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TOPOGRAPHIC SEMANTICS: The Location of the Athenian Public Cemetery and Its Significance for the Nascent Democracy

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# TOPOGRAPHIC SEMANTICS

## THE LOCATION OF THE ATHENIAN PUBLIC CEMETERY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE NASCENT DEMOCRACY

### ABSTRACT

In this article, the author seeks to understand the place of the *demosion sema*, the public cemetery of Athens, within the Athenian physical and cognitive landscape. The archaeological and literary evidence shows that the cemetery was established ca. 500 B.C., along the road from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy. This was an area with few pre-Classical burials but strong religious and civic associations. Here the nascent democracy shaped a new space for corporate self-definition by juxtaposing the public cemetery with the district further to the east, around the road leading to Hippios Kolonos, which had long been a center for aristocratic display.

### INTRODUCTION

Each year at the end of a season of military campaigns, the Athenians buried their war dead in the public cemetery, the δημόσιον σῆμα.<sup>1</sup> Thucydides (2.34.1–5) describes how the Athenians brought the cremated remains home, publicly displayed them for three days, and then interred them by tribe in the cemetery, which was located in “the most beautiful suburb of the city” (ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως). A scholiast glosses the *demosion sema* as the Kerameikos, and Aristophanes, the *Suda*, and other scholiasts link the Kerameikos with the war graves.<sup>2</sup> Cicero, Philostratos, and Pausanias more precisely locate the state graves along a road leading from the city to the Academy.<sup>3</sup>

1. The communal burial usually occurred in winter. On the date, see Pritchett 1985, pp. 110–112. I thank John Papadopoulos, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Julia Shear, Andrew Stewart, and the journal's anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts of this article. My research would not have been possible without the assistance of the Fulbright Foundation in Greece,

the Sara B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy, and the Stahl Endowment of the University of California at Berkeley. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise indicated.

2. Ar. *Av.* 395–399, with schol. on 394–395; *Suda*, s.vv. Κεραμεικός, Κεραμεικοί. The *Suda* and the scholia both cite Menekles and Kallikrates. See also Hsch., s.v. ἐπ' Εὐρυγύη ἀγών, citing

Melesagoras, on the funeral games (*Epitaphia*) held in the Kerameikos (with commentary in Parker 2005, p. 470).

3. Cic. *Fin.* 5.1–5; Philostr. *VS* 2.22.604; Paus. 1.29.2–16. Paus. 1.29.4: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι [i.e., those not buried on the battlefield at Marathon] κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κεῖνται τὴν ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν.

There can be no doubt about the existence of this place, where celebrated orators eulogized thousands of Athenian dead, and where loyal allies and illustrious citizens were interred.<sup>4</sup> Exactly where in the Athenian landscape the cemetery was located, however, has been a subject of debate. Most scholars place it along the wide road that led from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy, but an erudite minority prefer a road further to the east that issued from the ancient gate located at the intersection of modern Leokoriou and Dipylou Streets (hereafter called the Leokoriou Gate).<sup>5</sup> Whatever their views, few scholars have discussed the implications of the location or the relationship between the cemetery and the surrounding landscape.

The placing of the cemetery is not just a topographical exercise. The location of the burial ground in Athens has important consequences for how one understands its purpose, design, and function. By mapping more accurately the cemetery's relationship to its physical landscape, it is possible to chart some of the contours of the Athenian cognitive landscape, and to understand the way in which the *demos* manipulated space, interpreted its past, and articulated social values. The *demosion sema* was an area where, through speeches, art, and civic ceremonies, the citizens of Athens collectively expressed, to themselves and to visitors, who they were and what they stood for.<sup>6</sup> Here, in one particular place, they were unified around a shared loss, in the face of a common threat. In this necropolis, the living members of the polis forged a collective identity.

In the discussion that follows, I begin by summarizing earlier theories about the location of the cemetery. I then address the date at which the *demosion sema* was established and the chronological distribution of earlier archaeological remains in the district northwest of the city. This analysis will show that the choice of site for the cemetery reflected a particular orientation toward the city's past. After setting the chronological scene, I attempt to locate the cemetery more precisely within the Athenian landscape, relying heavily on the archaeological evidence. I then consider why this specific site was selected, emphasizing the religious and civic significance of the area prior to the cemetery's establishment. Finally, I suggest that the site chosen enabled the *demos* to juxtapose the values of the new democracy with those on display in the aristocratic cemetery immediately to the east.

4. Patterson (2006, pp. 53–56) has questioned the equation of Thucydides' *demosion sema* with a public cemetery. She argues that the concept of an Athenian national cemetery is a "modern invention" (p. 55). As I have argued elsewhere (Arrington 2010, pp. 40–49), it is true that the *demosion sema* was not a fixed, bounded, and organized space of the sort normally associated with a national cemetery. There was, nevertheless, one place in Athens deemed most appropriate for the burial of war dead and illustrious citizens. I shall refer to

this place as a public cemetery and call it the *demosion sema*, even though it was used for other purposes in addition to burials at public expense.

5. This gate is sometimes referred to as the ἡρίαί πύλαι on the basis of a reference in the *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. ἡρίαί. On the inappropriateness of this designation, see Matthaiou 1983; Pritchett 1998, pp. 22–23, n. 15; 1999, p. 60.

6. Loraux (2006, esp. pp. 251–257) shows how the funeral oration praised the polis and articulated an Athenian ideology.

## THE LOCATION OF THE PUBLIC CEMETERY

## PREVIOUS THEORIES

Although the literary testimonia indicate that the public cemetery lay along a road from the city to the Academy, the question remains, which road? Cicero's report that he walked past the state graves after leaving the Dipylon Gate, together with the many other ancient references to state burials within the Kerameikos, and the discoveries of the polyandria of the Lakedaimonians (Pol 1) and the prominent monument at the third horos near the Dipylon Gate itself, have led most scholars to conclude that the state graves lined the broad road that departed from this gate, here called the Academy Road (see Fig. 4, below).<sup>7</sup> Their views on the size and nature of the space, however, vary considerably. Some include the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians within the *demosion sema*,<sup>8</sup> while others think that the cemetery began beyond the shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste because of Pausanias's silence until that point (Paus. 1.29.2; AK 1, 2).<sup>9</sup> Before the entire width of the Academy Road had been excavated, Alfred Brückner suggested that it actually consisted of two roads forming a thematically organized, elongated racetrack, with the graves of Harmodios and Aristogeiton at one end, that of Kleisthenes at the other, polyandria

7. For the literary sources, see nn. 2 and 3, above. On the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians, see Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 11678; Brückner 1915, pp. 118–119; Karo 1930, pp. 90–91; Ohly 1965, pp. 314–322; Willemsen 1977; Kienlin 2003, pp. 114–118, 121–122; Stroszeck 2006. (Bold letters and numbers [e.g., Pol 1] refer to sites plotted on the maps in Figs. 2–4; for abbreviations, see p. 510, below.) On the monument at the third horos (once known as the Tomb of Chabrias), see especially Stichel 1998; Valavanis 1999; Kienlin 2003, pp. 118–122. The Academy Road is sometimes referred to in modern scholarship as the “dromos,” because of the relay races held on it: see, e.g., Costaki 2006, pp. 200–201, 455–459. Against the use of this term, see Miller 1995, pp. 213–214, 216–218. Stroszeck (2003) believes that the road itself was called the Kerameikos. For the view that the *demosion sema* lay along the Academy Road, see Brückner 1910, pp. 185–200; Wenz 1913, pp. 22–30; Frazer 1913, vol. 2, pp. 378–379; Domaszewski 1917; Judeich 1931, pp. 404–409; Papachatzis 1974–1981, vol. 1, p. 382, fig. 228; Stupperich 1977, pp. 26–31; Clairmont 1981, p. 132;

1983, pp. 32–33; Stupperich 1984, p. 640; Knigge 1991, p. 13; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, p. 94; Loraux 2006, p. 50.

8. Travlos, *Athens*, p. 301; Stupperich 1977, p. 25 (somewhat skeptical); Meyer 1993, p. 118; Wolpert 2002, p. 89. Kurtz and Boardman (1971, pp. 109, 338, map 5) place the first state graves parallel to the Themistoklean Wall, on the far side of the ring road.

9. Brückner 1910, pp. 183–200; Clairmont 1983, p. 204; Knigge 1991, p. 13; Valavanis 1999, p. 192. The graves on the western side of the road were covered in the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period, hence Pausanias's silence. Ohly (1965, pp. 302–303) described the fill over them as sand, gravel, rock pieces, marl, and earth, mixed with pockets of ceramic waste from workshops, which accumulated quickly and created a scree slope. Most scholars link the dumped material with precautions taken after the battle at Chaironeia, when the Athenians constructed a moat and palisades (Ohly 1965, p. 305; cf. Aeschin. 3.236; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 44). Binder (*ap.* Pritchett 1998, p. 3) has proposed that the width

of the road was halved in 303 to guard against the approach of siege machines. Although the covering of the graves has recently been called into question (Stroszeck 2003, p. 76, n. 116, but cf. p. 69; Costaki 2006, p. 458), there is little room for doubt. Hellenistic columnar grave monuments found in situ to the west of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians are 1.78 m higher than the base of the horos next to the monument (Gebauer 1942, p. 224), and two Hellenistic drain covers in front of the tomb lie 1.30–1.48 m above the base (Willemsen 1977, pp. 133–134). A tomb of the 3rd century and a drain of the 1st century A.D. also cut through the monument itself. Similarly, just outside the precinct of the monument at the third horos, tile-covered graves of the 2nd to 1st centuries (only one of them securely dated) were found at the level of the highest course of the monument (Willemsen 1977, pp. 118–120). Finally, a cross-section of a 1st-century building that stands in the middle of the Academy Road close to the Dipylon Gate shows that fill was deposited to the west before the building was constructed (Ohly 1965, figs. 15, 16).

in the middle, and tombs for individuals along the outer perimeter.<sup>10</sup> Others have suggested a chronological organization of the space.<sup>11</sup> After further excavations disproved Brückner's hypothesis, almost all scholars have concluded that the graves were situated strictly along the road itself.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, the argument for placing the cemetery along the Academy Road does not lack critics. The Kerameikos was a large area that extended in length from the Academy to the Classical Agora, as shown by the findspots of surviving horoi, the terminology of Pausanias, and other ancient testimonia.<sup>13</sup> Its breadth remains unknown. Outside the city walls, small streets connected the major thoroughfares, and Cicero and Pausanias may well have wandered from the Academy Road to an artery leading from another gate. These considerations have led to a different opinion, first expressed in a dissertation on Athenian horoi by Charles Ritchie Jr., who proposed that the public cemetery lay along the road from the Leokorion Gate.<sup>14</sup> Judith Binder has reiterated this argument, while Alexander Papageorgiou-Venetas, followed by W. Kendrick Pritchett, has speculated that the cemetery lay between the two roads.<sup>15</sup>

After leaving the city, the road that Ritchie and Binder envision as the exclusive location of the cemetery, and that Papageorgiou-Venetas and Pritchett include within their somewhat broader proposed boundaries, proceeded north-northwest, roughly paralleling the Academy Road. Branching left at a fork near the intersection of modern Lenorman and Konstantinoupoleos Streets, it headed toward the west side of Hippios Kolonos, along a path still followed by Lenorman. Before reaching the hill, however, it branched left again, probably near modern Vasilikon Street, where an Academy horos (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1091*) was found in situ, and continued into the Academy precinct. This route to the Academy from the Leokorion Gate has been dubbed the Old Academy Road, a designation that I retain here, even though the datable road surfaces of the Old Academy Road are in fact no older than those of the Academy Road to the west.<sup>16</sup> I refer to the entire group of roads leading from the Leokorion Gate, including the

10. Brückner 1910, pp. 185–200.

11. E.g., Domaszewski 1917.

12. Goette (2009, p. 188) suggests that the cemetery consisted of "a number of different locations, which perhaps even changed annually," but he does not explore the idea at length.

13. On the horoi, see pp. 523–524, below. Important primary sources include Paus. 1.2.4–5, 1.3.1; Lucian, *Iupp. trag.* 15; *Suda*, s.v. Κεραμεικός; *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Κεραμεικός; Harp., s.v. Κεραμεικός (citing Antiphon, Kallikrates, and Menekles); Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 131, 135, 1093; *Av.* 395; *Eq.* 772c. For modern discussions of the location and extent of the Kerameikos, see *Agora III*, pp. 221–224; Vanderpool 1974; Ritchie 1984, pp. 754–755, 764–765; *Agora XIX*, pp. 11–13; Papadopoulos 1996;

Siewert 1999; Papadopoulos 2003, esp. pp. 280–291; Stroszeck 2003, esp. pp. 68–71; Ruggeri 2005.

14. Ritchie 1984, pp. 771–786.

15. Binder *ap.* Pritchett 1998, pp. 5–6; Papageorgiou-Venetas 1994, p. 143; Pritchett 1998, p. 22. Cf. *SEG XLVIII* 38, which implies that Pritchett places the cemetery exclusively on the road from the Leokorion Gate.

16. Both roads were first paved in the Late Archaic–Early Classical period, as shown by excavations at Monastiriou 12 and Siatistis (Alexandri 1972, p. 127; Clairmont 1983, p. 37; Costaki 2006, p. 527, no. VIII.9); Plataion 54 and Zografou (Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, p. 21; Costaki 2006, pp. 534–535, no. VIII.19); Lenorman and Konstantinoupoleos

(Zachariadou, Kyriakou, and Baziopoulou 1985, p. 39; 1992, p. 55; Baziopoulou-Valavani 1994, p. 47; Costaki 2006, pp. 521–524, nos. VIII.2–4); and Lenorman 84 (Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, pp. 25–26; Costaki 2006, p. 574, no. XI.1). Before then the bedrock was used as a road surface (e.g., at Plataion and Granikou: Alexandri 1975, p. 28; Costaki 2006, pp. 485–486, no. VI.5). At Aimonos and Tripoleos, where the Academy horos (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1091*) was found, the report states that the road was in use in the late 6th century, but it is not clear whether that date applies to the first pavement or to the earlier use of the bedrock as a road surface (Alexandri 1967, p. 46; 1968c, p. 101; Costaki 2006, pp. 577–578, no. XIII.2).

Old Academy Road and the two branches that passed on either side of Hippios Kolonos, as the Leokoriou Roads (Fig. 4, below).

Most previous approaches to the topography of the public cemetery have been based on the literary evidence, with little attention to the material remains. A monograph by Christoph Clairmont, published in 1983, is an exception, but his archaeological contribution is limited by the fact that he did not plot the excavations on a contemporary, scaled map and because he forced the material evidence to conform to Pausanias's description of specific tombs.<sup>17</sup> Since most of the area northwest of the ancient walls lies beneath the modern city, it has been subject only to sporadic excavation; nevertheless, over the years a growing body of evidence has accumulated, much of it published in preliminary form in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*. The findspots of inscribed casualty lists, too, are instructive. Although many were later transported to the Agora for use as construction material, or built into churches as far away as the Mesogeia, more material has been found close to the original site than is often acknowledged.<sup>18</sup> There is now, I believe, sufficient archaeological evidence to demonstrate that the *demosion sema* lay in the region of the Academy Road, but not strictly along the thoroughfare.

Before presenting this evidence in detail, it is necessary to set the scene, first by determining the date of the establishment of the cemetery, and then by examining the chronological distribution of archaeological material in the area northwest of Athens.

#### SETTING THE CHRONOLOGICAL SCENE

The earliest recorded burials in the area that became the Athenian public cemetery are those of the tyrant slayers, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, followed by the reformer Kleisthenes (Paus. 1.29.6, 15). These individuals were not necessarily buried at public expense. The earliest polyandron mentioned by Pausanias (1.29.7) is that of the Athenians who fought against the Aiginetans before the Persian invasion, in 491/0 or 487/6.<sup>19</sup> A possible polyandron covered by a tumulus was discovered on Salaminos Street (Pol 4, discussed below), with ceramics dating to the first quarter of the 5th century.<sup>20</sup>

Thucydides (2.34.1) writes that the public burial ceremony followed an ancestral custom (*patrios nomos*), which could have originated in the

17. Clairmont 1983; cf. the review by Stupperich (1984, esp. pp. 638, 641). The maps provided by Garland (1982, pp. 150–151, figs. 6, 7) are less comprehensive than Clairmont's.

18. From the Mesogeia: *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1144b, c, and d, on which see Matthaiou 2005, pp. 100–103. On the date of the dismantling of the *demosion sema*, see Aliferi 1992–1998, with *SEG* XLVI 73, XLVII 46, LI 50.

19. Pausanias appears to contradict himself when he states (1.29.4) that the war dead from Drabeskos (ca. 465)

were *πρῶτοι*. This must be a manuscript error for *πρῶτον*, which would indicate not chronological but topographical priority (i.e., the first polyandron that he comes to in the course of his description, which in fact it is). On the error, see Pritchett 1998, pp. 38–40; see also Stupperich 1977, pp. 235–236; Pritchett 1985, pp. 112–113. Another potentially confusing use of *πρῶτοι* occurs in Pl. *Menex.* 242b, on the dead from the battles at Tanagra and Oinophyta in 457: οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον . . . ἐν τῷδε τῷ μνή-

ματι τιμηθέντες (“these were the first placed in this cemetery after the Persian War”). As explained by Jacoby (1944, p. 54, n. 77), this refers only to the first Athenians who, after the Persian Wars, fought Greeks on behalf of Greeks and were buried in the cemetery. Loraux (2006, p. 101), however, sees here a deliberate error calculated to criticize the institution of the funeral oration for praising too often those who died fighting other Greeks.

20. Stoupa 1997, p. 52.



early days of the democracy.<sup>21</sup> The organization of casualty lists and *larnakes* by tribe certainly places the *nomos* in the period after the reforms of Kleisthenes.<sup>22</sup> Fragments of casualty lists from the battle of Marathon employ the same tribal format as later lists.<sup>23</sup> So, too, does a casualty list in Attic script from Lemnos, which dates to the early 5th century and was probably erected for the Athenians who fell when Miltiades conquered the island in 498.<sup>24</sup>

Diodoros, in a discussion of the epigrams set up for the Lakedaimonians at Thermopylai, does not necessarily refer to monuments in the *demosion sema* when he says (11.33.3) that the Athenians “similarly decorated” (ὁμοίως . . . ἐκόσμησε) the graves of those who died in the Persian Wars. He does, however, state that this was the occasion of the city’s first funeral games and funeral orations, and Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.* 5.17.4) agrees. Since Thucydides (2.35.1) and Dionysios both report that the funeral speech was an addition to the *nomos*, the custom of burying at least some of the war dead in the public cemetery must already have existed during the Persian Wars.<sup>25</sup>

The fact that during the Persian Wars other burials, such as those at Plataiai, took place on the battlefield is no obstacle to a date of ca. 500 for the establishment of the public cemetery. We need not presume that all war dead had to be buried in the *demosion sema*; certainly no single modern military cemetery contains all of a country’s war casualties. Even late in the Peloponnesian War the Athenian casualties in the battle at Ephesos in 409 were buried at Notion (*Xen. Hell.* 1.2.11), and we should expect more flexibility in the system during the early history of the cemetery. In fact, even to speak of the “establishment” of the *demosion sema* is somewhat misleading, since it implies more organizational oversight and intent than may have existed at the time. I doubt that a large tract of land was set aside for a national cemetery by formal decree.<sup>26</sup> It seems more likely that at first one monument, probably a particularly famous one, was constructed, and

21. See especially Jacoby 1944; Gomme 1956, pp. 94–98; Ostwald 1969, p. 175; Hornblower 1991, pp. 292–293.

22. Stupperich 1977, p. 206. If an epigram attributed to Simonides commemorating war dead buried near the Euripos was written for an Athenian polyandron, it would indicate that a public cemetery was not yet established in 507/6. The poem could, however, refer as easily to the Euboians or Boiotians as to the Athenians. On the epigram, see Peek 1955, p. 1, no. 1; Page 1975, p. 9, no. 2; Stupperich 1977, p. 206; Page 1981, pp. 189–191; Clairmont 1983, pp. 88–89, no. 2.

23. A tribal list from the battle of Marathon was found in June 2000, built into the wall of a 5th-century kiln at the villa of Herodes Atticus at Lou-

kou (*SEG XLIX* 370, LI 425, LIII 354, LV 413; Steinhauer 2004–2009; 2009, p. 122; Spyropoulos 2009). Another fragment, perhaps from the same list, was found nearby. I thank G. T. Spyropoulos for discussing the list with me.

24. *IG XII Suppl.* 337; cf. Hdt. 6.137–140. Two Corinthian helmets, dedicated at Olympia and on the Athenian Acropolis and inscribed “Athenians: from those in Lemnos” (*IG I* 1466 and 518, the latter partially restored), have been explained as spoils from the same expedition. A third helmet, from Rhamnous, dedicated to Nemesis by the Rhamnousians on Lemnos (*IG I* 522*bis*), may be a decade or two later. See Stupperich 1977, p. 207; Clairmont 1983, pp. 89–90, 92–93; Rausch 1999. Another list of names, from the mid-6th century,

found on the Sikelia hill southwest of Athens (*SEG XXI* 95; Clairmont 1983, pp. 87–88), is too fragmentary to be interpreted securely as a casualty list.

25. The location of the cemetery may also suggest a date no later than the Persian Wars. As I shall demonstrate below, the original site of the cemetery was approximately 200 m from the city walls. One practical explanation for this distance is that the location was established before the course of the Eridanos River had been fixed, a change that occurred in 478, when the Themistoklean Wall was built.

26. See n. 4, above. Judeich (1931, p. 404) thought that the cemetery had its origins in the 6th century but did not take on a unified, closed character until the first half of the 5th century.

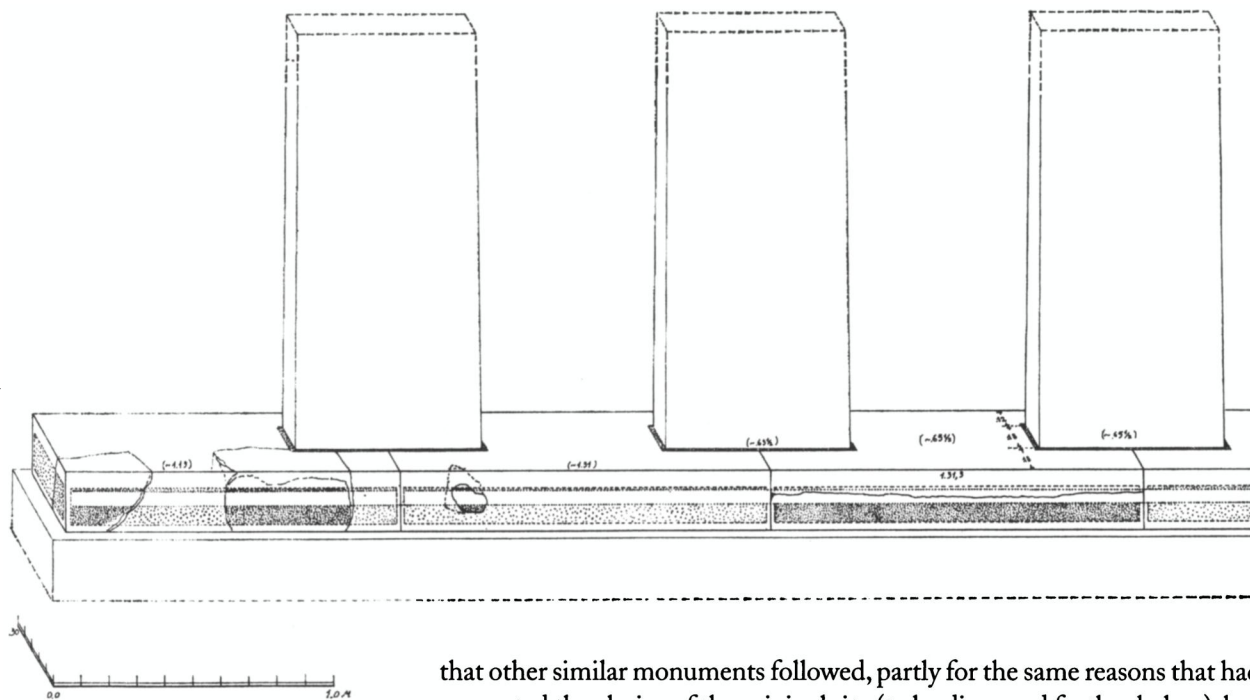


Figure 1. Reconstruction of the cenotaph for the Marathonomachoi. Matthaïou 1988, p. 122. Drawing M. Korres

that other similar monuments followed, partly for the same reasons that had prompted the choice of the original site (to be discussed further below), but also because each successive memorial increasingly transformed the place into the most appropriate arena for public commemoration of the dead.

The catalyst for this development may well have been the cenotaph for the Marathon dead, which Angelos Matthaïou has shown to have stood in the public cemetery (Fig. 1).<sup>27</sup> An unpublished ephebic decree of 176/5 found in the Agora mentions a regular funeral contest that took place at Marathon and also “in front of the polyandrium next to the city” ([πρὸ τοῦ] πρὸς τῇ ἄστει πολυανδρείου, Agora I 7529, lines 15–17).<sup>28</sup> Another, similar ephebic decree mentions a race “from the polyandrium” (ἀπὸ τοῦ πολυανδρείου, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006, line 22) without further qualification. Matthaïou infers that there was in the *demosion sema* a cenotaph for the dead at Marathon, known simply as the polyandrium, and he associates it with a base bearing an elegiac inscription (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 503/504), a fragment of which was found in the Kerameikos (CL 6). On the basis of letter forms, topographical references to Marathon within the epigram, and cuttings on the top of the base, Matthaïou argues that the monument once held the casualty lists from the battle at Marathon.<sup>29</sup> Only the dead from this conflict were famous enough for their monument to be called simply “the polyandrium,” and it would have been a fitting place for the display of ephebic prowess. The existence of the cenotaph in the *demosion sema* also

27. Matthaïou 2003, pp. 197–200; see also the comments in Parker 2005, p. 470.

28. T. L. Shear Jr. has edited the inscription for publication in the forthcoming third edition of *IG* II.

29. A second set of verses was later added to the base. Perhaps the monument was already in existence in 480,

when it was destroyed in the Persian sack and subsequently reerected with addition of the new lines. It is also possible that the second set of verses was added before the cenotaph was destroyed. The fragment found at CL 6 (Lapis C) was built into a retaining wall that rested on bedrock, and thus may be associated with the

construction of the first road surface. If so, a new cenotaph must have been erected following the Persian destruction. On the excavation, see Alexandri 1973–1974a, pp. 91–92 (the Marathon inscription is the Archaic epigram mentioned on p. 92; cf. Matthaïou 2003, p. 198).



explains why both Thucydides (2.34.5) and Pausanias (1.29.4), in their discussions of the public cemetery, take care to record that those who died at Marathon were buried on the battlefield, while remaining silent about the other Persian War casualties who were also absent from the cemetery. It was the presence of the famous monument that elicited the explanation.

The literary sources and the archaeological evidence thus indicate that the *demosion sema* was established after the reforms of Kleisthenes, and that it was an appropriate place for military burials by the time of the Persian Wars. I suggest a date of ca. 500 for the beginning of the process; unfortunately it is not possible to be more specific.<sup>30</sup> Kleisthenes' reforms, the Athenian victory over the Boiotians and Chalkidians in 506, the expedition to Ionia with its casualties at sea, or the triumph at Marathon may have instigated the practice of burying war dead in Athenian territory.

As important as the date of establishment is the relationship between the *demosion sema* and other, earlier funerary activity in the landscape. In order to understand the options available to the demos, and the significance of the choice between the Academy and Old Academy Roads, it is necessary to examine the patterns of land use in these two areas prior to ca. 500.

An investigation of the material remains reveals a striking difference in use prior to the Classical period. The area around the Academy Road was relatively free of Archaic graves, partly as a result of the flooding of the Eridanos River near the Dipylon Gate, and partly because of the absence of a major destination at the end of the road. Conditions along the Old Academy Road, on the other hand, were very different. When Binder made her case for placing the cemetery here, she observed that "this was the glory road for grave monuments and a natural choice for the *Demosion sema*."<sup>31</sup> The first part of this statement is absolutely correct: the Leokoriou Roads had a long history of grand and lavish burials, well attested in the archaeological record. The following summary of the quantity (and to some extent the quality) of pre-Classical finds from the two areas will make clear their different histories and distinctive characters.<sup>32</sup>

In the vicinity of the Leokoriou Roads, three locations have yielded Bronze Age remains: a deposit with sherds at Peiraios 68,<sup>33</sup> a Mycenaean grave at Plateia Eleftherias,<sup>34</sup> and sherds and obsidian blades at Efkleidou 7.<sup>35</sup>

30. For other suggested dates, see Gomme 1956, pp. 94–103 (Solon); Stupperich 1977, pp. 206–224 (508/7 or shortly thereafter), reiterated in Stupperich 1994, p. 93, with bibliography p. 100, n. 2; Czech-Schneider 1994, pp. 22–37 (shortly after 490); Matthaiou 2003, pp. 199–200 (several years after 490); Clairmont 1983, p. 3 (470s); Hornblower 1991, p. 292 (late 470s at the earliest); Jacoby 1944, pp. 46–50, with earlier bibliography, followed by Pritchett 1985, pp. 112–123 (465/4).

31. *Ap.* Pritchett 1998, p. 6.

32. In this study I have accepted the dates provided by the excavators and

drawn my own conclusions only when the evidence is unambiguous (e.g., a white-ground lekythos indicates a Classical grave). When a 5th-century date is provided with no other chronological indicator, I take it to mean Classical, since the published excavation reports appear to use "5th century" in this sense more often than not. Moreover, for the issue that I am addressing here—the use of the Academy Road and Old Academy Road before the establishment of the *demosion sema*—what matters most is whether the material pre- or postdates the establishment of the public ceme-

tery, and even if the date of the establishment is slightly later than ca. 500, any 5th-century material is more likely to be dated after than before it. Since the same ephoreia was responsible for the excavations near both roads, one assumes that the same standards, methods, and procedures were applied to both regions. I am thus comparing like with like.

33. Filippakis 1966, p. 63.

34. Gauss and Ruppenstein 2001. They associate a LH IIIC stirrup jar with the grave.

35. Lygkouri-Tolias 1994a.

Submycenaean remains have also been found at three locations: sherds at Kriezi 22 and Psaromiligkou,<sup>36</sup> a single grave in an excavation for a drain across from Kriezi 23–27,<sup>37</sup> and 11 graves at Kriezi 23–24.<sup>38</sup>

Excavation at 15 locations has revealed Geometric graves or sherds, mostly in and around the block west of Plateia Eleftherias formed by Peiraios, Kriezi, Psaromiligkou, and Kalogirou Samouil Streets, but also to the north at Myllerou 16–18 (between Agisilaou and Kerameikou),<sup>39</sup> and even further north, close to the intersection of an ancient cross-street with the Old Academy Road, at Virginias Benaki 15–17.<sup>40</sup> Many of the dead were buried with lavish offerings, including vessels by the Dipylon Workshop. Grave 12 in the drain excavation at Kriezi 23–27, for example, was a pit burial containing a large funeral amphora covered with a bronze cup, an oinochoe, a skyphos, a pyxis, and four bronze vessels. Inside the amphora were two bronze pins decorated with gold leaf, a gold ring, and an iron brooch.<sup>41</sup> At Kriezi 23–24, grave 13 contained a Dipylon-type pyxis with a horse lid, three similar lids, and a kyathion; grave 72 a large amphora with a *prothesis* scene, an unpainted hydria, and a kyathion; and grave 106 three skyphoid pyxides, a skyphos, and a gold band stamped with a frieze of warriors, a ship, and a deer.<sup>42</sup>

Archaic material has been found at 21 locations, in much the same area and in many of the same plots as the Geometric remains described above, but extending somewhat further northward. Examples include an amphora burial of the third quarter of the 7th century at Achilleos 4 and Kolonou;<sup>43</sup> terracottas from Lenorman 28;<sup>44</sup> and a Late Archaic relief from the drain at Aimonos 1, just off Lenorman.<sup>45</sup> While the burials along the Leokoriou Roads were not as lavish in the later Archaic period as they were in the Geometric, they continued the trend of luxurious display in the quantity and quality of their grave goods. The splendid Protoattic Nettos amphora now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens was found at Peiraios and Kalogirou Samouil Streets, along with over 20 black-figure vessels decorated with “heroic” images such as Herakles and the Cretan bull, Neoptolemos and Astyanax, quadrigas, and dueling hoplites.<sup>46</sup> A pit burial in the drain excavation at Kriezi 23–27, dated to the third quarter of the 6th century, contained two handleless biconical vessels, two black-glaze jugs, six black-figure lekythoi, a kylix, a lekane, and a terracotta figurine of a seated goddess.<sup>47</sup> At Psaromiligkou 4 a Late Archaic cist grave contained four black-figure lekythoi, two decorated with anthemias, one with a Gigantomachy, and one with a scene of Herakles and the Nemean lion, as well as a bowl, the lower half of an unpainted cylindrical pyxis, a

36. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, p. 23.

37. Alexandri 1968a, p. 67; 1968b, pp. 20–22.

38. Alexandri 1967, pp. 92–96. For a Submycenaean vessel found west of Plateia Eleftherias in the 19th century, see Gauss and Ruppenstein 2001, p. 163.

39. Alexandri 1970, p. 76.

40. Alexandri 1973–1974a, p. 86; Costaki 2006, pp. 528–529, no. VIII.11.

41. The amphora appears on the cover of *AAA* 1 (1968); the pins are illustrated in Alexandri 1968b, p. 29, fig. 11.

42. The amphora with the *prothesis* scene, one of the skyphoid pyxides, and the gold band are illustrated in Alexandri 1967, pls. 89, 87:γ, and 87:α, respectively.

43. Alexandri 1973–1974b, p. 123.

44. Boulter 1963, p. 135, nos. 38, 40.

45. Alexandri 1972, p. 88.

46. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1002. On the findspot and for further bibliography, see Schilardi 1968, p. 41.

47. Alexandri 1968a, p. 67; 1968b, pp. 26–27. The figurine is illustrated in Alexandri 1968a, pl. 37:α.

one-handled kyathion, and half of a terracotta protome of a goddess.<sup>48</sup> Another Late Archaic grave, a pit burial of ca. 500 at Peiraios 57, contained a black-figure lekythos with a symposium scene, two with Dionysiac scenes, and two with quadrigas, as well as a skyphos, a pyxis, and a small phiale.<sup>49</sup>

Although the area around the Academy Road has been more intensively investigated than that around the Leokoriou Roads, it has produced far fewer pre-Classical remains. The following list includes all those known to me. A Neolithic ax was discovered at Kerameikou 90.<sup>50</sup> Mycenaean sherds were found near the southwest tower of the Dipylon Gate<sup>51</sup> and at Peiraios 82 and Salaminos.<sup>52</sup> In the Submycenaean period there was a large cemetery in the area later occupied by the Pompeion, but these graves were oriented toward the Sacred Way.<sup>53</sup> In the Protogeometric period, most of the burials moved to the south bank of the Eridanos River, although there were still a few in the vicinity of the later Pompeion and in front of the west tower of the Dipylon Gate.<sup>54</sup> A cluster of Geometric graves was discovered to the west of the same tower.<sup>55</sup> Outside the Kerameikos archaeological park, only two plots have produced Geometric sherds: one at Profitou Daniil 18<sup>56</sup> and one at Alikarnassou 94, near an ancient wagon road that ran west of and parallel to the Academy Road.<sup>57</sup> In the northwest corner of the area included in this study, Geometric burials have been found at Leoforos Athinon 88 and Mitrodorou<sup>58</sup> and at Mitrodorou and Geminou.<sup>59</sup> These outliers only emphasize the rarity of Geometric remains in the vicinity of the Academy Road.

Within the Kerameikos archaeological park, a group of Archaic burials was found north of the Sacred Gate, where a mound was constructed over a 6th-century shaft grave. Three other 6th-century burials were located in or around the mound, and a final burial in a bronze ash urn was placed in the mound around 480.<sup>60</sup> Archaic sculpture built into the Themistoklean Wall probably came from the cemeteries closer to the Sacred Way. Outside the archaeological park, only 11 locations have produced Archaic material of any sort: a black-figure kylix at Agisilaou 96 and Plataion;<sup>61</sup> a fragment of the Marathon casualty list (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 503/504 Lapis C) at Plataion 30–32 (CL 6);<sup>62</sup> one or two 6th-century graves and a possible polyandron of the first quarter of the 5th century at Salaminos 35 (Pol 4);<sup>63</sup> a drain at Megalou Alexandrou 91 and Plataion 42;<sup>64</sup> Archaic sherds at Plataion and Paramythias;<sup>65</sup> Archaic ceramics and a kiln at Profitou Daniil 18;<sup>66</sup> a 7th-century amphora burial

48. Alexandri 1972, p. 143, grave XII. The lekythos with Herakles and the Nemean lion is illustrated in pl. 86:α.

49. Alexandri 1968a, p. 83, grave XIV. The lekythos with the symposium scene is illustrated in pl. 47:δ.

50. Philadelphus 1927, p. 157.

51. Knigge 1991, p. 14. She suggests that the construction of the gate may have destroyed a Mycenaean tomb.

52. Chatzipoulou 1988, p. 36.

53. Knigge 1991, pp. 14–16.

54. Knigge 1991, pp. 16–20.

55. Knigge 1991, pp. 20–24.

56. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, p. 21.

57. Vasilopoulou 1980, p. 37. This is not the *hamaxitos* road discussed by Stroud (1998, pp. 104–107), but another (see Fig. 4, below).

58. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, p. 18.

59. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, pp. 24–25.

60. Knigge 1991, p. 159. The tumulus is no. 59 in the plan on p. 17, fig. 25.

61. Liagkouras 1973–1974, p. 31, pl. 42:β.

62. Alexandri 1973–1974a, p. 92; Matthaiou 2003, p. 198. See above, p. 505 and n. 29.

63. Stoupa 1997, p. 52. These remains are discussed below.

64. Filippakis 1966, p. 58.

65. Krystalli and Kaloudi 1964, p. 61; Clairmont 1983, p. 42.

66. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, p. 21. Kiln supports were found but not dated; most of the vessels found at the site were Late Archaic to Early Classical.

of a child in a drain excavation across from Alikarnassou 88;<sup>67</sup> a pit in a drain excavation near Serron 54 and Spyrou Patsi;<sup>68</sup> Archaic strata at Argous 107;<sup>69</sup> 10 cremation burials and one cist grave at Mitrodorou and Geminou;<sup>70</sup> and a tile-covered grave dating to ca. 500 at Alamanas 117 and Efthydimou.<sup>71</sup>

The chronological landscape changes when the road reaches the Academy, an area with a long and rich history. Remains here include a sizeable structure of the Early Helladic period, a Geometric "Sacred House," and Geometric and Archaic graves.<sup>72</sup> The sacred character of the area continued into and beyond the Classical period (Paus. 1.30.2).

These scattered finds provide a general picture of funerary activity northwest of Athens prior to the establishment of the public cemetery. They reveal two areas with dense concentrations of pre-Classical remains: to the northeast of the Leokoriou Gate, where pre-Classical graves primarily flank the Old Academy Road, and in the area of the Academy itself.<sup>73</sup> A total of 178 sites have been excavated near the Academy Road and 112 sites near the Old Academy Road. Of the former, only 2.8% produced Geometric material and only 6.7% Archaic; of the latter, 13.4% produced Geometric material and 18.8% Archaic.<sup>74</sup> Future excavations will certainly alter these numbers, but I doubt that they will profoundly affect the ratios.<sup>75</sup>

In light of the very different histories of these two roads, it is clear that the location of the Athenian public cemetery is not just a topographic question. The choice, in the years around 500, between the Academy Road and the Old Academy Road for the site of the *demosion sema* carries implications for our understanding of the relationship between the young democracy and its aristocratic past. For Binder, the "glory road for grave monuments" was the most logical place for the cemetery, but did the demos really want to place its new polyandria among these splendid relics of the recent past?

67. Lygkouri-Tolias 1985, p. 32.

68. Alexandri 1967, p. 114.

69. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, p. 20.

70. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, pp. 24–25.

71. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, p. 20.

72. Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 42–51; Lygkouri-Tolias 1987. Threatte (2007, pp. 23–39) succinctly summarizes many of the finds from the area. See also Frazer 1913, vol. 2, pp. 387–390; Judeich 1931, pp. 412–414; Ritchie 1984, pp. 686–711, 895–896; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, pp. 140–143. For early archaeological work, see Kourouniotis 1930, 1933; Aristophron 1933; Keramopoulos 1933; Stavropoulos 1955, 1956, 1958, 1959, 1960a, 1960b, 1961, 1962, 1963; Murray 2006. The site is

currently being studied by A. Mazarakis Ainian; see now Mazarakis Ainian and Livieratou 2010. (A second paper, by Mazarakis Ainian and A. Alexandridou, will be published in the proceedings of the conference "The 'Dark Ages' Revisited," Volos, June 14–17, 2007.)

73. Schilardi (1968, pp. 39, 51) noticed that the Geometric graves near the Leokoriou Gate were wealthier and the finds more important than those from the Kerameikos.

74. Cf. the table in Parlama 1990–1991, p. 244, which provides a chronological and typological breakdown for excavations by the Third Ephoreia from 1960 to 1990. I count the Kerameikos excavation zone as a single site. I do not count sites where only a casualty list was found or where pre-Classical

sherds were recovered only in road-surfacing material.

75. The dearth of pre-Classical remains from the Academy Road cannot be attributed to the destruction of graves during the initial surfacing of the road in the Late Archaic to Early Classical period. The first surface, which is roughly contemporaneous with the establishment of the *demosion sema*, was laid directly over the soft bedrock. This surface was extremely wide, and would have filled cuttings for any structures or graves that it obliterated, effectively sealing the evidence of pre-Classical activity. Excavation of the road at many points, however, has revealed no trenches or pits in the bedrock below the first road surface.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE LOCATION OF THE CEMETERY

The maps in Figures 2–4 plot the locations where material has been found that is either certainly or possibly related to activity in the *demosion sema*, or that is otherwise relevant for establishing the cemetery's boundaries.<sup>76</sup> Locations are identified with abbreviations suggesting the nature of the finds: **Pol** (polyandria), **CL** (casualty lists), **H** (hippic material), **AK** (the shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste), **Epi** (the gardens of Epikouros), and **Pits** (a site with 10 trenches or pits in the road). Since findspots are often vaguely recorded, some locations must remain approximate; the abbreviations for these are underlined on the maps. A few sites discussed below do not appear on the maps at all because their location cannot be determined. In Figures 2 and 3, excavations in which ancient roads have been found are marked by green rectangles indicating the orientation of the roads.<sup>77</sup> The courses of these ancient roads are reconstructed in Figure 4. Those of the Academy Road and the wagon road to its west, both intensively explored over the years, are more secure than those of the Leokoriou Roads.

Inscribed casualty lists, organized by tribe, were erected above the graves of the war dead.<sup>78</sup> Although none has been found in situ, not all were transported great distances. Five casualty lists once stood on a large inscribed base (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1163d–f*) at Leokoriou and Dipylon Streets (**CL 1**).<sup>79</sup> The base, found in 1929 in secondary use within the Valerian Wall, has been connected with battles at Koroneia, Delion, and Sicily.<sup>80</sup> Nearby, at Agion Asomaton 22 and Dipylou 12–14 (**CL 2**), excavations have uncovered a casualty list built into the Valerian Wall (*SEG LII 60*).<sup>81</sup> A list of the dead from the Corinthian War with a relief (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 5221*; Fig. 5) was found in 1907 by Valerios Stais, on the property of a Mr. Zervas at Vasileos Irakleiou (since renamed Kalogirou Samouil) and Psaromiligkou Streets (**CL 3**).<sup>82</sup>

76. The course of the city wall in these maps is based on excavation reports and Theodoraki 2007 (see also Theodoraki, forthcoming); that of the Academy peribolos is based on excavation reports, the discussion by Travlos (*Athens*, pp. 42–43, 50, 300, 318, with figs. 62, 417), and the layout of modern roads. The boundaries of Hippios Kolonos follow the contours of the modern park, although it was surely larger in antiquity. For a more complete map of all sites excavated in the vicinity of the *demosion sema* and a description of the finds, see Arrington 2010 (pp. 126–239).

77. The ancient roads have been mapped using information in excavation reports and Costaki 2006.

78. Athenian casualty lists: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1144–1148(?)*, 1150–1153, 1155(?), 1156(?), 1157, 1158, 1162–1163a–c, 1166, 1168, 1169, 1171, 1172, 1175–1177, 1180, 1183–1193bis; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 5221*, 5222 (cavalry); *SEG XLVIII 83*, XLIX 370 (on which see also LI 425, LIII 354, LV 413), LII 60. Bases for the

lists: *IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/504*, 1142(?), 1163d–f, 1167, 1170(?), 1173, 1179, 1181 (cavalry). See further Bradeen 1964; 1969; *Agora XVII*, pp. 3–34; Bradeen and Lewis 1979; Dow 1983, p. 98; Pritchett 1985, pp. 139–140; Lewis 2000–2003; Steinhauer 2004–2009; Spyropoulos 2009.

79. Kyparissis 1927–1928, pp. 56–58; Schilardi 1968, p. 36; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, p. 104, cf. pp. 92–93; Theodoraki 2007, p. 181, no. X2.5.

80. Koroneia: Kyparissis and Peek 1932; Peek 1933; 1934; Bowra 1938; Bradeen 1964, pp. 25–29; Clairmont 1983, pp. 159–164; Schachter 1986, p. 5, n. 3. Delion: Mattingly [1963] 1996, pp. 92–93. Sicily: Papagiannopoulos-Palaos 1939, pp. 101–102; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, pp. 104–109. See the *IG I<sup>3</sup>* entry for additional bibliography.

81. Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000; Papazarkadas 2009, p. 76. Only one stele has been published, but other fragments seem to have been found with it (Tsi-

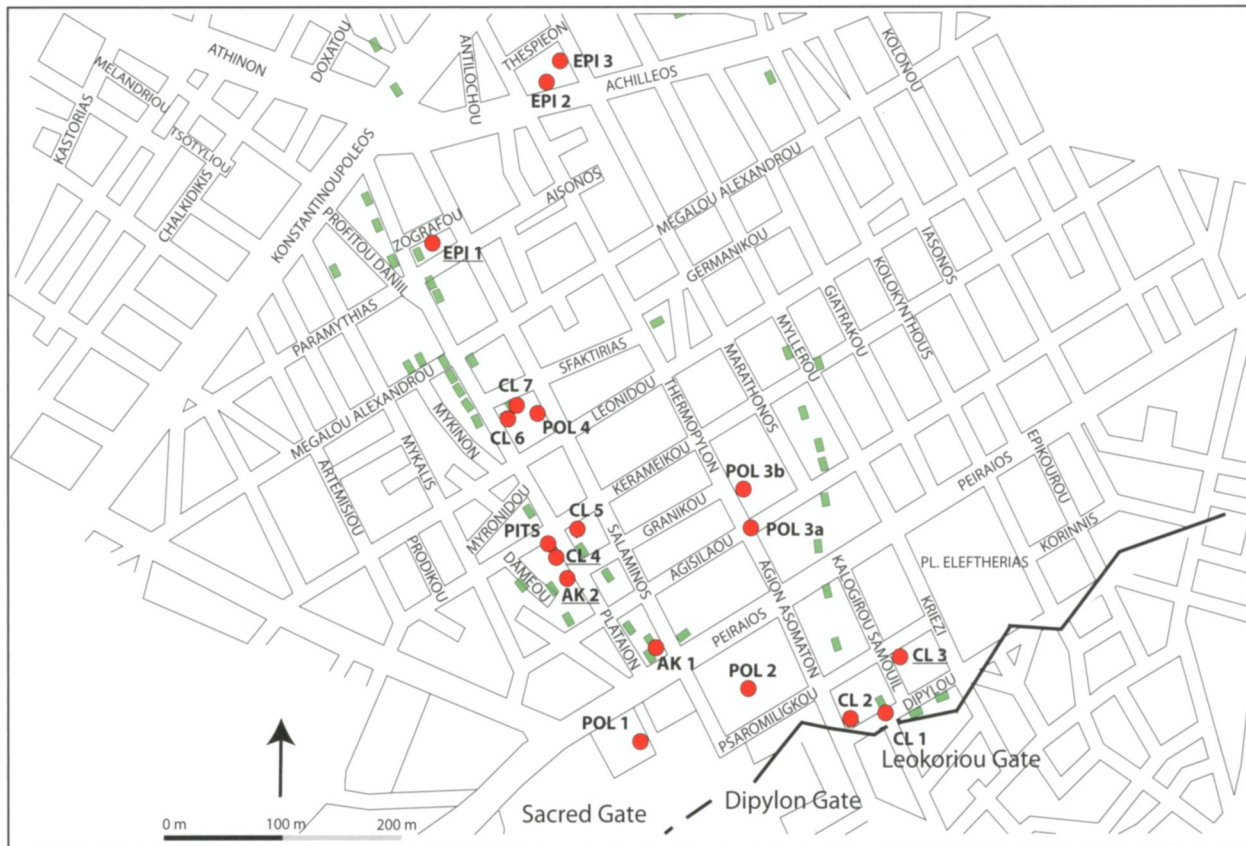
rigoti-Drakotou 2000, p. 87, n. 2, p. 111). On the excavation, see also *ΕΥΠΠΟ 2* (1998), p. 75; 3 (1999), p. 84; Touchais 2000, p. 765; Costaki 2006, pp. 450–451, no. V.11; Theodoraki 2007, pp. 176–178, no. X2.3.

82. Brückner 1910, p. 219; Wenz 1913, pp. 58–61; Hölscher 1973, pp. 102–108; Clairmont 1983, pp. 209–212; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986; Bugh 1988, pp. 136–140; Lawton 1992, p. 249; Kaltsas 2002, p. 159, no. 313. Near the same intersection, at Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromiligkou 5–7, a group of possibly related remains were excavated in 1900 by D. Filios; see Delbrueck 1900, pp. 308–310; Schilardi 1968, pp. 41–42. The remains included a rectangular platform, possibly for a tumulus, as well as Geometric vessels, Classical graves, and a mudbrick structure of unknown form and function. Found with the last was a lead sheet inscribed in the Doric dialect and dated to the 4th century.





Figure 2. Modern street map of the *demotion sema* and environs, with excavations and discoveries related to the public cemetery marked in red (Pol = polyandria; CL = casualty lists; H = hippic material; AK = sites related to the shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste; Epi = sites related to the gardens of Epikouros; Pits = site with 10 trenches or pits in the road). Underlined labels indicate approximate locations. Green rectangles mark sites where ancient road segments have been found. N. T. Arrington



**Figure 3.** Detail of Figure 2, showing the southern part of the *demiosion sema* and environs. See Figure 2 for key. N. T. Arrington

Further west, close to the Dipylon Gate and within the Kerameikos archaeological park, the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians (Pol 1) can be identified on the basis of literary and epigraphic testimony.<sup>83</sup> This was certainly part of the *demiosion sema*. A long, narrow monument, constructed in several phases, it housed 24 Lakedaimonians who fell fighting on the side of the Thirty Tyrants in 403.<sup>84</sup> An inscription found nearby (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 11678), once built into the structure and facing the Academy Road, secures the identification.<sup>85</sup> Arrowheads were found in some of the skeletons, including the last one to be buried. The dead were carefully treated, bound in fabric with their heads resting on stones. There were no signs of disrespect or abuse. The bodies are obviously war casualties, and they lie in close proximity to many other sites with links to the military cemetery. Foreigners were not out of place in the *demiosion sema*: Pausanias (1.29.6–8) mentions

83. For bibliography, see n. 7, above.

84. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.33. Scholars assign different parts of the monument to the actual Lakedaimonian tomb of 403. I follow the division of Stroszeck (2006), which is largely based on the manner in which the soldiers were buried: see pp. 102–103 and fig. 1, where the structures associated with burials 1–9 and 15 are the earliest, 10–14 and 16 are later, and 17–24 are the last. Others (e.g., Willemsen 1977) consider only 14 burials to belong to

the tomb proper. Kienlin (2003, pp. 114–118, 121–122) believes the multiple phases indicate that not all of the dead were associated with the event recorded by Xenophon.

85. A lambda and alpha are preserved from the (restored) heading Λακεδαιμόνιοι, beneath which are the names Thibrakos and Chairon, identified as polemarchs and known from Xenophon's account. Kienlin (2003, pp. 116–118, 121) agrees with the identification of the tomb, but argues

that the inscription was too long to belong to the monument. He errs in assuming that the heading had to be written in one ordered line: compare the heading of an Argive casualty list (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1149), which curves down the right side of the monument. Moreover, he assumes that anathyrosis on the right side of the stone belongs to its use in the Lakedaimonian tomb, although two cuttings for stelai on the underside of the inscription indicate an earlier or later period of use as well.



**Figure 4.** Map of the *demiosion sema* and environs with the courses of ancient roads reconstructed.  
N. T. Arrington





**Figure 5. Relief crowning a list of Athenian casualties at Corinth and Koroneia, 394/3 B.C. (CL 3). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2744. Photo E. Babnik, courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens**

polyandria for Thessalians, Cretans, Kleonians, and Argives. One might object that the other foreigners on this list did not die while fighting against Athenians, but the entombed Lakedaimonians were also allies of at least some Athenian citizens. Nor does a comment in the funeral oration of Lysias, frequently adduced in discussions of this tomb, exclude it from the public cemetery, as some have argued.<sup>86</sup> In a speech over those who died in the Corinthian War, the orator refers to the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians as “close . . . to this monument” (ἐγγυς . . . τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος, Lys. 2.63). Here μνῆμα does not refer to the *demosion sema* as a whole but to the tomb of the dead whose virtues the orator extols.<sup>87</sup> Thus, when Lysias says that the tombs of the Lakedaimonians are near the *mnema*, he does not exclude them from the *demosion sema*, of which they are in fact a part. We should be wary, however, of drawing too many conclusions about the appearance of the cemetery from a single polyandrion. The orientation of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and the monument at the third horos has encouraged scholars to envisage the cemetery as a series of tombs strictly bordering the road; the rectangular polyandria discovered on Salaminos Street (Pol 4, discussed below) reveal that this was not always the case.

Also indicative of state burials, but on the basis of ceramic evidence rather than structural remains, are “a significant group of tombs” found close to the Dipylon Gate in 1900 (Pol 2), of which we know little apart from the fact that the funeral offerings included a miniature Athenian kylix of the second quarter of the 5th century and, more significantly, two mid-5th-century Boiotian kantharoi.<sup>88</sup> To my knowledge, no other Boiotian objects have been found in the area northwest of Athens, and it is probable

86. E.g., Ritchie 1984, pp. 772–773, 777.

87. Todd (2007, p. 199) translates it as “monument.” On only one other occasion (32.21) does Lysias use the word μνῆμα, and there too it refers to an individual grave (and a private one), not to a cemetery.

88. Schilardi 1980; Stichel 1998, pp. 150–151 (map), 154.

that these kantharoi belonged to a state grave for foreigners.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps they date to the period between 457 and 447, when the Athenians, following the victory at Oinophyta, held sway in Boiotia until their defeat at Koroneia (Thuc. 1.108.2–3, 113.2–4).

Pausanias (1.29.2) mentions a shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste along his route to the Academy, shortly before he describes the burials in the *demosion sema*. This shrine was located near the intersection of Agisilaou and Plataion Streets (AK 1, 2). In 1922 excavations by Alexander Philadelphus at 11 Plataion (AK 2) revealed a wall of large, well-worked poros stones forming an angle, possibly part of the sanctuary enclosure, together with two bases dedicated to Kalliste, dated on letter forms to the 4th or 3rd century (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4665, 4668); a votive relief of a goddess holding a torch, of similar date (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4666); a 3rd-century marble relief dedicated to Kalliste (IG II<sup>2</sup> 4667); and three other votive reliefs with representations of female anatomy.<sup>90</sup> Earlier excavations conducted in 1896 at a site ca. 200 m northwest of the Dipylon gate (AK 1) had exposed a paved surface, 11 m wide, as well as an inscription (reused as a drain cover) mentioning Artemis Ariste and Kalliste and dated to 235/4 (IG II<sup>2</sup> 788).<sup>91</sup> The evidence from these two excavations shows that the shrine must have been in the immediate vicinity. The fact that Pausanias is silent about polyandria up to this point in his route, however, need not indicate that the public graves began only after the shrine. He may have taken a cross-street from the Old Academy Road to the shrine, or his silence may be attributable to the fact that the graves close to the city walls had been covered up in the 4th century.<sup>92</sup>

A short distance further north, an inscription with an anthemion relief listing the cavalry casualties from battles at Corinth and Koroneia in 394/3 (IG II<sup>2</sup> 5222) was discovered ca. 1870 at the Levendis tile kiln, located on Plataion, perhaps near Kerameikou (CL 4).<sup>93</sup> In the same area, a 5th-century casualty list (SEG LI 52) and an early-4th-century relief of a horseman riding over his opponent were found at Kerameikou 93 and Plataion (CL 5).<sup>94</sup> Also

89. Pots do not equal people, but the unique nature of the find and the attestation of foreigners elsewhere in the cemetery strongly suggest that these vessels were associated with a Boiotian grave. Apart from the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians and stelai for *proxenoi*, the only other indication of the presence of foreigners in the area is an inscribed lead sheet in the Doric dialect found near CL 3 (see n. 82, above). For Boiotian pottery found under the floors of modern buildings near the Agora, see Ure 1962; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 234–235.

90. On the site and the finds, see Frazer 1913, vol. 2, p. 379; Philadelphus 1927, pp. 157–163; Judeich 1931, p. 412; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 301–302; Papachatzis 1974–1981, vol. 1, p. 385,

n. 1; Forsén 1996, p. 58, nos. 5.1, 5.2, and p. 136; Mikalson 1998, pp. 148–149; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2006, p. 291.

91. Kavvadias 1896, pp. 20–22; *AM* 21 (1896), p. 463; Philadelphus 1927, pp. 161–162; Judeich 1931, p. 412; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 301–302; Mikalson 1998, pp. 148–149; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2006, p. 291; Costaki 2006, pp. 490–491, no. VI.12. The site was located between Plataion and Salaminos Streets, probably on Peiraios. Costaki (2006, pp. 490–491, no. VI.12) identifies it as the entire east side of the block.

92. On the covering of the graves, see n. 9, above.

93. On the findspot, which remains approximate, see Matthaiou 2003, p. 198; also Stichel 1998, pp. 150–151 (with map), 157, with further bibliog-

raphy. On the inscription and the relief, see Wenz 1913, pp. 61–66; Tod 1948, pp. 18–20, no. 104; Clairmont 1983, pp. 212–214; Bugh 1988, pp. 136–140; Lawton 1992, p. 242; *APMA* 2, p. 67, no. 77; Németh 1994; Kaltsas 2002, p. 158, no. 312; Rhodes and Osborne 2003, pp. 40–43, no. 7A; Hildebrandt 2006, pp. 96–98.

94. On the site, see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, pp. 22–23; Costaki 2006, p. 484, no. VI.3. Matthaiou (2003, p. 199) reports having seen the casualty list in the storeroom of the ephoreia. It may have been reused in one of the Roman and Late Roman graves or the Late Roman building mentioned in the excavation report. For the relief, see Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986.



from Plataion Street, but with no cross-street recorded, comes a complete casualty list from the fighting in the Chersonese in 447 (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1162*).<sup>95</sup>

Near the findspots of these lists, at Kerameikou and Plataion Streets (Pits), 10 regular pits (L. 1.10–1.35, W. 0.35–0.65, D. 0.80–1.05 m) were found dug into the Academy Road.<sup>96</sup> The pits formed a rough semicircle of three irregular rows near the western edge of the road. Clairmont suggested that they originally held larnakes containing the ashes of fallen soldiers, with bases for stelai bearing casualty lists set above them.<sup>97</sup> The positions of the pits present a challenge to Clairmont's interpretation, however, for the haphazard placement of the graves and the accompanying stelai on the road itself would have created more of a nuisance (especially for the relay runners who competed on the road) than an impressive and respectful memorial.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, some of the inscribed lists would have been crowded and concealed by others, making them difficult to read. There were no traces of ash or wood within the cuttings.<sup>99</sup> The chronology, too, is problematic for Clairmont's interpretation. The pits appear to have cut through four of the five ancient surfaces of the Academy Road and were in turn cut by a Hellenistic drain. Although the published report does not provide dates for the road surfaces, a comparison with the dated surfaces further north at Plataion 54 and Zografou suggests that the digging of the pits took place in the Hellenistic period.<sup>100</sup> If so, the pits themselves, and any monuments they might have been associated with, would not have been visible for long, because of their destruction by the Hellenistic drain. Perhaps, rather than being receptacles for larnakes, the pits served some function related to the races held along the road. They may have supported a stand for spectators or judges. Alternatively, they may have been associated with other activities of the ephebes who gathered at the Marathon cenotaph. In any event, in light of their location and unusual nature, it seems likely that the pits were in some way connected with events that took place in the *demosion sema*.

Between the Academy and Old Academy Roads, at Agisilaou and Thermopylon Streets, excavations for a drain (Pol 3a) and a nearby house plot (Pol 3b) have produced other relevant material.<sup>101</sup> Although the area was subject to considerable reuse and the published report is cursory, it seems that at least one and possibly two polyandria were located here. In the drain excavation (Pol 3a) a wall of isodomic masonry, preserved two courses high and with an excavated length of 1.50 m, was found built on a floor of marble slabs. The construction appears similar to that of the better-preserved polyandria on Salaminos Street (Pol 4, discussed below).

95. On the findspot, see Matthaiou 2003, p. 198. The first edition of *IG I* (Suppl., pp. 108–109, no. 446a) reports that it was found at an uncertain location and was in the possession of the Archaeological Service; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* says only that the findspot is uncertain. See further *APMA* 1, p. 67, no. 326; Tod 1933, pp. 100–102, no. 48; Peek 1955, p. 8, no. 18; Clairmont 1983, pp. 165–169;

Meiggs and Lewis 1988, pp. 125–128, no. 48; Pritchett 1998, pp. 27–29.

96. Alexandri 1967, pp. 86–88; Costaki 2006, pp. 484–485, no. VI.4. These pits are different from the holes found in front of the Dipylon Gate, on every road surface except the lowest, which vary in shape and width from ca. 0.30 to nearly 2 m (see Ohly 1965, figs. 15–17).

97. Clairmont 1981; 1983, pp. 41–42, 265, n. 60, fig. 6, location 3, fig. 8.

98. On the relay races, see p. 526, below.

99. H. A. Thompson *ap.* Clairmont 1983, p. 265, n. 60.

100. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, pp. 21–22; Costaki 2006, pp. 534–535, no. VIII.19.

101. Alexandri 1968a, p. 33.

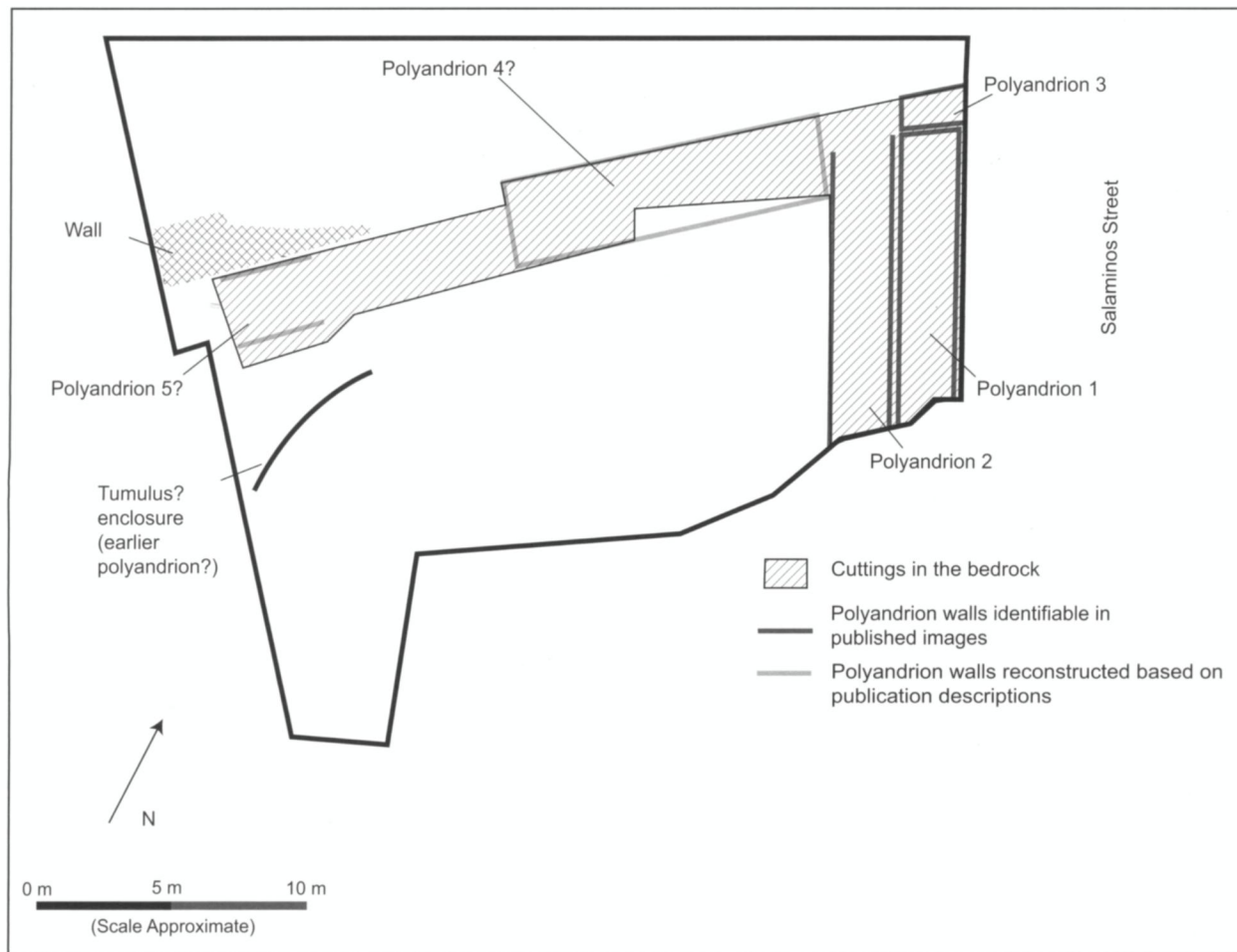
Investigation of the house plot fronting the drain excavation slightly further to the north (Pol 3b) revealed funerary activity from the Late Classical and Roman periods, so the structure need not be associated with a post-Classical house or later industrial use. The excavators date it to the Late Classical period. The excavation of the house plot (Pol 3b) also revealed a cutting or trench in the bedrock; although the report provides few details, this too is reminiscent of the cuttings made for the polyandria on Salaminos Street. Within the trench was found an inscribed marble stele dated to the 4th century; fragments of an inscribed funerary column of similar date were found nearby. The absence of other material that can be firmly associated with state burials, such as casualty lists, is presumably due to later plundering of the site for construction material. Such activity would have freed up the area for five Late Roman burials also found in the excavation of the house plot.<sup>102</sup>

An important group of polyandria was discovered at Salaminos 35, east of the Academy Road (Pol 4). The site, excavated in 1997, has not yet received full publication, and what follows is an attempt to make sense of the few published, and sometimes contradictory, statements about the excavation.<sup>103</sup>

The excavator, Charis Stoupa, has reported the remains of five subterranean polyandria set into cuttings in the bedrock (Fig. 6). The first two are situated along the eastern edge of the plot, oriented northwest–southeast and parallel to one another. Both are long, narrow structures, 0.90–1.10 m wide, carefully constructed with floors of poros slabs and walls of poros ashlar in isodomic masonry. The walls originally consisted of two courses, with a total height of 1.10–1.25 m. The first polyandrium (excavated length 9.85 m) was found still partly covered with stone slabs. Within were remains of cross-walls and at least three male cremation burials. The second polyandrium (excavated length 10.30 m) was constructed at a level 0.20–0.30 m lower than the first. Anathyrosis on the northernmost preserved wall blocks reveals that the structure once extended further northward. A shallow cutting covered with silty soil beneath the south side of the structure contained funeral vessels and sherds from the first and second quarters of the 5th century. This cutting predates the construction of the polyandrium. The cover slabs of the second polyandrium had collapsed and sealed in many cremated bones and seven vessels dating to the third quarter of the 5th century. A third polyandrium (excavated length 1.75 m) appears to be situated to the north of and perpendicular to the first, extending eastward into the unexcavated area. Constructed in a similar manner, it was plastered on the inside with lime and contained bones from at least one skeleton, together with fragments of a bronze kalpis. West of the north end of the second polyandrium, near the center of the lot, traces of a fourth polyandrium, oriented southwest–northeast, are said to be visible. The slab pavement upon which it rested is wider than that of the first three polyandria; either the fourth structure was much wider than the others or it did not extend across the entire pavement. Beyond the western end of the fourth polyandrium, a fifth begins, extending westward with the same orientation (excavated length 3.10 m). Burnt bones from at least two adult males were found inside.

102. On the dismantling of the *demosion sema*, see n. 18, above.

103. See Stoupa 1997; Blackman 1998, pp. 8–11; *EYHPO* 1 (1997), p. 68; Touchais 1998, p. 722; Burkhalter and Philippa-Touchais 2003, p. 709; see also Rose 2000, with <http://www.archaeology.org/online/features/athens/>; the photographs posted on the website are particularly helpful for understanding the layout of the site.



**Figure 6. Polyandria excavated at Salaminos 35 (Pol 4).** Drawing N. T. Arrington, after photograph in Stoupa 1997, pl. 27:α

North of the fifth polyandria and at a higher elevation is a poros wall, oriented southwest–northeast, parallel to the polyandria. The wall is three courses (1.70 m) wide and preserved one course high. The preserved portion is only 2.85 m in length and it extends out of the excavation pit, but an ashlar found 10.10 m to the northeast (not readily visible in the published photographs and so not indicated in Fig. 6) may belong to the same wall. This wall probably once held the bases on which the casualty lists were erected.

In the southwestern part of the plot, at a higher elevation, a structure was found that predated the polyandria. It must have been removed by the excavators and is no longer visible in the published photographs, unless it is to be identified with a group of ashlar blocks in the southwest that do not appear to be fully exposed.<sup>104</sup> The structure (max. p.L. 4.60, W. 0.48, H. 2.15 m) consisted of two walls of rough stone slabs or mudbrick (reports differ on the construction material), with traces of a third. Stoupa suggests that this structure was also a polyandria, which she dates on ceramic grounds to the first quarter of the 5th century, contemporary with some of the material from the cutting beneath the second polyandria described above. A cylindrical ash urn was found in the structure, set into a stone slab in a cutting in the bedrock. The tomb was surrounded by a circular enclosure, possibly for a tumulus.<sup>105</sup> Finally, excavation in the northwestern area of the plot also revealed four isolated graves dating from the second half of the 6th to the early 4th century.

104. The rectangular, two-room structure cutting the fourth polyandria and prominent in the photographs is presumably Roman or later.

105. A portion of this circular enclosure seems to be visible near the lower right-hand (northwest) corner of the aerial photograph accompanying the excavation report (Stoupa 1997, pl. 27:α).

Within the same modern block in which the Salaminos polyandria were discovered, at Plataion 30–32 (CL 6), part of the inscription from the Marathon cenotaph (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 503/504 Lapis C*) was found built into the eastern retaining wall of the road.<sup>106</sup> The same block also produced, at Sfaktirias 23 (CL 7), a fragmentary 4th-century inscription: [- - -] ἰδοὺς Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ *vacat* σώιζοντες (*SEG XXVIII 240*). This is probably the heading of, or a commemorative base for, a casualty list or other war-related monument.<sup>107</sup>

Most of the archaeological evidence for the public cemetery comes from sites to the south of an ancient cross-street that roughly followed the course of modern Sfaktirias Street. There is, however, evidence further to the north that is also useful for locating the cemetery, even if not all of it is of a public funerary nature. When Cicero walked with his friend Atticus from the Dipylon Gate to the Academy, they passed by the gardens of Epikouros (*Cic. Fin.* 5.1.3). The site of the gardens appears to have been found by Stefanos Koumanoudis in 1871, at an unspecified spot on Zografou Street (Epi 1). Few details are recorded about this 19th-century excavation, which took place very close to the Academy Road, but we know that a Roman courtyard and stoa-like building were discovered.<sup>108</sup> Not far away, in separate excavations (Epi 2, 3), were found several statues of philosophers dating to the 2nd century A.D., two of which Dontas identified as copies of a well-known Epikouros type.<sup>109</sup> Although four of the statues were built into a Late Roman wall, their good state of preservation indicates that they were originally displayed in a covered setting, such as a stoa. Moreover, their large size suggests that they were not transported particularly far for use as building material. Dontas reasonably concluded that the structure found by Koumanoudis at Epi 1 was part of the gardens of Epikouros, an identification that helps to determine the route taken by Cicero, and in turn provides more evidence for the location of the *demosion sema*.

Much further to the north, a stone-paved surface excavated at Platonos 85 and Mylon Street (Pol 5), on the western edge of the Academy Road, may once have belonged to a polyandrion.<sup>110</sup> The pavement, which recalls the flooring of the polyandria on Salaminos Street (Pol 4), was on the east side of the plot and continued up to the southeast corner of Platonos Street. The excavated length (11.50 m) is close to the length of the Salaminos structures. The pavement was laid on a natural silty surface containing Classical sherds, at a depth of 2 m below the modern street level.<sup>111</sup> The report also notes the use at the site of a modern kiln or furnace, which disturbed the ancient remains. It is possible that it burned marble and limestone, which would have been available in abundance in an area with public graves.

106. Matthaïou 2003, p. 198. On the site, see Alexandri 1973–1974a, pp. 91–92; Clairmont 1983, pp. 39, 106–111, fig. 6, location 80; Costaki 2006, p. 544, no. VIII.31. On the inscription, see Matthaïou 1988; Meiggs and Lewis 1988, pp. 54–57, no. 26; Hansen 1999; Tracy 2000–2003; Matthaïou 2000–2003; Steinhauer 2009, p. 123. For the significance of this monument, see pp. 505–506, above.

107. Alexandri 1968a, p. 95; Stup-

perich 1977, p. 213 and, in notes volume, pp. 119–120; Peek 1980, pp. 69–70, no. 80; Clairmont 1983, pp. 41, 215.

108. The excavation was first reported by Koumanoudis in *Prakt* 1872, pp. 6–7; Dontas (1971, p. 22) connects it with the gardens of Epikouros. See also Plin. *HN* 19.51.

109. Dontas 1971, pp. 18–19. One statue was found at Achilleos 52–54 (Epi 2), excavated by I. Threpsiadis in 1963; see Krystalli and Kaloudi 1964,

p. 64. Four others were found at Marathonos 61 (Epi 3), excavated by Alexandri in 1968; see Alexandri 1969a, pp. 56, 59–60; 1969b; Garland 1982, p. 152, no. E1; Clairmont 1983, p. 40, fig. 7, location 69.

110. Lygkouri-Tolias 1994b.

111. The connection between the pavement and a wall of limestone blocks found below it is not clear from the brief published report.

At the very end of his description of the state burials, shortly before reaching the Academy, Pausanias (1.29.15) mentions the tomb of the orator Lykourgos, son of Lykophron, of the deme Boutadai. The position of the passage in Pausanias's account strongly suggests that this was a public burial. His family plot was discovered in 1979, when excavation at Vasilikon 56 and Kratylou (within the same excavation plot as Pol 6) revealed a rectangular pyre (2.40 × 1.20 m) containing burned wood, some bones, and some 5th-century sherds. In the fill above the pyre were two marble kalpides, an inscribed lekythos, and two inscribed stelai that secure the identification of the area with the family plot.<sup>112</sup> A poros wall faced the road, with a funerary base attached to it, angled toward travelers coming from the Academy. The structure dates to the late 4th–early 3rd century.<sup>113</sup>

In addition to the private family burials in the plot, individuals from several generations were buried at public expense. A decree of 307/6, preserved among the lives of the Attic orators falsely attributed to Plutarch, calls for an honorific statue of Lykourgos, the public display of his decrees, and an allowance at the Prytaneion for his eldest son, Lykophron, honors justified in part by the fact that that “the ancestors of Lykourgos, Lykomedes and Lykourgos, were honored by the demos when living, and when they died the demos gave them burials at public expense in the Kerameikos because of their bravery.”<sup>114</sup> The same author notes (842e) that some of the descendants of Lykourgos were also buried “at public expense” (δημοσίᾳ), and that the graves survived to his day. It appears, then, that members of at least four generations of the family were honored with public burials (individually, not in polyandria), and that the family plot was found precisely where Pausanias saw Lykourgos's public grave, close to the entrance to the Academy.<sup>115</sup>

112. On the site, see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, pp. 18–20 (where the address is mistakenly given as Vasilikon and Kratylou 56); Vasiliopoulou 1987; Catling 1988, p. 9; Siewert 1999, p. 1; Costaki 2006, pp. 557–558, no. X.4. For the inscriptions, see especially Matthaiou 1987 (= *SEG* XXXVII 160–162). Siewert (1999, p. 1) maintains that the public burial mentioned by Pausanias was located not here but nearby; see the discussion in Matthaiou 1987, pp. 41–42, on whether or not there were two grave sites for Lykourgos. Stupperich (1977, p. 25, n. 4) accounts for the private graves by speculating that Lykourgos's descendants inherited the public burial plot. Of course, not all public burials were located in the *demosion sema*. However, in light of the proximity of the tomb of Lykourgos to those of the Tyrannicides and Ephialtes (as indicated by the sequence of Pausanias's account), the lack of any distinction in the text

between the orator's tomb and other public monuments, and the strong probability that a polyandria was located nearby (see below), it seems most reasonable to accept Lykourgos's family plot as a part of the *demosion sema*, since that was the space that was deemed most appropriate for public burials, and the one that received the majority of them.

113. Also associated with the family plot are four amphora burials, two marble sarcophagi, two terracotta cists for children, a tile-covered grave, and a poros cist. The excavator dates all 11 graves to the second half of the 5th century, although in most cases no grave goods are described.

114. καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Λυκούργου, Λυκομήδης τε καὶ Λυκούργος, καὶ ζῶντες ἐτιμῶντο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τελευτήσασιν αὐτοῖς δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος δημοσίας ταφὰς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. The decree is preserved among the lives of the Attic orators

attributed to Plutarch (*X orat.* 852a; cf. 843e).

115. It is possible that pseudo-Plutarch was mistaken in assigning so many public burials to the family of Lykourgos, but if so, it would only strengthen the case that the family burial plot was located in the *demosion sema*, because the mistake would have been easier if the graves in question were situated among other public burials. The presence of private graves among public ones presents no problem here, since many other private burials have been found in the area bordering the Academy Road. Because single burials, unlike polyandria, can be either public or private, private graves can be distinguished archaeologically only when the deceased is a child or a female, neither of whom received public burial. Examples of such private burials within the space occupied by the *demosion sema* include a Classical larnax (and thus a child's burial) at Kerameikou and



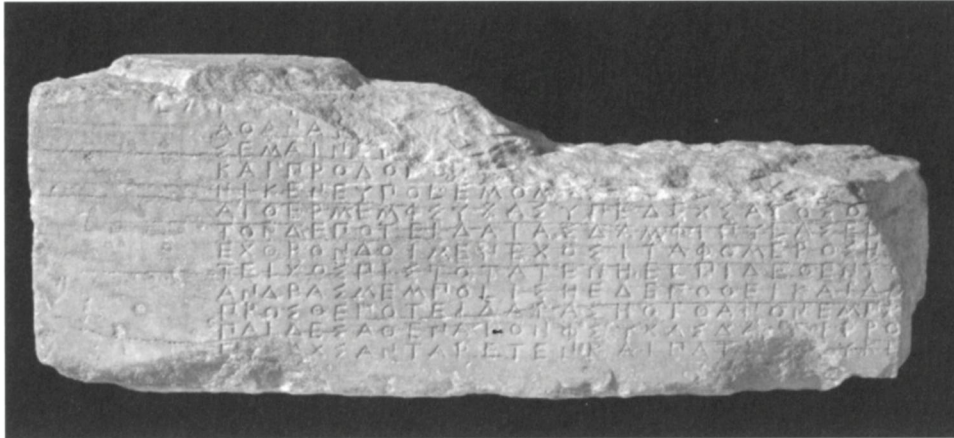


Figure 7. Fragment of the base of a list of Athenian casualties at Poteidaia, 432 B.C. (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1179a*). London, British Museum 1816.6-10.348. Photo © Trustees of the British Museum

Across from the burial plot of Lykourgos and found during the same excavation, on the eastern side of the Academy Road (which narrowed here in its final approach to the Academy), two parallel walls were found, oriented northwest–southeast and constructed of poros stones laid on a hard red layer covering the bedrock (*Pol 6*).<sup>116</sup> The walls, with an excavated length of 2.50 m, stood 1.10 m apart. The northeastern wall was preserved to a height of 1.90 m (two courses); most of it lay under modern Kratylou Street. The southwestern wall, facing the ancient road, was preserved to a height of 2.40 m (three courses). The excavator dated the walls to the late 4th or early 3rd century and interpreted them as the remains of two separate periboloi. There would have been little need to build two periboloi so close to each other, however, and the published report and illustration do not reveal the presence of any filling material between them, which would have been necessary if they were in fact the two faces of a single, thicker wall. The structure instead resembles the rectangular polyandria found at Salaminos Street (*Pol 4*).

From somewhere in the area of the Academy itself, Lord Elgin removed an inscribed base that once held a casualty list of the Athenian dead who fought at Poteidaia in 432 (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 1179a*; Fig. 7).<sup>117</sup> An epigram on the base secures the identification, but the precise findspot is unknown, so it has not been plotted on Figures 2–4.

Finally, southeast of Hippios Kolonos and at a considerable distance from the sites discussed above, on a traffic island in Diligianni Theodorou Street near Palaologou Konstantinou (*CL 8*), just east of the Larissa train station, a casualty list for cavalry was found in 1995, probably in reuse as a cover for a marble sarcophagus (*SEG XLVIII 83*).<sup>118</sup>

Plataion Streets (Pits) (Alexandri 1967, p. 88), and the graves of women (identified by grave offerings) at Siatistis and Monastiriou (Alexandri 1972, pp. 127–130) and at Pythodorou 29 and Platonos 20 (Lygkouri-Tolias 1989, p. 24). The private graves are discussed in greater detail in Arrington 2010, pp. 40–41; see also Clairmont 1983, pp. 3–4,

38; Stupperich 1984, p. 641; Matthaiou 1987, p. 42, n. 15; Meyer 1993, p. 116.

116. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1979, p. 18.

117. London, British Museum 1816.6-10.348. See Tod 1933, pp. 127–128, no. 59; Stupperich 1978, pp. 92–93; Clairmont 1983, pp. 174–175; Lewis 2000–2003, pp. 10–11.

118. Parlama 1992–1998, p. 536; Touchais 1998, p. 726; Parlama 2000; Moreno 2007, pp. 100–101, n. 114; Matthaiou 2009, pp. 203–204; Papazarkadas 2009, pp. 69–70, 76–77. I thank Liana Parlama for kindly providing detailed information on the findspot.

## THE PUBLIC CEMETERY AND THE ACADEMY ROAD

Although the published material from these rescue excavations is scanty, it is nevertheless possible to draw some conclusions about the location of the *demosion sema*. The public cemetery of the Athenians followed the Academy Road from the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians in the Kerameikos archaeological park to the entrance of the Academy. It did not extend far to the west, probably because of the presence of the wagon road that closely paralleled the Academy Road on that side, but it appears that it did spread eastward, in view of the findspots of likely polyandria at **Pol 2** and **Pol 3a** and **b**. The center or heart of the cemetery lay in the area bounded on the north by Sfaktirias Street (which follows the line of an ancient cross-street)<sup>119</sup> and on the east by Thermopylon and Agion Asomaton; on the west it extended slightly beyond the western edge of Plataion Street, while the southern boundary ran from the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians approximately to the corner of Dipylou and Agion Asomaton Streets.<sup>120</sup> For several decades the southern border of the cemetery probably lay along the line of modern Peiraios Street, where the temple of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste would have been a fitting boundary marker. In this earliest phase, the monuments would have clustered around the Marathon cenotaph, near **CL 6**. At the other end of the road, near the Academy, graves must have clustered around the tomb of the Tyrannicides. As more burials were added, the cemetery expanded. (The casualty list found near the Larissa train station [**CL 8**] is a striking exception to an otherwise regular pattern, to which I return below.)

The Academy Road had a profound impact upon the appearance and meaning of the *demosion sema*. Although not all public graves were situated along the road itself, many were, and the cemetery was intimately connected with the road, both topographically and conceptually. The Academy Road has been excavated at over 40 locations.<sup>121</sup> The remarkable width of the road—a little over 40 m at one point—dwarfs that of all other Athenian roads, inside or outside the city walls.<sup>122</sup> The nearest parallel is the Panathenaic Way, the intramural continuation of the Academy Road, with a width of 29 m in the Hellenistic period.<sup>123</sup> The average city street within the walls was 3.50–4.50 m wide.<sup>124</sup> The Academy Road is unusually deep as well: in many locations the successive road surfaces have a cumulative depth of over a meter, and in some over 2 meters, indicating an exceptional amount of use, as well as care for its functionality and appearance.<sup>125</sup> It

119. Traces of this street were found in an excavation at Germanikou and Thermopylon 42 (Costaki 2006, p. 537, no. VIII.22).

120. The findspots of the casualty lists and base at **CL 1**, **CL 2**, and **CL 3** appear to be situated along the Old Academy Road, but all were found in secondary use. Moreover, Pausanias mentions the polyandria from the three battles scholars have associated with base **CL 1**: Sicily, Delion, and Koroneia (Paus. 1.29.11, 13, and 14). All appear

closer to the end than the beginning of his description. Our traveler may have wandered, but surely by the time he described the base for Sicily he was not still near the city walls. Clearly, **CL 1** was moved for the construction of the Valerian Wall.

121. Costaki 2006, pp. 455–459.

122. A horos outside the Dipylon Gate is 40.65 m from a second base (probably for another horos) still in situ on the opposite side of the road. At no point outside the Kerameikos archaeo-

logical park has the whole width of the road certainly been excavated within a single plot, although a width of 40 m was found in an excavation for a drain on Pylou Street (Costaki 2006, pp. 570–571, no. X.26).

123. Costaki 2006, p. 88.

124. Costaki 2006, p. 87.

125. E.g., at Plataion 4 and Agisilaou, 17 layers of surfaces and repairs, 1.98 m deep (Costaki 2006, pp. 489–490, no. VI.11); at Plataion, Granikou, and Salaminos, 7 layers, 2.30 deep

seems clear that the Academy Road was built to receive and convey huge crowds, in spite of the fact that it did not lead to an urban center such as Piraeus, Acharnai, or Eleusis. The annual races from the Academy through the Dipylon Gate, while an important aspect of the road's use, can only partly explain its unusual dimensions. Although the runners continued into the city, the road narrowed after passing through the Dipylon Gate, and in the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period the width of the road in front of the gate was halved as well. In spite of these constrictions, however, the races continued to be held, and ancient parallels suggest that a width of 10 m would have been more than enough for 10 runners.<sup>126</sup>

The contrast between the Old Academy and Academy Roads emphasizes the remarkable character of the latter. The width of the Old Academy Road is ca. 5–6 m, with a minimum of 3 m at Kerameikou and Myllerou Streets and a maximum of over 11 m at Lenorman 84.<sup>127</sup> This is wider than the average road within the walls, but still not particularly impressive. Moreover, excavations have revealed no section of the road that is more than a meter thick, in sharp contrast to the heavy use and repeated resurfacings attested for the Academy Road. In fact, there are signs that, by the Hellenistic period, the Old Academy Road may have been neglected. At Lenorman 84, the west retaining wall of the road collapsed, together with part of the road itself. It was repaired in the 1st century at the latest, when a new road surface was laid over the destroyed section.<sup>128</sup> At Lenorman and Konstantinoupoleos the road was destroyed in the 2nd century and appears not to have been repaired or reused.<sup>129</sup> Since repairs were made in one spot but not another, families or private groups may have been responsible for the maintenance of individual sections of the Old Academy Road, rather than public officials, who would have had an eye on the preservation and upkeep of the whole.

Horoi along the Academy Road, on the other hand, show that it was not just a normal road but had an official, public function. Most of these large, carefully crafted markers are inscribed with the words ΟΡΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΥ and dated to the second half of the 4th century.<sup>130</sup> These were not the earliest horoi, however. An earlier example, found in situ in the northwest corner of the Agora, is inscribed ΗΟΡΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΥ and dated on the basis of letter forms to ca. 400.<sup>131</sup> The lowest course of the east wall of the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians is built over the base of a horos, which must therefore be earlier than 403 (and earlier than the horos that currently stands upon it).<sup>132</sup> A horos base found near the northwest tower of the Dipylon Gate should date to ca. 478, the period of the construction

(Costaki 2006, p. 486, no. VI.6); at Paramythias and Plataion 52, 10 layers, 1.50 m deep (Costaki 2006, pp. 535–536, no. VIII.20).

126. The lanes in ancient stadia were between 0.88 and 0.92 m wide (Miller 2004, p. 37); those in modern tracks are 1.25 m. The races along the Academy Road are discussed below, p. 526; on reduction in the width of the road, see n. 9.

127. Costaki 2006, p. 546, no. VIII.34, p. 574, no. XI.1.

128. Costaki 2006, p. 574, no. XI.1.

129. Zachariadou, Kyriakou, and Baziotopoulou 1985, esp. p. 46; Costaki 2006, pp. 521–524, nos. VIII.2–4.

130. Kerameikos I 238–240; Agora I 6835; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2617–2619; *SEG* XII 143, XLI 122. See Ritchie 1984, pp. 199–232, 204–220, 226–229, 756–766, TA 42–44, 46; *Agora* XIX, pp. 11–13, 28,

no. H31; Siewert 1999, pp. 5–7; Stroszeck 2003, pp. 55–67; Costaki 2006, pp. 97–99.

131. Agora I 5770. See Ritchie 1984, pp. 199–203, 761–762, 766, TA 41; *Agora* XIX, p. 28, no. H30; Stroszeck 2003, p. 55. It was found near Adrianou and Thiseiou Streets (Costaki 2006, pp. 476–477, no. V.34).

132. See Ohly 1965, fig. 15.

of the gate, judging from its place in the foundations and its relationship to the surrounding street levels.<sup>133</sup> Finally, the dimensions of a horos base southwest of the Dipylon Gate differ from those of the other bases, suggesting that it too belongs to an earlier series. Since the word ὁδός does not appear in any of the inscriptions, these horoi are not simple road markers. Whatever the specific meaning of the word “Kerameikos” in this context, the stones clearly delimit civic space, laying public claim to the area and preventing intrusive building.<sup>134</sup> The space was certainly inviting. When the injunction of the horoi had lost its force and the importance of the street as a display for monumental graves began to fade, the surfaces of the wide, open boulevard became the ideal setting for private cemeteries.<sup>135</sup>

The Academy Road was an open, public space that challenges the meaning of the very word “road.” It facilitated the transportation of large groups of citizens to the graves outside the city and was broad enough to accommodate the public performance of certain rituals and ceremonies, such as the funeral oration. The wagon road that paralleled the Academy Road to the west provided an alternative route for those who wanted or needed to bypass such activities. The Academy Road’s daring openness was an invitation to walk and explore the landscape, and many ancient authors attest to the fact that strolling through the area was a popular activity.<sup>136</sup> The unusual features of the road would suggest, even without the other archaeological evidence collected above, that the public cemetery lay nearby.

## A CULTURAL WEB

The site chosen for the *demosion sema* was not an obvious one. This was not a highly visible or well-traveled area. The flooding of the Eridanos River and industrial activity in front of the Dipylon Gate meant that the cemetery had to be situated ca. 200 m from the city walls. This extramural location contrasts with the more central placement of the dead in other cities, such as Megara and Sparta. The Megarians built their bouleuterion near the graves of their ancient war dead in response to instructions from the Delphic oracle to take counsel with the majority (Paus. 1.43.3).<sup>137</sup> The Spartans buried some of their dead near the city center and distinguished

133. Stroszeck 2003, p. 55.

134. For the maintenance of city roads by public officials, see Aeschin. 3.25 and the Schol. ad loc. (on ὁδοποιοί); Dem. 3.29, 13.30; *Ath. Pol.* 54.1–2; Costaki 2006, pp. 178–187. For the term “Kerameikos,” see n. 13, above.

135. Late Roman to Early Byzantine graves have been found on the street at, e.g., Plataion 30–32 (Alexandri 1973–1974a, pp. 91–92). The dimensions of the road explain in part why so much material, such as the casualty lists, was removed from the vicinity. Not only was the clear and

level space an invitation to occupation, with an abundance of good building material to be found in the nearby funeral monuments, but the width of the road provided easy access for carts and equipment. Most rescue excavations have followed the road itself very closely; see maps in Arrington 2010, pp. 224–225. I suspect that they would be much more fruitful if they focused on the area slightly further to the east.

136. E.g., Cic. *Fin.* 5.1–5; Lucian, *Iupp. trag.* 15; Philostr. *VS* 2.7.578. Proklos (*In Platonis Parmenidem* 127c) describes the Kerameikos as a place

away from the crowds. He distinguishes between the inner and outer Kerameikos, although other authors sometimes use the term “Kerameikos” for the area of the Classical Agora. On the distinction between the inner and outer Kerameikos, see Papadopoulos 2003, p. 276; Ruggeri 2005.

137. A Megarian casualty list of ca. 425–400 was brought to the local museum around 1950 from a house at the corner of Matrozou and K. Schina Streets, near the center of the city (Kritzas 1989 = *SEG* XXXIX 411; Low 2003, pp. 101–103).



war casualties, and possibly also women who died in labor, with inscriptions (Plut. *Lyc.* 27.1–3; *Mor.* 238d).<sup>138</sup> Note also Pausanias's description (3.14.1) of the cenotaphs of Brasidas, Leonidas, and Pausanias, not far from the theater. In these two cities the war dead were thus placed at the center of communal life.<sup>139</sup>

The Athenian casualties, by contrast, could be more easily forgotten. The Academy Road itself was not a major thoroughfare that would provide the dead with the desired living audience. Although it led to deme sites and important sanctuaries, it did not serve any major urban center.<sup>140</sup> The many visitors who came from the harbor at Piraeus and entered the city via the Dipylon Gate would not have passed through the original site of the *demosion sema*. A location along the well-trodden roads from the city to the harbor would have been a more obvious choice, and indeed some of those who died fighting the Amazons were buried by the Piraeus Gate (Plut. *Thes.* 27.3). Why, then, did the demos choose the Academy Road as the site for the public cemetery?

One important reason was the absence of funerary activity in the vicinity of the Academy Road prior to the establishment of the cemetery. As the archaeological evidence discussed above shows, the area was relatively free of earlier graves, and thus presented the Athenians with a clean slate on which they could write their new history and traditions.<sup>141</sup> Topographically, it turned away from the locus of aristocratic funeral display, while embracing the tombs of the Tyrannicides and Kleisthenes.<sup>142</sup>

Another reason for the choice was the religious and civic significance of the Academy Road, which predated the establishment of the cemetery. At one end of the road, in the Academy itself, the Athenians honored Hekademos, a hero who helped the Dioskouroi find Helen when Theseus stole her from Sparta (Plut. *Thes.* 32.3; Hsch., s.v. Ἀκαδήμια). In the Academy precinct were altars dedicated to Eros, Prometheus, the Muses,

138. Brulé and Piolot (2004) argue that the notion that Spartan women were honored with inscriptions in the Classical period is based on an insecure textual emendation in Plut. *Lyc.* 27.3, where the manuscript reading γυναικὸς τῶν ἱερῶς [or ἱερῶν] ἀποθανόντων was emended by K. Latte to γυναικὸς λεχοῦς ἀποθανόντων. Many scholars accept the emendation (see, e.g., Loraux 1981). Surviving inscriptions for women who died in childbirth (*IG* V.1 713, 714, 1128, 1277) are all Hellenistic or later.

139. Low (2006, pp. 86–91) argues that the style (uniform and plain) and distribution of Spartan gravestones (which she interprets as memorials and not grave markers *per se*) point to a decentralized process of commemoration driven by individuals and families rather than the state. Eight of the 17

military gravestones were found in the city proper, however, and others may originally have stood there, too. Moreover, the standardization of the stones suggests public rather than private agency. Spartan polyandria (for which see Low 2006, pp. 93–101) were located outside the city.

140. The Sacred Way led over the Aigaleos range to Eleusis through the pass at Daphni, while a road from the Leokoriou Gate ran toward a pass further north, in the foothills between Aigaleos and Parnes. The Academy Road, however, ended at the Academy. The deme Kerameis was certainly located in the vicinity of the road, and probably also Boutadai; Lakiadai and Eiresdai were further away. Oion Kerameikon has not yet been located. See *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. Attika, p. 237.

141. Compare the discussion of the

invention of traditions by Hobsbawm (1983); of memory and identity by Gillis (1994, esp. p. 8); and of memory and social belonging by Cubitt (2007, pp. 132–140).

142. Around the same time as the establishment of the cemetery, and perhaps as a result of legislation, private graves became much more humble, stylistically breaking with the past: Cic. *Leg.* 2.26.64–65. On the law, see Clairmont 1970, pp. 11–12; Stupperich 1977, pp. 71–86; Clairmont 1983, pp. 249–250, n. 13; Morris 1992–1993, pp. 38–44; Humphreys 1993, pp. 88–89; Morris 1994, pp. 76, 89, n. 43; Stears 2000, pp. 42–54; Hildebrandt 2006, pp. 77–84. Giudice (2002) argues that the aristocratic imagery on several white-ground lekythoi reacts against the democratic sumptuary legislation.



Athena, and Herakles, and a sacred olive tree (Paus. 1.30.1–2).<sup>143</sup> On the occasions of the Panathenaia, Hephaisteia, Prometheia, and Epitaphia, relay runners carried torches from the altars of Eros or Prometheus in the Academy to the Acropolis or the altar of Hephaistos in the city, emulating the war dead in their quest for *arete* (Paus. 1.30.2; Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 131; Polemon *ap. Harp.*, s.v. λαμπάς).<sup>144</sup> The Epitaphia were an addition to the *patrios nomos* for the burial of the war dead, and the Prometheia, about which we have little information, may also postdate the beginnings of the *demosion sema*.<sup>145</sup> The fact that the torch races were supervised by the Archon Basileus (*Ath. Pol.* 57.1), however, suggests a pre-Kleisthenic origin for some of them.<sup>146</sup> The races associated with the Hephaisteia may predate the cemetery: Herodotos (8.98.2) notes the existence among the Greeks of a torch race in honor of the god, and an Athenian inscription of 421/0 (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 82) documents a reorganization of the festival.<sup>147</sup> The Panathenaia began in the mid-6th century and presumably already included the torch race, which began at the Peisistratid altar of Eros (Paus. 1.30.1).

Two sanctuaries in the vicinity of the Academy Road must also have contributed to the choice of this site for the public cemetery: that of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste and that of Dionysos Eleuthereus (Paus. 1.29.2). The latter almost certainly predated the cemetery, and the former probably did as well.

The shrine of Artemis Ariste and Kalliste was located near Agisilaou and Plataion (AK 1, 2).<sup>148</sup> A base dedicated to Kalliste (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4665) and a relief of the goddess (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4666), both dated on the basis of letter forms and style to the 4th or 3rd century, provide the earliest epigraphic evidence for the shrine, while a dedication by the priest Antibios (*SEG XVIII* 87) dates to 249/8 or shortly thereafter, and an honorary decree for the priest Antidoros (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 788) is dated by archon year to 235/4.<sup>149</sup> Yet Hellenistic inscriptions reveal that Athenians rather than foreigners were involved with the shrine,<sup>150</sup> so it was not a late cult imported from abroad. Pausanias

143. One altar has been found, at Eteokleous 9 and Platonos: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1978, p. 23.

144. See Frazer 1913, vol. 2, pp. 391–393; Parker 1996, p. 254, n. 17; 2005, pp. 183, 472, 479.

145. On the Epitaphia, see Jacoby 1944, pp. 63–65; Humphreys 1985, p. 227, n. 33; Pritchett 1985, pp. 106–124; Rausch 1997, pp. 187–189, 243–245; Parker 1996, p. 136, n. 54; Pritchett 1998, pp. 29–37; Parker 2005, pp. 469–470. Ephebic inscriptions testify to the Epitaphia and the associated torch races during the 2nd century (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006, 1030). Deubner (1932, pp. 230–231) pushes the celebration back to the 5th century on the basis of representations on lekythoi. The letter forms of possible prize vessels have been dated as early as 480 (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 523–

525; cf. Charlier et al. 2009). Rausch (1997, esp. p. 245) also argues for a 5th-century date. Humphreys (2004, p. 90, n. 33, p. 168, n. 93) seems to favor a later date, and Jacoby (1944, p. 65) believes that the Epitaphia replaced the Genesia in the 2nd century. On the Prometheia, see Deubner 1932, pp. 211–212; Parker 2005, p. 479.

146. Rausch 1997, pp. 179–180.

147. See Deubner 1932, pp. 212–213; Davies 1967, p. 35; Parker 2005, pp. 471–472. Mattingly (1997, pp. 353–354) argues that the festival was established in 421/0 by Hyperbolos.

148. See above, p. 515 and nn. 90, 91. Parker (2005, p. 57) calls the location of the shrine near the *demosion sema* a coincidence.

149. For other inscriptions related

to the goddess, see p. 515, above. Koumanoudis suggested that an inscription found near the Dipylon Gate and dedicated to Artemis without epithets also belongs to the shrine (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4689; Koumanoudis 1872, p. 395; 1873, p. 135; *APMA* 1, p. 63, no. 296). See also Tsigoti-Drakotou 2006 for an inscription found during work on the Kerameikos metro station, which mentions a goddess identified only as ἀγαθή. It is much more likely that the priestess honored in this decree served Agathe Tyche, who had a shrine near the long walls (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1035, line 48), than Artemis Ariste and Kalliste, as Tsigoti-Drakotou suggests.

150. Mikalson 1998, p. 149 (in contrast to those involved with the deity recorded in *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1297, 1298).

(1.29.2) designates the cult statues *xoana*, a term that he uses frequently, albeit not exclusively, for pre-Classical statues.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, he attributes the epithets Ariste and Kalliste to the poet Pamphos, who predates Homer (8.35.8, 8.37.9).

Originally this goddess was associated not with warfare, but with pregnancy and childbearing. (She was not Artemis Agrotera, as we might have expected if the military cemetery had predated the shrine.) Hellenistic anatomical votives discovered nearby point to these aspects of the cult.<sup>152</sup> It seems, then, that the shrine of Artemis predated the establishment of the public cemetery, which was located not near the cult site of an explicitly military deity, but rather one who was intimately linked to the survival and continuity of the polis.<sup>153</sup>

The small temple (ναὸς οὐ μέγας, Paus. 1.29.2) of Dionysos Eleuthereus played an important role in the annual preparations for the City Dionysia. Before the festival, the statue of the god was carried from his temple in the city to this extramural sanctuary, then conveyed back into the city (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1006, 1008, 1011).<sup>154</sup> The festival dates to the Peisistratid period and the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus is probably even older. According to tradition, a certain Pegasos of Eleutherai brought the cult statue to the Athenians. When they failed to welcome it warmly, the genitals of the Athenian men were afflicted with a painful disease, and an oracle instructed them to honor the god with phalloi made at public and private expense (Schol. *Ar. Ach.* 243). The event is not precisely dated, but Pausanias (1.2.5) relegates Pegasos to the distant past, prior to the foundation of the City Dionysia.<sup>155</sup>

As a venerated object appropriated from Boiotia, the statue of Dionysos Eleuthereus throws some of the defining characteristics of the cemetery into relief: namely, the celebration of conquest and the inclusion of non-Athenians among the burials in the *demosion sema*. However, the role of the sanctuary in establishing the Academy Road as a suitable site for the public cemetery derived more from the fact that it was the starting point of the procession in which the statue was carried to the theater, where

151. Bennett 1917, pp. 15–16; Donohue 1988, pp. 145–147 (*contra* Bennett); Pritchett 1998, pp. 204–294, especially the conclusions on pp. 293–294.

152. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5199, 5200; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4667; Forsén 1996, pp. 135–136; Parker 2005, p. 412. The goddess was not entirely disassociated from death, however, as there was always the risk that an unhealthy pregnancy would end in the demise of the mother or infant. The only other appearance of Artemis Kalliste in Pausanias is a shrine above the tomb of a certain Kallisto in Arkadia, north of Megalopolis, and the periegete notes that the epithet Kalliste was originally Arkadian (Paus. 8.35.8; Papachatzis 1974–1981, vol. 4, p. 325, n. 5).

153. On the relationship between warfare and childbirth, cf. Medea's claim that she would rather go to war thrice than give birth once (Eur. *Med.* 247–250). Once the *demosion sema* was established and the number of graves increased, the cult of Artemis began to accrue increasingly chthonic meanings, and the goddess on the Academy Road soon came to be known as Artemis Hekate as well. A gloss by Hesychios (s.v. Καλλίστη), that some call Kalliste Artemis Hekate, testifies to the multiple coexistent understandings of the goddess(es) worshipped at the shrine. The goddess in this guise was already known to Aeschylus, who has the chorus in *Supp.* 676–677 invoke Artemis Hekate for help in childbirth.

154. Pickard-Cambridge 1968, pp. 59–61; Parker 2005, p. 318. The exact location of the extramural temple remains unknown: Frazer 1913, vol. 2, pp. 379–380; Judeich 1931, p. 412; Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 301–302; Papachatzis 1974–1981, vol. 1, p. 385, n. 2; Sourvinou-Inwood 1994; 2003, p. 69. *Contra* Sourvinou-Inwood, it could not have been in the Academy proper.

155. Pickard-Cambridge 1968, pp. 57–58; Sourvinou-Inwood 1994, pp. 270, 273–275; Parker 1996, pp. 75, 93–95. Koumanoudis identified a representation of Dionysos on a base found in the Kerameikos as Dionysos Eleuthereus (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4789; Koumanoudis 1872, p. 403; 1873, p. 135; *APMA* 1, p. 64, no. 304).

people gathered to celebrate a distinctly Athenian festival.<sup>156</sup> It is significant that, at least during the Hellenistic period, the cult statue was transported from the military cemetery to the theater by the ephebes, young men in military training. Other military aspects were added to the festival after the establishment of the cemetery: the *strategoí* made the pre-performance libations and in 468 were named the judges of the dramatic competition; allies brought their tribute onto the stage; and war orphans who had come of age were presented to the citizens in the theater.<sup>157</sup> Some of these additions, I would argue, only make sense if the extramural temple was situated in the *demosion sema*. The temple emphasized the communal aspects of the Academy Road, and the cemetery in turn influenced the ritual aspects of the festival.

The Academy Road linked the cemetery to the Agora, the administrative and political heart of the city.<sup>158</sup> The religious and civic associations of the road, and their importance for the city's identity, became particularly manifest during the Panathenaia. The procession, with its pronounced military aspect, assembled in the Kerameikos near the state graves, visually and thematically connecting the living with the dead, the city center with its citizen army and allies.<sup>159</sup>

Although nearly every public spot in the Attic landscape had its civic and religious uses, the monuments and activities set around the Academy Road created a particularly strong nexus of political and communal associations. These features of the topography, combined with the absence of pre-Classical funerary remains, made the Academy Road and its vicinity an ideal choice for the site of the *demosion sema*. In this space, with the tombs of the Tyrannicides and Kleisthenes at hand, the demos gathered to watch torch races organized by tribe, worship a deity connected to fertility and childbirth, and celebrate the distinctly Athenian festival of the City Dionysia. The cemetery was enmeshed in a thick cultural web that emphasized the unity of the polis and the continuity and survival of the living community rather than the loss of its individual dead. At the same time, the civic and religious activity that took place along and around the road mitigated the psychological force of death by emphasizing ideals and values that transcended the moment of death: ancient religion, traditional practices and cults, and local history.<sup>160</sup> Visitors to the graves were not confronted by the dead alone. By gathering repeatedly as a community for celebrations in the very space where they buried their dead, the Athenians proved the endurance and continuity of the polis, their gods, and themselves.

156. Goldhill 1987; Wilson 2009.

157. Plut. *Cim.* 8.7–9; Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 504, citing Eupolis; Isoc. 8.82; Aeschin. 3.154.

158. I owe this point to J. L. Shear; on the politics of Athenian civic space, see further Shear 2007. Around the time of the establishment of the *demosion sema*, the Classical Agora also seems to have been created in an area that had previously been occupied

mostly by graves and pottery workshops (Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 272–297). Papadopoulos dates this event as late as 480. T. L. Shear Jr. (1993, pp. 418–424; 1994, esp. pp. 231–239) places the construction of the Old Bouleuterion and the Stoa Basileios near the turn of the century, prior to the Persian destruction. Miller (1995, p. 224, n. 4) is not convinced that any public buildings predate the sack.

159. See Shear 2001, esp. pp. 128–129. The martial aspects would have been particularly emphatic following the Athenian victory over the Chalkidians and Boiotians in 506 (pp. 531–532).

160. In her study of funeral orations, Loraux (2006, esp. pp. 26–28, 42, 58) rightly stresses the civic aspects of the speeches, their emphasis on community, and their forward-looking character.

## THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEOKORIOU ROADS

In establishing the *demosion sema* near the Academy Road, the demos defined a new funerary space. The choice was motivated in part by the road's web of cultural associations, but it also drew a deliberate contrast with the district immediately to the east, along the Leokorion Roads, where aristocratic values were celebrated.

The Leokorion Roads had a noble, elite history, frequently expressed through association with horses and horsemanship. These roads were a particularly appropriate place for such aristocratic rhetoric because they were physically and conceptually linked to the hallowed ground of Hippios Kolonos, where, together with the hero-knight Kolonos, Poseidon and Athena were worshipped in their guise as horse deities (Soph. *OC* 54–61, 887–889, 1070–1073; Eur. *Phoen.* 1707; Paus. 1.30.4; cf. Ar. *Eq.* 551–553).<sup>161</sup> The connection between horses and political and economic power appears frequently in ancient sources (e.g., Hdt. 3.86–88.3; Thuc. 6.12; Isoc. 16.33; Arist. *Pol.* 4.1289b33–38) and is well known to modern scholarship.<sup>162</sup> In democratic Athens, horse owners were often subject to suspicion, and sometimes even to persecution. Megakles, son of Hippokrates, ostracized in 487/6 and again ca. 471, was lambasted on two ostraka for being a “horse breeder” (ἵπποτρόφος),<sup>163</sup> and on a third someone scratched the image of a man riding a horse.<sup>164</sup> During the coup of 411, many of the cavalry seem to have sided with the oligarchy, accompanying Theramenes when he tried to rescue the oligarch Alexikles from the democratic hoplites at Eëtioneia (Thuc. 8.92.6).<sup>165</sup> Glenn Bugh suggests that, in response to these hippic outrages, the restored democracy may have curtailed some of the rights of the knights.<sup>166</sup> Under the Thirty Tyrants the knights joined ranks with the 3,000 at Phyle (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.2), fought the democrats at Mounychia (2.4.10), helped the Ten keep order in the city (2.4.24), and united with the Lakedaimonians in the battle in Piraeus (2.4.31).<sup>167</sup> When the democracy was restored on this occasion, it severely reduced the number and privileges of the cavalry.<sup>168</sup>

161. Also attested are hero shrines of Prometheus, Peirithoös, Theseus, and Adrastus (Soph. *OC* 55–56; Paus. 1.30.4). Here too was the tomb of Oedipus, whose arrival in Athens and death are described by Sophocles in the *Oedipus Coloneus*. On the topography of the area, see Jebb 1900, pp. xxx–xxxiv; Svoronos 1903, pp. 387–405; Judeich 1931, pp. 45, 414; Schilardi 1968; Kirsten 1973.

162. Spence 1993, pp. 180–224; Camp 1998, pp. 10–13; Low 2002; Griffith 2006, pp. 308–322.

163. Brenne 1994, p. 16, figs. 11–13; Siewert 2002, pp. 112–114, T 1/101–102, cf. 103–104.

164. Siewert 2002, p. 143, T 1/158, p. 524, fig. 3.

165. Hignett 1952, p. 272; Siewert 1979, pp. 286–287; Bugh 1988, pp. 114–118.

166. Bugh 1988, p. 118.

167. On the question of whether the knights were among the 3,000 or had a separate “special status,” see Bugh 1988, pp. 123–124. For the cavalry under the Thirty and their treatment during the restoration, see Bugh 1988, pp. 120–143; Spence 1993, pp. 180–224; Németh 1994, p. 99. For more general treatments of the period, see Krentz 1982; Wolpert 2002, esp. pp. 3–71, with further bibliography. For a discussion of

how the cavalry may have shaped its self-image in the 4th century, see Low 2002.

168. Members of the Thirty may have been involved in cult activities on Hippios Kolonos before they seized power. A man with the unusual name Χαίρέλεος Κικυννεύς, later a member of the Thirty, appears as a *neokoros* in an inscription recording the transfer of a cult from Hippios Kolonos to the Acropolis in 413/2 because of the threat posed by the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 405; Woodward 1963, pp. 156–163; *SEG* X 220; Thompson 1971).

It appears that the demos was never completely comfortable with the cavalry. Yet just to the east of the public cemetery, the Leokoriou Roads were in all periods the principal (although not exclusive) setting for displays of power and prestige involving references to horses. The graves were splendid, and equine imagery was especially pronounced on funerary vases from the Geometric period onward, including Geometric lids, Archaic horse amphoras, and black-figure lekythoi, to name just a few of the more common examples.<sup>169</sup> Even if these vases were visible only at the time of burial, they belonged to a cultural language that expressed wealth, splendor, and power. The casualty list found near the Larissa railroad station (CL 8), which at first glance appears to be an anomaly in the distribution of such lists, probably shared in this discourse. Although it was found in a secondary context, the fact that it was largely intact (lacking only the crowning anthemion) and reused for a private burial suggests that it was not transported far. The list records the name of cavalry casualties and is topped with a frieze portraying horsemen. It is not a normal casualty list, for it may have been erected by cavalry members rather than by the demos.<sup>170</sup> It seems likely that it never stood in the *demosion sema* proper.

Two more burials near the Leokoriou Roads also deserve mention for their hippic associations. At Madytou 11 (H 1) near Hippios Kolonos, in the Late Classical period, a man was buried in a marble cist with an iron sword on his chest, a bronze petasos helmet at his feet, an iron strigil, and two alabstra. Helmets of this type are usually worn by cavalry. The grave also contained several bronze discs and other objects that may have been ornaments for a horse or rider.<sup>171</sup> Athenian Classical burials with armor are extremely rare; indeed, I know of no other inhumation in the entire area northwest of Athens that contained weapons or armor, with the exception of the arrowheads in the Tomb of the Lakedaimonians. Finally,

169. Excavations rich in such material include those at Kriezi 23–24 (Alexandri 1967, pp. 92–96, especially grave 13); Psaromilgkou 4 (Alexandri 1972, pp. 142–144); Peiraios and Kalogirou Samouil (Schilardi 1968, p. 41); and Peiraios 57 (Alexandri 1968a, pp. 79, 82–84). Cf. Camp 1998, pp. 10–17.

170. The inscription consists of two lists, possibly inscribed at different times, of which the first records the horsemen who died at Tanagra and Spartolos. The fighting at Tanagra could be a reference to the battle of 426, or to that of 424/3 at Delion. Thucydides (2.79.2–7) describes only one battle at Spartolos, a skirmish in 429/8 in which the Athenians were defeated and cavalry losses in particular are noted; the list, however, probably refers instead to a battle contemporaneous with that at Tanagra but not

mentioned by Thucydides. Badian (*ap.* Moreno 2007, pp. 100–101, n. 114) believes that a second conflict at Spartolos is alluded to in the treaty of 421 that established the Peace of Nikias (Thuc. 5.18.5). Papazarkadas (2009, pp. 69–70) remarks that either the casualty list is “an oddity” or, more likely, the two battles were fought in the same year. Pritchett (1998, pp. 27–29) emphasizes the fact that there were more battles in the Peloponnesian War than those recorded by Thucydides. According to the excavator, a second list of casualties in Ionic script was added to the stone over a decade later, above the first, in the space that would originally have been occupied by a painted *tainia*. As the excavator notes, the sloppier cutting of the second list indicates that the stonecutter had to work on a vertical surface, and that the stele was therefore already in place (Parlama

2000, p. 399). Although the second list lacks a geographic rubric, an accompanying epigram refers to the walls of Alkathoös, the Megarian king who built the city’s fortifications; this indicates that at least some of the casualties fell in a battle at Megara. Matthaïou (2009, pp. 203–204), however, draws attention to Isae. 5.42, where the speaker claims that his grandfather, Menexenos Dikaiogenous, died as phylarch at Spartolos; noting that the same name appears in the second list here, he argues that at least four of the casualties belong to a conflict at Spartolos instead.

171. The ornaments included four bronze discs, one larger bronze disc, three small bronze wheels, four bronze cube-shaped objects, and one bone with two holes. On the burial and the grave goods, see Alexandri 1972, pp. 68, 70; 1973.





**Figure 8. Hellenistic funerary stele with horse and groom (H 2). Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4464. Photo E. Babnik, courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens**

a well-known funerary relief of a horse and an African groom, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Fig. 8), was also set up near Hippios Kolonos in the 3rd or 2nd century.<sup>172</sup> It was found in 1948 at Adrianoupoleos and Voreiou Ipeirou Streets (H 2), reused in a Late Roman or Early Christian grave.<sup>173</sup> Cuttings on the sides of the relief indicate that it belonged to a larger monument, which probably commemorated a knight, or perhaps even a horse.<sup>174</sup>

The literary testimonia and the archaeological evidence make it clear that the Leokoriou Roads were rife with aristocratic associations. By juxtaposing the public cemetery with this area, the democracy created a striking contrast between the old and new values that served to underscore the distinctive character of the new democratic ideology. The oligarchs of 411 recognized the topographic semantics of the district northwest of the city when they convened a meeting of the Assembly on Hippios Kolonos rather than on the Pnyx (Thuc. 8.67). Some scholars have suggested that, since the hill lay outside the city walls and a Spartan force was occupying

172. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4464: Ridgway 1990, pp. 350–351; Stewart 1990, p. 221, fig. 787. The identification of the relief as funerary is not entirely certain (Ridgway considers it “comparable to a very large grave relief”; Stewart describes it as “either a votive relief or part of a

statue base”), but the significance of the hippic imagery remains regardless of the specific purpose of the monument.

173. Schilardi 1968, p. 49; Schuchhardt 1978, p. 75.

174. See Schuchhardt 1978, p. 97, for the suggestion that the monument commemorated the horse itself.

Dekeleia, only armed men would have come to the meeting. Under these circumstances few unarmed poor would have attended, and those who did might have been intimidated by the armed conspirators.<sup>175</sup> Others have proposed that there was a historical precedent, or that the sanctuary site added to the solemnity of the event.<sup>176</sup> Some or all of these explanations may be true, but an understanding of the significance of the site allows us to appreciate more fully the orchestrated symbolism of the moment.<sup>177</sup> The Assembly was removed from its normal meeting place and brought to an area rich in ancient history and Athenian lore.<sup>178</sup> The oligarchs used this setting to appeal to traditional Athenian values and ideals (the *patrios politeia*) that had been set aside when the demos chose to establish the *demosion sema* along the Academy Road.<sup>179</sup>

## CIVIC IDENTITY AND THE ATHENIAN PAST

Athenians of the generation following the reforms of Kleisthenes continually faced decisions about how to handle their own past. The issue became particularly pressing when it involved the use of space, since the need for new construction (monuments, burials, wells, roads) forced them to confront the physical remains that keep memories alive. There are signs of continuity between the democracy and its aristocratic past, as for example in the treatment of many sacred buildings, particularly those on the Acropolis; but there was also destruction, like that of the funerary monuments reused in the construction of the Themistoklean Wall, and assertive appropriation, as has been suggested in the case of some aristocratic burials in the Kerameikos, where the South Hill tumulus, for example, was covered and turned into a more common cemetery, and graves pierced the tumulus behind the Tritopatreion.<sup>180</sup> Many scholars have interpreted Classical funerary ritual and art, particularly that associated with state burials, as a process of adopting aristocratic tendencies.<sup>181</sup> In some respects, such as the frequent designation of the war dead as *agathoi*, the festival of the Epitaphia,

175. Ostwald 1986, pp. 373–374; Kagan 1987, p. 147; Munn 2000, p. 140; Wolpert 2002, p. 36; Hornblower 2008, p. 949. Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover (1981, p. 167) dispute this proposal, arguing that the hill was not particularly far from the city walls.

176. Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover 1981, pp. 166–167.

177. Andrewes (1992, p. 475, n. 17) observes that “the location must have some special significance which eludes us.”

178. In a similar fashion, the new constitution was represented as a return to Solon’s council of 400. On these attempts to appeal to older constitutional forms, see Wolpert 2002, p. 155, nn. 18, 19.

179. For the political significance of the setting, see Palmer 1969, p. 41; Kirsten 1973, p. 15; Siewert 1979, p. 287; Hornblower 2008, pp. 949–950. Hornblower appears to think that the significance depended on the presence among the oligarchs of cavalry in considerable numbers. I would argue instead that Hippios Kolonos retained its aristocratic associations regardless of the identity of the majority of the oligarchs. It is worth noting that a similar instance of the political manipulation of space is said to have occurred in 404/3, when the Thirty allegedly shifted the speaker’s platform on the Pnyx to face inland rather than toward the sea, on the grounds that farmers were more amenable to oligarchy than mariners

(Plut. *Them.* 19.4). While it is generally agreed that the Pnyx was remodeled at the end of the 5th century, the question remains whether or not the Thirty were responsible for the changes. Kourouniotis and Thompson (1932, pp. 134–136), Thompson (1982, pp. 139–140), Krentz (1982, pp. 62–63), and Strauss (2000, p. 266) accept Plutarch’s testimony, while Moysey (1981) makes the case against it.

180. On the tombs in the Kerameikos, see Knigge 1991, p. 32.

181. E.g., Morris 1992–1993, p. 41; Czech-Schneider 1994, p. 16; Stupporich 1994, p. 93; Whitley 1994; Low 2003, pp. 99, 108; Loraux 2006, pp. 229–278.

and the use of tumuli as grave markers, this is probably true. In selecting the Academy Road and its environs for the *demosion sema*, however, and in making the road remarkably wide and open, the demos chose to create, in an area with important religious and civic connotations, a new space that emphasized the contrast with the elite, individualistic, and divisive values celebrated nearby in the vicinity of the Old Academy Road and Hippios Kolonos. In many ways, the Old Academy Road, with its history of splendid burials and its military connections, would have been the perfect spot for a public cemetery. The new democracy, however, wanted something different. It created a space in which select aristocratic funerary customs could be appropriated safely, yet close enough to the old space that those walking through the landscape were invited to appreciate the contrast between the old and new values. At the same time, the rituals enacted and the dangers commemorated within the cemetery, shared as they were across political boundaries, helped the citizens to forge a collective identity. This is the identity to which Kleokritos appealed following the battle in Piraeus in 404, when he asked those who fought with the Thirty, "Why do you want to kill us? You know we never did you any wrong, but have shared with you in the most solemn rites and sacrifices and the most beautiful festivals, and we have been your partners in dance and companions in class and comrades at arms, and we have risked many dangers with you, on both land and sea, on behalf of our shared safety and freedom" (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.20).<sup>182</sup>

The young demos created this space to minimize the impact of individual deaths and to celebrate a new community. Indeed, community was the defining aspect of the entire state funeral ceremony. Together the Athenians gathered, mourned, and remembered. The funeral orations told the crowd who they were, beginning with their mythical history and enumerating their noble characteristics. The dead, too, were a community: names united on a list, without patronymics, organized according to the Kleisthenic tribal system, solely defined by their status as Athenians and their service to Athens. The demos created these two communities, the dead and the living, and presented them here in the public cemetery, both to themselves and to visitors. Within the space of the *demosion sema* they expressed their identity as a collective, and did so fully aware of the Old Academy Road, of the history they strove to leave behind.

182. τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχέκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας.

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