Representing Absence: The Iconographic Impact of Sumptuary Legislation in the Funerary Monuments of Ancient Greece

By Arielle Hardy

Introduction

The Greek siren (Figs. 1, 2), a composite figure formed from a combination of human female and avian features, played a major role as an artistic motif from the Archaic period on, and evolved in the centuries following to encapsulate social constructs as well. In its earliest conceptions, the siren was regarded as a frightening and dangerous figure, identified in the *Odyssey*—the work in which the term 'siren' first appears—in conjunction with the lure of death. However, the type moves beyond association with a particular narrative, and evolves physically over time to become used on grave markers as a mourning figure.[1] The 'mourning siren,' a motif which developed during the 5th century BCE, subverts the nature of the siren as a narrative element and instead leads to questions regarding the gender relations and changing social customs of Ancient Greece.

The change in the iconography of the mourning siren emerged in conjunction with the limitations placed on the role of women in funerary practices, implying some relationship between the motif and the legislation banning women's roles in the funeral. This suggests that any limitation on women's activity would have affected the perceived 'effectiveness' of the funeral itself. I will show that the siren motif was well suited to use in a funerary context; thus the mourning siren motif can be understood as a stand-in of sorts for the mourners who were no longer a part of the funeral—perpetuating the mourning ritual in a way that human women were now prevented from doing.

[1] Two other composite figures also combining female and bird parts are often confused with the siren, these being the sphinx and the harpy. The sphinx can be differentiated by its addition of leonine characteristics, and the harpy seems to be a figure primarily known through narrative, with no representations yet confirmed that can be said with certainty to depict harpies.

Iconographic Origins of the Greek Siren

The siren as a composite figure combining female and avian attributes is not unique to the art and culture of ancient Greece. Examples of similar figures can be found in western Asia as well as ancient Egypt. The primary associations of such imagery in these cultures are otherworldliness and power and in some cases, death. Therefore, the specific iconography and overtones of the winged-woman figure was established by the time the form became translated into Greek art.

In the art of western Asia, the figure with the closest iconographical similarities to the Greek siren is the Sumerian goddess Inanna, or her later incarnation, Ishtar. A longstanding motif, Inanna/Ishtar can be depicted as having the upper body and legs of a human female, with the wings and talons of a bird (Figs. 3, 4). An 8th century stele shows the winged goddess dressed as a warrior, on the back of a leashed lion (Fig. 5). This underscores association with a power animal, and the requisite connotations of power, that was understood even in the early incarnations.[2] The *Burney Relief* (Fig. 3) also depicts the goddess flanked by various animals,[3] and she also holds a rod and ring— symbols often shown being handed to a king by a divinity as emblematic of the conference of authority to the ruler. The rod and ring, coupled with the flanking animals, reinforces the powerful nature of the goddess. The 8th century example's addition of a leash furthers the idea of domination. Although sirens are not conceptualized as deities in the Greek mind in the same sense as Inanna/Ishtar, they borrow not only the hybrid form, but also the connotations of unknown knowledge or power that are also associated with the Near Eastern figure.

Egyptian iconography was also a strong influence on the Greek depiction of the siren, and similar otherworldly associations can be seen through the transmission of Egyptian material

[2] Another interesting comparison is the *Potnia Theron* or "Mistress of Beasts" who appears in early Minoan art—mentioned in Homer (*Iliad* 21.470) as an epithet of Artemis.
[3] The close association between the power animal and the deity is interesting, underscoring these animals' connection to otherworldliness, something that sirens draw on as well. Moreover, this furthers ties to the *Potnia Theron* figures of early Greek art.

culture to Greek art. In Egypt, two different characters represent the woman-bird figure: the goddess Isis, and the *ba*-bird—the embodiment of the soul. Isis is connected with a specific mythology in which she transformed herself into a bird in order to recover the segmented corpse of her husband Osiris.[4] She, while still in bird form, hovered over Osiris' reassembled parts, and through magic brought him back to life long enough for her to copulate with and become impregnated by him.[5] As a result, a winged Isis is a recurring figure on numerous tomb carvings, amulets, and sarcophagi as a protective emblem (Figs. 6, 7, 8). The *ba*-bird shared these associations and is likewise frequently depicted on funerary paraphernalia. The *ba* was conceived of as the mobile aspect of the human soul, so a winged figure with human characteristics was a logical choice. These figures, like the early Greek sirens, are shown as having the body of a bird with the head of a human (Figs. 9, 10). In fact, the early Greek sirens look almost identical to the Egyptian figures (Figs. 11, 12). In form at least, the siren and *ba*-bird are related.

Egyptian influence can be seen in the iconographic similarity between the *ba*, Isis, and the siren, but another element of influence may have been the figures' connotations in terms of death. The earliest known example of Greek art depicting a siren figure appears in a mortuary context as well; on a 7th century funerary plaque (Fig. 13). The scene depicts a siren with a human head and a bird body standing below a funerary bier, with two female mourners. The siren's raised wings suggest movement, and it seems that its mouth is open, possibly in song. My interpretation is that the siren is being shown in the act with which it is traditionally associated, singing, which works in concert with the activities of the women, singing a lament. The use on a funerary plaque that depicts women in mourning also shows, at least proximally, a relationship to these actions.

[4] Rosenberg, Donna. *World Mythology: An Anthology of the Great Myths and Epics*. 2nd ed. (Lincolnwood, Illinois: NTC Publishing Group, 1994), 159-168.
[5] Correlations between later siren myths, namely as the handmaidens of Persephone who are turned into birds to look for her after she is taken to the underworld, are also very interesting in relation to this story. It would seem that more than just iconography is borrowed from other cultures.

Moreover, this suggests that in early use, sirens are already associated with death in a manner independent of their use in the *Odyssey*.

The Greek Funeral and Sumptuary Legislation: Changing Roles for Women in Funerary Rites

To comprehend the connection between the siren and the human woman, it is necessary to understand the organization and elements of Greek funeral practices prior to the 6th century enactment of laws modifying their structure, and thus to recognize the impact that sumptuary legislation would have had on these rituals. Greek funerary ritual consisted of three stages, *prothesis*, *ekphora*, and deposition, and women played a significant role in all three.[6] Women's prominence in funerary rites underscores the fact that both the female, and the mourning, were considered essential to the effectiveness of the funeral.

The first component of the Greek funeral, the *prothesis*, or lying out of the body, is recorded from the Geometric period on. It involved closing the eyes of the deceased, washing the body, and laying the body out on a bed, covered in a cloth.[7] In addition to the more pragmatic aspects of caring for the body, the primary eschatological ceremony performed during the *prothesis* was the singing of ritual laments, and thus mourning played a major role.[8] Though the period of *prothesis* was supposed to last only twenty-four hours—long enough to prove the deceased was actually dead[9]—it could go on for much longer. In the *Iliad*, an extended duration of *prothesis* would extend the mourning period.[10] This may reflect poetic exaggeration, but it suggests that mourning for important figures could last for several days, and that higher status individuals would receive protracted mourning rites. Moreover, the funerals of prominent persons may also have included

[6] Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 21.
[7] Garland, 23-24. See also, Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art.*
[8] Garland, 29-30.
[9] Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vols. 10 & 11. trans. R.G. Bury. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), XII; 959a
[10] Though it is possible that this only reflects poetic license, that the laws specify when and for how long rites were to be carried out, there seems to be some truth to the Homeric reference.

more than just family members, allowing friends to mourn in tandem with blood relatives, and in some cases, even included hired professional mourners.[11] In all cases, women seem to have comprised the majority of funeral participants, and in vase-paintings, were shown more frequently than men. The longevity of this consistent formal representational scheme indicates the pervasive significance of this component of the funeral. It can be inferred that as a result, the women's mourning portion of the ritual also remained important.

The second element of Greek funerary practice was the *ekphora*, or carrying out of the body from the home to the gravesite. Though this element infrequently depicted in art, those few scenes that do exist show both men and women present in this portion of the funeral, thus reinforcing the significant role women played in these activities (Fig. 14a-b). The practical purpose of this rite was simply to move the body to the burial place. Although women did not participate in the physical element of the transportation, and thus were not needed to carry out the fundamentals of the practice, their presence demonstrates that they were seen to contribute something essential to the procession.[12] There is also evidence that in some cases professional musicians were hired to join the procession as it made its way to the cemetery.[13] This underscores two important elements; first, the continuing presence of women with regard to these activities. Second, it stresses the pervasiveness and significance of continued, public mourning gestures in all aspects of the funeral ritual.

The final component of the funeral was the deposition of the body. The body was cremated or in some cases inhumed,[14] and deposition also included making offerings graveside, as well as additional hymns and threnodies performed at the burial site. Based on the proscriptions of the

[11] Holst-Warhaft, Gail. *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature.* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 2
[12] Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 32. and Homer, *The Iliad.* trans. Robert Fagles. (New York, New York: Penguin Books, 1990), XXIII; 153-154, XXIV; 922-925.
[13] Garland, 34.
[14] Both practices would have necessitated some form of disposal of the material of the body, and thus would have involved the same rituals.

laws as well as descriptions in various ancient sources it is likely that female mourners would have been present for this event, and even would have stood alongside the grave to sing hymns while the coffin was being lowered.[15] Offerings were also left both during this portion of the ceremony and after the body had been inhumed (Figs. 15, 16). These include figurines of mourners, most often women, in the characteristic posture (Figs. 17, 18, 19). These mourning figurines establish a connection between actual representational figures of mourning and the grave itself. In so doing, they also create a context for the mourning siren, as representations of mourners in the plastic arts already have a history of being present in relation to the gravesite. Finally, they extend the rites of mourning to long after the human mourners have departed, as they are able to remain at the site indefinitely. Clearly there was a longstanding desire to make the memory of the deceased as permanent as possible, and the mourning ritual was part of this effort. Thus, although relatively little is known with regards to the details of the deposition itself, what is clear is that the significance of the role of mourning persists.

The sumptuary laws established by Solon in the 6th century represent a shift in the traditions and practices of the Greek funeral, and the changes instated by the new legislation would not have been easily or immediately absorbed. Though Solon's laws would have pertained only to Athens, comments by later writers show that these practices were widely applied, and thus are indicative of a general trend that occurred throughout the sphere of Greek influence at the time. For the purposes of this inquiry the cause of these limitations is not as important as the direct result, which was in effect a ban on extensive public displays of mourning. This in turn strongly affected the role of women in funerary activities.

Though there are no records of Attic funerary legislation contemporary with Solon, later

[15] Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 36.

ancient sources reference the limitations on funerary practices. Demosthenes is first to mention the specific proscriptions. He says:

> The deceased shall be laid out in the house any way one chooses, and they shall carry out the deceased on the day after that on which they lay him out, before the sun rises. And the men shall walk in front, when they carry him out, and the women behind. And no woman less than sixty years of age shall be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased, or to follow the deceased when he is carried to the tomb, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins; nor shall any woman be permitted to enter the chamber of the deceased when the body is carried out, except those who are within the degree of children of cousins.[16]

Cicero discusses the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables that borrowed heavily from Solon. He describes the limitations on mourning practices in place for the Romans, saying that they were derived from the laws of Solon. Much of what he says aligns with Demosthenes' statements:

> There are other things in the Twelve Tables for the diminishing of expense and of lamentation in funerals, almost all of which were brought over from Solon's laws…Then with the expense thinned to three small veils, a scanty, purple tunic, and ten flutists, it also eliminates lamentation: "Let women not scratch their cheeks or have wailing on account of a death."...wailing was mournful wailing…because Solons law forbids exactly that.[17]

Cicero says further:

> nor was it allowed to speak in praise of the dead except at public burials, nor by anyone who was not publicly appointed for this event. The crowding of men and women was also eliminated, and the lamentation was thereby diminished, for the gathering of human beings increases mourning.[18]

Plutarch also corroborates the details of the legislation:

> Mourners tearing themselves to raise pity, and set wailings, and at one man's funeral to lament for another, he forbade. To offer an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor to bury above three pieces of dress with the body, or visit the tombs of any besides their own family, unless at the very funeral…[19]

The two aspects most emphasized were the limitations placed on graveside offerings, and limiting

[16] Demosthenes. *Private Orations*. Vol. II. trans. A.T. Murray. (London, United Kingdom: Heinemann, 1939), 103.
[17] Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *On the Republic* and *On the Laws*. trans. David Fott. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2014), 177. 22.2.16.
[18] Cicero, *On the Republic* and *On the Laws*. trans. David Fott, 179. 22.2.16.
[19] Plutarch. *Twelve Lives*. trans. John Dryden (Cleveland, Ohio: Fine Editions Press, 1950), 97-98.

mourning rituals to participation by kinswomen only.[20] These changes dramatically altered the way that funeral rituals were carried out; upsetting traditions that had been in place for centuries. Women played a significant role in each aspect of the funeral, and it is understandable that there would have been some form of pushback from those groups affected by this legislation.[21]

Greek Funerary Monuments and the Iconography of Mourning

The mourning siren emerges in the Greek world after the iconography of the traditional siren became formalized through centuries of use, and following the limitation of female participation in funerary practices. The mourning variant can be distinguished primarily by its adoption of a recognizable posture of mourning, the "valediction" pose, with one or both arms upraised, hands to head, and palms facing out, and often a grieved expression. While the traditional siren was never used exclusively in a funerary context in Greek representations, the motif of the mourning siren was used only in such a capacity. Therefore, to understand the type, it is necessary to examine the specific context in which that motif appeared: mortuary arts. The mourning siren herself can be seen to represent the confluence of two well established mortuary 'types': the protective animal figure, often used on freestanding grave markers, and the human mourner depicted on offerings.

Before the emergence of the mourning siren, the freestanding markers of the early Classical period frequently depict powerful animals, either independently or in conjunction with a funerary scene.[22] The two animals most commonly used in such a manner are sphinxes and lions,[23] functioning as icons of power or protection, standing guard over the grave. Other powerful animals were also used, including the running gorgon (Fig 20). The gorgon motif certainly lends itself to

[20] It is generally agreed that women were the primary group affected by this legislation. Though no contemporary source survives, the secondary sources do emphasize the limitations placed on women's presence exclusively, with no mention of male participants.
[21] Though the details of the sumptuary legislation seem to have been different in each city in which they were instated, minimizing the role of women was common throughout.
[22] Such animal figures were used to designate both individual and group graves. Shapiro identifies a 6th century trend of 'heroicizing' the dead, which he takes to be related to an interest in the epic tradition (644). He cites a number of examples of group graves at the time.
[23] Such creatures were also derived from the art of Ancient western Asia (Gunter, 1971).

the idea that these types of figures were apotropaic, since the gorgon was long used in such a manner. The practice of using animals, both real and mythical,[24] as markers established a precedent that would have allowed an easy transition for the siren.[25] As their relationship to death was already established, sirens are a natural choice; especially since there existed a tradition of using composite creatures such as the sphinx and gorgon figures. Indeed, there are several examples of sirens being used on funerary monuments as early as the 6th century.

The iconography of mourning must also be addressed in relation to the development of the mourning siren. The mourning posture, the "valediction," became an identifiable and recurring gesture depicted on mortuary arts with remarkable consistency.[26] The use of the gesture helps not only to differentiate the mourning siren from the traditional narrative representations of sirens, but also informs our understanding of what these figures meant to contemporary viewers. The siren is the only non-human figure to adopt this pose, and its application indicates that the siren may have been considered to be somehow more human than animal. The physical evolution of the siren itself helps support this claim. Though always a combination of human and avian attributes, the ratio of woman to animal changes over time. The early representations of the siren have avian bodies with female heads. However, when the mourning siren motif emerges the anatomy of the figure changes to primarily human: a voluptuous nude female body with bird wings. Though in the later periods the figure was still sometimes shown as primarily avian, even then they were always shown with human arms, something not seen in the early representations. It can be said, then, that the primarily avian siren of the earlier periods becomes in many cases a primarily female siren in the mourning

[24] There is, however, some debate regarding how 'real' the Greeks would have considered lions to be. They were not indigenous to Greece, and many people likely never saw one. They could have been thought of in the same category as mythical animals.
[25] This practice began in the early periods, and continued through the Roman period, and though it was punctuated by the appearance of the mourning siren, was never wholly interrupted.
[26] Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," 635.

incarnation.[27] The body of the siren becomes humanized as the motif comes to signify the poignant human emotion of grief.

Conclusions

In the centuries following the sumptuary legislation of Solon, the mourning siren became more and more prevalent as a funerary motif and seems to have reached a height of popularity in the mid 4th century BCE (Figs. 21, 22, 23), though it was used in Roman mortuary arts as well (Figs. 24, 25). Through an examination of iconographic sources and the artistic development of the siren, establishing an understanding of the significant role of women in Greek funerary practices, and by comparison to other mortuary motifs, it is possible to see that, following the establishment of laws limiting the mourning rituals performed by women, a need arose to maintain some semblance of these established practices. The development of the mourning siren motif can be seen as an appropriate and natural substitution for the human women no longer playing such a major and repetitive role in funeral rites, and the continued use of the type indicates its perceived effectiveness to that end.

A better understanding of the events leading up to the emergence of this figure in a mortuary context can help to illuminate the way that the Greeks thought about death, and their concept of the role that mourning played in the funerary ritual. The use of a specifically female figure also opens questions regarding the gender relations of ancient Greek society, and the critical nature of performance carried out by women. Moreover, the evolution of the siren over time helps to clarify the fluidity with which the Greeks regarded their iconographic constructs, adapting them as needed to represent those elements of culture most critical at any given time, thus aiding in our understanding of their values overall.

[27] There are mourning sirens shown as more bird than woman, but the general trend toward a more human body can still be seen.

Images

Fig. 1: Attic Kylix showing a siren.
Attica, Greece. 6th c. BCE.
Walters Museum of Art 48.37

Fig. 2: Hydria showing a siren.
Attributed to the Inscription Painter.
Chalcidian, made in Italy. 550 BCE.
British Museum 1865,0722.15

Fig. 3: The Burney Relief.
also known as “Queen of the Night.”
Old Babylonian. From Iraq.
19th-18th c. BCE.
British Museum 2003,0718.1

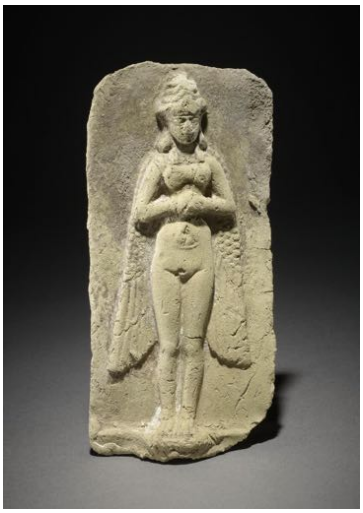

Fig. 4: Inanna/Ishtar moulding.
Old Babylonian. From Iraq. 1750 BCE.
British Museum 1994,1001.1

Fig. 5: Relief showing
Inanna on the back of a lion.
Present-day Tell Ahmar. 8th c. BCE.
The Louvre AO 11503

Fig. 6: Isis Ma'at, Isis of Truth.
Tomb of Pharaoh Siptah (KV47).
19th dynasty. 1197-1191 BCE.
Valley of the Kings, Egypt

Fig. 7: Faience Pectoral of winged Isis.
1075-1071 BCE.
Rhode Island School of Design Museum 1996.73.1

Fig. 8: Winged Isis. Sarcophagus of Ramses III,
20th Dynasty. 1184-1153 BCE.
Valley of the Kings, Egypt.
Louvre D 1

Fig.9: Ba-bird figurine.
Egyptian. 332-331 BCE.
MFA Boston 72.4182

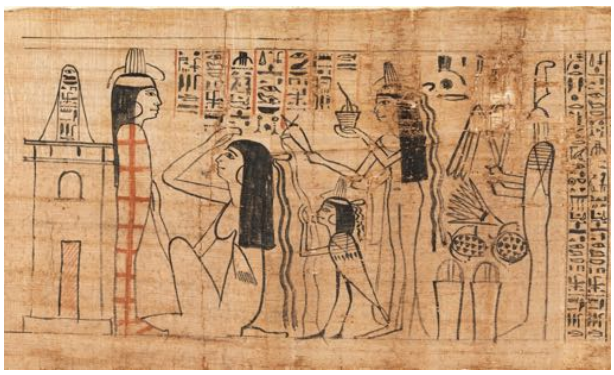

Fig. 10: Funerary Papyrus
belonging to the Singer Tiye.
Thebes, Deir el-Bahri,
Egypt. 975-945 BCE.
Met New York 25.3.34

Fig. 11: Corinthian Aryballos.
Corinth, Greece. Date unspecified, likely 6th c. BCE.
MFA Boston 21.279

Fig. 12: Oil Bottle in the form of a siren.
East Greek. 6th c. BCE.
Princeton University Art Museum y1989-31

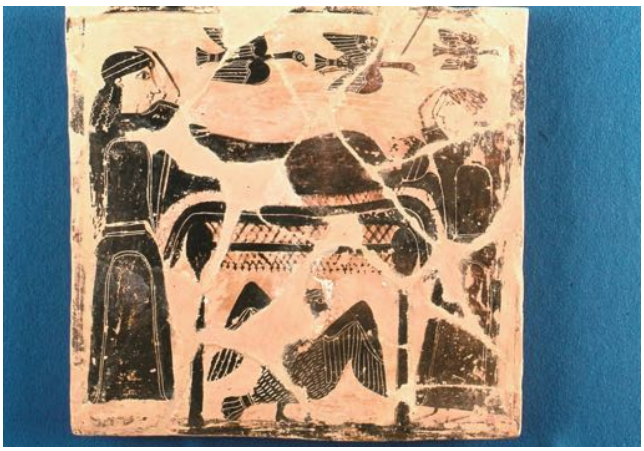

Fig. 13: Funerary Plaque.
Greek. 625-610 BCE.
MFA Boston 27.146

Fig. 14a, b: Terracotta Krater, the "Hirschfeld Krater."
Attica, Greece. 750-700 BCE.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens 990

Fig. 15: White-ground lekythos showing
women taking offerings for the grave.
Attributed to the Timokrates Painter.
Greek, ca. 460 BCE.
The Chazen Museum of Art,
University of Wisconsin-Madison 70.2

Fig. 16: White-ground lekythos showing
two figures visiting a grave.
Attributed to the Painter of London.
Greek, ca. 460-450 BCE.
The British Museum 9106,0512.1

Fig. 17: Terracotta female mourning figure.
Boiotia, Greece. c. 600 BCE.
MFA Boston 67.916

Fig. 18: Black-figure bowl with clay mourners,
from an offering place.
Kerameikos Cemetery, Athens, Greece.
Early 6th c. BCE.
Kerameikos Museum 41

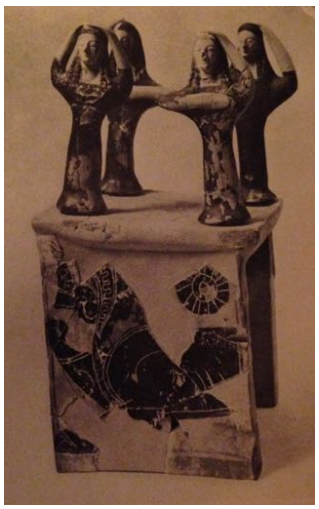

Fig. 19: Black-figure ‘gaming table’ with mourners.
Kerameikos Cemetery, Athens, Greece. c. 580 BCE.
Kerameikos Museum 45

Fig. 20: Marble stele fragment of Kalliades.
Attica, Greece. c. 500-490 BCE.
Met New York 55.11.4

Fig. 21: Weeping Siren.
Attica, Greece. c. 375-325 BCE.
MFA Boston 03.757

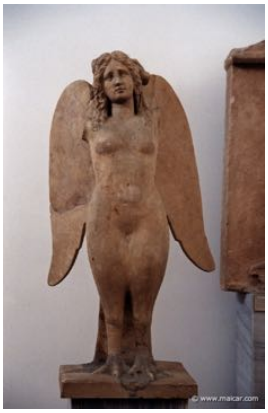

Fig. 22: Mourning siren funerary monument.
Kerameikos Cemetery, Athens, Greece. 4th c. BCE.
National Archaeological Museum, Athens NM 6237

Fig. 23: Limestone statuette of a mourning siren.
Cypriot. 3rd c. BCE.
Met New York 74.51.2680

Fig. 24: "Siren of Canosa."
Canosa di Puglia, Italy. c. 340-300 BCE.
National Archaeological Museum of Spain, Madrid 2004:95:1

Fig. 25: Terracotta siren.
Roman Provincial, from Myrina. Late 1st c. CE.
MFA Boston 01.7754

Bibliography

Aeschylus. *Agamemnon*. Translated by Alan H. Sommerstein. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Ahlberg-Cornell, Gudrun. *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1971.

Black, Jeremy and Anthony Green. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary.* London, United Kingdom: British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1992.

Bremmer, Jan N. *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Bremmer, Jan N. *Greek Religion.* New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

British Museum. Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*. London, United Kingdom: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1928-.

Bruck, Eberhard Friedrich. *Totenteil und Seelgerät im griechischen Recht: eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Recht und Religion mit Beiträgen zur Geschichte des Eigentums und des Erbrechts.* 2nd ed. München, Germany: Beck, 1926.

Buxton, R. G. A. *Forms of Astonishment: Greek Myths of Metamorphosis.* Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Campbell, Joseph and Charles Musès, ed. *In All Her Names: Explorations of the Feminine in Divinity.* San Francisco, California: Harper San Francisco, 1991.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *On the Republic* and *On the Laws*. Translated by David Fott. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2014.

Collignon, Maxime. *Manual of Mythology in Relation to Greek Art*. Translated and Enlarged by Jane. E. Harrison. New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas Brothers, Publishers, 1982.

Demosthenes. *Private Orations*, Vol. II. Translated by A. T. Murray. London, United Kingdom: Heinemann, 1939.

Diel, Paul. *Symbolism in Greek Mythology: Human Desire and its Transformations.* New York, New York: Random House, 1980.

Dowden, Ken. *Death and the Maiden: Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology.* New York, New York: Routledge, 1989.

Eisner, Robert. *The Road to Daulis: Psychoanalysis, Psychology, and Classical Mythology.* Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987.

Euripides. *The Complete Greek Drama*, edited by Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill, Jr. in two volumes. 2. *Helen*. Translated by E. P. Coleridge. New York, New York: Random House, 1938.

Forbes, Irving Paul M. C. *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths.* New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Fraser, Peter Marshall. *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones.* Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1957.

Frye, Northrop. *Biblical and Classical Myths: The Mythological Framework of Western Culture.* Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Gardner, Percy. *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas.* New York, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.

Garland, Robert. *The Greek Way of Death.* London, United Kingdom: Duckworth, 1985.

Giuliani, Luca. *Image and Myth: A History of Pictorial Narration in Greek Art*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Gnoli, Gherardo and Jean-Pierre Vernant, ed. *La Mort, Les Morts dans les Societes Anciennes.* New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Gunter, Ann C. *Greek Art and the Orient*. New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Harrison, Jane Ellen. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. New York, New York: Meridian Books, 1955.

Holst-Warhaft, Gail. *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature.* New York, New York: Routledge, 1992.

Homer. *The Iliad.* Translated by Robert Fagles. New York, New York: Penguin Books, 1990.

Homer. *The Odyssey*. Translated by Robert Fagles. New York, New York: Penguin Books, 1997.

Junker, Klaus. *Interpreting the Images of Greek Myths: An Introduction*. Translated by Annemarie Künzl-Snodgrass and Anthony Snodgrass. New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Kaltsas, Nikos E. *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*. Los Angeles, California: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002.

Kunze, Emil. *Kretische Bronzereliefs*. Stuttgart, Germany: W. Kohlhammer, 1931.

Kurtz, Donna C. and John Boardman. *Greek Burial Customs.* London, United Kingdom: Thames and Hudson, 1971.

Lefkowitz, Mary R. *Greek Gods, Human Lives: What We Can Learn from Myths.* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2003.

Mirto, Maria Serena. *Death in the Greek World: From Homer to the Classical Age.* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.

Mobius, Hans. *Die Ornamente der Griechischen Grabstelen Klassischer und Nachklassischer Zeit*. München, Germany: W. Fink, 1968.

Morris, Ian. *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-state.* New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *Sculpture in stone: the Greek, Roman and Etruscan collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston, Massachusetts: The Museum, 1976.

Padgett, J. Michael. *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2003.

Parker, Robert. *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in early Greek Religion*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Plato. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, Vols. 10 & 11. Translated by R.G. Bury. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Plutarch. *Twelve Lives*. Translated by John Dryden. Cleveland, Ohio: Fine Editions Press, 1950.

Pollard, John. *Seers, Shrines and Sirens; The Greek Religious Revolution in the Sixth Century B. C.* London, United Kingdom: Allen & Unwin, 1965.

Pollitt, J. J. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Powell, Barry B. *Classical Myth*. 7th ed. San Francisco, California: Pearson, 2012.

Richter, Gisela Marie Augusta. *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*. London, United Kingdom: Phaidon Press, 1961.

Richter, Gisela Marie Augusta. *Handbook of the Greek Collection*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Rosenberg, Donna. World Mythology: An Anthology of the Great Myths and Epics. 2nd ed. Lincolnwood, Illinois: NTC Publishing Group, 1994.

Shapiro, H. A. “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art.” *American Journal of Archaeology.* Vol. 95 no. 4 (Oct. 1991), 629-656.

Snodgrass, Anthony. *Homer and the Artists: Text and Picture in Early Greek Art*. New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Sophocles. *Works*. Translated by Hugh Lloyd-Jones. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994-1996.

Woodford, Susan. *Images of Myths in Classical Antiquity.* New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.