

ENDOIOS'S PAINTING FROM THE THEMISTOKLEAN WALL A RECONSTRUCTION

1. The principal treatments of the Neilonides base are Philadelphus 1922a, 1922b, and 1923; Casson 1925; Rumpf 1938; Raubitschek 1939, cols. 62–68; Jeffery 1962, p. 127, no. 19; and Viviers 1992, pp. 67–77.

I would like to thank the director, Charalambos Kritzas, and staff of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens for granting me permission to study EM 12870. Chara Karapa-Molisani in particular provided me with daily help and hospitality during the summers of 1996 and 1997. Guy Cobolet provided access to the archives of the *École française d'Athènes*, and Martin Schäfer assisted me in the photographic archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Aileen Ajootian, Judith Binder, Ariel Loftus, John Oakley, and Alan Shapiro offered advice that has helped this article take shape. Marjorie Venit, Joseph Day, and *Hesperia's* anonymous readers made suggestions that have significantly improved its structure and content.

2. The base measures 0.715 m long (front face) and 0.40 m high (cf. Philadelphus 1922b and 1923). The left side of the base measures 0.624 m wide at the top and 0.631 m wide at the base; the right side measures 0.645 m wide at the top and 0.64 m wide at the base. For a more detailed physical description, see Viviers 1992, pp. 67–68, but see note 46 below.

3. *IG I³ 1214*. I will not address textual and metrical difficulties within the epitaph's text, for which see *CEG* no. 42. The English translation is my own.

The Neilonides base, now in the Athens Epigraphical Museum (EM 12870, Figs. 1 and 2), was discovered in 1922 by the Greek archaeologist Alexandros Philadelphus built into the lowest courses of the Themistoklean wall south of the Piraeus gate in Athens.¹ The base consists of a single rectangular block smoothed on three sides; in shape it is a tall, slightly irregular rectangle longer on the front and back sides than on the flanks.² The oblong plinth cavity on the top surface of the base reveals that it originally supported a marble statue of the Archaic kouros type. A shallow, rectangular mortise on its underside shows that it was in turn supported by a rectangular pillar, now lost.

Previously, interest in the Neilonides base has focused on its inscriptions and on the circumstances of its discovery. Two inscriptions, both written in the Attic alphabet, appear on the base's front face. The longer inscription, first deciphered by A. E. Raubitschek in 1939, is a metrical epitaph commemorating a deceased individual named Neilonides, the son of Neilon: Παιδὸς Νέλονος Νειλονίδα ἐστὶ τὸ σεμῖα ὃς χ'ὕοι το<ι> ἀ[γα]θοὶ | {ι} μνεμα ἐποίη χαλρίεν ("This is the *sema* of Neilonides child of Neilon, who for his good son, too, made a pleasing *mnema*").³ This epitaph is written in five horizontal lines in the upper right-hand corner of the front face. The second inscription, written vertically near the left edge of the same face, is a signature of the sculptor Endoios, one of the small number of Archaic Greek sculptors attested by both ancient literary sources and extant signatures. Both inscriptions were intentionally obliterated letter by letter with careful chisel strokes; this damage must have been inflicted at some point before the Neilonides base was built into the Themistoklean wall.

Since its discovery, the Neilonides base has been closely associated with two other statue bases found together with it in Philadelphus's excavations. The first to come to light was the so-called Ball Players base (NM 3476), decorated with three relief scenes depicting youthful aristocratic pursuits: Figure 3 shows the scene on its left side. A few days later, another base of similar dimensions and also decorated on three sides with reliefs, the Hockey Players base (NM 3477), was found built into the wall next to

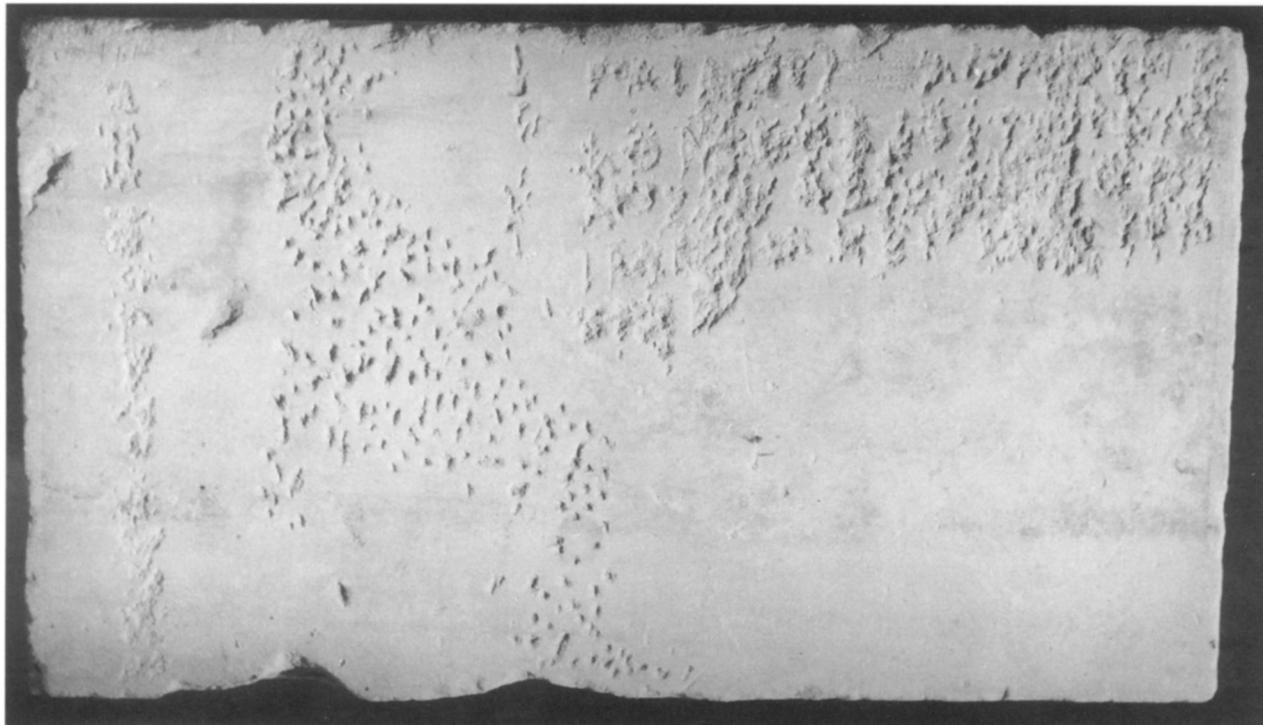


Figure 1. The Neilonides base (EM 12870), front face. Courtesy Epigraphical Museum, Athens

the Neilonides base.⁴ Technically all three are examples of the same type of statue base, and the shapes of their plinth cavities indicate that each supported a kouros statue.⁵ The proximity of the three bases to one another in the Themistoklean wall supports the possibility that the Neilonides base, the Ball Players base, and the Hockey Players base formed part of a family tomb group, and suggests that all three may have been produced by Endoios's sculptural workshop.

Though it has received less scholarly attention than the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases, the Neilonides base is unusual and particularly significant in one feature for the history of Greek art. Situated between the two inscriptions on its front face is a painting representing a seated figure, which like the inscriptions was intentionally obliterated with chisel strokes. Although painted funerary stelai were used alongside relief stelai

4. For the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases, see the sources cited in note 1 and Mosel 1938; Robertson 1975, pp. 226–227; Boardman 1978, pp. 82–83, figs. 241 (Hockey Players) and 242 (Ball Players); Frel 1982, p. 98; and Hurwit 1985, pp. 300–302.

5. For illustrations and descriptions of this type of statue base, called a type A pillar monument by Raubitschek (1949, pp. 211–213), see Dinsmoor 1923, pp. 23–24 (includes reconstruction drawings of the Neilonides base,

NM 3476, and NM 3477); Schmidt 1969, p. 72, fig. 1 (NM 3476); and Jacob-Felsch 1969, pp. 39–42. Raubitschek (1949, nos. 178–231) lists fifty-four possible examples found on the Acropolis. These bases were typically attached to their supporting pillars by a pour channel for lead connecting the plinth cavity with a rectangular mortise on the underside of the base. Jeffery (1962, pp. 127–128, no. 2) identifies NM 3477 as a support for a marble seated figure rather than a

kouros based upon the preserved plinth cavity. Yet the cavity is markedly asymmetrical and features a projection that would neatly accommodate the forward left foot of a kouros statue. D'Onofrio (1986) cites parallels for this plinth shape among extant kouroi. The statue supported by NM 3477 seems from its plinth cutting to have been over life-size and larger than the kouroi supported by the other two bases, despite the similar dimensions of the three.



Figure 2. The Neilonides base, annotated drawing of the painted figure. After Philadelpheus 1922a, pl. VII

in Archaic Athenian cemeteries, the Neilonides base is unique in the Archaic period for its combination of a sculpture in the round, namely the lost kouros statue the base originally supported, and painted subsidiary decoration.⁶ The presence of Endoios's signature on the base makes it attractive to attribute both the kouros and the painting to his hand. If Endoios himself painted the seated figure on the base bearing his signature, this painting becomes one of only two signed examples of nonceramic painting from the Archaic period and one of only a handful of free paintings to survive in any state of preservation before the 4th century B.C.⁷

The poor condition of the painting has discouraged inquiry into its iconography and identification. Raubitschek first suggested that the seated figure represented Neilon, the father of the deceased Neilonides; others have identified the figure as Neilonides himself. Although Raubitschek believed the drawing of the figure first published by Philadelpheus in 1922 (Fig. 2) was an imaginative reconstruction, my firsthand study of the Neilonides base in 1996 and 1997 confirms that the drawing constitutes an accurate record of traces for the most part still visible today. In addition to the 1922 drawing, the chisel strokes used to obliterate the painting pro-

6. Archaic Athenian cemeteries have produced one intact painted stele and five others too fragmentary or faded to make out clearly; another stele has a painted subsidiary panel beneath the main relief. See Richter 1961, nos. 54, 58, 61, 70 (intact stele of Lyseas),

71 (painted panel), 72, and 73. None of these stelai preserve artists' signatures.

7. The best preserved of the painted plaques found at Pitsa near Corinth features both a dedicatory epigram and the probable signature of a Corinthian artist whose name has been lost. For a

discussion of the Pitsa plaques, see Robertson 1975, p. 120. Robertson dates the plaques to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., but others prefer an earlier date of ca. 575–550 (e.g., Johnston 1993, pp. 69–70, no. 64).



Figure 3. Ball Players base (NM 3476). Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. NM 2162)

vide indications of the figure's shape and attributes that need to be taken into account. I employ this evidence to offer a reconsideration of Endoios's painted figure, and the circumstances under which the Neilonides base was made, within the context of Archaic Athenian funerary practices and beliefs.

DAMNATIO MEMORIAE?

Though it is clear that the reuse of the Neilonides base in the Themistoklean wall should be connected with the Athenians' hasty rebuilding of their city wall in 478 B.C., when, why, and by whom the inscriptions and painting were obliterated remain open to question.⁸ Philadelphus was the first to suggest that the intentional damage to the Neilonides base could have been motivated by "vengeance politique" prior to the Persian sack of 480–479; he associated the damage specifically with the expulsion of the Peisistratid tyrants from Athens in 510 B.C.⁹ Raubitschek, after deciphering the epitaph, suggested that the deceased, rather than being a member of Peisistratos's family, belonged instead to one of the Alkmeonid families expelled from Athens together with their ancestors' bones in 508 B.C., as described by Thucydides (1.126.12).¹⁰ He dated Neilonides' funerary monu-

8. Thuc. 1.93.1–2: "In this way the Athenians walled the city in a short time, and even today it is clear that the structure was built in haste. There are foundations of every variety of stones and some of them were not cut to fit but are just as they were when each worker brought them; they built in many stelai from *semata* and worked stones. The wall of the city was extended far in every direction, and for this reason they brought in everything alike in their haste." Cf. Thuc. 1.90.3:

Themistokles proposed that the entire population of Athens should take part in the construction of the new city wall, "sparing neither any private nor public construction of which there might be any need, but demolishing everything." For an archaeological description of the Themistoklean wall, see Knigge 1991, pp. 49–54.

9. Philadelphus 1922a, pp. 30 and 33–34; cf. p. 34, note 1: "le martelage diligent, fait de main d'ouvrier, constaté là, ne répond pas trop, à première vue,

aux procédés violents du pillage médique."

10. Raubitschek 1939, cols. 66–68. Isocrates (16.26) alludes to an earlier exile and desecration of Alkmeonid tombs by the Peisistratids. Herodotus (5.70–73) and Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 20.3) describe the expulsion of 700 Alkmeonid households in 508 without mentioning the casting out of the bones of the dead. On the exile of members of the Alkmeonid clan under Peisistratos's tyranny, see Rhodes 1981, pp. 234, 242 and 245–246; Davies 1971, p. 370.

ment between 527 and 515 on the assumption that the Alkmeonids were exiled by Peisistratos but returned to Athens after his death in 527.¹¹

The names of Neilonides and his father Neilon recall Neleus, king of Pylos and progenitor of the Neleid dynasty in Greek mythology. The fact that Peisistratos was named after a son of the Neleid king Nestor indicates that he and his family claimed Neleid ancestry for themselves. Thus, on the basis of their names, it is possible to associate Neilonides and his father with the family of Peisistratos.¹² On the other hand, the currency of the name Neilon on Samos in the 5th century could point to an Ionian, or specifically a Samian, origin for the deceased.¹³ By the mid-5th century the name Ne[loni]des appears in an Athenian casualty list, a strong indication that the use of the name in Athens need not be associated specifically with the Peisistratidai.¹⁴ Since no conclusive prosopographical evidence connects Neilonides and his father with either the Peisistratid or the Alkmeonid families, the hypothesis that the destruction of the Neilonides base was politically motivated must rely upon archaeological evidence.

The identification of archaeological evidence for politically motivated destruction, or *damnatio memoriae*, in Archaic Athens, beyond the destruction levels associated with the Persian sack, remains largely speculative.¹⁵ The Phrasikleia kore (NM 4889) and the kouros found with it in 1972 have been interpreted as Alkmeonid funerary monuments buried intentionally when the family went into exile to protect them from destruction by the Peisistratidai.¹⁶ Yet other interpretations of the archaeological context of the two statues remain possible: they may have been buried in a pit to preserve them from destruction by the invading Persians in 480, or as a sign of respect after their desecration.¹⁷ It should be noted that even here statues found within the same archaeological context have been treated differently. The Phrasikleia kore was pried out of its base with minimal

11. Raubitschek 1949, pp. 493–494. Fragments of the Athenian archon list (Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 6) show that Kleisthenes, a prominent scion of the Alkmeonid clan, served as eponymous archon during Hippias's tyranny.

12. Shapiro (1983, p. 89) calls Neilonides' name "suggestive" of a family relationship.

13. Raubitschek 1939, cols. 62–63; Knigge 1969, p. 86; Fraser and Matthews 1987, s.v. Νεῖλων.

14. Viviers 1992, pp. 74–75.

15. The so-called Brother and Sister stele from Attica now in the Metropolitan Museum has been interpreted as such an example based upon reports that pieces of it were found reused to line later graves (Richter 1961, pp. 27–29, no. 37, fig. 99; Jeffery 1962, pp. 146–147, no. 63; Richter 1974).

The restoration of the name Me[gakles] on the stele's inscribed base led Richter to associate the monument with an Alkmeonid tomb destroyed in the 540s B.C. when the family went into exile after losing the Battle of Pallene to Peisistratos and his supporters (cf. *Agora* XI, pp. 6–7). Dinsmoor (1942, p. 187) lowered the hypothetical destruction date to 508/7 to accommodate a lower stylistic date for the stele. P. A. Hansen (*CEG* no. 25) has rightly rejected the restoration Me[gakles] as unfounded; for a list of other possible restorations, see Cook 1987, pp. 18–19. The fact that the stele was broken and reused does not in itself demonstrate that its destruction was intentional or politically motivated.

16. E.g., by Robertson (1975, p. 106); and Svenbro (1988, pp. 17–18). For the excavator's account of their

discovery, see Mastrokostas 1972. For the Phrasikleia kore, see also Robertson 1975, pp. 100–101; Boardman 1978, pp. 73 and 75–76, fig. 108a; Ridgway 1993, pp. 138–139; and most recently Stieber 1996.

17. E.g., Hurwit 1985, p. 334, note 10. Cf. D'Onofrio (1982, pp. 150–152) and Donderer (1991–1992, cols. 214–215 and no. I:8), who suggest that the Phrasikleia kore and kouros were buried after being damaged. Blümel (1963, p. 7) reported that the Berlin kore (Staat. Mus. no. 1800) was found wrapped in lead and buried in the Attic village Keratea. He suggested that the statue was removed from a funerary monument and buried to save it from Persian destruction. See also Richter 1968, pp. 39–40, no. 42, figs. 139–146; Jeffery 1962, pp. 142–143, no. 1; and Donderer 1991–1992, cols. 193–194 and no. I:3.

damage to the statue, while the kouros was broken off at the ankles; the base of the kouros may have been broken up while the base for the Phrasikleia kore survived intact.¹⁸ In the absence of straightforward archaeological evidence from Archaic Athens, the clearest example of *damnatio memoriae* is one known only from literature: the melting down of a statue on the Acropolis representing Hipparchos the son of Charmos to recast it into a bronze stele recording the names of exiles and traitors.¹⁹

Two other Archaic Athenian cases of *damnatio memoriae* directed specifically against inscriptions rather than statues have been suggested. On a painted votive plaque of ca. 510–500 B.C. found on the Acropolis and attributed to Euthymides (Ac. 1037), the dipinto Μεγακλῆς καλός was changed to Γλαυκότης καλός at some time after the plaque was fired.²⁰ This change has been associated by some scholars with the ostracism of the Alkmeonid Megakles in 486, but it is impossible to tell for certain whether the name was erased while the plaque was still in the workshop due to a change of mind by the painter Euthymides (or by the unknown dedicator), or whether it was erased some twenty years later.²¹ In either case, no damage was done to the warrior figure painted on the plaque. In a well-known passage, Thucydides (6.54.6) mentions two altars dedicated by Peisistratos son of Hipparchos in Athens, adding that a later renovation by the Athenians rendered the inscription on one invisible (ἠφάνισε τοῦπίγραμμου), but that the inscription on the other could still be read in his own day despite “murky letters” (ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι).²² What Thucydides does *not* say is that the Athenians intentionally damaged or erased these inscriptions in order to wipe out the memory of the younger Peisistratos.²³ Even if they had, private funerary monuments would not necessarily be treated in the same way as public altars of the gods. In the Archaic period in Athens, as in other periods and places in the Greek world, simply erasing inscriptions entirely, or at the very least erasing proper

18. The Phrasikleia kore was found together with the lead soldering used to attach her plinth to its inscribed base. The plinth cavity on top of the base shows extensive damage from the crowbar used to pry the statue off the base. For photographs of the base, see Kontoleon 1970, pls. XIV.1–3 and XV.2. For a possible fragment of the kouros base see Mastrokostas 1972, figs. 4 and 23.

19. Lycurg. 1.117. For this type of stele, see the discussion by Connor (1985, p. 92). For an earlier stele on the Acropolis recording the names of the Peisistratids, see Thuc. 6.55.1–2 and Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover 1970, pp. 324–325.

20. Boardman 1956, pp. 20–24; Robertson 1975, p. 225.

21. See Boardman 1975a, p. 36 (the name was changed “no doubt after the ostracism of Megakles in 486 B.C.”); Brouskari 1974, pp. 126–127, no. 67, fig. 214; and Webster 1972, pp. 56–57. Webster interprets *kalos* names as references to the purchasers of Athenian pottery but does not explain why Megakles’ name was erased after firing. For the ostracism of Megakles, see Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 40.

22. The Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora has been partially uncovered by excavation; the Pythian Apollo altar (*IG* I³ 948 and Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 11), found in 1877 near the Ilissos, is now on display in the Epigraphical Museum. For the archaeological and historical phases of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, see most

recently Gadbery 1992.

23. Lavelle (1989) has suggested that Peisistratos’s dedicatory inscription on the Pythian Apollo altar was smeared with mud plaster or stucco in an act of *damnatio memoriae*, in contrast to the common explanation of the ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι as a result of the fading of the paint in the inscription’s letters over time. Compared to the letters of most Archaic Athenian funerary and dedicatory inscriptions, those carved on the Pythian Apollo altar appear shallow and widely spaced. Today in the Epigraphical Museum track lights provide ideal illumination to view the inscription; when the lights are turned off, the lettering on the altar is difficult to make out from more than a few feet away.

names and questionable claims, provided an obvious solution to the problem of public monuments that had outlived their political viability.²⁴

Lilian Jeffery, in her 1962 catalogue of Archaic Athenian funerary inscriptions and sculptures, offered an alternative explanation for the erasure of both the inscriptions and the painted figure on the Neilonides base:

It is possible that, when this stone was built into the wall, by some oversight the inscribed side faced outwards, visible and legible still. In the emergency of 479 the builders had no choice but to make use of everything available for building, but they can hardly have wished to stress the fact that some gravestones, which still commemorated the dead even though they had been broken by the Persians, had had to be put to this drastic use. If, through error, an epitaph was still clearly visible in its new position, a mason might well obliterate it carefully, to avoid the appearance of desecration.²⁵

Why go to the trouble of chiseling out the inscriptions and the painted figure when the Neilonides base, with its three blank faces, could so easily have been placed with its front face inward? Unfortunately, we do not know whether the inscribed face of the Neilonides base faced outward in the Themistoklean wall because Philadelphus did not note its position.²⁶ Even so, the idea that the builders of the Themistoklean wall made a mistake and tried to correct it creates further problems. The Hockey Players base found next to the Neilonides base was placed upside down and with its left side, a relief showing marching warriors and a chariot, outward. The Ball Players base was built into the wall right side up and with its front relief scene facing outward. Given that both the Ball Players and the Hockey Players bases were decorated with relief scenes on three sides with only the back left blank, one wonders why the builders of the Themistoklean wall did not place the blank faces outward if their intent was to prevent the monuments from being identified. No intentional damage of any kind was done to the reliefs on either base at the time that the wall was built.²⁷

A look at the sculptures and inscriptions reused in the Themistoklean wall shows that they were treated in a variety of ways, most of which stop

24. Cf., for example, the erasure of the Spartan king Pausanias's dedicatory epigram from the Serpent Column set up at Delphi by the Greeks after the Battle of Plataia (Meiggs and Lewis 1988, no. 27; Page 1981, pp. 216–217). The part of the monument where Pausanias made his inscription has not been preserved. A line referring to the Syracusan tyrant Polyzalos's rule over Gela was erased from the base of the Delphi Charioteer at some point after its dedication (Ebert 1972, pp. 60–63, no. 13).

25. Jeffery 1962, p. 127, no. 19.

26. The precise position of the Neilonides base may well have been clear in the original print of the photograph published by Philadelphus (1923, fig. 8); the DAI photographic archive in Athens includes photographs documenting the discovery of the Ball Players base, but not the Neilonides base. From the published version of Philadelphus's photograph, it appears that the inscribed and painted front face did not face forward. Philadelphus's description of the discovery of the Hockey Players base incorrectly refers to

its left side as its right, and vice versa.

27. The intact plinth cavities on the Neilonides base, the Ball Players base, and the Hockey Players base indicate that their kouros statues (like the Phrasikleia kore) were pried out together with their lead soldering. Cf. the treatment of the kouros that originally stood on the monument base for Aischros the Samian found in the Themistoklean wall, which was chiseled off its plinth, leaving behind both plinth and lead soldering intact (Willemsen 1963, no. 5, pl. 69:1).

short of complete erasure of either inscriptions or relief carvings. Some relief sculptures reused in the wall, such as the stele NM 2687, were chiseled down for the purely practical purpose of flattening out their reliefs to allow them to be deployed more effectively in a horizontal course of masonry.²⁸ Two inscribed blocks (now *IG I³ 1226*) first published by Werner Peek present an interesting case for our purposes.²⁹ The two (A and B) were adjoining blocks of a stepped statue base with the epitaph inscribed in two lines across them, and both were reused with their inscribed faces outward. Block A was placed upside down in the wall with the name of the deceased chiseled out, and block B was placed upside down next to it without any damage to its inscription.³⁰ The Kerameikos Ball Players base (now Ker. P 1002), published by Franz Willemsen in 1963, shows yet another form of intentional damage to the side of the block that faced outward in the Themistoklean wall. Here in a relief of two horsemen the heads of both the men and their horses have been chiseled out, while the lower portions of the figures have been left completely intact.³¹ This treatment makes one wonder whether the intent of the workmen was not to avoid embarrassment but rather to destroy the human and animal figures symbolically by defacing them—literally.³²

A closer parallel from the Themistoklean wall can be found for the complete obliteration of the painted figure on the Neilonides base. NM 2823 is a marble relief plaque found built into the wall near the Sacred Gate; two others, identical in size and format, were also found in the same area (NM 89 and 2826).³³ NM 2823 was broken in half before being built

28. Richter 1961, no. 27, figs. 83–85; Knigge 1991, p. 53, fig. 52. The forward right leg of the spear-holding youth in the main relief has been worked down, but his back left leg carved in lower relief has not. The youth's head and torso have been chiseled out, but his mouth was left intact and his profile can still be read clearly. Only a vertical section of the lower gorgon figure from the top of the head to the bent right knee has been worked down; the arms, wings, and left leg carved in lower relief remain undamaged. For a fragmentary stele from the Athenian Agora (no. S 1736) treated in a similar fashion, see Harrison 1956, pp. 27–28, pl. 10:b and c; Harrison (p. 40) thinks that the relief figure on the stele was originally worked down for reuse in the Themistoklean wall.

29. *Kerameikos* III, p. 25, no. 24, pl. 9:1; Jeffery 1962, p. 122, no. 14, pl. 35:d.

30. For the text of the inscription, see *IG I³ 1226* and *CEG* no. 61.

31. Willemsen 1963, no. 7, pls. 64:2, 65:1–2, and 66:1. Plate 65:1 shows the damage to the left rider's head, torso, and thigh, and to his horse's head, chest,

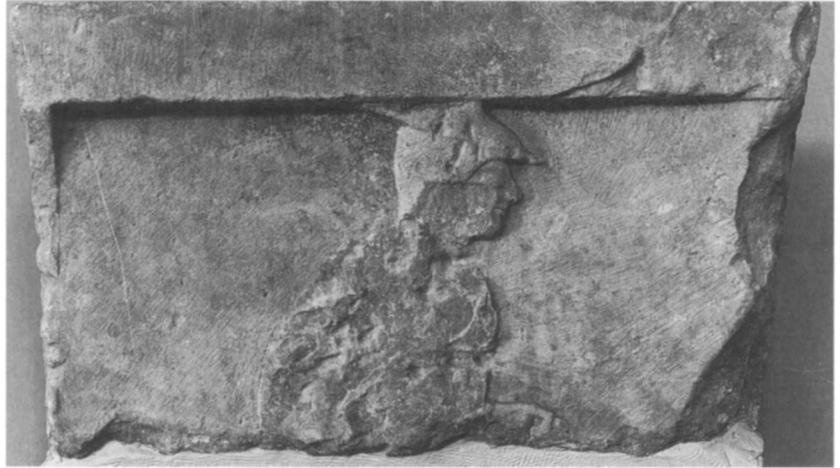
back, and tail. The head and upper torso of the rider on the right have been chiseled out along with his horse's head and tail. The three decorated faces of a funerary pillar capital from Lamprai in Attica (NM 41) were treated in a very similar way: the faces and raised arms of the mourners represented on two sides were chiseled out, as were the head of the rider and the faces of his two horses on the front face of the capital. The capital was reused not in the Themistoklean wall, but in the walls of a local church (Jeffery 1962, p. 138, no. 1).

32. Similar questions have been raised about the Archaic sculptures found in the 19th-century Acropolis excavations. Houser (1988) has pointed out that the two large-scale bronze male heads found in the Acropolis Perserschutt were intentionally cut off. No remains of their bodies have ever been identified. Houser also finds among the preserved Archaic marble sculptures from the Acropolis “only two notable free-standing figures of monumental size that were not decapitated” (p. 115, note 20); see also Donderer

1991–1992, cols. 202–203 and no. I:12. For the possibility that the Kritios Boy (Acr. 698) and Angelitos's Athena (Acr. 140) were decapitated not by the Persians but by the Athenians themselves as a form of “quasi-ritual ‘killing’” after the Persian sack of the Acropolis, see Hurwit 1989, pp. 61–62. In a paper delivered at the Thirteenth International Bronze Congress in Cambridge, Mass., in May 1996, Diane Harris suggested that a series of damaged bronze statues listed in a 4th-century Acropolis inventory (Harris 1992) were designated for removal from display because their missing body parts deprived them of efficacy as human images. For a 6th-century b.c. deposit of intentionally decapitated Archaic kouroi and korai found in Cyrene, see Pedley 1971, pp. 39–46; and Donderer 1991–1992, no. I:5. Cf. the ritual binding, burial, burning, and twisting of human figures to render them ineffective described by Faraone (1992).

33. Noack 1907, pp. 543–546, figs. 70.1 (NM 89), 70.2 (NM 2823), 71.1 (NM 89), and 71.2 (NM 2826).

Figure 4. Relief plaque from the Themistoklean wall (NM 89).
 Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. NM 5304)



into the wall, but only after the standing figure represented in relief on it had been chiseled out completely. Despite a clear intent to obliterate the figure thoroughly, the back of the head and the face received only a few small chisel strokes, and the outline of the head still shows clearly that the figure wore a petasos. NM 89 (Fig. 4) features a figure identical in pose and dress: here, on a fragment preserving the upper body only, the torso and forward right arm have been thoroughly defaced while only a few shallow marks appear on the face and head. These three plaques, together with a fourth representing a horseman (Ker. P 798), may have decorated the exterior of a large built tomb in the Kerameikos cemetery.³⁴ Important for our purposes is the attempt to obliterate the complete outline of a human figure in relief, which curiously becomes less thorough in the head and upper body—the *only* areas attacked on the Kerameikos Ball Players base. On the Neilonides base, the chisel strokes used to erase the seated human figure are most dense in the area of the back of the head and the shoulders, but the face has hardly been touched.

No true parallel can be found for the treatment of the Neilonides base to indicate that it was damaged for political reasons either before or at the time of the construction of the Themistoklean wall.³⁵ The fact that the base was intact and available for reuse in the wall along with other funerary monuments in 478 constitutes a fundamental objection to the hypothesis of an earlier *damnatio memoriae*.³⁶ Although no parallel from the wall can be found for the chiseling out of the epigram and the artist's signature in their entirety, the relief plaques NM 2823 and NM 89 do show a similar

34. For bibliographic references and further discussion of the plaques' iconography and purpose, see below. Ker. P 798 differs from the other three in that both the figure of the horseman and part of the relief ground have been thoroughly worked down. The horse's head was treated in the same fashion, but its mane was left untouched.

35. In this respect, it is interesting to

compare the Neilonides base with the base for the Phrasikleia kore. The epitaph on the front face of the Phrasikleia base was chiseled out letter by letter much like both inscriptions on the Neilonides base. The Phrasikleia base was built into a 13th-century church in Merenda as a column capital with its inscribed epitaph upside down and facing outward. Jeffery (1962,

pp. 138–139, no. 46) and Kontoleon (1970, pp. 89–91), relying upon early travelers' reports, attributed the inscription's defacement to the period of its reuse. The signature of Aristion of Paros on the left side of the base, not visible when the base was reused in the church, was not damaged.

36. Viviers 1992, pp. 72–73.

attempt to obliterate the entire outline of a human figure. Taken together, this example and others in which only the heads of relief figures were erased suggest that the intent behind this type of treatment was to render human figures symbolically impotent.

THE PAINTING

In his 1922 publication of the Neilonides base, Philadelphus included a drawing of the front face showing traces of the two inscriptions, the painted figure, and the chisel marks used to erase them (Fig. 2). This drawing was made close to the time of the base's discovery by Yuri Fomine, a Russian architect associated with the French School in Athens.³⁷ Neither Philadelphus nor Fomine published a verbal description of the drawing, and some of Philadelphus's comments on the Neilonides base appear to conflict with the drawing's testimony. Since the discovery of the Neilonides base, only Andreas Rumpf has commented extensively in print on the traces shown in the drawing.³⁸ The 1922 drawing has been undervalued as evidence for the painting on the Neilonides base largely because Raubitschek believed it was a reconstruction rather than an actual state drawing recording traces still visible on the stone.³⁹

Today the Neilonides base is displayed with its inscribed and painted side up in the Athens Epigraphical Museum. Over the course of June 1996 and June–July 1997, I examined the painting closely and compared the traces still visible on the stone with the 1922 drawing. Almost every line shown in the drawing can be matched with an incision still clearly visible on the stone. Moreover, the 1922 drawing accurately reproduces the chisel marks used to obliterate the painted figure; they are rendered as gray blotches. Evidence for the painted figure is provided by the following categories of traces: chisel marks, “ghosts” left by paint that has disappeared, thin incised lines, thicker lines that appear in the drawing at the top corners of the figure's seat, and surviving flecks of the original paint.

The chisel marks used to obliterate the seated figure provide the clearest guide to its overall shape. Along the lower right edge of the figure, where the incised lines show up most clearly, the chiseling closely follows the incised outline of the lap and lower legs. Here the inner folds of the garment covering the legs have not been as thoroughly chiseled out. Along the figure's back, incised lines depicting the drapery folds hanging down from the shoulder remain visible because the chiseler followed the outline of the back itself rather than the full extent of the drapery covering it. From these observations it appears that the chiseling was intended to obscure the bulk of the human figure, following its outline closely; drapery hanging free of the body and the figure's seat were given less attention.

The top of the seat can be seen as a pale horizontal band in Figure 1. A similar vertical band marks the seat's left edge. On the right, where drapery folds cover the figure's legs, no corresponding band may be made out, although a line possibly marking the inner edge of such a band appears in the drawing near the bottom edge of the drapery. These bands are

37. Philadelphus 1922a, p. 26. For a brief account of Fomine's work for the French School, see Hellmann 1996, pp. 209–210. The collection of Fomine's drawings in the archives of the French School does not include the original, which appears to be lost.

38. Rumpf 1938, p. 41.

39. Raubitschek 1949, p. 493: “The stylistic evaluation of the painting, as given by Rumpf, seems solely to be founded on a restored drawing, since the recovered stone itself never did show many traces, and the painting is now practically gone.”

ghosts, or surfaces whose original paint (now lost) protected them from the wear that caused unpainted or differently colored surfaces to fade at a different rate.⁴⁰

Two possible reconstructions of the seat may be suggested on the basis of the 1922 drawing. At first glance, the seat reads as a simple wooden stool (diphros) with curving moldings at the tops of its legs and without a back; examples of this seat type are depicted on the Ball Players base (Fig. 3).⁴¹ Yet, unlike the legs of a typical 6th- or 5th-century diphros, the thin vertical band on the left does not flare at its top and bottom. The thick, curving lines rendered in the 1922 drawing at the top corners of the seat (Fig. 2, no. 5) do not resemble the typical leg moldings of a diphros, nor do they appear to be symmetrical, though it remains possible that the drawing reflects a misunderstanding by Fomine of the traces he saw. Here I would like to suggest another possibility: the seat shown in the painting might be a simple, rectangular block seat (a *thakos* or *thekos*) with its borders painted in a contrasting color. If this is true, then the bottom of the seat is marked by a wider band running along the entire bottom edge of the base's front face, visible in Figure 1.⁴² This band is wider than those marking the top and left edges of the seat and, together with two broader ghost bands running along the left and right edges of the front face, it forms a painted border that may originally have continued around all four sides of the front face. Block seats with contrasting borders, though usually more elaborately decorated and narrower in their height-to-width proportions than the one we see on the Neilonides base, appear in both Athenian black-figure and red-figure vase painting of the Archaic period, where they are used by gods, kings, and heroes.⁴³

The three surviving borders along the left, right, and bottom edges of the Neilonides base's front face were defined not only in paint, but also by thin incised lines that remain visible today. Similar incised lines were commonly used on marble sculpture in the round in the Archaic period to mark the edges of areas destined to be filled in with paint.⁴⁴ Philadelphus thought that the background of the front face, like the backgrounds of the reliefs on the Ball Players base, was painted red.⁴⁵ In 1997, however, I noticed very small flecks of red paint adhering to the surface of the base *within* the left and right incised borders, indicating that these borders were

40. Brinkmann (1987, pp. 37–39) explains the phenomenon.

41. Richter 1966, pp. 38–43, figs. 200–233. Other sculptural examples of the diphros include the three small statues of “scribes” from the Acropolis (Acr. 144, 146, and 629), the Acropolis Potter relief (Acr. 1332), and the gods' seats on the Parthenon east frieze. Philadelphus (1922a, pp. 28–29) and Jeffery (1962, p. 127, no. 19) mistook the drapery folds falling down from the figure's shoulders for a seat back.

42. The extra line beneath the figure's feet shown in the 1922 drawing

can no longer be seen today. It is now impossible to determine its relationship to the rendering of the seat or to the lower border of the block face.

43. For examples, see Richter 1966, pp. 46–47, figs. 167, 224, and 259–262; and Boardman 1974, figs. 205 and 246. On the red-figure side of the Andokides Painter's bilingual amphora with two scenes of Achilles and Ajax's board game, the two heroes sit on rectangular blocks painted purple with light borders. On the François Vase, Priam sits on a rectangular block seat labeled θᾶχος. Other examples illustrated by Richter

and Boardman show Achilles and Ajax, Herakles, Eumolpos, and the gods Athena, Hermes, and Aphrodite. An Archaic inscribed block seat belonging to a Lakedaimonian proxenos of Elis was found in the stadium at Olympia (Papachatzis 1979, p. 372, fig. 334).

44. See Brinkmann 1987, pp. 37 and 54–55. The rooster on the Archaic painted funerary stele of Antiphanes (NM 86) was drawn with hasty, impressionistic incisions and filled in with paint (Richter 1961, p. 40, no. 54).

45. Philadelphus 1922a, p. 28, repeated in Viviers 1992, p. 68.

painted red and the background left unpainted; in early photographs of the Neilonides base, the borders of the inscribed face appear as ghosts, further support for painted borders.⁴⁶ A similar use of painted borders appears on Euthymides' painted plaque found on the Acropolis (Acr. 1037), mentioned above: here two concentric painted borders, one red and one black, frame a painting of an attacking warrior rendered against a pale buff background.⁴⁷ The use of an incised border as a frame on the Neilonides base finds a parallel in the treatment of all four sides of the base of the Phrasikleia kore, signed by Aristion of Paros. There the epitaph inscribed on the front face of the base was framed by two parallel borders running vertically down the left and right edges and outlined by incised lines; the left side of the base, where Aristion's signature is located, was framed by two borders extending around the left, top, and right edges. On the front and left sides of the base red paint was applied not within the borders but between them; the unincised right side and the back of the base appear to have been treated in a similar fashion.⁴⁸

The top edge of the painted figure's seat was defined by an incision, but the left outer edge of the seat, and the inner edges of the bands painted along the top and left edges of the seat, were not.⁴⁹ The 1922 drawing accurately reproduces a continuous incised line running from the lap of the seated figure down to the hem of the drapery above the feet and marking the figure's profile outline. Similar incised lines depict the stacked folds of the drapery over the lower legs, the curving lower edges of these stacked folds, similar folds cascading down the figure's back, and the crosses of the seven cross-in-circle designs scattered over the surface of the drapery. Other, shorter lines shown in the drawing seem more problematic. The cluster of short, curving lines below the bottom hem of the garment looks as if it should form part of the rendering of the figure's feet, but these lines do not

46. E.g., the photograph published by Philadelphus (1923, fig. 8). The red paint flecks seen within the incised borders need to be distinguished from a rusty, orangish color that washes over the lower half of the front face and has settled into some of the incised lines of the drapery. This coloring looks more like surface incrustation dating to the period when the block was underground than like red paint. The letters of inscriptions were typically filled in with red paint, another reason to think that the background of the inscribed face was left unpainted.

47. Brouskari 1974, pp. 126–127, no. 67, fig. 241. Another link between the Acropolis plaque and the Neilonides base is the similarity in size between the two human figures: Euthymides' painted warrior was 39 or 40 cm tall, while the seated figure on

the Neilonides base measures about 37 cm high.

48. For the Phrasikleia base, see *IG* I³ 1261 and Kontoleon 1970, p. 91, pls. XIV:1 (front face) and XV:2 (left face). The back face, like the left one, preserves borders along the left, right, and top edges. The right face has two borders along its left and right edges, but breakage makes it impossible to tell whether these extended around the top edge as well. The fragmentary stele of Theron in the Athenian Agora (inv. I 2056) features an incised border of the same thickness as those on the Neilonides base and the Phrasikleia base. Here a single border is indented from the right and left edges of the stele's front face; if this stele is the one shown intact in a 19th-century painting, the border extended along the top edge of the stele as well. The border

marked by incision preserves faint traces of red paint. Apart from the inscribed name of the deceased, the rest of the stele is blank but may originally have included a painted figure. For the Theron stele, see Harrison 1956, pp. 27 and 37–40, pl. 9:b and d; and Richter 1961, p. 44, no. 60:b, fig. 150.

49. The 1922 drawing shows another, fragmentary, horizontal line above and parallel to the incised line marking the top of the seat. This line is not visible on the stone. What may be indicated here, or what may have confused the artist of the drawing, is a pronounced gray vein in the marble running horizontally through the top of the seat. The fragmentary line we see in the drawing is really the top edge of this vein; Endoios may even have used it as a guide for the placement of the seated figure.

correspond with the feet-shaped area chiseled out below them (Fig. 2, no. 1). On the stone, these lines are more shallowly incised and harder to see than the drapery lines above them, which indicates that they may be scratches rather than intentional incisions made by the painter. The surface of the Neilonides base today shows a multitude of such scratches. The same could well be true of a cluster of short, irregularly curving lines seen on the stone and in the 1922 drawing surrounding the top left corner of the seat (Fig. 2, no. 2). The five longer diagonal lines over the figure's upper torso, like the lines just described, still appear on the stone's surface but may also represent scratches rather than intentionally incised outlines; the curving line farthest to the right is almost certainly a scratch unconnected with the forward outline of the figure's upper torso (Fig. 2, no. 3). One line that features prominently in the 1922 drawing but does not correspond with any trace visible on the stone today is the one that seems to mark a lower edge of drapery suspended above the figure's lap (Fig. 2, no. 4). Although the cross-in-circle seen floating in this area makes it certain that drapery was depicted here, no incised lower edge may be seen, and the chisel marks do not follow this line as closely as they do the outline of the lap below.

Even where the lines shown in the drawing cannot be adequately explained, reconstruction of the figure can proceed by using the chisel marks as a guide. The chiseled area above the figure's lap can most easily be interpreted as drapery suspended from the figure's left arm, which extended forward to hold a vertical object in its hand. The position of the right arm is impossible to determine from the chisel marks alone, and no lines rendered in the drawing can be associated with it.⁵⁰ The drapery we see can be explained as a himation with one end draped across the chest, down under the right arm, across the back and up over the left forearm; the other end was pulled over the left shoulder to produce stacked folds cascading down the figure's back. Several parallels for garments worn in this way can be found in Archaic Athenian sculpture and vase painting, and two are discussed below. It is impossible to tell whether the seated figure wore a chiton under its himation; if it did, this chiton was probably rendered in paint alone because no incised drapery lines belonging to a garment other than the himation can be detected.

The precise length and appearance of the object held vertically in the left hand are impossible to determine because no painted traces of it were recorded in the 1922 drawing. It appears to be grasped by the left hand raised close to the level of the shoulders and at a slight angle. This object might have been short, ending above the figure's lap, or longer, extending downward behind the figure's draped legs and seat. Compositionally, the object creates an emphatic vertical line that neatly closes off the space occupied by the inscribed epitaph and helps to separate it from the painted figure.

Even in 1922, no traces of paint or incision could be made out in the area of the figure's face and head. Dense chisel strokes cluster where the ears, hair, and neck must have been, but only three or four small strokes were directed against the figure's face. No break between the hair and shoul-

50. The right hand might have rested on the figure's lap or the arm may have been bent at the elbow with the hand extended forward to hold an attribute of which no trace was visible in 1922.

ders can be made out. Does the small, triangular chisel mark visible just above the chest indicate the level of the chin? Or can we assume that the lack of a clear demarcation between the bottom of the face and the chest means that the figure was bearded? The feature that is more certain, but which few scholars have noted, is the chiseling out of something worn on the head and projecting far forward from it. This feature, like the vertical object held in the left hand, needs to be taken into account in order for the figure to be identified.

Another category of evidence recorded in the 1922 drawing is the thicker, curving lines located at the top corners of the seat (Fig. 2, no. 5). On the right, a tongue-shaped flap hangs down from the top of the seat, but the traces below this flap prove more difficult to read. While the outline of the flap was incised and remains clearly visible on the stone, the traces indicated below it are not: they have vanished completely with the exception of two tiny flecks of red paint that still adhere to the surface in this area. Isolated red flecks at the top left corner of the seat extend about a third of the way down the left seat edge. Philadelphus interpreted the flap together with the other odd markings below it as a cloth thrown over the figure's seat; these lines may have been drawn with thicker lines than Fomine used elsewhere in the 1922 drawing to indicate details outlined in paint without the use of incision.⁵¹ Philadelphus's description of paint traces surviving on the Neilonides base when it was discovered, though vague, includes mention of traces of red and black paint in the "rosaces," the cross-in-circle designs used to decorate the figure's garment.⁵² The crosses themselves were outlined with incisions still visible today, but the circles surrounding the crosses, like the thick lines indicated at the top corners of the seat, have completely vanished.

Archaic marble sculptures preserving traces of their original painted decoration provide evidence for complex color schemes that may be compared with the seated figure on the Neilonides base. Vinzenz Brinkmann's study of the use of paint on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi indicates that the major colors employed were red, blue, green, and yellow; elsewhere black was used frequently (and often in combination with red) for details such as patterned drapery decoration.⁵³ The three seated statues of "scribes" found on the Acropolis (Acr. 144, 146, and 629) suggest ways in which several colors may have been alternated to make clearer the distinctions between different parts of the painted figure on the Neilonides base.⁵⁴ All three of the scribe figures sit on diphroi indicated in paint on the surface of a solid block seat. In each case the surface of the block between the chair legs was painted red. On Acr. 629 and 144, the chair legs were painted either white or yellow and the seat was painted white with green decoration; on Acr. 146, the white seat may have been combined with either blue or green chair legs. On all three statues, the cushion on top of the seat was painted red and the seated figure's himation still retains traces of yellow.⁵⁵ These color schemes do not match one another in every detail, but the red seat cushions and yellow himatia of all three statues from the Acropolis could easily have been employed for the painted figure on the Neilonides base.

51. Philadelphus 1922a, pp. 28–29: "on retrouve . . . le siège, à pieds moulurés, recouvert d'une étoffe."

Philadelphus's reference to molded feet on the figure's seat conflicts with what Fomine's drawing shows. For examples of painted outlines in Archaic Greek relief and sculpture in the round, see Brinkmann 1987, pp. 37–39; 1994, p. 32. Paint was used for figural outlines and muscle detail in the horseman painted on a subsidiary panel of the gravestone NM 31. On the stele of Lyseas (NM 30), the outline of the standing painted figure seen clearly in the 19th century now shows up only as a ghost. See also the stele of Antigenes in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 15.167, discussed in Hall 1944, p. 336).

52. Philadelphus 1922a, pp. 28–29.

53. Brinkmann 1994, pp. 49–51; Richter 1944, pp. 321–325. Walter-Karydi (1986, p. 26) explains the typical color scheme used in Archaic Greek painting as a combination of light colors (white and yellow), dark colors (blue and black), and red.

54. Acr. 144: Schuchhardt 1939, no. 310, fig. 205, pl. 133; and Alford 1978, pp. 362–367, no. 60. Acr. 146: Schuchhardt 1939, no. 311, figs. 206–208; and Alford 1978, pp. 406–408, no. 69. Acr. 629: Schuchhardt 1939, no. 309, fig. 204, pl. 132; and Alford 1978, pp. 396–401, no. 67. Triandi (1994) redates the three scribes from ca. 530–500 to ca. 510–500 on the basis of the new head she discovered for Acr. 629, the largest of the three. For the principle of alternating light colors, dark colors, and red in the painting of Archaic marble sculpture, see Walter-Karydi 1986, pp. 29–31.

55. Cf. the figure of Zeus on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, who wears an ocher or pale orange himation over a green chiton (Brinkmann 1994, pp. 142–143, pls. 9–12).

ENDOIOS

Literary sources attribute to the sculptor Endoios at least three important cult statues and one votive statue displayed in a prominent sanctuary: a large-scale wooden statue of Athena Polias at Erythrai; the image of Artemis at Ephesos; an ivory Athena Alea at Tegea, which Augustus transported to Rome; and a seated marble Athena on the Athenian Acropolis, which Pausanias (1.26.4) says was inscribed as the dedication of Kallias and the work of Endoios.⁵⁶ In addition to these literary attributions, two definite signatures of Endoios have come to light in Athens on bases other than the Neilonides base: these are the inscribed base of a lost grave stele for Lampito (EM 10643) and the base for a lost votive statue dedicated by Ophs[ios] on the Athenian Acropolis (*DAA* no. 7). Endoios's signature appears on Ophsios's Acropolis dedication in conjunction with the signature of another sculptor, Philergos, whose signature appears alone on another funerary monument, that of Leanax the Samian (Athens, Third Ephoria inv. M 662).⁵⁷

On the basis of the literary sources (e.g., Paus. 1.26.4), Endoios may have been an Athenian (his signatures never include an ethnic) or he may have begun his career in Ionia with his commissions at Erythrai and Ephesos and later migrated to Athens. Unlike most Archaic Athenian sculptors whose names we know from signatures, Endoios made both funerary and votive monuments.⁵⁸ He worked in wood, ivory, and marble; his cult statues at Erythrai and Tegea and the marble Athena dedicated by Kallias on the Acropolis were seated figures. Lampito, for whom Endoios made a grave stele, was identified as a non-Athenian by her epitaph, as was Leanax the Samian, for whom Endoios's collaborator Philergos made a marble funerary statue, which was probably also seated. On Ophsios's Acropolis dedication, Endoios's signature was inscribed by a different hand than the dedicatory inscription and the signature of Philergos. Didier Viviers, recognizing the similarity between the letter forms in Endoios's signature and the inscriptions on the Neilonides base, has argued that Endoios himself carved both.⁵⁹ The use of four-bar sigma in Endoios's inscriptions on both monuments, a typical feature of Ionian but not Attic script in the 6th century, may tip the balance in favor of an Ionian origin for Endoios, as does Endoios's and Philergos's work for non-Athenian patrons.

56. For accounts of Endoios's career, including full references to ancient sources, see Rumpf 1938; Raubitschek 1949, pp. 491–495; Deyhle 1969, pp. 12–27; Schmidt 1969; Robertson 1975, pp. 105–108; Boardman 1978, pp. 82–83; Stewart 1990, pp. 122–123 and 248–249; Martini 1990, pp. 221–225; Viviers 1992, pp. 55–102; and Angiolillo 1997, pp. 173–184. In addition to the cult statue at Erythrai, Endoios also made groups of marble Charites and Horai that stood in front

of the temple, according to Pausanias (7.5.9). A late source (Athenagoras, quoted in Stewart 1990, p. 249, no. T29) seems to attribute to Endoios the olive wood statue of Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, elsewhere considered to be an aniconic image of great antiquity (see, e.g., Paus. 1.26.6). Kroll (1982) resolves this contradiction by assigning a 6th-century renovation of Athena's cult statue to Endoios.

57. Stele for Lampito: Viviers 1992, pp. 84–90. Monument for Leanax the

Samian: Viviers 1992, pp. 103–113.

58. The only three sculptors of the Archaic period who certainly signed both votive and funerary monuments in Attica are Endoios, Philergos, and Aristokles. Cf. the fifteen other sculptors who appear to have signed only votive dedications.

59. Viviers (1992, pp. 80–84) interprets Endoios's signature on Ophsios's dedication as that of a master sculptor in the workshop added to a sculpture executed by his pupil Philergos.

Although none of Endoios's signatures can be assigned with certainty to any extant sculpture, his name has frequently been associated in modern scholarship with three important 6th-century monuments. The first is an Archaic, over-life-size, seated marble Athena from the Acropolis (Acr. 625), which has been identified as the dedication of Kallias mentioned by Pausanias even though it preserves no dedicatory inscription or sculptor's signature. Despite its heavily weathered surface, this statue's monumental quality, subtle sense of incipient movement, and innovative iconography have encouraged the connection with Endoios.⁶⁰ Raubitschek restored the signature of Endoios on another Archaic votive monument from the Acropolis, the Potter relief (Acr. 1332).⁶¹ The relief shows a man, presumably the dedicator himself, seated on a diphros and holding two drinking cups; the relief's left margin was inscribed with the text of the dedication. Although Raubitschek's restoration of the two sets of letters inscribed retrograde along the relief's right margin as Ἔγ[δοῖος ἐποίησ]εν has seldom been questioned, it should be pointed out that only one of the preserved letters, the final nu, looks normal. The other letters have been rendered virtually incomprehensible by added strokes that do not clearly correspond with Greek letter forms of any period.

The problem of Endoios's signature on the Potter relief needs to be considered in conjunction with attempts to restore Endoios's name on a more prominent 6th-century monument outside of Athens, the gigantomachy scene from the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. There a fragmentary sculptor's signature appears on the shield of one of the giants; the sculptor takes credit for two out of the four sides of the frieze, the north and east.⁶² Though the sculptor's name at the beginning of the inscription has been almost entirely lost, scholars from Rumpf onward have attempted to restore the name of Endoios.⁶³ The signatures from both the Siphnian Treasury frieze and the Potter relief were altered in antiquity. Yet unlike the markings on the right border of the Potter relief, the sculptor's signature on the Siphnian Treasury frieze remains completely legible: extra strokes have been added to each letter, most likely for the purpose of decorative embellishment.⁶⁴ Despite the different character of their alterations, the Potter relief and the Siphnian Treasury inscriptions have both been taken as examples of intentional defacement compa-

60. See Robertson 1975, pp. 106–107; Martini 1990, pp. 222–225; Viviers 1992, pp. 162–169, figs. 38 and 39; and Angiolillo 1997, pp. 173–175. Acr. 625 wears an aegis with a gorgoneion, a feature that both Hartswick (1993, pp. 276–278) and Marx (1993, pp. 246–254) connect with a gorgoneion added by Endoios to the wooden Athena Polias cult statue also on the Acropolis. Acr. 625 may originally have held either a spear and shield (Floren 1987, pp. 297–299) or a spindle and distaff (Stucchi 1956); cf. Endoios's wooden cult statue at Erythrai (see above), which held two

distaffs, one in each hand. Resemblances between the seated Athena and a fragmentary Acropolis kore (Acr. 602) have led to the kore's association (e.g., by Robertson [1975, p. 107]) with the Acropolis statue base signed by Endoios and Philergos (*DAA* no. 7). Yet the base preserves no traces of a plinth cavity, and we cannot even be sure that it supported a kore rather than some other type of statue. For Acr. 602, see Langlotz 1939, p. 50, no. 7, pl. 13; and Viviers 1992, p. 170.

61. See Raubitschek 1942; 1949, no. 70.

62. *CEG* no. 449. For the Siphnian

Treasury frieze, see the section on style and chronology below. Onatas of Aegina's signature appeared on the shield of Idomeneus in a bronze statue group of Trojan War heroes at Olympia (Paus. 5.25.8).

63. See Rumpf 1938, pp. 44–45; Deyhle 1969, pp. 22–25; Viviers 1992, pp. 96–98; and Angiolillo 1997, pp. 177–181. Cf. Guarducci (1965), who restored the name of a purely conjectural Athenian sculptor, Daïppos.

64. See Jeffery 1976, p. 185: "The artist has cut his signature around the shield of a giant and then 'foxed' the letters to resemble decorative signs."

rable to the treatment of the inscriptions on the Neilonides base, a connection used in turn to support the attribution of both monuments to Endoios; it has even been suggested that Endoios suffered *damnatio memoriae* at the end of the 6th century because he worked as a "court sculptor" for the Peisistratid tyrants.⁶⁵

These hypotheses about Endoios can be faulted on a number of grounds. The case for Peisistratid patronage rests upon Endoios's possible renovation of the wooden cult statue of Athena Polias, the identification of Neilonides as a relative of Peisistratos, and the conjecture that the Kallias who dedicated Endoios's seated Athena on the Acropolis was Hippias's father-in-law.⁶⁶ Yet, as we have seen, Neilonides might have been a Samian, and it is also possible to identify Kallias as the enemy of Peisistratos who bought his property when he went into exile at the end of his first tyranny.⁶⁷ Raubitschek's restoration of Endoios's name on the Potter relief involves not only reading irregular markings as disguised Greek letters, but also artificially enlarging the spacing between the letters to make Endoios's signature fit the space available.⁶⁸ Finally, the remaining traces of the sculptor's signature on the Siphnian Treasury frieze simply do not support Rumpf's restoration of Endoios's name. A much more plausible restoration, originally proposed by Jeffery, is Aristion Parios, the sculptor who made the Phrasikleia kore.⁶⁹

A wide variety of other Archaic sculptures, both freestanding and architectural, have been attributed to Endoios based upon stylistic similarities with the seated Athena Acr. 625, the Potter relief, or the Siphnian Treasury frieze.⁷⁰ The perceived stylistic connections between some of these monuments may well be fortuitous, whether or not any deserve to be attributed to Endoios or his workshop.⁷¹ Since in every case the link with Endoios lacks the authority of a preserved signature, I prefer to omit these attributions from this discussion of Endoios's career. The circumstantial nature of the sculptural evidence gives added importance to the painting

65. See Casson 1925, pp. 167–172; Viviers 1995, pp. 217–219; and Angiolillo 1997, pp. 170–171.

66. For Endoios's connection with the Polias cult statue on the Acropolis, see note 56 above. For the identification of Kallias as Kallias son of Hyperochides, the father-in-law of Hippias, see Viviers 1992, pp. 65–67.

67. For Kallias the son of Phainippos, see Hdt. 6.121; Raubitschek 1949, p. 492; and Viviers 1992, pp. 63–65. The survival of an inscription on the statue that Pausanias saw, whether or not it was Acr. 625, argues against a *damnatio memoriae* against Endoios's name and work. Cf. Robertson's (1975, pp. 107–108) theory that the seated Athena Acr. 625 was originally a cult statue rededicated after the Persian sack of the Acropolis by Kallias, son of Hipponikos, to com-

memorate his peace treaty with the Persians.

68. Raubitschek's (1942, fig. 8) reconstruction drawing of the signature uses much wider letter spacing than the dedicatory inscription on the left margin of the relief (Raubitschek 1942, fig. 1). For an equally skeptical view of the signature, see Viviers 1992, pp. 90–96.

69. See Jeffery 1976, p. 185; Ridgway 1993, p. 395; and, most convincingly, Brinkmann 1994, pp. 74–75, fig. 116 (reconstruction drawing of the signature). Like Endoios's signature on the Neilonides base, the signature on the Siphnian Treasury frieze is almost but not quite metrical (see note 82 below).

70. For attributions and discussions of Endoios's sculptural style, see the sources listed in note 56 above and

Viviers 1992, pp. 160–173. Among the attributions are the Acropolis kore no. 602 (note 60 above), the gigantomachy pediment from the Old Athena Temple on the Acropolis, the Rayet head in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek no. 418), the Plateia Eleutherias Dionysos (see below), the Rampin horseman (Acr. 590), and the Peplos kore (Acr. 679).

71. For example, the identical pose and seat type of the Athena Acr. 625 and the Potter relief do not seem to me to argue for production by the same sculptor, *pace* Marx 1993, pp. 246–250. The hairstyle shared by the potter in the Potter relief, the Rayet head, and the figures on the Ball Players base NM 3476 could be typical of late-6th-century Athenian sculpture and used by more than one sculptor or workshop (Martini 1990, pp. 222–225).

on the Neilonides base as evidence for the style and date of Endoios's work.

Despite the fact that it has been erased with a chisel, Endoios's signature on the Neilonides base can be reconstructed as follows: Ἐνδοῖος κ[α]ὶ τόνδ' ἐποίησεν ("Endoios made this one, too") (Fig. 2).⁷² The question of the painting's attribution to the sculptor Endoios has been closely linked to the precise wording of his signature, which presents unusual interpretive problems. The masculine gender of the demonstrative pronoun τόνδε rules out the possibility that a reference is made to either one of the two neuter terms used in the epitaph to describe the monument (σῆμα and μνημα).⁷³ If Endoios's signature does not tell us that he made the monument as a whole, does it imply that he made the painting, or the statue, or both? And in addition (καὶ) to what did he make it? Τόνδε has usually been taken to mean that Endoios made the painting in addition to the kouros statue the base supported, but the antecedent we would expect, τὴν γραφήν, is feminine.⁷⁴ The use of another antecedent, τὸν τύπον, would be unusual in a reference to a painting rather than a carved relief sculpture.⁷⁵ I would like to suggest that the implied antecedent here was ἀνδριάς, a term already in use in the Archaic period for a freestanding marble statue, and therefore that Endoios's signature refers specifically to the lost kouros statue the Neilonides base originally supported.⁷⁶ If Endoios's name meant anything to readers of the signature, they would probably assume that he had made the statue because he was known as a sculptor.

The absence of another signature on the base supports the painting's attribution to Endoios as well, as does the use of signature and epitaph together to frame the painted figure. It was more common on Archaic Athenian grave monuments and dedications with sculptors' signatures either to combine the signature with the main inscription, or to place it on a different side of the base entirely.⁷⁷ The integration seen here of a painting, epitaph, and sculptor's signature on one face of a statue base is unparalleled.⁷⁸ If the inscriptions on the Neilonides base were both carved by

72. For the text of the inscription, see *JG I*³ 1214 and *CEG* no. 42.

73. Cf. Viviers (1992, pp. 71–72; 1995, pp. 220–221), who discusses the signature as if it used the neuter τόδε rather than the masculine τόνδε.

74. Cf. Schmalz (1983, pp. 83–85), who states that τόνδε can refer only to the painted figure.

75. First suggested by Philadelphus (1922a, p. 29). For possible uses of this word to mean painting rather than relief, see the revised supplement to *LSJ* (Oxford 1996) 297, s.v. τύπος.

76. For a discussion of the use of ἀνδριάς in the 6th and 5th centuries, see Lazzarini 1976, pp. 104–105, nos. 767 (kouros from Neandria) and 768

(kouros dedicated at Didyma). Lazzarini omits the early-6th-century metrical inscription on the base of the Naxian Apollo from Delos (*CEG* no. 401). For Archaic dedicatory inscriptions using τόνδε without an antecedent, see Lazzarini 1976, nos. 747 (Argive Heraion) and 851 (Olympia).

77. The practice of placing the signature on a different part of the base from the main inscription was common on the Acropolis dedications of the 6th and 5th centuries; see, e.g., Raubitschek 1949, nos. 88, 149, 186, 236, 237, 278, 279, and 291.

78. The extra polishing of the left side of the Neilonides base, but not the right, may indicate a plan to inscribe

the signature on the left face before it was decided to put it on the front of the base. Philadelphus (1922a, p. 28) describes a painted red line marking the lower border of the left face, which has since completely disappeared: "une ligne rouge, d'un millimètre d'épaisseur, qui court horizontalement à 0 m .007 du bord inférieur: peut-être avait-on songé d'abord à disposer, de ce côté aussi, une décoration peinte." Three Athenian signatures of the sculptor Aristion of Paros, including his signature on the Phrasikleia base discussed above, appear on the left side of the statue base: see *CEG* nos. 24 (Phrasikleia), 34, and 41.

Endoios's own hand as Viviers has argued, then epitaph, signature, and painting could easily have been executed by Endoios as an ensemble. Archaic sculptural workshops generated a need for skilled painters because the painting of marble statues and reliefs was integral to their presentation in sanctuaries and cemeteries. Close family connections between sculptors and painters in Archaic Athens are well attested and imply training and practice within the same workshops.⁷⁹

Even if we accept that Endoios himself made both the painting and the statue, and that his signature refers specifically to the statue, we still need to justify the use of *καί* in Endoios's signature. This formula may most easily be explained as a reference to the presence of other statues nearby made by Endoios before he made Neilonides' monument, whether or not these too bore their own signatures.⁸⁰ The wording of Neilonides' epitaph suggests that his monument constituted part of a family tomb group: the word *καί* in the epitaph, which appears in the second verse as *χ* elided with *ὕτος* in the dative (Neilon set up a *sema/mnema* "for his good son too"), alludes to other monuments set up by Neilon, the father and commemorator of the deceased. Evidence from epitaphs and grouped funerary monuments in cemeteries supports the existence of such family groups in Archaic Athens and Attica.⁸¹ The parallel language of signature and epitaph raises the further possibility that Endoios with his signature takes credit specifically for Neilon's other monuments in the same family tomb group: Neilon set up this monument, too, and Endoios adds that he sculpted this one, too.⁸²

Jeffery suggested that the Ball Players (Fig. 3) and Hockey Players bases found near the Neilonides base in the Themistoklean wall originally belonged to Neilon's family tomb group.⁸³ Beyond the proximity of their findspots, noteworthy similarities among the three statue bases support both a connection with Endoios's sculptural workshop (if not his own hand) and display within the context of a tomb group. The unusual decorative format and nearly identical dimensions of the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases suggest strongly that they were produced by the same workshop even if the reliefs themselves were not carved by the same sculp-

79. See especially Viviers 1995, pp. 213–214; Ridgway 1987. The Athenian red-figure vase painter Euthymides sometimes signed his vases as "son of Pol(l)ias," and a Polias dedicated a painted plaque found on the Acropolis that has been attributed to the hand of Euthymides (Robertson 1975, pp. 225–226). The painter Eumares was the father of the sculptor Antenor, who used a patronymic in his signature on the base for Antenor's kore from the Acropolis (Raubitschek 1949, no. 197).

80. Cf. Ridgway (1993, pp. 429–430), who interprets the formula of Endoios's signature as a "comprehensive

boast of productivity on the part of the sculptor" without necessary reference to any specific works located in the vicinity.

81. The formula of the epitaph for Pediarchos (Jeffery 1962, p. 136, no. 42) makes explicit his monument's place within a tomb group: "Woe to Pediarchos the son of Empedion." Pediarchos begins the *semata* (*ἄρχει τῶν σημάτων*). Humphreys (1983, pp. 94–102) and D'Onofrio (1988) collect and discuss the archaeological evidence. The stelai of Aristion (NM 29) and Lyseas (NM 30) are reported to have been found near one another in

the same burial tumulus in the Attic countryside (Richter 1961, pp. 47–48, nos. 67 and 70).

82. For evidence of collaboration between sculptural workshops and patrons in the composition of epitaphs, see Viviers 1992, pp. 135–137. The epigram is an elegiac couplet, which runs into metrical difficulties in the second line; the signature of Endoios "sounds like the beginning of a hexameter," showing a possible attempt to integrate it into a single metrical scheme with the epitaph (Friedländer and Hoffleit 1948, no. 69).

83. Jeffery 1962, p. 127.

tor.⁸⁴ On both relief bases, each of the three reliefs was framed by a border similar to the painted border framing the front face of the Neilonides base. The Ball Players base, the Hockey Players base, and the Neilonides base are all examples of a type of statue base, the type A pillar monument, that was common among statue dedications on the Archaic Acropolis but rare in the cemeteries of Athens and Attica.⁸⁵ All three bases are made of Pentelic marble and, as has been noted already, all three supported kouros statues. Finally, the two relief bases have one blank face and one face of the Neilonides base was left unsmoothed, suggesting that all three monuments originally stood against a wall.

John Boardman attributed the reliefs on the Ball Players base to Endoios himself.⁸⁶ Since the kouros statues supported by the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases have been lost, it is impossible to determine whether the same sculptor or sculptors carved both the kouroi and the reliefs on their bases. Martin Robertson suggested that Endoios made all three kouroi, but that two different sculptors from Endoios's workshop carved the reliefs on the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases.⁸⁷ The collaboration between Endoios and Philergos attested by their joint signatures on a votive column from the Acropolis (*DAA* no. 7, discussed above) raises a further possibility: that Philergos, a sculptor associated with Endoios's workshop, made one or both of the kouroi supported by the two relief bases.

STYLE AND CHRONOLOGY

The chief obstacle to attributing the kouroi supported by the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases to Endoios himself rather than to his workshop

84. Statue bases decorated with reliefs on more than one side were uncommon in Archaic Greek sculpture (a point stressed by Kosmopoulou [1998, p. 536]). A third example of a statue base with reliefs on three sides was found in 1962 built into a section of the Themistoklean wall in the Kerameikos (Ker. P 1002). The front of the base features a fragmentary scene of young men playing a ball game that is virtually identical in composition to the scene on the Ball Players base NM 3476; the other two relief scenes depict a procession of two horsemen (right side) and a fight between a wild boar and a lion (left side). The Kerameikos base, like the Neilonides base, the Ball Players base, and the Hockey Players base, was a type A pillar base made of Pentelic marble, and all four bases supported kouros statues. Despite the obvious iconographic and technical similarities between the Kerameikos Ball Players

base and the three bases found together in the Themistoklean wall, Willemssen (1963, pp. 129–136, no. 7, pls. 64:2 and 65:1–2) and Viviers (1992, pp. 190–197) have attributed the Kerameikos base to the sculptor Aristokles. Willemssen considered the Kerameikos base to be earlier in date than the Ball Players base NM 3476 but made by the same sculptor or workshop; others (Schmidt 1969, pp. 74–75; D'Onofrio 1986, pp. 188–190) explain the stylistic differences between the two monuments as the result of contemporary production by different sculptors.

85. For the type A pillar base, see note 5 above. Only one possible funerary example other than the four bases discussed here (the Neilonides base, the Ball Players base NM 3476, the Hockey Players base NM 3477, and the Kerameikos base Ker. P 1002) has been found: the monument for Tyr- son of Skylax the Carian, signed by the sculptor

Aristokles, found in the Kerameikos (Ker. I 190), which has a tenon for insertion into a supporting pillar (Willemssen 1963, pp. 125–129, no. 6, pls. 63:1 and 2 and 64:1). The Phrasikleia base (note 35 above) was thought to be a type A pillar monument (e.g., by Jacob-Felsch [1969, p. 40]) before it was removed from a church in Merenda and put on display in the National Museum; in actuality, it is the top block of a stepped base. Stepped bases were much more common in funerary contexts in Athens. I count thirty Archaic examples included in *JG I*³ or in Jeffery 1962.

86. Boardman 1978, pp. 82–83. The Ball Players base (NM 3476) and the Hockey Players base (NM 3477) bear no inscriptions, but the lost pillars that supported them may have been inscribed with epitaphs and sculptors' signatures.

87. Robertson 1975, pp. 226–227.

is the earlier stylistic date traditionally assigned to the Neilonides base: if the two relief bases were made *after* Neilonides' monument rather than before it or at the same time, then the $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in Endoios's signature on the Neilonides base must refer to some monument or monuments other than the two relief bases. The date of the Neilonides base, together with the stylistic and chronological relationships between the three bases, needs to be reassessed in light of Endoios's painting.

In previous scholarship, the Neilonides base was assigned a terminus ante quem of either 510 or 508 B.C., depending upon whether the deceased Neilonides was judged a Peisistratid or an Alkmeonid.⁸⁸ If the inscriptions and painting on the Neilonides base were damaged not for political reasons but to prepare it for reuse in the Themistoklean wall, as I have argued, then Neilonides' funerary monument need only date before 478. Ancient literary sources referring to Endoios place his work anywhere in the second half of the 6th century.⁸⁹ Parallels for the plinth shape of the lost kouros supported by the Neilonides base have been dated stylistically between ca. 540 and ca. 520.⁹⁰ The use of similar incised borders on the Neilonides base and the Phrasikleia base signed by Aristion of Paros suggests that the two monuments might be contemporary; most scholars date the Phrasikleia kore and her base to ca. 550 or 540.⁹¹

Jeffery used the letter forms of the inscriptions to date Neilonides' funerary monument to "ca. 525(?)," and the lettering on the base certainly looks more stylistically advanced than the inscription on the base for the Phrasikleia kore.⁹² Yet letter forms may be unreliable indicators in this case. The problem is not only that the individual letters have been chiseled out, but also that "progressive" letter forms, such as four-bar sigma and epsilon without a tail, have been used: these appeared in Ionian script before they became common in Athenian inscriptions. The inscriptions on the Neilonides base, when compared with contemporary Athenian inscriptions, might look later than they really are because their lettering has been influenced by Ionian script.⁹³

Close examination of the painted figure on the Neilonides base produces two specific details that may be compared directly with sculpture and vase painting of the second half of the 6th century: the cross-in-circle decoration on the figure's himation and the rounded edges of the stacked drapery folds. Several parallels for male and female clothing decorated with small crosses surrounded either by painted circles or by simple dots

88. Cf. Raubitschek (1949, pp. 493–494), who dated the Neilonides base to ca. 527–515 B.C. on the basis of letter forms and "more general historical considerations," i.e., his thesis that Neilonides was an Alkmeonid who was exiled during the rule of Hippias.

89. Raubitschek (1949, p. 495) places Endoios's cult statues in the third quarter of the 6th century and his Athenian signatures in the fourth quarter. Deyhle (1969, pp. 25–26)

dates all of his work between ca. 540 and ca. 500 B.C.

90. Viviers 1992, pp. 76–77.

91. E.g., Boardman 1978, caption for fig. 108:a (ca. 550); Stewart 1990, p. 119 (ca. 550); and *IG I³ 1261* (ca. 540?).

92. See Jeffery 1962, p. 127, no. 19; and *IG I³ 1214*.

93. Viviers 1992, pp. 76–77. Raubitschek (1949, pp. 448–452) demonstrated that the "old style" in Archaic Athenian inscriptions

(featuring traditional Attic letter forms) and the "new style" (influenced by Ionian script) were both in use during the last quarter of the 6th century and the first quarter of the 5th. He dated *DAA* no. 7, the dedication signed by Endoios and Philergos that Viviers attributes to the same hand as the Neilonides base, to the last quarter of the 6th century. For a recent critique of the use of letter forms to date the Acropolis dedications, see Winters 1995.

or triangles may be found on Athenian black-figure vases and among the Acropolis korai.⁹⁴ The most striking parallels, however, for the large crosses with thick crossbars we see on the Neilonides base appear on two red-figure vases attributed to the Andokides Painter. Both vases depict musical performances watched by spectators. On an amphora in the Louvre (Fig. 5), a standing spectator wears a himation covered with crosses very similar to the ones that decorate our seated figure's clothing; on another amphora in Basel (BS491), three figures wear himatia decorated with large Maltese crosses and swastikas comparable in their proportions to the crosses depicted on the Neilonides base.⁹⁵

The Andokides Painter, apparently the inventor of the Attic red-figure technique, also serves as a benchmark for the chronology of Archaic Greek sculpture as a result of the stylistic similarities between his work and the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. If we accept that historical events date the Siphnian Treasury and its sculptures to around 525 B.C. or ca. 530–525, as most commentators have, then the work of the Andokides Painter should date between ca. 530 and 515.⁹⁶ The “community of the arts” represented by the comparable stylistic development of the Siphnian Treasury frieze and the vase painting of Andokides extends equally to the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases, which have often been compared with the work of the Athenian red-figure “Pioneers” of ca. 520–500, in particular Euphronios, Euthymides, and Phintias.⁹⁷ A second stylistic feature seen in the painted figure on the Neilonides base, the rendering of the drapery over the lower legs and back of the figure with stacked folds of similar size with rounded ends, finds a parallel in the figure of Hermes on the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, which (along with the south frieze) was carved by an Ionian sculptor (Master A).⁹⁸ In contrast, the north and east friezes, carved by a sculptor (Master B) whose name may be restored

94. The cross surrounded by dots or triangles appears frequently on female garments in the work of the Amasis Painter: see von Bothmer 1985, nos. 1, 9, 12, 14, 18*bis*, 23, 27, 28, and 48. Small crosses were painted on the drapery of the kore Acr. 680 (Langlotz 1939, no. 45, pls. 68–69). A cross-in-circle pattern may be seen on two other korai: Acr. 676 (Langlotz 1939, no. 49, pl. 73) and Acr. 594 (Lermann 1907, pl. XIII). Cf. also the blue crosses painted on the drapery of the goddess seated behind Hera on the Siphnian Treasury east frieze (Hestia?) (Brinkmann 1994, figs. 5 and 125) and the circles on Athena's peplos on the north frieze (Brinkmann 1994, fig. 103).

95. For the Basel amphora, see Shapiro 1992, fig. 45 (dated ca. 525–520). The crosses on the himation of the painted figure on the Neilonides base are actually larger than they appear

in the 1922 drawing, and the horizontal bars are slightly wider and longer than the vertical ones.

96. For the style of the Andokides Painter and his synchronism with the Siphnian Treasury, see Langlotz 1920, pp. 17–31; von Bothmer 1965–1966, pp. 208–210; Boardman 1975a, pp. 15–18; and Robertson 1992, pp. 9–18. For illustrations of the Siphnian Treasury sculptures, see Boardman 1978, figs. 211–212:4. For the building's date, based upon Hdt. 3.57–58 and Paus. 10.11.2, see most recently Hurwit 1985, pp. 295–300; Stewart 1990, pp. 128–129; Ridgway 1993, pp. 394–395; and Childs 1993, pp. 403–413.

97. Robertson (1975, p. 226) called the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases “so close in style to the vase-paintings of the Pioneer Group, that one would have no difficulty in imagining one artist practising both

techniques.” See also Hurwit 1985, pp. 301–302.

98. West frieze Hermes: Brinkmann 1994, fig. 12. Similar round-ended folds appear also on a female figure on the left with her back to the tripod scene on the Siphnian Treasury east pediment (Brinkmann 1994, fig. 157). For the Ionian (Chian?) origin of Master A, see Ridgway 1993, pp. 394–395. Ionian parallels for the folds on the Neilonides base prove difficult to date in relation to the Siphnian Treasury. Examples include a kore from Samos dated ca. 530 (*Samos* XI, no. 25, pl. 15); a fragmentary relief from Samos, ca. 490–470 (*Samos* XI, no. 146, pl. 90); a relief from Syme, ca. 510–500 (Berger 1970, fig. 58); and a relief from Dikaia, ca. 500 (Berger 1970, fig. 134). Cf. Özgan (1978, pp. 79–97), who redates the reliefs to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.

Figure 5. Amphora attributed to the Andokides Painter (Louvre G1). Rhapsodic performance. Courtesy Musée du Louvre, M. Chuzeville and P. Chuzeville



99. For the style of the Pioneers, see Robertson 1992, pp. 20–35.

100. Cf. Rumpf (1938, p. 41, followed by Langlotz 1939, p. 111), who compared the rendering of the painted figure as seen in the 1922 drawing with Athenian black-figure vase painting of ca. 540 B.C. Rumpf's comparanda were rejected (rightly) by Raubitschek (1949, p. 493). Rounded fold ends comparable to those on the Neilonides base appear intermittently in the late black-figure painting of the Leagros Group, the Acheloos Painter, the Antimenes Painter, and the Eucharides Painter, all dated to the last quarter of the 6th century. See Boardman 1974, figs. 207 (Leagros Group), 211:1 (Acheloos Painter), 194 (Antimenes Painter), and 229 (Eucharides Painter). Similar treatments also appear among Acropolis korai traditionally considered to be Ionian in style and dated anywhere from ca. 530 to ca. 500: e.g., Acr. 678, dated ca. 530 B.C. by Langlotz (1939, no. 10, pl. 20) and Acr. 611, ca. 520 (no. 11, pl. 22). On the Acropolis, the transition to pointed zigzag folds on the korai has been seen by Ridgway (1985, pp. 8–9) as the first step toward the development of an Athenian-bred "International Style" in sculpture soon before ca. 510 B.C.

101. Walter-Karydi (1986, pp. 29–31) associates a shift from red to blue painted backgrounds in Attic relief sculpture with the shift from black-figure to red-figure vase painting ca. 530 B.C., and with the work of Cycladic sculptors such as Aristion of Paros. The Siphnian Treasury frieze features a blue background, but compare the light background with red border of the Phrasikleia base. The two lateral scenes on the Ball Players base, which probably dates after the shift to red-figure vase painting, have red backgrounds.

in his signature as Aristion of Paros, show zigzag folds that end in a point, a rendering used consistently in the red-figure painting of the Andokides Painter and the Pioneers; very similar zigzag folds appear in the relief scene of a cat and dog fight on the Ball Players base (Fig. 3).⁹⁹

A comparison of the treatment of the folds in sculptural relief and vase painting with the painted figure on the Neilonides base suggests the following stylistic and chronological relationships. The Neilonides base may be contemporary with the Siphnian Treasury, and its style may reflect East Greek influences not evident in the style of either the two relief bases or Athenian red-figure vase painting of the last quarter of the 6th century.¹⁰⁰ The Ball Players and Hockey Players bases should be later in date than the Neilonides base, and contemporary with the Athenian red-figure Pioneers. The painted figure on the Neilonides base shows no sign of the innovative foreshortening and complex body poses seen in the two relief bases and the work of the Pioneers, a further indication that the Neilonides base is stylistically less advanced.

The case for the production of all three bases found together in the Themistoklean wall by the same sculptural workshop has already been made. Stylistic comparisons with sculpture and vase painting suggest that the Neilonides base could date ca. 530–520, the approximate date assigned by Jeffery to the letter forms of the inscriptions. Endoios emerges as a possible contemporary of Aristion of Paros, the sculptor who signed the base for the Phrasikleia kore and, if his name has been correctly restored, the north and east friezes of the Siphnian Treasury.¹⁰¹ While the stylistic

differences between the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases can be used to assign either one a slightly earlier date than the other, both should be dated after the Neilonides base given their stylistic similarities to the work of the red-figure Pioneers.¹⁰² This means that Endoios's signature on the Neilonides base is not intended to take credit specifically for the two relief bases found together with it in the Themistoklean wall, but for other tomb monuments that remain unidentified. This observation weakens the case for attributing all three monuments to Endoios, but leaves open the possibility that Philergos or some other sculptor in Endoios's workshop made the lost kouros statues supported by the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases.

THE SEATED FIGURE IN ARCHAIC ATHENIAN ART

The origin and meaning of seated figures remain among the most vexed questions in the study of Archaic Greek sculpture. In an Ionian context, seated representations of the dedicator or members of the dedicator's family, both male and female, were used as votive offerings in the first half of the 6th century at Didyma and the Samian Heraion; here the seated pose has most often been interpreted as an iconographic marker for high social status.¹⁰³ Endoios's cult statues and his statue of Athena on the Acropolis exemplify the use of the seated pose for representations of divine females in Archaic sculpture in both the Greek East and the mainland. Discoveries made in the Kerameikos and other Athenian cemeteries show that seated figures in the round and in relief were used, albeit infrequently, as grave monuments in the Archaic period alongside the better-known kouroi, korai, and standing figures in relief: three statues of seated figures, three bases for lost seated figures, and between four and eight relief representations are attested.¹⁰⁴ The association of two of these, the stele for Lampito and the statue for Leanax the Samian, with signatures of Endoios and Philergos, respectively, has suggested to Viviers that representations of seated figures

102. Boardman (1978, figs. 242 and 241) dated the Ball Players base ca. 510 B.C. and the Hockey Players base ca. 500. Cf. Karouzos's (1961) relative dates of ca. 520–510 for the Neilonides base (no. A20), ca. 510–505 for the Ball Players base (no. A23), and ca. 500–490 for the Hockey Players base (no. A25).

103. Ridgway 1993, pp. 181–197 and 207–210.

104. The preserved statues of seated figures in the round are NM 7, possibly female (Jeffery 1962, p. 125, no. 1); Ker. P 1052 (p. 125, no. 2); and the Plateia Eleutherias "Dionysos" (NM 3711, p. 133, no. 1). Bases for seated figures: the monument for Anaxilas the

Naxian (Ker. I 388, Willemsen 1963, pp. 141–145, no. 11); the monument for Leanax the Samian signed by Philergos (note 57 above), and Ker. I 188 (pp. 140–141, no. 10). Jeffery (1962, p. 127, no. 2) thought that the Hockey Players base supported a seated figure, but cf. note 5 above. Relief stelai representing seated figures: the Velanideza stele (NM 88+4469; Jeffery 1962, p. 141, no. 1; Viviers 1992, pp. 212–213); the Anavyssos mother and child stele (NM 4472; Jeffery 1962, pp. 145–146, no. 2); a fragmentary stele of a seated woman and standing girl (NM 36; Jeffery 1962, p. 148, no. 7); and a fragment showing the foot of a

chair (Ker. P 1265; Viviers 1992, p. 213, fig. 35). Four funerary bases supported stelai wide enough to have represented seated figures: the Lampito base signed by Endoios (note 57 above); the Oinante base (Athens Third Ephoria; Viviers 1992, pp. 133–139); the Melissa base (Jeffery 1962, p. 121, no. 12); and the Kleito base (Jeffery 1962, p. 131, no. 27). Jeffery (1962, p. 147, no. 66) also includes in this group a marble disk featuring an inscription in honor of the doctor Aineias and a partially preserved painting of a seated figure. The funerary function of this and other marble disks has been disputed: see Berger 1970, pp. 155–158 and 191, note 393.

may have been introduced to Athens by sculptural workshops with Ionian associations or by Ionian clients living in Athens.¹⁰⁵

If this is the case, one wonders whether the interest of sculptors and clients in the seated type was primarily formal, or whether seated iconography carried with it social implications. Both male and female deceased were commemorated by seated representations in Athens; the relief stelai in this group include at least two examples depicting the deceased in a domestic context that anticipate the typical iconography of Classical Athenian funerary stelai.¹⁰⁶ The rarity of seated figures in the round among Archaic Athenian funerary monuments compared with *kouroi* coincides with an overwhelming bias in the Archaic period toward the commemoration of prematurely deceased men attested by both the surviving sculptures and the inscribed epitaphs.¹⁰⁷ For this reason, Jeffery's interpretation of the male seated figures as representations of "elderly and respected heads of households," in contrast to the younger men commemorated by *kouroi*, has been widely accepted.¹⁰⁸

Questions concerning the use of seated figures in funerary sculpture prove relevant to the identification and interpretation of the seated figure painted on the Neilonides base. When the base was found, Philadelphus thought that it belonged to a votive rather than a funerary monument because Neilonides' epitaph had not yet been deciphered by Raubitschek. Thinking of Endoios's seated Athena statues at Erythrai and on the Athenian Acropolis, Philadelphus identified the painted figure as a seated Athena Ergane wearing a *stephane* or *kalathos* on her head and holding a distaff in her outstretched left hand.¹⁰⁹ Sandro Stucchi also reconstructed the figure as a spinner, possibly one of the Fates (*Moirai*).¹¹⁰ Stanley Casson, comparing the seated figure on the Neilonides base to an Archaic relief of Zeus now in Liverpool, favored an identification of the figure as Zeus and hypothesized that Endoios's monument was dedicated by an Olympic victor.¹¹¹

Raubitschek's publication of Neilonides' epitaph made it certain that his monument was funerary rather than votive. Raubitschek reidentified the seated figure as Neilon, the deceased's father, based upon the prominent role Neilon plays in the inscribed epitaph.¹¹² Friedländer and Hoffleit, to justify the unprecedented addition of a painting to the statue base for a funerary *kouros*, added the hypothesis that Neilon had died before his

105. Viviers 1992, pp. 206–218.

106. The Anavyssos stele (note 104 above) shows a seated woman holding an infant; the fragmentary stele NM 36 (note 104) shows a seated woman facing a girl, possibly her maid. For the depiction of the deceased within the context of a family group on grave monuments of the Classical period, see Humphreys 1983, pp. 104–118.

107. For statistics and analysis, see Humphreys 1983, pp. 92–94; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 285–297.

108. Jeffery 1962, p. 150. Cf. D'ono-

frio (1995, pp. 193–196), who interprets the seated pose in Archaic Athenian sculpture more specifically as a sign of high civic or religious office.

109. Philadelphus 1922a, pp. 31–33. Philadelphus did leave open the possibility that the figure was male rather than female, in which case he opted for Zeus or Dionysos.

110. Stucchi 1956, p. 127. He refers to traces near the front foot (*sic*) of the figure's stool in the 1922 drawing that might represent a spindle; cf. my description of the drawing above.

Rumpf (1938, p. 41) also thought the seated figure was female, but declined to offer any specific identification.

111. Casson 1925, pp. 166 and 172. For the Zeus relief, see note 127 below.

112. Raubitschek 1939, col. 68: "Eine Gottheit konnte kaum dargestellt gewesen sein; vielleicht dürfen wir in der sitzenden Gestalt den Vater des Toten, der seinem Sohn das Denkmal setzte, erblichen." Cf. Picard 1939, p. 899: "un portrait peint du dédicant (donc du père?), mais le personnage tient peut-être un sceptre et a tout l'air divin."

son's monument was completed.¹¹³ The identification of the seated figure as Neilon, with or without the added twist of Neilon's death, has been accepted most recently by Bernhard Schmaltz and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood; Viviers, without justifying his view in any detail, has suggested that the figure represents the deceased Neilonides himself.¹¹⁴

The shift from a divine to a human identification for the figure painted on the Neilonides base follows from the generalization that Greek funerary monuments with sculptural or painted decoration usually, though not always, represented the deceased iconographically.¹¹⁵ Yet the kouros statue supported by the Neilonides base already represents the deceased, and it does so in a way that seems iconographically incompatible with a seated representation: in Sourvinou-Inwood's terminology, the social persona typically commemorated by the kouros is not the same as the one commemorated by a seated figure.¹¹⁶ Alternatively, if a representation of the deceased's father Neilon were intended, one wonders why he was shown seated rather than standing with hands raised in the attitude of mourning depicted on both funerary reliefs and black-figure plaques from Athens.¹¹⁷ If Neilon himself died soon after his son, as Friedländer and Hoffleit supposed, it is not apparent why his family tomb group would not have included a separate grave marker to commemorate him.

Perhaps the seated pose in Archaic Greek art was susceptible to variations and distinctions more readily apparent to a Greek audience than they are to us today, especially in the case of incomplete or damaged representations such as the one on the Neilonides base. Although the tendency has been to identify all seated figures in a funerary context as mortals, one of the three seated statues used as a grave monument in Athens may in fact represent a divinity. Like the Neilonides base found a few years before it, the so-called Plateia Eleutherias Dionysos (NM 3711, Fig. 6) was first believed to be votive rather than funerary in function; but since the time of its discovery the area where the statue came to light has been securely identified as an Archaic cemetery.¹¹⁸ The Plateia Eleutherias statue is distinguished from the two other seated Archaic funerary figures found in Attica by its (over-life) size and its apparent iconographic complexity. The statue's head is missing, but its body is largely intact; it wears a himation without a chiton underneath and sits on a folding diphros with lion's-paw

113. Friedländer and Hoffleit 1948, no. 69. This interpretation makes the *καὶ τόνδε* formula in Endoios's signature a reference to the painting and, like the painting, an afterthought occasioned by Neilon's death.

114. Schmaltz 1983, p. 115; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 226–227: the figure is “undoubtedly a representation of the father who set up the monument, like an iconographical articulation of the (unstated) subject of the second verse.” Cf. Viviers 1992, p. 207: Endoios painted “un personnage assis, qu'il est bien plus simple

d'identifier au défunt lui-même.”

115. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, p. 141) has cogently described the intent and significance of such representations as a part of the *sema*, the funerary monument as a whole: “The grave monument as the sign of the deceased provided a concrete material form for the deceased's persona which functioned not only as a focus for his memory but also as a material object that lent itself to symbolic manipulation, that could, for example, receive offerings and other ritual attentions ‘on behalf of’ the deceased”; see also her related comments

on pp. 164–169 and 228–230.

116. For a detailed discussion of this concept as it applies to Archaic Athenian funerary monuments, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 227–271. Cf. Stewart 1990, p. 109: “with the funerary kouros the deceased's age seems irrelevant.”

117. E.g., the pillar capital from Lamprai (note 31 above) and the plaques illustrated in Shapiro 1991, figs. 1 and 11.

118. See Kyparissis 1933 (votive); Jeffery 1962, p. 133, no. 1 (funerary).



Figure 6. Plateia Eleutherias
 “Dionysos” (NM 3711). Courtesy
 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens
 (neg. NM 3811)

feet. Three features led Wilhelm Schuchhardt, who dated the statue ca. 530–520 B.C., to identify the Plateia Eleutherias statue as a representation of Dionysos.¹¹⁹ Dionysos frequently appears seated, and usually on a similar stool with animal paws for feet, in black- and red-figure vase painting.¹²⁰ Although the statue’s left hand and the lower right arm are missing, the lack of traces on the legs shows that both hands were extended forward, presumably to hold a combination of two attributes: in keeping with the iconography of Dionysos in Archaic Athenian vase painting, Schuchhardt reconstructed the lost attributes as a kantharos in the right hand and a bronze vine branch in the left.¹²¹ Finally, the Plateia Eleutherias figure’s stool is draped with the skin of an exotic feline rendered in paint and still faintly visible today; Dionysos and his retinue of satyrs and maenads were frequently represented with leopard and panther skins in vase-painting iconography.¹²²

At the same time, the identification as Dionysos creates unresolved problems. Compared to other Archaic representations of Dionysos, the Plateia Eleutherias statue is distinctly underdressed: both the vases and a more firmly identified Archaic statue of Dionysos from the deme Ikaria show him wearing a chiton under his himation.¹²³ The hair of the Plateia Eleutherias statue did not cover the lower part of its neck and shoulders as Dionysos’s hair typically does; other gods, heroes, and kings, and not only Dionysos and his followers, sit on feline skins in Archaic iconography.¹²⁴ Perhaps the most serious problem is uncertainty about Dionysos’s connection with Greek beliefs about death and the afterlife that would justify his representation on a funerary monument: accepting the Plateia Eleutherias statue as Dionysos makes it necessary to assign the god a role in Greek eschatology before any extant literary sources do.¹²⁵ All the same, the combination of two handheld attributes proves difficult to reconcile with a

119. Schuchhardt 1967. See also Alford 1978, pp. 377–386, no. 63.

120. Carpenter 1986, p. 38, note 21; 1997, p. 106, pl. 42:a. For a general list of seated Dionysos representations see Christopoulou-Mortoja 1964, pp. 93–96, nos. 230–310.

121. For vase representations of Dionysos holding these two attributes, see Carpenter 1986, p. 93, pl. 21 (Boston amphora close to Exekias); 1997, pl. 13:a (Munich red-figure cup). According to Shapiro (1989, pp. 90–92), the kantharos replaced the drinking horn as Dionysos’s chief attribute in Athenian iconography in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. The thyrsos does not appear until ca. 525 and does not replace the vine branch until the 5th century (Carpenter 1986, pp. 63–64; 1997, pp. 12–13). Beazley (1939, p. 629) found only two possible representations in Athenian vase

painting of Dionysos holding a scepter rather than a vine branch or thyrsos.

122. Schuchhardt 1967, pp. 13–15; Carpenter 1986, pp. 65–71.

123. *Agora XI*, p. 58. For the Dionysos statue now in the National Museum, see Romano 1982. She dates the statue ca. 530–520 B.C. The kantharos the statue held in its right hand is partially preserved; Romano’s reconstruction of an ivy or vine branch in the left hand is sound, but her suggestion that the branch may have rested in a shallow cutting on the plinth cannot be correct because this cutting is located next to the right foot, not the left one. The cutting looks like one intended to receive some of the molten lead soldering used to attach the statue’s plinth to its base, an attachment technique used on the Athenian Acropolis in the Archaic period.

124. See, for example, the red-figure

cup in Berlin attributed to the Sosias Painter, which shows an assembly of the gods seated on folding stools draped with leopard skins (Shapiro 1989, pl. 51:a and b). Several scenes illustrating the mission to Achilles in the *Iliad* show Achilles seated on the same type of chair draped with a feline skin: see Friis Johansen 1967, figs. 63 (Eucharides Painter) and 65–67 (Clinic Painter). The specific type of feline represented on the Plateia Eleutherias statue does not matter in that all felines were exotic curiosities in 6th- and 5th-century Athens (Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 65–67; Ashmead 1978).

125. On the origins and diffusion of Orphism beginning in the 5th century, see Burkert 1982. Zuntz (1971, pp. 407–411) takes a skeptical view of Dionysos’s chthonian role in mainstream Greek religion of the Classical period compared to Rohde (1925, pp. 335–361).

representation of the deceased, whoever is depicted; if the statue's funerary context were not certain, it would most likely be restored as a Zeus with a scepter in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other.¹²⁶

Helen Nagy has recently argued that the seated pose for males in Archaic Greek sculpture was originally confined to mortals of high status, and only later (in the 5th century) came to be associated with gods such as Zeus.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, the Plateia Eleutherias "Dionysos" does not fit easily within the category of funerary monuments that represent the deceased and may belong to a small number of exceptions to prevailing practice.¹²⁸ While I can offer no solution to the problem of the statue's identification, I would like to suggest that a case can be made for identifying the seated figure on the Neilonides base as a divinity based upon the figure's subsidiary role and the particulars of its iconography.

SUBSIDIARY REPRESENTATIONS ON FUNERARY MONUMENTS

The typical format of Archaic Athenian funerary monuments justifies a distinction between primary and subsidiary representations in sculpture, relief, and painting. The Plateia Eleutherias statue is an example of a pri-

126. A point made by Tiverios in *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 321, no. 48, s.v. Zeus (M. Tiverios et al.). Ridgway (1993, p. 195) has expressed doubts about the identification as Dionysos, but remarks that "this is such an impressive sculpture that a divine identification comes spontaneously to mind." The other seated male funerary statue from Athens (Ker. P 1052, note 104 above), like the Plateia Eleutherias figure, wears a himation without a chiton and sits on a folding stool with lion's-paw feet, though without any trace of a painted feline skin. Only its left hand (not preserved) was extended forward, presumably to hold an attribute. Cf. the Archaic painted stele of Lyseas in the National Museum (NM 30), which shows a standing, bearded male figure clad in chiton and himation holding a kantharos in his right hand and what looks like a branch in his left. Is this Dionysos, the deceased as Dionysos, the deceased as priest of Dionysos, or the deceased as symposiast? For the last interpretation, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, p. 223. Representations of the deceased in the guise of Dionysos in funerary art did not become popular until the Roman Imperial period (Cole 1993, pp. 286–288).

127. Nagy 1998. Nagy (pp. 182–183) identifies the Plateia Eleutherias statue as a deceased cult official of Dionysos; she also points out that of eighty known seated statues from the Archaic period, only the seated Athena from the Acropolis (Acr. 625) can be identified with absolute certainty as a representation of a deity. A small number of Archaic seated statues and reliefs of Ionian origin may represent male divinities, but their precise find contexts are unknown. These are the following: a seated torso in the National Museum (NM 3045) with long hair, beard, and himation, a possible seated Zeus (Ridgway 1993, p. 211, note 5.32, fig. 90:a and b); the relief from Ince-Blundell Hall (now Liverpool Museum no. 0259) showing a bearded figure seated on a throne, probably Zeus with a painted scepter in his raised left hand (Berger 1970, p. 49, figs. 49 and 50); a relief from Paros in Berlin showing a figure similar to the Ince-Blundell Hall Zeus, but holding a three-pronged object (a branch?) in his left hand (Blümel 1963, p. 35, no. 24, fig. 66); a relief from Rhodes in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (no. 1996) showing a man with a beard, drinking horn, and staff seated on a folding

diphros covered with a cloth or skin (Berger 1970, fig. 120); and a statue from Knidos of a man with chiton and himation with both arms raised to hold attributes, seated on a diphros bearing reliefs of a dog and a rooster (Özgan 1989).

128. The Phrasikleia kore was claimed as another exception by Kontoleon (1970, pp. 53–54), who interpreted the statue as a representation of Persephone (Kore) rather than the deceased Phrasikleia. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, pp. 249–250), who presents a more nuanced iconographic assimilation between Persephone and Phrasikleia, a young girl who "married death" by virtue of dying unmarried. The two other funerary seated male figures from Athens, the Kerameikos statue P 1052 and the relief figure on the Velanideza stele (note 104 above), can more plausibly be restored as representations of the deceased than can the Plateia Eleutherias statue. The Kerameikos statue holds an attribute only in its left hand; this may have been a staff like the one that should be restored in the Velanideza figure's left hand based upon his pose.

mary representation; the painting on the Neilonides base serves as subsidiary decoration displayed in combination with a primary kouros statue that almost certainly represented the deceased. Subsidiary representations on Archaic grave monuments from Athens take a variety of forms, including predella scenes below the main one on relief stelai, reliefs on bases for sculpture in the round like the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases, the sphinxes that stood atop relief stelai, and even ceramic or relief plaques decorating the sides of built tombs. These representations either complemented or amplified the message about the deceased conveyed by the monument as a whole.¹²⁹

The iconography of most subsidiary representations falls within the broad categories of mourning rituals for the deceased, Homeric-style funeral games, and youthful aristocratic pursuits, although the precise boundaries between these categories continue to be disputed.¹³⁰ These scenes take the form of either encapsulated narratives (e.g., a procession of chariots and warriors, a group of mourners) or single, emblematic figures (a boy riding a horse, a single animal).¹³¹ At least one monument features multiple subsidiary representations that seem to belong to more than one of the above categories. On the Hockey Players base, a scene of youths playing hockey on the front face was combined with two lateral scenes of *apobatai* mounting chariots followed by marching warriors. The former scene, like the scenes on the Ball Players base found with it, evokes the leisure activities of aristocratic youths like the deceased; the *apobatai*, however, could be interpreted either as heroic reminiscences of Homeric warfare or as a representation of funerary ritual.¹³² Subjects that appear identical at first glance might in fact belong to different categories of meaning. Some equestrian figures depicted on the predellae of relief stelai represent armed warriors who might be identical with the deceased, but at least one has been characterized as a nude, adolescent jockey—clearly not the deceased.¹³³

The painted figure on the Neilonides base (Fig. 2) proves difficult to fit into the typical categories of subsidiary representation just described.

129. Cf. Kosmopoulou (1998, p. 536) on relief bases: "With few exceptions, bases of this type featured motifs that did not appear as principal decoration on other Attic gravestones, exploring new paths in sepulchral imagery."

130. Shapiro (1991, pp. 639–642) interprets the scenes of chariot racing on black-figure funerary plaques as reminiscences of epic funeral games intended to associate the deceased with the heroic ethos. Woysch-Méautis (1982, pp. 27–35) sees all scenes involving horses as allusions to Homeric funerary rituals; Schnapp (1988) connects some with hunting. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, pp. 218–227) divides scenes of warrior proces-

sions, chariots, and *apobatai* mounting chariots between categories of funerary ritual and Homeric reminiscences, relating all of them to the articulation of the deceased's social persona. The fact that at least one set of sumptuary laws restricted the scope and form of funerary rituals in Archaic Athens indicates that some of these representations reflect actual, post-Homeric practices, as does the evidence for Archaic funeral games presented by Roller (1981).

131. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 224–227.

132. Cf. D'Onofrio (1986), who interprets all the scenes on the Ball Players and Hockey Players bases, including the scenes of a warrior

procession, as references to the aristocratic status of the deceased.

133. Jeffery 1962, p. 151: "As a minor figure on stelai, a horseman may be interpreted sometimes as the dead man himself, sometimes as a squire or jockey." Predellae showing a single, armed horseman include the Lamptrai capital (note 31 above) and a fragmentary stele in the Museo Barracco, Rome (Richter 1961, pp. 45–46, no. 64, fig. 154). Cf. the warrior mounting a chariot on the warrior stele in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Richter 1961, pp. 32–33, no. 45, fig. 128). The jockey riding a racehorse appears in the predella of the Lyseas stele (note 126 above), where the deceased has been characterized as an older bearded man.

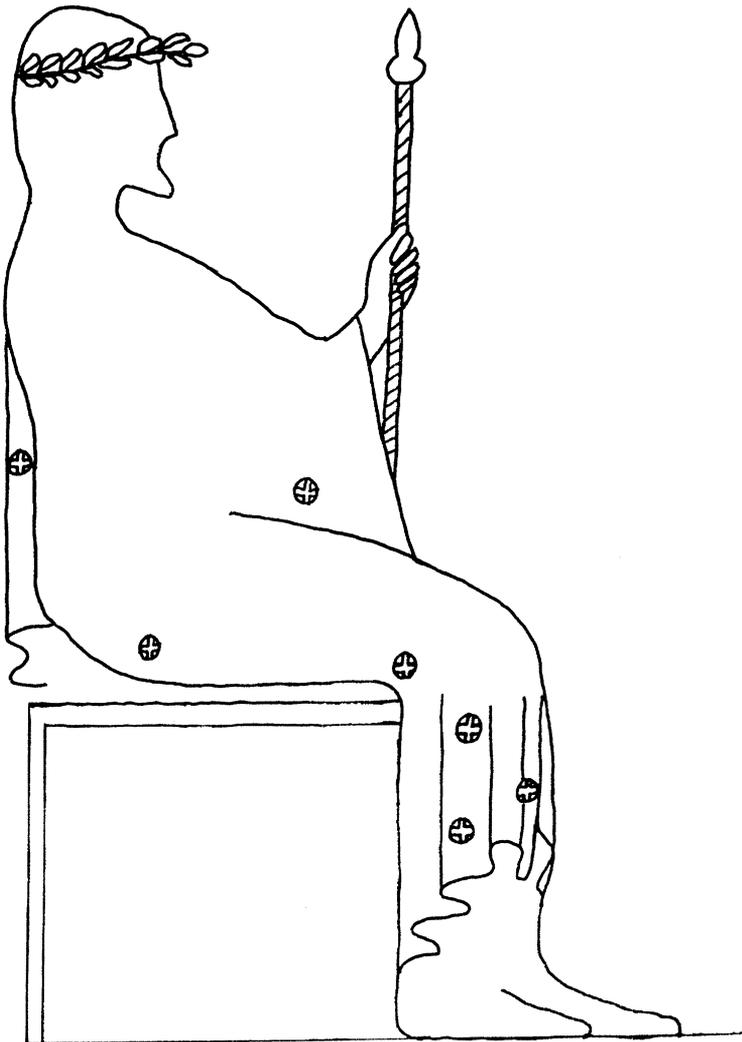


Figure 7. Reconstruction of the painted figure on the Neilonides base

The two attributes that appear to have the greatest bearing upon the figure's identification are its headgear and the attribute held upright in its left hand. The headgear's forward projection is unlike typical female *stephanai*, *kalathoi*, and *poloi* and may identify the figure as a man wearing a *stephanos* or leaf crown.¹³⁴ It is possible to restore in the figure's left hand a staff like the ones held by two seated figures on the Ball Players base (Fig. 3). As an attribute, such a staff would be consistent with a representation of the deceased himself. Could he be represented as a crowned athletic or musical victor, or perhaps a civic official like the seated *katalogeis* (recorders) of the Athenian cavalry shown on a series of red-figure vases?¹³⁵ At the same time, the pose of Endoios's painted figure, seated with back straight and attribute held upright, argues against the identification of a staff. One of the aristocratic youths on the Ball Players base also holds his staff upright but leans too far forward to parallel the pose of Endoios's figure; the other tilts his staff at a diagonal, a pose typical of seated staff-holders in relief and vase painting.¹³⁶ The formal pose of Endoios's figure (as seen in the reconstruction drawing, Fig. 7) seems more appropriate to an enthroned

134. Ridgway (1990, pp. 605–609) discusses and illustrates headdresses associated with representations of goddesses. The contrast between female and male headdresses can be seen clearly on the Lokri pinakes illustrated in *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 375–379, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.). One occasion on which men and women alike wore the *stephanos* was a sacrificial procession like the one illustrated on one of the Pitsa plaques (Johnston 1993, pl. VII).

135. For seated figures interpreted as *katalogeis* of the cavalry, see Cahn 1973.

136. Cf. the staff held by the seated figure on the Basel "Arztrelief" (Berger 1970, fig. 9) and the long staffs or spears held by the seated male figures on the east, north, and south friezes of the Harpy tomb from Xanthos in Lycia, now in the British Museum, all of which are held tilted at an angle (Berger 1970, figs. 148, 150, and 151).

god or king holding a scepter; the outline of the chisel marks at the top of the scepter makes it possible that it was topped by a finial.¹³⁷

Casson suggested identifying Endoios's painted figure as Zeus, for whom the scepter was a typical attribute in Archaic and Classical Greek art, but a representation of Zeus on a funerary monument lacks any obvious motivation.¹³⁸ Unlike the painted figure on the Neilonides base, Zeus in Archaic and Classical representations typically sits on an elaborate throne with arms both when he is shown alone and within a larger assembly of the gods.¹³⁹ Restoring a representation of Dionysos holding a scepter or thyrsos on the Neilonides base raises the same problems of date and iconography incurred by Schuchhardt's identification of the Plateia Eleutherias statue as Dionysos. It may be suggested that the deceased himself has been "heroized" iconographically by representing him seated and holding a scepter, but what we know of Athenian funerary practices argues against a belief in the deceased as heroized in any cultic sense.¹⁴⁰

The closest formal parallels for the pose and iconography of Endoios's painted figure are representations of kings holding scepters. In the Homeric poems, the scepter serves as a symbol of authority conveyed by Zeus to kings and heralds.¹⁴¹ On a well-known Lakonian kylix, King Arkesilas of Cyrene holds a scepter.¹⁴² Myson's red-figure amphora representing King Croesus of Lydia on the pyre (Fig. 8) shows him seated on a throne holding a scepter in his left hand and a phiale in his right; on his head he wears a forward-projecting leaf crown like the one I would restore for the painted figure on the Neilonides base.¹⁴³ Although iconographically the painted

137. For a description of the typical decoration of scepters in vase painting, see Beazley 1939, p. 629.

138. For representations of Zeus holding a scepter in his left hand, often with a thunderbolt in his right, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, pp. 310–374, s.v. Zeus (M. Tiverios et al.). For vase representations of Zeus holding his scepter vertically, see Richter 1966, figs. 57, 91, 93, 96, 104, and 245.

139. Arafat 1990, pp. 171–172. In birth of Athena scenes: Richter 1966, figs. 55, 57–59, and 92–95. On the Siphnian Treasury east frieze, Zeus and Poseidon alone have chairs with backs, and Zeus's throne features armrests supported by the figures of a satyr and a maenad: see Brinkmann 1985, pp. 110–116, figs. 84, 85, and 93.

140. Shapiro 1991, p. 632. The seated male and female figures on the so-called Lakonian hero reliefs have often been interpreted as representations of the heroized deceased, in which case their seated pose would serve as an iconographic marker for that status. Alternative interpretations,

however, see these figures as specific cult heroes or deities, for example Agamemnon and Alexandra/Kassandra (Salapata 1993). Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1956, pp. 35–37) has argued that a notion of the "heroized deceased" has no relevance to Athenian funerary art and ritual. Cf. Ridgway (1993, pp. 68–69), who explains funerary kouros statues as expressions of the deceased's "heroic" status.

141. Easterling 1989, p. 115. The iconography of the scepter works in two ways: "the *skeptron* was firmly established in religious iconography as the attribute of deities imagined in their role as rulers." For the iconography of kingship, see Miller 1988, pp. 80–81.

142. Richter 1966, fig. 246.

143. Richter 1966, fig. 106 (Louvre G197); Özgan 1978, pp. 111–113. On Myson's vase, Croesus's seat is covered with a spotted cloth that looks like a leopard skin, recalling the feline crouching beneath King Arkesilas's seat on the Lakonian cup. It is at least possible that the thick curving lines

shown at the top corners of the seat in the 1922 drawing of the Neilonides base (Fig. 2, no. 5) represent the remains of a feline skin with its head or paws draped over the front and back of the figure's seat. Not all of the traces shown in the drawing can be explained as a cushion, and they look too complicated to be a simple cloth. Compared with renderings of seat cushions in vase painting and relief sculpture, the tongue-shaped flap hanging over the front edge of the seat appears too long, thin, and rounded: cf. the cat-and-dog fight scene on the Ball Players base (Richter 1966, fig. 203), the Harpy tomb from Xanthos (Richter 1966, figs. 64, 100, and 202), and examples in Athenian black- and red-figure vase painting (Richter 1966, figs. 230, 242–245, 261, and 608). Although on the Plateia Eleutherias statue the feline skin is draped over the seat with the head and tail falling over the sides, on Classical vases skins were sometimes draped front to back in a way that made the head invisible (Carpenter 1997, pp. 85–86).



Figure 8. Amphora attributed to Myson (Louvre G197). Croesus on the pyre. Courtesy Musée du Louvre, M. Chuzeville and P. Chuzeville

figure on the Neilonides base matches representations of kings, neither the text of the epitaph nor the funerary context of the monument explains why a solitary figure of a king, mythological or historical, would have been included.

Although they have been largely overlooked in attempts to characterize the repertoire of Archaic Athenian funerary art, emblematic figures associated with the deceased's journey to the underworld appear on some funerary monuments from this period. The gorgon on a relief stele from the Themistoklean wall mentioned above (NM 2687) and the sphinxes frequently used as finials for stelai constitute noteworthy, and frequently overlooked, examples. Both the gorgon and the sphinxes may be interpreted as guardian figures that symbolically protect both the *sema* and the deceased. By including them in the *sema*, the living may have hoped to prevent chthonic forces such as these from harming the deceased.¹⁴⁴

Another important example is a set of four marble plaques, probably from a single built tomb in the Kerameikos, found reused in the Themistoklean wall and mentioned above in the section on *damnatio memoriae*. Two of the four (NM 2823 and 89) show a standing figure wearing a short cloak and petasos and facing right; a third plaque (NM 2826) preserves the

144. For the sphinx as guardian, see Richter 1961, p. 6; Ridgway 1993, p. 223; and Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 81–87. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995, pp. 228–230 and 271–275) discusses at length the protective function of gorgons and sphinxes on Archaic Athenian grave monuments. The epigram inscribed on a Late Archaic funerary monument from Thessaly (CEG no. 120) addresses the sphinx statue standing atop the monument as “dog of Hades” and refers explicitly to the sphinx’s protection of the *sema*. Two other examples of gorgons from Archaic Athenian grave monuments are a relief in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 55.11.4: Woysch-Méautis 1982, fig. 361) and a fragmentary gorgon in the round from the Kerameikos that may have crowned a relief stele (NM 2687).

legs of a standing figure facing left, and the fourth in the series (Ker. P 798) shows a horseman.¹⁴⁵ Although all four plaques, like the Neilonides base, have been intentionally damaged with chisel strokes, some features of the identical male figures on the first two plaques (NM 2823 and NM 89) may still be made out clearly. The figure on NM 89 (Fig. 4) extends his left arm forward with his hand clenched around a lost attribute originally painted on the relief background. It has been suggested that both figures represent Hermes as Psychopompos, the leader of the souls of the deceased into the underworld, holding a caduceus in his left hand.¹⁴⁶ If this identification is correct, then Hermes might have been read as an emblematic figure symbolizing the divine protection necessary for the deceased on the journey to the underworld; possibly he was understood as guiding a deceased individual represented separately on another plaque.¹⁴⁷

The interpretation of the plaques found in the Themistoklean wall as representations of Hermes Psychopompos suggests that subject matter connected with the underworld and its inhabitants, though far less popular than other subjects, had already entered the repertoire of Greek funerary art in the Archaic period. Despite the seemingly relentless focus on the deceased and his identity in Athenian funerary art, subsidiary representations like the painting on the Neilonides base provided an opportunity to introduce eschatological themes and at the same time to appease forces connected with the deceased's journey to the underworld. Within this context I would like to propose a new identification for Endoios's seated figure.

HADES AS RULER AND JUDGE

Although no certain Archaic representation of Hades in Greek sculpture has been identified, his role in Archaic eschatology and his typical iconography in contemporary Athenian black- and red-figure vase painting make him a plausible candidate for the seated figure painted on the Neilonides

145. For the Hermes plaques, see Noack 1907, pp. 543–545; Karusu 1961, p. 105, pls. 70:1 and 2, 71:1; Willemssen 1970, pp. 30–34, pl. 13:1 (Ker. P 798); Floren 1987, p. 339, note 52; Ridgway 1993, pp. 236 and 262, note 6.46; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, p. 219; and *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 339, no. 633, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert). For the use of clay and stone plaques to decorate built tombs, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 83–84.

146. Karusu 1961, p. 105, followed by Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 83–84; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, p. 219 (Hermes Chthonios); and *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 339, no. 633, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert). For another beardless 6th-century Hermes, see the relief in the Acropolis Museum (Acr. 622) of a figure

wearing a pilos cap and holding a syrinx in his right hand (Brouskari 1974, pp. 100–101, fig. 194, ca. 570 B.C.).

147. Karusu (1961, p. 105) identified the figure shown striding toward the left on the third plaque in the series (NM 2826) as the deceased, but the figure wore boots (as evidenced by the extensive traces of red paint on his right leg), which may have helped to identify him as another representation of Hermes. Willemssen (1970, pp. 32–34), in his publication of the plaque showing a horseman wearing a petasos, saw the “ghost” of a handheld spear painted in front of the faces of the figures on both NM 89 and NM 2823; instead of a caduceus, he sought to restore a drinking vessel in the left hand of the figure on NM 89. The “ghost” on NM 2823 is

visible, but not clearly a spear; the one on NM 89 is less convincing. The pose of the left hand on NM 89 in my opinion supports the restoration of a caduceus but not a drinking vessel. G. Siebert's (*LIMC* V, 1990, p. 339, no. 633, s.v. Hermes) date of ca. 500 for the Kerameikos relief plaques seems too late. Willemssen dated them ca. 550–540 B.C. based upon comparison with a similar plaque from Chios showing a rider (Willemssen 1970, p. 34, pl. 13:2). A more compelling stylistic comparison may be made between the face of the figure on NM 89 and those of the dancing women on a frieze block found near Didyma and dated ca. 540–530 B.C. (Tuchelt 1970, pp. 111–114, no. K86, pls. 79 and 80). Both comparisons place the Kerameikos plaques in an East Greek milieu.

base.¹⁴⁸ Despite a notable 6th-century gap in Greek literary sources concerning the ideology, topography, and personalities of the underworld, the Homeric poems establish Hades' importance as the ruler over the underworld together with his queen, Persephone.¹⁴⁹ Already in Homer, Hades was conceived of as the underworld equivalent of Zeus: the *Iliad* (15.187–193) refers to the division of the realms of the sky, earth, and underworld among the brothers Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades. By the 5th century, Hades' identity tended to be conflated with that of Zeus, a phenomenon reflected by the practice of calling Hades the “other Zeus,” “Zeus Chthonios,” or “Zeus Katachthonios,” a form of reference characterized by Rohde as “conciliatory euphemism” designed to avoid referring to the king of the dead by name.¹⁵⁰ Given the restriction of Hades' influence to the underworld, and the apparent reluctance to refer to him by name, it is not surprising that he had only one temple in Greece and that Persephone and her mother, Demeter, played a more prominent role in Greek art from the Archaic period onward.¹⁵¹

On the basis of passages in Aeschylus (*Eum.* 273) and Pindar (*Ol.* 2.56–60), Hades' role may be seen to include sitting in judgment over the souls of the deceased in addition to ruling them by the beginning of the 5th century.¹⁵² By the end of the century, though, Hades' prominent role in Greek eschatology was eclipsed by an evolving cast of characters who reflect a significant evolution in prevailing attitudes toward death.¹⁵³ Athenian funerary ideology appears to have shifted its focus in the 5th century away from the gloomy realm of Hades to the beneficial role of Hermes Psychopompos and Charon the ferryman, helpers on the journey to the underworld: both appear with some frequency on white-ground lekythoi of the mid-5th century used as grave goods.¹⁵⁴ By the time of Plato at the

148. A seated statue from Sparta inscribed ΑΙΔΕΥΣ that has often been taken as a representation of Hades has been reidentified by R. Lindner (*LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 371, no. 9, s.v. Hades) as Zeus. The reliefs of the Harpy tomb from Xanthos deserve reconsideration here even though they may not be relevant in a mainstream Greek iconographic context: Boschung (1979) has convincingly identified the figure enthroned on the east relief and holding a staff and a flower as Hades and the two seated female figures on the west as Demeter and Persephone.

149. E.g., *Od.* 10.491; *Il.* 15.188 and 20.61–65. For a full list of citations, see *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 367–369, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.).

150. See Rohde 1925, pp. 158–161 and 183–186; Burkert 1985, p. 196. Hades as “king of those down below”: *Il.* 20.61–65 and 15.188; Aesch. *Pers.* 629; and Soph. *Aj.* 571. Hades as the

other Zeus, Zeus Chthonios, or Zeus Katachthonios: *Il.* 9.457, Hes. *Theog.* 767–768; Soph. *OT* 1606; and Aesch. *Supp.* 230–231.

151. Pausanias (6.25.2) mentions a temple of Hades in Elis opened only once a year. For Archaic representations of Demeter and Persephone, see Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, pp. 61–62 and 74–75. Cf. the appearance of Hades and Persephone as a couple on the series of terracotta votive pinakes from Lokri Epizephyrioi in southern Italy: *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 375–379, nos. 49–66, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.). These representations are cult-specific and seem to have had no impact outside Magna Graecia.

152. *Eum.* 273: μέγας γὰρ Ἀϊδης ἐστὶν εὐθυνοῦς βροτῶν. But cf. Lloyd-Jones (1985), who interprets the similar passage in Pindar's Second Olympian ode not as a reference to popular beliefs about Hades but as an allusion to a

localized doctrine (Orphic or Pythagorean) relevant to the poem's patron.

153. For the role of Hades and 5th-century changes in beliefs about the afterlife, see Garland 1985, pp. 48–60; Burkert 1985, pp. 194–203; Hoffmann 1985–1986; Shapiro 1991, pp. 649–655; and Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 13–14. Sourvinou-Inwood (1981) sees the major development of Greek beliefs in the individual destiny of the dead occurring within this period.

154. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 102–105; Hoffmann 1985–1986 (Charon); Shapiro 1991, pp. 649–655; and Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 298–361. For an argument that the roles of Hermes as Psychopompos and Charon as ferryman of the dead developed in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., based upon foggier notions present already in the Homeric cycle, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995.

very end of the 5th century, the mythology of judgment in the underworld had crystallized around the persons of four kingly judges—Rhadamanthys, Aiakos, Minos, and Triptolemos—two of whom (Rhadamanthys and Minos) were already present in the Homeric poems.¹⁵⁵ Like Hades himself, these underworld judges make only rare appearances in Greek art, notably on the late-4th-century Lefkadia tomb in Macedonia whose painted decoration may have been inspired directly by Plato's text.¹⁵⁶

Eschatological subject matter in Greek art was not a phenomenon confined solely to the geographical fringes of the Greek world, as evidenced by Polygnotos's famous *Nekyia* painting in the Knidian Lesche at Delphi described in detail by Pausanias (10.28–31).¹⁵⁷ This painting, and Macedonian tombs such as the one at Lefkadia, may attest to a broader tradition of eschatological scenes in free painting of which very few examples have survived. Although representations of figures connected with the underworld were never common in Greek funerary art, extant examples attest artists' and patrons' occasional choice to include them on monuments for the dead. The representation of Hermes in a funerary context on the 6th-century Kerameikos relief plaques discussed above prefigures his later appearance in the 5th century as psychopompos not only on white-ground lekythoi, but also on at least two sculptural funerary monuments dated to the end of the 5th century, the marble lekythos for Myrrhine and a relief statue base from Kallithea.¹⁵⁸

155. In Homer (*Od.* 11.566–635), Minos sits in the underworld as a *paredros* of Hades and Persephone, holds a golden scepter, and adjudicates disputes arising among the dead. *Od.* 4.561–569 locates Rhadamanthys in Elysion. In Plato, *Gorg.* 523E–526D, Aiakos judges the souls of the European dead while Rhadamanthys performs the same function for the dead of Asia; each holds a ῥάβδος (wand) while judging. Minos supervises the other two judges, and he alone holds a golden scepter. In Plato's *Apology* 41A, Minos, Rhadamanthys, Aiakos, and Triptolemos are listed together as *dikaioi* and *hemitheoi* in the underworld, but not explicitly as judges. Rohde (1925, p. 238) argued against any mainstream Greek belief in the judgment of souls by Hades or any of the others before Plato: "the idea that in the supreme period of Greek culture the belief in a judgement and judges in Hades, who passed sentence on the deeds of men done on earth, had really any root in popular belief, is quite unproved and can be shown to be erroneous from the argument *ex silentio*. And where there are no judges no judgement can take place." Cf. Rich-

ardson 1985. The judgment of the dead by Aiakos, Rhadamanthys, Minos, and Triptolemos seems to be a phenomenon distinct from the *psychostasia*, or weighing of the souls, of epic heroes by Zeus shown on the Siphnian Treasury east frieze; for the *psychostasia*, see Vermeule 1979, pp. 160–162.

156. For the Lefkadia tomb, see Petsas 1966. In four painted panels on the facade of the tomb, the deceased is shown being led by Hermes into the underworld, where two judges of the dead await him: Aiakos (identified by a painted name label) sits on a stone block draped with a cloth and leans on a staff, while the younger Rhadamanthys stands behind him in a separate panel. For representations of the four judges in 4th-century South Italian vase painting, see especially the krater Munich 3297 illustrated by Furtwängler and Reichhold (1904, pl. 10) and vases by the Darius and Underworld Painters discussed by Trendall (1989, pp. 89–94 and 268). Another 4th-century monument showing Aiakos and Rhadamanthys as judges that may have been inspired directly by the *Gorgias* is the Lycian tomb published by Borchhardt (1969–1970). As

far as we can tell, the four judges were not represented individually in Greek art.

157. For the Knidian Lesche painting, see Robertson 1975, pp. 247–253. Interestingly, the painting deviates in several particulars from the *Nekyia* in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, its literary source material, to encompass non-Homeric beliefs probably familiar to its 5th-century audience: Polygnotos's version omitted Minos but included Charon, an otherwise unknown death-demon named Eurynomos, and scenes of eternal punishment for some of the shades in the underworld.

158. Shapiro (1991, p. 651) makes a distinction between the imagery of lekythoi buried with the deceased as grave goods and funerary monuments displayed in public. For the Myrrhine lekythos, see Clairmont 1979; for Hermes on the Kallithea base, see Kosmopoulou 1998, p. 541. The *Nekyia* in book 24 of the *Odyssey*, in which Hermes leads the shades of the suitors to the underworld, may be a 6th-century interpolation (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 94–106).

Unlike the god Hermes, Hades has frequently been seen as “eine farblose, ängstliche Gestalt” incompatible with visual representation.¹⁵⁹ Though he has seldom been recognized in Greek art of any period, enough remains of his iconographic tradition in Athenian black- and red-figure vase painting to allow comparison with Endoios’s seated figure on the Neilonides base. Hades’ brief period of popularity was restricted to two main contexts: Eleusinian scenes and a small group of underworld scenes depicting the punishment of Sisyphos and Herakles’ capture of Kerberos. The Eleusinian cult scenes representing Hades with Persephone, Demeter, or Triptolemos begin early in the 5th century.¹⁶⁰ In the Sisyphos and Kerberos scenes, Hades and Persephone also appear together. The bearded Hades typically wears either a standard leaf crown or a simpler headband and a himation with or without a chiton underneath; he invariably holds a scepter. In the scenes depicting Sisyphos’s punishment, both Hades and Persephone sit enthroned on rocky outcroppings in the underworld, seemingly oblivious to Sisyphos’s presence.¹⁶¹ In the ten or so scenes of Herakles’ capture of Kerberos, when Hades is not rising to challenge Herakles he sits on a simple folding diphros rather than the elaborate throne used by his brother Zeus.¹⁶² The Sisyphos and Kerberos scenes appear in Athenian black-figure vase painting ca. 530 B.C. and disappear by ca. 480; Boardman sought to connect the Kerberos episode specifically with Peisistratos and his sons’ consolidation of Athens’ control over the sanctuary at Eleusis.¹⁶³

Given the date of ca. 530–520 suggested here for the Neilonides base, representations of Hades in the underworld in Athenian vase painting would be contemporary with Neilonides’ grave monument. Like Hades in the Sisyphos and Kerberos scenes, Endoios’s seated figure wears what appears to be a leaf crown and either a himation alone or a himation and chiton. More importantly, like both Hades and Zeus he holds a scepter. Later representations of the four infernal judges model themselves upon the same basic iconographic paradigm, sometimes (as in the case of the seated figure of Aiakos painted on the facade of the Lefkadia tomb) sub-

159. E.g., by Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, p. 62. Cf. Shapiro 1989, p. 75: Hades “even in Homer is a ‘shady’ figure, more a personification than a full-bodied divinity, and is rarely portrayed in art altogether.”

160. Shapiro 1989, pp. 77–79. Attempts to distinguish Hades, Ploutos, Plouton, and Theos in 5th-century Eleusinian vase scenes lead to confusion and disagreement. Clinton (1992, pp. 105–113) makes a distinction between three different male underworld consorts of Persephone: Plouton, the white-haired man with a scepter and cornucopia shown standing with Persephone and/or Demeter; Theos, a standing figure holding a scepter and phiale who appears

together with the female Thea; and Hades, shown seated or reclining with Persephone facing him and holding a scepter and/or a drinking horn. Schauenburg (1953, pp. 47–50) interpreted Ploutos as a younger figure not necessarily synonymous with the elder Hades/Plouton. For a catalogue of these representations, see *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 372–375, nos. 20–48, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.).

161. See especially the Munich amphora by the Antimenes Painter, ca. 510–500 (*LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 384, no. 121, s.v. Hades [R. Lindner et al.]); and Felten 1975, pp. 17–18. Cf. similar scenes of Hades enthroned in the underworld with or without Persephone: Lindner, *LIMC* IV, 1988,

p. 386, no. 146 (Würzburg hydria by the Antimenes Painter, ca. 520); p. 386, no. 147 (New York amphora by the Diosphos Painter, ca. 500–490); pp. 386–387, no. 147a (Würzburg skyphos, ca. 500); and p. 387, no. 148 (amphora by the Leagros Group, ca. 520–510).

162. *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 386, nos. 136–145, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner et al.). No. 139, a black-figure amphora attributed to Exekias, is the earliest of the group (ca. 530). Similar folding chairs with lion’s-paw feet appear frequently on the Lokri pinakes: Kyrieleis 1969, pp. 187–190, nos. 21, 23, 24, and 26–28.

163. Boardman 1975b. For a discussion of the Sisyphos and Kerberos scenes, see Shapiro 1989, pp. 75–76.

stituting a staff for a scepter.¹⁶⁴ As we know him from the 1922 drawing, Endoios's seated figure appears nondescript, but the same may be said of Hades in the Sisypheos and Kerberos scenes: here he assumes a benign, nonthreatening aspect that probably illustrates the guise in which Greeks of the 6th century wished to view the ruler of the underworld. It remains possible that the figure on the Neilonides base held an additional attribute in his right hand that would have made his identity clear. In that case, his iconography might anticipate that of 5th-century Eleusinian vases depicting an aged Hades/Plouton with a scepter in his left hand and a small cornucopia or a drinking horn in his right.

Even if representing Hades in art was normally avoided (as was naming him), a subsidiary figure of Hades painted on the Neilonides base could have served the function of propitiating the ruler of the underworld, a gesture comparable to the inclusion of "tamed" sphinx and gorgon figures as subsidiary representations on Archaic relief stelai. Hades' treatment on the Neilonides base may in fact parallel that of Charon, the ferryman of the dead, on a funerary monument from the early 5th century. In an unusual funerary epigram from Phokis dated ca. 500 B.C. (*CEG* no. 127) and analyzed by Sourvinou-Inwood, Charon is greeted with the salutation "χαῖρε" and addressed with an explicitly propitiatory statement.¹⁶⁵ Although no visual representation connected with the inscribed epigram survives, the epigram itself seems to perform the function suggested here for a representation of Hades on the Neilonides base: it asks for protection from the underworld divinity Charon and, by its continuing presence on the *sema* of the deceased, invokes Charon as the deceased's protector.¹⁶⁶

164. For Aiakos on the Lefkadia tomb, see Petsas 1966, pp. 129–131, and note 156 above. Aiakos's rectangular block seat has a molding along its top edge. Both Aiakos and the standing Rhadamanthys hold staffs and wear yellow himatia, purple shoes, and crowns of unidentified leaves (Aiakos wears his crown over a diadem). Robertson (1975, pp. 569–570) compares these crowns with the grass *stephanos* worn by the local king Schedios in Polygnotos's *Nekyia* painting in the Knidian Lesche.

165. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 362–412, especially 407–412.

166. J. W. Day has pointed out to me the semantic link between χαῖρε in the Charon epigram and the use of the term χαρίεις ("pleasing" or "pleasure-giving") in Neilonides' epigram. The intended recipients of the χάρις invoked by the epigram could include Neilonides himself, Neilon, viewers of the grave monument, and the divinities of the underworld. For the use of *charis* and related words in epigrams, see Day 1994, pp. 55–63.

CONCLUSION

Neilonides' funerary monument occupies a unique position in the history of Greek art. Paradoxically, the painting of a seated figure on the Neilonides base may constitute the only preserved work of Endoios, a sculptor to whom a number of surviving works have been attributed without the evidence of signatures. Although the painting's defacement has been cited as a 6th-century Athenian example of political *damnatio memoriae*, a better case can be made for action by the builders of the Themistoklean wall, the find context for dozens of funerary monuments reused in the crisis of 478 B.C. Seated iconography may have been introduced to Athens by East Greek sculptors, but its use for an isolated, subsidiary figure makes the figure's identity problematic. The speculative identification of Endoios's painted figure as Hades proposed here aims to reconcile the iconography of the figure, recovered from a drawing published at the time of discovery, with the monument's funerary function. It signals a return to the original recognition of the figure as a divine rather than a human representation. Though in some ways unique, the seated figure on the Neilonides base arises out of an Archaic tradition of commemorating the deceased through surprisingly diverse and iconographically complex grave markers. The role of eschatological beliefs within this artistic tradition deserves further consideration.

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Catherine M. Keesling

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
140 NEW NORTH
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20057
KEESLINC@GUNET.GEORGETOWN.EDU