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"Like a Shadow or Even a Dream": Memory and Haptic Motifs on Classical Attic Funerary Stelai

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“LIKE A SHADOW OR EVEN A DREAM”

MEMORY AND HAPTIC MOTIFS ON CLASSICAL ATTIC FUNERARY *STELAI*

A THESIS BY

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Abstract

During the third quarter of the fifth century BCE, Athens witnessed the revival of funerary *stele* reliefs. Sculpted motifs representing touch and interaction, often situated within familial scenes, characterized the grave monuments and contributed strongly to their tactility. Haptic *stele* motifs promoted the construction of memory by heightening the depiction of lasting bonds between living and deceased individuals. Grave reliefs provide a lasting representation of the deceased, while also serving as conspicuous reminders of the permanence of death. However, Attic funerary *stelai* provided a physical substitute for the departed towards which the living could direct their continued care and dedication. This work centers on interpreting fourth-century *stelai* as reflections of haptic imagery's ability to promote viewers' engagement. The depiction of grave-visit scenes on white-ground *lekythoi*, which often represent graveside visitors adorning and touching *stelai*, strengthens these interpretations. As visitors interacted with *stelai* at the gravesite, they created continuity between the scenes depicted on the reliefs and their own actions, encouraging a negotiation of their separation from the deceased and an understanding of mortality. Emotional, sensory, and tactile interaction with *stelai* and their haptic motifs allowed for the development of an enduring bond and lasting remembrance of the deceased.

I hereby declare upon my word of honor that I have neither given nor received unauthorized help on this work.
Vonne Daszkilewicz

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Introduction

Redevelopment and Public Nature of Classical Attic Stelai

Athens witnessed the revival of sculpted funerary *stele* reliefs in the third quarter of the fifth century BCE. This development occurred against the background of the Periclean building program, the devastation of the Peloponnesian War, and the ritual and social disorder of plague. Sumptuary legislation restricting elaborate burials and funerary markers ceased being observed, with the earliest examples of Classical Attic funerary *stelai* dating to 430 BCE.[1] Motifs underscoring touch and interaction, often situated within intimate familial scenes, characterized these monuments.[2] *Stelai* were placed over the graves of both wealthy and lower-class families in Athenian cemeteries. Sculptors produced reliefs of varying artistic quality and price, making them accessible to members of differing socio-economic statuses.[3] In place of sculpted reliefs, less expensive painted monuments and grave markers made of perishable material such as wood were available to the broader public, including lower-class families.[4] According to the terminology often inscribed on *stelai*, each monument functioned both as a *sema*, the funerary marker or "sign" of the deceased, and a *mnema* or "memorial" that constructed a space and metonymic presence for the departed within the world of the living.[5] As in the Archaic period, Classical s*telai* lined the roads outside the city walls of Athens, becoming especially numerous in the region of the Kerameikos.[6] The monuments faced away from burials and towards viewers traversing the roads. Within the public sphere, the display of intimate personal interaction usually reserved for the private setting of the home was notable and possibly even shocking to ancient passersby. Haptic motifs beckoned

onlookers to stop and gaze upon figures absorbed in the act of touch and interpersonal connection.[7]

Traditions of Portraying Touch in Athenian Funerary Art

Touch and the senses were salient to the burial of the deceased and the production of funerary art prior to the fifth century BCE, as evidenced by the artistic precedents of the Classical style. In the Geometric period, funerary vessels depicted mourners touching the body of the deceased, and haptic objects such as unguent containers were used as burial goods. Figures portrayed by Archaic funerary sculpture and reliefs carried unguent vessels such as *aryballoi* to recall their athleticism and the role of salves and oils in the preparation of the body for burial.[8] In comparison with the Geometric and Archaic styles, allusions to touch were even further emphasized in the Classical period. Enhanced tactility in fourth-century funerary imagery owes much to the naturalism of the Classical style, which allowed sculptors to depict touch in new and increasingly realistic ways.[9] Contemporary events in Athens also influenced interest in the portrayal of touch by altering haptic interaction between the living and the deceased. The public burial of soldiers, which had been instituted at the beginning of the fifth century BCE, transferred the responsibility of burial rites for those killed in the Peloponnesian War from the *oikos* to the *polis.* While bereaved family members could dedicate funerary gifts in the Agora, only the ashes of the deceased remained for them to touch. The plague of 430 BCE further ravaged Athens with gruesome death, as well as the spectacle of unburied bodies. Funerary traditions were disarrayed in the chaos, as many Athenian families lacked the means to provide for proper burials. Within this socio-historic context, in which the connection

between death and touch was disrupted, the depiction of touch on *stelai* gained renewed urgency and value.[10] The haptic motifs of Attic funerary *stelai* engaged the senses, emotions, and interaction of the graveside viewer, promoting remembrance and the construction of an enduring bond with the deceased.

Review of Scholarship

Nearly 3,000 Classical Attic *stelai* survive in the archaeological record.[11] The corpora of works that aimed to categorize the funerary markers and their iconography first began with Conze's *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*. Published from 1892 to 1922, the four volumes classify 2,158 monuments from the Archaic to Roman periods, including funerary *lekythoi* and stone *loutrophoroi* in addition to *stelai*.[12] Clairmont contributed to Conze's pioneering work in the later twentieth century with the eight-volume catalog *Classical Attic Tombstones*, most recently updated in 1993.[13] While adding entries to Conze's corpus, Clairmont analyzed the iconography in sociological and anthropological terms as well.[14] More recent works include Kaltsas' 2002 catalog of sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, which features several well-known examples of the fourth century BCE, and Grossman's 2013 catalog and commentary on Attic funerary sculpture excavated from the Athenian agora.[15]

Numerous works have engaged archaeological evidence, including funerary *stelai,* in order to reconstruct and study ancient Greek funerary practices and Attic eschatological beliefs. This field of scholarship includes Kurtz and Boardman's 1971 *Greek Burial Customs* and Garland's 1985 *The Greek Way of Death.*[16] Published in a second edition by Cornell University Press in 2001, Garland's work further discusses

death-related customs and beliefs through both ancient literary and archaeological material. Particularly relevant to the work at hand is the chapter "Visiting the Tomb." While discussing the civic and social importance of continued grave visits, Garland provides an early discussion of interaction with *stelai* and mourners' adornment of the funerary marker.[17] Mirto's 2012 book *Death in the Greek World* considers the ability of funerary monuments to activate the memory of the ancient viewer.[18] In her discussion of interaction with funerary markers, Mirto characterizes tomb statuary from the Archaic period as a continuing metonymic presence for the deceased, an idea frequently referenced by scholarship that considers the artistic representation of the deceased.[19]

As this work concerns the evidence that Attic white-ground *lekythoi* provide of visits to the grave and interaction with *stelai*, a review of the works that have contributed to cataloging and interpreting the vessels is relevant. Scholarship includes Fairbanks' two-volume *Athenian Lekythoi*, published in 1907 and 1914, Beazley's 1938 *Attic White Lekythoi*, and Kurtz's 1975 *Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters*.[20] These sources addressed the iconographic issue of distinguishing between the living mourner and the deceased when examining the grave-visit scenes depicted on Attic white-ground *lekythoi*.[21] Oakley has built on this scholarship to interpret the significance of death-related iconography in the 2004 work *Picturing Death in Classical Athens.* The book provides an overview of the imagery featured on *lekythoi*, such as the various types of *stele* adornments.[22] Oakley interprets the social and cultural context of the grave visit scenes as well, discussing how they reflect beliefs on the afterlife and the perception and memory of the

deceased.[23] A more recent but especially pertinent source is Arrington's 2015 book *Ashes, Images, and Memories*, particularly the chapter "The Limits of Commemoration." Arrington discusses the development and imagery of white-ground *lekythoi*, focusing on interpreting their potential use to commemorate the fifth-century Athenian war dead. Arrington adeptly characterizes *lekythoi* as haptic vessels that enabled ongoing interaction with the deceased through their use to anoint the body during the *prothesis*, and later to adorn the tomb after inhumation.[24]

Recent sources interpreting the motif of touch on *stelai* discuss the ability of the monuments to embody the deceased. This area of scholarship derives clear influence from previous inquiries into representation in Greek and Classical art. Siebert's 1981 work in *Methodologie Iconographique* considered a variety of vessels, aiming to examine and interpret the visual representations of the deceased in the afterlife. Siebert identified these representations with the terminology of *eidola*, or images of the dead.[25] Building on the ideas of Siebert's article, Peifer's 1989 work used the terminology of *eidola* for the winged figures depicted on vessels, while arguing that the manner in which the deceased was represented related to the memory of the living.[26] The connection of artistic depiction to memory is influential, as the idea is referred to in later sources discussing the representation of the deceased on white-ground *lekythoi*.[27]

Works that indicate an early scholarly interest in the motif of touch on *stelai* reliefs include an article by Davies, published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1985.[28] The author focuses primarily on an interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the handshaking motif referred to as *dexiosis*, rather than how

the motif engaged the viewer. Davies characterizes the motif's meaning as a flexible suggestion of familial unity and hope for reunion after death. Novakova and Pagáčová's later 2016 article in *ILIRIA International Review* demonstrates the influence of Davies' work, arguing that the meaning of *dexiosis* should be perceived in terms of both the civic purpose of formally presenting the unified family and as an intimate personal gesture expressing emotions and enduring relationships.[29] Another relevant work is Shapiro's 1991 article published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.[30] The author contributes to the focus on memory by characterizing white-ground *lekythoi* as a form of personal communication and interaction between living and deceased family members. Shapiro maintains that Attic *stelai* share many motifs with the iconography that developed on *lekythoi* during the decades in which *stelai* reliefs were not produced, including the handshake motif and scenes of women receiving a child from a standing figure.

Several recent sources have continued the scholarly inquiry into the iconography of grave visits on Attic white-ground *lekythoi.* The authors focus on interpreting these scenes' consequences for mourning, by relating the depiction of the deceased to the engagement of the living's memory. These works include Arrington's 2014 chapter in *Athenian Potters and Painters Volume III.* Arrington focuses on painted white-ground *lekythos* scenes that feature *eidola* and a *stele* adorned with fallen vessels in order to interpret their significance. He explains that painters used the imagery of fallen vessels to illustrate a connection between the *eidolon* and the *stele*, as fallen vessels show the passage of time during which these apparitions of the deceased were present. Arrington maintains that mourners could be comforted by

the idea that the deceased resided at the grave and perceived their dedication.[31] The idea of the persistence of the dead is of particular interest to this work, as it relates to the perception of death and ideas of how the deceased continue to relate to the living.

Jones' 2015 article in the journal *Art History* and Allen's 2018 essay in the book *Imagining the Afterlife in the Ancient World* examine white-ground *lekythoi* in order to discuss the role of the funerary marker as a memorial for the deceased. The sources characterize the grave marker as a "point of contact" for the living and deceased and as a "paradigmatic case for both the power and the impotence of all representation."[32] They describe *stelai* as simultaneously representing a lasting connection to the deceased, as well as the permanence of death. The authors maintain that funerary markers, such as Attic *stelai*, provided a physical object that the bereaved could direct attention towards, thus allowing them to enact particular rites and rituals that necessitated a physical body.[33]

Scholarship has recently aimed to examine how the senses were understood in antiquity, and how forms of material culture, including funerary art, served to engage the senses of viewers. These works are particularly relevant to and often cited by contemporary scholarship that focuses on the motif of touch on Attic *stelai*.[34] The section on "viewing the dead" in Turner's 2016 chapter in *Sight and the Ancient Senses* associates the sense of sight in antiquity with tactility. The author connects *stelai* reliefs to the senses, characterizing them as highly tactile images, and considers specific motifs such as the frontal gaze.[35] In their 2018 chapter in *Touch and the Ancient Senses*, Squire and Platt similarly characterize the sense of touch as related to perception. The authors argue that Classical art engaged the ancient audience by

inspiring, and often frustrating, the desire to engage with the works through direct tactile contact.[36] Both sources consider the limits of visual representation by citing the example of Odysseus' attempts to interact with the *psuche* of Antikleia, a passage frequently discussed in scholarship on the haptic qualities of *stelai* reliefs.[37]

Margariti's works concerning Attic *stelai* are significant in that they provide overviews and catalogs of specific iconography depicted on *stelai* reliefs, particularly scenes featuring deceased women, girls, and the family. The works also provide discussion on how the depiction of touch and interaction between figures engaged the viewer and their emotions. In a 2019 article in *Babesch*, Margariti discusses how specific gestures of mourning and consolation serve to create bonds between figures on *stelai* reliefs. The author emphasizes reliefs that depict multiple figures and forms of interaction and provides tables that organize *stelai* from Clairmont's catalogs by specific gestures.[38] Margariti's earlier 2016 article in *Babesch* similarly provides a catalog and emphasizes how motifs of touch and interaction highlight the relationship between the deceased mother and child, inspiring the external viewer's compassion and pity.[39]

Recent scholarship has further endeavored to interpret the motif of touch and other haptic references on Attic *stelai.* All proceeding sources discuss *stelai* as monuments characterized by tactility while focusing on their ability to engage the viewer and the desire for interaction with the *stelai*. Allen's 2017 dissertation "Portraits of Grief: Death, Mourning and the Expression of Sorrow on White-Ground *Lekythoi*" continues the scholarly analysis of grave visit scenes on Attic white-ground *lekythoi*. The author interprets the portrayal of mourners, focusing on the emotionality

of their interaction with the grave and with the memory of the deceased. The dissertation is structured by chapters that concentrate on particular types of mourners, including women, men, infants, and the deceased themselves, figures also portrayed on Attic *stelai*.[40] Like other contemporary scholars, Allen maintains a connection between vision and touch, interpreting that the sight of the grave compels visitors to yearn for physical contact with the dead.[41]

The third and fourth chapters of Estrin's 2016 dissertation "Objects of Pity: Art and Emotion in Archaic and Classical Greece" examine Classical Attic *stelai*. The author investigates the ways in which ancient viewers interacted physically and emotionally with the monuments, interpreting specific examples of *stelai* reliefs and epigrams and focusing attention on both optic and haptic modes of engagement. Chapter four explores the relationship between emotion and artistic form. Estrin focuses on how the depiction of physical contact on *stelai* and the viewer's interaction with the *stelai* established intersubjectivity.[42] Squire's 2018 essay in *Art History* centers on a specifically formal analysis of Attic *stelai*, in order to interpret ideas of how presence and absence are artistically embodied on funerary markers. By closely examining the form and composition of several *stelai*, Squire maintains that the reliefs create a "corporeal" presence for the deceased and other figures.[43] Similar to Estrin's work, the author interprets how depicted forms and figures relate to the bodies and perception of the living.

In the 2018 essay "Touch and Remembrance in Greek Funerary Art," published in *The Art Bulletin*, Arrington contextualizes *stelai* reliefs among other mortuary objects in funerary precincts, such as grave offerings and non-figural grave

markers, in order to relate them more closely to practices of burial and mourning. The author cites the influence of "Objects of Pity," describing it as an "explicit treatment of touch in Classical funerary art."[44] As in comparative scholarship, Arrington maintains that ancient viewers adopted a "haptic gaze" when interacting with the *stelai*.[45] This invoked strong emotional responses to the memorials, and a desire to interact with the deceased. Arrington's focus on how the emphasis on touch in the funerary precincts invited tactile engagement with the *stelai* themselves is especially pertinent.

Previous scholarship's characterization of *dexiosis* and other haptic motifs as related to the depiction of familial unity is particularly relevant to a work focusing on memory. This work will argue that the tactility of motifs on Attic *stelai*, including *dexiosis*, specifically contributed to the construction of memory by heightening the depiction of lasting bonds and interaction between individuals. Discussion of grave-visit scenes on white-ground *lekythoi* will highlight the tactility of leaving offerings, which necessitated close engagement with the *stele*. By interpreting specific reliefs, this work will demonstrate that haptic references promoted interaction with the *stele* and served to strengthen memory and an understanding of death even further. It will build upon recent scholarship that has highlighted the grave marker as a physical object that viewers and mourners could direct their attention toward and interact with. The work at hand will specifically connect the motif of touch to the engagement of interaction. The main body will center on the interpretation of three specific fourth-century *stele* reliefs as reflections of haptic imagery's ability to promote sensory engagement, interaction, and the development of memory. Examples of white-ground

lekythos scenes will strengthen these interpretations. After describing a *stele,* an in-depth discussion of its haptic motifs will contribute to and expand upon existing scholarship by analyzing the motifs' contributions to a specific monument's tactility. The interpretive sections on each *stele* will also include analysis of pertinent cultural processes related to death and mourning. The work will contribute to existing scholarship by concentrating on the idea of continuity, arguing that haptic *stele* imagery connected graveside viewers' experiences at the graveside to their past experiences during funerary rituals. As visitors interacted with *stelai* at the gravesite, they also created continuity between the scenes depicted on the reliefs and their own actions, promoting an understanding of mortality. Engagement and interaction with *stelai* and their haptic motifs allowed for the development of a continued relationship and lasting remembrance of the deceased.

Depictions of Touch and the (Dis)embodiment of the Deceased

The tradition of representing touch in Greek funerary art assigns a crucial role to sense in negotiating and understanding the trauma of death.[46] Touch as a form of perception was intricately connected to and intermingled with vision.[47] While various schools of philosophy differed on the exact mechanics of seeing, all underscored the haptic qualities of sight.[48] The act of vision depended upon a moment of contact: either emissions from the eyes "felt" objects in a manner similar to hands, or the objects themselves transmitted rays that acted upon the eyes of the viewer. Whether extramissive or intromissive, Greek theories of sight all associated the optic sense with the haptic, sharing the premise that vision occurred through contact between the eyes and a subject.[49]

From the beginning of Greek literary tradition, touch was depicted as an extension of sight and used to explore the boundaries between visual representation and veridical reality.[50] The Homeric *Nekyia* provided a basis for the ontology of the deceased, in regard to perception through the senses. Upon encountering the *eidolon*, or visual apparition of Antikleia in the House of Hades, Odysseus is emotionally moved to hold his deceased mother. Three times, the hero attempts to embrace his vision of Antikleia, and three times the intangible soul slips from his hands: σκιῇ εἴκελον ἢ καὶ ὀνείρῳ "like a shadow or even a dream."[51] In the *Nekyia*, the deceased are embodied in terms of appearance. With bodies visually congruent to those of the living, they inspire the desire for touch and intimacy. However, they are simultaneously disembodied as well. Odysseus' attempt to embrace Antikleia reveals her corporeal intangibility. For Odysseus, bodily embrace provides verification, a means of reconciling the longing engaged upon seeing the *eidolon* of his beloved mother.[52] The denial of physical touch tragically exposes the limitations of human perception; while Odysseus hears and sees the spirits of the deceased, they are forever beyond his sensory and cognitive reach.[53]

For ancient graveside visitors, the ability to see a representation of the deceased on the *stele* would likewise contend with the impossibility of personal physical interaction. Like the *psuche* of Antikleia, the deceased now existed in a purely representational space that seemingly resisted the haptic connection of touch.[54] While grave reliefs provided a lasting rendition of the deceased, they also served as a conspicuous reminder of the permanence of death. Gazing upon a stone grave marker that could not reciprocate their engagement, bereaved viewers found themselves

confronted by the magnitude of their separation.[55] However, *stelai* provided a physical substitute for the departed towards which the living could direct their continued care and dedication.[56] The haptic motifs of Classical Attic *stelai* engaged viewers' senses and promoted interaction, transforming the monuments into "tactile outlets for grief."[57] Visitors left gifts, adorned the monuments with wreaths, ribbons, and fillets, and even embraced the *stele* itself. The primary body of evidence for this close interaction with *stelai,* as well as the customs and beliefs surrounding the deceased, is effectively illustrated by the imagery of grave-visit scenes on Athenian white-ground *lekythoi*.[58]

White-Ground *Lekythoi*: Background and Iconography

In the late sixth and early-fifth century BCE, a new genre of funerary vase emerged in Athens, Attica, and Eretria.[59] While the *lekythos,* a vessel for storing and decanting perfumed oils, was produced in Athens from the beginning of the sixth century BCE, the white-ground variant quickly grew to become the most popular vessel for portraying funerary scenes. The vase achieved ubiquity as an Athenian burial good and grave offering throughout the course of the fifth century.[60] Archaeological and iconographic evidence demonstrates that the vessels were closely identified with death and funerary rituals.[61] White-ground *lekythoi* appeared in all phases of the burial process, as illustrated within their painted scenes. Mourners placed the vessels around the bier that held the body of the deceased and buried them as grave goods during interment. Living relatives then continually offered *lekythoi* as they conducted *ta nomizomena*, the customs surrounding funerary rites and the upkeep of the gravesite.[62] Used and viewed within the home and in cemeteries, white-

ground *lekythoi* were distinctly enmeshed in both domestic and public funerary contexts.[63]

White-ground *lekythos* painters utilized a variety of imagery to create a similarly constant presence for the deceased within painted scenes: they were viewed by relatives on a bier during the *prothesis,* transported to the underworld by the psychopomps Thanatos and Charon, and stood at the gravesite as an *eidolon*, solemnly gazing upon the devotion of living relatives who visited and adorned the *stele*.[64] Grave-visit scenes depicting predominantly female mourners became the preferred funerary image and context for commemorating the deceased by the middle of the fifth century BCE.[65] This shift in focus from scenes of the funeral to the indefinite upkeep of the grave suggests a growing belief in Athens that the actions of the living had a substantive impact on the experience and well-being of the deceased.[66] Images depicting the attentive presence of *eidola* at the grave communicate the idea that the deceased resided at the *stele* and could perceive visitors' dedication at the gravesite.[67] Living mourners thus had an impetus to continue visiting and caring for the funerary marker, in order to provide for their loved ones and ensure that their souls would remain content.[68] Grave-visit scenes highlighted the sorrow and devotion felt by mourning relatives by focusing on private moments in the presence of the funerary monument. Earlier Attic funerary imagery commemorated and honored the deceased through crowded *prothesis* scenes in which mourners displayed their grief through frenzied, exaggerated gestures.[69] White-ground *lekythoi* fulfilled the same purpose in a different manner, emphasizing the ways individual mourners privately constructed the memory of the deceased. Grave-

visit imagery highlighted ritual activities such as the adornment of the *stele* or the dedication and arrangement of gifts upon the grave and its environs. Scenes in which dedicants place or tie colorful *tainiai* (ribbons) around the *stele* are particularly popular. The inclusion of *eidola* in adornment scenes suggests a close relationship between interaction with the *stele* and the presence or remembrance of the departed. These scenes combine with emotional expressions of sadness, exemplified in poignant scenes of visitors touching the *stele* or reaching for the hand of an *eidolon*, to create vivid and evocative memorials.[70] White-ground *lekythoi* anticipated the haptic themes and motifs featured on sculpted *stele* reliefs, which owe much to the vessels' iconography.[71]

Classical Attic *Stelai*: Background and Iconography

Classical Attic funerary *stelai* utilized new forms to depict multi-figure scenes that created engaging displays of reciprocated touch. When sculpted *stelai* re-emerged after 430 BCE, they featured shorter and broader relief slabs than previous Archaic grave monuments. Classical Attic *stelai* often took the form of a *naiskos* (small temple) crowned with a pediment with *antae* framing the scene depicted on the relief slab below. The broad form of the grave reliefs allowed sculptors to represent two or more figures. While no more than one seated figure usually appeared in a scene, both seated and standing figures engaged in a variety of poses in frontal, profile, and three-quarter views.[72] Similar to white-ground *lekythos* imagery and in contrast to the prevalence of men on Archaic funerary markers, Classical *stelai* reliefs were distinguished by familial scenes that heavily featured women while also including children and elderly figures. The emphasis of relief imagery and

inscriptions shifted from solely asserting a claim of the glory and virtue of the deceased to commemorating the loss of a member of the household, friend, or comrade.[73] Funerary inscriptions, such as the epigram on the *stele* of Anthemis, also alluded to the adornment that was frequently depicted in earlier painted *lekythos* scenes:

> Ἀνθεμίδος τόδε σῆμα· κύκλωι στεφα|νοῦσ<ι>ν <έ>ταῖροι
> μνημείων ἀρετῆς | οὕνεκα καὶ φιλίας.
>
> This is the *sema* of Anthemis. Her companions crown it with a ring of remembrances (*mnemeia*) for her virtue and friendship.[74]

The verbal imagery of στεφανόω (to crown) memorializes Anthemis' "virtue and friendship" and suggests a close relationship between adornment and the perception of the *stele* as a representation of the deceased.[75] The epigram also serves to emphasize the lasting bonds between the living and deceased. It evokes continuity between the memories that Anthemis' companions retain from their interactions with her while she lived and the new memories they form as they continuously decorate the *stele* and bear her in mind. As *stelai* accumulated adornments, mourners and other gravesite visitors engaged not only with the funerary marker but with the physical traces of memories left by those before them. Interaction formed a sense of continuity across the *stele's* viewers, creating an enduring monument to the memory of the deceased.

In place of isolated figures, multi-figured reliefs became increasingly popular in the latter half of the fourth century BCE, suggesting a developing interest in depicting connections between the living and deceased visually as well as epigraphically. Since sculptors typically produced a standard repertory of scenes,

funerary epigrams transformed the grave relief into the depiction and *mnema* of a particular person, as represented by the *stele* of Anthemis. *Stelai* depicting multiple figures often commemorated several members of the deceased's family over time as they were interred, making the identification of the primary deceased particularly challenging.[76] Haptic motifs and gestures play an important role in helping to identify the deceased among other figures, as mourning relatives often gaze upon their departed family member. Gestures of tenderness and unity, including handshakes, holding a figure's forearm or face, placing a hand upon a figure's shoulder, and embracing, are often directed towards the deceased as well. While *stelai* relief scenes lack intense, passionate displays of mourning, their haptic motifs nonetheless convey emotional visual messages, giving prominence to the relationships between individuals.[77]

The haptic qualities of sight were strongly pronounced as ancient viewers gazed upon funerary reliefs that depicted figures engaged in tactile interaction. Vivid representations of touch could provoke particularly powerful emotional and empathic responses.[78] As graveside visitors perceived depictions of figures clasping hands, caressing arms and faces, and holding one another, they "touched" and comprehended the scenes through the sense of sight. These motifs elicited grief and remembrance, inspiring a "haptic gaze" that allowed visitors to feel and connect to the *stele* scenes empathically. As the proceeding *stelai* reliefs will demonstrate, haptic motifs had important outcomes for remembrance. By engaging visitors' emotions and senses, they drew the minds and bodies of onlookers into the process of interacting with *stelai* and recollecting, reinforcing, and developing new memories of the deceased.[79]

Stele of Damasistrate Relief Description

The *stele* of Damasistrate (c. 350-325 BCE, fig. 1) features the form of a *naiskos* framed by *antae* and a pediment crowned with a palmette *akroterion*. The funerary epigram identifying the deceased as Δαμασιστράτη Πολυκλείδου, Damasistrate daughter of Polykleides, is inscribed on the narrow epistyle above the seated woman's head.[80] The seated figure is located at the left of the foreground, projecting outward in front of the *antae*. Her position as the recipient of the *dexiosis* gesture performed by the standing male figure also points to her identity as the deceased Damasistrate.[81] Damasistrate is depicted seated on a cushioned *klismos*. The armrest, above which her right arm extends, is supported by a small carved sphinx. Her feet rest on a footstool. She wears a *chiton* and *himation* that veils her head, which she lifts away from her face with her left hand. Damasistrate extends her right arm to shake hands with a bearded male figure standing at the right of the *stele* relief, in front of the *antae*. The man wears a *himation* and holds a strigil in his left hand, lowered by his side. Between the deceased and the left *anta*, an enslaved servant girl stands and holds the back of the chair with her right hand.[82] She wears the long-sleeved *chiton* and *sakkos* headdress exclusively worn by female servants.[83] In the background of the relief, a woman is depicted spatially between the *antae*, facing frontally. Her head is inclined to the left and supported by her left hand.

Haptic Motifs and the Tactility of the Relief

The Damasistrate relief features multiple haptic gestures that heighten the tactility of the scene and elicit the engagement of graveside viewers. The most prominent motif of touch depicted on the *stele* is the *dexiosis* gesture. The central

placement of the handshake emphasizes tactile interaction as a characteristic element of the relief scene. *Dexiosis* itself is strongly related to perception. Along with a haptic connection as the main figures clasp hands, *dexiosis* also establishes a visual connection through the figures' interlocked gazes. Thus, both visual and haptic channels of perception are engaged, strengthening the tactility of the monument and the unity depicted between individuals.[84] At first sight, there seems to be some ambiguity as to whether the male figure is meant to be viewed as Polykleides, the father of Damasistrate identified in the inscription, or her husband. Upon closer observation, Damasistrate appears to lift the veil covering her head in the gesture of *anakalypsis,* or "unveiling." This particularly intimate gesture relates to the Athenian marriage ritual of *anakalypteria*, in which the bride lifted her veil for the first time during the wedding ceremony and revealed her face to her husband.[85] While the *anakalypsis* gesture does not involve physical contact between figures, it nevertheless evokes the unity of two individuals in marriage, serving to generate an image of intimacy and connection.

The touching of fabric as a component of *anakalypsis* further contributes to the tactility of the relief by portraying figures engaging haptically with multiple textures. The naturalism of the Classical style allowed *stele* relief sculptors to represent sensations and textures convincingly.[86] The *stele* of Damasistrate portrays bodily contact through the motif of *dexiosis* and the depiction of the background figure placing a hand against her face in mourning. The space of the relief is predominated by the detailed rendering of the figures' clothing, increasing the sense of tactility by portraying the texture of fabric. The haptic qualities of *stelai* reliefs are

further strengthened through the depiction of objects that allude to and invite touch. The enslaved girl places her hand upon the back of the *klismos*, and the male figure grasps a strigil. The strigil is particularly notable, as its use in scraping sweat from the skin necessitated close physical contact between the object and the body.[87] Its inclusion in the relief subtly imbues the *stele* with additional haptic references.

While not depicted interacting with the individuals or objects around her, the central background figure on the relief still contributes to motifs that define the *stele* as a haptic monument. She raises a hand to her cheek in mourning or quiet contemplation, while her other arm is crossed closely over her body in a manner that highlights her withdrawn position between the *antae*. The figure is unique in that the woman appears to be depicted drying her tears. Although she shows the emotional restraint typical of mourning on Classical Attic *stelai* reliefs, the motif of holding a hand to the face to dry or hide tears serves to enhance the display of tactility on the relief and subtly communicate the personal grief felt by the mourning family to graveside visitors.[88] All hands depicted in the relief engage in a haptic gesture. Whether the figures interact with each other, objects, and furniture, or use their hands to communicate their own personal grief, each motif contributes to a rich display of tactility.

Engagement and Memory: *Dexiosis* and Depictions of Unity

On Classical Attic grave *stelai*, motifs depicting interaction between living and deceased family members served a civic purpose. Displayed in cemeteries and along public roads, gestures such as *dexiosis* publicly portrayed the ideal unity of the household.[89] Familial scenes aimed to communicate to viewers that the cohesion of

the household continued after traumatic events such as the death of a relative. This reinforced the *oikos* as a central component of civic life and order in the Athenian *polis.*[90] The motif of *dexiosis* combined with other gestures and haptic imagery to create an engaging and effective personal as well as public memorial.[91] On the *stele* of Damasistrate, *dexiosis* accompanies private motifs of touch and interaction, such as the background figure's gesture of mourning and the unveiling motion of *anakalypsis.* These intimate scenes evoked the pity and emotion of the viewer and asserted that the personal bonds between the members of the *oikos* endured after death. Compositional elements of the relief including the *klismos*, footstool, and architectural "frame" of the *naiskos* situate the scene within an illustration of the domestic sphere. Visual elements of domesticity engaged the living members of the family to recall the memory of their personal interactions with the deceased which took place within the privacy of the home.[92] The relationships and interactions between all members of the *oikos*, including wife and husband, mother and child, and enslaved and freeborn, all involved the haptic sense. In recalling the role of touch in familial relationships, the tactile imagery of *stelai* elicited the living's emotions and memories of the departed, ensuring that they would not be forgotten.[93]

To interpret how *stelai* engaged ancient viewers and contributed to the work of memorializing the dead, a consideration of the development of familial motifs is essential. Painted white-ground *lekythos* scenes rarely depicted living and deceased family members engaged in physical contact.[94] This suggests that the deceased only manifested at the grave as an intangible *eidolon*, or as an artistic representation of the graveside visitor's imagination.[95] However, the physical divide between living and

deceased was blurred by the time that sculpted Classical Attic grave *stelai* achieved popularity. *Dexiosis,* and the close engagement associated with it, became one of the most frequently depicted motifs.[96] In the rare instances that *dexiosis* is portrayed in white-ground *lekythos* scenes, the gesture has been likewise associated with elements of domesticity that recall personal memories of the deceased's life. On one particular white-ground *lekythos* (c. 450-400 BCE, fig. 2), a young hunter is portrayed seated in a chair at his grave. He clasps the hand of his visiting widow, who holds their child in her free arm.[97] The seated figure of Damasistrate similarly engages in *dexiosis* with her spouse, presumably within the home. This parallel may be interpreted to show the development of an artistic tradition of domestic imagery in funerary art, from white-ground *lekythoi* to *stele* reliefs. Whereas the figures loosely grasp hands on the *lekythos* scene, the medium of sculpted relief engages viewers by depicting the contact and connection involved in *dexiosis* through naturalism and striking three-dimensionality. The gesture portrays an unyielding image of unity where both optic and haptic manners of perception are engaged. Its inclusion in familial reliefs served to develop a lasting memory of the deceased by representing a close relationship that endures despite the finality of death.[98]

Alongside a strong sense of tactility and prominent unity between individuals, the *stele* of Damasistrate contains allusions to the ultimate separation of the members of the household. While gazing upon a haptic image contained within the representational frame of the sculpted relief, the viewer becomes increasingly aware of their own inability to interact tangibly and connect with the deceased.[99] Thus, the figure in the background of the relief becomes a paradigm for the viewer's

engagement.[100] Attic *stelai* reliefs' haptic imagery both evoked and frustrated viewers' sense of touch.[101] As mediatory objects, they portrayed physical engagement with the deceased, while eluding the bodily contact they represented.[102] As graveside viewers gazed upon scenes of tactility and unity, they became painfully aware of the veridic absence of the deceased.[103] This separation is highlighted when the viewer reads the funerary epigram. Upon comprehending that the woman engaged in *dexiosis* is deceased, the viewer may experience a "shift" in their relationship to the relief as they contemplate the finality of death.[104] Like the unreachable *eidola* of myth, the sculpted figure confronts the viewer as an image of the deceased rather than a true corporeal representation.[105]

However, *stele* reliefs also allowed the monuments' visitors to negotiate the pain of separation from their loved ones through the portrayal of haptic motifs. An emphasis on engagement between figures created continuity between living and deceased individuals. As in white-ground *lekythos* scenes that portray multiple figures, the living and deceased on Classical *stelai* reliefs are often illustrated without conspicuous differences in their appearance. This ambiguity further promotes a sense of continuity among figures.[106] The depiction of the deceased in visual harmony with the living may have allowed them to retain their familiar human nature. These scenes soothed relatives' anxieties about the deceased's status after death and facilitated their ability to cope with the separation of mortality.[107] Visual similitude between figures also conveyed a sense of unity and dependence that would have been especially impactful to see portrayed at the site of the grave, as the *stele* provided a visual recipient for offerings dedicated to the deceased.[108] As surviving family members

maintained the grave site, they closely observed and emotionally engaged with richly tactile motifs. By interacting haptically with the *stele* through offerings and adornments, their actions mirrored the unity suggested by the relief imagery, granting them access to the continuity portrayed on the monument.[109] Indeed, opportunities for engagement and adornment were built directly into the design of comparative *stele* reliefs. The *stele* of Thraseas and Euandria (c. 375-350 BCE, fig. 3) features a borehole in Euandria's earlobe from which jewelry could be affixed by visitors. This seemingly inconsequential detail indicates that interaction with the *stele* was recognized as meaningful, to the extent that it was purposefully petrified in the form of the monument.[110]

Stele reliefs were further imbued with allusions to tactility through the depiction of haptic objects, such as the strigil held by the male figure on the *stele* of Damasistrate. The iconography of the strigil may have represented the figure's prowess as an athlete, but the items were commonly used as grave goods as well, transforming cemeteries and the grave site into spaces permeated by material culture that alluded to touch.[111] A strigil's inclusion in the imagery of the relief may have heightened the object's funerary connotations, considering that *stelai* were often used to memorialize all members of the *oikos* as they were eventually interred.[112] The husband who visits and adorns the *stele* of his wife and sees a depiction of himself interacting with her may be prompted to consider his own fate and the prospect of eventual reunion. These scenes could evoke emotions such as pity in the wider audience of viewers, as well as admiration of the strong sense of unity portrayed between members of the household. Even if they did not know the deceased, the

visually repetitive nature of *stele* scenes allowed visitors to contemplate their own experiences with both their living and deceased relatives.[113] Close visual and tactile engagement with the *stele* provided visitors with the opportunity to understand how the nature of their relationship to the deceased changed after death.[114] Gazing upon figures performing haptic gestures while they themselves interacted with the *stele*, the living could remember the deceased and look forward to the moment that they might touch again.[115]

Stele of Eukoline Relief Description

The *stele* of Eukoline (c. 350-300 BCE, fig. 4) features the form of a *naiskos* with *antae* and a pediment crowned with a rounded finial.[116] The funerary epigram is inscribed on both the epistyle and pediment of the *stele*, identifying the figures:

> Ὀνήσιμος Ὀνήτορος Λ<έ>σβιος
> Πρωτονόη Νικοστράτη Εὐκολίνη
>
> Onesimos son of Onetor of Lesbos
> Protonoe Nikostrate Eukoline[117]

The young *parthenos* (maiden) depicted on the *stele* has been identified by scholars as Eukoline. This figure is interpreted to be the primary deceased due to her central position in the foreground of the relief, the gestures of affection directed towards her by the female figure to the left, and the gestures of mourning performed by the adult figures depicted in the background.[118] The size of the young figure is notably smaller than that of the others. Eukoline stands to the left of the foreground, wearing an Attic *peplos* with *chiton*, crossbands over her chest, and a shoulder-pinned back-mantle. She holds the edge of the back-mantle in her lowered left hand. Eukoline raises her right arm and holds a bird in her hand while a small dog jumps up at her. A female

figure wearing a *chiton* and *himation* stands close to her on the left. As the two figures gaze upon each other, the woman extends her left hand to touch Eukoline's cheek and holds the girl's right forearm with her right hand. In the background of the relief, a bearded man and a woman are depicted spatially between the *antae*, both facing frontally. The back of the woman's head is veiled by a *himation*. She inclines her head to her left and supports it with her left hand. The sole male figure, identified by the inscription as Onesimos, similarly rests his left hand against his face and extends his right hand to rest above Eukoline's left shoulder.[119]

Haptic Motifs and the Tactility of the Relief

Multiple haptic gestures are performed by all family members depicted on the *stele* of Eukoline, imbuing the relief with a strong sense of visual cohesion through touch. Gestures of affection create a visible bond between the individuals performing and receiving them. Like the motif of *dexiosis* on the stele of Damasistrate, the female relative's hold on the deceased's forearm is portrayed prominently in a central position on the relief. This motif, combined with the gesture of tenderly touching the deceased's face, reinforces the ties of affection that unite the figures as members of the same *oikos.*[120] The *stele* relief likewise portrays optic interaction between Eukoline and the adult figure. As her relative reaches out to touch her face, the girl raises her head to meet the woman's gaze. Visual engagement between figures further contributes to the tactility of the relief, as the haptic qualities of seeing are emphasized when the figures gazing upon each other are also engaged in gestures of reaching and physical touch.[121] The tactile qualities of the scene are highlighted by the intentional inclusion of affectionate skin-to-skin contact on a relief where all

figures are heavily draped in clothing.[122] *Stelai* that portray the forearm-touching motif in high relief, such as the comparative "Farewell *Stele*" (c. 350-320 BCE, fig. 5) further accentuate the tender haptic interaction conveyed by the gesture.

The sense of tactility portrayed by the monument is again emphasized by the depiction of haptic interaction with multiple textures. A common gesture performed by maidens on Classical Attic funerary reliefs, including Eukoline, involves holding the edge of their back-mantle in a lowered hand.[123] Although the image of the family is sculpted in relatively low relief, the detailed portrayal of the folds and drapery of clothing still represents a sense of heightened tactility. While the figures do not handle objects as they do on the *stele* of Damasistrate, Eukoline is depicted holding a bird toward herself in her right hand. Once again, all hands in the relief image are engaged in haptic gestures, even when the individuals themselves do not interact. The background figures both rest hands against their faces in mourning. Perhaps appropriate for the relative portrayed in lowest relief, the woman in the background appears to cross her left arm across her body. Her pose suggests a sense of melancholic introversion, communicating her grief and contemplation of the scene before her. Although seemingly relegated to a separate space by his position in the background, the male relative reaches forward to rest his hand above Eukoline's shoulder, preserving the sense of tactility and unity implied by the relief. Even the small dog in the foreground aims for tactile engagement with Eukoline, reaching up to place its paws against her leg. Gestures contributing to tactility are expressed by all figures, and the viewer's eyes follow an unbroken circle of various forms of haptic engagement throughout the relief.

Engagement and Memory: Recollection and Reconnection to the Deceased

The haptic gestures directed toward the figure of Eukoline by the standing woman combine to create an image that is strongly charged with emotion. The woman performs two gestures that highlight her love and care for the deceased, tenderly touching the young maiden's arm and face.[124] These complementary motifs strengthen the impact of the relief and evoke strong emotions by illustrating a personal bond of affection that continues after Eukoline's death.[125] While *stele* reliefs often featured a general repertoire of imagery and scenes, the inclusion of multiple haptic motifs demonstrates a sense of intentionality and an awareness of the heightened emotion that the depiction of interaction invoked.[126] Scenes of grave decoration on white-ground *lekythoi* provide a parallel to the tender motifs portrayed on the *stele* of Eukoline, as the offering of ribbons or *tainiai* as adornment is depicted as a moment of great intimacy and close contact with the *stele.* In order to leave adornments, the living reach forward to touch the *stelai,* and their hands are often depicted lingering on the grave markers.[127] These scenes demonstrate a purposeful interest in representing the touch that adorning a stele with *tainiai* involved. The depiction of tender, dedicated scenes at the grave, such as that of a woman reaching to clasp a *stele* between her hands, (c. 450-420 BCE, fig. 6) indicates that a certain sense of comfort may have been derived from tactile interaction with the monument.[128] The act of draping a ribbon or carefully wrapping it over the *stele* necessitated close interaction akin to dressing someone, an action associated with Athenian women and their role as caretakers of children and ultimately the deceased.[129] By gazing upon evocative images of interaction between family

members, female relatives were encouraged to consider their relationship to the deceased.[130] As women continuously enacted care towards the deceased by decorating and presenting offerings to their *stele*, they created continuity between their actions and the scenes of haptic engagement depicted on the monuments.

The *naiskos* form, the presence of family members, and the inclusion of pets on the relief all serve to situate the scene depicted on the *stele* of Eukoline within a domestic context. Domestic scenes were distinctly impactful to both relatives and the wider audience of Athenians visiting the grave precinct. The home is notable as the final private space of funerary preparations, where the body of the deceased was last viewed and interacted with during the *prothesis.* The depiction of this setting heightened the intimacy of the interactions on the *stele* relief, engaging viewers to recall the final gestures devoted towards the body of the deceased. White-ground *lekythoi* were haptic vessels that preserved a close connection to the domestic context as well. When the body of the deceased was laid out within the home, *lekythoi* were utilized to enable tactile interaction. The living honored the body by anointing it with oil from the vessels.[131] Contact with the body of the deceased invoked a variety of emotions. While touch allowed relatives to express their final affection towards the deceased, it was jarring and traumatic as well to experience the coldness and alienation of death.[132] The sense of sorrow was especially acute when handling the body of a young child or *parthenos* who died before marriage, such as Eukoline. These girls occupied a liminal place among the *aoroi,* or the "untimely dead" whose fate was regarded as particularly tragic.[133] Motifs such as the depiction of Eukoline's beloved pets and the gesture with which she holds her back-mantle emphasize her

youthful nature. They evoke emotion and contribute powerfully to the recollection of memory, emphasizing the tragic nature of the deceased's death while simultaneously serving as reminders of playful, untroubled moments in her life.[134]

By enabling touch and perfuming the room which held the body of the deceased with scent, white-ground *lekythoi* offered comfort to grieving relatives by allowing them to connect sensorily with the body of their loved one. During the *prothesis*, the living gazed upon, held, and touched the deceased, acts intimately related to perception and understanding. This allowed them to cope with the trauma of death, comprehend the changes to the body of the deceased, and begin the process of interment and ultimate separation.[135] The haptic motifs and multiple modes of visual and tactile interaction depicted between relatives on funerary *stelai* similarly created a space of rich sensory engagement at the gravesite.[136] This engagement provided an avenue to continue interaction with the deceased after death, regardless of the absence of a corporeal body. Mourners on white-ground *lekythos* grave-adornment scenes are often depicted barely touching the *stele* itself. However, longing for haptic contact with the deceased is clearly conveyed as they reach towards and place their hands around the grave monument. Touching the *stele* offered comfort, but the cold marble could also draw attention to the distance and alienation between the living and the deceased.[137] However, haptic *stele* motifs elicited emotions and memories related to the burial and the person interred, transforming the *stele* into a representation of the deceased and situating them in ongoing relationships with the living.[138] Family members could reconcile their grief and leave behind physical traces of their memories and affection by adorning *stelai* with ribbons,

fillets, and other decorations.[139] Through continuous interaction with and adornment of the *stelai*, the living negotiated the corporeal absence of the deceased, and formed an acceptance of their transformed relationship after death.

Motifs of touch were also imbued with a sense of perception that visitors mirrored by viewing and adorning the grave. The multiple points of touch directed towards Eukoline by her relative, and the reciprocated gaze that unites them, serve to depict a compelling bond of tangible understanding between living and deceased individuals. The seemingly isolated background figures, much like those portrayed on the *stele* of Damasistrate, communicate their awareness of the scene before them through touch. They hold their faces in sorrow, possibly contemplating their own fate upon viewing the sight of the deceased *parthenos.*[140] Viewers paralleled the background figures by contemplating experiences with death and grief that they had undergone or expected to face eventually.[141] Upon viewing the *stele* relief, visitors perceived convincing representations of figures caressing arms and gently touching faces. These highly tactile motifs engaged onlookers to experience a heightened sensory awareness that helped them relate to and continue constructing the memory of the deceased.[142] Those adorning the *stele* of Eukoline considered how their own hands, reaching out to deposit a grave good, replicated the actions of the figures who sought contact with the young maiden. Possibilities for interaction with the body of the deceased remained only through their representation in stone. Nevertheless, a bond of care and affection could continue, directed towards the departed through the medium of the *stele*.[143]

Ilissos *Stele* Relief Description

All that survives of the Ilissos *stele* (c. 340 BCE, fig. 7) is the relief slab. Several large parts of the relief scene are missing, including the right side of the slab with half the body of the elder man, his left arm, and left foot. The left arm from the forearm and the right arm from just above the elbow are missing from the body of the youth depicted on the left side of the relief. The youth is depicted nude, leaning against a pillar wrapped in his *himation*. His body is portrayed in three-quarter view with his left leg crossed over the right at the calf, and his gaze faces frontally. The other end of the *himation* wraps around the youth's left arm. The figure originally held a *lagobolon* in his left hand. Only the bottom half of the staff remains extant, leaning against the figure's left thigh. At the right side of the relief stands a bearded elderly man, likely the youth's father. He wears a *himation* and grasps a long staff in his left hand, the end of which touches the ground next to his extant right foot. The man raises his right hand to touch his jaw, gazing to the left towards the youth. At the bottom left corner of the relief, a young enslaved boy is depicted nude, sitting on a step with his arms crossed over his knees. He places his face down against them in mourning. In the background, depicted between the figures of the youth and the elderly man, a dog faces right and sniffs at the ground next to the man's staff.[144]

Haptic Motifs and the Tactility of the Relief

While featuring a lack of tangible interaction between figures, the elements of the Ilissos relief nevertheless contribute to a composition permeated with haptic references. The *stele* represents a variety of textures, including detailed musculature, draped fabric, and the hard lines of a stone pillar. The depiction of figures interacting

with objects establishes the tactility of the scene. The elderly man's staff and the youth's *lagobolon* are notable not only as items that necessitate haptic engagement, but as tools of great physicality that function as extensions of the natural physique. The man supports his entire figure with the staff, while a hunter would extend his arm and body to strike hares with his *lagobolon.* The haptic qualities of the relief are further enhanced by the detailed rendering of folds and drapery. The enwrapped end of the youth's garment and the edge of the man's *himation* both amplify the dimensions of the *stele* by projecting outward from the relief. The youth's head and legs and the elderly man's raised arm are portrayed in distinctly high relief. The youth's legs in particular are almost free-standing, appearing to reach corporeality as they extend from the surface of the *stele.* Appropriate for the depiction of the principal figure, the deceased hunter exemplifies the use of high relief to contribute strongly to the tactility of funerary monuments. The depth of the scene serves to heighten the realism, physicality, and emphatic presence of the youth's figure.[145]

The Ilissos relief's elements of tactility are diversified by the depiction of unclothed skin and musculature. The detailed and idealized rendering of the youth's figure as he leans against the wrapped pillar creates a strong somatic presence on the *stele*, contrasting with the appearance of the heavily-shrouded elderly man. The intricate drapery of the man's *himation* contributes to the detail of the relief while suggesting the withdrawn reflection of mourning. All figures are engaged in haptic gestures that indicate their perception of the scene around them, even on a relief that appears to thematize physical separation between individuals. The isolated boy depicted in the corner of the relief wraps his arms over his knees, placing his face

against them in a tactile depiction of mourning and bodily introversion. His pose and nude figure serve to imbue the figure with youth and vulnerability. The pose increases tactility by providing a visual depiction of the weight of intense grief, which brings an individual and their body to exhaustion.[146] The elderly man holds a hand against his chin as he gazes upon the youth in a gesture that communicates sorrow or perhaps even rumination or awe at the image before him. His eyebrows tilt in a subtle display of emotion. These motifs serve to signify that the elderly man perceives the youth as the deceased.[147] The man's unreciprocated visual engagement with the youth corresponds with the solitary haptic gesture he performs; as he "touches" the youth through vision, he parallels this perception by pressing a hand to his face. While the Ilissos relief features the motif of the unreciprocated gaze between the two main figures, a sense of cohesion between individuals is nevertheless depicted. Both the youth and elderly man hold tactile objects, creating a parallel that visually unites them through haptic interaction, regardless of their lack of physical proximity.

Engagement and Memory: Masculine Mourning and the Motif of Separation

The Ilissos relief illustrates a scene in which an elderly man and young boy convey their grief and contemplation through evocative haptic gestures. A discussion of the role and artistic representation of male grief is therefore pertinent. The *stele* demonstrates that an emphasis on the portrayal of male mourning, and the tactility it involved, continued into the fourth century BCE. While Athenian women acted as the primary caretakers of and providers for the deceased, the presence of men on *lekythos* grave-visit scenes provides evidence that they frequently engaged with *stelai* as participants in graveside mourning and gift-giving as well. In Classical Athenian

renditions of *prothesis* scenes on white-ground *lekythoi*, men are portrayed standing at the head of the bier (c. 410-400 BCE, fig. 8), where they focus attention on the departed by touching their face or cradling it between their hands.[148] *Prothesis* scenes indicate that Athenian men also held a vital role in conducting the funerary ritual, in which they desired to be close to the deceased before the ultimate physical separation of interment.[149] This imagery further characterizes white-ground *lekythoi* as haptic vessels by illustrating that the sense of touch was significant to funerary rituals regardless of the gender of the deceased's relatives. All family members could utilize touch to connect to and perceive the departed, as well as to form an understanding of the transformed state of the deceased body.[150]

Haptic interaction at the *prothesis* was later repeated by men after burial as they adorned and left offerings at the *stele*, activating their memories and preserving their bond with the deceased.[151] On a *lekythos* attributed to the Painter of Athens (c. 430 BCE, fig. 9), a youth cradles a *stele* enwrapped in *tainiai* between his hands while the figure of a deceased man observes.[152] This intimate engagement with the *stele* parallels *prothesis* scenes in which a man cradles the head of the deceased. The artistic parallels between *prothesis* and grave-visit imagery further suggest that the dedications made by the living at the *stele* recalled the funerary ritual.[153] While adorning and interacting with the *stele* in a manner that resembled their actions during funerary preparations, men could reflect upon and negotiate their grief by creating continuity between their past and present experiences.[154] As the youth gazes upon the *stele*, he draws his body towards it as if to embrace the monument.[155] This intimate scene, witnessed by the *eidolon* of the deceased, illustrates that grave markers

engaged memory and a desire for tactile interaction even before detailed *stele* reliefs resumed production.[156] The development of detailed reliefs on Attic funerary *stelai* would promote this engagement by creating a visual representation of the deceased within scenes imbued with haptic references.[157] Another white-ground *lekythos* depicts a woman and young man deeply engaged with a *stele* while visiting the grave to adorn it (c. 475-425 BCE, fig. 10). The woman holds a basket of grave gifts while the youth reaches to decorate the monument with a *tainia*. The scene inverts the typical segregation between gendered roles in Athenian society by portraying both visitors present and equally focused on the *stele*, emphasizing touch and engagement as essential components of graveside ritual that were meaningful to all Athenians.[158]

As visitors adorned and left gifts at the *stele*, their close tactile interaction with the monument was joined by their visual perception of the detailed relief. The representation of the deceased on the grave relief was meant to create an enduring memory and to highlight their glory and virtues.[159] Upon seeing the deceased youth, a figure characterized by idealized strength and beauty, viewers were perhaps inspired to marvel at the image of vitality before them. In doing so, they mirrored the gaze and engagement of the elderly man. However, external viewers could meet the gaze of the youth, heightening the sense of perception to a striking degree. This provided an opportunity to contemplate the representation of the deceased, a figure so emphatically present within the space of the relief yet absent in corporeality.[160] Forms of sensory engagement and perception likewise granted visitors the opportunity to consider their new responsibilities toward the deceased. Through continual adornment and upkeep of the *stele*, living relatives and friends became providers for the youthful

hunter, ensuring that his integrated soul would be content.[161] The motif of figures mourning and gazing upon the deceased in quiet contemplation also served to engage the emotions of graveside visitors. The somber image of an elderly man silently reflecting upon the memory of a deceased youth, likely his own son, inspired the sorrow and pity of all the Ilissos *stele's* viewers.[162] As graveside visitors related the image before them to their own lived experiences or possible fate, they empathically experienced the tragedy undergone by the deceased's family.[163] By evoking both sensory and emotional engagement, Attic funerary *stelai* functioned to reinforce the memory of the deceased by creating empathic bonds between unrelated viewers.[164]

While the sight of the deceased as represented on the *stele* could recall memory and elicit interaction, dedicants at the grave were also confronted with the reality of their insurmountable distance.[165] This disconnection is seemingly highlighted by *stele* reliefs that present a lack of interaction between figures. The motifs rendered on the Ilissos relief all thematize loss: the distance between the youth and the mourning elder, the isolation of the young boy and his withdrawn pose, and the dog nosing at the ground for any remaining trace of the deceased.[166] Motifs of separation, such as the unmet gaze of the elderly man, drew attention to the absence of the deceased. They reminded viewers that their desire for interaction with the departed could not be tangibly reciprocated. By underscoring bodily absence, the *stele* functioned like the *eidolon* of Antikleia, inspiring unrequited yearning or *pothos* for the touch of the deceased.[167] White-ground *lekythos* imagery shows that this longing could be felt so strongly as to cause the *eidolon* of the deceased to appear at the grave. On a fifth-century *lekythos* attributed to the Achilles Painter, an old man

stands at a *stele* adorned with fillets and wreaths and beholds the image of a young man in military dress, presumably his son (c. 450-445 BCE, fig. 11). The man presses a hand to his head in grief, paralleling the later imagery presented on the Ilissos *stele* relief. His mournful reaction indicates that the deceased has manifested visually at the gravesite.[168] The physical distance between the figures on the *lekythos* and the lack of visual and haptic connection portrayed on the Ilissos relief both suggest that *pothos* for the deceased was unresolvable. The deceased youth represented by the Ilissos *stele* is notably oriented frontally toward the viewer, rather than facing other figures as in the familial scenes depicted on the *stelai* of Damasistrate and Eukoline.[169] As the viewer gazes upon the *stele*, seeking a bond of perception with the deceased that is absent in the relief, they are confronted with the fact that they are not witnessing the corporeal presence of the deceased, but an artistic representation that cannot truly reciprocate their gaze.[170] However, graveside visitors' close engagement and interaction with *stelai* would contrast with and challenge motifs that seemingly emphasized the isolation and permanence of death.

The Ilissos relief was not devoid of haptic motifs; it presented a parallel between the elderly and young men by depicting both figures engaged in tactile interaction with their staff and *lagobolon*. The white-ground *lekythos* produced by the Achilles Painter featured an equivalent scene in which both the soldier and elderly man hold objects characterized by physicality.[171] The elderly man supports his grief-stricken body with a staff, while the younger man stoically grasps his lance. The *lekythos* and Ilissos *stele* portray strong images of continuity between the living and the deceased through the complementary poses of the figures, even when no physical

interaction occurs. This continuity encouraged graveside visitors to consider parallels between the relief and their own engagement with the *stele.* Gazing upon naturalistic images of figures holding objects heightened their sense of bodily perception.[172] Relatives of the deceased may have become increasingly aware of the weight of the items they held, such as their own walking stick or baskets filled with offerings to the deceased. Seeing the image of a richly textured *himation* wrapped around the body of the deceased further strengthened continuity by recalling memories of interaction with the deceased's body, such as clothing the body in funerary garments for the *prothesis*. The motif of a *himation* draped over a pillar, which viewers closely observed as they wrapped fillets and *tainiai* around the stone *stele,* formed a striking continuity with their own adornment. Repeated sensory and bodily engagement with the *stele* strengthened memories of the deceased, allowing the living to cope with and form an understanding of their absence.[173]

Stele of Ampharete and Summary of Interpretations

Complementing the Damasistrate, Eukoline, and Ilissos *stelai*, the *stele* of Ampharete (c. 410-400 BCE, fig. 12) and her grandchild exemplifies the motif of touch as an illustration of lasting connection and continuity between individuals.[174] While the relief most likely dates to the late fifth century, its age affirms a longstanding tradition of haptic motifs on funerary *stelai* and reinforces their impact. Ampharete is depicted seated on a *klismos,* holding a swaddled infant in her lap. The figures' gazes meet as Ampharete raises a bird above the child in an affectionate, tender gesture.[175] The epigram carved into the epistyle of the relief reveals that both she and the child are deceased:

> τέκνον ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς τόδ’ ἔχω φίλον, ὅμπερ ὅτε αὐγάς :
> ὄμμασιν ἠ|ελίο ζῶντες ἐδερκόμεθα,
> ἔχον ἐμοῖς γόνασιν καὶ νῦν φθίμενον φθιμένη ’χω.
>
> This child, my daughter’s, I hold, the dear one whom, when we were alive and saw the rays of the sun with our eyes,
> I held on my knees, and whom, dead, I myself dead hold even now.[176]

As on later fourth-century Attic *stelai*, each hand depicted on the relief performs a gesture, and all methods of perception are engaged. The grandchild reciprocates Ampharete’s gaze and reaches a small hand out for her, providing a comforting image of mutual connection and reinforcing haptic interaction as fundamental to perception.[177] The unity between individuals that tactile interaction creates is thematized by the *stele,* as the infant’s small size allows Ampharete to cradle their entire body. The detailed depiction of fabric heightens this connection even further. Ampharete's *himation* continuously drapes around both her and the child, linking them visually. In the viewer’s mind, the figures are united through shared sensory experience by the rich fabric that enfolds their bodies.

While most funerary *stelai* depicted touch as it had occurred in life, the scene depicted on the Ampharete relief takes place within the realm of the deceased.[178] As the epigram signifies, the sense of touch continues to define the relationship between grandmother and grandchild after death, as it did in life. The poetic voice of Ampharete highlights this enduring connection: even though both her eyes and the child’s have lost sight of the sun, death has not severed the bonds of love depicted through their tactile interaction.[179] The *stele’s* haptic motifs reveal that the *pothos* that motivated Odysseus to embrace Antikleia’s disembodied *eidolon* could be satisfied, if only after death. Nevertheless, by engaging with the funerary marker, visitors could

negotiate their longing by providing for and building the memory of the deceased while they lived.[180] As mourning viewers interacted closely with the *stele* and read the inscription, they realized that the continued relationship between Ampharete and her grandchild was grounded in the sense of touch. Dedicants were encouraged to consider parallels to their own relationship to the *stele* and the deceased, which continued through adornment and offerings.[181] Motifs of reunion also evoked the idea that the viewers' care and dedication at the grave could be reciprocated after death. Thus, interaction with the *stele* became an opportunity for the living to rehearse the memory of the deceased and to anticipate the moment in which haptic connection and unity with their loved ones would be renewed.[182] Through sculpted reliefs and epigrams, Classical Attic funerary *stelai* presented evocative haptic references and motifs. By engaging viewers' multiple senses and interaction, these touching monuments enabled the negotiation of the separation of death and the construction of lasting memories of the deceased.

Recommendations for Future Research

Further avenues for study regarding the Ampharete relief and Classical Attic *stelai* in general include continued focus on the role of funerary inscriptions in engaging ancient readers and creating a voice for the deceased. An in-depth survey of haptic references in *stele* inscriptions is also relevant, in order to form a greater understanding of how words referring to the sense of touch evoked references to perception or reunion.[183] Analyzing haptic language in epigrams can therefore contribute new perspectives to the interpretation of *stelai* as tactile monuments. Future research can also aim to consider the frequency of multi-figure scenes and

depictions of interaction in *stele* reliefs, in order to interpret the development of haptic imagery over time. A visual motif of interest is the depiction of reunion between figures in the afterlife in Greek and Athenian funerary imagery. Further research may concentrate on the identification and interpretation of reunion scenes on *stele* reliefs, in order to analyze the scenes' emotional impact on ancient viewers and contributions to the retrieval and development of memory.

Conclusion

Classical Attic *stelai* re-emerged during a period of immense turmoil characterized by overwhelming alienation between the living and the bodies of the deceased. Within this context, the sense of touch gained renewed significance in memorial practices. Fourth-century *stele* reliefs indicate that the salience of touch remained consistent throughout Athenian funerary art, adjusting according to the socio-historic context and stylistic developments of a specific period.[184] The naturalistic aspects of the Classical style allowed funerary sculptors to reflect the ritual centrality of the senses through new forms. Haptic imagery on Attic *stele* reliefs provided mourners with a representation of their departed loved ones. By portraying tactile interaction and continuity between figures, *stelai* engaged the senses and interaction of their visitors, providing opportunities for consolation and the development of a lasting memory of the deceased. Familial reliefs, such as the scene depicted by the *stele* of Damasistrate, portrayed abiding unity between the living and deceased. The inclusion of tactile gestures and objects engaged haptic viewing. The *stele* of Eukoline presented a similar scene, in which continuity is established through motifs of interaction and perception. Dedicants mirrored this continuity through

adornment and interaction with *stelai*, which recalled the vital role of touch within funerary rituals. While the Ilissos relief depicts a lack of physical interaction, its detailed textures and portrayal of visual parallels reinforce *stelai* as haptic monuments, even when their scenes seemingly emphasize the separation of death. Interpretations of haptic motifs on *stele* reliefs affirm the importance of funerary markers as tactile memorials that represented sites of continued interaction with the deceased. An approach that considers the personal aspects of *stelai*, rather than focusing only on the monuments' civic or historic significance, contributes to a holistic understanding of funerary material culture and its impact on ancient viewers. A focus on interaction and the construction of memory asserts the importance of "re-humanizing" Classical Attic *stelai* as emotional responses to grief. These monuments illustrate the prospect of reconnection with the departed and emphasize the desire for continued interaction as an inherent element of the human condition.

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[1] Katia Margariti, "Funerary Sculpture: Women on Attic Grave Reliefs," in *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, ed. Olga Palagia (De Gruyter Reference Series, 2019), 126.

[2] Nathan T. Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance in Greek Funerary Art," *The Art Bulletin* 100, no. 3 (September 2018): 19.

[3] Margariti, "Funerary Sculpture," 126.

[4] David Kawalko Roselli, "Polyneices' Body and His Monument: Class, Social Status, and Funerary Commemoration in Sophocles' Antigone," *Helios (Lubbock)* 33 (2006): 142, 163.

[5] Seth Nathaniel Estrin, "Objects of Pity: Art and Emotion in Archaic and Classical Greece," (PhD. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2016), 196; Michael Squire, "Embodying the Dead on Classical Attic Grave-Stelai," *Art History* 41, no. 3 (July 2018): 526; Maria S. Mirto and A. M. Osborne, *Death in the Greek World: From Homer to the Classical Age* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 96.

[6] Michael Squire, "Embodying the Dead on Classical Attic Grave-Stelai," *Art History* 41, no. 3 (July 2018): 519.

[7] Arrington "Touch and Remembrance," 19.

[8] Arrington "Touch and Remembrance," 13, 18.

[9] Arrington "Touch and Remembrance," 18.

[10] Arrington "Touch and Remembrance," 19.

[11] Squire, "Embodying the Dead," 528.

[12] Alexander Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, 4 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1892–1922).

[13] Christoph W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 8 vols. (Kilchberg: Akanthus, 1993).

[14] Janet B. Grossman, "Funerary Sculpture," *The Athenian Agora* 35 (2013): 1.

[15] Nikos E. Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002); Janet B. Grossman, "Funerary Sculpture," *The Athenian Agora* 35 (2013): iii–246.

[16] D.C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).

[17] Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 104-120.

[18] Maria S. Mirto and A. M. Osborne, *Death in the Greek World: From Homer to the Classical Age* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).

[19] Mirto and Osborne, *Death in the Greek World*, 96-97.

[20] Rebecca Georgiades, "Deathly Depictions and Descriptions Understanding Attic Representations of the Deceased in the Afterlife in Text and Image during the 6th and 5th Centuries BC" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Sydney, 2016), 6. Georgiades' thesis focusing on the artistic representation of the deceased on white-ground *lekythoi* has provided references to much relevant scholarship, including pioneering catalogs of *lekythoi* and works on artistic representation.

[21] J. D. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), 8.

[22] John H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[23] Oakley, "Picturing Death," 215-226.

[24] Nathan T. Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories: The Presence of the War Dead in Fifth-Century Athens* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 250-251.

[25] Gerard Siebert, "Eidôla: le problème de la figurabilité dans l'art grec," *Methodologie Iconographique, p*roceedings of the Strasbourg Conference 27–28 April, AECR. 63–73.

[26] Egon Peifer, *Eidola: und andere mit dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Frankfurt:1989), 302-304.

[27] The two preceding sources are also mentioned in the literature review found in Georgiades 2016.

[28] Glenys Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, no. 4 (1985): 627–40.

[29] Lucia Novakova and Monika Pagáčová, "Dexiosis: A Meaningful Gesture of the Classical Antiquity," *ILIRIA International Review* 6 (2016): 207-222.

[30] H. A. Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," *American Journal of Archaeology* 95, no. 4 (1991): 629–56.

[31] Nathan T. Arrington, "Fallen Vessels and Risen Spirits: Conveying the Presence of the Dead on White-Ground Lekythoi," in *Athenian Potters and Painters Volume III,* ed. John H. Oakley (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 6-8. Both Arrington's 2014 chapter and Jones' 2015 article reference Siebert and Peifer's works.

[32] Molly E. Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife in Classical Athens: Interactions Between the Living and the Dead on White-Ground Lêkythoi," in *Imagining the Afterlife in the Ancient World,* ed. Juliette Harrisson (Boca Raton: Routledge, 2018), 26; Nathaniel B. Jones, "Phantasms and Metonyms: The Limits of Representation in Fifth-Century Athens," *Art History* 38, no. 5 (2015): 819.

[33] Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife," 26.

[34] These include the works discussed in the final "group" of this review of scholarship.

[35] Susanne Turner, "Sight and Death: Seeing the Dead through Ancient Eyes," in *Sight and the Ancient Senses*, ed. Michael Squire (London: Routledge, 2016) 143-60.

[36] Michael Squire and Verity Platt, "Getting to Grips with Classical Art: Rethinking the Haptics of Graeco-Roman Visual Culture," in *Touch and the Ancient Senses*, ed. Alex C. Purves (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 81. While Squire and Platt's discussion of touch and dexiosis in Classical funerary art is most relevant to this work, the authors also consider *agalmatophilia* and the ways in which nude female sculpture "both invites and resists the possessive gaze of an external male voyeur" through their analysis of the Lely Venus.

[37] Scenes in which surviving characters attempt to interact with the deceased are a re-occurring theme in the classical literary tradition. Achilles voices his desire for the comfort of touch after speaking to Patroklos in a dream; upon reaching out to hold him, the untouchable soul of his beloved flees beneath the earth. Aeneas similarly attempts in vain to embrace the vision of his wife Creusa in the *Aeneid*.

[38] Katia Margariti, "Gesturing Emotions: Mourning and Affection on Classical Attic Funerary Reliefs," *Babesch* 94 (2019): 80. This work is particularly applicable in that it provides a detailed overview of common haptic motifs featured on Attic funerary reliefs. Motifs of affection and consolation include holding or touching a figure's forearm; placing a hand upon a figure's head, face, shoulder, or arm; and reaching or embracing. Gestures of grief are depicted by figures placing a hand against their own face, hand, chin, or forehead, as well as figures who dry or hide their tears.

[39] Katia Margariti, "A Mother's Gaze: Death and Orphanhood on Classical Attic Grave Reliefs," *Babesch* 91 (2016): 87-104.

[40] In "Gesturing Emotions," Margariti discusses a gesture of mourning represented by a figure supporting their head on one hand in grief. Most of the figures depicted engaging in this gesture are bereaved relatives of the deceased. A limited number of *stelai* reliefs depict the deceased resting a hand against their head, communicating sorrow at their own death. A grave *stele* of a young man (National Archaeological Museum, Athens (NAMA) 871, c. 350-320 BCE) provides a prominent example. The relief is also notable as a visual parallel to the Ilissos relief, as it features a youth and elderly man.

[41] Molly E. Allen, "Portraits of Grief: Death, Mourning and the Expression of Sorrow on White-Ground Lêkythoi" (PhD. diss., Columbia University, 2017).

[42] Seth Nathaniel Estrin, "Objects of Pity: Art and Emotion in Archaic and Classical Greece," (PhD. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2016), 69-115.

[43] Michael Squire, "Embodying the Dead on Classical Attic Grave-Stelai," *Art History* 41, no. 3 (July 2018): 528.

[44] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 25.

[45] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 19.

[46] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 16.

[47] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 20.

[48] Squire and Platt, "Getting to Grips with Classical Art," 81.

[49] Squire and Platt "Getting to Grips with Classical Art," 81; Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 20.

[50] Squire, "Embodying the Dead," 521-522.

[51] Squire, "Embodying the Dead," 521; Squire and Platt "Getting to Grips with Classical Art," 82. *Odyssey* 11.207–8. For parallels with *Iliad* 23.99–102, Squire recommends Heubek and Hoekstra, eds, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, 89.

[52] Squire and Platt "Getting to Grips with Classical Art," 82.

[53] Squire, "Embodying the Dead," 522.

[54] Squire and Platt "Getting to Grips with Classical Art," 82.

[55] Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife," 26.

[56] Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife," 26.

[57] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 21.

[58] Allen "Visualizing the Afterlife," 26.

[59] Oakley, "Picturing Death," 10.

[60] Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife," 19; Georgiades, "Deathly Depictions," 33.

[61] Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife," 19.

[62] Allen "Portraits of Grief," 49-50; Georgiades "Deathly Depictions," 35.

[63] Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories,* 250-251.

[64] Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories,* 246. The chapter "The Funeral" in Garland, *The Greek Way of Death* features an overview of Greek funerary procedures, including the *prothesis, ekphora*, and deposition of the deceased's remains.

[65] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 22, 48

[66] Allen, “Visualizing the Afterlife,” 22, 29.

[67] Arrington, “Fallen Vessels,” 6.

[68] Allen, “Visualizing the Afterlife,” 22.

[69] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 15-16, 35

[70] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 53-54.

[71] Shapiro, “Iconography of Mourning,” 653-654.

[72] Margariti, “Funerary Sculpture,” 127-128.

[73] Alexandra Donnison, “The Appropriation of Death in Classical Athens” (Master’s thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2009), 95-96.

[74] Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 87-88.

[75] Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 88.

[76] Margariti, “Funerary Sculpture,” 127-128.

[77] Margariti, “Gesturing Emotions,” 65, 70-72.

[78] Arrington describes the art historical concept of empathy in “Touch and Remembrance,” explaining that it refers to a viewer’s somatic response to works of visual art.

[79] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 20.

[80] Kaltsas, *Sculpture,* 198.

[81] Margariti, “Gesturing Emotions,” 71

[82] Kaltsas, *Sculpture,* 198.

[83] Margariti, “Funerary Sculpture,” 152.

[84] Claudia Baracchi, “The Age of Distance: On an Ancient Hand Gesture,” *Brill Research in Phenomenology* 52 (2022): 266.

[85] Katia Margariti, “Lament and Death Instead of Marriage: The Iconography of Deceased Maidens on Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period,” *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 87, no. 1 (2018): 113.

[86] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 18.

[87] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 13-14.

[88] Margariti “Gesturing Emotions,” 69-70, 78.

[89] Donnison, “ The Appropriation of Death,” 95-96; Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 114.

[90] Donnison, “The Appropriation of Death,” 95-96.

[91] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 10.

[92] Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories,* 250-251.

[93] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 20.

[94] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 65; Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning,” 654.

[95] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 57-58.

[96] Allen, “Visualizing the Afterlife,” 27.

[97] Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning,” 645.

[98] Allen, “Visualizing the Afterlife,” 27.

[99] Squire, “Embodying the Dead,” 532-533.

[100] Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 91.

[101] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 21, 24.

[102] Squire, “Embodying the Dead,” 533.

[103] Seth Estrin, “Cold Comfort: Empathy and Memory in an Archaic Funerary Monument from Akraiphia,” *Classical Antiquity* 35, no. 2 (October 2016): 192, 200.

[104] Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 81.

[105] Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 81; Estrin, “Cold Comfort,” 200.

[106] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 197-198; Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 85.

[107] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 197-198.

[108] Allen, “Visualizing the Afterlife,” 27.

[109] Estrin, "Objects of Pity," 85.

[110] The *stele* of Thraseas and Euandria is also noteworthy in that it depicts unity between husband and wife through the motif of *dexiosis.* Further comparative examples of *dexiosis* within a familial context include the *stelai* of Prokles and Prokleides (NAMA 737), Mika and Dion (NAMA 765), Kleomenes (NAMA 880), and NAMA 717. NAMA 4507 (c. 375-350 BCE) is notable in that it represents several haptic gestures between wife and husband, including *anakalypsis*, *dexiosis*, and forearm-holding, portraying a strongly tactile image of marital unity and intimate connection. The *stele* of Theano and Ktesileos (NAMA 3472) does not depict *dexiosis*, but the seated figure of Theano engages in the *anakalypsis* gesture as her husband meets her gaze, similar to Damasistrate. Of note is Ktesileos' unique gesture in which he interlaces his fingers, possibly highlighting his emotional immersion as he gazes upon his wife.

[111] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 13-14, 24. Women were frequently depicted interacting with objects on *stelai* reliefs as well. These objects include mirrors, jewelry, *tainiai*, and *pyxides*. Arrington characterizes necklaces in particular as highly haptic objects that allude to bodily contact, as they were intended to lie intimately against the skin of the neck.

[112] Margariti, "Funerary Sculpture," 128-129. White-ground *lekythos* grave-visit scenes also feature strigils. On a *lekythos* now in the Agora Museum in Athens (P10369), the *eidolon* of a nude youth holds a strigil as a woman approaches the *stele*.

[113] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 20.

[114] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 23.

[115] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 22.

[116] Carrie Sawtell, "Non-Citizen Commemoration in Fifth and Fourth Century BC Attica" (PhD. diss., University of Sheffield, 2018), 263.

[117] Sawtell, "Non-Citizen Commemoration," 263.

[118] Margariti, "Lament and Death," 129, 158; Sawtell, "Non-Citizen Commemoration," 263.

[119] Margariti, "Lament and Death," 158; Sawtell, "Non-Citizen Commemoration," 263.

[120] Margariti, "Gesturing Emotions," 65, 70-71.

[121] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 20.

[122] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 10.

[123] Margariti, “Lament and Death,” 109.

[124] A comparative example is NAMA 763, which depicts a female relative caressing the face of a *parthenos* and embracing her with her left arm. See Margariti, “Lament and Death” for further discussion. Citing Sojc, 2005, Margariti mentions a possible connection between mothers embracing their deceased daughters on funerary reliefs and depictions of Demeter embracing Kore.

[125] Margariti, “Gesturing Emotions,” 70-72.

[126] Margariti, “Funerary Sculpture,” 128.

[127] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 56-57.

[128] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 60.

[129] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 56-57.

[130] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 23.

[131] Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories,* 250-252.

[132] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 16, 24.

[133] Margariti, “Lament and Death,” 92.

[134] Margariti, “Lament and Death,” 109, 120.

[135] Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories,* 250-251.

[136] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 22, 24.

[137] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 60; Allen, “Visualizing the Afterlife,” 26.

[138] Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 92.

[139] Allen, “Portraits of Grief,” 57; Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 88; Squire, “Phantasms and Metonyms,” 832.

[140] Margariti, “Gesturing Emotions,” 67.

[141] Estrin, “Objects of Pity,” 114.

[142] Arrington, “Touch and Remembrance,” 20.

[143] Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife," 27.

[144] Kaltsas, *Sculpture,* 193-194.

[145] Squire, "Embodying the Dead," 535.

[146] Kaltsas, *Sculpture,* 194.

[147] Margariti, "Gesturing Emotions," 67.

[148] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 90-93.

[149] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 92.

[150] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 92-93; Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 16.

[151] Jones, "Phantasms and Metonyms," 832.

[152] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 96.

[153] Allen, "Visualizing the Deceased," 26; Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 24.

[154] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 20; Estrin, "Objects of Pity," 85.

[155] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 96.

[156] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 65.

[157] Allen, "Visualizing the Deceased," 23.

[158] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 100-101.

[159] Allen, "Visualizing the Deceased," 28.

[160] Squire, "Embodying the Dead," 535.

[161] Allen, "Visualizing the Deceased," 22.

[162] The iconographic parallels between the elder's staff and the youth's *lagobolon* emphasize the elderly man's grief and *pothos* by highlighting the contrasting ages of the figures. This serves to impart the tragedy of the strong, athletic youth's untimely death, designating him as a member of the eternally youthful *aoroi*. A further area of study may include comparing the representation of *aoroi* across reliefs and interpreting the narratives they aim to convey. The Eukoline and Ilissos *stelai* both depict youthful deceased figures. However, the reliefs illustrate contrasting motifs: while Eukoline affectionately interacts with her relative as she may have done in life,

the Ilissos youth faces outward in serene detachment from his surroundings. The elder man can only gaze upon him in mourning and yearnful wonderment.

[163] Estrin, "Objects of Pity," 89, 114.

[164] Estrin, "Objects of Pity," 89.

[165] Allen, "Visualizing the Deceased," 26.

[166] Squire, "Embodying the Dead," 535.

[167] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 21.

[168] Allen, "Portraits of Grief, 111-115; Arrington, *Ashes, Images, and Memories*, 254, 257-259.

[169] Additional comparative *stelai* that feature frontal-facing figures include the *stelai* of Melite (NAMA 720), Hagnostrate (NAMA 1863), Stephanos (NAMA 2578), and Ameinodora (NAMA 3283). NAMA 731 and 871 both feature a composition depicting an elderly man gazing upon a younger deceased figure.

[170] Estrin, "Objects of Pity," 91, 96.

[171] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 111-112.

[172] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 20.

[173] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 21-22.

[174] Estrin, "Objects of Pity," 173.

[175] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 23; Margariti, "A Mother's Gaze," 91.

[176] Estrin, "Objects of Pity," 78-79.

[177] Margariti states in "A Mother's Gaze" that several scholars have noted that the iconography of the relief is most suitable for the grave *stele* of a young mother. This likely reflects the use of "stock scenes" by *stele* sculptors, as the epigram functions to clearly identify Ampharete as the child's grandmother. However, the ambiguity of the relief imagery also presents a sense of continuity between Ampharete's role as a mother and grandmother, illustrating the timeless bonds between mother and child.

[178] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 22.

[179] Arrington "Touch and Remembrance," 23; Estrin "Objects of Pity," 79-80. Estrin mentions that the verb of sight used in the inscription (δέρκομαι) refers to a form of

vision in which the eyes gleam with life, frequently used metaphorically in Greek literature to mean "to be alive," underscoring the fact that both Ampharete and the child are deceased. Estrin recommends the entry in Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, which cites Il. 1.88. Od. 16.439; Pi P.2.20; Soph. El. 66.

[180] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 22.

[181] Allen, "Visualizing the Afterlife," 26-28.

[182] Arrington, "Touch and Remembrance," 21-22.

[183] Another funerary monument that depicts interaction between two figures in the afterlife is the *stele* of Mnesagora and Nikochares (NAMA 3845, c. 420-410 BCE). The epigram reveals that both siblings are deceased. This monument likely dates to a similar period as the *stele* of Ampharete.

[184] Allen, "Portraits of Grief," 65.

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Figures

Figure 1. *Stele* of Damasistrate. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. 743. c. 350-325 BCE. Originally recovered from the Piraeus in 1838.

Figure 2. White-ground *lekythos* depicting *dexiosis* during a visit to the tomb. Archaologisches Institut der Universitat, Zurich. L545. c. 450-400 BCE. Unknown provenance. Image from Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning," 654.

Figure 3. *Stele* of Thraseas and Euandria and relief detail. Antikensammlung, Pergamonmuseum, Berlin. 738. c. 375-350 BCE. Originally recovered from the Kerameikos, near Agia Triada, Athens.

Figure 4. *Stele* of Eukoline. Kerameikos Archaeological Museum, Athens. P694/I281. c. 350–300 BCE. Originally recovered from the Dipylon Cemetery, Athens. Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens, Kerameikos Museum. Photographer: E. Bardani. Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

Figure 5. "Farewell" Stele (Grave *Stele* of a Woman). Athens, National Archaeological Museum. 870. c. 350-320 BC. Originally recovered from Athinas Street, Athens in 1882. Image from Margariti, "Gesturing Emotions," 70.

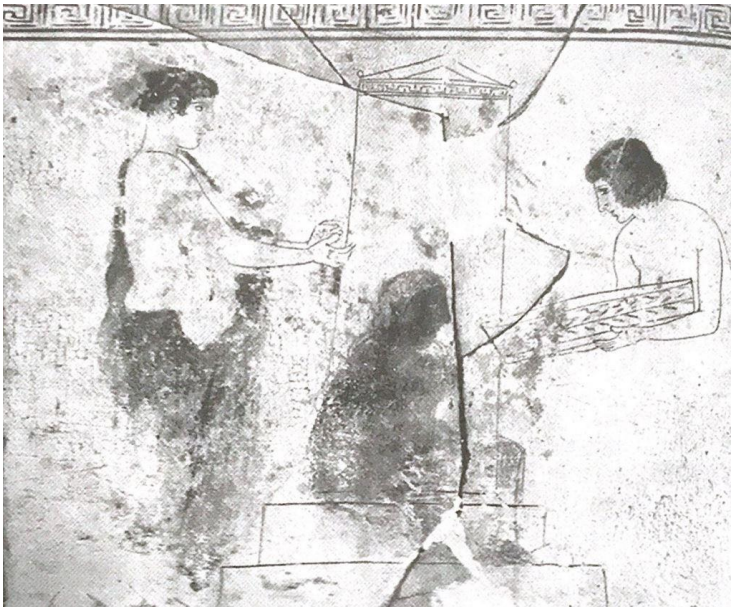


Figure 6. White-ground *lekythos* scene depicting women adorning the tomb in the presence of a shadowed *eidolon*. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. NM1942. c. 450-420 BCE. Attributed to the Thanatos Painter, Eretria. Image from Oakley, "Picturing Death," 166.

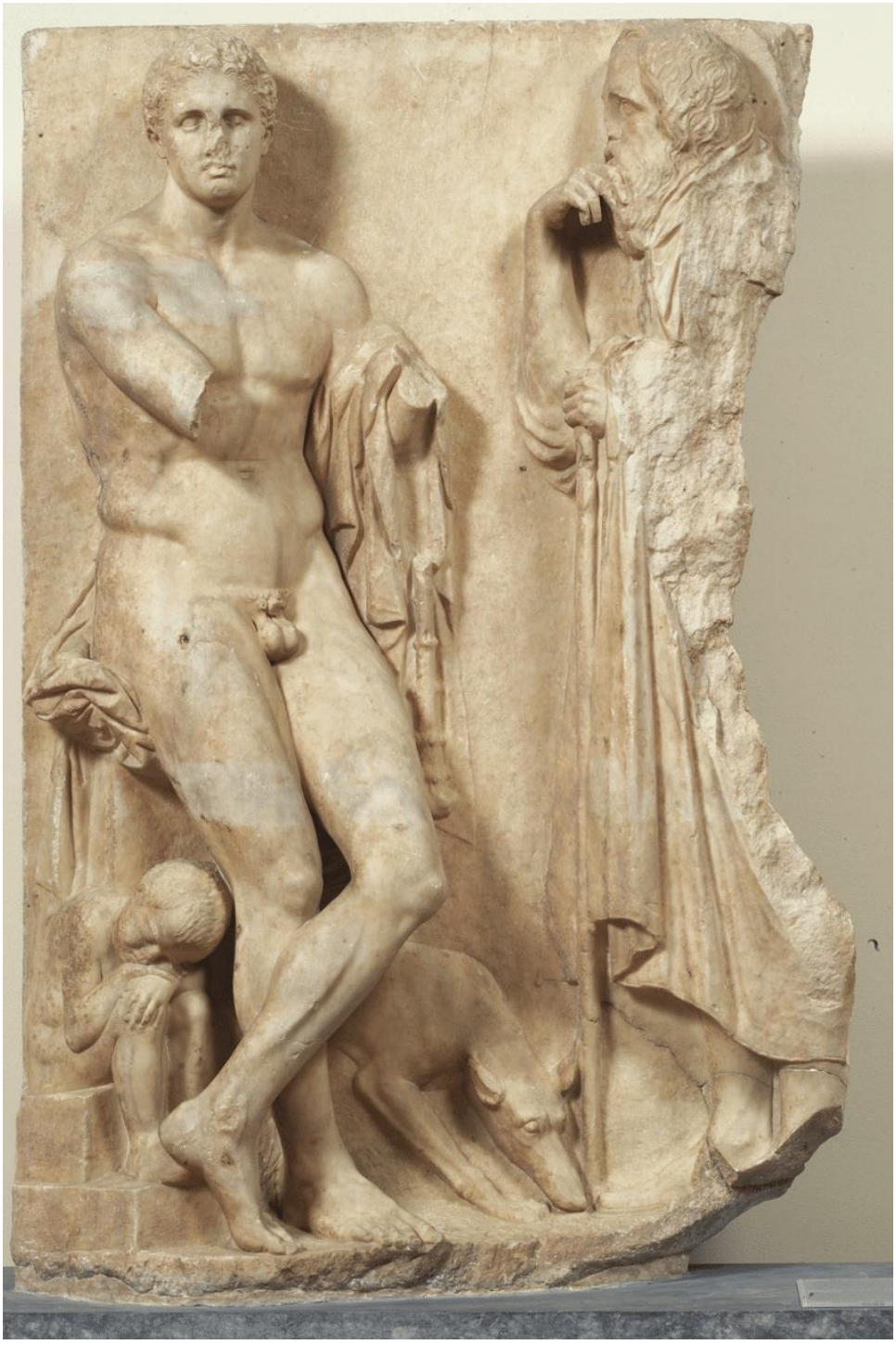


Figure 7. Ilissos *Stele*. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. 869. c. 340 BCE. Originally recovered from the bed of the Ilissos river, Athens, in 1874. Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Archaeological Receipts Fund.

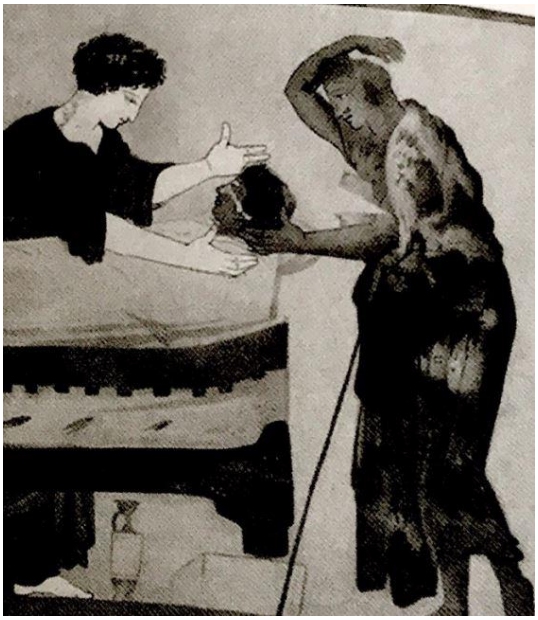
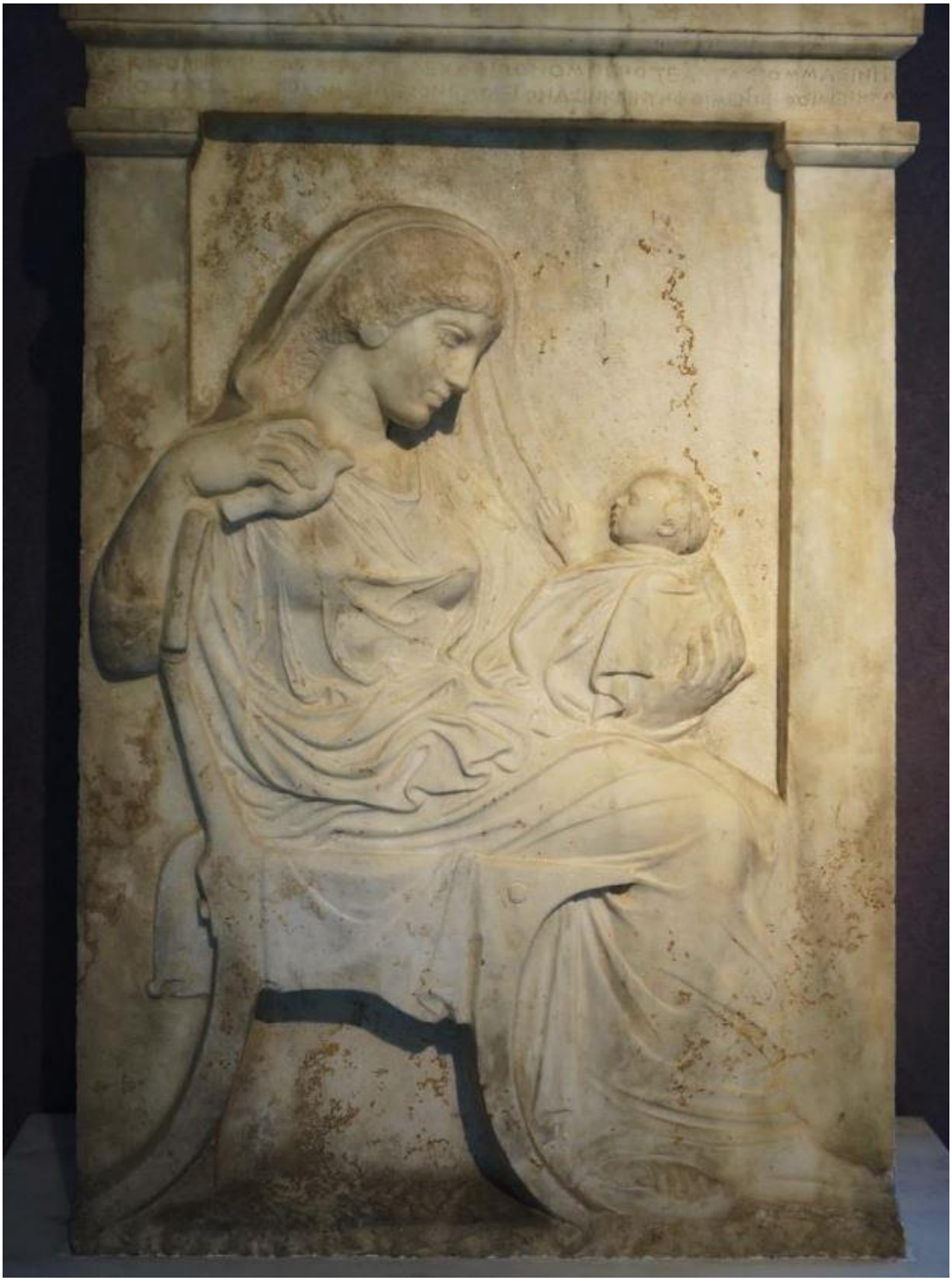


Figure 8. White-ground *lekythos* depicting a *prothesis* scene. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museum, Berlin. F2684. c. 410-400 BCE. Attributed to the Group of Huge *Lekythoi*, Ampelokepoi. Image from Oakley, "Picturing Death," 84.

Figure 9. White-ground *lekythos* depicting a youth and man at a *stele*. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. NM13701. c. 430 BCE. Attributed to the Painter of Athens, Unknown provenance. Beazley Archive 209235.

Figure 10. White-ground *lekythos* scene depicting a woman with a basket and a youth with a *tainia* at the *stele*. Musée du Louvre, Paris. CA1640. c. 475-425 BCE. Unknown provenance. Beazley Archive 2753.

Figure 11. White-ground *lekythos* depicting an elderly man beholding the *eidolon* of a warrior at the tomb. Antikensammlung Staatliche Museum, Berlin. 1983.1. c. 450-445 BCE. Attributed to the Achilles Painter, Unknown provenance. Images from Oakley, "Picturing Death," 160-161.



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