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# Painting early death

## Deceased maidens on funerary vases in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens

### Abstract

The present paper studies the iconography of dead maidens depicted on a red-figured funerary *loutrophoros* and six white-ground *lekythoi* in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, all of them dating to the 5th century BC. The scenes painted on the vases under consideration are representative of the iconography employed by Classical Athenian vase-painters for the depiction of deceased maidens, *parthenoi*. Dead maidens are not frequently seen on funerary clay *loutrophoroi*, but mostly appear in *psychopompoi*, tomb visit, and *prothesis* scenes of white *lekythoi*, where their premature death before marriage is often emphasized by the fact that they are shown as brides through the use of wedding iconography elements. They are never portrayed being carried by Hypnos and Thanatos, but are only taken to Hades by Hermes and Charon. Even though the *loutrophoros* is generally considered to be the symbol *par excellence* of death before marriage, it is not indispensable to the depiction of maiden figures on white *lekythoi*. However, in scenes on white *lekythoi* showing a *loutrophoros-hydria* set up over the tomb as a *sema* with the deceased maiden portrayed in close proximity to it, special emphasis is placed on the *loutrophoros* as a symbol of untimely death and eternal virginity.\*

**Keywords:** dead maidens; *loutrophoros*; white *lekythoi*; untimely death; iconography

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### Introduction

In antiquity, as today, premature death was viewed as a great tragedy, especially where it concerned the early demise of very young people.<sup>1</sup> Prominent among the *aoroi*, the untimely

dead, were those unfortunate maidens who had reached the age of marriage, but death had robbed them of their chance to become wives and mothers.<sup>2</sup> A most deplorable fate, since a woman's purpose in life was to marry and to give birth to legitimate children, who would perpetuate the family line and would grow up to become the future citizens, warriors, or (in the case of girls) mothers of the *polis*.<sup>3</sup>

The Greek word *parthenos* (maiden) is exclusively used for girls of marriageable age who are not yet married.<sup>4</sup> Females in Ancient Athens were considered ripe for marriage as soon as they entered puberty, often getting married around the age of 14 or 15.<sup>5</sup> The Athenian *parthenoi* were therefore teenage girls on the threshold of marriage, their maiden status being a combination of three characteristics: young age (usually puberty), virginity, and unmarried state.<sup>6</sup> Since marriage marked the passage to adulthood for all females,<sup>7</sup> maidenhood was literally a period of transition between childhood and adult life.

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<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Supp.* 1120–1122; Griessmair 1966, 11–17, 24–28; Sabetai 2009, 296, 301 (n. 66). The present article evolved from my doctoral dissertation studying the death of maidens in Classical Athenian funerary art, burial practices, inscriptions, mythology and tragedy (Margariti 2010).

<sup>2</sup> Blundell 1998, 25; Ferrari 2002, 191–192; Foley 2003, 132.

<sup>3</sup> Eur. *Ion* 472–491; Blundell 1995, 124; Brulé 2003, 63, 69, 160–161; Oakley 2009, 207–208.

<sup>4</sup> Dowden 1989, 2; Loraux 1994, 243; Lawton 2007, 55–56.

<sup>5</sup> Xen. *Oec.* 3.13, 7.5; Soph. *fr.* 583.6–10; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56.7.4–6; Lacey 1968, 107, 162; Blundell 1995, 119; Beaumont 2000, 45, 48; Brulé 2003, 130.

<sup>6</sup> Rocco 1995, 665.

<sup>7</sup> Beaumont 1994, 87; 2000, 48. However, this transition was considered complete only after the birth of a woman's first child: King 1983, 112, 122; Larson 2001, 100; Stears 2008, 145.

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A *parthenos* is no longer a child, but she is not yet a woman, either.<sup>8</sup> She is about to become an adult, a wife, and a mother. Thus, the death of maidens is particularly tragic because it prevents them from completing this transition and fulfilling their role in life—a role of great importance for the survival of the *oikos* and the future of the city.<sup>9</sup>

The purpose of the present paper is to study the iconography of dead maidens depicted on seven Attic funerary vases in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. All of these vases, a red-figured *loutrophoros* and six white-ground *lekythoi*, date to the 5th century BC. The painted scenes on them provide a valuable insight into the depictions of prematurely lost *parthenoi* by Classical Athenian vase-painters. As will be seen, dead maidens mostly appear in *psychopompoi*, tomb visit and *prothesis* scenes of white *lekythoi*, while their portrayal on clay funerary *loutrophoroi* is fairly rare. In scenes of a visit to the tomb however, the *loutrophoros-hydria* becomes a powerful symbol of untimely death and eternal virginity when it is shown marking the grave as a *sema* (grave marker), with the deceased *parthenos* depicted in close proximity to it. The portrayal of dead maidens as brides through the use of wedding iconography elements also places special emphasis on their premature death and unmarried state, and can be found in all types of scenes.

## The *prothesis*: Athens I 170

Despite its fragmentary state, the red-figured *loutrophoros-hydria* Athens 1170 (*Cat. No. 1, Fig. 1*) from Pikrodaphne is a magnificent vase frequently illustrated in books and papers on Classical Athenian funerary art and ritual. It is the earliest of our vases, dating to approximately 460 BC, and has been attributed to the Painter of Bologna 228. Its theme is the *prothesis* of a dead maiden,<sup>10</sup> who is depicted lying on a bier, her head raised by pillows (*proskafalaia*).<sup>11</sup> Her head is crowned

<sup>8</sup> Beaumont 1994, 93; 2000, 45; Roccas 2000, 235, 259, 261–262.

<sup>9</sup> Reilly 1989, 431; Roccas 1995, 664; 2000, 262; Grossman 2007, 318.

<sup>10</sup> The *prothesis* first appears in Attic vase-painting during the 8th century BC. For nearly four centuries it is depicted on funerary plaques, as well as on black- and red-figured vases of the Archaic and Classical periods, mostly *loutrophoroi* and white ground *lekythoi*. After the end of the 5th century the *prothesis* is no longer depicted in Attic pottery or elsewhere in funerary art, since the subject never appeared on funerary reliefs. For the *prothesis*, see Antiph. 6.34.1–5; Phot. *Lex. s.v. Πρόθεσις*; Dem. *Against Macartatus* 62.6–65.1; R. Garland 2001, 23–31; Alexiou *et al.* 2002, 5–6, 19–21; Brigger & Giovannini 2004; Mirto 2012, 66–81; Oikonomou 2014. For the depiction of *prothesis* scenes on vases and funerary plaques, see Zschietzschmann 1928; Boardman 1955; Ahlberg 1971; Oakley 2004a, 11–12, 76–87; Manakidou 2006; Mösch-Klingele 2006; Oakley 2008, 335–338; Oikonomou 2014, nos. 11–18.

<sup>11</sup> Such pillows (*προσκεφάλαια*) were used in order to raise the deceased's head, so as to prevent the jaw from sagging open. For further examples

by a diadem. The bier is surrounded by wailing women, several of them pulling their hair or beating their head in extreme mourning. Of particular interest are two female figures. One of them expresses her anguished mourning by pulling her long hair while lamenting, her gaze fixed on the deceased's face. She stands in close proximity to the maiden's head, facing her. As Manakidou has pointed out, this position is normally occupied by the mother of the deceased on Attic black-figured *prothesis* scenes.<sup>12</sup> It is therefore possible that this woman is the mother of our dead *parthenos*.<sup>13</sup> The other female figure stands at the head of the bier, extending both hands towards the head of the maiden as if to caress or embrace her. She has short-cropped hair—a sign of mourning, but also of slavery.<sup>14</sup> She has been identified as a Thracian nurse who mourns for the untimely death of the girl she raised.<sup>15</sup> Male figures on foot approach the bier, their right arms extended in valediction, paying their final respects to the deceased and followed by horsemen. Female mourners also appear on the neck of the *loutrophoros*.

The shape of the vase is the first issue to be discussed. The earliest known reference to the use of the *loutrophoros* as a grave marker for the unmarried dead is attested in a 4th-century Attic text by Pseudo-Demosthenes, our only surviving Classical reference to the subject.<sup>16</sup> The first attempts to explain the meaning of the Classical text were made by lexicog-

see, Schulze 1998, fig. 2.2; Oakley 2004a, 77 (and pl. II), 78 (no. 11), 79 (no. 22, figs. 51–53), 80–81 (fig. 48); Mösch-Klingele 2006, no. 10, fig. 44. See also: Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 144; R. Garland 2001, 23–24; Oakley 2004a, 11–12; Stears 2008, 141.

<sup>12</sup> Manakidou 2006, 90–91, 93. On Athenian mothers in art, see Räuchle 2016.

<sup>13</sup> In an attempt to curtail excessive female mourning, the Athenian funerary legislation only allowed close female relatives of the deceased and women who had completed their 60th year (or older) to participate in the funerals: Dem. *Against Macartatus* 62.10–63.3. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the positions closest to the deceased were occupied by family members. For the Athenian funerary legislation, see Plut. *Sol.* 12.8.3–9.1, 21.6.1–2; Dem. *Against Macartatus* 62.6–65.1; Cic. *Leg.* 2.59; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 121–122, 144–145, 200–201; B.J. Garland 1981, 76–80, 96–103; R. Garland 1989; Toher 1991, 160–164; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 26–28, 31–32, 34; Morris 1992–1993; Loraux 1998, 9–28; Alexiou *et al.* 2002, 14–23.

<sup>14</sup> Eur. *Alc.* 215–217, 425–427, 512–513; *Scholia vetera Eur. Alc.* 427; Eur. *El.* 141–150, 1087–1089; Eur. *Supp.* 971–979; Arist. *fr.* 1.16.101; *CAT* introd. vol., 35; Oakley 2000, 246; Stears 2008, 141.

<sup>15</sup> For this interpretation, see *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 2, III. ID.13–15, pls. (079–084) 21.1–26.1; R. Garland 2001, 27, 141; Mirto 2012, 78–79. For nurses in antiquity, see Golden 1990, 147–149, 151–153; Schulze 1998; Oakley 2000, 244–245. For the famous Thracian nurses, see Bäbler 1998; Oakley 2000, 242–245; Tsiafakis 2000, 372–376; Oakley 2004a, 164. For a Thracian nurse depicted on a fragmentary funerary relief, see *CAT* 3.459.

<sup>16</sup> Dem. *Against Leochares* 18.7–19.1.



Fig. 1. Red-figured loutrophoros-hydria. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170. C. 460 BC. Photograph: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photographer: Stournaras. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

raphers and scholiasts, many centuries later.<sup>17</sup> In 1880, Milchhoefer suggested the ritual vase with the elongated neck that was used in Athenian weddings to carry the water for the nuptial bath of the bride and groom<sup>18</sup> is the *loutrophoros* which—according to Pseudo-Demosthenes—marked the tombs of the unmarried dead in Ancient Athens.<sup>19</sup> However, the vessel under consideration was not exclusively used as a marriage vase, but was also associated with death and the funerary rites.<sup>20</sup> Black-figured and red-figured *loutrophoroi* bearing funerary or wedding iconography have been found in graves and offering trenches.<sup>21</sup> Tomb visit scenes of Attic white *lekythoi* depict *loutrophoroi* set up over graves or held by bereaved relatives of

the deceased.<sup>22</sup> From the late 5th century BC onwards, marble *loutrophoroi* with relief decoration were set up over tombs as *semata*, but also carved on grave *stelai*.<sup>23</sup> Based on this double association of the vase with Athenian wedding and funerary rites, Milchhoefer's theory was widely accepted by archaeologists, and the vase in question became known as "*loutrophoros*", the grave marker of the unmarried dead.<sup>24</sup>

More than a century later, Kokula argued that the marble *loutrophoros-amphora* was exclusively used as a *sema* for the tombs of unmarried males, while the *loutrophoros-hydria* marked the graves of prematurely lost maidens.<sup>25</sup> According to Boardman<sup>26</sup> and Sabetai,<sup>27</sup> the same distinction applies to all clay *loutrophoroi*, regardless of whether they are marriage or funerary vases. Most scholars have accepted these theories, in contrast to Mösch's hypothesis. Mösch rather unconvincingly suggested that during the 5th century BC the *loutrophoros-amphora* was primarily a funerary vase, while the *loutrophoros-*

<sup>17</sup> Eust. *Il.* 4.702.11–13; *Scholia vetera in Homerum Iliadem* 23.142a1.3–4; Poll. *Onom.* 8.66.2–6; Hsch. *Lex.* s.v. λουτροφόρα ἄγγη, λουτροφόρος; Harp. *Lex.* s.v. λουτροφόρος; *Suda* s.v. λουτροφόρος; *Lex. Segueriana—Glossae rhetoricae* s.v. λουτροφόρος; *Lex. Vindobonense* s.v. λουτροφόρος.

<sup>18</sup> Mösch 1988; Oakley & Sinos 1993, 15–16; Sabetai 1993, 129–174; Bergemann 1996, 163–166; Mösch-Klinge 2006; Sabetai 2009, 291, n. 2. For the nuptial bath, see Ginouvès 1962, 265–282; Oakley & Sinos 1993, 15–16. *Loutrophoroi* are frequently depicted in wedding scenes of Attic vases and are themselves decorated with wedding imagery: Hannah 2010, 271. For examples, see Oakley & Sinos 1993, 58–59 (figs. 14–15), 62 (figs. 20–21), 64 (fig. 23), 90 (figs. 72–73), 92–94, (figs. 75–78).

<sup>19</sup> Milchhoefer 1880.

<sup>20</sup> Mösch 1988; Sabetai 1993, 129–174; Bergemann 1996, 166–167, 172; R. Garland 2001, 87; Mösch-Klinge 2006; Sabetai 2009.

<sup>21</sup> Boardman 1988, 177; Mösch 1988, 125; Bergemann 1996, 169–173; Sabetai 2009; Hannah 2010.

<sup>22</sup> For examples, see Oakley 2004a, 155, no. 18, figs. 123, 168; Mösch-Klinge 2006, no. 95, fig. 51; *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1 [GREECE 1], III.H.EFGH.5–6, pls. 8:1–2, 9:3 [016–017].

<sup>23</sup> Kokula 1984; Bergemann 1996, 150; Kaltsas 2002, 23. For examples of marble funerary *loutrophoroi*, see *CAT* 2.154, 3.320, 3.382, 3.860, 4.205, 4.237, 4.368.

<sup>24</sup> Milchhoefer 1880; Bergemann 1996, 149–151; Mösch-Klinge 2006; Hannah 2010, 269–272, 274–275.

<sup>25</sup> Kokula 1984, 13, 146–148.

<sup>26</sup> Boardman 1988 (esp. 175–179).

<sup>27</sup> Sabetai 1993, 145–146, 157–161, 163; 2004 (esp. 25).

*hydria* was a wedding vase.<sup>28</sup> The long-established *loutrophoros* theory has been disputed by Bergemann, who claimed that the vessel known as *loutrophoros* was not the special grave marker of the unmarried dead. Bergemann's theory maintains that the marble *loutrophoroi* marking Athenian tombs were not symbols of untimely death, but signified the proper observance of funerary rites by the family of the deceased.<sup>29</sup>

Kokula's theory regarding the sex-specific use of the two types of *loutrophoros* is valid in the case of clay funerary *loutrophoroi* depicting the *prothesis*.<sup>30</sup> The majority of black- and red-figured funerary *loutrophoroi* bearing *prothesis* scenes<sup>31</sup> are *loutrophoroi-amphorae* that depict the laying out of dead males.<sup>32</sup> Young male figures are easily distinguished from older ones in such scenes, since the former are always portrayed unbearded.<sup>33</sup> Even though in most of these scenes the deceased is a young male, the *prothesis* of older males is also depicted, albeit more rarely.<sup>34</sup> The *prothesis* of unbearded young males is

<sup>28</sup> Mösch 1988, (esp. 124–130); Mösch-Klinge 2006. For criticism on the theory put forth by Mösch, see Sabetai 1993, 145 (n. 573), 165–168; Bergemann 1996, 186.

<sup>29</sup> Bergemann 1996. He also disputes Kokula's interpretation regarding the sex-specific use of the two types of *loutrophoros* by citing examples of marble *loutrophoroi-amphorae* that had been used as grave markers for dead females, and marble *loutrophoroi-hydriae* that had once marked the tombs of males. Furthermore, he points out that *loutrophoroi-amphorae* have been excavated in the Sanctuary of the Nymphs, where Athenian brides usually dedicated their wedding *loutrophoroi*. See Bergemann 1996, 185–187, and also Oakley & Sinos 1993, 56–58, figs. 10–13, where a *loutrophoros-hydria* is possibly used for the bridegroom's nuptial bath; Parlama & Stampolidis 2000, no. 410 (battle *loutrophoros-hydria* from the tomb of a male); Oakley & Sinos 1993, 58–61, figs. 14–19 (*loutrophoros-amphora* in bride's *loutrophoria*); Mösch-Klinge 2006, no. 71, fig. 39 (*loutrophoros-amphora* near seated bride). For the marble *loutrophoroi*, the meaning and use of the *loutrophoros* in Classical Attic funerary sculpture, and a more detailed analysis of Bergemann's theory, see Margariti 2018, 94–105.

<sup>30</sup> Thus, the *prothesis* of dead males is depicted on *loutrophoroi-amphorae*, while that of dead females on *loutrophoroi-hydriae*. The only exception to this rule I was able to find among the published *loutrophoroi* is an early red-figured *loutrophoros-amphora* in Oxford, which is decorated with a scene showing the *prothesis* of a dead female: Oxford, Ashmolean 1928.574; BAPD no. 3641. As it has been mentioned above, Kokula's theory is not always valid in the case of wedding *loutrophoroi*.

<sup>31</sup> For the purposes of this study I have examined the published *loutrophoroi* whose state of preservation allows for the identification of the deceased's sex. For the funerary *loutrophoroi* decorated with *prothesis* scenes, see Zschietzschmann 1928; Ginouvès 1962, 239–264; Boardman 1988; Mösch 1988; Mösch-Klinge 2006.

<sup>32</sup> Boardman 1988, 175, 179; Winkler 1999, 199–210; Oakley 2004b, 36, 50. According to Manakidou, most of the *prothesis* scenes on funerary vases depict the laying out of dead males, while the majority of such scenes on funerary plaques show the *prothesis* of dead females: Manakidou 2006, 99.

<sup>33</sup> Manakidou 2006, 100. For old age in Attic pottery, see Matheson 2009.

<sup>34</sup> I have identified 17 *loutrophoroi* depicting the *prothesis* of unbearded young males, and only eight showing the *prothesis* of older male figures. These scenes appear on black- and red-figured *loutrophoroi* dating to

a popular subject during the first half of the 5th century BC, while the *prothesis* of older bearded men is mostly shown during the end of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th centuries BC.<sup>35</sup> Thus, the *prothesis* scenes on funerary *loutrophoroi-amphorae* of the Classical period depict almost exclusively dead unbearded young males lying on the bier,<sup>36</sup> with a special emphasis on the subject during the first three quarters of the 5th century.

As it has already been mentioned, the *prothesis* of female figures is not frequently depicted on clay funerary *loutrophoroi*. Besides our funerary *loutrophoros* in Athens (*Cat. No. 1, Fig. 1*), I have only identified a single published red-figured *loutrophoros-hydria* depicting the *prothesis* of a dead female.<sup>37</sup> There are five black-figured scenes of female *prothesis* on *loutrophoroi* dating to the Archaic period, but the portrayal of the deceased figures on them is not detailed enough to allow for the identification of possible maiden figures among them.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the male figures, whose age is indicated by the presence or absence of beard, while old men are portrayed with white or thinning hair, a bald head, and senile features, women are normally shown ageless in vase-painting scenes.<sup>39</sup>

the late 6th and to the 5th centuries BC. Unbearded young males are depicted on ten black-figured and seven red-figured *loutrophoroi-amphorae* dating to 525–425 BC. The majority of these vases date to the 5th century, and especially to 500–450 BC: *CVA*, The Hague, Musée Scheurleer 1, III.HDEF5, pl. (027) 3.3–4; *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.H.EFGH.5–6, pls. (016–017) 8.1–2, 9.3; *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.H.EFGH.5–6, pl. (016) 8.3–4; *CVA*, Berlin, Antikenmuseum 7, 21, pls. (3003–3005) 10.1–12.2; *CVA*, Copenhagen, National Museum 8, 264, pls. (343–344) 340.1A–1E, 341.1; *CVA*, Paris, Musée du Louvre 8, III.I.C, pls. (512–513) 56.1–4, 57.1–2; *CVA*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 42, pl. (141) 49.1–3; *CVA*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, 42–43, pl. (149) 149.1; Zschietzschmann 1928, fig. 17; Shapiro 1991, 648, fig. 18; Winkler 1999, 202, no. 378, 204, no. 396, 206, no. 410, 207, no. 418; Mösch-Klinge 2006, no. 10, fig. 44; Athens Vlastos BΣ 681; Athens Vlastos BΣ 680 + BΣ 683; BAPD no. 202320. The *prothesis* of older bearded males is shown on six black-figured and two red-figured *loutrophoroi-amphorae* dating to 540–460 BC, and especially to 510–475 BC: *CVA*, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 3, 19–20, pls. (2256–2258) 11.2–13.5 (the oldest of these dead males is depicted on this *loutrophoros*); *CVA*, Mainz, Universität 1, 49, pl. (741) 48.8; *CVA*, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 4, 20–22, fig. 3, pl. (2521) 4.2–5; Johnson 1943, 390, fig. 2; Kreuzer 1992, 114, no. 120; Schulze 1998, fig. 2.2; Winkler 1999, 202, nos. 377, 380.

<sup>35</sup> Manakidou 2006, 100.

<sup>36</sup> The oldest of the bearded dead males appear on *loutrophoroi-amphorae* of the late Archaic period: *CVA*, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 3, 19–20, pls. (2256–2258) 11.2–13.5; *CVA*, Mainz, Universität 1, 49, pl. (741) 48.8; Winkler 1999, 202, nos. 377, 380.

<sup>37</sup> Louvre CA 1685; Zschietzschmann 1928, no. 111, pl. 18; Boardman 1988, no. 3; BAPD no. 216113.

<sup>38</sup> Winkler 1999, 199–200, no. 358–362.

<sup>39</sup> Matheson 2009; Gorzelany 2014; Kressler 2016. For examples of old men in vase-painting scenes, see Matheson 2009, figs. 1–3, 9; Gorzelany 2014, figs. 1–2, 6–7, 10. For examples of old women on vases, see Mathe-

Since the vase-painters do not usually depict the ages of female figures that have outgrown girlhood, how is it then possible to identify the deceased of the Athens *loutrophoros* (*Cat. No. 1, Fig. 1*) as being a maiden?

The key to the identification of this maiden is the diadem she wears on her head.<sup>40</sup> Known as a *planis*,<sup>41</sup> it is the special wedding diadem worn by brides, as many scenes of Athenian wedding vases show.<sup>42</sup> The deceased *parthenos* on our *loutrophoros* (*Cat. No. 1, Fig. 1*) is wearing a radial diadem, which is the most common type of *planis* adorning the heads of Athenian brides.<sup>43</sup> However, the *stephane* can be also used as a wedding diadem.<sup>44</sup> Only the head of the deceased is clearly visible during the *prothesis*, since the body is covered by the *epiblema*.<sup>45</sup> Thus, only the existence of a *planis* makes it possible to identify maiden figures in *prothesis* scenes.<sup>46</sup> In the case of the red-figured *loutrophoros-hydria* in Louvre mentioned above, the head of the dead female lying on the bier is not well preserved. It is therefore impossible to tell with certainty whether she was wearing a *planis*, or not. The presence of the wedding diadem in *prothesis* scenes is not unusual, since the unmarried dead of both sexes were customarily laid out in wedding attire.<sup>47</sup> The *planis* does not appear exclusively

in *prothesis* scenes,<sup>48</sup> but is also worn by deceased *parthenoi* in scenes of funerary vases depicting the mythical conductors of the soul,<sup>49</sup> the visit to the tomb,<sup>50</sup> or figures of myth.<sup>51</sup> The meaning of the wedding diadem shown in funerary scenes is highly symbolic. By portraying the untimely dead maidens as brides, the vase-painters place special emphasis on the tragedy of their early death. Since these unfortunate *parthenoi* can never be married, the *planis* adorning their heads becomes a symbol of eternal maidenhood and premature death before marriage. The deceased maiden of Athens 1170 is therefore depicted as a bride.

One final point to be made about the Athens *loutrophoros* concerns the Thracian nurse. She is depicted at the head of the bier, a place normally occupied by close family members, whether male or female.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, she is the one who tenderly extends both hands as if to caress or embrace the deceased's head, her love, devotion and grief for the untimely lost maiden clearly shown. Funerary inscriptions and epigrams attest to the strong emotional ties between nurses and the children they raised.<sup>53</sup> The presence of the nurse at the *prothesis* not only reflects her loving relationship with the dead *parthenos*, but also underlines the young age of the deceased, who had not yet left her natal family to join a husband's *oikos*. It

son 2009, figs. 5–6; Gorzelany 2014, figs. 5, 11. The Thracian nurse of *Cat. No. 1* is clearly older than the other women shown on this vase, as her sagging cheek and chin indicate.

<sup>40</sup> Havelock 1981, 113; Keuls 1985, 149–150; Oakley 2004b, 50.

<sup>41</sup> Hsch. *Lex. s.v. πλανίς*: τὸ τῆς νύμφης χρυσοῦν διάδημα.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, Oakley & Sinos 1993, 66–67 (figs. 28–30), 71 (fig. 39), 90–91 (figs. 72–74), 96 (figs. 82–84), 98–100 (figs. 86–90), 113 (fig. 110), 120–121 (figs. 120–121). For the wedding diadem and its iconography, see von Salis 1920–1924, 199–215; Blech 1982, 75–81, 276–277; Laxander 2000, 103, n. 518.

<sup>43</sup> For example, Oakley & Sinos 1993, 66–67 (figs. 28–30), 90 (figs. 72–73), 96 (figs. 82–84), 100 (fig. 90). For the variations of this type of diadem as they appear on Athenian wedding vases, see Blech 1982, 76, figs. 20a–d. In Attic vase-painting scenes the radial diadem is also worn by the virgin goddess Artemis: *CVA*, Copenhagen, National Museum 3, 104105, pls. (129–131) 127.1A–1B, 128.1A–1B, 129.1A–1D; *CVA*, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale 1, 14, pl. (1678) 34.1–4; *CVA*, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 1, 17–18, pls. (21–22, 41) 21.1–2, 22.2, 41.4–6; Reeder 1995, 309, no. 90.

<sup>44</sup> For instance, *CVA*, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale 1, 09–10, pl. (1666) 22.2–4; *CVA*, Berlin, Antiquarium 3, 7, pls. (1030, 1035, 1060) 101.1–4, 106.5–6, 131.2.6; *CVA*, Copenhagen, National Museum 8, 264–265, pls. (344–345) 341.2A–2C, 342.1A–1B; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 14504: BAPD no. 206114. The *stephane* was a crescent-shaped metal headband tapering towards its ends. See Krug 1968, 136–137 (type *A1a*); *CAT* I, 138; Parlama & Stampolidis 2000, no. 447 (inv. no. *M* 4521); Stampolidis & Oikonomou 2014, 135, no. 62.

<sup>45</sup> For the *epiblema*, see Eur. *Supp.* 765–766; Eur. *Hipp.* 1457–1458; R. Garland 2001, 24; Mirto 2012, 67.

<sup>46</sup> Havelock 1981, 113; Keuls 1985, 149–150; Oakley 2004b, 50. See also Manakidou 2006, 100.

<sup>47</sup> Eur. *Tro.* 1218–1220; *Scholia in Lycophronem (Scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae)* 326.6–10; R. Garland 2001, 25; Alexiou *et al.* 2002, 5, 120; Oakley 2004a, 11; Stears 2008, 141. The same

practice is still customary in modern Greece: Danforth 1982, 2, 13, 80; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 14; Alexiou *et al.* 2002, 27, 39, 120.

<sup>48</sup> The *prothesis* of a dead maiden wearing the *planis* is shown on two white *lekythoi* in the Louvre, dating to 430–420 BC. Louvre S 1667: Burns 1994, no. 15; BAPD no. 216487. Louvre L 88/MNB 1147: Burns 1994, no. 6; Oakley 2004a, 78, no. 10. In both cases the deceased *parthenoi* wear the radial diadem type, just like the maiden of the Athens *loutrophoros* (*Cat. No. 1, Fig. 1*).

<sup>49</sup> On *Cat. No. 3* (*Fig. 3*), Hermes *Psychopompos* leads the deceased female wearing a diadem (*stephane*) to Charon's boat, where the ferryman awaits. On the famous white *lekythos* by the Phiale Painter, now in Munich, Hermes is waiting to accompany the deceased female to the Underworld. She is shown standing in front of her tomb, adjusting her diadem (*stephane*). Munich, Antikensammlungen 2797: Buschor 1941, 13–14, figs. 7–8; Keuls 1985, 132, 134, fig. 115; BAPD no. 214319.

<sup>50</sup> A diadem (*stephane*) is worn by the deceased maiden of *Cat. No. 6, Fig. 6*, and possibly also by the dead *parthenos* on a white *lekythos* in Berlin, both of them decorated with tomb visit scenes in which the deceased appears by her tomb, invisible to the living mourners. Berlin, Antikensammlung 3170: BAPD no. 216698. The funeral pyre has erased many details of the Berlin *lekythos*, and it is therefore not clear whether the maiden is wearing a diadem or a hair ribbon.

<sup>51</sup> On a white *lekythos* in Palermo, the maiden Iphigenia is led by Teukros to the place of her sacrifice. She is here depicted wearing the *planis*. Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale NI 1886: BAPD no. 205315.

<sup>52</sup> For example, *CVA*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5, 124–125, pls. 79, 84.5; *CVA*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 4, 66–67, fig. 67.1, pls. (520–521) 211.1, 212.1–2; *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 12, 65–67, pls. (4773–4774) 44.1–45.1; Shapiro 1991, 649, fig. 20; Oakley 2004a, 77–78 (nos. 10–11), 80–81, fig. 48, pl. II.

<sup>53</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 7873, 9112; Clairmont 1970, nos. 18, 25, 53; Oakley 2004a, 158, 164, 230; Tsagalis 2008, 101–108. For nurses on Classical Attic funerary reliefs, see Kosmopoulou 2001, 285–292, 305–306.



Fig. 2. Attic white-ground lekythos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1926. C. 440 BC. Photograph: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

is a sad reminder of the girl's life in her father's house—a life brought to an early and abrupt end. Special emphasis is placed on the early death of the maiden, who is lamented by her faithful nurse.

## Hermes and Charon: The journey to Hades

The most popular theme among our vases is the journey of the deceased maidens to the Underworld. It appears on four vases, all of them white *lekythoi* of 440–400 BC (*Cat. Nos. 2–5, Figs. 2–5*). On the earliest of these (*Cat. Nos. 2 & 3, Figs. 2 & 3*), attributed to the Sabouroff Painter and dating to 440–430 BC, the dead females are being brought to Charon's boat by Hermes *Psychopompos*. The other two (*Cat. Nos. 4 & 5, Figs. 4 & 5*) are works of the Reed Painter and date to the end of the 5th century BC. They depict the deceased *parthenoi* alone at the banks of Acheron, where Charon in his boat awaits them.

Athens 1926 (*Cat. No. 2, Fig. 2*) is the earliest of these four *lekythoi*, dating to c. 440 BC. Hermes *Psychopompos* stands before Charon's boat holding the *caduceus* in his lowered right hand. His head is turned back as he looks at the female figure who stands behind him. She is clad in *himation*, the rest

of her attire having faded away, and has drawn the *himation* edge over her head, performing the *anakalypsis* gesture with her right hand. Hermes extends his free hand to her, and she hesitantly seems to be extending her left hand, as if to take it. With the god's help she will soon board the boat of Charon, who is depicted in his usual attire (rustic *pilos* and *exomis*), holding the pole he uses to steer the boat. The ferryman of the dead is here portrayed considerably more threatening and less benevolent than he is normally shown in Charonian scenes of white *lekythoi*. Tiny winged *eidola*,<sup>54</sup> some of them performing mourning gestures, can be seen flying among the figures.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The *eidola* (souls of the dead) appear in Attic vase-painting from the 6th century BC onwards, and are fairly common in white *lekythoi* scenes depicting the *prothesis*, the *psychopompoi*, and the visit to the tomb. After 420 BC *eidola* are rarely depicted on white *lekythoi*. For the *eidola* in Attic vase painting, see Vermeule 1979, 9, 30–32, 212–213; Siebert 1981; Peifer 1989; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, 566–570, s.v. *Eidola* (R. Vollkommer); Bardel 2000, 141–144, 147–151, 158; Oakley 2004a, 212–213. The *eidola* are not depicted on funerary reliefs. A unique exception is a marble *lekythos* decorated with a painted tomb visit scene in which five *eidola* appear: *CAT* 2.052.

<sup>55</sup> When an *eidolon* is painted right above the deceased, it is possible that it may represent the dead person's soul. When this is not the case, as in our *lekythos*, these tiny winged creatures are undoubtedly the souls of other dead persons, their appearance signifying that the deceased will be soon joining them in Hades. The *eidola* are therefore symbols of death



Fig. 3. Attic white-ground lekythos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17916. 440–430 BC. Photograph: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Athens 17916 (*Cat. No. 3, Fig. 3*) dates to 440–430 BC and is unfortunately not well preserved. Hermes stands in front of Charon's boat, leaning on a stick he holds with his left hand. He extends his right arm towards the ferryman of the dead, in a gesture indicating that he addresses Charon. The latter is shown in his boat holding the pole with both hands, dressed in the rustic *pilos* and the *exomis*. The deceased female stands behind Hermes, probably wearing *chiton* and *himation*, the edge of which she has drawn over her head, and a diadem.

Athens 1759 (*Cat. No. 4, Fig. 4*) is a later work dating to the end of the 5th century BC. The deceased *parthenos* is portrayed standing alone at the banks of Acheron, as indicated by the presence of the reeds that have given the Reed Painter his name. She

and the Underworld. Their presence in *psychopompoi* scenes indicates that the deceased persons are travelling to (and will soon be reaching) the dark realm of the dead. Above all however, the *eidola* of the white *lekythoi* offer a glimpse into the sad transformation awaiting each deceased in Hades, where they will be reduced to mere shades, forsaking all memories of the lives they had once lived: *Scholia vetera Hom. Il.* 23.104a–b; *Hom. Od.* 11.473–476; Bremmer 1983, 73, 77–80, 84–88, 124. The number of *eidola* depicted can vary from a single one to several. On *Cat. No. 2* (*Fig. 2*), eight *eidola* are shown flying among the figures. The depiction of a single *eidolon* is common in tomb visit scenes, while more than one *eidola* normally appear in Charonian scenes.

wears the Attic *peplos* with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, the edge of which she holds with her lowered left hand. She sports the *lampadion* coiffure, with her hair tied into a bun in the form of a small torch at the top of her head,<sup>56</sup> and holds a rolled up *taenia* in her raised right hand. Charon is waiting for her in his boat, clad in his usual attire and holding the pole. The *taeniae* were traditional tokens of piety and respect for the dead.<sup>57</sup> They were used during

<sup>56</sup> For the *lampadion*, see Gulaki 1981, 95–96; Leventi 2003, 62. Youthful deities like Artemis, Aphrodite, Nike, the Horai, the Nymphs, and the Charites are often portrayed with this hairstyle: *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 177, 356, 471–472, 618–619, 708–709, 970, 1000, 1398, 1433, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 464, 656, 826, 931–932, 1183, 1218–1219, 1338, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); *LIMC* VI, 1992, nos. 14, 99, 110, 148–149, 170, 237, 272, 290, 301, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki); *LIMC* V, 1990, nos. 9, 22, 32, 34, s.v. Horai (V. Machaira); *LIMC* V, 1990, nos. 3, 8, s.v. Horai (L. Abad Casal); *LIMC* VIII, 1997, nos. 34, 37, 50–52, 58, 61, 75, s.v. Nymphai (M. Halm); *LIMC* III, 1986, no. 24, s.v. Charites (H. Sichtermann); Leventi 2003, 62.

<sup>57</sup> Rohde 1925, 164; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 148; Kurtz 1975, 280. For the *taeniae*, see *Scholia vetera Ar. Lys.* 603; Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 106; R. Garland 2001, 116; Oakley 2004a, 29, 204, 205. For the *taeniae* depicted in scenes of white *lekythoi*, see Fairbanks 1907, 354; 1914, 231; Kurtz 1975, 280–287; Oakley 2004a, 204. For examples, see *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.6–7, pl. (038) 6.3–5; *CVA*, Karl-



Fig. 4. Attic white-ground lekythos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1759. End of the 5th century BC. Photograph: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

the *prothesis*<sup>58</sup> and were common offerings to the dead.<sup>59</sup> In vase-painting scenes they are often shown decorating the *semata* and *tumuli* over the tombs.<sup>60</sup>

The painted scene on Athens 2028 (*Cat. No. 5, Fig. 5*) is very similar to that of *Cat. No. 4 (Fig. 4)*, the two *lekythoi* being both contemporary and by the same painter. The long-haired maiden who stands in the banks of Acheron facing Charon's boat is dressed in the Attic *peplos* with *himation*, the edge of which she has drawn over her head. A large *lekythos* is visible behind the *parthenos*. Charon is waiting for the deceased in his boat, clad in his usual attire (*pilos, exomis*) and holding the pole.

The first obvious question to be asked concerns the identification of the deceased females as maidens on the vases under consideration. On the two *lekythoi* by the Reed Painter (*Cat. Nos. 4 & 5, Figs. 4 & 5*) the attire of the dead females enables us to identify them as *parthenoi* with absolute certainty. The At-

tic *peplos*,<sup>61</sup> with or without the shoulder-pinned back-mantle<sup>62</sup> worn by the maiden of *No. 4*, is the exclusive costume of unmarried females, also worn by the virgin goddesses Athena and Artemis.<sup>63</sup> According to Roccas, every *parthenos* dressed in the Attic *peplos* represents the ideal maiden.<sup>64</sup> Being the characteristic attire of Athenian maidens,<sup>65</sup> the Attic *peplos* is extremely popular on grave reliefs marking the tombs of prematurely lost *parthenoi*.<sup>66</sup> It is however much less common on funerary vases depicting dead maidens.<sup>67</sup> It is interesting to note that the *par-*

sruhe, *Badisches Landesmuseum* 1, 36–37, pl. (328) 30.8–9; Parlama & Stampolidis 2000, nos. 235–237, 377.

<sup>58</sup> Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 144; Kurtz 1975, 283; R. Garland 2001, 26; Oakley 2004a, 12, 204. For instance, Koch-Brinkmann 1999, 142–148; Kavvadias 2000, no. 283, fig. 177; Oakley 2004a, 77 (pl. II), 78 (nos. 11, 16), 80–81, figs. 47–48; BAPD nos. 216447, 217659.

<sup>59</sup> *Scholias vetera Ar. Lys.* 603; Kurtz 1975, 280–282; R. Garland 2001, 116; Oakley 2004a, 29, 204. For example, *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.6–7, pl. (038) 6.3–5; *CVA*, Copenhagen, NY Carlsberg Glyptotek 1, 92–93, pl. (525) 73.2–3; Oakley 2004a, 145–146 (pl. VII), 169, 171, 173, 175–177 (figs. 133–135).

<sup>60</sup> Kurtz 1975, 281–282; R. Garland 2001, 108, 110, 116; Dillon 2002, 283. *Taeniae* can be also found on Classical Attic funerary reliefs, either added in paint, or carved in relief. For examples, see *CAT* 2.253, 2.710; Kaltsas 2002, no. 303; Posamentir 2006, 76–77, no. 53.

<sup>61</sup> Belted over the overfold, this garment may be combined with a *chiton* (under the *peplos*), crossbands worn over the chest, as well as a shoulder-pinned back-mantle like the one worn by the *parthenos* of *Cat. No. 4 (Fig. 4)*. To my knowledge, the maidens depicted on the Athenian funerary vases do not wear the crossbands. The shoulder-pinned back-mantle is also very rare on white *lekythoi* scenes. I have not been able to find any examples of it on white *lekythoi* besides *Cat. No. 4 (Fig. 4)*. For the Attic *peplos*, see Roccas 1995, 641–666; 2000; Leventi 2003, 53, 56; Theisen 2009, 55–66.

<sup>62</sup> For the shoulder-pinned back-mantle, see Roccas 1995, 641–666; 2000, 235–265 (esp. 237–243). The shoulder-pinned back-mantle is worn by the goddesses Artemis, Athena, and Nike: *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 373, 392, 606, s.v. Athena, (P. Demargne); *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 132, 163, 181–182, 397, 405, 621, s.v. Artemis, (L. Kahil); *LIMC* VI, 1992, nos. 124, 160, 381, 431, 450–451, 557, 659, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki); Roccas 2000, 237–241.

<sup>63</sup> *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 144, 185, 220–230, 249, 267, 623, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 125–133, 161–163, 181–182, 397, 402, 521–525, 1127, 1131, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); Roccas 2000, 235–236, 239–240, 244; Leventi 2003, 56.

<sup>64</sup> Roccas 1995, 641–666; 2000, 235–265; Neils 2007, 58.

<sup>65</sup> Roccas 1995, 641–666; 2000, 235–265.

<sup>66</sup> Margariti 2010, 161–165; 2018, 107–108.

<sup>67</sup> I have identified four certain and three probable cases of white *lekythoi* depicting dead maidens clad in the Attic *peplos*: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2789; BAPD no. 217672; London, British Museum



Fig. 5. Attic white-ground lekythos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2028. End of the 5th century BC. Photograph: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

thenos of *Cat. No. 4* (Fig. 4) is portrayed holding the edge of her shoulder-pinned back-mantle with her lowered left hand. This gesture is characteristic of youthful figures and may have been a sign of young age.<sup>68</sup> It is very common on funerary reliefs showing dead maidens dressed in the Attic *peplos* with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, but not on vases.<sup>69</sup> The young age of the deceased *parthenoi* on *lekythoi Nos. 4 & 5* (Figs. 4 & 5) is also revealed by their youthful hairstyles, the long hair<sup>70</sup> and the

*lampadion*.<sup>71</sup> On white *lekythoi* the *lampadion* hairstyle is more often worn by maidens clad in the Attic *peplos*, while long hair is more frequently combined with *chiton* and *himation*.<sup>72</sup>

The dead female figure of *Cat. No. 3* (Fig. 3) is wearing a diadem, its shape pointing to a *stephane*.<sup>73</sup> If this is indeed the case, then the presence of the *planis* would indicate that she is a *parthenos* depicted as a bride. The case of *Cat. No. 2* (Fig. 2) is entirely different. The deceased is here shown with the *himation* covering her head, while she performs the *anakalypsis* gesture. Married women are commonly portrayed in this manner,<sup>74</sup> but the covered female head<sup>75</sup> and the *anakalypsis*

D 61: BAPD no. 217675; Berlin, Antikensammlung 3170: BAPD no. 216698; Former Arlesheim, Schweizer Collection: *Sotheby, sale catalogue* 14.12.1993, no. 267 (it is not absolutely certain that this dead female is dressed in the Attic *peplos*); Paris, Louvre CA 537: BAPD no. 217819 (it is uncertain whether this maiden is the deceased or a living family member visiting the tomb); Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 44: BAPD no. 11521 (it is not absolutely certain that the dead female wears the Attic *peplos*); Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 380: Robinson & Harcum 1930, 187, no. 357, pl. 66. They all date to 430–400 BC and are decorated with Charon or tomb visit scenes.

<sup>68</sup> Roccas 2000, 242–243.

<sup>69</sup> See Margariti 2010, 175–176; 2018, 112–113.

<sup>70</sup> The dead maiden of *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6) is also depicted with long hair. For further examples of deceased *parthenoi* with long hair on white *lekythoi*, see Munich, Antikensammlungen 2797: BAPD no. 214319; Palermo, Mus. Arch. Regionale NI 1886: BAPD no. 205315. Possibly also, Louvre CA 1264 (BAPD no. 217820) and a *lekythos* in Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes (*Kunstwerke der Antike. Munzen und Medaillen, A.G., Basel, sale catalogue* 16, 1956, fig. 37, no. 152). All these long-haired females are dressed in *chiton* and *himation*. In Greek art, young female figures are frequently shown with long hair and the same is true for youthful deities like Athena, Artemis, Persephone, Nike, the Nymphs and the Charites: *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 18, 48–49, 122, 136–138, 220–221, 584–585, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); *LIMC* II, 1984, nos. 169–170, 454, 587, 613–614, 642–643, s.v. Artemis (L. Kahil); *LIMC* VIII, 1997, nos. 17, 98, 140, 197, 279, s.v. Persephone (G. Günter); *LIMC* VI, 1992, nos. 18–19, 45–47, 99, 104, 124, 320, s.v. Nike (A. Goulaki); *LIMC*

VIII, 1997, nos. 18, 30, 43, 47, 96, s.v. Nymphai (M. Halm); *LIMC* III, 1986, nos. 16, 19, 25, 29–30, 32–33, s.v. Charites (H. Sichtermann). Long hair is among the most popular maiden hairstyles on Classical Attic funerary reliefs: Margariti 2010, 168–169; 2018, 109–110.

<sup>71</sup> For further examples of dead maidens sporting a *lampadion* on white *lekythoi*, see St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 4531: Brommer 1969, pl. 26; Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 44: BAPD no. 11521 (combined with the Attic *peplos*); Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 380: Robinson & Harcum 1930, 187, no. 357, pl. 66 (combined with the Attic *peplos*). Possibly also, Louvre MNB 622: Díez de Velasco 1995, 50, fig. 2.15. All of these vases date to the second half of the 5th century BC.

<sup>72</sup> For examples, see *Cat. Nos. 4 & 6* (Figs. 4 & 6).

<sup>73</sup> The deceased female figure on this *lekythos* is not well preserved. However, even though most of the details have faded away, the outline of what looks like a diadem is still visible.

<sup>74</sup> Dentzer 1982, 485, 489; Beaumont 1994, 91; Leventi 2003, 48, 68; Palagia 2012, 93.

<sup>75</sup> See for example, *LIMC* VII, 1994, no. 43, pls. 626–627, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils & S. Woodford); Oakley & Sinos 1993, 90 (fig. 72), 93 (figs. 76–77), 97–98 (figs. 85–86), 100–101 (figs. 90–91), 103 (fig. 94), 104 (fig. 97), 110 (fig. 106). For the bridal veil, see Oakley & Sinos 1993, 7, 16, 24, 30, 32–33, 133 (n. 20); Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 91–93, 219–227.

gesture<sup>76</sup> are also essential elements of the Athenian wedding ceremony. The dead female figure of *Cat. No. 2* (Fig. 2) is not the only one who has covered her head with the *himation*. The deceased of *Cat. No. 3* (Fig. 3) seems to have drawn the *himation* over her head, as well. The same is true for the maiden of *lekythos No. 5* (Fig. 5) discussed above, whose Attic *peplos* leaves no doubt about the fact that she is a *parthenos*.<sup>77</sup> This *lekythos* proves that maiden figures can be indeed shown with the *himation* covering their head, in a manner reminiscent of brides on wedding vases. This allows for the possibility that the *himation* drawn over the head of the deceased on *lekythos No. 2* (Fig. 2) was meant to be a bridal veil, and the dead female figure wearing it was a *parthenos*. Hermes turns back to look at the deceased, extending his hand to her. Their gazes meet and she seems to be about to take the god's hand, albeit hesitantly. The scene is reminiscent of wedding scenes on Attic vases,<sup>78</sup> where the bridegroom is depicted grasping the bride's wrist in a ritual gesture known as *χείρ' ἐπὶ καρπῶν*, so as to lead her to his home.<sup>79</sup> Reminiscent, but not identical, since the actual *cheir' epi karmo* gesture is not performed on our *lekythos*, nor has Hermes grasped the dead female's hand, yet.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> The *anakalypsis* (unveiling) is an exclusively feminine gesture that became very popular in Greek art from the second half of the 7th century BC onwards: Leventi 2003, 68. A standing or seated female figure performs the *anakalypsis* by lifting the veil/*himation* covering her head with one hand. The gesture is closely connected to the Athenian wedding ritual of *anakalypteria*, the ceremonial unveiling of the bride, who lifted her veil for the first time during the wedding ceremony, thus revealing her face to the groom. For the *anakalypsis* gesture, see Dentzer 1982, 484–489; Oakley & Sinos 1993, 7, 16, 30; Blundell 2002, 159–161; Leventi 2003, 48, 68–69; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 98–110, 114. For the *anakalypteria*, see Oakley 1982; Oakley & Sinos 1993, 25–26; Vêrilhac & Vial 1998, 304–312; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 227–248, 317–318. As Oakley and Sinos point out: “because the wedding ceremony included the ritual unveiling of the bride, brides are often shown holding the veil away from their faces. This gesture is a motif identifying a female figure as a bride” (Oakley & Sinos 1993, 7).

<sup>77</sup> The dead maiden on a white *lekythos* in Berlin mentioned above is also dressed in the Attic *peplos* with a *himation* covering her head, and performs the *anakalypsis* gesture: Berlin, Antikensammlung 3170: BAPD no. 216698.

<sup>78</sup> For instance, Oakley & Sinos 1993, 97 (fig. 85), 99–100 (figs. 87–89), 102–105 (figs. 92–98), 112–114 (figs. 108–111).

<sup>79</sup> Neumann 1965, 59–66; Oakley & Sinos 1993, 32; Vêrilhac & Vial 1998, 312–323. This gesture was part of the Athenian wedding ritual.

<sup>80</sup> For examples of white *lekythoi* depicting Hermes leading a deceased female to Charon's boat *cheir' epi karmo*, see Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.47: BAPD no. 207863; Palermo, Mormino collection 310: BAPD no. 2701. On another *lekythos* in Brussels, Hermes leads the dead female to Charon firmly holding her by the hand: Brussels, Musées Royaux A 903: BAPD no. 216482. For examples of wedding vases on which the bride is led by the groom in the same manner (held by the hand and not by the wrist), see Oakley & Sinos 1993, 100 (fig. 90), 102–103 (figs. 92–95), 109–111 (figs. 105–107), 112–114 (figs. 108–111). The dead female of the Boston *lekythos* is undoubtedly a young maiden, as is indicated by her size, which is considerably smaller than that of Hermes and the woman standing behind her (possibly her mother). This is more commonly seen

On a red-figured wedding *loutrophoros* in Athens, the Washing Painter depicts the moment when the bridegroom's hand touches the bride's wrist, but his fingers have not yet closed around it.<sup>81</sup> The bride's head is covered by the *himation*, just like the head of the deceased female on *lekythos No. 2* (Fig. 2). The groom turns his head to look at her, their gazes meeting.<sup>82</sup> As we have seen, the same applies to *Cat. No. 2* (Fig. 2). On the basis of all the evidence that has been mentioned here, I would therefore like to suggest that the dead female figure on our *lekythos* could be a prematurely lost maiden, who is portrayed as the bride of a wedding that will never take place. Unlike the real brides of wedding vases, who will be led to their new homes by the groom, the unfortunate *parthenos* of this white *lekythos* will be led to Charon's boat by Hermes *Psychopompos*.<sup>83</sup> Instead of arriving at a new home where she will begin a new life as a wife and mother, the ferryman of the dead will transport her to the dark realm of Hades. If this interpretation is valid, then the depiction of the deceased maiden as a bride places special emphasis on the tragedy of her untimely death and unmarried state.

Elements of the wedding iconography appear on three of the four white *lekythoi* discussed in this section: the *planis* (*Cat. No. 3*, Fig. 3), the bridal “veil” (*Cat. Nos. 2 & 3*, 5, Figs. 2 & 3, 5), the *anakalypsis* gesture (*Cat. No. 2*, Fig. 2), and possibly also a reference to the *χειραγωγία* (leading by the hand) of the bride (*Cat. No. 2*, Fig. 2). By depicting these prematurely lost maidens as brides, the vase-painters highlight the lost potential of the girls who were once considered to be the future of their *oikos* and the *polis*, as well as the untimely death that deprived them of marriage and motherhood. When used on funerary vases, these elements of wedding iconography are therefore transformed into symbols of early death and eternal maidenhood.<sup>84</sup> Such scenes inevitably bring to mind the

in two- and multi-figured scenes of the Classical Attic funerary reliefs, where the *parthenoi* are often portrayed smaller in size than the adult figures, but larger than children. Such differences in size clearly denote the status of these maidens: they are no longer children, having outgrown childhood, but they have not yet become adults. On this, see Margariti 2010, 32–33, 157–158; 2018, 106.

<sup>81</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1174: BAPD no. 214896.

<sup>82</sup> The bride and groom are commonly depicted in such a manner on wedding vases. For examples, see *CVA*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3, 42, pls. (148–149) 148.1–149.3; Oakley & Sinos 1993, 96 (figs. 82–84), 100 (fig. 90), 116–119 (figs. 115–119). See also Sutton 1989, 345.

<sup>83</sup> Compare with the marble funerary *lekythos* of Myrrhine in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. no. 4485), where Hermes holds the hand of the deceased female figure: *CAT* 5.150.

<sup>84</sup> It is reasonable to assume that scenes combining two or more elements of the wedding iconography place greater emphasis on the tragic fate of the untimely lost *parthenoi*. This applies to *Cat. No. 3* (Fig. 3) and perhaps also *No. 2* (Fig. 2), as well as the *lekythoi* in Berlin (*CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 8, 35–37, figs. 3, 11.2, pls. (3063–3064, 3078) 22.3–23.4, 37.7) and Palermo (Reeder 1995, 331–332, no. 101). The latter is of particular interest, since it combines the *planis*, bridal veil, and *anakalypsis* gesture,

concept of marriage to death, which was so popular in Greek tragedy.<sup>85</sup>

On the Attic white-ground *lekythoi*, death is often depicted as a journey from the world of the living to the Underworld.<sup>86</sup> During that perilous journey, the mythical *psychopompoi* were valuable companions and guides for the deceased.<sup>87</sup> The twin brothers Hypnos and Thanatos (Sleep and Death) carry the dead to the place where their burial will take place,<sup>88</sup> just like they did with Sarpedon in the well-known passage of the *Iliad*.<sup>89</sup> Hermes *Psychopompos* awaits for them at the tomb, as he is the one who will lead the dead to the banks of the Acheron.<sup>90</sup> There they will board the boat of Charon that will finally transport them to their destination: the dark realm of Hades.<sup>91</sup> It is interesting to note that even though the *psychopompoi* represent death itself, they are rarely portrayed in a terrifying manner.<sup>92</sup> Their presence does not evoke fear but rather is reassuring, since they guide, protect and accompany the dead throughout their journey, until they can safely reach their final destination.<sup>93</sup> Thus, the painters of the white *lekythoi* do not represent the journey to the Underworld as a frightening experience.

Hypnos and Thanatos appear in Attic vase-painting during the last quarter of the 6th century BC.<sup>94</sup> The earliest of these vases, including the famous Euphronios *Krater*,<sup>95</sup> depict the two brothers carrying the dead body of Sarpedon or (less frequently) Memnon.<sup>96</sup> In most of these scenes, Hypnos and Thanatos are portrayed in armour<sup>97</sup> and the theme of such vases is the heroic noble death of warriors in the battlefield (ἐὺ θανεῖν).<sup>98</sup> On the white *lekythoi* however, the twins are never shown in this manner. They mostly appear carrying dead males, normally of young age, but not all of them are warriors.<sup>99</sup> The emphasis here is not exclusively on the heroic death of warriors, but on the noble good death of the Athenian males depicted.<sup>100</sup> Women are rarely portrayed being carried by Hypnos and Thanatos,<sup>101</sup> and none of the few female figures who are so portrayed<sup>102</sup> have maiden characteristics. The exclusion of *parthenoi* and the rarity of female depictions in such scenes is probably a result of the epic origin of the theme<sup>103</sup> and its close connection to the heroic death of warriors in vase-painting. Thus, the Athenian maidens are conducted to Hades by Hermes and Charon alone, since their journey to the Underworld is far from heroic: it is premature, sad, and undoubtedly tragic.

On white *lekythoi*,<sup>104</sup> Hermes is usually depicted with Charon (*Cat. Nos. 2 & 3, Figs. 2 & 3*),<sup>105</sup> less often with Hyp-

but also depicts Iphigeneia being led by Teukros, who is holding her from the edge of her *himation*. On a red-figured *kylix* in Louvre (inv. no. G 153; BAPD no. 204695) and a black-figured *hydria* in Berlin (Antikensammlung F 1902; BAPD no. 302032), Polyxene is depicted as the bride of dead Achilles, being led *cheir' epi karpou* to the hero's tomb, where she will be sacrificed. The Polyxene of the black-figured *hydria* has also covered her head with the *himation*. For the *χειραγωγία* of female figures in mythical scenes of Attic vases, see Oakley 1995, 64–67; Neils 1997, 232.

<sup>85</sup> On this, see Rehm 1994; Margariti 2010, 332–342.

<sup>86</sup> Díez de Velasco 1995, 27, 42–43.

<sup>87</sup> Oakley 2004a, 141, 144.

<sup>88</sup> Fairbanks 1914, 226; Kurtz 1975, 204–205; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 306–307; Oakley 2004a, 129.

<sup>89</sup> Hom. *Il.* 16.667–675.

<sup>90</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 306–307; Oakley 2004a, 129. For examples of Hermes waiting at the tomb, see *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.12, pls. (048, 050) 16.7, 18.1; Oakley 2004a, 111, no. 59, fig. 95. On the latter, all the mythical *psychopompoi* are shown: Hermes is waiting by the tomb as the dead female is being carried there by Hypnos and Thanatos, while at some distance Charon awaits the deceased in his boat.

<sup>91</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 306–307; Oakley 2004a, 129.

<sup>92</sup> Sullivan 1950, 13; Vermeule 1979, 37, 150; Kurtz 1984, 325; *LIMC* III, 1986, 221–222, s.v. Charon I (C. Sourvinou-Inwood); Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 318, 338–343, 348–353; R. Garland 2001, 56; Oakley 2004a, 126–127. See also, *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.10, pls. (043, 046) 11.8, 14.1 (where Thanatos grieves for the premature death of the youth he is carrying). For examples of white *lekythoi* which depict Charon and Thanatos in a more frightening manner, see *Cat. No. 2 (Fig. 2)*; Louvre CA 1264; BAPD no. 217820; Díez de Velasco 1995, 51, fig. 2.17; BAPD no. 216402.

<sup>93</sup> *LIMC* III, 1986, 222, s.v. Charon I (C. Sourvinou-Inwood); Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 316–318, 338–343, 346; Oakley 2004a, 125, 141–144.

<sup>94</sup> Oakley 2004a, 125. For the iconography of Hypnos and Thanatos, see Mintsy 1997; Kavvadias 2000, 133–134; Oakley 2004a, 125–137. The twin brothers are never depicted on funerary reliefs.

<sup>95</sup> BAPD no. 187 (with extensive bibliography).

<sup>96</sup> *CVA*, Paris, Musée du Louvre 1, III.IC.5–6, pls. (46–47) 8.1–9.3; *CVA*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, 67–69, pl. (779) 51.1–2; Shapiro 1993, 134–136 (figs. 87–89), 138 (fig. 91), 141 (fig. 95); Stampolidis & Oikonomou 2014, 150–151, no. 74; BAPD no. 5133.

<sup>97</sup> *Beihfte zum CVA Deutschland* IV, 2009, 18 (fig. 3), 135, 138, figs. 1, 5E; *CVA*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 4, 67–69, pl. (779) 51.1–2; Shapiro 1993, 134–136 (figs. 87–89), 141 (fig. 95).

<sup>98</sup> Hoffmann 1985–1986, 175; Oakley 2004a, 126–127; Mirto 2012, 25.

<sup>99</sup> *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.10, pls. (043, 046) 11.8, 14.1; *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.12, pls. (048, 050) 16.7–18.1; Shapiro 1993, 144, no. 79, fig. 100; Mintsy 1997, 60–61, figs. 9–10a–b; Oakley 2004a, 128 (nos. 2–3), 130–131 (figs. 89–90), fig. V; Vermeule 1979, 150; Hoffmann 1985–1986, 176; R. Garland 2001, 59; Mirto 2012, 25; Stampolidis & Oikonomou 2014, 152.

<sup>100</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 326–327, 328, 347.

<sup>101</sup> Vermeule 1979, 150; Díez de Velasco 1995, 31; Stampolidis & Oikonomou 2014, 152.

<sup>102</sup> *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensmuseum 8, 37–39, fig. 4, pls. (3065, 3067) 24.1–4, 26.6; Oakley 2004a, 111 (no. 59, fig. 95), 128 (no. 7), 133 (figs. 92–94).

<sup>103</sup> Mirto 2012, 25.

<sup>104</sup> For the depiction of Hermes on white *lekythoi*, see Kurtz 1975, 220–224; 1984, 325; Hoffmann 1985–1986, 176; Díez de Velasco 1995, 35–42; R. Garland 2001, 54–55; Oakley 2004a, 137–144.

<sup>105</sup> Oakley 2004a, 139. For examples, see *LIMC* VIII, 1997, 569, no. 26, pl. 359, s.v. Eidola (R. Vollkommer); *CVA*, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquanteenaire) 1, III.J.B.2, pl. (044) 4.1A.1B; *CVA*, Cra-

nos and Thanatos,<sup>106</sup> and on a limited number of scenes he is shown alone with the deceased.<sup>107</sup> Hermes is normally portrayed accompanying male and female figures of young age, but to my knowledge there are no depictions of children being led to the Underworld by him. As for the dead females he is shown guiding, only the use of wedding iconography elements allows for the identification of the *parthenoi* among them.

Charon, the ferryman of the dead,<sup>108</sup> appears in Attic vase-painting during the late 6th century BC.<sup>109</sup> He is mostly depicted in scenes of white *lekythoi* dating to 470–400 BC,<sup>110</sup> and especially in the second half of the 5th century, but rarely shown on black- and red-figured vases.<sup>111</sup> He is also absent from funerary sculpture.<sup>112</sup> Charon appears more frequently

than the other *psychopompoi* in white *lekythoi* scenes.<sup>113</sup> In most cases he is shown waiting for the deceased to board his boat but he is not always patient, and at times he is portrayed gesturing to the dead as if urging them to come aboard.<sup>114</sup> On other occasions he extends his hand, possibly to help the deceased board the boat.<sup>115</sup> Scenes showing Charon alone with the deceased are more popular than those in which Hermes is portrayed bringing the dead to the ferryman's boat.<sup>116</sup> Elements of the wedding iconography can be normally found in the latter,<sup>117</sup> rarely appearing on *lekythoi* where Charon is depicted alone with a dead maiden.<sup>118</sup> The primary focus of the scenes in which the bridal "veil", the *anakalypsis* gesture, the *planis* and the *cheiragogia* (χειραγωγία) of the deceased females can be identified is the unmarried state and untimely death of the prematurely lost *parthenoi*. As for the Charonian scenes lacking any wedding iconography elements, the emphasis is here placed on the final journey of the deceased maidens, who will be transported to Hades by the mythical ferryman. The dead of the Charonian *lekythoi* are usually young married females, *parthenoi*, young males, and children.<sup>119</sup> Thus, only the Attic *peplos* and the use of wedding iconography elements enable the identification of maiden figures among these dead.

cow, Collections de Cracovie, 16, pl. (067) 13.8A.8B; *CVA*, Munich, Antikensammlungen 15, 71–73, pls. (4620–4621) 40.1–41.6; *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 8, 30–31, pls. (3057–3058) 16.1–5, 17.3–4.6.8; BAPD nos. 212345, 216469.

<sup>106</sup> Oakley 2004a, 139. See, *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.12, pls. (048, 050) 16.7–18.1; Oakley 2004a, 134, fig. 95. Also, Louvre CA 1264; BAPD no. 217820, an unusual scene, in which instead of the twin brothers (a rather terrifying) winged bearded male figure is depicted pursuing the deceased female in the presence of Hermes. The latter is here shown seated in close proximity to the woman's tomb. The winged pursuer shares the characteristics of both Thanatos and Charon, and has been interpreted by most scholars as a personification of Death: Pottier 1916; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 307; Oakley 2004a, 132–135.

<sup>107</sup> *CVA*, Palermo, Collezione Mormino 1, III.Y.6–7, pl. (2236) 6.2–4; *CVA*, Munich, Antikensammlungen 15, 67–71, figs. 11, 3.22, 1.2, pls. (4617–4618) 35.4, 37, 38.1–4; Fairbanks 1914, 27, no. 20; Oakley 1990, no. B1, pl. 145A. See also, Oakley 2004a, 139. Besides the marble funerary *lekythos* of Myrrhine/*CAT* 5.150 mentioned above, Hermes appears on the base of a marble funerary vase in Athens (*CAT* 11; Stampolidis & Oikonomou 2014, 166–167, no. 83), and perhaps also on a grave *stèle* that is now lost (*CAT* 2.432b). These are all highly unusual cases, since the *psychopompoi* are not normally depicted on funerary reliefs.

<sup>108</sup> *Ar. Ran.* 137–141; *Eur. Alc.* 438–444; *Luc. Dial. mort.* 14; *Scholia vetera Eur. Alc.* 439; Sullivan 1950; Mirto 2012, 25–27. For the iconography of Charon in Athenian vase-painting, see Kurtz 1975, 208–219; Hoffmann 1985–1986, 175–176; *LIMC* III, 1986, s.v. Charon I (C. Sourvinou-Inwood); Díez de Velasco 1989; 1995, 42–57; Mugione 1995; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 303–361; Oakley 2004a, 108–125, 141, 144.

<sup>109</sup> Oakley 2004a, 113. For the earliest depictions of Charon, see *CVA*, Frankfurt, Frankfurt am Main 2, 11–12, pl. (1437) 46.4–6; *CVA*, Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 3, 32–33, pl. (2267) 22.6–7.

<sup>110</sup> Hoffmann 1985–1986, 176; Oakley 2008, 340. Oakley lists 86 white *lekythoi* depicting Charon, and nine more dubious cases: Oakley 2004a, 108–113 (List 11). There are 75 entries for white *lekythoi* with Charonian themes in the *BAPD*, and 43 in *LIMC*: *LIMC* III, 1986, s.v. Charon I (C. Sourvinou-Inwood).

<sup>111</sup> Black-figured depictions of Charon: see note 109 above. Red-figured depictions: Oakley 2004b, 45–47 (figs. 3.8–3.9), 110 (no. 25).

<sup>112</sup> The only possible exception is the well-known Charonion relief from the Kerameikos (Kerameikos Museum inv. no. P 692), although it is not certain whether the boatman depicted on this relief is indeed Charon. See Scholl 1993; Banou & Bournias 2014, 224; Closterman 2014, 8–9, and n. 36.

<sup>113</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 346–347; R. Garland 2001, 56; Oakley 2004a, 141, 144, 218. For examples of Charonian scenes with or without Hermes present, see note 110 above; *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 8, 51–52, pls. (3076–3077) 35.1–2.5.7–8, 36.1–4; *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.11, pl. (047) 15.5–6; *CVA*, Mainz, Universität 2, 38–40, fig. 4, pl. (3112) 23.5–8; *CVA*, Copenhagen, National Museum 4, 134, pl. (175) 172.4A.4B; *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 12, 59–62, fig. 9, pls. (4769–4770) 40.5–41.1; Oakley 2004a, 110 (no. 51), 119–120 (figs. 75–78), 122 (figs. 82–84), 124 (figs. 86–87).

<sup>114</sup> For examples of Charon patiently waiting for the deceased, see *Cat. No. 4* (Fig. 4); *CVA*, Cracow, Collections de Cracovie, 16, pl. (067) 13.8A.8B; Díez de Velasco 1995, 51, fig. 2.17; Oakley 2004a, 124, fig. 86. For examples of Charon gesturing to the deceased, see *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.11, pl. (047) 15.5–6; *CVA*, Munich, Antikensammlungen 15, 75–77, fig. 29, pl. (4623) 43.1–6; *CVA*, Copenhagen, National Museum 4, 134, pl. (175) 172.4A.4B. See also, *Eur. Alc.* 252–256.

<sup>115</sup> For instance, *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 8, 31–33, pls. (3059, 3064) 18.1–6, 23.5; Kaltsas 2007, 292–293; BAPD nos. 216402, 216469.

<sup>116</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 346–347.

<sup>117</sup> *Cat. Nos. 2 & 3* (Figs. 2 & 3); Also, *LIMC* VIII, 1997, 569, no. 26, pl. 359, s.v. Eidola (R. Vollkommer); *CVA*, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantenaire) 1, III.J.B.2, pl. (044) 4.1A.1B.

<sup>118</sup> *Cat. No. 5* (Fig. 5) is one of these rare cases.

<sup>119</sup> Díez de Velasco 1995, 54. For examples, see Kurtz 1975, fig. 47.2; *LIMC* III, 1986, nos. 14, 16, s.v. Charon I (C. Sourvinou-Inwood); Oakley 2004a, 119 (figs. 75–76), 121 (fig. 80–81), 124 (fig. 87); BAPD nos. 6395, 212345, 215482, 216402, 216469. To my knowledge, old or elderly dead are not depicted. However, bearded males that have passed their first youth can be occasionally seen: *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung 8, 51–52, pls. (3076–3077) 35.1–2.5.7–8, 36.1–4; Kavvadias 2000, no. 206, figs. 140–141. See also, Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 322, 335, 344–346.

The deceased *parthenos* of *Cat. No. 4* (Fig. 4) is the only one among our maidens who is shown holding some object, namely a rolled up *taenia*.<sup>120</sup> Since the *taeniae* were tokens of piety for the dead and were used in Athenian funerary ritual, it is reasonable to assume that the *taenia* held by the *parthenos* of *lekythos No. 4* (Fig. 4) is possibly a symbol of her status as a deceased, as well as a token of the burial rites she has received.<sup>121</sup>

## The *loutrophoros* and the visit to the tomb

Our remaining two *lekythoi* are decorated with tomb visit scenes (*Cat. Nos. 6 & 7*, Figs. 6 & 7)—a theme that is very popular on white *lekythoi*.<sup>122</sup> They both date to around 430 BC.

The white *lekythos No. 6* (Fig. 6) has been attributed to the Phiale Painter. In the centre of the scene, a *tymbos* (tumulus) crowned by a *loutrophoros-hydria* with plant stems protruding from its mouth mark the tomb of the deceased.<sup>123</sup> The latter, a *parthenos* with long curly hair, stands right next to her tomb. She is dressed in *chiton* and *himation*, and wears a diadem. In her left hand she holds a small hare, feeding it with the other hand. Her attention is focused on the animal, and she seems



Fig. 6. Attic white-ground lekythos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19355. 435–430 BC. Photograph: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

<sup>120</sup> On a white *lekythos* in Copenhagen, the dead maiden is also depicted holding a *taenia* in her raised right hand: *CVA*, Copenhagen, NY Carlsberg Glyptothek 1, 95–96, pl. (527) 75.1–2. This *taenia* however is not rolled up, but is instead shown being blown by the wind.

<sup>121</sup> For the status of the dead, see [Plut.] *Cons. ad Apoll.* 115B.6–C.7; Pl. *Leg.* 927a.1–3; Hippoc. *De Diaeta* 92.3–4; Aesch. *Cho.* 129–149, 278–282, 456–509, 583–584; Aesch. *Pers.* 624–646; Plut. *Sol.* 21.1.1–2.1; Stob. *Flor.* 4.53.18.8–6; Clairmont 1970, 69–71; Burkert 1996, 71–72, 194–195; Pulleyn 1997, 116–131; Johnston 1999, 42–43, 80; R. Garland 2001, 4, 106, 114–115, 120.

<sup>122</sup> Tomb visit scenes appear in Attic vase-painting during the beginning of the 5th century BC. On white *lekythoi* they become particularly popular from the middle of the 5th century BC onwards. During the second half of the century, tomb visit scenes surpass in number and popularity all the other subjects depicted on white *lekythoi*. For tomb visit scenes on white *lekythoi*, see Oakley 2004a, 145–214, 218; Stampolidis & Oikonomou 2014, 114, nos. 48–52. Tomb visit scenes hardly ever appear on Classical Attic funerary reliefs. For two rare exceptions, see *CAT* 3.239 and 3.320. Also, *CAT* 3.263, 3.293, 3.672, 4.180, and possibly 3.354a, all of them marble *lekythoi* showing a female figure carrying a tray with funerary offerings (like the ones frequently depicted on tomb visit scenes of white *lekythoi*), while the deceased shakes hands with another family member.

<sup>123</sup> According to Sabetai, these plant stems adorning the *loutrophoros* are an element of wedding iconography employed to accentuate the untimely death and unmarried state of the unfortunate maiden: Sabetai 2009, 304–305. For examples of such wedding scenes, see *CVA*, Mainz, Universität 2, 14–16, pls. (3091–3092) 2.3–8, 3.1–7; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, no. 257, figs. 168–169; Oakley & Sinos 1993, 68, figs. 32–35; Rotroff & Lamberton 2006, 14, fig. 8.

to be ignoring her Thracian nurse<sup>124</sup> who is shown kneeling in front of the tomb, bitterly lamenting for the maiden's death. It is clear that she cannot see the deceased.

*Lekythos No. 7* (Fig. 7), a work of the Bird Painter, is the only one of our vases on which the deceased is not shown. In the centre of the scene, a tree with *taeniae* hanging from its branches marks the grave of the dead person.<sup>125</sup> A female visitor stands on one side of the tree, holding a *loutrophoros-hydria* with her left hand, and an *alabastron* in her lowered right hand. On the other side of the tree, a wailing female is portrayed kneeling, tearing her hair with both hands.

Starting with our standard question, is it possible to be certain about the deceased persons on both *lekythoi* being maidens? The *chiton* and *himation* of the young female on *No.*

<sup>124</sup> For the interpretation of this figure as a Thracian nurse, see Oakley 2004a, 158, 164. The faithful Thracian nurse who deeply mourns for the early death of the beloved girl she has raised is a theme we have seen again on the red-figured *loutrophoros* depicting the *prothesis* of a maiden (*Cat. No. 1*, Fig. 1). On both vases, the presence of the nurse places special emphasis on the young age of the deceased, the tragedy of her premature death, and the fact that she died unmarried.

<sup>125</sup> Oakley 2004a, 199–200 (and n. 105 for further examples), fig. 163.

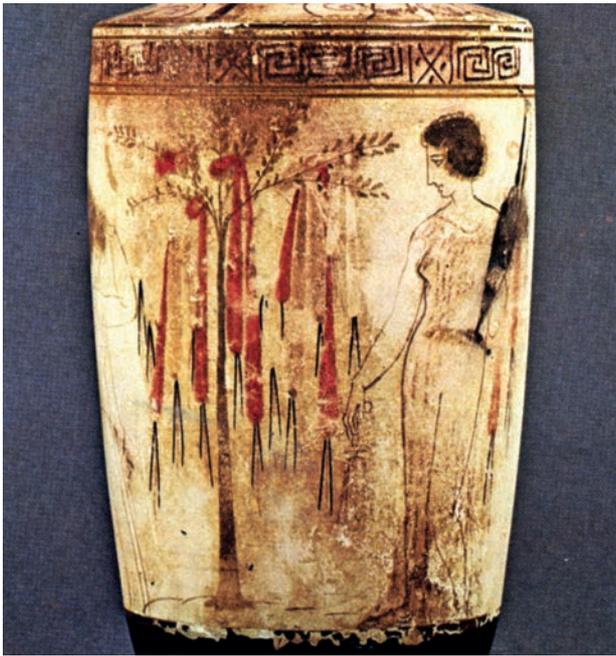


Fig. 7. Attic white-ground lekythos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19338. 430–420 BC. Photograph: National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Photographer: K. Kontos. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

6 (Fig. 6) is not at all helpful in that respect, since this type of costume is worn by females of all ages, both married and unmarried.<sup>126</sup> It is therefore non-indicative of maiden figures in Greek art. The dead female's identification as a *parthenos* is based on the *loutrophoros-hydria* marking her tomb, as well as the wedding diadem (*planis*) she wears on her head—a symbol of untimely death and eternal maidenhood for the unfortunate girl who will never become a bride, but is portrayed as such on this *lekythos*.<sup>127</sup>

The case of *lekythos* No. 7 (Fig. 7) is a lot more complicated. Given the fact that the dead person is not depicted in this scene, the only clue as to the possible identity of the deceased is the *loutrophoros-hydria* held by one of the female visitors of the tomb. According to Kokula's theory, this should allow for the interpretation of the scene as “visit to a maiden's tomb”. But is this the case?

A *loutrophoros-hydria* is depicted on both *lekythoi* studied here, although on *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6) it is used as a *sema* to mark the tomb of the deceased *parthenos*, while on *Cat. No. 7* (Fig. 7) it is a vase brought to the grave by a female visitor. I have identified eleven more white *lekythoi* on which the *lout-*

*rophoros* appears.<sup>128</sup> Four of these are similar to *lekythos* No. 7 (Fig. 7), showing the vase being brought to the tomb by visitors.<sup>129</sup> Only on one of them is the *loutrophoros* being held by a male figure. This is an unpublished *lekythos* briefly mentioned in the *Archaeologikon Deltion* of 1978, depicting the deceased youth seated at his tomb and another youth holding the *loutrophoros-amphora*.<sup>130</sup> On a *lekythos* in Brussels, the dead female figure is portrayed seated on a *klismos* near her grave *stele*, dressed in *chiton* and *himation*.<sup>131</sup> She wears a *sphendone* around her head. A female bearing a *loutrophoros-hydria* stands before her. A standing figure (probably female) is painted on the *loutrophoros*, the neck of which is adorned with a *taenia*. A young male stands behind the deceased, holding a *taenia*. The theme of the dead female seated near her tomb can be seen on another *lekythos* in Havana.<sup>132</sup> Here the deceased is holding an *exaleiptron*. She is possibly clad in *chiton* and *himation*, although it is impossible to tell with certainty, since the scene has faded and many details have been lost. A female figure holding a *loutrophoros-hydria* stands before her, while another female is barely preserved standing behind the deceased. The fourth *lekythos* is in a private collection in Athens and has not yet been published. There is only a brief reference to it in the *Archaeologikon Deltion* of 1987, accompanied by a black and white photograph showing the visitor to the tomb.<sup>133</sup> This is a female figure holding a *loutrophoros-amphora*. The *lekythos* is not well preserved. There are traces of what looks like a seated figure, and on the ground between the two figures a large bird (duck, goose, or small heron/crane) is visible. On white *lekythoi*, large birds frequently accompany seated female figures, especially in domestic scenes.<sup>134</sup> This allows for the possibility

<sup>128</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.800: BAPD no. 9024575; Athens, Chronis private collection: *ArchDelt* 42.B2 (1987), 709, pl. 389c; Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 203: Mösche-Klinge 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a; Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492; London, British Museum D 71: Mösche-Klinge 2006, no. 95, fig. 51; BAPD no. 217816; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1908.93: BAPD no. 216477; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1975: BAPD no. 2751; Malibu, Getty Museum 83.AE.42: Mösche-Klinge 2006, no. 89, figs. 49a–b; BAPD no. 13350; Present whereabouts unknown (excavation find): *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d; Ticino, private collection: Oakley 2004a, 155 (no. 19), 205, 207, fig. 168. Possibly also, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.47: BAPD no. 207863.

<sup>129</sup> *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d; *ArchDelt* 42.B2 (1987), 709, pl. 389c; Mösche-Klinge 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a; Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492.

<sup>130</sup> *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d; BAPD no. 16097.

<sup>131</sup> Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492.

<sup>132</sup> Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 203: Mösche-Klinge 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a.

<sup>133</sup> Athens, Chronis private collection: *ArchDelt* 42.B2 (1987), 709, pl. 389c.

<sup>134</sup> For instance, *CVA*, Rodi, Museo Archeologico Dello Spedale Dei Cavalieri 2, III.I.A.3, pl. (499) 1.3; Oakley 1997, pl. 94; Oakley 2004a, 19, 21 (no. 24), 23 (fig. 3), 36 (no. 43), 43, 46, 47 (fig. 18); BAPD no.

<sup>126</sup> Bectarte 2009, 236, 238–242; Theisen 2009, 67–111.

<sup>127</sup> The *planis* worn by this maiden is of the *stephane* type.

that the seated figure of the *lekythos* who clearly represents the deceased might be female, but given the preservation state of that part of the scene it is impossible to tell with certainty.

Besides *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6), a *loutrophoros* used as *sema* appears on three more white *lekythoi*. On all of them a *loutrophoros-amphora* is set up over the tomb of the deceased, visited by a female figure who brings offerings. The earliest of these *lekythoi* is in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens.<sup>135</sup> A *loutrophoros-amphora* is shown on the ground, decorated with the figure of a horseman. It is therefore reasonable to infer that the *loutrophoros* marks the tomb of a male, possibly a dead warrior. A female stands before the grave, bearing a flat basket with offerings. The second *lekythos*, now in Malibu, bears a fairly similar scene.<sup>136</sup> A *loutrophoros-amphora* with a female figure painted on its body is visible on the ground. It is adorned with *taeniae* and plant stems protrude from its mouth. A woman standing before the tomb is about to adorn the *loutrophoros* with the *taenia* she holds. Behind her there is a *tymbos* (tumulus) adorned with *taeniae*, leafy branches and spears. An *exaleiptron* is placed on top of the *tymbos*. The third *lekythos* is in a Swiss private collection.<sup>137</sup> Its iconography is fairly similar to that of our *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6), since both vases depict the deceased persons standing by their tomb which is marked by a *loutrophoros*, invisible to the female visitors who lament for their death. The centre of this *lekythos* is dominated by a large *tymbos* adorned with *taeniae* and leafy branches. A *loutrophoros-amphora* is set up over the burial mound, decorated with a female figure in mourning. Two steps are visible at the base of the *tymbos* with various offerings placed on them (*lekythoi*, *kylix*, *taeniae*, wreath). The dead young warrior appears on one side of the tomb wearing a Corinthian helmet and holding a spear. He is portrayed with one foot on the upper step of the *tymbos*, his right elbow resting on the upraised leg, and further supporting himself with the spear. On the other side of the tomb stands a partly preserved female visitor, shown in mourning with one hand on her head. Her pose is the same as that of the female figure painted on the body of the *loutrophoros*, of which very little survives.

The *loutrophoros* also appears on two *lekythoi* depicting women who prepare to visit the tombs of their family dead.<sup>138</sup>

Despite their funerary character, these are domestic scenes.<sup>139</sup> On the Boston *lekythos* one of the three standing females is holding a *loutrophoros-amphora*, another is shown with a flat basket, and the third one with a sash. The Hamburg *lekythos* depicts a seated female figure with a *loutrophoros-hydria* in her hands, and a second one holding a flat basket.

Of the remaining two *lekythoi*, only one is decorated with a tomb visit scene. This *lekythos*, now in London, shows a female seated at the base of an impressive funerary monument crowned by a grave *stele*.<sup>140</sup> The latter is surrounded by a variety of objects: a *loutrophoros-amphora*, two *alabastera*, a suspended *strigil*, and *taeniae*. A standing female visitor is depicted on one side of the tomb, placing a large *lekythos* on the steps of the monument. She also holds a flat basket with *taeniae*. On the other side of the tomb a hardly preserved seated figure of unknown sex is barely visible. The last *lekythos* has been mentioned earlier in this paper, while discussing the *psychopompoi* scenes.<sup>141</sup> Its theme is the final journey of a young *parthenos*, who is being led *cheir' epi karmo* to Charon's boat by Hermes. The woman shown behind the maiden is possibly her mother. One of the two *eidola* flying among the figures seems to be carrying a *loutrophoros*.<sup>142</sup>

A study of these 13 white *lekythoi* leads to some interesting conclusions. The *loutrophoros* normally appears in tomb visit scenes as a vase brought to the grave by visitors or as a *sema* marking the grave.<sup>143</sup> It can be also seen in scenes depicting the preparation for such visits. When it is brought to the tomb, the *loutrophoros* is usually held by a female visitor.<sup>144</sup> It goes without saying that the same is true for scenes showing the preparation for a visit to the cemetery, since only female figures are portrayed in such scenes.<sup>145</sup>

According to Kokula's theory, a *loutrophoros-amphora* should indicate a deceased male, while a *loutrophoros-hydria* should point to a dead female. The sex of the deceased is only known with absolute certainty on seven of the 13 white *le-*

209226. For the pet birds of women in Attic vase-painting, see Lewis 2002, 161–166. For birds as pets in Ancient Greece, see Lazenby 1949a, 249–250; 1949b, 300–301; Pollard 1977, 87–95, 135–140; Lewis 2002, 159–166.

<sup>135</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1975: BAPD no. 2751.

<sup>136</sup> Malibu, Getty Museum 83.AE.42: BAPD no. 13350.

<sup>137</sup> Ticino, private collection: Oakley 2004a, 155 (no. 19), 205, 207, fig. 168.

<sup>138</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.800: BAPD no. 9024575; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1908.93: BAPD no. 216477.

<sup>139</sup> This is indicated by the suspended mirrors that appear on both *lekythoi*, as well as the Doric column and stool depicted on the Boston *lekythos*.

<sup>140</sup> London, British Museum D 71: Mösch-Klingele 2006, no. 95, fig. 51.

<sup>141</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.47: BAPD no. 207863.

<sup>142</sup> If the *eidolon* does indeed carry a *loutrophoros*, then the minuscule vessel is a symbol of the maiden's untimely death, unmarried state, and eternal virginity. Even though the *eidola* on white *lekythoi* can be shown carrying various items, I know of no other vase besides the Boston *lekythos* depicting an *eidolon* carrying a *loutrophoros*.

<sup>143</sup> The obvious exception here is the *lekythos* Boston 95.47, which is decorated with a *psychopompoi* scene. However, it is not absolutely certain that the item held by the *eidolon* is indeed a *loutrophoros*, although it certainly looks like one.

<sup>144</sup> The *loutrophoros* is being held by a male figure only on one *lekythos*: *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d.

<sup>145</sup> For such scenes, see Oakley 2004a, 32–33, 42, 47, 74, 218–219, 223; 2008, 338; Stampolidis & Oikonomou 2014, 114, no. 47.

*kythoi* discussed here.<sup>146</sup> On six of these the deceased is shown, although the type of the *loutrophoros* possibly carried by the *eidolon* on the Boston 95.47 *lekythos* cannot be identified, due to its diminutive size.<sup>147</sup> On the Athens *lekythos*,<sup>148</sup> the presence of a horseman holding spears on the *loutrophoros-amphora* marking the tomb is I believe enough evidence to allow for the identification of the deceased as male. The dead person is depicted on the Chronis private collection *lekythos*,<sup>149</sup> but it is impossible to determine whether it was female or male. The late 5th-century *lekythos* in London presents several problems. A female is portrayed seated at the base of a large funerary monument, atop of which stands a *loutrophoros-amphora*. Even though she is often taken for the deceased, this is by no means certain, as Kurtz has pointed out.<sup>150</sup> The problems regarding this scene are the second seated figure that is barely preserved, as well as the *loutrophoros-amphora* and the suspended *strigil* on top of the monument. It is impossible to identify the sex of the second seated figure, since it has faded away almost completely. It is seated on a mound, shown in a relaxed pose with the left arm resting on his/her knees. A bird seems to be perched on the figure's left arm. In tomb scenes of white *lekythoi* birds can be seen with both female and male figures, although they are more often depicted with females.<sup>151</sup> On a white *lekythos* in Copenhagen, a youth and a female figure are both portrayed seated at a tomb, the youth holding a bird, and the female figure a ribbon.<sup>152</sup> Thus, the faded seated figure of the London *lekythos* cannot be identified as a female beyond any doubt, on the basis of the bird's presence alone. Not knowing with certainty which of the two figures is the deceased and if the second figure was male or female does not allow us to draw any conclusions about whether the *loutrophoros-amphora* was associated with a male or a female

<sup>146</sup> *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6); Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 203; Mösch-Klinge 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a; Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1975: BAPD no. 2751; *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d; Ticino, private collection: Oakley 2004a, 155 (no. 19), 205, 207, fig. 168; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.47: BAPD no. 207863.

<sup>147</sup> The dead persons are not always depicted in tomb visit scenes and they are of course never shown in scenes of preparation to visit the cemetery.

<sup>148</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1975: BAPD no. 2751.

<sup>149</sup> Athens, Chronis private collection: *ArchDelt* 42.B2 (1987), 709, pl. 389c.

<sup>150</sup> Kurtz 1975, 222–223, no. 49.4.

<sup>151</sup> For example, *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.8, pl. (040) 8.5–6 (female); BAPD 212452, 9028579 (youths); *CVA*, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 1, 36, pl. (328) 30.5–7 (female seated at tomb); *CVA*, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquanteenaire) 1, III.J.B.2, pl. (043) 3.1A.1B (youth); *CVA*, Athènes, Musée National 1, III.J.BCD.8, pl. (040) 8.7–8 (female); Oakley 2004a, 209, fig. 172 (female seated at tomb).

<sup>152</sup> *CVA*, Copenhagen, National Museum 8, 275, pl. (362) 359.3A, 359.3B.

figure. According to Kurtz, the suspended *strigil* indicates that the dead person was male.<sup>153</sup> Indeed, the *strigil* is an object traditionally associated with men,<sup>154</sup> but *strigils* can be found in female burials,<sup>155</sup> and women using them are depicted on Classical Athenian vases.<sup>156</sup> Caution is therefore required when trying to interpret the iconography of the London *lekythos*, and even though the presence of the *strigil* increases the probability of the deceased being male, there is no way of knowing for certain. That leaves us with six *lekythoi* for which both the *loutrophoros* type and the sex of the deceased are known with absolute certainty.<sup>157</sup> In all these cases, Kokula's theory regarding the sex-specific use of the two types of *loutrophoros* is valid.<sup>158</sup>

As has been mentioned earlier in this paper, the *loutrophoros* in a funerary context is believed to have been exclusively associated with the unmarried dead. The deceased persons can be seen on six of the 13 *lekythoi* under consideration,<sup>159</sup> not counting the problematic London *lekythos* and the badly preserved Chronis private collection one. On four of these *lekythoi* the deceased is a female figure. However, only two of these females can be identified as maiden figures with absolute certainty. The dead female figure of the *psychopompoi lekythos* in Boston is a young *parthenos*, as is indicated by her size, which is considerably smaller than that of the adult figures of the scene. The standing female figure of our *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6) is also a maiden, since she wears the bridal diadem (*planis*). On the contrary, the deceased females of the Havana and Brussels *lekythoi* do not have the characteristics of maiden

<sup>153</sup> Kurtz 1975, 223.

<sup>154</sup> Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 208; Steinhauer 2001, 249; Oakley 2004a, 120. For the *strigil*, see Kotera-Feyer 1991; Parlama & Stampolidis 2000, no. 225; Oakley 2004a, 10, 208–209.

<sup>155</sup> Oakley 2004a, 10.

<sup>156</sup> Such as *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensammlung—Pergamonmuseum 1, 69–70, pl. (156) 45.1–4; *CVA*, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum 2, 29, pls. (93–94) 93.1–94.1; Kotera-Feyer 1991, 196, figs. 8A–B; Matheson 1995, 175, pl. 150; BAPD no. 352503; Lewis 2002, 142–149. See also Kurtz & Boardman 1971, 209.

<sup>157</sup> *Cat. No. 6*, Fig. 6; Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 203; Mösch-Klinge 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a; Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492; Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1975: BAPD no. 2751; *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d; Ticino, private collection: Oakley 2004a, 155 (no. 19), 205, 207, fig. 168.

<sup>158</sup> A *loutrophoros-hydria* is depicted on *lekythoi* where the deceased person is female (*Cat. No. 6*, Fig. 6; Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 203; Mösch-Klinge 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a; Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492), and a *loutrophoros-amphora* is shown with deceased males (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1975: BAPD no. 2751; *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d; Ticino, private collection: Oakley 2004a, 155 (no. 19), 205, 207, fig. 168).

<sup>159</sup> *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6); Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 203; Mösch-Klinge 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a; Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492; *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d; Ticino, private collection: Oakley 2004a, 155 (no. 19), 205, 207, fig. 168; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.47: BAPD no. 207863.

figures. Furthermore, they are shown seated—a pose that is rarely used for the portrayal of *parthenoi* in Athenian funerary art, where maidens (and figures of young age in general) are normally depicted standing.<sup>160</sup> These two *lekythoi* are therefore dubious cases, as it is not certain that the dead females portrayed on them are indeed *parthenoi*. The two *lekythoi* depicting deceased males do not present any problems, since both male figures are young and unbearded. Thus, it is reasonable to assume they are unmarried. As we have seen, two of the three *lekythoi* showing a *loutrophoros* being brought to the tomb by a visitor are dubious cases.<sup>161</sup> And even if one was to argue that the seated female figures of the Havana and Boston *lekythoi* are most likely maidens on the basis of the *loutrophoroi-hydriae* brought to their tombs, it is obvious that at the very least the iconography of these *lekythoi* does not accentuate the unmarried state and early demise of the dead females, hence they bear no maiden characteristics. In contrast to that, the two *lekythoi* depicting the *loutrophoroi* set up over the tombs as *semata*, while the deceased persons are shown in close proximity to them, place special emphasis on their untimely death and the fact that they died unmarried.<sup>162</sup> Thus, the dead female figure of *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6) is portrayed with a youthful hairstyle (long hair) and wearing a *planis* that underlines her maiden status.

In conclusion, the *loutrophoros* as a symbol of death before marriage is not indispensable to the depiction of maiden figures on white *lekythoi*.<sup>163</sup> Indeed, maidens in white *lekythoi* scenes can often be identified with absolute certainty on the basis of their Attic *peplos* or the elements of the wedding iconography the vase-painter has chosen to show.<sup>164</sup> The *lout-*

*rophoros* nearly always appears in tomb visit scenes, where it seems to acquire a somewhat different meaning according to the type of the scene. When it is brought to the tomb by visitors or is depicted in domestic scenes showing women preparing to visit the cemetery, the *loutrophoros* may still point to the unmarried dead (even though in some scenes the deceased is either not shown, or does not have the characteristics of a *parthenos*), but the emphasis in such scenes is clearly placed on the observance of the funerary rites and tomb cult by the family of the deceased. This is particularly evident in scenes depicting the preparation for a tomb visit, since they take place in a domestic environment, away from the cemetery. The flat basket often held by these women and the funerary offerings betray the funerary nature of these peaceful scenes. Thus, when a *loutrophoros* appears in such scenes it is not associated with a specific grave or the image of the dead person shown next to his/her tomb, but is part of the preparations for the performance of the customary tomb rituals. On the contrary, when the *loutrophoros* is depicted as a *sema* marking the tomb with the deceased standing in close proximity to it, it becomes a symbol of untimely death before marriage, placing special emphasis on the unmarried state of the dead persons and the tragedy of their early demise.<sup>165</sup> To the extent that it has been possible to identify with certainty the sex of the deceased, Kokula's theory regarding the sex-specific use of the two types of *loutrophoros* seems to apply to all tomb visit scenes.

Of particular interest is the small hare held by the maiden on *Cat. No. 6* (Fig. 6). I know of no other white *lekythos* that depicts the deceased person holding a hare, so our scene seems to be unique in that respect.<sup>166</sup> This hare is obviously the be-

<sup>160</sup> In Athenian funerary art figures of young age (*parthenoi*, youths, children) are normally depicted standing, although toddlers and very young children can be also portrayed squatting or kneeling on the ground. In contrast, married women and matronly figures are frequently shown seated. I have not been able to identify any seated maiden figures in funerary scenes of Athenian vases. With the exception of the rare iconographical type of the seated *parthenos*, which only appears on a limited number of funerary reliefs dating to the second half of the 4th century, maidens on Classical Attic funerary reliefs are always depicted standing. For the iconographical type of the seated maiden on funerary reliefs, see Margariti 2010, 216–219; 2018, 118–119.

<sup>161</sup> Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 203; Mösch-Klingele 2006, no. 97, fig. 50a; Brussels, Musées Royaux A 2289: BAPD no. 216492. The third *lekythos* is a certain case, since it depicts the dead youth seated at his tomb: *ArchDelt* 33.B1 (1978), pl. 14d.

<sup>162</sup> *Cat. No. 6, Fig. 6*; Ticino, private collection: Oakley 2004a, 155 (no. 19), 205, 207, fig. 168.

<sup>163</sup> The same applies to maiden figures on Classical Attic funerary reliefs. On this, see Margariti 2010; 2018, 94–105.

<sup>164</sup> For example, *Cat. Nos. 2–5* (Figs. 2–5); *CVA*, Copenhagen, NY Carlsberg Glyptothek 1, 95–96, pl. (527) 75.1–2; *CVA*, Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquanteenaire) 1, III.J.B.2, pl. (044) 4.1A.1B; *CVA*, Munich, Antikensammlungen 15, 67–71, 22.1–2, fig. 26, pls. (4617–4618) 35.4, 37, 38.1–4; *CVA*, Berlin, Antikensmuseum 8,

35–37, fig. 3, pls. (3063–3064, 3078) 22.3–6, 23.4, 37.7; *CVA*, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 1, 22, pls. (511, 513) 33.1–3, 35.1; Robinson & Harcum 1930, 187, no. 357, pl. 66; Kurtz 1975, 210, figs. 47.3a–b; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 437–440, figs. 27.1–4; *LIMC* VIII, 1997, 569, no. 26, pl. 359, s.v. *Eidola* (R. Vollkommer); Oakley 2004a, 78 (nos. 10–11), 80–81 (fig. 48), 110 (no. 51), figs. 82–84, 139 (fig. 103).

<sup>165</sup> In studying the Classical Attic funerary reliefs of dead maidens, I have found that only when a *loutrophoros-hydria* is depicted on the pediments/finials of grave *stelai* or shown in close proximity to the deceased females in grave *stelai* scenes it acquires the special meaning of a symbol that accentuates the early death and unmarried state of those dead *parthenoi*. In the former case, the unmarried state of the deceased is indicated in a subtle way, while in the latter it receives special emphasis. Margariti 2018, 94–105.

<sup>166</sup> On a white *lekythos* in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. no. 1957), a hare is depicted on a rock near the grave of a dead youth (shown seated at his tomb): BAPD no. 216711. On another *lekythos*, again in Athens (inv. no. 17521), a hare may be depicted near the tomb of a child: BAPD no. 14391. On a third *lekythos*, a hare crowns the grave *stèle* marking the tomb of a young man: Parlama & Stampolidis 2000, no. 233. Far more popular are the white *lekythoi* scenes depicting a hare hunt, such as *CVA*, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1, 49, pl. (42) 42.2–3; *CVA*, New York, Hoppin and Gallatin Collections, 12, pl. (19) 19.5; Oakley 2004a, 178–179, figs. 136–137. For hares on funerary

loved pet of the dead *parthenos*, and she is portrayed caring for it, just as she did when she was alive.<sup>167</sup> This charming detail is a sad reminder of the happy carefree times in the maiden's brief life, thus accentuating the tragic nature of her untimely death. At the same time, however, the hare is a well-known symbol of fertility;<sup>168</sup> as such, it may point to the lost potential of the *parthenos* who will never become a mother.

## Conclusions

The study of this small group of Attic vases in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens and their comparison to other vases with similar iconography has led to a number of interesting conclusions regarding the depiction of dead maidens on the Athenian funerary vases of the 5th century BC. The most important of these conclusions concerns the use of the *loutrophoros*—a vase that has been traditionally associated with the unmarried dead. In the case of black- and red-figured funerary *loutrophoroi* decorated with *prothesis* scenes, the laying out of dead females is not frequently depicted. The majority of these vases are *loutrophoroi-amphorae* showing the *prothesis* of dead males, most of them young and unbearded. The laying out of older males is also shown, although more rarely. The *prothesis* of unbearded young males is more popular during the first three quarters of the 5th century, while that of older bearded men is mostly depicted during the end of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th centuries BC. Kokula's theory regarding the sex-specific use of the two types of *loutrophoros* is valid in the case of clay funerary *loutrophoroi*.

The *loutrophoros* also appears on white *lekythoi*, in scenes of a visit to the tomb or in domestic scenes showing women preparing to visit the cemetery. In the latter case, as well as when the *loutrophoros* is being brought to the tomb by visitors, the scenes focus on the observance of the customary funerary rites and grave cult by the family of the deceased, rather than the unmarried state of the dead persons. Only when the *loutrophoros-hydria* is set up over the tomb as a *sema* with the deceased *parthenos* portrayed in close proximity to it, it becomes a symbol of untimely death and eternal virginity. Kokula's aforementioned theory also seems to apply to the *loutrophoroi* shown in white *lekythoi* scenes. However, the *loutrophoros* as a symbol of early death is not indispensable to the depiction of *parthenoi* on white *lekythoi*, as the portrayal of dead maidens

in scenes where the *loutrophoros* is absent demonstrates. The *loutrophoros* was therefore one of the symbols of death before marriage, but not the symbol of maiden death *par excellence*.<sup>169</sup>

As their depiction on clay funerary *loutrophoroi* is fairly infrequent, dead maidens mostly appear in scenes of white *lekythoi*. The Athenian vase-painters do not normally show the various ages of female figures that have outgrown girlhood, and for that reason the identification of *parthenoi* in vase-painting scenes is not always easy. The portrayal of maidens as brides through the use of wedding iconography elements (*planis*, bridal "veil", *anakalypsis*, *cheiragogia*), their depiction in close proximity to a *loutrophoros-hydria* marking their tomb, as well as the Attic *peplos* are the major criteria for identifying maiden figures with absolute certainty. When appearing in funerary scenes, these elements of wedding iconography are transformed into powerful symbols of premature death and eternal maidenhood, emphasizing the tragic untimely death that has deprived the unfortunate girls of marriage and motherhood. The Attic *peplos* is the exclusive and characteristic attire of unmarried females, but it is not very common on funerary vases depicting dead maidens. The young age of the deceased *parthenoi* in *lekythoi* scenes can be also indicated by their youthful hairstyles, the long hair and the *lampadion*. On white *lekythoi* the *lampadion* is more often combined with the Attic *peplos*, while long hair is more frequently worn by *parthenoi* dressed in *chiton* and *himation*. Only the existence of a *planis* makes it possible to identify maiden figures in *prothesis* scenes, since their body is covered by the *epiblema*.

The dead *parthenoi* of the Athenian funerary vases mostly appear in scenes portraying the *psychopompoi* Charon and Hermes as conductors of the soul to the Underworld, showing the living family members visiting the tombs of their loved ones, or depicting the *prothesis* of the deceased. Maidens are not portrayed as being carried by Hypnos and Thanatos, but are led to Hades by Hermes and Charon. Scenes in which Charon is depicted alone with the deceased are more popular than those showing Hermes bringing the *parthenos* to the ferryman's boat. In the latter, elements of the wedding iconography are frequently employed in order to accentuate the premature death and unmarried state of the maidens. Since wedding iconography elements rarely appear on *lekythoi* where Charon is portrayed alone with a dead *parthenos*, such scenes focus on the final journey of the untimely lost girls. Tomb visit scenes emphasize the importance of tomb cult and promote the idea of family unity, while *prothesis* scenes deal with the themes of familial love, the grief and pain caused by the loss of a family member, and the observance of the customary burial rites. It is the portrayal of dead maidens as brides through the use

reliefs, see *CAT* 0.799, 1.200, 1.289, 1.330a, 1.695, 1.796, 1.810, 2.183, 2.892, 3.195, 4.190.

<sup>167</sup> Oakley 2004a, 211–212. For the pets of females in Attic vase-painting, see Lewis 2002, 159–166.

<sup>168</sup> Kaltsas 2002, no. 311; Lewis 2002, 161; Leventi 2003, 54; Oakley 2004a, 175.

<sup>169</sup> The same applies to the depiction of maidens on Attic funerary reliefs of the Classical period: Margariti 2018, 105.

of wedding iconography elements, as well as their depiction in close proximity to the *loutrophoroi-hydriae* marking their graves in white *lekythoi* scenes that place special emphasis on the tragedy of their early death that has robbed them of their approaching marriage and motherhood.

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## Catalogue

### 1. RED-FIGURED LOUTROPHOROS-HYDRIA (FIG. 1)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170. C. 460 BC. From Pikrodaphne. Attributed to the Painter of Bologna 228.

*Prothesis* of a dead maiden wearing the *planis* (bridal diadem). Her bier is surrounded by wailing women. An old Thracian nurse stands at the head of the bier, extending both hands towards the maiden's head. Male figures raise their right arms paying their respects to the deceased. They are followed by riders. Wailing women are also depicted on the neck of the vase.

BAPD no. 205750; Havelock 1981, 113, and fig. 90; Keuls 1985, 149–151, fig. 128; Boardman 1988, no. 2; Shapiro 1991, n. 62; R. Garland 2001, 27, fig. 7; Pedrina 2001, 294–296, figs. 64a–c; Oakley 2004b, 50; Mirto 2012, 78–79, fig. 3.

### 2. ATTIC WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS (FIG. 2)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1926. C. 440 BC. From Eretria. Attributed to the Sabouroff Painter.

Hermes *Psychopompos* stands before Charon's boat. He extends his hand to the deceased female figure standing behind him. Having drawn her *himation* over the back of her head, she hesitantly extends one hand in response to the god's gesture. Tiny winged *eidola* fly among the figures, some of them performing mourning gestures.

BAPD no. 212341; *LIMC* III (1986), no. 5, s.v. Charon I (C. Sourvinou-Inwood); Bérard 1989, 104–105, 107, fig. 150; Díez de Velasco 1989, 310 (no. 1), 314; 1995, 41, fig. 2.10; Mugione 1995, 361–363, fig. 5; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 337, and fig. 9; Kavvadias 2000, no. 201, fig. 3.201.

### 3. ATTIC WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS (FIG. 3)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17916. 440–430 BC. From Attica. Attributed to the Sabouroff Painter.

Hermes *Psychopompos* stands before Charon's boat, extending his right arm towards the ferryman. The deceased female stands behind Hermes, probably wearing a diadem.

BAPD no. 212342; Kurtz 1975, 221; Kavvadias 2000, no. 202, fig. 4.202; Kaltsas 2007, 295, 298–299.

### 4. ATTIC WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS (FIG. 4)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1759. End of the 5th century BC. From Athens. Attributed to the Reed Painter.

Charon is depicted in his boat, facing the dead maiden. The latter stands dressed in the Attic *peplos* with shoulder-pinned back-mantle, holding a rolled-up *taenia*.

BAPD no. 217661; Brommer 1969, 168, no. 29; Kurtz 1975, 210; Mugione 1995, 368–369, fig. 9; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 333.

### 5. ATTIC WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS (FIG. 5)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum 2028. End of the 5th century BC. Unknown provenance. Attributed to the Reed Painter.

The dead maiden stands in front of a large *lekythos*, facing Charon in his boat. She has long hair and is dressed in the Attic *peplos* with a *himation* drawn over the back of her head.

BAPD no. 217664; Brommer 1969, 168, no. 32; Kurtz 1975, 210; *LIMC* III (1986), no. 35, s.v. Charon I (C. Sourvinou-Inwood).

### 6. ATTIC WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS (FIG. 6)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19355. 435–430 BC. From Anavyssos. Attributed to the Phiale Painter.

The dead maiden stands beside her tomb, which is crowned by a *loutrophoros-hydria*. She wears a diadem and holds a small hare. A wailing Thracian nurse kneels before the tomb, bitterly mourning for the maiden's untimely loss.

BAPD no. 214321; Winkler 1999, no. 91; Oakley 2000, 242–244, fig. 9.10; Mösch-Klingele 2006, no. 92, fig. 48b; Tzahou-Alexandri 2009, 152, 153, fig. 11; Thalmann 2010, 86; Chaniotis *et al.* 2017, 237, no. 116.

### 7. ATTIC WHITE-GROUND LEKYTHOS (FIG. 7)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum 19338. 430–420 BC. From Anavyssos. Attributed to the Bird Painter.

A tree decorated with *taeniae* dominates the centre of the scene. A female figure stands on one side of the tree holding a *loutrophoros-hydria* and an *alabastron*. On the other side of the tree kneels a wailing female, tearing her hair with both hands.

BAPD no. 275511; Oakley 2004a, 156, no. 41.

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