

## ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: The Communalization of Trauma through the Visual Arts: Images of War in Greece and Etruria in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE

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This thesis explores the cathartic potential of the visual arts through an investigation of images of the war dead on painted vessels and gems from 6th and 5th century BCE Greece and Etruria. My research builds on the large body of work on the cathartic properties of the arts, an idea first proposed in Aristotle's *Poetics* and investigated in modern scholarship by authors such as Jonathan Shay. My goal is to frame the ancient visual arts as a mode for cathartic release through the communalization of trauma and grief as a result of war. I investigate imagery on painted vessels, largely from tomb assemblages in Etruria and Athens as well as a group of mostly unprovenanced intaglios and gems attributed to the Etruscans and/or Greeks. This research will demonstrate that, when placed correctly within their social, mythological, and historical contexts, these objects and their imagery of the war dead would have aided in grieving, healing from trauma, and loss of agency in times of war.

The Communalization of Trauma through the Visual Arts: Images of War in Greece and  
Etruria in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE

by

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## I. Introduction

For the last thirty years, classicists and psychologists have investigated the socio-emotional impact of ancient military narratives, exploring their potential to elicit catharsis among veterans and their families, both in antiquity and today. Traditionally, these studies have focused on war narratives as communicated in epic poems and tragic plays. In order to add a new perspective, this thesis explores the potential of the visual arts to support similar conclusions, taking as case studies scenes of the removal of the war dead appearing on ceramic vessels and stone gems from Greece and Etruria dating from the early 6th to the late 5th centuries BCE. Based on this evidence, I argue that when placed correctly within their mythological, historical, and social contexts, such scenes, chosen here for their potential to offer specific insight into the effect of war on interpersonal relationships (whether it be warrior to warrior, warrior to family, or even warrior to city and society), were as effective as oral performances in providing catharsis for viewers by substituting for reality, provoking tomb-side conversations, and by serving as tokens of memory.

### *Background: Studies of the Impact of Ancient Military Narratives*

In 1995, study of the modern impact of ancient military narratives was pioneered by physician and clinical psychiatrist Jonathan Shay in his book, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*. Motivated by the connections he observed between Vietnam War veterans suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and the tragic narratives of war recounted by Homer in the *Iliad*, Shay convincingly argued that “healing from trauma depends upon communalization of the trauma – being able safely to tell the story to

someone who is listening and who can be trusted to retell it truthfully to others in the community.”<sup>1</sup> As evidence, Shay identified similarities between the social relationships of Homeric figures and those between Vietnam combat soldiers, and highlighted the benefits of sharing and discussing traumatic experiences through narrative and storytelling. Shay emphasized the shrinkage of the larger cause in favor of the protection of one’s close comrades. He noted, for example, that upon the death of one of their comrades, Vietnam veterans recounted feelings of deep despair and sometimes even a state of violent rage, recalling Achilles’ mourning, self-mutilation, and passionate revenge upon the death of Patroclus, and Ajax’s anguish following the death of Achilles.<sup>2</sup> To explain what he observed, Shay drew on contemporary studies of PTSD, noting that victims of any trauma will suffer more if not given the opportunity to share their narrative and feel socially connected with others.<sup>3</sup>

In 2002, Shay expanded upon these ideas in *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming*, in which he employed a similar methodology to interrogate Homer’s *Odyssey*. In this book, Shay draws connections between Odysseus’ struggle to return to his old life in Ithaca and the experience of modern veterans returning home from combat. Shay goes so far as to cite specific experiences of Odysseus that would now be considered traumatic “exposures,” as per the definition established by the American Psychiatric Association (APA), that can lead to PTSD.<sup>4</sup> Much like in *Achilles in Vietnam*, Shay’s argument is rooted in the idea that communalization provides healing, especially for those suffering from trauma or psychological injury, and he argues that for modern veterans Homer’s narratives facilitate that communalization by making visible the realities of shared experiences of war. As a parallel, Shay

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*, Touchstone Books, NY (1990): 4.

<sup>2</sup> Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam*, 25, 49, 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Shay, *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming*, Scribner: New York (2002): 141.

points out that the Sirens' song that seduced Odysseus' men is about how they know of everything that the soldiers did during the Trojan War, emphasizing the importance of the recognition and retelling of a soldier's experience.<sup>5</sup> *Odysseus in America* also explores the portrayal of women in relation to Odysseus' story, drawing connections between the adverse sexual experiences of young veterans and the "dangerous" female trope seen in characters such as Circe.<sup>6</sup> Shay concluded his second book by restating that when trauma survivors are able to hear truthful and accurate retellings of their stories "then the circle of communalization is complete."<sup>7</sup>

In both of his books, Shay claimed that the primary catalyst for the communalization of military trauma was narrative. Narration, he argued, is a "step in the survivor's larger move to communalize the trauma by inducing others who were not there to feel what the victim felt when he or she was going through it."<sup>8</sup> By contrast, those who cannot relate to the narrative are shown what *could* happen to them.<sup>9</sup> In Classical Greece, Shay explained, theatrical performances provided an opportunity for communalization via actors who presented the experiences of the trauma of war, the death of a loved one, and the social effects of war on the city, written by veterans and presented to an audience of Athenian men who, more likely than not, had shared one or more of these experiences. The same psychological benefits, Shay argued, were accessible to modern combat veterans, opening up a conversation about how the ancient arts can be used for psychological healing.

Building on the foundation established by Shay, in 2009, writer-director Bryan Doerries co-founded "Theater of War" Productions, a group that produces readings of Classical Greek

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<sup>5</sup> Shay, *Odysseus in America*, 87, with reference to *Od.* 12:184 *ff.*

<sup>6</sup> Shay, *Odysseus in America*, 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

<sup>8</sup> Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam*, 191.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

tragedies and other “seminal plays” then invites the audience to participate in a guided discussion, hoping that the experience will “resonate with contemporary audiences and invite audience members to share their perspectives and experiences... to break down stigmas, foster empathy, compassion, and a deeper understanding of complex issues.”<sup>10</sup> Doerries’ 2015 book, *The Theater of War: What Ancient Greek Tragedies Can Teach Us Today*, details his involvement in the production of such plays, including Euripides’ *Ajax* (445–440 BCE), for combat veterans, active military, and their families. In his first chapter, Doerries interrogates the idea of tragedy and its ability to elicit catharsis, as articulated in the late Classical period by Aristotle.<sup>11</sup> As he explains, Aristotle’s “catharsis” implies a sort of “purification” of negative emotions, going so far to say that “maybe tragedy was a mass therapy for lowering the Athenian allostatic load and recalibrating the city’s response to stress.”<sup>12</sup> Doerries continues by explaining the cathartic effect of his dramatic productions on modern viewers, specifically those who have experienced the trauma of war. He supports his claim that ancient tragedy could serve as a therapeutic outlet with the testimonies of attendees, who repeatedly recognized their own emotions and experiences in characters such as Ajax and Tecmessa.<sup>13</sup> Doerries concluded that in both the ancient and modern worlds, tragedies “were giving voice to timeless human experiences – of suffering and grief – that, when viewed by a large audience that had shared those experiences, fostered compassion, understanding, and a deeply felt interconnection.”<sup>14</sup>

The importance of Doerries’ work is that it generated key evidence for Shay’s initial claims by putting theory to practice in performances of ancient theater for combat veterans and their loved ones. Each of his performances, followed by discussions, revealed different social

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<sup>10</sup> “Theater of War Productions: About,” <https://theaterofwar.com/about>.

<sup>11</sup> Bryan Doerries, *The Theater of War: What Ancient Greek Tragedies Can Teach Us Today*, Alfred A. Knopf, NY (2015): 35, with reference to Aristotle’s *Poetics*.

<sup>12</sup> Doerries, *The Theater of War*, 36–8.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

and psychological interpretations of these ancient narratives. Contemporary with this research, in April of 2011, New York University's Center for Ancient Studies hosted a conference on the same topic: *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Stage*. The proceedings of this conference were published in 2014 as a collection of essays, edited by Peter Meineck and David Konstan and titled *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks*. This publication presents a diverse range of scholarly perspectives, including focused discussions of topics such as the depiction of women in tragedy, trauma and mental health in the ancient world, and the material culture of war.<sup>15</sup> Even more recently in 2020, the book, *The Many-Minded Man: The Odyssey, Psychology, and the Therapy of Epic*, by classicist Joel Christensen explored the ways in which Homer's work reflects modern psychological theories and provided a model for healing to ancient people.<sup>16</sup> Christensen's reading of the *Odyssey* emphasizes the socio-cultural and psychological phenomena of "the narrative," as supported by perspectives ranging from cognitive science to folk psychology and classics. He looks carefully at the entirety of Homer's story, reading scenes such as Odysseus' *apologoi* (Odysseus' account to the Phaeacians of his journey from Troy to Calypso's island) in books nine through twelve in light of modern psychological theory, and commenting on the different aspects of life and healing represented in Odysseus' narrative.<sup>17</sup>

Most recently, the therapeutic power of ancient war narratives has been explored in classicist Emma Bridges' 2023 book *Warriors' Wives: Ancient Greek Myth and Modern Experience*. This book supplements the aforementioned scholarship by focusing exclusively on the experiences of women in ancient tragedies, and by revealing the ways in which these stories could have functioned outside of the male-dominated world of theater and poetry. Bridges draws

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<sup>15</sup> *Combat Trauma and the Ancient Greeks*, edited by Peter Meineck and David Konstan, Palgrave MacMillan: New York (2014).

<sup>16</sup> Joel Christensen, *The Many-Minded Man: The Odyssey, Psychology, and the Therapy of Epic*, Cornell University Press: New York (2020).

<sup>17</sup> Christensen, *The Many-Minded Man*, 87–114.



connections between the experiences of modern women married to combat soldiers or veterans and the wives of Homeric heroes such as Penelope, Andromache, and Clytemnestra. She pointed out how Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, first performed in 458 BCE, portrayed the “enduring grief” felt by the families of fallen warriors,”<sup>18</sup> who receive “in the place of men, urns and ashes.”<sup>19</sup> In a discussion of Andromache's expression of grief at Hector's death in the *Iliad*, Bridges makes it clear that her (Andromache's) story is detailed and personal, but that it is also meant to remind the audience of the grief that will be suffered by the innumerable wives of Troy in the coming sack.<sup>20</sup> Bridges also emphasizes the isolation of Andromache after her husband's death, as she possesses no natal family: “her own identity and security are connected entirely to those of her husband.”<sup>21</sup> She concludes with the idea that the stories of women within ancient narratives reveal the consequences of war on the larger population, a theme that Athenian audiences would have been intimately familiar with as “armed conflict was an ever-present aspect of life.”<sup>22</sup>

Scientifically, the work of Bridges and others is corroborated by recent advances in neuroscience and cognitive psychology, which explore the effects of the visual arts on the mind. Published also in 2023, the book, *Your Brain on Art: How the Arts Transform Us*, by Susan Magsamen and Ivy Ross, provides an overview of new ideas about the psychological impact of art. Though not solely focused on the visual arts, Magsamen's and Ross' review of neuroaesthetic research solidifies the conclusions of the previous scholars and reveals even more potential for the visual arts to function in the same capacity for healing, particularly for modern audiences. Of particular note is the role of what have been termed “mirror neurons,” which may account for humans' tendency throughout history to identify with individual characters or stories

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<sup>18</sup> Emma Bridges, *Warriors' Wives: Ancient Greek Myth & Modern Experience*, Oxford University Press, UK (2023): 55.

<sup>19</sup> *Agamemnon*, 434–36.

<sup>20</sup> Bridges, *Warriors' Wives*, 38, with reference to *Il.* XXII.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

within larger narratives.<sup>23</sup> There has also been a movement to standardize the system of measurement for the psychological and emotional effects of the visual arts through the Arts Impact Measurement System (AIMS).<sup>24</sup> The interdisciplinary and popular interest in the psychological impact of the visual arts further reveals the possibilities for inquiry into this topic, and the potential to interpret the visual arts as a mode for psychological healing.

### *The Contribution of This Thesis*

Collectively, the above studies have emphasized the social and emotional benefits of recognizing one's own experiences in wartime stories, and highlighted the therapeutic potential of the performance arts (theater and poetry) as a way to elicit individual and group catharsis for modern audiences through communalization of traumas experienced in war. Each author demonstrates how ancient narratives of interpersonal conflict and the resulting socio-emotional impact speak not only to the experiences of those involved in war, but also to the more universal experiences of grief and/or betrayal. As Doerries puts it: "One does not need to go to war to feel devalued or betrayed."<sup>25</sup> Equally, the same studies indicate that exposure to tragic narratives in tragedies and epic poems resulted in catharsis for ancient audiences, who were able to connect their lived experiences of war to the tragic stories being told. What they do not consider, however, is the cathartic potential of the visual arts, another primary means by which ancient war narratives were transmitted. It is this potential, explored (as indicated above) using scenes of the removal of the war dead appearing on 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE vases and gems from Greece and Etruria, that is interrogated below. The visual evidence is presented first, followed by a

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<sup>23</sup> Christensen, *The Many-Minded Man*, 31, Susan Magsamen and Ivy Ross, *Your Brain on Art: How the Arts Transform Us*, Random House: New York (2023): 145.

<sup>24</sup> Magsamen and Ross, *Your Brain on Art*, 57.

<sup>25</sup> Doerries, *The Theater of War*, 97.

discussion of the scene's mythological and historical contexts and an analysis that explores its cathartic potential.

## II. The Visual Evidence: Scenes of the Removal of the War Dead in Art

### *Painted Vases*

In the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, the removal of the war dead was a popular theme painted on Attic vessels found in Greece and Etruria. Most often, they show the Greek warrior Ajax with the body of his comrade Achilles, or Thanatos and Hypnos (Death and Sleep) carrying the body of the Trojan hero Sarpedon. Such representations of Ajax and Achilles, in which one warrior is shown with a fallen comrade draped over their shoulder, first became a stock “type” in the Archaic period. As discussed by Susan Woodford and Margot Loudon, the *Francois Vase* (Figure 1), a black-figure Attic volute krater created between 570 and 560 BCE, found in an Etruscan tomb in Chiusi, and now housed in Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, is the first known example in which scenic type is accompanied by the labels “Ajax” and “Achilles.”<sup>26</sup> Woodford and Loudon point out that this first definitive depiction of Ajax with the body of Achilles is “firmly set within the context of the hero's [Achilles] life: his parents, his friend and his enemy,” referring to scenes of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the funeral games of Patroclus, and the ambush of Troilos painted on the main body of the vessel.<sup>27</sup> On the *François Vase*, Ajax is seen kneeling, purportedly in the process of lifting his dead comrade Achilles onto his shoulders. Achilles is shown limp, with his eyes closed and hair dangling towards the ground. Ajax,

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<sup>26</sup> Susan Woodford and Margot Loudon, “Two Trojan Themes: The Iconography of Ajax Carrying the Body of Achilles and of Aeneas Carrying Anchises in Black Figure Vase Painting,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 84, no. 1, University of Chicago Press, IL (1980): 26–7.

<sup>27</sup> Woodford and Loudon, “Two Trojan Themes,” 27.

notably, is dressed in armor from the waist up, including a Corinthian-style helmet, while Achilles is shown nude.

A short time later, in ca. 540 BCE, Athenian vase-painter Exekias depicted Ajax carrying Achilles as the centerpiece of a black-figure amphora (Figure 2) found in an Etruscan tomb in Vulci and now held in the State Collection of Antiquities in Munich. In this scene, both heroes are fully clad in armor complete with helmets and shields. Achilles' arm falls over Ajax's shoulder and shield, and his face is hidden by Ajax's helmet. As recognized by Woodford and Loudon, this depiction, and nearly all depictions produced subsequently, show the two figures in profile, moving to the right, with Achilles' head behind Ajax's shield, out of view.<sup>28</sup> Another Athenian artist who followed Exekias' model was the so-called Antimenes Painter, who depicted the scene on two amphorae dated between 530 and 520 BCE found in Attica and now housed in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (Figure 3) and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) in New York (Figure 4). In both of these depictions, Ajax and Achilles are the central figures, accompanied by a woman (in front), and one or more soldiers (behind). In both scenes, the men are painted in black-figure while the women are rendered with white skin and shown raising their arms in a gesture of mourning.<sup>29</sup>

On the Walters vase, Achilles' head falls behind Ajax's shield, though the plume of his helmet peeks out. Ajax is seen in profile; most of his body is obscured by his shield and Achilles' body, but his head, albeit within a helmet, is fully visible. Comparatively, on the MMA amphora, the heads of both Ajax and Achilles are entirely obscured; Achilles' head is hidden behind Ajax's shield and Ajax's head disappears behind Achilles' body.<sup>30</sup> An Attic black-figure

<sup>28</sup> Woodford and Loudon, "Two Trojan Themes," 28.

<sup>29</sup> "Amphora with Ajax Carrying the Dead Achilles," Walters Art Museum: Online Collection.

<sup>30</sup> It is not clear which amphora was created first, and the difference in design could be attributed to a change in artistic preference. It is also worth noting that the Walters amphora only shows one figure behind the heroes, whereas the MMA amphora depicts two figures. Obscuring the faces of Ajax and Achilles, then, could have been a choice made based on limited space.

hydria from Vulci and now in the British Museum (Figure 5) shows a variation of the Ajax and Achilles scene in a style more reminiscent of the *François Vase* than the aforementioned amphorae. The vase, dated between 510 and 500 BCE, shows Achilles carrying the body of Penthesilea in the midst of battle. Both figures are fully dressed and depicted in profile moving to the left. Like Achilles on the *François Vase*, Penthesilea is lifeless over Achilles' shoulders, with both her arms and hair dangling, and her eyes closed. There are a number of painted vases that show the battle between Achilles and Penthesilea, in this case however, by depicting the pair in the style of Ajax and Achilles, and emphasizing the moment after Penthesilea's death, the artist appears to imply a deeper level of camaraderie between the two characters than appears in the more-common scenes of combat.

This same scene type also appears on smaller drinking and tableware vessels, such as a black-figure lekythos in the National Archaeological Museum of Taranto, where it was also found (Figure 6), and an unprovenanced oinochoe in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples said to be made in Athens (Figure 7). The scene on the lekythos recalls details of the depictions seen on the amphora by the Antimenes Painter, with a woman leading the warriors' way and both figures clad in armor. The oinochoe's figures, by contrast, are isolated and moving to the left. The oinochoe's painting style is reminiscent of that evident on the Diosphos Painter amphora (discussed further below), with more of Ajax's smiling face visible, and Achilles' face hidden behind his comrade's shield.

The second major iconographic type depicting the removal of a fallen warrior from the battlefield, Sarpedon removed by Thanatos and Hypnos, is most popularly known as it appears on the ca. 515 BCE Attic red-figure krater by Euphronios (Figure 8) found in the Etruscan necropolis of Cerveteri, and now on display in the site's archaeological museum. On this krater,

Euphronios depicted Thanatos and Hypnos winged and clad in armor, while Sarpedon dangles naked on his side, still bleeding as illustrated by red streaks of blood gushing from the wounds in his chest. A similar image appears on a kylix by the Nikosthenes Painter (Figure 9), found in Viterbo in Vulci and now in the British Museum, although this artist chose to omit the gruesome detail of Sarpedon's wounds. An Attic red-figure calyx krater attributed to the Pezzino group found in the necropolis of Agrigento dated to 525–475 BCE and now in the Agrigento Archaeological Museum (Figure 10), shows a similar scene, although the identity of the deceased figure is debated.<sup>31</sup> On the obverse side of an unprovenanced Attic black-figure amphora by the Diosphos Painter, dated to ca. 500 BCE, and now in the MMA (Figure 11), Sarpedon is held higher than in the previous examples by figures of Thanatos and Hypnos, who are clad in armor but lacking wings. Instead, a small winged figure with armor and a shield hovers above Sarpedon's body, perhaps meant to represent his spirit.<sup>32</sup>

The reverse side of the MMA amphora depicts a similar scene of the removal of the dead during the Trojan War, with Eos, goddess of the dawn, carrying the lifeless body of her son Memnon, king of Ethiopia. Depictions of Eos with the body of Memnon are not as uniform as those of Ajax, Achilles, and Sarpedon, but they nonetheless recall a story of war, mourning, and burial. The Diosphos Painter amphora features, on the opposite side of Sarpedon, a winged Eos, who, smiling softly, lifts the naked body of her dead son while accompanied by a single soldier and a bird (Figure 12). Another version of this same scene by the Diosphos Painter is incised on an unprovenanced lekythos in the MMA dated to ca. 500 BCE (Figure 13). Additional depictions such as that appearing on the interior of the famous Attic red-figure kylix from Capua now in the

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<sup>31</sup> Iconographic precedent seems to indicate Sarpedon, however, the figure is noticeably bare faced and shrouded, unlike any known depictions of Sarpedon, who is typically shown bearded and naked.

<sup>32</sup> Nigel Spivey, *The Sarpedon Krater: The Life and Afterlife of a Greek Vase*, University of Chicago Press, IL (2019): 155.

Louvre (Figure 14), show a more mournful Eos, who lifts the limp body of her son with a sorrowful look on her face.

On vessels from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Thanatos and Hypnos frequently carry the war dead, or deposit them into their graves. In these depictions, which routinely appear on white-ground lekythoi, the two mythological figures usually wear chitons rather than armor, and often have wings on their feet in addition to their backs.<sup>33</sup> The oldest extant depiction of Thanatos and Hypnos on a white-ground lekythos, dating to 500–450 BCE, is housed in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, and shows the figures with what appears to be a small figure or a child.<sup>34</sup> In some cases, the deceased accompanied by Thanatos and Hypnos can be identified as a veteran or victim of combat by his armor, as seen in an example of the scene by the Sarbouroff Painter on a white-ground lekythos in the British Museum dated between 470–440 BCE (Figure 15). Alternatively, such identities are indicated by a helmet on the deceased's stele, such as appears on a 435–425 BCE lekythos by the Thanatos Painter (Figure 16), also held in the British Museum.

Concerning the find spots of the above vases, it is notable that the majority from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE come from Etruria. The meaning of Attic-made vessels in such find spots has been explored by Sheramy Bundrick, with special attention paid to vases found in funerary contexts. In her 2019 book *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, Bundrick draws heavily on the research of Karl Otfried Muller, who observed that Etruscans deposited a wide range of Attic vase shapes into their graves whereas Greeks in Greece mainly favored white-ground lekythoi (discussed immediately below).<sup>35</sup> This depositional preference accounts

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<sup>33</sup> John H. Oakley, "Children in Athenian Funerary Art During the Peloponnesian War," in *Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Olga Palagia, Cambridge University Press, UK (2009): 126.

<sup>34</sup> Oakley, "Children in Athenian Funerary Art During the Peloponnesian War," 126.

<sup>35</sup> Sheramy D. Bundrick, *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, University of Wisconsin Press: Wisconsin (2019): 6.

for the range of vase shapes represented above, including larger vessels like amphorae and hydriae. Bundrick further argues that the iconography of an Attic vessel was likely as significant as its shape in its selection for deposition in an Etruscan tomb.<sup>36</sup> Some vessels, she notes, even show evidence of ancient repairs or chronological gaps between the date of production and the date of deposition, suggesting that they could have been used or displayed in domestic and/or ritual spaces prior to their placement in a grave.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, Bundrick notes that the “malleability” of mythological subject matter could have led to the use of Attic vases in multiple contexts over time.<sup>38</sup>

On the events of an Etruscan funeral, and how imported vessels might have functioned within them, Lucy Shipley’s 2017 book, *The Etruscans*, provides some insight. Based on archaeological evidence, Shipley determines that after death, the body of the deceased would be brought in procession to the tomb in which a *prothesis* (laying out of the body) would occur in public, after which the body would be interred with grave goods, including vases.<sup>39</sup> Shipley also argues that the Etruscan funeral had a theatrical component, which served as a form of cathartic release.<sup>40</sup> After burial, Etruscan tombs were frequently visited and kept up by family, making the tombs, and the objects within them part of the “elaborate negotiation of emotions” that accompanies death.<sup>41</sup> Bundrick’s book also notes the “omnipresence” of vessels of different shapes and sizes in the Etruscan funeral, serving as containers for oil and water for the preparation of the body for burial.<sup>42</sup> In cases of cremation, vessels could even be used to hold the remains of the body itself.<sup>43</sup> Similar to Shipley, Bundrick claims that the public procession and

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<sup>36</sup> Bundrick, *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, 13.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>39</sup> Lucy Shipley, *The Etruscans*, Reaktion Books: London (2017): 172.

<sup>40</sup> Shipley, *The Etruscans*, 172.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>42</sup> Bundrick, *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, 66.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.



laying out of the body would have foregrounded these images in the spectacle, and served as “pictorial commentary” on the deceased and the funeral.<sup>44</sup>

Regarding the vessels found in Greece, these largely date to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE and show a preference for white-ground lekythoi. In 1991, Alan Shapiro observed that white-ground lekythoi were used exclusively for funerary purposes between 470 and 460 BCE, coinciding with the implementation of public funerals for the dead during and after the Persian Wars (490–465 BCE).<sup>45</sup> He argues that the popularity of smaller vessels for tombs indicated the want or need to “privatize” or personalize the funeral in reaction to their newly public nature.<sup>46</sup> From the 460’s BCE to the end of the century, Shapiro claims white-ground lekythoi were used as a “form of personal communication and communion” between the living and the dead.<sup>47</sup> Shapiro also addresses the ability of white-ground lekythoi to reflect the changing social role of women at funerals in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. As will be discussed further below, women executed important work preparing the body for burial, and with the institution of public funerals for the war dead that role was taken from them.<sup>48</sup> Shapiro frames the popularity of white-ground lekythoi in 5<sup>th</sup>-century BCE Athens as a reaction to this social change, allowing for family members, particularly women, to maintain some agency and privacy in the commemoration of their dead.

### *Gems*

In addition to scenes on Attic vases, depictions of and relating to Ajax’s removal of the body of Achilles can also be seen on engraved Greek gems from the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE. A 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE carnelian scarab in the British Museum (Figure 17) thought to be from Etruria

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<sup>44</sup> Bundrick, *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, 66.

<sup>45</sup> Alan H. Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 95, no. 4 (1991): 648.

<sup>46</sup> Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art,” 649.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 653.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 654.

shows an armored figure lifting the limp body of a naked man. While there are no labels engraved alongside the image, the scene type immediately recalls that of Ajax and Achilles on the *François Vase*, with Ajax' swirled breastplate and the uniform curls of the warriors' hair falling from their shoulders. A stylistically similar scene on a 5th century BCE scarab found in Etruria and now in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (Figure 18) is accompanied by labels that confirm the figures' identities as Ajax and Achilles. In this scene, the two warriors are also accompanied by a small, seemingly winged, figure that leads their way, perhaps meant to represent the spirit of Achilles as seen on the obverse side of the Diosphos Painter amphora (see Figure 11). There are also known examples of figures carrying the war dead that diverge from the above types, such as that carved on an unprovenanced 5th century BCE onyx scarab in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Figure 19). This intaglio shows a nude man holding the limp body of another male figure, who has a spear still embedded in his stomach. This image, which does not recall any known depictions of Ajax and Achilles in vase painting, perhaps demonstrates interest in the subject of the war dead beyond mythology.

Depictions of Thanatos and Hypnos with the bodies of the dead in glyptic art are uncommon, but not entirely unknown. It may not have been a preferable subject considering the size restrictions of the decorative field and the number of figures involved. On an unprovenanced carnelian scarab from the early 5th century BCE, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, two winged figures can be seen lifting the body of a youth, whose legs and arms fall towards the ground (Figure 20). The clothed winged figure appears to be female, while the naked figure is male. Although the dead figure is identified as a "warrior" in the object's museum label, there does not seem to be any armor or weapons to indicate his status as a fighter.<sup>49</sup> Rather, this

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<sup>49</sup> "Scarab with two winged figures carrying the body of a dead warrior," MFA Boston: Online Collections.

attribution seems to be based on the figure's circumstantial similarities to the heroic warrior Sarpedon.

As argued by John Boardman in *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (2001), in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, seals and engraved gems served a variety of purposes from personal mementos, to functional tools for marking ownership. Scarabs and scaraboid gems could have been set into rings, but larger stones were more likely set into hoops that would then be worn around the neck or wrist.<sup>50</sup> Evidence suggests that both men and women owned such items, although men seemingly would have been more likely to use them as seals to mark ownership, and women more likely used them as a type of adornment as women could not own property.<sup>51</sup> More recently, studies of seal stones by Verity Platt and Emily S. K. Anderson have attended to the objects' social and personal aspects, emphasizing the physical connection between the owner and the object and the inherent reproducibility of each stone's image through impression.<sup>52</sup> In a discussion of seals and seal impressions in late Prepalatial Crete, Anderson determines that seals and impressions were "distinct material reality[ies] embedded in (and often traveling between) particular lived contexts," maintaining their own distinct identities as well as being "intimately connected to the humans who used them."<sup>53</sup> Platt reviews the significance of the functionality of Greco-Roman sealstones, detailing their social use as a means to create images not only for the owner, but for the social world at large.<sup>54</sup> Anderson's account of the early socio-cultural use of

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<sup>50</sup> John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*, 2nd ed., Thames and Hudson, London (2001): 237.

<sup>51</sup> Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 236.

<sup>52</sup> Emily S. K. Anderson "A sense of stone and clay: the inter-corporeal disposition of Minoan glyptic" in: *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, ed. Megan Cifarelli, Oxbow Books, UK (2019): 203–218., Emily S. K. Anderson "Reembodying Identity: Seals and Seal Impressions as Agents of Social Change on Late Prepalatial Crete," in: *Agency in Writing*, ed. Joshua Englehardt, University Press of Colorado, CO (2013): 115–138, and Verity Platt, "Making an Impression: Replication and the Ontology of the Graeco-Roman Seal Stone," *Art History*, vol. 29, no. 2, Oxford University Press, UK (2006): 233–257.

<sup>53</sup> Anderson, "A sense of stone and clay: the inter-corporeal disposition of Minoan glyptic," 116–117.

<sup>54</sup> Platt, "Making an Impression."

the sealstone reveals the personal and social aspects of the image that will be explored further below. Her conclusions on the use of sealstones are echoed by Platt's interpretations of later Greco-Roman sealstones, demonstrating the consistent functionality of the objects through time. Although we may not be able to identify the specific person to whom each gem belonged, or even the context in which each was found, the physical properties of the objects reveal important information about how such gems were used.

### III. Treatment of the War Dead in Mythological and Historical Context

#### *Mythological Context: The War Dead in Tragic and Epic Stories*

In the *Iliad*, likely written down in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE but publicly recited, along with the *Odyssey*, well into the Classical period during events such as the Panathenaia<sup>55</sup>, a good burial for the war dead is an essential plot point of the story. Homer makes it clear on numerous occasions that the war dead, heroic or otherwise, were never guaranteed proper treatment or burial. Following a description of battle in *Iliad* book four, Homer notes that “on that day many men of the Trojans and Achaeans [Greeks] lay sprawled next to each other, face down in the dust.”<sup>56</sup> This nameless mass is used to emphasize the devastation of battle and the fundamental human inability to prevent the loss of life. Homer's description of Hector's treatment post-death offers a more specific account of abuse and mutilation. After stripping Hector naked, Achilles is surrounded by his fellow Greeks, and “not one of the bystanders failed to wound [stab] him [Hector].”<sup>57</sup> Achilles himself, Homer describes, “devised shameful treatment” for Hector's

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<sup>55</sup> See Meineck and Konstan (2014).

<sup>56</sup> Translated by Anthony Verity. *Il.* 4.543–4.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* *Il.* 22.371.

corpse, piercing his ankles and threading leather straps through the holes, tying his body to his chariot, and finally dragging the body around the city of Troy for all to see.<sup>58</sup>

Also in the Classical period, Achilles' own death and removal from the battlefield at Troy are thought to have been detailed in Aeschylus' *Achilleis* trilogy, which is lost. The literary sources that do survive indicate the profound socio-emotional impact of Achilles' death on Ajax and the Greek host. In book twenty-four of Homer's *Odyssey*, for example, Agamemnon recounts Achilles' death and funeral. He says: "we bore you [Achilles] out of fighting,"<sup>59</sup> and "for seventeen days unbroken, days and nights, we mourned you— immortal gods and mortal men."<sup>60</sup> In his *Ajax* (composed, like the *Achilleis* trilogy, in the 5th century BCE), Sophocles likewise documents the mental toil that Ajax experienced following the death of Achilles and his loss of Achilles' armor to Odysseus – events that led to his suicide.

While this scene is the effective end of Achilles' story, it is the catalyst for the tragic narrative of the suicide of Ajax as told by Sophocles. Therefore, this particular scene in which a warrior is removed from the battlefield evokes the larger story and sacrifice of Achilles in the Trojan War and the tragic socio-emotional implications of trauma and loss as experienced by Ajax. For viewers with knowledge of these larger narratives (both in Greece and also in Etruria, where Greek culture was avidly consumed), the tragic implications of Ajax removing Achilles from the battlefield would be clear. These images would thus prompt viewers to recall the entirety of Achilles' heroic narrative (particularly when the scene is situated among other scenes of Achilles' life as on the *François Vase* – see Figure 1), and to see even more of their own experiences within it.

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<sup>58</sup> Translated by Anthony Verity. *Il.* 22.394–398.

<sup>59</sup> Translated by Robert Fagles, ed. Bernard Knox, Penguin Books, NY (2006). *Od.* 24.46.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* *Od.* 24.68–9.

Similarly, the death of Sarpedon marks a turning point in the conflict of the Trojan War, setting in motion the events of Patroclus' death and Achilles' revenge against Hector.<sup>61</sup> Contrary to the death of Hector, the death of Sarpedon in book sixteen of the *Iliad* represents an ideal heroic death. His body is removed from the battlefield at request of the gods, rescued from certain mutilation and abuse, and delivered to a proper burial and funeral, allowing for everlasting glory.<sup>62</sup> Hera requests that following his death, Zeus "send Death [Thanatos] and sweet Sleep [Hypnos] to carry him away until they come to the land of broad Lycia, and there his brothers and kinsmen will give him proper funerary rites, with grave-mound and pillar, which is the privilege of the dead."<sup>63</sup> Despite this proclamation, however, Sarpedon's body still did not completely avoid mistreatment; following his death "Patroclus planted his foot on his [Sarpedon's] chest, and wrenched the spear from his flesh, and the midriff came with it."<sup>64</sup> Importantly, Sarpedon's treatment after death in the *Iliad* is in stark contrast to the treatment of the dead of the Persian and also Peloponnesian Wars, the events of which are discussed further below. While Sarpedon is not spared profound and fatal wounds at the hands of Patroclus, the gods ensure that his body is swiftly returned, intact, to his family in Lycia.<sup>65</sup> There, they are able to "give him proper funerary rites, with a grave-mound and pillar, which is the privilege of the dead."<sup>66</sup> Sarpedon is not returned to his family in a labeled cinerary urn, rather his body is presented by Thanatos and Hypnos for the family to tend to and care for in death.

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<sup>61</sup> Spivey, *The Sarpedon Krater*, 111.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>63</sup> Translated by Anthony Verity. *Il.* 16.453–457. Notably, the mythological backgrounds of Thanatos and Hypnos are also documented in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The twin sons of Nyx (Night), Thanatos and Hypnos are described as "terrible gods; never does the bright Sun look upon them with his rays" (Translated and ed. by Glenn W. Most, Loeb Classical Library 57, Harvard University Press, MA (2018), *Theog.* 758). Thanatos in particular seems to invoke fear, described as having a "temper of iron" and a "pitiless" heart" (Ibid. *Theog.* 763–4). Despite this characterization, Thanatos is more commonly associated with "good" or honorable deaths, such as Sarpedon's, whereas the Keres (female death spirits) are associated with "bad" deaths, such as those resulting from murder or plague.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. *Il.* 16.503–504.

<sup>65</sup> Translated by Anthony Verity. *Il.* 16.453.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. *Il.* 16.454–457.

What is also notable is the difference between the description of the treatment of Sarpedon's body in the *Iliad* and its depiction in art. In his 2019 book, *The Sarpedon Krater*, Nigel Spivey pointed out that while Homer describes the mutilation of Sarpedon's body in the *Iliad*, ancient artists, including Euphronios, often choose to maintain Sarpedon's heroic form, even when including his wounds.<sup>67</sup> To explain this heroic depiction of Sarpedon in art (versus the literary description of gore), Spivey argues that: "The krater showed an exemplary way to live. It was exemplary, too, of how to die: and that was a message it delivered far beyond Athens in the later sixth century BCE."<sup>68</sup> To add to Spivey's argument, it is important to note that Sarpedon's story is the catalyst for the deaths of both Patroclus and Hector, as Hector seeks revenge for Sarpedon's death and subsequently murders Patroclus, leading to the rage of Achilles and Hector's brutal murder.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the invocation of Sarpedon's story not only reminds the audience of his heroic death, but of the many deaths to come.

The wartime experiences of women in these mythological narratives are drawn out in Bridges' *Warrior Wives*. As noted above, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, first performed in 458 BCE, emphasized the "enduring grief felt by the families of fallen warriors,"<sup>70</sup> who receive "in the place of men, urns and ashes."<sup>71</sup> In a discussion of Andromache's grief at Hector's death in the *Iliad*, Bridges concludes that: "While Andromache's grief as a widow of Hector is the most fully drawn in the poem, even these brief obituaries remind the audience that hers is merely one among many such agonizing bereavements."<sup>72</sup> Likewise, Lisa Kallet (whose work is discussed further below) points out that Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (411 BCE) similarly emphasized the

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<sup>67</sup> Spivey, *The Sarpedon Krater*, 121.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>70</sup> Bridges, *Warriors' Wives*, 55.

<sup>71</sup> Bridges, *Warriors' Wives*, 55, citing *Agamemnon*, 434–36.

<sup>72</sup> Bridges, *Warriors' Wives*, 38.

socio-emotional toil experienced by women who lose their sons and husbands to war.<sup>73</sup> While women would not have had the opportunity to view public performances of these narratives, and all surviving narratives are written by men, the stories nonetheless speak to their experiences as ones who lost loved ones in combat.

### *Historical Context: The War Dead in Historical Sources*

War is almost always a case of “too many dead” as defined by Robert Kastenbaum in his 2004 book, *On Our Way: The Final Passage Through Life and Death*. Under these circumstances, “caring for the dead,” he argues, “must compete with the survival of the living.”<sup>74</sup> As described in 2001 by Robert Garland in *The Greek Way of Death*, for the average Athenian in the 5th century BCE, a “good” death extended to the burial: including laying out of the body (*prothesis*), the journey to the tomb (*ekphora*), and finally the deposition of the body or cremated remains into the tomb.<sup>75</sup> Interment and the execution of the funerary rites were largely the responsibility of the immediate family of the deceased, particularly the female members of the family, as noted above.<sup>76</sup> What constituted a “good” death for the war dead, on the other hand, was less prescriptive. As argued by Nikolas Dimakis, in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, increasing conflict paired with an expanded naval capacity and increased overseas conflict made the safe return of war dead to their families increasingly difficult and/or unlikely. In Greece, by the Archaic period, victors of battle would either allow for the enemy to make their own arrangements for the dead, or to bury the enemy dead themselves.<sup>77</sup> However, historical literary

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<sup>73</sup> Kallet, “War, Plague, and Politics in Athens in the 420’s B.C.,” 112.

<sup>74</sup> Robert Kastenbaum, “Too Many Dead: The Plague and Other Mass Deaths,” in *On our way: The final passage through life and death*, University of California Press, CA (2004): 221.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 2nd ed., Cornell University Press, NY (2001): 21.

<sup>76</sup> Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 104.

<sup>77</sup> Nikolas Dimakis, “Ancient Greek Deathscapes,” *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, Penn State University Press (2015): 32.



and archaeological evidence make it clear that this was not always the case. Following the battle of Thermopylae in 480 BCE, for example, there were reportedly no Spartans left to bury their dead, and the Persians had little interest in commemorating their fallen enemies through burial. It was not until forty years later, as reported by Pausanias, that the bones of the dead from Thermopylae were properly buried.<sup>78</sup> Garland argues that in the event of victory, unless combat occurred close to the city walls (which became increasingly unlikely as Athens expanded its maritime power in the 5th century BCE), it was common for the war dead to be returned to their families in labeled cinerary urns, as transporting the bodies for inhumation would have taken considerable time and effort, especially in the case of high casualties.<sup>79</sup> Returning remains to families in this manner robbed them of their ability (and responsibility) to care for the bodies of the dead.

Such treatments, however, do not imply that the war dead were not respected or honored in ancient Greece. In fact, the reverse is likely true. In the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Thucydides' account of events following the first year of the Peloponnesian War (431 BCE) makes this clear. In his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides describes the *prothesis* and the participation of the war dead's female relatives in the mourning rituals, as well as Pericles' famous funeral oration for the fallen (discussed further below).<sup>80</sup> While a public funeral and state burial were certainly honorable in Athens in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, such actions do not appear to be aligned with the previously defined "good" death for ancient Athenians. Kastenbaum, for example, observes that "Traditional and contemporary responses to a death usually do have one thing in common that is so obvious it is seldom remarked upon: the dead are

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<sup>78</sup> Poly Law, "The power of the dead in classical Sparta: The case of Thermopylae," in *Living Through the Dead: Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World*, Oxbow Books, UK (2011): 3–5.

<sup>79</sup> Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 92.

<sup>80</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 35–46.

most often escorted on their way one at a time.”<sup>81</sup> As called out by Garland, in Thucydides’ account of the *prothesis* commemorating the dead fallen during the first year of the Peloponnesian War, he reports that the ceremony took three times the normal amount of time to accommodate the vast number of dead.<sup>82</sup> Although the female family members of the war dead were granted the right to mourn as a part of the funeral ceremony, it was not guaranteed that there were bodies or even identifiable remains to mourn over. Additionally, the massive scale of death left little time or space for individual commemoration<sup>83</sup>.

Kallet and John H. Oakley both emphasize the effect of the Peloponnesian War on women, children, and the family unit in their chapters in the 2009 volume, *Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War*, edited by Olga Palagia. Kallet addresses the fact that the female relatives of the dead were usually responsible for completing the proper funerary rituals, and a public funeral limits the potential for that participation. This topic was also addressed in theater, as Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* (411 BCE) emphasizes the socio-emotional toil experienced by women who lose their sons and husbands to war.<sup>84</sup> In Oakley’s investigation of depictions of children on funerary vessels, he similarly focuses on the effect of losing a father or husband. Oakley cites Greta Ham’s 1999 estimate, based on the scarce numerical information provided by Thucydides, that between 430 and 426 BCE, Athens lost up to a third of its male population.<sup>85</sup> Pericles’ funeral oration also expresses concern for children who lost their fathers, making it clear it was an established concern of war: “as for those of you here who are sons or brothers of the dead, I can see a hard struggle in front of you.”<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Kastenbaum, “Too Many Dead: The Plague and Other Mass Deaths,” 218.

<sup>82</sup> Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 89–90, referencing Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 35–46.

<sup>83</sup> See Kastenbaum (2004).

<sup>84</sup> Kallet, “War, Plague, and Politics in Athens in the 420’s B.C.,” 112.

<sup>85</sup> John H. Oakley, “Children in Athenian Funerary Art During the Peloponnesian War,” 207.

<sup>86</sup> Translated by Rex Warner, edited by M. I. Finley, Penguin Books, NY (1954), *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.45.1–2.

Although the number of deaths cannot compare to those of modern warfare, in his 1989 book, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, Victor Davis Hanson emphasizes the fact that “Since armies in the Classical period were not large by modern standards, it was likely that each man knew the members of his tribal contingent, if not the members of the entire phalanx.”<sup>87</sup> Hanson also observes that “In the fifth and fourth centuries, battle broke out in the Greek world nearly two out of every three years, so the chances were good that a man would have to leave his farm, take up his arms, and fight.”<sup>88</sup> In the same volume, Hanson also details the relationship between hoplite fighters in Greece in the 5th century BCE, identifying familial, tribal, and romantic relationships between warriors that drove their will to fight the enemy. Hanson emphasizes the close camaraderie that was necessary for Hoplite fighters in the ancient world who would have gone into battle with men from their immediate community. Rather than fighting for the political goals of the war, Hanson argues that ancient warriors “went into battle for the man of the left and right, front and back, brother, cousin, father, son.”<sup>89</sup> The motivation to fight for one’s fellow warrior could come from a desire to protect another, or fear of “the shame of playing the coward before their eyes.”<sup>90</sup> In relation to fallen warriors, Hanson also explains the difficulty in removing a dead hoplite warrior from the battlefield as it is shown in art. Clad in full armor, a hoplite likely weighed close to two-hundred pounds, and the chaos and threat of violence on the battlefield would have made it extremely difficult for a warrior to carry the wounded or deceased to safety.<sup>91</sup> This means that images of

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<sup>87</sup> Spivey, *The Sarpedon Krater*, 123.

<sup>88</sup> Victor Davis Hanson, *The Western Way of War: Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, Alfred A. Knopf, NY (1989): 31. These conflicts included the Greco-Punic, Greco-Persian, Peloponnesian, and Corinthian wars, stretching from the late 7th to the beginning of the 4th century BCE.

<sup>89</sup> Hanson, *The Western Way of War*, 26.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 172–175.

Ajax with the body of a fully armed Achilles not only depict a heroic mythological scene, but a near impossible feat of bravery and strength.

Returning to Pericles' funeral oration, both Garland and Bosworth point out that little recognition is given to individual achievement for the war dead.<sup>92</sup> Pericles says: "I could tell you a long story (and you know it as well as I do) about what is to be gained by beating the enemy back. What I would prefer is that you should fix your eyes every day on the greatness of Athens as she really is, and should fall in love with her."<sup>93</sup> In failing to address any individual action by an individual soldier, these words signal the contribution of the collective dead as it pertained to the welfare of the *polis* in 5<sup>th</sup>-century Athens. As Bosworth explains, Thucydides makes clear that the casualties of the war were vast in number, but he was "disinterested" in the exact death count, framing the numerous deaths as "necessary background to the dramatic picture of slaughter."<sup>94</sup> Garland also adds that casualties of war were often buried at the *Demosion Sema*, the public burial ground of Athens, as acknowledged after 464 BCE on inscribed casualty lists.<sup>95</sup> Although this burial came with honor and public recognition, it strictly limited the family's involvement in the burial and later commemoration of their loved ones in family or tribe burial plots.<sup>96</sup>

As indicated by the above evidence, textual accounts of Greek historical events facilitate the forging of links between Greeks and the war dead in the Archaic and Classical periods, and help to explain why Greeks would have been inclined to react to visual images of the transport of fallen warriors. The same links are more difficult to draw for the Etruscans owing to a lack of textual sources. Critically, however, the accounts we possess from Herodotus and Livy indicate

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<sup>92</sup> Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, and Bosworth, "Thucydides and the Unheroic Dead."

<sup>93</sup> Translated by Rex Warner, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 2.43.

<sup>94</sup> Brian Bosworth, "Thucydides and the Unheroic Dead," in *Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Olga Palagia, Cambridge University Press, UK (2009): 170–2.

<sup>95</sup> Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, 91.

<sup>96</sup> Kallet, "War, Plague, and Politics in Athens in the 420's B.C.," 112.

that beginning in the late 6th c. BCE, the Etruscans and the Romans were in near constant conflict, creating an environment receptive to military scenes.<sup>97</sup> Further, Shapiro has offered useful commentary about the relevance of Greek wars on the subject matter shown on Attic exports. Specifically, he argues that images of war on Attic vessels could have served as an Etruscan “reflection on Greek identity and acts of hubris,” reinforcing Etruscan ideas of Greekness.<sup>98</sup> This argument corroborates the research of other scholars such as Buxton, who argue that these narrative types would have been preferred subjects for those who could relate to such circumstances. Etruscans, it would seem, were selecting and depositing objects with themes like the removal of the dead because they were meaningful – reflecting Greek stories that they had heard or ideas with which they were intimately familiar. I would suggest that images of the war dead on Attic vessels may have been chosen for Etruscan tombs for their ability to comment on the “masculine ideal,” which Buxton argues is “rooted in warrior ideology,” and, I would argue, exemplified by the depictions of the aforementioned myths of Achilles, Ajax, and Sarpedon.<sup>99</sup>

#### IV. The Visual Arts as Catharsis: Narratives, Contexts, and Psychology

Crucially, mythological narratives and scenes describing and depicting the removal of the war dead from the battlefield hinge on the close relationships between warriors or the warrior and their loved ones. As indicated above, most individuals who lived in Archaic and Classical Greece and Etruria would have been more than familiar with the experience of war, whether they were actively fighting or simply witnesses, deepening their understanding of visual narratives depicting military themes. Armed with this knowledge, soldiers and their families would have

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<sup>97</sup> Shipley, *The Etruscans*, 8, with reference to Herodotus’ *Histories* and the books of Livy’s *Ad Urbe Condita*.

<sup>98</sup> Buxton, *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, 17.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

understood the socio-emotional implications of the circumstances of the characters that they encountered in the visual arts.

To understand this impact through an ancient philosophical lens, Aristotle's *Poetics* (ca. 335 BCE) can offer some insight into how tragic stories functioned within the ancient Greek world. On the arts at large, Aristotle states that: "Representation comes naturally to human beings from childhood, and so does the universal pleasure in representations."<sup>100</sup> Regarding plays, Aristotle argues that tragedies are more powerful because of the emotion that they display; a plot that evokes fear and pity "is more fundamental and the mark of a better poet."<sup>101</sup> The same work also emphasizes the significance of the plot over the morality of the characters, saying: "The point is action, but not character; it is their moral status that gives people the character that they have, but it is their actions that make them happy or unhappy."<sup>102</sup> This emphasis on the narrative is echoed later in Aristotle's claim that: "The poet's job is to use representation to make us enjoy the tragic emotions of pity and fear, and this has to be built into his plots."<sup>103</sup> Such themes, he importantly admits, can also be represented in the visual arts.<sup>104</sup> Ultimately, Aristotle argues, the goal of tragic narratives was to "effect, through pity and fear, the purification of such emotions."<sup>105</sup>

Although *Poetics* was written one to two centuries after the objects discussed here, it provides an ancient, emic model by which to understand Greek engagement with tragic scenes as represented in the visual arts. While Aristotle's discussion focuses on tragic poetry, his theories are rooted in the representation of the narrative, which was understood to bring to the surface underlying emotions. As such, by integrating these ideas with the visual and contextual evidence

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<sup>100</sup> Translated by Anthony Kenny, Oxford University Press, UK (2013), *Poetics*, 1448b.5–7.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. *Poetics*, 1453b.1–3.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 1450a.17–20.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 1453b.11–13.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 1448b.14–17.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 1449b.27–28.

presented above a compelling case can be made for their utility as objects of catharsis. Specifically, I will argue that this occurred in one of three ways depending on the object's context and use: by providing an artistic substitution for reality, by provoking conversation to assist in bereavement, or by serving as a token of memory. Each of these functions returns to ideas about the communalization of emotion and trauma emphasized in the work of Shay and others, and, in the absence of clear historical information for the Etruscans, assumes a degree of commonality in the utilities of such objects in Etruria and Greece given their (frequently) shared deposition in tombs, shared experiences of war (Etruria with Rome and Greece internally), and the shared modes of physical interaction that such scenes, on vessels and gems, afford.

#### *Artistic Substitutions for Reality*

Based on the above evidence, scenes of removal of the fallen from the battlefield may have aided in catharsis via their artistic enactments of a “good death,” inclusive of a “good burial.” Because depictions of the war dead in art may not have been the reality for the families of ancient warriors, the representation of a loved one, particularly a soldier, carried by Thanatos and Hypnos, could have served as an invocation of Sarpedon's heroic death and rescue – reconciling a violent death in battle by honoring the dead and invoking a personal burial that would have been impossible for many families of the war dead in the 5th c. BCE. It was perhaps through art that such families were able to provide their loved ones with a “good death,” providing a touchstone for families in need of assurance that their own loved ones had been well treated, in the manner of Sarpedon.

In Athens in particular, images of Thanatos and Hypnos carrying a body on funerary lekythoi could have acted specifically as pictorial substitutions for the burials of those who

returned from battle in cinerary urns, or who were unable to be recovered at all, providing them with a visual representation of a “good death” in lieu of a physical one. Such opportunities help explain why the loved ones of the deceased would have chosen this scene of the removal of the war dead to commemorate their loved ones over scenes that showed warriors alive and well. In the case of Sarpedon, his death in battle far from his homeland of Lycia, also echoes the reality of soldiers (including, but not limited to those who fought in the Peloponnesian War). His treatment post-death may thus be a reflection of what the family of fallen warriors would want for their own dead who died abroad.

### *Opportunities for Conversation*

Another reason for the selection of objects with depictions of the removal of the war dead may have been the opportunities for catharsis that they provided by providing opportunities for conversation during the funeral. In his 1991 article, Shapiro alluded to this potential in his examination of depictions of death and funerary rituals on Attic white-ground lekythoi, the utility of which he connected to the institution of the public funeral for the war dead.<sup>106</sup> Despite the fact that the “mythologizing” of death, such as depictions including Thanatos and Hypnos, are relatively rare themes on these vessels, Shapiro argued that they were nonetheless “a form of personal communication and communion between surviving family and the loved one into whose tomb they were placed.”<sup>107</sup>

Importantly, communication and communion are key steps in the communalization of trauma, as detailed by Shay. Therefore, the images on Attic vessels found in tombs could have served to facilitate catharsis by provoking conversation and communion among loved ones,

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<sup>106</sup> Shapiro, “The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art,” 648.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 653.



which may have included other veterans. For the latter group, for example, the removal of Achilles from the battlefield by Ajax might have prompted discussion of the close relationships that occur between soldiers in times of war. In Etruria specifically, this cathartic effect might have been facilitated by narratives and other forms of theatrical performance as identified by Shipley.<sup>108</sup> Notably, the cathartic role of such verbal components of the funeral also helps explain the popularity of scenes of war in Etruscan tomb assemblages across different vase shapes. Bundrick notes that the sparse examples of complete Etruscan tomb assemblages that have been scientifically excavated and documented, such as one in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri, reveal groupings of vessels unified by theme rather than shape or size.<sup>109</sup> A group of vessels showing scenes of war and heroism, such as those discussed here, would be an appropriate choice for the funeral of a warrior or well-respected individual in Etruria, recalling the masculine and heroic ideal for the deceased, reconciling the grief of the family, and communicating a message about the dead to the public.

In Athenian contexts, Shapiro's analysis also calls attention to the role of women in funerary rituals and their possible relationship with the iconography of these objects.<sup>110</sup> As noted above, with the institution of the public funeral for the war dead in the early 5th century BCE, the female members of the deceased's family lost the opportunity to care for their dead in the traditional manner.<sup>111</sup> As a result, Shapiro argues that "White lekythoi became the only outlet for expressing more personal feelings and for reassuring the dead that their tombs will be well looked after."<sup>112</sup> For women, then, the experience of their social and emotional distress upon the

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<sup>108</sup> Shipley, *The Etruscans*, 172.

<sup>109</sup> Bundrick, *Athens, Etruria, and the Many Lives of Greek Figured Pottery*, 74.

<sup>110</sup> Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," 646.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 646.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 655.

death of their male family members could be communicated and shared during their performances of funerary rites, such as pouring libations and placing offerings.

### *Tokens of Memory*

A final way that scenes of the removal of the war dead may have aided in catharsis is as tokens of memory. This interpretation is especially relevant for gems. Like pottery handled at funerals, gems certainly offered opportunities for personal reflection. This is complicated, however, by the lack of contextual information for these objects. It is still possible, however, to draw some broad conclusions based on their physical attributes and what has been argued already about their functionality. As Boardman observed, beginning in the Archaic period, a wider range of narrative subjects appeared on engraved gems,<sup>113</sup> and that artists were seemingly less concerned with decoration and more interested in “the idea of a personal blazon, whether or not the owner is identified by inscription.”<sup>114</sup> This concept of gems as “personal” items prompts new thinking about why individuals chose the motif of removal of the war dead for an image.

As Platt observes, “we may assume that personal tastes, interest and relationships played at least some part in the purchase or receipt of an intaglio or engraved ring, particularly when gifted or inherited.”<sup>115</sup> Perhaps significant here is the generic nature of figured gems. As noted above, labels for the figures in glyptic art are rare, providing more room for individuals to overlay their own interpretations of, and identifications with, the figures shown.<sup>116</sup> Significant also is the visibility of seals, and their role in the reproduction of images. As discussed by Platt for gems used as seals, reproducing the image countless times would solidify the identity of the

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<sup>113</sup> Boardman, 140–42.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>115</sup> Platt, “Making an Impression,” 241.

<sup>116</sup> Mark Stansbury-O’Donnell, “Meaning,” in *Looking at Greek Art*, Cambridge University Press: New York (2011) 57–107.

owner and socialize their personal message through the image, which may have been meant to highlight one's own service, the sacrifice of a loved one, or simply the tragic consequences of war.<sup>117</sup> Platt also notes the significance of the ease by which an impression is made using a seal, emphasizing that the creative act of stamping a new image using an intaglio would further connect the owner with the object and its imagery.<sup>118</sup> Certainly, such images of war would have had an emotional connection on a wide range of people, including veterans of combat, family members of those lost, or even the descendants of historic heroes of war. In her discussion of Greek Bronze Age sealstones, Anderson comments on the rise of recognizable imagery rather than inscriptions, arguing that the pictorial option would allow for a much wider range of understanding.

When seals were not used to make impressions, a different functionality can be imagined. This is particularly relevant for women, who, Boardman argued, used gems predominantly as adornments. From the Bronze age through the Classical era, gems that were worn on the body (as rings or tied to the wrist or neck), could not only be a constant reminder of war, but an opportunity to engage with these images on a much more personal level. Anderson details the “fundamentally interactive process,” that was required to wear and use early sealstones – processes that were later transmuted onto Archaic and Classical gems.<sup>119</sup> Small enough to hold in the hand, gems required the ancient viewer to get close to see the image, and they constantly interacted physically with the wearer/owner's body. Anderson argues that these traits formed a more intimate interaction between the object and the image, allowing gems to serve as personal tokens in addition to promoters of a social-facing message.<sup>120</sup> For gems with images of the

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<sup>117</sup> Platt, “Making an Impression,” 234.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>119</sup> Anderson, “Reembodying Identity,” 118.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

removal of the war dead, such tokens would have proved vivid reminders of the fallen for the wearer.

## V. Conclusion

The study presented here serves as a test case for a field of ancient art-historical inquiry that has yet to be sufficiently explored. Work by scholars such as Shay, Doerries, and Bridges provide a robust foundation for how to think about images of war as viewed through the eyes of individuals who personally experienced its traumas, inclusive of men, women, and children, and to explore their potential for objects consumed in Greece and Etruria in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. By placing objects that show such images in their proper context(s) and considering their physical and emotional properties, it is possible to ask further questions of ancient receptions of the traumas of war and how they might be alleviated.

The iconographic focus of this analysis, namely, images of the war dead being removed from the battlefield, is but one of many topics that benefits from close re-analysis. Mythological narratives of war, trauma, and death are common throughout ancient art, and there is potential for further insight into the function of these themes if their depictions are framed as a reaction and remedy to the social stresses of their respective time periods and historical and personal circumstances. As I have concluded, scenes on vessels used in social contexts such as funerals could have provoked meaningful and cathartic discussion between ancient individuals and groups, for whom the threat of death in battle loomed large in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE. For vessels used in funerary contexts in particular, images of the removal of the war dead may have elicited a specific type of healing from grief and a consolation for the lack of participation in a loved one's death and burial in order to, in the words of Shapiro, "blunt the pain of grief."<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Shapiro, "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art," 650.

Simultaneously, they may have facilitated expressions of grief by promoting conversation about tragic topics. In the case of gems, their potential to provoke conversation was enhanced by their ability to construct a highly personal relationship with the memory of the deceased. By impressing the image, the user could also share the memory of another's or one's own service, while the copied image itself might provoke conversation in a similar manner as funerary vessels. Whether the image was shared, or kept as a personal memento, the gem would be worn close to the body and shared an intimate physical, and likely emotional, connection with its owner.

To close, it is worth returning to the documented benefit of ancient narratives for modern viewers, especially those who can relate to the experiences of the mythological characters, as demonstrated by Shay, Doerries, and Bridges. Doerries' work with *Theater of War* in particular reveals the rich potential of ancient martial narratives that is exposed when they are viewed by those who have experienced the same traumas in the modern world. Projects such as *Theater of War*, however, require considerable time and resources to produce, and operate, by necessity, on a restricted schedule and in limited venues. Images of tragic military narratives in art, on the other hand, are more readily accessible through museums and online collections. If these narratives can provide catharsis to ancient viewers, it is worth exploring further the ways in which such images might benefit contemporary audiences, and how we, as scholars, might best present them to achieve this goal.

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VII. Figures<sup>122</sup>

Figure 1: *The François Vase*, 570–560 BCE, Attic volute krater, attributed to Kleitias and Ergotimos, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Italy (4209), BAPD#: 300000, found in an Etruscan tomb in the necropolis of Fonte Rotella, Chiusi, Italy. H: 66 cm.

Image Credit: “François Vase,” World History Encyclopedia, 25 December, 2012,

<https://www.worldhistory.org/image/997/ajax-and-achilles-francois-vase/>

Figure 2: *Ajax Carries the Body of Achilles*, 540 BCE, Attic black-figure amphora, attributed to Exekias, State Collection of Antiquities, Munich, Germany (1470), BAPD#: 310388, found in Vulci, Italy. H: 42 cm.

Image Credit: “Munich 1470 (Vase),” Perseus Digital Library,

<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Munich+1470&object=Vase>

Figure 3: *Amphora with Ajax Carrying the Dead Achilles*, 530–510 BCE, Attic black-figure amphora, attributed to the Antimenos Painter, Walters Art Museum, MD (48.17), BAPD#: 320081. H: 38.1 cm.

Image Credit: “Amphora with Ajax Carrying the Dead Achilles,” Walters Art Museum: Online

Collection, <https://art.thewalters.org/object/48.17/>

Figure 4: *Terracotta Neck-Amphora*, 520 BCE, Attic black-figure amphora, attributed to the Antimenos Painter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY (56.171.20), BAPD#: 320063. H: 36.3 cm.

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<sup>122</sup> For Figures 1–16, “BAPD#” refers to the vase number assigned in the online “Beazley Archive Pottery Database,” hosted by the University of Oxford: <https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery>.

Image Credit: “Terracotta neck-amphora (jar),” The MET: The Collection,

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254878>

Figure 5: *Black-Figure Hydria with Achilles and Penthesilea*, 510–500 BCE, Attic black-figure hydria, attributed to the Leagros Group, British Museum, London (1836,0224.128), BAPD#: 302028, found in Vulci, Italy. H: 51.5 cm.

Image Credit: “Hydria,” British Museum: Collection,

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1836-0224-128](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1836-0224-128)

Figure 6: *Black-Figure Lekythos with Achilles and Ajax*, 525–475 BCE, Attic black-figure lekythos, National Archaeological Museum of Taranto, Italy (52195), BAPD#: 13890, found in Taranto, Italy.

Image Credit: “13890, ATHENIAN, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 52195,”

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Figure 7: *Black-Figure Oinochoe with Ajax and Achilles*, 525–475 BCE, Attic black-figure oinochoe, National Archaeological Museum of Naples, Italy (SP253), BAPD#: 9030831.

Image Credit: “9030831, ATHENIAN, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Spinelli, 164164,” University of Oxford, Classical Art Research Centre,

<https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetailsLarge.asp?recordCount=1&id={68EB7FC4-6E69-4FB1-964C-59DEEB7F277C}&returnPage=&start=>

Figure 8: *Euphronios Krater (Sarpedon Krater)*, 515 BCE, Attic red-figure calyx krater, attributed to Euphronios, Archaeological Museum of Cerveteri, Italy, BAPD#: 187, found in Cerveteri, Italy. H: 45.7 cm.

Image Credit: “187, ATHENIAN, Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Cerveteri, New York (N.Y.), Metropolitan Museum, Rome, Mus. Naz. Etrusco di Villa Giulia, New York (N.Y.), Metropolitan Museum, L.2006.10 LOAN,” University of Oxford, Classical Art Research Centre,

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Figure 9: *Nikosthenes Painter Kylix*, 510–500 BCE, Attic red-figure kylix, attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter and the Potter Pamphaios, British Museum, London (1841,0301.22), BAPD#: 201052, found in Vulci, Italy. H: 11.5 cm.

Image Credit: “Kylix,” British Museum: Collection,

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1841-0301-22](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1841-0301-22)

Figure 10: *Red-Figure Calyx Krater with Thanatos and Hypnos*, 525–475 BCE, Attic red-figure calyx krater, attributed to the Pezzino Group, Museo Archeologico Regionale Agrigento, Italy (C1956), BAPD#: 200177, found in Agrigento, Italy.

Image Credit: “200177, ATHENIAN, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, C1956,”

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<https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/recordDetailsLarge.asp?recordCount=1&id={CA05B62D-EA70-46BA-A9D1-D46C927A3C41}&fileName=IMAGES100%2F200%2F200177%2EA%2F&returnPage=&start=>

Figure 11: *Diosphos Painter Amphora (Obverse)*, 500 BCE, Attic black-figure amphora, attributed to the Diosphos Painter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC (56.171.25), BAPD#: 305529. H: 18.3 cm.

Image Credit: “Terracotta neck-amphora (jar),” The MET: The Collection,

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254883>

Figure 12: *Diosphos Painter Amphora (Reverse)*, 500 BCE, Attic black-figure amphora, attributed to the Diosphos Painter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC (56.171.25), BAPD#: 305529. H: 18.3 cm.

Image Credit: “Terracotta neck-amphora (jar),” The MET: The Collection,

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254883>

Figure 13: *Diosphos Painter Lekythos*, 500 BCE, Attic black-figure lekythos, attributed to the Diosphos Painter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC (24.97.29), BAPD#: 31860. H: 16.9 cm.

Image Credit: “Lekythos,” The MET: The Collection,

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/251490>

Figure 14: *Red-Figure Kylix*, 485–480 BCE, signed by Douris and Kalliades, Louvre Museum, Paris, France (G115), BAPD#: 205119. H: 12 cm.

Image Credit: “Louvre G 115 (Vase),” Perseus Digital Library,

<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Louvre+G+115&object=vase>

Figure 15: *Sabouroff Painter Lekythos*, 470–440 BCE, Attic white-ground lekythos, attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, British Museum, London (1884,0223.2), BAPD#: 212420. H: 35.56 cm.

Image Credit: “Lekythos,” British Museum: Collection,

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1884-0223-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1884-0223-2)

Figure 16: *Thanatos Painter Lekythos*, 435–425 BCE, Attic white-ground lekythos, attributed to the Thanatos Painter, British Museum, London (1876,0328.1), BAPD#: 216353, found in Ampelokepoi, Athens, Greece. H: 48.85 cm.

Image Credit: “Lekythos,” British Museum: Collection,

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1876-0328-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1876-0328-1)

Figure 17: *Scarab (?)*, 525–500 BCE, cornelian pseudo-scarab, British Museum, London (1772,0315.340), possibly Etruscan. H: 1.3 cm.

Image Credit: “Scarab (?),” British Museum: Collection,

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1772-0315-340](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1772-0315-340)

Figure 18: *Intaglio Scarab of Ajax with the Body of Achilles*, 5th c. BCE, carnelian intaglio (scarabaeoid), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia (ГП-20874), found in Etruria. H: 1.5 cm.

Image Credit: “Intaglio (Scarabaeoid): Ajax with the Body of Achilles,” The State Hermitage Museum: Online Collection,

<https://hermitagemuseum.org/api/files/fshow?needlePath=%2Fapi%2Fspf%2F3jjNFapKkK6a3WhXoU9KXEE9AjC2Ikkmysl9zwQQEhH22vdHy4y3twwLXgOQTfV.jpg%3Fw%3D1600%26h%3D1600>

Figure 19: *Scarab with a warrior carrying a wounded man*, 5th c. BCE, onyx scarab set in a modern gold ring, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (27.666), late Archaic or Early Classical Greek. L: 1.1 cm.

Image Credit: “Scarab with warrior carrying wounded man,” MFA Boston: Collections,

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Figure 20: *Scarab with two winged figures carrying the body of a dead warrior*, early 5th c. BCE, carnelian scarab, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, MA (21.1200), likely Etruscan. L: 1.5 cm.

Image Credit: “Scarab with two winged figures carrying the body of a dead warrior,” MFA Boston: Collections,

<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/238446/scarab-with-two-winged-figures-carrying-the-body-of-a-dead-w?ctx=ee6f4180-32ce-4ab5-b0ae-7bb7a816e352&idx=0>