COLORS OF COMMEMORATION: MARBLE LOUTROPHOROI AND THE POLYCHROMY OF ATHENIAN FUNERARY MONUMENTS

by

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(Under the Direction of Mark Abbe)

ABSTRACT

Marble loutrophoroi are among the most conspicuous and luxurious funerary monuments commissioned by the late Classical Athenian. Having assembled a corpus of eighty-seven extant monuments, expanding on Kokula's 1984 monograph, this thesis undertakes a cultural and historical recontextualization of monumental marble loutrophoroi in terms of materiality, polychromy, and display context, with an emphasis on an important yet little-studied monument from ancient Attica dating to the early fourth century BCE that was acquired by the Cincinnati Art Museum in 1962.

INDEX WORDS: Greek, Funerary, Loutrophoros, Polychromy, Peribolos

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INTRODUCTION

Approaching the gates of Athens in the early fourth century BCE, ancient viewers passed prominent cemeteries filled with colorful and elaborate marble funerary markers. Although most of their polychrome decoration has been lost to time, these monuments originally offered passers-by a striking visual experience: painted figural scenes in low relief, many detailed vegetal and architectural motifs and embellishments, and specifying inscriptions on an array of heroizing, shrine-like stelai and vessel forms associated with sacred ritual (e.g., fig. 1). The display of these diverse memorials intertwined the monumental and the intimate, often in family tombs that displayed highly constructed public images of the contemporary ideals of the unified Athenian citizen-family.

Athenian funerary monuments are an excellent index of historical-cultural trends. Fourth-century memorials are characterized not by the aristocratic ostentation of the Archaic period but by citizen memorials as a distinctive product of a new Athenian democracy. Cicero states that grandiose funerary display was curtailed under the legislative reforms of Solon, the sixth-century BCE statesman, and many of the early sumptuary laws had detailed limitations on funeral expenses, the number of people in funerary processions and lamentations, and the costs of funerary monuments.[1] This period is also likely when the *Demosion Sema*—a state burial ground

[1] Cicero *De Legibus,* 2.66; almost no stone funerary monuments survive in Athens between the end of the Persian Wars in 478 BCE and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War over 40 years later. The cause has not been explained satisfactorily, but Oakley 2004 suggests it was probably related, at least in part, to the sumptuary, anti-luxury laws mentioned by Cicero.

for those who had died fighting on the city's behalf—was established, creating a demarcation between state burial for warriors and familial memorials in other cemeteries. After a devastating plague and the start of the Peloponnesian War around 430 BCE, grave stelai and marble vessels begin to reappear—perhaps related to the number of skilled sculptors and painters available in Athens after the recently completed Parthenon and other buildings on the Acropolis in Athens. These types of monuments remain the primary funerary markers until the end of the fourth century BCE. Across Classical Attica, funerary sculpture provides a visual record of how Athenians responded to these historical events, from the shifting division of public and private commemoration to the increasing importance of depicting familial relationships.

Since the late nineteenth century, the exceptionally large and diverse corpus of Classical funerary monuments has been of interest to scholars investigating public and private social relationships in Classical Athens.[2] While earlier generations of researchers mostly saw the private emotional world of mourning in such memorials, contemporary research examines the importance of their social and historically contextualized functions in Athenian society, where the family tomb (*peribolos*) portrays a public image of family unity that emphasizes ideology over biography.[3] Recent investigations into the polychromy of such monuments in a funerary context

[2] Clairmont's 1993 multivolume *Classical Attic Tombstones* revisits and expands on the most well-known earlier corpus of Attic gravestones, A. Conze's 1922 *Die attischen Grabreliefs* and is at present unsurpassed in scope. Kokula 1984 is the only monograph on marble loutrophoroi, offering an interesting evaluation of the evolution of the form from terracotta to marble, but relying on an unsubstantiated thesis that the rise of marble vessels may have been related to a decline in marriage rates.

[3] Much recent scholarship has focused on the discourse on the iconology of figured scenes on funerary monuments. Scholars such as Himmelmann 1999, for example, have viewed these monuments as having a religious function and served as the focus of the funerary cult, and scholars like Bergemann 1997 and Closterman 2006, 2007, have viewed funerary monuments as manifestations of lineage, an explicit political statement of civic values, where the family of the deceased fulfills its obligations to the polis by caring for the elderly and paying for the funeral.

have explored the ability of coloration to clarify inscriptions, draw attention to the family plot from afar, and improve the visual legibility of relief figures by helping to define social identity, costume, and gender.[4] New approaches to materiality have explored the haptic nature of funerary monuments and their relationship to other grave goods. Scholars have also challenged the long-standing theory that a loutrophoros marks the grave of an unwed individual, suggesting this may have principally been the case only when loutrophoroi appear on stelai.[5] Lastly, the relationship between monumental terracotta vases and their marble counterparts has shown the terracotta vessels maintained a vital role in funerary ritual.[6]

Marble loutrophoroi (a modern term referring to water vessels for ritual bathing[7]) are among the most conspicuous and luxurious funerary monuments commissioned by late Classical Athenians between 430 and 300 BCE. The shape of the vessel has associations with marriage and cleansing as well as wine and dining. In a funerary context, the vessel relates to ritual purification, and the elaborate handles and vegetal decoration are broadly contemporaneous with the rise of the Corinthian architectural order and ornate sacred architecture, evoking a sense of rebirth—particularly the perpetuation of the family line—through ostentatious display framed in the

[4] See, e.g., Koch-Brinkmann and Posamentir 2007; Brinkmann 2007; Posamentir 2006, 2011; Posamentir's 2006 *Bemalte attische Grabstelen klassischer Zeit* is the most comprehensive recent evaluation, focusing primarily on stelai, and Posamentir 2011 looks at the polychromy of grave monuments from Chersonesos, which provides an interesting contrast to Athenian monuments. Grossman 2013 provides a more recent overview of the evidence of polychromy on Athenian funerary monuments in her presentation of the sculptural findings from the Athenian Agora.

[5] Estrin 2016, 2018; Arrington 2018; Margariti 2018 (cf. Sabetai 1997).

[6] Jones 2021; Walton et al. 2010; Sabetai 2009.

[7] Scholars have suggested that the term 'loutrophoros' is a modern misnomer. The name suggests a carrier for the *loutra*, the water used in the ritual bath for a bride, but the vase appears in multiple contexts (such as marriage and death) for both genders. A broader interpretation may be more apt in the ancient context: any water-carrying vessel intended for bathing (see Grossman 2013, Margariti 2018).

language of piety.[8] Having assembled a corpus of eighty-seven extant monuments, expanding on Kokula's 1984 monograph,[9] this thesis undertakes a detailed reexamination and cultural-historical recontextualization of monumental marble loutrophoroi in terms of materiality, polychromy, and display context, exemplified by an important yet little-studied monument from ancient Attica dating to the early fourth century BCE that was acquired by the Cincinnati Art Museum in 1962 (fig. 2).[10] It is one of the most extensively preserved loutrophoroi in the corpus of such sumptuous funerary monuments and is one of the very few examples reported to preserve vestiges of polychromy—the nature and extent of which remain uninvestigated.[11]

[8] For the rise of the Corinthian order, see Lawrence 1996, 138–139.

[9] See the appendix for detailed information on the loutrophoroi corpus.

[10] First published in Robinson 1934 from the *Cincinnati Art Museum Bulletin*, then in *Masterpieces from the Cincinnati Art Museum* (1984). In the same year, it appeared in Kokula 1984, *Marmorlutrophoren*. The most recent publication discussing the Cincinnati loutrophoros is Clairmont 1993, *Classical Attic Tombstones*.

[11] Clairmont 1993 and Robinson 1934 note the presence of polychromy but provide no further detail. Dr. Ainsley M. Cameron and the Cincinnati Art Museum curatorial staff have kindly provided additional information about the object but to date have no other details about the monument's reported polychromy.

MARBLE FUNERARY LOUTROPHOROI MONUMENTS

Although loutrophoroi often appear in relief on grave stelai, the corpus of freestanding marble loutrophoroi accounts for only 3 percent of the more than 2,800 extant Athenian funerary monuments. They were unambiguously an exceptionally rare, lavish, and visually conspicuous type of memorial commissioned by the family of the deceased. The majority were made from local Mount Pentelikon marble, consistent with the larger corpus of Athenian funerary monuments, and the most intact examples show that the loutrophoros stood 1 to 1.6 meters tall without a base.[12] Many are fragmentary, with their delicate handles, neck, mouth, and foot now missing, but their bodies preserve much of the relief sculpture and often enough of the handle attachments to determine if the handles were carved in relief as well.[13] The corpus suggests that carved handles were far more common than wing-like disk panels, the handles of which were rendered fully in paint and underscore the central importance of painting for not only adorning but defining the form of these monuments (cf. the handles of figs. 2, 3).[14] Approximately one half of the corpus has a known provenience—although none appear to have exact findspots—with one third of the loutrophoroi found in Attica, particularly the demes to the south and southeast of Athens, including Piraeus and Keratea. Twenty-two percent were discovered in Athens and its necropoleis.

[12] The proportion of Pentelic marble is likely much higher, but 41 percent of the corpus does not have an identified marble type.

[13] Clairmont 1993, intro vol. 44.

[14] Among the loutrophoroi for which a handle type can be determined, twenty-six have handles carved in relief and seven are of the wing-like disk type, intended to be fully painted.

Because of the lack of securely contextualized and excavated examples, the dating of loutrophoroi is primarily based on style, appearing as a short-lived phenomenon between 430 and 300 BCE and peaking in the second quarter of the fourth century—similar to the prevalence of marble lekythoi.[15] By contrast, stelai and naiskoi (temple-like funerary monuments with pedimental roofs), the most common types of monuments, date from a broader period from the late fifth century BCE through the second century CE, with much smaller quantities after the fourth century BCE.

Mirroring the forms and associations of their clay-vessel predecessors, marble loutrophoroi appear to have the gendered use of these vessels for the ritual baths in a wedding context: the two-handled amphora type for males (e.g., figs. 2, 3) and the three-handled hydria type for females (e.g., fig. 4A).[16] The vast majority of the corpus takes the form of the loutrophoros-amphora, with only ten of the hydria form,[17] signifying that most funerary loutrophoroi were dedicated to males.[18] Interestingly, the loutrophoros-hydria form is seen almost exclusively in the peak 375–350 BCE period of loutrophoros production.

The gendered associations correspond strongly to the vase type, confirmed by the figural relief scenes on the body of the vessels. Nearly all monumental marble loutrophoroi incorporated figural relief sculpture, exclusively on a primary side of the body (e.g., fig. 5 for the variety of iconography). Kokula 1984 includes only two alternatives, such as a group of ornamental marble

[15] Sixty-seven percent of the corpus has been dated to 375–350 BCE, generally consistent with other types of late Classical memorials; see Grossman (2013, 53) for an established chronology, though specific to finds in the Athenian Agora.

[16] Boardman 1995, Margariti 2018, Gonzales 2019; interestingly, Hague (1988, 33) notes the formal procession of bringing the ritual bathing water is known only from depictions on wedding loutrophoroi.

[17] Eight out of the eighty-two monuments are too fragmentary to determine amphora or hydria type.

[18] Margariti 2018, 2019 (cf. Mösch-Klingele 2006).

loutrophoroi whose bodies are decorated with sculptural fluting (what Clairmont 1993 refers to as 'patterned' loutrophoroi) and the so-called Loutrophoros of Olympikos, whose body includes no sculptural relief but may have had polychromed figures (fig. 16).

As in other Athenian funerary monuments, these Classical reliefs depart from the heroic models of the Archaic period, where funerary monuments depicted individual males as warriors or athletes. Men, women, and children are commonly portrayed—sometimes seated, sometimes standing, always with restrained emotions.[19] No extant freestanding loutrophoroi depict an isolated single figure; rather, groups from two to four people are conventional, found with equal frequency in the corpus, and nearly 70 percent have inscribed names, most often without a patronymic.[20] These inscriptions are more common in scenes with three or four figures, a pragmatic way to identify the most important figures. In most cases, pairs of figures shake hands, evident in a surprising 93 percent of the corpus. Males are present in nearly all scenes across the corpus, but many reliefs incorporate women and children as well: female figures are depicted in nearly 60 percent of the monuments and children in 40 percent.[21] Females as the central, active figures, however, are quite rare, most common when the vase type is the loutrophoros-hydria. These monuments may have been related to others for patriarchs within larger family burial plots.

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[19] Clairmont 1993, intro v. 112: "For all gestures restraint is characteristic. Pathos is lacking…Arms flung-out in wild agitation are practically unknown on tombstones."

[20] Twenty-five loutrophoroi have two or four figures, and thirty-seven have three figures. On other types of Classical funerary monuments, as many as seven figures may be represented, including individuals outside the family but still part of the household, such as slaves. The vessel shape appears to limit figural representations on marble loutrophoroi and lekythoi; Closterman (1999, 51) states that the inscription without patronymic or deme is common across all types of funerary monuments during this time, suggesting they were connected via their relationships within periboloi.

[21] Overall, loutrophoroi production peaks strongly from 375–350 BCE, and the appearance of women and children corresponds to this peak as well. That is to say, there is no evidence that women or children appear in early loutrophoroi and then disappear, or the converse.

The Cincinnati Loutrophoros

The Cincinnati loutrophoros was acquired by the Cincinnati Art Museum in 1962 from William T. and Louise Taft Semple and has no secure archaeological context (fig. 2).[22] Like most of its contemporaries, the loutrophoros was carved from Pentelic marble and has been stylistically dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BCE. In terms of iconography, scale, technique, and execution, the Cincinnati loutrophoros is comparable to much of the corpus; it is most notable for the extent of its preservation, the presence of polychromy remnants, and the once fully painted disk-panel handles. Like closely similar examples, it was presumably from Athens or the nearby Attic demes, possibly to the southeast. At over 1.3 meters without its now-missing ancient base (like nearly all other mostly intact examples), the Cincinnati loutrophoros would have been visually striking in this Attic landscape, enhanced by its delicate proportions and vibrant decorative embellishments—especially a long neck flanked by once-painted handles—which would have been legible from afar.

Closer inspection reveals a low-relief scene on the body of the vessel depicting three male figures in a celebration of the Athenian family (fig. 2B). The active, standing young adult (*neanískos*) in the middle wears the civic clothing of a *himation* and holds an attribute, presumably a scroll.[23] He shakes the hand of a bearded elder (*geron*) who wears a himation and sits on a *klismos* (a chair with curved backrest and legs) at right, while a third figure, likely a *neanískos*, stands behind them to the left, dressed in a short *exomis* (a tunic used by infantry), greaves, shoes,

[22] See note 10 above for the publication history.

[23] Cf. Clairmont 1993, who suggests the figure is holding the hilt of the sword. This is highly unlikely given the figure is wearing civic clothing. The presence of a sword in this attire is ceremonial and traditionally requires the figure to hold the hilt of the sword in the right hand, with the blade (in its sheath) running up the arm toward the shoulder.

and Phrygian helmet.[24] The identity of this figure is perhaps a military assistant; tertiary figures often appear with additional attributes related to the central figures.[25] The scale of the figure suggests he takes a subordinate role to the central narrative between the other figures. The relief scene highlights the ideal male citizen through the juxtaposition of civic and military attire: the citizen-warrior who maintains a unified family unit (*oikos*) of Athenian citizens (cf., fig. 3).

The relief centers upon the handshake (*dexiosis*) between the standing male and seated elder, a common but ambiguous motif representing a greeting or farewell, stressing the endurance of familial unity and seemingly intimately connecting living and dead members of the family, whose living members annually visited the tomb with offerings for their deceased relatives.[26] Although no two funerary monuments are identical, this range and combination of iconography is wide-spread on fourth-century BCE memorials. In many cases the deceased is identified through inscriptions, which are unusually common and present in more than two thirds of the loutrophoroi corpus. The Cincinnati monument does not have a surviving inscription, however, which may have been applied in red paint or inscribed on the original base.

[24] The identity of the third figure is the most uncertain; between Robinson 1934 and Clairmont 1993, an armor-bearer or squire, brother, and little person have been proposed.

[25] In many cases, the shorter stature of these figures confuses their identity, whether servants or children. The inclusion of greaves on the tertiary figure is extremely rare, found in only five other memorials: two stelai, a naiskos, and two other loutrophoroi.

[26] Scholars have been unable to agree on a definite interpretation of the dexiosis; see, e.g., Pemberton 1989, Clairmont 1993, Boardman 1995, Nováková and Pagáčová 2016. Davies (1985, 640) has suggested: "The handshake continues to be a popular image today because we too see it as a complex and ambiguous motif."

MATERIALITY

Materiality was an important aspect of the funerary landscape in ancient Athens. As far back as the eighth century BCE, memorials were large-scale terracotta vessels, finely painted in subdued monochrome (e.g., fig. 6).[27] Besides intricate geometric patterns and bands, these monuments frequently depicted scenes from the funeral rites and were placed as solitary memorials over the grave, often without a bottom so libations could be poured through the mouth and fall directly onto the grave below, intimately linking ritual and memorial. With the advent of marble as a sculptural medium, expensive *kouroi* and *korai* filled the cemeteries of Archaic Athens and displayed the wealth of elite Athenian families—ultimately prompting the mid sixth-century anti-luxury legislation mentioned in Cicero.[28]

It is not until the late fifth century BCE that marble funerary monuments return as stelai alongside large-scale marble loutrophoroi and lekythoi.[29] Additionally, vases become commonly depicted on stelai.[30] It is not clear whether pottery vessels were first carved into relief on stelai, later becoming freestanding marble vessels, or whether artists began representing terracotta

[27] Shapiro 1991, 655.

[28] Shapiro 1991.

[29] Clairmont 1993, intro v. 17: "Carved out of the original block of marble into lekythoi and loutrophoroi, they may have been decorated with a figured scene years later, only then when a customer bought the vessel and commissioned the sculptor to execute the desired composition which, in the majority of cases, derives from pattern books with figural types."

[30] See, for example, fig. 15 that depicts a loutrophoros-amphora with two flanking lekythoi.

vessels directly in marble as a new form of funerary monument.[31] Regardless of its putative origins, the effect of marble loutrophoroi is more akin to stelai in terms of ritual function because libations cannot be poured into them like an open-bottomed vessel. Although the marble vases cannot function in the ritual act itself like their terracotta counterparts, they instead become a monumentalized object, the focus of devotion, habitually anointed with garlands and oils like marble stelai.[32]

In certain ways, marble loutrophoroi retain close ties to their terracotta ancestors, although in a larger, monumentalized form.[33] The overall shape remains relatively consistent, with a long neck and narrow body upon a small foot.[34] The decorative scheme of banded motifs, particularly around the shoulder of the body as well as rising from the foot, is closely related to terracotta vessels. However, the marble material permits changes from the terracotta form. For instance, the mouth of the terracotta vessel becomes a flat disk in the freestanding marble form, which allows for elaborate ornamentation, sometimes becoming so wide as to expand past the handles below. This change coincides with a change in function, as the marble vessel is not a receptacle for libations—now removed from its earlier role in funerary rituals. Likewise, the handles of marble loutrophoroi depart from the functional purpose they served for terracotta vessels; in marble, the handles appear carved in relief or as flat, wing-like appendages flanking the neck, which would have required added polychromy to define them, as in the Cincinnati

[31] Kokula (1984, 16–17) believes the marble loutrophoros took the former path, from separate marble stele and pottery vessels to the combination of vessel on stele, and finally to freestanding marble vase.

[32] Grossman 2001, 4; see also the discussion below on funerary monuments depicted on white-ground lekythoi.

[33] Cf. figs. 3, 10.

[34] Note the anthropomorphic terminology for the vessel, perhaps a way in some sense to circumvent the restrictions that prevented large-scale human figures like korai and kouroi.

loutrophoros. These marble disks allow for detailed embellishment of the handle work, often into sinuous scroll-like forms that mimic vegetal forms and the twisting growth of acanthus leaves. The delicate ornamentation of the loutrophoroi may parallel the rise of the Corinthian order and highly ornamented sacred architecture of this period, which included symbolism of regeneration and fertility and may have allowed for a broader use of coloration than the more restrained palette seen in stelai or white-ground lekythoi.

Painted Ceremonial Terracotta Vessels

Marble loutrophoroi differ from painted terracotta vessels in another important respect: the iconography of their figural compositions. Terracotta vessels more explicitly acknowledge death, often illustrating aspects of the funerary rites such as the *prothesis* or the burial, in which it is unproblematic to determine the deceased individual (e.g., figs. 6,7).[35] Unlike monumental marble loutrophoroi, the smaller sizes of painted vessels like white-ground lekythoi and red-figure loutrophoroi may lend themselves to more intimate, personal visual expressions like the funerary rites that would only be performed by those closest to the deceased.[36] The effect is a personal relationship between the dead depicted on the vases and the mourners who fulfill the funerary rites and continue to bring offerings to the tomb annually.[37] To this point, painted terracotta vessels brought to the tomb act not only as gifts but as a form of sustained communication with the dead, a way to keep their memory alive while acknowledging the effect their absence has had

[35] Oakley 2012; Moore 1997, 15: "The system of decoration is the same for both the amphora and the hydria variety."

[36] For lekythoi, see Oakley 2005; for red-figure loutrophoroi, see Sutton 2004.

[37] Humphreys 1993, 106.

on the living.[38] For the living family members, they were also didactic, instructing or reinforcing proper decorum in strained emotional circumstances.

In contrast, marble loutrophoroi restrict the figural scene to a focused expression of familial connection on the body of the vessel, devoid of background or architectural framing elements like those seen in the popular naiskoi funerary monuments. Although the scenes may include a range of figures, in general they are depicted in profile or three-quarter profile, either standing or seated, with a limited number of attributes.[39] Scenes associated with the funerary rites are entirely absent, replaced by suggestions of domestic life and family unity, often with the inclusion of women and children.[40] Unlike painted terracotta scenes, it is not always clear which individual is dead because all are shown as if still living.[41] This shift in iconography highlights the eternal monumental commemoration of the family unit, rather than the brief emotional decorum of an individual funerary event. These marble monuments may have been erected for one individual depicted but were intended to represent ultimately all of those depicted as they died and were added to the peribolos.[42]

[38] Humphreys 1993, 106.

[39] Additionally, the figures on funerary monuments during the late Classical period interact only with others in the contained scene. In later monuments, particularly during the Roman period, figures would gaze outward, interacting directly with the viewer (see, e.g., Davies 1985).

[40] Humphreys 1993, 121–122: "Emphasis shifts, from period to period and from one class or occupational group to another, between the funerary ceremony, the monument and the commemorative feast, and between the opposing poles of intimate remembrance and permanent commemoration—the private and public faces of death."

[41] Margariti 2016.

[42] Humphreys 1993, 107.

Material Symbolism

Whereas Archaic marble kouroi and korai were closely tied to the wealth of the patron, local Pentelic marble became a more democratized funerary material by the rise of the marble loutrophoroi in the early fourth century BCE.[43] Cost became a factor based on the scale and amount of sculpted relief and decoration: a memorial primarily depicted with paint could be substantially less expensive than an exquisitely carved memorial enhanced by polychrome additions. Nonetheless, a terracotta loutrophoros would be the most economical choice—so why marble? Most obviously, marble allows for a degree of permanence lacking in terracotta vessels. As Seth Estrin proposes, "Materiality is harnessed for its capacity to repel the effects of human mortality, to remove memories and images from the lifecycle of the human body, and so to give permanent, visible form to what would otherwise disintegrate over time into nothingness."[44] In this respect, funerary memorials do not so much provide a documentary accounting of the deceased, but rather offer the living a way to connect with the deceased through their own memories.[45]

Although no marble loutrophoroi can be securely associated with an excavated burial, the Stele of Eupheros is able to tie the funerary monument to its excavated gravesite and offers a better understanding of how these funerary monuments were approached in their original context (fig. 8). Discovered in the Kerameikos in 1964, the late fifth-century BCE stele shows a male youth holding a strigil, a tool to scrape oil and sweat off the body after exercise. In the associated grave were found the remains of the boy with two strigils, one near his left hand and one further down

[43] Clairmont 1993, intro v. 72; Morris 1992, 129.

[44] Estrin 2018, 126–7.

[45] Cf. Closterman 2006, 49.

by his left leg. Notably, the remains in the grave are of a male much younger than he is depicted on the stele, supporting the idea that these monuments are not documentary depictions of the deceased to remember one's (final) appearance in life. The strigil in the grave, however, which may have been placed in his left hand as it is depicted in the stele, is the material connection to the strigil in marble relief on the monument, an object representative of bereavement.[46] The stele reunites boy and strigil in a way no longer possible in the material world. Through the strigil and the funerary monument more generally, visiting the grave would trigger other memories of the deceased for family members, connecting the living and the dead, keeping the dead living through these recollections.

Marble vessels can also serve as a manifestation of memory. Returning to the Cincinnati loutrophoros, the three-figure scene centers on the standing young man, his military attire held for him by the youth behind him. The marble relief reunites the young man with a defining feature of his life, his military service—something his family would closely associate with him. The dexiosis, likewise, permanently unites father and son through physical touch, which they are no longer able to share. Moreover, the marble may offer a haptic way for the living to reconnect with the dead, touching the physical memorialization of a loved one when a handshake is no longer possible.[47]

Marble as a manifestation of memory also shifts the agency of recalling the dead from the memorial to the viewer.[48] The standardized figures and motifs used in much Classical funerary iconography, such as the handshake gesture, need not be viewed as the real interactions of identifiable individuals. Through the figures, the inscriptions whether in relief or painted, and the

[46] Estrin 2018, 126.

[47] Arrington 2018.

[48] Estrin 2018, 123.

spatial context within the tomb, the monuments serve as a mechanism to bring about recollections of the deceased for the living. This would have functioned not only for family members visiting the site, but also for any other visitors to the cemetery drawn to the memorial. To stand before a funerary monument, even for the unknown dead, challenges the viewer to confront the universal truth of humanity's impermanence. That connection is one all people share.

POLYCHROMY

The modern, seemingly austere impression of Athenian funerary monuments does not reflect the reality of their originally colorful polychromy. Scholars now recognize the near ubiquity of painting and the use of mixed media on ancient sculpture.[49] In the funerary context, monuments were not exempt from this treatment, and polychromy could be employed to enhance, define, and make legible relief sculpture, drawing the attention of visitors to the cemetery. It could also clarify names of figures through painted inscriptions or distinguish social standing by clothing to indicate rank or wealth, even as the figural layout was somewhat standardized to enhance broader legibility.[50] Some monuments may have been primarily decorated with paint, which may have been correspondingly more economical than sculpted relief work and particularly appealing to the broader class of Athenians represented in the cemeteries during the fourth century BCE.[51] Polychromy could be used to produce unique and expensive monuments when rare or difficult-to-acquire pigments were employed, as a way to differentiate one's status or wealth under anti-luxury decrees that restricted extravagant types of monuments.[52] Many Attic funerary monuments have traces of polychromy in the form of 'paint

[49] Reuterswärd 1960; Koch-Brinkmann and Posamentir 2007a, 2007b; Grossman 2013, 26–27.

[50] Grossman 2013, 27.

[51] The notable gap in extant memorials during the middle of the fifth century BCE may suggest that wholly painted memorials were used in the form of wooden funerary markers—perhaps a justifiable material under anti-luxury decrees or more readily available if stone was needed for fortifications. Representations of non-figural stelai in the cemetery found on many fifth-century terracotta lekythoi may represent these wooden stelai. See Barringer 2014.

[52] Brecoulaki 2014, 32; Kiilerich 2016, 2.

ghosts' from differential weathering, and several funerary monuments from the Athenian Agora have pigment remaining, including three relief fragments and two marble lekythoi (e.g., figs. 4A, 11B for paint ghosts, fig. 9 for pigment remnants).[53]

For most Classical monuments, exposure to the elements has stripped much of the physical pigment from the marble surface.[54] The best-preserved examples were often reappropriated or otherwise buried, in effect slowing the deteriorating effects of time—notably the many Archaic funerary monuments used in fortification walls during the Persian Wars of the early fifth century. It is only through recent technological innovations that trace amounts of pigment can be found, collected, and analyzed. More common are the indirect traces of original polychromy application like incision lines, differential weathering, and differences in surface finish. Historically, such evidence of coloration was overlooked by scholars—seen as tool marks, imperfections in the stone, or the effects of deterioration.[55] Four stelai on the Athenian Agora, for example, have figures so lightly incised as to suggest they are outlines for figures originally rendered in paint.[56] Outside of Attica, excavations at Vergina in Macedonia, Demetrias in Thessaly, and Chersonesos, a Greek colony on the northern coast of the Black sea, have revealed substantially well-preserved polychromy.[57] The early fourth-century grave markers from Chersonesos were repurposed into walls and fortification towers by no later than the middle of the third century BCE.[58] These stelai,

[53] Posamentir 2006, 12–13; Grossman 2013, 27.

[54] Additionally, pigment may have been removed after rediscovery to align with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tastes that preferred white marble sculpture.

[55] Østergaard 2017, 154–56; Grossman 2013, 27.

[56] Grossman 2013, 28.

[57] The tombs of Macedonian kings in Vergina have shown the presence of pastel colors like pink in their decoration (see, e.g., Andronicos 1991); see Plantzos 2018 for painting from Demetrias.

[58] See Posamentir 2011; 75 stelai dated to this period were found within the so-called Tower of Zeno.

contemporaneous with the peak of marble loutrophoroi production in Athens, offer a suggestion of the color palette that may have been in use for marble vases like the Cincinnati loutrophoros: white, yellow, green, light blue, dark blue, purple, red, brown, and black.[59]

Loutrophoroi are often more ornate than other slab stelai and naiskoi, more akin to marble lekythoi, and their colors of commemoration contribute to the elaborate scrollwork and acanthus adornment of the tall, thin handles as well as the patterning above and below the relief scene of the body. This decoration contrasts that of slab stelai, whose focus is the figural relief with only minor architectural framing elements. Two loutrophoroi besides the Cincinnati monument have been noted to preserve polychromy—a remarkably small proportion of an already rare vessel type.[60] The first is the so-called Loutrophoros of Euklea, found in 1891 near a railway station in the Peloponnese and now housed in the Athens National Museum (fig. 10). The Pentelic marble vase of the female-associated loutrophoros-hydria form was created during the second quarter of the fourth century BCE and focuses on a figural scene with two women, another rare feature. The women are mother and daughter, with the deceased daughter's name, Euklea, above the figure. Though the name is inscribed into marble, the middle central bar of the epsilon and horizontal bar of the alpha are missing and were perhaps originally added with paint.[61] Remnants of pigment are present above and below the two figures, which would have ornamented the non-figural areas of the vase, but the color is unrecorded. Most notably, a band of tongue motifs circles the shoulder beneath the attachment of the hydria's two handles on the body. Directly above the relief scene

[59] Posamentir 2011, 160.

[60] Others likely have indirect evidence of polychromy that has remains undocumented.

[61] Clairmont 1993, v2 259; Kokula 1984, 185; if parts of letters were added later, it is unclear whether the inscriber would have added it or whether the inscriber collaborated with the painter about which letter pieces to reserve for painting.

is evidence of an egg-and-dart motif; below the scene is a meander pattern and, further down, acanthus decoration. The Loutrophoros of Euklea demonstrates how extensive and diverse the painted decoration and definition of loutrophoroi originally were, defining their appearance beyond the seemingly simple sculpted forms.

A second loutrophoros with noted polychromy remnants is, like the Cincinnati loutrophoros, of the amphora type dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BCE. The white-marble vase was discovered in 1937 northwest of the Odeion on the Agora in Athens and highlights a scene with three standing figures, two men and a servant boy (fig. 11).[62] Also like the Cincinnati loutrophoros, this scene focuses on a dexiosis between the two adults, one a beardless young man and the other a bearded elder. Although only the body is extant and has undergone substantial weathering, the inscribed name for the elder figure is still present: Democharès. Traces of paint have been found on the neck and shoulders that resemble some of the decorative motifs of the Euklea loutrophoros, including bands of tongue motifs, below which is a zig-zag pattern with three lines, the middle painted in red. Semicircular shapes as paint ghosts form a band around the bottom of the neck.

Although no freestanding loutrophoroi have yet undergone extensive polychromy examination and study, the so-called Stele of Paramythion, a well-known loutrophoros-hydria relief on a grave stele, has been studied by Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann and Richard Posamentir (fig. 4A).[63] The stele illustrates more clearly the decoration present in only trace amounts on the freestanding loutrophoroi: vegetal ornamentation, meander patterns, a ray pattern coming from

[62] Clairmont 1993, v2 733; Kokula 1984, 174.

[63] Koch-Brinkmann and Posamentir 2004a.

the base, and egg-and-dart motifs above and below the central body, where full-length, figural reliefs were depicted on a monochrome background.[64] Though its free reconstruction is speculative and controversial, it aids in visualizing the full effect of the polychrome decoration that covered the entirety of the loutrophoros, accenting the curves of the vessel's body and handle as well as the delicacy of its neck (fig. 4B). Additionally, incised names line the top of the figural space, specifying a woman as Paramythion and her husband as Pheidiades. Given the shape of the loutrophoros, the deceased is likely Paramythion, bidding her spouse a final farewell. Importantly, the loutrophoros-hydria in relief appears to sit in front of the crowning anthemion of the stele, with two oil containers flanking it on the ground, suggestive of the broader viewing context during the Classical period in which monuments were not viewed in isolation.

White-ground and Marble Lekythoi

White-ground lekythoi are the primary contemporaneous comparisons for the coloration of the marble loutrophoroi, with over two thousand examples as grave goods that survive in remarkable condition due to their incorporation in inhumation burials (e.g., fig. 7).[65] Originally, lekythoi were hand-held containers for perfumed oils, often brought to the cemetery as libation offerings. The bodies of these vessels were commonly painted with scenes of funerary rituals, like the *prothesis*, the lying-in state. During the fifth century BCE, the iconography on white-ground

[64] This stele retains only indirect evidence of polychromy; no traces of paint have been found.

[65] Oakley 2004.

lekythoi narrowed dramatically, first toward domestic scenes and then toward scenes that illustrate living family members at the tomb or preparing to visit the tomb with offerings.[66]

White-ground lekythoi depict funerary iconography in a palette more restrained than that of sculptural polychromy, using only three or four colors.[67] The muted palette had a long history in Athenian painting and may have seemed preferable for funerary representations under restrictive anti-luxury laws, or it may reflect the more intimate nature of these smaller monuments within family tombs, not meant to attract attention and be seen from afar like the larger-scale stelai and vases.[68] Polychrome lekythoi focusing on domestic scenes appear after the beginning of the Persian Wars, around 470 BCE. Funerary customs underwent substantial changes in the first half of the fifth century BCE, including the establishment of the *Demosion Sema*, the state burial ground, and the annual custom of publicly inscribing the names of war dead on ten stelai. The increase in public memorialization may have been the impetus for more domestic scenes on private monuments. Additionally, the palette coincides with the limited iconography tied to funerary rites, acting as models of decorum for how the oikos should cope with death—with proper emotions and the ensuring of familial obligations.[69]

Coinciding with the growth of large-scale marble vessels is the appearance of so-called 'huge' lekythoi made of terracotta in the period of c. 400–430 BCE (e.g., fig. 12).[70] Recent evidence has shown that these vases served not as grave markers like their marble counterparts, but rather

[66] Humphreys 1993, 107.

[67] Oakley 2004, 216.

[68] Plantzos (2018, 106–108) discusses the relationship of the four-color palette to the ancient philosophical understanding of the four fundamental elements; see also Oakley (2004, 215) and cf. Humphreys (1993, 121).

[69] Oakley 2004, 231.

[70] Oakley, 2004, 216.

had an important role in funerary ritual, most being broken into pieces and then burned as part of the cremation process.[71] Although the iconography mirrored that of the smaller-scale white-ground lekythoi, the rich color palette and decorative scheme of these vessels corresponds to the ornamentation of marble lekythoi.[72] Blue, green, and violet are used in the decoration, and the painters simulate depth with shadow.[73] Notably, white-ground lekythoi are painted with their restricted palette before the firing process, whereas huge lekythoi are decorated after firing, more similar to the painting of marble vessels.

Preserving indirect evidence of polychromy, a marble lekythos in Copenhagen has received careful attention (fig. 13). Dated to the middle of the fourth century BCE, the 1.12-meter memorial is comparable in scale to marble loutrophoroi. The relief scene on the body depicts a young woman clad in a chiton and peplos, reclining on a bed—a rare depiction of childbirth and likely the cause of death for the central figure. To either side is a female attendant, one supporting the reclining woman, the other covering her face in grief. The original ornamentation is well preserved through differential weathering of the applied polychromy, revealing meander and star patterns below the relief scene and egg-and-dart bands along the shoulder. Floral elements of acanthus and flowers also line the shoulder. Analysis of the floral ornamentation suggests an attempt by the artist to create a shadow effect, a technique noted in huge lekythoi as well as in contemporaneous Macedonian tomb painting (e.g., fig. 14).[74]

[71] Walton et al. 2010, Sabetai 2009.

[72] Koch-Brinkmann and Posamentir 2007b.

[73] Robertson 1992, 254.

[74] Koch-Brinkmann and Posamentir 2007b, 147.

Reconstruction of the original color palette is challenging, but the pattern of differential weathering and comparisons to pigment remnants from other marble lekythoi suggest the body with the figural scene may have been white, similar to the slip of white-ground lekythoi. The shoulder of the Copenhagen lekythos used primarily cinnabar red and Egyptian blue; in particular, red may have been the background of the shoulder band and blue the background for the space above the shoulder.[75] Many of the stelai from Chersonesos have similar bands of ornamentation with red backgrounds and anthemia with blue backgrounds. Other colors such as green are difficult to reconstruct, but at Chersonesos red and green were often used for the clothing of figures, brown for hair and furniture, dark blue for metal, and yellow sometimes highlighted attributes held by the figures.[76] Violet found on huge lekythoi and pink seen in Macedonian wall painting would also be accessible to color the ornamental decoration and may have been employed in the decoration and clothing of figures, though the use of such coloration on marble monuments is less evidenced.

Painting the Cincinnati Loutrophoros

Overall, marble lekythoi demonstrate the complex interplay between media that would be present in loutrophoroi decoration as well. The ornamentation of the Cincinnati loutrophoros, for instance, may have used a white field for the background of much of the body like that seen in marble and white-ground lekythoi, bringing attention to the three-figure relief. The coloration of the three figures would enhance the relief and clarify the identity or status of the figures, perhaps

[75] See the object's entry (inv. no. 2564) as part of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek's project, "Tracking Color: Polychromy in the Ancient World."

[76] Posamentir 2011; Schmaltz (1970, 70) finds red a common color for clothing on marble lekythoi.

with *himatia* of green, red, pink, or violet, and armor of a dark blue.[77] In many instances, relief scenes on loutrophoroi have inscriptions of the names of the central figure(s), and the Cincinnati loutrophoros may have included them in black, blue, or red paint for the central young male certainly, but perhaps also for the seated elder.[78] Stemming from the foot would be patterned adornment separated from the white field by a likely meander-style decorative band. Above the figural field, a strip of egg-and-dart motifs over a red background would mark the shoulder of the vessel. A blue background covered in floral motifs that may include violet, red, green, black, and yellow would rise toward the vessel's thin neck. The Cincinnati loutrophoros's sinuous handles would be added in paint, with elaborate acanthus-style decoration that was widespread on anthemia of contemporaneous grave stelai. Like the Macedonian tombs and huge lekythoi, this floral scheme may have incorporated shadowing, so the green leaves would have echoes in black or red that added a sense of depth and richness to the ornamentation.

The nuanced, variegated painting of these monumental vessels was colorful and borrowed from the full repertoire of painting. This coloration was normative, not the subdued palette of the pre-fired painting of white-ground lekythoi, and the restrained emotional understanding of the marble monuments in previous scholarship is a product of the palette of the terracotta vessels that are so well preserved, not the marble monuments themselves. These colors of commemoration suggest a wider emotional range than previously assumed.

[77] Scientific and visual examination of the Cincinnati loutrophoros would reveal if weathering on the figures was uniform, suggesting the mixing of pigments with white for a pastel color.

[78] Chersonesan inscriptions have been found in these three colors, dependent on the workshop (see Posamentir 2011).

DISPLAY CONTEXT

In the mid-fifth century BCE during the archonship of Perikles, Athens limited citizenship to those with two citizen parents.[79] Consequently, the family unit increasingly became publicly integral to the Athenian democracy and polis-identity, and women became more prominent in the larger social fabric because they influenced whether a child became a citizen.[80] More restrictive legislation prohibited citizens from marrying foreigners, and funerary monuments emphasized the oikos through the depiction of multiple generations. As Athenian citizenship became a more valued—and often contested—legal and social status, commemorative memorials portrayed an ideal citizen-family that fulfilled its duties to its ancestors and overcame the perceived social issues of the time, such as the extinction of the family line and intergenerational conflict, often in a prominent family tomb, the peribolos.[81]

It is uncertain when peribolos first appeared in Attica, but despite Archaic aristocratic precedents, they became especially important with the Classical attention on the family unit in funerary monuments and the return of marble sculpture around 430 BCE.[82] Peribolos have been found throughout Attica, but more than 250 are from Athens, the best-preserved from the

[79] Demosthenes *Against Neaera*, 59.16; Patterson 2006.

[80] Patterson 1998, 107–10.

[81] See Bergemann 1997, Grossman 2001, Closterman 2007.

[82] Humphreys (1993, 94–104) discusses the long history of group graves in Athens back to the Geometric period. The peribolos is a specific manifestation of group graves that serves both personal and family as well as collective, political purposes.

Kerameikos cemetery (e.g., fig. 1).[83] The extant periboloi became more elaborate during the fourth century, including some ostentatious, house-sized structures mounted by large-scale funerary monuments that also became more extravagant over time.[84]

Although periboloi structure varied widely, in general the plots were laid out in terraces and walled off, supporting the actual burials in the earth behind it. The primary façade, facing the most public area, was often made of fine ashlar masonry and offered the best vantage point for family representation.[85] A tall stele typically dominated the plot, inscribed with the names of the principal dead buried or memorialized there. For the particularly wealthy, freestanding sculpted animal figures like a panther or lion were erected to stand guard, or the animals may be depicted in paint in the upper anthemion portion of the central stele itself.[86] The rest of the plot had individual monuments like naiskoi and marble vases that commemorated individuals through inscriptions and sculpted or painted reliefs.[87]

Some markers would also line the top of the terraced wall—notably facing out towards the road—and polychrome lekythoi may have stood at the corners to serve as boundary markers.[88] The peribolos offers viewers a family history of sorts, but it was not meant to include depictions of every family member. One of its key purposes was propagandistic, to highlight a family's lineage

[83] Garland 1982; Closterman 2006, 56.

[84] Grossman 2013, 3.

[85] Closterman 2006, 56; Closterman 2007, 634.

[86] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 135–136.

[87] Grossman 2013, 17, 28.

[88] Closterman 2006, 56; Proukakis 1971 (in pace Schmaltz 1970) suggests that lekythoi may have multiple display contexts. On their own, they could serve as the main memorial, but they could also have been used as pendants, like the boundary markers, that made the memorial aspect secondary.

and present them as a respected, tight-knit, prosperous family.[89] For the people of Athens, private actions were a barometer for public behavior.[90] For instance, with marriage came the obligations to the oikos to maintain proper funeral rites.[91] A son who cared well for his parents would also care for his polis, and one who neglected his parents would show the same disregard for public affairs.[92] This public attention to funerary rites is apparent in the scrutiny afforded those running for public office, who were investigated to see how they had treated their parents, including the location of their tombs.

However, despite the number of periboloi discovered, none has a secure archaeological findspot for a marble loutrophoros. Several loutrophoroi have been found in excavations and associated with nearby periboloi, but whether they were displayed along the top of the primary peribolos wall or within the plot itself is uncertain.[93] Donna Kurtz and John Boardman note, "Both clay and stone vases were displayed in the same way in cemeteries—on top of grave monuments or in front of them, or at each end of a plot, marking its boundary. Bases of vases have been found in situ in these positions."[94] The authors suggest these are boundary markers, but it is unclear whether freestanding marble loutrophoroi with figural scenes would fulfill this role. Lekythoi, which often marked the boundaries of graves as well as the entire peribolos, may be more appropriate. Bernhard Schmaltz notes that marble lekythoi over time become more decorative

[89] Grossman 2001, 4.

[90] Bergemann 1997, 24; Closterman 2007, 642.

[91] Rehm 1994, 21: "The premiums placed on burial in one's own polis—allowing easy access to the gravesite—indicates the commemorative function of these offices for the dead. The fate of the exile was pitiful precisely because this ritual tendance was lost."

[92] Closterman 2007, 649.

[93] See Garland 1982, Bergemann 1997, Closterman 1999.

[94] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 128.

and more commonly serve as boundary markers.[95] If loutrophoroi have a similar function as a boundary marker, it may be the ornamental loutrophoroi described in Kokula 1984, which do not have figural scenes and become more widespread after the height of figural loutrophoroi production in the second quarter of the fourth century BCE.

Despite the lack of secure findspots for loutrophoroi within periboloi, a variety of memorial types could be used because their presence within the peribolos itself marks them as part of the same oikos, perhaps the most important information to convey.[96] Therefore, the inclusion of marble loutrophoroi and lekythoi would merge seamlessly with slab memorials and guardian animal figures. The display of marble vessels has been represented on a stele from the Dipylon cemetery (and now in the Athens National Museum) in which a central loutrophoros-amphora is flanked by two lekythoi (fig. 15). The relief on the loutrophoros depicts a young man standing beside his horse in a short chiton, identified as Panaitios from the deme Hamaxanteia. He shakes hands with a standing, bearded elder while a child stands off to the right. One of the lekythoi also has a figural relief: Panaitios, nude, running alongside a hoop, likely a depiction of a beloved game.[97] The background is decorated with a hanging sash and two oil-containing *alabastra*.

This stele appears to depict a plausible (if somewhat distilled and idealized) display of loutrophoroi in the funerary context. With only a single, primary viewing side, the loutrophoroi may have been set against a wall or niche, flanked by other vessels. Given the scale and colorful appearance of the monumental marble loutrophoroi, however, they may have been placed conspicuously along the wall of the peribolos, where passers-by or other visitors to the cemetery

[95] Schmaltz 1970, 57, 81–82.

[96] Closterman 2006, 58.

[97] Clairmont 1993, v2 653.

would be most likely to see it. Though the loutrophoros may not clearly identify an individual who died before marriage, the use of the vase form could still suggest marriage and, consequently, the importance of family unity and responsibility, including obligations to the dead.[98] The sash may have been draped over the handles of the loutrophoros or oil from the alabastra poured over it,[99] serving as a ritual object itself for family members bringing offerings for the deceased members of their oikos.[100] The bright color palette—not the limited tetrachromy of white-ground lekythoi, but a broader palette that perhaps included pastels—would have made the loutrophoros prominent and perhaps emphasized for the viewer the symbolic notions of fecundity through curving green leaves of acanthus.

[98] Closterman 2014, 174: "Women's role as funerary gift givers integrates with women's other household work done for the oikos. Both the types of gifts—foodstuffs and textiles—and the function of gift giving fits into the larger pattern of ideological expectations for women's positive contributions to their household and family members."

[99] Clairmont 1993, v2 653.

[100] Closterman 2006, 62: "The nature of commemoration of the family in peribolos tombs thus mirrored and reinforced the action of funerary ritual, since both expressed membership in the family."

CONCLUSION

Funerary monuments in ancient Athens and the nearby Attic demes are replete with meaning—personal and political, public and private. Although the modern, austere view of Greek funerary monuments aligned cleanly with the somber, reflective atmosphere of the funerary landscape imagined by modern scholars, the reality of a colorful sea of monuments, each competing for the attention of visitors to the cemetery, suggests the importance of social standing and familial legitimacy as well as communal remembrance. In Classical Greece, in an era where traditional civic deities and religious practices no longer seemed so engaging, the worst fate imaginable was to be forgotten. Even if the gods were unknowable, the family and their annual rituals at permanent monuments could keep the memory of the individual alive—these eye-catching memorials acted as a bid for a heroized remembrance.

The relatively short-lived monumental marble loutrophoroi were luxurious and rare funerary memorials, epitomized by the well-preserved Cincinnati loutrophoros. While they may have been stand-alone objects, whose original bases included identifying inscriptions, the figural relief scenes on a single side of the body suggest a single viewing point, probably from atop the wall of a peribolos or against a wall. The highly regular nature of the figural reliefs suggests an emphasis on the family over the individual, and particularly in instances where the vessel is associated with death before marriage, the loutrophoros may more likely be found as part of the family tomb and displayed alongside other monuments.

The materiality and monumentality of marble loutrophoroi emphasized the continuity of the family line as well as the continued memorialization of individuals. Polychromy would have made the monuments visible from afar, as delicate forms with intricate handles and green foliage ornamentation that recall sacred architecture and temple adornment more than terracotta loutrophoroi. Added color to the body would draw the eye to the figural scene—a scene of family unity in place of funerary ritual—and the colorful palette suggests a wider emotional range than previously assumed. The figures would have been easily discernable, with color used to help identify figures by social status or unambiguous dress as in other forms of Greek painting of the period.[101] Furthermore, painted inscriptions above the figures or on the supporting base would likely have been used to further specify figures and their relationship to Athenian citizenship status. Given the highly visible role marble loutrophoroi played within fourth-century BCE funerary environment, the importance of the mostly intact Cincinnati loutrophoros with its remnants of polychromy is clear, and future research should undertake a detailed polychromy analysis of the monument.[102]

[101] E.g., Plantzos 2018.

[102] The original objective of this thesis centered on a physical examination of the purported polychromy remnants on the Cincinnati monument. I intend to undertake this project when circumstances allow.

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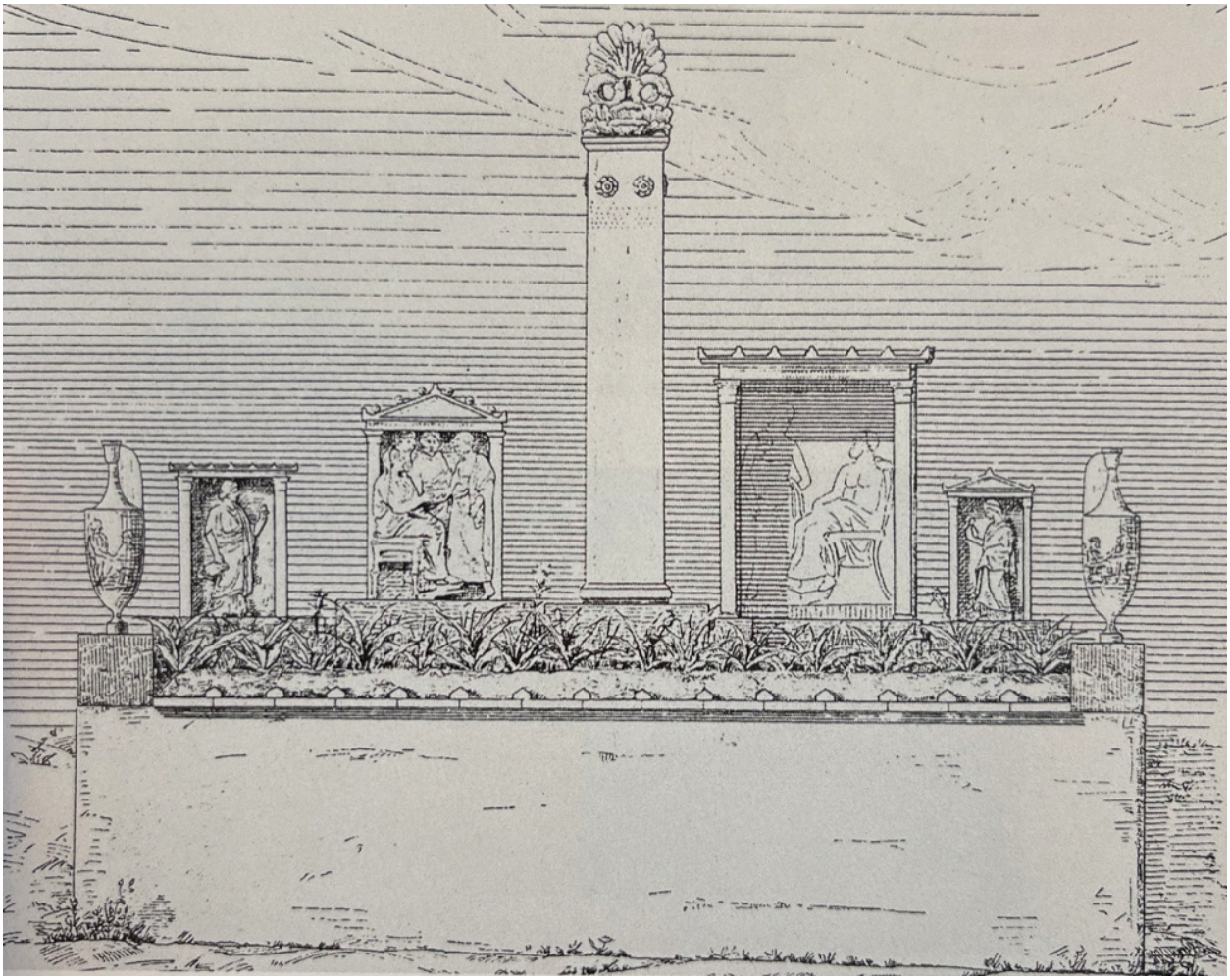
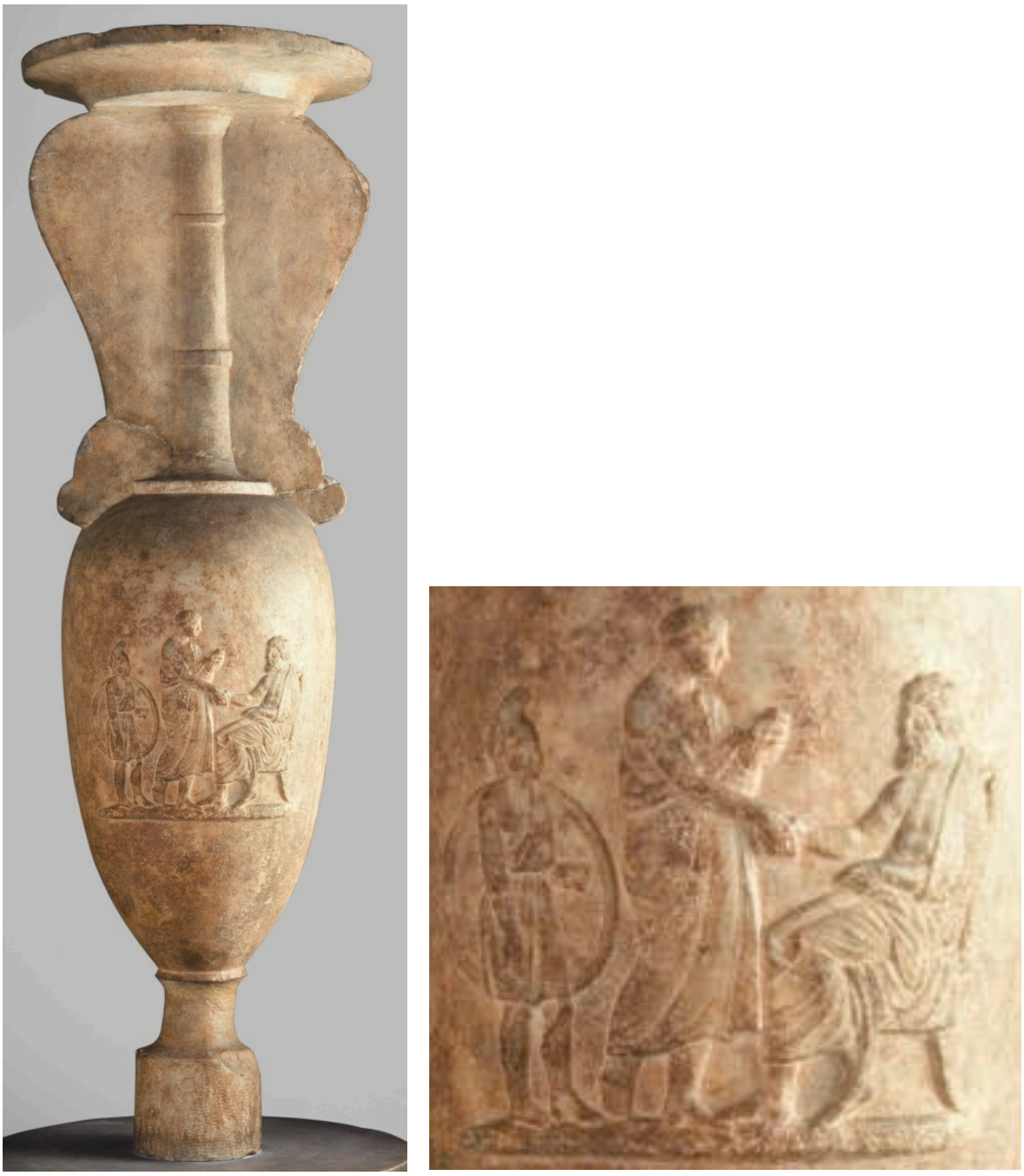


Fig. 1. *Peribolos* reconstruction of the tomb of Agathon and Sosikrates. West Street of Tombs of the Kerameikos, Athens. Mid-4th century BCE. (Image: Boardman, J. 1995. *Greek Sculpture: The Late Classical Period.* London: Thames and Hudson, 119)



A. B.

Fig. 2. Marble Loutrophoros-amphora with traces of polychromy. Pentelic marble. A. Overall h. 1.3 m., B. Detail of figural relief max. h. 0.24 m. Provenience unknown, presumably from Attica. c. 375–350 BCE. Cincinnati Art Museum, inv. no. 1962.416. The William T. and Louise Taft Semple Collection, 1962. (© Cincinnati Art Museum, 2021)

A. B.

Fig. 3. Marble Loutrophoros-amphora (mouth and foot modern restoration). Pentelic marble. A. Overall h. 1.63 m., B. Detail of figural relief max. h. 0.24 m. Provenience unknown, presumably from Attica. c. 350–300 BCE. National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. no. 4501. (© G.E. Koronaios, 2018. Accessed 3.30.21 from: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Funerary_loutrophoros._4th_cent._B.C.jpg)

A. B.

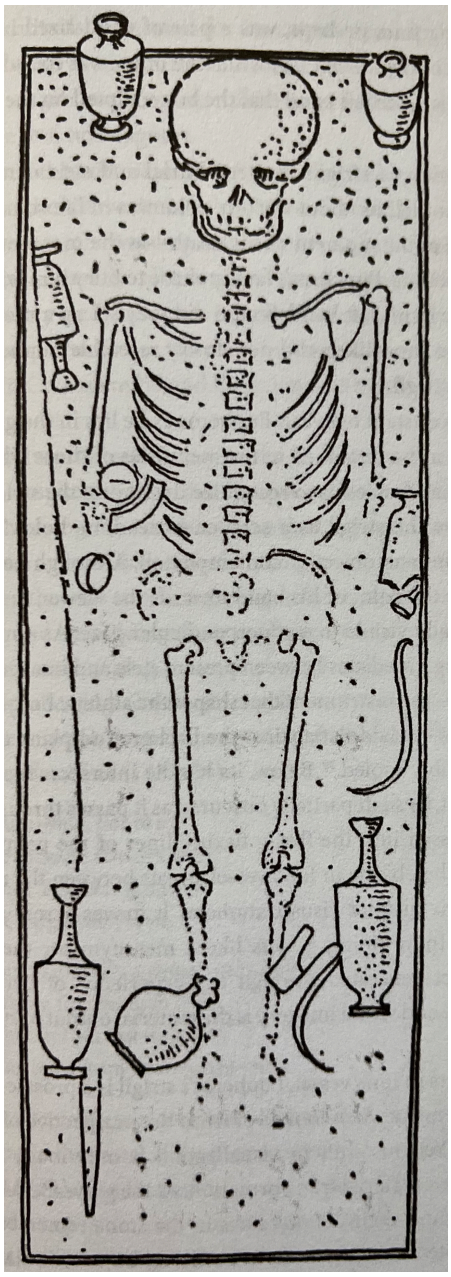
Fig. 4. A. Stele of Paramythion with evidence for ancient painting. Pentelic marble. H. 0.92 m. Found at Athens near Daphne Monastery on the Sacred Way. c. 370 BCE. Glyptothek Munich, inv. no. 1908.483, acquired in 1908. B. Polychrome reconstruction by V. Brinkmann. (Images: V. Brinkmann and R. Wünsche, eds. 2007. *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity*. Munich: Stiftung Archäologie, 132)

Fig. 5. Iconographic variations of marble loutrophoroi. c. 430-300 BCE. (All images (c) Christoph W. Clairmont). Images correspond to *CAT* entries (from top to bottom, left to right): 2.189, 2.705, 4.432, 2.910, 1.837.

A. B.

Fig. 6. Monumental Krater. Attributed to the Hirschfeld Workshop. Terracotta. H. 1.08 m. Found in Attica. ca. 750–735 BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 14.130.14, Rogers Fund, 1914. (© Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2022)

Fig. 7. Lekythos of two women preparing to visit the grave. Attributed to Near the Timokrates painter. Earthenware, painted slip, decoration white-ground. ca. 460 BCE. Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Edna G. Dyar Fund and Fairchild Foundation Fund purchase. (image: Oakley, J.H. 2004. *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 125.)



A. B.

Fig. 8. A. Stele of Eupheros. C. 430 BCE. From the Kerameikos cemetery. Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. no. P1169/I417. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.) B. Drawing of grave hS 202 in the Kerameikos, Athens, associated with the stele of Eupheros. (©Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens, Kerameikosgrabung.)

Fig. 9. Lekythos (Lekythos of Amoibichos and Cleomedes). Marble. 1" half of 4th century BCE. Athens Kerameikos Museum P 1388 (image: Koch-Brinkmann, U. and R. Posamentir. 2007. “Ornament and Painting of Attic Grave Lekythos.” In *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity*, edited by V. Brinkmann and R. Wünsche. Munich: Stiftung Archäologie, fig. 259.)

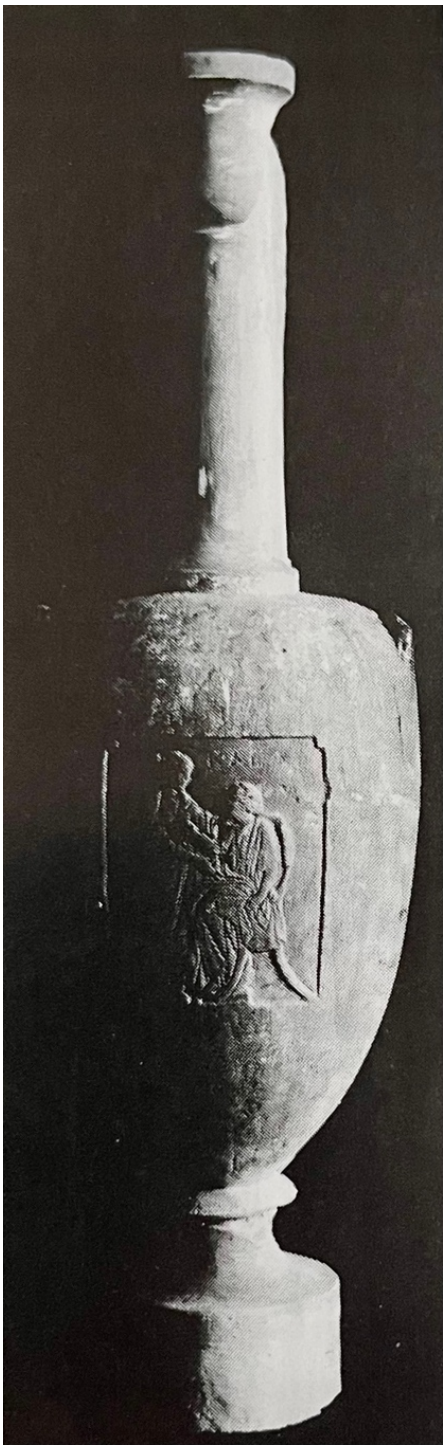
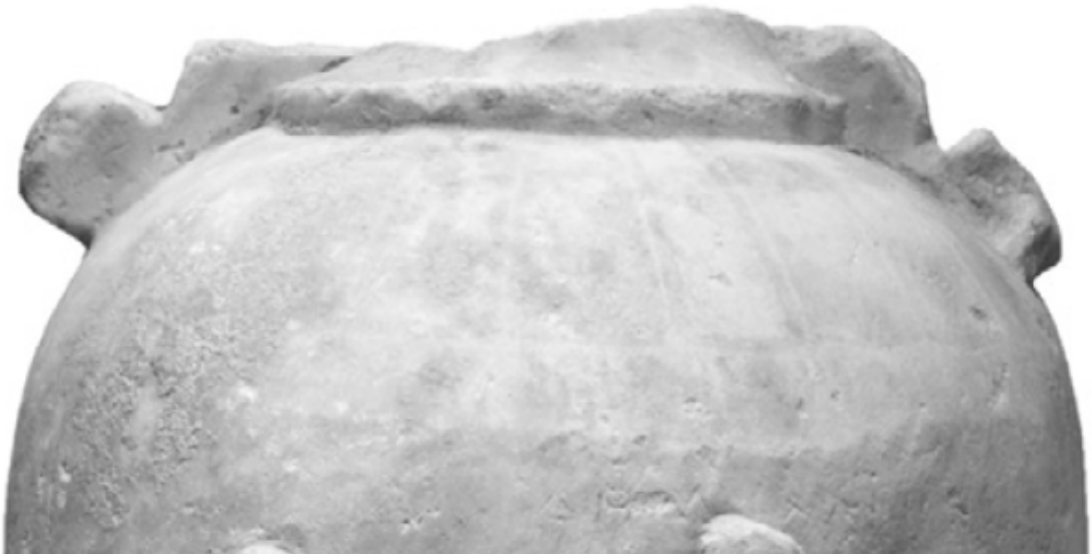


Fig. 10. Marble Loutrophoros-hydria with traces of polychromy. Pentelic (?) marble. H. 0.45 m. Found in 1891 near the railway station of the Peloponnese. ca. 375–350 BCE. Athens National Museum, inv. no. 1697. (image: Clairmont, C.W. 1993. *Classical Attic Tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland: Akanthus, v2, 259.)

A



B

Fig. 11. Marble Loutrophoros-amphora with traces of polychromy. White marble. H. 0.461 m. B. Detail of 'paint ghosts.' Found in 1937 in late Roman fill to the northwest of the Odeion on the Agora. ca. 375–350 BCE. Athens Agora I, inv. no. 4518. (image: Grossman, J.B. 2013. *Athenian Agora XXXV: Funerary Sculpture.* Princeton, New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, plate 65.)

Fig. 12. 'Huge' lekythos. Terracotta. ca. 400 BCE. H. 0.69 m. Berlin Anrikensammlung F 2685. (image: Koch-Brinkmann, U. and R. Posamentir. 2007. "Ornament and Painting of Attic Grave Lekythos." In *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity*, edited by V. Brinkmann and R. Wünsche. Munich: Stiftung Archäologie, fig. 249.)

Fig. 13. Lekythos. White marble. ca. 330 BCE. H. 1.12 m. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 2564 (image: Koch-Brinkmann, U. and R. Posamentir. 2007. "Ornament and Painting of Attic Grave Lekythos." In *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity*, edited by V. Brinkmann and R. Wünsche. Munich: Stiftung Archäologie, fig. 250.)

Fig. 14. ‘Tomb of the Palmettes,’ detail of the antechamber ceiling decoration. First half of the 3rd century BCE. Ancient Mieza, Macedonia. (©M. Cyron, 2012. Accessed 3.01.22 from: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Detail_of_the_decoration_of_the_ceiling_of_the_antechamber,_The_Tomb_of_the_Palmettes,_first_half_of_the_3rd_century_BC,_Ancient_Mieza_(7263660882).jpg)

Fig. 15. Stele with loutrophoros-amphora and two lekythoi. White marble. H. 1.25 m. Found ca. 1880 near Hagia Triada in the Dipylon cemetery. ca. 400–375. Athens National Museum, inv. no. 1131. (image: Clairmont, C.W. 1993. *Classical Attic Tombstones*. Kilchberg, Switzerland: Akanthus, v2 653.)

A. B.

Fig. 16. A: Loutrophoros with patterning. Marble. H. 1.07 m. ca. 370–360 BCE. Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. no. MG 44; B: Loutrophoros of Olympikos. Marble. H. 1.20 m. ca. 370 BCE. Athens, Kerameikos Museum. (images: Kokula, G. 1984. *Marmorlutrophoren*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, Tafel 35, 1; Tafel 13.)

APPENDIX: Loutrophoroi Corpus

	Loutrophoros Type	Museum	Kokula 1984 Concordance	Date (BCE)	Height (m)	Number of Relief Figures	Gender of Figures (C=Child)	Dexiosis (Handshake Motif)	Noted Polychromy	Handles Type	Noted Inscription	Provenience
1	Loutrophoros-amphora	Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 227 (IN 1406)	L51	375-350	0.88	2	MM	N	N	Carved in relief	Y	Acquired in Athens
2	Loutrophoros	Brauron, Museum BE 30	L53	430-420	1.42	2	MM	Y	N	Flat disks	Y	Found in vineyard SE or Markopoulos (Merenda)
3	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Third Ephoria M 2370	L78	400-375	0.57	2	FM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Helleniko in 1965
4	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 5259	N/A	400-375	0.535	2	FM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Cemetery along Thebes road in Piraeus, 1984
5	Loutrophoros-hydria	Athens, National Museum 1697	H1	375-350	0.45	2	FF	N	Y	Carved in relief	Y	1891 near railway station in Peloponnese
6	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 1541	N/A	375-350	0.82	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
7	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Acropolis Museum inv. 3183	L29	375-350	0.27	2	FM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
8	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2076	L54	375-350	0.39	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
9	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. inv. no.	L55	350-300	0.615	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
10	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Kerameikos Museum I 260	L80	350-300	1.54	2	MF	Y	N	Carved in relief	N	1870 in precinct XII
11	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Theseion in situ, Agora inv. S 2113	L 64	350-300	0.89	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Herodes Attikou road no. 3 (125E)
12	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 2.496)	N/A	350-300	0.63	2	MM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Unknown
13	Loutrophoros-amphora	Bensheim, Germany, private collection of Dr. J Glatzel	N/A	400-375	0.87	3	CFF	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Unknown
14	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 1042	L60	400-375	0.55	3	MMC	Y	N	Flat disks	Y	Excavations north of Piraeus in 1841
15	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum	L71	400-375	0.42	3	MCM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
16	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 5282	N/A	400-375	0.65	3	CMM	N	N	Unknown	Y	North Cemetery along Thebes road in 1986
17	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 4563	N/A	400-375	0.74	3	MMC	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
18	Loutrophoros-amphora	Rhamnous, Museum 375	N/A	375-350	0.98	3	CMM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Sacred path in front of peribolos of Hierokles
19	Loutrophoros-amphora	Cincinnati, Art Museum 1962.416	L68	375-350	1.353	3	CMM	Y	Y	Flat disks	N	Unknown
20	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 2625	L72	375-350	0.59	3	MCM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	1835 west of Royal Palace
21	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 844	L75	375-350	0.64	3	MCM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	1839 in Velanidesa
22	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 953	L74	375-350	0.7	3	FCMC	Y	N	Unknown	Y	From Marathon
23	Loutrophoros-amphora	Malibu, The Getty Museum 83.AA.253	N/A	375-350	0.825	3	MCM	Y	N	Flat disks	N	Unknown, part of collection of Vicomte du Dresnay
24	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 2368	L61	375-350	0.82	3	CMM	Y	N	Carved in relief	N	1965 in Kato Charvati
25	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 842	L66	375-350	0.80	4	CMMC	Y	N	Carved in relief	N	Athens before 1863
26	Loutrophoros-amphora	Brauron, Museum	L58	375-350	0.89	3	CMM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Assumed from Koropi

27	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 1069	L62	350-300	1.00	4	CMMC	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Dipylon cemetery
28	Loutrophoros-amphora	Brauron, Museum	L99	350-300	0.44	3	FMC	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	1959 in Merenda
29	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 3398	L84	400-375	0.82	3	FMM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
30	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 2563	L59	375-350	0.9	3	MMM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Keratea
31	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 3.276)	N/A	400-375	0.6	3	MMF	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
32	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum	N/A	375-350	0.47	3	FMM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
33	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 3.341)	L89	375-350	0.55	3	MFM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Velanidesa; lost after WWII
34	Loutrophoros-amphora	Paris, Louvre Ma 3116 (MND 746)	L83	375-350	0.79	3	MMF	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Piraeus? In Louvre by 1906
35	Loutrophoros-amphora	Mantua, Palazzo Ducale inv. G 6670	L77	400-375	0.74	4	MMFC	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown by in Venetian collections by 1580
36	Loutrophoros	Kephisia, erected over tomb	N/A	400-375	0.57	4	MCMCF	Y	N	Unknown	Y?	Unknown
37	Loutrophoros	Athens, National Museum 1958	L93	375-350	1.05	4	FCMM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	From Keratea
38	Loutrophoros	Tigani-Pythagorion, Archaeological Collection	N/A	375-350	0.77	4	MMMC	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Tigani-Pythagorion
39	Loutrophoros	Brauron, Museum	L76	375-350	0.75	4	FFMC	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Known since 1887
40	Loutrophoros	Piraeus, Museum 3561	N/A	375-350	0.75	4	FFMC	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Halimos, known in 1966
41	Loutrophoros-amphora	Brauron, Museum	N/A	375-350	1	4	FMMC	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Spata
42	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 3330	L92	375-350	1.36	4	CMMCF	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	From Koropi
43	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 809	L90	375-350	0.77	4	CMFM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Known in 1878, Athens by Ilissos River
44	Loutrophoros-hydria	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 3.878)	H3	375-350	0.46	4	FMFC	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
45	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 3664	L82	375-350	0.6	4	CMFM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Piraeus
46	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, said to be on Theseion (?)	L88	375-350	-	4	CMFM	N	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
47	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Kerameikos Museum MG 33, I 177	L91	375-350	0.84	4	MFMC	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Diplyon cemetery
48	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 4501	L85	350-300	1.635	4	MFMC	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Unknown
49	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 2799	L96	400-375	1.20	4	MFMM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Unknown
50	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 1046	L94	400-375	0.78	4	FMMM	Y	N	Flat disks	Y	Piraeus in 1838
51	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 3473	L81	400-375	1.64	4	FMMM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Keratea? Confiscated in 1921
52	Loutrophoros-hydria	Athens, National Museum 4498	H5	400-375	0.565	4	FMFF	Y	N	Carved in relief	N	Vari in 1961
53	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 4.352)	L69	375-350	0.8	4	MMMM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown, said to be found in 1889
54	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 1537	L97	375-350	0.75	4	MFMM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Unknown
55	Loutrophoros-amphora	Brauron, Museum	L95	375-350	1.05	4	MFMF	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Found near Hagios Giorgios Kokla

56	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 4.375)	N/A	375-350	0	4	MFFM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	Unknown
57	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Third Ephoria M1018	L98	375-350	0.83	4	MMMF	Y	N	Flat disks	Y	1960s on Hodos Platonos 33, east of Demosion Sema Road
58	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Third Ephoria M977	L70	350-300	0.99	4	Battle	N	N	Carved in relief	Y	Athens in 1969, no. 27, hodos Nikis (124F)
59	Loutrophoros	Athens, National Museum 3704	N/A	-	0.5	3	MMM	N	N	Unknown	N	From Paleon Phaleron
60	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 2.293b)	N/A	400-375	0.98	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
61	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Third Ephoria	N/A	400-375	0.90	2	MM	Y	N	Flat disks	Y	Drakon street 19 (Athens) in 1970s
62	Loutrophoros-hydria	Athens, National Museum 1697	H1	375-350	-	2	MF	Y	N	Carved in relief	N	Unknown, but known by 1837
63	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum	L56	375-350	-	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
64	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 1533	L65	375-350	0.665	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
65	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 2.331c)	L50	375-350	0.37	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
66	Loutrophoros	New York, Collection of Tom Swope	N/A	375-350	0.387	2	FF	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
67	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 4537	N/A	375-350	0.74	2	MM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
68	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum	L79	375-350	0.78	2	FM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Hodos Piraeus in 1874
69	Loutrophoros-hydria	Piraeus, Museum 2547	N/A	375-350	0.55	2	FM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
70	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Third Ephoria M 643	L57	375-350	0.86	2	MM	Y	N	Carved in relief	Y	grave precinct on Leophoros Mesogion (Athens) in 1960s
71	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 5260	N/A	375-350	0.55	2	MF	Y	N	Unknown	N	North Cemetery along Thebes road, known by 1984
72	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 2.391b)	L63	375-350	0.75	2	MM	Y	N	Carved in relief	N	likley local; once owned by A. Loukas, Keratea
73	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 844	L75	375-350	0.461	3	MMC	Y	Y	Unknown	Y	1937 NW of Odeion on Agora
74	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, National Museum 3732	L73	375-350	0.54	3	CMM	Y	N	Carved in relief	N	Unknown
75	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 3.322c)	N/A	375-350	-	3	MMF	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
76	Loutrophoros-amphora	Brauron, Museum	N/A	375-350	-	3	FFM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Likley Koropi
77	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 874	N/A	375-350	0.53	3	FMM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
78	Loutrophoros-hydria	Athens, National Museum 2614	H2	375-350	0.49	3	FFF	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Piraeus, known since 1863
79	Loutrophoros-hydria	Philadelphia, University Museum MS 5710	H4	375-350	0.803	3	FMF	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unrecorded, but seemingly related to 3.846 from Markopoulos
80	Loutrophoros-hydria	Eleusis, Museum 5098	H6	375-350	0.83	3	FFF	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Vineyard in Eleusis by 1891
81	Loutrophoros-hydria	Paris, Musée Rodin inv. no. 45	H7	400-375	0.8	3	FMF	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
82	Loutrophoros-hydria	Paris, Musée Rodin inv. no. 44	H10	375-350	0.7	3	MFM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown
83	Loutrophoros-amphora	Piraeus, Museum 3280	N/A	375-350	0.95	3	MMF	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Moschato, known in 1974

84	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 3.364c)	N/A	375-350	1.18	3	MMM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
85	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 3.380c)	L87	375-350	0.64	3	MFM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
86	Loutrophoros-amphora	Current whereabouts unknown (in Clairmont 1993 3.431a)	L86	350-300	0.38	3	MFM	Y	N	Unknown	Y	Unknown
87	Loutrophoros-amphora	Athens, Theseion in situ, Agora inv. S 2217	N/A	375-350	0.57	4	CMFM	Y	N	Unknown	N	Unknown