gable. White marble. 69: 51: 21.
Relief: In the centre a veiled woman is sitting in three quarter view in a chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a large foot-stool. She has her right hand to the chest and is holding a leaf-shaped fan in her left hand. On the left is a servant girl holding a wool-basket in both hands.
Inscription: Below the relief field are faint traces of an inscription.
Date: Probably second half of the third century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 910, Taf. 136; Cremer 1991, K 4.
- K20 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Edincik).
Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3106.
Description: *Naiskos* with low pillar capitals. White marble. 60: 69: 19.
Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in left profile in a throne with lion-shaped armrests. She is wearing a long-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and has her shod feet on a foot-stool. She has her right hand on her chin. On the right is a servant girl holding a leaf-shaped fan in her

lowered left hand. Behind the woman is a pillar topped by a sunhat.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Γ[α]ργαιθοῦς τῆς Πολεμάρχου.

Date: Second half of the third century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 932, Taf. 140; IKyzikos 137, Taf. 11; Cremer 1991, K 5.

K21 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Present location: Formerly in the Calvert Collection.

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria and a small relief field. Marble. 42: 28: 6.

Relief: On the right a veiled woman is sitting in left profile in a covered chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her shod feet on a foot-stool. She has her right hand on her chin. On the left is a servant girl holding a spindle in her right hand. On the ground, between the figures, is a large wool-basket.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Φερία Δημητρίου.

Date: Probably first half of the third century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 935, Taf. 140; IKyzikos 473; Cremer 1991, K 3.

K22 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Edincik).

Pl. 29.1 Present location: Ankara, Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi, No. 73.1.68.

Description: Plain *naiskos* stele with shafts and a flat entablature. White large-crystalline marble. 55: 37.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in right profile in a chair covered by a fringed cloth. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. In front of the chair is a servant girl. On the right a large girl is sitting in a squatted position on the ground. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak over it and is holding an infant in her arms.

Inscription: Above the relief: Μαιανδρίης τῆς Βακχίου, below the relief is a long epigram in elegiacs: Φερσεφόνα, τί φίλεργον ἀπέσπασες ἀνδρὸς ἀπ' εὐνῆς, / ἄκριτον ἐς θνατοῦς ἀλικίαν θεμένα, / εικοσέτιν' τᾶ κάλλος ἀφόρισε Κύπρις ἐν ἀστοῖς, / ἀλλὰ Τύχη σκολιοῖς δόγμασιν ἠντίασεν / οὔνεκεν ἀλλοδαπὴν Μαιανδρήν ἤλυθε γαῖαν, / ἀνδρὶ φιλοστόργου δεικνυμένα χάριτας / ἀνθ' ὧν μοι τὸ μνήμα πόσις κτίσεν, οὔνεχ' ἄμ' αὐτῶι / ἔγδημος γενόμεαν, πατρίδα λειπομένα / Φερσεφόνας δὲ ἀδίαυλον ὑπὸ στυγερὸν δόμον ἦλθον, / παυσιπόνῳ Λάθασι λουσαμένα πόματι.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, 1585; P-M 940, Taf. 141; IKyzikos 516, Taf. 39; Cremer 1991, KN 18.

- K23 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Pl. 29.2 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 3284.
Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria and a small relief field. White marble. 56: 28: ca. 6.
Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair, her head in right profile. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. On the right a boy is standing in left profile. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and his lowered gaze falls on the bunch of grapes he is holding in his right hand. Below the grapes is a small dog that is jumping up from the left.
Inscription: Below the relief: Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐοδίου.
Date: Late second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1005, Taf. 151; IKyzikos 17; Hamiaux 1998, 164.
- K24 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Present location: Çanakkale, Arkeoloji Müzesi.
Description: Tapering stele with a tenon. Grey-white marble with medium-large crystals. 79: 57: 17.
Relief: On the left a woman is sitting in right profile in a stool covered by a fringed cloth. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a broad foot-stool. A boy is standing in three quarter view right of centre. He is wearing a short *chiton* and is holding a bunch of grapes in his right hand. Behind him are the legs of a boy. On the right are unclear traces of a third child. In the lower left corner is a servant girl holding a cylindrical box in her left hand.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Early second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1006, Taf. 151.
- K25 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.
Description: Tapering stele. White coarse-grained marble. 35,5: 27.
Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on a small rock, her head in right profile. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak over it. In the centre a small boy is sitting in a crouching posture on the ground. On the right a boy is standing in three quarter view. He is holding a bunch of grapes in his lowered right hand.
Inscription: Below the relief: [ὠ]ς ὄφελ' <ἐ>ν σε γοναῖς αὐθήμερον ἠ[δέ] /

ἀπὸ μητρὸς | Ἄδης εἰς νοτίους δα[ί]- / μονας ἠγάγετο, | Ἐρμόκρατε<ς>, νῦν [δ' ἔ]- /
σχε τριπλοῦν ἄχος ἢ σε τεκοῦσα, | / πρόσθε τροφῆς, μόχθου, νῦν τε γόους / θανάτου·
| ἐν μικρῇ γὰρ ἔλυσες ἀκμῇ / φάος, ἢ δὲ ἐπιπέμπτη | Μοῖρά σε ὑπὸ / σκιερᾷ κρύψε
καμόντα κόνι· | / Ἐρμοκράτη χαῖρε· καὶ σύ γε, ὦ παρο- / δεῖτα.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, 1683; P-M 1007, Taf. 152; IKyzikos 508, Taf. 37; Cremer 1991, KN 17.

K26 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2592.

Description: Tapering gable stele. Marble. 76: 46: 7,5.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose in a chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm and has her shoed feet on a foot-stool. To the right of her is a servant girl holding a large wool-basket. A girl is standing *en face* right of centre. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a bunch of grapes in her lowered right hand. On the right a boy is standing *en face*. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms and has his right hand to the chest.

Inscription: Μηνοθέα / τῆ μητρὶ / Μελίση / χαίρειν.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 299, Taf. 22; Cremer 1991, K 55, Taf. 16.

K27 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 30.1 Present location: Formerly in the Calvert Collection.

Description: Plain *naiskos*. White marble. 77: 63.

Relief: On the right a man is standing *en face* in the Demosthenes pose. He is wearing a cloak that covers his left shoulder and lower body. On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. A servant is standing on either side of the couple: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin and the right one a boy with a scroll in his right hand. Between the couple is a pillar topped by a siren playing a *kithara*. Behind the man there is a tall base topped by a herm. To the right of the herm runs the deep fold of a curtain. Between the siren and herm a butterfly is flying. In the upper right corner is a horse protome facing left, the rest of its body is hidden behind the curtain.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably middle of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 50, Nr. 1, Abb. 2; P-M 1008, Taf. 152; Cremer 1991, KF Dem 2.

K28 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Edincik).

Pl. 30.2 Present location: Bandırma, Arkeoloji Müzesi.

Description: Tapering gable stele with shafts. Marble.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting *en face* in a chair. Her hands are raised with the palms facing the viewer. She is wearing a *chiton* and over it, a cloak. On the right a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his left hand. A servant is standing on either side of the woman: a girl to the left and a boy to the right, both with their hands folded over the stomach. In the upper right corner is a barren tree entwined by a snake.

Inscription: Below the relief: Ἀσκληπιᾶς / Ἀσκληπιᾶδ[ου] / Περγαμηνὴ χαῖρε.

Date: Probably early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Couilloud 1974b, 462, n. 49; P-M 1019, Taf. 153; IKyzikos 95.

K29 **Provenance:** Ergili or Kyzikos.

Pl. 31.1 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5365.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele with a flat entablature and pillars with straight capitals. Crystalline marble. 70: 54: 9.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose in a chair, her head in right profile. There is a wool-basket underneath the chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm. In the centre a veiled woman is standing *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak. On the right a man is standing *en face*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. His right hand is stretched out towards the standing woman, his left hand on his hip. A servant boy is leaning on the right picture frame, his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: The inscription was probably painted on the architrave, now in (later) large letters. Below the left woman: Μαρκία, below the middle woman; Μαρκία / Ἑλένη / χαῖρε, below the man: Μάρκιε / Φῆλιξ / χαῖρε.

Date: Probably second part of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1037, Taf. 155; IKyzikos 288, Taf. 21; Ridgway 2000, 193, n. 13.

- K30 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.
Present location: In Yeniziraatli (house of Recep Zeren in 1980).
Description: Tapering naiskos with a low entablature and antae. Marble. 63: 40: 17.
Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a low chair, her head in right profile. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. In the centre a man is standing *en face*, his right hand to the chest. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds his arms. On the right a second man is standing. His hands are folded over the stomach and he is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. Between the men there is a servant boy.
Inscription: Ἀφώβητε / Ἀπολλωδώρου χάρει.
Date: Probably late second century BCE.
Select bibliography: IKyzikos 123, Taf. 9.
- K31 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or vicinity.
Pl. 31.2 Present location: Bandırma, Tolunay Collection.
Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. Marble. 58: 67,5-70: 14,5.
Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her shod feet on a foot-stool. In the centre a man is standing *en face*. He is holding a scroll in his left hand and is leaning on a pillar. A servant boy is also leaning on the pillar. On the right two men, slightly smaller than the left man, are standing in three-quarter view. They are facing each other and are joined in a handclasp. The right man seems to be holding a scroll in his lowered left hand. All three men are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. A servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach is leaning on the right picture frame.
Inscription: Below the relief to the left: Πρωτίδο[ς] / τῆς Δημητρι[ου], in the centre: [— — —] Μηνοδότου τοῦ Δημητρίου, to the right: [— —] Ἀπολλωδώρου [— — Μενε?]κράτο[υ τοῦ] / Μενεκράτου.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Schwertheim 1983, 116, Nr. 13, Taf. 14; Cremer 1991, KF Dem 1, Taf. 16.
- K32 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. Nr. Mo 3285.
Description: Tapering stele with a flat entablature and akroteria. Marble. 44: 27,5: 8.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. On the right a man is standing, his head in left profile. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. They are facing each other and are joined in a handclasp.

Inscription: Below the relief field: [Ἀπ]ολλόδοτος τὴν γυναῖκα / [Κλειν] αγόραν Μειδίου.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1067; IKyzikos 262; Hamiaux 1998, 163.

K33

Provenance: Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3121.

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria in low relief. Marble.

Relief: On the right a man is standing in left profile, while on the left, a man is sitting in right profile. They are facing each other and are joined in a handclasp.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Şahin 1997, STA 31, Taf. 20.3.

K34

Provenance: Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 4451.

Description: *Naiskos* with a low entablature and antae. Marble. 49: 38: 13.

Relief: On either end of the relief field a woman is sitting in the pudicitia pose in a covered chair. They are facing each other. Both women are wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that is enfolding their arms and have their feet on a foot-stool. Between them, on the ground, is a large wool-basket. In the lower left corner is a servant girl with her left hand on her chin.

Inscription: Below the relief: [Α]ρτεμοῦς τῆς Ἀπολλ[ωνίου].

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 81, Taf. 8; Cremer 1991, KSt 46; Schmidt 1999, Tab. IV.

K35

Provenance: Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5677.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature and antae. Marble. 45: 32: 11.

Relief: On either end of the relief field a veiled woman is sitting on a covered chair. The left woman is sitting in right profile in the Penelope

pose and the right woman in left profile in the *pudicitia* pose. Both women are wearing a thick layered chiton with a cloak and have their feet on a foot-stool. A large, curly-haired boy is standing *en face* in the centre. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms and has his right hand to the chest. In front of the right chair is a servant girl holding a wool-basket in both hands.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Μηνοφά[νης] / Θόαντος.

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 337, Taf. 27; Cremer 1991, KN 23, Taf. 5.

K36 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos (Belkız).

Pl. 32.1 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 220.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele with a flat entablature and pillars with straight capitals. Light grey, coarse-grained marble. 63: 39: 7.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the chair there is a servant girl holding a wool-basket. The woman is facing a bearded man who is sitting opposite her on a stone seat with lion paws. He is wearing a short-sleeved chiton with a cloak and has his right hand on his chin. In the centre a large curly-haired boy is standing *en face*. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms and has his right hand to the chest. Between the boy and the woman is a youthful, ityphallic herm placed on a plinth. The background around the herm is unfinished.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Απολλώνιε / Απολλωνίου / χαῖρε.

Date: Late second century or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 938; P-M 1110, Taf. 167; IKyzikos 50, Taf. 3; Cremer 1991, KN 21; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K37 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.

Pl. 32.2 Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi (Garden).

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature, antae, and two relief fields. Marble. 87: 62: 12,5.

Relief: Upper relief: on the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. She is facing a man who is sitting opposite her to the right. He is holding his right hand to the chest. In the centre a large, curly-haired boy is standing *en face*. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms and has his right hand to the chest. In front of the left chair there is a servant girl holding a wool-basket in both hands. There is a servant boy between the man and large boy. Lower relief: a mounted rider

wearing a *chlamys*. The horse is moving in walking pace and is facing right.

Inscription: Between the relief fields is an epigram: ὑπόμνημα
Μηνοφάντου / τοῦ Πρωτομάχου. / οὔτε με τὸν δύσμοιρον ἐς Ἄιδος ἤγαγε
νοῦσος, | / οὐ συγεραὶ πόντου λαίλαπες ἐξ ἀνέμων, | / οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ'
Ἄρης πολεμόκλονος, ἀλλὰ με λυγρὸς | / ἀνδροφόνοισιν ἀνήρ ἔκτανε κερσὶ
λίθωι | / υἷέα Πρωτομάχοιο· πόλις δ' ὤκτειρέ με πᾶσα | / κηρύσσα
φυγὴν ἡμετέρου φονέος· | / ἀλλὰ Δίκη καὶ Ζεῦ πανεπόπιτε, πατὴρ ἐμεῖο |
/ πένθεα πρηῖναιτ' ἀνέρα τεισάμενοι. |

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 522, Taf. 38; Cremer 1991, KH 9.

K38 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or Troas.

Present location: Formerly in the Calvert Collection.

Description: Tapering stele. Marble. 22: 28: 8,5.

Relief: On the left a man is sitting in right profile in a chair. He has his left hand on his chin and is facing a man who is sitting opposite him in a chair to the right. Both men are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak over it. Between the men is a girl sitting in left profile on a low rock, her hands on her right knee. She is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. In the lower left corner is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Μειδία / [Σ]ατύρου / [χαῖρε].

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1114, Taf. 167; IKyzikos 292.

K39 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 10006.

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. Marble.

Relief: On the left a veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a chair covered with a fringed cloth. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her shoed feet on a foot-stool. In the centre a veiled woman is sitting *en face* in the Penelope pose on a block chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her shoed feet on a foot-stool. On the right a bearded man is sitting in three-quarter view on a throne with lion-feet. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and has his sandaled feet on a foot-stool. He is holding a scroll in his right hand. In the lower corners are two servants: the left one is a girl, the right one a boy, both have their right hand to the chin. On either side of the middle woman is a pillar topped by a siren playing the flute. A veiled girl is standing in front of the left pillar.

Inscription: Below the relief is an inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Şahin 1997, S TB 41, Taf. 22.1.

- K40 **Provenance:** Vicinity of Kyzikos (Bandırma – Panormos).
Present location: Munich, Glyphotek, Inv. No. 522.
Description: *Naiskos* stele with a low entablature and *kyma*. Bluish large-crystalline marble (Proconnesian). 42: 25: 9.
Relief: A man is kneeling in right profile on the bow of a warrior ship. He is wearing a short *chiton* and armour. He is holding a round shield in his left hand and a stone in his lowered right hand.
Inscription: Above the relief field: Δημητρίο / τοῦ Ἀλέξεω, below the relief field to the left: τόνδε [— —] / [π]ρομ[αχ— —].
Date: Probably third century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1275, Taf. 189; IKyzikos 148, Taf. 13; Cremer 1991, K 6; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

Totenmahl scenes

- K41 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3148.
Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele. Marble.
Relief: A man is reclining on a *kline*. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking cup in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with cakes and fruits.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Late second or early first century BCE.
Select bibliography: Cremer 1991, KSt 49, Taf. 15.
- K42 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Pl. 33.1 Present location: Marseille, Musée Borély, Inv. No. 1599.
Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria, two relief fields, and a tenon. Traces of red paint. Light grey fine-grained marble. 56: 27: ca. 7.
Relief: Upper relief: a man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake and four fruits. Next to the right picture frame is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach. He is looking down at a bucket *krater*.

Behind the *krater* is a serving table with a footed bowl and egg bowls. Lower relief: on the left a woman is sitting in right profile in a covered chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and is playing on a flute. On the right a dancer is standing *en face*. He is wearing a cloak that covers his lower body. His left hand on the hip, while his raised right arm is bent over the right shoulder.

Inscription: Between the relief fields: Ἴων Δάου ἅπαντι χαῖρε.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 961, Taf. 144; IKyzikos 251; Cremer 1991, KN 2, Taf. 2.

K43 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or vicinity.

Pl. 33.2 Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3153 (5477 old).

Description: Stele with two relief fields. Marble. 83: 65: 10.

Relief: Upper relief: a man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking cup in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with *pyramides*, bunch of grapes, and a round fruit. To the left of the *kline* is a servant boy next to a *kalyx krater*. On the right two men are standing *en face*. The left man is wearing a cloak that covers his left shoulder and lower body. He is holding a scroll in his right hand. The right man is wearing a *chiton* and over it a cloak. His hands are folded over his stomach. Lower relief: a mounted rider is wearing a fluttering *chlamys* and a cloak. The horse is moving in walking pace and is facing left.

Inscription: Below the lower relief field: Ποσιδωνίου / τοῦ Μειδίου.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 411; Cremer 1991, KH 18, Taf. 7.

K44 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 2856.

Description: Fragment from a relief field. White, medium-fine marble. 57,5: 43; 6,5.

Relief: A man is reclining on a *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking cup in his left hand. His right hand is placed on the left shoulder of a man reclining to the left. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with round fruits. In the lower right corner is a servant boy next to a bucket *krater*.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Δημητρίου τοῦ / Μηνοφάνου.

Date: Probably early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1531; IKyzikos 151; Hamiaux 1998, 168.

- K45 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
 Present location: Erdek, Müzesi.
 Description: Upper left corner of a relief field. White marble. 41: 65,5: 14.
 Relief: A veiled woman is sitting *en face* at the foot of a *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm and grasps the veil with her left hand. Her right hand is placed over her stomach. In the upper left corner is a helmet hanging, to the right greaves. Below these objects is a horse facing right.
 Inscription: No preserved inscription.
 Date: Probably first half of the second century BCE.
 Select bibliography: P-M 1545, Taf. 223.
- K46 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.
 Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2557.
 Description: Lower part of a *Stockwerkstele* with two relief fields. Marble. 57: 45: 27.
 Relief: Upper relief: a woman is sitting on a chair covered with a fringed cloth at the foot of a *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table. In the lower corners stand two servants: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin, the right one is a boy next to a krater. Lower relief: in the centre is a mounted rider. The horse is moving in walking pace and is facing right. On the left there is a squire holding a spear in his left hand.
 Inscription: No preserved inscription.
 Date: Second century BCE.
 Select bibliography: Cremer 1991, KS 3, Taf. 1.
- K47 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Pl. 34 **Present location:** Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 2854.
 Description: Tapering Ionic *naiskos* with a low entablature. Metal weapons were probably fastened with iron nails in the holes on the upper part of the relief field. White large-grained marble. 107: 126: ca. 31.
 Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding an *omphalos* bowl in his lowered right hand. The bowl is held above the left knee of a woman sitting *en face* at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a thin cloak that enfolds her right arm. She is holding a fan in her raised left hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with round cakes, round fruits, and maybe celery. The left leg of the table is entwined by

a large snake that is drinking from the bowl. To the left of the *kline* is a chest topped by a vaulted wool-basket. In front of the chest there is a servant girl. She is wearing a high-girdled, short-sleeved *chiton* and is holding a large *cista* in both hands. The *cista* resembles a *tholos* and has pillars and a roof-like lid. To the right of the table a servant boy is leaning over a volute *krater*. He has his right hand inside the *krater*, perhaps to fill a jug with wine. In his right hand he is holding a flat bowl. Next to the right picture frame is a stamping, bridled horse facing left.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Ἀτταλε / Ἀσκληπιιδώρου / χαῖρε.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Benndorf 1902, 191ff., Abb. 57; Pfuhl 1905, 60; Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 76, Nr. 54, Beil. 28.1; P-M 1555, Taf. 225; IKyzikos 100; Cremer 1991, KM 2, Taf. 9; Hamiaux 1998, 162.

K48 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Pl. 35.1 Present location: In Yeniceköy.

Description: Broad *naiskos* with low capitals on the antae and three holes for the fastening of garlands on the entablature. Marble.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a calotte bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy with his left arm on a large goblet *krater*. Behind the boy and *krater* is an empty *kylikeion*. Above the *kylikeion* is a horse protome that is facing left.

Inscription: Below the relief: Ἀτταλος Μητρῶδορου / ἦρος φιλόπατρις.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1556, Taf. 224.

K49 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Inv. No. GR 18. 1865.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele with short shafts. White large-grained marble. 49: 46.

Relief: A man with a ribbon in his hair is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting at the foot of the *kline* and the man is pointing at the box she is holding in her left

hand. She is wearing a headcloth, an unsleeved chiton, and a cloak that is draped around her lower body. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with an apple, a cake, *pyramides*, and a pomegranate. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a lidded *cista*, the right one a boy holding a jug in its handle above a goblet *krater*. Behind him is a *kylikeion* with flat bowls and two reversed egg bowls. In the right upper corner is a barren tree entwined by a large snake that is lowering its head towards the man's bowl.

Inscription: Μητροδώρου τοῦ / Ἀπολλοδώρου.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 250f., No. 23; Budde-Nicholls 1964, 37, No. 63, Pl. 20; P-M 1560, Taf. 226; ISmyrna 188; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K50

Provenance: Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi.

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. White marble. 44: 42: 20.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her shoed feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with cakes and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy holding a jug in its handles above a large volute *krater*.

Inscription: Below to the left: Ἀρτεμισίας τῆς / Ἀνδρονείκου, to the right: Εὐμήλου τοῦ / Κόδρωνος.

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1573; IKyzikos 80, Taf. 8; Cremer 1991, MiSt 6; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K51

Provenance: Probably Kyzikos or vicinity.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2222.

Description: Small, tapering stele. White large-grained marble. 29: 23: 7.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudictia* pose on a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. She is holding a round object in her right hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with figs. In the

lower right corner is a servant boy holding a jug in both hands.

Inscription: Above the relief: Ἑρμόγενης / ...ους? χαῖρε.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 983; P-M 1610, Taf. 234; IKyzikos 190; Cremer 1991, MiSt 33.

K52 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 35.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 565.

Description: Tapering gable stele. White large-grained marble with grey patches. 62: 32: 9.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a bunch of grapes and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach. To the left of the boy there is a *krater*.

Inscription: Below to the left: Μηνοδότη / Ἀπολλωνίου / χαῖρε.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 985; P-M 1613, Taf. 235; IKyzikos 326; Cremer 1991, MiSt 28; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K53 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or vicinity.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 191.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele. White large-grained marble. 63: 48: 20.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with *pyramides*, a quince, round fruits, and a cake. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy with a jug in his right hand. To the right of the boy is a goblet *krater*. Behind the *krater* are traces of a painted *kylikeion*. In the upper right corner is a horse protome that is facing left.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Χρυσηίδος / τῆς Σωσιβίου.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 979; P-M 1622, Taf. 237; IKyzikos 488, Taf. 34; Cremer 1991, MiSt 11; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

- K54 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 588.
Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria in low relief. White large-grained marble. 56: 26: 8.
Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudictia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, round fruits, and a bunch of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl, the right one a boy leaning on the picture frame. To the left of the boy is a *krater* and behind him a *kylikeion* with *omphalos* bowls and egg bowls.
Inscription: Below the relief field: Σεύθη χαῖρε.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Mendel III, 987; P-M 1624, Taf. 237; IKyzikos 436, Taf. 31; Cremer 1991, UMiM 2; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.
- K55 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 587.
Description: Tapering stele with a gable in low relief. White large-grained marble. 56: 27: 5.
Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudictia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with cakes and fruits. In the lower left corner are traces of a servant girl. A servant boy is leaning on the right picture frame.
Inscription: Below the relief field: Διονυσίου / τοῦ Διονυσίου[u].
Date: Late second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Mendel III, 986; P-M 1626, Taf. 237; IKyzikos 171; Cremer 1991, UMiM 3; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.
- K56 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos or its closest vicinity.
Pl. 36.1 Present location: Appeared on the London art market in 1973.
Description: Tall stele with a gable in low relief. Below the main relief

field is a *bakchos* carved in low relief. Marble. 78: 37.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a deep *skyphos* in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a flat cake, round fruits, and figs. There is a large wool-basket in front of the table. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her right hand on her chin, the right one a boy holding a *simpulum* in his left hand. Next to the head of the *kline* is a *kylikeion* with a large bowl. In front of the serving table is a bucket *krater*.

Inscription: Below the relief: [Μα]τρόδωρος Ματροδώρου / λαμπαδιοκόπος / Μενοῦσα Ματροδώρου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1627, Taf. 238; Cremer 1991, KN 1; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K57 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Pl. 36.2 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma. 220.

Description: Tapering stele. White chrySTALLINE marble. 75,5: 45: ca. 9.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing, the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy. At the head of the *kline* is an empty *kylikeion*.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: Δημητριάς τῆς / Στρομβίχου, to the right: Ἀριστομένου[ς] / τοῦ Δημητρίου.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1628, Taf. 238; IKyzikos 147; Cremer 1991, UMiM 4; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV; Hamiaux 1998, 171.

K58 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Pl. 37.1 Present location: London, British Museum.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with shafts. Light grey large-grained marble. 57: 47: 10.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-

sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a *skyphos* in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm and is holding a plate in her raised left hand. A snake is crawling down from a tree branch and is lowering its head towards the bowl. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a flat cake, figs, and a bunch of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a chest, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach. To the left of the boy is a bucket *krater*. There is a *kylikeion* with two *omphalos* bowls and a reversed egg bowl at the head of the *kline*.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1631, Taf. 238; Cremer 1991, KSt 5; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K59 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Erdek, Müzesi.

Description: Fragment from a relief field. White marble. 28: 27: 7.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with a bunch of grapes, an apple, and a pomegranate. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1633, Taf. 239; Cremer 1991, KSt 3.

K60 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 4499.

Description: Tapering plaque. White medium-fine marble. 39,5: 32,5: 6.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. He is joined in a handclasp with a veiled woman sitting in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a flat cake and fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy leaning on the

picture frame. At the head of the *kline* is an empty *kylikeion*.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Σεραπίων Παρμενίωνος, / χαῖρε.

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1760; IKyzikos 434; Cremer 1991, KSt 45; Hamiaux 1998, 169.

K61 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos (Bandırma – Panormos).

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 4497.

Description: Lower part of a relief field. White marble. 36: 47: 9,5.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. A veiled woman is sitting on a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with pomegranates and bunches of grapes. In front of the chair is a servant girl. A servant boy is leaning on the right picture frame. Both servants have their left hand on the chin.

Inscription: Below the relief field: ὑπόμνημα Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ / Μηνοφίλου
ὁ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ὑ- / ἰος Μηνόφιλος.

Date: Second or first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1765; IKyzikos 59, Taf. 5; Cremer 1991, KSt 50.

K62 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5298.

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria. Marble. 79: 41: 9.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the pudicitia pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a flat cake and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: Above the relief field: Ἀπολλωνίου / τοῦ Σίμωνος.

Date: Probably early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 60, Taf. 4.

K63 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi.

Description: Tapering gable stele with akroteria. Marble. 77: 41: 10.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left

hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered chiton with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a flat cake and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach. There is a *krater* to the left of the boy.

Inscription: Θεόδωρε Μειδίου / χαῖρε.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 237, Taf. 18; Cremer 1991, MiSt 29; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K64

Provenance: Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi (garden).

Description: Fragment from the lower part of a relief field. Marble. 51: 70: 21.

Relief: The lower part of a man reclining on a covered *kline*. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a large foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with fruits and *pyramides*. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin, the right one is a boy. There is a second boy to the left of the woman's legs.

Inscription: Μενάνδρου / τοῦ Διονυσίου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 300, Taf. 23; Cremer 1991, KM 3, Taf. 9.

K65

Provenance: Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: At Isa Özder in 1980.

Description: Lower part of a tapering stele. Marble. 61: 49: 8.

Relief: The lower part of a man reclining on a covered *kline*. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a flat cake and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a lidded *cista*, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Τιμό[λαο]ς Προφάντου, / γυν[νῆ] Δό]μνα, θυγάτηρ δὲ / Δι[— — —]γτος.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: IKyzikos 457, Taf. 32.

- K66 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos (Erdek – Artake).
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3859.
Description: Tapering naiskos stele. Marble. 54: 40,5: 12,5.
Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a large drinking cup in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with flat cakes and fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach. There is a *krater* to the left of the boy.
Inscription: Below the relief field: Τρόφερος Τροφί[μου] / χαῖρε.
Date: Early first century BCE.
Select bibliography: IKyzikos 464, Taf. 33; Cremer 1991, KSt 38; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.
- K67 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: London, British Museum, Inv. No. 735.
Description: Tapering stele. Marble. 25: 22,5: 6.
Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with a flat cake, bunches of grapes, and round fruits.
Inscription: Traces of an inscription.
Date: Second century BCE.
Select bibliography: British Museum database, 735.
- K68 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 164.
Description: Fragment from a relief field. White large-grained marble. 43: 55: 4.
Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. A small boy is sitting between the man and woman on the foot of the *kline*. He has his right hand to the chest. A large boy is standing *en face* in front of the head

of the *kline*. Both boys are wearing a cloak that enfolds their arms. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes and large apples. There is a servant boy to the left of the table. With his left hand he is picking up an apple. In the lower left corner there is a servant girl holding a wool-basket in both hands.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Σωσθένη Ασκληπιοδότης χαῖρε / Μένιππε Ασκληπιοδότης χαῖρε. / οὐ τὸ θανεῖν ἀλγε[ινόν, ἐπι]εῖ [τό γε Μοῖ]- / ρ' ἐπέκλωσε, | ἀ[λλὰ πρὶν ἡλικίης καὶ γονέων πρότερον].

Date: Second or first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, 1664; P-M 1786, Taf. 257; IKyzikos 530; Cremer 1991, KSt 20; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV; Hamiaux 1998, 170.

K69 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Marseille, Musee Borely, Inv. No. 9433.

Description: Tapering stele with a large relief field. White, large-grained marble with grey patches. 51: 47: 11.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. They are joined in a handclasp. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, round fruits, pyramides, and a bunch of grapes. Below the table there is a small dog. In front of the chair a boy is sitting in right profile on a low, plain chair. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a scroll in his right hand. In the lower corners two servant girls are standing: the left girl with her hand on her chin and the right girl next to a bucket *krater*.

Inscription: Above the relief field: Ασκληπιῶδου.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1792, Taf. 259; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K70 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2225.

Description: Gable stele with akroteria in low relief. White large-grained marble. 41: 28: 7,5.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. A small boy is standing to the

right of the woman's chair. He is grasping the woman's right hand with his right hand. He is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that covers his left shoulder and lower body. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with cake and fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her right hand on her chin, the right one a boy holding a dipper in his right hand. There is a *kylikeion* with a bowl to the left of the boy. In front of the serving table is a bucket *krater*.

Inscription: Below the relief field: []ατος / [Αρ]τέμω[νος] τοῦ Μηνοδότου / [Μη]νόδο[τος] / []Αρτέμωνος.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 982; P-M 1806, Taf. 261; IKyzikos 85; Cremer 1991, MiSt 30; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K71 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 2858.

Description: Tapering stele. Light grey fine-grained marble. 28, 34: 8.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. A large boy is standing *en face* to the right of the woman. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms and has his right hand to the chest. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, round fruits, and bunches of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Μηνοφύλα / Αοκληπιάδου.

Date: Probably early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1813; IKyzikos 339; Hamiaux 1998, 165.

K72 **Provenance:** Supposedly found in Smyrna, but probably from Kyzikos.

Pl. 37.2 Present location: Berlin, Pergamon-Museum, Inv. No. SK. 833.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with long shafts. Light grey large-grained marble. 44,6: 35: 9.

Relief: A man is reclining on a *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a large drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. At the head of the *kline* a small girl is standing *en face*. She is wearing a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her right hand to

the chest. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes and round fruits. There is a servant girl holding a chest in front of the chair.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Μειδίας Εὐβόλο<υ> χαῖρε.

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1823, Taf. 262; ISmyrna XI, n. 47; Cremer 1991, KSt 13.

K73 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Bandırma – Panormos).

Pl. 38.1 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3856.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele with shafts. Light-grey marble. 63: 52: 8.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. At the head of the *kline* a youth is standing *en face*. He is wearing a cloak that enfolds his arms and has his right hand to the chest. He is holding a scroll in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with figs, an apple, and pomegranates. In front of the chair is a servant girl holding a wool-basket in both hands. A servant boy is rendered in low relief on the right picture frame.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Τιμόλαε / Σελεύκου / χαῖρε, to the right: Διονύσιε / Τιμολάου / χαῖρε.

Date: Probably late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1827, Taf. 263; IKyzikos 456; Cremer 1991, KSt 12.

K74 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.

Pl. 38.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 768.

Description: Plain *naiskos* stele with a flat entablature and two relief fields. White large-crystalline marble. 72: 47: 14.

Relief: Upper relief: a bearded man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in a chair at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose, the right woman in the *pudicitia* pose. Both women are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak that is enfolding their arms and have their feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with an angular cake on a plate, a pomegranate, and an apple. A servant boy is standing to the right of the table. In the lower corners two servant girls are standing:

the left girl is holding a box and the right girl a wool-basket. Lower relief: a veiled woman is sitting in right profile on a small rock. Her head is lowered and her hands rest in her lap. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak.

Inscription: Below the upper relief field: Ἀρτεμῶ / Τειμοθέου / Τειμόθεος / Μηνίδος, below the lower relief field: Λαίς.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 1042; P-M 948, Taf. 143; Cremer 1991, KN 15; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV; Corsten 1991, 81.

K75 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Present location: Bandırma, Tolunay Collection.

Description: Fragment from a stele with two relief fields. Marble. 35: 25,5: 11.

Relief: Upper relief: a woman is sitting in a chair at the foot of a *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the chair is a servant girl holding a wool-basket in both hands. Lower relief: a veiled woman is sitting in right profile on a low rock. Her head is erect and her hands are resting in her lap. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak.

Inscription: Below the upper relief field and to the right of the lower relief field: ΜΗ.[/ ΜΑΝ.[/ χαίρε· [καὶ σὺ γε, ὦ] / παροδ[εῖτα].

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Schwertheim, 1983, 117, Nr. 15; Cremer 1991, KN 16, Taf. 4.

K76 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3130.

Description: Naiskos stele with a flat entablature and antae. White marble. 66: 48: 7,5.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. He is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand and a small item of food in his right hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a chair at either end of the *kline*. Both women are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, a bunch of grapes, and a pomegranate. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a chest and the right one a boy.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Μενεκράτης Ἐρμοκράτ[ους], / Στρατονίκη Μενεκρά[τους] / χαίρετε.

Date: Probably early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1873; IKyzikos 316; Cremer 1991, MiSt 14, Taf. 21.

K77

Provenance: Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 357.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with shafts. White fine-grained marble. 65: 56: 17.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. He is holding a drinking bowl in his left hand and a small item of food (maybe an egg) in his right hand. A veiled woman is sitting in a chair at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose and is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm. The other woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose and is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. Both women have their feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, a round fruit, and a fig. In the lower corners two servant girls are standing: the left girl is holding a *cista* and the right girl a wool-basket. To the right of the table is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: Below the relief to the left: Κλεοπάτρας τῆς / Ἀσκληπιοδ[ώρο] υ, in the middle: Ἀσκληπιοδώρου / τοῦ Τιμαίου, to the right: Ἀθηναῖδος / τῆς Αἰνέου.

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1875, Taf. 269; IKyzikos 263, Taf. 20; Cremer 1991, MiSt 12; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K78

Provenance: Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Izmir, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 364.

Description: Fragment from the right part of a stele. White marble. 53: 30: 14.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the head of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with food. A servant is standing on either side of the woman: the right one is a girl holding a wool-basket and the left one a boy.

Inscription: Below the relief field: ---ωνος.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1890, Taf. 271; IKyzikos 490, Taf. 34; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

- K79 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Present location: Berlin-Dahlem, DAI.
Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. White marble. 51: 40: 11.
Relief: Two men are reclining on a *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding large egg bowls in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. The left man is holding a fruit in his right hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a fig, apples, a cake, and a bunch of grapes. In the lower left corner there is a servant boy next to a krater. He is holding a jug in his right hand.
Inscription: Below the relief: Παπαρίων υἱὸς / Μενάνδρου χαῖρε (probably from a later reuse of the stele).
Date: Probably first century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1905, Taf. 274; Cremer 1991, KSt 48; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.
- K80 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.
Pl. 39 Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 2855.
Description: Broad *naiskos* with antae. White large-grained marble. 55: 90: 12,5.
Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and the right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. The right man is holding a *kantharos* in his left hand and the left man a *skyphos*. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick-layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her shoed feet on a footstool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with round fruits, a bunches of grapes, and *pyramides*. To the right of the table there is a naked servant boy next to a volute *krater*. He is holding his right hand on the krater. Behind the boy is a knotty tree (probably olive) entwined by a large snake. In front of the tree is a *kylikeion* with a *skyphos* and two reversed egg bowls. To the right of the tree is a pillar topped by a kettle and atop it a *rhyton* with lion protome. There is a squire holding the reins of a stamping horse in front of the pillar.
Inscription: No preserved inscription.
Date: Middle of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: P-M 1918, Taf. 276; Cremer 1991, KM 5; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV; Hamiaux 1998, No. 203.

K81 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.

Pl. 40.1 Present location: Berlin, Pergamon Museum, Inv. No. Sk. 1838.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele with a flat entablature, pillars with straight capitals, and two relief fields. Marble.

Relief: Upper relief: two wreathed men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. The left man has his head turned to the left and is looking at a boy who is standing at the foot of the *kline*. The boy is facing him and they are joined in a handclasp. Behind the boy is a veiled woman sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with cakes and fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy next to a volute *krater*. Lower relief: on the left a veiled woman is sitting in a squatting position on a low rock. Her head is lowered and her hands are wrapped around her legs. On the right a man is sitting opposite her on a chair with lion legs. He has his right hand on his chin and is looking at a boy standing right of centre. The boy is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and approaches a youthful herm in the centre. He is touching the herm with his extended right hand and seems to hang a schoolbag on it.

Inscription: Between the relief fields: Μηνη Μηνίου / χαῖρε.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1111, Taf. 168; Corsten 1991, 140; Cremer 1991, KN 20, Taf. 5; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K82 **Provenance:** Ergili or Kyzikos.

Pl. 40.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5366.

Description: Tall stele with a flat entablature and two relief fields. Marble. 78: 41: 11.

Relief: Upper relief: two bearded men are reclining on a plain block. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a bunch of grapes and apples. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy. Lower relief: on the left a blacksmith wearing a short *chiton* is sitting on a block. He is holding a hammer in his right hand and in his left hand a tong.

Inscription: Between the relief fields: Ἡφαιστίων Παπᾶ ἤρωος / χαῖρε.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1170, Taf. 175; IKyzikos 232, Taf. 16; Cremer 1991, KN 7, Taf. 4.

K83 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Bandırma – Panormos).

Pl. 41.1 Present location: Çanakkale, Arkeoloji Müzesi.

Description: Broad *naiskos* stele with a flat entablature. White marble. 53: 51: 21.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a large bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her shoed feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with food. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl in the *pudicitia* pose, the right one a boy. He is scooping with a jug from a goblet *krater* and is holding a *skyphos* in his left hand.

Inscription: Below the relief field in the middle: Παρησία / Παρθενίου, to the right: Παρθένιος / Σεύθου, below the middle inscription: χαίρετε.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1919, Taf. 277; IKyzikos 399; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K84 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos or vicinity.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3168.

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. White chryselline marble. 71: 57: 9.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm and has her shoed feet on a low foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with apples and bunches of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin, the right one a boy with his right hand on his chin.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: Ἀπολλώνιε / Διονυσίου / χαῖρε, to the right: Διονύσειε / Ἀσκληπιάδου / χαῖρε.

Date: Probably early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1928, Taf. 278; IKyzikos 54, Taf. 4; Cremer 1991, KSt 17; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K85

Provenance: Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2401.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature. White, large-crystalline marble. 58: 44: 18.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick-layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her shoed feet on a low foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, a pomegranate, and a bunch of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with a wool-basket, the right one a boy holding a ladle above a goblet *krater*.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: Θεοβούλ[ου τ]οῦ / Ἀμμωνέως, to the right: Ἀσκληπιᾶ τοῦ / Κλέωνος.

Date: Second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 1013; PM 1932; IKyzikos 233, Taf. 18; Cremer 1991, KSt 6; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K86

Provenance: Probably Kyzikos or vicinity.

Pl. 41.2 Present location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Inv. No. Pb. 53.

Description: Tapering gable stele. Light grey large-grained marble. 59: 29: 6.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose on a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her shoed feet on a foot-stool. A small girl is standing in front of the woman's legs. She is covered in a cloak and touches the left leg of the woman with her right hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with an apple, a pomegranate, a cake, and a bunch of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with a wool-basket, the right one a boy next to a *krater*.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Μηνοδότος Μενεστράτου. / Μενέστρατος Μηνοδότου. / Δημητρία Φιλοξένου.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1933, Taf. 279; IKyzikos 327; Bastet-Brunsting 1982, 223, Pl. 60; Cremer 1991, MiSt 26; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K87 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Bandırma-Panormos).

Pl. 42.1 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3307.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature. White fine-grained marble. 64: 47: 13.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. Their large heads are tied with ribbons. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is much smaller than the men. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes and a pomegranate. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with a wool-basket, the right one a boy holding a jug above a volute *krater*. In the upper left corner is a barren tree entwined by a large bearded snake with its head towards the left man.

Inscription: Below the relief field in large letters: Μένανδρε / Μειδίου χαῖρε, an epigram in smaller letters: Μειδίου υἱὲ Μένανδρε, τί τὸν πανόδουρον ἀταρπ[ὸν] / στείχεις, ἐκτρολιπῶν λυγρὰ τέκνω δάκρυα; / Μόσχιον αἰάζει σε γυνή, θρηνεῖ δέ σε ἀδελφῆ / κτανθέντα αἰφνιδίως λαθρίου ἀνδρὸς ἄρη. / [ἔ]ρρε, Τύχη πανόδυρτε, τί τὸν θά<λλ>ο<ν>τα πρὶν ὥρας / [ἔ]σβεσας, ἀνδρολέταν Ἄρεα δεξάμενον;

Date: Late second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, 1552; P-M 1939, Taf. 280; IKyzikos 519, Taf. 38; Cremer 1991, KM 10; Bruss 2005, 53f.

K88 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.

Pl. 42.2 Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3184.

Description: Broad *naiskos* stele with shafts. White marble. 71: 56: 12.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. The left man is holding an item of food in his right hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, round fruits, and a bunch of grapes. In the lower corners

two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with a wool-basket, the right one a boy with a ladle. There is a bucket *krater* to the left of the boy.

Inscription: Below the relief in the middle: Μενεστράτου / τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, to the right: Ἀπολλωνίου / τοῦ Μενεστράτου.

Date: Probably second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1942, Taf. 281; IKyzikos 321, Taf. 25; Cremer 1991, KSt 43; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K89 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. Ma 205.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature. Large-grained marble. 56: 41: 6.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with apples and bunches of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Ἀθηνόδορος.

Date: Probably early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1947; IKyzikos 8; Hamiaux 1998, 167.

K90 **Provenance:** Certainly Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3218.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature, antae, and two relief fields. Marble. 62: 35: 8.

Relief: Upper relief: two men are reclining on a *kline*. The right man is wreathed. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking cup in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes and apples. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin, the right one a boy. Lower relief: a man wearing a short *chiton* is standing next to a dog.

Inscription: Below the relief field are traces of an inscription.

Date: Early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Cremer 1991, KN 3, Taf. 3.

K91 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or Panermos.

Pl. 43.1 Present location: Bandirma, Arkeoloji Müzesi (Garden).

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. Marble.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a large drinking bowl in their left hand. The right's man hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a low foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with flat cakes and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her right hand on her chin, the right one a boy with his hands folded over his stomach. To the left of the boy there is a *krater*.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Select bibliography: Unpublished.

K92 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2609.

Description: Tapering *naiskos* stele with two relief fields. White marble. 63: 43,5: 9.

Relief: Upper relief: two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. With her left hand she gives or receives a small object to/from a large boy standing *en face* to the right. The boy is wearing a *chiton* and over it a cloak. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a bunch of grapes and round fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy leaning over a *krater* and holding a dipper or a jug in his left hand. Lower relief: a youthful herm is standing on a plinth.

Inscription: Below the relief are traces from four scriptlines, reconstructed by Corsten: [— —]NPAN[— —]HO[— —] {²vac.}² / [— —]Λ IOΛΛΟΥ[— — — — —] {²vac.}² / [— —]Σ[—]N[—] ἐτῶ[v] π' [] {²vac.}² / {²vac.}² χαῖρε. {²vac.}²

Date: Second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1948, Taf. 281; Cremer 1991, KN 19, Taf. 5; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV; Corsten 1993, 1090.

- K93 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 225.
Description: *Naiskos* stele. White large-crystalline marble. 60: 51: 14.
Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. The left man is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and he seems to be holding an object in his left hand. With his right hand the right man is holding a small object above a table laden with a pomegranate. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a chair covered with a fringed cloth at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a girdled *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a foot-stool. In the lower left corner is a servant holding a leaf-shaped fan.
Inscription: Below the relief field: Καλλιθέα / Ἀπολλων[ίου].
Date: Probably late second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Mendel III, 1022; P-M 1951, Taf. 280.

- K94 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Ermeniköy).
Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 352.
Description: Tapering *Stockwerkstele* with a small relief field on the left margin. White large-grained marble. 105: 80: 31.
Relief: Upper relief: two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking cup in their left hand. The left man is holding an item of food in his right hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A woman is sitting in the Penelope pose in a chair at the foot of the *kline*. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with two *pyramides*, a flat cake, and a round fruit. Behind the woman is a tree trunk entwined by a snake. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl, the right one a boy leaning on a volute *krater* and holding a cup in his right hand. Lower relief: a mounted rider. The horse is galloping to the left. The rider's lance is aimed at a boar that is jumping up from the left. Underneath the horse is a dog. On the right is a squire holding two spears in his right hand. On the left margin: a man is standing *en face* in the Demosthenes pose. On the right is a servant boy holding a scroll in his right hand.
Inscription: Between the two relief fields: Πυθόδωρος / Πυθοῦ / Πυθῆς / Πυθοδώρου.
Date: Second half of the second century BCE.
Select bibliography: Mendel III, 1055; P-M 111, Taf. 25 & 204;

IKyzikos 421, Taf. 44; Cremer 1991, KS 1; Schimdt 1991, Tab. IV.

K95 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 43.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3306.

Description: Tapering stele with two relief fields. Light grey marble. 82: 55: 9.

Relief: Upper relief: two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking bowl in their right hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in a chair at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose and the right woman in the *pudicitia* pose. Both women are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their feet on a foot-stool. In the lower corners are two servant girls holding wool-baskets in both hands. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes, a pomegranate, and cakes. There is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach to the right of the table. Lower relief: a man is standing *en face* right of centre. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. His head is tilted to the left and he grasps the left hand of a woman who is sitting on the ground. Her right hand is lying on her right knee. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that covers her head and falls down over her back.

Inscription: Below the upper relief field: Ἀπολλόδωρε / Θύρσου χαιρε, below the lower relief field: ὁ πᾶσι θνητοῖς ἄκριτος βίου βραβεύς, / ὁ πικρὸς Ἄδης, ὃς τὰ σεμνὰ βασκαίνει, / Ἀπολλόδωρον ἐγ δόμων ἀναρπάσας / ἔκρυψεν ἐν τάφοισι καὶ γονεῦσι μὲν / θρήνουσ ἔλειπεν, ἐγ δὲ ὀμηλικῶν χοροῦ / δακρυτὸν Ἄδην εἰς ἀπέστειλεν βίᾳ.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, No. 847; P-M 1021, Taf. 153; IKyzikos 493, Taf. 34; Cremer 1991, KS 7.

K96 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: In Erdek.

Description: An ashbox in the form of a stool. White marble. 28: 28: 60.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are holding drinking bowls in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at either end of the *kline*. They are wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and have their shod feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a round table laden with five apples. In the lower corners two

servant girls are standing. To the right of the table is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Probably second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1983, Taf. 284.

K97 **Provenance:** From a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. Nr. 2552.

Description: Doric *naiskos* stele with three holes (probably for the fastening of garlands) on the architrave. Marble. 81: 64: 12.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding drinking cups in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in a covered chair at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose and the other in the *pudicitia* pose. They are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their shoed feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes and other fruits. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her right hand on her chin, the right one is a boy with his hands folded over his stomach.

Inscription: Below the relief field are traces of four scriptlines.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1988, Taf. 288; Cremer 1991 KSt 1, Taf. 10; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K98 **Provenance:** Certainly Kyzikos.

Present location: Köln, Römische Germanische Museum, Inv. No. 89, 68.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature and antae. Marble. 49: 41.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding drinking cups in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in a covered chair at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose and the other in the *pudicitia* pose. They are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their shoed feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a bunch of grapes and large pomegranates. In the lower corners are two servant girls holding a large wool-basket in both hands.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: Μύρτειον {Μύρτιον} / χαῖρε,

to the right: Ἀσκληπιιάδης / Διοθέμιδος / χαῖρε.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Cremer 1991, KSt 2, Taf. 10.

K99 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or Panermos.

Pl. 44.1 Present location: Bandirma, Arkeoloji Müzesi (Garden).

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. Marble.

Relief: Upper relief: two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are holding drinking bowls in their left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in a covered chair at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose and the other in the *pudicitia* pose. They are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. They have their shod feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with food. In the lower corners there are two servant girls holding a wool-basket in both hands. Lower relief: on the left a woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair, her head in right profile. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. On the right a veiled woman is sitting *en face* in the Penelope pose on a block like chair. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm. Both women have their feet on a foot-stool. In the lower corners two servant girls are standing: the left girl with her left hand on the chin, the right girl holding a chest in both hands.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Select bibliography: Unpublished.

K100 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or Panermos.

Pl. 44.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 2224.

Description: Ionic *naiskos* with a flat entablature. White large-chryselline marble. 107: 113: 19.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and the right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. The left man is holding a *rhyton* with a deer protome in his right hand and a drinking cup in his left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in a chair at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose and the other in the *pudicitia* pose. A third woman is sitting *en face* in the *pudicitia* pose on the *kline*. All three women are wearing a *chiton* with a cloak and have their feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a bunch of grapes and large *pyramides*. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin, the right one a boy next to a *kalyx krater*. He has his left hand inside the krater and is holding

a dipper in his right hand. Behind the left woman is a pillar topped by a lidded urn. A double door with transverse strips is carved on the short margin of the stele.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: Παρμον[— —] / τῆς Ἀγαθα[— —], in the middle: [— —]υς / [Βα]κχίου, to the right: Βακχίου / Γλαύκου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 52, Nr. 6, Abb. 4; Mendel III, 1021; Pfuhl 1935, 40; P-M 1990, Taf. 287; IKyzikos 128, Taf. 10; Cremer 1991, KM 1, Taf. 9; Schmidt, 1991, Tab. IV.

K101 **Provenance:** Discovered during an archaeological excavation in Kyzikos.

Pl. 45.1 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5368.

Description: *Naiskos* with a Doric architrave (taenia, regula, guttae). Fine-chrySTALLINE marble with yellow patina. 79: 108: 26.

Relief: Two men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding drinking cups in their left hand. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose (the left woman with her right hand in the lap) in a covered chair at either end of the *kline*. A third woman is sitting *en face* in the Penelope pose on the *kline*. All three women are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their shoed feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a folding table laden with apples, a flat cake, *pyramides*, and a bunch of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her left hand on her chin, the right one a boy next to a *kalyx krater*. He has his left hand inside the *krater* and is holding a *simpulum* in his right hand. Behind the boy is a *kylikeion* with a deep bowl and three reversed egg bowls. Above the *kylikeion* is a barren tree entwined by a snake

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: Δημητριάς τῆς / [Α]ριστο[δρή] μου, in the middle: Πριηπίδος τῆς / Ὀλυμπιοδώρου, to the right: [Διογ]ένου / τοῦ Δημητρίου.

Date: Second half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 1991, Taf. 387; IKyzikos 146, Taf. 42; Cremer 1991, KM 4; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K102 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 45.2 Present location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1992.11.58.

Description: *Naiskos* stele with a flat entablature and antae. Marble.

Relief: Upper relief: three men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding drinking cups in their left hand. The middle man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose in a chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl holding a wool-basket, the right one a boy. In the upper right corner is a tree entwined by a snake. Lower relief: on the left a mounted rider. The horse is moving at walking pace and is facing right. The rider is wearing a short *chiton* and a *chlamys*. He is holding a spear in his left hand and has a large shield on his left arm. He is joined in a handclasp with a man standing *en face* right of centre. The standing man is wearing a *chlamys* and armour. He is holding a spear in his left hand and a large shield on his left arm. To the right of the man is a horse, its reins is held by a squire.

Inscription: Below the upper relief field, to the left: [Στρ]ατονίκη / [— — —]δου, to the right: Απολ[λώνιος] / Αρτεμιδώρ[ου]. Below the lower relief field, to the left: [Απολ]λώνιε / [Απολ]λωνίου / (χαί)ρε, to the right: [Αρτεμι]δωρε / Απολλωνίου / χαίρε.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Cremer 1991, Taf. 10; Känel, 1992, 109ff., Taf. 9.

K103 **Provenance:** Kyzikos or Panermos.

Pl. 46.1 Present location: Bandırma, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Garden.

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. Marble.

Relief: Three men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding a drinking cup in their left hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose in a chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her right arm and has her feet on a low foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a pomegranate, two round fruits, and two bunches of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with a wool-basket, the right one a boy. There is a *krater* to the left of the boy.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Select bibliography: Unpublished.

K104 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 46.2 Present location: Çanakkale, Arkeoloji Müzesi.

Description: Plain *naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. White marble. 74: 91: 17.

Relief: Three men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding drinking bowls in their left hand; the middle man has a shallow bowl, the other two men deep cups. The right man's hand is placed on the left man's shoulder. A youth and a veiled woman are sitting on plain chairs at the head of the *kline*. The woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose and is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak. She has her feet on a foot-stool. The youth is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding an open scroll over the lap. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a round fruit, a plate on a foot, a bunch of grapes, cakes, and figs. To the right of the table is a servant boy with his hands folded over his stomach. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a boy holding a jug over a krater, the right one a girl with a wool-basket. Behind the seated youth there is a tall stele decorated with a ribbon. In the upper right corner there is a horse protome that is facing left. At the foot of the *kline* is a barren tree entwined by a snake with its face turned towards the left man's head.

Inscription: No preserved inscription.

Date: Second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Pfuhl 1905, 49f., Abb. 1; P-M 2001, Taf. 288.

K105 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 47.1 Present location: London, British Museum.

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and pillars with straight capitals. On the epistyl are three nail holes, probably for the fastening of wreaths or garlands. Below the main relief field is a warrior ship in low relief. White large-grained marble. 75: 82: 26.

Relief: Three bearded and wreathed men are reclining on a *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding conical drinking cups in their left hand. The right and middle man have their hand placed on the shoulder of the man reclining to their left. A veiled woman is sitting in chairs at either end of the *kline*. The left woman is sitting in the Penelope pose and the other in the *pudicitia* pose. They are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their feet on a foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a conical bowl, *trogalia*, and *pyramides*. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with a wool-basket, the right one a boy with his left arm on a globular *krater*.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the right: Διονυσόδωρου τοῦ / Πυθέου, to the left: "Διονυσόδωρε χαῖρε" «καὶ σὺ γε, ὦ φίλε / τὸ νῦν ἔχον γείνωσκέ με ὄδε κείμενον, / καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλῶς ἐζωκότα, / Διμναγενῆ γεγονότα, πᾶσι προσφιλή».

Date: Second or early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: Peek 1955, 1851; P-M 1187, Taf. 179; IKyzikos 507, Taf. 37; Cremer 1991, KN 5, Taf. 3; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K106 **Provenance:** Kyzikos (Erdek – Artake).

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3852.

Description: Right part of a large relief field. Marble. 56: 71: 18.

Relief: Three men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. The right man is holding a drinking cup in his left hand and the right man's hand is placed on the middle man's shoulder. A veiled woman is sitting in the Penelope pose on a covered chair at the head of the *kline*. She is wearing a *chiton* with a cloak that enfolds her arms and has her feet on a foot-stool. In front of her chair is a wool-basket and in front of the *kline* a table laden with cakes and fruits.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: [— — —] / [ο]υ, in the middle: Μηνοφάνης / Ἀριστοφάνου, to the right: Ἀρτε[μίδωρα] / Μηνο[φάνου].

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 2004; IKyzikos 334, Taf. 27; Cremer 1991, KSt 52.

K107 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 47.2 Present location: Basel, Museum, Inv. No. BS 254.

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antae. Marble. H: 74.

Relief: Three men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a *cloak* and are holding large conical drinking cups in their left hand. The right hand of the right and middle man is placed on the left shoulder of the man reclining to their left. The left man is holding a round object in his right hand. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at either end of the *kline*. They are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their shod feet on a foot-stool. A small girl is standing to the left of the right woman's foot-stool. She is touching the woman's feet with both hands. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with bunches of grapes, *pyramides*, and pomegranates. In the lower corners two servant girls are standing: the left girl is holding a lidded *cista*, the right one a pomegranate. To the right of the table is a servant boy next to a globular *krater*. He is holding a jug in his left hand.

Inscription: Below the relief, to the left: Στρατονίκη / Ἀσκληπιάδου, in the middle: Ἀσκληπιάδου / τοῦ Πραξίου, to the right: Πραξίου τοῦ / Ἀσκληπιάδου, below the middle and right inscription: Μηνοφίλου / τοῦ Πραξίου.

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Cremer 1991, MiSt 17, Taf. 20; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV; Känel 1992, 114-116, Taf. 10.

K108 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 48.1 Present location: Bursa, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 3167.

Description: Plain *naiskos* with a flat entablature and shafts. White marble. 63: 71: 15.

Relief: Four men are reclining on a covered *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and are holding drinking cups in their left hand. The second and fourth man (from the left) has his hand on the shoulder of the man reclining to his left. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at the foot of the *kline*. She is wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and has her feet on a low foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with three shallow bowls, round fruits, and bunches of grapes. In the lower corners two servants are standing: the left one is a girl with her left hand to the chin, the right one a boy next to a *kalyx krater*. He has his right hand on the krater and seems to be holding a jug or dipper in his left hand. Behind the head of the *kline* is an empty *kylekeion*.

Inscription: Below the relief to the right: Δημητρίου / τοῦ Μηνοδώρου, in the middle: Ἀδράστου τοῦ / Μηνοδώρου, to the right: Μηνοδώρου / Ἀδράστου / πρ(εσβευτέρου).

Date: Late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 2015, Taf. 291; IKyzikos 150; Cremer 1991, KM 8.

K109 **Provenance:** Kyzikos.

Pl. 48.2 Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 11.

Description: *Naiskos* with a flat entablature and antate. White large-chrySTALLINE marble with grey streaking. 66: 83: 23.

Relief: Four men are reclining on a *kline*. They are wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak. The first man (from the left) is holding a small wreath or ribbon, the third man a napkin (?), and the second and fourth man a large egg bowl. The first man's hand is placed in his lap, while the other three men have their right hand on the shoulder of the man reclining to their left. The right man has a beard. A veiled woman is sitting in the *pudicitia* pose in a covered chair at either end of the *kline*. They are wearing a thick layered *chiton* with a cloak and have their shoed feet on a low foot-stool. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake, *pyramides*, and bunches of grapes. In the lower corners

two servant girls with wool-basket are standing. On either side of the table is a servant boy. The right boy is leaning on a *kalix krater* and is holding a dipper in his right hand. The left boy is holding an egg bowl in his right hand and a dipper in his left hand. In the upper left corner is a barren tree entwined by a bearded snake. In the upper right corner is a horse protome that is facing left.

Inscription: Below the relief field to the left: Διονυσίου τοῦ / Κανδionoς, in the centre left: Παμμένου / τοῦ Νουμηγίου, in the centre right: Διονυσίου / τοῦ Βακχίου, to the right: Θεοκρίτου τοῦ / Βακχίου.

Date: Probably late second century BCE.

Select bibliography: Mendel III, 1020; P-M 2016, Taf. 291; IKyzikos 170, Taf. 14; Cremer 1991, KM 6; Schmidt 1991, Tab. IV.

K110 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos.

Present location: Erdek, Müzesi, Inv. No. 13.

Description: Upper right corner of a relief field. White marble. 48: 95: 198.

Relief: A bearded man is reclining on a *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a deep bowl in his left hand. He stretches out his right hand to touch the food (bunch of grapes and a round fruit) that is lying on a table in front of the *kline*. To the right of the table is a servant boy next to a goblet *krater*. He is holding a jug above the *krater* with his right hand and a bowl or dipper in his left hand. At the head of the *kline* is a large *kylikeion* with three cups. Above the *kylikeion* there is a horse portome facing left.

Inscription: On the architrave: [— — —] Μειδίου τοῦ / [— — —] Μενόκου / [— — —]

Date: Early first century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 2043, Taf. 297; IKyzikos 295, Taf. 23; Cremer 1991, KM 9.

K111 **Provenance:** Probably Kyzikos (Edincik).

Present location: Erdek, Müzesi.

Description: Lower right corner of a relief field. White marble. 25: 16: 13.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is holding a cup in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with fruits. To the right of the table is a naked servant boy next to a volute *krater*. He is holding

an *askos* above the *krater*.

Inscription: Below the relief field: Ἀπολλωνίδου / τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου.

Date: Probably first half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 2056, Taf. 298; IKyzikos 46, Taf. 3; Cremer 1991, KM 7.

K112 **Provenance:** Probably from a workshop in Kyzikos.

Present location: Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi, Inv. No. 5399.

Description: Lower right corner of a relief field. Light grey marble. 51: 45: 14.

Relief: A man is reclining on a covered *kline*. He is wearing a short-sleeved *chiton* with a cloak and is holding a large *skyphos* in his left hand. In front of the *kline* is a table laden with a cake and apples. To the right of the table is a servant boy next to a goblet *krater*. He is holding a ladle in his right hand. At the head of the *kline* is a large, empty *kylikeion*. In the lower right corner is a squire holding the reins of a horse with his right hand. Between the *kylikeion* and the horse are traces from a tree entwined by a snake.

Inscription: Above the relief: [— —]ηνίου τοῦ Διονυσίου.

Date: First half of the second century BCE.

Select bibliography: P-M 2057, Taf. 298; IKyzikos 173, Taf. 14; Cremer 1991, KM 11.

4. LIMINAL SPACE AND CONSOLING METAPHORS

In this chapter I will consider the compositional characteristics of the grave reliefs and the repertoire of landscape motifs or elements on them.¹ When taken together these elements create a complex setting or scenery – visual renderings of spatiality. The location where the grave stelai were once erected, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, consisted of burial grounds possibly delimited by an enclosure wall. Funerary reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos reveal a richly detailed iconography, but our knowledge of some of the basic pictorial criteria is limited. It is therefore important to determine, for instance, the setting of the scenes. When this is achieved one can evaluate the emotive potency of the scenery. A first step is to consider the liminal qualities of the chosen scenery and the ample use of consolatory figurations and metaphors of death as expressed in the imagery on the tomb reliefs. The second step is to evaluate the emotive meaning of liminal space and the function of funerary stelai as visual therapy for the bereaved. It concerns both external emotions presumably aroused in the viewer, together with the emotive and consoling function of funerary art in general. Just as images can manipulate and elicit emotions, so equally can space, and here I mean both physical space and the rendering of space in the visual arts. Our emotional life is created and shaped by the settings in which it takes place. Davidson & Milligan speak of “an emotio-spatial hermeneutic”, where “emotions are understandable – sensible – only in the context of particular places”.² The setting of an image facilitates its meaning and coding. Areas are also given significance by their very definition, such as an enclosure wall and the space created by those walls.³

In this chapter I will try to demonstrate and work from the premise that setting was a crucial and integral aspect of the memorial’s message and meaning. I will consider how emotions are provoked or enhanced through the staging and conscious placement of

1 With landscape “motifs” and “elements” I mean a depiction of any one or group of features of the natural or man-made environment. Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 2.

2 Davidson & Milligan 2004, 524.

3 For the relation between emotions and archaeological space, see Masségla 2013a, 136f.

the scenes in what I will identify as the vicinity of tombs or *heroa* and within the confines of an architectural framework. Burial grounds may be considered liminal grounds, that is, neither part of the world of the living nor of the afterlife proper, but a kind of in between in the sense of Turner and Leach. The significance of the scenery and the liminal qualities of the chosen settings together with the performance of the figures present in the scenes will be examined in an attempt to establish hitherto undented signs of emotive character. The function of the enclosure wall, as represented on grave reliefs, was to delimit where one code of behaviour finished and another began. Is this a symbolic space that would have occasioned spontaneous recognition, a generic setting or just an innovation of a gifted craftsman? And if it is symbolic of reality, reality to whom: the sculptor or the intended viewer? Behind most interpretations of landscapes in Hellenistic art lies the assumption that the sculptor's purpose and intentions are more or less faithful or documentary in outlook. But according to current theories, works of art and literature offer very circuitous clues to real spatial situations and experiences. Even the most illusionistic landscapes tend to be constructions of ideals.⁴ Cohen, for instance, has suggested that the funerary associations of the landscape on a painted hunt frieze from Vergina "point to a notional landscape that cannot be pinned down, whose existential strands cannot be disentangled".⁵

I would like to add the argument that the hunt frieze from Vergina is relatively unique in its kind. East Greek grave stelai, on the other hand have their number as an advantage when intending to understand specific meanings of the setting of the scenes adorning them.⁶ Admittedly, the rendering of settings in Hellenistic funerary art is often generalised, and inevitably notional. But the preoccupation in Hellenistic relief sculpture with the representation of tangible space and the care taken in

4 See Cohen (2010, 254) for references on this approach in landscape studies.

5 Cohen 2010, 254. This frieze adorns the outer façade of the so-called tomb of Philip II in the royal nekropolis of Vergina. The ten figures are engaged in a hunting scene and surrounded by rocks and trees. This landscape has often been interpreted as a sacred landscape or as an oriental park where one could hunt wild animals, a so-called *paradeisos*. This theory has recently been challenged by Franks (2013) who sets the scene in what she prefers to call a "heroic landscape".

6 Such reliefs comprise the largest body of extant material from the Hellenistic age which depict scenic settings or elements thereof in their compositions.

accurate renderings of spatiality and realistic representations of natural features (e.g., trees rendered with botanical accuracy) must mean that the background signified matters of importance. Moreover, the space on the grave reliefs presents personifications that signify immaterial realities. In the scholarship on Hellenistic funerary art the possibilities of identifying setting has never been challenged. At the same time, setting has never been considered of much importance in the overall interpretations of the imagery.⁷ Several of the landscape elements have mostly been viewed as purely decorative or as a mere backdrop to the figures.⁸ My work departs from the premise that landscape features not only convey a means to identify and mark the location of the scene, but are highly significant and a crucial and integral aspect of the imagery. In order to examine the importance of the background settings, a detailed analysis of its various elements will be presented below.

ARCHITECTONIC FRAMEWORK

East Greek funerary reliefs are generally carved in one piece,⁹ and constitute an “architectural” monument in their own right. Typical of grave stelai made in Smyrna is a stove carved in one piece with relief figures standing in a *naiskos* flanked by pilasters or columns, set on a podium base, surmounted by a moulded entablature, pediment, and floral akroteria. An Attic zone is often inserted between the pediment and cornice; this can be decorated with honorific wreaths and/or carry an inscription.¹⁰ The Attic zone may have been copied from the prestigious

7 An exception is of course the early study on *Beiwerk* on East Greek grave stelai by Pfuhl (1905). See also Fabricius 1999a, 66-68.

8 E.g., Känel (1992, 111) who describes architectonic and landscape features as “Kulisse der Bankettszenen”.

9 Several grave reliefs from Smyrna in the shape of a rectangular funerary plaque, presumably had a separate *naiskos* frame (**S1**, **S72**, **S80**, **S83**, **S127**, **S133**). E.g., **S25** has a cutting for a clamp on the top at the left. This was for securing either a separately made filial or an architectural frame. The sides of the stele exhibit *anathyrosis*, further evidence that this is the back slab from a monument that had an architectural frame. Burnett Grossman 2001, 112.

10 The base also provides a field for longer inscriptions or epigrams.

architecture of Makedonian tombs (where it served to conceal the barrel vault).¹¹ Many of the funerary reliefs from Kyzikos are in the shape of a simple slab with a pediment. Another more elaborate category of monuments made in Kyzikos (and throughout Mysia) are relief figures standing within a simple architectonic frame flanked by pillar-like side borders adorned with plain capitals (*antae*), and crowned by an architrave with a slightly projecting epistyle. This shape would have required more preparatory stonework than a simple slab with a pediment. But can a flat-roofed stele really be classified as a *naiskos*? Arvanitopoulos calls the form of the stele a *naiskos*, and suggests that this shape indicated that the deceased was honoured as a hero (i.e. the form is reserved for heroised individuals, and the shape of the marker did immediately evoke the importance of the deceased).¹² This classification has been challenged by Stewart & Gray. They claim that since the form is a flat-roofed structure, not pedimental, adorned with antefixes and framed by pilasters, the shape is not really a *naiskos*.¹³ However, I agree with Arvanitopoulos, since a pedimental crowning is *not* an essential architectonic feature for a *naiskos*, in its simplest form it was a funerary shrine that framed individual statues or relief figures, and thus an architectural stele with a flat entablature easily adheres to this category.

Admittedly, one must differentiate between two types of *naiskoi* with elaborate architectural frame: (1) *naiskos* in the form of a pedimental stele with relief figures in a niche either rounded or set off by entablature and *antae*, and (2) flat-topped *naiskos* which is similar to the preceding except that the entablature is not in the form of a pediment but flat.¹⁴ In either case, the pillars and columns are mostly of the Doric or Korinthian order. The Doric order is by far the most popular in both Kyzikos and Smyrna, and consists of colons or pilasters adorned with Doric capitals, sometimes the entablature is decorated with metopes and triglyphs.¹⁵ The Korinthian order

11 Smith 1991, 188; Burn 2004, 121.

12 Arvanitopoulos (1909, 97) have not studied funerary reliefs from Kyzikos, but a similar type of Hellenistic grave stelai from the Thessalian city of Demetrias.

13 Stewart & Gray 2000, 250-253.

14 For a similar classification of Attic "*naiskos* stelai", see Bradeen 1974.

15 The use of engaged Doric columns is a favourite feature of Hellenistic architecture of the second century BCE, and it may have intentionally symbolized the archaic past, yet another means by which heroic associations were signalled. Cormack 2004, 24 & 52.

only appears on reliefs from Smyrna, where it was the preferred choice for the more elaborate grave stelai.¹⁶ The Ionic order is rare in East Greek funerary art, but it is represented on several grave stelai from Smyrna, (**S15, S42, S43, S46, S59, S92, S130**) and on a few tomb markers from Kyzikos (**K7, K47, K100**).¹⁷ A great number of grave reliefs, however, are only decorated with a plain gable crowned with akroteria sculpture.¹⁸ The reliefs with plain pilasters and gables are sparse on iconographic (or redundant) details, whereas the columnar stelai often are large, elaborate and have a rich iconography. Above all, the architectonic features represent architecture of the exterior and the actual recreation of interior space is almost unknown. Many of the tombstones, however, produce a remarkable conflation of interior and exterior space. The images are set within an enclosed space, while certain pictorial details allude to an open-air environment.

What was the purpose of placing the reliefs within an architectonic frame? At the most basic level the frame defines the picture as a closed entity. A frame separates an image from its surroundings to indicate that it is a world of its own. Indeed, in most cases the picture (or sculpture) is meant to be a detached representation of the world rather than a part of it.¹⁹ However, the choices of delimiting the relief images within the boundary of an architectonic structure were not incidental. The *naiskos* is clearly not only a frame for the image, but also an organic part of the whole. That the architectonic borders served a higher (non-aesthetic) purpose is evident in the way that the architectural details of the funerary reliefs echo the monumental tombs of the wealthy. The grave stelai cleverly combine the representation of an imaginary tomb façade with the traditional image of the deceased. Columns, pilasters, high podiums and magnificent entablatures adorned the façade of monumental tombs in Asia Minor (e.g., the Nereid tomb at

16 E.g., **S2, S10, S35, S59, S62, S64, S105**.

17 In Hellenistic architecture Ionic as the primary order predominates on temples and altars (Webb 1996, 6).

18 **S3, S5, S9, S10, S17, S20, S23, S26, S28, S33, S34, S38, S39, S44, S52, S56, S60, S63, S65, S67, S69, S70, S75, S78, S79, S84, S85, S86, S87, S89, S90, S91, S93, S95, S101, S103, S104, S109, S110, S112, S118, S120**. The akroteria sculpture on the Kyzikos reliefs are often carved in very low relief. **K5, K7, K13, K15, K16, K19, K21, K23, K32, K33, K40, K42, K54, K55, K56, K62, K70**.

19 Arnheim 1988, 56f.



Fig. 10 Nereid tomb, Xanthos.

Xanthos; Fig. 10).²⁰ The adoption of columnar orders has a long pedigree in funerary architecture throughout the Mediterranean world, and the development of the Corinthian column as an exterior order may first have occurred at the assumed royal tomb of Belevi.²¹ If the Belevi tomb was indeed first to apply this column type in this regard, it is an innovation which certainly contributed to the overall symbolism of the tomb. The Corinthian column had formerly been associated with particularly sacred, frequently hidden, spaces, and its sudden appearance on the exterior of a royal tomb would have been viewed as a signifier of the sacred.²² The presence of gabled facades on most of the funerary reliefs also signals to sepulchral architecture, since numerous built tombs with gables are preserved throughout Asia Minor.

The architecture of the funerary reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos was no mere setting or background, but an important

20 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 283ff. For the adoption of Greek temple forms for built tombs (*heroa*) in Western Asia Minor in the fourth century BCE onwards, see Fedak 2006, 71.

21 The royal tomb or mausoleum of Belevi, 14 km northeast of Ephesus, might have served as the final resting place for King Antiochos II who died in 246 BCE.

22 Cormack 2004, 52.

element of the “visual world” of Hellenistic funerary space. The elaborate tombs or *heroa* of Western Asia Minor often resembled contemporary religious architecture.²³ For instance, the incorporation of a superstructure containing elements of Greek temple architecture played a significant role in the articulation of a burial space with sacred connotations.²⁴ Just as for the tombs of the wealthy, the funerary reliefs also echo the facades of temples, and while this had the overall purpose of making the built tomb into a *heroon* structure,²⁵ the tombstones in extension resembled a miniature version of them.²⁶ Facades of the rock-cut tombs in Western Asia Minor were also less expensive versions of the built tombs, though still retaining some of the dignity and impressiveness of the latter.²⁷ The reliefs can be considered as *micro-architecture*,²⁸ and it was the repertoire of iconic architectural features derived from built contexts that gave them symbolic and emotive potency. The representation of the deceased within an architectural framework with clear religious associations was significant for the presentation of

23 The fourth century marked the beginning of the development of entire nekropoleis of rock-cut tombs in Asia Minor reflecting Greek architectural influence. Important rock-cut tomb groups are to be found in for example Lykia, Karia, and Phrygia.

24 Akroteria sculpture was only one manner in which the tombs' similarities to a temple were signalled, also free-standing columns, elaborate decorated entablatures, and pediments are practically synonymous with temple architecture.

25 In the Hellenistic period it was cult activity that determined the identification of a space as a “*heroon*”; the term embraced both monument and practice. Hellenistic *heroon* complexes frequently combined provision for actual burial with some form of architectural structure in which family, friends and descendants of the “hero” could show reverence for the deceased, or at which public honours on a grander scale could take place. Cormack 2004, 148.

26 The mimicking of grandiose tomb complexes probably dates back to the fourth century. Fleischer (1983, 40-44) discusses the architectural possibilities for the well-known fourth-century BCE “Sarcophagus of the mourning women” from the royal nekropolis at Sidon, deciding in favour of a *heroon*. Also Fedak (2006, 71) describes the sarcophagus as resembling a temple-tomb on a miniature scale.

27 In part, the existence of such burials depended on local geological conditions; but economic factors also played an important role. It was cheaper to cut out a façade in the face of the cliff than to build a free-standing structure of equal dimensions. Fedak 2006, 86f.

28 Similarly, Akurgal et al (2009, 76f.) have suggested that the framework of **S92** resembles the monumental tombs of the Hellenistic age or a small hillside portico.

the deceased – like a hero permanently housed in a shrine.²⁹ The public heroisation of the recent dead and the founding of richly furnished cultic shrines are attested by actual extant monuments and from inscriptions.³⁰ The beginning of this change can be seen about 200 BCE, and a major document of it is the will of Epikteta, a wealthy widow on the island of Thera who built an elaborate private complex that contained several *heroa* for individual members of her family.³¹ Grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos invariably appear as miniature temples or *heroa*, and the adoption – or better, mimicking – of the forms of a temple, the more or less heroised status of those commemorated were made manifest. In this way the architectonic framework embodied aspects of the elevation of the deceased, aspects that might have prompted veneration of the dead on behalf of the intended viewer. After these considerations on the framework of the grave stelai I will now consider landscape motifs or elements as depicted on the images themselves.

29 Not only did the shape of the marker evoke the importance of the deceased. The heroic dimension was further enhanced by the columns that established scale, often an improbable one implied by the elevation of the deceased to a superhuman level, when figures break the human scale implied by the height of the entablature.0

30 Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 118f. On heroisation see Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 299f.; Pfuhl-Möbius 1977-79, 44 & 47; Hughes 1999; Ekroth 2007 & 2009; Jones 2010. Immorality is rarely claimed for the dead in the fourth century BCE, and more often in the Hellenistic period. Because these heroes seem so far below the glorious figures of classical Greek myth and history, they tend to be taken as a sign of vulgarization and decadence. Scholars have dismissed *heros* as merely a conventional designation of the dead, e.g. Lattimore (1942, 97-99), who maintain that the word started to simply mean “dead man” and that it may “have been cut on the stone without thought, as a matter of course (like “sacred to the memory of”)”. However, this idea has been challenged by Jones (2010, 49) who rightly claims that “because such language may sometimes have been formulaic and empty of meaning, it was not necessarily so always. In most cases there is no way of testing what the actual thoughts of those using such languages were, any more than it is possible nowadays to infer the real feelings of those who speak of “saints” or “angels” when commemorating their loved ones”.

31 IG xii, 3.330; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 299; Ekroth 2007, 113; Jones 2010, 50. The will of Epikteta left instructions for the decoration of a shrine to the Muses with statues of herself and her kin, who were to be honoured as heroes, and which provided for annual sacrifices.

NATURAL ELEMENTS

East Greek funerary reliefs are typically conventional and minimalist in nature. They consist of individually depicted landscape motifs that are almost employed as abbreviations of the actual more complex natural environment. They act as short-hand identifiers of the locations in which the figures are seen by placing the action of the scenes in definable settings.³² Rocky settings are occasionally used on the funerary reliefs. They usually take the form of a rocky seat or a rugged terrain line.³³ As the term rocky seat indicates a figure is always seated on a (often low) rock. This posture only appears on a few reliefs from Kyzikos,³⁴ and is unknown in Smyrna. The size and structure of the rock often indicates high or low status, while the seat itself and the postures signify mourning.³⁵ To be seated on a low rock is often interpreted as a sign of grief, and is part of a complex of gestures which all aim at a total self-abasement: the figure is looking down in the ground and does not seem to notice her surroundings.³⁶ On one particularly fine example from Kyzikos, K74 (Pl. 38.2), a woman is seated in a squatted position on a low rock. Her seated posture and restrained body language is probably meant to signify grief; there is no other landscape element in the image. On tomb markers from Kyzikos rocky seats also function as spatial indicators by indicating that the scene takes place in an outdoor setting.³⁷ They are sometimes

32 Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 174.

33 Rugged terrain is, for instance, depicted on the action scenes of the Alexander sarcophagus (late fourth century BCE) from the royal nekropolis of Sidon.

34 E.g., **K74**, **K75**, **K81**.

35 Such a connection between rock seats and mourning are represented on "The Sarcophagus of the mourning women". On its pedimental reliefs the innermost figures are seated on stone blocks, they seem to be in mourning, while the outermost figures next to them have put their feet up on boulders. On the pediment itself a woman in a mourning posture is seated on a large rock, while another woman is leaning against the same rock.

36 Bremmer 1991, 26.

37 The motif of a deceased figure seated on a rocky seat seems to have been especially popular on Delian grave reliefs of the late second- and early first centuries BCE. On some of these reliefs, the deceased is represented as a sailor seated on the rocky shore line (Couilloud 1974b, Nos. 327-329, 331-337, 339-345). It is probably a commemoration of men who died at sea and it denotes the setting of the scenes, i.e. the seashore, with the setting itself as a possible indicator for the cause of death. Hannestad 1997, 290f.

combined with other landscape elements (such as the herm on K81, Pl. 40.1), but the figure is mostly surrounded by empty space. Here the rock is the sole narrative element in the image which may indicate that it mainly held the function of enhancing the emotive aspect of the crouching woman seated on it.

The architectural and sepulchral reliefs of the second century BCE display a greater interest in naturalistic renderings of the natural environment than their predecessors. For instance, on a Classical relief the trees are barren with pruned branches, while a second century relief more often had detailed renderings of naturally shaped trees.³⁸ The Telephos frieze from the inner colonnade of the Great altar of Zeus in the Mysian city of Pergamon is renowned for its rendering of landscape motifs and it probably had a far-reaching influence on relief sculpture in Western Asia Minor.³⁹ The care and accuracy in which details of the natural world is rendered on this frieze is unattested in earlier works of Greek relief sculpture.⁴⁰ Landscape elements play an important role in the frieze in which interior and exterior settings provide the scenery that the figures act in.⁴¹ A detail of much importance is that leaves are plastically rendered with very fine and botanically correct details (Fig. 11). The carving of leafy

38 The dead or barren tree is also a characteristic feature of Western Anatolian art in the pre-Hellenistic periods, e.g., the relief decoration on the north wall of the *Heroon* at Trysa (fourth century BCE).

39 The frieze was designed to have been seen behind the columns of a colonnade, like paintings in a stoa. It narrates the life story of the hero Telephos, and was probably begun after the completion of the exterior Gigantiomachia frieze in 165 BCE. Work on the Telephos-frieze was halted in 158 after the death of Eumenes II.

40 Stylistic currents were widespread in the Hellenistic world. This might partly be due to migrating craftsmen but also to the use of portable pattern books. E.g., Miller (1997, 122) has taken the close parallel between the audience scene painted on a shield held by a figure on the Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon and the reliefs at Persepolis as proof that the artist might had use a local model, a painting or relief dating to the Achaemenid period, or a portable model.

41 Outdoor settings and sanctuaries are indicated by trees, rocks and hills. Pillars, seats and beds indicate indoors and palaces. Divine statues and different kind of trees specify particular sanctuaries. Also on several votive reliefs (e.g., the "Family sacrifice relief" in Munich) the tree is given a substantial part of the scene (in proportion to the figures) and the composition is atmospherically enhanced by the tree or other natural elements.

branches, rather than mere stumps, seems new, and recognizable species appear here for the first time in a relief. A profound interest in naturalism is also evident on funerary reliefs from Western Asia Minor. The tree is a popular motif in Hellenistic funerary art and on tombstones from Smyrna and Kyzikos they are numerous. Many of the species are instantly recognizable (e.g., the foliage of a tree might identify it as cypress, myrtle or laurel), and thus qualify as botanical illustrations in the modern sense, being “concerned with accuracy allowing the identification of the plants to be shown”.⁴² For example, on **S28** (Pl. 4.1) the trunk is smooth with two branch stumps on the side and two branches with angular, heavy laurel leaves at the crown. Maybe the inspiration for naturalistic rendered trees on the sepulchral reliefs derived from the Telephos frieze? The interest in botanical accuracy on East Greek tomb memorials is indeed mostly a phenomenon of the latter part of the second century BCE – after the construction of the Great altar of Zeus.⁴³



Fig. 11 Telephos frieze, Great altar of Zeus.

The explanation behind this change in renderings of trees and other vegetative element might be related to a more general approach in Hellenistic art: the tendency towards realism and naturalism.⁴⁴ The naturalistic “movement”,

42 Wilkinson 1998, 14: “Botanical illustration is the portrayal of plants with enough accuracy and relevant detail for a particular kind to be recognized thereby and distinguished from other kinds”.

43 E.g., compare the rendering of trees on the Telephos frieze with the tree on a *Totenmahl* relief of about 130 BCE from Ephesos (P-M 1796). Just as on the Pergamon frieze, the tree on the Ephesian relief is a prominent feature in the composition, and the leaves, based on the Telephos frieze type, have several zigzag points and are veined.

44 According to Carroll-Spillecke (1985, 108) this “reflects the desire to represent the typical, not the ideal, a tendency equally evident in Hellenistic sculpture in the portrayal of ethnic types, prominent persons and average folk”. For the interest in representations of the natural world in Hellenistic literature and art, see Fowler 1989, 23-31.

however, was not adopted everywhere. To depict a barren tree squeezed into the corner or partially hidden behind a *kline* or *kylikeion* (cupboard) was still preferred on many *Totenmahl* from Kyzikos.⁴⁵ For example, on **K101** (Pl. 45.1) a tree with chopped branches and a narrow trunk is placed deep in the right corner of the relief behind a small boy and a serving table. An explanation behind the reluctance to follow a general trend in Hellenistic relief sculpture might be that the tree on these reliefs are almost always entwined by a snake, and hence, the placement and rendering of a tree was subordinate to its function as a support for the chthonically charged snake.⁴⁶ As rendered on East Greek stelai, barren or stylized trees may be used to signify a generic idea of tree, while an individual tree can be interpreted as a symbol for a group of trees (and other vegetation).⁴⁷ The very presence of an unspecified tree indicates not only where the scene takes place, but also enhances the heroic connotations of the scenery, since trees might serve as shorthand signifiers for *heroa*.⁴⁸ Trees planted around a tomb were associated with the sanctuaries of heroes, where such features, in addition to providing revenue, “punctuate the landscape and emphasize the special nature of the space”.⁴⁹ Trees are occasionally given a substantial part of the scene, and this contributes to the composition being atmospherically enhanced by their presence. They may be used expressively to evoke emotion by setting the tone

45 E.g., **K49, K58, K80, K87, K101, K104, K109.**

46 The chthonic associations of snakes might relate to their seemingly ability to be reborn or to renew itself in perpetuity. The snake may represent the soul of the deceased (Barr 1996, 136). It can also function as memory-picture of life on earth, as emblem or symbol of existence after death, and as guardian of the tomb and the space around it (Jones 2010, 58).

47 However, one needs to keep in mind that leaves or branches may have originally been added in paint.

48 Weneger 1985, 174. Fabricius (1999, 67) suggests that the *Totenmahl* scenes take place in *heroa*, and in support of this theory she stresses the numerous Hellenistic funerary epigrams that mention burial precincts planted with trees and enclosed within a *temenos* wall. Similarly, Cormack (2004, 48) has stressed that planting trees in tomb spaces at the monumental tombs of Asia Minor are characteristic of hero-cult sanctuaries, which often incorporated sacred groves.

49 Cormack 2004, 31. For Plato (Laws, 947E), *heroa* and tombs surrounded by a grove of trees and within a *temenos* wall were special monuments with which important citizens could be honoured.

of the scene and playing the role of “mood topography”.⁵⁰ Maybe dead trees are expressions of the sympathetic or empathetic fallacy encountered in Hellenistic and Roman literature, in which human feelings (most often grief) are ascribed to nature so that it seems to respond to the poet or character?⁵¹ Dead trees may also speak of death and devastation, and paradoxically, given that they can survive in their desiccated state for a long time, they may also evoke permanence, an aura that would comfortably coexist within the framework of tomb art.⁵² Trees are not only related with death and decay but also with eternal life. A contradiction it might seem, but at the same time, it might have been exactly this ambiguity that made the tree such an appreciated symbol in East Greek funerary art.

On reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos trees functioned as a semantic signifier crucial for the understanding of the entire scene. When it comes to its deeper significance I would prefer to call for an explanation in keeping with their sepulchral purpose. In this context the tree might have been a locality marker for a burial precinct or special tombs dedicated to the heroic dead. As an emblem for sepulchral space the tree also had liminal qualities. Tombs were located along roadsides in a liminal zone beyond the city boundaries that was, by its very nature, characterized by transition. By the Hellenistic period monumental tombs with accompanying gardens within enclosure walls were fairly common in Asia Minor and Egypt.⁵³ These gardens served amongst others as a pleasant frame round the commemorative banquets of the survivors.⁵⁴ We

50 As in the Middle Ages, when dry trees symbolized death (Cohen 2010, 257f.). Think also of the lone, dead tree on the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii looming above and behind the mass of turbulent figures, contributing to an atmosphere of foreboding. As stated by Hurwit (1991, 51), the lifelessness of the dead tree on this mosaic sets much of the tone of the violent scene played out beneath it: it is mood topography.

51 For the empathetic fallacy in Archaic Greek poetry and art, see Hurwit 1982.

52 Cohen 2010, 257f. However, some scholars disagree on the possible emblematic nature of dead or bare trees in art. Smith (1991), for instance, has claimed that “whether the leafless tree in Greek art has any significance other than merely being shorthand rendering of a topographical feature would seem doubtful. At any rate, I can detect no greater symbolism in this convention”.

53 Carroll 2003, 75.

54 They also provided produce (vineyards, fruit, vegetables) that could be offered to the dead or consumed by the living at funerary banquets and flowers with which the tomb could be decked. Tomb gardens in the suburb Nekropolis, outside Alexandria, on the canal leading to Lake Mareotis, were planted with fruit trees and vegetable beds, and they were rented out for a five years period. Carroll-Spillecke 1992, 91.

have numerous literary references and archaeological evidence for the presence of a tomb garden, often quite a substantial one, indicating that the entire tomb environment was established as a kind of *locus amoenus*.⁵⁵ The modest tombs only had limited vegetation,⁵⁶ while the wealthy transformed their tomb allotments into magnificent gardens, which are usually called *kepotaphia*. These gardens consisted of an enclosed area full of trees,⁵⁷ and other vegetation and they were equipped with wells for watering/irrigation. Such gardens also provided vegetation which served as a symbolic equivalent to the idyllic surroundings of Elysion, within which the deceased hoped to find themselves after death.⁵⁸ Many descriptions of the underworld, in ancient Greece and elsewhere, include trees and groves.⁵⁹ A characteristic feature of the Elysian Fields is that it is often described as a wooded area. Thus, trees, sometimes together with rocks,⁶⁰ can be interpreted as a topographic indicator for the presence of the scene in Elysion. If taken to be an abbreviated symbol for superterrestrial existence in paradise, the tree could also function as a symbol for eternal life and hope for a blessed existence after

55 The presence of a garden not only attests to the desire to create a *locus amoenus* for the deceased, but also further suggests that the space was frequented by the living. Gardens require tending, and if they were also planted with fruit trees or vegetables, the resulting produce might be used or even sold by the relatives of the deceased. Cormack 2004, 31.

56 Another, somewhat far-fetched, explanation for the abbreviated landscape could be that if the tomb plot was small, and the majority were, it was probably planted simply – perhaps a cypress tree, or some evergreen shrubs, and a few flowers (as has been documented in the nekropoleis of Pompeii).

57 Carroll 2003, 75; Cormack 2004, 112. Evergreen trees and plants such as olive, myrtle, cypress, laurel and ivy, were planted on the grave, and because of the constancy and immutability of their foliage they were regarded as symbols of immortality. Haarlov 1977, 48f.

58 Cormack 2004, 120f. In early Greek religion Elysion was a place exclusive for gods and heroes, but in the course of time it was acknowledged that a blessed existence after death was not the exclusive faith of a few individuals, but also of mortal men.

59 Graf & Johnston 2007, 99-109. Several of the Orphic gold-tablets specify that soon after the soul has started down its path in the underworld; it will encounter a dangerous spring, which is marked by a white cypress tree.

60 Ridgway (2000, 122-124) interprets one of the scenes on the Tomb of Hieronymos of Tlos, son of Simylinos (a long block of relief scenes, second century BCE, probably from Rhodes, maybe from a *heroon* building) as taking place in the environment of the Elysian fields as suggested by rocky seats near a tree.

death.⁶¹ To place the scene in Elysion invariably expressed the need for reassurance that life continues in the hereafter, while also offering consolation for the bereaved through implications of a continued blessed existence for the deceased. Besides rocks and trees the landscape elements also consist of man-made features. As I will argue in the preceding section, some of the man-made motifs held a demarcating function, while others were meant to represent tomb markers.

MAN-MADE ELEMENTS

Demarcating space

The man-made elements on the funerary reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos consist of curtains, walls, doors, pillars, columns, statues, stelai, altars and herms. The curtain does not appear on any type of stone relief before the second century BCE, and was represented for the first time on the Telephos frieze. Shortly thereafter, throughout the rest of the century, the curtain was used on *Totenmahl* and other funerary reliefs.⁶² Cut furrows representing a hanging curtain are only occasionally represented on tombstones from Smyrna and Kyzikos. A funerary relief from Smyrna, **S43** (Pl. 8.1), shows a woman standing in front of a portal, the upper moulding of which is visible between the thickly draped folds of a curtain. The decoratively draped cloth might represent a festive ornament of a tomb building. The motif of the curtain also occurs on **S77**, where two girls stand behind the drapery and peep out above its upper fold. On a grave relief from Kyzikos, **K27** (Pl. 30.1), a curtain is wrapped around a horse in the upper right corner. The curtain is mostly used as an element in exterior scenes, and might be intended to re-create the informal setting and temporary structures and hangings of, for example, a heroon. When it occurs on *Totenmahl* (e.g., **S133**) it may have been specifically used as a device to delimit a place set for the

61 Certain species symbolize immortality, e.g. the palm tree. A palm branch (held by a servant standing next to a youth) is rendered on a couple of Smyrna reliefs (**S7**, **S80**). Laurels are also symbols of triumph over death.

62 Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 63-67.

funerary banquet. Its main function must therefore be to create boundaries and demarcate different spaces.

Another architectonic element of great interest on **S43** (Pl. 8.1) is the large door in the background with a profiled moulding from which the curtain hangs. The two Ionic columns, which serve as the frame for the stele, transform the relief panel into a temple-like structure which is ideally entered through the door behind the deceased.⁶³ The door is an important sepulchral symbol, strongly related to the idea of the house of the dead. For instance, on built tombs complexes in Western Asia Minor false doors and windows produced the effect of eternal dwelling places.⁶⁴ Waelkens, in his study of the Phrygian doorstones,⁶⁵ suggests that the false door in its architectural frame is a representation of the door of the deceased's tomb, that is, an abbreviated form of a built house-tomb that he in fact never had – represented by its most prominent aspect, its entrance.⁶⁶ Roosevelt has proposed a similar explanation for the Symbolic Door stelai (a stele decorated with the depiction of a door) from Western Anatolia (mainly Lydia), but he preferred to stress the probable multivalence of the door's symbolism, and claims that it represents both the door of the afterlife and the tomb.⁶⁷ He suggests that door stelai,

*bore multivalent symbolism relating to the notion of the afterlife as occurring in a house like space or in some other indistinct underworld outside of the tomb; to the passage from life to death, or from the tomb to the underworld.*⁶⁸

63 Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 69.

64 Fedak 2006, 72-82. E.g., the north side of the Belevi tomb had an unfinished false door. False doors and windows on tombs and *heroa* also had the purpose of misleading would-be intruders.

65 The doorstone is a freestanding grave marker carved with a false door set in an architectural frame. For painted representations of doors in the funerary art of Ptolemaic Alexandria, see Fraser 1972, 33.

66 Waelkens (1986, 17-19) dismisses any connection between Phrygian rock reliefs and the gate of Hades. But as pointed out by Smith (1988, 350) the latter explanation need not be rejected entirely: tomb entrance and gate of Hades are not necessarily exclusive ideas.

67 Roosevelt 2006, 65-69. Such decoration is not limited to door stelai. Functional stone doors with similar decoration (perhaps best known from Makedonian doors such as those at Vergina) are known also from numerous Persian-period and Hellenistic *tumulus* and rock-cut chamber tombs in Western Anatolia.

68 Roosevelt 2006, 66. This concept of a passage to the afterlife or the underworld may have been emphasised by those stelai that lack the lower elements of door frames and thresholds and that could have been set directly into the ground, enhancing their perception as intermediary between the worlds of the living and dead.

In a sepulchral setting, there is little more fitting than a door to represent the passage from life to death.

Can the Anatolian door stelai give us any clues on the symbolic meaning of the door on grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos? On these stelai the doors are probably not meant to allude to the eternal dwelling of the dead, their purpose and symbolism is more in line with a liminal function as a threshold between life and death. The open door is a device which provides the illusion of entering and exiting a scene through the relief. However, the door is always closed on the gravestones. On a Totenmahl from Kyzikos, **K100** (Pl. 44.2), a closed double door is represented on the left margin of the stele, thus making it into a separate element hidden from immediate view, with no apparent connection to the main scene. This does not necessarily make it into an element of lesser importance, rather the opposite; it contributes to enhancing its liminal function. The motif of the architectonic door plays with the notion that tombs act as both receptacles for the deceased and thresholds to the world beyond (however it might be conceived). In this way the tomb's status as a threshold between life and death is made literal. The door is always closed and we are never permitted to peek in to see what might lie on the other side. This indicates that the door simultaneously was meant to represent the outer structure of a *heroon* or a tomb, consequently leaving the intimate burial space of the dead unseen to the viewer. However, this interpretation is not valid for the door on the side-panel of **K100**, as it is not part of the main composition.

The enclosure wall is a popular motif on grave stelai from Smyrna. Usually a raised horizontal ridge indicates the cornice of a low wall. Figures sometimes peer over these laden walls. It often serves as a shelf upon which various objects are deposited, as on several mid-second century BCE reliefs from Smyrna.⁶⁹ Indeed, the wall laden with objects is the usual arrangement on grave stelai from the second half of the century.⁷⁰ We have

69 Sometimes a *tabula ansalata* or *triptychon* (a small cabinet with folding-doors wide open, often decorated with a wreath) is placed on top of the wall; a particular fine example is depicted on **S109**. This detail has been erroneously interpreted as the outlines of a square window by Carroll-Spillecke (1985, 69) who claims that the view through the window opens up to the outside or to an open courtyard.

70 E.g., **S3, S15, S26, S45, S48, S54, S67, S68, S70, S72, S78, S79, S91, S120**.

epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the existence of enclosed areas and enclosure walls in the tomb sites of Western Asia Minor in the Hellenistic age.⁷¹ For instance, the epitaph of a funerary relief from Smyrna, **S79** (13.2), provides evidence for the space of tombs and their enclosures while describing the deceased, Dionysios (who died at age 17) as an immortal hero who has his own *temenos*. His epitaph reads,

*leaving harsh grief to his parents, but attaining to heavenly birth; for leaving the mortal part of life, he is equal to the immortal heroes, having the same sanctuary (temenos) as they.*⁷²

Dionysios' parents probably had built a shrine for him in which divinities such as Herakles also received cult. The most effective way of constructing a privileged tomb space was to surround it by a wall.⁷³ Archaeological evidence from several built tombs in Western Asia Minor indicates that subsidiary structures (or their traces) also exist within the *temenos*,⁷⁴ suggesting that the function of this area was not only to demarcate the space of the tomb,⁷⁵ but also to provide an enclosed area in which ritual activity, sculptural display, or additional burials could

71 *Heroa* for the recent dead consist of burial monuments combined with some provision for cult. A basic arrangement is to enclose the tomb within a *temenos*, like a sanctuary. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 299f.

72 Translation by Jones (2010, 59f.). Another example consists of the inscription from the Charmyleion on the island of Kos, which informs us that the design included a *temenos* containing other buildings and gardens belonging to the Twelve Gods and the Hero. Fedak 2006, 84.

73 Graves set within a *temenos* wall of the fourth century BCE and the Hellenistic period have been discovered amongst other in Attica, Boeotia, and Euboea. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 106f. & 246. E.g., grave plots of wealthy families in Kerameikos were laid out on walled terraces adorned with columns, statues, and reliefs. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 166ff.; Carroll-Spillecke 1992, 91. The German excavators of the Kerameikos in Athens have loosely landscaped the ancient nekropolis, but without claiming to have authentically reconstructed the original appearance of the tomb gardens. A Hellenistic tomb enclosure at Kyrene also included a *temenos* area in front of the monument itself and a walled terrace in a Hellenistic cemetery on Thera supported a series of cubic stelai. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 237; Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 118.

74 Large and complex *heroa* were a creation of the Hellenistic era, and they always had an enclosed *temenos*. Fedak 2006, 71f. The term *temenos* has frequently been applied to these enclosures, based on their similarities to the religious boundary or *temenos* which demarcated Greek temples and sanctuaries from non-religious space. Cormack 2004, 29.

75 Cormack 2004, 24-51.

take place.⁷⁶ Visitors to the tomb were invited inside the walls to actively participate in the world of the deceased hero.

The most effective way of constructing a privileged tomb space was to surround it by a wall. The overall sacred connotations of the space were underscored by the presence of a *temenos* wall. In extension, the wall, just as the curtain and the door, functioned as a boundary zone between different types of space, particularly spaces inhabited by the living or the dead.⁷⁷ The presence of a herm, as we are about to see, also had liminal qualities. In this way the representation of an enclosure wall marks where one code of behaviour finished (or where one emotional context ended) and another began. Trees in the vicinity of tombs or heroa usually also functioned as markers of the border between the memorial and the ground outside; it was precisely at these border zones that the living and the dead could most easily interact. These liminal zones (or the imaginary rendering of them) are frequently marked, so as to exploit the emotional drama inherent in designated cathartic spaces. Lavish gardens around a tomb site mark the sacred space of the tomb, as gardens were not only symbolic of paradise, but also constituted liminal zones in and of themselves, demarcating the passage between inhabited space and tomb space.⁷⁸ As indicated by the meaning of the tree, landscape elements have the potential to represent places apart from the here-and-now. They can equally depict places as they are imagined to exist in a space geographically distant, even non-terrestrial, or at least, allude to such an existence. Man-made elements also place the scenes in the now-and-then, where deceased individuals represented in their previous living form are shown in their present habitation. In this way the rendering of a demarcated sepulchral space indicates in empathetic terms the importance of the distinction between *here* and *there*, and also rouses emotions which accompany that particular transformation.

76 Cormack 2004, 30; Fedak 2006, 71-81. It is likely that the rooms in the courtyard of a monumental tomb in Miletos were associated with cult activities, for example banquets held in honour of the deceased. The Trysa Heroon, of ca. 350, is an early example of the type, with modest cultic provisions inside the *temenos*. The *Heroon* at Kalydon, laid out about 100 BCE, exemplifies the mature Hellenistic complex, with numerous open and enclosed spaces and an underground burial chamber. The Lion tomb on Knidos was also surrounded by an extensive walled *temenos*.

77 Cormack 2004, 24-51.

78 Cormack 2004, 122.

Tomb monuments

Funerary monuments in the form of columns and pillars are the most common motifs on the grave reliefs.⁷⁹ The dead are shown in a funerary setting of pillars topped by various objects, which may give us some idea of the appearance of a Hellenistic nekropolis. If the plain pillars have not survived in the same number this may simply mean that the slabs were more readily recovered for other uses than the relief sculpture could offer.⁸⁰ The most striking example of a grave monument occurs on a Totenmahl from Kyzikos, **K104** (Pl. 46.2), where a tall stele crowned with a pediment is depicted behind a boy seated at the head of the *kline*. The outdoor setting of the scene is further emphasized by a tree entwined by a snake and a horse partly hidden by a curtain. Hence, the suggestive imagery represents the boy seated next to his tombstone, while participating in an outdoor banquet. An important detail on the stele is that it is adorned with a ribbon, an allusion to Greek funerary cult, where it was customary to adorn sepulchral monuments with special ribbons (*taenia*).⁸¹ What the *taenia* more explicitly indicates is that the stele next to the boy was the object of cult, and its depiction is very in keeping with scenes of deceased figures seated next to their tombstone, decked with ribbons and garlands, on white-ground *lekythoi* of the Classical period. The ambiguity of the scene is further enhanced by the boy, a recipient of tomb cult, being accompanied by his relatives and holding a scroll in his lap. The distinction between here and there, the world of the living and of the dead, is deliberately blurred.

Pillars are often carved in low relief in the background. Besides illustrating the standard funerary monuments within

79 The list of Totenmahl with man-made elements is rather limited. The numerous figures, as well as the accompanying furniture carved on these reliefs, restrict the amount of space remaining for the depiction of other objects. Nevertheless, the pillar supporting offerings is represented on a few Totenmahl, e.g. **K100**; sometimes it is crowned with an urn (e.g., **S130**).

80 The pillars on these reliefs mostly resemble the pillars considered to be grave markers on fourth-century BCE Apulian vases.

81 Several explanations have been proposed for the fastening of ribbons around Greek sepulchral monuments, e.g. the ability of serving as a protection against evil or the enhancing of the adorned object to a higher level. *Taenia* were not only used in mortuary practices but also in festive activities of various kinds.

Hellenistic nekropoleis they fill up otherwise empty spaces and compositionally balance a tree or another pillar.⁸² Closely related to the funerary is the heroic dimension, for architecture in the form of a column or pillar, as depicted on the reliefs, might point to a *heroon*. However, this architectonic element was probably meant to represent tomb markers and not *heroa*. A column may seem a perfectly reasonable substitute for a stele slab as a grave marker, but in some respects its function is different since it serves to support a statue or other object which is presumably the focus of attention. Doric columns seem especially favoured for tombs but, unless an epitaph, we do not know what they carried. Descriptions and representations show that such tomb columns might support a vase, especially a *hydria*, shield or helmet, while sirens, sphinxes, and lions are other likely subjects.⁸³ Above ground the tombs in the Hellenistic nekropoleis of Alexandria were sometimes marked by pillars bearing lions, sirens or sphinxes.⁸⁴ On the grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos columns and pillars frequently support statues of a winged Psyche or of Sirens playing flute or *kithara*. The range of other offerings deposited on top of columns and pillars is the same as that found on top of walls: hats, wool baskets, chests, boxes, parasols, scrolls, *cornucopiai* and fans.⁸⁵ Among the rarities are *kitharai* and urns.⁸⁶

The urns represent marble replicas of actual Hellenistic ash urns which were placed in the graves.⁸⁷ An entire book of *Anthologia Graeca* (VII) is dedicated to the dead, full of short epigrams that conjure up landscapes with monuments such as vases or columns commemorating the dead, in the Hellenistic period. According to Pausanias, as one went from Dion in Macedonia,

82 Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 79.

83 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 240f.

84 Burn 2004, 123.

85 E.g., **S9, S10, S15, S17, S22, S29, S32, S36, S37, S43, S44, S46, S47, S49, S60, S61, S78, S95, S97, S99, S104, S109, S112, S113, S117, S118.**

86 E.g., a tureen-shaped urn with a lid (πλημοχόη) is placed on the pillar of **S8** (also **S1, S43, S127, S130**). In Attic Classical nekropoleis, marble griffon urns and other vessels were set up on columns and bases in imitation of the urns within the tombs. Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 79, n. 208.

87 Pfanner (1989, 173) suggests that *cistai* on Hellenistic funerary reliefs might also represent ash urns, since: "in hellenistischer Zeit gibt es zahlreiche Beispiele von Urnen aus Ton und Stein in allen möglichen Größen und den verschiedensten Formen".

*to the mountain and about 20 stades further is a pillar on the right hand and on the pillar a stone urn: this urn has the remains of Orpheus as the people of the district say.*⁸⁸

This is a mythological reference, but it bears some connection with beliefs and practices. The idea that actual urns are shown on columns of Hellenistic gravestones has been dismissed by Kurtz & Boardman who are not convinced that ash urns were this prominently displayed. They further claim that the top of a column is a precarious place for something usually carefully bestowed below ground and protected by a stone box or *cista*.⁸⁹ However, these images are not meant to be snapshots of reality, but are imbued in emblematic (sometimes fanciful) imagery and should not be read literally. In terms of fancifulness one only needs to think of the Orphic idea that the dead will encounter a white cypress as they enter the Underworld. No white cypress exists in the real world. Despite the tendency of using phenomena of the perceptible world to describe an unperceivable super-terrestrial existence, these notions were mixed with fanciful concepts and imagery. It would thus be erroneous to rule out the possibility that burial urns are displayed on the pillars and columns, as also stated in the epigrams, since they need not reflect a real-life practice, instead they might aim to enhance the funerary content of the column/pillar and denote the sepulchral theme of the image.

Hermes, either in the shape of Hermes or Herakles, are commonly illustrated on grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos. The bearded, archaistic shoulder herm is the predominant type and is most often set up on a high rectangular pier. Youthful, unbearded herms are nearly as frequently depicted and are also set up on high piers or low, square or circular bases. The only other god to appear in herm form is Herakles; this herm takes the form of a bearded body herm with a lion skin draped over the shoulders.⁹⁰ All types of herms here outlined appear on funerary reliefs of men, women and children; there seems to be no particular rule for the association of a herm type

88 Paus. 9.30.7; see also Cohen 2010, 255.

89 Kurtz & Broadman 1971, 241.

90 The type of the Herakles herm with lion skin wrapped around its body appears on several reliefs from Smyrna (e.g., **S12**, **S20**, **S80**, **S87**), but is unknown on the grave stelai from Kyzikos.

with the gender or age of the deceased.⁹¹ The herm is usually placed frontally at the edge of the relief, and the figures have no contact with it. However, on some of the Smyrna reliefs men are leaning on herms and according to Zanker the deceased may rest his hand on the herm to suggest that he enjoyed a proper upbringing but has died young.⁹² A striking example is a stele from Kyzikos, **K81** (Pl. 40.1), where the young boy Menis hangs his schoolbag on a centrally placed herm. On either side of the boy and herm sits a man on a *klismos* and a woman on a low rock. Death has ended the boy's education, and he must therefore put away his book scrolls.⁹³ Yet again, just as was the case of Nikopolis mentioned above, **S31** (Pl. 5.2), we are reminded of the interrupted potential of the boy due to his untimely death.

The herm is mainly associated with boys, youths and adult men; it has often been interpreted as an allusion to the *gymnasion* and *palestra*.⁹⁴ However, really young boys (**S92**) and elderly men (**S20**) may be represented next to a herm, and this cannot signify their gymnastic activities or education. Alternatively it is possible to interpret the herm as a representation of a tomb, since the literary sources mention that herms were used as tomb markers.⁹⁵ The appropriateness of Hermes and herms to cairns, roadways and the escort of souls would explain depictions of the god in any form in or near nekropoleis.⁹⁶ Herms were occasionally placed over graves or carved on stelai, presumably as a way of committing the dead to the care and protection of

91 However, whereas the Kyzikanean schoolboys are standing next to a Hermes herm, the elderly men on the Smyrna stelai are usually accompanied by herms representing Herakles wearing a lion skin.

92 E.g., **S6**. Zanker 1993, 220. For this explanation see also Burnett Grossman 2001, 112.

93 Cremer 1991, 51. As the god of sport, rhetoric, school, science, Hermes was also the patron of the *palestra*. Wrede 1985, 34f. However, the combination of herms with *diptycha*, book scrolls, *scrinia*, schoolbags, inkpots, *kitharai* and writing desks probably does not refer to the athletic aspect of Hermes *Enagonios*, but rather to his function as a patron of the school and rhetoric-philosophical education (p. 47).

94 Wrede 1985, 47; Cremer 1991a, 50f.; Zanker 1993, 220; Hannestad 1997, 292; Burnett Grossman 2001, 112.

95 Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.66.

96 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 241. Terracotta herms have also been found as burial gifts in Hellenistic tombs. Wrede 1985, 42.

Hades.⁹⁷ Furthermore, the herm is always placed on a pillar on the funerary reliefs; this alone is a convincing indication that it indeed represents a tomb monument. Pillars topped by sirens are usually described as tomb markers.⁹⁸ As Ridgway has claimed, the herms do not solely signify the world of the *palestra*, since some of the men portrayed next to them, besides being fully clothed, look mature and bearded and the allusions may be religious rather than athletic.⁹⁹ It might on occasion signpost the *palestra*, indicating an interest in sports, but it may also mark the boundary of Hades and indirectly the journey to the Underworld.¹⁰⁰ Lastly, let us not forget that Herakles, after all, was also a symbol of triumph over death.¹⁰¹

Altars are standard elements on the “Rider reliefs”. Although several variations exist, the basic iconography for these reliefs shows the rider either standing near his horse or mounted. An altar or a tree entwined with a snake is often present in front of the horse.¹⁰² Square, round or rectangular, whatever the format, the altar has no physical connection with the horsemen. Its small size indicates the modest status of the altar in these relief compositions. Altars are generally necessary for scenes of sacrifice, and, when not the object of attention, they symbolize the scene of the action.¹⁰³ To the proper left of the rider on a stele from Smyrna, S127 (Pl. 24.1), is a pillar surmounted by a

97 Hermes was a deity associated with entrances and boundaries. Especially in his function as *Psychopompos* (escorter of souls). By his very nature, Hermes defined the boundaries between different categories of space and experience. Platt 2011, 345.

98 This idea was proposed by Pfuhl (1905), but has been questioned by Zanker (1993, 220 n. 40): “the interpretation of this object as a tomb marker is untenable”.

99 Ridgway 1993, 234f.

100 The herm as a signpost for the *palestra*: Cremer 1991, 50-52; Smith 1991, 189; Zanker 1993, 220. The herm as a boundary to Hades: Palagia 1997, 69; Ridgway 2000, 194. The herm as a marker of the journey to the Underworld: Wrede 1986, 45.

101 Herakles, who achieved immortality by his own virtue after the plucking of the golden apples of the Hesperides, was a paradigm of the average person’s potential for a happy afterlife.

102 Ridgway 2000, 198. Many rider reliefs simply show a mounted rider that gallops or prances by, but other figures such as women, boys and dogs may be added to the scene. When landscape motifs are depicted, they are, as a rule, trees and altars.

103 Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 82. Altars play a negligible role in the *Totenmahl* scenes, since the figures are taking part in a feast, not in a sacrifice.

snake. In front of it is a round altar decorated with *boukranion* and garlands. The presence of an altar clearly indicates some form of cult. It might also enhance the heroic status of the deceased, since one claim to hero cult was an altar either at the tomb or as a tomb monument.¹⁰⁴ A similar class of grave markers is represented on a stele from Smyrna, S87 (Pl. 15.1), where a small boy sits on what is probably a *trapeza*. The form of these markers is a long low block with a flat upper surface, and although few actually resemble tables (*trapezai*) this is the name generally given them.¹⁰⁵ *Trapezai* have been found during excavations of a Hellenistic nekropolis on Rhodes and these “tomb tables” functioned as grave markers. Berges speculates that they simultaneously may have served to hold the offerings of food and wine that was brought to the dead.¹⁰⁶

Altars excavated in the Rhodian nekropolis resemble many depicted on East Greek funerary reliefs.¹⁰⁷ Round altars have been noted on some Smyranean stelai and *Totenmahl* and rider reliefs. They are usually plain and certainly without the swags and *boukrania* of most altars (*arulae*) in the round, although some additional decoration in paint may have now vanished.¹⁰⁸ The Rhodian altars might then throw light on the function of the altars as represented on the reliefs. Some of the Rhodian altars show clear indications that libations and even burnt offerings were placed on them – evidence for offerings consists of depressions and barriers on top of some altars. Although blood sacrifices are not typical of grave cult, they are indeed typical of hero cults since the earliest times.¹⁰⁹ The latest studies have therefore suggested that cults of the heroised deceased existed by mid-Hellenistic times, when a marked change toward

104 However, this suggestion has been challenged by Fraser (1977, 76-81) who claims that there exists no unequivocal correlation between altars either at the tomb or as a tomb monument and funerary hero-cult. Some Hellenistic altars might have been used as altars for funerary libation – but not as hero-altars.

105 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 235-237 & 301. Monuments which resemble block altars are very rare, but in the late Hellenistic period there are several from Rhodes and the islands, usually cylindrical with relief swags and *boukrania*.

106 Berges 1996, 84-87.

107 Altars from Rhodes and the islands are usually cylindrical with relief swags and *boukrania*. Fraser 1977, 76.

108 Yet not only are some Rhodian finds equally plain, but a few, like those on the reliefs, are encircled by large snakes carved as if coming to partake of the offerings (e.g., P-M 2226).

109 Berges 1996, 18-22.

elaboration in monuments and the layout of burial plots can be noted. Epigraphic evidence attests to the help that the living could expect from the dead. In addition, mortuary cult could be grafted onto religious ritual: the ca. 200 BCE will of a certain Epikteta from Thera specifies that a yearly function should be held, with offerings to the Muses on the first day, to Epikteta and her husband on the second day, and to their children on the third. The offerings listed are cakes, barley, bread, cheese, and burnt fish.¹¹⁰ The last part of the examination on physical features of the grave stelai deals with metaphoric symbols of death and consolation (sirens, *psychai*) which occupy the landscape settings together with liminal objects such as herms. Here it will be argued that these creatures had an additional function adding to the emotive intents behind this particular sepulchral art in Western Anatolia.

Emblematic creatures of death

The sepulchral space rendered on gravestones is adorned with personifications that signify immaterial or mythological beings most notably sirens and *psychai*. It was presumably the interface between the divine and the conceptual in Greek personifications which gave them such a prominent position in the sepulchral sphere. As convincingly argued by Platt, personifications, symbolic devices and other “subsidiary” images in relief sculpture (and painting) have a broad semantic range which can work together or in tension with dominant “figurative elements” in order to provide a complex, nuanced experience for the viewer.¹¹¹ The symbolic function of these creatures is certainly to personify eternal lamentation. Sirens are commonly associated with the dead. From the fourth century BCE onwards they often appear on funerary monuments playing musical instruments.¹¹² They are a popular feature on grave reliefs from

110 Ridgway 2000, 203; Cormack 2004, 24f. Also at the Belevi tomb, the presence of an altar points to sacrifices carried out in honour of the dead.

111 Platt 2007, 90; see also Borg 2005, 202.

112 Especially on grave reliefs of the second half of the second century BCE, pillars carrying statues of Sirens playing a flute or a *kithara* are depicted.

Smyrna and Kyzikos, probably due to their ability to connect the motif of lament with that of music.¹¹³ It is with music that the sirens are most often connected, and their representations tend to emphasise this, including their appearance on tombs. The musical sirens might embody the esoteric view of the sirens as raising the soul to heaven by aid of their music.¹¹⁴ The Hellenistic siren retains the vestiges of an animal form – the feet, wings and tail of a bird; sometimes a feathered torso, but they are not infrequently rendered in a human shape. The head is that of a beautiful woman albeit her face reflects only resignation.¹¹⁵ No longer does she threaten or enchant; she laments for the dead.¹¹⁶ On a grave relief from Kyzikos, **K14** (Pl. 28.1), a woman is flanked by two sirens playing the flute. The siren might also play the lyre, *kithara* or double pipes. She is best interpreted as a personification of the lamentary song, the *threnos*, which was part of the ritual lamentation of the dead. The *threnos* was a formal lament sung by professional mourners called *threnon exarchoi*.¹¹⁷ A *tympanon* occasionally appears on the reliefs (e.g., **S31**, Pl. 5.2), and it is worth noting that the lamentation of the dead in Oriental art is accompanied by the *tympanon*, not with the flute (*aulos*), as in Greek art.¹¹⁸ On the “Sarcophagus of the mourning women” two of the women hold a *tympanon* in their hand, inevitably to enhance their lament with musical accompaniment. Just as on the grave reliefs, for instance **S113** (pl. 21.1), the figures on this sarcophagus are not playing the instrument. The scenes represent a phase of calm, individual mourning before or after the actual collective lamentation of the dead. The musical aspect on the funerary reliefs is also evident

113 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 240; Fleischer 1983, 43. Conversely, Ridgway (1993, 237) claims that grave stelai that include sirens with women, suggest not the husband’s lament, but are meant to symbolize the lyrical skills of the deceased.

114 Sirens could have had an esoteric function, as carriers of souls to the aether (Buschor 1944, 37). Plato proposed the idea (discussed in Plutarch’s *Moralia*, 9.14.745 5-6) that the Sirens, instead of the usual Muses, inhabited spheres of the aether and their song attracted souls. This is explained as the main function of the siren call, and of the effect of their song on the living, who have the urge to release their souls to join the sirens in the aether (Plato, *Politics* 617b-c; but cf. Plato *Kratylos* 403d-e where they live in the Underworld).

115 E.g., **S120**, **K27**.

116 Euripides *Helen* 167-78; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 134f.

117 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 134f.; Cremer 1991, 92; Garland 2001, 30.

118 Fleischer 1983, 43; Garland 2001, 32f.

on **S128** from Smyrna with its rendering of a statue in the form of a muse standing on a tall base. This grave relief reflects the cult of the muses and musical *agone* as testified on Hellenistic tombs.

Besides sirens, animated symbols of the soul, *psychai* are common in tomb art from Smyrna and Kyzikos. Aristotle tells us how the term *psychai* is applied to butterflies because they emerged winged and fully-formed from the chrysalis;¹¹⁹ this concept seems to have merged with the archaic notion of the soul as a winged *eidolon* to give visual expression to the separation of body and soul in ancient Greek thought. The Psyche with butterfly wings is a popular image of the second century BCE, although its prototype may have originated in the previous century.¹²⁰ On a stele from Smyrna, **S43** (Pl. 8.2), a tall Doric column on a low base supports a winged statue of Psyche who holds a double mirror. A statue of psyche standing on a columnar base might thus allude to the release and possible survival of the soul, for instance **K14** (Pl. 28.1). As a personification of the soul, an expression of both its vulnerability and, potentially, its immortality, Psyche's presence within the iconography of the tomb is not, perhaps, surprising.¹²¹ On a grave relief from Kyzikos, **K27** (30.1) a standing man and a seated woman are surrounded by a *kithara*-playing siren set on a pillar, and a Hermes herm standing behind the young man with a butterfly flying towards it. In the Hellenistic age the butterfly was a popular form of expression for Psyche, who was imagined as an *eidolon*,¹²² and thought to be present in this form in the vicinity of the grave. The image of the butterfly, which is liberated from its enclosure in the cocoon and flies away, was connected with *Psyche*, who leaves the body at the time of death and changes into another existence.¹²³

This symbolism is also evident in the birds that are occasionally shown with children on the funerary reliefs. On a grave relief

119 Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 551a14.

120 Ridgway 2000, 122-124.

121 Hanfmann 1975, 60; Platt 2007, 93.

122 *Eidola* are representations of the psyche, the soul – that is, the underlying, individual personality of the person that separates from the mortal body after death. The *psyche* did not immediately proceed to Hades but stayed near the body for a time, before later becoming fully incorporated into the Underworld. Oakley 2004, 212f.

123 Cremer 1991, 92.

from Smyrna, **S49** (Pl. 9.1), a small girl holds a bird upside-down by its legs. Besides being a reminder of, and connection with, the child's former life at home, the birds may have been thought of as appropriate companions for the dead because they can fly, as the winged *eidola* do. They could travel from one sphere to another and were thus appropriate companions and pets for the dead. The ancient viewer could easily envision them as accompanying the dead to the beyond, because they were able to transport themselves in the same manner, and because they live both in our world and in another.¹²⁴ Similarly, in Lykia during the Classical period images of the dead being borne aloft by winged figures also allude to a posthumous elevation in status. Such symbolism appears, for example on the well-known Harpy monument from Xanthos,¹²⁵ whose side panels represent winged figures carrying off diminutive females (Fig. 12).¹²⁶ However, the presences of *eidola* and other winged figures on tomb monuments might, more practically, indicate the direct proximity or sphere of the dead. *Psychai* and sirens also reveal attitudes to and perceptions of emotions: sirens, as signifiers of the lament song, emotionally directed the viewer to feelings of sadness and sympathy for the dead, *Psychai* provided consolation and hopes in a continued existence after death. As will be argued in the concluding section of this chapter, metaphors of death and consolation, as visualized in the renderings of sirens and



Fig. 12 Harpy monument, Xanthos.

124 Oakley 2003, 180 & 211. Also Hypnos and Thanatos were winged creatures. The bird was a ubiquitous motif in Greek funerary art that bridged the world of the living with that of the dead (Cohen 2011, 265).

125 A tall "pillar" tomb dated to 480-470 BCE.

126 Cormack 2004, 20. The winged figures have mostly been interpreted as sirens conveying the souls (*psychai* or *eidola*) of the deceased to the Underworld (e.g., Buschor 1944, 36-38; Rudolph 2003, 22-24) However, this suggestion has been challenged by Draycott (2008, 149) who argues in favour of the original assumption that the reliefs depict the rape of the daughter of Pandareos by the Harpies.

psychai, together with liminal qualities of the rendered space, are the key to understanding the emotive function of settings on the grave stelai from Smyrna and Kyzikos.

POSSIBLE EMOTIVE FUNCTION OF SPACE

The individual pictorial units and elements have now been treated separately. Only when combined as *minimal syntam* do they create significant meaning and patterns. When the elements are read as a unified whole they form a scene of deceased figures shown in a sepulchral setting of pillars topped by various objects, herms, and altars, all of which identify the placement of the scene. The specific locality is nekropoleis and *heroa*. In general, nekropoleis of the Hellenistic period were rather modest, and do not always correspond with the often elaborate settings of the funerary reliefs. In these cases the scenery probably mimics the more imposing and richly outfitted Hellenistic *heroa*.¹²⁷ Pfuhl suggested that the settings on some funerary reliefs should be interpreted as the interior of a funerary structure. Such reliefs, for instance, depict a wall without trees or animals behind it. He further claimed that the grave reliefs were intended to represent the inside of a *heroon* or cult building in which baskets, chests, or book scrolls were set up on a cornice.¹²⁸ This idea has been challenged by Carroll-Spillecke who claims that the walls seen on the reliefs, with or without motifs of an outdoor setting do not differ from each other in any particular way. The enclosure wall, as well as the statues, columns, herms and other cult objects, most reasonably stood around and within the *temene* of the nekropoleis and *heroa*, not within a building.¹²⁹ The rendering of indoor and outdoor space is, however, often conflated. For instance, one

127 Such as those at Thera, Kalydon, Knidos and Kos. Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 300; Jones 2010, 52. It is noticeable that the significance of the heroon depended on the activities associated with it, and not in any specific architectural form.

128 Pfuhl 1905, 130ff.

129 Carroll-Spillecke 1985, 120.

grave relief, **K8** (Pl. 26.1), represents a man seated on a chair next to a pillar crowned with a Corinthian capital.

Another intriguing question that I will consider is the “absence” of identifiable settings. For instance, on several reliefs from Kyzikos the only element in the scene, besides the figures, is a chair, truly a feature of the interior that could just as easily have been placed in an open-air environment, as on **K8** (Pl. 26.1). On one relief, **K14** (Pl. 28.1), a seated woman appears to be indoors because of her seat, yet two pillars in the background are topped by sirens which suggest a tomb setting, a notion enhanced by two vessels (*lekythos*, *alabastron*) depicted in low relief on the short sides of the *naiskos*. Apparent contradictions are often a feature of the *Totenmahl* reliefs, where the furnishings of the scene enhance the impression of domestic interior (*klinai* and other pieces of furniture), while ambivalence is obvious in those scenes that add a tree with an entwined snake, thus suggesting the outdoors. This probably suggests that *Totenmahl* scenes depict outdoor-dining set within a funerary context. That scenes are set within an enclosed space, while certain pictorial details allude to an outdoor environment, indicates that the structures and architectural units on the grave stelai are symbolic abbreviations which are not comparable to real buildings. The sculptors of the reliefs never intended to illustrate nekropoleis with “photographic fidelity”, and the external signs may carry purely symbolic rather than locational meanings. Here we need not forget that burial grounds as rendered on the reliefs were dynamic spaces filled with assumptions, activities and perspectives, some of which are contradictory. In this section I will identify and explain these contradictions by examining the material culture of a thantological landscape. The imaginary rendering of sepulchral space has an emotive function related to existential concerns about death and consolation on behalf of the living. The latter is best interpreted in the light of the liminal qualities of space and with the ample use of metaphors and consolatory figurations.

Although its sepulchral connotations are often apparent, the exact symbolism of the imagery on the reliefs is not readily perceivable. Therefore, it is necessary to view the monument in context and evaluate it in the light of beliefs regarding death

and funerary practices.¹³⁰ To fully understand the emotional potency of sepulchral space I will try to explore the relationship between the living and the dead. These bonds were most clearly perpetuated in the tomb area. The sensory qualities of the dead, commonly envisaged as retaining their faculties at least in the vicinity of the grave, are a characteristic feature of Greek perceptions of the hereafter. To set the scene within a funerary space thus gave it emotive potency by offering the viewer consolation in the reassurance that the dead were always present at the tomb. A grave marker may also lend itself to veneration of the deceased, thereby evoking additional emotions of permanence and continuing bonds between the dead and their survivors. Adding another layer to the emotive texture of tomb space is the tomb as marker of a boundary area or liminal zone between this world and the next. Presumably it was this “liminality” of sepulchral space that enabled interaction between the dead and their survivors. With liminality I mean the presence of the deceased in a borderland (or boundary zone) between the spheres or realms of life and death. Although any observation regarding beliefs and their expressions at the tomb environment must, of course, remain speculative, the archaeological evidence itself is rich and informative. From the material remains (Vergina, Trysa etc.), it becomes clear that the tomb space was a site of meaningful interaction.¹³¹

Ritual activity concerned with death involved not only the corpse and the soul, but also the actors left behind, the mourners. Death commemoration rituals erased the figurative and actual boundaries between the deceased and their survivors even though it perpetuated an identity for the dead with whom the

130 It is, of course, difficult to reconstruct ancient attitudes toward death and the afterlife and, even more so, trace their evolution. The conception of death as a hateful but inescapable evil was rooted in the Homeric epics and persisted in later literature. Nevertheless, side by side with the widespread notion of the gloomy Hades are several passing allusions in Greek literature to the idea that the souls of certain blessed dead are transferred after death to a paradisiacal garden, where they exist in perfect happiness, free of toil and illness.

131 For example, it has been suggested that the existence of a wooden, semi-open structure within the confines of the *temenos* walls of the open-air heroon at Gölbaşı-Trysa, whose religious implications were underscored by the probable presence of an altar in front of the tomb. In the corner of the *temenos* (or *peribolos*) area might have been a flat-roofed structure which provided shelter for the annual (?) visitors to the heroon, under which the *klinai* or beds on which the participants reclined, would have been located. Cormack 2004, 20f.

living maintained an on-going relationship. Outdoor meals in the tomb area, as rendered on *Totenmahl* scenes, constitute a form of interaction,¹³² in that the memory of the dead is recalled and certain continuity is established. Also the presence of altars, evidence for the pouring of libations to the dead, and the placement of the scene within a wooded environment are all elements of ritualised activity that provide for the dead and for the needs of the living.¹³³ These actions fulfilled the basic purpose of honouring the memory of the deceased, while the pleasure of the act of congregating and banqueting at the tomb, in convivial, comfortable surroundings, frequently at the expense of dead as decreed by testament, fulfilled the need of the living as well.¹³⁴ One of the most remarkable features of these funerary monuments, and perhaps the source of their consoling powers, is precisely their reluctance to recognize those distinctions between the living and the dead which other media asserted.

On the grave reliefs we encounter a conflicting space displaying an “intangible” existence replete with “tangible” figures represented in full body form. The imagery of the dead in a tomb space reflects a general tendency where the dead were no longer perceived of as only ghostly beings. The figures portrayed on the tomb reliefs, however, represent individuals in a symbolic rather than veristic sense. But since they include inscriptions naming

132 Several Makedonian tombs from the Hellenistic age were furnished with banquet furniture such as klinai and tables. In the courtyards related to these tomb structures the excavators found debris from the consumption of food and wine. Andrianou 2009, 62. Several Hellenistic tomb complexes in the nekropolis of Alexandria also included a dining room where mourners would feast on the day of the funeral, forty days after the death, on its anniversaries and certain other feasting days when the dead were honoured. These dining rooms may be identified by their rock-cut couches; banqueting equipment including drinking cups and wine amphorae were found in some of them. (Burn 2004, 123. Stamatopoulou (2010, 17f.), however, presented a slightly more sceptical outlook on the prospects of tomb side dining in the Hellenistic world. She pointed out that archaeological evidence for this practice is much limited and inconclusive.

133 Cormack 2004, 120. This very material cult depended on the assumption – which was sometimes distinctly expressed – that the soul of the dead is capable of receiving, and is in need of, physical satisfaction from the gifts made to it. It is consequently, not thought of as deprived of the power of self-reception. Even in the grave it can feel what is going on in its neighbourhood. Rohde 2010, 170.

134 Cormack 2004, 120. The banquet-image on the funerary relief may also serve as a substitution of ritual when family and friends are no longer alive to commemorate the dead.

the commemorated individual they are clearly linked with the person buried: the depiction becomes a representation not only of the symbolic essentials of the person but also a representation by extension of him/her, if not of the person's facial features. Just as a *punctum* the deceased provided a personally touching detail which established a relationship between mourner and deceased. Through the engagement of the viewer in sympathetic emotions, the figures are able to reinvigorate their emotional proximity with the dead, and avoid being forgotten. Indeed, regular "refreshing" of emotions is an essential part of the maintenance of memory.¹³⁵ The *punctum* was sometimes heightened if the represented figure had attributes that indicated that they had been initiated into a mystery cult, thus facilitating hopes in the survivors of prospects for a blissful existence for the dead.¹³⁶ The deceased are shown as fully alive, while standing within the confines of what must be interpreted as a burial site. A fine example of the conflated nature in the rendering of space is the well-known relief of Amyntes from Smyrna, **S92** (Pl. 16.2), where the boy plays and crawls about, like the child he is, while trying to defend the fruits he holds from a hungry rooster. In line with the outdoor environment indicated by the rooster, a herm is placed to the left of the boy. However, an indoor setting is alluded to by the framed wreath that hangs on the wall of the *naiskos*. This example clearly shows that we cannot expect a unified rendering of space on the reliefs. The artist alludes to a variety of themes and subjects and arranges the elements in such a way that a deliberate deviation from the rendering of accurate space is deemed subordinate to the aim of placing the scene

135 Memorialisation can also be considered as a powerful tool in terms of identity (re)formation, through the merging of mementos and objects with memories of the deceased person, and a life-once-lived, see Woodthorpe 2010, 122.

136 These individuals are represented like the regular dead, and unlike the heroes, they have no specific feature to elevate them above others, besides attributes or a myrtle branch, **K56**, significant for the Eleusinian mysteries. Especially containers have been interpreted as signifying initiated status, e.g., the lidded *cista* in the form of a *tholos* on **K47** has been interpreted as a replica of the *Arsineion* at Samotrake (Benndorf 1902, 194f.). Another example is **S37** where a Demeter priestess stands next to a pillar maybe topped by a *cista mystica* (Karlsson 2014, forthcoming). Other *mystai* consists of a man wearing an ivy-wreath on **S76** who might have been initiated in the mysteries of Dionysios. Also the bald male with a rolled head fillet on **S16** has been assumed to represent a *mystas* in the cult of Isis (Känel 1989, 56f.).

within both elevated space (as indicated by the architectonic elements of a *heroon*) and liminal tomb space (as indicated by the *herm*). The boy now resides in a blessed afterlife, while at the same time he is still present in the vicinity of his tomb, a seemingly contradictory perception that corresponds well with the ambivalent nature of ancient Greek beliefs about the hereafter. This explanation is, however, not applicable to scenes where companions are clearly perceived as “ideally”, emblematically, rather than “narratively”, present; for even if we were to think that the children had died at the same time as their mother, only the hypothesis of an emblematic presence can explain the representation of servants accompanying their mistress. These scenes, which depict aspects of the dead person’s social persona, can also be considered to be conflation combining the “deceased at the grave” with elements of “scenes from life”, with the servants belonging to the latter category. In this way the contradictory imagery signals both issues of concern for the deceased when alive, and marks his/her presence at the grave. The living persona of the dead before death is combined with their new existence at the grave, thereby presenting the viewer with a “now-and-then” scenario. The contrast between past and present, and mourner and deceased, is what we often see on the grave reliefs, where elements from the deceased’s past are combined with scenes at the grave, and the dead can sometimes appear at the grave with the living. The grave is his/her new home and will remain as the place of contact with him/her in the future and is therefore a reassuring image for a grieving friend or relative. Indeed, the grave monument itself is not only shown on the reliefs but also mentioned and focused upon in many a grave epigram.

The imagery of the dead within sepulchral space is a metaphoric and consoling reminder for their continued existence. But metaphors not only fulfil an emotional need for expression, they also help to shape and direct our emotional understandings of, for example, our own mortality and bereavement. The relationship between death and its representation gives rise to cognitive dilemmas. The Greek views of the dead admit both the idea that the soul lingers near the grave and the idea that the soul completely escapes the earthly realm. These contradictory beliefs about the dead must be explained as a response to death itself, a phenomenon that, although inevitable, is unpredictable,

poorly understood, and cloaked in conflicting emotions.¹³⁷ As the feeling of grief or guilt about another's death shifts to resignation or relief, as fear concerning one's own inevitable end shifts to hope for post-mortem bliss or back again, the ways in which the afterlife and the passage into death are pictured shift as well. Death is after all a dramatic and disturbing incursion into the human experience, which by its very nature defines the limits of mortality. They are thus resistant to human efforts to capture, preserve or communicate their qualities in visual or verbal form. To quote Bronfen,

*death itself is beyond representation: any attempt to translate it into human terms must necessarily resort to strategies that transform it into something familiar, formulaic, aestheticized and therefore unlike itself.*¹³⁸

Sepulchral art thus presents us with a complex system of metaphors and symbols that repeatedly signify death, but draw back from presenting the thing itself. This aims to suppress the threat death poses and allay potential grief through visual strategies that, as Guthke has shown, “give shape to the shapeless by approximating it to the familiar”.¹³⁹ Together, metaphors and symbols (such as sirens and phychai) make vivid extraordinary experiences that figure death and yet defer it, and offer consolation through the assertion of presence while reminding their viewers, gently, of the grim fact of loss. These elements transform the settings in to “emotionally heightened spaces”. With this I mean places that were charged with affective meaning, such as tomb sites together with the objects on display in them. The funerary reliefs are full of objects loaded with meaning. Some of them were connected with references to lament and the experience of death. On a grave relief from Smyrna, **S8** (Pl. 2.1), the deceased man crowns himself with a wreath; in the background we see his tomb, an expensive monument bearing the young man's marble urn. Another relief, **S42**, shows the deceased standing next to an emblematic sign of her own tomb, including a

137 Johnston 1999, 6.

138 Bronfen 1991, x: “The aesthetic representation of death lets us repress our knowledge of the reality of death precisely because it occurs at someone else's body and as an image.” But as pointed out by Platt 2011, 354 n. 49: “At the same time one might argue that for those who remain within the realm of the living, death is only apprehensible as a cultural construct”.

139 Guthke 1999, 8.

statue of a siren playing the flute. Even when figures look seemingly detached and unconcerned, the objects accompanying them send out another message, for instance, the presence of a siren alludes to the lament of the survivors. The acute pain of physical removal clearly demanded metaphors by which to console the bereaved and help them come to some kind of understanding which would make the loss more bearable.¹⁴⁰ Consolatory figurations by which to understand death and removal as rendered on the funerary reliefs include immaterial realities of death, such as winged creatures, which offered consolation by being a reminder for the prospects of a life after death.

As just outlined, through their funerary purpose the images on the reliefs clearly answered to emotional needs on behalf of the survivors. The rendering of the deceased in an imaginary sepulchral setting, sometimes standing next to his or her own tomb topped by a siren, could have offered reassurance by reminding the living that their loved ones were not completely lost. The images express concern for the deceased and attempt to offer comfort for the bereaved. As we have repeatedly seen, the consoling power of the grave reliefs lies in their ability to facilitate relationships between the living and the dead. Highly volatile, it encompasses the power and vulnerability of the dead who are both revered and protected.¹⁴¹ Memorials offer a form of immortality for those who have died as well as the possibility of a continuing link between those who have gone and those who remain. Grave reliefs were images which people saw repeatedly, and most importantly, kept seeing over a long period of time. It is obvious that in the long run some people needed consoling and cheerful images rather than those which only showed pain and grief. When viewed through the experience of the mourner, the image offers a soothing and consoling metaphor, preserving and enhancing the memory of the deceased by function as a form of visual therapy, or *Trauerhilfe*.¹⁴² Such types employ a motif of consolation. They offer reassurance, by reminding the living that their loved ones were not completely lost, and that they and their family, past and present, will successfully

140 See Tarlow (1999, 132f.) for a discussion on the concept of consoling figurations and metaphors in cemeteries of the early modern and modern period on Orkney.

141 Hallam & Hockney 2001, 90.

142 Zanker & Ewald 2004, 102-9 & 316-25.

survive the transition to a new state of being. The presence of sirens and concepts related to the immortal soul also function as motifs of consolation. As we have seen in this chapter, tomb ritual provides a productive paradigm for interpreting the set of motifs on grave reliefs, where the display of altars, offerings and banquet imagery provides visual bridges between the activities of the living and the honours paid to the dead. They focus upon traditions of mourning and remembrance that characterise habits of viewing within the tomb space, during funerary rituals and the annual festivals when the relatives of the deceased came to visit the dead.¹⁴³ Sentimental motifs probably played a great part in promoting the popularity of the practice of representing the dead at the tomb while also employing emblematic elements for the hope of a blessed existence in the here-after. However, affection for the memory of the deceased is, of course, an evocative stimulant, whether or not it is reinforced by a belief in the continued presence of the dead in the liminal space of his/her tomb.

143 Zanker & Ewald 2004, 28-36; Platt 2011, 343.

5. SOCIAL RELATIONS AND EMOTIONAL PRACTICES

The second part of the iconographic analysis will consider emotional practices, with specific emphasis on the display of possible internal emotions. More precisely I will examine how the pictorial semiotics of mourning and affection can be extracted through gestures, postures, and gazes of the individual figures and in the interaction between characters in the multi-figured scenes. As well as expressions of grief and affection, power relations will also be considered. These are most clearly expressed on the grave reliefs through the asymmetrical relation between masters and diminutive servants. In the final part of the chapter, I will consider pictorial conventions that might have affected the emotional content of the imagery, especially in terms of prevailing mentalities and styles of the period. In order to fully grasp the corporeal dimension I will initially consider whether it is possible to differentiate between the dead and their survivors. On grave reliefs the deceased are represented in living form, never as a corpse on a bier or in the act of dying. Sometimes the epitaphs do not name every figure on the images and this should be interpreted as the deceased being shown together with relatives who are still alive at the time of purchase of the stele. In order to detect the proper meaning behind a gesture I will try to differentiate between the living and the dead. A gesture might signal grief when performed by a survivor and contemplation when performed by the deceased. In a study on Classical Attic grave stelai, Bergemann examined the identification of deceased and survivors.¹ He concluded that this differentiation is not as easily recognizable as scholars

1 Bergemann 1997, 47-56. That there exists a separation between the dead and the living is most clearly manifested in the epitaphs, since only one figure may be inscribed in multi-figured groups. This figure is then alone determined as the deceased, while the remaining figures are more likely to be survivors than previously deceased members of the family awaiting another family member in the Underworld.

had previously claimed.² Amongst others, Bergemann rules out the possibility that the staring gaze (i.e., not responding to the directed gaze of other figures) or the sunken posture, were meant to designate the dead from the living. He based this assumption on a comparison between iconographic expressions and epigraphic specifications. These were proven to be inconclusive, that is, a person mentioned as a survivor in the inscription can be depicted on the grave relief in a posture that is commonly assumed to signify deceased status.

I agree with Bergemann that it is difficult to distinguish the living and the dead in Attic funerary art. This statement is valid for Hellenistic tombstones as well, but only in terms of body language (e.g., gestures, poses or the apparent “isolation” of a figure). However, on East Greek grave stelai we have other devices at our disposal, most notably the elevation of the dead through heroisation.³ The great challenge of this chapter lies in setting parameters within which we can read the signifiers and interpret their meaning. I will guard against narrowing the criteria by which we associate gestures, poses etc. with identity, and allow for some flexibility in our readings. A woman depicted on a relief from Smyrna, **S63** (Pl. 11.2), illustrates the problem of signification that confronts the modern beholder. Unlike the large boy on the left (clearly of elevated status) there is nothing in her appearance to single her out as deceased; however, she is named in the inscription. Nevertheless, a rough differentiation between living and dead is of fundamental importance in discussions of emotional practices and power relations. I will attempt to set apart those groups of figures that clearly stand out as deceased (elevated /untimely dead) from those of more obscure identity by aid of the epigraphic evidence. This will be accomplished by identifying which figures are named in the

2 E.g., Clairmont (1993, 120) has claimed that iconographic patterns were established on the basis of epitaphs, which attest to certain relationships between family members. These iconographic patterns provide further means of designating the deceased. He also states that attributes, gestures, and expressive features are to be considered when determining which figures are of deceased status.

3 A device, however, that we miss out on is painted details. The deceased might have been distinguished with the aid of paint. E.g., on Apulian grave vases of the fourth century BCE white-painted figures stand within a *naiskos*. These figures might represent deceased or statues. Whatever their identity, paint was clearly a significant part in the rendering of their function within the image.

inscriptions. Named figures will be perceived of as deceased. It is also possible to identify deceased figures ichnographically by aid of their compositional arrangement and elevation.⁴ The most easily distinguishable group amongst the living are the miniature attendants (male/female servants) and the “mourners”.⁵ Attempts to “spot the dead” are not an aim in itself, since the difficulties of separating the dead from the living might reveal that this was an issue of no great concern for either the sculptor or the purchaser (or we are simply unable to acknowledge these cues). It is difficult to recognize just how much ancient images reflect reality and how much they describe a world imagined by the artist. Are the images intentional representations of commemorated individuals from the same family or are they merely genre scenes? In the context of Hellenistic funerary art, we must, for instance, in terms of displaying real-life situations, accept that there are some contradictions when it comes to identifying named figures. This is an issue that I will return to in chapter 6.

UNTIMELY DEATH

One distinguishable group amongst the commemorated dead is those who passed away in an untimely fashion.⁶ These figures can be singled out with the aid of size and compositional arrangement. Amongst the untimely dead one can differentiate between several age groups and between attributive children (whose main function was to narrate something about a principal figure in the composition) and deceased children. Before I consider untimely death as an emotive theme on the reliefs I will briefly discuss the perception of age. Exact biological age was

4 Also the figures on the single-person reliefs may be assumed to represent deceased individuals.

5 The only individual of definite servile status who is named on a grave stele is Lais (“booty spoils”) on **K74**.

6 The sheer frequency of child death in the Greek world means that I, in line with others, prefer to term the loss “untimely” rather than “premature” – it was to be expected even if feared and reviled, see Bradley 1998, 45f.; Mander 2013, 8.

clearly not a matter of great importance either on the reliefs or in the epitaphs.⁷ However, this does not mean that age was a non-issue in the imagery, rather the opposite, the sculptors took great pains to render the figures with appropriate clothing, stance and attributes, as befitted his/her stage in the life course.⁸ The untimely dead on the reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos can be divided into four age groups: infants, children to the age of two-six/seven, pre-pubescent children, and adolescents.⁹ In many studies of ancient Greek (mainly Attic) art, a particular painted or sculpted figure (especially of a child) has often been claimed to be x years of age simply because, for the modern viewer, it has the appearance of being x years of age. Admittedly, the rendering of age, in terms of facial features and physique, was far more complex on, for instance Attic grave stelai as compared to their Hellenistic counterparts. However, the ancient Greeks perception of, and attitude to, age and ageing is in many ways different from our modern view. It is important, as Beaumont has stated,

*to acknowledge the contrast with our own twentieth century Western obsession with human life comprehended in terms of the individual's specific age in years.*¹⁰

7 Only a small number of ancient Hellenistic tomb memorials (of pre-Imperial date) make any reference to the age of the deceased, and in these few cases it is usually to mark the death of a young or very old person (as is also the case in the inscriptions from Smyrna and Kyzikos, see Chapter 6).

8 Life-course is the temporal dimension to life that begins at birth and ends in death with numerous stages and rites of passage along the way. Harlow & Laurance 2002, 3. The life course is culturally constructed and need not exactly follow biological or mental development in humans. Every culture has its own version of the life course, with a different emphasis on critical stages and transitions. We are born not simply into the social structure of a society, but also into the life course of that society.

9 However, it is difficult to make accurate estimations of the exact age in years of the represented children. The figures that are most easily recognizable are the really young children or the older ones, while those in between are more obscured, and thus the age attribution of them should be treated a bit more cautiously. Not even the occasional mentioning of a child's age in the epigrams gives us much help, since there might be a discrepancy between the age of the represented child on the relief and the age of the deceased child mentioned in the inscription, e.g., **S31**.

10 Beaumont 1994, 83.

To the Greeks in Anatolia and elsewhere our system of treating, experiencing, and marking the passage of human life would probably have seemed very strange.¹¹ We cannot, and I will not, use our modern perception and attitudes towards age in the analysis of ancient art.

Despite these difficulties, it is necessary to roughly consider age differentiation among the untimely dead. Children do not constitute a homogenous group, but have quite a diverse iconography, mainly reflected in various ages and functions. The arrangement of figures may contribute to the identification of the developmental stage of a child. This is particularly the case for the physically dependent stage of infancy where, for example, the child figure is often supported or carried in the arms of an adult, most likely a nurse (e.g., **S29**, Pl. 4.2; Fig. 13).¹² Size might also be an iconographic tool for identification. A child is often depicted as a figure smaller than his or her adult companions and, generally speaking, the more diminutive the child figure the more youthful it is intended to be. It does not, however, follow that figures of reduced stature are always to be interpreted as being of childhood age. A single artistic convention, such as



Fig. 13 Detail from S29.

11 E.g., in modern Western society we find it important to record precise dates of birth and death on official certificates and also on our tombstones, where the age in years of the deceased is often added. We also mark the precise anniversary of our birth date and the maturing of our lives in years in annual birthday celebrations held on the same day every year. Ancient Greece produced no birth certificates; hence knowledge of the individual's exact age would probably have been dependent rather on family memory than on official records.

12 Beaumont 1994, 91. It is noticeable that in Schulze's (1998, 109f.) catalogue of Greek funerary reliefs with representations of nurses, a majority of his fourteen Hellenistic examples come from Smyrna (**S29**, **S49**) and Kyzikos (**K12**, **K22**, **K25**, **K74**, **K75**, **K81**, **K95**). However, I disagree with his assumption that all women seated on the ground on the Kyzikos reliefs should be interpreted as nurses. E.g. the woman seated on the ground on **K95** is probably the mother of the commemorated man standing to her right.

diminution of size, can, depending on the context in which it is employed, carry one of a number of implications or meanings. Reduced stature, therefore, may signify not only childhood age but can indicate inferiority of social status, for instance, adult as well as child slaves are often depicted on a smaller scale than their masters. Conversely, simply because a youthful figure is represented as equal in stature to his or her adult companions it does not always follow that he/she has already attained manhood or womanhood.¹³ For instance, on **S117** (Pl. 21.2), the girl is disproportionately large for her age when compared to the size and age of the woman seated to the left. The boy on **S63** (Pl. 11.2) is also almost as tall as the woman standing to his left, but his comportment and clothing clearly indicate that he is a boy of young age. In these cases stature is clearly a sign of status and not of age – the children are deceased but they may also be of heroic status.

Young children

I have just considered the importance of different age groups for children represented on the stelai. As I will demonstrate here the age of the child was related to his/her emotive function in the imagery. In the following I will first discuss young children up to about the age of six/seven and then older children up to adolescent age. Children often appear on grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos and inevitably contribute with an emotional accent, especially when represented in interaction with each other. They are generally not shown in intimate interaction with other figures but are miniaturized and stand off to the side, often appearing sadder than their adult counterparts. They function less as people in their own right, but rather as attributes meant to highlight the central image of one, sometimes two, adult figures. Some of the children can be identified as infants, or at least, as very young children.¹⁴ They are clearly different from the older children by their small size, posture, and their placement in the arms of nurses. The infants are always represented together with

¹³ Beaumont 1994, 88.

¹⁴ Smyrna: **S29**, **S50**. Kyzikos: **K18**, **K22**.

their mothers, but are never being held or touched by them; they are only involved in physical interaction with a nurse.¹⁵ Although children of all ages are shown on the stelai, perhaps not surprisingly infants received much less attention than older children. This is reflected on, for instance **S30** (Pl. 5.1), where the infant is distinguishable, but lacks all forms of individualized features. The babies are wrapped in drapery, and their sex is usually not indicated. Whether sex differentiation was of little concern or whether it was difficult to make such a distinction in so small figures is unclear. However, on a few reliefs, the infants are rendered in a surprisingly individualistic way and it is even possible to tell their gender, that is, they are baby girls. The small children are never swaddled,¹⁶ which probably reveals that they are neither new-borns nor at the most tender age.¹⁷ The unswaddled figures might represent an older group of infants, still babies in arms, but depicted as having reached a stage when they are no longer swaddled and they interact with reaching hands and searching eyes.¹⁸ The baby girls are often wearing a long-sleeved tunic and have their legs wrapped up in a cloak. In some cases the cloak of the nurse envelopes the child she holds in her arms and contributes to the sense of an intimate bond between them, or at least, it enhances a degree of intimacy in the interaction between nurse and child.¹⁹ The extent of individuality

15 Two important studies on the nurse in ancient Greek art and society are Rühfel 1988 and Schulze 1998. The regular Greek terms for nurse are *trophos* and *titthe*. None of these professional titles are mentioned in the epitaphs from Smyrna and Kyzikos, though they occur elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (e.g., Rhodes).

16 On Attic tombstones the infants are regularly swaddled. To prevent deformations in the legs, swaddling was recommended as soon as possible after birth. Plato (*Laws* 7.789e) asserts that swaddling should last for two years, and that the nurse should carry children until the age of three.

17 An alternative explanation would be that the children of Eastern Greece were not regularly swaddled or that this only occurred during a very short period after birth. Soranos (*Gyn.* 2.15) explains that swaddling may stop after 40 days, depending on the child's constitution.

18 E.g., the baby girls on **S29** & **S49** are looking out at the viewer. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the infants on the reliefs from Kyzikos, almost indistinguishable while held in the arms of nurses, might have been swaddled. They might comprise a younger (new-born) group of infants, at least in comparison to the more individualised baby girls on the Smyrna reliefs.

19 The baby girls are always fully dressed, while there is one example of a small boy that seems to be seated naked on the ground (**S116**), however, this

is not the only difference between these two groups of infants, and in terms of body language it is important to look at the postures of the accompanying nurses. The youngsters on the Smyrna reliefs have a childlike appearance and are held by standing nurses, while the infants on the Kyzikos reliefs lack “individual” features and are held by nurses seated on the ground or on a low rock. The latter are wrapped in sorrow. Typically a crouching woman, with head bent, holds and looks at the baby (e.g., **K22**, Pl. 29.1). As mentioned in the previous chapter, being seated on the ground was a sign of subordination and mourning, this might imply that the nurse holds a dead child in her arms or perhaps that the child is signifying that the mother had died in childbirth or shortly thereafter.²⁰ Either way, the child is only functioning as an attribute, with the implicit function to say something about the mother.²¹ They either symbolize that their mothers have fulfilled their responsibility to bear children, and thus they enhance the woman’s status, or their presence is meant to “narrate” their cause of death, and they therefore emphasise the pitiful faith of the woman. In the latter, most likely case, the infants mainly have an emotive function in the imagery.

The children that seem to represent an age span of two to six or seven years of age often have a childlike appearance and are depicted in lively or heroic postures. They are either depicted in groups of two children or in the company of their mother and/or nurse. Some of them are crawling on the ground, while others are standing or seated on a chair.²² A few of the children in this group are involved in physical interaction with their nurse or mother.²³ It is not surprising that we never find

is difficult to tell due to the poor condition of the stele.

20 Similarly, a dead infant is held in the arms of an accompanying woman on the painted grave stele of Hediste from Demetrias, see Pollitt 1986, 4, Fig. 3. However, this elderly woman is shown as standing, not seated in a crouching position. The emotive potency of this image is not rendered through the presence of nurse and child, but through the image of the dead Hediste together with her grieving husband.

21 The baby boys and girls are never mentioned in the epitaphs, which further emphasises their attributive function in the imagery.

22 Crawling or seated on the ground: **S90, S116, K25**. Seated on a chair or a kline: **S44, S87, K68**. Standing: **S49, S50, S107, K70, K107**.

23 Images of children and mothers touching are almost unattested for in Hellenistic funerary art. For a notable exception see a mid-second century BCE grave stele in the Archaeological museum at Antayka (Lafi & Meischner 2008,

infants, but only slightly older children, in physical contact with their mothers, since it is at this time of life that children are particularly dependent on their mothers, while earlier on they had been in the care of a nurse. As this examination has shown in this age group it is possible to find two different functions of the children, they either have an attributive function, or they represent dead children. However, this difference is difficult to establish, and I mainly base this assumption on whether the child is mentioned in the epitaph or not. The first group of attributive children includes childlike, lively children that are busy playing with their pets and/or toys and the second group of deceased children include figures in heroic postures that seem to be detached from their surroundings.²⁴ The young girls of this group are represented in a modest drapery style, often wearing a short-sleeved high-girdled tunic with an over- and underfold.²⁵ The dress does not seem to limit movement of the limbs and the garments are often in a messy state due to the playful activity of the child. The girl on **S29** (Pl. 4.2) is wearing a tunic and a cloak that has fallen down over her legs. Her clothes enable movement and enhance the childlike, playful appearance of the child. Young boys sometimes have a slightly heroic appearance, mainly emphasized in their enlarged size, vivid gestures, direct gaze and semi-nudity. It is noticeable that young boys and slave boys (together with ephebes) are the only ones to appear in a state of undress on the grave reliefs. The slave boys may be depicted completely naked whereas the “toddlers” are wrapped up in a cloak that reveals certain parts of their bodies, for instance the stomach and chest. Only the names, not the age, of the two boys on **S87** (Pl. 15.1) are mentioned in the inscription, however, according to the epitaph on a similar relief, **S90** (Pl. 15.2), two boys died in the age of three and six, so this age estimation might also be valid for the boys on **S87**. The small boy is represented in a vivid posture and he wears a tunic without girdle, whereas his older brother is wearing a short *chiton* with *chlamys*. Both garments allow a certain amount of movement. The attributes

Nr. 17, esp. 173-175) that represents a woman holding a boy in her arms.

²⁴ It is noticeable that the lively children never are mentioned in the inscriptions, whereas the heroic children, and children represented as miniature adults, are almost always named.

²⁵ *Chitons* with a short over-fold that reach to just below the breasts are rare and occur only with figures of girls in this age group.

held by the children, that is, a bunch of grapes and a rattle,²⁶ also reminds us that they are captured in the world of children and not in that of adults. At the same time, grapes, so often held by children,²⁷ are a symbol of eternal life (due to their seeded nature and Dionysian associations), and thus, their presence might be imbued with hopes for a continued existence after death; surely a comforting reminder for a grieving family member.

Children in this group are frequently depicted with their toys. Boys and girls of all ages are represented with dogs, turtles, roosters, and birds. These scenes are often playfully and affectionately composed: the child will hold a bunch of grapes high in the air as a rooster or a small dog jumps to grasp it, or else the child will dangle the grapes for the pet to eat. Birds and dogs are the two most common pets on Hellenistic tombstones. The motif of the dog, usually a Maltese, is derived from earlier East Greek reliefs. The dog is best interpreted as a means of placing the dead child among the things she/he enjoyed in the past world.²⁸ In Hellenistic funerary art, the bird was a ubiquitous motif that bridged the world of the living with that of the dead.²⁹ Birds are commonly shown with children on Greek gravestones, and their skeletal remains have also been found in children's graves.³⁰ As stated in the previous chapter, besides being a reminder of, and connection with the child's former life at home, the birds might have been thought of as appropriate companions for the dead because they can fly, as the winged *eidola* can. The birds might have been considered able to move between spheres to accompany the deceased.³¹ The attributes of these children both refer to objects that they might have played with when still alive, while at the same time symbolising the death of the child and his/her transportation to, and existence in, the next world. Thus, sometimes the affection and the sorrow for the loss of a departed is not emphasized through the rendering of body language, but through the aid of attributes associated to the

26 A rattle was a hollow terracotta or metal container filled with pebbles or seeds that made a noise when shaken.

27 Fruits are not only held in the hands by children. On **S33** a girl has round fruits gathered in a pouch created by her garment.

28 Oakley 2003, 218.

29 Cohen 2010, 465.

30 Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 215; Garland 2001, 36, 140 & 145.

31 Oakley 2003, 180f. *Eidola* are sometimes depicted as birds.

dead. For instance, on **S92** (Pl. 16.2) the toys of the deceased boy, Amyntes, are lined up on the bottom line of the base of the stele. On this grave marker the sculptor cleverly offer an individualized characterization of the dead boy by displaying an assortment of attributes (mostly toys). In this way his favourite activities are being alluded to through the objects connected to them. This emphasis on inanimate objects indirectly increases the sense of loss, since the objects lined up have become meaningless now that Amyntes is gone. In this way, the signs for the objects that are no longer used, as rendered on the base line of the stele, create a sense of abandonment and loss without using any emblems of lament or grief. Perhaps the use of attributes to specify the child when alive relates to the fact that the death of children was felt as particularly painful, and people wanted to remember them as they were when they were alive, how they slowly grew up, and how terrible their loss was for all concerned.

It is noticeable that more than two children never appear on the funerary reliefs. In the case of two children, they sometimes interact with each other and one of them often holds an object, e.g., a bunch of grapes, in one of their hands. In a few cases a standing child is holding grapes above a small child who is seated on the ground and is reaching out for the fruit, for instance **S87** (Pl. 15.1) and **S90** (Pl. 15.2). Here one finds a narrative in the image. It renders a formalized gesture on behalf of the large child holding the object and a playful activity on behalf of the small child reaching for it. Despite the formalized nature of the standing child's gesture we cannot rule out the possibility that both children are meant to be shown at play. Not only children, but also dogs, are represented seated below the grapes, for example **S88** and **S89**. This makes the appearance of the seated child similar to attributive children, though the boy on **S90** is actually named in the epitaph, and thus no longer dwells among the living.³² Despite the narrative element, the children look rather distant and unaware of each other's existence appearing as almost two separate units. For the art historian, conventional depictions on apparently ready-made grave memorials are important reflections of contemporary values and social ideology. Non custom-made stelai might obscure the relationship between

³² On **S116** the boy also seems to have an attributive function. Although he is dead according to the epitaph, he seems to be of miniaturized status.

the identity and age of the deceased and the represented figures on the relief. This is nowhere so clear as when the relief depicts a child who is apparently much older than the age of the dead child mentioned in the epigram, that is, the case of Nikopolis, **S31** (Pl. 5.2), who died at the age of two but is rendered as a large girl with a ladylike appearance. However, it is possible that her parents wanted to narrate something else about her, such as what she might have become, if she had lived. Nikopolis is wearing an outfit that consists of a long tunic underneath a cloak. The cloak is not resting on her head and the draping of the mantle characterizes the dress of adolescent females. Without the epitaph we would fail to make an accurate estimation of her age. However, yet again, we perhaps take realistic age portrayal too much for granted. In a tombstone that was ready-bought, the figures could correspond exactly or closely to their real age, or not, perhaps due to a lack of an appropriate stele being in stock at the time of purchase.

Older children

The children of an approximate age of six/seven or older are often standing erect with their arms held tightly to their bodies giving them an almost statuesque persona that relates more to the world of adults, than that of children. Schmidt has identified one pose which is typical of the standing children on the Smyrna reliefs, **S44** and **S63** (Pl. 11.2). On these images the body language of the young boys mimics that of an adult man, that is, they have their arms held tightly to their bodies and they have a sideways glance. This expression of immobility is further strengthened by their clothing, since they are completely wrapped up in their garments which seem to entirely immobilise them. On several other images the children are also represented as miniature adults.³³ The garments worn by boys in this group consist of either a tightly wrapped cloak or a loosely draped cloak with a visible tunic underneath. The arrangement of their bodies seems to express restraint and modesty. It is noticeable

33 Such as the statuesque boy on **S118**. Apparently adult men and women are the role models that the children try to mimic.

that these qualities are equally important in the clothing and body language of boys and girls, thus, gender is not the main issue here, at least not in the case of dress and posture. Instead the representation of the children's adult-like clothing and behaviour enhances the tragic faith of an unfulfilled life. The lack of gender differences is noticeable on **S74**, where the body language and appearance of the boy and girl are almost identical. The rendering of children in this group as miniature adults indicates that the older children have almost entirely lost their attributive function and mainly appear in the capacity of deceased individuals. The lively, childlike girls on **S49** (Pl. 9.1) and **S50** (Pl. 9.2) are busy observing their pets, while the "dead" children look out in the distance, seemingly uninterested in toys or other "earthly" things that surround them. The dead children are not busy playing: they are portrayed as miniature versions of their grieving parents. There is an underlying desire to project qualities and achievements they would have had if they had lived since they are rendered as potential adults, not as people with their own rights, tasks, and fulfilments.

Young people clearly do not belong in a world of their own.³⁴ At a young age they were already viewed in their role as future citizens, whether men or women. This emphasises the sad faith of failed expectations and disrupted potential for the dead child. Even very young girls are already depicted as little ladies in clothing imitating the fashion of adult women.³⁵ It is not necessarily the conspicuous or glamorous outfits of adult women that the girls are mimicking, but a restrained version that mainly consists of a cloak wrapped tightly around their bodies. Children in this group are seldom represented with their toys. Instead, boys may be associated with the paraphernalia of the schoolroom, such as a writing tablet and *stylus*. For instance, the boy seated next to his mother on **K68** holds a scroll in his right hand. Another specific example is the boy on the lower relief of **K81** (Pl. 40.1) who is hanging his school bag on an archaistic herm as if to demonstrate that his school years have abruptly come to an end.³⁶ The herm is a regular male attribute for children up to the

34 For the perception of children and childhood in ancient Greek (mainly Athenian) society, see Golden 1990.

35 Zanker 1993, 221. The girls are represented in a ladylike fashion on **S77**, **S116**, **S117**.

36 For a similar interpretation of this motif, see Cremer 1991, 51.

age of 12, adolescents, and adults.³⁷ The clean-shaven Hermes herm is mainly associated with children, youths and ephebes, whereas the bearded Herakles herm often is represented next to more mature males. The reason why the god Hermes was specifically associated with younger males might be that in the capacity of Hermes *Enagonios*, he functioned as the protector of education and athletic activities.³⁸ His cult image, in the shape of a herm, was often placed as an object of worship in the *palestra* and alludes both to the world of athletics and to school; two spheres of great importance in the education of a Greek boy. As stated in the previous chapter, scholars usually prefer to attribute different functions, or semantic meanings, to the herm when rendered in a funerary context. Most scholars point to its allusion to school education and athletics, whereas others prefer to stress its sepulchral meaning. For instance, Palagia claims that the herm may represent a chthonic deity of particular interest to the deceased or that it can mark the boundary to Hades.³⁹ Just like the bird, this object might function as a reminder of the tragic faith of the boy, while also providing a more straightforward reference to his suddenly interrupted education.

Children can be shown alone or as part of a household, where they supply a sense of more than one generation (and, when dead, the disrupted continuation of the family). Never more than two children are represented on the grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos.⁴⁰ This can either be explained by the occasionally attributive function of children or with the assumption that only the dead children of a household were represented. In terms of status, children are always at a disadvantage compared to the adult figures due to their minor stature. This could be compensated for by rendering a child in over-dimensioned size. Another way to give the child a dignified appearance is to render him/her as a miniature adult. Thus, the adult men and women can be perceived of as role models, whom the differentiation of

37 Children accompanied by herms: **S87, S92, K12, K36, K81, K92**.

38 Cremer 1991, 50.

39 Palagia 1997, 69.

40 *Totenmahl* scenes with more than one child are very unusual, with **K68** as the only exception. Fabricius (1999a, 102) explained that “Kinderreiche Familien waren im Hellenismus offenbar weder soziale Realität noch gesellschaftliches Ideal”.

status amongst the youngsters is measured against, that is, a higher degree of adult-like appearance equals a higher status or, at least, contributes to emphasising that the child is deceased. A commemorated child fully mimics the bodily behaviour of the elders, whereas the children with a seemingly attributive function are distinguished by their childlike appearance. As this examination has shown the tragedy of an untimely death is being most clearly emphasised in the sad fate of an unfulfilled life. East Greek grave reliefs used two radically different approaches to sizing, one naturalistic and the other symbolic, the latter representing figures as larger or smaller according to status. This obviously makes it hard in some cases to “spot the child”, though it seems to have been of great importance, at least compositionally, to differentiate a child from miniature slaves. Sizing also enhanced the importance and status of deceased children in comparison to attributive ones. Subsidiary children are of small stature and often placed as border figures in the composition, whereas dead children are often of over-dimensional stature and centrally positioned. However, some named figures are of regular stature, and thus, must not be identified in accordance with their size, but with their action and position in the scene; the relationship between adult and child is emphasized on these grave reliefs. One type of composition shows a standing child interacting with a seated adult, sometimes performing the *dexiosis*, or with the child standing next to a seated adult and playing around with his/her pet or toy.

The presence of children inevitably contributes with an emotional dimension in the image, that is, the representation of them aims at conveying the sad fate of an unfulfilled life.⁴¹ The arrangement of the scenes with a child rendered as a miniature adult surrounded by his grieving parents can also add an emotional dimension to the image.⁴² Images of children share a consistent emotional content, especially with the aid of mournful survivors. On the upper relief of **K37** (Pl. 32.2) we find a boy who is standing *en face* (the commemorated one according to the epitaph) and he is surrounded by his seated, grieving parents. Children and adults seldom interact with each other

41 It is noticeable that the epigrams from Smyrna and Kyzikos mostly commemorate people who have died in untimely fashion.

42 E.g., **K12**, **K25**, **K35**, **K36**, **K37**.

and thus it is difficult to track down physical signs of affection. A child is more often represented reaching out for a parent than the other way around. On **S49** the dead woman stands frontally in a leisurely *contrapposto* stance, she does not seem to acknowledge the presence of a child but the girl reaches out her right hand to touch her mother. The girl's lowered head is not directed towards the woman; instead a turtle is the focus of her attention. On **K107** (Pl. 47.2) a small girl stands in front of her mother's knees, but yet again, the mother does not seem to notice her daughter.⁴³ Although parent and child often are rendered separately from each other, they can sometimes make up a joint compositional element in the picture. For instance, on **S118** (Pl. 22.1) the centrally rendered boy stands statuesque and is dispatched from the other figures, however, he is connected to his mother by standing on her footstool and to his father by being represented in a similar, though asymmetrical, pose.⁴⁴ Gaze can also have an interactive function, since the mutual gaze or the directed gaze at another person often signifies a positive content such as affection. On a few reliefs, for instance **S117** (Pl. 21.2), **K23** (Pl. 29.2), **K24**, the seated mother is seemingly sunken in mediation and has her full attention on observing the presumably dead child. This gives the scene a sense of sadness and loss. That the child has been removed from the world of the living is further heightened by the lack of a mutual gaze, that is, the child does not respond to the directed gaze of his or her mother. As stated above children are often not clearly differentiated from each other in terms of posture, but due to their function in the image, that is, subsidiary figures versus the ones being commemorated. The centrality and stature of the dead child predominates over the choice of posture in terms of emphasizing his/her deceased status.

There is often a distance between adult and child, especially when a seated adult is observing a child and the child is seemingly unaware of his/her presence (**S117**, **S118**, **K12**, **K35**, **K37**). Does the distance between them stand for their physical separation by death and their longing for one another? The empty space

43 Also the performance of the *dexiosis* between adults and children, e.g., **S131**, **K2**, **K13**, **K81**, **K92**.

44 Also on **S116**, **S121**, where the child is shown standing next to the knees of a seated woman, presumably his/her mother. Here the figures are functioning as a joint element in the picture.

between adult and child would be charged with various degrees of emotional intensity according to the change of circumstance brought about by death. To fully determine this, however, is complicated. As scholars we are unable to specify error-proof criteria for distinguishing the living from the dead. We have no scholarly methods that would allow us to measure the emotional charge of the empty space that so typically separates the child from an observing adult. Whether intended to convey the straightforward difference in status between the living and the dead or to elicit a visceral response of regret or thwarted desires, the fraught spatial gap between child and adult can, however, be associated with Barthes' *punctum*.⁴⁵ If so, the empty gap might have intended to sting the person experiencing the image by emphasizing the separation between living and dead. The amount of grief at the occasion of an untimely death is, of course, very individual. In the present material a general assumption can be that untimely death is an important theme in the imagery. This tendency contradicts the often stated assumption that the loss of children in the most tender age did not provoke much grief in ancient societies. Meskell, for instance, has stated that anxiety surrounding infant and child mortality may have been less, not more, than that surrounding adult death on account of its frequency.⁴⁶ Child exposure (mostly of females) was accepted in the Hellenistic world, and together with the high infant mortality, it raises questions about the amount of grief aroused by the death of young children.⁴⁷ However, on grave stelai from Smyrna and Kyzikos, untimely death, often represented as the tragic end (or disrupted potential) of an unfulfilled life, seems to be the prime emotive stimulator.

45 For a discussion of the concept *punctum* (details in a picture that intended to emotionally "sting" the person viewing it) see Iconographic considerations in Chapter 2.

46 In a study of burial customs at Deir el Medina (Egypt) Meskell (1994) reintroduces personal responses and emotions. She considers the role of emotions in explaining the behaviour of individuals, and not simply confining such acts to the impersonal and emotionally restrictive notions of "tradition" and "ritual practice".

47 Pomeroy 1993 & 1997, 226-229. See also the discussion on Untimely death in Chapter 6.

SUBSIDIARY FIGURES

In the following I will mainly consider figures of servile status. This is the group on the stelai most compelled to express emotions. Initially I will examine how it is possible to identify servants and how to distinguish them from regular children. When this is achieved it is possible to extract how subsidiary figures were meant to emotionally charge the imagery. It is not only problematic to determine the age of children. Due to the childlike appearance of slaves and the rendering of them in miniature size, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish children from figures of servile status.⁴⁸ In a short resume of Hellenistic funerary art Smith states that children, if they are not the deceased, are often indistinguishable from slaves.⁴⁹ Oakley is of a similar opinion and claims that it is often hard to tell whether the miniaturised figures are children or servants.⁵⁰ However, this statement is not valid for the reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos, where on the contrary children often are quite distinguishable from slaves due to their liveliness, heroic appearance or the representation of them as miniature adults.⁵¹ At first glance the clothing and stature of children and slaves might seem identical; however, as my examination has revealed there is a great diversity of features in dress, attributes and body language that emphasise different identities amongst the figures, including servile or freeborn status. For instance, on *Totenmahl* scenes the servants have a distinctive position and function. Standing and moving about is the norm for slave boys in these scenes, this posture along with the service it implies marks slaves off as socially inferior to the reclining, stationary diners.⁵² One or two slaves are usually

48 Miniature slaves are a frequent feature on the reliefs. Sometimes the servant figures are left out, e.g. **K12**, **K13**, **K32**. These stelai have a simple iconography, lack redundant details and the slave might have been left out for economic reasons.

49 Smith 1991, 188f.

50 Oakley (2003,189) further claims that the child's loss of importance in funerary art during the Hellenistic age is in marked contrast to its prominence in Hellenistic sculpture in the round.

51 A case in point is the children of pronounced status on the reliefs, such as the girl on **S117** and the boy on **S63**, whose over-dimensional proportions makes them much larger than their female companions.

52 From the late Archaic period onwards banquet scenes in Greek art almost always include the *pais* to serve the wine. Dunbabin 2003, 445.

included, represented on a smaller scale than the primary figures. This use of hierarchical scale both indicates their lesser importance and the fact that they are intended to be understood as youthful. Children needed to be distinguished from youthful slaves, thus to render them in a seated posture might have presented itself as a solution for reasons of proxemics. Immobility of children, in contrast to the standing and mobile disposition of slaves, marks them as socially superior, since the slaves' bodies must respond to theirs, serving and attending to them without reciprocity. Some children are not seated but standing; in these cases it is their immobility that iconographically marks them off as different from and superior to child slaves since the latter (especially slave boys) are regularly represented on their feet, and often in motion as well, pouring wine etc.

Besides bodily arrangement and mobility versus immobility, the use of clothes and attributes might differentiate children from slaves. Interestingly, the servants are always dressed in a typical Greek fashion, and we almost never see them wear items of clothing that function as an ethnical marker; only occasionally do we find a Phrygian cap on one of the slave boys.⁵³ In many cases children are clearly distinguished with the aid of the attributes they hold in their hands. They are often holding a bunch of grapes and/or have a pet animal (dog, turtle). They are sometimes holding a toy in their hands. The typical female garment for figures of servile status is a short-sleeved tunic girdled just underneath the breasts,⁵⁴ that is, the same dress worn by girls aged 2-6/7. The components of the slave's and children's dress are often similar, while the arrangement is different. For instance, the slave girl's tunic has a longer skirt than that of the child, whereas the slave boy has a girdled tunic instead of the unbelted one worn by young boys. The slave boys are either naked or wearing a three-quarter short-sleeved tunic, which reaches down to the knees. They are often belted with the

53 E.g., **S77**. The Phrygian cap was a soft, red conical cap with the top pulled forward. In Greek art it was usually worn by non-Greeks.

54 Slave girls on the reliefs seldom wear the long-sleeved *chiton*, the garment *per se* in the representation of maids on Attic tombstones. They do not have short hair, but curly hair, as do the female children in the age span of 2-12. This gives the slave girls a rather childlike appearance, but the attributes that they hold in their hands (containers etc.) rule out the possibility that they are anything but servants.

lower edge of the tunic reaching the height of the knees or slightly beyond. This is an outfit never worn by any other group of figures on the reliefs. However, we must consider an Ionian grave relief (P-M 546) where two small figures, a boy and a girl, are wearing typical slave dress and are rendered in typical postures for people of servile status; however, they hold attributes associated with children and are named in the epitaph. Hence, we must be slightly cautious in establishing child versus servile status, though one exception from the rule should not prevent us from making, at least, some general considerations.

Unlike the children, the slave girls never wear a cloak unless they are nurses.⁵⁵ The slaves of the latter group wear an entirely different and more elaborate kind of dress that consists of a sleeveless tunic underneath a cloak (covering their head, thus contributing both to their dignity and marking them out as older than the unveiled girls). This difference in female slave dress reminds us of the different functions and projected status amongst the slaves in a household. Here size needs to be taken into consideration, especially since, as we have seen above, the size of figures does not necessarily seem to have the intention of displaying actual age. The slaves are often displayed as ridiculously small, often smaller than the children present on the image, whereas figures wearing the dress and attributes of younger children might be rendered in enlarged proportions, at least in comparison to the other figures. In the latter case this pictorial peculiarity probably had the intention of displaying the main figure of the scene. The miniature size of slaves is puzzling, but considering their childlike appearance we might assume that they are meant to represent the children of slaves in a household, or maybe they are meant to be of older age, but due to the importance of emphasising their minor status it might just have been a standard convention to represent them in a childlike manner. Thus, one should not be too surprised that miniature slaves in childlike dress mostly resemble children not named in epitaphs, that is, those that cannot be claimed to represent deceased individuals. The attributive, younger children and a large number of the servant girls, share a similar fashion or

55 The girl on **K74**, Lais, is clearly of servile status (her name means “booty spoils”). She wears a cloak that envelopes her body. However, since she is seated on the ground, a regular posture for nurses on reliefs from Kyzikos, we might assume that this was her profession.

dress code, whereas to a higher extent deceased children allow their outer appearance to mimic the world of adults, or at least the world of adolescents, as is the case for some of the really young girls such as two year old Nikopolis encountered earlier on, **S31** (Pl. 5.2).

Although within the household slaves were formally classified as property, in sepulchral contexts they appear frequently as if they were members of the biological family. Well-to-do women enjoyed substantial support from servants in the rearing of their children and the management of their household. Not everyone could afford the luxury of having household slaves. Hence, the inclusion of a servant underscores the social status of the deceased. Female servants are frequently depicted flat-chested and undeveloped, as girls, not women. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the female servants represent adult slaves represented in a childlike manner. The placement of them at the far left of the composition is a visual reference to their marginal position both in the family and in society. Despite these indicators of subordination the status of the servant-maids is difficult to properly define. Are they servant-maids of pre-adolescent age or are they in the age of young women? Due to the effort of the sculptors to render them as children I believe that they were meant to represent figures of actual child age. And one could perhaps suggest that they are in their apprenticeship as servant-maids. It is not even clear whether or not they are to be counted among the slaves. They could be slave children of older slaves in the same household, or, they could be young relatives of the deceased who are given minor and light service duties? As young relatives of the deceased they are close companions of the mistress and liable to carry her box, torch or other personal belongings.⁵⁶ Scholars estimate that there were between four and six members in a typical Greek nuclear family. Extended family members should be added to that number, as

⁵⁶ It is noticeable that girls carrying, or rather supporting, a priestess's torch are not distinguished in any way from other slave girls. Thus, the task of helping a priestess to perform her religious duty did not render a higher status relative to the other slaves. However, the girl on **S105** is rendered as larger than the slave boy; on the other hand, had she been represented any smaller we would not have been able to recognize her at all, since she would be covered by the seated man's legs.

should slaves.⁵⁷ The presence of miniature attendants on the reliefs might not only have aimed to represent a number of family members related by blood, but also these family members, together with their “employees”. Considering the meaning of the Greek word for household, *oikos*, we should treat these images as a representation of an extended family group. Such images of slaves and their families are themselves ideals - perfect slaves in the harmonious *oikos* - and this indicates that, to the ancient’s way of thinking, happy, productive slaves had an important place in the well-functioning *oikos*, a family unit in which they were an integrated part of. Given the iconography of the stelai, we might be struck by the large number of slave children and tempted to make a link between childhood and slavery. Slave children are always nameless figures in the compositions and represent the majority of the children included on the reliefs.⁵⁸ Both slaves and children were powerless members in ancient society; children sometimes also appear almost as attributes to the main figures on the gravestones, the adults. On the other hand, from tombstones erected for individual deceased children, I conclude that some children were privileged, with pets and toys. On the memorials of these privileged children, their names and sometimes touching epigrams personalise them. But these children were few compared to the vast number of anonymous children who were either slaves or one of the generalised figures in multi-figure compositions.⁵⁹

57 Pomeroy 1997, 23-28; Cohen 2010, 282.

58 Grave reliefs without slaves: **S28, S73, S78, S79, S88, S103, S116, S129, K2, K3, K5, K6, K7, K8, K9, K12, K13, K23, K24, K25, K32, K35, K38, K40, K41**. There are also several reliefs that are too fragmentary for us to tell whether or not slaves were part of the original composition.

59 Burnett Grossman 2007, 321. It is difficult to decipher a more precise identity of these diminutive childlike figures. Is it possible that they represent children of a nurse and that they grow up side by side with the free-born children of a household? One can also consider the phenomenon of “pet slaves” or *delicia* children in Roman society (Laes 2003). However, as far as I know, such a distinguished group of slave children did not exist in Hellenistic society.

Diligent and grieving figures

Slaves are the only group on the reliefs which can always be singled out as living (with the exception of Lais on **K74**, Pl. 38.2). This might explain why it is much easier to differentiate miniature slaves from deceased children than to distinguish them from attributive children still dwelling amongst the living. In terms of power relations they are also the group (together with women and children) most compelled to display emotions. The theme of the affectionate servant inevitably poses questions on their specific identity within the household. On the grave reliefs there is no interaction between the deceased and their servants. Instead the commemorated individual often stands cold and statue-like, as if detached from his or her surrounding environment.⁶⁰ As noted earlier, women rarely pay attention to their children, or even notice them. They clearly belong to different realms now, the mother are part of the world of the dead, her offspring the realm of the living. As stated by several scholars: compared with the images of intimacy between mother and child on Classical Attic grave reliefs, the different iconographic conventions of their Hellenistic counterparts are especially striking. Here the image of statuesque dignity is more highly prized than the expression of emotion.⁶¹ However, on the Kyzikos reliefs the subject of familial intimacy involving a child is occasionally featured; especially on images where a young child (two to six years old) is shown standing by the knees of a seated woman, presumably their mothers, for instance **K70** and **K107** (Pl. 47.2). But for an adult woman to hold a baby in her arms does not necessarily creates an aura of intimacy. On the peculiar (and rather exceptional) scene of **S30** (Pl. 5.1), a woman holds a baby in her arms and reaches it towards a young woman, with the latter looking detached and uninterested in the young child. This is not an affectionate scene, but the child seems to mainly hold an attributive function, just as the infant held by a nurse on **K22** (Pl. 22.1).⁶² Physical interaction between nurse

60 Connelly 2007, 246.

61 Zanker 1993, 223.

62 It is noticeable that women never pay much attention to attributive children, and whenever they are showing some interest in their child, either by an intense gaze (e.g., **S117**) or touch (e.g., **K70**), the child is named in the inscription, and thus, should be perceived of as deceased.

and child is more regularly featured than between mother and child. Nurses enjoyed a higher status and thus are depicted on a larger scale than other servants, for instance **S29** (Pl. 4.2) and **S49** (Pl. 9.1).⁶³ Their significant status might be explained by the close relationship that they developed with the youngsters whom they nursed.⁶⁴ Their large size might also be explained by the fact that they always hold an infant in their arms, and have to be represented in such a way that the baby is rendered in proportionate size. If the nurse would have been depicted as any smaller, the child would have been rendered as so improbably small that it would almost be unidentifiable on the image.

The servants sometimes display their diligence in caring for the children. A garment falling from the shoulder is a typical sign of a nurse's devotion.⁶⁵ This exposure is the result of movement as the nurse is busy tending for the child. A servant's devotion reflects well on her mistress, and just as the cloak of the nurse might be enveloping the child in her arms, we are yet again reminded of the apparent intimate bond between nurse and child. But what we see here, besides the possibility of true affection, is mainly an idealized image of people of servile status. These figures are not represented in their own right, but in order to enhance the status of others. The garments of the playful children are also often a bit messy, just as in the case with slaves. But the messiness of the slave dress is not necessarily meant to enhance their playfulness or childlike behaviour. It mainly aimed to represent them in a state of complete devotion in serving their masters. The most famous example in Hellenistic art of exposure of the shoulder is of course rendered on the statue type of "Drunk old woman", where it was meant to narrate something completely different: drunkenness (Fig. 14).⁶⁶ In the context of slaves in tomb art the exposure of the bare shoulder due to the *chiton* having slipped,

63 There are several examples of Mysian and Bithynian funerary reliefs erected solely for nurses (see Cremer 1991, 50, n. 228). Also consider **K74**, with the slave girl *Lais* seated on a rock in the lower relief field (a similar motif appears on the lower field of the fragmentary **K75**).

64 As stated by Cremer (1991, 49): "Zu ihr hatte man eine nähere, eine vertraute Beziehung, sie nährte den Säugling, sie zog das Kleinkind auf, sie war es, die die Kinder des Herrn versorgte".

65 Zanker 1993, 223. The garment slipping off to reveal a bare shoulder also appears on small servant girls, e.g., **S46**, **S80**.

66 According to Masségia (2013b, 418f.) the exposure of the shoulder by the "Drunk old woman" is primarily intended to narrate the effect of wine on her self-control, and so functions as an external measure of her internal state.

is the result of movement, at the same time, this movement was prompted as an emotional response on behalf of the slave girls being busy tending for those they served. Their attributive or instrumental function (especially in terms of idealisation) is also reflected in their performance of sad poses (hand placed on the shoulder or touching the chin),⁶⁷ simultaneously performed by the dead individual's relatives. Yet again we encounter an idealised notion in which the represented devotion of the slaves only aims to display the compassion of their masters. In the Greeks' ideal world (not necessarily reflected in reality) slaves loved their masters, as suggested by their deep grief at their owner's death.⁶⁸



Fig. 14 Statue of Drunk old woman.

It is striking that the servant figures are represented with mournful expressions (such as hand to chin, hands folded over the stomach) more often when none of the main figures express any sign of grief.⁶⁹ However, Zanker's claim that servants and children might convey expressions of grief, whereas the dead always look unconcerned and detached is erroneous.⁷⁰ In fact,

67 **S26, S54, S65, S67, S84, S87, S90, S113, S120, S121, S122, K70, K73, K83, K100, K101.** Pfuhl-Möbius also interpreted the hands folded over the stomach, often performed by slave boys, as a mourning gesture, e.g., **S94.**

68 Cremer 1991, 49; Oakley 2003, 188. In Attic funerary art the Illisos stele is a good example of this – the boy seated to the left of the picture-field stares slightly down at the ground, seemingly exhausted from crying.

69 The degree of grief expressed by the slaves is also affected by their amount of activity, e.g., male servants on the *Totenmahl* scenes are often busy serving or mixing wine, whereas at least one of the female attendants on the priestess reliefs is preoccupied with holding the gigantic torch. Hence, the high number of *Totenmahl* scenes from Kyzikos might explain the small amount of grieving servants.

70 Zanker 1993, 223f.

several of the gestures performed by slaves are also attested amongst the primary figures, be they the living or the dead. This indicates that subsidiary figures were more compelled to express emotions, but they did not exclusively perform mourning gestures. The slaves not only show compassion or grief for their masters, on several Smyrna reliefs they also show affection for one another. Often a servant is embracing another servant from behind (Fig.15) and this compelling image might, yet again, have the purpose of displaying an idealised, blissful existence,



Fig. 15 Detail from S62.

if not really for the slaves themselves, at least for other members in the represented household. That the servant figures not only mourn openly, but also express affection for one another, **S62** (Pl. 11.1), **S64**, is noticeable, especially since the lack of touch is a general characteristic of East Greek funerary art, with Rhodes as only exception.⁷¹ This idealisation and the seemingly affectionate relation between child and nurse can be compared to the pre-war American south. The black mammy like the Greek nurse raised her master's children: an intimate relationship was established out of her physical care and socialisation of the child. Southern whites believed in the nurse's love and loyalty. In fact, no others from the pre-bellum south are so idealised for their devotion.⁷² The same pattern of behaviour and assumptions on behalf of the nurses' affection and loyalty are clearly expressed on East Greek grave reliefs. This idea is also attested by a number of touching sepulchral epigrams for nurses' that were commissioned by their appreciative protégées.

71 An emotional dimension is clearly expressed on Rhodian reliefs, especially those with a man and a woman or two women, in a close embrace (P-M 721, 722, 725).

72 Joshel 1986, 11f.

Affection expressed by nurses inevitably brings us to one of the most explicit mourning postures on grave reliefs from Kyzikos, that is, to be seated in a squatted position on the bare ground or on a low rock,⁷³ a posture only associated with women and slave girls.⁷⁴ The variety of rock seats (especially in terms of size) effect the status of the seated figure, firstly by setting the frame for the arrangement of the body, and secondly through the degree of elevation. Rocks are designed to support various poses and might be used to elevate and monumentalise a figure, or in the case of the Kyzikos reliefs, denote lowly status.⁷⁵ As previously stated the rock seat appears to have become a favourite motif used for mourning poses in sepulchral contexts. Women on these reliefs are clearly of low status, especially in comparison to the deceased, and they can further almost exclusively be understood as still dwelling amongst the living. Female figures represented in this posture wear a dress that is clearly differentiated from that of the regular servant girl (i.e., they wear a cloak and short-sleeved *chiton*, instead of one with long sleeves). In analogy to the “squattling” woman on **K22** (Pl. 29.1) who holds the infant of the 20 year old mother to the left in her arms, the woman seated on the ground or a small rock on **K25** can probably be interpreted as a nurse together with her *protégés*. Although the woman seated on a low rock on **K74** (Pl. 38.2) is named as Lais (“booty spoils”) in the epitaph,⁷⁶ all women represented in this posture cannot

73 E.g., **K12**, **K18**, **K22**, **K25**, **K38**, **K74**, **K81**.

74 Sitting on the ground was strongly associated with women and slaves in ancient Greek society, since slaves and brides were incorporated into their new households by a ritual which involved sitting on the ground near the hearth. Bremmer 1991, 26.

75 On Delian grave reliefs commemorating men who have died at sea, the man is seated on a large pile of rocks, but unlike the low rock on the Kyzikos reliefs this seat elevates their status.

76 However, Corsten (1991, 113) made another interpretation of this female figure, and considers Lais to be a slave woman in Timotheos household (the recliner on the upper relief), who would later marry and have children with him. She is also the mother of Artemo (the woman represented seated on a chair next to the foot of the *kline*). The unnamed woman sitting at the head of the *kline* might also be interpreted as Lais, who is then featured twice on the same stele. Of course this theory cannot be proven, and a more straightforward solution would be to consider Lais as a specially favoured slave in the household, maybe a nurse.

be interpreted as being of servile status,⁷⁷ and even though some clearly are slave women, others must be a relative of the deceased, for instance **K95** (Pl. 43.2), which probably represents a grieving mother seated on the ground next to her dead son. The woman seated on a small rock on **K81** (Pl. 40.1) also has to be interpreted as the dead boy's mother. In the context of Hellenistic funerary art the posture of being seated on the ground or a low rock only appears on funerary reliefs from Kyzikos,⁷⁸ and is unknown elsewhere.⁷⁹ To be seated on the ground is often interpreted as a sign of mourning,⁸⁰ and is part of a complex of gestures which all aim at a total self-abasement of the subject.⁸¹ The intensity of the motif is further emphasised by the slightly lowered head and the placing of the hands, either folded in the lap or tightly twined around the knees. Fabricius judges the act of being seated on the ground as a mourning posture and its mournful content can preferably best be paralleled in the gesture of the hand touching the cheek.⁸² Through the representation of the Kyzikos mourners, explicit signs of grief can be considered a theme in the tomb art of this city, a topic otherwise mostly accounted for in the epigrams. Further, it is noticeable that several of the relief scenes that include a woman seated on the ground are accompanied with grief-stricken epigrams which

77 According to Cremer (1991, 49) only slaves are depicted in this posture, however, the accompanying inscriptions contradict this statement.

78 On the ground: **K18** (slave); **K22** (slave); **K25** (woman); **K95** (woman). On a rock: **K12** (woman); **K38** (girl); **K74** (slave); **K75** (slave); **K81** (woman).

79 The women and men on the gables of the "Sarcophagus of the mourning women" from Sidon are seated in a similar way. This posture also appears on an Attic grave relief in Zürich and an Athenian metope frieze (see Cremer 1991, 48). Examples of figures seated on the ground in Greek art include numerous images of seated captives, but also the Hellenistic statue of Drunk old woman (Smith 1991, 137-8, fig. 174). A noticeable relief from Smyrna (**S133**) depicts a girl wearing an oriental garment seated on the ground with the right leg folded below her and the left leg stretched up towards her stomach; her hands are folded around the left knee.

80 It is a "Trauerhaltung" according to Schwertheim (1980, 217) and Sahin (I.K. 7, 59); both make specific reference to the girl seated on the ground on **K18**. Cremer (1991, 48) and Fabricius (1999a, 311 n. 176) have also interpreted it as a signifier of mourning.

81 Bremmer 1991, 26. See also Richardson (1974, 218f.) on ritual sitting of mourning in the Homeric hymn to Demeter.

82 Fabricius (1999a, 311).

give the reader a negative description of Hades in every way.⁸³ Thus, one is inclined to assume that expressive representation of feelings of loss and grief is a typical attitude of Kyzikos – an attitude most clearly embodied in the female mourners seated on the ground or on a low rock.

We have no examples of equally intense expressions of grief from Smyrna. This might depend on geographical peculiarities since the Smyrna iconography is more in the line with Classical Attic stelai, whereas the Kyzikos reliefs are in the same tradition as neighbouring Bithynia, renowned for its powerful expressions of grief. Visual renderings of death are quite exceptional in Hellenistic funerary art.⁸⁴ A Bithynian motif that appeared for the first time in the late Hellenistic period depicts not the event of death, but the solemn *lit de parade* of the dead in his/her house where the lamentation of the dead took place.⁸⁵ Thus, the deceased is no longer represented as living amongst his/her family circle, but instead as a body on the bier, surrounded by those who lament him/her; these elements makes up the motif of the *prothesis* (e.g., P-M 686, 835, 1647). These *prothesis* scenes are sometimes considerably dramatized, with the survivors tearing their hair, beating their chest and wringing their hands (Fig. 16). That is, they are



Fig. 16 Funerary relief from Bithynia.

83 The epigrams on **K19**, **K22**, **K25**, **K95**.

84 A relief from Rhodes (P-M 996) represents a woman just about to die in childbirth. A few painted grave stelai from Demetrias in Thessaly also represent women as dying in childbirth (e.g., the example of Hediste). On the group of Delian reliefs that commemorate men who have died at sea, the man is not rendered as dead. But when figures are represented as drowning in the sea (e.g., Couilloud 1974b, No. 341, Pl. 67) the honoured man or other crew members on the sunken ship must be assumed to be in the act of dying, just as the woman on the Rhodian relief.

85 Cremer 1992, 9f.

characterized by a repertoire of gestures which are known to be closely associated with vivid expressions of grief and lament in ancient art. In addition, these grief-stricken reliefs with its expressive scenes of lamenting the dead may indicate that in the somewhat remote areas south of Propontis, with its large amount of indigenous people, Greek patterns of behaviour commonly played a less important role than it did in more integrated regions (e.g. Ionia). But in contrast to the Bithynian lament scenes the Mysian examples are astonishingly restrained and moderate.⁸⁶ Funerary reliefs from Kyzikos avoid a direct confrontation with death and there is a clear absence of gestures openly expressing intense grief (i.e., tearing the hair or beating the chest). The epigrams might describe how Hades abducts the dead so she must dwell in the house of Persephone, or how she experiences a pitiless fate by being hidden from daylight, however, nothing of this is noticeable on the reliefs. The departure from the world of the living continues, at least visually, to be a taboo. The grave reliefs present a united, grief-stricken group, but avoid any indication of the already performed formalized rites of lamentation.⁸⁷

PRIMARY FIGURES

Dexiosis scenes

The most easily recognizable gesture of commitment on the grave stelai is the *dexiosis* (handclasp). Yet again, this gesture has mostly been discussed in relation to the Classical Attic stelai, where it is frequently rendered. For decades it has been the subject of scholarly controversy, and consequently, multiple interpretations of its underlying meaning exist. The reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos seldom include action poses; at most the gesture of one hand stretched towards another person can be encountered. However, when one of the figures is seated, the handshake motif may occur. In this case the strict frontality of

86 Fabricius 1999a, 312.

87 Cremer 1992, 8f.

the images is broken and an element of “narrative” is introduced, although the gesture is purely symbolic, and can take place between two women or two men.⁸⁸ Unlike the Classical Attic stelai, where only standing or seated men and women perform the *dexiosis*, boys and girls, and even recliners, are joined in a handshake on the Hellenistic stelai.⁸⁹ The unification of adult and child is especially noteworthy since the *dexiosis* motif has frequently been considered as an expression of marital union, an explanation clearly not applicable on the Hellenistic grave reliefs. The figures are often standing at some distance from one another, so that the representation excludes any signs of intimacy. Sometimes the mutual gaze and the orientation towards one another contribute with an impression that the joined figures are meant to be perceived of as a single unit in the composition. The *dexiosis* as a unifying gesture is specifically striking on **S120** (Pl. 22.2), where a man and two women are joined in a handclasp; their hands are placed in the centre of the composition, and the standing man and woman lean towards each other, while sharing a reciprocal gaze. When the gesture appears in the context of Classical Attic funerary art, Garland claims that it is an expression of the popular belief that the family should be reunited in Hades;⁹⁰ it has also been considered as a symbolic attempt to join the world of the living with the realm of death.⁹¹ The *dexiosis* has been interpreted as a gesture of either farewell or of greeting and the ambiguity of the motif may well account for its popularity. The notion of farewell can obviously be explained by the general situation which is inherent in funerary

88 Ridgway 2000, 192 n. 8. For comments on the changed meaning of the *dexiosis* motif in the Hellenistic age, see Breuer 1995, 15-39, esp. 37-38. Breuer points out that in late Hellenistic times the gesture can occur within groups and even within the *Totenmahl* type, but that approximately four-fifths of the handshake scenes involve a man and a woman

89 E.g., **S84, S85, S101, S103, S122, S131, K12, K13, K31, K70, K81, K95, K92**. Adult man and woman: **S104, S120, S121**.

90 Garland 2001, 66-68. Davies (1985, 629f. & 639) is of a similar opinion and she stresses that the gesture's association with the separation at death and reunion in life after death should not be considered as two alternative interpretations, instead they complement each other.

91 Friis-Johansen 1951, 137-139. Kurtz & Boardman (1971, 140) have questioned this interpretation, and they claim that in some cases both figures joined in the handshake are named in the inscription, and thus, probably dead.

art, namely that the deceased is thought to be about to depart. However, since the deceased is actually still present, the gesture is like an anticipation of him/her leaving. At the same time, the gesture may signify feelings of regret, of dismay considering the situation in which the survivor finds themselves as they are confronted with the deceased.⁹² The interpretation of this motif is further complicated by the difficulties of deciding whether only one or both of the figures in the handshake is deceased, since we are seldom given any clues on this matter either through the iconography or the inscriptions.⁹³

Recent studies of the *dexiosis* motif emphasise that the overriding implication of the gesture is one of unity.⁹⁴ In Greek and Roman art the handshake had numerous connotations; amongst others it was associated with marriage.⁹⁵ However, on grave stelai the gesture is regularly performed by figures that can be interpreted as siblings or parent and child, and thus, I do not find the marital association applicable on these reliefs.⁹⁶ Instead I find it important to consider its symbolic function as a sign of commitment within the represented group. This expression is often reinforced by the mutual gaze of the figures joined in the handclasp. However, figures are often represented with some distance between them, and this reduces the possibilities of touching and displaying other signs of affection. It also enhances the formal character of the gesture. Finally, we must consider that the *dexiosis* often join figures of different ages, such as adult and child. Thus, not only the marital group, but the consent of generations, seems to have been the most important aspect of the motif. Emotive scenes do not necessarily correspond to actual feelings of grief, and *vice versa*: what we might interpret as standardised and repetitive stock motifs might have plucked a string or provoked feelings of loss and sadness for a bereaved visitor at the tomb. Chaniotis

92 Clairmont 1993, 111.

93 Davies 1985, 628f. In several cases it seems as though the gesture join someone that was still alive at the time of purchase of the monument, with someone who was dead.

94 E.g., Bergemann (1997, 61f.) claims that the *dexiosis* should neither be interpreted as a gesture of farewell nor greeting, but rather as an expression of the closeness of the family members.

95 From the fourth century BCE onwards the motif occurs sporadic on scenes that allude to marriage, see Davies 1985, 639.

96 E.g., **S84, S85, K13, K33**.

made an interesting observation concerning the *dexiosis* motif in Greek funerary art. He emphasises that physical contact with the deceased (i.e., the corpse lying on *lit de parade* in the home) is the last opportunity for the living to manifest close emotional bonds by touching the dead before he/she departs to the Underworld. Reminders of lost relatives were henceforth only to be sought in memories, images, and dreams. Could it be feelings connected to this specific moment that are visualised in the otherwise so repetitive and conventional *dexiosis* scenes?⁹⁷ Perhaps such an ambiguity (bidding farewell to the dead while also bringing up memories of the last opportunity to physical contact) served a purpose in this set of sepulchral images? It seems likely that the multivocality of the gesture was an intentional attempt to prompt mixed emotions.⁹⁸ The grave reliefs are often visually and emotionally streamlined, including the *dexiosis*, but when provoking memories, such as the last farewell at the bier during *prothesis*, an emotional texture was automatically added to the otherwise so standardised imagery.

Touching

Besides the *dexiosis*, soaked in its formal connotations but still at least a symbolic expression of the positive statement of mutual commitment, figures seldom are involved in physical interaction with each other. Although touch is just one way of expressing affection and similar positive feelings, it is often perceived of as the most explicit expression of closeness and intimacy. Touch has often been seen as synonymous with affection and tenderness. But just as with other forms of non-verbal communication touch can also express status, power and dominance, since it is more likely that a person of high status touches a low status person,

97 Chaniotis 2006, 222f. Representations of actual corpses are rare in Hellenistic funerary art, but there are a few examples from Bithynia: these reliefs represent the *prothesis* and include the touching of the corpse by relatives of the deceased.

98 Further, especially in the case of Hellenistic funerary art, one needs to consider that bodily arrangements might have been adapted to certain pictorial or aesthetic conventions, and thus cannot always be interpreted in purely symbolic terms.

than the other way around. Touch can indicate intimacy and solidarity when it is used in a reciprocal way, but status and power when not mutual.⁹⁹ An adult woman may touch a servant girl, **S29** (Pl. 4.2), but not the other way around. However, we also find the opposite on the reliefs: attributive children touching a deceased adult figure. A feeling of closeness and intimacy between two persons is not only awakened through touch, but also through mutual looking and by leaning towards one another. The two latter components have the aim of reducing the distance and improving the visibility between two persons.¹⁰⁰ Men and women are hardly ever touching each other on *Totenmahl* scenes. This lack of intimacy can probably be explained by the fact that only the man is granted the right to recline, since there are less prospects of touching if you are sitting next to someone on a separate chair, than if you are lying next to someone on a *kline*. Ovid, for instance, pointed out the many opportunities of intimacy that occur when you are reclining next to someone on a couch. In a quotation from his outspoken book *Amores* he urges a woman not to allow the man reclining next to her to place his arms around her neck, not to let him touch her breasts, and most of all, not to let him kiss her.¹⁰¹ Further, it is noticeable that whereas men and women seldom touch each other on *Totenmahl*, it is rather common that men are involved in physical interaction with each other, since the recliners often place their right hand on the shoulder of the man reclining to their left. This gesture should likely be considered as an expression of commitment and filial affection. Fabricius refers to it as a “connection gesture” that visualised familial solidarity.¹⁰² It not only contributes to a sense of devotion and commitment, but also to an internal power relation amongst the recliners, since it is always the man of highest status at the head of the couch that touches the one

99 Major 1981, 21f.

100 Argyle 1990, 209.

101 *Ov. Am.* 1.4.35-38. This request is directed to Ovid’s mistress who is just about to recline on a *kline* together with her husband at a dinner that Ovid will also attend. If his mistress will not follow his advice, Ovid threatens to declare himself her lover before her husband’s eyes.

102 Fabricius 1999a, 103 & 282. This gesture has been identified by Cremer (1991, 30f.) as a farewell gesture. I am skeptical to this interpretation, however, since usually all recliners are named in the epitaph, and thus, should be perceived of as deceased.

to his left, and never the other way around.

The men recline either alone or in a group of two or more, always sharing a single (sometimes crowded) *kline*. In scenes with several recliners it is possible to distinguish a difference in status among them, mainly reflected in the arrangement of the figures.¹⁰³ Fabricius claimed that it was considered of higher status to recline at the head than at the foot of the couch.¹⁰⁴ This statement is reflected on several of the *Totenmahl* scenes from Kyzikos, where the man who reclines at the head of the *kline* is mentioned as the father in the inscription, whereas the recliner to the left of him, is his son.¹⁰⁵ Just as there is a hierarchical distinction between the recliners and other figures, there is an internal hierarchy amongst the reclining men. At most four men, for instance **K109** (Pl. 48.2), recline together on one single *kline*. Each of the men has one or more pillows neatly tucked together below his left arm.¹⁰⁶ The men seem to make up a single coherent element in the picture, separated from all the other figures present on the relief, for example, women, youths, and children. A distinctive feature of the *Totenmahl* is that one of the female companions sometimes sits on the *kline* itself, rather than on a separate chair at the foot of the bed. Consequently, the woman often faces forward, breaking her visual connection with the reclining men but increasing that with the viewer.¹⁰⁷ She is also rendered in closer proximity to the reclining man which creates an impression of greater intimacy. Finally, we must consider the degree of formality or informality of the occasion. The figures of the *Totenmahl* are positioned around a specific piece of furniture, that is, the *kline*, an arrangement which displays their internal

103 The couch is always located with its head placed to the right.

104 Fabricius 1999b, 208. The figures are always reclining on their left side. This pictorial and behavioural convention may be explained by the practical advantages of leaning on one's left rather than right side, see Baughan 2013, 21.

105 E.g., **K83, K84, K86, K87, K88, K94, K100, K108, K107**. Also Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-79) noticed this particularity in relation to several of the Kyzikos reliefs. When the recliners can be identified as elderly, mainly through their beard, they are reclining at the head of the couch (Fabricius 1999a, 283).

106 The men are regularly propped upon their left elbow so that the torso is upright; the right knee is elevated while the left leg rests upon the couch. This corresponds well with the so-called "classical dining posture" as identified on Roman funerary banquet scenes by Roller (2006, 384).

107 Ridgway 2000, 195. A woman sitting on the *kline*: **K47, K49, K100, K101**.

power relations. But this motif also had other implicit meanings and messages that it wanted to convey. Cremer stresses its underlying desire to express familial union and solidarity and makes direct references to the motif *per excellence* in Attic funerary art, that is, the *dexiosis*.¹⁰⁸ Fabricius also wants to see a connection between banquet scenes with multiple figures, and the family images in Classical Attic funerary art, especially concerning the lack of isolated figures on *Totenmahl* and the frequent occurrence of “connection gestures”.¹⁰⁹ But, unlike Attic stelai of the fourth century, familial commitment expressed through postures where the figures turn towards one another, barely occur as a visual theme on *Totenmahl* scenes.¹¹⁰ Instead the deceased and their survivors are gathered as a coherent group, directed towards the beholder. The statuesque character of the seated women also stands out as an obvious contradiction to the theme of an informal meal.

The observation that women and men seldom touch each other on the *Totenmahl* scenes is also valid for other motifs on grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos. Why so? Here we might consider a study by Davies on the appearance of touching in Attic funerary art of the fourth century BCE. She claims that the figures are more likely to be shown touching each other when women are represented on their own, than in scenes showing only men, or men and women together. According to Davies this might be explained by the assumption that the emotional affection between women in an Athenian household (including not only mother and daughter/s, but also servant girls) may have been much stronger than the emotional bond between husband and wife.¹¹¹ Amongst individuals touching each other in our material we find servants, servants/children, children/women, and women/servants, for example **S49** (Pl. 9.1). The

108 Cremer 1991, 27.

109 Fabricius 1999a, 103f. Sometimes also a reclining man and a seated woman are “connected” with one another, e.g. **K49**, and in these scenes the man reaches out his hand towards the woman.

110 According to Fabricius (1999, 282) *Totenmahl* from Kyzikos are not characterized by gestural connection between individual figures. Instead an impression emerges of each figure alone in his/her own sphere, as most notably expressed through the compositional separateness of several isolated figures, and the direction of the gaze towards the beholder.

111 Davies 1994, 10.

few exceptions to the rule that women and men never touch consists of a small group of *dexiosis* scenes and the peculiar tender and moving scene on **S56** (Pl. 10.1), which represents a woman touching the shoulder of a man standing to her left. As a natural gesture, rather than the formalised *dexiosis*, it is unique amongst Hellenistic grave reliefs, and although awkward in execution, creates a bond between the dead man and woman which we might suppose was a comfort to those left behind. Zanker claims that on this relief one customer's dissatisfaction with the standard type is evident considering the tender and moving scene.¹¹² Although this might be an exaggeration this relief scene does indeed remind us of the not always clear-cut pictorial semiotics of the Smyrna reliefs. The sculptor evidently had no way of indicating personal emotion or tenderness in his repertoire, yet this is just what the patron, in direct violation of normal practice, wanted. With the awkward position of the right hand, utterly inappropriate to the figure type, the artist has tried to fulfil that wish as best he could. This is no unique exception. It is possible to detect several deviations from standard figure types. For instance, **S100** has a similar scene to **S56** (Pl. 10.1). Unlike **S56**, **S100** displays physical interaction between two men; however, the standing man touches the seated man in an equally awkward way as on the previous relief, and thus, it seems to express a desire to circumvent the conventional language of the imagery. Although this might only be a subjective assumption based on what appears to be the awkwardness of the gesture. Be as it may, the standard convention is seemingly so tightly rooted and accepted that it is clearly difficult to get round. But not only did the purchasers of **S56** and **S100** seem to have felt a certain agony about standard conventions. A closer study reveals several Smyrna stelai to deliberately incorporate an affectionate dimension, mostly expressed through the reciprocal gaze, but also by a touch of sadness and grief as encountered in the rendering of introspective mourning.

112 Zanker 1993, 226f. For a similar interpretation of this gesture on **S56**, see Masséglià 2013c, 120.

Mutual and averted gaze

The use and understanding of looking and eye contact, and of the facial expressions and gestures involving the eyes, constitutes an essential element in social interaction.¹¹³ Looking can function as a means of claiming status and looking away as a means of disclaiming or withholding status.¹¹⁴ Thus, we need not only consider the appearance of physical affection on the grave reliefs, but also of reciprocal gaze. We have already observed the frequent lack of eye-contact on these scenes, which inevitably affects the relationship between the figures. For instance,



Fig. 17 Painted tombstone from Demetrias.

when observing another person you often intend to show that you are interested in him or her, and at the same time a mutual gaze contributes to a feeling of intimacy, mutual attraction, and openness.¹¹⁵ In the case of eyes *per se*, the irony of fate has it that in the case of East Greek grave stelai, we are dealing with something which no longer exists. Eyeballs and eyelids were obviously rendered in carving, but paint, presumably used for the colouring of pupils, is only rarely preserved.¹¹⁶ We cannot rule out the possibility that original painting on the figures' faces might have contributed to expression of emotion, and further, that

113 The gaze was of great importance in ancient Greece and according to Cairns (2005, 126) it is suggestive that the Greek word for face, *prosopon*, includes not only the notion of sight, but also that of social interaction: a *prosopon* is a face that is oriented towards others, an organ for being seen as well as for seeing.

114 Cairns 2005, 137f.

115 Argyle 1988, 153-160.

116 Clairmont 1993, 122.

facial expressions could have affected the meaning of the staring gaze. A point of reference from the Hellenistic world is a group of painted grave stelai from Demetrias in Thessaly. For instance, the stele of Hediste,¹¹⁷ depicting a woman who has just died in childbirth (Fig. 17), has a three-dimensional depth unaccounted for on the reliefs in this study. The paint also contributes to the faces of the figures being full of expression. The dead woman's eyes are closed, a detail impossible to render in relief. The lack of painted eyes is particularly regrettable if one considers red-figure vase-paintings in which eyes were painted with the brush conveying to the beholder a variety of physical expressions. The eyes express a wide range of emotions and attitudes in ancient Greek: *aidos* in particular, but also anger, hostility, grief, *eros*, surprise, contempt, pity, admiration, goodwill, etc. One very positive attitude which is manifested by direct eye-contact is *eros* (love). Mutual looking and reciprocal eye-contact are very much at stake here, and the direct, reciprocal eye-contact of lovers is also the ideal in relations of close friendship and kinship.¹¹⁸ As a rule in figures confronting each other on the reliefs, the glance of their eyes was reciprocal. They look at each other, particularly when shaking hands. In images lacking *dexiosis* the figure which is still alive may fix his/her gaze on the deceased in whatever direction the latter's gaze is turned (**S117**, Pl. 21.2, where the woman seated to the left is looking intensely at the young child, with the latter having her gaze fixed at the viewer). In multi-figured groups, only two figures look at each other. Subsidiary figures who are still alive are sometimes drawn into the composition by observing the principal figures. By his/her attention the subordinate figure shares the grief which afflicts the principal surviving figure and provides comfort for the deceased, for example, **S26** (Pl. 3.2), where the left servant has his upward gaze intensely fixed upon the man standing to the left.

Considering the positive statement of the mutual gaze, it could

117 Volos, Archaeological museum (see Pollitt 1986, 4, Fig. 3). We also have painted tombstones of Hellenistic date from Vergina and Alexandria.

118 Cairns 2005, 128-132. The eye is the focus of affection in numerous literary passages. E.g., in three passages of the *IA*, Iphigeneia refers to her father's eyes as the focus of their relationship, ultimately begging him to look her in the eyes as a final sign of affection before she is sacrificed. The norm of mutual eye-contact among *philoï* is vividly illustrated in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (454-64).

easily have functioned as the most vivid expression of intimacy on the reliefs; this is also sometimes the case, for example in the *dexiosis* scenes, where the figures joined in the handclasp look reciprocally at each other. Another more regular communicative act on the grave stelai is the sideways glance, which unlike the averted or downcast gaze, does not involve the complete aversion of the eyes, and thus, in some cases contributes to a feeling of intimacy between the figures, for example, the man and the woman on **S76** (Pl. 12.2) are turning their heads slightly towards each other, almost as if they want to emphasise their marital commitment. The communicative act of the sideways glance is further enhanced by their lowered heads, which increases the visibility between them.¹¹⁹ Despite, or because of, the frequent occurrence of the sideways glance, which does not always aim to improve the visibility between two persons, the mutual gaze is not a regular feature on the stelai from Smyrna and Kyzikos. The lack of reciprocal looking can probably be explained by the assumption that the sculptor might have found it more important to express other aspects through the direction of the gaze, for example, modesty or subordination, than to mainly contribute with a sense of intimacy between the figures.¹²⁰ Reciprocal looking is just one of several devices that break the conventional frame of standardised funerary imagery in an acceptable way by loading it with a more personal statement. The most popular tool for the urge of expressing affection is the directed gaze. On **S120** (Pl. 22.2) the three primary figures, one man and two women, are more interested in observing each other than the outer world. They are not separated as three individual entities but placed together in a coherent composition; however, the standing woman has a slightly hidden away position behind the seated woman. Here the otherwise so much sought after statuesque qualities are still clearly present but played down in order to touch upon matters of resignation, grief, and contemplation. These subtle emotional states are neatly packed in a format fully in accordance with the communal values of the citizenry. The messages it conveys

119 Känel 1992, 56. For the communicative function of lowered heads in Classical funerary art, see Bergemann 1997, 59-61. Kurtz & Boardman (1972, 141) interprets the gesture of the lowered head as a sign of sorrow.

120 Furthermore, not all looking is interactive and vision and visibility are not always reciprocally related: one may also be the passive object of the gaze of a generalised mass of “other people”.

deviate from the standard formula, at the same time, by being delivered in vague, only slightly distinguished nuances they still adhere to it.

The figures on the reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos are regularly looking directly out of the frame, at the viewer, especially in scenes where all the principal figures are rendered in the standing posture.¹²¹ In response to this frequent phenomenon on Hellenistic stelai, Breuer has claimed that the figures are clearly not interacting with one another, but instead stand in statuesque isolation, orientated towards the beholder.¹²² She also stresses that the statuesque characterisation of the figures is incompatible with the theme of solidarity or union, due to the lack of interaction between them. Hence, the figures do not participate in a scene with a seemingly realistic logic, but appear as though they mostly should be read as separate providers of meaning, and thus, the figures only have the ability to form a coherent message in the mind of the beholder, when deciphered with the aid of additional information in the imagery. Although I do not fully agree with this opinion from Breuer, I do indeed consider her last statement as the key to the interpretation of meaning in the frontal gaze – the figures are not staring out in isolation, but interacting with a potential viewer. This means that the frontal gaze aims at giving the viewer the role of participant in the scene. With all faces in frontal view there is the emotion which emanates itself directly from the individual depicted upon the beholder. The frontal gaze is a provocation which forces him/her into reflection and to contemplate whatever mood emanates from the face viewed. In addition to the feelings aroused by a frontal face there is the added significance of inscriptions. The gaze of the frontal gaze is turned towards the reader of his/her name and this abolishes his/her anonymity. This reminds us how important it is to also take the relationship between inscription, memorial, and the reader of the epitaph into account since this evokes a dialogue between the memorial and the beholder reading the epitaph aloud.¹²³ This reasoning, of course, assumes that all

121 E.g., **S60**, where the pillar placed in the middle of the background emphasizes the separation of the man and the woman.

122 Breuer 1995, 33. E.g., **S26, S62, S64** etc.

123 Epigrams obviously give more information about the deceased than mere naming of the commemorated. But, even the reading of name inscriptions aloud equals an *anamnesis*, a calling into memory of the deceased.

the frontal figures can be identified as deceased, and that the gaze of a frontal figure is always deliberately turned towards the reader of the dead person's name. If this assumption is indeed accurate it abolishes the notion that the deceased could ever appear in isolation.¹²⁴ No figure stares out in isolation, and those figures that lack their painted eyes, whether depicted individually or together with other figures, are either entirely focused on themselves in a variety of moods, such as contemplation or grief, or their attention is directed at objects and sometimes animals (dogs, turtles, birds) that accompany them, for example **S31** (Pl. 5.2), **S49** (Pl. 9.1), and **S50** (Pl. 9.2). With the aid of painted eyes frontally rendered faces attract the attention of an observing other, which might have contributed to an emotional dimension in the interaction between the represented figure and the beholder(s), especially in those cases where the viewer knew the occupant(s) of the tomb.

Mourning postures

So far we have mainly been looking at distinguishing features of the deceased, but what was characteristic of the living? The most obvious device to represent an accompanying survivor would be to let their appearance express sadness over the death of a departed, with their limbs arranged in gestures and poses that signify mourning. For instance, the seated woman, Metris, on **S122** (Pl. 23.1) looks sadly at the youth, while the right servant is rendered in a posture of grief: his legs crossed and his left hand on the chin. The most frequent mourning gesture is the hand touching the chin or cheek, both the deceased and their survivors may perform this gesture.¹²⁵ This in contrast to the most explicit mourning pose on the stelai, that is, to be seated on the ground or on a low rock, solely associated with grieving companions and not the deceased themselves. This

124 However, on reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos there seems to be a clear pattern between frontal figures and deceased named in the epitaphs.

125 On the grave reliefs both the deceased and their survivors might be represented with a hand touching the chin. As we considered earlier subordinate figures, such as servants, also regularly perform this gesture.

posture can function as a sign of low status, but in the context of funerary art it also signifies despair and mourning. However, as expressed in the gesture of the hand touching the chin, not only a grieving side-figure might express sadness over the tragic fate of the deceased, but also him/herself. On several reliefs men and women are looking far out in the distance, not necessary in order to distance themselves from each other (though the heroic content must be kept in mind), but in order to contemplate their lost youth or the horror of leaving all their loved ones behind. This expression is also clearly reflected in the choice of certain attributes, such as the siren atop a tomb pillar. For instance, the feeling of sadness and loss is seldom so strongly expressed as on **S84** (Pl. 14.2). Here there is something which upsets the youth's gaze: it diverges away from the man and is directed down, out into empty space, almost as if in hopeless resignation. He is the deceased, who has experienced the trauma of losing his youth; he seems to turn his back against both the viewer and the grieving father that shakes his hand. Individuals who seek to avoid relations with others, whether through grief or any other reason, regularly lower their eyes, cover their heads, and turn their backs on their interlocutors in order to prohibit visual contact.¹²⁶ The tomb pillar crowned with a siren stands in rendered temperament in the background; the tomb has been erected over father and son, and one senses through the feeling mediated in the youth's gaze and composition that it aims to evoke sentiments on behalf of the one who no longer dwells among the living. In this contemplative scene one might also sense something as beautiful as the lament song or *threnos* played by the accompanying siren.

Several women are represented in the so-called *pudicitia* pose,¹²⁷ in which the arms are folded under the chest with one hand held to the face. The *pudicitia* was very popular in the Hellenistic age, and both seated and standing women are represented in this way. Zanker interpreted the popularity of the gesture due to its ability to reflect the image of women at this time. According to him the pose most certainly had nothing to do with mourning, and the reason why it was so popular was that it clearly conveys

126 Steiner 2001, 150.

127 The Latin word *pudicitia* has the meaning of modesty, decency, and restraint.

modesty and restraint. Both arms and hands are completely hidden, which almost automatically results in a gentle bend of the head.¹²⁸ Smith also claims that the *pudicitia* pose was a gesture of restrained modesty, of self-containment or female *sophrosyne*.¹²⁹ Other scholars agree that the *pudicitia* type is not a gesture of mourning,¹³⁰ however, their interpretation does not recognize that this posture is also performed by servant girls, for example **S74**. It is beyond doubt that this aimed to heighten their modest character or self-containment. Preferably, we must allow for some flexibility in our reading of this posture, it probably had different connotations depending on context and status of the figure performing it. That this posture indeed signifies mourning is evident if one considers one of the most famous sarcophagi of the preceding period, adorned as it is with images of mourning women (i.e., the “Sarcophagus of the mourning women”), performing the same repertoire of gestures as several of the women on the reliefs, including a proto-version of the *pudicitia* pose.¹³¹ This Sidonian sarcophagus¹³² is by far the most ambitious iconographic program of mourning from the late fourth century BCE (Fig 18). It represents eighteen women performing various gestures signifying grief and despair. In Fleischer’s monograph on this sarcophagus he claims that not only do several of the gestures performed by the women express grief, but some of the women’s faces are also meant to represent a sorrowful mood.¹³³ The most frequent gesture of mourning is

128 Zanker 1993, 222-226. Cremer (1991, 82) made a similar interpretation of this pose and also does not want to interpret it as a sign of mourning.

129 Smith 1991, 84.

130 Känel 1989, 54; Cremer 1991, 82; Fabricius 1999a, 311.

131 The body language of several of the Smyranean women is strikingly similar to that of some of the women on this sarcophagus (T 478.6); for instance compare **S113**, **S114** with Taf. 20 (Fleischer) or **S99** with Taf. 23 (Fleischer). The so-called proto *pudicitia* appears simultaneously on reliefs from Kyzikos and Smyrna as well as on the Sidonian sarcophagus, see Cremer 1991, 87f.

132 The women on this sarcophagus have frequently been interpreted as relatives of the deceased, a harem of Greek women belonging to the royal occupant of the tomb, or as mourners. Fleischer 1983, 40f.

133 Fleischer 1983, 15-22. Several of the women hold their left forearm horizontally below their chest, while the right elbow rests on the back of the left hand. One woman pulls the cloak in front of her face in order to dry her tears. Their faces also express grief, especially through the imperceptible opened mouth.



Fig. 18 Sarcophagus of the mourning women.

where the hand is placed in closed proximity to the head: either lying on the chin, the cheek, in front of the eyes or grasping the cloak. The elbow is supported by the back of the hand, the forearm horizontally placed below the chest. Two of the figures also hold a *tympanon* (an instrument used in Oriental rites of lament for the dead). One of the women touches the cloak with only the tips of her fingers, and avoids placing her whole hand in close proximity to her cheek; this gesture signifies a restrained kind of grief.¹³⁴

Despite the honorary character of the *pudicitia* pose, its meaning may have depended on context, where it had different connotations depending on its appearance in a funerary or honorary context. The incorporation of multiply meanings is possibly the main reason behind its popularity. However, this statement is very difficult to prove, and thus, I will only consider the gentle bend of the head performed by all women represented in this pose. On the funerary reliefs youths and elderly men are also often represented with a sunken posture, whereas most adult males keep their heads erect, though some of them are represented with an oblique posture and a downcast gaze.¹³⁵ A striking example is **S99** (Pl. 18.1) where both the standing woman and the seated

134 Fleischer 1983, 38f.

135 E.g., **S78**, **S84**, **S99**.

man have their lowered heads directed to the centre. They pay no attention to each other and are not responding to the gaze of the viewer. Here the lowered head indicates anxiety or grief;¹³⁶ its frequent appearance on the funerary reliefs might be explained by its ability to signify mourning together with restraint and modesty. And so, rather than trying to force a single emotional reading, such as grief or restraint, we might do better to accept that more than one emotion is simultaneously possible and, moreover, that multiplicity is not a failure for understanding. A characteristic trait for the *pudicitia* women is their restricted body language and that their bodies, including the head, are completely enveloped in the dress. Among some thousand Hellenistic grave reliefs from Western Asia Minor, there are only fifteen unquestionably unveiled heads of adult women; hundreds of others were veiled or semi-veiled.¹³⁷ In Hellenistic funerary art the veil is the female garment *per excellence* and it functions amongst others as a separation between different stages in the female life-course, i.e., between *parthenos* and *gyne*. However, veiling as a gesture is multivalent in its range of uses (it not only has different meanings depending on context, but also within the same context), and it can also express grief. As a gesture of mourning, veiling is clearly a ritualized form of the spontaneous self-concealment that accompanies grief; but the veiling of the mourner also attempts to separate between this individual and the deceased.¹³⁸ The spatial separation that it emblemizes may be immediate and emotional or it may be abstract and symbolic. Normally, however, veiling is more of a spontaneous than a ritualised sign of grief, and in the context of funerary ritual it is far from a ubiquitous

136 Bremmer 1991, 23. Freeborn males must have kept their heads erect, since it was noted when males hung their head in shame, despair, or mourning. For the lowered head as a sign of despair, grief and shame see Eur., *Ion* 582; Arist., *Birds* 1609; Paus. 10.30.3 & 31.5. Bergemann (1997, 59-61) interprets the lowered head as signifying attention and concentration on the Attic grave reliefs. However, the lowered head is sometimes performed by the figure on a single-figure stele where there is surely no need to lower the head as an act of communication

137 Llewellyn Jones 2003, 11. Approximately 80-90 % of the adult females are veiled.

138 Cairns 2002, 73-76.

element, even though it occasionally occurs.¹³⁹ In terms of clothing and grief it is clear that individuals could wear black garments as a mark of grief, ancient texts alert us to the fact that grieving women in particular are associated with this colour.¹⁴⁰ Hence, we need to be cautious to the possibility that paint originally might have signified mourning on stelai. But pigment rarely survives on marble statuary and indicators that were recognisable to the ancient viewers may be lost to us.¹⁴¹

If we return to the Sidonian sarcophagus: are any of the mourning gestures represented here also detectable on the grave stelai? I have already mentioned the proto *pudicitia* , but the hand touching the chin is also a frequent gesture on reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos. This gesture has regularly been assumed to signify mourning,¹⁴² though Zanker, of course, yet again in his attempts to downplay all signs of affection and mourning on Smyranean stelai, persistently claims that it is indeed not a mourning gesture, but a sign of reflexion and when performed by a seated elderly man it characterizes him as a thinker.¹⁴³ Hannestad is of another opinion and claims that this regularly

139 For artistic representations of veiled female mourners, the “Sarcophagus of the mourning women” yet again provides us with the most excellent examples.

140 Llewellyn Jones 2003, 305. However, due to the lack of traces of paint on the reliefs we cannot tell whether the veiled women wore black garments or not.

141 The details and drapery of dress are often elaborately rendered in Hellenistic funerary art and provide a great amount of detailed information about the identity and social status of the wearer. There are, however, some important clues that we are missing, most notably the lack of original painting on the sculpture, and though it is possible to find traces of drilling holes for the fastening of metallic objects such as jewellery, the metallic objects themselves are often missing. The choice of colouring and patterns might have contributed to a more luxurious persona or displayed grief.

142 Clairmont 1993, 111; Bergemann 1997, 59; Hannestad 1997, 291; Fabricius 1999a, 311.

143 Zanker (1993, 219f.) further claims that the great effort of thinking may occasionally be read in the faces of these “intellectuals” on the funerary reliefs, and this in turn has a bearing on the problematical interpretation of Late Hellenistic portraiture. What the modern viewer perceives as exertion or even grief in these portraits is no doubt meant only as a sign of mental activity. Apparently the distinguished citizen considered this a quality as worthy of celebration as physical strength, prosperity, good breeding, and other traditional virtues.

seen gesture is probably better interpreted as sorrow, as suggested by the epigram on one of the Delian reliefs of this type which speaks of the particularly sad fate of a dead woman from Ascalon who is now buried in foreign soil.¹⁴⁴ On the Delian reliefs there is also a specific motif that shows a man seated on a rock or ship supporting his head in his left hand. This should probably be taken as an expression of a particularly hard fate, and not as an indication of an intellectual bent.¹⁴⁵ To touch the chin with one of the hands has frequently been interpreted as a sign of mourning,¹⁴⁶ and the same interpretation has regularly been applied to the gesture of resting the head towards the hand,¹⁴⁷ mainly performed by subsidiary figures such as slaves. On **S132** (Pl. 25.2) a standing figure (probably female) to the right of the *kline* might either be a wife or a female companion to the reclining man, she rests her head against her right hand and observes the large boy standing at the foot of the *kline*. Primary figures may also perform this gesture,¹⁴⁸ for example the seated man on **S95**, named as the deceased in the epitaph. These gestures contribute overall with an emotional accent in the representation of the figures,¹⁴⁹ and considering the funerary context of these scenes, it seems most probable that they mainly aimed to function as a manifestation of grief and sorrow.

Many of the poses and gestures on the reliefs functioned dually as signifiers of feelings and as denoters of status. Women often have a slightly sunken posture that makes them look smaller. The sunken posture and lowered head might indicate that they have low status, since withdrawing eye contact by lowering the

144 Hannestad (1997, 291-293) also makes the observation that the motif of the man seated on a rock or ship supports his head in his left hand which again should be taken rather as an expression of a particularly hard fate, not as an indication of an intellectual bent. Möbius (1952, 117), Fleischer (1983, 59), and Fabricius (1999a, 311), also consider the hand touching the chin to be a gesture of mourning, whereas Smith (1991, 34) claims that a seated philosopher may hold a hand to his chin in a gesture of reflection, or stretch out his hand as though instructing or tutoring (e.g., **S97**).

145 Hannestad 1997, 293; Ridgway 2000, 201f.

146 Kurtz & Boardman 1972, 133; Hannestad 1997, 291.

147 Gardner 1884, 110.

148 E.g., **S94**, **S95**, **S96**, **S97**.

149 Also Bergemann (1997, 58f.) has claimed that the gesture with the hand touching the chin has an emotional meaning in Classical Attic funerary art.

eyes is usually taken as a signal of submission,¹⁵⁰ thus denoting low status. Davies, in a study on body language in Classical Greek funerary art, says the following about this posture,

*“Lowering one’s height in front of another establishes a subordinate relationship, and it is perhaps not surprising, given what we know of ancient Greek society that women are frequently represented in such poses”.*¹⁵¹

However, youths and elderly men are also often represented with a sunken posture, and a lowered head can also indicate anxiety or grief. In funerary art body language was used to denote degrees of importance and status,¹⁵² not least through the aid of posture. When it comes to the seated and standing figures, there are three different postures that need to be recognised: standing, seated on a chair, and seated on the ground. On **K12** (Pl. 27.1) all these three postures are rendered - a standing boy in the centre of the image, surrounded by a man with his hand to his chin while seated on a chair and a woman seated on the ground. The boy, rendered in over-dimensioned size, is probably the deceased, and was therefore the commemorated one, whereas the accompanying figures are mainly meant to enhance the tragedy of his untimely death by emphasising the grief of his parents.¹⁵³ Thus, not only posture, but also the size of the boy contributes to the hierarchical arrangement of the scene. To be seated on the ground might convey the represented figure’s low status in relation to the other figures in the image. In the case of the woman on **K12**, she only seems to have a complementary function, and thus, probably would have been rendered in another posture had she been deceased and not

150 Davies 1997, 106.

151 Davies 1994, 6. Argyle (1990, 208) is of a similar opinion and he claims that dominance and high status are most clearly conveyed if a person stretches himself to his full size, whereas subordination is best expressed through a lowered head and a sunken posture. Thus, persons of low status seem to want to send out a message of how small and defenceless they are. However, this is not an expression of their own will, since they subconsciously fulfil the behavioural norms that high status people expect of them.

152 Davies 2005, 233.

153 However, Nielsen & Stubbe (1997, 42) have unconvincingly claimed that the seated man is the deceased and the standing boy an attendant reciting a text from the scroll in his left hand.

an accompanying mourner. A motif unique for Kyzikos depicts two figures seated in side view opposite each other on either side of the relief;¹⁵⁴ a figure often stands between them.¹⁵⁵ The seated figures are represented in almost identical poses,¹⁵⁶ and the scene probably aims to commemorate the standing figure, often rendered in over-dimensioned size as on **K12**. A man and a woman are often seated opposite each other, with a boy or a girl standing between them. The seated woman can often be identified as a wife or mother together with her son or husband. In a few cases she is surrounded by one or two children, and unlike the mothers on the funerary reliefs from Smyrna, she is observing her children and sometimes, through the seated position on the ground, she expresses grief over their death. When the scene lacks a standing figure, the crouching figures are mentioned as the deceased in the inscription. However, women depicted alone are represented in similar poses as women accompanied with a standing figure. This similarity clearly blurs the distinction between deceased figures and mourners.

EMOTIONAL STYLES

In the final part of this chapter I will consider differences in emotional practices between Kyzikos and Smyrna together with stylistic currents in Hellenistic society that might have affected the emotional semiotics of these two cities. In the discussion on previous research I mentioned that many scholars have claimed that we seldom find expressions of emotions in East Greek

154 An exception is a small group of Hellenistic reliefs from Delos (Cadillou 1974b, Nos. 185, 186, 187). A similar motif also occurs on a second century BCE grave stele in the Archaeological museum at Antayka (Lafi & Meischner 2008, Nr. 9). For the Lykian prototypes of this motif, see Roodenwaldt 1940, 45.

155 E.g., **K36**, **K38** (two men), **K35** (two women), **K34**, **K37**.

156 The most noticeable difference between men and women on these scenes is that women are more tightly wrapped in their garments, but otherwise the arrangement of the limbs is identical. However, this is only valid for images of two figures seated on chairs. There is a whole other power relation in images that consist of a seated man on a chair and a woman seated on the ground, e.g., **K12**, **K81**.

funerary art. This statement has regularly been proposed in contrast to the emotionally loaded semiotics of Attic grave stelai. As I have shown, this statement is not applicable to the entire group of tombstones from Smyrna and Kyzikos. Most general studies on the meaning of Hellenistic grave reliefs have Smyrna as its starting-point. This has contributed to a rather one-dimensional and biased general overview of Hellenistic funerary art, where the specific case of Smyrna has been treated as a generalizing prototype valid for all areas, without recognizing that the *corpora* of East Greek tomb reliefs is highly diversified geographically. As has been demonstrated in this chapter, there is no coherent pictorial semiotics or emotional vocabulary between Smyrna and Kyzikos (or any other city for that matter), and one needs to be cautious about neglecting geographical peculiarities. Furthermore, even if Attic grave stelai are a great point of reference (due to the extensive research conducted on them in comparison to their Hellenistic counterparts) one has to examine the underlying meaning behind the iconographic patterns and expressions within the confines of their specific time and place, otherwise one risks draining the imagery with too many anachronistic (and erroneous) parallels. For instance, introspective mourning is a much neglected aspect in the research on East Greek funerary art, which has mostly concerned itself with the more explicit display of emotions, or rather the lack thereof. This, I suggest, is due to our modern conception of ancient Greeks mourning their dead being coloured by the vivid expressions of grief in Attic tomb art (especially vases and figurines) from the Geometric period onwards. Introspective or less explicit signs of grief have thus been neglected which might explain the great number of erroneous assumptions posed on behalf of emotions in East Greek funerary art.

A predominant feature of the Smyrna reliefs is the frontality of the standing figures. Free-standing statues are generally designed to communicate with the viewer: whereas in relief scenes the figures may interact with one another, leaving the viewer as little more than a voyeur; the viewer is seldom an active participant.¹⁵⁷ However, by the rendering of the frontal gaze, interaction between figure and viewer might have occurred. The

157 Davies 2005, 226. People must have perceived the images differently, depending on whether they were familiar with the represented figures or they were strangers.

distancing of the figures and the treatment of them as individual units could be a reflection of mourning, but also of heroism; it was probably often considered of more importance to let the frontally rendered figures interact with the viewer than with the accompanying figures. The frontality of the Smyrna reliefs is not a very common feature on the Kyzikos reliefs which can be interpreted as a reflection of the more regular, or at least, intense expressions of mourning on the funerary reliefs from that city. On the Kyzikos reliefs we find a greater tendency to render emotion more explicitly. And yet, on these grave reliefs we find no open gestures of grief, no one tears their hair, lashes their cheeks, or strikes their head or chest. In order to explain these differences in pictorial semiotics, that is, why expressions of emotion on the Kyzikos reliefs are more overt than those from Smyrna,¹⁵⁸ we yet again need to consider the great diversity of Hellenistic tomb art, where not only the choice of motifs, but also the semiotics of emotions, was clearly different from city to city. As stated in the introductory chapter, individual cities and areas preferred certain iconographic models and figure types, or even used them exclusively. Further, each Asia Minor city of the second century BCE seems to be a relatively closed cultural entity, strongly relying on local traditions and standards.¹⁵⁹ Thus, we should not be surprised to find a significantly different iconography of mourning on the stelai from Kyzikos, in comparison to Smyrna. The semiotics of funerary art in ancient Kyzikos is characterized by their restrained, but still vivid expressions of grief. On **K95** (Pl. 43.2) a mother mourns her son, as expressed through her seated position on the ground, while her son looks seemingly detached and tries to comfort her. The image lacks any forms of redundant details, and this forces the beholder to fully put his/her intention on the grief-stricken imagery. Cremer has suggested that the background of the scene might have been painted, however, I am not fully convinced of this theory, since we not only lack traces of paint, but also a convincing parallel to this practice on those reliefs that still have paint on them.¹⁶⁰

As clearly expressed on **K95**, it is the survivors that mostly

158 However, we must, of course, yet again, keep in mind that the original painting of the reliefs can have enhanced their emotional content through the facial expressions of the represented figures.

159 Zanker 1993, 232.

160 Cremer 1991, 31.

mourn, and more seldom the deceased that contemplate his/her tragic fate. This is a common standard for the funerary reliefs; the deceased is represented in frontal view and is seemingly unaware of what goes on around him/her, whereas his/her relatives are absorbed in their own grief and have their full attention on the deceased. Furthermore, it is noticeable that we never see the deceased getting direct consolation from subsidiary figures, though it occasionally is the other way around (i.e., the son on **K95**, showing compassion to his mother). On **K12** (Pl. 27.1) the dead child stands frontally in the centre of the composition, surrounded by his grieving parents. His mother, to the right, is seated on the ground, whereas his father, to the left, has his left hand placed on his chin, that is, two of the most striking mourning gestures ever to appear on the reliefs.¹⁶¹ The same arrangement is inherent in the lower relief of **K81** (Pl. 40.1), with the mother seated on a small rock and the father seated with his hand to his chin, however, this time the boy is represented in an action pose and he hangs his schoolbag full of scrolls on a centrally positioned herm. Besides grieving subsidiary figures, the images are loaded with references to death and lament, probably enhancing the sad subject of the imagery. **K27** (Pl. 30.1) is the most striking example of this (siren, herm, butterfly), but also other images, especially those commemorating an untimely death, have a similar repertoire of attributes. The adult woman of **K39** is surrounded by two sirens playing instruments. These are probably not only lamenting her death, but also the death of the young girl who stands to the left of her chair.¹⁶² The frontally seated woman of **K18** (Pl. 28.2) is not accompanied by a siren; instead her grieving mother is seated on the ground to the left. The posture of the squatting woman on the latter relief is probably meant to provide the same emotions of sadness and loss in the beholder, as the presence of a siren embodying the lament of the survivors. On the lower relief of **K81**, the low rock and the herm with a schoolbag are the only details represented in the image, besides the figures themselves. **K95** also strikingly lacks redundant details, only

161 **K36** and **K37** has a similar arrangement with a seated father with his hand on the chin, however, here the mother is seated on a stool and not the ground.

162 It is, however, noticeable that only one figure in the relief, often the youngest one, is represented in close proximity to the siren.

leaving empty space behind mother and son. The intention here is clearly to place all intention on the regretful fate of the *mors immatura*, with the tragic death further enhanced by the grieving subsidiary figures. Similarly, on **K20** the void on the right side of the composition might communicate the woman's isolation. The only mourner seems to be the deceased herself, whose pose of tight introspection conveys grief and sadness.

It is not only necessary to consider geographic peculiarities. Grave stelai were both a part of a private sphere while simultaneously, by their exhibition, part of the public room. The imagery was ruled by conventions of that official room. It was also influenced by artistic currents of the time. It has been argued that the sudden increase in the number of grave reliefs in Asia Minor during the second century, in a variety of locations, was a by-product of the Classicizing trends visible also in contemporary sculpture in the round.¹⁶³ These late stelai are characterised by their relatively high number of affectionate and mournful scenes. The main explanation behind this new feature is the appearance of a Classical revival in late Hellenistic funerary art.¹⁶⁴ The seated posture, the head turned into profile and the *dexiosis*, are three elements that characterise a deliberate move away from the regular semiotics of contemporary Hellenistic funerary reliefs, and in extension, of a nostalgic revival of the content of the Classical Attic stelai. Furthermore, changes in conceptions seem to take place by 200 BCE, as expressed by funerary epitaphs. Both reliefs and inscriptions shift from a generic representation of equal citizenship to an increasingly specific emphasis on the individual.¹⁶⁵ Interwoven with the tragic aspect of the dead are the attempts to create a personal memorial out of what appears to be a restricted, or at least, utterly conventional, pictorial language. This could be achieved by loading the standard scenes with emotionally charged content that expresses the affectionate relations or commitment within the represented group, the loss and sadness of the survivors and, to some extent, the introspective grief of the commemorated ones. This clear shift, or development, in the subject of the images is yet another reminder of the great diversity of Hellenistic funerary art, both in place

163 Ridgway 2000, 191.

164 Breuer 1995, 35ff.

165 Breuer 1995, 109; Ridgway 2000, 191.

and in time. However, this Classicising explanation is mainly applicable to the Ionian reliefs, and less so to the Mysian ones. The latter are more in line with the contemporary Pergamene baroque – an artistic style renowned for its explicit renderings of heightened emotional states.¹⁶⁶ Emotionally charged grave reliefs from Kyzikos are usually dated to the latter half of the second century BCE. However, this artistic style is subtle and less evident on the Kyzikos reliefs, than the Classicising trends on the Smyranean ones.

166 On the Smyranean grave stelai it is also possible to detect Pergamene influences (e.g., the woman on **S51** and the horse on **S125**).

6. ENCOUNTERS WITH DEATH AND THE DEAD

In this chapter I will mainly consider the epigraphic material together with the production and setting of the memorials and the intended viewers in the nekropoleis. In the previous chapters, the task was to extract emotions from the iconography; these expressions cannot be interpreted separately from the epitaphs. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, just as for the imagery of the reliefs, epitaphs were often highly standardised, endlessly repeating the same formulas, phrases, themes, and presumably, evoking the same emotions. However, they also attempt to personalise the sentiments or renderings of death, for example, via an indirect characterisation of the deceased expressed by feelings evoked in their survivors. This does not necessarily mean that manifestations of emotions in this medium were only a private matter, since the choice of which emotions to communicate, and to whom, were affected by cultural norms and social conventions. Emotions appear in inscriptions in different forms: they are mentioned, alluded to, described, or prescribed; the use of different concepts and metaphors may aim to arouse specific emotions.¹ Epigrams can be approached from various viewpoints: their general scope, different themes, and their terminology. The composition of the text, together with the selection of sepulchral themes involved an active decision by the living to commemorate the deceased in an appropriate fashion. Who decided on the messages conveyed and the emotions provoked by the stele? Those who commissioned and supervised the manufacture of the tombstones must have been the survivors of the deceased. The identity of these commemorators is sometimes stated in the epitaph; their status and background is often similar to that of the commemorated. Children might look older than their recorded age and this suggests that the design may be bought from existing stock rather than specifically commissioned.² Contradictions of this kind inevitably pose

1 Chaniotis 2013b, 103

2 Hope 1997, 251.

questions on the relation between text and image and to what extent they correspond or contradict each other.

The epigraphy of death cannot be understood without considering the monument on which it is found and the wider context in which the monument was located. Although commonly presented to us as written texts in a corpus of epitaphs, ancient inscriptions were as much monuments as texts, designed to make a visual as well as a verbal impact.³ The performative aspect is clearly expressed in the inscriptions that urge the reader to speak the written words aloud. Epitaphs and images on tomb markers should preferably be treated as part of rites which separated the living from the dead, but also by assessing their visual impact in the landscape of later generations. I will mostly consider the community of mourners through the themes of consolation, setting, production, user and beholder. In the latter case the particular emotional response might rest entirely on whether the viewer had specific familiarity with the commemorated. A different emotional community, for example someone who did not know the deceased, would not produce the same response. The main focus will be on the living and the expression of external emotions. As previously stated, in so many ways, the care and extravagance with which the deceased were commemorated tells us more about those who erected their grave memorials than it does about the dead. The memorials consisted of signs that communicated the identity of the dead and the ways in which the living defined them. Thus the representation and function of emotional display will be discussed in terms of memorialisation and bereavement. In this chapter I will also consider the possible setting of the grave memorials, in so far as it is possible, due to the lack of archaeological excavations in Smyrna and Kyzikos. The intended meaning of the emotions conveyed are, of course, also strongly related to the production of the monuments. Are they custom-made or ordered in stock? The mode of production has, amongst others, implications on the range of choices the customer had on the design of the memorial.

³ Here one should recognize that some epitaphs utilize visual techniques such as a larger script to highlight headings or important phrases. There is also a hierarchy amongst the inscriptions on a tomb memorial, in terms of where they are set on the monument, the size of the letters etc.

ENDEARMENT AND GRIEF

The main function of an inscribed gravestone was to simultaneously record, through words and images, the connection between the deceased's identity and his/her memorial, by inscribing it with one or several names, and occasionally by narrating something about the deceased. A systematic study of the representation and perception of emotions in this source material should preferably not only consider the epigrams, but also the shorter epitaphs, since they reveal how emotions are reflected in naming practices. There is hardly an inscription that does not directly or indirectly originate in emotions or reveal emotions, since every single tombstone, if only laconically stating the name of the deceased person, originates in an emotion. In the present material the great majority is inscribed by a name at the very least. In Smyrna, names of the deceased were mostly inscribed above the relief field, while names in Kyzikos were written below. We can assume that almost every tombstone had an inscription, though it might be lost to us now due to the grave stele being damaged or the epitaph originally being painted. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that some reliefs may not have been inscribed. Perhaps an inscription was not an issue of much concern for illiterate people? It is difficult to say to what extent people were literate in Hellenistic Asia Minor. We know that literacy in the Hellenistic world was higher than in the Classical period, but still only a small percentage of the population was literate.⁴ This implies that most people would not have been able to read the inscriptions on grave monuments. If we imagine a group of relatives visiting a tomb we cannot exclude the possibility that only one (if any) of them could actually read. Maybe a literate visitor read it aloud for others to hear? This audio-visual dimension probably affected the whole viewing experience for reciter and listeners. An illiterate person could also learn an inscription by heart and understand which particular combination of letters might signify a specific person's name. At a minimum, the epitaphs name the deceased and often mention his or her patronymic. Other details might be added, such as the place of provenance.⁵ On **S26** (Pl. 3.2) we

4 It is much difficult to estimate literacy rates in past societies, see Harris 1989, 3-24. For literacy and tomb epitaphs in the Roman west, see Carroll 2003, 55-58.

5 Sometimes the native town of the deceased is mentioned, e.g., Isias on **S28**

find a typical inscription from Smyrna: “the people [honours], Diodotos the younger, son of Diodotos”. People (*demos*) are written inside the left wreath above the relief. A typical epitaph from Kyzikos reads, **K68**: “Sosthenes, son of Asklepiodotos, farewell / Melippe, son of Asklepiodotos, farewell.” This memorial is erected over two young brothers who have experienced untimely death. There are no traces of any other name on the monument, but due to its fragmentary state, we cannot rule out the possibility of other names, potentially the names of their parents. The salutation *chaire* appears on a majority of grave reliefs from Kyzikos (sometimes also on Smyranean grave stelai); in this context it should be understood as farewell (or greetings). It can be interpreted as a wish that all would go well for the deceased, an expression comparable to the English expression “rest in peace”.⁶ Occasionally we encounter the use of affectionate pet names, such as Nannion on **S85** represented together with her father (the grieving mother mentioned in the epitaph of **S90**, Pl. 15.2, is also named Nannion). Her name means sweetie and could also be used as a pet name. On **S71**, the woman, represented together with her husband, is named Melitine Tryphaina. Female names that are formed of the root – μελιτ and related formations (Γλύκιννα etc.; e.g. Glykea in **K18**, Pl. 28.2) have their origin in an affectionate feeling: my sweetness.⁷ Finally, the children on **K2**, a boy and a girl, are referred to as “young master” and “young mistress”. Since the use of affectionate pet names deviate from standard formulas it can operate as a forceful attempt to personalise an epitaph.

is from Laodikea (probably Phrygian Laodikea ad Lykum) and Thaleia on **S41** comes from the city of Oroanna, northeast of Theos. Marcia, Helena and Felix, named on **K29**, are of Roman ancestry, but their native town is not mentioned.

6 McLean 2002, 269.

7 Petzl 1982, 16.

Untimely death

Among the themes that commonly appear in addition to the core recording of the deceased's name there is a nexus of related themes which vividly illustrate the perceptions of the dead and the emotions provoked by his/her death. The epigrams are few in number and due to their standard format there is no point in giving a detailed account of each. I will instead highlight certain themes related to sentiments. The material consists of nine epigrams from Smyrna and eight from Kyzikos.⁸ Of these ten epitaphs commemorate untimely deaths (**S31, S72, S79, S90, S98, S122, K18, K22, K37, K95**), five adults of an unspecified age (**S107, S129, K25, K87, K105**), and one elderly individual (**S101**). Death in childbirth is only mentioned in epitaphs from Kyzikos, **K18** (Pl. 28.2) and **K25**, while untimely death is the predominant theme in epigrams from Smyrna. The previous chapter suggested that tombstones can be used to reveal attitudes towards children and that the practice of commemorating them does involve a great level of emotional display. The language used in epitaphs which commemorate children also reveals an emotional attachment to the dead. It is the death of children and youngsters that is most often lamented as unjust and painful. However, it is often the parents who demand sympathy for their loss, rather than the parents expressing sympathy for the child or children who died young. **S90** (Pl. 15.2) provides a typical inscription from Smyrna, it commemorates two predeceased brothers:

*the father Demetrios and the mother Nannion mourn twice
the misfortune of their sons. Of these, Metrodoros only
accomplished one year of living; three years was Matreas
part of life.*⁹

Tombstones erected for individuals who have died in an untimely fashion only commemorate one or two persons, while grave stelai

⁸ One of which is of possible Imperial date (**S72**): Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-79) claims that the epitaph is later than the relief and calls it "barbaric", while Petzl (1982, Nr. 522) has placed this monument in his section on Hellenistic epigrams. Finally, Bastet & Brunsting (1982, 161) suggest that the epigram stems from a secondary use of the stele.

⁹ English translation by the author.

for adults more regularly commemorate several people. When only one predeceased individual is named they are either represented alone, **S31** (Pl. 5.2) or surrounded by mourners (**K37**, Pl. 32.2). On **K36** (Pl. 32.1) a single name is written below the relief. The position of the epitaph, together with the herm, indicates that the stele has been erected for the large boy, Apollonios, standing *en face* in the centre. He is the only one named in the inscription, however, on the relief he is accompanied by his grieving parents.

Hellenistic epigrams invariably speak of personal misfortune: the loss of both children at once, the early and tragic death of a family member, most of all the grief and suffering of the survivors. The imagery of the epigrams is often downright pathetic and moving. Epigrams from Smyrna and Kyzikos tend to be relatively long, often compromising eight to ten verses. Most of them are for untimely deaths. The lack of poetic inscriptions on a majority of the stelai might be explained on the grounds that the deceased had lived a full term of life and their predictable death thus caused no excessive mourning. In one inscription we are told that two brothers died untouched among children, **S122** (Pl. 23.1); concerning the death of a two year old girl we are informed that she no longer will amuse her parents with her gentle babbling and endearing whispers, **S31** (Pl. 5.2). The parents have lost the sweet presence of their child. They are deprived of the joy and happiness that she had given them. Untimely death surely was something that caused excessive grief on behalf of the parents and sometimes not only an image but also an epigram was needed to fully express the loss and grief of those left behind. Further, untimely death was a vital blow to the line of descent and thus the family line might be at risk of extinction. As mentioned above, our understanding of the sense felt by the parents, siblings, and children towards the deceased in antiquity has been inextricably linked to theories of demography. The high mortality rate in infancy and early childhood, the lower life expectancy at birth for women and the belief that selective female infanticide was rife in antiquity have been listed as restraining factors for the display of sentiments.¹⁰

10 Oliver 2000, 13f. The “parental indifference hypothesis” has most strongly been advocated by Ariès (1960). He argued that the idea of childhood was unimportant or even non-existent before its “discovery” in the seventeenth century; that premature death was not worthy of commemoration; that adults would not become attached to young children because mortality rates were too severe.

However, I suggest that the epigraphic record from Smyrna and Kyzikos express emotional outpourings of loss (if only within the confines of accepted social and cultural norms). Furthermore, the expressions suggest that the loss of the very young impacted on the survivor(s) and evoked an emotional response.¹¹ This is not to say that grief is always natural or inherent. Behind these forms of expression we cannot find the “authentic” feelings of those involved. No matter how emotionally charged we cannot rule out the possibility that these expressions would have been moulded by society’s culture and conditions. Presumably, the simple epitaphs or the formulaic passages do not always reveal the true feelings of a grieving family member, any more than the stock phrases on modern tombstones do.

Specification of the age of the deceased is rare in the inscriptions. In contrast, epigrams frequently record the age quite precisely. The mention of the age probably added *pathos* in the case of those who died in childhood (such as one-year old Matreas and three-year old Metrodoros on **S90**, Pl. 15.2) or was reserved for those on the threshold of manhood and womanhood (such as eighteen-year old Hedeia on **K18**, Pl. 28.2, or twenty-year old Maiandrie on **K22**, Pl. 29.1). Alternatively, the age might be stated to call attention to a remarkably long life span (such as Demokles on **S101**, Pl. 18.2, who has reached the end of a long life). In terms of untimely death one must reckon that this is a broad category that also includes individuals who had died in their twenties. Because a person dead before his/her time did not necessarily die young, the person may have passed away before reaching the summit of life (30-40 years old).¹² The really young might be called βρέφος (**S31**, Pl. 5.2) and τέκνον (**S98**), while a youth may be referred to as ἔφηβος, **S79** (Pl. 13.2).¹³ The cause of death is seldom mentioned, and when it is, only in the case of exceptional deaths. A predictable or customary end of life was not considered worth mentioning. For instance, the death of five-year old Dionysios, who has broken his neck after falling down a tree, **S72** (Pl. 12.1), is described in an animated

11 For similar ideas about the commemoration of infants and young children in ancient Rome, see King 2000.

12 Strubbe 1998, 45.

13 The *ephebeia* was the secondary phase of education. In the Hellenistic period a boy entered the *ephebeia* at the age of 14-15 years. It had a variable length, but generally lasted one or two years. Strubbe 1998, 45f.

way in his epitaph. Similarly, the death of a murdered boy was commemorated with an epitaph informing us that the murderer used a dagger and committed the act of killing in an open street, **K37** (Pl. 32.2).¹⁴ Here one must consider that *enargeia* was an important element of Greek oratory and literature, from the fourth century BCE onwards.¹⁵ This term refers to the efforts of orators, poets, or narrators to paint a mental picture of a scene and give the reader or listener the impression that he is an eye-witness to the event that is being narrated. The emotional impact was thereby increased. We may observe *enargeia* in the detailed inscription of an individual's death in grave inscriptions. A good example is offered by the epigram for the child Dionysios just mentioned, who broke his neck falling from a tree. The epigram describes how the father finds the dead boy, how he holds his son in his arms, how his clothing is coloured red from his blood. By providing these details, the poem appeals to several of our senses: it "paints" a scene with the five-year old boy falling from the tree, with the hectic movements of his father when he realizes the accident, and the father's expressive grief while encountering his dead son. The narrative of the epigram makes us eye-witnesses of the child's death and the expression of emotions is accomplished by the use of vivid images.

Lament and pity

The poems tend to be short, and do not typically extend beyond four metrical lines. Many grave inscriptions are metrical, predominantly in dactylic schemes (hexameters and elegiacs). Elegy is the most frequently used metrical form – a fitting expression for the lamenting of the dead. There exist various formulations expressing grief and sorrow at the death of the deceased. They often arouse feelings of pity and compassion on behalf of both the dead and those close to him/her. Not every type of death was generally made a subject of for complaint. As we have just seen the circumstances of untimely death were

14 The epigram of **K87** also narrates that the young man has been killed suddenly by the rage of a treacherous man.

15 For the concept of *enargeia* in inscriptions, see Chaniotis 2013b, 107f.

the chief grounds for lamentation; but it may be added there were other such circumstances which also added *pathos*, such as death in childbirth. In the case of Hedeia, **K18** (Pl. 28.2), a personal narrative, brief and limited in scope, is related in the inscription and guides the viewer through the schematic visual memorial, imbuing it with emotion and emphasis. For instance, we are told on behalf of the dead woman that,

*the Kallatian land was my homeland, but by fate I unforeseeably came to lovely Kyzikos. As a young wife, in throes of childbirth I, Hedeia, daughter of Glykea, left the pleasant light after two times nine years. Not only did longing for the homeland bring my mother grief, but the daimon also brought her sorrow due to my misery.*¹⁶

The epitaphs often evoke an emotional response from the viewer. They contain strong statements of familial loss and personal hardship in death. The deceased are often credited with a number of qualities and virtues, and the terms most regularly used characterise them in a very general, direct way. However, there is a great deal of indirect characterisation by means of references to feelings which death evokes among the surviving relatives. Among the most frequently expressed notions are reactions caused by the death of a family member. Thus the words γόος (**S98**, **K18**, **K25**) and πένθος (**S101**, **K37**) and related terms are quite common. *Penthos* is felt not only because of the loss of a family member, but also because the virtue of that individual passes away too.¹⁷ Several epitaphs express feelings of loss and pain. The frequency of nouns implying grief and distress is matched by that implying yearning or longing for the person who has passed away. The survivors are shaken by the death of their family member, especially in the case of youngsters. The father Demetrios and the mother Nannion lament twice the misfortune of their sons, **S90** (Pl. 15.2), whereas the pitiful mother Metris was worn out in miserable tears, since she was left without husband and siblings, and had lost her children too, **S122** (Pl. 23.1). Thus not only the sad fate or misfortune of the

16 English translation by the author. Also Maiandrie, **K22**, had migrated to Kyzikos and she died at the age of 20. Like Hedeia, Maiandrie is accompanied by a woman seated on a small rock on the relief.

17 Clairmont 1970, 53.

deceased, but also the hard lot in life of the survivors is strongly pronounced. In **S122** Metris has finally been delivered from the evils of life, which had only been a burden due to the untimely deaths of her sons.

In grave reliefs with only one “primary” figure, the reference in the epigram to another or other family members can but serve to widen the scope of the memorial. A point in case is **S31** (Pl. 5.2), which the parents have erected for their daughter Nikopolis. The epitaph reads: “You did amuse your parents with gentle babbling and endearing whispers that came from your little mouth.” A medium that charged the individual characterisation of the deceased was the description of a specific personal feature, for example, gentle babbling; this, too, enhanced the expression of pain. This epigram also narrates the grief of the family left destitute by death and arouses *pathos*. The circumstances of death are sometimes expanded into a full-blown narrative, for example **S72** (Pl. 12.1) as seen above, often to exploit the potential for evoking emotions. Expressions of grief indicate an affective relationship between dead individuals and their survivors. Nevertheless, we have to remember that the epitaphs were often formulaic, repeating simple information in a standard format. This created some restraints on individual desire for more personal and devoted expressions.¹⁸ Some epitaphs express grief explicitly and strongly; others contain more restrained expressions of regret. As pointed out by Bruss, the poem of **K87** (Pl. 42.1) has every appearance of a lament,

*Menander, son of Meidias, why do you tread the lamentable path, leaving behind your child in baleful tears? Moschion your wife bewails you, and your sister laments you – you who were killed suddenly by the rage of a treacherous man. Come, lamentable fortune, why did you extinguish our bloom before his time? Why did he have to succumb to Ares the Man-slayer?*¹⁹

18 However, whether the customer was literate or not could also effect the format and content of the epitaph. For an illiterate person the specific information conveyed might have been more important than expressions of individualised sentiments.

19 English translation by Bruss 2005, 53.

Blame for Menander's death is laid at the feet of divine Tyche²⁰ and the homicidal ire of an unnamed man. There is a touch of blame even in the first question directed at Menander. A sister, wife, and child are left bereft of Menander by his death. A phrase or sentiment for the displayed is provided by the claim that his child is left with baleful tears. One can gauge similar sentiments in the statements that his wife, Moschion, bewails him and his sister laments him. Menander died young, before his time. His death was unforeseen, and his obligations to his child left unfulfilled. The poem leaves the reader with the sense of disruption and lack of resolution reflected in placing Menander on the "lamentable path" to Hades. As expressed by Bruss,

*he has left his family in disorder, and is himself a liminal figure; he has not arrived at his destination, but is still walking.*²¹

In some epitaphs the deceased individual is presented as speaking from the grave. This is often formulated as a dialogue and interplay between the deceased individual and a passer-by, there-by directly insinuating communication between the living and the dead.²² In a short epigram **S129** (Pl. 24.2) the dead man says: "As I guarded the tower in battle, o passer-by, so now I shall defend it in death".²³ The voice of the dead is manipulated to fulfil different tasks. Sometimes the deceased describes the grief and mourning of his or her survivors. For instance, Hedeia, **K18** (Pl. 28.2) tells us about the suffering of her mother (also **S122**). The deceased's authoritative voice thus gives testimony to their pain – but at the same time confirms that they had fulfilled their duties and indirectly serves as a medium of social control.²⁴ Speaking from the grave, the deceased sometimes offer consolation and closure to a relative. In other instances, the voice from the grave implores the passer-by to stop, read the inscription, and shed tears. In this way, the

20 Tyche, the divine personification of fortune, was a prominent motif in Hellenistic philosophy, art, and religion, see Pollitt 1986, 2f.

21 Bruss 2005, 53f.

22 See especially Tsagalis 2008, 252-261; Chaniotis 2013b, 107-109.

23 English translation by Burn 2004, 121.

24 On the manipulation of the voice of the deceased individual and the use of the first and second person, see Vesterheim 2010.

relatives make sure that the commemoration of a departed will continue despite their own mortality. By directly addressing the reader and urge him/her to feel pity and shed tears, the epitaph embraces a continually and eternally enlarging emotional community of mourners. Sometimes the deceased describe in detail the conditions of his/her life and death with bitterness. Hikesios and Hermippos complain that “we live in this cold dwelling, since we have reached the sorrowful Hades”, **S122** (Pl. 23.1). This echoes the Greek mentality that death is a pitiful condition antithetical to joy and well-being.²⁵ In texts such as these, the deceased does not only appeal to the pity of the reader but also to his/her indignation. By using the voice of a dead person the authors of these texts give their words the aura of a higher authority and, at least for a moment, they deceive us by creating the illusion of a communication (if only one-way) with the departed.²⁶ Closely related to the manipulation of the voice of the dead is the manipulation of the emotions of the reader of an epitaph by directly or indirectly urging him to join an emotional community of mourners (see below).

Afterlife beliefs

The survivors are not only preoccupied with lamenting the dead but also about the existence of their dead relatives in the netherworld. Where the epigrams give us any insight into afterlife beliefs, the array of positions it reveals are so bewildering that they counter any dominant model of interpretation.²⁷ However, the principal notion is the contrast between the perishable, the lifeless on the one hand and the memory of the dearly cherished virtues of the deceased on the other. The dead have changed habitation from here to some other place while the survivors try to rationalize their departure and explain their sudden death as the consequence of an ill-minded force (e.g., a *daimon*, Hades or Persephone).

25 For pessimistic perceptions of the hereafter as expressed in sepulchral epigrams, see Lattimore 1942, 161-164.

26 Day 2000, 39; Chaniotis 2013b, 104f.

27 For contradictory views on the hereafter as expressed in Greek and Latin tomb inscriptions, see Lattimore 1942. See also Chaniotis 2000 for the difficulties in extracting afterlife beliefs from this source material.

There are many ways to evoke images of the uncertainty caused by death. The downward motion implied by the journey to the netherworld, to the abode underneath the earth, was deeply rooted in the mind of the Greeks,²⁸ and it is also clearly expressed in some of the epitaphs (e.g., *καλύπτω* attested in **S31**, Pl. 5.2). The realm of the abstract power responsible for death is referred to in a few epigrams. It is the nightly, hateful or insensitive Hades that abducts individuals from the world of the living, without any care for the virtuous character or the young age of the deceased.²⁹ That the deceased is claimed to have been snatched away neatly suggests the interference in life by an ill-defined agent or cause.³⁰ For instance, the insensitive Hades is said to have taken away sweet Nikopolis from her mother's lap or bosom. Hades is often represented as the active cause of their dying (e.g., **K25**). He is death himself and the epigraphic poets are not afraid to approach him. As stated in **K95** (Pl. 43.2): "bitter Hades who hates all things good". According to Lattimore the use of *daimon* is probably a cautious way of accusing Hades without naming him, thus averting further disaster.³¹ In **K87** (Pl. 42.1) it is instead Tyche who has snuffed out the man's life. In renderings of the Underworld it is worth noting that **S90** (Pl. 15.2), commemorating two deceased boys, makes a reference to Aiakos where he is requested to open the gates of Hades to the pious. Besides Aiakos' function as a judge in the underworld, attested in Plato, this epitaph indicates his office as doorkeeper at the transition to the land of the dead.³² Sometimes the epigrams use much of the pessimistic language habitual in Greek funerary poetry: Fate (*Moirā*; **K68**), Malice (*Phthonos*), Destiny (*Daimon*; **K18**). It is often a depressing vision of Hades that is being described, for instance, Hikesios and Hermippos commemorated in **S122** (Pl. 23.1) now live in a cold dwelling - they have reached the sorrowful Hades. This bleak existence probably aimed at evoking pity and sympathy for the dead. The same goes for Maiandrie's complaints about her existence in the despicable house of Persephone, **K22** (Pl. 29.1).

28 Clairmont1970, 53.

29 We occasionally also find metaphors and metonyms, for instance references to the "womb of earth".

30 Clairmont1970, 54.

31 Lattimore 1942, 148.

32 This idea is attested in Aristophanes' play *Frogs* (465 ff.) and Euripides' play *Peirithoos* (fr. 591).

As attested in the epitaph to **S90** (Pl. 15.2), the dead may dwell among the *eusebeis* (pious). This category alludes to immortality as a reward for great achievements. As stated by Lattimore, it might be that *eusebeis* are those who believe in the right things and know the right ways, the elect.³³ Related to this is the concept of the banquet of the dead in **S101** (Pl. 18.2) which states that “he has been made to recline on the holy couch of the pious ones”. In other epitaphs the deceased could hope to find him-/herself in a blessed hereafter. For instance, the woman on **S108** is probably an attendant of Kybele, her name is formed by “ἄκεστήρ”, the “epiclesis”, a saviour god.³⁴ Names such as Isias (**S28**, Pl. 4.1) and Sarapias (**S107**) also distinguish the women as cult attendants. In this particular case they may have been initiated to the mysteries of Isis. To proclaim someone a *heros* in the inscription may also express hopes that the dead is able to communicate with the living and/or enjoy a blessed existence in the afterlife.³⁵ This sometimes appears in epitaphs from Kyzikos, for example **K48** (Pl. 35.1), **K82** (Pl. 40.2). It seems clear that these new heroes were thought to enjoy a special status after death, and this contrasts markedly with the otherwise gloomy description of the hereafter. Unlike many other cities of Western Asia Minor, epitaphs from Smyrna seldom mention an assumed heroised status of the deceased. However, a late Hellenistic relief shows a young man called Dionysios who had died at the age of seventeen,

leaving harsh grief to his parents, but attaining to heavenly birth; for leaving the mortal part of life, he is equal to the immortal heroes, having the same sanctuary as they.

As previously stated, Dionysios’ parents had probably built a shrine for him in which divinities such as Herakles also received cult. *Chaire* (χαῖρε) is regularly encountered in epitaphs from Kyzikos. Sourvinou-Inwood claimed that until the fourth

33 Lattimore 1942, 52.

34 Petzl 1982, 40.

35 E.g., **S80**, **K48**. According to Jones (2010, 58) “hero” is not a “meaningless compliment”, but suggests an existence or influence in the afterlife, and the texts that accompany them tell the same tale. McLean (2002, 270) has stated that *heros* might not only be a reference to the heroised dead but also to the deceased generally as the recipient of funerary rites.

century, *chaire* was not appropriate for the common dead, only for the exceptional ones, people who had achieved heroic or divine status in afterlife. Its use was later extended to other dead people, when the concept of heroisation in the afterlife was extended and eventually became a somewhat routine notion.³⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood also states that if *chaire* was not a salutation empty of specific meaning, but was felt to include the wish to “be well/rejoice” it confirms the validity of her empirically observed pattern of its usage: that it could never be addressed to dead people except when they are believed to have attained immortality.³⁷

RELATION BETWEEN TEXT AND IMAGE

In the second part of the epigraphic analysis I intend to explore the relationship between words and images. I will mostly consider the identification of the figures and attempt to explain differences in sentiments. The emphasis will be on the degree of correlation between relief and epitaph, that is, how many variables they have in common. As I will demonstrate, the degree of correlation is rather high, especially concerning the identification of figures, whereas the correlation is less consistent, or at least more ambivalent, when it comes to the emotional content. Mismatches are nothing to be worried about. In antiquity, texts and images would have been viewed together as a distinct whole, though there could also be dissonances between the information presented by each. Both images and texts can make use of standard elements of composition, adding specific details to make them more relevant to the individual commemorated. The sculptor sometimes draws on a repertory of standardised imagery which is then made particular and specific by the inscriptions. However, the specificity is not only the domain of words since images that make use of standard elements of composition can add specific details as well to

36 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 199f.

37 Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 207.

make them more relevant to the individual commemorated.³⁸ This indicates that what was said and what was represented on the tombstones was not an accidental or random process. Slight differences in standard scenes add meaning to these grave memorials. Inscriptions added to images can also arouse a viewer's response to an image or help to bring the scene to life by supplying the words and thoughts of the figures represented.

Identification of the figures

In its simplest form the inscriptions widen the scope of the pictorial representations by providing the name of the deceased, who can thus be identified as a figure in the depiction. Sometimes the names of all the people depicted on the relief are mentioned in the epitaph; in other cases only one person is mentioned. Thus, the standard inscriptions mainly give us information about the identity of the deceased and the family ties of the represented individuals on the multi-figure groups. They are either referred to in the epigrams, they stand by themselves as separate inscriptions, or they are mentioned both in epigrams and additional inscriptions. A peculiar feature of the funerary reliefs from Smyrna is the appearance of one or several honorary wreaths with the inscription *demos* placed above the relief. These wreaths had been bestowed on the deceased during their lifetime.³⁹ The names incised below should most certainly be placed in correlation to the wreaths and the names in question are often rendered in the accusative, as if they were quoted from the text of an honorary decree passed by the People. Here text and image were fused in a fundamentally novel fashion, with the result that the wreaths function both as text and image, that is, as a kind of ideogram, where the mere presence of the wreath indicates a certain notion that does not necessarily need to be written out with words. The wreaths tell us two things: the individuals on the reliefs are deceased and they have been honoured by the city assembly. Hence, the fusion of text and image is the key to understanding this peculiar feature of the

38 Newby 2008, 6f.

39 McLean 2002, 261.

Smyrna stelai. The degree of correlation between the represented wreaths, adjoining names and depicted figures in the reliefs is surprisingly high and consistent, with only a few notable exceptions. On **S106** (Pl. 19.2) the names of two men are carved below two of the three wreaths, but a man and a woman are depicted on the stele. One explanation for this could be that the woman is the purchaser of the stele and that she was meant to be buried next to her husband and brother in law, but something happened and she was subsequently buried elsewhere.⁴⁰

The simplest form of correlation of inscription and figured scene is achieved by the reference to the personal name of the deceased in the epitaph. This gives us a means of identification of the deceased with the relief figure or one of the figures, if we deal with multi-figure scenes. In general the correlation is high. The monuments in which the deceased on the gravestones are not even identified by their personal name – either in the epigram or in an additional inscription – are extremely few. The degree of correlation of inscription and tombstone is greater the fewer figures there are depicted in the relief and the easier these can be identified in relation to one another. Since these variations are many and complex, the gradations of correlation are also numerous. On **K107** (Pl. 47.2) and **K109** (Pl. 48.2) four of six figures are named (including the small girl, Stratonike, standing in front of the right woman's legs), and on **K108** (Pl. 48.1) three of four reclining men are named. The fewer figures rendered on a stele the greater chance of everyone being named. However, on many *Totenmahl* from Kyzikos that is representing a reclining man and a seated woman only the name of the man is inscribed. In cases where a child or two children are added to the *Totenmahl*, they are always named.⁴¹ This lack of correlation between the numbers of individuals mentioned in the epitaph with the number of represented figures on the relief does not necessarily pose a great problem. Often a child is added to the standard scene and he/she is the only one being commemorated. In the case of deceased children accompanied by other figures they are often the only ones mentioned in the inscription. An untimely death was a blow to the family line and this tragic

40 Känel 1989, 56. Or the name of the woman had been painted on the stele?

41 However, the youth on **K92** might be unnamed. According to Corsten (1993, 178 Nr. 1090) the fragmentary inscription mentions an 80-year old, probably one of the reclining men and not the youth.

aspect was heightened by the dead child being surrounded by his/her grieving parents who were still alive. A point in case is an epitaph from Smyrna (**S44**). It reads: “the People honour Herakleides, son of Theomenstos [and] [Epich]armos, son of Theomenstos.” Thus the stele commemorates two brothers who have experienced untimely deaths. The name of the mother has probably also been written next to her sons’, but much of it is no longer readable. The image complements the text since the sculpture communicates information not contained in the inscription. It is the relief that informs us of the young age of the deceased, not the epitaph. However, the relief and text somehow also seem to contradict one another, since both boys are claimed to have been “honoured” by the people of Smyrna. We would not usually expect two such young boys to have been honoured with a wreath by the citizen assembly. We should probably interpret this as though the real purpose is to distinguish the deceased individuals as legitimate citizens. That a mother, who clearly passed away at a later date than her deceased sons, can be represented together with them on a tombstone is also attested on **S122** (Pl. 23.1). According to the epitaph the mother had lost her sons, together with her husband and brother. The relief was probably commissioned when the mother was still alive. The deceased father seems to have been buried elsewhere or maybe he was commemorated with a separate grave marker placed in the same burial spot?

Differences in sentiments

Grave reliefs sometimes combine a pictorial scene with an epigram mourning the deceased. As noted earlier several scholars have been puzzled over the great disparity in the messages conveyed by epitaph and relief. They claim that the epigrams are often characterized by their pathetic and grief-stricken content, while the figures are looking unconcerned and detached. However, this is not true. If we compare texts and images, they are not so strikingly different. Of the ten inscriptions that commemorate untimely deaths, those stelai that express the grief of the survivors, but only have the children represented on the relief, often lack explicit signs of grief, for example **S31** (Pl. 5.2), **S90**

(Pl. 15.2). Those that express the grief of the survivors, and also have them represented on the relief, have them depicted in mourning postures, for example **K37** (Pl. 32.2). Tombstones inscribed with grief-stricken epigrams were often decorated with reliefs representing figures in mourning postures. For instance, the mournful and pitiful epigrams of **K18** (Pl. 28.2), **K22** (Pl. 29.1), **K25**, and **K95** (Pl. 43.2) are accompanied by reliefs depicting women seated on a low rock. Furthermore, epigrams that offer a negative characterisation of Hades lack iconographic cues for the idea of a blissful existence on behalf of the dead. What people held in common was the acceptance of life; the loss of it meant sorrow not only to those directly involved but also for the relatives. However, physical death did not exclude some sort of existence of the *psyche* in the world beyond; it is the continuity here involved which was a means of consolation. This continuity took on different forms. Sometimes, the hereafter was viewed as an existence in close proximity to the rulers of the Netherworld, in their captivity, so to speak. Furthermore, by representing deceased individuals together with relatives who were still alive, the realms of the deceased are in perfect coordination with the living and the boundaries between them can be transpassed.

The problem of differences in sentiments between images and texts is not solved by putting them in opposition to each other; instead we must interpret them in conjunction with one another. The relation between text and image is fundamental, since the messages of the different media contemplate and enhance each other. We cannot interpret them separately from one another; instead the interplay between epitaph and relief is the key to their dual interpretation. Text and image were both methods of communication of which none existed in isolation. The emotional content of an epitaph might have enhanced the emotional dimension of the image. This depended for instance on the beholder. Different viewers read different kinds of messages from a picture; a family member may have been more emotionally effected by an intimate family image only accompanied by the deceased individuals names, whereas a stranger may have been more touched by a frontally standing figure, whose epitaph asks him/her to take a moment to contemplate the tragic fate of the deceased. Grief-stricken elements of the funerary imagery especially bid for a measure of sympathy from the passer-by who was often directly addressed. In the majority of monuments, the

epigrams have not been inscribed with the purpose of enhancing or giving a clue to the understanding of the figured scene. These epigrams could equally well be inscribed on gravestones without figures; *vice versa*, the reliefs lacking these epigrams would still fulfil their function as gravestones (e.g., **S98**). However, even where the complete lack of correlation is established, the epigrams widen the scope of these tomb markers, a fact which may not be apparent at first. Curiously enough, the mere presence of the poetry, however non-specific, impersonal and detached from references to specific character traits of individuals, does infuse some personal connotations into the relief. It was probably the written name on the stele that referenced an actual individual; thus, it is the accompanying epitaph that transforms the anonymous funerary relief into a personal memorial. If you remove all the names from the tombstone, you also wipe out the memory of a specific dead individual, and he/she will continue to be anonymous. Not only do many epigrams contain the names of the deceased honoured by the memorials, but in most cases they also identify a definite figure in the relief composition. The relatives who set up the memorial clearly meant to enhance the significance of the tomb marker by the addition of an epigram, however general and conventional its content.

Images and words operated together to communicate impressions of those commemorated, at the same time, fulfilling different functions. The stone itself might seem to call out to the beholder, the epitaph articulating the voice of the deceased, or of the monument itself. The inscribed text might alternatively play a fundamental role in the evocation of a more vivid characterisation of the dead. When such texts did appear conjoined to the images, they often particularised and personalised the basic characteristics of the monument, as well as enhanced its affective or emotional qualities. Furthermore, the degree of correlation is rather high concerning the identification of figures, and sometimes the epitaph is involved in an iconographic dialogue with the visual imagery, such as when enhancing issues only slightly alluded to in the pictorial representation. In general the epitaphs repeat the same types of things, and images and decor are standardised. Tombstones may have been purchased from pre-prepared stock and the content and language of epitaphs may have reflected the stonemason's choice and knowledge as much as that of the bereaved. There were conventions to be followed and these often mask any real sense of

individuality. Although behind every tomb were specific memories of personal pride or loss, by being created in this form the tombs become part of a public or collective world in which the accepted codes must be observed. We still have to appreciate the fact that being subject to certain popular conventions does not necessarily rule out the possibility of genuine feelings (though these of course are undetectable to us). Even today we see the words “beloved father/beloved mother” on a contemporary tombstone, words which are repeated on thousands of other tombstones, but this certainly does not mean the expressed emotion is insincere, let alone non-existent. In other words, set phrases may appear and become very popular simply because they express a universal, human experience, a traditional or new culture. The most predominant theme of the epigrams is untimely death. As seen through modern eyes the loss of a child might be considered an especially poignant tragedy. The frequency with which untimely death is referenced also raises questions about the motives which underlay this particular form of commemoration. However, as Mander warns us, on behalf of commemorated children on Roman tombstones,

at the very least, these monuments should not be seen as straight-forward “snapshots” of affectionate family life among the “ordinary” people of the Roman empire; as many have noted, this risks retrojecting modern sentiments to make ancient evidence conform to our own ideals about childhood.⁴²

Tombstones do not offer a generalised picture of benevolent and loving parents who cherished and mourned their offspring, in some cases this might have been what prompted the erection of a certain tomb memorial, but that would be impossible for us to determine. Although we must guard of drawing a direct correlation with wider attitudes, few would probably doubt the genuine affection of such words or deny that many parents must have been inconsolable at their child’s untimely death. The difficulty nevertheless remains that such apparently affectionate sentiments appear on a small proportion of the tombstones set up in Smyrna and Kyzikos; most of them only contain short, formulaic epitaphs.

42 Mander 2013, 12.

SETTING AND PRODUCTION

The use of non-perishable materials and the erection of memorials in public spaces aimed to permanently reach audiences in large numbers. The texts were inscribed in public spaces, such as a nekropolis, in order to be visible, for this reason, the emotional and emotive aspects of grave reliefs require the careful study of contexts: the space, the form of the monument, the images that decorate it, and the ritual context of its use. Although we cannot truly gauge the level of emotional distress, the fact that the family went to the expense and effort to buy and set up a memorial indicates that death occasioned feelings, even if the relief and epitaph on the memorial often appear formulaic.⁴³ The problem remains that the act of setting up a tombstone is not necessarily a natural reaction to death *per se*. Together with other sepulchral rites like the funeral, it forms part of the culturally determined response to bereavement through which relatives adjust to their individual loss, seek consolation and honour the deceased. Such customs are influenced or even governed by grief. The expectation that particular actions should be performed does not need to undermine the real emotions which might drive them. In the context of sepulchral display, however, it can remain difficult to determine whether an individual's achievements were presented in documentary form or with certain aspects over-emphasised. This was partly governed by whether visual and epigraphic details had been specified by the commissioner or left largely to the decision of the workshop. One must also consider whether the intention was to offer comfort to those in mourning or advertise the social status of the deceased and his/her relatives.⁴⁴ In many cases, of course, the lines would have been more than a little blurred. My aim here is to try to determine the emotional display in relation to the setting of the memorials and their modes of production. How did the possible placement of the grave stelai restrain or enhance their effect on a contemporary viewer? To what extent did the commissioner of a memorial govern their visual and textual expressions and what possible implications could that have on their sentiments?

43 Carroll 2006, 26.

44 Mander 2013, 11.

Setting of the tombstones

The lack of excavated burials of Hellenistic date from Smyrna and Kyzikos is a great disadvantage for the study of the organisation of sepulchral space. Much is lost to us, as many were moved from their original grave sites and records concerning the circumstances of their discovery are minimal.⁴⁵ At best we have limited knowledge on the locations of the nekropoleis. For instance, we do not know for certain how the tomb memorials were arranged in relation to one another. In other East Greek cities, nekropoleis of Hellenistic date have been excavated (e.g., Assos) and these provide clues to the organisation of sepulchral space in Smyrna and Kyzikos. A careful observation of what is preserved, the original size, composition and quality of the sculpture and any special features on these grave stelai may also help us assess the original importance of them as tomb markers. By piecing together information provided by relief images and epitaphs together with the overall “structure” of the monument it is also possible to draw some general conclusions on the organisation of tomb space in these two cities. The physical space as represented on the reliefs is, of course, difficult to reconstruct, but the locations that are represented on them can be perceived of as visual renderings of spatiality. With the aid of detailed renderings of deceased individuals that either sit or stand next to their tomb or stroll around in a wooded setting, we at least can get a slight idea of the layout of a typical (or ideal) Hellenistic nekropolis. The grave markers were of a varying kind and could take the shape of columns, pillars, stelai and herms. There was some vegetation and sometimes there were pavilions in the shape of curtains fastened on trees or pillars. The funerary setting was punctuated with explicit references to the world of the dead, such as sirens

45 None of the *stelai* in this study have been found in an archaeologically excavated context. This means that we lack excavated burials related to the tombstones. In the Hellenistic world both inhumation and cremation were practiced, but the former was more common. Kurtz & Boardman 1972, 163. We can probably assume that the burials of Kyzikos and Smyrna follow a similar pattern. The most characteristic grave gift in Hellenistic times was the spindle-shaped oil bottle, known as “tear flask” or *unguentaria*. These vases are sometimes represented on the reliefs (e.g., **S113**). Hellenistic graves were also equipped with other clay vases, strigils, mirrors, children toys, “Tanagra figurines”, and gold jewellery (usually leaves made of gold foil and wreaths made from them).

that appear atop pillars lamenting and playing instruments. This space was also dotted with fanciful creatures that had a consoling function (such as a statue of *psyche* as an emblem of the immortal soul). Funerary space as rendered on the reliefs was often placed within an enclosed space. In one case a grave stele is represented next to a banqueting couch, **K104** (Pl. 46.2).

Two epitaphs might give us clues on the setting of the gravestones. **S79** (Pl. 13.2) tells us that the heroised youth Dionysios has his own *temenos*, while **S101** (Pl. 18.2) informs us that the tomb of Demokles is set alongside a steep road (presumably at the north slope of Mount Pagos). However, we need to be slightly cautious concerning the latter interpretation. Bruss emphasised that in the Hellenistic age, the few inscribed epigrams that focus on the placement of the monument aim either at underscoring the fact that the deceased has taken the road to the underworld or at pointing to a fictive "isolation" of the monument from human life.⁴⁶ Thus, alluding to a steep road might only have been a metaphor, just as is the case of the first line in the epigram of **K87** (Pl. 42.1) ("why do you tread the lamentable path"); it does not have to imply the actual setting of the tomb. With the exception of **S79** we lack this kind of contextual information. At most we are informed that a grave belonged to a certain individual, in these cases the memorials are usually referred to as *tymbos* or *mnema*. However, McLean has stated that sepulchral epitaphs that address a passer-by were especially common on tombs located by the side of the roads leading out of the city.⁴⁷ Since several of the epigrams from Smyrna and Kyzikos address travellers and strangers we can draw the very general conclusion that at least these memorials were located along streets of tombs. Hasluck suggested the possibility of a street of tombs outside the western walls of Kyzikos.⁴⁸ It was in

46 Bruss 2005, 49-57.

47 McLean 2002, 269.

48 Hasluck (1910 15) also reports that in 1906 he saw a large marble sarcophagus near the south-western corner of the isthmus. In 1903 he saw several "rifled slab-graves" by the mainland end of the aqueduct. According to Strabo (575) there was a suburb on this side and Hasluck states that coins and worked marble were commonly found there. Unfortunately, Hasluck does not offer any dates for either the sarcophagus or the grave markers. There have also been chance finds of funerary sculpture to the north and east outside the walls. Fabricius 1999a, 314f. The Byzantine nekropolis was located to the south of the city proper.

that area that **K101** (Pl. 45.1) was discovered by Akurgal in the 1950s. As stated by Fabricius, the majority of grave reliefs from Kyzikos were free-standing monuments with their shaft inserted directly into the ground or fastened on a base. The lower part of the shaft is often left unsmooth and is sometimes equipped with a broad tenon. This made Fabricius assume that Hellenistic nekropoleis in Kyzikos had the character of “Reihenfriedhöfen”, where the tomb memorials were placed next to each other in rows. Late Hellenistic *Totenmahl* scenes with multi-figure compositions often had the character of a family memorial which might indicate the existence of relatively standard grave plots marked by a single *Totenmahl* relief. Since other motifs are rare, Fabricius suggests that we can assume that only occasionally would additional gravestones have been erected in these plots.⁴⁹ Känel also speculates that nekropoleis in Smyrna consisted of individual burial plots that had few graves. This is attested by the inscriptions which only name at most two or three people.⁵⁰

That tombstones were indeed displayed within burial plots might be testified by a *Totenmahl* scene from Samos (P-M 1517) which depicts a *naiskos* stele set on a terrace wall. Maybe some grave reliefs not only have renderings of walls on them, but also where displayed on such a structure?⁵¹ Archaeological testimony from different parts of the Hellenistic world attests to the display of stelai atop walls. Where the original plan of burial grounds can be determined (in Kerameikos and elsewhere), graves were set out in plots and sometimes enclosed within stone walls, which were regularly in alignment with the path or road along which the nekropolis lay.⁵² We might assume that most funerary stelai from Smyrna and Kyzikos were free-standing stone slabs. However, a few might have been affixed to the wall of a tomb building. As proposed by both Fabricius and Pfanner some of the broad *naiskos* stelai might have been fastened to the walls of *heroon*-like tomb buildings. These monuments have holes on their top side and side borders; these

49 Fabricius (1999a, 319) also made a hypothetical drawing of such a street of tombs (Abb. 42).

50 Känel 1989, 52.

51 This is exactly the arrangement we find in a tomb monument of the Hellenistic period at Alipheia in Arkadia, see Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 246 fig. 55.

52 Kurtz & Boardman 1972, 163.

were probably used for fastening tombstones to the wall with pegs (e.g., **K100**, **K101**, **K104**, **K108**).⁵³ Sometimes technical details on the gravestones themselves give us hints about their intended setting. For instance, **S131** is a seemingly high stele, all four sides are obliquely sloping towards the interior so that the image perspective focuses on the centre. The back of the stele still has its original rough surface that has been made with a point-chisel. There are impressions from a tooth-chisel on the sides. The tapering format of many stelai, narrower at the top than at the bottom (e.g., **S105**, where the relief field has a width of 40 cm at the top and 47 cm at the bottom), indicates that they were probably meant to be viewed from some distance below. They might have been displayed atop pillars or bases of some kind. As just mentioned, the tenon at the bottom of the shaft (e.g., **S19**, **S91**, **K24**, **K42**) further confirms the assumption that the memorial must have been fastened on a base.⁵⁴ Many grave stelai also have an unworked/coarse back, indicating that it was placed against a wall or along a road with access only from the front. There is often great variation in size and quality. Among 16 grave stelai of Demeter priestesses from Smyrna is one of the finest and most elaborate of all stelai from this city, **S35** Pl. 7.1), along with several whose workmanship is mediocre or of little artistic merit. It would thus be risky to make inferences about the social status of a priestess from the artistic quality and size of her grave stele. Perhaps, as Zanker explains, the contrasts between large and small were mitigated by the setting within the grave precincts.⁵⁵

As initially stated the impact of these monuments on audiences is connected with their exact setting (nekropolis), their decoration (reliefs), their texts (epitaphs) and the part they played in rituals.⁵⁶ Nekropoleis were regularly situated outside areas of habitation or beyond city's walls. This is also the case for Smyrna and Kyzikos. The fear of pollution was only one reason for keeping the main burial grounds outside a town: land within an occupied area, especially if it was walled, was too valuable to waste on the

53 Fabricius 1999a, 320-323. See also Pfanner 1989, Abb. 8.

54 See Pfanner (1989, Abb. 8) for a drawing of how Hellenistic grave reliefs were fastened into a base or affixed to a wall.

55 Zanker 1993, 226.

56 Chaniotis 2013b, 103.

dead. The graves often flank roads away from the city. Plots may be defined by low walls, or be more monumentally conceived, as in Athens.⁵⁷ Enclosed burials feature a retaining wall encircling a family plot with several stones side by side in a small area. Hellenistic tombs in an excavated nekropolis in Assos (Mysia; Fig. 1) were organised in a similar way. This nekropolis was located along the road leading out from the western city gate and had separate familial plots lining either side of the street. In the largest of these burial plots, 32 interments were found. Freydank assumes that this burial site was in use by four generations of a family.⁵⁸ The combination of burial markers, both within a plot and between the plots, created a composite landscape of death. All tomb memorials from Smyrna and Kyzikos are now removed from their context so it can be difficult to establish whether these monuments were originally isolated commemorations or worked alongside other reliefs to build up an impression of a collective group. However, it does appear to be the case that many grave memorials focused on the immediate family, commemorating only one or two people even when the tomb was of some size. If the burial precincts were organised in a similar way as those in Assos (and we cannot take for granted that they were) it would mean that the grave reliefs were set up in plots, along the side of the enclosure (or atop it, if we are to believe the Samos relief), not over specific graves. Since at least some were an expensive type of tomb memorial, it is reasonable to regard them as communal monuments and to consider those whom we see represented as members of the family who died at different times.⁵⁹ But we must also remember that many of the grave reliefs were not made up specially, but were chosen from stock; consequently some tomb monuments were perhaps more appropriate to the deceased members of some families than they were to others. Either way, funerary reliefs rarely worked in isolation; they were placed together in a communal setting. Reliefs and epitaphs were but one part of the process of commemorating dead family members. Thus, the conventions so clearly expressed in

57 Kurtz & Boardman 1972, 188f.

58 Freydank 2000, 149f.

59 However, we need not forget that some of the multi-figure *Totenmahl* compositions from Kyzikos were not erected over members of the same family. E.g., none of the three individuals named on **K109** are seemingly related to one another.

the images and texts might not have aroused cause for much concern for surviving family members considering their option to choose a motive that expresses a dignified and restrained kind of grief, and then place the tombstones in such a way that they physically create a closed family entity. In a study of grief as expressed in Attic funerary art of the Classical age, Sojc concludes that the imagery in itself, being so concerned with up-to-date model-poses and public persona, reproducing everyday scenes and repetitive elements, makes it impossible to interpret it in terms of death and mourning. However, in the context of the funeral precinct, the standard imagery of the reliefs might have had an entirely different meaning and those stelai that represent a “Lebenswirklichkeit” could have corresponded to the last phase of the grieving process.⁶⁰ Rituals at the tomb also charged it with affective meaning. Offerings were made at the site of the tombs on the third, ninth, and thirteenth days and thereafter on specified annual occasions. The deceased relied on the cult kept up by his family or heirs. This attention after death is grounded directly on the physical existence and identity of the tomb itself. The tomb is so important because it is all that there is – the last link between the dead and the living.

The assessment of tombstones and their impact on the landscape for later generations is indeed a far-reaching theme. What about the duration of a stele? For how long did a memorial survive? How many of the earlier monuments were visible to subsequent generations?⁶¹ Gravestones were frequently reused in nekropoleis, most easily determined by the addition of inscriptions. Sometimes the “life” of burial areas can be identified; exceptionally, tombstones can list multiple generations of a single family. However, in the Smyrna epitaphs we can identify at most two generations, and at most three in the Kyzikos epitaphs. The second name on a tombstone, if added later as than the first name, simply indicates that a second burial has taken place at a *later* date. Sometimes, the person who died later is very likely identical to one of the figures in the relief, at other times not.⁶² In these cases it is possible to tell that two separate

60 Sojc 2005, 154,

61 Oliver 2002, 6.

62 E.g., on **S64** it is unclear what relationship Xenon might have had to Menophilos and Eirene, since the latter inscription is not that much younger than the other two. On **S78** the central and right inscriptions are also later

inscriptions were not conducted by the same hand, and thus the deaths and burials of the represented individuals must have occurred on separate occasions. At the time of commission a blank space could be left on the stone (or in the case of Smyrna a wreath might be left blank) to accommodate someone with whom the deceased expected to be buried with at some point. This space might, or might not, be used later, depending on the circumstances. For obvious reasons not all families could afford to buy more than one gravestone. Although a tombstone is initially bought for the first deceased among the family members, it can still be representative for the remaining members and could be regarded as the monument *per se* which decorated the family tomb of one, possibly two generations, especially if the relief compromises more than two figures. The custom of erecting a family tomb which is the burial place for two-three generations is still prevalent in our own time. In Smyrna and Kyzikos monuments of earlier generations were reused but not necessarily to claim that such memorials belonged to previous family members.⁶³ Gravestones belonging to other families were relieved of original inscriptions and new ones were added. For instance, **S56** (Pl. 10.1) was reused in Imperial times according to the added inscription. Not infrequently, however, monuments underwent more drastic changes – figures were chiselled away or altered to suit. The visual impact of tombstones on the landscape of later generations need not stop within the perspective of antiquity. Tomb monuments made an impression throughout history. Inscriptions of a much later date were sometimes added to such memorials, e.g., **S58** is inscribed with an Armenian epitaph from 1688 on its base. This phenomenon also affected sculpture, e.g., the relief image on **S41** (Pl. 8.1) has been altered in modern times.⁶⁴

than the left one.

63 It is noticeable that we never encounter the epigraphic habit of Western and Central Anatolia (e.g., Lydia, Lykia, and Phrygia) to proclaim fines and curses upon those that violate a tomb or use it for secondary burial(s). Epigraphic formulas like these are only attested on East Greek tomb markers of post-Hellenistic date. This might indicate that reuse of tomb markers was not a problem of much concern until Imperial times.

64 **S43** also has an epitaph in old Armenian below the relief, while **S2** has a Hebraic inscription on the back of the stele.

Production of grave stelai

What I intend to do in this section is to give a short overview of the (possible) modes of production of grave stelai in Kyzikos and Smyrna. This will be discussed in terms of ready-made (or stock), custom-made, and pattern books. I will also consider how the manufacturing of tombstones might have affected the possibilities of personalising a monument and how it might have prevented, due to standardised formula, the variety and nature of expressions of emotions. A close study of style, selection, and execution of relief motifs carved on tomb monuments reveals regional styles and workshops in both Smyrna and Kyzikos. Workshops in Kyzikos have been identified based on stylistic analysis or close studies of workmanship.⁶⁵ At the present we know next to nothing about the organisation of sculpture workshops in these two cities. The numbers of sculptors, length of apprenticeship, number and type of commissions, and division of labour between sculptors are all unknown. We can guess that some sculptors worked in other cities, but we do not know the frequency or duration of such travels. Mobility is an important factor in artistic working processes and the organisation of workshops. This mobility must have played an important role in the transmission of artistic knowledge and the transfer of different styles and motifs between regions. It would, for instance, explain why a Kyzikanean stele such as **K72** (Pl. 37.2) was discovered in Smyrna. No areas of marble working or sculpture workshops have been identified in Smyrna and Kyzikos, and we know nothing about the scale of production. What we do know, however, is that a group of eight Smyranean reliefs were made of Proconnesian marble and one of Ephesian marble.⁶⁶ The marbles quarried on the island of Proconnesos

65 For workshop production in Kyzikos see Schmidt 1991, 26-32; Fabricius 1999a, 294-301. Schmidt (Tab. IV & V) has identified several workshops specialised on *Totenmahl* in Kyzikos and its vicinity. This attempted identification of workshops is, however, of limited usefulness since, for example, attributions to ateliers range between 3 and 16 pieces and the more prolific ones go down to Trajanic/Hadrianic times (the earliest ones are from the late second century BCE).

66 Proconnesian: **S9, S41, S64, S90, S103, S118, S120, S124**. Ephesian: **S92**. For the marble workshops in Ephesos and Proconnesos see Attanasio et al 2006, 185-189 & 199-211. Ephesian and Proconnesian marbles are very similar.

(present day Marmara) were among the most famous and widely used in classical antiquity.⁶⁷ Due to its close proximity to Kyzikos, a place renowned for its high quality sculpture workshops, we might assume that the marble for most of its gravestones was quarried there.

Recent work on the production of funerary sculpture in the Roman world has emphasised the role of the customer in the process of artistic production and the decisions made by them in their choice of images.⁶⁸ As pointed out by Russell, the language of modern industrial manufacturing, centered on the idea of mass production, is especially divisive when applied to this debate,

*for many it conjures up images of mechanised production lines, churning out nearly identical objects; the individuality of the product is lost, as is any hint of customer choice or personalisation.*⁶⁹

Tombstones may have been purchased from pre-prepared stock or they might have been custom-made. An indication that a stele must have been ready-made is when the stele has been erected while still unfinished. For instance, some details on **S98** are not fully carved. The capitals and ledges on **K70** are only roughly rendered, while part of the relief field is unfinished (particularly the herm in the background). Some of the reliefs from Kyzikos are poor in quality and coarse in execution. Many do not have fully carved akroteria and a gable only rendered in low relief, for example **K42** (Pl. 33.1). This could be a consequence of the attempt to reduce costs for the production or due to a sudden death. Another explanation could be that since the demand for grave reliefs increased during the late Hellenistic period, sculptors were forced to save time by leaving less conspicuous areas, such as the background around the herm on **K70**, unfinished. The

67 Atanasio et al 2006, 199. Proconnesian marbles are usually medium grained materials. It was frequently a high quality marble, but due to massive production (made possible by the vast dimensions of the site) it was fairly low in price.

68 In a study on the production of Roman sarcophagi Birk (2012) emphasises the importance of the relation between workshop and customer and she stresses that individuality can be seen as a decisive factor that, more often than not, influenced the appearance of the final product.

69 Russell 1999, 120.

number of monuments left in an unfinished state, however, is quite small. The most effective way to reduce the production costs for a grave memorial was probably to be economic in redundant details. This might explain why the background is left empty on so many reliefs. We cannot rule out the possibility that this was a consequence of economic reasons and not a deliberate choice of making the iconography more emotionally charged. However, we find the empty void also on **K95** (Pl. 43.2), which is a unique piece probably made to order.

In terms of workshop production one must consider craftsmanship and differences in skill. A case in point is the group of Smyranean reliefs which commemorate women dressed in the customary dress of Demeter. This group makes up a small percentage of the totality of grave reliefs for women, and hence, it is not surprising that they show the same shape, design and iconographic schemata. Each relief presents a female figure in priestly garments standing next to a large torch and holding a poppy in her left hand, identifying the deceased as a priestess. The dress and cultic attributes further indicate which cult these priestesses served. The fact that these grave stelai specify priestly identity in similar ways, only giving a standardised set of attributes, and that the inscriptions never specify cult function, may suggest that they were produced and purchased as stock types, only personalised later by added inscriptions. While the grave reliefs show similar iconographic schemata, the technical workmanship with which they are carved is varied enough to suggest different sculptors and workshops. The variety in craftsmanship suggests that a sculptor working in Smyrna, no matter how skilled, was expected to have priestesses in his set repertory. This might strengthen the case for the existence of a standardised “priestess type” among grave reliefs, one that should be individualised through added inscriptions. The existence of this stock type may be the result of buying off-the-shelf stelai, and then personalising them.⁷⁰

One should also consider that epigrams were similar to each other, especially in terms of conventional themes and phrases, which suggests that they were ready-made. It was not uncommon for a space to be left for the deceased’s name to be inserted. The receptiveness and consistency of forms means that

70 Karlsson 2014, forthcoming.

use must have been made of set formulas or even collections of similar texts which customers (often illiterate) could select from in the workshop. This could explain why epigrams usually include standard phrases. Wypustek guesses that the inscribing of Greek epitaphs were usually carried out by professional and experienced engravers who thus produced considerable numbers of various types of inscriptions and could easily duplicate the simpler terms and concepts.⁷¹ However, epigrams from Smyrna and Kyzikos do not attest to a random repetition of standard phrases, and it is reasonable to assume that there might have been at least some personal intervention from the customer. Engravers probably worked from drafts that were either composed or dictated by customers. In some cases, they might have composed the draft themselves based on biographical details supplied by customers.⁷² Maybe, as Mitchell has pointed out for epitaphs from rural Asia Minor in the Imperial age,

*Rather than see a sculptural workshop equipped with a repertoire of stock phrases, it seems preferable to suppose that many of these epitaphs were genuinely composed by the peasant families themselves, relying of course on a repertoire of poetic expressions.*⁷³

As pointed out by Chaniotis, epitaphs produced in large numbers, oscillate between the use of stereotypical formulations and the need to express the individuality of emotion.⁷⁴ While standard phrases might ease the pain of death by transforming the individual loss into an unavoidable universal experience, grave stelai set up in the same nekropolis may also compete with one another in expressing the uniqueness of the loss and the magnitude of the pain. Epigrams from Smyrna and Kyzikos do indeed follow certain compositions and use standard formulas. However, the content is so varied, and sometimes unique (e.g., **S129**, Pl. 24.2) that they, at least to some extent, might have been personalised.

71 Wypustek 2013, 11f.

72 Susini 1973, 47f.; McLean 2002, 10 & 260. Any of these alternatives might easily result in flawed or inelegant drafts, especially in multilingual and multicultural contexts, such as Western Asia Minor.

73 Mitchell 1993, 105.

74 Chaniotis 2013b, 109f.

Iconographic selections could have been made within workshops and may not correspond to specific requests from the customer.⁷⁵ But we also have examples of presumably custom made grave stelai amongst which I would count **K81** (Pl. 40.1) and **K95** (Pl. 43.2). **K86** (Pl. 41.1) might also have been made to order, especially if one considers how much it deviates from the standard format of the *Totenmahl*. It represents a typical scene that has been adapted to the wishes of the survivors of the two young boys mentioned in the epitaph. Sometimes *Totenmahl* scenes used add-on features, leading one to suspect they were specifically ordered. In particular, the addition of a child in the composition deviates from standard formulas. Interestingly, the made to order reliefs often have one thing in common: the desire to express more explicit sentiments. Whereas certain attributes and landscape features are repeated endlessly, the figural composition, such as the youth turning his back on the viewer on **S84** (Pl. 14.2) or the woman in a crouching position to the left on **K95**, Pl. 43.2), together with figures performing unusual gestures, such as the woman awkwardly touching the man on **S56**, (Pl. 10.1), might transcend the standard pattern and give it new meaning. When the iconography deviates from regular compositions it usually aims to emotionally charge the imagery. For instance, the customer of a *Stockwerstele* in Kyzikos might have a saying in the combination of themes or motifs. The upper relief always consists of a standard *Totenmahl* scene, whereas the lower relief might be decorated with a scene that departed from standard formula. The lower relief often has grief-stricken imagery such as a woman seated on the ground or a low rock, **K74** (Pl. 38.2), **K81** (Pl. 40.1).

The price of a grave stele must have been affected by the size of the monument, number of reliefs, abundance of attributes and other redundant details. The monolithic gravestones were almost certainly roughed out in the quarry and then brought to the workshops where prospective buyers were expected to choose from stock. The epigrams do not shed any light on the proportion in which ready-made reliefs stand to those made to order. Keeping in mind, however, that certain stelai are, generally speaking, of superior quality as compared to other types of stelai,

75 E.g., Schmidt (1991, 13) claims that: “Speziell für die Grabreliefs aus Smyrna läßt sich auch eine Eigenentwicklung aus kompositorischen Gründen durch die Werkstätten vorstellen”.

we may assume that many of them are the result of mutual contact between the sculptor and the customer. The grave stele offered for sale in a sculptor's workshop consisted of the slab, possibly with its architectonic frame. The sculptor could make suggestions concerning the number of figures, their age, and perhaps even their disposition in the relief. The similarity of composition in the reliefs indicates that the sculptors presented some visual aid (in the form of pattern books) to their customers. Consulting the pattern book, the customers would then decide on a specific composition which suited the family's need. The more personal the attributes of a figure, the more we perceive the fulfilment of personal wishes of the customer.⁷⁶ The regularity of compositions, the use of the same stock figures in only slightly different arrangements and occasionally the later addition of more "personal" features, such as the portrait-like face of the man on **S76** (Pl. 12.2),⁷⁷ all suggest that the customer was given a pattern book from which to select his/her monument. It is difficult to decide to what extent grave reliefs were made to order. By adding redundant details the customer might have had the opportunity to personalise the stele. Presumably reliefs with a slightly unique composition or filled with unusual iconographic details could have been made to order. It is, however, difficult to tell if a grave relief is a special piece or not, its uniqueness might only be due to "chance finds".

Epitaphs suggest that members of the immediate family of the deceased set up the majority of funerary monuments. For instance, in the case of Damokes' memorial, **S101** (Pl. 18.2), it was erected by his son and daughter-in-law according to the epigram. On **S122** (Pl. 23.1) a mother, Metris, erected a monument over her two predeceased sons; all three of them are represented on the stele. In the epigram to **K22** (Pl. 29.1), Maiandrie tells us that "my husband built the memorial for me". The names of the purchasers are often left anonymous, only their relation to the deceased is mentioned. Not only an epigram might reveal the purchaser of a tomb memorial, standard inscriptions together with the relief images might also give us some clues. For instance, Pfuhl-Möbius speculated that

76 For similar ideas on the production of Attic tombstones, see Clairmont 1970, 62.

77 The man on **S76** has a bearded face with nasolabial folds, sunken cheeks, and a furrowed forehead.

the unnamed left man on **K83** erected the tombstone for his father and his sister. On **S67**, the surviving mother might have ordered the gravestone for her husband and daughter.⁷⁸ If the sparse epigraphic testimony is believable, the cost of erecting the monument was borne by a relative. Was such a customer able to read an inscription if he commissioned one? In a society with very low literacy rates, it is questionable how many people – customers included – might have understood the text fully, especially if craftsmen were able to draw upon pattern books. An epitaph has social implications of various kinds. The efforts required for the construction, inscription, and erection of an inscribed grave marker necessitates some thought being invested into its overall messages and meaning. The inscribing of a text was a costly business, a cost to which we may also add the cost for the material and the sculpted decoration of the stele or monument.⁷⁹ Being able to afford so much carving may also have been a status symbol itself. This raises a number of questions: how were the competing explanations of affection and display balanced, and how can we isolate which particular reason drove a particular customer. If considering the sparse number of epitaphs, only 17 out of 245, we might conclude that they emerged out of the need to personalise the memorial further. It is probably no mere incident that reliefs on tombstones with verse epigrams, especially in the case of Kyzikos, had an iconography that deviated from standard formats. **K18** (Pl. 28.2), **K22** (Pl. 29.1), **K25** and **K95** (Pl. 43.2) are all decorated with reliefs of a woman seated on a low rock or on the ground with an epitaph mentioning the particular hard faith of the deceased and/or his/her survivors. A deliberate choice to narrate something more personal or heart-felt through the combined media of text and image is evident here.

78 Thus the statement of Pompeia, i.e. that she is the purchaser of the stone, must be an ill-disposed impudence according to Pfuhl-Möbius (1977-79, 168).

79 The evidence from antiquity for the cost of tombstones is fraught with difficulties. In addition to the cost of the burial marker, whether grand or simple, one must also consider the cost for the plot itself (Oliver 2000, 9).

EMOTIONAL COMMUNITIES

In the previous section I claimed that most of the tombstones were erected in small burial plots along roads leading out of the city. Some of the broad *naiskos* reliefs from Kyzikos can also have been affixed to walls inside built tombs. Either way, the monuments in question were probably in use for two, at most three, generations, and later reused by individuals who were not related to the original occupants of the tomb. Most of the tomb reliefs were ready-made, while some were personalised through added details that deviated from standard formulas. The customers of these reliefs were probably people from the immediate family of the deceased. The repeated visual contact with tombstones might explain the provision of some memorials with epitaphs that speak to the passer-by, particularly to the stranger or traveller. It is with the aid of these reader-oriented inscriptions that I can identify the intended viewers of some of these grave stelai. In terms of viewing, and the related emotional experience, the setting of memorials is of great importance. Did anyone other than family members make the effort to approach a gravestone and read the inscription? This must have depended on the location of the tomb memorial. It is quite a difference if it was on display in a road-side setting or affixed to a wall in a private tomb building. The choice of setting not only affects the accessibility of the memorial but also the entire viewing experience. Built tombs were probably opened on occasions when the grave relief could be displayed and contemplated, but a stranger passing the tomb would only see the exterior of the tomb and not the objects on display inside. Therefore, I find it important to identify emotional communities, and consider how groups may define themselves as such communities. By this I mean that the tombstone may have had an entirely different emotional significance according to the identity of the person interacting with it. This “emotional community” consists, as stated above, of groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and values. Such a group may consist of those who commissioned, bought, viewed, displayed, or used a tomb memorial. It might seem difficult to identify a potential emotional community. However, as stated by Tarlow, when we are willing to engage with the viewers as a social whole, rather

than as individuals,⁸⁰ be they visitors to the tomb or strangers passing by, we find ourselves with a rich seam of supporting material. These include the cultural backdrop to the ancient viewing experience and, in terms of external emotions, we might specifically consider art conventions or social and emotional conventions. Not only images, but also epitaphs could evoke a response from the viewer. Texts inscribed on stone are usually quite short, and the limited space sets some boundaries to the possibilities of expression. Nonetheless, sepulchral inscriptions were an important medium of communication and as such they were a significant vehicle for the expression and arousal of emotion. One must accept their communicative function, the emotions they were meant to arouse in the viewer, and how emotional responses might depend on the age at death of the commemorated along with the conditions of death (untimely death due to an accident, murder, etc.).

In the previous chapter I considered the figures on the reliefs. They were themselves shown engaged in emotional displays and expressions, and by directing their gaze to the beholder they directly engage with the viewers of the memorials.⁸¹ How would the ancient viewer have responded emotionally according to reading the represented figures' body language? By observing the actions they perform, and the way in which they perform them, they would have instinctively and instantaneously drawn on their own experiences of nonverbal communication in order to interpret the narrative nuances of the imagery on the sepulchral stelai. Introducing a viewer into these considerations inevitably brings with it a second, exterior context. Would such a metanarrative have prompted an emotional response in the viewer? Such images likely reminded the survivors of the departed, and they were a source of comfort in dealing with grief. Imagination and the act of reminiscence and recollection could keep a dearly departed alive in the heart and mind of the survivor. Fashioning an image in a permanent material could considerably extend the period of remembrance. If only really an emblematic sign of the symbolic presence of the deceased it might still have prompted a relationship between the image and the person it depicted. It acted as a focus of affection and emotion and reminded the

80 Tarlow 2000, 728.

81 Rosenwein 2006, 2.

beholder of the character of the departed in various degrees. Besides the figures on the reliefs one must also recognise the visitors to the tomb as an emotional community. As previously stated, to set the scene within sepulchral space gave it emotive potency. Hellenistic tombs were visited by relatives of the deceased on several occasions throughout the year, generating a ritual context that constructed the living viewer as the primary bearer of the gaze. Although any observations regarding the display of emotions on the memorials and how they might have been perceived at the burial site must, of course, remain speculative, the iconographic evidence itself is rich and informative. From the relief imagery, it becomes clear that sepulchral space was probably a site of meaningful interaction between the living and the dead; hence the choice of setting on the images provoked feelings of consolation in the viewer. The relationship between the living and the dead, partly played out in the physical location of the deceased person's remains, must have been important to bereaved people when they were visiting the dead. These visits often marked occasions such as birthdays, anniversaries and other annual events. They frequently included the conducting of liquid offerings or the decking of the tomb with *taenia* or wreaths.⁸² These visitors were probably people who knew the departed. But what about people who just happened to pass by their memorials?

Although members of the immediate family might have been the prime bearer of the gaze, the memorials and their messages were also intentionally directed towards a group of unknown beholders, mostly attested in the reader-oriented inscriptions. A traveller along a street differs in many ways from a more immediate relative who pays a visit to an enclosed burial structure. As attested by these epitaphs, viewers of the reliefs might have consisted of travellers and other strangers. People must have perceived the images in different ways, depending on whether the represented figures were strangers to them, if they were related to the deceased figures or if the figures were in any way known to the viewer. Epitaphs formulated as a dialogue and interplay between the deceased individual and a relative or passer-by insinuated communication between the living and the

82 Several of the reliefs from Kyzikos have nail holes on their architraves. These were probably used for the fastening of wreaths or garlands. Maybe the grave reliefs were decorated with such objects during visits at the grave?

dead. Sometimes epitaphs use direct speech with the viewer; in these cases he or she is being addressed either as a stranger or as a friend. The passer-by is asked to say aloud the epigram's essential information.⁸³ In addition there is often a ritual greeting, by which every single visitor of the tomb is dismissed or takes his/her leave. For instance, "Stranger, having bidden farewell to Demokles, (son) of Demokles, may you travel with safe footsteps", in **S101** (Pl. 18.2). When the dead are addressed in epigrams, it is usually by an anonymous voice. As pointed out by Tueller, due to the namelessness and featurelessness of this voice,

*the words of the epigram are presented as something anyone could have said, and in reading the epigram (aloud) the reader literally pronounces the received opinion.*⁸⁴

In the great majority of cases the addressee is imagined as a stranger, a passer-by, as no one in particular. Sometimes the anonymous voice addresses the dead him/herself, for instance, "Beloved daughter of Petrotios, greetings also in death!" in **S98**. It often expresses the grief and mourning of the survivors. It thus gives testimony to their pain – and at the same time confirms that they had fulfilled their duties, indirectly serving as a medium of social control. It implores the passer-by to stop, read the inscription, and shed tears. The deceased frequently describe in detail the conditions of his or her life and death with bitterness. In such texts, the deceased does not only appeal to the pity of the reader but also to his indignation.⁸⁵ This urge to participate in the grief is at times explicit. In these cases the reader is addressed as a "friend" (φίλος) primarily attested in epitaphs from Kyzikos) and not as a "passer-by" (παροδίτης). In other cases, **S107**, the child is praised for the "stranger" (ξένος) – his good qualities clearly heighten the tragedy of his death. In this way the reader is urged to develop the same feeling as the one prescribed in the epigram in order to join a certain

83 This practice in Greek grave epigrams originated in the Archaic age, see Tueller 2010. For reader-oriented inscriptions in the Hellenistic age see Meyer (1997).

84 Tueller 2010, 67.

85 Day 2000, 39; Chaniotis 2013b, 104f.

emotional community. This request to participate in the grief is at times explicit, and makes the reader feel like a member of a community of mourners.

Finally, I will also consider the verbal dimension of epitaphs. With this I mean how emotional responses to death and dying were re-enacted through reading an inscription out loud. The epitaphs were meant to be read, and read aloud.⁸⁶ This verbal or performative aspect adds to their significance as reflections of emotionality.⁸⁷ That they were meant to be read aloud leads to an act of ventriloquism where the viewer spoke out as the voice of the memorial. In this way the words helped to animate the images and provoke a multitude of spontaneous viewer responses which are now lost.⁸⁸ Epigrams of course give more information about the deceased than the mere naming of the commemorated. But, even the reading of name inscriptions aloud equals an *anamnesis*, a calling into memory of the deceased. Grave epitaphs abound in expressions designed to attract the attention of the wayfarer, to make him/her at least read the name on the stone, to have some value attached to that name alive in his consciousness for a while. This is a tacit acknowledgement of the “finality of death”.⁸⁹ We should probably assume that inscriptions were read aloud and thus encouraged interaction between the deceased and the reader of the inscription. When verse inscriptions use direct speech to address the reader they try to control the behaviour of the anonymous passer-by. The reader of the epitaph is the “wanderer” or passer-by who reads an epitaph and interprets a grave marker. The impression of personal contact between two people, a speaker and a listener, seems to be so important that even paradoxes such as dead speakers are accepted. Reading aloud was the rule, and so we must imagine hearing a reader realise a text by lending his voice to the fictive speaker.⁹⁰ By enacting the voice of the dead the inscription announced the emotional bond between commemorator and commemorated,

86 Although some scholars have expressed doubts on whether inscriptions were read, there is substantial evidence that supports the assumption that they were, and indeed, read aloud (Day 1989 & 2000; Chaniotis 2012).

87 Day 2000. As mentioned by Newby (2008, 5) words can be both visual and verbal signifiers depending on whether they are written down or spoken aloud.

88 Newby 2008, 14f.

89 Lattimore 1942, 126.

90 Meyer 2007, 191.

and consequently manifested for prosperity that complicity exists between the dead and the living, between the past and the inevitable future. Sometimes the epitaph urges the passers-by to feel pity or lament for the deceased. In this way, the relatives make sure that the commemoration of a person will continue despite their own mortality, embracing a continually and eternally enlarging emotional community of mourners.

7. SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will offer a summary and conclusions; here I present a coherent synthesis on expressions of emotions in Hellenistic funerary art and epitaphs. The material for this study has consisted of 245 grave reliefs from Smyrna and Kyzikos in Western Asia Minor; mostly dated to the second century BCE. The aim of this thesis has been to examine emotional responses as expressed in Hellenistic funerary art and epigraphy. More specifically it has been my purpose to extract emotional responses and study them as a means of social and cultural communication. I have argued that we cannot understand subjective emotional experiences of people in past societies, but that we might be able to look at the social and cultural expectations that dictated how people were to behave in emotional terms and how this manifested itself in material expressions. In the introductory chapter I posed the question: how is it all possible to deduce any sentiments in the stock repertoire of ancient tomb art and epitaphs? Similarly, does repetition boost or compromise the emotion lying beneath a word or the detail of an image? It might seem evident to modern beholders that personal expressions and genuine sentiments can be looked for in inscriptions. However, the examples from Kyzikos and Smyrna combined with relief images are closely tied to standardised formulations. This standard formula has tempted many scholars to claim that the material lacks an emotional dimension. Traces of a personal character, however, are detectable. To fully understand this source material, one should not only consider characteristic features but also deviations from the standard pattern. By detecting so-called redundant deviations in the source material it is possible to identify personal expressions of grief, affection, and longing. These are illuminating in a quest for original feelings. Such deviations may consist of compositional and iconographical cues that break the standard pattern. When these are identifiable they often seem to have the intention of emotionally heighten the image. For instance, by displaying the toys of a dead child neatly lined up, by employing an affectionate gesture or a figural composition that emphasises the separateness

of the figures. Where can we find other glimpses of grief and affection? Epigrams sometimes touch upon the departure to the Underworld, grief at the death of a departed, and longing for an irreplaceable being. Not every type of death was generally made a subject of complaint. Circumstances of untimely death were the chief grounds for lamentation. It is sometimes even possible to detect a particular emotional expression connected to a specific individual. Therefore combined images and epitaphs of individuals named and portrayed determined the emotional content they possessed. The naming of an individual attached to a standardised image gave the imagery a deeper meaning for family and friends visiting the tomb. The emotional semiotics that confronts us in these deviations have many nuances and range in content from solemn expressions of grief, such as the averted gaze, to more explicit outpourings, such as being seated on the ground or on a low rock.

By its very title, “Emotions carved in stone?”, I have clearly stated that the purpose of this dissertation has never been to force an emotional reading on the source material. This would, of course, be as erroneous as to claim that we cannot detect emotions in it at all. However, the starting-point for this dissertation was my uneasiness with the often stated assumption that it is impossible to detect expressions of emotions in Hellenistic funerary art. On numerous occasions throughout this study I have been able to emphasise different aspects that contribute with elements that intended to emotionally affect or “sting” the viewer of the image in various ways. So, then, why has previous scholarship on East Greek sepulchral art failed to recognise this dimension? One reason could be the unwillingness to ascribe importance to introspective mourning. This sentiment is most easily detectable in a set of gestures and poses that signify a restrained and contemplative form of grief. Scholars have usually preferred to solely label these bodily practices as signifiers of the virtues and dignity of the deceased. However, we cannot, and should not, force only one interpretative model on the source material. Whenever a researcher decides that the images and epitaphs only express social display he/she easily fails to recognise any other expressions or nuances. We also must be cautious about the context of a gesture etc. A gesture does not need to mean the exact same thing in every context. The popularity behind many gestures might have been their ability to simultaneously

evoke a multitude of different meanings. Hence, to argue that the *pudivitia* pose is either an expression of modesty or mourning is to force a too simplistic view on the material. Another reason for the failures in recognising expressions of emotions might be the “Smyrnocentric” outlook in the scholarship on Hellenistic funerary art. That is, the tendency to treat grave stelai from Smyrna as typical of the entire group of East Greek stelai. Geographical diversity characterised this region and each city clearly had its own emotional vocabulary. To understand emotions in a historical context requires understanding their social and cultural surroundings. In the present study, this has meant how pictorial representations of emotions were affected by varying stylistic expressions. The sepulchral imagery on East Greek grave stelai was influenced by a Greco-Anatolian artistic tradition current in Western Asia Minor. Especially the grave reliefs from Kyzikos incorporate both East Greek and indigenous Anatolian features in its artistic conventions and choice of motifs. These tomb memorials must be viewed as the offshoot of a long tradition of grave sculpture that developed simultaneously in Mainland Greece and Asia Minor. The imagery represents the emulation of these traditions in as much as the sculptors’ attempts to adopt emotional semiotics from numerous sources. For instance, only when evaluated within the local context of North-western Asia Minor, and by admitting influences from neighbouring regions such as Bithynia (together with the Pergamene baroque), it is possible to explain the occurrence of more explicit expressions of grief on the funerary reliefs from Kyzikos. Grave stelai from Smyrna, on the other hand, are imbued with influences from classicizing trends current in Hellenistic art. Hence, the emotional semiotics of these cities is staged within different stylistic traditions. These traditions were inevitably affected by cultural conventions that encouraged restraint and self-control. They did not allow for open gestures of grief: no one tears their hair, lashes their cheeks, or strikes their head or chest.

Another reason why emotional expressions in the imagery have seldom been accounted for is that the two groups of figures on the grave stelai that are most compelled to express emotions are children and servant figures. That is, the two groups of figures that previous scholarship has concerned itself least with. Also adult figures of non-servile and non-deceased status might perform

mourning gestures. The corporeal display of emotions is a matter of context and social status. Social conventions encouraged individuals of lower standing to mourn, while the deceased is preferably shown in contemplation over his/her fate. Untimely death is a recurrent theme in both relief imagery and epitaphs. Children clearly functioned as *punctum* in the images and by their very presence “they often sting the viewer of the picture”. Also a handful of inscriptions show us that at least some dedicators wanted to express personal feelings within the nekropolis. These were often concerned with untimely deaths. But, yet again, to what extent is it actually possible to extract original feelings of grief, affection, and longing? This study has attempted to decipher social emotional values rather than individual, subjective emotional experiences. Here I want to stress that the stelai in this study never offer a complete range of emotional patterns and the expressions are always adjusted to acceptable social conventions. If we return to the tombstone of Nikopolis, **S31** (Pl. 5.2): how should image and epitaph be interpreted? Is it a loving memorial to a dearly missed daughter designed to console the bereft parents? Is it a monument of social advertisement, with the parents recording the improving prospects of their family, now potentially thwarted by the death of their daughter? Or, perhaps more likely, does the grave monument reflect both ideas simultaneously, with the driving forces of affection, hope and display having become intertwined? The point is that the modern observer can rarely, if ever, know with any degree of surety the (potentially numerous and complex) motivations behind the commissioning of a tombstone. Can inscriptions be used to recover the emotions of the dedicator despite the restrictions of convention? As with so many other aspects of commemorating the dead in Kyzikos and Smyrna, we thus arrive at a thoroughly ambiguous situation where multiple interpretations (whether complementary or not) have equal validity. This remains true even on those tombstones which seem particularly personal to their recipients; the grave stele of Nikopolis is a case in point. We cannot tell whether this is a personalised commemoration or not, but we might infer a conventional display of parental emotion and affection, not least in the epigram. And yet we might note that the content and formulas of the epitaph follow the standard. At the same time, due to the epigram on this tombstone it might have “struck a different chord” with passers-by compared to shorter, more conventional texts.

Another thing this study most forcefully reminds us about is the danger of applying a single interpretative model on ancient material. The imagery on the reliefs is remarkably consistent, although there is a great variety of detail within the limitations. The frequent combining of scenes and motifs therefrom indicates that the imagery had various levels of meaning and more than one purpose. The key to understanding this material lies in providing a great degree of semantic flexibility in detecting its deeper meaning. If we decide that the material in question is only concerned with social display, we easily become unaware or ignorant of other layers of meaning, such as emotions. The social handling of death as conceptualised on the reliefs is not exclusively concerned with either social or emotional display. These are highly intertwined and the one might illuminate and enhance the other. Something else this study has revealed is the importance of breaking the pattern of traditional studies on ancient tomb art. This means not only looking at images and texts, but also the monument itself and its relation to the setting, rituals and the viewing experience. These aspects are not easily detectable, which means that many prefer to avoid them. In this dissertation I have emphasized that the combined messages of image and text, together with their physical setting, might have been experienced in different ways depending on the viewer. I have argued that viewed through the experience of the mourner, the images fulfil a soothing and consoling function, preserving and enhancing the memory of the deceased by function as a form of visual therapy. This consoling function of the tomb memorials explains the abundant references to liminal space (a reminder of the prospects of on-going communication between the living and the dead) and consoling metaphors (immaterial realities of death such as *psychai*). The social handling of death, not only in terms of untimely death, but the mere confrontation of death and our own mortality in general, is thus a recurrent theme. All this is being expressed within the confines of acceptable societal behaviour. A tomb monument translates a private relationship into a public one. Its main function is to commemorate, lament, and honour the dead. However, remembering was not just focused on desired reputation, since sentiment, emotion, and affection also had a role to play. These elements can be difficult to access or quantify, but monuments keep the dead among the living, and for some they would have been powerful

emotional reminders of what they had lost and the memories they feared losing. In fact, the semiotics of emotions in tomb art from Smyrna and Kyzikos moves on so many different levels of meaning that it is very unsatisfying to only consider it in terms of the explicit display of a set of easily identifiable emotions. What we encounter on the stelai from these two cities might seem repetitive and generic, even to such an extent that the imagery almost seems deprived of an emotional dimension. But for contemporary viewers, the conventions of the funerary imagery provided a retrospective snapshot of the deceased, even when only presenting a selective and idealised view of the commemorated person as they were viewed at death. A regular motif on the Smyrna reliefs depicts the figures standing beside each other like statues and looking out at the viewer. Often the figure stands aloof – sometimes even as a statue on its base. What is being represented here is a statuesque rendering of the deceased; his/her very presence pervades the entire scene, but he/she takes no direct part in the action. Despite being so deprived of a personal characterisation (or the modern observer might just be unable to detect it), the funerary context of the imagery provided it with a tragic dimension.

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Ar. Ran.	Aristophanes, <i>Ranae</i>
Arist. <i>Hist. an.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Historia Animalium</i>
Cic. <i>Leg.</i>	Cicero, <i>De Legibus</i>
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
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CORRESPONDENCE

Funerary reliefs from Smyrna

S1	P-M 109	ISmyrna 19
S2	P-M 112	ISmyrna 187
S3	P-M 114	ISmyrna 71
S4	P-M 130	
S5	P-M 131	
S6	P-M 132	
S7	P-M 140	
S8	P-M 149	ISmyrna 67
S9	P-M 156	ISmyrna 60
S10	P-M 158	ISmyrna 27
S11	P-M 160	ISmyrna 166
S12	P-M 161	
S13	P-M 162	
S14	P-M 168	
S15	P-M 169	
S16	P-M 170	ISmyrna 51
S17	P-M 250	ISmyrna 28

Correspondences

S18	P-M 251		
S19	P-M 253		
S20	P-M 256	Smyrna 70	
S21	P-M 258		
S22	P-M 259		
S23	P-M 320	ISmyrna 133	
S24			Känel Taf. 13,1
S25			Getty, No. 41
S26	P-M 341	ISmyrna 64	
S27	P-M 343		
S28	P-M 376	ISmyrna 10	
S29	P-M 382		
S30			Unpublished
S31	P-M 392	ISmyrna 520	
S32	P-M 395		
S33	P-M 397	ISmyrna 142	
S34	P-M 398		
S35	P-M 405		
S36	P-M 406		
S37	P-M 407	ISmyrna 29	
S38	P-M 409	ISmyrna 9	

S39	P-M 410	ISmyrna 8	
S40		ISmyrna 888	
S41	P-M 413	ISmyrna 142	
S42	P-M 414		
S43	P-M 415	ISmyrna 119	
S44	P-M 419	ISmyrna 114	
S45	P-M 434	ISmyrna 130	
S46	P-M 435	ISmyrna 54	
S47	P-M 436		
S48	P-M 437	ISmyrna 167	
S49	P-M 443	ISmyrna 61	
S50			Unpublished
S51	P-M 444		
S52	P-M 448	ISmyrna 175	
S53		ISmyrna 23	
S54	P-M 505	ISmyrna 140	
S55			Senff 1
S56	P-M 524	ISmyrna 376	
S57	P-M 529	ISmyrna 103	
S58	P-M 530		
S59	P-M 531		

Correspondences

S60	P-M 532	ISmyrna 152	
S61	P-M 536		
S62	P-M 539		
S63	P-M 540	ISmyrna 165	
S64	P-M 543	ISmyrna 48	
S65	P-M 545	ISmyrna 113	
S66	P-M 554		
S67	P-M 555	ISmyrna 162	
S68	P-M 558		
S69	P-M 559	ISmyrna 173	
S70	P-M 564	ISmyrna 138	
S71	P-M 567	ISmyrna 53	
S72	P-M 569	ISmyrna 522	
S73	P-M 570		
S74	P-M 573		
S75	P-M 604	ISmyrna 107	
S76			Känel Taf. 14,1
S77	P-M 632	ISmyrna 533	
S78	P-M 634	ISmyrna 154	
S79	P-M 640		
S80	P-M 646		

S81	P-M 647	
S82		ISmyrna 24
S83	P-M 662	
S84	P-M 693	ISmyrna 63
S85	P-M 704	ISmyrna 106
S86	P-M 729	ISmyrna 169
S87	P-M 730	ISmyrna 170
S88	P-M 749	ISmyrna 82
S89	P-M 753	ISmyrna 149
S90	P-M 766	ISmyrna 513
S91	P-M 798	ISmyrna 377
S92	P-M 804	ISmyrna 122
S93	P-M 830	ISmyrna 164
S94	P-M 831	ISmyrna 125
S95	P-M 852	ISmyrna 100
S96	P-M 854	ISmyrna 219
S97	P-M 855	ISmyrna 86
S98	P-M 858	ISmyrna 519
S99	P-M 861	
S100		Sotheby
S101	P-M 863	ISmyrna 521

Correspondences

S102	P-M 867		
S103	P-M 868	ISmyrna 98	
S104	P-M 872	ISmyrna 81	
S105		ISmyrna p. 339	
S106			Känel Taf. 15,1
S107	P-M 878	ISmyrna 514	
S108	P-M 898	ISmyrna 127	
S109	P-M 906	ISmyrna 55	
S110	P-M 907	ISmyrna 83	
S111	P-M 918		
S112	P-M 925	ISmyrna 145	
S113	P-M 989	ISmyrna 493	
S114	P-M 990		
S115	P-M 991		
S116	P-M 993	ISmyrna 284	
S117	P-M 994		
S118	P-M 1030	ISmyrna 158	
S119	P-M 1052		
S120	P-M 1096	ISmyrna 139	
S121	P-M 1097		
S122	P-M 1102	ISmyrna 523	

S123	P-M 1430	
S124	P-M 1432	
S125	P-M 1436	
S126	P-M 1439	
S127	P-M 1440	
S128	P-M 1450	
S129	P-M 1488	ISmyrna 516
S130	P-M 1535	ISmyrna 446
S131	P-M 1538	ISmyrna 185
S132	P-M 1568	
S133		Brit. Mus. 734

Funerary reliefs from Kyzikos

K1	P-M 703	Cremer UMiS
13		
K2	P-M 712	IKyzikos 58

Correspondences

K3	P-M 761		
K4	P-M 762	IKyzikos 588	
K5			Sahin 29
K6	P-M 770		
K7	P-M 829	IKyzikos 280	Cremer K 1.
K8	P-M 832	IKyzikos 203	Cremer KN 9
K9	P-M 839		
K10	P-M 853	IKyzikos 152	
K11		IKyzikos 328	
K12	P-M 862		Cremer KN 22
K13	P-M 871	IKyzikos 330	Cremer UMiM 5
K14	P-M 882	IKyzikos 98	Cremer KF 1
K15		IKyzikos 6	
K16		IKyzikos 75	
K17		IKyzikos 235	
K18		IKyzikos 510	
K19	P-M 910		Cremer K 4
K20	P-M 932	IKyzikos 137	Cremer K 5
K21	P-M 935	IKyzikos 473	Cremer K 3
K22	P-M 940	IKyzikos 516	Cremer KN 18
K23	P-M 1005	IKyzikos 17	

K24	P-M 1006		
K25	P-M 1007	IKyzikos 508	Cremer KN 17
K26		IKyzikos 299	Cremer K 55
K27	P-M 1008		Cremer KFDem2
K28	P-M 1019	IKyzikos 95	
K29	P-M 1037	IKyzikos 288	
K30		IKyzikos 123	
K31			Cremer KFDem 1
K32	P-M 1067	IKyzikos 262	
K33			Sahin 31
K34		IKyzikos 81	Cremer KSt 46
K35		IKyzikos 337	Cremer KN 23
K36	P-M 1110	IKyzikos 50	Cremer KN 21
K37		IKyzikos 522	Cremer KH 9
K38	P-M 1114	IKyzikos 292	
K39			Sahin S TB 41
K40	P-M 1275	IKyzikos 148	Cremer K 6
K41			Cremer KSt 49
K42	P-M 961	IKyzikos 251	Cremer KN 2
K43		IKyzikos 411	Cremer KH 18
K44	P-M 1531	IKyzikos 151	

Correspondences

K45	P-M 1545		
K46			Cremer KS 3
K47	P-M 1555	IKyzikos 100	Cremer KM 2
K48	P-M 1556		
K49	P-M 1560	ISmyrna 188	
K50	P-M 1573	IKyzikos 80	Cremer MiSt 6
K51	P-M 1610	IKyzikos 190	Cremer MiSt 33
K52	P-M 1613	IKyzikos 326	Cremer MiSt 28
K53	P-M 1622	IKyzikos 488	Cremer MiSt 11
K54	P-M 1624	IKyzikos 436	Cremer UMiM 2
K55	P-M 1626	IKyzikos 171	Cremer UMiM 3
K56	P-M 1627		Cremer KN 1
K57	P-M 1628	IKyzikos 147	Cremer UMiM 4
K58	P-M 1631		Cremer KSt 5
K59	P-M 1633		Cremer KSt 3
K60	P-M 1760	IKyzikos 434	Cremer KSt 45
K61	P-M 1765	IKyzikos 59	Cremer KSt 50
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K63		IKyzikos 237	Cremer MiSt 29
K64		IKyzikos 300	Cremer KM 3
K65		IKyzikos 457	

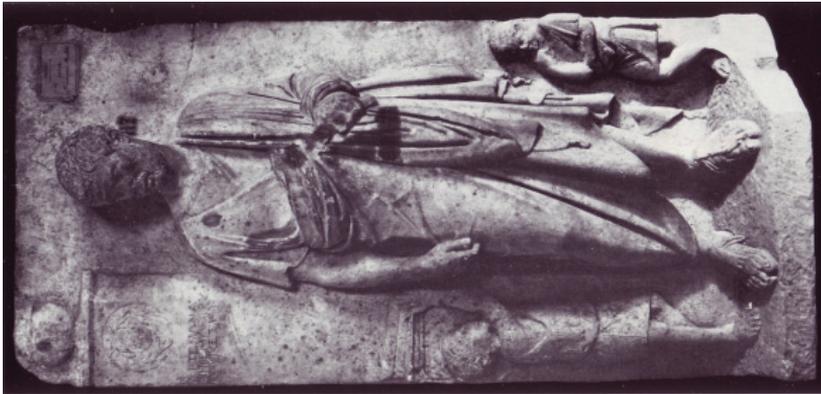
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K72	P-M 1823	ISmyrna XI n. 47	Cremer KSt 13
K73	P-M 1827	IKyzikos 456	Cremer KSt 12
K74	P-M 948	Corsten 81	Cremer KN 15
K75			Cremer KN 16
K76	P-M 1873	IKyzikos 316	Cremer MiSt 14
K77	P-M 1875	IKyzikos 263	Cremer MiSt 12
K78	P-M 1890	IKyzikos 490	
K79	P-M 1905		Cremer KSt 48
K80	P-M 1918		Cremer KM 5
K81	P-M 1111	Corsten 140	Cremer KN 20
K82	P-M 1170	IKyzikos 232	Cremer KN 7
K83	P-M 1919	IKyzikos 399	
K84	P-M 1928	IKyzikos 54	Cremer KSt 17
K85	P-M 1932	IKyzikos 233	Cremer KSt 6
K86	P-M 1933	IKyzikos 327	Cremer MiSt 26

Correspondences

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K91			Unpublished
K92	P-M 1948	Corsten 1090	Cremer KN 19
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K94	P-M 111	IKyzikos 421	Cremer KS 1
K95	P-M 1021	IKyzikos 493	Cremer KS 7
K96	P-M 1983		
K97	P-M 1988		Cremer KSt 1
K98			Cremer KSt 2
K99			Unpublished
K100	P-M 1990	IKyzikos 128	Cremer KM 1
K101	P-M 1991	IKyzikos 146	Cremer KM 4
K102			Känel Taf. 9
K103			Unpublished
K104	P-M 2001		
K105	P-M 1187	IKyzikos 507	Cremer KN 5
K106	P-M 2004	IKyzikos 334	Cremer KSt 52
K107			Känel Taf. 10

K108	P-M 2015	IKyzikos 150	Cremer KM 8
K109	P-M 2016	IKyzikos 170	Cremer KM 6
K110	P-M 2045	IKyzikos 295	Cremer KM 9
K111	P-M 2056	Kyzikos 46	Cremer KM 7
K112	P-M 2057	IKyzikos 173	Cremer KM 11

Plate 1



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Plate 2



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Plate 3



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Plate 4



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Plate 5



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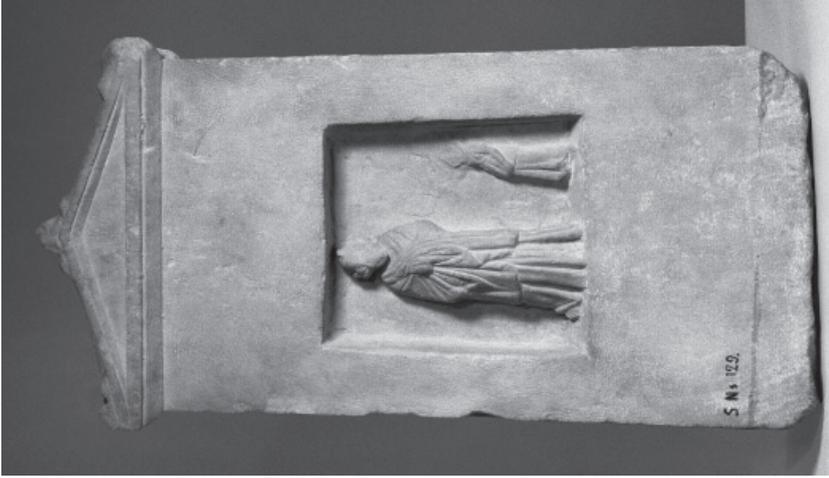


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Plate 6



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Plate 7



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Plate 8



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Plate 9



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Plate 10



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Plate 12



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Plate 13



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Plate 14



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Plate 15



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Plate 17



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Plate 18



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Plate 19



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Plate 20



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Plate 21



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Plate 22



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Plate 23

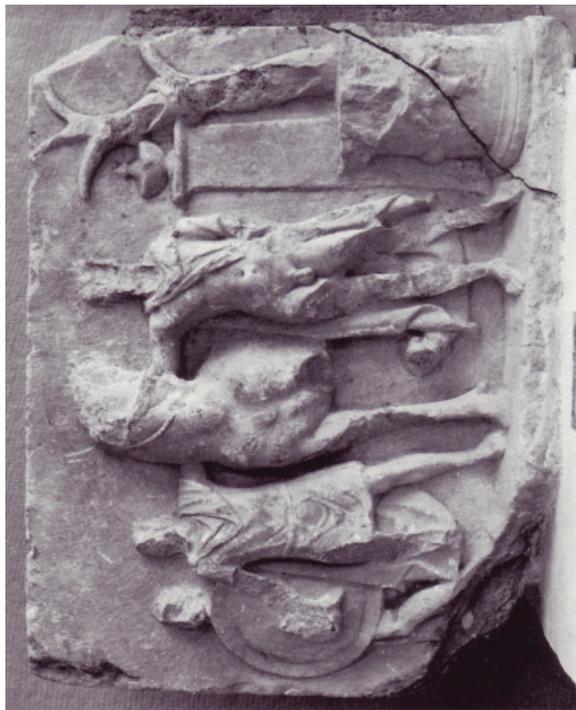


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Plate 24



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Plate 25



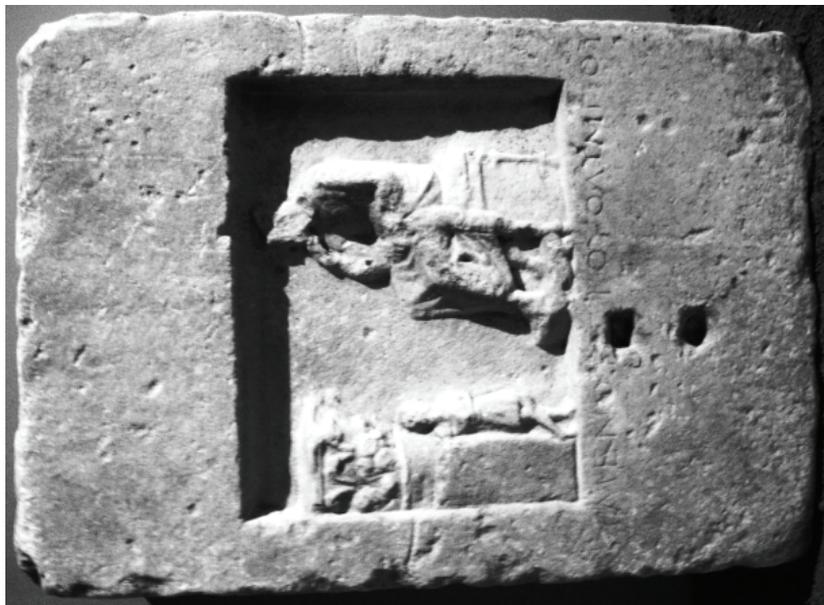
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Plate 27

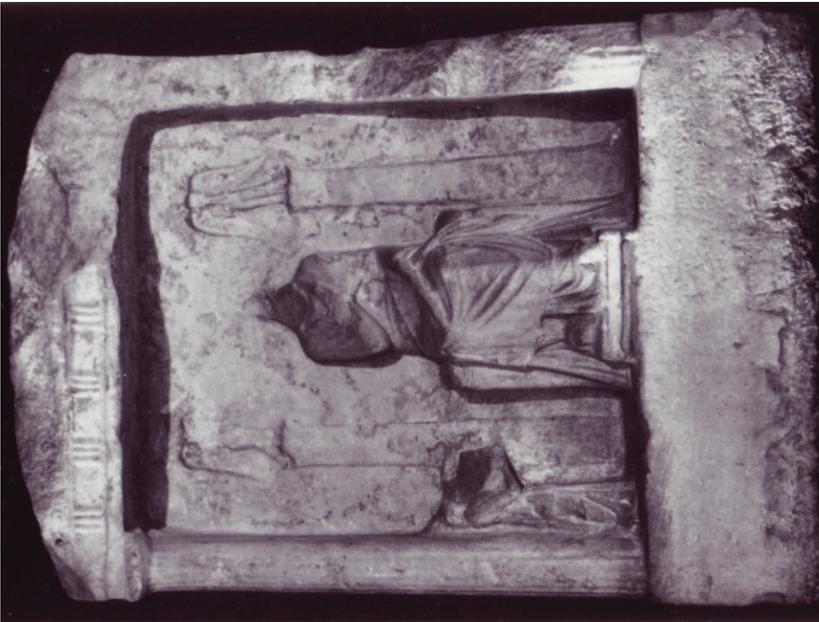


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Plate 28



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Plate 30



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Plate 31



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Plate 33



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Plate 35



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Plate 36



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Plate 37



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Plate 38



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Plate 39



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Plate 40



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Plate 41



1.



2.



1.

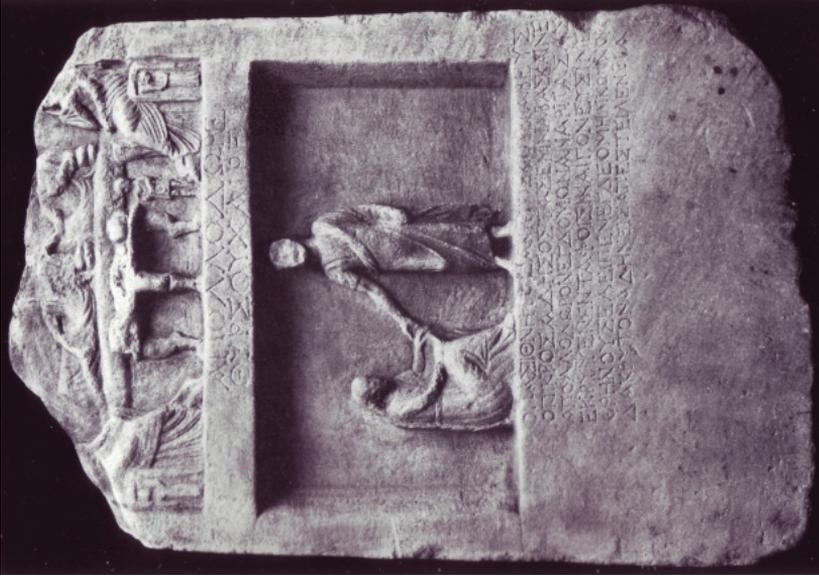


2.

Plate 43

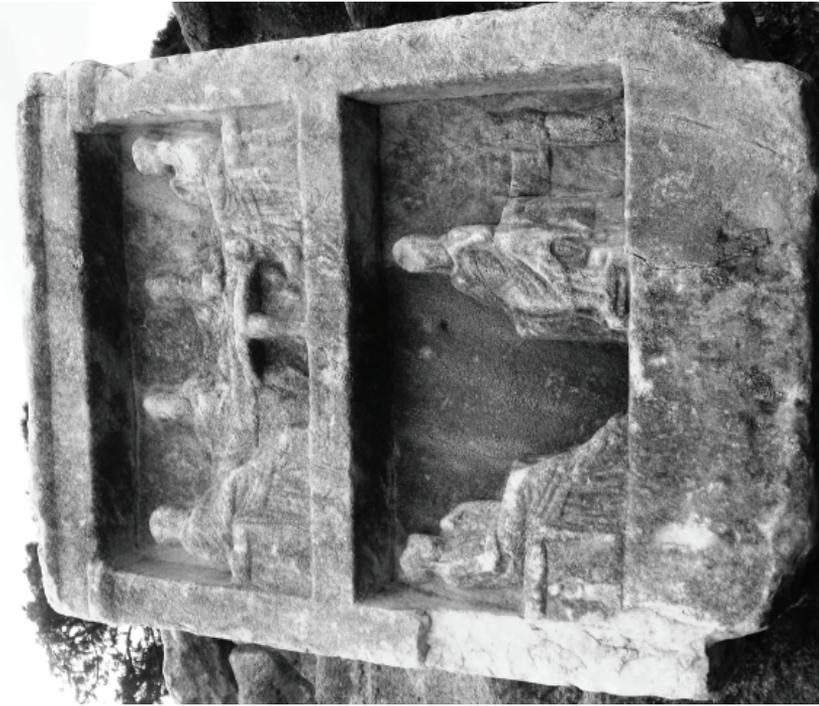


1.



2.

Plate 44



1.



2.

Plate 45



1.



2.



1.



2.

Plate 47



1.



2.

Plate 48



1.



2.