# A Funerary Base from Kallithea: New Light on Fifth-Century Eschatology

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*Abstract*

This paper is a study of the reliefs on a late fifth-century base for a funerary vase from Kallithea, which apparently belongs to one of the earliest-known Classical Attic gravestones. The principal face shows a couple picking apples in an idyllic setting, taken to be the Elysian Fields or an equivalent superterrestrial paradise; the sides depict Hermes Psychopompos and an elderly priest. It is proposed that the imagery, which deviates considerably from the traditional repertoire of contemporary Attic gravestones, illustrates the hope to escape the fate of the Underworld and to experience, instead, a blissful existence in a heavenly paradise. The base may be one of the few monuments that document the existence at the end of the fifth century of an alternative, little-known system of funerary beliefs, known to us primarily through literary sources.*

In recent years, studies about death in ancient Greece have grown considerably in number. Themes like the fate of the soul, the transition to the Underworld, and the nature of Hades feature frequently in the scholarly literature. Poetry and grave epigrams, philosophical texts, and to a lesser extent iconography are being examined concurrently in order to gain a conception of ancient Greek beliefs regarding death and the afterlife. It is within this framework that I wish to discuss anew a long-known relief pedestal in the National Museum at Athens (figs. 1–4),[1] which has attracted little scholarly attention although it represents a unique scene in Attic funerary art.

The base in question,[2] which originally supported a marble funerary vase,[3] was found in 1959 in Kallithea during the digging of a trench by the Greek water company.[4] Made of white marble, the four-sided base is taller than wide (H. 0.83 m; L. 0.49 m; W. 0.31 m) and ends at the bottom in a massive tenon

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The following abbreviations are used:

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| Clairmont 1970 | C.W. Clairmont, *Gravestone and Epigram: Greek Monuments from the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Mainz 1970). |
| Clairmont 1993 | C.W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones* 1–4 (Kilchberg 1993). |
| Harrison | E.B. Harrison, "Hesperides and Heroes: A Note on the Three-Figure Reliefs," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 76–82. |
| Humphreys | S.C. Humphreys, *The Family, Women and Death: Comparative Studies* (London 1983). |
| Karouzou | S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum. Collection of Sculpture: A Catalogue* (Athens 1968). |
| Mantis | A.G. Mantis, *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και ιερέων στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη* (Athens 1990). |
| Ridgway | B.S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1981). |
| Sourvinou-Inwood | C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *"Reading" Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford 1995). |

[1] Athens, National Museum 4502; cf. G. Daux, "Chronique des fouilles 1960," *BCH* 85 (1961) 605, fig. 4; E.M. Mastrokostas, "Επιστήματα εκ Μυρρινούντος," in *Χαριστήριον εις Α.Κ. Ορλάνδον* 3 (Athens 1966) 281–99, esp. 289, no. 2; Karouzou 48; R. Stupperich, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen* 2 (Diss. Univ. of Münster 1977) 163, no. 167; B. Schmaltz, "Zu einer attischen Grabmalbasis des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *AM* 93 (1978) 83–97, esp. 87–88; Mantis 85, no. 4, pl. 37; Clairmont 1993, 1, 14–15, no. 11.

[2] The sculpted base is intact, with only minor sporadic chips and abrasions. On all sides the marble is discolored in places with dark brown stains. Tool marks are visible on the left part of the upper molding on the front face as well as on the undecorated back. The tenon at its bottom is roughly blocked with the punch except on the front face, where it is worked with the claw chisel. On the back of the base, a squarish cutting (H. 0.08 m; W. 0.075 m; depth 0.075 m) at the lower left corner, immediately above the tenon, is probably the result of a later reuse.

[3] The shape of the cutting does not allow us to determine with certainty the type of vase that stood atop the pedestal. A lekythos is suggested by Clairmont 1993, 1, 14; a loutrophoros by B. Schmaltz, *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen* (Berlin 1970) 79; and B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Glyptothek München, Katalog der Skulpturen* III: *Klassische Grabdenkmäler und Votivreliefs* (Munich 1988) 118. G. Kokula, *Marmorlutrophoren* (*AM-BH* 10, 1984) 33 n. 95; and Karouzou 48 rightly avoid specifying the type of the missing vase.

[4] According to a handwritten note ordering the reimbursement of the workmen who turned in the base to the Ephoreia, the monument was found at the junction of Demosthenous and Athenas streets; I wish to thank the staff of the Second Ephoreia of Antiquities for allowing me to go through their archives. The discovery of several grave-

Fig. 1. Relief base from Kallithea, front face. Athens, National Museum 4502. (Courtesy Museum)

(H. 0.17 m) meant for fastening the carved block onto a lower member that would raise it to eye level.[5] The base bears relief decoration on the front, left, and right faces; the back is left uncarved. An ovolo crowned by a fascia runs along the top of the three carved faces; on the back, the molding is fully carved at the corners but only blocked out in the center. A plain fascia runs along the bottom of the deco-

stones and grave goods in the area, either as chance finds or in rescue excavations, suggests that this was the site of a Classical cemetery. See, e.g., *ArchDelt* 34 B1, Chronika (1979) 67–68; *ArchDelt* 42 B1, Chronika (1987) 61.

[5] The tenon is reminiscent of smaller pegs used for inserting reliefs into their bases; see, e.g., the Archinos relief from Oropos, Athens, National Museum 3369, Karouzou 149–50; G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen 1979) 51, pl. 28; and the relief, Athens, National Museum 4465, Karouzou 91–92; Neumann 55, pl. 30b. This mode of fastening is also attested for grave stelae; see, e.g., a stele at Broom Hall, unknown inventory number, Clairmont 1993, 1, 159–60, no. 789. Schmaltz (supra n. 3) 78 and Clairmont 1993, 1, 14 believe that the tenon was sunk directly into the earth without the intervention of a lower member.

Fig. 2. Relief base, left face. (Courtesy Museum)

Fig. 3. Relief base, right face. (Photo author)

Fig. 4. Relief base, detail of right face. (Photo author)

rated faces, serving as a groundline for the figures; on the front face, the central portion of the fascia merges with the tenon below it. The roughly worked upper surface of the base presents a circular cutting (D. 0.20 m; depth 0.08 m) for the insertion of the foot of the marble vase, as well as traces of the lead that was used to fasten it onto the pedestal.

The front face of the base depicts a fruit-picking scene (fig. 1). A young woman and a youth stand on either side of a large tree that occupies the center of the panel. The tree's trunk and branches, which slightly overlap the top molding,[6] are indicated plastically; the leaves and fruit would have been rendered in paint. At the left, the woman stands with her torso slightly turned to the right, her head in profile. Her gaze is directed toward the tree. Her body weight is supported on her left leg, with her bent right leg slightly forward and to the side. She wears a thin chiton and, over it, a mantle draped over the shoulders, enveloping her bent arms, passing across the waist, and terminating over the left leg in a mass of vertical folds. The mantle's hem is held in both her hands, forming at the lap a "pouch" filled with apples. The garment, which has an opaque texture on the torso, clings to the bent right leg, becoming almost transparent. The figure's toes are not delineated, and she is probably shown wearing soft soleless shoes. Her hair is wrapped in a sakkos,[7] with a few wavy strands escaping at the temples. Her eyes are wide and deeply set, her nose is unusually long and straight. On her ears, the woman wears prominent disc-shaped earrings.

On the other side of the tree, the youth stands in a three-quarter pose to left, with his right leg forward, the left leg bent and trailing. He wears a mantle that envelopes his lower body and creates a roll of flat folds at the waist, covers the left shoulder and arm, and falls over the left part of his chest. On his lower body, the cloth sinks between the legs, creating a pattern of V-shaped folds. Long sweeping folds run from the right hip to the left ankle, emphasizing the roundness of the thigh underneath. His left arm is bent, with the hand holding the garment; his right is raised, picking a round fruit from the tree. The anatomy of the bare torso is youthful and soft; the curve of the median line reflects the body's twist. The youth's head is raised, his gaze directed upward. His facial features are similar to those of the woman opposite him, except for the nose, which has a slightly concave outline. His short hair is rendered impressionistically. Like the young woman, he too wears soft shoes.

On the left side of the base (fig. 2), a youthful traveler stands frontally, his head turned in right profile. He wears a chitoniskos belted at the waist and open on his right side. A chlamys draped over his left shoulder and arm is pinned on the right shoulder with a disc-shaped brooch. A petasos covers his head. The youth wears sandals with plastically indicated soles; their straps would have been added in paint. His right arm is bent, with the hand resting on the hip. The bent left arm is held close to the body; the clenched hand once held an object rendered in paint. The youth's short hair is curly. His facial features are similar to those of the youth on the front face.

The right side (fig. 3) shows an elderly bearded man in a three-quarter pose to left, head in profile. He wears a long thin chiton with short sleeves, which adheres onto his body and is arranged with few folds around the points of greatest projection. In his lowered right hand, the figure holds a sacrificial knife with a wide blade, which characterizes him as a priest. His head is individualized, almost portrait-like, with an aquiline nose and very pronounced eyebrows, which lend the face an intense gaze (fig. 4). His hair is rendered impressionistically on the calotte and ends in wavy strands at the temples. The beard, too, is carved impressionistically, except at the point where it grows from the cheeks, where it is rendered as a series of parallel vertical strokes.

It is clear that paint played an important role in the decoration of the relief pedestal from Kallithea.[8] Besides the customary coloring of certain details, such as facial features and parts of clothing, in order to enhance them, paint was used here to supply elements that were difficult to render in relief, like the sandal straps and attribute of the youth on the left face. The most extensive and striking use of paint, however, would have been reserved for the tree's branches and leaves; they would have filled a

[6] Two diagonal parallel grooves on the right portion of the molding, which in photographs seem to belong to the tree's branches, are actually marks of a tractor.

[7] Clairmont 1993, 1, 14 erroneously states that the woman wears a fillet.

[8] On the use of paint in Greek relief sculpture, see B.S. Ridgway, "Painterly and Pictorial in Greek Relief Sculpture," in W.G. Moon ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (Madison 1983) 193–208; S. Karusu, "Bemalte attische Weihreliefs," in G. Kopcke and M.B. Moore eds., *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to P.H. von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley 1979) 111–16.

large portion of the overhead space above the figures, making the tree stand out from the background and emphasizing its importance.

STYLE

Stylistically, the reliefs on the base follow the tradition of the Parthenon frieze, though gradually breaking away from it. Proportions are slenderer than on the Parthenon, but the anatomy of the youth on the front face, with his strongly marked linea alba, is reminiscent of Parthenonian renderings. Facial features are clearly influenced by those on the Parthenon frieze. The similarity can be perceived in particular in the rendering of the eyes. Wide and triangular in profile, they show a clear overlapping of the upper lid at the outer corner and, like the eyes of some figures on the Parthenon frieze,[9] they are deeply set, foreshadowing a trend that will become standard in the fourth century B.C. The same trait appears on reliefs of the 420s, like the "cat stele" from Aegina[10] and, later, on the Argive Heraion metopes.[11] The mouth has the distinctive curve of the upper lip found on figures from the Parthenon, although without the typical Parthenonian pouting expression. The striking head of the elderly man on the right face of the base finds no true parallel in fifth-century sculpture, though it bears certain similarities to some centaurs on the Parthenon south metopes[12] as well as the bronze Porticello head.[13] Overall, his narrow bulging forehead, intense gaze, and aquiline nose stand out from contemporary sculptures, exhibiting a degree of realism that is unusual for the period.

It is primarily the treatment of the garments, however, that pinpoints the place of the base in fifth-century Attic sculpture. Some traits that were first introduced on the Parthenon frieze persist. For instance, all figures clad in long costumes exhibit the mannerism of the garment caught at the ankle, a Parthenonian feature that enjoyed continuing popularity throughout the fifth century.[14] The low, barely curving kolpos of the traveler on the left face follows a typical Parthenonian fashion.[15] Nevertheless, drapery renderings on the base are, as a whole, more in keeping with styles of the 420s. The garments are characterized by a balance between opaqueness and transparency, between straight and curved patterns. The post-Parthenonian interest in sheer texture is demonstrated here in moderation, accompanied by simplicity in the rendering of plastic forms.[16] Unlike the Parthenon frieze, where lively ribbon folds and overlay incision are employed to suggest sheer fabric,[17] on the base transparent drapery contours the body with only a minimum of folds. Garments cling to the bodies forming ogival patches reminiscent of wet drapery; this trend, which appears on works associated with Agorakritos, like the Nemesis at Rhamnous[18] and the so-called "Lateran Agrippina,"[19] suggests a date in the 420s. More pronounced is the transparency of the long robe of

[9] See, e.g., F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries. Katalog und Untersuchung* (Mainz 1977) W VII, pl. 22.3; W IX, pl. 28.3; O VI, pl. 10.4; N II, pl. 53.1; pls. 58, 174.

[10] For the "cat stele," Athens, National Museum 715, see Clairmont 1993, 1, 396–97, no. 1.550.

[11] For the Argive Heraion metopes, see Ridgway 32–33; A.F. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven 1990) 169, figs. 444–47.

[12] For parallels for the man's aquiline nose, cf. F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon. Katalog und Untersuchung* (Mainz 1967) S 26, pls. 212.2–215; S 30, pl. 230.1; and S 31, pls. 233–34.1. The furrowed forehead is comparable to that of the centaur in S 1, pls. 155–58, 160.

[13] For the head, Reggio Museum FN M7, see the thorough discussion by B.S. Ridgway in C.J. Eiseman and B.S. Ridgway, *The Porticello Shipwreck: A Mediterranean Merchant Vessel of 415–358 B.C.* (College Station 1987) 63–68, 100–106, figs. 5.1–9. Ridgway dates the head ca. 450–430 B.C. on stylistic grounds.

[14] Ridgway 82. For demonstrations of this mannerism on the Parthenon frieze, see Brommer (supra n. 9) N IV, pl. 55; N X, pl. 64. Among later occurrences of the motif one may note, for instance, the attendant on the stele of Hegeso, Athens, National Museum 3624, Karouzou 77; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*[2] (London 1980) 84, no. 187, pl. 187; Clairmont 1993, 2, 95–98, no. 2.150, as well as certain standing figures on the Xenokrateia relief, Athens, National Museum 2756, Karouzou 57; Neumann (supra n. 5) 49, 66, pl. 27a.

[15] For parallels, see Brommer (supra n. 9) N XXVI, pl. 85; N XXXI, pl. 91; N XXXIII, pl. 95.3; N XLII, pl. 107.

[16] For transparency accompanied by simplicity as one of the characteristic trends of Attic sculpture in the last two decades of the fifth century, see Ridgway 223; E.B. Harrison, "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part III, Iconography and Style," *AJA* 81 (1977) 411–26, esp. 416.

[17] See, e.g., Brommer (supra n. 9) N XVII, pl. 73.

[18] G. Despinis, *Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγοράκριτου* (Athens 1971); *LIMC* VI, 738 nos. 1–2, s.v. Nemesis (P. Karanastassi).

[19] On the so-called "Lateran Agrippina," often referred to as "Kore," see *LIMC* VIII, 958 no. 6, s.v. Persephone (G. Güntner). The type is attributed to Agorakritos by Despinis (supra n. 18) 180–82. E.B. Harrison, "A Classical Maiden from the Athenian Agora," in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia* Suppl. 20, Princeton 1982) 40–53, esp. 50, pl. 5c, supports this attribution and further identifies the type as the Aphrodite Ourania, a work erroneously (in her opinion) ascribed to Pheidias by Paus. 1.14.7.

the priest on the right side of the base. The arrangement of his garment is close to that of the priest on the stele of Sosias and Kephisodoros in Berlin[20] and also bears certain similarities to that of the attendant on the grave stele of Hegeso,[21] particularly in the clinging of the cloth on the abdomen and leg and the flat pleats originating at the breasts. A secure chronological indication is provided by the pattern of reversed curves emerging at the side of the priest's bent left leg; this trait appears on the Erechtheion Caryatids and the Nike balustrade but is absent from the Parthenon frieze, indicating a date after 425 B.C.[22]

The stylistic traits outlined above and the similarity of the reliefs to sculptures like the stele of Hegeso and the Xenokrateia relief[23] chronologically place the carved pedestal around 420–410 B.C. Therefore, the base must have formed part of one of the earliest Attic grave memorials in stone to appear after a long period of suspension.[24]

## ICONOGRAPHY

Bases decorated in relief were used rather infrequently in comparison to plain or inscribed ones.[25] As supports for funerary monuments, they were introduced in Athens in the late sixth century B.C. and continued to be produced sporadically to the end of the fourth century, following the course of the overall production of gravestones. Sculpted on one or more faces, such pedestals enhanced greatly the aesthetic appearance of the funerary monuments they carried. At the same time, they facilitated the understanding of the principal monuments atop them, through the representation of scenes pertaining directly or indirectly to the deceased and his or her world.

As a rule, the iconography of funerary relief bases differed from that of other contemporary memorials. With few exceptions, bases of this type featured motifs that did not appear as principal decoration on other Attic gravestones, exploring new paths in sepulchral imagery.[26] This differentiation suggests that experimentation in form and possibly content was acceptable for a group of monuments that were somehow marginal, as indicated by their limited production and their peripheral relation to the deceased.

The originality characterizing funerary relief bases marks the Kallithea base as well. Indeed, the primary significance of that monument lies in its exceptional iconography. In the past, sporadic attempts have been made to interpret the imagery and account for its singularity.[27] The few relevant discussions, however, are brief, leaving open a number of issues like the identification of the deceased, the connection of all images of the triptych, and the place of the base in fifth-century funerary sculpture. Here I review the iconography and examine the sculpted pedestal within its wider context.

The idyllic image on the front face is unique in Classical funerary sculpture and possesses no apparent sepulchral symbolism. Key to its interpretation is the presence of the tree; its prominent position suggests that it serves not only as a generic element of landscape indicating that the scene takes

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[20] Berlin, Staatliche Museen SK 1708. C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen* (Berlin 1966) 25–26, no. 17, fig. 25; Mantis 85, no. 3, pl. 36b; Clairmont 1993, 3, 73–75, no. 3.192.

[21] Supra n. 14. The Hegeso stele and the stele of Sosias and Kephisodoros are attributed to the same workshop by J. Frel, *Les sculpteurs attiques anonymes 450–300* (Prague 1969) 30, no. 20.

[22] Ridgway 106–107.

[23] Supra n. 14.

[24] On the suspension of grave stelae and other elaborate funerary monuments at the end of the Archaic period, see, e.g., R. Garland, "The Well-Ordered Corpse: An Investigation into the Motives behind Greek Funerary Legislation," *BICS* 26 (1989) 1–15; T. Hölscher, "Eine frühe zweifigürige Grabstele," in M. Schmidt ed., *Kanon. Festschrift E. Berger* (*AntK-BH* 15, 1988) 166–70, esp. 168; G.M.A. Richter, "Peisistratos' Law Regarding Tombs," *AJA* 49 (1945) 152. For the reasons and date of their reintroduction, see K. Friis-Johansen, *The Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period* (Copenhagen 1951) 146–47; Stupperich (supra n. 1) 243–44; J.D. Mikalson, "Religion and the Plague in Athens, 431–423 B.C.," in A.L. Boegehold ed., *Studies Presented to Sterling Dow on His Eightieth Birthday* (*GRBM* 10, 1984) 217–25, esp. 223–24; C.W. Clairmont, "Some Reflections on the Earliest Classical Attic Gravestones," *Boreas* 9 (1986) 27–50; Clairmont 1970, 43.

[25] On relief bases in general, see A. Kosmopoulou, *Greek Relief Bases for Statuary from the Archaic Period to the End of the Fourth Century B.C.* (Diss. Bryn Mawr College 1996).

[26] See, e.g., the ball-playing youths on the bases, Athens, National Museum 3476 and 3477; A. Philadelpheus, "Bases archaïques trouvées dans le mur de Themistocle à Athènes," *BCH* 46 (1922) 1–35, figs. 1–9, pls. 1–8; A.M. d'Onofrio, "Un 'programma' figurativo tardo arcaico," *AION. Archeologia e storia antica* 8 (1986) 175–93; the female figure wearing a theatrical costume and holding a tragic mask on the base, Athens, National Museum 4498, Karouzou 112; Clairmont 1993, 4, 45–46, no. 4.270; or the youthful dead in the company of elderly men, probably a philosophical group, on Athens, Acropolis Ephoria NAM 90, Schmaltz (supra n. 1) 83–97, pls. 27–32; Clairmont 1993, 1, 10–13, no. 10.

[27] Karouzou 48; Harrison 79; Mantis 89; Clairmont 1993, 1, 14–15.

place in the countryside, but also as a semantic signifier crucial for the understanding of the entire monument.

Trees appear very infrequently on Classical gravestones.[28] The palm tree on a fragmentary inscribed stele of a Phoenician from Moschato[29] probably alludes to the deceased's ethnicity, as the word φοινικήϊος has a double meaning in ancient Greek, indicating both the palm tree and a person of Phoenician origin. On a fourth-century Attic grave stele of a youth from the Acharnanian Gate, a large tree with several knobs serves simply as support for the deceased.[30] The only other fruit tree known besides that on the Kallithea base is the barely discernible apple tree on the late fifth-century grave lekythos of Philonautes, now in the Munich Glyptothek.[31] Aside from similarities in the appearance of the two trees, which suggest that they belong to the same species, no analogy may be perceived with respect to their function. The tree on the lekythos of Philonautes indicates that the event takes place in the open air but has otherwise no impact on the unfolding of the scene, being confined to its end and apparently ignored by the human figures. On the contrary, on the Kallithea base it is the tree and its harvesting that form the focus of the imagery.

Despite its uniqueness among contemporary gravestones, the image on the Kallithea base finds parallels on some early fifth-century Attic vases, mostly black-figure, which also portray apple-picking scenes.[32] Such scenes invariably show two or more women plucking apples from a large tree with small leaves (fig. 5). The round fruits, rendered in black, red, or added white pigment, are gathered either

Fig. 5. Red-figure hydria. Schloß Fasanerie 39. (Courtesy Museum)

in wicker baskets or in pouches created by the women's garments, as is the case with the Kallithea base. No other elements indicating the setting are rendered. The participants in these scenes are presumably human; in some cases, their names are inscribed above them.

Apple-picking scenes have never been collected and examined in their entirety.[33] Earlier scholars identified some of them as representations of ordinary mortals in real orchards.[34] Although this

[28] On representations ot trees in Greek relief sculpture, see A. Delivorrias, "Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni," *AntP* 8 (1968) 19–31, esp. 25 and n. 34; M. Carroll-Spillecke, *Landscape Depictions in Greek Relief Sculpture* (Frankfurt 1985) 41–56.

[29] Piraeus Museum 3580 (formerly Athens, National Museum 986); Clairmont 1993, 1, 319, no. 1.333.

[30] Leiden, Rijksmuseum 1821. Clairmont 1993, 1, 338–39, no. 1.364. Carroll-Spillecke (supra n. 28) 47 erroneously considers this the only known gravestone depicting a tree.

[31] Munich, Glyptothek DV 33. Clairmont 1993, 3, 72–73, no. 3.191; Vierneisel-Schlörb (supra n. 3) 116–20, pls. 40–41, with figure in text.

[32] See, e.g., U. Knigge, *Kerameikos* IX: *Der Südhugel* (Berlin 1976) 112, no. 96.2; 112, no. 96.4, pl. 27.7; 117, no. 117.5; black-figure hydria, Munich 1712a, J. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases: VI," *AJA* 58 (1954) 187–90, esp. 188–89, no. 6, pl. 29; black-figure lekythos, Palermo Collezione Mormino-Banco di Sicilia 684, *CVA Palermo—Collezione Mormino* 10 (Rome 1971) pl. 12.1–2; red-figure hydria Schloß Fasanerie 39, *CVA Schloß Fasanerie* 1 (Munich 1956) 19–20, pl. 29.4; red-figure column crater by the Orchard Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.74, *ARV*² 523.1; G.M.A. Richter and L.F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven 1936) 117–18, no. 87, pls. 91, 170.87; white-ground cup by the Sotades Painter, London, British Museum D6, *ARV*² 763.1; L. Burn, "Honey Pots: Three White-Ground Cups by the Sotades Painter," *AntK* 28 (1985) 93–105, esp. 94–95, pl. 23.2; M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1992) 188, fig. 198. It is uncertain whether a relief clay plaque from Lokroi also represents an apple-picking scene, as suggested by B. Neutsch, "Μακάρων Νῆσοι. Zu einem lokrischen Relief in Heidelberg," *RM* 60–61 (1953–1954) 62–74, esp. 63–69, fig. 5. H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz 1968) 58–60, fig. 10, identifies it as flower-picking in the garden of Aphrodite and cites earlier interpretations at variance with Neutsch.

[33] For a brief discussion of such scenes, see Neutsch (supra n. 32) 71–72; Burn (supra n. 32) 94.

[34] See, e.g., C.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* 3 (London 1896) 391–92, no. D6; E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (Munich 1940) 193.

interpretation may be valid for some images,[35] it can hardly apply to all. Against it speaks the fact that most of these vases come from funerary contexts and, therefore, call for an explanation more in keeping with their sepulchral purpose.[36] For this reason, several scholars have in turn suggested that fruit-picking scenes take place in the paradisiacal gardens where the souls of the virtuous are transferred after death.[37] The tree is taken to be an abbreviated symbol of such idyllic gardens, and its harvesting may be the means through which a happy afterlife is attained.[38] The same interpretation has been put forth for the Kallithea base.[39]

The eschatological connotations of scenes of καρπολογία, as such images are commonly termed, have been postulated on two grounds. First, the presence of trees and the abundance of fruit are common elements in all literary descriptions of superterrestrial paradises.[40] Second, apples in particular, a fruit rich in mythological significance,[41] are associated in Greek popular belief with eternal life, primarily through their connection with the myth of the Hesperides.[42]

According to the literary tradition, the Garden of the Hesperides was located beyond the boundaries of the earth, where Greek mythology placed distant and "different" people.[43] The Hesperides were, together with a serpent, guardians of a fabulous tree that was entrusted to them by Hera and produced golden apples. The obtaining of the golden apples of the Hesperides from their paradisiacal garden was the final labor of Herakles. Literary sources and the iconographic tradition provide variant versions as to how the hero managed to obtain the apples: Herakles was given the fruit by Atlas or by the Hesperides, or seized them himself after slaying the dragon.[44] In all cases, however, it was the completion of that labor that granted the hero immortality and secured his introduction to Olympos;[45] as a result, the golden apples became symbols of perpetual youth and eternal life.

Besides its affinities with other scenes of καρπολογία, the scene on the Kallithea base appears to have a particular connection with the myth of the Hesperides. Unlike other such images that involve solely female figures, the base includes a male figure as well, which may hint at the presence of Herakles in the mythical garden. Furthermore, it resembles closely one of the so-called Three-Figure Reliefs showing Herakles and the Hesperides,[46] particularly in the young woman's likeness to the Hesperid standing behind Herakles (fig. 6). These two elements suggest that apart from alluding to a nonspecific heavenly paradise, the base deliberately recalls the myth of the Hesperides, though without reproducing the actual mythological episode.[47]

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[35] See, e.g., the column crater by the Orchard Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.74 (supra n. 32), which differs from the remaining images in that one filled basket is carried away and the woman on the left holds a staff, presumably for beating down the apples hard to reach.

[36] See Robertson (supra n. 32) 188; Burn (supra n. 32) 94.

[37] On such paradisiacal gardens, see infra n. 86. For καρπολογία as a representation of Elysion, see Pind. fr. 129; Neutsch (supra n. 32) 67–74; Vierneisel-Schlörb (supra n. 3) 118; Knigge (supra n. 32) 39.

[38] Vierneisel-Schlörb (supra n. 3) 118.

[39] Karouzou 48; Harrison 79; Schmaltz (supra n. 1) 88, and n. 18; Mantis 89.

[40] See, e.g., Pind. fr. 129; Hes. *Op.* 170–73.

[41] For the significance of apples, see M.K. Brazda, *Zur Bedeutung des Apfels in der antiken Kultur* (Bonn 1977); L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford 1987) 19–20.

[42] For the myth, see *LIMC* V, 394–95, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee); L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* 2: *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin 1921) 488–98; *RE* 8 (1913) 1243–48, s.v. Hesperiden (E. Sittig).

[43] There is no unanimity among ancient sources as to the exact location of the garden. It is usually placed on an island in the West, beyond Oceanus, though other versions place it in North Africa or in the land of the Hyperboreians. For the different traditions regarding its location, see *LIMC* V, 395, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee). The frequent placement of the Garden of the Hesperides in the West is of particular importance for our purposes, since in Greek thought the Western Seas were usually associated with immortality, because they bordered the land of the dead; cf. E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979) 136.

[44] For the various traditions, see *LIMC* V, 394, 404, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee).

[45] *MMR*[2] 628; S. Woodford, *Exemplum Virtutis: A Study of Herakles in Athens in the Second Half of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Diss. Columbia Univ. 1966) 193. The significance of the apples in Herakles' attainment of immortality is also reflected in iconography. For instance, on a red-figure stamnos by the Providence Painter dating from the first half of the fifth century, the Hesperides and the tree from which the apples were picked are included in the representation of Herakles' introduction to Olympos, presumably as proof that it was the completion of that very labor which granted him immortality; for the vase, Leningrad 640 (formerly St. 1641), *ARV*[2] 639.56; Woodford, 192.

[46] On the Three-Figure Reliefs, see *LIMC* V, 398 no. 25, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee), with earlier bibliography.

[47] Harrison 79; Ridgway 209; Clairmont 1993, 1, 14. Among the elements that differentiate this image from renderings of the Hesperid myth, I note that only one female figure is represented (although this could well be an excerpt from a wider scene), a guardian snake is absent, and,

Fig. 6. Three-Figure Relief showing Herakles and the Hesperides. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum A 641. (After I. Saverkina, *Grecheskaya skulptura 5 v. do n.e. v sobranii Ermitazha* [Leningrad 1986] 156 fig. 70)

The apparent conflation on the base of the myth of the Hesperides with the concept of Elysion is not surprising. The two paradises are ill defined in literature and have several elements in common: both are located at the ends of the earth, near the Ocean, and are described as cool orchards filled with springs, where the earth yields golden fruits and crops in abundance and the privileged dead are carefree.[48] As is suggested by the Attic literary tradition of the late fifth century, at that time the two superterrestrial paradises were occasionally equated in popular belief.[49] For instance, in Euripides' *Hippolytos,* produced in 428 B.C., when Phaidra retreats to hang herself, the chorus dreams of escaping to the Garden of the Hesperides, which is described precisely like the Isles of the Blessed.[50] The same conception is reflected by contemporary iconography. A well-known hydria by the Meidias Painter in the British Museum,[51] dating to ca. 420–410 B.C., shows Herakles in the company of Athenian eponymous heroes and various other mythological personages relaxing in the Garden of the Hesperides, while two Hesper-

most importantly, both the female and the male figure are involved in the apple-picking. For the iconographic tradition of the myth of the Hesperides, see F. Brommer, "Herakles und die Hesperiden auf Vasenbilder," *JdI* 57 (1942) 105–23.

[48] Burn (supra n. 41) 20. On the physical characteristics of the Lands of the Blessed, see D. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligem Leben* (Berlin 1970) 93–95.

[49] See, e.g., *LIMC* V, 395, 404, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee); Brazda (supra n. 41) 89; Woodford (supra n. 45) 193; U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen: Geschichte, Mythos, Kult und Darstellungen* (*AM-BH* 5, Berlin 1976) 167; K. Schauenburg, "Zu unteritalischen Situlen," *AA* 1981, 463–88, esp. 480–81; Burn (supra n. 32) 95.

[50] Eur. *Hipp.* 742–51.

[51] London, British Museum E 224; *ARV*² 1313.5; Burn (supra n. 41) 15–19, pls. 1a, 3; Robertson (supra n. 32) 237–39.

ides pluck apples from a tree and a third one unveils herself before him in a bridal gesture; the mingling of various unrelated personages as well as Herakles' lack of interest in obtaining the apples suggests that, contrary to earlier suppositions, the scene does not represent the securing of the apples but, rather, the "permanent dwelling of the heroes in the Islands of the Blessed."[52] The overall transformation of the myth of the Hesperides in Attic art of the late fifth and fourth centuries leads to the same conclusion; the imagery departs from the earlier theme of obtaining the apples, emphasizing instead Herakles' blissful existence in the garden.[53]

To return to the Kallithea base, the identification of the deceased and the relationship of the two figures on its main panel are ambiguous.[54] Previous publications have expressed opposing views on these matters. One theory views the young woman as the deceased;[55] a clue to this interpretation is her proximity to the traveler of the left side, who is often identified as Hermes Psychopompos.[56] Supporters of this theory regard her companion as a relative, considering the monument an early example of the juxtaposition of the living and the dead,[57] a popular theme in Classical Attic funerary iconography. A different interpretation takes the young man to be the deceased, on the assumption that he is assimilated here with Herakles, who achieved immortality when given the golden apples of the Hesperides.[58] Advocates of the latter view consider the female figure as divine, probably Persephone or one of the Hesperides.

None of the above interpretations, however, is without problems. With respect to the first theory, if one accepts the idea that the scene takes place in the Elysian Fields or any other superterrestrial paradise, as suggested above, it is difficult to account for the presence of an ordinary mortal in such a setting. Literary sources, particularly in the Archaic period, occasionally refer to the descent to the Underworld,[59] but only by heroes or mythological figures. Moreover, in all such cases the location is always Hades, never Elysion or its equivalents. The second theory, though attractive, is also difficult to adopt, as it is questionable whether in the fifth century the notion of heroization was such as to allow an ordinary mortal to appropriate the characteristics of a divinity and be represented side by side with a true divinity.[60]

Given the problems inherent in both earlier interpretations, I would like to propose a different reading of the scene. I believe that both figures – possibly a married couple, to judge from their ages – are dead, dwelling in a paradisiacal setting. This interpretation, if correct, associates the sculpted base with a small group of inscribed Attic gravestones that show one person being already in the Underworld and receiving a family member,[61] instead of the typical juxtaposition of the dead with their living relatives. It is unclear which of the two dead is commemorated by the present monument. There is no apparent interaction between the figures, no welcoming gesture or offering of fruits by one to the other. Yet, it seems more likely that the youth, who attracts one's attention as the more active figure of the two, is

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[52] Harrison 79. Similar ideas are expressed by Preller and Robert (supra n. 42) 492; H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle* (Paris 1951) 206–207; Kron (supra n. 49) 167; Burn (supra n. 41) 17.

[53] *LIMC* V, 404, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee); Burn (supra n. 41) 17. For a list of such vases, cf. *LIMC* V, 399 nos. 26–35, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee). The gradual change in the symbolism of the theme is further suggested by the frequent participation of other divinities, particularly of members of the Dionysiac entourage; cf. *LIMC* V, 405, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee); Schauenburg (supra n. 49) 480–81.

[54] On the problems in identifying the deceased on Classical gravestones, see Clairmont 1970, 55–71; Clairmont 1993, introductory volume, 119–21; Humphreys 106.

[55] Karouzou 48; Mastrokostas (supra n. 1) 289; Mantis 89.

[56] Infra n. 63.

[57] Mastrokostas (supra n. 1) 289. Mantis 89 takes this theory a little farther, suggesting that the tree that visually divides the panel into two halves also serves as a barrier between two "worlds," between mortality and immortality.

[58] Clairmont 1993, 1, 14; Harrison 79 n. 14.

[59] On *katabaseis* to the Underworld, see H. Lloyd-Jones, "Herakles at Eleusis: P.Oxy. 2622 and P.S.I. 1391," *Maia* 19 (1967) 206–29; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin 1974) 139–50; M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 9–10, 12–13.

[60] H. Rühfel, "Göttin auf einem Grabrelief? Betrachtungen zur Grabstele der Apollonia von der Insel Ikaria," *AntK* 17 (1974) 42–49, esp. 44, argues that divinities are never represented on grave stelae. Well-known statuary types used to represent divinities in the round occasionally appear on grave reliefs, but they have probably lost their original symbolism. See, e.g., the young woman on the stele, Athens, National Museum 1896, which reproduces the so-called Aphrodite Fréjus type; cf. Clairmont 1993, 1, 423, no. 1.721; B. Schmaltz, *Griechische Grabreliefs* (Darmstadt 1983) 221.

[61] On the topic, cf. Clairmont 1970, 58–60; Vierneisel-Schlörb (supra n. 3) 50–51, n. 12; Clairmont 1993, introductory volume, 119. For examples of such gravestones, see, e.g., the stele of Potamon, Athens, National Museum 1962, Clairmont 1970, 111–12, no. 35, pl. 18; Clairmont 1993, 2, 174–75, no. 2.235; and the stele of Andron, Piraeus Museum 1161; Clairmont 1970, 113–14, no. 36, pl. 18; Clairmont 1993, 2, 191–92, no. 2.268. This interpretation is based on the content of the epigrams on a number of gravestones, but may also apply to certain uninscribed funerary monuments.

the one commemorated by the monument to which the base belonged. His female companion, who has already gathered the magical fruits, is there to familiarize him with the novel territory.

The identity of the youth on the left face of the base is contested. The petasos and chitoniskos identify him as a traveler, though there is no agreement as to his mortal or divine status. Schmaltz sees in him a young relative of the deceased, probably a brother who was a member of the cavalry.[62] Most scholars, however, favor his identification as Hermes Psychopompos.[63] The latter interpretation seems more probable, given his close similarity to the Hermes on the roughly contemporary grave lekythos of Myrrhine.[64] The absence of Hermes' typical attributes, like the winged shoes or the kerykeion, does not preclude such an identification, since they could have been originally rendered in paint. Indeed, the position of the figure's clenched left hand suggests that the object it once held may have been a kerykeion.[65]

Starting in the fifth century, Hermes appears occasionally on grave monuments in his capacity as Psychopompos.[66] His introduction in funerary iconography reflects his new role in the transition from the upper to the lower world.[67] As the divine crosser of borders, Hermes leads the souls to Charon, controls the "traffic" between the upper and lower worlds, and enforces their separation. On the Kallithea base, the divine traveler alludes to the journey to the Underworld, albeit without leading the deceased by the hand, as he does on the lekythos of Myrrhine.

The elderly man on the right side of the pedestal may be securely identified as a priest on the basis of his long robe, sacrificial knife, and beard.[68] His relation to the scene on the main panel is controversial. Clairmont has identified him as the youth of the front face, shown at a different stage of his life.[69] In my opinion, such an explanation is improbable, not only because of the considerable difference in the physical characteristics of the two figures, but also for reasons of symmetry; the bearded man must be an outsider, just like the Hermes on the corresponding left side. The suggestion that he is a family member of the dead,[70] perhaps a bereaved father, is logical, given the strong emphasis placed on family relationships by the imagery of Classical gravestones.[71] Nevertheless, this identification, too, is not without problems, as an ordinary relative does not counterbalance the divinity on the left side. One would be inclined to ascribe the priest a functional role, equivalent to that of Hermes. The attractive idea that he is one of the infernal judges is discredited by the fact that they do not appear in iconography in nonmythological contexts before the Roman period.[72] Thus, we may argue that the priest is a mortal "acolyte" of Hermes Psychopompos, facilitating the transfer to the Underworld through the performance of certain burial rites, possibly a sacrifice in honor of the dead[73] or the Underworld divinities.[74] Unfortunately, one cannot associate him with a particular cult on the basis of his costume alone, as the same garb apparently characterized priests of several cults.[75]

One wonders how the three images on the base relate to one another; as a matter of fact, the intrin-

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[62] Schmaltz (supra n. 1) 88.

[63] Karouzou 48; Clairmont 1993, 1, 14; Mantis 89.

[64] Athens, National Museum 4485. See Clairmont 1993, 4, 160–65, no. 5.150; C.W. Clairmont, "The Lekythos of Myrrhine," in Kopcke and Moore (supra n. 8) 103–11, pls. 30–31; P. Rahn, "Funeral Monuments of the First Priestess of Athena Nike," *BSA* 86 (1991) 195–201. Both Hermes figures may derive from that on the Orpheus Relief; cf. Harrison 79; H.A. Thompson, "The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 70 n. 58.

[65] See *LIMC* V, 381 no. 2, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).

[66] On Hermes Psychopompos, see *LIMC* V, 287, 336–37, nos. 598–615, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert); S. Karusu, "Hermes Psychopompos," *AM* 76 (1961) 91–106; Sourvinou-Inwood 311–15, 317–18.

[67] Sourvinou-Inwood 304–309.

[68] Mantis 89. On the criteria for identifying priests in iconography, see Mantis 82–85. For a list of known representations of priests, see Mantis 85–87; Brommer (supra n. 9) 268–70.

[69] Clairmont 1993, 1, 15.

[70] Mastrokostas (supra n. 1) 289; Mantis 89.

[71] For the role of the family as depicted on Classical gravestones, see Humphreys 104–10.

[72] See, e.g., *LIMC* V, 572 nos. 33–34, s.v. Minos (J. Bazant).

[73] Animal sacrifices were certainly performed in honor of the dead until the Archaic period; see I. Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1992) 123; Sourvinou-Inwood 74, 77; Humphreys 86; R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* (London 1985) 123. The evidence for such sacrifices in the Classical period is less certain. Garland 33, 113 argues that this custom may have been abandoned or, at least, become very rare.

[74] For instance, sacrifices in honor of Hermes Chthonios or Psychopompos are performed in Athens during the Anthesteria; cf. M.P. Nillson, *Griechische Feste mit religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906) 392.

[75] Mantis 88. The identification of the figure as a hierophant, which seems logical in the light of what will be proposed below, is unlikely, since the priest's costume differs considerably from that of the hierophant. On the costume of the hierophant, known from literary descriptions and artistic representations, see K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (*TAPS* 64.3, Philadelphia 1974) 32–35.

sic connection between several self-contained scenes is a problem that applies to a large number of relief pedestals. Although the two side figures on the Kallithea base are turned toward the central scene, they retain their independence and should not be viewed as its extension. Thus, I shall argue that *time* is the element that binds the three scenes together. The two lateral faces represent the past. Hermes Psychopompos alludes to the actual moment of death, the priest to the burial rites that followed it. The emblematic scene on the front, on the other hand, illustrates an ideal present in a land accessible only to the select few.

## THE CONTEXT OF THE BASE IN FIFTH-CENTURY FUNERARY BELIEFS

As already stated, the iconography of the Kallithea base represents a considerable departure from the traditional fifth-century Attic funerary repertoire, which, as a rule, evolved around a limited number of iconographic themes.[76] Although its eschatological connotations are apparent, the exact symbolism of the imagery is not readily perceivable. Thus, it is necessary to view the monument in context and evaluate it in the light of contemporary beliefs regarding death.

It is difficult to reconstruct ancient attitudes toward death and the afterlife and, even more so, trace their evolution.[77] Ancient sources provide scant information on the subject, and the relevant passages demonstrate little, if any, coherence. Fluidity in the views about death and the afterlife is typical of all societies;[78] in ancient Greece, too, beliefs about what happened after death were never fixed.[79] Moreover, it is often difficult to distinguish between individual statements and reflections of collective attitudes.

The early Greeks as a rule accepted death as a "drastic and generally bodiless translation to an unknowable new condition."[80] From Homer onward, it was believed that death released the spirit or soul of the dead to go to Hades,[81] which was invariably portrayed as a sad and gloomy domain deep in the earth.[82] There, the dead were reduced to mere flitting shadows, pale, powerless, and possibly unconscious.[83] This fate was common to all people, regardless of their status or conduct in life. The conception of death as a hateful but inescapable evil was rooted in the Homeric epics[84] and persisted in later literature.

Nevertheless, side by side with the widespread notion of the gloomy Hades are several passing allusions in Greek literature to the idea that the souls of certain blessed dead[85] are transferred after death to a paradisiacal garden, where they exist in perfect happiness, free of toil and illness. Such superterrestrial paradises, where life continues after death, are given different names in the sources, Elysion and

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[76] On the typical repertoire of Classical Attic gravestones, see, e.g., Friis-Johansen (supra n. 24) 13–52.

[77] I agree in this respect with I. Morris, "Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece," *ClAnt* 8 (1989) 298.

[78] N.J. Richardson, "Early Greek Views about Life after Death," in P.E. Easterling and J.V. Muir eds., *Greek Religion and Society* (Cambridge 1985) 50; H. Hoffmann, "From Charos to Charon: Some Notes on the Human Encounter with Death in Attic Red-Figured Vase-Painting," *Visible Religion* 4–5 (1985–1986) 174.

[79] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion, Archaic and Classical* (Oxford 1985) 198–99. For collective accounts of ancient views on death and the afterlife, see W.F. Jackson Knight, *Elysion: On Ancient Greek and Roman Beliefs concerning a Life after Death* (London 1970); Richardson (supra n. 78); J.N. Bremmer, "The Soul, Death and the Afterlife in Early and Classical Greece," in J.M. Bremer et al. eds., *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World* (Amsterdam 1994) 91–106; J.M. Bremer, "Death and Immortality in Some Greek Poems," in Bremer et al. eds., 109–23; B. Poortman, "Death and Immortality in Greek Philosophy from the Presocratics to the Hellenistic Era," in Bremer et al. eds., 197–220; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before and After," in J. Whaley ed., *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London 1981) 15–39; Sourvinou-Inwood, "A Trauma in Flux: Death in the 8th Century and After," in R. Hägg ed., *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation* (Stockholm 1983) 33–48.

[80] Vermeule (supra n. 43) 72.

[81] Hom. *Od.* 10.560; 11.219–22. Cf. J.N. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton 1983) 15, 66–89; J.P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays* (Princeton 1991) 186–89; R. Padel, *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (Princeton 1992) 31; Sourvinou-Inwood 56. In Homer, it was cremation that released the soul to go to Hades, while later on it was the moment of death itself; see Sourvinou-Inwood 310.

[82] Hom. *Il.* 20.61–66; 23.100–101; *Od.* 11.37–38; 11.488–91. On Hades, see Sourvinou-Inwood 59–66; G. Arrighetti, "Cosmologia mitica di Omero e Esiodo," *Studi classici e orientali* 15 (1966) 1–60.

[83] See, e.g., Hom. *Od.* 10.494–95. It is unclear whether shadows possessed consciousness or intelligence; see Richardson (supra n. 78) 53; Sourvinou-Inwood 76–87.

[84] The inevitability of death is a recurrent motif in the epics; see Hom. *Od.* 3.236–38; *Il.* 18.115–19.

[85] Such privileged dead are referred to in the sources as μάκαρες, μακάριοι, εὐδαίμονες, and ὄλβιοι; see Bremmer (supra n. 79) 104.

Isles of the Blessed being the commonest,[86] but they invariably possess the same characteristics.[87]

The earliest eschatological remarks appear in Homer.[88] Menelaos is told by Proteus that he will not die, but will be transferred by the gods to the Elysian Fields at the ends of the earth, where Rhadamanthys dwells;[89] the same fate awaits other privileged dead.[90] Henceforth, the notion of a blissful afterlife appears sporadically in Greek literature. Among the most interesting accounts of the afterlife are those of Hesiod[91] and Pindar.[92] A particular interest in future life is demonstrated by the various mystery religions that emerged or became prominent in the Classical period, particularly Orphism and Pythagoreanism, which also introduced the notion of reincarnation.[93] Similar ideas regarding the afterlife permeate the work of Plato.[94]

Hope for the afterlife as well as the notion of immortality is also expressed in several private epigrams,[95] often in a narrative or lyrical way. Certain epigrams urge the replacement of the term "to die" with "to sleep."[96] Others allude to the deification of certain mortals or to the attainment of immortality on Olympos.[97] Such epigrams, which are almost always related to mystery cults,[98] appear sporadically from the end of the Archaic period but grow in number from the late fifth century onward.

References to a happy afterlife appear to be in irreconcilable opposition to the ordinary Greek conception of a bleak dwelling in Hades, yet the two notions are found side by side in popular belief already from the time of the Homeric poems. In recent years, the relationship of the two distinct layers of belief about the afterlife has been the subject of debate. One theory minimizes the importance of allusions to a blissful hereafter, considering them marginal ideas with a restricted appeal to ancient Greeks, which never replaced the older and more democratic vision of Hades.[99] Another theory places references to a full corporeal existence in a heavenly paradise after death in a wider context, regarding them as indications of a genuine shift within the nexus of Greek eschatological attitudes.[100]

A review of the sources indicates that the notion of the existence of a paradise for the select few, which was insignificant in Homer, acquired greater impor-

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[86] On Elysion, see Hom. *Od.* 4.561–70; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.811. On the Isles of the Blessed, see Hes. *Op.* 168–73. Similar paradises are the Leuke Nesos mentioned in the Aethiopis, see A.T. Edwards, "Achilles in the Underworld: Iliad, Odyssey, and Aethiopis," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 221; G. Hedreen, "The Cult of Achilles in the Euxine," *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 319–22; as well as the Land of the Hyperboreans, where Kroisos was transferred, see Bacchyl. 3.48–62.

[87] Supra n. 48.

[88] On Homer's afterlife, see Jackson Knight (supra. n. 79) 48–50; Sourvinou-Inwood 17–19, 32–56, 106–107; M. Davies, "Description by Negation: History of a Thought-Pattern in Ancient Accounts of Blissful Life," *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 265–84.

[89] Hom. *Od.* 4.561–65.

[90] Among other privileged dead were Ganymede, who was carried off to Olympos, Hom. *Il.* 20.232–35; Kleitos, Hom. *Od.* 15.250–51; and Ino Leukothea, Hom. *Od.* 5.333–35.

[91] On Hesiod's views on the afterlife, see Jackson Knight (supra n. 79) 53–54.

[92] Pind. *Ol.* 2.61–67; 2.70–77; frs. 129, 130, 133. On Pindar's views on the afterlife, see R. Hampe, "Zur Eschatologie in Pindars zweiter olympischer Ode," in *Ερμηνεία: Festschrift O. Regenbogen zum 60. Geburtstag am 14 Februar 1951* (Heidelberg 1952) 46–65; H. Lloyd-Jones, "Pindar and the After-life," *EntrHardt* 31 (Geneva 1985) 245–79.

[93] On mystery cults and the afterlife, see Jackson Knight (supra n. 79) 74–79; Graf (supra n. 59) 79–126; Burkert (supra n. 79) 285–301; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987) 21–24. On the difficulty in distinguishing between Orphic and Pythagorean ideas, see W. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* 1 (Cambridge 1962) 198; Burkert, "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," in B.E. Mayer and E.P. Sanders eds., *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* 3 (London 1982) 1–22.

[94] Pl. *Phd.* 1140; *Grg.* 523b–c; *Resp.* 540b. See, also, Jackson Knight (supra n. 79) 91–94.

[95] On the notion of immortality in Greek poetry, see L. Malten, "Elysion und Rhadamanthys," *JdI* 28 (1913) 51; R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Chicago 1942) 44–86; Bremer (supra n. 79) 114–22. For examples of such poems, see P.A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica graeca* 2 (Berlin 1989) 69, no. 575 (after 350 B.C.); 90–91, no. 603 (fourth century B.C.).

[96] Bremer (supra n. 79) 114. See, e.g., A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1 (Cambridge 1965) 67, no. 91. This tradition goes back to the time of Hesiod: Hes. *Op.* 117.

[97] Hansen (supra n. 95) 58–59, no. 558 (ca. 350 B.C.); K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford 1974) 265–66, GVI 595. For indirect references to immortality and deification, see a third-century B.C. epigram from Eretria, W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* (Berlin 1960) 220.

[98] Bremer (supra n. 79) 115.

[99] E.g., Morris (supra n. 77). Supporters of this view explain this peculiarity within the Greek eschatological system by tracing the origin of such ideas back to a pre-Greek people, particularly the Minoans. The theory of the Minoan origin of Elysion was advanced by Malten (supra n. 95) and maintained by numerous scholars, notably Nilsson, *MMR*² 623–25. It has recently been challenged by Sourvinou-Inwood 18–52, who argues that it is based on a fundamental misconception about the nature of religious development.

[100] Sourvinou-Inwood 38–39; Bremer (supra n. 79) 96.

tance later on. Literary evidence alone, however, limited as it is and unevenly distributed in time, cannot document the existence and extent of a general shift in Greek beliefs regarding death and the afterlife. Allusions to Elysion and its equivalents have to be placed in the context of other developments in funerary ideology. Thus, contrary to an earlier view that sees a distinct change in the Greek eschatological belief system as early as the eighth century B.C.,[101] I would be inclined to associate the growing number of references to a blissful afterlife with a number of changes in attitudes toward death that began after the Persian Wars and continued to the end of the fifth century B.C.[102]

In the last decades of the fifth century, when the Kallithea base was made, in Athens the custom of erecting gravestones for the dead resumed[103] and brought along with it a series of changes in the commemoration of the dead. Except for the war dead, whose merit continued to be extolled through public epitaphs and burial in communal graves, for the average Athenians emphasis shifted to the sphere of private commemoration.[104] Epigrams and other literary genres[105] indicate a turn from the fatalistic acceptance of death to a more self-conscious attitude.[106] The notion of glorious death is gradually replaced by its perception as a sad and fearful condition.[107] In some circles, at least, there is growing anxiety about one's own death and the transition to the afterlife.[108] Among other changes at this time are the greater concern for the survival of one's memory[109] as well as the celebration of longevity.[110] Several of these developments may have been associated directly or indirectly with the traumatic impact of the Peloponnesian War, more specifically with the plague that broke out in the city of Athens in the summer of 430/29 B.C., bringing about confusion and fear and causing moral and physical degradation.[111]

At a time when the anxiety and fear inspired by death emerge prominently, several remedies are sought for the ordinary lot. In Classical Greece, one expression of the attempt to come to terms with the inescapable is a change in the view of the transition to Hades, which now becomes more structured than the Homeric one and is guided by the divine figures of Charon and Hermes Psychopompos;[112] the articulation of this awesome experience by means of familiar activities is thought to remove some of the terror attached to the moment of death.[113] Another indication is the flourishing of mystery cults that promised individual salvation and a better life in the hereafter; such cults had appeared in certain circles already during the Archaic period, but now enjoyed a wider appeal.

It is in the context of such existential concerns that I believe one should view the Kallithea base. The unique apple-picking scene on its front face expresses the human struggle against death and the need for reassurance that life continues in the hereafter. The selection of the theme suggests that by the late fifth century hope for the afterlife was appealing to common mortals. Elysion, once reserved for gods or select heroes, was attainable by the ordinary lot as well,[114] probably as a reward for blameless conduct in life[115] or initiation into mystery cults.[116] Herakles, who achieved immortality by his own virtue after the plucking of the apples of the Hesper-

[101] Sourvinou-Inwood 52 associates this presumed development with the emergence at that time of hero cults. Morris (supra n. 77) 313 and Edwards (supra n. 86) 219 n. 9 rightly argue that Sourvinou-Inwood overstates the post-Homeric appearance of this conception of the afterlife and believe that there was no significant change in individual attitudes toward death between the eighth and the fifth centuries.

[102] On changes in funerary attitudes in the course of the fifth century B.C., see Hoffmann (supra n. 78) 183; Sourvinou-Inwood 203 n. 379.

[103] On the reintroduction of gravestones, see supra n. 24.

[104] Humphreys 105, 120.

[105] Ar. *Ran.* 448–59; *Av.* 1553–64.

[106] See Hoffmann (supra n. 78) 182–83; Sourvinou-Inwood 352–56.

[107] Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 330d–e; Hoffmann (supra n. 78) 174, 183. On the notion of the "good death," see, e.g., N. Loraux, "Mourir devant Troie, tomber pour Athènes. De la gloire du héros à l'idée de la cité," in G. Gnoli ed., *La mort, les mortes dans les sociétés anciennes* (Cambridge 1982) 27–43; Humphreys 144–46.

[108] Sourvinou-Inwood 354.

[109] Sourvinou-Inwood 300.

[110] Humphreys 107. See, e.g., the epigrams *IG* II², 3453, 5452, 6288, 10650, and 11998.

[111] Thuc. 2.47–55. Despite great scholarly interest in the plague, its impact on funerary attitudes has not been studied properly; see Humphreys 76 n. 4; 103–104; 168; and Mikalson (supra n. 24).

[112] Sourvinou-Inwood 304–309.

[113] Sourvinou-Inwood 316, 321; Bremmer (supra n. 79) 103. Sourvinou-Inwood 308 notes that in the fifth century, the transition from the world of the living to that of the dead acquired a structure similar to that of rites of passage.

[114] Sourvinou-Inwood 87; T.C.W. Stinton, "The Apotheosis of Herakles from the Pyre," in L. Rodley ed., *Papers Given at a Colloquium on Greek Drama in Honour of R.P. Winnington-Ingram* (London 1987) 4–5.

[115] Hes. *Op.* 121–26; 161–73; Pl. *Grg.* 523a–524a.

[116] See, e.g., *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 480–82.

ides,[117] was a paradigm of the average person's potential for a happy afterlife;[118] the manifest allusion to that very deed on the base is not accidental.

Surprisingly, the notions of immortality and a blissful afterlife alluded to by the Kallithea base find expression in art only rarely. Such connotations may be detected in the iconography of a limited number of funerary vases dating from the late fifth or the fourth century B.C.,[119] and, to a lesser degree, in funerary sculpture.[120]

The iconographic divergence of the Kallithea base from contemporary gravestones raises the question of the recipient of the funerary monument to which it belonged. One contemplates the identity of this individual whose gravestone turned away from the stereotypical repertoire of fifth-century funerary sculpture, representing instead an allegorical motif more in keeping with the clay vases meant strictly for private use.[121] The most likely explanation, in my view, is that the dead individual was an ardent follower of a philosophical school or mystery cult, who believed in individual salvation and a happy afterlife.[122] If this suggestion is correct, the monument acquires greater significance, since the evidence indicates that even individuals who subscribed to mysterial beliefs promising a happy afterlife were generally commemorated by means of grave monuments that did not reflect these beliefs at all but, instead, reproduced stereotypical formulas.[123] In any case, the Kallithea base provides a distinct iconographic statement made for a specific individual. Presumably, the marble vase that stood atop it would have clarified its meaning for its contemporaries, either through an epitaph or its own decoration.

The carved pedestal from Kallithea is a notable piece of sculpture. Its style keeps pace with the developments in monumental sculpture, indicating the artistic quality of some of the earliest Classical gravestones. The mere employment of a decorated base, instead of a plain one, demonstrates the degree of elaboration aimed at by the relatives of the dead after the long ban in the production of private gravestones. Most importantly, its unique iconography allows us a glimpse into little-known funerary beliefs at the end of the fifth century.

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[117] The theme of Herakles' apotheosis first appeared in the mid-sixth century. Until then, there was a deeply rooted idea that the hero died and went to Hades; see, e.g., Hom. *Il.* 18.117–19; M.W. Edwards, *The Iliad: A Commentary* 5 (Cambridge 1991) 162; Sourvinou-Inwood 86.

[118] *MMR*[2] 628; Burkert (supra n. 79) 211.

[119] For instance, the imagery of a set of funerary vases by Sotades, which evolves around honey, is thought to explore various views of death and the afterlife. For the vases, London, British Museum D5, D6, and D7, see Burn (supra n. 32) 93–105, pls. 23–27. The singular image on a clay astragal by the same painter, which shows a haggard old man with satyr-like features standing in front of a cave surrounded by a "thiasos" of ethereal female figures, has been associated with mystery symbolism, specifically with the Pythagorean doctrine that life is the death of the soul and its separation from the body; London, British Museum E 804; *ARV*[2] 765.20; Hoffmann (supra n. 78) 182, pl. 10a–d. Two more vases, which show youths dwelling in a lush setting, are associated with the Isles of the Blessed: red-figure crater, Athens, National Museum 1435; *ARV*[2] 1440; S. Karouzou, "Ἥρωες αγνοί σ' έναν αττικό κρατήρα," *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) 1–16, pls. 1–11. For alternative interpretations of this scene, see E. Simon, "Attische Monatsbilder," *JdI* 80 (1965) 105–23; Simon, *Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary* (Madison 1983) 5, 82–83, pl. 4.1–2; Metzger (supra n. 52) 187 no. 38, 189; red-figure pelike, Athens, National Museum 1333; *Paralipomena* 481; Karouzou, "Une tombe de Tanagra," *BCH* 95 (1971) 109–45, figs. 21–23.

[120] The Three-Figure Reliefs, which were most likely part of a funerary monument, seem to allude to immortality in a manner analogous to that of the Kallithea base. On the reliefs, supra n. 46. For the theory that as a whole the reliefs represent various attempts to attain immortality, see L. Beschi, *Sculture greche e romane di Cirene* (Padua 1959) 76 n. 40; H. Möbius, *Die Reliefs der Portlandvase und das antike Dreifigurenbild* (Munich 1965) 17; Burn (supra n. 32) 104. L.A. Touchette, "A New Interpretation of the Orpheus Relief," *AA* 1990, 77–90 detects similar connotations on the Orpheus relief alone.

[121] On the distinction between the repertoire of grave stelae and white-ground lekythoi, or else between public and private commemoration, see Humphreys 106; H.A. Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," *AJA* 95 (1991) 651.

[122] The otherwise logical idea that the dead youth may have been a casualty of war hoping to attain a special status in the Elysian Fields as a result of his valor is discredited by the fact that on the base he and his female companion are connected on the same level.

[123] U. Vedder, *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Frankfurt 1985) 151–53.