

GREEK FUNERARY SCULPTURE



Catalogue of the Collections at the Getty Villa

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Janet Burnett Grossman

THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM * LOS ANGELES

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and companion, from a funerary building
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Grave stele of Philoxenos with his wife,
Philoumene (detail)
(cat. no. 4)

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Grave stele of Phanokrates (detail)
(cat. no. 41)

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Grave stele of Sime (detail)
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Lion (detail)
(cat. no. 31)

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Foreword

THROUGHOUT HUMAN HISTORY, funerary markers have provided an opportunity for the living to remember and commune with the dead. Even someone as famous and mighty as Alexander the Great visited the tomb of an even more renowned Greek hero, Achilles, in order to pay homage and gain inspiration (Plutarch *Alexander* 15.8–9). The faces that look out at us from Greek funerary sculptures, though not true portraits and executed with varying skill, depict the dead as they were in life: loving and beloved. These public testimonies of private grief are clearly from a time and world far from our own, yet the feelings of loss expressed in the images and inscriptions are notably similar to modern sentiments and have the power to touch us still.

In this catalogue of the Museum's collection of Greek funerary monuments, Janet Burnett Grossman, Assistant Curator in the Antiquities department, draws on her experience in sculpture to help us fully appreciate the remarkable humanity of these memorials. Joining the previously published catalogue of *Roman Funerary Sculpture* by Guntram Koch, which was published in 1988, the present catalogue shows the variety of human sentiments expressed in the face of death by the ancient Greeks. The catalogue is arranged geographically and chronologically in order to facilitate its use by scholars, but the appeal of these monuments should reach well beyond that specialized community.

Many of the objects came from well-known collections or were donated to the Museum. Thus, catalogue numbers 3 and 9 were formerly in the collection of Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin; numbers 46 and 48 come from the collection of the first Marquess of Lansdowne; and numbers 31, 38, 41, 50, 51, and 55 were part of the Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman collection. Several people have donated pieces to the Museum, namely, Mr. and Mrs. Milton Gottlieb (cat. no. 25), Joel Kass (cat. no. 53), N. Koutoulakis (cat. no. 56), Vasek Polak (cat. nos. 1, 8, and 27), and G. Lynn Richards (cat. no. 52). Several pieces, including one of the finest (cat. no. 22), were purchased by J. Paul Getty himself.

This catalogue is part of our ongoing, vigorous efforts to make the Getty Museum's collections and research available beyond the physical limits of our museum. Marion True, Curator of Antiquities and Assistant Director for Villa Planning, has guided these efforts with remarkable energy and discernment. The author, Janet Grossman, has our admiration for her work in this field and our thanks for bringing this volume to completion.

Deborah Gribbon

Director

Acknowledgments

ONE OF THE MANY AND DIVERSE JOBS of museum curators is the preparation of catalogues of the collection under their care. Writing this catalogue of the Greek funerary sculpture currently in the collection of the Getty Museum has been my great privilege and pleasure. I have been fortunate in having a generous colleague and supervisor in Dr. Marion True, Curator of Antiquities, who entrusted this project to me. I was fortunate in my training to have the wise and superb guidance of Dr. Evelyn B. Harrison, who started me on the path of sculpture study. My thanks are owed to both of these inspirational women and scholars.

A project of this type draws on the expertise and assistance of many people whom I can never hope to thank adequately. Ellen Rosenbery, Jack Ross, and Bruce White took the superb photographs of each monument, with Ellen responsible for the lion's share. Jerry Podany and Jeff Maish, Conservators in the Museum's Department of Antiquities Conservation, provided technical analysis on some of the more problematic sculptures. Patrick Finnerty drew the inscriptions, the typological chart of stelae, and the ghostly remains of painted patterns that are just visible on a few of the grave-stones. Outside reviewers made many helpful observations and suggestions, which strengthened and clarified the text. It was a pleasure to work with a meticulous and thoughtful editor, Benedicte Gilman. The designer, Sandy Bell, produced the handsome book you hold in your hands. As production coordinators, Stacy Miyagawa and Elizabeth Chapin Kahn shepherded the book through the intricacies of publication.

Conversations and discussions with various colleagues who are equally as fascinated by Greek gravestones as myself provided a background for reflection and reconsideration of my opinions on some of the monuments. These include Bernhard Schmaltz, Johannes Bergemann, and Karen Stears. And finally, simple thanks are inadequate to express the gratitude I feel to my husband, Dr. Peter Grossman, who read the manuscript at various stages, offering practical advice on its readability, and who endured my long intervals of preoccupation with this catalogue.

Janet Burnett Grossman

Los Angeles, 2000

Abbreviations and Note to the Reader

East Greece, the origin of catalogue numbers thirty-nine through forty-nine, denotes the eastern Mediterranean area of Asia Minor, especially the coastal cities of modern Turkey and the immediate off-shore islands.

Frequently cited publications are abbreviated as listed below:

- Benson 1996** C. Benson, "Recurring Figure-types on Classical Attic Grave Stelai" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1996).
- Bergemann 1997** J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos: Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten* (Munich, 1997).
- Bodel and Tracy 1997** J. Bodel and S. Tracy, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA: A Checklist* (New York, 1997).
- Butz 1987** P. Butz, "Exequial Paleographics: A Catalogue of the Later Inscriptions in Greek on the Funerary Stones of the J. Paul Getty Museum" (M.A. thesis, Univ. of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1987).
- Carter 1975** J. C. Carter, *The Sculpture of Taras* (Philadelphia, 1975).
- Clairmont 1993** C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, intro. vol. and vols. 1–6 (Kilchberg, 1993).
- Couilloud 1974** M.-T. Couilloud, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, vol. 30, *Les Monuments funéraires de Rhénée* (Paris, 1974).
- Davies 1971** J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971).
- Fraser and Matthews** P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1, *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1987); vol. 3A, *The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia* (Oxford, 1997).
- Frel 1974** J. Frel, *Recent Acquisitions, Ancient Art, The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Pullman, Wash., 1974).
- Frel 1979a** J. Frel, *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Checklist: Sculpture 1: Greek Originals* (Malibu, 1979).
- Frel 1979b** J. Frel, *Antiquities in the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Checklist: Sculpture 2: Greek Portraits and Varia* (Malibu, 1979).
- Frel 1984** J. Frel, *Death of a Hero* (Malibu, 1984).
- Getty et al. 1965** J. Paul Getty et al., *The Joys of Collecting* (New York, 1965).
- GettyMusJ** *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*.
- Granger-Taylor 1987** H. Granger-Taylor, "The Emperor's Clothes: The Fold Lines," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 74 (1987): 114–23.
- Grossman 1995** J. Grossman, "The Sculptured Funerary Monuments of the Classical Period in the Athenian Agora" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univ., 1995).
- Hamiaux 1992** M. Hamiaux, *Les Sculptures grecques* (Paris, 1992).
- IG II²** J. Kirchner, *Inscriptiones graecae: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores* (Chicago, 1974).
- JHS** *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- Klumbach 1937** H. Klumbach, *Tarentiner Grabkunst* (Reutlingen, 1937).
- Marcadé 1969** J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos: Étude sur la sculpture hellénistique en ronde bosse découverte dans l'île* (Paris, 1969).
- Meyer 1989** M. Meyer, "Alte Männer auf attischen Grabdenkmälern," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 104 (1989): 49–82.
- Michaelis 1882** A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882).
- Moltesen 1995** M. Moltesen, *Greece in the Classical Period: Catalogue, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1995).
- Morrow 1985** K. D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture* (Madison, 1985).
- Neumann 1965** G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965).
- Osborne and Byrne 1994** M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 2, *Attica* (Oxford, 1994).
- Pfisterer-Haas 1990** S. Pfisterer-Haas, "Ältere Frauen auf attischen Grabdenkmälern," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 105 (1990): 179–96.

Pfuhl and Möbius 1977	E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, <i>Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs</i> , vol. 1 (Mainz, 1977).	Vermeule 1955	C. C. Vermeule, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 59 (1955): 129–50.
Pfuhl and Möbius 1979	E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, <i>Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs</i> , vol. 2 (Mainz, 1979).	Vermeule 1972	C. C. Vermeule, "Greek Funerary Animals, 450–300 B.C.," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 76 (1972): 49–59.
Reeder 1995	E. Reeder, <i>Pandora: Women in Classical Greece</i> , exh. cat., Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1995).	Vermeule 1981	C. C. Vermeule, <i>Greek and Roman Sculpture in America: Masterpieces in Public Collections in the United States and Canada</i> (Berkeley, 1981).
Reilly 1989	J. Reilly, "Many Brides: 'Mistress and Maid' on Athenian Lekythoi," <i>Hesperia</i> 89 (1989): 410–44.	Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973	C. C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, <i>Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum</i> (Malibu, 1973).
Richter 1966	G. Richter, <i>The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans</i> (London, 1966).	Vermeule and Von Kersburg 1968	C. C. Vermeule and P. Von Kersburg, "Appendix: Lions, Attic and Related," <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> 72 (1968): 99–101.
Ridgway 1981	B. S. Ridgway, <i>Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture</i> (Princeton, 1981).	Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988	B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, <i>Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen</i> , Bd. 3, <i>Klassische Grabdenkmäler und Votivreliefs</i> (Munich, 1988).
Ridgway 1990	B. S. Ridgway, <i>Hellenistic Sculpture</i> , vol. 1, <i>The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.</i> (Madison, 1990).	Vorster 1983	C. Vorster, <i>Griechische Kinderstatuen</i> (Cologne, 1983).
Scholl 1996	A. Scholl, <i>Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.: Untersuchungen zu den kleinformatischen Grabreliefs im spätklassischen Athen</i> (Berlin, 1996).	Woysch-Méautis 1982	D. Woysch-Méautis, <i>La Représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l'époque archaïque à la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.</i> (Lausanne, 1982).
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923–).	Zanker 1993	P. Zanker, "The Hellenistic Grave Stelai from Smyrna: Identity and Self-image in the Polis," in <i>Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World</i> , ed. A. Bulloch et al., pp. 212–30 (Berkeley, 1993).
Smith 1991	R. R. R. Smith, <i>Hellenistic Sculpture</i> (London, 1991).	ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> .
Stears 1995	K. Stears, "Dead Women's Society: Constructing Female Gender in Classical Athenian Funerary Sculpture," in <i>Time, Tradition and Society in Greek Archaeology: Bridging the 'Great Divide'</i> , ed. N. Spencer, pp. 109–31 (London and New York, 1995).	acc. no.	accession number
Stothart 1965	H. Stothart, <i>A Handbook of the Sculpture in the J. Paul Getty Museum</i> (Malibu, 1965).	cat. no.	catalogue number
Thickpenny 1985	H. Thickpenny, "Two Attic Grave Stelai in the J. Paul Getty Museum," <i>GettyMusJ</i> 13 (1985): 5–8.	cf.	compare
True and Hamma 1994	M. True and K. Hamma, eds., <i>A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman</i> (Malibu, 1994).	esp.	especially
Vedder 1985	U. Vedder, <i>Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.</i> (Frankfurt, 1985).	exh. cat.	exhibition catalogue
		in.	inch
		inv.	inventory number
		s.v.	sub verbo



Introduction: Funerary Sculpture in the Greek World

EACH OF THE SCULPTURES in this catalogue was made to mark the burial place of an ancient Greek. Examples of most of the different types of monuments that were carved to mark graves in various parts of the Greek world are represented in the Getty Museum's collection. The majority is from Athens and its surrounding area of Attika, with additional monuments from Boeotia, northern Greece, Greek settlements situated along the eastern Mediterranean coast of modern Turkey (East Greece), and the Greek colony of Taras (Roman Tarentum, modern Taranto) in South Italy. The sculptures in the catalogue are grouped according to the various regions in which they originated and are arranged chronologically, from earliest to latest, within each region.

While most of the funerary monuments in the Museum's collection were produced in the Classical period (about 480–323 B.C.), there are also some fine examples from the Hellenistic period (about 323–30 B.C.). As is typical of these periods, the Museum's monuments show the deceased either alone or in a family group; seated women, standing bearded men, nude boys and young men, modest maidens, smiling children, and servants are most commonly represented. Most of the markers are carved of marble, which was abundant, especially in Greece and the area of modern Turkey. Marble was notably lacking in South Italy, however, and the tombstones from that area are carved of local limestone.

Every society and culture commemorates its dead in somewhat distinctive ways. The ancient Greeks had a particularly strong tradition of placing highly visible markers on their graves. Indeed, the majority of Greek sculptures that have survived from antiquity are funerary. The Greeks were a visual people; their accomplishments in sculpture and architecture are renowned. To date, several thousand sculpted funerary monuments have been discovered in various parts of the Greek world, most of them from Athens and Attika.

From the Archaic period on Greeks buried their dead in cemeteries outside the city or settlement. The largest and apparently most important cemetery of ancient Athens was the Kerameikos cemetery, located outside the northwestern gates of the wall that surrounded the city. It is one of the most carefully excavated and well-documented ancient Greek cemeteries. Most cemeteries, in fact, were situated near gates of city walls, and the roads that led up to these gates often ran through the cemeteries, whose graves faced the roads. The location of the cemeteries at the city gates meant that grave stelai were visible to all who entered and left the city, whether on personal business, in state processions, or for festivals.

Some epitaphs on individual tombstones specifically address passersby. Graves of private individuals as well as state tombs of the war dead have been found in the Kerameikos cemetery, where many grave markers are still in place above the graves they marked. The original placement of the earliest monuments has been obscured by subsequent reorganizations of the cemeteries. During the Classical period graves of private individuals were laid out in terraces in the Kerameikos cemetery and were often walled with fine ashlar masonry, on top of which the stele was placed. Graves belonging to individual members of a family were frequently grouped together in precincts called *periboloi*. Since the Kerameikos cemetery was used as a burial ground from about the twelfth century B.C. through the sixth century A.D., the crowding of burials and mounds has often made the interpretation of the excavated finds difficult. In addition, when many of the largest and finest sculpted monuments of the Classical period were removed in the late nineteenth century for display in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, their exact original location in the cemetery was not fully recorded. In spite of



Map locating some of the most important sites mentioned in the text.

such shortcomings in the information about the Kerameikos cemetery, it remains the most valuable example available to us today of the appearance and disposition of graves within an ancient Greek cemetery. Almost all of the Attic gravestones included in this catalogue find a counterpart in the Kerameikos cemetery, where examples of most monument types may still be seen.

Gravestones were mass-produced in sculptural workshops headed by sculptors who remain anonymous to us. No funerary monument can with certainty be attributed to master sculptors such as Polykleitos or Lysippos, whose names are known to us from ancient literary and epigraphic sources. The quality of carving on gravestones ranges from quite mediocre to highly skilled. Some monuments rival the best sculpture known from ancient Greece. The quality reflects the marketplace. A simple, hastily executed stone would have been within the means of an average citizen, while large, grand monuments are indicative of the wealth of other Greeks. The gravestones in the Getty collection reflect this wide range of quality of production. For example, one (cat. no. 5) is a small, relatively simple marker. By contrast, a head of a woman (cat. no. 22) shows the highest quality of sculpting. That head originally belonged to a now-lost statue, which was part of a very large, elaborately constructed monument probably consisting of several nearly freestanding figures.

Although many ancient grave markers have survived, most have not been found in proximity to specific gravesites. Being of the size and thickness they are, the stones were perfectly suited for subsequent reuse as building material. For example, of the many funerary monuments found in the excavations of the Agora—the civic center and marketplace of ancient Athens—none is associated with a specific burial. More than two thousand markers have been discovered and catalogued there, with most having been scavenged for use as building material, either during the later Roman and Byzantine periods or in the modern era. The majority of the latter was built into the walls of houses constructed soon after the Greek War of Independence (1821–1830). This reuse is the reason that most surviving grave markers are fragmentary. Only a very small proportion of the total number of gravestones has survived nearly intact. Even in a broken state, however, many can be restored to approximate their original appearance because of the known traditions common to the iconography and inscriptions on Greek funerary sculpture.

Sculpted marble grave markers were first produced in Greece in the Archaic period (about 600–480 B.C.). Since this was the period in which marble began to be used in both architecture and sculpture, it is not surprising that it was used also for grave markers. Some of the earliest sculpted grave markers were freestanding statues of young men, *kouroi*, and young women, *korai*, placed on the graves of deceased young men and women. When children had survived the ancient perils of childhood with its terribly high infant mortality rate, the death of an unmarried young man or woman was especially devastating to a family, for these individuals were the future of the family. The earliest marble markers were produced for the graves of these lost generations. The surviving epitaph of a woman named Phrasikleia poignantly expresses the loss of this young woman.

Tomb of Phrasikleia:
Maiden [*kore*] shall I be called,
Forever given this name,
not marriage,
by the gods.
Aristion of Paros made me.¹

In addition to freestanding statues some Archaic graves of these individual young family members were commemorated with a tall marble stele carved with an image of a young warrior or a young woman wearing festival dress.

The style of sculpted grave markers changed in the Classical period. Gravestones began to be erected in Athens in the 420s B.C. after a period of roughly seventy years during which few marble funerary monuments appear to have been carved, possibly due to legal restrictions aimed at limiting ostentatious displays of private wealth. Instead of singling out the youthful members of the family, as was common during the Archaic period, entire households were now depicted, including slaves, who were shown as attendants to more centrally positioned family members. It is uncertain if there was a change in funeral ritual in the Classical period, or whether burial in family plots had always been the norm, as the limited surviving literary and archaeological evidence seems to suggest. It is clear that family plots became more elaborate in the course of the fourth century, with monumental walls and terraces built around them, some of which have survived to the present day. The sculpted marble monuments placed in the plots also became larger and more elaborate as the fourth century progressed.

A preference for specific poses, compositions, and recurring figure types is common in Classical reliefs. For example, many feature a seated woman, which may be a reflection of Athenian values, since the memorials served a public purpose as well as a private function. The family unit, the *oikos*, was the center of Athenian identity during this period of Greek history. Especially important was the citizen status of male members of the family, conferred by the legitimate succession of the family lineage going back to tribal ancestors. The seated woman on the gravestone, usually a representation of the mother of the family unit, holds a special place of honor in the funerary images, perhaps because it was through her that the line of succession was continued. A woman who bore legitimate heirs for her husband's *oikos* held a position of honor and respect.

All types of Classical relief sculpture exhibit qualities that are more conservative, formulaic, and schematic than sculpture in the round. While there is an overall uniformity in depictions of the family groups, each grave marker does retain a modicum of individuality and specificity. Within the conventions of relief sculpture, a marble carver would modify the characteristics of each work to satisfy the particular requirements of its function and setting. Each Classical grave relief presents a different variant of traditional elements, a unique combination of figures, gestures, accessories, and the individual stylistic expression of the sculptor. Thus, we have no example of a particular scene being replicated exactly on a second monument.

Many of the details of the clothing, attributes, and decorative architecture must originally have been painted. A few monuments bear traces of the paint with

which almost all were probably decorated. Coloring and patterning were important in all media in Greek art; rank and social standing may have been more emphatically explained by this treatment of the clothing. Particular coloring or patterning of the garments of the deceased may have enabled the visitor to the grave or the passerby to identify immediately the most important figures. Besides the painting of the relief sculptures themselves, some monuments consist of paintings on a flat marble surface that in several instances was then placed in an architectural structure.

The grave marker itself was an object of veneration in the funerary rituals of the Greeks, meaning different things at various times in history. They were not mere markers erected to preserve the memory of a departed family member, for they were often anointed with oil, decorated with ribbons, and given food offerings. Each became a focus of devotion, that is, functioned as a ritual object.

The oldest markers that have been identified from the earliest time that we think of as Greek—the Geometric period (about 900–720 B.C.)—are large terra-cotta vases. They were decorated primarily with rows of geometrical designs and patterns, but some also have human figures engaged mostly in scenes of warfare, with a few picturing scenes of special funerary rituals called *ekphora* and *prothesis*. As soon as a person died, his body was washed and laid out for a period of family mourning and visitation, the *prothesis*. Then the body was carried in a procession to the burial ground, the *ekphora*, again accompanied by family members. Women played an essential role in funerary rites; they were especially needed for preparing the body and for vocalizing the grief that family members felt at the death of one of its own.

The lamentations of the female members of a household may also have fulfilled a number of social functions. Tombs themselves may have served as memory aids for the inspiration of lament singing, and groups of burials may have occasioned extended singing of laments for a number of recent ancestors. Remembering the dead was only one aspect of lamentation; other elements might include expressing extreme grief or perhaps evoking retribution. Lament singing was one means by which a family group could express itself publicly by calling attention to the family burial plot with its sculpted funerary monuments, which grew in size and splendor during the Classical period.

Ancient Greek society was highly structured, and burials in the cemeteries reflect this structure. Marble funerary monuments played a significant role in providing both inscriptional and visual identification of the dead. The images chosen to stand above the grave, or in many cases to stand by the front wall of a family burial plot, the *peribolos*, were erected by surviving family members. They projected a sense of status and identity in addition to serving as a timeless and moving memorial, or *mnemata*, of the deceased. Rivaling one another in their display of family status and wealth, the memorials lined the major streets leading out of Athens and likewise the busy roads linking the settlements in the outer *demes* of Attika. They marked the traditional religious and ritual aspects of the funeral cult of ancestral tombs and, at the same time, were mediums of self-serving social propaganda.

By the end of the fourth century B.C., the *periboloi* of the Kerameikos in Athens and of individual sites in the region around Athens appear to have reached a peak of elaborate display and then abruptly to have ceased. The Roman writer Cicero records that a funerary law prohibiting extravagant display was passed in Athens during the rule of Demetrios of Phaleron (318/317–308/307 B.C.). It is unclear, however, whether Cicero's account, written some three centuries after the reign of Demetrios, accurately reflects the situation in Athens. Modern scholars have largely accepted the date as fact, using it as an end point in a constructed chronology of sculptural style.

This catalogue is not the place for a lengthy discourse on the dating of Greek funerary monuments. Most of the Athenian sculptures in the catalogue are dated conservatively, following the current practice of placing those of the Classical period between about 420 and about 310 B.C. The date of an individual monument within that approximately one-hundred-year period depends on a number of factors, including



1. Stele of Moschion, cat. no. 5. Malibu 73.AA.117.



2. Naiskos of Sime, cat. no. 21. Malibu 77.AA.89.



3. Naiskos of Demainete, cat. no. 24. Malibu 75.AA.63.



4. Stele of Poseides, cat. no. 40. Malibu 79.AA.145.

style of drapery, proportion of figures, monument type, composition, and quality of workmanship. An overall stylistic progression has been established by numerous scholars during the past one hundred years through observation and comparison with dated sculptures of all types carved during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The dates assigned here to individual works should be considered in general terms only, since specificity is not valid for any but a few sculpted funerary monuments. In most instances, a single date with the qualifier of “about” is assigned here instead of a date range, because of the belief that it is easier for the nonspecialist to relate to a date of, for example, “about 350 B.C.,” rather than one of “360–340 B.C.”

Each catalogue entry contains basic information about the type of monument, its measurements, the material from which it is carved, and its general condition. Whenever possible, depending on the state of preservation of the monument concerned, the title of each catalogue entry designates the type of funerary monument. There are six general types of funerary monuments: 1) stelai, 2) lekythoi, 3) loutrophoroi, 4) funerary animals, 5) anthemia, and 6) sirens. Within the first category, there appear to have been a limited number of distinct types of stelai available to the ancient buyer, which probably reflects patterns of production. The types are: 1) plain stelai, 2) stelai with relief panel, 3) pedimental stelai, 4) naiskoi, 5) flat-topped naiskoi, and 6) acanthus stelai.² Four of these types are illustrated above by drawings of monuments included in the catalogue. A naiskos is composed of several elements, including a scene carved in relief framed by architectural elements. A naiskos can be carved of one slab of marble or, in its most elaborate form, from several pieces and assembled in imitation of a small

Types of grave stelai: 1) Stele with relief panel, 2) Pedimental naiskos, 3) Flat-topped naiskos, 4) Acanthus stele.

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- 1 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4889: J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London, 1978), p. 73.
 - 2 See D. W. Bradeen, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 17, *Inscriptions: The Funerary Monuments* (Princeton, 1974), p. 1.

templelike structure with separately carved figures placed within. The complexity of the stele type seems to reflect chronology as well as cost. That is, the earliest stelai tend to be simplest in form.

Taken as a group, the funerary monuments in the Getty Museum are impressive not only as examples of original Greek sculpture but also as part of a body of important social documents for understanding ancient Greek culture. These memorials still speak to us and hold our interest millennia after the individuals for whom they were erected lived and died. The monuments are appreciated for their depictions of individuals and families, similar yet so different from our own. We can relate to the expressions of tenderness and sorrow on some, to the heroism evident on others, and to their family portraits.



Attic Funerary Sculpture

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

1. *Grave Stele of a Young Woman with Her Parents*

About 420 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 77.5 cm (30½ in.); Width: 51.4 cm (20¼ in.); Depth: 11.4 cm (4¼ in.)

83.AA.206

CONSERVATION

Reconstructed as complete from four joining fragments. The upper right pediment corner and both lower corners are missing. Chips along the edges, especially at the left and on the surface of all three figures. The heads of the figures are broken off and appear to have been deliberately defaced. The rough-picked back is probably the original surface. The sides and front surface at the bottom retain marks of the tooth chisel. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to light brown. The carved surfaces have become blurred from weathering, and incrustations further obscure the original crispness of the carving.

PROVENANCE

Gift of Vasek Polak, Hermosa Beach, California.

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J. Frel et al., "Acquisitions/1983," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984): 235, no. 8; Meyer 1989, p. 49 n. 3; Clairmont 1993, 3: 69, no. 3.172; Scholl 1996, p. 342, no. 448, pl. 30.1.

STELE WITH A SIMPLE triangular pediment above a slightly recessed figural area. The flat front of the pediment may originally have had a painted inscription and a floral design, although no trace of them remains today.¹ There is a stele in the collection of the eleventh Earl of Elgin at Broomhall in Dunfermline, Scotland, which is entirely painted on a simple marble slab with a triangular top. In addition to a painted figure, there is in the center of the triangular area a painted pediment with akroteria (statues or decorative elements placed at the ridge or corners of a pitched roof).²

At the left of the composition, a bearded male figure sits slightly slouched in a chair.³ He is wrapped in a cloak, leaving his right arm, shoulder, and chest bare. His right hand rests at his side on the seat of the chair, his left is raised with the fingers in a position consistent with holding a staff, which would have been painted.⁴ He wears soft shoes or boots; the absence of carved toes speaks against bare feet.⁵ The posture, beard, and slightly sagging pectoral muscles of this figure identify him as an older man.⁶

Placed just to the right and partly behind him stands a female figure to right who shakes hands with a second standing

female figure facing left. A handshake (*dexiosis*), most frequently seen between a seated and a standing figure, is a very common gesture on Attic funerary monuments of the Classical period. It is such a ubiquitous gesture that it has prompted analysis and interpretation by various scholars.⁷ Since a handshake motif appears also among the contractual parties on Attic decree reliefs, some have suggested that it may express an oath or contractual relationship between the living and the dead. It seems more probable, however, that the handshake in funerary scenes physically symbolizes the bond between family members in Attic society, even in death.

The heads of the two women are largely broken away. The woman to right wears a dress with a cloak that envelops her. Her left hand slightly holds out the edge of the cloak at shoulder level in a gesture associated with married women. The gesture is quite commonly seen on adult women who can otherwise be identified as married; it may be a reference to the ritual unveiling of the bride at weddings (*anakalypteria*).⁸ The woman to left wears a dress and a cloak. Her left arm and hand are completely hidden under the folds of the cloak, which falls down to form a motif called the "hanging sleeve." This is a recurring motif seen with girls, boys, and young women placed on the right side of a composition. These figures are wrapped so completely in a large cloak that it hangs over the left side of the body, covering the left arm and forming a "hanging sleeve."⁹ This feature helps secure her identity as the daughter of the couple at the left. Even though the head is largely missing from this figure, the outline of the original form against the background remains. The back of her head is smooth and continuous with the fold of her cloak. An edge of the cloak was probably drawn up over her head.¹⁰ The upper back of the figure is carved in a manner consistent with the fabric of the cloak on her body. Soles are indicated on the feet of both women; since no toes are carved, the women probably are wearing shoes rather than sandals.¹¹

The great Athenian building project of the 440s and early 430s B.C.—the Parthenon—influenced sculpture of all types, even modest grave reliefs such as this one. We see echoes of the seated gods on the East Frieze of the Parthenon in the relaxed pose of the seated male figure here.¹² The broad shape of the stele with its plain triangular top and the rich, plastic quality of the drapery folds suggest a date one or two decades after the Parthenon frieze. In general, the drapery follows the spirit of the Parthenon frieze in revealing and modeling the forms of the body.

Though a modest gravestone, the figures have a simple elegance reflective of this period. The stone would have marked the grave of a young woman ripe for marriage who died before she could wed.



Cat. no. 1. Grave stele of a young woman with her parents. Malibu 83.AA.206.

- 1 Cf. the stele of Myttion, 78.AA.57, cat. no. 3.
- 2 Clairmont 1993, 1: 166, no. 0.836. Clairmont does not mention the painted pediment, but I had the opportunity to examine the stone at Broomhall in 1998 and verify its existence.
- 3 The chair is the regular type of *klismos* with a curved back and plain, curved legs. See Richter 1966, pp. 33–37.
- 4 A seated male figure on a monument in Athens of the same period is similar in pose and in the staff that he holds, although there the staff is carved: Clairmont 1993, 4: 177–78, no. 5.650.
- 5 Morrow 1985, pp. 67–68.
- 6 Meyer 1989, pp. 48, 66–74.
- 7 E.g., G. Davies, “The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985): 627–40; E. G. Pemberton, “The *Dexiosis* on Attic Gravestones,” *Mediterranean Archaeology* 2 (1989): 45–50; G. Davies, “The Language of Gesture in Greek Art: Gender and Status on Grave Stelai,” *Apollo*, 1994: 6–11, esp. p. 10; Benson 1996, pp. 187–88.
- 8 Stears 1995, pp. 119–20.
- 9 Benson 1996, pp. 124–27.
- 10 There are no remnants of long hair falling down her back as Clairmont maintains: Clairmont 1993, 3: 69, no. 3.172.
- 11 Morrow 1985, p. 64.
- 12 Cf. esp. Hermes, Dionysos, and Zeus. M. Robertson, *The Parthenon Frieze* (New York, 1975), East iv, figs. 24–25, and East v, fig. 30.

2. *Grave Naiskos of a Seated Woman with a Standing Attendant*

About 410 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 71.5 cm (28¹/₈ in.); Width: 69.2 cm (27¹/₄ in.); Depth: 6.4 cm (2¹/₂ in.)

73.AA.115

CONSERVATION

The marble is weathered with some losses and chips on the figures, especially on the head of the seated woman. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface of the marble is slick and shiny in a manner consistent with its having been treated with acid. There are white accretions, especially evident in the folds of the drapery. The original depth of the two Getty fragments (see below) has been reduced in modern times by sawing. The back of the Kanellopoulos fragment preserves the original rough surface that was made by a point chisel.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Malibu, 1975), pp. 21, 32; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1976), pp. 25, 39 (with a cast of the Kanellopoulos fragment added); *ibid.* (Malibu, 1978), p. 47.

M.-A. Zagdoun, "Collection Paul Kanellopoulos, xi: Sculptures," *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* 102 (1978): 291–92; Frel 1979a, p. 16, no. 63; H. Thickpenny, "A Fragment of an Attic Grave Stele in the Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 8 (1980): 101 n. 10; Vermeule 1981, p. 95, no. 64; O. Cavalier, "La Stèle des adieux," *Les Cahiers de Mariemont* 20–21 (1989–1990): 13–16, fig. 10; Clairmont 1993, 2: 122–23, no. 2.186; Benson 1996, pp. 103–4, 230, no. 74, fig. 77; Bergemann 1997, p. 53 n. 193, p. 85 n. 169, p. 160, no. 72, pl. 17.3.

TWO JOINING FRAGMENTS of the back panel of a large naiskos; a third joining fragment of this monument is in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens.¹ One fragment preserves the upper body and head of a seated woman, the other fragment preserves her knees and the mid-section of a standing woman. The Kanellopoulos Museum fragment preserves the head and shoulders of the standing figure. The panel would have been framed by a separately carved architectural structure.

At the left of the composition sits a woman on a chair facing right.² She wears a dress with a cloak pulled up over the back of her head. Her hair is bound at the back with a broad headband (*opisthosphendone*), and she wears a large round earring.³ She is in the act of opening a lidded box, probably holding jewelry, on her lap.⁴ A female figure facing left stands in front of the seated woman. This second woman wears a long-sleeved dress. Her hair is drawn back from her face under a head covering (*sakkos*), which is tied by a cord brought forward from her nape over her ear and

behind the roll across her forehead. In front of her ears, several locks of hair fall loose from the head covering. The costume of long-sleeved chiton and head covered by a *sakkos* invariably represents an attendant slave.⁵ The attendant holds her right hand to her cheek in a gesture of mourning.⁶ Her left arm is extended along the side of her body, and in that hand she holds a rectangular object, probably a mirror, for this scene is evocative of images of bridal preparation. Such scenes feature the dressing and adornment of a bride by several attendant figures, one of whom invariably holds a mirror. The theme of an attendant helping to adorn her mistress is common in the iconography of Athenian grave-stones. Bridal iconography on grave monuments is an example of a connection between marriage and death, which seems to have been prevalent in Greek art of this time.⁷

Supporting a date for the relief at the end of the fifth century are the cordlike folds of the drapery behind the seated woman's right knee and calf as well as the transparency of both women's dresses, especially over the breasts. Comparable drapery is seen on a figure of Athena on a document relief in Paris dated 409–405 B.C.⁸ The softly curving neckline of the seated woman's dress, the series of V-shaped folds that become vertical folds between the breasts, and the filmy quality of the cloak drawn up over the back of her head framing her neck are all characteristic of the period. Similar features are seen on one of the most beautiful and well-known Classical gravestones from Athens, that of Hegeso.⁹ The Getty stone was carved in the same period as the Hegeso monument, although it is of slightly lesser quality and, unfortunately, not nearly as well preserved. Nevertheless, these worn fragments subtly convey a shared moment, a glimpse of domestic intimacy.

1 Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 1168; M.-A. Zagdoun, "Collection Paul Kanellopoulos, xi: Sculptures," *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* 102 (1978): 291–92, fig. 5.

2 The curved back that remains of the chair probably belongs to a regular kind of *klismos*, which would have had curved legs. See Richter 1966, pp. 33–37.

3 Cf. the funerary stele of Hegeso, whose hair is bound by an *opisthosphendone* and partially covered with a thin veil, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3624; D. Buitron-Oliver, *The Greek Miracle: Classical Sculpture from the Dawn of Democracy: The Fifth Century B.C.* (Washington, D.C., 1992), pp. 150–51, no. 33; Clairmont 1993, 2: 95–98, no. 2.150.

4 On the box, see E. Brümmer, "Griechische Truhenbehälter," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 100 (1985): 1–168, esp. figs. 27c and 39b. A comparable chest with no legs is held by the attendant figure on a stele in the Karpanos collection in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 965; Clairmont 1993, 2: 528, no. 2.424.

5 See Reilly 1989, pp. 416–17.

6 See Neumann 1965, pp. 128–30. A comparable figure of a servant with her hand held to her cheek is seen on a stele in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4006; Clairmont 1993, 1: 447–48, no. 1.797.

7 See J. M. Barringer, *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Art* (Ann Arbor, 1995), pp. 102–7.

8 Musée du Louvre Ma 831; Hamiaux 1992, p. 140, no. 132.

9 *Supra*, note 3.



Cat. no. 2. Two fragments of a grave naiskos, Malibu 73.AA.115, with a cast of a joining third fragment (upper right) in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens.

3. Grave Stele of Myttion

About 400 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; polychromy; Height: 71 cm (28 in.); Width: 24 cm (9½ in.); Depth: 9 cm (3½ in.)

78.AA.57

CONSERVATION

Complete except for a chip at the left lower front. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to pale beige. The bottom surface retains its original rough finish made by a point chisel; in the ancient cemetery the stele would have been set into a base for display. The inscription was added in paint that has now faded, but it has left slightly raised, lighter marks on the stone. Traces of red pigment remain on the shoes.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine,¹ Broomhall, Dunfermline, Scotland.

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Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum (Berlin, 1873–1897), 2: 4000; A. Michaelis, “Ancient Marbles in Great Britain,” *JHS* 5 (1884): 143–61, esp. 148–49, no. 6; A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin, 1893), 1: 819, pl. 156; E. Guhl, *Leben der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 293, 295, fig. 370; A. H. Smith, “Lord Elgin and His Collection,” *JHS* 36 (1916): 286 n. 228, p. 293, no. 23; G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 3rd edn. (New Haven, 1950), p. 91; *ibid.*, 4th edn. (New Haven, 1970), p. 60; J. P. Getty and E. LeVane, *Collector’s Choice* (London, 1955), p. 202; Vermeule 1955, p. 132; Getty et al. 1965, pp. 61, 68; Stothart 1965, p. 25 [as 1-72]; M. del Chiaro, *Greek Art in Private Collections in Southern California*, 2nd edn. (Santa Barbara, 1966), no. 17; J. Frel, “Ateliers et sculpteurs attiques fin 5^{ème} début 4^{ème} s.,” *Eirene* 5 (1966): 90, no. 8; J. Frel, *Les Sculpteurs attiques anonymes, 430–300 B.C.* (Prague, 1969), p. 21, no. 77; A. Kaloyeropoulou, “Duo attika epitymbia anaglypha,” *Archaiologikon Deltion* 24 (1969): 227 n. 79, p. 259; *ibid.* 29 (1974): 196, 214–15; *JG* 11², 12220; J. Frel, “The Telemachos Workshop,” *GettyMusJ* 2 (1975): 15, no. 2, p. 16; B. Kingsley, “The Stele of Myttion,” *GettyMusJ* 2 (1975): 7–14; R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* (Münster, 1977), p. 123 n. 7, p. 179, no. 475; Frel 1979a, p. 16, no. 64; Frel 1979b, p. 43, no. 64; Woysch-Méautis 1982, p. 111, no. 78 [as 1-72]; T. Linders, “The Kandys in Greece and Persia,” *Opuscula Atheniensi* 15 (1984): 109, 113; K. Yfantidis, *Die Polychromie der hellenistischen Plastik* (Mainz, 1984), p. 20 n. 60 [as 1-72; name misspelled as Mythion]; Vedder 1985, pp. 27–28, no. F 44; *SEG* 37.189; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 207; A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland: Textile Fertigung und Kleidung* (Munich, 1989), pp. 119–20, fig. 72; Clairmont 1993, 1: 269–70, no. 1.224; *ibid.*,

5: 7; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 324, s.v. Myttion; Moltesen 1995, p. 83; Scholl 1996, p. 194 n. 1286, p. 198 n. 1312, p. 341, no. 444; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 6; M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (New York, 1997), p. 169, fig. 90; B. Bäbler, *Fleißige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen: Nichtgriechen im klassischen Athen und ihre archäologische Hinterlassenschaft* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), pp. 27–32.

STELE WITH A TRIANGULAR PEDIMENT and a slightly recessed figural area. The pediment was originally decorated with a painted design of rolls of *tainiai* and a decorative floral border called a kymation.² *Tainiai* were long ribbons of fabric that were tied around funerary monuments. Faint remains are visible of the name of the deceased, which was originally painted above her head on the pediment:

MYTTION

“Myttion”

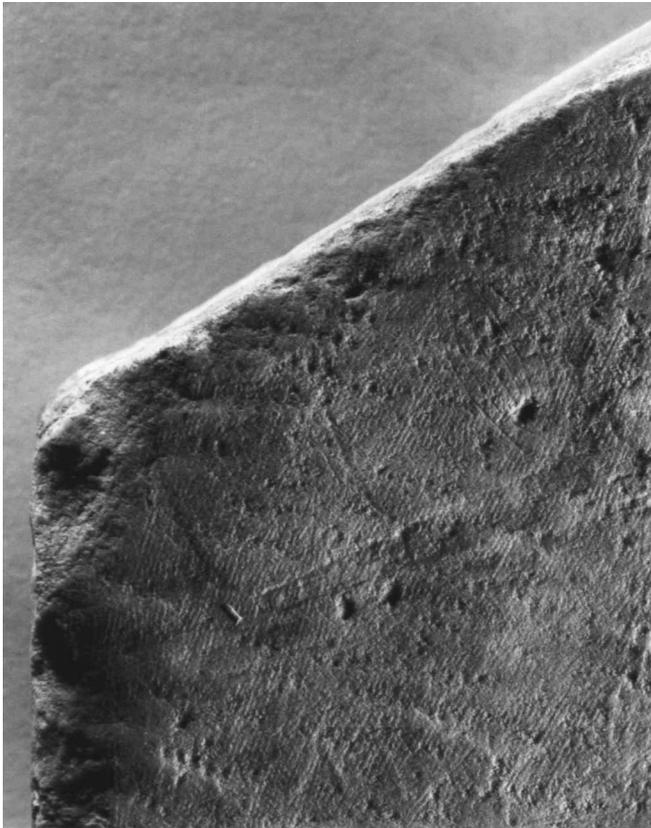
The name Myttion is not otherwise found in the epigraphic and literary corpora.³

The young woman stands in a three-quarter frontal pose facing right. Her long hair is brushed back from her face and fashioned into a braid wrapped around her head. In her left hand she holds out a bird. The motif of a young person holding a bird is common on Attic gravestones. In addition to being a common pet, the bird may represent the life of the deceased.⁴ Myttion’s feet are shod in soft shoes, for soles are indicated, but the toes are indistinct.⁵ She wears an unusual costume consisting of a long dress beneath a long-sleeved three-quarter length coat called a *kandys*.⁶ The *kandys* originated in Persia and was adopted by Athenian women at the end of the fifth century B.C., when increasing imports from Asia Minor influenced fashion.⁷ The *kandys* was a symbol of luxury at the time of its introduction to Athens since, from all accounts, it was sometimes adorned with gold plaques and elaborate borders and was, therefore, an expensive and unusual item. Myttion’s special clothing and the bird she holds suggest that she is taking part in some ritual of a religious nature.⁸

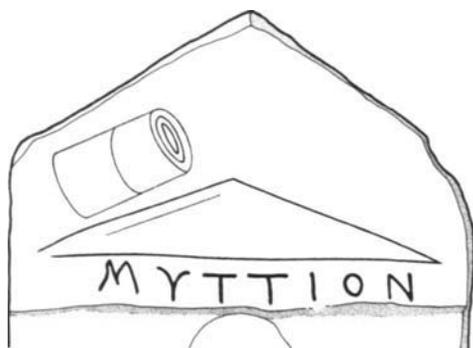
There are no known closely comparable grave monuments for the iconography, although occasionally attendant figures on stelai dated after the middle of the fourth century B.C. are shown wearing a *kandys*.⁹ The form of the monument is similar to stelai in Athens and Copenhagen.¹⁰ The style of the drapery points to a date at the turn of the fourth century, for the garments are no longer transparent, and the fabric folds are angular and sweeping. The fabric of her undergarment lies closer over her right lower leg; noteworthy are the broad expanses uninterrupted by folds, and the way the knee and leg are framed by the fold at the left.¹¹ The isolation of a single figure against the flat expanse of the background was also popular in this period. The pose, composition, and a certain starkness are suggestive of a somber and perhaps plaintive mood.



Cat. no. 3. Grave stele of Myttion. Malibu 78.AA.57.



Cat. no. 3. Detail of the grave stele of Myttion showing the outline of the rolled tainia in the left pedimental corner.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave stele of Myttion.

- 1 Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, was British ambassador to Constantinople in the late eighteenth century; he was the Earl of Elgin who removed significant portions of the sculptural decoration from the Temple of Athena Parthenos (the Parthenon) on the Acropolis in Athens, bringing them to England. See W. St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (Oxford, 1998).
- 2 See B. Kingsley, "The Stele of Myttion," *GettyMusJ* 2 (1975): 7–8, for a list of monuments with painted *tainiai*. The design, which can be seen on the left under a raking light, was visible when Alexander Conze compiled his corpus of Attic gravestones, including the monument of Myttion: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (Berlin, 1893), 1: 819, pl. 156.
- 3 A search of Davies 1971 and Osborne and Byrne 1994 revealed no other instances of the name Myttion.
- 4 See Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 39–53, nos. 65–255. The closest comparatives to our gravestone are p. 113, no. 103, pl. 18 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Karpanos collection 963), and p. 116, no. 136, pl. 22 (stele of Timarete in London, British Museum 1947.7-14.1).
- 5 Morrow 1985, pp. 86–87.
- 6 On the costume, see E. R. Knauer, "Toward a History of the Sleeved Coat: A Study of the Impact of an Ancient Eastern Garment on the West," *Expedition* 21 (1978): 18–36, who traces the history of the costume down to recent times; eadem, "Ex Oriente Vestimenta: Trachtgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur Ärmelmantel und Ärmeljacke," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.12.3 (Berlin, 1985), pp. 578–741, 739 addition to n. 95, esp. pp. 617–21 for Greek examples; and A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland: Textile Fertigung und Kleidung* (Munich, 1989), pp. 119–20.
- 7 M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C.: A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (New York, 1997), pp. 165–70. There is a terra-cotta figure of the late fifth century B.C., found on the Acropolis, wearing a *kandys* over a chiton. See F. Winter, in "Sitzungsberichte der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, 1893," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 8 (1893): 147, fig. 30.
- 8 The costume may indicate a connection with the Dionysiac festival of the Anthesteria. See *SEG* 34.119, lines 15–16. Some of the children depicted on fifth-century red-figured choes made for the Anthesteria wear the *kandys*. E.g., a chous in Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 2527; G. Van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Leiden, 1957), pp. 171–72, no. 842, fig. 87. On the festival, see also E. Simon, *Festivals of Attika: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison, 1983), pp. 92–99; and R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (Ann Arbor, 1992). The *kandys* is also listed in dedication records at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. The latest recorded dedication of a *kandys* to Artemis is dated 347/346 B.C., attesting to the survival of the fashion for more than half a century: T. Linders, "The Kandys in Greece and Persia," *Opuscula Atheniensi* 15 (1984): 107–22. Arguing against the idea of the *kandys* symbolizing luxury or special status is B. Bäbler, *Fleißige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen: Nichtgriechen im klassischen Athen und ihre archäologische Hinterlassenschaft* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), pp. 31–32, who interprets the jacket as clothing associated with non-Attic and slave status.
- 9 E.g., on a stele in Princeton University, The Art Museum y204: B. S. Ridgway, *Greek Sculpture in the Art Museum, Princeton University: Greek Originals, Roman Copies and Variants* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 24–27, no. 6. Miller (*supra*, note 7), p. 186, explains its appearance on later monuments for maids as the adoption of the once elite symbol by the lower orders long after it had ceased to be fashionable among wealthy Athenian women.
- 10 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4991: Clairmont 1993, 4: 172–73, no. 5.480; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 448: Moltesen 1995, pp. 82–83, no. 26.
- 11 Cf. the grave relief of Megisto and Eratoxenos in Houston, the Menil Collection 70-32D): Clairmont 1993, 1: 415–16, no. 1.695.

4. *Grave Stele of Philoxenos with His Wife, Philoumene*

About 400 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 102.2 cm (40¼ in.); Width: 44.5 cm (17½ in.); Depth: 16.5 cm (6½ in.)

83.AA.378

CONSERVATION

The stele is complete, with only minor chips. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to a golden brown. The bottom and back of the stone retain their original rough-picked surfaces made by the point chisel. There are marks of the tooth chisel on the background and on the top of the stele.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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Artemis Group, *Consolidated Audited Annual Report 1981/1982* (Luxembourg, 1983), pp. 8–9; J. Frel et al., “Acquisitions/1983,” *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984): 234, no. 7; *SEG* 34.234; K. Manchester, *The Grave Relief of Philoxenos and Philomene* (M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986); Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 209; I. Vallera-Rickerson and M. Korma, “Merika ellenika ekthemata tou Mouseiou Getty,” *Archaologia* 43 (1992): 85, no. 5; Clairmont 1993, 2: 84–85, no. 2.121; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 458, no. 69, s.v. Philoxenos, and p. 460, no. 28, s.v. Philoumene; Bergemann 1997, p. 63 n. 305, p. 160, no. 73, p. 216, no. 27, pl. 15.1; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 6; *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Antiquities* (Los Angeles, 1997), p. 49; J. B. Grossman, “Family Relationships on Two Grave Reliefs from the Athenian Agora,” in *Les Pierres de l’Offrande*, ed. G. Hoffman, p. 121 (Zurich, 2001); M. Yalom, *A History of the Wife* (New York, 2001), p. 17.

STELE WITH SLIGHTLY ROUNDED top and a triangular pediment complete with akroteria, in low relief. The architrave is inscribed:¹

ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΟ<Υ>Μ[Ε]ΝΗ
“Philoxenos Philo(u)mene”

The names Philoxenos and Philoumene are found in several other inscriptions from Athens and its surrounding area of Attika.²

The figures are placed on a plinth in a recessed area below the architrave. Philoxenos, a bearded man in armor, stands at the left in right profile with his weight on his right leg, his left leg drawn back.³ On his head is an Attic helmet adorned

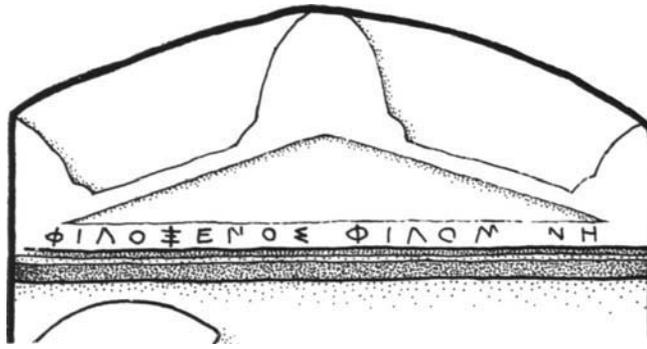
with a tall, incised brush; the visor is pushed up, and there are no cheekpieces.⁴ He wears a short-sleeved tunic under a cuirass with a double row of *pteryges*.⁵ Since his toes are not defined and there appears to be the line of a sole under his right foot, he is probably wearing boots that would originally have been detailed with paint.⁶ With his left hand, he holds a round shield by a grip that originally would have been painted. The broad rim of the shield is carved in relief and forms a background to Philoxenos’s torso.⁷ He extends his right hand to shake that of Philoumene, his wife.⁸

Philoumene wears a dress with a cloak that falls gracefully from her left shoulder to the floor. Her hair is encircled twice by a band, and the locks are gathered at the back of the head, where they are wrapped in an ornamental hair covering. A few short curls are brought forward in front of her left ear. Her slightly oval face has a full jaw and lips. Her eyes are thick-lidded. A single Venus ring marks her neck. Venus rings are indentations in the flesh of a girl’s or woman’s neck. They are probably a status symbol, indicating good health and nutrition. They appear most commonly on young unmarried females and therefore, probably, also indicate fertility, but they are occasionally seen on children and young men. They become a standard feature in the iconography of women on grave-stones from the time of the Parthenon on (built 448–432 B.C.), probably due to the influence of the Parthenon sculptures on other types of sculpted monuments.⁹

The sole of Philoumene’s left sandal is carved; the straps would have been added in paint.¹⁰ Her stance is unusual in having one leg pulled back behind the other so that her second foot is completely hidden.¹¹

Philoxenos must have fallen in battle since he is represented wearing a helmet and cuirass.¹² He is shaking hands with his wife, Philoumene, both to take leave and to symbolize eternal union.¹³ The scene reminds us of departure scenes, although here the husband and wife seem to be gazing at one another; Philoumene does not lower her head in the gesture of submissive modesty thought appropriate to a well-bred Athenian woman.¹⁴ While this monument belongs to a small group of two-figured reliefs composed of a man and a woman standing facing one another, it is notable for its pictorial formality with strong symmetry and linear repetitions.¹⁵

In terms of iconography and style, two other grave monuments are very close parallels to this stele.¹⁶ The three may have been carved in the same workshop, for the figures on them exhibit similar stances with a sharp bend of the knees and a similar flat, compressed carving style. The monuments fit both stylistically and iconographically with grave reliefs executed just after the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 B.C. A renewed appreciation for family life blossomed in the waning years of that disastrous war with Sparta, and funerary reliefs reflect this.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave stele of Philoxenos.

- 1 There is a vertical stroke between the two names, which Stroud (*SEG* 34.234) suggests might be a punctuation mark. But the mark is not so much engraved as scratched upon the surface of the stone. Clairmont 1993, 2: 84–85, no. 2.121, may well be correct in his suggestion that the stroke may be a centering mark.
- 2 Philoxenos is attested in five other inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. in Athens; once in the *deme* of Diomeia; and once in the tribe Aigeis. In the fourth century B.C. Philoxenos is attested once at Athens, once each in the *demes* of Agryle, Aithalidai, Alopeke, Daidalidai, Eleusis, Halai, Kephisia, Peiraeus, Potamos, Thorikos, and Trinemeia. See Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 458, s.v. Philoxenos. In the fourth century B.C., Philoumene is attested eleven times at Athens, twice in the *deme* of Dekeleia, and once each in the *demes* of Eleusis, Kephale, Kolonos, Kydathenaion, Marathon, and Skambonidai. See Osborne and Byrne 1994, pp. 459–60, s.v. Philoumene.
- 3 See K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin, 1978), pp. 131–48, for a short history of the development of the armored statue type.
- 4 The Attic helmet was developed in the sixth century B.C. as part of a general trend to lighten armor and make a soldier more mobile. See H. Pfulg, *Antike Helme* (Cologne, 1989), pp. 24–25; A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), p. 69.
- 5 The cuirass is of the Ionian type developed 520–470 B.C.: C. C. Vermeule, “Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues,” *Berytus* 13 (1959): 12–13.
- 6 Morrow 1985, pp. 64–68.
- 7 In his corpus, Clairmont lists the monuments that depict warriors according to the various implements of armor they wear. Out of 211 listed, only five others show a warrior with a helmet, cuirass, and shield, like Philoxenos: Clairmont 1993, 6: 169–71, nos. 2.413, 2.415, 2.443, 3.422, and 3.930.
- 8 On the gesture, called *dexiosis*, between a standing man and a woman, see Grossman 1995, pp. 204–5.
- 9 Ridgway 1981, pp. xix, 53.
- 10 Morrow 1985, p. 58.
- 11 I could find only one other grave monument with a comparable stance, in Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 780: Hamiaux 1992, p. 154, no. 148.
- 12 The best-known monument of a warrior on foot is that of Aristonautes in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 738: B. Ridgway, “Aristonautes’ Stele, Athens Nat. Mus. 738,” in *Kotinos: Festschrift für Erika Simon*, ed. H. Froning, R. Hölscher, and H. Mielsch, pp. 270–75 (Mainz, 1992).
- 13 See cat. no. 1, note 7, and *supra*, note 8.
- 14 Departure scenes are well attested on red-figured vases. See vases in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and Syracuse in Reeder 1995, pp. 154–60, nos. 18, 19, and 20. On *aidos* and *sophrosyne* as the proper qualities in a wife, see Reeder 1995, pp. 123–26.
- 15 Grossman 1995, pp. 204–13.
- 16 The first is in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3379: Clairmont 1993, 3: 68, no. 3.171. The second is divided between New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection, and Brauron, Museum BE 6: C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, suppl. vol. (Kilchberg, 1995) p. 67, nos. 3.195 and 3.200.



Cat. no. 4. Grave stele of Philoxenos with his wife, Philoumene. Malibu 83.AA.378.

5. Grave Stele of Moschion with His Dog

About 375 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 61.5 cm
(24¼ in.); Width: 29.5 cm (11⅝ in.); Depth: 6.4 cm (2½ in.)

73-AA.117

CONSERVATION

The stele is complete except for a break at the very bottom. There are chips along the top molding and along the sides at the front. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to a light golden brown. Tooth-chisel marks are preserved on the front at the bottom and on the sides. The top of the stele has a weathered tooth-chisel finish. The original thickness of the stone has been reduced in modern times by cutting out the central part of the back, leaving just an outer border of the original rough-picked surface, which was made by a point chisel.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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A. Oikonomides, "Two Attic Funerary Stelai in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 2 (1975): 54–56; *Frel* 1979a, p. 19, no. 70; B. Petrakos, "Nees ereuves ston Rhamnounta," *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1979: 28–29; *SEG* 30.223; Woysch-Méautis 1982, p. 120, no. 201a; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 206; C. W. Clairmont, "'It ain't necessarily so': Remarks on Some Gravestones with Inscriptions," *Horos* 5 (1987): 45–47, no. 1; *SEG* 37.186; Clairmont 1993, 1: 195, no. 0.877; *idem*, *intro. vol.*, p. 83; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 320, no. 61, s.v. Moschion; Scholl 1996, p. 117 nn. 798–99, p. 118, p. 122 n. 834, p. 182 n. 1231, p. 342, no. 447, pl. 33.2; Bergemann 1997, p. 80 n. 115, p. 145 n. 129; Bodet and Tracy 1997, p. 6.

STELE WITH A FLAT TOP crowned by a molding composed of two elements separated by an incised straight line. The figures are placed in a shallow recessed panel whose upper corners are carved in the outline of antecapitals. These architectural elements—the *antas* topped by capitals—which frame the niche on this stele, would probably originally have been further delineated with painted details.¹ The stele tapers inward from bottom to top. The name and *deme* of the deceased are inscribed on the stele between the molding and the figural panel.

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ

ΠΑΜΝΟ<Υ>ΣΙΟΣ

"Moschion (from) Rhamnous"

The inscription is somewhat unusual in including the name of Moschion's *deme* (*demotic*), but not the name of his father (patronymic).² The name Moschion is attested both at Athens and in many *demes* of Attika.³

Moschion from the *deme* of Rhamnous is depicted as a nude chubby boy who stands facing left. His hair is short and curly. He holds his left arm at his side with the index finger extended. He stretches his right hand, which holds a bird, toward a dog at the left, who balances on his hind legs on a rounded object, possibly a rock. Boys holding birds toward dogs might seem cruel but the gesture, which is seen only on funerary monuments, is perhaps symbolic of the fragility of life.⁴ Folds of a long cloak rest on the boy's left shoulder; most of it falls along his back and ends in a pile on the ground behind him.⁵ The dog is the short, curly-haired type most frequently depicted on ancient funerary monuments. It is a *Canis melitaeus*, or Maltese, a breed mentioned in ancient literary sources and shown in graphic representations. In modern breeds, this type of dog is more like a Spitz than a Maltese.⁶

The gravestone of this boy, who is approximately three to five years old, is easily placed within the tradition of Attic funerary stelai depicting male children.⁷ The type with a nude boy or youth wearing a cloak draped on one shoulder was popular from the end of the fifth to the end of the fourth century B.C.⁸

A monument such as this with its indifferent carving and similarity to a large number of other examples has no distinctive stylistic characteristics of a type useful for dating. It was probably made in a sculptural workshop that specialized in gravestones, and only the inscription giving the name of the deceased would have been specifically commissioned. The relatively low relief and the profile pose, which is replaced by more frontal or three-quarter renderings later in the century, suggest a tentative chronology within the first half of the fourth century B.C.⁹ A gravestone in Paris offers the closest parallel to this monument in terms of style and iconography.¹⁰ Something slightly odd strikes one about this work: a small boy confined in a small space playing but somehow not seeming playful.



Cat. no. 5. Grave stele of Moschion. Malibu 73.AA.117.



Detail of the inscription on the grave stele of Moschion.

- 1 For painting of Classical Attic funerary sculpture, see P. Reuterswård, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 53–58. Monuments such as this example with small recessed figural panels, called *Bildfeldstelen* in German, have been studied as a group by Scholl 1996.
- 2 A. Oikonomides, “Two Attic Funerary Stelai in the J. Paul Getty Museum,” *GettyMusJ* 2 (1975): 53–56, suggested on the basis of letter style and the absence of a patronymic that the inscription was a modern addition, but B. Petrakos, “Nees ereunes ston Rhamnounta,” *Archaïologike Ephemeris*, 1979: 28–29, cites ancient parallels for the omitted patronymic and the disposition of the letters. See *SEG* 30.223 for a summary of the two positions. It should be noted that an examination of the surface of the stone in the area of the inscription under both raking and ultraviolet light does not reveal any irregularities consistent with a later addition.
- 3 Davies 1971, pp. 178–80, no. 4810, and p. 395; Osborne and Byrne 1994, pp. 320–21, s.v. Moschion.
- 4 See Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 45–46. Dogs and birds are common companions of children, cf. H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen* (Mainz, 1984), pp. 142, 743, fig. 80. Clairmont 1993, 1: 195, no. 0.877, suggests that the dog stands on a turtle, but this seems unlikely.
- 5 Clairmont, 1993, 1: 195, states that behind the drapery folds on the ground is a circular object, possibly the wheel of a toy cart. There are two groups of drapery folds, one behind the other, and perhaps Clairmont interpreted one of them as a wheel. For a similar long cloak that ends in a pile of folds on the ground, cf. a stele in Pella, inv. 80.454: Clairmont 1993, 1: 143–45, no. 0.693.
- 6 See Woysch-Méautis 1982, p. 60. A Roman funerary monument in the Getty Museum, acc. no. 71.AA.271, features a dog of the same type: G. Koch, *Roman Funerary Sculpture: Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, 1988), pp. 85–86, no. 30.
- 7 An outline of the antecedents and tradition of the type appears in Vorster 1983, pp. 12–26, 39–42, 48–88, nos. GR 101–29.
- 8 Vorster 1983, pp. 12–13, no. GR 15, cites a stele in Berlin, Staatliche Museen 757 (κ 24), as the first example of the type.
- 9 Vorster 1983, pp. 12–13, 90.
- 10 Musée du Louvre Ma 813: Hamiaux 1992, p. 200, no. 206.

6. Grave Stele of Thrasynos with His Parents, Thrasonides and Archilla

About 375 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 139.1 cm (54¾ in.); Width: 38.7 cm (15¼ in.); Depth: 3.8 cm (1½ in.)

72.AA.120

CONSERVATION

The stele is complete, although composed of two joined fragments. There are chips along the left lower edge, the sides, and the top. The back has been cut down in modern times. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface of the marble is very weathered and granular. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to a light brown. The underside appears to be the original surface of rough point-chisel work; there are tooth-chisel marks on the lower edge of the front in the region that would have been placed into a base for display in the cemetery.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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STELE WITH A FLORAL ANTHEMION carved in low relief and a shallow figural panel, whose upper corners are carved with the outline of antecapitals. Anthemia are the crowning elements on grave stelai, carved in the form of luxurious vegetation. This floral finial might be carved in shallow relief, or it may be more plastically rendered, approaching a three-dimensional form. All anthemia are variations on the theme of a palmette that rises out of a centrally placed bunch of acanthus leaves. Other elements, such as flowers, buds, vines, volutes, birds, and sirens might be incorporated into the basic palmette-and-acanthus-leaf design.

The antas topped by capitals that frame the niche on this stele would probably originally have been further delineated with painted details.¹ The top is curved with corner akroteria. The relief design of the anthemion consists of a central palmette of eight fronds rising from a leafy acanthus base with half-palmettes at either side. Two large lotus buds fill the spaces between the half-palmettes and the central palmette.² The anthemion is separated from the body of the stele by a molding composed of two elements, a *tainia* and a flat ovolo, which are separated by an incised groove. Three names are inscribed on the stele just below the molding:³

ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΟ ΘΡΑΣΥΝΟΣ

ΑΡΧΙΛΛΑ

“Thrasynos, (son) of Thrasonides
(and) Archilla”

The name Archilla is attested in a few instances at Athens; Thrasonides at both Athens and in *demes* of Attika; Thrasynos is not otherwise known.⁴

The figural panel takes up more than one-half the height of the stele and contains three figures. At the left, a woman, Archilla, sits on an unpadded stool and rests her feet on a low footstool.⁵ She wears a dress with a cloak that covers her shoulders. Her hair is brushed back from her face and fastened at the nape in a large bun. Her left hand is enveloped in her cloak; her right is extended to shake hands with a standing bearded man facing her, presumably her son Thrasynos.⁶ He wears a cloak that covers both shoulders, but his chest is bare. There is a large fold of the cloak at his waist. His hair is short; his feet are formless, probably clad in soft shoes or boots.⁷

Behind Archilla stands a second man, her husband Thrasonides, whose beard is longer than his son's. His legs, feet, and the hem of his garment are visible beneath the stool. His right hand is raised toward Thrasynos, possibly in a gesture of speaking.⁸ He appears to wear a long, loose tunic typical of images of priests.⁹ This figure apparently underwent modification in antiquity for a secondary use. The figure originally wore a cloak as evidenced by the rising hemline of such a garment, which is visible beneath Archilla's stool. That hemline is not consistent with the long tunic that now covers his upper body. Despite Clairmont's contention that this figure wears a cloak over both shoulders, the short sleeve and the continuous neckline of a priestly tunic are clearly seen, especially under raking light.¹⁰ He holds a knife in his left hand.¹¹ While the carving of this knife and left



Detail of the inscription on the grave stele of Thrasynos.

arm appears to be ancient, it was probably done at a time later than the original production of the monument. The knife is not carved as much as lightly incised on the surface over the folds of Thrasynos's cloak.

The date of the stele is confirmed by the tall, narrow form and the design of the anthemion.¹² While the stele may have been carved in the same workshop as the monument of Simos in

Athens, it is difficult to support an attribution to a single artist, as Thickpenny proposes, for sculpture of this type.¹³ This modest gravestone for Thrasynos is interesting in showing a son who is older with his parents rather than with a wife and children. Particularly noteworthy is the reworking of the father to identify him as a priest.

1 For painting of Classical Attic funerary sculpture, see P. Reuterswård, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 53–58.
 2 Cf. the stele of Chairestrate in Piraeus, Museum 236; H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Munich, 1968), p. 30, pl. 16a.
 3 The inscription is unusual in giving the father's name in the genitive case before that of the son (the deceased), in the nominative. The names, however, were written above each figure in order to make the identification and relationship explicit.
 4 Archilla: Davies 1971, pp. 73, 573; and Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 71. Thrasynides: Osborne and Byrne 1994, pp. 229–30.
 5 The stool is a type 2 *diphros*, whose legs consist of two superimposed concave members of nearly equal height, resting on a low base. See Richter 1966, pp. 40–41. The footstool is a schematized type 2 with curved legs that often ended in lion's paws. See Richter 1966, pp. 50–51.
 6 On *dexiosis* between women and men, see Stears 1995, p. 126.

7 Morrow 1985, pp. 87–88.
 8 Neumann 1965, pp. 10–11.
 9 On priestly attire, see A. Mantes, *Problemata tes eikonographias ton hierieion kai ton hiereon sten archaia Hellenike techne* (Athens, 1990), pp. 82–89.
 10 See Clairmont 1993, 3: 133. These details appear quite similar to those on both the tunic worn by the priest on the funerary base from Kallithea (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4502) and on the stele of Simos in Athens. For the Kallithea base, see A. Kosmopoulou, "A Funerary Base from Kallithea: New Light on Fifth-century Eschatology," *American Journal of Archaeology* 102 (1998): 531–45, fig. 3. For the stele of Simos, see Thickpenny 1985, fig. 2.
 11 Cf. the priest holding a sacrificial knife on the funerary base from Kallithea, *supra*, note 10.
 12 The proposed secondary use for this stone helps reconcile the discrepancy between the date of the sculpture, which is earlier, and the style of the inscription, dated about 360 B.C. Bodel and Tracy, p. 7.
 13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 772: Thickpenny 1985, p. 5.



Cat. no. 6. Grave stele of Thrasynos. Malibu 72.AA.120.

7. Grave Stele of Mynnia with Her Mother, Euphrosyne, and Her Sister, Artemisias

About 370 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 97.8 cm (38½ in.); Width: 43.8 cm (17¼ in.); Depth: 5.1 cm (2 in.)

71.AA.121

CONSERVATION

Reconstructed from three fragments with a fill affixing the small left fragment. The broken-off top was probably a rounded pediment. The bottom is broken off, and there is a large chip at the left lower front. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface has weathered to a golden brown color. There are rasp marks on the lower part of the front surface. The sides retain marks of the original tooth-chisel finish. The back has been cut down with a circular saw in modern times.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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Bergemann 1997, p. 37 nn. 20 and 22, p. 53 n. 195, p. 65 n. 323, p. 88 n. 202, p. 93 n. 250, p. 215, no. 106, and p. 219, no. 191; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 6.

STELE PROBABLY ORIGINALLY WITH A slightly rounded pediment painted with a floral design similar to that on a stele once in Laurion.¹ Beneath this crowning element is a broad inscribed architrave and a shallow figural panel framed by antas. The inscription reads:

ΕΝΘΑ[ΔΕ] ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΜΥΝΝΙΑ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΠΟΘΕΙΝΗ
ΕΥΦ[Ρ]ΟΣΥΝΗ: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑΣ ΜΥΝΝΙΑ ΕΥΤΕΛΟ
"Here lies Mynnia to the sorrow of her mother,
Euphrosyne. Artemisias, Mynnia (daughters) of Euteles"

Euphrosyne sits at the left on a stool with a very thin cushion,² her bare feet resting on a footstool.³ She wears a dress with a cloak pulled up over her bowed head. She grasps the edge of the cloak at shoulder height with the fingers of her left hand, a gesture connected with brides and married women.⁴ Her right hand is extended to shake the hand of a young woman, Mynnia, standing before her.⁵

Mynnia bears her weight on her right leg; the left is pulled back slightly, with just the toes resting on the ground. Her feet are bare. She wears a dress with a cloak that nearly envelops her. Her left hand is wrapped in the folds of her cloak in a motif called the "hanging sleeve." This is a recurring motif seen on girls, boys, and young women placed on the right side of a composition. These figures are wrapped so completely in a large cloak that it hangs over the left side of the body, covering the left arm and forming a "hanging sleeve."⁶ Mynnia's long curly hair is brushed back from her face into a roll fastened at the nape of her neck and becomes a braid that extends down her back. Part of the ritual of bridal preparation was fastening the hair with ribbons and covering it with a veil, which symbolized the approaching change of status from the freedom of childhood to the possibly restrictive responsibilities and duties of marriage.⁷ In many places, girls would cut their hair prior to marriage and dedicate it to a deity.⁸ Mynnia's developed breasts indicate that she is of marriageable age, but her long braid shows that she is still a maiden and must have died, therefore, unmarried.

Between the two women kneels a small girl, Artemisias, who stretches out her right arm toward Euphrosyne, most likely her mother. The girl wears a short-sleeved dress with shoulder cords, which are fastened to the center of a belt tied under her breasts. The cords secured to the belt help keep the dress in place. Dresses with shoulder cords were worn by young girls because they are more physically active than older girls.⁹ Artemisia's hair is brushed back from her face into a roll bound with a fillet. The younger sister of Mynnia may be reaching up to comfort her grieving mother. Both by its inscription and by its iconography the monument emphasizes the pathos and sorrow a parent experiences at the loss of a child.¹⁰

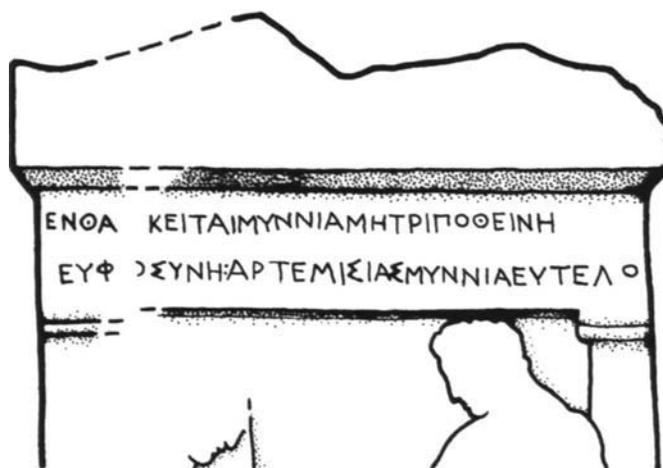


Cat. no. 7. Grave stele of Mynnia. Malibu 71.AA.121.

Originally the second line of the inscription listed only Euphrosyne and Mynnia; the name Artemisia and the father's name (patronymic), *Eutelo* (of Euteles), were added after the relief was completed. Because Mynnia is placed just above the head of the standing woman on the right, Euphrosyne denotes the seated woman at the left, who is the mother. Thus the later addition—Artemisia—refers to the younger girl kneeling at her mother's knee. Euteles was the husband of Euphrosyne and the father of the two girls. Perhaps Artemisia died after the relief was carved, but before marriage, and her name was added so that the stele could honor both daughters. The names Artemisia, Euteles, and Euphrosyne are attested in other inscriptions from Athens and *demes* of Attika. Mynnia is attested on one other inscription from Athens and may possibly be restored on a second one, both of the fourth century B.C.¹¹

The domestic nature of the scene may be compared to that on a *lekythos* in the Athenian Agora.¹² A fragment of a stele in London bears the head of a young woman very similar in style to that of Mynnia.¹³ The date of the stele is suggested by the style of the drapery. Characteristic of the first decades of the fourth century is the mass of fabric folds in Euphrosyne's lap, accentuated by deep grooves. The drapery becomes decorative, hanging like a curtain over the body, rather than accentuating the form of the body. The deep V-shaped folds at the neckline of both Mynnia's and Euphrosyne's dresses are also characteristic of the period.

This stele is unique in its capacity to transcend its genre while conforming to all the canons of its time. It still manages to touch us with its tragic particularity. The angles, the countenances, the resignation, even the thinness of the mother's cushion are evocative of dynamic human reality, beyond static depiction.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave stele of Mynnia.

- 1 Once in the French Mining Company, now lost: Clairmont 1993, 2: 560–61, no. 2.440a. A relief in Munich, Glyptothek 483, still has visible remains of its painted anthemion: Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, pp. 85–98, no. 15, pls. 32–35.
- 2 The stool is a type 2 *diphros*, whose legs consist of two superimposed concave members of nearly equal height resting on a low base. See Richter 1966, pp. 40–41.
- 3 The footstool is the simplest of the types, a type 3, of boxlike construction, this one with curved sides. See Richter 1966, p. 51.
- 4 On the gesture, which may be a reference to the ritual unveiling of the bride at weddings (*anakalypteria*), see Stears 1995, pp. 119–20.
- 5 On the gesture, called *dexiosis*, see cat. no. 1, note 7.
- 6 Benson 1996, pp. 124–27.
- 7 See Reeder 1995, pp. 126–28.
- 8 See W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 63 n. 20.
- 9 See Vorster 1983, p. 17.
- 10 M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore and London, 1990), pp. 82–95, explores the feelings of Athenian parents at the death of their children.
- 11 See Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 6, s.v. Artemisia, p. 184, s.v. Euteles, p. 189, s.v. Euphrosyne, and p. 322, s.v. Mynnia.
- 12 Agora 1 7031: Grossman 1995, pp. 239–42, no. 99.
- 13 The stele of Klearete, London, British Museum 1910.4-14.1: Clairmont 1993, 1: 314–15, no. 1.326.

8. *Grave Naiskos of a Young Woman Holding a Doll*

About 360 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 72.5 cm (28½ in.); Width: 36 cm (14¼ in.); Depth: 12.5 cm (4⅞ in.)

82.AA.135

CONSERVATION

The naiskos is broken at the top and bottom. The head and neck of the woman are broken and reattached. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has changed the stone to a golden color. The back of the stone is roughly picked with a point chisel; the sides are finished with the tooth chisel, and there are marks of a flat chisel on the background. There are rasp marks on the cloak and dress of the young woman and on the body of the goose. The face and hands of the woman are smoothly finished.

PROVENANCE

Gift of Vasek Polak, Hermosa Beach, California.

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Clairmont 1993, 1: 308–9, no. 1.311; Bergemann 1997, p. 86 n. 179, p. 99 n. 22, p. 171, no. 509, pl. 63.2.

FIGURAL SCENE IN A SHALLOW NAISKOS framed by antas. A young woman stands facing left. In front of her, with its body overlapping the left anta, stands a long-necked bird with a small incised triangular eye, probably a goose.¹ The young woman's head is bent to look at an armless and legless doll she holds before her with both hands. Truncated figures like this are probably not "dolls" in the sense of a toy but represent votive figures, which would have been offered to a divinity. A small group of grave monuments depict girls and young women holding fully formed female

figurines with truncated arms and legs.² The young woman's face is incompletely carved with only the left side finished in detail. Her long, full, curly hair is fastened at the neck and falls to the middle of her back. It is the loose hairstyle of an unmarried woman. Her developed breasts show, however, that she was of marriageable age when she died. She wears a dress with a cloak wrapped over her left shoulder and breast. Three buttons of the right sleeve of the dress are detailed.

The carving and style of the monument are very close to those of the stele of Aristomache in Edinburgh.³ A date in the first decades of the fourth century is indicated by the depth of the carving, which is accentuated by the low relief of the folds of the cloak. Another feature distinctive of this date is the way the drapery responds to differing stresses and tensions; for example, the folds that frame the outside of the girl's left upper leg and the inner lower leg. Contrasting with drapery portrayed in an earlier period is the greater thickness of the fabric here; the body is less revealed.

A sweet and pious image of the deceased young woman is depicted here. Her piety is emphasized by the votive figure she holds. Her sweetness is seen in her expression and the modest bowing of her head.

- 1 Clairmont 1993, 1: 308–9, no. 1.311, identifies the bird as a heron, but a comparison with gravestones depicting geese reveals that it is more likely the latter. See Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 47–48, but esp. p. 218, no. 218, pl. 31 (Piraeus, Museum 1703). Cf. also the goose on a stele in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2775: Clairmont 1993, 1: 206, no. 0.918.
- 2 See J. Reilly, "Naked and Limbless: Learning about the Feminine Body in Ancient Athens," *American Journal of Archaeology* 99 (1995): 304.
- 3 Edinburgh, National Gallery 686: Clairmont 1993, 1: 341, no. 1.367 (wrongly said to be located in the Royal Museum of Scotland, from a previous time when it was on loan there). Also similar are stones in Munich (Glyptothek 199) and Piraeus (Museum 1703): Clairmont 1993, 1: 188–89 and 277, nos. 0.869a and 1.247, respectively.



Cat. no. 8. Grave naiskos of a young woman. Malibu 82.AA.135.

9. *Grave Naiskos of Theogenis with Her Mother, Nikomache, and Her Brother, Nikodemos*

About 360 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 110 cm (43¼ in.); Width: 92.5 cm (36¾ in.); Depth: 19 cm (7½ in.)

78.AA.58

CONSERVATION

Reconstructed from three joining fragments, the naiskos is broken off irregularly at the bottom. There are chips and abrasions over the surface. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The original tooth-chisel finish is preserved on the sides. The back retains some of its original rough-picked surface made by the point chisel, but it has mostly been cut down in modern times. When Adolf Michaelis saw the stele in the nineteenth century, there were still remains of a painted kymation design on the cornice separating the architrave and pediment.¹

PROVENANCE

From the village of Grammatikon in northeast Attika; formerly in the collection of Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, Broomhall, Dunfermline, Scotland.

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A. Michaelis, "Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," *JHS* 5 (1884): 143–61, esp. 150–51, no. 11; A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1893–1922), 1: 83, no. 356, pl. 88; A. H. Smith, "Lord Elgin and His Collection," *JHS* 36 (1916): 286 n. 228, p. 293, no. 23; J. Paul Getty and E. LeVane, *Collector's Choice* (London, 1955), p. 201; Vermeule 1955, p. 132; Getty et al. 1965, pp. 56–57, 68; Stothart 1965, p. 25 (as 1-73); J. Frel, *Les Sculpteurs attiques anonymes, 430–300 B.C.* (Prague, 1969), p. 39, no. 272; C. Houser, "Is It from the Parthenon?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 76 (1972): 131 n. 35; *IG II²* 11630; Frel 1979a, pp. 20–21, no. 78; Frel 1979b, p. 43, no. 78; *SEG* 33.225; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 207; Pfisterer-Haas 1990, pp. 184–85; Clairmont 1993, 3: 169, 3.343; J. Bergemann, "Die bürgerliche Identität der Athener im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs," in *Griechische Klassik: Vorträge bei der interdisziplinären Tagung des Deutschen Archäologenverbandes und der Mommsengesellschaft vom 24.–27. Oktober 1991 in Blaubeuren*, ed. E. Pöhlmann and W. Gauer, pp. 283–93 (Nuremberg, 1994), esp. pp. 284–85; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 213, no. 2, s.v. Theogenis, p. 335, no. 62, s.v. Nikodemos, p. 337, no. 15, s.v. Nikomache, and p. 374, no. 3, s.v. Polyillos; Bergemann 1997, p. 36 nn. 15 and 17, p. 38 n. 30, p. 50 n. 160, p. 88 n. 201, p. 100 n. 35, p. 106 n. 121, p. 107 n. 130, p. 171, no. 508, p. 215, no. 113, p. 219, no. 207, pls. 53.3–4, 85.3, and 110.2–4; Bodet and Tracy 1997, p. 7.

NAISKOS WITH A TRIANGULAR PEDIMENT supported by an architrave and antas. The pediment is adorned with one central and two side akroteria. Three names are inscribed on the architrave:

ΘΕΟΓΕΝΙΣ ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΛΛΟ

"Theogenis Nikodemos (son) of Polyillos"

and one on the geison above:

ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΗ

"Nikomache"

All four names are attested in other inscriptions from Athens and some of the *demes* of Attika, Nikodemos being the most common.² Polyillos, the father of Nikodemos, is possibly identical with Polyillos from Paiania, whose statue was erected on the Acropolis by his brother. Like this gravestone, the inscribed base of the statue of Polyillos once belonged to Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine. It is now in London.³

At the right of the composition, an older woman, Nikomache, with a cap of thick, short hair, sits on what must have been a stool since no chairback is evident behind her.⁴ She wears a dress with a cloak draped over both shoulders. The figure is thick and solid looking, which befits a mature woman.⁵ Her face is round with narrow, thick-lidded eyes and a mouth shaped like a cupid's bow. Her left hand rests in her lap, while her right is extended slightly to shake the hand of a woman standing at the left of the composition.⁶

The second woman, Theogenis, wears a dress with a cloak draped over her shoulders. The fingers of her left hand grasp the edge of her cloak at chest height. Her hair is brushed back from her face into a roll fastened loosely at the back. Between Theogenis and Nikomache and carved in shallower relief stands a man with a short, sparse beard: Nikodemos. He wears a cloak draped over his left shoulder, which leaves his chest bare. His right arm crosses his chest to grasp the edge of the cloak at chest height. The fingers of his left hand hold the outer edge of the cloak at shoulder height. A rounded object that appears to be suspended from his left wrist is probably an aryballos.⁷ Since his thick hair is short and curly, and his beard is carved so that it looks like new growth, he is probably a younger man.⁸ An association with exercise and the palaistra—implied by the aryballos he carries—is likewise the mark of a younger man.

The style of the drapery, but especially the form of the hands with their evenly spaced, straight fingers, is comparable to features on monuments in Paris and Leiden.⁹ Drapery in this period envelops the body opaquely with a uniform texture that suggests the reality of the fabric.¹⁰ The date is confirmed by the style of Nikodemos's head with its pronounced brow and broad, flat cheeks and the letter forms of the inscription on the epistyle.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave naiskos of Theogenis.

This is a family monument of above-average quality that would most likely have been part of a family burial plot (*peribolos*). The monument shows signs of reuse both in the inscription and in the carving. The name Nikomache was carved by a hand different from the one that carved the other three names, and its placement on the geison of the pediment points to a later addition. The left hands of Theogenis and Nikodemos are carved in an unusual manner, and their placement is unique, as is that of the aryballos. In addition, the face of Nikomache is wide and

appears unfinished in the area that attaches to the background of the naiskos. These unusual details in the carving are probably due to a recarving of the figures on the stone.¹¹ As we see the monument now, it commemorates the death of Theogenis, the daughter of Nikomache and, presumably, Polylllos, and the sister of Nikodemos. The somewhat static quality of the work dampens its expressiveness but, on the other hand, highlights the complexity and sophistication of its design.

1 A. Michaelis, "Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," *JHS* 5 (1884): 143–61, esp. p. 151. All traces of paint have since disappeared; nothing is evident even under ultraviolet light.
 2 For Nikodemos, see Davies 1971, pp. 217–18, no. 6669, vi, pp. 407–8, no. 10814, p. 409, pp. 410–11, no. 11019; and Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 335. On the other three names, see Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 213, s.v. Theogenis, p. 337, s.v. Nikomache, and p. 374, s.v. Polylllos.
 3 British Museum: *IG II²* 3838; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 374, no. 2, s.v. Polylllos.
 4 See Richter 1966, pp. 33–37, on chairs with backs; pp. 38–43 on stools without backs.
 5 See Pfisterer-Haas 1990, p. 185 n. 31, who designates Nikomache as old by the cloak drawn up on the back of her neck and by her hairstyle of short locks.
 6 On the gesture, called *dexiosis*, see cat. no. 1, note 7.
 7 Clairmont 1993, 6: 76, lists eighteen monuments with either a young man or a man holding an aryballos, although none of these figures holds the vessel in the same manner as Nikodemos. But the shape of the object on the Getty stone is entirely consistent with that of an aryballos. Cf. the aryballos on the monument of Euagoras in Geneva, the Ortiz collection: Clairmont 1993, 2: 108, no. 2.159.

8 Men with short hair and light beards are seen on several monuments of the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. Cf. a head in the Athenian Agora, s 118: Grossman 1995, pp. 180–82, no. 78.
 9 Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 767: Hamiaux 1992, p. 166, no. 162; Leiden, Rijksmuseum 1878: AU: Clairmont 1993, 2: 589–90, no. 2.461.
 10 Cf. the Eirene of Kephisodotos, which has a secure date because of its appearance on Panathenaic amphorai dated to the archon year 360/359: A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 173–74.
 11 Thanks are due Bernhard Schmaltz for pointing out that a thick strip of uncarved marble between a figure and the background is indicative of recarving and, therefore, reuse: B. Schmaltz, "Re-using Classical Gravereliefs," paper given at a colloquium in honor of C. W. Clairmont, *Les Pierres de l'Offrande*, 9–11 December 1998, Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand. The proceedings of the colloquium are forthcoming. On the adaptive reuse of a group of gravestones from Thespiai in Boeotia, see E. B. Harrison, "Repair, Reuse, and Reworking of Ancient Greek Sculpture," in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the Departments of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation and Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum April 28–30, 1988*, ed. M. True and J. Podany, pp. 163–84, esp. 173–74 (Malibu, 1990).



Cat. no. 9. Grave naiskos of Theogenis. Malibu 78.AA.58.

10. *Fragment of the Grave Naiskos of Polystrate with Her Husband, Opsiades, and Her Daughter*

About 360 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 36.8 cm (14½ in.); Width: 52.1 cm (20½ in.); Depth: 14.6 cm (5¾ in.)

73.AA.116

CONSERVATION

The naiskos is broken at the right and below. There is a large chip missing from the left akroterion. The back and top have been cut down in modern times. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to golden brown.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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A. Oikonomides, "Two Attic Funerary Stelai in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 2 (1975): 53–54; *SEG* 26.296; A. Oikonomides, "Aristoteles, the Son of Opsiades and Polystrate," *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977): 41–42; Frel 1979a, p. 18, no. 69; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 206; C. W. Clairmont, "It ain't necessarily so': Remarks on Some Gravestones with Inscriptions," *Horos* 5 (1987): 47, no. 2; *SEG* 37.192; Clairmont 1993, 3: 305–6, no. 3.405; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 355, no. 6, s.v. Opsiades, and p. 375, no. 2, s.v. Polystrate; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 504; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 7.

UPPER LEFT PART OF A NAIKOS with a triangular pediment supported by an architrave and anta with an elaborated capital. The remnant of a corner akroterion remains. The architrave is inscribed:

ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑ[---]
"Polystra[te]"

and the geison above:

[Ο]ΨΙΑΔΗΣ ΟΨΙΑΔΟΥ ΕΞ ΟΙΟΥ
"Opsiades (son) of Opsiades from Oion"

Only the heads of two standing figures remain. At the left, facing right, is the head of an older bearded male figure, Opsiades. His face is narrow and craggy with a furrowed brow marked by a horizontal crease. There are lines at the corner of his right eye, and his cheek sags.¹ His hair is short and combed forward in slightly wavy locks, but his beard and mustache are long.² The details of Opsiades' physiognomy and his hairstyle of short hair combed forward are comparable to the depiction on gravestones of a type of elderly man that was influenced by a mid-fourth-century-B.C. portrait of Plato by Silanion.³

At the right of the fragment is the head of a female figure with her face slightly turned to the right. Her hair is brushed back from her face into a roll about her head. The shape of her forehead is slightly triangular, and her eyes are narrow and almond-shaped, features seen on monuments around the middle of the fourth century B.C.

The heads of both figures are bowed in a position suggesting that they are looking down at a third figure, now missing, who was probably seated.⁴ By extending the line of the existing part of the pediment to the right, the size of the original monument can be approximated; it would have accommodated a three-figured relief. Most three-figured reliefs with a standing male and female figure looking down have them looking at a seated woman.⁵ Since Opsiades is shown as an older man, the seated woman was undoubtedly his wife, for comparable scenes of a man and woman in these positions are almost always of a husband and wife. The missing figure, therefore, is probably Polystrate, the woman named in the inscription on the architrave and the wife of Opsiades. The young woman who stood between the husband and wife is probably their daughter.⁶

The family to which Opsiades and Polystrate belonged may have been connected with Attic silver mining.⁷ Even though just a fragment survives of this funerary monument, the individualistic rendering of the faces and the size of the naiskos point to its original high quality and attendant expense.



Cat. no. 10. Grave naiskos of Polystrate. Malibu 73.AA.116.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave naiskos of Polystrate.

- 1 On conventions of depicting standing old men, see Meyer 1989, pp. 48, 60–66.
- 2 Cf. the hair and beard on the head of Kalliades on a monument in Berkeley, Lowie Museum of Anthropology 8/4985; J. Nickel, in *Poseidon's Realm: Ancient Greek Art from the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley* (Sacramento, 1982), p. 89, no. 76. This seems to be a less common way of showing older men; more common is either long hair swept back from the forehead and long beard or a receding hairline with hair either long or short and a long beard. See Bergemann 1997, pp. 102–5.
- 3 Proposed by Moltesen 1995, p. 97. For the portrait of Plato, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, abr. and rev. R. R. R. Smith (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), pp. 181–86.
- 4 Cf. the composition on a stele in Gotha, Schloßmuseum A Rel 1: Clairmont 1993, 3: 316–17, no. 3.410b.
- 5 E.g., stelai in Lyme Park, Stockport, Cheshire; Trieste, Museo Archeologico e Lapidario 2211; Piraeus, Museum 1360; Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 1984.12: Clairmont 1993, 3: 229, no. 3.369c, p. 264, no. 3.383c, pp. 274–75, no. 3.387, and pp. 304–5, no. 3.404a, respectively.
- 6 See SEG 37.192, where various interpretations of the inscription with relevant bibliography are summarized. One factor that should be considered, however, is that the architrave bears signs of rasure: under raking light, the surface of the marble appears to have been removed with a flat chisel. The architrave is also unusual in having a recessed area with the molding above. The border of the recessed area is slightly irregular, adding to the suggestion of rasure.
- 7 The family tree is outlined in A. N. Oikonomides, “Aristoteles, the Son of Opsides and Polystrate,” *GettyMusJ* 5 (1977): 42. The names Opsides and Polystrate are otherwise attested in Attika and at Athens: Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 355, s.v. Opsides, and p. 375, s.v. Polystrate.

11. *Fragment of a Grave Stele with
a Standing Man and a Standing
Woman*

About 350 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with grayish streaks; Height: 19.5 cm (7⁵/₈ in.); Width: 36.5 cm (14³/₈ in.); Depth: 12.3 cm (4⁷/₈ in.)

73.AA.133

CONSERVATION

The uppermost part of the right portion of a stele is preserved. There are marks of tooth-chisel finish on the right side and top

and of a point chisel on the rough surface of the back. There are chips on both faces, but especially in the center of the woman's. The marble has weathered to a yellowish patina.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Breslin, "A Fourth-Century Funerary Stele in the J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 1 (1974): 25–26; Frel 1974, no. 8; W. Peek, "Zu griechischen Epigrammen," *ZPE* 31 (1978): 261–62; *SEG* 28.440; Frel 1979a, p. 17, no. 66; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 206; Clairmont 1993, 3: 265, no. 3.384; Osborne and Byrne 1993, p. 5, s.v. Agakleidas; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 506; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 9.



Cat. no. 11. Fragment of a grave stele with a standing man and a standing woman. Malibu 73.AA.133.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave stele Malibu 73.AA.133.

RIGHT UPPER CORNER OF A STELE with a flat top with a row of antefixes, of which three remain. A two-line inscription is carved on the architrave:

[.....]ΑΙΕ ΑΓΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ ΜΝΗΜΑΤΙ ΣΟΣ ΠΑΙ[Σ]
 [.....]ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΑΝ <Δ>Ι ΑΙΝΕΤΑΝ ΑΥΤ[ΟΥ]
 “Agakleidas, your son, at the monument weeps
 for his mother(?) . . . and his lamented sister”

The name Agakleidas is not otherwise attested at Athens or in the *demes* of Attika.¹

At the right of the fragment is the head of a bearded man that almost touches the underside of the architrave, indicating a standing figure. He is in a left profile pose and looks downward toward a now-missing figure or possibly two figures. His hair is medium length and curly, and he has a long, full beard. A pronounced crease marks the center of his forehead, and the naso-labial folds are furrowed—signs of advanced age.² His eyes are narrow with thick upper lids and slightly rounded eyeballs. His left ear is well defined with a thick-edged pinna.

At the left, carved in low relief in what originally would have been near the center of the composition, is the nearly frontal

head of an older woman with short, curly hair. Her face is round with a hairline that peaks slightly in the center, a characteristic of figures carved around the middle of the fourth century B.C. Her eyes are narrow with thick lids; her lips are full. Her sagging right cheek with a pronounced naso-labial fold and her short hair are indications of her advanced age.³ She resembles a figure on a larger, more impressive, and slightly later monument in Athens.⁴

It is difficult to restore the composition of the scene and reconcile it with the inscription. Since the man and woman on the Getty fragment are older, they are most likely the parents of a missing daughter and possibly also a son, who were placed at the left of the monument. This compositional scheme is rare, but one can probably make the same interpretation of a three-figured monument in Brussels.⁵ The other possibility is that the mother was seated and shaking hands with her husband, and that the background figure is an older relative or possibly the sister mentioned in the inscription. The son and daughter would then not have been shown. This is also a rare but not unknown scheme in the iconography of family relationships.⁶ Because of the depth of the relief and the naturalistic rendering of the faces of the man and woman, this fragment is dated in the middle of the fourth century.

1 Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 5, s.v. Agakleidas.

2 On conventions of depicting advanced age in male figures, see Meyer 1989, pp. 49, 60–66.

3 Bergemann 1997, pp. 99–100, discusses this type of representation. It also looks as if the Getty figure may have had a double chin, a further indication of advanced age.

4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 966: Clairmont 1993, 1: 368, no. 1.430.

5 Brussels, Musées Royaux du Cinquentaenaire: Clairmont 1993, 3: 236, no. 3.372. The inscription makes clear the relationship of the seated woman as the daughter of the older man with whom she shakes hands. The third figure in the background is most likely the mother. This is also the possible interpretation of the figures on a stone in Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 1984.12: Clair-

mont 1993, 3: 304–5, no. 3.404a; in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1953: Clairmont 1993, 3: 367–68, no. 3.439a; and in Piraeus, Museum 221 + 1190: Clairmont 1993, 3: 385–86, no. 3.454.

6 Cf. a stele in Rome, Museo Barracco 147: Clairmont 1993, 3: 281, no. 3.389b. Unfortunately this monument is also only a fragment, with just an elderly man and woman shown. But the missing seated figure is named as a woman, and the man is clearly shaking hands with her, so she would most likely have been his wife, leaving the older woman in the background as a relative, even possibly the mother of the seated woman, as Vierendeis-Schlörb 1988, p. 41 n. 4, suggests. This is also the possible interpretation of a stele in Honolulu, Academy of Arts 3605: Clairmont 1993, 3: 294, no. 3.396.

12. *Fragment of a Grave Naiskos with
the Head of a Female Attendant*

About 350 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 21.5 cm (8½ in.);
Width: 17.2 cm (6¾ in.); Depth: 9.7 cm (3⅞ in.)

73.AA.119

CONSERVATION

The fragment is broken at the top, bottom, and right. The

head is broken off through the neck, and the tip of the nose is chipped. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The back has a rough finish consistent with point-chisel work. There are marks of the tooth chisel on the side of the anta. The back has a brown weathering incrustation, but the front of the fragment is smooth and shiny, indicating that it has been subjected to an acid cleaning at some point.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1979a, p. 18, no. 68.



Cat. no. 12. Fragment of a grave naiskos. Malibu 73.AA.119.

FRAGMENT OF THE LEFT PART of a naiskos with an anta and the head of a female figure. The woman is placed in the corner of the naiskos in right profile. She was the far left figure in an originally multfigured composition. The woman's face is narrow with a forehead that slopes sharply at the sides. The right side of the face is fully carved, the left only schematically. Her right eye is deep-set and narrow with a thick upper eyelid. The eyebrow is rendered as a sharp ridge in the forehead, and the skin beneath the brow recedes at a sharp angle with almost no suggestion of fleshiness. Her nose is straight, fairly large, and angled sharply from bridge to sides. She has a small, bow-shaped mouth. The edges of her dress and cloak are seen at the back of her neck. Her hair is drawn back from her face under a head covering (*sakkos*), which is tied by a cord brought forward from her nape over her ear and behind the roll across her forehead. The edge of the *sakkos* can be seen along the hairline. A depression delineates the contour of the roll of hair that lies across her forehead under the fabric. Her right ear is uncovered and there is a ringlet of hair in front of it, although in very low relief.¹ A small bit of the background of the naiskos remains at the top of her head.

A *sakkos* such as this figure wears covered the hair of women who were attendant figures in multfigured scenes; they were probably household slaves.² This head would have joined a body similar to that of the standing attendant on a naiskos in Athens of a similar date.³ We can reconstruct the original figure here as a servant standing beside her mistress, probably holding some article of adornment, such as jewelry or the chest in which it was stored.

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- 1 The low relief is probably due to a combination of weathering and the subsequent acid cleaning that this head received in modern times. For a similar feature on a servant, cf. the head of the attendant on a gravestone in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3716: Clairmont 1993, 3: 120–21, no. 3.284. A better photograph of the head is found in J. Bergemann, "Fundort Unbekannt? Ein ungewöhnlicher Kopf von einem attischen Grabnaiskos in New York und seine Herkunft aus der attischen mesogeia," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1997: pp. 377–88, esp. p. 383, fig. 12.
 - 2 On the dress of female slaves, see Reilly 1989, pp. 416–17. On slaves, see Y. Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, rev. edn. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); J.-F. Girardot, "Cherchez l'esclave! ou: Quelques réflexions sur les documents figurés de l'archaïsme et du classicisme Grecs," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 15.2 (1989): 399–433.
 - 3 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 732: Clairmont 1993, 2: 544–45, no. 2.431.

13. *Head of a Female Attendant from a Grave Naiskos*

About 350 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 21.6 cm (8½ in.); Width: 17 cm (6¾ in.); Depth: 10.5 cm (4⅞ in.)

57.AA.14

CONSERVATION

The fragment is broken all around. Most of the right cheek has been broken away, and another break removed the jaw and lower part of the head on that side back to the relief ground. The tip of the nose is chipped. The marble has been tested as Pentelic.¹ The stone has a yellowish patina and a slick and shiny surface suggesting that it has been cleaned with acid. There are marks of the rasp on top of the head. A suggestion that the stone in front of the left ear has been recut is not borne out by close examination.² The surface of the stone in that area is characteristic of the less-worked side of a relief figure.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sotheby's, London, sale, July 5–6, 1938, lot no. 190; *Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art* 1.1 (1957): 8–9; Getty et al. 1965, pp. 61, 68; Stothart 1965, p. 15 (as A 57.S-11); Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, pp. 8–9, no. 12; Frel 1979a, p. 19, no. 74; Bergemann 1997, p. 179, no. 844; J. Bergemann, "Fundort unbekannt? Ein ungewöhnlicher Kopf von einem attischen Grabnaiskos in New York und seine Herkunft aus der attischen mesogeia," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1997: 377–88, esp. p. 381, fig. 7.

HEAD OF A WOMAN broken from a naiskos. The right side of the head and face is carved to a greater finish and exhibits better modeling than the rest, which indicates that the head was placed on the left side of the monument.³ The head would have been attached to the rest of the relief on the figure's proper left.

The woman has a thin face with large, widely spaced, almond-shaped eyes, a small mouth, and a forehead that is straight across the front and slopes sharply back at the sides. The eyebrows are subtly modeled in the forehead, and the skin beneath the brow recedes at a sharp angle, with almost no suggestion of fleshiness. The eyes, with the upper lids accentuated, lie close beneath the brows. The proper right eye is carved more carefully, with greater definition of the eyelids. The lips are bow shaped, and just beneath the lower lip there is a cleft in the chin. The woman's hair is drawn back from her face under a head covering (*sakkos*), which is tied by a cord brought forward from her nape

over her ear and behind the roll across her forehead. The edge of the *sakkos* can be seen along the hairline. In front of the right ear are remnants of locks of hair. A depression delineates the contour of the roll of hair that lies across her forehead under the fabric.

The *sakkos* was the common head covering for slave women who were attendant figures in multifigured scenes on funerary monuments.⁴ It might seem surprising that so many funerary monuments contained figures of slaves, but they signified a family's wealth and social standing, and there is evidence that they were sometimes considered members of the family.⁵ Indeed, there are examples of funerary monuments erected for slaves.⁶

The size of this head indicates that it came from a large monument of the type that became common in the middle of the fourth century B.C. Similar figures appear on stelai of the period from 375 to 335 B.C.⁷ Two monuments, one in Athens, the other in New York, contain attendant figures with heads similar to ours.⁸ As can be seen in these examples, servants of this type could hold items connected with feminine adornment, such as jewelry chests, or the baby of the deceased. Our head would have belonged to a servant standing beside her seated mistress.

Here is another example of the intriguing and ultimately mysterious aura surrounding the study of many ancient fragments. Both what remains and what is lost contribute to a presence that is provocative and haunting.

- 1 Stable isotope analysis by Norman Herz at the University of Georgia, March 1995.
- 2 See Frel 1979a, p. 19, no. 74.
- 3 Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, p. 9 n. 2, place it on the extreme right of a monument, but, besides the fact that the right side of the face is carved in greater detail, only that side has some strands of hair caught up under the edge of the *sakkos* in the area just in front of where the right ear would have been. Such a feature would have been carved only on the side of the head that faced the viewer.
- 4 On the dress of female slaves, see Reilly 1989, pp. 416–17. On slaves, see Y. Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, rev. edn. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988); J.-F. Girardot, "Cherchez l'esclave! ou: Quelques réflexions sur les documents figurés de l'archaïsme et du classicisme Grecs," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 15.2 (1989): 399–433.
- 5 W. K. Lacey, *The Family in Classical Greece* (London, 1968), pp. 30–31.
- 6 There is a stele of very low quality in the Athenian Agora, erected to one Titthe: Athens, Agora 1 6508: Grossman 1995, pp. 50–51, no. 8. For additional examples, see C. Fragiadakis, *Die attischen Sklavenmamen* (Athens, 1988).
- 7 H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Berlin, 1931), pls. 36.1, 37, 41, 52. Also on the stele of Hegeso, D. Buitron-Oliver, *The Greek Miracle*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1992), pp. 150–51, no. 33.
- 8 Athens, Third Ephoria M 672: Clairmont 1993, 2: 238–39, no. 2.294a; New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy collection, Clairmont 1993, 2: 688, no. 2.780a.



Cat. no. 13. Right profile view of the head of an attendant showing at the top the attachment area of the head to the grave naiskos. Malibu 57.AA.14.



Cat. no. 13. Frontal view of the head of an attendant from a grave naiskos. Malibu 57.AA.14.

14. *Grave Naiskos of a Seated Woman with Two Standing Women*

About 340 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 110 cm (43¼ in.); Width: 100 cm (39⅜ in.); Depth: 25.5 cm (10 in.)

73.AA.97

CONSERVATION

The top part of the monument is missing. There are chips and losses along the edges of the antas and the plinth. The nose, chin, and mouth of the seated woman are missing. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to pale yellow. The front surface has a slick, shiny appearance consistent with its having been cleaned with acid. The underside of the panel shows parallel, vertical strokes of a medium-point chisel and is probably the original surface. The back preserves the original rough surface made by a point chisel; the sides have marks of the tooth chisel.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Malibu, 1974), p. 12; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1975), p. 32; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1976), p. 39.

Sotheby's, London, sale, July 12, 1971, lot no. 133; Frel 1979a, p. 20, no. 77 (wrongly cited as 73.AA.91); Clairmont 1993, 3: 308–9, no. 3.407, and p. 364, no. 3.437a¹; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 503, pl. 29.3–4.

SHALLOW NAISKOS FRAMED BY ANTAS. The three figures are carved to varying depths of relief, with the seated figure carved in highest relief. At the right of the composition sits a woman on a chair with its seat covered by a piece of fabric that hangs over the edge.² The woman wears two dresses, a sleeveless one over one with sleeves, and a cloak. The carving of the edges of the right sleeve with its buttons is very weathered, but these details are still faintly visible. There are indications of faint press folds on her cloak, especially visible on her left thigh and knee. Press folds are slight indentations created in fabric that has been folded for storage.³ The fact that the woman wears clothing that has been stored means that she comes from a level of society that had more than just the bare essentials. In other words, this woman owned more than one dress; she was wealthy enough to have clothing in storage. Her full, curly hair is parted in the middle and rolled up around her head. Her neck is marked by two Venus rings, an indication that she has been well fed.⁴ Her sandaled feet rest on a footstool.⁵ Her left hand rests in her lap; the right reaches out to shake the hand of a woman standing at the left of the composition.⁶ This woman also wears two dresses and a cloak, which is wrapped about her waist with a thick, twisted fold. Her left hand grasps the edge of her cloak. The soles of the sandals worn by both women are carved. The straps would originally have been painted.⁷

In the background, between the two women and carved in low relief, stands a third female figure in a nearly frontal position. This woman wears a long-sleeved dress and rests her upraised right arm on her left, which is held across her waist.⁸ She probably originally held her hand to her cheek in a gesture of mourning.⁹ The front of her dress below her waist has been roughly reworked, but several shallowly carved vertical drapery folds remain at the right.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the heads of both standing women are missing, and although we cannot know for certain their original role in the composition, they were probably similar to the woman and attendant on stelai in New York and Athens.¹¹ A monument in Copenhagen is comparable in composition, style, and date, although there two of the figures are men.¹²

The balanced arrangement of three figures within a naiskos is characteristic of the mid-fourth century B.C., as is the hairstyle of the seated woman, whose hair is drawn up so that it forms a triangular shape over the forehead. Drapery during this period takes on a decorative quality, seen in the artfully placed folds over the edge of the chair seat and the patterns of the broad U-shaped curves descending in rows over the lower leg of the seated woman. A monument in Athens, with a much more crowded composition of six figures, is especially close to our naiskos in the manner of the carving of the fingers and folds of drapery.¹³ With the lack of an inscription to give further information, the monument could have been either for the seated woman or for the standing woman at the far left.

This is probably a monument for the seated woman, for she is carved in the highest relief and occupies the most prominent position in the composition. We can speculate that a deceased mother shakes hands with her daughter while one of the household servants stands by mournfully.

- 1 Clairmont 1993, vol. 3, made two entries for this monument, with two different catalogue numbers. One (pp. 308–9, no. 3.407) lists the location correctly as the Getty Museum, but the other (p. 364, no. 3.437a) is identified as “whereabouts unknown.”
- 2 The chair is a rather solid-looking version of the *klismos*, with a curved back and plain, curved legs: Richter 1966, pp. 33–37. On the image of seated women on gravestones, see Benson 1996, p. 184.
- 3 On press folds, see Ridgway 1990, p. 219; Granger-Taylor 1987, pp. 114–23.
- 4 See cat. no. 4 with note 9.
- 5 The footstool is a solid example of type 2, with curved legs ending in schematized lion's paws: Richter 1966, pp. 50–51.
- 6 On the gesture, called *dexiosis*, see cat. no. 1, note 7.
- 7 Morrow 1985, p. 72.
- 8 The long-sleeved chiton identifies her as a slave. See Reilly 1989, pp. 416–17.
- 9 Neumann 1965, pp. 128–30. The woman's pose and gesture are similar to those of an attendant on a lekythos in the Athenian Agora, s 1223: Grossman 1995, pp. 242–43, no. 100.
- 10 Probably reworked to smooth out a spalled or broken surface.
- 11 New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.287; Clairmont 1993, 3: 303–4, no. 3.404; Athens, Kerameikos Museum P 1139; Clairmont 1993, 3: 317–18, no. 3.411.
- 12 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2615: Moltesen 1995, pp. 90–91, no. 33.
- 13 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 719; Clairmont 1993, 4: 191–92, no. 6.905.



Cat. no. 14. Grave naiskos of a seated woman. Malibu 73.AA.97.

15. *Heads of a Woman and a Bearded Man from a Grave Naiskos*

About 340 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height (*male*): 28.1 cm (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Width: 20.7 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Depth: 18.5 cm (7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.); Height (*female*): 27.4 cm (10 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.); Width: 24.2 cm (9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); Depth: 17.4 cm (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

73.AA.123.1–2

CONSERVATION

Both heads are broken from a larger relief. The heads are chipped, but the surface of the male figure is especially weathered and battered, with pitting of the stone. His nose is missing. Some of the original rear surface of the monument remains with marks of the point chisel. There are channels made by a running drill in the hair of both figures. Some of the original background of the monument to which the heads were attached remains around them. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface of the marble is smooth and shiny with a slightly yellow color, which is consistent with an acid cleaning.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1979a, p. 21, no. 81.

TWO HEADS, ONE MALE, ONE FEMALE, broken from a grave naiskos. The female figure, in right profile, was originally placed at the left of the composition. The right side of her face is carved more carefully than the left. Her advanced age is indicated by two horizontal creases on her forehead, lines at the corner of her right eye, and a crease in the right naso-labial fold.¹ Her long hair is parted in the center, brushed back into a roll about her head, and caught up at the nape of the neck.²

The male figure was placed to the right of the woman in a three-quarters left profile pose. He has thick, curly hair and a medium-length full beard. His eyes are small and deep-set with thick lids. He, too, exhibits signs of maturity in the form of a shallow horizontal crease in his forehead and pronounced naso-labial folds.³

The two faces were probably the father and mother in a multifigured scene with a child or children. Compare a stele in Athens.⁴ As on that stele, the woman here may have been standing beside her husband, in the background, on a monument for a deceased child. Or she may have been seated and shaking hands with her husband, who stood, on her own gravestone, with another family member in the background.⁵ A date just after the mid-fourth century is suggested by the depth of the relief and the manner in which the woman's hair is drawn up over the center of her forehead into a slightly triangular configuration.



Approximate position of the two heads in relation to one another on the grave naiskos Malibu 73.AA.123.1–2.

- 1 See Pfisterer-Haas 1990, pp. 180–81.
- 2 Older women are more often shown with short, curly hair, but the rolled hairstyle is not unknown. See Bergemann 1997, pls. 48–56, for examples of older women with short hair, their heads either covered or not; pls. 46–47 show examples of older women with the rolled hairstyle.
- 3 On the tradition of depicting older men, see Meyer 1989, pp. 74–79. On the physiognomy of older men, see Bergemann 1997, pp. 103–5.
- 4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1953; Clairmont 1993, 3: 367–68, no. 3.439a. The two older women have similar hairstyles, although the Getty woman is in higher relief.
- 5 Such a scheme is seen on two monuments in Athens, National Archaeological Museum nos. 3927 and 3966: Clairmont 1993, 3: 256–57, no. 3.381b, and pp. 260–61, no. 3.382b, respectively.



Cat. no. 15. Head of a woman from a grave naiskos. Malibu 73.AA.123.2.



Cat. no. 15. Head of a bearded man from a grave naiskos. Malibu 73-AA.123.1.

16. *Fragment of a Grave Naiskos with Two Women*

About 340 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with some darker gray streaks and mica; Height: 25.5 cm (10 in.); Width: 38 cm (15 in.); Depth: 10 cm (3 7/8 in.)

73.AA.118

CONSERVATION

The fragment is broken at the top, bottom, and left. The back of the relief is smoothly finished. The lips on both mouths were separated by a channel made with a running drill. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface of the marble is weathered and granular, but it also has a shiny aspect consistent with an acid cleaning.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Münzen und Medaillen, Basel, sale 14, June 19, 1954, lot no. 3; Frel 1979a, p. 20, no. 75; Frel 1979b, p. 43, no. 75; H. Thickpenny, "Fragment of an Attic Grave Stele in the Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 8 (1980): 99–106; *SEG* 33.238; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 206; Clairmont 1993, 3: 388, no. 3.456; Bergemann 1997, p. 177, no. 697, pl. 40.4; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 7.

NAISKOS WITH AN INSCRIBED architrave and antas. Two letters of the original inscription remain:

[---]ΩΛ[---]
---OL---

At the left of the fragment, the head of a woman is placed frontally. Since her head touches the underside of the architrave, she may have been standing, but she could also have been seated. A cloak is pulled up over the back of her head. It is thickly carved and looks as if it would have been held out away from her right side, for it is at a more obtuse angle than its counterpart on the opposite side. This gesture is commonly made by brides and married women.¹ She has thick, curly hair, an oval face with narrow cheeks, and a delicate nose with indented nostrils. Her deep-set eyes are narrow with thick lids and flat eyeballs. She has a short upper lip and a full lower lip. A Venus ring marks her neck.²

At the right is the head of a second woman who stood in a three-quarter left profile pose. Her hair is drawn back from her face under a head covering (*sakkos*), which is tied by a cord brought forward from her nape, over her ear, and behind the roll across her forehead. In front of her ears are several locks of hair.³ Her ear is large for the size of her head, with a well-defined thick-edged pinna. She has deep-set, narrow eyes with thick lids. Her lips are full and slightly parted.

The veiled woman was perhaps seated in a left profile position while turning her head to face the viewer. Seated women usually do not turn their heads frontally but face one or another figure in the composition. Commonly, this type of figure appears in a two-figured composition with an attendant positioned opposite.⁴ But there is not enough room between the two figures on the Getty fragment to allow the woman to have been seated in right profile. There must originally have been other figures to the left of the veiled woman. Unfortunately, the closest comparative to this stele is also a fragment, on which only an enthroned, veiled woman and her standing servant remain.⁵

A four-figured scene on a lekythos gives a general idea of the original composition.⁶ There, a woman sits on a chair in left profile but with her chest positioned frontally and her head turned slightly to the right toward her daughter, who stands at the right of the scene. The seated woman shakes hands with her husband, who stands in front of her at the left. Behind him stands their son. Closer in style to the figures and from about the same period is a naiskos in Athens of higher quality than the Getty piece.⁷

1 It may be a reference to the *anakalypteria*. See Stears 1995, pp. 119–20.

2 See cat. no. 4 with note 9.

3 The head of the kneeling attendant on the stele of Ameinokleia is a good example of this type of coiffure, which modestly covers the hair but has the feminine feature of the curls in front of the ears. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 718; Clairmont 1993, 3: 229–30, no. 3.370.

4 Cf. Clairmont 1993, 2: 465–66, no. 2.390 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 820); pp. 533–34, no. 2.426b (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 514); pp. 544–45, no. 2.431 (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 732); p. 549, no. 2.433 (Piraeus, Museum 3685); pp. 593–95, no. 2.464 (Athens, Kerameikos); and p. 794, no. 2.909 (Brauron, Museum ΒΕ 92).

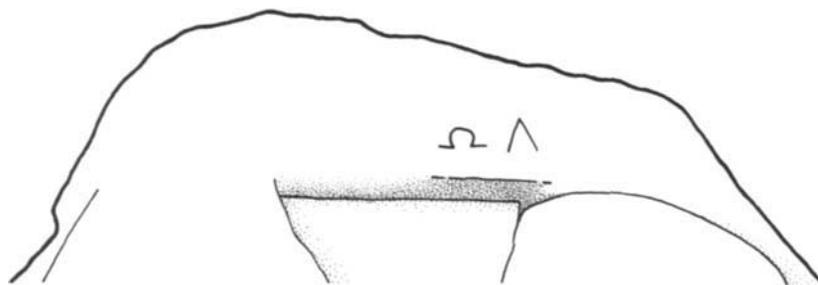
5 National Archaeological Museum 1957; Clairmont 1993, 3: 389–90, no. 3.457. Thickpenny 1985, and Clairmont 1993, 3: 388, no. 3.456, both propose three-figured compositions. The Athens fragment may well have had more than three figures, since the seated woman is situated on the far right of the stone.

6 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 840; Clairmont 1993, 4: 39–40, no. 4.235.

7 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 732; Clairmont 1993, 2: 544–45, no. 2.431.



Cat. no. 16. Fragment of a grave naiskos with two women. Malibu 73.AA.118.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave naiskos Malibu 73.AA.118.

17. *Head of a Female Attendant from a Grave Naiskos*

About 340 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 27 cm (10⁵/₈ in.); Width: 18.6 cm (7³/₈ in.); Depth: 21.3 cm (8³/₈ in.)

71.AA.123

CONSERVATION

The head is broken at the base of the neck. The nose and most of the upper lip have been broken off, and there are chips on the chin, edge of right pinna, and forehead. The marble was tested and is Pentelic.¹ A cast of the drill hole in the right earlobe revealed a rounded bottom consistent with ancient drillwork. A large chip is missing from the crown of the head.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Frel, *Les Sculpteurs attiques anonymes, 430–300 B.C.* (Prague, 1969), p. 354; Vermeule and Neuberburg 1973, p. 9, no. 13; Frel 1979a, pp. 21–22, no. 83; Frel 1979b, p. 43, no. 83; Bergemann 1997, p. 179, no. 845; J. Bergemann, “Fundort unbekannt? Ein ungewöhnlicher Kopf von einem attischen Grabnaiskos in New York und seine Herkunft aus der attischen mesogeia,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1997: 377–88, esp. p. 381, fig. 13.

HEAD OF A WOMAN, carved in the round, that originally joined a now-missing figure, which was part of a large naiskos. The woman's hair is drawn back from her face under a head covering (*sakkos*), which is tied by a cord brought forward from her nape, over her ear, and behind the roll across her forehead. Her right ear is carved while the left is not finished, indicating that she faced right in the composition. Both earlobes are drilled for the attachment of separately made earrings—an unusual feature of adornment in an auxiliary figure in the composition.² Her face is oval with a mouth with a full lower lip. She has sharp-ridged eyebrows and almond-shaped eyes with flattish eyeballs set close beneath the brow. The upper lids are accentuated. Her right eye is carved with greater care than her left, another indication that her head was oriented so that the right side faced the viewer.

The woman is turning her head slightly to right and her chin is uplifted, a pose that presents only one possible reconstruction. Since her head covering indicates that she was an attendant figure, she may have been standing next to a woman, looking up at her, like the composition on the fragment of a naiskos with two female heads, catalogue number 16.³ A similar face, upturned in an attitude of grief, is seen on the attendant holding a jewel box in the background of a multifigured stele in Paris of about 340 B.C.⁴ The suggestion that she may have been kneeling before her mistress is probably not a tenable reconstruction, for the one complete example of a stele with a kneeling attendant figure shows the kneeling figure looking down, not up.⁵ Two multifigured naiskoi, both in Athens, demonstrate the type of monument from which



Three-quarter right profile view of the head of an attendant from the grave naiskos Malibu 71.AA.123.

our figure would have come.⁶ It would have been part of an elaborate funerary monument of freestanding statues displayed inside a covered, three-sided architectural structure.

The Getty head would have been attached to the body of an attendant figure wearing a long-sleeved dress who was looking up at other figures in a naiskos composition. The style of the dress was derived from the East and identified these figures as slaves from such foreign places as Thrace, Scythia, or Caria in Asia Minor. Almost every Attic family owned household servants, who are often depicted attending their mistresses. The bond between servant and mistress must have been close, for the servants on gravestones of deceased mistresses frequently have sorrowful expressions.

The date of the head is based on its size and style. Gravestones in the middle decades of the fourth century became increasingly elaborate, often showing whole groups carved nearly in the round. The style of figures carved at this time, even on gravestones, was influenced by the preeminent late Classical sculptor Praxiteles. He introduced a scheme of proportions for representing the human body that emphasized leanness, a soft physique, and a relaxed appearance. Facial features were delicately rendered with slightly parted lips and slightly deeper-set, almond-shaped eyes, the face an oval, the eyebrow curving into the nose, the hairline arched.⁷ Frel attributed this head to the Sculptor of Demagora, but further work needs to be done on the assignment of gravestone sculptures to specific artists and workshops.⁸

- 1 Stable isotope analysis conducted by Norman Herz at the University of Georgia, March 1995.
- 2 An additional example of this is seen on a head in Geneva, the Ortiz collection: Reeder 1995, p. 140, no. 9. The attendant figure on a stele in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 723, dated earlier than this one (to the second quarter of the fourth century) wears a large carved earring: Clairmont 1993, 2: 729–30, no. 2.850.
- 3 See cat. no. 13, 57.AA.14, for another head of an attendant figure and for a fuller discussion of this type of figure, who is probably a household slave.
- 4 Musée du Louvre Ma 3113: Hamiaux 1992, p. 162, no. 156.
- 5 Frel 1979a, p. 18, no. 68, makes the suggestion. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 718, is the complete funerary monument with an attendant figure kneeling before her mistress: Clairmont 1993, 3: 229–30, no. 3.370. In addition, there are two fragments of the bodies of kneeling figures and two heads that belong to two other kneeling figures. Athens, Agora s 2480; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2042; Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum 1962.389; London, British Museum 671. For a discussion of this type of monument with further references, see Grossman 1995, pp. 89–94.
- 6 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 743 and 832: Clairmont 1993, 4: 103–6, nos. 4.430 and 4.431, respectively.
- 7 A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 176–79.
- 8 J. Frel, *Les Sculpteurs attiques anonymes, 430–300 B.C.* (Prague, 1969), pp. 36–37, nos. 238–40 bis. When Frel was compiling his first checklist of sculptures in the Getty Museum, he attributed this head to the Budapest Sculptor by mistake, an error that he corrected in the second checklist. See Frel 1979a, pp. 21–22, no. 83; Frel 1979b, p. 43, no. 83.



Right profile view of the head of an attendant from the grave naiskos Malibu 71.AA.123.



Cat. no. 17. Frontal view of the head of an attendant from a grave naiskos. Malibu 71.AA.123.

18. *Fragment of a Grave Naiskos with a Seated Woman and a Standing Man*

About 330 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 96.5 cm (38 in.); Width: 51 cm (20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Depth: 17.5 cm (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

73.AA.122

CONSERVATION

The naiskos is broken at the top and at left. The extant fragment is reconstructed from three pieces. The bottom retains the original rough surface made by the point chisel. The right side bears marks of the original finish made by a tooth chisel. The back of the stele has been recut with a circular saw in modern times. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to a light brown color with some incrustation.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1979a, p. 21, no. 80; Clairmont 1993, 3: 307, no. 3.406; Bergemann 1997, p. 171, no. 505, pl. 53.2.

FRAGMENT OF THE LOWER RIGHT PORTION of a naiskos framed by antas. At the right of the composition sits a woman facing left on a stool with a thin cushion.¹ Her feet rest on a footstool.² She wears two dresses, a sleeveless one fastened on the shoulders over one with sleeves closed by a series of buttons, and a cloak. One edge of the cloak falls over the side of the stool. The sole of her sandal is carved; the straps would have been painted.³ Enveloped in the thin fabric of her cloak, her left arm and hand rest in her lap. Her right arm is broken just below the elbow, but it appears to have been extended, probably to shake the hand of

another figure at the left of the composition.⁴ The woman's hair is cut short, an indication of either mourning or advanced age.⁵ Since she is seated, her short hair is more likely an indication of her age, similar to Nikomache on the three-figured grave naiskos catalogue number 9. Her face is fully carved, although her left eye is carved in greater detail than her right. Her eyelids have thick edges, and there is a lightly incised line at the outer corner of her left eye, which confirms her more advanced age. Her forehead, however, is smooth with no creases.

Behind the woman is part of the torso and waist of the figure of a standing man. He wears a cloak wrapped in such a way that his chest is bare. Compare again the stele in London.⁶ This fragment was part of a monument that was probably for the deceased son or daughter of this woman, who is accompanied by her husband standing beside her. We tentatively restore the stele as a three-figured group with the missing figure a male, after a monument in Philadelphia that shows an older seated woman with short hair shaking hands with a man, probably her son, while her husband looks on.⁷

In studying such a remnant from the past, one notes the recurrent particularity of detail, such as faint facial marks, postural inclinations, and clothing features. These fuel speculation as to whether they are simply artistic conventions, preferences of the sculptor, or attempts at naturalistic representation.

- 1 The stool is a type 2 *diphros*, whose legs consist of two superimposed concave members of nearly equal height, resting on a low base. See Richter 1966, pp. 40–41.
- 2 The footstool looks as if it were the plain, boxlike type 3: Richter 1966, p. 51.
- 3 Morrow 1985, pp. 72–73.
- 4 Cf. the stele in London, British Museum 1910.7-12.1: Clairmont 1993, 3: 325–26, no. 3.415a.
- 5 Pfisterer-Haas 1990, p. 185 n. 31, designates Nikomache on the grave relief cat. no. 9 as old by virtue of the cloak drawn up on the back of her neck and her hairstyle of short locks.
- 6 Supra, note 4.
- 7 Philadelphia, University Museum MS 5470: Clairmont 1993, 4: 312–13, no. 3.409.



Cat. no. 18. Fragment of a grave naiskos with a seated woman. Malibu 73.AA.122.

19. *Head of a Woman from a Grave Naiskos*

About 330 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 31 cm (12¼ in.); Width: 21.2 cm (8⅜ in.); Depth: 24 cm (9½ in.)

79.AA.134

CONSERVATION

The head is broken off through the bottom of the neck. The tip of the nose and the left eyebrow are damaged; there are chips and scratches elsewhere. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to a yellow-brown patina.

PROVENANCE

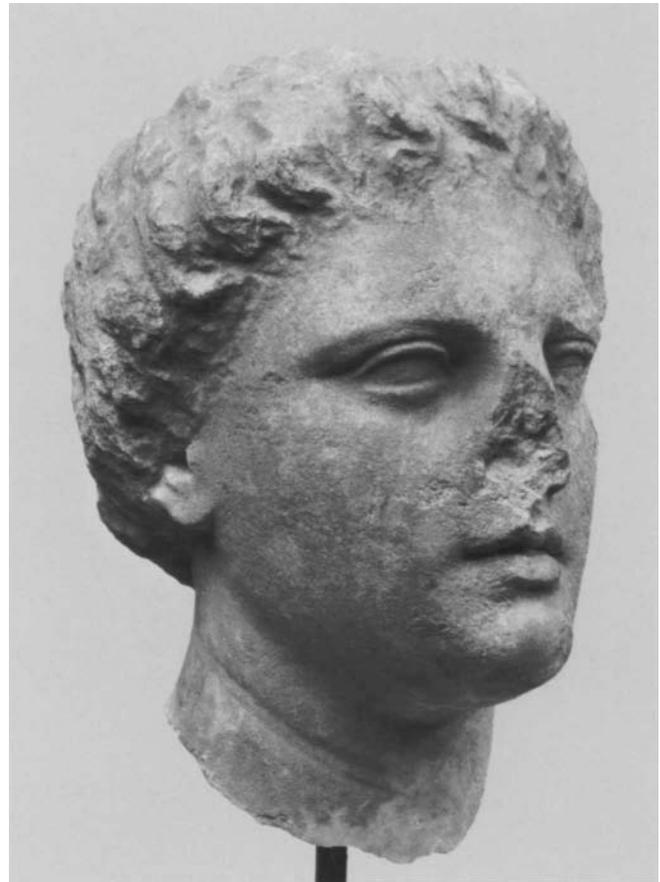
Formerly in the collection of Joseph Brummer, New York City; then in the collection of Ernest Brummer, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Galerie Koller, Zurich, sale cat., *The Ernest Brummer Collection*, October 16–19, 1979, pp. 208–9, lot no. 616.

HEAD CARVED IN THE ROUND and originally joined to a body that would have been part of a multifigured composition set within a naiskos.¹ The woman's curly hair is cut short, falling in locks from the crown to frame her face. She has a long oval face, whose forehead curves smoothly from the center to the sides. Her eyes are narrow with a sharp-edged upper eyelid that projects over flat eyeballs. The brows are sharp edged, and the area under them fleshy. The root of her nose is broad. Her long, sturdy neck is marked with Venus rings.²

The unfinished rear and left side indicate that the head comes from a figure placed at the left of a composition, and that she was probably in a three-quarter right profile. She may have been seated, for she looks slightly upward. The fact that this head is carved though not fully finished in the round supports the idea that it belonged to the body of a seated figure. The head resembles that of the seated figure on the fragment in catalogue number 18. Like that woman, the signs of age in the present head are subtle, being expressed by her short hairstyle, slight fleshiness of the area just beneath the brows, and a slight double chin. Comparable is the standing woman at the left of the composition on the replica in Piraeus of the "Farewell" stele or the seated woman on a five-figured naiskos in Rhamnous.³ The woman on the stele in Piraeus



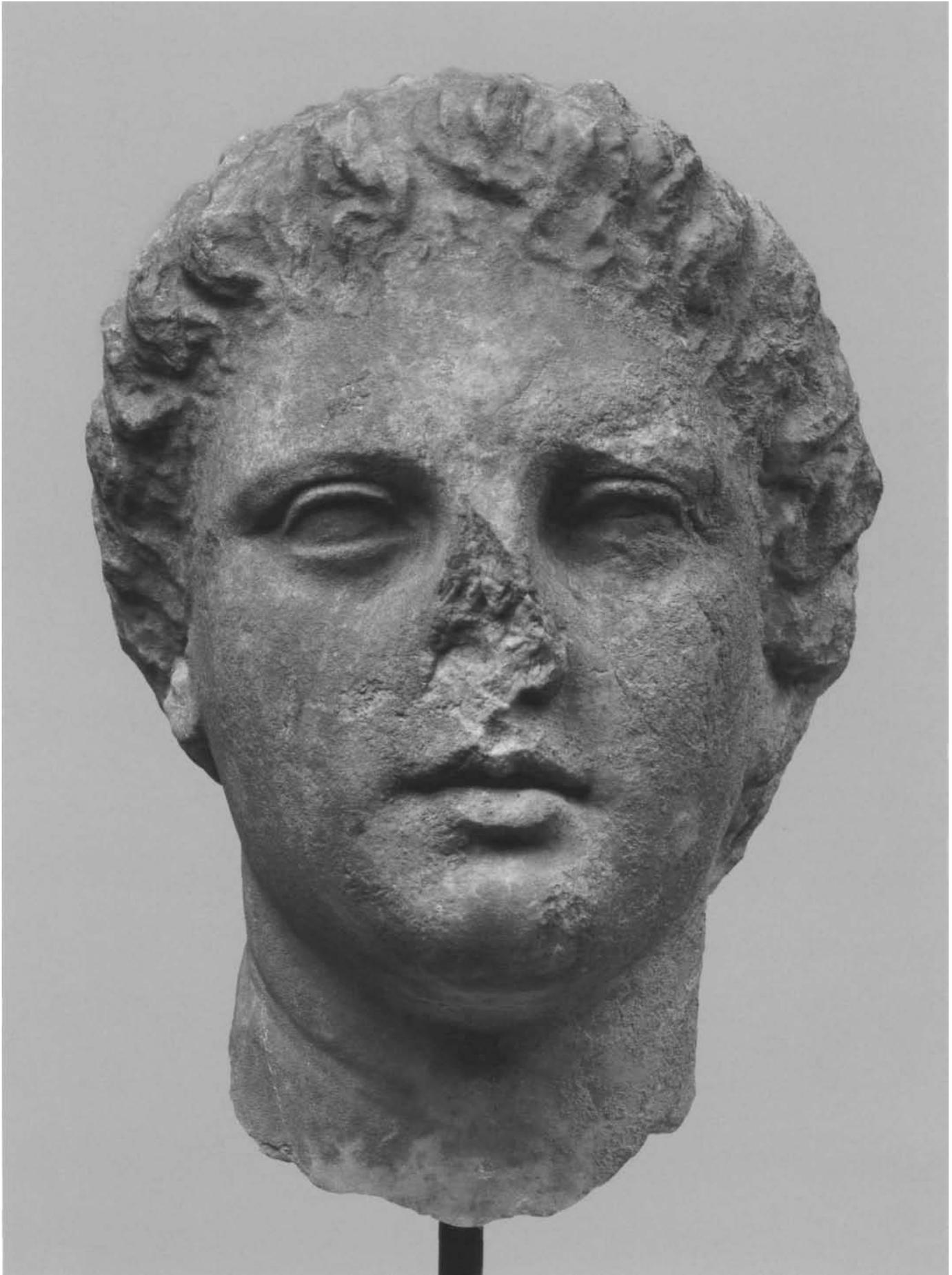
Three-quarter right view of a woman from the grave naiskos Malibu 79.AA.134.

is a mourner in the background of the scene, wrapped tightly in her cloak and holding her hand to her cheek. Large pieces are missing from the naiskos in Rhamnous, but enough remains to show that the seated woman is surrounded by family members, most probably her children. Because our head is carved in the round, it most likely belongs to a figure centrally located in a composition and not to a background figure.

1 Cf. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1986, for a head in the round on a body in relief: Clairmont 1993, 3: 393–94, no. 3.459a.

2 See cat. no. 4 with note 8.

3 Piraeus, Museum 429: Clairmont 1993, 3: 407–8, no. 3.466. While not recognized as older by Clairmont, she is both by Pfisterer-Haas 1990, p. 193 n. 66, and by Bergemann 1997, p. 108 n. 139. Rhamnous Museum: Clairmont 1993, 4: 167–69, no. 5.290.



Cat. no. 19. Frontal view of the head of a woman from a grave naiskos. Malibu 79.AA.134.



Cat. no. 19. Right profile view of the head of a woman from a grave naiskos. Malibu 79.AA.134.

20. *Head of a Bearded Man from a Funerary Monument*

About 330 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 23.3 cm (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Width: 15.2 cm (6 in.); Depth: 8.3 cm (3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

75-AA.92

CONSERVATION

Broken at the back, just behind the ears. The nose, lower lip, and details of the beard are broken off. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface is weathered and pitted with a brownish incrustation.

PROVENANCE

Anonymous gift.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

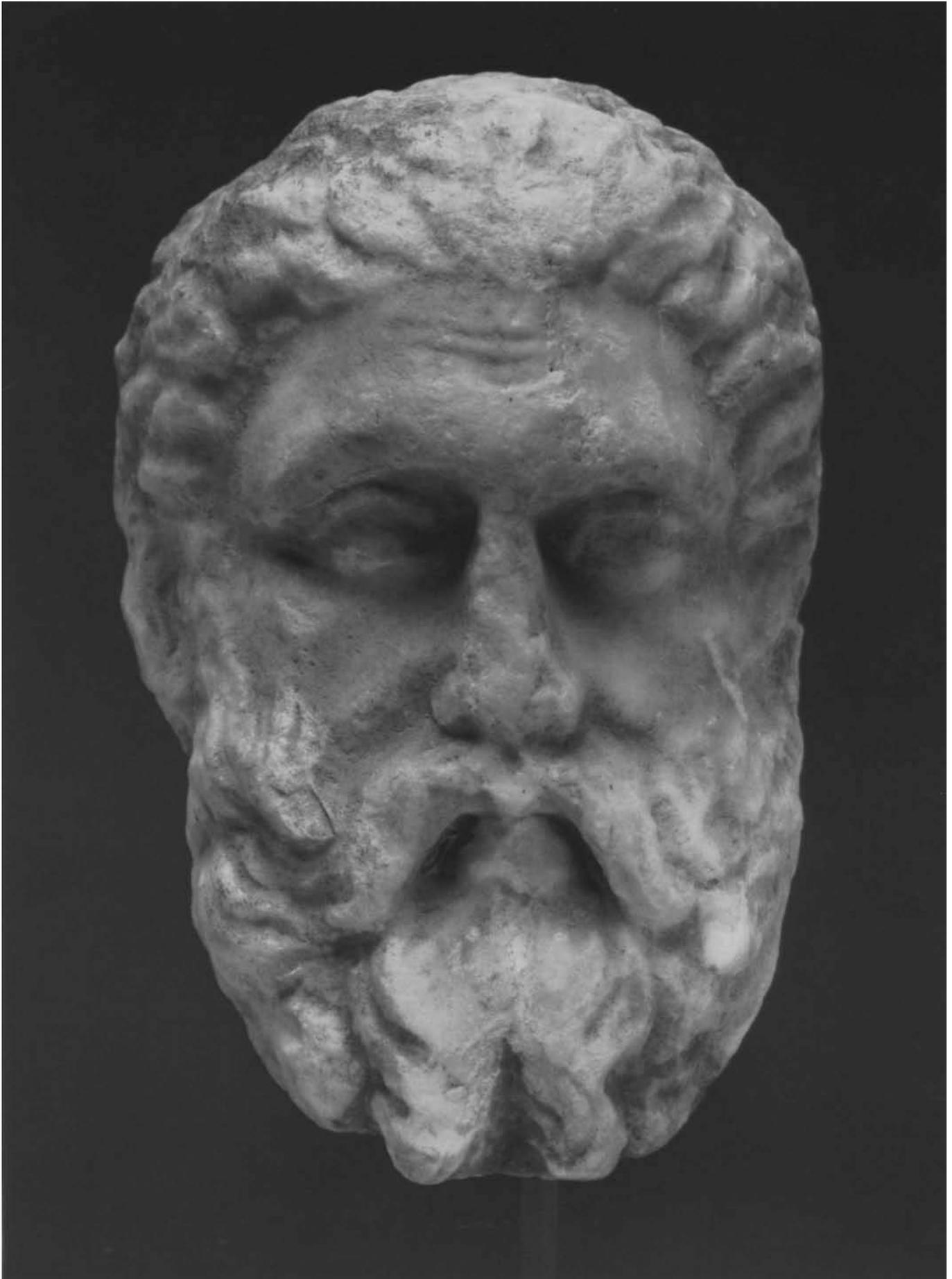
Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities, The J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1976), p. 9, no. 81; Frel 1979a, p. 21, no. 79.

FRONT PORTION OF THE HEAD of an older man broken from a relief, undoubtedly originally part of a multifigured composition. The man has curly hair swept back from his face and a long, full beard divided into several locks. His eyes are round with thick lids and are set beneath projecting brows. His mouth is small and deep-set beneath a thick mustache. Signs of advanced age are indicated by furrows in the brow, lines at the corners of the eyes, and sagging cheeks.¹ The rendering of the hair and beard and the physiognomy are very close to those on a head in Copenhagen.² The head resembles those of men standing in the backgrounds of a three-figured relief in Piraeus and of a four-figured relief in Athens.³ He would have been one of the auxiliary figures forming the group around the deceased in a large funerary monument.

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- 1 On these features as indicators of advanced age, see Meyer 1989, pp. 48, 60–66. The head type fits into the category of standing, long-haired figures. Bergemann 1997, pp. 102–3, pls. 101–3, describes this type of head as a man with an old physiognomy and a brushed-back type of hairstyle (*anastole*).
 - 2 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1873; Moltesen 1995, p. 110, no. 51. Thanks are due the anonymous reviewer for this reference.
 - 3 Piraeus, Museum 3914: Clairmont 1993, 3: 409–10, no. 3.467. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 832: Clairmont 1993, 4: 104–6, no. 4.431.



Cat. no. 20. Left profile view of the head of a man from a funerary monument. Malibu 75.AA.92.



Cat. no. 20. Frontal view of the head of a bearded man from a funerary monument. Malibu 75.AA.92.

21. *Grave Naiskos of Sime with Members of Her Family*

About 320 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 132.1 cm (52 in.); Width: 73.7 cm (29 in.); Depth: 17.1 cm (6¾ in.)

77.AA.89

CONSERVATION

The naiskos is complete. Two chips from the peak of the central akroterion are reattached. There are chips on the corner akroteria, a chip from the right lower edge, and minor chips on the antas. The underside retains its original rough-picked finish. The back and the front of the ledge at the bottom of the stone are roughly finished with the point chisel; the sides are finished with the tooth chisel. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. Weathering has caused the stone to discolor to yellowish brown.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1979a, p. 21, no. 82 (wrongly cited as 71.AA.89); Frel 1979b (mistakenly listed in the concordance as 71.AA.89); *SEG* 33.235; Frel 1984, pp. 35–37; *SEG* 34.233; Thickpenny 1985, pp. 7–8; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 207; I. Vallera-Rickerson and M. Korma, “Merika ellenika ekthemata tou Mouseiou Getty,” *Archaiologia* 43 (1992): 85; Clairmont 1993, 4: 88–89, no. 4.413; M.-T. Le Dinahet and N. Mouret, “Les Stèles funéraires grecques: Études stylistiques et iconographiques, années 1980–1992,” *Topoi* 3 (1993): 124–25, no. 45; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 398, no. 3, s.v. Sime; Bergemann 1997, p. 35 n. 6, p. 54 n. 204, p. 55 n. 214, p. 171, no. 507, pl. 32.3–4, 115.2; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 7.

SHALLOW NAISKOS WITH A triangular pediment supported by an architrave and antas. The pediment is adorned with one central and two corner akroteria; its center is slightly recessed. The name of the seated woman is inscribed above her on the architrave:

ΣΙΜΗ
“Sime”

It has been suggested that the names of some of the other figures in the composition might originally have been added in paint on the architrave, but examination under both ultraviolet and raking light revealed no traces to support that conjecture.¹ The name Sime is rarely attested in Attika, there being only two other known instances of the name in inscriptions of the sixth century B.C.²

Sime sits at the left of the composition on a large chair with a seat covered by a piece of fabric, which partially overlaps

the left anta.³ Her feet rest on a footstool.⁴ The feet are rounded at the ends with no toes indicated, which probably means that she is shod, even though no soles are carved.⁵ Sime wears a dress with a cloak drawn up over the back of her head. Her hair is parted in the center and combed away from her face into a roll. Her left hand rests in her lap, the right is extended to shake the hand of a standing bearded figure placed at the right of the composition.⁶

The man is wrapped in a cloak that leaves his right arm, shoulder, and chest bare. He holds the edge of his cloak at waist level with his left hand. His medium-length beard and mustache are curly; his hair is cut short, possibly in mourning.⁷ His body overlaps the right anta, and the back of his left sandaled foot is placed at the edge of the slab. He appears to be wearing the type of goat-skin sandals designed for easy mobility called *trochades*, which are unusual but not unknown on fourth-century grave-stones. It is not absolutely certain, however, that they are *trochades*, for the toes are hidden behind the footstool, and the characteristic toe straps cannot be seen.⁸

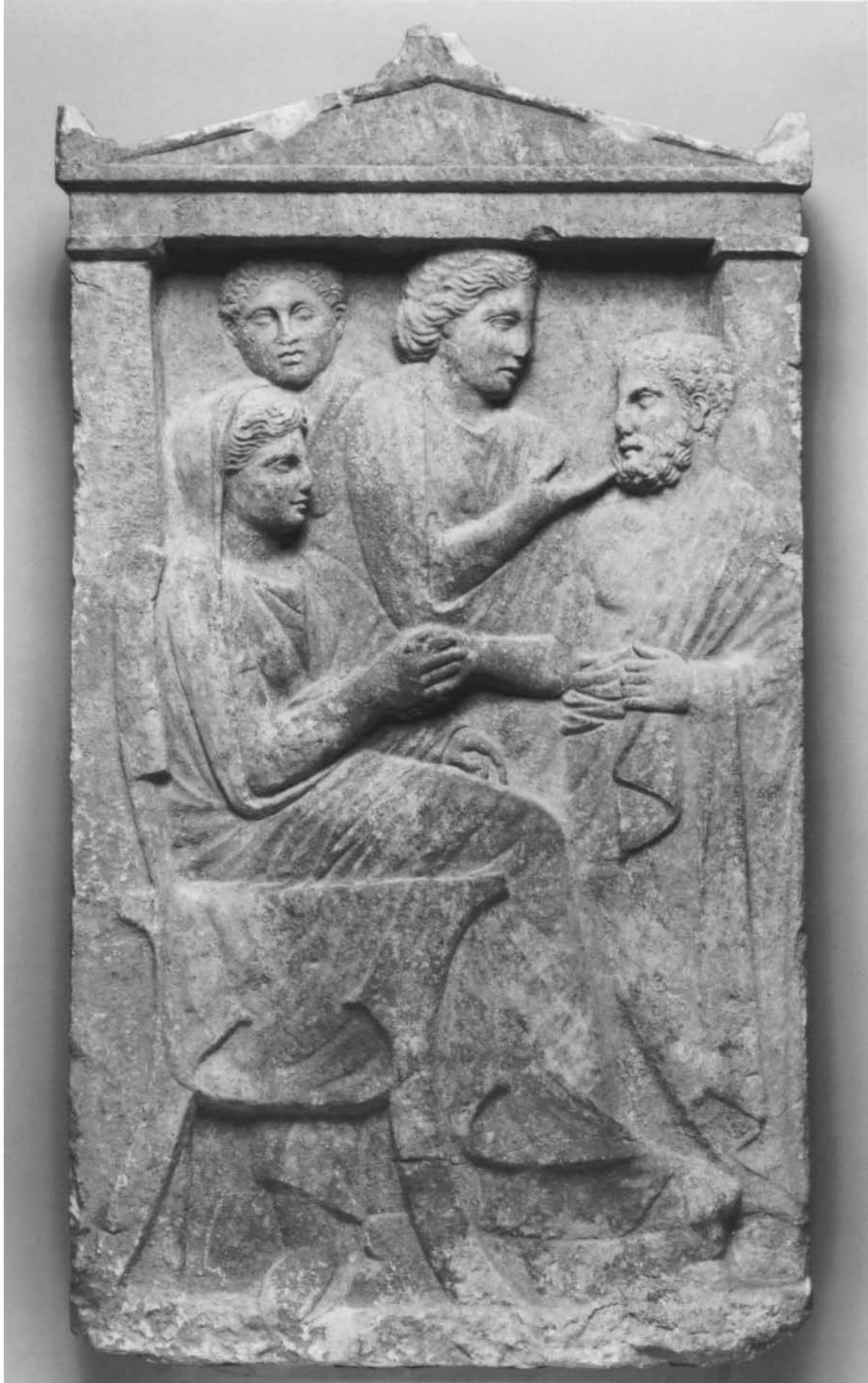
Behind the seated woman stands a beardless youth with short, curly hair, his frontal face gazing out at the viewer. His hair is the short brush cut seen on athletic figures such as those on the Ilissos stele or on a fragment of a stele, both in Athens.⁹ The lower edge of his cloak and his right foot are visible beneath the chair. His toes are not defined, but the sole of his shoe is carved.¹⁰

Also behind the seated woman, to the right of the youth, stands a second woman facing right. She wears a dress and cloak. Her hair is parted in the center and fastened in a full roll about her head. Her right hand with palm open is extended to touch the beard of the older man on the right in a gesture of sympathy.¹¹

The carving of the hair on all of the figures is noteworthy for its careful execution, with strands and locks individualized. Compare two monuments in Athens and one once in Eleusis.¹²

Sime is clearly the deceased individual on this monument, being both the only named figure and the one carved on a slightly larger scale than the others. In addition, she is prominently seated on a chair that is large in proportion to her size so that her importance in the family group is emphasized.¹³ She is shown here with her family gathered about her. The crowded multi-figured composition places the monument in the later fourth century B.C.¹⁴ Several monuments of that time exhibit a similar composition of four-figured reliefs in which three of the figures are relating to one another within the frame of the naiskos, while the fourth relates to the viewer by being placed in a frontal position. This figure, in each example, is either youthful or an attendant figure.¹⁵

This piece raises the issue of the primacy of aesthetic values. Here, for once, we have an essentially intact work with a full cast of characters produced with a considerable level of technical skill. Yet, the rendering lacks dynamism and passion, presenting a pedestrian composition in which an overall dullness detracts from the impact and significance of the work.



Cat. no. 21. Grave naiskos of Sime. Malibu 77.AA.89.



Detail of the inscription on the grave naiskos of Sime.

- 1 Bernhard Schmaltz 1995, in correspondence with the author. Johannes Bergemann 1996, in correspondence with the author, likewise concluded after examining photographs taken under both ultraviolet and raking light that there was no evidence of additional names.
- 2 Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 398, s.v. Sime.
- 3 The chair is an ungraceful version of the *klismos*. See Richter 1966, pp. 33–37.
- 4 The footstool looks like a very schematized version of type 2, with curved legs that often end in lion's paws: Richter 1966, pp. 50–51.
- 5 Morrow 1985, pp. 86–87.
- 6 On *dexiosis* between women and men, see Stears 1995, p. 126.
- 7 On hair cut short as a sign of grief, cf. Euripides *Alcestis* 215–17.
- 8 But the sandal definitely is a type with solid side leathers encasing the heel, like *trochades*. See Morrow 1985, pp. 85–86, for another fourth-century grave-stone with a man probably wearing *trochades*.
- 9 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 869: Clairmont 1993, 2: 821–24; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 746: Clairmont 1993, 1: 318, no. 1.331.
- 10 Morrow 1985, pp. 87–88.
- 11 Neumann 1965, pp. 69–70.
- 12 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2559, shows a similar manner of carving the individual strands of hair, esp. visible on the top hair of the male figure: Clairmont 1993, 3: 348–49, no. 3.427a. The second is the fragment of a naiskos slightly earlier than the Getty monument, namely, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2065: C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, suppl. vol. (Kilchberg, 1995), p. 58, no. 2.347d. The third monument is the fragment of a naiskos, but both facial features and hair of the young woman depicted resemble those of the figures on the Getty monument, once in the Eleusis Museum: Clairmont 1993, 1: 373, no. 1.440.
- 13 Benson 1996, pp. 184, 186–87.
- 14 From the same period comes a monument in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3657, similar in its crowded composition, stocky figures, and the hair and beard style of the male figure, i.e., short, curly hair with a medium-length beard: Clairmont 1993, 3: 515–16, no. 3.932.
- 15 E.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 767: Hamiaux 1992, p. 166, no. 162; Brauron Museum: Clairmont 1993, 4: 97–98, no. 4.422; Spata (Attika), built into the wall of a house on King Paul Street: Clairmont 1993, 4: 100, no. 4.424; and Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2326: Clairmont 1993, 4: 117, no. 4.467.

22. *Head of a Young Woman from a Grave Naiskos*

About 320 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 34.3 cm (13½ in.); Width: 15.6 cm (6⅞ in.); Depth: 22.2 cm (8¾ in.)

56.AA.19

CONSERVATION

The proper left side of the tip of the nose has been chipped off, and the right side of the shoulder at the collarbone has been broken and reattached. On the back is a flat-cut surface finished with the point chisel, which would have rested against the flat background of the naiskos. The bottom of the head is rounded and finished with the point chisel. There is a light reddish-brown incrustation on all surfaces. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Los Angeles, 1956), p. 13, no. 20; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1974), p. 13; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1975), p. 33; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1976), p. 40.

Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art 1.1 (1957): 8; Getty et al. 1965, pp. 58–59, 68; Stothart 1965, pp. 13–14 (as A 56.s-16); G. Schmidt, "Der Brunnsche Kopf," *Antike Plastik* 10 (1970): 33 n. 28; *The J. Paul Getty Collection*, exh. cat., The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, June–September 1972 (Minneapolis, 1972), no. 2; Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, p. 6, no. 8; B. B. Fredericksen et al., *The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1975), p. 25; Frel 1979a, p. 20, no. 76.

COMPLETE HEAD CARVED FOR insertion into the body of a figure. A flat area on the back of the head indicates that it originally was placed in a naiskos, where it rested against the back panel of the monument.¹ The figure would have been placed in a three-quarter left frontal position. The young woman's face is oval with a full jaw and a small, bow-shaped mouth with a full lower lip. Her brows are sharp-edged with deep-set eyes placed immediately beneath. Her eyes are narrow with thick lids. On her neck are two widely spaced Venus rings.² Her hair is parted in rows and pulled back from her face in a so-called melon hairstyle,³ which was introduced in the second half of the fourth century and used by the sculptor Silanion in a statue of a woman identified as the poet Korinna.⁴

The best comparison for the head with its low brow and hairstyle of symmetrical, regular rows of braided hair is seen on a stele of a young woman in London.⁵ The fine workmanship, the hairstyle, and the soft, sweet facial expression place the head in the Praxitelean style of about 320 B.C.

The figure to which this head belonged was life size, and, therefore, the monument of which she was a part would have been particularly large and splendid. She and other freestanding statues would have been arranged in a roofed, three-sided structure, appearing as if on a stage. A monument of that kind was the most expensive and lavish type of commemoration for a deceased individual in Athens or Attika. Although only the chipped and weathered head of a figure, the piece has a quality and a power well beyond that of more complete and complex works.

1 The seated figure of Demetria on her funerary monument in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2708, originally had a separately carved head, which is now, unfortunately, missing. The join of the head to the body was hidden by folds of her garments: Clairmont 1993, 2: 532–33, no. 2.426.

2 See cat. no. 4 with note 9.

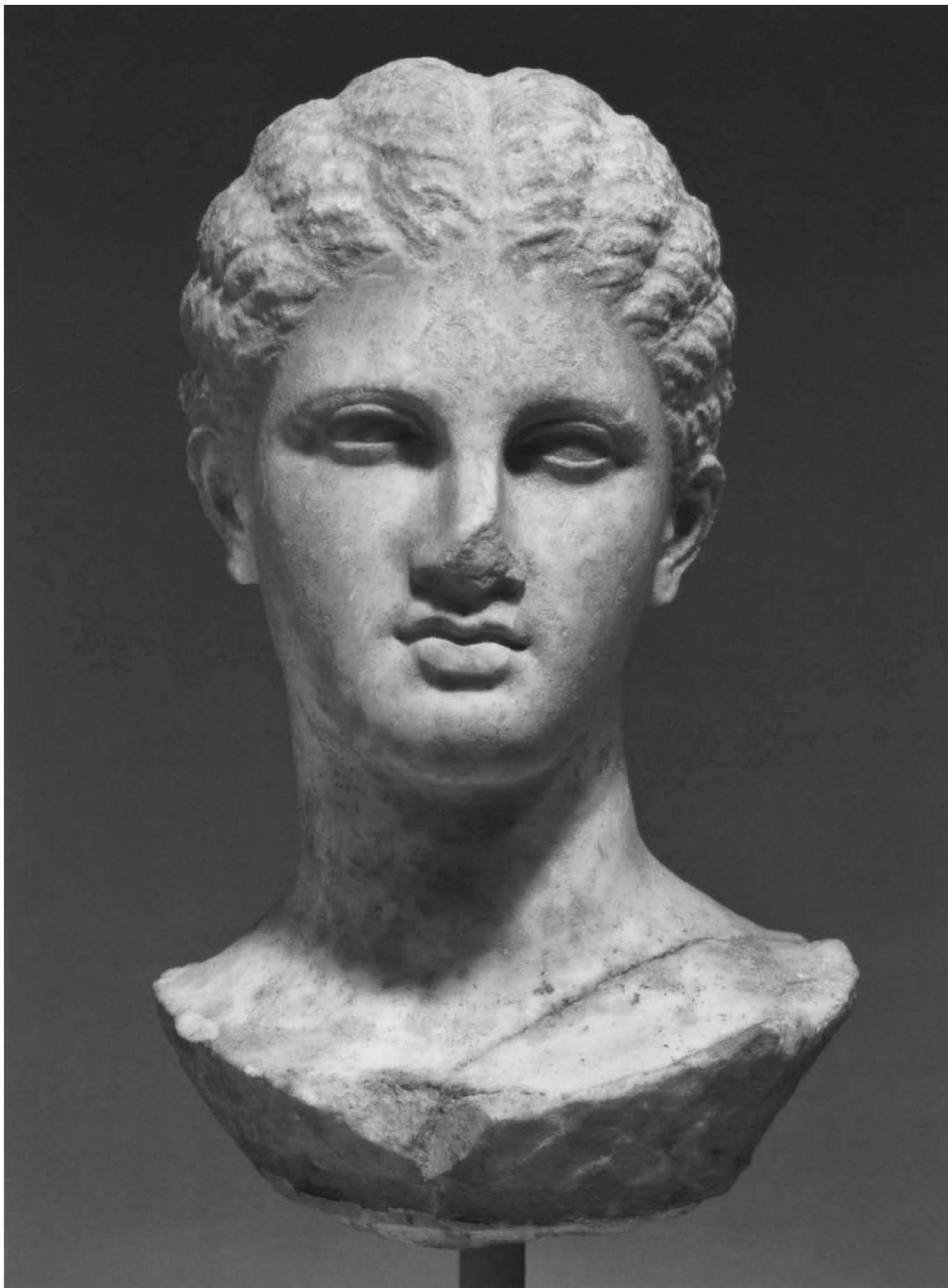
3 On this type of hairstyle, see B. S. Ridgway, "Is the Hope Head an Italian Goddess?: A Case of Circumstantial Evidence," *Expedition* 38 (1996): 55–62, esp. 58.

4 G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, abr. and rev. R. R. R. Smith (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), p. 156.

5 London, British Museum 1909.6-11.1: Clairmont 1993, 1: 384, no. 1.471.



Cat. no. 22. Right profile view of the head of a woman from a grave naiskos. Malibu 56.AA.19.



Cat. no. 22. Frontal view of the head of a woman from a grave naiskos. Malibu 56.AA.19.

23. *Head of a Girl from a Grave Naiskos*

About 320 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 23.8 cm (9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); Width: 16.5 cm (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); Depth: 19.6 cm (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

58.AA.4

CONSERVATION

The head is carved in the round and broken at the bottom of the neck. It is less finished on the left side and rear than on the right side. Chips on the nose, chin, and right temple. The head has been cleaned, except for the back, where a yellowish-brown patina remains. The marble has been tested as Pentelic.¹ Casts of the drill holes in the earlobes reveal that the bottoms of the holes are rounded, which is consistent with ancient drillwork.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Malibu, 1974), p. 13; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1975), p. 33; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1976), p. 40.

Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art 1.2 (1959): 16–18; Stothart 1965, p. 17 (as A 58.S-4); Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, p. 8, no. 10; Frel 1979a, p. 22, no. 85.

HEAD CARVED IN THE ROUND that originally would have joined the figure of a girl placed in a naiskos. The head was not part of the background of the naiskos; there is a flat area at the back of the head that would have rested against the back panel of the architectural structure. The figure would have been positioned so that she was in a three-quarter right profile. The head is carved asymmetrically, probably to compensate for the optical illusion created by its display above the heads of viewers. Large naiskoi such as the one to which this figure would have belonged were often set up on terraces high above the street level of the viewer.²

The face of the girl is squarish with a high prominent forehead that slopes to her temples, which are slightly depressed. Her large, round, deep-set eyes have thin upper lids that extend beyond the lower ones. She has full cheeks and straight lips set close beneath her nose. The nostrils are shallowly drilled. The curly hair is divided into sections and pulled back into a braid wound about her head—a modified version of the melon coiffure.³ The ears have drill holes for the attachment of separately made earrings. The front of her neck is marked with a faint Venus ring.⁴ Her chin is raised and her neck slightly extended, indicating that she was probably looking up at another figure.

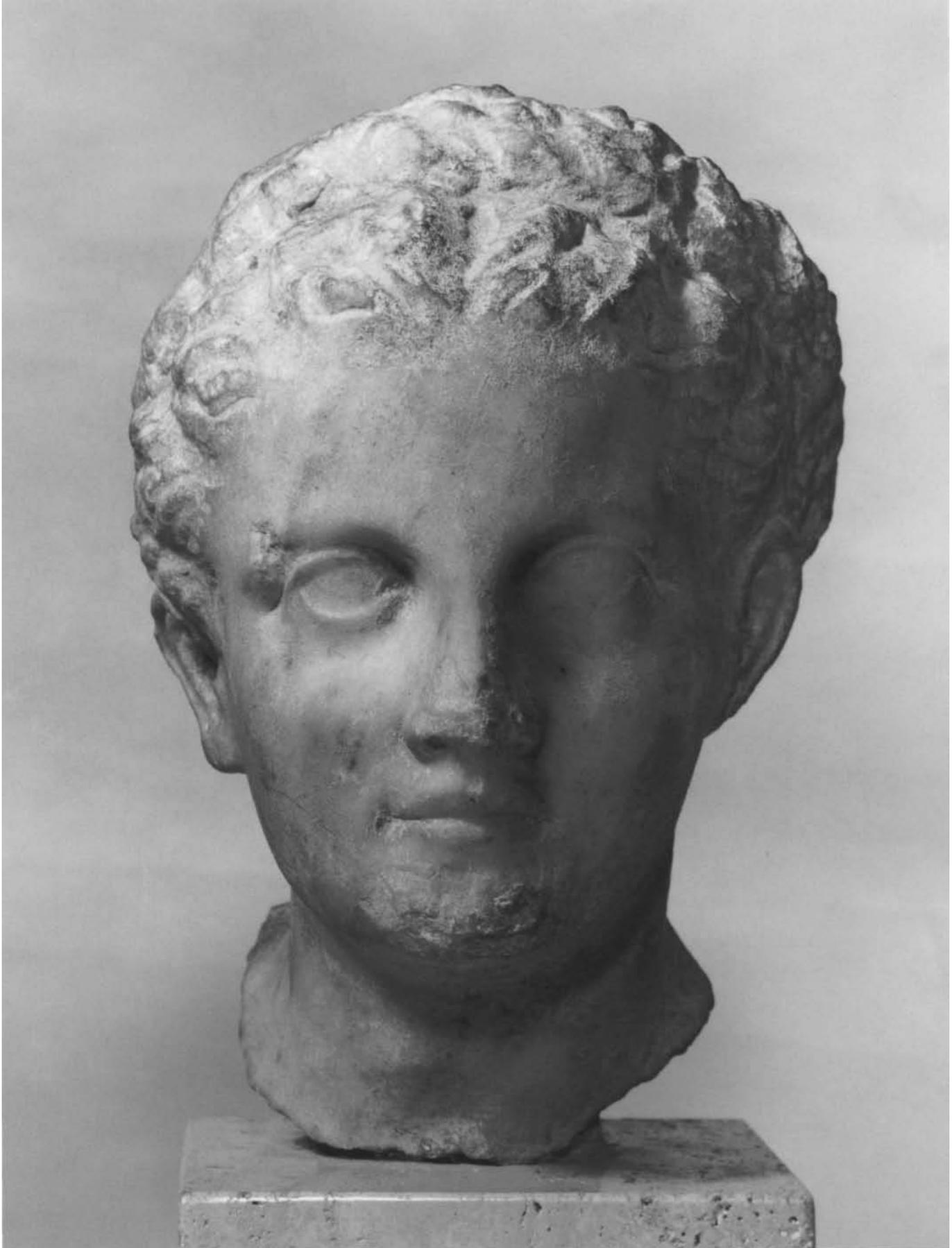
The style of this head and the age depicted are similar to those of a statue of a girl belonging to a grave monument in New York of two female figures set in a naiskos. In that monument, the girl is an attendant who looks up at her mistress.⁵ Like our figure, that girl has a braided hairstyle, and her ears are pierced



Three-quarter right profile view of the head of a girl from the grave naiskos Malibu 58.AA.4.

for separately attached earrings. These girls, although they have the appearance of small adults, are children. A general idea of the kind of composition to which this head probably belonged is seen on the grave naiskos of Demainete, catalogue number 24. Our head, though, joined a freestanding figure that would have been placed in a separately constructed three-sided and roofed shrine. Funerary monuments composed of separately carved statues and architectural structures were very expensive and would have been commissioned by only the wealthiest citizens of Athens or Attika.

- 1 Stable isotope analysis conducted by Norman Herz at the University of Georgia, March 1995.
- 2 See Bergemann 1997, pls. 1–3.
- 3 On this coiffure as one worn by girls, see Bergemann 1997, p. 99, pls. 57–59. Cf. the hairstyle on the head of a girl from a votive statue in the Getty Museum, acc. no. 96.AA.106: True and Hamma 1994, p. 113, no. 50.
- 4 See cat. no. 4 with note 9.
- 5 New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 44.11.2–3; Clairmont 1993, 1: 513–14, no. 1.971. The back of the head of the younger woman is finished in a manner similar to the Getty head—roughly with the point chisel. See G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pl. 76.



Cat. no. 23. Frontal view of a girl from a grave naiskos. Malibu 58.AA.4.



Cat. no. 23. Right profile view of the girl from a grave naiskos. Malibu 58.AA.4.

24. *Grave Naiskos of Demainete with an Attendant Holding a Partridge*

About 310 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 96.5 cm (38 in.); Width: 47.5 cm (18¾ in.); Depth: 15 cm (5⅞ in.)

75.AA.63

CONSERVATION

The naiskos is complete except for chips. The girl's nose is missing, and there are chips on her chin and on the cloak that covers her left hand and arm. The original rough-picked underside of the plinth remains. The back has been hollowed out and its thickness reduced in modern times. A border of the original rough-picked back is preserved around this modern cutting. There are marks of the tooth chisel on both sides of the stele and on the background of the front. The top of the plinth on which the figures stand is roughly worked with the point chisel. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface of the marble has the oily, slick appearance characteristic of an acid application.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities, The J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 1976), p. 3, no. 2; Frel 1979a, p. 22, no. 84; Frel 1979b, p. 43, no. 84; *SEG* 33.222; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 207; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, p. 137 n. 7; Clairmont 1993, 1: 200–201, no. 0.909; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 103, no. 10, s.v. Demainete, and p. 381, no. 59, s.v. Prokles; Bergemann 1997, p. 86 n. 177, p. 177, no. 698; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 6.

SHALLOW FLAT-TOPPED NAISKOS with three antefixes framed by antas with projecting antecapitals. The name and patronymic of the deceased are inscribed on the architrave:

ΔΗΜΑΙΝΕΤΗ ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ
“Demainete, (daughter) of Prokles”

The names Demainete and Prokles are attested in other inscriptions from Athens and various *demes* of Attika.¹

At the right, Demainete, a girl, stands facing left in a three-quarter frontal pose. She has a broad face, flattened at the front, and large eyes. Her hair is styled with a central braid on top of her head. That hairstyle is seen on both boys and girls; it is a way to keep their long hair in place and under control. It is also the hairstyle commonly seen on figures of Eros, the son of the goddess of sex and love, Aphrodite. Demainete wears a short-sleeved dress

with shoulder cords (see cat. no. 7), a belt fastened just under her budding breasts, and a cloak. Both the shoulder cords and the hairstyle are indicators of Demainete's youth.² She is probably wearing shoes, for her feet have a large, rounded appearance, and a thick sole seems to be indicated under her left foot.³ She holds a bird with a broken-off head in her right uplifted hand.⁴ Her left hand is wrapped in the folds of her cloak in a motif called the “hanging sleeve” (see cat. no. 1).⁵

At the left, in front of the left framing anta, stands a small girl holding a plump bird with a round eye. The bird is probably a partridge.⁶ This girl wears a long-sleeved dress with a long overfold and shoulder cords. The long sleeves of her dress and her short-cropped hair indicate that she is a slave.⁷ She probably wears soft shoes or slippers, for no toes are shown.⁸ “Press folds” are indicated on both girls' clothing, which have been interpreted by some as guidelines for a painted pattern or as symbols of special care given to the clothing of the wealthy and, thus, a status symbol.⁹

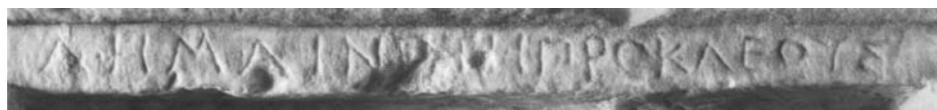
This monument is unusual in showing two different types of birds. The motif of a young deceased person holding a bird is common on Attic gravestones, but it is unusual to show more than one bird. Birds were common pets in the Athenian households, and Demainete was obviously the proud owner of at least two.

The individual touches of this monument—such as the press folds and the depiction of two different types of birds—the size of the monument, and the quality of its carving indicate that it was probably erected by a wealthy and prominent family for their lost daughter, Demainete. The style and composition of the monument are comparable to a funerary monument in Athens.¹⁰ There the girl holds the large bird—a duck—and her young attendant holds a chest.

- 1 Davies 1971, pp. 470–71, nos. 12224, 12231, 12231 bis, 12233–35; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 103, s.v. Demainete, and p. 381, s.v. Prokles. The name Demainete is found on inscriptions from two *demes*, Aixone and Pithos. The name of Prokles is common, being found on inscriptions from twenty-six of the Attic *demes*.
- 2 On the costume, see Vorster 1983, p. 17. For shoulder cords on adults and certain goddesses, see E. B. Harrison, “The Shoulder-Cord of Themis,” in *Festschrift für Frank Brommer*, ed. U. Höckmann and A. Krug, pp. 155–61 (Mainz, 1977). For the hairstyle, see Vorster 1983, pp. 21–23.
- 3 Morrow 1985, pp. 86–87.
- 4 For gravestones of children holding birds, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 42–46.
- 5 Benson 1996, pp. 124–27.
- 6 Cf. Woysch-Méautis 1982, no. 228, pl. 33.
- 7 Reilly 1989, pp. 416–17.
- 8 Morrow 1985, pp. 86–87.
- 9 On press folds, see Ridgway 1990, p. 219; Granger-Taylor 1987, pp. 114–23.
- 10 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 895; Clairmont 1993, 1: 202–3, no. 0.912.



Cat. no. 24. Grave naiskos of Demainete. Malibu 75.AA.63.



Detail of the inscription on the grave naiskos of Demainete.

25. *Fragment of a Lekythos*

About 375 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; polychromy; Height: 58 cm (22⁷/₈ in.); Width: 29.2 cm (11¹/₂ in.)

80.AA.157

CONSERVATION

The lekythos is broken at the top through the neck and at the bottom of the body of the vessel. There is a remnant of the bottom of the original back handle. A large piece of marble is missing from the back right side of the vase near the shoulder. The surface of the lekythos is pitted and weathered with cracks. Marks of the tooth chisel as well as striations from polishing remain on the lekythos. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. It has weathered to a golden brown, and the surface is covered with light incrustation. An analysis of red pigment on the shoulder of the lekythos identified it as cinnabar.¹

PROVENANCE

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Milton Gottlieb, Los Angeles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (New York, 1985), p. 132; Clairmont 1993, 1: 252–53, no. 1.189.

MOST OF THE BODY and part of the neck of a lekythos. The pattern of an original painted floral decoration composed of acanthus leaves, tendrils, and volutes on the shoulder as well as an egg-and-dart border at the top of the body are discernible (see drawing). Most stone lekythoi were originally enlivened with painted floral designs similar to their terra-cotta counterparts.² For example, the shoulder pattern on this lekythos is similar to that on a white-ground lekythos by the Quadrate Painter in New York.³

On the front of the vase is a standing female figure in three-quarter pose to right. She wears a dress with a cloak pulled up over the back of her head, leaving the front of her full, curly hair uncovered. Her head is bowed. The fingers of her left hand hold the edge of the cloak at shoulder height in the gesture associated with married women. The gesture may be a reference to the ritual unveiling of the bride at weddings (*anakalypteria*).⁴ The woman's right arm crosses her body at the waist, and she fingers a fold of the cloak. The figure embodies the ideal Athenian woman, graceful and modest, with her head bowed in sorrow.

The tall, narrow proportions of the lekythos and the single figure highlighted against the background of the vessel point to a work made during the first thirty years of the fourth century B.C. The size and style of this lekythos are comparable to ones in Athens and in Munich.⁵

The practice of using sculpted marble lekythoi as grave markers begins at the end of the fifth century B.C.⁶ Some were plain, while others had painted designs or sculpted reliefs. The shape of the lekythoi changed over the century of their use as grave markers. The marble lekythoi followed the shapes of their terra-cotta predecessors. In the beginning, they are tall and cylindrical. During the second quarter of the fourth century the shape becomes more squat with a broader shoulder and shorter neck.

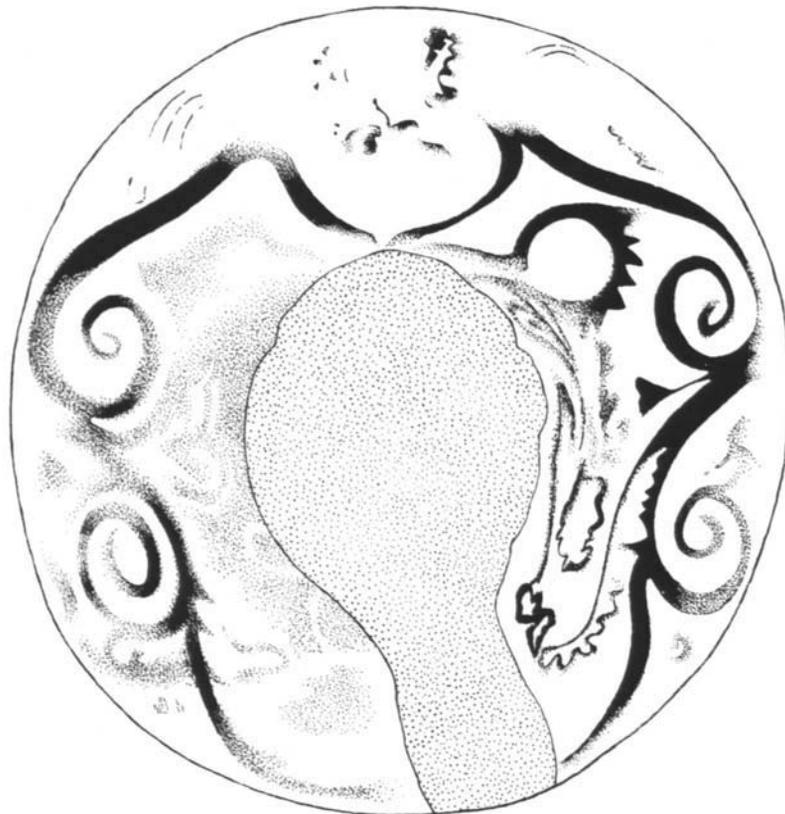
While the iconography of the reliefs on marble vessels such as lekythoi and loutrophoroi is related to that seen on stelai, some features run counter to the trend on stelai; multifigured compositions are common on early lekythoi, while only two-figured reliefs appear on those of the later period. Many of the lekythoi are inscribed, mostly with personal names engraved directly above the figures. Most of the names are otherwise unknown.

Lekythoi were part of the sculptural decoration of the family plots (*periboloi*) in Attic cemeteries.⁷ The vases stood in these enclosures alongside naiskoi, tall stelai often topped with a floral finial (anthemion), and funerary animals. The practice of grouping graves begins in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. and leads to the large family tomb enclosures of the fourth century B.C. The exact findspot of the majority of marble lekythoi is unknown, but some stood in pairs at the corners of plots and may have functioned as boundary markers.⁸

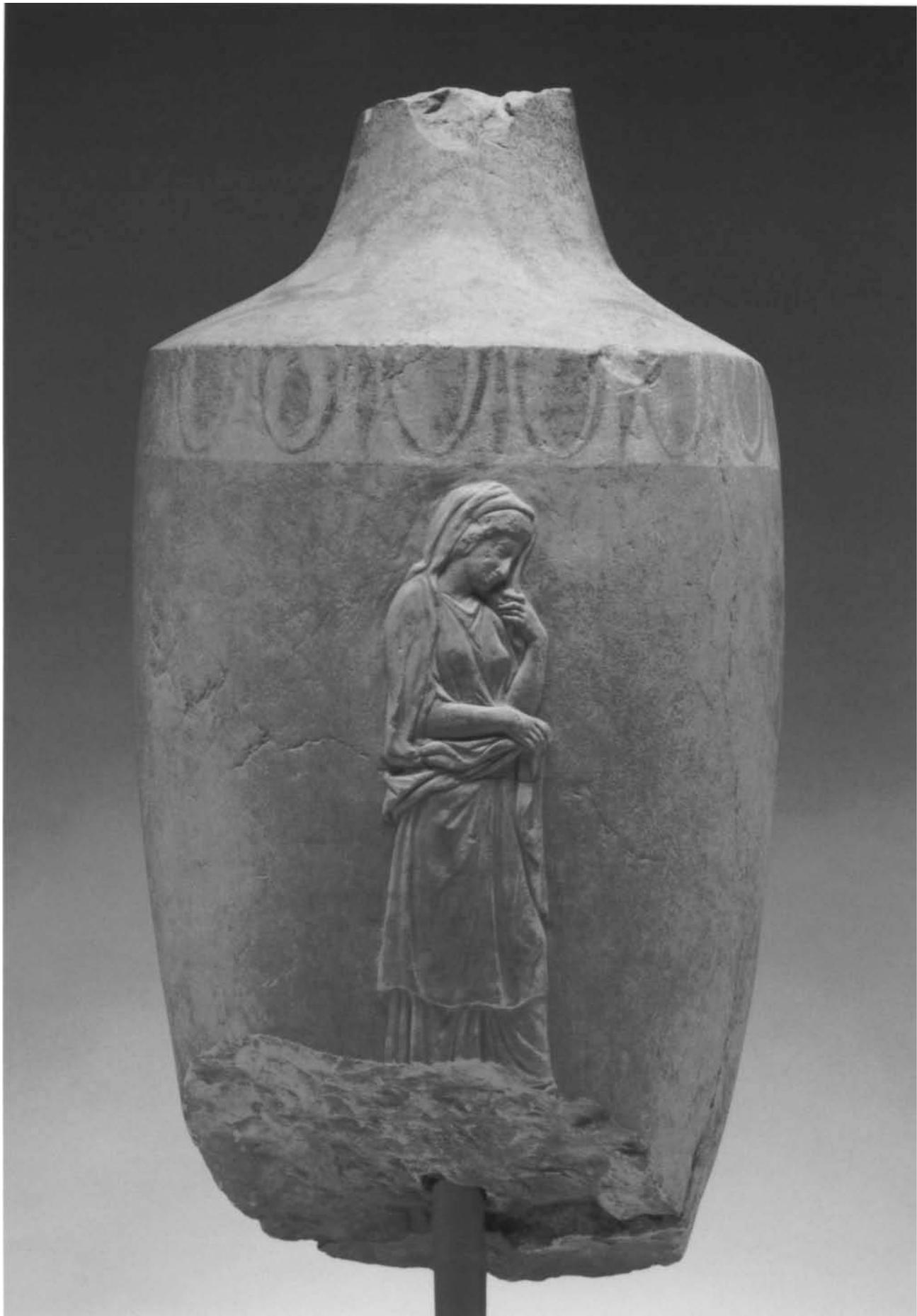
- 1 Report in the treatment file for the lekythos in the Department of Antiquities Conservation, J. Paul Getty Museum.
- 2 See D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971), p. 128.
- 3 The Metropolitan Museum of Art 75.2.5: D. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters* (Oxford, 1975), fig. 24a.
- 4 On the gesture, see Stears 1995, pp. 119–20.
- 5 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4495: Clairmont 1993, 1: 347–48, no. 1.377; Munich, Glyptothek 498: Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, pp. 121–27, no. 19.
- 6 The two main studies of marble lekythoi are B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (Berlin, 1970), and A. Prukakis, "The Evolution of the Attic Marble Lekythoi and Their Relation to the Problem of Identifying the Dead among the Figures Shown on the Funerary Reliefs" (Ph.D. diss., London Univ., 1971).
- 7 R. Garland, "A First Catalogue of Attic Peribolos Tombs," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 77 (1982): 129–30.
- 8 A marble lekythos with a *horos* inscription has survived. See Schmaltz (supra, note 6), pp. 76–77.



Detail of the painted floral pattern on the shoulder of the lekythos Malibu 80.AA.157.



Drawing of the painted floral pattern on the shoulder of the lekythos Malibu 80.AA.157.



Cat. no. 25. Frontal view of a lekythos. Malibu 80.AA.157.

26. *Lekythos*

About 360 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 56.5 cm (22¼ in.); Width: 25.4 cm (10 in.)

73.AA.132.1

CONSERVATION

The lekythos is broken at the top through the neck and handle and at the bottom through the body-foot junction. There is some surface chipping, especially along the junction of the body and shoulder. There are marks of the tooth chisel on the surface of the lekythos. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. It is weathered to a golden brown, and there is incrustation over most of the surface of the lekythos.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1974, no. 7; Frel 1979a, no. 86; Clairmont 1993, intro. vol., p. 82; *ibid.*, 3: 491–92, no. 3.876.

BODY OF A LEKYTHOS missing its foot and most of its neck. There are traces of a painted design at the top of the body, probably originally tongues.¹ In addition, remains of a floral pattern on the shoulder are visible under raking light and magnification. Four figures and a dog are placed on a small ledge of marble that creates a groundline for the composition. In the center of the scene, a bearded man sits on a chair and faces right.² His feet rest on a footstool. They are formless with no toes indicated, so he probably wears soft boots.³ A cloak is draped so that his right arm, shoulder, and chest are bare. His right arm is extended to shake the hand of a young woman standing in front of him, a gesture denoting the unity of the family even into death.⁴ His left hand is raised to hold a stick that terminates in what appears to be a ram's head.⁵ The shaft of the stick itself was originally painted. The practice of carving the top part of the walking stick and painting the shaft was common in relief sculpture, even of the highest quality. Thus, on the East Frieze of the Parthenon, in the assembly of gods, the staff that Ares holds combines the two techniques to render it fully.⁶

The young woman shaking hands with the man wears a belted dress with a long overfold and a cloak that covers both shoulders. Her hair is long, fastened at the neck and falling down her back, an indication of her youth and maidenhood.⁷ In many places, girls would cut their hair prior to marriage and dedicate it to a deity.⁸ The young woman's left hand and forearm are held alongside her body under the folds of her thin cloak.

Behind the maiden at the right of the composition stands a boy with a dog. He wears a cloak draped in such a way that his right arm, shoulder, and chest are bare, as are his feet. His left arm is akimbo. The dog is of the type used for hunting.⁹ It raises its muzzle toward the boy's outstretched right hand. Although the boy holds his hand down to the dog like many figures who hold a bird in their hand toward a dog, there is no trace of anything in his hand.¹⁰ There is a distinct space between the fingers and the thumb. In addition, the digits are outlined with carved channels.

At the left of the composition, behind the seated man, stands a woman with her elbows resting on the back of the chair and her right hand raised to her chin.¹¹ She wears a dress with a long overfold and a cloak drawn up over the back of her head.

The deceased is probably the young woman standing before her parents.¹² A similar composition of a deceased young woman standing in front of her seated father with her mother standing behind him and accompanied by younger siblings is seen on a slightly earlier stele in Rhamnous.¹³ The slightly broader profile of the lekythos combined with the multifigured scene place our vase in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. A lekythos of comparable shape, drapery style, and scene with family members of various ages is in New York.¹⁴ The injection of a distinctive gesture, such as that of the mother's arms in this work, into an otherwise conventional display elevates the visual impact from still life to the dramatic.

- 1 Cf. the design on a lekythos in the Athenian Agora, inv. s 275: Grossman 1995, pp. 284–85, no. 122, fig. 137.
- 2 The chair is a *klismos* whose seat is both uncushioned and undraped. See Richter 1966, pp. 33–37.
- 3 Morrow 1985, pp. 87–88.
- 4 On *dexiosis* between women and men, see Stears 1995, p. 126.
- 5 A seated man holding a staff that was added in paint is seen on a lekythos in Athens, Agora s 2219: Grossman 1995, pp. 254–56, no. 106. Clairmont 1993, 3: 491, suggests a bird's head, but a close examination reveals that the shape, weathered though it is, is too rounded. The front of the shape appears more muzzlelike than beaklike. A small projection further back on the shape would be consistent with a ram's curling horn.
- 6 M. Robertson, *The Parthenon Frieze* (New York, 1975), East IV, fig. 27.
- 7 Reeder 1995, pp. 126–28.
- 8 See W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 63 n. 20.
- 9 For examples of funerary monuments with hunting dogs, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 55–60, p. 127, no. 287, pl. 43, and no. 292, pl. 44.
- 10 For an example of a boy holding out a bird to a dog, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, p. 125, no. 267, pl. 40.
- 11 The figure of a woman leaning on the back of the chair of a seated figure is seen on a lekythos of roughly the same period in Athens, Agora s 2216: Grossman 1995, pp. 256–59, no. 107.
- 12 As Clairmont 1993, 3: 491, suggests.
- 13 Rhamnous Apothiki, Clairmont 1993, 3: 450–51, no. 3.710.
- 14 New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 49.11.4: Clairmont 1993, 4: 192–93, no. 7.330. The vase is larger, however, and the quality of the carving finer than on the Getty lekythos. The figures have more definition and are more three-dimensional.



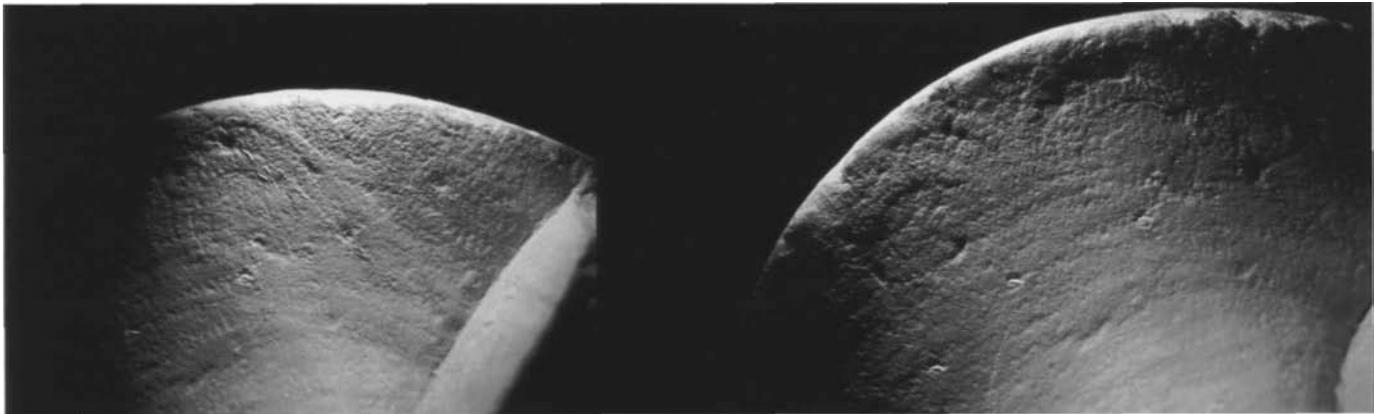
Cat. no. 26. Frontal view of a lekythos. Malibu 73.AA.132.1.



Detail of the woman and man on the left end of the figural scene on the lekythos Malibu 73.AA.132.1.



Detail of the boy and woman on the right end of the figural scene on the lekythos Malibu 73.AA.132.1.



Conservation photo showing details of the painted pattern on the shoulder of the lekythos Malibu 73.AA.132.1.

27. *Loutrophoros of Aristomachos with His Father, Philytes, and His Brother*

About 370 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 74 cm (29 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Width: 28 cm (11 in.)

83.AA.253

CONSERVATION

The loutrophoros is broken at the bottom just above the foot. The neck and the upper part of the vase have been put together from several fragments. There are chips in the surface of the vessel. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. There are marks of the tooth chisel on the surface of the stone.

PROVENANCE

Gift of Vasek Polak, Hermosa Beach, California.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Frel et al., "Acquisitions/1983," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984): 235, no. 9; *SEG* 34.236; Butz 1987, Appendix B, p. 209; Clairmont 1993, 2: 764, no. 2.879; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 58, no. 61, s.v. Aristomachos, and p. 461, no. 2, s.v. Philytes; M. Pecasse, "La Tête a l'envers," in J. Frel, *Studia Varia* (Rome, 1994), p. 24 n. 2; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 6.

ALMOST COMPLETE LOUTROPHOROS of amphora type. The neck of the vase is articulated with a molding at the mouth and at the midpoint; it is carved in relief against the amphora handles, which are blocked out but not fully carved. The handles on many of the marble loutrophoroi are embellished with carved details.¹ Those that are carved in outline like the Getty example probably originally had details added in paint. There was probably originally a separately carved plate-shaped mouth affixed to the top of the neck.² Even loutrophoroi carved in relief on stelai often have a three-dimensionally carved mouth.³ On the top of the Getty loutrophoros is a centrally placed circular depression, approximately 4 cm in diameter, roughly worked with the point chisel. This is probably the attachment point for a separately made mouth. A ring molding marks the join of the foot and body.

The names of the two bearded men are inscribed above their heads:

ΦΙΛΥΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ
"Philytes Aristomachos"

While the name Aristomachos is well attested in other inscriptions from Athens and many *demes* of Attika, Philytes is attested in only one other inscription from Athens, also of the fourth century B.C.⁴

At the left of the composition, a bearded man, Philytes, stands facing right leaning on a stick that originally was painted. These types of figures become popular from the time of the Parthenon on.⁵ It is the stance of the worthy, learned citizen. Philytes wears a cloak wrapped in such a way that his right arm, shoulder, and chest are bare. His left arm and hand are wrapped in the cloak and rest on top of the stick. His right arm is extended to shake hands with a standing bearded man, Aristomachos, probably his son.⁶

Aristomachos wears a cloak wrapped like Philytes'. His left hand grasps the edge of his cloak just above the waist. Between the father and son stands a boy facing left. He, too, is wrapped in a cloak that leaves his right arm, shoulder, and chest bare. His right arm and hand are raised in front of him; his left is enfolded in the cloak. Since he does not wear the tunic of an attendant but a cloak, he is probably the younger brother of Aristomachos. The feet of all three figures are probably shod in soft shoes or boots, for all are formless with no toes indicated.⁷

A similar composition, except for an additional figure placed behind the man on the right, is seen on a lekythos of the same period in Brauron.⁸ In shape and proportion, the Getty loutrophoros is similar to a loutrophoros in Athens.⁹ Based on the iconography and inscriptions, either the father, Philytes, or his son, Aristomachos, could be the deceased individual here. But since the scene is placed on an loutrophoros-amphora—a monument perhaps associated with unmarried men—Aristomachos is probably the deceased son of Philytes, shown with his younger brother.

Two types of marble loutrophoroi—the amphora and the hydria—were used as grave markers beginning near the end of the fifth century B.C. The loutrophoros-amphora has two vertical handles; the loutrophoros-hydria has one vertical and two horizontal handles. Both are continuations of terra-cotta shapes.¹⁰ From the Protogeometric period on, the amphora is associated with male burial, and the horizontal-handled amphora—which is related to the hydria—is associated with women.¹¹

It is possible but not certain that loutrophoroi marked the graves of unmarried persons. While it was the custom in Athens to mark specially the graves of those who died unmarried, the way in which it was done is not completely clear. Loutrophoros iconography does not support their exclusive use for unwed individuals.¹²

Some scholars believe that the name "loutrophoros" as used today is a misnomer because the word means a carrier for the *loutra*, water for bathing specific to the bridal ritual.¹³ The vases we call loutrophoroi are seen in both wedding and funeral scenes; their iconography is diverse, with battles, weddings, and funerals most often represented.¹⁴ It is possible that in antiquity "loutrophoros" denoted any vase used for water for bathing.



Detail of the figural scene on the loutrophoros of Aristomachos.



Cat. no. 27. Loutrophoros of Aristomachos. Malibu 83.AA.253.



Detail of the inscription on the loutrophoros of Aristomachos: Philytes.



Detail of the inscription on the loutrophoros of Aristomachos: Aristomachos.

- 1 E.g., a loutrophoros-amphora in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1406: Moltesen 1995, pp. 122–23, no. 62.
- 2 Such an example is seen on a loutrophoros in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3473: Clairmont 1993, 4: 41–42, no. 4.237.
- 3 E.g., a stele in Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 784: Hamiaux 1992, p. 185, no. 185.
- 4 Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 58, s.v. Aristomachos, and p. 461, s.v. Philytes.
- 5 See J. Bergemann, “Die bürgerliche Identität der Athener im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs,” in *Griechische Klassik: Vorträge bei der interdisziplinären Tagung des Deutschen Archäologenverbandes und der Mommsengesellschaft vom 24.–27. Oktober 1991 in Blaubeuren*, ed. E. Pöhlmann and W. Gauer, pp. 283–93 (Nuremberg, 1994), esp. pp. 287–88; Bergemann 1997, pp. 76–78. For the Parthenon figures, see M. Robertson, *The Parthenon Frieze* (New York, 1975), East Frieze, slab iv, figs. 20–23, and slab vi, figs. 42–46.
- 6 On the gesture, called *dexiosis*, see cat. no. 1, note 7.
- 7 Morrow 1985, pp. 87–88.
- 8 Brauron, Museum BE 837: Clairmont 1993, 3: 473, no. 3.843.
- 9 Athens, Third Ephoria 1018: Clairmont 1993, 4: 77, no. 4.377. Dating of loutrophoroi is based on the changing shape of the vessel over time. See G. Kokula, *Marmorloutrophoren* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 138–42.
- 10 The earliest known terra-cotta loutrophoroi, by the Analatos Painter, are dated to the late eighth century B.C. See M. B. Moore and M. Z. P. Philippides, *Attic Black-figured Pottery* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 18–20.
- 11 This seems generally true, although Clairmont 1993, 6: 127, notes three exceptions of loutrophoros-amphorae used for women rather than men.
- 12 E.g., a rectangular block of stone (*mensa*) bearing a loutrophoros commemorates a married couple: IG II² 5614. C. Dehl, “Eine Gruppe früherer Loutrophorenstelen aus dem Kerameikos,” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 96 (1981): 176 n. 49, lists a few examples, which seem to indicate that the vase was used for married as well as unmarried women.
- 13 The name of the vase is taken from Demosthenes *Against Leochares* 18. When asked how he knew that a particular man had died unmarried, Demosthenes replied that there was a loutrophoros over his grave. Later writers and lexicographers interpret *loutrophoros* as the person bearing the *loutra*, a boy or girl, depending on the sex of the deceased; see Pollux *Onomasticon* 8.66. J. Boardman, “Pottery from Eretria,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 47 (1952): 32 n. 192, first suggested that, since there are so many extant examples of the tall, narrow-necked vase known as a loutrophoros, which would indicate that a high proportion of the population died unmarried, perhaps another vase shape, the *lebes gamikos*, was a better candidate for the vase called “loutrophoros” in ancient literary sources.
- 14 R. Rehm, *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 30–32.

28. *Fragment of the Neck and Mouth of a Lekythos*

Fourth century B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with gray streaks and mica; Height: 38.5 cm (15 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Width: 14.2 cm (5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

73.AA.132.2

CONSERVATION

The neck is broken at the bottom. There are losses from the left side of the mouth and chips on the surface. The fragment once was joined to 73.AA.132.1 (cat. no. 26), but it does not belong to that lekythos. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The surface of the marble has weathered to a yellow-brown patina. There are marks of the tooth chisel on the handle.

PROVENANCE

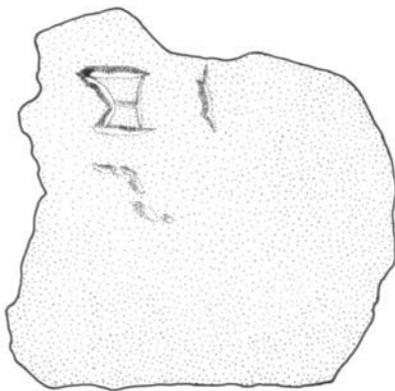
Unknown (joined to 73.AA.132.1).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1974, no. 7; Frel 1979a, no. 86; Clairmont 1993, 3: 491, no. 3.876 (mentioned in description of 73.AA.132.1 as an alien restoration).

PART OF THE NECK OF A LEKYTHOS with the back handle and mouth. The mouth has a flaring lip with a straight vertical outer edge; it curves downward to meet a sharply flaring neck ring. A graffito is carved on the top surface of the mouth. This neck and mouth would have joined the body and foot of a large lekythos. Compare a lekythos in Copenhagen, which has its original neck and mouth.¹

¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 466; Moltesen 1995, pp. 114–15, no. 55.



Drawing of the graffito on the top of the mouth of the lekythos Malibu 73.AA.132.2. The front of the mouth is at the bottom of the drawing.



Cat. no. 28. Fragment of a lekythos. Malibu 73.AA.132.2.

29. *Lion*

About 380 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 37.4 cm (14³/₄ in.); Length: 89.9 cm (35³/₈ in.); Width: 22.3 cm (8³/₄ in.)

57.AA.12

CONSERVATION

The body and head of the lion are intact, except that his nose is chipped, and his left ear is partly missing. His tail, legs, and a splinter on his front flank are missing. The back has been recut and flattened in modern times. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic.

PROVENANCE

Until 1918 in the collection of Maurice, Viscount of Dresnay, Château Dréneuc, at Fégréac in Brittany.

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P. Perdrizet, Paris, sale, *Antiquités grecques de la collection du Vicomte du Dresnay*, 1918, p. 4, no. VII; "Accessions of American and Canadian Museums, July–September, 1957," *Art Quarterly* 20 (1957): 469 (no. 2 in fourth entry under heading "Greek"); H. Stothart, "Two Attic Funerary Lions of the 4th Century," *Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art* 1.1 (1957): 18–21; Getty et al. 1965, pp. 54–55; Stothart 1965, p. 15 (listed incorrectly as A 57.s-8); Vermeule and Von Kersburg 1968, p. 100; Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, p. 9, no. 14; Frel 1979a, p. 15, no. 60; Vedder 1985, pp. 82, 294, no. T 54.

LION FACING RIGHT, crouching on his front legs, and turning his head to face the viewer. Three rows of locks form the mane, which is composed of flamelike tufts going in different directions. The ears are prominent in the first row of locks, although the proper left is largely broken away. The first two rows of locks from the face are parted in the center. The mane continues for some distance along the spine. The eyes are large and deep-set under craggy brows. His open mouth shows individually carved teeth.

This lion is rather simply carved and lacks naturalistic features such as delineated muscle groups and surface veins seen

in lions carved later in the fourth century. He seems to fit best with ones carved between 390 and 370.¹

Although lions had long since vanished from the Attic countryside by the fourth century B.C., they were associated in myth and poetry with ferocity and bravery. Since these qualities were desirable as protectors of the dead, sculpted stone lions were often used as guardians of funerary plots.² Animals carved in the round were placed over graves before the Classical period, but they did not become numerous until the fourth century B.C.³ The use of funerary lions is continuous from the Archaic period on. Possibly the earliest known Attic grave lion is one from the Athenian Agora, dated about 530 B.C.⁴ The most elaborate and, therefore, most expensive family plots (*periboloi*) in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens had boundary markers of freestanding sculptures of mythical and animal figures such as Sirens and lions.⁵ Lions were set up in pairs, one at either end of large tomb facades.⁶

- 1 This includes lions in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 65.563; M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (Boston, 1976), p. 52, no. 76; Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, no. 15.003; Vermeule 1981, p. 97, no. 66; Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 1667–69; Hamiaux 1992, pp. 211–12, nos. 216–18; and Athens, National Archaeological Museum 801; Vedder 1985, p. 285, no. T 10. On the difficulties of establishing a chronology for lions, see M. Mertens-Horn, "Studien zu griechischen Löwenbildern," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 93 (1986): 46–47. Vermeule and Von Kersburg 1968, pp. 99–101, and Vermeule 1972, pp. 49–52, set up a relative chronology for lions, but some of the lions in the earlier list have been redated in later publications. The chronology seems too precise in my view. Another scheme, with many agreements with Vermeule, is found in Vedder 1985, p. 166.
- 2 For a discussion of various views on the meaning of lions, see Mertens-Horn (supra, note 1), pp. 48–51.
- 3 D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971), pp. 135–36.
- 4 Agora s 1740; E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, vol. 11, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 27–28, no. 90. Unlike most lions from the later Archaic and Classical periods, which crouch, this one is seated.
- 5 R. Garland, "A First Catalogue of Attic Peribolos Tombs," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 77 (1982): 129.
- 6 A pair in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 803 and 804, were found in context in the Dipylon cemetery: Clairmont 1993, 1: 6–7, nos. 3a–b.



Cat. no. 29. Right profile view of a lion. Malibu 57.AA.12.



Cat. no. 29. Left profile view of a lion. Malibu 57.AA.12.

30. *Lion*

About 350 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble; Height: 36.7 cm (14½ in.); Length: 92 cm (36¼ in.); Width: 20.3 cm (8 in.)

57.AA.11

CONSERVATION

The head and body of the lion are complete. The legs and tail are missing. There are some chips in the mane. The highly weathered surface shows scattered incrustation and tool marks. The white marble has weathered to a yellowish-brown color.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Accessions of American and Canadian Museums, July–September, 1957," *Art Quarterly* 20 (1957): 469 (no. 1 in fourth entry under heading "Greek"), 471 (fig.); H. Stothart, "Two Attic Funerary Lions of the 4th Century," *Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art* 1.1 (1957): 18–21; Getty et al. 1965, pp. 54–55; Stothart 1965, p. 15 (labeled incorrectly as A 57.s-9); Vermeule and Von Kersburg 1968, p. 100; Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, p. 9, no. 15; Frel 1979a, p. 15, no. 61; Vedder 1985, pp. 82, 294, no. T 53.

LONG AND LANKY LION with details of his musculature and skeleton carved in a naturalistic manner. He faces left and originally crouched on his front legs, which are now missing. His head is almost in left profile, only slightly turned toward the viewer. Three rows of locks at the front and six rows on the back form the mane, which lies flat around the neck and continues to a mid-point on his back. Each lock is pointed and made up of four strands of hair. The ears are large and recessed in the mane. The surface of the rest of the body is worked with a rasp and tooth chisel to simulate the hide of the animal, more prominently on the front than on the back. The eyes are small and round; the mouth is closed.

The lion seems to fit best with those dated about the middle of the fourth century.¹ The treatment of the locks of the mane and the hide is similar to that seen on lions from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos of about 350 B.C.² The face lacks the emotionality of lions carved slightly after the middle of the century under the influence of the sculptor Skopas.³

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- ¹ This includes lions in Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 827: Hamiaux 1992, p. 210, no. 215; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 802: Vedder 1985, p. 285, no. T 11; and a relief image on the stele of Leon, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 770: Clairmont 1993, 1: 5, no. 1.
 - ² London, British Museum 1075, 1077, and 1080. These are classified by Waywell as type 1 lions: G. Waywell, *The Free-Standing Sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum* (London, 1978), pp. 180–83, nos. 401, 404, 405, pls. 37–38.
 - ³ E.g., Vermeule 1972, p. 51, pl. 14, figs. 12a–b (a pair of lions from Tampourias of 320 B.C. in Piraeus, Museum 2243 and 2244). Others are listed in Vermeule and Von Kersburg 1968, p. 100.



Cat. no. 30. Left profile view of a lion. Malibu 57.AA.11.



Cat. no. 30. Right profile view of a lion. Malibu 57.AA.11.

31. *Lion*

About 325 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 58 cm (22⁷/₈ in.); Length: 108 cm (42¹/₂ in.); Width: 28.5 cm (11¹/₄ in.)

96.AA.105

CONSERVATION

The head and body of the lion are complete; the legs and tail are missing. There are large chips on the nose and on the end of the left brow; one large chip has been reattached to the inside of the proper right foreleg. The surface of the marble is basically intact, with a scattering of chips. There is light weathering, especially on the proper right side of the animal, and a light beige incrustation over the entire surface. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The back has marks of the flat chisel; the front, marks of the tooth chisel and rasp.

PROVENANCE

Gift of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

True and Hamma 1994, p. 111, no. 49.

CROUCHING LION FACING LEFT while turning his head to confront the viewer. His body is lean and muscular with ribs and surface blood vessels naturalistically rendered. The front of the lion is more anatomically detailed than the back. The mane is composed of large pointed locks of three or four flat strands. Approximately seven rows of locks extend from the right side of the face around to the back of the head. The locks are more schematically carved at the back of the head. The mane extends to the midpoint of the back. A center part divides the two rows of locks nearest the face. Deep grooves mark the cheeks and the area between the eyes. The eyeballs are rounded. The mouth flanges are smooth. The mouth is open, revealing his individually carved teeth. The muzzle and lower jaw are particularly prominent rounded forms. The genitals are indicated only in a perfunctory way.

The naturalistic details, such as surface veins and hair, place this lion with ones carved after the middle of the fourth century, which was when the largest and most dramatic specimens were carved.¹ Although this lion has features in common with lions in New York, Copenhagen, and Minneapolis—all dated about 330 B.C.²—the face of the Getty lion is more expressive and has details in common with a pair of lions in Piraeus, carved about ten years later.³ Particularly striking is the ridged detail on the snout that extends from the nostrils and bisects the upper lip. The Piraeus lions are, however, larger, about twice the size of the Getty lion.

1 Vermeule and Von Kersburg 1968, pp. 100–101; Vermeule 1972, p. 52.

2 New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.221.9; G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 82, no. 145; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2448; Moltesen 1995, p. 78, no. 22; Minneapolis Institute of Arts 25.25; Vermeule 1981, p. 113, no. 84. Also see Vedder 1985, p. 296, no. T 60, p. 294, no. T 51, and p. 295, no. T 56, respectively.

3 Piraeus, Museum 2243 and 2244; Vedder 1985, p. 297, nos. T 67 and T 68; Vermeule 1972, pl. 14, figs. 12a–b.



Cat. no. 31. Left profile view of a lion. Malibu 96.AA.105.



Cat. no. 31. Right profile view of a lion. Malibu 96.AA.105.

32. *Lion*

About 310 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height: 109.5 cm (43 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Width: 27.7 cm (10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.); Depth: 40.4 cm (15 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

73.AA.121

CONSERVATION

The forelegs as well as part of the base of the right back foot and the tail are broken off. There are areas of loss on the mane and chips over the surface of the animal. The very end of the mane on the back is broken away. The muzzle and lower jaw were restored in marble while the statue was in the van Branteghem collection around 1900; they were removed and re-restored in 1974.¹ The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The plinth is worked with the point chisel for insertion into a base.

PROVENANCE

From Marathon. Formerly in the collection of Adolphe van Branteghem, Brussels.

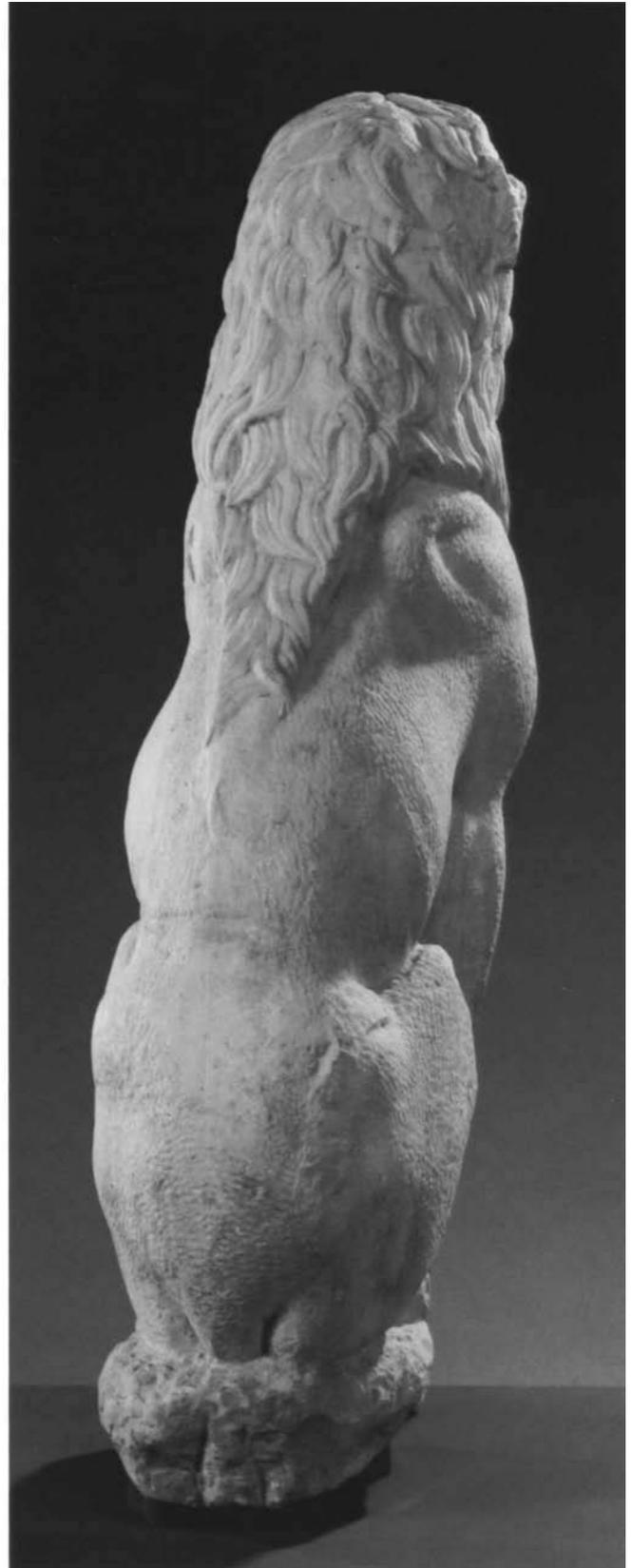
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The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Malibu, 1974), p. 13; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1975), p. 33; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1976), pp. 38, 40. M. Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'art grec* (Paris, 1911), p. 230; F. Willemsen, *Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier am Dach des Zeustempels* (Berlin, 1959), p. 69; Vermeule and Von Kersburg 1968, p. 100; J. Frel, *Les Sculpteurs attiques anonymes, 430–300 B.C.* (Prague, 1969), p. 365; Vermeule 1972, p. 51, fig. 4; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Lydian Relations with Ionia and Persia," *Proceedings of the xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* (Ankara, 1978), 1: 34, and 3: pl. 12, fig. 17; Frel 1979a, p. 16, no. 62; Frel 1979b, p. 43, no. 62; Vermeule 1981, p. 127, no. 98; Vedder 1985, pp. 85–86, 88, 97, 199 nn. 467–68, p. 295, no. T 55.

LION SITTING ERECT on his haunches looking straight ahead. He is placed on a small plinth that must have been set into a larger base for display in the cemetery.² The musculature and anatomy are rendered naturalistically. The mane is composed of pointed locks that continue down both the front and the back to the mid-point of the body. A single row of raised locks frames the face; the remainder lie flat and are arranged randomly. The rest of the body has been worked with the tooth chisel to simulate the hide of the animal. The face is large, its mouth open to reveal upper and lower teeth, which are carved individually. The restoration of the muzzle and lower jaw, which was done around the beginning of the twentieth century, is too large for the rest of the lion and, therefore, causes the lion to have a stupid rather than a fierce expression. The eyes are triangular with rounded eyeballs. A deep vertical groove between the eyes continues up the forehead into the mane.

This lion seems likely to be a reproduction of the monumental seated lion at Chaironeia.³ That lion is constructed of blocks of marble, and the statue itself measures over nine feet. It is placed on a plinth approximately six feet high marking a tomb containing some 250 skeletons—Theban casualties from the battle between the Macedonians under Philip II and Athens allied with Thebes, which was fought at the site in 338 B.C.⁴ The Getty lion would have been carved sometime after the completion of the monument at Chaironeia, which was most likely shortly after 316 B.C.⁵ Stylistically, the Getty lion looks back to lions carved about fifteen years earlier.⁶

- 1 Information in the central object file in the Department of Antiquities in the Getty Museum.
- 2 Cf. the reconstruction drawing of the grave precinct of Dionysios in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens: A. Brueckner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos bei der Hagia Triada zu Athen* (Berlin, 1909), p. 82, fig. 49.
- 3 For the lion at Chaironeia, see G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture* (New York, 1930), pp. 8–9, 52, fig. 29; O. Broneer, *The Lion Monument at Amphipolis* (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 35–41.
- 4 On the monument, see Pausanias *Guide to Greece* 9.40.5. On the battle, see Diodorus Siculus 16.85.5–86.6.
- 5 U. Knigge, "Zum Löwen von Kantzas," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 91 (1976): 170–71, convincingly argues that the monument could not have been erected earlier, even though it commemorates those who fell in the battle of 338 B.C.
- 6 The lion has certain stylistic resemblances to those carved earlier, e.g., the lion in Cincinnati Art Museum, inv. 1946.40. Vermeule 1972, p. 51, states that the two lions were carved by the same sculptor, but he seems later to have changed his mind, since he dates the Getty lion to the late fourth century in a subsequent publication: Vermeule 1981, p. 127, no. 98.



Cat. no. 32. Front and back views of a lion. Malibu 73.AA.121.



Cat. no. 32. Right profile view of a lion. Malibu 73.AA.121.

33. *Two Doves*

350–300 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; Height .1: 17 cm (6¾ in.), .2: 16.5 cm (6½ in.); Length .1: 25 cm (9⅞ in.), .2: 24.5 cm (9⅝ in.); Width .1: 9.7 cm (3⅞ in.), .2: 9.8 cm (3⅞ in.)

78.AA.47.1–2

CONSERVATION

The ends of the beaks are missing. There are small chips along the edges of both birds. The fronts are covered with a light yellowish incrustation and are slightly more weathered than the backs; the backs are less well modeled but better preserved. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The undersides of the birds are roughly finished with the point chisel. There are rasp marks on the bodies of the birds.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of Joseph Brummer, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Los Angeles, 1954), p. 21, no. 4; *ibid.* (Los Angeles, 1956), p. 13, no. 4.

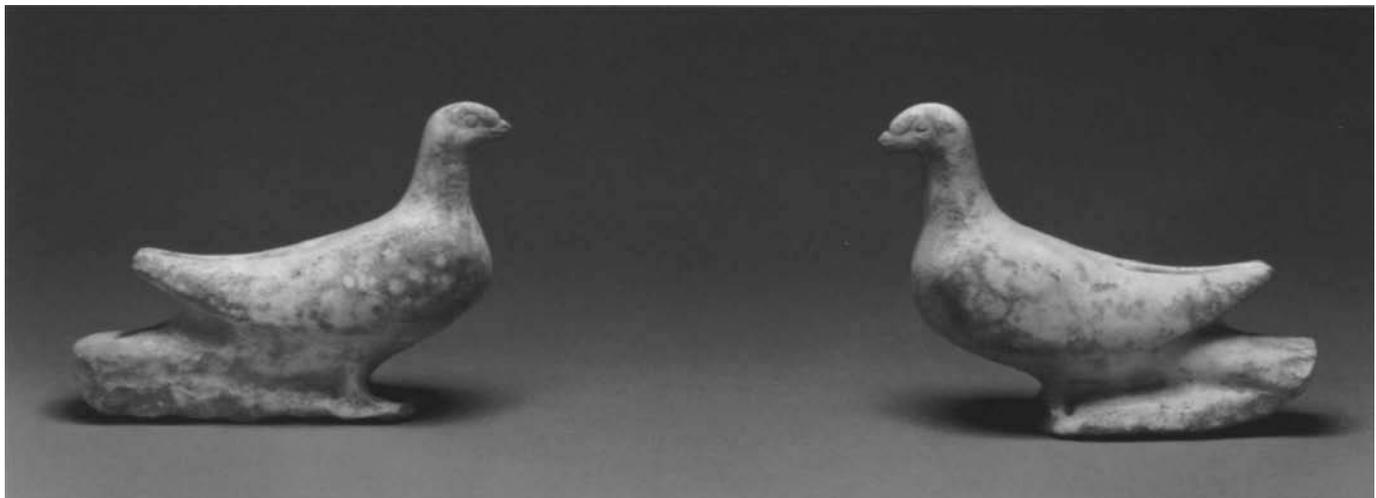
Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, sale, *Estate of Joseph Brummer*, April 20–23, 1949, lot no. 167; Stothart 1965, p. 22 (as 1-48); Frel 1979a, no. 72.

TWO DOVES ON PLINTHS, one facing left (.1), the other facing right (.2). They look straight ahead, and their wings are folded. Their eyes are round with a groove incised around each one to set off the eyeball. Their beaks are divided into upper and lower parts by incised lines.

Doves appear frequently on Attic stelai, mostly as akroteria and usually carved in one piece with the slab.¹ The size of these doves indicates that they come from a large grave monument, probably a naiskos, where they would have been placed on the corners of the pediment as akroteria.² Several doves carved separately are in the storerooms of the Kerameikos Museum in Athens.³

The purpose of doves on funerary monuments would have been as mourners. As the sacred animals of Persephone, a goddess who spent half of every year in the Underworld, doves were regarded as birds of sorrow; live specimens were given as offerings on the tomb.⁴ When they appear on funerary monuments, it is often in the company of a Siren, a hybrid creature part woman and part bird, who lamented the dead.⁵

- 1 On doves as decorative elements on funerary monuments, see Woysch-Méautis, p. 42. Cf. two doves on top of a loutrophoros in relief in London, British Museum 1915.4-5.1: Clairmont 1993, 2: 513, no. 2.417b.
- 2 Cf. a stele in Chalkis, Museum 925: Woysch-Méautis, p. 124, no. 254, pl. 37.
- 3 Seen by the author during research in Athens in 1996.
- 4 Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 52–53.
- 5 Euripides *Helen* 167–78, trans. N. Curry (Cambridge, 1981).



Cat. no. 33. Two doves, in their approximate relation to one another, from a funerary monument.
Malibu 78.AA.47.1–2.

34. Anthemion

About 320 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; traces of red color;
Height: 76 cm (29⁷/₈ in.); Width: 60.3 cm (23³/₄ in.); Depth:
26.7 cm (10¹/₂ in.)

79.AA.18

CONSERVATION

The left bottom and right top are missing. The outer margin of the anthemion is chipped all along the front edge. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. It has weathered to a reddish-brown patina. There are tooth-chisel marks on the sides; some of the original rough-picked back surface remains, but most of the back is a broken surface.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1979b, p. 44, no. 86 bis; S. Margolis and W. Showers, "Ancient Greek and Roman Sculpture: Authentication, Weathering, and Provenance Determination," in *Marble: Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 283–99 (Malibu, 1990), esp. p. 286, Table 1, no. 8.

CARVED IN THE SHAPE OF luxuriant vegetation, this anthemion was the crowning element of a grave relief.¹ Classical Attic grave monuments in the form of tall stelai crowned by a floral decorative element (anthemion) first appear on terra-cotta vases in the 440s and 430s B.C.—much earlier than any carved marble examples found to date.² A portion of the carved molding separating the anthemion from the stele below is preserved at the right lower corner of the fragment. The molding is composed of three

different straight and curving elements called taenia, cavetto, and ovolo. The shell anthemion is a split palmette composed of two six-leafed half-palmettes with a long-stemmed flower between them, all, including their volutes, rising from thick stems and a curly-leafed acanthus.³ The volutes are decorated with rosettes of eight petals. A second pair of volutes rests on the horizontal molding at the corners.

Funerary monuments provided ancient sculptors the opportunity to demonstrate their technical virtuosity with both ornamental and figural subjects. This akroterion shows the sculptor's skill in carving floral decoration. The diversity among anthemia with respect to detail is large, but all are essentially variations on the theme of a central palmette whose leaves, turned either outward or inward, grow out of a centrally placed bunch of acanthus leaves. Frequently, the carving of the anthemion is of greater quality than a figural scene on the same stele.

This anthemion is similar to the one on a nearly complete stele with a recessed figural panel and two rosettes that is in Calimera.⁴ It belongs to the group of more luxuriant and three-dimensional anthemia carved in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

1 On anthemia, see U. Vedder, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1985), pp. 48–61.

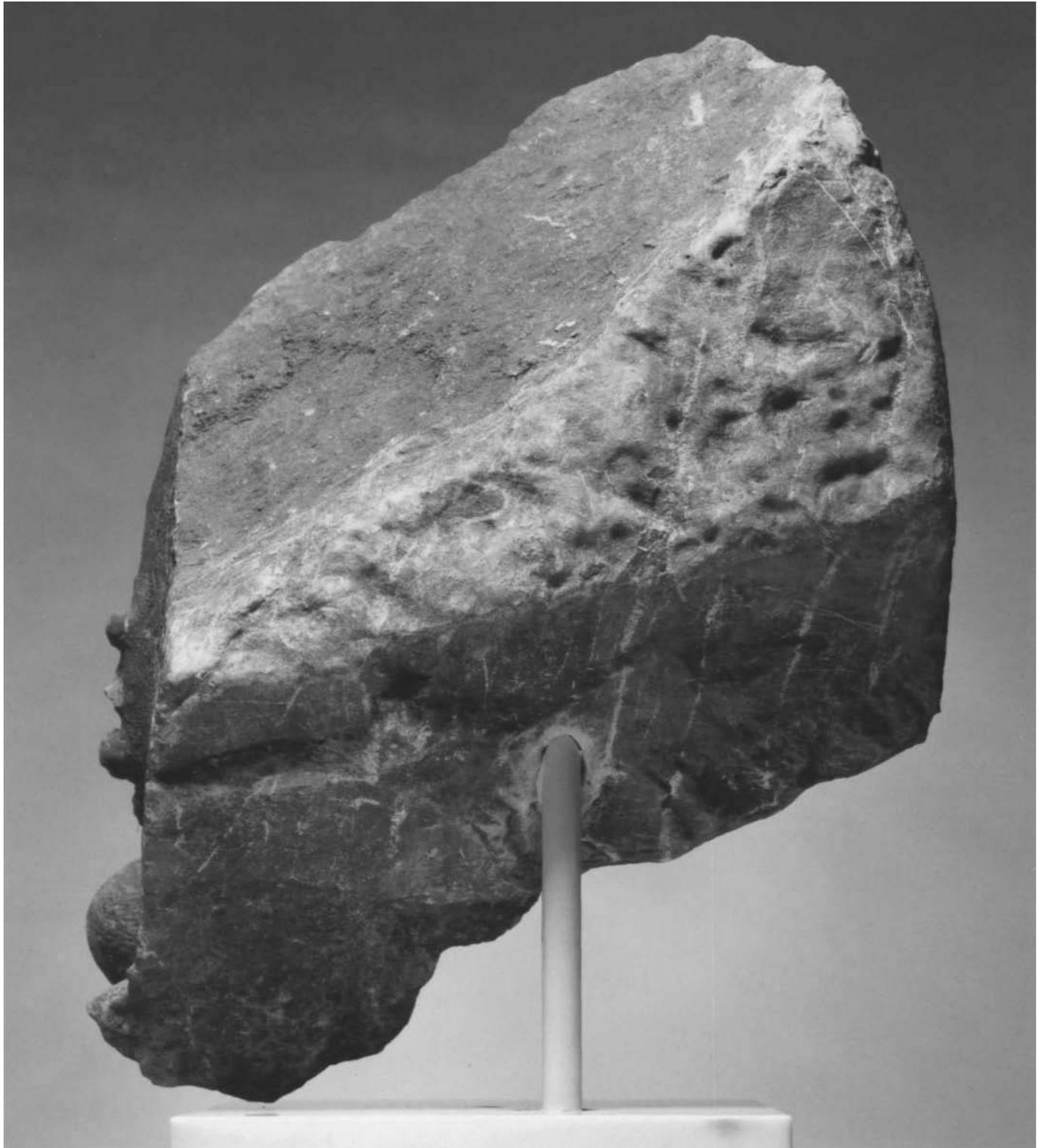
2 These representations of tall stelai with anthemia appear on white-ground lekythoi, an example of which is Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1958, painted by the Inscription Painter: D. Kurtz, "Vases for the Dead, an Attic Selection, 750–400 B.C.," in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery*, ed. H. Bridger (Amsterdam, 1984), p. 323, fig. 7.

3 Cf. a shell anthemion in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.107: G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 64, no. 95.

4 Calimera, Comune: Clairmont 1993, 2: 592, no. 2.462a.



Cat. no. 34. Front view of an anthemion from a funerary monument. Malibu 79.AA.18.



Cat. no. 34. Back view of an anthemion from a funerary monument. Malibu 79.AA.18.

Attic Funerary Sculpture

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

35. *Grave Naiskos of Apollonia*

About 100 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble with mica; polychromy; Height: 112.4 cm (44¼ in.); Width: 63.5 cm (25 in.); Depth: 20 cm (7⅞ in.)

74.AA.13

CONSERVATION

Part of the bottom is missing, and there are some breaks. The back of the stone is weathered with a dark brown crust. The front of the stone has been cleaned to reveal the whiteness of the marble. The marble is micaceous and, therefore, probably Pentelic. The back has been finished roughly with the point chisel. The bottom of the front has also been left with a rough point-chisel finish where it would have been embedded in a base. There are rasp marks on the cloak and dress. The sides have been finished with a tooth chisel. Traces of the original red paint remain on the sandals. There are four holes, two above the lateral antas and two in the corners of the field. In one of them, part of the iron peg for holding funerary wreaths still can be seen. The holes are an interesting feature of this monument, for they are tangible evidence of the rituals and cult practices that took place at gravesites: the wreaths of flowers, leaves, and vines that were hung on the grave monuments.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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W. Coulson, eds., pp. 79–80 (London, 1998); D. W. Von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* (Mainz, 1998), p. 27 n. 328, p. 35, p. 52 n. 635, p. 78 nn. 928–29, p. 170, no. 450.

NAISKOS FRAMED BY ANTAS supporting an architrave. An inscription on the architrave reads:

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΗΒΑΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ
"Apollonia, (daughter) of Aristandros and Thebageia"

The names Apollonia and Aristandros are attested in other inscriptions from Athens and from some of the *demes* of Attika, Thebageia perhaps on a gravestone from Thebes.²

Apollonia stands at the right in a three-quarter frontal position facing left. She wears a dress fastened by a round button visible on the right shoulder and belted above the waist. A cloak is draped over her left shoulder and arm. She wears platform sandals, which, especially, help to date the monument. The sole is indented between the first and second toes and follows the contours of the toes, which overhang the sole slightly.³ The sandals are similar to one worn by Aphrodite in the so-called Slipper-Slapper group statue of the goddess and Pan from Delos, dated about 100 B.C.⁴

Apollonia's hair is chin length with a central braid, like the hairstyle of Demainete discussed in catalogue number 24.⁵ Her face is a long, narrow oval with large eyes. The running drill has been used to create the line between her lips. The ends of her hair locks and her nostrils are likewise drilled. In her left hand she holds a pomegranate, and with her right she strokes a dove perched on top of a tall rectangular pillar.⁶ Objects placed atop pillars, such as herms, Sirens, vessels, and wool baskets, are featured in the backgrounds of many Hellenistic funerary stelai. They are interpreted by some as symbolic of the deceased's character and role in society.⁷ The pomegranate and the dove are clear references to death and the Underworld and suggest an association with Persephone, daughter of the goddess Demeter who was fated to spend half of each year in the Underworld.

The stele dates to the first half of the first century B.C. on the basis of drapery, hair, shoe style, and the spatial relationship between the figure and its architectural frame, and because of the classicistic treatment of the body and face. It may be compared to an Attic gravestone of the first century B.C. in Grenoble, which depicts a woman and a man.⁸ The high-girt dresses of Apollonia and of the woman on the Grenoble stele are similar, as are the simply carved hands, which are large in proportion to the rest of the anatomy both on Apollonia and on the male figure on the Grenoble stele.



Detail of the inscription on the grave naiskos of Apollonia.

This is a remarkable work. Even though the carving is not of the highest quality, the image is uniquely moving and poignant. The size of Apollonia's feet, arm, hand, length of hair, and face all conspire to make her seem a bit too big for her

clothes—clearly a growing girl. But her muscle tone, slight backward slouch, and not just bent but inward-turned knee are expressive of a contrary mood of stasis and resignation. Here are the elements of poetic tragedy.

- 1 For wreaths on funerary monuments as part of graveside cult practice, see E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs That Represent Women in the Dress of Isis*, *Hesperia*, Supplement 22 (1988), pp. 43–45. The pins are possibly an addition in the Roman period.
- 2 Davies 1971, pp. 47–48, no. 1647; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 44, s.v. Apollonia, and p. 51, s.v. Aristandros; S. Koumanoudes, *Thebaike Prosopographia* (Athens, 1979), p. 99, no. 943, Thebageineias(?), p. 222.
- 3 Morrow 1985, pp. 91–93, 163, fig. 9a.
- 4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3335: S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture, A Catalogue* (Athens, 1968), pp. 189–90, pl. 68.

- 5 On the central braid as an age indicator, see Vorster 1983, pp. 21–23; D. von Moock, *Die figürlichen Grabstelen Attikas in der Kaiserzeit* (Mainz, 1998), p. 35, interprets Apollonia's hairstyle as Late Republican and Augustan, but a central braid is commonly seen on girls on Classical and Hellenistic Greek monuments.
- 6 On doves in funerary symbolism, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 50–51.
- 7 See Smith 1991, p. 189.
- 8 Musée de Grenoble 376: M. Daumas and B. Holtzmann, "Une Stèle attique signée au Musée de Grenoble," *Monuments Piot* 73 (1993): 1–24.



Cat. no. 35. Grave naiskos of Apollonia. Malibu 74.AA.13.

Megarian Funerary Sculpture

THE EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD

36. *Grave Stele of Pollis*

About 480 B.C.

Parian marble;¹ Height: 153 cm (60¼ in.); Width: 45.1 cm (17¾ in.); Depth: 15.9 cm (6¼ in.)

90.AA.129

CONSERVATION

The upper part of the stele is complete, although it was broken and repaired at some point in its history. The lower portion, from just below the knees of Pollis, is broken away. There are large gouges on the surface of the stone in the area of the relief; the face of Pollis has been almost completely obliterated. There is extensive chipping along the left side of the relief, and Pollis's proper right shoulder is broken away. The back of the stone is finished with the point chisel; the sides are smooth. On the top of the stele is a broken rectangular area 8.3 × 24.8 cm (3¼ × 9¾ in.), which is the remnant of something that has broken off, possibly a finial. Ultraviolet examination suggests the presence of remnants of painting on several areas of the relief: the background at the lower right, the proper right leg and knee of Pollis, and the upper face of the stele, which suggests an original painted floral design or, possibly, rosettes. The design in the area at the lower right, just below the spear, possibly suggests a dog. The surface of the marble is weathered, with a brownish patina.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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TALL, NARROW STELE TAPERING inward from the bottom to the top with a figural area occupying most of the front. A three-line inscription is placed on the upper part of the stele just above the figural area. It is carved with letter forms characteristic of those from Megara, a town situated on the borders of both Corinth and Attica, and names the deceased as Pollis, the son of Asopichos.²

ΛΕΓΟ ΠΟΛΛΙΣ ΑΣΟΠΙΧΟ ΦΙΛΟΣ ΗΥΙΟΣ:
Ο ΚΑΚΟΣ ΕΟΝ ΑΠΕΘΝΑΣΚΟΝ
ΗΥΠΟ ΣΤ[Ι]ΚΤΑΙΣΙΝ ΕΓΟΝΕ

"I speak, I, Pollis dear son of Asopichos,
not having died a coward, with the wounds of
the tattooers, yes myself"³

The name Pollis is attested at Athens and in the *demes* of Attika.⁴ The tattooers mentioned in the inscription probably refer to Thracians,⁵ a tribal people from the northern part of Greece who were formidable opponents, and who fought against the Greeks under the Persian commander Xerxes in 480 B.C.⁶

The figure of Pollis is carved in shallow relief in a slightly recessed area with sloping sides. He is shown in right profile bending forward slightly, which gives a sense of imminent movement: Pollis is poised, ready for action. Though nude, he is outfitted with the panoply of a hoplite soldier: helmet, sheathed sword, shield, and spear. The helmet has a high plume and lowered cheekpieces. The outline of a visor can be seen to the right of the defaced head. The visor and the cheekpieces, which were perhaps crenellated, are the distinguishing features of the Thracian helmet that was developed in the early fifth century, during the period of the Persian Wars.⁷ The sword was probably suspended from a baldric that originally would have been painted. The shield is tilted to give a view of its interior surface. In spite of the shallow depth of the carving, the details of the musculature are conveyed with extraordinary clarity and sophistication. In a terse, muscular style, the anonymous sculptor has captured the pose of a foot soldier advancing cautiously with his shield raised and his spear ready, a motif that was likely all too familiar to him.⁸ The fact that the depth of the background varies according to the requirements of the element that it surrounds is a convention that continues from the Archaic period. The stele of Pollis is representative of the transition between the Archaic and the Classical styles of rendering the human body.

The subject of the relief—the warrior in battle—is important in the history of Greek sculpture. Reliefs from the Archaic period, such as the grave monument of Aristion in Athens, depicted the warrior at rest.⁹ Later preserved sculpture in the round, such as the pedimental figures from the Temple of Aphaia on Aigina, and small bronze figurines, as well as depictions in Attic red-figured vase-painting, demonstrate that the warrior in motion was a popular subject during the first half of the fifth century B.C.¹⁰ This is not surprising, considering that the series of wars with Persia occurred throughout that period and involved most mainland Greeks. Pollis, the man commemorated on our stele, probably died in one of the battles of the Persian Wars.



Cat. no. 36. Grave stele of Pollis. Malibu 90.AA.129.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave stele of Pollis.

The Megarian script of the inscription suggests that the stele was either made in the region of Megara or carved elsewhere but dedicated to a Megarian citizen in the early fifth century B.C. One problem in determining where this stele was sculpted is that only a few assuredly Megarian sculptures have survived. Only three other Megarian reliefs of the Severe Style are currently known, none of them as large or as well preserved as this stele.¹¹ Little, therefore, can be said of a distinctive Megarian style, and it is not certain whether the three known Megarian fragments were funerary or votive reliefs.¹²

The stele of Pollis is similar in size, subject, character, and style to the fragment of an Attic relief in Copenhagen that is dated about 500 B.C. The Copenhagen relief likewise features a nude warrior placed prominently in the foreground in a slightly three-quarter twisting position and holding a large round shield.¹³ The manner in which the bodies are rendered on the two reliefs with the combination of three-dimensionality and planar forms is so similar, in fact, that one can imagine the two created by the same individual or workshop. The idea may not be so far-fetched, considering the geographical proximity of Megara and Athens.

- 1 Stable isotope analysis by Norman Herz at the University of Georgia, February 2000.
- 2 The inscription uses both Attic and Corinthian letter forms; e.g., epsilon looks like a beta, the gamma is simplified and looks like a C. This is typical of the Megarian alphabet of the early fifth century. See L. H. Jeffrey, *The Local Greek Scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. edn. (Oxford, 1990), pp. 132–38, 442.
- 3 Proposed by J. Bousquet, L. Dubois, and O. Masson: see *SEG* 41.413.
- 4 Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 371, s.v. Pollis.
- 5 Herodotos 5.6 (in the section on customs of the Thracians); Herondas *Mime* 5.65.
- 6 Herodotos 7.185.
- 7 A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), p. 95, pl. 53.
- 8 The sculptural technique is typical of the Severe or Bold Style of the early fifth century B.C. See B. S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 3–11; E. B. Harrison, “Early Classical Sculpture: The Bold Style,” in *Greek Art, Archaic into Classical: A Symposium held at the University of Cincinnati, 2–3 April 1982*, ed. C. G. Boulter, pp. 40–65 (Leiden, 1985).
- 9 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 29; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (New York, 1978), p. 164, fig. 235.
- 10 E.g., the reconstructed striding warrior from the East Pediment. Munich, Glyptothek F 72 et al.: D. Ohly, *Die Aegineten*, vol. 1, *Die Ostgiebelgruppe* (Munich, 1976), pp. 32–40, pls. 12–14. A fragment of a stele with the legs of a warrior in a chariot box survives on the island of Aigina, and the lower legs of two warriors are preserved on a relief in Copenhagen, but until the appearance of the Getty stele, no complete relief representation of the subject was known. Aigina, Museum 752; E. Walter-Karydi, *Alt-Agina*, 2.2 (Mainz, 1987), p. 82, no. 57, pl. 43; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2787; F. Johansen, *Greece in the Archaic Period* (Copenhagen, 1994), p. 50, no. 10.
- 11 In the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and at the University of Vienna. All are fragments and include only small parts of the figures without inscriptions. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk 735 (κ 18): C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1966), p. 11, no. 1, fig. 1; New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.59, only a part of the relief with the head of a male figure: G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 18, no. 22; Vienna, Archaeological Collection of the University of Vienna, no. 1173; H. Kenner, “Die Marmorbildwerke in der Archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Wien,” *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 46 (1961/1963): 6–8, no. 1, fig. 1.
- 12 In the Classical period, there is only a small number of funerary monuments from Megara, but warriors seem to be a favorite motif. Clairmont 1993, 6: 317, lists four stelai as certainly coming from Megara and two as possibly from Megara. One of these, however, is a relief in the Getty Museum (cat. no. 11), which is probably Attic.
- 13 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2787 (supra, note 10). The relief actually shows two warriors, one behind the other, but on the surviving fragment the visual impression is of one nude warrior who squats behind his shield in the foreground.

Boeotian Funerary Sculpture

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

37. *Grave Stele of Athanias*

About 400 B.C.

Black limestone; Height: 170.2 cm (67 in.); Width: top 75 cm (29½ in.), bottom 80 cm (31½ in.); Depth: 19 cm (7½ in.)

93.AA.47

CONSERVATION

The stele has been reconstructed from three pieces. The lower right corner is missing. There are chips on the lower left corner and along the edges of the block. The back is roughly finished with the point chisel; the sides are smooth. The top, though more finished than the back, also bears marks of the point chisel. The brownish patina that remains on the back and sides used to cover the entire surface of the stele.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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THE STELE IS A block of stone that tapers slightly from bottom to top, ending at the top in a triangular pediment with small central and side akroteria. The right-hand akroterion is broken off. The whole representation is incised in outline on the smoothed surface of the stone. Originally, the scene on the face of the stone was brightly painted; the incised lines that remain now form a linear design, but originally they served as outlines to guide the painter. An inscription at the top of the stele names the deceased pictured below.

ΑΘΑΝΙΑΣ
"Athanias"

The style of the letter forms may represent a mixture of Sikyonian and Boeotian scripts.¹ The name Athanias is attested in two inscriptions of the Hellenistic period on Euboea and in one inscription of the Roman period from Athens.²

The clean-shaven Athanias is depicted standing with body frontal and head in right profile. The slightly undulating line on which he stands probably represents a landscape setting. The warrior wears a conical helmet decorated with a laurel wreath, a short belted tunic fastened only on his left shoulder, and shoes. The helmet, of a type called *pilos*, originated in Boeotia in the early fifth century B.C. and was later adopted by infantry and cav-

alry well beyond Boeotia.³ His sandals are of the type (*trochades*) worn by warriors on other examples of Boeotian black limestone stelai.⁴ The hilt of a sword, which is suspended from a baldric, is visible at his left side. In his right hand, he holds a spear with the tip pointed downward, while his left hand rests on top of a large round shield standing on its edge.

The scene on the interior of the shield can be seen in accurately foreshortened perspective. Astride the winged Pegasus the hero Bellerophon is poised to pierce with a long spear a Chimaira beneath. Bellerophon's slaying of the Chimaira was a popular subject for interior scenes on shields held by the warriors depicted on the black limestone Boeotian stelai.⁵ The motif has also been discovered recently in small paintings that originally filled the pedimental area on some of these stelai.⁶

The stele of Athanias belongs to a small group of similarly executed black limestone grave stelai from Boeotia that all depict warriors. Six complete specimens and two fragments of this type are known; they date between the late fifth and the early fourth centuries B.C.⁷ All use the same technique, with outlines and details of the figures incised in the stone in either continuous or finely dotted lines. The stelai in the Thebes Museum show charging warriors wearing conical helmets and carrying spears or swords in their right hands and shields in their left; the names of the deceased are inscribed at the top. The stele of Athanias, most likely a later product of the same local workshop as the other incised Boeotian stelai, stands apart from most of the previously known stelai of this class in both scale and subject. It is approximately fifty percent larger than any of the other preserved complete stelai.⁸ In contrast to the animated figures of the warriors on the other black limestone stelai in Greece, Athanias stands serene and relaxed in the moment prior to or just after battle. The wreaths worn around the helmets of many of these warriors should be considered an artistic convention, perhaps with heroic overtones, or a reference to their victory in athletic contests or battle.

A Greek scholar has theorized that some of these grave-stones portray warriors who fell in the Battle of Delion (424 B.C.) between the Athenians and the Boeotians.⁹ This theory gains support from the use of Bellerophon and the Chimaira in the iconography of the gravestones: this myth appears to have been decidedly unpopular at Athens by the end of the fifth century B.C. The choice of the hero Bellerophon by the Boeotians to decorate the interior scenes on the shields is interesting in light of what seems to be a complete suppression of this hero in Athenian iconography. Depiction of the myth was very popular in Athenian art during the Archaic period, but it disappeared from the repertoire in the fifth century B.C. and did not reappear.¹⁰ Alternatively, the wreaths may suggest that during their childhood the men had served as priests at the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios in



Drawing of the grave stele of Athanias. Drawing by Beverly Lazor-Bahr.

Thebes.¹¹ In any event, the iconography of the black limestone stelai does seem to represent an ideology of Victory.¹²

While “at ease” in the military sense, this depiction is clearly dynamic. The balance, the arm’s spread, the alert head inclination, and the lively treatment of the clothing all contribute to the effect of manly vigor, certainly a central Greek virtue.

- 1 Sara Aleshire, unpublished report in the object file of the Antiquities Department of the Getty Museum. According to Dr. Aleshire, the presence of the rhomboidal theta may show a mixture of Sikyonian and Boeotian scripts. While such a mixture of two scripts is known in Greek epigraphy, it is relatively rare.
- 2 P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1, *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1987), p. 15, s.v. Athanias; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 9, s.v. Athanias.
- 3 H. Pflug, *Antike Helme* (Cologne, 1989), pp. 22–23, fig. 17; A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), pp. 94–95, 125, pl. 58.
- 4 See Morrow 1985, pp. 63–64.
- 5 See B. Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Madison, 1997), p. 170 n. 49, citing an unpublished 1993 M.A. thesis for Bryn Mawr College by Thomas Milbank.
- 6 Discovered by examining and photographing the gravestones under special lighting, including ultraviolet, by an Austrian archaeologist, Richard Posamtier. Results of his research were presented in a paper, “Painted Attic Gravestones of the Classical Period and Their Position within Classical Funerary Art,” given at a colloquium in honor of C. W. Clairmont: *Les Pierres de l’Offrande*, 9–11 December 1998, Université Blaise-Pascal, Clermont-Ferrand. The proceedings of the colloquium are published as *Les Pierres de l’Offrande*, ed. G. Hoffmann (Zurich, 2001).
- 7 All examples except for one fragment in the Musée du Louvre and one stele in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, are in the Thebes Museum. See K. Demakopoulou and D. Konsola, *Archaeological Museum of Thebes: Guide* (Athens, 1981), pp. 74–75.
- 8 Only one other piece, Musée du Louvre Ma 3566, breaks the conventional iconography of this group in similar ways: Hamiaux 1992, p. 240, no. 253. Preserved on the Louvre fragment is the three-quarter frontal head of a bearded figure wearing a wreathed helmet. The proportions of this figure are closer in scale to the figure of Athanias than to the warriors on the stelai in the Thebes Museum, indicating that the Louvre fragment once was part of a stele of similar size and scale as the Getty example.
- 9 A. Keramopoulos, “Eikones polemiston tes en Delio maches,” *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1920: 1–36.
- 10 For a discussion of the myth and these issues, see H. Hoffmann, “Bellerophon and the Chimaira in Malibu,” *Studia Varia from the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1 (Malibu, 1993), pp. 66–68. Hoffmann is mistaken, though, on his assertion (p. 67) that imagery of the myth disappears from all of mainland Greece, as evidenced by its popularity on the Boeotian gravestones.
- 11 Pausanias 9.10.4 reports that these boy-priests wore laurel wreaths.
- 12 Argued in a paper by M. Daumas, “Stèles béotiennes d’inités des dieux Cabires,” *Les Pierres de l’Offrande* (supra, note 6), pp. 125–35.



Cat. no. 37. Grave stele of Athanias. Malibu 93.AA.47.

Northern Greek Funerary Sculpture

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

38. *Side Panel of a Grave Naiskos with the Relief of a Young Hunter*

About 325 B.C.

Medium-grained gray and white marble; Height: 143.1 cm (56³/₈ in.); Width: 42.7 cm (16³/₄ in.); Depth: 10.2 cm (4 in.)

96.AA.48

CONSERVATION

The panel is complete except for the lower corners, which are broken away. There are chips along the edges, especially on the top right. On the front at the bottom is a roughly carved reworked area. The left edge of the block is roughly worked with a point chisel and would have abutted the back panel of the naiskos. The right side of the block is finished as an anta, with cuttings for the attachment of a roof piece on the top of the slab.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, New York City.

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True and Hamma 1994, pp. 109–11, no. 48.

TALL, RECTANGULAR PANEL with a shallow figural recess. The architectural molding preserved at the top right edge of the panel confirms that it formed the right side wall of a naiskos.¹ Carved in shallow relief is the figure of a young man who stands in a three-quarter left frontal pose, his head in left profile. He has a robust physique and wears a short tunic tied at the waist with a flat belt, whose fringed ends hang down in front. He has short, curly hair and is barefoot. In his left hand, he holds two spears that rest on his shoulder. Indistinct objects are slung from the weapons. The hanging shape is rounded at the top like the crown of a hat, while the lower part has a limp, indistinct shape reaching to mid thigh. The outline of the shape at the top seems most appropriate for that of a traveler's hat (*petasos*).² The shape at the bottom seems more baglike. Various types of nets were used to catch prey in antiquity, including the smallest type, a purse net, used to catch hares.³ The boy is probably carrying two items from his spears: a purse net with a *petasos* on top. Since the relief was originally painted, colored details would have made the identification of the

objects clearer.⁴ A short tunic, *petasos*, and paired spears are the usual attributes of male figures on Thessalian grave reliefs.⁵

This figure of a hunter would have looked toward an image of the deceased on the back wall of the naiskos. The imagery of the hunt became a subject for funerary art in the fifth century B.C. and continued on into the fourth century.⁶ The imagery captures an activity in a young man's life that reflected his status in society. Showing an individual with horse, hound, servant, and hunting gear established his rank. The style, subject, and type of marble of the panel point to a Macedonian or Thessalian origin, although funerary monuments depicting hunters from these areas are usually the main subject on a stele, not a companion figure on a side panel as here. Naiskoi with side panels were a feature of Attic funerary monuments, and this monument, though definitely from Northern Greece, shows the influence of Attic form and style.⁷ This panel must have come from an especially luxurious type of funerary monument for a wealthy Macedonian or Thessalian.

It is worth noting that even in secondary elements in a statuary group the level of artistic quality is often very high in ancient Greek work. While this piece is adjunctive, the subtlety of composition within the framed space, the proportions, the treatment of details, the touch of projecting toes, and the unity of overall effect all speak to a high level of artistic sophistication.

1 Cf. a lateral wall of a Classical Attic naiskos in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3694; Clairmont 1993, 1: 8, no. 5. On carved side panels from naiskoi, see Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, pp. 53–54 n. 1.

2 See C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, "Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume," *JHS* 113 (1993): 129–31.

3 J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 38. The size described here—about 114 cm (45 in.) in length—would be only slightly larger than the mass on the panel. One of the hunters on the painted facade of the tomb at Vergina believed to be that of Philip II is using one of these purse nets.

4 For painted details on marble sculpture, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th edn. (New Haven, 1970), pp. 148–58.

5 H. Biesantz, *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz, 1965), pp. 78–79, 83. Cf. esp. a relief from Gomphoi, *ibid.*, pp. 20–21, no. κ 33, pls. 14–15. There a bearded man wearing a short tunic and short cloak holds the paired spears in his left hand with the tips pointing downward. At his back, the inside of his *petasos* is visible.

6 Anderson (*supra*, note 3), pp. 70–71.

7 Suggested by A. Herrmann, in True and Hamma 1994, pp. 110–11. For a discussion of headgear, hairstyles, and attributes on Thessalian and Macedonian grave reliefs, see Biesantz (*supra*, note 5), pp. 78–83.



Cat. no. 38. Frontal view of a side panel of a grave naiskos with a young hunter. Malibu 96.AA.48.



Cat. no. 38. From left to right: Finished right edge with crown molding, back, and roughly worked left edge of the naiskos panel with a young hunter Malibu 96.AA.48.

East Greek Funerary Sculpture

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

39. *Grave Stele with a Seated Woman with Her Children and an Attendant*

About 380 B.C.

Medium- to large-grained light gray marble; Height: 156.5 cm (61 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.); Width: 52 cm (20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); Depth: 23.5 cm (9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

84.AA.14

CONSERVATION

Mostly complete, although the left side and lower corner are broken away. The very top of the stele is missing. There are several gouges across the front of the stone. The marble is weathered, and there are spalls and cracks, especially on the front at the bottom. Some of the original bottom of the stele remains on the right, which is roughly finished with the point chisel. There are marks of the point chisel on the back, sides, and top of the stele.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Acquisitions," *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985): 165, no. 1.

TALL, NARROW STELE with a simple triangular pediment. The slightly recessed central area of the pediment originally may have held a painted design.¹ The figures are carved in shallow relief in a slightly recessed panel placed off-center on the slab. On the left sits a woman on a stool with her feet resting on a footstool.² She wears a dress with a cloak pulled up over the back of her head. In her left hand she holds a large spindle, a symbol of domestic industry, while her right hand touches the head of a swaddled infant who is held in front of her by a standing woman at the right of the scene.³ The facial features of the infant are fully though crudely carved.

The standing woman wears a dress with a very long overfold and a cloak that covers the back her head and falls straight down over the back of her body. Between the two women stands a girl who wears an ankle-length tunic with long sleeves. She holds a dome-shaped object in her left hand. The bottom of the object has a smooth outline, while the top is irregular. Given the fact that the woman is spinning, the object is probably a ball of wool. The girl touches the knee of the seated woman, most likely her mother, with her right hand.

The iconography of a seated woman in a domestic scene with an attendant and children is typically Athenian, but the stone and the style of its carving confirm the eastern origin of the stele.⁴ It is a provincial reflection of Attic funerary stelai.⁵ This stele bears a general resemblance to monuments from sites in Bithynia such as Kyzikos, or Myrleia-Apamea, or farther east in Pontus at Sinope.⁶ It commemorates a wife and mother, skilled in woolworking, who perhaps died in childbirth.

- 1 The recessed area measures approximately 34 × 34 cm (13 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). A relief in Munich still retains remnants of its painted anthemion: Munich, Glyptothek 483; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, pp. 85–98. For painting on sculpture, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 4th edn. (New Haven, 1970), pp. 148–58.
- 2 The stool is a simple type with a cover draped over the sides. It is a type 5 *diphros*: Richter 1966, pp. 42–43. The footstool is a type 2: Richter 1966, pp. 50–51.
- 3 On the production of textiles, see Reeder 1995, pp. 200–202.
- 4 Cf. the Athenian funerary monument of Phile in Athens, Roman Agora 748: Clairmont 1993, 2: 660, no. 2.725.
- 5 On the pervasive impact of Attic gravestones on funerary monuments from other regions, see B. Ridgway, *Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Madison, 1997), pp. 176–77.
- 6 An example from Sinope in the Kastamonu Museum is from the fifth century B.C., but the disposition of the figures is similar, with a seated woman facing a standing figure. The Sinope stele is also large, although of sandstone rather than marble. Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 17, no. 24. For an example from Kyzikos, see Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 3858: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 226, no. 871; for Myrleia-Apamea, Bursa Museum 1624: Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, p. 452, no. 1879.



Cat. no. 39. Grave stele with a seated woman. Malibu 84.AA.14.

East Greek Funerary Sculpture

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

40. Grave Stele of Poseides with His Wife and Dog

About 275 B.C.

Fine-grained gray bluish-white marble with dark gray veining; polychromy; Height: 172.8 cm (68 in.); Width: 53.3 cm (21 in.); Depth: 23.5 cm (9¼ in.)

79.AA.145

CONSERVATION

The stele is complete with most of its tenon intact. The tenon would have been inserted into a base in the cemetery. A recut area at the bottom right includes part of the tenon that probably represents a later reuse. There is a large loss at the bottom right on the front. The surface of the stone is mostly intact, with a light incrustation through which original paint can be seen, especially on the two figures, the dog, and in the acanthus anthemion. Blue pigment has been found on the palmette of the anthemion. The back and bottom retain marks of having been worked with a point chisel. There are marks of a tooth chisel on the front of the plinth on which the figures stand and on the sides. The rasp has been used on both figures and on the background.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. N. Oikonomides, "Artemis Medeia," *ZPE* 45 (1982): 115–18; J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *Revue des Études grecques* 95 (1982): 363–64, no. 280; *SEG* 32.1612; S. M. Sherwin White, "'Median' Artemis in an Early Hellenistic Funerary Inscription," *ZPE* 49 (1982): 30; Butz 1987, pp. 34–49, cat. no. 1; R. Porter, "Artemis Medeai again," *ZPE* 93 (1992): 219–21; M.-T. Le Dinahet and N. Mouret, "Les Stèles funéraires grecques: Études stylistiques et iconographiques, années 1980–1992," *Topoi* 3 (1993): 123, no. 38; Bodet and Tracy 1997, p. 9.

TALL, NARROW STELE with a rounded floral anthemion carved in relief. The floral decoration consists of a seven-frond palmette above two half-palmettes that spring from acanthus leaves.¹ The anthemion is separated from the shaft of the stele by a molding made in two parts separated by a shallow groove: a taenia over a flat ovolo. Remains of a painted floral pattern are discernible on the taenia and of an egg-and-dart pattern on the ovolo. On the shaft, a long inscription covers the entire surface of the upper half, including part of the background of the figural area. The inscription gives us the name of the deceased and presents a curse against any would-be despoiler or desecrator:

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΥ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟ-
Υ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ. ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΔΕ ΗΔΙΚΗΣΕ ΠΩΠΟΤΕ. ΕΙ ΔΕ
ΤΙΣ ΘΕΛΕΙ ΘΕΩΡΗΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ, ΤΟΥΤΩΙ
ΟΙ ΘΕ-
4 ΟΙ ΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΙΗΣΑΝ. ΑΔΙΚΗΣΑΙ ΔΕ ΜΗΘΕΝ. ΕΙ ΤΙΣ
ΔΕ ΑΔ-
ΙΚΗΣΗΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΑ Η ΤΑ ΦΥΤΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ Η ΤΑ Ζ-
ΩΙΑ Η ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ ΕΙΣΕΝΕΓΚΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ
ΜΝΗ-
ΜΑ ΠΛΗΝ ΕΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΜΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ
8 ΕΜΩΝ ΥΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ, ΕΙ ΤΙ-
Σ ΔΕ Η ΕΠΙ ΕΝΕΧΥΡΟΙΣ ΛΗΨΕΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜ-
Α ΤΟΥΤΟ Η ΩΝΗΣΕΤΑΙ Η ΑΥΤΟΥΣ Η ΕΤΕΡΟΙΣ Π-
[Ρ]ΟΣΤΑΞΗΙ Η ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΝΕΚΡΟΝ ΕΙΣΕΝΕΓΚΟΙ ΠΙ-
12 ΛΗΝ ΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΕΙΛΑΕΤΟ ΤΟΥΤΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΜΝΗ-
ΜΑΤΙ, ΕΙ ΤΙΣ Η ΥΒΡΙΝ Η ΑΝΑΓΚΗΝ ΠΟΙΗΣ-
ΕΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΙ, Η ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ Η ΜΗΔΕΙΑ ΚΑ-
Ι Η ΕΦΕΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΑΠΑΝΤΕΣ
16 ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΓΓΟΝΟΥΣ.

"This is the memorial of Poseides, son of Herakleides, righteous man. And he wronged no one ever. And if anyone has the power to see and speak good, to him
4 may the gods be gracious; and may he do nothing wrong. And if someone desecrates this memorial or these plants or figures or if (someone) should carry into this memorial any other body, except mine and that of my wife and of
8 my sons and daughters, themselves, and if someone should carry off this memorial for the purpose of sureties or should himself buy or assign to others or carry another body into (the tomb) unless he himself (Poseides)
12 specify the above in respect to the memorial; and if anyone either perpetrates despicable treatment or (exerts) physical force on this (monument), (then) Artemis Medea and Ephesia and all the gods (transitive
16 verb implied) him and his descendants."

The name Herakleides is common at many Greek sites, including Athens and the *demes* of Attika, the Peloponnese, and the Aegean islands. Poseides is attested at Argos, on Sicily, Lesbos, and Nesos.²

The figures are carved in moderately high relief. A young man, Poseides, clean shaven with short hair, stands slightly left of center, with his weight supported on his right leg. His left leg is positioned in such a way as to suggest movement to the left. He wears a short tunic and a medium-length cloak, the so-called

epaphtis, secured on the right shoulder and drawn over his left arm.³ His face is round with large eyes. The index finger of his right hand points toward a long and lean hound with a sharp muzzle and pointed ears, a hunting dog walking beside him.⁴ The dog's tail curls up behind his left calf. Originally brightly painted, the dog would have been more visible in antiquity than he is today.⁵

At the right stands a small female figure facing left. She wears a long dress with a cloak. Her hair is pulled up into a bun on top of her head. She holds a round object, probably a pomegranate, in her right hand.⁶ Her left arm is held across her waist, the thumb and first two fingers extended. The feet on both figures are rounded with no toes carved, indicating that they probably wear soft shoes or boots that would have had painted details.⁷

While there are no exact parallels for this monument, it is comparable in some respects to other third-century-B.C. stelai in displaying moving figures.⁸ The figures on the majority of Hellenistic funerary monuments are static, and their poses give no sense of motion. As a monument of the early Hellenistic period, this stele shows Athenian influence in its form, style, and iconography.⁹

Poseides is depicted in hunting costume, accompanied by his dog and his wife. She is shown in a smaller scale in order to emphasize the importance of her husband as the deceased. Both husband and wife appear youthful, and we may therefore postulate that Poseides died at a relatively young age.

- 1 On stelai of the Classical and Hellenistic periods with floral anthemia, see H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit* (Munich, 1968). Monuments with floral anthemia are less common in the Hellenistic period than in the Classical period.
- 2 See Fraser and Matthews, 1: 203, s.v. Herakleides, and p. 382, s.v. Poseides; Osborne and Byrne 1994, pp. 204–5, s.v. Herakleides; Fraser and Matthews, 3A: 195, s.v. Herakleides, and p. 372, s.v. Poseides.
- 3 Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 63.
- 4 Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 55–60.
- 5 On painting on marble, see P. Reuterswärd, *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik: Griechenland und Rom* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 53–58; K. Yfantidis, “Die Polychromie der hellenistischen Plastik” (Ph.D. diss., Johannes Gutenberg Universität, Mainz, 1984), pp. 14–22, 249–51.
- 6 For pomegranates on funerary monuments, see F. Muthmann, *Der Granatapfel: Symbol des Lebens in der alten Welt* (Bern, 1982), pp. 77–92.
- 7 Morrow 1985, pp. 121–23.
- 8 See a stele from Pergamon in London, British Museum 2246: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 78, no. 105; and one from Mesembria in the Nessebar Museum: Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, p. 506, no. 2104. Neither of these monuments is as large or as well sculpted as the stele of Poseides, but both feature men in motion wearing tunics and knee-length cloaks.
- 9 Cf., e.g., the style of the anthemion to that on the Athenian monument of Nikomache in Piraeus, Museum 217: Clairmont 1993, 2: 377, no. 2.362. The overall style of the monument is more reminiscent of those tall, thin Athenian stelai with anthemia with the figures painted rather than carved in relief, such as the monument of Tokkes in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1002: Clairmont 1993, 1: 354, no. 1.388.



Detail of the painted dog on the grave stele of Poseides.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave stele of Poseides.



Cat. no. 40. Grave stele of Poseides. Malibu 79.AA.145.

41. *Grave Stele of Phanokrates with an Attendant*

About 200 B.C.

Medium-grained white marble; Height: 125.4 cm (49³/₈ in.); Width: 53.3 cm (21 in.); Depth: 21.6 cm (8¹/₂ in.)

96.AA.50

CONSERVATION

The lower third and upper right corner of the stele are missing. There is a cutting for a clamp on the top at the left. This was for securing either a separately made finial or an architectural frame. The back is rough-picked; the sides exhibit *anathyrosis*, further evidence that this is the back slab from a monument that had an architectural frame. The stele tapers slightly from bottom to top.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

True and Hamma 1994, pp. 242–43, no. 122; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 8.

NARROW, TAPERING STELE with a flat top. The upper part of the stele is carved as a ledge upon which rests a rectangular shape—possibly wax writing tablets—and a round-topped chest of the type used for storing book rolls.¹ Next to these symbols of literacy is a framed tablet upon which is carved a wreath.² A second wreath is on the background below, to the left of the youth's head. The tablet is supported by a plinth with the inscription:

ΦΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΗ[Σ]

ΦΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ

“Phanokrates, (son) of Phanokrates”

The name Phanokrates is attested in inscriptions from Athens and some of the *demes* of Attika, and on several Aegean islands.³

Beneath the projecting ledge and carved in high relief stands the youth Phanokrates frontally with his head turned to the right. He is clean shaven with short, curly hair. He wears a short-sleeved tunic with a medium-length cloak (*epaphtis*) fastened on the right shoulder with a large fibula with an ivy-leaf finial. The *epaphtis* is draped in a manner seen on other monuments from the eastern part of the Greek world.⁴ Phanokrates' left hand rests on a roll of drapery about his waist. Stuck into the drapery roll on the left is a sword with a hilt shaped like an eagle's head.⁵ His right hand reaches out to rest on a square-shaped object, probably a herm. A boy stands in front of the herm.

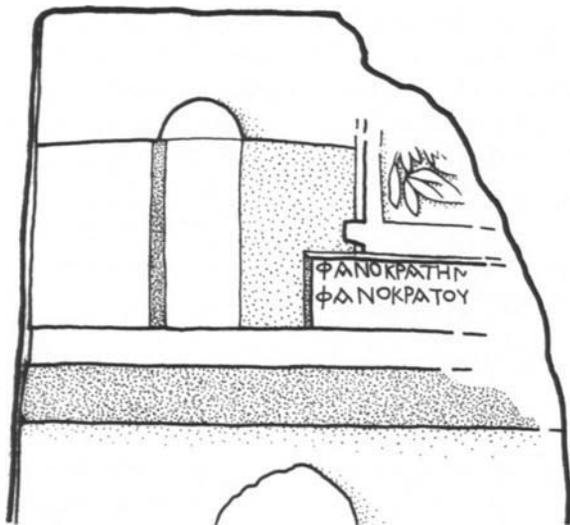
The style of the stele, especially the characteristic wreaths on the background, is similar to a group of second-century-B.C. monuments from Smyrna, many for young men, featuring horsemen and their mounts. This stele is most closely related to a type showing the rider dismounted and standing beside his horse. Boys accompany the deceased and carry armor or hold the bridle of the horse.⁶ Phanokrates is most similar to figures in slightly earlier, more elaborate compositions. He is posed like the main figure on those monuments. One example of this kind of figure is a fragment of a large stele in Basel.⁷

Stelai from Smyrna that commemorate young men often include a herm of Herakles or Hermes, standard symbols of the gymnasium and palaistra. His hand resting on the herm suggests a connection with the palaistra and physical training, which emphasizes Phanokrates' youth.⁸ His intellectual training is communicated by the inclusion of the books and book rolls.⁹ Phanokrates is presented here as both the active and the intellectual, thinking citizen.

While relatively small—less than a meter (three feet) high—the figure of Phanokrates captures much of the grandeur associated with monumental Greek work. What strikes us is the powerful modeling, the freshness, and the sense of presence. Indeed, these characteristics define the genre.



Cat. no. 41. Grave stele of Phanokrates. Malibu 96.AA.50.



Drawing of the inscription on the grave stele of Phanokrates.

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- 1 N. Firatli, *Les Stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1964), pp. 33–34, pl. LXXI.2–3.
 - 2 A monument in Leiden is a complete example with a similar arrangement. Rijksmuseum I. 93.2.1: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 171, no. 569, pl. 89.
 - 3 See Fraser and Matthews, I: 454, s.v. Phanokrates; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 441, s.v. Phanokrates.
 - 4 Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 63.
 - 5 A typical weapon seen on late Hellenistic reliefs: Firatli (supra, note 1), pl. LXXIII.2.
 - 6 See Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, pp. 314, 339–42, nos. 1430–40, pls. 208–10; E. Berger, *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 3, *Skulpturen* (Mainz, 1990), pp. 257–63.
 - 7 Sammlung Ludwig no. 244: Berger (supra, note 6), pp. 251–82.
 - 8 Cf. a stele in Leiden, Rijksmuseum Pb. 77: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, no. 132.
 - 9 Zanker 1993, pp. 218–20.

42. *Grave Stele of Menekrates with His Son, Bias, and an Attendant(?)*

About 150 B.C.

Large-grained, blue-gray marble with dark gray veining; Height: 55 cm (21³/₈ in.); Width: 30.5 cm (12 in.); Depth: 6 cm (2³/₈ in.)

71.AA.376

CONSERVATION

The stele is nearly complete, broken off only at the bottom. There are some scratches and abrasions on the surface. The back retains its original rough surface made with a point chisel. There are marks of the tooth chisel on the sides.

PROVENANCE

Possibly from Smyrna; formerly in the collection of William, second Earl of Lonsdale,¹ at Lowther Castle in Cumbria in the Lake District of England.

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A. Michaelis, "Die Privatsammlungen antiker Bildwerke in England," *Archäologische Zeitung* 32 (1875): 43, no. 22; *ibid.*, 1882: 496, no. 55; Sotheby's, London, *Ancient Art*, sale, July 1, 1969, lot no. 31; Alex G. Malloy, New York, sale, 1971, lot no. 84; Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, p. 15, no. 28; Frel 1979a, pp. 23–24, no. 91; Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, pp. 378–79, no. 1538; Butz 1987, pp. 52–57, no. 11; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 8.

STELE WITH A triangular pediment crowned by one central and two side akroteria. A recessed figural panel is framed by antas that slant inward. A two-line inscription is placed on the face of the stele beneath the figural recess.

MENEKPATHEΣ BIANTOΣ

BIAΣ MENEKPATOY

"Menekrates, (son) of Bias

Bias, (son) of Menekrates"

The names Menekrates and Bias are attested in inscriptions at Athens, the *demes* of Attika, on some of the Aegean islands, on Sicily, and at sites in South Italy and in the Peloponnese.²

Menekrates reclines on a couch with an elaborately turned leg terminating in the figure of a sphinx.³ His short, curly hair is wreathed. He wears a short-sleeved tunic and cloak and is propped up on pillows. In his left hand he holds a large, round, flat object, probably a phiale. His right arm is extended to shake

hands with a youthful figure—his son Bias—who stands beside the couch near the foot.⁴ Bias wears a short-sleeved tunic and a cloak. His left hand holds folds of his cloak at hip level.

Prominently placed in front of the couch is a three-legged table with an assortment of foods.⁵ At the head of the couch and overlapping the right anta is the head and upper torso of a third figure. This person is possibly holding its right arm up to its forehead in a gesture of mourning, which would identify it as female. She could be either the wife of or a female attendant to Menekrates.

Reliefs of meals such as this one were very popular as funerary monuments in the eastern part of the Greek world, representing perhaps a quarter of the total number of surviving grave reliefs from that area. The iconography represents the funerary banquet held at the tomb of the deceased. On the day of the funeral and later on the birthdate of the deceased, the family would gather at the tomb to eat, laying out a couch and food for the dead person, who in the reliefs is the reclining protagonist, usually male and young.⁶ Depicting the reclining man as shaking hands with a second figure either seated or standing is not a very common motif on the banquet-type of funerary monument. Pfuhl and Möbius include eight others in their catalogue of East Greek gravestones.⁷ This monument may be compared to one in Istanbul in its general form and in the relatively low quality of its carving.⁸ Michaelis suggested that the stone was from Smyrna, which Pfuhl and Möbius support.⁹

- 1 Lord Lonsdale was one of the few avid collectors of Greek and Roman antiquities in England in the mid-nineteenth century. His enthusiasm for and interest in his acquisitions led him to build two galleries at Lowther Castle especially for their display. See Michaelis 1882, p. 176.
- 2 See Fraser and Matthews, 1: 101, s.v. Bias, and pp. 306–7, s.v. Menekrates; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 87, s.v. Bias, and pp. 305–6, s.v. Menekrates; Fraser and Matthews, 3A: 90, s.v. Bias, and p. 296, s.v. Menekrates.
- 3 The couch belongs to the category of Greek couches with turned legs, with the added feature of a sphinx: Richter 1966, pp. 55–58.
- 4 On the gesture, called *dexiosis*, see cat. no. 1, note 7.
- 5 Richter 1966, pp. 70–71, type 4.
- 6 On the role of eating in funerary ritual, see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 50–51.
- 7 Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, p. 379, nos. 1539–40, and pp. 424–25, nos. 1756–61.
- 8 Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2220: Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, p. 388, no. 1576, pl. 229.
- 9 Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, pp. 378–79, no. 1538. If this is so, it is a low-quality stone by comparison to known banqueting reliefs from Smyrna. See Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, pp. 369, 442, 445–46, 474–75, nos. 1488, 1840, 1857, and 1980.



Cat. no. 42. Grave stele of Menekrates. Malibu 71.AA.376.

43. *Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideos*

About 150 B.C.

Large-grained, blue-gray streaky marble; Height: 151.4 cm (59³/₈ in.); Width: 57 cm (22¹/₂ in.); Depth: 11.5 cm (4¹/₂ in.)

71.AA.288

CONSERVATION

The stele is essentially complete, though broken into three pieces and reconstructed. There are various chips and abrasions all over, including on the figures. Along the edges of the reconstructed breaks are losses, most notably across the middle of the girl, the boy's ankle, from Posideos's left lower leg and his right ankle, and from a horizontal area below the knees of Herophanta. Rectangular cuttings on the sides have been filled in recent times.¹ The sides and the front of the stele below the inscription bear marks of the tooth chisel. The back and bottom retain their original rough finish made by a point chisel.

PROVENANCE

From Smyrna; formerly in the collection of William, second Earl of Lonsdale, at Lowther Castle in Cumbria in the Lake District of England.

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TALL, SLIGHTLY TAPERING STELE with a pedimental top complete with akroteria. A round shield decorates the center of the pediment. A deeply recessed panel contains four figures: a man, a woman, and two children. Above the figural panel are two laurel wreaths inscribed in the centers:

Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ

Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ

The inscription continues on the front of the stele below the figural panel:

ΠΟΣΙΔΕΟΝ

ΗΡΟΦΑΝΤΑΝ

ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΙΟΥΣ

ΤΙΜΩΝΟΣ

"The demos

"The demos

(honors)

(honors)

Posideos

Herophanta

(son) of Demokleios"

(daughter) of Timon"

The names Posideos, Herophanta, and Demokleios are seldom found in the epigraphic and literary corpus. The name Timon is attested at Athens and in *demes* of Attika.²

Posideos stands frontally at the left with his head turned slightly toward the center. His demeanor is calm; he holds his arms in front of him, the left hand holding the right wrist. His pose is one of two adopted by male figures on Hellenistic grave-stones from Classical Greek statues of the orators Aischines and Demosthenes. Here, Posideos stands in a variation of the Demosthenes pose, with hands lowered in front of him.³ He is clean shaven with short, curly hair and is fully swathed in a cloak marked by press folds.⁴ His squarish face with narrow eyes is rendered with some individuality. His feet, with toes carved, are sandaled. The sandals have central tongues and ties that fall onto the sides of each foot.⁵

To Posideos's right, at his side and emerging from behind him, is a small boy who looks up at him. The boy's hair is short and curly.⁶ He wears a short, belted tunic, whose hem he lifts with his right hand. He is barefoot.

At the right of the scene a woman, Herophanta, stands frontally, her right arm around a large, centrally placed, vertical torch, which visually bisects the panel. Herophanta wears two dresses, a sleeveless one over a long-sleeved one, and a cloak. The narrow folds of her dresses are visible under the transparent cloak, which is marked by press folds.⁷ Her head is covered with a separate scarf, one end of which falls behind her left shoulder. Her full, curly hair is parted in the middle and pulled back over her ears. She wears large, round earrings. Her face is oval with fine features. A Venus ring marks her neck.⁸ She wears platform sandals with soles indented between the first and second toes.⁹



Detail of the inscribed honorary wreaths on the grave stele of Herophanta and Posideos.



Detail of the inscription on the grave stele of Herophanta and Posideos.

In the center of the scene, just to the left of the tall torch, stands a small female figure who holds onto the torch with both hands. She is in right profile and looks up toward Herophanta. Her long belted dress is slipping off her right shoulder. Her hair is brushed back from her face into a roll that frames her face.

The style of the stele—carved in one piece with relief figures standing in a naiskos, set on a podium base, and surmounted by a pediment and akroteria, and with the upper zone decorated with honorific wreaths—is typical of monuments made in Smyrna.¹⁰ The city of Smyrna honored its notable citizens with these stelai, which often contained symbols of their former roles

within the city. For example, here the large torch indicates that Herophanta was a priestess of Demeter.¹¹ Most of the gravestones for these Smyrnan priestesses featured the woman accompanied only by two small servants.¹² The Getty stone is one of only two known that show a priestess with her family.¹³ This is one of the larger and better-carved stelai representing priestesses of Demeter. There is, however, great variation in the quality of the stelai in this small group, so it would be risky to infer that the social status of the family of Herophanta was any higher than that of the other priestesses commemorated with funerary reliefs.¹⁴

1 The one on the left measures 15 × 3 cm; the one on the right, 13 × 3 cm.
 2 For Timon, see Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 433.
 3 Zanker 1993, p. 217.
 4 On press folds, see Ridgway 1990, p. 219; Granger-Taylor 1987, pp. 114–23.
 5 Morrow 1985, pp. 119–20.
 6 On the hairstyle as an indicator of age, see Vorster 1983, pp. 19–23.
 7 See supra, note 4.

8 See cat. no. 4 with note 9.
 9 Morrow 1985, pp. 90–92.
 10 These were some of the handsomest stelai from the Greek East: Zanker 1993.
 11 Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 136.
 12 Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 137–38, nos. 405–10.
 13 Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 161–62, no. 530.
 14 Zanker 1993, p. 226.



Cat. no. 43. Grave stele of Herophanta and Posideos. Malibu 71.AA.288.

44. *Fragment of a Grave Stele of a Man and His Wife with a Boy and Girl*

About 125 B.C.

Large-grained, blue-gray streaky marble; Height: 51 cm (20 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Width: 44.3 cm (17 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); Depth: 9.7 cm (3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

71.AA.281

CONSERVATION

The top of the stele is broken away. There is a large chip on the left corner and various chips on the surface, especially along the edges of the stone. The left anta is cracked at about midpoint. The marble is very weathered, and the surface details of the carving are blurred. There is some incrustation on the right anta. The surface of the marble has a shiny appearance consistent with an acid treatment.

PROVENANCE

From Western Asia Minor, probably Smyrna; formerly in the collection of John B. S. Morritt¹ at Rokeby Hall in Yorkshire.

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Michaelis 1882, pp. 644–45, no. 3; Vermeule 1955, p. 146; Sotheby's, London, sale, July 1, 1969, lot no. 260; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 167–68, no. 554, pl. 87; Frel 1979a, no. 90; S. Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs* (Cologne, 1991), p. 82; Zanker 1993, p. 214 n. 5, and p. 226 n. 68.

SMALL, TAPERING STELE with a recessed figural panel containing a man, a woman, and two children. At left, a clean-shaven man with short, curly hair stands frontally, his weight on his right leg, with his head turned toward the center. His face is long and thin with large eyes. He wears a tunic with a cloak that enfolds both arms. He holds his right arm to his chest, grasping the folds of his cloak with the first two fingers outstretched. His left arm rests at his side with the hand holding several folds of his cloak. The fabric of the cloak has three horizontal bands of incised lines, denoting either a pattern or press folds, encircling the hips, thighs, and calves.² His feet are sandaled. The sandals have straps passing between the first and second toes and meeting the cross-straps that tie; the soles are indented between the first and second toes.³

The woman at the right also stands frontally, her weight on her left leg. Her right leg is relaxed and pulled back slightly to

the side. Her platform sandals are indented between her first and second toes.⁴ She wears a dress with a cloak that, although her head is missing, we can see is pulled up over her head. Her right arm is held at her waist under the cloak. The left arm is held up to the neckline, where she fingers the fabric of her dress, emphasizing its fineness.⁵ Details such as this and the bracelet the woman wears on her left wrist proclaim the family's wealth and social standing.

Tucked into the corners of the panel are the small figures of a boy on the left and a girl on the right. The boy leans against the back of the panel with his left leg bent at the knee and crossed over his right ankle. His arms are held in front of him, his right hand holding his left wrist. His head with short, curly hair is cast downward. The little girl stands erect and faces the viewer. She wears a long dress with an overfold and holds her arms in front of her, her right hand grasping her left wrist. Her hair is chin length with a central braid.⁶

A ledge is placed between the man and woman at the level of their heads. Shelves such as this contained a variety of objects symbolizing certain virtues, such as books symbolic of intelligence, baskets of orderly virtue, and chests of wealth.⁷ The remains of the items on the shelf here look to be a footed chest and perhaps books or a *kista*. Compare a stele in Venice and one that was once in a school in Izmir.⁸

The poses of both the man and the woman are common Hellenistic types, which were adopted for use on funerary monuments by various cities in the eastern part of the Greek world.⁹ The man is presented in one of the most popular male-figure types on reliefs from Smyrna—the “arm-sling” type—in which the right arm is held across the chest inside a tightly draped cloak. It is a variation of a type of pose used for statues of the orator-politician Aischines.¹⁰ The pose of the woman is that of the Pudicitia, the personification of female chastity and modesty, a common type for women in the Hellenistic period when not only grave statues but also honorific or commemorative statues of draped women were made in large quantities. The Pudicitia is matronly and often carved so that the fabric of her dress contrasts with that of the cloak over it. The pose is the same as that of the statue of Diodora from Delos.¹¹ These two poses were adopted on funerary monuments to express the high standard of conduct by the citizens depicted.¹² By being shown in readily recognizable poses of exemplary past citizens, the man and wife on this funerary monument emphasize their own civic virtue.



Cat. no. 44. Grave stele of a man and his wife with a boy and a girl. Malibu 71.AA.281.

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- 1 Morrill was an English antiquarian who traveled throughout Greece in 1794–1795 for the express purpose of collecting Greek antiquities for Rokeby Hall. He was an enthusiastic member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1798 on, and he acted as a witness in the investigation conducted by a Select Committee of the British House of Commons on the acquisition by the government of the marbles removed from the Parthenon by Lord Elgin (the Elgin Marbles). On Morrill's travels in Greece, see R. Stoneman, ed., *A Literary Companion to Travel in Greece* (Malibu 1994), pp. 73–75, 303–4. On his role in the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles, see Michaelis 1882, p. 147.
 - 2 On press folds, see Ridgway 1990, p. 219; Granger-Taylor 1987, pp. 114–23.
 - 3 Morrow 1985, pp. 119–20.
 - 4 Morrow 1985, pp. 90–92.
 - 5 A small bronze figure of a woman making a similar gesture is in the Getty Museum, acc. no. 96.AB.47; Reeder 1995, p. 134.
 - 6 This is the hairstyle of children. See Vorster 1983, pp. 21–23.
 - 7 Smith 1991, p. 189.
 - 8 Venice, Museo Archeologico 67; current whereabouts unknown, once Izmir, Turkish School: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 146–47, no. 443, pl. 74, and p. 144, no. 434, pl. 72.
 - 9 E.g., Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 168, 170, 182–83, nos. 555, 557, 564, 567, and 646 are just a few from various cities.
 - 10 Naples, Archaeological Museum 6018: Smith 1991, p. 37, fig. 38.
 - 11 For a discussion of the Pudicitia type and its origins, see M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), pp. 132–33. She notes that the name, taken from a similar type on Roman coins, should be discarded since the type is a Greek invention. For the statue of Diodora, see Smith 1991, p. 86, fig. 114.
 - 12 See Zanker 1993, pp. 216–20, 224–27.

45. *Head of a Woman from a Funerary Monument*

About 150 B.C.

Large-grained white marble; Height: 31.8 cm (12½ in.); Width: 21 cm (8¼ in.); Depth: 20.5 cm (8⅜ in.)

57.AA.10

CONSERVATION

The head is broken through the neck and at the back. A large chip is missing from the chin and nose. The surface of the marble is weathered and covered with specks of black particulate matter, especially on the proper left side of the head.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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Bulletin of the J. Paul Getty Museum of Art 1.1 (1957): 9–10;
Getty et al. 1965, pp. 57, 68; Stothart 1965, pp. 14–15 (as A 57.S-7);
Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973, p. 15, no. 27; Frel 1979a, no. 87.

NEARLY LIFE-SIZE HEAD of a woman broken from what was a large grave monument. Part of the attachment point of the head to the back of the original relief remains at the top of the head. In the original funerary monument the woman would have been placed so that her head was in a three-quarter left profile view.¹ She has an oval face with narrow, broadly spaced eyes with thick upper lids. Only the right side of her mouth with its full, sensuous lips remains. Three fleshy Venus rings mark her neck.² Her long hair is parted in the center and drawn back over her ears. Individual strands grouped into thick locks are indicated with deeply drilled channels marking the lock divisions. This distinctive way of carving individual strands seems to be a characteristic of sculpture from Kos of the second century B.C.³ The back of her head is covered by a thin veil that reveals the pattern of her hair underneath. The peaked fold of the veil at the top of her head is not a common feature on sculptures of women from any of the areas in the eastern part of the Greek world, but a statue of a draped and veiled woman on Kos has a very similar peaked veil.⁴ We, therefore, tentatively assign this head to a funerary monument from Kos of the second century B.C. The figure to which this veiled head belonged would have been life size, of a respectable matron, possibly in a scene of several family members.



Head of a woman from the funerary monument Malibu 57.AA.10. The installation on the Museum wall shows the attachment area of the head to the back panel of the funerary monument.

- 1 Cf. a similar head on a large relief from Delos (Rheneia) in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1156: Couilloud 1974, p. 149, no. 270, pl. 52. This figure is standing in a Pudicitia pose with her head in slightly left profile and looking down.
- 2 See cat. no. 4 with note 9.
- 3 Cf. R. Kabus-Preisshofen, *Die hellenistische Plastik der Insel Kos* (Berlin, 1989), pp. 248–51, no. 57 (Kos, Museum 17), pp. 296–98, no. 92 (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1554), pp. 298–99, no. 93, 114 (Kos, Museum 122), pp. 318–20, no. 114 (Kos, Museum Magazine Kastro ΡΒΕ 497). The feature appears even earlier on a head dated to the early third century, Kos, Museum 16: *ibid.*, pp. 292–93, no. 89.
- 4 Kos, Museum 17: *ibid.*, pp. 248–50, no. 57, pls. 58–59.



Cat. no. 45. Head of a woman from a funerary monument. Malibu 57.AA.10.

46. *Grave Naiskos of an Enthroned Woman with an Attendant*

About 100 B.C.

Large-grained white marble; Height: 94.6 cm (37 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.); Width: 120.7 cm (47 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); Depth: 21.6 cm (8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

72.AA.159

CONSERVATION

The top and the left anta are missing. The top was cut off for reuse as an architectural decoration in Lansdowne House, the London home of Sir William Fitzmaurice Petty, second Earl of Shelburne and first Marquess of Lansdowne.¹ The right anta has been roughly worked with a flat chisel. The bottom front edge is chipped and missing at the left. The underside has been roughly finished with a point chisel and may be the original surface. The back is finished roughly with the point chisel and is probably the original surface. The sides have been finished with the tooth chisel.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of Sir William Fitzmaurice Petty, second Earl of Shelburne and first Marquess of Lansdowne.

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The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Malibu, 1975), p. 31; *ibid.* (Malibu, 1976), p. 37.

Michaelis 1882, pp. 443–44, no. 26; P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* (Munich, 1929), 11: 12 (doubts the authenticity of the piece); Vermeule 1955, p. 131, no. 26 (under Bowood); Sotheby's, London, sale, December 4, 1972, lot no. 128; Frel 1974, no. 10; Frel 1979b, p. 44, no. 87 bis (wrongly cited as 73.AA.159).

LARGE NAISKOS MISSING ITS upper and lower portions and the left anta. It probably originally had an upper story, possibly with a pediment, antas with carved capitals, and an inscription below the figural scene.²

At the right sits a woman on a cushioned throne with an elaborately carved leg.³ A funerary relief from Delos features a woman seated on a *kline* with an elaborately turned leg similar to this.⁴ The throne leg is formed of several discs with a lion's paw and volutes in the center; the arm of the throne is supported by an upright carved in the form of a bird, probably an eagle. The back of the throne is an open-work design composed of two uprights and a cross-piece, all of which have rounded ends.⁵ The perspective of the throne is unusual in that the back is carved flat on the back of the naiskos, and the left arm and leg are carved three-dimensionally, projecting at an angle toward the viewer. The woman's body mirrors the throne perspective to some extent, since her head and legs are in left profile, but her torso is frontal.⁶

The woman wears a sleeveless dress with a flat band just under her breasts and a loosely wrapped cloak that crosses her body just below the waist and covers her legs. A sculpture in the round from Delos—Cybele from the House of Dionysos—wears a high-girt sleeveless dress with a V-shaped neckline very

similar to that worn by our figure.⁷ The style of the deep folds with closely spaced, sharply rounded edges is similar to that seen on sculpture from Delos.⁸ The difference in the weight of the fabric used for the two garments is subtly indicated on the Getty relief. The heavy fabric of the dress is shown by the deeply carved linear folds at the bottom of the figure. The cloak is made of a thinner fabric, and one can make out a few folds of the dress through the cloak.⁹ The pattern of folds on the cloak, which are placed in parallel lines on the diagonal, are comparable to those on several Delian funerary reliefs.¹⁰

The woman's feet rest on a low, rectangular platform.¹¹ She wears sandals with single thongs that pass between her first and second toes.¹² Unfortunately, the front of the foot, which would have provided an outline of the sole that would have helped date the monument, is missing. Her hair is parted in the center, brushed back at the sides into a roll, and caught at the back in a ponytail. There are spit curls at the hairline on either side of a central part and in front of and behind her left earlobe. A fillet encircles her head. The way the hair is carved in fine, individually shaped strands is distinctive.¹³ Her round face with widely spaced, deep-set eyes has thin lips separated by a drilled channel. Both arms are adorned with snake armlets and bracelets.¹⁴

The woman's left arm rests on the arm of the throne, while her right reaches out to touch the lid of an open flat box or mirror held by a girl standing in front of her. This pose is similar to that on several monuments from Delos.¹⁵ The girl wears a dress belted just under her breasts with a long overfold that has an edge pulled up and caught in a bunch under her right arm. Her feet are bare. Her hair is cut short and falls forward from the crown in a series of separate locks.¹⁶ Both the woman and the girl have two pronounced Venus rings.¹⁷

The technique and subject matter of this grave monument are both of high quality; the young woman must have belonged to a wealthy and influential family. In workmanship, the relief recalls late Hellenistic sculpture of coastal Asia Minor, Rhodes, and Kos, but especially of Delos.¹⁸ Of these, Delos is the only one that furnishes a chronological point of reference. About four hundred stelai with figured reliefs are preserved from the island itself and from neighboring Rheneia, the main necropolis of the island after the purification of Delos in 426 B.C.¹⁹ The majority of the stelai are broadly dated to the later second and first centuries B.C., that is, to the period when Delos was a free port under Athenian control.²⁰ None of the Delian stelai was found in externally dated contexts, so the chronology is based in part on historical probability and in part on epigraphic and figural style.²¹ The quality of the Getty monument is close to some of the best Delian monuments. For example, the style of the throne back, facial resemblance, and the relaxed pose are similar to those on a large grave monument of an enthroned woman from Delos.²² The style of the drapery with a heavy fabric dress under a cloak of thin material as well as the pose of the woman are seen on the funerary relief of Lampron from Delos.²³ The deceased woman for whom this monument was carved is depicted here as wealthy, fashionable, and elegant.

- 1 Michaelis 1882, p. 443, states that it was put into the wall over a doorway. The bottom was probably also cut off, since most intact Delian stelai have a short, rough-picked tenon on the bottom surface for insertion into some sort of supporting base. While few of the stelai have been found in archaeological contexts, they seem to have been displayed within the necropolis on Rheneia in at least two ways: either on top of a sarcophagus, like the late second-century grave monument of Tertia Horaria, or inset into a squat base, as seems to have been common on Rhodes. See Couilloud 1974, nos. 58 and 502, fig. 9 and pl. 93; P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford, 1977), pl. 19.
- 2 The rectangular form of the monument may be compared to the slightly smaller monument of Ammia and Boethos from Delos, which is crowned by an entablature of triglyphs and metopes, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1218: Couilloud 1974, pp. 129–30, no. 185, pl. 43.
- 3 The throne is an elaborate version of the throne with turned legs described by Richter 1966, pp. 19–23. The debt of this throne to Persian prototypes is seen in the insertion of lion's paws about midway in the series of turnings. Cf. Richter 1966, fig. 63, a relief from the Palace of Persepolis depicting Darius sitting on a throne with similar legs.
- 4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 897: Couilloud 1974, p. 116, no. 147, pl. 34.
- 5 This style is seen on thrones from two Hellenistic centers, Samos and Delos. Samian examples in Pythagoreion-Tigani, Museum 168, and Samos-Vathy, Museum 243: R. Horn, *Hellenistische Bildwerke auf Samos* (Bonn, 1972), pp. 136–38, nos. 112–13, pl. 72; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 234, nos. 901 and 904. The Delian example is in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1257: Couilloud 1974, pp. 93–94, no. 84, pl. 19. Another monument from Delos, now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2391, shows a woman seated on a throne with an elaborate arm, but it seems that the back of the throne is solid, or perhaps covered with fabric so that it appears solid. The monument of Ammia and Boethos (supra, note 2) shows Boethos sitting on a throne of a different type, but it is still noteworthy in being yet another funerary relief from Delos where the deceased is enthroned.
- 6 Figures on Hellenistic funerary reliefs most often face the viewer in a frontal position. This outward-looking position of the figures contrasts with Classical Attic funerary figures, who usually interact with one another within the figural scene: Zanker 1993, p. 215.
- 7 Marcadé 1969, p. 113, no. A 4144, pl. 53.
- 8 Cf. those on a draped male figure found in Sarapeion c on Delos: Marcadé 1969, p. 324, pl. 71.
- 9 This is comparable to a funerary statue from Delos, now in Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 2711: Couilloud 1974, p. 232, no. 4, pl. 89; Hamiaux 1992, p. 241, no. 255.
- 10 E.g., Athens, National Archaeological Museum 897 and 1273: Couilloud 1974, p. 116, no. 147, pl. 34, and p. 88, no. 68, pl. 15, respectively.
- 11 Richter 1966, p. 51, a type 3. Cf. the relief from Delos in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 897 (supra, note 10), in the way in which the seated woman rests her feet on a low type of rectangular platform.
- 12 Morrow 1985, pp. 91–92. The sandal resembles those worn by a seated female figure in Rome, Terme Museum 55969: A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit: Studien an weiblichen Gewandfiguren* (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 90 n. 299, no. 198, pl. 38.
- 13 Cf. the hair on Aphrodite of the Slipper-Slapper group from Delos, now in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3335: Marcadé 1969, pp. 393–96, pl. 50.
- 14 Such jewelry is another mark of the high status of this deceased woman. Cf. the snake-headed gold bracelets and armlets from a Ptolemaic jewelry group in the Getty Museum, acc. nos. 92.AM.8.6–7: *The J. Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), pp. 56–57; M. Pfrommer, *Greek Gold from Hellenistic Egypt*, Getty Museum Studies on Art (forthcoming).
- 15 For the motif of a seated woman reaching toward an object held by an attendant, see Couilloud 1974, nos. 147–49, pl. 35. On the lounging woman as a motif taken from a Classical Greek sculpture, see A. M. Nielsen and J. S. Østergaard, *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic Period: Catalogue, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen, 1997), p. 40, no. 14 (inv. 2026).
- 16 The pose, hairstyle, and flat chest of the girl are similar to a figure on a monument from Smyrna, now in London, British Museum GR 1947.7-14.2: Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 234–35, no. 906.
- 17 See cat. no. 4 with note 9.
- 18 A fragment of a grave relief in Madison of comparable size and grandeur features an enthroned woman. It is dated to the late second century B.C. but, unfortunately, its provenance is unknown, though it is believed to be from Asia Minor. Madison, University of Wisconsin, Elvehjem Museum of Art 1977.3.
- 19 Thucydides 3.104.
- 20 Marcadé 1969, pp. 21–49.
- 21 See B. Schmaltz, *Griechische Grabreliefs* (Darmstadt, 1983), pp. 229–37; Couilloud 1974, pp. 2–3, 243–53; S. Schmidt, *Hellenistische Grabreliefs* (Cologne, 1991), pp. 65–77.
- 22 Delos, Museum A 3186: Marcadé 1969, p. 289 n. 6; Couilloud 1974, p. 124, no. 170, pl. 39; A. Linfert, *Kunstzentren hellenistischer Zeit: Studien an weiblichen Gewandfiguren* (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 115 n. 458c, nos. 274–75, pl. 52.
- 23 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1156: Couilloud 1974, p. 149, no. 270, pl. 79.



Cat. no. 46. Grave naiskos of an enthroned woman with an attendant. Malibu 72.AA.159.



Detail of the the face of the enthroned woman from the grave naiskos Malibu 72.AA.159.



Detail of the enthroned woman with her snake-headed jewelry and the eagle arm support on the throne from the grave naiskos Malibu 72.AA.159.

47. *Grave Stele of a Woman with Four Girls in a Sanctuary*

About 100 B.C.

Large-grained white marble with gray streaking; Height: 46.5 cm (18 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.); Width: 40 cm (15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.); Depth: 9.6 cm (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

71.AA.268

CONSERVATION

The stele is complete. Plaster restorations done in the eighteenth century were removed from the woman's head and from the altar.¹ Two areas of restoration remain, at the base of the altar and on the girl at the far right. The surface of the marble is very weathered, and there are some chips, especially along the edges. Most of the carved details are blurred and indistinct from the weathering. In addition, the front looks as if it has undergone acid treatment at some point, for the surface of the marble has a slick, shiny appearance. The back retains its original rough finish made with the point chisel. There are marks of the tooth chisel on the sides.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of John B. C. Morritt at Rokeby Hall in Yorkshire.

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Michaelis 1882, pp. 643–44, no. 1; E. Pfuhl, "Das Beiwerk auf den ostgriechischen Grabreliefs," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 20 (1905): 55, no. 30, p. 56, fig. 11; Vermeule 1955, p. 146; Sotheby's London, sale, July 1, 1969, lot no. 258; *Selected Works from the Ancient Art Collection of the John Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California*, exh. cat., Pennsylvania State Univ., Hetzel Union Gallery (University Park, 1971), no. 7; Frel 1979a, no. 93 (identified as a votive relief to Asklepios); Frel 1979b, p. 44 (identified as a votive relief of a hero); Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, pp. 348, 351, no. 1480, pl. 215.

SMALL TRAPEZOIDAL STELE finished at the top with a cavetto molding. A tall, thin woman stands frontally in a sanctuary setting. Her hair is caught up in a bun on top of her head. She wears a dress with a cloak that envelops her right arm. There are faint marks on the cloak, especially evident near the bottom on her right, that might be construed as press folds, a status symbol.² Her feet are formless, so she is probably wearing soft shoes that appear to have fairly thick soles.³ Her extended left arm holds out an egg to a very long snake coiled about a tree. Snakes are symbols of subterranean living, that is, symbolic of heroes.⁴ The tree has five leafy branches with individually carved leaves. A belted dress with an overfold hangs from one branch of the tree as a votive offering.⁵ In front of the tree is a small, round, flaming altar set on a base with three bands of molding.⁶ At the left of the scene is a tall pillar with a small lekythos on top. This further emphasizes the ritual nature of this relief, for the lekythos is a vase for offering libations to the dead at the grave.⁷

On either side of the woman stand two girls in various poses suggesting relaxed contemplation. Two of the girls each raise a hand to her chin, while a third stands with one leg bent at the knee and crossed over the other.⁸ All four girls wear long dresses. The girl furthest on the left holds an object in her left hand, probably a bird as an offering. The second one from the left holds a flat, rectangular object, probably a box.⁹ The girl just to the right of the woman also holds an object in her left hand, but it is too indistinct to identify. The girl furthest to the right holds nothing in her hands; she is slightly larger than the other three.

This relief of a sanctuary in a sacred grove places the monument in a small group of grave reliefs from the eastern part of the Greek world that emphasize the heroism of the deceased. The woman feeds the sacred snake in a sanctuary while she probably burns an offering on the altar. Pfuhl and Möbius group this relief with twelve others that show libations and gift offerings; there is no animal present here to indicate a sacrifice.¹⁰ What is interesting about this example is that only female figures are present. Most other libation scenes feature male figures or were erected for a deceased male. A relief in Leiden is comparable to this one in its female figure offering a libation to a snake wound about a tree, but it is not carved nearly as carefully nor with the same quality as the Getty stele.¹¹ The atmosphere of the relief has more in common with several monuments featuring women standing in sanctuary settings that include trees and snakes.¹² Because of the religious nature of the iconography, we speculate that this gravestone marked the grave of a priestess who was active in a sanctuary located in what is now modern Turkey.

- 1 Removed in 1973 by staff in the Antiquities Conservation Department of the Getty Museum.
- 2 On press folds, see Ridgway 1990, p. 219; Granger-Taylor 1987, pp. 114–23.
- 3 Morrow 1985, pp. 121–22.
- 4 On the role of snakes in afterlife mythology, see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 194–95.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 68–70.
- 6 On this type of altar, see C. Yavis, *Greek Altars: Origins and Typology* (St. Louis, 1949), pp. 142–43. Yavis calls this kind a plain monolithic cylindrical altar and notes that it is a common type in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. A more recent study of Greek altars is D. Aktsele, *Altäre in der archaischen und klassischen Kunst: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Ikonographie* (Espelkamp, 1996), but she includes only material through the fourth century B.C.
- 7 See D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971), pp. 103–5. Cf. a monument in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1947.271, which has a vessel atop a tall pillar in the background; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 88, no. 149.
- 8 See Neumann 1965, pp. 116–23.
- 9 This could be a box for other offerings, or it could be a symbol of wealth such as a container of jewels.
- 10 Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, pp. 348–51.
- 11 Leiden, Rijksmuseum L. K. A. 1118; Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, p. 351, no. 1479, pl. 215.
- 12 E.g., Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1158; once European art market; and Izmir, Kültürpark 31; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 134, no. 395, pl. 64, p. 143, no. 426, pl. 70, and p. 143, no. 429, pl. 70, respectively.



Cat. no. 47. Grave stele of a woman with four girls in a sanctuary. Malibu 71.AA.268.

48. Grave Naiskos of a Seated Man

About 75 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble;¹ Height: 143.5 cm (56½ in.); Width: 100 cm (39⅞ in.); Depth: 26.8 cm (10½ in.)

72.AA.160

CONSERVATION

The original funerary monument was broken at the top above the right shoulder of the man, through the hollow of his throat, and across the left upper arm, cutting off half of the left forearm. All above this point is a later restoration.

The head is mostly ancient, but it was not a part of the original relief, being instead a representation, probably carved in the round, of Hades or Serapis. The top of the head is severely weathered with loss of definition in the carving of the strands of hair. The nose, front curls, and one curl of the beard are restored. The right cheek and eye are recut. There is a hole in the top of the head, approximately 1.5 cm square.

The lower part of the neck, shoulders, back, and left arm of the man are recut to blend in with the adjacent parts of the modern background. The third and fourth knuckles of the right hand and the second knuckle of the index finger as well as parts of the padded stool are restorations. The left front edge of the base of the relief and the lower right front leg of the stool are restorations. The top of the tree with the leaves, nest, and all the birds is partially recut and may be modern. The head of the snake is a restoration, and several fragments of its body are recut.

PROVENANCE

Found in Roma Vecchia² in 1776 by the Scottish painter and antiquarian Gavin Hamilton;³ formerly in the collection of Sir William Fitzmaurice Petty, second Earl of Shelburne and first Marquess of Lansdowne.⁴

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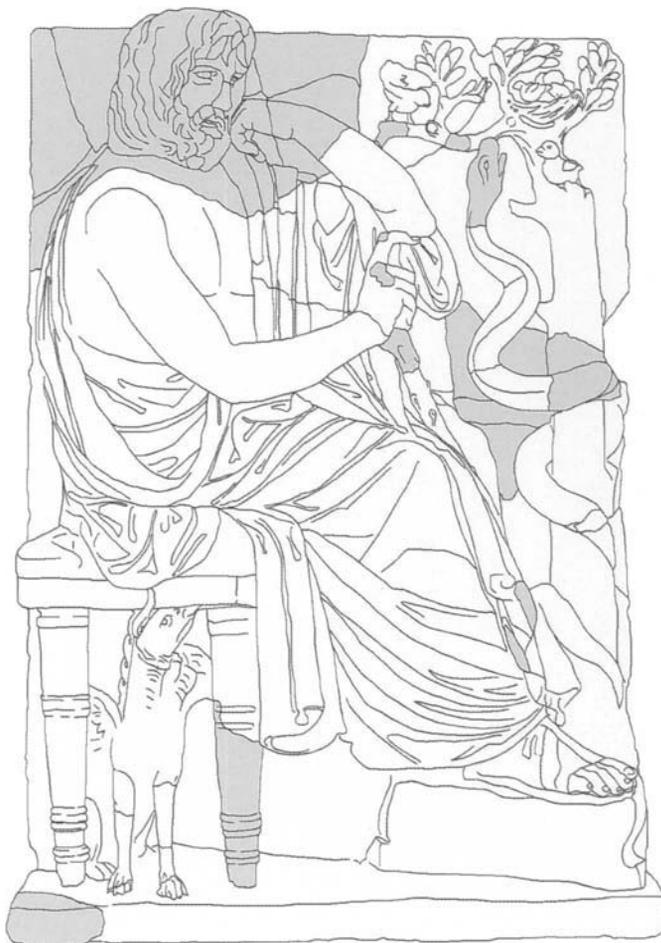
J. Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* (London, 1800), pp. 378–79; F. G. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler* (Göttingen, 1850), 2: 221, pl. 11.19; O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (Bonn, 1873), pl. 3.1; Michaelis 1882, pp. 437–38, no. 2; A. H. Smith, “Gavin Hamilton’s Letters to Charles Townley,” *JHS* 20 (1900): 306–21; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* (Paris, 1912), 2: 519, no. 3; Christie’s, London, sale, March 5, 1930, lot no. 93; Vermeule 1955, p. 131 (under Bowood); G. Dontas, *Eikones: Kathemenon pneumatikon anthroponeisten archaiaian elleniken technen* (Athens, 1960), p. 29; Sotheby’s, London, sale, December 4, 1972, lot no. 129; Frel 1979b, p. 37, no. v 78; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 8.

BACK PANEL FROM A large naiskos that originally would have had side panels and a roof. At the left of the panel sits a male figure on a padded stool with his right hand resting on a knobby walking stick, his left raised to his cheek in a gesture of contemplation.⁵ The hand does not actually touch the head—there is about a 3-mm space between the hand and the side of the face—but the head is a restoration, and both it and the hand show signs of recarving. The man is wrapped in a cloak that leaves his right arm and chest bare. His feet rest on a footstool placed on a diagon-

nal at the front of the scene.⁶ His feet are sandaled. The right sandal is carved in great detail and is clearly a *lingula* sandal, a style with an overhanging tongue (*lingula*).⁷ On a low, plain-edged sole, a cross-band spans the base of the toes and combines with a thong that widens into a tongue on top of the foot. A wide ribbon secures side loops extending probably from heel meshes and is tied at the ankle. The sole is indented and closely curved along the contours of the foot. The toes overhang it slightly. The indented sole that follows the outline of the foot is common on sandals of the Hellenistic period.

A griffin peers out from under the padded stool to look up at the man. Griffins are related to Dionysos and notions of well-being in the afterlife.⁸ At the right of the composition is a tree with a snake winding up its trunk. Snakes are creatures of the earth and have a long association with the dead.⁹ The tail of the snake coiling about the tree is part of the original monument. The leafy branches with the nest containing four small birds may be later restorations. The man’s bearded head, though ancient, is likewise not original to the relief but a later substitution. It is of a type used to depict gods, and various identities have been proposed, including Asklepios, Zeus, and Serapis.¹⁰

Although this monument was discovered in Rome in the eighteenth century, it was possibly taken to Rome in antiquity from the Greek world.¹¹ Restorations to the sculpture, both



Drawing showing original and (in gray) restored parts of the grave naiskos of a seated man Malibu 72.AA.160. Drawing by Jerry Podany.



Cat. no. 48. Grave naiskos of a seated man. Malibu 72.AA.160.



Drawing of the inscription on the underside of the grave naiskos Malibu 72.AA.160.

ancient and more recent, have obscured the relief's original purpose as a funerary monument. It was discovered by Gavin Hamilton in 1776 in Roma Vecchia and mentioned in his letters to Lord Shelburne, in which the seated man is described as "Aesculapius," the god of healing, probably because of the presence of the snake.¹² The relief was repaired and a new head, probably of either the god Serapis or Hades, was attached. The relief later became known as a depiction of Homer composing the *Iliad*, and it has long been known as the "Homer relief."¹³

The style and form of the monument are, however, reminiscent of large, high-quality Classical and Hellenistic funerary monuments from East Greek centers.¹⁴ In addition, there is a Greek inscription on the underside of the relief:

ΞΕΑΘΕ
"Xeanthe"

These letters probably identify the sculptor of the monument or represent the marks of the workshop where the piece was made. The style of the letters, especially the alpha and the epsilons, is similar to that on two Attic reliefs dated in the first century B.C.¹⁵

It is instructive to look at large sculptures carved in the first century B.C. on Delos, such as the "Pseudo-Athlete" from the House of the Diadoumenos. The way the drapery folds are carved and the weight and character of the cloth itself are similar on the two monuments.¹⁶ In addition, there are similarities in the sandal on our man and a new form of footwear (*krepis*) seen on male figures from Delos. These Delian sandals are not of the *lingula* type, but their netlike uppers with the straps widely spaced resemble the strapwork on our figure.¹⁷ We conclude, therefore, that originally this panel was part of a large funerary monument on the island of Rheneia (the necropolis of Delos), and that the Romans carried it off at some point in antiquity.

1 The monument contains marble from three different sculptings—the original production and two subsequent restorations. Thus, samples were taken from various parts of the relief for marble provenancing: from the lower part of the relief, from the man's head, and from the snake's head. Stable isotope ratio analysis of the three marble samples was conducted in July 2000 by Norman Herz in the laboratories of the University of Georgia. The results for the samples taken from the original relief and the alien head of the man indicate that the probable source was either Mount Pentelikon or the Roman Turkish quarries at Iznik. Since both marbles show a tendency to foliate, they are more likely Pentelic. The results for the sample taken from the snake's head (part of a postantique restoration) indicate the probable source as Afyon, a Roman Turkish quarry known as Dokimeion. The complete report is in the file for the relief in the Department of Antiquities Conservation at the Getty Museum.

- 2 Roma Vecchia is an area along the Via Appia Antica about five miles southeast from Rome. In addition to funerary monuments along the ancient road, the area also includes the ruins of the Villa of the Quintilii. See A. H. Smith, "Gavin Hamilton's Letters to Charles Townley," *JHS* 20 (1900): 316–17; *Via Appia: sulle ruine della magnificenza antica* (Rome, 1997), pp. 12–13; A. Macadam, *Blue Guide: Rome*, 6th edn. (London and New York, 1998), p. 262.
- 3 Gavin Hamilton lived in Rome for most of his adult life where, in addition to painting, he acted as agent in the formation of many British collections, including those of Lord Shelburne and Charles Townley. See D. Irwin, "Gavin Hamilton: Archaeologist, Painter and Dealer," *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962): 87–102; J. Lloyd Williams, *Gavin Hamilton, 1723–1798* (Edinburgh, 1994); I. Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes: In the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800–1939* (London, 1992), esp. pp. 106–7.
- 4 Lord Shelburne formed his collection—one of the finest in England—during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Most of the collection was displayed in Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square, London. The house had a specially designed hall of antiquities, equipped at the narrower ends with two semi-circular exedras. The statue of Herakles known as the Lansdowne Herakles (Getty Museum 70.AA.109) was one of the principal sculptures on display in this special gallery. On the Marquess of Lansdowne, see Michaelis 1882, pp. 103–5. On Lansdowne House and its sculpture gallery, see D. Stillman, "The Gallery for Lansdowne House: International Neoclassical Architecture and Decoration in Microcosm," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970): 75–80; S. Howard, *The Lansdowne Herakles* (Malibu, 1978), pp. 20–21.
- 5 The stool is of a simple type with straight legs that have been elaborated with ring moldings. See Richter 1966, pp. 42–43, type 5 *diphros*. On the pose and the gesture, see P. Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 90–92.
- 6 The footstool is a simple version of the type 2, whose legs are curved, perhaps meant as lion's paws: Richter 1966, pp. 50–51.
- 7 Morrow 1985, pp. 118–20; M. Pfrommer, "The Emperor's Shoes: Hellenistic Footwear in Roman Times," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 74 (1987): 126–27, for conclusive evidence on the existence of the *lingula* sandal from the Classical period on.
- 8 See Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 83–87.
- 9 W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 194–95.
- 10 Asklepios: Gavin Hamilton, in J. Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England* (London, 1800), pp. 378–79; Zeus: Sotheby's, London, sale, December 4, 1972, lot no. 129; Serapis: Frel 1979b, p. 37, no. v78.
- 11 A small number of Attic funerary monuments made their way to Rome. See Clairmont 1993, 6: 207. Although most of the monuments listed here have an unrecorded provenance, one in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (no. 984) was found in 1887 in the Horti Lamiani (*Le tranquille dimore degli dei: La residenza imperiale degli horti Lamiani*, ed. M. Cima and E. La Rocca [Venice, 1986], p. 193, fig. 127), and another, the large, high-quality relief of a horseman in the Villa Albani, was found in 1764 in the gardens of Maecenas (P. Bol, ed., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Katalog der antiken Bildwerke* [Berlin, 1989], 1: 246–51, pls. 140–46). These two were obviously brought to Rome from Greece by the Romans.
- 12 Letters of July 13 and August 8, 1776. See Dallaway (supra, note 10); A. H. Smith, "Gavin Hamilton's Letters to Charles Townley," *JHS* 20 (1900): 317 n. 2; Christie's London, sale, March 5, 1930, lot no. 93.
- 13 Michaelis 1882, p. 437.
- 14 E.g., in the Classical period, see Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, pp. 25–26, no. 56, pl. 14 (Grottaferrata, Museo del Monumento Nazionale della Badia Greca); pp. 35–36, no. 92, pl. 22 (Bergamo, Museo 10). Also cf. the reworked Attic stele in Rome, Barbarini collection: C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, suppl. vol. (Kilchberg, 1995), pp. 51–55, no. 2.010. For monuments of the Hellenistic period, see Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 220, no. 848, pl. 124 (Izmir, Basmahane Museum 954), p. 223, no. 856, pl. 125 (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1212).
- 15 Thanks are owed to Alan Johnston for advice on deciphering the letters. For the Attic reliefs, see J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum* (Berlin, 1948), p. 29, nos. 114–15. Also cf. those on a fragment of the stele of Zenon in the Mykonos Museum, dated to the beginning of the first century B.C.: Couilloud 1974, p. 148, no. 267, pl. 52.
- 16 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1828: Smith 1991, pp. 256–58, fig. 315.
- 17 Delos Museum A 228a–β: Marcadé 1969, pl. 68; Morrow 1985, pp. 110–11.

49. *Head of a Woman from a Funerary Monument*

About 75 B.C.

Large-grained white marble; Height: 14 cm (5½ in.); Width: 12.2 cm (4¾ in.); Depth: 13.1 cm (5¼ in.)

71.AA.324

CONSERVATION

The head is broken at an oblique angle at the bottom, from just below the chin in front to part way up the back. The face is battered, with losses on the chin, nose, mouth, and outer parts of the eyes and brows. The surface of the marble is weathered and many of the carved surface details blurred and indistinct.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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Frel 1979a, p. 23, no. 88.

SMALL HEAD OF A WOMAN carved nearly in the round. Some of the attachment point remains on the proper left side of her head. The head would, thus, have been attached to a figure in relief but with the head nearly separated from the marble slab.¹ The figure to which this head belonged would have been positioned in a slightly right profile; the hair on the proper right side of the central part is more completely carved, and her right eye is more correctly rendered. Her left eye is lower than her right. Even though most of her hair is covered with a veil, the portion at the front is arranged in a series of horizontal rows of curls, a variation of the melon hairstyle.² The ends of the curls framing her face are drilled. The veil covers the back of her head from midcrown and comes down in front of her ears. The back of the head is smoothly finished. Her face is round with a low brow and eyes neither wide nor narrow. She has a small mouth that is closed and a fleshy chin. The head resembles those seen on monuments from the area of Istanbul. For example, it is comparable to the head on a seated woman on the monument, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 5688.³ The figure to which this head belonged was small, indicating that the monument it was part of was modest. Since the head is veiled, the figure would most likely have been that of a heavily draped matron in a family scene.

1 Similar to the standing woman on a monument from Smyrna, now in Leiden, Rijksmuseum Pb. 28; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 251, no. 989.

2 On this type of hairstyle, see Ridgway 1996, p. 58.

3 Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, p. 230, no. 885, pl. 131. Another head on a relief from the same area (Istanbul) is also quite similar and from the same period. Beyazit, Vezneciler: N. Fıratlı, *Les Stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1964), p. 100, no. 149, pl. xxxvii.



Cat. no. 49. Frontal view of the head of a woman from a funerary monument. Malibu 71.AA.324.



Right profile view of the head of a woman from the funerary monument Malibu 71.AA.324.

Greek Funerary Sculpture from South Italy

THE LATE CLASSICAL / EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIOD

50. *Fragment of a Female Figure from a Funerary Building*

About 330 B.C.

Limestone; Height: 13.8 cm (5³/₈ in.); Width: 10.5 cm (4¹/₈ in.);
Depth: 6.1 cm (2³/₈ in.)

96.AA.244

CONSERVATION

The fragment is broken on all sides. The back is smoothly finished. There is a round hole in the back surface centered side to side and placed slightly above the horizontal center line. The surface is covered by a fine gray incrustation.

PROVENANCE

From Taras; gift of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

True and Hamma 1994, p. 354, no. 219.

FRAGMENT OF THE BODY of a woman that was part of the decoration of a small naiskos or funerary building. The fragment is of a heavily draped standing woman. She wears a dress fastened at the shoulders with a cloak wrapped to cover her left shoulder. The fabric of both the dress and the cloak is thick with broad, fairly deeply carved folds. A wide fold of the cloak is pulled up tightly just under the breasts and is tucked under the woman's left arm with a protruding bunch of fabric. The woman's breasts are well developed and widely separated, with several vertical folds of her dress between them.

The back of the fragment is smooth. There is an attachment hole, which probably means that this fragment was part of an akroterion. This and the following five fragments (cat. nos. 51–55) are typical of a class of limestone sculptures that decorated small funerary buildings found on the eastern side of the ancient town of Taras (Roman Tarentum, modern Taranto) in South Italy.¹

Located on the southern coast of Italy, Taras was a major city of the Greek world. In the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., Taras was noted as a center for stoneworking, exploiting both the local limestone and imported Greek marble. Tarantine architecture and artistic production greatly influenced the hellenization of all central Italy, transmitting several artistic trends of the East. The great fourth-century-B.C. sculptor Lysippos from Sikyon worked in Taras for a period.²

Pottery from graves excavated beneath funerary buildings at Taras dates their construction to the period 330–250 B.C. The soft white limestone from which these sculptures were carved, quarried in the region of Brundisium (modern Brindisi), would have been enlivened with paint. Each relief or sculpture would originally have been part of larger sculptural programs decorating colorful funerary monuments conceived as miniature temple facades.

The fragment is comparable in the style of its drapery and the method of its manufacture to an abduction group in Taranto.³ The hole appears similar to those on the Taranto fragment and would have been used for fastening pins.⁴ Both the Taranto group and this fragment belong to the first in the series of Tarantine funerary sculptures organized by Joseph Carter and are dated by associated tomb finds to about 330 B.C.⁵

- 1 See Carter 1975 for a comprehensive treatment of the Tarantine funerary sculpture, its material, chronology, provenance, and stylistic groupings.
- 2 Among other sculptures, Lysippos created two colossal statues at Taras, one of Zeus that stood some sixty feet high and another of a seated Herakles: Pliny *Natural History* 34.40; *Lisippo: l'Arte e la Fortuna*, exh. cat. (Rome, 1995), pp. 278–88.
- 3 National Museum 117514: Carter 1975, pp. 39–40, pls. 1, 2a–d.
- 4 Carter 1975, p. 39, notes that surviving pediments of naiskoi have preserved platforms with dowel holes at the apex of the gable.
- 5 Carter 1975, pp. 21–25.



Cat. no. 50. Fragment of a female figure from a funerary building. Malibu 96.AA.244.

51. *Fragment of a Relief of Two Women at a Fountain, from a Funerary Building*

320–300 B.C.

Limestone; Height: 17 cm (6¾ in.); Width: 25.3 cm (10 in.); Depth: 6.5 cm (2½ in.)

96.AA.121

CONSERVATION

The fragment is broken all around. The back is smoothly finished. The head and body of the figure on the left are preserved to the waist. The figure on the right preserves the upper body, minus the head. There is a light brownish incrustation on the surface of the limestone.

PROVENANCE

From Taras; gift of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

True and Hamma 1994, p. 151, no. 67.

FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF that was part of the decoration of a small naiskos, or funerary building. A woman stands on either side of a lion's-head fountain spout with water streaming from the mouth of the lion.¹ The woman at the left has wavy hair parted in the center and drawn back from her face to fall in long tresses over her shoulders. Her cheeks are full, her lips fleshy, and her eyes heavily lidded.² A pin in the top of her head attached some further object, possibly a water jar. Her left arm is lowered. She wears a dress fastened at the shoulders and belted just under her breasts with a round cord. A bracelet adorns her left wrist.

The second woman, unfortunately missing her head, must have had a similar hairstyle, since long, wavy locks fall over her shoulders. Both her arms are lowered; a bracelet adorns her right wrist. She wears a mantle over a dress fastened at the shoulders. Her left arm is wrapped in the mantle, and there is a thick roll of fabric at her waist with a bunch that protrudes between her body and arm.³

Where the reliefs from Tarantine funerary monuments are preserved enough to identify the subject matter, they usually represent mythological scenes. Most present themes of either heroism or Dionysiac immortality.⁴ This fragment may represent one of the Danaides in an Underworld scene.⁵ Water carriers, often identified as the Danaides, were a favorite subject in South Italian funerary art, appearing on vases as well as on Tarantine

architectural reliefs. The Danaides were the fifty daughters of various mothers and Danaos, king of Argos. Rather than submitting to marriage with their cousins, the Danaides murdered their bridegrooms on their wedding nights. After death the Danaides were punished in the Underworld by being required ceaselessly to draw water in leaky jars that must be forever refilled.⁶

Another limestone fragment with a woman at a fountain, close in style and scale to this relief, is on loan to the Basel Antikenmuseum from the Kuhn collection.⁷ The proportions of the figures are close to those in the rest of the Greek world of the later decades of the fourth century B.C. in which the drapery fabric has both weight and substance. The fabric, which falls into a pattern of linear folds with contrasting shadows, has an opaque quality that characterizes figures dated by Carter to about 320–300 B.C. and incorporated in his group F.⁸

This relief may have been a metope or part of a continuous frieze.⁹ It is comparable to a metope in Berlin of a woman carrying a hydria.¹⁰

- 1 For the lion's head gushing water, cf. an engraved example on a Preneistine *kista* in Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design 06.014: G. Bordenache Battaglia and A. Emiliozzi, *Le Ciste preneistine* 1.2 (Rome, 1990), pp. 207–10, no. 67. The water flowing from the lion enters a basin flanked by two nude standing women who are part of a scene of bridal preparation with Hermes in attendance.
- 2 Cf. the head on a relief in Taranto, National Museum 117914, for both hairstyle and facial features: Carter 1975, p. 41, no. 8, pl. 3d. Carter divided the Tarantine reliefs into twenty-one stylistic groups, designated A through U, with each group representing the work of a single sculptor or his workshop. This head is in Carter's Group B, dated 325–280 B.C.
- 3 The drapery is comparable to that on a relief in Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 2578: Hamiaux 1992, p. 250, no. 267. This relief is placed in Carter's Group F, dated 320–300 B.C.: Carter 1975, pp. 57–58, no. 110, pl. 20b.
- 4 Carter 1975, pp. 16–20.
- 5 Cf. a frieze in Munich, Glyptothek 494: Carter 1975, pp. 45–46, no. 31, pl. 10a–c.
- 6 On the Danaides, see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, 1986), 3: 337–41, s.v. An example of the subject on South Italian vases is seen on an Apulian volute-krater by the White Sakkos Painter once on the London art market. Two women with water jars standing at a fountain house with lion's-head water spouts have tentatively been identified as Danaides: A. D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (London, 1989), p. 99, fig. 257.
- 7 Carter 1975, p. 66, no. 172, pl. 28. This relief is placed in Carter's Group I, although the anatomy of the face is closer to that in Group F, where the Getty relief belongs.
- 8 Both the anatomy and the drapery of the figures on the reliefs in Group F, in which the Getty fragment best fits, follow the description for Type 1, as outlined by Carter 1975, p. 32.
- 9 See Klumbach 1937, pp. 13–17, pls. 11–14, for framed reliefs.
- 10 Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1641: Carter 1975, p. 58, no. 114; Klumbach 1937, pp. 15, 63–64, pl. 13.61. This metope is placed in Carter's Group F, dated 320–300 B.C.



Cat. no. 51. Fragment of a relief of two women from a funerary building. Malibu 96.AA.121.

52. *Fragment of a Relief of a Seated Woman, from a Funerary Building*

325–280 B.C.

Limestone; Height: 23.3 cm (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Width: 23.7 cm (9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.); Depth: 6.5 cm (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

79.AA.216

CONSERVATION

The panel is broken at the top and on the left. A large chip is missing under the chair at the bottom of the panel. The right and bottom edges of the panel are original and smoothly finished with the flat chisel and rasp. There are rasp marks on the background of the front surface. The back has been finished with the flat chisel. The surface of the stone is covered with root marks and some calcified deposits.

PROVENANCE

From Taras; gift of G. Lynn Richards, Los Angeles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished.

RELIEF BORDERED BY A narrow projecting frame, typical of metopes adorning friezes on funerary naiskoi from Taras. At the right of the relief panel, a woman sits on a high-backed chair.¹ She wears two dresses, a sleeveless one over another with sleeves that are fastened with a series of buttons. Three buttons are visible on the right sleeve of the dress. Over the dresses is a cloak that the woman holds at the shoulder with her left hand in a gesture associated with brides and married women; it may be a reference to the ritual unveiling of the bride (*anakalypteria*).² The edge of a very long overfold of the outer dress is visible below the hem of the cloak. The woman's right foot rests flat on a footstool, while the left is pulled back so that just the toes touch the stool.³ Her feet are smoothly carved with no indication of toes or soles of footwear; she is probably wearing soft shoes.⁴ A second female figure stood in front of the woman, but only a few folds of her drapery remain at the left, near the bottom of the fragment. The drapery has a very fluid quality with multiple folds.⁵ In contrast, the footstool and the chair are sharp edged and precise.

This panel was probably part of a frieze.⁶ The style of the drapery with its suggestion of transparency; its small, rounded folds; and fluid, slightly agitated quality place this relief among those carved between 325 to 280 B.C.⁷ This relief is comparable to one of a seated woman in Taranto.⁸

- 1 The chair is a later, heavier, less graceful version of the *klismos*. See Richter 1966, p. 37.
- 2 On the gesture, see Stears 1995, pp. 119–20.
- 3 The footstool is a type 1, the kind with a plain top and four perpendicular feet, the sides sometimes solid as they are here: Richter 1966, p. 50.
- 4 Morrow 1985, pp. 86–87.
- 5 Cf. the drapery on a relief in Heidelberg, inv. 26/56: Carter 1975, p. 50, no. 64; Klumbach 1937, pp. 12, 60–61, pl. 10.46.
- 6 Cf. the frieze composition of a scene from Elysion in Taranto, National Museum 1711 and 1712: Carter 1975, pp. 51–52, nos. 75–76; Klumbach 1937, pp. 9–10, 76, pl. 8.40–41. Carter places this composition in Group E, which is characterized by drapery of thicker material and formed into parallel folds that reach to the ground. There are no playfully ruffled edges as seen on the Getty figure, which is placed in Group D.
- 7 The light, transparent drapery composed of numerous fine and varied folds is characteristic of Carter's Group D, in which the Getty fragment seems best to belong. This group is characterized by Type II anatomy, which is fully fleshed bodies and faces, and Type II drapery, which is light and filmy material that covers the body yet reveals it. Carter 1975, p. 32.
- 8 Taranto, National Museum 81: Carter 1975, p. 48, no. 54, pl. 12c. The loosely bunched edges of the chiton along the woman's thigh at the seat of the chair place this relief in Carter's Group D. This same feature is seen on the Getty figure.



Cat. no. 52. Fragment of a relief of a seated woman from a funerary building. Malibu 79.AA.216.

53. *Fragment of a Relief of a Warrior, from a Funerary Building*

About 300 B.C.

Limestone; Height: 19 cm (7½ in.); Width: 12 cm (4¾ in.); Depth: 5.2 cm (2 in.)

77.AA.123

CONSERVATION

The top right corner of the relief remains, the rest is broken away. The original back surface of the relief is preserved. A broad band at the top, 6.5 cm high, is smoothly finished; the rest is roughly worked with a flat chisel. A light gray incrustation covers the surface of the limestone.

PROVENANCE

From Taras; gift of Joel Kass, Huntington Beach, California.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1979a, p. 25, no. 98.

RELIEF BORDERED BY A narrow projecting frame, typical of metopes from friezes on Tarantine funerary naiskoi.¹ The sturdy trunk of a tree with two branches occupies the right side of the relief. The top of the tree has been cut off. To the left of the tree, a helmeted warrior is placed in such a way that the crest of his helmet touches the underside of the top border. The helmet is probably an Attic type of a later style.² His head is in right profile, and he looks down toward the tree. The visor of the helmet is up, the right cheekpiece down. Locks of his long hair escape from the right

edge of the helmet and stream back over the side of the helmet. The top of his left shoulder is covered by a couple of folds of his cloak.

This relief would originally have been part of a larger sculptural program decorating a funerary monument built to resemble a miniature temple facade. Battle scenes are a popular subject for Tarantine artists, with most of the scenes mythological in origin. Here, the warrior seems to be in repose in a landscape setting, for the tree is such a prominent feature that it places the scene in the countryside. It is difficult to place this fragment within a specific datable group because so little of the figure remains. The strands of hair flowing back from the edge of the helmet along with the thick border at the top of the metope resemble a relief fragment in Taranto, dated 320–300 B.C.³ The tree as a major element in the scene is comparable to a metope that was on the art market at one time.⁴ The Getty fragment is tentively dated about 300 B.C. on the basis of the calm demeanor of the warrior but with some recognition of the later landscape.

1 See Klumbach 1937, pp. 13–17, pls. 11–14.

2 See an Attic helmet from Melos, now in Berlin, dated to the third to second century B.C.: H. Pflug, *Antike Helme* (Cologne, 1989), pp. 26–27, fig. 20. Cf. the helmets on reliefs in Tübingen, inv. 5378, and in Berlin, Staatliche Museen 885a: Carter 1975, p. 68, no. 189, and p. 91, no. 349; Klumbach 1937, p. 18, pl. 15.79, and p. 22, pl. 20.109.

3 Taranto, National Museum 110380: Carter 1975, p. 60, no. 136, pl. 21d. Carter places this fragment in Group F because the attitude of the figure is one of calm resignation, and the proportions of the face and outline of the eyes are similar to other reliefs in this category. Those characteristics apply as well to the Getty fragment.

4 Basel (in 1958): Carter 1975, p. 79, no. 252. This is placed by Carter in Group M, which has no assigned date and is characterized by him as an inheritor of local traditions.



Cat. no. 53. Fragment of a relief of a warrior from a funerary building. Malibu 77.AA.123.

54. *Fragment of a Relief of a Horseman and Companion, from a Funerary Building*

290–250 B.C.

Limestone; polychromy; Height: 37.5 cm (14³/₄ in.); Width: 34 cm (13³/₈ in.); Depth: 7 cm (2³/₄ in.)

74.AA.7

CONSERVATION

The upper left corner is missing, including the top of the rider and the head of the horse. The left lower leg and the lower right arm of the man on foot, and the body of the dog are also missing. Traces of the rasp are evident on the sides and the front of the moldings framing the scene at top and bottom. The back is slightly concave with striations marked on the surface. There are traces of polychromy: blue on the background; red on the cloaks, the hilt of the sword, the boots of the foot soldier, the body of the horse, and the lower frame; brownish on the dog.

PROVENANCE

From Taras.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frel 1974, no. 1; M. Yeganeh, Frankfurt, sale, 1974, lot no. 1; Frel 1979a, p. 25, no. 97; Frel 1979b, p. 44, no. 97.

THIS RELIEF WAS PART OF A continuous frieze from a small funerary building.¹ A cloaked, partially preserved horseman pulls back his mount, while his companion on foot, naked except for a soft peaked cap and a cloak wrapped around his arm, leans forward to attack with a spear (now missing) in his right hand.² Although only the chest and parts of the cloak of the horseman remain, they reveal his muscled physique and turn at the waist; two creases indicate the movement. The flying drapery of the rider is similar to that on a relief in Cleveland.³

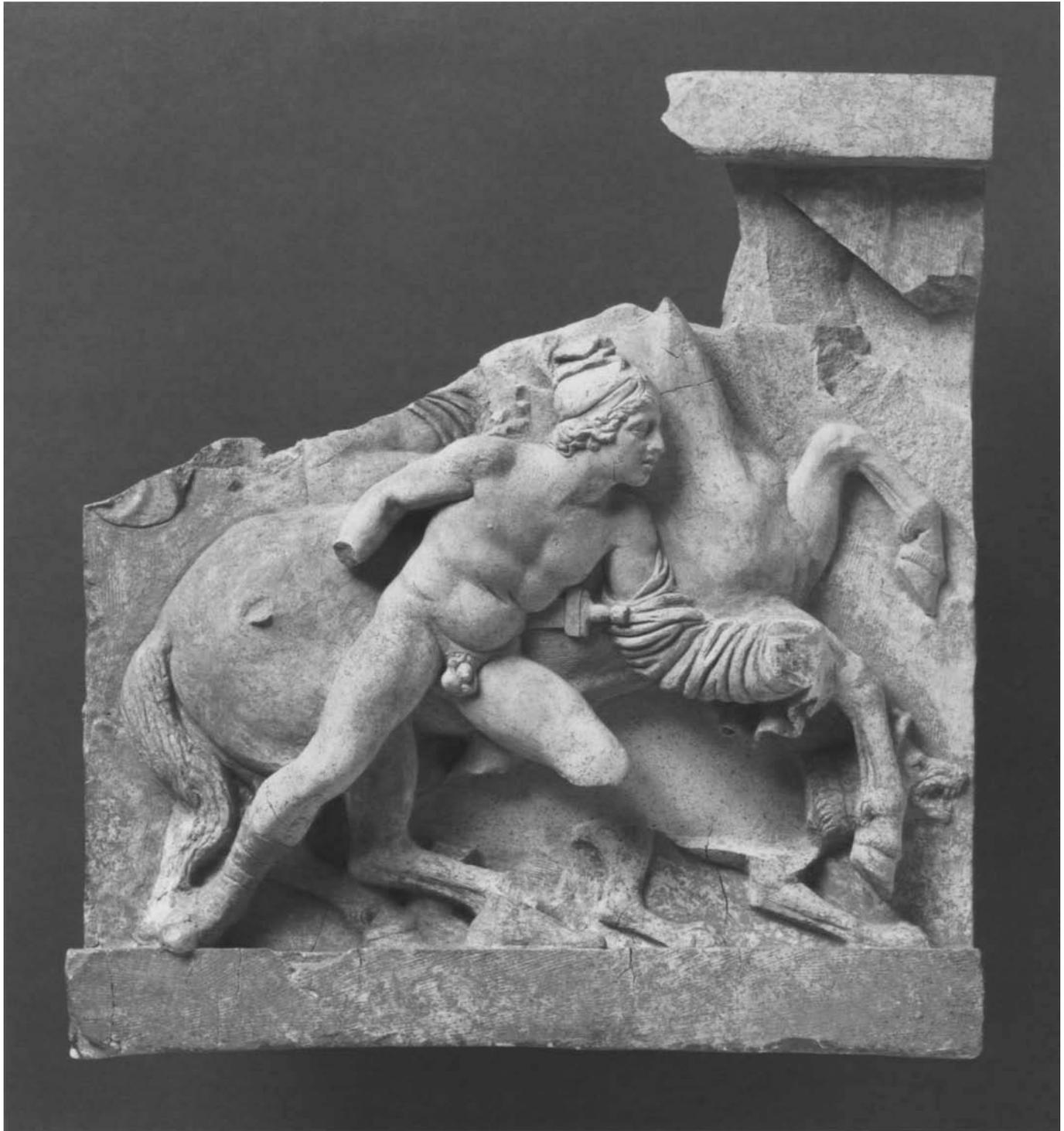
The man on foot is clean shaven with long, curly hair. There is a sword at his left side.⁴ He wears high boots.⁵ In the background, a snarling dog menaces the foe. The dog is a long, lean variety with pointed ears and large paws, probably a type of mastiff.⁶

In addition to mythological subjects, Tarantine artists also depicted battle and hunting scenes, both appropriate activities for Tarantine heroes. The inclusion of the dog here marks this as a hunting scene. In the funerary context, hunting is one of the pleasures in the life hereafter.⁷ Compare an appliqué once on the art market.⁸

The relief was part of a large sculptural program that decorated a funerary monument built to resemble a miniature temple facade. Our fragment must be just one segment of a scene that would have been completed with adjacent panels. Perhaps it was a boar or lion hunt.⁹ The nude man is stocky; his chest is marked by clear divisions, and his hip is accentuated. The drapery seems to have its own character, separate from the bodies. The bit of cloak we see on the background is quite animated and swirling.¹⁰ The figure on the Getty relief is similar in anatomy and pose to a figure wearing a traveler's hat (*petasos*) on a relief in Cleveland.¹¹

This small panel offers us a glimpse of the powerful effect that the original complete frieze must have had. Every line of the composition, from the horse's tail to the dog's snout, is coordinated into the projected intensity of the moment of the chase. No irrelevant or superfluous details are present. The conception, design, and execution are synthesized in the finest tradition of the artistic creativity that characterizes ancient Greece.

- 1 Cf. a frieze fragment in Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1388: Carter 1975, p. 67, no. 181, pl. 29b–d; Klumbach 1937, pp. 3–4, 72–73, pl. 3.13.
- 2 Cf. the rider on a relief in Bari, inv. 2949: Carter 1975, pp. 67–68, no. 183, pl. 30a; Klumbach 1937, pp. 13–14, pl. 11.56.
- 3 Cleveland Museum of Art 27436: Carter 1975, p. 68, no. 188, pl. 31a; Klumbach 1937, pp. 4, 71, pl. 4.15.
- 4 Cf. the sword with the wrapped arm on a relief in Heidelberg, inv. St. 19: Carter 1975, p. 86, no. 312; Klumbach 1937, p. 21, pl. 19.102. This fragment is associated with one that was on the Basel art market in 1954, which shows a nude warrior holding a sword of similar type: Carter 1975, p. 86, no. 311, pl. 52a.
- 5 Morrow 1985, pp. 123–37.
- 6 On hunting dogs, see Woysch-Méautis 1982, pp. 55–60; J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 42–44, 93. The dog's crouching posture is similar to that of the dog on one side of a statue base in Athens, which shows a leashed dog menacing a cat, National Archaeological Museum 3476: Woysch-Méautis, p. 124, no. 256, pl. 56.
- 7 Carter 1975, pp. 19, 88 n. 54.
- 8 Basel: Carter 1975, p. 88, no. 330, pl. 54a.
- 9 Cf. the lion hunt on the Alexander sarcophagus: V. von Graeve, *Der Alexander Sarkophag und seine Werkstatt*, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, vol. 28 (Berlin, 1970). And a boar hunt on an Anatolian grave relief: Anderson (supra, note 6), p. 72, fig. 26.
- 10 The anatomy is characterized as Type II by Carter and the drapery as Type III. These taken together form Group J, which unfortunately has no anchor in time. Typologically it is, however, placed midway in Carter's developmental scheme, and so can probably be given a date in the first half of the third century B.C. Carter 1975, pp. 33–34.
- 11 Supra, note 3.



Cat. no. 54. Fragment of a relief of a horseman and companion from a funerary building. Malibu 74.AA.7.

55. *Figured Corinthian Capital, from a Funerary Building*

About 330 B.C.

Limestone; Height: 20 cm (7⁷/₈ in.); Width: 24 cm (9¹/₂ in.);
Depth: 25.4 cm (10 in.)

96.AA.245

CONSERVATION

The capital is complete. The top and bottom surfaces are smoothly finished, with a square cutting for a dowel on the top and bottom surfaces in each, approximately 2.5 cm (1 in.) square. The surface of the capital is covered by a light grayish incrustation.

PROVENANCE

From Taras; gift of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, New York City.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

True and Hamma 1994, p. 354, no. 220.

CORINTHIAN CAPITAL THAT WAS part of the decoration of a small naiskos, or funerary building. The piece is a figural variant of the Corinthian capital. Such capitals had an extensive development in Taras and may have originated there.¹ The upper ring of the capital is made up of spiny, finlike leaves, while the lower ring is of more normal acanthus leaves. The low abacus is decorated with a small egg-and-dart molding. Between the outer helices, the zone at the front that would be occupied by the inner helices of a standard Corinthian capital is filled by a fanciful image.

Two bodies, seen in profile, of seated, winged sphinxes merge in a single frontal head.² The long hair is swept back from the temples and falls in tresses on the shoulders. The double sphinx wears a beaded necklace and a tall crown (*polos*) made up of petal-like elements.

At the sides of the capital, the central zone is occupied by a palmette. The back shows that the column crowned by this capital, though not actually engaged, was placed directly against a wall. Instead of a figured central zone, it has a slightly projecting piece with a flat contact surface. The architecture must have consisted of an aedicula framed by columns.

The capital is typical of those that decorated Tarantine funerary buildings, which were ornate variants of the Corinthian capital. Nearly identical examples of this capital type are in Taranto.³

1 Carter 1975, p. 15 n. 2.

2 An example of opposed sphinxes with one head, but downturned wings, sits at the base of an Attic loutrophoros on the stele of Archiades and Polemonikos in London, British Museum 1886.10-8.1: Clairmont 1993, 2: 219–20, no. 2.284b. A Tarantine capital with a double-bodied sphinx was recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1995.95: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* 53.2 (1995): 7.

3 Taranto, National Museum: Klumbach 1937, pp. 38–39, 85–86, no. 226, pl. 30.226; P. Willeumier, *Tarente* (1939; reprint Paris, 1968), pl. II.4.



Cat. no. 55. Frontal view of a capital from a funerary building. Malibu 96.AA.245.



Cat. no. 55. Right side of a capital from a funerary building. Malibu 96.AA.245.

Questionable Authenticity

56. *Fragment of a Grave Stele of a Youth*

Probable imitation of a Greek original of about 560 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble; Height: 24.3 cm (9⁵/₈ in.); Width: 23.5 cm (9¹/₄ in.); Depth: 4 cm (1⁵/₈ in.)

82.AA.54

CONSERVATION

Only a splinter of stone remains, without any original edges or back surface. The surface of the marble is very rough and pitted with some spalls in the area of the chin. The marble has a yellowish patina that appears almost as if it had been stained.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of Dr. R. Schmidt, Solothurn; gift of N. Koutoulakis, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griechische und römische Kunst, exh. cat., Kunsthalle Bern, June 12–August 30, 1942 (Bern, 1942), p. 9, no. 22; K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel, 1960), pp. 29, 170, no. 161; G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attika* (London, 1961), p. 24, no. 32; Frel 1984a, p. 32.

FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF broken all around, including on the back. Only a portion of the background of the relief is preserved to the right of the figure's mouth and under his chin. The head of a youth is depicted in right profile with a frontally placed right eye. The eyelids are two slightly raised relief lines. Only four or five locks of hair remain behind the ear; the curled ends of two locks of hair are preserved. The figure is made in the manner of an athlete and resembles the Archaic relief of a diskophoros.¹

So little remains of this relief that it is difficult to arrive at a conclusive judgment about its authenticity. Visual examination of the surface of the relief suggests that the fragment has undergone various procedures in order to make it appear as if it has weathered naturally. In addition, the shallow channels that separate the locks of hair look suspiciously as if they were originally created by power tools, rather than by the chisels and abrasives of Archaic sculptors.

¹ Athens, G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attika* (London, 1961), p. 21, no. 25, figs. 77–78.



Cat. no. 56. Fragment of a grave stele of a youth. Malibu 82.AA.54.

57. *Grave Naiskos of a Standing Youth and a Nude Boy*

About 360 B.C. or modern

Fine-grained white marble; Height: 74 cm (29½ in.); Width: 50.2 cm (19¾ in.); Depth: 13.3 cm (5¼ in.)

73.AA.84

CONSERVATION

The top part of the monument is missing. The surface of the marble, including the broken top edge, has a granular quality suggesting a weathered condition. Marks of a point chisel are discernible on the top surface. The back has gouges from either a flat chisel or possibly a point chisel. The surface of the marble is shiny in places, suggesting an acid treatment. The bottom is sawed off except for the right lower edge, which is brown and pitted with dirt in the crevices.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sotheby's, London, sale, July 5, 1973, lot no. 178; Frel 1974, no. 9; Frel 1979a, p. 19, no. 71; Clairmont 1993, 1: 481, no. 1.881; J. Bergemann, "Die bürgerliche Identität der Athener im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs," in *Griechische Klassik: Vorträge bei der interdisziplinären Tagung des Deutschen Archäologenverbandes und der Mommsengesellschaft vom 24.–27. Oktober 1991 in Blaubeuren*, ed. E. Pöhlmann and W. Gauer (Nuremberg, 1994), p. 292 n. 39; J. B. Grossman and J. P. Maish, "An Investigation of the Authenticity of a Classical Attic Funerary Monument in the J. Paul Getty Museum," in *Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity*, vol. 5 (forthcoming).

SHALLOW NAISKOS THAT TAPERS SLIGHTLY from bottom to top, framed by antas. The figure of a young man with the lower half of his body wrapped in a cloak stands at the right, his left hand resting on a twisted roll of drapery at his waist. His chest is bare. His weight is on his right leg; the left is relaxed with the foot slightly pulled to the side. A line carved under his feet indicates the soles of shoes, but his feet are smooth with no toes indicated, so he is probably wearing soft shoes or boots. At the left, looking up at the youth, stands a nude boy in a relaxed pose with his right hand holding his left wrist, from which hang a large round aryballos and a strigil. He has short, curly hair. His face is long and narrow with small eyes.

The monument is of a type depicting a youth, usually nude, accompanied by a nude boy who, in many examples, carries objects connected with the palaistra, such as a strigil or an aryballos.¹ Certain features about this stele, however, are inconsistent with similar features on comparable stelai with known provenances and, therefore, certainly genuine. For example, the youth on this stele is clothed, which is unusual in these kinds of scenes. That fact alone is not in itself condemning, however, for we do know four comparable examples with a clothed athlete.² More troubling is the way in which the soles of his footwear are carved: the right foot has a thin sole typical of the fourth century, while the left foot has a platform sole, typical of the Hellenistic period.³

Further questionable features include the uneven nature of both the background and the groundline and the character of the broken surfaces, which appear to have been worked with a point chisel. Especially unusual is the uneven nature of the groundline on which the figures stand. The area in front of the left anta is the lowest level, while there is a separate clump of marble under the proper left foot of the boy. The depth of the back plane of the naiskos varies, especially to the left of the boy's proper right leg, between his legs, and again between the boy and the youth. The closest parallel—a gravestone in Athens—shows the youth and the boy both occupying the same groundline and the back plane of the shallow naiskos more or less carved at the same level.⁴

Another questionable feature is the distorted anatomical proportions of both figures, but especially those of the boy. His left forearm and right thigh are unusually elongated, and his head is placed above his shoulder, not over the center of his body. There is a flaccid quality in the rendering of the musculature of both figures, but more apparent on the boy. His buttock has none of the firm, round quality seen on nude boys on comparable gravestones, and it seems to blend into the frame of the stele; his arms and legs are thin with no indication of musculature.⁵ The strigil and aryballos suspended from the boy's wrist are unusually large, and they completely obscure his genitals, a feature not seen on any other gravestone of this type. On most comparable stelai, the boy carries the strigil and aryballos to the side.⁶

A technical analysis made on the stele by a conservator consisted of an assessment of its condition; the state of its completion; a determination of the degree of reworking; and an evaluation of the toolmarks, of the marble surface, and of the residue in crevices of the marble. The results of these investigations suggested that the gravestone is at worst a forgery and at best an original funerary monument reworked to such an extent as to challenge the integrity of any original surface.⁷



Detail of the top surface of the grave naiskos Malibu 73.AA.84. The front of the naiskos is at the bottom.

- 1 E.g., the monument of Aristion, son of Ariston of Ephesos, in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 4487: Clairmont 1993, 1: 467, no. 1.855.
- 2 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 745, and Syracuse, Museo Nazionale 837: Clairmont 1993, 1: 501 and 472, nos. 1.945 and 1.865, respectively. Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 773 and 809: Hamiaux 1992, pp. 145–46 and 201, nos. 139 and 208, respectively.
- 3 Morrow 1985, pp. 87–88, 140–41.
- 4 Athens, National Archaeological Museum 745: Clairmont 1993, 1: 501, no. 1.945.
- 5 In contrast, cf. the anatomy of the boy on the monument of Theomnestos, son of Theophrastos from the *deme* of Halai, in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3586: Clairmont 1993, 1: 479–80, no. 1.879.
- 6 E.g., the boy on a gravestone in Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3702, carries the strigil and aryballos in a hand clearly at his left side: Clairmont 1993, 1: 497, no. 1.935.
- 7 J. P. Maish, in J. B. Grossman and J. P. Maish, “An Investigation of the Authenticity of a Classical Attic Funerary Monument in the J. Paul Getty Museum,” *Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity*, vol. 5 (forthcoming).



Cat. no. 57. Grave naiskos of a standing youth and a nude boy. Malibu 73.AA.84.

Formerly in the Collection

58. *Fragment of a Grave Stele with Two Standing Youths*

Probable imitation of a Greek original of 520–510 B.C.

Fine-grained white marble; Height: 50 cm (19⁵/₈ in.); Width: 57.5 cm (22³/₈ in.); Depth: 9.2 cm (3⁵/₈ in.)

Formerly 79.AA.1; de-accessioned and returned to the dealer

CONSERVATION

Broken on three sides. The back of the slab is roughly finished with a point chisel. There are traces of a tooth chisel on the top surface and of the flat chisel and rasp on the background. Cuttings on the top of the slab indicate that a separately carved anthemion was to have been attached. On the front, 5.9 cm (2¹/₄ in.) below the top, an incised guideline marks the lower limit of a now-vanished painted border.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

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The J. Paul Getty Museum Guidebook (Malibu, 1980), p. 24.
Frel 1979a, p. 2, no. 3; Vermeule 1981, p. 30, no. 5; J. Frel, "Notes on Some Archaic Attic Sculpture," *GettyMusJ* 10 (1982): 98–104; Frel 1984.

FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF with a finished horizontal edge at the top. Two nude youths face one another. The youth on the left, in right profile, wraps a band from a roll held in his right hand around the head of the youth on the right. The eyes of the right youth are either uncarved or closed to indicate a state of dying or death and account for the epithet of this relief, "The Dying Youth."¹

Particular care was given to the carving of the hair over the forehead of both youths, while the surface of the top of the heads was left rough, presumably for paint.² The hair of the right youth is arranged in spiky waves like the hair of Antiope from the pedimental group of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, while the rounded locks of his companion appear on Theseus of the same monument.³

From the time that this relief was acquired by the Museum, many scholars questioned its authenticity on the basis of style and composition. The sentimental interaction between

the figures is uncharacteristic of Archaic art. The missing portions of the youths' bodies cannot be reconstructed in a convincing manner; and various details, such as the execution of the closed eye of the wounded youth, are not considered correct for sculpture of the Archaic period.

Conservators and scientists examined the piece to determine its date. Various technical analyses were undertaken, including provenancing of the marble and investigation of the weathering layers of the worked surfaces. The provenance of the marble did not well match the established profile for any known quarry but seemed closest in composition to the marble from the quarries of Carrara in Italy, which began to be exploited on a major scale only in the mid-first century B.C.⁴

Examination of cross-sections taken from the relief's worked surfaces showed no signs of weathering or apparent alteration of the exposed surface due to age or burial conditions. The surface of the stone had been subjected to such a thorough and deep cleaning that there were no remaining traces of tool marks or any kind of surface incrustation that might indicate its age. In the end, there was insufficient data to reach a definitive answer regarding the authenticity of the fragment on technical and scientific grounds. It is likely, however, that the relief was carved as a fragment rather than as a complete funerary monument that had broken. This is often the case with forgeries where, however, parts essential to the main narrative of the representation are intact.

- 1 Closed eyes do, indeed, indicate a dying or dead state. Cf. the figure of Sarpedon on the calyx-krater by Euphronios in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London, 1975), pp. 32–33, fig. 22. Closed eyes are also seen on a small bronze male figure in the Getty Museum, acc. no. 86.AB.530, which was originally part of a larger composition, possibly a battle scene: *The J. Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Collections* (Los Angeles, 1997), p. 30. For "The Dying Youth," see Frel 1984.
- 2 The head of a kouros named Aristodikos found near Mount Olympus in Attika is worked in a similar manner. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3938; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (London, 1978), p. 84, fig. 145.
- 3 The Theseus and Antiope group is in the Archaeological Museum in Chalkis, inv. 4. See National Gallery of Art, *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art*, exh. cat. (Athens and Washington, D.C., 1988), p. 179, no. 66.
- 4 Samples of the marble sent to Dr. Norman Herz of the University of Georgia, and to Dr. Luc Moens, Louvain, Belgium, produced similar results in both laboratories.



Cat. no. 58. Fragment of a grave stele with two youths. Formerly Malibu 79.AA.1.

59. *Grave Stele of Pleistarche*

About 360 B.C.

Marble; Height: 39.4 cm (15½ in.); Width: 30.5 cm (12 in.)

82.AA.156; de-accessioned in 1986¹

CONSERVATION

The top part of the monument is complete; it is broken at the lower edge, and there are chips along the edges of the sides and top.

PROVENANCE

Unknown.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clairmont 1993, 2: 379, no. 2.363; Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 369, no. 1, s.v. Pleistarche, and no. 11, s.v. Pleistias; Bodel and Tracy 1997, p. 7.

FRAGMENT OF A STELE with an inset panel crowned by an anthemion consisting of a single palmette of twelve fronds resting on a double volute. This type of anthemion composed of palmette and volutes without acanthus leaves belongs to the earlier group of anthemia.² The molding beneath the anthemion is composed of two parts separated by a straight, shallowly incised channel: a taenia over a flat ovolo. The inscription on the taenia reads:

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΡΧΗ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΙΟΥ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΟΣ
“Pleistarche, (daughter) of Pleistias, from Phaleron”

The name Pleistias is attested at Athens and in some of the *demes* of Attika, but Pleistarche is not otherwise found in the epigraphic and literary corpora.³

At the left of the figural scene, a bearded man, Pleistias, leans on a stick placed under his left arm and extends his right hand to a handshake with his daughter Pleistarche, who is seated.⁴ Pleistias wears a cloak that completely envelops his left arm and hand while leaving his upper chest bare. Pleistarche wears a dress and cloak. The rounded back of her chair is preserved. Her hair is fastened into a roll that frames her face. The father-and-daughter scene is similar to one on an inscribed monument in Paris.⁵

-
- 1 This fragment was given to the Museum as a gift in 1982. It was deaccessioned in 1986 when the legality of its ownership was questioned. No suspicion about the authenticity of the monument was evidenced while it was in the collection.
 - 2 Cf. the stele of Nikeso in the Piraeus Museum, no. 264; Clairmont 1993, 1: 251, no. 1.187.
 - 3 Osborne and Byrne 1994, p. 369, s.v. Pleistias.
 - 4 On *dexiosis* between women and men, see Stears 1995, p. 126.
 - 5 Musée du Louvre Ma 777; Clairmont 1993, 2: 235, no. 2.292b.



Cat. no. 59. Grave stele of Pleistarche. Formerly Malibu 82.AA.156.

Concordance

ACCESSION NUMBER	CATALOGUE NUMBER
56.AA.19	22
57.AA.10	45
57.AA.11	30
57.AA.12	29
57.AA.14	13
58.AA.4	23
71.AA.121	7
71.AA.123	17
71.AA.268	47
71.AA.281	44
71.AA.288	43
71.AA.324	49
71.AA.376	42
72.AA.120	6
72.AA.159	46
72.AA.160	48
73.AA.84	57
73.AA.97	14
73.AA.115	2
73.AA.116	10
73.AA.117	5
73.AA.118	16
73.AA.119	12
73.AA.121	32
73.AA.122	18
73.AA.123.1-2	15
73.AA.132.1	26
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73.AA.63	24
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73.AA.47.1-2	33
73.AA.57	3
73.AA.58	9
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73.AA.18	34
73.AA.134	19
73.AA.145	40
73.AA.216	52
83.AA.157	25
83.AA.54	56
83.AA.135	8
83.AA.156	59
83.AA.206	1
83.AA.253	27
83.AA.378	4
84.AA.14	39
93.AA.129	36
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