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11 | The warrior *loutrophoroi* of fifth-century Athens

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Introduction

A society like that of the Athenian *polis* expresses itself and its culture in material form through its art and artefacts. What survives in the archaeological record may be profitably studied to help shed light on the prevailing ideology in existence at the time of their creation. In Athenian art, for example, ordinary soldiers could be elevated to the status of heroes, while mythological heroes could be portrayed as regular hoplites, in a deliberate blurring of the real and the imaginary. This chapter will examine the evidence offered by the surviving fragments of a special group of decorated pots, red-figured warrior *loutrophoroi*, for contemporary attitudes to military status in general, and the Athenian war dead in particular. The remarkably detailed representation of the citizen soldier has not yet been analysed in depth from this point of view; that is, as a reflection of political and social developments occurring in the city. Although these little-known vases owed their existence to their rare, funerary function, they can still guide us towards a broader understanding of the emotional responses felt by the Athenian families to the high price which they paid for the vigorous, military policies pursued under the democracy over the course of the fifth century BC.

In this case study, then, our attention is firmly centred on one particular sub-category of Athenian ceramic vase, the red-figured *loutrophoros* decorated with military themes. These are the so-called 'battle *loutrophoroi*' or rather, as German scholars refer to them more broadly, the 'warrior *loutrophoroi*' (*Krieger-loutrophoren*). Not all the *loutrophoroi* in question depict men fighting or battles as such, but they are distinguished by the inclusion of one or more figures in military mode, with at least some of the equipment of a hoplite, light-armed soldier or cavalryman. Other armed figures are clearly inactive, sitting or standing quietly, sometimes in the company of

women or old men, but still worthy of consideration. Hence my preference for the more inclusive label, warrior *loutrophoroi*.

Significantly, to judge from the surviving archaeological evidence, the production of these unusual terracotta vases spanned the fifth century and then stopped, so that they offer a body of relevant material for analysis delimited in time and scale. Probably because of their extremely fragmentary condition and scattered locations, their informative value has so far been underestimated in the English-speaking world,¹ but in the present context an in-depth examination will illuminate the complex relationship between these funerary ceramics and the wider culture of fifth-century Athens. Precisely because they were used and seen by someone somewhere every day, pots with images could in their own way play a vital role in the dissemination of the community's ideas and values. In the words of Tonio Hölscher, 'painted vases were ... an effective medium of a discourse on complex themes of collective relevance.'²

The evidentiary value of Greek vase-painting for cultural history has been the subject of much debate over the last thirty years, as scholars have weighed up the pros and cons of 'iconographical analysis' and 'iconological interpretation'.³ It is agreed that the figures and objects drawn on red-figure vases are grounded in real (and contemporary) life, but they have been selected and manipulated by the artist to enhance the content and meaning of the image. A vase-painting of what may initially appear to be an 'everyday life' scene is neither a simple sketch or snapshot of a real moment, nor the totally fanciful product of a painter's imagination – to express this idea in crudely exaggerated terms. According to the descriptive method of iconography, the complex images created in the dynamic middle ground between 'reality' and 'fantasy' require careful observation of the details, the

¹ Stupperich 1977 remains the fullest treatment of these vases.

² Hölscher 1998: 178 and 180: 'this lively discourse of images'.

³ Panofsky 1955: 51–81 expounded a tripartite method for the study of Renaissance art in which 'iconography' and 'iconology' are the second and third steps in 'one organic and indivisible process' of art-historical study, previously (and since) called simply 'iconography' (67, with table on 66). This methodological approach, in association with theory developed in the fields of interdisciplinary sociology (e.g. Bourdieu) and semiotics (e.g. Saussure), was gradually picked up and applied in classical studies, causing a temporary schism among classical archaeologists. In Rasmussen and Spivey 1991: 1–35 Martin Robertson, somewhat defensively, and Mary Beard, progressively, demonstrated the value of multiple approaches and their interdependence, if one is to achieve a deeper understanding of the ancient world. Cf. Sparkes 1996: 114–39 for the rejection of the earlier, simplistic assumption of a clear separation of 'myth' and 'reality' in vase-paintings, and concise definitions of 'iconology' and 'iconography' as applied at that time (134–6); Boardman 2001: 168–243 for a full exposition of the methods used to gain a better understanding of the 'language of Greek art' (190).

I am deeply indebted to the editor of this volume for his constructive comments, which have helped to shape this chapter through its various stages, and to friends and colleagues, especially those who gathered in Sydney in 2006, for helpful feedback and advice. My thanks, as always, go to my husband, Robert, for his constant and positive support.

'clues' provided for the viewer, if we are to see what is really there and recognise it for what it is.⁴ At the same time, in order to read the message and achieve more than a superficial understanding based on our own, modern pre- (or mis-) conceptions, the skills of the iconologist are required to draw out the underlying meaning of the image as it relates to the mindset of the original members of that society.⁵ Classical archaeologists now adopt a variety of traditional and innovative approaches to the material culture of the ancient world as a whole; the aim is to recover not only the original physical but also the conceptual context as fully and as far as one can, using all the (necessarily limited) resources at one's disposal.⁶ In the field of the visual arts this all-encompassing, unified approach is again simply termed 'iconography', having subsumed 'iconology' back within its orbit.

This is the essentially art-historical approach which will be followed here. I begin with an examination of the literary sources citing the word *loutrophoros* and its confusing uses, before turning to the archaeological remains and a discussion of the historical circumstances of Athenian burial customs. Next, I consider in chronological order and from an iconological point of view the themes chosen for some of the surviving *loutrophoroi* in an attempt to explain the symbolism and the thought processes which may lie behind them. Finally, I report on an analysis of the iconographical details of the vase-paintings to demonstrate how they can also elucidate the military realities of the time.

1. The literary *loutrophoroi*

Since the vases which will be discussed in this chapter are now called *loutrophoroi*, a brief explanation and comment on the pertinence of the name is in order. In Greek the word, *loutrophoros*, is a compound formed from *loutron* 'bath', 'bath-water', and an adjectival suffix derived from a verb 'to carry' (*pherō*). Literally, it means 'carrying bath-water' and, as is often the case for compound adjectives, it lacks feminine endings, the masculine serving for

⁴ For example, see Oakley and Sinos 1993: 7–8 on learning to read the conventions and symbols found in wedding scenes, especially on *loutrophoroi*. Cf. Sabetai 1997 on the 'emblematic symbols' of wedding imagery.

⁵ See, for example, Bérard *et al.* 1989: esp. 23–51, the English translation of the influential publication *La cité des images: Religion et société en Grèce antique* (Lausanne 1984); Lissarrague 1990: esp. 1–12; 2001.

⁶ For example, A. Steiner 2007 applies information theory, semiotics and narratology to explain how repetition was employed on Attic vases to communicate meaning in the context of the archaic *symposion*.

both genders. The majority of the surviving written instances of the word,⁷ as an adjective or noun, relates to someone who on special occasions fetched clean water for a ritual bath: hence the translation 'bath-carrier' rather than 'water-carrier' (*hydrophoros*).

Our earliest evidence for *loutrophoros* dates only from the end of the fifth century BC, when Euripides used it in *Phoenician Women* (348) to describe the luxury of a pre-nuptial bath with water drawn from the river Ismenus. Later Menander (c.344/3–292/1 BC) mentions a (probably female) *loutrophoros* summoned for the wedding at the close of the *Samia* (730).⁸ In between the word occurs once in a funerary context in the mid-fourth century. The speaker in the (Pseudo-) Demosthenic speech *Against Leochares* states that the *loutrophoros* standing on the tomb (*taphos*, *mnēma*) of Archiades is proof (*semeion*) of his unmarried state at the time of his death (44.18, 30). Unfortunately, this *loutrophoros* is not described in more detail, though the second mention has the feminine definite article, suggesting a feminine noun (person or vase?) can be understood with it, or that the adjective itself now serves as a feminine noun.⁹

For Archiades' grave marker are we to imagine a water-jar, as is the *opinio communis*,¹⁰ or a sculpture of a figure holding one?¹¹ It is rarely the case that we know for certain what the Greeks called a particular vase shape (*hydria* for example), despite the precision implied in the current terminology. Indeed, that the answer might be a statue rather than a vessel is strongly suggested by Harpocration's treatment of the word in his *Lexicon of the Ten Orators*. Both *loutrophoros* and its verb *loutrophorein* are explained in connection with the two customs so far noted: the bath on the day of the wedding and the marker on the grave of the unmarried dead in the cemetery (195.6–14). But here we are told that the *loutrophoros* at the wedding

⁷ A search in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (E disk) resulted in forty-three citations over seventeen authors.

⁸ Human *loutrophoroi* are also mentioned in honorary inscriptions at Didyma and Iasos: LSJ *Revised Supplement* s.v., and Pausanias (2.10.4) recorded in the second century AD a girl (*parthenos*), called a *loutrophoros*, who served for a year at the temple of Aphrodite at Sicyon.

⁹ The second entry in LSJ ('black urn placed on the tomb of an unmarried person') is misleading and not supported by the other references to *loutrophoroi*. The use of black gloss to draw some vases in silhouette on white-ground *lekythoi* might seem to confirm the epithet 'black', but this is probably a technical convention rather than a true representation of real terracotta or (polychrome) marble vases. Other vases drawn on *lekythoi* are clearly imagined as figured.

¹⁰ Cf. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 2000: 72–4.

¹¹ The difficulties associated with the word *loutrophoros* have long been recognised. They have been dealt with *inter alia* by Bergemann 1996; A. B. Cook 1940: 370–96 with earlier references; Garland 1985: 87–8; Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 151–2. See also *ThesCRA* 5 2005: 176–8, pl. 26, s.v. *Loutrophoros* (Mösch-Klingele).

was a boy (*pais*), the nearest male relative, who fetched the water from the Kallirrhoe / Enneakrounos spring, and, moreover, that on the tomb (*mnēma*) the *loutrophoros* was a boy holding a water-jar (*hydria*).¹²

Roughly contemporary with Harpocration's lexicon was Julius Pollux's *Onomasticon*, which also noted both the nuptial and funerary contexts. However, the one who carried the bridal water here (3.43.4) is female and not a boy, as is the figure on the tomb (*mnēma*) of the unmarried: 'a girl holding a vessel that carries water' (κόρη ἄγγειον ἔχουσα ὕδροφόρον – 8.66.3–6). Four names for the container carried are actually suggested (*hydria*, *prochous*, *krossos* or *kalpis*), and Pollux makes it plain that the statue set up was either this girl *loutrophoros* or *someone* else (not a container). Most of the other uses of *loutrophoros* occur in later scholia and lexica, which were compiled to offer help with unfamiliar words found in texts from the past. As such they tend to be repetitive and derivative of earlier scholarly sources, offering little extra of value.

To judge from the majority of the surviving literary references, then, one could conclude that in the classical period the term *loutrophoros* referred to a person (boy or girl), who carried the water for a ritual bath, especially for the bride and groom before their wedding, and to such a figure standing symbolically as a grave-marker for those who had died prematurely and still unwed. This is problematic in that nothing like a girl or boy carrying a water-jar is known in the surviving range of classical funerary monuments.¹³ The alternative conclusion is that the significance of the word was transferred from the person to the object (a special, and later symbolic, container for ritual water) at least by the middle of the fourth century BC, but only much later is there lexical evidence to support this.¹⁴ Significantly for our purposes there is no mention of any *loutrophoroi* (of clay or metal) being made for public use, let alone the public funeral for the war dead, in Athens during the fifth century. So with this limited information from the

¹² Although Harpocration's glossary was compiled in the late second century AD, the earlier sources cited are the (lost) legal speeches, *Against Theodotus* and *Against Callisthenes*, of Dinarchus (c. 360–290 BC), the third century BC historian Philostephanus and unspecified comic poets.

¹³ A white-ground *lekythos* by the Bird Painter presents a tantalising image of a visit to the tomb: Athens, National Museum, 19335, c. 430 BC; Beazley Archive Database no. 275502. At the right side of the stele there is a black *loutrophoros* vase and a girl who steadies a *hydria* on her head with her right hand, while holding a basket of offerings in her left. This is as close as we seem to come in this medium to a female *loutrophoros*. For women who pour water from *hydriai* at tombs, see Oakley 2004: 198 fig. 160; 206–8 fig. 169.

¹⁴ Notably in Hesychius' *Lexicon*, fifth or sixth century AD, lambda 1280.1 and 1282.1–5, which acknowledges both uses.

literature we have to concentrate on the archaeological evidence itself to contextualise the group of vases under examination.

2. The archaeological *loutrophoroi*

From the archaeologist's point of view several vase shapes (no doubt once made of metal as well as clay) are strongly associated with the two occasions involving ritual cleansing, marriage and burial, as outlined above by the literary sources.¹⁵ And, despite the problems associated with the Greek word, *loutrophoros* has been adopted by classical archaeologists to designate a distinctive type of vase, which had its origins in the late eighth century BC.¹⁶ Two variants of the shape have been distinguished depending on whether the handles are those of a *hydria* (three) or an amphora (two), and it was once thought that a difference like this may have intimated the gender of the recipient (female and male respectively).¹⁷ One or two of the surviving warrior *loutrophoroi* had amphora handles, but, because of their incomplete condition and lack of provenance, the majority unfortunately offer no scope for confirmation of gender specificity on those grounds.

Terracotta *loutrophoroi* regularly displayed funerary imagery (in black-figure initially), until wedding scenes became more popular in the early classical period.¹⁸ So, the vase-paintings confirm that water was ceremonially collected and displayed, first, for bathing the bride and groom and, second, for washing the corpse, although this final ablution is discreetly passed over in preference for the lying in state (*prothesis*).¹⁹ *Loutrophoroi* themselves are depicted being carried in both wedding and funeral scenes, and in rare cases one stands on top of, or beside, the mound (*tymbos*) as a grave-marker.²⁰ In the cemetery context and in light of the traditional reading of the Demosthenic reference, as being to a vessel not a statue, it has long been understood that terracotta *loutrophoroi* (and their later, stone

¹⁵ For funerary rituals involving water and special vases, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 149–61.

¹⁶ For example, see Noble 1988: 73–4; Schreiber 1999: 186–93.

¹⁷ Cf. Boardman 1988; Morris 1992: 89–90; *ThesCRA* 5 2005: 177.

¹⁸ Kurtz 1975: 204; Oakley and Sinos 1993: 6–7.

¹⁹ Kurtz 1975: 204; 1984: 321; Richter 1904–5: 241; Robertson 1992: 143. For examples of each type, see Boardman 1989: 240 figs. 38 (*prothesis*), 134 and 191 (wedding).

²⁰ For example, see Athens, National Museum 1453, Washing Painter, c. 430–420 BC; Beazley Archive Database no. 214899; Oakley and Sinos 1993: figs. 14–15 (wedding); Paris, Louvre, CA 453, Kleophrades Painter, c. 480 BC; Beazley Archive Database no. 201675; B. Cohen 2006: 24 fig. 6 (funeral); and on a white-ground *lekythos*, Athens, National Museum 19355, Phiale Painter, c. 435–430 BC; Beazley Archive Database no. 214321; Oakley 1990: pl. 111; Oakley 2004: 163 fig. 123 (grave marker). Cf. also Kurtz 1975: 204 pl. 20.3.

counterparts) poignantly marked the tombs of Athenians who had died unmarried, and who therefore had missed out on the customary, nuptial rites associated with the real vases of this shape.²¹

On surviving, ceramic examples of fifth-century date the figured scenes are predominantly nuptial, then funerary, mythological or domestic, but there is also incomplete and scattered evidence for at least forty pieces decorated with martial scenes.²² When one considers the quantity of other ceramic shapes (especially the thousands of *lekythoi*) which have survived from antiquity, this is a very small number, so that, although the impression could be quite false, one suspects that these particular *loutrophoroi* bearing military themes were proportionally just as rare originally in the normal stock-in-trade produced by the potteries. If so, why might that have been? Was it perhaps because of their cost, or exclusive function, or for some other reason difficult for us to fathom now? In what follows I account for the rarity of this sub-group by analysing their iconography closely and by exploring their original social context in fifth-century Athens.

In the study of Athenian vase-painting it has long been accepted that the better artists pay careful attention to the selection and composition of the figured decoration, and that an attempt was usually made to produce an appropriate, though generic, image for the occasion on which a specific type of vase was required. As a result it has seemed a reasonable deduction that these *loutrophoroi* with scenes of soldierly activities would have been made to commemorate men who died in war.²³ Donna Kurtz further suggested that these could have been *officially* commissioned for the men who received a public burial,²⁴ and fragments of warrior *loutrophoroi* dated to

²¹ Beazley 1932: 5; Oakley and Sinos 1993: 6; Parlama and Stampolidis 2001: 370 (Tsirigoti-Drakotou).

²² About 9 per cent (29) of all the Athenian red-figure *loutrophoros* entries (345, omitting one duplicate) in the Beazley Archive Database (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk, last accessed 15 October 2009). My catalogue (see Appendix) includes additional fragments possibly from *loutrophoroi*, which are listed as fragments from large amphoras or the like, and two others not included in the database. One or two other pieces are known, but as they have not yet been published satisfactorily, they have not been included here.

²³ Beazley 1932: 15: 'Such vases must have been placed at the tombs of those fallen in war'; Richter 1940: 185 ('Evidently'); Knigge 1970: 20: 'Bei ihnen stellt sich die Frage nach dem Anlaß ihrer Entstehung, die jedenfalls mit einer Kriegshandlung zusammengebracht werden muß'; Kurtz 1975: 64, 220 ('probably'), cf. 221 of *lekythoi* with fighting scenes; Robertson 1992: 197; Stupperich 1994: 95: 'used as part of the burial cult in the *demosion sema*', and 97; Schmidt 2005: 81.

²⁴ Kurtz 1984: 321: 'These *loutrophoroi* may have been official memorials for men who lost their lives on the field of battle and who had received a state funeral.' For summaries of the public burial for the war dead, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 108–21; Parker 1996: 131–7. Patterson 2006: 53–6 reassesses the meaning of *demosion sema*.

c. 430 BC have recently been found in the excavations of a *polyandreion* in Athens.²⁵ These vases could then have been created as an additional, public contribution to the official rites, and the Polemarch could have been charged with seeing to their delivery.²⁶

However, the people (*dēmos*) chose at some point to commission more expensive and impressive marble slabs (*stēlai*) to list the names of the fallen and commemorate their sacrifice.²⁷ Indeed a simple representation of a row of five casualty-list stelae, probably in front of a white tomb mound, is partially preserved on a fragment from a large red-figure vase, usually taken to be a *loutrophoros*, in Amsterdam (figure 11.1).²⁸ A random sherd like this is particularly hard to date, but on the basis of the forms of the remaining letters and historical probability, a late archaic or early classical date has been considered a possibility.²⁹ It is likely that the unusual subject matter was chosen for the vase because it was particularly novel and/or topical at the time, and the introduction of such stelae may be dated late in the 470s or early in the 460s, the decade favoured by several scholars for the full development of the public funeral.³⁰ The first, simple casualty lists in stone will, then, have appeared about the same time as the first fragments we have of warrior *loutrophoroi*.

But it is just as likely that the warrior *loutrophoroi* were ordered privately by the grieving families, as was the custom with *lekythoi* and other funerary

²⁵ For the excavation at 35 Salaminos Street in 1997, see Blackman 1998; Oakley 2004: 215–16; Rose 2000; Schmidt 2005: 81; Stoupa 2002. Oakley considers the location and battle *loutrophoroi* indicative of a public burial, and proposes a direct link between the introduction of the public ceremony and of the polychrome *lekythoi* c. 470 BC.

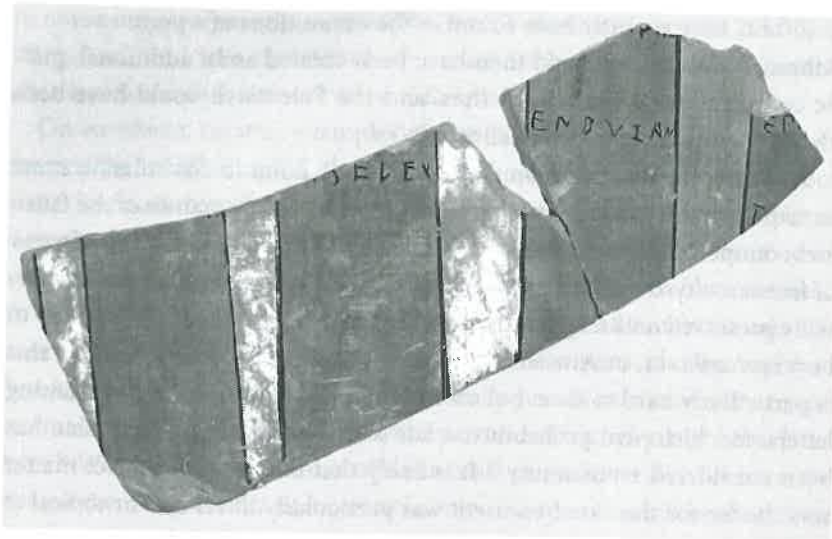
²⁶ One thinks of the Panathenaic amphoras as a parallel process of public commissions supplied regularly by the better potters (with imitations for other customers); see Hannah 2000; 2001. Is it just coincidence that the first two fragments of warrior *loutrophoroi* to have survived are attributed to the Berlin and Kleophrades Painters, both of whom are well known for their Panathenaic prize amphoras?

²⁷ See Stupperich 1994 for full discussion of the range of iconography possibly employed on the (lost) sculptural reliefs. For examples see Boardman 1995: figs. 121–2 (394/3 BC), and the late-fifth-century casualty list discovered in 1995 during the Metro excavations in Athens: Parlama and Stampolidis 2001: 396–9 (Parlama).

²⁸ Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2455; Beazley Archive Database no. 42150; Bradeen 1967: 324–5, pl. 70d; Neeft 1989: 11, fig. 14.

²⁹ Neeft 1989: 9–11 dates this sherd broadly to the first quarter of the fifth century and more closely to 478 or 470 BC, because of the reference to Byzantium. Bradeen's early classical date is rejected by Clairmont (1983: 62, 168–9, 269 n. 10), who prefers instead to associate the sherd with literary and epigraphical evidence relating to 447/6 BC.

³⁰ For example, Clairmont 1983: 12–13 dates the earliest, stone casualty lists in Athens to the late 470s or early 460s as a component of the public funeral established during Cimon's administration. Cf. Loraux 2006: 93–113; Oakley 2004: 215 ('around 470'), and 215 n. 2; Pritchett 1985: 123, 139.



11.1 Fragment of a large red-figure vase showing five stelae with inscriptions suggestive of a casualty list, probably in front of a white tomb.
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2455: Beazley Archive Database no. 42150.

loutrophoroi.³¹ It is not impossible that private offerings of *loutrophoroi* were still made at the site of and during the official ceremony,³² but they could equally have seen symbolic service at a cenotaph or offering trench in a family plot, since there could be no body to wash at the annual ceremony.³³ Indeed, the shattered (sometimes burnt) state of what has survived suggests that they were not put into the grave but left above ground or deliberately destroyed after use.³⁴

A *loutrophoros* with its strong nuptial associations, if not actual wedding iconography, had a significant place in the funeral of a girl who was still single at death, usually in her teenage years. The vase itself will, therefore,

³¹ For the role of the relatives in funerary rites, see Humphreys 1980: 98–101.

³² Thuc. 2.34.2 mentions the opportunity to give an individual offering, if one wished, after the bones were put on display in the tent on the third day before the funeral proper.

³³ For cenotaphs, especially for men lost at sea and as a result of military disasters abroad, see Clairmont 1983: 17–19; Knigge 1991: 162; Pritchett 1985: 257–9. Knigge 1970: 20 suggests a connection between one of the first battle *loutrophoroi* attributed to the Kleophrades Painter and a cenotaph for a casualty from the battle of Salamis or Plataea. The surviving monument for Dexileos in a private corner-precinct of the Kerameikos is often cited and represents an elaborate, separate record of a rich family's loss expressed in the terms previously established in the public sphere; see Hurwit 2007: 35–44; Knigge 1991: 111–13; Low 2002: 110–15; Morris 1992: 143–4; the chapter by Robin Osborne in this volume.

³⁴ For example, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2474, Talos Painter, late fifth century BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 217521; Scheurleer 1931: 6, pl. 4.1–3 (cat. no. 36). Cf. Sabetai 2006: 33; Schmidt 2005: 80; Stupperich 1977: 162.

have presented a constant reminder of the social pressure on girls to reach womanhood, marriage and motherhood, and of the family's grief and disappointment when this failed to happen. In parallel fashion this martial sub-group may have expressed the mourners' unfulfilled hopes and expectations, when the young male life had been prematurely cut short by some other cause of death than fighting. The scenes of combat could simply indicate that the dead man had not lived long enough to play either of the culturally sanctioned roles of husband/father and adult soldier.

However, the reinscription of the symbolism of the ritual water vase in the fifth century is more complicated in the case of the unmarried men. They could be ten to fifteen years older than the unmarried girls, and apart from disease and accident a common cause of their deaths was warfare. Once the *dēmos* undertook the burial of the war dead in Athens, the old, funerary iconography of the family-oriented rites (mourning women, *prothesis*, journey to the grave (*ekphora*)) no longer looked relevant or represented the actual circumstances. By the time the family had a chance to be involved, the loved one's body had already been cremated or buried on the battlefield or lost entirely. A new set of signs was required. The puzzling addition of military themes to the *loutrophoroi* around the time of the Persian Wars can perhaps be explained in the context of the institution of the public funeral, since it promoted the elevated status of the dead soldiers, making them into positive role models for the whole community. The distressing death without issue of the head of, or the heir to, the household (*oikos*), could still see the end of that family line, but instead of being a reason for absolute grief, the manner of their death in battle gave occasion for celebration and pride at their newly gained immortality in memory.³⁵ The warrior *loutrophoroi* could have successfully satisfied that need for something tangible and impressively visible, but not too expensive, to express symbolically the family's emotional response.³⁶

Whether the warrior *loutrophoroi* were created first for public or private use is a question we may never be able to answer definitively. Of course, the occasions warranting the production and use of these warrior *loutrophoroi*

³⁵ Clairmont 1993–5: vol. 2, 78–9 argues that later the iconography of a multi-figured battle on a public memorial, the prototype, inspired the private gravestones with action scenes, because even the abridged symbol continued to transmit the message of heroisation better than the commoner, inactive-warrior-with-his-family images. In contrast, Clairmont associates the preference for the family context with 'the predominantly bourgeois attitude in the fourth century'. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 2000: 77–8 similarly notes the purely civic ('bürgerliche') character of the reliefs on the marble funerary vases of the fourth century.

³⁶ Cf. Xenophon's mention (*Hell.* 6.4.16) of the publicly expressed joy of the families of the dead in Sparta after the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BC.

need not have been mutually exclusive. In the public sphere their special iconography would certainly have seemed apt and suitable on funerary vases for men who died on active service, fulfilling their civic duty for the democratic *polis*, whether single at the time or not, but a privately motivated scenario cannot be ruled out.³⁷

What is clear is the fact that the warrior *loutrophoroi* represented a particularly Athenian expression of respect for the dead, since none appears to have been found far from the city itself.³⁸ Moreover, they must have made a striking impression on passers-by. To judge from the scale and quality of the drawing they were decorated by some of the best ceramic artists of the time,³⁹ and they were designed for maximum impact, sometimes reaching around a metre in height. In light of their fragile material and unstable, elongated proportions, it is hardly surprising, but extremely frustrating, that for many vases only a sherd or two now exists, and even the better preserved have had to be restored. As a valuable source of contemporary evidence, however, for the prevalent ideas about military service, especially in the hoplite army, and the inevitable casualties suffered by Athens over the course of the fifth century, they repay closer study.⁴⁰

3. The military themes

The following comments are drawn from a detailed study of the remains of forty *loutrophoroi* now scattered in museums throughout the world.⁴¹ The

³⁷ Stupperich 1994: 97 reserves use of this shape with its marriage associations for the single men among the war dead: 'A great number of vases for sepulchral rites, especially *loutrophoroi*, will have been needed for those fallen in war, since many of the young soldiers were unmarried.' Schmidt 2005: 84–5 divorces the two ideas (unwed or soldier) for the marble *loutrophoroi*, believing that in context the Athenians would not have found a symbol with two meanings ambiguous. I suspect that by the fourth century at least the proven success of the military themes may have facilitated their transfer to mature, married men as well, trumping the old nuptial connotation of the *loutrophoros*-shape.

³⁸ Only fourteen have any provenance recorded: one is said to be from Greece, six from Athens in general, plus four from the Agora, one from below the hill of Philopappos and two in the area of the Kerameikos. One came from an area said to be associated with graves: Beazley Archive Database no. 5280: Bakalakis 1971: 74 (cat. no. 33); and one was found in a tomb in the recent excavations for the Athens Metro: Parlama and Stampolidis 2001: 370 no. 410 (Tsirigoti-Drakotou) (cat. no. 34).

³⁹ Notably in the attributed cases the Berlin Painter, Kleophrades Painter, Eucharides Painter, Hermonax, Painter of Bologna 228, Villa Giulia Painter, Sabouroff Painter, Achilles Painter, Peleus Painter, Polygnotos, Kleophon Painter, Naples Painter, Aristophanes and Talos Painter.

⁴⁰ Cf. Hännestad 2001.

⁴¹ In a few publications some fragments, which lack any decisive characteristics, have been cautiously identified as coming from either a large amphora or a *loutrophoros*, or a question

vases and fragments in the survey, while statistically small in number and often size, are still qualitatively significant in terms of their special character and purpose, since they offer an alternative angle on the perceptions of the society which created them. The warrior *loutrophoroi* are not divorced from the norms of the complex corpus of military topics found on other red-figure and white-ground ceramics,⁴² and this analysis sits comfortably within the parameters of iconographical and iconological studies of Athenian vase-painting in general.

If one allocates the warrior *loutrophoroi* chronologically into four stylistic groups based on the traditional, quarter-century divisions, one finds that there are only five late archaic and four early classical pieces, but seventeen classical and fourteen from the late fifth century.⁴³ The threefold increase in the second half of the century could, of course, simply be fortuitous (a consequence of an erratic survival and discovery rate), but it is probably not going too far to relate it to the extensive military activity and casualty rates at the time of the Athenian Empire and especially during the Peloponnesian War.⁴⁴

An in-depth review of the subject matter reveals some interesting trends over time. Military content may have first been introduced to the funerary *loutrophoroi* during the Persian Wars, since the earliest surviving fragments, attributed to the Berlin Painter, date to about 490 BC or a little later (no. 1 in the catalogue of known examples at the end of this chapter).⁴⁵ The body

mark follows the designation. For the sake of simplicity I have followed the categorisation of the Beazley Archive Database, included the questionable *loutrophoroi* and added a few other probable examples in my analysis. The forthcoming publication by Charis Stoupa of the important finds at Salaminos Street (see note 25 above) will provide a welcome supplement to the list of known examples and the iconographical material for the period about 430 BC.

⁴² An exceptional, white-ground *loutrophoros* has survived depicting a youth seated at a tomb with a warrior, two women and a man: Paris, Louvre, CA 4194, c. 410–400 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 4827: Ghali-Kahil 1967, pls. 51–2. Its subject and technique link it closely with the white-ground *lekythoi* and marble vases of the time; cf. Stupperich 1977: 156. Another white-ground *loutrophoros* with two youths, a horse and a dog was sold on the London Market in 2006: Beazley Archive Database no. 9021731.

⁴³ The numbers in the Beazley Archive Database are as follows: 201916, 2258, 202134, 11738, 202252 (late archaic); 205464, 205752, 11743, 207252 (early classical); 212260, 11736, 213450, 215197, 215196, 213793, 11740, 215252, 11739, 11058, 215195, 215243, 215242, 215192, 215190, 213758, 216115 (classical); 215191, 12748, 11609, 29478, 11737, 11608, 5280, [+ Athens, Museum of Cycladic Art / Third Ephoria, inv. A 15369], 18926, 217521, 217523, 29471, 340052, [+ Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. 3842] (late fifth century). Cf. the earlier list in Stupperich 1977: 98–102 n. 3, and the discussion in Clairmont 1983: 76–81. For further details see the Catalogue in the Appendix, which is presented approximately in chronological order.

⁴⁴ See also David Pritchard in this volume.

⁴⁵ Erlangen, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, 526, Berlin Painter, c. 490 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 201916: Schefold and Jung 1989: 252 fig. 226a–b.

of this vase depicted hoplites in battle with African enemies. The largest fragment preserves the head, left arm and right hand of a bearded hoplite, who wears a bronze, Corinthian helmet, a form designed to encase the head but here set up on the crown, and a composite corselet over a short tunic (*chitōniskos*). The full, inner circle of his shield filled the space between him and the African, whom he pierces in the left side with his spear. Dead on the ground lies the body of another African crossed by the legs of the other two combatants.

These figures have been associated with Achilles and Memnon's Ethiopians at Troy,⁴⁶ but this is not necessarily or simply a mythological scene. Apart from the facial features of the non-Greeks, there are no names or attributes to confirm epic identity, and subsequently, with the exception of a few Amazonomachies,⁴⁷ warrior *loutrophoroi* offer little in the way of explicitly mythological iconography. Nevertheless, an epic combat, if such it is, could serve equally well as a paradigm for the contemporary situation of Greek against foreigner. Herodotus recorded the presence of woolly-haired Ethiopians (from Libya) among the Asiatic troops reviewed at Doriscus (7.70) and included others among the less important peoples at Plataea (9.32), so that a direct allusion to recent events is not out of the question.

In Greek art some figures in oriental dress and gear (especially the distinctive caps, trousers and sleeved garments, with bow and axe) are demonstrably female and thus Amazons, but others are foreign allies or enemies, and this appears to be the case on the neck of a slightly later example attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (cat. no. 2).⁴⁸ An archer in corselet and patterned leggings follows a young, beardless hoplite to the right, but turns his head to look back in the opposite direction. Again the hoplite's Corinthian helmet is worn up, and the shield is seen internally, partially obscured by the youth in his corselet and short tunic. He wears greaves on his legs and holds his spear low in his right hand. Traces of a scabbard are just discernible behind his thigh. The body of this warrior *loutrophoros* may have depicted the common, funerary theme of a *prothesis* (part of a bier and

⁴⁶ Beazley (ARV² 204.108) wrote, 'the scene is doubtless laid at Troy, and the negroes are the followers of Memnon'. Cf. Lissarrague 1990: 27; Moore 2000: 179; Robertson 1992: 197; Scheffold and Jung 1989: 252; Stupperich 1977: 159.

⁴⁷ Greeks fight Amazons (light-armed, archers or cavalry) on three vases: Beazley Archive Database nos. 213758, 216115 and 5280 (minor frieze) (cat. nos. 25, 26, 33); and figures in barbarian/eastern dress on Beazley Archive Database no. 202252 and the fragmentary vase from the Athenian Metro excavation (cat. nos. 5 and 34).

⁴⁸ Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. 3234 and inv. 3235a–b (neck) + inv. 3235c (body), Kleophrades Painter, c. 480 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 2258: Knigge 1970: pl. 7.1–2; 17, fig. 3, pl. 8.2.

draped mourner appear on an unconnected fragment),⁴⁹ but another small piece with parts of the flexible, bottom flaps of a corselet (*pteryges*), tunic and shield indicates a hoplite also probably stood or fought on the other side of the vase.

These two cases lend credence to the idea of a gradual introduction of contemporary military themes into the standard iconography of mourning on *loutrophoroi*. Why this should be happening about 490–480 BC is an interesting question in view of the modern uncertainty concerning the date of the introduction of the mass funeral in Athens for the city's war dead.⁵⁰ In itself it may not appear surprising that funerary *loutrophoroi* should acquire some military content at the time of the Persian Wars. The intrusive elements in the decoration may be seen as a visual acknowledgement of the exceptional commitment of soldiers who died fighting the invaders. Even if this graphic innovation slightly preceded the introduction of the canonical public funeral, the novel format of the warrior *loutrophoroi* would have offered an appropriately customised, ceramic memorial for such an occasion. And, as a significant representation of the citizen's military role in life, a vase could also function as a physical symbol of a family's grief, especially since the opportunity was now lost to honour the dead relative in the traditional way, privately and individually at home.⁵¹

As on the last example the tall, thin space on each side of the neck must have regularly carried a single, standing figure or a pair of figures. On one early classical fragment (cat. no. 7) an old father encouragingly lays a hand on the shoulder of his mature son (figure 11.2a),⁵² while two brothers (or perhaps lovers) face each other around the tight curve (figure 11.2b).⁵³ The three helmets are all functional examples of the so-called 'Thracian' type, with protective front peaks, hinged cheekpieces and deep neck guards. Apart from the thick crests and their mountings, painted decorative features

⁴⁹ Unfortunately it cannot be established for certain that the fragment (inv. 1953) with the bier came from the same vase: Knigge 1970: 16.

⁵⁰ See above and Parker 1996: 132–3.

⁵¹ For the normal funerary rites practised in classical Athens, see Oakley 2004: 11–13, and in more detail, Garland 1985: 21–37 with 89–93 on the war dead. Pritchett 1985: 94–259 details the range of practices followed by the Greeks, and especially the Athenians (102–24), when it came to burying fallen soldiers. Morris 1994 sets the changing Athenian attitudes to funerary display over the fifth century into the wider context of ideological developments elsewhere. See also the chapter by Polly Low in this volume.

⁵² Because of the habit for men of not marrying until thirty years or more, there would have been a visible age difference between fathers and their sons serving in the army. Cf. Garland 1990: 212 on the rarity of living grandfathers through the male line.

⁵³ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.70 (neck), Painter of Bologna 228, c. 460 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 205752: Richter and Hall 1936: pls. 83–4.



11.2a A father and his mature son on one side of the neck of a *loutrophoros*, c. 460 BC (cat. no. 7).

include a snake on the inside surface of the raised cheekpiece of one and a dolphin on the crown of another. Greaves are worn by all three hoplites, but, while the beardless figure wears both a *chitoniskos* and a long, fringed cloak (*himation*), his partner wears a corselet over his tunic, and the warrior on the other side appears to be nude behind his snake-emblazoned shield with just a short cloak (*chlamys*) draped over his right shoulder. Each man holds a spear, two with carefully drawn butt-spikes, and the young man's sword hilt is visible in front of the helmet held by its cheekpiece at the centre of that side of the neck.

Clearly in these figured panels the painter has skilfully captured the physical reality of hoplite service with its requirement on the individual to supply his own, non-uniform kit. But the human interest for the viewer lies



11.2b A young man and mature soldier on the other side of the neck of the same *loutrophoros*, c. 460 BC (cat. no. 7).

in the eye contact held between the men in each pair, probably conceived as at the intense moment of the departure from home, when the retired father can only offer sound advice in the epic tradition of Peleus or Nestor. The psychological focus is squarely on the family ties and close relationships which bind these men together. A century later the unifying handshake (*dexiōsis*) will serve to express this unbreakable connection between family members on carved grave reliefs, but that is not yet a standard part of the visual code. The characterisation of the different ages of the men (in youth, maturity and old age, marked as usual by the growth and loss of hair, and donning of warmer clothing) is also a significant detail. Taken together these static images on the neck of the *loutrophoros* epitomise the

social order and the habituating expectation on all citizens to accept the lifelong duty to fight for the city, not only as hoplites, whenever required, from age eighteen to sixty.

When the fragments are very small, it can be impossible now to define the military context exactly, but the majority portraying soldiers in physically active poses were presumably fighting scenes rather than a quiet, and emotionally charged, tableau of male comradeship and public duty as in the last case. From the mid-fifth century, especially on the larger body area of the vases, the fights dominate and involve mixed forces.⁵⁴

One exceptionally well-preserved and tall *loutrophoros* (over 90 cm high) has been attributed to two painters: the Sabouroff Painter for the neck and lower frieze, and the Achilles Painter for the main figured field (cat. no. 10 and figure 11.3).⁵⁵ The Sabouroff Painter's youthful hoplite stands frontally but turns his head to his left as if to meet the gaze of the bearded and draped man holding a sceptre on the other side of the neck. The hoplite's equipment is simple (spear, plain shield, corselet, *chitōniskos* and *himation*), except for his crested, 'Chalcidian' helmet. This model improved on the Corinthian form by uncovering the area of the ears and sometimes adding movable cheekpieces. Here it also displays three-dimensional locks of hair above the nose guard and between the raised cheekpieces, a purely Athenian peculiarity.⁵⁶

At first glance one could mistake this pair for another father and departing son,⁵⁷ but the sceptre, rather than a citizen's staff or spear, is a significant detail suggestive of an alternative identification: perhaps Demos, the Athenian people personified, or Erechtheus, king and eponymous hero, with one of the 'sons of Erechtheus'.⁵⁸ The mood of calm resignation or stoical acceptance conveyed by the image on the neck is immediately broken below on the body, where three hoplites are engaged in combat with one or two light-armed soldiers and two or three horsemen.⁵⁹ This encircling

⁵⁴ The first clearly identifiable light-armed figures appear c. 460 BC: for example, on a fragment in Tübingen, University Archaeological Institute, S./10 1624, Hermonax: Beazley Archive Database no. 205464: Böhr 1984: pl. 8.1 (cat. no. 6). The first cavalry appear not long afterwards: for example, see the next note (cat. no. 10).

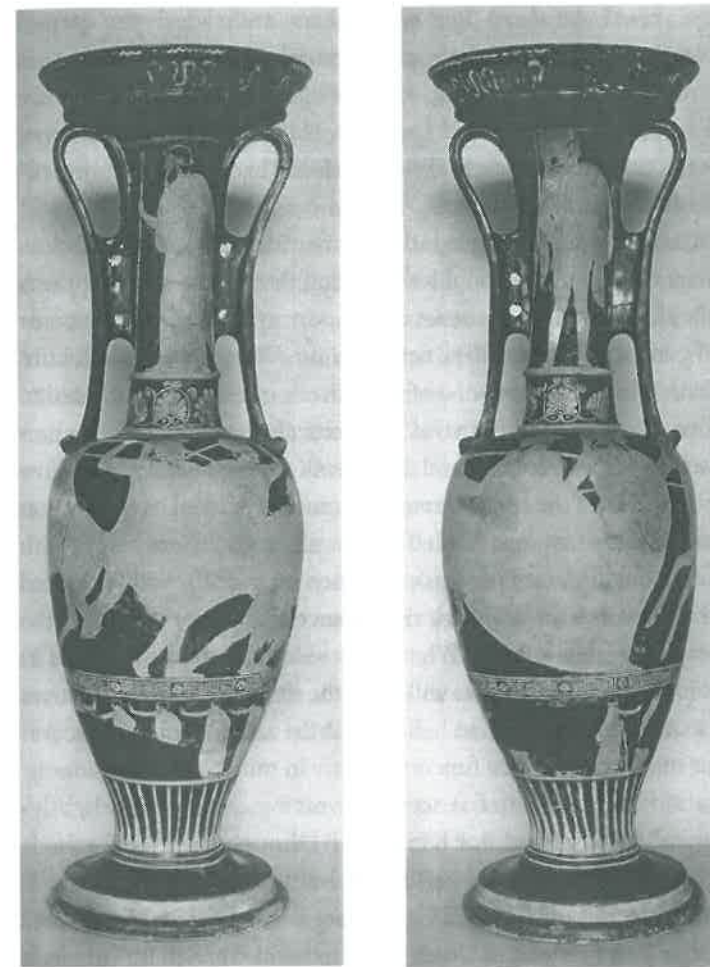
⁵⁵ Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 30.4.1, Sabouroff Painter and Achilles Painter, c.450–445 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 212260: Oakley 1997: pls. 25–8 (cat. no. 10).

⁵⁶ Hannah 1983: 234.

⁵⁷ As Beazley 1932: 9.

⁵⁸ For the 'sons of Erechtheus', see Loraux 1993: 46.

⁵⁹ Beazley 1932: 12–14 interprets the fragments on the left side below the young hoplite as a rider falling from his horse, though he could not explain his exact pose, and a second light-armed figure retreating to right with his head turned left. Stupperich 1977: 160 sees three riders and one on the ground. As Oakley 1997: 122 notes, the confusing restoration is probably wrong in parts.



11.3 A *loutrophoros* depicting a young hoplite and man with sceptre on the neck, and fight and valediction scenes on the body, c. 450–445 BC (cat. no. 10).

frieze is now sadly incomplete, but characteristic of the genre and a helpful indicator of what may have been lost, when only a sherd or two of a vase survives.

Once again the deliberate variations in the details of the armour speak of the lack of uniformity that characterised Greek armies at this time. Of the hoplites the beardless, naked youth advances in back view to our right overlapped by his bearded companion, who alone wears a corselet, *chitōniskos* and greaves, and who fills the centre of that side of the vase below the draped male figure on the neck. The three helmets are effectively varied: a crestless Corinthian worn up, a crested 'Thracian' and a 'Chalcidian' with

its cheekpieces raised. All three fight with spears, and swords are carried at the left side (baldrics betray their presence, when the relevant area is lost). By way of contrast the opposing force of light-armed and cavalry are dressed alike in broad-brimmed hat (*petasos*), *chitôniskos* and/or *chlamys*, the lack of distinctiveness helping to direct the focus back on the more visually stimulating heavy infantrymen.

As the light-armed man gives ground and one rider falls from his horse, the fight appears to be going the hoplites' way, but, though the image appears realistic, the Achilles Painter has not set out to portray a specific occasion or the agony and gore of real battle.⁶⁰ The actual *raison d'être* for a warrior *loutrophoros*, the death of a citizen (any one of the citizens of Athens), is alluded to in general terms, not spelled out in vivid and accurate detail. The simple predictability of such a scene of combat and the diversity of the military gear allow for prompt recognition of the content and easy transferability of its application to a number of similar situations. It is left to the valediction frieze below, with its familiar and telling funerary procession of men and youths with extended right arms, to underscore the full, dark significance of the vase shape and the generic imagery on neck and body. Whoever the victors may be imagined to be in the fight in the picture, this vase will serve the ritual needs of the relatives of those who lost their lives. One can believe that the artist's choice of decorative theme was made with its final function clearly in mind.

The inspiration for these combat scenes involving heavily- and lightly-armed forces and cavalry need not lie in myth (though the heroic tone is manifest) or on the contemporary battlefield, but in the long artistic tradition of diversified military engagements going back through the archaic period in Attic art, and indeed in Greek art in general. Vase-painting offers the largest body of surviving evidence for us now, but that medium merely reflects the wider *Zeitgeist*. One may even speculate that the coffins of cypress wood in the public funeral for the war dead, which Thucydides famously mentions (2.34.3), were not left plain, but were decorated with carved or painted friezes in the same vein and in the latest style. Like the paintings in the Stoa Poikile or the friezes on the Temple of Athena Nike, the figured reliefs crowning the public casualty lists would have naturally shared the same thematic approach and traditional characteristics, so that the correspondence in iconographic motifs comes as no surprise.⁶¹ The painters of the

⁶⁰ Boardman illustrates this vase (fig. 113) as an example of 'fighting scenes, which we might regard as heroizing, for male burials' (2001: 231–2).

⁶¹ Cf. Beazley, Payne and Price 1931: 121: 'These pictures, and those on certain white lekythoi, correspond to the tombstones with the same subject which begin in the sub-Parthenonian period (Villa Albani) and go on into the fourth century (Berlin K 30; Dexileos; public tombstone of 394).'

loutrophoroi will have been fully aware of developments in the more prestigious field of war memorials, but their own two-dimensional compositions of duels and fights over the fallen, with or without a horseman, owe little to the sculptors and are not direct copies as such.⁶²

Only two or three of the classical fights are undeniably Amazonomachies, like the one in New York, which originally had three female and four male combatants (cat. no. 25 and figure 11.4).⁶³ The best-preserved figures are the Amazon rider, in purple tiara, sleeved and patterned tunic, patterned trousers and purple shoes, and her opponent who also wears a patterned tunic. His 'Thracian' helmet boasts a distinctive white crest, and his shield a star on a black circle as blazon. Both are armed with spear and sword. Other contemporary fragments of males in combat offer evidence for a slight increase in patterned clothing, added white and decorative detail, but nothing in the artistic style of the time is so exceptional as to suggest that the painters of warrior *loutrophoroi* aimed to distinguish exclusively mythological from realistic soldiers by their appearance. The Amazonomachy itself was assimilated into Athenian public art and the funeral oration as a paradigm of the manly courage (*andreia*) of the dead.⁶⁴ However, Stupperich pointed out the anomaly between its presence on the warrior *loutrophoroi* and (so far) its absence from the themes he thought traceable back to the state monuments.⁶⁵

A new element seen after c. 430 is the inclusion of a white stele, a grave-marker, in the background behind the figures, who are shown still fighting or more quietly visiting the tomb.⁶⁶ This funerary setting becomes the norm for half of the *loutrophoroi* surviving from the last period down to the end of the century. As is the case with regard to similar imagery on white-ground

⁶² One sees in both media, for example, the gradual tightening-up of the composition for a rider and fallen opponent, until by the late fifth century the horse is well over the top of the man on the ground, as in the 'Dexileos motif'. Contrast the formula on the volute krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.84, Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, c. 460–450 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 207099; Boardman 2001: 96 fig. 131, and the Academy Relief, early fourth century BC, Athens, National Museum, 3708: CAT 2.213.

⁶³ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 38.11.4, Group of Polygnotos, c.450–425 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 213758: Richter 1940: figs. 10–11.

⁶⁴ For example, in early classical wall-paintings and the classical sculpture of the Parthenon; cf. Böhr 1984: 25; Stupperich 1977: 158–9, 162. As a *topos* of Athenian myth-history in the funeral orations, see Lys. 2.4–6; Pl. *Menex.* 239b; Dem. 60.8.

⁶⁵ Stupperich 1994: 97–8, suggesting that the state monuments may not have made much use of mythical iconography.

⁶⁶ A red ribbon hints at a (now lost) stele on one early fragment: Newcastle upon Tyne, Shefton Museum, 213, Kleophon Painter, c. 430 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 11058: Foster 1978: 17 (cat. no. 19).



11.4 Amazonomachy on the body of a *loutrophoros*, c. 450–425 BC (cat. no. 25).

lekythoi, the fight itself is not to be imagined as taking place in the real space of a cemetery, although an oblique reference to the competitive nature of the funeral games (*epitaphios agōn*) held nearby is a possibility.⁶⁷ Rather, the symbolism of the formulaic components in the image comes to the fore here. In a sophisticated blending of time and place (before and after, here and there) the representative range of mixed forces (hoplites, light-armed and cavalry) is portrayed in repetitive poses, which capture the essence of each branch's particular forte and its contribution to the defence of the city. The commitment of each man is wholehearted and steadfast, as they engage in a fight to the death. The addition of the grave monument now makes explicit the risk they are taking and the price they are all prepared to pay.

One fragmentary, classical vase (cat. no. 24) depicts the normal 'cast of characters', complete with horse and white-haired old man, gathered solemnly in grief at three beribboned stelae.⁶⁸ At the left of one tall shaft, whose finial stretches into the tongue pattern on the shoulder of the vase, stand two young men: the first in a white, conical hat or helmet (*pilos*) and *chlamys* with a spear in his right hand and a shield on his left arm, a white wreath as blazon;⁶⁹ the second, bent in grief and leaning on his spear, wearing a 'Chalcidian' helmet with raised cheekpieces, modelled locks of hair and white crest, a carefully drawn corselet over a *chitōniskos*, and a sword on a baldric with a white pommel. On the other side and behind the mourning old man a cavalryman in a *chlamys* leads his horse and leans on a pair of spears. This example has been attributed to the Kleophon Painter whose workshop, with seven attributions and another four in his manner, is strongly represented in this (admittedly small) sample of warrior *loutrophoroi* produced in the first decade of the Peloponnesian War.

If the rate of preservation can be at all correlated to the rate of original production, in the last decade of the war the market may have been dominated by the Talos Painter's workshop. A painter working in his manner

⁶⁷ Beazley 1932: 21: 'this does not mean that the fight is thought of as taking place at a tomb: it only says "one is buried, or commemorated, here"; and the rest of the picture adds "who fell in battle for his country." Cf. Kurtz 1984: 321: 'in front of a tomb which seems to function as a stage-set'; Stupperich 1977: 161; 1994: 97. Clairmont 1983: 76–81 argues that the stela reflected the *polyandreia* in the *dēmosion sēma* (rejected by Morris 1992: 134 n. 6). Oakley 2004: 181–2, list 19, nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, fig. 143 discusses the contemporary images of combat at a tomb in 'conflated scenes' on polychrome *lekythoi*, and sees influence passing from and to the *loutrophoroi*, and from the public monuments. He also interprets an aggressively posed warrior at a tomb as 'an epiphany' (148).

⁶⁸ Athens, National Museum, 1700, Kleophon Painter, c. 450–425 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 215190: Boardman 1989: fig. 176.

⁶⁹ One wonders if he holds the shield for the hoplite to his left, since his appearance otherwise suits the typical light-armed man.

created one impressive vase, which has been reconstituted from fragments in Berlin and Athens and which may have been about 1.3 m high originally (cat. no. 33).⁷⁰ Its subject matter demonstrates the continuation of the common departure-of-the-warrior theme (on one side) and a minor Amazonomachy (below),⁷¹ and serves to remind us that some of the earlier, indeterminate bits of helmets, shields and so on, may well have come from such scenes. The minimum of equipment (a *pilos*, spear and star-embazoned shield) suffices for the naked hoplite and his friend who has the versatile *chlamys*, boots and spear of the traveller, hunter or light-armed soldier.⁷² Little remains, unfortunately, of the man and woman facing them at the left on this side, from whom the hoplite is about to take his leave.

The main image on the front bears closer inspection (figure 11.5), for this is not another combat, but a very special, family gathering at an elaborate, stepped tomb monument. Even after allowing for the extensive restorations, the rider and the armed, young man standing to the right are almost identical in appearance: wreath, *petasos*, patterned tunic (*ependytēs*) over a *chitōniskos*, boots and baldric for a sword. The only difference is the rider's single spear to the other's pair. However, this rider on the white horse must, in fact, be a statue on a low base, not a living member of the group shown visiting the cemetery. They comprise a hunter with a dead hare on a stick at the left and two women with offerings at the right, standing behind the rider's double, who may, of course, be the deceased anyway.⁷³

This whole artistic creation constitutes a complex expression of the sentiments felt by a family at the loss of a loved one. In pristine condition the *loutrophoros* itself was an imposing work of art, which could have been set up on a tomb mound, as we see in other vase-paintings.⁷⁴ On it is depicted an image of another work of art, the equestrian statue. At just under life-size a free-standing, marble rider like this would have been a truly exceptional, and very expensive, memorial for a private tomb, but it was perhaps what the grieving family would have preferred to set up there – a very

⁷⁰ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 3209 and Athens, National Museum, 26821, Manner of the Talos Painter, c. 410 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 5280: Bakalakis 1971: pls. 25–9.

⁷¹ According to Stupperich 1977: 158, traces also exist of a minor, black-figure frieze with Greeks fighting figures in eastern dress from the Louvain University vase, Eucharides Painter, c. 475 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 202252 (cat. no. 5).

⁷² He could have worn a *petasos* as well, but this area at the back of his neck is lost.

⁷³ Bakalakis 1971: 77–8; Kurtz 1975: 214. Böhr 1984: 28 sees a statue also on Tübingen S./10 1649, a fragment with the head of a rider in a white *petasos* with two spears to the left of a stele, near the Talos Painter, c. 410 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 11737 (cat. no. 31).

⁷⁴ See, for example, Ghali-Kahil 1967: pl. 53.4; Oakley 2004: 207 fig. 168.



11.5 The body of a *loutrophoros*, showing a statue of a horseman surrounded by family in a cemetery, with an Amazonomachy below, c. 410 BC (cat. no. 33).

archaic, aristocratic aspiration in a time of more moderate, sculptured reliefs.⁷⁵ Skilfully crafted terracotta *lekythoi* and *loutrophoroi* on this scale may well have had to satisfy the desire of the elite for costly display outside

⁷⁵ Cf. Humphreys 1980: 112; Stupperich 1977: 158: 'Ein Anklang an die Staatsgräber'.

the grave in the absence of more extravagant stone monuments. Even if the latter were not formally banned between c. 500 and 425 BC, the gap in the evidence from Athens has been associated with a culture of restraint, until more stone reliefs were manufactured for private use by the wealthy in the late fifth century.⁷⁶ Both vase shapes certainly lived on as funerary markers in the fourth century in marble, but no longer in clay, suggesting that their relevance and meaning was transferable to an intentionally more durable version, even if the precise function of the shape as a water-carrier was not.⁷⁷

Without going into the continuing controversy over the value of, and local market for, terracotta pottery in general in the fifth century, one may wonder about the social class of the citizens who bought or commissioned the Berlin-Athens vase about 410 BC.⁷⁸ The emphasis on the sculptured rider on the front might suggest that the vase was targeted at upper-class citizens who served in the cavalry or had done so, but it is still a minimally equipped hoplite who leaves home on the back. This optimising of the imagery addressing two branches of the military no doubt helped to make the vase attractive to a wider range of customers for whom the iconography was easily comprehensible and the red-figured ceramic not out of reach financially.⁷⁹

4. The realistic delineation of the warriors

So far I have discussed the warrior *loutrophoroi* from the point of view of the pictorial schemes chosen to decorate them. These remained stable through the fifth century and reveal, when related to the rituals of public burial and private remembrance, the widespread, ennobling conception of the citizen soldier in the Athenian democracy. In the next section I summarise the results of a survey undertaken to chart the changes that can be discerned in the iconographical details of the arms and armour of the military figures on these special vases.

⁷⁶ Kurtz 1984: 323; Morris 1992: 128–55. Earlier wooden markers remain a possibility seldom considered, presumably because of the lack of archaeological evidence: Humphreys 1980: 102.

⁷⁷ See Oakley 2004: 216–18 for a discussion of the end of (expensive) white-ground *lekythoi* in the different economic and political climate c. 400 BC.

⁷⁸ Morris 1992: 108–27; Pritchard 1999b; Sparkes 1996: 140–51; Vickers and Gill 1994.

⁷⁹ Cf. Stupperich 1994: 97 on the limited, 'traditional formulae' of the sepulchral iconography: 'Both trierarchs and thetes may well have thought it much more imposing and desirable to have a victorious aristocratic or heroic horseman as the symbol on their tombs rather than a ship on which they had been continuously rowing.'

Because of its incomplete state, the material in question cannot produce scientifically quantifiable data, but the following comments will point out some general trends. Valuable information regarding the contemporary reality of land warfare may be gained from close observation of the details, even when the visual impact and psychological connotations of the complete vase cannot now be identified from a single fragment. In order for the craftsmen to make a good living, as the Athenian potters clearly did for centuries, they had to make products that immediately appealed to their customers and could be comprehended easily. While we may have a problem 'decoding' the images, accurate, lifelike details grounded in their real world and already familiar from childhood would have helped customers to relate to, and identify with, the vase and its message at once.⁸⁰ So one aim of this survey is to try to answer questions like why did the artist draw this shape of helmet and not that for this figure at this time?⁸¹ Why did they choose this combination of armour and clothing and not another? Were some items likely to have been associated more than others with elite or non-elite elements in Athenian society?

The survey was not restricted only to those hoplites who carry the full equipment (*hopla*) including the *aspis* or shield (forty-five at most), but note was taken of all the infantrymen. While Athenian rhetoric and art emphasised the hoplite contribution to the war effort, even to the surprising extent of largely ignoring the cavalry and navy, some of the lightly armed can reasonably be seen as younger or poorer citizens, as opposed to allies, mercenaries or attendants, and worthy of inclusion in this analysis.

First, then, (as already seen in some of the figures above) the helmets depicted range through the known varieties, some of which have actually survived and act as a check on the accuracy of the artists' drawings.⁸² There are a few Corinthian and 'Chalcidian' in each of the four periods; the alternative 'Thracian' is added in the early classical and classical periods, and *piloi* and *petasoi* are predominant in the late fifth century. The Corinthian, despite being designed from the start to fit closely around the head, is here always worn unrealistically up on the crown, and the flexible 'Chalcidian' cheekpieces are raised, so that more of the warrior's face can be seen. One

⁸⁰ Oakley 2004: 214 discusses the question of 'a visual source' and the verisimilitude of the cemetery settings painted on *lekythoi*.

⁸¹ For example, Stupperich 1994: 96 notes the possibility that Corinthian helmets may have crossed over from the real to the heroic world in art. Cf. Hannah 1983: 108–13.

⁸² With the exception perhaps of the Corinthian, the place-based names for the various types of helmets have little or no basis in fact, but they are those traditionally used by art historians and archaeologists.

might believe that the artistic desire to portray the soldier's individual features and expression of steady determination overrides the real purpose of the helmet in action, but this does not appear to apply in the case of the 'Thracian' type, which conceals all but eyes, nose and mouth. The *piloi* and *petasoi*, too, confirm that men were prepared to accept the greater risk of injury to the face in favour of improved vision and hearing, and a lighter weight.⁸³ One conical *pilos* actually appears on an early classical *loutrophoros*, but they are most popular in the classical period, especially painted over in white clay, perhaps to suggest shining metal rather than the felt original implied in the Greek name. The broad-brimmed *petasos* is equally well represented in the classical period and late fifth century. Again, it is not necessarily the soft, leather hat favoured by travellers and riders, but, on hoplites especially, the metallic forerunner of the fourth-century Boeotian helmet which is probably intended in the paintings.

Only two late-fifth-century helmets are of the so-called 'Attic' type (though different in their details).⁸⁴ One occurs on a fragment which was discovered in a tomb during the excavation for the Kerameikos Metro station (cat. no. 34).⁸⁵ At first glance the helmet looks particularly simple as far as the minimalist cheekpiece and underdeveloped frontlet are concerned, but the naturalistic treatment of the white horsehair crest is matched by the rare extra detail of the white chinstrap. Its wearer, a nervous young man, seems about to fall between two enemies, a half-preserved archer in eastern dress, who approaches on foot from the left and takes aim from behind a laurel bush, and a (now lost) rider on horseback. Although he is armed with a spear and a sword on a baldric, his exposed body (bare except for the folded *chlamys* over his left arm) and the lack of a secure grip on his shield presage his fate.

In the fifth century the 'Attic' helmet seems to be an iconographical attribute. Having been created long ago as the simple helmet of Athena, it was passed on to Amazons and a handful of others, including heroes who fight Amazons (as presumably here), so that its scant showing on the warrior *loutrophoroi* in general is understandable. It is often confused with the commoner 'Chalcidian' helmet, but its projecting frontlet is the characteristic

⁸³ As seen also in surviving Apulo-Corinthian helmets, which were manufactured later to be worn on top of the head with the original facial openings barely in evidence.

⁸⁴ Contrast the helmet worn by the leading hoplite on Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2474, Talos Painter, c. 410 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 217521: Scheurleer 1931: pl. 4.1–3 (cat. no. 36).

⁸⁵ Athens, Museum of Cycladic Art / Third Ephoria, A 15369, Aristophanes (Tsirigoti-Drakotou), c. 410 BC: Parlama and Stampolidis 2001: 370 no. 410 (Tsirigoti-Drakotou) (cat. no. 34).

feature which distinguishes it from the flat front of the 'Chalcidian', plus or minus a nose-guard. In its most realistic, sculptural form it may later have actually come to be used by some of the Athenians themselves,⁸⁶ but it was never the helmet of the Athenian army in the fifth century, and not one classical 'Attic' helmet has been found yet in mainland Greece.

When we turn to body-armour it is perhaps surprising to find that in the surviving sample there are no bronze muscle-cuirasses at all. Instead, the composite corselet of linen or leather is worn over a *chitōniskos* by about a quarter of the figures from the late archaic to classical periods. No body-armour at all is worn in the late fifth century. Throughout the century about two-thirds of the soldiers are shown in a *chitōniskos*, or *chlamys*, or both *chlamys* and *chitōniskos*, and especially from the mid-century a patterned tunic. These are normal clothes worn in everyday ways. They may have offered a little protection against cuts and stab wounds, but these men are effectively as exposed to injury and death as the half-dozen hoplites who are depicted naked.⁸⁷ The wearing of greaves declines over time. There are two or three late archaic and three early classical cases to only one classical and none from the late fifth century. Did the painters just lose interest in them, once the actual shape became fully naturalistic and hardly worth detailing on the leg, even with a coloured pad at the ankle? Or had they really been discarded by this stage? It is hard to tell.

As for the weapons themselves on the warrior *loutrophoroi*, spears unfortunately provide little of value from closer inspection. Sometimes their length and the size and shape of the metallic heads and butt-spikes are carefully depicted, but usually we only have parts of the wooden shaft. A spear is always held in the right hand in action; only riders and light-armed figures have a pair – whether for use as javelins or to supply a spare is unclear. Swords are secondary and less common, but offered scope for more decorative detail. They are housed in the scabbard at the left side, and sometimes only detectable through the strap or cords crossing the chest, or the hilt. On one late-fifth-century fragment part of a red hilt in the hand of a lifeless body on the ground hints at a last desperate defence, but to no avail.⁸⁸ Only one early classical figure wields the curved alternative (*kopis*) in a slashing movement above his head, unfortunately against a now unidentifiable opponent.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ For example, on the grave monument of Ktesikrates, c. 400–375 BC, Paris, Louvre, Ma 3382: CAT 1.277. According to the data in CAT the 'Attic' helmet is common on grave monuments in the first half (especially the first quarter) of the fourth century.

⁸⁷ See also Hannah 1998.

⁸⁸ Beazley Archive Database no. 11608 (cat. no. 32).

⁸⁹ Beazley Archive Database no. 205464 (cat. no. 6).

Finally, although often incomplete, the hoplite shields with their distinctive, curved shape, rim, internal fittings and decorative features are clearly depicted. The extra aprons, which were presumably attached to the lower edge of the shield to give protection against arrows during the Persian Wars, appear on one (perhaps two) late archaic and one early classical vase.⁹⁰ Blazons are surprisingly limited in scope with traces of one early classical snake, one classical panther, one classical wreath, two classical and four late-fifth-century starbursts – noticeably no alphas to designate ‘Athenian’.⁹¹ Three also have a pattern of small circles on the rim reminiscent of the embossed guilloche on surviving originals.

How one interprets these pictorial features depends to a large degree on one’s attitude to the notion of artistic licence. In particular, the lightness of the dress and general lack of protection in Greek vase-paintings has been explained as ‘heroic nudity’, a concept of questionable relevance here in contrast to Hellenistic and Roman art.⁹² Viewed as a whole rather than selectively, the visual imagery of the warrior *loutrophoroi* can be read as realistic and culturally meaningful; even if it is generic and idealising, it is seldom fanciful and imaginatively unbelievable.⁹³ In its range, rate of adoption and functionality infantry equipment continued to change throughout the fifth century BC, just as it had ever since parts of the hoplite panoply were introduced at the end of the eighth century. The modifications to the number of items and their materials certainly made supplying one’s own armour a less expensive proposition later in the century than it had been at its start.⁹⁴ The bare essentials had always been a shield (the first line of defence) and a spear (the primary weapon). After that, were bronze helmets, corselets and greaves now seen as optional extras indulged in by the rich, front-rankers and officers, while others made do with felt caps, an everyday cloak and/or tunic and bare legs? It appears so.

⁹⁰ Beazley Archive Database nos. 201916 (perhaps), 202252 (late archaic); 11743 (early classical) (cat. nos. 1, 5, 8).

⁹¹ Beazley Archive Database nos. 205752; 215192; 215190; 213758; 216115 + rim; 5280 (twice); 217521 + one white; 340052 + rim; plus also 213793 black; Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. 3842 plain white with dotted rim (cat. nos. 7, 23–6, 33, 36, 39; 15, 40).

⁹² For the issues concerning ‘heroic’ and ‘civic nudity’, see Hurwit 2007.

⁹³ Cf. Robertson 1992: 197: ‘On the *loutrophoros* [Beazley Archive Database no. 212260 (cat. no. 10)] all figures are male, including two on horseback; and, though some are shown in heroic nudity, I do not think this necessarily means that the battle is thought of in mythological terms.’

⁹⁴ For the full panoply and its cost, see van Wees 2004: 52–4, and pl. 2 for the lighter equipment as represented on a grave relief of the late fifth century. Cf. J. K. Anderson 1970: 13–42; Hannah 1983: 461–2, 527–8; Hanson 1991c: 64; Trundle 2004: 121.

In such circumstances even nudity, which was certainly acceptable in the gymnasias and festive competitions for the elite,⁹⁵ and for workers in crafts and farming, may have been easily adopted by the non-elite citizens of the democracy in the military sphere too – another ‘dirty job’.⁹⁶ If a greater number of poorer citizens wanted voluntarily to be involved in Athens’ hoplite army, the lower material cost of the extra items beyond the spear and shield would certainly have facilitated this.⁹⁷ With optional, cheaper armour instead of the full, bronze panoply of the sixth century, the financial outlay required to supply one’s own *hopla* would have decreased, thus opening up the ranks further to poorer citizens. On the other hand, the political decision to create an expanded and more effective cavalry (c. 440 BC) will have presented the wealthy elite with an exclusive force through which to demonstrate their superiority over a now broader hoplite class. The adoption of lighter equipment by the end of the century may, therefore, be seen as evidence not just for the development of a more mobile style of hoplite warfare, but also for changes in the sociopolitical context in the economic environment of the Peloponnesian War.

5. Conclusion

Since the fragmentary *loutrophoroi* which have been the focus of this study are so incomplete, their value as evidence for real-life combat scenarios is severely limited. While items of contemporary military equipment can definitely be identified from what remains and the type of soldier deduced in most cases, restoring the exact context and the relationship between the figures is more problematical. However, the repetitive nature of Athenian vase-paintings offers some assistance here, so that general conclusions can be made on the basis of formulaic parallels and probability, even when at first sight pitifully little seems to have survived.

⁹⁵ On the limitation of athletic participation to upper-class Athenians, see Pritchard 2003; 2009. *Contra* Fisher 1998a.

⁹⁶ For different views on nudity, see Boardman 2004: 49; Hölscher 2003: 7–8. Hurwit 2007: 45–6 states (my italics): ‘Greek males (it is generally agreed) did not walk around town naked, they did not ride horses naked, and they certainly did not go into battle naked. In most public contexts, clothing was not optional, and in combat nakedness was suicidal. Still, the Greeks regarded male nudity as a characteristic of their culture.’ Hurwit covers the modern controversy concerning symbolic nudity in art well, but he undervalues the possibility that a real habit of nudity in many contexts, including battle, was an important influence on the artists, and that casual nakedness for men was internalised by the Athenian people.

⁹⁷ For the increasing participation-rate of Athenians as hoplites throughout the classical period, see sections 2 and 6 in the chapter by David Pritchard in this volume.

As indicated earlier regarding the definition of these particular *loutrophoroi*, the iconography in question encompasses not just figures struggling in violent action (battles) but also figures at ease in quieter moments (warriors). The static figures, standing or seated, usually appear in the company of civilians (family) or other soldiers (hoplites, light-armed, archers and cavalrymen), occasionally prior to departure or at a tomb.⁹⁸ Although individual hoplites can be identified as fighting figures by their predictable poses, for example, even if their opponent is now lost (or a trace of their weapon may survive),⁹⁹ the rarer, multi-figured fragments offer more scope for compositional analysis. Sometimes the adversary is clearly marked out as 'other' (African, eastern barbarian or Amazon),¹⁰⁰ but on the whole various combinations of Greek infantry and cavalry forces are depicted. Hoplites engage with cavalry, or light-armed infantry, or both, while light-armed men accompany hoplites or face enemy cavalry.¹⁰¹ Riders may advance from left or right without obvious preference,¹⁰² and hoplites are not automatically the victors. Finally, it is noticeable, and not at all surprising, that a 'classic' clash of hoplite phalanxes is nowhere attempted by the artist, whose eye and brush are drawn instead to the challenging juxtaposition of a few exemplary men in distinctive gear with their own characteristic attributes.

Moreover, the warrior *loutrophoroi* can help us to gain a better understanding of the Athenians' attitude toward not just military service but also death in battle. If some of the images do seem to us to be 'heroising', what is it that gives this impression?¹⁰³ The detailed analysis of the arms and armour has shown no serious distortion or over-embellishment of what could be real equipment, even in the mythological context of an Amazonomachy. And yet it is noticeable that in the few better-preserved action scenes, like the late-fifth-century vase attributed to the Talos Painter in Amsterdam

⁹⁸ Armed figures, standing or seated, with civilians (cat. nos. 7, 10, 24, 39) or other soldiers – hoplites (cat. nos. 3?, 7, 8?, 35?, 39), light-armed (cat. nos. 11?, 33, 38), archers (cat. no. 2 in eastern dress) and cavalrymen (cat. no. 24); on departure (cat. nos. 7, 33); at a tomb (cat. nos. 24, 39?); light-armed at tomb (cat. no. 30); (statue of) cavalryman at tomb (cat. nos. 31, 33).

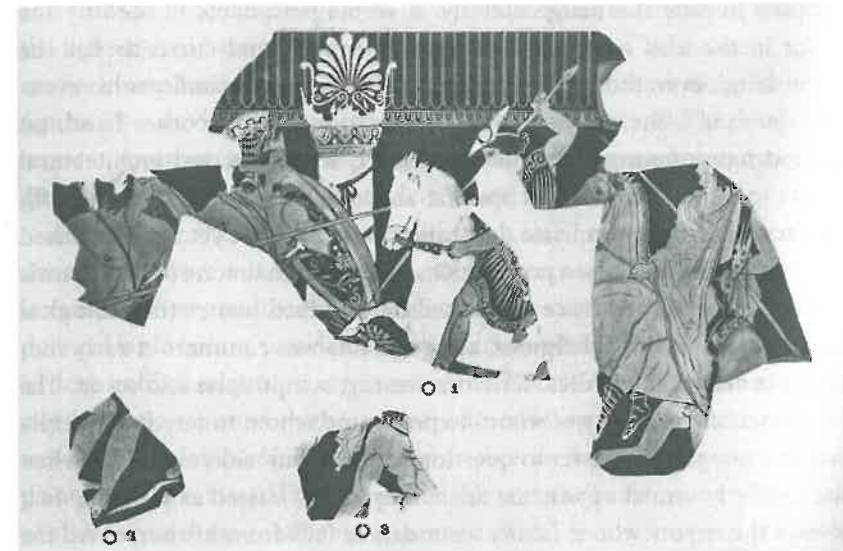
⁹⁹ Individual hoplites (cat. nos. 2, 4, 9, 13–16, 18, 19 + tomb, 20, 21?, 22?, 28 two hoplites + tomb, 29, 32); light-armed or cavalryman (cat. no. 17?).

¹⁰⁰ Africans (cat. no. 1); trousered barbarian (cat. no. 5); Amazons (cat. nos. 25 including Amazon rider, 26 including light-armed Greek, 33 including light-armed Greeks versus Amazon light-armed and archer, and 34 with barbarian or Amazon archer and rider).

¹⁰¹ Hoplites against cavalry (cat. nos. 23, 36 + tomb, 40 + tomb), against light-armed (cat. no. 12), against both cavalry and light-armed (cat. nos. 10, 27 + tomb); hoplite with light-armed (cat. no. 6); cavalry against light-armed (cat. no. 37).

¹⁰² Horses moving from left to right (cat. nos. 17?, 23, 25, 27, 31, 40) and from right to left (cat. nos. 10, 34, 36, 37).

¹⁰³ Parker 1996: 135–7 outlines the hero-like treatment that the war dead received. Cf. Loraux 2006: 71–5.



11.6 Fragments of a *loutrophoros* with hoplites and cavalry fighting in front of a grave stele, late fifth century BC (cat. no. 36).

(cat. no. 36 and figure 11.6), the real horror of war is avoided.¹⁰⁴ The engagement seems to have only just begun and could swing either way; hoplites (our side?) stride confidently forward to meet foot or horse. Where one in front has already fallen, his friends come to his aid, and no one turns to run away.¹⁰⁵ Spear raised to shoulder or waist level, they peer out from under the edge of the helmet over the rim of the shield, eyeing up the enemy's weak spot.¹⁰⁶ The mood is one of quiet determination and self-control, as befits the mature man who, on the neck or other side of the vase, may be shown calmly taking leave of his father. As one from old age finally lays down the responsibility to defend his *oikos* and the *polis*, now the other stands in his place – for there is no other choice.

Some modern viewers, when looking at these battle scenes, especially the excerpt with only two figures common in funerary art, have been

¹⁰⁴ Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2474, Talos Painter, c. 410 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 217521; Scheurleer 1931: pl. 4.1–3.

¹⁰⁵ Contrast the figure at the right of an early-fourth-century relief who appears to be deserting his comrade and leaving the scene: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29.47: Clairmont 1983: pl. 3b.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Athens, Agora Museum, P 6672, Kleophon Painter, c. 440–430 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 215197; Moore 1997: pl. 17.95 (cat. no. 13); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.286.55, c. 440–430 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 215196 (cat. no. 14).

tempted to take the image literally. It seems reasonable to identify the victor in the man who is shown fighting bravely and currently has the upper hand, even though the existence of the artwork confirms his eventual demise.¹⁰⁷ The multi-figured compositions, on the other hand, on the red-figure *loutrophoroi* (like the larger, sculptural and architectural reliefs in stone) remain less specific and more open-ended in the fifth century, offering appropriate decoration only, and not yet a personalised representation, let alone a portrait. One may note that none of the ceramic examples reveals any trace of painted or inscribed names (mythological or Athenian) beside the figures, although this was common in early red-figure in scenes of athletes, warriors arming, symposiasts and so on. The fundamental ambiguity of whom to praise and whom to pity is deliberate and encourages the viewer to question which is 'our' side, especially when the similarly armed opponents are simply characterised as Hellenic. Is it always the enemy who is fatally wounded or falls from his horse? All the participants in this contest are equally risking their lives for their loved ones and their *polis*. Death looms in the background – literally in the last quarter of the century, when, ramming the point home, the painters include the tomb monument itself.

This iconography serves a social purpose, making visible the positive encouragement of the funeral orations. Beautiful, unscarred people in beautiful clothes and equipment calmly face going to their deaths like heroes, knowing that their family will commemorate their loss privately, and that the city will remember their sacrifice and honour them publicly as *andres agathoi*. Is it any wonder that the dead sleep so peacefully along the baseline at the feet of these men?¹⁰⁸

Imagery of this kind is not unique to these vases, or even to democratic Athens, but repeatedly expressed and easily assimilated. Such a consistent iconographic programme, which emphasises military personnel in moments of both violent action and peaceful reflection, amounts to a concerted effort towards role reinforcement and mental manipulation carried out by a society on its own citizens – all of them, not just the hoplites, for

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the incomplete grave monument for one, aptly-named, Athenokles: Athens, Agora Museum I 3845, from the Agora, c. 400 BC: CAT 1.193. It shows a bearded figure, characterised by his *petasos*, *chlamys* and spear as a light-armed soldier or cavalryman, apparently standing at rest. The epigram on the architrave above, praising his *aretē*, identifies him as an *anēr agathos*, who prevailed in action (*ergois kratē [sas]*), but the choice has been made not to illustrate him in such a way.

¹⁰⁸ Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Museum, Archäologischen Instituts, S./10 1568c, Talos Painter (Watzinger), c. 400 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 217523: Böhr 1984: pl. 9.4 (cat. no. 37).

some late-fifth-century fragments give pride of place to cavalry,¹⁰⁹ and even the light-armed have a valuable part to play in support. While some scholars have emphasised opposition and the differences separating the stock figures,¹¹⁰ one could instead read now strength in unity and an image of a broader spectrum of the society fighting together for a common goal, the glory (*kudos*) and fame (*kleos*) of democratic Athens.

To conclude, this chapter has focused on a small sample of the visual evidence for soldiers and their equipment in the context of the mortuary practices and military realities of Athens in the fifth century BC. The important, political issue of how in a democracy to acknowledge and properly record, in both public and private ceremonies, those who had died fighting for the city is subtly reflected in the scenes with military figures painted on the red-figure *loutrophoroi*. The decorative choices made by the potters and painters, and endorsed by the (presumably satisfied) customers, in the case of these special vases offer us important evidence for the perceptions of Athenian families who had lost relatives on the battlefield. Their sentiments are expressed here in visible form, as part of a complex process designed to control, channel and assuage their raw grief in a variety of stabilising ways for the good of all.

¹⁰⁹ For example, the fragments of horses on Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Museum, Archäologischen Instituts, S./10 1568a–b + h, Talos Painter (Watzinger), c. 400 BC: Beazley Archive Database no. 217523: Böhr 1984: pl. 9.5–6 (cat. no. 37). Cf. Low 2002.

¹¹⁰ For example, Lissarrague 1990 with regard to Attic black-figure images of the sixth century BC.

Appendix:
Catalogue of Attic red-figured warrior *loutrophoroi*

No.	Beazley Archive Database no.	City Museum no. (Provenance)	Painter	Action n: on neck	Figures h: hoplite lt: light-armed c: cavalry
Late Archaic, c. 500–475 BC					
1.	201916	Erlangen F-A-Uni 526 (Athens)	Berlin P	fight v.2 Africans	h
2.	2258	Athens Kerameikos 3234, 3235a–c (Kerameikos)	Kleophrades P (Knigge)	n: stand fight + <i>prothesis</i>	h + archer h
3.	202134	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1580	manner of Berlin P	n: stand	h, h or lt?
4.	11738	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1667	Kleophrades P (Böhr)	fight	h
5.	202252	Louvain Uni (Athens)	Eucharides P	fight v. barbarian	h, h or lt?
Early Classical, c. 475–450 BC					
6.	205464	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1624	Hermonax	fight	h, lt
7.	205752 (Fig. 11.2)	New York MMA 07.286.70	P of Bologna 228	n: depart n: 2 stand	h + old man h, h
8.	11743	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1685	unattributed	fight, arm or depart?	h, h or lt?
9.	207252	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1568	Villa Giulia P	fight?	h

Catalogue (cont.)

No.	Beazley Archive Database no.	City Museum no. (Provenance)	Painter	Action n: on neck	Figures h: hoplite lt: light-armed c: cavalry
Classical, c. 450–425 BC					
10.	212260 (Fig. 11.3)	Philadelphia Uni Penn 30.4.1 (Athens)	Sabouroff P Achilles P	n: stand fight	h + man 3 h, 2? lt, 3? c
11.	11736	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1627	Peleus P (Böhr)	n: stand	lt + 1 lost
12.	213450	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1657 (Greece)	Polygnotos	fight	h?, lt + archer?
13.	215197	Athens Agora P 6672 (Agora)	Kleophon P	fight	h + h or lt?
14.	215196	New York MMA 07.286.55	Kleophon P	fight	h?, h
15.	213793	New York MMA 07.286.58	Group of Polygnotos	fight	h
16.	11740	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1568g	unattributed	fight	h
17.	215252	Louvain Uni (Athens)	recalls Kleophon P and Dinos P	fight?	lt or c?
18.	11739	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1568e	Kleophon P (Böhr)	fight	h
19.	11058	Newcastle/Tyne Shefton Mus. 213	manner of Kleophon P	fight at tomb	h
20.	215195	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1568i	Kleophon P	fight	h or lt?
21.	215243	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1568d	manner of Kleophon P	fight?	h or lt?

Catalogue (cont.)

No.	Beazley Archive Database no.	City Museum no. (Provenance)	Painter	Action n: on neck	Figures h: hoplite lt: light-armed c: cavalry
22.	215242	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1568f	manner of Kleophon P	fight?	h or lt?
23.	215192	Oxford Ash Mus 1966.708	Kleophon P	fight	2 h, 2 h or lt?, c
24.	215190	Athens NM 1700	Kleophon P	at tombs	2 h, c + old man
25.	213758 (Fig. 11.4)	New York MMA 38.11.4	Group of Polygnotos	fight v. 3 Amazons	2 h + 2? c + 2?
26.	216115	Athens NM 13032A (Philopappos)	Naples P	fight v. Amazons n: 2 women	2 h, lt + ? h?, lt?
Late Fifth Century BC					
27.	215191	Oxford Ash Mus 1929.11	Kleophon P	fight at tomb	h, 2 lt, 3 c
28.	12748	Oxford Ash Mus 1929.12	unattributed	fight at tomb	2h
29.	11609	Tübingen E-K-Uni 1557b	unattributed	fight	h
30.	29478	Athens Agora P 27346 (Agora)	unattributed	seated at tomb	lt
31.	11737	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1649	manner of Talos P	at tomb	c = statue? (Böhr)
32.	11608	Tübingen E-K-Uni 1557c	unattributed	fight	dead h or c?
33.	5280 (Fig. 11.5)	Berlin Antik 3209 + Athens NM 26821 (Athens)	manner of Talos P	depart at tomb n: stand below: fight v. Amazons	h, lt + old man, woman c statue, c? + hunter, 2 women lt? 2 h, 3 lt 2 lt + archer

Catalogue (cont.)

No.	Beazley Archive Database no.	City Museum no. (Provenance)	Painter	Action n: on neck	Figures h: hoplite lt: light-armed c: cavalry
34.	-	Athens 3rd Ephoria A 15369 (Kerameikos Metro)	Aristophanes (Tsirigoti- Drakotou)	fight v. Amazons?	h c + archer
35.	18926	Athens Agora P 3561 (Agora)	unattributed	stand	h, h or lt?
36.	217521 (Fig. 11.6)	Amsterdam All Pierson 2474 (Athens)	Talos P	fight at tomb	4 h, 2 c
37.	217523	Tübingen E-K-Uni S./ 10 1568a-c + h	Talos P (Watzinger)	fight	dead lt, 5 c
38.	29471	Athens Agora P 18287 (Agora)	unattributed	stand	h, lt
39.	340052	Oxford Ash Mus 1921.867	Near Talos P	stand + seated at tomb	h, h? + woman
40.	-	Athens Kerameikos 3842 (Kerameikos)	unattributed (see Clairmont 1983: pl. 8b)	fight at tomb	h, c