

ARCHAIC GRAVESTONES FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 7-11)

THE beautiful Attic gravestones of the sixth century B.C. are cherished even in fragments, for they hardly ever survive intact. Ancient tomb-destroyers, ancient and later builders, and modern traders in antiquities have combined to break and scatter them. The very nearly complete stele of a boy and his sister in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York gives us some idea, however, of the magnificence of these memorials of the wealthy families of Attica, and the dramatic story of the recovery of its various parts reminds us that other such connections may be possible.¹ The bits of such monuments that have been unearthed in the excavations of the Athenian Agora are even more shattered than most, but since they have the advantage of a known provenance they all seem worth including in the body of published examples.² Most of them must have stood originally in the cemeteries outside the city gates to the northwest of our area.³ By and large the gravestones found in the Agora have been brought in as building stones, and some may have been re-used several times in this capacity. Their history explains their lamentable state of preservation. Nevertheless, at least one fragment, E, can still be enjoyed esthetically, and none of the others is without interest for the development of the type.

A. Fragment from the right edge of a stele showing in relief part of a left hand grasping a staff. Pl. 7, b.

Inv. S 1751. Found July 9, 1953, in a marble pile behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (R 7). Fine-grained, pale gray Attic marble with thin bands of darker gray. Pres. H. 0.102 m.; Pres. W. 0.085 m.; Th. at edge 0.093 m.; Max. Pres. Th. (at base of thumb) 0.101 m.

¹ G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Oxford, 1954, no. 15, pp. 11-13, pls. 15-18; *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, Cambridge, Mass., 1944, figs. 11, 73-79, pp. 64-74; the story of the reconstruction in *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 159-161.

² Two fragments, C and E, have been published already but are included here for the sake of one or two interesting details that have not been noted before. I am indebted to the field director and staff of the excavations of the Athenian Agora for help in many ways. The photographs of Agora fragments are by Alison Frantz, those of objects in the National Museum by G. Tzimas. Thanks are due to Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzos for making the gravestones in the National Museum available for study and for the permission to publish photographs of two fragments and to Mr. Markellos Mitsos for permission to publish photographs of a stele in the Epigraphical Museum. I am especially grateful to Miss Lilian H. Jeffery for giving me freely the benefit of her extensive and thorough knowledge of archaic sepulchral inscriptions. She is my authority for all opinions on the dates of letter-forms.

³ The stele of Theron, C, is an exception, since it was brought in from elsewhere by Fauvel. See below p. 27.

The fragment preserves the side surface and some of the original back; it is broken at the left and above. A bit of the relief background preserved below the hand curves out to the edge of the stele, which is mostly chipped away. A bit of the original surface of the border seems to be preserved beside the knuckles of the little and third fingers. The side of the shaft is carefully smoothed, while the back has been dressed with the drove, the marks slanting down toward the preserved edge. The back and side are somewhat weathered and there is an iron-rust stain on the side. The front is battered but not heavily weathered. No traces of color remain. The fragment shows two fingers and the tip of a third, grasping a cylindrical staff. To the left of the fingers appears part of the high mound at the base of the thumb. The little finger is not differentiated from the others in thickness or in length, and there is no indication of the joints or nails on any of the fingers.

B. Fragment from the lower right-hand corner of a finial. Pl. 8, a and b.

Inv. S 1438. Found January 1950 in the Stoa of Attalos area (Q 8), among marbles left by the nineteenth century excavators. Fine-grained, gray Attic marble banded with darker gray, the plane of banding being approximately vertical and slanting somewhat back to the right from the face of the stone. The break at the back is along this plane. Pres. H. 0.165 m.; Pres. W. 0.26 m.; Pres. Th. 0.075 m.

The piece is broken above, at the left, at the back, and on the right side above the leaf band. Reddish mortar adheres to all surfaces. The under side has an anathyrosis (chisel border, point-work inside) and the remains of a wide cutting for dowel or tenon which begins 0.113 m. from the right edge and 0.035 m. from the front face (Pl. 8, a). Only the front wall of this cutting is preserved, so that it is impossible to obtain its exact dimensions, but it must have been at least 0.07 m. deep and 0.12 m. long. It appears to be centered roughly on the fourth leaf of the lower border, counting from the right.

The face of the finial is flat, with incised and painted decoration: a band of leaves along the bottom and the remains of a volute above it at the right. Of the colors only the red has survived, the presence of other colors being marked only by a slightly raised surface where the paint has protected the marble from weathering. How many and what other colors were used remains uncertain. The main outlines of the pattern were incised, and on the analogy of other examples we may imagine that these lines were filled with black. An alternative would be red. Some filling would be necessary, since the incisions often fall between areas or strips that were left in the color of the marble. Alternate leaves, beginning with the outside one, were painted red. The other leaves may have been black, blue or green. The lower parts of the leaves are marked off by an incised line into a band 0.015 m. wide. In this the lines of the reserved borders of the leaves are continued downward as vertical incised strokes, while the reserved centers seem to have continued down but without incised outlines. There is no visible trace of red remaining in this band, so that we have no clue as to how it was colored. In the restored drawing we have used a simple alternation of the leaf colors. Above the leaves was a red band 0.011 m. wide bordered by reserved lines and incisions. Above this and inside the volute the whole preserved surface seems to have been painted in one color (probably black or blue). There may have been an inverted palmette in the lost area above this. The spiral of the volute is reserved and its eye red.

The side of the finial is not smoothed but dressed with the drove in carefully horizontal strokes. From the bottom it tapers slightly inward, but near the top of the leaf-band it begins to curve out. This curve would doubtless have continued only to the level of the red band, which would have been cut off vertically below the spring of the volute. Part of the incised outline of one leaf, of approximately the same width as those on the front, is preserved on the side. No trace of color remains on the side but the differences in the surface show that the side leaves also were painted. If we restore two leaves on the side, the thickness of the finial at the bottom will have been *ca.* 0.102 m. This is just adequate to take care of the dowel hole, which should have had a minimum width of about 0.03 m. The centering of the dowel hole on the fourth leaf and the necessity of an odd number of leaves in order to give symmetry in the colors suggest that the face was seven leaves wide, which would give a restored width of 0.36 m.

C. Lower part of stele of Theron. Pl. 9, d.

Inv. I 2056. From a stele originally found in March, 1819 by Fauvel in excavations near the modern Glyphadha.⁴ Fauvel's house, in the area of the ancient Agora, was destroyed during the Greek War of Independence. The surviving fragment was refound October 31, 1934 in the demolition of a modern house in the central part of the Agora (O 12). Fine-grained white Attic marble with a few darker streaks. Pres. H. 1.465 m.; W. at base 0.485 m.; Th. at base (left side) 0.15 m.; (right side) 0.14 m. The stele tapers, the width diminishing 0.036 m. per meter of height, the thickness 0.019 m. The left side is about 0.01 m. thicker than the right all the way up.

The top part of the stele has been broken away. There are traces of mortar and whitewash on the face. The right side of the face is somewhat worn, enough to obliterate the first letters of the name but not the incised lines of the borders. The bottom is preserved except for chips off the lower right-hand corner and along the lower front edge adjacent to the right side.

The front face was dressed smooth except for a border down each side, marked off by two deeply engraved lines. The strip between the lines is carefully smoothed and shows faint traces of red paint. The border outside the strip on each side retains marks of the drove. The strips and the borders outside them taper as the stele does. The sides of the shaft are carefully smoothed and the back dressed with the drove. At the bottom the line for setting the stele into its base is marked by a narrow stripe of red paint that runs all the way around the stele, 0.085 m. from the bottom of the stone. Below this the surface is more roughly dressed, with the drove on front and sides, with the claw chisel on the back. From 0.41 m. to 0.46 m. above the bottom of the stele is the name [Θέ]ρονος, inscribed retrograde. The last four letters are quite clear, the third visible only in traces. The inscription must have been somewhat off-center toward the left. There is no trace of the box-like enframing of the inscription shown in Vulliamy's drawing. If it existed it must have been in paint only.

The Agora fragment published by G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, p. 94, figs. 89, 90. The original stele: Conze, I, no. 23 (with earlier literature; add L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople*, Paris, 1825, pl. XIX = our Pl. 9, a and b). The inscription: *I.G.*, I², 994.

D. Fragment from the top of a shaft. Pl. 10, c.

Inv. S 1736. Found early in 1952 at a high level (presumably modern) south of the Church of the Holy Apostles (O 16). White Attic marble. Pres. H. 1.045 m.; W. at top 0.355 m.; at bottom 0.40 m.; Pres. Th. at top 0.127 m.; at bottom, 0.117 m.

Top and sides original. Back original but somewhat worn from use as a threshold block. There is a pivot hole near the top of the block and a hole for the center stop near the break below. The shaft is broken off at the bottom in a roughly horizontal line that passes just below the head of a man represented in relief. The length of the threshold block if restored to the full width of the double door would take us only to about the man's knees. Hence the lower part must already have been broken off before the period of re-use as a threshold.

The whole front surface except for a band 0.045 m. wide at the top and the concave background of the relief below has been roughly picked away, possibly in order to eliminate the taper of the stone and make it suitable for a wall block. The background of the relief, which curved out in the usual way to the top and sides, is first visible 0.764 m. below the top of the shaft, and the actual upper line of the panel cannot have been much above this. None of the sculptured surface of the man's head has survived and much of its outline has also perished. Plate 10, b and c shows as much of it as can be recovered. The stone is weathered and cracked, and there are brown stains and mortar on the front, reddish brown patina on the left side.

⁴ The provenance is revealed by Fauvel in a letter of April 11, 1819, in which he describes his recent excavations and some of his finds. For the reference to the letter and the identification of the site of Fauvel's excavations I am indebted to C. W. J. Eliot, who will discuss them in his forthcoming study on the coastal demes of Attica.

The relief panel represented a man facing right. The apparently pointed outline of the chin suggests that he was bearded, and the smoothly concave line at the back of the neck suggests a helmet, but the offset above the forehead shows that it cannot have been a Corinthian helmet. Also there is no sign of a crest; it is more likely that we have merely an unusually smooth hairline instead of a helmet. Little can be said of the profile except that the nose continues approximately the line of the forehead and that the upper lip, as usual, was very short.

The sides of the stone are carefully smoothed, and apparently the back also, as far as one can tell from its present worn surface. What survives of the front surface along the top edge of the shaft is likewise carefully smoothed. There is nothing to indicate what occupied the area above the main picture panel. There are marks of the drove and traces of red paint on the background of the relief. The top of the shaft has anathyrosis and a cutting 0.09 x 0.035 m. and 0.055 m. deep, approximately centered, for the reception of the dowel by which the finial was attached.

E. Fragment of a stele representing a man and his dog. Pl. 11, f.

Inv. S 1276a. Found July 2, 1947 in the curbing of a Turkish cesspool at the southwest corner of the market square (I 12). Fine-grained white Attic marble with thin gray bands (banding approximately vertical on the sides of the shaft, slanting back slightly from left to right). Pres. H. 0.34 m.; Pres. W. 0.305 m.; Pres. Th. (total) 0.22 m.; Pres. Th. below feet 0.204 m.; Pres. Th. of edge beside legs 0.18 m.

The piece is broken at the top and on the right side, probably also below. The back and bottom surfaces are deeply eroded from the acids of the cesspool, but the slab may have nearly its original thickness. In the back, about 0.25 m. from the left edge, are the remains of deep holes made to assist in breaking up the stone. These probably mark the approximate half-width of the shaft.

The fragment shows the feet of a man wearing light sandals and behind him the heavy curling tail of a dog. The relief is relatively high and the fronts of the legs are deeply offset from the background. The man's flesh is polished; the background and the dog's tail have a matt finish. The background does not curve out to the side to form a frame for the picture. Instead, there was a flat painted border whose pattern can still be made out (Pl. 11, e). A strip about 0.035 m. wide has been reserved in the color of the stone. On it is traced a battlement-maeander formed by opposing rectangles outlined in red and with the center-line of the maeander painted in some color (probably black or blue) that has now disappeared.

H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 373-377, pls. 51-52. K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period*, p. 110.

These are the Agora fragments. In order to visualize the monuments from which they came and to know when they were made one has to consider the better preserved and better known examples to which they are in various ways related. Miss Richter in her study of the archaic Attic gravestones has laid down a simple and lucid framework for their classification and approximate dating.⁵ She recognizes only two basic structural types: I, the stele with separately attached capital, and II, the stele with a finial in one piece with the shaft. Stelai of class I were regularly surmounted by sphinxes, those of class II by palmettes. Class I is thought to have been replaced by II around 530 B.C. The stele of Theron, C, which had a separately attached palmette, is explained as a transitional example. The volute-palmette finial is supposed to have been adopted as a result of Ionian influence, which led first to a compromise form of type I in which the cavetto base for the sphinx was replaced by a lyre-shaped double-

⁵ *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, Cambridge, Mass., 1944.

volute capital. This elaborate form, exemplified by the brother-and-sister stele in New York and a volute capital with sphinx in Boston,⁶ went out of use, Miss Richter thinks, as the result of an anti-luxury decree which prohibited the construction of grave monuments that required more than three days' labor for ten men.⁷ Thereafter the palmette carved in one piece with the shaft became the standard finial. The type with double volutes supporting the palmettes is thought to be earlier than that with single volutes, since it is closer to the lyre form. These changing types provide a framework for a chronological division into quarter-centuries. The first half of the sixth century is dominated by the cavetto-sphinx capital, with only the very earliest examples dated before 575. The third quarter contains the transitional lyre-sphinx capitals and the earliest palmettes. In the last quarter we find only palmettes carved in one with their shafts.

The Agora fragments do nothing to clarify this almost too clear picture. At most they suggest some blurring of the outlines, some possibility of overlap of forms in time that may make it more difficult, if anything, to date a given piece. The eventual replacement of the sphinx capitals by palmettes seems an undisputed fact. The question is only as to how this took place. The attribution of the luxury decree to Peisistratos is not universally accepted,⁸ and it may be better for the moment to omit it from the list of proven theorems as we examine the Agora material and its relation to the development as a whole.

The hand, A (Pl. 7, b), agrees in the marble, the thickness and the finish of the side and back with a stele in New York⁹ which has been tentatively associated with the

⁶ See below, p. 41 and note 54.

⁷ *Gravestones*, pp. 90-92; *A.J.A.*, XLIX, 1945, p. 152. The tradition is preserved in Cicero, *De Legibus*, II, 26, 64: sed post aliquanto propter has amplitudines sepulchrorum, quas in Ceramico videmus, lege sanctum est, "ne quis sepulchrum faceret operosius quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo"; neque id opere tectorio exornari nec hermas, quos vocant, licebat inponi. "Post aliquanto" means "some time after" Solon. The passage as a whole sounds as if it referred to the actual construction of the tomb, the mound or the rectangular structure, which might be done quickly by a large number of men, rather than to individual elements such as stelai or statues, which would naturally be made over a long period by a single sculptor with one or two assistants. For the distinction between the tomb and the stele, cf. the inscription on a stele in Liopesi from Kalyvia Kouvara:

Τόδ' Ἀρχίο 'στι σῆμα: καὶ δελφῆς φίλος:
Εὐκοσμίδης: δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν καλόν:
στέλεν δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ θέκε Φαίδιμος (σ)οφός.

(Pezopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 538-541, fig. 1; Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942 [publ. 1951], pp. 85-87, no. 140). Presumably Eukosmides paid for the erection of the whole tomb over which stood the stele made by Phaidimos (cf. Karouzos, *Epitymbion Chr. Tsounta*, p. 543).

⁸ Cf. Johansen, *Attic Grave-Reliefs*, p. 121, note 1.

⁹ Richter, *Catalogue*, p. 10, no. 13, pl. 14 a (with complete bibliography); *Gravestones*, pp. 43-46, figs. 62, 64.

base of Chairedemos signed by the sculptor Phaidimos.¹⁰ It is the lower part of a shaft in "Hymettian," that is, gray Attic marble representing a nude youth holding a staff. No other known stele coincides with the Agora piece in all these features. There is no direct join, for the wrist is not preserved on either stone, but the correspondences are too many to be due only to chance. The dark bands in the marble when checked on the New York stele from a measured drawing of the Agora fragment prove to have the same direction and spacing. The thickness of the staff and its distance from the edge are such that both staff and edge are correctly aligned with those of the New York stele when the hand is placed at a reasonable distance above the elbow. This could be ascertained by means of a plaster cast of the Agora fragment which was sent to New York and tentatively placed on the stele (Pl. 7, a).¹¹

The peculiarities of pose and style in our hand are also appropriate to the New York stele as to no other now known. It is the only one in which the whole forearm is held so far forward that part of it is overlapped by the staff. Correspondingly, the Agora hand is the only one on which so much of the hand appears on the other side of the staff below the little finger. One is struck by the artist's failure to indicate the fingernails. It might be thought that the fingertips were meant to be curled out of sight around the staff, though I know of no other example of this on extant reliefs. The New York stele likewise fails to mark off the nails on the toes and on the thumb of the right hand.¹² The warrior on the stele with Gorgon panel from the Themistoklean Wall (Pl. 10, a),¹³ dated in the same quarter-century with the New York youth, has the nails very carefully delineated and the wrinkles at the joints of the fingers represented by groups of incised lines. Our artist's neglect of the nails is thus more likely due to lack of interest than to earliness. The toenails of the kore by Phaidimos (of which only the feet survive)¹⁴ are summarily rendered, and this is one of the arguments advanced for attributing the New York stele to Phaidimos.

In general the Gorgon stele appears to be an earlier work than ours. Miss Richter compares both to the kouroi of the Tenea-Volomandra group, but the heavy thighs of

¹⁰ Richter, *Catalogue*, p. 10, no. 14, pl. 14 d; *Gravestones*, pp. 43-44, fig. 65.

¹¹ I am most grateful to Miss Christine Alexander and Mr. Dietrich von Bothmer of the Metropolitan Museum for comparing the cast with the stele and arranging the photograph of the cast tentatively in place, as well as for further details concerning the stele itself. Those who test the photograph with a straightedge will see that the position of the cast has shifted slightly prior to photographing so that both edge and staff are slightly more vertical on the fragment than on the stele.

¹² Dietrich von Bothmer observes that though there is no incised outline for the nails on the New York stele the surface has been differentiated by using the finishing tool in a different direction. Since no such difference is observable on our hand, the possibility remains that we are seeing the second joints only.

¹³ Athens, N. M. 2687. *Gravestones*, pp. 41-43, fig. 61; Noack, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 514-541, pl. 21.

¹⁴ Athens, N. M. 81; *Gravestones*, pp. 44-46, fig. 63; Eichler, *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 1913, pp. 86-102; *I.G.*, I², 1012; Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1942, pl. 4.

the New York youth suggest affinity with the succeeding Melos group, whereas the slender, sharp-shinned youth on the Gorgon stele is an exact counterpart to the Volomandra kouros. The legs on a fragment in the National Museum (Pl. 7, d)¹⁵ which in all probability belongs to the Diskophoros (Pl. 7, c) also seem less advanced than those of the New York stele. The fragment has the same straight shins with an angular offset from the background that we find in the Gorgon stele. Those of the New York youth have a slightly curved front line and the front edge is rounded off. Also the modelling of the calf on the fragment, with its two ornamentally placed grooves, is less naturalistic than that on the New York youth. Thus the latter, while it may still belong to the second quarter of the century, appears to be one of the latest in its group. The technical details tend to reinforce this impression.

The drove-finished back of the New York stele is less usual than one might suppose on Attic stelai, considering the popularity of the drove in the sixth century.¹⁶ One reason may be that it is tedious to dress a large surface with carefully parallel strokes (and a drove-finished surface in which the strokes were not parallel would be most unattractive). I have found only three other examples: the stele of Theron, a

¹⁵ N. M. 83. Conze, I, no. 12. The fragment is so strikingly like the Diskophoros in marble and finish that one would be tempted to link the two even if there were no other indication that they belonged together. As it happens, they were both found at the Dipylon, about 15 meters apart (according to Koumanoudes, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1874, p. 484) and were originally published by Koumanoudes (*loc. cit.*) and by Kirchhoff and Curtius (*Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1873, pp. 156 ff.) as belonging together. Unfortunately Koumanoudes tried also to associate with them an inscribed base (*I.G.*, I², 986) which was found with the legs, bearing an epigram to the dead Xenophantos. Since this was clearly, from the cutting in its top, a kouros-base, it had to be separated from the Diskophoros, and the separatism carried off the legs also. Over-refined (and insufficiently observant) scholarship found other reasons to reject them; Conze affirmed that they did not belong, and so they passed out of the literature. It seems time to re-introduce them. The objections to the association are not cogent. Körte states that "the width of the preserved left edge differs by 0.01 m." (*Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, p. 272, note 1). Actually the edge is preserved only on the fragment with the legs, which has a thickness of 0.16 m. It is a sharply out-curved edge with a border only 0.009 m. wide. On the head fragment the fine edge has been broken away. To restore its curve as it is on the other fragment would add about 0.01 m. of thickness at the side. Since the present thickness of the head fragment on the left side is 0.136 m., there remains 0.014 m. to be accounted for by the taper of the stele. This is about what we should expect for the meter or more of height which would intervene between the two fragments. (A survey of a number of archaic stelai shows the taper in thickness ranging from 0.009 m. to 0.020 m. per meter of height). Conze (p. 6) speaks of the "different relief-technique" of the two fragments, but without explaining what he means by this. In fact there is a marked similarity. The back of the leg with its bevelled edge, offset only slightly from the background, may be compared with the treatment of the hand against the background and the lower part of the face against the diskos, while the greater depth of offset at the front of the leg is comparable to that of the back line of the hair. The marble in both pieces is very fine-grained, its color a bluish white like skimmed milk, with faint dark streaks running vertically up the sides of the slab. It tends to break in layers, which are parallel to the back of the slab. It is finished with a very fine abrasive, the back almost as carefully as the sides and front. The fragment with the legs retains considerably more of the red color of the background than does the head fragment.

¹⁶ On the use of the drove, see Richter, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 188-193.

smaller inscribed stele in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (Pl. 11, b),¹⁷ and fragments of a plain (perhaps once painted) stele in Markopoulo.

This question of the finish of the back and sides is interesting and probably has some significance for the determination of dates and workshops, though it could never serve as an absolute criterion. Miss Richter suggests that it might vary according to the taste of the workman.¹⁸ We might say rather according to the standard of quality he was expected to meet, which would depend on two things: the taste of the times and the price of the job. The possible degrees of finish from smooth to rough are: (1) smoothing with abrasive (2) drove-work (3) claw chisel and (4) point.¹⁹ If there is any distinction between sides and back, it is naturally the sides that get the more careful treatment. The back, being a larger area, seems less subject to variation according to taste and so has been taken as the more significant element. The following list, in which Miss Richter's dates are cited for all items that appear in her catalogue, gives some idea of the popularity of different kinds of finish in different periods.²⁰ The material is marble unless otherwise specified.

Back and sides dressed smooth

Buschor stele, Athens, Kerameikos Museum, <i>Gravestones</i> , fig. 37 (poros stuccoed)	600-575 B.C.
Swordsman, Kerameikos Museum, <i>Gravestones</i> , fig. 55 (poros stuccoed)	575-550
Diskophoros, Athens, National Museum 38, <i>Gravestones</i> , fig. 57	575-550
Incised head, Berlin, <i>Gravestones</i> , fig. 58	575-550 ²¹
Gorgon stele, Athens, N. M. 2687, <i>Gravestones</i> , fig. 61	575-550
Noack fragment, Athens, N. M. 2825, <i>Gravestones</i> , fig. 59	575-550
Boston athlete, <i>Gravestones</i> , fig. 56	575-550

¹⁷ See below, pp. 38-40.

¹⁸ *Gravestones*, p. 49. Miss Richter did not have access to the material in Greece at the time this book was written and so did not realize how many Attic stelai are smoothed on the backs.

¹⁹ One can sometimes see these as successive phases on a single piece of work, e. g., smoothing over drove-work on the Noack fragment and the New York youth, drove over claw chisel on a palmette stele in the Metropolitan Museum, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 190, fig. 6.

²⁰ I include only shafts and fragments of shafts, since capitals are not necessarily finished in the same way as their shafts. Of the pieces listed by Miss Richter as being in Athens the fragment of a large stele with the effaced head of a warrior (*Gravestones*, fig. 10) is the only one I have not been able to find. In the case of several stelai (all with smoothed sides) it is impossible to determine the original condition of the back. These are: *Gravestones*, figs. 21 and 98 (backs worn), 66 and 100 (backs cut away in modern times), and 101 (fastened against wall of Museum). This is true also for Agora D (worn but probably smoothed) and E (eroded by cesspool) and a fragment in Liopesi with a retrograde inscription, Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1942, p. 88, no. 142, pl. 2 (fastened against wall of Museum).

²¹ Dated in the first third of the century by Blümel, *Berlin Catalogue*, II 1, A2. Johansen, *Grave-Reliefs*, p. 90, note 1, upholds Miss Richter's dating.

Add:

Fragment with legs, Athens, N. M. 83, probably to be associated with the Diskophoros (Pl. 7, d).

Boxer from the City Walls, *A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, pl. 43, 1, tentatively dated around 560.

Fragment in Liopesi, with signature of Phaidimos,²² 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1937, p. 538, fig. 1.

Back drove, sides smooth

New York youth, *Gravestones*, fig. 62 (and Agora fragment A here associated with it) 575-550

Stele of Theron, C here, *Gravestones*, fig. 89 (claw chisel at base in back) 550-525

Add:

Stele of a Teian, Athens, Epigraphical Museum 416 (Pl. 11, b) (see below, pp. 38-40, claw chisel at base)

Fragments of a plain (perhaps once painted) stele in Markopoulo (see above, p. 32)

Back claw chisel, sides smooth

Ikaria warrior, *Gravestones*, fig. 70 (back worn from use as a threshold, claw marks visible at ends) 550-525

New York painted fragment, *Gravestones*, fig. 103 525-500

Back claw chisel, sides drove

Brother-and-sister stele, *Gravestones*, fig. 73 550-525²³

New York head of youth, *Gravestones*, fig. 71 550-525²⁴

New York palmette stele, *Gravestones*, fig. 91 (claw chisel on sides of palmette) 550-525

Aristion, *Gravestones*, fig. 93 525-500

Antigenes, *Gravestones*, fig. 104 525-500

Painted stele in the Kerameikos, *Gravestones*, p. 109 525-500

²² Peek (*Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1942, p. 85) seems not actually to have looked at the stone, for his description bears little relation to the facts. It is finished on the bottom with the point (not broken) and both the back and sides are smoothed, the back with a somewhat coarser abrasive (this corresponds to Blümel's description of the Berlin fragment with the head of a youth incised). Dimensions of the Liopesi piece: Pres. H. 0.51 m.; W. at bottom 0.475 m.; at top 0.46 m.; Th. at bottom 0.165 m.; at top 0.16 m.

²³ Dated "perhaps around 540" in *Catalogue*, p. 12.

²⁴ Dated "about 530" in *Catalogue*, p. 15.

Add:

Fragment of shaft in Agora, Inv. S 1871 (blank, presumably painted)

Back point, sides smooth

Lyseas, *Gravestones*, fig. 94 (very careful pointwork, edges squared with flat chisel) 525–500

Back point, sides drove

Louvre incised and painted stele, *Gravestones*, fig. 105 525–500

Laurion youths, *Gravestones*, fig. 99 525–500

Agathon and Aristokrates, *Gravestones*, fig. 96 525–500

Back point, sides claw chisel

Antiphanes, N. M. 86, *Gravestones*, fig. 88 550–525²⁵

Add:

Fragment of painted stele in Berlin, Blümel, A8, dated around 510

From this list it would appear that standards of finish, as so often happens in matters of mere craftsmanship, present a steady decline. The one striking exception, the stele of Antiphanes, appears for other reasons also to be misdated. It will be noted that our New York stele is the only one in Miss Richter's early group that does not have a smooth-finished back. We need not conclude for this reason that it has to be later than the second quarter, for the style of the sculpture remains the best criterion, but it might well be an additional argument for bringing it down near 550 B.C. So far as the problem of dating is concerned, it is unfortunate that the case for associating the stele with the Chairedemos base is not either a little stronger or weak enough to be thrown out altogether. The Agora fragment demonstrates that the stele comes from Athens, and thus it is highly probable that both stele and base were found in a context of re-use, where their being together loses some of its significance. The base appears from its inscription to be earlier than either of the other two Phaidimos signatures; this would make the New York relief not only earlier than the kore but also earlier than the stele in Liopesi, which has the careful finish and the thick shaft of the Gorgon stele group.

The thinness of its shaft is another noteworthy feature of our stele. The Gorgon stele, the Diskophoros, the Noack fragment and the Liopesi stele have thicker shafts, well suited to the sphinx-crowned cavetto capitals that were popular in the first half of the sixth century.²⁶ Can ours have held such a crown? Even if we assume a

²⁵ On the dating of this, see below p. 44.

²⁶ Miss Richter is certainly right in avoiding the term "pillar stele" for the stelai that carried

minimum height, with the shaft terminating immediately above the picture panel, as in the poros swordsman stele in the Kerameikos, we must restore about half again the preserved height of the New York fragment. Since the stele diminishes from 0.111 m. to 0.095 m. in thickness in the preserved part, the original thickness at the top of the shaft cannot have been more than 0.087 m., and may well have been somewhat less. Furthermore, as the cavetto capitals diminish somewhat from their bases to the throats, one which would fit such a shaft would be perilously slender.²⁷ Perhaps it would be better to accept tentatively the possibility that some simpler form of capital already existed in Attica at the time when this stele was made.

The fragment of a volute capital, B (Pl. 8, a and b), is in the same material as the New York youth to which we have assigned our fragment A. Since fragments A and B have the same provenance, one would be tempted to associate the two, were it not that the restored width and thickness of B are too great. Nevertheless, it may provide the answer to the kind of finial the New York stele had. The closest parallel to B, and from its published drawing and description it seems to have been a very close parallel indeed, unfortunately cannot be found at present (Pl. 8, c). It was published by Conze as being in the National Museum in Athens, but no number was cited for it and no provenance given.²⁸ Like our fragment, it comes from the lower right-hand corner of a capital with incised and painted decoration: a band of Doric leaves along the bottom and a projecting volute above it at the side. It is made of "Hymettian," gray Attic marble. One might almost think that the Agora piece was actually the same fragment, lost and rediscovered like the stele of Theron, did not the dimensions differ drastically. We estimated the thickness of the Agora fragment at *ca.* 0.102 m. (above, p. 26). Conze gives the thickness of the other fragment as 0.085 m. at the bottom and 0.07 m. at the top, and he implies that the whole thickness is preserved, for he describes the back as roughly finished and mentions the pour hole by which the dowel was leaded from the back. The hole for this dowel, with some of the lead still in it, is said to be located between the second and third leaves. No indication of the size or shape of the hole is given. The original base-width of the Conze fragment thus remains a matter of conjecture. The height given for the whole fragment and the level of the break in the volute suggest that the scale of volutes and leaves was approxi-

cavetto-sphinx capitals, for all except the poros stelai are more slabs than pillars in their proportions. Still, structural considerations undoubtedly influenced the thickness of the shaft, and there is a predominance of thick shafts in the early period. The two bases of Tettichos and Kleoites (*Gravestones*, p. 24, note 38) can be eliminated from the discussion, for the big square cuttings in their tops come from modern re-use, as one can see not only from their crudeness but from the fact that they have been provided with drain holes. They may originally have been normal stele-bases.

²⁷ The most slender preserved cavetto capital is that from the Kerameikos discovered together with its sphinx (Kübler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, cols. 301-444) which measures 0.096 x 0.324 m. in the throat and seems to have widened considerably to its base.

²⁸ Conze, I, no. 28, pl. XIV, 6; Richter, *Gravestones*, p. 81, fig. 14.

mately that of the Agora capital, but Conze's drawing, which shows only three and a half leaves preserved, is difficult to reconcile with his width of 0.27 m. for the whole fragment. Both the thickness and the material of this lost fragment are appropriate for the New York stele to which A belongs, but unless the actual stone can be found we have no way of knowing whether its width would have exceeded 0.33 m., the maximum top-width for the stele.

The Conze finial has been restored on the basis of the brother-and-sister stele in New York as a double-volute of lyre design supporting a sphinx, and dated accordingly to the third quarter of the century, which would be too late for the New York youth. We may seriously question, however, whether it was thick enough to support a sphinx safely.²⁹ Probably it should be restored with a palmette instead. Does it necessarily follow that this and the Agora fragment are as late as 530? Is the lyre-sphinx form a necessary predecessor of the plain palmette? On the brother-and-sister stele the double volute is painted on a flat surface above a projecting moulding decorated with a Doric leaf pattern. The Conze finial and that from the Agora have the same Doric leaves, though they are incised in one plane with the volutes and only the profile at the side of the capital suggests a throat moulding.³⁰ Miss Richter thinks of the leaf pattern as a survival from the cavetto capitals, and derives the double-volute design from the two-tiered Ionic stele crowns familiar to us from Samos and elsewhere. The Attic designers were presumably influenced by these Ionic stelai, but not to the extent of abandoning their traditional sphinxes. Hence they adopted the volutes but reduced the crowning palmette to the role of a filling ornament. Since Buschor placed the earliest of the Samian capitals just before the middle of the sixth century, the earliest Attic derivatives would have to be a little later.³¹

There is no reason to doubt that the idea of the palmette-stele came from Ionia, and in fact new evidence tends to strengthen this very reasonable hypothesis.³² But perhaps its formal evolution in Attica does not need to be quite so complicated as that outlined above. We hardly need to invoke the contamination of Ionian palmette and Attic cavetto capital to explain the lyre form. A closer parallel can be found nearer home. The volutes above Doric leaves inevitably call to mind a sight that must have been familiar to the Attic artists who designed these stelai: that of a terracotta

²⁹ Miss Richter, *Mélanges Picard*, II, p. 869, note 4, quotes Dinsmoor as saying that this and a fragmentary volute-finial in New York are too thin to have carried sphinxes. Dinsmoor tells me that he still holds this opinion. Miss Richter, *Catalogue*, p. 15, now suggests a palmette for the New York piece.

³⁰ It seems quite clear from the drawing of the Conze fragment that it was flat like the one in the Agora. Miss Richter's expression "throat moulding" (p. 81) is perhaps a bit misleading.

³¹ *Gravestones*, p. 84. Buschor says of the earliest inscribed stelai from Samos that one would not place them later than the middle of the century (*Ath. Mitt.*, LVIII, 1933, p. 25) but he conjectures that the type of the palmette stele was evolved in the seventies (*ibid.*, p. 42).

³² See below, p. 40.

palmette antefix with curling tendrils at its base perched above a Doric leaf geison.³³ The antefixes of the Hekatompedon, in which the terracotta forms are already translated into marble, show a variety of treatments of the base tendrils, one of which approaches the lyre form.³⁴ From this to the lyre-palmette capital would be no great step for these inventive craftsmen.³⁵

I should like to restore the Agora capital, B, also as crowned by a palmette, even though its thickness is greater than that of the Conze fragment. There is one additional point that favors this. On the brother-and-sister stele the rather awkward projection of the abacus from the flat volute-section is balanced and to some extent mitigated by the projection of the Doric leaf moulding below. On the Agora and Conze capitals the Doric leaf is in the same plane with the rest, suggesting that nothing projected above. We may guess that these, not the Ionian double-tiered volute finials, would be the immediate ancestors of the lyre-sphinx capital. The drawing of the incised leaves on the Agora piece has a naïvely earnest look that makes it seem earlier than the elegant painted pattern of the brother-and-sister stele.

The stele of Theron, C (Pl. 9, d), still remains the only absolutely certain example of an attached palmette. As such it has a long history of re-publication and discussion, all based more or less on the data given by Vulliamy, which seems to have been copied by von Stackelberg and Kinnard.³⁶ Since the Agora fragment is all that

³³ Cf. the poros geisa from small building A on the Akropolis, T. Weigand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, 1904, pp. 150-157, figs. 135-138. This building must have had terracotta antefixes, though it is not certain which of those preserved (E. Buschor, *Die Tondächer der Akropolis*, 1928-1933) belonged to it.

³⁴ Wiegand, *op. cit.*, p. 48, fig. 69. I use the term "Hekatompedon" as a convenient one-word designation for the archaic temple on the site of the Parthenon discussed by Dinsmoor (*A. J. A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 109-151; *Architecture of Ancient Greece*,³ 1950, pp. 71-72) under this title, without implying that this temple is actually the Hekatompedon of the 485 inscription.

³⁵ Indeed, it is not at all impossible that some of the earlier Athenian stelai were actually made by men who had worked on the Hekatompedon. In its smaller way the construction of this building, involving as it did an unprecedented amount of delicate work in local marble (metopes, simas, antefixes and akroteria), may be compared in its effect to that of the Parthenon. The handsome stelai from the Themistoklean Wall are in many ways strikingly like the Hekatompedon marble work. Whether or not the quarries from which the marble for the Hekatompedon came had been worked for sculptural marble before the building was begun, the scale of operations must have been greatly increased in order to meet its demands. It would be perfectly natural to suppose that after the temple was completed a surplus both of stone and of skilled marble-workers led to the use of carved marble gravestones on a greater scale than before. If so, we might take the date of the building as a probable *terminus post quem* for the group headed by the Gorgon stele. Although the Gorgon stele itself is of island marble, the other members of its group are of white Attic marble similar to that used in the Hekatompedon. The decoration of the Gorgon stele reflects Hekatompedon motives, e. g. the running Gorgon and the T-maeander.

³⁶ Vulliamy, *Examples of Ornamental Sculpture in Architecture, drawn from Originals in Greece, Asia Minor and Italy in the Years 1818-1821*, 2nd edition, 1825, pl. 20, 4; von Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. 6, 2-5; Kinnard in Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, Supplement,

has survived to test the accuracy of these descriptions and drawings, it is worth looking at in some detail. The stele is a moderately wide and heavy one, with base dimensions appropriate to a regular Attic relief stele. Vulliamy's drawing and dimensions indicate a startlingly tall and slender shaft, with its height equal to seven and one-fifth times its width at the base. With the diminution that we can measure on the preserved fragment, the top of a shaft that tall would be only 0.08 m. thick, which hardly seems enough to hold a cutting for a marble tenon to support an anthemion 0.67 m. high. Also the position of the inscription has been falsified on the Vulliamy version, being shown as half-way up the shaft instead of near the bottom. Probably Vulliamy simply drew the palmette and the inscription on the spot and recorded the dimensions of the shaft to be drawn later. A misreading of the dimensions or a failure to record the distance of the inscription from the bottom of the stone could have produced the erroneous restoration.

In the delightfully circumstantial picture of Fauvel at home among his antiquities that was painted in Athens by L. Dupré (Pl. 9, a),³⁷ the stele appears in the background, leaning against the wall of the court. It appears tall, but not of abnormal proportions. Perhaps the over-all dimension including the palmette was twelve feet, as Fauvel implies in his letter.³⁸ Notice that Dupré has also indicated the border stripes, which the architects leave out entirely.

The stele of Theron has been dated around 530 B.C. because that was thought to be the date when palmette-stelai were first made in Attica.³⁹ The separately attached finial suggested that it was a transitional example. If we accept the idea that separately attached palmette-finials were made as early as around 550, Theron's stele has more latitude, but the letter-forms do not permit us to place it earlier than the middle of the century. A date in the 40's or 30's would satisfy the epigraphists. The incised technique of the palmette reminds us of Agora fragment B and the finish of back and sides is the same as on the New York youth and A. The sides of Theron's stele are carefully smoothed and the back given a regular drove-work finish. Only at the bottom in the strip that would be concealed by the base do marks of the claw chisel appear. This suggests that though the tool was in regular use at this time its marks were not considered attractive.

The same finish appears on a smaller stele of which only the lower part is preserved in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens (Pl. 11, a and b). Its sides have been smoothed, but not quite enough to eliminate all marks of the drove (cf. the New York

p. 13. Vulliamy's description is quoted by Miss Richter, *Gravestones*, p. 93. Von Stackelberg and Kinnard do not describe the stone but repeat Vulliamy's dimensions in their drawings. Kinnard differs from the other two in making the base of the finial the same width as the shaft instead of wider. This seems to agree with Dupré's version (Pl. 9, b; see above, p. 27).

³⁷ See above, p. 27.

³⁸ See above, p. 27, note 4.

³⁹ *Gravestones*, p. 95.

youth); the back is drove-finished. The band of claw chisel work at the base appears on the front as well as the back. The paint stripe around the base here seems to have been black instead of red as on Theron's stele, for only the white line of it remains visible on the sides of the stone. From 0.21 to 0.28 m. above the bottom of the stele a three-line inscription in straggly Ionic characters names the deceased,—*ξένο εἰμὶ τῷ Καλήτορος τῷ Τηϊῷ*.⁴⁰ This monument of an Ionian with its modest dimensions ought surely to be restored with a palmette finial. Its base width, 0.345 m., is less than that of any preserved Attic stele except that of Antiphanes⁴¹ (0.31 m.) but is closest to that of the small painted stele in the Kerameikos (0.353 m.).⁴² That it was made in an Attic workshop we can hardly doubt. The stone is the same fine-grained white marble with darker streaks that is used for so many other archaic gravestones from Athens, and the color of the weathering is that of the fragments found by Noack in the Themistoklean Wall. One is tempted to imagine it actually made in the same shop as Theron's stele, for not only do the details of finishing coincide, but both show the same casual attitude toward squaring the block. In each the left side of the shaft is noticeably thicker than the right. The cursive Ionic letters may have been written on in paint by some member of the family to be carved out by the stonecutter. They have no resemblance to the ruled and measured letters of archaic Attic inscriptions.

Like the palmette, the insistence on having the name on the stele itself seems to be an Ionian feature.⁴³ The normal Samian stelai, however, carry the inscription near the top of the shaft.⁴⁴ Its position low down on the shaft on Theron's stele and that of the Teian suggest that something was painted above it. On the stele of Theron there would be ample room for a picture of the deceased. There might have been a smaller one on the Teian's stele or there might have been a picture of some symbol, like the cock on the stele of Antiphanes. The small stele from the Kerameikos had a painted picture of the deceased, but there the inscription was apparently relegated to the base, as in that of Antigenes in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.⁴⁵

The Teian inscription impresses us as later than Theron's, though the technical similarity of the stones makes one reluctant to separate them too widely. The square-cornered *epsilon* and the fact that the inscription is *stoichedon* suggest that it is not earlier than 525 B.C. The stone deserves further attention both from the epigraphist

⁴⁰ *I.G.*, II², 10444. Kirchner, influenced by the Ionic lettering, dated the inscription to the second half of the fifth century. He suggests *Εὔξενος* or *Σώξενος* as restorations for the name. The former is more likely. The fact that an Attic *Εὔξενος* of the Hellenistic period (*I.G.*, II², 6388) was buried in the same area (see below, p. 40 and note 46) may be just a coincidence, like the fact that horses are now stabled in the so-called "Kimonian Tomb."

⁴¹ *Gravestones*, pp. 86-87, figs. 18, 88.

⁴² *Arch. Anz.* 1938, col. 605, fig. 17 left; *Gravestones*, p. 109.

⁴³ This was pointed out to me by Miss Jeffery.

⁴⁴ E. g. the stele of Diagores, *Gravestones*, fig. 86; Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVIII, 1933, Beil. XI.

⁴⁵ *Gravestones*, p. 107, figs. 23, 104.

and the prosopographer. With it the matter of Ionian influence becomes a less shadowy thing, even though we may never know precisely who the son of Kaletor was and what place he held in Athenian life. His compatriot Anakreon came to Athens in the time of the Peisistratids. The inscription was found on the property of Nicholas Spyliotes at Palaia Sphageia in Athens, in an excavation which yielded later sepulchral inscriptions and a fragment of an archaic list of names.⁴⁶ This cemetery lay outside the Melite Gate on the ancient road to Phaleron, not far away from the graves of Kimon's family.⁴⁷

The top of a shaft, D (Pl. 10, c), is not easy to date on the basis of what survives. The careful chopping-away of the front of the stone to obtain a level surface suggests that its first re-use may have been in the Themistoklean Wall.⁴⁸ As it now is, its principal contribution is to show that new forms can always turn up. The great height (0.76 m.) of the part above the picture panel is unprecedented and unexplained. How was this tall space used? Actually, there are only two other stelai which have a top panel preserved to its full height, and in neither of these do we know exactly how it was decorated. The panel on the Noack fragment⁴⁹ is 0.48 m. high and the staff or javelin held by the figure in the main panel is continued up across it by two engraved lines. There is no way of telling whether or not there was some engraved or carven representation in the squarish area that has been picked away at the upper right-hand corner. The panel on the brother-and-sister stele has nothing engraved on it, but would be a reasonable size for a subsidiary picture, which would have to have been painted. The stele from Thebes in Boston⁵⁰ shows another use for the area above the main picture. Here we see the beginning of the name of the deceased carved in large letters running vertically upward. Only two letters Θ Ο are preserved and we do not know the original height of the panel. Presumably it would depend on the length of the name. A good long name in large letters like those on the Boston stele would use up the height of our panel.

Both the Thebes stele and our fragment D had separately attached finials, and in both cases the breadth and thickness of the top of the shaft would do either for a cavetto-sphinx capital or for an attached palmette. The Boston relief seems to belong in the second quarter of the century. Probably the Agora piece should be placed in the second or third. The smoothed sides and back rather suggest that it belongs before

⁴⁶ E. M. 417, *I.G.*, II², 2563 (boundary stone of a grave-plot); E. M. 418, *I.G.*, II², 6388, and E. M. 419, *I.G.*, II², 6993 (columnar grave-monuments); and E. M. 420, Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVII, 1942, p. 13, no. 11 (fragment of an archaic list of names on poros).

⁴⁷ Herodotos, VI, 103; Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 409-410.

⁴⁸ The modern re-users who made a threshold block of it would hardly have gone to so much trouble.

⁴⁹ Richter, *Gravestones*, pp. 46, 113, fig. 59; *Mélanges Picard*, p. 870, figs. 7-8.

⁵⁰ *Gravestones*, pp. 47-48; figs. 8, 56.

the last quarter. On the other hand, the marble is different from that used in the Themistoklean Wall group⁵¹ and the shaft a little less thick in proportion to its width than in most of those. The outline of the man's profile, so far as one can make it out, is not unlike that of the boy on the brother-and-sister stele.

The taper in width of our fragment is very strong, second only to that of the New York "Chairedemos" (Pl. 7, a).⁵² Some idea of the original height may be got by adding to the preserved height (1.045 m.) that of a stele of about equal width from Ikaria⁵³ (Pres. H. 1.171 m.) which is broken off above where ours is below, between neck and chin of the main figure. Adding the two heights and subtracting five to ten centimeters to compensate for the irregularity of the breaks we would get a restored height of 2.65-2.70 m. for our stele, assuming that there was no additional panel below the feet of the figure. With the observed taper this would give a base width of about 0.495 m., a quite normal width for medium-sized stelai. The proportion of base-width to height is 1:5.4, slenderer than that of any preserved Attic stele but about what we conjecture for the stele of Theron. The analogy tempts us to restore an attached palmette rather than another form of crown, though we may be in the period of lyre-sphinx capitals.

There are only three certain examples of lyre-sphinx capitals surviving, and these seem to show successive stages in the solution of a rather difficult problem. The volute-palmette was essentially a flat design which provided no transition to the abacus required to carry a sphinx. On the brother-and-sister stele the abacus projects abruptly but is balanced below by a projecting moulding in front and a plain rectangular projection in back. The handsome lyre capital in Boston⁵⁴ presents a more unified effect. Here the whole volute-section is made as thick as the base and abacus, so that there are no offsets from one to the other. The volute-capital is 0.192 m. at the bottom and widens imperceptibly to 0.21 m. at the top.⁵⁵ To avoid an unpleasantly heavy effect, the volute-section has been cut out at the center between the upper and lower volutes.

A fragment of another *à jour* lyre capital from the Kerameikos (Pl. 11, c) is published by Conze and presented by Miss Richter in a restored drawing.⁵⁶ It comes

⁵¹ A medium-grained marble resembling the later Pentelic is also used in a fragment of a base for a grave monument (statue or stele) from the Agora whose letter-forms place it around the middle of the century (Inv. I 5479).

⁵² The New York youth stele diminishes about 0.06 m. per meter of height, our fragment about 0.05 m.

⁵³ *Gravestones*, fig. 70.

⁵⁴ Chase, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 1-5; Richter, *Mélanges Picard*, II, p. 869.

⁵⁵ I owe the dimensions of the Boston capital to the kindness of Miss Hazel Palmer.

⁵⁶ *Gravestones*, pp. 80-81, fig. 13; Conze, I, no. 25, pl. 14, 3. Marble. Since the abacus has a finished edge (not a break) on the right, there would be no space for an angle-filler between volute and abacus.

from the top of the capital, preserving parts of the two upper volutes and some of the cutting for the sphinx on top. As in the New York capital the abacus projected forward from the plane of the volutes, but this projection, now broken away, would not have had to be very great, for the volute-section is already 0.185 m. thick. Neither the depth nor the width of the sphinx-cutting are preserved (all the top surface of the abacus is gone) but the finished right edge of the abacus survives 0.20 m. from the axis of the volutes. The end of the rough-picked cutting for the sphinx appears 0.06 m. in from this edge. Thus we have an abacus of about 0.40 m. in width and a sphinx-cutting 0.28 m. or a little less in length (Pl. 11, d). It is a peculiarity of this piece that while the sphinx seems to have been no bigger than usual the upper volutes had a spread of about 0.60 m. (as against 0.393 m. on the Boston capital).⁵⁷ The volutes are heavy and loosely drawn, and the whole piece has a somewhat awkward look as though the artist were feeling his way. This must be the stage between the New York and Boston finials, the product of a sculptor dissatisfied with the first and not yet arrived at the solution represented by the second.

We have no way of knowing how many of these lyre-sphinx capitals were made, but from these three examples it would seem that the stelai that went with them should be distinguishable by their unusual thickness. While it would be dangerous to attempt an exact restoration of the fragment in the National Museum, we may safely assume that the width of the shaft at the top would not have been very much less than the breadth of the upper volutes, and so probably over 0.50 m., and that its thickness would not have been under 0.18 m. The Boston capital took a narrower, but an even thicker shaft.⁵⁸ The man-and-dog stele, E (Pl. 11, f) with its thickness at the base of more than 0.205 m. and its probable width of between 0.50 m. and 0.60 m. seems almost to demand a crown of this type.⁵⁹ The style of the feet suggests a date in the third quarter of the century, when this elaborate form was flourishing.⁶⁰

The flat border of the man-and-dog stele is less usual in archaic Attic stelai than a narrow rim that curves out to the plane of the parts above and below the main panel. The idea of decorating the flat edge with a pattern border recurs only on the chariot-stele in New York, which has a carved guilloche painted in brilliant colors.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Miss Richter's restoration, if its scale is compared with the preserved dimensions of the stone, gives a greatest width of 0.72 m., not 0.52 m. (p. 80, note 4, the dimension taken from Furtwängler who had a different reconstruction).

⁵⁸ Width at base of capital 0.38 m.; thickness 0.192 m.

⁵⁹ The small palmette, Agora Inv. A 1250, connected with the stele by H. A. Thompson (*Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 374) is too thin to have belonged to this stele.

⁶⁰ The best parallels are with kouroi of the Anavysos-Ptoon 12 group, especially the kouros Akropolis 596 (cited by Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 576; Richter, *Kouroi*, no. 115, fig. 345) and those of the Ptoon kouros N. M. 12 (*Kouroi*, no. 121, fig. 344). In relief the closest are those on the New York chariot stele dated by Miss Richter to the decade 535-525 (*Catalogue*, p. 14).

⁶¹ For the colors see *A.J.A.*, XLVIII, 1944, pl. 9. Since the back of the stele is not preserved, it

On this stele the thickness of the sides diminishes evenly all the way up, a separate projecting shelf being provided for the feet of the main figure. On the man-and-dog stele the whole shaft is thickened below the main panel so that the feet rest on a sort of step as in the stele of Agathon and Aristokrates,⁶² and presumably the shaft would have sprung forward again above the head of the figure, as it does on the stele from Thebes in Boston. That both the parallels for this form happen to be Boeotian might suggest outside influence on our stele. One might even go back to Dermys and Kittylos for an extreme example,⁶³ but since the surviving archaic gravestones from Boeotia are so relatively few and so obviously under Attic influence it is dangerous to make much of such a detail. The thickness of our stele and the absence of a sculptured panel beneath the feet make this form practicable.

Scarcely any taper in the width is measurable on the existing fragment, and the condition of the back prevents our knowing how much it tapered in thickness. Hence the chances of definitely attributing a crown to it are slim unless more fragments of the relief itself turn up. We may picture the whole monument as a handsome and sturdy one whose glory was in the firmly drawn and strongly modelled figures of its main panel.⁶⁴ The sober battlement-maeander merely elaborates an ornament already used on the massive poros stele from the Kerameikos belonging to the first half of the century.⁶⁵ The New York chariot-stele with its gaily painted guilloche is in the more exuberant spirit of the Boston sphinx-capital. Our monument is related to these as the peplos kore to the earliest big gaudy korai in Ionic dress. Whether it is in actual fact a few years earlier than the New York and Boston pieces or merely represents a continuance of the old Attic spirit we must leave for the present undecided.

What happens to the Attic korai in the last third of the century may serve as a reminder that radical changes can occur without the intervention of special circumstances. Their change-over to Ionic dress, the great increase in their numbers, and the more frequent occurrence of smaller, cheaper examples all find parallels to some extent in the changes in the types of gravestones. It would seem to be true that the gravestones never became so numerous as korai nor so cheap, but it is quite possible that we

is probable that the original stele was thick, and it may well have carried a lyre-sphinx capital. Possibly another example of the same type is the lower part of a stele in the Barracco Museum with a horseman in relief (*Gravestones*, fig. 100; Conze, I, no. 14). It is said by Conze to have been about 30 centimeters thick before its back was removed. It is also wide (0.55 m.).

⁶² *Gravestones*, fig. 96.

⁶³ Cf. *Gravestones*, p. 10; Johansen, *Grave-Reliefs*, p. 107.

⁶⁴ The theme of the representation has been admirably discussed by Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 374-377. That this is not the only archaic Attic example of the subject is shown by the fragment of relief from the Agora depicting a man's hand and dog's muzzle published by Thompson in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 108-9, pl. 28 b. Being of large-grained island marble, it cannot have formed part of our stele, which is of fine-grained banded Attic marble, but its date must be similar.

⁶⁵ *Gravestones*, fig. 37.

underestimate the number of small painted palmette-stelai that were made.⁶⁶ There is nothing except the theory of the sumptuary law to indicate that the change to a cheaper form was not a gradual process. The stele of Antiphanes, which is one of the smallest and least carefully finished Attic stelai, has been taken as the typical example of what was permissible under Peisistratos's law. It is suggested that when Peisistratos died the law lost its force and "the modest painted Antiphanes type evolved into the slightly more elaborate sculptured Aristion type."⁶⁷ If the idea of a sumptuary law had not occurred to us, the stele of Antiphanes would appear, from its careless finish, to be one of the latest. This impression is borne out by the letter-forms, which appear to belong well along in the last quarter and look later than those of the stele of Aristion.⁶⁸ It has been thought that the palmette stelai with double volutes should be earlier than those with single volutes, since they are closer to the lyre-sphinx form. The stele of Theron may serve to remind us, however, that the development was not necessarily all along a single line. Its highly original crown is closer to the single-volute than to the lyre form. I should prefer to think that the modest painted stelai ran parallel to the more pretentious sculptured examples in the last quarter of the sixth century, and that both forms of palmette crowns were used.⁶⁹

Whether the much-discussed law should be attributed to Kleisthenes or whether the decline of the archaic stele was due to more natural causes seems still beyond the scope of our evidence to decide. Certainly if one compares the urban Athenian monuments attributed to the last quarter of the century with those that preceded there seems to be a gradual waning of splendor in the stelai. On the other hand there are kouroi and bases for kouroi that can hardly have been cheap memorials.⁷⁰ One wonders how the sumptuary law would have affected these. We must try to reconstruct a general picture of the Attic cemeteries and grave-plots, the kinds of monuments and the complexes of which they formed part, before we can really decide to what period Cicero's words apply best. This is not merely a matter of collecting the sculptural and

⁶⁶ The broken shaft of such a stele, if neither palmette nor color-traces survive, presents nothing to attract the attention. A specimen found in a marble pile in the Agora excavations (above, p. 34) is a good example. It is recognizable only by its dimensions, its taper and the fact that the sides are carefully finished with the drove, the back with the claw chisel. Such a stone makes an admirable step and under this treatment any traces of the painting that might survive would quickly vanish. The stele of Theron, C, probably served as a step at some time after the destruction of Fauvel's house and so lost the letters on the right side.

⁶⁷ *Gravestones*, pp. 91-92.

⁶⁸ Miss Jeffery compares the lettering on Antiphanes's stele with that of a group of modest late sixth-century bases, of which one from the Agora (Inv. I 2352) published by Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 45, no. 36, may serve as an example.

⁶⁹ The Kerameikos painted stele (above p. 33) had a double-volute palmette-crown, not the single-volute type as Miss Richter implies in *Catalogue*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ Cf. the base for a kouros signed by Aristokles recovered from the City Walls near the Piraeus Gate (*A.J.A.*, LVIII, 1954, p. 231, pl. 43, 2) and the fragments of a late sixth-century kouros found with it (*B.C.H.*, LXXVIII, 1954, p. 108, fig. 11). This was the monument of a foreigner, a Carian.

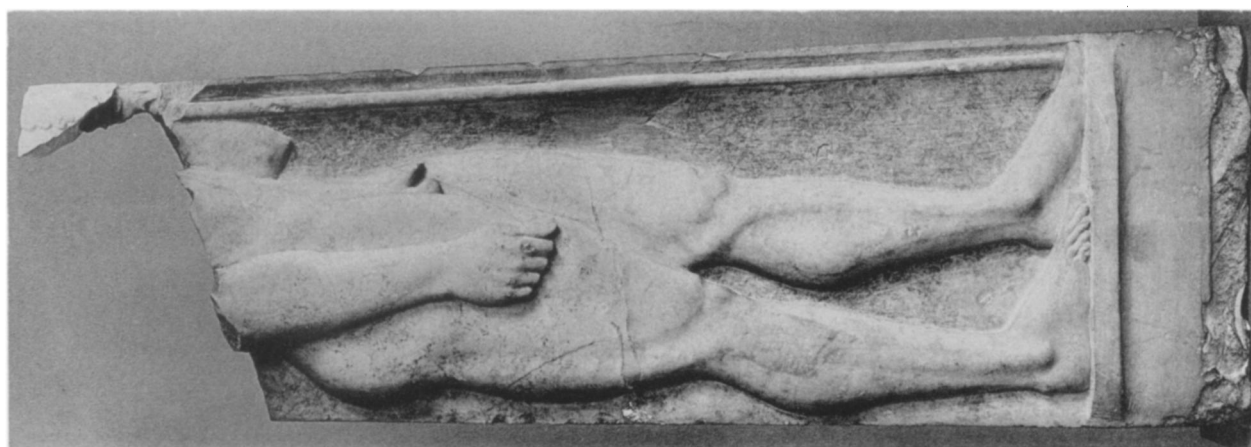
architectural evidence but of studying the inscriptions together with their monuments and learning who the people were who set them up and what their motives were.⁷¹ It is possible that Peisistratos was indeed responsible for the decline of expensive tomb monuments, not directly by prohibiting them but indirectly by robbing them of their aristocratic significance. If wealthy foreigners could set their monuments beside those of the Eupatrids,⁷² the time had come for the latter to show their greatness in some other way. So the Agora may have come to outweigh the Kerameikos in symbolic value and the painted marble sphinxes on their perilous tall shafts yielded place in men's minds to the bronze statues of the Tyrannicides.

EVELYN B. HARRISON

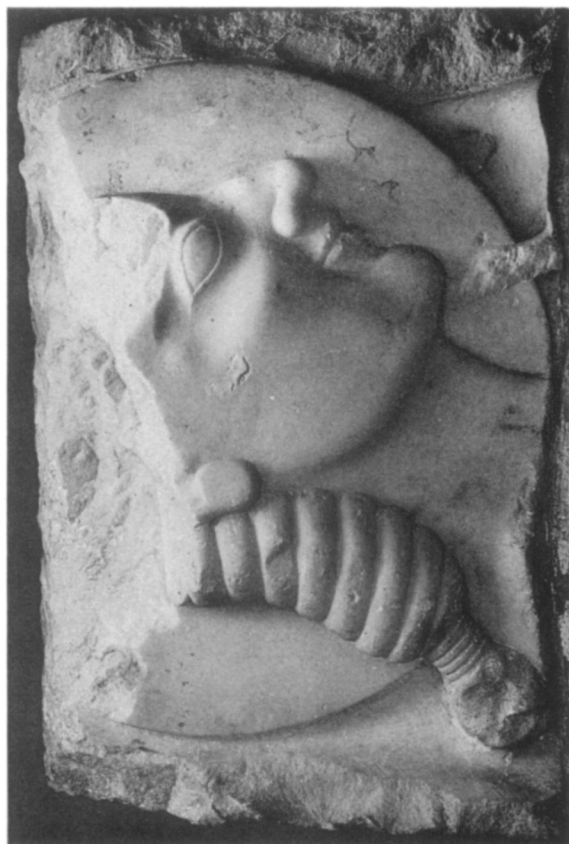
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK

⁷¹ A study of the bases for archaic Attic sepulchral monuments by Miss Lilian H. Jeffery to appear in *B.S.A.* should provide us with a much clearer and more complete picture than we have had hitherto.

⁷² The monument of the Carian, above, note 70 on p. 40 is the most striking example, but we may recall also the Teian's stele, above, pp. 38-40.



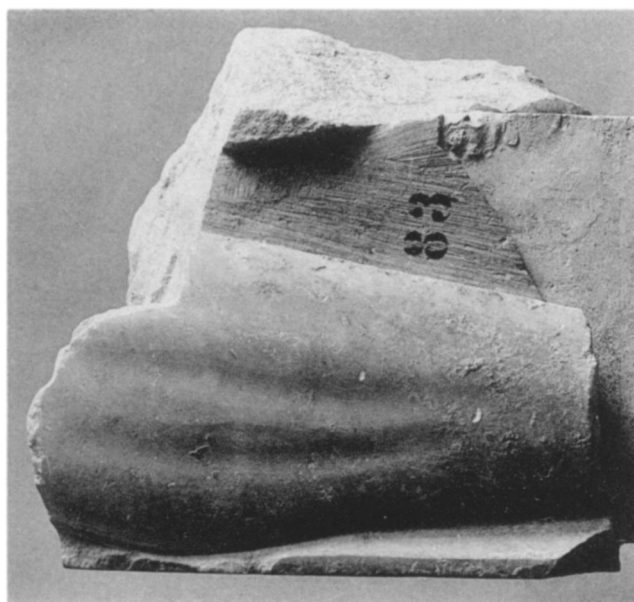
a. Stele in New York with Cast of Agora Fragment A
(*Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*)



c. Diskophoros Stele, Athens (N.M. 38)

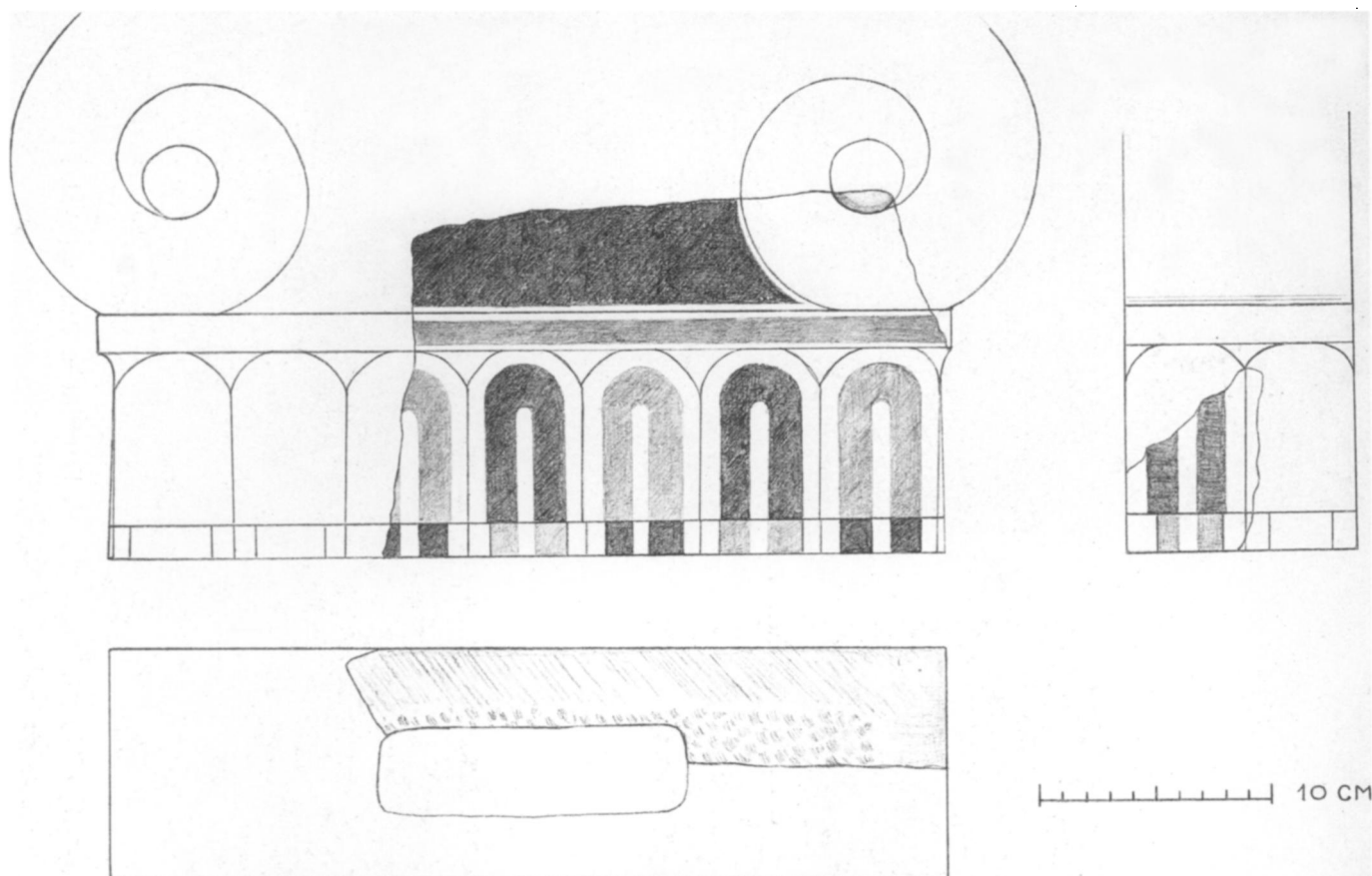


b. Hand A from Agora (S 1751)

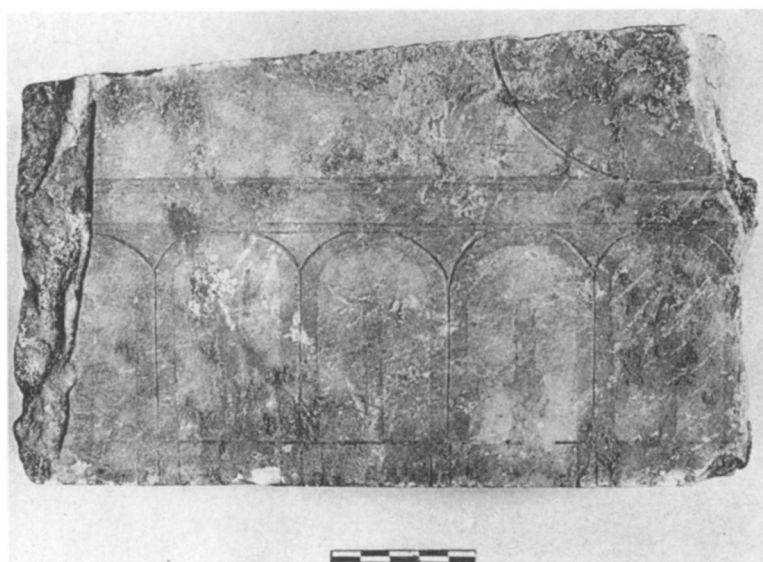


d. Fragment in Athens (N.M. 83)

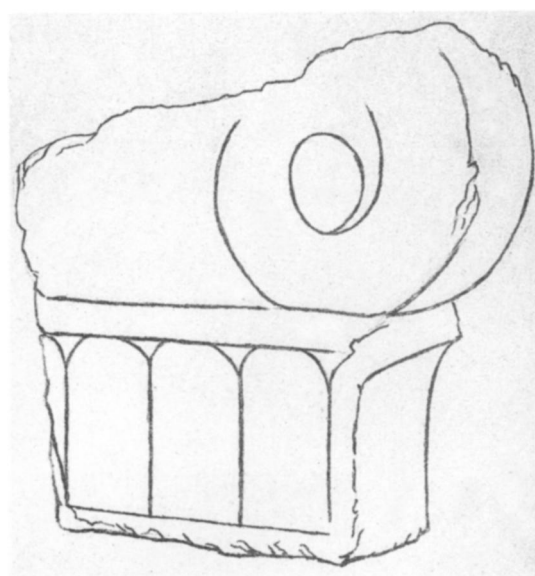
EVELYN B. HARRISON: ARCHAIC GRAVESTONES FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



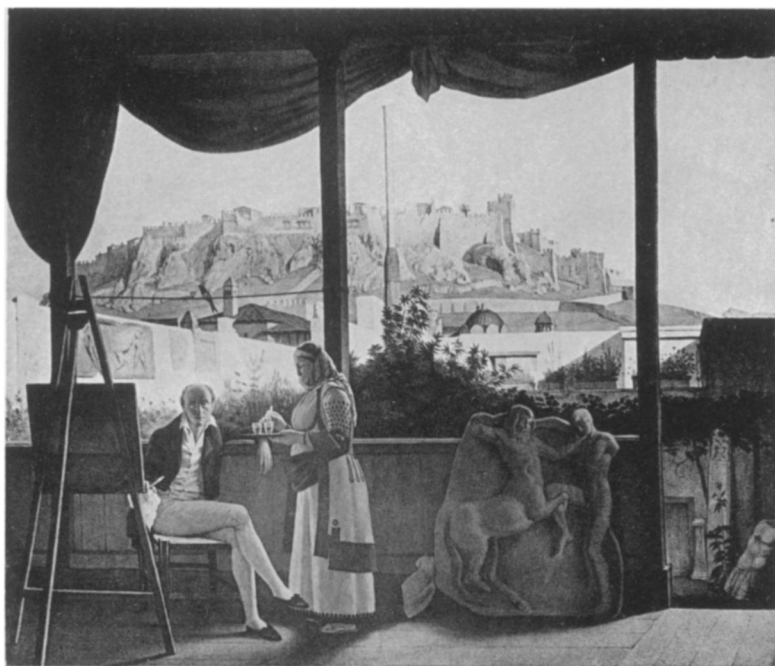
a. Drawing of Agora Fragment B



b. Fragment of Finial B from Agora (S1438)



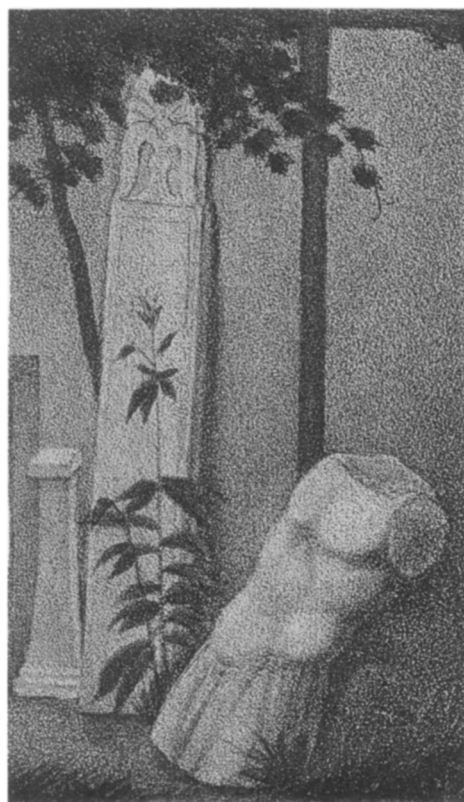
c. Fragment of Finial Formerly in Athens, National Museum (from Conze)



a. Fauvel at Home (Dupré)



c. Stele of Theron
(Conze after
Vulliamy)



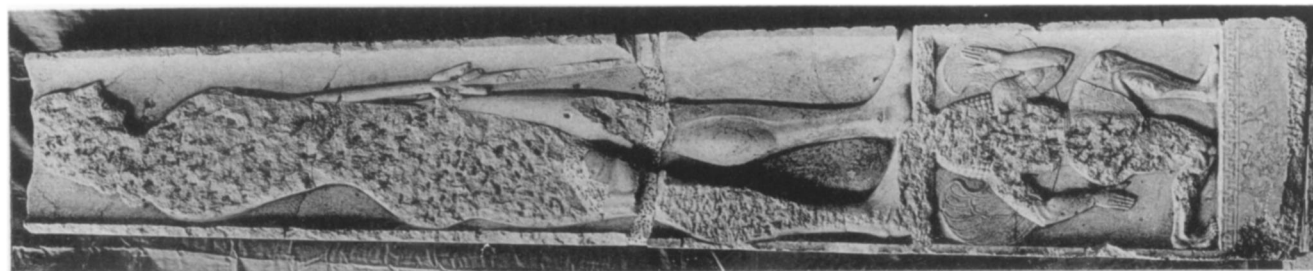
b. Detail of a.



d. Fragment of Stele of Theron, C (I 2056)



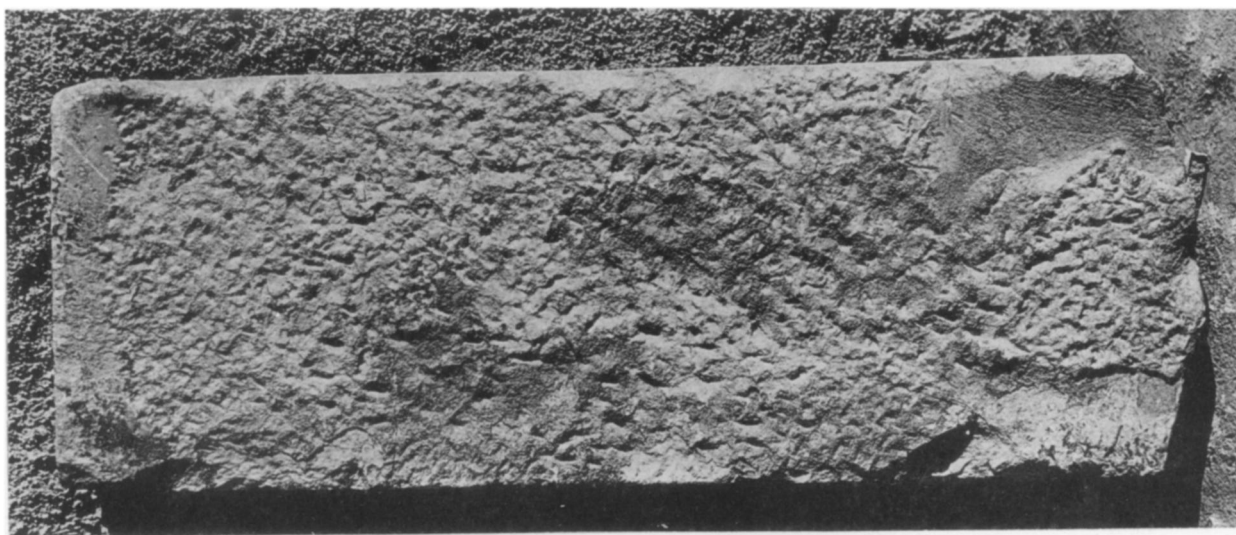
e. Detail of Stele of Theron



a. Stele from the Themistoklean Wall

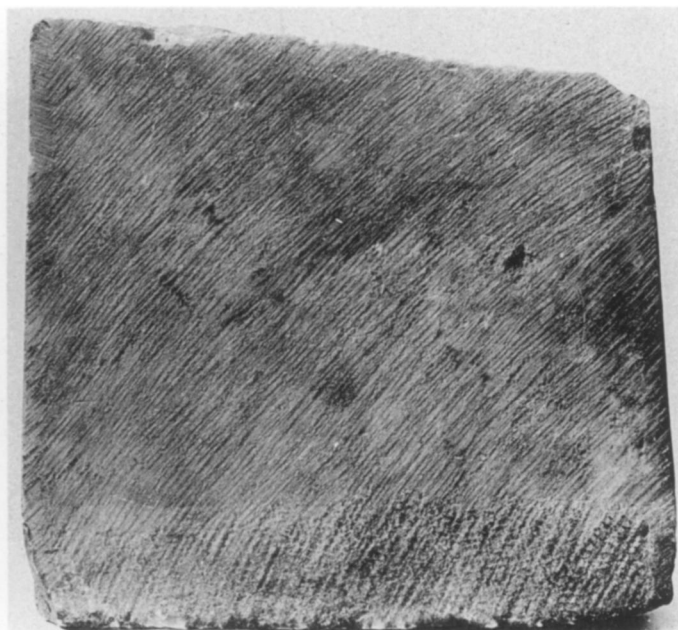
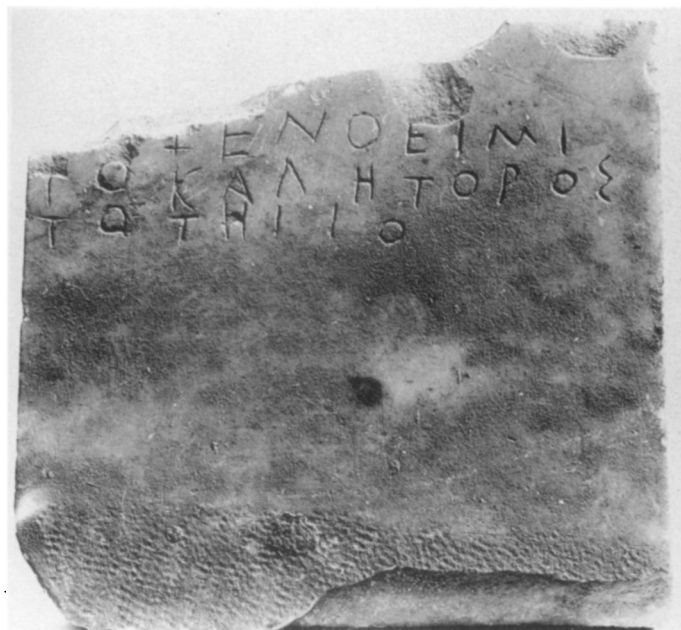


b. Detail of Head on D

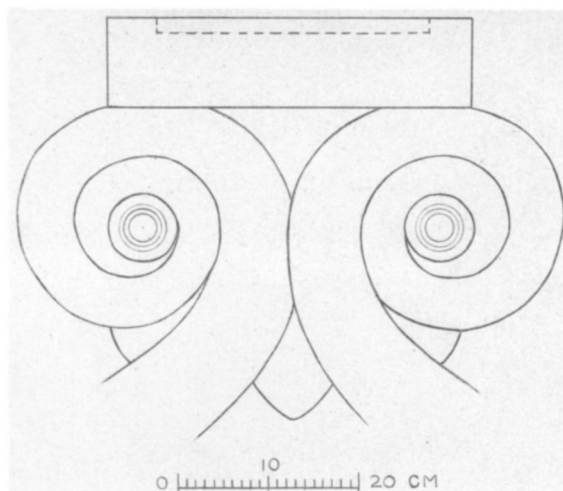


c. Fragment of Stele D (S 1736)

EVELYN B. HARRISON: ARCHAIC GRAVESTONES FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

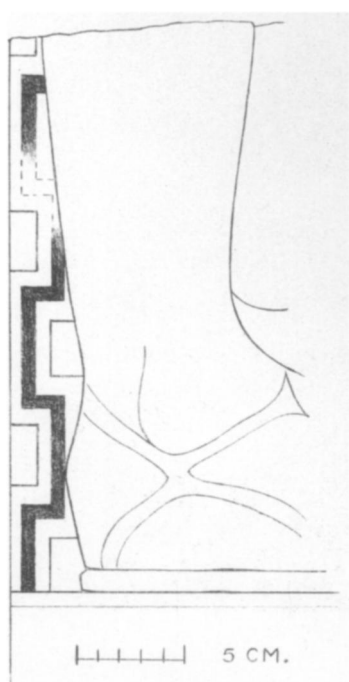


a-b. Fragment of Stele in Athens (E.M. 416)



c. Fragment of Capital in Athens (N.M. 84)

d. Drawing of Athens N.M. 84



e. Pattern on Border of E



f. Fragment of Man-and-Dog Stele, E (S 1276a)