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A Claudio Barocas, per molti di noi
compagno nell'impegno civile
e nel modo di intendere la ricerca

LA PAROLA, L'IMMAGINE, LA TOMBA

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SEX DIFFERENTIATION IN GRAVE VASES

JOHN BOARDMAN

This paper is devoted to a study of the archaeological evidence for the use of different vase shapes in Attic funeral rites for male and female burials. It has often been observed of the Protogeometric and Geometric period, and less often observed of the Classical period, that, at least in Attica, different shapes of vases were associated in burials with either sex, either as cremation urns or as grave markers, *semata*. I believe that it can be demonstrated that there was continuity of practice, or at least that the same basic vase types, or use-related forms, were employed throughout this long period of some five hundred years, although the purpose of the differentiation in the beginning was not quite the same as that assumed by both scholars and antiquity at the end of that sequence.

In the Protogeometric period, into the Early Geometric, male cremations are in neck-handled amphorae and female in belly, or shoulder-handled amphorae [1]. The sex of the burials is shown sometimes by study of the incompletely burnt remains, sometimes by the distinctive grave offerings. The two vase shapes are broadly similar and differ only in the position of their handles, though the female, belly and shoulder-handled amphorae tend to have more flaring mouths (fig. 27.2

Supplementary abbreviations:

Ahlberg, 1971	=	G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*, Lund-Göteborg 1971.
Coldstream, 1977	=	J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977.
Kokula, 1984	=	G. Kokula, *Marmorlutrophoren*, *AthMitt*, Beiheft 10, 1984.
Kurtz - Boardman, 1971	=	D. C. Kurtz - J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 1971.
Oeconomus, 1921	=	G. P. Oeconomus, *De profusionum receptaculis sepulchralibus*, 1921.

[1] J. N. Coldstream, 1977 part 1; D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, 1971, chapters 3, 4, for general discussion of Geometric rites and references. In the Protogeometric period the distinction in shape is not always observed, but is generally true; for exceptions see E. Smithson, *Hesperia* 30, 1961, p. 151 and C.-G. Styrenius, *Submycenaean Studies*, Lund 1967, p. 99.

a-c). Possibly the difference was determined by considerations of ritual, in which case we shall need to discover what this might have been. At any rate, it will depend partly if not wholly on the use of the vases and I shall have to return to this problem. First we may consider, and dismiss, a different explanation. It might have been that the shapes themselves were deemed male and female. This is not such a strange proposition as it may sound, since the Greeks, as we do today, anthropomorphised their pottery, speaking as we do of the lips, necks, bellies, feet of vases, though they referred to what we call handles as ears, which is even more anthropomorphic [2]. Moreover, they occasionally made the point more explicit by the decoration, with eyes on vase necks or lips, hands at handles, etc. But I cannot see anything in the forms of the two shapes of amphora which might support the view that shape alone determined their appropriateness for either sex.

We should therefore, perhaps, turn to the vases' normal use, since we have every reason to believe that they were not manufactured solely for the grave. The neck-handled amphora was traditionally a storage and carriage vase and we associate it especially with wine or oil from what is known about its use in later centuries. The ' female ' amphora is a different matter since it does not long survive in just this form — hardly really beyond the eighth century. In the early period the handles may be vertical loops on the shoulder of the vase, or horizontal, on the belly, and it is the latter type that is reserved for the later, larger vases [3] and is the more significant for us. The horizontal handles are clearly for lifting, and I would suggest that the shape is essentially the same as that we call the hydria, which also has the horizontal handles, for lifting, but which adds one vertical handle, for pouring. It too tends to the flaring mouth which is characteristic of the belly-handled amphora of early Attica. The hydria proper, with its third handle, was already known in Protogeometric (fig. 27.2 d), its body as that of the belly-handled amphora, but it was a rare shape [4]. The hydria is a water jar; and so, I would suggest, was the belly-handled amphora.

Is, then, the essential difference between the two shapes, and the reason for their choice as funeral urns, the fact that one is a wine vase, for men, the other a water vase, for women? The equation — wine: water: : man: woman — is of a type which, I believe, many might find easily acceptable, and it may even be correct. If it is correct it suggests that the different shapes were chosen for burials because of their different usage in a social context and not in a religious one. It is, however, possible that, although determined by their social associations with

[2] W. Froehner, *Anatomie des vases antiques*, 1876.

[3] An exception is an unpublished amphora on loan to the Basel Antikenmuseum, a large grave-marker with shoulder-handles and a prothesis scene on the body.

[4] See V. R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, pp. 43-45 for the hydria, and pp. 30, 36, for the fortunes of the belly-handled amphora which survives into the succeeding Geometric period only in its monumental form as a grave-marker. Also, *idem, The Greek Dark Ages*, 1972, pp. 148-151.

the different sexes, they had also a specific function in burial rites. This can hardly have anything to do with washing the body, since only one is, probably, primarily a water jar. We learn, however, from Homer, of extinguishing the embers of Patroklos' funeral pyre with wine (*Iliad* 23, 237-8). Is it possible that this was a general Greek custom in the Geometric period, in mainland Greece as well as Homer's Anatolian Greece, and that water was used for a woman's pyre? This makes a certain sense, but it will appear unlikely in the light of the immediately following history of the shapes in a burial context. I believe, at any rate, that the act described in an exaggerated heroic form by Homer may have been basically a matter of making a first libation to the newly incinerated dead. It is possible also to have reservations about the interpretation of burials in Cyprus, Eretria and Ischia which are alleged to demonstrate the Homeric practice [5]. Unburnt jugs and bowls accompanying the cremations seem to attest libation rather than fire control.

With the Geometric period in Attica burials come to be marked by clay vases set over the cremations or inhumations. Craters, broad open bowls, are the common grave marker, invariably associated with neck-handled amphorae as urns, and so for male burials. In the eighth century these vases reach monumental proportions and many of them are decorated with scenes of burial, the *prothesis* or the *ekphora*, in which the sex of the dead person depicted can be defined. These pictures are our main evidence for this period, since there is little or no evidence about the sex of the burials which they marked and the best of the vases are from old and hasty excavations. It has long been clear, however, and confirmed by Ahlberg's detailed study, that belly-handled amphorae carry scenes of dead women, while broad craters carry scenes of dead men, and the male scenes appear also on smaller neck-handled amphorae. So we have the same differentiation of amphora types but in addition the use of the crater for men. The crater, of course, is essentially a wine-mixing vase, and if we are right about the maleness of the amphora in the preceding period through its associations with wine, then we need have no difficulty in seeing the same criterion operating in the choice of a crater to mark male burials in the Geometric period. It does, however, make it distinctly less likely that the use of the vases was for dousing the pyre, since the crater matches the neck-handled amphora only in its function of containing wine for drinking, a social function, and its use could hardly have been inspired by any special use of the amphora as a container for wine to douse the funeral flames; nor does the crater have anything obvious to do with bathing. So we are left with a differentiation based on a very obvious social use, whatever the funerary connotation. I offer a few statistics about the evidence for the shapes in the Geometric period, based on representations of *prothesis* and *ekphora*. Male scenes appear on 18 craters and 17 neck-handled amphorae; female scenes appear on 4

[5] Coldstream, 1977, pp. 196-197, 226, 349 refers.

belly-handled amphorae [6]. The relative shortage of female scenes is notable, and recurs later.

With the Geometric period the belly-handled amphora undergoes a significant change. It becomes tall and slender, not bellying and broad like the Protogeometric vases or like later hydriai. If it were not for the fact that the sex difference is round the wrong way we might more readily try to apply anthropomorphic principles to the choice now, with the tall slim vases and the broad open ones to represent male and female, lingam and yoni, but we cannot and need not. However, this monumental elongated shape for the water vases, with tall slender neck, is echoed also in the general proportions of many male neck-handled amphorae which seem also, from the snakes along their handles, to be grave vases. Moreover, from the same workshops we now find exactly similar vases, also with the snake handles, but now in the developed hydria form with the vertical handle added. There are many examples of both shapes in the early Protoattic series of the latest eighth, earliest seventh century [7]. The impractical proportions are inspired partly, it may be, by their use as markers (certainly true for the female vases), partly for their strictly non-secular function which is now made explicit by their funerary decoration. For proof of this, and to take us away from Athens for a moment, we may turn to one of the very few Late Geometric *prothesis* scenes on a non-Attic vase. The *prothesis* of a woman is shown on a Late Geometric vase from Boeotia [8]; it has the new tall proportions, and it is a real hydria, with the vertical handle added (though now missing). The only other non-Attic *prothesis* of this period appears in Samos, the *prothesis* of a man, shown on a kantharos, which is of course a wine cup [9]. The only other Attic shape of any possible significance here, and sometimes decorated with a *prothesis*, is the pitcher, which is surely a water vase, but it seems to carry *prothesis* scenes indifferently of men or women, and so may indeed relate either to the washing ritual or to the well-known thirstiness of the dead and the need for liquid offerings, but it seems not to have been used

[6] The figures are from the lists in Ahlberg, 1971, pp. 39, 311. The distinction between male and female is not altogether easy and depends on more than presence or absence of dress on the corpse. I follow Ahlberg in her analysis of criteria for distinguishing the sex intended. The amphora in Basel (above, n. 3) is puzzling; the corpse is naked, with male mourners at one side, women at the other. I. Morris, in *Burial and ancient society*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 151-152 takes it that "few graves were so distinguished [by elaborate vases] in late Geometric", but this is based on excavation evidence and takes no account of the many large Attic LG vases in collections, virtually all of which must have been grave markers. He is, at any rate, properly cautious in making the point which does not much affect his impressive main argument.

[7] *E.g., BSA* 35, 1934-35, pls. 38, 43-45, 47. For a hydria by the Analatos Painter with the prothesis of a woman on its neck see A. Galbally, *The Collections of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne), 1987, p. 74, fig. 3.7.

[8] Paris A 575 (CA 639); Ahlberg, 1971, pp. 216-218, fig. 52; A. Ruckert, *Frühe Keramik Böotiens*, 1976, pl. 15, Hy5.

[9] Ahlberg, 1971, pp. 214-215, fig. 51.

as a grave-marker [10]. In some respects the hydria is a conflation of the belly-handled amphora and the pitcher, combining the two horizontal handles with the one vertical.

In the seventh century we lack adequate evidence from Attic cemeteries to determine sex differentiation in vase shapes, and scenes of *prothesis*, which proved so useful in the eighth century, are almost entirely lacking. As we come into the sixth century, however, we pick up again the tall-necked funeral vases, identified by their decoration, in both amphora and hydria form, and I see no reason to doubt that the difference still denotes sex differentiation. These are well represented in early black figure from the Attic cemeteries at Vari and elsewhere [11].

The suspected differentiation of sex in the black figure vases is proved when we reach the end of the sixth century, because then the vases, which have become even more elongated and impractical in their proportions, begin again to have *prothesis* scenes upon them, as well as other burial scenes in which the vases themselves are shown carried or serving as grave markers. In archaeological terms they have a new name too — *loutrophoroi* — the significance of which we shall consider later; for present purposes they may be regarded simply as continuing a tradition which can be traced back to Protogeometric funeral urns.

Black figure *loutrophoroi* with *prothesis* scenes upon them are made for less than one generation, at about the turn of the sixth and fifth century. I know of only one with the *prothesis* of a woman, on a *loutrophoros-hydria*; fourteen with the *prothesis* of a man, all on *loutrophoros-amphorae*. They are followed by examples in red figure running well into the second half of the fifth century. The two female *protheseis* known to me are on *loutrophoros-hydriai*; the eight male *protheseis* on *loutrophoros-amphorae*. See Appendix for lists [12].

The shape of the clay vases has become more and more elongated, less and less practical. Beazley, as so often, has a nice turn of phrase in describing them: "The shape is an old-fashioned one: the geometric potter, in the eighth or seventh century, liked to give his vase a long neck which makes it look something like a stork, or a swan, or a goose; and loutrophoroi, from religious and social conservatism, retain this long neck after it has died out elsewhere" [13]. The ultimate in impracticability of shape is achieved when they appear as marble grave markers, or in relief on marble grave stelai, in the later fifth century into the fourth century. Miss Kokula has recently devoted a detailed study to these monuments and deduced from the inscriptions and relief figures upon them that the amphorae are for burials of men, the hydriae for burials of women [14]. This completes the tale of continuity of shape differentiation over half a millennium. But it will be observed

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 39, lists one with a male prothesis, two with female.

[11] Few are published but cfr. the Sophilean, *AM* 62, 1937, pls. 60-61; *ABV* 38, 1.

[12] Most are listed in Kokula, 1984, pp. 116-117.

[13] *The Museum Journal* 23, 1932, p. 5.

[14] Kokula, 1984, n. 12.

that the vases themselves progress from the strictly practical pots of the Protogeometric to the exotic ritual furniture of the Classical, and we need to enquire what else may have changed.

Various explanations have been offered by scholars for the gravemarking vases, Geometric and Classical. A common one is that they are for *spondai*, libations to be made to the dead which can be communicated directly to him through the vase set over his grave. None of the shapes involved, except perhaps the Geometric crater, is particularly suitable for such a use. Several of the Geometric and Classical grave-marking vases were found to have holes cut in their bases, either deliberately made before firing or broken into them later. This has seemed to many proof of their use for libations. But if this was in fact their primary use they surely should all have been provided with holes, and this is not the case. One of the suggestions made long ago was that they were made to help secure the vase to the ground and stop it falling or blowing over: an eminently practical and sensible precaution by eminently practical and sensible people. The holes might also have helped drain away rain water; what happened to those that had no holes we do not know; some no doubt did fall over, or were not for use as markers, but the vessels were certainly never used for libations into the grave. The need to communicate with the dead with libations was normally met by pouring onto the grave itself. In later periods more direct access was provided by pipes and tubes running from the surface into the graves, especially where there was some sort of built grave chamber, but the grave-marker was not itself used for this access to the dead [15]. A loutrophoros poised on a grave mound as a marker, shown on a white ground lekythos, shows how impractical it would have been as a receptacle for libations and how insecure without some fastening [16]. There are several small Classical cups from Athenian graves with their bottoms pierced. These too have been declared to have been made for libations to the dead [17], but this is surely an absurd and unnecessary suggestion since the offering could simply have been poured. Far more probably they are another example of the cancelling or killing of a practical vessel when used in a purely ritual context.

Another and popular explanation associates the vases with the provision of water for the bathing of the dead. The hydria is certainly a water vase, but both men and women required the bathing ritual and this does not explain the differentiation in the shapes. A real hydria, of practical proportions, is sometimes seen as a grave-marker depicted on Attic white-ground lekythoi [18], and this too has been associated with the funeral bath, but it is much more probably a prize

[15] G. P. Oeconomus, 1921.

[16] Athens 19355; *AJA* 65, 1961, pl. 98, fig. 3; *ARV*² 1022, 139 bis; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, the Classical Period*, 1989, fig. 267.

[17] Oeconomus, 1921, pp. 28-29, figs. 6-7.

[18] E. Diehl, *Die Hydria*, 1964, pp. 139-140; E. Buschor, *OJh* 39, 1952, pp. 12-16.

vase, indicating the interests and successes of the dead, like other marker-monuments that we see on the lekythoi — a lyre, a kantharos, or the like.

However, the bathing association does have a certain relevance for understanding the use of the *loutrophoroi* in the Classical period. The clay vases, in black and red figure, are initially decorated only with funeral scenes, and some of them with scenes of fighting, the so-called ' battle-loutrophoroi ', analogous in their way to the Geometric grave-marking craters for men with the ship-fights on them. By the middle of the century, however, some *loutrophoroi* begin to carry marriage scenes, and in these scenes the vases themselves are sometimes shown, being carried in procession or standing in the room where the bride is being dressed. (These are further discussed in this volume by Miss Moesch, with consideration of the problems of shape differentiation; see pp. 117-139). There can be no doubt that these are truly *loutrophoroi*, used to carry *loutra*, water for the bridal bath from the local spring or fountain, then perhaps to be kept or warmed in another ritual shape, the *lebes gamikos*. It is notable, however, that they are regularly shown with branches or sprigs in their necks, and where, on vases, a woman is bathing, the water is being poured over her from a hydria of regular proportions, never, to my knowledge, from a *loutrophoros*. Why a vase otherwise associated only with death came to be chosen for this marriage function is not easy to explain unless its association with bathing was already current in the funeral vases. I must confess that I am somewhat puzzled by this, since the bathing association is clearly not basic to the differentiation of shapes, nor is it easy to see why different shapes were needed for either sex since in burials the bathing ritual was required for both men and women. The matter is not helped by the fact that the clay *loutrophoroi* with wedding scenes may take either the amphora or hydria form, though when an Eros is seen on a red figure *loutrophoros* (fig. 27.1) between a bride and groom and holding on the bride's side a *loutrophoros-hydria*, and on the groom's a *loutrophoros-amphora* [19], we must surely accept that the sex differentiation in shapes is being observed, whatever the significance in that context, marital or funereal. Perhaps after all bathing is not the prime function. Marriage and death go hand in hand in Greek thought, as we well know from many sources, probably the two most important transitions in the life of women, though not of men for whom the transition to adulthood was of equal importance. The indecision about which vase shape to use in the wedding scenes is perhaps some indication of uncertainty about the true meaning of the differentiation of shapes in their original burial context. I hesitate to suggest that many of what we call wedding loutrophoroi are basically funeral vases, the wedding scenes on them corresponding to the fighting scenes on the male battle-loutrophoroi, but the thought will not altogether go away and there is something in it. Dr.

[19] Oxford 1966.888; *Sir John and Lady Beazley Gifts*, 1912-1966, 1967, pl. 47, 326; *LIMC* 3, pl. 646, Eros 639 c.

Kurtz reminds me that some of the wedding loutrophoroi have wavyline (snake) decoration at lip and handle, which suggests the tomb, and they all seem to have been destined for Athenian graves or sanctuaries, not for export. But this is a different problem and a late phase in this story.

In pseudo-Demosthenes (*contra Leocharem* XLIV 18) it is remarked that a *loutrophoros* marks the grave of a young man who died unmarried, and later lexicographers apply the practice also to young women [20]. There is some evidence that the word applies better to a figure of a water-carrier than to the familiar vase. However, Kokula's study of the figures on the marble *loutrophoroi* has led her to believe that they all were for the tombs of the unmarried, male and female, this accounting also for the fact that there are many more for men than for women, who married much younger than men. The deduction needs scrutiny since it may have been in part inspired by the accepted modern name for the vases and the texts about *loutrophoroi*; there are also some problematic examples which seem to contradict the suggestion [21]. The implication would have been that the bridal *loutra* which the dead, male or female, had never enjoyed, were provided for them in their memorial, and the notion that unmarried women find their bridal partner in death is a familiar one from the Classical period on.

It is, I think, impossible to conceive that the Protogeometric vases carried any of the detailed connotations which we have been discussing for the Classical ones, yet it is with the Protogeometric that the specific sex differentiation in the vase shapes started. What appears to have been at first determined by an expression of the use of the different shapes in a social context, ends with a complex of other factors and functions, involving the adoption of the shapes for wedding rites, and a possible strict narrowing of the function in funeral rites for the graves of the unmarried. How and why the changes took place remains a matter for conjecture, but the elements which contributed to make the change possible and plausible seem clear enough, as well as the archaeological evidence from which they can be deduced.

[20] See Kokula, 1984, 13, 146-148; Kurtz-Boardman, 1971, p. 152.
[21] Cfr. C. W. Clairmont, *AA* 1988, p. 56.

APPENDIX

[Z. nos. refer to the lists in W. Zschietzschmann, *AM* 53, 1928, pp. 37-47].

Attic loutrophoros-hydriai showing female protheseis

Black figure

1. Athens 12947; *CVA* I, pl. 9, 1-2; Z. nr. 47=77.

Red figure

2. Athens 1170; *ARV*^{2}, 512,12; E. Simon - A. & H. Hirmer, *Die Griechischen Vasen*, 1976, pl. 174; Z. nr. 96, Beil. 16-17.
3. Paris, Louvre CA 1685; *ARV*^{2}, 1099,46; Z. nr. 111, Beil. 18.

Attic loutrophoros-amphorae showing male protheseis

Black figure

4. Athens 450; *ABL*, 229,59; *CVA* 1, pls. 8, 1-2; 9, 3; Z. nr. 44.
5. Athens 1153; *CVA* 1, pl. 8, 3-4; Z. nr. 46.
6. Berlin 1888; Z. nr. 54, Beil. 13.
7. Berlin 1889; *MdI* 3, pl. 60; Z. nr. 55.
8. Berlin 3999; A. Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff*, 1883-87, pl. 52 (back); Z. nr. 56.
9. Brussels A 3576.
10. Chicago Univ.; *AJA* 47, 1943, 390, fig. 2.
11. Cleveland 27.145; *CVA* 1, pls. 15-16; Z. nr. 61.
12. The Hague 3507; *CVA* Scheurleer 1, pl. 3, 3-4; Z. nr. 63.
13. London 1928.7-16.1; *ABL*, 229,60.
14. New York 27.228; *BMMA* 23, 1928, 54-7, figs. 1-3; Z. nr. 69.
15. New York; *BMMA* 20, 1925, 300, fig. 9; Z. nr. 67.
16. Oxford 1928.574; *CVA* 3, pl. 26; Z. nr. 70, Beil. 12, 13.
17. Tübingen S/10.1481 (D29); *CVA* 3, pl. 12; Z. nr. 74.

Red figure

18. Athens 1452; *ARV*^{2}, 233,2; Collignon-Couve, pl. 42; Z. nr. 95.
19. Berlin 31008; Z. nr. 99, Beil. 17.
20. Copenhagen 9195; *CVA* 8, pl. 340.
21. Lausanne, private.
22. London 1930.4-17.1.
23. Munich 2369; Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 766; Z. nr. 106.
24. Munich, Schoen; Z. nr. 116, Beil. 18.
25. Paris, Louvre CA 453; *ARV*^{2}, 184,22; Simon-Hirmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 130-1; Z. nr. 109.

upon it, e.g. altars and columns. Paradoxically, funeral stelai which in real life are the very objects to be inscribed, are most often represented as blank or with mythological names. The case of the Achilles painter, however is unusual for three reasons: 1) his style of writing in its careful lettering seems to imitate, more than others, actual epigraphical models; 2) at the same time, these inscriptions are not written on the stelai themselves but are placed in such a way so as to serve as substitutes for the missing monument; 3) these names apply only to " kalos " people who, it is argued, are the living and not the dead.

I. Baldassarre, Tomba e stele nelle lekythoi a fondo bianco.

The representations of *stelai* shown on the Attic white-ground funerary lekythoi of the 5th cent. B.C. — usually examined separately from their general context and used to fill the gap in the monumental documentation of the period — are here considered in the light of the metaphorical sense connected with the whole representation, in which they constitute a significant element: visits to the tomb.

The theme represents the main innovation in the funerary iconography of this period and, if considered under the aspect of the iteration of a cult and observance to a *nomos*, is to be reconnected to the sphere of the activities of the *polis*.

R. M. Moesch, Le mariage et la mort sur les loutrophores.

According to the traditional interpretations, the LA is reserved to men and LH to women; according to J. Boardman, loutrophoroi have mainly a funerary meaning.

The aim of this paper is to show that such interpretations do not take into account some realities, at least for the 5th cent. B.C.

Here is proposed the following thesis: during the 5th cent. B.C. the wedding meaning of the LH becomes the predominant one (maybe for its strong connection with women and — but this is to be proved — because the wedding-bath became more important for women than for men). In the same time, the funerary meaning of the LA gets stronger, while its relationship with the male sphere results less evident.

D. C. Kurtz, Mistress and maid.

During the first half of the 5th century vase-painters begin to show women engaging in activities from which men are partly or wholly excluded. These scenes are most often found on the types of vases which women used. ' Mistress and maid ' appear on a variety of red-figure shapes but they are best known from white lekythoi made in Athens in the decades around 450.

It has often been assumed that the social status of one of the female figures is lower and that one or both of them is dead. The visual evidence rarely supports the first assumption and never the second. In the work of the Achilles Painter, who made the finest examples of the scene, both tend to be of equal stature and

elegance. They must often be members of the same class, or even of the same family, who seek companionship in a society which did not offer many occasions for well born ladies to venture outside the house. One of these was the visit to the family graves and some of the women are preparing to visit them with offerings.

A. Schnapp, La chasse ed la mort: l'image du chasseur sur les stèles et sur les vases.

Through an examination of the various iconographies related to the hunt, the A. aims at illustrating how the *polis* uses this theme for funerary purposes.

Two different strategies are so identified, according to the destination of the scenes: if they are conceived to be painted on a lekythos or represented on a stele. For the lekythoi, the moment chosen for the representation is usually the pursuit of the hare; nevertheless the real hunt is transferred to a timeless dimension, taking place in front of the tomb. On the attic stelai, every explicit hunting representation is excluded, and the figure is represented immediately afterwards, in a sort of timeless image.

C. Bérard, The impossible corpse.

The construction of a sequence (*mise en séquence*) of figurative images observed upon white lekythoi emphasizes the coherence of the greek iconographical programme: its message is designed to be soothing and reassuring. From the *prothesis*, the supernatural is manifested through the presence of the *unpersonalized* and finally liberated *psuchai*. The *sleeping* body is then carried away and laid down into the tomb. The corpse remains invisible whereas the awaken *eidôlon* looses itself and climbs into Charon' bark under Hermes' guidance. The *eidôlon* is still *animated*, coloured and even endowed with the power of speech. A series of comparisons with some neoclassical pictures allows the author to underline the original character of the antique iconographical strategies. Finally a survey of several works inspired by christian belief clarifies the various degrees of materiality that the *eidôla* or the glorious resurrected bodies can attain and keep.

J. Boardman, *Sex differentiation in grave vases.*

The distinction between neck-handled amphorae and belly-handled amphorae (to be explained as water vases) for male and female burials respectively in the Protogeometric period in Attica, is traced through the seventh century, through black figure and red figure of the sixth and fifth century (the so-called *loutrophoroi*), to the marble *loutrophoros* gravemarkers of the later fifth and fourth century. What starts as a differentiation probably based on the social function of the shapes (wine for men, a concept continued in the use of craters for grave-markers in the Geometric period; water for women) develops further connotations in Attic ritual which relate to marriage (though often perhaps in a funerary context) and to the probable restriction of the use of the shape for graves of the unmarried. The sex differentiation is maintained throughout, whatever the function.

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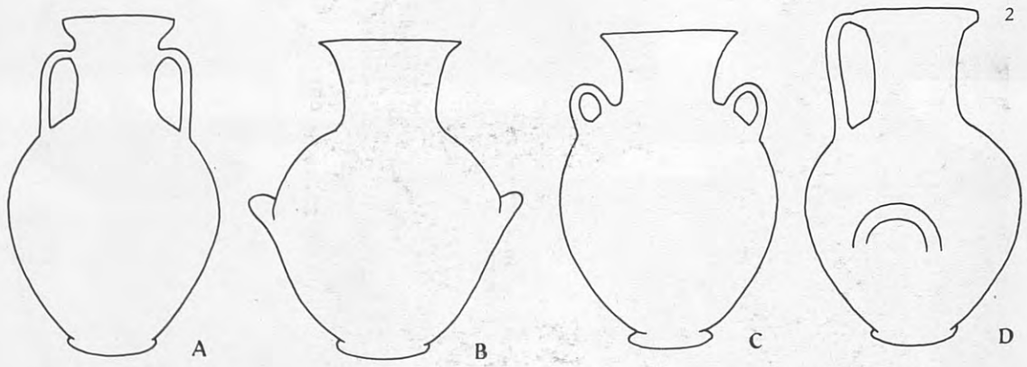
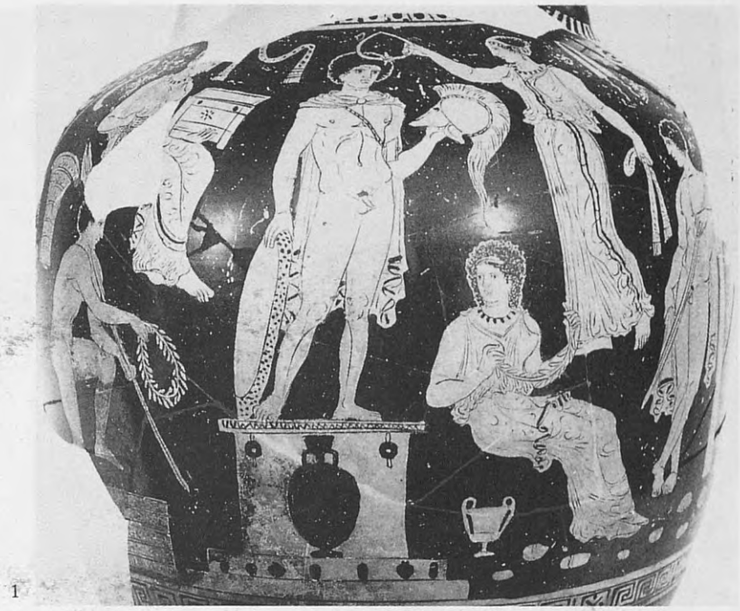


1. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.888. Red figure *loutrophoros* fragment (*Photo Museum*). 2. Protogeometric shapes from Athens (after V.R. d'A. Desborough. *Protogeometric Pottery* (1952) pls. 2, 4 A; 4, 4 B; 6, 1 C; 14, 1 D).



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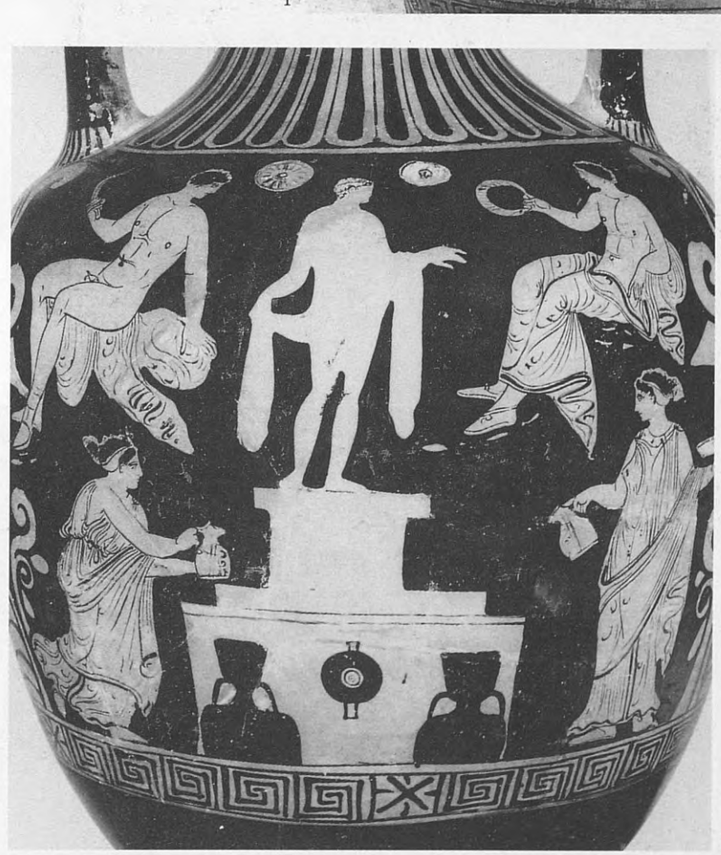

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1. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, anfora apula (*Foto Sopr. Archeol. Taranto*). 2. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, Inv. 3478, anfora apula (*Foto Museo*).

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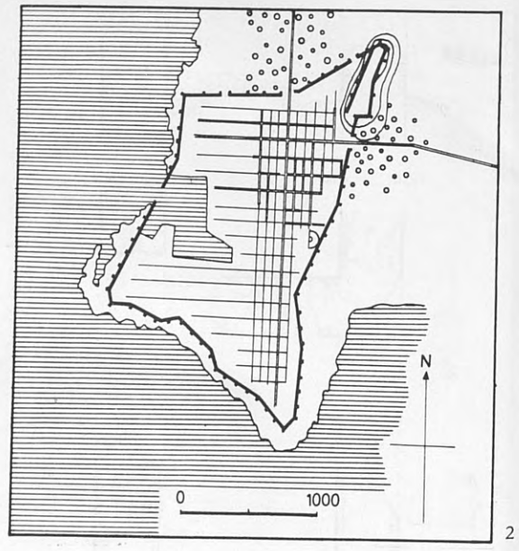

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1. Pianta di Antiochia. 2. Pianta di Laodicea. 3. Pianta di Apamea.

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